

THE GREAT DISCIPLE MAHĀKASSAPA AND HIS PARINIBBĀNA

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ABSTRACT—The 80 great disciples (*asīti mahāsāvakas*) are a conceptual category found in Pali commentarial literature dating from the 5th to the 10th century. Various forms of evidence, including archeology, epigraphy, and iconography, demonstrate the enduring popularity of these characters within mainland Southeast Asian Buddhist traditions. This popularity spans from the end of the 1st millennium to the present. The focus of this work lies in the Pali texts, which have been largely overlooked in comparison to the well-preserved accounts in vernacular languages. The study partially aims to address this gap by presenting a critical edition and new translation of a Pali text centered around the *parinibbāna* (final demise) of one of the most esteemed disciples, Mahākassapa.

KEYWORDS: 80 Great Disciples (*Asīti Mahāsāvakas*); Mahākassapa; Pali Commentaries; *Parinibbāna*; Southeast Asian Buddhism

Introducing the Great Disciples

The *asīti mahāsāvakas*, commonly known as the “80 great disciples” or “hearers”, represent a conceptual category within Pali Buddhist studies that has received limited attention. Notably, François Lagirarde (2000, 2001, 2006) is the sole scholar to have extensively explored this field, primarily focusing on the Southeast Asian context, particularly the Thai vernacular Buddhist tradition. While Lagirarde sheds some light on this subject, information about these great disciples, sourced from Pali

literature, is scattered across various other published works, including Toshiichi Endo’s (1997), which explores the evolution of some key concepts such as *bodhi*, *bodhisatta*, *pāramī*, etc., in commentarial literature. Additionally, the bilingual *Pāramīdīpanī* (ed. Pesala 2015), originally composed by the eminent Burmese monk Ledi Sayadaw, must be referenced. The latter work consistently mentions the great disciples in discussions presented in the form of questions and answers, specifically focusing on enlightenment and the attributes necessary for embracing a bodhisatta’s career.

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The popularity of the great disciples has achieved considerable success within Southeast Asian Buddhist traditions, making distinctive contributions to regional Buddhist narratives and literature. This popularity has played a crucial role in fostering a strong and enduring local religious history (Skilling 2009: 57–59). The lives and final moments of the 80 great disciples became a significant literary genre, preserved in vernacular languages. Although absent in Sri Lanka and central Myanmar, these texts persist today in Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, and the Shan State (Lagirarde 2000: 58; 2001: 304).

Molded tablets found in U Thong² (late 1st millennium) and Saraphi, Chiang Mai province (12th–13th c.), as well as footprints of buddhas during the Sukhothai period demonstrate the lasting impact of the great disciples in ancient Thailand (Bauer 1991: 61–63; Lorrillard 2000: 41–45, 53–55; Skilling 2013: 77–79). References to them continue in later Burmese epigraphy, as seen in an Ava inscription from 1778 CE recording the enshrining of 80 statuettes (Taw Sein Ko 1899: 170). Another Burmese tradition details 40 disciples sitting to the right of the historical Buddha and 40 to his left (Tin Lwin & Tin Oo 1996: xiv–xv). The Rattanakosin (Bangkok) period in Thailand (1782–today) witnesses continued interest, marked by new inscriptions during the installation of monumental group of statues in various

monasteries in Bangkok (e.g., Wat Suthat and Wat Phichai Yat). Official recognition of these great disciples is evident in the *Anubuddhapavatti* (ed. Vajirañānavorora 1974), composed by Prince Vajirañānavorora (1859–1921), alongside publications like *Brah asītimahāsāvakanibbāna* and *Brah sāvakanibbāna* (ed. Anonymous 1972), focusing on the final moments of these great disciples (Lagirarde 2000: 61; 2001: 304, 314).

Mahāsāvakas or great disciples are absent from early Buddhist scriptures and the Mahāyana literature, suggesting their specificity to the late Theriya school (known as Theravāda today). Their origins trace back to Pali commentaries (*atthakathās*),³ notably those collected and composed by Buddhaghosa (fl. 5th CE) and later by Dhammapāla (fl. between the 6th and 10th c.),⁴ who succinctly defined their characteristics.

Buddhaghosa refers several times to these *mahāsāvakas* without defining in a coherent and articulated whole their nature and specificities. He mentions few names,⁵ while their definitive number—

³ Later literature makes sporadic references to these great disciples, but they do not take center stage in narratives and lack significant conceptual development. See, for instance, in the *Mahāvarīsa* (Mhv XXX 80) and its “Extended” version (Ext Mhv XXX 218c), the *Thūpavāriṣa* (Thūp 233, 29), the *Chakesadhatuvāriṣa* (Cha-k 10), the *Rasavāhīṇī* (Ras 78, 21), the *Asītimahāsāvakaṇṇanāgāthā* mentioned in the *Gandhavāriṣa* (Gv 66, 5–6), etc.

⁴ While not strictly a commentary, I include here Buddhaghosa’s *Visuddhimagga* for convenience, as it serves to synthesize the entire conceptual framework of the Theriya tradition. The dates concerning Dhammapāla are still subject to discussions; see Gornall & Ruiz-Falqués (2019) for a recent synthesis.

⁵ For instance, “Where is the Teacher? Where is the Thera Sāriputta? Where is the Thera Moggallāna? Where is the Thera Bhaddiya? Where is the Thera

² The inscriptions found on the back of seven tablets give the names of “foremost disciples” (*etadagga*) which are also present in the list of *mahāsāvakas* (see thereafter).

eighty (80)—appears several times⁶ and seems normal and already integrated into these different literary developments. Their important status is testified by their repeated mention in sequences including prestigious characters;⁷ by the specific marks (*lakkhanas*) they hold;⁸ by their faculty to recollect past lives among six kinds of people, as well as being considered as peculiar *sāvakas*, alongside *aggasāvakas* (“chief disciples”) and *pakaṭisāvakas* (“ordinary disciples”).⁹ This threefold distinction can probably be understood from a conceptual framework in which the “bodhisattva or bodhisatta ideal”¹⁰ has been elaborated. Notably, distinct perspectives on the

Anuruddha? Where is the Thera Ānanda? Where is the Thera Bhagu? Where is the Thera Kimbila?” So saying, they went about looking at the places where sat the 80 chief disciples” (Dhp-a I 138, 19–23).

⁶ The 80 great disciples (*asīti māhasāvakas*) are mentioned, for instance, at Vism 98, 26 and Vism 411, 14 and 24; Sv II 420, 4; Sv II 429, 24–25; Sv III 792, 17; Dha-a II 94, 11; Dha-a II 97, 14; Dha-a II 174, 11–12; Pp III 357, 21; Mp I 127, 13–14; Mp II 126, 5 and 11; Mp II 262, 1–2; Mp II 65, 23; Pj II 51, 9; Pj II 511, 23.

⁷ For instance: “For in this place, buddhas, paccekabuddhas, the chief disciples, the 80 great disciples, the different wheel-turning monarch possessing great powers, the *khattiyas*, the brahmans, the householders with immense wealth arise” (Sv II 429, 24–25). See also, “Sāriputta, Mahāmoggalāna, as well as the 80 great disciples penetrated the supramundane Dhamma through energy” (Sv III 792, 16–18 and Mp II 65, 23–24).

⁸ “[...] On account of that, for them these distinctions are to be known: the buddhas are endowed with these marks; the paccekabuddhas with these [other marks], the two chief disciples, the 80 great disciples, the buddha’s mothers, the buddha’s fathers, the buddha’s attendants, the buddha’s female attendant, the wheel-turning monarch are [endowed with other marks]” (Mp II 261, 30–262, 3).

⁹ “There are six kinds of people who recollect these past lives. They are: other sectarians, ordinary disciples, great disciples, chief disciples, Paccekabuddhas, and Buddhas” (Vism 411, 8–10; trans. Nāṇamoli 1956: 405).

¹⁰ On this point, see Samuels 1997.

terms *bodhi* and *bodhisatta*, marking crucial stages in the evolution of the bodhisatta’s doctrine, signify that disciples (*sāvakas*) can also aspire to attain enlightenment (Endo 1997: 283–284).¹¹ Buddhaghosa’s classification of *sāvaka bodhi* (“enlightenment of disciples”), *paccekabodhi* (“enlightenment of pacceka [buddhas]”), and *sammāsambodhi/abhisambodhi* (“highest/perfect enlightenment”), along with Dhammapāla’s later differentiation between *mahābodhisatta* (“great-bodhisatta [i.e., the Buddha]”), *paccekabodhisatta* (“pacceka [buddha]-bodhisatta”), and *sāvakabodhisatta* (“disciples-bodhisatta”), reveals a more intricate nature of the bodhisatta. It is no longer merely an appellation for the previous existences of any buddha.

The late *Paramatthadīpanī* (Dhammapāla’s commentary on the part concerning the *Theragāthā-āṭṭhakathā*) brings some elements clarifying the nature and identity of this peculiar group of disciples, in addition to some Buddhaghosa’s views.

First, we have the names of these *māhasāvakas*:

Venerable, among them, the 80 great disciples by names are Aññakonḍañña, Vappa, Bhaddiya, Mahānāma, Assaji, Nālaka, Yasa, Vimala, Subāhu, Puṇṇaji, [10] Gavampati, Uruvelakassapa, Nadikassapa, Gayākassapa, Sāriputta, Mahāmoggallāna, Mahākassapa, Mahākaccāyana, Mahākotṭhika, Mahākappina, [20] Mahācunda, Anuruddha, Kaṅkhārevata, Ānanda, Nandaka, Bhagu, Nanda, Kimila, Bhaddiya,

¹¹ On the evolution of these complex doctrinal aspects, see Endo 1997: 228–238.

Rāhula, [30] Sīvali, Upāli, Dabba, Upasena, Khadiravaniyarevata, Puṇṇa Mantāṇiputta, Puṇṇa Sunāparantaka, Soṇa Kuṭikanṇa, Soṇa Koṭivīsa, [40] Rādha, Subhūti, Aṅgulimāla, Vakkali, Kāludāyī, Mahā-udāyī, Pilindavaccha, Sobhita, Kumārakassapa, Raṭṭhapāla, [50] Vaṅgīsa, Sabhiya, Sela, Upavāna, Meghiya, Sāgata, Nāgita, L a k u ṇ ḍ a k a b h a d d i y a , Piṇḍolabhbāradvāja, Mahāpanthaka, [60] Cūlapanthaka, Bākula, Kunḍadhāna, Dārucīriya, Yasoja, Ajita, Tissametteyya, Puṇṇaka, Mettagū, Dhotaka, [70] Upasiva, Nanda, Hemaka, Todeyya, Kappa, Jatukanṇi, Bhadrāvudha, Udaya, Posāla, Mogharājā, Piṅgiya [80] (Tha-a III 205, 27–206, 6).

The composition of this list is similar in the South and Southeast Asian recensions of the *Paramatthadīpanī*, although the spelling of some names sometimes varies according to the edition.¹² Interestingly, among these 80 disciples found in the commentaries, 16 are not mentioned in the earlier Pali Canon (Rhys Davids 1913: xxxvi).¹³ Additionally, this set of *mahāsāvakas*

¹² For instance, the Syamaraṭṭha (Thai) edition gives Aññasikondāñño for Aññakonḍañño, Nālako for Nālako, Puṇṇa Sunāparanta for Puṇṇa Sunāparantaka, and Koṭivisa for Koṭivīsa, Lakunṭakabhaddiyo for Lakunṭakabhaddiyo, Bākula for Bakkulo, Mettagū for Mettagu, Posāla for Posalo (Tha-a II (Sy): 871, 1–15); similarly, the Chatṭha Saṅgāyana (Burmese) edition proposes Aññasikondāñño for Aññakonḍañño, Nālako for Nālako (Tha-a (ChS) 541, 20–542, 11). Additionally, these editions also include various variants presented in the footnotes.

¹³ These are Bhaddiya, Assaji, Nālaka, Puṇṇaji, Tissa Metteyya, Puṇṇaka, Mettagū, Dhotaka, Upasiva, Hemaka, Todeyya, Jatukanṇi, Bhadrāvudha, Udaya, Posāla, and Piṅgiya.

must be distinguished from the 74 “foremost disciples” (*etadagga*)¹⁴ listed in the *Aṅguttaranikāya* (A I 23, 16–26, 28), which comprises only 43 of these “great disciples” (ed. Pesala 2015: 86). Furthermore, I should mention that the number of great disciples is, strictly speaking, not 80, but 78. The two chief disciples (*aggasāvakas*), Sāriputta and Moggallāna, due to the excellence of their personal qualities, are already encompassed within the larger category, despite their substantial distinctions from the other great disciples.¹⁵ To summarize, the construction of this list of 80 disciples prompts two observations: (1) certain names within the list were entirely unknown before its compilation and will continue to linger in obscurity thereafter, and (2), this compilation fails to identify any distinctive conceptual developments or narratives centered around these illustrious figures.

Second, the main Dhammapāla’s contribution to the *mahāsāvakā* concept distinguished these higher disciples through the quality of their resolution (*abhinīhāra*). The passage in question notes:

Why are these Theras called “great disciples” (*mahāsāvakā*)? Because of the greatness of their resolution (*abhinīhārassa*). Surely in this way, the two chief disciples (*aggasāvakā*) are

¹⁴ Which are the most distinguished ones in a particular field, i.e., 41 among monks (*bhikkhus*), 13 among nuns (*bhikkhunīs*), 10 among laymen, 10 among laywomen.

¹⁵ See Tha-a III 207, 22–31 and also the *Aggasāvakavatthu* at Dhp-a I 83–114.

included among these great disciples. They are then called “great disciples” (*mahāsāvakā*) because they obtained the highest knowledge regarding perfections for the disciples; they have the highest knowledge of the highest Dhamma among disciples; they stay in the highest place among disciples, because they conform with their great resolutions.

And their resolution is superior to that of the ordinary disciples (*pakatisāvakehi*). For, in the time of the Blessed One Padumuttara, they made their aspiration (*pañidhānā*). Therefore, their mastering and development of analytic knowledge in the attainment of direct knowledge is superior. All the arahants surely accomplished the purification of virtues and so on, their minds established in the four establishments of mindfulness, they developed the seven factors of enlightenment as ought to be, they destroyed the defilements without any remainder [following] the succession of the paths, [then] they establish in the highest fruit.

Likewise, as they are liberated by faith, they have obtained right view, they are liberated by both ways, and are liberated by wisdom, they have accomplished distinction in previous mental development through the desired distinction, then by the greatness of the resolution, the greatness of

the former connection, having accomplished virtues superior to others, in that lineage, great disciples (*mahāsāvakā*) are venerable disciples (*mahantāsāvakā*) through their resolution, their virtues and so on (Tha-a III 206, 7-22).

This passage also highlights the name of Buddha Padumuttara who met each great disciple during their previous lives. Padumuttara was the tenth buddha of the past given by the *Buddhavaṁsa* (Bv XI 12), said to have lived 100,000 eons ago. This past buddha had a central role in the career of the great disciples since he gave each of them the prediction (*vyākarana*) that they will one day become enlightened beings. This precondition for all candidates to enlightenment was made possible beforehand by the acquisition of certain factors or things (*dhamma*)¹⁶ such as resolute will (*chandatā*) and performing acts of devotion (*adhikāra*) for the great disciples. It is also the starting point of the long period during which the latter candidates acquire their perfections.¹⁷ Finally, the prediction must be imperatively coupled with a higher resolution (*abhinīhāra*), as illustrated by the case of the Thera Adhimutta who met this buddha and received his prediction, without however becoming a *mahāsāvaka* (DPPN, s.v. Adhimutta).

¹⁶ As explained at Tha-a I 11, 21-12, 11, there are eight factors (*dhamma*) expected for the buddhas, five for the pacceka-buddhas, and two for the chief disciples and great disciples. See ed. Pesala 2015: 22ff for further details.

¹⁷ “For those [wishing] the enlightenment of great disciples (*mahāsāvakabodhi*), it is 100,000 eons, just like the parents of a buddha, the attendant, and the son” (Tha-a I 11, 19-21).

In summary, *mahāsāvakas* appears to be seamlessly integrated into Pali commentaries. Their existence, however, surely predates the compilation of the *atṭhakathās*, though the extent of their preexistence remains unclear. The lack of detailed character development of the *mahāsāvakas* suggests that the emphasis lies more in the concept itself and their large number rather than the specific identity of each disciple. While pinpointing the reasons for the popularity of these great disciples in mainland Southeast Asia is challenging, it is likely that these revered figures symbolized the potential for embracing the bodhisatta's path, attaining enlightenment, and subsequently becoming advocates of the bodhisatta ideal for all.

The *Parinibbāna* of Mahākassapa

The surge in popularity of vernacular texts detailing the lives of the great disciples is evident in the region. Lagirarde translated two notable examples from Thai to English (2000, 2006). However, this scholarly discourse continues to overlook important Pali texts. My study endeavors to fill this gap by presenting a Pali text intricately linked to this literary tradition, specifically delving into the concluding chapter on the life of the revered Thera Mahākassapa, whose widespread acclaim in the broader Buddhist community is indisputable (Silk 2003).

Critical Edition and Translation

Pali texts related to these 80 disciples are found in Thai and Cambodian libraries, collected in anthologies such as the

Pāli Sāvākanibbāna (MS EFEO PALI 64)¹⁸ or available as individual works, e.g., in the *Mahākassapatheranibbāna* (cited in Lagirarde 2006: 82–83). A comprehensive exploration of these Pali manuscripts provides a more precise understanding of their contents and assesses their similarities and differences. For example, a detailed analysis of the *Pāli Sāvākanibbāna* reveals that it contains few stories of disciples listed in the *Paramatthadīpanī* (see above). Furthermore, not all the narratives are dedicated to a *mahāsāvaka*.¹⁹ Moreover, most sections consist of compilations of literary materials extracted from canonical, commentarial (*atṭhakathā*), and sub-commentarial (*tīkā*) literature, chosen for their depiction of the distinguished qualities and final moments of a specific disciple.

The *parinibbāna* of Mahākassapa stands as an exception. As an original composition, conspicuously absent from almost all Western sources listing Pali works,²⁰ it lacks a specific date and is attributed to an unidentified author. The text does not have a specific title and the names associated with this manuscript in collections such as *Mahākassapatheranibbāna*, etc., are likely derived from the concluding sentence,

¹⁸ The manuscript contains 6 bundles and 174 folios. It is located at the EFEO library in Paris.

¹⁹ Only 13 individuals are granted a dedicated section here, and it is not limited to men alone; this group also encompasses several women: Sāriputta, Cunda, Moggallāna, Bakkula, Bāhiya, Kundala, Mahābaggha, Buddhapitā, Mahāpajāpatī, Sānusāmañera, Dabbamallaputta, Gotamī, Nabbamallaputta.

²⁰ Louis Finot stands among the few Westerners who have discussed this text and referenced a manuscript housing it within a Lao monastery (1917: 66, 190, no. 354).

simply stating, “This story about the *parinibbāna* of the Thera Mahākassapa is finished” (*ayaṁ Mahākassapattherassa parinibbānakathā niṭṭhitā*).

The Pali text presented here is a revised version of an *editio princeps* prepared over 15 years ago by Jacqueline Filliozat and the late Peter Masefield (2007), accessible at the EFEO library in Paris, but which remained unfinished and unpublished. It is based on the following manuscripts,²¹ all written in Khom script and presumably originating from central Thailand:

(1) MS A included in a collection of different great disciples’ *nibbānas*, BnF PALI 298, bundle no. 3/folios *ga* to *gai*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

(2) MS B included in the *Sampiṇḍitamahānidāna*, BnF PALI 624, bundle no. 15/folios *ve* to *su*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

(3) MS C included in the *Pāli Sāvakanibbāna*, EFEO PALI 64, bundle no. 2/folios *gā* to *gam*, EFEO library, Paris.

MS A served as the base text for reconstructing the narrative and folios have been inserted accordingly, with other variants found in MS B and C juxtaposed in the footnotes. These three copies exhibit a substantial number of variants and scribal peculiarities, illustrating the challenges inherent in stabilizing the text across multiple

transmissions.²² The presentation of the text in a readable and comprehensible form was rendered difficult by these variations. While the overall progression of the text is similar in the three versions, certain passages required reconstruction or deduction from manuscript readings and borrowed literary sources.

In their unpublished work, Filliozat & Masefield included an extensive critical apparatus detailing all errors and variants in a somewhat raw manner. I have opted here to condense and organize this information, retaining only data deemed useful for the reader. Although some words may have spelling gaps, they can still provide valuable insight. Spelling discrepancies, pronunciation variations, vowel length differences, and shifts in consonants were addressed. Additionally, I have reorganized the text and footnotes, occasionally selecting variants from the two other manuscripts B and C over proposed words, arranging compounds, and incorporating textual references when possible.

I made efforts to adhere closely to the meaning and syntax of the text. However, I thought some adjustments were necessary to enhance the ease of reading and prevent monotony. For instance, I reorganized the additions of absolute forms, shortened sentences for readability, and alleviated systematic repetition of words, especially verbs indicating actions that just occurred (e.g., “having said”, “having thought”, etc.), as well as coordinating conjunctions (*tadā*, *atha*, *pana*, etc.).

²¹ The photographs of each manuscript can be found as supplementary material in the **ONLINE APPENDICES** at: <https://doi.org/10.69486/112.1.2024.7b>.

²² For a summary of these commonly found idiosyncrasies in so-called “Indochinese Pali”, see Masefield 2008.

Synopsis

The narrative of Mahākassapa's *parinibbāna* starts with an episode not directly linked to his final lifetime but to his gathering and enshrining of the historical Buddha's relics—an episode mostly associated with the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (Commentary on the *Dīghanikāya* by Buddhaghosa)—thus ensuring the enduring presence of Buddha Gotama. Subsequently, Mahākassapa's awareness of his remaining life forces prompts him to choose the three Kukkuṭasampātā mountains as the site for his final *nibbāna*. This announcement unsettles both laypeople and monks, but their distress is alleviated by Mahākassapa's Dhamma sermon. This sermon mirrors the emotional shock experienced by King Ajātasattu, who is personally informed by Mahākassapa about the place and time of his *parinibbāna*. The arrival by air of the Thera at his funeral site is depicted in an extraordinary manner reminiscent of Buddha Gotama. Mahākassapa, after making two predictions—the arrival of the future Buddha Metteyya and the mountains closing in on him upon King Ajātasattu's arrival—enters meditation and attains *parinibbāna*.

Comparing this Pali text with the Thai version of Mahākassapa's *parinibbāna* found in the *Brah sāvakanibbāna* (Anonymous 1972) and translated by Lagirarde (2006: 93–105), reveals points of convergence. Both versions share the same narrative progression, except that the Thai rendition does not include the introductory segment borrowed from the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*. Notably, Pali keywords punctuate the Thai text,

aligning with words present in the Pali version, suggesting that the latter was composed first and may have influenced the Thai narrative.

Additionally, Lagirarde (2006: 88–90) identified texts from northern Buddhist traditions that exhibit remarkable similarities with the Thai version but are absent in ancient Pali sources, such as the arrival of the future Buddha Metteyya and Mahākassapa blazing in the palm of the hand of the Blessed One.²³ This observation is also applicable to the Pali version presented here. A late Pali text, the *Vaṁsamālinī*, composed during the 15th–16th century in the Lan Na kingdom (present-day northern Thailand), narrates the final moments of Mahākassapa in a concise and versified form (Varīsam 4, 61–107). Currently, there is no evidence establishing the relationship connecting these two Pali texts, nor to guess which one was composed first, but it is noteworthy that the last moments of Mahākassapa presented below is an expanded version of the relevant section in the *Vaṁsamālinī*.

Pali Edition [cf. ONLINE APPENDICES]

[1] <ga> vandāmi sirasā pāde buddho
loke ca uttamo pavakkhāmi
param puññam tam nisāmetha
sādhu vo.

[§1] amhākām sammāsambuddho loke
udapādi. lokahitam sāvetvā nirindhano
viya aggikkhandho anupādisesāya

²³ For the Mahākāśyapa's connection with Maitreya in Mahāyāna Buddhism, see Silk 2003 and Huard 2020.

nibbānadhātuyā parinibbāyi.²⁴ parinibbutे bhagavati lokanāthe ath' āyasmā Mahākassapo pañcasatamattehi Satta-paññām guhādvāre dhammavinayasaṅgītiṁ katvā tasmīm yeva Rājagahe Veļuvanamahāvihāre²⁵ bhikkhusaṅghena vihāsi. tadā Ajātasatturājā²⁶ Mahākassapattheram tathāgataṁ viya maññamāno theram sabhikkhu-saṅgham²⁷ catūhi paccayehi sakkaccam eva upaṭṭhapesi. ekadā²⁸ kira samaye āyasmā Mahākassapo dhātūnam antarāyam disvā cintesi "sace²⁹ kho panāhaṁ dhātunidhānam na karissāmi. na cirass' eva³⁰ dhātuyo antaradhāyissanti. handāham bhagavato dhātunidhānam karissāmi. dhātūsu pana thitāsu buddhā³¹ thitā nāma honti" ti³² cintetvā ca pana³³ therō³⁴ Ajātasatturājānam upasārīkamitvā "mahārāja ekam³⁵ dhātunidhānam kātum vāṭṭati" ti āha.

rājā³⁶ "sādhu bhante" ti therassa vacanām sirasā sampaṭicchitvā "nidhānakamman tāva³⁷ bhante mama³⁸ hotu.

²⁴ B starts here with *tato param mahākassapattheram parinibbānam vaṇṇayissāma* instead of *parinibbutे bhagavati lokanāthe*.

²⁵ A Veļuvanamahāvihāre āyasmā Mahākassapatthero.

²⁶ B *sa aggarājā*.

²⁷ A not mentioned (n.m.).

²⁸ B *ekasmīm*.

²⁹ B *ce*.

³⁰ B *cirass'eva* is *cirassa va*.

³¹ B n.m.

³² A, C *honti* ti is *honti*.

³³ B *ca pana* is n.m.

³⁴ From here until §4 the text refers with slight modifications to Sv II 611, 5–613, 11 and Thūp 181, 3–183, 4.

³⁵ B *evam*.

³⁶ A n.m.

³⁷ A *ca*. B *va*.

³⁸ B *mama bhāro*.

sesadhātuyo pana katham āharissāmī³⁹ ti āha.⁴⁰ na kho mahārāja dhātu-āharanām tuyham⁴¹ bhāro. amhākam eva bhāro" ti. "sādhu bhante tumhe dhātuyo āharatha aham nidhānam karissāmī" ti. Mahākassapatthero⁴² tesam tesam rājaku-lānam paricaraṇamattam⁴³ eva ṭhāpetvā sesadhātuyo āhari. Rāmagāme pana⁴⁴ dhātuyo nāgā parigaṇhiṁsu. tāsam⁴⁵ antarāyo natthi "anāgate Laṅkādīpe Mahāvihāre Mahācetiyārigamhi⁴⁶ nidahis-santī" ti tasmā thero tāsam na āharithā.⁴⁷ sesehi sattahi nagarehi dhātuyo āharitvā Rājagahassa pācīnādisābhāge ṭhatvā⁴⁸ "imasmīm ṭhāne yo pāsāṇo atthi so antaradhāyatu,⁴⁹ pamsum visuddhā hotu, udakam mā utṭhahatū" ti adhiṭṭhāsi.

[§2] atha rājā tarī ṭhānam manusse khaṇāpetvā tato uddhatapaṇisunā itṭhakā kāretvā asītimahāsāvakānam cetiyāni kāreti.⁵⁰ "idha rājā kiṁ kāretī" ti pucchantānam pi. mahāsāvakānam cetiyāni⁵¹ ti vadanti.⁵¹ na koci dhātunidhānabhāvarū jā<gā>nāti.

asīthiḥthampamāne gambhīre tasmīm⁵² padese jāte asītimahāsāvakānam cetiyāni kārāpetvā⁵³ hetṭhā lohasanṭha-

³⁹ B, C āharāmī.

⁴⁰ B n.m.

⁴¹ B tumha.

⁴² B Mahākassapatthero atha.

⁴³ B paricaraṇam mattam.

⁴⁴ B n.m.

⁴⁵ A tesam.

⁴⁶ B mahācetiyamhi.

⁴⁷ B tāsam na āharithā is tāni nāhariṁsu.

⁴⁸ A ṭhāpetvā

⁴⁹ A antaradhātu ti parāsu viya visuddhā hotu.

⁵⁰ A asīti mahāsāvakānam cetiyāni kāreti is n.m.

⁵¹ B n.m.

⁵² B imasmīm.

⁵³ B asītimahāsāvakānam cetiyāni kārāpetvā is n.m.

raṁ sañṭharāpetvā tattha Thūpārāme cetiyaghārappamāṇam⁵⁴ tambalohamayāṁ gehāṁ kārāpetvā aṭṭha aṭṭha haricandānāmaye⁵⁵ karaṇde ca thūpe ca kārāpesi.

ath' assa bhagavato dhātuyo haricandanakaraṇde pakkhipitvā tam haricandanakaraṇḍam aññasmim haricandana-karaṇde pakkhipi. tam pi aññasmin ti evam aṭṭha haricandanakaraṇde ekato katvā eten' ev⁵⁶ upāyena te aṭṭha haricandanakaraṇde aṭṭhasu⁵⁷ haricandanathūpesu pakkhipi.⁵⁸ aṭṭha haricandanathūpe aṭṭha ca haricandanakaraṇdesu pakkhipi. aṭṭha lohitacandanakaraṇde aṭṭhasu⁵⁹ lohitacandanathūpesu [pakkhipi]. [aṭṭha lohitacandanathūpe] aṭṭhasu dantakaraṇdesu pakkhipi. [aṭṭha dantakaraṇde] aṭṭhasu dantathūpesu pakkhipi. [aṭṭha dantathūpe aṭṭhasu sabbaratana-karaṇdesu pakkhipi.] aṭṭha sabbaratana-karaṇde aṭṭhasu sabbaratanathūpesu pakkhipi. aṭṭha sabbaratanathūpe aṭṭhasu suvaṇṇakaraṇdesu pakkhipi.

aṭṭha suvaṇṇakaraṇde aṭṭhasu suvaṇṇathūpesu pakkhipi. aṭṭha suvaṇṇathūpe aṭṭhasu rajatakaraṇdesu pakkhipi. aṭṭha rajatakaraṇde aṭṭhasu rajatathūpesu pakkhipi. aṭṭha rajatathūpe aṭṭhasu

⁵⁴ A *thūpārāmacetiyappamāṇam*.

⁵⁵ B *haricandanādimaye*.

⁵⁶ A n.m.

⁵⁷ B aṭṭha.

⁵⁸ The passage that follows is incomplete in A until *sabbuparimaphalikamayacetiyan*: aṭṭhasu *haricandanathūpesu*. aṭṭha *lohitacandanakaraṇde aṭṭhasu lohitacandanathūpesu pakkhipi*. aṭṭhasu *dantakaraṇdesu pakkhipi*. aṭṭhasu *dantathūpesu pakkhipi*. aṭṭhasu *sabbaratanakaraṇdesu pakkhipi*. aṭṭhasu *suvaṇṇakaraṇdesu pakkhipi*. aṭṭha *suvaṇṇakaraṇde aṭṭhasu suvaṇṇathūpesu pakkhipi*. aṭṭha *rajatakaraṇdesu pakkhipi*. aṭṭhasu *rajatathūpesu pakkhipi*. aṭṭhasu *mañikaraṇdesu pakkhipi*. aṭṭhasu *lohitāṅgakaraṇdesu pakkhipi*. aṭṭha *lohitāṅgathūpesu pakkhipi*. aṭṭhasu *masāragallakaraṇdesu pakkhipi*. aṭṭha *masāragallathūpesu pakkhipi*. aṭṭhasu *phalikakaraṇde pakkhipi*.

⁵⁹ B *attha*.

mañikaraṇdesu pakkhipi. aṭṭha mañikaraṇde [aṭṭhasu] mañithūpesu pakkhipi. aṭṭha mañithūpe aṭṭhasu lohitāṅkakaraṇdesu pakkhipi. aṭṭha lohitāṅkakaraṇde aṭṭha lohitāṅkathūpesu pakkhipi. aṭṭha lohitāṅkathūpe aṭṭhasu masāragallakaraṇdesu pakkhipi.

aṭṭha masāragallakaraṇde aṭṭhasu masāragallathūpesu pakkhipi. aṭṭha masāragallathūpe aṭṭhasu phalikamayakaraṇdesu pakkhipi. aṭṭha phalikamayakaraṇde aṭṭhasu phalikamayathūpesu pakkhipi. sabbuparimaphalikamayacetiyan Thūpārāmacetiyappamāṇam⁶⁰ hoti. upari⁶¹ sabbaratanamayāṁ gehāṁ kāresi. tassa⁶² upari suvaṇṇamayāṁ gehāṁ. tassa upari rajatamayaṁ gehāṁ tassa upari tambalohamayāṁ gehāṁ kāresi.⁶³ tattha⁶⁴ sabbaratanamayabālukam okirītvā jalajathalajapupphasahassāni⁶⁵ vippakirītvā.⁶⁶ addhacchaṭṭhāni jāṭakasatāni asītimahātherē ca⁶⁷ Sudhodanamahārājañ ca⁶⁸ Mahāmāyādeviñ ca satta sahajāte thāpeti⁶⁹ sabbāni tāni suvaṇṇamayā-neva⁷⁰ kāretvā pañcasate pañcasate suvaṇṇarajatamaye punṇaghāte thapesi. pañcasate suvaṇṇadīpe⁷¹ pañcasate rajaṭadīpe⁷² kāretvā sugandhatelam paripūretvā⁷³ tesu dukūlavatīyo thapesi.

⁶⁰ B *thūpārāme cetiyappamāṇam*.

⁶¹ B *tattha upari*.

⁶² B *tattha upari*.

⁶³ B *kāretvā*.

⁶⁴ B n.m.

⁶⁵ B *jalajalapupphānam sahassāni*.

⁶⁶ B *kirītvā*.

⁶⁷ A n.m.

⁶⁸ B *suddhodhanamahārājañ ca*.

⁶⁹ A, B *ṭhāti*.

⁷⁰ A *suvaṇṇamayāni evam akāsi*.

⁷¹ A *suvaṇṇadīpake*.

⁷² A *pañcasate rajaṭadīpe* is n.m.

⁷³ B *sugandhatelam paripūretvā* is *sugandhatelassa pūretvā*.

[§3] athāyasmā Mahākassapo “mālā mā milāyantu, gandhā mā hāyantu, dīpā mā vijjhāyantū”⁷⁴ ti adhitthāsi. suvaṇṇapatte akkharāni likkhāpesi “anāgate Piyadāso nāma kumāro chattamī ussāpetvā Asoko nāma⁷⁵ dhammarājā bhavissati. so imā⁷⁶ dhātuyo vithārikā kari<gi>ssatī” ti⁷⁷.

atha rājā Ajātasattu⁷⁸ r-attano⁷⁹ adhikāram disvā pītibharitahadayo ativaḍḍhamānasaddho⁸⁰ sabbapasādhanehi⁸¹ pūjetvā pañcapatiṭṭhitena vanditvā utṭhahitvā ādito paṭṭhāya dvāram pidahitvā nikkhami.⁸² so tambalohadvāram pidahitvā aviñjanarajjuyarī kuñcikamuddikām bandhi.⁸³ tatth’ eva⁸⁴ mahantam mañikkhandham upari thāpesi.⁸⁵ “anāgate daliddarājā imarī mañim gahetvā dhātunām sakkāram karontū” ti akkharam chindāpesi.⁸⁶

atha Sakko devarājā dhāturakkhaṇatthām⁸⁷ Vissukammām āmantetvā “tāta Ajātasattunā dhātunidhānam katarī, tattha ārakkharī paṭṭhapehī” ti pahiṇi. so āgantvā vālasamghātayantam⁸⁸ yojesi. kaṭṭharūpākāni tasmim dhātu gabbhe phalikavāṇākhagge⁸⁹

gahetvā vātasadisena vegena anupariyāyantam⁹⁰ yojetvā ekāya āniyā bandhitvā sakatthānam eva gato⁹¹ samantato giñjakāvasathākārena⁹² silāparikkheparī katvā tassa⁹³ upari ekāya silāya pidahitvā parīsuṁ pakhipitvā bhūmisamām katvā⁹⁴ tassa upari pāsānamayaṁ thūparī paṭiṭṭhāpesi.

[§4] evarī nīṭhite dhātunidhāne⁹⁵āyasmā Mahākassapo tasmīm yeva Veluvanārāme viharanto kālam vītināmesi. evarī⁹⁶ gate kāle thero ekasmīm rattibhāgasamaye⁹⁷ phalasamā-pattito vuṭṭhāya attano āyusamkhāram⁹⁸ olokesi “aharī kho dāni vīsavassasata-kāyuko kittako me āyusamkhārā⁹⁹ pavattisatī” ti vicārento¹⁰⁰ attano āyusamkhārassa parikkhīnabhāvarī ūṭātvā “kadā nu kho parinibbāyissāmī” ti. “ajj’ eva pabhātāya rattisamaye¹⁰¹ parinibbāyissāmī” ti. “tasmīm¹⁰² kattha parinibbāyissāmī” ti¹⁰³ yeva Rājagaha-

⁷⁴ B dīpā mā vijjhāyantū is n.m.

⁷⁵ A n.m.

⁷⁶ A n.m.

⁷⁷ A ti va suvaṇṇapattañ ca thāpesi.

⁷⁸ B n.m.

⁷⁹ B attano.

⁸⁰ A ativaḍḍhamānasaddhā. B abhivaḍḍhamānasaddhō.

⁸¹ B °ppasādhanehi.

⁸² A nikkhāmitvā.

⁸³ B bandhitvā.

⁸⁴ B tato va.

⁸⁵ B vīkaritvā.

⁸⁶ A, C likkhāpetvā thāpesi.

⁸⁷ B dhātuparirakkhaṇatthām.

⁸⁸ A, B read balañ samghātayantam. It should probably refer to vālasamghātayantam as in the Sv II and Thūp editions. Emend.

⁸⁹ B phalikavāṇe khagge.

⁹⁰ B anupariyāyanti yantamī.

⁹¹ B sakatthānam eva gato is n.m.

⁹² A bhittivasathāgārena.

⁹³ B n.m.

⁹⁴ A parīsuṁ pakhipitvā bhūmisamām katvā is parīsu okirivtā bhūmiyām samām katvā.

⁹⁵ C starts here.

⁹⁶ C inserts just before appamādena satthu sāsane paṭipajjathā ti ovadati.

⁹⁷ C rattibhāge samaye.

⁹⁸ A āyusamkhāram olokesi aharī kho dāni vīsavassasatikāyuko kittako me āyusamkhārā pavattisatī ti vicārento is n.m.

⁹⁹ A, B āyusamkhārā.

¹⁰⁰ C vicāresi.

¹⁰¹ B, C ca rattiyā.

¹⁰² C n.m.

¹⁰³ A tasmīm kattha parinibbāyissāmī ti is tasmīm. B kattha parinibbāyissāmī ti.

nagare¹⁰⁴ parivattake bhūmipadese¹⁰⁵ olokento “Kukkuṭasampātānam¹⁰⁶ tiṇṇam
pabbatānam antare parinibbāyissāmī”
ti. so¹⁰⁷ evam cintetvā pabhātāya¹⁰⁸
rattiyā sarīrapatijagganam¹⁰⁹ katvā
bhikkhusaṅgham sannipātētētā etad avoca
“āvuso tumhe appamādena satthu
sāsanam paṭipajjatha, appamādena
sampādethā.¹¹⁰ aham hi āvuso
parikkhīṇāyusamkhāro,¹¹¹ aji’ eva sāyanha-
samaye Kukkuṭasampātānam¹¹² tiṇṇam
pabbatānam antare parinibbāyissāmī” ti.

atha ye puthujjanabhikkhū therassa
parinibbānam¹¹³ sutvā¹¹⁴ attānam santhā-
return asakkontā paridevīnsu “aho anāthā
vata mayam bhavissāma.¹¹⁵ satthā pa-
rinibbuto pi samāno¹¹⁶ ayyassa dharamāne
dharamānam¹¹⁷ iva satthāram maññāma¹¹⁸
etarahipana¹¹⁹ ayyopari<gi>nibbāyissati.
ko nu kho amhākarā ovādānusāsanam
dadeyyā” ti. khīnāsavānam pana¹²⁰
dhammasamvego udapādi. yathā āha¹²¹:

¹⁰⁴ C *rājagahe*.

¹⁰⁵ B, C *°ppadese*.

¹⁰⁶ Manuscripts read *°sampāta* and *°sapāta*. I maintain *°sampāta* (PED = “falling together, concurrence, collision”) whose meaning fits with the development of the text.

¹⁰⁷ C n.m.

¹⁰⁸ C *vibhātāya*.

¹⁰⁹ B, C *patijagganam*.

¹¹⁰ A *appamādena sampādethā* is n.m.

¹¹¹ A n.m.

¹¹² A n.m.

¹¹³ C *parinibbānabhāvam*.

¹¹⁴ C *ñatvā*

¹¹⁵ Phrase is B *anāthā vata mayam*, C *anāthā va bhavissāma*.

¹¹⁶ C *samāno pi*.

¹¹⁷ B *dharamāne dharamānam* is *dhammānam*.

¹¹⁸ C *maññamāno*.

¹¹⁹ C n.m.

¹²⁰ C n.m.

¹²¹ B *yathā āha...* *vupasamo sukho* ti is *aho aniccā saṅkhārā addhū(?)vā parināma dhammā* ti. C *yathā āha*

[2] “aniccā vata saṅkhārā
uppādava yadhammino
uppajjitvā nirujjhanti
tesam vūpasamo sukho”¹²² ti.¹²³
[D II 373, 8–9; S I 158, 31–32; Th 1168; etc.]

thero bhikkhusaṅgham aniccatādipati-
saṁyutāya¹²⁴ dhammakathāya¹²⁵ samas-
sāsetvā āha:¹²⁶

[3] “aniccā sabbasamkhārā
sabbabuddhehi desitā
cāyam eke na dissanti
dāpāto diṭṭhā bahū janā
eāpāto n-eke na dissanti
fāyam diṭṭhā bahū janā.
[cdefJa IV 127, 5–6*; Ja VI 28, 4–5*]

[4] aji’ eva kiccaṁ ātapparī
ko jaññā maraṇam suve
na hi no saṅgaran tena
mahāsenena maccunā.
[Ja VI 28, 6–7*]

[5] mā bālharā paridevatha
esā lokassa dhammatā
aniccā [sabba]saṅkhārā
sabbabuddhehi desitā”
ti.¹²⁷

is *bhikkhu āharīsu*.

¹²² C adds *aho aniccā sabbasamkhārā āyunāparināma hoti*.

¹²³ C n.m.

¹²⁴ B n.m.

¹²⁵ B *dhammiyā kathāya*.

¹²⁶ A, B *samassāsetvā āha* is *samassāsetvā puna bhikkhusaṅgham etad avoca*.

¹²⁷ Stanzas 3 to 5 are only found in C but I assume they were also present in A as they are introduced by *āha*.

[§5] “sace¹²⁸ pana¹²⁹ tumhe mama parinibbānām passitukāmā Kukkuṭasampātāpabbatabhūmibhāg¹³⁰ sannipatitvā passathā” ti vatvā¹³¹ therō piṇḍapātasamaye¹³² utṭhāy’ āsanā dupatṭamā nivāsetvā vijjulatākārasadisarām¹³³ kāyabandhanām bandhitvā tikkhatum¹³⁴ pathavīkampanasamaththām jinacīvaradattiyām meghavaṇṇām¹³⁵ nirantara-aggaphaladānapupphaphalatthirukkhamā paṁsukūlamahācīvaraṁ pārupitvā¹³⁶ vikasitaniluppalam iva bhamarapakkhavaṇṇām patta-varam¹³⁷ ādāya. damatho viya mahānāgo sīhō viya¹³⁸ dhīragamano santindriyo¹³⁹ santamānaso yuggamattapekkhamāno sabbajitasiriyā¹⁴⁰ sobhamāno Rājagahaṁ piṇḍāya pāvisi.¹⁴¹

thero¹⁴² sapadānapiṇḍāya vicaritvā¹⁴³ piṇḍapātapatikkanto bhattakiccam akāsi.

¹²⁸ B sabbe.

¹²⁹ C n.m.

¹³⁰ B kukuṭapabbāta°. C kukkuṭasampātābhūmibhāgē.

¹³¹ A n.m.

¹³² B, C piṇḍapātasamaye sampatte.

¹³³ B vijjulatākāraṁ.

¹³⁴ B navakkhatum.

¹³⁵ nirantaraṁ aggaphaladānapupphaphalatthirukkhamā paṁsukūlamahācīvaraṁ is B nirantarattarām laddānām puthulagurukām paṁsukūlamahācīvaraṁ. C nirantara-aggadānām pajularakaṁ paṁsukulacivaram.

¹³⁶ vikasitaniluppalamivabhamarapakkhavaṇṇām is Avikasitaniluppalapattabhamarapuñjāvāṇṇām. B vitasitakomalalitasuvuṇṇakāṇḍalasubhākārehi bhumarapuñjāvāṇṇā.

¹³⁷ B pattacivaram. C pattam.

¹³⁸ mahānāgo sīhō viya is A dhammākā dhammiko mahānāgo viya. B maṇidhammadcammito viya mahānāgo sihō.

viya

¹³⁹ C n.m.

¹⁴⁰ C pabbajitasiriyā

¹⁴¹ A, C pavisitvā.

¹⁴² A, C n.m.

¹⁴³ B sapadānapiṇḍāya vicaritvā is sapadānām piṇḍāya caritvā.

tadā bhikkhusaṁgho pi¹⁴⁴ “bhattakiccam katvā therassa parinibbānaṁ passissāmā” ti aññamaññām āmantetvā sakkāram ādāya ito cito¹⁴⁵ nikhamitvā sannipatim̄su. aññe pi devamanussā therassa parinibbānaṁ sutvā gandhamālādīni pūjāsakkārāni¹⁴⁶ ādāya Kukkuṭasampātāpabbatabhūmibhāgē¹⁴⁷ sannipatim̄su.

Mahākassapatthero pi bhattakicco hutvā¹⁴⁸ evam̄ samacintesi¹⁴⁹ Ajātasatturājā amhākaṁ bahūpaṇṇākāro¹⁵⁰ saṁghassa catupaccayadāyako¹⁵¹ buddhasāsanām paggahito anapaloketvā¹⁵² [na] tāva parinibbāyissāmī” ti cintevā thero¹⁵³ utṭhāy¹⁵⁴ āsanā sunivattho supāruto majjhantikasamaye Rājagahaṁ pāvisi. therassa pavisanaṁkāle¹⁵⁵ Ajātasatturājā¹⁵⁶ sirigabbhām pavisitvā seyyam̄ kappesi.¹⁵⁷ atha rājamaccā theram̄ pavisantam̄ disvā “ayyo¹⁵⁸ amhākām̄ raññio¹⁵⁹ upajjhāyo divase¹⁶⁰ āgato, kinnu¹⁶¹ kho

¹⁴⁴ B n.m.

¹⁴⁵ B ito ca.

¹⁴⁶ B pūjāsakkārādīni.

¹⁴⁷ C Kukkuṭasapātāpabbatassa.

¹⁴⁸ A is na tāva parinibbāyissāmī ti from here until cintevā thero.

¹⁴⁹ B evam̄ samacintesi is cintevā.

¹⁵⁰ B bahūpakāro.

¹⁵¹ B paccayadāyako ratanattayamāmako.

¹⁵² B gameva apaloketvā.

¹⁵³ A cintevā thero is n.m. B tāva parinibbāyissāmī ti cintevā is n.m.

¹⁵⁴ B cintevā thero utṭhāy’. C thero utṭhāy’.

¹⁵⁵ C therassa pavisanaṁkāle is n.m.

¹⁵⁶ B rājābhutto hutvā. C rājābhuttā hutvā.

¹⁵⁷ B kappeti.

¹⁵⁸ A, C ayam̄.

¹⁵⁹ C n.m.

¹⁶⁰ B divādivasseva. C divādivase yeva.

¹⁶¹ C kiṁ nu.

kāraṇān” ti cintetvā¹⁶² āsanā vuṭṭhāya¹⁶³ theraiṁ paccugantvā vanditvā atṭhaṁsu.¹⁶⁴ therō amacce pucchi¹⁶⁵ “upāsakā kuhiṁ rājā” ti. “sayanam upagato bhante” ti vatvā te¹⁶⁶ therassa āgatakāraṇāṁ¹⁶⁷ pucchiṁsu “kena kāraṇena bhante āgataatthā”¹⁶⁸ ti. “āma upāsakā aham rājānaṁ āpucchitvā ajeva sāyañhe¹⁶⁹ parinibbāyissāmī” ti. “kuhiṁ bhante¹⁷⁰ parinibbāyissathā” ti. “Kukkuṭasampāta-pabbatānaṁ antare” ti.

[§6] etta<gu>kam eva vatvā nikkha-mitvā¹⁷¹ therō vihāre agamāsi.¹⁷² sammajjanirñgahetvā¹⁷³ samajjanādikāṁ karaṇiyāṁ vattam katvā mahatā bhikkhusaṁghena parivuto yena Kukkuṭasampātапabbato tena pāyāsi. so tattha gantvā tatth’ eva¹⁷⁴ parinibbānatthāṁ¹⁷⁵ tasmīn kāle¹⁷⁶ gaganā-talam abbhugantvā¹⁷⁷ sattatālamatte bhūmitale dissamānakāye ṭhatvā pathamāṁ dakkhiṇakāyato¹⁷⁸ aggijāle¹⁷⁹ vissajjesi. vāmakāyato jaladhārā¹⁸⁰ vis-

sajjesi. puna¹⁸¹ vāmakāyato¹⁸² analam¹⁸³ visajjesi.¹⁸⁴ puna dakkhiṇakāyato toyam vissajjesi. ekadā¹⁸⁵ uparimakāyato udakam¹⁸⁶ heṭṭhimakāyato pāvakam puna heṭṭhimakāyato vāri vissajjesi. uparimakāyato pāvakam vissajjesi.¹⁸⁸ ekadā sakalasarīrato kañhavattanijalā vissajjesi. ekadā sakalasarīrato ambudhārā vissajjesi.¹⁸⁹ ekadā samuggaratansaṁkiṇ-ṇam vividhasamūham mahāsāgaram¹⁹⁰ virājitatphalajalasāgararūpam dassesi. ekadā supupphitatalarūpam dassesi. ekadā supupphitatalarūpam dassesi. ekadā sabbajalaphullam¹⁹³ pañ-cavañnapadumasañchannam salilatalam¹⁹⁴ satta¹⁹⁵ mahāsararūpam dassesi.¹⁹⁶ ekadā dvādasayojanaparimañdalacatu-

¹⁸¹ B tato. C puna tato.

¹⁸² A bāmakāyato.

¹⁸³ C aggijalam.

¹⁸⁴ B n.m.

¹⁸⁵ B tathā.

¹⁸⁶ B udakam puna.

¹⁸⁷ B is puna heṭṭhimakāyato from here until the end of the phrase.

¹⁸⁸ ekadā sakalasarīrato kañhavattanijalā vissajjesi is A ekadā sakalasarīre aggijalam vissajjesi. C ekadā sakalasarīrato kañha-aggijalam vissajjesi.

¹⁸⁹ ekadā samutaratanaṁsaṁkiṇam vividhasamūho mahāsāgaro virājitatphalajalasāgararūpam dassesi is B ekadā muddasamirānasamirānasamigagaraigaphe nālivirājitalam sāgararūpam dassetvā dhammarūpam desesi. C ekadā samuddhāggatarām gate saṁkiṇam vividhavicittasamuha oghataravirajitatalam sāgararūpam dassesi.

¹⁹⁰ All the manuscripts read vividhasamūho mahāsāgaro in the nominative case. I assume that these compounds should be in the accusative case and amend them.

¹⁹¹ B supupphitaphalatalarūpam dassesi. C supupphitaphussitatarkataruvirājita.

¹⁹² C himavantaṁ pabbata°.

¹⁹³ A sabbapāri°. B sabbapāri°. C sabbajalaphulla.

¹⁹⁴ C salilatalamahāsāgararūpam.

¹⁹⁵ B n.m.

¹⁹⁶ B dasseti.

¹⁶² A, B n.m.

¹⁶³ B athāsanā vuṭṭhā. C āsanā vuṭṭhāya is n.m.

¹⁶⁴ A atṭhasurū. C n.m.

¹⁶⁵ C the text is n.m. from here until pucchiṁsu.

¹⁶⁶ B n.m.

¹⁶⁷ B therassa āgatakāraṇāṁ is therass’ āgamanakāraṇāṁ.

¹⁶⁸ B āgatā.

¹⁶⁹ C sāyañhasamaye.

¹⁷⁰ C bhante tumhe.

¹⁷¹ B nikkhami.

¹⁷² B n.m.

¹⁷³ B n.m.

¹⁷⁴ B so tattha gantvā tatth’ eva parinibbānatthāṁ is so tam tħānaṁ patvā gato tatth’ eva parinibbānatthāṁ.

¹⁷⁵ C nibbānanatthāṁ.

¹⁷⁶ B tasmīm kale is n.m.

¹⁷⁷ B abbhugaccha.

¹⁷⁸ B dakkhiṇam kāyato.

¹⁷⁹ B aggijālā.

¹⁸⁰ C jaladhārāni.

raṅgāya¹⁹⁷ senāya parivutam¹⁹⁸ sattarata-nasamannāgatam mahācakkavattirūpam dassesi.¹⁹⁹ ekadā tigāvutappamāṇam²⁰⁰ nānābhāraṇapatiṇḍitam Tāvatim-sagaṇaparivāritaṁ²⁰¹ devarājarūpam dassesi.²⁰² ekadā tiyojanattabhāvasa-mannāgatam²⁰³ brahmagaṇaparivuttam²⁰⁴ Mahābrahmārūpam²⁰⁵ dassesi. evam therō nānāvidha-iddhibalena pāṭīharam²⁰⁶ dassento²⁰⁷ dhammarām desesi.²⁰⁸

[§7] ākāsato²⁰⁹ otaritvā bhikkhu-samgham²¹⁰ āpucchitvā tiṇṇam pabbatānaṁ nātarepavisitvā “etthevāhari²¹¹ parinibbāyissāmī” ti cintesi. ath’ assa cintitasamanantaram eva²¹² devasamīghā sayanamañcaṁ atṭharisum.²¹³ mañcassa samantato parivāretvā nīluppalakama-lakumudapuṇḍarikabharite puṇṇaghāte patiṭṭhapesum. mañcassa catūsu koṇea su²¹⁴ cattāro dhūpakappalle cattāro padipe ṭhapesum. anekāni pūjāsakkārā-

nianagghacelavitāni²¹⁶ pupphaparāgādī-ni²¹⁷ karisum.²¹⁸ therō pi²¹⁹ kho sayana-mañcaṁ abhirūyhitvā²²⁰ nisinno aṭṭhasamāpatti²²¹ samāpajji.²²² so samā<gū>pattito²²³ vutṭhāya evam²²⁴ adhiṭṭhānam²²⁵ adhiṭṭhāsi. “yadā me āyusamkhāro ossaṭṭho,²²⁶ ime tayo pabbatā aññamaññena²²⁷ nikujjita-patitākārā²²⁸ gabbhasayanaṁ me²²⁹ gaṇhantū” ti “imāni c’ eva²³⁰ pupphāni mā milāyantū” ti “ime²³¹ sabbe gandhadī-padhūpādayo mā nibbāyantū” ti.

yathā²³² ito²³³ ca manussānām vassatato²³⁴ āyu parihāyitvā²³⁵ dasavassāyukāle antarakappe²³⁶ bhavissati. antarakappe vivaṭṭe²³⁷ manussā uddhamā āyunā vaddhitvā asaṅkheyāyukā²³⁸ bhavissati.²³⁹ tato tesu manussesu

²¹⁶ A, C, °celavitānam.

²¹⁷ A pupphaparādini. B pupphamahādipāni.

²¹⁸ B pupphamahādipāni.

²¹⁹ B n.m.

²²⁰ C āruyhitvā.

²²¹ A phala°. C samāpattiṁ.

²²² C samāpajjivitvā.

²²³ B phala°.

²²⁴ C n.m.

²²⁵ B, C n.m.

²²⁶ C osattho.

²²⁷ C aññamaññāni samāgantvā.

²²⁸ A, C nikujjitatpattākārā. B nikujjitatpattā ākārā.

²²⁹ C m-eva.

²³⁰ C eva.

²³¹ B ime cattārādipā ca dhupā ca mā nibbāyantū ti. C ime sabbe gandhadīpadhūpādayo mā nibbāyantū ti is ime cattāro padipā ca mā nibbāyantu ime dhupā ca mā pahāyantū ti puna adhitthāsi.

²³² A, C yadā.

²³³ C n.m.

²³⁴ B vassānām vassatato.

²³⁵ B parihāritvā. C parihāyati.

²³⁶ B °kappā.

²³⁷ B atīte.

²³⁸ B asaṅkheyām.

²³⁹ B bhavissanti.

¹⁹⁷ A °caturaṅganayā. B, C °parimañḍalaṁ caturaṅgiṇiyā. Emend with °parimañḍalaṁ caturaṅgiṇyā.

¹⁹⁸ A parivutto.

¹⁹⁹ B dasseti.

²⁰⁰ C tigāvutappamāṇābhāraṇamañḍitam.

²⁰¹ C tāvatim-sabhave devaccharaparivāritaṁ devarājarūpam.

²⁰² B dasseti.

²⁰³ A tiyojanabrahmavesam. C tiyojanabrahmabhavana°.

²⁰⁴ B brahmagaṇaparibyūha°. C brahmagaṇaparibyūham.

²⁰⁵ B mahābrahmārūpam. C brahmārūpam.

²⁰⁶ A iddhipāṭīharam.

²⁰⁷ C dassetvā.

²⁰⁸ B desetvā. C desento.

²⁰⁹ B ākāse thatvā ākāsato.

²¹⁰ B °saṅghañ ca.

²¹¹ A etthañ cāhaṁ. B etthavāhari.

²¹² C is devasāṅghā sayanāñ ca maññāpetvā mañcassa samantato parivāritanīluppalakamudapuṇḍarikapuṇṇaghāte from here until puṇṇaghāte.

²¹³ B atṭhariṁsu.

²¹⁴ C kaṇṇesu pātvā

²¹⁵ C the section from here until therō pi kho is n.m.

parihāyitvā asītivassasahassāyukesu vattesu²⁴⁰ yojanamattā abhirūyā mahāpathaviyā tenāha porāñā.²⁴¹ tadā²⁴² Ariyametteyyo buddho²⁴³ loke uppajjissati so²⁴⁴ dhammacakkari pavattetvā²⁴⁵ dvādasayojanāya²⁴⁶ parisāya parivārito”²⁴⁷ ti. imām thānam patvā sayam eva so bhagavā²⁴⁸ mama sarīram ukkipitvā cakkalakkhañābhirañjitasurattamudutaluñadakkhiñahatthatale²⁴⁹ patitthape-tvā bhikkhusaṅghe²⁵⁰ mama sarīram dassesi²⁵¹ “passatha tumhe imām theram eso jetṭhabhātu-Gotamasammāsam-

²⁴⁰ B jātesu.

²⁴¹ B tenāha porāñā is n.m. C dasavassāyukāle until here the manuscript reads dasavassāyuko yeva manussānam āvāho ca vivāho ca tesam dvinnam bhavissare añamañam miggasañi sattānañ ca bhavassare tadā satñagarakappo sattānañ ca bhavissati hatthena gahitam kiñci āvudhañ ca bhavissati te añamañam vadhitvā na vinassanti ca mānussāniliyinavāye ca patvā gāvīsu ekiñ te thapetvā vasesā ca vinassisanti ghātino sattāheva atikkante mettacittāya pāñino pāñāti?gāviratā kusalam ācarin ste dasavīsatikāñampitīnsacattālissavassikā pañāsasatthikām pi sattati asitivassikā asitivavuttānam pi ayuvassasatāni va bhiyyo dhammarū carantesu honti dvevassasatāyukā bhiyyo dhammarū parentesu vassasataahassakā atirekam parentesu koñisatasahassakā bhiñō dhammarū parentesu asāñkheyāyukā pa? puna sattāñanti jarāmarañamattano puna pi te pamajjhitvā na tesam āyu ca pamāyati asāñkheyāyukā sattakoñisatasahassakā tato pi parihāyitvā asīti pa sahassakā tadā so jambūdipo ca sabbatthe vasamiddhiko yadā mahisamarū hoti bherisanaddakā viya akañdakā agahañā.

²⁴² B tathā.

²⁴³ B Ariyametteyyo buddho is Ariyametteyyo nāma sambuddho. C n.m.

²⁴⁴ A uppajjissa. B adds ti so.

²⁴⁵ A inserts manussānam sadevakam.

²⁴⁶ C dvādasayojanaparisāya.

²⁴⁷ B, C parivutto.

²⁴⁸ C so bhagavā is n.m.

²⁴⁹ A, B cakkalakkhañābhilañcīte surattamudutaluñadakkhiñahatthatale. C *surattamudutaladakkhiñahatthatale.

²⁵⁰ B *sañghamajjhe pade va manussānam majjhe pa mama.

²⁵¹ B dassesati. C bhikkhusaṅghe mama sarīram dassesi is bhikkhu sañghamajjhe va dassessati.

buddhakāle²⁵² mahāsāvako Mahākassapo nāma terasadhutañgadharo. ayam²⁵³ parīsukūliko parīsukūlikassa ca²⁵⁴ vanñavādi. ayam tecīvarako²⁵⁵ tecīvara-kassa²⁵⁶ ca vanñavādī.²⁵⁷ ayam sapadānacārīko sapadānam cārikassa²⁵⁸ vanñavādī. ayam ekāsantiko²⁵⁹ ekāsani-kassa vanñavādī. ayam pattapiñdiko pattapiñdikassa vanñavādī. ayam khalu-pacchābhāttiko khalupacchābhāttikassa vanñavādī. ayam araññiko araññikassa ca vanñavādī. ayam rukkhamūlikassa vanñavādī. ayam abbhokāsiko abbhokā-sikassa vanñavādī. ayam sosāniko sosānikassa vanñavādī. ayam yathāsan-thatiko yathāsanthatikassa vanñavādī. ayam nesajjiko nesajjikassa vanñavādī. so pabbajitakālato patthāya yāva pari-nibbānato mañcapītham na pasāresi.²⁶⁰

atha dhutañgadharo²⁶¹ appiccho santuñño āraddhavīriyo asamīsaññho kulena²⁶² vā gañena vā alaggamānaso²⁶³ parisuddhajīvo. gaganatale puñña-<ge> cando²⁶⁴ viya buddhasāsane paññāto pākato²⁶⁵ ahosi iti. bhagavā²⁶⁶ Mahāpa-

²⁵² A mama jetṭhabhātā gotamasammāsambuddhakāle. B mama jheṭṭhabhātuno Gotamasammāsambuddhassa kāle. C mama jheṭṭhabhātaragotamakāle.

²⁵³ In the following development A gives systematically ayam, B almost systematically, C gives always sayam.

²⁵⁴ C n.m.

²⁵⁵ B cīvarīko.

²⁵⁶ B cīvarakassa. C ticivarassa.

²⁵⁷ C vanñavādī sayam piñdipātiko piñdipātikassa vanñavādī.

²⁵⁸ C sapadānam cārikassa is sapadānacārīko.

²⁵⁹ C ekāsāniko.

²⁶⁰ B pasāreti.

²⁶¹ A, B a-ukattha dhutañgadhāri. C dutañgadharādi.

²⁶² A kulesu vā gañesu. B kule vā gañesu vā.

²⁶³ C alabbhamānaso.

²⁶⁴ B paripuññacando.

²⁶⁵ B n.m.

²⁶⁶ A, B so.

thavim²⁶⁷ tanum²⁶⁸ katvā mayham gunam bahalam²⁶⁹ pakāsessati. Mahāsamuddam uttānam²⁷⁰ katvā mayham gunam atigambhīram pakāsessati. Sinerupabbatarājam²⁷¹ nīcam²⁷² katvā mayham²⁷³ gunam uccataram pakāsessati.

tasmiṁ khaṇe mama sarīrato aggi-jalā utṭhahitvā tathāgatassa karatale yeva mama sarīram dahanti”²⁷⁴ ti puna evam²⁷⁵ adiṭṭhāsi²⁷⁶ “yadā²⁷⁷ ca²⁷⁸ Ajātassatturājā mama parinibbānam²⁷⁹ sutvā marū vanditukāmo imam²⁸⁰ tñānam pāpuṇissati. tada²⁸¹ ime tayo pabbatā apakkantu.²⁸² rañño pūjītāvasāne puna ime tayo pabbatā samāgacchantū” ti. evam thero adhiṭṭhānam adhiṭṭhāya²⁸³ sayanamañce²⁸⁴ nipajjītvā anupādisesaya nibbānadhātuyā parinibbāyī.

tasmiṁ khaṇe tayo²⁸⁵ pabbatā therassa adhiṭṭhānubhāvena²⁸⁶ samāgantvā nikujjitatpattākārā hutvā ekaghanā²⁸⁷

aṭṭhasum.²⁸⁸ atha sabbe te bhikkhu-samīghādevamanussā²⁸⁹ ca pabbatapaṭic-chāditam²⁹⁰ therassa sarīram adisvā ekappahāren’ eva ca²⁹¹ rodīsu.²⁹² bahibhāge pūjāsakkāramakasum. anekāni²⁹³ acchariyāni²⁹⁴ pātūr ahesum.²⁹⁵

[§8] tada pana²⁹⁶ rājamandire amaccā²⁹⁷ tasmiṁ there parinibbānagate²⁹⁸ mantayisum²⁹⁹ “sace rājā pabuddho therassa parinibbānabhāvarū sutvā therassa³⁰⁰ dalhasinehavasena balavasokasantāpena³⁰¹ cittahadayo³⁰² kālām karissati. handa mayam upāyena rañño jīvitām rakkhis-sāmā” ti.

te evam mantetvā³⁰³ tāva devavejje āmantetvā tarū pavuttiṁ vejjānam³⁰⁴ ācikkhipitvā³⁰⁵ “kim kātabban” ti pucchisum. atha te³⁰⁶ vejjā “tena hi osathappayogāni³⁰⁷ sajjemā” ti āhasum.³⁰⁸

²⁶⁷ C Mahāpathavī.

²⁶⁸ B pathavitanu.

²⁶⁹ B the text is n.m from here until *gunam atigambhīram*.

²⁷⁰ C uttānakām.

²⁷¹ B Sinerupabbatarājānam

²⁷² A, B, C nīcam. Emend with *nīcam* which fits with the meaning of the text.

²⁷³ B mama.

²⁷⁴ A, B dahantū. C dahantu. Emend.

²⁷⁵ B evañ ca.

²⁷⁶ C puna evam adiṭṭhāsi is n.m.

²⁷⁷ B yathā.

²⁷⁸ C n.m.

²⁷⁹ C parinibbānabavarū.

²⁸⁰ C idam.

²⁸¹ B tathā.

²⁸² A add ti. B apakkarontū ti. C upasānkamantu.

²⁸³ C adhiṭṭhāhitvā.

²⁸⁴ C mañcake.

²⁸⁵ B n.m.

²⁸⁶ C therassa adhiṭṭhānubhāvena is therassānubhāvena.

²⁸⁷ A, B ekaganā. C ekaghatā. Emended with *ekaghanā*.

²⁸⁸ B, C aṭṭhamūs.

²⁸⁹ B °sarīghādayo deva°. C bhikkhū ca devamanussā.

²⁹⁰ C °ditattā.

²⁹¹ B, C n.m.

²⁹² B rodīsu parideviṁsu.

²⁹³ B add. ca.

²⁹⁴ A, B acchariyāni. C pāṭihāra-acchariyāni.

²⁹⁵ B pātūrahesun ti.

²⁹⁶ C n.m.

²⁹⁷ B amaccā gate.

²⁹⁸ B there parinibbānagate is atha maccā.

²⁹⁹ C mantayiṁsu.

³⁰⁰ C there.

³⁰¹ A balavasokasantāpentā.

³⁰² A pitahadayo. C balavasokasantāpena cittahadayo is balavasoko sokān sandhāretuṁ asakkonto santappitahadayo kālām karissati.

³⁰³ A cintetvā. C samacintevā.

³⁰⁴ C n.m.

³⁰⁵ B ācikkhirīsu. C ācikkhitvā.

³⁰⁶ A n.m.

³⁰⁷ A, C osathapayogāni.

³⁰⁸ B, C āharīsu.

te³⁰⁹ tāva-d-eva ekaṁ doṇiṁ³¹⁰ gahetvā uccharasassa³¹¹ pūresum. ³¹²ekaṁ doṇiṁ khīrassa pūresum. ekaṁ doṇiṁ dadhimāṇḍassa pūresum. ekaṁ doṇiṁ sappimāṇḍassa pūresum. ekaṁ doṇiṁ gandhakalalassa pūresum. ³¹³ekaṁ doṇiṁ mattikakalalassa pūresum. ekaṁ doṇiṁ situdakassa pūresum. ³¹⁴evaṁ sattadoniyo osathappayogānam pūresum. ³¹⁵aññāni³¹⁶ osathappayogāni sajjetvā rañño pavuddhakāle³¹⁷ āgamayamānā nisīdisum.

atha rājā pabujjhītvā sayanato vuṭṭhāya gabhato³¹⁸ nikkhāmitvā mahātale³¹⁹ samussitasetachatte rājāpal-lanke³²⁰ nisīdi. atha³²¹ amaccā³²²therassa gamanaṁ³²³ rañño ārocayiñśum <gau> “deva tumhākām uppajjhāyo Mahākassapathero idhāgato”³²⁴ ti. “kena kāraṇenā”ti. “tumhākām āpucchanāyā”³²⁵

³⁰⁹ B n.m.

³¹⁰ A, B ekaṁ doṇiṁ is ekadoniṁ.

³¹¹ B madhurassa.

³¹² A the text is n.m. from here until sappimāṇḍassa pūresum. B the text is ekahirassa ekaṁ dadhimandassa ekassappimāṇḍassa ekaṁ gandakalassa ekamatikalassa ekasitodakassa puresum from here until situdakassa pūresum.

³¹³ C the phrase is n.m.

³¹⁴ ekaṁ doṇiṁ osathappayogānam pūresum is A ekaṁ doṇiṁ osathappayogānam pūresum. B evam sattadoniyo osathām payogānam puretvā. C evam sattadoniyesu osathappayogāni pūresum.

³¹⁵ C the phrase is amaccā rañño pabuddhakākām āgamayamānā nisidiṁsu.

³¹⁶ B aññāni pi.

³¹⁷ B pabuddhakālām.

³¹⁸ A pāśādāto. C gato.

³¹⁹ A mahāsayane. C mahātala°.

³²⁰ A n.m.

³²¹ B atha te.

³²² C the section is tumhākām āpucchanatthāya ther idha āgatato ti rañño ārocesum from here until kuhīm gato.

³²³ B gatabhāvām.

³²⁴ A, C āgato.

³²⁵ B āpucchanattā āgaya.

ti.³²⁶ “kuhīm gato so”³²⁷ ti. “parinibbāyitukāmo³²⁸ devā” ti. “kadā parinibbāyissati³²⁹ devā”³³⁰ ti. “idāni sāyanhe devā” ti. tam³³¹ sutvā rājā ther-assa³³² dalhasine-havassena³³³ vissarittakhattiyamāno³³⁴ attānari upathambhetum asakkonto balavasokasantāpēna uñha-kāyo visaññi hutvā³³⁵ nipatati. atha te vallabhāmaccādayo³³⁶ rājānām ukkhipitvā ucchurasadoniyām nipajjāpesum³³⁷ puna³³⁸ rājānām ukkhipitvā khīradoniyām nipajjāpesum. rājā khīrodakena pati-laddhassāso³³⁹ puna therassa gamanakāraṇām³⁴⁰ pucchi³⁴¹ tath’ eva te³⁴² amaccā tam³⁴³ kāraṇām nivedesum.³⁴⁴ ³⁴⁵ eten’ eva niyāmena sappimāṇḍadoniyām nipajjāpesum. tato gandhakalaladoniyām³⁴⁶ nipajjāpesum.

atha rājāmaṇḍire devīsatasahassāni paridevamānā urām pahārantā mahāparidevām paridevantā rājamaṇḍirām

³²⁶ C ti thero idha āgatā ti rañño ārocesum.

³²⁷ B the question is kuhīm so gamissāmī. C n.m.

³²⁸ A parinibbāyitum icchatī.

³²⁹ A parinibbāyitum icchatī.

³³⁰ B, C n.m.

³³¹ B n.m.

³³² C there.

³³³ C dalhasineha°

³³⁴ A vissaritakhattiyapiti. C saritakkhalo yeva.

³³⁵ B n.m.

³³⁶ B vallabhāmaccā. C n.m.

³³⁷ C the passage is n.m. from here until sitodakadoniyām nipajjāpesum.

³³⁸ B rājā ucchurasadoniyām nipuji that’ eva te amaccā.

³³⁹ A, C add. hutvā.

³⁴⁰ A, B, C gamaṇakāraṇām.

³⁴¹ A pucchitvā.

³⁴² A, C n.m.

³⁴³ A, C n.m.

³⁴⁴ A, C nipajjāpesum.

³⁴⁵ B here rājā puna pi visaññi hutvā khīradoniyām nimujji amaccā rājānām ukkhipitvā dadhidoniyām nipajjhāpesum.

³⁴⁶ B the text is n.m. from here until mattikākalaladoniyām nipajjāpesum.

khobhayisum. sakala-Rājagahanagare sabbe nagaravāsino manussā nagaramajhe sannipatitvā raññā saddhīm paridevisum. amaccā rājānam ukkhipitvā gandhakalalato mattikākalaladoniyam nipajjāpesum tato sitodakadoniyam nipajjāpesum.

rājā³⁴⁷ osathappayogavasena³⁴⁸ puna³⁴⁹ patiladdhassāso hutvā amacce³⁵⁰ pucchi: “kuhim bhonto me³⁵¹ upajjhāyo parinibbāyissatī”³⁵²ti. “Kukkuṭasampātāpabbate devā” ti. tato³⁵³ rājā sakala-Rājagahanagaram³⁵⁴ ugghosāpetvā³⁵⁵ chattadhajjapaṭākabheri sarikhapanāvādīni vividhapūjūpākāraṇāni³⁵⁶ ādaya caturaṅgaṇiyā senāya saddhīm nagarato nikkhāmitvā Kukkuṭasampātāpabbatāthānam³⁵⁷ gantvā³⁵⁸ so³⁵⁹ tayo pabbate ekaghaṇe disvā mahājanam³⁶⁰ pucchi “kuhim bhonto me³⁶¹ upajjhāyassa sarīram thitan”³⁶² ti. “imesam tiṇṇam³⁶³ pabbatānam antare³⁶⁴ devā” ti. rājā tam³⁶⁵ sutvā cintesi³⁶⁶ “kena nu kho upāyena

³⁴⁷ B rājā sammā.

³⁴⁸ B osathappayogaviriyena. C osathapayogena viriyena.

³⁴⁹ B, C n.m.

³⁵⁰ B amaccā.

³⁵¹ B marṇ.

³⁵² B parinibbātukāmo. C parinibbāyitukāmo.

³⁵³ C tadā.

³⁵⁴ C Rājagahe.

³⁵⁵ B ghosāpetvā.

³⁵⁶ B vidhapūjā upakaraṇāni.

³⁵⁷ Bkukkuṭasampātāthānam. Ckukkuṭasampātāpabbatam eva.

³⁵⁸ B sampatto. C gato.

³⁵⁹ A n.m.

³⁶⁰ C mahājanānam.

³⁶¹ B, C bhonto me is bhaṇe.

³⁶² C upajjhāyassa sarīram thitan is upajjhāyo parinibbāyitukāmo.

³⁶³ C n.m.

³⁶⁴ B abbhantare.

³⁶⁵ B n.m.

³⁶⁶ rājā tam sutvā cintesi is A rājā tam sutvā. B rājā sutvā

me³⁶⁷ upajjhāyassa³⁶⁸ sarīram pūjetum sakkhissāmī”³⁶⁹ ti vicāranto yeva sattadhābhijjamānahadayoviyasokena³⁷⁰ ṭhāpetvā “saccakiriyam³⁷¹ me upāyena atthī”³⁷² ti cintetvā³⁷³ jānumaṇḍalam³⁷⁴ pathaviyam patiṭṭhapetvā pañcaṅgapatitthitena³⁷⁵ vanditvā añjaliṁ paggayha³⁷⁶ sirasmīm <gai> patiṭṭhapetvā saccakiriyamākāsi “bhonto³⁷⁷ devatāyo³⁷⁸ suṇantu me vacanam. yadi saccam upajjhāyō³⁷⁹ me balasineho³⁸⁰ atthi ime³⁸¹ tayo pabbatā apasakkantū”³⁸² ti.³⁸³

ath' assa³⁸⁴ rañño ca adhiṭṭhanabalaṇa³⁸⁵ mahākassapattherassa³⁸⁶ c' eva³⁸⁷ adhiṭṭhanabalaṇa³⁸⁸ tayo pabbatā³⁸⁹

cintesi. C rājā cintesi.

³⁶⁷ B n.m. C mama.

³⁶⁸ C upajjhāyo.

³⁶⁹ A pujitum labhissāmī.

³⁷⁰ A yeva sattadhābhijjamānahadayo viya sokena is n.m. B sattadhābhijjamānahadayo viya sokena is raño.

³⁷¹ B saccakiriyam raño.

³⁷² C the phrase is saccakiriyam me añō me upanissayo natthī.

³⁷³ C cintetvā yena tayo pabbatā tena gantvā.

³⁷⁴ B rājā yena pabbatā tena jānumaṇḍalam.

³⁷⁵ A, B pañcapatitthitena.

³⁷⁶ A n.m.

³⁷⁷ A bho. B bhontyo.

³⁷⁸ A, C devasāṅghāyo.

³⁷⁹ B upajjhāyassa balavami ti me saddhā atthi. C upajjhāyassa balavami ti.

³⁸⁰ B n.m. C saddā

³⁸¹ A n.m.

³⁸² A asakkontī. B amasakkarontū. C upasāṅkamantū. I suggest appasakkontū that fit with the meaning of the text.

³⁸³ A ti adhiṭṭhāsi.

³⁸⁴ B, C indavajira°.

³⁸⁵ C adhiṭṭhānubhāvena.

³⁸⁶ A adhiṭṭhānabalaṇa mahākassapattherassa is adhiṭṭhānamahākassapattherassa.

³⁸⁷ A c' eva is n.m.

³⁸⁸ C mahākassapattherassa c' eva adhiṭṭhānabalaṇa is n.m.

³⁸⁹ A tayo pabbatā is te pabbatā.

indavajirabhinnā viya apasakkasum.³⁹⁰ atha mahājanakāyā³⁹¹ tam³⁹² acchiriyam disvā³⁹³ celukkheparī³⁹⁴ suvaṇṇarajaṭamaṇīmuttāhārāni anekasatasahassāni sādhukārāni pavattayisum.³⁹⁵ sabbe mahājanā pītibharitahadayā añjali paggayha “aho acchariyam,³⁹⁶ aho abhūtan” ti sādhukārāni pavattisum.

[§9] atha rājā³⁹⁷ sayanamañce³⁹⁸ nipannam devatāhi pūjitarī samānarī³⁹⁹ therassa sarīram disvā acchariyacittabhbhūtajāto⁴⁰⁰ sañjatapītipāmojo lambhitāsīso vimhaya-samānarūpo pavattanayanasalilo⁴⁰¹ rodamāno upasāñkamitvā therassa pāde sīsam⁴⁰² nipatitvā punappunam vanditvā samussitachattadhajapātākacāmaraga-hitabandhitavicitavitānādīdhūpagandhamālādīhi⁴⁰³ suvaṇṇarajatupphehi candanacuṇṇehi pujetvā gandhatelapun-ṇam suvaṇṇarajatakumbhasahassehi

³⁹⁰ B apasakkīnsu. C upasāñkamanti.

³⁹¹ B mahājanakāyo.

³⁹² B tam.

³⁹³ B acchiriyabhūtajātā.

³⁹⁴ B celukkhepañgalivippahātanādīni.

³⁹⁵ From celukkheparī until here the text is C celukkhevapitulīyo pappotanādīni sādhukārasahassāni pavattayīnsu. A celukkhepañgulivippahātanādīni sādhukārasatasahassāni vattayīnsu rājā pi sayanamañce nipannam devatāhi katapūjā sakārasammānarī therassa.

³⁹⁶ A, B, C acchiriyam.

³⁹⁷ C from sabbe mahājanā until here the text is n.m.

³⁹⁸ C mañcake.

³⁹⁹ C pūjitarī samānarī is katapūjā sakkāramānarī.

⁴⁰⁰ B from celukkheparī suvaṇṇarajatamaṇīmuttāhārāni until here the text is n.m. C puna tayo pabbatā.

⁴⁰¹ A, C anapavatanayanasalilo. B from sañjatapītipāmojo until here the text is accaggitalisāsamuddanḍāyamāna tanuruddo anupavatantitanayasaliladhārāparidasitavad anamañdalo.

⁴⁰² B n.m.

⁴⁰³ A samusitachattadhujjapātākacāmāragahitabandhitavicitavitānādīnīdhusugandhamālādīhi. B samusitachattadhajapātākadi padhupagandhalādīhi. C samusitasatadhajapātākadi padhupagandhalādīhi.

anekānaggharatanehi therassa sarīram pūjesi. rājā tattth’ eva ṭhāne sattāhami mahāpūjām akāsi. tathā sabbe devamanussā pi te sabbe sādhukāram kīlam kīlisum.⁴⁰⁴

sattāhavasāne tayo⁴⁰⁵ pabbatā puna⁴⁰⁶ samāgantvā⁴⁰⁷ ekaghaṇā ahesum.⁴⁰⁸ atha rājā saha mahājano⁴⁰⁹ pabbatachannam⁴¹⁰ therassa sarīram⁴¹¹ atṭhaṅgasuriyamañdalam viya apassanto ativiya vilīnahadayo sañjātasoko paridevitvā nirāsako⁴¹² ahosi. sabbe te mahājanā paridevisum. mahākolāhalā ahesum. atha rājā pūjarī katvā abhivādetvā khamāpetvā mahājanena saddhiṁ nagaram pāvisi.⁴¹³

therassa sarīram yāvajjatanā pi tattth’ eva atthi.⁴¹⁴ yāva Metteyyo sammāsambuddho⁴¹⁵ loke na uppajjati,

⁴⁰⁴ B from suvaṇṇarajatupphehi candanacuṇṇehi until here the text is pūjehi rājā attho vacāne sattāhami sādhu kīlam kīlisum.

⁴⁰⁵ B tayo puna.

⁴⁰⁶ B n.m.

⁴⁰⁷ C from sañjatapītipāmojo lambhitāsīso until here the text is acchariyapattajāto sañjātabalavasokākāyasambhītalomañīso dharayamānarūpo anuparivattanigga-tanayanasaliladhārā paribyulhasitavacanaca rodamāno upasāñkamitvā therassa pāde sīrasā nipatitvā sattadhajapātākadi padhupagandhamālādīhi pūjesi rājā ca tattth’ eva ṭhāne sattāhami sādhu kīlam kīlisattāhavasāne.

⁴⁰⁸ C the text is pāvisi is atha rājā attham gamitarī sinerupavitthām suriyam vatherassasarīram disvā sañjātabalavasoko disvā abhivādetvā mahājanakehi saddhiṁ nagaram pāvisi from here until nagaram.

⁴⁰⁹ We would have expected saha mahājanena instead of saha mahājano.

⁴¹⁰ B saha mahājano pabbatachannam is rājā mahājanehi atṭhaṅgamitācalasikharappavīṭṭhasuriyam viya therassa sarīram.

⁴¹¹ B sarīram adisvā.

⁴¹² A, B, C nivāsako.

⁴¹³ B from atṭhaṅgasuriyamañdalam viya until here the text is sañjātabalavasoko roditvā abhivādetvā mahājanakehi.

⁴¹⁴ C phrase is therassa sarīram jjhāpessati.

⁴¹⁵ B ariyametteyyasammāsambuddho.

na tāva vinassati na vikiriyati⁴¹⁶ na pūtibhāvam āpajjati.⁴¹⁷ anāgate Ariyametteyyo sammāsambuddho⁴¹⁸ loke⁴¹⁹ upajamāno hatthatale therassa sarirato aggijālā utthahitvā ghāyissati. Metteyyo sammāsambuddho pana tasmīm yeva thāne therassa dhātuthūpam sabba-lokehi pūjitarām kārāpessati.

ayam Mahākassapatherassa parinibbānakathā niṭṭhitā.⁴²⁰

Pali Translation

[1] I bow down with my head at [his] feet, the Buddha, the best in the world. I will relate what is meritorious, higher, do listen well!

[§1] Our Perfectly Enlightened One appeared in the world, spoke what is beneficial to the world, and attained the final *nibbāna*-element without residue, like a mass of fire without fuel. When the Blessed One, the leader of the world, attained final *nibbāna*, then the venerable Mahākassapa conducted the communal recitation of the doctrine and the disci-

pline at the door of the Sattapañña cave with 500 [*bhikkhus* = monks] and lived with the assembly at the Vēluvana-mahāvihāra in Rājagaha.

At that time, King Ajātasattu attended respectfully with the four requisites the Thera [Elder] Mahākassapa with his assembly of *bhikkhus*, considering him as the Tathāgata. At the same time, the Venerable Mahākassapa foresaw the danger to the relics [of the Buddha Gotama] and thought: “If I don’t enshrine the relics, they will certainly disappear in a short time.⁴²¹ Well then, I will enshrine the relics of the Blessed One, and as long as the relics last, the buddhas will surely last”. When the Thera had thought this, he came near King Ajātasattu and said: “Majesty, it is proper to make a single enshrining of the relics”.

The King nodded with his head to the Thera’s words saying: “Very well, Venerable!” He continued: “Venerable, let the [work] of enshrining be mine. But how will I bring back the other relics?” “Majesty, bringing the relics back is not your affair, it is our affair”. “Very well, Venerable, bring these relics back! I will make the enshrining”.

The Thera Mahākassapa left what was sufficient for the worship of the various ruling families and brought the rest of the relics. The Nāgas, however, took possession of the relics at Rāmagāma. There was no danger to them, therefore he did not bring them, [thinking]: “In the future, they will be enshrined in the Great Cetiya of the Mahāvihāra in Laṅkādīpa”. He brought the relics from the other seven cities,

⁴¹⁶ C *vikirayati*.

⁴¹⁷ A from *na tāva vinassati* the phrase is *tāva therassa sarirām na vissati na kiriyati na putibhāvam āpajjati*. C phrase is *yāva Metteyyo sammāsambuddho loke upajissati na tāva vinassati na vikiriyati na putibhāvam āpajjati*.

⁴¹⁸ B, C *ariyametteyyasammāsambuddho*.

⁴¹⁹ From here until the end B is *uppajitvā buddhassa hatthatale yeva sayam therassa sarirām jhāyissati metteyyalokanāyako pana tasmīm yeva thāne therassa dhātuthūparām lokapūjitarām kāressatī*. C *uppajitvā attano hatthatale yeva sayam therassa sarirām jjhāpessati metteyyalokanātho pana tasmīm yeva tthāne therassa dhātuthūparām lokehi pujitarām karissatī*.

⁴²⁰ B phrase is *ti ayam mahākassapatherassa parinibbānakathā niṭṭhitā*. C phrase is *ti ayam mahākassapatherassa parinibbānakathā samattā*.

⁴²¹ Literally “these relics will certainly not disappear in a long time”.

placed them in a region east of Rājagaha, and made a resolve: “Let the rock which is in this place disappear! Let the soil become clean! Let no water spring up!”

[§2] Then, the King had men dig this place, had bricks made of the soil, which was dug out from there, and built *cetiyas* for the 80 great disciples. Even for those questioning: “What is the king building here?” they replied: “*Cetiyas* for the 80 great disciples!” No one was aware of the presence of the enshrined relics.

When they made a place with a depth of 80 cubits, [the King] had *cetiyas* built for the 80 great disciples, got a layer of iron spread underneath, and had built upon it a house made of copper the size of the Cetiyaghara at the Thūpārāma. He had eight urns and eight *thūpas* made of yellow sandalwood built. Then, he placed the relics of the Blessed One in a yellow sandalwood urn, placed that yellow sandalwood urn in another yellow sandalwood urn, and that in another. Thus, he placed eight yellow sandalwood urns together and, in the same manner, placed the eight yellow sandalwood urns inside eight yellow sandalwood *thūpas*; he placed the eight yellow sandalwood *thūpas* inside eight red sandalwood urns; the eight red sandalwood urns inside eight red sandalwood *thūpas*; he placed [the eight red sandalwood *thūpas*] inside eight ivory urns; he placed [the eight ivory urns] inside eight ivory *thūpas*; he placed [the eight ivory *thūpas*] inside eight urns made of all sorts of jewels; he placed the eight urns made of all sorts of jewels inside eight *thūpas* of all sorts of jewels; he placed the eight *thūpas* of all sorts of jewels inside eight golden urns; he placed the eight golden

urns inside of eight golden *thūpas*; he placed the eight golden *thūpas* inside eight silver urns; he placed the eight silver urns inside eight silver *thūpas*; he placed the eight silver *thūpas* inside eight urns made of gems; he placed the eight urns made of gems inside [eight] *thūpas* made of gems; he placed the eight *thūpas* made of gems inside eight urns made of rubies; he placed the eight urns made of rubies inside eight *thūpas* made of rubies; he placed the eight *thūpas* made of rubies inside eight urns made of cat’s-eyes stone; he placed the eight urns made of cat’s-eyes stone inside eight *thūpas* made of cat’s-eyes stone; he placed the eight *thūpas* made of cat’s-eyes stone inside eight urns made of crystal; he placed the eight urns made of crystal inside eight *thūpas* made of crystal.

The uppermost *cetiya* of crystal was the size of the Thūpārāma’s *cetiya*. Over it, he had a house made of all sorts of jewels built. And over it had a golden house built; over it, he had a silver house built; over it, he had a copper house built. He had the dust of all sorts of jewels sprinkled there and thousands of land and water flowers scattered. He had the following fashioned out of gold: the 500 Jātakas, the 80 great elders, the great King Suddhodana, Mahāmayadēvī, the seven of simultaneous births. He had 500 vessels full of gold and 500 full of silver placed there. He had 500 gold lamps and 500 silver lamps made, had them filled with perfumed oil, and had wicks of soft cloth placed in them.

[§3] Thereupon, the Venerable Mahākassapa made a resolve: “Let the garlands not wither! Let the perfumes

not dissipate! Let the lamps not be extinguished!”, and had letters inscribed on a gold plate [saying]: “In the future, a young prince named Piyadāsa having raised the parasol will be a righteous King named Asoka. He will have these relics widely dispersed”.

Then, King Ajātasattu saw his duty. His heart full of joy and his faith growing, he honored [the relics] with all the ornaments and saluted them with the fivefold prostration. He got up, closed the doors commencing with the first, and departed. Having closed the bronze door, he tied the seal keys on the cord to pull the latch. At the same place, he placed a large pile of gems above and had engraved: “In the future, let the indigent kings take these gems for the worship of the relics”.

Then, Sakka, King of deities, addressed Vissukamma in order to protect the relics, [saying]: “My dear, Ajātasattu has made the enshrining of the relics. Do prepare protection for this place!” And he dispatched him.⁴²² He came and set up a device with an array of wild beasts. He brought inside the *thūpa* the wooden figures [bearing] swords of crystal color, set up [another] device winding round as fast as the wind, and fixed it with just one nail. He built a stone fence in the form of a brick house, covered it with a single rock on top, spread soil on it, did the same on the surface, and had a *thūpa* made of stone erected upon it.

[§4] When the enshrining of the relics was finished, the Venerable

Mahākassapa spent time residing in the Veluvanārāma. So, as time passed, the Thera emerged during one night from the attainment of the fruit and considered his life force: “Being now 120 years old, for how long will my life force be?” Reflecting on it, he realized the decaying state of his life force and thought: “So, when will I attain final *nibbāna*? I will attain final *nibbāna* today when the night will dawn into day”. He considered the places surrounding the Rājagaha city, and thought: “Where will I attain final *nibbāna*? I will attain final *nibbāna* in between the three Kukkuṭasampāta mountains”. Having reflected in this way, he took care of his body when the night had dawned into day, gathered the assembly of *bhikkhus*, and said this: “My friends! Follow diligently the teaching of the Master! Strive diligently! My friends, as my life force is decaying, today in the evening time I will attain final *nibbāna* in between the three Kukkuṭasampāta mountains”.

Then, people and monks who heard about the *parinibbāna* of the Thera could not restrain themselves [from crying] and lamented: “Alas! We will be helpless! Although the Master [i.e., the Buddha Gotama] has already attained final *nibbāna*, we are convinced that in the life of the present Lord [i.e., Mahākassapa], the Master is living. But now, the Lord will attain final *nibbāna*! Who could give us advice and instructions?” And a religious sense of emergency arose for those whose taints were destroyed [i.e., the Arahants]. About this, he said:

[2] Impermanent are formations indeed, their nature is to arise and vanish.

⁴²² For a description of this *vālasarinḡhāṭayanta* (“a device with an arrayed of wild beasts”), see Woodward 2014: 20–22.

Having arisen, they cease: their appeasement is blissful.

The Thera reassured the assembly of *bhikkhus* with a speech on the Dhamma connected to the impermanence and so on, and said:

[3] All aggregates have been taught by all the buddhas as being impermanent, Many people do not realize in the evening what they saw in the morning, Many people do not realize in the morning what they saw in the evening.

[4] Right now, diligence should be done, who knows if death will come tomorrow? There is no bargaining with Death and its great armies.

[5] Do not lament too much! This is the nature of the world, [All] aggregates have been taught by all the buddhas as being impermanent.

[§5] When he had said: "And if you wish to see my *parinibbāna*, get together at a place [located] on the Kukkuṭasampāta mountains to see it!", the Thera stood up from his seat at the time for collecting alms. He adjusted his two clothes joining them together, attached his girdle which had the appearance of lightning, wrapped in a great robe made of rags, cloud-colored and [which was] the robe given by the Conqueror,⁴²³ [an offering that] was able to cause an earth-tremor instantly three times, a gift that is always the best fruit as flowers, fruits, and seeds are for the tree.⁴²⁴ He took his

excellent bowl which was the color of the wings of a bee, like a blue-lily in bloom. With self-control like the great Nāga, firm like the lion, the senses appeased, the mind appeased, seeing only the distance of a plough, and shining with the splendour of having all subdued, he entered for alms in Rājagaha. The Thera wandered for successive alms and took his meal once returned from collecting. At that time, the assembly of *bhikkhus* addressed each other: "We will see the Thera's *parinibbāna* once he has taken his meal". They paid him homage, departed from there, and got together. Different men and gods heard also about the *parinibbāna* of the Thera, took perfumed garlands and so on, things for worship and homage, and got together at a place [located] on the Kukkuṭasampāta mountains.

When the Thera Mahākassapa had taken his meal, he thought in this way: "Our King Ajātasattu is a supporter of the Buddha [Gotama]'s dispensation, a giver of the four requisites and presents for the assembly. I will not attain final *nibbāna* without informing [him]". He stood up from his seat, well-dressed and well-covered, and entered Rājagaha at midday time. At the instant he entered, King Ajātasattu was penetrating his royal bedroom to prepare his bed. The royal ministers then saw the Thera entering and thought: "Our Lord who is the King's preceptor, arrived during the day. What can be the reason?" They stood up from their seats, went out to meet the Thera, saluted him, and waited. The Thera asked the ministers:

⁴²³ It refers to an episode evoked at S II 221.

⁴²⁴ The compound corresponding to this sequence remains difficult to understand and translate

(nirantara-aggaphaladānapupphaphalatthirukkham).

“Laymen, where is the king?”

They said: “Venerable, he went to his bed”, and asked about the reason for his coming:

“Venerable, for what reason did you come?”

“Laymen, well, I take leave of the King. Today, in the evening, I will attain final *nibbāna*”.

“Venerable, where will you attain final *nibbāna*?”

“It will be in between the Kukkuṭasampāta mountains”.

[§6] When he had said this, the Thera departed and returned to the *vihāra*. He grasped a broom, did his duties, swept, and so on. [Then], followed by a large group of *bhikkhus*, he went toward the Kukkuṭasampāta mountains. He arrived at the place for his *parinibbāna* and at that moment he rose to the vault of the sky. His visible body stood on a ground surface the size of seven sugar palm-trees. He first emitted blazes of fire out of the right [side of his] body, he emitted a flow of water out of the left [side of his] body. Again, he emitted fire from the left [side of his] body and emitted, again, water from the right [side of his] body. At one time, he emitted water out of the upper part of his body, fire out of the lower part of his body, again, water from the lower part of his body. He emitted fire from the upper part of his body. At one time, he emitted blazes of fire out of his whole body. At one time, he emitted streams of water out of his whole body. At one time, he appeared having the shape of the ocean with the water that is his shining fruit,⁴²⁵ the great sea [containing] a multitude of different caskets full of jewels. At one

time, he appeared to have the shape of the Himavant mountain, brightening like a young tree with shining flowers. At one time, he appeared to have the shape of the seven great lakes, with the surface of the water covered with lotuses of five colors, all fully opened on the water. At one time, he appeared having the shape of the great wheel-turning [monarch], endowed with seven jewels, followed by a four-division army of twelve *yojanas* perimeter. At one time, he appeared having the shape of the King of devas, followed by the assembly of the Thirty-three [gods], ornamented with various decorations, the size of three *gāvutas*. At one time, he appeared having the shape of the Great Brahma, followed by an assembly of Brahma [gods] possessing bodies of three *yojanas*. So, the Thera showed a miracle thanks to his many supernatural powers and expounded the Dhamma.

[§7] He descended from the sky, took leave of the assembly of *bhikkhus*, entered in between the three mountains, and thought: “Here, I will attain final *nibbāna*”. Immediately after his thought, the assembly of gods prepared a couch. Around it, they installed full pitchers filled with blue lotuses, white lotuses [i.e., *kumuda* and *pūḍarika*], blue lotuses [*niluppalakamala*]. In the four corners of the couch, they placed four potsherds with incense and four lamps. They made many homages and offerings of invaluable awnings, pollen, flowers, and so on. So, when the Thera climbed on his couch, he sat down, and entered upon the eight attainments. He arose from them and formulated a resolve in this way: “When my life force [will be] exhausted, three mountains [will] fall

⁴²⁵ The translation is here conjectural.

down and fit into each other. May they contain my couch within it! And may these flowers never wither! May the perfume of all the lamps and incense never cease!"

Starting from now, the lifespan of men having dwindled from 100 years will be during the interim eon for a period of ten years. During a renewed interim eon, for men having increased their lifespan, it will be lifespans of uncountable [time]. Then, during the evolution lifespan having dwindled for men to 80,000 years [...].⁴²⁶ For this was said by the elders:

"At that time, when he had set in motion the wheel of the Dhamma, the Buddha Ariyametteyya will arise in the world, surrounded by an assembly of 12 *yojanas* [perimeter]". Having reached this place, taken up my body, deposited it in the palm of his right hand tinted with the

marks of the wheel, well dyed, soft, and tender, [this] Blessed One will show my body to the assembly of *bhikkhus* [and will say]: "Look at this Thera, at the time of the Perfectly Enlightened One Gotama he was his elder brother, the great disciple named Mahākassapa, holder of the 13 ascetic practices (*dhutaṅgas*). He wore discarded rags, spoke in praise of the wearing of discarded rags. He wore the three robes, spoke in praise of the three robes. He was not selective while going for alms-food, spoke in praise of not selecting while going for alms-food. He had one meal session, spoke in praise of having one meal session. He ate only from the bowl, spoke in praise of eating only from the bowl. He abstained from eating after the normal time, spoke in praise of abstaining from eating after the normal time. He lived in a forest, spoke in praise of the living in a forest. He spoke in praise of living at the foot of a tree. He lived outside, spoke in praise of living outside. He lived in a cemetery, spoke in praise of living in a cemetery. He accepted whatever seat, spoke in praise of accepting whatever seat. He slept seated, spoke in praise of sleeping seated. From the time he was ordained until his *parinibbāna* he did not stretch out on beds and chairs. Also, he is a holder

⁴²⁶ This paragraph refers to Pali cosmology depicting the shape and evolution of the universe, where three kinds of *kappas* are described: *antarakappas* (interim eons), *asarakheyyakappas* (uncountable eons) which are 20 *antarakappas*, and *mahākappas* (great eons) corresponding to four *asarakheyyakappas*. Here is described the interim eon period when the age-limit of human beings rises from ten to an indefinite time and then falls to ten again. I assume that there are omissions in the transmission of information in all the manuscripts used, as the end of the paragraph (*yojanamattam abhirūyhāya mahāpathaviyā*) remains unclear and does not allow a coherent meaning. The description given in the Thai text (Lagirarde 2006: 98–99) is much more detailed and gets closer to the description provided by Sv III 73, 3–376, 21. The manuscript C seems to describe the process at work, i.e., the dissolution of the universe before the arrival of Buddha Metteya, but remains too difficult to grasp.

of the ascetic practices (*dhutaṅgas*) with few longings, satisfied, with energy aroused, unattached to a family or a company, without a clinging mind, with a pure way of life. He was known and famous in the dispensation of the Buddha [Gotama] like the full moon in the celestial vault". The Blessed One [Metteyya] will make known my dense virtues, having rendered the Great Earth thin. Having rendered the Great Sea shallow, he will make known my very profound virtues. Having rendered the Sineru, King of mountains, low, he will make known my virtues which are higher. At this moment, blazes of fire [will] ignite from my body, and [will] burn it in the palm of the Tathāgata's hand.

And he made another resolve: "And when King Ajātasattu had heard about my *parinibbāna*, desirous to pay me homage, he will reach this place. At that time, may these three mountains step aside! At the end of the King's veneration, may these three mountains meet together again!"

So, when the Thera had made his resolve, he laid down on the bed and attained the final *nibbāna*-element without residue. At this moment, the three mountains met together by the power of the resolve of the Thera, fell down and fit into each other, and became one mass [of rock]. Then, all the assembly of *bhikkhus*, gods, and men did not see [anymore] the body of the Thera which was concealed by the

mountains and cried all at once. Outside [the mountain] they made homages and offerings and many wonders appeared. [§8] At that time, in the King's palace, the ministers deliberated about when this Thera would come to final *nibbāna*: "If the King wakes up and hears about the Thera's *parinibbāna*, because of his strong affection for him, his mind and heart will be affected by strong sorrow and pain, and he will die! Well! We will preserve the King's life by some means!" When they had deliberated in this way, they consulted all the King's physicians, explained to them what was happening, and asked: "What should be done?" So, the physicians said: "For that, we should prepare a medicinal preparation". Instantly, they brought one basin and filled it with sugar-cane juice. They brought one basin and filled it with milk. They filled one basin with very clear curds. They filled one basin with very clear clarified butter. They filled one basin with perfume sesame oil. They filled one basin with residue of earth. They filled one basin with cold water. Thus, they filled seven basins with medicinal preparations. When the different medicinal preparations were prepared, they sat down waiting for the moment the King woke up.

When the King woke up, he arose from his bed, departed from the inner chamber, and sat down on the royal couch which was on a large flat roof [at the top of the palace] where was elevated a white umbrella. Then, ministers announced to the King about the coming of the Thera:

"King, your preceptor, the Thera Mahākassapa, has come here".

“For what reason?”
 “To take leave of you”.
 “Where did he go?”
 “King, he wishes to attain final *nibbāna*”.
 “When will he wish to attain final *nibbāna*?”
 “King, now, in the evening”.

Listening to this, the King became unable to stay firm by himself because of his strong affection for the Thera, forgetting the dignity of a *khattiya* (warrior).⁴²⁷ Tormented with great grief, he lost consciousness with the body warm and fell down. Then, the favorites, ministers and so on, held up the King and made him lie down in the basin with the sugar-cane juice. Again, they held up the King and made him lie down in the basin with milk. The King regained his breath with water and milk and asked again about the reason for the Thera’s coming, so the ministers made him know about it. Continuing their method, they made him lie down in the basin with very clear clarified butter. From there, they made him lie down in the basin with the perfume of sesame oil.

Then, in the royal palace were 100,000 goddesses lamenting, hitting their chests, wailing with great lamentations, and disturbing the royal palace. In the entire city of Rājagaha, all inhabitants and men were assembled in the city-center and lamented with the King. The ministers held up the King and from the basin with the perfume of sesame oil they made him lie down in the residue of earth. Then, they made him lie down in cool water. The King recov-

ered again his breath thanks to the action of the medicinal preparation, and asked his ministers:

“Venerables, where will my preceptor attain final *nibbāna*?”
 “King, it will be in the Kukkuṭasam-pāta mountains”.

When the King had proclaimed this in the entire city of Rājagaha, he took the umbrellas, the flags, the banners, the drums, the conchs, the cymbals, and so on, and various things to make devotional offerings, departed with his four-division army, and went to the place which was [located] in the Kukkuṭasam-pāta mountains. He saw the three mountains as one solid mass [of rock] and asked people:

“Venerable, where does the body of my preceptor lie?”
 “King, he is in between these three mountains”.

The King listened to this and thought: “By what means will it be possible for me to honor my preceptor’s body?” Walking with sorrow as if his heart had broken into seven pieces, he stood and thought: “It is by means of a solemn declaration”. He put his knee on the ground, paid homage with the fivefold prostration, held the salutation gesture (*añjali*), placed it [above] his head, and made a solemn declaration: “My friend, *devatas*, listen to my words! If my strong affection for my preceptor is true, may these three mountains go aside!”

Then, by the power of the King’s resolve as well as by the power of the Thera Mahākassapa’s resolve, the three mountains went aside as if they had

⁴²⁷ This translation is conjectural.

been split by the thunderbolt weapon of Inda. People saw this wonder and made waving of garments [like] strings of pearls, gold, silver, and jewels, and several hundred thousand applauses. All the people held up the *añjali* with their heart full of joy, [shouting]: “How wonderful, how incredible!”, and applauded.

[§9] Then, the King saw the Thera’s body, which had been laid on a platform and was being honored by deities, and approached, his heart full of wonder and surprise, with joy and delight arising, the head bowing down, with a disappointed appearance, with tears in the eyes, and crying. He prostrated his head at the feet of the Thera, paid him repeated homages. He made offerings of garlands, of smelling incenses, with awnings and so on, raising umbrellas, flags, emblems, and whisks, collected and united, flowers of gold and silver, and sandalwood powder, and fully honored the Thera’s body with perfumed oil, with 1,000 waterpots of gold and silver, with many priceless jewels. At this place, the King paid great homages for seven days. Likewise, all men and gods enjoyed and approved.

After seven days, the three mountains met again together and became one mass [of rock]. The King with the people, no longer seeing the body of the Thera [which] was concealed by the mountains as the disk of the setting sun, had his heart dissolved, had sorrow arising, he lamented, and had no appetite. All the people lamented; there was great tumult. So, the King made offerings, bowed down, asked his pardon, and entered the city with the people.

Till today, the body of the Thera is right there. As long as the Perfectly Enlightened One Metteyya has not appeared in the world, then, he does not disappear, he does not fall into pieces, he is not altered. In a future time, when Ariyametteyya the Perfectly Enlightened One appears in the world, blazes of fire [will] rise from the body of the Thera [standing] on the [Metteyya’s] palm-hand and he will be consumed. And at this very place, Metteyya the Perfectly Enlightened One will also have offerings made by all the world at the *thūpa* where the Thera’s relics are.

This story about the *parinibbāna* of the Thera Mahākassapa is finished.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CPC	Trenckner, Vilhelm et al. 1924–2011. <i>A Critical Pāli Dictionary</i> , Vol. 1–3. Copenhagen: Royal Danish Academy of Science and Letters.
DPPN	Malalasekera, Gunapala Piyasena. 1937–1938. <i>Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names</i> , Vol. 1 & 2. London: John Murray.
EFEO	École française d'Extrême-Orient
n.m.	not mentioned
PED	Rhys Davids, T.W. & Stede, William. 1921–1925 (ed. 2004). <i>The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary</i> . Oxford: The Pali Text Society.

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Ext Mhv	Malalasekera, George P. 1937 (ed. 1988). <i>Extended Mahāvaṁsa</i> . Oxford: The Pali Text Society.

Gv	Minayeff, Ivan P. 1886. The Gandha-Vaṁsa. <i>Journal of the Pali Text Society</i> 2: 54–80.
Mhv	Geiger, Wilhelm. 1908. <i>The Mahāvaṁsa</i> . London: The Pali Text Society.
Ras	Gandhi, Sharda. 1988. <i>Rasavāhīnī, A Stream of Sentiments (Being the Previous Birth Stories of the Buddha)</i> . Delhi: Parimal Publications.
Tha-a II (ChS)	Chaṭṭhaśaṅgītipiṭakam (ဓాట్టశాంగితిపిటకం). 1959. యోగాయాచ్ఛాయా (య్యి యొ చ్చాయా); <i>Theragāthā-āṭṭhakathā</i> (dutiyo bhāgo).

Tha-a (Sy) II	Marammaraṭṭha: Buddha sāsanasaṃsāti. Syamaratṭhassa Tepitaka- ṭṭhakathā (ສູນາຮຽນສູນສ ເ ປິງກວ້າສູນກາ). 1992. ປະມູນດູ ທີປົນ ນາມ ເຕຣຄາດາອງສູນກາ (ທຸດິໂຍ ລາໂຄ); Paramattha- dīpanī nāma Theragāthā- atṭhakathā (dutiyo bhāgo). Bangkok: Mahamakut Buddhist University.	Varīsam Vism	Balee, Buddharaksa. 1991. <i>Varīsamālinī, A Critical Study of Palmleaf Texts.</i> PhD Dissertation. Banaras Hindu University. Rhys Davids, C.A.F. 1920- 1921. <i>The Visuddhi-Magga of Buddhaghosa.</i> London: The Pali Text Society [Reprint, 1975].
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