

SD 64.10**Dhamma,cetiya Sutta****The Discourse on Dharma Memorials****M 89**

Theme: King Pasenadi's testimony on the 3 jewels

Translated and annotated by Piya Tan 2009, ©2026

1 Sutta summary and related sutta**1.1 SUTTA SUMMARY AND SIGNIFICANCE****1.1.1 Sutta summary**

The Dhamma,cetiya Sutta (M 89), the Discourse on Dharma Memorials, lists 10 reasons for king Pasenadi's faith in the Buddha. The Sutta teaching serves as a reflection on the 3 jewels.

Pasenadi, while visiting **Nagaraka** in Sakya country, heard that the Buddha was staying at **Medāḷum-pa**, 3 yojanas¹ away. He visited the Buddha and was deeply impressed by the peace of the place. Falling at the Buddha's feet, he touched and kissed them and showed great reverence. When the Buddha asked why he did so, the king replied that he noticed the marvellous effects of the Buddha's teaching on others, especially his disciples. They were disciplined, and joyfully aloof from the world, like wild deer roaming free in the forest.

Pasenadi admitted that he knew of no such discipline and happiness outside of the Buddha's teaching. He went on to tell the Buddha of his own chamberlains, **Isidatta** and **Purāṇa**, who showed great devotion to the Buddha. In closing, he stated that both the Buddha and he were Kosala nobles of the same age.

After Pasenadi's departure, the Buddha commended the king's words to the monks, asking them to remember them, for they formed a shrine or memorial (*cetiya*) to the Dharma and its benefits.

1.1.2 Sutta significance

1.1.2.1 The reason for king Pasenadi's joy and devotion shown to the Buddha upon meeting him [S9], according to the Sutta's commentary, seems to be his deep remorse in having had the general Bandhula (Dīgha Kārāyana's uncle) and his 32 sons executed in a single day, despite the fact that they were innocent.

Later, learning of their innocence, Pasenadi was deeply remorseful and despondent.² Hence, hearing of the Buddha's presence, he at once went to see him. As was the protocol, he left all his fivefold regalia³ with Dīgha Kārāyana before meeting the Buddha (MA 3:351,9-19).

¹ About 34 km or 21 mi away. *Yojana*, the "greater yojana," a league (11.25 km or 7 mi = 4 *gāvutas*): **Magha V** (DhA 2.7,50), SD 54.22; **Pahārāda S** (A 8.19,9.1 n), SD 45.18; SD 47.8 (2.4.4.1).

² MA 3:349,7-15.

³ These are the fivefold regalia (*pañca,kakudha*; Skt *kakuda*): the sword (*khagga*), the (white) parasol (*chatta*), the diadem (*unhisa*), the sandals (*paduka*) and the whisk (*vāla,vijānī*; Skt *vāla,vyajana*, or *camara*, chowrie) (J 530/72*/-5:264,23*, *upāhana* replaces *paduka*. **MA** lists as yak-tail fan, turban, sword, parasol and sandals: *Vāla,vijāniṃ uṇ-hisaṃ, khaggaṃ chattañ c'upāhanam*; | *oruyha rājā yānamhā, ṭhapayitvā paṭicchadanti* [J 5:264] (MA 3:351,11 f). Cf S 11.9/1:226 (Vepacitti + Sakra on seeing rishis); PvA 74; J 4:151, 5:265. Also Divy:NC 147,12; Vaidya, *Divyāvadāna*, Darbhanga, 1999:91,12; cf Upreti, *India as Reflected in the Divyavadana*, Delhi, 1995:106). The 5 are also in Jain Thā-

1.1.2.2 According to the Majjhima Commentary, this was the last occasion when king **Pasenadi** saw the Buddha. For, as soon as Pasenadi entered the Buddha's cell, **Dīgha Kārāyana** absconded with the king's regalia and installed Pasenadi's son, **Viḍūḍabha**, on the throne.⁴ Kārāyana left only a horse, the king's sword, and a female attendant for Pasenadi. He then rode into the night (with the attendant) to **Rājagaha** to seek **Ajātasattu's** aid. On the way, he took some disagreeable food, had bad digestion, and died alone in a pavilion outside the city-gate.⁵

1.2 (DASAKA) KOSALA SUTTA 2 (A 10.30), SD 64.15: A COMPARISON⁶

1.2.1 Royal battles

1.2.1.1 The Kosala Sutta 2 (A 10.30) gives similar narrative details as the Dhammacetiya Sutta regarding king Pasenadi visiting the Buddha, but there are significant differences in Pasenadi's occasion for the meeting and in the respective sutta teachings.⁷ The Dhammacetiya Sutta probably recorded Pasenadi's meeting the Buddha soon after the execution of general Bandhula and his 32 sons. Later, Pasenadi, remorseful of his rash misdeed, was relieved and delighted to see the Buddha.

Sadly, Pasenadi also exposed his total vulnerability by handing over all his regalia to **Dīgha Kārāyana**, the nephew of Bandhula. Kārāyana at once seized this opportunity to seek his revenge by making Pasenadi's son, **Viḍūḍabha** (Be *viṭaṭūbha*), the new king. This was just the moment that Viḍūḍabha was waiting for; he could now use his power and army to massacre the Sakyas for humiliating him (by secretly giving a low-caste woman, Vasabha, khattiyā,⁸ in marriage to Pasenadi).⁹

1.2.1.2 According to the **(Dasaka) Kosala Sutta 2** introduction, Pasenadi approached the Buddha after having won a battle¹⁰ (A 5:65,7-11). The Sutta uses the word *uyyodhikāya*, from *uyyodhikā*, which CPD defines as "a sham battle" (A 5:65,8), but DP defines as simply "a battle; a military exercise." The Commentary explains that it was a real battle (*yuddhato nivatto hoti*, AA 5:27,26 f).

I think the word, *uyyodhikā* here refers to the way ancient Indian kings fought one another, and refers specifically to this battle between Pasenadi and his nephew Ajātasattu. It is unlikely that uncle and nephew (in this case anyway) wanted to kill one another. They let their armies do battle, and the losing side submits to the winning side. It was a "sham battle" in the sense that the kings did not really fight (hand-to-hand) with one another; it was a real battle since their armies were fighting and killing one another.

ṇaṅga 5.408 (Jambūvijaya, *Thānaṅgasuttaṃ and Samavāyāṅgasuttaṃ*, Bombay, 1985:182,5). See J Gonda, *Ancient Indian Kingship*, 1966:37; H Sharfe, *The State in Indian Tradition*, 1989:86 n450.

⁴ **Bhadda,sāla J** (J 465) intro, J 4:151,29-152,10. Tr W H D Rouse 1895, J:R 4:95 f.

⁵ MA 3:354,18-355,15.

⁶ Much of the materials on comparative study of M 89 and its parallels are based on Analayo, *A Comparative Study of the Majjhima-nikāya*, Taiwan, 2011:510-519; with revisions and updates. compstudyvol2.pdf 24 Feb 2026.

⁷ A 10.30/5:65-69. A:Be 3:307,24 and A:Ce 6:116,1 list A 10.30 as **Dutiya Kosala S** (or Kosala S 2), cf also uddānas of A:Ee 5:70,2 and of A:Se 5:74,5.

⁸ She was Mahānāma's daughter by a slave-woman, Nāga, muṇḍā (J 1:133).

⁹ See **Viḍūḍabha Vatthu** (DhA 4.3/1:337-361) on Dh 47. When Pasenadi discovered Vāsabha, khattiyā's servile origin, he degraded both her and her son from their royal status, and after that they never went outside the palace (J 1:133 f, 4:148). She was called Vāsabhā in **Piya,jātika S** (M 87,25/2:110). When the Buddha heard of this, he visited the king, taught him **Katṭha,hāri J** (J 7/133-136), and had the queen restored to honour. On Viḍūḍabha: SD 10.8 (7).

¹⁰ Comy however says that it was a real battle (AA 5:27,26). The Sutta version is more likely, since it is unlikely for the king to approach the Buddha immediately after a battle.

1.2.2 The Suttas' teachings

1.2.2.1 The Dhamma, cetiya Sutta (M 89) and the (Dasaka) Kosala Sutta 2 (A 10.30) differ significantly in their teachings. Although both Suttas record Pasenadi as listing 10 wholesome qualities, they differ significantly; while those qualities mentioned in **M 89** refer to generally external qualities of the 3 jewels, those that are palpable and clearly seen by Pasenadi and others, the qualities listed in **A 10.30** refer specifically to those of the Buddha himself, that is, personal or internal qualities, testifying to Pasenadi's personal faith in the Buddha himself.

1.2.2.2 Here is tabulated in summary form a comparative list of the Buddha's 10 qualities listed by Pasenadi in **the Dhamma, cetiya Sutta (M 89)** and **the Kosala Sutta 2 (A 10.30)**:¹¹

<u>Dhamma, cetiya Sutta (M 89)</u> , SD 64.10	<u>(Dasaka) Kosala Sutta 2 (A 10.30)</u> , SD 64.15
(1) the true goodness of the 3 jewels [§10]	(1) Buddha has established many in the noble way
(2) the sangha living in concord [§11]	(2) he is noble in moral conduct
(3) monastics are smiling and cheerful [§12]	(3) he has long been a forest dweller
(4) people respectfully listen to the Buddha [§13]	(4) he is content with any allowable life support
(5) kshatriyas become Buddha's disciples [§14]	(5) he is a worthy field of merit
(6) brahmins become Buddha's disciples [§15]	(6) his teaching frees the mind from worldliness
(7) householders become Buddha's disciples [§16]	(7) he is accomplished in the 4 dhyanas
(8) recluses go forth as true renunciants [§17]	(8) he recollects his own numerous past lives
(9) Buddha's disciples fully honour him [§18]	(9) he can know the past lives and karma of beings
(10) Pasenadi identifies with the Buddha [§19]	(10) he is an arhat, fully self-awakened.

From this comparative table, it is clear that while **the Dhamma, cetiya Sutta** records Pasenadi's listing of the qualities of the 3 jewels, in **the Kosala Sutta 2** he lists the personal qualities of the Buddha. While the last 4 qualities Pasenadi listed in the Kosala Sutta 2 overlap with those of the last 4 of the Buddha's **10 powers** (*dasa, bala*),¹² the first 6 are a summary list of the Buddha's qualities well known to the lay disciples.

2 Sutta comparative study and commentary

2.1 KING PASENADI'S REVERENCE FOR THE BUDDHA

2.1.1 Pasenadi meets the Buddha in the forest [§§1-8]

2.1.1.1 The Dhamma, cetiya Sutta relates that, when Pasenadi learned that the Buddha was staying in the forest nearby, he decided to visit the Buddha. Not sure of the direction, he approached some monks engaged in walking meditation. When Pasenadi asked them where the Buddha was, they directed him to the Buddha's dwelling. Pasenadi then quietly approached the Buddha's fragrant cell.

The Sutta relates what follows:

"Without hurrying, king Pasenadi went quietly up to the dwelling with a closed door, entered the porch, cleared his throat, and tapped on the panel. The Blessed One opened the door." [§8.2]

The Commentary explains this with some interesting details:

¹¹ This Table and nn are also at SD 64.15 (1.1.2).

¹² On the Buddha's **10 powers**, see **Dasa, bala S 1** (S 12.21), SD 63.13, esp (2.1).

“He knocked the door lightly with the nail-tip near the keyhole. It is said that usually non-humans strike the door very high up, and long-bodied creatures strike it very low down. Having not struck it like that, it should be struck in the middle near the hole, that this is how to knock the door (of the fragrant cell).” (MA 3:351,4-8)

2.1.1.2 The episode of king Pasenadi’s wishing to see the Buddha is also found in the Kṣudrakavastu of the (Mūla-) Sarvāstivāda Vinaya, preserved in Chinese¹³ and in Tibetan.¹⁴ Further, there are two Chinese parallel translations in the Madhyama Āgama and in the Ekottarika Āgama.¹⁵ They report that during a pleasure outing in a forest, when he learned that the Buddha was staying nearby, king Pasenadi felt inspired to visit him.

In addition, a few sections of a version of this Sutta have been preserved in Gāndhārī fragments.¹⁶ The Sutta says: “Without hurrying, king Pasenadi went quietly up to the dwelling with the closed door, entered the porch, cleared his throat, and tapped on the panel.” [§8]. The Commentary even specified that Pasenadi gently tapped the middle of the cell door near the key-hole. [2.1.1.1]

2.1.2 Pasenadi venerates the Buddha [§§9-10]

2.1.2.1 According to the Dhammacetiya Sutta and the Kosala Sutta 2, king Pasenadi then went before the Buddha prostrated, and caressed and kissed the Buddha’s feet.¹⁷ The Madhyama Āgama discourse, the Ekottarika Āgama discourse, and the Kṣudrakavastu version do not record that king Pasenadi kissed or caressed the Buddha’s feet.¹⁸

¹³ T1451 (T24.237a-238b).

¹⁴ D (6) *’dul ba, tha* 82a-86a or Q (1035) *de* 79a-83a, parts of which have been tr in Rockhill, *Udānavarga*, Amsterdam, 1883/1907:112-114.

¹⁵ The parallels are MĀ 213 (T1.795b-797c) and EA 38.10 (T2.724b-725b). MĀ 213 agrees with M 89 in locating the Sutta in Sakya country and has the title “discourse on Dharma ornaments,” 法莊嚴經 *fǎ zhuāngyán jīng*. Hirakawa, *Buddhist Chinese-Sanskrit Dictionary*, Tokyo, 1997:1015; Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, London, 1937:363 tr it as *alaṅkāra*. 莊嚴 however means “solemn, stately, majestic.” According to EĀ 38.10 (T2.724c10), the Buddha was staying near a village in Sakya country, 釋種有村, which stands in direct contrast to the same version’s initial declaration at T2.724b28 that the Buddha was staying in Jeta’s Grove, 佛在舍衛國祇樹給孤獨園. “This internal inconsistency shows how at times locations like Jeta’s Grove are automatically applied to a sutta without taking into account if this location fits the particular event depicted in the discourse” (cf Analayo, *Comparative Study of Majjhima Nikāya* 2011:887 n138). According to Barua, *Barhut, Book II, Jataka-Scenes*, 1934a:46, a relief on the Bharhut Stupa (cf Cunningham, *The Stupa of Bharhut*, 1879 plate 13) shows Pasenadi’s visit to the Buddha described in M 89.

¹⁶ The Robert Senior Collection consists of 24 birch bark scrolls containing at least 41 Buddhist texts in the Gāndhārī language and Kharoṣṭhī script. Dating to the early 2nd cent CE, it is the largest extant collection of Gandhāran sutras of the Buddha: <https://gandhari-texts.sydney.edu.au/collections/robert-senior-collection/>. 24 Feb 2026. Senior Kharoṣṭhī fragments 1+3 A and B: Allon, “Recent discoveries of Buddhist MSS from Afghanistan and Pakistan and their significance,” in *Silk Road Studies* XII, 2008:165.

¹⁷ M 89/2:120,3; A 10.30/5:65,25; cf M:H 2:xxv. M 89 and A 10.30 agree that king Pasenadi at the same time uttered his name and title twice.

¹⁸ MĀ 213 (T1.795c18) and EĀ 38.10 (T2.724c26) only report that king Pasenadi expressed his respect by bowing at the Buddha’s feet and pronouncing his name and title 3 times. Although MĀ 213 introduces Pasenadi’s words by stating that he announced his name and title 3 times, 再三, he only makes 2 statements, similar to M 89/2:120,3. Senior fragments 1+3 A1.1 describe the king’s prostration at the Buddha’s feet. Saṅghabhedavastu (Gnoli 1977: 154,14) reports that on another occasion Bimbisāra also approached the Buddha, after putting aside his regalia, and expressed his respect by announcing his name and title thrice, *trir ātmano nāmadheyam anuśravayati*, where, as in MĀ 213, his actual words only have two statements. T1451 (T24.237b4) does not even record that king Pasenadi uttered his name, but only states that he bowed down and expressed his joy at personally seeing the Buddha after a long time. Its Tib counterpart in D (6) *’dul ba, tha* 83a3 or Q (1035) *de* 79b8 notes that, after bowing down at the

Several Pali discourses portray other visitors displaying similar conduct towards the Buddha. Except for one parallel in an individual translation, none of the Chinese Āgama parallels to these episodes depict visitors as caressing or kissing the Buddha's feet.¹⁹

2.1.2.2 Both the Dhamma, cetiya Sutta (M 89) and the Kosala Sutta 2 (A 10.30) then report that the Buddha asked king Pasenadi why he gave such supreme honour to the Buddha's body.²⁰ The Kosala Sutta 2 (A 10.30/5:66,6) does not state any of the reasons mentioned in the Dhamma, cetiya Sutta.²¹ While the Dhamma, cetiya Sutta, the Madhyama Āgama, and the Kṣudrakavastu versions describe similar reasons, only one of these reasons recurs in the Ekottarika Āgama list.²²

Buddha's feet, king Pasenadi "wiped his face and mouth" before addressing the Buddha, གདོང་དང་ཁ་ཕྱིས་ནས། *gdong dang kha phyis nas*. "Could this be a misunderstanding of an expression similar to the Pali version's *pāḍāni mukhena ca paricumbati*" (M 89/2:120,2)? (Analayo 2011:511 n336).

¹⁹ In M 91/2:144,26 an old brahmin of high social standing kisses and caresses the Buddha's feet; in S 7.15/1:178,-7 (or S2 201/1:383,3) the same is done by a brahmin known for his unwillingness to pay homage to anyone, even his parents; and in S 8.9/1:193,32 (or S2 217/1:417,13) the monk Koṇḍañña shows his respect for the Buddha in this way. MĀ 161 (T1.689a13) (parallel to M 91), SĀ 92 (T2.24a10) and SĀ2.258 (T2.464a18) (parallels to S 7.15), as well as SĀ 1209 (T2.329b10) and SĀ2 225 (T2.456c12) (parallels to S 8.9) do not mention any kissing or caressing of the Buddha's feet. The only exception to this is the individual tr T76 (T1.885c10) (parallel to M 91) [cf Analayo 2011:544 n78], which agrees with the Pali sutta's description of the brahmin's conduct. Regarding this episode in M 91, N Wa-gle, *Society at the Time of the Buddha* (Bombay), criticizes "such behaviour by a brāhmaṇa is extremely rare and one suspects the missionary bias of the Buddhist writers in describing this scene" (1967:282).

²⁰ According to M 89/2:120,5 (cf also A 10.30/5:66,1), the Buddha asked king Pasenadi "what reason, sire, do you see for doing such supreme honour to this body?" *kiṃ pana tvaṃ mahārājā atthavasaraṃ sampassamāno imasmim sarīre eva, rūpaṃ parama, nipaccākāraṃ karosi* (M:Be 2:322,16 and M:Se 2:509,2: *parama, nipaccākāraṃ*) Senior fragments 1+3 Aa+d.2 recto and 1.2 verso preserve parts of this question, which seem similar to M 89.

²¹ See Analayo 2011:513 Table 9.6.

²² EĀ 38.10 (T2.725a11) lists 6 reasons for Pasenadi's regard for the Buddha, out of which 5 are not found in the other versions. These 5 [Analayo 2011:513 Table 9.6] are that the Buddha's teaching is practised by the wise; that his noble disciples are accomplished in morality, wisdom, liberation, and knowledge-and-vision-of-liberation (宋, 元 and 明 variant readings incl also their accomplishment in concentration); that he has 4 assemblies of practising disciples (viz, monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen); that he has overcome the 62 views (D 1/1:12-43 and its parallels); and the potential of recalling the virtues of the Buddha at the time of passing away, by dint of which even someone of evil bodily, verbal, or mental conduct will be reborn in a heavenly realm, EĀ 38.10 (T2.725a29): 身口意行惡, 彼若命終, 憶如來功德, 得生天上. P Harrison, "Buddhānusmṛti in the Pratyutpanna-buddha-saṃmukhāvasthitasamādhisūtra," *J of Indian Philosophy* 6, 1978:36, highlights other EĀ passages that similarly emphasize the potential of re-collecting the Buddha, such as EĀ 41.5 (T2.740a1), where a householder destined to be reborn in hell goes forth and practises the 10 recollections for a single day, with the result that he is reborn in heaven, or EĀ 3.1 (T2.554a12), which gives detailed instructions for the recollection of the Buddha [also Analayo 2011:822 n9]. A 1.16/1:30,6 regards recollecting the Buddha a practice that is entirely conducive to awakening (*sambodha*) and nirvana, thereby also highlighting its potential, although in less exuberant terms than EĀ; cf also P Demiéville, "Les versions chinoises du Milindapañha," *BEFEO* 24 1924:232 n6. In fact, even what appears to be an incipient stage of a more visual mode of undertaking recollection of the Buddha can be found already among the suttas, highlighted by L Schmithausen, "Zur Entwicklung der Gestalt des Buddha," *Buddhismus in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 4, 2000b:10, cf also N Odani, "The apotheosis of Buddha in early Buddhist scriptures," in *Studia Indologica*, Delhi, 2007:441. The passage in question occurs in a stanza in Sn, where the brahmin Piṅgiya explains that he has no need to be in the presence of the Buddha, since he is able to see the Buddha with his mind as if with the eyes, *passami na manasa cakkhuna va* (Sn 5.17/1142; Sn:Ce 350,13: ca).

According to the Chinese and Tibetan versions, however, the Buddha simply asked king Pasenadi what motivated his respect for the Buddha, a way of presenting the Buddha's inquiry in keeping with Pasenadi's less exceptional way of worshipping the Buddha in these accounts.²³

2.1.2.3 [§10] The Dhamma,cetiya Sutta, the Madhyama Āgama parallel and the Kṣudrakavastu agree that Pasenadi contrasted other recluses, who after some time disrobe and enjoy sensual pleasures, with the case of **the Buddhist monks**, who instead keep living the holy life until they pass away.²⁴

[§11] The Dhamma,cetiya Sutta continues by contrasting the quarrels that arise even between close family members with the absence of quarrels among the monastics, who live together harmoniously.²⁵

The Madhyama Āgama discourse and the Kṣudrakavastu present the same topic in different terms, as they contrast family quarrels with **monks** who, even though they disrobed and returned to the lay life, nevertheless did not lose their respect for the Buddha and blamed themselves for not having been able to continue to stay in robes.²⁶ This description does not fit too well with the other reason for Pasenadi's faith, which was that the Buddhist monks did not disrobe.²⁷

2.2 PASENADI PRAISES THE SANGHA [§11-17]

2.2.1 Fully attending to Dharma [§11-13]

2.2.1.1 [M 2:121] According to the Dhamma,cetiya Sutta, its Madhyama Āgama parallel and the Kṣudrakavastu account, king Pasenadi was also inspired by **the happy demeanour of the Buddhist monks**,²⁸

²³ According to MĀ 213 (T1.795c23), the Buddha asked: "What reasons do you see in me [that you] lower yourself with the intention to pay respect at [my] feet and perform an act of worship," 見我有何等義，而自下意稽首禮足，供養承事耶? EĀ 38.10 (T2.725a10) records the Buddha's question thus: "Now, what do you say [why] the tathagata should receive people's worship?" 汝今云何言如來應受人禮拜? According to T1451 (T24.237b6), the Buddha asked the king: "For what reason do you prostrate to me, being able to lower yourself and be [so] solicitous," 何故於我頓能降伏屈己慙懃?, while in its Tib counterpart at D (6) 'dul ba, tha 83a4 or Q (1035) de 80a1, the Buddha asked: "Sire, why do you humble yourself towards the tathagata so much more than even the lowliest," ལྷུ་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་ཁྱེད་ཅི་ལྟར་དེ་བཞིན་གཤམ་པ་ལ་ཞིན་ཏུ་དམན་པ་བས་ཀྱང་ཆེས་དམན་པ་ཕྱེད། *rgyal po chen po khyod ci'i phyir de bzhin gshegs pa la shin tu dman pa bas kyang ches dman pa byed?* EĀ 38.10 (T2.724c28) provides additional background to its version of the Buddha's question, as it reports that Pasenadi had also expressed the wish that the Buddha may live long for the benefit of gods and men. The Buddha replied by also wishing Pasenadi long life, so that he may govern rightly and gain the fruits of his good conduct on being reborn in heaven. Pasenadi then proclaimed that people pay homage to the tathagata because of his virtues; the Buddha then asked Pasenadi why he thought so.

²⁴ Senior fragments 1+3 B recto have counterparts to this and the next reason given in M 89.

²⁵ M 89/2:120,22.

²⁶ MĀ 213 (T1.796a3), T1451 (T24.238a8), and D (6) 'dul ba, tha 85a1 or Q (1035) de 81b5. The respectful attitude of monks who have disrobed is also described in **Mahā Sakul'udāyi S** (M 77/2:5,14), SD 49.5a.

²⁷ That monks did disrobe is also recorded in other Pali suttas: **Mahā Sīha,nāda S** (M 12/1:68,8), SD 49.1, and **Sarabha S** (A 3.64/1:185,8), SD 51.23, according to which Sunakkhatta and Sarabha spoke disparagingly about the Buddha's teaching after they had left the sangha. The monk community also does not always seem to have lived in harmony and concord, as, according to **(Anuruddha) Upakkilesa S** (M 128/3:153,3), SD 5.18, and its parallels [Analayo 2011:732], among the monks of Kosambī such a quarrel arose that they were unwilling to allow even the Buddha to intervene and settle it. To this one could add Devadatta's schism, an event that would be another instance when the Buddhist monastic community did not live in harmony and concord, cf V 3:171,3; for a comparative study of this event: A Bareau, "Les agissements de Devadatta selon les chapitres relatifs au schisme dans les divers Vinayapiṭaka," BEFEO 78 1991:87-132, and B Mukherjee, *Die Überlieferung von Devadatta dem Widersacher des Buddha in den kanonischen Schriften*, Munich, 1966:74-94.

²⁸ §12.2 (M 89/2:121,21) describes monks who were "living on what others give, abiding with mind [aloof] like a wild deer's," *para,da,vutte miga,bhūtena cetasā viharante* (M:Be 2:323,21: *para,datta,vutte*, M:Ce 2: 554,20: *para,-*

as well as by their silent attention when the Buddha was teaching.²⁹ The pervasive happiness of the early monks was mainly due to their living a simple life of renunciation, free from worldly cares and attachment. Cultivating lovingkindness, they lived habitually moral lives, which in turn was the basis for their cultivation of a calm, clear and radiant mind. Moreover, they were constantly admonished by the Buddha himself to keep up their training so that they quickly gained the path.

As was already the case in the **Mahā Sakul’udāyi Sutta**, here too the Dhamma, cetiya Sutta illustrates **the silent and focused attention** that prevails during a talk given by the Buddha by narrating how on one occasion a disciple was admonished for clearing his throat, while the Madhyama Āgama version instead reports that this disciple was snoring.³⁰

In agreement with the Dhamma, cetiya Sutta account, the Kṣudrakavastu also records that the disciple merely coughed, not envisaging the possibility that he may have fallen asleep while the Buddha was giving a talk.³¹

2.2.1.2 Pasenadi then states that learned **kshatriyas** [§14], **brahmins** [§15], **householders** [§16] and **recluses** [§17] “who were clever, subtle, experienced in debate, who go about hair-splitting, it seems, tearing apart the views of others with their gathered wisdom” [§§14.1, 15.1, 16.1, 17.1] who met the Buddha would question him. They listened to the Buddha’s teaching and were unable to refute his teaching. Instead, they became his disciples, disciplined and devoted to the Dharma. The recluses trained under the Buddha and went on to become arhats.

This quality is also mentioned in the Ekottarika Āgama account, which, like in the Dhamma, cetiya Sutta, speaks of *kshatriyas*, *brahmins*, *householders*, and *recluses* that are unable to defeat the Buddha in

da.vuttā and *viharanti*). See DP: *paradavutta* (V 2:184,22 = U 19,22 ≠ M 1:450,6). The corresponding passage in MĀ 213 (T1.796a29) reads 護他妻食如鹿. The ref to 他妻 may be due to a mistaking of *parada* for *para,dāra*, “the wife of another,” while the idea of “protection,” 護, could be due to mistaking *vutta* for *vṛta*, “stopped,” “checked,” “held back,” or else 護 could be a scribe’s error for 獲, “to get.” Even though the translator(s) appear to have misunderstood an expression like *para,da,vutta* (an expression which does indeed have its difficulties, cf Horner, V:H 5:259 n2), perhaps, through knowledge of some Comy explanation similar to MĀ 3:167,3: *para,da,vuttā ti parehi dinna,-vuttino*, they might have known that the idea of “living on what is given by others” was involved, an idea they perhaps then attempted to bring out with the image of 他妻食, “[taking] food from the wives of others”! While T1451 (T24.237c29) describes that the monks “always feel fear (for crowds), like deer in the forest,” 常懷兢懼如鹿依林, the passage in D (6) ‘*dul ba, tha* 84b4 or Q (1035) *de* 81b1 could also be based on an equivalent to *para,da,vutta*, as it reads “not depending on others for sustenance,” འཇོབ་གཞན་ལ་རག་མ་ལུས་པ་ ‘*tsho ba gzhan la rag ma lus pa*. A contrast between the happy demeanour of Buddhist monks and other ascetics can also be found in SHT III 806 R2-5 (p13), attr in this fragment to the brahmin Lokecca (a fragment which does not seem to correspond to any of the two occurrences of the brahmin Lohicca in **Lohicca S** (D 12/1:224-234), SD 34.8 or (**Mahā Kaccāna**) **Lohicca S** (S 35.132/4:116-121), SD 60.5.

²⁹ While according to M 89/2:122,10, on this occasion the Buddha was teaching “an assembly of several hundred,” *aneka,satāya parisāya* [§13.2], and according to MĀ 213 (T1.797a17) a “great assembly,” 大眾, according to T1451 (T24.238a22) he was teaching “a great company of uncountable hundred thousands,” 無量百千大眾. The Tib Kṣudrakavastu (D (6) ‘*dul ba, tha* 85a5 or Q (1035) *de* 82a2), however, agrees with M 89 that the Buddha was teaching “only” an audience of many hundreds, འཇོབ་བརྒྱ་ཕྱག་དུ་མཐི་གུང་ལ། ‘*khor brgya phrag du ma’i gung la*.

³⁰ M 89/2:122,12: *ukkāsi*, whereas according to MĀ 213 (T1.797a18) he “made noise [by] snoring [while] sleeping,” 鼾眠作聲, with a 聖 *shèng* vl according to which the monk “made noise [by] drooling [while] sleeping,” 口汙眠作聲 [cf Analayo 2011:421 n152].

³¹ T1451 (T24.238a26: 警歔發聲, to which D (6) ‘*dul ba, tha* 85a5 or Q (1035) *de* 82a2 adds that he also made the sound of coughing or clearing the throat, ལུད་པའི་སྒྲ་ *lud pa’i sgra*, and uttering words, བརྗོད་པའི་སྒྲ་ *sbrid* [brjod] *pa’i sgra*.

debate—without, however, mentioning that they would become his disciples or even go forth under him to gain the path, much less become arhats on their own.³²

2.2.1.3 The Madhyama Āgama discourse and the Chinese Kṣudrakavastu account differ from the Dhamma,cetiya Sutta in speaking only of recluses and brahmins who approach the Buddha for debate, without mentioning *kshatriyas or householders*.³³ In regard to these wise recluses and brahmins, they envisage 4 possible outcomes:

- the recluses and brahmins do not even dare to put their question,
- they delight in what the Buddha teaches them,
- they go for refuge,
- they go forth under the Buddha and by dint of earnest practice in seclusion become arhats.

2.2.2 The Buddha's disciples as exemplars [§§18]

2.2.2.1 Another reason for king Pasenadi's faith, mentioned in the Dhamma,cetiya Sutta, its Madhyama Āgama parallel, and the Kṣudrakavastu version,³⁴ is that his two chamberlains, **Isidatta and Purāṇa** [§18], showed more respect to the Buddha than they did to the king, even though they depended on him for their livelihood. To illustrate this, Pasenadi related an occasion when he had to put up in the same cramped quarters with his two chamberlains. The two lay down with their heads pointing in the direction where the Buddha was dwelling at that time, even though this caused them to point their feet towards the king, a disrespectful gesture according to ancient Indian custom.³⁵

According to **the Dhamma,cetiya Sutta**, the two chamberlains spent much of the night in Dharma discussion. The Madhyama Āgama account, however, instead reports that they spent the first part of the night in silent meditation.³⁶ The Kṣudrakavastu agrees in this respect with the Dhamma,cetiya Sutta

³² EĀ 38.10 (T2.725a25). The same difference recurs between **M 27/1:177,13** and its parallel **MĀ 146** (T1.656b23), where **Cūḷa Hatthipadopama S** (M 27), SD 40a.5, also stands alone in reporting that those who challenge the Buddha become his disciples and some even go forth and become arhats. A contrast to the descriptions given in M 27 and M 89 can be found in **Udumbarika Sīha,nāda S** (D 25/3:57,12), SD 1.4, and its parallel **MĀ 104** (T1.595b29), according to which a whole community of wanderers led by Nigrodha were unwilling to go forth under the Buddha even though he had openly invited them with a long and engaging Dharma instruction. For a list of suttas where the Buddha's audience remain unconverted or unamenable, see SD 1.4 (2.4).

³³ **MĀ 213** (T1.796b15) and **T1451** (T24.237b11). This is not entirely the case for the Tib Kṣudrakavastu version, which in its examination of the 4th group of debaters (D (6) 'dul ba, tha 84a1 or Q (1035) de 80b6), switches from the earlier used དགེ་ལྷན་དང་བླ་མ་ཟེ་ *dge sbyong dang bram ze*, "recluses and brahmins," to བླ་མ་ཟེ་དང་ཁྱིམ་འདྲེ་ *bram ze dang khyim bdag*, "brahmins and householders."

³⁴ **MĀ 213** (T1.797a25 + T1.797b2) presents this issue as 2 qualities, first taking up the higher respect they had for the Buddha as a reason for Pasenadi's faith, and then relating how they once spent the night in the same quarters as king Pasenadi, which **MĀ 213** presents as yet another reason for Pasenadi's faith in the Buddha. **T1451** (T24.238b4) and its Tib counterpart at D (6) 'dul ba, tha 85b4 or Q (1035) de 82a8, however, agree with M 89 on presenting this as only one quality. In fact, the story of their conduct when lying in bed is but an illustration of their respect for the Buddha and thus does not amount to a separate quality.

³⁵ **Thapati S** (S 55.6/5:352,3), SD 42.7, indicates that Isidatta and Purāṇa had reached streamwinning (also A 6.131 f/3:451,12) which state they who "have seen the deathfree" (*amata-d,dasa*), having realized the deathfree (*amataṃ sacchikatvā*; here simply meaning they have gained the path) [SD 8.6 (15.2.3)] and according to (**Chakka**) **Miga,sālā S** (A 6.44/3:348,1, SD 3.2) = (**Dasaka**) **Miga,sālā S** (A 10.75/5:139,3) they passed away as once-returners. This would explain why they had such high regard for the Buddha.

³⁶ §18.2 (M 89/2:124,5): *bahud eva rattim dhammiyā kathāya vītināmetvā*, and **MĀ 213** (T1.797b4: 初夜結跏趺坐, 默然燕坐.

account, as it reports that the two chamberlains were engaged in praising the virtues of the Buddha and speaking about the Dharma and the sangha.³⁷

2.2.2.2 Another minor but noteworthy difference is that, according to **the Dhamma, cetiya Sutta**, the king referred to his 2 chamberlains as “these venerable ones,” *āyasmant*,³⁸ while the Madhyama Āgama discourse does not record that the king used this epithet.³⁹

At first sight, the use of *āyasmant* is unexpected, since this term is usually employed in the suttas to refer to monks.⁴⁰ The use of *āyasmant* to address laity recurs in several Pali discourses, where again the Chinese versions differ by not recording this form of address.⁴¹ Instances of the use of the address *āyasmant* for laity can also be found in the case of several Pātimokkha rules, which depict even a monk addressing laity with *āyasmant*.⁴² In this case, the Chinese Vinayas do not employ this form of address.⁴³

2.2.2.3 The Sanskrit versions of the Mahāsaṅghika, (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda, and Sarvāstivāda Prātimokṣa, however, do employ the corresponding address *ayuṣmant*,⁴⁴ just as the Tibetan version of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda Prātimokṣa uses the corresponding form མེད་དང་ལྷན་པ་ *tshe dang ldan pa*.⁴⁵ In fact, the use of *āyasmant* in its counterparts in these different passages does not necessarily convey nuances of venera-

³⁷ T1451 (T24.238b10) records that the two “praised the excellent qualities of the Buddha and discussed the right Dharma and the sangha jewel as a field of merit,” 歎佛功德，并說正法，僧寶福田。D (6) ‘*dul ba, tha* 85b6 or Q (1035) de 82b2 similarly reports that they praised the Buddha, his teaching and the community, སངས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་བཟུགས་པ་བརྗོད་ཆོས་དང་དགེ་འདུན་གྱི་བཟུགས་པ་བརྗོད་ནས། *sangs rgyas kyi bsngags pa brjod, chos dang dge ‘dun gyi bsngags pa brjod nas*.

³⁸ §18.3 (M 89/2:124,11): *ime āyasmanto*.

³⁹ According to MĀ 213 (T1.797b7), Pasenadi referred to the duo as “these two ministers Isidatta and Purāṇa,” 此仙餘及宿舊二臣 (the Chin and Tib Kṣudrakavastu do not have such a ref).

⁴⁰ Cone’s DP 1:321 *ayasma(t)* explains that this term is an “honorific and respectful title of a bhikkhu.” Childers’ DPL 75 *āyasmā* and PED 105 *āyasmant* similarly speaks of a “respectful appellation” for a bhikkhu “of some standing.”

⁴¹ **Naḷaka, pāna S** (M 68/1:467,10, SD 37.4) describes how a lay follower recollects another lay follower as a “venerable one,” *āyasmā*, while in its counterpart in MĀ 77 (T1.546b8) the lay follower recollects the other as a “lay follower,” 優婆塞。Another case is found in **(Mahānāma) Gilāyana S** (S 55.54/5:409,4, SD 4.10), which describes a layman who addresses another layman about to pass away as *āyasmā*, while in its Chin counterpart in SĀ 1122 (T2.-298a18) the layman simply addresses the other layman with “you” (respectful form), 仁者, and “you,” 汝。An instance without a Chin counterpart can be found in **Āpatti Bhaya S** (A 4.242/2:241,26+28), which depicts how a layperson confesses a misdeed to another layperson by using *bhante* and *āyasmant*.

⁴² A monk addresses a lay person with the expression *āyasmant* in *nissaggiya pācittiya* rules 8, 9, 10, and 27 (V 3:216,15, 3:218,35, 3:220,2, 3:259,11).

⁴³ The relevant *niḥsargikāḥ pātayantika* rules 8, 9, 10, and 24 of Dharmaguptaka Vinaya, T1428 (T22.611a17), T22.612a21, T22.613b3, and T22.625b13 use “householder,” 居士, and “you,” 汝。The corresponding rules 8, 9, 10, and 27 of the Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya, T1425 (T22.305a2, T22.305b4, T22.306a11, and T22.321c2 use no address or “you,” 汝。The corresponding rules 8, 9, 10, and 12 of the Mahīśāsaka Vinaya, T1421 (T22.28b11), T22 (28c5), T22 (29a25), and T22 (29c12) use “you,” 汝。

⁴⁴ These are *niḥsargikāḥ pātayantika* rules 8, 9, 10, and 27 of the Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya in N Tatia, *Prātimokā-sūtram of the Lokottaravādamahāsaṅghika School*, Patna, 1975:14,11+19+27 and 18,3, tr in Prebish, *Buddhist Monastic Discipline, The Sanskrit Prātimokṣa Sūtras of the Mahāsaṅghikas and Mūlasarvāstivādins*, Delhi, 1975/1996:66 72; the corresponding rules 8, 9, 10, and 24 of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda Vinaya in Banerjee, *Two Buddhist Vinaya Texts in Sanskrit, Prātimokṣa Sūtra and Bhīṣkukarmavākya*, Calcutta, 1977:26,10, 27,2, 28,14, and 30,11, tr in Prebish 1975/1996:67, 69, 73; and the corresponding rules 8, 9, 10, and 24 of Sarvastivada Vinaya in G von Simson, *Prātimokāśūtra der Sarvāstivādins Teil II*, Göttingen, 2000:186,14, 187,11, 191,7, 198,4.

⁴⁵ Vidyabhusana, *So-sor thar pa (khrims)*, Vol V of the *Dulwa Portion of the Kangyur (Leaves 1-29 and Top Line of Leaf 30)*, Calcutta, 1915: 67,2+13, 69,17, 73,3.

bility,⁴⁶ as the address “friend,” *avuso*, is merely a vocative form of the same word.⁴⁷ Hence, the use of *āyasmant* would be an appropriate way for a king to refer to his employees, or for a monk to refer to laity.

By the time of the Chinese translations, however, the term *āyasmant* or *āyuṣmant* may have become an exclusively monastic form of address, so that, when translating the above surveyed passages, the translators replaced *āyasmant* (etc) with other expressions that seemed more appropriate to the context, or simply left the passage without any form of address. Thus, this rather minor difference in formulation, which appears to be a persistent trait in Chinese translations, provides a good example for how the Chinese worldview could influence the way the Indian originals were translated.

2.3 MEMORIALS TO DHARMA [§§19-22]

2.3.1 Socially equal, spiritually unique

2.3.1.1 [§19] Another quality that, according to the Dhamma, cetiya Sutta, inspired king Pasenadi's respect for the Buddha was that they were both members of **the kshatriya (warrior noble) class**, they both came **from Kosala country**,⁴⁸ and were both **of the same age**.⁴⁹ According to the Madhyama Āgama version and the Kṣudrakavastu account, king Pasenadi also noted the similarity of his status as the king of the country and the Buddha's status as the king of the Dharma. The Kṣudrakavastu makes it clear that, in this respect, the king felt inferior to the Buddha.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Nakamura, *Gotama Buddha* vol 2, 2000b:235 n67 comments on ways of translating *āyasmant* that “in many cases ‘venerable’ is not suitable.”

⁴⁷ Cf BHSD:102 āyusmañ, CPD 2:230 āvuso, PED:113 āvuso, Geiger, *Pali Literatur und Sprache*, Strassburg, 1916: 60 (§46.1), and Pischel, *A Grammar of the Prakrit Languages*, Delhi, 1900/1981:324; cf also Horner V:H 3:xxxviii. In fact, in the description of the events leading up to the rules at V 3:215,23, V 3:218,7, V 3:220,2, and V 3:259,8, the monk uses the voc *āvuso*. Wijesekera, *Syntax of the Cases in the Pali Nikayas*, Kelaniya, 1993:36, however, says that *āvuso* “probably has its origin in an older *āyusaḥ (the derived adj from *āyus*, “life”) having the sense of ‘O long-lived one!’ and the suggested derivation ... *āyusmant* seems to be phonetically less likely.” For a survey of occurrences of *āvuso* in the suttas and the Vinaya, cf Franke, “The Buddhist Councils at Rājagaha and Vesālī, as alleged in Cullavagga XI, XII,” JPTS 6, 1908:20-43.

⁴⁸ **Aggañña S** (D 27), SD 2.19, states that the Sakyas were vassals of Pasenadi: “The Sakyas are subject to Pasenadi Kosala; they prostrate, respectfully salute, stand up in his presence, make añjali, and do proper service to king Pasenadi Kosala” (*Sakyā ... pasenadissa kosalassa anuyuttā bhavanti, karonti ... sakyā raññe pasenadimhi kosale nipacca, kāraṃ abhivādanaṃ paccupaṭṭhānaṃ añjali, kammaṃ sāmīci, kammaṃ*, D 3:83,25-31); cf **Pabbajjā S** (Sn 3.1), where the Buddha describes the Sakyas were “domiciled in Kosala” or “settled amongst the Kosalas” (*kosalesu nikitino*, Sn 422), SD 49.19.

⁴⁹ Regarding their being of the same age, Saṅghabhedavastu (Gnoli 1977:46,5) reports that king Prasenajit and the Buddha were even born on the same day.

⁵⁰ MĀ 213 (T1.797b12): “I am the king of the country, the Blessed One is the king of Dharma,” 我亦國王, 世尊亦法王, and T1451 (T24.238b18): “I have been crowned as kshatriya king, the Blessed One is the unsurpassable Dharma king, my power cannot measure up in any way compared to the Buddha,” 我是灌頂刹帝利王, 世尊亦是無上法王, 我力比佛非喻能測。T1451 (T24.238b29) sums up this statement by proclaiming that “the king is no equal to the Buddha,” 王不如佛。In Tib version (D (6) *’dul ba, tha* 86a3 or Q (1035) *de* 82b7), the king simply points out that “although I am indeed the head-anointed kshatriya king, yet the Blessed One is indeed the unsurpassable king of the Dharma,” བདག་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྒྱལ་འཕགས་ལྷི་པོ་ནས་བདད་བསྐྱར་བ་ལགས་པའོ་མཛེས་ལྷན་འདས་ཀྱང་ལྷན་མེད་པའི་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལགས་པས་ *bdag kyang rgyal po rgyal rigs spyi po nas dbang bskur ba lags, bcom ldan ’das kyang bla na med pa’i chos kyi rgyal po lags pas*. As noted by Brekke in “The religious motivation of the early Buddhists,” *J of the Am Acad of Rel* 67,4, 1999a:858, whereas “the figure of the king symbolizes external mastery,” the Buddha “symbolizes internal mastery.”

This helps to clarify what inspired Pasenadi's deep respect for the Buddha: both were of the same class and age. These coincidences might inspire in the king feelings of friendship and companionship towards the Buddha, but they would not be sufficient grounds for the king worshipping the Buddha. On the other hand, for the king of the country to meet the king of the Dharma would indeed be a good reason to feel respect and have a desire to worship the latter.

2.3.1.2 We see a similar sentiment in another king, Pasenadi's nephew, **king Ajāta,sattu**, who however was not close to the Buddha at first. As a youth, prince Ajāta,sattu was induced by Deva,datta to usurp the throne from his father, king Bimbisāra, whom Ajāta,sattu later imprisoned and left to die there.⁵¹ Ajāta,sattu even attempted to kill the Buddha.⁵² It was only much later (after Devadatta's downfall) that Ajāta,sattu reconciled with the Buddha, as recorded in **the Sāmañña,phala Sutta** (D 2).⁵³

Two months after the Buddha's parinirvana, we hear of the idea of "separation of powers or realms" when king Ajāta,sattu was formally told by the monks that they would be rehearsing the Dharma-Vinaya. Ajāta,sattu then famously replied:

"Very well, bhantes, do so with full confidence. Let mine be the 'wheel of (worldly) power' (*āṇā,cakka*); let yours be **the 'wheel of Dharma'**! Instruct me, I will do it."⁵⁴

This meant that the King would make the necessary preparations for the 1st monastic recital. He was the royal patron of the 1st Buddhist council held 3 months after the Buddha's passing. Both king Bimbisāra and king Pasenadi would have been deeply honoured to be the royal patron of such a significant event, but sadly they did not live long enough to do so.

2.3.2 Conclusion

2.3.2.1 The Dhamma,cetiya Sutta and its Chinese parallels agree that once king Pasenadi had left, the Buddha instructed the monks to memorize the Dhamma,cetiya Sutta teachings and to bear them in mind; this would be beneficial for their spiritual progress.⁵⁵ According to the Madhyama Āgama account, the Buddha even went so far as to ask Ānanda to summon all the monks living in the vicinity so that they could be given this recommendation.⁵⁶

2.3.2.2 Looking back on the different versions of **the Dhamma,cetiya Sutta** (M 89), it is noteworthy that, while the Kṣudrakavastu in several aspects agrees with the Sutta against the Madhyama Āgama

⁵¹ SD 8.10 (1).

⁵² SD 61.5a (3.2.2.3).

⁵³ D 2,101/1:85 + SD 8.10 (6.1).

⁵⁴ *Sādhū bhante vissatthā karotha, mayhaṃ āṇā,cakkaṃ, tumhākaṃ dhamma,cakkaṃ hotu. Āṇāpetha me bhan-te kiṃ karomī ti* (VA 1:1014 f = KhpA 95,2-4). Cf the saying in connection with Sakra and Brahma (DA 1:264,23-25 = MA 2:278,6-12). See SD 36.10 (5.4.1.2); SD 59.15 (2.2.3).

⁵⁵ T1451 (T24.238c1) and D (6) '*dul ba, tha* 86a7 or Q (1035) de 83a3 continue by narrating that, while Pasenadi had this conversation with the Buddha, the general, Kārāyana, who had accompanied him left, and, taking advantage of having received custody of the royal regalia, gave them to the prince to usurp the throne. **Pasenadi** died a tragic lonely death while seeking help against his dethronement; cf also Amritananda, *Kings of Buddha's Time*, Bangkok, 1983:68-69; Feer, *Fragments extraits du Kandjour, Traduits du tibétain*, Paris, 1883:65-67; Panglung, *Die Erzählstoffe des Mulasarvastivada-Vinaya, Analysiert auf Grund der tibetischen Übersetzung*, Tokyo, 1981:172 f, and Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha and the Early History of His Order*, London, 1883/1907:114-116. Comy reports a similar course of events following the end of the Sutta (MA 3:354,18); cf also J 465/4:152,2, Bareau, "Le massacre des Sakya, Essai d'interprétation," BEFEO 69, 1981a:53, and T211 (T4.583a16), tr in Willemen, "The Indian background of Buddhism in China, some facts and remarks," *Indian International J of Buddhist Studies* 1, 1999:56.

⁵⁶ MĀ 213 (T1.797b20).

parallel, **the Kosala Sutta 2** (A 10.30) differs considerably from the Dhamma,cetiya Sutta. **M 89** and **A 10.30** differ in location, time and teaching. While M 89 is located in **Medāḷumpa**, A 10.30 is located in **Sāvatthī**. They are clearly two distinct suttas.

As we have already noted [1.1.2.1], Pasenadi was remorseful when he realized that he had wrongly executed general Bandhula and his 32 sons, and felt happily comforted upon meeting the Buddha, before whom he praised the 3 jewels for their truly noble qualities. This forms Pasenadi's mindset when he met the Buddha as reported in **the Dhamma,cetiya Sutta** (M 89).

The Kosala Sutta 2 (A 10.30), on the other hand, reports that Pasenadi has just won a battle with his nephew, Ajāta,sattu, and thus felt triumphant and jubilant with his victory. With a sense of relief, he meets the Buddha and praises the 3 jewels [1.2.2]. Ironically, this last memorable event mentioned in **the Dhamma,cetiya Sutta** marks the swan song of king Pasenadi; he dies alone and abandoned that same night.

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Dhamma,cetiya Sutta

The Discourse on Dharma Memorials

M 89

[118] 1 Thus have I heard.

Medālumpa

1.2 At one time, the Blessed One was staying in Sakya country where there was a market-town of the Sakyas named **Medālumpa**.⁵⁷

2 At that time, king Pasenadi of Kosala had arrived at **Nagaraka** on some business or other. Then he addressed **Dīgha Kārāyaṇa**.⁵⁸

“Dear Kārāyaṇa, have the state carriages prepared. Let us go to the pleasure garden to see a pleasant spot.”

“Yes, sire (*deva*),” Dīgha Kārāyaṇa replied.

When the state carriages were prepared, he informed the king:

“Sire, the state carriages are ready for you. You may go at your own convenience.”

3 Then king Pasenadi of Kosala mounted a state carriage, and accompanied by the other carriages, he drove out from Nagaraka with the full pomp of royalty and proceeded towards the park.

He went by carriage as far as the ground was passable for carriages and then he dismounted from his carriage and entered the park on foot.

4 As he walked and wandered in the park for exercise, king Pasenadi of Kosala saw the foot of trees that were lovely and inspiring, quiet and undisturbed by voices, with an atmosphere of seclusion, hidden away from people, conducive for solitude.

4.2 These sights reminded him of the Blessed One thus:

“These foot of trees are lovely and inspiring, quiet and undisturbed by voices, with an atmosphere of seclusion, hidden away from people, conducive for solitude, like the places where we used to pay respect to the Blessed One, the worthy, fully self-awakened.”

Then he told Dīgha Kārāyaṇa what he had thought and asked:

“Where is he staying now, [119] the Blessed One, worthy, fully self-awakened?”

Pasenadi visits the Buddha

5 “There is, sire, a market-town of the Sakyas named Medālumpa.

The Blessed One, the worthy, the fully self-awakened, is now staying there.”

“How far, Kārāyaṇa, is it from Nagaraka to the Sakya market-town of Medālumpa?”

“It is not far, sire, 3 leagues.⁵⁹ There is still daylight enough to go there.”

⁵⁷ Be Se *medāluppari*; Ee *medaḷuppari*; Se *metaluppari*; MA 3:348,4 *medataḷuppari*. Both **Viḍūḍabha Vatthu** (DhA 4.3) and **Bhadda,sāla J** (J 465) call this market-town (*nigama*) **Uḷumpa** (DhA 1:356,3; J 4:151,25).

⁵⁸ **Dīgha Kārāyaṇa** was the commander-in-chief of king Pasenadi’s forces. He was the nephew of Bandhula, chief of the Mallas and a former friend of Pasenadi, whom the king had killed together with his 32 sons through the treacherous plots of his corrupt ministers. Kārāyaṇa was in secret collusion with prince Viḍūḍabha, Pasenadi’s son, to help the latter usurp the throne. On Viḍūḍabha: [1.2.1.1].

“Then, dear Kārāyaṇa, have the state carriages prepared. Let us go and see the Blessed One, worthy, fully self-awakened.”

“Yes, sire,” he replied.

When the state carriages were prepared, he informed the king:

“Sire, the state carriages are ready for you. You may go at your own convenience.”

6 Then king Pasenadi of Kosala mounted a state carriage, and accompanied by the other carriages, set out from Nagaraka towards the Sakya market-town of Medāḷumpa.

He arrived there while it was still daylight and proceeded towards the park.

He went thus as far as the road was passable for carriages, and then he dismounted from his carriage and entered the park on foot.

7 Now at that time, a number of monks were walking up and down in the open.

Then king Pasenadi of Kosala went to them and asked them:

“Bhantes, where is he living now, the Blessed One, worthy, fully self-awakened? We want to see the Blessed One, worthy, fully self-awakened.”

8 “That is his dwelling, sire, with the closed door. Approach it quietly, without hurrying, enter the porch, clear your throat, and tap on the door panel.

The Blessed One will open the door for you.”

King Pasenadi of Kosala handed over his sword and turban to Dīgha Kārāyana then and there.

8.2 Then Dīgha Kārāyana thought:

“So the king is going into secret session now! And I have to wait here alone now!”⁶⁰

Without hurrying, king Pasenadi of Kosala went quietly up to the dwelling with a closed door, entered the porch, cleared his throat, and tapped on the panel. The Blessed One opened the door.

Pasenadi honours the Buddha

9 Then king Pasenadi of Kosala [120] entered the dwelling.

Falling on his face with his head at the Blessed One’s feet, he covered the Blessed One’s feet with kisses and caressed them with his hands, pronouncing his name:

“Bhante, I am king Pasenadi of Kosala; bhante I am king Pasenadi of Kosala.”

“But, sire, what reason do you have for falling on your face in supreme honour to this body and for showing such friendship and adoration?”⁶¹

⁵⁹ A league (*yojana*) is about 11.25 km = 7 mi; 3 leagues is about 33.75 km = 21 mi.

⁶⁰ Comy says that he thought: “Previously, after conferring in private with the recluse Gotama, the king arrested my uncle and his 32 sons. Perhaps this time he will arrest me.” The royal insignia entrusted to Dīgha Kārāyana also included the fan, parasol, and sandals. Kārāyana hurried back to the capital with the royal insignia and crowned Viḍḍabha king. [§20 + n]

⁶¹ *Kiṃ pana tvaṃ mahārāja atthavasaraṃ sampassamāno imasmim sarīre evarūpaṃ parama, nipacca, kāraṃ karosi, mittūpahāraṃ* [only *Ce cittūpahāraṃ*] *upadaṃsesi ti* [(**Dasaka**) **Kosala S 2**, A 10.30,7 n, SD 64.15]. **Ni-pacca** (“obeisance”) is absol of *nipatati*, “falls down (before someone).” *Nipacca* expresses the abstract but observable state evoked by such an action. Cf *Atha ca pana samane gotame eva, rūpaṃ parama, nipacca, kāraṃ karoti ti* describing how the brahmin Māha-t,ṭhadda honours the Buddha in **Māna-t,ṭhaddha S** (S 7.15,88/1:178), SD 50.36. On the wholesome reason for arhats to show such supreme honour to the Buddha, see **Sūkara, khata S** (S 48.58/-5:234), SD 110.6.

10 “Bhante, in this I infer according to Dharma about the Blessed One:⁶²

(1) **‘The Blessed One** is fully self-awakened, **the Dharma** is well proclaimed by the Blessed One, **the sangha** of the Blessed One’s disciples is well-practised.’

Now, bhante, I see some recluses and brahmins making an end of the holy life⁶³ after 10 years, 20 years, 30 years, or 40 years. Later I see them well-groomed and well anointed, with trimmed hair and beards, enjoying themselves provided and endowed with the 5 cords of sensual pleasure.

10.2 But here I see **monks leading the fulfilling and pure holy life as long as life and breath last**. Indeed, I do not see any other holy life elsewhere as fulfilling and pure as this.

This is why, bhante, I infer according to Dharma about the Blessed One:

‘The Blessed One is fully self-awakened, the Dharma is well proclaimed by the Blessed One, the sangha of the Blessed One’s disciples is well-practised.’

Pasenadi praises the sangha

11 (2) “Again, bhante, kings quarrel with kings, kshatriyas with kshatriyas, brahmins with brahmins, householders with householders; mother quarrels with son, son with mother, father with son, son with father; brother quarrels with brother, brother with sister, sister with brother, friend with friend.⁶⁴

11.2 But here I see **monks living in concord**, with mutual joy, without disputing, mixing like milk and water, [121] seeing each other with kindly eyes.⁶⁵

I do not see any other assembly elsewhere with such concord.

This, too, bhante, is why I infer according to Dharma about the Blessed One:

‘The Blessed One is fully self-awakened, the Dharma is well proclaimed by the Blessed One, the sangha of the Blessed One’s disciples is well-practised.’

12 (3) “Again, bhante, I have walked and wandered from park to park and from garden to garden. There I have seen some recluses and brahmins who are lean, wretched, unsightly, jaundiced, with veins standing out on their limbs, such that people would not want to look at them again.

I have thought:

‘Surely these venerable ones are leading the holy life in discontent, or they have done some evil deed and are concealing it, *so lean and wretched, unsightly, jaundiced, with veins standing out on their limbs, such that people would not want to look at them again.*’

I went up to them and asked: ‘Why are you venerable ones *so lean and wretched, unsightly, jaundiced, with veins standing out on your limbs, such that people would not want to look at you again?*’

Their reply was: ‘It’s our family sickness, sire.’

12.2 But here I see **monks smiling and cheerful**, sincerely joyful, plainly delighting, their faculties fresh, living at ease, unruffled, living on what others give, abiding with mind [aloof] like a wild deer’s.

12.3 I have thought: ‘Surely these venerable ones perceive progressively higher distinction⁶⁶ in the Blessed One’s teaching, since they abide thus *smiling and cheerful, sincerely joyful, plainly delighting,*

⁶² *Ayam pi kho bhante bhagavata dhamm’ anvayo hoti.* In (Dasaka) Kosala 2 (A 10.30), Pasenadi attr it to his “gratitude and thankfulness” (*kataññūtarā ... kata,veditā sampassamāno*).

⁶³ “Making an end of the holy life,” *pariyanta, kataṃ brahma, cariyāṃ*.

⁶⁴ **Mahā Dukka-k, khandha S** (M 13) says that these quarrels arise because of sensual pleasures (M 13,11/1:86), SD 6.9.

⁶⁵ *Evam kho mayāṃ ... samaggā sammodamānā avivadamānā khīr’odakī, bhūtā aññam aññam piya, cakkhūhi sampassantā viharāmā ti.* The same remark is made by the Buddha to Anuruddha and his companions in (**Anuruddha**) **Upakkilesa S** (M 128,11/3:156), SD 5.18. See also SD 47.12 (2.1.2.1).

their faculties fresh, living at ease, unruffled, living on what others give, abiding with mind [aloof] like a wild deer's.'

12.4 This too, bhante, is why I infer according to Dharma about the Blessed One:

'The Blessed One is fully self-awakened, the Dharma is well proclaimed by the Blessed One, the sangha of the Blessed One's disciples is well-practised.'

13 (4) "Again, bhante, being a head-anointed kshatriya king, **[122]** I am able to have executed those who should be executed, to fine those who should be fined, to exile those who should be exiled.

Yet when I am sitting in council, they break in and interrupt me. Though I say: 'Gentlemen, do not break in and interrupt me when I am sitting in council; wait till the end of my speech,' still they break in and interrupt me.

13.2 But here I see monks while the Blessed One is teaching the Dharma⁶⁷ to an assembly of several hundred followers and then there is **not even the sound of a disciple of the Blessed One coughing or clearing his throat.**

13.3 Once the Blessed One was teaching the Dharma to an assembly of several hundred and there a disciple of his cleared his throat. Thereupon one of his companions in the holy life nudged him with his knee to indicate: 'Be quiet, bhante, make no noise; the Blessed One, the teacher, is teaching us the Dharma.'

13.4 I thought: 'It is wonderful, it is marvellous how an assembly can be so well disciplined without force or weapon!'

Indeed, I do not see any other assembly elsewhere so well disciplined.

13.5 This too, bhante, is why I infer according to Dharma about the Blessed One:

'The Blessed One is fully self-awakened, the Dharma is well proclaimed by the Blessed One, the sangha of the Blessed One's disciples is well-practised.'

The Buddha as master teacher

14 (5) "Again, bhante, I have seen here certain learned **kshatriyas** who were clever, subtle, experienced in debate, who go about, hair-splitting,⁶⁸ it seems, tearing apart the views of others with their gathered wisdom.⁶⁹

When they hear: 'The recluse Gotama will visit such and such a village or market-town,' they formulate a question thus: 'We will go to the recluse Gotama and ask him this question. If he is asked like this,

⁶⁶ "Progressively higher distinction," *ulāraṃ pubbenāparaṃ visesaṃ* [§18.3], ie one or any of the 4 stages of sainthood: **Dhamma, cetiya S** (M 89,12+18/2:121, 124), SD 64.10, **Ānāpāna, sati S** (M 118,2+6/3:79 f), SD 7.13; **Bhikkhuṇī Vāsaka S** (S 47.3+10/5:154 f x5), SD 24.2. As "high distinction" (*ulāraṃ visesaṃ*) only in **Lohicca S** (D 12/1:229-233 *passim*), SD 34.8.

⁶⁷ As at **Mahā Sakul'udāyi S** (M 77,6/2:4 f), SD 49.5a.

⁶⁸ As in **Cūḷa Hatthi, padôpama S** (M 27,4-7/1:176 f), SD 40a.5.

⁶⁹ ... *paṇḍite nipuṇe kata, para-p, pavāde vāla, vedhi, rūpe, te bhindantā* [Ce Ee, *vobhindantā*] *maññe caranti paññā, gatena diṭṭhi, gatāni*. This same passage is more commonly expressed as *paṇḍitā nipuṇā kata, para-p, pavādā vāla, vedhi, rūpā, te bhindantā* [Ce Ee, *vobhindantā*] *maññe caranti paññā, gatena diṭṭhi, gatāni*: **Brahma, jāla S** (D 1,64/1:26,24), SD 25.2; **Mahā Sīha, nāda S** (D 8,4/1:162,20), SD 73.12; Nm 1:180, 2:358, 452; Nc:Be 176; Pm 2:196, 2:203. Comy explains *vāla, vedhi, rūpa* and *te bhindantā maññe* (D 1/1:26,24, 8/162,20; M 27/1:176,28, 89/2:122,-22) as: "Hair-splitting means 'like an archer trying to pierce a horse-hair.' It seems, tearing apart means one goes about using one's gathered wisdom demolishing the views of others striking at them as if they were horse-hair" (*vāla, vedhi, rūpā* 'ti *vāla, vedhi, dhan'uggaha, sadisā. Te bhindantā maññe* ti *vāla, vedhi viya vālaṃ sukhumāni pi paresaṃ diṭṭhi, gatāni attano paññā, gatena bhindantā viya carantī ti attho*, DA 1:117).

he will answer like this, and so we will refute his doctrine in this way; and if he is asked like that, he will answer like that, and so we will refute his doctrine in that way.'

They hear: 'The recluse Gotama has come to visit such and such a village or market-town.' They go to the Blessed One, and the Blessed One instructs, inspires, rouses, [123] and gladdens them with a talk on the Dharma.

14.2 After they have been instructed, inspired, roused, and gladdened by the Blessed One with a talk on the Dharma, they do not so much as ask him the question, so how could they refute his doctrine?

In actual fact, **they become his disciples.**

This too, bhante, is why I infer according to Dharma about the Blessed One:

'The Blessed One is fully self-awakened, the Dharma is well proclaimed by the Blessed One, the sangha of the Blessed One's disciples is well-practised.'

BRAHMINS BECOME THE BUDDHA'S DISCIPLES

15 (6) "Again, bhante, I have seen here certain learned **brahmins** who were clever, subtle, experienced in debate, who go about hair-splitting, it seems, tearing apart the views of others with their gathered wisdom.

When they hear: 'The recluse Gotama will visit such and such a village or market-town,' they formulate a question thus: 'We will go to the recluse Gotama and ask him this question. If he is asked like this, he will answer like this, and so we will refute his doctrine in this way; and if he is asked like that, he will answer like that, and so we will refute his doctrine in that way.'

They hear: 'The recluse Gotama has come to visit such and such a village or market-town.' They go to the Blessed One, and the Blessed One instructs, inspires, rouses, and gladdens them with a talk on the Dharma.

15.2 After they have been instructed, inspired, roused, and gladdened by the Blessed One with a talk on the Dharma, they do not so much as ask him the question, so how could they refute his doctrine?

In actual fact, **they become his disciples.**

This too, bhante, is why I infer according to Dharma about the Blessed One:

'The Blessed One is fully self-awakened, the Dharma is well proclaimed by the Blessed One, the sangha of the Blessed One's disciples is well-practised.'

16 (7) "Again, bhante, I have seen here certain learned **householders** who were clever, subtle, experienced in debate, who go about hair-splitting, it seems, tearing apart the views of others with their gathered wisdom.

When they hear: 'The recluse Gotama will visit such and such a village or market-town,' they formulate a question thus: 'We will go to the recluse Gotama and ask him this question. If he is asked like this, he will answer like this, and so we will refute his doctrine in this way; and if he is asked like that, he will answer like that, and so we will refute his doctrine in that way.'

They hear: 'The recluse Gotama has come to visit such and such a village or market-town.' They go to the Blessed One, and the Blessed One instructs, inspires, rouses, and gladdens them with a talk on the Dharma.

16.2 After they have been instructed, inspired, roused, and gladdened by the Blessed One with a talk on the Dharma, they do not so much as ask him the question, so how could they refute his doctrine?

In actual fact, **they become his disciples.**

This too, bhante, is why I infer according to Dharma about the Blessed One:

'The Blessed One is fully self-awakened, the Dharma is well proclaimed by the Blessed One, the sangha of the Blessed One's disciples is well-practised.'

RECLUSES BECOME TRUE DHARMA-SPIRITED DISCIPLES

17 (8) “Again, bhante, I have seen here certain learned **recluses** who were clever, subtle, experienced in debate, who go about hair-splitting, it seems, tearing apart the views of others with their gathered wisdom.

When they hear: ‘The recluse Gotama will visit such and such a village or market-town,’ they formulate a question thus: ‘We will go to the recluse Gotama and ask him this question. If he is asked like this, he will answer like this, and so we will refute his doctrine in this way; and if he is asked like that, he will answer like that, and so we will refute his doctrine in that way.’

They hear: ‘The recluse Gotama has come to visit such and such a village or market-town.’ They go to the Blessed One, and the Blessed One instructs, inspires, rouses, and gladdens them with a talk on the Dharma.

After they have been instructed, inspired, roused, and gladdened by the Blessed One with a talk on the Dharma, they do not so much as ask him the question, so how could they refute his doctrine?

17.2 In actual fact, they ask the Blessed One to allow them **to go forth from home life into homelessness**, and he gives them the going forth.

Not long after they have thus gone forth, dwelling alone, aloof, diligent, ardent, and resolute, by realizing for themselves with direct knowledge they here and now enter upon and abide in that supreme goal of the holy life for the sake of which clansmen rightly go forth from home life into homelessness.

They say thus: ‘We were very nearly lost, we very nearly perished, for formerly

we claimed that we were recluses though we were not really **recluses**;

we claimed that we were brahmins though we were not really **brahmins**;

we claimed that we were arhats though we were not really **arhats**.

But now we are recluses, now we are brahmins, now we are arhats.’

This too, bhante, is why I infer according to Dharma about the Blessed One:

‘The Blessed One is fully self-awakened, the Dharma is well proclaimed by the Blessed One, the sangha of the Blessed One’s disciples is well-practised.’

The Buddha’s disciples as exemplars

18 (9) “Again, bhante, **Isidatta and Purāṇa**,⁷⁰ my two chamberlains, eat my food and use my carriages; I provide them with a livelihood and bring them fame. Yet despite this, they do not do such honour to me [124] as they do to the Blessed One.

18.2 Once when I had gone out leading an army and was testing these chamberlains, Isidatta and Purāṇa, and I happened to put up in very cramped quarters.

Then these two chamberlains, Isidatta and Purāṇa, after spending much of the night in **Dharma talk**, lay down with their heads in the direction where they had heard that the Blessed One was staying and with their feet towards me.

18.3 I thought: ‘It is wonderful, it is marvellous! These two chamberlains, Isidatta and Purāṇa, *eat my food and use my carriages; I provide them with a livelihood and bring them fame*. Yet in spite of this, they are less respectful towards me than they are towards the Blessed One.

⁷⁰ The brothers Isi,datta and Purāṇa are king Pasenadi’s chamberlains (**thapati**) [§18]; the term also means “royal officer, equerry” [SD 42.7 (2.1)]. Isi,datta was celibate and once-returner; while Purāṇa was a non-celibate with a wife, lived as a streamwinner and died a once-returner: **Thapati S** (S 55.6/5:348,14), SD 42.7; SA 3:278,21 f. At the time of their deaths the Buddha declared both of them to be once-returners: (**Chakka**) **Miga,sālā S** (A 6.44/3:348), SD 3.14. Depending on the context, *thapati* may mean “master carpenter” as in the case of Pañcak’aṅga (**M 59**/-1:396,26, 397,27+35, **127**/3:145,6); see DP: *thapati*.

Surely these venerable ones perceive progressively higher distinction⁷¹ in the Blessed One's teaching (*sāsana*).'

18.4 This too, bhante, is why I infer according to Dharma about the Blessed One:

'The Blessed One is fully self-awakened, the Dharma is well proclaimed by the Blessed One, the sangha of the Blessed One's disciples is well-practised.'

Socially equal, spiritually unique

19 (10) "Again, bhante, the Blessed One is a **kshatriya** [a warrior noble] and I am a kshatriya; the Blessed One is a **Kosalan** and I am a Kosalan; the Blessed One is **80 years old** and I am 80 years old.⁷²

Since that is so, I think it proper to do such supreme honour to the Blessed One and to show such friendship.

20 And now, bhante, we must take leave. We are busy and have much to do."

"Then, sire, you may leave at your own convenience."

Then King Pasenadi of Kosala rose from his seat, and after paying homage to the Blessed One, keeping him on his right, he departed.⁷³

Memorials to the Dharma

21 Then soon after he had left, the Blessed One addressed the monks thus:

"Bhikshus, before rising from his seat and departing, this king Pasenadi of Kosala uttered monuments to the Dharma.⁷⁴

Learn **the memorials to the Dharma**, bhikshus; master **[125]** the memorials to the Dharma; remember the memorials to the Dharma. The memorials to the Dharma are beneficial, bhikshus, and they belong to the fundamentals of the holy life."

22 The Blessed One said this.

The monks were satisfied and delighted in the Blessed One's word.

—evam—

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⁷¹ See §12.3 n.

⁷² The mention of the Buddha's age as being 80 shows that this Sutta is set in the last year of the Buddha's life.

⁷³ When king Pasenadi returned to where he had left Dīgha Kārāyaṇa, he found only a servant woman who told him that Kārāyaṇa had left with the rest [§8 + n]. Pasenadi then rushed to Rājagaha to get the help of his nephew, king Ajātasattu. En route, he ate some coarse rice gruel and drank turbid water. The food did not go well with his delicate constitution. He arrived late and found the city gates closed. Exhausted by the journey, he lay down in a pavilion outside the city-gate and died in the night. (MA 3:354,18-355,20). For an account of Dīgha Kārāyaṇa's treachery, see **Viḍūḍabha Vatthu** (DhA 4.3/1:355 f; tr DhA:B 2:42 f).

⁷⁴ Comy: **dhmma,cetiyaṇi** (pl), "memorials to the Dharma" means words expressing reverence (*cittī,kāra*) to the Dharma. Whenever reverence is shown towards any of the 3 jewels, it is also shown to the other jewels. (MA 3:355,16-20)