

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. Vajirañāṇavarorasa 1974), composed by Prince Vajirañāṇavarorasa (1859–1921), alongside publications like *Brahmasīmāhāsāvakaniḥbāna* and *Brahmasāvakaniḥbāna* (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 Mahāyāna literature, suggesting their specificity to the late Theriya school (known as Theravāda today). Their origins trace back to Pali commentaries (*aṭṭhakathās*),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 *Mahāvamsa* (Mhv XXX 80) and its “Extended” version (Ext Mhv XXX 218c), the *Thūpavamsa* (Thūp 233, 29), the *Chakesadhātuvaṃsa* (Cha-k 10), the *Rasavāhinī* (Ras 78, 21), the *Asīmāhāsāvakavaṇṇanāgāthā* mentioned in the *Gandhavaṃsa* (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 (*lakḥaṇas*) 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 *pakaṭṭisāvakas* (“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

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-aṭṭhakathā*) 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 *mahāsāvakas*:

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

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, Mahāmoggallāna, 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. Ñāṇamoli 1956: 405).

¹⁰ On this point, see Samuels 1997.

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 Kuṭi-kaṇṇa, Soṇa Koḷivīsa, [40] Rādha, Subhūti, Aṅgulimāla, Vakkali, Kāḷudāyī, Mahā-udāyī, Pilindavaccha, Sobhita, Kumārakassapa, Raṭṭhapāla, [50] Vaṅgīsa, Sabhiya, Sela, Upavāna, Meghiya, Sāgata, Nāgita, Lakunḍakabhaddiya, Piṇḍolabhāradvāja, Mahāpanthaka, [60] Cūḷapanthaka, Bākula, Kuṇḍadhāna, Dārucīriya, Yasoja, Ajita, Tissametteyya, Puṇṇaka, Mettagū, Dhotaka, [70] Upasiva, Nanda, Hemaka, Todeyya, Kappa, Jatukaṇṇi, 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*

must be distinguished from the 74 “foremost disciples” (*etadagga*)¹⁴ listed in the *Āṅguttaranikāya* (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

¹² For instance, the Syamaratṭha (Thai) edition gives Aññasikoṇḍañño for Aññaṅkoṇḍañño, Nālako for Nālako, Puṇṇa Sunāparanta for Puṇṇa Sunāparantaka, and Koḷivīsa for Koḷivīsa, Lakuṇḍakabhaddiyo for Lakuṇṭakabhaddiyo, Bākulo for Bakkulo, Mettagū for Mettagu, Posālo for Posalo (Tha-a II (Sy): 871, 1–15); similarly, the Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana (Burmese) edition proposes Aññasikoṇḍañño for Aññaṅkoṇḍañño, 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, Mettagu, Dhotaka, Upasiva, Hemaka, Todeyya, Jatukaṇṇi, Bhadrāvudha, Udaya, Posāla, and Piṅgiya.

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 *Aggasāvakavattu* at Dhpa 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 (*paṇidhānā*). 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 *Buddhavaṃsa* (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 (*vyākaraṇa*) 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 paccekabuddhas, 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 (*mahāsāvaka*), 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 *aṭṭhakathās*, 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 (*aṭṭhakathā*), and sub-commentarial (*ṭīkā*) 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, Mahāpajāpati, Sānusāmaṇera, 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” (*ayaṃ 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 *Sampiṇḍita-mahānidāna*, BnF PALI 624, bundle no. 15/folios *ve* to *su*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

(3) MS C included in the *Pāḷi Sāvakanibbāna*, EFEO PALI 64, bundle no. 2/folios *gā* to *gaṃ*, 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 sāvakānibbāna* (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 *Varṇsamālinī*, 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 (*Varṇsam* 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 *Varṇsamālinī*.

Pali Edition

[cf. ONLINE APPENDICES]

[1] <ga> vandāmi sirasā pāde buddho
loke ca uttamo pavakkhāmi
param puññaṃ taṃ nisāmetha
sādhū vo.

[§1] amhākaṃ sammāsambuddho loke
udapādi. lokahitaṃ 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 parinibbute bhagavati lokanāthe ath' āyasmā Mahākassapo pañcasatamattehi Satta-panṇaṃ guhādvāre dhammavinayasaṅgītiṃ katvā tasmim̐ yeva Rājagahe Veḷuvanamahāvihāre²⁵ bhikkhusaṃghena vihāsi. tadā Ajātasatturājā²⁶ Mahākassapattheraṃ tathāgataṃ viya maññaṃāno therāṃ sabhikkhusaṃghaṃ²⁷ catūhi paccayehi sakkaccaṃ eva upaṭṭhapesi. ekadā²⁸ kira samaye āyasmā Mahākassapo dhātūnaṃ antarāyaṃ disvā cintesi “sace²⁹ kho panāhaṃ dhātunidhānaṃ na karissāmi. na cirass' eva³⁰ dhātuyo antaradhāyissanti. handāhaṃ bhagavato dhātunidhānaṃ karissāmi. dhātūsu pana thitāsu buddhā³¹ thitā nāma honti” ti³² cintetvā ca pana³³ thero³⁴ Ajātasatturājānaṃ upasaṅkamitvā “mahārāja ekaṃ³⁵ dhātunidhānaṃ kāturaṃ vaṭṭati” ti āha.

rājā³⁶ “sādhu bhante” ti therassa vacanaṃ sirasā sampaṭicchitvā “nidhāna-kammaṃ tāva³⁷ bhante mama³⁸ hotu.

sesadhātuyo pana kathaṃ āharissāmi”³⁹ ti āha.⁴⁰ “na kho mahārāja dhātu-āharaṇaṃ tuyhaṃ⁴¹ bhāro. amhākaṃ eva bhāro” ti. “sādhu bhante tumhe dhātuyo āharatha ahaṃ nidhānaṃ karissāmi” ti. Mahākassapatthero⁴² tesāṃ tesāṃ rājakulānaṃ paricaraṇamattam⁴³ eva ṭhapetvā sesadhātuyo āhari. Rāmagāme pana⁴⁴ dhātuyo nāgā parigaṇhiṃsu. tāsāṃ⁴⁵ antarāyo natthi “anāgate Laṅkādiṇe Mahāvihāre Mahācetiyaṅgaṃhi⁴⁶ nidahissanti” ti tasmā thero tāsāṃ na āharithā.⁴⁷ sesehi sattahi nagarehi dhātuyo āharitvā Rājagahassa pācīnadisābhāge ṭhatvā⁴⁸ “imasmiṃ ṭhāne yo pāsāṇo atthi so antaradhāyatu,⁴⁹ paṃsuṃ visuddhā hotu, udakaṃ mā uṭṭhahatū” ti adhiṭṭhāsi.

[§2] atha rājā taṃ ṭhānaṃ manusse khaṇāpetvā tato uddhatapaṃsunā iṭṭhakā kāretvā asītimahāsāvakaṇaṃ cetiyāni kāreti.⁵⁰ “idha rājā kiṃ kāretī” ti pucchantānaṃ pi. mahāsāvakaṇaṃ cetiyāni” ti vadanti.⁵¹ na koci dhātunidhānabhāvaṃ jā-<gā>nāti.

asītihatthampamāne gambhīre tasmim̐⁵² padese jāte asītimahāsāvakaṇaṃ cetiyāni kārāpetvā⁵³ heṭṭhā lohasaṇṭha-

²⁴ B starts here with *tato paraṃ mahākassapattheraṃ parinibbānaṃ vaṇṇayissāma* instead of *parinibbute bhagavati lokanāthe*.

²⁵ A *Veḷuvanamahāvihāre āyasmā Mahākassapatthero*.

²⁶ B *sa aggarājā*.

²⁷ A not mentioned (n.m.).

²⁸ B *ekasmim̐*.

²⁹ B *ce*.

³⁰ B *cirass'eva is cirassa va*.

³¹ B n.m.

³² A, C *hontī 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 *evaṃ*.

³⁶ A n.m.

³⁷ A *ca*. B *va*.

³⁸ B *mama bhāro*.

³⁹ B, C *āharāmi*.

⁴⁰ B n.m.

⁴¹ B *tumha*.

⁴² B *Mahākassapatthero atha*.

⁴³ B *paricaraṇaṃ mattam*.

⁴⁴ B n.m.

⁴⁵ A *tesāṃ*.

⁴⁶ B *mahācetiyaṃhi*.

⁴⁷ B *tāsāṃ na āharithā is tāni nāharimsu*.

⁴⁸ A *ṭhapetvā*

⁴⁹ A *antaradhātu ti paṃsu viya visuddhā hotu*.

⁵⁰ A *asīti mahāsāvakaṇaṃ cetiyāni kāreti is n.m.*

⁵¹ B n.m.

⁵² B *imasmiṃ*.

⁵³ B *asītimahāsāvakaṇaṃ cetiyāni kārāpetvā is n.m.*

raṃ saṇṭharāpetvā tattha Thūpārāme cetiyagharappamāṇaṃ⁵⁴ tambalohamayāṃ gehaṃ kārāpetvā aṭṭha aṭṭha haricandanāmaye⁵⁵ karaṇḍe ca thūpe ca kārāpesi.

ath' assa bhagavato dhātuyo haricandanakaraṇḍe pakkhipitvā taṃ haricandanakaraṇḍaṃ aññasmiṃ haricandanakaraṇḍe pakkhipi. taṃ pi aññasmin ti evaṃ aṭṭha haricandanakaraṇḍe ekato katvā eten' ev'⁵⁶ upāyena te aṭṭha haricandanakaraṇḍe aṭṭhasu⁵⁷ haricandanathūpesu pakkhipi. ⁵⁸aṭṭha haricandanathūpe aṭṭha ca haricandanakaraṇḍesu pakkhipi. aṭṭha lohitaṇḍanathūpesu [pakkhipi]. [aṭṭha lohitaṇḍanathūpe] aṭṭhasu dantakaraṇḍesu pakkhipi. [aṭṭha dantakaraṇḍe] aṭṭhasu dantathūpesu pakkhipi. [aṭṭha dantathūpe aṭṭhasu sabbaratanakaraṇḍesu pakkhipi.] aṭṭha sabbaratanakaraṇḍe aṭṭhasu sabbaratanathūpesu pakkhipi. aṭṭha sabbaratanathūpe aṭṭhasu suvaṇṇakaraṇḍesu pakkhipi.

aṭṭha suvaṇṇakaraṇḍe aṭṭhasu suvaṇṇathūpesu pakkhipi. aṭṭha suvaṇṇathūpe aṭṭhasu rajatakaraṇḍesu pakkhipi. aṭṭha rajatakaraṇḍe aṭṭhasu rajatathūpesu pakkhipi. aṭṭha rajatathūpe aṭṭhasu

maṇikaraṇḍesu pakkhipi. aṭṭha maṇikaraṇḍe [aṭṭhasu] maṇithūpesu pakkhipi. aṭṭha maṇithūpe aṭṭhasu lohitaṇḍakaraṇḍesu pakkhipi. aṭṭha lohitaṇḍakaraṇḍe aṭṭha lohitaṇḍathūpesu pakkhipi. aṭṭha lohitaṇḍathūpe aṭṭhasu masāragallakaraṇḍesu pakkhipi.

aṭṭha masāragallakaraṇḍe aṭṭhasu masāragallathūpesu pakkhipi. aṭṭha masāragallathūpe aṭṭhasu phalikamayakaraṇḍesu pakkhipi. aṭṭha phalikamayakaraṇḍe aṭṭhasu phalikamayathūpesu pakkhipi. sabbuparimaphalīkamayacetiyaṃ Thūpārāmacetiyaṃ appāmaṇaṃ⁶⁰ hoti. upari⁶¹ sabbaratanamayāṃ gehaṃ kāresi. tassa⁶² upari suvaṇṇamayāṃ gehaṃ. tassa upari rajatamayāṃ gehaṃ tassa upari tambalohamayāṃ gehaṃ kāresi.⁶³ tattha⁶⁴ sabbaratanamayabālukaṃ okiritvā jalajathalajapupphasahassāni⁶⁵ vipparitvā.⁶⁶ aḍḍhacchatthāni jāṭakasatāni asītimahāthere ca⁶⁷ Suddhodanamahārājaṃ ca⁶⁸ Mahāmāyādeviṃ ca satta sahaṇṇe thāpeti⁶⁹ sabbāni tāni suvaṇṇamayāneva⁷⁰ kāretvā pañcasate pañcasate suvaṇṇarajatamaye punṇaghaṭṭe thapesi. pañcasate suvaṇṇadīpe⁷¹ pañcasate rajaḍadīpe⁷² kāretvā sugandhatelaṃ paripūretvā⁷³ tesu dukūlavatṭhiyo thapesi.

⁵⁴ A thūpārāmacetiyaṃ appāmaṇaṃ.

⁵⁵ B haricandanādimaye.

⁵⁶ A n.m.

⁵⁷ B aṭṭha.

⁵⁸ The passage that follows is incomplete in A until sabbuparimaphalīkamayacetiyaṃ: aṭṭhasu haricandanathūpesu. aṭṭha lohitaṇḍanathūpesu aṭṭhasu lohitaṇḍanathūpesu pakkhipi. aṭṭhasu dantakaraṇḍesu pakkhipi. aṭṭhasu dantathūpesu pakkhipi. aṭṭhasu sabbaratanakaraṇḍesu pakkhipi. aṭṭhasu suvaṇṇakaraṇḍesu pakkhipi. aṭṭha suvaṇṇakaraṇḍe aṭṭhasu suvaṇṇathūpesu pakkhipi. aṭṭha rajatakaraṇḍesu pakkhipi. aṭṭhasu rajatathūpesu pakkhipi. aṭṭhasu maṇikaraṇḍesu pakkhipi. aṭṭhasu lohitaṇḍakaraṇḍesu pakkhipi. aṭṭha lohitaṇḍathūpesu pakkhipi. aṭṭhasu masāragallakaraṇḍesu pakkhipi. aṭṭha masāragallathūpesu pakkhipi. aṭṭhasu phalīkakaraṇḍe pakkhipi.

⁵⁹ B aṭṭha.

⁶⁰ B thūpārāme cetiyaṃ appāmaṇaṃ.

⁶¹ B tattha upari.

⁶² B tattha upari.

⁶³ B kāretvā.

⁶⁴ B n.m.

⁶⁵ B jalajalapupphānaṃ sahaṇṇāni.

⁶⁶ B kiritvā.

⁶⁷ A n.m.

⁶⁸ B suddhodhanamahārājānaṃ ca.

⁶⁹ A, B thāti.

⁷⁰ A suvaṇṇamayāni evaṃ akāsi.

⁷¹ A suvaṇṇadīpake.

⁷² A pañcasate rajaḍadīpe is n.m.

⁷³ B sugandhatelaṃ paripūretvā is sugandhatelassa pūretvā.

[§3] athāyasmā Mahākassapo “mālā mā milāyantu, gandhā mā hāyantu, dīpā mā vijjhāyantu”⁷⁴ ti adhiṭṭhāsi. suvaṇṇapatte akkharāni likkhāpesi “anāgate Piyadāso nāma kumāro chattaṃ ussāpetvā Asoko nāma⁷⁵ dhammarājā bhavissati. so imā⁷⁶ dhātuyo vitthārikā kari-<gi>ssati” ti⁷⁷.

atha rājā Ajātasattu⁷⁸ r-attano⁷⁹ adhikāraṃ disvā pītibharitahadayo ativaḍḍhamānasaddho⁸⁰ sabbapasādhanehi⁸¹ pūjetvā pañcapaṭiṭṭhitena vanditvā uṭṭhahitvā ādito paṭṭhāya dvāraṃ pidahitvā nikkhami.⁸² so tambalohadvāraṃ pidahitvā aviñjanarajjuyāṃ kuñcika-muddikaṃ bandhi.⁸³ tatth’ eva⁸⁴ mahantaṃ mañikkhandhaṃ upari ṭhapesi.⁸⁵ “anāgate daḷiddarājā imaṃ maṇiṃ gahetvā dhātunaṃ sakkāraṃ karontū” ti akkharaṃ chindāpesi.⁸⁶

atha Sakko devarājā dhāturakkhaṇatthaṃ⁸⁷ Vissukammaṃ āmantetvā “tāta Ajātasattunā dhātunidhānaṃ kataṃ, tattha ārakkhaṃ paṭṭhapehi” ti paṇiṇi. so āgantvā vāḷasaṃghāṭayantaṃ⁸⁸ yojesi. kaṭṭharūpakāni tasmim dhātu gabbhe phalikavaṇṇakhagge⁸⁹

gahetvā vātasadisena vegena anupariyāyantaṃ⁹⁰ yojetvā ekāya āniyā bandhitvā sakaṭṭhānaṃ eva gato⁹¹ samantato giñjakāvasathākārena⁹² silāparikkhepaṃ katvā tassa⁹³ upari ekāya silāya pidahitvā paṃsum pakkhipitvā bhūmisamaṃ katvā⁹⁴ tassa upari pāsānamayaṃ thūpaṃ paṭiṭṭhāpesi.

[§4] evaṃ niṭṭhite dhātunidhāne⁹⁵ āyasmā Mahākassapo tasmim yeva Veḷuvanārāme viharanto kālaṃ vītināmesi. evaṃ⁹⁶ gate kāle thero ekasmim rattibhāgasamaye⁹⁷ phalasamā-pattito vuṭṭhāya attano āyusaṃkhāraṃ⁹⁸ olokesi “ahaṃ kho dāni vīsavassasata-kāyuko kittako me āyusaṃkhāro⁹⁹ pavattissati” ti vicārento¹⁰⁰ attano āyusaṃkhārassa parikkhiṇabhāvaṃ ñātvā “kadā nu kho parinibbāyissāmi” ti. “ajj’ eva pabhātāya rattisamaye¹⁰¹ parinibbāyissāmi” ti. “tasmim¹⁰² kattha parinibbāyissāmi” ti¹⁰³ yeva Rājagaha-

⁷⁴ B *dīpā mā vijjhāyantu* is n.m.

⁷⁵ A n.m.

⁷⁶ A n.m.

⁷⁷ A *ti va suvaṇṇapattaṃ ca ṭhapesi*.

⁷⁸ B n.m.

⁷⁹ B *attano*.

⁸⁰ A *ativaḍḍhamānasaddhā*. B *abhivaḍḍhamānasaddho*.

⁸¹ B *°ppasādhanehi*.

⁸² A *nikkhamitvā*.

⁸³ B *bandhitvā*.

⁸⁴ B *tato va*.

⁸⁵ B *vikaritvā*.

⁸⁶ A, C *likkhāpetvā ṭhapesi*.

⁸⁷ B *dhātuparirakkhaṇatthaṃ*.

⁸⁸ A, B read *balam saṃghāṭayantaṃ*. It should probably refer to *vāḷasaṃghāṭayantaṃ* as in the Sv II and Thūp editions. Emend.

⁸⁹ B *phalikavaṇṇe khagge*.

⁹⁰ B *anupariyāyanti yantaṃ*.

⁹¹ B *sakaṭṭhānaṃ eva gato* is n.m.

⁹² A *bhittivasathāgārena*.

⁹³ B n.m.

⁹⁴ A *paṃsum pakkhipitvā bhūmisamaṃ katvā* is *paṃsu okiritvā bhūmiyaṃ sammaṃ katvā*.

⁹⁵ C starts here.

⁹⁶ C inserts just before *appamādena satthu sāsane paṭipajjathā* *ti ovaḍati*.

⁹⁷ C *rattibhāge samaye*.

⁹⁸ A *āyusaṃkhāraṃ olokesi ahaṃ kho dāni vīsavassasatikāyuko kittako me āyusaṃkhārā pavattissati* *ti vicārento* is n.m.

⁹⁹ A, B *āyusaṃkhārā*.

¹⁰⁰ C *vicāresi*.

¹⁰¹ B, C *ca rattiyā*.

¹⁰² C n.m.

¹⁰³ A *tasmim kattha parinibbāyissāmi* *ti* is *tasmim*. B *kattha parinibbāyissāmi* *ti*.

nagare¹⁰⁴ parivattake bhūmipadese¹⁰⁵
 olovento “Kukkuṭasampātānaṃ¹⁰⁶ tiṇṇaṃ
 pabbatānaṃ antare parinibbāyissāmi”
 ti. so¹⁰⁷ evaṃ cintetvā pabhātāya¹⁰⁸
 rattiya sarīrapatijagganaṃ¹⁰⁹ katvā
 bhikkhusaṃghaṃ sannipādetvā etad avoca
 “āvuso tumhe appamādena satthu
 sāsanaṃ paṭipajjatha, appamādena
 sampādetthā.¹¹⁰ ahaṃ hi āvuso
 parikkhīṇāyusaṃkhāro,¹¹¹ ajj’ eva sāyaṇha-
 samaye Kukkuṭasampātānaṃ¹¹² tiṇṇaṃ
 pabbatānaṃ antare parinibbāyissāmi” ti.

atha ye puthujjanabhikkhū therassa
 parinibbānaṃ¹¹³ sutvā¹¹⁴ attānaṃ saṇṭhā-
 retuṃ asakkontā parideviṃsu “aho anāthā
 vata mayaṃ bhavissāma.¹¹⁵ satthā pa-
 rinibbuto pi samāno¹¹⁶ ayyassa dharamāne
 dharamānaṃ¹¹⁷ iva satthāraṃ maññāma¹¹⁸
 etarahipana¹¹⁹ ayyopari-gī-nibbāyissati.
 ko nu kho amhākaṃ ovādānusāsanaṃ
 dadeyyā” ti. khiṇāsavānaṃ pana¹²⁰
 dhammasaṃvego 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 *patijagganaṃ*.

¹¹⁰ A *appamādena sampādetthā* is n.m.

¹¹¹ A n.m.

¹¹² A n.m.

¹¹³ C *parinibbānabhāvaṃ*.

¹¹⁴ C *ñatvā*

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

¹¹⁶ C *samāno pi*.

¹¹⁷ B *dharamāne dharamānaṃ* is *dhammānaṃ*.

¹¹⁸ C *maññamāno*.

¹¹⁹ C n.m.

¹²⁰ C n.m.

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

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

thero bhikkhusaṃghaṃ aniccatādi-
 paṇḍita¹²⁴ dhammakathāya¹²⁵ samas-
 sāsētvā āha:¹²⁶

[3] “aniccā sabbasaṃkhārā
 sabbabuddhehi desitā
 °sāyaṃ eke na dissanti
 °pāto diṭṭhā bahū janā
 °pāto n-eke na dissanti
 °sāyaṃ diṭṭhā bahū janā.
 [cdef]Ja IV 127, 5–6*; Ja VI 28, 4–5*]

[4] ajj’ eva kiccaṃ ātappaṃ
 ko jaññā maraṇaṃ suve
 na hi no saṃgāraṃ tena
 mahāsenena maccunā.
 [Ja VI 28, 6–7*]

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

is *bhikkhu āhaṃsu*.

¹²² C adds *aho aniccā sabbasaṃkhārā āyunaṇḍitaṃ parināma hoti*.

¹²³ C n.m.

¹²⁴ B n.m.

¹²⁵ B *dhammiyā kathāya*.

¹²⁶ A, B *samassāsētvā āha* is *samassāsētvā puna bhikkhusaṃghaṃ 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 parinibbānaṃ passitukāmā Kukkuṭasampātapabbatabhūmibhāg¹³⁰ sannipatitvā passathā” ti vatvā¹³¹ thero piṇḍapātasamaye¹³² uṭṭhāy’ āsanā dupaṭṭaṃ nivāsetvā vijjulatākārasadisāṃ¹³³ kāyabandhanāṃ bandhitvā tikkhatuṃ¹³⁴ pathavīkampanasamatthaṃ jinacīvaradattiyaṃ meghavaṇṇaṃ¹³⁵ nirantara-aggaṃ phalaḍānapupphaphalatthirukkhāṃ paṃsukūlamahācīvaraṃ pārupitvā¹³⁶ vikasitaniluppalam iva bhāmarapakkhavaṇṇaṃ patta-
varam¹³⁷ ādāya. damatho viya mahānāgo siho viya¹³⁸ dhīragamano santindriyo¹³⁹ santamānaso yuggamattapekkhamāno sabbajitasiriyā¹⁴⁰ sobhamāno Rājagahaṃ piṇḍāya pāvisi.¹⁴¹

thero¹⁴² sapadānapīṇḍāya vicaritvā¹⁴³ piṇḍapātapatikanto bhattakiccaṃ akāsi.

¹²⁸ B *sabbe*.

¹²⁹ C n.m.

¹³⁰ B *kukkuṭapabbata°*. C *kukkuṭasampātabhūmibhāge*.

¹³¹ A n.m.

¹³² B, C *piṇḍapātasamaye sampatte*.

¹³³ B *vijjulatākāraṃ*.

¹³⁴ B *navakkhatuṃ*.

¹³⁵ *nirantaraṃ aggaṃ phalaḍānapupphaphalatthirukkhāṃ paṃsukūlamahācīvaraṃ is B nirantarattaṃ laddānaṃ puthulagurukaṃ paṃsukūlamahācīvaraṃ. C nirantara-aggaḍānaṃ pajularakaṃ paṃsukulacīvaraṃ.*

¹³⁶ *vikasitaniluppalam iva bhāmarapakkhavaṇṇaṃ is A vika-sitaniluppapattabhamarapuñjāvaṇṇaṃ. B vitasitako-malalitasuvaṇṇakaṇḍalasubhākārehi bhūmarapuñjāvaṇṇa.*

¹³⁷ B *pattacīvaraṃ. C pattaṃ*.

¹³⁸ *mahānāgo siho viya is A dhammakā dhammiko mahānāgo viya. B mañidhammacammīto viya mahānāgo siho.*

viya

¹³⁹ C n.m.

¹⁴⁰ C *pabbajitasiriyā*

¹⁴¹ A, C *pavisitvā*.

¹⁴² A, C n.m.

¹⁴³ B *sapadānapīṇḍāya vicaritvā is sapadānaṃ piṇḍāya caritvā*.

tadā bhikkhusaṃgho pi¹⁴⁴ “bhattakiccaṃ katvā therassa parinibbānaṃ passissāmā” ti aññaṃ aññaṃ āmantetvā sakkāraṃ ādāya itocito¹⁴⁵ nikkhamitvā sannipatiṃsu. aññe pi devamanussā therassa parinibbānaṃ sutvā gandhamālādīni pūjāsakkārāni¹⁴⁶ ādāya Kukkuṭasampātapabbatabhūmibhāge¹⁴⁷ sannipatiṃsu.

Mahākassapaṭṭhero pi bhattakicco hutvā¹⁴⁸ evaṃ samacintesi¹⁴⁹ Ajātasatturājā amhākaṃ bahūpaṇṇākāro¹⁵⁰ saṃghassa catupaccayaḍāyako¹⁵¹ buddhasāsaṇaṃ paggaḥito anapaloketvā¹⁵² [na] tāva parinibbāyissāmī” ti cintevā thero¹⁵³ uṭṭhāy’¹⁵⁴ āsanā sunivattho supāruto majjhantikasamaye Rājagahaṃ pāvisi. therassa pavisanakāle¹⁵⁵ Ajātasatturājā¹⁵⁶ sirigabbhaṃ pavisitvā seyyaṃ kappesi.¹⁵⁷ atha rājamaccā therāṃ pavisaṇaṃ disvā “ayyo¹⁵⁸ amhākaṃ rañño¹⁵⁹ upajjhāyo divase¹⁶⁰ āgato, kinnu¹⁶¹ kho

¹⁴⁴ B n.m.

¹⁴⁵ B *ito ca*.

¹⁴⁶ B *pūjāsakkārādīni*.

¹⁴⁷ C *Kukkuṭasapātapabbatassa*.

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

¹⁴⁹ B *evaṃ samacintesi is cintevā*.

¹⁵⁰ B *bahūpakāro*.

¹⁵¹ B *paccayaḍāyako ratanattayamāmakō*.

¹⁵² B *gameva apaloketvā*.

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

¹⁵⁴ B *cintevā thero uṭṭhāy’*. C *thero uṭṭhāy’*.

¹⁵⁵ C *therassa pavisanakāle is n.m.*

¹⁵⁶ B *rājābhutto hutvā. C rājābhuttā hutvā*.

¹⁵⁷ B *kappeti*.

¹⁵⁸ A, C *ayam*.

¹⁵⁹ C n.m.

¹⁶⁰ B *divādivasseva. C divādivase yeva*.

¹⁶¹ C *kin nu*.

kāraṇaṃ” ti cintetvā¹⁶² āsanā vuṭṭhāya¹⁶³ therāṃ paccugantvā vanditvā aṭṭhaṃsu.¹⁶⁴ therō amacce pucchi¹⁶⁵ “upāsakā kuhiṃ rājā” ti. “sayanam upagato bhante” ti vatvā te¹⁶⁶ therassa āgatakāraṇaṃ¹⁶⁷ pucchimsu “kena kāraṇena bhante āgatattā”¹⁶⁸ ti. “āma upāsakā ahaṃ rājānaṃ āpucchitvā ajjeva sāyaṇhe¹⁶⁹ parinibbāyissāmi” ti. “kuhiṃ bhante¹⁷⁰ parinibbāyissathā” ti. “Kukkuṭasampāta-pabbatānaṃ antare” ti.

[§6] etta<gu>kam eva vatvā nikkhamitvā¹⁷¹ therō vihāre agamāsi.¹⁷² sammajjanimṅahetvā¹⁷³ samajjanādikāṃ karaṇīyaṃ vattaṃ katvā mahatā bhikkhusaṃghena parivuto yena Kukkuṭasampātapabbato tena pāyāsi. so tattha gantvā tath’ eva¹⁷⁴ parinibbānatthaṃ¹⁷⁵ tasmim kāle¹⁷⁶ gagaṇatālāṃ abbhugantvā¹⁷⁷ sattatālamatte bhūmitale dissamānakāye ṭhatvā pathamaṃ dakkhiṇakāyato¹⁷⁸ aggijāle¹⁷⁹ vissajjesi. vāmakāyato jaladhārā¹⁸⁰ vis-

sajjesi. puna¹⁸¹ vāmakāyato¹⁸² analaṃ¹⁸³ visajjesi.¹⁸⁴ puna dakkhiṇakāyato toyāṃ vissajjesi. ekadā¹⁸⁵ uparimakāyato udakaṃ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷heṭṭhimakāyato pāvakaṃ puna heṭṭhimakāyato vāri vissajjesi. uparimakāyato pāvakaṃ vissajjesi.¹⁸⁸ ekadā sakalasarīrato kaṇhavattanijalā vissajjesi. ekadā sakalasarīrato ambudhārā vissajjesi.¹⁸⁹ ekadā samuggaratansaṅkiṇṇaṃ vividhasamūhaṃ mahāsāgaraṃ¹⁹⁰ virājītapahalajalasāgararūpaṃ dassesi. ekadā supupphitajalitataruṇataruvirājītaṃ¹⁹¹ Himavantapabbatarūpaṃ¹⁹² dassesi. ekadā sabbajalaphullaṃ¹⁹³ pañcavaṇṇapadumasañchannaṃ salilatalaṃ¹⁹⁴ satta¹⁹⁵ mahāsaraṇarūpaṃ dassesi.¹⁹⁶ ekadā dvādasayojanaparimaṇḍalacatu-

¹⁸¹ B tato. C puna tato.

¹⁸² A bāmakāyato.

¹⁸³ C aggijalāṃ.

¹⁸⁴ B n.m.

¹⁸⁵ B tathā.

¹⁸⁶ B udakaṃ puna.

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

¹⁸⁸ ekadā sakalasarīrato kaṇhavattanijalā visajjesi is A ekadā sakalasarīre aggijalāṃ visajjesi. C ekadā sakalasarīrato kaṇha-aggijalāṃ vissajjesi.

¹⁸⁹ ekadā samutaratanasaṅkiṇṇaṃ vividhasamuha mahāsāgaro virājītapahalajalasāgararūpaṃ dassesi is B ekadā muddasamiraṇasamiraṇasamigagaraṅgaphe ṇālivirājītajalāṃ sāgararūpaṃ dassetvā dhammaṃ desesi. C ekadā samuddhāggataraṃ gate saṅkiṇṇaṃ vividhavicittasamuha oghataravirajitatalaṃ sāgararūpaṃ 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 supupphitaphalatataruṇataruvirājītaṃ. C supupphitaphussitatarukataruvirājīta.

¹⁹² C himavantaṃ pabbata°.

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

¹⁹⁴ C salilatalamahāsāgararūpaṃ.

¹⁹⁵ B n.m.

¹⁹⁶ B dasseti.

¹⁶² A, B n.m.

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

¹⁶⁴ A aṭṭhasuṃ. C n.m.

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

¹⁶⁶ B n.m.

¹⁶⁷ B therassa āgatakāraṇaṃ is therass’ āgamanakāraṇaṃ.

¹⁶⁸ B āgatā.

¹⁶⁹ C sāyaṇhasamaye.

¹⁷⁰ C bhante tumhe.

¹⁷¹ B nikkhami.

¹⁷² B n.m.

¹⁷³ B n.m.

¹⁷⁴ B so tattha gantvā tath’ eva parinibbānatthaṃ is so taṃ ṭhānaṃ patvā gato tath’ eva parinibbānadassanattāṃ.

¹⁷⁵ C nibbānanattāṃ.

¹⁷⁶ B tasmim kale is n.m.

¹⁷⁷ B abbhugaccha.

¹⁷⁸ B dakkhiṇaṃ kāyato.

¹⁷⁹ B aggijālā.

¹⁸⁰ C jaladhārāni.

raṅgāya¹⁹⁷ senāya parivutaṃ¹⁹⁸ sattarata-
nasamannāgataṃ mahācakkavattirūpaṃ
dassesī.¹⁹⁹ ekadā tigāvutappamaṇaṃ²⁰⁰
nānābharaṇapatimaṇḍitaṃ Tāvatiṃ-
sagaṇaparivāritaṃ²⁰¹ devarājarūpaṃ
dassesī.²⁰² ekadā tiyojanattabhāvasa-
mannāgataṃ²⁰³ brahmagaṇaparivuttaṃ²⁰⁴
Mahābrahmārūpaṃ²⁰⁵ dassesī. evaṃ thero
nānāvidha-iddhibalena pāṭihāraṃ²⁰⁶
dassento²⁰⁷ dhammaṃ desesi.²⁰⁸

[§7] ākāsa²⁰⁹ otarivā bhikkhu-
saṅghaṃ²¹⁰ āpucchitvā tiṇṇaṃ
pabbatānaṃ antarepavisitvā “etthevāhaṃ²¹¹
parinibbāyissāmi” ti cintesi. ath’ assa
cintitasamanantaram eva²¹² devasaṅghā
sayanaṃ mañcaṃ aṭṭharisum.²¹³ mañcassa
samantato parivāretvā nīluppalakama-
lakumudapuṇḍarikabhārite puṇṇaghaṭe
patiṭṭhapesum. mañcassa catūsu koṇe-
su²¹⁴ ²¹⁵cattāro dhūpakappalle cattāro
padīpe ṭhapesum. anekāni pūjāsakkārā-

nianagghacelavitāni²¹⁶ pupphaparāgādi-
ni²¹⁷ karisum.²¹⁸ thero pi²¹⁹ kho sayana-
mañcaṃ abhirūyhitvā²²⁰ nisinno
aṭṭhasamāpatti²²¹ samāpajji.²²² so
samā-gū>pattito²²³ vuṭṭhāya evaṃ²²⁴
adhiṭṭhānaṃ²²⁵ adhiṭṭhāsi. “yadā me
āyusaṃkhāro ossaṭṭho,²²⁶ ime tayo
pabbatā aññamañña²²⁷ nikkujjita-
patitākārā²²⁸ gabbhasayanaṃ me²²⁹
gaṇhantū” ti “imāni c’ eva²³⁰ pupphāni mā
milāyantū” ti “ime²³¹ sabbe gandhadīpa-
dhūpādayo mā nibbāyantū” ti.

yathā²³² ito²³³ ca manussānaṃ vassa-
satato²³⁴ āyu parihāyitvā²³⁵ dasa-
vassāyukāle antarakappe²³⁶ bhavissati.
antarakappe vivaṭṭe²³⁷ manussā uddham
āyunā vaḍḍhitvā asaṃkheyyāyukā²³⁸
bhavissati.²³⁹ tato tesu manussesu

¹⁹⁷ A °caturaṅgaṇayā. B, C °parimaṇḍalaṃ caturaṅgiṇiyā.
Emend with °parimaṇḍalacaturaṅgāya.

¹⁹⁸ A parivutto.

¹⁹⁹ B dasseti.

²⁰⁰ C tigāvutappamaṇābharaṇamaṇḍitaṃ.

²⁰¹ C tāvatiṃsabhavane devaccharaparivāritaṃ
devarājarūpaṃ.

²⁰² B dasseti.

²⁰³ A tiyojanabrahmavesaṃ. C tiyojanabrahmabhavana°.

²⁰⁴ B brahmagaṇaparibyuha°. C brahmagaṇaparibyuhaṃ.

²⁰⁵ B mahābrahmarūpaṃ. C brahmarūpaṃ.

²⁰⁶ A iddhipāṭihāraṃ.

²⁰⁷ C dassetvā.

²⁰⁸ B desetvā. C desento.

²⁰⁹ B ākāse thatvā ākāsaṭo.

²¹⁰ B °saṅghaṃ.

²¹¹ A etthaṃ cāhaṃ. B etthavāhaṃ.

²¹² C is devasaṅghā sayanaṃ ca mañāpetvā mañcassa
samantato parivāritanīluppalakamudapuṇḍarika-
puṇṇaghaṭe from here until puṇṇaghaṭe.

²¹³ B aṭṭharisū.

²¹⁴ C kaṇṇesu pātva

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

²¹⁶ A, C, °celavitānaṃ.

²¹⁷ A pupphaparādini. B pupphamahādipāni.

²¹⁸ B pupphamahādipāni.

²¹⁹ B n.m.

²²⁰ C āruyhitvā.

²²¹ A phala°. C samāpattiṃ.

²²² C samāpajjitvā.

²²³ B phala°.

²²⁴ C n.m.

²²⁵ B, C n.m.

²²⁶ C ossattho.

²²⁷ C aññamaññaṃ samāgantvā.

²²⁸ A, C nikkujjitapattākārā. B nikkujjitapattā ākāra.

²²⁹ C m-eva.

²³⁰ C eva.

²³¹ B ime cattārādīpā ca dhupā ca mā nibbāyantū ti. C
ime sabbe gandhadīpadhūpādayo mā nibbāyantū ti is
ime cattāro padīpā ca mā nibbāyantū ime dhupā ca mā
pahāyantū ti puna adhiṭṭhāsi.

²³² A, C yadā.

²³³ C n.m.

²³⁴ B vassānaṃ vassatato.

²³⁵ B parihāritvā. C parihāyati.

²³⁶ B °kappā.

²³⁷ B atīte.

²³⁸ B asaṃkheyyaṃ.

²³⁹ B bhavissanti.

parihāyitvā asitivassasahassāyukesu
vattesu²⁴⁰ yojanamattarū abhirūyehāya
mahāpathaviyā tenāha porāṇā.²⁴¹ tadā²⁴²
Ariyametteyyo buddho²⁴³ loke uppajjissati
so²⁴⁴ dhammacakkaṃ pavattetvā²⁴⁵ dvā-
dasayojanāya²⁴⁶ parisāya parivārīto²⁴⁷ ti.
imaṃ thānaṃ patvā sayam eva so
bhagavā²⁴⁸ mama sarīraṃ ukkhipitvā
cakkalakkhaṇābhirañjitasurattamudu-
talaṇadakkhiṇahatthatale²⁴⁹ patitthape-
tvā bhikkhusaṃghe²⁵⁰ mama sarīraṃ
dassesī²⁵¹ “passatha tumhe imaṃ therāṃ
eso jeṭṭhabhātu-Gotamasammāsam-

²⁴⁰ B *jātesu*.

²⁴¹ B *tenāha porāṇā* is n.m. C *dasavassāyukāle* until here the manuscript reads *dasavassāyuko yeva manussānaṃ āvāho ca vivāho ca tesāṃ dvinnāṃ bhavissare añamaṇaṃ miggasaṇi sattānaṃ ca bhavassare tadā saṭṭhagarakappo sattānaṃ ca bhavissati hatthena gahitaṃ kiñci āvudhaṃ ca bhavissati te añamaṇaṃ vadhitvā na vinassanti ca mānussāniliyinaṇāye ca patvā gāvīsu ekikā te thapetvā vasesā ca vinassanti ghāṭīno sattāheva atikkante mettacittāya pāṇino pāṇāti?gāviratā kusalaṃ ācarīṃ ste dasavīsaticānampitimsacattālissavassikā pañāsasatthikāṃ pi sattati asitivassikā asitinaṇuttānaṃ pi ayuvassasatāni va bhiyyo dhammaṃ carantesu honti dvevassasatāyukā bhiyyo dhammaṃ carantesu vassasatahassakā atirekaṃ carantesu koṭisatasahassakā bhiṇṇo dhammaṃ carantesu asaṃkheyyāyukā pa? puna sattāna?anti jarāmarāṇamattano puna pi te pamajjhivā na tesāṃ āyu ca pamāyati asṃkheyyāyukā sattakoṭisatasahassakā tato pi parihāyitvā asīti pa sahasakā tadā so jambūdīpo ca sabbatthe vasamiddhiko yadā mahisamaṃ hoti bherisanaddakā viya akaṇḍakā agahaṇā.*

²⁴² B *tathā*.

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

²⁴⁴ A *uppajjissa*. B adds *ti so*.

²⁴⁵ A inserts *manussānaṃ sadevakaṃ*.

²⁴⁶ C *dvādasayojanaparisāya*.

²⁴⁷ B, C *parivutto*.

²⁴⁸ C so *bhagavā* is n.m.

²⁴⁹ A, B *cakkalakkhaṇābhirañcite surattamudutalaṇadakkhiṇahatthatale*. C *surattamudutaladakkhiṇahatthatale*.

²⁵⁰ B *saṃgamaṃ* *maṃjhe* *pade* *va* *manussānaṃ* *maṃjhe* *pa* *mama*.

²⁵¹ B *dassesati*. C *bhikkhusaṃghe* *mama* *sarīraṃ* *dassesī* *is* *bhikkhu* *saṃgamaṃ* *maṃjhe* *va* *dassesati*.

buddhakāle²⁵² mahāsāvako Mahākassapo
nāma terasadhutaṅgadhāro. ayaṃ²⁵³
paṃsukūliko paṃsukūlikassa ca²⁵⁴
vaṇṇavādi. ayaṃ tecīvarako²⁵⁵ tecīvara-
kassa²⁵⁶ ca vaṇṇavādi.²⁵⁷ ayaṃ sapa-
dānacāriko sapadānaṃ cārikassa²⁵⁸
vaṇṇavādi. ayaṃ ekāsantiko²⁵⁹ ekāsani-
kassa vaṇṇavādi. ayaṃ pattapiṇḍiko
pattapiṇḍikassa vaṇṇavādi. ayaṃ khalu-
pacchābhāttiko khalupacchābhāttikassa
vaṇṇavādi. ayaṃ araṇṇiko araṇṇikassa
ca vaṇṇavādi. ayaṃ rukkhamaṇikassa
vaṇṇavādi. ayaṃ abbhokāsiko abbhokā-
sikassa vaṇṇavādi. ayaṃ sosāniko
sosānikassa vaṇṇavādi. ayaṃ yathāsan-
thatiko yathāsanthatikassa vaṇṇavādi.
ayaṃ nesajjiko nesajjikassa vaṇṇavādi.
so pabbajitakālato patthāya yāva pari-
nibbānato mañcapīthaṃ na pasāresi.²⁶⁰

atha dhutaṅgadhāro²⁶¹ appiccho
santuṭṭho āraddhavīriyo asaṃsaṭṭho
kulena²⁶² vā gaṇena vā alaggamānaso²⁶³
parisuddhajīvo. gagaṇatale punṇa-
cando²⁶⁴ viya buddhasāsane paññāto
pākato²⁶⁵ ahosi iti. bhagavā²⁶⁶ Mahāpa-

²⁵² A *mama jeṭṭhabhātā gotamasammāsam-buddhakāle*. B *mama jjeṭṭhabhātuno Gotamasammāsam-buddhassa kāle*. C *mama jheṭṭhakabhātara-gotamakāle*.

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

²⁵⁴ C n.m.

²⁵⁵ B *civariko*.

²⁵⁶ B *cīvarakassa*. C *ticīvarassa*.

²⁵⁷ C *vaṇṇavādi sayam piṇḍipātiko piṇḍipātikassa vaṇṇavādi*.

²⁵⁸ C *sapadānaṃ cārikassa is sapadānacārikassa*.

²⁵⁹ C *ekāsantiko*.

²⁶⁰ B *pasāreti*.

²⁶¹ A, B *a-ukatha dhutaṅgadhāri*. C *dutaṅgadhārādi*.

²⁶² A *kulesu vā gaṇesu*. B *kule vā gaṇesu vā*.

²⁶³ C *alabbhamānaso*.

²⁶⁴ B *paripunṇacando*.

²⁶⁵ B n.m.

²⁶⁶ A, B so.

thaviṃ²⁶⁷ tanuṃ²⁶⁸ katvā mayhaṃ guṇaṃ bahalaṃ²⁶⁹ pakāsessati. Mahāsamuddaṃ uttānaṃ²⁷⁰ katvā mayhaṃ guṇaṃ atigambhīraṃ pakāsessati. Sinerupabbatarājaṃ²⁷¹ nīcaṃ²⁷² katvā mayhaṃ²⁷³ guṇaṃ uccataraṃ pakāsessati.

tasmiṃ khaṇe mama sarīrato aggi-jālā uṭṭhahitvā tathāgatassa karatale yeva mama sarīraṃ dahantī²⁷⁴ ti puna evaṃ²⁷⁵ adiṭṭhāsi²⁷⁶ “yadā²⁷⁷ ca²⁷⁸ Ajāta-satturājā mama parinibbānaṃ²⁷⁹ sutvā maṃ vanditukāmo imaṃ²⁸⁰ ṭhānaṃ pāpuṇissati. tadā²⁸¹ ime tayo pabbatā apakkantu.²⁸² rañño pūjitāvasāne puna ime tayo pabbatā samāgacchantū” ti. evaṃ thero adhiṭṭhānaṃ adhiṭṭhāya²⁸³ sayanamañce²⁸⁴ nipajjitvā anupādisesāya nibbānadhātuyā parinibbāyi.

tasmiṃ khaṇe tayo²⁸⁵ pabbatā therassa adhiṭṭhānubhāvena²⁸⁶ samāgantvā nikujjitapattākārā hutvā ekaghanā²⁸⁷

aṭṭhasuṃ.²⁸⁸ atha sabbe te bhikkhusaṃghādevamanussā²⁸⁹ ca pabbatapāṭic-chāditā²⁹⁰ therassa sarīraṃ adisvā ekappahāren’ eva ca²⁹¹ rodimsu.²⁹² bahibhāgepūjāsakkāraṃ akasūṃ. anekāni²⁹³ acchariyāni²⁹⁴ pātur ahesuṃ.²⁹⁵

[§8] tadā pana²⁹⁶ rājamandire amaccā²⁹⁷ tasmiṃ there parinibbānagate²⁹⁸ mantayisū²⁹⁹ “sace rājā pabuddho therassa parinibbānabhāvaṃ sutvā therassa³⁰⁰ dalhasinehavasena balavasokasantāpena³⁰¹ cittahadayo³⁰² kālaṃ karissati. handa mayā upāyena rañño jīvitāṃ rakkhis-sāmā” ti.

te evaṃ mantetvā³⁰³ tāva devavejje āmantetvā taṃ pavuttiṃ vejjānaṃ³⁰⁴ ācikkhipitvā³⁰⁵ “kiṃ kātābbaṃ” ti pucchisū. atha te³⁰⁶ vejjā “tena hi osathappayogāni³⁰⁷ sajjemā” ti āhasū.³⁰⁸

²⁶⁷ C Mahāpathavī.

²⁶⁸ B pathavitanu.

²⁶⁹ B the text is n.m from here until guṇaṃ atigambhīraṃ.

²⁷⁰ C uttānakaṃ.

²⁷¹ B Sinerupabbatarājānaṃ

²⁷² A, B, C niccaṃ. Emend with nīcaṃ which fits with the meaning of the text.

²⁷³ B mama.

²⁷⁴ A, B dahantū. C dahantu. Emend.

²⁷⁵ B evaṃ ca.

²⁷⁶ C puna evaṃ adiṭṭhāsi is n.m.

²⁷⁷ B yathā.

²⁷⁸ C n.m.

²⁷⁹ C parinibbānabhāvaṃ.

²⁸⁰ C idaṃ.

²⁸¹ B tathā.

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

²⁸³ C adhiṭṭhahitvā.

²⁸⁴ C °mañcake.

²⁸⁵ B n.m.

²⁸⁶ C therassa adhiṭṭhānubhāvena is therassānubhāvena.

²⁸⁷ A, B ekagaṇā. C ekaghatā. Emended with ekaghanā.

²⁸⁸ B, C aṭṭhasu.

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

²⁹⁰ C °ditattā.

²⁹¹ B, C n.m.

²⁹² B rodimsu paridevimsu.

²⁹³ B add. ca.

²⁹⁴ A, B acchiriyāni. C pāṭihāra-acchariyāni.

²⁹⁵ B pāturaheṣu ti.

²⁹⁶ C n.m.

²⁹⁷ B amaccā gate.

²⁹⁸ B there parinibbānagate is atha maccā.

²⁹⁹ C mantayimsu.

³⁰⁰ C there.

³⁰¹ A balavasokasantāpentā.

³⁰² A pitahadayo. C balavasokasantāpena cittahadayo is balavasoko sokaṃ sandhāretuṃ asakkonto santappitahadayo kālaṃ karissati.

³⁰³ A cintetvā. C samacintevā.

³⁰⁴ C n.m.

³⁰⁵ B ācikkhimsu. C ācikkhitvā.

³⁰⁶ A n.m.

³⁰⁷ A, C osathappayogāni.

³⁰⁸ B, C āhasu.

te³⁰⁹ tāva-d-eva ekaṃ doṇiṃ³¹⁰ gahetvā uccharasassa³¹¹ pūresuṃ. ³¹²ekaṃ doṇiṃ khīrassa pūresuṃ. ekaṃ doṇiṃ dadhimāṇassa pūresuṃ. ekaṃ doṇiṃ sappimaṇḍassa pūresuṃ. ekaṃ doṇiṃ gandhakalalassa pūresuṃ. ³¹³ekaṃ doṇiṃ mattikakalalassa pūresuṃ. ekaṃ doṇiṃ situdakassa pūresuṃ. ³¹⁴evaṃ sattadoṇiyo osathappayogānaṃ pūresuṃ. ³¹⁵aññāni³¹⁶ osathappayogāni sajjetvā rañño pavuddhakāle³¹⁷ āgamayamānā nisīdisuṃ.

atha rājā pabujjhivā sayanato vuṭṭhāya gabbhato³¹⁸ nikkhamitvā mahātale³¹⁹ samussitasetachatte rājāpal-laṅke³²⁰ nisīdi. atha³²¹ amaccā³²² therassa gamanaṃ³²³ rañño ārocayimsuṃ <gau> “deva tumhākaṃ uppajjhāyo Mahākassapathero idhāgato”³²⁴ ti. “kena kāraṇenā” ti. “tumhākaṃ āpucchanāyā”³²⁵

³⁰⁹ B n.m.

³¹⁰ A, B ekaṃ doṇiṃ is ekadoṇiṃ.

³¹¹ B madhurassa.

³¹² A the text is n.m. from here until *sappimaṇḍassa pūresuṃ*. B the text is *ekakhirassa ekaṃ dadhimandassa ekassappimaṇḍassa ekaṃ gandakalassa ekamatikalassa ekasitodakassa pūresuṃ* from here until *situdakassa pūresuṃ*.

³¹³ C the phrase is n.m.

³¹⁴ ekaṃ doṇiṃ osathappayogānaṃ pūresuṃ is A ekaṃ doṇiṃ osathappayogānaṃ pūresuṃ. B evaṃ sattadoṇiyo osathaṃ payogānaṃ puretvā. C evaṃ sattadoṇiyesu osathappayogāni pūresuṃ.

³¹⁵ C the phrase is *amaccā rañño pabuddhakākaṃ āgamayamānā nisīdisu*.

³¹⁶ B aññāni pi.

³¹⁷ B pabuddhakālaṃ.

³¹⁸ A pāsādato. C gato.

³¹⁹ A mahāsayaṇe. C mahātala°.

³²⁰ A n.m.

³²¹ B atha te.

³²² C the section is *tumhākaṃ āpucchanatthāya ther idha āgato ti rañño ārocesuṃ* from here until *kuhiṃ gato*.

³²³ B gatabhāvaṃ.

³²⁴ A, C āgato.

³²⁵ B āpucchanattā āgayā.

ti.³²⁶ “kuhiṃ gato so”³²⁷ ti. “parinibbāyitukāmo”³²⁸ devā” ti. “kāda parinibbāyissatī”³²⁹ devā”³³⁰ ti. “idāni sāyaṇhe devā” ti. taṃ³³¹ sutvā rājā therassa³³² dalhasine-havassena³³³ vissarittakhattiyamāno³³⁴ attānaṃ upathambhetuṃ asakkonto balavasokasantāpena uṇhākāyo visaññi hutvā³³⁵ nipatati. atha te vallabhāmaccādayo³³⁶ rājānaṃ ukkhipitvā ucchurasadoṇiyaṃ nipajjāpesuṃ³³⁷ puna³³⁸ rājānaṃ ukkhipitvā khīradoṇiyaṃ nipajjāpesuṃ. rājā khīrodakena patiladdhassāso³³⁹ puna therassa gamanakāraṇaṃ³⁴⁰ pucchi³⁴¹ tath’ eva te³⁴² amaccā taṃ³⁴³ kāraṇaṃ nivedesuṃ.³⁴⁴ ³⁴⁵eten’ eva niyāmena sappimaṇḍadoṇiyaṃ nipajjāpesuṃ. tato gandhakalaladoṇiyaṃ³⁴⁶ nipajjāpesuṃ.

atha rājāmaṇḍire devīsatasaḥassāni paridevamānā uraṃ pahārantā mahāparidevaṃ paridevantā rājamaṇḍiraṃ

³²⁶ C ti thero idha āgato ti rañño ārocesuṃ.

³²⁷ B the question is *kuhiṃ so gamissāmī*. C n.m.

³²⁸ A parinibbāyituṃ icchatī.

³²⁹ A parinibbāyituṃ 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 *sitodakadoṇiyaṃ nipajjāpesuṃ*.

³³⁸ B rājā ucchurasadoṇiyaṃ nipujji that’ eva te amaccā.

³³⁹ A, C add. hutvā.

³⁴⁰ A, B, C gamaṇakāraṇaṃ.

³⁴¹ A pucchitvā.

³⁴² A, C n.m.

³⁴³ A, C n.m.

³⁴⁴ A, C nipajjāpesuṃ.

³⁴⁵ B here rājā puna pi visaññi hutvā khīradoṇiyaṃ nimujji amaccā rājānaṃ ukkhipitvā dadhidoṇiyaṃ nipajjāpesuṃ.

³⁴⁶ B the text is n.m. from here until *mattikakalaladoṇiyaṃ nipajjāpesuṃ*.

khobhayisum. sakala-Rājagahanagare sabbe nagaravāsino manussā nagara-majjhe sannipatitvā raññā saddhim paridevisum. amaccā rājānaṃ ukkhipitvā gandhakalalato mattikākalaladoṇiyaṃ nipajjāpesum. tato sitodakadoṇiyaṃ nipajjāpesum.

rājā³⁴⁷ osathappayogavasena³⁴⁸ puna³⁴⁹ paṭiladdhassāso hutvā amacce³⁵⁰ pucchi: “kuhiṃ bhonto me³⁵¹ upajjhāyo parinibbāyissati”³⁵² ti. “Kukkuṭasampāta-pabbate devā” ti. tato³⁵³ rājā sakala-Rājagahanagaraṃ³⁵⁴ ugghosāpetvā³⁵⁵ chattadhajjapaṭākabheri saṃkhapaṇa-vādini vividhapūjūpakāraṇāni³⁵⁶ ādaya caturaṅgaṇiyā senāya saddhim nagara-to nikkhamitvā Kukkuṭasampātapabbatathānaṃ³⁵⁷ gantvā³⁵⁸ so³⁵⁹ tayo pabbate ekaghaṇe disvā mahājanaṃ³⁶⁰ pucchi “kuhiṃ bhonto me³⁶¹ upajjhāyassa sarīraṃ thitaṃ”³⁶² ti. “imesaṃ tiṇṇaṃ³⁶³ pabbatānamantare³⁶⁴ devā” ti. rājā tam³⁶⁵ sutvā cintesi³⁶⁶ “kena nu kho upāyena

me³⁶⁷ upajjhāyassa³⁶⁸ sarīraṃ pūjetum sakkhissāmi”³⁶⁹ ti vicāranto yeva sattadhābhijjamānahadayo viyasokena³⁷⁰ ṭhāpetvā “saccakiriyaṃ³⁷¹ me upāyena atthi”³⁷² ti cintetvā³⁷³ jāṇumaṇḍalaṃ³⁷⁴ pathaviyaṃ patitṭhapetvā pañcaṅgapatitthitena³⁷⁵ vanditvā añjaliṃ paggayha³⁷⁶ sirasmiṃ <gai> patitṭhapetvā saccakiriyaṃ akāsi “bhonto³⁷⁷ devatāyo³⁷⁸ suṇantu me vacanaṃ. yadi saccaṃ upajjhāyo³⁷⁹ me balasineho³⁸⁰ atthi ime³⁸¹ tayo pabbatā apasakkantū”³⁸² ti.³⁸³

ath’ assa³⁸⁴ rañño ca adhiṭṭhānabalena³⁸⁵ mahākassapattherassa³⁸⁶ c’ eva³⁸⁷ adhiṭṭhānabalena³⁸⁸ tayo pabbatā³⁸⁹

cintesi. C rājā cintesi.

³⁶⁷ B n.m. C mama.

³⁶⁸ C upajjhāyo.

³⁶⁹ A pūjituṃ labhissāmi.

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

³⁷¹ B saccakiriyaṃ raño.

³⁷² C the phrase is saccakiriyaṃ me aṇo me upanissayo natthi.

³⁷³ C cintetvā yena tayo pabbatā tena gantvā.

³⁷⁴ B rājā yena pabbatā tena jāṇumaṇḍalaṃ.

³⁷⁵ A, B pañcapatitthitena.

³⁷⁶ A n.m.

³⁷⁷ A bho. B bhontiyo.

³⁷⁸ A, C devasaṃghāyo.

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

³⁸⁰ B n.m. C sadā

³⁸¹ A n.m.

³⁸² A asakkonti. B amasakkarontū. C upasaṃkamantū. I suggest appasakontū that fit with the meaning of the text.

³⁸³ A ti adhiṭṭhāsi.

³⁸⁴ B, C indavajira°.

³⁸⁵ C adhiṭṭhānubhāvena.

³⁸⁶ A adhiṭṭhānabalena mahākassapattherassa is adhiṭṭhānamahākassapattherassa.

³⁸⁷ A c’ eva is n.m.

³⁸⁸ C mahākassapattherassa c’ eva adhiṭṭhānabalena is n.m.

³⁸⁹ A tayo pabbatā is te pabbatā.

³⁴⁷ B rājā sammā.

³⁴⁸ B osathappayogaviriyena. C osathapayogena viriyena.

³⁴⁹ B, C n.m.

³⁵⁰ B amaccā.

³⁵¹ B maṃ.

³⁵² B parinibbātukāmo. C parinibbāyitukāmo.

³⁵³ C tadā.

³⁵⁴ C Rājagahe.

³⁵⁵ B ghoṣāpetvā.

³⁵⁶ B vidhapūjā upakaraṇāni.

³⁵⁷ B kukkuṭasampātathānaṃ. C kukkuṭasampātapabbatam eva.

³⁵⁸ B sampatto. C gato.

³⁵⁹ A n.m.

³⁶⁰ C mahājanānaṃ.

³⁶¹ B, C bhonto me is bhaṇe.

³⁶² C upajjhāyassa sarīraṃ thitaṃ 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

indavajirabhinnā viya apasakkasum.³⁹⁰
 atha mahājanakāyā³⁹¹ tam³⁹² accchiriyaṃ
 disvā³⁹³ celukkhepaṃ³⁹⁴ suvaṇṇarajaṭama-
 ñimuttāhārāni anekasatasahassāni sādhu-
 kārāni pavattayisum.³⁹⁵ sabbe mahājanā
 pītibharitahadayā añjali paggayha “aho
 acchariyaṃ,³⁹⁶ aho abhūtan” ti sādhu-
 kārāni pavattisum.

[§9] atha rājā³⁹⁷ sayanamañce³⁹⁸ nipannaṃ
 devatāhi pūjitaṃ samānaṃ³⁹⁹ therassa
 sarīraṃ disvā acchariyacittabhūtajāto⁴⁰⁰
 sañjatapītipāmojjo lambhitasīso vimhaya-
 samānarūpo pavattanayanasalilo⁴⁰¹
 rodamāno upasaṅkamitvā therassa pāde
 sīsaṃ⁴⁰² nipatitvā punappunaṃ vanditvā
 samussitachattadhajapaṭākacāmaraga-
 hitabandhitavicitavitānādihūpagandha-
 mālādīhi⁴⁰³ suvaṇṇarajatapupphehi
 candanacuṇṇehi pujjetvā gandhatelapuṇ-
 ñaṃ suvaṇṇarajatakumbhasahashehi

³⁹⁰ B *apasakkimsu*. C *upasaṅkamanti*.

³⁹¹ B *mahājanakāyo*.

³⁹² B *tam*.

³⁹³ B *acchiriyaḥhūtajātā*.

³⁹⁴ B *celukkhepaṅgalivipphāṇādini*.

³⁹⁵ From *celukkhepaṃ* until here the text is C *celukkhevapitulyo pappotanādini sādhu-kārasahassāni pavattayimsu*. A *celukkhepaṅgalivipphoṭanādini sādhu-kārasatasahassāni vattayimsu rājā pi sayanamañce nipannaṃ devatāhi katapūjā sakārasammānaṃ therassa*.

³⁹⁶ A, B, C *acchiriyaṃ*.

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

³⁹⁸ C *mañcake*.

³⁹⁹ C *pūjitaṃ samānaṃ is katapūjā sakkāramānaṃ*.

⁴⁰⁰ B from *celukkhepaṃ suvaṇṇarajaṭamañimuttāhārāni* until here the text is n.m. C *puna tayo pabbatā*.

⁴⁰¹ A, C *anapavatanayanasalilo*. B from *sañjatapītipāmojjo* until here the text is *acchaggitalisāsamuddaṇḍāyamāna tanuruddo anupavattantitanayasaliladhārāparidasitavad anamaṇḍalo*.

⁴⁰² B n.m.

⁴⁰³ A *samussitachattadhujjapaṭākacāmāragahitabandhita vicitavitānādinidhusugandhamālādīhi*. B *samussitachattadhajjapaṭākadipadhupagandhahālādīhi*. C *samussitasattadhajjapaṭākadipadhupagandhahālādīhi*.

anekānaggharatanehi therassa sarīraṃ
 pūjesi. rājā tatth’ eva ṭhāne sattāhaṃ
 mahāpūjaṃ akāsi. tathā sabbe
 devamanussā pi te sabbe sādhu-kārāni
 kilāṃ kilisum.⁴⁰⁴

sattāhavasāne tayo⁴⁰⁵ pabbatā puna⁴⁰⁶
 samāgantvā⁴⁰⁷ ekaghaṇā ahesum.⁴⁰⁸ atha
 rājā saha mahājano⁴⁰⁹ pabbatachannaṃ⁴¹⁰
 therassa sarīraṃ⁴¹¹ aṭṭhaṅgatasuriya-
 maṇḍalaṃ viya apassanto ativiya
 vilīnahadayo sañjātasoko paridevitvā
 nirāsako⁴¹² ahosi. sabbe te mahājanā
 paridevisum. mahākolāhalā ahesum.
 atha rājā pūjaṃ katvā abhivādetvā
 khamāpetvā mahājanena saddhiṃ
 nagaraṃ pāvīsi.⁴¹³

therassa sarīraṃ yāvajjatanā pi
 tatth’ eva atthi.⁴¹⁴ yāva Metteyyo
 sammāsambuddho⁴¹⁵ loke na uppajjati,

⁴⁰⁴ B from *suvaṇṇarajatapupphehi candanacuṇṇehi* until here the text is *pūjehi rājā attho vacāne sattāhaṃ sādhu kilakili* from here until *kilāṃ kilisum*.

⁴⁰⁵ B *tayo puna*.

⁴⁰⁶ B n.m.

⁴⁰⁷ C from *sañjatapītipāmojjo lambhitasīso* until here the text is *acchariyapattajāto sañjātabalavasokakāyasaṃbhitalomahaṃso dharayamānarūpo anuparivattaniggatayanayanasililadhārā paribulhasitavacanaca rodamāno upasaṅkamitvā therassa pāde sirasā nipatitvā sattadhajjapaṭākadipadhupagandhamālādīhi pūjesi rājā ca tatth’ eva ṭṭhāne sattāhaṃ sādhu kilāṃ kilisattāhavasāne*.

⁴⁰⁸ C the text is *pāvīsi is atha rājā atthaṃ gamitaṃ sinerupavitthaṃ suriyaṃ vatherassasarīraṃ disvā sañjātabalavasoko disvā abhivādetvā mahājanakehi saddhiṃ nagaraṃ pāvīsi* from here until *nagaraṃ*.

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

⁴¹⁰ B *saha mahājano pabbatachannaṃ is rājā mahājanehi aṭṭhaṅgamitācalasikharappaviṭṭhasuriyaṃ viya therassa sarīraṃ*.

⁴¹¹ B *sarīraṃ adisvā*.

⁴¹² A, B, C *nivāsako*.

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

⁴¹⁴ C phrase is *therassa sarīraṃ jhāpessati*.

⁴¹⁵ B *ariyametteyyasammāsambuddho*.

na tāva vinassati na vikiriyati⁴¹⁶ na
pūtibhāvam āpajjati.⁴¹⁷ anāgate Ariyamet-
teyyo sammāsambuddho⁴¹⁸ loke⁴¹⁹ upaj-
jamāno hatthatale therassa sarīrato
aggijālā utṭhahitvā ghāyissati. Metteyyo
sammāsambuddho pana tasmim̐ yeva
thāne therassa dhātuthūpaṃ sabba-
lokehi pūjitam̐ kārāpessati.

ayaṃ Mahākassapattherassa parinibbā-
nakathā 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 Sattapaṇṇa cave
with 500 [*bhikkhus* = monks] and lived
with the assembly at the Veḷuvana-
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 Laṅkādhīpa”. He brought
the relics from the other seven cities,

⁴¹⁶ C *vikirayyati*.

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

⁴¹⁸ B, C *ariyametteyyasammāsambuddho*.

⁴¹⁹ From here until the end B is *uppajjitvā buddhassa hatthatale yeva sayam̐ therassa sarīram̐ jhāyissati metteyyalokanāyako pana tasmim̐ yeva thāne therassa dhātuthūpaṃ lokapūjitam̐ kārāpessati*. C *uppajjitvā attano hatthatale yeva sayam̐ therassa sarīram̐ jhāpessati metteyyalokanātho pana tasmim̐ yeva tthāne therassa dhātuthūpaṃ lokehi pūjitabbari karissati*.

⁴²⁰ B phrase is *ti ayaṃ mahākassapattherassa parinibbānakathā niṭṭhitā*. C phrase is *ti ayaṃ 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 *cetiya*s for the 80 great disciples. Even for those questioning: “What is the king building here?” they replied: “*Cetiya*s 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 *cetiya*s 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 Cetiyaḡhara 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, Mahāmayadevī, 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 Veḷuvanārāma. 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 *vālasariṅghāṭayanta* ("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-aggaphaladānapupphaphalatthirukkhami*).

“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 *puṇḍarika*], 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 Ariya-metteyya 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), *asaṅkheyyakappas* (uncountable eons) which are 20 *antarakappas*, and *mahākappas* (great eons) corresponding to four *asaṅkheyyakappas*. 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 abhirūhāya 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 Kukkuṭasampāta 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 Kukkuṭasampāta 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.
EFEQ	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 Mahāvamsa</i> . Oxford: The Pali Text Society.

Gv	Minayeff, Ivan P. 1886. The Gandha-Vaṃsa. <i>Journal of the Pali Text Society</i> 2: 54–80.
Mhv	Geiger, Wilhelm. 1908. <i>The Mahāvamsa</i> . London: The Pali Text Society.
Ras	Gandhi, Sharda. 1988. <i>Rasavāhinī, A Stream of Sentiments (Being the Previous Birth Stories of the Buddha)</i> . Delhi: Parimal Publications.
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Tha-a (Sy) II	Syamaratṭhassa Tepiṭaka- ṭṭhakathā (สยามรฏฐส เต ปิฏกฏฐกถา). 1992. ปรมตฺถ ทีปนี นาม เถรคาถาอฏฐกถา (ทุติโย ภาโค); <i>Paramattha- dīpanī nāma Theragāthā- atṭhakathā (dutiyo bhāgo)</i> . Bangkok: Mahamakut Buddhist University.	Vism	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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