

# Pali Text Society

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# Jinacarita

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY DR. W. H. D. ROUSE, HEADMASTER  
OF THE PERSE SCHOOL, CAMBRIDGE

NOTE.—This recension is based on the following materials, for all which I have to thank the generosity of Mr. Donald Ferguson, late of Colombo.

(1) A Singhalese MS., denoted by C<sup>a</sup>, containing text and commentary. It commonly confuses cerebrals with dentals, and generally writes the nasal with ° (anuswāra) before all consonants alike.

(2) An edition in Singhalese characters (C<sup>b</sup>), published in Colombo in 1886, which has enabled me to correct nearly all the mistakes of the MS.

(3) A rough transcript in Roman characters, and a draft of translation, both which I have found useful in doubtful points.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

CAMBRIDGE,  
*May* 16, 1905.

## NOTE ON MEDHAṆKARA

There are at least four Medhaṅkaras famous in the literary history of Ceylon. The first flourished about 1200 A.D., and was the author of the 'Vinayārthasamuccaya' in Siṅhalese. The second was the Ārañṇaka Medhaṅkara, who presided over the Council held by Parākrama Bāhu III. about 1250 A.D. The third was the scholar to whose care Parākrama Bāhu the IVth entrusted his translation of the Jātaka book into Siṅhalese 'that it might be preserved in the line of the succession of his pupils' ('Mahāvayṣa,' chap. xl., ver. 86). The fourth was our author, Vanaratana Medhaṅkara (who was also the author of the 'Payoyasiddhi,' also in Pali), and who flourished under Bhuvaneka Bāhu the Ist (1277-1288 A.D.).

Saṅgharāja Medhaṅkara, author of the 'Lokappadīpakasāra' (*Journal of the P.T.S.*, 1882, p. 126; 1896, p. 43), was different from all the above, and wrote in Burma ('Gandha Vayṣa,' p. 67). He is called Nava Medhaṅkara (*ibid.*, p. 64).

Medhaṅkara is mentioned as the author of the 'Jina Carita' in the 'Saddhamma-saṅgaha,' ix., 22 (*Journal of the P.T.S.*, 1890, p. 63), and in the 'Gandha Vayṣa,' pp. 62, 72 (*Journal of the P.T.S.*, 1886).

T. W. Rh. D.

# JINACARITA

NAMO TASSA BHAGAVATO ARAHATO SAMMĀ-  
SAMBUDDHASSA.

- 1 Uttamaṃ uttamaṅgena namassitvā mahesino  
nibbānamadhudaṃ pādapaṅkajaṃ sajjanāliṇaṃ,
- 2 mahāmohataṃ loke dhaṅsentaṃ dhammabhākaṃ  
pātubhūtaṃ mahātejaṃ dhammarājodayācale,
- 3 jantucittasare jātaṃ pāsādakumudaṃ<sup>1</sup> sadā,  
bodhentaṃ saṅghacandaṃ ca silorukiraṇujjalaṃ,
- 4 tahiṃ tahiṃ suvitthiṇṇaṃ jinassa caritaṃ hitaṃ  
pavakkhāmi samāseṇa sadānussaranatthiko.
- 5 paṇitaṃ taṃ sarantānaṃ dullabham pi sivaṃ padaṃ;  
adullabham bhava bhogapaṭilābhamhi kā kathā.
- 6 tasmā taṃ bhaññaṃānaṃ me cittavuttapadakkamaṃ  
sundaraṃ madhuraṃ suddhaṃ sotu sotarasāyanaṃ.
- 7 sotahatthaputā sammā gahetvāna niraṇṭaraṃ  
ajarāmaram icchantā sādhaṃ paribhuñjatha.
- 8 kappasatasahassassa catunnaṃ cāpi matthake  
asaṅkheyyānaṃ āvāsaṃ sabbadā puññakāminaṃ
- 9 nānāratanasampannaṃ nānājanasamākulaṃ  
vicittāpaṇasaṅkiṇṇaṃ toraṇagghikabhūsitāṃ
- 10 yuttaṃ dasahi saddehi devindapurasaṅgahaṃ  
puraṃ amaraṅkhātaṃ ahosi ruciraṃ varaṃ.

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<sup>1</sup> C<sup>a</sup> *dā*.

[C<sup>a</sup>=MS.; C<sup>t</sup>=printed text. Mistakes of the MS. which are corrected in the Commentary I have not noted. Nasals, often written with the symbol equivalent to *anusāra*, I have assimilated to following consonants, where this was done in the printed text; on the same authority, I have corrected confusions of *n* and *ṇ*, which are very common.]

- 11 tahiṃ brahmanvaye jāto sabbalokābhipūjito  
mahādayo mahāpañño abhirūpo manoramo  
12 Sumedho nāma nāmena vedasāgarapārāgu  
kumāro 'si: gurūnaṃ<sup>1</sup> so avasāne jinaṅkuro  
13 rāsivaddhakamaccena dassitaṃ amitaṃ dhaṇaṃ  
anekasatagabbhesu nicitaṃ taṃ udikkhiya<sup>2</sup>  
14 dhanasannicayaṃ katvā: 'aho mayhaṃ pitādayo  
gātā māsakaṃ ekaṃ pi nevādāya divaṃ' iti.  
15 samvegam upayāto va cintesīti guṇākaro  
'dhanasāraṃ imaṃ gayha gantuṃ yuttan ti me pana.'  
16 rahogato nisīditvā sundare nijamandire  
dehe dose udikkhanto ovaḍanto pi attano:  
17 'bhedanaṃ tanuno dukkhaṃ dukkho tassodayo pi ca  
jātidhammo jarādhammo vyadhidhammo ahaṃ' iti  
18 evam ādīhi dehasmiṃ disvā dose anekadhā  
pure bheriṃ carāpetvā ārocetvāna rājino  
19 bherinādasugandhena yācakālisamāgate  
dānakiṅjakkha oghena sattāham piṇayī: tato  
20 dānaggahimabindūnaṃ nipātenāpi dhaṇsanaṃ  
ayātan taṃ viloketvā ratanambujakānanaṃ,  
21 rudato ñātisaṃghassa jalitānalakānana  
gajindo viya gehamhā nikkhamitvā manoramā  
22 mahantaṃ so mahāvīro upagañci Himālayaṃ,  
haricandanakappūrāgarugandhehi vāsitaṃ,  
23 suphullacampakāsokapāṭalītilakehi ca  
pūgapunnāganāgādīpādapehi ca maṇḍitaṃ,  
24 sīhavayagghataracchehi ibhadīpikapīhi ca  
turaṅgamādīnekehi migeḥi ca samākulaṃ,  
25 sālīkāravihaṅgehi haṅsakoṅcasuveḥi ca  
kapotakaravīkādisakunteḥi ca kūjitaṃ,  
26 yakkarakkhasagandhabbadevadānavakeḥi ca  
siddhavijjādharādīhi bhūteḥi ca nīsevitaṃ,  
27 manosīlindaṇilorucārūpabbatapantīhi  
sajjhuhemādīnekehi bhūdhareḥi ca bhāsurāṃ,  
28 suvaṇṇamaṇisopāṇanekatitthasareḥi ca  
sobhitaṃ tattha kilantānekadevaṅgaṇāhi<sup>3</sup> ca,  
29 sītasīkarasaṅjannanījjarānaṃ sateḥi ca  
kiṅṇaroragaraṅgeḥi rammehi ca virājitaṃ,  
30 sikhāṇḍisaṇḍanacceḥi latānam maṇḍapeḥi ca  
setavālukasaṅjannamālakeḥi ca maṇḍitaṃ,  
31 suvaṇṇamaṇimuttādi anekaratanākaraṃ  
icchantānaṃ janālīnaṃ puññakiṅjakkham<sup>4</sup> ālayaṃ.

<sup>1</sup> C<sup>a</sup> guraṇaṃ. <sup>2</sup> C<sup>a</sup> -yaṇ. <sup>3</sup> C<sup>t</sup> -kilanta-. <sup>4</sup> C<sup>a</sup> puññaṃ.

- 32 tam ajjhogayha so dhiro sahasakkhena māpīte  
 disvā isiparikkhāre paṇṇasālā<sup>1</sup> vare tahiṃ  
 33 isivesaṃ gahetvāna viharanto samāhito  
 sattāhabbhantare pañcaabhiññāṭṭhavidhāpi<sup>2</sup> ca.  
 34 uppādetvā samāpattisukheneva tapodhano  
 nabhasā divasekasmīṃ gacchanto janataṃ isī  
 35 sodhentaṃ aṅgasaṃ disvā otaritvā nabhā tahiṃ  
 iti taṃ janitaṃ pucchi: 'kasmā sodheta aṅgasaṃ  
 36 'Sumedha, tvaṃ na jānāsi, dīpaṅkaratathāgato  
 sambodhim uttamaṃ patvā, dhammacakkam anuttaraṃ  
 37 'pavattetvāna, lokassa karonto dhammasaṅghaṃ  
 rammaṃ rammaपुरaṃ patvā vasatīha sudassane:  
 38 'bhikkhusatasahasseehi catūhi<sup>3</sup> vimalehi taṃ  
 nimantayimha dānena mayaṃ lokekanāyakaṃ:  
 39 'tassa āgamanatthāya maggaṃ sodhema cakkhuma.'  
 iti so tassa sotassa sukhaṃ dento jano 'bravī.  
 40 'Buddho' ti vacanaṃ sutvā pītiyodaggamānaso  
 sakabhāvena saṅghātaṃ n'eva<sup>4</sup> sakkhi guṇākarō:  
 41 ten' āradhaṅgasaṃ dhiro yācītvāna padesaṃ  
 labhitvā visamaṃ thānaṃ samaṃ kātuṃ samārabhi.  
 42 nalaṅkate yeva tahiṃ padese  
 lokekanātho sanarāmarehi  
 sampūjito lokahito mahesi<sup>5</sup>  
 vasihi saddhiṃ paṭipajji maggaṃ.  
 43 chabbaṇṇaraṅsi jālehi pajjalantaṃ Tathāgataṃ  
 āgacchantaṃ tahiṃ disvā modamāno vicintayi  
 44 'Yannūn' imassa dhīrassa setuṃ katvāna kaddame  
 sakattānaṃ nipajjeyaṃ sasaṅghassa mahesino  
 45 digharattam alaṃ tam me hitāya ca sukhāya ca.'  
 Icc' evaṃ cintayitvāna nipanno so jinaṅkuro  
 46 pabodhetvāna disvāna cārulocanapaṅkaje  
 puna p' evaṃ vicintesi nipanno dhitimā tahiṃ:  
 47 'Iccheyaṃ ce 'ham aji' eva hantvānantaraṃ<sup>6</sup> bhava  
 saṅghassa navako hutvā paviseyyaṃ puraṃ varaṃ  
 48 kim aṅṅātakavesena klesanibbāpanena me  
 ayaṃ Buddho 'v' ahaṃ Buddho hutvā loke anuttaro  
 49 janataṃ dhammanāvāya tāretvāna bhavaṇṇavā  
 nibbānapuram ānetvā seyyam me<sup>7</sup> parinibbutaṃ.  
 50 Icc' evaṃ cintayitvāna nipanno kaddame tahiṃ  
 suvaṇṇakadalikkhandhasannibho so 'tisobhati.  
 51 chabbaṇṇaraṅsihi virājamāṇam  
 disvā manuññaṃ Sugat' attabhāvaṃ

<sup>1</sup> C<sup>t</sup> -sāla-.    <sup>2</sup> C<sup>t</sup> -abhiñña-.    <sup>3</sup> C<sup>a</sup> -hī.    <sup>4</sup> C<sup>a</sup> n'evaṃ.

<sup>5</sup> C<sup>t</sup> mahesi.    <sup>6</sup> C<sup>t</sup> -ṇo.    <sup>7</sup> C<sup>a</sup> seyyamema.

- sañjātapīṭhi udaggacitto  
 sambodhiyā chandam akāsi dhīro.
- 52 āgantvāna tahiṃ thānaṃ isim paṅke nipannakaṃ  
 lokassa setu bhūto pi setu bhūtan tam attano
- 53 disvā ussīsake tassa t̄hatvā lokekasetuno  
 lokekalocano dhīro Dipaṅkaratathāgato.
- 54 'Gotamo nāma nāmena sambuddho 'yaṃ anāgate  
 bhavissati' ti vyākāsi sāvake ca purādike
- 55 idaṃ vatvāna katvāna sasaṅgho tam padakkhiṇaṃ  
 pūjesi atthamutt̄hihi kusumehi gaṇappiyo,
- 56 itī kātūna pāyāsi sasaṅgho lokanāyako  
 Rammakan nāma nagaraṃ<sup>1</sup> rammāramālayālayaṃ.
- 57 Jinassa vacanaṃ sutvā ut̄thahitvāna paṅkato  
 mudito<sup>2</sup> devasaṅghehi kusumādīhi pūjito<sup>3</sup>
- 58 pallaṅkam ābhujitvāna<sup>4</sup> nisidī kusumāsano  
 mahātapo mahapaṅṅo Sumedho damitindriyo.
- 59 devā dasasahasseeu cakkavālesu moditā  
 abhithhaviṃsu taṃ dhīraṃ nisinnaṃ kusumāsane.
- 60 Nisino upadhāresi dhamme Buddhakare tadā  
 kim uddhaṃ vā adho vā pi disāsu vidisāsu ca.
- 61 Icc' evaṃ vicinanto so sakalaṃ dhammadhātukaṃ  
 addakki sakasantāne paṭhamaṃ dānapāramī,
- 62 evam evaṃ gavesanto uttariṃ pāramī vidū  
 sabbā pāramiyo disvā attano ṅaṇacakkhunā :
- 63 saṅsāre saṅsaranto so bahuṃ dukkhaṃ titikkhiya  
 gavesanto 'mataṃ santo pūretvā dānapāramī.
- 64 sattānaṃ kapparukkho vā cintāmaṇi va kāmado  
 icchiticchitam annādim dadanto dadataṃ varo,
- 65 tārakāhi bahuṃ katvā nabhe cāruvilocane  
 uppatetvā dadaṃ dhīro yācakānam pamodito,
- 66 mahiyā paṅsuto cāpi samuddodakato 'dhikaṃ  
 dadaṃ sarīramaṅsaṃ ca lohitaṃ pi ca attano,
- 67 molinālaṅkate sīse 'dhikaṃ katvā Sineruto,  
 kampayitvā mahiṃ dento sute cāpi sakaṅganā,
- 68 silanekkhammaṅṅādiṃ pūretvā sabbapāramī  
 Vessantarattabhāve 'vam patvā tamhā cuto pana,
- 69 uppajjitvā surāvāse sundare Tusite pure  
 vasanto suciraṃ kālaṃ bhutvānānantasampadaṃ.
- 70 kataṅjalihi devehi yācito dipaduttamo  
 'Sambodhāya mahāvīra kālo tuyhan' ti ādinā
- 71 viloketvāna kalādiṃ ṅatvā 'kālan' ti bodhiyā,  
 paṭiṅṅaṃ devasaṅghassa datvā, Nandanakānanaṃ

<sup>1</sup> C<sup>a</sup> naṅgaraṃ.

<sup>2</sup> C<sup>a</sup> mūdito.

<sup>3</sup> C<sup>a</sup> pūjito.

<sup>4</sup> C<sup>a</sup> -bhuṅṅj-.

- 72 gantvāna devasaṅghehi Sugatīy gacchato<sup>1</sup> cuto  
 abhithhuto mahāpañño : cavitvāna tato idha
- 73 susajjitāgoruturaṅgam ākule  
 vicittanānāpanāpānyasampade  
 manoramuttuṅgagajindarājite  
 vibhūsite toraṅaketurāsīhi,
- 74 alaṅkatattālavīsālasālaye  
 sugopure sundarisundarālaye  
 sudassanīyye Kapilavhaye pure  
 Purindadassā pi purassa hāsake,
- 75 bhūpālamolīratanaḷinisevitaṅghi-<sup>2</sup>  
 paṅkeruhaṅ vimalanekaguṇadhivāsaṅ  
 Okkākarājakulaketum anāthanāthaṅ  
 Suddhodanaṅ narapatiṅ pavaraṅ paṭicca
- 76 so sajjhudāmadhavalāmaladassaniya-<sup>3</sup>  
 soṇḍāya saṅgahitasetavarāravindaṅ  
 candāvādātavaravāraṅarājavāṇṇam  
 sandassayitvā supinena visālapañño
- 77 bimbādharāya vikacuppalalocanāya  
 devindacāparativaddhanabhūlatāya  
 sampuṇṇasommavimalinduvarānanāya  
 sovaṇṇahaṅsayugacārūpayodharāya
- 78 pādāravindakarapallavasundarāya  
 sovaṇṇavaṇṇatanuvaṇṇavirājītāya  
 silādīnekaguṇabhūsanabhūsitāya  
 māyāya rājavānitāy' upagaṅchi kucchiy.
- 79 Paṭisandhikkhaṇe tassa jātā nekavidhabbhutā  
 athāyaṅ gahitārakkho narehi amārehi ca
- 80 manuṅṅarattambujakaṅṅikāya-m-  
 āsīnasiṅgīpaṭimā va rammā  
 suvaṇṇavaṇṇo dipadānam indo  
 pallaṅkam ābhūṅgiya mātugabbhe.
- 81 maṅimhi vippasannaṅmhi rattasuttam iv' āvutaṅ  
 mācucittambujaṅ dhīro bodhayanto padissati.
- 82 dasamāsāvāsānaṅmhi devī raṅṅo kathaṅ' idaṅ :  
 ' mayhaṅ ṅatigharaṅ deva gantum icchāṅ' aham' iti.
- 83 raṅṅātha samanūṅṅatā gacchanti kulam attano  
 mahatā parivāreṅa dibbaṅṅjasasamaṅjase.
- 84 surabhikusumasaṅdālaṅkatassālasaṅdam  
 samadabhamaramālāgīyamānagganādaṅ  
 nayanavihagasaṅghe avhayantaṅ va disvā  
 vipularatinivāsaṅ ḷumbinīkāraṅanaṅ taṅ,

<sup>1</sup> C<sup>a</sup> gacchat' ito *MS. and comm.*

<sup>2</sup> C<sup>a</sup> bhūpāli-.

<sup>3</sup> C<sup>a</sup> -dassiniya.

- 85 vipulatararatiṅ sā tamhi kātūna ramme  
 amarayuvatililācārulilābhirāmā  
 vikasitavarasālāssopagantvāna mūlaṅ  
 sayamatinamit' ekaṅ sālāsakaṅ aganhi.
- 86 tasmīṅ khāṇe kammajamālut' assā  
 caliṅsu : sāṇhi parikkhipivā  
 devī<sup>1</sup> jano taṅ abhipālayanto  
 tamhā pātikkamma susaṅthito, 'tha
- 87 sā cāruhemavalayādivibhūsitena  
 accantatambanakharaṅsisamujjalena  
 tūlātikomalasurattakareṇa sākhaṅ  
 olamba tattha-m-ajanesi t̄hitā va dhīraṅ,
- 88 sovaṇṇavaṇṇatanuvaṇṇavirājamānaṅ  
 nettābhirāmam atulaṅ atulāya gabbhā  
 sammā pasāritakaraṅghiyugābhirāmā  
 paṅkeruhā kanakahaṅsam iv' otarantaṅ,
- 89 brahmā-m-anaggharativaddhanahemajālam  
 ādāya tena upagamma paṭiggahetvā,  
 'sammoda devī ayam aggataro suto te  
 jāto' 'ti, tāya purato kathayiṅsu t̄hatvā.
- 90 jāyanti sesamanujā malamakkhitaṅgā,  
 jāto paṅ' esi pavaro dipadānam indo  
 accantasaṅhamalakāsikavatthakamhi  
 nikkhittanagghanaracārumaṇīva suddho.
- 91 evam pi sante<sup>2</sup> nabhato 'pagantvā  
 dve vāridhārā subhagassa dehe  
 jānettidehe pi utum manuññaṅ  
 gāhāpayum maṅgalakiccātāya.
- 92 tesāṅ karā ratikarā ajinappavenim  
 ādāya tena upagamma paṭiggahesūṅ  
 devā dukūlamayacumbātakena vīraṅ  
 tesāṅ karā naravarā narasiharājaṅ
- 93 tesāṅ karā ratikaro vimalo va caṅḍo  
 cakkāṅkitorucarāṇehi mahitalasmiṅ  
 sammā patiṭṭhiya puratthimakaṅ disaṅ so  
 olokayittha kamalāyatalocenehi.
- 94 ekaṅganā nekasatāni cakka-  
 vālan' ahesūṅ sanarāmarā 'tha  
 dhīraṅ sugandhappabbutihi tesu  
 sampūjayantā idham abraviṅsu :
- 95 'natth'<sup>3</sup> ettha tumhehi samo subhīsa  
 eko pumā p' aggataro kuto' 'ti

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<sup>1</sup> C<sup>a</sup> devī.

<sup>2</sup> C<sup>a</sup> santo.

<sup>3</sup> C<sup>a</sup> natt'.

- evaṃ dis' ālokiya lokanātho  
 na pekkhamāno sadisam pi ekaṃ,  
 96 uttarābhimukho sattapadaṃ gantvā kathes' idaṃ  
 'aggo 'ham asmi lokassa jeṭṭho seṭṭho' 'ti' ādikaṃ  
 97 anaññasādhāraṇanādam uttamaṃ  
 surāsurabrahmanarindaṃ pūjitaṃ<sup>2</sup>  
 narindam ādāya gato mahājano  
 susajjitaṃ taṃ kapilavhayaṃ puraṃ  
 98 bhāratibhāranagapādapamerurājaṃ  
 sabbam pi sāgarajalaṃ vahitvā samatthā  
 jātatthakkhaṇe pi guṇabhāram asayhamānā  
 saṅkampayī 'va paṭhavi pavarassa tassa,  
 99 ramiṃsu soṇā hariṇehi saddhiṃ  
 kākā ulūkehim udaggudaggā  
 supaṇṇarājūhi mahoragā ca  
 majjārasaṅghā pi ca undurehi,  
 100 migā migindehi samāgamiṃsu  
 puttehi mātāpitāro yath' eva,  
 nāvā videsam pi gatā videsaṃ<sup>3</sup>  
 gatā va kandaṃ<sup>4</sup> Sarabhaṅgasatthu.  
 101 nānavirāgujjalapaṅkajehi  
 vibhūsito santataraṅgamālo,  
 mahāṇṇavo āsi tahiṃ jalam pi  
 accantasātattam upāgamāsi,  
 102 suphullaolambakapaṅkajehi  
 samākulattam gaganāṃ agañchi,  
 jahiṃsu pakkhi gamaṇāṃ nabhamhi,  
 ṭhitā 'va sindhū pi asandamānā,  
 103 akālameghappiyasaṅgamena  
 mahivadhū sommatamā ahosi,  
 marūhi vassāpit' anekapuppha  
 vibhūsitenaṭivibhūsitā 'va,  
 104 suphullamālābharaṇā 'bhirāmā  
 lataṅganālīṅgitapādapindā  
 sugandhakiṅjakkhavarambarehi  
 disaṅgaṇāyo atisobhayaṃsu,  
 105 sugandhadhūpehi nabhaṃ asesāṃ  
 pavāsitaṃ rammataṃ ahosi,  
 surāsurindā chanavesadhārī<sup>5</sup>  
 saṅgitiyuttā vicariṃsu sabhe,

<sup>1</sup> C<sup>a</sup> si.

<sup>2</sup> C<sup>a</sup> -surabbr-, -jī-.

<sup>3</sup> C<sup>a</sup> C<sup>t</sup> sadesaṃ : videsaṃ, *comm.*

<sup>4</sup> C<sup>a</sup> kandaṃ.

<sup>5</sup> *Sic for chaṇa-*.

- 106 piyam vadā sabbajanā ahesuṇ,  
disā asesā pi ca vippasānā,  
gaṇā 'tigajjisu, nadiṇsu, sīhā,  
hesāravo cāsi<sup>1</sup> turaṅgamāṇaṇ,  
107<sup>2</sup> savēnuvinā suradundubhī nabhe  
sakaṇ sakaṇ cārusaram pamocayūṇ,  
sapabbatindapputhulokadhātuyā  
ulāraobhāsacayo<sup>3</sup> manoramo,  
108 manuññagandho mudusitalānilo  
sukhappadaṇ vāyi asesajantuno,  
anekarogād upapilitaṅgino  
tato pamuttā sukhitosiyūṇ janā  
109 vijambhamānāmitavālavijani-  
ppabbhābhiraṇaṇ bhuvanaṇ ahoṣi  
mahihi bhettvā c'<sup>4</sup> udakāni sandayūṇ  
gamiṇsu khujjā ujugattataṇ janā  
110 andhā paṅgulanaccāni lilopetāni pekkhayūṇ,  
suniṇsu badhirā mūgagītiyo pi manoramā,  
111 sitalattam upāgañci avicaggi pi tāvade,  
modiṇsu jalajā tasmiṇ jantavo pabhasiṇsu ca,  
112 khuppipāsābhībūtānam petānaṇ āsi bhojanaṇ,  
lokantare pi āloko andhakāranirantare,  
113 atirekatarā tāravali candadivākara  
virociṇsu nabhe bhūmigatāni ratanāni ca,  
114 mahitalādayo bhettvā nikkamma<sup>5</sup> uparūpari  
vicittapañcavannesuṇ suphullā vipulambujā,  
115 dundubh' ādi c' alaṅkāra avādītā aghaṭṭitā  
accantamadhuraṇ nādaṇ pamuñciṇsu mahitale,  
116 baddhā saṅkhaḷikādihi muñciṇsu manujā tato  
bhuvane bhavanadvāraḷakavāṭā vivatā sayaṇ,  
117 celukkhepādayo cāpi pavattentā pamoditā  
kiḷiṇsu devasaṅghā te tāvatiṇsālaye tadā,  
118 'pure Kapilavatthumhi jāto Suddhodanatrajo  
nisajja bodhimaṇḍe ti ayaṇ buddho bhavissati.'  
119 iddhimanto mahāpañño Kāladevalatāpaso,  
Suddhodananarindassa dhimato so kulūpago,  
120 bhojanass' avasānamhi Tāvatiṇsālayaṇ gato  
gantvā divāvihārāya nisinno bhavane taḷiṇ  
121 chanavesaṇ<sup>6</sup> gahettvāna kiḷante<sup>7</sup> te udikkhiya  
santosakāraṇam pucchi tesan te pi tam abravūṇ.

<sup>1</sup> Ca vāsi.

<sup>2</sup> 107 omitted in Ct.

<sup>3</sup> Ca sic., comm. -sañcayo.

<sup>4</sup> Ca -m- for -c-.

<sup>5</sup> Ca nikkamma.

<sup>6</sup> Sic for chaṇa-.

<sup>7</sup> Ca kiḷanto.

- 122 sutvā taṅ tattato tamhā pītiyodaggamānaso  
tāvad evopagantvāna<sup>1</sup> Suddhodananivesanaṅ
- 123 pavisitvā supaññatte nisinno āsane isi<sup>2</sup>  
'jāto kira mahārāja putto te 'nuttaro sudhī,
- 124 datṭhum icchām' ahan taṅ 'ti āha: rājā alaṅkataṅ  
ānāpetvā kumāraṅ taṅ vandāpetum upāgamī.
- 125 kumārabhūtaṅ pi tāvad eva  
guṇānubhāvena manoramāni  
pādāravindā parivattiyaggā  
patiṭṭhitā muddhani tāpasassa.
- 126 ten' attabhāvena naruttamaṅ  
na vanditabbo tibhave pi koci:  
tilokaṅāthassa sace hi sīsaṅ  
tapassino pādātale ṭhapeyyuṅ,
- 127 phaleyya muddhā khalu tāpasassa.  
paggayha so añjalim uttamaṅ  
atṭhāsi dhirassa guṇaṅnavassa  
nāsetum attānaṅ ayuttakaṅ ti.
- 128 disvāna taṅ acchariyaṅ narindo  
devātidevassa sakatrajassa  
pādāravindān' abhivandi tuṭṭho  
vicittacakkaṅkitakomaṅani.
- 129 yad' āsi rañño puthuvappamaṅgalaṅ  
tadā puraṅ devapuraṅ va sajjitaṅ  
vibhūsitā tā janatā manoramā  
samāgatā tassa nīketam uttamaṅ.
- 130 vibhūsitāṅgo janatāhi tāhi so  
purakkhato bhūsaṅabhūsitatrajaṅ,  
tam ādayitvā 'tulavappamaṅgalaṅ  
surindalīlaya gato narissaro.
- 131 nānāviraḅujjalacārusāni<sup>3</sup>  
parikkhit' ekam hi ca jambumūle  
sayāpayitvā bahi maṅgalaṅ taṅ  
udikkhituṅ dhātigaṅāgamiṅsu.
- 132 suvaṅṅatārādi virājamāna  
vitānaḅotujjalajambumūle  
nisajja dhīro sayane manuṅṅe  
jhānaṅ samāpajji katāvakaṅso.
- 133 suvaṅṅabimbaṅ viya taṅ nisinnaṅ  
chāyaṅ ca tassā ṭhitam eva disvā  
tam abravī dhātijaṅopagantvā,  
'puttassa te abbhutaṅ idisaṅ' ti

<sup>1</sup> C<sup>a</sup> evāp.-<sup>2</sup> C<sup>a</sup> isi.<sup>3</sup> Sic for -sāṅi.

- 134 visuddhacandānanabhāsuras  
 sutvāna naṅ paṅkajalocanassa  
 savandanam me dutiyan' ti vatvā  
 puttassa pāde sirasabhivandi
- 135 tadaññāni pi lokasmiṅ jātānekavidabbhutā  
 dassitā me samāsenā ganthavittārabbhirunā.
- 136 yasmiṅ vicittamanimaṇḍitamaṇḍitānaṅ  
 nānavitānasayanāsanamaṇḍitānaṅ  
 nisseniseniputhubhūmikabhūsitānaṅ  
 tiṅṅaṅ utūnam anurūpam alaṅkatānaṅ,
- 137 siṅgesu raṅsinikarā suramandirānaṅ  
 siṅgesu raṅsim apahāsakarā va niccaṅ,  
 ādiccaraṅsi viya paṅkajakānanāni  
 lokānanambujavanāni vikāsayanti,
- 138 nānāmanivicittāhi bhittīhi vanitā sadā  
 vinā pi dappanacchāyam pasādhenti sakaṅ tanuṅ,
- 139 Kelāsaṅgasaṅkāsaṅ vilocanarasāyanaṅ  
 sudhālaṅkatapākāraṅ valayaṅ yattha dissate,
- 140 indaniloruvalayaṅ nānāratanabhūsitāṅ  
 dissate va sadā yasmiṅ parikkhānekapaṅkajā,
- 141 patvāna vuddhiṅ vipule manuññe  
 bhutvāna kāme ca tahiṅ vasanto,  
 gacchan tilokekavilocano so  
 uyyānakilāya mahāpathamhi
- 142 kamena jīṅṅaṅ vyadhitam matañ ca  
 disvāna rūpaṅ tibhave viratto  
 manoramaṅ pabbajitañ ca rūpaṅ  
 katvā ratiṅ tamhi catutthavāre.
- 143 suphullanānātarusaṅdamāṇḍitaṅ  
 sikhāṅdisaṅḍādidijūpakūjitaṅ  
 sudassaniyaṅ viya Nandaṅ vanaṅ  
 manoramuyyānam agā mahāyaso.
- 144 suraṅgaṅā sundarasundariṅaṅ  
 manorame vāditanaccagite  
 surindalilāya tahiṅ narindo  
 ramitva kāmaṅ dipadānam indo.
- 145 ābhujitvāna pallaṅkaṅ nisinno rucirāsane<sup>1</sup>  
 kārapetum acintesi dehabhūsanam attano.
- 146 tassa cittaṅ viditvāna Vissakammass' idaṅ bravi  
 'alaṅkarohi Siddhattham' iti devānam issaro.
- 147 tenānattopagantvāna Vissakammo yasassino  
 dasadussasahashehi sīsaṅ veṅhesi sobhanaṅ

- 148 tanuṃ manuññaṃ pi akāsi sobhanaṃ  
 anaññasādhāraṇalakkhanujjalaṃ  
 vicittanānuttamabhūsaṇehi so  
 sugandhigandhuppalacandaṇādinā.<sup>1</sup>
- 149 vibhūsito tena vibhūsitāṅginā  
 taḥiṃ nisinno vimale silātale  
 suraṅgaṇāsannibhasundarihi so  
 purakkhato devapatīva sobhati.
- 150 Suddhodananarindena pesitaṃ sāsānuttamaṃ  
 'putto te putta jāto' ti: sutvā taṃ dipaduttamo
- 151 'mam ajja bandhanaṃ jātaṃ' iti vatvāna tāvade  
 samiddhasabbakāmehi agamā sundaram puraṃ.
- 152 ṭhita uparipāsāde Kisāgotami taṃ tadā  
 rājentaṃ satarāṇsīva rājaṃ disvā kathes' idaṃ:
- 153 'yesaṃ sūnu ayaṃ dhiro, yā va jāyā imassa tu,  
 te sabbe nibbutā nūna sadā nūna guṇassa ve.'
- 154 it' idisaṃ giraṃ sutvā manuññaṃ tāya bhāsitaṃ  
 sañjātapītiyā piṇo gacchamāno sakālayaṃ
- 155 sitalaṃ vimalaṃ hārihāraṇaṃ taṃ rativaddhanaṃ  
 pesetvā santikaṃ tassā omuñcitvāna kaṅṭhato,
- 156 pāsādam abhirūhitvā Vejayaṇtaṃ va sundaraṃ  
 nipajji devarājā va sayane so mahārahe.
- 157 sundarī tam purakkhatvā surasundarisannibhā  
 payojayaṃsu naccāni gītāni vividhāni pi.
- 158 pabbajjābhirato dhiro pañcakāme nirālayo  
 tādise naccagīte pi na rametvā manorame,
- 159 nipanno vissamitvāna isakaṃ sayane taḥiṃ  
 pallaṅkam ābhujitvāna mahāvīro mahīpati,<sup>2</sup>
- 160 nisinno va 'nekappakāraṃ vikāraṃ  
 padisvāna niddūpagānaṃ vadhūnaṃ,  
 'gamissāṃ' idāniti' ubbiggacitto  
 bhava dvāramūlam pagantvāna rammaṃ,
- 161 thapetvāna sīsaṃ subhummārakasmiṃ  
 'sunissāmi ayirassa<sup>3</sup> saddan' ti tasmiṃ  
 nipannam sudattam pasādāvahantaṃ  
 sahāyaṃ amaccaṃ mahāpuññaṇantaṃ
- 162 acchantasavanaṃ Channaṃ āmantetvā kathes' idaṃ  
 'ānehi iti kappetvā Kanthakaṃ nāma sindhavaṃ.'
- 163 so Channo patigantvāna taṃ giraṃ tena bhāsitaṃ  
 tato gantvāna kappetvā sigham ānesi sindhavaṃ.

<sup>1</sup> C<sup>a</sup> -ādinaṃ.

<sup>2</sup> C<sup>a</sup> -tī.

<sup>3</sup> Sic C<sup>a</sup> and comm. C<sup>t</sup> dhīrassa. Query, ariyassa?

- 164 abhinikkhamanaṃ tassa ñatvā<sup>1</sup> varaturaṅgamo  
tena sajjiyamāno so hesāravam udirayī.
- 165 pattharivāna gacchantaṃ saddaṃ taṃ sakalaṃ puraṃ  
sabbe suragaṇā tasmai sōtuṃ nādaṃsu kassaci.
- 166 atha so sajjānānando 'uttamaṃ puttamaṃ attano  
passitvā paṭhamaṃ gantvā<sup>2</sup> paccā buddho bhavam'  
ahaṃ.'
- 167 cintayitvāna evaṃ pi gantvā jāyānivesanaṃ  
ṭhapetvā pādadummāre gīvaṃ antopavesiyaṃ.
- 168 kusumehi samākiṇṇe devinda sayamūpame<sup>3</sup>  
nipannaṃ mātuyā saddhiṃ sayane sakamaṃ atrajaṃ
- 169 viloketvāna cintesi itī lokekaṇāyako  
'sac' ahaṃ dēviyā bahum apanetvā mam' atrajaṃ
- 170 gaṇhissām' antarāyamaṃ pi kareyya gamaṇassa me  
pabujjhivā mahantena pemena sā Yasodharā:
- 171 buddho hutvā punāgamaṃ passissāmī ti atrajaṃ.'  
narādhipo tadda tamhā pāsādatalato 'tari
- 172 pesalānanakaraṅgipaṅkajā  
hāsaphenabhamuvicibhāsura<sup>4</sup>  
nettānilakamalā Yasodharā  
komudiva nayanālipatthitā:
- 173 samattho<sup>5</sup> assa' ko tassa<sup>6</sup> jahitū dehasampadaṃ  
vindamāno vinā dhīraṃ ṭhitaṃ paramimuddhani.
- 174 'asso sāmi mayā nīto kālaṃ jāna rathesabha'  
itī abruvi Channo so bhūpālassa yasassino.
- 175 mahipatī tadā sutvā Channaṃ odhitaṃ giraṃ  
pāsādā otaritvāna gantvā<sup>7</sup> Kanthakasantikaṃ,
- 176 tass' idaṃ vacanaṃ bhāsi sabbasattahite rato  
'Kanthak' ajj' ekarattīṃ maṃ tārehi sanarāmarajaṃ,
- 177 lokamaṃ uttārayissāmī buddho hutvā anuttaro  
bhavasāgarato ghorajarādi makarākaṃ.
- 178 idaṃ vatvā tam āruya sindhavaṃ saṅkhasannibhaṃ  
gāhāpetvāna Channaṃ sudaḥaṃ tassa vāladhiṃ,
- 179 patvāna so mahadvārasamīpaṃ samacintayī<sup>8</sup>  
'bhavēyya vivatadvāraṃ yena kenaci no sace
- 180 vāladhiṃ gahiten' eva saddhiṃ Channaṃ Kanthakaṃ  
nippilayitvā satthiṃ imamaṃ accuggataṃ subhaṃ  
ullaṅghitvāna pākāraṃ gacchāmitī' mahabbalo.
- 181 tathā thāmaḥalūpeto<sup>9</sup> Channo pi turaguttamo<sup>10</sup>  
visuṃ visuṃ vicintesumaṃ pākārasamatikkamaṃ.

<sup>1</sup> C<sup>a</sup> inserts so.<sup>2</sup> C<sup>a</sup> gatvā.<sup>3</sup> C<sup>a</sup>, pp.<sup>4</sup> Sic for -phenā-.<sup>5</sup> C<sup>a</sup> samatthe.<sup>6</sup> C<sup>a</sup> tassa.<sup>7</sup> C<sup>a</sup> gantvāna.<sup>8</sup> C<sup>t</sup> -yi.<sup>9</sup> C<sup>a</sup> -lu-.<sup>10</sup> C<sup>a</sup> turāṅguttamo.

- 182 tassa cittaṃ viditvāna moditā gamane subhe  
vicariṃsu tadā dvāraṃ dvāredhiggahitā surā.
- 183 'taṃ Siddhattham asiddhatthaṃ karissāmi' ti cīṭiya.<sup>1</sup>  
āgantvā tass' idaṃ bhāsi antalikkhe t̥hit' Antako:
- 184 'mā nikkhamma mahāvīra, ito te sattame dine  
dibban tu cakkaratanāṃ addhā pātubhavissati.'
- 185 icc' evaṃ vuccamāno so Antakena mahāyaso  
'ko 'si tvam' iti<sup>2</sup> tam hāsi Māro c' attānam<sup>3</sup> ādisi
- 186 'Māra jānāmi' ahaṃ mayhaṃ dibbacakkassa sam-  
bhavaṃ  
gaccha tvam,<sup>4</sup> idha mā tiṭṭha, namhi rajjena-m-atthiko
- 187 sabbāṃ dasasahassam pi lokadhātum aham pana  
unnādetvā bhavissāmi Buddho lokekanāyako.'
- 188 evaṃ vutte mahāsatte attano giram uttariṃ  
gāhāpetum asakkonto tath' ev' antaradhāyi so.
- 189 pāpimassa idaṃ vatvā cakkavattisirim pi ca  
pahāya khelapīṇaṃ va paccūsasamāya vasi.
- 190 gacchantam abhipūjetuṃ samāgantvāna tāvade  
ratanukkā sahasāni dhārayantā marū tahiṃ.
- 191 pacchato purato tassa ubhopassesu gacchare  
tath' eva abhipūjentā supannā ca mahoragā.<sup>5</sup>
- 192 suvipulasurasenā cārulilābhirāmā  
kusumasaliladhārā vassayantā nabhamhā  
ihahi dasasahassā cakkavālāgatā tā  
sukhumatanutamekodaggudaggā<sup>6</sup> caranti,
- 193 yasmiṃ sugandhavarapupphasudhūpacuṇṇaṃ  
hemaddhajappabhūti bhāsuracārumagge  
gaccham mahājāvavaraṅgaturāṅgarājā  
gantun na sakkhi jāvato kusumādilaggo.
- 194 itthan<sup>7</sup> tamhi pathe ramme vattamāne mahāmāhe  
gacchanto rattisesena tiṃsayojanamañjase,
- 195 patvā 'nomanadītiraṃ piṭṭhito turagassa<sup>8</sup> so  
otarivāna vimale sitale sikatātāle,
- 196 vissamitvā idaṃ vatvā 'gacchāhi ti sakaṃ puraṃ  
āharaṇāni ādāya Channo maṃ turagam<sup>8</sup> pi ca.'
- 197 t̥hito tasmīṃ mahāvīro acchantānisitāsina  
sugandhavāsitam molīṃ chetvān' ukkhipi ambare.
- 198 cāruhemasumuggena kesadhātūṃ nabhuggataṃ  
pūjanatthaṃ sahasakkho sirasā sampaticchiya.

<sup>1</sup> C<sup>a</sup> cintaya.      <sup>2</sup> C<sup>a</sup> ko si tvamīti.      <sup>3</sup> C<sup>a</sup> ettānam.

<sup>4</sup> C<sup>a</sup> gacchantam; *but comm. quotes tvam.*

<sup>5</sup> C<sup>a</sup> -raṅgā.      <sup>6</sup> C<sup>t</sup> -ekā-, C<sup>a</sup> -eto-: *read probably -eko-.*

<sup>7</sup> C<sup>t</sup> thaṃ.

<sup>8</sup> C<sup>a</sup> -aṅg-.

- 199 vilocanānandakarindanila-  
mayehi cūlāmanicetiyaṅ so  
paṭiṭṭhapesāmalatāvatiṅse  
ubbedhato yojanamattamaggaṅ.
- 200 uttamattḥaparikkhāre dhāretvā brahmunā 'bhataṅ  
ambare va paṭijjhitta varaṅ dussayugam pi ca ;
- 201 tam ādāya mahābrahmā brahmaloke manoramaṅ  
dvādasayojanubbedhaṅ dussathūpaṅ akārayi<sup>1</sup>
- 202 nāmenānupiyaṅ nāma gantvā ambavanaṅ tahiṅ  
sattāhaṅ vītināmetvā pabbajjasukhato tato
- 203 gantvān' ekadinen' eva tiṅsayojanamañjasaṅ  
patvā Rājagahaṅ dhīro piṅḍāya cari subbato
- 204 indanilasīlayāpi katā pākāragopurā  
hemācalā va<sup>2</sup> dissanti tass' abhāhi tahiṅ tadā.
- 205 'Ko 'yaṅ Sakko nu kho Brahmā Māro nāgo' ti  
ādinā  
bhiyo kotūhaḥappatto padisvā taṅ mahājano
- 206 pavisitvā gahetūna bhattaṅ yāpanamattakaṅ  
yugamattain' va pekkhanto gacchanto rājaviṭṭhiyaṅ
- 207 mathitam Merumanthena samuddaṅ va mahājanaṅ  
tamhā so ākulikatvā gantvā Paṇḍavapabbataṅ,
- 208 tato tass' eva chāyāya bhūmibhāge manorame  
nisinno missakaṅ bhattam paribhuñjitum ārabhi
- 209 paccavekkhanamattena antasappaṅ nivāriya  
dehavammikato dhīro nikkhamantaṅ mahabbalo,
- 210 bhutvāna Bimbisārena narindena narāsabho  
nimantito pi rajjena upagantvāna nekadhā.
- 211 paṭikkhiṭṭhiya taṅ rajjaṅ atha tenābhīyācīto  
'dhammaṅ desehi mayhan' ti 'Buddho hutvā anut-  
taro'
- 212 datvā paṭiññam manujādhipassa  
dhīro pagantvāna padhānabhūmiṅ  
anaññasādhāraṇadukkarāni  
katvā tato kiñci apassamāno.
- 213 olārikannapānāni bhuñjitvā dehasampadaṅ  
patvā 'japālanigrodhamūlappatto suro viya.
- 214 puratthābhimukho hutvā nisinno 'si jutindharo  
dehavaṅṅehi nigrodho hemavaṅṅo 'si tassa so
- 215 samiddhapatthanā ekā Sujātā nāma sundari  
hemapātiṅ sapāyāsaṅ sisen' ādāya onatā
- 216 tasmiṅ : 'adhiggaḥitassa rukkhadevassa tāvade  
baliṅ dammī' ti gantvāna disvā taṅ dipaduttamaṅ

<sup>1</sup> C<sup>t</sup> -yi.<sup>2</sup> C<sup>a</sup> ca.

- 217 devātisaññāya udaggacittā  
 pāyāsapātiṃ pavarassa datvā  
 'āsinsanā ijjhi yathā hi mayhaṃ  
 tuyham pi sā sāmi samijjhatū' ti
- 218 icc' evaṃ vacanaṃ vatvā gatā tamhā varaṅganā.  
 atha pāyāsapātiṃ taṃ gahetvā munipuṅgavo
- 219 gantvā Nerañjarātiraṃ bhutvā taṃ varabhojanaṃ  
 paṭisotam pavissajji tassā pātiṃ manoramaṃ.
- 220 jantālipālimananettavilumpamaṇaṃ  
 samphullasālavanaṃ rājivirājamānaṃ  
 devindanandanavanaṃ v' abhinandanīyam  
 uyyānam uttamavaram pavaro 'pagantvā.
- 221 katvā divāvihāraṃ so sāyaṃhasamaye taṃ  
 gacchaṃ kesaralīlaya bodhipādapasantikaṃ
- 222 brahmasūrāsura mahoragapakkkhirājasaṃ  
 sajjitoruvaṭume dipadānam indo  
 pāyāsi. soṭṭhiyadvijō tiṇahārako taṃ  
 disvāna tassa adadā tiṇamuttṭhiyo so.
- 223 indivarāvindādi kusumāṃ' ambarā taṃ  
 patantivuttṭhidhārā va gacchante dipaduttame.
- 224 cārucandanacūṇṇādi dhūpagandhehi nekadhā  
 anokāso 'si ākāso gacchante dipaduttame.
- 225 ratanujjalachattehi cāruhemaddhajeḥi ca  
 anokāso 'si ākāso gacchante dipaduttame.
- 226 celukkhepasahashehi kilanteḥi marūhi pi  
 anokāso 'si ākāso gacchante dipaduttame.
- 227 suradundubvihajjāni karonteḥi marūhi pi  
 anokāso 'si ākāso gacchante dipaduttame.
- 228 suraṅganāhi saṃgītiṃ gāyantīhi pi nekadhā  
 anokāso 'si ākāso gacchante dipaduttame.
- 229 manoramā kinnarakinnaraṅganā  
 manoramaṅgā uragoragaṅganā<sup>1</sup>  
 manorame tamhi ca naccagītiyo  
 manoramā nekavidhā pavattayuy.
- 230 tadā mahogh' eva mahāmahehi  
 pavattamāne iti so mahāyaso  
 tiṇe gahetvā tibhavekanāyako  
 upāgato bodhidumindasantikaṃ.
- 231 viddumāsītiselaggarajātācalasannibhaṃ  
 katvā padakkhinaṃ bodhipādaṃ dipaduttamo,
- 232 puratthimadisābhāge acale raṇadhaṃsake  
 mahitale tṭhito dhiro cālesi tiṇamuttṭhiyo :

<sup>1</sup> Ca urang-.

- 233 cuddasahatthamatto so pallaṅko āsi tāvade.  
atha naṃ abbhutaṃ disvā mahāpaṅṅo vicintayi :
- 234 'maṅsalohitam atthi ca nahāru ca taso ca me  
kāmaṃ sussaṭṭu, n' evāhaṃ jahāmi viriyaṃ' iti.
- 235 abhujitvā mahāvīro pallaṅkam aparajitaṃ  
pacinābhimukho tasmīṃ nisidi dipaduttamo.
- 236 devadevassa devindo saṅkham ādāya tāvade  
visuttarasatubbedāṃ dhamayanto tahiṃ ṭhito.
- 237 dutiyam puṇṇacandaṃ va setacchattan tiyojanaṃ  
dhārayanto ṭhito sammā mahābrahmā sahaṃpati
- 238 cārucāmaram ādāya Suyāmo pi surādhipo  
vijayanto ṭhito tattha mandaṃ mandaṃ tigāvutaṃ
- 239 beluvaṃ viṇam ādāya suro Pañcasikhavhayo  
nānāvidhalayopetaṃ vādayanto tathā ṭhito.
- 240 thutigitāni gāyanto nātakīhi purakkhato  
tath' ev' atthāsi so nāgarajā Kālāvhaṃyo pi ca.
- 241 gahetvā hemamañjūsā surapupphehi pūrītā<sup>1</sup>  
pūjayanto va atthāsu battimsā pi kumārikā.
- 242 saindadevasaṅghehi tehi ittham mahāmahe  
vattamāne tadā Māro pāpimā iti cintayi :
- 243 'atikkamitukāmo 'yam kumāro visayaṃ mama  
Siddhattho ath' asiddhatthaṃ karissāmī' ti tāvade.
- 244 māpetva bhīṣanatarorusahassabāhuṃ  
saṅgayha tehi jalitā<sup>2</sup> vividhāyudhāni  
āruyha cārudiradaṃ Girimekhalākhyāṃ  
caṇḍam diyaḍḍhasatayojanamāyatan taṃ.
- 245 nānānāyā nalavaṇṇasīroruhāya  
rattoruvattābahiniḡgatalocanāya  
datthotthabhiṣṇanamukhāy' uragabbhujāya  
senāya so parivuto vividhāyudhāya
- 246 tatthopagamma atibhīmaravaṃ ravanto :  
'Siddhattham ettha iti gaṇhatha bandhath' emay.  
ānāpayuṃ, suragaṇaṃ sahadassanena  
caṇḍaniluggatapicuṃ va palāpayittha.
- 247 gambhīramegharavasannibhacaṇḍanādaṃ  
vātāṇ ca māpiya tato subhagassa tassa  
kaṇṇam pi civaravarassa manoramassa  
no āsi yeva calitūṃ pabhu antako 'tha.
- 248 saṃvattavuttṭhijavasannibhabhimaghora  
vassam pavassiya, tatodakabindukam pi  
nāsakkhi netum atulassa samipakam pi :  
disvā tam abbhutam atho pi sudummukho so

<sup>1</sup> Ca pūjitā.<sup>2</sup> Ca jalito.

- 249 accantabhīmanalaaccisamujjaloru  
pāsānabhasmakalalāyudhavassadhārā  
aṅgārapajjalitavālukavassadhārā  
vassāpayittha : sakalāni imāni tāni
- 250 Mārānubhāvabalato nabhato 'pagantvā  
patvāna puññasikharuggatasantikan tu  
mālāgulappabhūti bhāvagatāni 'thā pi.  
lokantare va timiraṇ timiraṇ sughoraṇ
- 251 māpetva mohatimiram pihatassa tassa  
dehappabhāhi satarāṇsi satoditam va  
jātam manoramatarāṇ atidassaniyam  
ālokapuñjam avalokiya pāpadhammo
- 252 kopoparatthavadano bhukūṭippacārā  
accantatiṇhataradhāram asaṅgam eva  
cakkāyudhaṇ varataram api Merurājaṇ
- 253 saṅkhaṇḍayantam iva thūlakalirakaṇḍaṇ,  
vissajjitena pi na kiñci gunākaraṇsa  
kātam pahuttam upagañci tato tam etaṇ  
gantvā nabhā kusumachattatam āga sisāṇ.
- 254 vissajjitā pi senāya selakūṭānalākulā  
pagantvā nabhasā mālāgulattaṇ samupāgatā.<sup>1</sup>
- 255 tam pi disvā sasoko so gantvā dhīrassa santikaṇ  
'pāpuṇāti mam evāyaṇ pallaṅko aparājito
- 256 ito utthaha pallaṅkā' iti bhāsīttha dhīmato  
'katakalyāṇakammassa pallaṅk' atthāya Māra te
- 257 ko sakkhī' ti pavutto so : 'ime sabbe ti sakkhino.'  
senāyābhīmukhaṇ hatthaṇ pasāretvāna pāpimā
- 258 ghoranāden' 'aham sakkhi akam sakkhī' ti tāya pi.  
sakkhibhāvaṇ vadāpetvā tassi' evaṇ samudhīrayi :
- 259 'ko ta Siddhattha sakkhī' ti : atha tenātulena pi  
'mam ettha sakkhino Māra na santī ti sacetanā.'
- 260 rattamegho patikkhantahemavijju va bhāsuraṇ  
nīharitvā surattamhā civarā dakkhīṇakaraṇ
- 261 bhūmiyābhīmukhaṇ katvā : 'kasmā paramibhūmiyā  
unnādītvan' idān' evaṇ nissaddāsī' ti bhūmiyā
- 262 muñcāpīte rave nekasate megharave yathā  
buddhanāgabalā<sup>2</sup> nāgaṇ jānūhi suppatitṭhitaṇ
- 263 disvān' : 'idāni gaṇhāt' idāṇ gaṇhāti' cintiya  
sambhinnadāṭhasappo va hatadappo sudummukho
- 264 pahāy' āyudhavatthānilaṅkāraṇi anekadhā  
cakkavālācalā yāva sasenāya palāyī so.

<sup>1</sup> C<sup>t</sup> -to.<sup>2</sup> C<sup>a</sup> buddhā.

- 265 taṅ Mārassenāṅ sabhayaṅ sasokaṅ  
 palāyamānaṅ iti devasaṅghā  
 disvāna 'Mārassa parājayo 'yaṅ  
 jayo ti Siddhatthakumārakassa'
- 266 sammodamānā abhipūjayantā  
 dhiraṅ sugandhappabhutihi tasmīṅ  
 pun' āgatā nekathutihi sammā  
 ugghosamānā chanavesadhāri.<sup>1</sup>
- 267 evaṅ Mārabalaṅ dhiro viddhaṅsetvā mahabbalo  
 ādicce dharamāṇe va nisinno acalāsane.
- 268 yāmasmiṅ paṭhame pubbenivāsaṅ ṇānam uttamo  
 visodhetvāna, yāmasmiṅ majjhime dibbalocanaṅ,  
 269 so paticcasaṃuppāde atha pacchimayāmake  
 otāretvāna ṇānaṅ saṅ sammasanto anekadhā.  
 270 lokadhātusataṅ sammā unnādetvā 'ruṇodaye.  
 buddho hutvāna sambuddho sambuddhambujalocano  
 271 'anekajātisaṅsāraṅ sandhāvissan' ti ādinā  
 udānedāṅ udānesi pītivegena sādiso.  
 272 sallakkhetvā guṇe tassa pallaṅkassa anekadhā  
 'na tāva utṭhahissāmi ito pallaṅkato' iti.  
 273 samāpattiṅ samāpajji anekasatakotiyo  
 satthā tatth' eva sattāhaṅ nisinno acalāsane.  
 274 'ajjāpi nūna dhīrassa Siddhatthassa yasassino  
 atthi kattabbakiccam hi tasmā āsanam ālayaṅ  
 275 'na jahāsī' ti ekaccadevatān' āsi saṅsayaṅ.  
 ṇātvā tāsāṅ vitakkaṅ taṅ sametuṅ santamānaso  
 276 utṭhāya hemahaṅso va hemavaṅṇo pabhaṅkaro  
 abbhuggantvā nabhaṅ nātho akāsi pāṭihāriyaṅ.  
 277 vitakkaṅ evaṅ iminā marūnam  
 sammūpasammā 'nimisehi bodhiṅ  
 sampūjayanto nayanambujehi  
 sattāham aṭṭhāsī jayāsanañ ca.  
 278 subhāsurasmiṅ ratanehi tasmīṅ  
 sacaṅkamanto varacaṅkamasmiṅ  
 manoramasmīṅ ratanālaye pi  
 visuddhadhammaṅ vicitāṅ visuddho,  
 279 mūle 'japālataṅrājavaraṅsa tassa  
 Māraṅganānam amalānanapaṅkajāni  
 sammānilāpiya tato mucalindamūle  
 bhogindacittakumudāni pabodhayanto.  
 280 mūle pi rājāyatanassa tassa  
 tasmīṅ samāpatti sukham pi vindaṅ

<sup>1</sup> Sic for chaṇa.

- saṅvītināmesi manuññavaṇṇo  
 ekūnapaññasadināni dhīmā.  
 281 anotattodakaṅ dantakaṭṭhanāgalatāmayāṅ  
 harītakāgadam bhutvā devindenābhatuttamayāṅ  
 282 vāṇijehi samānītaṅ samanthamadhupīṇḍikaṅ  
 mahārājūpanītam hi pattamhi paṭigaṇhiya.  
 283 bhojanass' avasānamhi 'japālatarumūlakaṅ  
 gantvā 'dhigatadhammassa gambhīrattam anussarī :  
 284 'mahīsandhārako vārikkhandhasannibhako ayaṅ  
 gambhīro 'dhigato dhammo mayā santo' ti ādinā.  
 285 'dhammagambhīrataṅ dhammarājassa sarato sato  
 ās' evam takkaṅgaṅ dhammaṅ imam me paṭivijjhītuṅ.  
 286 vāyamantena sampattayācakāṅgaṅ manoramaṅ  
 kantevā uttamaṅgaṅ ca molibhūsanabhūsitāṅ,  
 287 suvañjītāni akkhīni uppāṭetvāna, lohitaṅ  
 galato niharitvāna, bhariyaṅ lāvaṇṇabhāsuraṅ  
 288 atrajaṅ ca dadantena kulavaṅ sappadīpakaṅ :  
 dānaṅ nāma nadinnaṅ ca n'atthi silāṅ arakkhitaṅ.  
 289 tathā hi Saṅkhapālādiattabhāvesu jīvitaṅ  
 mayā pariccajantena silabhedabhayena ca.  
 290 khantivādādi ke nekaattabhāve apūritā  
 chejjādiṅ pāpuṇantena pāramī n'atthi kāci me.  
 291 tassa me vidhamantassa Mārasenaṅ vasundharā  
 na kampittha ayam pubbenivāsaṅ sarato pi ca,  
 292 visodhentassa me yāme majjhime dibbalocaṅgaṅ  
 na kampittha, pakampittha pacchime pana yāmake  
 293 paccayākārañāṅgaṅ me tāvade paṭivijjhīto,  
 sādhu kāradadantīva muñcamānā mahāravaṅ.  
 294 sampuṇṇalāpū viya kañjīkāhi  
 takkehi puṇṇaṅ viya cātīkā va  
 sammakkhīto v' añjana kehi hattho  
 vasāhi sampītapīlotīkā va  
 295 kilesapuñjabbarīto kīlīṭṭho  
 rāgena ratto apīdosadutṭho  
 mohena mūlho ti mahabbalena  
 loko avijjānikarākaro 'yaṅ.  
 296 kin nāma dhammaṅ paṭivijjhat' etaṅ,  
 attho hi ko tass' itī desanāya :  
 evan nirussāham agañci nātho  
 pajāya dhammāmatapānadāne.  
 297 nicchāretvā mahānāday tato Brahmā sāhampatī  
 'nassatī vata bho loko' itī 'loko vinassatī.'  
 298 Brahma saṅghasamādāya devasaṅghaṅ ca tāvade  
 lokadhātusate sattho samīpaṅ samupāgato  
 299 gantvā mahītale januṅ nihacca siras' añjaliṅ



- 314 'bhikkhave arahaj sammāsambuddho ti Tathāgato.'  
 buddhabhāvaṃ pakāsetvā attano tesam uttamo  
 315 nisinno tehi paññatte dassaneyyuttamāsane  
 brahmanādena te there silabhūsanabhūsite  
 316 āmantetvāna, brahmānaṃ nekakotiṭṭipurakkhato  
 dhammacakkaṃ pavattento, desaṇāraṃsinā tadā  
 317 mohandhakārārasim pi hantvā loke manoramaṃ  
 dhammālokaṃ padassetvā veneyyambujabuddhiyā,  
 318 migakānanisaṅkhāte raṇabhūmitale iti  
 rājā mahānubhāvo va dhammarājā visārado  
 319 desaṇāsīṃ samādāya dhībhujena manoramaṃ  
 veneyyajanabandhūnaṃ mahānatthakaraṃ sadā  
 320 kilesāri padāletvā, saddhammajayadundubhi  
 paharitvāna, saddhammajayaketuṃ sudujjayaṃ.  
 321 ussāpetvāna, saddhammajayathunuttamaṃ subhaṃ  
 patiṭṭhāpiya, lokekarājā hutvā sivaṅkaro,  
 322 pamocetvāna janataṃ brahā saṃsārabandhanā  
 nibbānanagaraṃ netukāmo lokahite rato,  
 323 suvaṇṇācalakūtaṃ vā jaṅgamaṃ cārudassanaṃ  
 patvā 'ruvelagāmiṃ taṃ aṅjasaṃ va suraṅjasaṃ,  
 324 Bhaddavaggiyabhūpālakumāratiṃsamattake  
 maggattayāmatarasam pāyevā rasam uttamaṃ :  
 325 pabbajjam uttamaṃ datvā lokass' athhāya bhikkhavo  
 uyyojetvāna sambuddho 'cārikaṃ carathā' ti te,  
 326 gantvā 'ruvelaṃ jaṭilānam anto  
 jaṭā ca chetvāna jaṭā bahiddhā,  
 pāpetva aggaṅjasam uttamo te  
 purakkhato indu va tārakāhi  
 327 purakkhato tehi anāsavehi  
 chabbannaraṃsābharanuttamehi  
 disaṅganāyo atisobhayanto  
 pakkhīṇam akkhīṇi pi piṇayanto,  
 328 dinnam patiṇṇaṃ samanussaranto  
 taṃ Bimbisārassa mahāyasassa  
 mocetukāmo vararājavaṃsa-<sup>1</sup>  
 dhajūpamānassa guṇālayassa  
 329 sikhāṇḍimaṇḍalāraddhanaccaṃ Latthivanaṃvayaṃ  
 uyyānam agamā nekatarusaṇḍābhimaṇḍitaṃ,  
 330 Bimbisāranarindo so 'gatabhānaṃ Mahesino  
 suṇitvā pitipāmojjabhūsanena vibhūsito,  
 331 tam uyyān' upagantvāna mahāmaccapurakkhato  
 satthu pādāravindehi sobhayanto siroruhe.

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<sup>1</sup> C<sup>a</sup> C<sup>t</sup>- saṃ.

- 332 nisinno Bimbisāraṃ taṃ saddhammaamatambunā  
devindagīyamānaggavanno vaṇṇābhirājito
- 333 devadānavabhogindapūjito so mahāyaso,  
rammaṃ Rājagahaṃ gantvā devindapurasaṇṇibhaṃ
- 334 narindageham ānito narindena narāsabho,  
bhojanass' avasānamhi cālayanto mahāmahiṃ
- 335<sup>1</sup> patigaṇhiya samphullatarurājavirājitaṃ  
rammaṃ Veluvanārāmaṃ vilocanarasāyaṇaṃ
- 336 sitapulinasamūhacchantabhūlaṅkatasmiṃ<sup>2</sup>  
surabhikusumagandhākiṇṇamandānilasmiṃ  
vividhakamalamālāṅkatambāsayasmiṃ  
vipulavimalatasmiṃ valliyāmaṇḍapasmiṃ
- 337 suranaramahaṇiyo cārupādāravindo  
vimalakamalanetto kundadantābhirāmo  
guṇaratanasamuddo 'nāthanāṭho munindo  
kanakakinarasobho somasommānāno so
- 338 vimalapavarasilakkhandhavāraṇ ca katvā  
ruciravarasamādhikuntam ussāpayitvā  
tikhinatarasubhaggaṃ Buddhañāṇorukaṇḍaṃ  
viharati bhamayanto kāmam aggāvihārā.
- 339 tadā Suddhodano rājā : 'putto sambodhim uttamaṃ  
patvā pavattasaddhammacakko lokahitāya me
- 340 Rājagahaṃ va nissāya ramme Veluvane 'dhunā  
vasati' ti sunitvāna, Buddhabhūtaṃ sakatrajaṃ
- 341 daṭṭhukāmo, navakkhattuṃ navāmaccet mahesino  
navayodhasahassehi saddhiṃ pesesi santikaṃ.
- 342 gantvā te dhammarājassa sutvanopamadesanaṃ  
uttamatthaṃ labhitvāna sāsanaṃ pi na pesayuy.
- 343 tesv ekam pi apassanto Kāluḍāyīṃ subhāratīṃ  
āmantetvā mahāmaccāṃ pabbajjābhirataṃ sadā :
- 344 'Sutaggaratanaṃ netvā mama nettarasāyaṇaṃ  
yena kena upāyena karōhi' ti tam abravī.
- 345 atha yodhasahassena tam pi pesesi, so pi ca  
gantvā sapaṇiso satthu sutvā sundaradesanaṃ
- 346 arahattañjasaṃ patvā pabbajitvā narāsabhaṃ  
namassanto sasambuddhaṃ paggayha sirasañjaliṃ :
- 347 'vasantakālaṃ janitātiratta-  
vaṇṇābhirāmaṅkurapallavāni  
sunīlavāṇṇajalapatayutta-  
sākhāsahassāni manoramāni

<sup>1</sup> *Wanting in MS.; supplied from printed text. The MS. has the commentary.*

<sup>2</sup> C<sup>a</sup> -bhā-.

- 348 visitthagandhākulaphāliphulla-<sup>1</sup>  
nānāvīcittāni mahīruhāni,  
sūcittanānāmīgapakkhisāṅgha-  
sāṅgiyamānuttamakānanāni,  
349 sunīlasātodakapūritāni  
sunādīkādambakadambakāni,  
sugandhaindivarakallahārā-  
ravindarattambujabhūsitāni,  
350 tīrantare jātadumesu puppha-  
kiṅṅakkharāsīhi<sup>2</sup> virājītāni  
muttātīsetāmalasekatāni  
rammāni nekāni jalāsayāni  
351 manuñṇavelūriyakañcukāni  
va guṇṭhitānīva susaddalehi  
sunīlabhūtāni mahītālāni  
nabhāni mandānilasāṅkulāni  
352 anantabhogehi jānehi pītaṅ  
surājadhāniṅ kapilābhīdhāniṅ,  
gantūṅ bhādante samayo' tī ādi  
saṅvaṇṇi vaṇṇaṅ gamanāñjasassa.  
353 suvaṇṇanan taṅ sugato sunitvā  
vaṇṇesi vaṇṇaṅ gamanass' 'Udāyi'<sup>3</sup>  
kin nū tī bhāsīttha' tato Udāyi  
kathes' idaṅ tassa sivaṅkarassa :  
354 'bhante pitā dassanam icchate te  
Suddhodano rājavaro yasassī :  
Tathāgato lokahitekanāṭho  
karotu saṅṇātakasaṅgahan' tī.  
355 sunitvā madhuraṅ tassa girāṅ lokahiterato  
'sādhu 'dāyi karissāmi ṇātakānan tī saṅgahaṅ.'356 jaṅgamo hemamerū va rattakambalalāṅkato  
vimalo puṇṇacando va tārakāparivārīto  
357 saddhiṅ visasahasseehi santacīntehi tādihi  
gacchāto sīrisampanno añjase saṅṭhiyojane  
358 dīne dīne vasitvāna yojane yojane jīno  
dvihi māsehi sampatto Buddho jātapuraṅ varaṅ.  
359 Buddhaṅ visuddhakamalānanasobhamānaṅ  
bālaṅsumālisatabhānusamānabhānaṅ  
cakkāṅkitorucaraṅaṅ caraṅādhīvāsaṅ  
lokattayekasaraṅaṅ araṅaggikāyaṅ  
360 sampuṇṇahemaghatatorāṅadhūpagandha-  
mālehi veṇupanavādīhidūndubhīhi

<sup>1</sup> So C<sup>t</sup> comm. C<sup>a</sup> vicitta-.

<sup>2</sup> C<sup>t</sup> -rājīhi.

<sup>3</sup> C<sup>a</sup> gamanassa 'dāyi.

- cittehi chattadhajacāmaravījanihi  
 Suddhodanādivanipā abhipūjāyīṅsu.  
 361 susajjitaṅ puram patvā munindo taṅ manoramaṅ  
 sugandhipupphakiṅjakkhālāṅkatorukalākulaṅ  
 362 suphullajalajākiṅṇaacchodakajalālayaṅ  
 mayūramaṅḍalāraddharaṅgehi ca virājitaṅ  
 363 cārucaṅkamapāsādalatāmaṅḍapamaṅḍitaṅ  
 pāvekkhi pavaro rammaṅ nigrodhārāmam uttamaṅ.  
 364 'amhākam esa Siddhattho patto nattā'<sup>1</sup> ti ādinā  
 cintayitvāna saṅjātamaṅasatthaddhasākiyā  
 365 dahare dahare rājakumāre idam abruvuṅ :  
 'tumhe vandatha Siddhatthaṅ na vandāma mayan  
 ti taṅ.'  
 366 idaṅ vatvā nisīdiṅsu katvā te purato. tato  
 adantadamako danto tilokekavilocano  
 367 tesāṅ ajjhāsayaṅ ñatvā : 'na mam vandanti ñātayo,  
 handa vandāpayissāmi dāni nesan' ti. tāvade  
 368 abhiññāpādakajjhānaṅ samāpajjitva, jhānato  
 vuṭṭhāya hemahaṅso va hemavaṅṇo pabhaṅkaro  
 369 abbhuggantvā nabhaṅ sabbasattanettarasāyanaṅ  
 gaṅḍambarukkhamūlasmiṅ pātihāriyasannibhaṅ  
 370 asādharāṇam aññesaṅ pātihāriyam uttamaṅ  
 ramaniyatare tasmiṅ akāsi munipuṅgavo.  
 371 disvā tam abbhutaṅ rājā Suddhodananarāsabho  
 saṅjātāpītipāmojjā Sakyavaṅsekanāyako  
 372 satthu pādāravindehi sake cārusiroruhe  
 bhūsite kāsīte, sabbe sākiyā akarun tathā  
 373 dhiro pokkharavassassa avasāne manoramaṅ  
 dhammavassaṅ pavassetvā sattacittāvanuggataṅ  
 374 mahāmoharajaṅ hatvā, sasaṅgho dutiye dine  
 pavekkhi sapadānena piṅḍāya puram uttamaṅ.  
 375 tassa pādāravindāni 'ravindāni anekadhā  
 uggantvā patigaṅhiṅsu akkantakkantaṭhānato.  
 376 dehaṅjotikadambehi gopurattālamandirā'<sup>2</sup>  
 piṅjarattaṅ gatā tasmiṅ pākārapabhutī tadā  
 377 carantam pavisitvāna piṅḍāya puravīthiyaṅ  
 lokālokakaraṅ viraṅ santaṅ dantaṅ pabhaṅkaraṅ  
 378 pasādajanake ramme pāsāde sā Yasodharā  
 sihapaṅjarato disvā ṭhitā pemaparāyana  
 379 bhūsaṅ maniraṅsihi bhāsuraṅ Rāhulaṅ varaṅ  
 āmantetvā padassetvā 'tuyham eso pitā' ti taṅ.  
 380 nīketam upasaṅkamma Suddhodanayasassino  
 vanditvā tam anekāhi itthīhi parivārītā

<sup>1</sup> C<sup>a</sup> C<sup>t</sup> natto.

<sup>2</sup> C<sup>a</sup> -iraṅ.

- 381 'deva devindalīlaya putto te 'dha pure pure  
caritvā carate dāni piṇḍāyā ti ghare ghare'
- 382 pavedesi : pavedetvā gamā mandiram attano  
ānandajalasandohapūritoruvilocanā
- 383 tato sesanarindānaṃ indo indo v' alaṅkato  
kampamāno 'pagantvāna vegena jinasantikaṃ :
- 384 'Sakyapuṅgava te n'esa vaṅso, mā cara mā cara,  
vaṅse putt' ekarājā pi na piṇḍāya carī pure.'
- 385 iti vutte narindena munindo guṇasekharo :  
'tuyham eso mahārāja vaṅso, mayham paṇ' anvayo
- 386 Buddhavaṅso' ti Sambuddhavaṅsaṃ tassa pakāsāyī  
athā tasmīṃ t̥hito yeva desento dhammam uttariṃ
- 387 'uttit̥the na-ppamajjeyya dhammam' icc' ādim  
uttamaṃ  
gāthaṃ<sup>1</sup> manoramaṃ vatvā sotūnaṃ sivam āvaṇaṃ.
- 388 dassanaggarasaṃ datvā santappetvā tam uttamo  
tenābhīyācīto tassa nīketaṃ samupāgato.
- 389 saddhiṃ vīsaahasseti tādihi dipaduttamaṃ  
madhurodanapānena santappetvā, mahīpati
- 390 cūlāmaṇimaricīhi piṇjaraṅjālikehi tam  
rājūhi saha vanditvā nisīdi jinasantike.
- 391 tā pi nekasatā gantvā sundarā rājasundarī  
narindena anuññatā nisidiṃsu tahiṃ tadā.
- 392 desetvā madhuraṃ dhammaṃ tilokatilako jino :  
'aham p' ajja na gaccheyyaṃ sace Bimbāya man-  
diraṃ
- 393 dayāya hadayan tassā phaleyyā' ti dayālayo  
sāvakkagayugaṃ gayha mandiraṃ pitarā gato.
- 394 nisīdi pavisitvāna Buddho buddhāsane tahiṃ  
chabbaṇṇaraṃsijālehi bhāsurato va bhānumā.
- 395 manosilācunnaśamānadeha-  
maricijālehi virājamānā  
pakampitā hemalatā va Bimbā  
bimbādharā satthu samīpam āga.
- 396 satthu pādesu samphassa sītaluttamavārīnā  
nibbāpesi mahāsokapāvakaṃ hadayindhane.
- 397 rājā satthu pavedesi Bimbāyātibahuṃ guṇaṃ  
munindo pi pakāsesi Candakinnarajātakaṃ.
- 398 tadā Nandakumārassa sampatte maṅgalattaye,  
vivāho abhiseko ca iti gehappavesanaṃ,
- 399 maṅgalānaṃ pure yeva pabbājesi pabhaṅkaro  
anicchantaṃ va netvā taṃ āramarammam uttamaṃ

<sup>1</sup> C<sup>a</sup> gāthā.

- 400 attānam anugacchantaṃ dāyajjattaṃ sakatrajaṃ  
kumāraṃ Rāhulaṃ cāpi kumārābharanujjalaṃ :
- 401 'sukhā va<sup>1</sup> chāyā te me' ti uggirantaṃ girappiyaṃ  
dāyajjam me dadāhi' ti 'dāyajjam me dadāhi' ca
- 402 āramam eva netvāna pabbājesi niruttaraṃ  
saddhammaratanaṃ datvā dāyajjaṃ tassa dhimato.
- 403 nikkhamma tamhā sugataṃsumālī  
tahiṃ tahiṃ jantusaroruhāni  
saddhammaraṃsihi vikāsayanto  
upāgato Rājagahaṃ : punā pi
- 404 kusumākulasundaratarupavane  
padumuppalabhāsurasaranikare  
puthucaṅkamamaṇḍitasitasikate  
subhasitavane viharati Sugato.
- 405 tadā Sudattavhayasetthi settho  
bahūhi bhandaṃ sakāṭehi gayha  
Sāvattthito Rājagahe manuññe  
sahāyasetthissa gharūpagantvā.
- 406 ten' eva vutto subhagena 'Buddho  
jāto ti loke dipadānam indo'  
sañjātapītihi udaggacitto :  
'rattim pabbātaṃ' iti maññamāno
- 407 nikkhamma tamhā vigatandhakāre  
devānubhāvena mahāpathamhi  
gantvāna taṃ Sita anaṃ surammaṃ,  
sampaṇṇacandaṃ va virājamāṇaṃ
- 408 taṃ diparukkhaṃ viya pajjalantaṃ  
vilocanānandakaraṃ mahesiṃ  
disvāna tass' uttamapādarāgaṃ  
paṭiggahetvā sirasā, sudhīmā
- 409 gambhīraṃ nipuṇaṃ dhammaṃ sunitvā vimalaṃ varaṃ  
soṭāpattiphalaṃ patvā sahasanayamanditaṃ.
- 410 nimantetvāna sambuddhaṃ sasāṅhaṃ lokanāyakaṃ  
vaṇṇagandharasūpetāṃ datvā dānaṃ sukhāvahaṃ
- 411 satthu āgamanatthāya Sāvattthinagaraṃ varaṃ  
patiññaṃ so gahetvāna, gacchanto antarāpathe
- 412 yojane yojane cārucittakammasamujjale  
vihāre pavare datvā kārāpetvā bahūṃ dhanāṃ,
- 413 Sāvattthiṃ<sup>2</sup> punar āgantvā pāsādasatamaṇḍitaṃ  
toraṇagghikapākāragopurādivirājitaṃ
- 414 puraṃ avahasantaṃ va devindassaṃpi sabbadā  
sabbasampattisampannaṃ naccagītādisobhitaṃ :

<sup>1</sup> C<sup>a</sup> om. va.

<sup>2</sup> C<sup>a</sup> Sāvattthi.

- 415 'kasmiṃ so vihareyyā ti Bhagavā lokanāyako.'  
samantaṇuvilokento vihārārahabhūmikaṃ.
- 416 Jetarājakumārassa uyyānaṃ Nandanopamaṃ  
chāyūdakādisampattaṃ bhūmibhāgaṃ udikkhiya,
- 417 hiraññakoṭi sathāravaṣeṇ' eva mahāyaso  
kiṇṭvā, pavare tamhi narāmaramanoḥare
- 418 niccaṃ kiṅkiṇijālanādaruciraṃ siṅgivaṣiṅgākulaṃ  
rammaṃ nekamaṇṇhi chattachadanaṃ āmuttamuttā-  
valiṃ  
nānāragavitānabhāsuratarāṃ pupphādinaṅkaṇaṃ  
citraṃ gandhakutiṃ varaṃ suvipulaṃ kāresi bhūse-  
kharāṃ.
- 419 jīnatrajanam pi visālam ālayaṃ  
vitānanānāsayanāsamujjalaṃ  
sumaṇḍitaṃ maṇḍapacaṅkamādinā  
vilampamaṇaṃ manalocanaṃ sadā
- 420 athā pi saṅghāmanasetthavālukaṃ  
sāvedikācāruvisālam ālakaṃ  
jalāsayaṃ sātatisītalodakaṃ  
sugandhisogandhikapāṅkajākulaṃ.
- 421 suphullasālāsanasokanāga-  
punnāgapūgādivirājanaṃ  
manoramaṃ Jetavanābhiddhānaṃ  
kārapayī setthi viharasetthāṃ.
- 422 visālakelāsadhārādhāruttamā-  
bhīrāmapākāraphānindāgopito  
janassa saddhābhimatattasādhako<sup>1</sup>  
vihāracintāmani so virājate.
- 423 tato āgamanatthāya munindaṃ nāthapiṇḍiko  
dūtā paḥesi : so sathā sutvā dūtassa sāsanaṃ
- 424 mahatā bhikkhusaṅghena tadā tamhā purakkhato  
nikkhamitvānupubbena patto Sāvattim uttamaṃ.
- 425 samujjalāni nekāni dhajān' ādāya sundarā  
kumārā purato satthu nikkhamiṃsu surā yathā,
- 426 nikkhamiṃsu tato tesāṃ pacchato taruṇaṅgaṇā  
cārupuṇṇaghatā 'dāya devakaṇṇā yathā tathā
- 427 puṇṇapātiṃ gahetvāna setthino bhariyā tathā  
saddhim nekasatitthiṃ nekālaṅkāralaṅkatā
- 428 mahāsetthi mahāsetthiṣatehi saha nāyakaṃ  
abhuggaṅghi mahāvīraṃ pūjito tehi nekadhā :
- 429 chabbaṇṇaraṃsihi manoramehi  
puraṃ varaṃ piṅjaravaṇṇabhāvaṃ

<sup>1</sup> C<sup>t</sup> sabbā-

- netto munindo Sugato sugatto  
upāvisī Jetavanayaṃ vihārayaṃ.
- 430 'cātuddisassa saṅghassa Sambuddhapamakass'  
ahaṃ  
imaṃ dammi vihārayaṃ' ti satthucārūkarambuje
- 431 sugandhavāsitaṃ vāriyaṃ<sup>1</sup> hemabhiṅkārato varaṃ  
ākiritvā adā rammaṃ vihārayaṃ cārudassanaṃ.
- 432 surammaṃ vihārayaṃ paṭiggayha setṭhaṃ  
anagge vicittāsanasmīṃ nisinno,  
janindānam indo tilokekanetto  
tilokappasādāvahantam manuññaṃ
- 433 udārānisayaṃ vihārappadāne  
anāthappadānena nāthassa tassa  
Sudattābhiddhānassa setthissa satthā  
yasassī hitesī mahesī adesī.
- 434 udārānisayaṃ vihārappadāne  
kathetaṃ samattho<sup>2</sup> vinā bhūripaṇṇaṃ  
tilokekanāthaṃ nara ko 'si yutto  
mukhānaṃ sahassehi nekehi cāpi.
- 435 iti vapulayato so tassa dhammaṃ kathetvā  
api sakalajanānaṃ mānase tosayanto  
paramamadhuraṇādaṃ dhammabheriyaṃ mahantaṃ  
viharaṭi paharanta tattha tatthūpagantvā.
- 436 evaṃ tilokahitadena mahādayena  
lokuttamena paribhuttapadesapantiṃ  
niccaṃ surāsuramahoragarakkhasādi  
sampūjitaṃ aham idāni nidassayissaṃ.
- 437 saddhammarāṣinikarehi jinaṃsumālī  
veneyyapaṅkajavanāni vikāsayanto  
vāsaṃ akāsi pavaro paṭhamamhi vasse  
Bārānasimhi nagare Migakānanamhi.
- 438 nānappakāraratanāpanavithipanti-<sup>3</sup>  
ramme pure pavaraṛājagabhiddhāne  
vāsaṃ akāsi dutiye tatiye catutthe  
vasse pi Kantatara-Veluvane pi nātho.
- 439<sup>4</sup> bhūpālamolīmaṇiraṃsivirājamānaṃ  
Vesālināmaviditaṃ nagaraṃ surammaṃ  
nissāya Sakyamunikesari pañcamamhi  
vassamhi vāsam akarittha mahāvanasmīṃ
- 440 phullātinīlavimaluppalacārunetto  
singisamānatanujotihi jotamāno

<sup>1</sup> C<sup>a</sup> vāri-.<sup>2</sup> C<sup>a</sup> samatto.<sup>3</sup> C<sup>t</sup> pantivīthi-.<sup>4</sup> C<sup>a</sup> omits text of 439 and 440, but contains the comm.

- Buddho anantaguṇasannidhi chaṭṭhavas  
 vāsaṃ akā vipula-Maṅkula-pabbatasmiṃ.  
 441 gambhīraduddasatarāṃ madhuraṃ maruṇaṃ  
 desetva dhammam atulo sirisannivāso  
 devindasītalavisālasilāsanasmīṃ  
 vāssamhi vāsam akarī muni sattamamhi.  
 442 phullāravindacaraṇo caraṇādhivāso  
 so Suṃsumāragirināmadharādharamhi  
 vāsaṃ akā paramamāraḥi aṭṭhamasmīṃ  
 vassamhi Kāntatara-Bhesakalā-vanamhi  
 443 nānāmatāni bahutitthiyasappadappaṃ  
 hantvā tilokatilako navamamhi vasse  
 vāsaṃ akāsi rucire atidassanīye  
 Kosambisimbalivane jīnapakkhirāḥi.  
 444 tesāṃ mahantakalahāṃ samitūṃ yatīnaṃ  
 nissāya vāraṇavaram dasamamhi vasse  
 pupphābhikīṇṇavipulāmalakānanasmīṃ  
 vāsaṃ akā munivaro vara-Pāraleyye.  
 445 dhammāmatena janataṃ aḥārāmarāṇaṃ taṃ  
 netto vilocanamānoharasuddhadanto  
 Nalābhīdhānadījagāmaṃvare,<sup>1</sup> munindo  
 vāsaṃ akā amitabuddhiṃ dasekavasse.  
 446 Veraṅjacārudījagāmasamīpabhūte<sup>2</sup>  
 āramake surābhīpupphaphalābhīrame  
 sabhañṇu Sakyamuni bārasamamhi vasse  
 vāsaṃ akāsi Pucimandadumindamūle.  
 447 phullāravindavadāno ravīcārusobho  
 lokassa atthacariyāya dayādhivāso  
 vāsaṃ akā rucira-Cāliyapabbatasmiṃ  
 vīro tilokaguru terasamamhi vasse.  
 448 bandhūkapupphasamapādakarādirāmo  
 dhamissaro pavara -Jetavane suramme  
 dhiro mahiddhi muni chuddasamamhi vasse  
 vāsaṃ akā sakalasattahitesu yutto.  
 449 veneyyabandhuvanarāgagaje vihantvā  
 vassamhi pañcadasame muni siharāḥi  
 vāsaṃ akā Kapilavattudharādhāruru-  
 Nīrodharāmaramaṇīyamaṇīgguhāyam.  
 450 yakkham pi kakkhalataraṃ suvītibhavaṃ  
 netvā pure varatam Ālavakābhīdhāne  
 vassamhi vāsam akarī dasachāṭṭhamamhi  
 netto janaṃ bahutaram pi ca santimaggāṃ.  
 451 pākāragopuranīketanātorāṇādi  
 nettābhīramavara-Rājagahe<sup>3</sup> mahesī

<sup>1</sup> C<sup>a</sup> dvija.<sup>2</sup> C<sup>a</sup> dvija.<sup>3</sup> C<sup>a</sup> netto.

- vāsaṃ akā 'nadhivaro dasasatthamamhi  
vassamhi patthataṃyaso bhuvanattayasmīṃ.  
452 dhammosadhena madhurena sukhāvahena  
lokassa ghoratararāgarajaṃ vihantvā  
vassamhi vāsam akāri dasasatthamasmiṃ  
aṅgīraso pavara-Cāliya-pabbatasmiṃ.  
453 veneyyabandhujanamoharipuṃ uḷāraṃ  
hantvāna dhammaasinā varadhammarājā  
ekūnavīsatiṃmake puna tattha vasse  
vāsaṃ akā madhurabhāratī lokanātho  
454 suddhāsāyo pavara-Rājagahe vitte  
vāsaṃ akāsi samavīsatiṃmamhi vasse  
lokassa atthacarane subhakkaparukkha-<sup>1</sup>  
cintāmanippavarabhaddaghaṭo munindo  
455 evaṃ tilokamahito atibaddhāvāsaṃ.  
katvā carampaṭṭhamabodhiṃ' udārapañño  
chabbāṇṇaraṃsisamupetavicittadehe  
lokekabandhu Bhagavā avasesakāle  
456 Sāvattṭhiyaṃ pavara-jetavane ca ramme  
dibbālaye va samalaṅkatapubbarāme  
vāsaṃ akāsi muni vīsatiṃpācavasse  
lokābhivuddhinirato suhasannivāso.  
457 itī amitadāyo yo pañcatālīsavasse  
manujamanavanasmīṃ jātarāgaggīrāsīṃ  
paramamadhuradhammambūhi nibbāpayanto  
avasi samuni megho lokasantiṃ karotu.  
458 paññāvāraṅganā mayhaṃ sañjātā manamandire  
tosayanti<sup>2</sup> sabbajānaṃ vuddhiṃ gacchatu sabbadā.  
459 citaṃ yaṃ racayantaṃ Jinassa caritaṃ mayā  
puññaṃ tassānubhāvena sampatto Tusitālayaṃ,  
460 Metteyalokanāthassa sunanto dhammadesanaṃ  
tena saddhiṃ ciraṃ kālaṃ vidanto mahatiṃ siriṃ.  
461 Buddhe jāte mahāsatte ramme ketumatīpure  
rājavaṃse janitvāna tihetupaṭṭisandhiko,  
462 cīvaraṃ piṇḍapātaṃ ca anagghaṃ vipulaṃ varaṃ  
saṅāsanaṃ ca bhesajjaṃ datvā tassa mahesino,  
463 sāsane pabbajitvāna jotento tam anuttaraṃ  
iddhimā satimā sammā dhārento Piṭakattayaṃ  
464 vyākato tena 'Buddo 'yaṃ hessatī' tī anāgate  
uppannuppannabuddhānaṃ dānaṃ datvā sukhāvahaṃ).  
465 saṃsāre saṃsaranto hi<sup>3</sup> kapparukkho va pānitaṃ  
icchiticchitam annādiṃ dadanto madhuraṃ varaṃ.

<sup>1</sup> C<sup>t</sup> rukkho.<sup>2</sup> C<sup>t</sup> tosoyanti.<sup>3</sup> C<sup>a</sup> ti.

- 466 maṅsalohitanettādiṃ dadaṃ cittasamāhito  
 silanekhammapaññādiṃ pūrento sabbapāramiṃ,  
 467 paramīsikharāṃ patvā Buddhō hutvā anuttaro  
 desetvā madhuraṃ dhammaṃ jantūnaṃ sivaṃ āvahaṃ  
 468 sabbhaṃ sadevakaṃ lokaṃ brah̄ṇa saṃsārabandhanā  
 mocayitvā varaṃ khemaṃ pāpuṇeyyaṃ sivaṃ puraṃ.
- 469<sup>1</sup> Laṅkālaṅkārabhūtena bhūpalanvayaketunā  
 vijayabāhunā raññā sakanāmena kārite.  
 470 satoyāsayapakāragopurādivirājite  
 parivenavare ramme vasatā sattavuttinā  
 471 Medhaṅkarābhiddhānena dayāvāsena dhīmatā  
 therena racitaṃ phanaṃ sabbhi saṃsevitāṃ sadā  
 472 bhave bhave 'dha gāthānaṃ tesattati catussataṃ  
 ganthato pañcapanñāsādhikaṃ pañcasataṃ iti.

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<sup>1</sup> *The text of 469-472 is not in the MS., but only the Comm. I have supplied it from the printed text.*



GLORY TO THE BLESSED, THE HOLY, THE  
ALL-WISE BUDDHA.

- 1 Worshipping with obeisance of the head, the supreme  
lotus on the foot of the Great Being, which provides  
Nirvāna for the good as honey for bees,
  - 2 the Sun of the Law, dispelling the great darkness of  
ignorance in the world, the great light shown forth  
on the mountain of the King of the Law,
  - 3 the lotus of brightness ever growing in the lake of the  
heart of man, and the moon of the Order, emitting  
the great shining ray of Precept,
  - 4 I will recite in brief the Life of the Conqueror, a  
blessing distributed far and wide, desiring ever to  
keep it in memory.
  - 5 Sweet to those who remember, but hard is the path of  
bliss; yet what saying is hard in the gaining of  
wealth?
  - 6 Therefore is this my discourse set out in fair verse,  
good, honey-sweet, pure, delightful to the listening  
ear.
  - 7 Listen well, as one drawing water in a pitcher, and  
for ever enjoy, O ye righteous, who desire never to  
wax old or die.
- 
- 8 A hundred thousand æons and four ago, there was a  
city the abode of innumerable beings, who always  
did good deeds,
  - 9 provided with all manner of treasures, full of all manner  
of people, crowded with gay shops, adorned with  
arches and festoons,
  - 10 echoing to the ten sounds, like the city of the King of  
the gods, called Amara, the Immortal, fair and grand.
  - 11 There once was born of a Brahmin stock, respected  
through all the world, most merciful, most wise,  
handsome, beloved,

- 12 a prince called by name Sumedha, who had traversed  
the ocean of the Veda. This nascent Buddha, on  
the death of his parents,
- 13 Having beheld the great wealth piled up in hundreds  
of chambers by the treasurer,
- 14 piled up the treasures, and cried: 'See, my father  
and the rest of my kin have gone to the world of  
gods without taking one small coin with them!'
- 15 The Mine of Mercy grew sad at this, and thought:  
'Although I have received all this store of wealth, I  
too must go.'
- 16 He sat down in solitude, in his own beautiful house,  
examining the blemishes in his body, and thus  
admonishing himself:
- 17 'Painful is the breaking-up of the body, painful also is  
its beginning; I am subject to birth, to old age, to  
disease.'
- 18 With these and like reflections, having seen in many  
ways the blemishes in his body, he sent the drum  
beating about the city and sent word to the King.
- 19 At the sound of the drums the beggars flocked together,  
as bees to a sweet scent, and for seven days he  
gratified them with the flood of the filaments of alms.
- 20 When he saw that although the precious gifts fell like a  
shower of snowflakes, the lotus-plantation of treasures  
was not exhausted,
- 21 amidst the tears of his kinsfolk, as a royal elephant  
flees from a forest blazing with fire, the great hero  
departed from his delightful house,
- 22 and came to the mighty Himalaya, perfumed with  
scents of yellow sandal, camphor, and aloes,
- 23 adorned with blossoming champak and asoka, trumpet-  
flower and tilak, areca-nut and punnāga, ironwood,  
and other trees,
- 24 filled with lions, tigers, hyænas, with elephants,  
cheetahs, and apes, with horses and other beasts,
- 25 full of the notes of maynahs and sunswans, of swans,  
herons, and parrots, of pigeons and cuckoos and  
vultures,
- 26 haunted by goblins, demons, heavenly musicians, gods  
and fairies, beings full of accomplishment and know-  
ledge,
- 27 shining with great ranges of beautiful mountains all  
vermilion and sapphire, mountains of silver and gold,
- 28 brilliant with many a tank, provided with steps and

- stages of jewels and gold, with many a nymph divine  
dallying there,
- 29 irradiated with the spray from hundreds of secret cool  
cascades, delightful nooks full of fays and Nāgas,
- 30 with flocks of dancing peacocks and festoons of creepers,  
and garlands of white sand,
- 31 a treasure-mine of gold, jewels, and pearls, an abode  
of merit for those who desire it, as bees desire pollen.
- 32 Entered there, the brave one beheld in it the requisites  
for the ascetic, produced by Him of the Thousand  
Eyes, fine leaf-huts ;
- 33 he adopted the ascetic garb, and he abode there for the  
space of seven days, stedfast in the Five Transcendent  
Faculties and the Eight Precepts.
- 34 In the joy of Attainment thus produced, the holy  
ascetic one day, passing through the air, saw some  
people
- 35 sweeping the road. Descending then from the air, he  
asked the people : ‘ Why do ye sweep the road ?’
- 36 ‘ O Sumedha, knowest thou not ? The Tathāgata  
Dīparikara has attained to Supreme Might, and has  
set rolling the Supreme Wheel of the Law ;
- 37 ‘ he makes the Canon of the Law for the world, and  
has reached the fair city Beautiful, and here dwells  
in Sudassana.
- 38 ‘ We have invited him with our alms, the ruler of the  
world, and his four hundred thousand Brethren  
pure.
- 39 ‘ For his coming, O thou of supernatural might, we  
sweep the path.’ Thus spoke these people, giving  
joy to his ear.
- 40 On hearing the word Buddha, the mind of virtues,  
highly delighted in mind, could not keep in his usual  
state,
- 41 and the hero, asking a portion of the road which the  
other had begun, was given a rough place and began  
to make it smooth.
- 42 Before that spot had been made ready by him, the one  
Lord of the world, worshipt by men and immortals  
alike, benefactor of the world, the great sage, entered  
upon the road with the pious ones.
- 43 Then as he saw there approaching the Tathāgata,  
blazing with six-coloured rays, happy in heart, he  
thought :
- 44 ‘ What if I make a bridge in the mud, and prostrate

- myself before this hero, the great sage, with his company ?
- 45 For a long time it will suffice for my blessing and happiness.' With this thought, the nascent Conqueror fell down,
- 46 and raising his lovely lotus-eyes, he looked ; and again, as he lay there, thus the courageous one thought :
- 47 ' Should I wish, I could destroy the endless turmoil of existence, and become a novice of the Order, and enter the noble city.
- 48 ' What use in disguise ? By the extinction of sin, I having become a Buddha like this Buddha, supreme in the world,
- 49 will ferry the people in the ship of the Law across the ocean of existence, and bring them to the City of Nirvāna, my own happiness being extinguished.'
- 50 Thus thinking, prostrate there in the mud, he gleamed like a golden plantain stem,
- 51 beholding the beautiful form of the Buddha, shining with the six-coloured rays, the hero, jubilant with the joys that arose in him, longed for Buddhahood.
- 52 When he came to the place, and saw the sage prostrate in the dirt, he who had been the Bridge of the World, seeing the other made a bridge for him,
- 53 the hero, the Tathāgata Diparikara, the one Bridge of the World, the World's one Eye, stood at his head, and spake :
- 54 ' In time to come, this man shall be a supreme Buddha, Gotama by name,' and revealed his disciples, his native city, and so forth.
- 55 This said and done, with his Order the pious one did obeisance to him, moving about him rightwise, and offered to him eight handfuls of flowers.
- 56 Having done this, the ruler of the world with his company went to the city named Ramnaka, a place beautiful with monasteries and houses.
- 57 The other, hearing the Conqueror's speech, arose from the dust, delighted, and revered by the hosts of the gods with offerings of flowers and other things,
- 58 and crossing his legs, sat down on the couch of flowers, the most austere, the most wise, Sumedha, conqueror of sense.
- 59 The gods in ten thousand spheres, delighted, praised the hero seated on the flowery couch.
- 60 As he sat, he pondered on the qualities which make

- a Buddha: whether above or below, at the four cardinal or the four intermediate points.
- 61 Thus meditating, he apprehended all the elements of the Law, his own image, and first the Perfections of Giving;
- 62 seeking further and further the Perfections in wisdom, he beheld all the Perfections by his eye of understanding;
- 63 and passing through successive transmigrations, he endured great suffering, seeking Nirvāna in tranquillity by fulfilling the Perfections of Giving;
- 64 this chief of givers was like a magic tree, or a magic wishing-jewel, giving to the world all their desires, food or what not.
- 65 He tore out his beautiful eyes, like stars in the sky, and joyfully gave them to those who asked;
- 66 The flesh of his own body and his blood he gave, as much as the dust of the earth and the water of the sea,
- 67 heads adorned with diadems, great as Mount Sineru, he gave, shaking the earth, and sons and wives to boot.
- 68 He fulfilled the Precepts, the Separation, the Wisdom, all the Perfections, he attained the Vessantasa existence; and being born again from that place,
- 69 he came into being in the fair abode of the gods, the city of Tusita. There he dwelt for a long time, enjoying infinite happiness.
- 70 The gods in humble obeisance, made this request of the greatest of men: 'O mighty one, it is time for thee to become Buddha.'
- 71 He examined time and circumstances, and recognised that it was the time for Buddhahood, then giving his promise to the assembly of the gods, to the forest of Nandana,
- 72 he went with the hosts of the gods, and went to heaven, vanishing from this world amidst their praises, that wise one; vanishing thence, here,
- 73-5 in the picturesque city of Kapila, crowded with great coursers finely caparisoned, full of gaily-decked shops and wares, bright with beautiful tall lordly elephants, adorned with myriads of arches and banners, with spacious halls and watchtowers, with strong gates, the abode of fair women, laughing to scorn even the city of Purinda (India); to Suddhodana, lord of men, protector of the helpless, one of Okkāka's royal stock,

- the abode of many pure virtues, or lotus haunted by bees like jewels on Kings' heads,
- 76 the Most Wise showed in a dream a gold-coloured elephant like the pure moon, with a trunk like a pure white silver wreath, a noble festoon of white lotus ;
- 77-8 he entered the womb of the King's wife Māzā ; lips like bimba-fruit she had, eyes like the flowering blue lotus, her eyebrows like the rainbow an ever-increasing delight, her mouth like a beautiful pure full moon, her breasts like a pair of golden geeses, her feet like fair lotus shoots, the colour of her body shining like the colour of gold ; adorned was she with the ornaments of many a virtue and good custom.
- 79 At the instant of his conception, beings manifold were born, and thereupon protection was assumed by men and immortals.
- 80 Like an image of gold seated in the pericarp of a lovely red lotus, all golden-coloured the chief of men sat cross-legged in his mother's womb.
- 81 Like a red thread strung through a clear jewel, the Wise One is seen causing his mother's mind to blossom.
- 82 At the end of ten months, thus spake the Queen to the King : ' I desire, O King, to go to the home of my family.'
- 83 With the King's consent, she goes to her family with a large retinue, by a road which seemed to be divine.
- 84 Seeing a grove of sāl-trees adorned with a multitude of fragrant flowers, echoing with the sound of clusters of murmuring intoxicated bees, with a flock of bright-eyed birds, which seemed to invite her, the Lumbini Wood, a spacious place of delight,
- 85 she felt a very great desire for that fair spot. So with a charming step, like a divine maiden, she approached the root of a blossoming sāl-tree, and grasped a branch, which of itself bent low.
- 86 At that moment, the pangs of labour seized her ; then her people ran up and surrounded the lady with screens ; this done, they retired apart. Then
- 87 she stood firm, and clinging to the branch by her red hand, soft as cotton, with its row of shining red nails, adorned with fine bracelets and ornaments of gold, brought forth the Wise One ;
- 88 who, his body shining with a golden hue, fair to the eye, incomparable, his beautiful hands and feet fully

- extended, came forth from the womb of the incomparable mother, like a golden goose emerging from a lotus.
- 89 The Brahmas brought a beautiful priceless net of gold, and approaching, received him, and standing before her, said : ' Rejoice, O Queen ! of thee is born a most excellent son.'
- 90 Other men are born with their limbs smeared in filth ; but the excellent lord of men was born pure, like a jewel lovely and priceless laid in a piece of fine Benares cloth.
- 91 This done, down from the sky came two streams of water upon the body of the Beloved and on his mother's body, washing away the pollution to make all auspicious.
- 92 From their hand the delightful gods bringing a skin rug received the hero on a cushion of fine cloth, from their hand the best of men received that lion-king among men ;
- 93 From their hand, a beautiful and pure moon, he stood firm upon the earth, his great feet marked with circles, and gazed with lotus-eyes at the eastern quarter.
- 94 The hundreds of spheres became as one courtyard ; men and immortals together worshipping the Wise One with perfumes and like offerings, and thus they spake :
- 95 ' There is no man like unto thee, O wise one : how then can there be one superior ?' Thus the Lord of the World, seeing in this quarter not one like himself,
- 96 took seven paces towards the nook, and said : ' I am the chief of the world, choicest and best.'
- 97 At the words of this voice, incomparable and supreme, all did worship to the King of men—deities, Titans, and Brahmins, and the great company went to the fair-decorated city called Kapila.
- 98 At the instant of the birth of this noble one, the earth, although able to bear the exceeding great burden of trees, hills, and Mount Meru, and all the water of the ocean, could not bear the weight of his merits, and did quake ;
- 99 dogs sported with deer, crows with owls, in high delight, great serpents with mighty garula birds, and hosts of cats with rats,

- 100 deer consorted with lions as parents with children, and  
ships sped to their goal in all quarters of the world  
like the arrow of Sarabhasigasatthā.
- 101 The mighty ocean, and its lines of quiet waves,  
became adorned with shining lotus flowers of every  
hue, and its waters became quite sweet ;
- 102 the heavens were filled with festoons of full-blossoming  
lotuses, the birds left their flying in the sky, the  
river stood still and flowed not
- 103 by loving union with a sudden breeze, the earth-bride  
waxed most lovely, adorned withal by the ornament  
of many flowers scattered upon her by the gods ;
- 104 great trees were laden with festoons of blossoming  
garlands, and the four quarters, like fair women,  
shone brightly, clad in sweet-scented filaments ;
- 105 The whole heaven was pervaded with sweet incense most  
delightfully, gods and Titans, in festal garb, walked  
about singing together ;
- 106 all spoke kindly, and all the quarters of the earth were  
serene: elephants trumpeted, lions roared, the  
neighing of horses was heard ;
- 107 Flutes, and lutes, and celestial drums made each its  
own delightful sound in the sky ; the great world  
with its lofty mountains was pervaded by a full and  
lovely light ;
- 108 a cool breeze, soft and fragrant, wafted pleasure to all  
people, and those who were afflicted by all manner  
of pains were set free and at ease ;
- 109 the world was made pleasant by the bright waving of  
vast plummy fans ; water burst forth from the earth  
and flowed along ; the humpbacked were upright as  
they walked ;
- 110 The blind saw how the lame sported and danced ; the  
deaf enraptured heard the singing of the dumb ;
- 111 the very flames of hell became cool, straightway, the  
things born in water rejoiced, and became visible  
therein to sight ;
- 112 the ghosts, faint with hunger and thirst, found food,  
and in the dense darkness of limbo there was light ;
- 113 numberless clusters of stars, of suns and moons, shone  
bright in the sky, and jewels upon the earth ;
- 114 great lotus flowers of all hues burst in full bloom from  
the earth one above another ;
- 115 ornamented drums, without beat or stroke, gave forth  
a sound exceeding sweet on the earth ;

- 116 everywhere doors and windows opened of their own accord, and men bound with fetters and chains were set free ;
- 117 then in the Heaven of the Thirty-Three, the company of the gods made merry in much joy, waving their scarves unceasingly and crying,
- 118 ‘ News! in the city of Kapilavatha is born a son to Suddhodana ; he is seated upon the circle of the Bo-tree, and he will become Buddha.’
- 119 The mighty and most wise ascetic Kāladevala, the trusted adviser of the wise King Suddhodana,
- 120 after his meal had gone to the dwelling of the Thirty-Three, and there sat him down for the rest of the day.
- 121 He beheld them there sporting in festive costume, and asked them the reason of their joy, and they told him.
- 122 The sage, hearing this as it truly was, enraptured with joy, at once went to the dwelling of Suddhodana,
- 123 and entering, sat down upon a goodly seat, and said : ‘ They tell me, O great King, that a son is born to thee, incomparable, wise :
- 124 ‘ I wish to see him.’ The King caused the boy to be sent for in his fine array, to salute the sage ;
- 125 But child though he was, by the power of his virtue his fair lotus-feet arose and placed themselves upon the ascetic’s head.
- 126 In that position of the chief of men, no one in the three worlds must be worshipt : if the head of the lord of the three worlds had been placed under the ascetic’s feet,
- 127 the ascetic’s head would assuredly have burst asunder. He therefore stood with his hands claspt in supplication to the wise Ocean of Virtues, because he had not thought fit to destroy him.
- 128 The lord of men seeing this marvel, done by his own son the god of gods, gladly adored his soft lotus-feet, marked with various devices.
- 129 When the King’s great sowing festival came on, the city was adorned like a city of the gods ; and all the people in fair attire gathered at his noble dwelling-place.
- 130 Then the King, at the head of his people, thus fair adorned, took his son adorned with beauty, and with

- a hero's grace went out to the incomparable sowing festival.
- 131 All the nurses went away to look on at the festival, leaving the child alone at the foot of a rose-apple tree, covered by a canopy painted in many colours.
- 132 Seated beneath the canopy, bright with gold, and shining with golden stars, at the root of the rose-apple-tree, the wise one took the opportunity and fell into ecstatic meditation.
- 133 The nurses returning, beheld him seated like an image of gold, and his splendour; and they said to the King, 'Such and such a marvel has been done by thy son.'
- 134 When he heard this of the lotus-eyed one, whose mouth is like the bright moon, he said, 'A second time I must worship him,' and set his head at his son's feet.
- 135 Beside these, other marvels took place also in the world, shown forth by me in due course in the compass of the book, reluctant though I am :
- 136 where were quantities of houses, glorious with all manner of gems, glorious with canopies and couches in plenty, fair with long flights of stairs and wide storeys, made ready to suit the three seasons,
- 137 multitudes of fine houses with rows of pinnacles, one row as it were always defying another, forests of lotus like rays of sunlight, illuminating the lotus faces of the folk ;
- 138 by those walls inset with gems women adorn their bodies without even the reflexion of a mirror ;
- 139 where is seen a circuit painted with whitewash, fair to the eye like Mount Kēlāsa,
- 140 where is always seen a moat covered with lotus, with a great circuit of sapphire, set with many gems ;
- 141 there he dwelt, the one all-seeing, until he came to maturity enjoying all delights. In going to the park for sport, upon the high-road
- 142 he saw successively the three states of existence—old age, disease, and death, and was disgusted ; on a fourth occasion he saw with pleasure in the same place the welcome form of an ascetic.
- 143 The illustrious one went to the beautiful grove, lovely as the forest of Nandana, thick with multitudes of flowering trees, and echoing with the notes of flocks of peacocks and other birds.

- 144 There the royal chief of men, with a hero's grace,  
 enjoyed the delightful playing, singing, and dancing  
 of fair women like goddesses.
- 145 Seating himself cross-legged on a fair seat, he thought  
 that he would cause his person to be adorned.
- 146 The King of the Gods, perceiving his thought, said to  
 Vissakamma, 'Do thou adorn Siddhattha.'
- 147 At his command, Vissakamma approached, and wrapt  
 the shining head of the glorious one with ten  
 thousand shawls,
- 148 and his shining body, glorious with its unequalled  
 marks, he made beautiful with variegated robes and  
 ornaments, and with the sweet perfume of fragrant  
 blue lotus, sandal, and other such.
- 149 Adorned by him, himself also adorned, he sat on a  
 spotless slab of stone, attended by fair women like  
 goddesses, and shining like the King of the gods.
- 150 A glad message was sent by King Suddhodana: 'A  
 son is born to thee, my son!' Hearing this, the  
 chief of men
- 151 replied, 'To me this day a fetter is born,' and forth-  
 with amid all the joys of success he returned to the  
 beautiful city.
- 152 Then Kisāgotamī, in the upper story of the palace,  
 saw the King shining like the sun, and thus she  
 spake:
- 153 'Whoever are the parents of this steadfast one, who-  
 soever is the wife of the noble one, happy are they  
 all, yea, always happy.'
- 154 When he heard this pleasant speech uttered by her,  
 gladdened within with joy, he went to his house,
- 155 he loosed from his neck the great necklace, cool, pure,  
 exquisitely beautiful, and sent it to her;
- 156 then mounting to the terrace, lovely as Veجازasta, he  
 reclined upon his precious seat like the King of the  
 gods.
- 157 A company of fair women, like goddesses, attending on  
 him, performed all manner of dances and songs;
- 158 but the wise one, longing for the ascetic life, free from  
 the fine desires, cared nought even for dances  
 and songs so lovely as these,
- 159 but after lying there on the couch awhile to rest, the  
 hero, the mighty King, sat up cross-legged,
- 160 and sitting there, he beheld the changes that had come  
 over the sleeping girls. Frightened at the thought

- of mortal life, he said, 'I will go now!' and passed through the fair doorway.
- 161 Channa lay with his head on the fair threshold, for he thought, 'I shall hear my master's call'; and as he lay there, that most righteous friend and counsellor, giver of joy, bringer of good,
- 162 the prince called him and said, 'Make ready the thoroughbred horse Kantharika, and bring him hither.'
- 163 Channa listened to the order given to him, and went quickly and caparisoned the thoroughbred, and brought him.
- 164 The noble steed, thus made ready by him, knowing that his master was to leave the world, uttered a neigh :
- 165 that sound filled the whole city, but the gods one and all kept it from the hearing of any.
- 166 Then the delight of the virtuous thought, 'First I will go and see my own precious son, then I will become a Buddha.'
- 167 With this thought, he proceeded to his wife's apartments, and standing upon the threshold, thrust his head within.
- 168 He beheld his own son, lying like his mother upon a bed strewn with flowers, with the bed of the King of heaven ;
- 169 seeing which the supreme ruler thought to himself :  
'If I take my son from the Queen's arms,
- 170 'Yasodharā might awaken from her great love, and cause delay in my leaving the world.
- 171 'When I have become a Buddha, I will return and see my son.' Then the lord of men came down from the upper storey.
- 172 Yasodharā had lovely lotus-like face, hands, and feet, laughter like the foam, brows like shining wavelets, eyes like the blue lotus ; she was like the moon ; all eyes were attracted to her like so many bees :
- 173 Who that enjoyed possession of her body would renounce it, save this steadfast one, standing at the summit of perfection ?
- 174 'I have brought the horse, sire : observe the time, lord of chariots!' so spake Channa to the glorious ruler of the earth.
- 175 The lord of the earth heard what Channa had spoken ;

- down from the palace he came, and went to Kanthaka.
- 176 To him spoke thus he who delights to do good to all beings: 'Kanthaka, in this one night convey me over gods and men.
- 177 'I will become supreme Buddha, and escape from the world, from the ocean of existence, the terrors of decay, the multitude of monstrous growths.'
- 178 With these words he mounted his thoroughbred steed, white as a conch shell, and caused Channa to grasp its strong tail.
- 179 When he came to the great gate, he thought: 'If the gate will not open by any means,
- 180 'with Channa holding fast by his tail, I will press Kanthaka with my thighs, I will leap over the lofty shining wall, and begone.' So thought the mighty one.
- 181 Thus the strong one, and Channa, and the noble steed, each in his own heart thought of the way to get over the wall.
- 182 But the gods who inhabited the gate, perceiving his thought, and delighted at his happy going, then set the gate open.
- 183 Then Death thought, 'I will make this Siddhattha no Siddhattha'; and approaching, poised in air, he thus address him:
- 184 'Go not forth, O most wise! On the seventh day from now the divine treasure of the Wheel shall surely be made manifest.'
- 185 But the glorious one, thus address by Death, replied: 'Who art thou?' and Māra declared himself.
- 186 'Māra, I know that the divine Wheel will be made manifest. Go thou, and stand not here, for I have no desire for this kingdom.
- 187 'I shall become Buddha, sole ruler of the world, and all the ten thousand systems of the universe I will cause to resound.'
- 188 When the Great Being had thus uttered his supreme word, Māra, unable to entrap him, forthwith vanished away.
- 189 After this speech of the Sinner, Gotama at dawn renounced the glory of universal dominion, like a drop of spittle, and there remained.
- 190 Then the gods assembled immediately, bearing thousands of precious torches, to show reverence to him as he departed.

- 191 Behind him and before and on either side there went  
in reverence great serpents and garula birds ;
- 192 here great host of gods, showering from the sky like  
rain showers of lovely blossoms, coming from the  
ten thousand worlds, exult exceedingly over the  
tender-bodied one ;
- 193 on the bright and beautiful road, all sweet-scented  
goodly flowers, and aromatic powder, golden flags,  
where the noble royal steed as he went, entangled in  
flowers, could not go at speed,
- 194 thus he proceeded upon that lovely path of thirty  
leagues, amidst all this festivity, for the remainder  
of the night.
- 195 Reaching the bank of the river Anoma, he dismounted  
from his horse, upon a pure cool expanse of sound,
- 196 and having rested, thus he spoke : 'Go, Channa, to  
your own city, and take with you my ornaments and  
the horse.'
- 197 Standing there, the all-wise one with his sword exceed-  
ing sharp cut off his fragrant hair, and cast it up to  
the sky.
- 198 He of the thousand eyes received the hair-relic as it  
rose into the sky, in a fair golden casket, bowing his  
head in reverence,
- 199 and in the Thirty-Three he set up a crest-gem shrine,  
delightful to the eye, made of sapphire, a league in  
height.
- 200 The noble Eight Requisites were brought by Brahma,  
and cast down as it were from the air, and the  
goodly pair of robes :
- 201 taking these, great Brahma made in Brahma's world a  
beautiful robe-stupa twelve leagues in height.
- 202 The hero went to the mango-grove named Anupiya,  
and there spent seven days, in the bliss of retire-  
ment from the world.
- 203 One day he proceeded along the thirty-league road as  
far as Rājagaha, where he went about piously seeking  
alms.
- 204 Then the walls and gates, by his radiance, appeared as  
if made of gold and set with sapphires.
- 205 The crowds of people, full of excitement, when they  
saw him, asked again and again : 'Who is this ? Is  
it Sakka, or Brahma, Māra or a Serpent ?'
- 206 Having entered and obtained food enough for his

- living, he went along the high-road, looking before him no further than a yoke's length ;
- 207 and leaving the people there perplexed, as the sea is churned with the churning-stick of Mount Meru, he went to the Paṇḍava mountain,
- 208 where, seated under its shadow on a lovely spot, he began to eat the mingled food.
- 209 By contemplation, the wise and mighty one restrained the snake of his bowels from leaving the anthill of his body.
- 210 After eating, having been many times offered the kingdom by the great King Bimbisāra, the chief of men visited him.
- 211 He declined the kingdom ; but when the King prayed, ' When you have become supreme Buddha, declare the Lord to me, '
- 212 he gave his promise to the lord of mankind. The wise one then retired to the cloister, and there performed exceeding great marvels and wonders. Then considering a little,
- 213 after partaking of plentiful meat and drink, and growing stout of body, like a god he came to the foot of the Ajapāla banyan tree.
- 214 There he sat, the giver of light, facing the east ; and by the colour of his body, that banyan took on the colour of gold.
- 215 Then a fair woman named Sujātā, her prayer fulfilled, came to him, bearing upon her head a golden bowl full of rice and milk, and bowing before him, said :
- 216 ' I present an oblation to the spirit which dwells in this tree.' Then, seeing this incomparable man,
- 217 and conceiving that he was a god, joyful at heart, she gave the bowl of food to the noble one, saying, ' As my prayer was fulfilled, so may thine be, my lord.'
- 218 With these words, the beautiful woman departed thence. And the sage taking the bowl of food,
- 219 went to the bank of the river Nerañjarā, and when he had eaten the choice food, cast her fair bowl against the current.
- 220 The noble being then proceeded to the incomparable grove, delightful as Sakka's grove of Nandana, adorned with clusters of full-flowering trees, which, like clusters of bees, captivated the onlooker's mind and eye.

- 221 There he abode for a day's rest; in the evening hour  
with the grace of a lion he went to the bo-tree.
- 222 Along the great road, beset with Brahmas, gods, and  
Titans, with serpents and roc-birds, bent the ruler  
of man. A highborn Brahmin, laden with grass,  
beholding him, gave him a handful of grass.
- 223 There the skies were flowering with lovely blue lotus  
and water lilies, birds thronging like rain-drops, as  
the chief of men passed by.
- 224 The skies were full of all manner of sweet scents, and  
the odour of sandal wood and fragrant powders, as  
the chief of men passed by.
- 225 The skies were full of fair jewelled sunshades and  
glorious golden banners as the chief of men passed by.
- 226 The skies were filled with gods also, sporting and  
waving thousands of shawls as the chief of men  
passed by.
- 227 The skies were filled with gods also, playing upon  
thousands of divine drums and instruments of  
musick, as the chief of men passed by.
- 228 The skies were filled with fair goddesses, singing all  
manner of songs, as the chief of men passed by.
- 229 Lovely fays and fairy maidens, lovely serpents and  
their mates, kept up their lovely dances and  
songs.
- 230 Thus, amidst all these festivities, like a flood, the  
glorious sole ruler of the three worlds, grass in  
hand, approached the bo-tree.
- 231 The chief of men made a circuit rightwise about the  
bo-tree, which was like a lofty hill of silver set on a  
black coral rock,
- 232 and stood facing the east, the wise one, on the firm  
plot of earth where sin was to be destroyed, and  
scattered the handfuls of grass.
- 233 Then this seat became fourteen cubits long. Then,  
seeing this wonder, the supremely wise one thought:
- 234 'Let my flesh, blood, and bones, sinews and skin,  
indeed be dried up, yet shall I not lose my power.'
- 235 The great hero and chief of men then seated himself  
in the invincible seat, and there remained facing the  
east.
- 236 Then Sakka brought to the God of gods a great conch,  
more than twenty cubits long, and stood there  
blowing into it.
- 237 Next the great Brahma Sahampati stood there in

- comely wise, upholding a white sunshade of three leagues in extent, like another full moon.
- 238 Suyama, chief of gods, with a fair yak's-tail whisk three leagues long, stood there fanning him gently.
- 239 The god named Pañcasikha stood there playing upon a lute of vilva wood, capable of many melodies.
- 240 Kāla also, King of Serpents, stood there singing songs of praise, attended by dancers.
- 241 Two-and-thirty nymphs, with a golden shrine filled with flowers, stood in attitudes of devotion.
- 242 Whilst Indra and the companies of gods thus kept festivity, Māra the Sinner thought thus to himself :
- 243 ' This prince desires to escape from my dominion : well, I will make Siddhattha no Siddhattha.'
- 244 He then created a thousand great and horrible arms, and with them seized all manner of gleaming weapons ; he mounted upon his magnificent and fierce elephant, a hundred and fifty leagues high, named Girimekhala.
- 245 He then, attended by an army provided with all manner of weapons ; having many mouths, with flame-coloured hair, and great round protruding red eyes, their mouths awful, snakes issuing from their breasts,
- 246 thither he came, roaring with a fearful sound : ' Seize you Siddhattha, and bind him ! ' Such was their command. At the sight, the assembly of gods was scattered, like flecks of cotton blown by a violent wind.
- 247 Then Death created a harsh sound like deep thunder, and a wind ; but he could not so much as move a corner of the fair robe of that blessed one.
- 248 Then he caused to descend a horrible and terrific rain, swift as that which falls at the destruction of an age ; but could not make one drop come near to the incomparable one. Seeing that wonder, the foul-mouthed one,
- 249 with a great and blazing conflagration of fire, showered down rocks, ashes and mud, weapons, and fiery coals, and sand ; but all these things,
- 250 by Māra's power precipitated from the sky, when they came nigh to him of transcendent merit, became like garlands of flowers. He then created a horrible black darkness, like that
- 251 of limbo ; but by the splendour of his beautiful body, the darkness of delusion was turned into lovely and

- glorious light, like the sun in his radiance. Seeing this, the Evil One,
- 252 his face inflamed with anger, his eyebrows twitching, his dress in hideous disorder, bearing the disc-weapon,
- 253 exceeding sharp, like a knife, which would cut through even the noble King Meru like a thick sprout. This he cast at the mine of virtue, but it could do him no harm; but in a moment, as it passed through the air, became a canopy over his head.
- 254 Rocky peaks, blazing with fire, thrown by the host, passing through the air became, as it were, a mass of garlands.
- 255 Seeing this also, the miserable creature approached the hero, and said: 'This invincible seat is mine;
- 256 rise up from this seat.' Thus answered the wise one: 'Who is
- 257 witness, Māra, that the seat is thine by reason of good deeds done?' The Sinful One replied, 'All these are witnesses,' stretching out his hand towards the host.
- 258 And the host, with horrid voice, exclaimed: 'I am witness! I am witness!' Having thus caused them to declare that they were witnesses, he went on:
- 259 'Who is thy witness, Siddhattha?' Then the incomparable replied: 'My witnesses, Māra, are not sentient beings.'
- 260 Thrusting out from his brilliant red robe his right hand, shining like golden lightning,
- 261 he pointed to the earth and said: 'Why didst thou cry out at the place of perfection, and art now silent?' Then from the earth
- 262 came forth hundreds of sounds like the sound of thunder. Claspings his clever and strong elephant close with his knees,
- 263 on seeing this, he thought, 'Now he will catch us! now he will catch us!' and like a serpent with broken fangs, crestfallen and subdued,
- 264 away he fled, with his host, even to the Cakkavāla Rock, leaving weapons, clothes, ornaments, and everything, all scattered about.
- 265 Then the company of the gods, seeing Māra's host in fear and misery fleeing away, exclaimed: 'Behold the defeat of Māra! Victory to Prince Siddhattha!'
- 266 Rejoicing, they worshipt the hero with oblations of sweet perfumes and scents, and returning, sang together in hymns of praise, clad in festal array.

- 267 Thus did the mighty hero, sitting upon the immovable seat, scatter the host of Māra while the sun was still high.
- 268 In the first watch, the supreme one obtained knowledge of former existences, in the middle watch divine insight,
- 269 and then in the last watch he went through the Chain of Causation, until he grasped that knowledge thoroughly.
- 270 At dawn, all the hundred systems of worlds shouted together. Becoming Buddha all-wise, he of the lotus-eyes, all wise,
- 271 he uttered this hymn of praise, moved with joy (sādiso?), 'I have traversed a succession of many births'; and so forth.
- 272 Then, perceiving the many virtues of that seat, he said: 'I shall not yet arise from this seat.'
- 273 The Teacher achieved the Attainment in millions of phases, sitting there for seven days on the unshaken seat.
- 274-5 There arose a doubt in the minds of certain gods, who thought: 'The glorious Siddhattha must have some other duty to perform, that is why he does not leave this seat.' Perceiving their thought, and desiring to set their minds at rest,
- 276 the Ruler uprose like a golden pheasant, gold-coloured, light-giving, and ascending into the air, he worked a wonder.
- 277 When by this means he had fully reassured the minds of the gods, for seven days he stood with unwinking lotus-eyes venerating the bo-tree and the seat of victory.
- 278 Then, walking up and down in the noble arcade, bright with gems, like a storehouse of precious things, the pure one investigated the pure doctrine.
- 279 Then beneath the noble ajapāla-tree he caused the pure lotus-faces of Māra's women to fade, and beneath the mucalinda-tree he caused the serpent-King's thoughts to expand like lotus-blossoms,
- 280 and beneath the rājāyatama-tree, the wise one, so fair in hue, gave himself up to the uninterrupted enjoyment of Attainment for nine-and-forty days.
- 281 He then used the water of Anotatta, a tooth-cleaner of betel-vine, and the goody myrobolan drug brought by the King of the gods.

- 282 He received from the merchants a cake of strong  
honey, presented by the Kings in a leaf.
- 283 At the end of the repast, he went beneath the ajapāla-  
tree, and pondered on the profundity of the truth  
to which he had attained,
- 284 saying, 'This truth which I have attained to is  
profound and calm as the mass of water supporting  
the earth,' and so forth.
- 285 'This profundity of truth has been comprehended by  
me, the King of truth, through reasoning and exercise  
of memory.
- 286 'In the endeavour, I gave to a beggar's petition even  
my noble head adorned with a crown, which I  
cut off;
- 287 'my anointed eyes, which I pluckt out; blood which  
I drew from my neck; my beautiful wife;
- 288 'my children, who are like a lamp to the family: no  
gift that I gave not, no observance that I did not  
fulfil.
- 289 'Thus in former births, as the Sarikhapāla, I sacrificed  
my very life for fear of some breach of observance.
- 290 'In the Khantivāda birth and others, no single perfec-  
tion but has been attained by me in cutting off what  
was to be cut off.
- 291 'When I scattered the host of Māra the earth did  
not quake, nor when I remembered my former  
existence,
- 292 'nor in the middle watch, when I obtained divine  
insight; but quake it did in the last watch,
- 293 'when I obtained comprehension of the causes of  
existence; and it uttered a loud noise as it were  
giving approval.
- 294 'As a gourd full of rice gruel, as a chatty full of butter-  
milk, as a hand smeared over with salve, as a cloth  
washed in grease:
- 295 'so this world is a mine of ignorance, filled with a mass  
of sin, polluted, inflamed with lust, miserable with  
pain, infatuate with mighty delusion.
- 296 'What comprehends this doctrine? what use is there  
to teach it?' Thus the Lord became despondent  
about giving the immortal drink of doctrine to man-  
kind.
- 297 Thereupon Brahma Sahampati uttered a great cry,  
saying: 'Alas! the world is perishing, truly the  
world is lost!'

- 298 Then from the hundreds of world-systems he assembled  
 throngs of Brahmas and gods, and with them came  
 before the Teacher.
- 299 He kneeled upon his knee in that place, and folded his  
 hands upon his head, crying : ' Let the Blessed One  
 declare the Law.'
- 300 At his request, the conqueror, omniscient, lotus-lipped,  
 beheld with his divine eye the hundreds of world-  
 systems,
- 301 and then, seeing how few mortals there were whose  
 lusts were small, he divided them into two parts by  
 the principle of good and evil :
- 302 rejecting the evil, he assembled the good by his wisdom,  
 and said : ' Let each person now bring his own vessel  
 of faith :
- 303 ' I will fill it with this immortal gift of gospel.' He  
 sent forth upon the company of Brahma rays of  
 words divine.
- 304 Then the bright one rose over the ajapāla-tree like the  
 sun of wisdom rising in the sky over the eastern  
 mountain, and shining bright like the light of jewels,  
 emitted bright rays of wisdom.
- 305-7 Then, gladdening Upaka and others, the glorious  
 ascetic passed along the road eighteen leagues in  
 length, by the flowering trees, to the incomparable  
 deerpark, filled continually with the humming of  
 swarms of busy bees, and the murmurs of many a  
 bird, perfumed with the scent of full-blown lotus ;  
 then the Five Brahmins, seeing the god of gods, the  
 ruler of the three existences, who sees to the ends  
 of the world, the Blest One, the fair-limbed, the  
 hero, the sage, the lion-king, devised this evil plot.
- 308 ' Friends, here comes this ascetic, golden-hued, perfect  
 in shape, after a meal of rich food and drink. Let  
 us make no kind of salutation to him ;
- 309 ' but this honourable personage, born of a high stock,  
 like a banner upon the earth, is worthy to receive a  
 seat ; therefore let us prepare a seat for him.'
- 310 The Blessed One thus perceiving their design by his  
 keen wisdom, by the power of his kindness conquered  
 their arrogance, like a banner blown down by the  
 wind.
- 311 Unable to resist his words, they did all obeisance to  
 the wise Ruler of the World.
- 312 But the sages, not knowing that this Prince of Sages

- was Buddha, address him simply by the name of  
' Friend.'
- 313 Then the Ruler of the World, who knows the world,  
said unto them, ' Call not the Teacher simply by the  
name of Friend ;
- 314 ' For, Brethren, the Tathāgata is the Saint, the Buddha  
All-knowing.' When the Supreme One had made  
known to them that he was Buddha,
- 315 sitting upon the most noble seat which they had pre-  
pared, he adorned those Elders with the ornament  
of virtue with a voice like Brahma's voice,
- 316 and, attended by millions of Brahmas, set the Wheel of  
the Law in motion, and by the rays of his discourse  
317 he also dispersed the pall of dark ignorance in the  
world, and by his lotus-like wisdom showed forth the  
lovely light of truth to those who could be converted ;
- 318 thus like a King of great might, the King of Truth  
most wise, in the field of victory called the Deer-  
forest,
- 319 grasping the goodly sword of preaching with the hand  
of wisdom, caused continued loss to the kindred of  
those ripe for conversion.
- 320 He destroyed sins, he beat the drums of victory, true  
religion, the flag of victory, true religion, hard to  
win ;
- 321 he uplifted, he planted the auspicious pillar of victory,  
true religion, and became sole King of the world, the  
source of bliss ;
- 322 he delivered the people from the mighty bond of trans-  
migration, desiring to lead them to the city of  
Nirvāna, longing to do good to the world.
- 323 Reaching the road leading to Uruvela, like a road  
divine, fair to behold as a moving mountain of gold,
- 324 he gave to some thirty Bhaddavaggiya princes the  
excellent, immortal draught of the Three Paths ;
- 325 then, supreme in wisdom, having conferred the excellent  
gift of ordination, he sent them forth Brethren for  
the world's good, saying, ' Go on your pilgrimage.'
- 326 He proceeded to Uruvela, cutting off the matted hair  
of the ascetics without and within. Then, reaching  
the highroad, he, pre-eminent, as the moon is  
attended by stars,
- 327 so attended by these persons, free from sin, shining  
with six-coloured rays of light, he shed splendour

- upon those fair women the points of the compass,  
and delighted the eyes of birds.
- 328 Then he remembered the promise given to the glorious  
King Bimbisāra, like a banner to a noble royal  
lineage, abode of virtues; and desiring to fulfil it,
- 329 at the time of the peacocks' dance he went to the park  
called Latthivana, adorned with plantations of all  
manner of trees.
- 330 Bimbisāra, ruler of men, hearing of the coming of the  
great sage, adorned with the ornaments of joy and  
bliss,
- 331 entered that park, attended by his great councillors,  
made glorious with his hair the lotus-feet of the  
Teacher.
- 332-3 The other, sitting, bright with beauty, of excellent  
beauty, to whom the King of the gods did sing,  
worshipt by gods, Titans, and serpent Kings, glorious,  
(presented) Bimbisāra with the immortal draught  
of the true doctrine. Then to lovely Rājagaha he  
went, a city like that of the King of the gods,
- 334 and the mighty man was led by the King to the King's  
house. At the end of his repast, shaking the great  
earth,
- 335 he took the fair road to the lovely Veluvana Park,  
beautiful with lordly trees in full bloom,
- 336 and on a plot of earth beautified by being hidden under  
a quantity of white sand, filled with gentle waftings  
of fragrant flowers, adorned with tanks covered with  
all kinds of twining lotus, a wide clear place, a  
bower of creepers,
- 337 he whom gods and men ought to worship, he of the  
lovely lotus-feet and pure lotus-eyes, delightful  
jasmine teeth, ocean of precious virtues, protector of  
the destitute, king of sages, brilliant with golden  
rays, his face like a mild moon,
- 338 after performing a multitude of pure observances, up-  
lifting the brilliant sceptre of tranquillity, brandishing  
the excellent sharp arrow of a Buddha's knowledge,  
he dwelt at ease in the supreme hermitage.
- 339 Then King Suddhodana, having heard that his own son  
had attained to supreme knowledge, and had set  
rolling the wheel of the Law for the world's good,
- 340 and near Rājagaha was then dwelling in lovely  
Veluvana, desirous to see his son who had become  
Buddha,

- 341 nine times despatcht nine ambassadors to the great  
sage with nine thousand men.
- 342 These came and heard the incomparable preaching of  
the King of Truth, and obtaining the supreme good,  
did not send back so much as a message.
- 343 The King, not seeing a single one of them, sent for  
a great minister, the orator Kāludāyi, who ever  
delighted in asceticism.
- 344 To him he said: 'Bring me my son, my precious jewel,  
by any means, and make a salve for my sore eyes.'
- 345 Then with a thousand soldiers he sent him also, and  
he came with his company and heard the Master's  
beautiful preaching,
- 346 and entering upon the path to sainthood, he renounced  
the world, honouring the mighty man, the omni-  
scient, by laying his folded hands on his head.
- 347 and 352 Then he said: 'Lord, it is time to go to the  
fine royal city named Kapila, filled with men of  
boundless wealth'; and he described the journey.  
'Red shoots and creepers most beautiful grow in  
the springtime, trees with lovely branches and  
bright green leaves upon them,
- 348 'with all manner of excellent flowers bursting into bloom  
and exhaling sweet odours; there are goodly forests  
filled with the voices of hosts of birds and beasts,
- 349-50 'many delightful lakes of blue water for pleasure,  
with plenteous flocks of sweet-voiced Kādamba geese,  
adorned with fragrant blue lotus, and water-lilies  
white and red, bright with trees that grow on the  
banks, with festooning filaments and flowers, with  
white sand spread about pure as pearls;
- 351 'spaces of earth bespread with green grasses, as it were  
covered with beautiful lapis-lazuli, formed con-  
tinually by breezes gentle and cool.'
- 353 The Happy One, on hearing this fine description,  
approved of the journey, and said: 'What say you,  
Udāyi?' Then Udāyi replied to the Giver of  
Happiness:
- 354 'Sir, your father desires to see you, Suddhadana the  
noble and glorious King: let the Tathāgata, the  
supreme protector who longs to do good to the  
world, do this favour to his kith and kin.'
- 355 When he who longs to do good to the world heard the  
sweet words of this man, he replied: 'Good, Udāyi;  
I will do this favour to my kith and kin.'

- 356 Clad in a cloak of red, the Buddha, like a moving  
Mount Meru of gold, like a pure full moon  
surrounded by stars,
- 357 he moved twenty thousand souls, all peace at heart  
like himself, full of bliss, and along his journey of  
sixty leagues
- 358 day by day he halted, the conqueror, league by league,  
and in two months reached the noble city of his  
birth.
- 359 The Buddha, with bright and pure lotus-face, shining  
like the rays of the new-risen sun, his wide feet  
marked with discs, the abode of good doing, sole  
refuge of the three worlds, with body supreme and  
unconquered,
- 360 was worshipt by Suddhadana and other royal person-  
ages with golden vessels filled with wreaths of sweet  
perfume, with drums, lutes, and tabors, with goodly  
canopies, whisks, and fans.
- 361-3 Reaching the fair-adorned city, the chief of sages  
entered the noble, pre-eminent Nigrodha monastery,  
provided with beautiful cloisters, terraces, and  
bowers of creepers, resplendent with lakes of whole-  
some water covered with blossoming lotus, enlivened  
by the sporting of flocks of peacocks, the earth one  
mass of fragrant flowers.
- 364 The Sākiya, with minds full of stubbornness, thought,  
'This Siddhattha is our son, our grandson,'
- 365 and thus they spake to the younger princes one by  
one: 'Do you greet Siddhattha; no greeting give  
we.'
- 366 This said, they sat down, putting the younger ones  
forward. Then the one eye of the three worlds, the  
tranquil subduer of the untranquil,
- 367 knowing their thought, said: 'My kinsfolk give me no  
greeting: very well, I shall make them greet me.'  
Immediately
- 368 entering upon the transcendent meditation of super-  
natural knowledge, and arising from his trance like  
a golden goose, the Illuminator
- 369-70 rose into the air; and there the supreme sage per-  
formed a glorious unparalleled miracle, unrivalled by  
others, like the miracle done beneath the gaṇḍamba-  
tree.
- 371 When the King saw this miracle, Suddhadana the  
mighty, sole ruler of the Sākiya race, filled with joy

- and bliss, he made all his bright hair beautiful by placing upon it the Teacher's lotus-feet ; and all the Sākiyas did likewise.
- 372-4 The wise one, after a shower of rain, showered down the rain of the Truth, washing away the great ignorance from men's hearts ; then on the following day, with his company, he entered the excellent city to beg from house to house.
- 375 Wherever he stepped, lotus flowers sprang up, and received his lotus-feet pace by pace.
- 376 and 378 Then Yasodharā, standing on a fine terrace of the delightful palace, full of love, saw from a window gates and pinnacles, houses and watch-towers, all yellow by the rays from his body, and
- 377 beheld the hero walking for alms in the street, wise, calm, giving light, enlightener of the world ;
- 379 and addressing the noble Rāhula, adorned and glittering with jewelled rays, said to him : ' That is thy father,' pointing him out.
- 380 She went to the house of the noble Suddhodana, attended by many waiting-women, and said, with respectful greeting ;
- 381 ' Sire, thy son, who formerly walked this city with the grace of a King of gods, now walks from house to house seeking alms.'
- 382 This said, she went to her own house, her large eyes filled with abundance of the water of joy.
- 383 Then the King of all other Kings, adorned like Indra, trembling, went in haste to meet the Conqueror, saying :
- 384 ' O chief of the Sākiyas, this is not the custom of thy family ; walk not, walk not ; O my son, never before has a King of our family trudged for alms.'
- 385 When the lord of men had thus said, the great sage replied, the chaplet of virtues : ' This is thy family, O great King ; mine is the family of the Buddha.'
- 386 Thus he declared the Buddha's family, and standing in the same spot, declared the gospel,
- 387 uttering this supreme and beautiful verse, which brought happiness to the hearers : ' One should not neglect the law . . .,' etc.
- 388 Then the supreme one, after satisfying him by the gift of the choice flower of doctrine, at his request went on to his house.
- 389 The Lord of the Earth and twenty thousand like-minded

- with him, having satisfied the chief of men with the well of sweetness,
- 390 greeted him with other royal personages with rays of crested gems and folded yellow hands, sat down by the Conqueror.
- 391 Hundreds of fair royal women also, by permission of the lord of man, sat down there also.
- 392 The Conqueror, the tilaka-spot of the three worlds, after preaching the sweet doctrine, thought: 'If this day I do not go to the house of Bimbā
- 393 her heart will break with sorrow.' Thus thinking, the abode of compassion went with his father to the house, taking a couple of the chief disciples.
- 394 Entering, the Buddha sat down upon the Buddha's seat, shining like the sun with the glory of the six-coloured rays.
- 395 Bimbā approached the Teacher, bright with rays which shone from her body like vermilion powder, with lips like bimbā fruit, trembling like a golden creeper.
- 396 The Teacher, by the touch of his foot, extinguished the great grief in her heart, as extinguishing a fire on the hearth by excellent cool water.
- 397 The King told the Teacher the great excellence of Bimbā, and the chief of sages related the Candakishnara Birth.
- 398 Then the three festivals of Prince Nanda having come, marriage, ceremonial sprinkling, and entering on the house,
- 399 the Illuminator ordained him even before the festivals, having brought him, though unwilling, to the beautiful monastery;
- 400 and when his own son, Prince Rāhala, followed him for the sake of an inheritance, shining with princely splendour,
- 401 and crying in a pleasant voice, 'Grateful is thy shadow to save,' and 'Give me an inheritance, give me an inheritance,'
- 402 him also he ordained, and brought him to the incomparable monastery. Thus the Wise One gave him an inheritance, by giving him the treasure of pure religion.
- 403 Thence departing, Sagata, the Sun, with the rays of pure religion, causing men in this place and that to blossom like the lotus, arrived at Rājagaha. Moreover,
- 404 Sargata dwells in fair Sitavana, having spacious

- cloisters adorned with white sand, and parks of beautiful trees laden with flowers, and multitudes of lakes shining with blue lotus.
- 405 Then the famous merchant named Sudatta, taking carts laden with much goods, came from Sāvatti to beautiful Rājagaha, to the house of the rich merchant Sahāya.
- 406 This kindly person told him that the Buddha was born in the world, lord of men; and in the delight and joy of his heart he thought, 'The night has become light.'
- 407 Departing thence, the darkness being dispelled on the highroad by the power of the gods, he proceeded to lovely Sitavana.
- 408 When he beheld the Great Sage, shining like the full moon, giving out light like a blazing tree, rejoicing the eyes, he touched with his head the fair colour of the Buddha's foot.
- 409 Then, wise with hearing the doctrine, profound, abstruse, glorious, pure, he attained the fruit of the First Path, beautiful a thousand fold.
- 410 Having invited the Supreme Buddha and his company, ruler of the world, he offered a gift full of happiness, endowed with colour, scent, and taste.
- 411 He obtained the Teacher's promise to come to the noble city of Sāvatti; and departing, on the way,
- 412 league by league, he bestowed great wealth, and caused to be made goodly monasteries resplendent with paintings.
- 413 Reaching Sāvatti again, with its hundreds of palaces, fair with garlanded arches, walls, and gates,
- 414 which seemed even to rival the very city of the King of gods, full of all prosperity, merry with dancing and song,
- 415 he looked about him on all sides for a site worthy of a monastery, wherein should dwell the Blessed One, lord of the earth.
- 416 He espied a spot of ground where was shade, and water, and all else desirable, a park of Prince Jeta like to Nandana.
- 417 The glorious one bought this for a crore of gold pieces, for the Teacher's sake alone. There in that noble place, charming the minds of men and gods,
- 418 he caused to be made a large and noble perfumed chamber, painted, like a crown of the earth, fair with all flowers, beauteous with variegated canopies,

its roofs adorned with strings of pearls and all sorts of jewels, surmounted with peaklike pinnacles, ever alive with rows of bells, all tinkling.

- 419-21 For the Conqueror's children also the merchant had made a spacious abode, the fair and noble monastery called Jetavana, furnished with canopies and beds, adorned with bowers and cloisters, ever charming the mind and eyes, ornamented with blossoming trees of many a kind, having tanks filled with most cool and wholesome water, and covered with sweet-scented water-lilies and lotus, having beautiful wide terraces supplied with benches, and soft pure white sand.
- 422 Like the wide mountain Kelāsa, protected by the excellent and beautiful rampart of the Serpent King, helpful to all believers, this monastery shines, a very magic gem.
- 423 Then Anāthapindika sent a message to the chief of sages that he might come. The Teacher, on hearing the messenger's words,
- 424 with a large company of Brethren, set forth, and in due time came to Sāvatti the incomparable.
- 425 A number of handsome princes bearing flags went before the Teacher, like gods.
- 426 Behind them came lovely young women, like virgins divine, bearing full pitchers, and in like manner,
- 427 bearing a full bowl, the merchant's wife, adorned with many ornaments.
- 428 The great merchant himself, with hundreds of rich merchants, approached the Lord, the great hero, to whom they did homage in various ways.
- 429 So Sagata the beautiful, chief of sages, was brought to the golden-coloured city, shining with the delightful six-coloured rays, and entered the monastery of Jetavana.
- 430 'I give this monastery to the Supreme Buddha with the oecumenical order,' said the merchant, as upon the Teacher's lovely lotus-hands
- 431 he poured from a golden pitcher choice scented water, and so he presented the beautiful picturesque monastery.
- 432-3 Having accepted the lovely and noble monastery, the King of Kings, the one eye of the three worlds, the glorious Teacher, the benevolent sage, sitting on the priceless decorated seat, preached to the merchant called Sudatta, to that lord (?) the great

- benefit, delightful, bringing joy to the three worlds, in the giving of monasteries, and of gifts to the helpless.
- 434 What man, save the all-wise one, the sole protector of the three worlds, even though he have thousands of mouths, is able to declare the great benefit which there is in the giving of monasteries ?
- 435 Thus the far-famed one, having discoursed to him, gladdening at the same time the hearts of all men, spent his days going here and there, beating the great drum of the Law with an exceeding sweet sound.
- 436 I shall now recite the list of places frequented by he who gives happiness to the three worlds, the all-compassionate, supreme in the worlds, worshipt by gods, Titans, great Serpents, demons, and other creatures.
- 437 In the first season, the noble Conqueror, like a sun, causing believers to unfold like lotus flowers under the shining rays of religion, dwelt in the Deer Park in Benares City.
- 438 In the second, third, and fourth season the Protector dwelt in most lovely Veluvana, in the fair, noble city called Rajagaha, with its rows of streets containing many a precious shop.
- 439 In the fifth season the Lion Sakyamuni made his abode in the great wood near the lovely city, well-known under the name of Vesali, brilliant with the jewelled aigrettes of kings.
- 440 In the sixth season, the Buddha, store of infinite virtues, dwelt on the great mountain of Manikala, illuminating it with delicate golden light, his lovely eyes like blue lotus flowers bursting into bloom.
- 441 In the seventh season, the incomparable sage, living an auspicious life, made his abode in the cool and spacious rocky seat of the King of the gods, preaching to the gods his doctrine, sweet, profound, and difficult to comprehend.
- 442 In the eighth season, the supreme Conqueror of Māra, the abode of good conduct, whose feet were as the full-blown lotus, made his abode in the delightful wood of Bhesakalā, on the mountain named Hill Sumsumāra.
- 443 In the ninth season, the royal Conqueror of garula birds, the tilaka-mark of the three worlds, having

- destroyed many a heresy, and the pride of heretics and serpents, made his abode in the Kosambi silk-cotton wood, most beautiful and fair to see.
- 444 In the tenth season, the noble sage, to pacify the bitter quarrel of the priests by means of the noble elephant, made his abode in goodly Pāraleyya, the spacious pine-grove filled with flowers.
- 445 In the eleventh season, the chief of sages, the infinitely wise, whose pure teeth captivated the eyes, who leads people to freedom from decay and death with the ambrosia of the gospel, made his abode in the noble Brahmin village called Nāla.
- 446 In the twelfth season, Sakyamuni the all-wise made his abode in a monastery, delightful with fragrant flowers and fruits, under a noble nimb-tree near the Brahmin village of Verañja.
- 447 In the thirteenth season, the wise Teacher of the three worlds, whose mouth was like a lotus full-blown, the goodly sun shining for the right conduct of the people of this world, the abode of mercy, made his abode on the beautiful Cābiya Mountain.
- 448 In the fourteenth season, the steadfast and majestic sage, devoted to the good of all beings, the lord of the gospel, whose hands and feet were like beautiful bandhūka flowers, made his abode in fair and lovely Jetavana.
- 449 In the fifteenth year, the sage, the lion-King, having destroyed lust in the kindred of those fit for salvation, like an elephant in a forest, made his abode in the picturesque jewelled cave of the great Nigrodha monastery on Mount Kapilavatha.
- 450 In the sixteenth season, the leader of multitudes in the paths of bliss, having reduced a most cruel goblin to a state of submission, made his abode in the exceeding fair city called Alāvaka.
- 451 In the seventeenth season, the great sage, the incomparable, whose fame is spread abroad throughout all the three worlds, made his abode in noble Rājagaha, fair to the eye, with its walls, gates, towers, and arches.
- 452 In the eighteenth season, Aṅgīrasa, having destroyed the dirt of horrible lust in the world with the sweet, wholesome medicine of religion, made his abode on the great Mount Cāliya.
- 453 In the nineteenth season, he made his abode there again, the excellent King of the Law, the sweet speaker, lord of the world, having with the sword

- of the Law destroyed ignorance, the great foe of the kinsfolk of those fit for salvation.
- 454 In the twentieth season, the chief of sages, the abode of purity, the tree of fortune, the magic jewel, the noble and auspicious vessel, good for the right conduct of all people, abode in noble and beauteous Rājagaha.
- 455-6 Thus the Blessed One, blood-kin to all the world, revered by the three worlds, pleased with the world's prosperity, full of good fortune, the sage all-wise, having from the time he became Buddha made no fixed abode, but making pilgrimage, his body shining with six-coloured rays, for the rest of the time, five-and-twenty years, made his abode in Sāvatti and Jetavana, noble and beautiful, incomparably fair, and adorned like an abode of the gods.
- 457 Thus this sage abode for forty-and-five years, in his immeasurable compassion quenching like a cloud, with waters most sweet, the lust which arose in men's minds like a body of fire in a forest. May he bring bliss to the world!
- 458 May that fair maiden Wisdom, in the house of my mind, increase day by day, delighting all men.
- 459 By the merit of my compiling this meritorious Life of the Conqueror, may I attain to the Tusitā heaven,
- 460 hearing the discourse of Metteyya, ruler of the world, enjoying with him great bliss for a long time.
- 461 When the Great Being is born, as Buddha in the lovely city, the banner of the earth, may I be born of the royal stock, obtaining the threefold fortune,
- 462 and give to that noble sage large, precious, and goodly robes, alms-food, a dwelling-place, and medicine.
- 463 Becoming an ascetic in the religion, may I be posses of supernatural power, a great being, glorifying that incomparable one, keeping well in mind the three Pitakas.
- 464 May he predict, 'This man will become Buddha,' and may I in the future again and again give to the Buddhas alms which bring happiness.
- 465 As I go through my transmigrations, may I, like a tree of fortune, give excellent, sweet, and noble water, and all that could be wished ;
- 466 giving my flesh, blood, and eyes, with a calm mind, fulfilling all the Perfections and Virtues, all self-abnegation and wisdom ;

- 467 attaining to the highest perfection, may I become  
 Buddha incomparable, and having preached sweet  
 doctrine, bringing happiness to man,  
 468 and freed all the world and the gods from the great  
 bond of transmigration, may I reach the noble city  
 of peace and bliss.
- 

469-72 By King Vijayabāhu, of Bhupāla's royal line, the  
 ornament of Ceylon, done in his own name. (?)  
 The book was compiled by an Elder, wise, the abode  
 of compassion, named Medhāṅkara, well-behaved,  
 living in in a fair and goodly cell, goodly with  
 cisterns, walls, and gates. May it always be pored  
 over by the good! Here there are 473 stanzas, and  
 according to the text 555.

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# ON THE ABHIDHARMA LITERATURE

OF

## THE SARVĀSTIVĀDINS.

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### 1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE Sarvāstivāda school is one of the oldest among the eighteen schools of Buddhism. This enumeration of Buddhist schools as eighteen is historical as well as official. It has been handed down in the tradition of many schools since at least as early as the fourth century A.D., when we find it in the *Dīpavaṃsa*. Professor Rhys Davids has collected the earlier evidence in a paper in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1891; and has there come to the conclusion that already in the time of Asoka only seven schools had retained any practical importance, and of these seven only three or four were still vigorous and flourishing. But the eighteen still continued to be mentioned. In the fifth century first Buddhaghosa and then the *Mahāvamsa* refer to them. Later references are as follows:—

(a) King Guhasena of Valabhī (A.D. 559) mentions (in a grant to a monastery founded by a royal princess, Duddā) the eighteen Buddhist schools represented in the monastery. This is in conformity with Hiuen-tsang's statement that the Hinayāna doctrines were chiefly studied in the monasteries in Valabhī.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Mabel Duff, "Chronology of India," under A.D. 495, and the authorities cited there.

(b) Paramārtha (A.D. 499–569) represents Aśvaghōṣa and Vasubandhu as being well versed in the doctrines of the eighteen schools.<sup>1</sup>

(c) The treatise Aṣṭadaśanikāya (eighteen schools), which is also called the “Samayabhedoparacanacakra” (transl. A.D. 557 and 662),<sup>2</sup> and the corresponding Tibetan work by Dharmākara,<sup>3</sup> enumerate the schools as definitely eighteen, and give an account of their separation. One of the Chinese texts, though it is called the “Aṣṭadaśanikāya,” gives twenty schools, recognizing as separate from the eighteen the two original schools, Theravāda and Mahāsaṃghika (which, however, appear under other names).<sup>4</sup>

(d) Hiuen-tsang (A.D. 629–645) often mentions the Buddhist schools in existence as ‘eighteen,’ but the schools, the texts of which were actually obtained by him, are only seven in number.<sup>5</sup>

(e) I-tsing (A.D. 671–695) groups the eighteen schools under the four heads, Mahāsaṃghikas, Sthaviras, Sarvāstivādins, and Sammitiyas, giving a geographical extension of each.<sup>6</sup>

Of these eighteen schools, the Sarvāstivādins are of particular interest, as the question from which their name is derived had arisen, according to our traditions, already in the time of the Buddha himself.<sup>7</sup> They were closely allied with the Theravāda school, from which they separated, probably, before the Buddhist Council held during King

<sup>1</sup> See my translation of Paramārtha’s Life of Vasubandhu (*Tong-pao*, July, 1904), pp. 278, 290.

<sup>2</sup> Nanjio’s Nos. 1284, 1286; cf. No. 1285.

<sup>3</sup> Tanjur, B. Su., 157; see Wassilief, “Buddhismus,” Beitrage ii.

<sup>4</sup> Wassilief, l.c.; Julien, list in the *Journal Asiatique*, Oct.–Nov., 1859, pp. 327–361; Beal, translation of the text in the *Indian Antiquary*, Dec., 1880.

<sup>5</sup> See Watters, “Notes on Yuan-Chwang,” pp. 21, 162. The seven schools are:—Sthavira, Mahāsaṃghika, Mahīśāsaka, Sammitiya, Kāśyāpiya, Dharmagupta, and Sarvāstivādin.

<sup>6</sup> See my “I-tsing’s Record of Indian Religion,” pp. xxxiii–xxv.

<sup>7</sup> See, for instance, the passages quoted in Mrs. Rhys Davids’ “Index to the Samyutta,” p. 107, under Sabbha atthi.

Asoka's reign.<sup>1</sup> The school is otherwise called the Hetuvāda (Causationalist), a very appropriate name, in contradistinction to the orthodox Theravādins, who, according to the Tibetan and Chinese authorities, were known as the Haimavantas.<sup>2</sup>

The principal seat of the Sarvāstivādins was Kāsmīra, where their doctrine was taught in its purity and developed into an elaborate system known as the Vaibhāṣika. The great commentary on Kātyāyanīputra's Jñānaprasthāna, compiled at, or probably after, the Buddhist Council under King Kaṇiṣka, was called the "Mahāvibhāṣā," from which the name 'Vaibhāṣika' as that of a body of philosophers was derived.<sup>3</sup> Kāsmīra was to them what Ceylon was to the Theravādins. The great Kāsmīrian commentary, Vibhāṣā

<sup>1</sup> According to the Tibetan and Chinese translations of the Samayabhedoparacanacakra (*supra*, c) the Sarvāstivādins separated themselves from the Theravādins in the third century after the Buddha's death. In the Dipavaṃsa, v. 47, the Mahīnsāsakas (not the Sabbatthivādins) separated themselves first from the Theravādins, and from the Mahīnsāsakas, the Sabbatthivādins, and the Dhammaguttas. In any case the separation seems to have taken place before King Asoka's council, because some three questions in the Kathāvattu compiled by Moggalliputta Tissa at the close of the council (circa B.C. 250) are directed (if we may trust the commentator) against the Sabbatthivādins:—(1) Parihāyati Arahā Arahātā ti (Can an Arahāt fall from Arahātship?); (2) Sabbam atthīti (Do all things exist?); (3) Citta-santati Samādhīti (Is continuation of thought Samādhī?). To these the Sabbatthivādins would answer affirmatively against the doctrines of the orthodox Theras. These three points, or two at least, are, I think, clearly indicated as opinions of the Sarvāstivādins in the Samayabhedoparacanacakra above referred to, in its Chinese translations (一切有性; 阿羅漢退法). It is, however, difficult to discuss these points without having an accurate translation of the Tibetan, and also of the Chinese versions, of this important text. Cf. Rhys Davids, J.R.A.S., 1892, p. 8 et seq.; Kathāvattu, i, 2, 6; xi, 6, in Taylor's edition; also my "I-tsing's Record," p. xxi.

<sup>2</sup> 'Hetuvāda' is 'In-shuo' (因說, 'cause-speaking') in Chinese. A similar meaning in Tibetan; Wassilief, "Buddhismus," Beiträge ii, p. 230 (Russ.), gives 'Hetuvāda.' 'Haimavanta' is in Chinese the 'snow-mountain school' (雪山部).

<sup>3</sup> Yaśomitra, "Vibhāṣayā divyanti vaibhāṣikā iti"; cf. Professor de la Vallée Poussin, "Dogmatique Bouddhique," i, p. 65 (p. 297), note. Hiuen-tsang's statement that this commentary was drawn up in the Buddhist Council under Kaṇiṣka is very doubtful, because the book relates a miracle which it says occurred *formerly* in the reign of that king. See Watters, "On Yuan-Chwang," i, p. 277. Sūtropadeśas and Vinayavibhāṣās are said to have been compiled at the council just named. There is, however, no evidence that any upadeśa was compiled before Aśaṅga or Vasubandhu. One of the Vinayavibhāṣās (No. 1125) turned out to be a translation of Buddhaghosa's Samantapāsādikā. See my "Pāli Elements in Chinese Buddhism" (J.R.A.S., July, 1896).

by name, though lost in its original form and only recovered in part, seems, so far as we are able to judge from what we have now of it, to have been by no means inferior in its compass and merit to its 'counterpart in Ceylon, the Atthakathā (circa A.D. 420). The Sarvāstivādins appear, from this work, to have been, after their first deviation from the original school, the upholders of a well-organized philosophical system. This is fully borne out by subsequent writers, especially Vasubandhu (circa 420-500), who often refers to and criticizes the opinions of the 'Kāsmīra-vaibhāṣikas' as a body of thinkers.<sup>1</sup> According to Paramārtha (A.D. 499-569) the Vibhāṣā was a principal subject of philosophical discussion during the fifth century, when there was also a grave controversy between Buddhist and Sāṃkhya philosophers.<sup>2</sup>

Further, the Sarvāstivādins are referred to by Śāṅkarācārya (eighth century),<sup>3</sup> while the Vaibhāṣika system is reviewed as one of the four Buddhist schools by Mādhvācārya (fourteenth century).<sup>4</sup> Thus the existence of the Sarvāstivādins, known later as the Vaibhāṣikas, can be traced during at least fifteen centuries of the history of Indian Buddhism.

The geographical extension of our school seems, at one time, to have been much greater than any of the schools of which we have any record. Fa-hien (A.D. 399-414) says

<sup>1</sup> Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośa (No. 1267), Saṃghabhadra's Nyāyānusāra (No. 1265), and Samayapradīpikā (No. 1266) often quote the Kāsmīra-vaibhāṣika teachers (Ka-shi-mi-la-pi-p'o-sha-shi). There is an instance of Yaśomitra's explanation of this name in the Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā, ch. iii (MS. Burnouf, 469a, 5): "Kim eṣa eva Śāstrābhidharmo Jñānaprasthānādīlakṣaṇo deśito 'ta idam ucyaṭe; Kāsmīra-vaibhāṣikanāntisiddha itī vistarāḥ. Kāsmīre bhavāḥ Kāsmīrāḥ; Vibhāṣayā divyanti vaibhāṣikā itī vyākhyātam etat: santi Kāsmīrā na vaibhāṣikāḥ . . . ; santi vaibhāṣikā na Kāsmīrāḥ . . . ; teṣāṃ nityā yaḥ siddho 'bhidharmaḥ sa prāyeṇa mayā deśitaḥ. Arthād uktaṃ bhavati anyanānti-siddho 'pi deśita itī. Yaḍ durgṛhītaṃ Kāsmīra-vaibhāṣikanayena anyanayena vā . . ." (quoted in Professor de la Vallée Poussin, "Dogmatique Bouddhique," i, p. 65).

<sup>2</sup> See my translation of Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu (*Tong-pao*, July, 1904), pp. 279, 287, 289; 281; and my "Date of Vasubandhu" (*J.R.A.S.*, Jan., 1905), p. 47 (p. 15).

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 73, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> See Sarvadarśanasamgraha, ch. 2.

that this school was followed in Pāṭaliputra as well as in China at his time.<sup>1</sup> According to Hiuen-tsang (A.D. 629–645) the Sarvāstivādins were found chiefly in Kaśgar, Udyāna, and several other places on the northern frontier; in Matipura, Kanoj, and a place near Rājagrha in N. India; and also in Persia in the west.<sup>2</sup>

I-tsing (A.D. 671–695) further gives a fairly minute description of this school, he himself being one of its adherents, and the places enumerated by him as belonging to it are the following:—Magadha (where it chiefly flourished), Lāṭa (Gujarat), Sindhu, S. India (where it had a few followers), E. India (where it existed side by side with other schools), Sumatra, Java (where it largely prevailed), Champā (Lin-yi) in Cochin-China (where it had a few followers), south, west, and east provinces of China and Central Asia (where the minor sects of the school chiefly flourished).<sup>3</sup>

This widespread school was, according to the same author, in possession of a Tripiṭaka amounting to 300,000 śloka. Whether this statement be trustworthy or not, an examination of the vast Buddhist literature which has come down to us in Chinese shows sufficiently clearly that this school had a separate Vinaya-ṭiṭaka<sup>4</sup> and a separate Abhidharma-ṭiṭaka. An analysis of the latter is the object of the present paper.

Before we proceed, it will be necessary for us to clear up a doubt that hangs over the name of the school, as the authenticity of the Sanskrit form is somewhat open to question.

<sup>1</sup> Fa-hien, "Record of the Buddhist Kingdom," ch. 39; Legge, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Hiuen-tsang mentions some thirteen places as belonging to this school, but the number of its adherents in India proper was not so great as in the cases of the other schools. See Rhys Davids, J.R.A.S., 1891, p. 420.

<sup>3</sup> See my "I-tsing's Record," pp. xxii-xxiv.

<sup>4</sup> The list of 19 works in 189 Chinese volumes of the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins is given in my "I-tsing's Record," p. xxxvii. The Tibetan Vinaya is said to belong exclusively to this school (Wassilief, "Buddhismus," p. 96). A separate Vinaya or a portion of it, in one case, belonging to each of the subdivisions of the Sarvāstivāda school, namely, the Dharmaguptas, the Mahiśāsakas, and the Kāśyāpiyas, is also extant in Chinese (cf. Nos. 1117, 1122, 1111).

## 2. THE NAME 'SARVĀSTIVĀDINAS.'

The earlier Chinese name used for this school is invariably 'Sā-p'o-to' (Jap. 'Sat-ba-ta'),<sup>1</sup> as seen, for example, in the books of the Three Chin dynasty (A.D. 350-431)<sup>2</sup> and of the earlier Sung dynasty (A.D. 445).<sup>3</sup> This name was adopted by Fa-hien (A.D. 399-414), Paramārtha (A.D. 499-569), occasionally by Hiuen-tsang (A.D. 629-645), and also by I-tsing (A.D. 671-695). 'Sā-p'o-to' is supposed to represent an original sound, not necessarily Sanskrit. The original may have been something like 'Sarvata,' as Mr. Watters conjectures, who so uses it in his new work on Hiuen-tsang. But since we have no evidence at all for the existence of such a word, we prefer the more probable conjecture that it represents the Pāli 'Sabbatthi (-vāda)' or a similar word in some other Indian dialect. It is most unlikely, judging from the phonetic value of the Chinese characters, that 'Sā-p'o-to' is intended for the Sanskrit 'Sarvāsti(-vāda).'<sup>4</sup> As a representation of the Sanskrit it would be inaccurate, and although Hiuen-tsang and I-tsing, who usually refer to every name in its Sanskrit form, occasionally adopt this name, they do so as a concession to the preceding translators, who represented an earlier and different period of Buddhist literature.

The name which these two travellers have used the most in their translations is 'Shuo-yi-chieh-yu-pu,' the 'school (which) asserts (that) all things exist.'<sup>5</sup> One of them, I-tsing, however, gives the name in a pompous form which clearly points to Sanskrit—'A-li-ya Mu-la Sā-p'o-a-ssū-ti p'o-t'o Ni-Chia-ya' ('Ārya-Mūla-Sarvāsti-vāda-nikāya'),

<sup>1</sup> 薩婆多.

<sup>2</sup> Nanjio, Nos. 1135, 1136.

<sup>3</sup> No. 1132.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Thomas suggests that it may stand for 'Sarvavāda.' We do not, however, find any instance of the use of this word by Buddhists.

<sup>5</sup> 說一切有部.

translating it himself, as I have given it in my English version of his "Record," the 'Noble fundamental school (which) affirms the existence of all (things).'<sup>1</sup>

We have no reason whatever to doubt the accuracy of the name given by I-tsing, for the existence of three Buddhist schools is spoken of by Śamkarācārya in his commentary on Bādarāyaṇa's Vedānta Sūtras, the first of the three being the 'Sarvāsti-tva-vādinās.'<sup>2</sup> Vācaspatimīśra's Bhāmātī also gives us the form 'Sarvāsti-tva-vāda.'<sup>3</sup> These are practically the same as our 'Sarvāstivādinās' or 'Sarvāstivāda.' The Mahāvīyutpatti, § 275, again, gives two forms of the name, Āryasarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda, in conformity with the names given by I-tsing, namely, Ārya-mūla-sarvāstivāda as the chief school and Mūla-sarvāstivāda as one of its subdivisions. We are thus perfectly justified in using the Sanskrit form of the name of the school.

### 3. THE SEVEN ABHIDHARMA WORKS PECULIAR TO THIS SCHOOL.

The Sarvāstivādinās had seven Abhidharma books, just as the Theravādinās had. The names of the books, moreover, of the two schools bear, curiously enough, a striking resemblance in most cases. This was a puzzle to us for a considerable time, but in my note on the Abhidharma literature in the J.R.A.S.<sup>4</sup> I have shown that the two sets

<sup>1</sup> My I-tsing, p. 8, iii. Ch. 阿離耶慕羅薩婆阿私底婆挹尼迦耶. Transl. 聖根本說一切有部.

<sup>2</sup> Bibl. Indic., Calcutta, 1863, p. 546. The three schools given are 'Sarvāsti-tva-vādinās,' 'Vijñānāsti-tva-vādinās,' and 'Sarvaśūnya-tva-vādinās.' These are otherwise known as the 'Vaibhāṣikas,' 'Yogācāras,' and 'Mādhymikas.'

<sup>3</sup> Bibl. Indic., Benares, 1880, p. 413: "Tatra ye hinamatayas te sarvāsti-tvavādena tadāśāyānurodhāt śūnyatāyām avatāryante | ye tu madhyamās, te jñānamātrāstitvena śūnyatāyām avatāryante | ye tu prakṛṣṭamatayas, tebhyah śakṣād eva śūnyatātattvam pratipādyate |" These points have been discussed by Professor Walleiser, Phil. Grundl., 1904, pp. 5, 6.

<sup>4</sup> January, 1905, pp. 160-162.

have no real connection. The mutual relations of the seven books of the one set seem to have differed from those of the other set, for in the case of the Sarvāstivādins they recognize one as the principal book and the rest as its supplements, while in the case of the Theravādins there seems to have been no such subordination.

The principal work of the Sarvāstivādin Hinayāna school<sup>1</sup> is Kātyāyanīputra's Jñānaprasthāna, to which there are six supplements called 'pāda' (foot), the latter standing to the former in some such relation as that of the six Vedāngas to the Veda.<sup>2</sup>

The seven Abhidharma works are as follows (see accompanying list) :—

I have given in full the several lists of the seven Abhidharma books in order to show, on the one hand, that the tradition of the existence of seven books was universal among the Hinayānists, and, on the other hand, to do justice to the Chinese and Tibetan authorities, who have reproduced the Sanskrit names fairly correctly, for I thought that many scholars would suspect the accuracy of the Sanskrit titles given by them. Here an explanation will be necessary as regards the sources from which I have derived the above information.

I. First as to the Sanskrit. The earliest information ever given about the existence of the seven Abhidharmas and the names of their authors was by Burnouf, who furnished a French translation of one passage from Yaśomitra's Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā in his "Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme indien."<sup>3</sup> As the Vyākhyā just named is

<sup>1</sup> The Sarvāstivādins are, of course, Hinayānists. The books belonging to the school are classed in the Hinayāna section of the Chinese Catalogue. See Nanjio's Catal., pp. 277-286.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the citation given below, p. 78, note 1, where the Jñānaprasthāna is said to be the 'Body' and the rest 'Feet.'

<sup>3</sup> 1st ed., p. 448; 2nd ed., p. 339; Skt. MS., Soc. Asiat., fols. 9b and 10a.

I. SANSKRIT.	II. TIBETAN.	III. CHINESE TRANSLITERATION
1. Jñāna-prasthāna, by Ārya Kātyāyanīputra.	(5) Ye-śes-hjug [Jñāna-prasthāna], by Kātyāyana.	(1) Yin-ya-na-p'i-lo-(i) [Jñāna-pr Chia-chan-y
2. Prakaraṇa-pāda, by Sthavira Vasumitra.	(6) Rab-tu-byed-pa [Prakaraṇa], by Vasumitra.	(6) P'i-lo-chi [Praka Shih-yu 300 years after t
3. Vijñāna-kāya, by Sthavira Devaśarmā.	(4) Ruam-śes-tshogs [Vijñāna-kāya], by Devakṣema.	(4) Wei-ti-ya-na [Vijñāna Ti-p'o-shê- 100 years after t
4. Dharma-skandha, by Ārya Śāriputra.	(1) Chos-kyi-phuñ-po [Dharma-skandha], by Śāriputra.	(2) A-p'i-ta-lo-ma [Abhidharma Ta-mu-chien-lien [
5. Prajñapti-śāstra, by Ārya Maudgalyāyana.	(2) Gdags-paḥi-bstan-bcos [Prajñapti-śāstra], by Maudgalyāyana.	(7) Pi-la-ti-ya-pi-ti [Prajñapti (Author's
6. Dhātu-kāya, by Pūrṇa.	(3) Khams-kyi-tshogs [Dhātu-kāya], by Pūrṇa.	(5) Ta-tu-chia-ya-fa-t Shih-yu 300 years after t
7. Saṅgiti-paryāya, by Mahā-kauṣṭhila.	(7) Yañ-dag-hgro-baḥi-grañs [Saṅgiti-paryāya], by Mahā-kauṣṭhila.	(3) A-p'i-ta-lo-ma-sang [Abhidharma-s Sha-li-t

<sup>1</sup> The Chinese sounds printed in italics show that they are translations and not transliterations.

<sup>2</sup> 印牙拏毗羅(亦)思怛拏沙悉特羅·迦旃延造。  
'Chia-chan-yen' here stands for 'Kātyāyana' or 'Kacchāyana.' Paramārtha gives 'Chia-chan-yen-tsū' (迦旃延子; see *Tong-pao*, July, 1904, p. 276, note 34), and Hiuen-tsang transcribes the name as 'Chia-to-yen-ni-tsū' (迦多衍尼子; see below the analysis of the work), both pointing to Skt. 'Kātyāyanīputra.'

<sup>3</sup> 毗羅迦羅拏發怛·世友造。'Shi-yu,' 'world-friend,' stands for 'Vasumitra.'

'尾底牙拏迦亞發怛·提婆設摩造。'Wei-ti-ya-na' here stands for 'Vijñāna.' 'Shê-mo' is 'śarmā,' not 'kṣema,' in Chinese.

IN<sup>1</sup> (TIBETO-CHINESE).

IV.  
CHINESE TRANSLATION.

- sü-ta-na-sha-hsi-tu-lo<sup>2</sup> (1) *Fa-chi-lun*<sup>9</sup>  
[The Treatise on the Opening of Knowledge],  
by *Pa-chien-tu*<sup>10</sup>  
[Atṭha-gantho; Aṣṭa-grantha],  
The venerable Chia-ta-yen-ni-tsü [Ārya Kātyāyaniputra].
- lo-na-fa-ta<sup>3</sup> (3) *P'in-lui-tsu-lun*<sup>11</sup>  
[The Treatise (called) the 'Foot' on Classification],  
by *Chung-shih-fên-tsu-lun*<sup>12</sup>  
[The Treatise (called) the 'Foot' on the division of various matters],  
by *Shih-yu* [Vasumitra].
- chia-ya-fa-ta<sup>4</sup> (4) *Shih-shên-tsu-lun*<sup>13</sup>  
[The Treatise (called) the 'Foot' on the Knowledge-body],  
by *O-lo-han Ti-p'o-shê-mo* [Arhat Devaśarmā].
- shih-kan-ta-fa-ta<sup>5</sup> (6) *Fa-yün-tsu-lun*<sup>14</sup>  
[The Treatise (called) the 'Foot' on the collection of the Laws],  
by *Ta-mu-chien-lien* [Mahā-maudgalyāyana].
- fa-ta sha-hsi-tu-lo<sup>6</sup> (7) *Shih-shê-lun*<sup>15</sup>  
[The Treatise on Arrangement (or Construction)].  
(Author's name is not given.)
- a<sup>7</sup> [Dhātu-kāya-pāda], (5) *Chieh-shên-tsu-lun*<sup>16</sup>  
by [Vasumitra],  
[The Treatise (called) the 'Foot' on the Element-body],  
by *Shih-yu* [Vasumitra].
- ki-ta-fa-li-ya-ya-fa-ta<sup>8</sup> (2) *Chi-i-mên-tsu-lun*<sup>17</sup>  
by [Vasumitra],  
[The Treatise (called) the 'Foot' on the collection of various topics],  
by *Sha-li-tsü* [Śāriputra].

<sup>5</sup> 阿毗達囉麻悉干怛拔怛。大目犍連造。

'Mu-chien-lien,' Jap. 'Mok-ken-len,' probably from Pāli 'Moggallāna.'  
Mark the difference of the authorship of this book between Sanskrit and Chinese.  
The title is here "Abhidharma-skandha" instead of "Dharma-skandha."

<sup>6</sup> 必囉地壓必地發怛沙悉特羅。失造人名。

<sup>7</sup> 達都迦牙發怛。世友造。

<sup>8</sup> 阿毗達囉麻喪吉怛發哩牙壓發怛。舍利子造。

<sup>9</sup> 發智論。

<sup>10</sup> 八犍度論。

<sup>11</sup> 品類足論。

<sup>12</sup> 衆事分足論。

<sup>13</sup> 識身足論。

<sup>14</sup> 法蘊足論。

<sup>15</sup> 施設論。

<sup>16</sup> 界身足論。

<sup>17</sup> 集異門足論。

now being carefully studied by M. Sylvain Lévi, I referred to him at once to satisfy myself as to the actual text. He has kindly furnished me the whole text of Yośomitra, and it is from this original that I have reproduced here the Sanskrit titles of the seven Abhidharmas.<sup>1</sup> The existence of the "Jñānaprasthāna and the rest" is spoken of again in another part of the same work.<sup>2</sup>

II. Turning to Tibetan authorities, we find in Tāranātha's "History of Buddhism" a reference to the seven Abhidharmas of the Sarvāstivādins.<sup>3</sup> Wassilief adds in his note their Sanskrit names on the authority of Bu-ston, a great Tibetan writer who flourished at the beginning of the fourteenth century.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Fedor H. Stcherbatskoi, of St. Petersburg, who is at present engaged in an edition of Bu-ston's work, was kind enough to furnish me the actual passages of Bu-ston, in an English translation. This is practically the sole authority for my Tibetan list, because

<sup>1</sup> In his Commentary on the Abhidharmakośa, Kārikā iii, Yośomitra says: "Kathaṃ nāma dharmapṛavicayaḥ syād ity abhidharma upadīṣṭaḥ śāstrā Buddhena | ata eva | na hi vinābhidharmopadeśena śiṣyaḥ śakto dharmān pṛavicayitum iti | udita iti vade niṣṭhāyām kṛtasamprasāraṇasyaitad rūpam | na tu iṇa utpūrvasyārthāyogād | udita ity uktah | upadīṣṭa ity eko 'rthah | kileti kilāśabdah parābhīpṛayam ghātayati\* || Abhidharmikāṇām etan mataṃ na tu asmākam sautrāntikāṇām iti bhāvah | śrūyante hy abhidharmasāstrāṇām kartārah | tadyathā | Jñānaprasthānasya Ārya-Kātyāyanīputrah kartā | Prakāranapādasya Sthavira-Vasumitrah | Vijñānakāyasya Sthavira-Devaśarmā | Dharmaskandhasya Ārya-Śāriputrah | Prajñaptiśāstrasya Ārya-Maudgalyāyanah | Dhātukāyasya Pūrṇah | Saṃgītiparyāyasya Mahākauṣṭhīlah ||"

\* Mr. Wogihara suggests that 'ghātayati' here ought to be 'dyotayati.'

<sup>2</sup> Bibl. Nation., MSS. Burnouf, 114, fol. 8a: "Sthavira-Kātyāyanīputra-prabhṛtibhir Jñānaprasthānādisu piṇḍikṛtya sthāpita ity āhur, vaibhāṣīkāḥ |" quoted in Walleser, Phil. Grundl., p. 13, note 1. For the expression "Śāstrābhidharmo Jñānaprasthānādīlakṣaṇo," see p. 70, note 1, above.

<sup>3</sup> Tāranātha, 56 (45 Russ.): "Nach der ansicht der Vaibhāṣikas werden die sieben Abhidharma-bücher für Buddha-wort gehalten und als anfang der erklärung's nach der Vibhāṣā angenommen; süra der ansicht der Sautrāntikas sind die sieben Abhidharma-sūtras, welche die Vaibhāṣikas als früher entstanden ansehen, von einfachen Śrāvakas verfasst und fälschlich als von Śāriputra u.s.w. gesammeltes Buddha-wort ausgegeben und als anfang der erklärung's śāstras gelten die sieben sūtras." Further, see next.

<sup>4</sup> Tāranātha, p. 296 (Germ.); Wassilief, "Buddhismus," p. 116 (Germ.). But the Tibetans seem to regard the Dharmaskandha as the most important of all. Cf. Walleser, Phil. Grundl., pp. 18-19. One of the Chinese writers also considers the Dharmaskandha as chief; see the colophon at the end of the analysis of this work given below.

neither Tāranātha nor his translators give the Tibetan names of the seven Abhidharmas.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bu-ston, folio 21 :—“ We must distinguish between the śāstras dealing with the meaning of the Buddha’s words in general, and those which deal with the meaning of some special teaching of the Buddha.

“ I. Grammar, which elucidates the verbal side of the scripture in general, and logic, which elucidates the meaning of it, are said to be the two śāstras appertaining to the whole of the scripture in general, without difference of school or teaching. But I myself hold a different opinion on this topic (namely, that these śāstras are altogether not Buddhistic, but profane sciences).

“ II. Among those śāstras which deal with special teachings of the Buddha, we must distinguish three categories corresponding to the three Dharmacakra-pravartanas. We are going to make known the first category. There, again, among the śāstras dealing with the meaning of the Buddha’s teaching in its first period, we must distinguish between those which elucidate his theoretical views and those which elucidate the practical side of his religion. The first are the seven Abhidharmas, namely :—

1. Dharmaskandha (ཚོས་ཀྱི་ཐུང་པོ་), by Śāriputra.
2. Prajñāpti śāstra (གདགས་པའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་), by Maudgalyāna.
3. Dhātukāya (ཁམས་ཀྱི་ཚོགས་), by Pūrṇa.
4. Vijñānakāya (རྣམ་ཤེས་ཚོགས་), by Devakṣema.
5. Jñānaprasthāna (ཡི་ཤེས་འཇུག་), by Kātyāyana.
6. Prakaraṇa (རབ་ཏུ་བྱེད་པ་), by Vasumitra.
7. Saṃgatiparyāya (ཡང་དག་འགྲོ་བའི་རྣམ་གཟུང་), by Mahā-kausthila  
(གསུམ་པོ་ཚེ་ཡིས་བྱས་).

To this I conform. But the Vaibhāṣikas of Kashmir maintain that these seven are the word of the Buddha.

“ What the Master has fragmentarily taught at different places and times to different men has been collected by the Arhats of the Śrāvakas, just as the Udānavarga (ཚེད་རུ་བརྗོད་པའི་ཚོམས་, Ched-du-brjod-paḥi-tsoms) has

been. Were it not so, then the number of three pitakas in the scriptures would be incomplete, because the Abhidharma is, generally speaking, included in the sūtra and the vinaya, since it is occasionally taught in them. The compendium of the meaning of these seven Abhidharmas is styled the Mahāvibhāṣā. An abridged exposition of its teaching is contained in the Abhidharmakośa and similar works.

“ (Vasubandhu says himself in the Abhidharmakośa that this kośa is an exposition of the views of the Kashmirian vaibhāṣikas.) ”

III and IV. Next as to the Chinese authorities who give the tradition concerning the existence of the seven books.

Bu-ston, folio 173 :—“ 1. Lokaprajñapti in 7 chapters.

(འཇིག་རྟེན་གདགས་པ་བམ་པོ་བརྒྱན་)

(Hjig-rten-gdags-pa bam-po-bdun.)

2. Kāranaprajñapti in 7 chapters.

(རྒྱ་གདགས་པ་བམ་པོ་བརྒྱན་)

(Rgyu-gdags-pa bam-po-bdun.)

3. Karmaprajñapti in 5 chapters.

(ལས་གདགས་པ་བམ་པོ་བྲུ་)

(Las-gdags-pa bam-po-lña.)

“ These three works are translated by Prajñāśena. The Vaibhāṣikas maintain that they belong to the scriptures.

“ And although they appear to be mentioned as such in the Great Index (དཀར་ཆག་ཆེན་པོ་, Dkar-chag-chen-po), still there is no doubt that they, conformably to the meaning of the Sautrāntikas and the remaining schools, must be reckoned as śāstras.”

Dr. Stcherbatskoi writes to Mr. Thomas, of the India Office, through whom I obtained the above information, to the following effect :—“ The three prajñaptis translated by Prajñāśena must be parts of the second Abhidharma, i.e. Prajñapti śāstra. If it be so, then it will result that a part of the seven Abhidharmas was known to the Tibetans, as these three are to be found in the Tanjur Mdo, lxii, 1-107; 107-191; 191-257.”

With the kind help of Mr. Thomas I have compared the Chinese Lokaprajñapti (Nanjio's, 1297; below appendix) with the Tibetan. Both treat of similar subjects, though they seem to differ much in details from each other. In the Chinese Prajñapti śāstra itself (No. 1317) the title Lokaprajñapti is given, but its contents are missing, while the Kāranaprajñapti practically forms the whole text. The Tibetan version of the latter has been examined by Mr. Thomas, who furnished me an analysis of it. It gives, like the Chinese text, the lakṣaṇas and ratnas of a Mahāsattva, and raises all sorts of questions as to a Cakravartin, a Bodhisattva, and their surroundings. Thus the two versions, Chinese and Tibetan, treat of one and the same subject, though the latter is much more minute than the former.

The Karmaprajñapti does not exist in Chinese. From the above comparisons, though imperfect owing to the fragmentary condition of the Chinese text, we may assume that Dr. Stcherbatskoi is right in taking the three prajñaptis above referred to, to be parts of the second Abhidharma (i.e. Prajñapti śāstra). The quotations from the Prajñapti śāstra found in the Mahāvibhāṣā (e.g. fasciculi 136, 176) also seem to be of similar nature.

Mr. Thomas took great trouble in looking through the list of the Tibetan works, but failed to find any other of the seven Abhidharmas; we can now safely state with Wassilief that the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharmas do not exist in Tibetau, except the Prajñapti śāstra. The Tibetan Dharmaskandha (Mdo, xx, 3; Wa. 39-46), to which Professor Walleser refers (Phil. Grundl., p. 18), proved, on comparison, to be an entirely different text from the Chinese one, and consequently not one of the seven Abhidharmas in question.

The earliest of all is an interesting note at the end of vol. xxiii (book vi) of the Chinese translation of the Jñānaprasthāna itself (A.D. 379). In this it is said that the 'Aṣṭa-grantha' (= Jñānaprasthāna) is the 'body' (kāya), and there are besides six 'feet' (pāda), amounting to 1,000,000 syllables in all.<sup>1</sup> The next earliest notice of the seven books is found in Nāgārjuna's commentary on the Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra (translated A.D. 402-405). This work mentions the "Aṣṭa-grantha-Abhidharma and the six-divisioned Abhidharma."<sup>2</sup> There is no doubt whatever that this 'Aṣṭa-grantha' of Nāgārjuna refers to Kātyāyanīputra's Jñānaprasthāna, as is proved by evidence from several sources.<sup>3</sup> The 'six-divisioned Abhidharma,' however, is not quite clear, the six not being mentioned by name. But as it occurs with the mention of the chief work, Jñānaprasthāna, it is very likely that it refers to the six supplementary works called 'feet' (pāda). For accurate information concerning them it is necessary, as in other cases, to have recourse to Hiuen-tsang (A.D. 629-645), who has translated most of the seven works. His "Record of the Western Kingdom," however, does not mention these seven as one body of Abhidharma literature. His statements that this or that one of the seven had been composed in some particular locality or hermitage shows that some of them, if not all,

<sup>1</sup> See, for the original, below the analysis A, the end of bk. vi.

<sup>2</sup> Nanjio's, 1169; small Jap. ed., 徃 1, fol. 17b: 八犍度阿毗曇; 六分阿毗曇.

<sup>3</sup> Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu (*Tong-pao*, July, 1904, p. 276): "Kātyāyanīputra collected the Abhidharma of the Sarvāstivādins and arranged it in eight Ka-lan-ta (Grantha), and that this work was called the 'Discourse on the Opening of Knowledge' (Jñānaprasthāna)." Cf. Wassilief, "Buddhismus," p. 217 et seq.; Walleser, *Phil. Grundl.*, p. 146. (That the Paṭṭhāna which is cited as 'Mahāpakaraṇa' by Buddhaghosa ("Atthasālini," pp. 7, 9, 87, 212, 409) refers to our book wants an elucidation, because the identity of the Paṭṭhāna with our Jñānaprasthāna cannot be proved.) The identity of the Aṣṭa-grantha with the Jñānaprasthāna is open to no doubt at all; for the earlier Chinese translation of this work (No. 1273) bears the name *Pa-chien-tu* (Atṭha-Gantho; Nanjio, *Aṣṭa-Khaṇḍa*), while the later one (No. 1275) with similar contents is called the *Fa-chi-lun* (Jñānaprasthāna), both in 44 vargas; see analysis given below.

were at that time very famous among Indian Buddhist scholars.<sup>1</sup>

It is his disciple, Fu-kuang (A.D. 645-664, with Hiuen-tsang), who gives in his "Notes on the Abhidharmakośa" a tradition concerning the seven Abhidharmas, one chief text and the six pāda supplements, mentioning them by name.<sup>2</sup> K'uei-chi (died 682), another disciple of Hiuen-tsang, refers to this division in a colophon to the Chinese Dhātukāya.<sup>3</sup> I need not add here that these two obtained this information directly from Hiuen-tsang, who may in turn have been informed by his teachers in Nālandā or may himself have been acquainted with a commentary, like Yaśomitra's, on the Abhidharmakośa. The official order of the works in Chinese differs from that given in either the Sanskrit or the Tibetan authorities.

The Mahāvibhāṣā, which is itself a commentary on Kātyāyanīputra's Jñānaprasthāna, and is anterior to Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośa, quotes now and again these pāda works, which fact shows again that these supplementary works were held to be of great value for a successful

<sup>1</sup> Hiuen-tsang, "Mémoires," i, 201: "*Fa-chi-lun* (Jñānaprasthāna) was compiled by Ka-to-yen-na (Kātyāyana, 300 years A.D.), while in the Tāmasavana vihāra, a Sarvāstivādin monastery in Chinapati, North Frontier" (Watters, i, p. 294). "Mémoires," i, 119: "Fu-su-mo-to-lo (Vasumitra) compiled the *Chung-shi-fên-O-p'i-ta-mo-lun* (Prakaraṇa(-pāda-)abhidharma-śāstra) in a tope at Puṣkalāvātī (Penkelaotis)" (Watters, i, p. 214). The *Shih-shên-tou-lun* (Vijñānakāya) is said to have been composed by Ti-po-shê-mo (Devaśarmā) in P'i-sho-ka (Viśoka), near Śrāvastī (Watters, i, p. 373).

<sup>2</sup> 普光. He is known as 'Ta-shêng-kuang' (大乘光). The most of Hiuen-tsang's translations (75 texts altogether) have been dictated to Fu-kuang. His notes taken from Hiuen-tsang's lecture on the Abhidharmakośa of Vasubandhu have been preserved in Japan, and are known as the "Notes of Fu-kuang" (generally 'Kō-ki,' 光記). This is not included in the official collection of the Buddhist works. I regret, however, that this and another important "Notes on the Abhidharma-kośa," by Fa-pao (法寶), pupil of Hiuen-tsang and I-tsing, have not been consulted in detail, for they are not accessible to me here in England.

<sup>3</sup> See the analysis given below.

exposition of the principal Abhidharma text.<sup>1</sup> Thus the seven books must have existed prior to the compilation of the Mahāvibhāṣā by 500 Arhats, at a time, 400 years according to one account, or 500 years according to the other, after the Buddha's death.<sup>2</sup>

The names of the seven books quoted in these works are, without exception, given in the Chinese form (see the list IV above).

The Chinese transliterations (the list III above) have been taken from the Catalogue of the Tripiṭaka of the Yuen dynasty called the "*Chi-yuen-fa-pao-chien-t'ung-tsung-lu*"<sup>3</sup> (or generally "*Chi-yuen-lu*" simply), i.e. "A General Catalogue of the Sacred Texts in the '*Chi-yuen*' period" (A.D. 1264-1294). The "*Chi-yuen-lu*" is based on a comparison of the Chinese Buddhist books with the Tibetan Kanjur, and was compiled by command of Kubilai Khan. Preparatory to the translation of the Tripiṭaka into Mongolian the Emperor Kubilai convened his priestly and lay subordinates and constituted them a committee to examine the contents of the Buddhist works (1,440 in number) then extant in China and Tibet. This committee consisted of some twenty-eight scholars of several countries, China, Tibet, India, Turfan, Wuigur, and Mongolia.

The Chinese texts were compared one by one with their counterparts in Tibetan, where such existed, and in cases where none such existed the fact was carefully noted.

<sup>1</sup> E.g., Nanjio's No. 1263, the Mahāvibhāṣā, 17 (Jap. 収 1, fol. 74b), quotes the Prakaraṇapāda (品類), Vijñānakāya (識身), and Prajñaptipāda (法設); the same, 23 (収 1, fol. 99b), cites the Saṅgītiparyāya (集異) and Dharmaskandha (法蘊). The Dhātukāya (界身) may be found quoted somewhere. For this information and for note 2, p. 78, I am indebted to Mr. U. Wogihara.

<sup>2</sup> Vasumitra is said to be one of the 500 Arhats who took part in compiling the Mahāvibhāṣā (400 years or 500 years A.B.). Two of the seven Abhidharmas are attributed to Vasumitra, who is said to have lived at a time 300 years A.B. Vasumitra of 400 years A.B. and that of 300 years A.B. must be different. This is certain from the fact that the Vibhāṣā itself quotes his books, and mentions him as one of the four great Śāstrins of the Sarvāstivāda school. Cf. Watters, i, p. 274.

<sup>3</sup> 至元法寶勘同總錄, vol. ix, Nanjio, No. 1612.

As to the contents of each work, they were satisfied to state simply whether the two, Chinese and Tibetan, agreed with each other or not. Almost all the Chinese titles were restored by them to their Sanskrit forms, which, though not always correctly given, were arrived at by a fairly accurate system of transliteration, the Chinese sounds then current being used for the purpose.

The work of this commission resulted, as I have said above, in the catalogue under notice, which has been used by Stanislas Julien and Bunyiu Nanjio as their principal guide for the restoration of Sanskrit names.<sup>1</sup> This catalogue I designate elsewhere in this paper as the "Tibeto-Chinese Catalogue."

As for the names of the seven Abhidharmas, great credit is due to the compilers of the Catalogue, inasmuch as they have preserved the correct Sanskrit forms of the names, thus affording us a clue to the identification of the Sanskrit works with the Chinese. The list III is made entirely from this source.

In this Catalogue it is stated that the seven Abhidharmas, one and all, agree with the corresponding Tibetan works, though in reality they do not seem to exist in the Kanjur or Tanjur with the exception of one.<sup>2</sup>

The evidence we have adduced from Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese sources not being conflicting, we are fairly justified in assuming that at an early period of their separate history the Sarvāstivādins were in possession of an Abhidharma literature consisting of seven books, one principal and six supplementary, as we have seen above; and that these works had been widely studied in Kaśmīra, the seat of this school; and we can say further that the tradition concerning them is comparatively trustworthy,

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<sup>1</sup> M. P. Habacuc of Russia sent this catalogue to S. Julien in 1848. After a careful study the latter published a "Concordance Sinico-Sanscrite" (*Journal Asiatique*, Nov.-Dec., 1849, pp. 351-446). Bunyiu Nanjio, while compiling his Catalogue for the India Office in 1883, made use of the Concordance as well as the original Chi-yuen-lu.

<sup>2</sup> See above, note, p. 77.

since it has been preserved in practically the same form in India, Tibet, China, and Japan.

Hitherto we have merely dwelt on the traditions concerning the Abhidharma works; let us now proceed to examine the actual texts preserved in China and Japan.

#### 4. AN ANALYSIS OF THE SEVEN ABHIDHARMA WORKS OF THE SARVĀSTIVĀDINS.

##### I. JÑĀNAPRASTHĀNA,

BY ĀRYA KĀTYĀYANĪPUTRA.

(Skt. 1; Tib. 5; Tib.-Chin. 1; Chin. 1.)

There exist in Chinese two different translations of this text, made in the fourth and in the seventh century. The two bear different names, the one "Aṣṭa-grantha" (or Aṭṭha-gantho), the other "Jñānaprasthāna," thus confirming the statement by Paramārtha (A.D. 499-569), who, in his Life of Vasubandhu, alludes to this work as having two names.<sup>1</sup>

##### A.

A-p'i-t'an-pa-chien-tu-lun.<sup>2</sup>  
Abhidharmāṣṭagrantha(-śāstra)  
(generally called the "Aṣṭa-  
grantha").  
Nanjio's Cat., No. 1273.

##### B.

A-p'i-ta-mo-fa-chi-lun.<sup>3</sup>  
The Abhidharma śāstra—  
"Opening of Knowledge"  
(generally called the "Jñāna-  
prasthāna").  
Nanjio's Cat., No. 1275.

<sup>1</sup> See my translation of Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu (*Tong-pao*, July, 1904), pp. 276-277, and compare my study of this life (*J.R.A.S.*, Jan., 1905, p. 52).

<sup>2</sup> 阿毗曇八建度論. The eight 'Chien-tu' is in Paramārtha, l.c., 'Kan-tu' (乾度), which he himself says is equivalent to Skt. Ka-lan-la (Grantha). M. Sylvain Lévi suggests that 'Kan-tu' or 'Chien-tu' represents more likely the Prākṛit form 'Gantho.'

<sup>3</sup> 阿毗達磨發智論. 'Fa-chi' may mean 'production of knowledge.'

<p>Amount: 8 chien-tu (gantho); 44 po-ch'ü (vaggo).<sup>1</sup> 30 chüan (fasciculi); 554 pages (ye).</p> <p>Author: Chia-chan-yen-tsu<sup>3</sup> [Kātyāyanīputra].</p> <p>Translators: Chü-t'an Sang-chie-ti-po<sup>5</sup> [Gotama Saṃghadeva], from Ka-pin (Kāśmīra), A.D. 383; and Chu Fo-nien (a Chinese), A.D. 350-417.</p> <p>A vaggo by T'an-mo-pi [Dham- mapiya] from Ka-pin (Kāśmīra).</p>	<p>Amount: 8 groups (<i>yün</i>; skandha); 44 sections (<i>na-hsi</i>; <i>varga</i>).<sup>2</sup> 20 chüan (fasciculi); 382 pages (ye).</p> <p>Author: The venerable Chia-to-yen-ni- tsü<sup>4</sup> [Ārya Kātyāyanīputra].</p> <p>Translator: Hiuen-tsang, A.D. 657-660.</p>
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These two are translations from one and the same text. Though the originals seem to have had variant readings here and there, the translations do not present any material difference in general scope. At the beginning of every

<sup>1</sup> Po-ch'ü (跋 柴) is likely 'vaggo.' A does not seem to have been in Sanskrit.

N.B.—Generally speaking, 'sections' or 'chapters' are the divisions of the original text, whereas 'fasciculus' (chüan) is that made according to the convenience of the Chinese editors. In almost all instances these two methods of division, original and editorial, are adopted. One fasciculus (chüan) contains as a rule 18-21 Chinese pages (ye). In calculating we can take one Chinese page (it is really a folio in large print) as about equivalent to one page octavo.

<sup>2</sup> 八 蘊 四 十 四 納 息. 'Yün' is 'aggregate' (skandha) in Chinese. Hiuen-tsang's original seems to have had 'Skandha' instead of 'Grantha.' 'Na-hsi' is the translation of 'Varga,' and means 'interception of breath,' the sense of which is not quite clear to me. Perhaps as a class of consonants, which are generally pronounced by stopping breath, is called 'varga,' Hiuen-tsang may have used this translation, or one section may be understood by him to mean the resting of one's breath in reciting a text.

<sup>3</sup> 迦 旃 延 子.

<sup>4</sup> 迦 多 衍 尼 子. Kātyāyanīputra is said to have lived 300 years A.B.; see Watters, "Yuan-Chwang," i, p. 294.

<sup>5</sup> 瞿 曇 僧 伽 提 婆, 竺 佛 念 (Nanjo's Catal., p. 399, § 39, and pp. 405, 458).

chapter Kātyāyanīputra raises a series of questions which are subsequently to be answered by him, and then deals with them one by one. The list of questions (the *mātikā*) is generally left out by Hiuen-tsang, thus making his version much shorter than that of his predecessors. Unless the discovery of a Tibetan counterpart may be hoped for, the Chinese version in two recensions stands as the sole representative of the text.

Kātyāyanīputra's *Jñānaprasthāna* is, be it stated again, the fundamental and all-important work of the Sarvāstivāda school, and it seems to have occupied a prominent position in its literature, for it is to this, as we have seen above, that the six so-called 'feet' (*pāda*) stand in the relation of supplements, and it is on this again that the great commentary, *Mahāvibhāṣā*, has been drawn up. The original Indian text is said, in the earlier translation (A), to have consisted of 15,072 ślokas, or rather a corresponding number of syllables in prose, namely, 482,304 syllables.<sup>1</sup> In what language, however, the original text was composed we have no means of ascertaining. All we can say is that the text brought by Saṃghadeva and Dhammapiya from Kāśmīra seems to have been in a dialect akin to Pāli, whereas the text used by Hiuen-tsang, as in other cases, seems to have been in Sanskrit. But this supposition rests solely on the phonetic value of Chinese ideographs employed in these translations, and is not corroborated by any other evidence.

<sup>1</sup> A preface to the book written by Tao-an (died A.D. 385), a contemporary of the translators, gives the number of ślokas or syllables as follows: 梵本十五千七十二首盧, 四十八萬(一)千(五)百四言, 秦言十九萬五千二百五十言其人忘因緣一品云言數可與十門等也. (The characters in brackets seem to be misprints of (二) and (三) respectively.) "The Fan (Brāhmi) text consisted of 15,072 ślokas, or 482,304 syllables. In the Chin (Chinese) tongue, 195,250 words. This man (i.e. Saṃghadeva, the translator) forgot (and could not recite) a chapter on Causes (Bk. vi, 7 below), but said that the number of its syllables was equal to that of the 'Ten Gates.'" The 'Ten Gates' is Bk. ii, 4, which is said to have been in 1,600 ślokas, twelve letters (syllables) extra.

That this book belongs exclusively to the Sarvāstivādins may be taken as certain from the fact that at the end of each of eight fasciculi in Hiuen-tsang's translation it is distinctly stated, as seen from the analysis given below, that it belongs to this school.

Hiuen-tsang himself visited the monastery Tāmasāvana in Chinapati in N. India, in which there were three hundred brethren of the Sarvāstivāda school, who were thorough students of the Hinayāna. He records that this was the monastery in which, three hundred years after the Buddha's nirvāṇa, Ka-to-yen-na (Kātyāyana) composed his "Fa-chi-lun" (Jñānaprasthāna).<sup>1</sup> This statement of Hiuen-tsang also connects the book with this school, and again we have an indication to the same effect in the Tibeto-Chinese Catalogue above referred to, vol. ix. Under the heading of the Abhidharma literature the following statement occurs:— "The Abhidharma-piṭaka of the Śrāvakas (of the Hinayāna) consists of 38 texts (pu), 708 fasciculi (chüan), and 73 cases (chih). The Abhidharma-piṭaka is not one and the same in all schools. Now according to (the method of) the Sarvāstivāda school we place the original work, 'body' (kāya), first, and the supplementary works, 'feet' (pāda), next. The branches thereof, the Vibhāṣā and the like, are placed last. Those of the other schools come next in order."<sup>2</sup>

Since this work is the key to all the subsequent philosophical literature of the Buddhists, I give here a somewhat detailed account of its contents.

<sup>1</sup> See Watters, "Yuan-Chwang," i, p. 294.

<sup>2</sup> 聲聞對法藏三十八部七百八卷七十三帙。此對法藏諸部不同今者據其有部根本身論居初足論居次。毗婆娑等支派編末其餘部類相次編之。

## CONTENTS OF THE JÑĀNAPRASTHĀNA.

## BOOK I.

## A.

## GANTHO I: MISCELLANEOUS.

## (雜 犍 度 第 一)

1. Lokuttara-dhamma-vaggo.<sup>1</sup>

## (世 間 第 一 法 跋 渠 一)

What is the Lokuttara-dhamma?<sup>2</sup>—to what category does it belong?—why is it the highest in the world?—its definition—its bearings—its relation to 22 sakkāya-diṭṭhis<sup>3</sup>—the transcendental conditions compared with the other conditions, etc.

It is stated at the end of the first vaggo: "The original text of the vaggo consisted of 528 ślokas."

## 2. Knowledge (ñāna)-vaggo.

## (智 跋 渠 二)

At the end: "The original second vaggo consisted of 230 ślokas, 20 letters (syllables) extra."

## B.

## GROUP I: MISCELLANEOUS.

## (雜 蘊 第 一)

## Lokottara-dharma-varga.

## (世 第 一 法 納 息 一)

## Knowledge-section.

## (智 納 息 二)

The cause of knowledge—memory—doubt—six causes of stupidity reproved by the Buddha—cessation of the causes, etc.

<sup>1</sup> I have throughout attempted to restore the Indian words probably represented by the Chinese translations. In doing so I have not thought it either necessary or even desirable to confine myself to the Sanskrit forms. It seems to me more than probable that the Jñānaprasthāna at least was written in some dialect: one thinks naturally of the dialect of Kāśmīra, but we really have no certainty that the Jñānaprasthāna was not composed in Kosala. I use the nominative form in the cases of Gantho and Vaggo because I think that the phonetic value of the Chinese requires it.

<sup>2</sup> See Childers, s.v.; compare Dharmasaṅgraha, § 23, Lokottarapañca-skandha; also Mahāvīyutp., § 4.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Childers, s.v.: visativatthukā sakkāyadiṭṭhi attavādupadānaṃ.

3. Individuality (puggala)-vaggo. Pu-tu-chie-lo (pudgala)-section.

(人跋渠三)

(補特伽羅納息三)

How many of the 12 paṭiccasamuppādas do belong to the past, present, and future puggala?—final liberation, etc. Several passages from the Āgama quoted.

At the end: "The original vaggo consisted of 148 ślokas, 16 letters (syllables) extra."

4. Vaggo on love and reverence. Section on love and reverence.

(愛恭敬跋渠四)

(愛敬納息四)

Respect out of love (pema)—respect out of honour (gāraṇa)<sup>1</sup>—two sorts of honour (gāraṇa), with wealth (dhana) and with religion (dhamma)—strength of the body—Nirvāṇa the ultimate end, etc.

At the end: "The original text, 373 ślokas, 10 letters (syllables) extra."

5. Ahirikānottappa-vaggo. Section on shamelessness (ahrikatā).

(無慚愧跋渠五)

(無慚納息五)

Shamelessness (ahirikā)—fearlessness of sinning (anottappa)<sup>2</sup>—the increasing demerits (akusalamūla), etc.

At the end: "The original text of this vaggo consists of 220 ślokas."

6. Form (rūpa)-vaggo. Section on characteristics (lakṣaṇa).

(色跋渠六)

(相納息六)

The rūpa-dhamma going through birth and death is impermanent—why can it be called a 'form'?—impermanence (anitya), etc., etc.

At the end: "The original text, 47 ślokas."

<sup>1</sup> Skt. prema and gaurava.

<sup>2</sup> Mahāvīyutp., § 104 (49, 50), ahrikyam, anapatrāpyam; Dharmasamgraha, § 30, ahrikatā, anapatrapā.

7. Objectlessness (anatta)-vaggo. Section on objectlessness.

(無義跋渠七) (無義納息七)

All the practices of austerity are vain—things desired cannot be secured, etc.

At the end: "The original text, 97 ślokas."

8. Thought (cetanā)-vaggo. Section on thought (cetanā).

(思跋渠八) (思納息八)

Thinking — reflecting — awakening (vitakka) — observing (vicāra) — unsettled mind (uddhacca)<sup>1</sup> — ignorance (avijjā) — arrogance (māna) — hardness of heart, etc.

At the end: "The original text, 326 ślokas, 18 letters (syllables) extra."

BOOK II.

A.

B.

GANTHO II:

GROUP II:

THE BOND OF HUMAN PASSIONS

THE BOND OF HUMAN PASSIONS

(SĀMYOJANA).

(SĀMYOJANA).

(結使憊度二)

(結蘊二)

1. Vaggo on demerits (akusala-mūla).

Section on 10 demerits (daśakuśalamūla).

(不善跋渠一) (十不善納息一)

3 saṃyojanas—5 views—9 saṃyojanas—98 anuśayas—their details, scopes, results, etc.

At the end: "The original text, 603 ślokas, 14 letters (syllables) extra."

<sup>1</sup> See Dharmas., p. 69; Skt. auddhatya.

2. Vaggo on those who come but once (sakadāgāmin).<sup>1</sup> Section on those who come but once (sakarādāgāmin).  
 (一行跋集二) (一行納息二)  
 The germs of passions, etc., still left in the sakadāgāmins—9 forms of pahāna-pariññā,<sup>2</sup> etc.  
 At the end: "The original text, 1,040 ślokas."
3. Vaggo on man. Section on sentient being (sattva).  
 (人跋集三) (有情納息三)  
 Moral defilements arising from views—those arising from practices—4 fruits of sāmañña—death and rebirth—regions having no rebirth, etc.  
 At the end: "The original text, 467 ślokas."
4. Vaggo on 10 gates. Section on 10 gates.  
 (十門跋集四) (十門納息四)  
 Causes of moral defilements (1)—single cause (2)—double cause (3)—order of various thoughts (4)—awakening thought (5)—thought connected with indriyas (6)—completion (7)—incompletion (8)—knowledge that can destroy the causes (prahāna-parijñā) (9)—realization of the destruction (nirodha-sākṣātkāra) (10).<sup>3</sup>  
 At the end: "The original text, 1,600 ślokas, 12 letters (syllables) extra."

BOOK III.

A.

GANTHO III :  
 KNOWLEDGE (ÑĀNA).  
 (智捷度三)

B.

GROUP III :  
 KNOWLEDGE (JÑĀNA).  
 (智蘊三)

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Wogihara thinks that the 'I-hsing,' meaning 'one-going,' is quite different from the 'I-lai,' i.e. 'one-coming,' which is the translation of 'sakadāgāmin.' He suggests that it may be 'ekatra-ga,' judging from an analogy of 'sarvatra-ga' (pien-hsing).

<sup>2</sup> See Childers, s.v. pariññā; Skt. prahānā-parijñā.

<sup>3</sup> I put here Sanskrit on the authority of Mr. Wogihara.

1. Vaggo on 8 stages (sekha and asekha). Section on the branches of learning (śikṣāṅga).  
 (八道跋渠一) (學支納息一)  
 Knowledge attained by the lower grades of sanctification—the state of an Arhat—views (diṭṭhi)—knowledge (ñāna)—wisdom (paññā)—views of those free from passion (anāsava-samādiṭṭhi),<sup>1</sup> etc.  
 At the end: “The original text, 430 ślokas.”
2. Vaggo on the 5 kinds (of views, right and wrong). Section on the 5 kinds.  
 (五種跋渠二) (五種納息二)  
 Wrong views—right views—wrong knowledge—right knowledge—views of an asekha, etc.  
 At the end: “The original text, 200 ślokas, 14 letters extra.”
3. Vaggo on the knowledge of another’s mind (paracittañāna).<sup>2</sup> Section on the knowledge of another’s mind.  
 (知他心智跋渠三) (他心智納息三)  
 What is the knowledge that discerns another’s thought?—the knowledge of the past life (pubbenivāsānussatiñāna),<sup>3</sup> etc.  
 At the end: “The original text, 132 ślokas.”
4. Vaggo on the cultivation of knowledge. Section on the cultivation of knowledge.  
 (修智跋渠四) (修智納息四)  
 Cultivation of the eightfold knowledge—dharmañāna—anvayañāna—saṃvṛtijñāna—duḥkhaj.—samudayaaj.—nirodhaj.—mārgaj.—kṣayaaj.—anupādayaj.<sup>4</sup>—its relation with the secular knowledge, etc.  
 At the end: “The original text, 930 ślokas.”

<sup>1</sup> Skt. anāsava-samyagdrṣṭi (Wogihara).

<sup>2</sup> Compare Mahāvīyutp., § 57, 2.

<sup>3</sup> See Childers, s.v. pubbo, vijjā; Dharmas., § 76.

<sup>4</sup> Mahāvīyutp., § 57; Dharmas., § 93; cf. Childers, s.v. ñānaṃ.

5. Vaggo on knowledge attained by (the ariya-puggalas).  
 (相應跋渠五) (七聖納息五)  
 77 sorts of knowledge and all the bearings of knowledge discussed.  
 At the end: "The original text, 1,033 ślokas." At the end of this section it is stated: "This text belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

BOOK IV.

- | A.   | B.  |
|--|---|
| GANTHO IV: ACTION (KAMMA).<br>(行慥度四)   | GROUP IV: ACTION (KARMA).<br>(業蘊四)  |
| 1. Vaggo on wicked actions.<br>(惡行跋渠一)<br>All details of sinful actions (3 duccharitas: kāya-, vacī-, mano-)—their results, etc.<br>At the end: "The original text, 192 ślokas."                           | Section on wicked actions.<br>(惡行納息一)   |
| 2. Vaggo on erroneous speech.<br>(邪語跋渠二)<br>All details of sins by speech (micchāvācā)—their results, etc.<br>At the end: "The original, 245 ślokas."  | Section on erroneous speech.<br>(邪語納息二)   |
| 3. Vaggo on injury to living beings (himsā).<br>(害衆生三)<br>All details of sins of killing life—their results, etc.<br>At the end: "The original, 309 ślokas."   | Section on injury to life (himsā).<br>(害生三)<br>At the end: "This belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school." |
| 4. Vaggo on the demonstratable and undemonstratable.<br>(有教無教跋渠四)<br>All good and bad actions (kusalākusala) relating to the past and future, etc. <sup>1</sup><br>At the end: "The original, 273 ślokas." | Section on the visible and invisible (vijñāpty-avijñāpti).<br>(表無表納息四)                                |

<sup>1</sup> Abhidharmakośa - vyākhyā, ch. i: avijñāpti - vijñāptisamādhisaṃbhūtaṃ kuśalākusalaṃ rūpaṃ. See Dharmas., p. 70.

5. Vaggo on actions bearing the selfsame results.      Section on actions bearing the selfsame results.
- (自行跋渠五)      (自業納息五)
- Actions bearing the like fruits, etc. Here a curious allusion to speech is given. Speech is said to be in ten forms, i.e., Buddha-vāk, -jalpa, -vyāhāra, -girā, -bhāṣya, -nirukti, -vāk-svara, -vāk-patha, action by mouth (-vāk-karman), demonstration by mouth (-vāg-vijñapti).<sup>1</sup>
- At the end: "The original, 185 ślokas."      At the end: "This belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

## BOOK V

A.

B.

GANTHO V: THE FOUR GREAT  
(CATUR-MAHĀBHŪTA).  
(四大犍度五)

GROUP V:  
THE GREAT SEEDS.  
(大種蘊五)

1. Vaggo on pure organs (indriya).      Section on the products of the Great (mahābhūta).
- (淨根跋渠一)      (大造納息一)
- The four elements—product of a combination of the four—complete and incomplete products—their causes, etc.
- At the end: "The original, 392 ślokas."
2. Vaggo on conditions (of the combination of elements).      Section on conditions.
- (緣跋渠二)      (緣納息二)
- Conditions (pratyaya)—elements of the past—those of the future, etc.
- At the end: "The original, 547 ślokas."
3. Vaggo on the visible truth.      Section on the visible.
- (見諦跋渠三)      (具見納息三)
- Things belonging to the rūpa-dhātu are summarily explained.
- At the end: "The original, 169 ślokas."      At the end: "This belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

<sup>1</sup> I follow mostly Mr. Wogihara's restoration of these words.

4. Vaggo on internal products. Section on the perception-  
elements.  
(內造跋渠四) (執受納息四)  
Sensations, feelings, ideas, etc., are discussed.  
At the end: "The original, 210  
ślokas."

BOOK VI.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| A.   | B.   |
| GANTHO VI: ORGANS (INDRIYA).   | GROUP VI: ORGANS (INDRIYA).                            |
| (根 捷 度 六)  | (根 蘊 六)  |
| 1. Organ (indriya)-vaggo.  | Section on organs.                                     |
| (根 跋 渠 一)  | (根 納 息 一)  |
| 22 indriyas—eye (cakkhu), ear (sota), nose (ghāna), tongue (jihvā), body (kāya), mind (mano), the female (itthindriya), the male (puṃsa), life (jīva), happiness (sukha), suffering (dukkha), rejoicing (somanassa), sorrow (domanassa), guarding, i.e. indifferent (upekkhā), believing (saddhā), striving (viriya), recollection (sati), contemplation (samādhi), wisdom (paññā), the unknown, the known, the yet to be known (anaññātāṃ nāssamīt'indriyaṃ, aññindriyaṃ, aññātāvindriyaṃ), <sup>1</sup> etc. |  |
| At the end: "The original, 314 ślokas."  | At the end: "This belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school." |
| 2. Being (bhava)-vaggo.  | Section on being.                                      |
| (有 跋 渠 二)  | (有 納 息 二)  |
| Kāma-bhava—all forms of existence—rūpa-bhava—ārūpya-bhava, etc.  |  |
| At the end: "The original, 328 ślokas."  |  |
| 3. Vaggo on touch.   | Section on touch.                                      |
| (更 樂 跋 渠 三)  | (觸 納 息 三)  |
| 16 kinds of touch, etc.  |  |
| At the end: "The original, 141 ślokas."  |  |

<sup>1</sup> Childers, s.v. indriyaṃ; see Mahāvyaṭṭp., § 108; the last three are: anaññātāmāññāsyaṃindriyaṃ (19), aññindriyaṃ (20), aññātāvindriyaṃ (21).

4. Vaggo on primal mind. Section on equal mind.  
 (始心跋渠四) (等心納息四)  
 Does mind continue as it commenced?  
 At the end: "The original, 269  
 ślokas."
5. Vaggo on mind that is primarily produced. Section on one-mind.  
 (始發心跋渠五) (一心納息五)  
 Do things thought come into existence at the commencement  
 of the activity of mind?  
 At the end: "The original, 242 ślokas." At the end: "This belongs to  
 the Sarvāstivāda school."
6. Fish-vaggo.<sup>1</sup> Fish-section.  
 (魚子跋渠六) (魚納息六)  
 Why are some complete in regard of 22 organs and others  
 incomplete?  
 At the end: "The original, 173  
 ślokas."
7. Vaggo on causes. Section on attainment (prāpti).  
 (緣跋渠七) (得納息七)  
 Are all the faculties of organs conditioned by the past?  
 At the end of this vaggo there  
 is no number of ślokas given,  
 but a note is added to the  
 following effect: "This vaggo  
 on causes was forgotten by  
 the translator, Saṃghadeva,  
 of Ka-pin (Kaśmīra), and  
 therefore omitted. Lately  
 another priest of Ka-pin  
 (Kaśmīra) named T'an-mo-pi  
 (Dhamma-piya), who knew  
 this vaggo by heart, arrived,  
 visited Saṃghadeva in Mi-  
 ch'uan, and translated this

<sup>1</sup> 'Fish' is strange, and there is no allusion to fish in the chapter. Probably it is a misinterpretation of 'mātsarya' (macchariya), 'envy' or 'avarice,' one of the twenty-four minor evil passions (upakleśa); Dharmasaṃgraha, §§ 69, 78. However, the Mahāvibhāṣā explained this word: "It is called 'fish' because its various phases constantly in change cannot be grasped." We are still in the dark as to its original meaning.

vaggo. Thus the whole text of the Aṭṭha-gantho was complete. T'an-mo-pi (Dhamma-piya) said that the Aṭṭha-gantho is the 'body' (kāya) only, and there are besides six 'feet' (pāda), 1,000,000 syllables in all. T'an-mo-pi (Dhamma-piya) could recite only two of these 'feet,' and the whole could not be reproduced in translation. While saying this he deeply regretted. This note was added in the Ching-kuan monastery of Yang-chou on the 19th of the first month in the 19th year of the Chien-yuen period (A.D. 379) in the Chin Dynasty (A.D. 351-395)."<sup>1</sup>

## BOOK VII.

## A.

GANTHO VII: MEDITATION  
(SAMĀDHI).

(定 禪 度 七)

1. Vaggo on conditions of the  
past.

(過 去 得 跋 渠 一)

All conditions of the past, etc.

At the end: "The original, 499  
ślokas."

## B.

GROUP VII: MEDITATION  
(SAMĀDHI).

(定 蘊 七)

Section on attainment  
(prāpti).

(得 納 息 一)

<sup>1</sup> 八 禪 度 論 第 二 十 三 卷 末：一 斯 經 序 曰 其 人  
忘 因 緣 一 品 故 闕 文 焉。近 有 罽 賓 沙 門 曇 摩  
卑 誦 之 來。經 密 川 僧 伽 諦 婆 譯 出 此 品。  
八 禪 度 文 具 也。而 卑 云 八 禪 度 是 體 耳。  
別 有 六 足 可 百 萬 言。卑 誦 二 足 今 無 譯 可  
出 於 楊 州 正 宦 佛 圖 記。秦 建 元 十 五 年 正 月 十 九 日

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>2. Vaggo on causes.<br/>(緣跋渠二)<br/>Meditations on causes and conditions in the dhyāna heavens (1-4), etc.<br/>At the end: "The original, 184 ślokas."</p>                                      | <p>Section on causes (pratyaya).<br/>(緣納息二)<br/>At the end: "This belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."</p> |
| <p>3. Vaggo on liberation (vimutti).<br/>(解脫跋渠三)<br/>10 forms of meditation (kasināyatana)<sup>1</sup>—8 kinds of knowledge—3 forms of samādhi.<br/>At the end: "The original, 573 ślokas."</p>   | <p>Section on comprehension.<br/>(攝納息三)<br/>At the end: "This belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."</p>     |
| <p>4. Anāgāmi-vaggo.<br/>(阿那含四)<br/>5 states of the anāgāmins.<br/>At the end: "The original, 157 ślokas."</p>  | <p>Section on those who do not come back (anāgāmin).<br/>(不還納息四)</p>                                       |
| <p>5. Vaggo on those who come back once (sakadāgāmin).<sup>2</sup><br/>(一行跋渠五)<br/>States of the sakadāgāmins—attainments of the divine eye, etc.<br/>At the end: "The original, 501 ślokas."</p> | <p>Section on those who come back once.<br/>(一行納息五)</p>  |

BOOK VIII.

A.

GANTHO VIII: VIEWS (DITṬHI).

(見捷度八)

1. Vaggo on firm meditation (satipaṭṭhāna).

(意止跋渠一)

(1) Meditation on the impurity of the body (kāyānupassanā)

B.

GROUP VIII: VIEWS (DṚṢṬI).

(見蘊八)

Section on firm memory (smṛtyupasthāna).

(念住納息一)

<sup>1</sup> Childers, s.v. kasino; Mahāvvyutp., § 72; my Pāli Chrestomathy, p. xvii, 10.  
<sup>2</sup> The Chinese words, however, mean the 'one-going,' for which see above, Bk. ii, 2, note (p. 89).

—(2) meditation on the evils of sensations (vedanānupassanā)—(3) meditation on the evanescence of thought (cittānupassanā)—(4) meditation on the conditions of existence (dhammānupassanā),<sup>1</sup> etc.

At the end: "The original, 315  
ślokas."

2. Vaggo on desire (kāma). Section on three forms of being  
(tribhava).

(欲跋渠二)

(三有納息二)

Conditions of the 3 states of being.

At the end: "The original, 186  
ślokas."

3. Vaggo on consciousness Section on consciousness  
(saññā). (sañjñā).

(想跋渠三)

(想納息三)

10 stages of consciousness<sup>2</sup> as to impermanence, sorrow, anātman, impurity, death, destruction, etc.

At the end: "The original, 104 ślokas." At the end: "This belongs to  
the Sarvāstivāda school."

4. Vaggo on the time of knowledge. Section on knowledge (jñāna).

(智時跋渠四)

(智納息四)

Knowledge that produces an abhorrence of this life—the relation of the knowledge with the aggregates (skandha), etc.

At the end: "The original, 178  
ślokas."

5. Vaggo on views. Section on views.

(見跋渠五)

(見納息五)

Erroneous views (micchādiṭṭhi)—ignorant views—views that there is no cause—abala, aviriya, etc.

At the end: "The original, 276  
ślokas."

<sup>1</sup> Mahāvvyutp., § 38, 1-4; see Childers, s.v. satipaṭṭhānaṃ.

<sup>2</sup> The ten saññās are: asubha-, maraṇa-, āhāre paṭikkūla-, sabbaloke anabhi-  
rati-, anicca-, anicce dukkha-, dukkhe anatta-, pahāna-, virāga-, nirodha-.  
See Childers, s.v. saññā.

## 6. Gāthā-vaggo.

## (偈跋渠六)

Unbelieving mind—36 wicked views—passions—Brāhmins, etc.—several parables. 21 verses in all.

The 12th Gāthā runs as follows :

“Ma-sha tu-sha sang-shi-ma sa-pi-ta-la-pi-pi-li-ta : this is the end of sorrow.” Here it is added that these are the words of the T’an-mi-la (Damiḷa, i.e. Tamil) language, and they are explained:— ‘Ma-sha,’ do not care or hope for evils ; ‘tu-sha,’ gladly adapt to the law ; ‘sang-shi-ma,’ check or control one’s self ; ‘sa-pi-ta-la-pi-pi-li-ta,’ escape completely from or abandon the state of being.<sup>1</sup>

At the end : “The original text, 110 ślokas.”

## Gāthā-section.

## (伽他納息六)

The Gāthā in this text is

different, and goes as follows : “Ei-ni mi-ni kiu-pu ta-ye-pu : do not care for (evils), (but) be satisfied, be subdued, escape fully from the borders of sorrow.” ‘Ei-ni,’ ‘mi-ni,’ ‘kiu-pu,’ ‘ta-ye-pu’ are said to be the words of the mu-li-sha (mleccha), and mean respectively ‘duḥkha,’ ‘samudaya,’ ‘nirodha,’ and ‘mārga,’—the four ārya-satyas being expressed by the Buddha in the barbarian dialect.<sup>2</sup>

At the end : “This belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.”

<sup>1</sup> 磨舍, 兜舍, 僧貫摩, 薩拔多羅毗比栗多 ; 此是苦邊也 (曇密羅國語).

<sup>2</sup> 醫泥, 及, 謎泥, 踰鋪, 達鞞鋪 ; 勿希, 應喜, 寂偏離苦邊 (護戾車語). Mark that ‘ma-sha tu-sha sang-shi-ma sa-pi-ta-la-pi-pi-li-ta’ are said to be Damiḷa words, whereas ‘ei-ni mi-ni kiu-pu ta-ye-pu’ are Mleccha expressions. My friend the Rev. Monk Jones kindly took much trouble in trying to identify some of these words, which, however, are not to be recognized in modern Tamil. Mr. Wogihara ingeniously identifies the former with Sanskrit, while he considers the latter to be a Damiḷa or Mleccha version. His restoration into Sanskrit is as follows : “M’āsaya, tuṣya, samśāmya, sarvatra vivīṅdhi (√ vic).” This is partly confirmed by the Vibhāṣā-luṅ (No. 1279), in which these words are represented as follows : “Ma-sha, tu-sha, sang-sha-ma, sa-pa-ta pi-li-la.” A difficulty lies still in the last word ‘pi-pi-li-ta’ or ‘pi-li-la,’ both having ‘li’ (or ‘ri’) in the medial syllable. We may therefore suggest, for this original, ‘vi-vrīṅdhi’ (√ vrj) instead of ‘vi-vīṅdhi.’ For an example of Hiuen-tsang’s translating √ vrj by Ch. 離, see next page, note on ‘vajjian.’

The other Gāthā in No. 1279 is somewhat different, and is as follows : “Yin-ning (duḥkha), mi-ning (samudaya), ta-pa (nirodha), ta-la-pa (mārga).” These words are there said to be Damiḷa.

## II. SAṄĠĪTI-PARYĀYA.

BY

MAHĀ-KAUṢṬHILA (according to Yaśomitra and Bu-ston).

ŚĀRIPUTRA (according to the Chinese authorities).

(Skt. 7; Tib. 7; Tib.-Chin. 3; Chin. 2.)

The Saṅgīti-paryāya is the first of the six pāda supplements to Kātyāyanīputra's Jñānaprasthāna. In form it is very much like the Puggala-paññatti, the Aṅguttara method of arranging materials according to their numerical order being followed in both cases. This outward arrangement was probably modelled on the Saṅgīti-sutta of the Dīghanikāya; hence the name Saṅgīti-paryāya. The contents, however, of the ones, twos, threes, etc., are usually different.

This book is ascribed by Yaśomitra to Mahā-kauşṭhila, and so also by Bu-ston, whereas in the Chinese translation the author is put down as Śāriputra. Both Śāriputra and Mahā-kauşṭhila are personal disciples of the Buddha. Whether it belongs to either of these disciples or not, it appears to be one of the old works in existence. Among the seven Abhidharma works it is posterior to none but the Dharma-skandha, which is frequently quoted in it, and must therefore be anterior to it. The quasi-historical section of this work tells us that Śāriputra, personally advised and inspired by the Buddha, thought it best to collect the more important Dharmas taught by the Master, because the Dharmas held by the Vajjian<sup>1</sup> Bhikṣus of Pāvā were not the true ones. He convened, it goes on, his friends, and rehearsed (saṅgita) the laws according as they had been taught by the Master. This, he thought, would prevent any dissension in the future when there was no Buddha.

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<sup>1</sup> 'Vajjiputtiya' in Pāli is here given as 離繫親子, lit. 'Fathers-and-sons-free-from-bondage.' Hiuen-tsang is thus translating the name, deriving it from  $\sqrt{vaj}$  (Skt.  $\sqrt{erj}$ ). Mr. Wogihara, however, says that this name is a translation of 'Nirgrantha-jñātiputra.' If so, it may have nothing to do with 'vajjiputtias,' and note 3, p. 100, is subject to question.

This story is repeated in a short form at the beginning of every chapter; and at the end of the whole work the Buddha praises Śāriputra with the word "Sādhu!" and is represented to have said that the Ekottara-dharmaparyāyas (Aṅguttara-dhammapariyāyas)<sup>1</sup> thus rehearsed and collected at the convocation of Bhikṣus should be preached often by him (Śāriputra) before the public. The Buddha further turns to the Saṅgha and advises the Bhikṣus to learn and recite the Saṅgīti-paryāya<sup>2</sup> propounded by Śāriputra.

The work was probably compiled by a Mahā-kauşhila at a time after the council of Vaiśālī<sup>3</sup> which was held chiefly for suppressing the ten theses of the Vajjian Bhikṣus, and later on it might have come to be ascribed to Śāriputra because he is the hero of the narrative throughout the work.

A-p'i-ta-mo *Chi-i-mên-tsu-lun*.<sup>4</sup>

(Abhidharma Collecting-various-subjects-foot-treatise.)

Abhidharma Saṅgīti-paryāya-pāda(-śāstra).

Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1276.

Amount: 12 sections (varga); 20 fasciculi (chüan); 326 pages (ye).

Author: Sha-li-tsu (Śāriputra).

Translator: Hiuen-tsang, A.D. 660-663.

## CONTENTS OF THE SAṄGĪTIPARYĀYA.

### 1. Section on the Origin (nidāna) (緣起品一).

Introductory remarks about the circumstances which led the author to a collection of the laws—dissension of the Bhikṣus of Pāva, etc. Śāriputra says, at the beginning

<sup>1</sup> 增一法門, the 'Dharmaparyāyas-increasing-by-one (Ekottara).'

<sup>2</sup> 集異法門. This is the title of the work; see below.

<sup>3</sup> It may be soon after the council or may be centuries after it. At any rate, it is certain that it must be after the council just referred to, i.e. 100 years A.B., because it refers to the dissension of the Vajjian Bhikṣus, and moreover it must be later than the Saṅgīti-sutta of the Dīgha-nikāya or the Aṅguttara-nikāya, on which the book seems to have been modelled, or it may belong to the period in which the Aṅguttara form of compilation was prevalent.

<sup>4</sup> 阿毗達磨集異門足論. 舍利子造. 玄奘譯.

of every section, to the following effect: "Let us now unite ourselves and collect the Dharma-vinaya, while our Master is still in the world, in order that there may be no dissension as to the teaching after the Buddha's death, and that the Brethren may live strictly in accordance with the Brahmacharya, and the Dharma-vinaya themselves may be handed down to a remote future, to the benefit of the people."

2. Section on Eka-dharmas (一法品二).

All beings living on food,<sup>1</sup> etc.

3. Section on Dvi-dharmas (二法品三).

Mind and matter (nāma-rūpa); means for entering meditation and coming out of meditation, etc.

At the end of chüan 2 it is stated: "This belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

4. Section on Tri-dharmas (三法品四).

3 akuśalamūlas (lobha, dveṣa, moha); 3 kuśalamūlas; 3 good and bad vitarkas; 3 duścaritas (kāya, vāk, manas); 3 dhātus; 3 pudgalas; 3 sthaviras (elders in age, in the world, in the law); 3 rāṣis; 3 āpattivyutthānas (ways of finding fault with others, by seeing, hearing, or suspecting); 3 vedanās; 3 vidyās, and 25 more *threes*.

The Dharma-skandha (*Fa-yun-lun*) is quoted in chüan 3; at the end of chüan 3, 4, 5 it is stated: "This belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

5. Section on Catur-dharmas (四法品五).

4 āryasatyas; 4 śrāmaṇyaphalas; 4 pudgalas; 4 speeches; 4 samyakprahānas; 4 apramāṇas; 4 smṛtyupasthānas, and 14 more *fours*.

The Dharma-skandha (*Fa-yun-lun*) is quoted in chüan 7; at the end of chüan 6-10: "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

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<sup>1</sup> 一切有情依食而住. 'All beings live on food' put under 'Eka-dharma' may, to some, seem strange, but an instance of this is found in the Sāmaṇera-panham of the Khuddaka-nikāya, where under the question "Eka nāma kiṃ?" the answer is given as "Sabbe sattā āhāraṭṭhitikā." See my "Pāli Chrestomathy," p. 243, and the authorities cited in the note, p. xv.

6. Section on Pañca-dharmas (五法品六).

5 skandhas; 5 upādānaskandhas; 5 sorts of attachment (to nativity, home, love, luxury, religion); 5 balas; 5 indriyas; 5 śuddhāvāsadevas; 5 gatis; 5 nivarāṇas, and 16 more *fives*.

At the end of chüan 11-14: "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

7. Section on Ṣaḍ-dharmas (六法品七).

6 vijñānakāyas; 6 sparśakāyas; 6 sañjñākāyas; 6 vedanākāyas; 6 dhātus; 6 abhijñās; 6 anuttaryadharmas, and 13 more *sixes*.

The Dharma-skandha (*Fa-yun-lun*) is quoted in chüan 15; at the end of chüan 15: "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

8. Section on Sapta-dharmas (七法品八).

7 sambodhyaṅgas; 7 pudgalas; 7 anuśayas; 7 dhanas; 7 adhikarāṇasamathadharmas, and 8 other *sevens*.

At the end of chüan 16, 17: "This belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

9. Section on Aṣṭa-dharmas (八法品九).

8 ārya-mārgas; 8 pudgalas; 8 dānas; 8 vimuktis; 8 abhivhāyatanas; 8 lokadharmas, and 4 more *eights*.

The Dharma-skandha (*Fa-yun-lun*) is quoted in chüan 18; at the end of chüan 18: "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

10. Section of Nava-dharmas (九法品十).

9 abodes of beings (sattvāvasas); 9 saṃyojanas.

11. Section on Daśa-dharmas (十法品十一).

10 kṛtsnāyatanas (Pāli, kasināyatana, objects of mystic meditation)<sup>1</sup>; 10 āsaikṣa-dharmas.

At the end of chüan 19: "This belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

<sup>1</sup> See my "Pāli Chrestomathy," p. xvii, § 10.

## 12. Section on Admonition.

On the completion of the Saṅgīti collection the Buddha praises Śāriputra, and says: "Well done! Well done! Thou hast now come together with the Saṅgha of Pi-shus (Bhikṣus), and rehearsed - and - collected the 'Ekottara-dharmaparyāya' (增一法門) taught by the Ju-lai (Tathāgata). Thou shouldst, from this time onward, repeatedly propound this to the public." Then the Buddha turns to the Saṅgha of Pi-shu (Bhikṣus) and says: "Ye all should learn, hold, and recite the 'Saṅgīti-paryāya' (集異法門) propounded by Śāriputra."

At the end of chūan 20 it is said: "This belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

## III. PRAKARAṆA-PĀDA.

BY STHAVIRA VASUMITRA.

(Skt. 2; Tib. 6; Tib.-Chin. 6; Chin. 3.)

This is the second of the six pāda works of the Sarvāstivādins according to the Chinese authorities. There exist in Chinese two translations of it which seem to have been made from one and the same recension of the text. Hiuen-tsang tells us that this work was composed by Vasumitra in a monastery at Puṣkaravati (Peukelautis).<sup>1</sup> This shows that the book, or at any rate the name of it, was well-known among the Buddhist scholars at the Chinese traveller's time. The name must have been originally the "Abhidharma-prakarāṇa," and when it assumed a position among the supplementary treatises as a pāda work, it might have come to be called the "Prakarāṇa-pāda." 'Prakarāṇa' is understood by the Chinese authorities to mean 'classification' as seen from the titles in Chinese.

<sup>1</sup> See Watters, "Hiuen-tsang," vol. i, p. 214.

A.	B.
<i>Chung-shih-fên</i> a-p'i-t'an-lun. <sup>1</sup> (Various-categories-division Abhidharma-treatise.)	A-p'i-ta-mo <i>p'in-lei-tsu-lun.</i> <sup>2</sup> (Abhidharma Classification-foot- treatise.)
Abhidharma-śāstra 'prakaraṇa.'	Abhidharma-prakarāṇa-pāda (-śāstra).
Nanjio's Cat., No. 1292.	Nanjio's Cat., No. 1277.
Amount :	Amount :
8 sections (p'in); 12 fasciculi (chüan); 229 pages (ye).	8 sections (p'in); 18 fasciculi (chüan); 294 pages (ye).
Author :	Author :
The venerable <i>Shi-yu</i> (Vasu- mitra), 300 years after the Buddha's death (according to the Tib.-Chin. Cat.).	The venerable <i>Shi-yu</i> (Vasu- mitra).
Translators :	Translator :
Chiu-na-p'o-to-lo (Guṇabhadra) and Pu-ti-ye-shê (Bodhiyaśas), from C. India, A.D. 435-443.	Hiuen-tsang, A.D. 659.

## CONTENTS OF THE PRAKARAṆAPĀDA.

A.	B.
1. Distinction of 5 dharmas. (分別五法品) <sup>3</sup>	Distinction of 5 subjects. (辨五事品)
Rūpa (色); citta (心); caittadharma (心所法); citta- viprayukta-saṃskāra (心不相應行); asaṃskṛtadharma (無爲法): these are the 5 subjects treated of in the chapter. (Dharmasaṃgraha, p. 69.)	
At the beginning of the text A there is a note in which it is	

<sup>1</sup> 衆事分阿毗曇論，尊者世友造，宋三藏求那跋陀羅共菩提耶舍譯。

<sup>2</sup> 阿毗達磨品類足論，尊者世友造，唐三藏法師玄奘譯。

<sup>3</sup> This title is not given in the text, but this is what it ought to be, judging from the analogy of the other titles. The original was probably something like 'Pañcadharma-nirdeśa.'

said that this book was translated by Guṇabhadra and Bodhiyaśas from an Indian text, and was dedicated to the Saṅgha.<sup>1</sup>

2. Distinction of knowledge.      Distinction of various knowledge.

(分別智品)

(辨諸智品)

10 kinds of knowledge: dharmajñāna (法智); anvaya-jñāna (類智); paracittajñāna (他心智); saṃvṛtijñāna (世俗智); duḥkhajñāna (苦智); samudaya- (集智); nirodha- (滅智); mārga- (道智); kṣaya- (盡智); anutpāda- (無生智). (Mahāvīyutpatti, § 57.)

At the end of chüan 1 it is said:

“It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.”

3. Distinction of āyatana.      Distinction of āyatana.

(分別諸入品)

(辨諸處品)

12 organs and objects of sense (āyatana): cakṣus (眼); śrotra (耳); ghrāṇa (鼻); jihvā (舌); kāya (身); manas (意); rūpa (色); gandha (香); śabda (聲); rasa (味); spraṣṭavya (觸); dharmāyatana (法處). (Mahāvīyutpatti, 106 (102); Puggalapaññatti, 1.)

4. Distinction of 7 categories.      Distinction of 7 categories.

(分別七事品)

(辨七事品)

The following are explained: 18 dhātus (Mahāvīyut., 107); 12 āyatanas (see last); 5 skandhas (Mahāvīyut., 100); 10 mahābhūmikadharmas, 10 kuśalamahābhūmikas, 10 kleśamahābhūmikas, 10 upakleśabhūmikas (Abhidh. kośa, 1; Dharmasaṅgraha, p. 69); beside 6 dhātus, 5 sparśas,

<sup>1</sup> 我釋迦比丘，求那跋陀羅，於此衆事分，真定胡文本，請釋迦比丘師菩提耶舍，於彼胡文典，專精宋辭譯，執筆錄心受，一一從書義，句未粗已定，謹呈舊學僧。 The Hu text (胡文) in this case may be an Indian text, or a text in the Hu language of Central Asia.

5 kleśas, 5 dr̥ṣṭis, 5 indriyas, 5 dharmas, 6 vijñānakāyas, 6 sparśakāyas, 6 vedanākāyas, 6 saṃjñākāyas, 6 cetanākāyas, 6 tr̥ṣṇākāyas, and 5 upādānaskandhas.

At the end of chüan 2 it is stated: "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

5. Distinction of minor passions. Distinction of minor passions.

(分別諸使品) (辨隨眠品)

98 anuśayas: 36 of the kāmadhātu, 31 of the rūpadhātu, and 31 of the ārūpyadhātu.

At the end of chüan 3: "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

6. Distinction of the things that can be comprehended. Exposition of the things that can be inferred, and the like (?).

(分別攝品) (辨攝等品)

Things to be known (jñeya-dharma) (爾音炎法); anāsrava-dharmas (無漏法); things to be inferred (所識法, 所通達法), etc.

At the end of chüan 5-9: "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

7. Discussion on one thousand questions. Distinction of one thousand questions.

(千問論品) (辨千問品)

Various questions about śikṣāpadas, śrāmanyaphalas, āryavaṃśas, samyakprahānas, r̥ddhipādas, smṛtyupasthānas, āryasatyas, dhyānas, apramāṇas, bodhyaṅgas, indriyas, āyatanas, skandhas, dhātus, etc.

At the end of chüan 10-17: "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

8. Résumé. Conclusion.

(攝擇品) (辨決擇品)

Remarks on several points already discussed.

At the end of chüan 18: "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

## IV. VIJÑĀNA-KĀYA.

BY STHAVIRA DEVAŚARMĀ.

(Skt. 3; Tib. 4; Tib.-Chin. 4; Chin. 4.)

This work is the third of the six pāda treatises of the Sarvāstivāda school, according to the Chinese authorities. The title means, I think, the "body or group of (subjects connected with) consciousness," though the term 'vijñānakāya' in its technical sense seems to be used somewhat differently.<sup>1</sup> The Chinese authorities, especially the Tibeto-Chinese Catalogue, assigns an early date, i.e. 100 years after the Buddha's death, to the author Devaśarmā. There is, however, nothing in this work to indicate that it can claim a higher antiquity than the date of Kātyāyaniputra's Jñānaprasthāna, which is assigned by the same authorities to 300 years after the Buddha's death. Hiuen-tsang tells us that this work was compiled by Devaśarmā in P'i-sho-ka (Viśoka), near Śrāvastī.<sup>2</sup>

A-p'i-ta-mo *shih-shén-tsu-lun*.<sup>3</sup>

(Abhidharma knowledge-body-foot-treatise.)

Abhidharma-vijñāna-kāya-pāda(-śāstra).

Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1281.

Amount: 6 books (skandhas); 16 fasciculi (chüan); 310 pages (ye).

Author: Ti-p'o-shé-mo A-lo-han (Devaśarmā Arhat), 100 years after the Buddha's death (according to the Tib.-Chin. Cat.).

Translator: Hiuen-tsang, A.D. 649.

## CONTENTS OF THE VIJÑĀNAKĀYA.

Group 1: Mu-ch'ien-lien (Maudgalyāyana) (目乾連蘊一).

Maudgalyāyana's opinion about pudgalas, indriyas, cittas, kleśas, vijñānas, bodhyaṅgas, etc.

At the end of chüan 1 it is stated: "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 106, l. 1; p. 108, ll. 2, 7, 17.<sup>2</sup> Watters, "Yuan-Chwang," vol. i, p. 373.<sup>3</sup> 阿毗達磨識心足論，提婆設摩阿羅漢造，玄奘譯。

- Group 2: Pu-tu-chie-lo (Pudgala) (補特伽羅蘊二).  
 8 pudgalas, 6 vijñānakāyas, 4 smṛtyupasthānas, etc.;  
 relation of the theory of pudgala to the theory of śūnyatā.  
 At the end of chüan 2: "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."
- Group 3: Hetupratyaya<sup>1</sup> (因緣蘊三).  
 10 forms of thought; 15 forms of thought; vijñānakāyas of  
 the past, etc.  
 At the end of chüan 4 and 5: "It belongs to the Sarvāsti-  
 vāda school."
- Group 4: Ālambanapratyaya<sup>2</sup> (所緣緣四).  
 12 forms of thought; 15 forms of thought; goodness,  
 badness, etc., of the past, etc.  
 At the end of chüan 7-10: "It belongs to the Sarvāsti-  
 vāda school."
- Group 5: Miscellaneous (雜蘊五).  
 6 vijñānakāyas; 2 forms of thought to be got rid of by  
 adjusting one's views and by adjusting one's practice;  
 18 dhātus, etc.
- Group 6: Completion<sup>3</sup> (samanvāgama) (成就蘊六).  
 Śaikṣa, aśaikṣa; completion and incompletion of thought,  
 etc.

## V. DHĀTU-KĀYA.

BY

PŪRṆA (according to Yaśomitra and Bu-ston).

VASUMITRA (according to the Chinese authorities),  
 300 years after the Buddha's death (accord. to the Tib.-Chin. Catal.).  
 (Skt. 6; Tib. 3; Tib.-Chin. 5; Chin. 5.)

This is the fourth of the six pāda works of the Sarvāstivādins. The original, probably Sanskrit, text seems to have existed in two or three versions. The larger text was, according to K'uei-chi, a disciple of Hiuen-tsang, of 6,000 ślokas in

<sup>1</sup> Mahāvvyutp., 114.

<sup>2</sup> Mahāvvyutp., 115.

<sup>3</sup> Or 'consequence.'

length, whereas the other, middle and smaller ones, were of 900 and 500 ślokas respectively. The text which was translated by Hiuen-tsang was of 830 ślokas and was apparently the middle one.<sup>1</sup>

It treats of all mental faculties which this school assumes as separate elements called 'dhātu.'

Though Yaśomitra gives the title in his *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* as "Dhātukāya," I think it ought to be, as it is in the Tibeto-Chinese Catalogue, i.e. list iii above, "Ta-tu-chia-ya-fa-ta (Dhātu-kāya-pāda)," and then it would mean "The pāda treatise on the kāya (body or group) of Dhātus." Compare the title, *Vijñānakāya*, given above.<sup>2</sup>

*Chieh-shên-tsu-lun.*<sup>3</sup>

(Element-body-foot-treatise.)

'Dhātu-kāya-pāda' (-śāstra).

Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1282.

Amount: 2 khaṇḍas; 16 sections; 2 fasciculi (chüan); 43 pages (ye).

Author: The venerable *Shi-yu* (Vasumitra); 300 years after the Nirvāna (according to the Tib.-Chinese Catalogue).

Translator: Hiuen-tsang, A.D. 663. According to a colophon written by K'uei-chi, a pupil of Hiuen-tsang, this translation was finished on the 4th day of the 6th moon, in the 3rd year of the Lung-tse period (663).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> The shorter Tibetan glossary gives 'dhātukāya' along with 'prajñapti-śāstra,' see Minayeff, "Buddhism," vol. i, app. ii, § 43 (p. 128).

<sup>3</sup> 界身足論，尊者世友造，玄奘譯。

<sup>4</sup> 釋(窺)基後序。界身足論者，說一切有部發智六足之一足也，親教三藏法師玄奘，遂以龍朔三年六月四日，於玉華宮八桂亭終譯此論，原其大本頌有六千，後以文繁或致刪略為九百頌五百頌者，今此所翻有八百三十頌。．．．尊者世友之作也。．．．矚法舟之淪喪故叙其時事云。

## CONTENTS OF THE DHĀTUKĀYA.

## KHAṆḌA I: Chief subjects (本 事 品 一).

- a. 10 mahābhūmikadharmas (十大地法): vedanā (受), sañjñā (想), cetanā (思), sparśa (觸), manaskāra (作意), chanda (欲), adhimokṣa (勝解), smṛti (念), samādhi (三摩地), mati (慧).<sup>1</sup>
- b. 10 kleśa-mahābhūmikadharmas (十大煩惱地法): avidyā (無明), pramāda (放逸), kausīdya (懈怠), āsrāddhya (不信), muṣitasmṛti (失念), vikṣepa (心亂), asamprajanya (不正知), ayoṇiśomanaskāra (非理作意), mithyādhimokṣa (邪勝解), auddhatya (掉舉).<sup>2</sup>
- c. 10 upakleśa-bhūmikas (小煩惱地法): krodha (念), mrakṣa (覆), mātsarya (慳), irsyā (嫉), pradāsa (惱), vihiṃsā (害), upanāha (恨), māyā (誑), śāṭhya (諂), mada (憍).<sup>3</sup>
- d. 5 moral defilements (五煩惱): kāmalobha (欲貪), rūpalobha (色貪), ārūpyalobha (无色貪), dveṣa (瞋), vicikitsā (疑).
- e. 5 views (dṛṣṭi) (五見): satkāya (有身), antagrāha (過取), mithyā (邪見), dṛṣṭiparāmarśa (見取), silavrataparāmarśa (戒禁取).<sup>4</sup>
- f. 5 dharmas (五法): vitarka (尋), vicāra (伺), vijñāna (識), āhrīkya (無慚), anapatrāpya (無愧).

Then follow 5 sparśas (五觸), 5 indriyas (五根), and a series of ideas, sensations, etc., all resulting from the 6 organs of sense, i.e., 6 vijñānakāyas (groups of knowledge) (六識身), 6 sparśakāyas (六觸身), 6 vedanākāyas (六受身), 6 sañjñākāyas (六想身), 6 cetanākāyas (六思身).

<sup>1</sup> See Mahāvvyutp., 104; Triglotte, 68; Dharmasamgraha, p. 69. Cf. Puggala-paññatti, ii, 1-9.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mahāvvyutp., 104.

<sup>3</sup> See last note.

<sup>4</sup> See Dharmasamgraha, 68.

## KHAṆḌA II: Minor Divisions (分別品二).

Mutual relations of 88 categories minutely discussed under 16 sections, beginning with 5 vedanās, 6 vijñānas, and 2 akuśalabhūmis (āhrikyā, anapatrāpya), these three forming a separate class.

Colophon by K'uei-chi (died A.D. 682), pupil of Hiuen-tsang: "The Dhātu-kāya is one of the six pādas on the Jñānaprasthāna, which belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school. My personal master, Hiuen-tsang, finished a Chinese translation of this text on the 4th day of the 6th moon in the 3rd year of the Lung-tse period of the Augustan T'ang dynasty, while staying at the Yu-hua palace. The larger text of this treatise consisted of 6,000 ślokas. Afterwards, as it was found too complicated, it was abridged by a scholar in two forms, one in 900 ślokas, the other in 500 ślokas. The present translation consists of 830 ślokas (and is the middle one).

"The original text was composed by the venerable *Shi-yu* (Vasumitra), etc., etc., etc. As I observe that the boat of the law is sinking fast, I record the facts concerning the translation as I witnessed (lest they should be lost altogether)."<sup>1</sup>

## VI. DHARMA-SKANDHA.

BY

ĀRYA ŚĀRIPUTRA (according to Yaśomitra and Bu-ston).

MAHĀMAUDGALYĀYANA (according to the Chinese authorities).

(Skt. 4; Tib. 1; Tib.-Chin. 2; Chin. 6.)

This work is the fifth of the six pādas of the Sarvāstivāda school. Though it is now placed among the supplementary pādas it is not inferior in its matter and form to the principal work of this school, i.e. the Jñānaprasthāna. Perhaps it does not go so much into details of metaphysical questions as the latter does, but it treats of all important points of the fundamental principles of this school, and the importance of this work seems to have been recognized by

<sup>1</sup> For the Chinese text, see above, p. 109, note 4.

the writers of the other pādas—for instance, the author of the Saṅgītiparyāya, who often quotes it. As to the authorship of this work, we have no means of ascertaining whether either, and if so, which of the two, Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, was the actual writer.

The Tibetan Dharmaskandha in the Kandjur Mdo, xx (fols. 39–46), hitherto supposed to be a version of our text, proved on comparison to be a quite different book.<sup>1</sup>

A-p'i-ta-mo *Fa yün-tsu-lun*.<sup>2</sup>

(Abhidharma Law-aggregate-foot-treatise.)

Abhidharma Dharma-skandha-pāda(-śāstra).

Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1296.

Amount: 21 chapters (varga); 10 fasciculi (chüan); 232 pages (ye).

Author: The venerable *Ta-mu-ch'ien lien* (Ārya Mahā-maudgalyāyana).

Translator: Hiuen-tsang, A.D. 659.

#### CONTENTS OF THE DHARMAKANDHA.

Section 1: Śikṣāpadas (學處品一).

Five precepts (śīla), etc.

Section 2: Srotaāpattyāṅga (預流支品二).

Srotaāpannas, their attainment, etc.

At the end of chüan I it is stated: "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

Section 3: Attainment of purity (avetyaprasāda) (證淨品三).

4 sorts of purity: As to Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha, and śīla; stage of an ārya-pudgala, etc.

Section 4: Result of Śramaṇashīpa (沙門果品四).

4 stages of Śrāmaṇyaphala: Srotaāpatti-phala, Sakṛdāgāmi-phala, Anāgāmi-phala, Arhattva-phala.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 77, note, towards the end.

<sup>2</sup> 阿毗達磨法蘊足論，尊者大目乾連造，玄奘譯。

## Section 5: Mental experience (abhiññāpratipad) (通行品五).

Regulation of feeling in face of suffering and joy, etc.<sup>1</sup>

## Section 6: Noble race (聖種品六).

4 ārya-vaiśās, i.e. 4 classes of the Buddha's disciples, etc.

At the end of chüan 2: "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

## Section 7: Right victory (正勝品七).

4 forms of victory: suppression of bad that has been produced; prevention of bad that may come in the future; development of good that has been produced; cultivation of good for the future.

## Section 8: Constituents of magic power (神足品八).

4 modes of obtaining Rddhipāda: meditation (samādhi); energy (vīrya); memory (smṛti); suppression of desire (achanda).<sup>2</sup>

At the end of chüan 3: "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

## Section 9: Smṛtyupsthānas (念住品九).

4 modes of the earnest meditation: on the (impurity of the) body (kāyānupaśyanā); on the (evils of the) sensations (vedanānupaśyanā); on the (evanescence of) thought (cittānupaśyanā); on the conditions (of existence) (dharmānupaśyanā).<sup>3</sup>

At the end of chüan 4: "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

## Section 10: Ārya-satyas (聖諦品十).

A short account is given of the preaching of the 4 noble truths by the Buddha at Benares, and the truths are explained.

<sup>1</sup> These probably represent the four pratipads of Mahāvvyutp., § 58: "Duhkā pratipad dhandhābhijñā, sukhā pratipad dhandhābhijñā, duhkā pratipad kṣiprābhijñā, sukhā pratipad kṣiprābhijñā."

<sup>2</sup> But see Sanskrit and Pāli; Mahāvvyutp., § 40; Childers, p. 157. Also Dharmas., § 46, note.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Pāli kāyānupassanā, etc.; see above, analysis of the Jñānaprasthāna, Bk. viii, vaggio 1. Mr. Wogihara tells me that the form 'anupaśyanā' occurs in the Yogācārya bodhisattva bhūmi as well.

Section 11: Meditation (dhyāna) (靜慮品十一).

Forms and processes of meditations are given.

At the end of chüan 5: "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

Section 12: The immeasurable (apramāṇa) (無量品十二).

4 apramāṇas explained.

At the end of chüan 6: "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

Section 13: The formless (arūpa) (無色品十三).

4 stages of the ārūpya-dhātu.

Section 14: Bhāvanā-samādhi (修定品十四).

Meditation for cultivating the reasoning faculty (bhāvanā-samādhi) is detailed.

Section 15: Branches of knowledge (Bodhyaṅga) (覺支品十五).

7 bodhyaṅgas explained.

At the end of chüan 7: "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

Section 16: Miscellaneous matters<sup>1</sup> (雜事品十六).

Other mental faculties, passions, etc.

At the end of chüan 8: "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

Section 17: Indriyas (根品十七).

22 indriyas (see above, p. 93).

Section 18: Āyatana (處品十八).

12 āyatana (organs and objects of sense).<sup>2</sup>

Section 19: Skandhas (蘊品十九).

5 skandhas.

Section 20: Various principles (Nānādhātu) (多界品二十).

6 principles; 18 principles (dhātu); 62 principles in all.

At the end of chüan 9: "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

<sup>1</sup> This is "Kṣudravastuka," and is quoted in Yaśomitra's Kośavyākhyā (Wogihara).

<sup>2</sup> See the analysis of the Prakaraṇapāda, 3 (p. 105).

## Section 21: Pratītyasamutpādās (緣起品二十一).

12 pratītyasamutpādās explained.

At the end of chüan 10: "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

Colophon by Ching-mai (A.D. 664) is to the following effect: "The Fa-yün-tsu (Dharmaskandha) is the most important of the Abhidharma works, and the fountain-head of the Sarvāstivāda system. It is a work of Mo-ho Mu-ch'ien-lien (Mahā-maudgalyāyana). The Sarvāstivāda school, which is superior to all other schools, is in possession of a rich literature, such as the Jñānaprasthāna (發智) in the eight Ganthos, the Mahāvibhāṣā (廣說) by 500 Arhats, the Nyāyānusāra (順正理) that repels one's doubts, and the Samayapradīpikā (顯真宗) that corrects one's error. Hiuen-tsang, master of the Tripitaka, translated the Dharmaskandha on the 14th day of the 9th moon in the 4th year of the Hien-ching period of the August T'ang dynasty (A.D. 659), in the Kung-fa Garden of the Monastery Ta-tsu-an-ssu in Chang-an, Shi kuang (Fu-kuang, see p. 79, note 2, above) taking note, Ching-mai putting it into literary form, and Chi-tung making a final revision."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 唐靖邁後序。法蘊足論者，蓋阿毗達磨之權輿，一切有部之洪源也，無上等覺入室之神足，摩訶目乾連之所製矣。惟一切有部卓乎迴秀，若妙高之處宏海，猶朗月之冠衆星者，不本弘基永者歟。至如八種犍度，鶩微於發智之場，五百應真，馳譽於廣說之苑，斯皆挹此清波，分斯片玉，遂得駕群部而高蹈。矧乎順正理以折疑，顯真宗以剖惑，故使者德婆藪屈我衆賢，上座幽宗見負弘致也。三藏玄奘法師以皇唐顯慶四年九月十四日，奉詔於大慈恩寺弘法苑，譯訖大慈恩寺沙門釋光筆受，靖邁飾文，同州澄城縣，鉗耳智通勘定。

## VII. PRAJŪNĀPTI-ŚĀSTRA.

BY ĀRYA MAUDGALYĀYANA (according to Yośomitra and Bu-ston).

The author's name lost (according to Tib.-Chin. Catalogue).

This work is the sixth of the six pādas of the Sarvāstivāda school, according to the Chinese authorities. The text preserved among the Chinese books is of doubtful character. First of all, it was not translated until the eleventh century (A.D. 1004-1058), and the name of its author is said to have been lost.<sup>1</sup> In its contents the first section, called the "Loka-prajñāpti," is missing, though the title is given there as seen from the analysis below. In a note it is stated that the first section, "Loka-prajñāpti," exists in the commentary, but the text does not exist in the original (按釋論有此門梵本元闕). However, no such commentary seems to exist in the Chinese collection, so far as I am aware, and nothing can be ascertained as to the real state of the text.<sup>2</sup> There is no indication that this work belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school, as in the cases of the other pādas. Notwithstanding this, we have to regard this work at present as the authentic pāda of this school, since there is no other alternative that can be suggested.

*Shi-shé-lun.*<sup>3</sup>

(Establishment or arrangement-treatise.)

Prajñāpti-śāstra.

Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1317.

Amount: 14 sections (mên); 7 fasciculi (chüan); 55 pages (ye).

Author: No author's name is given.

Translators: Fa-hu (Dharmarakṣa or Dharmapāla), priest from Magadha (who came to China A.D. 1004), and others, A.D. 1004-1058.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Nanjio, in his Catalogue, No. 1317, gives the author's name 'Maudgalyāyana.' The Tib.-Chin. Catalogue does not give any, and says that the name is lost (失造人名). The India Office copy also does not give any name. So probably Yośomitra is the authority of Nanjio's statement.

<sup>2</sup> Wassilief seems to have sometimes taken the Amṛta-śāstra (No. 1278) as the same as the Prajñāpti-śāstra, but there is no sufficient ground for this supposition. An analysis of the Amṛta-śāstra is given below.

<sup>3</sup> 施設論, 宋西天三藏法護等譯. This book is usually quoted in the works peculiar to this school as 施設足論 (Prajñāpti-pāda).

## CONTENTS OF THE PRAJÑAPTISĀSTRA.

1. Instruction about the world (Loka-prajñapti) belonging to the Abhidharma-mahāśāstra (對法大論世間施設門一).<sup>1</sup>  
This section Loka-prajñapti is practically missing; no word is given there except a note to the following effect: "In the commentary this section exists, but the text is wanting in the original (按釋論有此門梵本元闕)." We know nothing of the commentary referred to.<sup>2</sup>
2. Instruction about Causes (Kāraṇa-prajñapti) (因施設門二).  
Out of the 7 ratnas of a Cakravartī king, strī, gṛhapatī, and pariṇāyaka are spoken of.
3. The same.  
The other ratnas : cakra, hastin, aśva, maṇi ; longevity of the king ; 32 signs ; 1,000 sons, etc.
4. The same.  
The Bodhisattva's birth in the Tuṣita heaven ; conception and birth on earth ; Ānanda, etc.
5. The same.  
The Bodhisattva is the highest of all beings ; Nirvāṇa, etc.
6. The same.  
32 signs of Buddha and Cakravartī king ; other superior qualities of the Bodhisattva, etc.
7. The same.  
The Buddha's teaching of 3 moral defilements, rāga, dveṣa, moha ; the extremity of these three, etc.
8. The same.  
Trṣṇa (love), a great cause of life ; difference of human body in life and death, etc.

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<sup>1</sup> The name "Abhidharma-mahāśāstra" is a very curious title to be used for a supplementary pāda.

<sup>2</sup> The "Loka-prajñapti" must have been a section which treats of the world-system, positions of the mountain Sumeru and the great ocean, motions of the sun and the moon, etc., etc. There is a Chinese text which contains these subjects, i.e. No. 1297, "*Li-shi a-p'i-t'an-iun*," which Nanjio restores to "Loka-sṭhiti (?)-abhidharma-śāstra," but it is more probably "Loka-prajñapti abhidharma-śāstra," and the first section of our book must have been something like the text in question. An analysis of No. 1297 is given below.

9. The same.  
Drowsiness, arrogance, wickedness, talkativeness, insufficiency in speech, inability in meditation; their causes, etc.
10. The same.  
Sumeru, the highest mountain; different heights of mountains, etc.
11. The same.  
Difference of mental faculties between the Buddha and his disciples, etc.
12. The same.  
The ocean, etc.
13. The same.  
Various qualities of living-beings, etc.
14. The same.  
8 causes of rain; cause of a rainy season, etc.<sup>1</sup>

#### 5. SOME IMPORTANT PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS CONNECTED WITH THE SARVĀSTIVĀDA SCHOOL.

The seven Abhidharma works of the Sarvāstivādins do not represent one and the same period of Buddhist philosophy, nor do they agree with one another as regards the expositions of categories and nomenclatures in which all these books abound. They must have come into existence one after another in the course of several centuries before they began to be recognized as a body of literature. It will, however, be extremely hazardous, at the present state of our knowledge, to try to fix a date for any of these works. Even an arrangement according to the order of priority will be very difficult. But so much seems to be certain, that neither the Chinese, nor the Tibetan, nor even the Sanskrit order of these books is chronological.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For some particulars of this text, see above, p. 77, note.

<sup>2</sup> Dharmaskandha, Saṅgītiparyāya, and Jñānaprasthāna are perhaps anterior to the rest. Vasumitra's works may be the latest, but this Vasumitra seems to be different from the one who is said to be the head of the 500 Arhats who compiled the Mahāvibhāṣā. The Tibeto-Chinese Catalogue says that the Mahāvibhāṣā was compiled 400 years A.B., while it assigns 300 years A.B. to the Vasumitra who is the author of Prakaraṇa-pāda and Dhātu-kāya.

Their division into one principal and six supplementary books,<sup>1</sup> for which we have the evidence of Dhammapiya,<sup>2</sup> A.D. 379, as the earliest, seems to be of comparatively late origin, and was probably adopted after the compilation of the Mahāvibhāṣā, which represents the climax of the Sarvāstivāda philosophy.

All the important principles contained in the seven Abhidharmas, nice points of metaphysical argument, and the heterogeneous elements of Buddhist tradition were reviewed, explained, and absorbed in the Mahāvibhāṣā of Kāśmīra. This in all probability happened *after* King Kaniška's time (c. 125 A.D.).<sup>3</sup> Originally the Sarvāstivādin scholars seem to have formed themselves into two great groups, Kāśmīrian and Gandhārian, as they are often mentioned in the vibhāṣā, but after the compilation of the great commentary they have either united themselves or the one has been eclipsed by the other, for we hear only the name 'Kāśmīra-vaibhāṣikas' or simply 'Vaibhāṣikas.' This body of philosophers acknowledged, true to their old theory, the existence of all things (sarvāstivāda), the direct perception of external objects (vāhyārthapratyakṣatvavāda), and the like.

The Vaibhāṣika philosophy seems to have enjoyed some, probably three, centuries of peace, safely deposited in its Kāśmīrian home and maintained in its purity by the adherents of the school. Paramārtha tells us a legend according to which the system was also propagated in Mid-India by a man named Vasubhadra, who studied it in Kāśmīra, and by pretending to be mad got out of that country.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Though I have called the Pādas 'supplementary,' as they are generally understood, it is possible that the 'Pādas' all, or some of them, were the 'foundations' of the Jñānaprasthāna.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 94-95. Read Dhammapī (-pī) for Dhammapiya.

<sup>3</sup> There is no positive evidence that the Mahāvibhāṣā was compiled in the reign of Kaniška. In 383 and 439 A.D. the name 'Vibhāṣā' appears in Chinese, and the date of translation of the Mahāvibhāṣā itself is 437-439. The date of the original may therefore be put in c. 200-400 A.D.

<sup>4</sup> See my translation of Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu (*Tong-pao*, July, 1904), pp. 279-281.

The latter half of the fifth century A.D. brings us to a period which we can well designate as Neo-Vibhāṣanism, which coincides with the rise of the Yogācārya system and the revival of the Brāhmanic, or, at any rate, Sāṃkhya philosophy. Vasubandhu, a Sarvāstivādin and a free-thinker, tried to interpret the philosophy according to his own views. He did not slavishly follow the Vaibhāṣika tenets, but here and there utilized the excellent points of other systems, e.g. the Sautrāntika, a system opposed to the Vaibhāṣika, and teaching that external objects merely exist as mental images, and are indirectly apprehended.

A powerful opponent, and an orthodox Sarvāstivādin, Saṅghabhadra by name, compiled two works, one as a right interpretation of the vibhāṣā, and the other as a refutation of rival philosophers, chiefly Vasubandhu (who, however, had not formally left the school, his Abhidharma-kośa being generally reckoned as one of the Sarvāstivāda books).

Saṅghabhadra is said to have died before Vasubandhu,<sup>1</sup> and the Neo-Vibhāṣanic period seems to close practically with the conversion of Vasubandhu to Mahāyānism.<sup>2</sup>

Yośomitra, the writer of the Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā, seems to be a Sautrāntika.<sup>3</sup> I-tsing, who was a Sarvāstivādin, and brought home some nineteen works of Vinaya, does not seem to have come across a philosophical work of this school, though it was still followed in Nālanda and other places.<sup>4</sup>

In the fourteenth century tradition as regards the Vaibhāṣikas seems to have been still alive, for Mādhavācārya reviews the system in his Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha, and says: "These Bauddhas discuss the highest end of man from four standpoints, celebrated under the designations of (1) the Mādhyamikas, who hold the doctrine of universal void [nihilism]; (2) the Yogācāras, who hold the doctrine of an

<sup>1</sup> See Watters, i, p. 325.

<sup>2</sup> See my Vasubandhu's Life (*Tong-pao*, July, 1904), p. 291.

<sup>3</sup> We do not know to which school the other commentators, Vasumitra and Guṇamati, whom Yośomitra mentions in his Vyākhyā, belonged; see Bendall's Catal. of Cambridge MSS., add. 1041, p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 71.

external void [subjective idealism]; (3) the Sautrāntikas, who assert the inferrability of external objects [representationalism]; and (4) the Vaibhāṣikas, who acknowledge the perceptibility of external objects [presentationalism].”<sup>1</sup>

Of these the Mādhyamika is identical with the Sarvāśūnyatvavādin, the Yogācāra with the Vijñānāstitvamātravādin (or the Vijñānamātrāstitvavādin), and the Vaibhāṣika with the Sarvāstitvavādin of Śaṅkarācārya.<sup>2</sup> The Sautrāntika admits no direct perception of objects, but holds that external objects exist merely as images, and are indirectly apprehended, thus occupying the medium stage between the Vaibhāṣika, who acknowledges the direct perception of external objects, and the Yogācāra, who teaches the doctrine of an external void.

‘Vibhāṣā’ means originally ‘option.’ The idea seems to be that numerous opinions collected from the compilers (500 Arhats) were compared with one another, and the best of them was selected as the orthodox doctrines of the school. The Chinese explain this word either as ‘comprehensive exposition (廣解)’ or as ‘various opinions (種種說).’<sup>3</sup> The Vaibhāṣika’s opinions, excellent as they are, reflect only those of later Abhidharma teachers, and are after all a scholastic achievement. Against this tendency there arose probably the Sautrāntikas, who do not regard the seven Abhidharmas as authentic Buddhavacanas,<sup>4</sup> and lay more stress on the Sūtrāntas of the Buddha. In their

<sup>1</sup> Sarvadarśanasamgraha, ch. 2: “Te ca Bauddhās caturvidhayā bhāvanayā paramapuruṣārtham kathayanti | te ca Mādhyamika-yogācāra-sautrāntika-vaibhāṣika-samjñābhīḥ prasiddhā Bauddhā yathākramam sarvaśūnyatva-vāhyāśūnyatva - vāhyārthānumeyatva - vāhyārthapratyākṣatva - vādān ātiṣṭhanti |” Professor de la Vallée Poussin translates (*Muséon*, vol. ii, No. 1, 1901, p. 61) as follows: (1) “Doctrine du vide complet”; (2) “Doctrine du vide externe”; (3) “Doctrine de l’aperception indirecte des choses extérieures”; (4) “Doctrine de leur aperception immédiate.” Cf. Kern, *Manual*, p. 126: “The vaibhāṣikas acknowledge the direct perception of exterior objects; the sautrāntikas hold that exterior objects merely exist as images, and thus are indirectly apprehended.”

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 73, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> See Watters, “Yuan-Chwang,” i, p. 277. His interpretation differs a little from mine.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, p. 75, note 3.



As to the analysis of the Vaibhāṣika works I prepared a lengthy note, but decided, after reflection, to make it as short as possible, for these works really ought to be treated of in a special paper. Now let us proceed with the analysis.

## I. ABHIDHARMA-VIBHĀṢĀ AND ABHIDHARMA-MAHĀVIBHĀṢĀ.

### A COMMENTARY ON KĀTYĀYANĪPUTRA'S JÑĀNAPRASTHĀNA.

The interesting question of the date of the Vibhāṣās is carefully avoided in the present paper, for the more I study these texts the more I get puzzled, several fresh difficulties being confronted one after another. We may have to abandon the theory that the Vibhāṣās were compiled in the Buddhist Council under King Kaniṣka.<sup>1</sup> There may have existed several vibhāṣās before the compilation of the Mahāvibhāṣā, for the name 'vaibhāṣika' does not seem to be originated entirely from the Mahāvibhāṣā.<sup>2</sup> According to Paramārtha, Kātyāyanīputra himself compiled a vibhāṣā with the help of Aśvaghoṣa of Sāketa, whose part in the work was to put it into a literary form.<sup>3</sup> This, again, may be true, seeing that two of the vibhāṣās found in Chinese are attributed to him, though perhaps wrongly. Hiuent-sang tells us that in the Council under Kaniṣka the compilation of an upadeśa (on the sūtras) and of a vibhāṣā (on the Vinaya and Abhidharma) was the chief object. Though we have no evidence, in Chinese at least, of the existence of an upadeśa before Asaṅgha's time (c. 450 A.D.), yet in the vibhāṣā there is a mention of the name. The name

<sup>1</sup> Watters has already advanced an opinion that it was not compiled in the Council, (1) because the Mahāvibhāṣā refers to Kaniṣka as a former king; (2) because Vasumitra is mentioned as one of the four great Śāstrins; (3) because Vasumitra and Pārśva are quoted in the work "On Yuan-Chwang," i, pp. 274-276. But these points must be re-examined, comparing all existing vibhāṣās. See my note, J.R.A.S., April, 1905, p. 415.

<sup>2</sup> The Mahāvibhāṣā itself mentions 'Kāśmīra-vaibhāṣikā masters' (Chia-shu-mi-lo-p'i-p'o-sha shi). Whether this is the translator's chance mistake for 'Kāśmīra śāstrins' remains to be seen.

<sup>3</sup> *Tong-pao*, July, 1904, p. 278.

of China occurs in the text as Chih-na (Cina)<sup>1</sup> or Chên-tan (Cina),<sup>2</sup> a name considered to have been originated from the Imperial Chin dynasty of China (B.C. 221-203).

The number of ślokas, moreover, in the vibhāṣā is variously recorded as more than 100,000 by one,<sup>3</sup> and as about 1,000,000 by Paramārtha.<sup>4</sup> The date of its compilation, again, is said to have been "400 years after the Buddha's death" by Hiuen-tsang,<sup>5</sup> "500 years A.B." (i.e. sixth century) by Paramārtha,<sup>6</sup> and "more than 600 years A.B." by Tao-yen.<sup>7</sup>

Vasumitra, whom we seem to connect always with the Council under Kaṇiṣka and with the compilation of the vibhāṣā, is a mystification to us. Watters in his new work mentions at least seven Vasumitras, all of more or less importance,<sup>8</sup> though of these we are concerned with only two, i.e. the author of the Prakaraṇapāda and one of the compilers of the vibhāṣā.

All these points casually noticed in our authorities seem to be conflicting and confusing. They may, however, turn out to furnish, after a thorough investigation of the subject, some important clues to the actual state of history in that interesting period of Buddhism.

Now as to the Chinese translations of the texts the earliest is dated in A.D. 383, which serves as the *terminus ad quem* for the activity of the Vaibhāṣikas. A reference to the Abhidharma-vibhāṣā or simply the vibhāṣā is found in other works subsequently translated (A.D. 434, 557, etc.).

We have to distinguish the simple vibhāṣā from the Mahāvibhāṣā according to their contents, no matter what

<sup>1</sup> 致那.

<sup>2</sup> 振且.

<sup>3</sup> Hiuen-tsang, see Watters, i, p. 271, and Tao-yen, 道挺, in his preface to No. 1264. See below, p. 128.

<sup>4</sup> *Tong-pao*, July, 1904, p. 279.

<sup>5</sup> Watters, "Yuan-Chwang," p. 270; and below, p. 129, l. 15.

<sup>6</sup> *Tong-pao*, July, 1904, p. 276.

<sup>7</sup> See above, note 3.

<sup>8</sup> "Yuan-Chwang," i, pp. 274-275.

they call themselves. We shall name them, for the sake of convenience, the smaller and larger Vibhāṣās. One of those described below (A) belongs to the former category, and two (B, C) to the latter.

A (the smaller).

P'i-p'o-sha-lun.<sup>1</sup>

Vibhāṣā(-śāstra).

Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1299.

Amount: 3 chapters; 42 sections; 14 fasciculi; 400 pages.

Author: Chia-chan-yen-tsu (Kātyāyanī-putra).<sup>2</sup>

Translator: Seng-chie-p'o-têng (probably Saṅgha-vartin)<sup>3</sup> of Kipin (Kāśmīra), A.D. 383.

#### CONTENTS.

“The Exposition of the A-p'i-t'an-pa-ch'an-tu (Abhidhamma-aṭṭha-gantho),<sup>4</sup> i.e.: (1) miscellaneous; (2) bond of passions (saṃyojana); (3) knowledge (jñāna); (4) actions (karman); (5) 4 elements (caturmahābhūta); (6) organs (indriya); (7) meditation (dhyāna); (8) views (dṛṣṭi).”

i. Introductory (序阿毗曇).

ii. Small-chapter (小章).<sup>5</sup>

Sections 1–15: All categories about passions and things connected with them, from 3 saṃyojanas to 98 anuśāyas.

iii. Great-chapter, explaining the Ten Gates (解十門大章).

Sections 16–42: All categories about matter and mind; sphere of the activity of mind; 22 indriyas; 18 dhātus; 12 āyatanas; 5 skandhas; 6 dhātus; 4 āryasatyas; 4 dhyānas; 4 apramāṇas; 4 ārūpyas; 8 vimuktis; 8 jñānas; 3 samādhis; 4 births, etc.

<sup>1</sup> 鞞婆沙論.

<sup>2</sup> 迦旃延子.

<sup>3</sup> 僧伽跋澄, Chin. 衆現, i.e. ‘assembly-appearing.’ This was restored to Saṅghabhūti, but ‘p'o’ is often for ‘var,’ e.g. in varmā.

<sup>4</sup> 說阿毗曇八禪度.

<sup>5</sup> This may be something like ‘culla-vagga’ or ‘culla-khaṇḍa.’

The venerable Vasumitra is often mentioned, but this does not mean that he is quoted in the text. It seems to have been the case that when opinions differed during the compilation Vasumitra, Pārśva, or other elders were referred to, and their opinions were recorded, mentioning them by name.

Under the four satyas (section 32) the Buddha is said to have taught them also in Tamil: "In the language of the T'an-mi-lo (Damiḷa) land:—Yen-wei (suffering); mi-wei (the cause); ta-pa (destruction); ta-la-pa (the way):—thus he taught the end of suffering."<sup>1</sup> Then he is represented as having taught the same in the other barbarian language: "In the language of the Mi-li-cha (Mleccha) land:—Ma-sha, tu-sha, sang-sha-ma, s̄a-ba-ta, pi-li-la:—thus he taught the end of suffering."<sup>2</sup>

B (the larger).

A-p'i-t'an-p'i-p'o-sha-lun.<sup>3</sup>

Abhidharma-vibhāṣā(-treatise).

Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1264.

Amount: Originally 8 ch'an-tu (gantho), 44 sections (vaggo), in 100 fasciculi, but lost during the war between the Northern Liang and Wei, A.D. 439. They were collected afterwards, but only 3 ch'an-tu (gantho), 16 sections (vaggo) were found, and made into 82 fasciculi, 400 pages (ye).

Author: Chia-chan-yen-tsu (Kātyāyanī-putra).<sup>4</sup>

Translators: Fen-t'o-p'o-mo (Buddhavarmā) and Tao-tai,<sup>5</sup>  
A.D. 437-439 (or rather A.D. 425-427).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 曇彌羅國語說:—禪佞(苦也); 彌佞(習也); 陀破(盡也); 陀羅破(道也):—此說苦邊。  
Cf. above, p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> 摩舍, 兜舍, 僧舍摩, 薩婆多, 鞞梨羅, 此說苦邊。 Cf. above, p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> 阿毗曇毗婆沙論。

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 125, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> 北涼沙門浮陀跋摩共道泰譯。

<sup>6</sup> See below, p. 128, l. 9.

## CONTENTS.

## i. Introductory (序品).

## ii. Miscellaneous (雜犍度).

Section 1: Lokottaradharma-varga (世第一法品一).<sup>1</sup>

Among those mentioned we find Vasumitra, P'o-t'antou (i.e. Bhadanta Buddhadeva), Ghoṣa, Pārśva, Aniruddha, etc.<sup>2</sup>

„ 2: Jñāna-varga (智品二).

„ 3: Puḍgala-varga (人品三).

„ 4: Love (preman) and reverence (gaurava) (愛敬品四).

„ 5: Shamelessness (āhrikyā) and fearlessness of sinning (anapatrāpyā) (无慚愧品五).

„ 6: Rūpa-varga (色品六).

„ 7: Anartha-varga (无義品七).

„ 8: Cetanā-varga (思義品八).

Vakkula, Buddhadeva, etc., mentioned.<sup>3</sup>

## iii. Saṃyojanas (使犍度).

## Section 1: Akuśāla-varga (不善品一).

„ 2: Sakṛdāgami-varga (一行品二).<sup>4</sup>

„ 3: Puḍgala-varga (人品三).

„ 4: Ten Gates (十門品四).

Pārśva, Mahākauṣṭhila, etc., are mentioned.

## iv. Knowledge (智犍度).

## Section 1: 8 mārgas (八道品一).

„ 2: Paracitta-jñāna (他心智二).

„ 3: Bhāvanā-jñāna (修智品三).<sup>5</sup>

„ 4: Samprayogas (associations) (相應品四).

(The end.)

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Wogihara tells me that 'lokottara' ought to be 'lokāgra,' the meaning being the same.

<sup>2</sup> 和須密, 婆檀頭, 瞿沙, 婆奢, 阿泥盧頭.

<sup>3</sup> 婆拘羅, 佛陀提婆.

<sup>4</sup> But see Mr. Wogihara's note, p. 89, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Bhāvanā, p. 114, l. 11.

In a preface by Tao-yen<sup>1</sup> it is said: "At a time more than 600 years after the Buddha's death there were in N. India 500 Arhats . . . who compiled the vibhāṣā in order to suppress various opinions. A priest Tao-tai<sup>2</sup> went to the west of the Onion range, and obtained the Sanskrit text in 100,000 verses.

"A Śramaṇa of India, Feu-t'o-p'o-mo (Buddhavarmā), came to the territory of Liang (涼), and was ordered to translate the text in the middle of the 4th moon, A.D. 425 (乙丑), with the assistance of more than 300 men, Chi-sung, Tao-lang,<sup>3</sup> and others.

"The work, which amounted to 100 fasciculi, was all finished in the 7th moon, A.D. 427. In the meantime Liang was destroyed and all the books were lost. Again copying the text they produced 60 fasciculi.

"After the death of the Buddha a Bhikṣu named Fa-shêng<sup>4</sup> (Dharmottara) wrote a treatise called the 'Heart of the Abhidharma'<sup>5</sup> in 4 volumes. Again, Chia-chan-yen-tsü (Kātyāyanīputra) compiled the Abhidharma in 8 Gantho, 44 sections in all. Afterwards 500 Arhats compiled the Vibhāṣā, explaining *again* the 8 Gantho. When it was translated, it consisted of 100 fasciculi in a larger form. The Emperor Tai-wu of Wei destroyed Su-ch'ü (涇渠), the capital of Liang, and the book was lost. However, 60 fasciculi were collected, and were divided by a later hand into 110 fasciculi.<sup>6</sup> The fragment is of 3 Gantho, 5 other

<sup>1</sup> 道挺.

<sup>2</sup> 道泰, see Nanjio's Catal., p. 413, No. 71.

<sup>3</sup> 智嵩道郎等三百餘人.

<sup>4</sup> 法勝, Nanjio (Nos. 1294, 1288), puts 'Dharmajina?' but 'Dharmottara' is a priest who founded a school called 'Ta-mo-yu-to-li' (Dharmottari), which is translated 法上 or 法勝 (No. 1284). One text (No. 1294) says 法中勝, the 'best of the laws' (i.e. Dharmottara).

<sup>5</sup> 阿毗曇心論, No. 1288. There is a chapter called Dhammahadaya-vibhaṅga in the Vibhaṅga, Mrs. Rhys Davids' edition, p. 436.

<sup>6</sup> In fact, 82 fasciculi are entered in the Chinese collection.

Gantho being lost altogether." The three Gantho agree on the whole with C.

C (the larger).

A-p'i-ta-mo-ta-p'i-p'o-sha-lun.<sup>1</sup>

(Abhidharma-large-vibhāṣā-treatise.)

Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣā(-śāstra).

Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1263.

Amount: 8 groups (skandha); 43 sections (the last Gāthā section of the Jñānaprasthāna being omitted in the Commentary); 200 fasciculi (chüan); 1,438,449 Chinese letters; 3,630 pages.

Authors: 500 great Arhats.

Translator: Hiuen-tsang, A.D. 656-659.

The Tib.-Chin. Catalogue, vol. ix, mentions this text as:—

Mo-ho-wei-p'o-sha-sha-hsi-tu-lo,<sup>2</sup> 400 years after the Buddha's death.

Mahā-vibhāṣā-śāstra.

### CONTENTS OF THE MAHĀVIBHĀSĀ.

Introductory remarks, in which the tradition that Kātyāyana-putra compiled this work is discussed, and the names 'Abhidharma' and 'Jñānaprasthāna' are variously explained.

i. Miscellaneous group (雜蘊一).

8 sections (see the analysis of the Jñānaprasthāna).

ii. Saṃyojana-group (結蘊二).

4 sections.

iii. Knowledge-group (智蘊三).

5 sections.

iv. Action-group (業蘊四).

5 sections.

v. Great Element-group (大種蘊五).

4 sections.

<sup>1</sup> 阿毗達磨大毗婆沙論五百大阿羅漢造.

<sup>2</sup> Mahā-vibhāṣā-śāstra, i.e. 麻訶外拔沙沙悉特羅.

## vi. Organ-group (根 蘊 六).

7 sections.

## vii. Meditation-group (定 蘊 七).

5 sections.

## viii. View-group (見 蘊 八).

5 sections.

The last, 44th section, being Gāthās, is stated to be easy, and is not explained in the work.

At the end of every one of the 200 fasciculi it is stated that the text is a commentary on the *Fa-chi-lun* (Jñāna-prasthāna) belonging to the Sarvāstivāda school.<sup>1</sup> This being a commentary, the contents are practically the same as those of the Jñānaprasthāna, and a detailed analysis is omitted here.

This great commentary was much studied by Watters, who remarked in his "Yuan-Chwang" (vol. i, p. 277) as follows: "The extent of the commentators' investigation is doubtless overstated (by Hiuen-tsang), but there is evidence of great study and research in the Vibhāṣā and in the Mahāvibhāṣā.<sup>2</sup> In these books we find an extraordinary acquaintance with Buddhist learning of various kinds, and also with Brahmanical learning, including the original Indian alphabets, the Vedas, and their Aṅgas."

The Vibhāṣā is, indeed, a great encyclopædia of Buddhist philosophy. All the opinions of several ancient and contemporary philosophers of various schools are carefully registered and discussed. Whether we have in this Aśvaghōṣa's share or not<sup>3</sup> it is certainly a masterwork, unique in its merit and scope. During the period of its compilation there seem to have been several philosophers who are generally styled the 'Abhidharma-mahāśāstrins.'<sup>4</sup> There

<sup>1</sup> 說一切有部發智。

<sup>2</sup> Watters apparently did not come across the fragmentary Vibhāṣā (B), Nanjio's No. 1264.

<sup>3</sup> *Tong-pao*, July, 1904, p. 278: "When the meaning of the principles had been settled Aśvaghōṣa put them one by one into literary form. At the end of 12 years the composition of the Vibhāṣā was finished."

<sup>4</sup> 阿毗達磨諸大論師, 'A-p'i-ta-mo-various great Doctors.'

were two bodies of such *sāstrins*, differing in their views from each other, and these are often referred to in the text, whenever differences occur as to their views, as 'Kāsmīra-sāstrins' and 'Gāndhāra-sāstrins.'<sup>1</sup> As for the Lokottara principles, the text cites the views of several schools and philosophers; among others I may mention here the following names: 'Vibhajyavādins,' 'Sautrāntikas,' 'Dharmaguptas,' 'Vatsīputrīyas,' 'Mahīśāsakas,' those who hold the difference of Cetanā from Citta; 'Dharmatāra (Dharmatrāta),' 'Buddhadeva,' 'Miao-yin (Ghoṣa),' 'Pārśva,' 'Vasumitra,' 'Kātyāyanīputra,'<sup>2</sup> etc. The books quoted in the text are also numerous, but I am rather afraid to state anything definitely until every page of the 200 fasciculi has been studied carefully.

I may here add that there is another work bearing the name *Vibhāṣā*, attributed to Dharmatāra (Dharmatrāta) above mentioned.

*Wu-shi-p'i-p'o-sha-lun.*

Five-subjects-vibhāṣā-treatise.

Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1283.

Amount: 3 chapters; 2 fasciculi; 36 pages.

Author: The original 'Wu-shi' (Five-subjects, probably 'Pañcavastu'), by Vasumitra; the *vibhāṣā* commentary, by Dharmatāra (Dharmatrāta), who is said to be Vasumitra's uncle.

Translator: Hiuen-tsang, A.D. 663.

## CONTENTS.

1. Rūpa-vibhaṅga.
2. Citta-vibhaṅga.
3. Caitta-dharma-vibhaṅga.

The 'Five Subjects' referred to are: (1) subject (one's self); (2) object; (3) bondage; (4) causes; (5) absorption (?).

<sup>1</sup> 迦濕彌羅國諸論師; 健馱羅國諸論師.

<sup>2</sup> 分別論者, 經部師, 法密部, 犢子部, 化地部, 思心差別論者, 法救, 覺天, 妙音 ('Miao-yin' means 'excellent sound,' Skt. Ghoṣa), 脇, 世友, 迦多衍尼子.

## II. ABHIDHARMA-KOŚA AND THE KĀRIKĀ.

By VASUBANDHU.

The importance of the Abhidharma-kośa was fully recognized by Burnouf, Kern, and subsequent scholars through Yaśomitra's Abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā-sphuṭārtha. This work has come down to us, in Chinese, in two forms, one containing verses (602 kārīkās) only, and the other being prose explanations of the verses. Paramārtha tells us that the prose text was compiled at the request of the Kāsmīra-vaibhāṣikas.<sup>1</sup> Of course the verse text is included in the prose one.

## A.

A-p'i-ta-mo-chü-shê-shih-lun.<sup>2</sup>

(Abhidharma-kośa-explaining-treatise.)

Nanjo's Catalogue, No. 1269.

Amount: 9 sections (p'in); 22 fasciculi (chüan); 613 pages (ye).

Author: P'o-su-p'an-tou (Vasubandhu)<sup>3</sup> (c. 420-500 A.D.).Translator: Chên-ti (Paramārtha),<sup>4</sup> A.D. 563-567.

## B.

A-p'i-ta-mo-chü-shê-lun.<sup>5</sup>

(Abhidharma-kośa-treatise.)

Nanjo's Catalogue, No. 1267.

Amount: 9 sections (p'in); 30 fasciculi (chüan); 559 pages (ye).

Author: The venerable Shi-ch'in (Vasubandhu).<sup>6</sup>

Translator: Hiuen-tsang, A.D. 651-654.

The above two are mentioned in the Tib.-Chin. Catalogue, vol. ix, with the following names:—

A-p'i-ta-lo-mo-ko-sha-sha-hsi-tu-lo.<sup>7</sup>

(Abhidharmakośa-sāstra.)

<sup>1</sup> See my Life of Vasubandhu (*T'ung-pao*, July, 1904), p. 287; Watters, "Yuan-Chwang," i, p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> 阿毗達磨俱舍釋論.

<sup>3</sup> 婆藪槃豆.

<sup>4</sup> 陳三藏真諦.

<sup>5</sup> 阿毗達磨俱舍論.

<sup>6</sup> 尊者世親.

<sup>7</sup> 阿毗達磨麻哥沙沙悉特羅.

## C.

A-p'i-ta-mo-chü-shê-lun-pang-sung.<sup>1</sup>

(Abhidharma-kośa-treatise-original-verses.)

Abhidharmakośa-kārikā.

Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1270.

Amount: 602 verses; 8 sections (p'in); 2 fasciculi (chüan);  
53 pages (ye).Author: The venerable *Shi-ch'in* (Vasubandhu).

Translator: Hiuen-tsang, A.D. 651.

The Tib.-Chin. Catalogue, vol. ix, gives the following name:—

A-p'i-ta-lo-mo-ko-sha-chia-li-chia.<sup>2</sup>

(Abhidharmakośa-kārikā.)

## CONTENTS OF THE ABHIDHARMAKOŚA.

1. Distinction of Dhātus (分別界品一). 44 verses.
2. „ Indriyas (分別根品二). 74 verses.
3. „ Lokas (分別世品三).<sup>3</sup> 99 verses.
4. „ Karmans (分別業品四). 130 verses.
5. „ Anuśayas (分別隨眠品五).<sup>4</sup> 69 verses.
6. „ Āryapudgalas (分別聖賢品六).<sup>5</sup> 83 verses.
7. „ Jñānas (分別智品七). 61 verses.
8. „ Samādhis (分別定品八).<sup>6</sup> 39 verses.
9. Refutation of Ātmavāda (破我執品九).

Yaśomitra's Abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā-sphuṭārtha gives the titles of the chapters as follows:—

1. Dhātu-nirdeśo nāma prathamam Kośa-sthānam.
2. Indriya-nirdeśo nāma dvitīyam Kośa-sthānam.

<sup>1</sup> 俱舍論本頌.<sup>2</sup> 阿毗達囉麻哥沙迦哩迦.<sup>3</sup> A, 世間品.<sup>4</sup> A, 惑品.<sup>5</sup> A, 聖道果人品.<sup>6</sup> A, 三摩跋提, 'San-mo-p'o-ti,' which seems to be Skt. samāpatti, 'attainment,' but may be a mistake for 'samādhi.'<sup>7</sup> See Professor Bendall, Catalogue of the Cambridge MSS., p. 26, Add. 1041.

3. Tṛtīyam Kośa-sthānam.
4. Caturtham K.
5. Anuśaya-nirdeśo nāma pañcamam K.
6. Ṣaṣṭham K.
7. Saptamam K.
8. Aṣṭamam K.
9. *Deest.*

To the ordinals, 3, 4, 6, and 7, we can with perfect safety add the titles, respectively, 'Loka-nirdeśo nāma', Karma-nirdeśo nāma, Āryapudgala-nirdeśo nāma, and Jñāna-nirdeśo nāma. But the eighth and ninth offer some difficulties. According to Paramārtha the eighth appears to be something like 'Samāpatti,' but this may be a mistake arising from a similar sound. Mr. Wogihara holds that it ought to be 'Samādhi-nirdeśa' (8). The ninth is not given as a special chapter in the Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā, but a passage corresponding to the ninth of the Chinese exists in the Sanskrit text, and it is, according to Mr. Wogihara, 'Ātmavāda-pratiśedha' (9).<sup>1</sup>

At the end of each of the 30 fasciculi it is expressly stated that this work belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.

The Kāsmīrian vaibhāṣikas are referred to or cited in this work, seven times as 'Chia-shu-mi-lo-p'i-p'o-sha Masters' (Kāsmīra-vaibhāṣikās), twice as 'Śāstra Masters of Kāsmīra' (Kāsmīra-śāstrinas), and ten times as 'P'i-p'o-sho Masters' (Vaibhāṣikās). Of quotations from other sources I have not noticed many. The Prajñapti-pāda is quoted once (chüan vi); the Yogācārya and the Vātsīputrīya schools are referred to also once (chüan xxii, xxx). I may have missed several others in my cursory perusal.

### III. ABHIDHARMA-NYĀYĀNUSĀRA AND ABHIDHARMA-SAMAYA-PRADĪPIKĀ.

By SAṂGHABHADRA.

Paramārtha tells us<sup>2</sup> that Saṁghabhadra, an opponent of Vasubandhu, compiled two śāstras in Ayodhyā, one, entitled

<sup>1</sup> Formerly Mr. Wogihara suggested, from an analogy, 'pudgalābhin veśa-pratiśedha.'

<sup>2</sup> My Life of Vasubandhu (*Tong-pao*, July, 1904), pp. 289-290.

the "Illustration of the Samaya,"<sup>1</sup> containing 10,000 ślokas, which merely explain the doctrines of the vibhāṣā, and the other bearing the name "Conformity to the Truth,"<sup>2</sup> in 120,000 ślokas. The latter, he continues, refutes the Kośa in favour of the vibhāṣā. Saṅghabhadra is said to have challenged Vasubandhu to a personal debate, which the latter did not accept.

Hiuen-tsang, too, relates this anecdote,<sup>3</sup> and says that the Nyāyānusāra was first called the "Kośa-hailstone,"<sup>4</sup> but the name was changed into "Nyāyānusāra," after the author's death, by Vasubandhu, out of respect to his opponent.<sup>5</sup> Saṅghabhadra was, of course, not the teacher of Vasubandhu, as Tāranātha represents him. On the contrary, they do not seem, from the statements of Paramārtha and Hiuen-tsang, to have been even acquainted with each other.

The "Samaya-exposition," the author himself tells us, is a compendium of his earlier work "Nyāyānusāra," which is too elaborate and abstruse for general students. The only difference is that the shorter work is a simple exposition of the vibhāṣā tenets, while the larger text is devoted more to a detailed refutation of the tenets of other teachers. Vasubandhu's Kośa-kārikā itself, being a summary of the vaibhāṣika doctrines, was not objectionable to any followers of that system; the only objection being directed to the prose exposition of the kośa, in which some doctrines of the Sautrāntikas are found incorporated.<sup>6</sup>

This being the case Saṅghabhadra cites freely the kārikās of his opponent, and explains them according to the orthodox

<sup>1</sup> 光三摩耶論. 'Samaya' means 'doctrines.' 'Illustration' or 'exposition' may be 'pradīpikā' or 'dīpikā.'

<sup>2</sup> 隨實論. This is 'nyāyānusāra.'

<sup>3</sup> Watters, "Yuan-Chwang," i, pp. 325-327.

<sup>4</sup> 俱舍雹論. This may be Skt. 'Kośa-karakā' as Julien supposed.

<sup>5</sup> This story cannot be accepted because the author himself says that he called it 'nyāyānusāra.' See below, p. 137.

<sup>6</sup> See my Life of Vasubandhu (*Tong-pao*, July, 1904), pp. 287-288.

views of his school. A comparison of the two rival philosophies of the Neo-vaibhāṣika period would be extremely interesting. But it is impossible for us to attempt anything of the sort in the present paper.

## A.

A-p'i-ta-mo-shun-chéng-lí-lun.<sup>1</sup>

(Abhidharma-conforming-right-principle-treatise.)

Abhidharma-nyāyānusāra.

Nanjo's Catalogue, No. 1265.

Amount: 8 sections (p'in); 80 fasciculi (chüan); 1,751 pages (ye).

Author: The venerable *Chung-hsien* (Saṃghabhadra).<sup>2</sup>

Translator: Hiuen-tsang, A.D. 653-654.

The Tib.-Chin. Catalogue, vol. ix, gives the following name:—

Ni-ya-ya-a-nu-sā-lo-sha-hsi-tu-lo.<sup>3</sup>

Nyāya-anusāra-sāstra.

Paramārtha gives the name of the author as:—

Seng-chieh-p'o-to-lo.<sup>4</sup>

Saṃgha-bhadra.

## CONTENTS OF THE NYĀYĀNUSĀRA.

1. Discrimination of general subjects (辨本事品一).
2. „ „ particular subjects (辨差別品二).
3. „ „ causes (辨緣起品三).
4. „ „ actions (辨業品四).
5. „ „ passions (anusāya) (辨隨眠品五).
6. „ „ noble persons (辨賢聖品六).
7. „ „ knowledge (辨智品七).
8. „ „ meditation (辨定品八).

At the end of each of 80 fasciculi (except fasc. 9) it is stated that this work belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.

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<sup>1</sup> 阿毗達磨順正理論.

<sup>2</sup> 尊者衆賢.

<sup>3</sup> 備牙壓阿耨薩羅沙悉特羅.

<sup>4</sup> 僧伽絛陀羅.

The Saṃgītiparyāya, Dharmaskandha, and Prajñaptipāda are mentioned in ch. 1 as Mo-ta-li-chia (Mātrikās). The Theravādins are often quoted and refuted, at least nine times. The Kāśmīra-vaibhāṣikas and Vaibhāṣikas are referred to twice or thrice. Among the other works or schools quoted we find the Prakaraṇapāda (often), Vijñānakāyapāda, Jñānaprasthāna, and Prajñaptipāda; the Sautrāntikas, Vibhajyavādas, Yogācāryas, etc.

## B.

A-p'i-ta-mo-hsien-tsung-lun.<sup>1</sup>

(Abhidharma-illustrating-doctrine-treatise.)

Abhidharma-samaya-pradīpikā.<sup>2</sup>

Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1266.

Amount: 9 sections (p'in); 40 fasciculi (chüan); 749 pages (ye).

Author: The venerable *Chung-hsien* (Saṃghabhadra).<sup>3</sup>

Translator: Hiuen-tsang, A.D. 651-652.

The Tib.-Chin. Catalogue, vol. ix, gives a quite different title from ours:—

A-p'i-ta-lo-mo p'i-lo-chia-lo-mo (?) -sha-sa-na-sha-hsi-tu-lo.<sup>4</sup>

Abhidharma-prakaraṇa-sāsana-sāstra.<sup>5</sup>

## CONTENTS OF THE SAMAYAPRADĪPIKĀ.

## 1. Introductory (序品一).

Preliminary remarks about the doctrine, in which Saṃghabhadra says: "I have already written a treatise and called it 'Shun-chéng-lí,' 'Conformity to the Truth' (Nyāyānusāra). Those who are fond of philosophical speculation have to study it. With the phrases and sentences so

<sup>1</sup> 阿毗達磨顯宗論.

<sup>2</sup> Pradīpikā' is our conjecture; it may be some such word of like meaning.

<sup>3</sup> See note 4, p. 136.

<sup>4</sup> 阿毗達囉麻毗囉迦囉麻(?)沙薩拏沙  
悉特羅.

<sup>5</sup> This is, it will be noticed, the authority for Nanjio's restoration. If this were 'śāsanaprakaraṇa' it would be an appropriate title. But as Paramārtha gives the name 'san-mo-ye (samaya) exposition,' we have to reject the restoration of the Tib.-Chin. authorities.

detailed and elaborate, a research into it is a matter of difficulty. One will not be able to understand it unless one works hard. In order to make it easy to be understood by curtailing the elaborate composition, I again compiled an abridged treatise and called it 'Hsien-tsung,' 'Exposition of the Doctrine' (Samaya-pradīpikā). I embellished and preserved his verses (Vasubandhu's Kārikā), and regarded them as the source of reference.

"I cut short those extensive concluding arguments which are found in the 'Shun-li' (Nyāyānusāra), and set forth the right expositions against his proofs (Vasubandhu's śāstra) to illustrate the true excellent doctrines to which we adhere."<sup>1</sup>

2. Discrimination of general subjects (辨本事品一).
3.        ,,        particular subjects (辨差別品二).
4.        ,,        causes (辨緣起品三).
5.        ,,        actions (辨業品四).
6.        ,,        passions (anusaya) (辨隨眠品五).
7.        ,,        noble persons (辨賢聖品六).
8.        ,,        knowledge (辨智品七).
9.        ,,        meditation (辨定品八).

At the end of the text there is a verse which contains the following remark: "One should not only hold fast to what the Teaching (itself) is capable (of giving one), but also direct one's own mind toward the true principles. Therefore one should conform to the śāstra (that gives) the Truth propounded by the Buddha, and further conform to the A-kiu-mo (āgama, 'teaching') of the Truth."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 已說論名順正理，樂思擇者所應學，文句派演隔難尋，非少劬勞所能解，為撮廣文令易了，故造略論名顯宗，節存彼頌以為歸，剛順理中廣決擇，對彼證言申正釋，顯此所宗真妙義。

<sup>2</sup> 非唯執教所堪能，應亦標心於正理，故順佛言正理論，及順正理阿笈摩。 He is here paraphrasing the name of his larger work, i.e. 'nyāyānusāra' or 'satyānusāra.'

At the end of each of fasciculi 11–20 and 31–40 it is stated that this text belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.

Among the authorities quoted there are Kāsmīra-vaibhāṣikas (fasc. 21, 36, 40), Kāsmīras, Vinaya-vaibhāṣikas, Yogācāryas; the Abhidharmakośa, Dharmaskandha, Prajñāptipāda, the larger text Nyāyānusāra itself, etc.

## 6. SOME OTHER BOOKS OF IMPORTANCE BELONGING TO THE SARVĀSTIVĀDIN SCHOOL (APPENDIX).

There are, beside the seven Abhidharmas and the philosophical books directly connected with them, some other works which are attributed to the Sarvāstivāda school.

Omitting all doubtful ones I may here give a short account of some of the Sarvāstivādin works which have been referred to by me in the present paper, or have been regarded as important by some other authorities.

### I.

A-p'i-ta-mo *Kan-lu-mi-lun*.<sup>1</sup>

A-p'i-ta-lo-mo a-mi-li-ta sha-hsi-tu-lo (Tib.-Chin. Catalogue).<sup>2</sup>

Abhidharma-amṛta(-śāstra).

Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1278.

Amount: 16 sections; 2 fasciculi; 55 pages.

Author: Ch'ü-sha (Ghoṣa).<sup>3</sup>

Translator: Name not recorded, but the text registered as translated under the Wei dynasty, A.D. 220–265.

### CONTENTS.

1. Dāna and sīla (布方色持戒品一).
2. Forms of birth (界道品二).
3. Beings that live on food (住食生品三).

<sup>1</sup> 阿毗達磨甘露味論.

<sup>2</sup> 阿毗達囉麻阿彌哩怛沙悉特羅.

<sup>3</sup> 瞿沙. A colophon at the end gives this name. The Mahāvibhāṣā quotes him, see above, p. 127, line 6; p. 131, line 10.

4. Karmans (業品四).
5. Skandhas (陰持入品五).
6. Saṃskāras (行品六).
7. Causes (因緣種品七).
8. Pure indriyas (淨根品八).
9. Passions (saṃyojana and anuśaya) (結使品九).
10. Anāsravas (無漏入品十).
11. Knowledge (智品十一).
12. Dhyānas (禪定品十二).
13. Miscellaneous meditations (雜定品十三).
14. Thirty-seven stages of the holy (三十七品十四).
15. Four āryasatyas (四諦品十五).
16. Miscellaneous (雜品十六).

This work is nowhere indicated as belonging to the Sarvāstivādins, except that the entry in the catalogue (Tib.-Chin. and Nanjio) is made among the Sarvāstivādin books.

Wassilief<sup>1</sup> gives this work in the place of the Prajñapti-pāda (one of the six pādas) without stating his authority or the reason for which he assumes the identity of the two names. All I can say at present is that from its contents this work may well belong to the school.

## II.

A. A-p'i-tan-sin-lun.

A-p'i-ta-lo-mo ha-la-ta-ya<sup>2</sup> (Tib.-Chin.).

Abhidharma-hṛdaya.

Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1288.

Amount: 10 sections; 4 fasciculi; 96 pages.

Author: *Fa-shéng* (Dharmottara).<sup>3</sup>

Translator: Seng-chie-ti-po (Saṃghadeva) and Hui-yuen, A.D. 391.

<sup>1</sup> See his Buddhismus, p. 116 (German).

<sup>2</sup> 阿毗曇心論, 阿毗達羅麻呵囉怛牙.

<sup>3</sup> 法勝, 'Law-superior' (not Dharmajina, but) Dharmottara; he is the originator of the Dharmottari school (法上, 法勝, or 達麻鬱多梨). See p. 128, note 4.

B. *Fa-shéng A-p'i-t'an-sin-lun.*<sup>1</sup>

Dharmottara Abhidharma-hṛdaya(-śāstra).

Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1294.

Amount: 10 sections; 6 fasciuli; 139 pages.

Author: Yu-po-shen-to (Upasānta).

Translator: Na-lien-ti-li-ye-shê (Nārendrayaśas), A.D. 563.

This is a commentary on A.

C. *Tsa-a-p'i-t'an-sin-lun.*<sup>2</sup>

Miscellaneous Abhidharma-hṛdaya(-śāstra).

Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1287.

Amount: 11 sections; 16 fasciuli; 362 pages.

Author: *Fa-kiu* (Dharmatāra or Dharmatrāta),<sup>3</sup> said to be an uncle of Vasumitra.

Translator: Seng-chie-p'o-mo (Saṃghavarmā), A.D. 434.

This is another commentary on A. I give here its contents, which are practically the same as those of A and B.

## CONTENTS.

1. Introductory (序品一).
2. Dhātu (心界品二).
3. Saṃskāra (行品三).
4. Karman (業品四).
5. Anuśaya (使品五).
6. Āryapudgala (賢聖品六).
7. Knowledge (智品七).
8. Samādhi (定品八).

<sup>1</sup> 法勝阿毗曇心論.<sup>2</sup> 雜阿毗曇心論.<sup>3</sup> 法救, 'Law-deliverer.' Dharmatrāta (Nanjio), but it may be Dharmatāra. The name 'Ta-mo-to-lo' (達麻多羅) is given in the introductory chapter.

9. Shu-to-lo (sūtra) (修多羅品九).  
10. Miscellaneous (雜品十).

[*The Contents for B and A are identical up to this point.*]

C.	B.	A.
11. Conclusion (擇品十一).	<i>Deest.</i>	Discussions (論品十).

In this book the Abhidharma-vibhāṣā is mentioned, which, it says, is the authority for the exposition given by the author.

The work C is expressly said to belong to the Sarvāstivāda school by Hui-chi<sup>1</sup> (6th century), while the text B is also mentioned by Tao-yen (5th century), side by side with the Jñānaprasthāna and as if anterior to this work of Kātyāyanīputra.<sup>2</sup>

### III.

*Li-shih-a-p'i-t'an-lun.*

(Construction-world-abhidharma-treatise.)

Loka-prajñapti-abhidharma(-śāstra).<sup>3</sup>

Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1297.

Amount: 25 sections; 10 fasciculi; 200 pages.

Author: Author's name unknown.

Translator: *Chén-ti* (Paramārtha), A.D. 557-568.

### CONTENTS.

1. Motion of the earth (地動品一).
2. Jambudvīpa (南閻浮提品二).
3. Six great countries (六大國品三).
4. Yakṣas (夜叉神品四).
5. Lu-ja-gi-li (Rājagiri) elephant (漏闍耆利象王品五).
6. Four continents around the Sumeru (四天下品六).

<sup>1</sup> 慧愷. See his preface to the Abhidharmakośa (No. 1269).

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 128, l. 17.

<sup>3</sup> 立世阿毗曇論, '*Li-shih*,' is 'Loka-prajñapti' (not 'Loka-sthiti'). 施設, '*Shi-shê*' is practically the same as 立, '*Li*,' both meaning 'constructing' or 'establishing.'

7. Measure of time and size (數量品七).
8. Heavens (天住處品八).
- 9-17. The Sudarśana; the regions around the heavenly capital, i.e. Trayastrīṃśat, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūḍhaka, Virūpakṣa, Vaiśravaṇa, etc.; description of the gardens belonging to them, etc.<sup>1</sup>
18. The battle of Indra and Asura (天非天鬪品十八).
19. Motion of the sun and the moon (日月行品十九).
20. How day and night divided (云何品廿).
21. Births (受生品廿一).
22. Longevity (壽量品廿二).
23. Hells (地獄品廿三).
24. Three lesser calamities of the world (小三災品廿四).
25. Three greater calamities (大三災品廿五).

This work is nowhere indicated as belonging to the Sarvāstivādins. But as I said elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> this work treats of the subject which the Prajñapti-pāda (one of the six pādas) omits either by mistake or on purpose, and fills the gap admirably, giving us an idea what the Loka-prajñapti was or would be likely to be. There is nothing against our regarding this work as a Sarvāstivādin work.

There are two or three other works which belong or seem to belong to this school. I may add their names here without entering further into details.

#### IV.

*Ju-a-p'i-ta-mo-lun.*<sup>3</sup>

Introduction to the Abhidharma.

Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1291.

<sup>1</sup> 切利天歡喜園, 衆車園, 惡口園雜園, 波利夜多園; 提頭賴陀 (E.), 毘留勒叉 (S.), 毘留博叉 (W.), 毘沙門 (N.).

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 77, note.

<sup>3</sup> 入阿毗達磨論.

Amount: 2 fasciculi; 34 pages.

Author: Sa-kan-ti-la.<sup>1</sup>

Translator: Hiuen-tsang, A.D. 658.

This states expressly that it belongs to the school, and it treats of the 75 elements (dharmas), in 8 categories (padārtha), peculiar to this school. They are:—Rūpa (11), citta (1), caittadharmā (46), cittaviprayuktadharmā (14), and asaṃskṛta (3).

V.

Shê-li-pu-a-p'i-t'an-lun.<sup>2</sup>

Śāriputra-abhidharma-treatise.

Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1268.

Amount: 4 divisions; 33 chapters (varga); 30 fasciculi; 620 pages.

Author: Śāriputra.

Translator: Dharmagupta and Dharmayaśas, A.D. 414–415.

This has no correspondence with the Saṃgīti-paryāya (one of the six pādas), which is attributed to Śāriputra (No. 1276), but of course treats of the usual Abhidharma subjects.

Among the matters we find (1) āyatana, dhātu, skandha, satya, indriya, bodhyaṅga; (2) dhātu, karman, pudgala, jūāna, hetu, smṛtyupasthāna, ṛddhi, dhyāna, mārga, kleśa; (3) saṃgraha, saṃprayoga; (4) sarvatvaga, hetu, nāmarūpa, saṃyojana, saṃskāra, sparśa, cetanā, kuśala, akuśala, samādhi.

VI.

Sui-siang-lun.<sup>3</sup>

Lakṣaṇānusāra(-śāstra).

Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1280.

<sup>1</sup> 索(塞)建地羅, 'Sa-kan-ti-la.' Julien and Watters (i, p. 280) think that this name represents 'Skandhila,' while Nanjio restores it to 'Sugandhara.' See No. 1291.

<sup>2</sup> 舍利弗阿毗曇論.

<sup>3</sup> 隨相論.

Amount: 2 fasciculi; 41 pages.

Author: Guṇamati.<sup>1</sup>

Translator: Paramārtha, A.D. 557-569.

This treats of 12 nidānas and 4 āryasatyas. It quotes the Vibhāṣā-masters, and mentions Vasubandhu by name. Vatsi-putrīya, Jaina, Sammitīya, Ulūka, and other teachers are referred to.

## 7. CONCLUSION.

The above list practically comprises all the important works of the Sarvāstivādins which have come down to us in Chinese. In addition to these we are, as I have noticed elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> in possession of a complete set of the Vinaya works belonging to this school. Thus, having both the Abhidharma and the Vinaya of a school closely allied to the Theravādins, who have also preserved these branches of Buddhist literature, a comparative study of the two sets will, if carried out properly, contribute a great deal towards our knowledge of the history of development of Indian Buddhism.

The activity of this important philosophical school, as illustrated in its literature, covers at least not less than ten centuries of the intellectual life of India. Before they could begin their separate existence the Sarvāstivādins had to fight their way against the original Buddhist school, in consequence of which they are said to have retired from the valley of the Ganges to the new home of Kāśmīra.

Toward the closing period of their activity they had to confront the overwhelming influence of the so-called Mahāyānism. However, they remained a Hīnayāna throughout the struggle,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This may be Guṇamati, the author of a commentary on the Abhidharma-kośa (see above, p. 120, n. 3), who is very likely the pupil of Vasubandhu of that name.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 71, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> According to I-tsing, who is a Sarvāstivādin, what constitutes the difference between Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna is the worship of a Bodhisattva. The name Bodhisattva, indeed, is not found in any of the books. His "Record," pp. 14-15.

true to their traditional doctrine of Sarvāstitva,<sup>1</sup> and served as a stepping-stone, as it were, between the original form of Buddhism and the later developed system of it.<sup>2</sup> When their literature, now presented in an analysed form, becomes completely accessible in a European language, several gaps in the history of Buddhist India will, I think, be filled up, and the growth and decay of religious ideas of the Buddhists be made more intelligible to us. With this hope for the future I may now be allowed to conclude my present paper, unworthy and imperfect though it is. My examination of the Abhidharma works is by no means exhaustive, nor is it uniform as regards the method of carrying it out. My perusal could only be cursory, and consequently my translations are often tentative. It would have been next to impossible for me to produce my paper, even in its present shape, had it not been for the valuable help of Mr. Wogihara, who is well versed in this field of Buddhist literature. His remarks, as seen in the notes, reflect a careful study of some important texts, the Bodhisattvabhūmi, the Abhidharmakośa, and the like.

I also express my sincere gratitude to Professor Rhys Davids, to whose suggestion and care the present paper owes its existence.

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<sup>1</sup> The two schools which constituted the Mahāyānists of the seventh century were the Sūnyavāda (Mādhyamika) and the Vijñānavāda (Yogācārya). My I-tsing's Record, pp. xii, 15.

<sup>2</sup> Aśvaghoṣa, Aśaṅga, Vasubandhu, etc., originally Sarvāstivādins, eventually became Mahāyānists.

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## NOTES FOR AN EDITION OF THE 'PETAVATTHU'

(P.T.S., 1889)

By EDMUND HARDY

[THE late Professor Edmund Hardy showed me the following collation of a Paris MS. of the 'Petavatthu' with the published text. He had made it in the hope of eventually preparing a new edition of the text. On my suggesting that that was a far-off event, and that meanwhile the collation, which was very clearly and carefully written out, might be useful to others, he consented that it should appear in our Journal. Alas! this is the last time we shall see work from his honoured hand.—R.H. D.]

During a stay of a few weeks at Paris I collated the Pali MS. 123 iii. of the Bibliothèque Nationale (called P. in these notes), written on palm-leaves in Burmese characters, with the late Professor Minayeff's edition of the 'Petavatthu.'

You will see from the notes that out of the five manuscripts of the 'Petavatthu' used by Professor Minayeff for his edition, it is only the Burmese MS. of the Phayre Collection (B.) that shows any close affinity with P. Readings already noticed by Minayeff, when they are common to P. and B., are not repeated.

The gāthās are quoted by their numbers; *a*, *b*, and so on, being added to distinguish lines:

I. 1, P. adds to the title °paṭhamam.—I. 2, °dutiyaṃ.

I. 2, 2b, pesukiyena; at the end: °tatiyaṃ.

I. 4, 2c, P. has te c'eva.—3b, petānam (in the same

verse, recurring in I. 5, 10b, it has petassa); ñātakā.—At the end: catuttham.

I. 5, 6a, etta (as the Ed. has, and against B.); b, hiraṇyāna kayākayaṃ.—11a, P. omits kho and reads saṃgha; at the end: °pañcamam.

I. 6, 1b, agrees with I. 7, 1b of the published text.—2a, petalokaṃ.—9a, sacetaṃ pakalaṃ; b, kammaṃ vipākaṃ (also in the repetition of this verse I. 7, 10b; cf. also II. 3, 3b), whereas, of course, kammaṃ alone, as in B, is wrong.—Again at the end: °chattham.

I. 7, 2a, bhaddante, which the metre seems to be in favour of, and so also reads the Ed. in I. 6, 2a (cf. II. 1, 2a, where the Ed. has bhante, against B. and P.).—6b, atimusissaṃ.—7a, sapattim mayham mādayi (aor. laus. of maddati, but Skr. mrd is always used, as far as I know, in a hostile meaning).—8b, pubbalohitako.—9b, akāresi, which, however, spoils the metre.—°sattamam.

I. 8, 1b, gatasantaṃ.—2b, va (instead of ca); yathā aññāva.—3a, idaṃ (instead of imaṃ).—4b, tvam eva dummedho'ti.—5a, 'va (as the Ed.), and not vā (as B. has).—7b, kedāmi, but evidently a blunder.—°atthamam.

I. 9, 1b, sā sabbadā, but I would prefer yā sabb.° without ca.—2b, P. omits 'va.—3a, P. puts mam'esā after ahu.—3b, P. adds here ca after akk.°, and this appears to be more correct and in harmony with the metre.—4b, bhavantu.—°navamam.

I. 10, 1a, n'upani°; b, omits tvam.—3a, handvatarīyaṃ dadāmi te idaṃ . . . nivāsiya; b, idaṃ dussaṃ . . . ehi.—4a, hāttena hattaṃ.—5a, ādisaṃ; b, tathāhaṃ.—6a, vilimpetvāna.—7a, °tarāvakhānudditthe . . . udapajjatha; b, °chādanaṃ paṇiyaṃ.—9a, pabhāsati (instead of ca°).—Khallātiyapetavattthudasamaṃ.

I. 11, 2a, tumhe pana mugga°.—3a, omits 'va; b adds 'va after so; jettḥo and datvā.—5b, Kaniṭṭhatā.—6c, bhinno (varying from B.).—8b, pivivā and nā ruccār°.—9a, adāyakā.—10b, dukkhindriyani; °phalāni, also ittaram (twice in this and in the next pāda), both cases differing from B.—°ekādasamam.

I. 12, 2b, gato (as in the Ed., and not tato, as in B.).—3b inserts va between kā and parid.°.—10b, etaṃ instead of evaṃ, but erroneously.

II. 1, 4, pitā ca.—5c, om. 'va, but the metre requires eleven syllables, and therefore also in the next line the reading mamedam, which B. and P. have, is better than mama yidam, which Ed. prefers.—8b, °taram.—9a (cf. also

II. 3, 28, b) °chādanam pān.°—12a, kiṃ makāsi, but in the same verse II. 3, 32a, akāsi.—13b, om. tvam.—18b, omits tam before and adds ca after parid°.—20a, ca after suppat.° has been struck out in P.—21a, akutobhayam, lokā.—patthamam.

II. 2, 2a, aññasu.—4a, ghānam sisacchinnāna (°kānañ, however, is proper to B alone).—9a, udap.°—P. inserts between v. 13 and the verse added by B. still four verses (14, 15, 16, 17 = II., 2, 2-5), beginning with Sāriputassa sāmātā, and having on the whole the same readings as those verses have the repetition of which they are, except 17a, where our MS. has bhakkissam, and 17b, where it adds ca after alenā. Here we find v. 16 = v. 4 quite in accordance with the Ed.—°dutiyaṃ.

II. 3, 1a, °sandhatā (cf. also 24a).—5b, °kuttthitā in accordance with the Ed., but 8b P. has °kunṭhitā, as we read both here and before in B.—10b, (cf. also 12a; 15a; 17b) saccam.—11a, jāmamāyā.—13b sasāmini no ca kho, tam.—14a, tyājān.°—21a, usu°, as the Ed. has, and not with B.—22a, ceva, instead of āsum; °ṇāni ca.—22b, paricārenti.—23a, chiti, as the Ed.—25a, damhi ki vātha.—26a, puggale.—27a, °vātṭha.—29b, sapattim (and 33a, sapattī). The verses repeated here show the same readings as their pattern has.—33a, ahu.—°tatiyaṃ.

II. 44, 2 (cf. 17a), Nandisena.—5b, neyyāmi.—6b, sukisāro.—8a, mama.—9a, om. tato; patisutvā; akari (C<sup>1</sup>, a MS. of Minayeff's Collection, has ākari).—17a, aku.—18a, dinnena dānena.—19a, Khemaṃ (instead of ṭhānaṃ); b, datvā.—20b, anindito.—°catuttham.

II. 5, P. gives in full this piece, which is also to be found in the Paramatthadīpanī (Commentary on the Theragāthā) and in the Vimānavatthu (P.T.S., 1886, pp. 75 sqq.). Its readings vary sometimes much from those of the text of the latter, edited by Gooneratne, whose division of the verses I adhere to only for convenience's sake.—1a, Maṭṭhakuṇḍali; b, māyadhāri.—2c, tassā; d, om. dukkhena, and reads jahāmi jīvitam.—3b, lohamayaṃ; c, ācikkham etaṃ; d, cakkam yugam patipādayāmi te.—4b, canda-sūriyā ubhayatta bhātarō; c, vehāyasamgamo suvaṇṇam ayoratho mama.—5a, 'si; b, yaṃ tam pattayasi; d, n'eva; om. tvam; °sūriye.—6a, gomanam pi padissati; b, vidhiyā; c, kālaṅkato.—7a, vadasi; c, gudam; d, kālakatāsi patṭhayaṃ.—The following verses (8, 9, 10) repeat those of P. V., II. 6, 16-18, or *vice versa*, but our MS. has just the same readings as Gooneratne's edition of the V.V.,

the last word of v. 10 being mānava (instead of bhāsitaṃ in II. 6, 18 of the Ed. of the P.V.).—11, pūrindo.—12a, yañ ca rodasi yañ ca kandasī ; c, karitvāna.—13a, dassāma ; c, om. vā.—14c, tinnakaṅkhaṃ.—15a, pamud.° ; c, svāhaṃ.—16a, vajāmi ; d, °diyassu.—17c, mā ca.—18a, °māsi twice ; b, tvam asi.—19a, saraṇaṃ before buddhaṃ.

II. 6, 1a, Kaṇha ; b, cakkhu va.—2c, aṭṭito.—4a, rūpiyamayaṃ.—5a, aññāpi ; b, ānayissāmi.—6a, puthuvissitā.—7a, vijjahissati ; b, icchāmi.—8a and b, P. agrees with the Ed., except in ajjapi, where it goes with B.—10, also here P. has all common with the Ed.—12b, ete c'aññe ca jātiyā (differing from B.).—13b, pi vijj.°—15a, pi arahanto.—17a, hadayaṃ ni.°—18a, svāhaṃ ; b, na soc.°—°chatthamaṃ.

II. 7, 1a, sandhato.—4a, Dhaṇṇānaṃ.—6b, yācakānadasaṃ.—9c, yato (instead of tato).—10a, panavāniyaṃ.—13a, °tiss' ahaṃ, not °ssāhaṃ, as in B.—15b, phalupāpassa ; ahaṃ bhūsaṃ.—17b, palāyataṃ.—18a, °pacārikā.—19, om.—°pālasatthipetavattusattamaṃ.

II. 8, 1b, tvam (instead of taṃ) ; °nema.—2a, adhako ahu dinno.—3, sakiñcakkhahetu.—4b, parivisiyanti ; ahaṃ.—5a, om. tava ; P. also has hi, not pi (reading of B.).—7a, api ; b, tvam (instead of taṃ).—8a, rājā ; ca (instead of pi).—9b, ārocesi ; adds tassa ca after tathāg° ; has dakkhiṇaṃ.—10b, attisamāsadisā.—11a, mahānubh° ; b, datvā ; d, sāmi (instead of yāmi).—Cullasetthipetavattu-atthamaṃ.

II. 9, 1b, nayāmase.—3b, bhīñjeyya.—4a, chāchāya, but 5a and so on it has the correct reading.—6b, abbhūyya ; tādiso.—7a, pi (instead of hi) ; as for the rest, it confirms the reading yattha of the Ed.—11a, om. vā after devena.—12b (cf. also 13a) Pūrindadaṃ.—16a, nives°.—18a, in it P. also has tattha ; gacchāma ; bhaddante (instead bhaddam vo).—19a, bhaddo vo ; b, padiyyati, and then P. continues : asayhassa nivesanaṃ vo na pāni kāmadaḍo.—22b, disita.—23b, Aseyho.—25b, om. taṃ.—26a, dassāmanñaṃ ca paññaṃ ca.—31a, pūrisa ; b, taṃ (instead of tvam).—37a, paridahissati ; b, yojantu.—38b, P. has su with the Ed. (against 13), and at the end of the line ; sudā paṭava.—39b, Sinduka (cf. also 40b).—41a, ca (instead of ce).—42a, ca ; b, sūriy'uggamaṇaṃ.—43b, dadato ca me na ; c, etaṃ.—44a, saṃpavacche ; b, abhi°.—46a, bhajeyyumaṃ ; b, ninnamaṃ ; paripūr.°—49a, pasādaye ; b, yaññassa (instead of puññassa).—51a, om. jānā.—52b, pārenti.—55a, khattiyo ; b adds va after sah.°—56a adds ca after

bah.°—57 b, so hitvā manussaṃ (*cf.* also 58 b).—60 b, adhi-pac°.—61, P. om. this couple of verses.—65 b, om. ca ; sambuddhassa.—66 b, abravi (*cf.* also 68 a ; 12, 14 c, and throughout).—67 b, santike.—70 b, om. na between vip.° and phalaṃ (*cf.* also 71 b).—71 b, nāpi (instead of na hi) ; dāyakaṃ.—72 a puts bijam after appam ; b, samādhāriṃ ; pavacchante ; kassakaṃ.—74 b, dārakā.—75 a, °ppasatṭham.—°navamam.

II. 10, 2a, P. has atudithā (or perhaps atudiyā) which appears to be a mere blunder ; bhūmāval° ; 2 b, abravi.—3 b, pana pāniyaṃ.—8 b, pavacchasi.—9 b, Uttaraṃ.—9 c, kam-massa vip.°—°dasamaṃ.

II. 11, 1 b, upasaṅkama , yācato.—2 d, bahuvittāni ca.—3 c, punadeva (*cf.* also 5 c) ; puññāni before kāh.° (*cf.* also 5 d) ; d, naye' yyaputta (*cf.* also 5 d).—4 c, ca ñāt° ; d, gat-vāna . . . karissati.—6 b, om. punar eva.—°ekadasamaṃ.

II. 12, 1a, °sandhatā ; b, sogandhiyā.—4a, °dijakokiṇṇā.—6a, ābhanti.—8a, kadaliyas° ; b, tuvaṃ, as the Ed. has, not tvam as in B.—9a, te sampattā addha°.—10b, om. ca.—11a, khādītā.—14b, tass' ahaṃ.—17a, ayaṃ me.—18a, sattevavass° ; b adds 'yaṃ after kanna°.—19a, bahu-kāro.—20a, tāhaṃ ; p' añj.—°dvādasamaṃ.

II. 13, 1b, om. tadā.—3a, °caraṇomuni ; b, te ca tattha.—11a, atume, not ahū me, as in B.—17a, pabbajjitā santā ; b, ābhavesi.—18b, Uruvelā.—°terasamaṃ.—Here follows in P. : Udānaṃ : paṇha (1), mātā ca (2), Tisā (*sic*), ca (3), Nandā (4), kuṇḍalino (5), Ghaṭo (6), dve seṭhi (*sic*, 7, 8), tumavāyo ca (9), vihāra (10), sutta (11), sopāṇa (12), Ubbarīti (13). Ubbarivaggo dutiyo.

III. 1, 2b, Bārānasiyaṃ.—5a (*cf.* also 18a), °bhāri.—7a, petā (instead of eke) ; va (instead of ca).—8a, te ca ; patisusamitā.—9a, gharāṇi kula°.—10a, avakirati.—11b, piṇḍi° ; paribhāsītā.—13a, °karā ; kappakā (instead of nahamini).—15a, va (instead of ca).—17a, goṇakatthate.—18b, dhātiyo (instead of jātiyo).—20b, idh' eva ca.—°pathamam.

III. 2, 3a, sucikaṇḍā.—5a, taṃ manasikatvā.—7b, ottas-santā mahattāsā ; dessanti.—12b, °tarā anud° (*cf.* also 17a ; 26a).—15a, nantākā (instead of tantake).—16a, mātu pitu.—17b, therassuddissaiya thunnaṃ.—18a, P. omits the first three words.—19e, gehe.—21b, udapajjatha.—22a, nivesāna ca.—23a, sadisā.—24a, pāniyaṃ.—26b, °raññā sumāpitā.—27a, setūdakā.—28a, nhatvā ; adds ca after piv.—30c, sukhiṇo.—Sānavāsi °dutiyaṃ.

III. 3, 2a, kanaka sanni ; d adds ca before tuyhaṃ.—

3 b, pahutamalyā.—4 a, ci me dassaniyā ; c, vaggu upanadanti.—6 c, icihāma taṃ and om. te.—7 b, natañ ca hotuṃ.—c, vedaniyaṃ (instead of modaniyaṃ).—8 b, sahived.°—Rathakāra° tatiyaṃ, bhāṇavāraṃ caṭṭhaṃ.

III. 4, 1 a, eko sāli punāparo.—2 c, vañcesi.—3 b, sabaku° ; c, parigūhāmi ; d, ito (instead of gehe) ; e, santīṃ.—4 a, kamma vip.°—5 a, avañjāni.—°catutthaṃ.

III. 5, 1 cd, loko (instead of h'eke).—2 b, na podhayayyaṃ ; °puññaṃ k.° ; c, h'imassa.—5 a, viya pavedh.° ; b, jivithayāvasesaṃ ; c, devamanussehi pūj.° ; d, ca (instead of va).—7 a, om. bhikkhu.—8 a, om. paṭi before vinod.° ; b, °laddhaṃ ; d, om. so.—°pañcamāṃ.

III. 6, 1-3, have the same readings as II. 1, 1-3 in our MS. noticed before. 7 a (cf. also 10 a, 11 a), Hatthinipūraṃ.—8 a, om. ca before me.—9 a, uddisatu.—10 a, om. tassā ; gatvāna ; b puts tassā after avoca ; taṃ (instead of te).—12 a, tāya (instead of ettha), and tava (instead of mayā).—13 a, tassa ; dakkhiṇa pādisaṃ.—14 a, tadāsā sukh.° ; b, om. datvā.—°chaṭṭhaṃ.

III. 7, 3 a, °sattesu ; b, asaññato (cf. also 8, 4 b).—5 b, pacca ; viramā.—6 b, ciraṃ pāpā.—°7 b, saṃyadhamā.—8 a, hanitvā ; rattāhosi ; b, paricāremi.—10 a, satathān.°—°sattamaṃ.

III. 8, 1 a, kudātā ; °sattate.—2 a, sūriyuggamaṃ.—3 b, kamma vip.°.—In the verses 6-10 no readings are to be met with differing from those we have pointed out above in III. 7, 4b-10, besides mā instead of viramā, which is left out here (=7, 5b), paṇiṇaṃ (=7, 8a), ca (instead of 'va of the Ed., omitted, however, by B. and P. in 7, 9b—viz., the verse with which that one in concern is identical), and saṃtathānuy.° (=7, 10a).—miga-luddakapetavatthu-athamaṃ.

III. 9, 3 a, kākambukāyu°, but as P. does not omit tā before kāk.°, and other MSS. have kā instead of tā, our MS. seems to have combined the two readings.—4 d, ukacca, and not only in 4 a, where also B. has ukacca, unless the Ed. has omitted to put an asterisk at ukantvā in 4 d.—6 a, gatvā ; b, nirakatvā.—7 a, khādati attānaṃ.—8, P. inverts the order of b and c.—°navamaṃ.

III. 10, 1 a, P. has vāyasi, as we read in the Ed., and not vāyati, as in B.—2 b, okkantanti (instead of urena k.° ; c, khārena (also here not as B., which has cārena.—5 a adds ca after bhariyā.—6 b, upapaccatta°.—7 a, paccāpi niraye.—8 a, ne tato ; b, ārantiyo ; mālabhāri.—9 a, yasassiyō.—10 b, so hi nuna.—°dasamaṃ.—P. continues

as follows: udānaṃ: abhijjamāno (1), koṇḍañño (*sic!* 2), rathākāri (3), bhūsenā ca (4), kumāro (5), gaṇako ca (6), dve luddhā (7, 8), piṭhi (9), pūja (10), so vaggo tena pavuccati lūlavaggo tatiyo.

IV. 1, 2a, seyyā; c, °vattubhogo; d, pi imassa.—6c, tena.—7d, om. rāja.—8a, esa.—10d, kato; uparodho.—11a, añcito; c, maṃ no ce; d, pucchāma taṃ (differs from the Ed. and B.).—12a, paṭiññāta me taṃ tadā ahu; b, ācikkh.°—13a, passāmi; c, va taṃ; d, niyassa.—14d, asutañ cāpi.—15a, sabbam pi.—16d, gaḥetvā.—19a, niccam pas.°—22a, va (instead of ca).—25d, °hayye ca taṃ.—27a, kareyyum.—29c, om. va; paricār.°; d, dvayaṃ taṃ.—30b, ādiseyo; d, °rācavutti.—31c, om. yatva; d, sonomi.—33b, ca (instead of cāpi).—35a, appaṇṇāto; °bhūtā.—36c, parigg.°—37d, vinodayeyye me.—38c, P. has dhammakathaṃ (against B.).—40b, vā (instead of vo).—41a, ti (instead of hi).—42b, nhatvā ca.—45a has bhante (instead of subhāni).—47b, phāliyanti; c, pab-bajita.—48d, asaṃvuto tuvaṃ.—53a, addhāhi.—54c, ca tāni cāsum (instead of pattāni vāsu); d, passatha.—55a, °sāravilittam.—56b, ca (instead of 'va).—57c, deyyam.—58b agrees with the Ed. (against B.); c, disvā'ham (instead of svāham); ca (instead of 'va).—59a, va (instead of ca); b, devatā me.—65e, P. om. this verse.—68c, mācarissāmi.—69c, pajānāti.—71b, P. with the Ed. and against B.—72 shows the same readings as 67cd; 68ab, besides d luddha°.—75b, sakkaccam.—78d, hoti, not homi, as B. has.—79a, ariyaṃ before ath.° (*cf.* also 85a).—81 is somewhat in disorder in our MS. After ujubhūtesu it reads immediately sadā puññaṃ pavaḍḍhati, and then continues bhikkhū.—82a, dhammāni; b, sakaccam; c, om. va before tamhā.—87c, adds ca after kārakaro; d, sakaccam.—88a, sulāvutako ca; adds bkikkhuñ ca after upāgami; b, ajjhagū.—89c, aphussayi.—°paṭhamam.

IV. 2, P. does not omit this vatthu, but contains it in full. Therefore also here a comparison of P. with the Vimānavatthu (pp. 77 *sqq.*) will be of use in order to appreciate the different readings in one and the other text. (Of course, I quote according to the published text—*viz.*, the verses as they are numbered there.)

1a, sunātha yakkhassa vāñijjānañ ca; c, yassa kataṃ; d, vācā (instead of tañ ca); sagge (instead of sabbe).—2a, om. ca; b, bhūmhānaṃ saḥabyataṃ gato; c, ca (instead of va).—3a, vaṅge; c, suduggamme vaṇṇapathassa; d, saṅkabbhayā.—4b, idha bhikkham; c, vālikāhi

and omits ca.—5a, iva ; b, paraloko na ; d, abhittarūpo.—6a, kenu na ; b, kim āsi samānā ; hi after padesaṃ ; c, samaccam ; d, lobhavasāna ; sampamūtṭhā.—7b, āropayitvā.—8a, anadhivāsayinganto ; b, sameccamānā ; c, āhāma sagge.—9a, araddhamaggo ; c, sudukkame vaṇṇapathassa.—10c, jivitam ānasamānā.—11a, samuddaṇ ca ; vaṇṇam ; b, cittācaram saṅkup.<sup>o</sup> ; c, nadīm yo ca pana.—12a, pakkhanti yā pi vippadesa ; b, manuso ; pekkhānā ; c, yaṃ te sutam vāṃ atha.<sup>o</sup> ; d, taṃ te sun.<sup>o</sup>—13a, ito icchera-kantaṃ ; d, manomavaṇṇam.—14a, vohārasaṃ ; °raññā ; b, b(p)ahutaṃ alyā ; c, c'ime nicca.<sup>o</sup> ; d, pavāyati.—15b, sāyatataṃsā ; c, masārakallā ; om. saha ; lohita-kā ; d, imā.—16c, tadanantariṃ (cf. also 18a) ; vedamissaṃ.—17c, om. ca before sus.<sup>o</sup> ; d, manuso (instead of manuñño).—18a, annapāni ; c, samḍḍutṭho ; d, abhavantito.—19a, modati ; b, varo ; c, °pannā ; d, valiḷā.—20a, uda p'āsi yakkho ; d, tuvi si yakkha.—21a, serisake ; b, kaṇḍāriyo.—22b, ucāhu ; d, anuññaṃ.—23d, purasahi (cf. also 28d).—25b, rājje ; c, kaditṭha.—26b, citrakati.—27a, suṇikatvāna ; c, amajjapā.—30a, °parideve.—31a, māno (instead of jano) ; b, bahutte kalinaṃ kato ca ; d, apaccayogo nu kho.—32b, om. ca after dibbā ; surabhisi ; pavāyanti ; c, tesam pavāy.<sup>o</sup> ; imam ; d, om. tamaṃ ; nihantvā.—33b, sipāti.—34b, vimāne naḷatvāna ; d, pamuñcito 'smi.—35c, ca and not cāpi ; uttaram upapannāse ; d, tena nuna.—36a, anuccharikaṃ ; c, tumhe ca ; om. kho ; °nuputtam.—37a, °suvira.<sup>o</sup> ; b, udayam pattapamanā.—38a, mā c'evaṃ serisaṃ aham ; b, te (instead of vo) ; d, °hātham.—39c, supesolo ; d, matimā.—40b, pi na ; c, veratiyaṃ pisuṇam.—42a, om. hi ; c, kho (instead of yo).—43a, avaṅko.—44a, kāraṇā ; attano ; b, om. maṃ ; vaṇṇāso (instead of vaṇṇijā se) ; c, om. hi and reads kasmā labetha ; e, lahuppanno.—45c, dajjakamamha.—46b, kocchaphalupajivi ; c, vijānātha ; om. naṃ ; pesiyo so ; d, om. naṃ.—47a, jānāma seyya tvam ; b, nijaṇāmase ediso ti ; c, na (instead of naṃ).—48a, satte ; b, daharā maṃ hantvā ; c, āruhanti ; d, phalakadariyā.—49b, °kkhetvā ; c, abhirūhimsu ; d, sakka-sāram.—50b, paṭidesayisu ; c, paṭivirata ; e, musā bhāṇi.—51a, ayaṃ (instead of aham) ; c, satto (instead of satthe).—52a, katvāna ; °suvira.<sup>o</sup> ; b, udayam ; d, °gamisum.—53b, saṅgamibhāto ; c, ānandacitto ; d, ulāyam.—54b, °guṇānaṃ.—°dutiyaṃ.

IV. 3, 3a, āmanteyi ; b, sovattthiko, as in the Ed.—5a, soratṭham ; abravi (cf. also 7b, 15c, 17b).—6a, dis-

sati (instead of padissati).—10a, caturodisā; b, rukkhāṃ before nigr.<sup>o</sup> and om. ramaṇiyaṃ.—11a, sirinnibhaṇ (cf. also 11c, 12b, 13b).—12a, om. so before nigr.<sup>o</sup>—13a, brahmā.—15a, pāṇiyakaṇaṃ; b adds ca after puriso.—17b, adds arindamo tattha nhatvā pivitvā ca after khādīvā; sorattho.—18b, ājananta.—20a, ahaṇ (instead of tuvaṇ).—23b, antarāya karom' ahaṇ.—25a, °yikā; b, phalaṃ.—26b, labheyyaṃ.—27b, om. pi.—28a, chindate siram.—29b, yojanānaṃ.—30b, ca (instead of pi); nibbedhenta.—31b, ca (instead of pi).—32b, ca (instead of pi).—37a, titthasi; b, vassānaṃ satasahasāni suyyati (om. ghoso); e, °ditthi ca.—38a, °vaḍḍhana (cf. also 44a).—39a, sile up.<sup>o</sup>; b, vitaṃ accharā.—40a, sikkhāya.—41a, bhikkhū; b, okkhita<sup>o</sup>.—42b, pāṇiya.—43a, kālaṅkato; b, °tarā anuddiṭhe; udap.<sup>o</sup>.—44a, kāme kāmāni; vassavaṇṇo.—46b and 48a here quite conform with 45b.—51c, amajjapā; d adds ca after dārena. (A marginal note in P. adds after 51 a repetition of vv. 49, 50, 51.)—52a, siṅghagā<sup>o</sup>; b, viramāmi.—53a, sovatttho; b, āruhiti.—°latiyaṃ.

IV. 4, P. gives in full this piece, which I compare with the text of the V.V. just in the same manner as before. The first four lines, however (numbered v. 1 and v. 2 in the V.V., p. 49), are wanting in P.—3b, apārutadvāre; c, adds na before taṃ; phunanti.—4b, om. te; brūhantā; c, Revati; d, °yisu.—6a, °sāralittam; c, kiṃ dissanti sūriyazimāvaṇṇa.—7b, vadañña; c, tass' evaṃ; d, sūriya raṃsi 'va jota<sup>o</sup>.—8b, vimāna upasoyanti; d, °pattā.—9d, nirayaṃ dass.<sup>o</sup>—10a, eso te nirayo °dhammo; c, nāsatho (instead of rosako); d, saggam agānaṃ.—12a, nirayo (instead of gambhīro; cf. also 15a).—13b inserts nirayo before gambhīro.—14a, dāraññe.—15b, °satasahasāni vūvaṃ paccati.—16c, samacca; d, saṅgamu.—18a, paridevati; b, °bhossati.—19c, °daṇḍo sudad.<sup>o</sup>.—20a, macchari ros.<sup>o</sup>.—21b, dāne.—22a, dārāmāni; duggahe; b, udapādaṇ ca.—23a, va (instead of ca); b, patihāriyaṃ pakkhaṇ ca atthaṅgaṃ su<sup>o</sup>.—25a, vilappanti naṃ; b, uddham pādamaṃ avisiraṃ.—26b, paribhāsikā; d, gacchāmaṃ.—°petavatthum catuttham.

IV. 5, 2c, chinitukāmo, but appears to be a later emendation.—4a, kilante; d, ucchuṃ pari<sup>o</sup>.—5d, vijana.—6a, ucchuṃ; b, anvagacchi.—8d, om. ca after udaggo.—°pañcamaṃ.

IV. 6, 1b, om. ca.—2b, paccuppanna.—3a, va (instead

of ca); b has 'dha as the Ed., but omits na; dissantā.—  
4b, attānaṃ sotti kātuṃ parittaṃ.—5a, yaṃ no rājakulā  
cutā; b, vitivisaṃ.—7b, issayaṃadaṃ.—<sup>o</sup>chaṭṭhaṃ.

IV. 7, 2b, parecaritvā.—4a, bravi.—7b, <sup>o</sup>gacchittha.—  
8b, pādā.—<sup>o</sup>sattamaṃ.

IV. 8, 1a, om. si.—4a, issukiṃ.—5b, kammaṣṣa vip.<sup>o</sup>  
—6b, pacca.—7b, parivis.<sup>o</sup>; paricāriko.—<sup>o</sup>aṭṭhamaṃ.

IV. 9 is identical with IV. 8, with the exceptions of:  
1a, gūthakūpako; kā nu dinā patitṭhasi; b, pāpakam-  
manti; 2a, duggatā Yamalokikā.—3b, kammaṣṣa vip.<sup>o</sup>.—  
6a, mittarūpena.—<sup>o</sup>navamaṃ.

IV. 10, 1a, sandhatā; b, kisikā; na (instead of nu).—  
6a, ca no.—7a, <sup>o</sup>gedhino.—8a, saṃmucchitā; bhantā.—  
<sup>o</sup>dasamaṃ.

IV. 11, 2b, mama (instead of me).—3b, vā (instead of  
vāpi).—c, addasaṃ.—<sup>o</sup>ekādasamaṃ.

IV. 12, 1b, sutittā; c, saṃpupph.<sup>o</sup> (cf. also 2c).—5, P.  
om. this verse.—<sup>o</sup>dvādasamaṃ.

IV. 13, 1b, puts dānaṃ after taratī and omits dānena.—  
<sup>o</sup>tarasamaṃ.

IV. 14, <sup>o</sup>cuddasamaṃ.

IV. 15, 3a, yesaṃ no na dadamhase.—4a, so 'ham  
nuna.—<sup>o</sup>pannarasamaṃ.

IV. 16, 1b, <sup>o</sup>kammanto; saddāyase.—4b, nigacchasi.—  
6a, 'ddasāsi.—7b, nigacchissaṃ.—<sup>o</sup>soḷasamaṃ. Then  
follows: Tass' udānaṃ: Ambaśakkharo (1), Serisako (2),  
Pingalo (3), Revati (4), Uchubhadako (5), dve kumāra  
(6, 7), dve gudhabhojanā (8, 9), Paṭali-pokkharāṇi (11, 12),  
akkhahato (13), bhogasatā (14), setṭhiputtā (15), saḷittakā  
saṭhisahassāni (16), vaggio tena puvucati.

In the preceding notes no notice is taken

1<sup>o</sup>, of the innumerable cases where our MS. omits iti,  
as it were, with a certain regularity, or

2<sup>o</sup>, of those not less numerous cases where it prefers  
a simple consonant instead of a double one, or *vice versa*,  
a dental instead of a lingual, or *vice versa*, or

3<sup>o</sup>, of the transposition of a short vowel with a long  
one in the next syllable, or *vice versa*, or

4<sup>o</sup>, of the carelessness in marking long vowels, or in the  
use of the niggahita (the elision of the latter before a con-  
sonant, is, however, very constant).

## ON THE PROBLEM OF NIRVĀNA.

By F. OTTO SCHRADER, Ph.D.

THE problem of Nirvāna has hitherto been only half solved. Whereas there is no longer any dispute about the *saupādisesa-nibbānaṃ*, opinions concerning *anupādisesa-nibbānaṃ* are still as far from unanimity as they were when the question arose. The view is more and more gaining ground among Western scholars that the Buddha absolutely denied the *attā*, and therefore necessarily understood by his doctrine of *parinibbānaṃ* the absolute annihilation of being, while the assertion to the contrary, first advanced by Professor Max Müller, seems almost to be at the point of becoming extinct. Nevertheless, there are still a great many reasons and passages, not yet considered at all or not sufficiently considered, which decidedly favour the latter assertion, and to expound some of them the present essay is written.<sup>1</sup>

First a few words on a third opinion. Professor Jacobi and others believe that the Buddha 'omitted the *ātman* out of his reflections because he could not attain to an inner certainty on it.'<sup>2</sup> That means nothing else than that the

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<sup>1</sup> A full treatment of the question, together with an edition and translation of all the passages of the Piṭakas which refer, either directly or indirectly, to Parinibbāna, I hope soon to publish in a special work on the Problem of Nirvāna.

<sup>2</sup> 'Der Ursprung des Buddhismus aus dem Sāṅkhya-Yoga' in Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 1896, Philologisch-historische Klasse, p. 43 fl.

Buddha had not been able to arrive at certainty concerning the Tathāgata's 'being or not being, or being and not being, or neither being nor not being' after death. Against this → I would ask: Why did the Buddha combat as a false view (*ditthigatan*) the doctrine of the Sceptics<sup>1</sup> which pretended that it was impossible to arrive at certainty on just this point (among others)? The answer surely is that his reason of declining such a possibility was none of the four<sup>2</sup> which, he said, induced the Sceptics to do so. But it is expressly stated<sup>3</sup> that there are no other reasons than those four! I cannot but believe that the question I have here raised is included among those many which the Tathāgata — 'well knowing' — did not explain to his Bhikkhus.<sup>4</sup> My study of the Nikāyas has led me to the conviction that the incomparable security in which the Buddha is said to have met every one of his many opponents is a real historical feature; and is only explicable if we grant that the master, when a youth, had indeed, as he often said, very seriously studied all the systems attainable to him. The Buddha certainly does not belong to those who are silent because of their not knowing enough, but to those who do so because they know too much. The mere stating of the Avyākatas is demonstrative in this respect.

Thus I suppose, as a matter of course, that the Buddha had answered, though not to his disciples, yet to himself,

<sup>1</sup> *Amarā-rikkehikā*; see *Brahmajālasuttanta* II., 23-29. These are the same as the *Ajñānikas* (Agnostics) of the Jaina texts; see my Dissertation 'Über den Stand der indischen Philosophie zur Zeit Mahāvīras und Buddhas,' Strassburg, 1902 (Trübner), pp. 3, 7, 9, 46 fl.

<sup>2</sup> Fear of a false declaration, of a sinful clinging, of a dispute, and mental laziness.

<sup>3</sup> *Brahmajālasuttanta* II., 28.

<sup>4</sup> *Samy. Nik.* LVI., 31. This is also the opinion of Professor Oldenberg; see his 'Buddha,' fourth edition, p. 323, note 1, and p. 326: 'Involuntarily we get . . . the impression . . . that the Perfect One knew inspeakably more than he thought fit for telling his disciples.'

the great question concerning the to be or not to be, and I proceed to show why I think his answer cannot have been a negative one.

A quite general consideration, such as may in the first instance induce people, as it induced myself, to believe *a priori* in the positive answer, is the following one.

Professor Max Müller asked whether a religion which attains at last to the Nothing would not thereby cease to be a religion. To this it may easily be replied that Buddhism has never been regarded as a religion in the usual sense. It is, however, another thing if we put the question in this way: 'Is it possible that a thinker who had drunk out to the bottom the cup of knowledge—and we cannot help believing that the Buddha was such a thinker—could attain to the conviction that there was absolutely nothing behind or above or besides this transitory world we conceive by our senses and supply by our fancy—this world of terrestrial and celestial things and beings?' I say no! We cannot by any means believe the Buddha, such as we know him from the Suttas, capable of such a limitation of intellect, such a *testimonium paupertatis*, as would place him far under all the great thinkers of all times.

But this is, of course, not an argument for everybody, and I would ask it to be considered only as a *plus* to what we shall find out in the further course of the argument.

Without any doubt the question of Parinibbāṇaṃ is, although not identical with, yet dependent on the question of the *attā* or substance, so that, if it were certain that the Buddha declined the idea of a substance in every sense, the answer concerning the Parinibbāṇaṃ would of course be that it was annihilation in every respect. But this is by no means certain.

As we know, *e.g.*, from Saṃy. Nik. IV., p. 400, and Pugg. Paññ., p. 88 (cp. Buddhaghosa ad Jāliya-Suttanta), the sense of the doctrine of *anattā* is that there are no substances in the world which last either for a time (as the Ucchedavādinas think) or for ever (as is the opinion of the Sassatavā-

dinas), but that existence is something between being and not being, that it is becoming. Hence we are not entitled to say that Buddha denied the soul, but only that for him duration in time was duration of a flux and not immutability in any sense, not the stability of a substance.

The extent of the notion of *anattā* is evident, e.g., from Saṃy. Nik. XXII., 94, vol. iii.: 'What is that, O Bhikkhus,' the Buddha says, 'which is not granted by the wise of the world, and of which I also say: It does not exist? A material thing (*rūpaṃ*), O Bhikkhus, which is eternal, firm, everlasting, not subject to change, is not granted by the wise of the world, and I also say: It does not exist. Feelings (*vedanā*), O Bhikkhus, which are eternal . . . . .; perceptions (*saññā*), O Bhikkhus, which are eternal . . . . .; dispositions (*sankhārā*), O Bhikkhus, which are eternal, firm, everlasting, not subject to change, are not granted by the wise of the world, and I also say: They do not exist. Thinking (*viññāṇaṃ*), O Bhikkhus, which is eternal, firm, everlasting, not subject to change, is not granted by the wise of the world, and I also say: It does not exist. This is that, O Bhikkhus, which is not granted by the wise of the world, and of which I also say: It does not exist.'

Accordingly, the notion of *anattā* embraces the five Khandas or constituent parts of nature, not more. It embraces (1) the four or (including *ākāso*) five material elements and whatever consists of them; (2) every kind of consciousness or spiritual existence: not only that of sensual beings as we are (*kāmaloko*), not only that of the Mahābrahmans and other gods like them (*rūpabrahmaloko*), but even the most ethereal, unlimited consciousness existing in the very highest spheres of nature (*arūpabrahmaloko*). It does, however, not embrace a being, provided there be such a being, which can not be called either corporeal or spiritual or both (*nāmarūpaṃ*) in any sense, that is the existence of the Absolute One.

I cannot here explain the reasons why, to my way of thinking, philosophy is forced to accept the metaphysical

conception of the Absolute One, although, if this idea be realized in perfect sharpness, we are as unable to think as to deny that the Absolute One is either identical with, or different from, the world.<sup>1</sup> I only state that the Absolute One in its very sense, as also, for instance, in the sense of Māṇḍūkya-Upaniṣad 7<sup>2</sup>, is something without and beyond the three Avacaras of Buddhism, and therefore not touched by the doctrine of *anattā*.

So the doctrine of *anattā* cannot be claimed as a proof against the positive alternative of the problem of Nirvāṇa. It seems, on the contrary, for the following reasons, to strengthen this position.

As insinuated, the Parabrahman, or Absolute One, is so singular a notion that it must be looked upon at once as identical with and different from the world: the former, because there cannot be any things beside it (else it would not be the Absolute); the latter, because the principles of Nature: Time, Causality, Plurality, are incompatible with the *ekamevādvyīyam*.<sup>3</sup> Now, as is well known, the older Upaniṣads show already this double statement, but not as such, in as much as the two sides are not yet looked on together—at least, not with a clear consciousness of their being contradictory. And the next development out of this indifference or non-discrimination was not a uniting, but a going asunder.

Upaniṣad speculation began to degenerate, and the pantheistic side of the Parabrahman came to be emphasized

<sup>1</sup> Cp. my little essay: 'Māyā-Lehre und Kantianismus,' Berlin, 1904 (Raatz).

<sup>2</sup> *Nāntaḥ prajñam, na bahiḥ prajñam, nōbhayataḥ prajñam, na 'prajñāna-ghanam,' na prajñam nāprajñam, adṛṣṭam, aryaśāhāryam, agrāhyam, alakṣānam, acintyam, arya-padeśyam, ek'ātmya-pratyaya-sāraṇi, prapañcōpśāmanam, śāntaṇ, śivam, advaitaṇi caturthaṇ manyante; sa ātmā, sa vijñeyah.*

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Malayagiri's refutation of the *ātma-vāda* in his commentary to Nandī, p. 429.

more and more. First rendered prominent by Uddālaka Āruṇi (Chānd. Up. VI.), as a kind of *svabhāva-vāda* with a *prakṛtiḥ parā*, later on called *ātman*, as highest principle,<sup>1</sup> the *tat tvam asi* = 'You are a part of the all-pervading substance,' became by-and-by the highest formula of orthodox Vedāntism. As such it remained a pantheistic formula more than a thousand years, until at last Ćankarācārya reformed Vedānta into a clear *māyā-vāda*,<sup>2</sup> while the pantheistic Vedānta also continued, and continues down to to-day as the Viśiṣṭādvaita. This is the one line of development. The other branched out somewhat later, at about the time of the so-called Middle Upaniṣads (Kāṭhaka, etc.), and started from the Kṣatriyas, not the Brāhmins. It did not recognise the authority of the Veda, and therefore was held heterodox. It developed the *neti neti* of a Yājñavalkya into a severe *tat tvam nāsi*, and so became directly opposed to, and more orthodox, in the good sense of the word, than the other party. It pretended that every thing, from the lump of clay up to Brahmā (Sāṃkhya-Kārikā, 54; Majjh. Nik., 49), was produced and subject to time, and therefore *anātman*, 'not Self,' that is: different in every respect from the unknowable Absolute One. It consequently combated as the greatest and worst of all 'confusions' the *aviśeṣa* (Aśvagh. Buddhac. XII, 29) or pantheistic identification of the world with the Absolute One (*tat tvam asi; so loko so attā*<sup>3</sup>). The first step in this direction had probably been made before Buddhism arose; but it was the Buddha, without any doubt, who banished out of the world the last

<sup>1</sup> Cp. my above-mentioned dissertation, pp. 31, 32; further, p. 41, middle.

<sup>2</sup> That Bādarāyaṇa was not yet a *māyā-vādin* is Professor Thibaut's important discovery.

<sup>3</sup> "World and Self are one; that shall I be after death; eternal, firm, everlasting, not subject to change, like the everlasting one; thus shall I stay": is not that, O Bhikkhus, a mere, complete doctrine of fools (*bāladhammo*)?" (Majjh. Nik., 32.)

glitter of immutability, and liberated, on the other hand, from the last terrestrial feature it still possessed, viz., consciousness, the notion of the Absolute<sup>1</sup>; it was the Buddha who, for the first time, saw clearly that only ignorance can devise any relation at all between nature and the Supernatural One, and that a true ethic must therefore necessarily be atheistic; it was the Buddha and no one else who made the doctrine of *anattā* a moral principle, and that not by denying the Absolute One, but presupposing it as the true self, the only reality.

That the doctrine of *anattā* has indeed this supposition, is proved, e.g., by the Alagaddūpama-Sutta (Majjh. Nik., No. 22). The Buddha, after having preached the *anattā* and declared the liberated one as beyond nature and inconceivable already in this life, continues (p. 140):

‘Teaching this, O Bhikkhus, explaining this, I am falsely, without reason, wrongly, not truthfully, accused thus by some Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas: “An unbeliever is the Samaṇa Gotama; the real entity’s destruction, annihilation, dying away (*sato satassa uchedaṃ vināsaṃ vibhavaṃ*) is what he preaches.” What I am not, O Bhikkhus, what is not my doctrine, that I am accused of by these venerable Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, who say: “An unbeliever . . . . . preaches.” Formerly, as now, O Bhikkhus, it is *dukkhaṃ* I am preaching, and the extirpation (*nirodho*) of *dukkhaṃ*<sup>2</sup> . . . . . Therefore, O Bhikkhus, what is not yours, throw that off! Then your having left it will become your health and welfare for a long time. Feeling, Bhikkhus, is not yours; throw it off! . . . . . Craving . . . . . The dispositions. . . . . Thinking,

<sup>1</sup> Even to Yājñavalkya the *ātman* is *vijñāna-ghana* (Brh. Up. II., 4, 12), and the only Upaniṣad which protests against this, viz., the above-mentioned Māndūkya, was hardly known to Buddha, whose two principal teachers also had not arrived at *saññāvedayitānirodha*.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Samy. Nik. IV., 4, 4: ‘To apprehend perfectly what is *dukkhaṃ*, the holy life is led with the Perfect One.’

Bhikkhus, is not yours ; throw it off ! Then your having left it will redound to your health and welfare for a long time. What do you think, O Bhikkhus : if a man would take away, or burn, or employ according to his needs, all the grasses and boughs and branches and leaves in this Jeta Wood, would you then possibly think thus : “ Us takes the man away, us is he burning or employing according to his needs ” ?

‘ Certainly not, master.’

‘ And why not ?’

‘ Because, O master, it is not our self (*attā*) nor what belongs to it (*attaniya*).’

‘ Thus, verily, O Bhikkhus, (I tell you) : What is not yours, throw that off ! Then your having left it will redound to your health and welfare for a long time. And what, O Bhikkhus, is not yours ? Bodily form . . . . . craving . . . . . the dispositions . . . . . thinking is not yours ; throw it off ! Then your having left it will redound to your health and welfare for a long time.’

The sense of this declaration can only be : ‘ As the proprietor of the wood is not hurt when its grasses, etc., are taken away, even so, O Bhikkhus, in giving up your individuality (the *khandhā*) you are not giving up your real entity (*santaṇi sattaṇi*).’ This is the more obvious as the formula which the Buddha teaches his followers to apply to every thing in nature, viz. : *N’etaṇi mama, n’eso ’ham asmi, na m’eso attā*, is applied by the Sāṃkhya doctrine in almost exactly the same form, viz. : *Nāsmi, na me, nāham*, to exactly the same object, viz., the whole of material and spiritual things, but with the single aim of expressing the Puruṣa’s not being *prakṛti* or *vikṛti*. Indeed, the end seems to be quite the same in both the systems : To reduce to a *cause* (*pratyaya*) every thing in nature, and thereby to prove that our real entity must not be looked for in, but beyond, the world. The only difference is that the Buddha, well aware that it would avert the attention of

his disciples from the practical and shortest way to salvation, declines to speak of the transcendental.<sup>1</sup>

Like the doctrine of *anattā*, the more direct utterances of the Buddha on Parinibbānaṃ and the deceased Perfect One are proofs of the contrary rather than of Nihilism. An interesting example is the following one.

It is beyond doubt that in Buddha's opinion there rests of the *parinibbuto* not the slightest shade of an individuality. 'The wise,' it is said, 'expire like this lamp' (Sutta-Nipāta, 235). 'As the flame, blown down by the vehemence of the wind, goes out, and can be named no more (*atthaṃ paleti na upeti saṃkhaṃ*): even so the sage, liberated from individuality (*nāmakāyo*), goes out and can be named no more'<sup>2</sup> (*ibid.*, 1074). This image of the flame is a favourite one, and was doubtless used by the Buddha himself. What it means, is best shown by the Aggi-Vacchagotta-Sutta (Majjh. Nik., No. 72). Vacchagotta, wishing to know what becomes of the Tathāgata after death, asks if he will be reborn? or if not, whether he will both reappear and not reappear? or neither reappear nor not reappear? The answer being always that his position does not fit the case, he is then enlightened by the Buddha in the following way (p. 487):

'This is, O Vaccha, a deep thing, difficult to see, difficult to discover, tranquil, excellent, unimaginable, internal, (only) to be found out by the wise; you will hardly understand it, you having different views, endurance, inclinations, effort, and teaching. Therefore, O Vaccha, I shall ask you concerning this matter; answer me as you like. Now, what do you think, Vaccha: if a fire should be

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<sup>1</sup> I cannot discuss here the knotty question concerning the chronological relation of the two systems. I only note that Buddhist Agnosticism may be directly derived from the older Upaniṣad speculation (*neti neti*), while Sāṃkhya Pluralism is evidently later.

<sup>2</sup> That is: he is beyond all categories (*vādapatho*); *ibid.*, 1076.

burning before you, would you then know : “ This fire is burning before me ” ?’

‘ I should, Master Gotama.’<sup>1</sup>

‘ And if you, Vaccha, should be asked : “ This fire which is burning before you, through what does it burn ? ” Thus asked, Vaccha, what would be your answer ?’

‘ My answer, Master Gotama, would be : “ This fire which is burning before me, does so by seizing upon hay and wood.” ’

‘ And now, Vaccha : if this fire before you should go out (*nibbāyeyya*), would you then know : “ This fire before me has gone out ” ?’

‘ I should, Master Gotama.’

‘ And if you, Vaccha, should be asked : “ This fire, gone out before you, to what direction has it gone : to the east, or west, or north, or south ? ” Asked thus, Vaccha, what would be your answer ?’

‘ This does not fit, Master Gotama, because, Master Gotama, the fire burns in consequence of its seizing upon hay and wood, and, after having completely consumed them, and not seizing upon any other, it is called “ gone out without food.” ’

‘ Even so, O Vaccha : whatever material form (*rūpaṇi*) a man may declare as the Tathāgata’s, that form the Tathāgata has left behind, cut off at the root, made like the stump of a Tāla tree, made a non-existing thing, that cannot reappear in future. And the Tathāgata, O Vaccha, when thus liberated from the category of materiality, is deep, unmeasurable, difficult to fathom, like the great ocean. That he reappears, is not right ; that he does not reappear, is not right ; that he both reappears and does not reappear, is not right ; that he does neither reappear nor not reappear, is not right.’ There follow similar phrases with regard to the other Skandhas, whereupon Vaccha praises the clearness of Buddha’s speech and declares himself his follower.

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<sup>1</sup> I shorten the repetitions.

This Suttanta, according to Professor Garbe,<sup>1</sup> was invented in order to veil the absolutely negative sense of Parinibbānaṃ. But this is an unproved hypothesis. The fact that the cream of the story is also contained in Sutta-Nipāta V., 7, and Udāna VIII., 10 (not to speak of other texts), seems rather to prove that the Buddha himself used to explain the matter in this way. At least the comparison of the dying saint with the expiring flame must be looked at as employed by the Buddha himself. And this is enough. For firstly the common Indian view is, since the oldest time, that an expiring flame does not really go out, but returns into the primitive, pure, invisible state of fire it had before its appearance as visible fire.<sup>2</sup> Secondly, there are several Upaniṣads which apply the image of the expired flame directly to the *paramātman*. Śvet. Up. VI., 19, for instance, speaks of the latter as of 'a fire, the fuel of which has been consumed' (*daḡdhêndhanam ivānalam*), and Nṛsiṃhôtṭaratāpinī-Up. 2 (middle) has the sentence: 'That Self is pure spirit, like fire after it has burnt what it had to burn' (*Ayam ātmā cid-rūpa eva yathā dahyaṃ daḡdhvā'gnir*). Of special importance is the third verse of the Maitreyī-Up.,<sup>3</sup> as it shows the image in question in connection with the Yoga philosophy which is known to have influenced the Buddha more than any other system. It runs as follows: *Yathā nirindhano vahniḥ sva-yonāv*:

<sup>1</sup> See his introduction to 'Der Mondschein der Sāṃkhya-Wahrheit' in *Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Klasse der Königlich-Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*.

<sup>2</sup> This view is, *e.g.*, shortly before the Buddha's time expressed in Śvet. Up. I., 13: *Vahner yathā yoni-gatasya mūrtir na drśyate n'aiva ca liṅga-nāsaḥ*, etc., and is still to be found in so late a text as *Milindapañho* IV., ed. p. 327.

<sup>3</sup> The first chapter of which must be older than *Maitrāyaṇa-Up.*, because it is quoted by the latter (*Maitreyī-Up.* I., 1; I., 2; I., 3-7, quoted in *Maitrāyaṇa-Up.* IV., 2; IV., 3; and VI., 34, resp.). The Upaniṣad is in the *One Hundred and Eight*, edited in Poona in 1895.

*upāsāmyati tathā vṛtti-kṣayāc cittaṃ sva-yonāv upāsāmyati.*  
 'As fire for want of fuel comes to rest in its own birthplace,  
 so for the cessation of its motions the thinking principle  
 comes to rest in its own birthplace.'

I also cannot grant that the Brahmajālasuttanta justifies in any way the nihilistic conception of Parinibbānaṃ. For the sixty-two *ditṭhi-gatāni* are not condemned in every respect by the Buddha, but only as far as their imperfectness and exclusiveness is concerned—just as Mahāvīra declared to be 'heretics' all those who alleged the absoluteness (*ekāntatva*) of one of his own principles (*kāla*, *purākṛta*, *puruṣakāra*, etc.). This is quite evident, e.g., from the Buddha's attitude in regard to the *Nevasaṅṅhānāsaṅṅhānī-vāda*. He declines this doctrine of his teacher Uddaka<sup>1</sup> only in so far as it claims to lead to final deliverance, but himself adopts the *nevasaṅṅhānāsaṅṅhānī-āyatanaṃ* in the sense of the highest heaven attainable in this world. Thus he also adopts, but not absolutely, the four *sakal'ādeśās* (*atthi*, *n'atthi*, *atthi ca n'atthi ca*, *n'ev' atthi na n'atthi*) of the *Amarāvikkhepikā*, and so on. Farther, the *Aparantakappikā*, or 'those who speculate on the future' (Brahmajāla-Suttanta II., 37 fl.), as well as the *Sassatavādino* and *Ekaccasassatavādino*, are throughout meant<sup>2</sup> to believe in an individual *attā* which lasts in time, without being altered (*saccato thetato*), either for ever or till its annihilation. The Buddha, however, and none but the Buddha, teaches the *anattā* and shows the way to deliverance from time.<sup>3</sup> All the *Saṅṅhāvādino* cannot be really delivered, in the Buddha's opinion, because there is

<sup>1</sup> Whom he highly respected all his life; see, e.g., Majjh. Nik., 36.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Puggala-Paññatti, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> Cp., e.g., Udānaṃ VIII., 1: *Tad amhaṃ, bhikkhave, n'eva āgatiṃ vadāmi na gatiṃ na thitiṃ*, etc., and Sutta-Nipāto, 860: *Kappaṃ n'eti akappiyo*. The deceased Tathāgata is not eternal in the sense of 'everlasting,' because he does not 'last' at all, having been delivered from time.

no absolute extinction of individuality unless by *saññāvedayitanirodho*. Nor can *asaññivādo*, because it is—like all other *ditthiyo*—a product of *taṇhā*, lead to any other state than a very long unconscious life or dreamless sleep in the heaven of the *Asaññasattas*.

From this we can also understand why the Buddha, who did not acknowledge that the *brahmasahavyatā*, taught by the Brahmanic priests, was sufficient for salvation, did acknowledge it as leading to rebirth in the highest stages of *Rūpabrahmaloko*, or in *Ākāsānañc'āyatanaṃ* or *Vīñāṇānañc'āyatanaṃ*, or, in the best case, in *Ākiñcaññ'āyatanaṃ*.<sup>1</sup> The *Brahma* (neuter) or *Ātmā*, as well as the *Puruṣa* of the Sāṃkhya-Yoga, was, as a rule, taught to be *sacetano nirguṇaḥ*, and, consequently, in the Buddha's conception is not beyond individuality on account of its consciousness or spirituality. Now, Infinite *ākāśa* was taught as the highest principle by the school of Atidhanvan Śaunaka (Chānd. Up. I., 9),<sup>2</sup> and All-pervading *viññāna* (*prajñāna*, *prajñā*<sup>3</sup>) by numerous schools (Cp. Ait. Up. III., Kauṣ. Up. III., etc.). So the Buddha, who wished to embrace all systems in his own, felt compelled to construct an *Arūpabrahmaloko* by means of these two views and those of his two principal Yoga teachers. His idea seems to have been that those who strive to become identified, after death, with the soul of the world as infinite *ākāśo* or *viññānaṃ* respectively, attain to a state in which they have a corresponding feeling of infiniteness, without, however, having really lost their individuality.

The great stumbling-block in our problem is, to most people, the silence of Gotamo about the state of a deceased Tathāgato. If he had not regarded the 'extinc-

<sup>1</sup> This results by a comparison of Majjh. Nik., 43; Samy. Nik. V., p. 115; and Tevijja-Suttantaṃ.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Taitt. Up. II., 7: *yad eṣa ākāśa ānando na syāt*.

<sup>3</sup> Very often *prāṇa* corresponds to this notion, in exactly the sense of Ed. v. Hartmann's 'Unbewusstes.'

tion' or 'blowing out' as resulting in annihilation—Professor Hopkins asks<sup>1</sup>—why did he hesitate to give an explanation which 'would have strengthened his influence among those to whom annihilation was not a pleasing thought'? I should like to answer by some other questions: Do you give a tinder-box as a toy to your little boy? Is there no danger at all in popularizing a doctrine like that, *e.g.*, of Kauṣ. Up. III., 1, 1? Could not the Buddha have had the conviction<sup>2</sup> that there were very few who would not misunderstand his explanation of the most difficult of all philosophical conceptions? that most people would eagerly rush upon his metaphysics and neglect the more important thing, *viz.*, *sīla*? I would further ask the objector to consider that such an explanation would have forced the Buddha to endless disputes with other teachers, and that in that case he would have necessarily become in the general opinion just that what he so much abhorred: a *ditthiko* or 'speculative philosopher.' The Buddha did not wish to be a philosopher; he wanted to teach a practical way to salvation, and, in doing so, he avoided intentionally whatever would have made him unsuccessful.

If the word of Spencer is true—that the history of religion is the history of the dispersonification of God—then Buddhism is the natural end of this process.<sup>3</sup> For this is the only religion which acknowledges so absolutely the total difference between Nature and the Supernatural that it forbids its followers even to speak of the latter, without, however, denying or sceptically doubting its existence.

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<sup>1</sup> Religions of India, p. 321.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. the account of his *mahābodhi*, Majjh. Nik., 36.

<sup>3</sup> This idea of mine has been employed by Karl B. Seidenstücker in his little essay 'Gott und Götter' ('Der Buddhist,' 1. Jahrgang, No. 4).

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