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THE BEGINNINGS OF THE BUDDHA'S TEACHING ACCORDING TO THE EKOTTARĀGAMA

André Bareau

A single Ekottarāgama has come down to us in its Chinese translation by Saṅghadeva and dating from 397-398¹. It is an apparently complete collection of sūtras, the origin of which remains a mystery. Although it contains numerous passages which are clearly Mahāyānist, it is obvious that these are only late additions inserted into a work which belonged to a school of that early Buddhism commonly called the Hinayāna. There is still discussion on the nature of this early school and several hypotheses have been proposed on the subject, the most satisfying being, in our opinion, that it formed part of the group derived from the Mahāsāṃghikas, without being more specific. A careful examination of several of its sūtras, compared with the parallel texts of the Theravādins, Mahāsāṃghikas, Mahīśāsakas, Dharmaguptakas and Sarvāstivādins, as well as those of the Mahāvastu, in fact show very clearly many similarities with this last work as well as with the Vinaya Piṭaka of the Mahāsāṃghikas and, in contrast, just as striking and numerous differences from the Pāli canonical texts and those of the Mahīśāsakas, Dharmaguptakas and Sarvāstivādins which have been preserved in their Chinese versions.

This is particularly apparent when we compare the long sūtra of which we give a translation below with parallel texts taken from the canonical works of other early schools. We have added to it the text of another much shorter sūtra narrating an episode in the traditional biography of the Buddha which immediately precedes the series of episodes constituting the long sūtra. Although separated from the latter in the Ekottarāgama (= EA), it would normally be joined to it and it too presents several interesting peculiarities which appear in a comparative examina-

1 Taishō-Issaikyō edition (= T) No.125.

ation. No other sūtra of the same collection contains an account of the other episodes in the part of the biography of the Blessed One which occurred between the Enlightenment and his return to Kapilavastu, not even a different account of certain of them which are narrated in the long sūtra. We can therefore consider the latter as forming, along with the short sūtra which immediately precedes it, a partial biography of the Buddha analogous and in part parallel to those found in particular in the Vinaya Piṭakas of the Theravādins, Mahīśāsakas and Dharmaguptakas, and which we have studied in our *Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha: de la quête de l'Éveil à la conversion de Śāriputra et de Maudgalyāyana*².

Such a partial biography is absent from the Vinaya Piṭakas of the Mahāsāṃghikas and Sarvāstivādins, but we do find accounts of several separate and scattered episodes in the Madhyamāgama and the Saṃyuktāgama of the latter. The same applies to the Mahāvastu of the Lokottaravādins. As for the Mūla-sarvāstivādins, whose canonical texts were visibly fixed in writing very late, they have left us, apart from a partial biography, analogous to that of the Theravādins, Mahīśāsakas and Dharmaguptakas, in their own enormous Vinaya Piṭaka, a long sūtra entitled Catuspariśat and which is practically identical to that biography; this in fact is a kind of lengthy development of the biography narrated in the Vinaya Piṭakas of the Theravādins, Mahīśāsakas and Dharmaguptakas, which on the whole have the same layout as the former, with several supplementary episodes and especially an abundance of wonderful new details.

The partial biography in the EĀ consists in the main of the following chapters, which are each subdivided into several episodes:

- 1) The end of the Buddha's stay in the place of the Enlightenment.
- 2) The stay in Vārāṇasī and ordination of the first five monks.

2 Publications de l'E.F.E.O., LII, Paris 1963.

3) The stay in Uruvilvā and conversion of the three Kāśyapa brothers.

4) The return to Kapilavastu and conversion of the Śākyaans.

If we compare this with the accounts in the Vinaya Piṭakas of the Theravādins, Mahīśāsakas and Dharmaguptakas, as well as with the Catuspariśatsūtra, all four of which have the same general layout, it is noticeable that the EĀ ignores the Buddha's stay in Rājagṛha, where he converted Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, but, conversely, it adds a long account of the Blessed One's return to Kapilavastu, about which the other four works are silent, at least in their partial biography. In other words, the fourth and last chapter differs: in the EĀ it narrates the events located in or directly connected with Kapilavastu whilst, in the other four texts, it is a matter of episodes localised in Rājagṛha. We should add that the EĀ does not contain any sūtra in which these last are narrated, whereas the three Vinaya Piṭakas recount, in other places, the Buddha's return to his native town and various events which followed shortly afterwards. However, it cannot be concluded from this that the school to which the EĀ belonged was unaware of this stay of the Blessed One in Rājagṛha, since this is highly likely to have been narrated in other parts of its Tripiṭaka, in particular in its Vinaya Piṭaka, or in its Madhyamāgama or Saṃyuktāgama. All the more can we presume the existence of an early stage in the composition of the partial biography of the Buddha again reduced to the first three chapters below: that is, the stay in the place of the Enlightenment, the journey to Vārāṇasī and the stay in Uruvilvā with the conversion of the three Kāśyapa brothers.

Let us now examine the first chapter. In the EĀ, it is reduced to only two episodes which, furthermore, are closely linked in their meaning, between each other and with what follows, that is, the second chapter. Briefly, it is reduced here to what forms the end of the first chapter in the three Vinaya Piṭakas and the Catuspariśatsūtra, to what is in brief, although located in the place of the Enlightenment, as is all this first chapter, a transition towards the second chapter, recounting the journey to Vārāṇasī where the Buddha converted his five former companions and thus founded the monastic Community. If the EĀ does not contain an

account of the other events which immediately followed the Enlightenment and which are narrated in the other four works, this does not necessarily mean that those episodes were unknown to the school to which it belonged, for reasons similar to those we pointed out earlier in connection with the fourth chapter. In the EĀ, then, this first chapter is no more than an introduction to the second chapter: the Buddha at first recoils before the futility of teaching but, the god Brahma having made him change his mind, he then seeks to know to whom he should first expound his Teaching of deliverance, which leads him to choose his five former companions, at present staying near Vārāṇasī. We should note that, in the main, the account of these two episodes in the EĀ scarcely differs from the narratives contained in the other four works, which leads us to infer an already well-established tradition from which these five accounts derive.

A single important detail distinguishes the EĀ text from the other four: the precise location of the episode. In fact twice, at the start of the small sūtra (593a) and the large sūtra (618a), it locates the scene 'In the land of Magadha, under the tree of the site of the Enlightenment (*bodhimanda*)', without in any way stating that this spot was very close to the village of Uruvilvā as do the other four works. This is all the more surprising in that the village of Uruvilvā will indeed be named by this same Āgama, as by the other texts, and on several occasions, in the third chapter. This astonishing silence has led me to suppose that the memory of the exact site of the Enlightenment could have been lost quite early by the Community, or even perhaps that it had never been known, and that the location of the Bodhi near Uruvilvā would have been determined, in some way or other, approximately two centuries after the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha, by the account of the conversion of Kāśyapa, an account which everything leads us to believe was purely legendary³.

3 André Bareau, 'Le Buddha et Uruvilvā', *Indianisme et Bouddhisme, Mélanges offerts à Mgr Étienne Lamotte*, Publications de l'Institut orientaliste de Louvain 23, Louvain-la-Neuve 1980, pp.1-18.

The second chapter, centred on the Blessed One's stay in Vārāṇasī, has the same composition as that which corresponds to it in the three Vinaya Piṭakas and the Catuspariṣatsūtra, namely, the following episodes:

- 1) The encounter with the brahmin ascetic Upika (?), whom the Buddha is unable to convince.
- 2) The Blessed One's welcome to Vārāṇasī by the five ascetics.
- 3) The setting in motion of the Wheel of the Dharma.
- 4) The conversion of the five disciples, who become monks⁴.

Nonetheless, there lack the other discourses which the Buddha also addressed to the latter in Vārāṇasī, but, as the other sources, including a Theravādin sutta in Pāli and a Sarvāstivādin sūtra, differ over the nature of that teaching, the Āgama's silence merely confirms what we can infer from this divergence, namely, that this fifth episode was a relatively late addition. However, our sūtra narrates two scenes which appear in the other four works, that is, the proclamation by the gods concerning the setting in motion of the Wheel of the Dharma and the advice given by the Buddha to his five monks on the organisation of their life.

Immediately after having given those instructions to the five men, the Buddha goes to Uruvilvā in order to expound his Teaching to the ascetics who live there. The EĀ therefore ignores the other episodes located in Vārāṇasī or on the return road by the three Vinaya Piṭakas and the Catuspariṣatsūtra: the successive conversions of Yaśas, of the latter's companions and of the groups of epicures, as well as the interventions by Māra narrated by the Theravādins and in part by the Dharmaguptakas⁵. The whole of this intermediate chapter therefore seems to have been established later than the others and only in the group derived from the Sthaviravādins to which belonged the Theravādins, Mahīśāsakas, Dharmaguptakas and, also most likely, the Mūlasarvāstivādins. We can see in this an additional indication in favour of the hypo-

4 Cf. my *Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha*, Ch.IV, pp.155-98.

5 *Ibid.*, Ch.V, pp.199-252.

thesis according to which our EĀ would have had its origin in a school derived from the Mahāsāṃghikas.

The third chapter narrates the marvels performed by the Blessed One with the aim of converting Kāśyapa of Uruvilvā and his five hundred disciples. The number of episodes is slightly less than in the other four works and in this we can see an indication of relative antiquity all the more noteworthy in that, if several marvels narrated by all or part of these four other texts are ignored by the EĀ, all those which it describes are also recounted by those four works. This is the list of them, in the order in which they are told:

- 1) The Buddha's victory over the fierce Nāga.
- 2) The marvellous journeys of the Blessed One.
- 3) The marvels performed around the worship of fire.
- 4) The Buddha guesses Kāśyapa's thoughts and accomplishes a marvellous journey.
- 5) The visit of the four Divine Kings.
- 6) The visit of Śakra Devānāindra.
- 7) The visit of Brahmā, king of the gods.
- 8) The cleaning of the rags.
- 9) The marvel of the flood.
- 10) The conversion and ordination of Kāśyapa of Uruvilvā.
- 11) The conversion and ordination of the other two Kāśyapas.
- 12) The discourse to the three Kāśyapa brothers and their thousand disciples⁶.

Finally, it will be noted that the EĀ text only differs from the others, in this chapter as in the two preceding ones, by details in the account of the episodes they have in common, such divergences being of the same nature and degree of importance as those which distinguished between each of the three Vinaya Piṭakas in the same parts, and that the account in the EĀ is generally slightly shorter and simpler than the other three, which may also be an indication of relative antiquity.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Ch.VI, pp.253-320.

In brief, for these first three chapters, the EĀ text seems to have remained, on the whole, the most faithful to the original common version than those of the three Vinaya Piṭakas of the Theravādins, Mahīśāsakas and Dharmaguptakas, and, even more so, than that of the Catuspariṣatsūtra of the Mūlasarvāstivādins.

It is quite different with the fourth chapter of the long sūtra in the EA, in which the Blessed One's return to Kapilavastu is substituted for the stay in Rājagṛha narrated by the other four works. The account of this return of the Buddha to the Śākyans and the first episodes which immediately follow is indeed found in the three Vinaya Piṭakas, but in other places, remote from the partial biography, therefore separate from it, and furthermore their layout is very different from that of the EĀ, as is also the whole of their narration, as we shall see:

The EĀ text consists of the following episodes:

- 1) The Buddha considers returning to Kapilavastu.
- 2) He sends the monk Udaya to announce to King Śuddhodana the approaching arrival of the Blessed One.
- 3) The latter arrives in Kapilavastu, where he is solemnly welcomed by the king and the people.
- 4) Converted by the Buddha, the king orders the Śākyans to enter the monastic Community in large numbers, which is done.
- 5) The royal family comes in great pomp to lead the young Śākyan princes who are to be ordained as monks.
- 6) The Buddha welcomes the latter with predictions and answers favourably the various questions of the king.
- 7) The Blessed One praises various monks.

Now, not only is this layout not found anywhere else, even in the Mahāvastu which also recounts this return of the Buddha to the Śākyans, but those of the analogous accounts in the three Vinaya Piṭakas and the Mahāvastu differ greatly from each other. It is quite clear that these five narratives were established very late by collating previously separate episodes and by adding to them several new elements, apparently conceived at the time for various reasons.

Moreover, the account in the EĀ is much closer to that of the Mahāvastu than those of the three Vinaya Piṭakas, not so

much in their layout as by their tone and by the abundance of secondary elements and details in which the marvels play a major part. In contrast to what we noted for the first three chapters, the fourth is therefore clearly more recent in its composition and style than the parallel accounts in the three Vinaya Piṭakas. It naturally ensues that it was added to the first three long after the latter had been grouped in a whole and fixed in their redaction.

Let us now examine, in order to compare them with that of the EA, the accounts of the Blessed One's return to Kapilavastu contained in the three Vinaya Piṭakas and the Mahāvastu.

This is the Theravādin version:

- 1) The Buddha arrives in Kapilavatthu, makes his alms-round in the town and enters the house of a certain Sākya Suddhodana.
- 2) There, a woman indicates the Buddha to her son Rāhula as being his father and urges him to claim his inheritance.
- 3) The child follows the Blessed One in the street and he receives novitiate ordination as his inheritance.
- 4) The Sākya Suddhodana comes to protest against this ordination and asks the Buddha, who agrees, to forbid henceforth the ordination of minors not authorised by their parents⁷.

The Mahīśāsaka account is very different:

- 1) Learning that the Buddha has just arrived near Kapilavastu, King Suddhodana comes to visit him, expresses his wonder and listens to the ascetic's discourse.
- 2) The king asks to become a monk, but the Buddha refuses.
- 3) Having returned to his palace, the king issues a proclamation by means of which he condones the ordination of the Śākyans.
- 4) Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī asks the Buddha for ordination and is refused.

The Dharmaguptaka Vinaya Piṭaka does not anywhere narrate the Blessed One's return to Kapilavastu, but it does relate separate episodes connected with that return: the ordination of the

7 *Mahāvagga*, PTS edition, I, pp.82-3.

child Rāhula and the protest of King Suddhodana, the ordination of the young Śākyans and Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī's request for ordination⁸. It should be fully noted, since it is important, that the accounts of each of these three distinct episodes are very close in the three Vinaya Piṭakas, proving once again the close relationship which existed between the Theravādins, Mahīśāsakas and Dharmaguptakas, and conversely very different from those of the Āgama and the Mahāvastu.

The latter narrates the first return of the Blessed One to Kapilavastu thus:

- 1) Learning of the Enlightenment, the Śākyans inform King Suddhodana of it.
- 2) At their suggestion, the latter sends Chandaka and Udāyin to invite the Buddha to come to Kapilavastu.
- 3) The Blessed One confers ordination on the two messengers.
- 4) He sets out for the town of his youth.
- 5) The king comes out with a large retinue to welcome the Buddha, but the sight of the monks scandalises him and he returns to his palace.
- 6) Learning of this, the Buddha sends Kālodāyin to give the king the requisite explanations to make him change his attitude.
- 7) The king and his subjects pay a visit to the Buddha.
- 8) Princess Yaśodharā, ex-wife of the latter, miraculously cures Queen Gautamī of an eye disease.
- 9) The Buddha converts King Suddhodana by means of a discourse⁹.

The Mahāvastu, furthermore, recounts the ordination of the young Śākyans¹⁰, and its account is, here again, much closer to the EA's than those of the three Vinaya Piṭakas, with which it nonetheless has several similarities, as we will see further on.

Let us compare, to begin with, the accounts of what is the

8 T 1421, 185b.

9 T 1428, 809c-810a, 590b-591c, 922c.

10 Mahāvastu, ed. É. Senart, III, pp.190-5; Engl. tr. J.J. Jones, III, pp.93-121.

return proper of the Blessed One to Kapilavastu. Non-existent for the Dharmaguptakas, as also in the Mahāsāṃghika and Sarvāstivādin Vinaya Piṭakas, it is reduced to a few lines for the Theravādins, where manifestly it is merely a short introduction to the account of Rāhula's ordination, which creates the category of novices. It is slightly more developed for the Mahīśāsakas, where it serves to introduce a long account of Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī's request for ordination, which would lead to the foundation of the Order of nuns, but it is very different from the Pāli text for other reasons. Learning of the arrival of the Buddha, Śuddhodana, who here is the king of the Śākya, courteously comes to pay him a visit, he praises him, listens to him discoursing, then asks him for ordination, which is refused by the Blessed One; this last event is entirely unknown to the other canonical works. Finally, on returning to his palace, King Śuddhodana lets his Śākya subjects know that he permits them to become Buddhist monks; we can see, in this very short scene, the origin of the initial and much more complex episode in the account of the ordination of the young Śākya in the EĀ and Mahāvastu, which we will examine further on.

In these last two works, the account of the Buddha's return to Kapilavastu is very different from the two preceding ones and, first and foremost, very much longer. Several scenes precede the arrival of the Blessed One in the town of his youth, whilst, for the Theravādins and Mahīśāsakas, the narrative begins precisely with this arrival. However, the EĀ and Mahāvastu differ here completely since, if the former attributes the initiative for the journey to the Blessed One, who wishes to return among the Śākya and sends the monk Udaya to King Śuddhodana to announce to him the forthcoming arrival of his son¹¹, the latter re-

11 Noteworthy is the Mahāyānist element inserted in the words the Buddha addresses to Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa to explain to him his intention of going to Kapilavastu: this double allusion to the bodhisattva career is evidently a late addition to a version which was itself probably posterior to the beginning of the Common Era, or slightly older.

verses the situation by recounting that the king himself sends to the Buddha the two lay Śākya, one of whom is, strangely, named Udāyin, to invite the Master to go to Kapilavastu. From these naturally derive two very different secondary scenes: in the EĀ, Kāśyapa of Uruvilvā, then Udaya, guess the Buddha's thoughts, then Udaya performs various marvels to prove to the king that his master has indeed won Enlightenment, finally he converses at length with Śuddhodana to convince him completely and supplies him with all useful information; in the Mahāvastu, the Śākya learn, through public rumour, of the Enlightenment of their prince and they inform the king; on their advice, the latter sends two lay messengers, Udāyin and Ghandaka, to the Blessed One with precise instructions, which leads them to accept, against their will, the ordination the Buddha offers them and which delays the former's arrival in Kapilavastu. Both texts come together in essentials in narrating the journey of the Blessed One, his arrival and the solemn welcome given him by the king and his subjects. Here again, however, a series of incidental scenes separates the account in the Mahāvastu from that of the EĀ, much simpler in its structure if not in the details: while approaching the Buddha, the king is scandalised by the monks' clothing and returns to his palace; this obliges the Blessed One to send Udāyin, the Śākya who had shortly before become a monk, to him in order to explain things to Śuddhodana and get him to regain his better feelings; finally, Princess Yaśodharā performs an apparently gratuitous marvel which, however, adds indirectly to the glory of the Buddha, her former husband.

Now let us look at the second part of this fourth chapter of the sūtra, which recounts the ordination of the young Śākya, by comparing it with the narrations of this episode in the three Vinaya Piṭakas of the Theravādins, Mahīśāsakas and Dharmaguptakas, and also with that of the Mahāvastu. First of all, we should note that nowhere else but in the EĀ, does the ordination of the Śākya not follow immediately after the return of the Buddha to Kapilavastu, which again distinguishes our sūtra from the other texts which can be placed in parallel with it.

The accounts by the Theravādins and Mahīśāsakas are very close to each other and scarcely differ except in very secondary

details¹². That of the Dharmaguptakas is slightly different, but in essence it retains the same structure and it is manifestly derived from the same tradition as the other two¹³. Without oversimplifying, these three texts can be considered as having the same layout, which is as follows:

- 1) The Buddha is staying in Anupīya, in a region bordering on that of the Śākyans.
- 2) Among the latter, many young men become monks.
- 3) Mahānāman convinces his young brother Anuruddha to become a monk.
- 4) Anuruddha goes to seek authorisation from his mother, who gives it on condition that Bhaddiya, king of the Śākyans and his friend, receives ordination.
- 5) Bhaddiya at first refuses, pleading his royal duties, then accepts while requesting a delay.
- 6) The two young people, accompanied by some friends and their barber Upāli, go to ask the Buddha for ordination.
- 7) On the way, they send Upāli away, but the latter follows them at a distance, fully decided on becoming a monk too, and he rejoins them in Anupīya.
- 8) The Buddha ordains Upāli first, at the request of the young Śākyans who wish to overcome their pride, then he ordains the latter.
- 9) Those young Śākyans and Upāli make rapid but different progress on the Path to Deliverance.
- 10) Bhaddiya takes the lead, practising a certain form of meditation that intrigues the other monks, which leads the Blessed One to question him, then praise him.

The account in the Mahāvastu consists of the following scenes:

- 1) The Buddha is staying in Kapilavastu.
- 2) King Śuddhodana convokes the Śākyans and invites them to give a son of each family to the monastic Community.

- 3) Several young princes decide to become monks.
- 4) After consulting his brother Mahānāman, Anuruddha makes the same decision.
- 5) The young Śākyans come in great pomp to ask the Buddha for ordination.
- 6) The barber Upāli had cut the Buddha's hair in the past.
- 7) The latter confers ordination on him first, while the young Śākyans are bidding farewell to their families and friends.
- 8) At the request of the Blessed One, the young Śākyans who have in turn become monks bow down before Upāli, copied by the king and his subjects, which astonishes the king's counsellors.
- 9) In order to explain this, the Buddha recounts the jātika of Gaṅgapāla, according to which, in a former life, the king and his court had already bowed down before the future Upāli¹⁴.

In the Mahāvastu, as in the EĀ, all the action takes place in Kapilavastu, whereas that town is only named once in the three Vinaya Piṭaka accounts, where it is nowhere stated where the young Śākyans dwell. Furthermore, the Mahāvastu and EĀ give a very important role to Śuddhodana, king of the Śākyans, whilst the other three narratives do not breathe a word of him. In the first two texts, the king, desirous of supplying the Buddha with many kṣatriya disciples, orders the Śākyans to give the Saṅgha a son from each of their families, a decision which is clearly ignored by the other three accounts. The Mahāvastu and EĀ also name Śuddhodana's three brothers, who are absent from the three Vinaya Piṭakas. In the first two texts, the young Śākyans come in great pomp, accompanied by the king, his court and subjects, to ask the Buddha for monastic ordination, whilst, in the other three, Anuruddha and a small group of his friends run away in secret and only with their barber Upāli. Finally, Bhaddiya, who plays such an important part in the three Vinaya Piṭaka narrations, is completely ignored by the EĀ and merely named by the Mahāvastu among the other young princes of the Śākyan royal family.

¹² *Cullavagga*, PTS ed., II, pp.180-1, for the Theravādins. T 1421, 16c-17c, for the Mahīśāsakas.

¹³ T 1428, 590b-591c.

¹⁴ Mahāvastu, ed. Senart, III, pp.176-82; Engl. tr. J.J. Jones, III, pp.170-8.

As regards other points, the Mahāvastu account is nonetheless closer to those of the three Vinaya Piṭakas than that in the EĀ. Firstly, it presents Anuruddha as being the brother of Mahānāman and not Nanda, and it quotes at some length the conversation between those two young Śākyaans, whilst the EĀ reduces this to a short paragraph. The Mahāvastu gives the five monks ordained in Vārāṇasī the same names as those by which they are known in the Vinaya Piṭakas, that is, Ājñāta Kaundinya, Aśvakin, Bhadraka, Vāṣpa and Mahānāman, whilst the EĀ names only the first in the second chapter recounting the Buddha's stay in Vārāṇasī, and adds to it, at the end of the fourth chapter, besides Vāṣpa and Mahānāman, Subhṛgu (?) and Udaya; the last should certainly be identified with the monk sent by the Blessed One to King Śuddhodana in Kapilavastu to announce the forthcoming arrival of his son. This Udaya, whose worth is praised by the king and the Buddha in the last but one scene of the sūtra, therefore plays an analogous, though reversed, role to that of the messenger sent by Śuddhodana to the Buddha in the Mahāvastu and who bears a name extremely close to his, Udāyin. Nonetheless, the two men differ greatly, since this Udāyin is a lay Śākyaan, whom the Blessed One ordains against his will, but we are led to think that it was originally a matter of the same person, having evolved differently later on in the tradition represented by the Mahāvastu and in that to which the EĀ belonged. Finally, another important feature concerns the barber Upāli, who plays a far from negligible part in the three Vinaya Piṭaka accounts and even more so in that of the Mahāvastu, but who is totally ignored by our sūtra.

As we can see, the account of the young Śākyaans' ordination in the Mahāvastu is in some way an intermediary between those of the three Vinaya Piṭakas and that of the EĀ. This is an additional indication that the last work belonged to a Sūtra Piṭaka of a school at least as remote from the Theravādins, Mahīśāsakas and Dharmaguptakas as were the Lokottaravādins, authors of the Mahāvastu. Since these last derived from the Mahāsāṃghikas, it is clear that the authors of our EĀ formed part, with all the more reason, of a school which also originated in the Mahāsāṃghikas.

* * *

I-1) (593a) Thus have I heard. At one time the Buddha was in the land of Magadha, under the tree on the site of the Path (Bodhimanda). At that moment, the Blessed One had attained the Path a short time before. He then gave rise to this reflection: 'Now, my teaching is extremely profound, difficult to see clearly, difficult to grasp, difficult to perceive and know, impossible to meditate on. It is perceptible and knowable [only] by those who have a subtle and excellent knowledge of cessation, who analyse the meaning and principles, those who practise without tiring and find in that their joy. If I were to expound this excellent teaching to men, they would not accept it with confidence, they would not serve it and neither would they practise it. Immense [for me] would be the fatigue, it would then be harmful. At present, it is therefore appropriate for me (593b) to remain silent. Why should it be necessary for me to expound the teaching?'

At that moment, the god Brahma, who was in the Brahma heaven, knew from afar what the Tathāgata had thought. Just as a strong man bends his extended arm, in an instant he disappeared from the Brahma heaven and drew near the Blessed One. Having bowed down at the latter's feet, he remained standing to one side. Then, the god Brahma said to the Blessed One: 'This Jambudvīpa will assuredly be destroyed, and the three worlds (*dhātu*) will lose the Eye. The Tathāgata has reached dignity (*arhattva*), complete and perfect Enlightenment (*samyak-sambodhi*). Having appeared in the world, he should disseminate the Jewel (*ratna*) of the Teaching (*dharma*), since now he has not [yet] disseminated the flavour (*rasa*) of the Dharma. I wish only that the Tathāgata may everywhere expound the profound (*gam-bhīra*) Dharma to all beings (*sattva*). Moreover, among beings, there are those whose faculties (*indriya*) [are such that they] are easy to save. If they do not hear [the Dharma], they will definitely lose the Dharma-Eye (*dharmacakṣus*), they will become children abandoned by the Dharma. Just as *utpala* flowers, *kumada* flowers, *puṇḍarīka* flowers, even if they have already emerged from the ground, have not yet emerged from the surface of the water and are not yet open and spread, at that moment, those flowers, because they wish to appear gradually, have not yet emerged from the water; or else, then, those flowers have just

emerged from the surface of the water; or again, then, those flowers are no longer covered over by the water; it is exactly the same for those kinds of beings who, being oppressed and overwhelmed by the sight of birth, old-age, disease and death, have faculties (*indriya*) which can ripen. If they do not hear the Dharma and they die, would that not be just as unfortunate? Now is the right time, and I wish only that the Blessed One may expound the Dharma to them'.

Thereupon the Blessed One, knowing what the god Brahma was thinking in his heart, because of his goodwill (*maitrī*) and compassion (*karuṇā*) towards all beings, uttered these verses (*gāthā*):

'The god Brahma comes now to exhort the Tathāgata to open the doors (*dvāra*) of the Dharma. Those who hear it will obtain firm faith (*śraddhā*) and will analyse the essence of the profound (*gambhīra*) Dharma.

'Just as he who stands on the summit of a high mountain observes the kinds of beings everywhere, now that I possess this Dharma, having ascended this embankment, the Dharma-Eye (*dharmacakṣus*) appears to me'.

Then, the god Brahma reflected thus: 'The Tathāgata will certainly expound the profound and excellent Dharma to beings'. He could not restrain himself from jumping for joy and, having bowed down at the feet [of the Blessed One], he returned to his heaven. Then the god Brahma, having heard what the Buddha had said, rejoiced and applied himself to practise accordingly.

2) (618a) Thus have I heard. At one time the Blessed One was in the land of Magadha, at the foot of the tree on the site of the Enlightenment (Bodhimāṇḍa), when he had just become a Buddha.

At that moment, the Blessed One reflected thus: 'At present, I have obtained this extremely profound teaching (*dharma*), difficult to understand, difficult to grasp, difficult to see clearly, difficult to know, most subtle, most mysterious, (618b) perceptible and knowable by the wise. At present, to whom should I expound this teaching in the first place? To whom shall I make my teaching understandable?'

Then the Blessed One reflected thus: 'Arāḍa Kālāma has all

his faculties (*indriya*) fully ripened (*vipakva*); he should therefore win deliverance first. Moreover, he is waiting for me to possess the teaching'. As soon as he finished that reflection, there was a god in space who said to the Blessed One: 'Arāḍa Kālāma died seven days ago'. At that moment, the Blessed One reflected thus: 'What a misfortune that his life should have ended without having heard my teaching! If he had heard my teaching, he would have been able to understand it'.

At that moment, the Blessed One reflected thus: 'At present, to whom should I expound my teaching in the first place and can I act so that he may understand it? Now, Udraka Rāmaputra should win deliverance first. I will go and expound it to him and, when he has heard my teaching, he will be the first to be able to understand it'. As soon as the Blessed One had reflected thus, there was a god in space who said to him: 'Yesterday, in the middle of the night, he came to the end of his life'. Then the Blessed One reflected again: 'What misfortune that Udraka Rāmaputra's life should have ended without having heard my teaching! If he had heard my teaching, he would have been able to understand it'.

Then, the Blessed One reflected thus: 'Who, then, will be the first to hear my teaching while being able to understand it?' At that moment, the Blessed One further reflected: 'Five monks (*bhikṣu*) have many [internal ?] riches. They have followed me since my birth'. Then, the Blessed One reflected as follows: 'Where are those five monks at present?' Immediately, by means of his divine eye (*divyacakṣus*), he saw the five monks in Vārāṇasī, in the [Flight of the] Sages [Wood, Rṣipātana] in the Deer Park [Mṛgadāya], a place where they had settled. 'Now, I am going to expound the teaching to them first. When they have heard my teaching, they will be able to understand it'. At that, the Blessed One gazed attentively at the tree of the Path for seven days without blinking his eyes. Then, the Blessed One uttered these verses (*gāthā*):

'In this place where I am now, I have undergone the sufferings of births and deaths. Taking up and wielding the axe of wisdom (*prajñā*), I have definitively severed the roots

which had been planted originally.

'The divine kings have come here, and Māra with his vassals, but once again I subdued them with my means (*upāya*) in order to don the headdress of deliverance (*vimukti*).

'Now, at the foot of this tree, I am seated on the diamond-seat (*vajrāsana*). Having acquired omniscience (*sarvajñāna*), I have attained irresistible wisdom (*prajñā*).

'Seated at the foot of this tree, I have seen the suffering (*duhkha*) of births and deaths. Having quitted the origin of deaths, old-age and disease have [ceased for me] definitively and without there being any remainder (*anavaśeṣa*).

II-1) When the Blessed One had uttered those verses, he rose from his seat and set out with the desire of going to (681c) the town of Vārāṇasī.

At that moment, the brahmin ascetic (*brahmacārin*) Upika (?) from afar saw the Blessed One whose radiant form glowed and eclipsed the light of the sun and moon. Having seen him, he said to the Blessed One: 'Gautama, where is your master now? On whom do you rely, having gone forth from home, for studying the Path? What teaching do you, ever joyful, give? Where have you come from and where do you wish to go?' Then the Blessed One, turning to that brahmin ascetic, uttered these verses:

'I have become an *arhat*, in the world I am the best and I have no equal. Among gods and mankind, in this world, I am now the best and the most high.

'I have no master nor have I equals. Alone and honourable, having no superior, I am cold and have no more fire.

'Now, I shall set turning the Wheel of the Dharma (*dharmacakra*) by going to the kingdom of the Kāśī. Now, making use of the nectar of immortality (*amṛta*) I shall distribute it to the blind [living in] darkness.

'In the land of Vārāṇasī, on the territory of the Kāśī kings, in the place where five monks dwell, I wish to expound the subtle and mysterious Dharma.

'So that they may achieve the Path at the earliest and obtain the superknowledge (*abhiññā*) of the destruction of their impure streams (*āsravakṣaya*) by dispelling the origin of bad

phenomena (*dharma*). That is why I am the supreme Conqueror (*jina*).'

At that moment, the brahmin ascetic sighed, bowed his head, joined his hands, snapped his fingers, smiled, showed the way and departed.

2) Then, the Blessed One went to Vārāṇasī. At that moment, the five monks saw him coming from afar. Having seen him, they debated and decided this together: 'There is the ascetic (*śramana*) Gautama who is coming from afar. His mental nature is confused and troubled, his mind is not unified and pure. So let us not speak to him, so let us not get up to go to him and so let us not invite him to sit down either'. Thereupon, those five men also uttered this verse:

'That man should not be shown respect, neither will we look at him with friendship; we will not make him welcome neither will we invite him to sit down'.

When the five men had uttered that verse, they remained silent.

Gradually, the Blessed One drew near those five monks. Then, the five monks each rose in turn and went to meet him; they offered him a seat which they had prepared and they gave him water which they had drawn. Once the Blessed One was seated before them, he reflected as follows: 'These foolish stupid men were finally not able to accomplish what they had agreed. At that moment, the five monks addressed the Blessed One calling him 'Venerable' (*āyuṣmant* ?).

Then, the Blessed One said to the five monks: 'Do not call 'Venerable' him who has attained supreme (*anuttara*) complete and perfect Enlightenment (*samyaksambodhi*). (619a) Why? At present, I have achieved supreme complete and perfect Enlightenment, I have acquired immortality (*amṛta*) which is good. Pay great attention! Listen to my expounding of the Dharma!' Then the five monks said to the Blessed One: 'O Gautama, formerly when you practised the austerities, you were not even able to obtain the teaching of superior men, all the more so today when your mind is confused and troubled, and you say you have attained the Path!'

The Blessed One said to the five men: 'Have you in the past heard me utter lying words?' The five monks said: 'No, O Gautama'. The Blessed One told them: 'The completely and perfectly Enlightened Tathāgata (*samyaksambuddha*) has acquired immortality. All of you, pay great attention! Listen to me expounding the Dharma to you!' At that moment, the Blessed One further reflected: 'At present, I am quite able to subdue these five men'.

3) Thereupon, the Blessed One said to the five men: 'Know this, there are Four Truths (*satya*). What are those Four? The Truth of suffering, the Truth of the origin of suffering, the Truth of the cessation of suffering, the Truth which permits escape from suffering. Of these, what is called the Truth of suffering? Birth is suffering, old-age is suffering, disease is suffering, death is suffering, grief, lamentation, torment, pain, sorrow, sufferings which cannot be evaluated or expressed; reunion with what one dislikes is suffering, separation from what one likes is suffering, not obtaining what one wants is also suffering; in brief, the five aggregates of grasping (*upādānaskandha*) are suffering; that is what is called the Truth of suffering. What is the Truth of the origin of suffering? The apportionment of the craving (*trṣṇā*) for feelings (*vedanā*), which works tirelessly, the desire which constantly clings to the mind, that is what is called the Truth of the origin of suffering. What is the Truth of the cessation of suffering? Whatever acts so that this thirst ceases, is destroyed without leaving any remainder and does not arise again, that is what is called the Truth of the cessation of suffering. What is called the Truth which permits escape from suffering? It is the Noble Eight-fold (*aṣṭāṅgika*) Path (*āryamārga*), that is, right (*samyāñc*) view (*drṣṭi*), right intention (*kalpa*), right speech (*vāc*), right action (*karmanta*), right livelihood (*ājīva*), right effort (*vyāyāma*), right mindfulness (*smṛti*) and right mental concentration (*samādhi*). That is what is called the teaching of the Four Truths.

'Moreover, O you five monks, in this teaching of the Four Truths, with regard to the Truth of suffering, the eye appeared [in me], knowledge appeared, higher knowledge appeared, enlightenment appeared, light appeared, wisdom appeared, concerning

things (*dharma*) which had not yet been heard before. Moreover, that Truth of suffering is real and stable, it is not futile, it is not false, it is absolutely not otherwise, and that is why what the Blessed One teaches is called the Truth of suffering. With regard to the Truth of the origin of suffering, concerning things which had not yet been heard before, the eye appeared, knowledge appeared, higher knowledge appeared, enlightenment appeared, light appeared, wisdom appeared. Moreover, that Truth of the origin of suffering is real and stable, it is not futile, it is not false, it is absolutely not otherwise, and that is why what the Blessed One teaches is called the Truth of the origin of suffering. With regard to the Truth of the cessation of suffering, concerning things which had not yet been heard before, the eye appeared, knowledge appeared, higher knowledge appeared, enlightenment appeared, wisdom appeared, light appeared. Moreover, that Truth of the cessation of suffering is real and stable, it is not futile, it is not false, it is absolutely not otherwise, and that is why what the Blessed One teaches is called the Truth of the cessation of suffering. With regard to the Truth of what permits escape from suffering, concerning things which had not yet been heard before, the eye appeared, knowledge appeared, higher knowledge appeared, enlightenment appeared, (619b) light appeared, wisdom appeared. Moreover, that Truth of what permits escape from suffering is real and stable, it is not futile, it is not false, it is absolutely not otherwise, and that is why what the Blessed One teaches is called the Truth of what permits escape from suffering. O you five monks, know this, concerning those Four Truths in their three cycles (*parivarta*) and twelve aspects (*ākāra*), those who do not know them in accordance with their reality do not achieve the supreme (*anuttara*) dignity (*arhattva*), complete and perfect Enlightenment (*samyaksambodhi*). By me have those Four Truths, their three cycles and twelve aspects been analysed and known in accordance with their reality. That is why I have achieved the supreme dignity, complete and perfect Enlightenment'.

4) While this teaching was being expounded, the dust and stain of Ājñāta Kaundinya were destroyed and he attained the pure Dharma eye. Then the Blessed One said to Kaundinya: 'At present, you have obtained the teaching by attaining the teaching'.

Kauṇḍinya replied: 'Yes, O Blessed One, I have attained the teaching by obtaining the teaching'.

At that moment, the terrestrial deities, having heard those words, made this proclamation: 'Now, the Tathāgata, being in Vārāṇasī, has set in motion the Wheel of the Dharma for gods, mankind and the Māras, that which neither the Māras, nor the gods, nor mankind, nor non-human [spirits] (*amanuṣya*) are able to set in motion. Today, the Tathāgata has set in motion that Wheel of the Dharma, and Ajñāta Kauṇḍinya has obtained the teaching of immortality (*amrtadharmā*)'. Then the four Divine Kings, having heard the proclamation by the terrestrial deities, had it recalled and transmitted by saying: 'Ajñāta Kauṇḍinya has obtained the teaching of immortality'. Then, the Thirty-Three gods, having heard it from the four Divine Kings . . . the Yāma gods, having heard it from the Thirty-Three gods . . . the Tuṣita gods, having in turn heard that proclamation . . . the Brahma gods also heard that proclamation: 'The Tathāgata, being in Vārāṇasī, has set in motion the Wheel of the Dharma for gods, mankind and the Māras, that which neither the Māras, nor the gods, nor mankind, nor non-human [spirits] are able to set in motion. Today, the Tathāgata has set in motion that Wheel of the Dharma. He then gave Kauṇḍinya the name of Ajñāta'.

At that moment, the Blessed One said to the five monks: 'May a second man remain to receive the teaching and three men go to seek alms. The food which those three men obtain will be consumed by the six men together. When those three men remain to receive the teaching, the [other] two men will go to seek alms. The food which those two men obtain will be taken and consumed by the six men'.

Then, he instructed them and, at that moment, they grasped perfectly the teaching of Nirvāṇa free of birth, they grasped just as perfectly [what was] free of birth, free of disease, free of old-age, and free of death. Thereupon, the five monks became full Arhats. At that moment, in the universe of three thousand great thousand worlds, there were five Arhats, and the Buddha was the sixth.

Then, the Blessed One said to the five monks: 'All together,

go and seek alms among men, but take care not to travel alone. Furthermore, those among living beings (*sattva*) whose faculties (*indriya*) are fully ripened (*vipakva*) should obtain deliverance. Now I am going to the village of Uruvilvā to expound the Dharma to those who dwell there'.

III-1) Then, the Blessed One went to the village of Uruvilvā. At that time, on the bank of the Nairāñjanā river, there Kāśyapa (619c) was dwelling. He knew astrology and geomancy, there was nothing he did not penetrate or know perfectly. He could calculate and count the trees and flowers, and he knew them all. He led five hundred disciples whom he instructed and educated each day. Not far from Kāśyapa, there was a stone house in which a poisonous Nāga lived.

Then, the Blessed One approached Kāśyapa and, having reached him, said to him: 'I wish to pass the night in the stone house. If I am given permission, I will go and stay there'. Kāśyapa replied: 'I do not refuse, but there is a poisonous Nāga there and I fear that you may hurt or harm each other'. The Blessed One said: 'O Kāśyapa, I no [longer can undergo] pain, that Nāga cannot harm me. If I am given permission, I will pass the night there'. Kāśyapa replied: 'If you wish to dwell there, go and stay there as you wish'.

Thereupon, the Blessed One went to the stone house, set out his seat and passed the night there, seated with his legs crossed, his body straight, his mind correctly fixed on what was before him. At that time, the poisonous Nāga, seeing the Blessed One seated, spat fire and poison. Then, the Blessed One entered the mental concentration (*samādhi*) on goodwill (*maitrī*), after which, having withdrawn from the mental concentration on goodwill, he entered the mental concentration on flames and light (*jvalanokasamādhi*). Upon which, the fire of the Nāga and the light of the Buddha operated together at the same time.

At that moment, Kāśyapa got up in the night to observe the constellations (*nakṣatra*). He saw that, in the stone house, there was a great fire and a great light. Having seen that, he said to his disciples: 'That ascetic (*śramaṇa*) Gautama has a perfect bearing but at the moment, he has been made uneasy by that Nāga, and

he is most worthy of compassion. Nonetheless I did say these words to him: There is a wicked Nāga there, you therefore cannot stay the night there'. Then Kāśyapa said to his five hundred disciples: 'Take pitchers of water and climb tall ladders in order to extinguish that fire and act so that that ascetic is saved from that danger'. Then Kāśyapa, leading his five hundred disciples, went to the stone house in order to extinguish that fire, some taking water and throwing it, others setting up ladders, but they were unable to put out the fire, all being drawn by the supernormal power of the Tathāgata.

At that moment, the Blessed One entered the mental concentration on goodwill and acted so that, gradually, the Nāga was no longer irritated. Thereupon, that wicked Nāga felt fear in its heart; from east to west it fled rapidly trying to leave the stone house, but it could not leave it. Then the wicked Nāga came towards the Tathāgata, entered the Blessed One's alms-bowl (*pātra*) and remained there. At that moment, the Blessed One touched the body of the wicked Nāga with his right hand, then he uttered these verses:

'Release for the Nāga is extremely difficult, the Nāga reunites with [other] Nāgas. O Nāga, do not arouse a thought of wickedness, since release for the Nāga is extremely difficult.

'In the past, numerous as the sand-grains of the Ganges were the complete passings away (*parinirvāṇa*) of the Buddhas, but you have never encountered them, because of the fire of anger.

(620a) 'Thanks to a wholesome (*kuśala*) thought concerning the Tathāgata, you have abandoned that poison of hatred. Having rejected the poison of anger, you can now be reborn in the heavens (*svarga*)'.

Then, the wicked Nāga put out its tongue and licked the Tathāgata's hand, then it gazed attentively at the Tathāgata's face.

The next day, early in the morning, the Blessed One took the wicked Nāga in his hand and, having drawn near Kāśyapa, said to him: 'Here is the most cruel and violent wicked Nāga. Now it is subdued'. Then, Kāśyapa, having seen the wicked Nāga, was afraid in his heart and said to the Blessed One: 'Stop! Stop! O ascetic! Do

not come near, as that Nāga is about to do harm'. The Blessed One said: 'O Kāśyapa, fear nothing! I have subdued it and it will do no more harm. Why? Because this Nāga has received the teaching of deliverance'.

Thereupon, Kāśyapa and his five hundred disciples praised what was wholly extraordinary, wholly unique and what had not existed before: 'This ascetic Gautama has very great prodigious power, since he was able to subdue that wicked Nāga and act so that it does no more harm. Although this is so, he is not like me, who have obtained the truth of the Path'.

Then, Kāśyapa said to the Blessed One: 'O great ascetic (*mahāśramaṇa*), accept my invitation for ninety days. Whatever you may require in the way of clothing, food, seats and couches, remedies against illnesses, I will provide in full'. Then the Blessed One accepted Kāśyapa's invitation by remaining silent.

At that moment, the Blessed One took the Nāga and put it in the ocean (*mahāsamudra*), and that wicked Nāga, after the end of its life, whether the latter was long or short, was reborn in the heaven (*svarga*) of the four Divine Kings.

2) Then the Blessed One returned to dwell in the stone house. Kāśyapa, having procured all kinds of food and drink, went to say to the Blessed One: 'The food and drink are ready, you may go and have your meal'. The Blessed One said: 'O Kāśyapa, go ahead of me, I will follow later'. After Kāśyapa's departure, he went to the land of Jambudvīpa, he took a *jambu* fruit from under the *jambu* tree then returned, arriving before Kāśyapa in the stone house, where he sat down.

At that moment, Kāśyapa saw the Blessed One in the stone house and said to him: 'O ascetic, by following which path did you reach the stone house?' The Buddha said (620b) to Kāśyapa: 'After your departure, I went to the land of Jambudvīpa, where I took a *jambu* fruit and I have returned to sit down here. O Kāśyapa, know this, that fruit is very good and very perfumed, you may eat it'. Kāśyapa replied: 'I do not need it, may the ascetic take it himself and eat it'. Then, Kāśyapa reflected as follows: 'That ascetic has extreme supernormal powers, he has great prodigious power, since he can go to the land of Jambudvīpa and

take that good fruit there. Although this is so, he is not like me [who have obtained] the truth of the Path'. At that moment, the Blessed One, having had his meal, returned there where he passed the night.

Early in the morning, Kāśyapa approached the Blessed One and said to him: 'The time for the meal has come, you may go and eat'. The Buddha said to Kāśyapa: 'Go ahead, I will come later'. After Kāśyapa's departure, he went to the land of Jambudvīpa, he took an *āmalaka* fruit and returned. Arriving at the stone house before Kāśyapa, he sat down there.

Kāśyapa said to the Blessed One: 'O ascetic, what path did you follow to come here?' The Blessed One told him: 'After your departure, I went to the land of Jambudvīpa, I took this fruit from there and came back. It is very good and very perfumed. If you would like it, take it and eat it'. Kāśyapa replied: 'I do not need it, may the ascetic take it himself and eat it'. Then Kāśyapa again reflected as follows: 'That ascetic has extreme supernormal powers, he has great prodigious power, since, after my departure, he took that fruit and came back. Although this is so, he is not like me, for I have obtained the truth of the Path'. At that moment, the Blessed One, having had his meal, returned there where he passed the night.

The next day, Kāśyapa approached the Blessed One and said these words to him: 'The time for the meal has arrived, you may go and eat'. The Buddha said to Kāśyapa: 'Go ahead, I will come later'. After Kāśyapa's departure, the Blessed One went to the north, to Uttarakuru, where he took some spontaneously [grown] rice and returned to the stone house before Kāśyapa.

Kāśyapa asked the Buddha: 'O ascetic, which path did you follow to come here and sit down?' The Blessed One told him: 'O Kāśyapa, know this, after your departure, I went to Uttarakuru and there I took some spontaneously [grown] rice, which is very good and very perfumed. O Kāśyapa, if you would like it, take it and eat it'. Kāśyapa said: 'I do not need it, may the ascetic take it himself and eat it'. Kāśyapa again reflected as follows: 'That ascetic has extreme supernormal powers, he has great prodigious power. Although this is so, he is not like me, who have obtained

the truth of the Path'. Then the Blessed One, having had his meal, returned there where he passed the night.

The next day, Kāśyapa approached the Blessed One and uttered these words: 'The time for the meal has arrived, you may go and eat'. The Buddha said to Kāśyapa: 'Go ahead, I will come later'. After Kāśyapa's departure, the Blessed One went to Godānīya, (620c) where he took a *haritaka* fruit and arrived before Kāśyapa back in the stone house, where he sat down.

Kāśyapa asked the Buddha: 'O ascetic, which path did you follow to come here and sit down?' The Buddha said to Kāśyapa: 'After your departure, I went to Godānīya and there I took this fruit, which is very good and very perfumed. O Kāśyapa, if you would like it, you may take it and eat it'. Kāśyapa replied: 'I do not need it, may the ascetic take it himself and eat it'. Once again Kāśyapa reflected as follows: 'That ascetic has extreme supernormal powers, he has great prodigious power. Although this is so, he is not like me, who have obtained the truth of the Path'. Then, the Blessed One, having had his meal, returned there where he passed the night.

The next day, Kāśyapa approached the Blessed One and said to him: 'The time [for the meal] has arrived, you may go and eat'. The Buddha said to Kāśyapa: 'Go ahead, I will come later'. After Kāśyapa's departure, the Blessed One went to Pūrvavideha, where he took a *vibhītaka* fruit and arrived before Kāśyapa back in the stone house, where he sat down.

Kāśyapa asked the Buddha: 'Which path did you follow to come here and sit down?' The Buddha said to Kāśyapa: 'After your departure, I went to Pūrvavideha, there I took this fruit and returned. It is very good and very perfumed. O Kāśyapa, if you would like it, you may take it and eat it'. Kāśyapa replied: 'I do not need it, may the ascetic take it himself and eat it'. Kāśyapa once again reflected as follows: 'That ascetic has extreme supernormal powers, he has great prodigious power. Although this is so, he is not like me, who have obtained the truth of the Path'. Then, the Blessed One, having had his meal, returned there where he passed the night.

3) At that time, Kāśyapa wished to celebrate a great sacrifice.

His five hundred disciples took axes to cut firewood. They raised their axes, but the latter did not fall. Then, Kāśyapa again reflected as follows: 'That is certainly caused by the ascetic'. Then, Kāśyapa asked the Blessed One: 'At present, we wish to cut firewood. Why do the axes not fall?' The Blessed One said to him: 'Do you wish that the axes may fall again?' — 'We wish it to be done so that they fall again.' Immediately, the axes fell once more.

At that moment, the axes having fallen once more, they could not be raised again. Kāśyapa said to the Buddha: 'Why do the axes not rise?' The Blessed One said to him: 'Do you wish it to be done that they rise again?' — 'We wish it to be done that they rise again'. The axes rose immediately.

At that moment, Kāśyapa's disciples wanted to light a fire, but the fire could not be lit. Then, Kāśyapa further reflected in this way: 'That is assuredly caused by the ascetic Gautama'. Kāśyapa said to the Buddha: 'Why does the fire not light?' The Buddha said to Kāśyapa: 'Do you wish it to be done that the fire lights?' — 'We wish it to be done that the fire lights'. The fire lit immediately.

At that moment, they wished to put out the fire, but the fire would not go out. Kāśyapa said to the Buddha: 'Why does the fire not go out?' The Buddha said to Kāśyapa: 'Do you wish it to be done that the fire goes out?' — 'We wish it to be done that the fire goes out'. The fire went out immediately.

4) Kāśyapa again reflected as follows: 'That ascetic Gautama (621a) has a perfect looking face, as exists rarely in this world. I would like to celebrate a great sacrifice tomorrow. The king and the people of the country will all come to assemble [here]. If they see that ascetic, I will not receive any more offerings. If that ascetic were not to come tomorrow, that would be most fortuitous'. At that moment, the Blessed One knew what Kāśyapa had thought in his mind. The next day early in the morning, he went to Uttarakuru and he took some spontaneously [grown] rice. He then went to Godānīya where he took some milk, then he went to the Anavatapta river, where he consumed his meal. He remained there until the end of the day, then, towards evening, he returned to the stone house where he passed the night.

The next day Kāśyapa approached the Blessed One and asked him: 'O ascetic, why did you not come yesterday?' The Buddha said to Kāśyapa: 'Yesterday, you reflected thus: "That ascetic is quite perfect, as exists rarely in this world. Tomorrow I shall celebrate a great sacrifice. If the king and the people of the country come, they will stop making offerings to me. If he were not to come, that would be most fortuitous". I knew immediately what you had thought in your mind and I therefore went to Uttarakuru, where I took some spontaneously [grown] rice. After that, I went to Godānīya where I took some milk, then I went to the Anavatapta river, where I had a meal. I remained there until the end of the day, then, towards evening, I returned to the stone house, where I passed the night'. Then Kāśyapa reflected as follows: 'That great ascetic (*mahāśramaṇa*) has extreme supernormal powers, he really has prodigious power. Although this is so, he is not like me, who have obtained the truth of the Path'. Then, the Blessed One, having had his meal, returned to the stone house where he passed the night.

5) Now, during the night, the four Divine Kings approached the Blessed One and listened to him [giving] a discourse (*sūtra*) on the Dharma. The four Divine Kings had a brilliant light and the Buddha also emitted a light such that it illuminated the hills and the countryside, penetrating them uniformly. In the night, Kāśyapa saw that brilliant light.

The next day, early in the morning, he approached the Buddha and said to him: 'What was that brilliant light which, last night, illuminated the hills and countryside?' The Blessed One said to him: 'Last night, the four Great Kings came here to listen to my teaching. It was the brilliant light of the four Great Kings'. Thereupon, Kāśyapa again reflected as follows: 'That ascetic has extreme supernormal powers, since he is able to cause the four Divine Kings to come and listen to him [giving] a discourse on his Dharma. Although this is so, he is not like me, who have obtained the truth of the Path'. Then the Blessed One, having had his meal, returned there where he passed the night.

6) In the middle of the night, Śakra Devānāindra approached the Blessed One in order to listen to his Dharma. The brilliant

light of the ruler of the gods illuminated the hills. At that moment, Kāśyapa, having risen in the night to observe the stars, saw that brilliant light.

The next day, early in the morning, Kāśyapa approached the Blessed One and asked him: 'O Gautama, last night there was a brilliant light, quite extraordinary and unique. What was the cause of that brilliant light?' The Blessed One said to him: 'Last night, the ruler of the gods, (9621b) Śakra, came to listen to my discourse. That is why there was a brilliant light.' Thereupon, Kāśyapa reflected as follows: 'That ascetic Gautama has extreme supernormal powers, he has great prodigious power since he can cause the ruler of the gods, Śakra, to come here and listen to his discourse on the Dharma. Although this is so, he is not like me, who have obtained the truth of the Path.' Then the Blessed One, having had his meal, returned there where he passed the night.

7) In the middle of the night, Brahma, the king of the gods, emitting a great brilliant light, approached the Blessed One in order to listen to a discourse on the Dharma. Then, Kāśyapa, having risen during the night, saw that brilliant light.

The next day, he approached the Blessed One and asked him: 'Last night, there was a brilliant light, double that which [usually] illuminates and which surpassed the bright light of the sun and moon. What was the cause which emitted that brilliant light?' The Blessed One said to him: 'O Kāśyapa, know this, last night great Brahma, king of the gods, came to me in order to listen to my discourse on the Dharma'. Thereupon, Kāśyapa again reflected as follows: 'That ascetic Gautama has extreme supernormal powers, since he can cause my paternal ancestor to come to that ascetic in order to listen to his discourse on his Dharma. Although this is so, he is not like me, who have obtained the truth of the Path'.

8) At that moment, the Blessed One, having obtained a worn out discarded robe the colour of which had faded, wished to wash it. He reflected as follows: 'In what place am I going to wash this robe?' At that moment, Śakra Devānāindra, knowing what the Blessed One was thinking in his mind, magically created a bathing pool, and he said to the Blessed One: 'You may wash that robe here'.

At that moment, the Blessed One again reflected as follows: 'In what place am I going to tread underfoot this robe while washing it?' Then, the four Divine Kings, knowing what the Blessed One had thought in his mind, raised a large square stone, placed it at the water's edge and said to the Blessed One: 'Here, you can tread underfoot that robe'.

At that moment, the Blessed One reflected further as follows: 'In what place am I going to expose this robe to the sun?' Then a **tree deity, knowing what the Blessed One had thought in his mind, lowered the branch of a tree and said to the Blessed One: 'I only wish that you may expose that robe to the sun here'.**

The next day, early in the morning, Kāśyapa approached the Blessed One and asked him: 'Formerly, there was no pool here and now there is a pool here. Formerly, there was no tree here, and now there is a tree here. Formerly, there was no stone here, and now there is a stone here. For what causes are there these transformations?' The Blessed One said to him: 'Here itself, last night, the ruler of the gods, Śakra, knowing my wish to wash a robe, made this pool as a bath. I also reflected thus: "In what place am I going to tread underfoot this robe while washing it?" Then the four Great Kings, knowing what I had thought in my mind, brought this stone. I also reflected thus: "In what place am I going to expose this robe to the sun?" Then a tree deity, knowing what I had thought in my mind, lowered a branch of this tree'. Thereupon, Kāśyapa again reflected as follows: 'That ascetic Gautama, despite his supernormal powers, (621c) is not like me, who have obtained the truth of the Path'. Then, the Blessed One, having had his meal, returned there where he passed the night.

9) In the middle of the night, a large black cloud rose and much rain fell; the great Nairāñjanā river overflowed, seething in the extreme. Then, Kāśyapa again reflected as follows: 'This river is overflowing and seething. The ascetic will assuredly be carried off by the water. Let us go and see right now'. Immediately, Kāśyapa and his five hundred disciples went to the river. At that moment, the Blessed One was walking on the water, without his feet being wetted by the water. From afar Kāśyapa saw the Blessed One who was walking on the water. He again reflected as follows: 'It

is quite extraordinary, quite unique: the ascetic Gautama is able to walk on water. I also am able to walk on water, but not so that my feet do not get wet. That ascetic, although he has those supernormal powers, is not like me, who have obtained the truth of the Path'.

At that moment, the Blessed One said to Kāśyapa: 'You are not an Arhat and, furthermore, you do not know the Path (*mārga*) of the Arhats. You do not even understand the name Arhat, with greater reason [how] could you have obtained the Path? You are a blind man whose eyes see nothing. The Tathāgata shows you impressive marvels and you say: "He is not like me, who have obtained the truth of the Path". You have just uttered these words: "I am able to walk on water". At present, it is exactly the right time: can we walk together on the water? If you wish to abandon now your thoughts of false ideas (*mithyā-dṛṣṭi*), this will mean that you will undergo no further torments for a long time to come'.

10) Then Kāśyapa, having heard the words of the Blessed One, bowed down at his feet [and said to him]: 'At present, I repent of my faults, I sincerely acknowledge that they are unjust (*adharmā*) and that they offend the Tathāgata. I only wish that he may accept my repentance'. This [he said] three times. The Blessed One said to him: 'I accept that you correct your faults, for you yourself are able to acknowledge that they offend and importune the Tathāgata'.

Then Kāśyapa said to his five hundred disciples: 'May each of you pursue what suits you. At present, I myself am taking refuge in the ascetic Gautama'. Immediately, the five hundred disciples said to Kāśyapa: 'We also have previously had [good] thoughts concerning the ascetic Gautama. Since he subdued the Nāga, we have wished to pay homage to him. If our master himself takes refuge in Gautama, we five hundred disciples all take refuge in Gautama too.' Kāśyapa answered them: 'Now is the appropriate time. Furthermore, my mind is [still] firmly clinging to delusion (*moha*); although I have seen many marvels, my mind has all the same not understood and that is why I boasted, saying: "My Path is right and correct".' Then Kāśyapa, leading his five hundred

disciples, who preceded, followed and surrounded him, approached the Blessed One. He bowed down at the latter's feet, then, standing to one side, said to him: 'I only wish, O Blessed One, that you would permit us to become ascetics (*śramaṇa*) and cultivate pure conduct (*brahmacarya*) concerning the eternal teaching of the Buddhas. If you say "Welcome, O monks (*bhikṣu*)", we will become ascetics (*śramaṇa*)'.

At that moment, the Blessed One said (622a) to Kāśyapa: 'Welcome O monk! Correctly cultivate pure conduct concerning this subtle and marvellous teaching'. Thereupon, Kāśyapa and his five hundred disciples totally transformed the clothing they wore by making them into *kāśāyas*, they themselves removed their hair as if they had been shaved, then seven days passed.

The five hundred disciples then said to the Blessed One: 'We only wish that the Blessed One would permit us to become ascetics (*śramaṇa*)'. The Blessed One said to them: 'Welcome, O monks!' At that moment, the five hundred disciples immediately became ascetics (*śramaṇa*), they wore *kāśāyas* and themselves removed their hair.

11) At that time, by following a water course downstream, there was a brahmin ascetic (*brahmacārin*) named Kāśyapa of the River (Nadī), who dwelled at the water's edge. Then Nadī-Kāśyapa saw all the utensils used for incantations floating on the water, and he reflected as follows: 'Alas, my elder brother has drowned in the river!' Immediately Nadī-Kāśyapa, leading his three hundred disciples, followed the water course upstream and looked for the corpse of his brother.

From afar he saw the Blessed One seated under a tree and Mahākāśyapa with his five hundred disciples who preceded, followed and surrounded him, to whom [the Buddha] was expounding his Dharma. Having seen them, he advanced close to Kāśyapa and said these words to him: 'Is this thing good? Formerly, you were a master, and now you are a disciple. Why, O elder brother, have you become a disciple of that ascetic?' Kāśyapa answered him: 'This place (*sthāna*) is marvellous, nothing surpasses this place.' Then Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa, addressing Nadī-Kāśyapa, uttered this verse:

'This master is honoured by men and gods. Now I serve him as my master. When the Buddhas appear in this world, it is extremely difficult to encounter them'.

When Nadī-Kāśyapa heard the name Buddha uttered, he was filled with joy and could not restrain himself from jumping. Advancing, he said to the Blessed One: 'I wish that you would permit me [to follow] the Path'. The Blessed One said to him: 'Welcome, O monk! Correctly cultivate pure conduct (*brahmacarya*) in order to put a definite end to suffering.' Thereupon, Nadī-Kāśyapa and his three hundred disciples became ascetics (*śramaṇa*), they wore *kāśāya*s and themselves removed their hair. At that moment, Nadī-Kāśyapa and his three hundred disciples threw all their instruments used for incantations into the water.

At that time, by following a water course downstream, there was a brahmin ascetic (*brahmacārin*) named Gaja-Kāśyapa, who dwelled at the water's edge. From afar he saw the instruments used for incantations floating on the water and he reflected as follows: 'I have two older brothers who dwell up-river, where they study the Path. Now all the instruments used for incantations are floating on the water. The two great Kāśyapas have assuredly been harmed by the water'. Immediately, leading his two hundred disciples, he followed the water course upstream, in order to reach the place where [his brothers] studied their method.

From afar he saw his two older brothers who had become ascetics (*śramaṇa*) and he said these words to them: 'Is this place (*sthāna*) good? Formerly, you were honoured by men, (622b) and now you have become disciples of an ascetic (*śramaṇa*)'. Kāśyapa answered: 'This place is the best, nothing surpasses this place'. Then Gaja-Kāśyapa further reflected as follows: 'Now my two older brothers know a great deal [of things], they have studied a great deal, [therefore] this place (*sthāna*) is assuredly a good terrain, which causes my two older brothers, while staying here, to study the Path here. At present, I myself can, while staying here, study the Path here too'.

Then, Gaja-Kāśyapa advanced and said to the Blessed One: 'I only wish that the Blessed One would permit me to become an ascetic (*śramaṇa*)'. The Blessed One said to him: 'Welcome, O

monk! Correctly cultivate pure conduct in order to put a definite end to suffering'. Thereupon, Gaja-Kāśyapa immediately became an ascetic (*śramaṇa*), he wore a *kāśāya* and he himself removed his hair as if he had shaved his head, then seven days passed.

12) At that moment, the Blessed One, dwelling on the river bank, under a *nyagrodha* tree, having only recently become a Buddha, was at the head of a thousand disciples, all elderly and aged. Then, the Blessed One instructed and educated them by means of three subjects. What are those three? Instruction-education concerning the bases of supernormal power (*rddhipada*), instruction-education concerning the teaching through predication, instruction-education concerning the teaching.

What is called instruction-education concerning the bases of supernormal power? When the Blessed One causes his appearance to multiply, then make it return to one, or else when he appears and disappears, or else when he passes through any stone wall without encountering an obstacle, or else when he emerges from the ground or enters the ground as if in a water course without coming up against an obstacle, or else when he sits down crosslegged in empty space, or else when he flies in space like a bird without encountering an obstacle, when he emits an immense flame like a mountain of fire, when he takes in his hand the sun or moon, whose supernormal power is nonetheless immense, when he goes, in his body, to the god Brahma, such are the bases of supernormal power shown by the Blessed One.

What is called instruction-education concerning the teaching through predication? When the Blessed One instructs his monks [saying to them]: 'Abandon this, take that! Approach here, depart from there! Think of this, reject that! Examine this, do not examine that!'; when he says to others: 'What [is meant by]: cultivate this, do not cultivate that? You should cultivate thoughts of Enlightenment (*sambodhyaṅga*) and discard the three fetters (*samyojana*)'; when he says to others: 'What [is meant by]: Examine this, do not examine that? You should examine the three wholesome things (*kuśala* ?) of the ascetic (*śramaṇa*), namely, the happiness (*sukha*) of release (*nihsaraṇa*), the happiness of the absence of hatred, the happiness of the absence of

anger'; when he says to others: 'What [is meant by]: do not examine that? These are the three sufferings (*duḥkha*) of the ascetic. What are those three? The examination of craving, the examination of hatred, the examination of anger'; when he says to others: 'What [is meant by] recalling? What [is meant by] not recalling? Now, recall the Truth of suffering, recall the Truth of its origin, recall the Truth of its cessation, recall the Truth of the Path, do not recall false Truths, the eternalist view (*dr̥ṣṭi*), the non-eternalist view, the finite view, the infinite view, that according to which the life principle (*jīva*) is the same as the body (*kāya*), that according to which the life principle is different from the body, those according to which the Tathāgata exists after the end of his life, or the Tathāgata no longer exists after the end of his life, or he exists and does not exist, or that he neither exists nor does not exist. Do not build up such recollections'.

What is called instruction-education concerning the teaching? (622c) Furthermore, do this setting out, do not do that setting out, do this arriving, do not do that arriving, remain silent and utter these words: 'Take a robe like this, do not take a robe like that, enter the village like this, do not enter the village like that', this is what is called instruction-education concerning the teaching. Then the Blessed One, by means of those three subjects, instructed and educated the thousand monks. Thereupon, those monks, having received instruction from the Buddha, all those thousand monks became Arhats. At that moment, the Blessed One having seen that the thousand monks had become Arhats, there were in Jambudvīpa a thousand Arhats and five [original] monks (*bhikṣu*), the Buddha being the sixth and their master.

IV-1) He resumed his seat and turned towards Kapilavastu. At that moment, Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa again reflected as follows: 'Why is the Blessed One sitting turned towards Kapilavastu?' Then Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa knelt before the Blessed One and said to him: 'Without [wishing] to enquire, [I wonder] why the Tathāgata is sitting turned towards Kapilavastu'. The Blessed One said to him: 'When a Tathāgata dwells in the world, he must accomplish five tasks. What are those five? 1) Setting in motion the Wheel of the Dharma. 2) Expounding his teaching to his father. 3) Expounding

his teaching to his mother. 4) Leading worldlings (*prthagjana*) to establish themselves in the conduct of the bodhisattvas. 5). Transmitting to them the peculiarities of the bodhisattvas. Such are, O Kāśyapa, the five duties (*dharma*) which the Tathagātas must accomplish when they appear in the world'. Then Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa further reflected as follows: 'It is because the Tathāgata has remembered his family and his native land that he is sitting turned towards them'.

At that moment, the five monks gradually arrived on the bank of the River Nairāñjanā. Having approached the Blessed One, they bowed down at his feet and sat to one side. Then, from afar Venerable Udaya saw the Blessed One sitting turned towards Kapilavastu and, having seen him, reflected as follows: 'The Blessed One assuredly wishes to go to Kapilavastu to see his parents and his village'. Thereupon, Udaya knelt before the Blessed One and said to him: 'At present, I would like to ask a question? I only wish to express it'. The Blessed One said to him: 'Whatever you wish to ask, ask it'. Udaya said to the Blessed One: 'I have observed that the mind of the Tathāgata is turned towards Kapilavastu'.

2) The Blessed One said to him: 'It is just as you say. O Udaya, know this, in bygone days I went to King Suddhodana and [I promised him] I would return later. That is why a messenger should first be sent to the kṣatriya caste to inform it that the Tathāgata will be coming later. Go and tell the king that, in seven days' time, the Tathāgata will come to the king'. Udaya replied: 'Yes, O Blessed One'.

Immediately, Udaya rose from his seat, put his robes in order, bowed down (623a) at the feet of the Blessed One and, having disappeared from in front of the Blessed One, went to Kapilavastu, to King Suddhodana, where he remained standing before the king.

At that moment, King Suddhodana was sitting in his great palace with his women. Then Udaya flew in space, and King Suddhodana saw Udaya who, holding his alms-bowl (*pātra*) in one hand and his stick (*danda*) in the other, was standing before him. Having seen him, he was frightened in his heart and uttered these

words: 'Who is this? A man or a non-human [spirit] (*amanuṣya*)? A god or a demon? A Yakṣa or a Rakṣasa? A god or a Nāga? A demon or a spirit?' Then King Śuddhodana asked Udaya: 'Are you a man?' Furthermore, he addressed Udaya with this verse:

'Are you a god? Are you a demon? Or else a Gandharva? At present, what is your name? I would now like to know'.

Then Udaya answered the king with these verses:

'I am neither a god nor a Gandharva. Here, in the land of Kapilavastu, I was a man from the land of a great king.

'My master is Śākyamuni, who formerly destroyed Māra Pāpimat's horde, which was eighteen million [demons strong]. Of that sage (*arhat*) am I a disciple'.

Then King Śuddhodana addressed Udaya with this verse:

'Who destroyed Māra Pāpimat's horde which was eighteen million [demons strong]? Who is named Śākyamuni? Whom do you now praise?'

Then, Udaya uttered these verses:

'Once the Tathāgata was born, heaven and earth everywhere underwent a great quake. His aspiration he has entirely fulfilled, and now he is called Siddhārtha.

'He has vanquished Māra Pāpimat's horde, which was eighteen million [demons strong]. He is named Śākyamuni; today he has realised the Path of the Buddhas.

'That man is a lion (*simha*) of the Śākyas, of that Gautama am I a disciple. Today I have become an ascetic (*śramaṇa*), my former name was Udaya'.

At that moment, King Śuddhodana, having heard those words, was filled with joy in his heart and could not restrain himself [from jumping]. He said to Udaya: 'O Udaya, is the crown prince Siddhārtha still alive now?' Udaya replied: 'The Buddha Śākyamuni is alive now'. The king asked him: 'Has he become a Buddha now?' Udaya replied: 'Just now, he has become (623b) a Buddha.' The king again asked: 'Today, where is the Tathāgata dwelling?' Udaya answered him: 'The Tathāgata is now in the land of Magadha, under a *nyagrodha* tree'. The king asked: 'What men are the disciples who serve and follow him?' Udaya

replied: 'Millions of gods and a thousand disciples, the four Divine Kings stand constantly to his right and left'. The king then said: 'What appearance has the clothing he wears?' Udaya replied: 'The clothing the Tathāgata wears are called *kāṣāyas*.' The king asked: 'What nourishment does he take?' Udaya answered: 'The body (*kāya*) of the Tathāgata is nourished by the Teaching (*dharma*).' The king again asked: 'O Udaya, might I see the Tathāgata?' Udaya replied: 'O king, do not be so concerned, in seven days' time the Tathāgata will come and enter the town'. Thereupon, the king could not restrain himself from feeling extreme joy, and with his own hand he poured out a drink and offered it to Udaya.

Then, the king had the drums beaten loudly and ordered the people of the kingdom to level and tidy the roads by removing impurities, to pour perfumed liquids on the ground, suspend banners and parasols, and play music of inestimable [quality]. He also ordered all the blind, deaf and mute not to show themselves, since, in seven days' time, Siddhārtha would come and enter the town. Then King Śuddhodana, having learned that the Buddha would be coming and entering the town in seven days' time, could not sleep [for all that time].

3) Then, the seventh day having arrived, the Blessed One reflected as follows: 'Now, it is appropriate for me to go to the land of Kapilavastu using the bases of my supernormal powers'. Immediately, the Blessed One, leading his monks, who preceded, followed and surrounded him, went to the land of Kapilavastu. Having arrived there, he went to the north of the town, in a *śāla* grove.

At that moment, King Śuddhodana learned that the Blessed One had arrived at the *śāla* grove, to the north of the town of Kapilavastu. Then King Śuddhodana, leading a throng of Śākyans, went to the Blessed One. At that moment, the Blessed One was again reflecting as follows: 'That King Śuddhodana comes himself, in person, does not suit me. I should now go to meet him. Why? Because [my] feelings of acknowledgement and respect towards my father and mother who raised and fed me are profound'. There upon, the Blessed One, leading his company of monks, went to the town gate by flying in space seven fathoms from the ground.

At that moment, King Śuddhodana saw the Blessed One, who was of incomparable propriety, extremely rare in this world, whose faculties (*indriya*) were calmed and pure, who did not think of a host [of things], whose body bore the thirty-two marks (*lakṣaṇa*) and the eighty signs of loveliness which adorned his body. He broadcast thoughts of joy and, immediately bowing down, uttered these words: 'I am of the royal caste of kṣatriyas and my name is King Śuddhodana'.

The Blessed One said to him: (623c) 'May the great king enjoy unlimited longevity! That is why, O great king, control and transform yourself by means of the correct teaching and do not make use of false teachings. O great king, know this, those who control and transform themselves by means of the right teaching, at the breaking up of their body at the end of their life, are reborn in good places, in heaven (*svarga*)'.

Immediately, the Blessed One, walking in space, went to the palace of King Śuddhodana and, having reached it, sat down on a seat. When the king saw the Blessed One sitting, [his mind] concentrated, with his own hand he served him a drink and offered him all kinds of food and drink. When he saw that the Blessed One had finished his meal, he poured pure water [onto his hands] and took a small seat in order to listen to the discourse.

Then the Blessed One disclosed to King Śuddhodana what is mysterious in meaning. What he spoke of was a disclosure of giving (*dāna*), a disclosure of morality (*śīla*) and a disclosure of rebirth in heaven (*svarga*), [explaining] that desire (*kāma*) is an impure practice and that release (*niḥsaraṇa*) is happiness (*sukha*). When the Blessed One saw that the king's mind was open and had understood, he expounded to the king the whole teaching which the Buddhas the Blessed Ones always expound: suffering, its origin, its cessation and the Path. Then, while King Śuddhodana was on his seat, his dust and stains disappeared and he obtained the eye of the Dharma (*dharmacakṣus*), [which is] pure (*śuddha*). At that moment, the Blessed One, having expounded his Dharma to the king, rose from his seat and departed.

4) Then King Śuddhodana assembled the throng of Śākyans and uttered these words: 'The ascetics (*śramaṇa*) are very ugly in ap-

pearance. That a [man] of the kṣatriya caste leads a company of brahmins is not appropriate. That a [man] of the Śākyan kṣatriya race returns and obtains a company of kṣatriyas is excellent.' The Śākyans replied: 'Yes, O great king! As the great king teaches, that a [man] of the kṣatriya race returns and obtains a company of kṣatriyas is excellent.' Then the king proclaimed in the land: 'Wherever there are two brothers, let one be taken to follow the Path. May those who do not do so be censured and punished severely.' When the Śākyans had heard those instructions of the king, wherever there were two brothers, they took one to follow the Path, and those who did not follow those instructions were censured and punished severely.

Then Devadatta, of the Śākyan race, said to the Śākyan Ānanda: 'King Śuddhodana has today ordered that, wherever there are two brothers, one should be taken to follow the Path. Now, leave home in order to study the Path. I myself shall stay at home in order to occupy myself with household tasks'. Then the Śākyan Ānanda jumped for joy and answered: 'Yes, since my elder brother has just given me that order'.

Then, the Śākyan Nanda said to the Śākyan Anāruddha: 'King Śuddhodana has ordered that, wherever there are two brothers, one should be taken to follow the Path and those who do not do so will be censured and punished severely. Now, leave home, I will remain at home'. At that moment, the Śākyan Anāruddha, having heard those words, was unable to restrain himself from jumping for joy and replied: 'Yes, since my elder brother has just given me that order'.

5) Then King Śuddhodana, leading the Śākyan Droṇodana, the Śākyan Śuklodana and the Śākyan Amṛtodana, approached the Blessed One. At that moment, he was driving a four-horse chariot, a white chariot, with a white parasol and harnessed to white horses. (624a) The second Śākyan was driving a blue chariot, with a blue parasol and harnessed to blue horses. The third Śākyan was driving a yellow chariot with a yellow parasol and harnessed to yellow horses. The fourth Śākyan was driving a red chariot with a red parasol and harnessed to red horses. Then all the Śākyans came together, some mounted on elephants, others mounted on

horses.

At that moment, from afar the Blessed One saw the throng of Śākyaans led by King Śuddhodana coming and he said to the monks: 'Look at that throng of Śākyaans! Look carefully at King Śuddhodana's throng. O monks, know this, the Thirty-Three gods, when they come out to go and see a park, are also like these, there is no difference.'

6) At that moment, Ānanda was mounted on a large white elephant, his clothing was white and his parasol white. Having seen him, [the Blessed One] said to the monks: 'Do you see that Śākyaan Ananda, mounted on a white elephant and [wearing] white clothing?' The monks replied: 'Yes, O Blessed One! We see him'. The Buddha said to the monks: 'That man is going to take up the homeless life in order to study the Path. [He will be] the foremost of the learned (*bahuśruta*), he will be able to stand at [my] right or my [left]. Do you see that Śākyaan Anāruddha?' The monks replied: 'Yes, we see him'. The Buddha said to the monks: 'That man is going to take up the homeless life in order to study the Path. [He will be] the foremost of those who possess the divine eye (*divyacakṣus*)'.

Then King Śuddhodana and his brothers, all four of them, with Nanda and Ānanda, advanced on foot, leaving their five possessions. Having reached the Blessed One, they bowed down at his feet and sat to one side. Then King Śuddhodana said to the Buddha: 'Last night, this thought came to me: "A kṣatriya should not lead a company of brahmins, but he should lead a company of kṣatriyas: that is appropriate". I therefore proclaimed in the land: "Wherever there are two brothers, take one and have him leave home in order to study the Path". I only wish that the Blessed One would permit them to leave home in order to study the Path'. The Blessed One said to him: 'Excellent (*sādhu*), O great king! Due to numerous accumulated [mental] profits, the gods and mankind will obtain peace (*kṣema*). Why? Because that good knowledge is a fertile field of merit (*puṇyakṣetra*). I also, who have aroused that knowledge, can free myself from birth, old-age, disease and death'. At that moment, the throng of Śākyaans was able to follow the Path.

Then King Śuddhodana said to the Blessed One: 'I only wish that the Blessed One would instruct these new monks as he instructed Udaya. Why? because that monk Udaya possesses extreme supernormal powers. I wish that the monk Udaya would remain in my palace for a long time in order to instruct and educate, so that the totality of living beings (*sattva*) may acquire peace for a long time. Why? Because that monk possesses extreme supernormal powers. As soon as I saw that monk Udaya, I broadcast thoughts of joy and I reflected as follows: "If the disciple possesses those supernormal powers, all the more so must the Tathāgata possess incomparable supernormal powers"'. The Blessed One said to him: 'Yes, (624b) O great king, it is just as the great king says: that monk Udaya possesses extreme supernormal powers, he possesses great supernormal power'.

7) Then the Blessed One said to the monks: 'The foremost of the disciples through his immense knowledge and learning (*bahuśruta*) of whom the king of this land has thought is the monk named Ājñāta Kaundinya. He who exhorts and wins over people is the monk Udaya. He who possesses rapid and keen knowledge is the monk Mahānāman. He who moves about by flying joyously and constantly is the monk Subhṛgu (?). He who comes and goes in emptiness is the monk Vaṣpa. He who has many disciples is the monk Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa. He whose mind is able to examine emptiness is the monk Nadī-Kāśyapa. He whose mind is able to relinquish examining is the monk Elephant (Gaja-)Kāśyapa'. Then the Blessed One expounded to King Śuddhodana the subtle and mysterious Dharma at length. When the king had heard the Dharma, he rose from his seat, bowed down at the feet [of the Buddha] and departed backwards. Thereupon, the monks and King Śuddhodana, having heard what the Buddha had said, received it contentedly and applied themselves to practise accordingly.

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