

THE GREAT DISCIPLE GAVAMPATI AND HIS PARINIBBĀNA

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ABSTRACT—This article presents the first critical edition and English translation of a Pali narrative recounting the final days of Gavampati—traditionally counted among the 80 Great Disciples of the Buddha—until his final extinction (*parinibbāna*). Although Gavampati, popularly known as the “Fat Monk”, occupies only a minor place in canonical literature, later traditions in mainland Southeast Asia granted him a more prominent role in literary, ritual, and devotional contexts. Based on manuscripts preserved in Thai and French collections, this study reconstructs the text and examines its relationship to vernacular versions, highlighting the transmission and reinterpretation of Pali materials in regional Buddhist hagiography.

KEYWORDS: Gavampati; 80 Great Disciples (*Asīti Mahāsāvakas*); Pali and Siamese Literature; *Parinibbāna*; Southeast Asian Buddhism

Introducing Gavampati

Recent scholarship has increasingly focused on the 80 Great Disciples (*asīti mahāsāvakas*) of the Buddha as key figures in Southeast Asian Buddhism, particularly through narratives of their final days until their final extinction (*parinibbāna*). François Lagirarde has played a pioneering role in this field, identifying and analyzing Thai, Lao, and Pali sources that preserve literary elaborations of these figures across languages (Lagirarde 2000, 2001, 2006, and 2019). His research highlights both the ritual importance of these disciples and the textual plurality that sustains their veneration. More recently, I contributed to this journal a critical edition and translation of the *parinibbāna* of Mahākassapa the Elder, illustrating how Pali materials have been transmitted

and adapted within local traditions (Schnake 2024).

The present article continues this line of research and contributes to its growing corpus by focusing on the Thera (Elder) Gavampati. It offers, for the first time, a critical edition and English translation of a Pali account of his *parinibbāna*, complementing the vernacular Siamese translation and Lao *nissaya* version previously examined by Lagirarde (2001: 399–441, 470–496) and Gregory Kourilsky (2015; see also, this Special Edition). While the life and later reception of Gavampati have already been discussed by several scholars, including John Strong and Donald Stadtner in this Special Edition, a brief overview of his place in canonical and later traditions will help frame the significance of the Pali narrative presented here.

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Gavampati is counted among the early disciples of the Buddha and is traditionally included in the list of the *asīti mahāsāvaka*s (Th-a III 205, 27–206, 6). Although he appears in several canonical and commentarial passages (Malalasekera 1974, s.v. Gavampati), the biographical information preserved about him is relatively sparse. According to the *Mahāvagga* (Vin I 18, 35–19, 15), he was one of four companions of Yasa, the first lay follower to be ordained, who approached the Buddha, received ordination, and soon attained arhatship. He is also mentioned in the *Theragāthā* (Th 38), where his miraculous ability to halt the floodwaters of the Sarabhū River is celebrated, highlighting his supernatural abilities and spiritual distinction. The *Theragāthā Commentary* (Th-a I 109, 10–111, 10) further elaborates his spiritual biography by recounting meritorious deeds performed in previous lives and linking him to the Serissaka (Serīsaka) heavenly mansion (*vimāna*). Across these sources, Gavampati is portrayed as an accomplished arhat, praised for his purity, wisdom, and compassion. Though a relatively minor figure, his name recurs in a variety of later Pali texts, including commentaries, grammatical treatises, and chronicles.²

In post-canonical and Southeast Asian traditions, however, Gavampati's figure undergoes a notable transformation, evolving from an early arhat into a regional cultic figure. Certain sources in Sanskrit already associate him with the missionary expansion of Buddhism to

the “Land of Gold”, often identified with parts of mainland Southeast Asia. Later Burmese historiographical works, such as the Pali *Sāsanavaṃsa*, further develop this theme by presenting Gavampati as an early agent in the establishment of Buddhism in regions such as Thaton and Śrīkṣetra. This expanded role is also reflected in iconography and popular devotion, where Gavampati is frequently represented as a grotesque, dwarf-like figure embodying humility and spiritual power and sometimes conflated with figures such as (Mahā-)Kaccāyana in Thailand and Laos. Across mainland Southeast Asia, such images of the Fat Monk have been widely venerated and incorporated into local ritual traditions.

Though only marginally represented in canonical literature, Gavampati thus came to occupy a prominent place in Southeast Asian historiography, iconography, and ritual practice. The Pali narrative examined here helps illuminate this development by preserving a literary account of the disciple's final days. More broadly, it contributes to our understanding of the Great Disciples genre as a body of literature that evolved across canonical, commentarial, and vernacular contexts.

Critical Edition and Translation

Preserved in Thai and French libraries, the *Gavampatisutta* is an anonymous and undated Pali narrative which appears to have circulated only in Siam.³ Extant manuscripts bear different titles,

² For instance, the Chatṭha Saṅgāyana database (<https://www.tipitaka.org/chattha>) shows various occurrences of the name Gavampati, viz., in the *Visuddhimagga* and its commentary, the *Saddanīti*, the *Moggallāna*, the *Rūpasiddhi*, the *Samantakūṭavaṇṇanā*, and so on.

³ On the basis of a philological and comparative analysis of the Lao Gavampati narratives, Gregory Kourilsky (this Special Edition) dates the original composition of this Pali text to no later than 1697 CE and tentatively locates it in Ayutthaya, then the capital of Siam.

as mentioned below, but all refer to the same narrative and evoke the name of the main protagonist, Gavampati.

This Pali story has already been the subject of earlier editorial attempts, though none reached completion or publication. The first was undertaken by Lagirarde as part of his doctoral research (2001: 511–545), based on three manuscripts housed in Bangkok and Paris:

(1) MS A: *Gavampatinibbānasutta* (ព្រះកម្មតិជិត្តានុស្តិ) and *Khawampatitheraniphan* (ควัมปัตติเถรนิพนธ์), inv. no. 11398/dh/1, Khom script, 30 folios, National Library of Thailand, Bangkok.

(2) MS B: *Gavampatinibbāna* (កម្មតិជិត្តានុស្តិ), *Khawampatiniphan* (ควัมปัตตินิพนธ์) and *Bra Kaccāya* (ត្រកត្វាយ), inv. no. 6952/dh/1, Khom script, 30 folios, National Library of Thailand, Bangkok.

(3) MS EFEO PALI 64: no title, included in the *Pālisāvakaniibbāna* (បាឡិសាវកនិកាយ), Khom script, 16 folios, from *ka* to *khī*, EFEO Library, Paris.

His preliminary work laid the foundation for a more extensive editorial effort carried out by Jacqueline Filliozat and the late Peter Masefield in 2007,

titled *Le Gavampati/Kaccāyananibbānasutta pāli. Editio princeps*. They added five further manuscripts to this corpus (C, D, F, G, and H), renaming the previous EFEO manuscript as E while retaining A as the base text:

(4) MS C: *Mahākaccāyanatheranibbāna* (មហាកត្វាយនិកាយ), included in a collection of texts, Vat Phra Jetuphon Bangkok 4/152, Khom script, *ka* to *khā*, 29 folios, Wat Pho library, Bangkok.

(5) MS D: *Kaccāyananibbāna* (តត្វាយនិកាយ), included in a collection of texts, BNF PALI 298, Khom script, 48 folios, from *go* to *ghai*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

(6) MS E = EFEO PALI 64 [FIGURE 1; see also ONLINE APPENDIX]

(7) MS F: no title, included in the *Pālisāvakaniibbāna* (បាឡិសាវកនិកាយ), Vat Phra Jetuphon Bangkok 6/ta.3, Khom script, 21 folios, from *ka* to *ñah*, Wat Pho library, Bangkok.

(8) MS G: *Kaccāyananibbānasutta* (តត្វាយនិកាយសុត្ត), BNF PALI 409, Khom script, 24 folios, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

(9) MS H: *Kaccāyanasutta* (តត្វាយនុស្តិ), MEP PALI 25, Khom script, 17 folios, Missions étrangères de Paris Library.



FIGURE 1: Folio *ka* recto of MS EFEO PALI 64, Khom script, EFEO Library, Paris © Javier Schnake

Unfortunately, Filliozat & Masefield's draft critical edition, held at the École française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO) library in Paris, remains unfinished and unpublished. The edition presented here is based on their collation, whose work provides a valuable foundation. However, I undertook a systematic restructuring of both the Pali text and the accompanying apparatus. The transmission of the text is characterized by numerous irregularities, scribal errors, inconsistent variants, and interpolations or omissions across manuscripts, making the reconstruction of a stable version difficult. Accordingly, I reorganized the text as a whole, including adjustments to compounds, selections among variant readings, and the restructuring of verse passages, in order to produce a more coherent and readable edition. Wherever possible, references were added to clarify portions of the text and their structure. The critical apparatus has been deliberately streamlined, retaining only the most relevant information for readers. At the same time, some orthographic inconsistencies, phonetic variations, and fluctuations in vowel length or consonant doubling were preserved, as much of the manuscript material remains philologically valuable.

Regarding the translation, I sought to adhere closely to the meaning and syntax of the text. Some adjustments, however, proved necessary to improve readability and avoid monotony. For instance, I reduced the frequent use of absolute constructions, shortened certain sentences, and limited the systematic repetition of words—particularly verbs indicating actions that have just occurred (e.g., “having

said”, “having thought”, etc.)—as well as coordinating particles such as *tadā*, *atha*, and *pana*.

While the overall narrative structure remains broadly comparable across manuscripts, certain verse sections present considerable difficulties of interpretation and structure, as the text is often distorted in transmission. These passages required careful reconstruction through comparison and inference: first, with the Lao *nissaya*, whose Pali passages glossed in Lao provided essential support for understanding the structure and meaning of the text; and second, with literary parallels that helped clarify several ambiguities. It should be noted that these stanzas, whose metrical structure generally consists of four lines of eight *pādas* (metrical units or “feet”), sometimes five or six, are not always complete or fully intelligible and the Lao *nissaya* does not always provide the expected clarification. In such cases, I chose to leave the verses largely as transmitted.

Synopsis

The story of Gavampati is a text that combines prose and verse, the latter containing numerous borrowings from classical sources such as the *Jātakas*, *Dīghanikāya*, *Anguttaranikāya*, and *Visuddhimagga*. Yet the narrative itself appears original, presenting an account of the Great Disciple Gavampati—originally named Brahmaputta—not attested elsewhere in canonical or post-canonical Pali sources. It recounts his final days, during which, despite his renowned spiritual achievements and remarkable appearance, he chose to assume the form of a corpulent

and ungainly monk in order to avoid confusion with the Buddha.

As his life drew to a close, Gavampati requested the Buddha's permission to attain nirvana and returned to his forest monastery. There, surrounded by disciples and lay followers, he witnessed their grief and lamentation, which moved him to deliver final sermons on themes such as impermanence and the foulness of the body. He also addressed a lay follower named Sambala, known for his resistance to the Dhamma, offering him a final opportunity to reform. This episode leads to a detailed exposition on household conduct based on the veneration of the six directions (*chaddisā*). The passage closely follows the doctrinal framework of the *Sigālovādasutta* of the *Dīghanikāya* (D III 188, 23–192, 4),⁴ which organizes ethical relationships through spatial metaphors: east (*pubbā*) for parents, south (*dakkhiṇā*) for teachers, west (*pacchimā*) for spouses and family, north (*uttarā*) for friends, nadir (*heṭṭhā*) for workers and subordinates, and zenith (*upari*) for ascetics and monastics.

Moved by the Thera's sermon, Sambala experiences spiritual joy and repents, taking the triple refuge and completing his conversion. Having extinguished the aggregates of existence, Gavampati prepares for his final passing. Before doing so, he delivers a doctrinal exposition using the well-known allegory of Nibbāna as the Great City (*mahānagara*), a passage borrowed from the *Nibbānasutta* (Nibbāna-s; Hallisey 1993). The narrative concludes with Gavampati's entry into parinirvana,

marking the fulfilment of his spiritual path.

Philological and Literary Features

The text focuses on several notable elements. In particular, it elaborates on the term Gavampati, the etymology of which has often been linked to a bovine dimension, “the Cattle-Lord”, based on a Sanskrit reading (Skt, *gavaṃ* = bovine + *pati* = lord; see Lagirarde 2000: 66, n. 13; also John Strong, this Special Edition). The Pali version, however, offers an alternative interpretation emphasizing Gavampati's ability to articulate the Dhamma effectively (§1). The connection to *gavaṃ*—the genitive plural of *go*—sometimes understood as related to “cow” or “bovine” is linguistically tenuous in Pali and does not adequately explain this exceptional association with speech.

However, the syllable *go* carries a range of additional meanings in Sanskrit as well as in Pali, as attested in specialized lexicons devoted to monosyllabic terms, such as the *Ekakṣharakosa* (Ekakṣh; ed. Schnake 2024), where it may also signify “speech” (Ekakṣh, s.v. *go*). In this reading, Gavampati could therefore be interpreted as “Lord of speech”. Such an etymological construction suggests the influence of a learned milieu familiar with lexical traditions shaped by Sanskritic scholastic resources. Moreover, stanza 12 of the present Pali text shows a borrowing from *Jātaka* verses combined with a passage adapted from the Sanskrit *Udānavarga*, suggesting the discreet literary influence of non-Mahāvihāra traditions within the broader Theravada environment.

⁴ See Gregory Kourilsky (this Special Edition) for more details concerning the main differences with the *Sigālovādasutta*.

Finally, Lagirarde (2001) underlined the difficulty of establishing a relative chronology among the different versions of the narrative known to us: the Pali text, the Siamese version, and the Lao *nissaya*. Comparing the Lao and Siamese versions, he identified a shared basic narrative structure, though the Siamese version adds several episodes absent from the Lao *nissaya*. I would further argue that a high degree of structural and thematic similarity exists between the Pali text and the Lao *nissaya*. Both share a comparable narrative framework, alternating between prose and verse passages that develop similar themes. Despite heavy corruption, imperfect grammar, and missing verses, the Pali lemmas embedded in the Lao *nissaya* remain particularly revealing and help preserve the core meaning of the original text.

The Siamese version, by contrast, is composed entirely in prose. While it clearly belongs to the same hagiographic family, it diverges in significant ways. It embellishes and expands certain sections and occasionally introduces stylistic and narrative flourishes absent from the Pali version. Interestingly, structural traces of the verse forms found in the Pali text can still be recognized within the Siamese prose, often reformulated into flowing narrative while remaining thematically aligned. This suggests that the Siamese text is not an independent parallel but rather a later redactional elaboration inspired by the Pali source and that the Lao *nissaya* may derive, directly or indirectly, from the Pali text edited here (for a similar conclusion, see also Gregory Kourilsky, this Special Edition).

Pali Edition

namatthu.⁵

[§1] ekasmim⁶ kira samaye eko mahāthero Brahmaputto nāma sīlasamādhipaññāsamannāgato⁷ Hemabhūmiṃ nāma nagaraṃ upanissāya Pajjalitapabbate Sundaravanāvāse viharanto dhammagaruko kalyāṇadhammo mahāsāvako asītimahātheresu⁸ supākaṭo devamanussehi pūjito mahāsāvakānaṃ sakkāraṃ adhigato sabbasiddhi mahāpañño iddhibaladharo sabbasattānaṃ dayāya sampanno abhirūpo hoti.⁹ sabbaññūbuddhaṃ thapetvā añño sāvako¹⁰ therena¹¹ sadiso nāma natthi. yattha yattha padese thero anupatto devamanussā therāṃ disvā pasīditvā¹² tattha tattha padese “amhākaṃ satthā āgato” ti pasaṃsanti.

⁵ Only in A and C.

⁶ G *ath' ekasmim*.

⁷ D, G, H *sīlasamādhipaññāya samannāgato*.

⁸ D *asītimahātherahi*.

⁹ Only in C.

¹⁰ B *mahāsāvako*.

¹¹ B *mahātherena*.

¹² A, B, C, D, E, F *passitvā*.

thero tesam vacanam sutvā cintesi¹³ “mahājano maṃ pasamsati. idāni ahaṃ asappurisabhūmiṃ mocessāmi. handa attānaṃ virūpaṃ katvā aññaṃ vesam nimmissāmi” ti. tasmā therassa yāvajjatanā sabbasiddhiyā¹⁴ bhavati. pubbe thero Brahmaputto nāma.¹⁵ idāni kathaṃ “Gavampatī” ti vuccati.¹⁶ sattānaṃ therassa vacanam adhigato “Gavampatī” ti vuccati. thero sabbesaṃ sattānaṃ dhammaṃ¹⁷ desetvā Buddhena sadiso, athavā thero sattānaṃ visesena madhuravacanena dhammaṃ deseti.¹⁸ tasmā “Gavampatī” ti vuccati.

aparabhāge thero āyusaṃkhāraṃ olokeno parihīnabhāvaṃ ñatvā “ahaṃ satthāraṃ āpucchitvā¹⁹ parinibbāyissāmi” ti cintetvā.²⁰ pattacīvaraṃ gahetvā pañcasatabhikkhuparivārehi saddhim²¹ Sundaravanāvāsato nikkhamitvā anukammena Jetavanaṃ patto satthāraṃ vanditvā “bhante āyusaṃkhāro me ojahāyi. ahaṃ bhante²² tumhākaṃ āpucchāmi” ti. bhagavā theram anujānāti.²³

[§2] thero puna Sundaravanāvāsam eva gantvā²⁴ sissānaṃ ca upāsakānaṃ ca nānāyapaṭimaṇḍitena madhuradhammena²⁵ ovaditvā sabbanissitake²⁶ ca upāsake ca apaloketvā puna cintento²⁷ “mama²⁸ upāsakānaṃ upaṭṭhākānaṃ eko mama upāsako Sambalo nāma²⁹ thaddho macchero dubbaco micchādiṭṭhiko. mayā³⁰ anusitṭho ca desito ca anādayitvā. mam’ accayena ko³¹ taṃ Sambalaṃ dametuṃ samattho?³² idāni me³³ sāsanaṃ³⁴ na labbhati. maṃ pana thapetvā pacchā bhagavā Sambalaṃ upāsakaṃ damento bhavēyya.³⁵ manussānaṃ ca ñāṭisahajādīnaṃ ācariyupajjhāyānaṃ maraṇāsannaṃ eva sabbadā anusaranti maṃ. tasmā idāni³⁶ upāsake ovadituṃ vaṭṭatī” ti.

¹³ A, B, D, E, F, G, H *cintetvā*.

¹⁴ All the manuscripts (hereafter, mss) indicate *siddhi*.

¹⁵ H *ti*.

¹⁶ C, F *vuccate*.

¹⁷ A, B, E, F, G not mentioned (hereafter, n.m.).

¹⁸ A, B, C, G, H *daseti*. E, F *gopeti*.

¹⁹ G, H *āpucchissāmi*.

²⁰ A, B, C n.m.

²¹ F n.m.

²² B, C, D, E, F n.m.

²³ H *anujāni*.

²⁴ A, B, C, E *gantvā*.

²⁵ D *madhurasadhammena*.

²⁶ E, F *sabbe nissitake*.

²⁷ C *cintesi*. H *cintetvā*.

²⁸ A n.m.

²⁹ H *nāma so*.

³⁰ All mss mention *mahā* except D.

³¹ C *koci*.

³² B, C, D, E, F, H *samattho nāma*.

³³ A, E, F n.m.

³⁴ A, B, C, D, G *sāsane*.

³⁵ C, H *ca pana. pana*.

³⁶ E, F *dāni*.

upāsake pakkosāpetvā “bhonto upāsakā³⁷ ye keci janā tumhe³⁸ sace saccam³⁹ mayham hotha⁴⁰ mama vacanam tumhe manasikarotha. mam’ accayena chadise⁴¹ vandatha. aham pana⁴² tumhākam āpucchāmi⁴³”⁴⁴ ti.

sabbe sissā ca upāsakā ca⁴⁴ theram⁴⁵ “bhante kuhiṃ gacchathā” ti pucchimsu.⁴⁶ thero āha: “tātā aham⁴⁷ maraṇassa mukham⁴⁸ gato. idāni parinibbāyissāmi” ti. sabbe nissitakā ca⁴⁹ upāsakā ca therassa vacanam sutvā visaññī hutvā⁵⁰ satahassamasanivijitakāle viya Sundaravanāvāsesu sakalapariveṇam therassa yugantavātapahata-Sālavanam⁵¹ viya⁵² paridevam paridevanti. tena vuttam:

[1] sālā va sampamathitā mālutena pamadditā [cf. Ja VI 189, 20–21*/300, senti sissā c’ upaṭṭhākā⁵³ therassa tattha assame.⁵⁴ 31–32*/502, 7–8*]

[2] sabbā itthi-upaṭṭhākā⁵⁵ devaccharasamānakā⁵⁷ bāhā paggayha pakkandum: kasmā no vijahissatha. [bc≠ Ja VI 301, 8*/10*]

[3] dāsigaṇā gāmvāsā devakaññā va Nandane bāhā paggayha pakkandum: kasmā no vijahissatha. [bc≠ Ja VI 301, 8*/10*]

[4] gāmvāsā puttadhītā⁵⁸ devaputtā⁵⁹ va Nandane bāhā paggayha pakkandum: kasmā no vijahissatha. [bc≠ Ja VI 301, 8*/10*]

[5] samāgatā parivārā⁶⁰ sissā therassa ādayo bāhā paggayha pakkandum: kasmā no vijahissatha.⁶¹ [bc≠ Ja VI 301, 8*/10*]

³⁷ A, B, C, D, G, H *upāsake*.

³⁸ Only in E and F.

³⁹ D *sace saccam* is *sabbe sacce*.

⁴⁰ Only in E, F. The other mss indicate *upāsakā honti*.

⁴¹ E, F, H *dise*.

⁴² A n.m.

⁴³ B, C, D *apucchissāmi*.

⁴⁴ E n.m.

⁴⁵ A, B, G *therassa*.

⁴⁶ D *pucchisum*.

⁴⁷ A, B n.m.

⁴⁸ *marañassa mukham* is G *marañamukham*.

D, H *marañam mukham*.

⁴⁹ H n.m.

⁵⁰ *visaññī hutvā* is only in E and F.

⁵¹ C, E, F, H *yugantavātapahatam Sālavanam*.

⁵² B, C, D, F *viya ahosi*.

⁵³ E, F *c’ upaṭṭhākā* is *v’ upaṭṭhākā*.

⁵⁴ A, F, G *assame ti*.

⁵⁵ A, B, E, F *itthi-upāsakā*.

⁵⁶ A, B, D, E add *ca*.

⁵⁷ A, B, E, H add *devaputtā nandane*.

⁵⁸ B n.m.

⁵⁹ B *devakaññā*.

⁶⁰ A, B, C, F *parivārā ca*.

⁶¹ I propose to add this *pāda* to maintain the pattern of the preceding verses.

- [6] ther' assa tattha assame dhammikodhammavādi ca
 dhammagāravagāravo dhammacārī dhammarato,
 [7] dhammasañcaram kovido dhammanudhammapaggaho
 dhammacārīsu dhammiko dhammarasavissattho.⁶²
 [§3] "kasmā no vijahissathā" ti thero tesam upatthākānam antevāsikānañ ca⁶³
 vilāpaṃ sutvā upāsake aniccakathāya nivārento gātham⁶⁴ āha:
 [8] "mā vo⁶⁵ socittha rodatha dukkhabhāvā pi kevalā
 natthi koci mato hutvā rodentena punāgato.
 [9] ⁶⁶sattānaṃ maraṇābhāvo na ekasmiñ ca⁶⁷ gāme⁶⁸ vā
 na ekasmiñ ca⁶⁹ ghare pi ca na ekasmiñ ca raṭṭhe ca.⁷⁰
 [10] aniccā sabbasaṃkhārā⁷¹ sabbabuddhehi desitā
 uppajjitvā nirujjhanti evaṃ dhammo ca pāṇīnaṃ.
 [11]⁷² yathā khittam nabhe leḍḍu bhūmiyaṃ patitam dhuvaṃ [≠ Bv II 111^{abc};
 tath'eva⁷³ sabbasattānaṃ⁷⁴ jīvitaṃ maraṇaṃ dhuvaṃ. Ja I 19, 22–23*]
 [12] yathā nadī pabbateyyā gacchaṃ⁷⁵ na paṭivattati
 evaṃ āyu manussānaṃ gacchaṃ na paṭivattati.⁷⁶ [cf. Ja VI 26, 19–20*; Uv 1.15]
 [13] daharā pi ca ye vuḍḍhā ye bālā ye ca⁷⁷ paṇḍitā
 aḍḍhā c' eva daḷiddā ca⁷⁸ sabbe maccuparāyanā. [= D II 120, note 4]
 [14] brāhmaṇe khattiye vesse sudde caṇḍālapukkuse
 na kiñci parivajeyya sabbam evābhimmaddati.
 na tattha hatthīnaṃ bhūmi na rathānaṃ na pattiyaṃ [≠ S I 102, 22–25;
 na cāpi mantayuddhena⁷⁹ sakkā jetum dhanena vā. = Vism 232, 20–23]

⁶² A, D, F, H *dhammesurasavisattho*.

B *dhammesarasavisattho*. C *dhammesurassavisattho*.

E *dhammesuvissattho*.

⁶³ D *imam*.

⁶⁴ One would have expected *gāthāyo*, as elsewhere throughout the text.

⁶⁵ F n.m.

⁶⁶ This verse is only in E and F.

⁶⁷ F n.m.

⁶⁸ F *game pi*.

⁶⁹ C, E, F n.m.

⁷⁰ B, E, F, H *vā*.

⁷¹ A, D, E, F, G *sabbe saṃkhārā*.

⁷² The *pāda* d is here lacking.

⁷³ E, F *that'eva* is *tad'eva*.

⁷⁴ E, F *lokassa*.

⁷⁵ D *gacchā*.

⁷⁶ The stanza is closer to Uv 1.15 (*yathā nadī pārvatīyā gacchate na nivartate | evaṃ āyur manussāṇāṃ gacchate na nivartate*) than to Ja, where only verses b, c, and d are shared (*yathā vārivaho pūro gacchan nūpanivattati | evaṃ āyur manussānaṃ gacchan nūpanivattati*).

⁷⁷ A, G *pi*.

⁷⁸ A, G *ceva*.

⁷⁹ A, C, G *mantayuddhena*.

[15] maccuno saṅgaro natthi sabbe maccuparāyanā
Jotiko Jatilo Uggo Meṇḍako atha Puṇṇako
ete pañc' eva ye loka mahāpuññā ti vissutā
sabbe maraṇam āpannā katharā aññe na pāpuṇā.

[^{ab}cf. Ja V 109, 10–11*;
^{c-h}cf. Vism 233, 8–10]

[16] ^aVāsudevo Baladevo ^bBhīmaseno Yudhiṭṭhilo
caturo⁸⁰ pi mahāmacca⁸¹ mahāteja ti vissutā.
^esabbe maraṇam āpannā. katharā aññe pamuñcitā⁸²

[^{ab}= Vism 233, 13;
^ecf. Vism 233, 10]

[17] sakalam mediniṃ bhutvā datvā koṭisatarā sukharā.
addhāmalamattassa ante issaratarā gato
ten' eva devo⁸³ Nandane puññamhi khayam⁸⁴ āgate⁸⁵
maraṇābhimukho so pi asoko sokarā āgato" ti. [≠ Vism 232, 8–11]
evaṃ thero⁸⁶ maraṇadhammena upāsake⁸⁷ ovaditvā puna imassa⁸⁸ kāyassa nirattha-
bhāvena ovadanto imā⁸⁹ gāthāyo⁹⁰ āha:

[18] dubbalo vatāyaṃ kāyo bahusādhāraṇo pi ca
^cjātibhayabahuṭrāso ^djarācorāvilumpito. [^{cd}≠ Sot 41; Schnake, forthcoming]

[19] ^abyādhibyagghakulāvāso ^bsokamaccupamaddano
^crogasantāpabahulo ^dparidevabahupaddavo
^emohabhūtagaṇākiṇṇo ^fkodharakkhasasevito⁹¹

[^{abcd}≠ Sot 42; ^{ef}= Sot 44^{bc}]

[20] allacammaṭṭicchanno navadvāro mahāvaṇo.
samantato paggharati asuci pūtigandhiyo.

[= Vism 196, 19–20]

[21] dugandho asucikāyo kuṇāpo ukkarūpamo
nindito cakkhubhūtehi kāyo bālābhinandito.

[= Vism 196, 17–18]

[22] sace imassa kāyassa anto bāhirato siyā
nūna daṇḍarā gahetvāna kāke soṇe nivāreyya.⁹²

[= Vism 196, 21–22]

⁸⁰ C, E, F *cattāro*.

⁸¹ C, E, F *mahamallā*.

⁸² H *pamuccitā*.

⁸³ A, B, C, D *devā*.

⁸⁴ Only in D. The other mss indicate *khiyam*.

⁸⁵ D *āgato*.

⁸⁶ H *evaṃ thero* is *thero evaṃ*.

⁸⁷ E, F *upāsakānaṃ*.

⁸⁸ C *puna imassa* is *pun' imassa*.

⁸⁹ C *ime*. D, H *imaṃ*.

⁹⁰ D, H *gatharā*.

⁹¹ A, E, F *kopa°*.

⁹² D, H *nivāreyya*.

[23] mā passatha⁹³ imaṃ kāyaṃ asāraṃ subhāvajitaṃ⁹⁴
yo ca imaṃ kāyaṃ⁹⁵ nissāya puggalo⁹⁶ pāpakarṇ katvā⁹⁷
accantaṃ niriyaṃ vaje sace mayi⁹⁸ sineho ca

[24] mā paridevatha gālhaṃ siladānaṃ⁹⁹ sucikammaṃ
karitvā gārove sadā samaṇabrāhmaṇānaṃ ca.

[25] mā ca sattaṃ¹⁰⁰ vihimseyyātha kisaṃ thulaṃ mahantaṃ
rassaṃ tanuṃ tathā¹⁰¹ sadā mettaṃ vadeyyātha.

[26] karotha¹⁰² vacanaṃ mama yathā piyaṃ sakattānaṃ
parattānaṃ tathā piyaṃ parapāṇassa himseyya.

[27] mahādukkhaṃ anubhūyate piyehi sampayogo ca
vippayogo ca piyehi sampayogo sukhadukkhā.

[28] hoti yathā bijaṃ¹⁰³ tathā phalaṃ bhavissati¹⁰⁴
tasmā tumhe¹⁰⁵ mā karotha¹⁰⁶ kiñci sattaṃ vihaññaṃ.

[29] paradhanaṃ na gaṇheyya appaṃ vā yadi vā bahuṃ
paradhanaṃ pi passatha kaṇhasappaṃ va maññetha.

[30] paradhanaṃ gaṇhitvāna kim atthaṃ kim payojanaṃ?
dhanāṃ pi sāmīno katvā¹⁰⁷ paribhogaṃ niriyaṃ vaje
pacchā ca sāmīno dāso anekajātisate va.

[31] paradāraṃ¹⁰⁸ na gaccheyya¹⁰⁹ visarukkhaṃ va dissati
paradāraṃ pi na iccheyya¹¹⁰ ubhayattha bhayaṃ labhe.
idha loka paramhi ca¹¹¹ sarīraṃ cāpi nassati¹¹²
pacchā ca¹¹³ niriye ghore uppajjati na sāmsaye.

⁹³ mā passatha is B, C evañ ca. D, H piyaṃ ca.

⁹⁴ asāraṃ subhāvajitaṃ is B asāraṃ subhāvijitaṃ nissaya pāpakarṇ katvā, C asāraṃ ca vibhajitaṃ, D asāravajitaṃ.

⁹⁵ B, C, D, H yo ca imaṃ kāyaṃ is n.m.

⁹⁶ B, C, D, H n.m.

⁹⁷ All mss read karoḥi except C and G.

⁹⁸ C, D, E, F, H n.m.

⁹⁹ C, D silāṃ dānaṃ.

¹⁰⁰ C satte.

¹⁰¹ C tadā. H tattha.

¹⁰² A, C, E, F, G, H karontu. D karonta.

¹⁰³ A, E, F, G, H add piyaṃ parapāṇassa bhavissati.

¹⁰⁴ C, D, H n.m.

¹⁰⁵ B, C, D, H tumhe ca.

¹⁰⁶ B, C, D, H katvā.

¹⁰⁷ A, E, G katvā asārīno katvā. F katvā asāmīno katvā.

¹⁰⁸ G, H paradhanaṃ.

¹⁰⁹ G, H gaṇheyya.

¹¹⁰ na iccheyya is B, H gaccheyya. C iccheyya. D, E, F na gaccheyya. D iccheyya visarukkhaṃ va dissati paradāraṃ gaccheyya. G param pi gaccheyya.

¹¹¹ paramhi ca is B dhanaṃ cāpi. D param cāpi. H dhanāṃ vā pi.

¹¹² Only in B, C, D. The other mss indicate vā vinassati.

¹¹³ Only in C, H., n.m. in the other mss.

[32] musāvādaṃ na vāceyya yena kenaci¹¹⁴ sabbadā
dubbalaṃ¹¹⁵ vañcanaṃ¹¹⁶ katvā dhanahetuṃ¹¹⁷ c' akāraṇā¹¹⁸
dubbalaṃ ca vihiṃsitvā¹¹⁹ accantaṃ niriyaṃ¹²⁰ vaje.

[33] pacchā¹²¹ pi sabbajātīsu¹²² dubbalo hoti sabbadā
sace satte vihiṃseyya¹²³ mahādukkhaṃ¹²⁴ anubhūyate.

[34]^asurāmerayapānaṃ ca^byo naro ca pamajjati
pañcajāṭisataṃ yakkho pañcajāṭisataṃ suṇo
ummattako andho pi ca¹²⁵ surāpānassa dosakā ti.

[^{ab}cf. Dhṛp 247]

evaṃ thero pañcasilādivasena upaṭṭhāke¹²⁶ antevāsikādayo¹²⁷ ovaditvā puna¹²⁸
lokacārittavasena¹²⁹ ovadanto gāthāyo¹³⁰ āha:

[35] tumhe dhammena¹³¹ vāñijjaṃ¹³² kasikammaṃ karotha¹³³ sadā
mā karotha adhammena accantaṃ nirayaṃ¹³⁴ vaje.

[36] māsakuṭaṃ mānakuṭaṃ tulakuṭaṃ pi ce kare
sabbam corakammaṃ nāma accantaṃ niriyaṃ vaje.

[37] kasikammaṃ adhammena gomahisaṃ naraṃ pi vā¹³⁵
dāsaṃ dāsiṃ ca piḷetvā accantaṃ niriyaṃ vaje.

[38] pacchā te¹³⁶ evaṃ jāyantaṃ taṃ¹³⁷ evaṃ piḷanaṃ labhe
tasmā ca¹³⁸ mā karotha va labhittha¹³⁹ sukham uttamaṃ ti.

¹¹⁴ A, E *kena*.

¹¹⁵ D *dubbalaṃ ca*.

¹¹⁶ C *vacanaṃ*.

¹¹⁷ H *dhanam hetuṃ*.

¹¹⁸ c' *akāraṇā* is H *hetupakaraṇā*.

¹¹⁹ *dubbalaṃ ca vihiṃsitvā* is E *dubbalaṃ sattaṃ vihi[m]sitvā*. F *dubbalaṃ sattaṃ vihiṃsitvā*.

¹²⁰ H *niriye*.

¹²¹ G *pacchā kale*.

¹²² F *sabbasatajātīsu*.

¹²³ A, G *vihiṃseyyaṃ*. D *vihiṃseyyuṃ*. E H *vihiṃseyya*.

¹²⁴ E, F *mahantaṃ dukkhaṃ*.

¹²⁵ *andho pi ca* is only in E, F. Other mss read A, E, F *anataṃ*, B *anantaṃ ca*, C, D *anantaṃ*.

¹²⁶ E, F *upatthākānaṃ*.

¹²⁷ E, F *antevāsikādīnaṃ*.

¹²⁸ E, F *pana*.

¹²⁹ B, C, K *lokaparittavasena*. D *lokaparidevatavasena*. E, F *lokacarittavasena*.

¹³⁰ C, H *gāthaṃ*.

¹³¹ A, B, C, D, E, F *dhammesu*.

¹³² A, B *bāñijaṃ*. C, D *bāñijjaṃ*. E, F *vāñijjaṃ*. G, H *subāñijjaṃ*.

¹³³ A, E, F *karo*. B, C, D, G, H *karā*.

¹³⁴ All mss *niriyaṃ*.

¹³⁵ B *pi vā* is *vā pi*.

¹³⁶ F *te sattaṃ*. G *kāle*.

¹³⁷ A, B, E, F *n.m.*

¹³⁸ F *tumhe*.

¹³⁹ A, B, E, G, H *labhita*°.

evaṃ so¹⁴⁰ thero¹⁴¹ upāsake¹⁴² ovaditvā rājacārittacaraṇavasena¹⁴³ upaṭṭhāke¹⁴⁴ ovadanto gāthāyo abhāsi:¹⁴⁵

[39] ye ca¹⁴⁶ loke sukham icchā narā ca atha nāriyo
rājānaṃ suddhacittena sadā sevanti bhattiyā.

[40] mā karotha kiñci kammaṃ pamādena rājakicce
rañño hitaṃ sukhaṃ rañño sadā vaḍḍhanti¹⁴⁷ bhattiyā.

[41] rājā pi devo pavaro sabbakāmadado¹⁴⁸ sadā
sabbadukkhā¹⁴⁹ vimocento sabbecchā¹⁵⁰ yeva dāyako.

[42] māvamaññettha sabbattha mahānāsaṃ¹⁵¹ labhissatha¹⁵²
yathā pi aggijalito vanarukkhaṃ¹⁵³ pi dayhati.

[43] puna bijaṃ pi¹⁵⁴ uppajji khandhaṃ pupphaṃ phalaṃ pi vā
ye rañño avamaññanti rājakicce na gāravā.

raññe kodhe¹⁵⁵ vinassanti pun' aruyha na sambhave.¹⁵⁶

[44] rājā devo mahātejo sabbecchā yeva dāyako.
devādhiko pi bhavati sabbalokesu pākaṭo

ye keci sukham icchantā¹⁵⁷ devārādhaṃ¹⁵⁸ kārā sadā.

[45] balikammehi sabbehi¹⁵⁹ yadā labhi tadā nami
rājārādhaṃ pi ye loke mahābhogaṃ mahaddhanaṃ
sabbecchā¹⁶⁰ yeva labhanti¹⁶¹ yadicchaṃ pi nisaṃsayo.

¹⁴⁰ A, C, G, H n.m.

¹⁴¹ H *thero evaṃ*.

¹⁴² E, F *upāsakānaṃ*.

¹⁴³ A, C, G, H *rājaparittacaraṇavasena*. B *rājaparittaṃ*.
E *rājaparittacaraṇavasena*. F *rājacārittacaraṇavasena*.

¹⁴⁴ E, F *upaṭṭhakānaṃ*. H *upāsakānaṃ*.

¹⁴⁵ A, G *ajjhabhāsi*. H *gāthāyo abhāsi is gātham āha*.

¹⁴⁶ *ye ca is A, G ye idha*. E, F *yeva*.

¹⁴⁷ F *sevanti*.

¹⁴⁸ F *sampattiṃ dadāti*.

¹⁴⁹ F *sabbadukkhā*.

¹⁵⁰ A *sabbe cā*. B, C, D *sabbecchā*. E *pacchā sabbe paccāye va dāyakā tumhe pi*. H *sabbechā*.

¹⁵¹ E *mahāvināsaṃ*.

¹⁵² H *labhissati*.

¹⁵³ B *vanaṃ rukkhāṃ*.

¹⁵⁴ H *va*.

¹⁵⁵ A *kucche*. B, D, E, F, G *kudhe*. C, H *kudde*. Emended.

¹⁵⁶ B, C, E, F *labhare*.

¹⁵⁷ A, B, C *D icchanto*. E, F *icchanti*.

¹⁵⁸ C, E *devārādhaṃ*. D *devārādhakarā*. F *yevārāddhaṃ*. H *devārādayo*.

¹⁵⁹ Verse is A, C *yadā nami tadā nami*, B *yadā labbhi nami*, D, H *sadā labbhaṃ tadā nami*, E *taṃ labhanti sadā labhanti*, F *labhanti sadā labhanti*.

¹⁶⁰ A *sabbe cā*. B, C *sabbecchā*, D *labbhecchā*. E, F *pacchā*.

¹⁶¹ Verse is A *yadicchaṃ pi nisaṃsayo*, B *yadicchāmi nasaṃsayo*, C *yadicchaṃ pi nasaṃsayo*, D *yathicchaṃ pi nasaṃsaye*, E *yathicchaṃ pi nasaṃsayo*, F *yathicchaṃ nisaṃsayo*, H *yathicchaṃ nisaṃsayo*.

[46] tasmā ca tumhe¹⁶² sabbattha rājāsevanā¹⁶³ sabbadā
karotha¹⁶⁴ suddhacittena yathā mayhaṃ ’nusāsanam
sāmbhattiphalam loka pecca sagge pamodati ti.

[§4] evaṃ therō upaṭṭhāke¹⁶⁵ ovaditvā puna cintesi “idāni imam¹⁶⁶ Sambalam
upāsakam vinayam tāta chadise¹⁶⁷ may’ ācikkhante vandathā”¹⁶⁸ ti. “katamam disam?
tāta¹⁶⁹ pubbadisam dakkhiṇadisam pacchimadisam uttaradisam heṭṭhimadisam
uparimadisam” ti. tasmā¹⁷⁰ therō cintesi “ayam me¹⁷¹ Sambalo upāsako micchā-
diṭṭhiko¹⁷² micchācāro hoti” ti. puna Gavampati therō sakam¹⁷³ ugghāṭitamukha-
vivaragalitakamalagandhikam¹⁷⁴ aṭṭhaṅgasahitam madhurasaram nicchāranto
gātham āha:

[47] mātāpitādisā pubbā ācariyā dakkhiṇādisā

ñātivattā pacchā¹⁷⁵ disā bhariyā puttā ca uttarā¹⁷⁶

dāsakammakarā¹⁷⁷ heṭṭhā uddham samaṇabrāhmaṇa ti. [cf. D III 191, 28–192, 6]

therō āha “tātā¹⁷⁸ kasmā mātāpitā ‘pubbadisā’ ti vuccanti. pubbapakāratthāya.¹⁷⁹
mātāpitāro hi pubbe¹⁸⁰ puññaṃ katvā ‘iminā pamāṇena puttam labhissāmā’¹⁸¹ ti
patthanam akaṃsu. tasmā¹⁸² mātāpitāro ‘pubbadisā’ ti vuccanti. pajāyamāne¹⁸³ putte
puttam¹⁸⁴ rakkhanti¹⁸⁵ posenti.¹⁸⁶ pubbe atthe puttam niyojenti. pubbe yuttāyutta-

¹⁶² H *ca tumhe* is *tumhe ca*.

¹⁶³ E, F *rājāsevanāsu*.

¹⁶⁴ All mss *karontu* except D.

¹⁶⁵ E, D *upaṭṭhākānam*.

¹⁶⁶ A, G, H *mama*. B, C, D *maṃ*.

¹⁶⁷ A, F *dise*. B *cchadise*. E, G *sadise*.

¹⁶⁸ All mss except D read *vandatū*.

¹⁶⁹ D *tātā*.

¹⁷⁰ A, C, D, E, F *kasmā*.

¹⁷¹ E, F n.m.

¹⁷² A, C, D, G, H *micchādiṭṭhi*°. B n.m.

¹⁷³ B, E, F n.m.

¹⁷⁴ Various variants in Filliozat & Masfield’s edition (2007).

¹⁷⁵ E F H *pacchimā*. G *pacchima*.

¹⁷⁶ G, H *uttaradisā*.

¹⁷⁷ F G H °*karo*.

¹⁷⁸ All mss *tata* except D.

¹⁷⁹ C, E, F *pakāratāya*. D *pakāratāyam*.

¹⁸⁰ D *pubbam*.

¹⁸¹ A, B, C, D *labhissāmi*.

¹⁸² A, B, E, H *kasmā*.

¹⁸³ Mss propose various unsatisfactory solutions: A, B, G *paṭṭhāyamāne*. C *pajāmane*. D *vijāyamāne*. E, F *jāyamāno*. H *jāyamānam*.

¹⁸⁴ A, B, F, H n.m.

¹⁸⁵ H n.m.

¹⁸⁶ H *posenti mātāpitāro*.

kamme puttāṃ¹⁸⁷ dassenti. pubbe vatthālāṅkāraṃ pana¹⁸⁸ puttassa¹⁸⁹ denti¹⁹⁰. tasmā mātāpitaro ‘pubbadisā’ ti vuccanti.

kasmā ācariyā¹⁹¹ ‘dakkhiṇadisā’ ti vuccanti. dakkhiṇāya tāya ācariyānaṃ adakkhaṃ kusalākusalaṃ dakkhati.¹⁹² adakkhaṃ gambhīratthaṃ ācariyo dakkheti. adakkhaṃ sīlakhandhaṃ dasseti. adakkhaṃ vimuttiñāṇaṃ.¹⁹³ dasseti adakkhaṃ nibbānakiccaṃ dasseti. tasmā ācariyā¹⁹⁴ ‘dakkhiṇadisā’ ti vuccanti.¹⁹⁵

kasmā ñātivaggā ‘pacchimadisā’ ti vuccanti.¹⁹⁶ mātujanitā¹⁹⁷ pacchā ñātivaggā anukampanti posenti rakkhanti. tasmā ñātivaggā ‘pacchimadisā’ ti vuccanti.¹⁹⁸

kasmā¹⁹⁹ puttabhariyā ‘uttaradisā’ ti vuccanti.²⁰⁰ puttabhariyāhetu²⁰¹ uttaradhammaṃ paṭilabhanti.²⁰² kathaṃ? bodhisattā²⁰³ pana²⁰⁴ pāramiyo puretvā yācakānaṃ puttabhāriyadānaṃ datvā²⁰⁵ puttabhariyāhi pāramiyo pūrenti.²⁰⁶ bodhisattā²⁰⁷ hi puttabhariyāhi sabbaññutañāṇaṃ paṭilabhanti. tasmā puttabhariyā ‘uttaradisā’ ti vuccanti.²⁰⁸

kasmā²⁰⁹ dāsakammakārā ‘heṭṭhādisā’²¹⁰ ti vuccanti.²¹¹ heṭṭhimato nisīditabbā heṭṭhimato bhuñjitabbā. athavā sāmikā dāsahetuṃ²¹² dhanam paṭilabhanti.²¹³ dāsahetuṃ anuttaradhammaṃ²¹⁴ paṭilabhanti. bodhisattā²¹⁵ pana satasattakamahādānaṃ datvā sattadāsīsatasattadāsāsataṃ datvā dāsīdāsaṃ vinā na paripurenti.

¹⁸⁷ H n.m.

¹⁸⁸ A, B, C *manaso*. E *puna*.

¹⁸⁹ H *puttāṃ*.

¹⁹⁰ A, B, E, F, G, H *dassanti*. C, D *dassenti*.

¹⁹¹ A, B, C, D, H *ācariyā kasmā*.

¹⁹² All mss *dakkheti* except H.

¹⁹³ H *vimuttiñāṇaṃ ācariyo*.

¹⁹⁴ A, B, C, G, H *ācariyo*.

¹⁹⁵ A, B, H *vuccati*.

¹⁹⁶ A, B, D, F, G, H *vuccati*.

¹⁹⁷ E, F *mātujanikā*.

¹⁹⁸ C, E, F *vuccati*.

¹⁹⁹ N.m. in all mss except F.

²⁰⁰ A, B, C D, G *vuccati*.

²⁰¹ The expected form here would be *hetunā*.

²⁰² All mss *paṭilabhanti*.

²⁰³ H *bodhisatta*.

²⁰⁴ C n.m.

²⁰⁵ *puttabhāriyadānaṃ datvā* is only in C, E, F.

²⁰⁶ F *paripurenti*.

²⁰⁷ H *bodhisatta*.

²⁰⁸ A, B, E, H *vuccati*.

²⁰⁹ Only in C, H. The other mss indicate *kathaṃ*.

²¹⁰ C, D, E, F *hetthimadisā*. G, H *heṭṭhimadisā*.

²¹¹ A, B, G *vuccati*.

²¹² A, B, C, E, F *dāsahetu*°.

²¹³ A, B *labhanti*.

²¹⁴ D, F, H *ut(t)aradhammaṃ*.

²¹⁵ A, B, E, F *bodhisatto*.

dāsahetu uttaradhammaṃ paṭilabhanti. tasmā dāsakammakārā²¹⁶ ‘heṭṭhimadisā’ ti vuccanti.²¹⁷

kathaṃ samaṇabrahmaṇā²¹⁸ ‘uparidisā’²¹⁹ ti vuccanti. upari devalokasampattiyaṃ samaṇabrāhmaṇā²²⁰ dassanattā uparibrahmasampattiyaṃ²²¹ uparinibbānasampattiyaṃ²²² dassanattā tasmā samaṇabrahmaṇā ‘uparidisā’²²³ ti vuccanti ti.²²⁴

[§5] Gavampati thero upāsakānaṃ dhammaṃ desento puna²²⁵ evam āha: “bhonto upāsakā putte vaḍḍhite mātāpitūhi dhammena puttā rakkhitabbā. puttehi pana²²⁶ mātāpitāro dhammena rakkhitabbā.²²⁷ kathaṃ mātāpitāro putte vaḍḍhite rakkhanti²²⁸ ‘amma tāta tumhe sīlaṃ rakkhatha dānaṃ dethā’ ti putte²²⁹ kusalesu niyojenti pāpehi nivārenti. puttadhammarakkhaṃ²³⁰ nāma.

kathaṃ²³¹ puttā pana dhammena mātāpitāro rakkhanti? mātāpitāro nāma puttānaṃ bahūpakārā punappatikārakā mātāpitūnaṃ. hi mātāpitāro²³² putticchāpaṭṭhāya balikammena vā suvaṇṇena vā rajaṇena vatthena vā aññena²³³ vā devatārādhena putte patthenti. attano kucchigate putte atirekataraṃ dhanāṃ dassanti puttajīvattāya baddhagabbhe mahādukkhaṃ anubhavanti. mātā²³⁴ pi²³⁵ kilantakāyā duvaṇṇā kisasakalasarirā rujanti.²³⁶ pajāyanakāle atirekataraṃ dukkhaṃ pāpuṇanti. maraṇāsannam eva kadāci²³⁷ mātā visaññi kadāci vinassanti lohitaṃ makkhitasarirā²³⁸ evarūpaṃ dukkhaṃ anubhavitvā puttasiṇehena²³⁹ ‘kahaṃ putto me’ ti lohitaṃ makkhitaputtaṃ²⁴⁰ gahetvā ure²⁴¹ nipajjāpetvā pāyeti.²⁴²

²¹⁶ H dāsakammakāro.

²¹⁷ A, B, D vuccati.

²¹⁸ G, H add kasmā.

²¹⁹ C, D, H uparimadisā.

²²⁰ C, D, E, F, H samaṇabrāhmaṇānaṃ.

²²¹ All mss brahmasampattī except H brahmasampatti.

²²² All mss nibbānasampattī except H nibbānasampattiṃ.

²²³ All mss uparimadisā except C.

²²⁴ All mss vuccati except F vuccanti. Corrupt transmission; passage should conclude with *iti*. Emended.

²²⁵ H pana.

²²⁶ All mss read puna except D.

²²⁷ A B F rakkhitaṃ ca; C E rakkhitabbā ti. D replaces dhammena rakkhitaṃ ca with rakkhitabbā.

²²⁸ Only in F.

²²⁹ H mātāpitāro putte.

²³⁰ A, B, C, E, G, H puttaṃ dhammarakkhaṃ.

²³¹ Only in F.

²³² Only in C.

²³³ D, H aññehi.

²³⁴ E, F kadāci mātā.

²³⁵ Only in C.

²³⁶ A, B, D, E rujjhanti.

²³⁷ A, B pi.

²³⁸ G, H lohitaṃ makkhitasarirā.

²³⁹ A, B, G n.m. E, F siṇehena putassa mātā.

²⁴⁰ C, D, E, F, H lohitaṃ makkhitaputtaṃ.

²⁴¹ E, F puttaṃ ure.

²⁴² E pāleti khiraṃ.

aho bahūpakārā puttānaṃ. mātā²⁴³ bhojanakāle²⁴⁴ putte karisaṃ vā muttaṃ vā bhājane vissajjeti. mātā na jigucchati puttāsinehena. kadāci khelaṃ vā mīlaṃ vā bhojane vissajjeti. mātā n' eva²⁴⁵ jigucchati. muttakarisaṃ mīlamakkhitabhattaṃ bhojeti.²⁴⁶ mātusaṃsaṃ sabbadā puttassa malamuttasemhādi sāmisaṃ²⁴⁷ ahosi, mātā āhāraṃ puttassa tehi malamuttehi²⁴⁸ sāmisaṃ²⁴⁹ na jigucchati.

yeva aho²⁵⁰ bahūpakārā mātā puttānaṃ. sace puttassa roge uppanne sati²⁵¹ mātā sattadhā bhijjamānahadayā viya devatā namassamānā suvaṇṇena vā rajaṭena vā ratanena vā dhanena vā²⁵² balikammādinā vā pūjenti. vuḍḍhe vuḍḍhe atirekataraṃ puttaṃ²⁵³ anukampanti. aho²⁵⁴ bahūpakārā mātā²⁵⁵ puttānaṃ. tasmā bahūpakāraṃ puttaṃ vadāmi.

yo koci mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo sakalamahāpathavīmaṇḍale²⁵⁶ gahetvā mātāpitūnaṃ sampattiṃ dadeyya. na tv eva²⁵⁷ tesāṃ mātāpitūnaṃ paṭikāraṃ karoti.

sace mātāpitūsu sujīvamānesu²⁵⁸ attano sīsenā mātāpitūnaṃ²⁵⁹ pade²⁶⁰ pade sampaticchīṃsu. annapāṇena vā²⁶¹ vatthena vā senāsanādihi sabbupakārehi vā²⁶² veyyāvaccakammehi posenti pāleni²⁶³ rakkhanti. puttā mātāpitāro bhāvaṇaṃ bhāvāpenti. sabbakusalesu²⁶⁴ payojenti mātāpitāro puttā.

sace mātāpitāro micchādiṭṭhiṃ gaṇhanti sammādiṭṭhisu paṭiṭṭhapesuṃ. sace mātāpitūsu avijjamānesu puttā sayāṃ sīlaṃ rakkhanti dānaṃ denti buddharūpaṃ karonti²⁶⁵ bodhirukkhaṃ vā ropenti. thūpaṃ vā vihāraṃ vā kuṭiṃ vā sabbakusalāṃ²⁶⁶

²⁴³ E, F *matu kadāci*.

²⁴⁴ H *bhojanakāle pi*.

²⁴⁵ E, F *na*.

²⁴⁶ A, B, H *bhojesi*.

²⁴⁷ All mss *samissaṃ*.

²⁴⁸ E *mīlamuttehi*.

²⁴⁹ All mss *samissaṃ*.

²⁵⁰ A, B n.m.

²⁵¹ A, B, C, D, H n.m.

²⁵² *dhanena vā* is n.m. in A, B, C, D, H.

²⁵³ D, H n.m.

²⁵⁴ Only in H.

²⁵⁵ H *mātāpitāro*.

²⁵⁶ A, B, C, H *sakalapathavīmaṇḍale*.

²⁵⁷ D *nattheva*.

²⁵⁸ C, E *jīvamānesu*. A B, F, G *sajīvamānesu*.

²⁵⁹ C, D *mātāpitūnaṃ puttā*.

²⁶⁰ C n.m.

²⁶¹ *annapāṇena vā* is C, E, F, H *annena vā pāṇena vā*. D *anena vā pāṇena vā*.

²⁶² Only in G.

²⁶³ E, H n.m.

²⁶⁴ H *sabbakusalesu kammesu*.

²⁶⁵ Only in E.

²⁶⁶ A, B, C, D *sabbakusalāni*.

vā katvā²⁶⁷ phalaṃ gahetvā tesāṃ mātāpitūnaṃ denti. sace sabbakusalaṃ kammaṃ²⁶⁸ evaṃ katvā²⁶⁹ mātāpitūnaṃ dhammarakkhaṃ²⁷⁰ nāma.²⁷¹ tena vuttaṃ:

[48] ye ca mātāpitūnaṃ ca dhammena patikāraṃ [e.g., A I 31, 16–17;
idh' eva te pasaṃsanti pecca sagge pamodare. J V 331, 9–10*; S I 182, 4–5]

[49] ākāsaṭṭhā ca bhūmmaṭṭhā devā sāgaraṭṭhā pi vā
sabbe te abhirakkhanti mātāpettibharaṃ naraṃ.

[50] Inda-Brahmādayo devā devasaṃghā surālayā
sabbe te²⁷² abhirakkhanti mātāpettibharaṃ naraṃ.

[51] yo pi icchati sampattiṃ idha loke paramhi ca
mātāpettibharo loke yathiccharaṃ labhate dhuvaṃ²⁷³ ti.

[§6] kathaṃ ācariyupajjhāyo²⁷⁴ dhammena saddhivihārikaṃ²⁷⁵ rakkheyya.²⁷⁶ silesu upajjhāyo saddhiṃ vihārikaṃ patitthapeti. puññaṃ sikkhāpeti. kammaṭṭhānaṃ ācikkhati. pāpehi nivāreti. upajjhāyo saddhivihārikaṃ asikkhaṃ dhammavinayaṃ sikkhāpeti. saddhivihārikaṃ dhammaṃ gambhīratthaṃ adakkhaṃ attano²⁷⁷ dakkhāpeti. adakkhaṃ nibbānaṃ saddhivihārikaṃ dakkhāpeti. puttaṃ viya sabbupakārehi sissaṃ rakkheyya.²⁷⁸ aho upajjhāyo sissānaṃ bahūpakāro. taṃ sissadhammarakkhaṃ nāma. tena vuttaṃ:

[52] ācariyo dhammena rakkhe²⁷⁹ sadā saddhivihārikaṃ
buddhādayo pasaṃsanti pacchā te amataṃ dadanti²⁸⁰ ti.

[§7] kathaṃ saddhivihāriko dhammena ācariyaṃ rakkheyya.²⁸¹ kāyaveyyāvacchena vā bhesajjena vā sabbupakārena vā pituṭṭhāne thapetvā sammā paricāreyya. sace ācariyupajjhāye vuḍḍhe²⁸² sisso sayāṃ payojeyya. sace upajjhāyo kammaṭṭhānaṃ²⁸³ na vaḍḍhati, sisso attano²⁸⁴ vaḍḍhāpeyya. sace upajjhāyo jīṇṇo sisso sappuriso upajjhāyassa sukhadukkhaṃ vilokento 'idāni mayhaṃ upajjhāyo me bahūpakāro jīṇṇo dubbalo mahallako' ti. annapānavatthasenaśānena paricāreyya.²⁸⁵ sabba-

²⁶⁷ E, F karonti.

²⁶⁸ sabbakusalaṃ kammaṃ is only in E, F.

²⁶⁹ C vatvā.

²⁷⁰ E, F dhammena rakkhaṃ. C, D dhammarakkhā.

²⁷¹ E, F nāma hoti.

²⁷² E sabbe te is te devā.

²⁷³ F verse is yathicchitaṃ labhissati.

²⁷⁴ All mss ācariyupajjhāyā except D, H.

²⁷⁵ All mss consider saddhi° separately as saddhiṃ here and after.

²⁷⁶ C rakkheyya ti. D, E, F rakkheyyuṃ.

²⁷⁷ All mss attanā except C.

²⁷⁸ E, F rakkheyyuṃ.

²⁷⁹ A, G dhammarakkhā. B, C, D, H rakkhena.

²⁸⁰ A, B, C, H padan.

²⁸¹ C rakkheyyā ti.

²⁸² None of the mss propose something understandable: A, B, G, H mutṭhe. C pamutṭhe. D matṭhe. E vutṭhe. F vutṭhe.

²⁸³ A kammaṭṭhāne.

²⁸⁴ After attano all mss include upajjhāyaṃ.

²⁸⁵ H paricāreyyuṃ.

kammaṃ²⁸⁶ upajjhāyassa attano bhāraṃ gahetvā²⁸⁷ karoti.²⁸⁸ sace upajjhāye avi-jjamāne sisso sayam sīlaṃ rakkhati. dānaṃ deti buddhabimbaṃ karoti thūpaṃ vā bohirukkhaṃ vā kuṭiṃ vā²⁸⁹ vihāraṃ vā. sabbakusalaṃ katvā²⁹⁰ upajjhāyassa paṭideti. taṃ upajjhāyadhammarakkhaṃ²⁹¹ nāma. tena vuttaṃ:

[53] ye ācariyaṃ dhammena sadā rakkhanti mettiyā
sabbe devā²⁹² paṣāṃsanti pacchā dibbasukhaṃ labhanti²⁹³ ti.

[§8] kathaṃ ñātiyo dhammena rakkheyya.²⁹⁴ puggalo²⁹⁵ annena vā pānena vā kusalesu niyojeyya²⁹⁶ pāpehi akusalehi dhammehi²⁹⁷ nivāreyya²⁹⁸ ti ñātidhamma-rakkhaṃ nāma. tena vuttaṃ:

[54] ye ñātivagge dhammena mettacittena rakkhitā²⁹⁹
idh' eva te³⁰⁰ sukhaṃ laddhā pacchā sagge pamodare ti.

[§9] kathaṃ sāmiko attano bhariyaṃ dhammena rakkheyya. vatthena vā ābharaṇena vā annapānādīhi vā saṅgaṇheyya.³⁰¹ parapurise³⁰² vā³⁰³ nivāreyya. ācārena³⁰⁴ sabba-itthisippe niyojeyya. sīladānādīsu³⁰⁵ kusalesu niyojeyya sakamātu³⁰⁶ viya sakabhāginī sodariyā ekamātukā viya. taṃ bhariyaṃ dhammarakkhaṃ nāma. tena vuttaṃ:

[55] ye gahaṭṭhā³⁰⁷ puññakarā³⁰⁸ sīlavanto upāsakā
dhammena dāraṃ posenti te namassāmi Mātali.

[= S I 234, 28–29]

²⁸⁶ E, F sabbaṃ kammaṃ.

²⁸⁷ attano bhāraṃ gahetvā is in A, G n.m. B, D, E upajjhāyassa attano bhāvaṃ.

²⁸⁸ E karetvā.

²⁸⁹ bodhirukkhaṃ vā kuṭiṃ vā is only in B, C, H.

²⁹⁰ All mss read gahetvā except H.

²⁹¹ The word upajjhāya° in missing in all the mss. I add it to make sense of the passage.

²⁹² E, F devā idha loke.

²⁹³ All mss labbhan except E, F.

²⁹⁴ C rakkheyyā ti. D rakkheyyuṃ.

²⁹⁵ Only in E, F.

²⁹⁶ D niyojeyyūṃ.

²⁹⁷ pāpehi akusalehi dhammehi is only in E, F.

²⁹⁸ D nivāreyyuṃ.

²⁹⁹ E, F rakkhanti.

³⁰⁰ B taṃ.

³⁰¹ This word is not in the mss. The Lao nissaya proposes saṅgaheyya on which I rely so that the sentence makes sense.

³⁰² All mss parapurise except F, H.

³⁰³ C, E n.m.

³⁰⁴ A E, F, H āharena. B ācariyena. C ākārena.

³⁰⁵ A, G dānādīsu.

³⁰⁶ H sakamātā.

³⁰⁷ E, F bahu°.

³⁰⁸ E, F karontā manussaloke.

[56]³⁰⁹ ye gahaṭṭhā puññaṃ katvā sīlavante uposathe
puttadāraṇ ca posenti te namassāmi Mātali.

³¹⁰sabbe ariyā pasamsanti pacchā te sugatim vaje ti.

[§10] kathaṃ bhariyā sāmikaṃ dhammena rakkheyya. bhariyā³¹¹ sāmikaṃ
sammā paricareyya pubbuṭṭhāyini³¹² pacchānipātiniṃ manāpacārinī piyavādinī
anukūlavacanena parikareyya. sāmikaṃ manasā pana³¹³ parapurise na pattheti.
sakapitu viya sakajetṭhabhātu viya sadā sā sāmikassa gāraṇaṃ kareyya sāmikassa
vacanaṃ nātikkammati. annapānavatthādīhi sabbupakārehi paricareyya. sace
sāmiko adhammiko hoti dhammesu³¹⁴ pana³¹⁵ niyojeyya. sīlaṃ rakkhāpeti
sabbāni kusalāni kāreti.³¹⁶ taṃ sāmikassa dhammarakkhaṃ³¹⁷ nāma. tena vuttaṃ:

[57] sāmivācāpiyā³¹⁸ loke mahābhogaṃ³¹⁹ mahaddhanaṃ³²⁰
sabbeccā yeva labhati³²¹ yathiccham pi nisaṃsayo.

[58] tasmā tumhe va³²² sabbattha sāmikabhattiya³²³ sadā
karoṭha³²⁴ suddhacittena yathā mayhaṃ anusāsaṇaṃ.
sāmibhattiphalaṃ loke pecca sagge pamodare³²⁵ ti.

[§11] sāmiko kathaṃ dāsaṃ dhammena rakkheyya. sāmiko dāsaṃ akāle kammaṃ
mā kāreti.³²⁶ mā bhāriyaṃ kammaṃ³²⁷ kāreti.³²⁸ sukhadukkhāṃ³²⁹ cinteyya.³³⁰
annena vā pānena vā vatthādīhi vā puttaṃ viya sakadāsaṃ³³¹ sammā careyya. taṃ
dāsadhammarakkhaṃ nāma. tena vuttaṃ:

³⁰⁹ A adds a strophe just before: *tvahi seṭṭho tilokasma tvaha deve mahiddhiko alo? sise kaḍḍhitvāna kassa kassa namassati.*

³¹⁰ Verse in B *sabbacariyā pasamsanti. E ariyā pasamsanti pacchā upāsakā sugatim gacchare vā ti.*

³¹¹ Only in B under the form *bhiriya*.

³¹² B *bharyā pubbuṭṭhāyini*.

³¹³ Only in D.

³¹⁴ F *bharyā dhammesu*.

³¹⁵ A, C *puna*.

³¹⁶ B, C, D, E, F, H *kāresi*.

³¹⁷ All mss treat *sāmikassadhammarakkhaṃ* as a single compound.

³¹⁸ B, C *rājapiyo*. D *rādhāpiyā*.

³¹⁹ E *mahābhogaṃ sabbasampattiṃ*.

³²⁰ B, C *mahādhanaṃ*.

³²¹ A, G *labhanti*.

³²² A, C, D, H *ca*. B *n.m.*

³²³ A, C, D *bhattiyaṃ*. B, C, H *bhattiya*. C *sāmikaṃ bhattiyaṃ*.

³²⁴ A, B *karotu*. H *karontu*.

³²⁵ B, C, E, F, H *pamodati*.

³²⁶ B, C, D, E, F *kāresi*.

³²⁷ Only in E and F.

³²⁸ B, C, D, G, H *kāresi*.

³²⁹ D *sukhaṃ dukkhaṃ*.

³³⁰ A, G *cittena*.

³³¹ E, F *sakadāsaṃ sāmiko*.

[59] dāsakammakare loke ye ca rakkhanti sabbadā
sabbe ariyā³³² paṣāṁsanti pacchā te sugatim vaje ti.³³³

[§12] kathaṁ³³⁴ dāsakammakarā sāmikaṁ dhammena rakkheyyuṁ. sāmikaṁ anukampanti. sāmīno dhanāṁ karontā uppādentī sammāvacanaṁ kathenti.³³⁵ mātāpitaro viya anukampanti sāmikaṁ. taṁ sāmīdhammarakkhaṁ³³⁶ nāma. tena vuttaṁ:

[60] dāsakammakarā loke sadā rakkhanti sāmike
karonti suddhacittena yathā mayhaṁ 'nusāsaṇaṁ.
sāmībhattiphalāṁ loke pecca sagge pamodare³³⁷ ti.

[§13] kathaṁ samaṇabrahmaṇā sabbalokaṁ³³⁸ dhammena rakkheyyuṁ? sabbadā mettacittaṁ bhāvetvā phalaṁ lokassa³³⁹ dadeyyuṁ. bhāvaṇaṁ vaḍḍhetvā³⁴⁰ puññaṁ lokānaṁ dadeyyuṁ samaṇabrāhmaṇā. asutaṁ³⁴¹ dhammaṁ suṇāpeyyuṁ sutāṁ dhammaṁ pariyāpeyyuṁ. kusalesu niyojeyyuṁ. pāpehi nivāreyyuṁ. agatigamaṇaṁ nivāreyyuṁ. sabbasatte attano pāṇaṁ³⁴² sāmeyyuṁ.³⁴³ taṁ dhammalokarakkhaṁ nāma. tena vuttaṁ:

[61] brāhmaṇā samaṇā³⁴⁴ ceva³⁴⁵ loke dhammena sabbadā
sammā have sadā rakkhā pacchā gacchanti nibbutin ti.

[§14] manussā kathaṁ samaṇabrāhmaṇe dhammena rakkheyyuṁ.³⁴⁶ samaṇabrāhmaṇānaṁ sukhadukkhāṁ³⁴⁷ cinteyyuṁ. ovādaṁ gaṇheyyuṁ. gāraṇaṁ³⁴⁸ kareyyuṁ. samaṇabrāhmaṇānaṁ³⁴⁹ kāyena vā vācāya vā manasā vā evaṁ katvā taṁ samaṇabrāhmaṇānaṁ dhammarakkhaṁ³⁵⁰ nāma. tena vuttaṁ:

[62] ^asamaṇabrāhmaṇe cāpi ^bsilavante bahussutte
ye ca dhammena rakkhanti sadā labhanti te sukhaṁ.

[^{ab}≠ Ja VI 286,
16/18/20/22*]

[63] māvamaññetha³⁵¹ te sabbe silavante kudācanaṁ
brahmacārīdhammacare gacchanti nirayabhusaṁ.³⁵²

³³² sabbe ariyā is in B sabbācariyā. C, D sabbe acariyā.

³³³ C vaje ti is labhati.

³³⁴ kathaṁ is n.m. in A, E, F, G, and replace sāmikaṁ in B, C, D, H. I follow the structure of the text.

³³⁵ A, H karonti.

³³⁶ Only in C. All the mss write dhammasāmīrakkhaṁ.

³³⁷ A, D, E, F pamodati. C, H pamodati ti.

³³⁸ F sabbaloke.

³³⁹ F lokānaṁ.

³⁴⁰ F bhāvetvā.

³⁴¹ A, B, C, G, H asuttaṁ. D, E, F sutāṁ.

³⁴² All mss pāṇa° except D.

³⁴³ A samayyuṁ. B °sammaṁ sameyyuṁ. C samaṁ sameyyuṁ. D sameyyuṁ. E, F, H °same rakkheyyuṁ.

³⁴⁴ Verse is in E ye brāhmaṇā ye samaṇā. F ye brāhmaṇā ca ye samaṇā

³⁴⁵ E, F ca rakkheyyuṁ.

³⁴⁶ C, D, E, F rakkheyyuṁ ti.

³⁴⁷ All mss read sukka°, except D sukhaṁ dukkhaṁ.

³⁴⁸ A, C, D, E, F garukataṁ.

³⁴⁹ B samā caḍḍeyyuṁ. D °brāhmaṇesu samā paḍḍeyyuṁ kāyena. H n.m.

³⁵⁰ C, D samaṇabrāhmaṇarakkhaṁ.

³⁵¹ A, B māvamaññethapetvā.

³⁵² C, D, H niriyāṁ bhusaṁ.

[64] samaṇā nāma nidosā mettacittasamaṅgino
mā nidose 'vamaññetha doso āgacchate dhuvaṃ.

[65] yathā³⁵³ rajo paṭikhitto paṭivātaṃ upari³⁵⁴
tass' eva nipatant' ettha tathā³⁵⁵ cakkhuṃ vihaññare.³⁵⁶

[66] evam eva ca nidose ca duṭṭhe dosapāpīte
sabbe dosā punāgacchum idha loke paramhi ca.

[67] māpamaññetha³⁵⁷ pāpassa na m' antaṃ³⁵⁸ āgamissati
udabindunipātena udakumbho pi pūراتي
pūراتي bālo pāpassa thokaṃ thokaṃ pi ācinaṃ.

[≠ Dhp 121]

[68] madhu va maññati bālo yāva pāpaṃ na paccati
yadā ca paccati pāpaṃ mahāghoraṃ pi gacchati.³⁵⁹

[cf. Dhp 69]

[69] na mātā na pitā bhātā na mittakulabandhavā
antakenādhīpannassa natthi ñātīsu tāṇatā.³⁶⁰

[cf. Dhp 288]

[70] ^aattanā va kataṃ pāpaṃ attanā vānubhūyate
attanā kusalaṃ kataṃ³⁶¹ attanā labbhate sukhaṃ.

[^a = Dhp 161^a]

[71] dhammañ care sucariṃ na taṃ duccharitaṃ care
dhammacārī sukhaṃ seti idha loke paramhi ca.

[≠ Dhp 169]

[72] dhammadharo dhammarato dhammaṃ yo vābhirakkhati
dhammo taṃ abhirakkhati mahantaṃ dhārachattaṃ va³⁶²
pacchā lokantakaṃ vaje³⁶³ ti.

[§15] so Sambalupāsako³⁶⁴ bahalagambhīruttānaṃ taṃ³⁶⁵ sakalovādavino-
danasamatthaṃ Gavampatītherassa vacanaṃ³⁶⁶ pavaradhammaṃ³⁶⁷ sutvā
pītipharitahadayo hadayabbhantaragata micchāvīgato therāṃ khamāpetvā.
therassa pāde sakasirasā sādarena vanditvā “accayo maṃ bhante accagamā taṃ
khamatha. bhante yo 'haṃ³⁶⁸ timirandhakāramicchājālapaticchādito³⁶⁹ tumhākaṃ

³⁵³ E, F yathā hīnena.

³⁵⁴ C, D c' upari. H v' upari.

³⁵⁵ A, B, C, D tattha. E tatha.

³⁵⁶ E, F vihaññare tejanā maññanti.

³⁵⁷ The mss read *māvamaññetha*; however, this appears to be a confusion with *māpamaññetha*, which is the correct reading in the Dhp. Emended accordingly.

³⁵⁸ A, B, C, E, F, G mattaṃ. D mataṃ. H matthaṃ. Emended following the PTS edition.

³⁵⁹ E *pāpaṃ mahāgoraṃ pi gacchati* is *mahādukkhaṃ ghoraṃ va gacchati*.

³⁶⁰ The mss do not provide a coherent reading for *ñātīsu tāṇatā* (B, F: *casu ttānathā*; C: *casu ttānathā*; D: *casu tānattā*; E: *ca puttānattā*; H: *ca puttānaṃ ttā*). I suggest the reading of the Dhp.

³⁶¹ A, B, C, D, F katvā.

³⁶² *dhārachattaṃ va* is A, B, D, H *dhārachattaṃ vā*. E *vārasattaṃ ca*. F *vārasattaṃ ca*.

³⁶³ The *pāda* is E so *nibbānaṃ pacchāttacche*. F so *nibbānaṃ pacchā gacchati*.

³⁶⁴ G, H *sambala-upāsako*.

³⁶⁵ C, D, H n.m.

³⁶⁶ H n.m.

³⁶⁷ Only in B, C, E.

³⁶⁸ C *haṃ pi*.

³⁶⁹ *timirandhakāramicchājālapaticchādito* is A, B, D, E, F, H *timirandhakāramicchājālaṃ paticchādito*. D *timirandhakāramicchāya paticchādito*.

guṇamahantaṃ³⁷⁰ ajānanto, ajjatagge pāṇupetaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi, dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi saṃghaṃ³⁷¹ ti.

uṭṭhāya añjaliṃ paggaḥetvā nisīdi. Gavampati Brahmaṃputtathero upāsake ca sisse apaloketvā parinibbāyi.

[§16] kenatthena “nibbānaṃ” ti vuccate.³⁷² “sīlatatthena nibbānaṃ cando viya. kilesasussanattatthena³⁷³ suriyo viya nibbānaṃ. patiṭṭhānatthena nibbānaṃ pathavī viya.³⁷⁴ acalanatthena selo viya nibbānaṃ. ratanānaṃ sambhūtatthena sāgaro³⁷⁵ viya nibbānaṃ. samodhānatthena nibbānaṃ devānaṃ sudhammā viya. pathavī natthi āpo natthi vāyo natthi tejo natthi sītaṃ natthi uṇhaṃ natthi khudā³⁷⁶ natthi taṇhā natthi.³⁷⁷ yasmā³⁷⁸ ajāti-ajarā-abyādhimaraṇaṃ khemaṃ santaṃ paramaṃ³⁷⁹ sukhaṃ³⁸⁰ evaṃ³⁸¹ mahānagaraṃ nibbānaṃ. tañ ca mahānagaraṃ nibbānaṃ sapākāraṃ sadvāraṃ saṭṭālakaṃ saparikkhaṃ savīthi sa-antarāpanaṃ sathambhaṃ sagabbhaṃ sasayanaṃ sapallaṅkaṃ sapadīpajalitaṃ sapokkharāṇiṃ sītajalaparipuṇṇaṃ savālukaṃ sapadumupalaṃ³⁸² bhamaragaṇasevitaṃ haṃsasacakkavākabalākajīvajīvakakokilamayurakoṇcagaṇasevitaṃ evaṃ māhānagaranibbānaṃ [cf. Nibbāna-s 121, 10–122, 8].

antarāpanaṃ dasakusalakammampathaṃ. [virīya]thambaṃ. abhidhammapakaraṇagabbhaṃ.³⁸³ nekkhammasayanaṃ. vimuttiñāṇaṃ pallaṅkaṃ. padīpajalitaṃ nibbāne va³⁸⁴ bhavaṃ.³⁸⁵ pokkharāṇi saccaparami mālāgandhavilepanaṃ viriyaṃ.³⁸⁶ [karuṇā]jalaparipuṇṇaṃ. aṭṭhārasabuddhañāṇaṃ bālukaṃ. khiṇāsavaṃ bhamaragaṇasevitaṃ.³⁸⁷ arahantagaṇānidosāṃ³⁸⁸ haṃsasacakkavākabalākajīvajīvakakokilamayurakoṇcagaṇasevitaṃ nibbāne.³⁸⁹ evaṃ nibbānaṃ mahānagaraṃ³⁹⁰ [cf. Nibbāna-s 122, 12–123, 9] ti. tena vuttaṃ:

³⁷⁰ A, B, C guṇaṃ mahantaṃ.

³⁷¹ All mss add saraṇaṃ gacchāmi.

³⁷² G vuccati.

³⁷³ The mss do not provide a satisfactory reading: A: *susanatthena*; B: *susanatthe*; C, H: *sussanatthena*; D: *sulanatthena*; E, F: *surisanatthena*. I rely here on the Nibbāna-s.

³⁷⁴ H *pathavī viya* is n.m.

³⁷⁵ E, F *sāro*.

³⁷⁶ The mss do not provide a satisfactory reading: A, B, D, G, H: *khiddhā*; C: *khandā*; E, F: *niddhā*. I suggest *khudā* instead.

³⁷⁷ *taṇhā natthi* is n.m. in A, B, G.

³⁷⁸ Only in H.

³⁷⁹ A, B, C *santaṃ paramaṃ* is *santaparamaṃ*.

³⁸⁰ A, B, C, G *padam*.

³⁸¹ B, D, G, H *eva*.

³⁸² A, B, C, E, F n.m.

³⁸³ H *abhidhammapakaraṇaṃ gabbhaṃ*.

³⁸⁴ B, C, D n.m.

³⁸⁵ D *bhāvanā*.

³⁸⁶ B *vividhviriyaṃ*.

³⁸⁷ A, B, E, F *khiṇāsavaṃ bhamaragaṇasevitaṃ* is *khiṇāsavabhamaragaṇasevitaṃ*.

³⁸⁸ A, E, F *arahantagaṇānidosā*°. B *arahattagaṇānidosā*°. H *arahantaṃ gaṇānidosāṃ*.

³⁸⁹ E adds *arahanti niradāsakilesaṃ*. F adds *arahanti niradosakilesaṃ*.

³⁹⁰ *nibbānaṃ mahānagaraṃ* is A, B, D, E *nibbānanaṃ nagaraṃ*. C *nibbānanagaraṃ*.

[74] padam accutam accantaṃ asaṃkhatam anuttaraṃ
nibbānam iti bhāsanti vānamuttā mahesayo ti. [= Nāmac 299]

[§17] Gavampati therō nibbāne pāturahosi. tasmim̐ khaṇe sakalajambū-
dipavāsino khattiyabrāhmaṇavessasuddhādayo³⁹¹ upāsaka-upāsikā ca³⁹² sannipatitvā
sattaratindivaṃ therassa pūjaṃ³⁹³ kurumānā sabbe khiṇāsavā sabbarat-
tindivaṃ sattapakaraṇābhidhammaṃ gaṇasajjhāyaṃ akaṃsu. punadivase
Vissukammo sattaratanakhacittā anekakuṭāgārā nisajjetvā sobhanāni sobhiyamāno
ahosi. tasmim̐ khaṇe Sakko³⁹⁴ sattaratanakhacitaṃ³⁹⁵ suvaṇṇamañjūsam̐ karoti.
ālāhane³⁹⁶ therassa bhagavā anekasahassakhiṇāsavaparivuto āgantvā
therassa sarīrakiccaṃ tiṭṭhapesi. surāsuraṇāgasupaṇṇagandhabbayakkhasiddha-
vijjādharaṇakinnarakinnarī pavarā therassa dayhante byāvattā³⁹⁷ ahesum̐.

tadā³⁹⁸ heṭṭhā pathavitalato yāva brahmalokā ekakolāhalaṃ ahosi. aññe
devasaṃghā iddhimantā mahānubhāvā sarīraṃ³⁹⁹ therassa dassanattthāya
āgantvā⁴⁰⁰ ekacakkavāḷaṃ⁴⁰¹ yeva purāyimsu. atha⁴⁰² “anukammena devānam̐⁴⁰³
antare yakkhā tiṭṭhanti, yakkhānam̐ antare⁴⁰⁴ gandhabbā tiṭṭhanti, gandhabbānam̐,
antare venateyyā tiṭṭhanti, venatayyānam̐ antare kinnarā tiṭṭhanti, kinnārānam̐
antare kimpurisā tiṭṭhanti, kimpurisānam̐ antare chattā tiṭṭhanti, chattānam̐
antare suvaṇṇacāmarā tiṭṭhanti, suvaṇṇacāmarānam̐ antare dhajā tiṭṭhanti,
dhajānam̐ antare paṭākā tiṭṭhanti, paṭākānam̐ antare kalasā tiṭṭhanti [Ja-a (ChS)
10, 5–8]” ti.

[§18] atha kho⁴⁰⁵ bhagavā therassa sarīranikkhepāvasāne⁴⁰⁶ dhātum̐ gaṇhāpetvā⁴⁰⁷
Vesālimahānagaram̐ eva gantvā Ghositārāme dhātum̐⁴⁰⁸ thapesi. sabbe rājāno
ca⁴⁰⁹ nagaravāsino ca⁴¹⁰ sakalajambudīpavāsino ca manussā ca therassa dhātum̐

³⁹¹ A *khattiyam̐ vesabrāhmaṇasuddhādayo*. B *khattiyam̐ brāhmaṇavesasuddhādayo*. D *khattiyabrāhmaṇam̐ vesasuddhādayo*. H *khattiyavesabrāhmaṇavesasudā*.

³⁹² Only in B, C, F, H.

³⁹³ B, E, F, *pūjitaṃ*.

³⁹⁴ B *sako devarājā*.

³⁹⁵ F *sattaratanam̐*.

³⁹⁶ E, F *āropetvā kallale*.

³⁹⁷ All mss read *byāvattā*. I suggest this is a scribal error for *vyāvaṭā*.

³⁹⁸ D *tathā*.

³⁹⁹ B, C, D H n.m.

⁴⁰⁰ A, C *vandanattthāya*. B, D, H *vandanattthāya pūjanattthāya*.

⁴⁰¹ B, C, D, F, G *ekacakkavāḷe*. E *ekacakkavāḷo*. I suggest *ekacakkavāḷam̐*.

⁴⁰² B, D, H n.m.

⁴⁰³ B *devānam̐*.

⁴⁰⁴ Only in H.

⁴⁰⁵ Only in C.

⁴⁰⁶ D *nikhepāvasane*. E, F *sarīranikkhepāvasāne bikkhusaṃgham̐*. H *sarīranikkhepāvasāne therassa*.

⁴⁰⁷ *gāhāpetvā*.

⁴⁰⁸ E, F *therassa dhātum̐*.

⁴⁰⁹ E, F n.m.

⁴¹⁰ A, C, F, H n.m.

mahāthūpaṃ suvaṇṇaratanakhacitaṃ⁴¹¹ Ghositārāme karimsu. atha⁴¹² sissā ca upāsakā ca⁴¹³ therassa guṇaṃ anussarivā⁴¹⁴ rodantā paridevantā “aho amhākaṃ upajjhāyo attano paññāya amhesu⁴¹⁵ anuttaradhammesu⁴¹⁶ sampayojesi”⁴¹⁷ ti cintesuṃ.⁴¹⁸

sāyaṇhasamaye dīpadhūpādi-anekasakkārāni⁴¹⁹ gāhāpetvā⁴²⁰ parivārā⁴²¹ vihāraṃ gacchanti. Bhagavā⁴²² pana⁴²³ sāyaṇhasamaye sattaratanarañjita-pavaradhammāsane⁴²⁴ nisinno madhuradhammaṃ desesi.⁴²⁵ desanāpariyosāne⁴²⁶ sabbe janā⁴²⁷ sotāpattiphalādīni pāpuṇimsu.⁴²⁸

tato paṭṭhāya Sambalopāsako⁴²⁹ anekakoṭṭidhanaṃ buddhasāsane⁴³⁰ vikiritvā⁴³¹ atirekatarāṃ puññaṃ katvā sāsane⁴³² pabbajitvā samathaṃ ca vipassanaṃ ca bhāvetvā⁴³³ pana⁴³⁴ arahattaṃ patvā⁴³⁵ nibbānadhātuyā kammajarūpakkhanda-vipākavasena⁴³⁶ parinibbāyati.⁴³⁷

Gavampatisuttaṃ samattaṃ.⁴³⁸

⁴¹¹ B *suvaṇṇarājātakhacittaṃ*.

⁴¹² H n.m.

⁴¹³ H n.m.

⁴¹⁴ A, B, C, G *sarivā*.

⁴¹⁵ B, C, D H *amhe*.

⁴¹⁶ D *anuttaradhamme*.

⁴¹⁷ A, B *payojesi*. C, E, F, H *payojeti*.

⁴¹⁸ All mss read *cintevā* except E, F.

⁴¹⁹ D *dīpadhūpāni sakkārāni*.

⁴²⁰ E, F *gaṇhāpetvā*.

⁴²¹ A, B, C, D, G *saparivārā*.

⁴²² B *atha Bhagavā*.

⁴²³ Only in E, F.

⁴²⁴ F °*varadhammāsane*.

⁴²⁵ B, D, E, F *pavattesi*. H *pavatesi*.

⁴²⁶ B, C, D *desanāvasāne*.

⁴²⁷ H *janā bahū*.

⁴²⁸ F, H *saṃpāpuṇimsu*.

⁴²⁹ B, E, F, H *sambalo upāsako*.

⁴³⁰ H *buddhassa sāsane*.

⁴³¹ D *karitvā*. E, F *vikiritvā visajjitvā*.

⁴³² Only in E and F.

⁴³³ E, F *bhāvetvā sambalo upāsako*.

⁴³⁴ *samathaṃ ca vipassanaṃ ca bhāvetvā pana* is only in E, F.

⁴³⁵ *arahattaṃ patvā* is B, H *arahattapatto*. C, D *arahattaṃ patto*.

⁴³⁶ *nibbānadhātuyā kammajarūpakkhanda vipākavasena* is only in E, F.

⁴³⁷ B, C, D, G, H *parinibbāyi*.

⁴³⁸ C *gavampati niṭṭhitaṃ bra mahākaccāyanatheranibbānasut(t)aṃ niṭṭhitaṃ, paripuṇṇo*. D *mahākaccāya(na) nibbānaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ*. E *gavampattisuttaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ*. G *bra kacāy nibbānasuttaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ nibbānapaccayo hoti*. H *gavampatinibbānasuttaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ nibbānapaccayo ti*.

English Translation

[§1] At one time, a Mahāthera (i.e., Great Elder) named Brahmaṇḍa, endowed with wisdom, concentration, and discipline, resided in the Sundara forest monastery at Mount Pajjalita, near the city of Hemabhūmi. He was devoted to the Dhamma, virtuous, a great disciple, renowned among the 80 disciples. Revered by gods and men, he had obtained the worship of the great disciples due to his supernatural abilities. He was very wise, possessed supernatural powers, and was kind to all beings, with a beautiful appearance. Except for the Omniscient One, the Buddha, there was no other disciple comparable to the Thera. Wherever he went, men and gods, seeing him, were pleased, and in every place they praised [him]: “Our Teacher has come!”

The Thera, upon hearing their words thought, “People praise me. Now, I will deliver myself from the ground of unworthy persons. Well then, after making myself appear ugly, I will adopt another form!” From that moment on, the Thera possessed all supernatural powers. [People thought,] “Formerly, the Thera was named Brahmaṇḍa, [but] now, why is he called ‘Gavampati’?” The words of the Thera were understood by [all] beings; [therefore] he is called “Gavampati”. The Thera taught the Dhamma to all beings, as did the Buddha. Or he preached the Dhamma with sweet words to beings, therefore, he is called “Gavampati”.⁴³⁹

⁴³⁹ See *supra* for the explanation of Gavampati as meaning “Lord of speech”.

Later, when the Thera examined his life-force, he realized it was declining. He reflected, “After seeking the Master’s permission, I shall attain final release”. Taking his robe and bowl, he departed from the Sundara forest monastery with a suite of 500 monks and gradually reached the Jetavana. He paid homage to the Master [i.e., the Buddha, and said]:

“Venerable Sir, my life-force has now abandoned me. Venerable Sir, I ask for your permission”.

The Blessed One granted his consent to the Thera.

[§2] The Thera then returned to the Sundara forest monastery and adorned with many methods [of exposition],⁴⁴⁰ exhorted his lay followers and disciples with the sweet Dhamma. He took leave of his lay followers and all those who depended on him, reflecting once more:

“Among my lay followers and supporters, there is one named Sambala. He is obstinate, selfish, hard to instruct, and holds wrong views. Though I have exhorted and advised him, he does not heed me. After my death, who will be able to discipline Sambala? Currently, he does not grasp my teachings, but, apart from me, [only] the Blessed One could convert him. Moreover only as my death approaches do men and relatives, beginning with brothers, masters, and spiritual teachers, remember [my teachings].⁴⁴¹ Therefore,

⁴⁴⁰ This probably refers to the ninefold classification (*navāṅga*) of the Buddha’s teaching: (1) discourse (*sutta*); (2) that which is to be chanted (*geyya*); (3) exposition (*veyyākaraṇa*); (4) verse (*gāthā*); (5) inspired utterance (*udāna*); (6) “thus it was said” (*itivuttaka*); (7) birth story (*jātaka*); (8) marvellous phenomena (*abbhutadhamma*); (9) analytical discourse (*vedalla*).

⁴⁴¹ The grammatical construction of this sentence

it is fitting to instruct my lay followers now". He sent for the lay followers [and said]:

"Dear lay followers, whoever you are, if you are truly [loyal] to me, keep my words in mind! After my death, honor the six directions! And [now], I will take my leave from you". All the disciples and lay followers asked: "Venerable, where are you going?" The Thera said:

"My sons, I am going to the face of death. Now, I will attain final release". Upon hearing the Thera's word, all the supporters and lay followers became dismayed. It was as if 100,000 thunderbolts had struck the Sundara forest monastery and they lamented as violently as a forest of Sāla trees caught in a storm at the end of an age. Hence it was said:

- [1] Like Sāla trees shattered, crushed by a powerful wind,
Disciples and lay followers lay overwhelmed in the Thera's hermitage.
- [2] All the women lay followers,
similar to divine Apsaras,
Lamented with outstretched arms:
"Why will you abandon us?"
- [3] In Nandana, servant girls, villagers,
and heavenly maidens
Lamented with outstretched arms:

poses some difficulties. Furthermore, it appears that in the Lao *nissaya*, as well as in the Siamese translation, there is uncertainty regarding *anussaranti/anussaranti*, resulting in two interpretations of the overall meaning. The Lao *nissaya* relies on *anussaranti* ("they follow"), "Mais tous les gens qui avaient des parents ou des amis susceptibles de recevoir l'enseignement me font confiance comme Précepteur" (trans. Lagirarde 2001: 405); while the Thai translation supports *anussaranti* ("they remember"), as in the Pali text, "[...] et comme les leçons données à l'article de la mort sont éminentes elles doivent s'inscrire dans la mémoire et demeurer inoubliable" (trans. Ibid., 472).

"Why will you abandon us?"

[4] In Nandana, villagers, [their] sons and daughters, and sons of the gods
Lamented with outstretched arms:
"Why will you abandon us?"

[5] Gathered together, the followers and disciples of the Thera
Lamented with outstretched arms:
"Why will you abandon us?"

[6] There, in his hermitage, the Thera was righteous—speaking in accordance with the Dhamma, revering the Dhamma, living by the Dhamma, delighting in the Dhamma.

[7] Making his mind dwell in the Dhamma, he was an expert, a supporter in conformity with the Dhamma, practicing Dhamma among Dhamma-practitioners and confident in the essence of the Dhamma.

[§3] When he heard the wailing—"Why will you abandon us?"—from his followers and disciples, the Thera, restraining his lay followers with a discourse on impermanence, spoke these verses:

[8] Do not sorrow and lament! All existence [is marked by] suffering.
Whoever is dead has never come back with laments!

[9] For people, death is not only in [this] village,
Nor in [this] house, nor in [this] kingdom.

[10] That all formations are impermanent, [this] all the buddhas have proclaimed.

Having arisen, they cease: this is the law for [all] beings.

[11] As a clod of earth thrown into the sky surely falls to the ground,
So it is for all beings, life [ends] surely in death.

[12] As the river flows from the mountain and never turns back,

So the life of men flows and never turns back.

[13] The young and the old, the foolish and the wise,
And the rich and the poor—all end in death.

[14] Brahmins, khattiyas, vessas, suddas, outcastes, and scavengers,
It spares none along the way but comes crushing everything.

There is no ground there for elephant troops, for chariot troops and infantry.

One cannot defeat it by a magic spell or with wealth.

[15] No pact exists with death; all end in death.

Jotika, Jatila, Ugga, Meṇḍaka, and Puṇṇaka,

These five, renowned for their great merits in this world, all came to death.

How [would] others not meet with it?

[16] Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Bhīmasena, Yudhiṭṭhila,

These four great mortals renowned of great strength,

All succumbed to death. How were others freed from it?

[17] He joyfully gave a hundred million after conquering all the earth,

Yet in the end, his realm was diminished to less than half an āmalaka fruit's worth.

Even the king in Nandana, when his merit was exhausted,
Face to face with death, he too, though called Asoka [lit., "without sorrow"], felt sorrow.

Thus, having exhorted the lay followers about the nature of death, the Thera further exhorted them about the worthlessness of the body and spoke these verses:

[18] Truly, this body is weak, and although it is common to all,

It is full of terrors from birth and plundered by the thief of aging.

[19] It is the dwelling place of a tiger family—disease—crushed by sorrow and death, full of torment from illness, afflicted by many griefs,
Crowded with the ghosts of delusion, haunted by the demon of wrath.

[20] Covered with clammy skin, with nine openings, a great wound;
From all sides oozes impurity, with foul smells.

[21] This foul-smelling, impure body, a corpse, is like excrement;

Those with vision condemn this body [in which] the fool delights.

[22] If the inside of this body were [visible] from the outside,

Surely, one having taken a stick, would drive away the crows and dogs.

[23] Do not gaze upon this body! It is worthless and lacks beauty.

The person who relies upon this body, committing evil, [Will] surely go to hell. If [you] have affection for me,⁴⁴²

[24] Do not lament! Having practiced firmly pure actions such as virtue and giving alms,

Always be respectful towards ascetics and brahmins.

[25] And do not harm living beings—be they lean, fat, big, small, or frail! You always should speak with loving-kindness!

[26] Follow my words! Just as one is dear to oneself, so are others dear to themselves.

One should [not] harm another living being!

⁴⁴² I rely on the Lao *nissaya* for the understanding of this verse (Lagirarde 2001: 411).

[27] One experiences great suffering from union with and separation from what is dear.

With union with what is dear [arises] happiness and suffering.
[28] As is the seed, so will be the fruit.

Therefore, do not cause harm to any living being!

[29] You should not take another person's wealth—whether it is small or large.

Even if you consider another person's wealth, you should consider it like a poisonous snake!

[30] What is the use, the benefit in taking someone else's wealth?

After using the owner's wealth and things,

Later, one [will] go to hell for the next hundred rebirths [and] also [become] the servant of the owner.

[31] One should not go after another's wife; she is like a poisonous tree;

One should not even desire another's spouse. In both cases lies danger.

In this world and in the next, the body is also destroyed; And after, one arises in the terrifying hell, [of this] there is no doubt.

[32] One should never speak a lie under any circumstances.

For having deceived the weak for the sake of wealth and without cause,

And causing him harm, one surely [will] go to hell.

[33] Later, in every rebirth, one is always weak.

If one harms living beings, one experiences great suffering.

[34] The man intoxicated by alcohol and spirits

Becomes a yakkha for 500 births, a dog for 500 births,

Mad, and blind: these are the faults of drinking alcohol.

Thus, the Thera, having exhorted lay followers, pupils, and others with the five precepts and other [teachings], began exhorting on how to behave in the world and spoke these verses:

[35] Always devote yourself to agriculture and trade in accordance with the Dhamma,

Do not act contrary to the Dhamma, [for] you [will] surely go to hell!

[36] If one makes false coin, false measuring, false weighing,

It is all called theft and he [will] surely go to hell!

[37] [If some]one, [practices] agriculture contrary to the Dhamma,

Having exploited buffaloes and cows, or even a man, a male or female servant, he [will] surely go to hell!

[38] Later, they [will] be born in such a way that they [will] be exploited in the same way.

Therefore, do not act [thusly and] you [will] attain supreme happiness!

The Thera, having exhorted the lay followers in this way, exhorted them about conduct and behavior towards the king and illuminated [them] with these verses:

[39] Those who wish happiness in this world—men and also women—

Always serve the king with a pure heart and devotion.

[40] Do not perform carelessly any royal duties!

With devotion, [women and men] always increase the king's happiness and welfare.

[41] The king is like a god, a supreme granter of all wishes, always, Liberating from all suffering, he is indeed the giver of all desires.

[42] Do not disregard [the importance of this, or] you will obtain great loss everywhere!

Just as the blazing fire consumes even a tree in the forest.

[43] Even if a seed, trunk, flower, or fruit arise;

Those who disrespect the king's duties have no respect,

They are destroyed by the king's wrath and they will not rise again.

[44] The king is [like] a god, of great majesty, a giver of all desires,

He even surpasses the gods, renowned throughout all the worlds.

Whoever desires happiness [should] always pay homage to the king-god.

[45] When one has obtained through all offerings, [...]

Those who honor the king, [source of] great enjoyment and vast wealth,

Obtain all desires according to their wishes—there is no doubt.

[46] Therefore, in every case, always serve the king with a pure heart, in accordance with my instruction.

One rejoices in this world in the fruit of his devotion to the ruler and after death in heaven.

[§4] Having exhorted the lay followers in this way, the Thera reflected again:

“Now, I shall discipline this lay follower Sambala”.⁴⁴³

[And said:]

“Dear ones, when I point out the six directions, pay reverence! Which

directions? Dear ones, they are the eastern direction, the southern direction, the western direction, the northern direction, the nadir, and the zenith”.

The Thera then thought: “This lay follower Sambala holds wrong views and behaves wrongly”. Uttering his sweet voice, which flowed from his open mouth like the fragrance of a lotus and was endowed with eight qualities, the Thera Gavampati spoke these verses:

[47] Mothers and fathers are the eastern direction, teachers are the southern direction,

Relatives are the western direction, wives and children are the northern direction,

Servants and workpeople are the nadir, ascetics and brahmins are the zenith.

The Thera said:

“Dear ones, why are parents called the eastern (*pubba*^o) direction? It is because of their previous (*pubba*^o) service. Indeed, the parents, having performed merit in the past (*pubbe*), made the resolution: ‘Thanks to this amount [of merits,] we will have a child’. Therefore, parents are called the eastern direction. When a child is born, they protect and care for him. In the beginning, they provided their child [with] what is beneficial. In the beginning, they showed their child what is proper and what is improper. And in the beginning, they provided him with clothes and ornaments. Therefore, parents are called the eastern direction.

Why are the teachers called the southern (*dakkhiṇā*) direction? Because of the gift (*dakkhiṇāya*) of the teachers, one sees what is unseen, what is wholesome and unwholesome. The teacher

⁴⁴³ The Lao *nissaya* is clearer in this passage, as Gavampati brings Sambala before him to attend the sermon (Lagirarde 2001: 416–417).

shows deep meaning that was unseen. He shows the essence of discipline that was unseen. He shows the knowledge of liberation that was unseen. He shows what should be done [to reach] nirvana that was unseen. Therefore, teachers are called the southern direction.

Why are relatives called the western (*pacchima*^o) direction? Since his birth⁴⁴⁴ and [even] after (*pacchā*), relatives have pity, they take care, they protect [the individual]. Therefore, relatives are called the western direction.

Why are wives and children called the northern (*uttara*^o) direction? Because through wives and children, one attains the ultimate (*uttara*^o) Dhamma. How so? The Bodhisatta fulfilled the perfections when he offered [his] wife and children to beggars,⁴⁴⁵ he fulfilled the perfections through them. Indeed, the Bodhisatta obtained omniscience and knowledge through his wife and children. Therefore, wife and children are called the northern direction.

Why are servants and workers called the nadir (*hetṭhā*^o)? Because they should be seated below (*hetṭhimato*) [their master], they should eat below [their master]. Moreover, the owners gain wealth on account of the servants. They gain the supreme Dhamma on account of the servants. Bodhisattas, having made the great gift of the 700,⁴⁴⁶ 700 female servants and 700 male servants, cannot

fulfil [the perfections] without female and male servants. They attain the ultimate Dhamma thanks to the servants. Therefore, servants and workers are called the nadir.

Why are ascetics and brahmins called the zenith (*upari*^o)? Because ascetics and brahmins show the attainment of the world of gods which is above (*upari*), the attainment of the [world of] Brahma, which is above (*upari*), and the attainment of nirvana, which is above (*upari*). Therefore, ascetics and brahmins are said to be the zenith".

[§5] Teaching the Dhamma to the lay followers, the Thera Gavampati continued:

"Dear lay followers, once children have grown, children should be protected by parents in accordance with the Dhamma. And parents should be protected by their children in accordance with the Dhamma. How do parents protect their grown children? [They say], 'Dear daughter, dear son, observe virtue, give alms!' They encourage their children toward meritorious deeds and keep them away from unmeritorious deeds. This is called the protection of children in accordance with the Dhamma.

And how do children protect parents with the Dhamma? Parents are of great help towards their children and, in return, [children] towards their parents. Indeed, from the moment they desire children, parents make the wish for children with offerings or with gold, silver, garments, or other [items] in homage to the gods. When the child is in the womb of his [mother], they will give even more wealth. For the child's life, when he is in the womb, they endure great suffering. Mothers also feel pain in the whole body, become pale, become thin all over, are unwell.

⁴⁴⁴ I rely on the Lao *nissaya* for the understanding of this compound (Lagarde 2001: 419).

⁴⁴⁵ This refers to distinct episodes in the *Vessantarajātaka*, in which the Bodhisatta gives his children to Jūjaka (an old brahmin) and, separately, his wife to Sakka in disguise.

⁴⁴⁶ Reference is to the great gift of 700 (*sattasatakaṃ mahādānaṃ*) in the *Vessantarajātaka* (Ja VI 494, 1–9), made of 700 elephants, horses, chariots, women, cows, and servants, 700 male and 700 female.

At the time of childbirth, they experience even greater suffering. At times, mothers are close to death, they are unconscious, sometimes they perish. Their body smeared with blood, having endured such pain they suffer, out of love for their child, they say: 'Where is my child?' and taking the blood-smeared child, hold [him] to their breast and nurse him.

For sure! How greatly helpful are [mothers] to their children! When feeding their child, or cleaning him, the mother gets rid of feces or urine into a bowl. The mother feels no disgust, out of love for her child. At times, the child may drool or urinate into the food. Still, the mother feels no disgust. She feeds him the food⁴⁴⁷ which has been soiled with urine and feces [and cleaned by her]. The mother's body always receives the child's waste, urine, phlegm, and others. She feels no disgust when her food is contaminated with child's waste.

Truly! Mothers are greatly helpful to their children! When the child becomes ill, mothers—their heart broken into seven pieces—worship deities with gold, silver, jewels, wealth, food, and other offerings. The more they grow, the more mothers show compassion to them. Truly! Mothers are greatly helpful to their children. That is why I say [that a mother] is very helpful to her child.

Even if someone, with great power and magnificence, were to seize the entire surface of the great earth and give his fortune to his parents, he [would] still not have repaid his debt to them.

⁴⁴⁷ The Lao *nissaya* understands the passage as referring to the mother eating food soiled with impurities. However, *bhojeti* has a causative value, which I retain here.

When parents are still alive, [children should] accept [to bow] their head at their feet. They support, guard, and protect [them] with food, drink, clothing, beds, and chairs and so on and all forms of care. Children make their parents develop the cultivation of mind. Children engage them in all meritorious deeds.

If parents hold wrong views, they make them established in right views. When parents have passed away, children protect their virtue by themselves, give alms, make a buddha image, or plant a Bodhi tree. Having built a stupa, a monastery, or a monk's cell (*kuṭi*), or done all meritorious deeds, they reap the fruits and offer them to their parents. If they perform all meritorious deeds and actions in this way, this is called the protection of parents in accordance with the Dhamma. For this was said:

[48] Those who are grateful towards parents according to the Dhamma, [Gods] praise them here, and after death they will rejoice in heaven.

[49] The gods who dwell in the sky, on earth, or even in the oceans, All of them protect the man who supports his parents.

[50] The gods—starting with Indra and Brahma—the assembly of gods, the abodes of gods, All of them protect the man who supports his parents.

[51] He who desires success in this world and the next, Supporting his parents here, always obtains what he desires.

[S6] How should a teacher or preceptor protect a pupil in accordance with the Dhamma? The preceptor establishes the disciple in moral discipline. He instructs him in meritorious deeds. He teaches

him the subject of meditation. He prevents him from unwholesome actions. The preceptor teaches the untrained disciple the Dhamma and *Vinaya*. He shows his pupil the deep meaning of the Dhamma that is unseen by him. He shows his pupil nirvana, that is unseen. He should protect his pupil with all supports, as if he were his son. For sure! The preceptor is greatly beneficial to his pupils. This is called the pupil's protection in accordance with the Dhamma. For this was said:

[52] The master should always protect his pupil in accordance with the Dhamma.

The Buddha and others praise [him], later they grant [him] the deathless.

[§7] How should a pupil protect his teacher in accordance with the Dhamma? He should serve him properly, as if he were his son, through physical assistance, medicine, or all [kind of] support. If the teacher or preceptor is elderly, the pupil should personally act on his behalf. If the spiritual teacher does not progress in meditation, the pupil should cultivate his own development. If the spiritual teacher is elderly, the good pupil, observing his teacher's comfort and suffering, thinks: 'Now, my teacher, who was so helpful, is old, weak, and aged'. He [then] should serve him with food, drink, clothing, requisites for sleeping, and sitting. He takes all the duties of his preceptor as his own responsibility and carries them out. If the preceptor has passed away, the disciple protects his virtue by himself, gives alms, makes an image of the Buddha, or builds a stupa, plants a Bodhi tree, constructs a monk's cell or

monastery. After performing all these meritorious deeds, he dedicates [them] to his preceptor. This is called the protection of the preceptor in accordance with the Dhamma. For this was said:

[53] Those who always protect their teacher with loving-kindness in accordance with the Dhamma,

All the gods praise [them]; afterwards they attain divine happiness.

[§8] How should one protect relatives in accordance with the Dhamma? A person should invite them to perform meritorious deeds with food or drink, he should restrain them from unwholesome and wrong kinds of conduct. This is called the protection of the relatives in accordance with the Dhamma. For this was said:

[54] Those who protect their relatives with a mind of loving-kindness, in accordance with the Dhamma,

They obtain happiness in this world and later they rejoice in heaven.

[§9] How should a husband protect his wife in accordance with the Dhamma? He should treat her kindly with clothing, ornaments, food, drink, and other [things]". Or he should keep away other men. He should encourage her in all the arts and skills [appropriate] for women. He should encourage [her] in virtue, in giving, and in meritorious deeds, as if she were his own mother, or his sister born from the same mother. This is called the protection of one's wife in accordance with the Dhamma. For this was said:

[55] I worship, O Mātali, those householders who make meritorious deeds, The virtuous lay followers who maintain their wife in accordance with the Dhamma.

[56] I worship, O Mātali, those householders who, having made meritorious deeds,

Are virtuous during the Uposatha (i.e., Observance Day) and who maintain children and wife.

All noble men praise [them], after death they go to a good destiny.

[§10] How should a wife protect her husband in accordance with the Dhamma? A wife should properly serve her husband. Rising early and retiring late, she should serve with agreeable words, undertaking whatever needs to be done, agreeable in her conduct, and pleasing in speech. And she [should] not desire, even by thought, men other than her husband. She should always respect her husband like her own father, like her elder brother. She does not go against her husband's word. She should serve him with food, drink, clothing, and all [kind of] support. If her husband behaves unrighteously, she should nevertheless guide him toward the Dhamma. She causes him to protect virtue and causes him to make all meritorious deeds. This is called the protection of the husband in accordance with the Dhamma. For this was said:

[57] In this world, a [wife] who speaks with affection to her husband, Obtains great enjoyment and vast wealth, all desires—whatever she may desire, there is no doubt.

[58] Therefore, always and everywhere, be devoted to your husband with a pure heart, in accordance with my instruction.

In this world, you will rejoice in the fruit of devotion to your husband and, after death, in heaven.

[§11] How should an owner protect a servant in accordance with the Dhamma?

The owner does not make a servant work at inappropriate times. He does not make him do a burdensome task. He should consider what is pleasant and painful [for him]. He should behave properly with his servant, with food, drink, or clothing, and so on, as if he were his son. This is called the protection of the servant in accordance with the Dhamma. For this was said:

[59] In this world, those who always protect servants and workers,

All the noble ones praise [them]; after, they [will] go to a good destiny.

[§12] How should servants or workers protect their owner in accordance with the Dhamma? They have sympathy for the owner. They generate wealth for him. They tell [him] right speech. They have sympathy [for him] as they do for their parents. This is called the protection of the owner in accordance with the Dhamma. For this was said:

[60] In this world, servants and workers always protect their owners, They work with a pure heart, in accordance with my instruction.

In this world, they [will] rejoice in the fruit of devotion to their owner and, after death, in heaven.

[§13] How should ascetics and brahmins protect the whole world in accordance with the Dhamma? Having developed a benevolent heart, they always should offer its fruit to the world. By cultivating meditation, ascetics and brahmins should offer [their] merits to the people. They should make [others] hear the Dhamma which they have not heard. They should make [others] master the Dhamma which they have heard. They should encourage [others] in meritorious deeds. They should prevent [others from] bad actions. They should prevent [others

from] going astray. They should appease all beings [as if with] their own life. This is called the protection of the world in accordance with the Dhamma. For this was said:

[61] In the world, brahmins and ascetics always [live] in accordance with the Dhamma;

Indeed, rightly and always protected, they go after to nirvana.

[§14] How should men protect ascetics and brahmins in accordance with the Dhamma? They should consider what is pleasant and painful for ascetics and brahmins. They should take advice. They should show them respect. Treating ascetics and brahmins in this way—through body, speech, and mind—is called the protection of ascetics and brahmins in accordance with the Dhamma. For this was said:

[62] The ascetics and brahmins, who are virtuous and learned,
Who protect [others] in accordance with the Dhamma, always attain happiness.

[63] Do not disregard all these virtuous ones who practice the religious life at any time!

[Those disregarding them] go to the great hell.

[64] Ascetics are said to be unblemished, endowed with a mind of loving-kindness.

Do not disregard the unblemished one! Or surely fault [will] result.

[65] Just as dust thrown upward against the wind falls back on him [i.e., the thrower],

So the eye is here afflicted.

[66] In the same way, in the unblemished one [or] the wicked one with faults or sins,

All faults come back, in this world and the next.

[67] Do not underestimate evil [thinking] “That will not come to me”. Even a waterpot fills through the falling of water drops.

A fool fills with evil, even accumulating little by little.

[68] A fool thinks it is like honey, as long as evil does not ripen.

But when evil ripens, he goes to the Mahāghora [hell].

[69] There is neither mother, nor father, brother, relatives, friends, nor clan,

For one who is overcome by the end-maker. There is no protection among kinsmen.

[70] By oneself only is evil done; by oneself only it is experienced;

By oneself is good done; by oneself is happiness obtained.

[71] One should practice the Dhamma with good conduct; one should not practice it with bad conduct.

One who practices the Dhamma sleeps happily, in this world and the next.

[72] He who holds the Dhamma, delights in the Dhamma, protects the Dhamma.

The Dhamma protects him, like a great parasol [shelters a king]; later he goes to the end of the world”.

[§15] Sambala the lay follower listened to the excellent Dhamma in the words of the Thera Gavampati, the exposition of which was profound and dense, able to dispel [impurities] through a complete instruction. His heart suffused with joy and without untruth gone inside it, he asked the Thera forgiveness. He [i.e., Sambala] paid homage reverently with his head at his feet and said:

“Venerable Sir, I committed a fault, may you forgive that! Venerable Sir, I was obscured because of the net of wrong

actions which blinded me like darkness; I was ignorant of your great virtues. From today, for the rest of my life I take refuge in the Buddha, I take refuge in the Dhamma, I take refuge in the Saṅgha”.

He held up an *añjali* and sat. The Thera Gavampati Brahmaputta took leave of lay followers and pupils and reached final release.

[§16] In what sense is nirvana (*nibbāna*) spoken of? Nibbāna is like the moon since it is cool. Nibbāna is like the sun since it dries up defilements. Nibbāna is like the earth since it is a support. Nibbāna is like a mountain since it is unmoving. Nibbāna is like the ocean since it is the treasury of jewels. Nibbāna is like the Sudhamma Hall of the gods since it is a gathering [place].

There is no earth, no water, no light, no wind, no cold, no heat, no hunger, and no craving. Thus, Nibbāna is a Great City because it is not subject to birth, decay, disease, and death—it is calm, peaceful, and the supreme [place] of happiness.

And the Great City that is Nibbāna has a wall, a gate, a watch-tower, a moat, streets, a marketplace, a pillar, an interior [place], a bed, a couch, a light burning, a pond filled with cool water and sand, with lotuses and water-lilies, frequented by swarms of bees, by swans, Cakkavāka birds, egrets, Jīvajīvaka birds, cuckoos, peacocks, and herons. Such is Nibbāna—the Great City”.

The inner marketplace is the ten paths of wholesome karma. The pillar is [effort].⁴⁴⁸ The inner chamber is the *Abhidhamma* texts. The bed is renunciation. The seat is the knowledge of liberation. The burning lamp is like

existence in Nibbāna. The lotus-pond is the perfection of truth; the garlands and perfumes are energy. It is filled with the water [of compassion];⁴⁴⁹ the sand is the 18 types of Buddha-knowledge. Frequented by swarms of bees that are the arhats [lit., those with “influences” (*āsavas*) destroyed]. Frequented by swans, Cakkavāka birds, egrets, Jīvajīvaka birds, cuckoos, peacocks, and herons that are the perfect assembly of arhats in Nibbāna. Such is Nibbāna—the Great City. For this was said:

[74] The great lords, free from craving, declared that nirvana is:

A changeless state, the absolute, the unconditioned, the unsurpassed.

[§17] The Thera Gavampati appeared in Nibbāna. At that moment, the inhabitants of the entire Jambu island—khattiyas, brahmins, vessas, suddas, and others, laymen and laywomen—gathered. For seven days and nights, all those with *āsavas* destroyed worshipped the Thera and, during seven days and nights, they collectively recited the seven books of the *Abhidhamma*. The next day, Vissukamma [i.e., the Celestial Architect] was busy beautifying the many pinnacle buildings adorned with seven jewels he had put at disposal. At that moment, Sakka [i.e., Indra] created a golden box embellished with seven [types of] jewels.

On the Thera’s funeral ground, the Blessed One, surrounded by many thousands of those with *āsavas* destroyed, arrived and accomplished the duties for the Thera’s body. During the cremation, noble suras, asuras, nāgas, supaññas, gandhabbas, yakkhas, mystics,

⁴⁴⁸ Cp. trans. Nibbāna-s 128.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid.

sorcerers, kinnaras, and kinnarīs⁴⁵⁰ [gathered] around.

At that moment, an uproar [resonated] from the surface of the earth up to the Brahma worlds. Having come to view the Thera's body, other divine assemblies endowed with magical powers and great prowess filled even this world-system. Then, respectively, yakkhas stood mingled together with the gods, gandhabbas stood mingled together with the yakkhas, venateyyas stood mingled together with gandhabbas, kinnaras stood mingled together with venateyyas, kimpurisas⁴⁵¹ stood mingled together with kinnaras, parasols stood mingled together with kimpurisas, golden fly-whisks stood mingled together with parasols, flags stood mingled with golden fly-whisks, banners stood mingled with flags, and jars stood mingled with banners.

[§18] After the laying down [i.e., cremation] of the Thera's body, the Blessed One collected the relics, went to the great city of Vesāli, and enshrined [them] at the Ghosita monastery. All the kings, citizens, inhabitants from all over the Jambu island, and men constructed a great stupa, adorned with gold and

jewels, for the Thera's relics at the Ghosita monastery.

Then, disciples and lay followers remembered the Thera's virtues, crying and lamenting. So they reflected: "Alas! Our preceptor, by his wisdom, has connected us with the excellent Dhamma!"

In the evening, carrying lamps, incense, and other offerings, the followers went to the monastery. The Blessed One, seated on the excellent Dhamma-seat, glowing with seven [kinds of] jewels, preached the sweet Dhamma in the evening. At the conclusion of the discourse, all the people attained the fruit of stream-entry and beyond.

From that time onward, the lay follower Sambala, having scattered countless wealth in the Buddha's dispensation, made even greater merit. Having gone forth into the dispensation, he developed concentration and insight, attained arhatship, and reached the final release of existence in the nirvana-element, as the result of [the cessation of] aggregates and materiality produced by karma.

The discourse on Gavampati is complete.

⁴⁵⁰ These terms designate various classes of supernatural beings in Buddhist cosmology, including gods (*suras*), antigods or titans (*asuras*), serpent spirits (*nāgas*), *garuḍa*-like celestial birds (*supaṇṇas*), heavenly musicians (*gandhabbas*), nature spirits or ogres (*yakkhas*), and mythical celestial beings, often depicted as part human and part bird, male and female (*kinnaras* and *kinnarīs*)—Editor's note.

⁴⁵¹ Venateyyas are *garuḍa*-like celestial birds, traditionally regarded as the descendants of Vinatā; kimpurisas are mythical semi-human beings whose name literally means "what sort of men?", reflecting their hybrid nature in Indian cosmology—Editor's note.

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