

PSALMS OF THE EARLY BUDDHISTS

II.—PSALMS OF THE BRETHREN

BY

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*'The truth (however true it is) that robs you of sympathy with any form
of thought or trait of man, is false for you.'*—R. L. STEVENSON

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TO
HERMANN OLDENBERG,
WHO FIRST MADE ACCESSIBLE TO THE WEST THE
THERAGĀTHĀ,
THIS THE FIRST ENGLISH TRANSLATION
IS IN GRATEFUL ADMIRATION
DEDICATED

*'Tis self whereby we suffer. 'Tis the greed
 To grasp, the hunger to assimilate
 All that earth holds of fair and delicate,
 The lust to blend with beauteous lives, to feed
 And take our fill of loveliness, which breed
 This anguish of the soul intemperate.
 'Tis self that turns to harm and poisonous hate
 The calm, clear life of love that [Arahants] lead.
 Oh ! that 'twere possible this self to burn
 In the pure flame of joy contemplative !
 Then might we love all loveliness, nor yearn
 With tyrannous longings ; undisturbed might live
 Greeting the summer's and the spring's return,
 Nor wailing that their joy is fugitive.*

J. A. SYMONDS.

*. . . Was erlöschen sollte, is erloschen, das Feuer der Begier,
 des Hasses, der Verblendung. In wesenloser Ferne liegt Fürchten
 wie Hoffen ; das Wollen, das Sichanklammern an den Wahn
 der Ichheit ist überwunden, wie der Mann die törichten Wünsche
 der Kindheit von sich abwirft.*

H. OLDENBERG.

I

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

- Page 8 : On Kankhā-Revata subduing doubt, see *Udāna*, v. 7.
- Page 9, l. 9 : This is virtually a quotation from the Vinaya (*Vinaya Texts*, ii., 351) : “ Now it is the custom for the Blessed Buddhas to exchange words of greeting with incoming Bhikkhus.” The same courteous inquiries follow. On Punna see Appendix III.
- Page 16, n. 2 : Add *Vin. Texts*, ii., 312.
- Page 17 : For “ the Great,” read Major.
- Page 21 : Read Dāsaka. The verse = *Dhp.*, 325, and is there said to have been addressed to King Pasenadi.
- Page 33 : Read Hārīta.
- Page 42, n. 2 : Add *Kathāvatthu*, p. 220.
- Page 46 : Read (thrice) for Sisūpacālā(la), Sisūpacālā(la).
- Page 48 : After *Saṅyutta-Nikāya*, for i., 108, read i., 208.
- Page 48, n. 3 : After *Saṅy.*, for ii., 271, read i., 209.
- Page 54 : Read Pāvā. n. 4 : This is too sweeping a statement. See the discussion in Rhys Davids’s *Buddhist India*, p. 22.
- Page 63 (lxii.) : Cf. *Dhammapada Commentary*, iii., 460, giving a slightly different version of the legend.
- Page 67 : “ Five things conduce . . .” cf. *Anguttara*, iii., 84, or 85, or 173. I am not sure whether the Commentary is referring to any of these.
- Page 69, n. 3 : Read arahā.
- Page 72 : Read Ātuma.
- Page 76 (77) : = *Dhammapada*, ver. 326.
- Page 77 (78) : First half = *Dhammapada*, ver. 153.
- Page 82 : For line 4 (86), read Instructs as one what is in palm o’ th’ hand revealing. In n. 2 delete last sentence and read : Cf. “ the closed fist ” of a teacher, *Dialogues*, ii., 107.
- Page 91, n. 1 : Read *Paticca-samuppāda*.
- Page 92, n. 2 : “ lucid thought ” is preferable, for *sati*.
- Page 93, n. 3 : For 450 read 412 ff.

Page 95 (102) : *For* minds read wits.

Page 110, n. 4 : It should have here been stated that *piṇḍola* is Pāli for beggar, almsman. Childers's Dictionary does not know the word. Not recognizing it as a purely common name, the translator and even the editor of the *Iti-vuttaka* (§ 91), have yielded to the obstructive association created by the well-known soubriquet. Yet both Dhammapāla's Commentary (on *Iti-vuttaka*) and that on the parallel *Saṅgyutta*, iii. 93, are clear:—*piṇḍāya ulatitī piṇḍolo ; piṇḍolassa kammaṇ piṇḍolayaṇ*. The soubriquet of Beggar-Bhāradvāja may have been given by contemptuous kinsfolk. On the abuse bestowed on the beggar (specimens are given in the latter Commentary) see Tālapuṭa's verse (1118). It appears that Piṇḍola is the name of a "Wandering Jew" bhikkhu in Chinese Buddhist legends. But it is clear from both the translated and the excised legends in Dhammapāla's Commentary, that he knew nothing about that. Cf. A. J. Edmunds, *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*, ii. 264.

Page 116 (133-4) : = *Dhp.*, ver. 13, 14.

Page 117 (137) : Cf. *Jātaka*, i., No. 62, p. 155 (text, 295).

Page 118 : *Read* Nālaka.

Page 119 (141) = *Saṅgyutta*, i. 154.

Page 122 (147) : *Add*:—*after* apart. = *Saṅy.*, ii. 158.

Page 124 (152) : = *Sutta-Nipāta*, ver. 728, 1051.

Page 134, l. 4 : *For* work read world.

Page 138, n. 1 : *Add* : Cf. the correcter form, *Udāna*, vi. 3.

Page 139, n. 2 : *Read* genitive absolute.

Page 140, n. 1, l. 3 : To references add *Dhammapada Commentary*, iii., 127. n. 2 : *for* of read *cf.*

Page 143 (191) : = *Udāna*, iv. 4.

Page 144 (194) : Last two lines = *Sutta-Nip.*, ver. 440.

Page 159 (224) : *For* In read The.

Page 170 : *Read* Vetthapura.

Page 171, l. 1 : *Delete* he. In n. 2, *for* The former is read They are ; *and* *for* ii. 3, read ii. 5.

Page 172 : *Read* Hārīta.

Page 174, n. 1 : Conceivably a confusion has arisen in this legend and in that of Somamitta, cxxxiv. Amitta Thera is very possibly Somamitta, and the rôles of teacher and learner may have got inverted. It is curious that Dhammapāla, after his concluding comment on p. 122, makes no subsequent allusion to it.

Page 176, last line : *Delete* dotted line.

Page 182 : Niyasa ; in the Vinaya account, Yasa. I do not yet know whether the Singhalese (Copenhagen) MS. supports this alteration in the Thera's name.

Page 185 : I can give no explanation of the curious term "tree-talk." It is unmistakably *rukka-kathā* in the Br. MS. The first verse occurs *Jāt.*, i. 31 ; iv. 496 (text), and is quoted in *Dhammapada Commentary*, i. 99.

Page 192 : "The weather-gods . . ." So Commentary : *devatā vassañ varesuṃ*, the plural number being most unusual. (The noun is singular, or plural ; the verb is certainly plural.)

Page 196 (344) : "Quenched" were more congruous than "crushed," but the latter is nearer the meaning of *padālītā*, shattered, burst.

Page 198, n. 1 : *Add* : It is noteworthy that neither of these versions of Vakkali's legend coincides entirely with that of the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* (iii., 119 f.), in which Vakkali is admonished when mortally ill, and ultimately commits suicide without forfeiting arahantship. Cf. *Īti-vuttaka*, § 92 ; *Divyāvadāna*, p. 49 ; *Bud. Psy.*, 258, n. 4.

Page 199, n. 1 : *Omit* two.

Page 203 : Omitted footnote : The "sixteen Atthakas" make up the Atthaka-vagga, or Book IV. of the *Sutta-Nipāta* (ver. 766 ff.) But the verse quoted—

*" Seeing the evil of a worldly life
And knowing what is taught by holy Norm,
Exempt from all the substrate for re-birth,
The Ariyan findeth no delight in sin ;
Sin doth afford no pleasure to the pure."*

is the "Udāna," or solemn utterance of the Buddha, pronounced upon Soṇa's sincerity and finished recital, in *Udāna*, v., 6.

Page 203, n. 2 : *For* ten read eight. It is perhaps a little premature to call Sela a "believer" in verses 823, 825. (Non-believers usually spoke to or of the Master as *bho*, or *samaṇa Gotama*.) If Sela's case be omitted, only six instances remain.

Page 231 : Verses 469-72 occur *Anguttara*, ii. 71.

Page 237, n. 3 : *Read Dhammabhūtā* = Norm-become ; *dhamma-kāyā*, paraphrases, etc.

Page 237, n. 5 : *Add* : See also *Mahāvastu* (Senart), iii., 365 f.

Page 240 (498) : = *Dhammapada*, ver. 6.

Page 243, l. 5 : "Abstract"—i.e., arūpa-jhānas : see p. 258, n. 1, and Compendium, 64, 90.

Page 251, n. 1, l. 6 : *Add* : And also, fully, but in slightly different phraseology, in *Mahāvastu*, iii., p. 93.

Page 251, n. 2 : *After Mahāvamsa read ch. v.*

Page 251, n. 3 : *For not elsewhere called Greek, read called the Yona in Mahāvamsa (Geiger's translation, P.T.S., 1912), pp. 82, 85, where see n. 5.*

Page 252, n. 1 : *For verses 9, 52 read verse 645 (iii., 9, 52).*

Page 254, l. 4 : *Delete comma after rāja.*

Page 255, n. 3 : *Read Brāhmana.*

Page 256, l. 2 : *Read for Sisters, Brethren.*

Page 258 (561) : *After Rule supply comma.*

Page 262 (578) : *Delete comma after bring.*

Page 266 : *The story of Sankicca may be a doubly bifurcated legend : cf. his birth and ordination with that of Sopāka (XXXIII.) and Sivali (LX.); and his self-sacrificing courage with that of his nephew Adhimutta (CCXLVIII.).*

Page 267, n. 1 : *Delete brackets.*

Page 277 (635, 636) : = *Dhammapada*, ver. 292, 293.

Page 280 (653) : = *Dhammapada*, ver. 315.

Page 283 (672) : *Parinibbanti* need not necessarily refer to the *death* of the righteous ; cf. p. 202 n. 1 ; *Majjhima*, i., 45, 446. The Commentary takes it apparently to mean the rounding off of perfected life : *idāni . . . anupādisesanibbāna-dhātuyā desanāya kuṭaṇ gaṇhanto bhavāyivānāti osānagātham āha.*

Page 284 : *Read Annā-Kondañña.* It is interesting to note that the Burmese MS. of the Commentary, when commencing his legend, retains the original form Aññāsi-Kondañña. The Buddha, namely, when he had convinced this, his first disciple, is said to have exclaimed, *Aññāsi vata bho Kondañño !* (Truly Kondañña has perceived !), and the latter became known as Aññāta-Kondañña (“ Kondañña who has that which is perceived ”) (*Vinaya Texts*, i. 98). In subsequent allusions the Commentary calls him simply Kondañña, or Kondañña-mānava. In *Milinda*, ii., 44, where the eight brahmins' names are given, he is called Yañña. Cf. *Buddhist Birth Stories (Nidāna-Kathā)*, p. 72 f., 113, where he is called Yañña, and Aññā-Kondañña respectively.

Page 286, n. 1 : *Add* : These three verses are quoted in the *Kathāvatthu*, p. 531, as spoken by the Exalted One.

Page 293 : Verses 720, 721, 724, 725 are ascribed to the official editors or “chanters.” Commentary (the first two, *saṅgītikārena*, the second two, *saṅgītikārehi*, *vuttaḡāthā*). In elucidating verse 722, the *Iti-vuttaka Commentary* is referred to.

Page 295 (726) : *After musings insert comma.*

Page 295, n. 1 : In the *Iti-vuttaka*, Suttas 1 and 2 of the *Duka-Nipāta* give in briefest outline the substance of Pārā-pariya's *Gāthā*, and would be well known to Dhammapāla, but his Commentary on them does not refer to the Thera.

Page 299, l. 2 : *Read* the Ambrosial.

Page 311, l. 2 : *Read* *Samāna*. (820) : *For* colon *read* full-point.

Page 318, n. 4 : *Insert ? after* nickname.

Page 319, l. 21 : *Read* *Ahiṅṣaka*.

Page 326, n. 1 : *For Ang. Nik.*, iii., *read* iv., and *for* obstruction, obsessions.

Page 334 (944) : *Better* : Some too there are . . .

Page 335, n. 2 : *Read* (*Samantapāsādikā*, *Vinaya*, iii., 300).

Page 342, n. 1 : It is clear that, in Dhammapāla's authorities. *Dighanakha* and *Mahā-Kotthita* were different persons. *Cf.* *Avadāna*, ii., 187, 188; *Öldenbergs*, *op. cit.* on p. 328, n. 4.

Page 342, n. 5 : *Read* *Jāt*.

Page 343, n. 2 : *Read* (*aniccato*).

Page 345 (997) : *Delete* colon and rule.

Page 345, n. 3 : *Add* : These six lines are quoted as *Sāriputta's* in the *Kathāvatthu*, p. 257.

Page 354 (1026) : The metaphor anticipates by centuries that kindred one of Dante, who (*Purg.*, xxii.) makes Statius say to Virgil :

“ . . . As one
Who, journeying through the darkness, bears a light
Behind, that profits not himself, but makes
His followers wise. . . .”

Page 361, n. 4 : *Insert* page.

Page 369 : *Tālaputa* is a name that suggests a soubriquet, *tāla* meaning palm or palm-leaf, and *puta* a bundle or leaf-basket. *Cf.* *putabhattay*, p. 270, n. 6.

Page 373 (1104) : ‘Hell-flung’ is perhaps more rhetorical than closely accurate; *pātālakhattaṅṅaṅ balavāmukhaṅ ca . . . vibhiṅṣanaṅ* is literally : [when shall I, etc.] “and o’er the awful mighty abyss-discharged mouth. . . .” *Pātāla*, meaning (vaguely) abyss, is conceived in the Epics and *Purānas* as a bottomless pit on land; in Buddhist literature it is conceived as a whirlpool in the ocean concealing submarine regions. Thus in *Saṅyutta Nikāya*, iv., 206 : “ . . . who says, there is a *pātāla* in the ocean . . .” where, as in i., 32 : “*Pātālam atarī isi*,” *pātāla* is taken metaphorically as any circumstance in which one is carried

off one's feet, loses balance (*Commentary*). Cf. *Milinda*, ii., 138 for a different application.

Page 378, n. 2 : *V* and *c* are often confused not only in Singha-
lese, but also in Burmese, on palm-leaf. In *Sutta-*
Nipāta, verse 162 *f.*, between -*cāraṇo* and -*vāraṇo* Fausböll
chose the former. What, then, is a *cāraṇikaṇ*? The
Commentary itself is obscure : *abhinhako carakārahaṇ*
viya mano-dassento carakārahaṇ purisaṇ vañcetvā cara-
gopakānaṇ nibbādentō viya punappunaṇ tantaṇ-bhavaṇ
dassento. I should be glad to have light thrown on
carakārahaṇ and *tantaṇ-bhavaṇ*. In Sanskrit *cāraṇo*
is a strolling player, hence my rendering. If correct,
it is a very likely simile for one with *Tālapuṭa*'s tradi-
tional antecedents to have used.

Page 384 (1156) : With “ *mā pāpacitte āhari* ” cf. (1173),
p. 387, n. 3. *Āhari*, as there, means, more probably,
accost, assail. And a juster rendering would be :

Wherefore have thou no truck with thoughts of vice,
As bird that flies bewildered into flame.

The *Commentary* has : *Kāmesu niggaṭāya lāmakacitte*
nihinacittamādise āsādesi.

Page 389, n. 3 : *Read katthaci*.

Page 394 : *Read Bhesakalā* ; also on p. 23.

Page 412 : *Read 'lion's.'*

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INTRODUCTION

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The text of the verses ; its difficulty. Sources of aid. First appearance in translation or in print of Dhammapāla's Commentary. Its historical weakness. The early doctrines in the poems. Gradual insertion of the poems into an anthology. Problem of the names. Type-names. The prose legends and the Old Commentaries of the Great Minster, Ceylon. Poetry in prose framework the Buddhist mode of presentation. Varying utility of the Commentary ; cases where it is indispensable. Its information concerning the families whence the authors "went forth." Authors of more than one poem. The proportion of poor families represented. The large number of young and even of child arahant-poets. The Buddha seeking the poor and the children. External and internal experiences in the poems. Sermon-poems and the Sisters. "Aññā" testified to. Pictures in the Commentary. Beauties of diction. Great and ordinary *sāvaka's*. Monachism and nature-love intensified by poetic gift. The forest as a home of the pure. Permanent poetic production and transient wave of poetry. The poetry of the saint as expressing another scale of values from that of the layman and the aspirant. The vision of the Arahant and the "forward view." Comparative study for future writers. Metres xix

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CANTO I. SINGLE VERSES ASCRIBED TO¹—

- I. Subhūti (burgess), Sāvattthī, nephew to Anāthapiṇḍika 4
- II. *KOṬṬHITA THE GREAT,² brahmin, Sāvattthī 6
- III. *KANKHĀ REVATA (burgess), Sāvattthī 7

¹ Pronounce the vowels as in German or Italian, but the unaccented *a* as *u* in *nut*. Every *a* is thus pronounced, if it have no long mark ; e.g., Revata =, not Ray-vah-ta, but Ray-vā-tā ; the emphasis not as in *tomato*, but as in *comforter*. Pronounce single consonants as in English, except *c*, which always = *ch*, as in *church* ; and *g*, which is always hard, as in *get*. Pronounce dotted dentals as English dentals ; in undotted dentals let the tongue strike the teeth. In doubled consonants detach as in Italian, thus : kam-ma, Puṇ-ṇa. In aspirated consonants let the aspirate be heard, e.g., in *Thera*, *t-h* as in *fat-head* (t-hay-rā) ; Channa, *ch* as *ch-h* in *beech-hill* ; *visuddhi* as *d-h* in *dead-head*, with a second *d* interposed ; *ṅ* = *ng* ; the sound is more usually printed as *m*. WIM

² * signifies an *agga-sāvaka*, or disciple, chief in some attainment, according to *Anguttara-Nikāya* i, 'Etad-agga-vagga'. Names in capitals are those of Dhammapāla's *mahā-sāvaka*. Names in italicized capitals are those classed as leading Theras in Vinaya and Nikāyas (cf. R. O. Franke, *J.P.T.S.*, 1908, p. 23).

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INTRODUCTION

WITH this second volume of the so-called Psalms of the Early Buddhists, my task is finished of laying before English readers a translation, at its best but rough and provisional, of the remarkable anthology of the *Thera-therī-gāthā* contained in the Pali Canon of the Three Piṭakas. Of the stanzas in this volume of the poems, numbering, if we discount duplicates, approximately 1,220, only a small proportion, under 100, have hitherto appeared in English dress. These are the verses, specified throughout the work, which appear in English translations of the *Dhammapada*, *Sutta-Nipāta* and *Udāna*, the *Dialogues of the Buddha*, the *Jātaka*, and the *Milinda*. Only in German, in Dr. K. E. Neumann's translation, published fourteen years ago, has the work up till now appeared in its entirety in any European tongue.

Concerning the Pali text itself, I have already written in the sister volume. Thanks to the institution of the Pali Text Society and to the *editio princeps* of the text, prepared by the fine scholarship of Dr. Hermann Oldenberg, and forming one of that Society's early volumes, there has been no need for the translator to wear eyes and patience in deciphering undivided lines of alien scripts on palm-leaves of mellow ochre, unsuited to readers in this light-starved climate.

The residual difficulties encountered in coping with the poetic diction in general, and with many an obscure allusion in particular, have at times been very formidable. As with the sister volume, however, three powerful aids have been at hand throughout—my husband's Pali collectanea and knowledge of Pali, the Neumann translation, and

Dhammapāla's commentary:—the *Paramattha-Dīpanī* That neither my husband, nor any other competent critic of Pali or English has gone systematically through the work in proof-stage is a serious drawback; but there are limits to what one can ask of the patience, kindness, and leisure of others, as well as to the time during which a book can be suffered to block the way. Anyway, I have had the benefit of his ready help in most of the cruces of the work, and in much besides. But there are a host of minor flaws, let alone greater ones. Dr. Neumann's presentation of each poem as a whole was of great preliminary assistance, and to differ from him in many a detail of interpretation was a healthy stimulus to closer inquiry, such as he will be content to reckon among the fruits of his pioneer venture.

Then as to the Commentary to which I have referred in the introduction to the *Sisters*:—the whole of this long work was transcribed, during 1911 and half 1912, in considerably over a thousand foolscap pages, by the talent and indomitably sustained industry of my colleague, Miss Mabel Hunt. Of her transcript the former half is in process of collation by Mrs. M. H. Bode, with the Singhalese palm-leaf copy, lent by the Royal Library of Copenhagen, which unfortunately comes to an untimely end at the *Solasa-Nipāta*—in this volume, Canto XV. The present translation could not await the help of that collation; hence to what extent the Burmese MS. will prove faulty, my readings from it will have suffered.

Even had it been consulted in a critically edited edition, such as the Pali Text Society hopes in the near future to publish, the Commentary is doubtless no infallible guide, historically or grammatically. Its narrative contains much hagiographical myth; its exegesis is coloured by later developments of doctrine, and is twisted by professional exigencies of edification. Such historico-scientific defects were unfelt in Dharmapāla's age. He had no conception of historical criticism. If he quotes two versions of a Thera's story, he does not attempt to weigh the evidence, and make inferences as to historical truth. But to gird at

him for lacking anything so new-born in ourselves were to show an equal deficiency in historical sense.

Now the Commentator alleges that there were Thera verses recited 'at the time of the first great Council.' But he also relates that many Theras lived later than that, notably TEKICCHAKĀRI, in the reign of Asoka's father, and VĪTASOKA and EKA-VIHĀRIYA, who are alleged to have been brothers of Asoka himself. Their verses may have been incorporated in the Anthology at the 'Third Great Council,' held at Patna during Asoka's reign. Dhammapāla asserts that this was so in the case of the first-named poet.

There is nothing incredible in the view that the Anthology is thus a collection containing an early nucleus with later accretions. There may well have been, among the constituents of the earliest body of the Dhamma, many such verses containing doctrines generally expressed, or personal confessions of faith associated with the names of particular teachers. Dr. Winternitz concedes as much for one or two of the stanzas which I have tabulated in the index as Refrain-verses.¹ It is probably true of many more. The Sangha is said to have been an organization of over forty years' standing when its founder passed away. It is inconceivable that its unwritten 'literature'—rules, transactions, tenets, homilies, hymns, etc.—should not, during those many years of young energy and endeavour, have also become to some extent organized.

As the Sangha, during the next two or three centuries, continued to develop, so doubtless did the stock of gāthās grow, till conceivably the collection of poems committed to memory by experts became a fluctuating quantity, so that revision and a definite selection became desirable. And this, it appears, was effected at the Council of Patna.

There may possibly have been further accretions before the time when the Piṭakas were committed to writing. Dr. Winternitz suggests signs of later thought in KHAṆḌA-SUMANA'S stanza. That of SANDHITA² is along similar lines.

¹ *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur* (1913), ii. 88.

² XCVI.; CLXIX.

But that the great bulk of the poems are relatively early seems probable by both the doctrine and diction of them. The former and the latter are true counterparts of the Four Nikāyas :—the true Suttanta teaching, and its idiom, so far as that is metrical. ‘Anicca,’ ‘dukkha,’ ‘anatta,’ the Four truths, the Ariyan Path, the seven Buddhas, Arahants as no less *buddha* and *tathāgata* than their great Master,¹ and so forth :—such is the range of the ancient Theravādism of these poems, no less than it is that of the Suttantas and the *Sutta-Nipāta*, and the *Dhammapada*.

If European Indologists eventually agree to refer the final inclusion of all but negligible increments to the Council of Patna (in the eighteenth year of Asoka’s reign), there seems to be no valid reason why orthodox Buddhists should not concur with this. Admitting, then, this range of nearly two and a half centuries for the growth of the Anthology as such, and discounting the pious tradition that most of the putative authors were contemporaries of the first Theras, I am not so sceptically disposed as to see in most of the names of those authors a large number of literary fictions, nor, in many of the poems, literary concoctions to explain so many names. A goodly proportion of the names are admitted by the Commentary, one or two by the text itself, to have been nicknames, such as are so frequent in Indian literature.² The adoption of a new name on leaving the world for a religious order is of much later date. It is, however, not inconceivable that, among the nicknames, one here and there may have been adopted by a poet to screen his identity, such a name, *e.g.*, as Lone-dweller for Prince Tissa-Kumāra, brother, according to *Dhammapāla*, of the Emperor Asoka. But that name or legend is largely literary fiction is a supposition for which there seems no sufficient historical necessity. If the *Thera-therī-gāthā* took two or three centuries to reach its present canonical proportions, this permits on the average an output of between one and two completed

¹ Cf. *Vinaya Texts*, i, p. 112, § 11 (1).

² Rhys Davids in *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 193.

poems every year. And the Sangha was growing every year. Hence it must have contained a much greater proportion of men and women capable of poetical self-expression than the relatively small number whose verses were deemed worthy of canonical honours. All is, of course, conjecture, but I incline to think that a wholesale and indiscriminating scepticism as to the historical reality of the men and women whose names are attached to these poems is too easy. It is more *likely* than not that at some time within those centuries they lived, were members of the Order, and either composed, or in another way came to have associated with their self-expression—in sermons or converse—the poems bearing their name.

I see no good reason to disallow this for the majority of the names. Some there are, it is true, where the real individual does not stand out at all. Here it is not impossible there may have been one or more bhikkhus with whom the poem was associated, but the *name* may be either a soubriquet, or a name to the poem itself. Take the gāthā entitled Māṇava (LXXIII, p. 73). The name means simply 'brahmin youth,' just as Kumāra means noble youth, *Junker*. The experience related is a phase in the legend of the Buddha himself, just as the story of Yasa (CXVII.) also became a phase. But for the Buddhists—and for how many more than Buddhists!—it is typical of what might amongst us be called 'The Soul's Awakening.' And there may well have been a verse (compiled by some early long-forgotten member of the Order)—perhaps a fraction of a longer poem about the Great Renunciation—expressing this typical phase, and bearing a typical name, analogous to our 'Everyman.'

Other numbers may be selected as bearing names equally shadowy. Thus discriminating, we come to see our cluster of Theras in a perspective like that of a Renaissance painter's aerial gallery—a row of saintly personages clearly portrayed in front, and behind them, not bodies but just faces, leaning out from cloudy bars in all degrees of diminishing clearness.

The length of the biographical legend prefixed, together with citation of the corresponding legend from the *Apadāna* to each poem, varies greatly with each Thera. I have excised the whole of each story with the exception of the, for us, less mythical account of the saint's last and culminating span of life on this limited if indisputable earth of ours. The work, as we know, is early-medieval, and the purist—I use the term in all respect—may ill brook the juxtaposition of any of it beside the purer and more venerable Theravāda of the Gāthās. Let it, however, not be forgotten, firstly, that Dhammapāla claims to have based his Commentary on 'the method of the Old Commentary or Commentaries':

*'sahassañ vaṇṇanañ yasmā dhārate Satthu Sūsanañ
pubbācariyasīhānañ tiṭṭhateva vinicchayo,
tasmā tam-avalambitvā ogāhitvāna pañca pi ·
Nikāye upanissāya Porāṇatthakathā-nayañ
suvisuddhañ asankinnañ nipunatthavinicchayañ
Mahā-Vihāra-vāsīnañ samayañ avilomayañ. . . .'*¹

'In order that the Master's doctrine should bear its manifold explication, and the interpretation of those lions, the teachers of old, should be established, therefore [will I, hard though it be, to the best of my powers make a Commentary] resting upon that [interpretation], diving also into the Five Nikāyas, and in dependence on the method of the Old Commentary (or Commentaries)—so pure and unadulterated in its interpretation of subtle meaning—the concordant views of them that dwell at the Great Minster'

¹ From the opening stanzas of the Commentary. They are void of interest except the lines here quoted. Very similar lines preface the other parts of the *Paramattha-Dīpanī*. The Br. transcript reveals at once the error, so easy to make in reading Singhalese, standing in Professor E. Müller's edition of the *Therīgāthū Commentary*, undiscerned by me in the 'envoi' of the *Sisters*. There it is *Porāṇatthakathā-tayañ* (triplet of Old Commentaries) instead of '*nayañ*'—'method.' As, however, there seem to have been *three* Commentaries in Ceylon in Dhammapāla's time, the *tayañ* may be virtually, if not formally, correct.

[of Anurādhapura, Ceylon]. And this Old Commentary was probably the *Sihalatthakathā* (Singhalese Commentary), which, in the relatively modern work *Saddhamma-Sangaha*, is said to have comprised the 'Great [Minster] Atthakathā,' the 'Great Raft' (*paccari*), and the 'Great Kurunda Atthakathās.'¹ Hence, the juxtaposition of the Theras' pre-Asokan and Asokan poems with the prose of six to nine centuries later is not so forced as at first sight it might seem. The matter and the method of the more modern work is not really a mushroom invention of story and edifying exegesis. That work is but a recast, a re-compiled edition in scholastic Pali, of the older Singhalese or Tamil prose framework. Set down in writing a few centuries before Dhammapāla's time, the legends were oral tradition long before that. Seen in this perspective the Commentary has a venerableness of its own, bridging over the seas of time between Asoka and the days of the great scholastics to a greater extent than at first appears. Evolving inevitably as secular prose framing the sacredly intact verses, it forms with these a picture, as it were, of wooded slopes of verdant growth clothing the hills that tower relatively unchanging above them—a picture that would lose if both features were not presented.

In the second place, the presentation of verses, solemn or otherwise, in a framework of prose narrative is essentially the historical Buddhist way of imparting canonical poetry. Dhammapāla's chronicles are, for the most part, unduplicated in any other extant work; but not seldom they run on all fours, not only with parallel chronicles in Buddhaghosa's Commentaries, but also with the prose framework of poems in *Sutta Nipāta* or *Sanyutta Nikāya*, not to mention the *Jātaka*. Centuries divide the compilation of these three last-named prose frameworks from the Paramattha-Dīpanī, and yet we read on with no sense of rupture. And why? Because Dhammapāla is following, as he said, the *naya* of the Old Atthakathā, or 'talk about the meaning,' and that old talk came down to him unbroken, if varied in diction,

¹ *J.P.T.S.*, 1890, p. 55; cf. my *Bud. Psy.*, xxi. f.

from the earlier ages of his faith. With some excision, therefore, and a little condensing of the prose, I have presented the gāthās in the way in which they have lived for so many centuries in the living tradition of Pali Buddhism.

In defending thus the presentation of the 'psalms' in their native and historical setting, I admit that, as elucidating the circumstances under which the poems were composed, the Commentary varies greatly in utility. At times its utility is at zero-point—*e.g.*, in those poems which are sermons (*e.g.*, CCXXXV.), or collections of folk philosophy, or gnomic runes (*e.g.*, CLXXII.), or hymns of general import (XCIV., CXVII.). Sometimes the Thera's verses bear their own sufficient explanation, as in those of CŪLA-PANTHAKA, SUNĪTA, NĀGĀSAMĀLA, TELAKĀNI, etc. The Commentary here does but etch in the individual a little more sharply. But there are a certain number which, like so many Jātakas, are hardly intelligible without the accompanying prose. With its help they become not only intelligible, but intelligible after a simple, ingenuous fashion. Thus read, how clearly and naturally stands out the suicidal wail of MAHĀNĀMA (CXV.), the awe and swiftly growing insight of KIMBILA at the cinematographic vision before him (CXVIII.), the humour and earnestness of MAHĀKĀLA (CXXXVI.), the dream of USABHA begging in state (CLIX.), the lure of KAPPAṬA-KURA's rags (CLX.), the rebuke of SĀṬIMATTIYA (CLXXIX.), or the revolt against the ever-present satellites in EKA-VIHĀRIYA's opening line (CCXXXIV.)! How do we not now understand PAKKHA's comment as he watches the scrambling kites (LXIII.), or ĀTUMA's bamboo canes mutually stifling each other (LXXII.), or CAKKHUPĀLA's virtuous wrath (XCV.)! In Dr. Oldenberg's words on the bulk of the Jātaka verses, we may say of most of these few poems: 'Nobody can imagine that the Buddhists would have found pleasure in reciting such unintelligible fragments to each other.' And can we not, indeed, feel justified in going equally far for these Theragāthās (at least in the poems cited above) as for the *Jātaka*, *Sutta-Nipāta*, *Saṅguyutta Nikāya*, and say: 'The verses taken alone are to a large

extent meaningless. Then comes in the prose, and by it all becomes clear. That the verses were intended to complete just that context indicated by the prose is self-evident.¹

Let us anyway, with what credulity we can muster, briefly glance at such information as the Commentary yields concerning the Theras in general: their numbers, age, and social status while yet in the life of 'the house,' with a comparative glance at their Sisters' verses.

And first we find that, among several duplicated and triplicated names, there are but five of whom it is alleged that they stand for Theras who composed a second poem in the collection. These are,

Adhimutta (CXIV., CCXLVIII.).

Kimbila (CXVIII., CXXXVIII.).

Mālunkyā's Son (CCXIV., CCLII.).

Pārāpariya (CCXLIX., CCLVII.).

Revata (XLII., CCXLIV.).

This reduces the possible 264 authors to 259. The Commentator is careful to point out these few traditional identities, among other apparently possible and even probable duplicates. This makes his silence concerning the latter—*e.g.*, concerning the two Woodland Vacchas, the two Puṇṇamāsas, and again concerning identical poems ascribed to two authors, *e.g.*, CLXXII., CLXXXIV.—all the stranger. Yet it is perhaps not so strange, when we remember that neither Anthology nor Commentary was the independent work of one or two persons of literary genius, but that both were accretions of slow growth. The added poems would fall into their respective Nipātas (or Cantos), an easy matter when the whole Anthology was completed before it was set down, at a later age, in writing. The 'talk' about each gāthā added would also be, so to speak,

¹ *J.P.T.S.*, 1912. 'The Ākhyāna type and the Jātakas,' pp. 20, 21. One, indeed, of the legends presents its poem in the very words in which the *Jātaka Commentary* presents the Ākhyāna. This is Dhammika's poem CXCV. On both legend and poem, see Additions and Corrections in Appendix, opposite p. 185.

instituted in its proper order, and also eventually and at a still later age, committed to writing. And Dhammapāla, recasting the 'Old Atthakathā,' judged himself bound, not to revise the matter, or to make historical and literary criticisms about it, like us irreverent outsiders (*ito bahiddhā*), but to follow the traditional 'method,' as he says, and set down pretty much what he found. Hence he does not speculate in footnotes on possibly bifurcated legends such as those of the two brahmins of Kosala, MIGASIRA (CL.), and VANGĪSA (CCLXIV.); nor on a possible confusion between the legends of SOMAMITTA, pupil of Vimala, and VIMALA, pupil of Amit(t)a (CXXXIV., CLXXXV.), or between those of uncle SANKICCA and nephew ADHIMUTTA (CCXL., CCXVIII.), etc. The 'revised version' upon which he is engaged is not of the Canon itself, yet is it a very venerable adjunct to the sacred books, and he writes as one from whom an orthodox conservatism is expected, an Āchariya of the Kāñcipura school.

Secondly, the Commentary enables us to take a census of the various classes and districts from which these 259 poets were traditionally believed to have sprung. Thus we find of—

Brahmins	...	...	...	...	..	113 ¹
Khattiyas (rājas, etc., 'clansmen,' 'minister's' son)	...	...	...	...	...	60 ²
Owners, or at least tenants, of land, cultivators	...	...	...	...	...	7 ³
Burgesses, such as seṭṭhis, or councillors, commoners, merchants, or simply 'rich' men's sons (14)	...	...	...	...	...	53 ⁴
Craftsmen, elephant-trainers, caravan guides	...	...	...	...	...	9
Actor	...	...	...	...	...	1
Pariahs, labourers, 'slaves,' fisherman (1)	...	...	...	...	...	10
Illegitimate sons of kings, sons of <i>religieux</i> ⁴	...	...	...	...	...	3
Sons of simply 'lay-adherents'	...	...	...	...	...	3
						259

¹ Mālunkyā's son is reckoned as of this class (CCXIV.; cf. XX.).

² The four 'hut'-theras (LVI.-LIX.), likened in circumstances to the Vajjian rāja's son (LV.), are reckoned as also of this class.

³ *Bhojakā, kuṭumbikā*; I cannot class these according to *vaṇṇa*.

⁴ Gavampati was a wealthy commoner's, or seṭṭhi's, son, see *Vinaya Texts*, i. 110. I have used 'councillor' for seṭṭhi, as implying that

That a large proportion of these men of 'letters' should belong to the class which were the custodians of religious lore and sacred hymns was inevitable. The really interesting feature is that the residuum, consisting of noblemen trained in war, governance, and sports, of merchants, craftsmen, and the like, occupied with business, commerce, and constructive work, and of the illiterate poor, should be as numerous as it is. Or, indeed, that there should have been any of the last-named group at all as composers of verses deserving inclusion in the Canon. In fact, it would not be entirely unreasonable to conclude that if four per cent. of the canonical poets were drawn from the poor and despised of the earth, from whom no such products as verses could be expected, then the proportion of bhikkhus, *in general*, coming from that class may have been considerable. This suggestion is worth bringing up as showing that the Commentary does not altogether confirm the view that Buddhism, at its inception, had but little power to draw to itself the lowly, the wretched, and the suffering.¹

Another conclusion which the Commentary, in so far as it faithfully handed on more ancient traditions, goes far to modify, is that Buddhism was not for children nor for the childlike.² The testimony borne by some of the psalms to the youthfulness of the compilers and to the Sāsana as attracting the young, is largely complemented by the Commentary. In contrast to the Brahmin ordinance which prescribed a retreat to a recluse's career for the declining year's of life, the Sangha welcomed the young, and was sceptical as to the average worth of old age renunciation.³ We find accordingly a goodly number of

the burgess so termed held some municipal post, head of a guild, or the like. The word means simply chief, or best.

¹ Cf. Oldenberg, *Buddha*, 5th edition, p. 180 and *n.*

² *Ibid.*

³ As Dr. Neumann points out in Upāli's poem (CLXXX.), where, however, *navapabbajito navo*, 'novice new,' does not necessarily mean 'young,' Cf. also *Ang.*, iii. 78, and above (462). 'Thera' means

our poets leaving the world as youths and becoming arahants at the threshold of manhood: MĀṆAVA, ADHIMUTTA, RĀHULA, SĀNU, KUMĀRA-KASSAPA, and many others. But a more striking feature yet is the group of child-arahants, a few of whom betray their childhood in their verses:—BHADDA, SANKICCA, SĪVALI, the SOPĀKAS, and SUMANA. In true Buddhist fashion, the age of seven is assigned to all at their ordination, as the typical childhood figure. And the childlike diction and ideas of the words put into their mouths are worthy of note.¹ We have only to compare the lines :

- (1) *'So too ye should be very good
Towards all creatures everywhere and everyone.'*

and

- (2) *'Then He asked me questions, He so skilled in questions
and so wise,
And unwavering, unaffrighted answered there the Master
I,' etc.*

and

- (8) *'An only child was I, to mother dear
And to my father dear,' etc.*

with any of the verses ascribed to adult and cultured arahants, however unknown elsewhere in the Canon's roll of honour :—

- (4) *'Errant in wilderness of heresies,
By their contagion dazed and led astray.' . . .*

- (5) *'Curbed in the harness of right energy.
Thou shalt not, O my heart, go far from me.'*

- (8) *'Showing a vision by the light of truth
Of things as come to be by way of cause.' . . .²*

'elder' literally, but technically is simply 'senior.' Cf. Rhys Davids, *s.v.* Elder, *Encyclopædia Religion and Ethics*.

¹ This does not apply to the abnormally precocious Sivali, nor to the words spoken of Sumana (2) by the Buddha :

'See, Sāriputta, how the little lad. . . .'

and annexed to his gāthā.

² CCXXVI., CCXL., LX., XXXIII., CCXXVII., and CCXIX.

to discern at once the difference between the child's and the (cultured) adult's language and sentiments.¹ Even if we see, in the little narratives of three of the poorest, most illiterate brethren:—the peasant Sumangala, the vagrant Kappata-Kura, the scavenger Sunita²—an approach to the style of these child-verses, yet does the standpoint, yet do the experiences, betray the adult mind. Hence the verses support the legend of the Commentary, and strengthen our belief in the faithfulness of the prose tradition which saw, in its great founder, not only a mind of consummate wisdom, but a heart filled with tender compassion, strong and willing to save even these little ones, these *parvulos trahendos*.³ The stories of that net of insight spread in the early morning by the Master 'great in pity,' as the 'Buddha-eye' surveys the suffering world; of the maturing light of emancipation 'shining as a lamp within a jar' even in the heart of a child; of the journeys to charnel field or to palace to save; as well as of the welcoming the parents' advent:—these may possibly give us a truer picture of a movement sometimes held to be reserved for the middle-aged well-to-do, and may even dispose us to adapt to it a later Divine saying: 'Suffer *me to come to the little children, for of such too is my kingdom that is within you.*'

Thirdly, the Commentary, without calling for over-much credulity, suggests a modification of the contrast lately drawn by Dr. Winternitz,⁴ that a far greater proportion of

¹ Cf. the Pali itself :

(1) *evaṃ sabbesu paṇesu sabbattha kusalo siyā.*

(2) *tato pañhe apucchi maṇ pañhānaṇ kovido vidū,
acchambī ca abhīto ca vyākāsiṇ satthuno ahaṇ.*

(3) *ekaputto ahaṇ āsiṇ piyo mātu piyo pitu. . . .*

(4) *ditthigahaṇapakkhanno parāmāsena mohito. . . .*

(5) *viriyadhuraniggahīto na yīto dūraṇ gamissase, citta !*

(6) *paṭiccuppannadhammānaṇ yathāvālokadassano. . . .*

² XLIII., CLX., CCXLII.

³ A phrase of Gerson's, the mystic scholastic.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, ii. 1, p. 88.

the Sisters' poems are occupied with external experience than those of the Brethren, which deal more with introspective self-expression. This at first sight is obviously true; a census yields us these results, roughly estimated:

			External Experience.	Internal Experience.	Mixed.
Sisters' psalms	73 ...	...	42	28	5
Brothers' psalms	264 ...	...	114	141	9 ¹

When, however, with the aid of the Commentary, we look more closely into these 141 introspective poems of the Theras, we find that upwards of forty of them² are not confessions of personal religious experience, but hortatory verses, purporting to have been delivered as so many sermons to bhikkhus or to laymen, either in response to invitations, or as part of the duties of a Thera. Now the Sisters had, as we may infer from the Vinaya, but a limited scope as preachers. They occupied, according to the letter of the Sāsana, the position of novices with respect to the Brethren, however 'senior' (therī) a woman might be among the Sisters in age or in standing. When a Therī, in spite of this, was so gifted a teacher as to become, as such, a valued servant to the Order, her merits are duly recorded.³ But there is practically none of the Sisters' psalms that is professedly a *public* homily, even though such homilies are themselves the subject of at least one poem.⁴ The chant of consolation to the bereaved mothers comes nearest to being one.⁵ The poems are largely occupied with the getting out of their cage, and so they sing 'the strange things women carry under their silence, that silence of the centuries which is so profound, that when it is broken their voice sounds like a cry.'⁶ But to teach in due season was the duty of a Thera; and strangely is this at times overlooked by a want of sympathy, which sees in books like this a proof that the object of becoming a Thera was

¹ *E.g.*, Vangīsa, CCLXIV.

² From the first Canto I have selected only XII., XV., XXXIII., XXXV., XXXVI., LXXXV., CVI., CXIV.

³ *Cf. Sisters*, p. xxxvi.

⁴ Sukkā's, xxxiv.

⁵ By Patācārā, l.

⁶ M. P. Willcocks, *Wings of Desire*.

solely to live in solitude, absorbed, when not coming round with a bowl, in idle musings and ineffective sentiment! 'Go ye now for the welfare of the many . . . preach ye the doctrine . . . and I will go also, to preach¹ . . .,' was the general marching order given from the first. And that order the verses, as supplemented by the Commentary, show as being dutifully kept. To the 'close time' of respite we shall come presently.

If then we deduct from the 141 introspective poems at least 46, containing nothing but so many miniature versified sermons of relatively general, non-subjective import—or, it may be, *metrical portions*, alone surviving, of longer prose discourses—we get the following corrected table:—

Poems.		Homilies.	External Experience.	Internal Experience.	Mixed.
Brethren : 264	...	46	114	95	9

proportions which, while they still uphold the general truth of Dr. Winternitz's statement, modify the significance of it to a considerable extent.

Fourthly, the so-often reiterated record that the poems were first publicly uttered as 'confessions of *aññā*,' deserves a passing word. The history of this term, of its use and of its *non-use*, in Buddhism has yet to be written. Signifying literally *ad-sciens*, 'ac-knowledging,' *aññā* is used in the Suttanta books to signify that mental flash, or suffusion of intuitive knowledge and assurance of 'salvation' constituting emancipation, or arahantship. The Buddha testifies to having realized it under the Bodhi-Tree, but uses the kindred, less specialized word *ñāṇa*. In the mouth of bhikkhus such testifying was no guarantee of right (*sammā*) gnosis; it might be made through mental illusion, conceit, frenzy, or even evil design (*Anguttara* iii., 119). Genuine, or *samma-d-aññā* is, of course, intended by the Commentary. This, in Dhammapada, verse 96, is rendered by Fausböll *absoluta cognitio*; by Max Müller, 'true knowledge.' That the testifying to it is as old as the Four Nikāyas, appears from the little episode in the *Anguttara Nikāya*,

¹ *Vinaya Texts*, i., p. 112.

iii. 359 :—Two disciples who have newly realized this intuitive knowledge or gnosis, wait upon the Buddha and testify to the same before him. As they again depart, the Buddha remarks: ‘Even so do men of true breed declare gnosis (*aññā*);—they tell of the good they have won (*attha*), but they do not bring in their ego (*attā*).’¹ That the public individual testimony to the assurance of salvation won, invited yesterday and to-day in Christian revivalist meetings, should have been thus anticipated 2000 years ago in Buddhist usage, is an interesting link. And *aññā* is rarely met with except in connexion with the confession of the attainment of such consciousness:—the ‘fruition of arahantship’ (*arahattaphala*).

Fifthly, whereas the Commentary lacks the inspired flame that touches now and again the varying quality of the more venerable Pali verses, and reads often no better than mere fable, it does invest the poems very often with a heightened personal colour, revealing behind many of them a touch of background, like the quiet river-threaded campaign, or the hill-perched Vihāra of a Tuscan Holy Family or single saintly figure. And this is the more welcome in a book where the majority of the poems are ascribed to authors who are mere names, not met with elsewhere in the Canon. Of authors known to us, we hail the better acquaintance with, *e.g.*, (1) the gifted children of Sārī the brahmin lady,² when we now see the saintly SARI-PUTTA, her eldest born, advancing to visit the sick, collectively in the infirmary, and again in the person of his own younger brother, the three boy-nephews standing at attention, coached by anxious Uncle REVATA; or (2) with the faithful ĀNANDA doing sentry-go with lantern and staff around the chamber of the

¹ The context shows that no derogatory judgment on confessions, such as these poems contain, is implied, but that only self-conceit and self-advertisement are condemned. Cf. *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, § 1116 (*Bud. Psy. Ethics*, 298 *f.*), and below, verse 1076.

² A touching picture of Sārī, trying to keep Revata by her, the rest of her children and grandchildren having left the world, is given in *Dhammapada Commentary*, ii. 188 *f.* Dr. Burlingame is bringing out a complete translation of this lengthy but interesting work.

Man Beloved ; or (3) with VĀKKALI, tearing himself from that Beloved's presence ; or (4) with KASSAPA the Great, vainly trying to escape his last marriage with her who had been fit mate to him in previous lives. But it is no less pleasant to learn a little more than the mere name of others : to see, as we read SUMANGALA'S rough-hewn words, the toil- and soil-stained peasants at work in the fields, or ' Rags-and-Rice ' casting wistful glances at his old discarded gear ; to feel behind LOMASA-KANGIYA'S doughty words the mother's fears, or the father's in JAMBUGĀMIKA'S letter, or the midnight horrors from which little SOPĀKA is rescued ; or to bear in mind, as we read their delightful verses, EKA-VIHĀRIYA'S court-bred youth, and the dramatic and rhetorical proficiency of TĀLAPUṬA. For the majority of these Theras, apart from their name in the Anthology, and their legend in the Commentary, are strangers to the Canon. And it is noteworthy that the finer poems belong, on the whole, to these, rather than to the Theras who rank high in Vinaya and Suttanta.

In the limited if earnest lines collected under the great names of SĀRIPUṬA, MOGGALLĀNA, KOṬṬHITA, KAPPINA, PUNNA-MANTĀNI-PUTTA, we see no such poetic gift letting itself go as is heard in the musical, sparkling cadences of Kājudāyin's opening :

*Angārino 'dāni dumā, bhadante,
phalesino chadanaṇ vippahāya. . . . (527),*

in the deep and solemn rapture of BHŪTA :

*yadā nabhe gajjati meghadundubhi
dhārākulā vihangapathe samantato. . . . (522),*

in the culminating roll of splendid compounds describing the Ariyan Path by MIGAJĀLA, beginning

Sudesito Cakkhumatā Buddhen' ādiccabandhunā. . . . (417),

in the swift stride, full of verve and grace, of Ekavi-hāriya's forest song :

vane kusumasañchanna pabbhāre nūna sītale. . . . (545),

or in the long-drawn sighs of TĀLAPUṬA's aspirations :

*kadā nu 'haṇ pabbatakandarāsu ekākiyo addutiyo vihassaṇ. . . .
 . . . taṇ me idaṇ taṇ nu kadā bhavissati? (1091)*

Such lines as these, and many more, simply as word-music, we may place without hesitation beside any passage of Keats and Shelley. The authors were doubtless capable of composing at least as much as did these two splendid minstrels, and it is possible that they concentrated their efforts, not on missionary or pastoral labours, but on versification. The worse luck for the world that such scanty portions should have been preserved !

Such matters Dhammapāla does not discuss. The only distinction he draws between the Theras is to classify them, in his concluding remarks, not into (A) the eleven or twelve leading Theras usually grouped in the Vinaya, and (B) the rest, viz. :

(A) Sāriputta		Cunda the Great
Moggallāna the Great		Anuruddha
Kassapa	„ „	Revata
Kaccāna	„ „	Upāli
Koṭṭhita	„ „	Ānanda
Kappina	„ „	Rāhula,

and (B) the other 247 ; nor into the 41 *Agga-sāvaka* of the *Anguttara*,¹ and the rest ; but into Great (*mahā*) and Ordinary (*pakati*) *sāvaka*, making together the company of *Agga-sāvaka*. Of these the former (Great) were 80 in number, and he proceeds to enumerate 64 only of the 80, made up of 48 of the poet Theras, and 16 others most of whom do not occur in the Canon. 'Why are these called Great Disciples? Because of the greatness of their Resolve (*abhinihāra*),' resulting in, it would seem, a more perfect evolution of knowledge in their last birth. Into his discourse on this point space will not allow further inquiry. But all

¹ *Anguttara Nikāya*, i. 28-5. With the exception of two, Bāhiya Dārucīriya (*cf. Dhammapada Commentary*, ii. 209 *f.*) and Sāgata, all of these distinguished followers are represented in the *Theragāthā*.

whom his list terms *Mahā-sāvaka* are printed in the list above in capitals (p. ix f.).

We may, finally, note what the Commentary has to say concerning the monachistic proclivities of the poet-Theras, and, in particular, concerning an openly confessed love of, and admiration for, nature, strong enough in the hearts of some of these votaries of renunciation to invest their psalms with a glowing if gentle paganism, such as we have often complacently claimed as a monopoly of our modern poetry.¹ That the members of the Order were advised to cultivate the art of solitude, not only in the cell, but also and much more in the 'empty places' (*suññāgārā*) of nature, is not only confessed to in these poems but is borne out by Vinaya and Suttanta. We read of the founder betraying a predilection for solitude, and that not within walls, but away in the forest.² Herein he confesses sympathy with the elephant (*cf.* Udāyin's poem CCXLVII.) which has broken away from the herd, with the 'rhinoceros wandering alone.'³ Was it not a wrench to leave that 'happy ease here alone, unaccompanied,' to go forth and spread the daily 'net of insight' to catch men? And solitude is commended to the disciple both for the better compassing of his own consummation :—

*'If a bhikkhu should desire . . . to know and realize and win Arahantship, emancipation of heart and mind, let him fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone ;'*⁴

¹ This opinion finds expression again in Mr. Havelock Ellis's 'The Love of Wild Nature' (*Contemp. Rev.*, February, 1909) : 'It is highly improbable that any earlier or non-Christian writer had ever broken out into such a eulogy of the desert as we find . . . in Jerome's delightful epistles.' Dr. Winternitz's book bears testimony to this feeling for nature in other branches of Indian literature beside the Buddhist (i. 7,404). But the latter strikes a more intimate note.

² *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 812 f.

³ *Sutta-Nipāta*, 'Khaggavisāna-Sutta.'

⁴ 'Ākankheyya-Sutta,' *Majjhima Nikāya*, translated in Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Suttas*, S.B.E., xi. *Cf.* *Sutta-Nipāta*, verses 84 f.

and also, in the intervals of his duties towards others, to restore vigour and maintain spiritual tone. There were woods and groves adjacent to most of the cities that witnessed the growth of Buddhism, although, for some of our recluses, nothing short of the deeper recesses of wild jungle sufficed.¹ But most consonant with the stronger temperaments were ever the heights:—the fells dominating the meads of Magadha above Rājgir, or the foothills of Northern Kosala (Nepal and Sikkim), beyond which towered the snowy ramparts of mysterious Himavā:—

‘*te sclā ramayanti maṇ.*’²

Such retreats were ‘clean and pure,’ ‘a hiding-place from the many-folk,’ and the haunt of saintly climbers³ like great KASSAPA, presences to fortify, not disturb:—

‘*Lone heights where saintly Rishis oft resort.*’

‘Is’t here, is’t there,’ in such scenes some of the best poets of these Theras, ‘become at heart like creatures of the wild’ (*migabhūtena cetasā*), sought and found fit accompaniment to the story of their struggles and their victory.

On all this Dhammapāla’s narrative touches but lightly, finding nothing morbid or exceptional about it. They ‘loved the woods,’ he simply remarks; ‘it was to show the charm of the forest that he replied’ . . . and so on. It is only with regard to the one purely pagan poem—that of SABBAKA (CXCVI.)—that his language has a touch of apology in it that is delightful:—‘And because he showed herein his delight in *empty places*, this became the Thera’s confession of aññā.⁴ Of pathetic interest, too, is the little

¹ Cf. CCXL. and others.

² ‘They, the crags, are my delight.’ See Kassapa’s refrain, CCLXI.

³ *Milinda*, ii. 358.

⁴ *Majjhima*, i. 450; ii. 121. It is a not infrequent conclusion to a Sutta for the Buddha to say: ‘Now have I made this clear to you. Here, bhikkhus, are the roots of trees; here are *empty places*. Meditate; be earnest lest hereafter ye regret.’ . . . *E.g.*, *Majjhima*, i. 118; iii. 302.

background of legend behind Woodland-Vaccha (XIII.), lover of the woods and born there, because his mother, yearning to see them, had ventured thither on an ill-timed excursion. So fleeting as is this mother's form in the picture, it yet shows that the love of nature, if it finds no expression in the Sisters' verses, was not unknown to the heart of the Indian woman, but was part of that which lay under her silence of the centuries, only finding an outlet through her sons.

On the absence of this nature-love in the Sisters' poems I have dealt with elsewhere. Man could afford so much better to range 'alone like the rhinoceros'¹ in the wild than woman, whom for so many centuries he had driven within doors, and looked upon as a prisoner of state, or as a serf. And we can only guess that the sense of the great Mother's touch was on them, too, sometimes by a brief line here and there, reminding us, with an almost poignant pathos, as I have said, of the halting notes of a bird first let out into the woods from its cage.²

The leaning of so many of our Theras, however, to prolonged spells of monachistic life in wild, or, at least, retired places, is perhaps not a safe guide by which to judge the early Buddhist Order generally. That Order gathered into itself every variety of temperament, every grade of religious capacity. Many of them were quite unfit for various reasons to make religious progress in solitude.³ And in one of Thera SUBHŪTI's verses, not included in this collection, he summons the unfit to leave it:—

*' Infected as thou art by lust,
By ill-will and illusion's taint,
Come thou away and leave the wood !
This is the home of souls made pure,
Of stainless anchorites austere.
Defile not thou the purified ;
Come thou away and leave the wood !' ⁴*

¹ *The Quest*, 'Love of Nature in Buddhist Poems,' April, 1910; e.g., *Sisters*, i. 28, 150.

² *Ibid.*

³ Cf. *Ang.*, iii. 145, as explained by the Commentary quoted by Edmund Hardy in vol. v. 392.

⁴ *Milinda*, ii. 315.

In fact, only the Arahant is pronounced to be really fit to dwell in such solitudes.¹ And even among the Theras themselves we find instances of unfitness for the monachistic life, both through immaturity of training and through individual temperament—MEGHIYA, for instance (LXVI.), UPĀLI (CLXXX.), and ĀNANDA (CXIX., CCLX.). In CUNDA'S stanzas, and in UPĀLI'S legend, the respective advantages of monachistic and of cenobitic life are defined; and that Upāli's choice of the latter suited his temperament is confirmed by his record in the Vinaya. To judge by his gāthā, he had no distinctively poetic gift. The majority of bhikkhus, whether Theras or not, seem to have dwelt as cenobites in 'Vihāras,' and in close touch with the laity, bound with these in a mutual dependence of give and take, spiritual and material. The Buddha was often largely attended, for there came to be a constant stream of bhikkhus, waiting temporarily upon him, from all directions. When not thus engaged, they probably, if we may judge by the Ceylon of to-day, lived in very small groups in groves or on hills. The Vihāras were not the abbeys and monasteries of medieval Europe, but, for the most part, little groups of huts, fulfilling the work of rectory, *presbytère*, or house of call, where a Thera lived with a novice or two, preached to the laity, counselled them in difficulties, and taught their children.

Some temperaments, on the other hand, as we learn from *gāthā* and commentary, were less well fitted to the quiet routine of a pastor's or a social life.² And among the motives urging them to seek solitude, a poetic gift may very well have counted. And further, as is revealed by the Buddha's encouragement of VANGĪSA'S talent of versifying (CCLIV.), it is probable that a disciple thus gifted would be suffered to cultivate his talent, in the wild or elsewhere, so only he used it to compose poems of sound doctrine, whereof, as I have suggested, this anthology is only a selection that has survived. Justly has Dr. Oldenberg remarked

¹ *Anguttara* iii. 135.

² Cf. Sabbamitta (149); and Kondañña: *What need have I as cenobite to dwell?*

of TĀLAPUṬA'S poem (CCLXII.) : 'Feeling, such as lives in these verses, is conceivable only as the growth of a culture that has won its way through much suffering. And to give expression to it as TĀLAPUṬA has done, could only be done by a poet.'¹ That is to say, by one who has not only an imperative need of articulate self-expression, but who has also been able to devote himself, not as an amateur otherwise busy, but outright, to the cultivation of the art of verbal self-expression. Briefly stated, our monachistic Theras sought out Nature as much because they were poets and children of Nature as because they were arahants. They present a unique blend of religious maturity, primeval shyness, and æsthetic sensitiveness. And very probably, given an efficient state of organization in the Order, to such exceptionally gifted men, exceptional leisure was accorded as a necessity for their proper development, and not in any way a concession to ethical slackness, or pagan and atavistic instincts.

These considerations apply, I need hardly say, only to those of the monachistically disposed Theras whose poetic talent was fruitful. It may be said that much leisure and lonely self-communing was not required to turn out many of the short poems composing the majority of this collection. This is true. Not only is the literary gift in them very unequal, but unequal, too, is the florescence of any poetic capacity in the lives of most. Some writers of prose will confess, that at one period only of their lives 'everything seemed to run to metre' and even rhyme. Some conjuncture of notable external experience and responsive internal development, recipient and synergic, has supervened, and for a brief space the rhythm of being becomes rhythmically articulate. Such a period must have been the spiritual crisis and the consciousness of spiritual victory in these authors, impelling them to a rhythmic *udāna*, 'a breathing forth' of the tale, however brief, of their deep emotion. Possibly thereafter they relapsed into the prose of the religious life, teaching only by catechism, by protests, by the force of a blameless life.

¹ *Literatur des alten Indien*, 1910, 102.

But with respect to such brief utterances I repeat, that the Anthology before us probably no more represents the total poetic output of pre-Asokan Theras than such a collection as, say, our Golden Treasury, exhausts the verses of our own poets. This is borne out by the quite remarkable minor anthology that may be formed out of the Thera verses—all by authors represented in this book—which are quoted in Chapter VII. of the *Questions of King Milinda*, not to mention those in the *Divyāradāna*, and which are briefly discussed in my Appendix. There is nothing in our Commentary to suggest, even in the assortment given under the last few Psalms, that the collection was considered as exhaustive.

* * * * *

A volume might be written on the ideas and ideals revealed in the Theragāthā, but the poems must speak for themselves, so far as they may, in their present ill-made English garb. I have ventured to call them 'psalms,' because they indisputably satisfy the dictionary definition of psalms:—they are 'spiritual songs.' Varied, too, as in the Hebrew Anthology, is their burden. Here and there is a number that lends itself to a ritual hymn, such as METTAJI'S:¹

*' All glory to th' Exalted One,
Our splendid Lord, the Sākiyas' son !' . . .*

and others of the first Canto, or such as KUMĀRA-KASAPA'S of the second Canto:—

' All hail the Buddhas, and all hail the Norms !' . . .²

and one or two others with refrains. And who shall say that when I-Tsing heard the choric chanting of bhikkhus round stūpas in the cool of the day, it was not these Theras' psalms to which he listened, and not always those of Mātriceta's more prolific muse?³

¹ XCIV.; cf. XLVII.

² CLXI.

³ I-Tsing's *Record of the Buddhist Religion*, A.D. 671-95. Translated by J. Takakusu.

Now and again our gāthās show another link with the Hebrew Psalms—namely, when they tell of *pre-Arahant* aspirations, like SUPPIYA'S :¹

*' O would that I who hourly waste, might change
For that which ne'er decays—' . . .*

or like the ampler yearnings of TĀLAPUṬA ;² or when, as in the second part of the latter's poem, in ANŪPAMA'S, or in VĪJITASENA'S verses, they record *pre-Arahant* wrestlings with the *chitta* :—the rational consciousness taming the impulsive consciousness, 'heart,' or 'soul'—or tell of back-sliding in the upward way, and self-recovery, such as fills much of the Hebrew Anthology, a work professedly not written by Arahants.

But for the most part—and discounting all but the poems which are, in brief or more fully, so many stories of the heart—these Psalms of the Brethren, no less than those of the Sisters, confirm both their prose legends and the introductory stanzas in bearing testimony less to present struggle and upward aspiration, than to a consciousness of absolute victory and final attainment, cessation of toil, completed introspective sanctification. Outward work on the 'many folk,' and on brethren and pupils remained ; but the work on self is done :—

. . . ' now am I adept !' ³

They may describe divers spiritual conflicts of days gone by, like those of TELAKĀNI OR UTTARAPĀLA, but when the day of days, the meridian of present Arahantship is the theme, then is their melody so far unisonal as to resemble in part that which Christians sing only after the believer's death :—

' Now the labourer's task is o'er !'

So the great KASSAPA of himself during his lifetime :—

' His task is done, and he is sane, immune.'

¹ XXXII.

² CCLXII.

³ (334).

So ĀNANDA :—

'Gone are the chains, the barriers all behind.'

And AÑÑĀ-KONDAÑÑĀ :—

*'Sloughed off have I the dyings and the births,
Wholly accomplishing the life sublime.'*

And very many other lines might be quoted.

The 'refrains' harp on a system (*sāsana*) which is 'done,' a quest of highest good which is won, a load laid down once for all, a cessation of further life-force as imminent, and patiently awaited. That the Arahant is immune and cannot 'fall from grace' is a conviction that much of the *Kathā-Vatthu* was compiled to emphasize. He had consummated; he had his reward. And the Thera poets and their Sister poets were ranked as saints of this kind.

Yet the early Buddhist standard of saintship was apparently not one that could accurately be called lax, or vaguely conceived. It was held to be realizable under temporal conditions, but they alone could realize that supreme attainment whose evolution was matured. And as for saints in all ages, so especially for these arahants, with their outlook on life as a thing completed, an abnormal, exceptional standard of values and of satisfactions is needed. They were the religious aristocracy of their age. The Christian saint, like the Hebrew psalmist, never forgets the residual human frailty in himself, and leans perpetually on Divine sources to renew his strength :—

*'Wein und Brod des letzten Mahles
Wandelt' einst der Herr des Grales
Durch des Mitleids Liebesmacht
In das Blut das Er vergoss,
In den Leib den dar Er bracht'. . . .'*

The Arahant has *evolved* into that fifth and ultimate order of his universe: *dhammatā*, or the order (*niyama*) of the Norm (*cf.* verse 712), wherein holiness is the *natural* expression of his mental and moral being :—

'O see the seemly order of the Norm !'

It is a curious fact that, whereas there is perhaps nothing in which human beings vary so much as in the nature and extent of their religious needs and ideals, religion is the sphere in which we are the most determined to be democratic. Before the Most High of the creeds, all men are equal. 'All have sinned and come short,' 'all we like sheep have gone astray.' . . . But while this is true, the range of divergence in errancy and home-returning is lost sight of, and saintly possibilities get reduced to a relatively low level. We speak vaguely of saints, but all we judge a creed need cater for 'here below' is sinners.

India has judged otherwise. In its doctrine of the individual life as an immensely prolonged self-transmitting and evolving force, Buddhism saw in every individual at any given moment a phase of that evolution. During such phases the religious ideals of the individual were those of the layman, or of the average *religieux*:—moral health, the gentle teaching of the Blessed Masters, the well-kept Sabbaths, the pious vows in illness, the docile solemnity at funerals, the aspiration to dwell hereafter with the gods, and so forth. But finally, one individual among a million or so reaches that final stage of life in which his evolution is consummated. The consciousness that this is so comes to him perhaps as the quiet but wonderful awakening from a sleep in which long and fevered dreams had harassed him; or again by the impressive word of a teacher; or again by a terrible rupture of his happiness, as with Hārīta:—'and he enjoying his lot with her . . . his wife was bitten by a black snake and died.' And lo! the long-maturing plant bursts into flower. The humanity, which had been latently perfecting itself, void of all greed, enmity, or illusion, reaches heights of insight and power of will undreamt of before. A vision of the ideal order in the cosmos is revealed. Awake like unto the great Awakened of all time, he tastes a wonderful joy in contemplating, as with the eye of a god, the things that are and the way in which they have come to be, or he reaches out hands to guide and bless his less fortunate fellowmen. They listen as they worship

and piously aspire, then go forth to work and play, much as they who have just arisen from a dream. But for him, it is they who have gone back to dreamland; for him, with all the light of a new spiritual day about him, with a vision ineffable of what the vistas of the past have led up to for him, now only is he truly, once for all, and always, *buddho*—awake.

And so great was the zest and joy of these altered ideals and widened retrospects, so deep the peace and calm following on the complete emptying himself of the world's standard of values as the greater presences arose and filled the scene, that all questions concerning any fate awaiting him beyond this most wonderful present were blotted out. The moment of all the ages had come; beyond that time for him was not. In casting out that which insured life's renewal, he had laid low the ancient burden of that life's tale. And how could he conceive a future existence of travel elsewhere, whose boat had already grounded on the shore of the beyond? No forward view remained for him who was there already, who was *pāragū*.¹

We may call these men and women sick in a sick age. If so, it was of a fairly divine distemper, and one that does not wholly show symptoms of decadence or senility. For it attacked chiefly the young. 'Why have *you* who have suffered in nothing, left the world²?' these men and women in the prime of life were asked. And the temper of these is not at all languid, weary, or disgusted with the fact that, as victorious, they yet live. Again, in depreciating the human body (as deserving to be *anything more* than a healthy instrument for spiritual life), they do not speak of it as a weary machine, running down day by day, nearly so much as of a clumsy and offensive and most unfortunately constructed complex.

Not theirs, again, because 'we walk ever near to death,'³ to eat, drink and be merry. Were they to do so, that 'death who puts an end to ills,' when it is final, would

¹ Verses 766 ; 748, 771.

² Cf. *Ratthapāla*, p. 304.

³ Verses 278, n. 2.

be multiplied into a myriad more successive dyings. Not theirs too, the foolishness of seeking to hold, and to quarrel that they might hold; it is only they who 'never really understand that we are here but for a little spell' who quarrel.¹ Again, the distemper made the Arahant as fearless as the Christian martyr. Humans are, perhaps, on the whole braver than they were—anyway, the felt conquest of fear is a distinct feature in the Psalms, notably in the Brethren's. The Sisters barely echo this sentiment. 'No fear cometh' [in Nibbāna], says one, and another calls her Saviour 'Akuto-bhayaṅ,' 'Him who hath the No-whence [cometh] fear.'² But both sexes exult in a calm serenity and fortitude that can face hardship, suffering, and, like young ADHIMUTTA,³ death, in spite of—they would say, because of—their conviction :

*'Now is there no more coming back to be!'*⁴

Diseased then they may have been, yet did their ailment thrive with an ethics that kept their lives pure, and sweet, and steadfast and very largely occupied with pastoral and missionary effort.

*'With all am I a friend, comrade to all,
And to all creatures kind and merciful.'*⁵

*'One should exhort, one should instruct, forbid,
Hinder that which is mischievous and wrong.'*⁶

They stood for the social reforms of their day, teaching goodness, amity, the simple life, the abolition of sacrificial and other slaughter, and of the barriers of rank and

¹ Sabhiya's poem, read superficially, may seem trite. To me it was a striking echo of M. Bergson's voice at his second London lecture, 1911: '. . . that death of each of us, in which we do not *really* believe. Why do I say that? Because, if we *really* believed that we should each of us die, we should act so differently from what we do.' And it is no less haunting.

² *Sisters*, verses 135, 512.

³ CCXLVIII.

⁴ Silavat is teaching the quite immature when he adverts to the 'joys of heaven' (CCXLI).

⁵ Verse 648.

⁶ Verse 994.

caste. Immunity from the microbe of arahantship is no matter for much complacency.

But to return to that most distinctive feature of all:— the absence of all joy in the forward view. I am not dogmatizing here on the unrevealed mystery of a spaceless, timeless *trans-mortality*, possibly comprised in the concept of the Arahant's destiny. Freed from the fetters of 'life,' everything not of life was possible. But nothing was thinkable, much less describable.¹ All that need here be said is that these poets are entirely and orthodoxly un-speculative. Emerson described them unawares: 'Of immortality the soul, when well employed, is incurious. It is so well that it is sure it will be well.' There are many readers of to-day ready to acquiesce in the Thera's refrain of quiet patience in awaiting the end of life's ebb-tide,² if not in SĀRIPUTTA's exultation:

*'Lo! now my going-out complete will be.
From all am I released and utterly.'*³

OR ANURUDDHA'S:—

*'And I 'neath bamboo-thicket's shade that day
Sane and immune, shall wholly pass away.'*⁴

Their only stricture hereupon may be, that a yet more saintly Sāriputta would have aspired to yet further, even to an infinite series of rebirths, wherein he might, with ever-growing power and self-devotion, work for the furtherance of the religious evolution of his fellows.

But social and religious ideals evolve out of, yea, and even beyond the finished work and time-straitened vision of the Arahants of old. It is unreasonable to seek, in ancient ideals, the illimitable faith and hope of the democracy of

¹ The reader is referred to Dr. Oldenberg's judicious discussion of passages bearing on this point. *Buddha*, 5th ed., 313-36.

² *E.g.*, verses 606, 607.

³ Verses 1002 *f.*, 1017. See also Revata, 658.

⁴ Verse 919.

the spirit now abroad. If now there dawns for many
the hope

*'That in a world of larger scope
What here is faithfully begun,
Shall be continued, not undone,'*

which is a neo-Christian approximation to the Indian faith in rebirth—it is not because our tradition has nursed us in the belief of an immortality of noble work. And Buddhist ideals may have been growing too. Else let them say with the Christian, in the sublime words of Elijah: 'Lord, now let me die, for I am no better than my fathers!' Let us look to it, in discerning 'motes' in the Arahant vision, that there is no 'beam' in our historical consideration of that past by which we have learnt, thus far, to see.

It remains that a note of the joy of victory in reviewing a past out of which a man or woman has fought his or her way to what is felt as 'salvation,' can claim the sympathy of the religious reader, irrespective of beliefs concerning the future. To read with sympathy is better than to depreciate the Theras' view of saintship for being the conquering of a peak, rather than a further achievement of indefinitely prolonged arrête-climbing.

It should also be noted that not all the poems, nor every theme in them is equally of the nature of a swan's song. The release from Ill, in the release from the rebirths that lead to more Ill, is, no doubt, the ground-wave of the tide of blissful emotion. But there are other themes. Now it is the sublime Teacher:—physician, deliverer, tamer, and guide, comforter in trouble, presence supremely inspiring:

'The Master hath my fealty and love,'—

who could discern the maturing conditions shining in the heart of the poor scavenger, terrified orphan, or squalid fakir, no less than in that of noble or cultured Brahmin. Nobly and worthily is his spiritual descent and glorious mission appraised:—

*'The self-same Path by which Vipassi went. . . .
Lo! now to us there cometh Gotama.'*

*'For if i' faith some Man the world's corruptions
Sweep not away, as wind the lowering clouds,
The world were shrouded wholly in thick darkness,
And e'en the brighter minds would lose their light.'*¹

Now it is the saving, missionary spirit, exhorting contemporaries, or bewailing the religious decay of posterity, that should follow the golden morning of a renascent Norm. Again, it is the happy ease attending life purified and simplified, the cool and steadfast pulse in place of the old fevered fret and longing; and greatly, as we have seen, is that joy intensified when felt through 'the calm great nights and days'² of life in the wild, and in freedom from the wearing irk and jar of the world's nightmare dream.

I have added (in the Appendix) a roughly approximate table of those matters concerning which the psalms constitute, in Thera-phrase, a 'lion's roar,' or song of victory, or of religious testimony. This may serve not only for comparison with a similar table in the companion volume of the Sisters, but also to show how far are these verses from sameness and monotony, *even when* viewed apart from the particular circumstances of each singer.³ Not all of these themes will appeal to all of us, but it is not given to man to prescribe unity for man either in Path or Goal. I can remember as a child hearing in my home divines discussing hymns. And one, a muscular parish priest, derided the hymn—

*'O Paradise! O Paradise!
'Tis weary waiting here.
I want to be where Jesus is;
To see, to feel Him near!'*

as unworthy of Christians who were zealous to work for him here and not weary in well-doing. 'But,' remarked a gentle, wistful-eyed man from Oxford, 'was there not once a tired saint who wrote of himself: "having a desire to depart and be with Christ, which is far better"?'⁴

¹ Verses 490, 1268.

² W. Watson.

³ Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

⁴ *Philippians* i. 23.

In the Thera-hymns is a like manifold of harmonies for those who are not sunk over the ears in one tradition only. If the psalms of Arahants suit moderns no more than they will have suited the immature layman and cleric of Asoka's days and earlier, let us not say, So much the worse for the moderns! Let the latter be willing to admit a certain aristocracy in the evolution of the religious spirit. Let it be frankly understood as not implying any morbid symptoms in the saint, or incapacity for either vision or growth in us who, from the Theras' point of view, may all be, as Edwin Arnold's line has it, 'on the upward way,' but are yet at all degrees of distance from the top. The 'many-folk' (*puthujjana*) could play with religion, put it on and doff it again. The *sāvaka* could not so compromise. When the former are now and again confronted by the dread shapes—

*'Like forest fires behold them drawing nigh :—
Disease, decay, and death, dread trinity,'¹*

they stay awhile to listen to Thera-strains. For the Thera this was no transient mood, but one that had diverted the whole current of his life, setting him apart and 'free':

*Tato cittay vimucoi me !
O then my heart was set at liberty !²*

Out of joint thenceforth with the ways of those who temporized, he felt only safe and at ease precisely when conscious, or at least sub-conscious of this misfit. His is a bliss which rings for him the more truly precisely in proportion as it is not consonant with the joys of the immature.

* * * * *

To other more competent hands I leave the fascinating task of bringing these 'Varieties of Religious Experience'—unknown, alas! to W. James, as to his successors thus far in that field—into comparison with the religious self-expression of other lands and other times, as well as with other Indian literature. Just as both Dr. Winternitz recently, and Professor Ed. Müller, thirteen

¹ Verse 450.

² Cf. verse 640 f., and *passim*.

years ago, have already compared Sister Subhā with SS. Lucy and Bridget (*op. cit.*, 86, 1, quoting the latter authority); just as, in the photographs before me of S. Caterina's home, a fresco shows her repeating Sumedhā's cutting off her own hair to force the hand of those who would keep her from 'going forth'; and just as Kisāgotamī may be said to have quite a little comparative literature of her own,¹ so among the Brethren might a number of interesting parallels be discovered. The present volume is but a pioneer attempt to present the poems and some of their prose in English dress, in the hope that this may facilitate worthier treatment by the more competent.

The metres which alternate nearly always between the *śloka*, and variants in *trishṭubh* and *jagatī*,² are another subject awaiting competent discussion in a field where the rules of prosody have been decided only by later forms of poetry. In the Brethren's poems, whatever be the cause, the metre is changed during the poem oftener than is the case with the Sisters. Such changes have been indicated by some corresponding change in the English metre.

The crude forms (Ānanda for Ānando, etc.) used for the names involve more difficulties than is the case with the more uniform terminations of female names; and the choice, where the crude form is, in vocative case or compound, not a hard and fast rule, will find critics, and to what extent it really matters, deservedly so.

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C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

¹ Cf J. H. Thiessen's essay, *Die Legende von Kisāgotamī*, 1880, already quite a venerable work in the growing literature of Indological research.

² See verses (417), (527), (522) respectively.

PSALMS OF THE BRETHREN
WITH SELECTIONS FROM THE
CHRONICLE IN DHAMMAPĀLA'S COMMENTARY,
ENTITLED
'PARAMATTHA-DĪPANI' (PART V.)

PSALMS OF THE BRETHERN

(THERA-GĀTHĀ)

Honour to the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme.

*As to the call of distant lions' roar
Resounding from the hollow of the hills,
List to the psalms of them whose selves were trained,
Telling us messages anent themselves :
How they were named, and what their kin, and how
They kept the Faith, and how they found Release.*

*Wise and unfaltering they lived their lives ;
Now here, now there they saw the Vision gleam ;
They reached, they touched the ageless, deathless Way ;
And retrospective of th' accomplished End,
They set to speech these matters of their quest.¹*

¹ These verses, writes Dhammapāla, 'were composed by the venerable Ananda, at the time of the First Council, in praise of these Theras':— a pious but unsupported tradition. 'Distant lions' is in the Pali 'toothed lions.' 'Faith' is Dhamma. 'Way' is *paḍaṇ*, a word of wide import, defined in the Commentary thus: 'Nibbāna, so called from its being unmixed with conditioned things, and from the necessity of practising (or walking in) it by those who seek it.' Cf. XCII., n.

The opening simile has older precedents, notably in a stanza ascribed to the Master himself :

*But they who in the bosom of the hills
Sit with heart thoroughly purged and well-composed,
Like to so many lions crouching still,
Are vanquishers over the creeping dread,
White-minded, pure, serene and undefiled.*

Dialogues of the Buddha, li. 285.

CANTO I

PSALMS OF SINGLE VERSES

PART I

I

Subhūti.

REBORN in the time of our Buddha at Sāvattihī, in the family of councillor Sumana, younger brother of Anāthapiṇḍika, he was named Subhūti.¹ Now on the day when the Jeta Grove, purchased by his uncle, was presented to the Exalted One, Subhūti was present, and when he heard the Norm, he found faith and left the world. Receiving ordination, he mastered the two categories (of Vināya rules).² Thereafter a subject for exercise in meditation was given him to learn, and he went into the forest and practised it. Developing insight on the basis of love-jhāna,³ he won arahantship. And he, teaching the Norm without distinctions or limitations, became chief among the brethren who cultivated universal amity. And because, while going round for alms, he fell, at house after house,

¹ In the days of Padumuttara Buddha, æons earlier, when this Thera was said to have made the resolve that determined the rest of his existence, he was named Nanda. The Chronicle here gives a brief account of the building of the Vihāra, the great college, in Jeta's Grove, by his uncle, as told more fully in the introduction to the Jātakas. See Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. 130.

² See *Vinaya Texts*, i. 278; iii. 2, n. 'Norm' is 'Dhamma.'

³ Rapt but ordered mentality, induced by some specified mode of self-hypnosis, and here concentrated on suffusing its objects with universal goodwill (*Bud. Psy.*, 65 ff.; *Vibhanga*, 277).

into love-jhāna, taking his alms when he emerged from reverie, this was judged to bring great reward to his almoners, and he became chief among them that were held worthy of gifts. Wherefore the Exalted One said: 'Subhūti, bhikkhus, is the chief of my bhikkhu-disciples in universal¹ amity, and chief among such as are held worthy of gifts.² . . .

So this great Brother, travelling about the land for the good of the many, came in due course to Rājagaha. King Bimbisāra heard of his coming, and went to salute him, bidding him, 'Here, your reverence, be pleased to dwell, and I will make you a dwelling-place.' But, going thence, he forgot. The Brother, receiving no shelter, meditated in the open air. And because of the Brother's dignity, the god rained not, so that the people were oppressed with the drought and raised a tumult at the door of the king's house. The king asked himself for what reason the god rained not, and judged it must be because the Brother was in the open. So he had a leaf-hut made for him, and saluted him, saying, 'Be pleased, lord, to dwell in this leaf-hut,' and so departed. The Brother entered, and seated himself cross-legged on the couch of hay. Then the rain began to drip drop by drop, not in a torrent. But the Brother, wishing to allay the people's fear of drought, declared the absence of any danger to himself from without, or from within, by uttering the verse:

Well-roofed and pleasant is my little hut,
 And screened from winds—Rain at thy will,
 thou god!
 My heart is well composed, my heart is free,
 And ardent is my mood. Now rain, god! rain.³ (1)

¹ *Anodissaka*. See my review of Dr. A. C. Taylor's edition of the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, *JRAS*, January, 1905.

² See *Anguttara Nikāya*, i. 24, where a number of brethren, sisters and the laity are formally recognized as excelling each in a specific attainment.

³ Dhammapāla states that *deva* here refers to the spirit or deity of the thunder-cloud, Pajjunna, or Parjanya—*idhūpi meghe Pajjunne vā*

Thus verily did the venerable Brother Subhūti utter his Psalm.¹

And the verse was his confession of Aññā.

II

Koṭṭhita the Great.

Reborn in this Buddha-age² at Sāvattihī, in a very wealthy clan of brahmins, he was named Koṭṭhita.³ When he was come of age he had learned the three Vedas, and perfected himself in the accomplishments of a brahmin. He heard the Master preach the Norm, found faith, and entered the Order. Practising insight from the day of his ordination he attained arahantship, together with thorough mastery of the form and meaning of the Norm.⁴ As proficient

daṭṭhabbo. Sutta-Nipāta, verse 18; Rhys Davids, *American Lectures*, 167 ff.; *Buddhist India*, 386. Cf. LI.-LIV., CLV.

The Commentary leaves the option of seeing in 'hut' a metaphor for the body. This being in good training through discipline, the 'heart' no less so through jhāna, and insight, through knowledge, the verse gives in miniature the end of the threefold *sikkhā* (training). See my *Buddhism*, chap. viii.; cf. below, LVII., etc.

¹ This affirmation is canonical matter, doubtless by the editors. The following sentence is the Commentator's. 'Aññā' means gnosis or intuitive enlightenment, constituting the guarantee of Arahantship. *Majjhima*, i. 479; *Saṃyutta*, ii. 221.

We meet with Thera Subhūti elsewhere only in *Udāna*, vi. 7, where the Buddha commends his proficiency in meditation, and in *Questions of King Milinda*, ii. 315, 323, where his verses (not found elsewhere) are quoted. See Appendix (below).

² *Imasmīy Buddhuppāde*. Lit., not 'age,' but arising, advent. The period, however, includes the whole, *i.e.*, the last life, of the great teacher; hence only 'age' seemed to fit. The phrase alternates with *kālo*, *samayo*, 'time.'

³ Pronounced Kott'hita. The name is also recorded as Koṭṭhika and Koṭika. The Thera is evidently the one included among the 'Great Elders' in Vinaya and Suttanta, the interlocutor in several Suttas—*e.g.*, *Majjhima Nikāya*, i. 292; *Saṃyutta Nik.*, ii. 112; *Ang. Nik.*, i. 24, etc. See *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 112, 317; iii. 359.

⁴ On this technical phrase, see *Sisters*, p. 17, n. 1.

herein he used to question the great Theras and Him-of-the-Ten-Powers¹ about them. Hence it came that he was held chief of those who were thus proficient. Then the Master, having shown his attainments in the Vedalla-Sutta, ranked him chief of those who were proficient in insight.²

He, on a later occasion, conscious of the bliss of emancipation, broke forth in this verse :

Whoso, serene and calm, dead to the world,
Can utter wisdom's runes,³ with wit unswelled,
Unruffled—he doth shake off naughty things
As they were forest leaves by wind-god⁴ blown. (2)

Thus verily did the venerable Brother Mahā-Koṭṭhita utter his psalm.

III

Kankhā-Revata.

(Revata the Doubter.)

He was reborn in the days of our Exalted One in a wealthy family of Sāvattthī. And as he stood in the outermost ring of those who went after dinner to hear Him-of-the-Ten-Powers preach, he believed, and thereupon entered the Order. And he attained arahantship by way of practising jhāna; and so proficient in jhāna did he become, that the Master pronounced him chief of the bhikkhus who practised it.⁵

¹ A title of the Buddha, frequent in scholastic works. It was at first applied equally to Arahants. Cf. *Ang.*, ii. 68; *Samy.*, ii. 28. The powers are enumerated in *Majjh.*, i. 69-71.

² *Ang.*, i. 28; *Majjh.*, i. 202.

³ *Manta* or *mantras*, an allusion to his brahmin or Vedic training. The next two phrases are a rendering of the one word *anuddhato*, which the Commentary connects with *uddhacca*, excitement.

⁴ *Māluto*, wind, may possibly have ceased to suggest the Vedic Māruts, or wind-gods, at this date. Cf. *Sisters*, p. 150.

⁵ *Ang. Nik.*, i. 24.

His task accomplished thus, this great Brother reflected on the inveterate tendency of his mind to doubt,¹ now wholly overcome, and praised the might and wisdom of the Exalted One, whereby his mind was now calm and steadfast, saying :

Behold how great the wisdom is of Them
Who Thus-have-come!² As fire at midnight hour,
Givers of light, givers of sight are they
To those that pass, subduing all their doubt. (3)

Thus verily did the venerable Brother Kankhā-Revata utter his psalm.

IV

Puṇṇa of the Mantānis.

He was reborn in the days of our Exalted One, in an eminent brahmin clan, at the brahmin village of Donavattu, not far from Kapilavattu. He was sister's son of the Elder Kondaṇṇa,³ and was named Puṇṇa. And after performing all the duties of his novitiate, he put forth every effort till he had accomplished the highest duties of a recluse. He thereupon went with his uncle to dwell near the Master, leaving the neighbourhood of Kapilavattu. And thoroughly intent in practice, he not long after became an arahant.

Now Puṇṇa came to have a following of 500 clansmen who had also left the world. And because he himself had

¹ This tendency is mentioned in the *Apadāna*. The soubriquet it earned may have been maintained undeservedly to distinguish Revātā from the more distinguished Mahā-Thera Revata, co-Director of the Council of Vesālī (*Vinaya Texts*, ii. 817 ; cf. 67).

² *Tathāgatā*. For a full exposition of this famous term, the Comy. refers to the *Udāna* and *Iti-Vuttaka* Commentaries. Cf. J. H. Moore, *Sayings of Buddha*, p. 131 ; Sir R. Chalmers, *JRAS*, 1898, 103.

³ See Ps. CXXLVI. His full name distinguishes him from the Puṇṇa of LXX.

acquired the ten bases of discourse,¹ he taught his followers therein till they, too, became experts and arahants. They thereupon desired him to take them to the Master. But he, judging it unfitting to go surrounded by them, bade them go on, and promised to follow them. They, being all fellow-countrymen of Him-of-the-Ten-Powers, walked the sixty yojanas to Rājagaha, and, in the great Vihāra of the Bamboo Grove,² found him and did obeisance to him. Now, when bhikkhus come to Buddhas, the Exalted Ones, it is customary for friendly greetings to be exchanged. Wherefore the Exalted One asked them: 'I hope, brethren, that you are well and have pleasantly rested. Whence come ye?' 'From your own country, lord,' they replied. Then he asked if there were a bhikkhu who knew the Ten Subjects, saying: 'Who, brethren, of such fellow-countrymen of mine is capable, himself a simple liver, to discourse on the simple life?' 'Puṇṇa, lord, the venerable son of the Mantānis.'

And when the Master went from Rājagaha to Sāvattihī, Puṇṇa went thither and, in the Fragrant Chamber,³ was taught the Norm. And Sāriputta, desiring to meet him, went after him to Dark Wood, whither he had gone to meditate on the Master's words, and found him resting beneath a tree. And they discoursed of those words, and had joy of each other, Puṇṇa winning his heart by the parable of the posting by chariot.

Now the Master proclaimed Puṇṇa chief among the bhikkhus in preaching the Norm.⁴ And he one day, reflecting near the Master on the emancipation he had won,

¹ The ten Kathāvatthus, according to the *Abhidūnappadīpikā*, are Simple Living, Content, Detachment, Segregation, Endeavour, Morality, Concentration, Understanding, Emancipation, Knowledge with Insight.

² See *Sisters*, p. 81.

³ The Buddha's own cell at the Jetavana. See *Sisters*, p. 11; *JRAS*, 19.

⁴ *Ang.*, i. 28. The interview with Sāriputta, after the bhikkhus' testimonial, is told in *Majjhima* ('Rathavinīta Sutta'), i. 146 ff. Further testifying to his teaching and influence occurs in *Saṅgy.*, ii. 156; iii. 105 f.

bethought him : ‘ Verily to me and many others, delivered from the round of sorrow, how great a help is communion with good men !’ And with joy and enthusiasm he uttered this verse :

Aye with the good consort, with them
 Who know, who understand, who see the Good.¹
 Great is the Good and deep and hard to see,
 Subtle and delicately fine, to which
 The wise and brave do penetrate, e’en they
 Who strenuous live and lofty vision gain. (4)

Thus verily did the venerable Puṇṇa of the Mantānis utter his psalm.

And the Brother explained that the psalm contained his affirmation of aññā.

V

Dabba.²

(Of the Mallas.)

He came to birth in the family of a clansman of the Mallas,³ at Anupiyā. As a child of seven, he saw the Master when the latter visited his country and home, and was so attracted that he asked his grandmother, his mother having died at his birth,⁴ if he might leave the world under the Master. She brought him to the Master, who bade a bhikkhu ordain him. And the boy, being one in whom past causes and an aspiration were taking effect, realized the Four Paths in succession, in the very act of having his curls cut off.

¹ *Attha*, the subject discussed with Sāriputta.

² Cf. below, verse 1218. On this eminent Brother, see also *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 4-18; *Jātaka*, l. 21; *Udāna*, viii. 9; *Ang. Nik.*, 28.

³ Lit., of a raja of the Mallas, a confederation of independent clans, located by the two great Chinese pilgrim chroniclers on the mountain slopes eastward of the Buddha’s own clan.

⁴ Before his birth, according to the Commentarial tradition.

And when the Master left the Mallas' country for Rājagaha, Dabba, meditating alone, and desirous of devoting his body to the service of the Order, considered that he might both apportion night's lodging and direct to meals. The Master sanctioned his doing so, and his success herein, and his supernormal power herein, lighting the brethren to their lodgings with his shining finger, is told in the Pali narrative.¹

But it was after the baseless calumny,² wherewith the bhikkhus who followed Mettiya and Bhummajaka sought to ruin him, had been condemned by the Order, that the Brother, conscious of his virtuous compassion for others, uttered this verse :

Once hard to tame, by taming tamed is now
Dabba, from doubts released, content, serene.
Victor is Dabba now, and void of fears ;
Perfected³ he and staunch in steadfastness. (5)

Thus verily did the venerable Brother Dabba utter his psalm.

VI

Sīta-Vaniya.

This is the psalm of the venerable Brother Sambhūta. He was reborn at Rājagaha as the son of an eminent

¹ *Vatthu-pāliyaṅ*—viz., in Khandaka IV. See *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 4 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 10-18.

³ *Parinibbuto*. On this Dhammapāla comments: 'There are two *parinibbānas*—the *parinibbāna* of evils (*kilesā*, the "ten torments," or "bases of corruption"; see my *Buddhist Psychological Ethics*, p. 827 ff.), which is the element of Nibbāna, wherewith is yet remaining stuff of life; and *parinibbāna* of *khandhas* (factors of personality), which is the element of Nibbāna without that remainder. Here the former species is meant, inasmuch as there had been an entire putting away by the Path of everything that should be put away.' Cf. *Compendium of Philosophy*, p. 168; my *Buddhism*, p. 191.

brahmin, and named Sambhūta.¹ With his three friends, Bhūmija, Jeyyasena and Abhirādana, he heard the Exalted One preach the Norm, and left the world to enter the Order. While practising the systematic meditation of 'mindfulness respecting the body,' he stayed continually in Sīta-Vana (Cool Wood), and thus became known as Sīta-Vaniya (Cool Woodlander).

And seeing bhikkhus passing by on their way to see the Exalted One, he said: 'Friends, worship the Exalted One for me with speech of mine, and say to him thus' (showing the Master his uninterrupted concern with the Norm):

There is a brother who to Cool Wood gone doth dwell
Alone, content, in meditative ecstasy,
Victorious, no more by creeping dread dismayed,
He mindful watcheth over sense with courage high. (6)

Thus verily did the venerable Brother Sītavaniya utter his psalm.

VII

Bhaliya.

He, with his elder brother Tapussa,² was born in the time of our Exalted One, in the city of Pōkkharavatī, as the son of a caravan-driver. As they were conducting a caravan of carts in a pleasant glade, a muddy place checked their progress. Then a tree-fairy, one of their own kin, showed himself, and said: 'Sirs, the Exalted One hath just attained enlightenment, and for seven weeks abideth fasting in the bliss of emancipation, seated at the root of the King's

¹ This cannot be the Sambhūta of CXCI., verse 9. Of the friends, we meet (probably) only with Bhūmija in *Sany.*, ii. 39.

² In the Commentarial tradition, they were brothers in like circumstances, when Kassapa Buddha lived, and rendered like service then to Kassapa, entreating that they might repeat it in a future life.

Stead tree.¹ Serve him with food; this will long make for your good and happiness.' They, with joyful eagerness, waited not to prepare food, but took rice-cakes and honey, and, leaving the high road, ministered to the Exalted One.

Now when the Exalted One had set rolling the wheel of the Norm at Benares,² he stayed in due course at Rājagaha. There Tapussa and Bhalliya waited on him and heard him teach. The former became a lay-follower, the latter left the world and mastered the six forms of *abhiññā*.³

One day when Māra⁴ appeared to the Brother in fearsome terrifying shape, Bhalliya, manifesting how he had passed beyond all fear, uttered a psalm to Māra's discomfiture:

Whoso hath chased away the Death-king and his host,
E'en as a mighty flood the causeway of frail reeds,
Victor is he, self-tamed. Fear cometh never more.
His is the Goal supreme, and utter steadfastness. (7)

*Thus verily did the venerable Bhalliya utter his psalm.*⁵

VIII

Vīra.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattī, in the family of a minister to King Pasenadi, he was named Vīra.⁶ And when, as befitted his name, he had acquired athletic accomplishments, he became a warrior. Marrying with his parents' consent, a son was born to him. Thereupon,

¹ Cf. *Sisters*, p. 5. This story occurs in *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 81, and in the 'Nidāna-Kathā,' *Bud. Birth Stories*, p. 110, Bhalliya being there Bhallika and Bhalluka. *Ika* and *iya* are interchangeable adjectival terminations.

² His first sermon, etc.

³ Supernormal thought. Cf. p. 82, n. 1.

⁴ Professor Windisch holds there may have been a collection of such Māra or Devil legends (*Māra und Buddha*, 184).

⁵ Henceforth this *obiter dictum* ceases.

⁶ Heroic, strong. Pāse'nādī was King of Kosala, of the same age as the Buddha (*Majjh. Nik.*, ii. 124).

seeing the trouble in the perpetuation of life,¹ he left the world in anguish, and putting forth every effort soon acquired sixfold *abhiññā*. Now when, as arahant, he was living in the bliss of fruition, his former wife tried to lure him back in various ways. But the venerable Vira said: 'This woman, desiring to seduce me, is like one wishing to shake Mount Sineru² with the wing of a gnat.' And he showed her how futile it was by his psalm:

Once hard to tame, by taming now is tamed
 Vira, from doubts released, content, serene;
 Victor is Vira, free from creeping dread;
 His is the goal supreme, and steadfast strength.(8)

The woman, hearing him, was deeply moved, and thought: 'My husband has won to this—what good is domestic life to me?' And she went forth among the Sisters, and soon acquired the Three-fold Lore.³

IX

Pilinda-Vaccha.

Reborn at Sāvattihī as a brahmin's son, before the Exalted One became a Buddha, they named him Pilinda, Vaccha being the name of his clan. He became a recluse, and acquired the charm called the Lesser Gandhāra,⁴ deriving therefrom great renown. But when our Exalted One became Buddha the charm ceased to work. He having learnt that the Greater Gandhāra spell stopped the Less,

¹ Lit., in Saṃsāra, 'continual going on.' Cf. XCIX.

² See *Sisters*, verse 384. Pronounced Sīne'ru.

³ Cf. p. 29, n. 1. This triple acquisition forms three of the six forms of *abhiññā*, or supernormal thought, p. 32, n. 1.

⁴ On the Gandhāra Vijjā, or charm—not, as here, distinguished as twofold—see *Dialogues*, i. 278. Cf. *Jat.*, iv. 498 f. The charm is here said to confer the power both of going through the air and of thought-reading. The identity of this Thera with the Pilinda-Vaccha of Rājagaha (*Vin. Texts*, ii. 61). is doubtful: yet cf. next p., n. 2.

concluded that Gotama the recluse knew the former, and he waited on him in the hope of acquiring it, asking if the chance might be granted him. The Exalted One answered : ' You must leave the world.' He, fancying that this was a preparation for the charm,¹ did so. To him the Exalted One taught the Norm, and gave him exercise in meditation, so that he, the conditions being ripe, attained arahantship.

Now one who, in consequence of Pilinda's guidance in a former birth, had gone to heaven as a deva, waited on him morning and evening out of gratitude. Hence the Brother was distinguished as one dear to the gods, and was ranked chief among the brethren who were such by the Exalted One.²

And Pilinda one day, sitting among the brethren, and reflecting on his success, declared to them how the charm had brought him to the Exalted One uttering this psalm :

O welcome this that came, nor came amiss !
 O goodly was the counsel given to me !
 'Mong divers doctrines mooted among men
 Of all 'twas sure the Best I sought and found. (9)

X

Puṇṇamāsa.

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of Samiddhi, a brahmin of Sāvattihī, he left the world when a son was born to him, and entering the Order under the Exalted One, took the Four Truths as his exercise in meditation, and became an arahant. His former wife sought to seduce him from his faith, visiting him adorned, and with her

¹ This fresh renunciation (*pabbajjā*) must have meant entering the Order, although this is not stated. Contrast with Pilinda's mistaken view, *Dialogues*, i. 278, and iii., XXIV., § 4. Cf. Vagīsa, CCLXIV.

² *Anṅ.* i. 24, the Cv. on which quotes *Udāna*, iii. 6.

child. But the Brother, showing his utter detachment, uttered this psalm :

All longings as to this or other life
 Have I put far from me, as one who hath
 Beta'en himself to truth, whose heart's at peace,
 Who, self-subdued, in all things undefiled,
 Discerns the world's incessant ebb and flow. (10)

Then the woman thinking, ' This holy mán cares not for me nor for the child; I am not able to persuade him,' went away.¹

PART II

XI

Gavaccha the Less.

REBORN as a brahmin at Kosambī, and hearing the Exalted One preach, he entered the Order. At that time the bhikkhus of Kosambī had become contentious.² Then Gavaccha the Less, not taking part with either side, remained steadfast in the Exalted One's admonition, and developing insight, attained to arahantship. And seeing in the bhikkhus' quarrelsome tastes what might have been the downfall of his own good, he reflected with joy and enthusiasm on his own contrasted state, saying :

Abundantly this brother doth rejoice,
 For the blest truths the Buddha hath revealed
 Are his, and he hath won the Path of Peace,
 And his the bliss where worldly cares are stilled. (11)

¹ A curious feature about this story is the repetition of it, again as Puṇṇamāsa's, in Canto II., the Commentator taking no notice of the substantial identity in legend and authorship. See Ps. CXLVI.

² They seem to have been incorrigibly so, in spite of the Buddha's earnest and repeated exhortations (*Majjh.*, i. 820 ff., 513).

XII

Gavaccha the Great.

He was reborn in this Buddha's days as the son of Samiddhi, a brahmin of the village of Nālaka in Magadha. And he entered the Order because Sāriputta¹ had done so, and he knew that Sāriputta was very wise. After he had attained arahantship, and was enjoying the bliss of emancipation, he uttered his psalm to encourage his fellow-disciples to make efforts :

In wisdom strong, guided by virtue's rule, intent,
 To concentration's rapture given, yet vigilant ;
 Partaking of such fare as brings thee only good :
 So in the faith,² with passions quenched, await the
 hour. (12)

XIII

Vanavaccha.

In this Buddha-age he took rebirth at Kapilavatthu, in the brahmin clan of the Vaccha's. He was born in the forest, his mother being taken with travail while walking in the forest which she had yearned to see. He became one of the future Buddha's playmates in the sand. And because he loved the woods, he was known as Woodland-Vaccha.³ Later on, when he had entered the Order, it

¹ His fellow-townsmen. See CCLIX. ; *Sisters*, p. 96.

² *Idha* ; lit., 'here,' 'here below,' is technically used as above, and is so interpreted.

³ As if the legend strove to link him closer to nature, the only two of his former lives mentioned in detail represent him as a tortoise or turtle, and as a dove. The stanza recurs, with others in a similar vein, in Kassapa's poem (CCKLIV.). Again, as with the two Puṇṇamāsa psalms, the Commentator takes no heed of the identity of name, nor of the substantial identity in story and verse. The verse is incorporated in the long poem (CCLXI.).

was in the forest that he strove for and won arahantship. And it was in praise of the forest life that he uttered his psalm, replying to the brethren who asked him: 'What comfort can you get in the forest?' 'Delightful, my friends, are forest and mountain!'—

Craggs with the hue of heaven's blue clouds,
Where lies enbosomed many a shining tarn
Of crystal-clear, cool waters, and whose slopes
The 'herds of Indra'¹ cover and bedeck:
Those are the braes wherein my soul delights. (13)

XIV

Sivaka.

(A Novice attending Brother Vanavaccha.)

In this Buddha-era he was born as the son of Vanavaccha's sister. When his mother heard that her eldest brother Vanavaccha had left the world, had graduated in the Order, and was dwelling in the forest, she said to her son: 'Dear Sivaka, you should leave the world under the Elder, and wait on him; the Elder is getting old now.' He, at this sole bidding of his mother, and because of his previous aspirations, did so and, ministering to his uncle, dwelt in the forest. One day, when he had gone to the outskirts of the village on some

¹ *Indagopaka-sañchannā*, 'covered by Indra's cowherds.' According to the Commentary (cf. Childers, 'a crimson beetle noticeable after rain'), these are coral-red insects (*kimi*), alluded to in connexion with recent rain, but said by some to be a red grass, or by others the kaṇikāra trees (*Pterospermum acerifolium*). To come into a highland or upland picture, these crimson insects must swarm in vast numbers. The cows of Indra—i.e., the clouds—would have filled the background far more easily. The Russians, however, Sir Charles Eliot informs me, call lady-birds 'God's little cows' (*bozhya korovka*); and on upper Alpine pastures in late summer I have seen crimson (? Burnet) moths crowded on the heath. On the colour; cf. *Vin.*, iii. 42.

errand, he fell very ill. And when medicine did not cure him and he came not, the Elder, wondering at the reason, went and found him ill. Administering remedies and tending him the Elder, when dawn was nigh, said: 'Sīvaka, since the time when I left the world, I have not sojourned in the village. Let us go hence into the forest.' Sīvaka answered: 'Sir, even if my body stay now by the village, my heart is in the forest, wherefore though I lie here yet shall I go thither.' Then the Elder took hold of his arm, and led him to the forest exhorting him. He, made steadfast by that admonition, won arahantship.

Thereafter he uttered his psalm, combining his master's words and his own, expressing both his love of seclusion and his achievement, his obedience to his master and the winning of aññā:

The teacher spake me thus: 'Sivaka, hence
 Let's go!'¹ Here in the town my body dwells;
 My thoughts are to the forest gone. So thus,
 Prostrated though I be, yet do I go.
 No bond is there for those who understand. (14)

XV

Kuṇḍa-Dhāna.²

In the age of our Exalted One, he was reborn at Sāvattthī as a brahmin's child, and called Dhāna.³ Knowing the

¹ The text *gacchūmi*, 'I go,' is in the Commentary *gacchūma*, 'let us go.' The latter accords with the story, and with Vanavaccha's active care for his pupil, and the latter's devotion. The Commentary compares the youth's swift response to that of a spirited horse touched by the whip. A spirited horse is called *bhadro*, which = also auspicious, or lucky (*Sivaka*. Cf. *Siva*).

² In the Comy. *Koṇḍa- Koṇṭha- Kuṇḍa- Kuṇḍa-dhāna*. He is mentioned in *Majjh.*, i. 462; *Udāna*, ii. 8; *Dhammapada Comy.*, iii. 52-58

³ The Comy. deals at some length with the legend of this Brother's antecedents, the immediate object of which is to explain how Dhāna

three Vedas by heart, he when advanced in years heard the Master preach, and left the world. Now King Pasenadi of Kosala became interested in him and provided him with necessaries, so that he had not to go round for alms. But it was when the great Subhaddā invited the Master and his company to dine with her, that Kuṇḍa-Dhāna revealed his powers and attainments, as it is written in the Commentary on the Anguttara-Nikāya.¹ And it was to the brethren that he recited this verse :

Five cut thou off ; Five leave behind, and Five beyond
all cultivate !

He who the Fivefold Bond² transcends—a Brother
Flood-crossed is he called. (15)

won the nickname of Kuṇḍa or Koṇḍa, a word which by the context would seem to mean 'gallant.' In a previous birth he appears as the victim of a fairy's practical joke, and the blame he attaches to an innocent fellow-monk in consequence is a karma, which pursues him in this life, causing him mortification. As the legend throws no light on the verse, it is not given here, nor is the account of his prior rank in receiving food-tickets (see *Ang.*, i. 24), and for the same reason. The verse might, in fact, have been spoken by any learned Thera (cf. CCXLII., verse 688). Subhaddā is presumably the daughter of Anāthapiṇḍika, living at Sāketa (*Milinda*, ii. 308). The way to her (from Sāvathī) is described as being far ; in *Majjh.*, i. 149, as seven express coaching stages.

¹ *I.e.*, on the Etad-aggā-Vagga (*Ang.*, i. 23 f.), wherein the Thera's success is recorded. It is noticeable that, in citing this Commentary, Dhammapāla does not quote it as Buddhaghosa's *Manorathapūraṇī*.

² According to the Commentary, the first of these four pentads is the group of the five lower Fetters (*Bud. Psy.*, §§ 1113-1134 ; Rhys Davids, *American Lectures*, p. 141 ff.). The second pentad is the remaining five Fetters, the liberation from the ten involving deliverance from rebirth. The third refers to the five moral powers or faculties (*Bud. Psy.*, §§ 305-311), and the fourth to the bonds of passion, hate, stupidity, pride, and opinion (*Vibhanga*, p. 377). The verse occurs in *Dhammapada*, v. 870, and *Saṅyutta Nik.*, i. 3, and below, 688, where this comment is repeated. The verse is a good example of the kind of holy riddle in which these Elders (like others nearer home) took special delight. (Cf. LXIV.)

XVI

Belatṭhasīsa.

In this Buddha-age he was reborn at Sāvattthī in a brahmin's family, and before the Exalted One became a Buddha he left the world to join the ascetic Order of Kassapa of Uruvelā, and tend the sacred fire. And when Kassapa was tamed by the Buddha,¹ he was one of the thousand ascetics who obtained arahantship on hearing the sermon on Burning.²

He thereafter became the tutor of the 'Treasurer of the Norm.'³ And one day, reflecting on the pure bliss of fruition and his own earlier discipline, in rapture he uttered a psalm :

E'en as the high-bred steer⁴ with crested back⁵
 Lightly the plough adown the furrow turns,
 So lightly glide for me the nights and days
 Now that this pure untainted bliss is won. (16)

XVII

Dasaka.

He, by his karma, was reborn in the age of our Exalted One at Sāvattthī, as the child of a slave of Anāthapiṇḍika,

¹ See *Vinaya Texts*, i. 118-134.

² *Ibid.*, p. 134 f.

³ A soubriquet of the Elder Ānanda. Belatṭhasīsa is also mentioned as a sufferer from eczema (*Vin. Texts*, ii. 48, 226), and as committing a minor offence in storing food (*Vin.*, iv. 86). The Commentarial tradition is that *Dhammapada* verse 92 refers to the last-named incident (*Dhp. Com.*, ii. 170).

⁴ The text *bhaddo ājañño*, 'noble, or spirited thoroughbred,' is declared by the Commentary to imply, out of the three creatures to which this epithet is applied—bull, horse, elephant—the first named, as the only one used for ploughing.

⁵ *Sikhī*, 'crested,' is applicable to either the horns or the hump of the zebu (Commentary).

and was by him appointed as gate-porter of the Vihāra.¹ Hearing of his virtuous conduct and his wishes, his master made him a freed man, and said, how happy it was to leave the life of the world. He was ordained accordingly; but from that time he grew slothful and slack of effort, taking no steps to roll back the round of rebirth, and sleeping much after meals. At sermon-time he would get into a corner on the outskirts of the congregation, and sit snoring. Now the Exalted One, contemplating his antecedents, spoke the following verse to him in order to stir up agitation :

Who waxes slothful and in diet gross,
 Given to sleep and rolling as he lies,
 Like a great hog with provender replete—
 The dolt comes back again, again to birth. (17)

Hearing this, Dasaka grew agitated and, developing insight, not long after realized arahantship. Thereafter he thought 'the verse of the Exalted One became as a goad to me,' and he repeated the verse. Thus, though uttered as a protest concerning food, it became the declaration of his aññā.

XVIII

Singāla-Pitar.²

Reborn in this Buddha-age of wealthy parents at Sāvattihī, he married and named his son Singāla(ka), himself becoming known as Singāla's father. At a later time he threw off domestic ties, and left the world for the Order. The Exalted One, contemplating his inclinations, gave him the meditative exercise of the idea of a skeleton. Taking it he dwelt among the Sākiyans at Suṅsumāragira, in the

¹ Of the Jetavana. See *Sisters* for an illustration of the ruins of this famous institution, built by Anāthapiṇḍika. Dasaka = Decimus.

² In the Commentary Singālaka-pitā. The name means 'jackal.'

Bhesakalā Wood.¹ Now in that wood a woodland sprite, judging that the Thera would soon grasp the fruition he laboured after, uttered this verse :

Lo! in the forest of Bhesakalā
 A brother dwells, heir of the Buddha's grace,
 Suffusing through and through this earthy frame
 With thought intent, austere, of skeleton.²
 Beshrew me, if he do not swiftly drive
 All passion of the senses clean away! (18)

Hearing that verse the brother thought 'this fairy said this to me to call forth effort,' and willing unfaltering endeavour, he developed insight and attained arahantship. Thereafter he recalled the fairy's words, and breathed forth that very verse as the confession of his aññā.

¹ This town (see Windisch, *Māra u. Buddha*, p. 150) and wood have hitherto been found in association, not with the Sākiyans, but with the Bhaggas (*JPTS*, 1888, pp. 63, 98). Either, therefore, there was more than one wood of this name, or the Bhaggas, whose locality seems doubtful, were a section of the Sākiyas. Cf. ver. 1208.

² *Kevalaṃ atthisaññāya aphaṛi pathaviṃ imaṃ*. Dr. Neumann sees in this line an allusion to the passage in *Saṃy. Nik.*, ii. 178 ff., and referred to by Sumedhā (*Sisters*, p. 173):

'And bear in mind that tumulus of bones
 By creatures piled who wander through the world.
 Remember the great cairn of one man's bones
 From one æon alone, equal to Vipula.'

Dhammapāla, on the other hand, ignores any such allusion, and interprets the line as referring to the mode of *aśubha-saññā*, or the *kaṣiṇa* called 'meditative exercise of bones' (*atthika-bhāvanā*). *Pathavī*, usually applied to the extended world, he explains as *attha-bhāva-pathavī*, that extended or earthy attribute of the individual called, in the Nikāyas, *ajjhattika-pathaviḍhātu* (personal extended element). That it is never called simply *pathavī* (the extended, or earth) may incline the critic to dissent from the Commentarial tradition. And yet why should the latter have let slip this good exegetical opportunity, had the mountain of bones been indeed implied? 'Having by the "bones-notion" wholly suffused his own or all beings' organism with the thought "Tis bone!" and making that the basis of jhāna, he will put away all sensuous passion by the Non-Returner's Path . . .' so runs the Commentary.

XIX

Kulā.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī of a brahmin family, he entered the Order, but from want of mental balance could not concentrate on a given idea.¹ Now one day going to the town for alms, he saw men conducting running water wherever they wished by digging channels. Within the town he marked out of the corner of his eye² how the fletcher fixed the arrow-shaft in his lathe, and leaving with full bowl he saw the chariot-makers planing axle and tire and hub. So entering the Vihāra he dined; then during siesta he pondered on these three modes of taming things, making them his goad, and applying them to his own need of self-mastery. So striving he not long after won arahantship. And connecting those object-lessons with his own heart's taming, he confessed aññā in this verse :

The conduit-makers lead the stream,
 Fletchers coerce the arrow-shaft,
 The joiners mould the wooden plank;
 The self—'tis that the pious tame.³ (19)

¹ *Visesay nibbattetuṅ*. Cf. Childers, s.v. *Viseso*.

² See *Vin. Texts*, i. 59: 'With downcast eye.' Practically directed on to the ground about a plough's length in front of him (Commentary).

³ This verse recurs in CCLIV., and occurs twice in the *Dhammapada*, being assigned, in the Commentary on that work, to one Paṇḍita-sāmaṇera at verse 80, and to Sukha-sāmaṇera at verse 145. Both are of Sāvattthī also, and both are described as making object-lessons of human skill over matter in the crafts alluded to. But in the former instance the story is much expanded.

XX

Ajita.

He was reborn, when our Master was living, at Sāvattḥī, as the son of the brahmin who was price-assessor¹ to the king of Kosala. He became an ascetic as follower of Bāvarī, the learned brahmin, who dwelt in the Kapitṭha park on the banks of the Godhāvārī. Now Bāvarī² sent him, together with Tissa and Metteyya, to the Master. And Ajita was so satisfied with the Master's answers to his questions, that he entered the Order. Choosing a form of mental exercise he developed insight, and attained arahantship. Thereupon he uttered his song of victory³ in this verse :

All unafraid of death, nor fain to live,
I shall lay down this compound frame anon,⁴
With mind alert, with consciousness controlled. (20)

¹ In the *Jātaka* it appears that the purchase of goods by or for a king was effected by an officially regulated price. This was fixed without appeal by the court assessor or valuer, who stood between the two fires of offending the king if he valued the goods submitted too high, and of driving away tradesmen if he refused bribes and cheapened wares. See my 'Early Economic Conditions in Northern India,' *JRAS*, October, 1901.

² This episode forms part of the *Sutta-Nipāta*, verses 976-1089 (*SBE*, x. 184 ff.).

³ His 'lion's roar' (*sīhanāda*).

⁴ Cf. *Saṅgyutta*, iii. 25.

PART III

XXI

Nigrodha.

HE in this Buddha-age was reborn in an eminent brahmin's family at Sāvattihī. And on the day when Jeta Grove was presented, he saw the majesty of the Buddha and was satisfied, so that he entered the Order. When he had stirred up insight, he soon became able to exercise the six forms of supernormal thought. And pondering, in the bliss of fruition, on the advantages of the doctrine which leads us away from rebirth, he uttered this verse as the expression of aññā :

No fear have I of fearsome things, for He,
 Our Master, knoweth well th' ambrosial lore.¹
 The Path where fear nowise a footing finds,
 Along that Path the brethren hold their way. (21)

XXII

Cittaka.

He was born in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, as the son of a brahmin of great possessions. And when the Master was staying in the Bamboo Grove, Cittaka² went to hear him, and found faith and so entered the Order. Choosing ethical conduct as his exercise, he entered a wooded spot, and there in devotional practice induced jhāna. Thereby developing insight he soon attained arahantship. Thereupon he went to salute the Master. Asked by the brethren,

¹ Lit., 'skilled, learned in ambrosia,' *amātdā*, the most frequent synonym for Nibbāna. The Path is the Ariyan Eightfold Path (Commentary).

² Pronounced Chittāka. Sister Cittā was also of Rājagaha (*Sisters*, p. 27).

‘ Have you been strenuous, friend, in your forest sojourn ?’ he uttered his psalm, to show he had been so, and to declare aññā :

Peacocks of sapphire neck and comely crest
 Calling, calling in Kāraṅviya woods ;¹
 By cool and humid winds made musical :²
 They wake the thinker from his noonday sleep. (22)

XXIII

Gosāla.

He was born in this Buddha-age in a wealthy Magadhese family. He came to know Soṇa-Kutikaṇṇa ;³ and when he heard that the latter had left the world, he grew agitated, and thought : ‘ If he who has so great an estate shall leave the world, why not rather I ?’ And entering the Order, he took for exercise the subject of ethical conduct,⁴ and seeking a suitable haunt, dwelt on the uplands not far from his native village. Now one day his mother, who daily dispensed alms, gave him, on his round, rice-porridge prepared with honey and sugar. This he took and ate in the shade of that hill under a bamboo thicket. With bowl and hands washed, and refreshed by the appropriate fare offered him, he put forth insight without toil and, with mind intent on

¹ The Commentary, reading Karambhiya, states this word is the name of a species of tree, and possibly also the name of the wood.

² In the compound *sītavāta-kalitā* the Br. MS. of the Commentary reads *kilitā*, the S. MS. *kadditā*. In both the word denotes the musical call (*madhuravassitaṅ*) of the peacock (*mora*=*mayūra*). According to the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* (187), the term *kalasaddo* is used to designate any inarticulate pleasant sound. The birds are described as crying their *ke-kā* call when they hear the thunder of the approaching clouds heralding the rains. *Mora*, a redundant foot, has crept in— from the Commentary perhaps. ‘ Humid,’ the translator’s gloss, from *meghavātena*, ‘ rain-cloud-breeze,’ in the Commentary.

³ See Ps. CCVIII. Soṇa was of Avanti far to the E.

⁴ *Cariyānukūlaṅ kammaṭṭhānaṅ*.

the ebb and flow of all things, attained the topmost meditation of the Paths, winning arahantship, with mastery of the form and meaning of the doctrine. Desirous to go up to the hilly region that he might dwell in bliss while he lived, he made known his own experience in this verse :

Lo! I who in the bamboo thicket dined
 Off rice and honey, who now comprehend,
 Him worshipping,¹ the ebb and flux of all
 These factors of my life, will hie me back
 Up on my hill, to foster there the growth
 Of heart's detachment, lone and separate.² (23)

XXIV

Sugandha.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age of wealthy parents at Sāvattī. And because of his aspiration in the past, when he presented Kassapa Buddha with a Fragrant Chamber of sandal-wood, that he might in one life be reborn with a fragrant body, he, on the day of his birth—and his mother before that day—filled the house with fragrance. Then said his parents: 'Our son is come bringing his own name!' and they called him Sugandha (Aroma). When grown up, he was induced to leave the world by the preaching of the Thera Mahā-Sela.³ And within seven

¹ *Padakkhiṇaṇ sammasanto*. The Commentary explains the former word as 'perfectly accepting the Master's admonition.' The Chronicle lays stress on the tonic effect of the food on his spiritual attainment, a characteristically anti-ascetic comment.

² *Vivekam anubrūhayan ti*. Cf. Childers under the latter word. In the Commentary *paṭipassaddhi-vivekaṇ phalasangāṇaṃ kīya-vivekaṇ ca paribrūhanto*. Cf. ver. 1246, n.

³ This Thera ('Great-rock') is probably the brahmin teacher of the Sela-Sutta in the *Sutta-Nipāta*, who was converted by the Buddha, became an arahant, and would naturally continue to exercise his oratorical gifts. Cf. *Milinda*, i. 253; *Sum. V.*, i. 276.

days he attained arahantship. Confessing aññā he uttered this verse :

Scarce have the rains gone by since I went forth,
 Yet see the seemly order of the Norm !
 The Threefold Wisdom¹ have I gotten now
 And done all that the Buddha bids us do.² (24)

XXV

Nandiya.

Born in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu, in the house of a Sākiyan rāja, his parents said : He is born bringing us bliss ; and they called him Nandiya (Beatus). Grown up, he went forth, when Anuruddha and the rest left the world under the Master. And because of his studies and his resolve made in the past, he soon attained arahantship. Thereafter he dwelt with Anuruddha the Thera³ and his

¹ *Tevijjo*, lit., 'thrice-wise.' This brahminist phrase, referring to one who had learnt the three Vedas, was adopted by the Buddha, and transferred to one who had the three kinds of *paññā*, *vijjā*, or *abhiññā* (intuition, insight), entitled reminiscence of former lives, the heavenly eye, and the destruction of the āsava's, or intoxicants—sensuality, lust of life, opinions, ignorance (*Ang. Nik.*, i. 168-165). Cf. p. 14, n. 3.

² The phrase *anuvassika-pabbajito* is, according to the Commentary, capable of more than one interpretation. If it means 'renounced the world a year ago' (*vide* Neumann), it is curious that Dhammapāla does not paraphrase by the term *saṅvacchara*. Is it not perhaps permissible, in view of the strong emphasis on the order (lit., 'Normity') of the Norm, to see a parallel between two strands of the fivefold order (*niyama*) of the universe:—the seasons and the Norm (*utu-niyama*, *dhamma-niyama*)? (Cf. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, ii. 8, n. 3, and my *Buddhism*, 118 f.) The fruition—namely, of his moral and spiritual evolution—was as certain and inevitable as that 'seedtime and harvest, . . . summer and winter shall not cease' (Gen. viii. 22). The phrase, however, recurs frequently with no such point.

³ On Anuruddha and his friends, see Ps. CXXXVIII.-CXXXIX., CCLVI. (cf. Ps. CXXXVIII.). The only passage where Nandiya is mentioned independently is *Saṅy.*, v. 408. *Dhammapada Com.*, on verses 219, 220, refers to a quite different Nandiya (verse 11, Nandika, Nanda) of Benares, a lay-adherent.

friends, in the Eastern Bamboo Wood. There Māra, the Evil One, wishing to frighten him, appeared in a terrifying shape. But the Thera drove him away with the words, 'O Evil One! what canst thou do with those that have transcended thy realm? 'Tis thou that thereby wilt meet with defeat and ruin':

To him whose thought is ever newly born
From splendour of the Path, and eke hath touched
The Fruit—if such a Brother thou assail'st,
Black-hearted sprite, to misery thou must go.¹ (25)

XXVI

Abhaya.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of King Bimbisāra. The circumstances of his rebirth will be set forth later.² Nātaputta the Jain leader taught him a dilemma to set the 'Samaṇa Gotama,' but in the Master's reply he recognized the defeat of the Jain and the supreme enlightenment of the Exalted One. Thereafter, when the king died, Abhaya grew anxious and left the world for the Order. Through the preaching of the Sutta on the parable of the hole in the yoke, he reached the First Path; again, stirring up insight, he realized arahantship.³ Thereupon, glorying in that which he had won, he confessed aññā saying:

Of him, the Buddha, kin o' th' sun, I heard
The word most eloquent, and hearing pierced
The subtle truth of things, as 'twere the tip
Of hair by cunning bowman's art transfixed.⁴ (26)

¹ Cf. verse 1189.

² See *Sisters*, p. 30 (where the printer altered the name to Abhayā). The dilemma episode occupies the Abhayarājakumāra-Sutta (58) of the *Majjh. Nik.*

³ I.e., the fruition of the Fourth, or Topmost, Path. This Sutta is probably that of the turtle and the floating trap (*Saṅg.*, v. 455; *Majjh.* iii. 169).

⁴ The typical test of skill with the bow (*Dhp. Com.*, i., p. 288).

XXVII

Lomasakangiya.

When Kassapa was Buddha, this brother left the world and followed him. Now after the Master had preached the Sutta on Happy-Lonely, a certain bhikkhu talked with Lomasakangiya about it. And our Thera, being unable to explain it, uttered the wish: 'May I in the future become able to teach thee the Happy-Lonely!' The other answered: 'May I ask thee!' Of these two the former, when our Buddha lived, was reborn at Kapilavatthu, in the house of a Sākiyan rāja. And he was very delicate, and covered with fine hair, and therefore he was called Lomasakangiya.¹ The other was reborn at that time among the gods, and named Candana.²

Now when Anuruddha and the other Sākiyan youths left the world, Lomasakangiya would not. Then Candana, to stir him up, came to him and asked concerning the Happy-Lonely. The other knew not what he meant. Then Candana reminded him. So Lomasakangiya went to the Exalted One and asked him if it was true that he had made that resolve in the past. 'Ay, youth,' replied the Exalted One; 'and the meaning of it is to be understood in more than fifty points of detail.' Then Lomasakangiya said: 'Wherefore, lord, let me be ordained.' And the Exalted One sent him to get his parents' permission. He asked his mother, but she feared for his health, saying: 'My dear, thou art delicate. How canst thou leave the world?' Then Lomasakangiya uttered this verse:

Nipunan, the subtle, is explained by Dhammapāla as implying the third of the 'Four Truths,' the understanding of the Nirodha Sacca, or the cessation of ill. It is interesting to note how the prince draws his similes from *race* and from *warlike sports*. Cf. Ps. CXXXIX., by the Buddha's stepbrother Nanda; also verse 1160.

¹ *I.e.*, downy limbs. Pronounced Lo'māsa Kang'iyā.

² Pronounced Chand'ānā.

Dabba and Kusa grass and pricking stems
 And all that hurts in brush and underwood
 Forth from my breast I'll push and thrust away,
 And go where I the growth may cultivate
 Of heart's detachment, lone and separate.¹ (27)

Thereupon his mother said, 'Well then, my dear, go forth.' And he gained the Master's consent to be ordained. After doing the preliminary exercises he went to enter the forest. And the bhikkhus said to him: 'Friend, you are delicate. What can you do here? 'Tis cold in the forest.' But he repeated his verse, and entering the forest, devoted himself to meditation, and soon acquired the six forms of supernormal thought.² When he won arahantship he confessed aññā in the same verse.

XXVIII

Jambugāmiya's Son.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Campā as the son of a lay-adherent named Jambugāmiya,³ and became called

¹ Cf. XXIII., and see Ps. CLXXIV. The Commentary gives us the previous half of the legend, the latter half of which is told in the Lomasakangiya-Sutta of *Majjh.* (iii. 199). Here Candana is represented as teaching the Sutta in question to the Thera. No less than four Suttas of this Nikāya deal with the little poem called 'Bhaddekaratta,' or 'the happy-lonely one,' giving expositions by the Buddha, by Ānanda, by Kaccāna the Great, and by Candana in succession.

² 'The powers named Iddhi, the Celestial Ear,
 Discerning others' thoughts; reminiscence
 Of former births, and fifth, the Heavenly Eye.'

Compendium of Philosophy, p. 209.

The sixth, extirpation of the Āsavas, is tantamount to arahantship. The six are comprised in the term 'Abhiññā,' and are left untranslated as 'Abhiññā' in the following psalms.

³ In the Commentary Jambugāmiya. The name refers to an office, and means syndic of the village of Rose-apple-trees, a place included by the Buddha on his last preaching tour (*Dialogues*, ii. 188), and which probably was a suburb of Campā (pronounced Champā), on the Ganges, the easternmost point of the Buddha's ministrations.

after his father. While studying as a novice in the Order, he dwelt at Sāketa, in the Añjana Grove.¹ Then his father, thinking, 'I wonder if my son remains devoted to his life in the Order or not?' wrote the following verse to examine him, and sent it to him :

And art thou then not gratified by gear?
 And art thou then not charmed thyself t' adorn?
 And is this fragrant odour, virtue-fraught,
 Wafted by thee, and not by other folk? (28)

When he had read² this he thought: 'My father is suspicious that I want worldly vanities. Even to-day I have not got beyond the level of the common man!' Filled with anxiety, he strove and wrestled, so that he soon acquired the six abhiññās. And taking the verse his father sent him as a goad, he finally realized arahantship. And both to confess añña and honour his father, he recited the verse.

XXIX

Harita.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattī, as the son of a wealthy brahmin,³ his parents wedded him to a brahmin's daughter suitable in birth, beauty and every other respect. And he, enjoying his lot with her, was one day, while he contemplated the perfection of her beauty, admonished by

¹ Cf. *Sisters*, pp. 84, 158; *Bud. India*, pp. 39, 40; Neumann, *Majjh.* translation, iii. 361, n.

² *Tay vāceti*. The legend, for us, dates from the Chronicler's day only, when the Piṭakas had long been committed to writing. But as recording even a legend of the committal, at its very birth, of what became a fraction of 'holy writ' to writing, it is of considerable interest. In the verse I read with the Commentary *Kacci na . . . kacci na*. The odour of saintliness is a common Indian metaphor.

³ Cf. CLXXXIV. Harita, one of the gods of the Brahma-heaven (*Dialogues*, ii. 292), was the name in the *Jātaka* of an erring bhikkhu, on whose account the Buddha related a birth-story of his own fallibility when Bodhisat (*Jāt.*, iii. 295).

the order of things,¹ that such beauty must needs ere long be crushed out by decay and death. 'Nay, when but a few days had passed by, his wife was bitten by a black snake and died. Overwhelmed by anguish he sought the Master and, hearing the Norm, severed his domestic ties and left the world. Now while he was training himself ethically, he could not make straight his heart.² And going for alms into the village,³ he saw a fletcher applying his tools and making straight the shaft of an arrow. Then, he thought: 'These men make even a senseless thing straight; why do I not make straight my heart?' So he turned back and, seated for siesta, stirred up insight. And lo! the Exalted One, seated in the air above him, admonished him by this verse:

Now bend aloft thyself; e'en as his bolt
The fletcher, so do thou, O Harita,
Make straight thy heart and ignorance cut
away. (29)

Hearing him, the Thera developed insight, and soon became an arahant. He thereupon confessed aññā with this same verse.

XXX

Uttiya.

He was born in this Buddha-age at Sāvattī, as the son of a brahmin, and leaving the world on the quest of the Ambrosial,⁴ he became a Wanderer.⁵ One day on his

¹ Lit., *dhammatā*, cf. p. 39, and my *Buddhism*, pp. 119, 241.

² *Cittaṇ* may be rendered by heart or mind, understood as synonymous, as in our New Testament.

³ *Gāmo*, whether Sāvattī, called elsewhere *nagara*, 'town,' or a suburb, or other place, is not stated. Cf. Ps. XIX.

⁴ *Amata*, the not-dead, a term applied to Nibbāna, or the Paths thereto; more generally, to the *Summum Bonum*.

⁵ *Paribbājaka*—i.e., an unattached *religieux*. It is very possible that the Uttiya paribbājaka of *Ang.*, v. 193, and the Uttiya bhikkhu of *Saṅg.*, v. 166, who asks for a lesson in brief, are identical with this Uttiya.

travels he came where the Exalted One was preaching, and entered the Order. From the impurity of his moral principles he could not win the goal. And seeing other bhikkhus who had won confessing to aññā, he asked the Master for a lesson in brief. The Master answered, 'It follows that *you*, Uttiya, must purify the rudiments,'¹ and he taught him them in brief. Uttiya, accepting the lesson, called up insight, but in the process he fell ill. In his anxiety he put forth every effort, and attained arahantship. Inasmuch as he won to perfect attainment in the face of such a condition, he confessed aññā with reference to his illness :

Since sickness hath befallen me, O now
Let there arise in me true mindfulness.
Sickness hath now befallen me—'tis time
For me no more to dally or delay.² (30)

PART IV

XXXI

Gahvaratīriya.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattihī, in a brahmin's family, and named Aggidatta.³ When grown

¹ *Tvaṅ ādīm eva visodhekāti.*

² The unique reiteration of the *me*, twice in the locative, twice in the dative, in the Pali (the word is identical in both languages), scarcely makes for elegant poetry; but, to be faithful, the translation was bound to reproduce it. It is very possible that there is here a suggestion of the harassed travail of the feverish and ailing, but unfaltering, indomitable brain. Under this aspect the verse becomes a very living document.

³ *I. e.*, Fire-given. Even if Ratīriya mean Ratīra woodlander (see next page), it is not evident how to interpret Gahva. The name and the Thera are not met with elsewhere. The Brother's disposition and his simile occur in a Sutta comparing five qualities common to excellence in elephants and in bhikkhus (*Ang.*, iii. 161 ff.).

up he saw the Exalted One work the twin-miracle,¹ and, being convinced, he entered the Order. Taking a subject for meditation, he went to the Ratīra forest, and became known as Gahva-Ratīriya. Growing in insight, he in a short time attained arahantship. Thereupon he went to worship the Exalted One at Sāvathī. His kinsfolk, hearing of his coming, bestowed liberal gifts upon him. And when he wished to go back to the forest, they said: 'Sir, the forest is full of peril through the gadflies and mosquitoes. Stay here!' But the Thera, devoted to detachment, replied, 'Life in the forest suits me,' and confessing aññā he uttered this verse:

In the great forest, in the mighty woods,
Touched though I be by gadfly and by gnat,
I yet would roam, like warrior-elephant,
In van of battle, mindful, vigilant.² (31)

XXXII

Suppiya.

He in this Buddha-age was reborn, in consequence of his actions,³ in a despised class, as one of a clan of watchmen in a cemetery at Sāvathī. Converted by the preaching of the Thera Sopāka⁴ his friend, he entered the Order and attained to the highest, declaring this in his psalm while he yet was striving for arahantship:

¹ The power of emitting fire and water from any two opposed parts of the body respectively and simultaneously, also of conjuring up a figure moving differently from himself (*Paṭisambhidā*, i. 125). This the Buddha (in post-canonical works) is recorded to have done at Sāvathī (*Milinda*, ii. 247; *Sumangala-Vil.*, i. 57; *Dham. Comy.*, iii. 213 ff.).

² Recurs CLXXVIII., verse 244.

³ Through pride and conceit when a bhikkhu in the Order of Kassapa Buddha. Apparently not the detractor of *Dialogues*, i. 1.

⁴ Cf. XXXIII., CCXXVII.

O would that I who hourly waste, might change¹
 For that which ne'er decays—who ever burn,
 Might change for that cool bliss—e'en for the
 Peace
 That passeth all, Safety beyond compare!² (32)

XXXIII

Sopāka.

(A Boy-Bhikkhu.)

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattihī, of a very poor woman. In her travail his mother fell into a long deep swoon, so that her kinsfolk said 'She is dead!' And they bore her to the cemetery, and prepared to cremate the body. But a spirit prevented the fire burning by a storm of wind and rain, so they went away. Then was the child born hale while the mother died. And the spirit, in human shape, took the infant and placed it in the watchman's house, nourishing it for a time with suitable food. After that the watchman adopted it, and the child grew up with his own son Suppiya (Ps. XXXII.). And because of his birth in the cemetery, he became known as Sopāka, 'the Waif.'³ When he was seven years old it came to pass that the Exalted One early in the morning spread out his Net of Insight to contemplate what folk might be brought in. And seeing what the net enclosed,

¹ The Commentary reads *nimiyaṇ*, and paraphrases by *parivatteyyaṇ cetāpeyyaṇ* (cf. *Vin.*, iii. 219), and concludes: 'Just as men, exchanging any goods for which they care not, are greatly taken by what they get, even so this Brother, caring not for body or life (*jīvitāṇ*), strove after Nibbāna till he won.' 'Cool bliss' is *nibbuta*, on which, and on the last clause, see *Sisters*, p. 19, n. 4, and p. 13, n. 2, and p. 14, n. 2, respectively. This is one of the very few psalms which resemble our own anthologies in having a burden of the quest not yet won.

² Ultimate, perfect (*anuttaro*).

³ Cf. *Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 137.

he went to the cemetery. The boy, impelled by his antecedents, approached the Master with a gladdened mind and saluted him. The Master taught him, so that he asked to leave the world, and when bidden to gain his father's consent, fetched the latter to the Master. The father saluted, and asked the Master to admit the boy. And the Master had him admitted, and assigned to him the study of fraternal love.¹ He, taking this exercise and dwelling in the cemetery, soon acquired the corresponding jhāna. And making that his base,² he fostered insight and realized arahantship. As arahant he showed in his verse to the other bhikkhus dwelling there the principle of the love exercises, bidding them make no difference between those who were to them friendly, indifferent, or hostile. For all alike their love should be one and the same in its nature, and should include all realms, all beings, at all ages :

E'en as she would be very good
Towards her only child, her well-belovèd son,
So too ye should be very good
Towards all creatures everywhere and every-
one.³ (33)

¹ Cf. *Dialogues*, ii. 219. It is a pretty touch that the boy, who as a waif owed everything to fraternal love and pity, should have been set this study. Cf. Ps. I.

² *Compendium*, p. 62.

³ This simile is better known in the form given it in the *Sutta-Nipāta* (verse 149) and the *Khuddaka-pāṭha*, bringing in the loving mother more explicitly. Here the language is so simple that it really lends probability to the Commentator's story of the boy-bhikkhu, who as a 'waif' had never known a mother. I have therefore rendered it as a child's attempt. 'Ye' is lit. 'one.'

XXXIV

Posiya.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattī, as the son of a very wealthy councillor,¹ and the younger brother of the Thera Sangāmaji.² When he was grown up he married; but when a son was born to him, he, being impelled by the order of things belonging to the last span of life, grew anxious concerning birth and the like. So he left the world and dwelt alone in the forest, exercising himself in the Four Truths. And soon after he won arahantship.

Then he went to Sāvattī to worship the Exalted One, and came to his home. There his former wife entertained him and, unaware of his disposition, was desirous of drawing him back by her attractions. The Thera thinking 'Alas! the fool of desire has designs even on such as me,' said no word, but rose up and went away into the forest. And the bhikkhus there said to him: 'Why, friend, you are come back too quickly; have you not seen your people?' The Thera told them what had taken place, and recited a verse:

Best when not near, both now and evermore,
 Are such as these for him who understands.
 Forth from the township to the woods I went,
 Thence to my home once more I came; but thence
 Rising I gat me forth again, nor e'er
 Did this same Posiya let fall a word. (34)

¹ On the term *setthi*, see *Sisters*, p. 192, n. 1. I have in this work decided to use 'councillor' as expressing, for us, a burgess of some official importance, head (*setthi*)—*e.g.*, of a guild, etc.

² See *Udāna*, i. 8; *Netti*, p. 150.

XXXV

Sāmaññakāni.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of a Wanderer,¹ and was converted to the religious life when he saw the Exalted One perform the twin-miracle.² And through jhāna he attained arahantship.

Now a Wanderer named Kātiyāna, whom he had known as a layman, had lost all support from the laity since the Buddha had arisen, and was destitute. He came to the Thera and said: 'You of the Sākiyans, who have won much fame and support, live happily, but we are distressed and destitute. What should one do to compass happiness both in this life and the next?' The Thera said: 'Happiness not of the world:—this, for one who undergoes the suitable procedure to get it, and who gets it, is alone to be called unqualified happiness.' And to illustrate this by his own attainment, he uttered this verse:

Happiness he who seeks may win an he practise the
 seeking—
 Honour he gaineth beside, and growth of renown
 shall befall him—
 So he but practise the road called Straight,³ even the
 Ariyan,
 The Noble Eightfold Path whereby we may reach
 salvation.⁴ (35)

¹ Paribbājaka—*i.e.*, an unattached *religicus*. Whether he was born before the father left the world, or after he had lapsed into it again (*cf. Sisters*, Ps. lxxviii.), is not stated.

² *Cf.* p. 36, n. 1.

³ 'Because one has put away all bodily and other crookedness,' explains the Commentary. I seem to discern an echo of the Nikāya verse: *Ujuko nāma so maggo* (*Saṃy.*, i. 14; *Sisters*, verse 361)—'Straight is the name that Way is called.' The Pāli is in Gāyatrī metre (Vedic).

⁴ *Amata. Cf.* XXI.

XXXVI

Kumā's Son.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the Avanti country,¹ at the town of Veḷukaṇḍa in the family of a housefather, he was called Nanda. But his mother's name was Kumā, whence he was known as Kumā's son. He entered the Order after hearing the venerable Sāriputta preach, and studied on the slope of the frontier hills; but it was only after he had gone to hear the Exalted One that he was able so to correct his exercises, as to realize arahantship. As arahant he saw that the other bhikkhus showed excess in bodily needs, and he admonished them in the doctrine, saying:

O goodly are the things our ears now hear!
 O goodly is the life we here may lead!
 O good it is always to lack a house!²
 Now questioning on things of high import,
 Now showing all due thanks and reverence:
 Such is the calling of the true recluse,
 Of him who owneth naught of anything. (36)

¹ See *Buddhist India*, by Rhys Davids, p. 8 *f.* It is noteworthy that one of the principal lay-followers of the Buddha was a lady called the Veḷukaṇḍiyan or -kaṇṭikan, mother of Nanda. This, however, was probably Uttarā; she can scarcely be our Kumā, since she is represented as telling the chief Theras that her only son Nanda had been put to death as a boy by the rājas (*rājāno*), or oligarchs. Nanda was a common name, and it is possible, if we do not impatiently class all such references as purely legendary, that to call one Nanda Kumāputta was a convenient distinction among neighbours. It may, of course, have reference to bīna-marriage descent (*Saṃy.*, ii. 286; *Ang.*, i. 26, 88, 164; iii. 386; iv. 63; and *cf. Dialogues*, i. 193, § 5).

² An allusion to *Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 844. This is discussed in *Saṃy.*, iii. 9 *ff.*; 'lacking a house' is symbolical of 'not being engrossed by objects and pleasures of sense.'

XXXVII

The Comrade of Kumā's Son.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at the town of Velukanda, of a wealthy family, and named Sudanta—some say Vasuloki—he became the dear friend of Kumā's son. When the latter left the world, he thought: 'That can be no mean religion which Kumā's son has entered.' So he went and heard the Master preach. Thereupon he was filled with a much more fervent desire and entered the Order, dwelling with Kumā's son on the frontier hills devoted to religious exercises.

Now at that time many bhikkhus touring in various districts, going and coming, halted at that station, so that there was much noise. And Sudanta, disturbed in his concentration of mind, made his trouble the goad for the taming of his thoughts, and uttered this verse:

To divers regions back and forth they fare
 Heedless of heart upon their rounds, and balk
 The mind's due concentration. What, forsooth,
 Shall all this vagabondage¹ bring to pass?
 Hence is it meet that clamour be subdued,
 Nor harass him who fain would meditate. (37)

XXXVIII

Gavampati.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age as one of the four lay-companions of the Thera Yasa, who, when they heard of Yasa's renunciation, imitated him, and also won arahantship.² Thereafter he dwelt in the Añjana Grove at

¹ *Ratthañcariya*, lit., kingdom-touring; not a bad predecessor of our 'globe-trotting.' It was part of a bhikkhu's duties, though liable to be abused or—at least, as here—mismanaged. *Ratthan* is metrically redundant, but the disturbance in rhythm may be intentional.

² See *Vinaya Texts*, i. 110, and below, CXXXII. On Gavampati, see also *Dialogues*, ii. 873; *Samy.*, v. 436.

Sāketa, experiencing the bliss of emancipation. Now at that time the Exalted One came also with a great company of bhikkhus to the Añjana Grove, and the accommodation was insufficient, many of the bhikkhus sleeping around the vihāra on the sandbanks of the River Sarabhū.¹ Then in the middle of the night the stream rose in flood, and a great cry arose from the younger brethren. The Exalted One hearing it, sent for the venerable Gavampati, and said: 'Go, Gavampati, arrest the rising stream, and put the bhikkhus at ease.' And the Thera by his mystic power did so, and stopped the stream afar so that it stood up like a mountain-peak. Thenceforth the might of the Thera became known. One day as the Master sat teaching in the midst of a great assembly he saw Gavampati, and in compassion for the world praised his virtues in this verse:

Who by his might² reared up the Sarabhū,
 Who standeth self-reliant and unmoved,
 Who hath transcended every tie, Gavampati,
 Him mighty seer the very gods acclaim,
 Surpasser of the coming back to be.³ (38)

XXXIX

Tissa.

He was born in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu, as the son of the Exalted One's aunt, and named Tissa.⁴ He left the world to follow the Exalted One, and dwelling in a woodland settlement, was proud because of his rank, being

¹ The present city of Ayodhyā stands on a corner of the site of what was once the great city, 24 miles in circumference, of Sāketa, about 100 miles north-north-east of Benares. The Sarabhū or Sarayū flows through it into the Gharghara, a tributary of the Ganges. Cf. XXVIII.

² The Commentary reads *vadanti* (they say), instead of *iddhiyū*.

³ *Bhavassa pārāguṇ*. The former half of the gāthā is of the Triṣṭubh, the latter of the Jagati metre.

⁴ *I.e.*, son of Amatā (Amritā), sister of Suddhodana.

irritable and captious in his conduct, so that he did not do his duties with zeal. Then the Master, surveying him one day with celestial vision from afar, while he was sleeping with open mouth at siesta, came over him above, shedding glory down upon him, and wakening him with these words :

As one downsmitten by impending sword,
As one whose hair and turban are aflame,¹
So let the Brother, mindful and alert,
Go forth, all worldly passions left behind. (39)

When the Thera heard this, his heart was filled with anguish, and he abode intent on insight. Noting this, the Master taught him the 'Sutta of Thera Tissa,' which is in the Saṅguyutta collection.² At the close of it Tissa was established in arahantship. And to confess aññā and honour the Master, he uttered that same verse.

XL

Vaddhamāna.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Vesālī, in the family of a Licchavi rāja, he became as a pious lad a servitor to the Order. Later, after he had been ordained, he also was subject to sloth and torpor, and was also aroused by the Master with this verse :

As one downsmitten by impending sword,
As one whose hair and turban are aflame,
So let the Brother, mindful and alert,
Go forth, all lust of living³ left behind. (40)

¹ On this metaphor, see *Sisters*, p. 172, verse 7. The Commentary has a note on various sword-wounds, but the moral is simply the need of instant action, whether to heal or to extinguish. See verse 1,162 f.

² *Saṅg.*, iii. 106. Tissa confesses to the brethren his mental sluggishness and distaste for religion. They bring him to the Master. The Homily, with catechism, is in keeping with the above. In the *Dhammapada Comy.* (i. 87) he is called Thulla-Tissa (Fat Tissa). Cf. *Saṅg.*, i. 13.

³ Lit., of becoming. For *satto* read *sato*.

PART V

XLI

Sirivadḍha.

HE was reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, in the house of a prosperous brahmin. Previous causes induced him, when King Bimbisāra met the Master, to take orders, and he went to a certain forest near the hills Vebhāra and Paṇḍava, and there dwelt devoted to religious exercises. And there arose once a great storm, and the lightnings entered the cave. But the wind from the pregnant clouds assuaged the heat and fever oppressing the Thera, so that by the more suitable temperature his heart grew concentrated, and he was able to exercise such insight that he won arahantship. So he, with aññā as a pretext, broke forth into this utterance touching himself :

The lightnings flash e'en in the rocky cave,
 Smiting Vebhāra's crest and Paṇḍava,¹
 And, in the mountain-bosom hid, a child
 Of that incomparable Master sits
 Ardent in contemplative ecstasy. (41)

XLII

Khadira-Vaniya.

(Revata.)

He was reborn, in this Buddha-age, in the kingdom of Magadha, at the village of Nālaka, as the son of Rūpasārī, the brahminee. When he was grown up his mother desired

¹ Two of the five crests in the group of hill-ranges rising above Rājagaha (Rājgir). The former name persists as Baibhāra or Vaibhāra (see illustration), which rises to the East. The last line expands the one word *jhāyati*, a word meaning, in Pali, both 'burns' and 'meditates in jhāna.' Cf. verse 1,167.

he should marry, but he heard of Sāriputta's¹ renunciation, and said: 'If my elder brother Upatissa has laid aside this wealth, I too will vomit back his vomit,' and he went to the bhikkhus and, announcing himself as the younger brother of the 'General of the Norm,'² he asked for ordination. When he had won arahantship in the Acacia Wood,³ he went to Sāvattthī to salute the Exalted One and his brother, staying a few days at the Jeta Grove. Then the Master, seated in the conclave of the Ariyans, assigned 'Revata the Acacia-woodlander the first place among forest bhikkhus.'⁴

At another time he went to his native village and fetched away his three nephews, the sons of his three sisters, Cālā, Upacālā, and Sisūpacālā,⁵ named respectively, Cāla, Upacāla, and Sisūpacāla, and ordained them. One day the Thera was ill, and Sāriputta heard of it, and said: 'I will make inquiry after Revata's state and treatment.' And seeing him coming far off, Revata admonished the three novices to be heedful, saying:

Come, Cāla, and you, Upacāla too,
Sisūpacāla also, take good heed,
Be on your guard, for he who comes to you
Is as a wondrous archer splitting hairs. (43)

And when they heard him the novices went forth to meet the General of the Norm, and while he conversed with their uncle, sat near composed and intent. When he approached them, they rose up, bowed, and remained standing. The Thera asked them at which vihāra they were

¹ Rūpasārī's relation to Upatissa Sāriputta (*i.e.*, son of Sārī), the chief Thera, is given in *Dhp. Com.*, i. 88, and below CCLIX.

² The usual title of Sāriputta.

³ Khadira; Acacia Catechu, according to Childers.

⁴ *Ang.*, i. 24. For Revata's longer poem see CCXLIV.

⁵ See *Sisters*, Ps. lix., lx., lxi. In the absence of the Commentary, Dr. Neumann has assumed that the three masculine vocatives in the text are feminine, and that Revata is addressing his sisters. Pronounce Cāl- as Chāl- in all these names.

each dwelling, and they replied : ' At such an one.' Then, instructing the boys, he said : ' My little brother has indeed taught the lesser duties belonging to the Norm,' and thus praising Revata, he departed.

XLIII

Sumangala.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at a hamlet near Sāvathī, in a poor family. Grown up, he earned his living in the fields, furnished with a little sickle, plough, and spade. Now one day when King Pasenadi of Kosala was bestowing a great offering on the Exalted One and the Order, he went, taking milk and butter, along with men who were taking woodwork. Seeing the attentions and honours paid to the Brethren and Sisters, he thought : ' These Sākiyan recluses live in sheltered lodgings and in delicate robes—what if I too were now to leave the world ?' And he approached a certain great Thera and made known his intention. The Thera out of compassion admitted him, and sent him into the forest with an exercise. But in solitude he pined and wavered, and departed to his native village. Then as he went along he saw the peasants ploughing the fields in soiled garments, covered with dust blown by hot winds. And he thought : ' Truly these fellows earn their living in great misery !' And feeling anxious, his insight approaching maturity, he set himself to do the exercises that had been given him, going to the roots of a tree, and biding in seclusion. Thus he finally won arahantship. Thereafter, to celebrate his own emancipation from the ills of life, he broke forth into this psalm :

Well rid, well rid, O excellently rid
 Am I from these three crooked tasks and tools,
 Rid o' my reaping with your sickles, rid
 Of trudging after ploughs, and rid's my back
 Of bending o'er these wretched little spades.

Though they be ever here, ay, ever here,
 Enough of them, I say, for me, enough !
 Go meditate, Sumangala, ay, go
 And meditate, Sumangala, and bide
 Earnest and diligent, Sumangala !¹ (43)

XLIV

S ā n u .

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattī, in the family of a lay-follower, after the father had left his home. The mother, naming him Sānu, brought him when he was seven years old to the bhikkhus for ordination, deeming she would thus ensure for him supreme happiness. Now Sānu the Novice became very learned, a teacher of doctrine, and practised in the jhāna of love, being beloved by gods and men. And as we know from the Sānu-Sutta (*Saṅgutta Nikāya*, i. 108) his mother, in his previous birth, was a Yakkha.² Now as time went on Sānu lost his intellectual discernment and grew distraught, and longed to go a-roaming. Then his previous mother perceived this, and warned his human mother saying : ‘ Your son has a fancy to roam, wherefore bid him rouse himself. Tell him what the Yakkhas say :

*Do nought of evil, open or concealed,
 If evil thou now doest or wilt do,
 Thou’lt not escape from ill, e’en though thou flee.*³

¹ This curious and racy verse runs into four lines of text, is of no assignable metre or symmetry, and would seem to represent a Walt-Whitmanesque effort of a *peasant-bhikkhu* to turn out rough-hewn the utterance of his emotions. As such, it is of striking interest, and is paralleled in homeliness and verve by the verse of Muttā (*Sisters*, Ps. xi.), herself of humble circumstances, rejoicing to be rid of her special trio of crooked things—husband, quern, and churn.

² The Yakkhas, denizens of the jungle, and man-eaters ; conceivably the legendary survivors of aboriginals, but, as here, invested with more than human intuition.

³ *Saṅg.*, ii. 271 ; *Udāna*, v. 4 ; *Sisters*, verses 246, 247.

Thus saying, the Yakkha-mother disappeared. But when the human mother heard, she was overwhelmed with grief. Then Sānu the novice, taking his robe and bowl, set out early and came to his mother. At sight of her sorrow he said: 'Mother, why do you weep?' When she told him why, he said this verse:

Mother, they weep for the dead, or the living they may not see.

But for him, O mother, who lives, who is here, why mournest thou me? (44)

His mother answered him from the Suttas, "This is death, O bhikkhus, that one should reject the training and turn again to lower things,"¹ and with this verse:

*They mourn for son who lieth dead, or him
Who is alive but whom they no more see,
And him they mourn, who though he did renounce
The world, my son, doth hither come again,
For though he live again, yet is he dead.
Drawn forth from burning embers, O my dear,
Dost thou on embers wish to fall again?*

When he heard her, anguish seized on Sānu the Novice, and making firm his insight, he soon won arahantship. And thereupon thinking, 'My victory is due to that verse,'² he repeated it as his psalm.³

XLV

Ramañiyavihārin.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, as the son of a leading citizen, he lived in youthful wantonness. One day he saw the king's officers arresting an adulterer, and grow-

¹ *Saṅg.*, ii. 271; *Sisters*, verses 246, 247; the verse is from *Saṅg.* i. 209.

² The *Dhammapada Commentary*, discussing verse 826, has, as its subject, Sānu and his mother. His own question was the penultimate, though not the proximate, cause of his victory.

ing agitated, he listened to the Master teaching, and left the world. As a bhikkhu, but still susceptible to fleshly lusts, he made himself a well-garnished chamber,¹ well furnished as to food and drink, seat and couch ; and so he ever dwelt. For this reason he was known as Ramañiyavihārin (Pleasant-lodge Brother). But his previous indulgence making the recluse's life too hard for him, he felt unworthy to accept the offerings of the faithful and said : 'I will roam.' On his way he sat down beneath a tree. And as carts were passing by on the road, one ox being weary stumbled at a rough place and fell. The carter loosened its yoke, gave it hay and water and so allayed its fatigue ; then he harnessed it again and they went on. And the Thera thought : ' Even as this ox having stumbled has arisen and draws his own load, so doth it behove me, who once have stumbled in the forest of vice, to arise and carry out the duty of a recluse.' And thoughtfully turning back, he told what he had done and seen to Thera Upāli,² was by him absolved from his fault, and helped back into right ways. And not long after he attained arahantship. Thereafter enjoying the bliss of freedom, he set forth his lapse and return in this verse :

E'en though he trip and fall, the mettled brute
 Of noble breed will steadfast stand once more.
 So look on me as one who having learned
 Of Him, the All-Enlightened One, have gained
 True insight, am become of noble breed,
 And of the Very Buddha very child.³ (45)

¹ Or well polished, *susamatthan*.

² See Ps. CLXXX. As the greatest expert in Vinaya, or the discipline of the Order, Upāli (if it be this Upāli who is meant) was eminently qualified to judge respecting his lapse. and to counsel him.

³ As this verse stands in the PTS version, it is incomplete. The Commentary leads us to suppose that it should be completed, as is the case, in verse 174, *q.v.*

XLVI

Samiddhi.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, in a clansman's family.¹ From the time he was born the wealth of his family increased, and he himself, handsome and virtuous, became known as Samiddhi (Prospero). He saw the power of the Buddha when the latter was met by Bimbisāra,² won faith in him, and left the world, abiding devoted to meditation. When the Exalted One was staying at the Tapoda Park,³ Samiddhi one day was musing in exquisite joy on his good fortune as a bhikkhu. Then Māra the Evil One, unable to bear it, made a fearful noise near him, as if the very earth were splitting. The Thera told this to the Exalted One. The latter bade him persist where he was and think no more about it. He obeyed, and soon after won arahantship. Māra, unaware of it, once more created a fearful noise. But the Thera felt no fear: 'Undaunted by all such Māras, not once have I turned a hair!' And confessing aññā, he uttered this verse:

In trust and hope forth from my home I came
 Into the homeless life. And there in me
 Have mindfulness and insight grown, and tense
 And well composed my heart and mind. Make thou
 Whatever shams thou list, thou'lt harm me not. (46)

And Māra, thus rebuked, said, 'The recluse knows me,' and vanished from that place.

¹ *Kulagehe*. Cf. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 17-22.

² *Vinaya Texts*, i. 136.

³ This episode is related in nearly the same words, and with the same gāthā, in the Māra-Saṅyutta (*Saṅy.*, i. 119 f., p. 91), but the geography is a little halting. In the Nikāya the locality is Silāvati of the Sākiyans; the Tapoda Park was on the river of that name at Rājagaha. Samiddhi, in the double rôle of Adonis and Galahad, is the subject of the 'Samiddhi-jātaka' (*Jātaka*, ii., No. 167).

XLVII

Ujjaya.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, as the son of a brahmin graduate.¹ Grown up and proficient in the Three Vedas, he saw no kernel in them, and being urged by maturity of conditions, he went to the Bamboo Grove, and when he had heard the Master preach, he left the world. Meditating in the forest on ethical conduct, he was not long in winning arahantship. Thereupon he approached the Master, saluted him, seated himself on one side and, by praising the Exalted One, confessed aññā in this verse :

Buddha the Wake, the Hero hail ! all hail !²
 Thou who from every bond art wholly free !
 Strong in the lore I learnt of thee, I live³
 From fourfold venom cleansèd, sane, immune.⁴ (47)

XLVIII

Sañjaya.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age, at Rājagaha, as the son of a wealthy brahmin. Grown up, he followed the example of Brahmāyu, Pokkharasāti and other well-known brahmins, who found faith in the Master and reached the First Path. Later he entered the Order and acquired the

¹ *Sotthiya brāhmaṇa* (Sansk. *śrotriya*), 'one who had graduated in the sacred tradition.'

² See *Sisters*, verse 157.

³ More literally, 'In thy lore a liver I live.'

⁴ *I.e.*, from the four Āsavas, or poisons or intoxicants—sensuality, (love of) rebirth, opinion or speculation, ignorance (*Compendium* p. 227).

six abhiññās. Then, confessing aññā, he uttered this verse :

Since I went forth from home to homeless life,
Ne'er have I harboured conscious wish or plan
Un-Ariyan, or linked with enmity.¹ (48)

XLIX

Rāmaṇeyyaka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī in a wealthy family, his heart was moved when the Jeta Grove was presented,² and he left the world. Dwelling in the forest he meditated on ethical conduct, and, because of his attainments and charm, he became called Rāmaṇeyyaka (Gratus, Gratulus).

Now one day Māra the Evil One, wishing to disturb him, made a fearful noise. The Thera, hearing it, was with his habitual courage unafraid, and knew it was Māra. And to show his contempt he uttered this verse :

Not all the clitter-clatter of your noise,
No more than chirp and squeal of forest sounds,³
Avail to make pulse throb or mind distraught,
For *one* the aim to which my heart is given. (49)

This verse became the Thera's confession of aññā.

¹ Cf. verses 603, 645. Pokkhārāsāti and other brahmins are named as adherents in the Vāseṭṭha Sutta (*Sutta-Nipāta*, iii. 9), but Sañjāyā is not mentioned. This is not the teacher of Sāriputta (CCLIX.).

² Cf. p. 4; *Sisters*, p. 60.

³ The limited range, as yet, of Pali lexicography makes it difficult to follow the Commentary's elucidation of *sippika*. But that the Thera contemptuously likens Māra's 'fearful noise' to minor forest sounds, such as those emitted by monkeys and squirrels, is obvious. The *gāthā*, barely stated, is thus: As to the *x y* noise and the *z* sounds, *that* does not make 'throb my heart, for devotion to unity is mine.'

L

Vimala.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, of a wealthy family, and (because of a wish he had uttered over a pious act when Kassapa was Buddha) his body was as pure as a dewdrop on a lotus-leaf, or as that of the Bodhisat in his last birth. Wherefore he was named Vimala (Im-maculatus). When grown up he was filled with faith on seeing the Buddha at Rājagaha,¹ and leaving the world, took a form of study and went to dwell in a mountain cave in Kosala.

Now one day a vast storm-cloud spread over the firmament and the rain fell, allaying heat and feverishness, so that the Thera was able to concentrate till he had won arahantship. Thereupon rejoicing over his accomplished task, he broke forth in this psalm :

The burdened earth is sprinkled by the rain,
The winds blow cool, the lightnings roam on high.
Eased and allayed th' obsessions of the mind,
And in my heart the spirit's mastery.² (50)

This verse was the Thera's confession of aññā.

PART VI

LI-LIV

Godhika, Subāhu, Valliya, Uttiya.

IN the time of our Buddha, these four, companions in a former birth when Kassapa Buddha was on earth, were reborn at Pava³ as the sons of four Malla rājas,⁴ and there

¹ Cf. Pss. XLI., XLVI.

² Lit., 'the heart (consciousness) of me is well composed.'

³ See *Dialogues*, ii. 136 ff.

⁴ Among Mallas, Koliyans, Licchavis, Sākiyans, every clansman was called a rāja.

was whole-hearted friendship between them. They went on some embassy to the King at Kapilavatthu. At that time the Master too had gone thither, and was staying in the Banyan Park, where he convinced the Sākiyan rājas by his twin-miracle.¹ Then the four saw the same and believed. They entered the Order, and not long after attained arahantship with thorough mastery of the letter and spirit of the Norm. Now after they had received much honour and support from the King and his ministers, they dwelt in the forest. Then King Bimbisāra, when they went to Rajagaha, called on them and invited them to spend the rains, building for each of them a *chālet*, but carelessly omitting to have the huts roofed. So the Theras dwelt in those huts unsheltered. But at the time of the rains, the god rained not.² And the king, wondering thereat, remembered his neglect, and had the *chālets* thatched with plaster and painted, and held an opening festival, besides giving gifts to the Order. The Theras did the King the favour of entering, and forthwith attained to the suffusion of universal love. Then from the north and the east arose a great storm-cloud, and just as the Theras emerged from their ecstasy, the rain fell. Then Godhika, aroused by the thunder of the storm, uttered this verse :

God rains as 'twere a melody most sweet.
 Snug is my little hut, sheltered, well-roofed.
 The heart of me is steadfast and at peace.
 Now an it pleaseth thee to rain, god, rain ! (51)

And Subāhu :

God rains as 'twere a melody most sweet.
 Snug is my little hut, sheltered, well-roofed,
 Well hath my mind the body's nature grasped.³
 Now an it pleaseth thee to rain, god, rain ! (52)

¹ See p. 86, n. 1.

² The usual idiom for 'it rained' (*cf.* I.). The Commentary again paraphrases 'deva' by rain-cloud (*megha*), without Pajjunna. The metre of these rain-verses is of a peculiar rippling rhythm. I cannot allocate it.

³ Lit. : 'Well composed is the mind with respect to the senses.'

And Valliya :

God rains as 'twere a melody most sweet.
 Snug is my little hut, sheltered, well-roofed.
 Herein earnest and strenuous I dwell.
 Now an it pleaseth thee to rain, god, rain ! (53)

And Uttiya :

God rains as 'twere a melody most sweet.
 Snug is my little hut, sheltered, well-roofed.
 Herein I dwell unmated and alone.¹
 Now an it pleaseth thee to rain, god, rain ! (54)

LV

Añjana-vaniya.²

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Vesālī, of the family of a rāja³ of the Vajjians. When he was grown up, a threefold panic had arisen in the Vajjian territory—to wit, the fear of drought, of sickness, and of non-human foes. This is all told in the Commentary on the Ratana-Sutta.⁴ When the Exalted One quieted the panic at Vesālī, and a great concourse heard him preach, this rāja's son heard him also, and winning faith, left the world.

When he had fulfilled the preliminary training, he dwelt in the Añjana Wood at Sāketa. And when the rains drew near, he procured a worn castaway couch, and placing it on four stones and enclosing it above and around with grasses, he set up a door to it, and so got a sheltered

¹ *Adutiyo* can mean this, or else 'free from craving.' Cf. verse 896, n.

² The Commentary has *Añjanavanira*.

³ On rājas, see above, LI.

⁴ Or Jewel Discourse, *Sutta-Nipāta* and *Khuddaka-Pāṭha*; an interesting remark, if the Commentary he refers to is the *Paramatthajotikā*. I have found no canonical account of this panic.

retreat for the rainy season. After only one month his strenuous study won for him arahantship. Thereafter, feeling the bliss of emancipation, he roused himself, and contemplating his victory with rapture uttered this verse :

Deep in the leafy glades of Añjana
My couch into a little hut I made.
The threefold wisdom have I made my own,
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done.¹ (55)

LVI

Kuṭivihārin.²

His story (in this life) is like that of Añjana-vaniya, with this difference: while striving for insight he was walking by the fields, and took shelter from the rain in the little empty hut of the field-watchman, and there won arahantship. Thereupon the watchman came and said: 'Who is in the hut?' The answer was: 'A bhikkhu is in the hut,' and the rest of the verse :

Who's in my little hut? A brother 'tis,
Who in thy little hut, all passions tamed,
Hath throughly set his mind. Know this, O
friend,
'Twas not for naught thou mad'st thy little
hut! (56)

Then the watchman said: 'Luck indeed for me, good luck indeed is mine, that your honour should have come into my little hut and be sitting there!'

And the Exalted One heard their converse by his celestial

¹ Verse 24, n. 3.

² *I.e.*, hut-dweller; in the Commentary Kuṭivihāriya.

hearing, and discerned the watchman's pleasure. And he addressed these verses to him :

*Within the hut a brother dwells, peace in his heart,
purged of all taint.*

*Fruit of this deed shall be to thee : lord of the gods
thou'lt come to be*

*Six times, ay, seven, lord of the gods, ruler over celestial
realms,*

*Thereafter all thy passions tamed, a Silent Buddha¹
thou shalt be.*

From that time the Thera began to be called Kuṭivihārin.

LVII

Kuṭivihārin (2).

His story resembles that of the Añjana Wood Thera, with this difference : When he had left the world under similar circumstances, he pursued his religious studies in a very old hut. And he thought : ' This old hut is now rotten ; I ought to make another.' So he turned his mind to new action.² Then a spirit, seeking salvation, sought to agitate him by uttering this verse, simple in words but profound in meaning :

This was an ancient hut, say'st thou ? To build

Another hut, a new one, is thy wish ?

O cast away the longing for a hut !

New hut will bring new pain, brother, to thee.³ (57)

When he heard these words, the Thera grew anxious, and with effort and endeavour establishing insight, soon won arahantship. Thereupon he repeated the verse as that which had spurred him on to victory, and as the confession of his aññā. Because he had attained while in the hut, he, too, became known as Kuṭivihārin.

¹ Pacceka-buddha. See *Sisters*, p. 11, n. 4.

² *Kamma*, karma.

³ Cf. *Sarabhangā*, CCXXVIII. 'New hut' symbolizes rebirth.

LVIII

Ramañiyakuṭika.

His story resembles that of the Añjana-Woodlander, with this difference: he dwelt in a hut beside a hamlet in the Vajjian territory. It was a pretty pleasing little *châlet*, with floor and walls well prepared, surrounded by park and tank, and with its enclosure of smooth pearly sand. And the Thera's excellent virtues enhanced its attractiveness. He there won arahantship, and there continued to dwell. Now when people came to see the vihāra (settlement), they could see the hut. One day a few fast women came by, and seeing the attractiveness of the hut said: 'The recluse living there might be a youth we could fascinate.' So they accosted him, saying: 'Delightful, sir, is your dwelling-place. We too are delightful to see, just in the prime of our youth,' and they began to show off their raiment and so forth. But the Thera set forth his passionless state in this verse:

Delightful is my little hut, the gift

Most fair of faithful, pious folk.

What need of maidens then have I? Nay, go

Thither to them, ye women, who have need of
you. (58)

By this 'not needing' saying, the declaration of the Thera's arahantship is implied.

LIX

Kosalavihārīn.

His story resembles that of the Añjana-Woodlander, with this difference: after his novitiate, he dwelt in the forest by a village in the kingdom of Kosala, near the dwelling of a lay adherent. The latter, seeing him camped under a

tree, made a little hut and gave it him. There the Thera attained arahantship. Then filled with rapture at his emancipation, he uttered this psalm :

Strong in my faith ¹ I left the world. Now here
 Within the woods a hut is made for me ;
 And I with zeal and ardour meditate,
 With watchful wit and clarity of mind. (59)

This was his confession of aññā, and because he dwelt so long in Kosala, he became known as the Kosala settler.

LX

Sivali.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of Suppavāsā, the king's daughter.² When his mother was not able to bring forth and lay seven days in great suffering, she said to her husband : ' Before I die I will give a gift.' And she sent him to the Master, saying : ' Go tell of my state to the Master, and invite him ; and what he says, mark well and come and tell it me.' He did her bidding, and the Master said : ' May Suppavāsā, daughter of the Koliyas, be happy. May she, happy and healthy, give birth to a healthy child.' The rāja heard, saluted the Exalted One and set out for the village. Even before he came, Suppavāsā was delivered of a son. The persons

¹ ' When I saw the might of the Exalted One at Vesālī, I thought : " Absolutely able to guide is this doctrine and ordinance ; therefore shall I verily through this attainment be set free from old age and death." And because of the faith thus arisen, I went forth ' (Commentary). The last two lines in the stanza are an expansion of four adjectives, the sentence lacking expressed subject and predicate.

² King of Koliya. The story is told in the introduction to the 100th Jātaka (i. 242), in *Udāna* (II. 8), and in *Dhp. Com.* on verse 414 (*cf. Ang.*, ii. 62). The mother, in the legend, was unable for seven years and seven days to bring forth her child.

who had surrounded her with tearful faces went forth delighted to tell the rāja. He saw them coming and thought: 'That which He of the Ten Powers told me has been fulfilled.' And he went to the princess and told her what the Master had pronounced. Then she bade him show hospitality to the Buddha and the Order for seven days. And saying, 'The child is born, bringing gladness of heart to all our kin,' they named him Sīvali (Auspicious).

By the seventh day from his birth he was able to do anything. Sāriputta, General of the Norm, conversed with him on that day,¹ and said: 'Does it not behove one who has overcome such suffering as you have done to leave the world?' 'Sir,' babbled the infant, 'I would leave the world.' Suppavāsā saw them talking, and asked the Thera what he had said. 'We spoke of the long suffering he has overcome. With your leave I will ordain him.' She replied: 'It is well, sir; ordain him.' And Sāriputta, ordaining him, said: 'Sīvali, you want no other exhortation than the cause of the long suffering you have overcome. Think on that.' 'Sir,' replied the child, 'yours was the burden of ordaining me; but I will find out what I am capable of doing.' At the moment when the first lock of his hair was cut off, he was established in the fruition of the First Path, when the second was cut, in that of the Second Path, and so for the third and fourth. . . .²

Other teachers say that after Sāriputta had ordained him, he went the same day, and taking up his abode in a secluded hut, meditated on his woefully delayed birth, and so, his knowledge attaining maturity, descended into the avenue of insight, casting out all the intoxicants (of the mind)³ and thus attaining arahantship. Thereupon ex-

¹ The verse in the *Dhammapada* (414) is here quoted, and the episode narrated in the Commentary (PTS edition, vol. iii.).

² Here follows the episode dealt with by the Commentary on *Ang.*, i. 24, where Sīvali's eminence as recipient of offerings is stated.

³ See p. 52, n. 4.

periencing the bliss of emancipation, he in emotional rapture uttered this psalm :

Now have they prospered, all my highest aims,
To compass which I sought this still retreat.
The holy lore and liberty, my quest,
All lurking vain conceits I cast away. (60)

PART VII

LXI

Vappa.

HE was reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu, as the son of a brahmin Vāsettha. Now when Asita the seer¹ had declared that the young noble Siddhattha would become omniscient, Vappa with four other sons of brahmins, Kondañña at their head,² became recluses. When Asita's prophecy had been fulfilled, Vappa heard the Buddha preach and thought: 'I will win salvation.' He was present during the six years when the Great Being made his ascetic struggles; thereupon disgusted when the latter again took solid food, he went to Isipatana, and there met the Master then starting the Wheel of the Norm a-rolling and was converted. On the fifth day he and his four mates won arahantship. Thereupon reflecting on the might of the Master and the blindness of the world, and how the Ariyan state bestowed vision, he said this verse :

He who doth see can see another seer,
Him too who hath no eyes wherewith to see,
He who himself sees not, can ne'er discern
Either the eye that sees not, or the seer.³ (61)

¹ *Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 128 ff.; *Vinaya Texts*, i. 90, n. 1; *Bud. Birth Stories*, p. 118.

² See CCXLVI.

³ There is here an allusion to the undiscerning attitude of the five recluses over against the spiritual evolution of the Buddha, recorded by the books referred to.

LXII

Vajji-putta.¹

He was born in this Buddha-age at Vesālī, in the family of a councillor,² and was named Vajji-son. He saw the majesty of the Exalted One when the latter came to Vesālī, believed, entered the Order, and after his novitiate dwelt in a wood near Vesālī. Now a festival took place at Vesālī, and there was dancing, singing and reciting, all the people happily enjoying the festival. And the sound thereof distracted the bhikkhu, so that he quitted his solitude, gave up his exercise, and showed forth his disgust in this verse :

*Each by himself we in the forest dwell,
Like logs rejected by the woodman's craft.
So flit the days one like another by,
Who more unlucky in their lot than we ?*

Now a woodland sprite heard him, and had compassion on the bhikkhu, and thus upbraided him, 'Even though you, bhikkhu, speak scornfully of forest life, the wise desiring solitude think much of it,' and to show him the advantage of it spoke *this* verse :

*Each by himself we in the forest dwell,
Like logs rejected by the woodman's craft.
And many a one doth envy me my lot,
E'en as the hell-bound him who fares to
heaven. (62)*

Then the bhikkhu, stirred like a thoroughbred horse by the spur, went down into the avenue of insight, and striving soon won arahantship. Thereupon he thought, 'The fairy's verse has been my goad !' and he recited it himself.

¹ The son of the Vajjians, or simply, the Vajjian. See CXIX.

² The Vajjians were a republic.

LXIII

Pakkha.

(The Cripple.)

Reborn in this Buddha-age among the Sākiyans, in the township of Devadaha, in the family of a Sākiyan rājā, he was named Young¹ Saṃmoda. But inasmuch as, when a boy, he suffered from rheumatism,² and at times walked like a cripple, he grew to be called Pakkha (=cripple), and retained the name after his recovery. He was present when the Exalted One visited his kinsfolk,³ won faith in him, entered the Order, and dwelt in the forest. Going one day to the village for alms, he sat down beneath a tree. Then a kite, seizing some flesh, flew up into the sky. Him many kites attacked, making him drop the meat. Another kite grabbed the fallen flesh, and was plundered by another. And the bhikkhu thought: 'Just like that meat are worldly desires, common to all, full of pain and woe.' And reflecting hereon, and how they were impermanent and so on, he carried out his mission, sat down for his afternoon rest, and expanding insight won arahantship. Thereupon making the base of his emotion his goad, he confessed aññā in this verse :

They fly at what is fall'n, and as it lies,
Swooping in greed they come again, again. . . .
But what 'twas meet to do, that have I done,
And what is verily delectable,
Therein was my delight : thus happily
Has happiness been sought after and won.⁴ (63)

¹ *Kumāra*, which means simply 'youth,' is a distinctive title of a young noble, as *mūṇava* is of a young brahmin. We have no suitable word. Cf. the Greek *kouros*.

² *Vātarogo*, lit., 'wind-illness.' On the synonym *vūtabūdhō*, see *Milinda*, i. 191, and below, CLIII.

³ See *Bud. Birth Stories*, p. 121 ff.

⁴ I.e., says the Commentary : 'By the happiness of the attainment of fruition has Nibbāna, which is beyond happiness (or is exceeding

LXIV

Vimala-Kondañña.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of Ambapālī, his father being King Bimbisāra.¹ She named the child Vimala, but afterwards he was known as Vimala-Kondañña.² He was convinced by the Buddha-majesty of the Exalted One at Vesālī, left the world for the Order, and attained arahantship. He declared his añña in this verse :

By the bright Banner came I here to birth
 In her called of the Tree. And by the FLAG
 That smites the flag, is the great Flag o'er-
 thrown.³ (64)

great happiness, *accanta-sukhaṇ*), been won, and by that happiness of insight, which has become a happy mode of *procedure*, has the bliss of Fruition, of Nibbāna, been reached.' The latter interpretation, as Dr. Neumann has pointed out—winning happiness by happiness—is, in the *Majjhima-Nikāya* (i. 98 f.), contrasted with the Jain point of view : 'Nay, friend Gotama, happiness is not to be got at by happiness, but by suffering'—the ascetic standpoint. Cf. CLXXI.

¹ Cf. *Sisters*, Ps. lxvi., where he is said to have converted his mother.

² Vimala = spotless. There is no apparent clue to his acquiring the brahmin clan-name of Kondañña. Cf. CCXLVI.

³ This verse is one of the allusion-riddles dear to ancient poets. The one word *ketu* (banner, flag) is symbolical (1) of Bimbisāra's kingship; (2) of the Dhamma : 'For the Norm is the banner of the seers,' quotes the Commentary (*Ang.*, ii. 51; iii. 150); (3) of the vice of conceit (*māna* : 'flaunting a flag . . . desire of the heart for self-advertisement') (*Dhs.*, 1116; *Bud. Psy.*, p. 298, n. 8; (4) of the hosts of evil. Hence the fourfold iteration of *ketu* may be thus paraphrased : 'By me, son of a king (1), through the aid of the Dhamma (2), smiting down evil (4), is conceit (3), with all soul-illusion involved therein, overthrown.' The Tree is the Mango (*amba*), beneath which, in her legend, Ambapālī was found as an infant.

LXV

Ukkhepakata-Vaccha.

He was born in this Buddha-age at Sāvattihī, as the son of a brahmin of the Vaccha family. He heard the Master preach, entered the Order, and went to dwell at a village settlement in Kosala. Through the bhikkhus who came there from time to time he mastered the doctrine, although he did not know how to distinguish what was Vinaya, what Suttanta, and what Abhidhamma. This too, however, he learnt from questioning Sāriputta, so that, whereas other bhikkhus were versed in Vinaya, or in some other part of doctrine, he had learnt the Piṭakas by heart, even before the Council, when they were recited.¹ And soon after attaining this proficiency, he won arahantship. Thereafter he became a teacher, and one day, addressing himself as another person, he uttered this verse :

That heaped wealth by Vaccha's toil thrown up³
 By steady increment these many years,
That doth he to the laity declare,
 Seated in honour, filled with splendid joy. (65)

¹ See *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 373 ff. It is a fixed tenet with Dhammapāla (*pace* other commentators) that the doctrines and discipline of his faith had existed in the infinite past in the *form* of three Piṭakas, revived under each Buddha. Councils had but to decide on the subject-matter to be included in that form, and to 'recite' the wording of the same. Cf. *Malūvaṃsa*, Geiger's translation; P.T.S., 1912, chapters iii.-v.

² The soubriquet by which he is called means Throwing-up made-Vaccha, Vaccha the Pile-maker, to emphasize his eminent repertory of orally-learnt doctrine. The Vaccha family contributed many Theras; hence, no doubt, the need of distinguishing. Cf. IX., XIII., LXXI., CXII., CXIII.

LXVI

Meghiya.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu, in the family of a Sākiyan rāja, he was named Meghiya.¹ When grown up, he entered the Order and ministered to the Exalted One while he was residing at Cālikā on the River Kimikālā. And seeing a pleasant mango-wood he desired to dwell there. Twice the Exalted One refused, but at his third request, let him go. There, however, being consumed by evil thoughts as by flies, he got no concentration of mind, so he returned and told the Master. The latter said, 'When the heart, Meghiya, is not ripe for emancipation, five things conduce thereto,' and admonished him. Whereupon Meghiya attained arahantship, and announced his aññā in this verse :

He, the great Hero, counselled me, whose mind
 Hath all transcended that our minds may know.
 And I, hearing the Norm, held close to Him
 In loving pupillage and piety.²
 The threefold wisdom have I made my own,
 And all the Buddha's ordinance is done. (66)

LXVII

Ekadhamma Savaniya.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Setavyā,³ in the family of a councillor. When the Exalted One visited Setavyā, and stayed in the Singsapa Wood, he went to listen

¹ Meaning 'cloudy,' 'cloud-like,' a name of happier augury in India than in more humid climates. Told more fully in *Udāna*, IV., i.

² More literally, 'dwelt near him having loved, or being devoted to.' But the idiom, to leave the world dwelling 'near' a Teacher implies the relation of pupillage.

³ In Kosala. Cf. *Dialogues*, ii. 349; *Sutta Nipāta*, verse 1012; *Ang.*, ii. 87.

to him, saluting, and sitting down at one side. The Master contemplated his inclinations, and taught him the Norm in the verse :

*Impermanent indeed are all component things.*¹

And he, influenced by his past resolve (to leave the world when the Norm was revived), discerned the truth more plainly, left the world, and studying the notions of ill and of the absence of soul, acquired insight and won arahantship. And because, by one hearing of the Norm alone, his destiny was fulfilled, he acquired the name of Once-Norm-hearer (Ekadhammasavanīya). His aññā he confessed in this verse :

Burnt up in me is all that doth defile,
And rooted out all life's continuance ;
Slain utterly the cycle of re-birth :
Now is there no more coming back to be.² (67)

LXVIII

Ekudāniya.³

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī, as the son of a wealthy councillor. Come to years of discretion, he was convinced by the majesty of the Buddha, at the presentation of the Jeta Grove, and left the world. Fulfilling his novitiate, and dwelling in the forest, he came to the Master to learn. And at that time the Master, seeing

¹ See *Dialogues*, ii. 175 : 'They're transient all,' etc.

² This phrase and that of 'life's continuance' are in the Pali both *bhava*, first plural, then singular with prefix of *puna*, 'again'; lit., 'becomings' and 'becoming-again.' By the plural form the three chief modes of rebirth are understood—*kāma*-, *rūpa*-, and *arūpa*-*bhava*—as well as both *kammabhava*, or that continuity of action or character which determines future *bhava*, and the *uppatti*-*bhava*, or resultant rebirth itself (so the Commentary). This doctrine is explained in the *Compendium of Philosophy*, especially pp. 262-264.

³ So the Commentary ; in the text *Ekuddāniya*.

Sāriputta rapt in contemplation near him, broke forth into this psalm :

*He who doth dwell on highest plane of thought, etc.*¹

And the brother hearing him, even when once more far away, and for a long time in the forest, kept repeating the psalm ever and anon, so that it became customary to call him 'Ekudāniya,' 'One-Psalm-er.'

Now one day he got unity and concentration of mind, and so, insight expanding, he won arahantship. And dwelling in the bliss of emancipation, he was once invited by the Treasurer of the Norm² to be tested in exposition, with the words : 'Friend, expound the doctrine to me.' And from long dwelling in mind over that verse, he uttered it then again :

He who doth dwell on highest plane of thought,
With zeal unfaltering, Sage, Arahant,
In wisdom's branches³ trained :—such as he is,
No sorrows may beset him, who with mind
Calm and serene and clear abideth aye. (68)

This became the confession of his aññā.

¹ Narrated in *Udāna*, iv. 7. *Dhammapada*, verse 259, is, by the Commentator, ascribed to the Buddha, who was commending 'Ekudāna's' fruitful use of his one stanza.

² A title given to Ānanda. See Ps. CCLX.

³ The Commentary emphasizes the mutual equivalence of *muni* (sage) and *arahū*. It also specifies the thirty-seven 'wings of wisdom' (see *Compendium*, p. 179), and the three *sikkhūs*, or trainings—viz., in morals, in jhāna or mental control, and in insight or doctrine (*Ang.* i. 235). In the *Sutta-Vibhanga* of the Vinaya-Piṭaka this psalm is put into the mouth of Panthaka the Less, to whom in the present work Ps. CCXXXVI. is ascribed. The Sisters at the Sāvattihī College are represented as expecting no effective lesson when it is Panthaka's turn to teach them, since he always repeated one and the same stanza—namely, that here attributed to Ekudāniya. The Thera hears of their remarks, and forthwith gives an exhibition both of his magical power and of his knowledge of much else of the 'Buddha-word.' Whereupon he reaps the Sisters' tribute of admiration.

LXIX

Channa.

Reborn when our Exalted One was alive in the house of King Suddhodana, of a slave, he was called Channa. A contemporary of the future Buddha, he found faith in the Master when the latter returned to meet his kinsfolk. He thereupon entered the Order. Out of his affection for Him, egoistic pride in 'our Buddha, our Doctrine' arose, and he could not conquer this fondness, nor perform his duty as novice. When the Master had passed away, and his injunction that the higher penalty be imposed on Channa was carried out,¹ the latter suffered anguish, extirpated his fondness, and soon after attained arahantship. Thereafter, blissful in his emancipation, he expressed his rapture in this psalm :

I heard the Truth which that Great One had taught,
 And felt its mighty virtues, known by Him
 Who all things with supernal insight knew.²
 The Path for winning things ambrosial
 I found. Past-master He in sooth to guide
 Into the way of blest security. (69)

LXX

Punṇa.

Reborn in this Buddha age in the Sunāparanta country, at the port of Suppāraka,³ in the family of a burgess, he was named Punṇa. Arrived at years of discretion, he went with a great caravan of merchandise to Sāvathī, when the

¹ *Dialogues*, ii. 171 ; *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 381-384.

² Lit., 'by supreme knowledge which has understood everything.'

³ Cf. *Mahāvamsa* (Geiger's translation), 64, n 3.

Exalted One happened to be there. And he went to hear the Master at the Vihara with the local lay-followers. There he believed, and left the world. And for a time he won favour among the teachers and preceptors by his skill in dialectic. Then one day he went to the Master, and asked for a lesson, so that he, hearing propositions pair-wise, might therewith go to dwell in Sunāparanta. To him the Exalted One uttered a 'Lion's Roar' of a lesson, to wit: 'Now there are objects, Puṇṇa, cognizable by the eye, etc.'¹ So Puṇṇa departed, and studying concentration and insight, acquired the three forms of higher cognition.

When he won arahantship he won over many people to the faith, even 500 lay-brethren and as many lay-sisters.

And as he lay near final death he confessed aṇṇā in this verse :

Only virtue here is highest ; but the wise
man is supreme.

He who wisdom hath and virtue,
He 'mong men and gods is victor.² (70)

¹ This is told in the Sutta on Puṇṇa's lesson (*Majjh.*, iii. 287 ff. ; *Saṅg.*, iv. 60 ; also *Divyāvadāna*, 87-89). 'Pair-wise' in the text is *yamaka*. Judging by the context in the 'lesson,' compared with the method used throughout the book of the *Yamakas* (*Abhidhamma-Piṭaka*), this means that the thesis is stated, and is then followed by either its converse or other logically contrasted form.

² This forms a verse in *Sīlavā's* poem (CCXLI., verse 619). There is a greater simplicity in this stanza, about the diction and the ideas, as of a man who had spent his life giving simple teaching in ethics to rough rustic audiences, such, as one gathers, he would meet in Sunāparanta. The Master led him to expect rough treatment at their hands (*Majjh.*, *loc. cit.*). The rhythm above almost parallels the Pali : *Sīlam eva idha aggan, pañṇāvū pana uttamo*, etc.

PART VIII

LXXI

Vacchapāla.

HE was born in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, as the son of a rich brahmin, and was named Vacchapāla (calf-herd). He saw when the Master met Bimbisāra, the self-submission of Uruvela-Kassapa to the Exalted One,¹ and believing, entered the Order. In a week he had so developed insight as to have acquired sixfold abhiññā.

As arahant he extolled in sheer happiness his attainment of Nibbāna in this verse :

Is there a man who can the truth discern
 Tho' it be very subtle and refined,
 Who, skilled to measure spiritual growth,
 Is yet of lowly and of gentle mind,
 Who shapes his life by rule of Them that Wake:²
 For him Nibbāna is not hard to find. (71)

And this was the Brother's confession of aññā.

LXXII

A t u m a .

Now he was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī, as the son of a councillor, and was named Ātuma. When he was adolescent his mother proposed to find him a wife, and consulted with kinsfolk. But he, being impelled by the fulness of conditions, said : ' What have I to do with house-ways ? Now will I leave the world.' But though he went

¹ See CCX.; also *Vinaya Texts*, i. 136 ff.; *Bud. Birth Stories*, p. 114 ff.

² *Sanjsevitā-buddha-sīlinā*. 'Spiritual growth' is from the Commentary. 'Truth' or true meaning = *attha*.

to the Brethren and was ordained, yet did his mother seek to corrupt his pious wish. Then he declared his inclination in this verse :

As the new bamboo-stem, even when grown
To its full knotted height, can scarce emerge,
So I by all this bringing home of brides—
Give me your leave! Gone forth e'en now am I. (72)

And even as he stood speaking to his mother, insight grew in him, and casting off the defilements,¹ he became an arahant.

L X X I I I

Māṇava.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvathhī, in the house of a brahmin grandee. For seven years he was reared within the precincts of home, and when at seven years old he was taken out on the estate, he saw an aged person, a diseased person, and a corpse for the first time. When he was told about these things, he was filled with dread, went to the Vihāra, heard the doctrine, and gained his parents' consent to enter the Order. Thereupon he won insight and arahantship.

Him thus having arrived thereat the Brethren asked : ' How is it you were stirred to come forth at so tender an age ? ' He thereupon, confessing aññā, signalized his going forth in this verse :

I saw an aged one, and one afflicted with disease,
And then I saw one dead, with all his span of life
consumed.
Thence I forth going left the world to live the other
life,
And from me put away the enticing sweets of sense-
desire. (73)

¹ *Kilesū*. This is as general a term, especially in the Commentaries, as is, in Christian writings, the word ' sin.' See *Bud. Psy.*, p. 327, *n*.

Now, because he left the world while so young, the Thera was always called Boy (Māṇava).¹

LXXIV

Suyāmana.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sālī, as the son of a certain brahmin, he grew up expert in the Three Vedas.² Feeling repelled by domestic life, and inclined to jhāna, he met the Exalted One at Sālī, believed, was ordained, and attained arahantship as soon as his head was shaved.

Thereupon he signalized his putting away the hindrances, and confessed aññā in this verse :

With sensuous desires, with enmity,
 With sloth of mind and torpor of the flesh
 A brother hath no truck, and in his heart
 Turmoil of any kind and doubt are dead. (74)

LXXV

Susārada.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāriputta's native place,³ in a brahmin's family, and was called Susārada

¹ One is tempted to see here no individual sharing the experiences of the Buddha, but a *type* of the earnest youthful religious mind gripped by life's realities.

² It is noteworthy that whereas there were in Dhammapāla's day Four Vedas (including the later Atharva-veda), the Buddhist schools of Eastern India—*e.g.*, Conjevaram—either did not know of this increment in brahmin literature, or observed sufficient historical accuracy to associate these original Theras with three Vedas only (see *Dialogues*, i. 109, n. 2). Sāla, or Sālaṅ, a brahmin village in Kosala, is twice mentioned as visited by the Buddha in the *Majjhima* (Suttas 41, 62; *cf.* *Samy.*, v. 144); but Sālī has, so far, not been met with elsewhere.

³ Nālaka-village in Magadha.

(Dullard), because he was slow in growing.¹ He was converted by the teaching of that Thera and in due time, as a bhikkhu, became an arahant, and confessed his aññā in this verse :

O goodly is the sight of cultured minds!²
 Doubt is cut off, and wisdom grows apace.
 E'en of a fool they make an able man ;
 Hence goodly is the intercourse with saints. (75)

LXXVI

Piyañjaha.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Vesālī, in the family of a Licchavi noble (rāja). When grown up he was ever mad for war and an unconquered fighter, ever sacrificing what was near and dear, so that he became known as Piyañjaha—Love-renouncing. But when the Master came to Vesālī, Piyañjaha found faith in him, entered the Order, dwelt in the forest, developed insight and won arahantship. As arahant he thought, 'How different is worldly success from Ariyan success!' and by this insight confessing aññā, he uttered this verse :

Where men are arrogant, see thou lie low.³
 Where they are low in mind, lift up the heart.
 Dwell thou where other folk care not to dwell,
 Wherein men find delight, take thou no joy. (76)

¹ *Susārada* means 'very autumnal'—*i.e.*, as it were, 'having undeveloped seed or growth,' and corresponding therefore to early spring-time in our climate. Cf. *JPTS*, 1909, p. 150 ; and the contrary, *visārada*, below, CCII., verse 388.

² It is a detail of interest that on the word *suvihitāna*, rendered by 'cultured' (lit., well-disposed, ordered, or practised), the Commentary remarks *anusvāralopo kato* ; the terminal *ṅ* has been cut off, *gāthāsukhatthay*, for prosodical reasons. With line 3, cf. *Sisters*, verse 218.

³ In the text the inflexion used is the third person singular of the older optative in *e* : he, one, should lie low.

LXXVII

Hatthāroha-Putta.

(Elephant - rider's Son.)

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattihī, in the family of an elephant-driver, as he grew up, he became proficient in managing elephants. One day, as he was training an elephant by the river, he was impelled by maturing conditions to think: 'What is all this elephant-taming to me? Better is it to tame one's self.' So he went to the Exalted One, heard the Norm, believed, entered the Order, and exercised himself in insight on a basis of ethical meditation. And as a skilful elephant-trainer restrains savage ways by his hook, so he by meditation suffered not his thoughts to wander away from his exercise, saying this verse:

Once roamed this heart a-field, a wanderer
Wherever will, or whim, or pleasure led.
To-day that heart I'll hold in thorough check,
As trainer's hook the savage elephant.¹ (77)

And so acting, his insight expanded, and he realized arahantship.

LXXVIII

Meṇḍasīra.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāketa, in the family of a burgess. Because his head resembled that of a ram, he acquired the nickname of Meṇḍasīra (=ram's head). While the Exalted One was staying at Sāketa in the Añjana Wood, Meṇḍasīra came to believe in him, entered the Order, and practising calm and insight,

¹ This goes to form one verse in the interesting poem ascribed to Tālapuṭa (CCLXII., 1130). 'Trainer's hook,' more accurately 'grasper of the hook.'

acquired sixfold abhiññā. He could thus recall former births, and concerning these he uttered this verse :

Full many a round of rebirth have I run
Nor found a clue.¹ Lo ! now from me who sore
Have suffered is the load of ill withdrawn. (78)

And this was his confession of aññā.

LXXIX

Rakkhita.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the township of Devadaha, in the family of a Sākiyan noble (rāja), he was named Rakkhita (Guarded). He was one of those five hundred young nobles who, as having renounced the world, were given by the Sākiyan and Koliyan rājas as escort to the Exalted One. The latter had converted these youths by the lesson of the Kuṇāla-jātaka²—a lesson against the danger of sensuality. And connecting this lesson with his exercises, he developed insight and attained arahantship. Thereafter, reflecting on his own renunciation of the corruptions,³ he uttered his verse confessing aññā :

All passion have I put away, and all
Ill will for ever have I rooted out ;
Illusion utterly has passed from me ;
Cool am I now. Gone out all fire within. (79)

¹ In the text, ' I found not ' ; Commentary, ' Not getting the knowledge how to turn or roll back ' (*nivattakaññāṇaṅ*)—i.e., the unending course of rebirth.

² *Jātaka*, vol. v., No. 536. The introduction relates the giving of the escort.

³ *Kilesā*. See above, LXXII., n. 1.

L X X X

Ugga.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in Kosala, at the town of Ugga, as the son of a councillor, he was named Ugga. When he had attained to years of discretion, he went to hear the Master, who had come to that town, found faith in him, entered the Order and finally won arahantship. He thereupon set forth his severance of the round of rebirth, confessing aññā in this verse :

All action wrought by me and bringing birth,
 Whether 'twas of great potency or small,
 Shattered and ended is it utterly.
 Now is there no more coming back to be. (80)

PART IX

LXXXI

Samitigutta.

REBORN in this Buddha-age at Sāvattihī, as the son of a brahmin, he was named Samitigutta.¹ Hearing the Master preach, he entered the Order and attained entire purity of conduct. As the consequence of his action in a former life, he was attacked by leprosy and his limbs crumbled off piece by piece. He dwelt in the infirmary.² And one day the General of the Norm went on his round of inquiry, asking after this and that sick bhikkhu. Seeing Samitigutta, he gave him an exercise on the contemplation

¹ 'Guarded-by-concord, or by-union.'

² He is represented as having said of a Silent Buddha, 'This leprous shaveling is concealing something, methinks,' and spitting; again, as a Wanderer, he loses his temper with a lay-adherent, saying, 'May you become a leper!' That Sāvattihī College should include an infirmary (*gilānasālā*) is interesting, if to be expected. The visitor is Sāriputta. Cf. verses 1054-1056.

of feeling, saying : ' My friend, in so far as there is what we call process of the five constituents, the whole of suffering is a matter of feeling. But if just the constituents be absent, suffering is absent.' So saying, he went on ; but the patient, set up by the lesson, developed insight and realized sixfold abhiññā. Thereupon he remembered the evil action in former births for which he was now overcome by disease. And extolling the fact that all was now done with, he uttered this verse :

Whatso of evil wrought in bygone days,
 In former births by me, just here and now,
 'Tis that whereby I lie and suffer sore—
 But other ground for ill exists no more ! (81)

LXXXII

Kassapa.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī, as the son of a brahmin of north-western origin,¹ he was named Kassapa. His father died while he was a child, and his mother brought him up. When one day he heard the Exalted One preach at the Jeta Grove, he was then and there impelled by maturing conditions to enter the First Path. And going to his mother, he asked her permission for his ordination.

Now when the Master had ended the rainy season with the Parivāra festival and was starting on his country tour, Kassapa was anxious to go with him. And first he went to take leave of his mother. She let him go with this admonition :

To any place where alms are easy got,
 Where'er 'tis safe and free from peril, there
 Go thou, my boy ; vex not thy life with care. (82)

¹ *Udicca-brāhmaṇassa*. Cf. *Jāt.*, i. 324 ; *Milinda*, ii. 45, n. 1.

Then the Thera thought: 'My mother wants me to go where I shall be free from care. Come then, for me 'tis right to win a place entirely and absolutely free from care.' And, striving, he set up insight and soon won arahantship. Thereupon, inasmuch as his mother's words had been his spur in winning it, he repeated that very verse.

LXXXIII

Siha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the country of the Mallas, in the family of a rāja, he was named Siha (Leo). Seeing the Exalted One, he was attracted by him, saluted him and sat down at one side. The Master discerned the trend of his mind and taught him the Norm, so that he believed, entered the Order, and, taking his exercise, dwelt in the forest. His thoughts were distracted by many objects and he could not concentrate.¹ The Master saw this and, standing over him, uttered this verse :

O Siha ! persevere in earnestness ;
 By night and day abide unfaltering.
 Engender the good Norm within thy heart.
 Swiftly renounce that piled up base of birth.² (83)

Hereby the Thera was able to expand insight and win arahantship. And, confessing aññā, he repeated the verse.

¹ Lit., 'to him one-point-ness comes not'; the usual psychological term, to which we can only approximate in our 'concentration.' Cf. *Compendium*, pp. 237, 240 f.

² *Samussayo*, lit., 'accumulation.' Commentary = 'the passions binding to personal existence.' Used for the body, or whole living aggregate. Cf. *Sisters*, verse 22.

LXXXIV

Nīta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī as the son of a brahmin, he was called Nīta. When grown up he thought: 'These Sākiyan recluses are very lucky in that they are well provided with all necessaries. It is a happy life, that of a member of the Order.' So he entered it to get pleasure from it, paid scant attention to his exercise, ate his fill, spent the day in idle talk, and slept all night long. But the Master discerned the ripeness of his antecedents, and gave him this verse in admonition:

Thou all the night to slumber given o'er,
Who lov'st the day 'mid chattering crowds to
spend:—

Dost deem that thou this way at any time,
Poor silly fool, of Ill shalt make an end? ¹ (84)

Agitated by the Master's words, he settled to develop insight, and not long after attained arahantship. He then confessed aññā in repeating this verse.

L X X X V

Sunāga.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age in the village of Nālaka as the son of a brahmin, and was a friend of Sāriputta before the latter left the world. Hearing the General of the Norm preach, he too left the world, being established on the plane of insight.² Anon he won arahantship. Thereupon, in course of teaching the bhikkhus, he confessed aññā in this verse:

Expert to grasp the image conjured up,³
Versed in the secret of the life detached,
Practised in contemplation, clear in mind:—
Well may he win to rapture unalloyed. (85)

¹ *Dummedha dukkhass' antaṇ karissassīti pi Pāli.* Cy.

² *Dassanabhūmiyan patipphito*, a divergence from the usual phrases.

³ In the self-hypnosis of jhāna. See *Compendium*, p. 54.

LXXXVI

Nāgita.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu, in the family of a Sākiyan rāja, and named Nāgita. When the Exalted One was staying in that place, he preached the Lump of Sweetness discourse.¹ Thereby Nāgita was induced to enter the Order, whereupon he attained arahantship. Then, thrilled with rapture over the truth of the Master's teaching and the effective guidance of the Norm, he burst out in this psalm :

Outside our Order many others be, who teach
A path never, like this one, to Nibbāna leading.
But us the Exalted One, the blessed Master's self
Instructs as 'twere by just the palm o' th' hand out-
spreading.² (86)

LXXXVII

Paviṭṭha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Magadha, in a brahmin's family, and being naturally inclined to the life of a recluse, he became a Wanderer. His training ended, he wandered forth, and heard of Upatissa and Kolita (= Sāriputta and Moggallāna) joining the Buddha's Order. And he thought: 'That methinks must be a

¹ *Majjhima Nikāya*, 18th Sutta, outlined (at Kapilavatthu) by the Master, and expounded by Maha-Kaccāna (see Ps. CCXXIX.), on the self-mastery of the arahant. This is apparently not the bhikkhu of the Kassapa clan (*Dialogues*, i. 198 ff.; *Ang.* iii. 81, 341; iv. 341). Perhaps the latter was known as N. Kassapa, to distinguish.

² The Commentary has: 'Our Master *sayay*'—that is, *sayañbhū nūṇena nūṇaṇ*, 'self-taught' knower by knowledge, or, 'himself'—urged by great compassion, teaches his own doctrine, like one who, to make sport (? *vilāsapattiyā*), shows *āmalaka*-seed in the palm of his hand. Is an ancient game like *morra* alluded to?

better Order since such great sages enter it.' And he went and heard the Master, believed, and was ordained. Soon after he realized arahantship, and thus confessed aññā :

The factors of the self are thoroughly seen ;
 All bases of new being broken down.
 Slain utterly the cycle of rebirth.
 Now is there no more coming back to be.¹ (87)

LXXXVIII

Ajjuna.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī, in the family of a councillor, and named Ajjuna. When grown up he came into contact with the Jains, and entered their Order very young, thinking among them to win salvation.² But finding there nothing to satisfy him,³ he met the Master, believed, entered his Order, and anon won arahantship. Then in rapture at his attainment, he burst forth in this verse :

O wonder that I found the power to draw
 Myself forth from the waters on dry land.
 Borne drifting on the awful flood I learnt
 To know the Truths, their truth to understand. (88)

LXXXIX

Devasabha.⁴

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of the rāja of a district,⁵ he succeeded to his title when quite young. But

¹ Cf. LXVII.

² Lit., Ambrosia, *Amata*, or Nibbāna.

³ Lit., no pith or kernel, the usual metaphor for no truth or genuineness.

⁴ Ps. C. is by another Devasabha.

⁵ *Maṇḍalika-rūja*. This term occurs in *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 47. I have no evidence of the comparative rank attaching to the title.

when being awakened (*buddho*) he went to hear the Master teach, he resigned his title, entered the Order, and anon won arahantship. Then joy arose in him when he reflected on the corrupting things he had put away, and he burst forth in this psalm :

Transcended is the miry bog of lusts.
 Past doom infernal am I safely come
 From flood and fetter dire to liberty,
 And shed is every form of self-conceit.¹ (89)

XC

Sāmidatta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha as the son of a brahmin, he was called Sāmidatta. When arrived at years of discretion, he heard of the Buddha's puissance, and went with laymen to the Vihāra to hear him. He believed and entered the Order, but from the immaturity of his knowledge he continued for a little while without application. Finally, on again hearing the Master teach, he became devoted and intent, and won arahantship.

Later on the bhikkhus asked him : 'How now, friend, have you reached the state of the elect ?'² And he, showing the guiding efficacy of the doctrine, and his own attainment in the Norm and minor doctrines (*dhammā-nudhamma*), confessed aññā in this verse :

The factors of my life well understood
 Stand yet a little while with severed root.
 Slain is the round of living aye renewed.
 Now is there no more coming back to be.³ (90)

¹ *Māna*. Nine forms are distinguished (*Vibh.*, p. 389). Cf. *Bud. Psy.*, p. 299, which gives the first three only.

² *Uttari-manussadhammo*, or, of the 'supermen.'

³ Cf. LXXX. and LXXXVII.

PART X

XCI

Paripunṇaka.

HE was reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu, in the family of a Sākiyan rāja. And because of the completeness of his gifts and fortune he became known as Paripunṇaka.¹ His means allowed him to enjoy at all times food of a hundred essences. But he, hearing that the Master partook of mixed scraps, said : ' Though he be delicately bred, the Exalted One lives thus, contemplating the bliss of Nibbāna. Why should we in our greed become epicures ? Let us, too, seek for that bliss of Nibbāna ! ' Thus agitated he renounced his home, entered the Order, and, taking his exercise of meditation on the body from the Exalted One, he in due course attained arahantship. Thereupon he burst forth into this psalm :²

Never as 't were some dish of hundred essences,
 Could I o'errate what I partook to-day,
 When He, the all-seeing Gotama,³ the Buddha blest,
 Himself revealed to me the holy Norm. (91)

XCII

Vijaya.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattihī, in a brahmin's family, and named Vijaya. When he had learnt the brahmin wisdom, he left the world as an ascetic,

¹ Meaning ' fulfilled ' or ' perfected, ' with *ka*, agent-noun affix.

² The metre is here not that of the usual śloka.

³ Note the frank but infrequent mention of the Master's name, a usage not countenanced by later Buddhists. In this work it occurs eight times, in the *Sisters* twice (cf. *Vinaya Texts*, i. 228). Cf. the corresponding reticence among many Episcopalian Christians.

and dwelt in the forest practising jhāna. Then he heard of the Buddha's mission and was glad, and went to salute and hear him. Thereupon he entered the Order and soon won arahantship, confessing aññā in this verse :

In whom the intoxicants are drièd up ;
 Whose happiness dependeth not on food ;
 Whose range is in the Void and the Unmarked
 And Liberty :—as flight of birds in air
 So hard is it to track the trail of him.¹ (92)

XCIII

Eraka.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthi, as the son of an eminent person, and was named Eraka.² He had beauty and charm, so that in all that he had to do he was in the most highly favoured position for doing it. His parents wedded him to a maiden suitable for beauty, virtue, years, and accomplishments. But anon, because it was his final life, he grew agitated at continued being, and sought

¹ Intoxicants = *āsavī* (see Ps. XLVII.). Food (*āhāro*), represents all the four necessities provided by the laity (food, clothing, lodging, medicine). Commentary. 'Liberty' represents the Third Sign of 'Freedom from Hankerings,' or Content. As an arahant, his mind dwells only on ideas and desires void of, and unmarked by, the three features—Ill, Impermanence, Soul-delusion. By 'trail' (*padan*) is meant destiny—namely, rebirth. Part of this gāthā, and approximately the same Commentary, occur in *Dhammapada*, verse 92 (Commentary, ii. 171-173), ascribed to the Master when addressing Belaṭṭhasāsa (cf. Ps. XVI.). The Commentary cited enumerates all forms of rebirth; *Dhammapāla* gives only 'destiny' in purgatory, and the rest. Both say only, it is as impossible to declare what is his destiny, as to say where, or how, birds will alight.

² *Erākā* seems to have been a kind of plant, perhaps a grass, woven into blankets or mats (*Vinaya Texts*, ii. 85, n. 8; *Jātaka*, iii. 91; *Sisters*, lxii. 485). A town is called Eraka-grass in *Majjh.*, i. 87 = *Milinda*, i. 276. Cf. also *Dhp. Com.*, iii. 231.

the Master. After hearing him teach the Norm, Eraka left the world. And the Master gave him an exercise, but for some days he remained mastered by evil thoughts. Then the Master, knowing the course of his thoughts, admonished him in a verse. And he, on hearing it, thought: 'Unfitly have I acted; I, fool, that I should have continued full of bad thoughts when learning from such a Master.' And in distress he devoted himself to gaining insight, and soon won arahantship. Thereupon he confessed aññā by repeating that verse:

Woeful are worldly wishes, Eraka!

No weal in worldly wishes, Eraka!

Whoso desireth joys of sense desireth ill.

Whoso desires not joys of sense desires no ill.¹ (93)

XCIV

Mettaji.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Magadha as the son of a brahmin, he was named Mettaji.² Grown up, he saw the evil of worldly desire, and became an ascetic dwelling in the forest. Hearing of the Buddha's advent, and impelled by antecedent causes, he sought the Master and asked him concerning his progress and regress. The answer given convinced him that he should enter the Order,

¹ The austere jejune simplicity of this gāthā is not poetic, and is closely followed in the translation. *Kāmā* (worldly wishes; joys of sense) is not easy to equate. Buddhism defines this plane of life, and animal life, and the lower heavens, too, as all 'sphere of Kāma.' 'Unregenerate desire' is perhaps the nearest rendering. 'Desire' alone is not correct, for there is the *dhmma-chanda*, or desire for higher things, also characterizing life on the *kāmāvacara* plane. Dr. Neumann has 'Lust'; our word 'lust' is degraded by specialization. 'Pleasure' should not be so degraded, for there is pleasure (*sukha*) not entailing woe.

² Conqueror by affection.

whereupon he won arahantship. And in this verse he extolled the Master :

All glory to the Exalted One,
 Our splendid Lord, the Sākiyas' son !
 For he the topmost height hath won,
 And well the Norm supreme hath shown. ' (94)

XCV

Cakkhupāla.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī, as the son of a landed proprietor named Mahā-suvaṇṇa, and received the name of Pāla.¹ He was also called Pāla major, because his younger brother was called Pāla minor. And the parents bound the sons in domestic bonds. But the Master came to the Jeta Grove, and there Pāla major heard him, and leaving his brother to manage the property entered the Order. After five years of novitiate, he went with sixty bhikkhus to perfect his studies. And they chose a woodland spot near a border village, where the villagers were lay-followers, and he, dwelling in a leaf-hut, practised the duties of a recluse.

He was attacked by ophthalmia, and a doctor prescribed for him. But he did not follow the advice, and the disease grew worse. 'Better,' he thought, 'is the allaying of the moral torments (*kilesā*) than that of eye-disease.' Thus he neglected the latter and worked at his insight, so that eyes and torments perished at the same time. And he became a 'dry-visioned' arahant.²

Now the village patrons asked the bhikkhus what had become of the Thera, and, hearing of his blindness, they

¹ The full name means Eye-guardian, the father's Great-golden. The story is given in somewhat ampler detail and slightly varied diction in the *Dhammapada Commentary* on the opening verses of that anthology. Pronounced Chakkhu-.

² See *Compendium*, p. 75.

ministered to his wants full of compunction. Then those bhikkhus having also won arahantship, they proposed that they should return to Sāvattthī to salute the Master; but the Thera said: 'I am weak and blind, and the journey is not without risk. I should hinder you. Do ye go first and salute for me the Master and the great Theras, and tell Pāla minor of my state that he may send a servant to me.' At length they consented to go, after taking leave of their patrons and providing him with a lodging. And they carried out his bidding, and Pāla minor sent his nephew Pālika. And the bhikkhus ordained Pālika, because the road was not safe for a solitary layman. He went and announced himself to the Thera, and set out with him. Midway, near a village in the forest, a woodcutter's wife was singing. And the novice was smitten by the sound, and, bidding his uncle wait, went and dallied with her. The Thera thought: 'Now I heard a woman singing, and my novice stays long. Is he not evilly employed?' The youth returned, saying: 'Let us go, sir.' And the Thera said: 'What! hast thou been vile?' The novice at length confessed, and the Thera said: 'One so evil shall hold no staff for me. Get thee hence!' 'But the way is perilous, and you are blind. How will you go?' 'Fool! even if I lie down and die, yet will I get on, but not with such as thee.' Then he uttered this verse:

All blind am I and perished are mine eyes
 And through the jungle's wilderness I fare.
 E'en then I'll go, and were it lying down,
 But not with child of evil as my mate. (95)

Then the other, conscious of his evil action, weeping with outstretched arms, plunged into the forest. But the efficacy of the Thera's virtue made Sakka's throne hot, and the god, in the shape of a man journeying to Sāvattthī, took his staff and brought him that evening to Sāvattthī to the Jeta Grove. And Pāla minor ministered to him all his days.

XCVI

Khaṅḍasumana.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Pāvā in the family of a Malla rāja,¹ he was named Khaṅḍasumana (Jasmine), because on his birthday the jasmine was in bloom.² He heard the Exalted One while the latter was staying in Cunda's mango grove at Pāvā,³ entered the Order, and acquired sixfold abhiññā. Thereupon he remembered his own former births: how he had offered a plant of jasmine at the tope of Kassapa Buddha when all the plucked flowers went to form the king's own offering; and, discerning how this act had guided him to Nibbāna now, he said this verse:

One flower in pious offering brought
 Did win me years on years of pleasant life
 In heavenly worlds; the balance hath availed
 To bring me perfect peace and purity.⁴ (96)

XCVII

Tissa.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at the town of Roguva in a rāja's family, at his father's death he succeeded to the title. As an absent ally of King Bimbisāra, he sent him presents of jewels, pearls, and robes. The king sent him in return the life of the Buddha on a painted panel, and the Conditioned Genesis on a gold plate specially inscribed.⁵

¹ See p. 10, n. 3.

² *Sumāna* is jasmine; *Khanda* is broken, fragmentary. The jasmine is called *khaṅḍa-sakkara*, broken-sugar.

³ See *Dialogues*, ii. 137. Pronounced Chunda.

⁴ Lit., 'by the remainder am I *nibbuto*' — i.e., 'I have *parinibbāna* of the kilesa's,' entire going out or quieting away of the ten kinds of moral corruption or torment. See above, LXXII., n.

⁵ Early historians were not over-careful in the matter of attributing civilization of their own day to an earlier age; nevertheless, writing

When he saw these, because he had resolved under former Buddhas and because it was his last birth, he pondered on going forward and turning back, setting the order of the doctrine in his heart and growing uneasy till he came to this conclusion: 'Now have I seen the likeness of the Exalted One, and have learnt the order of his doctrine at the same time. Full of ill are worldly desires. What have I to do with the life in houses?' And he abdicated, entered the Order, and, taking his earthen bowl and followed, as was Prince Pukkusāti,¹ by a lamenting populace, he left the town and went to Rājagaha. There he dwelt in the Sabbasonḍika Cave, and visited the Exalted One. And learning of him, he won arahantship. Thereupon alluding to his experiences, he uttered this psalm:

Renouncing costly vessels wrought in bronze,
 In gold and lac, I grasped this earthen bowl.
 The second time was I anointed then. (97)

was certainly known in India in early Buddhist days, even though the use of it might (through lack of suitable book-material) be limited to the brief contents of tablets. As to the contents written, the historical critic should bear in mind that a ministry, growing in public esteem and success for forty years, may well have seen its founder's life and leading doctrines written and circulated, even without the printing press.

¹ Tissa's story is, indeed, so like a brief résumé of the full and pleasant chronicle of the friendship between Pukkusāti, king of Takkaśilā and Bimbisāra, recorded by Buddhaghosa in the Commentary on *Majjh.*, iii. 287 ff., that it seems not unlikely the two accounts bifurcated out of one. Pukkusāti was gored by a fierce cow on the eve of his entering the Order, and so is not inscribed among the Theras. Bimbisāra's gifts differ a little in either story. To Pukkusāti he sent a description of the 'Three Gems'—Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha—and on the gold plate he had inscribed various tenets, Satipaṭṭhānas, Eightfold Path, thirty-seven Wisdom Factors, but *not* the *Paṭicca-samuppāda*. There is no commoner name in Indian literature than Tissa, but this ex-king of Roguva is not identifiable with any other of the known Tissas. The verse recurs in Ps. CCLIV.

XCVIII

Abhaya (2).

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī in a brahmin family, he was called Abhaya. After he had heard the Master teach and had entered the Order, he went one day for alms into the village,¹ and saw a woman attractively dressed. This disturbed his mental composure, so that he returned to the Vihāra thinking: 'Looking on a visible object has corrupted me. I have done amiss.' Thus repudiating that consciousness, he so developed insight as to win arahantship.

Thereupon he reviewed his moral slip and his recovery in this verse:

Sight of fair shape bewildering self-control,²
 If one but heed the image sweet and dear,
 The heart inflamed in feeling doth o'erflow
 And clinging stayeth. Thus in him do grow
 The deadly taints³ that bring new living near. (98)

XCIX

Uttiya.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu in the family of a Sākiyan rāja, he was named Uttiya.⁴ Come to years of discretion, he witnessed the power of the Buddha when the latter came to visit his kin,⁵ believed in him, and entered the Order. As a student he visited the village one day for alms, and on the way he heard a woman singing, and his concentration gave way, desire and passion arising in him. Checking himself by the power of reflection, he

¹ So in XIX. and XXIX. This is clearly not the Abhaya of XXVI.

² *Sati* = mindfulness, heedfulness, control of thought.

³ *Āsavā*. Cf. verses 794 ff.; *Saṅg.*, iv. 78.

⁴ The Commentary (Br.) has both Uttiya and Uttariya.

⁵ See above, LXIII.

entered the Vihāra much agitated, and seating himself for siesta-meditation, he so developed insight that he won arahantship. Thereupon he mentioned his release from the ills of rebirth, through disgust at the corruptions, in this verse :

Sound of sweet voice bewildering self-control,
 If one but think upon the image dear,
 The heart inflamed in feeling doth o'erflow
 And clinging stayeth. Thus in him do grow
 The deadly taints that bring Saṅsāra¹ near. (99)

C

Devasabha (2).²

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu in the family of a Sākiyan rāja, he was named Devasabha. When grown up he believed when he saw the Master appeasing the quarrel between Sākiyans and Koliyans,³ and was established in the Refuges. Again, he went when the Master was staying at the Banyan Park, this time entering the Order. He won arahantship, and dwelling on the bliss of his emancipation, he burst forth in rapture with this psalm :

Whoso supreme endeavour doth put forth,
 Whose range is in the fourfold heedfulness,⁴
 He with fair flowers of Liberty enwreathed,
 Sane and immune, will reach the perfect peace.⁵ (100)

Thus the Thera confessed aññā.

¹ Pronounced Saṅsāra, 'continual going'; the stream or cycle of rebirth, new life and death.

² See LXXXIX.

³ See Kuṅāla-Jātaka, Introduction, *Jātaka*, v. 450, and above, LXXIX.

⁴ See *Compendium*, p. 179 ; *Dialogues*, ii. 827 ff.

⁵ Lit., will *parinibbān*-ate void of *āsava*'s. The Commentary says, perfected by both *sa-upādisesa* and *anupādisesa* Nibbāna (cf. *Compendium*, p. 158, n. 5). 'Sane and immune' is used throughout these verses to express the awkward term *an-āsavo*.

PART XI

CI

Belatṭhakāni.

REBORN in this Buddha-age at Sāvattī in a brahmin's family, he was named Belatṭhakāni. When after hearing the Master teach he had entered the Order, and was practising calm and insight in a forest of Kosala, he grew very slothful and was also rough of speech. Hence he did not evoke the right state of mind for his exercises. Now the Exalted One considered his maturing insight, and stirred his heart by this admonitory verse :

Though layman's life be left, yet if the task
Remain undone, the mouth harsh furrows plough,
The paunch be full, the mind all slack with sloth :—
Like a great hog with provender replete,
He cometh back, again, again to birth.¹ (101)

Then he, seeing the Master as if seated before him, was thrilled with agitation at his discourse, and establishing insight, was not long in winning arahantship. And through the divers expressions of the psalm, he declared his aññā.

CII

Setuccha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of the rāja of a district,² he was unable to maintain his country's independence, and lost his throne. Wandering about the land unhappy, he saw and heard the Exalted One, entered the

¹ See XVII.

² *Maṇḍala-rājā*. See p. 88, n. 5.

Order, and won arahantship. And inveighing in his psalm against worldliness, he thus in divers ways confessed aññā :

By vain conceits deluded, and their minds
Corrupted by the varied things of sense ;
Flushed by their gains, by dearth thereof upset,
They fail to win the concentrated mind. (102)

CIII

Bandhura.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at the town of *Silāvati*¹ as the son of a councillor, he was named *Bandhura*.² And going one day on some business to *Sāvattihī*, he went with the laity to the *Vihāra*, heard the Master, believed and entered the Order, and in due time won arahantship. Now to render service to his *rāja* and so show his gratitude for his success, he went to *Silāvati* and preached the Norm to the *rāja*, declaring to him the Four Truths. The *rāja* became a convert, built a great *Vihāra* in the township, calling it *Sudassana*, and bestowed it on the Thera with many honours and offerings. The latter handed over everything to the Order, and going on his rounds as before, conceived the wish to go to *Sāvattihī*. The bhikkhus said : ' Sir, stay with us. If you lack in what you require, we will make it good.' He replied : ' I have no need, friends, of anything out of the way ; I keep going on anything I get. I am content with the savour of the Norm,' and uttered this psalm :

Nay, 'tis not this I need, who live in bliss,
Regaled by sweetest nectar of the Norm.
Drinking those drops peerless, supreme, shall I
Forsooth my tongue with poison now acquaint ? (103)

¹ A town of the *Sākiyas* (*Sany.*, i. 117 ff.).

² The Burmese Commentary calls him *Bandhana* and *Sandhaya*. One Singhalese MS. calls him *Sandhava*.

CIV

Khitaka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī in a brahmin's family, he heard, when grown up, of the great supernormal powers of Moggallāna the Great.¹ And he thought: 'I, too, will become so gifted.' And impelled by prior causes he entered the Order under the Exalted One, and by exercising himself in the training for calm and insight, acquired in due course sixfold abhiññā. Then he, enjoying the various forms of supernormal movement, continued to bestow favour on beings by the wonder of those acts and by the wonder of training.² When the bhikkhus asked him: 'Khitaka, friend, do you employ supernormal power?' he uttered this verse:

Buoyant in sooth my body, every pulse
 Throbbing in wondrous bliss and ecstasy.
 Even as cotton-down blown on the breeze,
 So floats and hovers this my body light. (104)

CV

Maitavambha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the town of Kurukaccha as a brahmin's son, he was converted by the preaching of Pacchabhu, the great Thera,³ and entered the Order. Working at exercises for insight, he abode in any place where, of the four necessaries of life,⁴ only suitable food was hard to get; but where such food was easily got and

¹ Cf. Moggallāna's poem, CCLXIII.

² These are the first and third of the three sorts of wonders which the Buddha claimed to know (*Dialogues*, i. 277, cf. 88). The second was the 'wonder of manifestation'—*i.e.*, thought-reading.

³ A name not met with elsewhere. The episode may be of later date. The name itself—lit., Epigonus—is possibly significant.

⁴ The four necessaries (*paccayā*) for a bhikkhu were food, raiment, lodging, and medicine. Not too little ease nor too much comfort for the holy life is the maxim. The subject, as Dr. Neumann reminds us, is expanded in *Majjh.*, 18th Sutta.

the rest difficult to find, he went away. So continuing, because he had the antecedents, and was of the nature of the Great Men,¹ he expanded insight, and in due course became an arahant. Thereupon, reflecting on his attainment, he broke forth in this verse :

Where I am straitened let me never dwell,²
 Let me go thence, if life too pleasant prove.
 Ne'er will the man with eyes to see abide
 Where aught may hinder in the quest supreme. (105)

CVI

Suhemanta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the Border country as the son of a wealthy brahmin, he went to hear the Exalted One teach the Norm in the deer park at the town of Sankassa.³ Leaving the world he joined the Order, and became a reciter of the Three Piṭakas,⁴ becoming in due course possessor of sixfold abhiññā. Thereupon he thought : 'I have won all that a disciple may win. What if I were now to do a service to the brethren?' So he lectured to them and solved their difficulties. And one day he addressed them and other intelligent persons concerning himself in this verse :

A hundred tokens show, a hundred marks
 Betray wherein the hidden meaning⁵ lies.
 Whoso hath eyes to see but one, a dullard is,
 Who can discern the hundred, he is wise. (106)

Thus the Thera magnified before the Brethren his attainment of analytic knowledge that was so excellent.

¹ *Mahāpurisajāṭikatāya*. This is the only instance where this expression occurs. I do not see the special bearing of it in Malitavambha's case. A 'Great Man' was either a Buddha or a great emperor.

² The tense throughout is the optative. 'Quest,' or 'welfare' (*attha*).

³ Mentioned by Fa-Hien as a thriving Buddhist centre. The name exists to this day, the village being 45 miles north-east of Kanij (Legge's *Travels of Fa-Hien*, 1886). ⁴ Cf. LXV., n. 2.

⁵ *Attha* = *ñeyya*, Cy.

CVII

Dhammasava.

Reborn in the kingdom of Magadha in a brahmin's family, and impelled by maturity of conditions, he preferred the religious to the household life. Seeking the Exalted One on the South Hill,¹ he heard him teach the Norm, whereupon he entered the Order, and in due course became an arahant. And reflecting with joy upon his career, he broke forth in this psalm, confessing aññā :

I pondered well, then sought the life that lay
Beyond the walls and bonds of household life.
The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done.² (107)

CVIII

Dhammasava's Father.

He followed his son's example, saying: 'My son left the world when he was young; why should not I leave it?' So he, too, sought the Master, and in due course realized arahantship and uttered his psalm :

A hundred years was I and eke a score,
When forth I went and knew my home no more.
The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done. (108)

CIX

Sangha-Rakkhita.³

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a wealthy family at Sāvattthī, he found faith, and entering the Order took an exercise, and joined another bhikkhu, both dwelling in the forest. Not far from where they abode, a doe in the thicket had

¹ Dakkhinagiri (*Vinaya Texts*, ii. 207, n. 2).

² Ps. XXIV.

³ = Guarded by the Order.

given birth to a fawn. Tending it, her love kept her from going far from it, and lacking grass and water close by she was famished. Seeing her the Thera said: 'Ah, surely this world bound in the bonds of craving suffers sore, unable to cut them!' And taking this feeling as a goad, he developed insight and won arahantship. Thereupon, discerning that his companion was cherishing many wrong thoughts, he admonished him through the parable of the doe, and uttered this verse:

Not yet doth he, though in retreat he dwell,
 Con o'er the system by that Blest One (planned)
 Who showed compassion for our highest good.
 Still are his powers relaxed and uncontrolled,
 Like woodland doe all tender grown and weak.¹ (109)

Now hearing these words that bhikkhu grew agitated, and expanding insight, in due course won arahantship.

CX

Usabha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a wealthy family, in the kingdom of Kosala, he found faith in the Master when the latter accepted the gift of the Jeta Grove. Finishing his novitiate, he dwelt in the forest at the foot of the mountain. Now at the time of the rains, the clouds had emptied themselves in the crests of the hills and trees; bushes and creepers became filled with dense foliage. Then the Thera, going forth one day from his cave, saw the loveliness of the woods and the mountains, and considered seriously: 'These trees and creepers are unconscious, yet by the season's fulfilment they have won growth. Why should not

¹ This stanza is a notable example, among others, of the extraordinary difficulty attending translation in the absence of the Commentary. Lack of the simple little narrative has landed Dr. Neumann in a very different interpretation, with a strained use of the word *pākatindriyo*. *Pākata* = *asayvuta* (Commentary). Cf. *Milinda*, ii. 72.

I who have attained a suitable season win growth by good qualities?'¹ And he uttered this verse, which became his confession of aññā, for he forthwith strove and won arahantship :

The trees on high by towering cloud refreshed
 With the new rain break forth in verdant growth.
 To Usabha who for detachment longs,
 And hath the forest sense of things,² doth come
 [From this responsive spring] abundant good. (110)

PART XII

CXI

Jenta.

HE was reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Magadha at the village of Jenta, as the son of the rāja of a district.³ While still young, his mind, impelled by maturity of conditions, inclined to leaving the world, and he turned the matter over and wondered what he should do. So doubting he heard the Master preach. From that day he became devoted to the religious life, and entered the Order. Happily working and with swift insight, he realized arahantship; then reflecting on his attainment and how he had been perplexed, he joyously uttered this verse :

Hard is the life without the world, and hard
 In sooth to bear house life. Deep is the Norm ;
 Hard too is wealth to win. Thus difficult
 The choice of one or other how to live.
 Behoves me bear unceasingly in mind
 [And see in everything] IMPERMANENCE. (111)

¹ Cf. Keble's autumnal pendant to this mood :

*'Yet stay awhile and see the calm leaves float
 Each to its rest beneath their parent shade,' etc.*

² = *araññasaññino*.

³ *Maṅḍalīkarājassa*. Cf. p. 83, n. 5.

CXII

Vacchagotta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha as the son of a wealthy brahmin, and because there were four Theras named Vaccha, he was called Vacchagotta.¹ Come to years of discretion, and expert in brahmin learning, he, as a seeker after emancipation, found no pith in those studies, and became a wandering recluse. As such he met and questioned the Master. Satisfied with the answers, he entered the Order, and in due course acquired sixfold abhiññā.² Reflecting with joy upon his career, he uttered this psalm :

The Threefold Lore is mine, and I excel
 In Jhāna-ecstasy, adept in calm
 Of balanced mind. Salvation have I won,
 And all the Buddha-ordinance is done. (112)

CXIII

Vanavaccha (2).

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of a wealthy brahmin at Rājagaha and named Vaccha, he found faith when King Bimbisāra conferred with the Master. And entering the Order he attained arahantship. As arahant he dwelt in the woods devoted to detachment; hence he came to be called Woodland Vaccha (Vanavaccha). Now it happened that the Thera, in order to do a kindness to his kinsfolk, went to Rājagaha, and dwelt there a little

¹ The others were called, one, Pilinda-Vaccha (IX.) and two, Vana-Vaccha (XIV. and CXIII.).

² The two conversations occur in *Majjh.*, i., 72nd and 73rd Suttas. Vacchagotta's ordination is also mentioned, and how the Buddha tells him to proceed to the study of Calm and Insight, whereby sixfold abhiññā might be acquired. Cf. *Compendium*, part ix.

space, telling them of his mode of life. They begged him, saying: 'Sir, do us the kindness of dwelling in the near Vihāra, and we will wait upon you.' The Thera showed them in this verse both his love of the mountains and the life of detachment:

Crags where clear waters lie, a rocky world,
 Haunted by black-faced apes and timid deer,
 Where 'neath bright blossoms run the silver streams:
 Those are the highlands of my heart's delight.¹ (113)

This verse became the Thera's confession of aññā.

CXIV

Adhimutta.²

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a brahmin family at Sāvattthī and named Adhimutta, he became discontented at finding no pith in the brahmin wisdom, and while he was seeking to escape during his last span of life, he saw the majesty of the Buddha at the presentation of the Jeta Grove. Entering the Order, he in due course won arahantship. Thereupon he admonished those bhikkhus dwelling with him who were very corpulent, in this verse:

If ye to this gross body give such heed,
 Greedy its pleasures to enjoy, the while
 Life's energies do ebb away, O whence
 Shall come perfection in the holy life? (114)

¹ The only bond between the two Vacchas seems to be their common brahmin stock and their love of nature. The poem goes to make up those ascribed to Sankicca and Kassapa the Great (CCXI., CCLXI.). Cf. also that by the Kapilavatthu Vaccha of the Woods (XIII.). It is doubtful whether the two legends do not derive from an identical source. But cf. CXII.

² Cf. CCXLVIII., also ascribed to an Adhimutta of Sāvattthī.

CXV

Mahanāma.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattihī in a brahmin family, and named Mahanāma,¹ he heard the Exalted One teaching the Norm, and gaining faith, entered the Order. Taking an exercise, he dwelt on the hill called Nesādaka. Unable to prevent the rising up of evil thoughts and desires, he exclaimed: 'Of what worth is life to me with this corrupted mind?' And disgusted with himself he climbed a steep crag of the mountain, and made as if he would throw himself down, saying, 'I will kill him,' speaking to himself as to another and uttering this verse:

Lo thou! how to a wretched end art come
 By this steep crag, this famous Hunter's Hill,
 Its many crests begirt by sāl-tree woods,
 [And all its glens with tangled verdure] clothed! (115)

In the act of upbraiding himself thus, the Thera evoked insight and won arahantship. And this verse became his confession of aññā.

CXVI

Pārāpariya.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a brahmin family at Rājagaha, he became proficient in the three Vedas. And being of the Pārāpara clan, he was called the Pārāpariyan,

¹ Another instance where the Chronicle makes clear lines otherwise inexplicable. There is no hint given that this Thera (whose name means 'Great-Name') is identical with Mahā-Nāma the Sākiyan, one of the Buddha's first (lay) converts, or with the Licchavi of *Ang.*, iii. 76. The hill in question has not been met with in other books as yet, but, judging from the Commentary, it seems to have been a most charming resort, well supplied with shade, water, and medicinal herbs. With his desperate mood, cf. Vakkali (CCV.), Sappadāsa (CCXV.), and Sīhā (*Sisters*, Ps. xi.).

and taught mantras.¹ He saw the wisdom and majesty of the Master at the Rājagaha Conference, and entered the Order, in due course winning arahantship. Reflecting on his career, he broke forth in joy with this psalm :

Avoiding truck with contact's sixfold field,
Guarding the gates of sense, master of self,
The general root of misery vomiting,
From every poison-taint am I immune. (116)

This verse became his confession of aññā.

CXVII

Yasa.

Reborn in this time of our Exalted One as the son of a very wealthy councillor at Benares, he was exceedingly delicately nurtured, and had three mansions for the different seasons, all of which is told in the Khandaka.² Impelled by antecedent conditions, he saw one night the indecorum in his sleeping attendants and, greatly distressed, put on his gold slippers and left both house and town, gods opening the doors for him. So he went towards Isipatana, exclaiming : 'Alas ! what distress ! Alas ! what danger !' Now at that hour the Exalted One, who was staying at Isipatana in order to do him kindness, was walking to and fro out of doors, and said : 'Come, Yasa, here is there neither distress nor danger.' Yasa filled with joy put off his slippers, and sat down beside the Exalted One. The Master talked to him by a graduated discourse, and when he had finished teaching the Truths, Yasa became a convert. And while the Exalted One taught the Truths to his father who had come to seek him, Yasa realized arahantship.

Then the Exalted One held out his right arm to Yasa, saying, 'COME, BHIKKHU !' And at his merely saying the words, Yasa's hair was shorn two fingers' length, and he

¹ Cf. CCXLIX., CCLVII.

² *Vinaya Texts*, i. 102 ff.

was equipped with the eight necessaries.¹ Reflecting on his career, he rejoiced over those words calling him to his present state, 'Come, bhikkhu!'² and uttered this psalm :

With perfumed skin and delicately clad
 And head ablaze with gems, nathless my way
 I found and made the Threefold Lore my own;³
 And now the Buddha-ordinance is done. (117)

CXVIII

Kimbila.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu in the family of a Sākiyan rāja, and named Kimbila,⁴ he inherited immense wealth. The Master saw the maturity of his insight while staying at Anupiyā, and in order to arouse him, conjured up a beautiful woman in her prime, and showed her to him passing to old age. Then Kimbila greatly shaken uttered this verse :

As bidden by some power age o'er her falls.
 Her shape is as another, yet the same.
 Now this my self, who ne'er have left myself,
 Seems other than the self I recollect. (118)

¹ This is a mythical elaboration of the older tale in the *Vinaya*. In the Order the learner or pupil had to remove his shoes when waiting on his teacher (*ibid.*, i. 66 (62), 154).

² Cf. Bhaddā's joy at these words, a special honour to a candidate (*Sisters*, Ps. xlvi., also CCXXVI. below and others).

³ The point lies in his swift attainment, *as a layman*.

⁴ Also spelt (Br.) Kimila and Kimmila. He was converted, with five other young Sākiyan nobles, in the first week of the Buddha's mission, according to the *Vinaya* narrative. There the method adopted for his conversion is not given. Kimbila is represented in the *Majjhima* as maintaining his early friendship with the senior Thera Anuruddha, dwelling with him, and a third, Nandiya (Ps. XXV.), now in this wood or park, now in that (*Vinaya Texts*, ii. 809, iii. 228; *Majjh.*, i. 205, iii. 155; see also CXXXVIII.). Anupiyā was a town in the Malla republic (*Vinaya Texts*, iii. 224).

He thus, considering the fact of impermanence, was yet more strongly agitated, and going to the Master heard the Norm, believed, entered the Order, and in due course won arahantship. Thereupon he emphasized how he had formerly looked on things as permanent by repeating the verse, thereby confessing aññā.

CXIX

Vajji-putta (2).

(The Vajjian.)

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of a Licchavi rāja at Vesāli, he became known as the Vajjian's son, because his father was one of the Vajjians.¹ While yet a youth and engaged in training elephants, he, inclined by fulness of cause to seek Release, went to the Vihāra at the hour when the Master was to preach, and having heard, entered the Order, and in due course acquired sixfold abhiññā.

At a later time, shortly after the Master had passed away, Vajjiputta formed an agreement with the chief Theras to preserve the Dhamma intact, and travelled with them from place to place. One day he saw the Venerable Ānanda, who was still a student only, surrounded by a large congregation, teaching them the Norm. And to call forth endeavour in him to reach the higher Paths, he uttered this verse :

Come thou and plunge in leafy lair of trees,

Suffer Nibbāna in thy heart to sink!

Study and dally not, thou Gotamid!

What doth this fingle-fangle mean to thee?² (119)

¹ This is apparently not the Vajji-putta of LXII., who was not of noble rank.

² For this late attainment of the goal by Ānanda, the Buddha's chief attendant, see *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 373. The verse occurs also in *Saṃy*, i. 199, where woodland sprites note Ānanda's preoccupation with worldly interests—a tendency that was entirely amiable in itself, and

Hearing this and speech of others, dispelling poisonous odours, Ānanda grew agitated, and most of the night walked to and fro meditating. Then, with insight worked up, he entered his dwelling, and in the act of lying down on his couch, he won arahantship.

CXX

Isidatta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Avanti at Veḷugāma,¹ as the son of a caravan guide, he became (by correspondence) the unseen friend of Citta, a house-father at Macchikasaṇḍa. The latter wrote to him on the excellence of the Buddha, and sent him a copy of the system. This so moved him that he sought ordination under the Thera Kaccāna the Great. In due course he acquired six-fold abhiññā. Thereupon he had a mind to visit the Buddha, and taking leave of the Thera, came in course of time to the Middle Country,² and had an interview with the Master. The latter asked him the question, 'How goes

which is noticeable in the many episodes related of him. To these other admonishers the Chronicle refers. Ānanda was of the Gotama clan, cousin to the Buddha. The quaint term *bilībīlikā* is thus paraphrased *vilivilikriyū* (lit., sticky-sticky-action ?), the reiteration being intended as a deprecation of his preoccupation with the interests of the many to his own spiritual hindrance. For Ānanda's psalm, see CCLX.; cf. also CLXXV.

¹ Avanti lay north of the Vindhya Mountains, north-east of Bombay. It was one of the four chief monarchies in India when Buddhism arose, and was later absorbed into the Moriyān Empire. Its capital was Ujjenī. Veḷugāma (Bamboo-village) is not, so far, met with in other works (see *Buddhist India*, p. 1 ff.). Citta, whose home lay near Sāvattihī, was one of the most eminent lay-supporters of the Buddha. On this further instance, in the later tradition, of the doctrine being propagated by writing, cf. XCVII. On Kaccāna, see CCIX. Pronounced Chitta, Kaccāna.

² The Ganges Valley (Rhys Davids, 'The Middle Country,' *JRAS*, 1904, p. 83 ff.).

it with you, bhikkhu? Are you prospering?' And he replied: 'Exalted One, from the time when I was admitted into your Rule, all sorrow and pain left me, all sense of peril was calmed.' And he declared aññā in making that confession, uttering this verse:

The factors of my life well understood
 Stand yet a little while with severed root.¹
 Sorrow is slain! that quest I've won, and won
 Is purity from fourfold Venom's stain.² (120)

¹ = verse 90, first half.

² *Āsavas*.

CANTO II
PSALMS OF TWO VERSES

PART I

CXXI

Uttara.

REBORN in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha as the son of an eminent brahmin and named Uttara, he graduated in brahmin lore, and became renowned for his breeding, beauty, wisdom and virtue. Vassakāra, a leading minister of Magadha, seeing his attainments, was desirous of marrying him to his daughter. But he with heart set on release declined, and he attended the teaching of the General of the Norm.¹ Winning faith, he entered the Order and fulfilled his novitiate, waiting upon Sāriputta.

Now the Thera fell ill, and Uttara set out in the morning to seek a physician. On his round he set down his bowl on the banks of a lake and went to the water to wash out his mouth. Then a certain thief, pursued by the police, escaped from the town by the chief gate, and running by, dropped his stolen jewels into the novice's bowl, and fled. Then, as the latter came back to his bowl, the king's men passed in pursuit, and seeing the bowl, said: 'This is the thief! He has done the burglary!' And binding his arms behind, they brought him before Vassakāra, the brahmin, and punished him.

Then the Exalted One, contemplating the ripeness of his insight, went thither, and placing a gentle hand, like dropping of crimson gold, on Uttara's head, spake thus: 'Uttara, this is the fruit of previous action. Come here to pass, it

¹ Sāriputta, chief of the disciples till his death.

is to be accepted by thee through the power of reflection,' and so taught him the Norm according to his need. Uttara, thus ambrosially anointed by the touch of the Master's hand, was transported with joy and rapture, and through the ripeness of his insight and the charm of his Master's teaching, so cast off all impurity that he attained sixfold abhiññā. Rising clear of the stake,¹ he stood in the air, performing a miracle out of compassion for others. To the amazement of all, his wound was healed. When asked by the bhikkhus, 'Brother, how were you able, suffering such pain, to apply insight?' he said, 'Since I clearly saw, Brothers, the evil of rebirths and the nature of the conditioned, it was not the lesser evil of present pain that could hinder me from increasing insight, and achieving attainment':²

There is no life that lasteth evermore,
 Nor permanence in things from causes come.
 They are reborn, the factors of our life,
 Thereafter they dissolve and die away. (121)
 Since *this* the evil claiming all my thought,
 Sooth am I one who doth not seek to be.
 Detached from all that worldly aims commend,
 Of th' intoxicants have I now made an end.³ (122)

CXXII

Piṇḍola-Bhāradvāja.

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of the chaplain to king Udena of Kosambī, he was named Bhāradvāja.⁴

¹ *Sūlato utthahitvā*. He was presumably bound or impaled, or otherwise suffering punishment.

² *Viśeso*.

³ *I.e.*, 'I have won nibbāna and arahantship.' Commentary. — verse 458.

⁴ Bhāradvāja seems to have been the name of a brahmin clan, though here given as a personal name (*S. Vibh.*, p. 6; *Saṅy.*, i. 160). Hence either Piṇḍola is the personal name, or it is a soubriquet, analogous to our 'chunks,' associated with his earlier greedy habits.

Having learnt the three Vedas, and teaching the hymns with great success to a school of brahmin youths, the work became distasteful. And leaving them, he went to Rājagaha. Seeing there the gifts and favours bestowed on the Order of the Exalted One, he entered the same. He overcame intemperance in diet by the Teacher's methods, and acquired sixfold abhiññā.

He thereupon announced before the Exalted One that he would answer the questions of any Brethren in doubt concerning path or fruit, thus uttering his 'lion's roar.'¹ Wherefore the Exalted One said of him : ' The chief among my disciples who are lion-roarers is Piṅḍola-Bhāradvāja.'

Now there came to him a former friend, a brahmin of a miserly nature. And the Thera persuaded him to make an offering, handing it over to the Order. And because the brahmin believed the Thera was greedy and self-seeking, the latter set himself to instruct him in the privileges of religious gifts, saying :

Not without rule and method must we live.

But food as such is never near my heart.

'By nutriment the body is sustained':²

This do I know, and hence my quest for alms. (123)

'A [treacherous] bog' it is :—the wise know well :

These bows and gifts and treats from wealthy folk.

'Tis like steel splinter bedded in the flesh,

For foolish brethren hard to extricate.³ (124)

His perfected self-mastery is the theme in *Udāna*, iv. 6. He is persecuted for preaching by King Udena (*Jāt.*, iv. 375), but is subsequently consulted by the latter, who reforms his ways (*Saṅg.*, iv. 110). He is rebuked for cheaply performing a miracle (*Vinaya Texts*, iii. 78). Two untraced stanzas of his are quoted (*Milinda*, ii. 835, 845).

¹ The usual idiom for an affirmation of competence or readiness to act (*Ang. Nik.*, i. 23).

² Included in the orthodox dictum : 'All beings are sustained by nutriment' (*Dīgha Nik.*, iii. 211 ; *Khuddaka Pāṭha*).

³ See verses 495, 1053. Cf. *Jātaka*, iv. 222 (text).

CXXIII

Valliya.¹

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattihī as the son of an eminent brahmin, he was named Valliya. While adolescent and in the power of the senses, he formed virtuous friendships, whereby he came to the Exalted One, found faith and entered the Order, soon thereafter establishing insight and winning arahantship. Reflecting on the past with its worldly objects and desires, and on how, by the Ariyan Path, he now had turned from all that, he thus declared aññā :

Within the little five-doored hut an ape²

Doth prowl, and round and round from door to door
He hies, rattling with blows again, again. (125)

Halt, ape! run thou not forth! for thee

'Tis not herein as it was wont to be.

Reason doth hold thee captive. Never more

Shalt roam far hence [in freedom as of yore]. (126)

CXXIV

Gangātīriya.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattihī as a citizen's son, he was named Datta.³ And when, in his domestic

¹ Cf., LIII., and CXLIV.

² *Chitta* (consciousness), is, in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (ii. 9), pictured as the restless, varying leaps of a tree-monkey. The Commentary applies this simile to the present one of the ape under control. The ape is found in Tibetan drawings of the stages of (past, present, and future) life as the symbol of *viññāṇa*, the synonym for consciousness, or sense-cognition (see *JRAS*, 1894, p. 367 ff. Apparently the Tibetan lamas had forgotten the tradition, or gave an explanation *which they knew would interest* their medical interlocutor, Major Waddell, or the latter evolved a Western interpretation out of their imperfectly understood descriptions). Cf. verse 1111 in Ps. CCLXII.

³ = Donatus. His story—how he came to take his mother and his sister as his wives, not knowing his relation to either—is told in the

life, he transgressed through ignorance, then discovered his offence, anguish seized him so that he left the world. Distressed at his deeds, he adopted a course of austerity, and dwelt on the bank of the Ganges, making himself a tent of palm-leaves. Hence he became known as Gangā-tīriya (Ganges-sider). And he resolved to speak to no one. So he kept silence for a whole year. In the second year, a woman of the village where he sought alms, wishing to find out whether he was dumb, spilt milk as she filled his bowl. And he let fall the words: 'Enough, sister.' But in the third year, after strenuous effort, he won arahantship. Thereupon he declared aññā by word of mouth, extolling his past procedure in these verses :

On Gangā's shore three palm-tree leaves I took
 And made my hut ; my bowl like funeral pot
 Wherewith men sprinkle milk upon a corpse ;
 My cloak from refuse of the dust-heap culled.¹ (127)
 Two years, from one rain-season till the next,
 I [there abode], nor spake a word save once.
 So till the third year passed—then the long night
 Of gloom asunder burst [and broke in light]. (128)

Chronicle to the Sisters' Psalms, pp. 112, 115. The allusion here to his incest is so delicately or vaguely worded that it needs the explanation afforded by the Sister-chronicle. The Pali is as follows: *Gharū-vīsaṃ vasanto agamaniyaṭṭhānabhūvaṃ ajānitvā vītikkamaṃ katvā puna āgamaniyaṭṭhānabhūvaṃ ñatvā.*

¹ On such austerities, see *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 89. The bowl here is not a skull (*chavasīsaṃ*), but is described in the Commentary as *matūnaṃ khirūsecanakunḍa-sadiso*, 'like a milk-sprinkling pot for the dead'—a sort of *memento mori* (cf. Neumann). It is just possible that the text was originally *chavasīsena me patto*, as the idiom runs in the Vinaya, but such skull-bowls were forbidden. There is greater sobriety and dignity in the austerities of this Indian (Œdipus than in the brutal self-mutilation of the Greek king.

C X X V

Ajina.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattihī, in the family of a certain poor brahmin, he was wrapt at birth in an antelope's skin, and was hence named Antelope (Ajina). Growing up in poverty, he saw the Jeta Grove presented, and the power and majesty of the Buddha. And gaining faith he left the world, and not long after acquired supernatural thought. When he had moreover won arahantship, he, in consequence of past deeds, remained unhonoured and unknown. And some worldly novices among the bhikkhus despised him for this. Then the Thera agitated them with these verses :

E'en though a man have gained the Triple Lore,
 Have vanquished death and purged th' intoxicants,
 Yet, let him be to fame unknown, poor fools
 May in their ignorance look down on him. (129)
 But let him get the good things of this world,
 Then though he be of evil breed, natheless
 Service and honour will they render him. (130)

CXXVI

Melajina.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Benares, in a nobleman's family, and named Melajina, he became distinguished for learning and accomplishments, and renowned in all the country. When the Exalted One stayed at Benares, in Isipatana, Melajina went to hear him preach the Norm; and gaining faith, he entered the Order and won arahantship.

And when the bhikkhus asked how far he had acquired supernormal qualities, he uttered a 'lion's roar':

When I had heard the Master preach the Norm,
No doubts my mind could thenceforth entertain
In him all-knowing and invincible. (131)

Nor in a mighty hero like to him,
Lord of the caravan,¹ driver of men,
Peerless and grand, nor in the Path, the Rule,²
Can ever want of faith disturb my soul. (132)

CXXVII

Rādha.

Reborn in the time of our Exalted One at Rājagaha, as a brahmin, he was in his old age unable to perform his various duties. Being passed over,³ he went to the Master and revealed his needs. The Master, contemplating his graduation in essential conditions, ordered Sāriputta to admit him. Soon after that he won arahantship. And thereafter, keeping near the Master, he became pre-eminent among those who, deriving from the Master's teaching,⁴ could speak impromptu.

¹ Cf. *Dialogues*, ii. 92. *Satthavāhe*, there rendered 'lord of the pilgrim band,' is here more literally reproduced.

² *Magge, paṭipadāyaṃ vū—i.e.*, 'the Ariyan [Eightfold] Path, and the Precepts, and so on' (Commentary). The verses may not seem an apposite reply; but if the *Compendium of Philosophy* (pp. 65, 210, 213) be consulted, it will be seen that the expulsion of all forms of doubt was held to be a very essential preliminary to transcending normal experience.

³ *Paṭikkhitto*.

⁴ The passage assigning him pre-eminence is then quoted from *Ang.*, i. 25. Cf. with Vangīsa's similar but not identical pre-eminence, Ps. CCLXIV. This Thera is possibly identical with the 'venerable Rādha' addressed in many short discourses of the *Samyutta* (iii. 79, 188 ff.; iv. 48 f.).

Now one day seeing how want of self-training occasioned governance by the passions, he exhorted thus :

E'en as into an ill-roofed house the rain
 Doth pierce and penetrate continually,
 So into mind by exercise untrained
 Doth passion ever pierce and penetrate. (133)
 And as into a well-roofed house no rain
 Doth pierce and penetrate continually,
 So into mind by calm and insight trained
 Doth passion never pierce and penetrate.¹ (134)

CXXVIII

Surādha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the younger brother of the aforesaid Rādha, he followed his elder brother's example, and became an arahant also. To show the saving guidance of the Rule, he declared aññā thus :

All coming back to birth is now destroyed.
 The Conqueror's Rule hath guided all my ways.²
 That which we call the Net have I put off ;³
 The lust that leads to life is rooted out. (135)
 And the great quest, for which I left the world,
 Forsaking home a homeless life to lead,
 Even that quest and high reward I've won,
 For I am he whose bonds are riven in twain.⁴ (136)

¹ 'Exercise,' 'calm and insight'—in the text *bhāvanā*—the collective name for the systematized effort in self-training of the disciple who seeks perfection (*Bud. Psy.*, p. 261, n. 2). Specified as 'calm and insight' in the Commentary. Cf. *Compendium*, p. 202 ff.

² 'The holy life of the Path has been lived by me' (Commentary).

³ Cf. *Dhammapada*, verse 251 ; *Saṅg.*, iii. 83. Commentary, 'net = error, ignorance.' More usually it = craving, or sense. Surādha is possibly the listener in one discourse of the *Saṅgutta* (iii. 79).

⁴ CCX., 380.

CXXIX

Gotama.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, in a brahmin family,¹ and named Gotama, he fell, when still a youth, into bad company, and gave all that he had to a courtesan. Repenting thereafter of his vicious ways, he beheld a vision of the Master seated—of Him who had discerned the progress of his mind and his attainment of the conditions. He with heart assured went to the Master, was taught, and believed. Entering the Order, he won arahantship, even as the razor touched his hair. And while he was pondering the bliss of jhāna and of fruition, a lay-companion asked him concerning his property. He confessed how he had lived unchastely, and declaring aññā by his present purity from passion, said :

At ease they sleep, the wise and pure, who ne'er
 Are bound to womankind, for these must aye
 Be kept 'neath watch and ward, and among them
 'Tis ever hard to learn the truth of things.² (137)
 War to the knife with thee, O lust, we've waged.
 Now are we quit and free of debt to thee.
 Now fare we onward to that Going-out,³
 Where at our journey's end we weep no more. (138)

¹ Not identical with the other Gotama Theras of CLXXXIII., CCXXXIX.

² There is a nice, discriminating touch about the Commentary's remark: 'Now to him [the friend] who is still bound to *such women*, the Thera, to show his own complete extirpation of that lust, says the second verse.' The use of the first person *plural* is a rare feature in Buddhist hymns. It must refer to a sodality of freed minds, and not to the speaker and his quondam friend, since the latter had still his worldly ties.

³ Nibbāna in the original. Since the Thera is an arahant, this can only refer to his Parinibbāna, the complete extinction of his life spatially figured—his *anupādisesa-nibbāna*, says the Commentary, however that was conceived.

CXXX

Vasabha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Vesālī, as the son of a Licchavi rāja,¹ he was won over by the majesty of the Buddha when the latter went to Vesālī, and left the world. In due course he won arahantship, and thereafter, gracious to his patrons, he did not reject the necessaries they provided, but enjoyed what he received. The common-minded deemed him self-indulgent, but he continued taking no account of them.

But near him dwelt a fraudulent bhikkhu, who deceived the people by pretending to lead the simple life, content with little, and was honoured by them. Then Sakka, ruler of the devas, discerned this, and came to Vasabha Thera and asked: 'Your reverence, what is it that an impostor does?' The Thera, in rebuke to that evil-doer, replied:

He erst doth work destruction to himself ;
 Thereafter doth he ruin other men.
 Most throughly works he mischief to himself,
 E'en as decoy-bird² by its own deceit. (139)
 No brahmin he, by outward colour judged.
 By inner hue shall ye the brahmin know.
 He in whom deeds show evil, even he
 Is swarth of face, O consort of Sujā.³ (140)

PART II

CXXXI

Cunda the Great.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Magadha, at Nālaka village, as the son of the brahminee Rūpasāri,

¹ See above, p. 54, n. 4.

² Cf. *vītaṅṣa-kakkaro*, the decoy jungle-cock in *Jāt.*, ii. 161.

³ Sujampatī, a title given to Sakka, whose consort-goddess was Sujā. On the spiritual complexion, cf. *Dīgha-Nikāya*, Suttantas iii., iv., and xxvii; *Sutta Nipāta*, Vāsetṭha-Sutta.

and younger brother of Sāriputta,¹ he followed the latter into the Order, and after arduous, strenuous effort won arahantship. And glorying in his attainment and in solitude of life, he uttered this psalm :

The will to learn maketh of learning growth ;
Learning² makes insight grow, and by insight
We know the Good ; known Good brings bliss
along. (141)

Seek ye the lonely haunts remote from men.³
Practise the life of liberty from Bonds.
If there ye come not by your heart's desire,
Dwell with the Brethren, mindful and controlled. (142)

CXXXII

Jotidāsa.

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of a wealthy brahmin, in the Pādiyattha country, he was named Jotidāsa.⁴ When come of age he saw Kassapa the Great one day going his round for alms, and entertained him in his house, and heard him discourse. On the hill near the village he himself had a great vihāra built for the Thera, and supplied him with the four requisites. Moved thereafter by the Thera's teaching he left the world, and not long after won the sixfold abhiññā. After ten years, during which he learnt

¹ Cf. *Saṅg.*, iv. 251 ; v. 161 ; *Psalm*s, I., p. 96. With his brother he visits Channa (*Majjh.*, iii. 268 ; *Saṅg.*, iv. 55). He was one of the nine or ten chief Theras. Three discourses are ascribed to him in the *Anguttara Nikāya*, addressed to the bhikkhus, and preaching modesty and mutual tolerance, especially between the erudite and the more mystically inclined (iii. 855).

² Lit., *hearing*, significant of an era of oral instruction and mnemonic recording.

³ The Master's own advice to him (*Majjh.*, i. 46).

⁴ Mahā-Kassapa lived near Rājagaha (CCLXI.), but neither Jotidāsa nor Pādiyattha-*janapada* have been met with in other works.

the three Piṭakas, with special proficiency in the Vinaya-Piṭaka,¹ and waited on the fraternity, he set out with many bhikkhus to salute the Exalted One at Sāvattihī. On the way he entered a theologian's park, and seeing a brahmin practising the fivefold austerity,² he asked : ' Why, brahmin, do you not burn otherwise in a different heat ?' The brahmin annoyed, answered : ' Master shaveling, what other heat is there ?' The Thera replied :

*Anger, and envy, and all cruel deeds,
And pride, and arrogance, and wanton strife,
Craving, and ignorance, and lust of life :
These burn away and let thy body be !³*

and therewith taught him the Norm. And all those theologians besought him for ordination.

On leaving Sāvattihī he went to his former home, and admonished his relatives in these verses :

They who in divers ways by deeds of force
And violence,⁴ rude and rough-mannered folk,
Do work their fellow-creatures injury,
Thereby they too themselves are overthrown,⁵
For never is th' effect of action lost. (143)
The deed a man doth, be it good or ill,
To all his doing is he verily the heir. (144)

¹ Cf. Puṇṇā, who learnt them in a former birth (*Sisters*, p. 116; again above, LXV.). We may concede thus much to the plausibility of the Commentator's statement—that a threefold body of doctrine would be taking shape during the founder's long ministry.

² I.e., surrounded by four fires, with the sun beating on him above.

³ I have not traced these lines.

⁴ On the word *veghamissena*, etc. (cf. *Dialogues*, ii. 107, n. 3), the Commentary has : ' Tugging the head, etc., by rein, strap, etc. ; blows given by hand, foot, etc.'

⁵ *Kīranti*. Dr. Neumann has *sāen*, sow, as if scattering seed. The Commentary ignores any such metaphor, and has : as they have made suffering for others, so by others are they made to suffer—*tath' eva aññehi kiriyanti dukkhaṇ pāpīyanti*. Cf. *abhikīranti* in verse 598.

CXXXIII

Heraññakāni.

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of one who was a tenant-in-chief of the King of Kosala, and in command of bandits,¹ he succeeded to his father's position at the latter's death. Converted on seeing the Buddha accept the Jeta Grove, he put his younger brother in his place, left the world, and soon after won arahantship. He thereupon sought to turn his brother to a better life, and on seeing him attached to it, urged him in these verses :

The days, the nights flit by and pass away.
 Life is arrested, and the span
 To mortals given is consumed and fails,
 Like water in the shallow mountain streams. (145)
 But evil actions still the fool commits,
 Nor understands how dire the aftermath,
 Till comes the bitter hour of action's fruit. (146)

Hearing the Thera's homily, the brother besought the king's leave, and left the world, and not long after found salvation.

CXXXIV

Somamitta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Benares, in a brahmin's family and named Somamitta, he became an expert in the three Vedas, but was converted by the Thera Vimala² and took orders. He dwelt near the Thera, fulfilling his duties. But the latter was given to sloth and torpor. And Somamitta, thinking 'Who can be virtuous near a sluggard?'

¹ *Cora-vonāsako*, one having highwaymen or dacoits at his bidding, whether to employ, or to suppress, is doubtful.

² *Cf.* the Vimala of CLXXXV., who was also of Benares.

went to Kassapa the Great,¹ and attending his lectures, established insight, and soon after attained arahantship. Thereupon he rebuked Vimala in these verses :

As one who, mounted on a puny plank,
Is in mid-ocean whelm'd beneath the waves,
So even he of blameless life doth sink,
When thrown together with the man of sloth ;
Wherefore from such an one keep well apart
The sluggard and the poor in energy. (147)
Dwell thou with them who live aloof,
With wise, with noble souls who have renounced,
Who in rapt contemplation ever strive.² (148)

Hearing him, Thera Vimala was deeply moved, and establishing insight, bestirred himself to win salvation, the which he will be seen hereafter to attain.

CXXXV

Sabbamitta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the family of a brahmin of Sāvattī, and named Sabbamitta, he saw, at the presentation of the Jeta Grove, the wondrous power of the Buddha, and entering the Order he obtained a subject for exercise and dwelt in the forest. After the rains he went into Sāvattī to salute the Buddha, and on his way there lay a fawn caught in a trapper's net. The doe, though not in the net, kept near from love for her young, yet dared not come close to the snare. The fawn, turning hither and thither, bleated for pity. Then the Thera : 'Alas ! the suffering that love brings to creatures !' Going further he saw many bandits wrapping a man they had captured alive in straw, and

¹ *I.e.*, to Rājagaha (CCLXI.).

² Repeated in CLXXXV.

about to set fire to it. Hearing his cries, the Thera, out of his distress at both these things, uttered a verse within hearing of the bandits.

Folk are bound up with folk and cling to folk.

Folk suffer scathe from folk and wreak the same. (149)

What boots thee then this folk, and brood of folk?

Let the folk go and get thee gone from them,

Who as they go injure so many folk.¹ (150)

So saying, he forced his way to insight, and won arahantship. But the brigands, listening to his teaching, were moved in heart and renounced the world, practising the Norm in principle and in detail.

CXXXVI

Mahākāla.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at the town of Setavyā, in the family of a merchant, he was named Mahākāla.² When come of age and dwelling at home, he took five hundred carts of merchandise to trade with to Sāvattihī. While resting there with his men in the evening, he saw the laity going with perfumes and garlands to the Jeta Grove, and went with them. There he heard the Master preach the Norm, believed, and entered the Order. Deciding on cemetery-contemplation, he dwelt in the charnel-field. And one day a woman named Kālī, employed as crematrix,³ in order to give the Thera an object-study, cut off from a recently cremated body both thighs and both arms, and breaking the head into the semblance of a milk-bowl, arranged all

¹ I read *gacchantāṇ*.

² So the Commentary; not °kāla. The name thus means 'big dark one,' or, in the convenient Italian nomenclature, Neraccio. Kālī, too, is 'brunette.'

³ In *Jāt.*, v. 449, we meet with a man pursuing this trade.

the members together, placed them where the Thera studied for him to look at, and sat down at the side. The Thera seeing this exhorted himself in these verses :

Kāḷī, woman broad and swart of hue as blackbird,
 Now hath broken off a thighbone, now another ;
 Now hath broken off an arm, and now another ;
 Now the skull hath broken off as 'twere a milk bowl,
 Made them ready and is seated. (151)

He who witless doth not understand, but maketh
 Cause for life renewed, comes back again to sorrow.
 Wherefore he who knows creates no more new
 causes.

May I ne'er so lie again with scattered mem-
 bers !¹ (152)

Thus wholly self-mastered, the Thera brought forth insight
 and won arahantship.

¹ The account of Kāḷī's activity closes with an odd half line, as if to mark, by a pause, the abrupt transition from the Thera's half-amused notice of her grisly service, to the solemn quest of the End of Sorrow on which he is bent. This is a good instance of a poem which is scarcely intelligible without the Commentary's help. *With* that help, the more literal the translation, the more intelligible is the verse. Without it we have but to look at Dr. Neumann's guessing and forced rendering, making Kāḷī a wanton, and the good bhikkhu a prurient-minded fellow, to realize how relatively sane and simple even a scholastic exegesis may be. The practice of *Asubha-jhāna*, or meditation on a base of some unlovely object, was recommended from the early days of the Sangha, and, to judge by the accompanying illustration of a Ceylonese bhikkhu of to-day, is still practised. *Cf. Bud. Psy.*, p. 69, n. 2.

CXXXVII

Tissa.¹

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, in a brahmin's family, and named Tissa, he became an expert in the Vedas, teaching the mantras to five hundred brahmin boys, and winning the highest praise and renown. When the Master came to Rājagaha, Tissa saw the Buddha-majesty, and believed and entered the Order, thereafter winning arahantship through established insight. So also he won praise and renown.

Now certain worldly-minded bhikkhus noting the attention paid to the Thera were unable to endure it. The Thera knew this, and declared the evil in such attentions and his own detachment therefrom in these verses :

Many the foes he gets, the bhikkhu shorn,
 Wrapt in his robe, to whom the world gives gifts
 Of food and drink, raiment and where to lodge. (153)
 Let him then, knowing all the bane herefrom,
 The fearsome peril in the world's regard,
 Taking but little, free from lusting's taint,
 Wary and mindful, hold his onward way. (154)

Then those bhikkhus straightway sought the Thera's forgiveness.

CXXXVIII

Kimbila.

His meeting with the Buddha, his emotion and his leaving the world are told in Canto I., the verse beginning, 'As bidden by some power.'² Here the Thera tells how he dwelt

¹ Clearly quite a different Tissa from either of the foregoing Theras so named. Cf. Ps. XXXIX., XCVII.

² His story having been given in Ps. CXVIII., the Chronicle begins at once with the circumstances resulting in the gāthā.

fraternally with his comrades, the venerable Anuruddha and the venerable Bhaddiya, Sākiyan rājas :

Where lies the Eastern Bamboo Grove we dwell,
 Sons of the Sākiyans, comrades [all and true].
 No little wealth have we renounced for this,
 Contented with whatever fills our bowl. (155)
 Quickened and ardent is our energy,
 Earnest and resolute [our heart's intent],
 Ever we boldly press toward [our goal].
 Love of the Norm our [sure and sole] delight,
 All worldly loves by us forsworn outright. (156)

CXXXIX

Nanda.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu, as the son of Rāja Suddhodana and of Great Pajāpatī,¹ and a joy to his kin, on his naming day he was named Nanda. When Nanda was of age, the Master, rolling the Wheel of the Norm, came out of compassion to Kapilavatthu. Making a shower of rain the occasion, he told the Vessantara Jātaka.² On the second day, by the verse 'Rise up,' he established his father as a Stream-winner; Pajāpatī also by the verse, 'Follow after a holy life,' and the rāja further, as a Once-returner. On the third day, when seeking alms at the coronation-hall where congratulations were being offered to Prince Nanda on his wedding, the Master handed the prince his bowl and wished him luck. And he, taking the bowl, followed the Master to the Vihāra, who there ordained him, though Nanda wished it not.

¹ See Ps. I., p. 6 *f.* Nanda is called Nandiya above (Ps. XXV.). This single verse may have been incorporated from some such collection of Māra anecdotes as those in the Bhikkhunī-Saṅgutta (see Windisch, *Māra und Buddha*, p. 184), and the form for his name used there left unaltered. The difference is only that between, *e.g.*, Joy, Joyous.

² *Jāt.*, vi., No. 547; *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. 124.

From that time, knowing that Nanda was oppressed by his distaste, the Master trained it away, so that Nanda, by thoroughgoing meditation, established insight and attained arahantship. Thereafter, enjoying the bliss of liberty, he said: 'O excellent method of the Master, whereby I was drawn out of the bog of rebirth and set on Nibbāna's strand!' And joying in his reflections he uttered these verses:

Heedless and shallow once my thoughts were set
 On all the bravery of outward show ;
 Fickle was I and frivolous ; all my days
 Were worn with wanton sensuality. (157)
 But by the Buddha's skilful art benign,
 Who of sun's lineage cometh, was I brought
 'To live by deeper thought, whereby my heart
 From the great swamp of endless life¹ I drew. (158)

And the Exalted One, discerning how eminently he was trained in self-control, declared him before the Order to be chief therein among his disciples,² even therein conferring that distinction to which the Thera, in past ages, had once aspired.

CXL

Sirimat.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattihī, in a burgess's family, he was named Sirimat (Faustus) because of his family's good fortune and constant success. His younger brother, as increaser of that good fortune, was named Sirivaḍḍha (growth of luck).³ They both saw the majesty of the Buddha when the Jeta Grove was presented, believed, and entered the Order. Sirivaḍḍha, though at first he won no abnormal powers, was honoured and fêted by laity and

¹ *Bhava*, becoming. *Saṃsārapanke nimuggaṇ*. Cy.

² He is so distinguished in *Ang. Nik.*, i. 25.

³ Evidently not the Thera of Ps. XLI.

recluses. But Sirimat, through defective karma, was little honoured; nevertheless, exercising himself in calm and insight, he soon won the sixfold abhiññā.

Now the ordinary bhikkhus and novices, not knowing Sirimat was an Ariyan, continued to disparage him and to honour his brother. Then the Thera, blaming their faulty judgment, said :

Others may laud and honour him
Whose self is uncontrolled.
Surely amiss their praise is given,
Since self is uncontrolled. (159)
Others may chide and censure him
Whose self is well controlled.
Surely amiss their blame is given,
Since self is well controlled. (160)

Then Sirivaḍḍha, hearing him, was agitated, and establishing insight, not long after he also completed his salvation. And they who had blamed the Thera sought his forgiveness.

PART III

CXLI

Uttara.

REBORN in this Buddha-age at Sāketa,¹ in a brahmin's family, he was named Uttara. Convinced by the twin-miracle at the Gaṇḍamba tree at Sāvathī,² whither some business had taken him, he was induced to leave the world when the Master, at Sāketa, preached the Kālaka Park discourse.³ Going with the Master to Rājagaha, he there developed insight and acquired sixfold abhiññā. Returning again to Sāvathī to wait on the Buddha, the bhikkhus asked him : ' What, Brother, have you already accomplished your

¹ See XXVIII.

² Wrought by the Buddha (*Sum. V.*, 57).

³ *Ang.*, ii. 24, on a Tathāgata's clarity of knowledge and integrity.

religious duties?' . He, declaring aññā, replied in these verses :

Well do I understand the factors five,
 And well is craving rooted out in me,
 Developed are the seven wisdom-chords,
 And all the poison-fumes are shrunk to nought. (161)
 And since the factors now are understood,
 I—look you!¹—casting out the Huntress fell
 [Who sets her netted snare for every thought],²
 And cultivating wisdom's harmony,³
 Sane and immune, in peace shall pass away.⁴ (162)

CXLI

Bhaddaji.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Bhaddiya,⁵ as the only child of a councillor whose fortune was worth eighty crores,⁶ he was named Bhaddaji, and was brought up in luxury, like that attending the Bodhisat in his last rebirth. . . . (The Commentary then relates the story of his sudden

¹ *So 'haṃ, lit.* 'this [self-same] I.'

² Expansion of the one word *jūlinī*, 'she who lays a net'—*i.e.*, craving—'by the suffusion of which the manifold web of the senses becomes as a net' (*Atthasālinī*, p. 363; *Bud. Psy.*, p. 278, n. 2). *Cittacittasantānato uddharitvā* (Commentary).

³ *Bojjhangū*, as in verse 161. *Cf. Compendium*, pp. 66, 180 *f.* The Commentary calls the seven 'the concord of the Norm.'

⁴ *Nibbāyissay anāsavo*, 'by the expiry of the last (moment of) consciousness, like a fire without fuel, I shall *parinibbān*-ate without danger (of rebirth)' (Commentary).

⁵ In the Angas' country, east of Magadha. Koṭigāma was near Patna. The Bodhisat is, of course, Gotama, before he became a Buddha. The Commentary differs from the Jātaka version (see next page) only in a few small details, and uses independent phraseology.

⁶ *I.e.*, 800,000,000. The unit seems to have been a copper coin, termed *kaḥṭṭāna*. See *Bud. India*, p. 100 *ff.*

realization of arahantship while listening for the first time to the Buddha, the latter having come from Sāvattthī purposely to seek him out; together with his following the Master and his company, the week after, to Kotigāma, and retiring to the bank of the Ganges to become absorbed in jhāna. Thence he emerges only when the Master came by, not heeding the preceding chief Theras. To vindicate his new supreme attainments, the Buddha invites him on to his own ferry-boat, and bids him work a wonder. Bhaddaji thereupon raises the submerged palace he dwelt in when he was King Panāda, all being told in the 'Mahā-panāda-Jātaka,' ii., No. 264.) Then the Thera described the golden mansion in which he had once lived, speaking of himself, that self having passed away,¹ as of another :

Panāda was that king by name
Whose palace was of gold ;
Sixteen apartments deep it stood,
Aloft a thousandfold. (163)

A thousand flights it rose on high,
Its walls with scroll-work dight,
With many a flaunting banner hung,
With emeralds glittering bright.
'Twas there they danced, Gandharvas danced,
Six thousand in seven bands. (164)

¹ On this mythical king see also *Dīgha*, iii. 76; *Jāt.*, iv., No. 489. *Dīpavaṅsa*, iii. 7; *Mahāvāṅsa* (translation), xxxi. 7 ff. *Jāt.* No. 264 gives a fuller account of Bhaddaji's performance. The text versions are uncertain in some of the descriptive terms, and the Commentary's authorities are equally divided. Hence the attempt at ballad form above does not claim to have selected an absolutely correct rendering. The last two lines refer to the vain efforts of mimes or musicians, collected by Panāda's father to make the prince smile. He, reminiscent of celestial art, was only moved to a slight smile when Sakka, the god, sent a celestial harlequin (*Jāt.*, *op. cit.*).

CXLIII

Sobhita.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī, in a brahmin's family, he was named Sobhita. And after he had heard the Master teach, had left the world and acquired sixfold abhiññā, he practised recollecting his former lives with such success that the Master ranked him foremost among those who could so remember.¹ And he, reflecting on his pre-eminence in attainment, was filled with joy, and breathed forth this psalm :

A bhikkhu mindful, gifted with insight,
With strenuous effort strongly set to work,
Have I [the infinite past] recalled to mind :
Five hundred ages in a single night. (165)

O let the Onsets Four of mindfulness²
My study be, the Seven,³ the noble Eight!⁴
For I [the infinite past] have called to mind :
Five hundred ages in a single night. (166)

CXLIV

‘Valliya.’

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Vesālī, in a brahmin's family, he was named Kaṇhamitta. Come of age, he saw the majesty of the Buddha when the latter came to Vesālī,

¹ *Ang.*, i. 25. Sister Bhaddā Kapilāni was also thus distinguished (*Sisters*, p. 47). Sobhita Thera (possibly this man) was the third in the apostolic succession of thirteen Abhidhammikas, who handed down this teaching till Mahinda conveyed it to Ceylon. Bhaddaji Thera was second. (*Atthasālinī*, p. 82).

² See *Dialogues*, ii. 327 ff.; *Compendium*, p. 179. *Bhāvayaṇ* = *bhūvanū hotu* (Commentary).

³ Factors of Enlightenment, Wings of Wisdom (*Compendium*, p. 180).

⁴ The Eightfold Path (*ibid.*).

and believing, he took orders under Mahā-Kaccāna. Dull of insight, and beginning to make effort, he was so long dependent upon the wisdom of his co-religionists that they called him Valliya (Creeperling), saying, 'Like ivy and such plants, that cannot grow leaning on nothing, so he cannot get on without leaning on someone who is wise.'¹

And it came to pass that he went to hear Thera Venudatta preach, and becoming thereby heedful and intelligent and ripe in knowledge, he asked that proficient teacher, saying :

All that by earnest work has to be done,
 All that one fain to wake to truth must do,
 All that shall be my work nor shall I fail.
 O see my forward strides in energy! (167)
 And do thou show me how and where to go—
 The Path that's founded on Ambrosia—²
 So I in silent study pondering
 Shall to the silence of the seers attain,
 As glides great Gangā's river to the main.³ (168)

Then Venudatta gave him an exercise for study, and he, working at it, not long after won arahantship. Declaring aññā, he uttered those same verses.

¹ Apparently a different Thera from the Valliyas of LIII. and CXXIII., in whose case Valliya would seem to be no nickname. I have called *valli* (creeper) 'ivy,' because of its typically representing for us such a character. On Mahā-Kaccāna, see CCXXIX. Venudatta is not met with elsewhere.

² *Nibbāne patitthitattū* (Commentary).

³ The quarter verse *ahaṇ monena monissaṇ* has been perhaps unduly expanded, but it was to do justice to the association, for classic Indian literature, between the seer or sage (*muni*) and silence (*cf.* *Chāndogya Upanishad*, viii. 5, 2). The simile of the Ganges illustrates both silent progress and attainment. Nevertheless, the Commentary will have nothing to do with silence; for it, *monena* is 'by wisdom or insight,' and *monissaṇ* is 'I shall know or discern (Nibbāna).'

CXLV

Vitasoka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age, in the two hundred and eighteenth year thereof, as the younger brother of King Dhammāsoka, he was named Vitasoka.¹ Come of age, he acquired the accomplishments befitting noble youths, and then as a lay-pupil of Thera Giridatta became highly proficient in the Sutta- and Abhidhamma-Piṭakas.

Now one day when his hair was being dressed, he took the mirror from the barber's hand, and contemplating his body, saw some grey hairs. In agitation he sent down insight into his mind, and exerting himself to meditate, he became, as he there sat, a Stream-winner. Taking Orders under Giridatta, he not long after won arahantship. Thereupon he thus declared aññā :

‘Now let him shave me!’—so the barber came.

From him I took the mirror and, therein

Reflected, on myself I gazed and thought : (169)

‘Futile for lasting is this body shown.’

[Thus thinking on the source that blinds our sight
My spirit's] darkness melted into light.

Stripped are the swathing vestments utterly!²

Now is there no more coming back to be? (170)

¹ According to the Commentary, Vitasoka (one who has ended grief) is none other than the younger brother of Emperor Asoka, whose career forms an episode in the Divyāvadāna (translated by Burnouf in *Buddhisme Indien*, 1844), in which Vitasoka is impelled to leave the world through the arahant Yasa. Neither Giridatta nor the barber episode is alluded to, which shows how different was the tradition handed on by Dhammapāla. The grey hair episode is a very old tale, told in *Majjh.*, ii. 88; *Jāt.*, i., No. 9.

² The barber was also bathman and head-dresser; hence *coḷā* (vestments), which means any napery, may be an allusion to the muslin folds of the turban, or to bath robes and towels, or to dress. The Commentary only expands the altered scale of values in the prince's life. *Pacchavekkhisay* has the double sense of our ‘reflected.’

CXLVI

Puṇṇamāsa.¹

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattḥī in the family of a landed proprietor, he left the work after the birth of his firstborn. And dwelling near a village, he strove and worked till he acquired sixfold abhiññā. Going thereupon to Sāvattḥī and saluting the Master, he dwelt in a charnel-field. Now his son died, and his wife, desirous that their property, having no heirs, should not be taken over by the rājas, went with a large following to greet her husband, and induce him to leave the religious life. But the Thera, to show his passionless state and to vindicate his attainment, stood in the air and said :

All the five Hindrances that bar the way²
 Against the safe, sure peace³ I put aside.
 The mirror of the holy Norm I grasped :—⁴
 The knowing and the seeing what we are— (171)
 So I reflected on this groupèd frame⁵
 Within and eke without, and I beheld
 How, whether it was mine or not of me,
 The body empty [is and vanity]. (172)

CXLVII

Nandaka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Campā,⁶ in a burgess's family, he was named Nandaka. He was the younger

¹ See the other version in X. The Commentary recognizes no identity.

² Desires of sense, malevolence, sluggishness, distraction, perplexity—to 'put aside' these was the essential preliminary to attaining the serenity and detachment for fruitful intellectual effort (*Dialogues*, i. 82-84).

³ *Yogakkhemaṇ*. See XXXII.

⁴ *Sisters*, verse 222.

⁵ *Kāyo* is both body (*sarīra*) and, generally, a group, or organism.

⁶ Capital of the Angas, now Bagulpur. Pronounced Champā.

brother of Bharata, whose story will next be told. When both were come of age, they heard that Soṇa-Kolivisa¹ had left the world. And saying: 'Even Soṇa who is so delicate has gone forth; now what of us?' they, too, left the world. Bharata soon acquired sixfold abhiññā, but Nandaka, through the strength of the corruptions, was not able to command insight, and could only practise for it. Then Bharata, wishing to help him, made him his attendant, and went forth from the vihāra. Sitting down near the road he discoursed to him of insight.

Now a caravan passing by, an ox, unable to pull his cart through a boggy place, fell down. The leader had him released from the cart, and fed with grass and water. His fatigue allayed, the ox, reharnessed and strengthened, pulled the cart out of the bog. Then Bharata said: 'Did you see that business, brother Nandaka?' 'I did.' 'Consider its meaning.' And Nandaka said: 'Like the refreshed ox, I, too, must draw forth myself out of the swamp of saṃsāra.' And taking this as his subject in practising, he won arahantship. Then to his brother he declared aññā in these verses:

E'en though he trip and fall, the mettled brute
 Of noble breed will steadfast stand once more.
 Incited yet again to effort new,
 Foregone no longer, draws his load along. (173)
 So look on me as one who having learned
 Of Him, the all-enlightened One, and gained
 True insight, am become of noble breed,
 And of the Very Buddha son indeed. (174)

CXLVIII

Bharata.

Now when his younger brother Nandaka had confessed that he had gotten aññā, Bharata conceived the idea:

¹ See CCXLIII. The following object-lesson occurs in the case of Ramañiya-vihārin, as the Commentary reminds us (XLV.).

‘ Let us both go forthwith to the Master, and tell him how we have carried out holiness of life.’ And he said these verses to Nandaka :

Come, Nandaka, now go we unto Him
 Whose blessed teaching taught us all we know ;
 And in the presence of the Wake, the Chief,
 Let’s roar the lion’s pæan of our hearts. (175)
 That quest for which the holy Sage in [love
 And great] compassion bade us¹ both go forth—
 That Good supreme both you and I have won,
 And every bond that hindered us is gone. (176)

CXLIX

Bhāradvāja.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha in a brahmin’s family, he came to be designated by his gens-name of Bhāradvāja.² Living the domestic life, a son was born to him, and he named him Kaṇhadinna. When the boy was of proper age, his father said, ‘ Come, dear boy, and study under such and such a teacher,’ and sent him to Takka-silā.³ On his way thither he made friends with a great Thera, a disciple of the Master, heard him teach the Norm, took orders, and after due training won arahantship.

Now his father Bhāradvāja heard the Exalted One teach the Norm at the Bamboo Grove Vihāra, and he, too, left the world and realized arahantship. But Kaṇhadinna came to salute the Master at Rājagaha, and with joy he saw his father seated near the latter. And he asked himself: ‘ My father, too, has gone forth. Has he, I

¹ *Pabbājayaṃ pabbajesi.* Cy.

² A numerous gens, but not reckoned of high rank (*Vinaya Texts*, iv. 6). At least twenty individuals of this surname are met with in the Pitakas.

³ The Taxila of Greek chroniclers, a famous ancient seat of learning in Kashmir. See the numerous references in the *Jātaka*.

wonder, attained the end of the religious life?' Then he discerned that his father was an arahant, and wishing to make him utter a lion-roar, asked him: 'Hast thou succeeded in attaining the end of that for which we leave the world?' Then Bhāradvāja showed his attainment in these verses:

'Tis thus th' enlightened lift their triumph-song,
 Like lions roaring in the hill-ravine,¹
 Heroes who in the holy war have won,
 And conquered evil, Māra and his host. (177)
 The servant of the blessed Master I,
 A votary of the Norm and Brotherhood;
 And glad and gratified my heart to see
 My son purged of the poisons, sane, immune. (178)

CL

Kaṇhadinna.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, in a brahmin's family, he was named Kaṇhadinna. Come of age, and impelled by the efficient cause culminating, he came to the General of the Norm,² heard the Norm, believed, left the world, and developing insight, won arahantship. Thereupon he thus declared aññā:

Waited have I on saintly men and heard
 Full many times the saving truths [they taught].
 Hearing I knew I should attain the road
 That leads away from things that age and die.³ (179)

¹ Cf. the introductory verses.

² Sāriputta. We are left in doubt as to whether Kaṇhadinna is the son in the preceding story or not. If he is, then the 'great Thera' he met was Sāriputta; but in that case it is curious that the stories are not explicitly connected.

³ Lit., the ambrosial road; according to the Commentary—the Eightfold Path. 'I knew I should' is, literally, 'I shall [attain].' He had already attained.

And so in me all lust to live again
 Thus being utterly cast out, since then
 In me 'tis no more found, nor was't, nor will it e'er
 Come back in me, nor at this hour doth rise in me.¹

(180)

PART IV

CLI

Migasira.

REBORN in this Buddha-age in the family of a brahmin of Kosala, he was named Migasira² after the constellation under which he obtained birth. And having acquired brahmin culture, he practised the skull-spell,³ so that, when he had muttered the spell and tapped with his nail on the skull, he would declare, 'This person is reborn in such a sphere,' even with respect to those who had been dead three years. Disliking domestic life, he became a Wanderer,⁴ and through his art won favour and respect. Coming to Sāvattthī and going before the Master, he declared his power, saying: 'I, master Gotama, can tell the destiny of dead persons.' 'How do you tell it?' He let a skull be brought, and, muttering his rune and tapping with his nail, he asserted purgatory or some other sphere to be the place of rebirth.

Then the Exalted One had the skull of a bhikkhu brought, who had attained complete outgoing (*parinibbāna*), and said: 'Tell now his destiny to whom this skull belonged!' Migasira muttered and tapped, but saw neither the beginning nor the end. Then the Master said: 'Art not able, Wanderer?' He replied, 'I must first make sure,' and turning the skull round never so much—for how should he know the goings of an arahant?⁵—stood ashamed,

¹ Either glosses have crept in, or the additional feet in the latter gāthā are intentional, to pile on emphasis.

² Deer's head = Capricorn.

³ Cf. Vangīsa's legend, CCLXIV.

⁴ See Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 141-143. ⁵ Cf. verse 92.

perspiring, dumb. 'Art tired, Wanderer?' 'Ay, I am tired; I cannot discern the destiny of this one. Do you make it known?' 'I know it, and more besides. He is gone to Nibbāna.'¹ Then said the Wanderer: 'Give me this hidden lore!' 'Then do you take orders.' So Migasira was ordained, and was given exercises in calm. Well grounded in jhāna and abhiññā, he practised insight, and not long after won arahantship. He then confessed añña thus:

Since I went forth and entered on the Rule
 Ordained by the Enlightened One Supreme,
 Emancipated as I went, I rose
 Transcending all these things of sense-desire. (181)
 While He, that Very Brahmin,² looked on me,
 O then my heart was set at liberty!³
 Yea, since all bonds are broke for evermore,
 For me Emancipation's fixed and sure! (182)

CLII

Sivaka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha in a brahmin's family, he was named Sivaka. And when he had acquired a complete education, he followed his inclination to leave the world. Coming as a Wanderer to hear the Master teach the Norm, he received faith, entered the Order, and eventually won arahantship. He then thus confessed añña:

Transient the little houses [of our life],
 Built here, built there, again, ever again.
 Hunting the house-builder [thus far I come];
 Birth is but woe again, ever again. (183)

¹ *Nibbānaṃ gato so*, the only Pali approximation to the frequent rendering, 'entered into Nirvāna,' I have yet met with.

² In the sense of chief, best (Commentary); a genitior absolute.

³ See *Sisters*, verses 17, 81, 116.

Thou'rt found, house-maker thou, thou'rt seen at
last!

Never again shalt fashion house [for me]!

Broken are all thy walls, shattered thy roofs.

Stayed is the further rise of consciousness;

Blown 'twill be even here to nothingness.¹ (184)

CLIII

Upavāna.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattihī, in a brahmin's family, he was named Upavāna. He saw at the Jeta Grove presentation the majesty of the Buddha, and entering the Order, practised for insight, and won sixfold abhiññā.

Now Upavāna became attendant on the Exalted One.² And at that time the Exalted One was attacked by cramp. And Devahita, a brahmin lay-friend of the Thera, living at Sāvattihī, was supplying him with the four necessaries. Seeing him come with bowl and robe, Devahita discerned that he needed something different and said: 'Let your reverence be supplied. What do you need?' And Upavāna answered:

The Arahant, the Well-Come of all men,

The Holy Sage, he suffereth sore with wind.

If there be any water heated here,

O give it to me, brahmin, for the Sage. (185)

Revered by them to whom we reverence owe,

Cherished by them who claim our pious care,

Honoured by them to whom honour is due,

For Him I do beseech it may be brought. (186)

¹ Legend has assigned these famous verses as the Buddha's first logion, after his attainment of Buddhahood (*Bud. Birth Stories*, p. 103 f.; *Sum. V.*, i. 16); but they do not occur in the canonical descriptions of that event (*cf.* the slightly different Gāthās, *Dhp.*, 153, 154; *SBE*, x. 42, n.). Dhammapāla is briefer than usual, apparently ignorant of the tradition given in Buddhaghosa. He makes no allusion to it. The house-builder, he points out, is craving, *taṇhū vadḍhaki*.

² See CCLX. On the ailment of *Milinda* i., 194, n. 4.

Thereat the brahmin offered both hot water and suitable medicine. Thereby the Master's sickness was healed, and to him the Exalted One rendered thanks.

CLIV

Isidinna.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the country of the Sunā-parantas,¹ in the family of a councillor, he was named Isidinna. Grown up, he saw the double miracle at the presentation of the Sandalwood Pavilion,² and coming with a satisfied mind to the Master, he heard the Norm, and became a Stream-winner. While still living a domestic life, a compassionate spirit urged him, saying :

I mark the pious laity who treasure on their lips the
Norm ;

How you may often hear them say : 'Transient are
all this world's desires !'

But in their hearts lies love of pelf, of precious stones
and jewelled rings,

And that which fills their thought is care of sons and
daughters and of wives. (187)

Nay, verily, they do not know the inward meaning of
the Norm ;

E'en though you often hear them say : 'Transient are
all this world's desires !'

To cut themselves from passions free, they lack the
spiritual health,

And therefore cleaveth aye their heart to wife and
children, and to wealth. (188)

When the layman heard this, he was thrilled with emotion, and leaving the world, he not long after won arahantship. In confessing aññā, he repeated these verses.

¹ Cf. LXX.

² I cannot trace this legendary event elsewhere.

CLV

Sambula-Kaccāna.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Magadha, as the son of a burgess of the Kaccāna's, he was named Sambula, but was known as Sambula-Kaccāna.¹ After he had heard the Master teach the Norm, and had entered the Order, he went to the neighbourhood of the Himālaya, and practised his insight exercises in a cave called Bheravāyanā ('dreadful-passage').

Now one day there arose a great storm-cloud out of season, towering high in the heavens, emitting roars of thunders, forked lightning, and rushing noise. And it began to rain, and thunderbolts burst. All creatures—bears, hyenas, buffaloes, elephants—cried out in fear and trembling. But the Thera had stirred up insight, and, careless as to body and life, heeded not the noise, but cooled by the storm so composed his mind, that he quickened insight, and won arahantship together with abhiññā.

Thereupon reflecting on his achievement he was filled with joy, and in a psalm confessed aññā :

God's rain pours down, ay, and god's rain roars
down,

And I alone in fearsome hollow dwell.

Yet dwelling so in fearsome rocky dell

To me no fear comes nigh, no creeping dread,

No quailing [of my soul]. (189)

For such the law

Within the blessed Norm, that dwelling so

To me no fear comes nigh, no creeping dread,

No quailing [of my soul] to me, alone.² (190)

¹ There was need to distinguish him from other Kaccānas—*e.g.*, CCXXIX. In Phayre MS. and Br. Cy., Sampahula.

² The metre in these graceful gāthās Ij cannot allocate under any of the textbook varieties. The words, 'For such . . . Norm,' are an expansion of the Suttanta term, *Dhammatū (mañi)ṅesā*—'This for me is Normness' (*cf. Dialogues*, ii. 8, n. 3; *my Buddhism*, p. 119). *Deva* (god), the Commentary, as before, paraphrases with *megha* (cloud).

CLVI

Khitaka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Kosala as the son of a brahmin, and named Khitaka,¹ he heard the Norm from the Master, and entering the Order, dwelt in a forest till he won arahantship. Thereupon continuing in the bliss of fruition, of Nibbāna, a Thera enthusiastic for endeavour, he went to the bhikkhus dwelling in that forest to stir enthusiasm in them. First asking concerning their good, he spoke these verses, therein confessing aññā :

Whose heart stands like a rock, and swayeth not,
Void of all lust for things that lust beget,
And all unshaken in a shifting world ?²
To heart thus trained, whence shall come aught of
ill ? (191)

My heart stands like a rock, and swayeth not,
Void of all lust for things that lust beget,
And all unshaken in a shifting world.
My heart thus trained—whence shall come ill to
me ? (192)

CLVII

Soṇa-Poṭiriyaputta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu, as the son of the zemindar³ Poṭiriya, he was named Soṇa. Come of age, he became chief captain of the forces of Bhaddiya, a Sākiyan rāja. Now Bhaddiya having left the world, as will be described below, Soṇa thought : 'If even the rāja has left the world, what have I to do with domestic life ?'

¹ Identical with the author of CIV. ?

² Lit., shakes not in that which tendeth to shake.

³ On the position of a *bhojaka* holding land in fief, see *Dialogues*, i. 108, n. 1; on Bhaddiya, see CCLIV. Anupiyā, in the Mallas' territory, lay east of Kapilavatthu. On the vision, cf. several of the first Sisters' psalms.

So he took orders, but remained sluggish, not given to meditative exercise. On him the Exalted One, dwelling in the Mango Grove at Anupiyā, sent forth his glory, and arousing him to mindfulness uttered admonitory verses :

Nay, not for this that thou mayest slumber long,
Cometh the night in starry garlands wreathed.
For vigil by the wise this night is here. (193)

Hearing him, Soṇa was exceedingly agitated, and keeping his shortcomings before the mind, adopted the open-air practice, exercising himself for insight. And he uttered this verse :

If in the fight my warrior-elephant
Advanced, 'twere better, fallen from his back,¹
Dead on the field [and trampled I should lie],
Than beaten live a captive to the foe. (194)

So saying, he stirred up insight and won arahantship, and thereupon repeated the Master's words and his own as his confession of aññā.

CLVIII

Nisabha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the country of the Koliyans,² in a clansman's family, he was named Nisabha. Come of age, he saw the Buddha's wisdom and power at the fight between the Sākiyans and Koliyans, and believing, entered the Order, anon winning arahantship.

Thereupon seeing a fellow-bhikkhu spending his time

¹ The Commentary confirms the reading *avapatitay* (*vide* Neumann). The figure is a very natural one for an Indian soldier, and its application is easy. Metaphors from warfare are less frequent in Buddhist than in Christian literature, and the few contained in this work almost exhaust them. 'Trampled' (by the elephant) is a Commentarial gloss.

² A clan separated from the Sākiyans by the River Rohinī. *Cf. C.*, CCXXXIII.

carelessly, he admonished him, adding another verse to show he acted that which he preached :

Put them away, those fivefold things of sense,
 Objects that charm and captivate the mind.
 Thou who through faith didst give up home and
 world,
 Become end-maker of its grief and pain. (195)
 With thought of death I dally not, nor yet
 Delight in living. I await the hour
 With mind discerning and with heedfulness.¹ (196)

CLIX

Usabha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu in the family of a Sākiyan rāja, he was named Usabha. And when the Master visited his own folk,² Usabha saw his power and wisdom, believed in him, and entered the Order. From that time he fulfilled no religious duties, but passed all day in society and all night in sleep.

Now one day, muddled in mind and unheedingly dropping off to sleep, he dreamt that he shaved, put on a crimson cloak, and, sitting on an elephant, entered the town for alms. There, seeing the people gathered together, he dismounted full of shame. Thereupon he awoke thinking: 'Why, this was a dream! Muddled in head and thoughtless I saw myself in sleep.' And with anguish he established insight, and in due course won arahantship.

Thus having made the dream his goad, he celebrated it to confess aññā, saying :

A cloak the hue of purple mango-buds
 Draping about my shoulder, I bestrode
 The back of elephant, and so to seek
 Mine alms into the village street I rode. (197)

¹ Cf. XX., and ver. 607.

² Cf. CCXXXIII.

Down from his back [in very shame] I slid—
 [When lo! I woke and] anguish seized me then.
 This arrogant self was then made meek and mild,
 Purged were the poisons [that my mind defiled].¹ (198)

CLX

Kappaṭa-kura.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattihī in poor circumstances, the only way he knew of to support himself was to go about, clad in rags, pan in hand, seeking for rice-grains.² Hence he became known as Kappaṭa-kura—'Rags-and-rice.' When grown up, he maintained himself by selling grass. Reaping this one day in the forest, he saw a Thera. Doing obeisance he sat down near him, and heard him teach the Norm. Then he believed, and saying 'What to me is this wretched mode of life?' he entered the Order, bestowing his ragged cloth in a certain place. And when repugnance [to his new life] arose in him, he would go and look at the rags and feel unsettled. So doing, he seceded seven times from the Order. Then the bhikkhus told the Exalted One of this. And he one day, when Kappaṭa-kura, as bhikkhu, sat in the preaching-hall at the edge of the congregation dozing, admonished him in these verses :

'These,' saith he, 'are the rags of Rags-and-Rice!
 Too heavy is the gear I'm wearing now.'
 Full measure of the Norm hath he in shower
 Ambrosial; and yet no step he takes
 To practise contemplative discipline. (199)

¹ Another instance where the legend straightens out the tangle of the gāthā taken in isolation. What, *e.g.*, had the elephant rider to do with 'to seek mine alms'? Dr. Neumann has been compelled to excise the phrase. As the anomaly of a dream, the little poem is quite clear. 'Then . . . then' is a repetition copied from the text.

² *Kura*, occurring once as *kūra* in the Commentary (=in Childers and in Böhtlingk and Roth, 'boiled rice'), is probably wild rice in some form or other. Cf. *sukkha-kūra* in the Sutta-Vibhanga of the Vinaya, edition Oldenberg, iv., Pāc. 88, 1.

O Kappaṭa, thou shouldst not sway and nod,
 Nor make me cuff the word into thine ear.
 Never a whit thou, Kappaṭa, hast learned,
 Sleepily swaying 'midst the listeners here.¹ (200)

Thus the Exalted One upbraided him strongly, as if He had pierced his very bones, as if a fierce elephant had gone down into his path. And he, greatly disturbed, established insight, and soon won arahantship. Thereupon he repeated the verses which had been the goad that sent him to the goal, so that they became his confession of aññā.

PART V

CLXI

Kumāra-Kassapa.

REBORN in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, his mother was the daughter of a councillor. She having failed to gain her parents' consent to leave the world while yet a maiden, was married, and obtained her husband's consent to take Orders, not knowing at the time that she had conceived. When later the bhikkhunīs saw her condition, they consulted Devadatta, who replied: 'She is no true nun!' They then consulted Him-of-the-Ten-Powers. He entrusted the matter to Thera Upāli, who convened certain residents at Sāvattihī, including the lay-patroness Visākhā, and in full

¹ These verses remain not exactly the reverse of 'obscure sayings,' as Dr. Neumann calls them, even after the help of the legend. The Commentary, in both versions, is scarcely as lucid as usual; yet such explanation as it gives is, as ever, to show a situation of a simple and probable kind—the ragged loincloth, with its vagabond associations, supplying a Bohemian and pagan lure, making the more decorous yellow robes seem cumbrous, and the discipline irksome. The legend is a distinct addition to the 'human documents' of the Order's traditions.

assembly, the king being present, pronounced the Sister to have been with child when she took orders. The Master approved his decision. So she brought forth her child at the Vihāra, a boy like a golden statue, and the king reared him, and brought him later on to the Master to join the Order. Because he joined as a youth,¹ and they would ask, when the Exalted One said, 'Send for Kassapa,' or 'Give this fruit or biscuit to Kassapa,' 'Which Kassapa?' and because of his royal rearing, he became known as Kumāra-Kassapa, even after he was grown to manhood.

Now while he exercised himself for insight and learnt the Buddha-word, he dwelt in Dark Wood.² Then a deva, one who had with him done only the mountain-recluse's course, and having become a Non-Returner, had been reborn as a Great-Brahmā in the Pure Abodes, determined to show Kumāra-Kassapa a method for attaining the Paths and Fruits. And he came into the Dark Wood, and showed him fifteen questions which only the Master could answer. So he asked them before the Exalted One and learnt them; whereupon having conceived insight,³ he attained arahantship.

Thereupon, having been ranked by the Master foremost among those who had the gift of varied and versatile discourse, he reviewed his career, and under the aspect of

¹ In his twentieth year (*Vinaya Texts*, i. 229).

² At Sāvattihī. Three of the Sisters' psalms are associated with it. On the technical expressions used in the next sentence, see *Compendium*, p. 91.

³ An exceptional and curious phrase, borrowed from the terms of maternity: *Vipassanaṃ gabbhaṃ gaṇhāpetvā*—an echo, perhaps, of the description of his mother's ordeal described above. The story of the Thera is told also in the *Commentary on the Anguttara Nikāya*, i. 24; in *Jātaka*, i. 148 ff.; and in the *Commentary on the Dhammapada*, iii. 144 ff. The questions arising from the deva's visit are in *Majjh.*, i. 148, 'Vammika-Sutta.' An interesting feature in the *Commentary* is a reference made by its author, Dhammapāla, to the *Commentary on the Anguttara Nikāya*. Where Dhammapāla writes *gehe*, he adds: 'The Anguttaratthakathā says *kulagehe*'—as, indeed, it does. Hence it would seem that Buddhaghosa wrote before Dhammapāla.

extolling the virtues of the Jewel-Trinity, confessed his aññā :

All hail the Buddhas, and all hail the Norms.¹
 Hail the blest System by our Master wrought,
 Wherein he that doth hear may [be enrolled
 And] come to realize a Norm like ours. (201)
 Down countless ages have its members come,
 Reborn now as this compound, now as that.
 But this for them is now the very last,
 The final confluence of the factors five,²
 In flux of rebirth and mortality.
 Now come they never more again to be. (202)

CLXII

Dhammapāla.

Reborn in this Buddha-age, when the Master had passed away, in the kingdom of Avanti,³ as a brahmin's son, he was named Dhammapāla. As he was returning from Takkasilā, his schooldays finished, he saw on his way a certain Thera in a single cell,⁴ and hearing from him the Norm, he believed, left the world, and acquired sixfold abhiññā.

Now, as he was ruminating in the bliss of his achievement, two novices climbed a tree at the Vihāra to pick blossoms, and a branch breaking, they were falling. Seeing them, the Thera caught them with his hand, and by his

¹ Cf. *Majjh.*, ii. 96, where the apostrophe is in the singular number. The plural *dhammā*, as applied to Norm, is perhaps unique. The Commentary has—'the Doctrine, together with the nine *lokuttarā dhammā*.' These are enumerated in the *Paṭisambhidā* (ii. 166) as the seven groups given in *Compendium*, pp. 179-181 (a—g), plus the Paths and Fruits, and Nibbāna making ten.

² *Samussayo*, compound of the five *khandhas*, bodily and mental. Cf. p. 80, n. 2.

³ The country just east or north-east of Bombay. See *Bud. India*, p. 28.

⁴ *Ekasmiṃ vihāre*. Cf. *Dialogues*, ii. 4, n. 1.

iddhi-power¹ placed them unhurt upon the ground. And he taught them, saying :

The brother who while young hath given himself
Wholly to carry out the Buddha's plan,
Who keepeth vigil in a sleeping world,
Not vainly, not for naught he spends his days. (203)
So let the wise man, so let him who aye
Remembereth that which Buddhas have enjoined,
Devote himself to faith and righteousness,
To know the blessedness They brought to us,
And the true vision of the holy Norm.² (204)

CLXIII

Brahmāli.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Kosala, as a brahmin's son, he was named Brahmāli. When grown up, being impelled by the fulness of conditions, distress arose in him because of the continual round, and, through associating with spiritually minded friends, he left the world, and took his exercise to a forest. From the maturity of his knowledge he soon developed insight, and acquired sixfold abhiññā.

Dwelling thereafter in the bliss of the Paths, the Thera, so versed in compassing endeavour, uttered one day these verses, on behalf of the bhikkhus in that forest, concerning devotion to endeavour :

In whom the senses have been hushed to calm,
Like horses well tamed by the charioteer,
In whom no vain conceits are found, nor aught
Of poison-fumes survives, a man like this
May stir up envy e'en among the gods. (205)

¹ *Compendium*, pp. 60 ff., 209.

² The literal Pali of these two lines is the two very pregnant terms *pasāday* (expressing relief, satisfaction, trust) and *dhammadassanaṅ* (insight into or through the Dhamma).

In me the senses have been hushed to calm,
 Like horses well tamed by the charioteer,
 In me no vain conceits are found, nor aught
 Of poison-fumes survives ;—one such as I
 May stir up envy e'en among the gods.¹ (206)

CLXIV

Mogharājan.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a brahmin's family, and named Mogharājan,² he studied under the brahmin Bāvāriya. Growing distressed, he became an ascetic. He was one of the sixteen, Ajita and others, who was sent by Bāvāriya to the Master to interview him.³ When Mogharājan had asked his question and been answered, he attained arahantship.

Thereafter he acquired distinction by wearing rough cloth which caravaners, tailors and dyers had thrown away. Wherefore the Master assigned him the first place among those who wore such rough clothing [he thereby realizing his aspiration made many ages ago].⁴

At another time, from want of care and through former karma, pimples and the like broke out and increased on his body. Judging that his lodging was infected, he spread out a couch of straw in the Magadha fields, and there, though it was winter, he lodged. Of him, waiting one day

¹ The first gāthā is found in the *Dhammapāda*, verse 94, spoken, according to the Commentary (ii. 176 f.), by the Buddha concerning Mahā-Kaccā[ya]na. Cf. below, CCXXIX.

² This curious name (= futile king) seems to be nowhere explained. The one so named in *Saṅg. Nik.*, i. 28, seems to be a *deva*, but a verse by a Mogharāja-Thera in *Milinda*, ii. 359, is one of those not incorporated in this Canon.

³ See *Sutta-Nipāta*, verses 976-1081, 1116-1119. Cf. also XX (Ajita), and the varied 'Bāvāri,' 'Bāvāriya-brahmaṇo.'

⁴ *Ang. Nik.*, i. 25.

upon the Master, and paying his respects, the latter of his courtesy inquired in the following verse :

Well, Mogharājan, thou skin-sufferer,
Thou blest of heart and constantly serene,
Cometh the time when winter nights are cold,
And thou a brother poor—how wilt thou fare? (207)

Thus asked, the Thera explained the matter to the Master :

Rich are the cornfields of the Magadhese,¹
And thriving, every one, I've heard it said.
My little straw-built canopy doth please
Better than others' way of finding ease. (208)

CLXV

Visākha the Pañcālī's Son.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Magadha, as the son of a district rāja, he was named Visākha. But because he was the son of the daughter of the king of the Pañcālas,² he became known afterwards as the Pañcālī's son.

At his father's death he succeeded to his title, but when the Master came to his neighbourhood he went to hear him, and believed, and left the world. Following him to Sāvattihī, he established insight, and acquired sixfold abhiññā.

Thereupon, in kindness to his own folk, he visited his native place. And as people kept coming to hear him, he was one day asked : 'How many qualities, your reverence, should a man acquire to be a preacher of the Norm?' The

¹ On the large fields of Magadha see my 'Early Economic Conditions in Northern India,' *JRAS*, 1901, p. 860. *Khetta*, the collective singular, has here become *khettāni*, but *cf.* p. 158.

² An ancient kingdom, lying to the east of the Kurus, whose capital was where Delhi stands (*Bud. India*). Pronounced Panchāla.

Thera taught them the essential feature of such an one as follows :¹

Let him not be puffed up, nor other folk
 Belittle, nor despise nor yet molest
 The victor who hath overcome the world.²
 Nor let him drag the praises of himself
 Before the public ; let him be³ sober, meek,
 And moderate in speech and virtuous. (209)
 Is there a man who can the truth discern,
 Tho' it be very subtle and refined ?
 Who skilled to measure spiritual growth,
 Is yet of lowly, and of gentle mind.
 Who shapes his life by rule of Them that Wake :
 For him, Nibbāna is not hard to find.⁴ (210)

CLXVI

Cūḷaka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, as a brahmin's son, he was named Cūḷaka. When he saw the Master tame the elephant Dhanapāla,⁵ he believed, and left the world. Working at his training, he dwelt in the Indra-sāl-tree Cave.⁶ One day as he sat in the entrance of the cave, looking down over the Magadha 'field,' a great storm-cloud filled the sky with piled-up masses, and amid deep, lovely roars, the rain came down. The flock of peacocks, hearing the thunder, joyously uttered their ké-ká cry,⁷ and

¹ The Buddha is recorded as having assigned the first place among the *dharmakathika's* to Puṇṇa among the Brethren (IV.), Dhamma-dinnā among the Sisters (*Sisters*, p. 17), and Citta among laymen; nevertheless, he specially praised this Thera's teaching (*Sany. Nik.*, ii. 280; *Ang. Nik.*, ii. 51).

² Lit., him who hath gone beyond.

³ *Siyāti* should here, writes the Commentary, be added as a *kriyā-pada*.

⁴ This is Vacchapāla's psalm (LXXI.); also, be it noted, a Magadhese.

⁵ See *Milinda*, i. 298 f., *nn.* on *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 247 f.

⁶ See *Dialogues*, ii. 299.

⁷ See XXII., n. 2.

danced around. The touch of the storm-breeze brought coolness and comfort to the Thera in his cavern-lodge, so that with a suitable temperature his mind became concentrated. He entered the avenue of his exercise, and, discerning that the favourable moment was come, he praised his practice, breaking out in these verses :

Hark! how the peacocks make the welkin ring,
Fair-crested, fine their plumes and azure throat,
Graceful in shape and pleasant in their cry.
And see how this broad landscape watered well
Lies verdure-clad beneath the dappled sky! (211)

Healthy thy frame and fit and vigorous
To make good progress in the Buddha's rule.
Come then and grasp the rapt thought of the
saint,¹

And touch the crystal bright, the subtly deep,
The elusive mystery—even the Way
Where dying cometh not, ineffable. (212)

And so the Thera, admonishing himself, attained under seasonable conditions to mental concentration, and evoking insight, won arahantship. Thereupon reviewing what he had wrought, with zest and joy he repeated those lines as the confession of aññā.

CLXVII

Anūpama.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a wealthy family at Kosala, his beauty obtained him the name of Anūpama—'Peerless.' Come of age, he felt the working of the efficient cause, forsook the world, and dwelt in the forest,

¹ *Sumanassa*, paraphrased by *sundaramanassa yogāvacarassa*. 'Come,' 'grasp,' 'touch,' are expansions of the Pali *phusāhi*, the last of the three verbs. The long-drawn-out Jagatī metre of the two gāthās relies on reiteration of the adaptable prefix *su* (Greek εϛ)—good, fair, well—to convey intense gladness.

practising for insight. But his mind hovered about external objects, revolving about his theme for meditation, so that he thus rebuked himself :

O heart ! gone gadding after things that please,
 O thou that shapest many a shaft of doom,
 There and there only dost thou ever tend
 Where block and stake rise at the bitter end. (213)
 I call thee, heart, the breaker of my luck !
 I call thee, heart, despoiler of my lot !
 Lo ! He whom many an age thou couldst not find,
 The Master now is come—suffer it not
 That I to wreck and ruin be consigned.¹ (214)

Thus admonishing his own consciousness, the Thera developed insight, and won arahantship.

CLXVIII

Vajjita.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a wealthy Kosalan family, after deceasing from the Brahma world, he ever wept in his mother's arms. And because he could not endure the touch of a woman, he came to be called Vajjita—'abstaining.' Come of age, he saw the Master work the twin-miracle,² and believing, he entered the Order, and acquired sixfold abhiññā. Thereupon remembering his former existence, he was stirred with holy emotion, and said :

A traveller I these long, long ages past,
 And round about the realms of life I've whirled ;
 One of the many-folk and blind as they,
 No Ariyan truths had I the power to see. (215)

¹ This eloquent poem is a miniature version of Tālapuṭa's long-drawn-out apostrophe to his *chitta* (CCLXII.). The Commentary identifies *kalī* with *Kālakaṇṇī*, goddess of ill luck. The last words of the text should, of course, be understood as *mā anatthe*, etc.

² Cf. p. 86, n. 1.

But earnestly I strove for light and calm ;
 And now all shattered lies the endless way.
 All future bournes abolished utterly,
 Now cometh never more rebirth for me. (216)

And this became the Thera's confession of aññā.

CLXIX

Sandhita.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a wealthy family of Kosala and named Sandhita, he heard, when come of age, a sermon on impermanence, and this alarmed him so that he entered the Order. Through the maturity of his knowledge he established insight, and acquired sixfold abhiññā. Recalling his own former life, how after the passing away of Sikhi Buddha he had worshipped at the Bo-tree and acquired discernment of impermanence,¹ he declared his winning of the goal, by that efficient cause, in these verses :

Beneath the tree—the holy Bodhi-tree—
 Clad in the glory of its vernal green,
 To me musing and mindful came a thought—
 A Buddha-burdened thought. (217)

'Tis one and thirty æons since it came.
 Natheless so fruitful proved that thought in me,
 By dint thereof o'er the intoxicants
 The victory is wrought! (218)

¹ In lamenting that he only heard of that Buddha just as he had passed away. On Sikhi, see *Dialogues*, ii. 6. 'Bodhi-tree' is *assattho*, or the species of fig-tree which was Gotama Buddha's Bo-tree. Sikhi's was a kind of mango (see Childers's 'Punḍarika'), and the Commentary is at some pains to explain that *assattha* had come to stand for Bo-tree associations in general. 'Thought'—*saññā*, *aperçu*—is repeated thrice in the text.

CANTO III

PSALMS OF THREE VERSES

CLXX

Anganika-Bhāradvāja.

REBORN in this Buddha-age near the Himālaya, at the city of Ukkatṭha,¹ in the family of a very rich brahmin, he was named Anganika-Bhāradvāja.² And when he had learned all Vedic lore and art, his inclination for renunciation induced him to leave the world and carry on penance for salvation.³ Wandering here and there, he met the Buddha Supreme on a country tour, and with satisfied mind heard him teach. Leaving his false ascetics, he took orders, and practising for insight, in due course acquired sixfold abhiññā.

Abiding thereafter in the bliss of liberty, he took compassion on his kinsfolk, and visited and taught them in the Refuges and the Precepts; then leaving them, he went to dwell in a forest near the village of Kuṇḍiya of the Kurus.⁴

¹ On this upland town (= 'lofty'), see *Dialogues*, i. 108. A road connected it with Setavyā (*sup.*, p. 67; *Ang.*, ii. 37) and with Vesālī (*Jāt.*, ii. 259, text).

² There are about nineteen Bhāradvājas (a gens name) mentioned in the Piṭakas. This one is not met with elsewhere.

³ That which, in the text, is *amarāṇ tapāṇ* ('penances . . . for heaven') is, in the Commentary, rendered *amatatapaṇ*, *amatay tapāṇ*. The difference, etymologically, is that between 'undying' and 'not dead.' Both refer, probably, to reunion with the gods, as attainable by the penance of the five fires, etc. See *sup.*, p. 120, and *Dialogues*, i. 211.

⁴ This will not be the Kuṇḍiyā of the Koliyas (*Udāna*, ii. 8; *Jāt.*, i. No. 100). Uggāyāma is possibly the place Ugga of LXXX.

Going for some purpose to Uggāyāma, he was accosted by some brahmin acquaintances, who said: 'Master Bhāradvāja, what have you seen that you have left the brahmin communion for this community?' And he, showing that outside the Buddha's church there was no pure rule, said:

Purity without principle my quest,
 When in the grove I fostered sacred fire.
 Painful the penances I wrought for heaven,
 All ignorant of purity's true path. (219)
This happiness by happy ways is won¹—
 O see the seemly order of the Norm!²
 The threefold wisdom have I gotten now,
 And all the Buddha's ordinance is done. (220)
 Once but a son of brahmins born was I;³
 To-day I stand brahmin in very deed,
 Versed in the triple lore and graduate,⁴
 By sacramental bathing consecrate. (221)

Then those brahmins hearing him, expressed enthusiastic appreciation of the Sāsana.

CLXXI

Paccaya.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at the city of Rohi, in a nobleman's family, he was named Paccaya.⁵ Inheriting the estate at his father's death, he decreed to hold a great ceremonial oblation, and a great assembly foregathered.

¹ Cf. LXIII.

² Cf. XXIV. He is addressing either the Norm or himself, says the Commentary, omitting the more probable 'or the brahmins.'

³ Cf. p. 222; also the very similar lines, *Sisters*, verse 251 and *note*.

⁴ The Commentary finds Sāsana-equivalents for all these terms of Vedic tradition.

⁵ Neither rāja nor city is found elsewhere. Pacchāyā (pronounce thus) was the name of the elephant of Vessantara, a Sākiyan ancestor (*Jāt.*, vi. 485, text).

At that congress, the Master, seated on a throne in a jewelled pavilion made by (his ancestor) Vessavaṇa,¹ taught the Norm, while all the people gazed at him. Even the great multitude understood the doctrine, but rāja Paccaya went further. For impelled by earlier causes, he renounced his estate and left the world. And even as he had vowed in Kassapa Buddha's time, so now, entering his cell, he vowed to attain before he left it again. And now at last, insight growing, and knowledge attaining full maturity, he attained arahantship.

Thereupon, celebrating his achievement, he thus confessed aññā :

Five days have now gone by since I went forth,
 A learner, and my mind not perfected.²
 Then in the heart of me within my cell
 Retired uprose unfaltering resolve: (222)
 I will not eat nor will I drink again,
 Nor from this lodging let me issue forth,
 Nor will I even lie upon my side,
 While yet the dart of Craving lies undrawn.³ (223)
 Thus steadfast I abiding—O behold
 And mark the forward stride of energy:
 In Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
 And all the Buddha bids us do is done! (224)

CLXXII

Bākula.

Born at Kosambī in a councillor's family before our Exalted One appeared, he was being bathed for his health in the Great-Yamunā River,⁴ when a fish swallowed him

¹ Cf. p. 189, n. 1. *Jāt.*, vi. 265 ff. (text).

² A phrase of the Nikāyas (*Majjh.*, i. 4; *Saṃy.*, i. 121, v. 145).

³ A resolve enjoined on learners (*Majjh.*, i. 480; *Ang.*, i. 50; *Saṃy.*, ii. 28).

⁴ The Jumna. Kosambī was near the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges (at Allahabad). Bākula's or Bakkula's story is given in the

out of the nurse's hands. The fish was caught by an angler and sold to the wife of a Benares councillor. When it was split open, the child through the might of his merit appeared unhurt. The wife cherished him as her son, and when she heard his story, asked him of his parents. The king decided they should have him in common, hence he was named Bā-kula ('two-families,' *bi-kin*).

After a prosperous life he heard the Master preach, and left the world at eighty years of age. For seven days he remained unenlightened, but as the eighth dawned he attained arahantship, together with thorough mastery of the letter and spirit of the doctrine.¹

One day the Master, when assigning manifold eminence to his disciples, ranked Bākula foremost for good health.² Thereafter he, when about to pass away, confessed aññā in the midst of the Brethren thus :

He who is fain to-morrow to perform
 The things that he should yesterday have done,
 Forfeit of happy opportunity,
 He shall anon repent him fierily.³ (225)
 Let him but talk of that which should be done ;
 Let him not talk of what should not be done !
 Of him who talketh much, but doeth not,
 Wise men take stock, and rate him at his
 worth.⁴ (226)

Anguttara-Nikāya Commentary and in the Singhalese Comy. of *Milinda* (ii. 10, n. 2). His legend tells of his having healed two Buddhas in former births. Morris's discussion of *bakkula* in another connection (*JPTS*, 1886, p. 95 ff.) explains the word as a *proper name* no better than does the mythical story.

¹ See *Sisters*, p. 17 n. The poem is repeated (CLXXXIV.).

² *Ang. Nik.*, i. 25; there called Bakkula. Presumably his great age lent point to the distinction.

³ *Anutappati*, lit., proceed to be hot about. Our metaphor is bite (*remorse*) or pricking (of conscience).

⁴ Expanded from the two words *parijānanti paṇḍitā*, the wise understand. The Commentary's expansion is 'they fixing [him] accurately know, do not esteem highly.'

O great, O wondrous is Nibbāna's bliss,
 Revealed by Him, the Utterly Awake!
 There comes no grief, no passion, haven sure,
 Where ill and ailing perish evermore! (227)

CLXXIII

Dhaniya.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha in a potter's family and named Dhaniya, he practised the potter's craft. It was at his house that the Master taught Pukkusāti the noble the Sutta of the System of Elements.¹ Dhaniya, hearing of Pukkusāti dying as an arahant [that very night], thought: 'Mighty to guide verily is the Buddha-sāsana, wherein a single night suffices to release a man from the sorrows of rebirth!' So he entered the Order. But he continued to occupy himself with making tiles for roofs.² Reproved for making a clay hut by the Exalted One, he took up his abode in a bhikkhu's lodging, and there won arahantship.

Thereafter, on the occasion of admonishing bhikkhus who, as self-mortifying, held themselves superior to others, he confessed aññā thus:

If one in the recluse's discipline
 Take thought how he may live in happy ease,
 Let him not scorn the Order's uniform,
 Nor hold in disrespect its food and drink. (228)

If one in the recluse's discipline
 Take thought how he may live in happy ease,
 Let him frequent a shelter like the lair
 Of watersnake or mouse [primitive, bare].³ (229)

¹ 'Dhātuvibhanga-sutta,' *Majjh. Nik.*, iii. 237 ff., where the potter's name is not mentioned. Cf. above XCVII., and my *Buddhism*, 1912

² Dhaniya's skill in brick-making: clay-work red as the *indagopaka* (cf. verse 13), and giving a bell-like sound when tapped, is described, in this connection, in *Vinaya*, iii. 41 f.

³ Commentary: 'the hole of the moment, where he can go in and out at will.'

If one in the recluse's discipline
 Take thought how he may live in happy ease,
 Let him be glad whate'er the day may bring,¹
 And let him be intent on one main thing.² (230)

CLXXIV

Mātanga's Son.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in Kosala as the son of Mātanga a landowner, he came to be called after his father. He grew up idle in habits, and when his people rebuked him, he made acquaintance with the bhikkhus, noting how happily the Sākiya-son recluses lived. But when he heard the Master teach the Norm, he believed and took orders. Seeing the power of *iddhi* wielded by bhikkhus, he aspired to the same. And practising exercises, he won sixfold *abhiññā*.

Thereupon he scourged slothfulness, extolling his own rush of energy in these verses :

Too cold! too hot! too late! such is the cry.
 And so, past men who shake off work [that waits
 Their hand], the fateful moments fly.³ (231)
 But he who reckons cold and heat as less
 Than straws, doing his duties as a man,
 He no defaulter proves to happiness. (232)

¹ Lit., glad at one thing or another.

² *I.e.*, let him be in earnest (Commentary) whatever be the *ekadhamma* of his study.

³ 'Fateful' is interpolated to give weight to the urgency with which, in the earnest bhikkhu's life, conjuncture of opportunity is associated with this present life, especially in a 'Buddha-age.' So the Commentary here, and *cf. Sisters*, p. 12, n. 4. These two verses occur in *Dīgha* iii., 'Sigālovāda Suttanta,' but 'moments' is superseded by *atthā*, 'advantages' or 'good'—a rare use of the plural form.

Dabba- and kusa-grass and pricking stems,
 And all that hurts in brush and underwood.
 Forth from my breast I'll push and thrust
 away,
 And go where I the growth may cultivate
 Of heart's detachment, lone and separate.¹ (233)

CLXXV

Khujja-Sobhita.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Pāṭaliputta,² in a brahmin's family, he was named Sobhita. But being a little hunchbacked, he was called Crooked Sobhita. Come of age at the time of the Master's passing away, he was ordained by Ānanda, and acquired sixfold abhiññā.

Now, at the first Great Council in the Sattapaṇṇi Cave, he was bidden fetch Ānanda Thera to the Assembly.³ Now at that time the company of devas sent an angel to stand at the entrance to the Cave to counteract the work of Māra. And Khujja-Sobhita announced his own coming to the angel in this verse :

One of the Brethren who in Patna dwell,
 Learned and erudite, lo! at the door,
 Advanced in years, stands Crooked Sobhita. (234)

¹ = XXVII.; cf. XXIII. The energy defies in the one case physical delicacy, in the other effeminacy.

² Patna; cf. *Sisters*, p. 157 n.

³ For Ānanda's late appearance see *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 878; *Vinaya*, iii. 259. There, Ānanda's access to the Cave through earth or air, in the commentarial legend, is ascribed to our Thera. Curiously enough, the *Vinaya* itself knows of no Khujja-Sobhita till the Council of Vesālī, a century later (*Vinaya Texts*, iii. 407). That the Council was held in this Cave is not stated in the *Vinaya*, which names only the Kalandaka-nivāpa (squirrels' feeding-ground) in the Veḷuvana (Bamboo Grove). 'Angel' is *devatū*; lit., deity.

Then the angel informed the Sangha of the Thera's advent :

One of the Brethren who in Patna dwell,
Learnèd and eloquent, lo! at the door,
Advanced in years, he stands borne by the
winds.¹ (235)

Then the Sangha giving him opportunity, the Thera
approached them and confessed aññā :

Good fight he made, and made good sacrifice,²
And in the battle won :—now by such war,
The fervent following of the holy life,
In happiness he resteth [evermore]. (236)

CLXXVI

Vāraṇa.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in Kosala as a brahmin's son, he was named Vāraṇa. Come of age, he heard a Thera preach the Norm in a forest, and believing, entered the Order. One day going to wait upon the Buddha he saw, on the way, a family quarrel, through which some were slain. Distressed, he hastened to the Exalted One, and told him. And the latter, discerning the progress of his mind, exhorted him, saying :

Whoso here causeth fellow-creatures pain,
From this and from the other-world, from both
This man may forfeit all they yield of good.³ (237)
Whoso with loving heart compassion takes
On every fellow-creature, such a man
Doth generate of merit ample store. (238)

¹ His aerial return from Ānanda to the Sangha.

² *Suyiṭṭhena* (which comes more naturally from a lapsed brahmin than the martial epithets) the Commentary explains as 'religious gifts from virtuous friends.' The metre of the poem is disturbed by two glosses *samaṇā* and *dvāre*.

³ The last phrase from the Commentary, 'the good and happiness comprised in both worlds.'

Train ye yourselves in pious utterance,
 In waiting ever on the wise and good,
 In haunting secret solitary seat,
 And in the calm and concentrated mind. (239)

When these verses were ended, Vāraṇa, developing insight, won arahantship.

CLXXVII

Passika.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the family of a Kosalan brahmin, he saw the Master work the twin miracle,¹ and believed. Entering the Order he fell ill while performing the studies of a recluse. His own people attended him and healed him. But he, greatly stirred by his recovery, pressed forward his study, and acquired sixfold abhiññā. Thereupon he went through the air to his own people, and established them in the Refuges and the Precepts. And some of his kin, so established, died and were reborn in heaven. When Passika waited on the Master, the latter asked after the health of his kin. And Passika thus made answer :

Though I alone, 'mong unbelieving kin,
 Had faith and wit enough, discerned the Norm
 And clove to virtue, this was for their good. (240)

For see! mine own folk, whom for pity's sake
 I took to task, roused and rebuked by me,
 Through their affection and their piety
 Constrained, towards the Brethren wrought good
 work. (241)

They who are now gone hence, ending this span,
 They reap much happiness among the gods.
 Brothers of mine are there, my mother too,
 Fain for the pleasures that they now enjoy. (242)

¹ See p. 86, n. 1.

CLXXVIII

Yasoja.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at the gate of the city of Sāvattī in a fisher's village, as the son of the headman of the 500 fishermen's families, he was called Yasoja. . Come of age, he was one day fishing with the fishermen's sons in the River Aciravatī. And casting his net, he caught a great gold-coloured fish. They showed it to King Pasenadi, who said : 'The Exalted One will know the cause of the fish's colour.' And the Exalted One told them that the fish had, in Kassapa Buddha's time, been a wicked bhikkhu, who had since then suffered in purgatory ; that his sisters were still there, but that his brother as Thera had perfected life ; and then for their good he taught the Kappila Sutta.¹

Thereupon Yasoja in deep emotion renounced the world, and his companions with him. Of his going with them to wait on the Exalted One at the Jeta-Vana, and of their dismissal because of the noise they made on arriving, the record stands in the Udāna.² Dismissed, and dwelling on the banks of the River Vaggumudā, Yasoja, like a highbred horse, his mettle stirred, strove and toiled till he acquired sixfold abhiññā. Thereafter the Exalted One sent for him. And he, from practising all the special austerities,³ was emaciated and uncomely. Then the Exalted One commended his self-denial in this verse :

Lo ! here a man with frame so pale and worn ;
 Like knotted stems of cane his joints, and sharp
 Th' emaciated network of his veins.
 In food and drink austerely temperate,
 His spirit neither crushed nor desolate. (243)

¹ I cannot identify this Sutta.

² *Udāna*, iii., § 3. In that work it is interesting, in view of the Thera's legend, that the Master, when rebuking Yasoja's followers, compares them to noisy *fishermen*.

³ These were not the self-inflicted tortures of Indian ascetics, but the Dhutangas, all of which are given in the *Milinda*, ii., bk. vi.

And Yasoja so commended, extolled the love of solitude, and taught doctrine thus :

In the great forest, in the mighty woods,
Touched though I be by gadfly and by gnat,
I yet would roam, like warrior-elephant
In van of battle, mindful, vigilant.¹ (244)

Alone a man is even as Brahmā.
And as the angels if he have one mate.
Like to a village is a group of three.
Like to a noisy crowd if more there be. (245)

CLXXIX

Sāṭimattiya.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Magadha as a brahmin's son, he having the essential conditions² entered the Order among the forest bhikkhus, and through study and practice acquired sixfold abhiññā. Thereupon he instructed bhikkhus, and preached to many folk on the Refuges and the Precepts. One family in particular he converted to faith and trust; and in that house he was greatly welcomed, the only daughter, a pretty, lovely girl, respectfully providing him with food.

One day Māra, plotting to disturb and disgrace him, took his shape, and going to the maiden, grasped her hand. But she, feeling that this was no human touch, loosed her hand. But the others in the house saw it and lost faith in the Thera. He, knowing nothing, perceived next day their changed manner. And discerning that Māra had been at work, he vowed to loose the dead dog from their neck, and made them tell him what had happened. And the house-master, hearing his explanation, begged his forgiveness,

¹ = XXXI.

² *I.e.*, maturity of evolution in character.

and declared he himself would wait upon him. The Thera told the matter in these verses :

The trust thou once didst place in me,
 To-day it lives no more. What's thine is thine ;
 But in this house no evil have I done. (246)
 Transient and wavering is the layman's faith :—
 So have I marked. Folk love and then grow cold.
 Why for that should a holy brother die ? (247)
 Cooked stands the sage's food a little here,
 A little there, in one clan or the next.
 I will go round to seek my little alms ;
 My legs are strong enough forsooth for that.¹ (248)

CLXXX

Upāli.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a barber's family, he was named Upāli. Come of age he left the world, following Anuruddha and the other five nobles, when the Exalted One was staying at Anupiyā Grove, as is recorded in the Pali.² Now when he was taking a subject for exercise from the Master, he said : ' Send me not away, Lord, to dwell in the forest.' ' Bhikkhu, you dwelling in the forest, will develop one subject³ only ; if you dwell with us, you will become proficient in both book-knowledge⁴ and insight.' The Thera, consenting to the Master's word, practised for insight, and in due time won arahantship.

¹ This little poem, so simply explained by the Commentary, has for lack of it been twisted into a limping dialogue on Karma, etc., between two bhikkhus. See Neumann, *in loc.*

² See the charming episode, *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 224-230.

³ *Dhūraṇ*.

⁴ *Gantha-*, Br. *gandha-dhūraṇ*. With this cf. *Dīgha-Nikāya*, iii. 94 : *ganthe karontā*. Dhammapāla, of course, had palm-leaf manuscripts in mind and a *written* Vinaya, whereas, in Upāli's case, the Master would probably teach him orally (*uggahapesi*), though heads or subject-words may then have been committed to writing.

Moreover, the Master himself taught him the whole Vinaya-Piṭaka. And later, after Upāli had won the Master's commendation of his decision in the three cases of Ajjuka, the Kurukacchaka bhikkhu and Kumāra-Kassapa, he was ranked first among those who knew the Vinaya.¹

One feast-day, when he was reciting the Pātimokkha,² he thus admonished the brethren :

He who for faith's sake³ hath renounced the
world,

And stands a novice in the Order new,
Friends let him choose of noble character,
Pure in their lives, of zeal unfaltering. (249)

He who for faith's sake hath renounced the world,
And stands a novice in the Order new,
Among the Order let that bhikkhu dwell,
And wisely⁴ learn its code of discipline. (250)

He who for faith's sake hath renounced the world,
And stands a novice in the Order new,
Skilled in what should be done, or left undone,
Let him unaccompanied hold on his way. (251)

¹ See *Vinaya*, iii. 66; 39, and above CLXI. respectively. These are but a tithe of the cases recorded as settled by this notable Dean. Cf. XLV., p. 50, n. 2.

² This—the 'Rules of Disburdenment'—constituted, and still constitutes, a fortnightly ritual (*Vinaya Texts*, i. 1-69).

³ Commentary : *i.e.*, either not in order to gain a living, or believing in the fruit of action and in the excellence of the Gem-Trinity (Buddha, Norm, Order). Upāli's own beginning was not so single-minded, he having joined precisely in order to protect his life. The young nobles gave him their effects to take home, and he, fearing that the Sākiyans might suspect him of murder, hung up the bundle on a tree and followed them.

⁴ *Budho*. The Commentary interprets : *buddhā ti ca pathan ti ; so ev' attho*. The iteration 'novice . . . new' is in the text.

CLXXXI

Uttarapāla.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī in a brahmin family, he was named Uttarapāla.¹ He saw the Twin Miracle,² and believing, entered the Order, and pursued his studies. One day, amid desultory recollections, sensual desires beset him, but after a violent mental struggle, he arrested the corrupting moods (*kilesa's*), and in earnest meditation won arahantship.

Thereupon reflecting on his victory, he uttered a 'lion-roar':

Me seeming wise, forsooth, and spent enough
 In pondering on the things that make for good,
 Me overthrew fivefold desires of sense,
 Bewilderers [of the reason] of the world. (252)
 Though lodged in Māra's reach, by mighty dart
 Assailed, yet did my strength suffice to win
 From snare set by the King of Death release. (253)
 Now are all sense-desires put far away!
 Now are all rebirths shattered once for aye!
 Destroyed is birth-and-death's eternity!
 Now cometh nevermore rebirth for me! (254)

CLXXXII

Abhibhūta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a rāja's family at the city of Veṭṭhapūra,³ he was named Abhibhūta, and succeeded to the estate at his father's death. Now when the Exalted

¹ = Guardian of the North.

² See p. 86, n. 1.

³ No other mention of place or rāja is yet traced, but the four middle lines are, in *Sany. Nik.*, i. 156, put in the mouth of one Abhibhu, who was a bhikkhu in the age of Sikhi Buddha, according to a story told by Gotama Buddha.

One arrived at his city on tour, Abhibhūta he went to hear him, and on the morrow offered him hospitality. The Exalted One expressed the thanks he felt, and thereupon taught him the Norm more in detail. Then the rāja found faith, left his estate for the Order, and realized arahantship.

While he was dwelling in the bliss of emancipation, his kindred, councillors and retainers came to him lamenting that he had left them without a chief. And he, teaching them the Norm by way of extolling the reason of his renunciation, said :

Hear, O ye kinsmen, and give ear to me,
 All and as many as are gathered here!
 The Norm it is that ye shall learn from me :—
 Painful is birth again and yet again! (255)
 Bestir yourselves, rise up, renounce and come,
 And yield your hearts unto the Buddha's Rule.
 Shake off the armies of the King of Death
 As doth the elephant a hut of straw.¹ (256)
 Whoso within this righteous discipline
 Shall come with diligence to understand.
 Rebirth's eternal round put far away,
 All pain and suffering he shall end for aye.² (257)

CLXXXIII

Gotama.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the Sākiyan clan, he came to be known only by his gens name. He found faith when the Master visited his kinsfolk, and entering the Order and studying for insight, acquired sixfold abhiññā. Now, while

¹ Cf. verse 1147.

² These last eight lines are elsewhere assigned to the Buddha, four by Nāgasena (*Milinda*, ii. 60), and four in the Book of the Great Decease (*Dialogues*, ii. 128). The former is also so assigned in *Kathū Vatthu*, ii. 3, and in *Divyāvadāna*, p. 300, but to the gods (*ibid.*, p. 569) and to the bhikkhu Abhibhu in *Samy. Nik.*, i. 156 f.

he was dwelling in the bliss of emancipation, his kinsfolk asked him one day why he had put them aside and gone forth. And he, to show both the ill he had suffered in Saṅsāra and the happiness of Nibbāna which he then had gotten, said :

Lo! as I fared through being, I came to the kingdom
infernal,

So to the dolorous realm of the Petas, times without
number.

Evil¹ befell me again in manifold shapes of the
beast-world. (258)

Glad enough reborn as human, rarely I won to the
heavens.

Yea, in the realms of vision, in realms where all
sense was abolished

Have I been placed, and in realms 'twixt conscious-
ness and the unconscious.² (259)

All this becoming lies clearly before me as void of
real value,

Born of preceding conditions, unstable and con-
stantly drifting.

So comprehending the coming to be of this self of
me, heedful,

Came I at length to find Peace, yea, the Peace
[wherein I am resting]. (260)

CLXXXIV

Harita.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattī in a brahmin family, he fell into the habit, from pride of birth, of calling other men low-born. Even after he had heard the Norm, and believed and entered the Order, he persisted from the

¹ The oddly redundant *dukkhamamhi* the Commentary gives in the verse, but restates in paraphrasing as *dukkhamhi*.

² On these planes of existence see *Compendium*, p. 137 ff.

cumulative force of the habit. But one day, after hearing the Master preach, he reviewed his own mental procedure, and was distressed to mark the surrender to conceit and arrogance. Expelling it all, he conjured up insight and won arahantship. Thereafter, dwelling in the bliss of emancipation, he testified to aññā in thus admonishing the bhikkhus :¹

He who is fain to-morrow to perform
 The things that he should yesterday have done,
 Forfeit of happy opportunity,
 He shall anon repent him fierily. (261)
 Let him but talk of that which should be done ;
 Let him not talk of what should not be done !
 Of him who talketh much but doeth not,
 Wise men take stock, and rate him at his
 worth. (262)

O great, O wondrous is Nibbāna's bliss,
 Revealed by Him, the Utterly Awake !
 There comes no grief, no passion, haven sure,
 Where ill and ailing perish evermore ! (263)

CLXXXV

Vimala.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Benares in a brahmin family, he entered the Order under Thera Amitta,² and through his instigation acquired insight and won arahantship. Thereupon he admonished a bhikkhu who was his comrade as follows :

From evil-minded friends keep far away,
 And make thy choice among the best of men.

¹ Harita's psalm is identical with Bākula's (CLXXII.). Cf. also the Harita of XXIX., also a brahmin of Sāvattihī.

² On this curious name (? Amitta) cf. *Jāt.*, vi. 271.

To his advice hold fast, and let thy heart
Aspire to happiness immutable. (264)
As¹ one who, mounted on a puny plank,
Is in mid-ocean whelmed beneath the waves,
So even he of blameless life doth sink,
When thrown together with the man of sloth. (265)
Wherefore from such an one keep well apart,
The sluggard and the poor in energy.
Dwell thou with them who live aloof,
With wise, with noble souls who have renounced,
Who in rapt contemplation ever strive. (266)

¹ See above, CXXXIV. This Thera is not met with elsewhere, nor is Vimala identical with the author of Psalm L.

CANTO IV

PSALMS OF FOUR VERSES

CLXXXVI

Nāgasamāla.

REBORN in this Buddha-age in a clan of Sākiyan rājas, he made the perishableness of life his principle, and, conjuring up insight, attained arahantship. He thereupon testified to aññā, as occurring in his own experience, thus :

Bedecked with trinkets and with pretty frock,
Wreathèd with flowers, raddled with sandal
wood,

In the main street, before the multitude
A nautch girl danced to music's fivefold sound.¹ (267)

Into the city I had gone for alms,
And passing I beheld the dancer decked
In brave array, like snare of Māra laid. (268)

Thereat arose in me the deeper thought:²

Attention to the fact and to the cause.

The misery of it all was manifest;

Distaste, indifference the mind possessed. (269)

¹ The five instruments usually grouped as *turiya* are three sorts of tom-toms, cymbals (?), and pipe or flute. 'Nautch girl' is *nari*—lit., woman—and *naṭṭakī*, dancer.

² *Yoniso manasikāro*. The Commentary paraphrases by analyzing the sight of that which was intended to appeal to sense and emotion.

Distaste,' etc. : Cy. has *sampatiṭṭhathāti . . . hadayaṃ saṅhūsi*.

And so my heart was set at liberty.
 O see the seemly order of the Norm!
 The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
 And all the Buddha bids me do is done.¹ (270)

CLXXXVII

Bhagu.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a clan of Sākiyan rājas, he left the world, together with his clansmen, Anuruddha and Kimbila, and dwelt by the village of Bālakalona.² And one day, when he had left his cell to discipline his tendency to sloth and torpor, he fell as he was stepping up on to the terrace. Using this as his goad,³ he accomplished self-mastery, and developing insight, he won arahantship. Thereupon, as he was living in the bliss of fruition, the bliss of Nibbāna, the Master, coming to congratulate him on his solitude, asked him: 'How now, bhikkhu, do you continue in earnest?' And he assenting, replied:

Foredone by drowth I gat me from my cell
 For exercise, and climbed the terrace-steps,
 And fell thereby all drowsy to the earth. (271)
 Chafing my limbs, once more I mounted up;
 And while on terrace to and fro I went,
 Within 'twas all alert, composed, intent. (272)
 Thereat arose in me the deeper thought:
 Attention to the fact and to the cause. . . .

¹ It is not possible to be sure that this Nāgasamāla is the Thera so named who was occasionally the Buddha's attendant on his walks. Cf. CCLX.; *Majjh. Nik.*, i. 43; *Udāna*, viii. 7; *Jāt.*, iv. 95.

² On these see above (CXVIII., n. 4) and below (CCLVI.). The visit by the Buddha, without the incident of the tumble, is recorded, *Majjh. Nik.*, iii. 154; *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 308, where the village has '-kāra' added to its name. Cf. *Jāt.*, i., No. 10; *Milinda*, i. 168. The village was a suburb of Kosambī on the Jumna.

³ Cf. *Sisters*, xvii.

The misery of it all was manifest ;
 Distaste, indifference the mind possessed ; (273)
 And so my heart was set at liberty.
 O see the seemly order of the Norm !
 The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
 And all the Buddha bids me do is done. (274)

This was the Thera's confession of aññā.

CLXXXVIII

Sabhiya.

In the time of our Exalted One he took rebirth as the son of a nobleman's daughter, whose parents had committed her to the charge of a Wanderer, that she might learn other doctrines and usages. Sabhiya, when grown up, also became a Wanderer, and learning various recitations, became a great dialectician, and found none to equal him. Making his hermitage by the city gate, he gave lessons to the children of noblemen and others, and devised twenty questions, which he asked recluses and brahmins. In the narrative to the Sabhiya-Sutta it is handed down, that a Brahmā god from the Pure Abodes devised the questions.¹ There, too, it is told how the Exalted One, when he came to Rājagaha, to the Bamboo Grove, so answered the questions, that Sabhiya believed on him, and entering the Order, established insight and won arahantship.

But after this it was in admonishing the bhikkhus who sided with the seceding Devadatta that he spoke these verses :

People can never really understand
 That we are here but for a little spell.²

¹ See *Sutta-Nipāta*, verses 510-547. Of the verses here ascribed to Sabhiya, 275, 277 = *Dhammapada*, verses 6, 312, verse 6 being there, as in *Vin. Texts*, ii. 306 f., put into the mouth of the Buddha addressing the quarrelsome Kosambi bhikkhus.

² 'People': 'All except the wise.' Cy. Line 2: 'We walk constantly near to Death.' (Cy.) This reading is vindicated by the opposed: 'as they immortals were,' next verse.

But they who grasp this truth indeed,
 Suffer all strife and quarrels to abate. (275)
 And whereas they who cannot understand,
 Deport themselves as they immortals were,
 They who can really understand the Norm
 Are as the hale amid a world diseased.¹ (276)
 All flaccid action, all corrupted rites,
 All mischief-making in religious life :
 On all such work follows no high reward. (277)
 He who among his fellow-brethren wins
 No reverence is far from the good Norm,
 As is the firmament far from the earth. (278)

CLXXXIX

Nandaka.

Reborn in the time of our Exalted One at Sāvattthī in a clansman's family, he was called Nandaka. He entered the Order after hearing the Master teach the Norm, and developing insight won arahantship. Thereafter, while dwelling in the bliss of emancipation, he gave a lesson by the Master's order one feast-day to the bhikkhunīs, and caused 500 of them to attain arahantship. Wherefore the Exalted One ranked him foremost among the exhorters of the brethren and sisters.²

Now, one day, while seeking alms in Sāvattthī, a woman, to whom he had been married, saw him and laughed with

¹ This line = *Dhammapada*, verse 198 (half the śloka). It is interesting to note that the Commentary on verse 6 of the *Dhammapada* is verbatim the same as that by Dhammapāla, while that on verse 812 is nearly so.

² *Ang.*, i. 25. The successful lesson is told in the Nandakovāda-Sutta (*Majjh.*, iii. 270). The Anguttara Commentary leads up to that Sutta, but the occasion of these *verses* finds a fuller preface in the story it tells of Nanda, the Buddha's stepbrother (CXXXIX.). He, infatuated with a beautiful woman, is by the Master shown the nymphs in Sakka's heaven, and finds her plain as an ape in comparison.

sinful heart. The Thera, seeing her action, taught her the Norm under the aspect of emphasizing repugnance at the body, thus :

Fie on the fulsome thing malodorous !

A very tool of Māra, even this,

Thy body, whence exude those many streams,

In number nine, that never cease their flow. (279)

Build no conceits from former passages.

Try not to allure the Elect-who-Thus-have-Come !¹

The very heavens delight them not, how then

Should aught that's merely earthly ever please?² (280)

The fools who lack discretion, they whose mind

Is sullied, and their heart by dulness cloaked,

Such men in charms of body take delight,

For they are fast in bonds by Māra thrown. (281)

To them who are untouched by lust, or hate,

Or ignorance, these things no pleasures be.

Cut are the cords ; they from all bonds are free. (282)

CXC

Jambuka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a very poor family, he inclined, as in a previous birth, to feeding on excrement, and left the world to be a naked ascetic. Practising many austerities, and eating beans one by one on the point of a straw, he was fifty-five years old when the Exalted One, seeing the conditions of arahantship shining within his heart like a lamp in a jar, himself went to him, and teach-

¹ *Tathāgate*, made here by the Commentary to include all Buddha-sāvakas, or Ariya-sāvakas, who have 'come' with the conditions for saintship, or have attained the highest, are *avabuddhū*.

² I do not here follow Dr. Neumann's syntax. The woman's power to please humans was a source of danger. She was only incapable of moving *tathāgatas*, or saints, who have won ineffable pleasures.

ing him the Norm, converted him. Then said he : 'COME, BHIKKHU!' thereby ordaining him.¹ And Jambuka thereupon conjuring up insight, the Master established him in arahantship. This is in outline, but a full account is given in the Commentary on the Dhammapada verse :

*Bean after bean by point of straw. . . .*²

At the hour of his passing away he showed that, though once wrongly living, he, by leaning on the Buddha Supreme, had gotten where a disciple ought to get, thus :

For five and fifty years covered with dust
 And dirt, eating a dinner once a month,³
 And pulling out my hair from head and face, (283)
 On one leg would I stand, I used no couch,
 Dry dung I ate, nor would accept when bid. (284)
 So wrought I actions leading to much woe
 And ruin, swept along by mighty flood,
 Till I a refuge in the Buddha found :— (285)
 O see how to that Refuge I am come !
 O see the seemly order of the Norm !
 The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
 And all the Buddha bids me do is done. (286)

CXCI

Senaka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a brahmin family, as the son of the sister of the Thera Kassapa of Uruvelā, he was named Senaka.⁴ When he had learnt the brahmins' Vedic

¹ See p. 105, n. 2.

² Verse 70 (*Commentary*, ii. 52-63). The literary reference is of interest, but it does not enable us to say that the *Dhammapada Commentary* referred to is positively that which we now have in Pali. Jambuka is referred to in *Milinda*, ii. 249.

³ The extreme interval given in the list of austerities occurring more than once in *Dīgha-Nikāya* is twice a month—*e.g.*, *Dialogues*, i. 229.

⁴ Brahmins of this name are in *Jāt.*, iii., No. 401; vi., No. 546. For the uncle's psalm, see CCX.

culture, he dwelt with his family. And at that time the people held a festival every year in the former half of March (Phaggūna),¹ and a baptizing at the landing-stage,² the festival being called the Gayā-Lent.

Then the Exalted One, out of compassion for those who could be led, stayed near that riverside. And when the people assembled, Senaka came too, and hearing the Master teaching the Norm, was converted, entered the Order, and in due course won arahantship. Thereafter, reflecting on his victory, he was filled with joy, and breathed forth this psalm :

O welcome was to me that day of spring,
 When at Gayā, at Gayā's river-feast,
 I saw the Buddha teach the Norm supreme, (287)
 Saw the great Light, Teacher of multitudes,
 Him who hath won the highest, Guide of all,
 The Conqueror of men and gods, unrivalled
 Seer. (288)

Mighty magician, hero glorious,
 Far-shining splendour, pure, immune of mind,³
 The Master who hath slain all āsavas,
 And hath attained that where no fear can
 come.⁴ (289)

Long lay I bound and harassed by the ties
 Of sect and dogma—ah! but now 'tis He,
 The Blessed Lord hath rescued Senaka
 From every bond and set at liberty. (290)

¹ Phaggūna, or Phalguṇa, fell half in February, half in March.

² *Titthābhiseka*. What sort of 'baptizing'—lit., sprinkling—went on, whether of infants, scholars, or of religious confession, it is not easy to divine. According to Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, the river (Nerañjarā) itself was known as the Phalgu. Dr. Neumann says the town of Gayā is itself so called (*Majjh.-Nik.*, translation, i. 271. Cf. the very suggestive photograph in the *Sisters*, p. 184, of a modern riverside gathering at Gayā.

³ *Anāsava*. The Thera here repeats himself a little.

⁴ A frequent epithet of Nibbāna.

CXCII

Sambhūta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a clansman's family, he was converted, after the Exalted One had passed away, by the Treasurer of the Norm.¹ And entering the Order, he developed insight and attained arahantship. So he lived in the bliss of emancipation till, a century after the Parinibbāna of the Exalted One, the Vajjian brethren of Vesālī put forward the ten theses, and were resisted by the Thera Niyasa² and the Kakandakan brethren, and a recension of Norm and Vinaya was made by 700 arahants. Then the Thera, moved by righteous emotion at the proposed perversion of Dhamma and Vinaya, uttered these verses, testifying thereby to aññā :

He who decides in season meet for pause,
 And he who dallies when he should decide,³
 This fool by want of plan and principle
 Doth journey hence to suffer many ills. (291)
 Rewards that should be his do melt away,
 As in the dark weeks melts the waning moon.
 Dishonour he incurs, at variance with his friends. (292)

He who is slow in season meet for pause,
 Who crosses when 'twere wrong to hesitate,
 This wise man by his plan and principle
 Doth surely win his way to happiness. (293)
 The gains that shall be his wax ripe and full,
 As in bright weeks doth wax the crescent moon.
 Honour, renown he wins, at one with friends. (294)

¹ A title bestowed on the Thera Ānanda.

² On the Council of Vesālī (*Vinaya Texts*, vol. iii., chap. xii.). The Thera Sambhūta 'Hemp-robed' (Sāṇavāsīn)—was one of the organizers of this difficult and delicate campaign of reform.

³ Lit., crosses. See below.

CXCIH

Rāhula.

Reborn in this Buddha-age through our Bodhisat, as the son of Princess Yasodhārā, he was reared with a great retinue of nobles. The circumstances of his entering the Order are recorded in the Khandhaka.¹ And he, his knowledge ripened by gracious words in many Sutta passages,² conjured up insight, and so won arahantship. Thereupon, reflecting on his victory, he confessed aññā :

Twice blest of fortune am I whom my friends
 Call 'Lucky Rāhula.' For I am both
 Child of the Buddha and a Seer of truths ; (295)
 Yea, and intoxicants are purged from me ;
 Yea, and there's no more coming back to be.
 Ar'hant am I, worthy men's offerings ;
 'Thrice skilled' my ken is of ambrosial things. (296)

Blinded are beings by their sense-desires,
 Spread o'er them like a net ; covered are they
 By cloak of craving ; by their heedless ways
 Caught as a fish in mouth of funnel-net,³ (297)
 But I, that call of sense abandoning,
 Have cut and snapt the bonds of devil's lure.
 Craving with craving's root abolishing ;
 Cool am I now ; extinct is fever's fire.⁴ (298)

CXCIH

Candana.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattī in a wealthy clan, and named Candana, he lived a domestic life till he

¹ *Vinaya Texts*, i. 208 f.

² *E.g.*, *Majjhima*, Nos. 62 ; 147 ; *Saṅgutta*, iii. 185 f., etc.

³ *Kuminūmukhe*. The *kuminū*, paraphrased by *pasibbaka*, a funnel-shaped net. probably resembling our weir-traps.

⁴ *Nibbuto*. This is nearer to the Buddhist idea than the rendering given to this line in the *Sisters*, p. 19 ; see n. 4.

heard the Master preach the Norm ; and became thereupon a Stream-winner.¹ When a child was born to him, he left his home for the Order, and taking an insight exercise, dwelt in the forest. Coming into Sāvattihī to salute the Master, he stayed in a charnel-field. And his wife, hearing of his coming, adorned herself, and, taking her child and many attendants, approached him, judging that by her attractions she could induce him to secede from the Order. He, seeing her coming from afar, thought : ‘ Now will I get outside her reach ! ’ And he so conjured up insight that he acquired sixfold abhiññā. Thereupon he rose aloft, and so taught her the Norm, establishing her in the Refuges and the Precepts. Then he went back to his former haunts. And when his bhikkhu comrades asked him, saying, ‘ Serene are you looking, brother ; what truths have you discerned ? ’² he told of his achievement, and testified to aññā in these verses :

In golden gear bedecked, a troop of maids
 Attending in her train, bearing the babe
 Upon her hip, my wife drew near to me. (299)
 I marked her coming, mother of my child,
 In brave array like snare of Māra laid. (300)
 Thereat arose in me the deeper thought :³
 Attention to the fact and to the cause.
 The misery of it all was manifest ;
 Distaste, indifference the mind possessed ; (301)
 And so my heart was set at liberty.
 O see the seemly order of the Norm !
 The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
 And all the Buddha bids me do is done. (302)

¹ Or convert.

² *Kacci tayā saccāni paṭividdhānīti ?* I commend this noble question to the attention of students in comparative hagiology.

³ Repeating verses 269, 270.

CXC.V

Dhammika.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a family of Kosalan brahmins, and named Dhammika, he won faith at the presentation of the Jeta Grove, and entered the Order. Becoming a resident at a village Vihāra, he grew impatient and irritable over the duties of incoming bhikkhus,¹ so that the latter abandoned the Vihāra. Thus he became sole master of the Vihāra. And a layman reported this to the Exalted One. The Master sent for Dhammika, and asked him to explain. Thereupon he said : ‘ Not only now are you impatient ; you were so formerly also ’ ; and at the bhikkhus’ request he gave a ‘ tree-talk ’ on the Norm, with admonition over and above, as follows :

Well doth the Norm protect him in sooth who follows
the Norm.

Happiness bringeth along in its train the Norm well
practised.

This shall be his reward by whom the Norm is well
practised :

Never goeth to misery he who doth follow the
Norm. (303)

For not of like result are right and wrong :

Wrong leads to baleful, right, to happy doom. (304)

Wherefore let will be applied to [master] the things
that we know.

So let him hail with delight so welcome a blessing as
this.²

¹ For an account of the many sources of petty annoyance arising herefrom, see *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 272 ff.

² *I.e.*, according to the Commentary, the privilege of a Buddha’s admonition. The double reversion to the śloka (*ll.* 5, 6 ; 11, 12) in this gāthā, which is in irregular Triṣṭubh metre, is indicated above by corresponding changes. The four gāthās, indeed, bear so little on Dhammika’s offence, and vary so in metre, that they suggest a patched compilation.

Firm in the Welcome One's Norm the disciples fare
onward,

Valiantly following Him, their sovereign Refuge. (305)

Plucked out the root of all this cancerous lump,¹

The net of craving wholly torn away,

The round of life renewed hath ceased,

And naught of clinging doth remain,

E'en as the moon on fifteenth day

Sails in clear sky without a stain. (306)

When the Master had taught three of the verses, Dhammika, bearing them in mind, developed insight even as he sat, and won arahantship. And to show the transformation in himself to the Master, he declared aññā by the last verse.

CXC.VI

Sabbaka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī in a brahmin family and named Sabbaka, he heard the Exalted One teaching the Norm, and believing, entered the Order. Taking an exercise, he went to the Loṇagiri Vihāra on the banks of the river Ajakaraṇī, and there in due time won arahantship. Going thereupon to salute the Master at Sāvattthī, he stayed a little while, entertained by his kinsfolk. And having confirmed them in the Refuges and the Precepts, he was anxious to return to his dwelling. They begged him to stay and be supported by them. But he, showing them why he had come, and declaring his love of retirement by praise of his dwelling-place, said :

Whene'er I see the crane, her clear bright wings

Outstretched in fear to flee the black stormcloud,

A shelter seeking, to safe shelter borne,

Then doth the river Ajakaraṇī

Give joy to me. (307)

¹ The 'lump' is the five khandhas (body and mind), the 'root' is ignorance (Commentary).

Whene'er I see the crane, her plumage pale
 And silver white outstretched in fear to flee
 The black stormcloud, seeing no refuge nigh,
 The refuge seeking of the rocky cave,
 Then doth the river Ajakaraṇī
 Give joy to me. (308)

Who doth not love to see on either bank
 Clustered rose-apple trees in fair array
 Behind the great cave [of my hermitage]¹ (309)
 Or hear the soft croak of the frogs, well rid
 Of their undying mortal foes proclaim :
 'Not from the mountain-streams is't time to-day
 To flit. Safe is the Ajakaraṇī.
 She brings us luck. Here is it good to be.'² (310)

Then the relatives suffered him to depart. And because he showed herein his delight in empty places, this became the Thera's confession of aññā.

CXCVII

Mudita.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the family of a Kosalan commoner, he was named Mudita. When he was come of age, his clan for some reason became objectionable to the king. Mudita, terrified of the king, ran away,³ and

¹ The jambū-tree is evergreen; its boughs bent with fruit; its glossy foliage affords shade (Commentary).

² I do not find allusion elsewhere to this little river. It may well have been the name of a tributary of the Aciravatī flowing past Sāvattī (see CLXXII.). In the line preceding the burden of the frogs' croak, text and both versions of the Commentary are at variance, and I do not pretend to have solved that which will be discussed more appropriately in an edition of the Commentary. The exact meaning is not vitally important to a poem in which the essential charm lies in its gentle paganism. That *sangha* can be used for a flock, say, of cranes, see *Milindapañha*, p. 408.

³ Cf. CCXI. Mudita signifies complacent, glad. Cf. *Bud. Psy.*, p. 65, n. 1.

entering the forest, approached the dwelling of an arahant Thera. The latter, seeing his terror, bade him fear not, and reassured him. ‘How long, your reverence, will it take before I am free from danger?’ ‘When seven or eight months have passed.’ ‘I cannot wait so long; I will leave the world, your reverence; ordain me!’ So he begged, to protect his life. The Thera ordained him. And he, coming to believe in the doctrine, lost his fears and exercised himself for insight. Failing to win arahantship, he vowed not to leave his retreat till he had, and thereupon succeeded. Thereafter experiencing the bliss of emancipation, he was asked as to his success by his fellow-bhikkhus. And he told them how he had succeeded, thus:

I left the world that I might save my life,
 And, once ordained, I won back faith and hope;
 Valiant in energy I onward pressed. (311)
 Now an it must be, let this body break
 And waste and let its flesh consume,
 My limbs let falter at the knee and fail; (312)
 I¹ will not eat nor will I drink again,
 Nor from this lodging let me issue forth,
 Nor will I even lie upon my side,
 While yet the dart of Craving lies undrawn! (313)
 Thus steadfast I abiding—O behold
 And mark the forward stride of energy:
 The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
 And all the Buddha bids us do is done! (314)

¹ = verses 228, 224 (Paccaya, CLXXI.).

CANTO V

PSALMS OF FIVE VERSES

CXCVIII

Rājadatta.

REBORN in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī in a caravan-leaders' family, his parents called him Rājadatta ('given by the king'), because they had obtained him through praying to Vessavaṇa, the great firmament deity.¹ Come of age, he once took 500 carts of merchandise to Rājagaha. Now there he squandered all his money, spending a thousand a day on a beautiful courtesan, so that he was penniless and had not enough to eat, and wandered about in wretchedness. So he came with other laymen to the Bamboo Grove, where the Master sat teaching the Norm to a great congregation. And Rājadatta, seated at the fringe of the assembly, heard and believed, and entered the Order. Undertaking the Dhutangas,² he dwelt in a charnel-field.

Now another caravan-leader also spent his thousand on the courtesan, and wore on his hand a ring of great value, which she coveted. She got men to steal it, but the owner's servants told the police,³ and they raided her house, slew her, and cast her body into the charnel-field.

The Thera Rājadatta, walking therein to find a foul object for meditation, noticed this corpse. For a while

¹ One of four so-called Great Kings, each presiding over a quarter of the visible world; called also Kuvera, he presided over the northern quarter (*Dialogues*, ii. 287 f.).

² Supererogatory austerities (*Milinda*, ii., book vi.).

³ *Avacūrakamanussā* (?). I have not found the word elsewhere, and only guess at the meaning.

he concentrated his attention, but the portions of her yet unmangled by dogs and jackals distracted him and all but overmastered him. Much distraught, he exhorted his heart, and went away for a brief space ; then recommencing, he induced jhāna, confirmed his insight, and so won arahantship.

Thereupon, reflecting on his success and filled with zest and joy, he said :

A bhikkhu to the charnel-field had gone,
 And there he saw a woman's body cast
 Untended 'mid the dead, the food of worms. (315)
 Most men had felt repugnance at the sight,
 Seeing the corpse, the poor dead evil thing.
 In me was sensual passion manifest,
 And I became as blind and lost control. (316)
 But swifter from that place than seething rice
 Could boiling overflow, I turned and fled ;¹
 Aside elsewhere I took my seat cross-legged,
 In heedful and discriminating mood. (317)
 Thereon arose in me the deeper thought :²
 Attention to the fact and to the cause.
 The misery of it all was manifest.
 Distaste, indifference the mind possessed ; (318)
 And so my heart was set at liberty.
 O see the seemly order of the Norm !
 The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
 And all the Buddha bids us do is done. (319)

CXCIX

Subhūta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the family of a commoner of Magadha, and named Subhūta, his disposition to seek

¹ The Commentary explains as follows: *yāvatū kālena supari-dhotatintataṅḍulanāḷiyā odanaṅ paccati, tato, oram eva kālaṅ, tato lahukālena rāgaṅ vinodento.*

² = verses 269, 270.

escape caused him to quit domestic life and to join sectarian ascetics. Finding among them nothing genuine, and seeing the happiness enjoyed by Upatissa, Kolita, Sela¹ and others, after they had entered the Order, he believed in our doctrine and entered also. After winning the favour of his teachers and preceptors, he went into retreat with an exercise. And developing insight he won arahantship.

Thereupon he declared aññā by reviewing the suffering he had endured by self-mortification, and his subsequent happiness in jhāna, etc. :

A man who yokes himself to things unfit,
Desiring² to accomplish work therein,
If seeking he doth not attain, his quest
Doth bear the intrinsic markings of mis-
chance. (320)

If he surrender but one [vantage-point]
Of misery[’s source] drawn out and overcome,
Like luckless throw of dice his state may be.
But if he throw all [he hath gained] away,
No better is he than a blinded man,
Who sees not if the road be smooth or rough.³ (321)

Of him who talketh much, but doeth not,
Wise men take stock, and rate him at his
worth. (322)

¹ Upatissa is Sāriputta, Kolita is Moggallāna. See CCLIX., CCLXIII., CCLIII. The two former were of his own country; Sela was from the country lying north of Magadha.

² According to the Commentary we are to read *icchato* as = *icchanto*. Dr. Oldenberg supports this by parallels from *Sisters*, verse 240 :

‘Who, ignorant (*ajānato*) to the ignorant, hath told thee this?’

for *ajānanto* (*Samy.*, i. 11; *Dīpavaṅsa*, xxi., verse 2).

³ The metre of this one gāthā is very curious and irregular, nor can the Commentary throw much light on its original phraseology. It decides that *aghatay* stands for three *aghāni*’s (miseries)—viz., greed, hate, and illusion. The Br. MS. makes no attempt to correct this term by references to value (*aggha*), as does the S. MS. Yet this gāthā fits in better with the legend than do the platitudes that follow (=verse 226). It is the language of one who has sacrificed his all to win.

Just as a beauteous flower of lovely hue
 But lacking odour, so is uttered word
 That barren proves, by action not made good. (323)
 Just as a beauteous flower of lovely hue
 And fragrant odour, so is uttered word
 That fruitful proves, in action holding good.¹ (324)

CC

Girimānanda.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha as the son of King Bimbisāra's chaplain, he was named Girimānanda. He saw the power and majesty of a Buddha when the Master attended the meeting at Rājagaha, and he entered the Order. During his studies he stayed awhile at a village, then came back to the town to salute the Master. And Bimbisāra the maharāja heard of his coming, and going to him, said: 'Do you dwell here, your reverence; I will supply your needs.' But from his much business he forgot, so that the Thera dwelt in the open. And the weather-gods held off the rain for fear of wetting the Thera. Then the king, noting the drought, built him a hermitage. And the Thera, sheltered in his hut, put forth all his efforts, and combining energy and calm, conjured up insight and won arahantship. Then, delighted at its advent, he confessed aññā while the rain fell from above:

God rains as 'twere a melody most sweet.
 Snug is my little hut, sheltered, well-roofed.
 Therein I dwell, my heart serene and calm.
 Now an it pleaseth thee to rain, god, rain! (325)

God rains as 'twere a melody most sweet.
 Snug is my little hut, sheltered, well-roofed.
 Therein I dwell, and peace within my heart.
 Now, etc. (326)

¹ = *Dhammapaḍa*, verses 51, 52.

.....

Therein I dwell, all passion purged away.

..... (327)

.....

Therein I dwell, all hatred purged away.

..... (328)

.....

Therein I dwell, all error purged away.

Now an it pleaseth thee to rain, god, rain!¹ (329)

CCI

Sumana.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the family of a commoner of Kosala, and named Sumana, he grew up in happy circumstances. His mother's brother became an arahant, dwelling in the forest, and when Sumana came of age, this uncle ordained him, giving him exercises on ethical conduct. Finally, when the four jhānas and fivefold² abhiññā were acquired, the Thera showed him the way of insight, so that he soon acquired arahantship. And when he went to his uncle and was asked concerning his success, he thus made confession :

That which my teacher wished that I should
know

In doctrines good, and of his kindness taught

To me who longed for the Ambrosial :

That now, even the task prescribed, is done. (330)

Yea, won and realized is the Norm

E'en for my own, not learnt 'as such and such.'³

¹ Cf. I. and LI.-LIV. There is such a uniformity in these references to a carelessly benevolent patron that the six poems and their legends lose individual validity.

² See p. 32, n. 1. He only lacked *Āsavakkhaya*.

³ *Dhammo anītiho*, a favourite expression in the *Sutta-Nipāta*. See Fausböll's translation and notes, verses 934, 1052, 1065, 1080, 1083, 1134 ; cf. *Majjh.*, i. 520.

Pure lore is mine, dispelled is every doubt.
 Let me stand near to thee and testify : (331)
 I know the where and when of former lives,
 And clearly shines the Eye Celestial ;
 The Good Supreme, Ar'hantship, have I won,¹
 And what the Buddha bids us do is done. (332)
 Well have I learnt, who used all diligence,
 The method and the training in thy rule ;
 For all th' Intoxicants are purged away ;
 Now cometh never more the life renewed. (333)
 Noble thy cult and thou hast guided me.
 Compassionate, 'tis thou hast favoured me.
 Thine admonitions have not proved inept.
 Once an apprentice, now am I adept. (334)

CCII

Vaddha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at the city of Bharukaccha in a commoner's clan, and named Vaddha, he grew up in due course.² Now his mother, distressed at the continuity of rebirth and death, entrusted her son to her kinsfolk, and entered the Order among the bhikkhunīs. She thereafter won arahantship. Her son, too, entered the Order under Thera Veludanta, and learning the Buddha-Word, became learned and eloquent in preaching. And one day, feeling the responsibility of office, he thought : ' I will go alone and see my mother, nor put on my cloak.' So he went to the

¹ *Sadattho ti arahattay* (Commentary).

² *Anupubbena vadḍhati*. This (here) unusual turn of phrase refers doubtless to his name, which means 'growth,' 'increase.' The mother's story is given in the *Sisters*, lxii. ff. She speaks also for him, but except for the 'spur'—literally, 'goad'—motive and the 'jungle,' she places a different psalm in his mouth, a by-proof of the difference in authorship (see Introduction). The wearing undergarments as outer—*i.e.*, leaving the *civara* behind—is commented on in Vinaya discipline (*Vinaya*, iv. 281). Presumably the Thera herein put his sonship before his office.

bhikkhunīs' quarters. His mother, seeing him, rebuked him : ' Why are you come here alone and without your cloak ? ' And he, convicted in doing that which was unfit, returned to his Vihāra, and seated in the day-room, there attained arahantship, testifying to aññā under the aspect of ascribing his achievement to his mother's admonition :

O well in sooth my mother used the goad !
 I marked her word, and by my parent taught,
 I stirred up effort, put forth all my strength,
 And won the goal, th' enlightenment supreme. (335)
 Ar'hant am I, meet for men's offerings.¹
 Thrice wise, th' ambrosial vision I behold ;
 Conquered is Namuci and all his host,²
 And now I dwell henceforth sane and immune. (336)
 Yea, the intoxicants that once were there,
 Within, without me,³ are extracted clean ;
 Nought doth remain nor may they re-appear. (337)
 Lo ! wise and ripe in grace the Sister⁴ was,
 Who spake this word of pregnant good to me :
 For thee now even as for me, [my son,]
 No jungle of the mind doth bar the way. (338)
 A final barrier is made to Ill.
 Last mortal frame is this, to which belongs
 The way world without end of birth and death,
 Nor ever cometh more rebirth [for thee]. (339)

CCIII

Kassapa of the River.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a clan of Magadha brahmins, as the brother of Uruvela-Kassapa, his religious inclination made him dislike domestic life, and he became an

¹ = verses 296, 516.

² Namūci, a name for Māra.

³ I.e., *bahiddhavatthukā*, 'having external bases or causes'—e.g., objects of sense, misguided teachers, heavens, etc.

⁴ *Bhaginī*, lit., sister.

ascetic. With 300 ascetics he carried on a hermit's life on the banks of the River Nerañjarā, and thus he became known, by his habit and the name of his gens, as Kassapa of the River. Now how the Exalted One ordained him and his company by the summons, 'COME, BHIKKHU,' is recorded in the Khandaka.¹ He was confirmed in arahantship by the Exalted One's sermon on Burning. Thereafter reflecting on his achievement, he confessed aññā by way of extolling his rooting out of error :

O truly for my good it was that He,
The Buddha came to the Nerañjarā,
Whose doctrine hearing, I renounced wrong
views. (340)

The celebrant in many a sacrifice,
I fostered sacred fire, oblations made ;
'These be the pure and holy rites!' methought—
O blind and average worldling that I was! (341)
Errant in wilderness of heresies,
By their contagion dazed and led astray,
I deemed *that* pure religion which was false.
And blinded was I, shiftless, ignorant. (342)

Now is all error put away for me ;
Broken the line of comings back to be.
Worth every gift, the Fire I celebrate :²
I worship 'Him who on This Wise hath
Come.' (343)

Illusions all have I put far away.
Crushed is the thirst for going on to be,
And shattered is the endless round of life.
Now cometh nevermore rebirth for me! (344)

¹ *Vinaya Texts*, i. 118-135.

² *The Sammāsambuddha* (Commentary).

CCIV

Kassapa of Gayā.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a brahmin clan [his story resembles that of Kassapa of the River, save that his company numbered 200, and that he dwelt at Gayā].¹ He confessed aññā by exalting the washing away of evil, thus :

At morn, at noonday, at the eventide
 Thrice in the day I gat me at Gayā
 Down in the water at Gayā's spring feast,²
 For 'sins that I have done in other births, (345)
 In days gone by, those here and now hereby
 I wash away' :—thus did I once believe. (346)
 I heard a voice that uttered winning words,
 Whereof the burden wedded Norm and Good.
 And on their meaning, true and genuine,
 I pondered much and reasoned earnestly. (347)
 Now from all evil am I truly bathed,
 Cleansèd from error, pure, immaculate.
 In purity heir of the Purified,
 His child, even the Buddha's very son. (348)
 For I have plunged into the Eightfold Stream,
 And every evil thing I've washed away.
 The Threefold Wisdom have I found and won,
 And all the Buddha bids us do is done. (349)

CCV

Vakkali.

Reborn in the time of our Master at Sāvattthī in a brahmin clan, they named him Vakkali. When he had grown wise and had learnt the three Vedas, and was

¹ Oddly enough, the Commentary does not mention his relationship to Uruveḷa-Kassapa, nor to Kassapa of the River. See *Vinaya Texts*, *loc. cit.*

² The Commentary repeats (*cf.* above, p. 181) that the annual sacramental festival in the month of Phagguṇa is here alluded to, and not the name of the town only, as Dr. Neumann holds.

proficient in brahmin accomplishments, he saw the Master. Never sated by looking at the perfection of the Master's visible body, he went about with him. And when in his house he thought: 'I shall not [here] get a chance of seeing Him constantly'; so he entered the Order, and spent all his time, save at his meals and toilet, doing nothing else but contemplating the Exalted One. The Master, waiting¹ for the maturity of his insight, for a long while made no comment; then one day he said: 'What is to thee, Vakkali, this foul body that thou seest? He who seeth the Norm, he it is that seeth me. For seeing the Norm he seeth me, and seeing me he seeth the Norm.' At the Master's words, Vakkali ceased to look, but he was unable to go away. Hence the Master thinking: 'This bhikkhu, if he get not deeply moved, will not awake,' said on the last day of the rains: 'Depart, Vakkali!' Thus bidden, he could not stay; but thinking: 'What is life to me if I cannot see him?' climbed the Vulture's Peak to a place of precipices. The Master, knowing what Vakkali was about, thought: 'This bhikkhu, finding no comfort away from me, will destroy the conditions for winning the topmost fruits'; and revealing himself in a glory, spake thus:

*Now let the bhikkhu with exceeding joy
Delighting in the Buddha's Way and Lore,
Go up on to the holy, happy Path,
Where things component ne'er excite him more.²*

And stretching forth his hand, he said: 'COME, BHIKKHU!'

The Thera, filled with mighty joy and rapture at the thought: 'I see Him-of-the-Ten-Powers, and mine is it to hear Him say: Come!' came to himself and realized what he was doing. Rising in the air, he stood on the nearest point of the hill while he pondered on the Master's verse;

¹ Or 'causing to come' (*āgamento*). The *Anguttara Commentary* has the same expression, but then says [after no comment]: 'Discerning that it was now ripe, and he able to enlighten him, said . . .'

² *Dhammapada*, verse 381. The *adhigacche* is not present tense as in Fausböll's '*adit*,' nor future as in Max Müller's translation. The Master's body was eminently a type of 'things component' (*sankhārā*)

then arresting his rapture, he realized arahantship, together with grasp of the form and meaning of the Norm. This is what is recorded both in the Anguttara Commentary and in that on the Dhammapada.

But here they¹ say as follows: Admonished by the Master's 'What is to thee . . . ?' Vakkali dwelt on the Vulture's Peak, establishing himself in insight, and descending into the avenue thereof by the might of his faith. The Exalted One, knowing this, gave him a special exercise which he could not achieve, and from insufficient food he suffered from cramps. Knowing him thus suffering, the Exalted One went and asked him :

Thou who foredone with cramping pains,
Dwell'st in the jungle, in the woods,
Thy range confined, in hardship dire—
Tell me, bhikkhu, how wilt thou live? (350)

And the Thera declaring his constant happiness through unworldly joys, replied :

With bliss and rapture's flooding wave
This mortal frame will I suffuse.
Though hard and rough what I endure,
Yet will I in the jungle dwell. (351)

Herein myself I'll exercise :—
The Starting-points of Mindfulness,
The Powers five, the Forces too,
The Factors of Enlightenment—
So will I in the jungle dwell. (352)

For I have seen [what friends have wrought] :²
Their striving roused, their straining mind,
Their staunch and ever onward stride,
In concord bound,—and having seen,
E'en in the jungle will I dwell, (353)

¹ Presumably the two sources of his own work. The Commentaries referred to are quoted accurately by him—to wit, the *Manoratha-pūraṇī* on *Ang.*, i. 24, § 2, and the *Dhammapada Commentary* on verse 881.

² "Having seen" his co-religionists. By this he shows his good fortune in virtuous friends' (Commentary).

Remembering Him, the Very Wake,
 Supremely tamed, intent, serene,—
 With mind unwearied night and day,
 Thus will I in the jungle dwell. (354)

Thus saying, the Thera conjured up insight, and then it was that he won arahantship.

CCVI

Vijitasena.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a Kosalan elephant-trainers' family, he was named Vijitasena. His maternal uncles, Sena and Upasena,¹ had both entered the Order and become arahants, when Vijitasena, after learning the craft of his folk, saw the twin-miracle² of the Master, believed, and being naturally of a religious disposition, entered the Order under his uncles. Training by their instructions he rose into the avenue of insight, but his mind remaining discursive through various external objects, he admonished it:

I will restrain thee, heart, as elephants
 Are by the towngate's sallyport³ kept back.
 I'll not abet thee in thy naughty ways,
 Thou net of wishes, thou of body born. (355)
 Not thine 'twill be, thus checked, to go at large.
 As elephant that wins not through the gate,
 Struggle thy best, thou witch,⁴ again, again;
 Thou shalt not roam, who art to sin so fain. (356)
 Even as one who firmly wields the hook
 Doth turn th' unbroken, untamed elephant
 Against its will, so will I turn thee back. (357)

¹ Not the brother of Sāriputta (CCXXXVIII.). Neither uncle is met with elsewhere.

² See XXXI.

³ = *Khuddaka-dvāraṇ*, or low, little door (Commentary).

⁴ = *Citta-Kālakaññī*. I take *pasahaṇ* as *pasahanto*, 'using force'. The Br. Cy. reads *pasanga*, paraphrasing by *saraṇa-saṇpassāsava-sena*. Cf. the S. MS. in Dr. Oldenberg's note, p. 40.

As the good driver, in horsebreaking skilled,
 Doth tame the mettle of the thoroughbred,
 So will I bring thee too beneath control.
 By virtue of the fivefold spiritual force. (358)
 Yea, by right heedfulness I'll bind thee fast,
 Myself restrained, so will I master thee.
 Curbed in the harness of right energy,
 Thou shalt not, O my heart, go far from me.¹ (359)

Thus restraining his thoughts did the Thera expand
 insight and win arahantship.

CCVII

Yasadatta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a clan of Malla rājas, and named Yasadatta, he was educated at Takkasilā.² Thereafter making a tour with the Wanderer Sabhiya,³ they came to Sāvattihī, where Sabhiya put questions to the Exalted One. Yasadatta listened to the answers, thinking as he took his seat, eager to criticize: 'I will show the defects in the Samaṇa Gotama's discourse.' Now the Exalted One knew what was in his mind, and at the end of the 'Sabhiya Sutta' admonished him in these verses:

Who witless and with captious mind
 Doth hear the Conqueror's doctrine told,
 Far, far from the true Norm is he,
 As from the heaven is the earth.⁴ (360)

Who witless and with captious mind
 Doth hear the Conqueror's doctrine told,
 From the true Norm he wanes away,
 As in the month's dark half the moon. (361)

¹ This is the second of the three poems conceived in this vein—namely, of a better self attempting to control the mutinies of older unregenerate impulses. Cf. LXXVII. and CCLXII.

² See *Bud. Ind.*, pp. 8, 28, 203.

³ See Sabhiya's psalm CLXXXVIII.; *Sutta-Nipāta*, iii. 6.

⁴ = verse 218, a line in Sabhiya's own psalm.

Who witless, etc. . . .
 In the true Norm he withers up,
 As fish where water runneth low. (362)

Who witless, etc. . . .
 In the true Norm he doth not thrive,
 As rotten seed in furrow sown. (363)

He who with glad contented mind
 Doth hear the Conqueror's doctrine told,
 He, casting out th' Intoxicants,
 Doth realize the Influxuate,¹
 Doth win the Peace ineffable,
 And is perfected, sane, immune. (364)

Thus admonished by the Master, Yasadatta was filled with emotion, entered the Order, and, establishing insight, in due course won arahantship. And in confessing aññā he uttered these very verses.

CCVIII

Soṇa-Kuṭikanna.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the country of Avanti in the family of a very wealthy councillor, he was given the name of Soṇa. Wearing ear-jewelry worth a crore, he became known as Koṭi-, or Kuṭi-kanna (Crore-ears).² Grown up, he became a landowner, and when the venerable Kaccāna the Great³ stayed near his house, he ministered to his wants, learned the Norm, and finally growing disturbed, entered the Order through him. Collecting with

¹ *Akuppātū*, a very rare abstract noun from *akuppa*, undisturbed, unshaken. 'Is perfected' (*parinibbāti*, more usually the deponent form *parinibbāyati*) in the sense of rounded off, complete—*i.e.*, attained life's climax and end. 'Sane,' etc. = *anāsavo*.

² Or is it possible he had the little point or faunlike peak (*kuṭi*) in the ears, like Julian Hawthorne's hero in 'Transformation'? See *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 32, n. 3.

³ See CCXXIX.

great difficulty a company of ten, he soon took leave of the Thera to go to Sāvattthī and salute the Master. Being admitted to pass the night in the Master's portion, and in the morning invited to recite, he was commended for the sixteen Aṭṭhakas. And when the verse—

'Seeing the evils of a worldly life,'

was finished, he developed insight and won arahantship.

And when he had obtained the Master's consent to the three matters which Kaccāna the Great had commissioned him to ask, he returned to his own dwelling-place, and told the Thera his instructor. This is recorded more fully in the Udāna and Anguttara Commentaries,¹ but there it is said that he attained arahantship while studying under his teacher.

Anon, while dwelling in the bliss of emancipation, he reviewed his achievement, and full of joy he breathed out these verses :

Not only did I ordination win,
Emancipated am I, sane, immune ;
Yea, him have I now seen, th' Exalted One,
And where he dwelt, there with him did I
lodge. (365)

Far through the night he stayed beneath the sky,
Then, versed in everything's abiding-place,
The Master in his chamber went to rest. (366)
His robe spread GOTAMA² and laid him down,
Like unto lion in a rocky cave,
For whom all fear and dread have passed
away.³ (367)

Thereafter in the presence of the Chief,
The Wake, did Soṇa, framing goodly speech,
Disciple of the Buddha, speak the Norm. (368)

¹ Udāna, v. 6; *Manoratha-pūraṇī* on *Ang.*, i. 24, § 2; *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 32 ff.

² See XCI., n. 8, in which for ten, read *nine*, times.

³ Cf. introductory stanzas.

Well doth he know the factors of this life,
 Well doth he cultivate the Ariyan Way,
 So, having won to that most perfect Peace,
 Shall he complete becoming,¹ sane, immune. (369)

CCIX

Kosiya.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a Magadhan brahmin's family, he was called by his family name : Kosiya. Come of age, he often went to hear the General of the Norm teaching,² and thereby, believing in the doctrine, entered the Order, and in due course won arahantship. Thereupon reviewing his achievement, he extolled the venerableness and determining power for good of the wise in these verses :

He that is valiant and learn'd in the word of the
 masters,
 Therein can rest³ and therefor can cherish affection,
 Him ye may call devoted⁴ and wise : thus he
 may be
 One that winneth distinction in knowledge of
 doctrines.⁵ (370)

¹ Identical with the last line in verse 364, except that the verb is in the future, *parinibbissati*, making, by the way, a superfluous foot in the Pali metre.

² Sāriputta, a native of a village in Magadha.

³ *Vase'* = *vaseyya* (Commentary).

⁴ *Bhattimā*, meaning either this, or one who can distinguish (*vide* Childers). The former meaning seems required by 'can cherish affection,' but I doubt if this (later very prevalent) meaning occurs elsewhere in the Piṭakas. The Commentary's remark is: *So ti so garūnaṃ vacanū dhīro, so yathānusiṭṭhaṃ paṭipattiyā, tattha, bhattimā ca nāma hoti.*

⁵ Cf. *Sutta-Nipāta*, iv. 13, 11, where the line occurs. It does not seem to me to require the alteration suggested by Dr. Neumann. *Visesi assa : visesavā siyā.* Cy.

Him, whose steadfast philosophy hardship unparalleled
 Testing has no power to disturb or bewilder,
 Him ye may call strong-willed and wise: thus he
 may be
 One that winneth distinction in knowledge of
 doctrines. (371)

He who abideth as ocean unyielding, unfathomèd
 As to his insight in problems subtle and delicate,
 Him ye may call inexpugnable,¹ wise: thus he may be
 One that winneth, etc. . . . (372)

Erudite, one who beareth the Word in his memory,
 Practiser he of all doctrine, greater and lesser,
 Him ye may call all this and wise: thus he may be
 One that winneth, etc. . . . (373)

He who knoweth the meaning of that which is spoken,
 Knowing the meaning, shapeth his actions accord-
 ingly,
 'Meaning-within-side'² call him and wise: thus he
 may be
 One that winneth distinction in knowledge of
 doctrines. (374)

¹ Lit., 'who may not be removed.'

² *Atth-antaro*. We are reminded of M. Bergson's phrase, that 'by intuition we may see the becoming of things *from within*, transported by an effort of sympathy' (*Creative Evolution*, pp. 361 *f.*, 384). The Cy., however, reads *atthandharo*. Cf. *dhammadharo* just above.

CANTO VI

PSALMS OF SIX VERSES

CCX

Kassapa of Uruvelā.

REBORN in the day of our Exalted One as the firstborn of three brothers in a brahmin family, they were all called by their family name Kassapa,¹ and they all learned the three Vedas. They had a following of five, three, and two hundred brahmin youths respectively. And finding no vital truth in their scriptures,² but only subjects of worldly interest,³ they left the world and became ascetics. And they became named after the places where they dwelt as rishis, the eldest with his company going to dwell at Uruvelā. Many days after this came the great renunciation of our Bodhisat, the starting of the Norm-Wheel, the arahantship of the five Theras, the conversion of the fifty-three associates headed by Yasa, the sending forth of the sixty arahants, 'Go ye, bhikkhus, and wander . . .,' the conversion of the thirty wealthy friends, and the coming of the Master to Uruvelā. When he had there wrought many wonders, beginning with the taming of the Nāga, Kassapa was convinced and entered the Order, his brothers following his example. To them and their

¹ See CCIII., CCIV. The incidents here outlined are told in *Vinaya Texts*, i. 119-139. This Kassapa is assigned chief rank among those bhikkhus who had great following (*Ang.*, i. 25).

² Lit., in their own book, *attano ganthe*.

³ *Dīḥhadhammikam eva atthaṃ*.

1,000 followers, the Master, seated on the crest of a rock on Gayā Head, uttered the discourse on Burning, establishing them all as arahants.

But Uruvelā-Kassapa reviewing his achievement, uttered lion-roar verses, attesting aññā :

Beholding all the wondrous works achieved
 By the high powers of glorious GOTAMA,
 At first, nathless, myself I humbled not,
 Being deceived by envy and by pride. (375)
 But He, Driver of men, who knew my thought
 And my intent, took me at length to task.
 Thereby anguish befell me, I was seized
 By thrill mysterious, hair-raising dread. (376)
 And then the gifts that erst accrued to me¹
 As famed ascetic poor and worthless seemed.
 All these I thereupon esteemed as nought,
 And in the Conqueror's Order was enrolled. (377)
 Once well content with sacrifice, 'bove all
 Concerned within these worlds once more to live
 Now have I set myself to extirpate
 All passion, all ill will, illusion too. (378)
 How erst I lived I know ; the heavenly eye,
 Purview celestial, have I clarified ;
 Power supernormal, reading others' thought,
 Hearing ineffable, have I achieved. (379)
 And the great Quest for which I left the world,
 Forsaking home, a homeless life to lead,
 Even that quest, that high reward I've won,
 For every fetter now is broken down.² (380)

¹ *Sābha-sakkāra-sammiddhi*. Cy.

² He enumerates sixfold abhiññā, or modes of higher knowledge, only calling the last 'destroying the (ten) fetters,' instead of the four intoxicants, the more usual formula (cf. p. 82, n. 1). The last two lines are identical with (CXXVIII.) verse 186 ; the four in verse 379 occur, slightly different, in Uppalavaṇṇā's gāthās (*Sisters*, verse 227). Verse 380 = 186.

CCXI

Tekicchakāri

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of a brahmin named Subuddha, he was safely brought into the world by the aid of physicians. Hence he was named Tekicchakāri, 'doctor-made.'¹ He grew up, learning the arts and learning of his clan. Now his father, by his wisdom and policy having incurred the jealousy and suspicion of the King of Benāres (*sic*), was by King Candagutta thrown into prison. Then Tekicchakāri, hearing of this, took fright and fled, taking sanctuary with the Thera dwelling at the Vihāra Hall, and telling him the cause of his trouble. The Thera ordained him and gave him an exercise, whereupon he became an open-air sedent bhikkhu,² heedless of heat or cold, and devoted especially to the cultivation of the Sublime Moods. Him Māra the Evil One saw, as one slipping out of his reach; and in the desire of unbalancing the Thera, he drew nigh in the guise of a field-herd, when the harvest was over, tempting him thus:

All harvested is now the rice, and threshed
 The barley. Not a bite or sup I'll get!
 What shall I do? (381)

Then the Thera, thinking, 'This fellow tells me of his state. But it is myself that I ought to admonish. I have no business to be discoursing,' thus exhorted himself to meditate on the Three Bases:

Think on the Buddha! infinite the thought!
 Thou thus in gladsome piety, thy frame
 With rapture all suffused, shalt ever dwell
 Upon the heights. (382)

¹ So in Oldenberg's MSS. and the Br. Cy. Only the S. Cy. has -kāni.

² Two forms of the *dhutangas*. See *Milinda*, ii., book vi.

Think on the Dhamma!¹ . . . (383)

Think on the Order! infinite the thought!¹
 Thou thus in gladsome piety, thy frame
 With rapture all suffused, shalt ever dwell
 Upon the heights. (384)

Then Māra again, wishing to dissuade him from solitude, pretended to be his well-wisher, saying :

Dost dwell beneath bare skies? Cold are these
 nights
 And wintry now. See that thou perish not
 With cold foredone. Get thee within thy lodge,
 Thy door well barred! (385)

Then the Thera, showing that in house-dwelling was a fetter, but that there he was at ease, said :

My heart transported shall reach out and touch
 The Four Immeasurable Moods;² thereby
 Ever shall I in blissful ease abide.
 Not mine foredone by cold to fail, who dwell
 Unmoved and calm. (386)

Thus saying, the Thera developed insight and realized arahantship.

And because this Thera lived in the time of King Biṇḍusāra, these verses must be understood as having been rehearsed as canonical at the Third Council.³

¹ Repeat as in verse 382.

² See his story and that of Subhūti. The Four Moods were Love, Pity, Sympathy for Happiness, and Equanimity. Line 1 is expanded from 'I shall touch,' an expression scarcely so significant to us as to a Buddhist or a Neo-Platonist. See my *Buddhism*, p. 218.

³ This interesting historical sidelight was noticed in Oldenberg's edition, p. 42 n., and in *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. xvi. Biṇḍusāra, father of Asoka, was son of the usurper Chandragupta (Candagutta), who imprisoned the Thera's father.

CCXII

Mahā-nāga.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāketa as the son of a brahmin named Madhu-Vāsetṭha, he was given the name of Mahā-nāga.¹ He saw the wonder wrought by Thera Gavampati,² while the Exalted One was staying in the Añjana Wood, and receiving faith, he entered the Order under the Thera, winning arahantship through his counsels.

Now while he abode in the bliss of emancipation, the Thera Mahā-nāga saw how the six bhikkhus³ habitually failed to show respect to their co-religionists, and he admonished them in verses which became his confession of aññā :

Who towards his fellows in the Rule
Showeth no reverence nor respect,
From the true Norm he wilts away,
Like fish where water runneth low. (387)

Who towards his fellows in the Rule
Showeth no reverence nor respect,
In the true Norm he doth not thrive,
Like rotten seed in furrow sown. (388)

Who towards, etc.

Far from Nibbāna standeth he
Within the Norm-Lord's cult and school. (389)

Who towards his fellows in the Rule
Showeth due reverence and respect,
From the true Norm falls not away,
Like fish where many waters be. (390)

¹ Nothing else is known of this Brother. His namesake 'of the Black Creeper Pavilion' is a much later personage (*Jāt.*, iv. 490 ; vi. 80 [text] ; *JRAS*, 1901, p. 898). The name = great wondrous-being or spirit, applied equally to a serpent, an elephant, a thera, and to a class of fairies.

² See XXXVIII.

³ A notorious group of intriguers, whose doings severely tested the organization of the Sangha. See Ps. V. ; *Vinaya Texts*, i. 218 n.

Who towards his fellows in the Rule
 Showeth due reverence and respect,
 In the true Norm he thriveth well
 As seed benign in furrow sown. (391)

Who towards his fellows in the Rule
 Showeth due reverence and respect,
 He to Nibbāna 's very near,
 Within the Norm-Lord's cult and school.¹ (392)

CCXIII

Kulla.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī in the family of a landowner, and named Kulla, he was converted by faith, and was ordained by the Master. But he was often seized by fits of lustful passion. The Master, knowing his tendencies, gave him the exercise on foul things, and bade him often meditate in the charnel-field. And when even this sufficed not, he himself went with him and bade him mark the process of putrefaction and dissolution. Then, as Kulla stood with heart disinfatuated, the Exalted One sent out a glory, producing in him such mindfulness that he discerned the lesson, attained first jhāna, and on that basis developing insight, won arahantship.

Reviewing his experience, he breathed forth these verses, first speaking of himself (then repeating the Master's words and finally adding his own) :

Kulla had gone to where the dead lie still
 And there he saw a woman's body cast,
 Untended in the field, the food of worms.² (393)

¹ Who towards . . . showeth (not) is, literally rendered : For whom with respect to his co-religionists reverence does (not) exist, or is not found, or seen (*cf. Kathāvatthu Commentary on n'upalabbhati*, p. 8; *Dialogues*, ii. 166, 'is [not] found'). The occasion of these verses as described by Dhammapāla above, let alone the religious consequences invoked, justify my differing here from Dr. Neumann's rendering. For the similes, *cf. CCVII. Cult and school = sūsana.*

² *Cf. CXCVIII.*

'Behold the foul compound, Kulla, diseased,
 Impure,¹ dripping, exuding, pride of fools.'² (394)
 Grasping the mirror of the holy Norm,
 To win the vision by its lore revealed,
 I saw reflected there, without, within,
 The nature of this empty fleeting frame. (395)
 As is this body, so that one was once,
 And as that body, so will this one be.³
 And as it is beneath, so is't above,
 And as it is above, so is't beneath. (396)
 As in the daytime, so is it at night,
 And as't was once, so will't hereafter be,
 And as't will be, so was it in the past. (397)
 Not music's fivefold wedded sounds⁴ can yield
 Such charm as comes o'er him who with a
 heart
 Intent and calm rightly beholds the Norm! (398)

These verses were the Thera's confession of aññā.

CCXIV

Mālunkyā's Son.⁵

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattihī as the son of the
 King of Kosala's valuer,⁶ his mother was named Mālunkyā,
 and he became known by her name. When he was come
 of age his naturally religious disposition prevailed, and he
 left the world as a Wandering ascetic. Then, on hearing
 the Master teach, he entered the Order, and in due course
 won sixfold abhiññā. Visiting his home out of compassion

¹ Cf. *Sisters*, xix.; *Dhammapada Commy.*, iii., p. 113 f., on verse 150.

² Complacent in calling it 'I,' 'mine' (Commentary).

³ Cf. *Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 202.

⁴ Cf. p. 175, n. 1; and verse 1071.

⁵ A second poem of this Thera is given as CCLII. The Thera is met with in *Sany.*, iv. 72 (a Sutta identical with the latter poem), and presumably in *Ang.*, ii. 248, and *Majjh.*, i., Suttas 63, 64.

⁶ *Agghāpanika*. Cf. XX.: *agghāpanī*; *Jāt.*, i., No. 5.

for his kinsfolk, these entertained him with great display of hospitality, seeking to allure him back, and saying: 'With this wealth that belongs to you, you could support a family and do good works.'

But the Thera, unfolding his disposition, said :

Is¹ there a man who careless, heedless dwells,
Craving in him will like a creeper grow.

He hurries hankering from birth to birth,²
In quest of fruit like ape in forest tree. (399)

Whom she doth overcome, — the shameful
jade,

Craving, the poisoner of all mankind,—³

Grow for him griefs as rank as jungle-grass. (400)

But he who doth her down,—the shameful
jade,

Hard to outwit,—from him griefs fall away
As from the lotus glides the drop of dew. (401)

This word to you, as many as are here⁴

Together come : May all success be yours !

Dig up the root of craving, as ye were

Bent on the quest of sweet usira root.

Let it not be with you that, ye the reed,

Māra the stream, he break you o'er and o'er ! (402)

Bring ye the Buddha-Word to pass ; let not

This moment of the ages pass you by !

That moment lost, men mourn in misery.⁵ (403)

¹ *Dhammapada*, pp. 384-387.

² *Hurāhuraṇ*, in the Commentary, seems to mean both 'hankeringly' and 'from birth to birth,' the latter with the former implied. See *JPTS*, 1909, p. 168.

³ To connect *visatti-ka* with *visaṇ* may not be correct etymologically. *Visatti* may mean very powerful, or withdrawing power, but as an agency we should almost expect *vesattikā*. But both Buddhaghosa (*Atthasālinī*, p. 264) and Dhammapāla connect the word with poison. The latter, however, adds *āsattatā*. Cf. *Dhammapada Commentary* (Fausböll), p. 409.

⁴ Cf. CLXXXII.

⁵ Cf. p. 162, n. 8 ; *S.-Nipāta*, verse 888 = *Dhammapada*, verse 815.

As dust [mixed and defiled], is carelessness ;
 And dust-defilement comes through carelessness.
 By earnestness and by the Lore ye hear,
 Let each man from his heart draw out the
 spear.¹ (404)

CCXV

Sappadāsa.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu as the son of the King² Suddhodana's chaplain, he was named Sappadāsa. He received faith on the occasion of the Master's visit to his own people,³ and entered the Order. Overmastered by corrupt habits of mind and character (the *kilesa's*), he never got concentration and singleness of mind. This finally distressed him so much that he was about to commit suicide, when, the inward vision suddenly expanding, he attained arahantship. Confessing aññā he said :

Full five and twenty years have passed since I
 Had left the world and in the Order lived,
 And yet not for one fingersnap of time
 Had I found peace [and sanity⁴] of mind. (405)
 Intent and single vision ne'er I won,
 Distraught and harassed by desires of sense ;
 In tears, wringing my hands, I left the lodge.⁵ (406)
 Nay now I'll take a knife or else—For what
 Is life to me? And how can such as I,
 Who by my life the training have denied,
 Do better than set term to it and die? (407)
 So then I came and with a razor sat me down
 Upon my couch. And now the blade was drawn
 Across my throat to cut the artery. . . . (408)

¹ *Sisters*, verse 131. Commentary, *hadayanissitay*.

² Distinguished by the Commentary as mahārāja.

³ See CXXXIX. ⁴ *Cetaso samādīnaṃ*. Comy.

⁵ Comy. : *anupanikkhamiṃ, bahi nikkhanto*.

When lo! in me arose the deeper thought :
 Attention to the fact and to the cause.
 The misery of it all was manifest ;
 Distaste, indifference the mind possessed, (409)
 And so my heart was set at liberty !
 O see the seemly order of the Norm !
 The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
 And all the Buddha bids us do is done.¹ (410)

CCXVI

Kātiyāna.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Śāvattihī as the son of a brahmin of the Kosiya family,² but was named Kātiyāna after the family of his mother. Seeing his friend Sāmaññakāni³ become a Thera, he, too, entered the Order. While at his studies he determined to discipline himself at night as to sleep. While pacing on the terrace he dozed, overcome by sleepiness, and fell right there to the ground. The Master, seeing what had happened, went himself, and standing above him, called him 'Kātiyāna!' He thereat rose up, saluted, and stood much agitated. Then the Master taught him the Norm thus :

Rise up, rouse thee, Kātiyāna, seat thee crosslegged.⁴
 Be not filled with drowsiness. Watch and keep vigil.
 Child of heedless race, let not the King of Mortals
 By a simple trick o'ercome thee self-indulgent. (411)
 E'en as billow sweeping o'er the mighty ocean
 So may round of birth and age o'erwhelm and drown
 thee.

See that *thou* dost make thyself an isle of safety,⁵
 For nought else is there may serve thee as a
 refuge. (412)

¹ = verses 269 f. Cf. CXV., CCV.

² Cf. CCIX.

³ See XXXV.

⁴ So the Commentary as the prescribed posture for meditation.

⁵ Cf. *Sutta-Nipāta*, 501.

Lo! for thee the Master hath prepared this Right
Way,

Past all bonds and past all fear of birth and dying.

Be thou diligent when night is young, and after;

Strive with all thy might, and strenuous make thy
study. (413)

Loose all earlier ties; live as befits a brother,

Robed in yellow cloak, by razor shaved, and almsfed.

Be not fain for pastimes, nor to lengthened slumbers¹

Be addicted. Contemplate, O Kātiyāna! (414)

Concentrate, conquer, O Kātiyāna! Make thee

Adept in the path to sure salvation leading.

Hast thou won the ultimate purification,

Thou shalt reach the Going-out, as flame in water. (415)

Light of feeble ray is as a wind-torn creeper.

So do thou, clansman of Indra,² clutching nothing,

Shake off Māra. Cleans'd of passion for sensations,

Wait thine hour, e'en here in holy coolness dwell-
ing. (416)

Thus aided by the Master's homily to win the Nibbāna wherein is no residual base of rebirth, the Thera developed insight and attained arahantship. Thereafter he uttered the verses as taught by the Master in confessing aññā.

CCXVII

Migajāla.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī as a son of the great lay-lady Visākhā,³ he would often go to the Vihāra

¹ The Cy. (Br.) supplies the other *ca* after *niddaṇ*.

² Kosiyagotta. Kosiya is one of the god Indra's names. The application of the simile of the light (lamp) is not, I venture to think, that Māra's death-torch was to be extinguished by Kosiya (*cf.* Neumann), but that his own rebirth-'fire,' grown 'cool' and low, was in dying out to checkmate Māra's designs for his rebirth.

³ See *Sisters*, p. 16 n.

to hear the Norm. Finally he entered the Order, and in due course won arahantship. Confessing aññā he said :

Well taught it is by Him who seeth all—
 The Buddha, offspring of the sun's high race ¹—
 Through it all bonds are bygone things, through it
 All constant rolling on ² is razed away ; (417)
 It leadeth on and out,³ it beareth o'er,
 Through it the root of craving withers up ;
 Cutting the poison-root, our tragic doom,
 It bringeth us to evil's utter end ;⁴ (418)
 By severing the root of ignorance,
 It breaks in pieces Kamma's living car ;⁵
 It hurls the bolt of insight on the goods
 That dower consciousnesses at rebirth ;⁶ (419)
 The truth 'neath all our sentience laying
 bare,
 And from all fevered grasping setting free,
 Revealer 'tis to us, by knowledge given,
 Of rebirth as a fiery pit of coals ;⁷ (420)
 Of mighty properties, far-reaching, deep,
 Averter of decay and death to come :—
 Such is the ARIYAN, THE EIGHTFOLD PATH,
 Assuager of all ill, auspicious, blest.⁸ (421)
 Action it knoweth,—what the act doth mean,—
 And fruit of action as the fruit indeed.

¹ See XXVI., CXXXIX.

² *Sabbavaṭṭavināsaṇo*, 'because it destroys the rolling on of the results of corrupt karma.' Cy.

³ *Niyyāniko*. Cf. *Bud. Psy.*, p. 82, n. 2.

⁴ *Nibbuti* = *nibbāna*—i.e., of all *kamma* and *kilesa*. Cy.

⁵ *Kammayanta : attabhūvayanta*. Cy.

⁶ *Viññāṇāṇaṇ pariggahe : kīṃabhavūdisu yathūsakakammunū viññāṇagahaṇe upatṭhite*. Cy. Cf. *Dialogues*, i. 818, n. 1.

⁷ Cf. *Majjhima*, i. 74. Here rebirth in purgatory is specified ; the simile is elsewhere (*ibid.*, p. 865) applied to sensuous desires, by which rebirth is incurred.

⁸ Two words for *sivo* (cf. Śiva, the later popular Hindu deity).

Showing a vision by the light of truth
 Of things as come to be by way of cause.
 Yea, to the mighty Haven¹ doth it wend ;
 High peace it brings and bliss lies at the end.² (422)

Thus the Thera, showing in manifold ways the Ariyan Norm, declared how he himself had followed it as confession of aññā.

CCXVIII

Jenta.

(The Chaplain's Son.)³

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattihī as the son of the King of Kosala's chaplain, he was named Jenta. When grown up he became intoxicated with his advantages of birth, wealth, and position, despising where he should have honoured, and stiff with pride. One day he approached the Master, who was teaching in the midst of a great company, and he thought : ' If the Samaṇa Gotama will first address me, I will also speak ; I will not voluntarily address him.' Thus the Exalted One not addressing him, and he through pride not speaking either, he showed the motive for his coming as he stood there. Him the Exalted One then addressed in a verse :

*To dwell on proud, vain fancies is not well.
 Cultivate, brahmin, that which profiteth.
 The good which thou dost seek in coming here—
 That, and that only shouldst thou dwell upon.*

¹ *Khema* (ver. 82, 227, 310). ' Haven ' implies here its primary meaning of ' safe place,' or ' hold,' and not anything *marine* (cf. verse 415).

² The whole of this most eloquent gāthā is a rosary of adjectival terms and phrases in praise of the Dhamma, a connexion confirmed by the Commentary. This is rightly indicated in the Oldenberg text by the absence of stops. By Dr. Neumann the epithets are twisted to apply to the Buddha—twisted from the instrumental, in which case they would have stood, to the nominative. The English rendering mocks the glowing poetry of the original.

³ To distinguish him from the Jenta of CXI.

Jenta thinking, 'He knows my thoughts!' was greatly drawn to him, and fell at his feet, paying the highest degree of homage. And he asked the Master, saying :

*For whom is one to cultivate no pride ?
Whom should one honour ? Whom should one
revere ?
To whom if one show reverence is it well ?*

To him the Exalted One :

*For mother and for father too, likewise
For eldest brother, for the teacher, for
The brahmin and for them of yellow robe :
For these is one to cultivate no pride,
These should one honour, these should one
revere,
To these if one show reverence it is well.
The arahants cool, adept, sane, immune,
For whom pride perished as they crossed the
goal,¹
To them beyond all others homage pay.*

Jenta by that teaching became a Stream-winner, entered the Order, and in due course won arahantship. Thereupon in celebrating his achievement he thus declared aññā :

*Infatuated with my birth, my wealth
And influence, with the beauty of my form
Intoxicated, thus I led my life. (423)
O'ermuch I fancied none was like to me.
A poor young fool by overweening spoilt,
Stubborn with pride, posing and insolent. (424)
Mother and father, ay, and others too
Claiming respect and honour, never one
Did I salute, discourteous, stiff with pride. (425)*

¹ *Māna* is one of the last 'fetters' to be broken in the fourth or highest path leading to arahantship. As Stream-winner he enters the first path. Cf. also *Bud. Psy.*, p. 298, n. 8.

Then saw I Him the Guide, Leader Supreme,
 The peerless Chief 'mong drivers of mankind,
 In glory shining like the sun, with all
 The company of brethren in his train. (426)
 Casting away conceit and wanton pride,
 A pious gladness filling all my heart,
 Lowly I rendered homage with the head
 To Him among all creatures Best and Chief. (427)
 Well extirpated now and put away
 Is both o'erweening and hypocrisy ;
 The *what* and *that* ' I am ' is snapt in twain,
 Yea, every form of self-conceit is slain.¹ (428)

CCXIX

Sumana.

Reborn in this Buddha-age he took birth in the family of a certain lay-disciple who had become the lay-attendant of the venerable Thera Anuruddha.² Now that layman's children till then had died young. And the father said : ' If yet one more son is born to me, I will have him ordained by the Thera. After ten months a healthy boy was born to him, and accordingly, when the child was seven years old, he was ordained. And from the ripeness of his insight, it was not long before he acquired sixfold abhiññā, waiting the while upon the Thera. Taking a jar to fetch him water, Sumana through iddhi-power came to the Anotatta Lake.³ And a wicked serpent-king, coiled about the lake, reared its great hood aloft and would not suffer him to get water. Then Sumana took the shape of a garuḍa-bird⁴ and

¹ Nine forms, says the Commentary. These are enumerated in the *Vibhanga*, p. 389 f. In Buddhism *māna* comprises all intrusions of the ego. This as entity was a myth, and was not to be set in rivalry over against the myth in one's neighbour.

² See CCLVI.

³ One of seven mythical lakes in the Himālaya regions (*Vinaya Texts*, i. 124 ; *Milinda*, ii. 187).

⁴ The ' roc ' -bird of India.

overcame the serpent, and flew back with the water to the Thera. And the Master, seated in Jeta Grove, saw him as he went, and called Sāriputta to see, praising him in the four verses below.

Now Sumana, in testifying to aññā, added those verses to his own as follows :

When newly made a brother seven years old,
 By supernormal power I overcame
 The wondrous potency of the serpent king, (429)
 Whenas I water for my teacher's use
 From the great lake of Anotatta fetched.
 Me coming thus the Master saw and spake : (430)

See, Sāriputta, how the little lad
 Holding his jar of water comes along,
 Rapt all his being, utterly intent. (431)
 Noble his carriage on his gracious quest,
 And well-matured in supernormal power,
 This novice of our Anuruddha's band. (432)
 By trainer of high breeding highly bred,
 By the proficient made throughly expert,
 By perfect competence made competent,
 By Anuruddha taught and disciplined : (433)
 He having won the highest peace and good
 And realized the inflectuate, even he—
 This novice Sumana—[would hide his power]
 And thus : Let no man know me ! doth
 desire.¹ (434)

¹ Sumana might well be the Sumana of CCI. if Anuruddha were the uncle, and it may be another case of a bifurcate legend. The name, however, is not unusual. This Sumana is possibly the venerable Thera 'from the West,' who, with three others and four from the East, presided at the Council of Vesāli a century after the Buddha's death (*Vinaya Texts*, iii. 407). There was anyway a tradition that, of these eight Theras two—Sumana and Vāsabhagāmi—were pupils of Anuruddha, and 'had seen the Tathāgata' (*Dīpavaṅsa*, iv. 48 ; v. 24).

CCXX

Nhātaka-muni.¹

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha in a brahmin clan, and well educated in Vedic lore, he became known by the mark and order of a graduate as Nhātaka, the bath-graduate. Becoming an ascetic, he dwelt in a forest glade three leagues from Rājagaha, living on wild rice and worshipping fire.

Now the Master, seeing the conditions of arahantship shining within his heart like a lamp in a jar, came to his hermitage. He, filled with pleasure thereat, placed before him food prepared in his own way. The Exalted One ate it; and so three days went by. On the fourth day the Exalted One said: 'You who are of such extreme delicacy, how can you support life on this food?' And thus commenting on saintly content, he taught him the Norm. And the ascetic thereupon from Stream-winner became arahant. The Exalted One confirmed him therein and went. But he, continuing to dwell there, fell ill of cramp. The Master went, and with kindness asked after his health:

Thou who foredone with cramping pains
Dwell'st in the jungle, in the woods,
Thy range confined, in hardship dire,
Tell me, bhikkhu, how wilt thou live? (435)

Then the Thera:

With bliss and rapture's flooding wave
This mortal frame is all suffused.
Though hard and rough what I endure,
Yet will I in the jungle dwell.² (436)

¹ There is a close connexion between the brahmin graduate's and our knight's sacramental bath. A Nhātaka might not unfairly be called a 'C.B.,' Companion of the Bath.

² Cf. Vakkali, CCV.

Wisdom's seven branches practising,
 The Powers five, the Forces too,¹
 Rapt to ethereal heights of thought,
 So will I in the jungle dwell: (437)
 From all corrupting thoughts set free,
 With heart all pure and undefiled,
 Often to contemplation given,
 So will I in the jungle dwell. (438)
 And all the intoxicants that once,
 Within, without, beset my life,
 Hewn and cast out are one and all,
 Never to rise for me again. (439)
 The factors five are understood,²
 Persisting yet with severed root.
 The end of sorrow now is won,
 And all rebirth for me is done. (440)

CCXXI

Brahmadatta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattihī as a son of the King of Kosala, and named Brahmadatta, he witnessed the majesty of the Buddha at the Jeta Grove inauguration, entered the Order because he believed, and in due course acquired sixfold abhiññā, together with thorough grasp of the letter and meaning of the Norm.

One day as he went round for alms, a brahmin abused him. The Thera heard in silence and went on with his business. The brahmin again reviled him, and people commented on the Thera's silence. Whereupon Brahmadatta taught them, saying :

Whence rises wrath for him who void of wrath
 Holds on 'the even tenor of his way,'
 Self-tamed, serene, by highest insight free? (441)
 Worse of the two is he who, when reviled,

¹ Cf. *Compendium*, pp. 180, f, d, e.

² = CXX.

Reviles again. Who doth not, when reviled,
 Revile again, a twofold victory wins.¹ (442)
 Both of the other and himself he seeks
 The good ; for he the other's angry mood
 Doth understand and soothe [checking him-
 self]. (443)
 Him who of both is the physician, since
 Himself he healeth and the other too,
 Folk deem a fool, they knowing not the Norm. (444)

Then the reviling brahmin, hearing these words, was both distressed and glad of heart, and besought the Thera's forgiveness. Yea, he took Orders under him, and was taught the exercise of meditating on love towards others, the Thera thus arming him against obsession by anger :

If anger rise in thee, then think upon
 The Figure of the Saw ; and if arise
 Craving t' indulge thyself, remember thou
 The Parable of how they ate the Child. (445)
 If, lusting for new lives in heaven and earth,
 Thy heart run wild, O check and curb it swift
 By mindfulness, as 'twere the beast men find
 In young corn grazing trespasser, and bind.² (446)

CCXXII

Sirimaṇḍa.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Suṅsumāragira in a brahmin family, he entered the Order through faith got on hearing the Master teaching in the Bhesakalā Wood.³ One feast-day, while he was seated where the Pātimokkha was

¹ *Lit.*, reviles back the reviler. Cf. I. *Pet.* ii. 23 ; *Dhammapada*, verse 188.

² These three parables occur in three discourses ascribed to the Buddha : *Majjh.*, i. 129 ; *Saṅyutta*, ii. 98 ; iv. 196. A similar reference to similes from the Suttas is made by Sumedhā (*Sisters*, p. 178).

³ Cf. XVIII.

to be recited at the end of the recitation of the introduction¹ . . . 'for [a fault] when declared shall be light to him,' he pondered on the advantage gained by the confession of faults concealed, and thereupon exclaimed with eager interest and gladness: 'Oh, how utterly pure is the rule of the Master!' And so expanding insight he attained arahantship. Reviewing the course thereto with a glad heart, he admonished the brethren:

Heavily falls the rain of guilt on fault
Concealed; less heavy where the fault lies bare.² (447)

By death the world is held enslaved; by age

And by decay 'tis shrouded and beset,

Pierced by the dart of craving evermore,

By itch of pestering desires assailed. (448)

By death the world is held enslaved; by age

And by decay escorted, guarded sure,³

Without a refuge, everlastingly

Struck as by thief with bludgeon and with
sword.⁴ (449)

Like forest fires behold them drawing nigh:—

Death and disease, decay, dread trinity,

Whom to confront no strength sufficeth, yea,

No swiftness aught avails to flee away. (450)

Make thou the day not futile, not in vain,

Whether it be by little or by much.

For every day and night⁵ that thou dost waste,

By so much less thy life remains to live. (451)

Whether thou walk or stand or sit or lie,

For thee the final day of life draws nigh;

No time hast thou to dally heedlessly.⁶ (452)

¹ The Nidāna. See *Vinaya Texts*, i. 1 f.

² This verse is, in *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 305, ascribed to the Buddha. 'Guilt,' 'fault' are glosses, the context there and the Commentary here justifying the application of the simile.

³ Occurs in *Sany.*, i. 40.

⁴ Reading *satthadaṇḍo*.

⁵ Lit., 'night' only. The Indian reckoned as much by 'nights' as by 'days.'

⁶ Cf. *Sisters*, verse 95.

CCXXIII

Sabbakāma.

Reborn in this Buddha-age, after the Exalted One had passed away, at Vesālī in a noble clan, and named Sabbakāma, he, when he was come of age, gave gifts and possessions to his kinsfolk, and following his religious inclination left the world, taking orders under the Treasurer of the Norm.¹ In course of his studies he came back to Vesālī with his instructor and visited his family. And his former wife, afflicted, lean, in sorry array and tears, greeted him and stood by. Seeing her thus, affection led by pity arose in him, and losing the deeper view in the present object, carnal feeling came over him. Then like a high-bred horse at the touch of the whip, anguish arose, and he departed to the charnel field to learn the lesson of Foul Things. Thereby jhāna supervening, he expanded insight and won arahantship. Now his father-in-law brought his daughter decked out once more in finery to the Vihāra, with a great retinue, seeking to make him secede, but the Thera declared to them how he had ejected all such desires as follows :

This twaybased thing, impure, malodorous,
Full of foul matter, ebbing thus and thus,
Is cherished as the chief of all our care.² (453)

As hidden deer by craft, as fish by hook,
As ape by pitch, so is the world ensnared. (454)

Sights, sounds and tastes, odours and things to
touch,

That please and charm, the fivefold way of
sense :

All these are shown combined in woman's
shape. (455)

¹ Ānanda. Sabbakāma is probably the Sabbakāmī of *Vin. Texts*, iii. 404.

² = *Sutta-Nipāta*, i. 11, 13. My third line expands the word *paṭihārati* (for °*hiriyati*).

The worldlings, who with heart inflamed pursue
 And woo her, swell the dreadful field of death¹
 And make accumulation of rebirth. (456)
 But he who shuns it all, as with the foot
 The serpent's head is shunned, he, vigilant,
 Doth circumvent this poisoner of the world.² (457)
 And I who evil saw in sense-desires
 And in renunciation safety, lo!
 Detached from all that worldly aims commend,
 Of all th' intoxicants have made an end.³ (458)

¹ *Cf. Sisters*, verse 502; *Udāna*, vi. 8; *Vin. Texts*, iii. 390.

² Craving (Cy.). *Cf.* verses 400, 401.

³ *Cf.* verse 122.

CANTO VII

PSALMS OF SEVEN VERSES

CCXXIV

Sundara-Samudda.

REBORN in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, as the son of a very wealthy councillor, he was named Samudda. And because of his beauty he became known as Sundara-Samudda.¹ In the prime of his youth he saw the majesty of the Buddha at the festival of his coming to Rājagaha, and through faith and his native inclination he left the world for the Order. Entrusted with a message he went from Rājagaha to Sāvattihī and there stayed with a virtuous friend, learning how to practise himself in insight. Now his mother at Rājagaha, seeing other councillors' sons and their wives dressed in their best enjoying themselves at a festival, thought of her son and wept. And a certain courtesan to comfort her offered to go and entice him back. The mother promised, if she would do so, and he were to marry her, to make her mistress of the family, and gave her many gifts. Well attended, she went to Sāvattihī, and stopping at a house where the Thera came day after day on his alms round, she caused him to be carefully attended to, showing herself decked and adorned and wearing golden slippers. And one day, slipping these off at the house door,

¹ Sundārā-Samud'da = beautiful sea. Samudda does not play a part elsewhere in the Canon, but his soubriquet only appears as the name of a bhikkhu of Rājagaha cited in the *Vinaya*, or type of bhikkhu who underwent similar St. Anthony's ordeals (*Vinaya*, iii. 36).

she saluted him with clasped hands as he passed and invited him in with seductive air. Then the Thera, a worldly thought fluttering, resolved then and there to make a supreme effort, and so standing, conjured up meditation and acquired sixfold abhiññā. Concerning this it is said :

Adorned and clad to make a gallant show,
Crowned with a wreath and decked with many
gems,

Her feet made red with lac, with slippers dight,

A woman of the town accosted me, (459)

Doffing her slippers, greeting hands-to-head,

With soft, sweet tones and opening compliment: (460)

'So young, so fair, and hast thou left the
world—

Stay here within *my* Rule and Ordinance.

Take thou thy fill of human pleasures. See,

'Tis I will give thee all the means thereto.

Nay, 'tis the truth that I am telling thee.

Or if thou doubt, I'll bring thee fire and
swear.¹ (461)

When thou and I are old, we both of us

Will take our staff to lean upon, and so

We both will leave the world and win both
ways.'² (462)

Seeing that public woman making plea,

And proffering obeisance gaily decked

In brave array like snare of Māra laid, (463)

¹ So the Commentary : ' If you do not believe me, I, having fetched fire, will make the fire-motived oath.' Cf. *Laws of Manu*, viii. 114, 115 (*SBE*, xxv.), referring to an ordeal by fire for testing veracity. Or only an invocation of fire as witness to the oath may be implied. Such a reading is less forced than Dr. Neumann's, who would see in 'truth' and 'fire' the woman's travesty of religious terms to suit her own 'Rule' (*sāsana*).

² See *Laws of Manu*, vi., §§ 2, 3, on husband and wife becoming hermits together when both were old.

Thereat arose in me the deeper view :
 Attention to the fact and to the cause.
 The misery of it all was manifest ;
 Distaste, indifference the mind possessed ; (464)
 And so my heart was set at liberty.
 O see the seemly Order of the Norm !
 The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
 And all the Buddha bids us do is done. (465)

CCXXV

Lakuṇṭaka-Bhaddiya.

Reborn in the time of our Master at Sāvattthī in a wealthy family, he was named Bhaddiya, but from his extreme shortness, he was known as Lakuṇṭaka (Dwarf)-Bhaddiya. Hearing the Master preach, he entered the Order, and becoming learned and eloquent, he taught others their work with a sweet voice. Now on a festival-day, a certain woman of the town, driving with a brahmin in a chariot, saw the Thera and laughed, showing her teeth.¹ The Thera, taking that row of teeth as an object-sign, evoked jhāna, and on that basis established insight and became a Non-Returner.² And after practising mindfulness regarding the body,³ admonished by the Captain of the Norm,⁴ he was established in arahantship. Later he thus confessed aññā :

Beyond the gardens of Ambāṭaka,⁵
 In woodland wild, craving and craving's root
 Withdrawn, and rapt in deepest reverie,
 There happy sits fortunate Bhaddiya. (466)

¹ Someone's teeth proved equally efficacious for Thera Mahā Tissa of Ceylon. See *Atthasālinī*, p. 200; *Bud. Psy.*, p. 70 n.

² The grade of salvation next below the arahant, in which final death is to come after one more life in one of the remoter heavens.

³ Cf. *Dialogues*, ii. 328 f.

⁴ Sāriputta.

⁵ This park is probably that at Macchikasāṇḍa, given by Citta to the Order (*Dhammapada Commentary*, ii. 74).

And some are charmed by cymbals,¹ lutes and drums,

And I in leafy shadow of my trees

Do dwell entranced by the Buddha's Rule. (467)

Let but the Buddha grant one boon to me,

And if that boon were mine, I'd choose for all

Perpetual study in control of self. (468)

They who decry me for my shape, and they

Who listen spell-bound to my voice, such folk

In toils of lust and impulse know me not. (469)

The fool hemmed in on every side knows not

The inner life, nor sees the things without,

And by a voice forsooth is led away. (470)

And if the inner life he knoweth not,

Yet can discern the things that are without,

Watching alone the outer fruits that come,

He also by a voice is led away. (471)

He, who both understands the inner life,

And doth discern the things that are without,

Clear-visioned, by no voice is led away.² (472)

CCXXVI

B h a d d a .

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattī in a Councillor's family, as the child of hitherto childless parents, to

¹ *Mutingehi* means a variety of drum. Our drum nomenclature is insufficient for the number of Indian species of this instrument. The sweet voice probably went with a musical ear, and this is why he ranks music as second only to his own supreme source of delight.

² Bhaddiya (the name means Felix, Fortunatus; his soubriquet distinguishes him from the other Bhaddiya, cf. CCLIV.) is in *Ang.*, i. 25, ranked as the sweetest voiced among all the brethren. This distinction is said to have been the result of an aspiration made in past ages, before Padumuttara Buddha. The evolutionary momentum of this caused him rebirth, under Vipassi Buddha, as a 'variegated-feathered cuckoo' (*citta-pattakokila*), a sweet warbler in India. The Cy. does not allude to the realization of his wish, but the poem betrays it. 'Study in control of self': *kūyagatūsatij*.

whom, after prayers to gods and the like, none had been born. They had gone to the Master saying, 'If, your reverence, we shall get a child we will offer him to you as your servant.' They named him Bhadda (Faustus), and when he was seven years old, they dressed him in his best, and led him to the Master, saying, 'This, your reverence, is the child we got after asking you; we deliver him to you.' The Master bade Ānanda ordain him, and withdrew to the Fragrant Chamber. And Ānanda instructed him, and so ripe was in him the efficient cause that, while studying, even as the sun rose, he conjured up contemplation, and acquired sixfold abhiññā.

Now the Exalted One knew what had happened, and called, 'COME, BHADDA!' So he went, saluting the Master with clasped hands. This was his ordination. And this Buddha-ordination,¹ the Thera, beginning with his birth, magnified when thus confessing aññā :

An only child was I, to mother dear
 And to my father dear. By many a rite
 And much observance was I gotten, ay,
 And many prayers. To do me kindness
 they, (473)

My good desiring, and my happiness,
 Conducted me—father and mother too—
 Into the presence of the Buddha blest. (474)

'Hardly hath he been gotten, this our child,
 And he is delicate and softly reared.
 Āhim do we give, O Lord, to thee, that he
 May wait as servant on the Conqueror.' (475)

The Master took me unto Him and thus
 To Ānanda did say: 'Quickly admit
 This child, for he a thoroughbred shall be.' (476)

And then, thus sanctioning my coming forth,
 The Conqueror withdrew to spend the night.
 And as the sun rose up out of the dawn
 Lo! then my heart was set at liberty. (477)

¹ Cf. CXVII.; *Sisters*, verse 109, n. 4.

Then to complete his work the Master, roused
 From quietude: 'COME, BHADDA!' called to me;
 Thereby to me was ordination given. (478)
 Seven were my years when I was thus ordained.
 The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own.
 Hail to the seemly order of the Norm! (479)

CCXXVII

Sopāka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age to a pariah's wife, he was called, according to his birth, Sopāka (pariah). Some say he was born in a trader's family. This is contradicted by the Apadāna text (pāliya) :

*When to my last birth I had won,
 Into Sopāka-womb I came.*

Four months after birth he lost his father, and was maintained by his uncle. The latter, when Sopāka was seven years old, was bidden by his own ill-tempered son to kill the child. So he took him to the charnel-field, bound his hands, and tied him by the neck to a corpse, thinking, 'Let the jackals and others devour him,' for he was not able himself to kill the child, who had come to his last rebirth. The jackals and other creatures came, and the child at midnight cried :

*O what the fate in store for me,
 Or who to the orphan lone is kin?
 In midst of dreadful deathfield bound,
 -Whom shall I find to be my friend? ¹*

The Master, at that hour surveying what fellow-men were redeemable,² saw the conditions of arahantship shining

¹ *Dāyako*, benefactor.

² *Veneyya*—lit., capable of being led.

within the child's heart, and drew his attention by emitting a glory, saying :

*Come then, Sopāka, fear thou not ;
Behold the Man-who-thus-hath-come !
I, even I, will bear thee o'er,
As moon comes safe from Rāhu's jaws.¹*

The boy by the Buddha's power broke his bonds, and at the end of the verse stood, a Stream-winner, before the Fragrant Chamber.² Now his mother sought him, and the uncle telling her nothing, she went to the Exalted One, thinking 'the Buddhas know all, past, future, and present.' The Master, as she came, hid the boy by *iddhi*, and to her saying, 'Lord, I cannot find my son, nevertheless the Exalted One knows what he is doing?' he replied :

*Sons are no shelter nor father, nor any kinsfolk.
For one o'erta'en by death, bloodbond is no
refuge, . . .³*

so teaching her the Norm. She, hearing, became a Stream-winner, but the boy an arahant. Then the Exalted One withdrew *iddhi*, and she, overjoyed, beheld her son. Hearing he was arahant, she suffered him to leave the world, and went her way.⁴

Now he came and saluted the Master, as he was walking in the shade of the Fragrant Chamber, and followed him. And the Exalted One, desiring to grant him ordination, asked him the ten questions beginning: 'What is the one?'⁵ He, grasping the Master's intention, supplied the answers, 'All beings are sustained by food,' etc., by his omniscience. Whence the name of the 'Boy-Questions' arose. And the Master, satisfied in mind by his replies, ordained him. All this the Thera set forth in confessing aññā thus :

¹ Cf. *Sisters*, Ps. ii.

² The Buddha's apartments at the Jeta-Vihāra.

³ *Dhammapada*, verses 288, 289 ; to Paṭācārā, cf. *Sisters*, p. 71.

⁴ Cf. the similar episode in Yasa's legend (CXVII.).

⁵ *Khuddaka pāṭha*. Cf. *Sisters*, p. 66.

In the shade upon the terrace walking, lo! the Chief
of men.

Thither went I, in His presence worshipping the Man
of men. (480)

Draped my robe was on one shoulder, forth my
clasped hands were stretched,
In the footsteps of the highest of all beings so I
walked. (481)

Then He asked me questions, He so skilled in questions
and so wise.

And unwavering, unaffrighted answered there the
Master I. (482)

He The-thus-Come then commended how the questions
answered were.

And the brethren-host surveying, to them made this
matter known :— (483)

'Fortunate are they of Anga, and of Magadha, from
whom

Such as he procureth raiment, food and lodging,
medicine

And the reverence that is seemly, yea, they're happy!
so He said. (484)

'From to-day henceforth, Sopāka, come to see Me
when thou wilt.

Our discourse alone, Sopāka, shall thine ordination
be.' (485)

Seven were my years when to me ordination thus was
given.

Now I bear the final body. Hail! fair Order of the
Norm.¹ (486)

¹ I have rendered these relatively crude and artless verses almost literally, not trying to recast them in English more æsthetically satisfying. If there be any truth in the tradition, they were composed by a boy of the people, of natural genius (for deep questions), but of no education. And the youth and lack of literary ability seem to be betrayed in the simply told Pali. There is a world of difference between it and the form and contents of such poems as, say, Migajala's, Kosiya's, or those of the Kassapa brothers.

CCXXVIII

Sarabhanga.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, as the son of a certain brahmin, he was given a name according to or independent of family traditions, he having no distinctive marks¹ [and that name is forgotten]. But he became, when of age, an ascetic, making a hut for himself out of reed-stalks, which he had broken off, and from that time he was known as Sara-bhanga—reed-plucker. Now the Exalted One, looking over the world with the Awakened Eye, discerned in him the conditions of arahantship, and going to him taught him the Norm. And he, convicted and becoming a member, in due course won arahantship, continuing to live in his hut. This became decayed and crumbling, and people noticing it, said : ‘Why, your reverence, do you not repair it?’ The Thera, saying : ‘The hut was made when I was doing ascetic practices ; now I cannot do the like,’ set forth the whole matter thus :

Ay, reeds in handfuls once I plucked, and built
A hut wherein I sojourned ; hence the name
‘Reedpicker’ given me by the common voice. (487)

But not to me doth it belong to-day
To pluck the reeds in handfuls as of yore,
Because of what the training doth prescribe,
Revealed to us by glorious GOTAMA. (488)

How wholly and entirely he did ail :—
That had Reedpicker never seen before.
This sorely ailing state he came to see
Through word of Him who is beyond the
gods. (489)

The self-same Path by which VIPASSI went,
The Path of SIKHI and of VESSABHU,
Of KAKUSANDHA, KOṆĀGAMAṆA,
And KASSAPA, e’en by that very Road
Lo ! now to us there cometh GOTAMA. (490)

¹ See legend in CCXXXII., CCXXXIII.

And all these seven Buddhas,¹—they for whom
Craving was dead, and nought was grasped, and
who

Stood planted on Abolishing of Ill²—

They taught this Norm, ay, even such as they,
Who were themselves the body of the Norm,³ (491)

In great compassion for us all, e'en these
Four Ariyan Truths: the Truth of Ill; the Cause;
The Path; the End, th' abolishing, of Ill, (492)

Whereby the endless tale of grief and pain

In life's great cycle cannot take its course;⁴

For when this body dies and life is spent,

No other rebirth cometh more—yea, free

Am I from birth, from evil utterly!⁵ (493)

¹ On the seven see *Dialogues*, i. 1 ff.

² *Khayogadhī*. *Khaya* = Nibbāna (Commentary).

³ *Dhammabhūtī* = Norm, become *dhammakāyā*, paraphrases Dhammapāla, using the term so largely coming into favour in Mahāyānism.

⁴ *Nibbattate*, paraphrased as (*nirvattate*) *na pavattati*, (*na*) *uppajjati*, i.e., through *nirodha*, Nibbāna.

⁵ So the Commentary: *sabbehi kilesehi, sabbehi bhavehi*. The reader might well miss the point of this fine poem without the simple but illuminating legend, and imagine it was not becoming for a Thera to work with his hands, as Dr. Neumann's rendering seems to imply. The bhikkhus built 'huts' galore, made and mended their garments, etc. But Sarabhangā's point is that of those other two Hut-theras in LVI., LVII.: their 'one thing needful' is the non-renewal of the *attabhāva-kuṭikā*, as the Commentary calls it, the 'personal organism-hut,' and hence it is, that he so harps on the ending of ill—i.e., of rebirth. The state of his reed-hut is a trifling detail, useful only as a symbol. Poem and legend may have grown up out of the interpretation of the name. This occurs as that of a seer, not only in the Jātakas (iii. 464; v. 127 ff.), but also in the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana.

CANTO VIII

PSALMS OF EIGHT VERSES

CCXXIX

Kaccā[ya]na the Great.

REBORN in this Buddha-age at Ujjenī, in the family of the chaplain of King Caṇḍapajjota, he learned the three Vedas as he grew, and succeeded, at his father's death, to the post of chaplain. And he was known by his gens name of Kaccāna.¹ Now the king heard of the Buddha's advent, and said : 'Teacher, do you go and bring the Master hither.' He, with a party of seven, went to the Master, who taught him the Norm with such effect that at the end of the lesson, he, with his seven attendants, were established in arahantship with thorough grasp of letter and meaning. Then the Master, saying, 'COME, BHIKKHUS!' stretched forth his hand, and they forthwith were as Theras of a century of rain-seasons, hair of two fingers' length cut off, and equipped with bowl and robes.

Then the Thera, having successfully accomplished his own salvation, invited the Master on the king's behalf : 'Lord, the King Pajjota desires to worship at your feet and hear the Norm.' The Master said : 'Do you, bhikkhu, go

¹ He was one of the eleven or twelve 'Great' Theras (*Vin. Texts*, ii. 317, 359), and the teacher of Soṇa-Kuṭikanna (CCVIII.). In the Vinaya and Nikāyas, the name usually appears as Kaccāna. So, too, the Cy. The king is met with in *Jāt.*, v. 138; *Dhammapadu Commentary*, i. 192 ff.; and as Pajjota in *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 186. See also *Kathūsaritsūgara*, i. 102.

yourself ; by your mission, too, will the king be satisfied.' He, thus bidden, went with the seven, satisfied the king's desire, established him in the faith,¹ and returned to the Master.

One day many bhikkhus, having put aside their duties, and finding pleasure in worldly activities and in society, were leading desultory lives. The Thera thereupon admonished them in two verses, and in the next six admonished the king :

Let not a brother occupy himself
 With busy works, let him keep clear of folk,
 Nor strive [to copy nor to emulate].
 Who greedy seeks to taste life's feast entire,
 Neglects the good that brings true happiness. (494)
 A treacherous bog it is, this patronage
 Of bows and gifts and treats from wealthy
 folk.
 'Tis like a fine dart bedded in the flesh,
 For erring human hard to extricate.² (495)

(To the King.)

Not evil are the actions of a man
 Because of what another [saith or doth] ;
 'Tis of himself he must from wrong abstain,
 Of their own acts the offspring mortals be.³ (496)
 No speech of others makes a man a thief,
 No speech of others makes a man a sage ;
 And what we know at heart we really are,
 That do the gods who know our hearts know
 too.⁴ (497)

¹ *Sāsane.*

² = verses 124, and 1052 f.

³ *Mujjh.*, iii. 203 ; *Ang.*, iii. 72.

⁴ The Commentary reads *attū ca naṃ yathāvedīti naṃ sattaṃ tassa attā cittaṃ yathā ayaṃ parisuddho aparisuddho cāti yathāvato avedī jānāti.* The devas are then credited—i.e., the purer gods—with knowing the thoughts of others.

People can never really understand
 That we are here but for a little spell.
 But they who grasp this truth indeed,
 Suffer all strife and quarrels to abate.¹ (498)
 The wise man is alive, and he alone,
 Although his wealth be utterly destroyed ;
 And if the man of wealth do wisdom lack,
 For all his wealth he doth not truly live. (499)

(*To the King consulting him about a dream.*)²

Things of all sorts by way of ear we hear ;
 Things of all sorts by way of eye we see ;
 And for the wise and strong it is not fit
 All to neglect as things unseen, unheard. (500)
 Let him as seeing be as he were blind,
 Let him as hearing be as he were deaf,
 Let him, in wisdom versed, be as one dumb,
 And let the man of strength be as the weak ;
 But let the thing of genuine good arise :—
 Be *that* for him the nesting-place of thought.³ (501)

¹ = verse 275.

² The king's dream is not told. He is only said to have gone next day to the Thera and told it 'in the order in which he had seen it.' The oracular reply may not have proved satisfying, but it is quite in keeping with the 'Great Sila' of *Dialogues*, i. 17(4). The chaplain was largely an astrologer and dream interpreter; the Sākiya-samaṇa was concerned with the bed-rock realities of waking life and moral law.

³ The last six lines are quoted in *Milinda*, ii. 282 f. My own rendering is guided by the high import attaching to *attha* (good) through the 'Psalms,' and by Dhammapāla. The latter, it is true, is no adequate guide. He omits any reference to 'in wisdom versed' (see *Milinda*, ii. 288, n. 1), and makes no attempt to paraphrase the curious *mata-sāyikaṇ* except by *mataka-sāyikaṇ*. Preceding this word he has *passetha* = *passitvā*. The whole poem seems to be a patchwork of annexed gnomic proverbs from the current popular philosophy, annexed like much of *Saṅyutta I.* and the *Jātakas* by the Canon, and only *essentially* in sympathy with the Buddhist teaching.

CCXXX

Sirimitta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha as the son of a very wealthy landowner, he was named Sirimitta, his mother being sister to Sirigutta, whose story is included in the *Dhammapada Commentary*.¹ Now he, Sirimitta, Sirigutta's nephew, found faith when the Master subdued the elephant Dhanapāla.² And he entered the Order, and in due course became arahant.

One day rising from his seat to recite the Pātīmokkha, he took a painted fan,³ and reseating himself, taught the Norm to the bhikkhus, and in so doing, distinguished the more eminent virtues thus :

From anger and from hatred free,
Clean of deceit, of slander bare,
Look you ! a brother such as he,
When he goes hence,⁴ will weep no more. (502)

From anger and from hatred free,
Clean of deceit, of slander bare,
Ever 'door-guarded' ⁵ brother, he,
When he goes hence, will weep no more. (503)

From anger, etc.
. . . of slander bare,
Brother of noble virtue, he,
When he goes hence, will weep no more. (504)

¹ Presumably in i. 434 ff. He was a lay-adherent of Sāvattthī.

² Called Nālagiri in *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 247-250. Cf. *Milinda*, i. 297 ff.

³ So did the learned Sister Khujjutarā in preaching (*Dhammapada Commentary*, i. 209).

⁴ 'To another world' (Commentary). He is not discoursing necessarily of or to arahants. Cf. for a different import in the phrase, verse 188.

⁵ *Gutta-dvāro*, the technical phrase in Buddhist ethics for control over the 'gates' of sense.

From anger, etc.

Brother of virtuous comrades, he,

When he goes hence, will weep no more. (505)

From anger, etc.

Brother of noble insight, he,

When he goes hence, will weep no more. (506)

Having discoursed against anger and so on, he then set forth the supreme career by verses describing the right attitude for individuals, testifying thereby to aññā in himself :

Of him whose faith in the Tathāgata

Is firmly planted and unwavering,

Whose virtues are commended by the good

And pleasing in the eyes of Ariyans,¹ (507)

Who dwells contented with the Brotherhood,

Who in his views is candid and sincere :

‘ No pauper he,’ they say, with so much wealth,

Nor sterile and in vain the life of him. (508)

So let the wise man, so let him who aye

Remembereth that which Buddhas have enjoined,

Devote himself to faith and righteousness,

To know the blessedness they brought to us

And the true vision of the holy Norm.² (509)

CCXXXI

Panthaka Major.

When our Master had gone to Rājagaha, rolling the excellent wheel of righteousness, Panthaka, the elder son³

¹ Buddhas, Silent (Pacceka) Buddhas, and earnest disciples (*Buddha-sāvaka*).

² = verse 204.

³ The untimely birth of the boys when their mother had set out to return to her kinsfolk, their being named ‘ Roadling ’ the Greater and the Less, and their going to live with her kinsfolk, is briefly sketched here, but is told more fully in *Jāt.*, i. 14 ff., and *Anguttara Commentary* on i. 26.

of a rich councillor's daughter and one of her father's servants, used to go with his grandfather to hear the Master, and so won faith with insight. Entering the Order, he became highly versed in the Buddha-Word, and in the four abstract jhānas, in due time becoming arahant. Dwelling in the bliss of jhāna and of fruition, he was reviewing one day his achievement, and in great joy thereat burst into a 'lion's roar' thus :

When first I saw the blessed Master, Him
 For whom no fear can anywhence arise,
 A wave of deep emotion filled my soul
 At sight of Him, the peerless man of men. (510)
 Had a man erst on hands and knees besought
 Favour of Fortune's goddess hither come,
 And won the grace of Master such as this,
 Still might he fail to win [the thing he
 sought].¹ (511)

I for my part [all hindrance] cast away—
 [The hope of] wife and children, coin and corn,²
 And let my hair and beard be shorn, and forth
 Into the homeless life I went from home. (512)

The life and training practising, all faculties
 Well held in hand, in loyalty to Him,
 Buddha supreme, master of self I lived. (513)
 Then longing rose within my heart, I yearned
 [To consummate]: 'Now will I no more sit,
 Not even for a moment, while the dart
 Of craving sticketh and is not outdrawn. (514)
 Of me thus aye abiding, O! behold³

And mark the onward stride of energy :

¹ 'Unlucky . . . fail at the ninth moment' (? eleventh hour), says the Commentary, which sees, moreover, in *siriṅ* an allusion not to the goddess of luck (*Buddhist India*, p. 217), but to the *sirisayana* or *cathedra* of a teacher.

² Living as a minor with his grandparents, he had as yet none of these, remarks the Commentary.

³ For this and following lines, cf. verses 167, 224, 296, 382, 477.

The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
And all the Buddha bids us do is done. (515)
I know the where and when of former lives,
And clearly shines the eye celestial.
Ar'hant am I, worthy men's offerings.
Released and without basis for rebirth. (516)
For as the darkness melted into light,
And the day broke with rising of the sun,
From craving, stanch'd and dry, had come release,
And on my couch crosslegged I sat in peace. (517)

CANTO IX

PSALM OF NINE VERSES

CCXXXII

Bhūta.

REBORN in this Buddha-age in a suburb of the city of Sāketa as the son of a wealthy councillor, he was the last and only surviving child, the others having been devoured by a hostile Yakkha. He was therefore well guarded, but the demon (*bhūta*) had meanwhile gone to wait on Vessavaṇa¹ and came back no more. On the child's naming day he was called Bhūta, for they said: 'May compassionate non-humans protect him!'² He by virtue of his merit having grown up without accident, reared with three residences as was Yasa,³ went, when the Master came to Sāketa, with other laymen to the Vihāra and heard the Norm. Entering the Order, he went to dwell in a cave on the banks of the River Ajakaraṇī.⁴ There he won arahantship. Thereafter, he visited his relatives out of kindness to them, staying himself in the Añjana Wood. When they besought him to stay, urging that this would result in mutual benefit, the Thera, declaring his love for and happiness in the monachistic life, spoke these lines before he left them :

¹ Ruler of the northern quarter of the skies and of the Yakkhas (*Dialogues*, ii. 259, 305).

² Thus compelling the propitiation of such creatures by making them sponsors! Bhūta = spirit, sprite, creature.

³ CXVII.

⁴ Cf. Sappaka, CXCVI.

When the wise man hath grasped, that age and death,
yea, all

Whereto the undiscerning world-folk cling is Pain,
And Pain thus understanding, dwells with mind
intent

And rapt in ecstasy of thought :—no higher bliss
Is given to men than this. (518)

When the fell poisoner ¹ he hath banned who bringeth
pain,—

Ay, even Craving, who doth sweep him towards the
pain

Of being prisoned in the web of many things,
Obsessed,²—and he delivered dwells with mind intent
And rapt in ecstasy of thought :—no higher bliss
Is given to men than this. (519)

When by insight he sees the happy-omened Path,
Twice fourfold, ultimate, that purifies from all
That doth defile, and seeing, dwells with mind intent,
Rapt in an ecstasy of thought :—no higher bliss
Is given to men than this. (520)

When work of thought makes real and true the way
of peace,

From sorrow free, untarnished and uncorrelate,³
Cleansing from all that doth defile, and severing
From every bond and fetter, and the brother sits
Rapt in an ecstasy of thought :—no higher bliss
Is given to men than this. (521)

When in the lowering sky thunders the storm-cloud's
drum,

And all the pathways of the birds are thick with rain,

¹ On *visattikā* see p. 218, n. 8.

² With this phrase *papañcasanghāṭa(-dukkhādhivāhaniṅ)*, cf. *Majjh.*, i. 271, l. 1; 383, l. 29; *Milinda*, 390, l. 7. The Commentary's explanation is very lame, but it paraphrases *papañcanti vitthārentīti*.

³ *Asankhatay. Na kenaci paccayena sankhatan ti* (Commentary).

The brother sits within the hollow of the hills,
 Rapt in an ecstasy of thought:—no higher bliss
 Is given to men than this. (522)

Or when by rivers on whose banks together crowd
 Garlands of woodland blossoms bright with many a
 hue,
 With heart serene the brother sits upon the strand,
 Rapt in an ecstasy of thought:—no higher bliss
 Is given to men than this. (523)

Or when at dead of night in lonely wood god rains,
 And beasts of fang and tusk¹ ravin and cry aloud,
 The brother sits within the hollow of the hills,
 Rapt in an ecstasy of thought:—no greater bliss
 Is given to men than this. (524)

When he hath checked the mind's discursive restless-
 ness,²
 And to the mountain's bosom hies and in some cave
 Sits sheltered, free from fear and from impediment,
 Rapt in an ecstasy of thought:—no greater bliss
 Is given to men than this. (525)

When he in healthful ease abides, abolisher
 Of stain and stumbling-stone and woe, open to peace³
 The portals of the mind, lust-free, immune from dart,⁴
 Yea, all intoxicants become as nought, and thus
 Rapt in an ecstasy of thought:—no greater bliss
 Is given to men than this. (526)

¹ The Commentary instances lions and tigers—true of course only of remoter haunts. Cf. at least *Sisters*, p. 151 n.

² *Vitakka*, a word to indicate the application of attention to this and that, hindering concentrated thought.

³ Lit., one who is unbolted. The bolt is ignorance hindering the entrance of Nibbāna, says the Commentary.

⁴ By 'dart,' craving is always implied.

CANTO X

PSALMS OF TEN VERSES

CCXXXIII

Kāḷudāyin.

HE going on in rebirth among gods and men, was born on the same day as our Bodhisat, in the family of one of the king's ministers at Kapilavatthu. Yea, on that one day were born these seven: the Bodhisat, the Bodhi-tree, the mother of Rāhula, and the four treasures:—the riding-elephant, the horse Kaṇṭhaka, Channa, and Kāḷudāyin.¹ Now on his naming day, the child was called Udāyin, and because he was dark of feature he became known as Kāl'-Udāyin. He grew up as the play-fellow of the Bodhisat. But later, when the Lord of the World had gone forth in the Great Renunciation, had become omniscient, and was staying in the Bamboo Grove near Rājagaha, rolling on the excellent wheel of the Norm, King Suddhodana heard thereof, and sent a minister with a suite of a thousand, saying: 'Bring my son hither.' And that minister and suite, arriving when the Norm was being preached, heard, and all becoming arahants, the Master stretched forth his hand, saying: 'COME YE, BHIKKHUS!' . . . And they abiding among the Ariyas, did not deliver the king's message. And the like happened with other messengers. So the king sent Kāḷudāyin, saying: 'This Udāyin is of the same age as the Ten-

¹ On these seven 'Connatal Ones' see *Bud. Birthstories*, 68 n.; cf. *Dialogues*, ii. 202-208.

powered, and is akin to me and affectionate ; I will send him ; go you, my dear, with a thousand men, and bring the Ten-powered One.' So he went, saying : ' If I, sire, may leave the world, then will I bring hither the Exalted One.' ' Whatever you do, show me my son,' was the reply. He, too, fared like the first minister and became arahant. Now he thought : ' Not yet is it time for Him to go to the city. When the rains have come, and the woods are in flower and the earth is covered with verdure, then 'twill be time.' And when the time was come, he spoke these verses to the Master, praising the beauty of the journey :

Now crimson glow the trees, dear Lord, and
cast

Their ancient foliage in quest of fruit.¹

Like crests of flame they shine irradiant,

And rich in hope, great Hero, is the hour. (527)

Verdure and blossom-time in every tree,

Where'er we look delightful to the eye,

And every quarter breathing fragrant airs,²

While petals falling, yearning comes for fruit :—

'Tis time, O Hero, that we set out hence. (528)

Not over hot, nor over cold, but sweet,

O Master, now the season of the year.

O let the Sākiyans and the Koḷiyans

Behold thee with thy face set toward the
West,

Crossing the [border-river] Rohini.³ (529)

¹ ' Though without will, they express the setting about a voluntary act,' is the comment.

² *Pavanti : gandhaṃ visajjenti* (Commentary).

³ ' From this river, flowing through the land of those two clans, from north to south,' writes Dhammapāla, ' Rājagaha lies S.E., therefore to go from thence to Kapilavatthu, one crosses it facing W.,' or north-west, a journey of 60 yojanas (p. 9 ; about 435 miles). On this river, now the Rowai, or Rohwaini, see the detailed account in Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, xii., p. 190 ff. Kāḷudāyin ' then makes known his own aspirations by similes ' (Commentary).

In hope the field is ploughed, in hope the seed is
sown,

In hope of winning wealth merchants fare over sea.

The hope I cherish, may that hope be realized! (530)

Again and yet again is seed in furrow sown.

Again and yet again the cloud-king sends down
rain,

Again and yet again the ploughmen plough the
field,

Again and yet again comes corn into the realm. (531)

Again and yet again do beggars go their round ;

Again and yet again the generous donors give ;

Again and yet again when many gifts are given,

Again and yet again the donors find their heaven. (532)

Surely a hero lifts to lustrous purity

Seven generations past wherever he be born.

And so methinks can He, the vastly wise, the god

Of gods. In Thee is born in very truth a Seer. (533)

Suddhodana is named the mighty prophet's sire,

And mother of the Buddha was [our queen] Māyā.

She, having borne the Wisdom-being in her womb,

Found, when the body died, delight in Tusita.¹ (534)

She, Gotamid, dying on earth, deceasing hence,

Now lives in heavenly joys attended by those
gods. (535)

Now when the Exalted One, thus besought, discerned
salvation coming for many by his going, he set out attended
by 20,000 arahants, walking a yojana each day. And the
Thera went by power of iddhi to Kapilavatthu, into the
king's presence. 'Who are you?' he was asked ; and he :
'If you know not the minister's son whom you sent to the
Exalted One, know that I am he' :

Son of the Buddha I, yea, e'en of such as He,
Th' Angīrasa, to whom there lives not any peer,

¹ The Heaven of Delight, fourth above this world. Cf. *Sisters*, p. 3.

Who that which is insuperable hath o'ercome.
 And father of my Father art thou, Sākiyan,
 To me thou, Gotamid, art grandsire in the
 Norm.¹ (536)

CCXXXIV

Ekavihāriya.

(Tissa-Kumāra.)

He was reborn in this Buddha-age, after the Exalted One had passed away, as the youngest brother of the King Dhammāsoka. And King Asoka, in the 218th year after that Passing Away, having united all India in one empire, and made his own younger brother Tissa vice-regent, enlisted Tissa's friendship for the Sāsana by a single stratagem.²

Now the prince, while hunting, was so impressed at the sight of the Greek Thera, Mahā Dhammarakkhita,³ seated under a tree, that he also longed to live so in the forest. When he had seen the Thera's supernormal powers, he

¹ The Commentary gives two explanations of Angīrasa, a name applied to the Buddha elsewhere—*e.g.*, *Dīgha*, iii. 196; *Saṅgy.*, i. 196; *Ang.*, iii. 289; *Jāt.*, i. 116. One is Commentator's etymology; the other calls it a second personal name, like Siddhattha. The first three graceful gāthās are given more briefly in the Jātaka Commentary (*Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. 121). The next gāthā is in ślokas; all the rest is triṣṭubh (upavajira); but it is a little difficult to believe that the musical opening and the clumsy sequel are by the same hand.

The specific distinction awarded to Kāḷudāyin, in *Ang. Nik.*, i. 25, is recorded to have been won by this embassy—that of 'him who best satisfied the clans.'

² This is told in the *Mahāvayaṅga*, ver. 154-160. *Ibid.*, 161-172, is a metrical parallel to Dhammapāla's prose account in the following paragraph, which is slightly condensed.

³ *Yonaka-Mahā-Dhammarakkhitathera*. This Thera, not elsewhere called Greek, is mentioned, *Mahāvayaṅga*, *loc. cit.*; *Dīpavaṅsa*, viii. 8; *Sāmantapāsādikā*, pp. 814, 817.

returned to the palace and told the king he wished to leave the world. Asoka could not in any way dissuade him. Longing for the happiness of the recluse, he uttered these verses :

If there be none in front, nor none behind
 Be found, is one alone and in the woods
 Exceeding pleasant doth his life become.¹ (537)
 Come then! alone I'll get me hence and go
 To lead the forest-life the Buddha praised,²
 And taste the welfare which the brother
 knows,

Who dwells alone with concentrated mind. (538)
 Yea, swiftly and alone, bound to my quest,³
 I'll to the jungle that I love, the haunt
 Of wanton elephants, the source and means
 Of thrilling zest to each ascetic soul.⁴ (539)

In Cool Wood's flowery glades cool waters lie,⁵
 Within the hollows of the hills; and there
 I'll bathe my limbs when hot and tired, and
 there
 At large in ample solitude I'll roam. (540)

¹ I was inclined, before gaining access to the Commentary, to see in these lines the sentiment of *Sutta-Nipāta*, verses 9, 52 :

*To him for whom there's nothing in the world
 Either before or after or between—
 Nothing at all to take or to possess. . . .*

But the Commentary's brief comment reveals, not the detachment of the arahant, but the longing of the court dignitary to be rid of the perpetual attendance of courtiers, retainers, soldiers, etc., ever before and behind and around, sycophantic, or slaves of etiquette, and perhaps traitorous, or at least backbiting. The name adopted by, or fastened on Prince Tissa, Ekavihāriya, means Lone-dweller.

² *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 312, 313. Cf. *Bud. Suttas*, p. 210 ff.; *Sutta-Nipāta*, verses 34-74, etc.

³ *Atthavasī*, 'in submission to the business of a recluse' (Cy.).

⁴ *Yogi-pīti-karaṇ*.

⁵ The wood contains six pools, writes Dhammapāla.

Lone and unmated in the lovely woods,
When shall I come to rest, work wrought, heart
cleansed? (541)

O that I might win through, who am so fain!
I only may achieve the task; herein
None for his fellow-man can aught avail.¹ (542)

* * * * *

I'll bind my spirit's armour on, and so
The jungle will I enter, that from thence
I'll not come forth until Nibbana's won.² (543)
I'll seat me on the mountain-top, the while
The wind blows cool and fragrant on my brow,
And burst the baffling mists of ignorance. (544)
Then on the flower-carpet of the wood,
Anon in the cool cavern of the cliff,
Blest in the bliss of Liberty I'll take
Mine ease on thee, old Fastness o' the Crag.³ (545)

* * * * *

Lo! I am he whose purpose is fulfilled,
And rounded as the moon on fifteenth day.
Destroyed all deadly canker, sane, immune,
I know rebirth comes ne'er again for me. (546)

¹ The beautiful poem reads better uninterrupted by prose; but Dhammapāla gives it in three sections. Section 2 describes Tissa's burst of delighted energy after his ordination, Asoka having conducted both him and his son-in-law (and nephew), Aggibrahmā, to the Vihāra with great pomp and ceremony (a last ordeal for Tissa's tastes!).

² Lit., until the āsavas are destroyed.

³ Giribbājā, the 'mountain stronghold' near Rājagaha. The ruined fortifications, 4½ miles in circumference, are still extant, and are the most ancient stone buildings yet found in India. The 'newer' Rājagaha is said to have been chiefly the work of King Bimbisāra, the Buddha's contemporary (*Buddhist India*, p. 87).

The last section is the dying utterance of Tissa ('Lone-dweller'). He is related to have gone with his instructor (Dhammarakkhita) to the Kalinga country, a great and noted forest tract (*cf. Majjh.*, i. 378) on the east coast, south of Rājagaha. There Asoka built for him the Vihāra of Bhojaka-Giri. In Kalinga are the Asoka inscriptions of Dhauri and Jaugada (*Cunningham, Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, i. 15 ff.).

CCXXXV

Kappina the Great.

Reborn before our Master's birth in the border country at a town named Kukkuṭa (Cock), in a rāja's family, he was named Kappina. At his father's death he succeeded, as rāja, Kappina the Great. He, to extend his knowledge, would send men of a morning out of the four gates to the cross-roads, bidding them arrest passing scholars and tell him. Now by that time our Master had come into the world, and was dwelling at Sāvattihī. And traders of that town brought goods to Kukkuṭa and disposed of them. Then saying, 'Let us see the king,' they took gifts and announced themselves. The king accepted their gifts, saluting them, and asked whence they came, and what their country and king were like, and what sort of religion (*dhamma*) was theirs? 'Sire,' they replied to the last question, 'we are not able to tell you with unwashed mouths.' The king sent for a gold ewer of water, and they, with cleansed mouths and hands at salute, said: 'Sire, in our country the Treasure of a Buddha has arisen.' At the one word 'Buddha,' rapture suffused the king's whole body. "'Buddha,"' say you, friends?' And he made them tell him thrice that infinite word, giving them 100,000 pieces. They told him also of the Treasure of the Norm and of the Order, and he trebled his gift, and forthwith renounced the world, his ministers doing likewise. Now they set forth [to find the Exalted One] and came to the Ganges. There they made a determination by the power of truth,¹ saying: 'If [there be] a Master, a Buddha Supreme, let not even a hoof of these horses be wetted!' Then they crossed on the surface of the full river, and so crossed yet another river, coming thirdly to

¹ *Saccūdhittihīna*, for the more usual *saccakiriya*. Cf. *Jāt.*, i., Nos. 20, 85. Cf. *2 Kings*, i. 10.

the great river, Candabhāgā,¹ which they crossed in like manner.

The Master, too, who on that day had risen at dawn, and, filled with great compassion, surveyed the world, discerning that 'to-day Kappina the Great has renounced his kingdom, and comes with a great following to enter the Order; 'tis fit I go far to meet him,' first went with a company of bhikkhus to Sāvattī for alms, then went himself through the air to the banks of the Candabhāgā, and sat down cross-legged under a great banyan facing the landing-stage of the ford,² sending forth the Buddha-rays. Kappina and his men saw the rays darting to and fro, and said: 'We are come on account of the Master, and lo! here He is!' And they drew near, prostrating themselves. Then the Master taught them the Norm, so that they were all established in arahantship, and asked to become recluses. The Master said, 'COME, BHIKKHUS!' and this was their sanction and their ordination. Then he took them back with him through the air to the Jetavana.

One day the Exalted One asked whether Kappina taught the Norm to the bhikkhus? They said that he lived inactively, enjoying his happiness. Kappina, when sent for, admitted this was true, and was told: 'Brahmin!³ do not so; from to-day teach the Norm to them that have arrived.' Kappina assented, worshipping, and by his very first discourse established a thousand recluses in arahantship.

¹ If this be the Chenab (the Akesines of the Greeks), the geography of Dhammapāla is impossible; but if for Ganges we substitute Sindhu (the Indus), then Kappina, coming from the extreme north-west (Kukkuṭa is an unknown locality), would have the Indus and the Vitasta (Jelum) for his first and second rivers. In *Jāt.*, iv. 180, the Buddha is said to have gone 2,000 yojanas to meet him. This is commentarial legend. From Sāvattī to the Chenab, before it flows into the Indus, is, as the crow (or a Buddha) flies, roughly 600 miles (?).

² *Uttaraṇatitthassābhimukhaṭṭhāne*, which seems to render the mystic feat rather superfluous.

³ The Buddha occasionally addresses his arahants thus—*e.g.*, Angulimāla (*Majjh.*, ii. 104; *cf.* Ps. CCLV.). Brahmaṇa = holy, or excellent man. By social class, Kappina was a Khattiya.

Wherefore the Master assigned him the foremost rank among those who taught the Sisters.¹

Now one day the Thera taught the Sisters as follows :

Can ye but see that which is coming ere it
come,²

And mark such business as will benefit or harm,
Nor foes nor friends, howe'er they seek, will find a
rift. (547)

The man by whom the breathing exercise
With self-control is to perfection brought,
Practised with method as the Buddha taught,
He casts a radiant sheen about the world,
As doth the moon emerging free from cloud. (548)
Lo! now the mind of me is white indeed,³
Expanded beyond measure, practised well,
Its nature understood, and strenuous ;
Shedding a radiance on every side. (549)

The wise man is alive and he alone,
Although his wealth be utterly destroyed ;
And if the man of wealth do wisdom lack,
For all his wealth he doth not truly live.⁴ (550)
Wisdom is arbiter of what is heard.
Wisdom doth nourish honourable fame.
With wisdom in his company a man
Even in pain and sorrow findeth joys. (551)

Here is a fact that's not of yesterday ;
'Tis not abnormal nor anomalous :
'Where ye are being born, ye also die.'
What have we there save what is natural ? (552)

¹ *Ang.*, i. 27.

² *Paṭigacca* : *puretaraṇ yeva* (Cy.).

³ *Odātaṇ*. When the Buddha (*Saṃy.*, ii. 284) points out Kappina to the bhikkhus to praise him, he says : 'Do you see that slight little white (*odātakaya*) man with the prominent nose coming along ?' referring probably only to his complexion. *Cf.* p. 3, n. 1 ; and verse 972.

⁴ = ver. 499.

For after being born we do but lead
 A life that is a dying hour by hour.
 Whoe'er are born in that same life they die—
 Such is the nature of all living things. (553)

That brings no good to the dead which is good for
 the living.

Mourning the dead is no honour nor purification,¹
 Nor is it praised by the wise, by recluses and
 brahmins. (554)

Mourning vexes the eye and the body, wasteth
 Comeliness, strength [of body and mind] and in-
 telligence.

If he be blithesome, all the four quarters become
 Cordial well-wishers, e'en if his lot be not
 happy. (555)

Wherefore let laymen desire to receive in their
 family

None but them that are wise and discreet and
 much learnèd.

They by the power of their wisdom accomplish
 their business,

E'en as a boat doth effect a crossing o'er the full
 river.² (556)

¹ I do not pretend to have solved the difficulties here. Even Dhammapāla seems to evade them. He reads, for *na lokyaṇ, na sokyaṇ*, and paraphrases this by *na visuddhi*. I follow him, as the only way to make the passage intelligible.

² Kappina was one of the twelve 'Great' Theras; his verses, however, are, for the most part, more gnomic saws of popular philosophy than genuine Dhamma, such as was fitted for members of the Order, whom he is said to have been addressing. They would have fitted an early Greek, or any pagan. And it was not possible to get poetry out of them. Dr. Neumann succeeds here and there, but only by departing from the original. The change of metre is merely to indicate a corresponding change in the Pali.

CCXXXVI

Cūḷa-Panthaka.

(Roadling Minor.)

His previous story is told in the Eighth Canto, in the chronicle of Roadling major. The remainder is [told in the Commentary on the Cūlasetṭhi-Jātaka.¹]

He, on another occasion, uttered these verses :

Sluggish and halt the progress that I made,
And therefore was I held in small esteem.
My brother judged I should be turned away,
And bade me, saying: 'Now do thou go home.' (557)

So I, dismissed and miserable, stood
Within the gateway of the Brethren's Park,
Longing at heart within the Rule to stay. (558)

And there he came to me, the Exalted One,
And laid his hand upon my head; and took
My arm, and to the garden led me back. (559)

To me the Master in his kindness gave
A napkin for the feet and bade me thus:
'Fix thou thy mind on this clean thing, the while
Well concentrated² thou dost sit apart.' (560)

And I who heard his blessed Word abide
Fain only and alway to keep his Rule.³
Achieving concentrated thought and will,
That I might win the crown of all my quest. (561)

¹ *Jāt.*, i., 4. Dhammapāla also gives the story, agreeing in all but a few details, in which his version is the simpler. The gist of the 'remainder' is contained in the verses above. He also mentions the double eminence (in mind-created forms and in mental evolution), defined by Buddhaghosa as skill in the fourfold *Rūpa* and *Arūpa* jhāna, assigned to Cūḷa-Panthaka and his brother respectively (*Ang.*, i. 24).

² *Svadhittitaṇ* is paraphrased only by *manasikārena*. Panthaka handles the cloth while he muses, till it is no longer clean and smooth.

³ *Sisters*, verses 187, 194, 202.

And now I know the where and how I lived,
 And clearly shines the Eye Celestial ;¹
 The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
 And what the Buddha bids us do is done. (562)

In thousand different shapes did Panthaka
 Himself by power abnormal multiply ;
 And seated in the pleasant Mango-Grove,²
 Waited until the hour should be revealed. (563)

Then did the Master send a messenger,
 Who came revealer of the hour to me,
 And at th' appointed time I flew to Him. (564)

Low at his feet I worshipped ; then aside
 I sat me down ; and me so seated near
 Whenas he had discerned, the Master *then*
 Suffered that men should do him ministry.³ (565)

High altar⁴ He where all the world may give,
 Receiver of th' oblations of mankind,
 Meadow of merit for the sons of men,
 He did accept the gifts of piety. (566)

CCXXXVII

Kappa.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Magadha, as the son of a provincial hereditary rāja, he succeeded his father, but was addicted to self-indulgence and sensuality. Him the Master saw, as he roused himself from a reverie

¹ Above, verse 516.

² The property of the court physician and lay-adherent, Jīvaka. See *Sisters*, p. 139 n.

³ The story relates that, whereas Panthaka's elder brother, who was steward, had omitted his junior from the brethren entertained at lunch by Jīvaka, the Buddha (who had left Cūḷa-Panthaka studying impurity by the towel as object-lesson) closed his bowl with his hand when food was offered till Cūḷa had been sent for. How Cūḷa's new powers of magic mystify the messenger is told in the *Jātaka Commentary*.

⁴ This rendering of *āyāgo*, following Dr. Neumann, is supported by the Commentary's *yajitabba-thānabhūto*, 'who is become the place where oblations should be made.'

of great compassion and surveyed the world for treasure for his net of insight. And pondering, 'What now will he become?' he discerned that 'This one, hearing from me a discourse on foul things, will have his heart diverted from lusts, and will renounce the world and win arahantship.' Going to Kappa through the air, he addressed to him these verses :

Filled full with divers things impure,
 Great congeries of excrement,
 Like stale and stagnant pool of slime,
 Like a great cancer, like a sore, (567)
 Filled full of serum and of blood,
 As 't were from dung-heap issuing,
 Dropping with fluid—ever thus
 The body leaks, a carrion thing. (568)
 By sixty tendons kept in place,
 And smeared with plaster of the flesh,
 By dermis armed and cuticle—
 In carrion carcase lies small gain. (569)
 By bony framework rendered firm,
 By sinew-threads together knit,
 The which, as they in concert work,
 Effect our postures manifold ; (570)
 Faring world without end to death,
 E'en to the King of Mortals' realm :—
 If it be even here cast off,
 A man may go where'er he will.¹ (571)
 The body cloaked in ignorance,
 Entrammelled by the fourfold tie,²

¹ On this verse that may have been annexed, proverb-wise, from Animistic literature, the Commentary has: 'In just this world having cast away (*chaddetvā*) By these words he shows that, since the body is a transitory thing, no tie is to be formed.' Dr. Neumann considers that what may be cast off is the power of death.

² Viz., covetousness, ill-will, faith in ritual, clinging to dogma (*Bud. Psy.*, p. 804 *f.*; *Compendium*, p. 171). On the four Floods and seven-fold Bias (*anusaya*) see (*Compendium*, *ibid.*, *f.*).

The body flood-engulfed and drowned,
 In net of latent bias caught, (572)
 To the five Hindrances a slave,
 By restless play of mind obsessed,
 By pregnant craving ever dogged,
 In trammels of illusion swathed:— (573)
 Lo! such a thing this body is,
 Carried about on Karma's car,
 To manifold becoming doomed,
 Now to success, to failure then. (574)
 And they who say of it 'Tis mine!—
 Poor foolish blinded many-folk—
 They swell the dreadful field of death,¹
 Grasping rebirth again, again. (575)
 They who this body seek to shun,
 As they would serpent smeared with slime,
 They, vomiting becoming's root,
 Shall make an end, sane and immune. (576)

Kappa, hearing the Master discourse in so many figures on the nature and destiny of the body-complex, in fear, and aversion at his own body, besought him in distress for ordination. The Master consigned him to a bhikkhu to be ordained. Kappa received five exercises, and forthwith attained arahantship as his hair was being shaved. He thereupon went to render homage to the Master, and seated at one side, confessed aññā in those very verses. Hence they became Thera-verses.

CCXXXVIII

Upasena, Vanganta's son.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at the village of Nālaka as the son of Rūpasārī, the brahminee, he was named Upasena.²

¹ Cf. verse 456.

² Brother therefore to Sāriputta (CCLIX.) and the three sisters Cālā, etc. Cf. *Dhammapada Cy.*, ii. 84.

Having come of age and learnt the three Vedas, he renounced the world after hearing the Master teach the Norm. Ordained but one year, he thought, 'I will multiply the breed of the Ariyas,' and himself ordained another bhikkhu, and with him went to wait upon the Master. The latter, having heard of this, rebuked his hasty procedure. Then Upasena thought: 'If now, on account of having a following, I am blamed by the Master, on that same account will I earn his praise.'¹ And studying for insight, he won in due course arahantship. Thereafter, himself adopting the austerer practices,² he persuaded others to do likewise, and with such success that the Exalted One ranked him foremost among those who were generally popular.³

At another time he was asked by that other bhikkhu, when at Kosambī, what was to be done during the dissensions and the schism there?⁴ Upasena taught him thus :

Lonely the spot and far away where noise
Scarce comes, the haunt of creatures of the
wild :

'T is there the Brother should his couch prepare
For purposes of studious retreat. (577)

From rubbish-pile, or from the charnel-field,
Or from the highways let him take and bring,
Worn cloths and thence a cloak of patchwork
make,

And in such rough apparel clothe himself. (578)
In lowliness of mind from house to house,
In turn unbroken⁵ let the Brother fare

¹ Told in *Vin. Texts*, i. 175 f. ; *Jāt.* ii., No. 800.

² The Dhutangas. See *Milinda*, vol. ii., book vi.

³ *Ang.*, i. 24. Cf. *Milinda*, ii. 270 ; also 289, 326, 328.

⁴ See p. 16, n. 2 ; *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 812.

⁵ *Sapadānaṃ*. On this term see *JPTS*, 1909, p. 72 ; *JRAS*, 1912, p. 786 ff. Dhammapāla defines it as *gharesu avakhaṇḍa-rahitaṇ, anugharaṇ*.

Seeking his alms, sense guarded, well controlled ; (579)

With any fare content rough though it be,
Nor fain for other than he gets, or more,
For if he once indulge in greed for tastes,
Ne'er can his mind in jhāna take delight. (580)

In great content, with very sparse desires,
Remote, secluded : so the sage should live,
Detached from housefolk and the homeless,
both. (581)

Let him so show himself as he were dull
And dumb, nor let the wise man speech prolong
Unduly, when in midst of gathered folk. (582)
Let him not any man upbraid ; let him
Refrain from hurting ; let him be in rule
And precept trained, and temperate in food. (583)

Let him be one who concentrates upon
The symbol, skilled in genesis of thought.
To practise Calm let him devote himself,
And Intuition also in due time. (584)

With energy and perseverance armed,
Let him be ever to his studies yoked ;
Nor till he have attained the end of Ill,
Let the wise man go forth in confidence. (585)

Thus if the Brother, fain for purity
[Of knowledge and of vision]¹ shall abide,
The working of th' Intoxicants shall cease,
And he shall reach and find Nibbāna's peace.² (586)

Now the Thera, in so admonishing that bhikkhu, showed his own attainment, and confessed aññā.

¹ So Cy.

² *Nibbuti*, explained as Nibbāna in life and at death.

CCXXXIX

Gotama.

Reborn before the manifestation of our Exalted One at Sāvattthī, in a brahmin family from Udicca,¹ he grew up an expert in the Vedas and an unrivalled orator.

Now our Exalted One, having arisen and started the rolling of the wheel of the Norm, after converting Yasa and his friends,² came on to Sāvattthī at the urgent request of Anāthapiṇḍika. Gotama the brahmin saw and heard him, and asked for ordination. Ordained by a bhikkhu at the Master's bidding, he attained arahantship even as his hair was being shaved. After a long residence in the Kosala country, he returned to Sāvattthī. And many of his relations, eminent brahmins, waited upon him and asked him which, of the many gospels³ as guides to life that were current, he judged should be followed. He addressed them thus :

Let the recluse discern his own real good,
And let him well consider all the Word
He heareth preached, and what therein beseems
The holy life whereunto he hath come. (587)

Religious friendships in the Rule, a course
Of ample training, and the wish to hear
Men fit to teach :—this the recluse beseems. (588)

For Buddhas reverence ; towards the Norm
Honour sincere ; for the Fraternity
Care and esteem :—this the recluse beseems. (589)
Of decorous habit and in living pure,
In conduct blameless, and the intelligence

¹ A north-western district. Cf. p. 79, n.

² See above, CXVII. ; *Bud. Birth Stories*, p. 130.

³ Lit., purity-doctrines (*suddhivādā*). It would appear from *Ang.*, iii. 277 (cf. *Dialogues*, i. 220), that among such doctrinaires were those called Gotamakās, or Gotamists. Apparently none of the three Theras called Gotama (CXXIX., CLXXXIII., and above) was this doctrinaire. In the Cy. he is termed 'Another' (Apara-) Gotama.

Adjusted well :—this the recluse beseems. (590)

In what he does and what he leaves undone

Using deportment that doth favour find ;

To higher training of the heart and mind

Fervently given :—this the recluse beseems. (591)

Haunts of the forest, lone, remote, where sounds

May hardly come, 'mong these the earnest

sage

Should make his choice :—this the recluse be-

seems. (592)

And virtue, and much learning, and research

To know how in themselves things really are,

Grasp of the Truths :—this the recluse be-

seems. (593)

To meditate upon the Impermanent,

And on the absence of all soul, and on

The foul, and in the world to find no charm

To bind the heart :—this the recluse beseems. (594)

To meditate on Wisdom's seven arms,

On paths to mystic potency, on powers

And forces five, and on the eightfold Path,

The Ariyan¹ :—this the recluse beseems. (595)

Let the true sage put Craving far away ;

Let him uproot and crush the Intoxicants ;

Let him live Free :—this the recluse beseems. (596)

Thus the Thera, in praising the course suitable to a recluse, magnified the efficiency of his Order, and contrariwise the ineffectualness of a recluse not of it. Then those brahmins, mightily approving of the Rule, were established in the precepts and so forth.

¹ Cf. 'Ariyan' conveyed to Buddhists much what our 'Christian' does to us. Originally a racial term, it had come to mean 'noble, gentle,' and specifically, a saintly 'confessor' of the Dhamma. These subjects are the thirty-seven 'bodhipakkhiyā dhammā,' or Factors of Enlightenment, less the four Onsets of Mindfulness (verses 166, 352) and the four Supreme Efforts. See *Compendium*, p. 179 f.

CANTO XI

PSALM OF ELEVEN VERSES

CCXL

Sankicca.

REBORN in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī in a family of very eminent brahmins, his mother died just prior to his birth, so that he was discovered unburnt upon the funeral pyre. For the life of a being in his last birth cannot perish ere he attain arahantship, even if he fell down Mount Sineru. At seven years of age, when he heard of his mother dying at his birth, he was thrilled, and said, 'I will leave the world.' So they brought him to Sāriputta. And he won arahantship even as his hair was being cut off. How he offered his life to brigands to save 3,000 bhikkhus is told in the Dhammapada Commentary.¹

Now a certain layman, desiring to wait upon him, asked him to dwell in the neighbourhood, saying :

What is the gain for thee, dear lad,² to dwell
During the rains within the distant woods,
Like Ujjuhāna, marshy, jungle-crowned ?
Sweeter for thee Verambhā, Cave of Winds,
Since they who meditate must dwell apart.³ (597)

¹ Vol. ii., pp. 240-252 : the story of Sankicca the novice, and how he converted the highwaymen, explaining the circumstances of *Dhammapada*, verse 110. With his birth, *cf.* *Dabba*, V., p. 10, n. 4.

² *Tāta*, speaking to the boy as if he were his father, says *Dhammapāla*. *Kim*, he adds, is for *ko* (*attho*).

³ Ujjuhāna is said to have been either a hill covered with jungle and abounding in waters, or a bird that dwelt in thickets during the

Then the Thera, to show the charm of the forest and other things, replied :

E'en as the wind of the monsoon blows up
 And all around the cloud-wrack, in the rains,
 [So in the forest lone, remote, arise]
 The thoughts that with detachment harmonize,
 And all my spirit whelm and overspread.¹ (598)
 'Twas the dun-feathered one,² in charnel-field
 Going his rounds, that made to rise in me
 Clear thought about this body, passion-
 purged. (599)

Moreover, he whom others need not guard,
 He too who hath no others whom to guard :—
 Even the bhikkhu, dwells in happy ease,
 Regardless of what men desire and love.³ (600)
 Crag where clear waters lie, a rocky world,
 Haunted by black-faced apes and timid deer,
 Where 'neath bright blossoms run the silver
 streams :—

Those are the highlands of my heart's de-
 light.⁴ (601)

I've dwelt in forests and in mountain caves,
 In rocky gorges and in haunts remote,
 And where the creatures of the wild do roam ; (602)
 But never mine the quest, with ill-will fraught,
 Ungentle and ignoble :⁵—' Let us hunt,
 Let's slay these creatures, let us work them
 ill !' (603)

rains. Similarly, *veramb(h)a* is the monsoon wind, or a certain cave nearer the layman's home than the woods. I am of an open mind as to which was really meant.

¹ The Pali is here very terse. For *abhikīranti* (see *Jāt.*, iii. 57) = *ajjhottharanti*. Cf. Ps. CXXXII., *kīranti*.

² *I.e.*, the carrion crow, at home in the charnel-field, feeding on the dead. *Apaṇḍaro*, not-clear, not-bright, is paraphrased as *kāḷavaṇṇo*.

³ See *Jāt.*, i., No. 10.

⁴ See CXIII., CCLXI.

⁵ Cf. XLVIII., CCXLIV.

The Master hath my fealty and love,
 And all the Buddha's bidding hath been done.
 Low have I laid the heavy load I bore ;¹
 Cause for rebirth is found in me no more. (604)
 The Good for which I bade the world farewell,
 And left the home a homeless life to lead,
 That highest Good have I accomplished,
 And every bond and fetter is destroyed.² (605)
 With thought of death I dally not, nor yet
 Delight in living. I await the hour,
 Like any hireling who hath done his task. (606)
 With thought of death I dally not, nor yet
 Delight in living. I await the hour
 With mind discerning and with heedfulness.³ (607)

¹ 'The load of the Khandhas' (Commentary)—*i.e.*, he had removed the cause (*tanhā*, see next line) of their future renewal. He now concludes his reply in terms of the question put to him, viz., of 'good,' or 'gain' (*attha*).

² = ver. 186; 380.

³ See CLXVIII., CCLIX. (1002 *f.*); *cf. Milinda*, i. 70. The hireling, working for another, takes no great joy in the completion of his work (Commentary). *Cf. Laws of Manu* (S.B.E. xxv.), p. 207.

CANTO XII

POEMS OF TWELVE VERSES

CCXLI

Sīlavat.

REBORN in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, as a son of King Bimbisāra, he was named Sīlavat. When he was come of age, his brother Ajātasattu was king, and wished to put him to death, but was unable, because Sīlavat was in his last span of life, and had not won arahantship.¹ Then the Exalted One, discerning what was going on, sent Moggallāna the Great to fetch him. And Prince Sīlavat alighted from his elephant, and did obeisance to the Exalted One. Then the latter taught him, adapting the doctrine to his temperament, so that the youth won faith, entered the Order, and in due time became an arahant. He dwelt in Kosala, and when Ajātasattu sent men to murder him, he taught them and converted them, so that they, too, joined the Order. And he preached to them thus :

In morals² 'tis that ye should train yourselves
Here on this earth, in morals practised well.

¹ Cf. CCXXVII., CCXL.; also *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 241 f.

² I was tempted to retain the pretty word *sīla* for our more cumbrous 'morality,' etc. 'Virtue' is more elegant, but a little vague. *Sīla* is moral *habit*, habitual good, or moral conduct—the conduct of one who does not hurt or rob living things, is sexually straight, truthful, and gentle of speech, and sober as to drink. That is all. Such conduct is only the essential basis of the higher life. The sermon is addressed to hired assassins, not to bhikkhus.

For moral culture well applied doth bring
 Near to our reach success of every kind.¹ (608)
 Let the wise man protect his morals well,
 Who doth to threefold happiness aspire :
 A good name and the gain of this world's goods
 And, when this life is o'er, the joys of heaven. (609)
 The moral man, restrained, wins many friends ;
 Th' immoral, working mischief, loseth friends. (610)
 Dispraise and ill-fame wins th' immoral man ;
 Aye wins the good man fame, approval, praise. (611)
 Nothing there is of spiritual worth
 But hath the moral habit as its base,
 Its matrix and its vanguard and its source ;
 Make ye therefore your morals wholly pure. (612)
 Morals do give the tether and the term,
 Light and delight affording to the heart ;²
 The strand whence all th' enlightened put to sea ;³
 Make ye therefore your morals wholly pure. (613)
 No force is there like unto moral force ;
 Weapon supreme the moral habit is ;
 Chief decoration is the moral life ;
 Wondrous invulnerable coat of mail.⁴ (614)
 A mighty causeway is morality ;
 A peerless fragrance, sov'reign frankincense,
 Wherewith we safely travel far and wide.⁵ (615)
 Good morals are the best viaticum,⁶
 Sov'reign munitions [for life's pilgrimage],
 Good morals are a peerless talisman,
 Wherewith we safely travel far and wide.⁷ (616)

¹ Success as man, as god, or in Nibbāna (Commentary).

² *Abhibhāsanaṅ* means either; the Commentary reads the latter meaning.

³ 'In fording the great river (or sea) of Nibbāna' (Commentary).

⁴ The Commentary maintains that *abhhutaṅ*, wondrous, means *abhejjaṅ*, unbreakable.

⁵ Lit., from one quarter (of the compass) to another, so acceptable to all men are virtuous qualities.

⁶ *Sambalaṅ* is illustrated by the *puṭabhataṅ*, or leaf-wrapped pudding taken by a traveller.

⁷ See note 5.

The evil-minded man¹ wins blame on earth,
 And in the after-life a woeful doom ;
 A fool no matter where hath sorry cheer,
 Not firmly planted on morality. (617)
 The man of virtuous mind wins fame on earth,
 And in the after-life the radiant realms.
 No matter where, the brave are of good cheer,
 Their hearts well stablished in morality. (618)
 Chief here below is morals, but the man
 Of wisdom is supreme ; 'mong gods and men
 He doth prevail who is both good and wise.² (619)

CCXLII

Sunīta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age as one of a family of flower-scavengers,³ he earned his living as a road-sweeper, not making enough to still his hunger. Now in the first watch of the night the Exalted One, attaining that mood of great pity so largely practised by Buddhas, surveyed the world. And he marked the conditions of arahantship in the heart of Sunīta, shining like a lamp within a jar. And when the night paled into dawn he rose and dressed, and with bowl and robe, followed by his bhikkhu train, walked to Rājagaha for alms, and sought the street where Sunīta was cleaning. Now Sunīta was collecting scraps, rubbish, and so on into heaps, and filling therewith the baskets he carried on a yoke. And when he saw the Master and his train approaching, his heart was filled with joy and awe. Finding no place to hide in on the road, he placed his yoke

¹ *Dummano* and its opposite are usually rendered 'gloomy' and 'cheerful,' but the context demands an ethical rendering. The Commentary paraphrases by *pāpadhammo*, etc., and *kalyānadhammo*.

² =verse 70.

³ *I.e.*, removers of cut flowers, wreaths, etc., thrown aside. This was a 'low' hereditary trade.

in a bend of the wall, and stood as if stuck to the wall saluting with clasped hands. Then the Master, when he had come near, spoke to him in voice divinely sweet, saying: 'Sunīta! what to you is that wretched mode of living? Can you endure to leave the world?' And Sunīta, experiencing the rapture of one who has been sprinkled by ambrosia, said: 'If even such as I, Exalted One, may in this life take orders, why should I not? May the Exalted One suffer me to come forth.' Then the Master said: 'COME, BHIKKHU!' And he, by that word receiving sanction and ordination, was by magic power invested with bowl and robes. The Master, leading him to the Vihāra, taught him an exercise, and he won first the eight attainments¹ and fivefold abhiññā; then developing insight, the sixth. And Sakka and the Brahmā gods came and did homage to him, as it is written:

*Those deities seven hundred, glorious,
Brahmā's and Indra's following drew nigh
And gladly paid Sunīta homage due,
As high-bred victor over age and death.²*

The Exalted One saw him surrounded by gods, and smiled and commended him, teaching the Norm by the verse:

'By discipline of holy life.' . . .³

Now many bhikkhus, desirous of raising their 'lion's roar,' asked Sunīta: 'From what family did you come forth? Or why did you leave the world? And how did

¹ Cf. *Bud. Psy.*, p. 346, n. 3; *Compendium*, p. 133, n. 8 (read part IX., § 11, for XI., § 12. The five Jhānas are often taken as four). The sixth abhiññā is abolition of the Āsavas = arahantship.

² Cf. *Sisters*, p. 146, verse 365. These lines are not quoted as from the *Apadāna*. The spiritual breeding, transmitted from the past, is doubtless emphasized in æsthetic and ethical contrast with the sordid circumstances of his last span of life.

³ Verse 631.

you penetrate the truths?' Then Sunita told them the whole matter thus :

Humble the clan wherein I took my birth,
 And poor was I and scanty was my lot ;
 Mean task was mine, a scavenger of flowers. (620)
 One for whom no man cared, despised, abused,
 My mind I humbled and I bent the head
 In deference to a goodly tale of folk. (621)
 And then I saw the All-Enlightened come,
 Begirt and followed by his bhikkhu-train,
 Great Champion ent'ring Magadha's chief
 town. (622)

I laid aside my baskets and my yoke,
 And came where I might due obeisance make,
 And of his lovingkindness just for me,
 The Chief of men halted upon his way. (623)
 Low at his feet I bent, then standing by,
 I begged the Master's leave to join the Rule
 And follow him, of every creature Chief. (624)
 Then he whose tender mercy watcheth all
 The world, the Master pitiful and kind,
 Gave me my answer : COME, BHIKKHU ! he said.
 Thereby to me was ordination given.¹ (625)

Lo ! I alone in forest depths abode,
 With zeal unfaltering wrought the Master's word,
 Even the counsels of the Conqueror. (626)
 While passed the first watch of the night there
 rose

Long memories of the bygone line of lives.
 While passed the middle watch, the heav'nly eye,
 Purview celestial, was clarified.
 While passed the last watch of the night, I burst
 Asunder all the gloom of ignorance.² (627)

¹ Cf. above, Bhadda, CCXXVI. ; *Sisters*, verse 109

² Nearly identical with *Sisters*, verses 172, 178.

Then as the night wore down at dawn
 And rose the sun, came Indra and Brahmā,
 Yielding me homage with their clasped hands: (628)
 Hail unto thee, thou nobly born of men!
 Hail unto thee, thou highest among men!
 Perished for thee are all th' intoxicants;
 And thou art worthy, noble sir, of gifts. (629)

The Master, seeing me by troop of gods
 Begirt and followed, thereupon a smile
 Revealing, by this utterance made response: (630)
 'By discipline of holy life, restraint
 And mastery of self: hereby a man
 Is holy; this is holiness supreme!'¹ (631)

¹ *I.e.*, says the Commentary, supreme brahminhood (*brahmaññāṇ*), not caste and the like, and quotes *Dhammapada*, verses 58, 59:

*'As on a rubbish-heap on highway cast
 A lily there may grow, fragrant and sweet,
 So among rubbish-creatures, worldlings blind
 By insight shines the Very Buddha's child.'*

'Holy life,' 'holy,' 'holiness,' are in the Pali *brahmacariyaṇ*, *brāhmaṇo*, *brāhmaṇaṇ*.

Celestial tribute evokes a smile from a great Thera in Ps. CCLXI., verse 1086. One is tempted to think it was because of the humorous element in the situation—the man become as god—and not from complacency alone.

CANTO XIII

POEMS OF THIRTEEN VERSES

CCXLIII

Soṇa-Koḷivisa.

HE got rebirth, in the lifetime of our Exalted One, at the city of Campā, in the family of a distinguished councillor. From the time when his birth was expected, his father's great wealth increased even more, and on his birthday the whole town kept festival. Now because of his generosity in a previous birth to a Silent Buddha, his body was as fine gold and most delicately soft, wherefore he was named Soṇa (golden). On the soles of his feet and the palms of his hand grew fine down of golden colour, and he was reared in luxury, in three mansions suited to each of the three seasons.¹

Now when our Master had attained omniscience and begun rolling the wheel of the Norm, and was staying at Rājagaha, King Bimbisāra sent for Soṇa. He, having arrived with a great company of fellow-townsmen, heard the Master teach the Norm, and, winning faith, obtained his parents' consent to enter the Order. He received a subject of study from the Master, but was unable to concentrate, owing to his maintaining intercourse with people while he stayed in Cool Wood. And he thought: 'My body is too delicately reared to arrive happily at happiness.'² A

¹ This episode and the following occur in *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 1 ff. Koḷivisa, his family name, distinguishes him from the other Soṇas (CLVII., CCVIII.).

² Cf. CLXX., verse 220.

recluse's duties involve bodily fatigues.' So he disregarded the painful sores on his feet got from pacing up and down, and strove his utmost, but was unable to win. And he thought: 'I am not able to create¹ either path or fruit. Of what use is the religious life to me? I will go back to lower things and work merit.' Then the Master discerned, and saved him by the lesson on the Parable of the Lute,² showing him how to temper energy with calm. Thus corrected, he went to Vulture's Peak, and in due course won arahantship. Reflecting on his achievement, he thus declared his aññā :

Who once in Anga's realm was passing rich,
A squire to Anga's king,³ lo! he to-day
Is of fair wealth in spiritual things.
Yea, past all ill hath Sona won his way. (632)

Five cut thou off; Five leave behind, and Five
beyond these cultivate!
He who the Fivefold Bond transcends—a Brother
Flood-crossed is he called.⁴ (633)

Seest thou a Brother with a rush-like mind,
[Stuck-up and empty],⁵ trifler, keen to taste
External things? Never will he attain
Fulness of growth within the moral code,
In mental training, or in insight's grasp.⁶ (634)

¹ *Nibbattetuy.*

² *Op. cit.*, p. 8, *Ang.* iii., 874 ff. He was to cultivate a just mean in effort, like a well-strung lute.

³ Bimbisāra was therefore King of both Anga and Magadha. *Cf. op. cit.*, 1, n. 2. On 'squire,' *paddhagu*, *paṭagu*, *cf. Sutta Nipāta*, verse 1094, 'comrade.'

⁴ = XV. See *note* there.

⁵ *Unnaḷo* is thus derived by Buddhists. *Cf. s.v. Childers' Dictionary.* The Commentary has the phrase there quoted: 'bearing aloft the reed of pride.' The etymology is probably exegetical only; but it expresses what the word means for a Buddhist—and that is all that matters here.

⁶ The three trainings. *Cf. my Buddhism*, chap. viii.

For such neglect that which they have to do,
 But what should not be done they bring to pass.
 In these conceited, desultory minds
 Grow [the rank weeds of] the intoxicants. (635)
 In whom the constant governance of sense
 Is well and earnestly begun, the things
 That should be left undone *they* practise not ;
 Ever what should be done they bring to pass.
 For them who live mindful and self-possessed,
 The intoxicants wane utterly away. (636)

In the straight Path, the Path that is declared,
 See that ye walk, nor turn to right or left.
 Let each himself admonish and incite ;
 Let each himself unto Nibbāna bring! (637)

When overtaxed and strained my energies,
 The Master—can the world reveal his peer?—
 Made me the parable about the lute,
 And thus the Man who Sees taught me the
 Norm. (638)

And I who heard his blessed word abide
 Fain only and alway to do his will.¹
 Calm I evolved and practised, equipoise,²
 That so to highest Good I might attain.
 And now the Threefold Wisdom have I won,
 And all the Buddha's ordinance is done. (639)

He who hath compassed yielding up the world,
 And hath attained detachment of the mind,³
 Who hath achieved conquest of enmity,
 And grasping rooted out that bringeth birth, (640)
 And death of craving hath attained and all
 That doth bewilder and obscure the mind,

¹ Cf. verse 561; *Sisters*, LIX. ff.

² The MSS. read here some *samathan*, some *samatan*. The Cy. exploits both, and so does the translation.

³ These lines, to the end, occur verbatim in *Vinaya Texts*, loc. cit. and in *Anguttara* iii., 378.

And of sensations marked the genesis :—

His heart is set at perfect liberty. (641)

For such a Brother rightly freed, whose heart

Hath peace, there is no mounting up of deeds,

Nor yet remaineth aught for him to do. (642)

Like to a rock that is a monolith,¹

And trembleth never in the windy blast,

So all the world of sights and tastes and sounds,

Odours and tangibles, yea, things desired, (643)

And undesirable can ne'er excite

A man like him. His mind stands firm, detached,

And of all that² he notes the passing hence. (644)

¹ *Dhammapada*, verse 81.

² *Assa* for *Tassa*. The Cy. paraphrases by *ūrammaṇadhammassa*
 . . . *khāṇe bhijjanasabhāvay*.

CANTO XIV

POEMS OF FOURTEEN VERSES

CCXLIV

Revata.

THIS Thera's verse has already been recorded in the first Canto,¹ where is incorporated the admonition to his sisters' sons to be mindful. Here are incorporated the verses he published during his life in the Order. This is the point of them: When he had won arahantship, he went from time to time with the great Theras, Sāriputta and the rest, to visit the Master, and after staying for a while, returned to the Acacia Wood, dwelling in the bliss of fruition won and in the Sublime Moods.² And thus he continued till he was an aged man. Going thus one day to visit the Buddha, he stayed not far from Sāvattthī in a forest. Now the police came round on the track of thieves. The thieves running by the Thera dropped their booty near him and ran. And the police, running up, arrested the Thera, dragged him before the king, and said: 'This, sire, is the thief!' The king³ had him released, and asked him: 'Has your reverence committed this robbery or not?' Then the Thera, who had never from his birth done anything of the sort, taught the Norm, by way of showing his incapacity for such an act, in these verses:

¹ XLII. Revata is a brother of Sāriputta, and hence a brother of Upasena (CCXXXVIII.) and of Cunda (CXXXI.). The summary reference is in Dhammapāla's own words. ² See verse 286, *n.*

³ Pasenādi, King of Kosala, was a warm lay-adherent, and was alive in the Buddha's last years (*Majjh.*, ii. 124). Cf. the similar episode, with a very different judge, on p. 109.

Since I went forth from home to homeless life,
 Ne'er have I harboured conscious wish or plan
 Un-Ariyan or linked with enmity. (645)
 Ne'er mine the quest, all this long interval;—
 'Let's smite our fellow-creatures, let us slay,
 Let them be brought to pain and misery.'¹ (646)

Nay, love I do avow, made infinite,
 Well trained, by orderly progression grown,
 Even as by the Buddha it is taught. (647)
 With all am I a friend, comrade to all,
 And to all creatures kind and merciful;
 A heart of amity I cultivate,
 And ever in good will is my delight. (648)
 A heart that cannot drift or fluctuate
 I make my joy; the sentiments sublime
 That evil men do shun I cultivate. (649)

Whoso hath won to stage of ecstasy²
 Beyond attention's range of fitting sense,
 He, follower of the Enlightened One Supreme,
 To Ariyan silence straightway doth attain.³ (650)
 E'en as a mountain crag unshaken stands
 Sure-based, a Brother with illusions gone
 Like very mountain stands unwavering.⁴ (651)

The man of blameless life, who ever seeks
 For what is pure, doth deem some trifling fault,
 That is no heavier than the tip of hair,
 Weighty as [burden of the gravid] cloud. (652)
 E'en as a border city guarded well
 Within, without, so guard ye well yourselves.
 See that the MOMENT pass not vainly by.⁵ (653)

¹ Cf. XLVIII.; CCXL., verse 603.

² = verses 999 ff. in his brother's poem.

³ Namely, in the second stage of Jhāna (Commentary). The Commentary cites *Majjh. Nik.*, i. 161. Cf. *Saṃy. Nik.*, ii. 273.

⁴ See CXLVI. and preceding Ps., verse 643.

⁵ Cf. verses 231, 403, and *Sisters*, verse 5, and *note*. Here the Com-

With thought¹ of death I dally not, nor yet
 Delight in living. I await the hour
 Like any hireling who hath done his task. (654)
 With thought of death I dally not, nor yet
 Delight in living. I await the hour
 With mind discerning and with heedfulness. (655)
 The Master hath my fealty and love,
 And all the Buddha's bidding hath been done.
 Low have I laid the heavy load I bore,
 Cause for rebirth is found in me no more. (656)
 The Good for which I bade the world farewell,
 And left the home to lead the homeless life,
 That highest Good have I accomplished,
 And every bond and fetter is destroyed. (657)

Work out your good with zeal and earnestness!
 This is my [last] commandment unto you.²
 For lo! now shall I wholly pass away,
 To me comes absolute enfranchisement.³ (658)

CCXLV

Godatta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī, in a family of caravan-leaders, he was named Godatta. After his father's death he arranged his estate, and taking 500 carts full of wares travelled about, maintaining himself by trading. One day an ox fell on the road while drawing its cart, and his men could not raise it, so he himself went and smote

mentary pertinently adds being born in the 'Middle Country' (p. 107) to the great 'conjuncture.'

¹ = verses 606, 607, 604, 605.

² Cf. the Buddha's last words (*Dialogues*, ii. 173), and Sāriputta's, below, verse 1017.

³ The Chronicle relates that he then and there passed away—lit., 'became extinct'—like a flame going out. There is no 'passing hence' in the Pali term *parinibbissay*, as originally conceived.

it severely. Then the ox, incensed at his ruthlessness, assumed a human voice and said : ' Godatta, this long time have I unreservedly given my strength to draw your burdens, but to-day when I was unable and fell, you hurt me badly. Well then ! wherever henceforth you are reborn, may I be there as your enemy able to hurt *you* !' Godatta was thrilled at hearing this, and thought : ' What do I in this way of life who have thus hurt living things ?' And he divested himself of all his property, and took orders under a certain great Thera, in due course attaining arahantship.

Now one day as he was abiding in the bliss of fruition, he discoursed to Ariyan groups, both lay and religious, on worldly wisdom :¹

E'en as the mettled brute of noble breed,
 Yoked to his load, drawing his load along,
 Though worn by burden past his powers, [unfair],
 Breaks not away, revolting from his bonds, (659)
 So they in whom, as water in the sea,
 Wisdom abounds, despise not other men ;
 This among creatures is the Ariyan rule.² (660)
 Living in time, come 'neath the power of time ;
 Subject to dread concerning future life,³
 Men go their ways to pain and misery,
 Yea, here below the sons of men do mourn. (661)
 Elated by some pleasant hap, by ill
 Depressed, the fools are smitten to and fro,⁴
 Who nothing as it really is can see. (662)
 But they who can escape the seamstress fell,⁵
 'Twixt pain and pleasure holding Middle Way,

¹ *Lokadhammā*.

² It is interesting to contrast the protest of the Indian ox with that of the Hebrew ass of Balak. According to the Commentary, the gist of the 'Ariyan rule' is the sporting maxim that, whether we do or do not congratulate ourselves on our successes, we are not to belittle (*avambhanay*) others when we fail. Herein, in either case, rich wisdom makes a man happy.

³ More literally, subject to becoming and not becoming.

⁴ Cf. CII.

⁵ *I.e.*, craving (*taṇhā*), who sews life on to life (*Bud. Psy.*, p. 278).

They stand as any pillar at the gate,
 Neither elated they, nor yet depressed. (663)
 For not to gain or loss, to honour, fame,
 To praise or blame, to pleasure or to pain—(664)
 Where'er it be—do they take hold and cling,
 No more than drop of dew to lotus-leaf.
 Hale and serene are heroes everywhere,
 And everywhere unconquered [bound to win].¹ (665)

Of him who rightly seeks and nought doth gain,
 And him who gains but seeketh wrongfully,
 Better is he who rightly sought and lost
 Than he who gained by methods that were
 wrong. (666)

Of them who have repute, but scanty dower
 Of wit, and them who know, but lack repute,
 Better the wise men who do lack repute
 Than great repute and men of little wit. (667)

Of praises by the unintelligent,
 And blame and criticism by the wise,
 Better the censure of th' intelligent
 Than are the commendations of a fool. (668)

The pleasure born of sensuous desire,
 The pain that comes from life detached, austere,
 Better the pain that comes from life austere
 Than pleasure born of sensuous desire. (669)

To live by wrong; for doing right to die,
 Better 'twere thus to die than so to live. (670)

They who have put off sense-desire and wrath,
 Peace in their heart regarding life to come,²
 They walk the world from lust and craving free;
 Likes and dislikes are not for such as these. (671)

The factors of enlightenment, the powers,
 These have they studied and the forces too.
 So winning perfect peace, as fires extinct,
 They wholly pass away, sane and immune. (672)

¹ This last (*metri causâ*) from the Commentary: *anabhibhavanīyato*.

² See ver. 661, n. 3.

(POEMS OF FIFTEEN VERSES DESUNT)

CANTO XV

POEMS OF SIXTEEN VERSES

CCXLVI

Añña-Kondañña.

REBORN before our Exalted One, in the village of Donavattu, not far from Kapilavattu, in a very wealthy brahmin family, he came to be called by his family name, Kondañña. When grown up he knew the three Vedas, and excelled in runes concerning marks.¹ Now when our Bodhisat was born, he was among the eight brahmins sent for to prognosticate. And though he was quite a novice, he saw the marks of the Great Man on the infant, and said: 'Verily this one will be a Buddha!' So he lived, awaiting the Great Being's renunciation. When this happened in the Bodhisat's twenty-ninth year, Kondañña heard of it, and left the world with four other sons of mark-interpreting brahmins, Vappa² and others, and for six years dwelt at Uruvelā, near the Bodhisat, during the latter's great struggle. Then when the Bodhisat ceased to fast, they were disgusted, and went to Isipatana. There the BUDDHA followed them, and preached his Wheel sermon, whereby

¹ *Dialogues*, i. 17, n. 2. On the prophecy, see a fuller version in *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. 72 f.

² See above, LXI.

Kondañña and myriads of Brahmā angels won the fruition of the first path. And on the fifth day, through the sermon on 'No Sign of any Soul,' Kondañña realized arahantship. Him the Master, later on, in conclave at the great Jeta Grove Vihāra, ranked chief among those bhikkhus who were of long standing in the Order.¹ And on one occasion Kondañña's sermon on the Four Truths—a discourse bearing the impress of the three signs, dealing with non-substantiality, varied by divers methods, based on Nibbāna, and delivered with the Buddha's own fluency—so impressed Sakka the god that he uttered this verse :

Hearing thy doctrine's mighty properties,
Lo ! I thereby am more than satisfied.
Most passionless and pure the Norm thus taught,
From every form of grasping wholly free.² (673)

On another occasion the Thera, seeing how the minds of certain worldlings were mastered by wrong ideas, delivered himself on this wise :

Many the motley pictures in the world,
Enjoyed within this earth's circumference,
Inciting, I do note, man's purposes,
Fair-seeming hopes, and linked with fierce de-
sire. (674)

As dust by wind upchurned the rain-cloud lays,
So are those purposes composed and quenched,
When he by wisdom doth discern and see. (675)

When he by wisdom doth discern and see :
' IMPERMANENT IS EVERYTHING IN LIFE,'
Then he at all this suffering feels disgust.
Lo ! herein lies the way to purity. (676)

¹ *Ang.*, i. 26. For the Buddha's sermon, see *Vinaya Texts*, i. 100 f.

² *Anupādāya*, paraphrased by *agahetvū vimuttisūdhanavasena pavattattū*.

When he by wisdom doth discern and see,
 That 'EVERYTHING IN LIFE IS BOUND TO ILL' . . .¹ (677)
 That 'EVERYTHING IN LIFE IS VOID OF SOUL,'
 Then he at all this suffering feels disgust.
 Lo! herein lies the way to purity. (678)

Thereupon he showed that he had himself attained this insight, confessing añña, and saying :

Brother Kondañña, wakened by the Wake:—
 Lo! he hath passed with vigour out and on;
 Sloughed off hath he the dyings and the births,
 Wholly accomplishing the life sublime. (679)
 And be it 'flood' or 'snare' or 'stumbling-
 stone,'
 Or be it 'mountain' hard to rive in twain,²
 The net, the stumbling-stone I've hacked away,
 And cloven is the rock so hard to break,
 And crossed the flood. Rapt in ecstatic thought
 I dwell, from bondage unto evil freed. (680)

Now one day the Thera rebuked a bhikkhu, who had fallen into bad habits through unworthy friendships, and admonished him, saying :

A bhikkhu of distraught, unsteady mind,
 Who doth associate with vicious friends,
 In the great flood [of constant living] falls
 Headlong and drowning sinks beneath its
 waves. (681)

But who, with concentrated, steady mind,
 Discreet and self-restrained in heart and sense,
 Doth wisely join himself to virtuous friends,
 His it may be to put an end to Ill. (682)

¹ Here repeat the two preceding lines. Cf. *Dhammapada*, verses 277-279.

² All metaphors from the Suttas—e.g., *Dīgha Nik.*, iii. 230; *Saṅg. Nik.*, i. 105 f.; i. 27; *Majjh. Nik.*, iii. 130.

Lo! here¹ a man with worn and pallid frame ;
 Like knotted stems of cane his joints, and sharp
 Th' emaciated network of his veins ;
 In food and drink austerely temperate,
 His spirit neither crushed nor desolate. (683)
 In the great forest, in the mighty woods,
 Touched though I be by gadfly and by gnat,
 I yet would roam, like warrior-elephant,
 In van of battle, mindful, vigilant. (684)

With thought² of death I dally not, nor yet
 Delight in living. I await the hour
 Like any hireling who hath done his task. (685)
 With thought of death I dally not, nor yet
 Delight in living. I await the hour
 With mind discerning and with heedfulness. (686)

The Master hath my fealty and love,
 And all the Buddha's bidding hath been done.
 Low have I laid the heavy load I bore,
 Cause for rebirth is found in me no more. (687)
 The Good³ for which I bade the world farewell,
 And left the home to lead the homeless life,
 That highest Good have I accomplished.
 What need have I as cenobite to dwell? (688)

CCXLVII

Udāyin.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu in a brahmin family, he saw the power and majesty of the Buddha when

¹ = CLXXVIII. This to enjoin the hermit-life on the erring one (Commentary).

² = verses 606 f., 654 f. ; 604 and 655.

³ Cf. verse 605. The Commentary adds that he went and dwelt twenty-two years at the Chaddanta Lake before he passed away, only visiting the Buddha shortly before that event to announce his assurance of it.

he visited his family, believed in him, entered the Order, and in due course became an arahant. Now there are these three Theras named Udāyin: the minister's son, Kāḷudāyin, recorded above,¹ this brahmin, and Udāyin the Great.² This one, when the Sutta of the Elephant Parable had been taught on the occasion when Seta, King Pasenadi's elephant, was publicly admired,³ was stirred to enthusiasm at thought of the Buddha, and thinking: 'These people admire a mere animal. Come now, I will proclaim the virtues of that great and wondrous Elephant, the Buddha!' he uttered these verses:

Buddha the Wake, the son of man,
 Self-tamed, by inward vision rapt,
 Bearing himself by ways sublime,
 Glad in tranquillity of heart; (689)
 To whom men honour pay as one
 Who hath transcended all we know;⁴
 To whom gods also honour yield:—
 So I, an arahant, have heard— (690)
 From jungle to Nibbāna come,⁵
 With every fetter left behind,
 Glad in renouncing worldly joys,
 Extracted like fine gold from ore, (691)
 Like elephant superb is he,
 On wooded heights in Himalay:—
 Lo, him behold! Nāga superb—

¹ See CCXXXIII.

² It is not easy to elicit from the canonical episodes mentioning āyasmā Udāyī,' which is the last named. Such a personage frequently appears, getting into trouble in the Vinaya, conversing with the Buddha and apostles in the Suttas, but never called 'Great,' or doing anything to merit the title. Conceivably he lived nearer the Commentator's time.

³ See *Ang. Nik.*, iii. 345 f., where the psalm is also given. Translated by E. Hardy, *Buddha*, 1903, p. 51.

⁴ *Dhammā*—i.e., things as cognizable.

⁵ *Vanā nib-bānam āgataṅ*; the word-play cannot be reproduced. See *Compendium*, p. 168.

For, sure, of all we 'Nāga' name,
 (Serpent or elephant or man)
 Supremely true that name for him— (692)
 This Nāga will I praise to you,
 For he 'no sin'—*na āgun*—doth.¹
 Mercifulness, sobriety:²
 These be two of the Nāga's feet; (693)
 Intelligence and mindfulness:
 Other two feet of this Elephant.
 The Nāga's trunk is confidence;
 His white tusks, equanimity; (694)
 His throat awareness,³ and his head
 Is insight; testing touch of trunk
 Is weighing wisely good and bad;
 Shrine of the Norm his viscera;
 Detachment is the tail of him. (695)
 So musing rapt, and breathing bliss,⁴
 Composed in body and in mind,
 Composed, this Nāga, when he walks,
 Composed, this Nāga, when he stands, (696)
 Composed, this Nāga, lying down,
 And eke composed while he sits;
 Self-governed whatsoe'er he doth:
 This is the Nāga's perfect way. (697)
 Blameless in all that he enjoys,
 Enjoying naught that calls for blame,
 Hath he but gotten food and gear,
 From store laid up he doth refrain. (698)

¹ Nāga, whatever its real, not (as here) exegetical, derivation, meant a fairy, daimōn, or mysterious being. The serpent was as mysterious for the Indian as for Cretan and Greek. So was the elephant. So was the saint. The bracketed line is from the Commentary. Cf. *Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 522.

² On sobriety (*soraccan*; Commentary = *sīlay*), see *Bud. Psy.*, p. 849. The other two feet are, in *Ang. Nik.*, called 'austerity' (*tapo*) and 'holy life.'

³ *Sati*, 'mindfulness,' above, is also *sati*.

⁴ Lit., 'delighting in inhaling,' a word meaning also comfort—namely, of Nibbāna (Commentary).

Whether the tie be coarse or fine,
 Bonds of all kinds he knaps in twain ;
 He goeth wheresoe'er he will,
 Nor careth wheresoe'er he goes. (699)
 As lotus born within a lake,
 By water nowise is defiled,
 But groweth fragrant, beautiful, (700)
 So is the Buddha in this world,
 Born in the world and dwelling there,
 But by the world nowise defiled,
 E'en as the lily by the lake. (701)
 A mighty fire that's spent itself,
 And hath no fuel dieth down,
 And of the smouldering ashes men
 Do say ' That fire is now extinct.'¹ (702)
 Lo ! here's a parable the wise
 Have taught to make their meaning known.
 Great Nāgas, they will understand
 The Nāga, by that Nāga taught : (703)
 With passion gone, and hatred gone,
 And dulness gone, sane and immune,
 This Nāga yielding up his life,
 Will clean ' go out,' sane and immune. (704)

¹ *Nibbuto.*

(POEMS OF SIXTEEN, SEVENTEEN, EIGHTEEN,
NINETEEN VERSES DESUNT)

CANTO XVI

POEMS OF TWENTY VERSES

CCXLVIII

Adhimutta.

REBORN in this Buddha-age as the sister's son of the Thera Sankicca,¹ he left the world under his uncle's tuition, and while only a novice, won arahantship. And dwelling in the bliss of fruition, he wished for full ordination, and went home to ask his mother's leave. Now as he went, he fell in with highwaymen on the look-out for an offering to their deity, and they seized on him as a suitable sacrifice. He, thus assailed, stood undaunted and without blenching. Then the robber-chief was amazed, and commended him, saying :

Of all the lot whom we, for god² or pelf,
Have smitten in our time, there's not been one
But hath shown fear, trembled and clamoured
sore. (705)

But thou, who'rt not affrighted, nay, whose face
Shows brighter bloom,³ why dost thou not lament,
When such a fearsome peril threatens thee? (706)

¹ See CCXL.

² Lit., 'for sacrifice.'

³ Adhimutta was a young novice.

ADHIMUTTA :

No misery of mind, O chief, is there
 For him who hath no wants. All fear have I
 Transcended, since the Fetters were destroyed. (707)
 By death of that which leadeth to rebirth,¹
 The truths are seen e'en as they really are,
 And hence in death there lies no fear for me,
 'Tis as a laying down the load I bore. (708)
 Well have I lived the holy life, and well
 Made progress in the Ariyan Path ; no fear
 There lies in death, who puts an end to ills.² (709)
 Void of delight the forms of birth appear,³
 Like drinking poison one has thrown away. (710)
 He who hath passed beyond, from grasping free,
 Whose task is done, sane and immune, is glad,
 Not sorry, when the term of lives is reached,
 As one who from the slaughter-house escapes. (711)
 He who the ideal order⁴ hath attained,
 All the world over seeking nought to own,
 As one who from a burning house escapes,
 When death is drawing nigh he grieveth not. (712)
 All things soever which have come to be,
 And all rebirth wherever it is got,
 Nowhere therein is personal design :—⁵
 So hath the mighty Sage declared to us. (713)

¹ *Bhavanetti*—i.e., *tanhā*.

² Lit., diseases. Cf. Tennyson's *Elaine* :

‘ And sweet is death who puts an end to pain.’

³ That ‘ life is not worth living,’ which is Dr. Neumann's rendering, seems to me scarcely sound Buddhism. Life can yield arahantship—the thing supremely worth having, the crown of all previous upward effort. ‘ Rebecomings are unsatisfying’ ; ‘ *nirassādū bhavū* ’ is the literal rendering of the text. We need to leave our own ‘ saws ’ behind in getting at the Buddhist standpoint.

⁴ *Dhammataṅguttamaṅg*—i.e., ‘ the nature of the Norm ; in, and because of, completed arahantship ’ (Commentary).

⁵ *Na-issaraṅg*—lit., that which has no lord or ruler ; *issāra* is used for a personal creator.

And he who knows that things are even so,
 As by the Buddha it is taught, no more
 Would he take hold of any form of birth
 Than he would grasp a red-hot iron ball. (714)
 Comes not to me the thought: 'Tis I have been,
 Nor comes the thought: 'What shall I next become?'
 Thoughts, deeds and words are no persisting [soul],
 Therefore what ground for lamentations here?¹ (715)
 To him who seeth, as it really is,
 The pure and simple² causal rise of things,
 The pure and simple sequence of our acts:—
 To such an one can come no fear, O chief. (716)
 That all this world is like the forest grass
 And brushwood [no man's property]:—when one
 By wisdom seeth this, finds naught that's 'Mine,'
 Thinking: 'tis not for me,' he grieveth not.³ (717)
 This body irketh me; no seeker I
 To live. This mortal frame will broken be,
 And ne'er another from it be reborn. (718)
 Your business with my body, come, that do
 E'en as ye will; and not on that account
 Will hatred or affection rise in me. (719)

The young men marvelled at his words, and thrilled
 With awe, casting away their knives they said: (720)
 What are your honour's practices,⁴ or who
 Is teacher to you? Of whose Ordinance
 A member, have you gained this grieflessness? (721)

ADHIMUTTA :

My teacher is the Conqueror knowing all
 And seeing all, the Master infinite
 In pity, all the world's Physician, He. (722)

¹ Lit., 'will pass away.' 'Soul' is supplied from the Commentary.

² *Suddhaj*, pure, unmixed—*i.e.*, with *attā*; phenomenal process only: *dhammamattappavatti* (Commentary).

³ = *Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 951.

⁴ *Tapas*: religious austerities or magic (Commentary).

And He it is by whom these truths are taught,
Norm to Nibbāna leading, unsurpassed.

Within His Rule I've won this grieflessness. (723)

Now when the robbers heard the well-spoken utterance
of the sage,

They laid aside their knives, their arms, and some
forsook that trade,

And some besought that they might leave the world
for holy life. (724)

They leaving thus, within the Buddha's welcome Rule¹
grew wise,

The seven Factors practising and eke the Forces
five,

Trained in the Powers, with hearts elate, happy they
reached the Goal. (725)

CCXLIX

Pārāpariya.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattihī as the son of a certain very eminent brahmin, he was called, when adult, after his family name Pārāpara, 'the Pārāpariya' (Pārāparite).² Well educated in brahmin lore and accomplishments, he went one day into the Jeta Grove Vihāra, at the Master's preaching hour, and took his seat at the fringe of the assembly. The Master, contemplating his character,

¹ Lit., the rule of the Welcome (*su-gata*), a title often used for the Buddha. For Factors, Forces, and Powers, see *Compendium*, p. 180, called factors, powers, faculties, respectively. 'Reached the Goal'—lit., 'touched (attained) the state of Nibbāna, the unconditioned.' The Commentary adds that the youthful saint went imperturbably on his way, obtained his mother's consent to enter the Order, and was ordained by his uncle. On verse 722 Dhammapāla refers to his own Commentary on the *Iti-vuttaka*.

² Connected with, perhaps, but not identical with, the Pārāpariya of CXVI. of the Rājagaha Pārāparas. This one is the Pārāpariya of CCLVII.

taught the Sutta, called 'Practice of Faculties,'¹ whereupon Pārāpariya found faith and entered the Order. After learning the Sutta by heart, he pondered over the meaning, thinking: 'In verses the meaning would appear so and so.' Thus pondering on the subject of sense-perception he established insight, and in due time won arahantship. Later he expressed his meditations in verse as follows:

To a Brother came these musings
 To the bhikkhu Pārāpariya,
 As he sat alone, secluded,
 World-detached and meditating: (726)

What is there of course or order,
 What is there in rite, or conduct,
 Which may make a man accomplish
 That which to himself is owing,
 Nor work harm on any other? (727)
 Lo! the parts and powers of humans
 Make for welfare and for evil:
 Powers unguarded make for evil,
 Guarded powers make for welfare. (728)
 One who guardeth parts and powers,
 One who tendeth parts and powers,
 He may do to self his duty,
 Nor work harm on any other. (729)
 If he go with unrestrained
 Power of sight among sense-objects,

¹ The only Sutta I can discover with this title (*Indriya-bhāvanā*) is the last Sutta in the *Majjhima Nikāya*. This refers to the methods used by the brahmin teacher Pārāsariya, and then gives the method of 'faculty-training' taught in the 'Ariyan Vinaya,' the Buddha speaking (at Kajangalā, not Sāvatti), and the interlocutors being Uttara, the brahmin's pupil, and Ānanda. Identity of subject is the one thing connecting Sutta and poem. There is no identity of treatment, and the two problems are set up: (1) Was Pārāpariya paraphrasing another version? (2) Was Pārāpariya Pārāsariya himself?

All the evil ne'er discerning,
 He doth not escape from sorrow.¹ (730)
 If he go with unrestrained
 Power of hearing sounds about him,
 All the evil ne'er discerning,
 He doth not escape from sorrow. (731)
 If in divers kinds of odours
 He indulge, voluptuously,
 Way of refuge ne'er discerning,²
 He doth not escape from sorrow. (732)
 Taste of sour and sweet and bitter
 Relishing and pondering over,
 Cleaving to desires of palate:
 Ne'er his heart will be awakened. (733)
 Lovely, luring things of contact,
 Touching, feeling, pondering over,
 Lust-exciting, he impassioned
 Findeth divers forms of sorrow. (734)
 Yea, who in these sense-impressions
 Cannot guard the mind [recipient],
 Sorrow thereby will pursue him,
 E'en by way of all five senses. (735)
 Body full of blood and matter
 And of plenteous other carrion,
 So by human skill and wit is
 Rendered fair like painted casket, (736)
 That the bitter suffering from it
 Shows as sweetly satisfying,
 Bound to what we hold belovèd,
 As a razor-blade, that's hidden
 'Neath thick crust of honey-syrup,

¹ The Commentary supports the reading *na hi muccati*, altered by Neumann.

² Dr. Neumann's 'Und nicht die freie Höhe sieht' is perhaps unnecessarily free, and is scarcely a good antithesis to fragrant odours, as anyone knows who has left a malodorous Alpine village for the odours of the flower-covered uplands in June.

Undiscernèd [by the greedy].¹ (737)
 He who dotes on form of woman,
 Taste and touch and scent of woman,
 Findeth divers shapes of sorrow. (738)
 All that emanates from woman,²
 Permeating [all men's senses,]—
 This and that man's five gates [open,]—
 'Gainst all these to make a barrier
 If a man have grit and valiance, (739)
 He is wise and he is righteous,
 He is clever and far-seeing ;
 For he may, at ease and cheerful,
 Set himself to righteous duties. (740)
 When immersed in temporal profit,³
 If he shun vain undertakings,
 If he judge it right to shun them,
 He is earnest and far-seeing. (741)
 Is a work with good connected,
 Is his love set on th' Ideal,⁴
 Let him take the work and do it ;
 Other loves that Love surpasseth. (742)
 Many, manifold the methods
 Whereby man his fellows cheateth ;
 Smiting, slaying, sore afflicting
 He with violence oppresses.⁵ (743)
 As a strong man plying woodcraft,
 Useth nail to smite a nail out,

¹ 'As one greedy of sweet things licking the edge of a razor' (Commentary).

² Lit., streams—*i.e.*, her visible shape, etc., objects of sense (Commentary). The Pali is more refined than the Neumann German version, and the dragging in again of the maligned *concrete* 'Weib'—'Wo nieder man zum Weibe sinkt'—is entirely unwarranted by the Pali.

³ The Commentary upholds the *atho* (in exegesis *tato*) *sīdati sañ-ñutaṃ*, adding 'if he lays hold of good of a temporal kind.'

⁴ *Dhammagatū rati*—lit., set on the Norm.

⁵ Redundant *padās*, omitted in translating, have got into the Pali.

So the wise and virtuous brethren
 Use one power to smite out others :— (744)
 Faith and effort, concentration,
 Mindfulness and wisdom plying,
 Five by other Five outsmiting,
 Goes the saint from flaws released.¹ (745)
 He is wise and he is righteous ;
 He hath kept the Rule proclaimed
 Wholly, fully by the Buddha.
 He is happy, he doth prosper. (746)

CCL

Telakāni.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age, before the Master's birth, at Sāvathī, in a brahmin family, and named Telakāni. Matured as to antecedents, he wearied of worldly desires, and left the world as a wandering recluse. Seeking for emancipation of spirit, he toured about, thinking : ' Who is he in the world who has got beyond ? ' and asking questions of recluses and brahmins without receiving satisfaction. Meanwhile our Exalted One had arisen, and was rolling the Norm-Wheel, working the good of the world. Him one day Telakāni heard, and found faith, was ordained, and not long after won arahantship. Sitting one day with bhikkhus, and remembering his own toiling and winning, he declared it all to them thus :

Oh the long days I cast about in thought,
 Ardent to find truth [that could set me free]!²
 No peace of mind I won, [but up and down
 I fared,] asking of brahmin and recluse : (747)

¹ Here again the German translation misses the point. Satisfaction with the five modes of sensuous pleasure is to be ejected by the five modes of spiritual sense, sense-powers or faculties by spiritual powers. See XV., n. 2, and *Compendium*, p. 180. Cf. above, verse 725, n. There is a play on words in *āṇi*, nail, *anīgho*, flawless, untranslatable in English.

² So the Commentary, *vimuttidhammaṇ*, *vimokkhadhammo*.

'What man in all the world hath got beyond?
Who in the Ambrosia hath a foothold won?²
Whose doctrine can I to my bosom take,
Whereby the Highest² I may come to know?' (748)

Caught on a hook within, my spirit hung
E'en as a fish that swallows baited food.
Captured I lay, as Vepachitti once,
The Asura, in mighty Indra's toils.³ (749)
I dragged my chains along, nor found release
From this [unending source of] grief and dole.
Is there no man on earth who can unloose
My bonds, and make me know Enlightenment?
ment? (750)

What brahmin, what recluse can tell me how
To break them off? Whose Norm can I accept,
Able to bear away old age and death? (751)

Behold this load! coil of perplexity
And doubt, the mortal force of it
Wearing the temper, stiffening the mind,
And lacerating with a vast desire, (752)
Fell offshoot from the bow of craving, due
To [forms of false opinion,] twice fifteen⁴—
Behold, I say, how mightily about
My breast this pressure crushes where it lies!⁵ (753)
The ruck of vain opinions⁶ not put off

¹ 'In this world among those who are acknowledged as religious teachers, who now has gone up to Nibbāna beyond Saṃsāra (*i.e.*, consecutive livings and dyings)? Who is established in Nibbāna, in the path of emancipation?' (Commentary).

² *Paramattha*, the supreme good, or meaning.

³ See *Sany. Nik.*, i. 220, § 4.

⁴ According to the Commentary, the 'twice fifteen' refers to the twenty forms (5 × 4) of *sakkūyaditthi*, or soul-speculation (*Dh. S.*, § 1008 = *Bud. Psy.*, p. 259), and the ten forms of *micchādītthi* (*Vibhanga*, p. 892).

⁵ I read with the Commentary *bīlhaṇ* and *tittḥati*.

⁶ The word *anuditthīnaṇ* is paraphrased by *sesaditthīnaṇ* . . . *sassataditthi ādīnaṇ*.

But quickened by fond hopes and memories :¹
 By this transfixed I stagger to and fro,
 And quiver as a leaf blown by the wind. (754)
 'Tis from within me that hath sprung the
 dart,²

Whence swiftly is consumed this self of me,³
 Even this body with its sixfold field
 Of contact, where it doth proceed alway. (755)
 I see him not, that surgeon skilled, who can
 Extract the dart and purge me of my doubts
 By subtle probe, and not by other knife.⁴ (756)
 Can any one, without or knife or wound,
 Leaving the members of me all unscathed,
 Draw out this shaft that's stuck within my
 heart? (757)

He who is master of the truth and best,
 Who can the venom's fever-scathe disperse,
 Who, were I fallen in the deep, could show
 A hand and⁵ point where shallows sloped to
 land. (758)

Yea, in a pool it is that I am plunged,
 A pit of dust and mire undrainable,
 Extended wide with treacherous counterfeit,
 Envy and overstrain,⁶ torpor and sloth. (759)

¹ The Commentary reads *sankappa-paratejitaṃ . . . micchūvitakkena parajane . . . ussāhitaṃ*. The other reading, *sankappasara-tejitaṃ*, seems more intelligible and less forced in construction. There is an approximate precedent in *sarasankappū* (*Majjh. Nik.*, i. 453 ; *Saṃy. Nik.*, iv. 76). Lit., the 'not putting off' is 'quickened.'

² Stress is laid in the Commentary on the wound being self-inflicted, much in the style of Christ's words : '. . . those things which . . . come forth from the heart ; . . . they defile the man' (*Matt.* xv. 18).

³ *Mūmakaya* = *mama santakaya attabhāvaṃ*.

⁴ 'Doubts,' as 'the dart,' are here said to typify the entire group of *kilesas* (lit., torments, cankers ; cf. *Bud. Psy.*, 327, n.). The probe, *nānāraja*, is paraphrased by *esani-salūkū*. *Ahiṅsaṃ* = *abūdhento*.

⁵ The Commentary reads *pāṇiṇī ca*.

⁶ *Sārambha* (cf. verse 752) is explained by *karakuttariya-lakkhaṇo*.

Thunder of thought distracted overhead,
 And fettering wraiths of cloud about my path :—
 The rush of lust-borne impulse and intent
 Doth thither sweep me—to a sceptic's doom.¹ (760)
 And everywhere the streams are flowing by,
 And ever burgeoning the creeper stands—
 Those streams whose strength avails to stop?
 That creeper who can sever from its root?² (761)

Make thee a dyke, good sir, to dam the streams ;
 See that the mind's strong current ruthlessly
 Dash thee not hence like any log away ! (762)
 'Twas even so for me who sought in fear,
 On this side for the distant shore, when He,
 The Master, followed by his saintly throng, (763)
 He the true Refuge, and with insight armed,
 Held out to me a stairway, strongly wrought,
 And firm, made of the Norm's pure heart of
 oak,⁴

And to me toiling spake : ' Be not afraid ! ' (764)
 I climbed up to the terrace where the mind
 Alert and vigilant applies itself,⁵
 Thence I could contemplate the sons of men
 Delighting in that sense of ' I ' and ' mine, ' ⁶
 Wherein I once was wont to nurse conceits. (765)
 And when I saw the Way, even the ship
 On which to embark, and dwelt no more on Self,
 'Twas then that I beheld Nibbāna's shore.⁷ (766)

¹ The Commentary interprets *vāhū vahanti* as ' a rush of great waters bearing me to the doom-ocean. ' Cf. *Jāt.*, v. 388 f. ; *Dhp.*, ver. 389 f.

² These are standard similes for ' craving ' (*taṇhā*). Cf. verse 1094.

³ *Karotha* is ' make ye, ' but one meets with this inflexion in the singular sense, such as the context demands.

⁴ Lit., ' made of the pith of the Norm. '

⁵ *Satipaṭṭhāna-pūsādaṇ*.

⁶ *Sakkāya*, paraphrased as *ahay mamāti*.

⁷ *Titthaṇ uttamaṇ*—lit., best or supreme shore—paraphrased by ' the landing-place of the ambrosial great-beyond, called Nibbāna. '

The dart that sprang from self, offshoot of her
 Who to becoming leads¹—to stop all that
 The perfect Path [the Ariyan] he taught. (767)
 The knotted bonds long buried in my life,
 Fixed up about me for so many years,
 The Buddha loosed and cast them off from me,
 And every poison canker purged away. (768)

CCLI

Raṭṭhapāla.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age in the country of the Kurus, in the township of Thullakoṭṭhika, as the son of a councillor named Raṭṭhapāla,² and was called by his family name. Brought up in a large establishment of retainers, he was united, when adolescent, to a suitable wife, and enjoyed a prosperity resembling that of the devas. Now the Exalted One, touring in the Kuru country, came to Thullakoṭṭhika, and Raṭṭhapāla went to hear him teach. Receiving faith, he with great difficulty obtained his parents' leave to renounce the world. Going to the Master, he received ordination from a bhikkhu at the Master's command, and studying diligently developed insight and won arahantship. Thereupon he obtained permission to visit his parents, and went to Thullakoṭṭhika, going from house to house for alms. At his father's house he obtained rancid gruel, but ate it as if it were ambrosia. Invited by his father, he went next day to his home. And

¹ *Taṇhā*. See p. 292, n. 1. *Pabhūvitāṇ* = *samutṭhitāṇ* (Commentary).

² Because he was wealthy enough to prop up a bankrupt kingdom (Commentary). This legend is more fully told in *Majjhima*, vol. ii., No. 82. It reappears also in the *Vinaya Texts* and the *Jūtaka* (vol. i., No. 14). See hereon Mr. W. Lupton's discussion, prefacing his edition and translation of the 'Raṭṭhapāla Sutta,' *JRAS*, 1894, p. 769 ff. I have largely profited by Mr. Lupton's translation of the verses. Dhammapāla's brief résumé is given in full.

when the ladies in fine array asked him : ' What are the celestial nymphs like, my lord, for whose sake you live the holy life ?' he taught them the Norm in connection with impermanence, etc., repulsing their insinuating conduct :

Behold the tricked-out puppet-shape, a mass
 Of sores, a congeries diseased, and full
 Of many purposes and plans, and yet
 In whom there is no power to persist!¹ (769)
 Behold the tricked-out form, bejewelled, ringed,
 Sheathed in bones and skinny envelope,
 By help of gear made fine and fair to see! (770)
 Feet dyed with lac, with rouge the lips besmeared :
 All good enough for dull wit of a fool,
 But not for him who seeketh the Beyond! (771)
 The locks in eightfold plait, eyes fringed with black :
 All good enough for dull wit of a fool,
 But not for him who seeketh the Beyond! (772)
 Like a collyrium-pot,² brand new, embossed,
 The body foul within is bravely decked :
 All good enough for dull wit of a fool,
 But not for him who seeketh the Beyond. (773)
 The trapper set his snare. The deer came not
 Against the net.³ We've eaten of the bait—
 Let's go!⁴ the while deer trappers make lament. (774)
 Snapt is the hunter's snare! The deer came not
 Against the net. We've eaten of the bait—
 Let's go; the while deer catchers weep and wail. (775)

Ratthapāla thereupon went through the air⁵ to the Antelope Park of King Koravya, and seated himself on a stone slab. Now the Thera's father had had bolts put on

¹ Cf. verse 1020 f.

² Here Mr. Lupton has somewhat missed the point.

³ *Nāsādā* = *na sanghaṭṭesi* (Commentary).

⁴ Or, ' we go.'

⁵ The older chronicle in the *Majjhima Nikāya* does not mention this feat of the Thera's, nor the father's measures.

his seven doors, and had sent men to prevent him from getting out, and to take off his yellow robes and clothe him in white.¹ Hence the Thera's going through the air. Then the king, hearing where he was seated, went to him, and with courteous greeting asked him thus: 'Master Raṭṭhapāla, in this world men renounce it for some kind of misfortune—illness, loss of king, wealth or family. But you who have suffered no such thing, why have you left the world?' Then the Thera replied: 'The world passes away, is transient; the world is without refuge or providence; the world has no stronghold; the world is wanting and destitute, dissatisfied, the slave of craving.' Thus showing his separate condition, he recited a parallel in verse:

Men² of much wealth I see in the world:—
 Riches acquiring they err in not giving.
 Make out of greed a great hoard of their wealth,
 Yea, hankering yet after ever more pleasures. (776)
 The king having forcibly conquered the earth,
 To the shore of the ocean, holding the land
 This side of the sea, may yet all unsatisfied
 Hanker after the further side also. (777)
 See where both king and full many another man
 Nursing their cravings come to their dying.
 Paupers becoming,³ they put off this body,
 For never content lies in pleasures of this
 world. (778)
 Kinsfolk bewail him with tresses dishevelled,
 Crying: 'Alas! would our kin were immortal!'⁴
 Him in his shroud enveloped they bear away;
 Raising a pyre they forthwith cremate him. (779)

¹ The layman's colour.

² The metre, till verse 789, is in the Triṣṭubh (Vedic) metre, of the 5+5 feet variety.

³ *I.e.*, in their wishes (Commentary).

⁴ Paraphrased by *aho vata* (lengthened *metri causā*, 'gāthā-sukhattaṅ') *amhākaṅ nūti amarā siyan* (! *siyun*) *tī*.

He lies a-burning, by forks being prodded,
 Clad in one garment, stripped of all riches.
 Never to one who is dying are kinsfolk
 Refuge, nor friends, nay, nor even neighbours. (780)
 His wealth is annexed by his heirs, but the being¹
 Goeth according to all his past actions.
 Never doth wealth follow after the dying,
 Nor children, nor wife, nor wealth, nor a king
 dom. (781)

Never is long life gotten through riches,
 Nor is old age ever banished by property.
 Brief is this life, all the sages have told us;
 Transient it is, and essentially changing. (782)
 All feel the Touch,² both the poor and the wealthy;
 Touched is the wise man no less than the fool.
 But the fool, smitten down by his folly, lies prostrate;

The wise man, when feeling the Touch, never
 trembles. (783)

Wherefore far better than riches is wisdom,
 Whereby we arrive even here at the terminus.
 For from not reaching the goal³ the dull-minded
 Work wicked deeds in delusion, reborn
 In spheres whether high or whether of no account.⁴ (784)

Cometh a man to the womb and in other worlds
 Findeth rebirth, being caught in Saṅsāra,
 Round sempiternal of livings consecutive;
 Him one of little wit follows believing,
 Cometh to birth both here and in other worlds. (785)
 E'en as a thief who is taken in burglary,
 By his own act is condemned as a criminal,⁵

¹ *Satto*. ² Paraphrased by *anittaphassan pāpunanti*.

³ *Anadhigatanitthattā* (Commentary).

⁴ *Bhavābhavesu*. This curious term is so paraphrased: *mahantā-mahantesu bhavesu*.

⁵ Quite literally: is ruined (*haññati*), as being of evil nature.

So is the race, after death, in another world,
By its own doing condemned as a criminal. (786)

For by the charm, sweet and diverse, of sense-
desire,

One way or other the mind is unbalanced ;
And seeing the evil in sensuous pleasures,
Therefore, O King, have I gone all forsaking. (787)
Fall as fruit from the tree all the sons of
men,

Youthful and aged, when breaks down the body,
This too seeing, O King, have I gone forth.
Better the safe, sure life of religion. (788)

Full of high confidence¹ I left the world
And joined the Order of the Conqueror.
Blameless my going forth has been, and free
From debt I live on my allotted share.² (789)

Looking on sense-desires as fire alight,
On gold and silver as a [noxious] knife,
[On life] from entry in the womb as ill,
And on the fearsome peril of the hells:— (790)

Seeing, I say, great evils everywhere,
Thereat was I with anguish sore beset.
Then to me, pierced and wounded as I was,
Came fourfold victory : o'er sense-desires,
O'er rebirth, error, ignorance, VICTORY!³ (791)

The Master hath my fealty and love,⁴
And all the Buddha's bidding hath been done.
Low have I laid the heavy load I bore,
Cause for rebirth is found in me no more. (792)

¹ This is the dominant note in the Pali term *saddhā*, 'faith.' Cf. Dr. Neumann's *Zuversicht*, rather than *Glaube*. The śloka metre re-enters here. In the *Majjh.* the poem ends with (788).

² Cf. *Sisters*, verse 110.

³ Expansion of *sampatto āsavakkhayay*.

⁴ = verses 604, 605, 687.

The Good for which I bade the world farewell,
 And left the home to dwell where home was not,
 That highest Good have I accomplished,
 And every bond and fetter is destroyed.¹ (793)

Then the Thera, having thus taught the Norm to King Koravya, went back to the Master. And He thereafter, in the assembly of the Ariyans, declared Raṭṭhapāla foremost of those who had left the world through faith.²

CCLII

Mālunkyā's Son.

The story of this venerable one is given in Canto VI. (CCXIV.), wherein the Thera, established in arahantship, uttered a psalm by way of teaching his kinsfolk about the Path. But in this poem the Thera, not yet an arahant, had asked the Master for doctrine in brief, and he received this response: 'What think you, Mālunkyā's son, things which you have never seen, heard, smelt, tasted, touched, or perceived, of which you have no present impression, nor of which you wish you might have sensations and perception:—do you feel desire, or longing, or fondness for them?' 'No, lord.' 'Here, then, Mālunkyā's son, when you do get any sensation or perception of things, you will have just the sensations or perceptions only. And inasmuch as this is so, and you will get no [greed, ill-will, or illusion] thereby, or therein, either here or elsewhere, or hereafter, this, even this, is the end of pain.'³

¹ = verse 136.

² *Ang. Nik.*, i. 24.

³ That is, you can use sense and intellect without craving being engendered. I have inserted the bracketed words from Buddhaghosa's Commentary on this passage in his *Sāratthapakāsinī*. Cf. the Thera's emphasis on *taṇhā* in his former poem. The Commentary follows almost verbatim the Sutta *Sangayha* in the 'Saḷāyatana-Saṅyutta' (*Saṅy. Nik.*, iv. 72), where the poem also occurs.

And Mālunkyā's son, showing how well he had learnt that doctrine so summarized, expressed it in these verses :

Sight of fair shape bewildering lucid thought,¹
 If one but heed the image sweet and dear,
 The heart inflamed in feeling doth o'erflow, (794)
 And clinging stayeth. Thus in him do grow
 Divers emotions rooted in the sight,
 Greed and aversion,² and the heart of him
 Doth suffer grievously. Of him we say,
 Thus heaping store of pain and suffering :
 Far from Nibbāna ! (795)

Sound,³ smell, taste, touch, bewildering lucid
 thought,
 If one but heed the image sweet and dear,
 The heart inflamed in feeling doth o'erflow, (796)
 And clinging stayeth. Thus in him do grow
 Divers emotions rooted in the sense,
 Greed and aversion ; and the heart of him
 Doth suffer grievously. Of him we say,
 Thus heaping store of pain and suffering :
 Far from Nibbāna ! (797-803)

Object, idea,⁴ bewildering lucid thought,
 If one but heed the image sweet and dear,
 The heart inflamed in feeling doth o'erflow,
 And clinging stayeth. Thus in him do grow (804)

¹ See verse 98 and *n.* 'Lucid thought' is better for *sati* than 'self-control,' to which *sati* conduces.

² *Vihesā*, aroused, says the Commentary, when the object is the reverse of agreeable. More probably the enmity born of greed. Cf. *Dialogues*, ii. 55.

³ Each sense is given a separate stanza.

⁴ *Dhammay nātvā*—*i.e.*, the aspect of cognition as an act of mind, supplementing, or, it may be, independent of, sense-impressions.

Divers emotions rooted in idea,
 Greed and aversion; and the heart of him
 Doth suffer grievously. Of him we say,—
 Thus heaping store of pain and suffering :—
 Far from Nibbāna! (805)

He who for things he sees no passion breeds,
 But mindful, clear of head, can suffer sense,
 With uninflamed heart, nor staying clings; (806)
 And as he sees, so normally he feels;¹
 For him no heaping up, but minishing :
 Thus doth he heedfully pursue his way.
 Of him, building no store of ill, we say :—
 Near is Nibbāna! (807)

He who for things he hears, or smells, or tastes,
 Or for things touched and felt no passion breeds,
 But mindful, clear of head, can suffer sense
 With uninflamed heart, nor staying clings; (808)
 And as he hears, or smells, or tastes, is touched,
 Or doth perceive, so normally he feels ;
 For him no heaping up, but minishing :
 Thus doth he heedfully pursue his way.
 Of him, building no store of ill, we say :—
 Near to Nibbāna! (809-817.)²

Then the Thera rose, saluted the Master and departed,
 not long after so developing insight that he won arahant-
 ship.

¹ The rest of consciousness follows its *gocara*, or normal procedure (Commentary).

² As before, each sense is assigned a complete stanza. The Buddha, according to the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, accords warm praise to Mālunkyā's son's rendering.

CCLIII

Sela.¹

Reborn in this Buddha-age, in Anguttarāpa,² in a brahmin family, at the brahmin village of Āpaṇa, he was named Sela. And he dwelt there when adult, proficient in the three Vedas and in brahmin arts, teaching mantras to 300 brahmin youths. Now at that time the Master, leaving Sāvattihī, toured in Anguttarāpa with 1,250 bhikkhus. And divining the maturity of insight in Sela and his pupils, he halted at a certain wood. Then Keniya, the ascetic, having invited the Master and his band for the following day, made preparation of much food. And Sela with his 300 visited the hermitage and asked : ' What now, Keniya, is a minister of the King expected?' and so on. Keniya replied : ' I have invited the Buddha, the Exalted One for to-morrow.' Now Sela, thrilled with joyful enthusiasm at the word ' Buddha,' sought out the Master straightway with his youths, and after exchange of courtesies seated himself at one side. Contemplating the Exalted One, he thought : ' He has all the marks of one who is either a world-emperor, or a Buddha rolling back the veil of the world ; yet I know not whether this religious Brother be a Buddha or not. But I have heard that they who are Exalted Ones, Arahants, Buddhas supreme, reveal themselves when their praises are uttered ; for one who is not such a Buddha, when some one in his presence praises the virtues of a Buddha, is irritated and dissatisfied, because he has not won the

¹ Both story and poem form the greater part of the ' Sela-Sutta ' in the *Sutta-Nipāta* and in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (ii. 146). Dhammapāla is strangely silent over these older versions. His own version is briefer and, except for the more evolved myth alluded to below (p. 314, n. 2), more simple. His use of *ādi*, ' and so on,' seems, however, to hint at a more standard account as known to him.

² In the *Sutta-Nipāta Commentary* this is the country about the River Mahī, north of the Ganges. Āpaṇa means ' bazaar,' ' market.'

serene confidence of Buddhas,¹ and cannot endure the allusions.² What if I were now to praise the Samana Gotama to his face with suitable verses? So he began :

O thou of perfect form and beauty rare,
 Of fairest parts³ and lovely to behold,
 Exalted One! thy colour like fine gold,
 Thou valiant spirit, with the dazzling teeth, (818)
 Whose body shows the features that betray
 The man of perfectly adjusted parts,
 Yea, all the traits that mark the Super-Man; (819)
 Thou with the eyes so clear, thy countenance
 So fair, broad,⁴ straight, majestic, thou dost shine
 As doth the sun, the centre thou of all
 The chosen band of brethren gathered round: (820)
 Thou bhikkhu noble of aspect, whose skin
 Resembleth gold, say, what is friar's life
 To thee with presence so supremely fair? (821)
 A Prince thou dost deserve to be, a Bull
 Drawing the chariot of the world's empire;
 Lord of the earth from end to end foursquare,
 A conqueror, of Jambudīpa chief. (822)
 Nobles and wealthy lords thy vassals be,
 Thou sovran lord of lords, thou king of men,
 Take thou thy power, O GOTAMA, and reign! (823)

Then the Exalted One, fulfilling Sela's wish, replied :

‘ A king, O Sela, verily am I;
 King of the Norm, above me there is none.

¹ This is based on the conviction that they have the genuine intellectual and moral qualities required in a Buddha, and that what they teach is true and its results certain (*Ang. Nik.*, ii 8).

² These negative clauses are not in the *Sutta-Nipāta* narrative.

³ In the Commentary *sujāto* is ‘perfect in presence,’ as to height and breadth. On these proportions, see *Dialogues*, ii. 14-16.

⁴ *Brahā*; the Commentary reads *brahmā*, excellent—*i.e.*, in proportions.

And by my doctrine¹ do I turn the wheel
Of sovereignty, wheel irreversible.' (824)

Then Sela to win confirmation spoke again :²

Wholly enlightened thou dost own thyself :
'King of the Norm, above me there is none
And by my doctrine do I turn the wheel
Of sovereignty'—so sayst thou, GOTAMA. (825)
Who is the general of my lord the King,
Disciple following in the Master's steps ?
Who after his example turns the wheel ? (826)

Now the venerable Sāriputta was seated at the right of the Exalted One, his head shining in beauty like a pile of gold. And showing him the Exalted One said :

'The wheel I set a-going of the Norm,
Above which, Sela, there is none, that wheel
Doth Sāriputta after my example³ turn,
Who hath become like Him-who-Thus-hath-
Come. (827)

All that which should be known is known by
me,
All culture of the mind, that have I wrought,
Whate'er should be renounced I have renounced,
Hence, brahmin! am I Buddha—one Awake. (828)

¹ *Pariyatti-dhammo*, the Norm in its literary form, or formulated doctrines (Commentary).

² I omit from the text the glosses 'thus Sela said,' etc., which hamper the Pali metre.

³ *Ang. Nik.*, i. 28. *Anu*, in *anuvatteti*, *anujāto*, is intended to express conformity, likeness, and not so much succession in time. Cf. the latter term in *Iti-vuttaka* (trans. *Sayings of Buddha*), § 74, where it is applied to children whose lives resemble those of their parents. In becoming an Ariya, says the Commentary, Sāriputta became of like birth or caste (*jūti*) with the Tathāgata. Sāriputta did not live to succeed the Master as leader.

Subdue thy doubts regarding me, brahmin!
 Have faith in me. Hard, hard it is to win
 Repeated seeing—[as thou mayest now]—
 Of them who rise on earth Buddhas Supreme. (829)
 And 'tis of such whose advent in the world
 Is difficult and rare, that I in sooth
 Am one, O brahmin! yea, a Buddha I,
 Surgeon and Healer,¹ over whom there's none. (830)
 Supreme my place and past compare my work,
 In crushing the assaults of Māra's hosts.
 All that is hostile lieth 'neath my sway,
 And I rejoice for no whence cometh fear.' (831)

Then Sela the brahmin, so convinced by the Exalted
 One as to wish to take orders, said :

'Now pay good heed, sirs, to the words that He
 Who sees, Healer and Hero, speaks to us,
 Impressive as a forest lion's roar. (832)
 Supreme in place and past compare in work,
 Who crusheth the assaults of Māra's hosts:— (833)
 Who that hath seen him would not feel con-
 vinced,
 And were he never so obscure of birth?²
 He who is fain for me may follow me;
 And whoso is not fain may go his way;
 But I will in this Rule renounce the world,
 'Neath him who is so noble and so wise.' (834)

Then the brahmin youths also, because they had attained
 to the requisite conditions, replied :

'If to thy judgment, sir, this Rule of him,
 The Supreme Buddha, doth commend itself,
 We too will in that Rule renounce the world,
 'Neath him who is so noble and so wise.' (835)

¹ *I.e.*, of greed, hate and illusion (Commentary).

² Lit., 'one of dark descent,' paraphrased as *nīcajāto*.

Then Sela, delighted because those youths shared in his resolve, showed them to the Master and asked for ordination :

These thrice one hundred brahmins with clasped
hands

Beseech thee, O Exalted One, that we
May lead the holy life beneath thine eye. (836)

Then the Exalted One, inasmuch as in past ages Sela, as teacher of just those 300, had sown the root of merit, and now in the last life had produced both his own insight and their maturity, discerned that they were ripe for ordination and said :

‘ Well, Sela, is the holy life set forth,
Clear to be seen and heard ; swift is the fruit,¹
Wherein not futile is the coming forth
For one who earnestly doth train himself.’ (837)

Thereupon the Exalted One said : ‘ COME YE, BHIKKHUS !
And they, by his mystic power endued with the robes and bowl of bhikkhus of long-standing,² did obeisance and began their studies for insight, attaining arahantship on the seventh day. Thereat they came to the Master and confessed aññā thus, Sela speaking :

Lo! thou who seest all, ’tis eight days since
We came and refuge found. In one se’nnight,
Exalted One! we’re trained in thy Rule. (838)
Thou art Buddha! our Master thou! and thou
The mighty Seer who Māra didst o’erthrow.
Thou who all evil tendencies hast purged,
And crossed [the flood of life’s eternal sea],
’Tis thou dost aid the sons of men to cross. (839)

¹ *Paccakkho* is the paraphrase of *sandiṭṭhiko*; *akāliko*—lit., ‘not-time-ish’—is explained as where fruition is to be won immediately after [each] path, without interval of time. The *Sutta-Nipāta Commentary* explains in practically identical terms.

² This legendary feature is not in the *Sutta-Nipāta* story.

Thou hast transcended every cause of birth,
 And shattered every poison-growth within,
 Thou even as a lion, grasping nought,
 Hast banished every source of fear and dread. (840)
 Three hundred bhikkhus lo! before thee stand,
 With clasped hands outstretched to honour thee,
 Stretch forth thy feet, O hero! suffer them,
 Thine arahants,¹ their Master to salute. (841)

CCLIV

Bhaddiya, son of Kālī of the Godhas.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu in a clan of Sākiyan rājas,² he was named Bhaddiya. And when adult, he left the world together with Anuruddha and the other four nobles, while the Master was staying at the Mango Grove of Anupiyā. And entering the Order, he won arahantship. Him (as the result of a primeval vow and efforts on his part), the Master in conclave at Jeta Grove, ranked as the best among those bhikkhus who were of aristocratic birth.³ And he, dwelling in the bliss of fruition, in the bliss of Nibbāna, while in the forest, beneath a tree, in any lonely spot, was ever breathing forth the exclamation: 'Ah, what happiness! ah, what happiness!' Now bhikkhus hearing him told the Master; to whom Bhaddiya, when summoned, admitted the habit, adding: 'Formerly, lord,

¹ Nāgas. On this term, see Udāvi's psalm (CCXLVII.).

² I have not met elsewhere with the Godhas, but Kālī is recorded in *Saṅg.*, v. 396, as having been honoured by a visit from the Master at Kapilavatthu, and commended for her confession of faith as a believer in the First Path (*sotāpatti*). She is spoken of as Kālīgodhā the Sākiyan, and addressed as 'Godhe. It is not clear as to what was the political relation between rāja Bhaddiya and Suddhodana, who, in the *Dīgha-Nikāya*, is also termed simply rāja; not 'mahārāja,' as once in this Commentary. Cf. Rhys Davids *Buddhist India*, p. 19 ff. Bhaddiya's story occurs in *Udāna*, ii. 10.

³ *Ang. Nik.*, i. 23. Such had greater difficulties to overcome. Cf. *Sisters*, verse 517; *Majjh. Nik.*, iii. 129 f.

when I was ruling my principality, I was well provided with protection, yet even so I was ever fearful, nervous, distrustful. But now that I have renounced all, I am no longer in that state.' And before the Master he uttered his 'lion's roar,' thus :

What delicate gear was mine to wear,
When riding on my elephants,
What dainty fare was mine to eat,
Prepared by art from rice and flesh !¹ (842)

To-day a happy winner,² stanch,
Pleased with what scraps his bowl is filled,
In contemplation, grasping nought,
Lives Bhaddiya, the Godhā's son. (843)

In cast-off rags attired, and stanch,
Pleased with what scraps his bowl is filled,
In contemplation, grasping nought,
Lives Bhaddiya, the Godhā's son. (844)

Seeking his daily alms and stanch,
Pleased with what scraps, etc.³ (845)

In triple robe, no more, and stanch,
Pleased, etc. (846)

Taking each house in turn, and stanch,
Pleased, etc. (847)

With one good meal a day,⁴ and stanch,
Pleased, etc. (848)

Eating from bowl alone and stanch,
Pleased, etc. (849)

Refusing aftermeals and stanch,
Pleased, etc. (850)

Haunting the lonely woods and stanch,
Pleased, etc. (851)

¹ The things specified are types of a life in all these respects luxurious (Commentary).

² There is here a word-play on *bhadda-Bhaddiya*.

³ In every gāthā the three lines of refrain are to be understood.

⁴ *Ekāsani* : one 'sit-down meal' only in the day.

Sheltered by shade of tree¹ and stanch,
Pleased, etc. (852)

'Neath open sky, unsheltered, stanch,
Pleased, etc. (853)

Haunting the charnel-fields and stanch,
Pleased, etc. (854)

Seated no matter where and stanch,
Pleased, etc. (855)

Resting in sitting posture,² stanch,
Pleased, etc. (856)

Simple and few his wants and stanch,
Pleased, etc. (857)

With mind content, serene, and stanch,
Pleased, etc. (858)

Secluded, much alone and stanch,
Pleased, etc. (859)

Detached, aloof [from men] and stanch,
Pleased, etc. (860)

With surging energy³ and stanch,
Pleased with what scraps his bowl is filled,
In contemplation, grasping nought,
Lives Bhaddiya, the Godhā's son. (861)

Renouncing costly vessels wrought
In gold and lac, this earthen bowl
I grasped, and thus the second time
Anointment's consecration won.⁴ (862)
Guarded by lofty circling walls,
And mighty gates with watchtowers high
And men-at-arms with sword in hand,
So was I wont in dread to dwell. (863)

¹ *I.e.*, instead of by a roof.

² Verses 844-856 enumerate twelve of the thirteen Dhutangas, or extra austerities, optional to bhikkhus. Enumerated in *Milinda*, ii. 268. *Cf. Majjh. Nik.*, 77th Sutta.

³ Verses 857-861 refer to practices incumbent on all bhikkhus without option.

⁴ Verse 97, spoken also by an ex-prince.

To-day a happy winner, see,
 At ease, all fear and fright removed,
 In forest meditation plunged
 Dwells Bhaddiya the Godhā's son. (864)
 Firm planted on the moral code,
 In clarity¹ and insight trained,
 In due succession have I won²
 Release with every fetter gone ! (865)

CCLV

Angulimāla.

He was reborn in this Buddha-Age as the son of the brahmin, Bhaggava,³ who was chaplain to the King of Kosala. On the night of his birth all the armour in the town shone.⁴ The King's state armour too, so that he, seeing it as he lay in bed, could get no sleep, but was nervous and alarmed. The chaplain that night consulted the stars and concluded that his son was born in the conjunction of the thieves' constellation.⁵ At dawn he waited on the king and asked if he had slept well. 'How could I have slept well, teacher?' replied the King, 'my armour was lit up all night. Now what can that presage?'

¹ *Sati*, which is intelligent awareness. Cf. verse 794, n.

² On this 'succession,' see Rhys Davids, *American Lectures*, pp. 141-150.

³ Not identifiable with the Bhaggava, at whose hermitage the Prince Siddhattha first studied after his renunciation. See *Sisters*, p. 2.

⁴ I have given this quaint legend—invented to explain a nickname—in full, as affording a means of comparing the scholastic journalism of Buddhaghosa (Commentary on *Majjhima Nikāya*, 'Sutta 86') and of Dhammapāla. The two narratives differ in details, and are probably mutually independent and approximately contemporaneous. The story was a popular one; it occurs in the *Avadāna-Śaṭaka* (No. 27), and is referred to (*Milinda*, ii. 855). *Dhammapada*, verses 178, 422, refer to it, but the Commentary and that on *Jātaka V.*, No. 587, both refer to Buddhaghosa's account. Was the babe brother to Jenta, CCXVIII.?

⁵ On this 'brahmin art,' cf. *Dialogues*, i. 16 f., 20 f. I do not know which star or stars are meant.

‘Fear not, your majesty, in my house a child is born. Through his influence the armour in the whole town was lit up.’ ‘What then will he become, teacher?’ ‘The child will become a thief?’ ‘Single-handed, or leader of a gang?’ ‘Single-handed, sire.’ ‘Had we not better kill him?’ ‘If single-handed, he can be held in check.’

Now because he was born vexing the King’s mind he was named Hiṅsaka. But afterwards when what was seen was seen no more, he became known as Ahīṅsaka.¹ Through former Karma he had the strength of seven elephants. And while he studied under the first teacher at Takkaṣilā, he respectfully waited on the latter and his wife, so that he was frequently with them at meals and so forth. But the other brahmin youths could not endure him,² and at length brought about discord between him and the brahmin teacher, persuading the latter against him. Because of his pupil’s great strength, the brahmin devised a stratagem for his ruin, and said: ‘Ahīṅsaka, you have now finished as my pupil: give me my honorarium.’ ‘Very good, teacher, how will you have it?’ ‘Bring me a thousand human right-hand fingers.’ For he expected that Ahīṅsaka would for shame bring one only, and could then be punished. Thereat Ahīṅsaka’s long heaped-up ruthlessness came to the front, and girding on armour, he went to the Jālini forest,³ in Kosala, and from a cliff near the high road watched the passers-by, and rushing down smote off their fingers and hung them on a tree, till the vultures and crows had stripped the bones of flesh. Then making a garland of the fingerbones, he hung it round his shoulders as if decked for sacrifice. From that time he was called Fingerwreathed (Angulimāla). And when through his deeds the road became tabu, he entered the villages, and these became deserted. Then the King proclaimed: ‘Let

¹ Our nearest equivalents are *Nocens* and *Innocens*, the latter once a favourite Christian name. Dr. Neumann’s Wagnerian ‘Friedreich,’ etc., is wider of the mark. According to *Pap. Sūd.*, he was named Ahīṅsaka, or Abhiṅsaka, from the first.

² In the *Majjhima Nikāya Commentary* they were ‘aliens’ (*bāhirakā*).

³ ‘Snare Wood.’

a strong force come that we may quickly take the bandit.' And Angulimāla's mother, of the Mantāni brahmins,¹ said to her husband : ' Our son is a thief and committing this and that. Send for him, bid him to stop doing these things.' But he replied : ' I have nought to do with sons of that sort ; let the King do as he will.' Then she in love, took provisions and set out, saying : ' I will bring my son and stop him.'

The Exalted One thought : ' If she comes to him, Angulimāla will kill her to make up his thousand fingers. This is his last birth. If I do not go there might be great loss. I will speak to him.' So after his meal he travelled the thirty leagues along the road, and warning off cow-herds and the like, approached the Jālini Wood. Now Angulimāla had just seen his mother, and was reckoning on her finger to make up his number, when the Exalted One showed himself between them. Then said the son : ' Why should I kill my mother for a finger? Let my mother live! Let me rather go for that recluse's finger.' And drawing his sword he stalked the Exalted One. Then the Exalted One exerted such magic power that, even though he was walking at his usual pace, Angulimāla could not, even running, overtake him, but panting, pouring sweat, unable to lift his feet, stood like a stake and cried : ' Stop, friar!' The Exalted One said : ' Tho' I walk, yet have I stopped, and do you, Angulimāla, stop!' Then the thief thought : ' They speak the truth, these Sākiyan friars, yet he says he has stopped, whereas it is I who have stopped. What can he mean?' So he asked :

Thou who art walking, friar, dost say : ' Lo! I have stopped!'

And me thou tellest, who *have* stopped, I have *not* stopped!

I ask thee, friar, what is the meaning of thy words?
How sayest thou that thou hast stopped, but I have not? (866)

¹ Cf. IV.

Then the Exalted One replied :

Yea, I have stopped, Angulimāla, evermore,
Towards all living things renouncing violence ;
Thou holdest not thy hand against thy fellow-men,
Therefore 'tis I have stopped, but thou still goest
on. (867)

Thereat Angulimāla, as the Exalted One stood there revealing his true virtue, remembered what he had heard rumoured about him and, his insight reaching maturity, rapture pervaded his being, like a sheet of water spreading over the whole earth. And saying to himself, 'Great is this lion's roar. This can be none other, methinks, than the Samāṇa Gotama ; to help me the Exalted One is come hither !' he said :—

O long is it since mighty sage by me revered,
A friar, to this forest great, hath found his way !
Lo ! I will readily forego a thousand crimes,
Hearing the righteous doctrine in this verse of
thine. (868)

And so¹ the bandit doffed² his armour and his sword
And threw them down a cliff, into a pit, a chasm.
Before the Welcome One, low worshipping, the thief
Straightway besought the Buddha's leave to be
enrolled. (869)

Thereat the Buddha, mighty Sage most pitiful,
Master of all the world and eke of all the gods,
Spake then these words to him, saying : ' Yea, COME,
BHIKKHU !'

And e'en thereby to him was bhikkhu-status
given. (870)

¹ According to the Commentaries, the bandit speaks these words then and there. At verse 871 begins Angulimāla's song of triumph as arahant.

² *Anvākāsi* (*Pap. Sūd., anvākāri*) paraphrased as *khipi, chaḍḍesi*.

He who in former days a wastrel living,
 In later day no more so spends his time,
 He goeth o'er the world a radiance shedding,
 As when the moon comes free in clouded sky. (871)

To whomsoe'er the ill deeds he hath wrought,
 By a good life are closed up and sealed,¹
 He goeth o'er the world a radiance shedding
 As when the moon comes free in clouded sky. (872)

Surely a brother who in youth doth give
 Himself to live within the Buddha's Rule,
 He goeth o'er the world a radiance shedding
 As when the moon comes free in cloudy sky. (873)

Thus abiding in the joy and ease of emancipation, he went into the town for alms. And men threw, here a clod, and there a stick at him, hitting him on the head, so that he came back to the Vihāra with broken bowl² and sought the Master. The latter admonished him saying: 'Suffer it, brahmin, you have to suffer it. The result of your actions, for which you might have been roasted for centuries in purgatory, you are feeling now in this life.' Then the Thera, summoning up a heart of love for all beings without distinction,³ said:

O let my foes but hear the Norm as told to me,
 And hearing join with me to keep the Buddha's Rule!
 O let my foes but minister to men of peace,
 Who e'en have taken to their hearts that holy
 Norm! (874)

O let my foes from time to time but hear that Norm
 From them who tell of gentleness, and who commend
 Affection, and to what they hear, their actions
 suit! (875)

¹ *Pithīyati* the Commentary connects with the closing of a door.

² The *Majjhima Nikāya* gives a more coloured picture: 'With broken head and flowing blood, cut and crushed.' In the *Dhammapada Commentary*, iii., 169, he is represented as dying after uttering these verses.

³ Cf. I., pp. 4, 5, n. 1.

For such a foe would verily not work me harm,
 Nor any other creature wheresoever found.
 He would himself attain the peace inffable,
 And thus attaining cherish all both bad and
 good.¹ (876)

The² conduit-makers lead the stream,
 Fletchers coerce the arrow shaft,
 The joiners mould the wooden plank,
 The self 'tis that the pious tame. (877)
 Some creatures are subdued by force,
 Some by the hook, and some by whips ;
 But I by such an One was tamed
 Who needed neither staff nor sword. (878)

Innocens ! such the name I bear,³
 While Noxious in the past was I ;
 To-day most truly am I named,
 For now I hurt not any man. (879)

¹ *Tasa-thāvare* : in Childers 'feeble-strong,' but admittedly a term of doubtful meaning. Dhammapāla has 'all beings.' Buddhaghosa says : *Tasā* are called *sataṇhā*, *thāvarā*, *nittaṇhā* (having craving and the opposite).

Dr. Neumann, who in these three gāthās takes *disā* to mean, not 'foes,' as do both Commentaries, but the quarters of the firmament (*disā*, *disāyo*), lets himself go in an invocation to *die Lüfte*, entirely in the style and words of the German Romantic poets of the last century. The result is lovelier as poetry, if not after Thera-precedent, as observed by the Commentators he derides. The Thera's regret is that the men, 'relatives of his many victims,' do not know how changed he is, nor the virtues of that which has changed him.

² See XIX. The metre in (878) reverts to the śloka. The Thera, having uttered the foregoing for his own protection (Buddhaghosa), and to deliver others from evil (Dhammapāla), now declares his own accomplished work.

³ 'I bear' accords better with our Commentary, which gives *Higśākā* as the Thera's original name, and *Ahiṅsaka* as that given him on his conversion. Buddhaghosa's version is perhaps more plausible. Cf. p. 319, n. 1. It must, too, be remembered that his record was spotless till he tried to pay his colleagues.

Once an obnoxious bandit I,
 Known by my name of Finger-wreathed,
 Till toiling mid the awful flood,
 I refuge in the Buddha found. (880)
 Once were my hands imbrued with blood ;
 Known was my name as Finger-wreathed.
 O see the Refuge I have found,
 With every craving¹ rooted out ! (881)
 Me who had wrought such direful deeds,
 Fast going to my place of doom,
 Me all that doing's aftermath
 Hath touched e'en here—and freed from debt
 Now take I my allotted share.² (882)

'Tis a fool's part heedless to waste his life :—
 Such are the folk who will not understand.
 He who is wise doth foster earnestness
 As he were watching o'er his chiefest wealth. (883)
 Give not yourselves to wastage in your lives,
 Nor be familiar with delights of sense.
 He who doth strenuously meditate,
 His shall it be to win the bliss supreme. (884)

O welcome³ this that came nor came amiss !
 O goodly was the counsel given to me !
 'Mong divers doctrines mooted among men,
 Of all 'twas sure the Best I sought and found. (885)
 O welcome this that came nor came amiss !
 O goodly was the counsel given to me !
 The threefold wisdom have I made mine own,
 And all the Buddha's ordinance is done. (886)

Deep in the wild beneath some forest tree,
 Or in the mountain cave, is't here, is't there,
 So have I stood and let my throbbin' heart (887)

¹ *Bhavanetti*, 'guide to rebirth' = *taṇhā*. See verse 604, n. 1.

² See verse 789.

³ Pilinda-Vaccha's verse (IX.).

Transported beat. Happy I seek my rest,
 Happy I rise, happy I pass the day,
 Escaped from snare of evil—ah! behold
 The Master's sweet compassion shown to me! (888)

A child born of good brahmin stock was I;
 Of pure and high descent this side and that.
 This day the Welcome One doth call me son,¹
 The Master, yea, the Sovereign of the Norm. (889)
 Gone is all craving, nowhere have I hold.
 Guarded the gates, and well controlled the sense.
 Of this world's misery spewing forth the root,
 From every poison-taint am I immune.² (890)

The Master hath my fealty and love,
 And all the Buddha's ordinance is done.
 Low have I laid the heavy load I bore:
 Cause for rebirth is found in me no more.³ (891)

CCLVI

Anuruddha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu, in the house of Amitodana the Sākiyan, he was named Anuruddha.⁴ Thus his elder brother was Mahānāma the Sākiyan, the son of the Master's paternal uncle. And he was reared most delicately and luxuriously, in a different house for each of the seasons,

¹ The *Dhammapāda Commentary* relates (iii. 170) that when Angulimāla passed away, and the Master heard of it, he said: 'My son, bhikkhus, has reached Parinibbāna.' 'Lord, has he so reached who did kill so many people?' 'Yea, he did evil when he had not one virtuous friend, but when he found one, he strove earnestly, wherefore his evil-doing is closed up by good.'

² Cf. CXVI.

³ = verses 604, 792.

⁴ Both text and legend give one of his names in a previous birth, in Kassapa Buddha's time (verse 910). The Br. manuscript misspells the father's name (correctly given in the *Anguttara Nikāya Commentary*) as Amittodhana. See further, *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 224 ff. On the dancers, etc. (*nāṭakā*), see *ibid.*, iii. 225, n. 1.

and was surrounded with dancers and mimes, enjoying a divinely good fortune. And when he was summoned with the Sākiyan rājas to form a guard for the Master, he went to him in the Mango Wood at Anupiyā, took orders, and within the period of the rains, acquired celestial vision. Again, receiving an exercise under the tuition of the General of the Norm, he went into the East Bamboo Wood, and studying, mastered seven of the thoughts of a great man, but could not learn the eighth. The Master, discerning this, taught it to him, teaching him the great course of the lineage of the Ariyans.¹ Remembering this lesson, Anuruddha developed insight and realized arahantship, accompanied by supernormal and analytic powers.² Him the Master ranked foremost among those who had attained the celestial eye.³ And he, dwelling in the bliss of emancipation, reviewed one day his achievement. And thrilled with joy, he breathed forth this psalm :

Forsaking mother, father, all his kin,
Sister and brother, quitting joys of sense,
Sits Anuruddha rapt in reverie. (892)

By dance and song attended, by the sound
Of cymbals in the morn awaked :—not so
Were pure religion to be reached, too fain
Was I in Māra's precincts to abide. (893)

And now that all those things are left behind,
Fain with full heart to keep the Buddha's Rule,
Yea, passing over all the mighty Flood,
Sits Anuruddha rapt in reverie. (894)

¹ The eight thoughts (*Ang. Nik.*, iii. 228 ff. where the dialogue is given) are that the Dhamma is for one who—(1) has few wants; (2) is contented, serene, (3) much alone, (4) strenuous, (5) introspectively mindful, (6) concentrated, and (7) wise; (8) delights in freedom from obstruction.

The course of the lineage of the Ariyans (*ariyavaṇṣapaṭipadā*) in *Ang. Nik.*, ii. 26, is simply contentment with three of the bhikkhu's 'four conditions,' or necessities—raiment, food, and shelter—and with exercise or study, and selective or pruning culture (*bhāvanā, pahāna*).

² A unique variation : *abhiññāpaṭisambhidāparivāraṇ arahattaṇ*.

³ *Ang. Nik.*, i. 23. Cf. above, p. 82, n. 2; *Dialogues*, i. 91.

Sights, sounds and tastes, odours and things to
touch,

That please and charm,¹ leaving all these behind,
Sits Anuruddha rapt in reverie. (895)

From quest of alms he cometh back alone,
An unencumbered² silent sage; from heap
Of rubbish to renew what garb he hath
Doth Anuruddha seek, sane and immune. (896)

He seeketh, taketh, washeth, dyeth, wears
The shabby gear,³ this sage deliberate:—
For such is Anuruddha, sane, immune. (897)

He who is big with wants and discontent,
Is puffèd up⁴ and cleaveth to his kind,
Displayeth qualities corrupt and vile. (898)

And is he mindful, having few desires,
Contentedly serene and ne'er upset,
Delighting in seclusion, blithe of heart, (899)

Aye strenuous:—his qualities are good
And such as to enlightenment belong,
And he, sane and immune,—saith the Great
Seer. (900)

He knew my heart's intent, the Master, he
Whose peer the world hath not, and came to me
By mystic power with body wrought of mind.⁵ (901)

¹ Cf. verse 455.

² Lit., unseconded, unmated (cf. v. 54, 541). The Commentary paraphrases this by *nittan̄ho*, without craving. Cf. *Bud. Psy.*, p. 278; *Sutta Nipāta*, v. 740; and *Saṅg. Nik.*, i. 25, where *faith* is the 'mate.' As Anuruddha, in the *Majjhima Nikāya*, is the type of an affectionate, loyal comrade-bhikkhu (Suttas 82, 128), he could not well be typical of the *monachist*, like Ekavihāriya (CCXXXIV.). See also verse 155.

³ The first Dhutanga. Cf. CCLIV., verse 844.

⁴ *Uddhato*, often, as here, made synonymous with want of balance, as in our 'swelled head.'

⁵ Verses 901-908 are in *Ang. Nik.*, iii. 285, ending the lesson referred to. 'As if made of mind . . . let this body be as this mind: thus by process of will-fixing *iddhi*' (Commentary). Cf. *Compendium*, p. 61, *adhiṭṭhāniddhi*. The *Anguttara Cy.* (i. 28), quotes verses 901-908.

To me, when further truths I wished to learn,
 The Wake, the Buddha [that last truth] revealed ;
 He who in freedom from obsessions¹ joyed
 That freedom from obsessions taught to me. (902)
 And I who heard the blessed Norm abode
 Fain only and alway to keep his Rule ;
 The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
 And all the Buddha's ordinance is done.² (903)

Ne'er have I rested supine five and fifty years,³
 'Tis five and twenty years since sloth was over-
 come. (904)

No heaving breath left as He lay ;
 The mind in Jhāna's steadfast stay,
 With thought from every craving free,
 Fixed on the Peace incessantly :
 So passed the Man Who Saw away. (905)

With mind unshaken, as they came,
 He suffered pangs of death in peace ;
 Stole o'er His heart the last release :
 Nibbāna of the unfed flame.⁴ (906)

The last things these that now we see of Him,—
 Touch and the other senses of the Sage—
 No other conscious states⁵ shall come to be,
 When one that's wholly Wake doth pass away. (907)

Now, a spirit,⁶ who in a former birth had been his
 attendant, seeing the Thera old and feeble, came, out of

¹ *Papañca*, a word here interpreted as simply 'the (ten) *kilesas*,
 lust,' etc. Cf. p. 343, n. 4, and *Bud. Psy.*, p. 327 f.

² Cf. verse 561 and *Sisters*, verses 187, 194, 202.

³ Cf. verse 856.

⁴ Verses elsewhere ascribed to Anuruddha at the Buddha's passing
 away (*Dialogues*, ii. 176; *Avadāna*, 100). On the two versions
 (in *Dialogues*, line 4, is : . . . *yaṅ kālam akarī munī*, 'the seer died'),
 cf. Oldenberg's discussion, 'Studien zur Geschichte des buddhistischen
 Kanon,' *Nachrichten der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1912. p. 168 f.

⁵ *Dhammā*.

⁶ *Devatā*.

her former love for him, and bade him aspire to rebirth among the gods. But he made answer :

Sojourn amid the company of gods
 Never again, seducer,¹ comes for me.
 Destroyed is all renewal of rebirth.
 Now is there no more coming back to be. (908)

Then the other bhikkhus, not seeing the goddess, were wondering to whom the Thera was speaking. To show his mystic power to them he said this verse :

He who e'en in a moment by a thousand ways can take
 Purview of all the world, he is for Brahmā's heaven
 fit.²

But here's a brother versed in power of magic who
 doth see

What time [both men and gods], thou goddess, die and
 come to be. (909)

He now unfolds his former Karma :—

Lo ! I was Annabhāra long ago,³
 A poor man working for my daily bread,
 Then I to Upariṭṭha, the recluse
 Of holy fame, made humble offering. (910)

¹ Addressed, according to the Commentary, to the goddess. In *Saṅg. Nik.*, i. 200, where the goddess's verses are given, Jālinī (seducer, ensnarer) is said to be her name. *Cf.*, however, below, ver. (1181).

² The Commentary reads *sa-Brahmakappo* as *saha-Br°*, as in the frequent term *sa-Brahmako*, etc. But this seems more strained than the interpretation above, in which, with a more literal rendering, I follow Dr. Neumann. The Commentary does not explain *devatā* in the vocative, but elsewhere the verse does not parse correctly. *Sa bhikkhu* I take as *eso bhikkhu*. See verse 1181, n. 1.

³ This episode is the latest recorded in the prose legend of his lives before 'our Buddha's' time. The name Annabhāra, 'food-bearer,' (*cf. Ang.* iii. 122) is doubtless framed to suit the legend or *vice versa*. Annabhāra works for a Councillor Sumana of Benares, who, on hearing of how the former abstained from a meal to feed a Silent Buddha, rewarded him and set him up in trade.

Then was I born within the Sākiyan clan,
 As Anuruddha known ; by dance and song
 Attended, and by clang of cymbals waked.¹ (911)
 But I beheld the Buddha, the Awake,
 The Master, for whom no whence cometh fear.
 In him my heart believed and was at rest,
 And from the home I sought the homeless life. (912)
 I know my former lives, and where and how
 I lived in years gone by ; among the gods
 Thirty and Three I stood of Sakka's rank. (913)
 Seven times a king of men I held my sway,
 Lord of the earth from end to end foursquare,
 A conqueror, of Jambudipa chief,²
 Using no force or arms I ruled by right.³ (914)
 Thence seven, and other seven spans of life,
 E'en fourteen former births I recognize,
 E'en then when in the world of gods reborn. (915)
 In fivefold concentrated ecstasy,⁴
 My heart goes up in peace and unity.
 Serene composure have I made my own ;
 My vision as a god's is clarified. (916)
 I know the destinies of other lives :—
 Whence beings come and whither they do go ;
 Life here below, or other-where of life—
 Steadfast and rapt, in fivefold Jhāna sunk. (917)
 The Master hath my fealty and love,⁵
 And all the Buddha's ordinance is done.

¹ *Pabodhano*.

² See verse 822.

³ Seven among gods, seven among men (Commentary). The so-called 'celestial eye,' or sight is dealt with in verses 916, 917.

⁴ *Samādhi*—i.e., of *Fourth* Jhāna—based on his power of *abhiññā* (Commentary). The 'fivefold' quality, according to the Commentary, is not the Four Stages, with the First divided (see *Bud. Psy.*, p. 52), but a somewhat similar list of suffusion of—(1) zest ; (2) pleasure ; (3) *ceto*, ? will or intellect ; (4) light ; (5) a representative image. The fivefold Jhāna (917) is not so characterized. I have not as yet met with this classification elsewhere.

⁵ = verse 891, etc.

Low have I laid the heavy load I bore,
Cause for rebirth is found in me no more. (918)

In Veḷuva,¹ in Vajjian land 'twill be
That life shall reach its final term for me;
And I 'neath bamboo-thicket's shade that day,
Sane and immune, shall wholly pass away. (919)

CCLVII

Pārāpariya.

His story has been recorded above.² Now those verses he spoke in the Master's lifetime, himself not yet arahant, touching the governance of the six powers (five senses and mind). But these verses he uttered after the Master had passed away, and when his own passing away was at hand. And in them he declared the future of bhikkhus under a perverted Norm.

Now the first stanza was placed by the Compilers.

*These be the thoughts that came to a Brother,
Seated beneath the great forest's³ fair blossoms,
Lone and aloof, in deep contemplation :--* (920)

How is the conduct of the Brethren changed
Since when the Sovereign of the world, the Man
Supreme, was yet abiding on the earth! (921)
Raiment to shield from chilly winds, to hide
What should be hid, enough, no more, they sought,
Enjoyed contentedly whatever came. (922)
Whether the food was excellent or poor,
Whether 'twas much or little, they partook
To keep life going, free from greedy whims. (923)

¹ According to the Commentary this was Hatthigāma, near Vesālī.

² CCXLIX.

³ In the great wood of *sāl* trees (Commentary, 948). There was a 'Mahāvana' at Kapilavatthu, at Vesālī, and on the Nerañjarā in Magadha. Pārāpariya was a Sāvattī Thera; hence one cannot identify the wood.

The requisites for men as living things,
 And medicine too as means to live :—for these
 Not fervently they cared, as care they did
 How to destroy the poisons of the mind. (924)
 In the deep forests 'neath the shade of trees,
 In caverns, in the bosom of the rocks,
 Detachment studying and developing :—
 So lived they making that their instant quest. (925)
 Of lowly, humble soul and frugal ways,
 Gentle of heart, pliant and apt in mind,
 Of gracious manner, speech not scurrilous,
 Intent on good [for others and for self].¹ (926)
 Pleasant and lovely therefore in their lives :—
 Their goings, their enjoyments, their pursuits,—
 Like the smooth tenour of a stream of oil. (927)
 For them every intoxicant was dead,
 Mighty in Jhāna they, mighty for good :
 Now are those Elders wholly passed away.
 Few now-a-days there be like unto them. (928)
 From dearth of good conditions and insight,
 The Conqueror's Rule, compact of all that's best
 In plan and mode, crumbles and wears away. (929)
 Bad the conditions and corrupt the age,
 Wherein e'en they, who for the life detached
 Had made good start, and to the higher things
 That yet remain [might follow on],—e'en they (930)
 From the swift growth of all that doth corrupt,
 Do influence for evil many folk.
 Methinks they juggle with [the consciences
 Of] fools as devils sport with the insane. (931)
 By the corruptions overcome, such men,—
 Pursuing here and there what doth corrupt,
 As one who calleth loud what he hath got,—² (932)

¹ So the Commentary. Ver. 926-8 show the *Ariyavaṅṣapaṭipadā*.

² The three foregoing gāthās are full of difficulties, which, for me, are not always made intelligible by the Commentary. *Upaṭṭhita-vivekūya* is *suvisuddhasīlacārā pi samānā*. *Sesadhammakā* is, lit.

They quarrel 'mongst themselves, forsaking quite
 The blessed Norm, and, after errors gone,
 Do ween :—Lo! this is better, this is best. (933)
 They who have turned their back on wealth and wife
 And child, and left their home, if they but get
 Spoon - alms, will do things that beseem them
 not. (934)

They eat until they are replete, then down
 They lie supine, and when awake, discourse
 Concerning matters which the Master blamed.¹ (935)
 All arts and handicrafts they highly rate
 And practise :—such are bhikkhus' duties deemed,
 The while from inner conquest they abstain. (936)
 And clay and oil and powder for the bath,
 Water and food and lodging they present
 To laymen, in the hope of richer alms; (937)
 Yea, toothsticks also and kapitṭha fruit,²
 Petals of flowers to chew, and curries choice,
 Mangoes³ and cocoanut, myrobalan. (938)
 In drug-purveying they as doctors be,⁴
 In business matters like the laity,
 Like courtezans do they parade their gear,
 And play the lord like any noble squire. (939)

'remainder-of-Norm-ish.' 'Consciences' is interpolated. For *sayan-gahe*, etc., *asangāme* is suggested, as the battle-cry of Māra, captain of the *kilesas*. These, standing for evil or sin in general are greed, hate, dulness, conceit, error, perplexity, sloth, distraction, impudence, imprudence. Dr. Neumann cites only the first, over-simplifying the evil conditions.

¹ Abstemiousness, lying on the side only, and avoidance of certain topics belonged to a bhikkhu's duties. Cf. *Bud. Psy.*, p. 853; *Dialogues*, i. 245 (for 'heroes,' understand 'champions, athletes'); *Ang. Nik.*, i. 114; *Bud. Suttas*, 227.

² Apparently a kind of apple. Cf. *Milinda*, i. 262. Identified in Childers's Dictionary as *Feronia elephantum*.

³ Mangoes, the Commentary says, typify many fruits, such as citrons, cocoanuts, etc.

⁴ The practice of medicine and surgery for gain is disallowed for bhikkhus (*Dialogues*, i. 25 f.).

Adulterators they, tricksters and cheats,
 Unscrupulous, by many stratagems,
 In things of this world freely they indulge. (940)
 Pursuing ways and methods fit for fraud,
 Seeking a livelihood¹ by cunning craft,
 They draw together plenteous store of wealth. (941)
 To settle business is the Chapter called,
 Not in the interests of the holy Norm.
 And when they preach to others, 'tis but gain
 That is their motive not the good of men. (942)
 Many there be without the Order's fold
 Who brawl and quarrel o'er the Order's gains:
 Insolent spirits they, all unashamed
 To live on offerings to others given. (943)
 Thus some there are who lacking piety,
 Though with head shaved, and with the yellow robe,
 Yearn all the while to be revered,
 And hanker after favours, treats, and gifts. (944)

Thus when so much as now is fallen away,
 No easy thing it is, as it was then,
 Either to touch and win the unattained,
 Or to hold fast what hath been touched and won. (945)
 As one who shoeless walks in thorny brake,
 Calling up heedfulness at every step,
 So should the sage in township make his tour. (946)
 Remembering the saints of other days,
 And recollecting how it was they lived,
 E'en though to-day be but the after-time,
 He may yet win the Ambrosial Way of Peace. (947)

*Thus in the sāl-wood spake the good Friar,
 Well-trained and practised as to his faculties.
 Then to the Saint came the Peace of the Passing—
 Came to the Seer for whom was no rebirth. (948)*

¹ *Jīvikatthū* (where Dr. Neumann's rendering is ingenious, if strained) is paraphrased by *jīvikappayojanū*; *ājīvahetukā*.

CANTO XVII

POEMS OF THIRTY VERSES

CCLVIII

Phussa.

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of the ruler of a province,¹ he was named Phussa, and was trained in all the accomplishments of noble youths. But because of the conditions to which he had attained, his heart hung not upon worldly desires, so that when he heard a certain great Thera preach the Norm, he believed, and entered the Order. Practising himself in Jhāna, he thereby established insight, and in due course acquired sixfold abhiññā.

Now one day an ascetic named Paṇḍara-gotta² heard him teach the Norm. And seeing around the Thera a company of bhikkhus all of virtuous conduct, trained and controlled in body and mind, that ascetic thought: 'Excellent i' faith is this system! Long may it prevail on earth!' And he asked the Thera: 'How will it be, your reverence, with the progress of bhikkhus in the future?'

To explain this situation the Compilers first placed this verse:

*Paṇḍarasa-gotta, hermit,
Seeing such a goodly audience,
Modest, quiet, contemplative,
Questions asked, addressing Phussa:— (949)*

¹ *Maṇḍalikaraṇṇo*. See p. 88, n. 5.

² The Commentary gives Paṇḍa, Paṇḍara, Paṇḍarasa, as equally valid. Nothing more is known of him; but it may be he is connected with the Paṇḍaranga, a set of 'Wanderers' in the days of Bindusāra and his son Emperor Asoka. *Samantapāsādikā (Vinaya Texts, iii. 800)*.

What in the days to come will be your aims,
 And what will be your tendencies¹ and what
 Will be your customs and observances?²
 To me who ask thee do thou this declare. (950)

PHUSSA.

List to my words, Seer, Paṇḍarasa named,
 And store them in thy mind attentively;
 I will pronounce concerning things to come.³ (951)

Hasty of temper and malign,
 Arrogant, hypocritical,
 Deceitful, envious, bickerers:
 Thus many in those days shall be; (952)
 Deeming they know the depths of truth,
 While standing at the water's edge.
 Flighty, irreverent towards the Norm;
 And mutually irreverent. (953)

Yea, many evils on this earth
 Shall in the future come to pass.
 This Norm of ours so well set forth
 The stupid-minded will corrupt. (954)
 When in the Conclave voice and vote
 Are giv'n, men, tho' in virtue poor,
 Will forward be, in backers strong,⁴
 Scurrilous and unscholarly. (955)
 When in the Conclave voice and vote
 Are given, they of virtuous mind
 And honesty will weaklings be,
 Of shamefaced mood and little zeal. (956)

¹ = *kiṅ-disajjhāsayā* (Commentary).

² = *vārittacārittavanto* (Commentary).

³ Analogous predictions of dangers besetting the Order in the future (*anūgata-bhayāni*, etc.) are ascribed, in several discourses, to the Buddha (*Ang. Nik.*, iii. 105-110; cf. pp. 176 f., 247 f., 329 f., 340).

⁴ = *pakkhabalena balavanto* (Commentary).

Silver and gold, fields, sites and herds,¹
 Slaves, maids and men, in days to come
 The undiscerning will accept. (957)
 And foolish ones in testy mood,
 Lacking in ethical restraint,
 Will truculently go about
 Like wild things spoiling for a fight. (958)
 Sobriety they will not know:—
 They will be draped in robe of blue,²
 Hypocrites, stiff-necked, obstinate,
 Chatterers, skilled diplomatists,³
 Counterfeiting the saints of old. (959)
 Hair sleek with oil, and frivolous mien,
 And eyelids with collyrium dyed,
 And swathed in robe of ivory hue:
 Thus will they go about the streets. (960)
 The yellow robe, that goodly dye,
 That freed souls wear without disgust,
 The Banner of the Arahant,
 Creates in them but queasiness,
 Who hanker after robes of white. (961)
 Greedy of gain they will become,
 Sluggish and poor in energy;
 Finding fatigue in woodland haunts,
 Around the township will they bide. (962)
 And ever bent on wrongful ways,
 Without restraint, as pupils apt,
 They'll follow those who get most gifts. (963)
 But they to whom no gifts are given,
 Will find nor honour nor regard;
 Though they be men of worth and charm,
 No following will be theirs that day. (964)

¹ *I.e.*, for building, or fallow ground—‘*akatabhūmibhāgo vatthu*,’ ‘herds,’ lit., goats, representing all cattle (Cy.). Cf. *Vin. Texts*, iii. 389 f.

² ‘Dyed of inappropriate colour generally’ (Commentary).

³ Cf. *JPTS*, 1885, p. 58; *Milinda*, ii. 258; *Iti-vuttaka*, p. 112. The Commentary in places defines in the same words as Buddhaghosa (*Ang. Nik.*, ii. 26).

Scorning their own, the yellow gear,
 Some will wear red of foreign dye,¹
 And others will be found to wear
 White robes of some sectarian flag. (965)
 Dishonour toward the yellow robe
 They in those days will show; bhikkhus
 Will not consider what it means. (966)
 Want of discernment such as this
 Was tragedy unthinkable
 To that wise beast who lay o'ercome
 By pain, wounded, in dire distress.² (967)
 For the Six-tusker then beheld
 The well-dyed flag of arahants,
 And thereanent the elephant,
 Pointing the moral, verses spake: (968)
 'Who suffers vice, yet dons the saffron robe,
 Keeping apart from self-control and truth,
 Unworthy he to wear the saffron hue. (969)
 Who vice rejects, steadfast in virtuous ways,
 And yokes himself to self-control and truth,
 Worthy is he to wear the saffron hue.'³ (970)
 Immoral, stupid and perverse,
 A wanton doer, one whose heart
 Wavers, whose mind is overcast:
 Unworthy he of saffron robe. (971)

¹ On *milakkhurajanaṇ rattay* the Commentary has *kālakarajanena rattay*, 'the nasal ṇ being inserted *metri causā*' in *milakkhurajana-rattay*.

² *Ruppato*, dat. of *ruppay*; *sarīravikāray āpajjato* (Commentary). Cf. *Sutta Nipāta*, v. 381.

³ From the *Chaddanta* (Six-tusker) *Jātaka*, v., No. 514. The elephant, who, it was claimed, was the Bodhisat (destined to become a Buddha), is trapped in a pit by the craft of a hunter, who, to avoid creating suspicion of harm in the beast's mind, disguises himself as a bhikkhu! The *Jātaka* verses are also incorporated in the *Dhammapada*, verses 9, 10. Cf. *Kāsāva-Jātaka*, ii., No. 221. On the word-play, *kasāva*, 'vice,' *kāsāva*, 'yellow dye,' see M. Müller's *Dhammapada*, SBE, x. 5, n. 9. The citation of this ancient gāthā, and its story, by another book of the Khuddaka-Nikāya is of historical interest.

He who with virtue blest, is freed
 From passion, is intent in heart,
 Whose hopes and purposes are white:¹
 Worthy is he of saffron robe. (972)
 A fool with mind puffed up, distraught,
 For whom no moral code exists:
 Gear white of hue doth he deserve.
 For saffron robe what use hath he? (973)
 Brethren and Sisters, in that day,
 With hearts corrupt, and impious,
 Will bully and humiliate
 Such as have trained their hearts in love. (974)
 And fools e'en by their Elders taught
 Rightly to wear and use the robe,
 For want of wit will listen not,
 Perverse and wanton doers all. (975)
 And so the fools, instructed thus,
 Lacking in mutual respect,
 Will not their tutors' word obey,
 No more than vicious hack its groom. (976)

Thus in the age that is to come
 Will be the course and tendencies
 Of bhikkhus and of bhikkhunīs,
 When the last time shall be at hand.² (977)
 Until this time of mighty dread
 That now is not shall come to pass,
 Be ye of gentle, docile hearts,
 Filled with a mutual regard. (978)
 Be loving and be pitiful
 And well controlled in virtue's ways,

¹ Cf. verse 549. *Suvisuddhamano vitakko anāvilasankappo vā* (Cy.).

² 'What,' asks the Commentary, 'is the last time (*pacchimo kūlo*)?' "From the Third Council" (at Patna, in Asoka's reign) is a reply disputed by some. For there are five stages (*yugāni*) in the [life of the] Sāsana: *Vimutti*, *samādhi*, *sīla*, *suta*, *dāna*. They follow in this order, till only the outward signs (*linjamattā*) survive.'

Strenuous, bent upon the goal,
 And onward ever bravely press. (979)
 That danger doth in dalliance lie :—
 That earnestness is sure and safe :—
 This when ye see, then cultivate
 The Eightfold Path, so shall ye touch,
 So make your own,¹ the Deathless Way. (980)

Thus spake the Thera to his congregation. Now just these verses were his confession of aññā.

CCLIX

Sāriputta.

His story and that of Moggallāna the Great² are taken together. Æons ago, in the days of the Buddha Anomadassi, they were playmates, named Sarada and Sirivaddha, sons, the one of an eminent brahmin, the other of a great landowner. Sarada succeeded to his father's estate, but oppressed with the general doom of all creatures, he left the world to seek a path of release, inviting Sirivaddha to do likewise. 'I cannot,' answered Sirivaddha, but he yielded when Sarada, as a Rishi, had been visited by the Buddha. Now all Sarada's followers became arahants after hearing Anoma, the chief disciple, preach the Norm. But Sarada himself, being pre-occupied in mind, was unable to penetrate to the Paths and the Fruits. Thereupon both Sarada and Sirivaddha aspired, in presence of the Buddha, to occupy, like Anoma, the post of chief disciples to a Buddha in the future. This the Buddha promised should come to pass in the days of Gotama Buddha. There is no record of their subsequent kamma, but before our Exalted One arose, Sarada was reborn not far from Rājagaha, at the township

¹ 'Touch'—*i.e.*, 'realize,' Commentary reading *phusantā*.

² See CCLXIII. Dhammapāla's account of the legend is here somewhat condensed.

of the Upatissas,¹ of Rūpasārī the brahminee, and on the same day Sirivaddha was born, not far from Rājagaha, at the township of the Kolitas, of Moggalī the brahminee. And because each was the son of the head of his family, the one was named Upatissa, the other Kolita. Both boys² were reared in luxury, and excelled in all accomplishments. But seeing the crowds one day assembled for the hill-top fair³ at Rājagaha, they both, because their insight had attained maturity, beheld how, within a century, all that folk would fall into the jaws of death, and with agitation they decided to seek a doctrine of release. And they left the world in the school of the Wanderer Sañjaya, agreeing each to tell the other if he first arrived at Amata.

In Sañjaya's teaching they found nothing genuine, and pursued their quest, asking recluses and brahmins, till through Assaji the bhikkhu, they found the Exalted One,⁴ and were by him ordained with the laying on of the hand and the words: COME, BHIKKHUS. Made Stream-winners by Assaji's summary of the Norm,⁵ they had no need to study, for each of the other three Paths. Why? Because of their consummate knowledge even as disciples. Thereby the Venerable Moggallāna, on the seventh day, at the village of Kallavāla in Magadha, overcame sloth and torpor by the Master's injunction, and listening to an exercise on elements,⁶ won the topmost point, while the Venerable Sāriputta, half a month after his ordination, won it while dwelling with the Master in the Sukarakhata Cave⁷ at Rājagaha; while

¹ Nālaka. Upatissa was his family name, Vanganta his father's name (*Dhammapada Commentary*, ii. 84; see above, CCXXXVIII.).

² Their close friendship is described in detail in the *Dhammapada Commentary*, i. 90 ff. ('Aggasāvaka-vatthu,' on verses 11, 12).

³ *Giraggasamajja*. On *samajja*, see *Dialogues*, i. 7, n. 4.

⁴ Fully described in *Vinaya Texts*, i. 144 ff.; hence I have greatly condensed the narrative here.

⁵ Viz., that the Buddha explained all things *causally*.

⁶ I cannot trace this particular exercise in the Nikāyas, but there are several that may have served such a purpose—*c.g.*, in the *Dhātu-Samyutta*, ii. 143 ff.; also 248; iii. 227 ff.; *Ang. Nik.*, iii. 245, 290.

⁷ Or Sūkara. The name is not met with elsewhere. Cf. *Dhammapada Commentary*, i. 96.

Dīghanakha, the Wanderer, his sister's son, was being taught the 'Vedanāpariggaha' Suttanta.¹ Thereafter the Master, in conclave at Jetavana, ranked Sāriputta chief among his disciples in wisdom and insight.

And he, established in the position of General of the Norm, working for the good of beings, one day thus declared his aññā before his fellow-disciples :

Whoso according to his powers
Is virtuous,² saintly, clear in mind,
Earnest his purpose to perform,
Who loveth introspective work,³
Well concentrated and intent,
Lone and detached, blissful, serene :
This man is rightly Bhikkhu named. (981)

When he of food or moist or dry partakes,⁴
Let him not fully satiated be.
Lean in the stomach, temperate at meals,
And watchful let the bhikkhu wend his way.⁵ (982)
Hath he but eaten mouthfuls four or five,
Let him drink water :—here is sure enough
Refreshment for a bhikkhu filled with zeal. (983)
Things that are seemly let him get and take :—
Raiment that's worn for this specific end :—
Comfort enough for bhikkhu filled with zeal. (984)

¹ I.e., the 'Dīghanakha-Suttanta' (*Majjh. Nik.*, i., No. 74). It is called as above in the *Dhammapada Commentary*, *loc. cit.*, and in *Sumangala-Vilāsini* on *Dīgha*, ii., XIV., § 10.

² The Commentary paraphrases *yathācārī* as *yato kāyādīhi saṅgato, saṅvuto hutvā carati*, which is merely exegetical; -*sato* is for -*santo*.

³ *Ajjhattarato*. This apparently curious term—lit., delighting in what is of one's self, or personal—occurs in a verse repeated four times in the Sutta-Pitaka: *Dīgha Nik.*, ii. 107; *Saṅg. Nik.*, v. 268; *Dhammapada*, verse 862; *Udāna*, vi. 1. In *Dialogues*, ii. 113, it is rendered 'with inward joy,' the Commentary only paraphrasing by *niyaka*, 'one's own' (*Therīgāthā*, ver. 469). Here our Commentary paraphrases by 'delighting in the practice of meditative exercise.'

⁴ The metre here changes from a long irregular one to śloka.

⁵ *Paribbaje* = *vihareyya* (Cy.). Quoted in *Mil.* ii. 350; *Jāk. Cy.*, ii., 293.

And when he sitteth cross-legged on his couch,
 If but his knees be screened from falling rain,¹
 'Tis ease enough for bhikkhu filled with zeal. (985)

Whoso hath looked on pleasure as but pain ;
 Who hath discerned in pain the piercing dart ;
 Saw no abiding self betwixt the two :—²
 What world will hold, what fate detain that
 man ? (986)

Ne'er give me one with evil in his heart,
 Inert, inactive, and intractable,
 Knowing but little of the holy Norm.
 What world will hold, what fate detain that
 man ?³ (987)

He who is learnèd in the holy Norm,
 Can understand, is thoroughly intent
 On moral base, and knit to inward calm :—
 Let him for me the head and foremost stand. (988)

Whose heart is to obsessions⁴ given o'er—
 A deer seduced by fascination's snare—
 He from Nibbāna goeth far astray,
 To utmost haven fails to find the course. (989)

¹ This is the first of the gāthās quoted in the *Milinda* as Sāriputta's (ii. 280). Some of them are not traceable in the Canon. The Commentary explains: 'Of whom, so seated in his hut, the rain does not wet the knees.'

² Referring to the doctrine in *Saṅg. Nik.*, iv. 207 ; *Iti-vuttaka*, § 58. The ethical point is self-mastery with regard to the three modes of feeling on occasion of sense. The usual reference to the third mode, neutral feeling, is 'hath looked on it as impermanent' (*aniccatto*). Here it is *anattato*. The Commentary has *nāhosīti : yathābhūtāva-bodhe na attaniyābhivivesanaṃ ahoṣi*.

³ Lit. : By what in the world what may be ? Quoted, *but not verbatim*, in *Milinda*, ii. 382. Dr. Oldenberg inclines to think *anūcāro* may be more correct than *anūdarō*, intractable (*Theragāthā*, p. 89, n.).

⁴ The difficult word *papañca*. See Dr. Neumann's note at this passage and ours (*Dialogues*, ii. 312). The former renders it by *Sonderheit*, *Vielheit*, diversity, plurality. But when the danger in

But he who from obsessions clears the heart,
 Delighting in that path where these are not,
 He to Nibbāna surely finds the way,
 To utmost haven safely steers his course. (990)

Now one day the Thera, seeing where his younger brother Revata¹ was dwelling—a waterless jungle of thorn and acacia trees—commended him, saying :

In village or the wild, in vale, on hill,
 Where'er the men of worth, the arahants,
 Their dwelling make, delightful is that spot. (991)
 Delightful are the forests, where no crowd
 Doth come to take its pleasure ; there will they
 Who are released from passions find their joy.
 Not seekers they for sense-satiety. (992)

Again, the Thera showing kindness to an unfortunate brahmin named Rādha, caused him to leave the world and enter the Order.² Afterwards, while on tour, he admonished Rādha, pleased with his gentle behaviour :

As one who shows where treasures hidden lie,
 So is the man of wisdom who discerns
 What to avoid, and utters sage rebuke :—
 If such an able guide ye see and heed,
 For you who follow, better 'tis, not worse. (993)

Now one day, the Master not going himself to suppress the corrupt settlement of the Assaji-Punabbasu bhikkhus

these is opposed to 'concentration,' 'selection,' 'simplicity,' etc., the word opposed to *ekatta* is, so I find, *nīnatta*, not *papañca*. *Papañca* is defined as threefold : 'craving,' 'conceit,' and 'error' (*ditthi*). In the *Vibhanga*, p. 390, *papañcitāni* are nine forms of speculation (*ditthi*) about future individual existence, a content shared by the terms *maññitāni* (conceits), *phanditāni* ('vapourings,' imaginings), *sankhatāni* (mental concoctions). Cf. my note *JRAS*, 1906, 246 f.

¹ Cf. XLII., CCXLIV.

² This is more fully related in *Dhammapada Commentary* ('Rādha-thera-vatthu'), ii. 104 ff., on verse 76. Rādha is probably the aged Thera of CXXVII., ordained by Sāriputta.

on Kiṭā Hill,¹ Sāriputta went instead with Moggallāna and their followers. And when Sāriputta's admonition was disregarded, he spake thus :

One should exhort, one should instruct, forbid,
Hinder that which is mischievous and wrong.
So acting, by the good is one beloved ;
'Tis only evil-doers who take dislike. (994)

When the brethren were saying that he whom the Master was teaching—namely, Dīghanakha the Wanderer²—was fully prepared by his antecedents, Sāriputta interposed, saying : That was not so :

Another was't to whom He taught the Norm—
The Exalted One, the Buddha, He who Sees—
For while the Norm was being taught I heard,
Seeking for good with hearing all attent. (995)
And not in vain, I trow, my listening,
For I have won release, am sane, immune.
Nor to attain the vision of my past,
Nor for the means to see—the eye divine— (996)
The mystic power to read the thoughts of men,
Discern decease, rebirth in earth and heaven,
Nor for the ear celestially attuned :—
Had I to pitch and to adjust the mind.³ (997)

The next three stanzas were spoken of him, when, dwelling at the Dove's Cave Vihāra, he took no injury from the Yakkha's blow :⁴

¹ On this section of the first schismatics, see *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 847 ff. Cf. iii. 211 ; *Dhammapada Commentary*, ii. 109. The hill was near Sāvattihī.

² See above, p. 84, n. 5.

³ *Paṇidhi me na vijjati*. See Sāriputta's story—his needing no intermediate studies.

⁴ This quaintly told episode is in *Udāna*, iv. 4. The Vihāra is not as yet met with elsewhere. In that work the concluding three lines are said to have been spoken of him by the Buddha. Verses 998-1000 are ascribed also to Revata (CCXLIV.).

Seated at foot of tree, with shaven head,
 Wrapped in his cloak, in wisdom ranked supreme,
 The Thera Upatissa musing deep, (998)
 His thought transcending acts percipient,¹
 Disciple of the supreme Buddha, he
 Thus far in Ariyan silence was immersed. (999)
 E'en as a mountain-crag unshaken stands,
 Sure-based, a Brother with illusions gone,
 Like to that mountain stands unwavering. (1000)

Now one day, through the Thera's absence of mind, the lap of his robe hung down. And a novice said: 'Your reverence, it should be draped around you.' Then Sāriputta, nodding, said: 'Good, you have done well to say so!' And going a little way, he draped his robe round him. And showing that for such as he that was a fault, he said:

The man of blameless life, who ever seeks
 For what is pure, doth deem some trifling fault,
 That is no heavier than the tip of any hair,
 Weighty as [burden of the gravid] cloud.² (1001)

Again he showed the equanimity of his mind in respect to living or dying with the verse:

Not fain am I to die nor yet to live.
 I shall lay down this mortal frame anon
 With mind alert, with consciousness controlled. (1002)

With thought of death I dally not, nor yet
 Delight in living. I await the hour
 Like any hireling who hath done his task.³ (1003)

Again, in teaching the Norm, he uttered these verses:

On both sides [of the scene we look,] and lo!
 'Tis dying, not the dearth of death [we see],

¹ He was in Fourth Jhāna (Commentary). But *avitakka* is reached as early as the second stage.

² Also in his brother's poem, = verse 652.

³ = verse 606. These, again, come into Revata's verses.

Be it the backward or the forward view.¹
 Fulfil ye then your course, lest ye be lost !
 See that this moment pass not by for nought !² (1004)
 E'en as a border city guarded well
 Within, without, so guard ye well yourselves !
 See that the moment pass not and be lost,
 For many mourn in woe that moment past. (1005)

Now one day, seeing the venerable Koṭṭhita the Great,
 he spoke three stanzas proclaiming his excellence :³

Whoso serene and calm, dead to the world,
 Can utter wisdom's runes with wit unswelled,
 Unruffled, he doth shake off naughty things,
 As they were forest-leaves by wind-god blown. (1006)
 Whoso serene and calm, dead to the world,
 Can utter wisdom's runes with wit unswelled,
 Unruffled, he doth strip off naughty things,
 As they were forest-leaves by wind-god blown. (1007)
 Calm and serene, by vice unharassed, free
 From all that hinders clarity of mind,
 Lovely in virtue, of discerning wit,
 He should End-maker be of suffering. (1008)

The following was said concerning the Vajjians who
 believed in Devadatta,⁴ and approved of his doctrine :

Some⁵ souls there be on whom none should rely,
 Be they housefolk, or e'en among recluses.

¹ Standing in middle-life and looking at old age or youth (Commentary). In these four lines the śloka is exchanged for an irregular species of verse. Read *ubhayena-m-idaṇ*.

² Cf. verses 403, 653 ; *Sisters*, verse 5.

³ Curiously enough the first is ascribed to Koṭṭhita himself. See II.

⁴ On the career of Devadatta, first cousin to the Buddha, see *Vinaya Texts*, i. 228 f., 233 ff., especially 239 ff. Cf. *Milinda*, i. 162 ff. Sāriputta, who had previously sung his praises, was appointed to proclaim him a renegade, whose very virtues were untrustworthy.

⁵ On *ekatiyesu* (Cy. *ekaccesu*), see Trenckner, *Pali Miscellany*, p. 56

Such as have once been good and turned to bad,
 And then from bad have veered to good again. (1009)
 Desires of sense, ill-will, torpor and sloth
 In the bhikkhu, distraction of the mind,
 And doubt :—five cankers of the heart¹ are
 these. (1010)

Whoso can suffer both extremes of fate :
 The favour and disfavour of the world,
 The while he bides in sober earnestness,
 Unwavering his concentrated mind :—(1011)
 Him, musing ardent and unweariedly,
 With intuition fine and delicate,
 Zealous to slay the tendency to grasp :—
 Him ' a good man ' indeed should others call. (1012)

To draw yet other distinctions, instancing the Master
 and himself, he uttered these verses :

The mighty ocean, the extended earth,
 The mountains, yea, the firmament² afford
 No picture meet to show how excellent
 Th' emancipation of our Master's mind. (1013)
 The Elder Brother, very wise, intent,
 Who after His example turns the Wheel,
 Is like to earth, to water, and to fire,
 In that he feels no fondness nor disgust.³ (1014)
 He hath the topmost place for wisdom now,
 Mighty in intellect, a mighty sage ;
 Not dull is he though he seem dull of wit ;⁴
 Ever in blissful cool he wends his way. (1015)

¹ These five ' Hindrances ' are here classed as Kilesas, or *kelisā* (*Bud. Psy.*, 310 ff.)—so also the (Br) Cy. = ' *cittupakkilesā*.'

² ' That which is divided into East, and so on ' (Commentary).

³ The Master was, deliberately and magnanimously, as equable with regard to things desirable and undesirable as were the elements, unconsciously, says the Commentary. The bhikkhu had to cultivate the earth-mind, water-mind, to the same end (*Majjh. Nik.*, i. 428 ; *Ang. Nik.*, iv. 374 ; cf. *Jūt.*, iii. 247 ; *Milinda*, i. 258 ; ii. 808, 811).

⁴ Cf. verse 501. ' Owing ' to the simplicity of his wants.' Com-

To show the completion of his life's task, he said :

The Master hath my fealty and love,
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done.
Low have I laid the heavy load I bore ;
Cause for rebirth is found in me no more.¹ (1016)

And when he came to his utter passing away, he thus admonished the brethren assembled around him :

Press on with earnestness and win the goal !
This the commandment that I give to you.
Lo ! now my going-out complete will be.
From all am I released and utterly.² (1017)

CCLX

Ānanda.

Deceased from the Tusita heaven, together with our Bodhisat, he took birth in the family of Amitodana the Sākiyan.³ And because the kinsfolk said, 'He is born bringing you happiness' (Ānanda), so they named him. When he was grown up, and the Renunciation, Supreme Enlightenment and Wheel-rolling had taken place, and the Exalted One had finished his visit to Kapilavatthu, Ānanda renounced the world with Bhaddiya⁴ and the others, and was ordained by the Exalted One. Not long after he heard a discourse by Punṇa of the Mantānis,⁵ and completed the First Path.

mentary, reading, for *mahāmuni*, *mahamatī*, and quoting the Buddha's eulogy of Sāriputta, *Majjh.*, iii. 25.

¹ = verses 604, 792, 891, 918.

² Ascribed to his brother, Revata, when the latter also was dying (verse 658). Cf. the Buddha's last words, *Dialogues*, ii. 178.

³ Cf. the genealogical table in Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 52, where, according to authorities later than Dhammapāla, he is made son of Suklodana, another brother of Suddhodana. Here he is made brother (possibly half-brother) to Mahānāma and Anuruddha (see CCLVI.).

⁴ Cf. CCLIV.

⁵ Cf. IV.

Now during the first twenty years of the Exalted One's Buddhahood, his personal attendants were not permanently such. One day it was Nāgasamāla,¹ who, taking bowl and cloak, walked [after him]; another day Nāgita,² another day, Upavāna,³ Sunakkhatta,⁴ Cunda the novice,⁵ Sāgata,⁶ Meghiya.⁷ Usually the Master did not favour one more than the others. But one day the Master, seated in the Buddha's seat of supremacy, in the cell of the Fragrant Chamber, surrounded by the brethren, addressed them thus: 'I, bhikkhus, am now advanced in years;⁸ and some bhikkhus, when they have been told, "Let us go this way," take another way, and some drop my bowl and cloak on the ground. Do ye know of a bhikkhu to be my permanent body-servant?' Then a righteous thrill went through the brethren, and the venerable Sāriputta arose, and, bowing to the Exalted One, said: 'I, lord, will wait upon you.' Him the Exalted One rejected, and Moggallāna the Great also. And all the great disciples said, 'We will wait upon you,' save only Ānanda. But he just sat in silence. Then they said to him: 'Brother, do you, too, ask the Master for the post of attendant?' 'If I did ask, what sort of post-gaining would that be? He himself will say of whom he approves.' Then the Exalted One said: 'Ānanda, bhikkhus, is not to be urged by others; if he knows it of himself, he will wait upon me.' Then the brethren said again: 'Get up, brother Ānanda, ask the Master for the post.'

¹ Cf. CLXXXVI.

² Cf. LXXXVI.

³ Cf. *Dialogues*, ii. 151.

⁴ Cf. *Dialogues*, iii., XXIV., §§ 3, 4.

⁵ Apparently not Cunda the Great (CXXXI). He was attendant on Sāriputta till the latter died. He then announced the death to Ānanda and the Buddha (*Sany. Nik.*, v. 161 f.).

⁶ Cf. *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 2 ff.; *Jātaka*, i., No. 81.

⁷ Cf. LXVI.

⁸ Judging by Ānanda's account of his term as constant attendant, in verses 1039-1043, the Buddha will have been at this time fifty-six years old. The twenty years of temporary attendance added to these twenty-five just make up the period of the Buddha's ministry.

Then Ananda stood up and said : ‘ If, lord, the Exalted One will refuse me four things and grant me four things, then will I wait upon the Exalted One. Will he never give me any choice garment or food gotten by him, nor a separate “fragrant cell,” nor go if he has received an invitation? For if he do not deny me these things, some will say : “Where is the burden [of such service]? Ānanda serves that he may get clothes, good fare and lodging, and be included in the invitations.” And further, will the Exalted One go when I have received invitations? Will he suffer me to bring those to him who have come from afar and around to see him? Will he, when I am perplexed, suffer me to come to him? Will he repeat to me doctrines he has taught while I was present? For if he do not grant me these things, some will say : “Where is the advantage [in such service]?” If when I am asked to bring the Exalted One to a meal next day he will not come, or if he will not consent to see whom I would bring, people will put no trust in me, and will say he shows me no attention. And if he do not explain the doctrine and its divisions, they will say : “Friend, do you not know, however much you follow him like his shadow?” If, then, the Exalted One will grant me these eight boons, I will wait upon him.’ And the Exalted One granted them.¹

So from that day thenceforth Ānanda waited upon him of the Ten Powers, bringing him water and toothpick, washing his feet, accompanying him, sweeping his cell, and so forth. During the day he kept at hand to mark the Master’s : ‘This should be procured,’ ‘That should be done.’ And at night, taking a stout staff and lantern, he would go nine times round the ‘fragrant cell,’ making response if the Master called that he might not succumb to drowsiness.

Then the Master, in Ariyan conclave at the Jeta Grove,

¹ Buddhaghosa’s account of Ānanda’s judicious contract (Commentary on *Anguttara*, i. 24 f.) is more coherent than that in our Burmese manuscript of Dhammapāla’s Commentary. I have used its help in the above, somewhat condensing both accounts.

ranked him the foremost bhikkhu in five respects: erudition, mental vigilance, power of walking, steadfastness, ministering care.¹ . . . And so this great Brother, remaining yet a student after the Master had passed away, when admonished by the bhikkhus² and alarmed by a fairy³—as has been related above—thought, ‘To-morrow⁴ the Council will take place, but it is not suitable that I, who am doing a student’s work, should go to the assembly to recite the Doctrine with the Masters, the Elders.’ Then zeal awoke in him, and far through the night he practised insight on the Terrace. His efforts yet unrewarded, he entered the Vihāra, and seated on his couch, and desirous to lie down, he inclined his body. His head had not touched the pillow, nor his feet left the ground, when in that interval his heart was freed from the intoxicants without any grasping whatever, and he won sixfold abhiññā. Therefore he entered the Council Hall.

Now the verses he had uttered from time to time were collected, and included in the Brethren’s Psalms at the recital of the Khuddaka-Nikāya.⁵

The first stanzas were delivered in admonition to those bhikkhus whom he saw consorting with Devadatta’s partisans :

With slanderer and man of wrath,
 With the mean-hearted and malign⁶
 No commerce should the wise man hold.
 Evil is concourse with the bad. (1018)
 With the believer and the wise,
 The gentle and the learned man⁷
 Communion should the wise man hold,
 For blest is concourse with the good. (1019)

¹ *Ang. Nik.*, i. 24 f.

² *Vinaya*, ii. 288.

³ *Samy. Nik.*, i. 199. Cf. above, CXIX. ⁴ *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 373 f.

⁵ The fifth and concluding section of the *Sutta-Piṭaka*, containing, *inter alia*, the present work.

⁶ Lit., delighting in ruin (of others). On Devadatta, see preceding poem.

⁷ *Pesalo*, amiable, is, in the Commentary, having charming virtue (*piyasīlo*).

The following verse was uttered, when the lay-follower Uttarā was suffering her own beauty to dispose her to sensuality, and in order to make her understand the frailty of the body. Some say it was spoken in admonition of those who lost their heads at sight of Ambapālī :¹

Behold the tricked-out puppet shape, a mass
Of sores, a congeries diseased, teeming
With many purposes and plans, and yet
In whom there is no power to persist. (1020)
Behold the tricked-out form, bejewelled, ringed,
All sheathed in bones and skinny envelope,
By help of gear made fine and fair to see.² (1020a)

The next two verses were a psalm uttered by the Thera when he had won arahantship that night on his couch :

Much learn'd in holy lore and eloquent,
The leal henchman of the Buddha he ;
Now hath the burden fallen from his back.³
Released, the Gotamid lies down to rest. (1021)
For him the deadly cankers live no more ;
Gone are the chains, the barriers all behind ;
In blissful cool he bears his final frame,
For ever past the power of birth and death. (1022)

Wherein are founded and set up the truths
Taught by the Buddha of the Sun's great line :—
The Path that to Nibbāna straight doth lead—
There, too, stands Ānanda the Gotamid.⁴ (1023)

¹ I can trace neither episode. See verses 769, 770. Uttarā, a lay-follower, has a story in the *Dhammapada Commentary*, iii. 802 ff., but it is not that alluded to above.

² Dr. Oldenberg allows for the *pe*, 'etc.', in the manuscripts, only one verse (769), but the Commentary gives verses 769, 770, in full.

³ *Pannabhāro*, 'a fallen-burden-er' (*Majjh. Nik.*, i. 189, etc.). This, a qualification in Bunyan of the new convert, is in Buddhism a culminating event for the arahant.

⁴ The Commentary makes a Great Brahmā god vindicate Ānanda's rank as arahant on his entry at the Council by these words. Cf. above, *Khujja-sobhita*, CLXXV. On the Sun lineage of the Gotama clan, cf. XXVI. and CXXXIX.

Now one day Moggallāna the brahmin cattle-herd¹ asked the Thera: 'You are very learned in the Buddha's Rule. How many of the doctrines your Master taught do you keep in your mind?' The Thera replied:

Eighty-two thousand from the Buddha's self
I've learned, from brethren yet two thousand
more:

Hence four and eighty thousand texts in all
The number that for me have currency.² (1024)

One day the Thera showed a man of desultory life the danger of no culture thus:

Whoso but little knowledge hath,
That man grows old as doth an ox.³
His fleshly bulk is multiplied,
But understanding groweth not. (1025)

The following verses he said concerning a bhikkhu who despised another as less learned than himself:

The learned man who doth despise,
For knowledge, him who little knows,
Is as a blind man who doth bear
A lamp:—so 'tis borne in on me.⁴ (1026)
Wait on the men of learning; look
That learning nowise injured be;
For 'tis the root of holy life;⁵
Hence bear the Doctrine in your hearts. (1027)
Knowing the sequence of the text,⁶
And versed in what the text doth mean,

¹ Ānanda's interlocutor in the 'Gopaka-Moggallāna-Sutta' (*Majjh. Nik.*, iii. 7 ff.), where, however, this question does not find a place.

² *Pavattino*, 'that proceed'; the better way, in Buddhist psychology, of expressing the popular 'keep in mind' (*dhāreti*).

³ *I.e.*, not seeking the good of parents, kin, or anyone (Commentary).

⁴ *I.e.*, while his knowledge benefits others, his pride darkens his own progress (Commentary).

⁵ The fulcrum for saintly effort (Commentary).

⁶ *I.e.* if half a stanza is given, he can supply the other half (Commentary).

Apt to interpret and explain :¹

This scholar grasps the Norm aright,
And well its sense doth ascertain. (1028)

By patience eager purpose grows,²

Up surges effort; then he weighs;

Thus timely exercising will,³

Within he grows composed, intent. (1029)

Who in the Norm is widely versed

And bears its doctrines in his heart,

Disciple of the Buddha, wise,

Eager to understand the Norm :⁴

Such as he is, him follow ye. (1030)

Who in the Norm is widely versed

And bears its doctrines in his heart,

Of the great Master's treasure Ward,⁵

An eye is he for all the world,

Whom all should honour and revere,

Who in the Norm is widely versed. (1031)

Who in the Norm takes his delight,⁶

Doth love and con it over well,

And lets it live in memory,

That brother from the holy Norm

Will ne'er secede nor fall away. (1032)

¹ *Nirutti* here represents the other three *paṭisambhidās* as well (Commentary). Cf. *Sisters*, p. 17, n. 1.

² *Chandikato hoti*. In *Vibhanga*, p. 208, *chandikatū*, the corresponding abstract noun, is synonymous with *kattukamyatū*, desire to do. The Commentary paraphrases by *chanda-jūto*. Hence apparently *-kato* signifies 'formed' or 'set up,' and not 'done' or 'fulfilled.'

³ *Padahati*.

⁴ *Dhammaviññāṇaṇ ākankhaṇ*: *dhammaviññāṇasankhātāṇ dhammaññāṇaṇ*. *Viññāṇaṇ* is knowing on occasion of, or in connection with, sense-objects. It is probably used here *metri causā* for *ñāṇaṇ*, for I cannot match such usage of the term.

⁵ *Kosārakkho*: an allusion to his usual (Commentarial) title of *Dhammabhaṇḍāgārīka*, Treasurer of the Norm.

⁶ Lit., having the Doctrine as his pleasure (Dhammapada Commentary, 864).

One day he stirred up a listless, slothful bhikkhú thus :

Art thou so heavy, loth to act ?
 Life hourly ebbing, canst not rise ?
 To give thy body pleasures gross
 So greedy ? Whence should come to thee
 The happy ease of holy friar ? (1033)

The following verse the Thera uttered on hearing of the passing away of the General of the Norm :¹

The firmament on every hand
 Grows dim, yea, all confused stand
 The truths I seemed to understand.²
 Gone is the noble friend we love,
 And dark is earth and heaven above. (1034)

* * * * *

And is the comrade passed away,
 And is the Master gone from hence ?
 No better friend is left, methinks,
 Than to mount guard o'er deed and sense.³ (1035)
 They of the older time are gone ;
 The new men suit me not at all.
 Alone to-day this child doth brood,
 Like nesting-bird⁴ when rain doth fall. (1036)

The next stanza was spoken by the Master, and the next by the Thera, delighting to do his will :

Full many folk from divers regions come
 To see. Forbid them not as hearers of the Norm ;
 Suffer them to behold me, 'tis the hour. (1037)

¹ Sāriputta. The first part of the verse is put in Ānanda's mouth when passing on the news brought by Cunda, Sāriputta's attendant, to the Master (*Sany. Nik.*, v. 168). Verses 1035 *f.* were presumably uttered later, after the Great Decease. Possibly the Br. MS. has omitted the introductory sentence from the Commentary.

² 'The doctrines (*pariyattidhammā*) I had well learnt, even about death' (Commentary).

³ Cf. *Dialogues*, ii. 177 *ff.*, on the need, in bereavement, of *kāyagatā sati*.

⁴ 'Gone to its nest in the rainy season' (Commentary).

Full many folk from divers regions come
 To see. The Master opportunity
 Doth give. The Man who Sees forbiddeth
 none.¹ (1038)

The next five stanzas were spoken to show his position
 as chief attendant :

For five-and-twenty years a learner I ;
 No sensual consciousness arose in me.
 O see the seemly order of the Norm !² (1039)
 For five-and-twenty years a learner I ;
 No hostile consciousness arose in me.
 O see the seemly order of the Norm ! (1040)
 For five-and-twenty years on the Exalted One
 I waited, serving him by loving deeds,
 And like his shadow followed after him. (1041)
 For five-and-twenty years on the Exalted One
 I waited, serving him with loving speech,
 And like his shadow followed after him. (1042)
 For five-and-twenty years on the Exalted One
 I waited, serving him with loving thoughts,
 And like his shadow followed after him. (1043)
 When pacing up and down, the Buddha walked,
 Behind his back I kept the pace alway ;
 And when the Norm was being taught, in me
 Knowledge and understanding of it grew. (1044)
 But I am one who yet has work to do,
 A learner with a mind not yet matured ;
 And now the Master hence hath passed away,
 Who e'er to me such sweet compassion
 showed !³ (1045)

O ! then was terror, then was mighty dread,
 Then stiffened hair and quivered creeping nerve,

¹ Cf. Ānanda's sixth request, p. 351.

² Cf. XXIV., n.

³ Cf. *Dialogues*, ii. 158 f., where Ānanda laments and the Master comforts him ; again *ibid.*, p. 177, for the next verse.

When he, endowed with every crowning grace
The All-Enlightened Buddha passed away. (1046)

The three following stanzas were added by the members
of the Council in praise of the Thera :

*Who in the Norm is widely versed,
And bears its doctrines in his heart—
Of the great Master's treasure Ward—
An eye was he for all the world,
Ānanda, who is passed away. (1047)*

*Who in the Norm is widely versed,
And bears its doctrines in his heart —
Of the great Master's treasure Ward—
An eye was he for all the world,
Dispelling gloom in darkest place. (1048)*

*Sage of the tireless ministry,
Foremost in mindful vigilance,
Foremost in steadfast fortitude,¹
Upholder of the holy Norm,
Of all its jewels living mine :—
Our Elder Brother, Ānanda. (1049)*

And this verse he said as he lay a-dying his last death :

The Master hath my fealty and love,
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done.
Low have I laid the heavy load I bore,
Cause for rebirth is found in me no more.² (1050)

¹ *Gatimanto, satimanto, dhitimanto*, strictly nominative plurals, are explained in the Commentary as adjectives to *isi*, and are presumably a poetic liberty. The first is explained as *paññānagati*. Buddhaghosa, however (Commentary on *Ang. Nik.*, i. 24), dwells on Ānanda's untiring activity and readiness to act in his Master's service.

² See verse 1016 and notes there given.

CANTO XVIII

PSALM OF FORTY VERSES

CCLXI

Kassapa the Great.¹

OUR Master had already arisen, and was turning the Wheel of the Norm, and staying at Rājagaha, when at the brahmin village of Mahā-tittha in Magadha, this Thera was reborn as Pippali-māṇava, the son of the chief wife of Kapila the brahmin. Four years later Bhaddā Kapilānī was reborn of the chief wife of the Kosiya-gotta brahmin at Sāgalā in the kingdom of Madda.² Now Pippali-māṇava refused to marry. 'While you live,' he told his parents, 'I will take care of you: afterwards I shall leave the world.' But to appease his mother he had a statue made of a beautiful maiden, dressed in crimson and ornaments, and showed it her saying: 'Mother, if I find anyone like this, I will lead the domestic life.' His mother was a clever lady, and sent brahmins forth, with the statue, on that quest. They came to Sāgalā, and setting the statue by the river's edge, sat down apart. Now Bhaddā's nurse, who had bathed her charge, and gone down again for her own bath, saw the statue, and thinking: 'What! is my

¹ The legend, in their former and their last lives, of Mahā-Kassapa and his wife (see *Sisters*, p. 47 ff.), itself fit subject for a poem, is too long to reproduce in full, and is here greatly condensed. It follows very closely the version given in the Commentary on the *Ang. Nik.*, i. 28. Under Vipassi-Buddha they were a brahmin couple, with but one cloak between them for outdoor wear. This Kassapa presented to the Buddha. They were husband and wife in many rebirths.

² Cf. *Jāt.* v. (No. 581), 288, 289; vi. (No. 545), 280.

young lady so ill bred?' slapped it on the cheek, and discovered it was not Bhaddā, but a gold statue. The brahmins accosted her, inquiring about her mistress, and she brought them to the house of Kosiyagotta, where they were made welcome. And they sent word to Kapila: 'We have got the maiden; do you act accordingly.' But Pippali-māṇava and Bhaddā, being both unwilling to marry, wrote secretly each to the other, thus—He: 'Bhaddā!' and she: 'Sir!' 'May you obtain a ménage suitable to your birth and fortune. I shall leave the world. Do not act so as to regret hereafter.' Now the two letter-bearers met, questioned each other, read the letters, and said: 'Look at the work of these children!' Throwing away the letters in the forest, they wrote others and took them. So the marriage was celebrated. But the wedded pair spent the night separated by a chain of flowers. And when Pippali-māṇava's parents died, he and Bhaddā decided one day, after they had dined and talked together, to renounce the world.

And they got out yellow raiment from their wardrobes, and cut off each other's hair, slung bowls from their shoulder, passed out through their weeping servants, to all of whom they gave their freedom, and departed together, Pippali-māṇava walking in front.

And looking back, he thought: 'Here is Bhaddā Kapi-lānī, a woman worth the whole of India, walking at my heels. Someone seeing us will think: "These have renounced the world, but cannot do without each other." So, falsely accusing us, they may incur danger of purgatory.' And he told Bhaddā this, and she agreed that a woman must needs be a hindrance to the male recluse. So they settled, at the cross roads, that he should go right and she left. Then the earth, though it could bear all Sineru, trembled at the weight of such virtue.¹ And the supreme Buddha, seated in the fragrant chamber of the great vihāra in the Bamboo Wood, knew what the earthquake signified, and gathering eighty chief Theras

¹ The second of the eight causes of earthquakes in *Dialogues*, ii. 144.

together, he walked three leagues on the road, and seated himself at the foot of the Bahuputtaka Banyan,¹ between Rājagaha and Nālandā. And though he was clad in a ragged robe, the Buddha-rays shone forth from him and darted to and fro, and the tree took on different colours. Then Kassapa the Great² perceived: 'This will be our Master, through whom I have left the world.' And bending low, he said: 'The lord, the Exalted One, is my Master! I am his disciple.' And the Exalted One said: 'Sit, Kassapa, and I will show thee thine inheritance.' And in three homilies he gave him ordination. So they returned to Rājagaha, Kassapa exchanging his new robe for the Master's old one,³ and with humility and zeal determining to practise the thirteen dhutangas.⁴ And on the eighth day thereafter he won arahantship with thorough grasp of the spirit and letter of the Norm. Him the Master pronounced chief among those who undertook the extra austerities. And he, by way of showing the charm of detachment, told his experiences, in admonishing the brethren, thus:

I.

On seeing bhikkhus mingling with crowds, and frequenting laymen's houses:

Walk not where many folk would make thee
chief.

Dizzy the mind becomes,⁵ and hard to win

Is concentrated thought. And he who knows:

'Ill bodes the company of many folk,'

Will keep himself aloof from haunt of crowds. (1051)

¹ *I.e.*, of the Many Sons; presumably (with its Cetiya) a votive tree for parents praying for offspring.

² Here the name he is known by suddenly appears. It was presumably that of his gens.

³ One gathers that the Buddha wore the ragged robe intentionally. The episode is described in charming detail, but is omitted for brevity.

⁴ See . 186, n. 8.

⁵ *Vimano, vikāribhūtacitto* (Cy.).

Go not, O sage, to hearths of citizens.
 Who¹ greedy seeks to taste life's feast entire,
 Neglects the good that brings true happiness. (1052)
 A treacherous bog it is, this patronage
 Of bows and gifts and treats from wealthy folk.
 'Tis like a fine dart, bedded in the flesh,
 For erring human hard to extricate. (1053)

II.

An exhortation to bhikkhus to practice content respecting the four necessities of life :

Down from my mountain-lodge² I came one day
 And made my round for alms about the streets.
 A leper there I saw eating his meal,
 [And as was meet, that he might have a chance,³
 In [silent] courtesy I halted at his side. (1054)
 He with his hand all leprous and diseased
 Put in my bowl a morsel ; as he threw,
 A finger, mortifying, broke and fell. (1055)
 Leaning against a wall I ate my share,
 Nor at the time nor after felt disgust. (1056)
 For only he who taketh as they come
 The scraps of food, medicine from excrement,⁴
 The couch beneath the tree, the patchwork robe,
 Stands as a man in north, south, east, or west. (1057)

III.

When he was asked, in his latter years : ' How is your reverence able at your time of life day after day to climb the hills ?

Where some do perish as they climb the rocks,
 Heir of the Buddha,⁵ mindful, self-possessed,

¹ Cf. verse 124, and CCXXIX., verses 494, 495.

² *Pabbatasenāsanattā* (Commentary). Quoted in the *Milinda*, ii. 830.

³ A chance of winning the distinction of ministering to an arahant (so the Commentary).

⁴ *Gomuttaparibhāvitaharita-kādi* (Cy.).

⁵ Cf. XVIII.

By forces of the spirit fortified,
 Doth Kassapa ascend the mountain brow. (1058)
 Returning from the daily round for alms,
 Kassapa mounts some craggy coign and sits
 In meditation rapt, nor clutching aught,
 For far from him hath he put fear and dread. (1059)
 So¹ mounting to some craggy coign he sits,
 In meditation rapt, nor clutches aught,
 For he 'mong those that burn is cool and still. (1060)
 So¹ mounting to some craggy coign he sits,
 In meditation rapt, nor clutches aught ;
 His task is done, and he is sane, immune. (1061)

IV.

On being asked further : ' But why does your reverence
 at your time of life dwell in the mountain-jungle ? Is not
 the Bamboo Grove, or others like it pleasant to you ? he
 replied :

Those upland glades delightful to the soul,
 Where the kareri spreads its wildering wreaths,²
 Where sound the trumpet-calls of elephants :
 Those are the braes wherein my soul delights. (1062)

¹ The text repeats also the line, ' Returning,' etc.

² The *kareri* is called in Childers' Dictionary—I do not know on what authority ; it is apparently not in Sanskrit literature—the *Capparis trifoliata* tree. It gave the name to a pavilion, or *maṇḍala-māla*, in the Jeta Grove at Sāvathī (*Dialogues*, ii. 4 ; *Udāna*, iii. 8). From the expression above, *karerimālā-vitatā*, I am much tempted to see in the plant the musk rose-tree (*Rosa moschata*) of Nepal and the North-Western Himālayas, which is still known in some dialects as *karer*, and is thus described in Dietrich Brandis's *Indian Trees* (London, 1906) : ' A thorny shrub climbing to the tops of lofty trees, flowering branches hanging down in rich festoons. Flowers, white, . . . in large compound terminal corymbs. Found at a height of from two to eleven thousand feet. Nearly allied to the *Rosa sempervirens* of the Mediterranean region.' Could the 'caper' tree be described as making a glade *mālāvitātā*, 'enwebbed' or 'festooned with wreaths,' as well as a climbing rose ?

Those rocky heights with hue of dark blue
clouds,

Where lies embosomed many a shining tarn
Of crystal-clear, cool waters, and whose slopes
The 'herds of Indra' cover and bedeck :

Those are the braes wherein my soul delights.¹ (1063)

Like serried battlements of blue-black cloud,
Like pinnacles on stately castle built,

Re-echoing to the cries of jungle folk :

Those are the braes wherein my soul delights. (1064)

Fair uplands rain-refreshed, and resonant

With crested creatures' cries antiphonal,

Lone heights where silent Rishis oft resort :

Those are the braes wherein my soul delights. (1065)

Here is enough for me who fain would dwell
In meditation rapt, mindful and tense.

Here is enough for me, who fain would seek
The highest good, a brother filled with zeal. (1066)

Here is enough for me, who fain would dwell
In happy ease, a brother filled with zeal.

Here is enough for me who give myself
To studious toil, so am I filled with zeal. (1067)

Clad with the azure bloom of flax, blue-flecked
As sky in autumn ; quick with crowds

Of all their varied wingèd populace :

Such are the braes wherein my soul delights. (1068)

Free from the crowds of citizens below,

But thronged with flocks of many wingèd things,

The home of herding creatures of the wild :

Such are the braes wherein my soul delights. (1069)

Craggs² where clear waters lie, a rocky world,

Haunted by black-faced apes and timid deer,

Where 'neath bright blossoms run the silver streams:

Such are the braes wherein my soul delights. (1070)

¹ = XIII., Vaccha of the Woods.

² = CXIII., Vaccha of the Woods and CCXL., verse 601, Sankicca.

For that which brings me exquisite delight
 Is not the strains of string and pipe and drum,¹
 But when, with intellect well poised, intent,
 I gain the perfect vision of the Norm. (1071)

V.

When admonishing bhikkhus delighting in secular
 activities and greedy as to gifts of things needful for life, he
 said :

Let not a brother occupy himself
 With busy works ; let him keep clear of folk,
 Nor strive [to copy nor to emulate].
 Who greedy seeks to taste life's feast entire,
 Neglects the good that brings true happiness.² (1072)
 Let not a brother occupy himself
 With busy works ; let him keep clear of this
 That nowise tendeth to his real good ;
 The body toils and suffers weariness,
 And thus afflicted he attains no calm. (1073)

VI.

The following verses were spoken to admonish on certain
 occasions :

By mere repeating with a muttering lip,³
 We see not e'en ourselves for what we are ;
 And so, stiff-necked, we go about and deem :
 ' A better man am I than he, than they !' (1074)
 No better, truly, is the fool, and yet
 He deems himself to be the better man.
 But him, poor creature of a stiff-necked mind,
 Commend not they who truly understand. (1075)

¹ Lit., the five kinds of musical instruments ; = verse 898.

² Cf. verses 494, 1052.

³ *Oṭṭhapahatamattena, sajjhāyakaraṇavasena* (Commentary). Cf. *Majjh. Nik.*, i. 164.

Who is not exercised about himself,
 In this way or in that:¹—‘the better man
 Am I’; ‘no better, I’; or ‘I am worse,’
 Or yet again ‘I am as good as he’— (1076)
 He who doth really know, and speaketh truth,²
 Whose heart in righteousness is well composed,
 And holdeth fast the saint’s serenity,³
 Him do they praise, who truly understand. (1077)

He who among his fellow-brethren wins
 No reverence, is far from the good Norm
 As is the firmament far from the earth.⁴ (1078)
 But they who well have planted modesty
 And eke discretion alway in their heart,
 They in the holy life do richly thrive;
 For them rebirths are ever at an end. (1079)

A brother who, though clad in patchwork robe,
 Is of a puffed-up and unsteady mind,
 As ’twere a monkey in a lion’s hide,
 No glory from his gear august doth gain. (1080)
 But who, with uninflated, steadfast mind,
 Is prudent, with his senses well controlled,
 He shineth glorious in a patchwork robe,
 As lion in the sombre mountain cave. (1081)

VII.

On witnessing the gods of the Brahmā world doing
 obeisance to the Venerable Sāriputta, and marking how the
 Venerable Kappina smiled :

See how they stand, those thronging deities
 Of mystic potency and glorious,
 Ten times a thousand, all of Brahmā’s heaven, (1082)

¹ *Vidhāsu*. Nine such modes of self-conceit are documented in *Vibhanga*, p. 389. Cf. *Bud. Psy.*, § 1116; *Ang. Nik.*, iii. 359.

² The Commentary reads, not *tathāvādiṇ*, but *tathā tādiṇ* : *iṭṭhādis* i *tādi-bhāvappattiyā*. The former reading is less forced.

³ *Arahattaphalasaṃpattisaṃpajjanena* . . . (Commentary).

⁴ = verse 278.

Around our valiant Captain of the Norm,
 Great son of Sāri, calm and rapt in thought,
 Acclaiming him with clasped hands upraised:— (1083)
 ‘ Hail thou, humanity’s aristocrat !
 Glory to thee, O thou supremest man !
 Lo! past our thinking are thy ranging thoughts; (1084)
 O wondrous are th’ Enlightened of the world !¹
 Their intuition, how profoundly deep,
 Beyond the powers to which we testify,
 Though we be skilled as archer splitting hairs !² (1085)

Then, seeing Sāriputta thus adored
 By hosts divine, saint most adorable,
 A smile stole o’er the face of Kappina.³ (1086)

VIII.

The Thera’s ‘ lion’s roar ’ concerning himself :

In the whole field of Buddha’s following,
 Saving alone the mighty Master’s self,
 I stand the foremost in ascetic ways ;
 No man doth practise them so far as I. (1087)

The Master hath my fealty and love,⁴
 And all the Buddha’s ordinance is done.
 Low have I laid the heavy load I bore,
 Cause for rebirth is found in me no more. (1088)

For never thought for raiment, nor for food,
 Nor where to rest doth the great mind affect,
 Immeasurable, of our GOTAMA,

¹ *Buddhānaṃ*: Cf. *Dialogues*, ii. 2; *Itivuttaka*, § 68.

² A phrase elsewhere associated with Sāriputta’s intellectual powers. See his brother’s verse, XL.

³ Kappina the Great. Cf. CCXXXV. We have seen this tribute of the [gods produce the same effect on the Master. Cf. CCXLII., verses 629, 680.

⁴ = verse 1050 and *passim*.

No more than spotless lotus-blossom takes
 A mark from water ;¹ to self-sacrifice²
 Continually prone, he from the sphere
 Threefold³ of new becoming is detached. (1089)
 The neck of him is like the fourfold tower
 Of mindfulness set up ; yea, the great Seer
 Hath faith and confidence for hands ; above,
 The brow of him is insight ; nobly wise,
 He ever walketh in cool blessedness. (1090)

¹ Cf. verse 701 ; also the preceding verses in that poem with the concluding similes above.

² *Nikkhamma*.

³ The three planes of existence : *kāma-bhava*, or *-loka*, *rūpabhava*, *arūpabhava*. See *Compendium*, p. 135.

CANTO XIX

PSALMS OF FIFTY VERSES

CCLXII

Tālapuṭa.

REBORN in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha in an actor's family, he acquired proficiency at theatres suited to clansmen,¹ and became well known all over India as leader of a company of actors. With a company of five hundred women and with great dramatic splendour he attended festivals in village, township and royal residence, and won much fame and favour. Now when he had been giving performances at Rājagaha² with his usual success, his ripening insight prompted him to visit the Master. And seated at one side, he said: 'I have heard it said, your reverence, by teachers and their teachers, when speaking of actors, that the actor who, on the stage, counterfeiting truth, amuses and delights his audience, will be reborn after death among the gods of laughter. What does the Exalted One say on this point?' Thrice the Exalted One rejected the question, saying: 'Ask me not of this, director.' But when asked the fourth time, he said: 'Director, those persons who induce sensual, misanthropic, or mentally confused states in others and cause them to lose earnestness, will after death be reborn in purgatory. But if he thinks as you have heard, then his opinion is wrong. And the fate of one who thus holds wrong opinions is to be reborn either in purgatory, or as an animal.' Thereupon Tālapuṭa wept. 'Said I not to

¹ *Kulānurūpesu naccaṭṭhānesu.*

² *Nagaravasīnaṃ samajjaṃ dassetvā.*

you, director, “ Ask me not concerning this ? ” ‘ Not for this reason, your reverence, do I weep, that the Exalted One has thus spoken concerning the future state, but because older actors have deceived me, saying that an actor holding a public performance is reborn in a happy life.’

Then Tālapuṭa listened to the Master’s teaching, and receiving faith, was ordained, and after due study won arahantship. Thereafter, showing in varied detail how he had restrained and chastened his heart to deeper understanding, he uttered these verses :

1.

When shall I come to dwell in mountain caves,
Now here, now there, unmated with desire,
And with the vision gained
Into impermanence
Of all that into being doth become—
Yea, this for me, e’en this, when shall it come to
be ?¹ (1091)

O when shall I, who wear the patchwork cloak,
Be a true saint of yellow robe,
Without a thought of what is ‘ mine ’ ;
And from all cravings purified,
With lust and hate, yea, and illusions slain,
So to the wild woods gone, in bliss abide ? (1092)

O when shall I, who see and know that this
My person,² nest of dying and disease,
Oppressed by age and death,
Is all impermanent,
Dwell free from fear lonely within the woods—
Yea, when shall these things be ? (1093)

¹ The metre of the text is Triṣṭubh throughout. In trying to reproduce the wistful yearning of the opening, I have had the ‘ Choric Song ’ of Tennyson’s ‘ Lotus-Eaters ’ in mind. *Ekākiyo* = *ekako*.

² *Kāyo*, literally, group, including not body only, but the mental groups (Commentary). ‘ Nest ’: cf. *Iti-vuttaka*, § 43.

O when shall I with insight's whetted sword
 Have cut it down, this creeper of Desire,¹
 With all its tendrils twining far and strong,
 Breeder of many fears,
 Bearer of pain and woe—
 Yea, even this! when shall it come to be? (1094)

O when shall I have power to draw the blade
 Of insight, fiery splendour of the Saints,
 And swiftly shatter Māra and his host,
 While in the victor's posture seated still—²
 Yea, when shall these things come to be? (1095)

O when may I in pious companies
 Be seen among all such as hold the Norm
 In reverence, given to noble toil
 With them who see the heart of things,
 With masters over sense—
 Yea, when shall these things come to be? (1096)

O when will slackness, hunger, thirst,
 No more distress me, nor the wind, the heat,
 Insects and creeping things wreak scathe on him,
 Who on the Fastness of the Crag³
 Doth mind his own high needs—
 Yea, when shall this thing come to be? (1097)

O when shall I with thought composed, intent,
 And clarity of insight come to touch
 That which the mighty Seer understood—
 The Four, the Ariyan Truths,
 So passing difficult to see—
 Yea, even this, when shall this come to be? (1098)

¹ *Taṅhā-latā*. A favourite simile in the Canon. Cf. verse 761.

² The whole line is implicit in the word *sīhāsane*, 'in the lion's seat,' or 'on a throne.' Commentary: *thirūsane aparājitapallanke*.

³ Giribbaja. See CCXXXIV., 545, n.

O when shall I, yoked to the avenues of calm,
 With deeper vision see the things of sense
 Innumerable—sights and sounds,
 Odours and tastes and tangibles,
 And all the inner objects of the mind
 As things ablaze and burning—¹
 Yea, when cometh this for me? (1099)

O when shall I abide [unmoved]—
 Because of speech abusive not downcast,
 Nor when, again, my praise is sung,
 Be fillèd with complacency—²
 When cometh this for me? (1100)

O when as so much firewood, bindweed, straw,
 Shall I esteem the factors of my life,³
 With all the countless objects known by sense,⁴
 Internal or without,
 Judging them all alike—
 [Hollow, impermanent]⁵—yea, this for me, O
 when? (1101)

O when will [break above my head]
 The purple storm-cloud of the rains,
 And with fresh torrents drench my raiment in
 the woods,
 Wherein I wend my way
 Along the Path the Seers have trod before—
 Yea, when shall this thing come to be? (1102)

¹ Cf. *Sisters*, verses 200, 351. The Commentary, in sampling the 'things of sense,' specifies, among 'inner objects,' things as pleasant and as painful; but they include also concrete perceptions (as distinct from each mode of sensation), images, ideas, etc.

² This was a great step for one of Tālapuṭa's art to surmount.

³ *Khandhe*.

⁴ *Dhamme*. Commentary: *rūpadhamme*.

⁵ *Aniccādivasena c'eva asārādi-upamānavasena* (Commentary).

O when shall I, hearing the call adown the woods
 Of crested, twice-born¹ peacock [as I lie
 At rest] within the bosom of the hill,
 Arise and summon thought and will
 'To win th' Ambrosial—
 Yea, when shall this come to be? (1103)

O when shall I, by spiritual powers upborne,
 Cross over Gangā, Yamunā,² Saraswati
 Unsinking, yea, float o'er the awful mouth
 Of hell-flung ocean waters—
 Yea, when shall this come to be? (1104)

O when, like elephant in battle charging,
 Shall I break through desire for joys of sense,
 And to rapt contemplation given,
 Shun all the marks of outward loveliness—
 Yea, when shall these things come to be? (1105)

O when, like some insolvent pauper pressed
 By many a dun discovering hidden store,
 Shall I be filled with joy,
 In that I have attained
 The [refuge of] the mighty Master's Rule?
 Yea, when shall this thing come to be? (1106)

II.³

'Tis many years since thou, my heart, didst urge :
 'Come now, enough of this house-life for thee!
 See then! I've left the world. Wherefore, O heart,
 Dost lack devotion to thy task? (1107)

¹ *Dviija*, a generic name for oviparous creatures, 'born of the mother and of an egg' (Commentary).

² Cf. p. 159. See also Additions, etc.

³ 'Now, having shown the course of his thoughts before he renounced the world, he, being in the Order, shows in what ways he admonished his heart so as to attain' (Commentary).

Have I not, O my heart, been urged by thee :
 'On Fastness of the Crag
 Bright-plumaged passengers of air,
 Greeting great Indra's thunder with their cries,
 Do give him joy who ponders in the wood.' (1108)

In social circle friends beloved and kin,
 The joys of games, of art, delights of sense :
 All have I put away to come to this.
 Well then, O heart, art thou not pleased
 with me? (1109)

'Twas only for myself I acted thus,
 For no one else [made I this sacrifice].
 Why then lament when comes the time to arm?
 This life is all a-quake!—so I beheld.²
 And I renounced the world and chose the Ambrosial
 Way. (1110)

Hath he not said—who sayeth all things well,
 The best of beings,³ great Physiçiān,
 Tamer and driver of the sons of men—
 Unsteady is the heart like [jigging] ape,⁴
 So hardly may that heart,
 With passions not o'ercome, be held in check. (1111)

For varied, sweet, entrancing are desires of sense.
 Wherein the ignorant majority
 Entangled lie. They do but wish for ill
 Who seek to live again,
 Led by their heart to perish in the Pit. (1112)

¹ *I.e.*, to study (Commentary).

² *Cf. Sisters*, p. 188, verses 200, 201.

³ *Lit.*, of bipeds. *Cf. Sisters*, verse 432. Dr. Neumann cites one other instance: *Epigraphia indica*, iii., p. 3131, 6.

⁴ See Ps. CXXIII.

‘ There in the jungle ringing with the cries
Of peacock and of heron wilt thou dwell,
By panthers and by tigers owned as chief.¹
And for thy body cast off care ;
Miss not thine hour, thine aim !’²
So wast thou wont, my heart, to urge on me. (1113)

‘ Create, develop³ thou the Ecstasies,
The fivefold moral Forces and the Powers,
The seven Wings of Wisdom
And the four Grades of concentrated will ;⁴
Touch thou the Triple Lore
Within the Buddha’s Rule’ :—
So wast thou wont, my heart, to urge on me. (1114)

‘ Create, develop in thy life the Path
Whereby thou mayest win Ambrosia—
The way of progress and egress,
Founded upon the ending of all Ill,
Eightfold, purging from all that doth defile’ :—
So wast thou wont, my heart, to urge on me. (1115)

‘ This mind and body shouldst thou scrutinize
And hold as “ ill ” ; and all the source of ill
Do thou put far from thee ;
Yea, here and now make thou an end of ill !’—
So wast thou wont, my heart, to urge on me. (1116)

‘ And understand that transiency is ill,
Is empty, without soul, is bane and bale ;
Restrain thy mind’s discursive vagrancies’ :—
So wast thou wont, my heart, to urge on me. (1117)

¹ ‘ Because of the exercise of universal love ’ [*mettā(brahma) vihāratāya*] (Commentary).

² *Mā virādhaya* is the text in the Commentary, and the comment *mā virādhehi*, ‘ miss not this moment so hard to win.’ Cf. verse 403.

³ For *bhāvehi* the Commentary gives ‘ cause to arise, make to grow.’

⁴ The numbers are given in the Commentary. The last refer to the four Iddhipādas. Cf. *Compendium*, p. 180, *d*, *e*, *f*, *c*, and above, verse 437.

‘Shaven, unsightly, and apostrophized’¹
 When come for alms, with skull-like bowl in hand²
 Among the citizens,
 Do thou now give thyself
 Wholly to carry out the Master’s Word, the Seer’s’ :—
 So wast thou wont, my heart, to urge on me. (1118)

‘Walk thou well-disciplined within the streets,
 With mind unfettered by the sense-desires
 Of them that live therein.
 Be like the moon a fortnight old in cloudless
 sky :’³—
 So wast thou wont, my heart, to urge on me. (1119)

‘He who in forest dwells and lives by alms,
 Who haunts the field of death, wears patchwork robe,
 Refrains from lying down,⁴
 He ever finds the true ascetic joy’ :—
 So wast thou wont, my heart to urge on me. (1120)

‘As one who, having planted trees, seeks fruit,
 Dost thou now, finding none, desire to cut
 Thy tree down at the root?’—
 Such was the parable thou mad’st, my heart,
 When thou the unstable and th’ impermanent
 Didst urge on me. (1121)

Thou unseen thing that knowest from afar,⁵
 Rising in single file, no more thy word
 Will I obey. For thy sense-born desires
 Lead but to woe, to bitter fruit, to brooding fear.
 Henceforth toward Nibbāna’s peace alone
 I’ll set my face and walk. (1122)

¹ Dhammapāla, reading also *abhisāpam-āgato*, refers to *Itivuttaka*, § 91. His Commentary on that work has *abhilāpo ti akkoso*.

² Cf. p. 118, n. 1.

³ Cf. verse 806.

⁴ Cf. verse 856.

⁵ Cf. *Dh’pada*, ver. 37; *Comy.*, i. 804. The latter work is largely in literal agreement with our Commentary on this and the next

I did not leave the world when out of luck,
 Nor as a shameless joke, nor from a whim,
 Nor was I banished in disgrace,
 Nor seeking daily bread,
 When I did give consent, my heart, to thee. (1123)

‘ Good men do praise small needs and much
 content,
 Yea, and renouncing of hypocrisy,
 And the assuaging of all pain ’ :—
 Thus didst thou, O my heart, exhort me then.
 Now go’st thou back to all thy former loyes. (1124)

Craving and ignorance and loves and hates,
 And things of beauty, all the pleasant thrills
 And charm of sensuous joys :—these have I
 vomited,
 Nor may I strive to come once more to things
 thus spurned. (1125)

Where’er my life has fallen, O my heart,
 Thy word have I obeyed.
 In many births thou’st not been vexed with me.
 And *this* is all thy gratitude :—
 This individual compound self,
 With all the suffering wrought by thee
 A-down the long, long æons of my life. (1126)

phrase. Consciousness has no visible properties, and cannot move in space the width of a spider’s thread, but knows its object without such contact. Again, it is a series of units of mental life arising singly. ‘Two, three consciousnesses do not arise together. One ceases, another rises.’ It is just possible that what the Pali suggests to us—‘Thou formless, lonely traveller afar!—may be nearer what Tālapuṭa meant than the psychological interpretation of the scholastics. Nevertheless, when the lines elsewhere suggest romance to the latter, they do not stifle it. Anyway, the characteristic Buddhist *difference* is interesting.

'Tis thou, O heart, dost make us what we are.
 Thou makest, we become. A brahmin now,
 Then are we nobles, yea, a king, a seer,¹
 Burgess one day, and serf the next are we,
 Or e'en a deity—and all
 In virtue of thine agency alone; (1127)

Through thee alone have we been Asuras,
 Thou working, have we been through hellish
 doom;
 Again, one day, in realm of beasts reborn,
 Or Petas, by thine agency alone. (1128)

Nay now, thou shalt not dupe me as of old
 Time after time, again, ever again,
 Like mountebank showing his little masque;²
 Thou playest guileful tricks with me,
 As with a lunatic.³
 Tell me, my heart, wherein am I at fault? (1129)

Once roamed this heart a-field, a wanderer,
 Wherever will or whim or pleasure led.
 To-day that heart I'll hold in thorough check,
 As trainer's hook the savage elephant.⁴ (1130)

To me the Master did insist⁵:—this world
 Was transient, temporal, without a soul.
 Now, heart, leap forward in the Conqueror's Rule,
 And bear me o'er the great forbidding floods.⁶ (1131)

For thee, O heart. things are not as of yore.⁷
 'Twill not suffice that I within thy power
 Fall back to live once more.

¹ In *rāja-d-isi* the *d* is inserted to link the two words (Cy.).

² Reading *cāraṇikāṇ*. See Additions, etc.

³ Cf. verse 931; *JPTS*, 1889, p. 203.

⁴ See LXXVII., p. 76.

⁵ *Adhiṣṭhāhi*, an uncommon use of this word.

⁶ Of *Saṃsāra* (Commentary).

⁷ Cf. verses 126, 280.

Gone forth am I 'neath the Great Master's Rule.
Men such as I now am no forfeit will endure. (1132)

Mountains and seas, the rivers, earth itself,
The quarters four, the intervening points,
The nadir, yea, and all the heavens above¹ :—
'Three planes of being'² each impermanent
And all of them forlorn—
Where canst thou then, my heart, find ease and
rest? (1133)

Since I've the goal so firm, so sure, O heart,³
What wilt thou do [to make me turn] ?
No more be't mine, my heart, to follow thee.
None, in good sooth, would touch a bag
That opened at both ends. Fie! then,
On that full thing flowing with issues nine.⁴ (1134)

O [thou wilt love the life], be't on the crest
Of caverned cliffs, where herd boar and gazelle,
Or in fair open glade, or in the depths
Of forest freshened by new rain—'tis there
Lies joy for thee to cavern-cottage gone.⁵ (1135)
Fair-plumed, fair-crested passengers of air
With deep blue throats and many-hued of wing,
Give greeting to the muttering thundercloud
With cries melodious, manifold ; 'tis they
Will give thee joy whiles 'thou art musing
there. (1136)

¹ *Disā ti devalokā* (Commentary).

² Cf. verse 1089.

³ The Commentary reads: *Dhitiṭṭipparan ti dhiti-parāyanan paṇṇaṇ maṇṇaṇ thirabhāve ṭhitay . . . maṇṇaṇ cāletuṇ na sakkhissasā ti attho*. This seems preferable to reading 'fie!' (*dhī!*) here, and 'fie!' again in the same *gāthā*.

⁴ Reading with the Commentary *ubhato*. This otherwise unintelligible line then falls into its place in quaint but pointed contrast to the figure of the body. Cf. verses 279, 1151.

⁵ An attempt to reproduce the Pali alliteration—*guhāgshagato*.

And when the god rains on the four-inch grass,¹
 And on the cloud-like crests of budding woods,
 Within the mountain's heart I'll seated be
 Immobile as a lopped-off bough,² and soft
 As cotton down my rocky couch shall seem. (1137)

Thus will I do e'en as a master should.
 Whate'er is got, be it enough for me.
 And like a tireless tanner dressing hides,³
 I'll make thee soft as catskin finely dressed. (1138)

Thus will I do e'en as a master should.
 Whate'er is got, be it enough for me.
 I'll lead thee in my power by force of will,⁴
 Like a fierce elephant by skilled mahout. (1139)

With thee at length well tamed and steadfast grown,
 Like trainer with a steed well purged of vice,
 Then can I tread the Path of happy fate,
 Haunted by them whose hearts are guarded
 well. (1140)

And to the object thou shouldst think upon
 I'll bind thee by the power that training gives,
 As elephant by strong cord bound to post.
 So when I have thee guarded well, and trained
 By clarity of thought, thou shalt become
 Unleaning on all forms of future life. (1141)

When by the aid of insight thou hast dammed
 Thine errant course, by study hast restrained,

¹ 'Resembling a crimson blanket' (Commentary) reminds us of our clover-fields.

² Lit., 'like a log without appurtenances' (Commentary). Cf. LXII.

³ Cf. this simile in *Majjh. Nik.*, i. 128. The Commentary reads, for *taṇ taṇ karissāmi, nahanta-kassāmi*.

⁴ *Viriyena*.

Turned it along the avenue [of truth],¹
 So thou canst see how all things do become :—
 Rise into being and are then dispersed—
 Then shalt thou be the [child and] heir of Him :
 Knower and Teacher of the Things Supreme. (1142)

On the fourfold hallucination set,²
 As village lout didst drive me, O my heart.³
 Come now and follow him, the Merciful,
 Great Seer for whom all bonds and chains are
 broke. (1143)

Like creature of the wild roaming at large
 In the fair flowering jungle, so thou too
 Hast gone up on the lovely cloud-wreathed crest.
 There on the mountain, where no crowd can come,
 Shalt find thy joy, O heart, for never doubt
 But thou shalt surely win to the Beyond.⁴ (1144)

They who remain subservient to thy will,
 Male or female, enjoy what thou dost give,
 Delight in ever coming back to be :—
 Unknowing, in the wake of Māra's power,
 These all, O heart, retainers are of thee.⁵ (1145)

¹ *Pathe* is paraphrased by *vipassanāvithiyaṇ*.

² *I.e.*, holding the impermanent as permanent, and the ugly (*asubhaṇ*), the painful, the soulless, as beautiful, pleasant, and having a soul respectively. The last illusion, in the Br. MS. Comy. is either worded unusually—*attani attā ti* ('in one's 'self' a 'soul'), or the scribe has omitted the *an* from *anattani* ('in the soul-less a soul').

³ *Gāmaṇḍalaṇ*. The Commentary first reads *gāmandalaṇ*; then, in commenting, *gāmantaṇ*, but explains this to mean *gāmandārakaṇ*—'my good heart, thou draggest (*parikaḍḍhasi*) me around, hither and thither, as if I were a (stupid) village-lad.' Dr. Neumann reads for *gā*, *go*.

⁴ Lit.: 'Thou shalt beyond-become, look down upon or become superior to.' Commentary: 'Thou shalt stand firm by the ruin of (thy) saṅsāra.'

⁵ The last verse, as well as 1143, would fit better if placed a little further back in the poem.

CANTO XX

POEM OF SIXTY VERSES

CCLXIII

Moggallāna the Great.

His story is told in that of the venerable Sāriputta.¹ After he had been ordained a week, and while he was occupied with his duties near the hamlet of Kallavāla² in Magadha, torpor and sleepiness assailed him, so that the Master aroused him with the words: 'Moggallāna, idleness is not the same as Ariyan silence.' Conquering his weakness by merely hearing an exercise on Elements given him by the Master, he attained the highest insight that a Buddha's disciple can reach. At another time the Master, in conclave at the Jeta Grove, pronounced him foremost in supernatural power of will (*iddhi*). And the verses which he spoke while thus gifted were collected in a series by the compilers of the Doctrine at the time of the Council:

I.

When exhorting the bhikkhus:

We forest-dwellers, beggars all,
Pleased with the scraps placed in our bowl,
The hosts of Māra we can smash³
If we have well learned self-control. (1146)

¹ See CCLIX.

² See *Ang. Nik.*, i. 23. On *iddhi*, see *Compendium*, 60 f.

³ On the Optative in *emu*, cf. E. Müller's *Pali Grammar*, p. 109.

We forest-dwellers, beggars all,
 Pleased with the scraps by which we're fed,
 Māra and hosts let's sweep away,
 As elephant a rush-built shed.¹ (1147)

We who at root of shady tree
 Work at our task persistently,
 Pleased with the scraps placed in our bowl,
 The hosts of Māra we can smash
 If we have well learned self control. (1148)

We who at root of shady tree
 Work at our task persistently,
 Pleased with the scraps by which we're fed,
 Māra and hosts let's sweep away,
 As elephant a rush-built shed. (1149)

11.

To a courtesan who sought to allure him :²

Thou with that little hut of framework bony
 And flesh encased by sinewy stitchery :—
 Fie on thee, fie ! thou full of smells unseemly,
 Finding thyself in limbs that are not 'thou.'³ (1150)
 O bag of muck enwrapped in skin ! O witch
 With ulcered breast ! nine are the streams
 That on thy body trickle night and day ; (1151)
 Thy body nine-streamed and malodorous,
 Maker of bonds :⁴—that let a bhikkhu shun
 As one would ordure, would he fain be clean. (1152)

¹ Cf. verse 256 ; *Saṅg. Nik.*, i. 156.

² According to *Sisters*, p. 52, this was Vimalā, of Vesālī notoriety. She became a lay-adherent, then a bhikkhunī, eventually an arahant.

³ *Paragatte*. On *para-*, 'other,' see *Sisters*, verse 101, n. 3 : *parato divā*. Cf. *Majjh.*, i. 485 ; *Ang.* iv. 422. The Cy. adds : *gattabhūte kaḷevare mamattaṅ karosi* : ' thou makest *mineness* with regard to the *be-limbed* carcass.' Apparently there is no reference to another's limbs.

⁴ The Commentary reads *kariparibandhaya*, but omits the *kari-* from its analysis : *sammūpatipatti paribandhābhūtaṅ*.

Did but folk know thee as thou art, as I
Do know thee, they would shun thee from afar
As they would shun a cesspool in the rains. (1153)

Then that woman felt ashamed and bowed before the
Thera saying :

Yea, O great hero, even so it is
As thou, O holy friar, hast pronounced.
And herein many miserably fail
And faint, as in a swamp an aged ox. (1154)

The Thera :

He who would fancy he can paint the sky
With yellow, or maybe some other hue,
Is to defeat foredoomed, and^o only that. (1155)
My heart is like that sky, beyond thy reach,
For it is well controlled within and calm.¹
Wherefore bring not thine evil thoughts to me,
As bird that flies bewildered into flame. (1156)

Behold the tricked-out puppet-shape, a mass
Of sores, a congeries diseased, teeming
With many purposes and plans, and yet
In whom there is no power to persist.² (1157)

III.

Concerning the passing away of Sāriputta Thera :³

O! then was terror, then was mighty dread,
Then stiffened hair and quivered creeping nerve,
When he, endowed with every crowning grace,⁴
The venerable Sāriputta passed away. (1158)

¹ = verbatim, the last line of verse 1146. Cf. *Majjh*, i. 127.

² Cf. verses 769, 1020.

³ Cf. verse 1046.

⁴ The Commentary instances 'virtuous conduct, self-control,' etc.

O transient are our life's experiences!
 Their nature 'tis to rise and pass away.
 They happen in our ken, they cease to be.
 O well for us when they are sunk to rest!¹ (1159)

They who our fivefold organism see
 As something 'other,' not the self, not soul,²
 They penetrate the delicate things [of truth]
 As arrow-point doth pierce a tip of hair. (1160)
 They who behold our life's experience
 As something 'other,' not the self, not soul,
 They've pierced the subtle [mysteries of truth]
 As arrow-point doth pierce a tip of hair. (1161)

IV.

Spoken concerning Tissa Thera:³

As one down-smitten by impending sword,
 As one whose hair and turban are aflame,
 So let the brother, mindful and alert,
 Go forth, all worldly passions left behind. (1162)

Spoken concerning Vaḍḍhamāna Thera:

As one down-smitten by impending sword,
 As one whose hair and turban are aflame,
 So let the brother, mindful and alert,
 Go forth, all lust of living left behind. (1163)

¹ The Commentary gives these lines in full. They amount to a proverb for Buddhists, and familiarity with them is probably the reason why, though they occur but this once in these poems, the manuscripts used by the editor of this text give only the first line, with 'etc.' added. See *Dialogues*, ii. 175; 176, n. 1; 194. Dhammapāla makes no comment. I prefer to treat *sankhārū* as phenomena *subjectively* considered (experiences); things as *known* and *felt*; in Buddhist phrase, *sankhārā* of deed, word, and thought. Cf. verses 1175, 1180, n. 8.

² *Tattha parato ti anattato; tassa attagūha-paṭikkhepa-dassanaṃ k'etaṃ, ten'āha no ca attato ti* (Commentary). (No license is given for anything so revolutionary as to call the five classes of sensations five *khandhas*. Cf. Neumann.)

³ Verse ascribed to the Buddha, addressing Tissa, XXXIX., and Vaḍḍhamāna, XL.

V.

Spoken in connection with the 'Act of the Terrace' Dialogue:¹

By Him advised, who, perfectly evolved,²
 For the last time a mortal body bore,
 My foot uplifting with my toe I shook
 The Terrace by Migāra's Mother built. (1164)

VI.

Spoken concerning a certain bhikkhu:³

Nothing hath *this* to do with tepid slackness,
 Not by a little toil canst gain Nibbāna,
 Deliverance from every tie and chain. (1165)
 See this young brother, this among you peerless!
 Māra and all his host hath he defeated,
 And [therefore] weareth he his final frame. (1166)

VII.

Concerning his own detached life:

The lightnings flash e'en in the rocky cave,
 Smiting Vebhāra's crest and Paṇḍava,
 And in the mountain-bosom hid, a child
 Of the incomparable Master sits,
 Ardent in contemplative ecstasy.⁴ (1167)

¹ 'Pāsādakamma-Suttanta.' See *Majjh. Nik.*, i. 387. The Dialogue is, in the *Majjhima*, named the 'Māra-tajjaniya-Sutta[nta]' (spurning of Māra)—another difference of title that is not without interest. The toe-feat is only alluded to in the verses appended to the Suttanta. Migāra's mother = Visākhā, mother also of Thera Migajāla, CCXVII. Dh'pada Cy. i., p. 384 f.

² *Bhāvitattena*, lit., by him who had the state of being developed or practised—*i.e.*, who had finished the entire course of developing body and mind—namely, the Buddha.

³ Two bhikkhus are apparently contrasted; but the Commentary mentions only the one first referred to, as being 'slack and sensuous,' and not the second one.

⁴ = verse 41, *Sirivaddha's psalm*.

VIII.

Entering Rājagaha for alms, he admonishes a nephew of Sāriputta Thera, a brahmin of wrong opinions, who on seeing Kassapa the Great felt repugnance, as if he had seen the goddess of ill-luck herself :

The seer calm and serene, dead to the world,
 Whose dwelling is remote, aloof from men,¹
 The heir of Buddha, Wake and Chief of all,
 Greeted with honour by great Brahmā's self; (1168)
 Behold him, calm, serene, dead to the world,
 The sage who dwells remote, aloof from men,
 The heir of Buddha, Wake and Chief of all :—
 Brahmin, give greeting low to KASSAPA ! (1169)
 He who a hundred generations back
 Can trace descent, all brahmin ancestors,
 Himself as graduate and Veda-wise,
 Again, again among mankind reborn, (1170)
 Though he as teacher in the Vedas three
 Past-master rank, wouldst honour him for
that,
 To him thy homage were not worth a straw. (1171)

He who before he breaks his fast can touch
 Mental emancipation's eight degrees,
 In grade ascending and so back again :—²
 Then, only, cometh forth to seek for alms :— (1172)
 Assault³ thou not a bhikkhu such as this.
 Refrain from digging up thyself, [thy good]⁴
 Appease, brahmin, and gratify thy mind
 In [contemplating] such an arahant.

¹ Cf. Kassapa Thera's characteristics, CCLXI., 1057 ff.

² *Dialogues*, ii. 119. 'Touch,' *ap(h)assayi* = *samāpajji*.

³ *Ahari*, paraphrased by *āsīdeti*. *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 378; *Milinda text*), 100.

⁴ So the Commentary.

Swiftly lift up thy hands and greeting give.
Set not that head of thine in jeopardy.¹ (1173)

IX.

When admonishing a bhikkhu named Poṭṭhila:

He doth not yet behold the blessed Norm
Who hath eternal living in his train ;
From course precinct he wandereth afar,
Straying in error's devious dangerous ways. (1174)
Like to a worm obscene besmeared with dung,
He walloweth in the tainted things of life,²
Plunged in pursuit of favours and of gain,
Bare [of true profit] goeth Poṭṭhila. (1175)

X.

In praise of the venerable Sāriputta :³

Yonder behold where SĀRIPUTTA goes
So nobly fair! Emancipated he
By contemplation rapt, and purity,⁴
And all his inner self is well composed. (1176)
Exempt from moral scathe, all fetters broke,
In higher Vedas versed, slayer of Death,
Worthy that men should bring him offerings ;
Incomparable field for great reward.⁵ (1177)

¹ Lit., let not your coiffure be undone! (ironically spoken). On the risk, see *Dialogues*, i. 116. The brahmin is stated to have begged forgiveness for his want of courtesy.

² *Sankhārā*. Poṭṭhila is the subject of *Dhammapada Commentary*, iii. 417 ff., on verse 282.

³ Mogallāna speaks to himself (Commentary).

⁴ See *Dialogues*, ii. 70. Lit., 'freed-on-both-sides.'

⁵ A favourite metaphor for the Order generally. Merit accrues to pious supporters, as a harvest from seed. Cf. (1087).

XI.

Spoken by the venerable Sāriputta in praise of Moggallāna the Great Thera :

See how they stand, those thronging deities¹
 Of mystic potency and glorious,
 Ten times a thousand, Brahmā's ministers,
 Acclaiming MOGGALLĀNA reverently:— (1178)
 'Hail thou, humanity's aristocrat!
 Glory to thee, thou highest among men!
 Perished for thee are the intoxicants,
 And thou, O lord, most worthy art of gifts! (1179)
 In honour held by men and gods alike,²
 Uprisen as the conqueror of death,
 As lotus from the water takes no smear,
 So thou in changing world dost not adhere.'³ (1180)

He who e'en in a moment by a thousand ways can take
 Purview of all the world,⁴ as were he Brahmā's very
 self.⁵

Yea, here's a brother versed in power of magic⁶ who
 doth see
 What time doth suit [for gods and men] to die and
 come to be.⁷ (1181)

¹ Cf. 1082 ; also 629.

² The Commentary suggests, as an alternative reading, 'by the man-god, the Exalted One, who is uprisen,' etc.

³ Cf. *Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 547. *Sankhāragate*, born amid phenomena, he adheres not to the slime of craving and error ; *na upalimpāti (sic) katthici pi, anissito ti attho* (Commentary). Cf. the slight metrical irregularity in *Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 812, where *sankhūrū's* are detailed as *ditthasutaṅ-mutesu*.

⁴ The world of space (Commentary).

⁵ Here (cf. n. to verse 629) *sa-Brahmakappo* is explained as *Mahā-Brahma-sadiso*.

⁶ On *iddhi*, cf. *Compendium*, p. 71, with *Dialogues*, i. 87 f.

⁷ Here the Commentary makes no effort to associate *devatā*, deity spirit, angel, with a particular being, as in Anuruddha's poem, verse 911. This leaves the use of *devatā* a little unusual. Moggallāna's vision is as that of a deva—'a devatā is that bhikkhu !'

XII.

Moggallāna the Great speaks, affirming his own gifts :

Now Sāri's son by wisdom, virtue, self-control
Excelleth all ; here let this brother stand
supreme. (1182)

But I can instantly innumerable times
Create a living shape ; skilled to transform
myself

As other, yea, all magic power have I at will.¹ (1183)
He of the Moggallānas, in the Rule of Him
Who stands alone,² hath perfected his powers ;³
In contemplative ecstasy and higher lore
Expert, valiant and self-controlled hath burst his
bonds,

As doth the elephant a rotten fibre rope.⁴ (1184)

The Master hath my fealty and love,⁵
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done.
Low have I laid the heavy load I bore ;
Cause for rebirth is found in me no more. (1185)
The Good for which I bade the world farewell,⁶
And left the home to dwell where is no home,
That highest good have I attained and won,
And all that bound and fettered me is gone. (1186)

¹ See n. 6, p. 389. ² *Asitassa, taṇhāniṣṣāyādi rahiṭassa.* (Cy.)

³ *Jātaka* i. (text) 17⁸⁹.

⁴ Cf. *Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 29. In Suttanta 141 of the *Majjh. Nik.* these great 'twin brethren' are thus characterized by their Master : 'Sāriputta is as she who brings forth, Moggallāna is as the nurse of what is brought forth. The former trains for the fruit of the first Path, the latter for that of the highest. The former is able to teach and make plain the four Ariyan truths.'

⁵ = 604, 656, 687, 792, 891, 918, 1016, 1088, 1050.

⁶ = 136, 380, 605.

XIII.

In reproof of Māra who, had entered and then left the
Thera's bowels :¹

What sort of hell was it where Dussi cooked
In anguish, when he injured Vidhura,
Disciple, holy Kakusandha too? (1187)
'Twas the infernal realm of iron spikes,
A hundred points, each dealing bitter pain.
This sort of hell it was where Dussi cooked
In anguish, when he injured Vidhura,
Disciple, holy Kakusandha too. (1188)
If thou a brother who can tell thus much—
Disciple of the Buddha—dost assail,
Black-hearted sprite! to misery thou must
go.² (1189)

Far in the midst of ocean, palaces
Have stood an æon, exquisite, with hue
Of beryl-stones, flashing like crests of flame.
There dance full many nymphs in divers
hues:— (1190)
If thou a brother who can tell thus much—
Disciple of the Buddha—dost assail,
Black-hearted sprite! to misery thou must
go. (1191)

Incited by the Buddha's self I wrought,
With all the Bhikkhu-Order looking on,

¹ Told in *Majjh. Nik.*, i., 50th Sutta. Cf. verse 1184. Dussi, a name for Māra in a previous life. Kakusandha, Buddha next but two before Gotama. Vidhura (or Vidhūra, cf. Oldenberg's ed. *in loco*; Br. Cy. Vidūra), one of his two chief disciples. The hell of the spikes was one of the many purgatories. The Commentary, for a description of it, refers to the Devadūta-Sutta (*Ang. Nik.*, i. 188 ff.). On the fiend's singular retreat, cf. Uppalavaṇṇā's poem, *Sisters*, p. 114

² = verse 25.

My foot uplifting, with my toe I shook
 The Terrace by Migāra's Mother built.¹ (1192)
 If thou a brother who can tell thus much, etc.,
 . . . (verse 1191) thou must go. (1193)

I who my foot uplifting, with my toe
 Caused Vejayanta's terraced fane to shake,
 Rigid as iron by my magic power,
 And thro' the deities sent thrill of dread:—² (1194)
 If thou a brother who can tell thus much, etc.,
 . . . thou must go. (1195)

He who in Vejayanta's terraced fane
 Did take Sakka the deity to task:—²
 'Come, friend, and didst thou really understand
 Release through end of craving [taught to thee]?'
 To whom Sakka made answer truthfully— (1196)
 If thou a brother who can tell thus much—
 Disciple of the Buddha—dost assail,
 Black-hearted sprite! to misery thou must
 go. (1197)

Who catechized great Brahmā's very self,
 Seated in conclave in Sudhammā's hall:—³
 'Come tell me, friend, hast thou to-day the
 views
 Which in the days gone by were views of thine?
 Or seest thou now the glory of thy heaven,
 How age by age it all is passing by?' (1198)

¹ Cf. verse 1164, and *n.*

² Related in *Majjh. Nik.*, i., No. 37, 'Cūḷataṇhakkhaya-Sutta'; referred to as *such* by the Commentary. Cf. *Saṅy* i. 234 f. *Dhp. Cy.* i. 273.

³ Lit., 'Brahmā having a conclave present.' This is related in *Majjh. Nik.*, i., No. 49, 'Brahmanimantika-Sutta'; referred to by the Commentary as 'Baka-Brahma-Sutta.' The Commentary reads *thito sabhaṇ*, but adds only: 'This is the Sudhammā hall in the Brahma-world, not that in the Tāva-tiṅsa realm. There is no celestial world without its Sudhammā hall.'

To whom Brahmā made answer truthfully:—

‘My lord, no longer do I hold the views,
Which in the days gone by were views of
mine. (1199)

I do behold the glory of my heaven,
How age by age it all is passing by.

To-day I hold it false what once I said:—

“I am eternal; permanent am I!” (1200)

If thou a brother who can tell thus much, etc.,
. . . thou must go. (1201)

Who in emancipation[’s ecstasy]¹

Hath touched great Neru’s topmost pinnacle,²

Pubbavideha’s forest world hath seen,³

And men that live on that remotest plain:— (1202)

If thou a brother who can tell thus much, etc.,
. . . thou must go. (1203)

Fire doth not think: ‘Lo! I will burn the fool!’

But if the fool lay hands on blazing fire,

The fire must burn and he must needs be
burned. (1204)

Thus, Māra, thou on One who Thus hath Come⁴

Hast made attack, but ’tis to thine own hurt,

As when a foolish child doth touch the fire. (1205)

Demerit hath the Evil One begot,

Who made attack on One who Thus hath Come.

What? dost imagine, O thou Evil One,

That evil brings thee not its sure reward? (1206)

For this that thou hast done, long will it be,

Before that evil dieth out, O Death.⁵

¹ *Jhāna-vimokkha* (Commentary).

² Mount Sineru, or Meru, the hypothetical centre of the world.

³ The eastern of the four great continents grouped round Meru.

⁴ *Tathāgata* is here clearly, in the Commentary explicitly, applied to a Thera Arahant.

⁵ *Antaka*, or ‘Ender’ (of a span of life); used of Māra, in these poems, only here and in *Sisters*, verses 59, 62.

Aroint thee, Māra, from the awakened mind !¹
 Against the brethren cease thy wicked plots. (1207)

Thus in the forest of Bhesakala²
 Did Māra by a Brother censured stand.
 Threat the rated imp, dejected sore,
 E'en where he stood, did vanish quite away. (1208)

*Thus verily did the venerable Moggallāna the Great utter
 his verses.*

¹ *Buddhamhā* (*abl.*), applied to a disciple.

² *Cf.* verse 18.

CANTO XXI

POEM OF SEVENTY-ONE VERSES : CALLED ALSO 'THE
GREAT NIPĀTA'

CCLXIV

Vangīsa.

REBORN in this Buddha-age at Sāvattī, in a brahmin family, he was named Vangīsa, and was taught the three Vedas. And he won favour as a teacher by tapping on skulls with his finger-nail, and discovering thereby where their former occupants were reborn.¹ The brahmins saw in this a means of gain, and taking Vangīsa toured about in villages, townships and royal residences. And for three years Vangīsa had skulls brought to him and divined. Persuading the people to believe in him, he won fees of 100 and even 1000 (? *kahāpaṇas*). And the brahmins took him about wherever they chose to go. Now he heard of the Master's virtues, and wished to visit him, but the brahmins objected, saying : 'Gotama the recluse will pervert you by his craftiness.'² But Vangīsa heeded them not and went, seating himself at one side. The Master seeing him asked : 'Vangīsa, do you know any art or craft?' 'Yes, Master Gotama, I know the skull-spell. By that, tapping

¹ The same story is told of Migasira, also a brahmin of Kosala (CLL.), and is probably another bifurcated legend. In the *Samyutta-Nikāya*, the 8th Book is entirely devoted to such of Vangīsa's improvisations as are contained in the following xii sections, together with prose episodes followed, in outline only, by our Commentary. The remaining verses (1263-78) are contained in the Sutta-Nipāta (verses 343-58), as are also verses (1227)-(1230).

² An allegation frequently made by rival teachers. Cf. *Majjh. Nik.*, i. 375; *Samy. Nik.*, iv. 341.

on a skull with my finger-nail, have I, for three years past ascertained where rebirth has taken place.' The Master let him be shown the skulls of individuals reborn in purgatory, as man, as god, and of one who had passed utterly away. Divining concerning all but the last, of that he could make nothing. Then the Master: 'Art not able, Vangīsa?' 'Let me make quite sure,' said Vangīsa, and he turned it round again and again till the sweat stood on his brow—for how will he know the going of the arahant? And he stood there silent and shamed. 'Art tired, Vangīsa?' 'Ay, Master Gotama, I cannot find out where this one has been reborn. If you know, tell it.' 'Vangīsa, both this I know, and I know more than this:

*He who of every creature knoweth well
Whence they decease and where they come to be,
Enlightened, well come, freed from every tie:*

Him call I brahmin.

*Whose destiny nor angel, god, nor man
Doth know, the arahant, sane and immune:—
Him call I brahmin.'*¹

Then said Vangīsa: 'Well then, Master Gotama, give me this hidden lore.' And doing obeisance, he seated himself as the Master's pupil. But the Master said: 'Let us give you the marks of a recluse.' Then Vangīsa thought: 'I must at all costs learn this spell.' And he said to his fellow-brahmins: 'Do not think it amiss if I take orders. When I have learned this spell, I shall be first in all India, and that will bring you good fortune.' So he asked for ordination, and the Exalted One commanded Nigrodhakappa Thera, who stood near, to ordain Vangīsa. The Thera did so, and then saying: 'You must first learn the accessories of the spell,' gave him the exercise of the thirty-two constituents of the body,² and one on insight. Rehearsing the former, he established the latter faculty. And when brahmins came to ask whether he had acquired

¹ *Sutta-Nipāta*, verses 643, 644.

² See *Khuddaka-pāṭha*.

the art, he replied : 'What art-acquiring? Go ye hence ; I have no more to do with you.' The brahmīns said : 'There ! he too has got into the power of Gotama the recluse, perverted by craftiness. What have we to do with you as teacher?' And they went away. But Vangīsa realized arahantship.

As arahant, he went to the Master's presence and magnified him in scores of verses, comparing him to the moon, the sun, space, ocean, mountains, the lion, the elephant. Him the Master, seated in conclave, pronounced foremost in facility of speech.¹ But what he said in verse, both before and after he became arahant, was collected and recorded by Ānanda and the other Theras at the Council as follows :

I.

Spoken when a novice, after having been affected by the sight of many gaily dressed women, who had approached the Vihāra, a feeling which he suppressed :²

Alas ! that now when I am gone from home
Into the homeless life, these graceless thoughts
Sprung from the Dark should flit about my
mind.³ (1209)

Were highborn warriors, mighty archers, trained
In champion bow-craft, such as never flee,
To scatter thousand arrows round about . . . (1210)
But women ! Well, far more than those may come,
Yet shall they never wreck my peace of mind,
Firmly established in the truths I stand.⁴ (1211)

¹ *Ang. Nik.*, i. 24.

² *Saṅg. Nik.*, i. 185 f. Vangīsa is there called the custodian or porter of the Vihāra, and the women were come to see it.

³ *Kāḷato lāmakabhāvato* (Cy.). *Mārapakkhato. Saṅg. Cy.*

⁴ This difficult passage is thus interpreted by the Commentary, with this explanation : 'A man taking a staff' (why not a shield?) 'can beat down a series of arrows, but every woman shoots five at once (assailing each sense), and is therefore more dangerous.' 'Truths' (*dhammesu*) mean doctrine generally, but especially the thirty-seven *bodhipakkhiyā dhammā*. Cf. *Compendium*, p. 179 f.

For even in his presence¹ have I heard
 The Buddha of the Sun's high lineage tell²
 About the Path that to Nibbāna goes ;
 And there the love of all my heart is given. (1212)
 Now that I alway in such mood abide,
 Dost think, vile one, thou canst draw nigh to me ?
 Then will I do the like, O Death, and thou
 Wilt ne'er discover which the way I take.³ (1213)

II.

Spoken when suppressing his own feelings, aversion,
 and so forth :

I who have given up dislikes and dotings
 In all that stirs the lay imagination,
 May not make anywhere a haunt for lusting.
 He who from jungle vice⁴ hath gained the open,
 From lusting free, 'tis he is truly Bhikkhu. (1214)
 All things of visible shape here on earth dwelling,
 Or in the upper air that's based on earth,⁵
 Transient is all, and all away is wearing :—
 Thus understanding they who think do walk.⁶ (1215)
 In all that makes for life⁷ the folk cleave ever⁸
 To what is seen and heard and touched⁹ and
 thought.

¹ *Samukhā* (Commentary).

² *Cf.* XXVI.

³ *Cf. Sisters*, Uppalavaṇṇā and Māra, verse 281 *f.*

⁴ On the jungle or forest as symbolical of lust or craving, *cf. Sisters*, Vaddha's Mother, verse 208.

⁵ According to the Commentary, *vehāsaṃ* = *devalokanissitaṃ*; *jagato-gadhaṃ* = *lokikaṃ*.

⁶ Reading *mutantā* = *pariññā* (Commentary).

⁷ *Upadhisu*, or substrates. The Commentary names only the five *khandhas*, but elsewhere three other categories are named (*Dhammapada*, verse 418; *SBE*, x, p. 94) :—*kāmā* (sensuous desires), *kilesā* (vices, sins; *cf.* p. 78, n. i.), and *kamma*.

⁸ *Gadhītāse*. Commentary : *paṭibandhacittā*.

⁹ *Paṭiḡhe*. Commentary : *ghaṭṭaniye*, *phoṭṭhabbe* (things to be struck, touched). It is of interest that Dhammapāla quotes the 'Sāratthapakāsinī' (*Saṃyutta Commentary* by Buddhaghosa) : *Sāratthapakāsinīyaṃ paṭiḡhasaddena gandharasū gahitā*, etc.

Who here, desires suppressing, unaffected,
 Adhereth nowhere, him [the wise] call Saint. (1216)
 Who cleave to views mistaken eight and sixty,¹
 Their nature of the common average sort,
 They're fixed in courses evil and unrighteous.²
 But whoso to no sect whate'er doth go,
 Nor clutcheth at blown straws [of vain opinion],³
 A genuine bhikkhu he all men may know. (1217)
 Fully endowed,⁴ long since of self the master,
 Candid yet wise, and free from craving's power,
 A Saint, the way of peace he hath attained ;
 Serene and cool, awaits his final hour. (1218)

III.

Spoken when suppressing his own behaviour in connection
 with his facility of speech :

Renounce conceit, thou, Gotama's disciple !⁵
 Wholly from path of pride remove thy foot.
 Since with that path some time infatuated,
 Long ere to-day thou truly didst repent. (1219)
 By self-deceit deceived this generation,
 Destroyed by vanity, is doomed to woe.
 For many an age reborn in purgatory
 Will folk destroyed by pride lament their
 doom. (1220)

¹ Usually the speculative opinions described in *Dialogues*, i., 'Brahmajāla-Suttanta,' are referred to as sixty-two. Here, says the Commentary, the Pali (*i.e.*, text) is not exact as to a little more or less. The *Sany. Cy.* has *atha satthhinissitā : atha cha ūrammaṇānissitā*.

² Cf. *Jāt.* i. 259 : *adhammasmiṇṇ niviṭṭho*.

³ *Padulla*- occurs, I believe, in no other work. Cf. Böthlingk and Roth : *s.v. dul*. The Commentary has *duṭṭhullagāhī* ; *Sany.* : *-bhāṇī*,

⁴ *Dabbo*. Commentary, *dabbajātiko* (see *Ang. Nik.*, i. 854), *piṇḍito*. The latter word is used, in the *Jātaka Commentary* (vol. ii., p. 489 of text), to interpret *bindussaro*, the rich or full voice of the bird. The *Anguttara Cy.* interprets by *piṇḍita-jātiko* ; *Sany. Cy.* by *dabbajātiko paṇḍito* (*sic*). Anyway, I do not see justification for dragging in the Thera Dabba (V.), as does Dr. Neumann.

⁵ *Gotamagottassa Bhagavato sāvakattū attānaṇṇ Gotamagottaṇṇ katvā ālapati* (Commentary).

He weepeth not at any time, the Brother :
 Path-victor who the Highest hath achieved.
 Both fame and happy conscience¹ he enjoyeth.
 'Norm-seër'² say, and rightly say the wise. (1221)
 Hence in this life, sober and unimpeded,
 Dispelled all hindering clouds, and clear in mind,
 Renouncing pride and vain conceits entirely,
 Let me be found End-maker and serene.³ (1222)

IV.

One day as a novice he attended the venerable Ānanda, whom one of the King's ministers had bidden to visit him. There they were surrounded by women highly adorned, who, saluting the Thera and asking questions, heard him preach the Norm. But Vangīsa was excited and moved with desire. Then he, being a well-bred man of faith and integrity, thought: 'This my emotion growing is unsuitable for my present and future good.' And seated as he was, he confessed his state to the Thera, saying :

My sense with passion burns, my mind's aflame.
 Take thou compassion on me, Gotamid !
 O tell me truly of a putting out !⁴ (1223)

And the venerable Ānanda replied :

Because thy judgment is upset, perverse,
 Therefore thy mind's aflame. Thou shouldst
 avoid⁵
 The seeing lovely objects passion-linked. (1224)

¹ In its original sense of consciousness. 'Highest': *sammā*.

² *Dhammaso*. In the *Saṅg. Nik.* 'Norm-lover,' *Dhammarato*.

³ Cf. *Sutta Nipāta*, verse 520, and its context.

⁴ *Nibbāpanaṅ*, a causing-to-go-out (of this fire or fever of passion). Later exegesis dwelt perhaps less on this sense of Nibbāna than on a going-out in the sense of departure or escape (*Compendium*, p. 168) ; yet see above, verse 691.

⁵ = *Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 340 f.

Compel thy steeled and well-composèd mind
 To contemplate what is not fair to view,
 Let there be heedfulness concerning sense.
 And be thou fillèd with a sane distaste. (1225)
 Study the absence of the Threefold Sign ;¹
 Cast out the baneful bias of conceit.
 Hath the mind mastered vain imaginings,
 Then mayst thou go thy ways, calm and
 serene. (1226)

v.

Spoken after the Exalted One had taught the Sutta on
 ' Things Well-spoken,'² in praise of the Master :

Whoso can speak a word whereby
 He works no torment to himself,
 Nor causeth harm to fellow men—
 That word is spoken well. (1227)
 Pleasant the word that one should speak.
 Speech that is grateful to the ear,
 That lays not hold of others' faults :
 Sweet is that word to hear. (1228)
 Truth is the word that dieth not.
 This is the old primeval Norm.³
 On Truth and Good and Norm, 'tis said,
 The saints do firmly stand. (1229)
 That which th' Awakened speaks, the sure
 Safe guide to make Nibbāna ours,
 To put a lasting end to Ill—
 That is the Word Supreme. (1230)

¹ Ascribed also to Sister Abhirūpa-Nandā, but, in her Psalm, inspired by the Buddha (*Sisters*, p. 28). 'Steeled,' *ekaggay*; lit., one-pointed; 'study,' etc. : see things as transient, involving ill, soulless.

² *Saṅg. Nik.*, i. 188; *Sutta Nip.*, ver. 450 f. : 'To be well spoken, speech must not only be such, but also righteous, lovely, and true.' Vangīsa thereupon announces a wish to express himself. The Master consents, and Vangīsa, standing before him, embellishes the prose Sutta as verse.

³ Here both Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla agree verbatim : *esa porāṇo dhammo cariyāpaveṇi; idham eva hi porāṇānaṃ āciṇṇaṃ na te* (Dh'pāla : *yan te na*) *alikaṃ bhāsiṃsu*. See also Additions, etc.

VI.

Spoken in praise of Sāriputta :

With insight into mysteries deep,
 And richly dowered with learned lore,
 Expert in paths both true and false,
 The son of Sāri, greatly wise,
 Teacheth the bhikkhus in the Norm. (1231)
 He teaches first in outline brief,
 And then expounds in full detail.
 And like the myna-bird's sweet song,¹
 His exposition poureth forth. (1232)
 And while he teaches, they who hear
 His honeyed speech, in tones they love
 Of voice enchanting, musical,
 With ravished ears, transported hearts,
 Delighted list his every word. (1233)

VII.

Spoken after the Exalted One had discoursed in the
 Pavāraṇā (Valediction or Dismissal) Suttanta :²

To-day, at full moon, for full purity
 Five hundred brethren are together come.
 They all have cut their fetters and their bonds ;
 Seers who are free from rebirth and from ill. (1234)
 And as a king who ruleth all the world,
 Surrounded by his councillors of state,
 Toureth around his empire everywhere,
 Driving throughout the lands that end in
 sea, (1235)

¹ *Sālikā*, lit., 'rice-kin,' just as we say 'siskin.'

² A meeting terminating the rainy season, when confession was invited. See *Vinaya Texts*, i. 325 ff. The Master (in the Suttanta, *Samy. Nik.*, i. 189) invites complaints against himself, and Sāriputta, on behalf of the others, gives him a clean bill, then receives the same himself.

So him, who is our victor in the fight,
 The peerless Master of our caravan,
 We followers attend and wait upon,
 Who hold the triple lore, slayers of Death. (1236)
 All we are sons of the Exalted One.
 No sterile babbler¹ is among us found.
 I worship him who strikes down craving's
 darts.
 I greet the offspring of the Sun's great line. (1237)

VIII.

Spoken in praise of the Exalted One, who had been delivering a religious discourse to the brethren bearing upon Nibbāna : ²

A thousand brethren, yea, and more than these
 Attend around the Well-Come One, who here
 Doth teach the Norm, the Pure, the Passionless,³
 Even Nibbāna, where can come no fear. (1238)
 They hearken to the Norm's abundant flow,
 Imparted by the Very Buddha blest,
 O wondrous fair the All-Enlightened shines,
 With all the Band of Brethren seated round. (1239)
 Mysterious spirit⁴ thou, Exalted One !
 The seventh in the lineage of the Seers,⁵
 Like a great storm-cloud in the summer sky,
 Thou on thy followers pourest precious rain. (1240)

¹ In our text *palāpo*, or babbler; in Burmese manuscripts of text and Commentary *palāso*, *phalāso*. *Pālaso*, having leaves, not fruit, means presumably 'sterile.' Both Commentaries, ours and the *Sārattha-pakāsinī*, explain by *tuccho anto*, *sārarahito*, *dussīlo* (empty, deprived of pith, morally bad).

² Vangīsa again suggests that he should be allowed to speak (*Samy. Nik.*, i. 192).

³ Cf. *Sisters*, verse 97.

⁴ *Nāga*. Cf. above CCXLVII.

⁵ The seventh of the Buddhas. The Nikāyas take only these into account in the past.

And one of these, from meditation come,
 Full fain his gracious Master to behold—
 Thy true disciple, mighty Hero, see!
 Low at thy feet Vangīsa worships thee. (1241)

Then¹ the Exalted One asked: 'How now, Vangīsa, have you composed these verses beforehand, or did they occur to you just on the present occasion?' 'They occurred to me just now,' replied Vangīsa. ['Well then, let some more such verses occur to you.' 'Even so, lord'—and Vangīsa spoke further his praises:]

O'er Māra's devious ways he fares triumphant,
 And every obstacle he breaketh down.
 Behold him from all bondage our Deliverer;
 Himself full fraught, he portions out the
 Norm.² (1242)

For he hath shown a Way by many methods
 For crossing o'er the [fearsome fourfold] Flood;³
 And we to whom he hath declared Ambrosia,⁴
 Stand as Norm-seers inexpugnable. (1243)
 Light-bringer, he hath pierced beyond, beholding
 Past all those stations where the mind doth halt.⁵
 The topmost heights knowing and realizing,
 To us he maketh known the path of sight.⁶ (1244)

¹ The Commentary quotes only the question and answer. The rest I take from the *Saṅg. Nik.* Dhammapāla only adds that the Master wished to show Vangīsa's gift to the brethren.

² One might render this clause—*asitaṅ va bhūgaso pavibhajja[ṃ]*—as Dr. Neumann does, by 'as a sickle having divided off by sections' (or sheaves), but (1) I hesitate to liken the Saviour of the Buddhists, for them, to a sickle; (2) both Commentaries agree that *asitaṅ* is, as in other gāthās, e.g. (1184), *anissitaṅ* (independent, himself needing nothing). I have taken *asita* as meaning *dhāta* (cf. *Jātaka Commentary*, vol. ii., p. 247, text, opposed to *chāta*, lacking). The main emphasis is on the Teacher's passing on to others what he has gained.

³ Cf. XV., n. 2.

⁴ Lit., that ambrosia being declared.

⁵ Both Com. have *ditthitthānāṇaṅ viññāṇatthānāṇaṅ vā*.

⁶ Both Commentaries reject *dasatthānaṅ*, reading *dasaddhānaṅ*, and refer to the First Sermon delivered to the five recluses as the recipients of the *aggay dhammaṅ*, neither explaining the term.

Lo! now in truths so well revealed, for trifling
 What place is there 'mong them who learn his
 Lore?

Hence zealously within that Master's System
 Let each man train, and while he trains
 adore. (1245)

IX.

Spoken in praise of the venerable Thera Añña-Kondañña :¹

Who next to our Great Waked One was awoke,
 Brother Kondañña, strong in energy,
 Who oft enjoyeth hours of blissful ease—
 [The harvest] of complete detachment won—² (1246)
 All that the Master's follower can win,
 If he fulfil the training of the Rule—
 All this Kondañña step by step hath won
 By study strenuous and diligent. (1247)
 Sublime in power and versed in triple lore,
 Expert the thoughts of others to descry,³
 Kondañña of the Buddha rightful heir,
 Low at the Master's feet behold him lie. (1248)

X.

Spoken in praise of the venerable Moggallāna the Great,
 before the Exalted One, when the former discerned that
 the hearts of the 500 arahants, gathered together at Black
 Rock on Rishis' Hill at Rājagaha, were emancipated and
 free from the conditions for rebirth :⁴

High on the hilly slopes disciples wait,
 Holding the triple lore, slayers of Death,

¹ *Saṃy. Nik.*, i. 198. Cf. CCXLVI.

² *Vivekānaṃ*, of the detachments—namely, three: of body, of mind,
 and that involved in Nibbāna.

³ *Saṃy. Nik.*, i. 194.

Upon the pleasure of the seated Saint,
 Who hath transcended all the power of ill. (1249)
 And MOGGALLĀNA great in mystic power
 Doth scrutinize in thought the hearts of all,
 And thus examining he finds them freed,
 And having nought wherefrom to be reborn.¹ (1250)
 So do they wait upon that perfect Saint,
 Who hath transcended all the power of ill,
 And perfected on every hand his work—
 So wait upon and honour GOTAMA. (1251)

XI.

Spoken in praise of the Exalted One, luminous by his
 own beauty and glory, when surrounded by the Order and
 the laity at the Gagarā Lotus-lake, at Campā :²

As when th' obscuring clouds have drifted from
 the sky,
 The moon shines splendid even as a sun,
 So thou, Angīrasa,³ most mighty Seer,
 Dost with thy glory all the world illumine. (1252)

XII.

Spoken when reflecting, as a new-made arahant, on his
 experiences and on the Master :

Drunk with divining art,⁴ of old we roamed
 From town and village on to town again.
 Then we beheld the All-Enlightened, Him
 Who hath transcended all that we can know. (1253)

¹ *Nir-upadhiy.* See verse 1216, *n.*

² *Cf.* p. 82, *n.* 2 ; 134 ; 275. See also *Dialogues*, i. 144.

³ *Cf.* verse 536, *n.*

⁴ *Kāveyyamattā.* Wrongly translated by me elsewhere. Without the Commentary I had imagined Vangīsa as having been a troubadour, a *nata* or mime, like Tālapuṭa (CCLXII.). Imagination and a rhetorical facility he had, but one need not substitute a new legend for the old tradition. The term occurs again in *Sany. Nik.*, i. 110, where the

He in the Norm instructed me—the Seer,
 Who hath transcended all the power of ill,
 And when we heard that Norm our heart was glad,
 And faith and trust therein rose up in us. (1254)
 Hearing his Word concerning body, mind,
 Sensations, objects of the same, and all
 The data of our knowledge¹— grasping these,
 I left the world to lead the homeless life. (1255)
 O surely for the weal of many folk
 The advent is of Them-who-Thus-are-Come!—
 Of women and of men who keep their Rule. (1256)
 Yea, surely, and for highest good of those—
 The Brethren and the Sisters, they who see
 The order of what is, what may become²—
 For them the Seer did win Enlightenment. (1257)
 By Him-who-Sees, the Buddha, Kin o' th' Sun,³
 Well taught in kindness to all things that breathe
 Are the Four Ariyan, Four Noble Truths; (1258)
 Even the What and Why of Ill, and how
 Ill comes, and how Ill may be overpassed,
 E'en by the Ariyan, the Eightfold Path,
 That leads to the abating of all Ill.⁴ (1259)
 Such were the doctrines uttered thus, and I,
 I saw them e'en as they were shown to me;
 And now salvation have I surely won,
 And all the Buddha's ordinance is done. (1260)

Buddha, sitting, suppressing the pain arising from a splinter in his foot, Māra inquires why he sits apart with drooping head: Is he feeling 'blithered' or worried, *kāveyyamatto*, or only sleepy? The Commentary has 'as he were thinking of what he had to say, crazy by reason of what he had to do.' Both Commentaries here have *kāveyyana-kabba*-(ours :-*kavyā*-) *kārakena mattā, mānitā, sambhāvitā, garukodayaṇ āpannā*. Vangīsa's story explains the choice of the term.

¹ *Khandho āyatanāni ca dhātuyo ca*. Cf. *Sisters*, Ps. XXX., XXXVIII.; also my *Buddhism*, p. 70; and for n. 2, p. 119 f.; 241.

² Lit., seers of what is included in the order—*i.e.*, of the world, physical and moral. The Commentary emphasizes only the latter—*sampattiniyāmaṇ*, the order by which to achieve (saintly) success.

³ See XXVI., n.

⁴ Cf. *Sisters*, verse 186.

O welcome tidings! welcome time to me
 To live and study near the Master's feet;
 'Mong divers doctrines mooted among men
 Of all 'twas sure the best I sought and found.¹ (1261)
 To heights of intuition have I won,²
 From sense of hearing is the dulness swept;
 The triple lore have I and magic power;
 In knowing others' thought am I adept. (1262)

XIII.

When inquiring as to whether his tutor³ had passed
 wholly away at death :

I ask the Master—boundless is his wisdom—
 Who as to this life severs every doubt:⁴—
 Here at Aggaḷava⁵ hath died a Brother,
 Well-known and famous, cool and calm [his
 heart]; (1263)
 Nigrodha-Kappa, so thyself didst call him,
 Such was this good man's name, Exalted One.⁶
 Revering thee he lived, his gaze on Freedom,
 And, Seer of what is stable,⁷ well he strove. (1264)
 Of this disciple, Sākya, all desirous
 Are we to know the fate, thou Seer of all;
 Attent the ear of everyone to hear it:—
 Thou art our Master and thou art supreme. (1265)

¹ Cf. IX.

² To mastery of the six forms of *abhiññā*. Cf. p. 14, n. 3, with p. 32, n. 2.

³ Nigrodha-Kappa Thera. This episode is also given in the *Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 342 ff. (*SBE*, x., p. 57 ff.).

⁴ For *chetvā* read *chettā*, as Oldenberg suggests. The Commentary paraphrases by *chedako*: 'cutter-off of doubts.'

⁵ A Vihāra at the chetiya (pre-Buddhistic shrine), so called, at Ālavī, a town on the Ganges, 12 yojanas from Benares, 80 from Sāvattihī.

⁶ Because he habitually sat in the shade of a banyan (*nigrodha*), and there, too, became arahant (Commentary).

⁷ *I.e.*, Nibbāna, as that which does not crumble. He is addressing the Buddha by this title (Commentary).

Do thou but sever from us all our doubting,
 Tell thou me, amplest Wisdom, make it known :
 Hath he indeed his life's long round completed ?
 Speak to us in our midst, O Seer of all,
 As Sakka thousand-eyed in heavenly hall.¹ (1266)
 Bonds that here bind us, pathways of illusion,
 Factors of ignorance, stations of doubt :—
 Whate'er they be, confronted by the Master,
 By Him-who-Thus-hath-Come, they cease to be,
 For among men the Eye Supreme is he. (1267)
 For if, i' faith, some Man the world's corruptions
 Sweep not away, as wind the lowering clouds,
 The world were shrouded² wholly in thick dark-
 ness,
 And e'en the brighter minds would lose their
 light. (1268)
 Light-bringers [to us all] are men of wisdom ;
 And thou, O Sage, methinks art even such.
 We have drawn nigh to one who seeth,
 knoweth ;³
 Reveal to us assembled Kappa[']s fate]! (1269)
 Swiftly send forth thy voice in all its beauty,
 O thou most beauteous ; even as the swan,
 With rich and mellow tones well modulated,
 Lifts up its neck in measured trumpeting,
 And we will hearken all, our hearts sincere. (1270)
 Gone from his ways all future birth and dying ;⁴
 And him who shook them off without remainder,
 Him now constraining will I cause to speak.
 For⁵ average folk fail to fulfil their wishes,
 But saints perform whatever they devise. (1271)

¹ Lit., to the devas.

² For *nibbuto* understand *nivuto* (Commentary).

³ *Jānaṇ* for *jānantaṇ*. Buddhist and Jain suttas constantly link these two verbs.

⁴ *Dhonaṇ*, agent-noun of *dhunāti*, which occurs in II. Cf. *Sutta-Nipāta*, ver. 818.

⁵ Our Comy. reads also *hi* and *va*.

Well have we learnt how thou canst answer,
 Whose insight straight to heart of things dost go,
 Not vainly do we stand, once more saluting,
 O baffle not, thou infinite in wisdom,
 Who [Kappa's destiny] dost surely know. (1272)
 The Ariyan Norm thou know'st in all its bearings,¹
 Knowing and strong to work, O baffle not!
 As for cool waters when by heat we suffer,
 Thy word we wait for:—rain that we may
 hear!² (1273)
 That holy life which, for the goal desirous,
 He of the Kappas led, was't not in vain?
 Passed he away fraught with the seed of rebirth,³
 Or as one wholly free?—that would we hear. (1274)

THE EXALTED ONE.

*All craving as to life of mind and body
 He severed here below, and crossed the stream
 Of craving flowing long deep-bedded in him,
 Passed utterly beyond both birth and death.* (1275)

(Thus spake the Exalted One, best in the Five.)⁴

¹ *Paroparaya*. Cf. *Sutta-Nipāta*, p. 59, n. 2, with p. 198, n. Our Commentary condenses the paraphrase of that Commentary: [*lokut-tara-*] *lokiyavasena sundaraya* [*asundaraya*] *dūre santikaya vā ariyadhamman ti*.

² Lit., 'rain the heard thing'—*i.e.*, speech.

³ Our Commentary, unlike the text, has *nibbāyi so anupādiseso*.

⁴ The interpolated references to the Buddha *loquitur* are by the Compilers, says the Commentary. I do not understand *pañcasettho* here any more than did the Commentators. The allusion in the *Sutta-Nipāta Commentary* is obviously inaccurate. The Buddha was not one of the five, nor a brahmin in the social sense. Our Commentary suggests the Five Indriyas or the Five Precepts, both inapposite here. Dr. Neumann's five divisions of Middle Country and four quarters of barbarians has a more plausible sweep of world-laudation but is, I think, without precedent. Conceivably, the original reading was simply some such compound as *pumasettho*, chief of men. The metre now turns to ślokas.

VANGĪSA.

Pleased is my heart to hear thy word,
 O seventh of mighty Rishis thou!¹
 Not vain, in sooth, was my request,
 Thou'st not deceived me, Holy One!² (1276)
 As Kappa spoke, so Kappa wrought,
 Disciple of the Buddha he,³
 For he hath cut the netted snare
 By crafty Death outstretched and strong. (1277)
 He of the Kappas saw the source
 Of grasping, O Exalted One!
 Ah! truly he hath passed beyond
 The realm of Death so hard to cross. (1278)

Thee greater than the gods I greet,
 With thee thy son, O best of men,⁴
 A mighty hero like thee grown,
 Of wondrous Being,⁵ very son. (1279)

Thus verily did the venerable Brother Vangīsa utter his psalm.

¹ I.e., seventh Buddha. Cf. p. 408, n. 5..

² Lit., Brahmin, but used in its original sense : holy, excellent.

³ Consistency between word and deed is expressly named as a quality of a Tathāgata. *Iti-vuttaka*, § 112.

⁴ Nigrodha-Kappa is, of course, the 'son.' 'Men' is lit. bipeds. The last verse is not in the *Sutta-Nipāta*. The term *devadevan* suggests a later source.

⁵ *Nāga*.

ENVOI.

*Singing the pæan of their 'lions' roar,
These children of the Buddha, sane, immune,
Winning the safe sure haven of their quest,
Dwelt in blest cool like flame of fire extinct.*

APPENDIX

Appendix I, "Additions and Corrections"
(pages 414-419), has been moved to the
beginning of this file for easier reference.

II¹

ASPECTS OF THE GOAL OR GOOD (*ATTHA*) IN THE BRETHREN'S VERSES, VIEWED UNDER—

A. A NEGATIVE ASPECT.

(As a release, a getting rid of.)

- | | |
|---|--|
| (a) Nibbāna (or going-out—viz.,
of the fire or fever, of greed,
ill-will, illusion) | lxxi., lxxix., cxix., cxxix., cxli.,
clxv., clxxxii., clxxxiv., oo. cciii.,
ccxii., cxxxxviii., ccxlv., cclii.,
cclix., cclx., cclxii., cclxiv. |
| (b) Freedom :
(i.) Release from social or
economic bonds .. | xliii., lxxii., lxxxii., lxxxix., cxxxi.
lx., lxxxix., xciii., c., cxxxi.,
cxlviii., cli., clxxxvi.-clxxxvii.,
clxxxix., cxci., cxci., cxoviii.,
ccx., ccxv., ccxxiv., ccxxvi.,
ccxxxix., coliv. |
| (ii.) Release from spiritual
bonds | lxviii., lxxviii., lxxxi., lxxxiv.,
cxx., clviii., clxxxii., clxxxiv.,
ccii., ccxx., ccxxviii., cxxxxviii.,
ccxlviii., colix. |
| (c) Release from Ill, sorrow .. | lxviii., lxxviii., lxxxi., lxxxiv.,
cxx., clviii., clxxxii., clxxxiv.,
ccii., ccxx., ccxxviii., cxxxxviii.,
ccxlviii., colix. |
| (d) Release from Living and
Dying (rebirth, or Saṅsāra) | xvii., xlv., lvii., lxxvii., lxxx.,
lxxxiii., lxxxvii., xc., xcvi.,
xcix., ci., cxxi., cxxv., cxxviii.,
cxxxvi., cxxxix., cxxv., cxlv.,
cxlix., ccli., clxviii., clxxxi.-
clxxxii., ccii., cciv., ccxx.,
cxxxxviii., cxxxxvii., ccl.,
ccxliv.-ccxlv., ccli. |

¹ This table, a companion picture to that drawn up for the Sisters, may be of some positive and comparative utility. I have endeavoured to select only the dominant note of attainment or aspiration in each psalm. At times this is difficult; the Commentary, *e.g.*, in introducing the brief poem of Sīvaka (xiv.) states a fourfold burden to the one śloka. There I have selected the joy in that retreat from the world into the peace and charm of nature, which is so characteristic a note of those poet-anchorites. Besides this new group, I have had to add others, for this volume contains nearly thrice as many poems, and among the men, as is natural, there is a greater range of outlook. Where, in a complex goal, no one aspect predominates, I have enrolled the poem under more than one head, as, *e.g.*, in cxxv. Poems not hymning any aspect (*e.g.*, cxxx.) have not been included.

- (e) Release from Craving and Sensuality (one aspect of Nibbāna) xviii., xxviii., lvi., lxxiii., lxxiv., xciii., cxxvii., cxxxiv., cxli., clxxi., clxxxii., cxoiii., coiii., coxiv., cxxxxi., cxxxxix., cexlviii., celi., celxii., celxiv. (iv.).
- (f) Release from Fear vi.-viii., xxi., olv., cexvi., cexxxii., cexlviii., celi., celiv., celxi.
- (g) Release from Illusions of Self (soul), *māna* lxiv., lxxxix., clxiii., cexviii.-cexx., cel., celxi.
- (h) Release from the (four) Āsavas (intoxicants, which include (e)) v., xlvii., xcii., cxvi., cxxv., cxli., cxlix., cxxviii., clxiii., clxix., cxxxxviii.-cxxxxix., celi., celxvii., celvi., celxi.
- (i) Release from scepticism .. cel.

B. A POSITIVE ASPECT.

1. Subjectively Considered.

- (a) Mental Enlightenment conceived as—
- (i.) Light iii., xxv., cxxiv., cxlv., celxii., celxiv.
- (ii.) Knowledge, understanding, insight, wisdom, vision x., xlv., lxi., cxlii., cxlvi., cxlvii., cxlii., clxxxviii., coxiii., cexxxvi., cexxxx., celxii.
- (iii.) Intuition, insight, “triple lore” lv., cxxv., c., cxliii., clxx., clxxi., cxo., cxovii., cxoviii., cexxxxi., cexxxvi., celxii., celxiii., celvi., celxiv.
- (iv.) Clarity, lucidity (*sati*) .. xxx., xli., lix., cexxxv., celxii.
- (v.) Concentration xxxvii., xlvi., cxii., clxxiii.
- (b) State of Feeling :
- (i.) Happiness xvi., xxxv., lxiii., lxxxv., cxlii., clxxv., cxoii., cxov., coev., coxi., cexxxx., celiv.
- (ii.) “Cool,” calm, content, serenity, resignation i., ii., xii., xx., li.-liv., lviii., ovi., cxi., cxviii., clxiv., clxxiii., cxoiii., coev., coxvi., coxl., coxlv., celxvi., celxviii., celiv., covi., celix., celxi.
- (iii.) Peace, safety xv., xxxii., xlix., lxix., xovi., clxxxiii., co., coevii.-ceviii., coxvii., cexxix., cexxiii., celv., celvii.
- (c) State of Will :}
- (i.) Self-mastery vi., xix., xxix., l., lxxvii., oix., cxxiii., cxl., clxiii., clxvii., covi., cexxxv., celxii., celv., celxii.
- (ii.) Power xxxviii., lxx., oiv., celxiii.
- (iii.) Steadfastness, balance .. olvi., coxi.
- (d) Complexes of (a), (b), (c) :
- (i.) Confidence cxxvi., celi., celxii.
- (ii.) Victory vi.-viii., xi., olvii., clxxv., celi.

- (iii.) Alertness, awakeness,
health xxii., xxxix., xl., clxvi.
(iv.) Detachment (with or
without nature-love) xlii., xiv., xxiii., xxvii., xxxi.,
xxxiv., xli., lxiii., cv., cxiii.,
cxxxii., clxxiv., clxxv., clxxviii.,
cxvii., cccxxii., cccxxiv.,
ccxxxix.-ccxl., cclxi.-cclxii.

2. Objectively considered as—

- (a) Truth xxvi., lxxxviii.
(b) Good news, doctrine, guidance ix., lxxxvi., xci., xciv., ciii., cxvii.,
cxxxviii., cclv., cclx.
(c) A supreme conjuncture .. clxxii., clxxiv., clxxxiv., coxiv.,
ccxxii., ccxliv., cclix.
(d) Order (*dhammatā, niyāmatā*) .. xxiv., clxi., clxx., clxxxvi.-
clxxxvii., cxo., cxci., cxviii.,
cciv., ccxv., ccxxiv., cccxvi.-
ccxxvii., cclix.
(e) Regulated life xxxvi.
(f) Communion with the Best .. iv., lxvi., lxxv., clxxxv., cci.,
cxxxiii., cclx., cclxii.
(g) Service, fraternal goodwill .. xxxiii., xlviii., lxv., lxxvi.-lxxvii.,
ccl., cclxiv.
(h) Perfection (*sādhutā*) cxiv.
(i) Otherness of life (from worldly
life and standards) lxxvi., xcvii., cii., cvii.-cviii., cx.,
cxxii., cxxxvii., cliv., cccxiii.,
ccli.
(j) Refuge, haven clxxii., clxxxiv., cxo., cxvii., ccl.,
cclix.
(k) The "Ambrosial" cxliv., cci., cclvii.-cclviii., cclxii.,
cclxiv.
(l) The Good Supreme, salvation
(*attha, sadattha*) cci., cciv., ccxix., cccxix., cclxiii.,
cclxiv.

III

THERA-VERSES NOT INCLUDED IN THIS ANTHOLOGY NOR IN THE PĪṬAKAS

WE know that the Theragāthā does not exhaust the verses ascribed to Theras which survive in Buddhist literature. There are several which have not even found a place in the Pali Canon. Among these are twenty ślokas attributed to Punna, son of the Maitreyas (Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra) in the *Mahāvastu* (Senart ed., iii., 382). He is said to have been a brahmin's son of Donavatthu in Kosala, and may possibly be identifiable with Punṇa Mantāniputta, No. IV. in our Anthology, the birthplace being identical and the legends very similar. The contents of the verses would scarcely repay the difficulties of a metrical English rendering. They are a hymn of praise to the Buddha, who for thirteen gāthās is addressed by a sun-title, different from that in our collection, in a refrain, as e.g. :

“That thou, being in the Realm of Bliss, didst become an elephant like to a snowy crest, and enter on thy last birth :—this, O thou, kin to the thousand-rayed I is sweet to me !”

—a verse which suggests that the hymn is of a relatively late date, the white elephant legend appearing first, I believe, in the Nidānakathā Jātaka Commentary.

After hymning thus the Birth, Renunciation, and Enlightenment, the author continues by exulting in the “great Hero's” Dhamma, this time prefixing a refrain of the one word *dishtyā* : “by good luck !” e.g. :

“O happy fate, the Norm-Wheel by the Norm ! O happy fate, that this of twelve parts composed should be rolled on !”

Here again is the identification of the twelve links of the “Wheel of Causation” with the “Wheel of the Norm,” which Buddhaghosa evidently found in vogue, but which I have not met with in the Pīṭakas. The *Divyāvadāna*, using the same phrase : *dvādas'āṅgaḥ (pratītyasamutpādo)* relates how

this doctrine was explained by the graphic aid of a wheel-picture (p. 300 f.). Cf. the modern version of the tradition in *Compendium*, p. 262 f.¹

In the *Divyāvadāna*, again, are other verses—*e.g.*, by Punna (Pūrṇa) of Sunāparanta (Sronāparānta), whither he went, or returned, as a missionary. This is the author of No. LXX. in this collection (p. 40 f. in *Divyāvadāna*). More available to English readers are the extra-canonical Thera-verses in the *Milinda*, comprising fourteen by Sāriputta, two by Piṇḍola-Bhāradvāja, two by Subhūti, one by Moggallāna the Great, three by Anuruddha, one by Upāli, three by Rāhula, one by Vangīsa, one by Cūla-Panthaka, one by Mogharājan, and five by Upasena-Vanganta-putta. All of these occur in the last book (VII.) of the *Milinda*, and may be consulted in the translated edition. They are all quoted by the author, as bearing precisely as much, or as little, authority as those other verses, which he quotes, on five occasions, from the *Theragāthā*. Reference to such citations is given in my foot-notes. But the source or sources from which they are drawn remains one of the many problems obscuring the history of Pali literature.

¹ Cf. Dr. Oldenberg's comparative analysis of the diction in the Pūrṇa episode with that of *Majjh. Nik.*, "Rathavinīta-Sutta." "Studien zur Geschichte des buddhistischen Kanon." *Nachrichten G. W. Göttingen*, 1912.

IV

WORKS QUOTED OR REFERRED TO BY DHAMMAPĀLA'S COMMENTARY

- Page 21 : *Vinaya* (Vin. Texts, i., 134), sermon on Burning (*sic*).
Page 207 : *Vinaya* (Vin. Texts, i., 134), sermon on Burning (*sic*).
Page 225 : *Vinaya* (Vin. Texts, i., 1 f.).
Page 285 : *Vinaya* (Vin. Texts, i., 100 f.), sermon on No-sign-
[of-any-soul] (*sic*).
Page 9 : *Majjhima Nikāya*, “Rathavinīta-Sutta” (*sic*).
Page 30 : *Majjhima Nikāya*, “Bālapaṇḍita-Sutta,” parable of
the hole in the yoke. (Also cited in CLXXXIII.)
Page 31 : *Majjhima Nikāya*, “Bhaddekaratta-Sutta,” in
“Lomasakangiya-Sutta” (*sic*).
Page 71 : *Majjhima Nikāya*, “Punnovāda-Sutta.”
Page 82 : *Majjhima Nikāya*, “Mādhupinḍika-Sutta” (*sic*).
Page 161 : *Majjhima Nikāya*, “[Dhātu]vibhanga-Sutta” (*sic*).
Page 224 : *Majjhima Nikāya*, “Kakacūpama-Sutta,” the para-
ble quoted by name.
Page 280 : *Majjhima Nikāya*, (“Ariyapariyesana-Sutta”) on
“ariyatunhībhāva.”
Page 295 : *Majjhima Nikāya*, “Indriyabhāvanā-Sutta” (*sic*);
see below p. 418, on p. 295, n. 1.
Page 342 : *Majjhima Nikāya*, “Dighanakha-Sutta,” called
“Vedanā-pariggaha-Suttanta.”
Page 386 : *Majjhima Nikāya*, “Māratajjaniya-Sutta,” called
“Pāsādakamma-Suttanta.”
Page 30 : *Saṅyutta-Nikāya*, v., 455, “Chiggala-Sutta” (see
above, *Majjhima* “Bāla-paṇḍita-sutta”).
Page 44 : *Saṅyutta-Nikāya*, iii., 106, “Thera-Tissa-Sutta”
(*sic*).
Page 48 : *Saṅyutta-Nikāya*, i., 208, “Sānu-Sutta” (*sic*).
Page 49 : *Saṅyutta-Nikāya*, ii., 271, “Maranañ h’etaṅ” . . .
hināyāvattati.”
Page 224 : *Saṅyutta-Nikāya*, ii., 98, parable referred to.

- Page 224 : *Saṅgyutta-Nikāya*, iv., 196, § 5, parable referred to.
 Page 397 f. : *Saṅgyutta-Nikāya*, i., 185 f., Vangīsa-Saṅgyutta.
 Page 5 : *Anguttara Nikāya*, i., 24, Etad-agga-vagga. (The other forty 'agga' or top (ἄκρος) assignments are mentioned (see footnotes), but not with quotation.
 Page 288 : *Anguttara Nikāya*, iii., 345 f., "Nāgopama-suttanta" (sic).
 Page 234 : *Khuddaka-pāṭha*, "Kumārapaṇḥa" (sic).
 Page 166 : *Udāna*, iii., 3. The rebuke to Yasoja referred to.
 Page 345 : *Udāna*, iv., 4. Incident there is referred to, but work not mentioned.
 Page 177 : *Sutta-Nipāta*, "Sabhiya-Sutta" (sic).
 Page 201 : *Sutta-Nipāta*, "Sabhiya-Sutta" (sic).
 Page 203 : *Sutta-Nipāta*, the "Sixteen Atthakas" (sic).
 Page 126 : *Jātaka*, vi., No. 547, "Vessantāra-jātaka" (sic).
 Page 77 : *Jātaka*, v., No. 536, "Kunāla-jātaka" (sic).
 Page 258 : *Jātaka*, i., No. 4, "Cūlaṣeṭṭhi-jātaka" (sic, not Cullaka-). Dhammapāla quotes it not as Vannanā, but as stated ; so that in his day a "Jātaka" meant Commentary as well as Ākhyāna, all taken together. Another interesting feature is his free citation of that Commentary. I give both version as an instance of how fluid was the form of prose narratives, even of canonical matter :

Jātaka.

*Bhikkhave, Cullapanthako maṅ
 nissāya idāni tāva dhammesu
 dhammamahantataṅ patto ; pubbe
 pana maṅ nissāya bhogesu pi
 bhogamahantataṅ pāpunīti.*

Dhammapāla.

*Bhikkhave, Cūlapanthakena
 idāni maṅhaṅ ovāde thatvā lokutta-
 radāyajjaṅ laddhaṅ ; pubbe pana
 lokiyadāyajjan ti.*

Apadāna : quoted regularly, as for the Sisters' legends, for most but not for all the Theras—e.g., not for Tālaputa. Hence one of Dhammapāla's dichotomies of them is that thy were either *s'āpadānā* or *an-apadānā*. Only they who under former Buddhas had had *puññakriyāvasena sāvaka-pāramitā-sankhātāṅ pavattitāṅ* are in the *Apadāna*.

OTHER COMMENTARIES.

- Page 398, n. 9 : *Sāratthapakāsinī* (sic).
 Page 20 : *Anguttara Commentary*. Never referred to as *Manoratha-pūranī*, but the phrase quoted (p. 199) agrees textually with it.
 Page 198 : *Anguttara Commentary*.
 Page 199 : *Anguttara Commentary*.

Page 203 : *Anguttara Commentary*.

Page 56 : *Khuddaka-pāṭha* or *Saṅgyutta Commentary*, "Ratana-Sutta" (*sic*).

Page 180 : *Dhammapada Commentary* on verse 70.

Page 199 : *Dhammapada Commentary* on verse 381.

Page 266 : *Dhammapada Commentary* on verse 110.

Page 8 : *Udāna Commentary* on "Tathāgata."

Page 203 : *Udāna Commentary* on v., 6.

Page 8 : *Iti-vuttaka Commentary* on "Tathāgata."

Page 293 : *Iti-vuttaka Commentary* on "knowing all" and "seeing all" (?).

Page 30 : *Therīgāthā Commentary* on Abhaya's Mother, *Sisters*, page 30, referred to as to follow.

} Dhammapāla's own commentaries.

Page 237 (492) : *Visuddhi-Magga*, probably the "Indriya-Sacca-Niddesa," as dealing in detail with the Truths.

Page 317 : *Visuddhi-Magga*, the "Dhutanga-Niddesa."

In his opening remarks Dhammapāla enumerates the five Nikāyas, and affirms the inclusion of the *Thera-therīgāthā* in the poetical books of the Fifth (Khuddaka-) Nikāya. The gāthās "were all brought into unity (*ekajjan katvā*) at the Recitation-time (council), and were as such chanted by those who made the recension of the Dhamma" (*dhammasangāhakehi*).

It is noteworthy that Dhammapāla only once refers to any of the three last named Commentaries as parts of the Paramatthadīpanī, nor does he call it his own work. Nor does he even name Buddhaghosa as author or editor of any of the other Commentaries mentioned, or of the *Visuddhi Magga*. Nor does he refer to the Commentary on the *Sutta-Nipāta* as such, nor to that on the *Majjhima*, nor to that on the *Dīgha*, nor indeed does he ever quote any portion of the *Dīgha* itself, although the *Therīgāthā* includes gāthās taken from that work. See CCLVI., CCLX.

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*References in brackets are to verses : without brackets, to pages.
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