THE MAHĀVASTU
VOLUME I
ABBREVIATIONS IN FOOTNOTES*

A. = Anguttara Nikāya
Avā. = Avadāna-sātaka
Bu. (Budv.) = Buddhavaṃsa
Cpd. = Compendium of Philosophy
D. = Dīgha-Nikāya
Dial. = Dialogues of the Buddha
Divy. = Divyāvadāna
Dh. = Dhammapada
DhA. = Commentary on Dh.
Dha. trsl. = Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics
D.P.N. = Dictionary of Pali Proper Names (G. P. Malalasekera)
Grad. Sayings = Gradual Sayings
J. = Jātaka
J.P.T.S. = Journal of Pali Text Society
Khp. = Khuddakapāṭha
KhpA. = Commentary on Khp.
KS. = Kindred Sayings
Kvu. = Kathāvatthu
Lal. Vist. = Lalita Vistara
M. = Majjhima-Nikāya
Mhv. = Mahāvastu
Mūln. = Milindapaṇha
Nd. = Niddesa
Pv. = Petavatthu
PvA. = Commentary on Pv.
S. = Saṁyutta-Nikāya
Sn. = Suttanipāta
S.B.E. = Sacred Books of the East
ThīgA. = Commentary on Therīgāthā
V. = Vinaya
VA. = Commentary on V.

* For particulars of the editions of these works see the preliminary pages of the Pali-English Dictionary, by T. W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede.

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FOREWORD

The following translation of the Mahāvastu was undertaken at the request of the late Mrs. Rhys Davids. As is well known, it was her inspired aim to have all Buddhist scriptures made available for students in translation as well as in the original languages. She worked with such zeal and industry to this end that she was fast approaching the realisation of her aim when she passed away.

With regard to the translation of the Mahāvastu more than one scholar tried to dissuade her from the project, urging chiefly the unsatisfactory state of the text. Senart himself, the editor of the only printed text, had in the introduction to his work expressed the opinion that a complete translation would be 'à la fois longue, fastidieuse et insuffisante', and would involve lengthy discussions on linguistic and textual matters. But in reply to such objections Mrs. Rhys Davids would argue from the standpoint of a student of religion. The text, she would say, must be coherent enough and intelligible enough in its broad outline to admit of an English rendering which would be sufficiently correct to give the reader an adequate comprehension of yet another of the books in which the ancient Buddhists had expressed their faith and belief. And if subsequent work on linguistic and textual criticism wrought so many changes in the text that a fresh translation would become necessary, this pioneer effort at a first translation would not be wasted.

The translator, who took up the study of Sanskrit and Pali primarily in order to acquire first-hand acquaintance with the religious literature of India, readily concurred with this view. And his belief in the utility of a translation of this in many ways perplexing text has been strengthened in the course of his work in translating. He is firmly of opinion that no summary of the text and no treatise on it, however lengthy and detailed, can compare in utility to the student of Buddhism with a complete translation. This is not to say that the translator is unaware or inappreciative of the linguistic and textual difficulties of the Mahāvastu. He has throughout endeavoured to solve these to the best of his ability. In view
of the immediate purpose of the translation the footnotes are as a rule confined to the elucidation of those difficulties which bear on the interpretation of the text. To go beyond this would involve either much repetition of Senart's long notes or equally long criticisms of them. At the same time, as much use as possible has been made of Pali texts published or otherwise made known since Senart's time. As the notes will show, Senart's conjectures when he was faced with doubtful or unintelligible manuscript readings have in many instances been startlingly successful, being confirmed by parallel passages in Pali texts unknown to him. But in many other instances it will be seen that a manuscript reading rejected by Senart needs to be restored into correspondence with the tradition preserved in Pali texts, or, it may be, in other Buddhist Sanskrit texts.

The exact linguistic or inflexional form of these emendations cannot be readily decided. As is well known the language Buddhist Sanskrit, but while in Ardhamāgadhī, which was based, was a dialect closely related to both Āryaśāstra and Pālabhrāṃṣa, but not identical with either.'

* Pali works are cited by the abbreviated form of their titles used in the Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary.

FOREWORD

(Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Vol. VIII, p. 516.) Perhaps some light may also be thrown on this question by the researches of Professor H. W. Bailey and others into the Buddhistic literatures discovered in recent years and written in Central Asian languages. Certainly, some of these languages would seem to provide some evidence for the phonology, if not the orthography, of some Buddhist terms at the time that Buddhism spread to the north of the Himalayas.

But, however fruitful they may prove to be, linguistic researches alone will not solve all the problems relative to the text of the Mahāvastu. They may here and there prove the greater probability of one inflexional form over the other or enable one to decide how to resolve an apparent metrical anomaly. But such linguistic criticism must take into account the fact that the Mahāvastu is not the composition of a single author written in a well-defined period of time. Rather, it is a compilation which may have been begun in the second century B.C., but which was not completed until the third or fourth century A.D. Even if, as Haraprasad Sāstri (Indian Historical Quarterly, ix, 1925, p. 205) claims, Buddhist Sanskrit was a spoken vernacular of the second century B.C., it would be unreasonable to expect that it could maintain its pristine purity in the Mahāvastu unaffected by the influence of the Pali texts from which so much was apparently taken up, not to speak of the influence of the Mahāyāna literature with its more radical departure from the proto-canonical Prakrit.

Linguistic study of the Mahāvastu must, therefore, proceed hand in hand with a study of the various parts of which it is composed and an examination of the probable period in which they were incorporated, as well as of the sources from which they were taken.

For our text is not a homogeneous entity. Although it calls itself the Vinaya of the Lokottaravādins, a branch of the Mahāsāṅghikas, the earliest Buddhist schismatics, this title gives no adequate notion of the nature of its contents. Its peculiar dogma that the personality of the Buddha was docetic, that he was really supramundane (lokottara) and that he only apparently conformed to the habits of men, is, apart from two or three slight allusions, dismissed in one comparatively short passage (r. 168 f.). There is hardly anything about the
rules of the Order or the history of their formation, as the title Vinaya would lead us to expect. There is early in Volume I (pp. 2–3) a description of the four kinds of ordination, but this is introduced abruptly and equally abruptly dismissed without being related to any other of the rules of the Order. Our text seems in a hurry to proceed to the more edifying story of the proclamation of Gotama Śākyamuni as a future Buddha by the former Buddha Dipāṅkara.

As a matter of fact, the Mahāvastu is a collection of practically all the history, quasi-history and legends (ayadānas) relating to the Buddha that passed current in the long period during which it was compiled. And if its claim to the title Vinaya is justified it can only be by the fact that the legends it records go back in their origin to the same biographical episodes which were used in the Mahāvagga of the Pāli Vinaya to explain or illustrate the origin of the rules of the Order. That there is a very close relation between the Mahāvastu and the Mahāvagga is abundantly proved by the close, practically verbal parallelism between the last quarter or so of the former with the first twenty-four chapters of the latter. These parallels have been set out in detail by Windisch in his Die Komposition des Mahāvastu.* Yet in spite of the close resemblance between the two texts there are sufficient differences to warrant the possibility that the Mahāvastu was not copied from the Mahāvagga as we know it, but drew on the same fund of legends. If this is so, then it may be argued that this part of the Mahāvastu is early rather than late. Examination of the language of this part may, when the true origin of that language is settled, help to decide this question.

Here then is one source of the Mahāvastu. But this biographical part of the Vinaya has been enormously expanded after the fashion first set, perhaps, by the Nidānakathā, or introduction to the commentary on the Jālakas. And it is this mass of secondary or derived legends that forms the bulk of the Mahāvastu. This is not to say that it contains no sūtras setting forth Buddhist doctrine. But apart from the special tenet of the Lokottaravadins these show hardly any variation from recognised Theravāda teaching. Minor differences, as

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Although at first sight these legends seem to be arranged in a haphazard or arbitrary way, the purpose of their recital is in a general way the same as that of the biographical episodes in the Mahāvagga. That is to say, they are more or less exegetical narratives. But whereas the narratives of the Mahāvagga explain the occasions of the institution of the rules of the Order, in the Mahāvastu they are introduced to illustrate the virtues of the Buddha in his various lives, and only rarely to explain a point of doctrine. We therefore find these tales, many of them Jātakas, interspersed throughout the whole work. In spite of the apparent incoherence in the order of the contents, there can be detected in the work as a whole something like the scheme of the Nīdānakathā. The first volume may thus be seen to correspond to the Dürenidāna, or incidents in the far past of the Buddha's career; the second volume and part of the third to the Avidürenidāna of his more recent history from his birth to his enlightenment, and the latter part of the third volume to the Santikenidāna or the history of the Buddha's career as teacher and founder of his Order.

But this is not to say that the Jātakas in the Mahāvastu are necessarily reproductions of those we know from Pali texts. It is true that the text of the Mahāvastu tales can sometimes be rectified by reference to the Pali version. On the other hand, a few instances will be found, especially in the second volume, where the text of a Mahāvastu Jātaka will be seen to be superior because it gives a better constructed tale. While only a fraction of the Pali Jātakas are found in the Mahāvastu, there are many others in it which have no corresponding Pali versions. Some of these are obviously folk-tales adapted as Jātakas. Other tales are of the type known as Avadānas, which seem to have been the special creation of the Sarvāstivādins. They are not unlike in their nature to Jātakas which were first fashioned by Theravādins. For an avadāna is a tale in which the heroism or other virtue of a living character is explained by the Buddha as the result of a good deed performed in a previous existence.

The Mahāvagga and the Jātakas are far from being the only parts of Pali scriptures which are to be found incorporated in the Mahāvastu, or, we should more correctly say, which have their parallels in it. There are considerable quotations from other traditional Buddhist literature, as, for example, passages parallel to Pali ones in the Khuddakāpāṭha, Vimānavatthu, Buddhavamsa, Suttanipāta, and the Dhammapada. And though the Pali version has generally the aspect of a more primary version, this is not always or necessarily so. The verses of the Khaḍgavihāra-sūtra (r. 357 ff) certainly seem to be more primitive than the corresponding Pali in the Suttanipāta, though the prose framework in which they are embedded is much later. Here, again, a close linguistic study will be necessary to confirm the findings of a study of the internal evidence.

If the three volumes of the translation of the Mahāvastu were being published together it would be possible as well as profitable to draw up a table of all passages in it to which parallels are found in Pali texts, not forgetting also the Buddhist Sanskrit texts. But as only one volume is now being published, the translator intends to include in it such a table as that referred to. This table may be rendered still more instructive as to the history of the contents of the Mahāvastu, and, therefore, of Buddhist belief, by the inclusion of evidence derived from Chinese and Tibetan sources. Also, the Central Asian literatures which have been already referred to, and which scholars are daily making more accessible to the general reader, are likely to provide useful material for comparative study.

In the meantime parallel Pali passages are as often as possible indicated in the footnotes. As will be seen from many examples the citation of the corresponding Pali has often been the means not only of restoring the right reading where the manuscript tradition was unintelligible, but also of making explicable many an obscure allusion.

With regard to the translation itself an effort has been made to make it as literal as possible. The reader should not look for a uniformly elevated style. That could not be achieved without departing too much from the form and manner of the original. No succinct literary judgment on the Mahāvastu,
which will be true of the whole of it, is possible. Some passages do attain a degree of artistic charm which is worthy of comparison with the best in any literature. This is especially true of some of the verse passages, although these are not necessarily the work of any author associated with the compilation of the *Mahāvastu*. Many of them are traditional Buddhistic ballads, and owe their charm to the very nature of their origin and mode of dissemination. But however poetic the style, and however strong the temptation to be led by it to make a metrical rendering of the verse passages, it has been deemed more prudent to make a literal translation in prose form, and make them recognisable only by the visual aids of italics and indentation. The wisdom of this procedure was especially made evident whenever there was occasion to consult, for purposes of comparison, some verse passage in the Pali Jātakas. Too often was it found that in spite of the metrical ingenuity of the verse translation, it provided little or no help in the construing of the Pali original. Sometimes, indeed, the translation was seen to be inexact or even incorrect.

The style of the prose is not easy to describe, for there is such a variety of it. The form and manner of passages giving canonical doctrine would, of course, have to be fixed, and would give no scope for any literary ability on the part of the compilers. It is impossible to say whether they were incorporated at a time when they were still faithfully memorised as part of the training of Buddhist monks, or whether they were copied from already written scriptures. But many of the narrative passages have all the appearance of being written directly as they were recited in oral tradition. They are the unadorned tales of the primitive story-teller, for whom every word of the tradition as it had come down to him was sacrosanct. For example, there is the constant repetition of details in the narrative. Nothing is left open to the chance of being forgotten by a fickle memory. If a king decides to send a message he is made to speak out all the details of it as he thinks them out. The message is then given to the messenger and again we have it repeated in the exact words the king had formulated. The message is again repeated in full to the recipient, and if the first recipient is a door-keeper the message will yet again be repeated to his master. Again,

a series of actions may be recounted as preliminary to a main action. When the main action comes to be recounted it can only be done by faithfully repeating in the same words all that had gone before. Our story-teller would have none of the adventitious aids of such phrases as 'when he had done so'. This is not to forget the frequent occurrence of the phrase *evam utte*, 'when it had been thus said or spoken'. This expression does at first sight seem to serve the purpose of avoiding repetition. But in reality it is as much a feature of a primitive style as the Homeric 'thus he spoke', which became a trite conventionality in later epic. Readers of written literature, with leisure to consider the construction of a narrative, would not need to be expressly reminded at the end of it that what they had just read was a quoted speech. But the phrase would be a useful guide or signal to the hearer of an oral recital. Again, there are a few instances where aforementioned events are referred to collectively as *arthā* or *prakṛti* ('matter' or 'circumstances'), and here, no doubt, we definitely have a literary device for the avoidance of repetition. Whether or no this device occurs in passages which can be demonstrated to be comparatively late, the fact remains that a tendency to repetition is a striking and persistent feature of our text, as, indeed, it is of much of early Buddhist literature. It would, of course, be easy to paraphrase these repetitions, which may seem tedious and puerile to the English reader. But that would be to tamper unduly with what is so characteristic of the style of the *Mahāvastu*. So these repetitions are as a rule translated in full.

There are repetitions of another order in the *Mahāvastu*. The compilers were not always satisfied with giving only one version of a legend or episode. Two and more versions are often found, sometimes following one another, sometimes far apart. In the former case the first will generally be in prose, and the others in verse. The legend of the Buddha's birth is given four times, although in different parts of the work and in connexion with different occasions. These different versions would, no doubt, on close study reveal a difference in dates of composition. For example, of the two accounts in the second volume of the Buddha's departure from home, the first can readily be seen to be more primitive.
This foreword is not meant to serve as a complete introduction to the contents of the Mahāvastu. These will be found analysed by Senart in his introductions to the three volumes. For a general account of the Mahāvastu and its place in the history of Buddhist literature the reader may be referred to the second volume of Winternitz' History of Indian Literature and to the article by L. de la Vallée Poussin in the eighth volume of Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. The latter quotes largely from Barth (Journal des Savants). The article on the Bodhisattvas by the same author in the second volume of the same encyclopedia should be read in conjunction with Har Dayal's The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature (1932). Further there is the work of B. C. Law entitled A Study of the Mahāvastu published in Calcutta in 1930. This contains translations of many extracts. References to the Mahāvastu are found in many modern treatises on Buddhism. In particular, E. J. Thomas in The History of Buddhist Thought (1933) makes a valuable contribution to the study of the Mahāvastu and its place in the development of Buddhist doctrine.

A few words are necessary to explain the treatment adopted for Buddhist terms. Even the general reader with no special knowledge of Buddhism does not require to have explained to him the meaning of terms like karma, dharma and nirvana. These words are therefore left untranslated and are not even commented on in the footnotes. Deva, too, although it was at one time translated 'angel', can be assumed to be by this time sufficiently well known to readers of Buddhist texts and translations. Devas were merely good men in the better after-world which they have merited by their goodness, although, as was natural in a system of ethics so highly organised and minutely systematised as that of the Buddhists, there were grades of them determined by the degree of their goodness. The highest classes can hardly be distinguished from gods, and they did actually include some of the deities of the Hindu pantheon like Brahmā and Indra. A late systematisation in the Pali Canon of the various classes of devas divided them into sammathi-devā, or conventional gods (kings, queens, princes), visuddhi-devā, devas by purity (Buddhas and Arhans), and upapatti-devā (the Four Great Lords and Indra, with their companies, etc.).* Even the vaguely conceived and still half-animistic supernatural beings of village, field and forest were admitted into the last of these classes, though their gati or sphere of existence was still the earth, and so they could be styled bhūmyā devā (bhūmma-devā). A female deva (devī or devatā) figures in several episodes in Buddhist legend. Indeed, if the translator has not gained a wrong impression, the divinities of the lower culture play a rather more prominent part in the Mahāvastu than in other Buddhist works.

Other Buddhist terms for which it would be difficult to find a single English word as an equivalent are left untranslated, but are explained in a footnote when they first occur. For the same reason certain Indian expressions of number, space and time are also left untranslated.

It remains for the translator to make grateful acknowledgment of the ready help rendered him by various scholars. Mrs. Rhys Davids took the greatest interest in the progress of the work. Even more valuable than her constant and expert help was the zeal with which she inspired the translator to carry on when the difficulties seemed insurmountable. It is a matter of great regret that she is not here to see the completion of the work.

Dr. W. Stede read an early draft of part of the translation. He made many suggestions which were not only helpful with regard to the specific points concerned but also served to guide the translator in the rest of his work. He again read part of the manuscript in its final draft, and it was gratifying to have his commendation of the progress shown in this as compared with the first draft. Subsequently Mr. C. A. Rylands, of the School of Oriental and African Studies, read various portions of the manuscript and the translator is indebted to him for light on several difficult points of grammar and vocabulary. Professor H. W. Bailey read part of the manuscript just before it went to press and made some helpful criticisms.

To Miss I. B. Horner, the editor of the Series, the translator's debt is greater than can be adequately expressed in words.

* See MA. t.33, and other references in Pali Dictionary.
She carefully read the whole manuscript and returned it with sheets full of suggestions for its improvement. The translator thus has had the benefit of Miss Horner's wide knowledge of Pali literature. Many of the references to parallel passages in Pali, especially the more recondite ones, are due to her, and she has cleared up many a problem of Buddhist philosophy which was hitherto obscure to an inexperienced worker in the field. She has continued giving her generous help right up to the reading of the final proofs. She has earned the translator's gratitude also by her indefatigable efforts to secure the publishing of the translation, and it is good to think that her efforts are being crowned with success.

But the translator himself must be held responsible for all the faults there may be in his work. If these are unduly many the critic is beseeched to be lenient with one whose enthusiasm for things oriental may have outrun his aptitude.

Lastly a tribute is due to the translator's wife who has helped by bearing with patience the long and lonely hours of her husband's withdrawal in his study.

Aberystwyth,
April, 1949.

J. J. Jones.

Om! Homage to the glorious mighty Buddha, and to all Buddhas, past, future and present.

Here begins the Mahāvastu.

There are these four stages in the careers of Bodhisattvas.

What are the four? They are the natural career, the resolving career, the conforming career, and the persevering career.

Homage to Aparajitadhvaja, a Tathāgata, an Arhan, and perfect Buddha, in whose presence the root of goodness was planted by this very Śākyamuni, the Exalted One, when as a universal king he lived in the natural stage of his career.

Homage to the Śākyamuni of long ago, a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, in whose presence this very Śākyamuni, the Exalted One, when he lived in the resolving stage of his career as head of a guild of merchants, first vowed to acquire the root of goodness, saying, "May I in some future time become a Buddha, a Tathāgata, an Arhan, and perfect Buddha, like this exalted Śākyamuni; and may I, too, be called Śākyamuni and so on to the words " and may Kapilavastu be my city too."

1 Literally, "There are these four careers."
2 I.e., the pratyisacarī, the career of a bodhisattva when he lives an ordinary "natural" life at home; the pranidhānacarī, that in which he "vows" to win enlightenment; the anulomacarī, that in which he lives in "conformity" with that vow; and the anvitaranacarī, the career in which he is permanently set on the attainment of enlightenment, without possibility of failing or "turning back."
3 An appellation of the Buddha, literally either "one who has thus gone" tathā-gata, or "one who has thus come," tathā-āgata. The ancient commentators give many fanciful explanations of this term. It has been suggested, e.g. by Mrs. Rhys Davids, that it means "one who has reached the truth," tathā = "true," being an adjective from tathā = "thus." For recent discussions of the meaning of this term see E. J. Thomas, Bull. School Oriental Studies, 8. 781-8; Schayer, Rocznik Orientalistyczny II (1935), and A. Coomaraswamy, B.S.O.S., 9. 331. (The translator owes these last references to Prof. H. W. Bailey.)
4 Vedic arhant, Pali arahant, literally "worthy," "deserving," etc. (ark). Used in Buddhism to denote one who has qualified for nirvana. As an appellation of the Buddha it is here written with a capital initial.
5 Cakravartin, literally a "wheel-turner," generally the title of a king ruling over the four continents (see p. 7).
6 A city in the Himalayas, the capital of the Śākyas, and the birthplace of Śākyamuni. In the Mahāvastu it is often [e.g. 1. 43] called Kapilākṣaya, i.e. (the city) "called after Kapila," the sage who was its reputed founder.
Homage to Samitāvin, a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, in whose presence this very Śākyamuni, the Exalted One, made a vow to conform when, as a universal king, he lived in the "conforming" stage of his career.

Homage to Dipamkara, a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, who first proclaimed of this Exalted One that now is, "Thou wilt become, O young man, in some future time, after immeasurable, incalculable, infinite kalpas, a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, called Śākyamuni." (I shall relate at length (2) this proclamation concerning the youth Megha in the chapter on Dipamkara.3)

After that time, when the Tathāgata Dipamkara was in the "persevering" stage of his career, the words "thou wilt become a Buddha" were proclaimed by countless Tathāgatas subsequent to him.

Afterwards the following proclamation was made by the exalted Sarvādhinibhū: "Thou, monk Abhijit, wilt in the future, in a hundred-thousand kalpas, become a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha called Śākyamuni." (I shall later on recount all this and the rest concerning the monk Abhijit.).8

Homage to Vipaśyin, a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha. Homage to Krakutsanda, a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha. Homage to Kāśyapa, a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, by whom this present exalted Śākyamuni was proclaimed and anointed heire the throne.

"Thou, Jyotisṭāla, wilt in some future time immediately after me become a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, and thou also wilt be called Śākyamuni." (I shall relate at length the prediction made of the monk Jyotisṭāla.).4

And so, homage to all Buddhas, past, future and present.

Here ends the prologue of "homages".

Here begins the Mahāvastu, which is based on the redaction of the Vinaya Piṭaka made by the noble Mahāsāṅghikās, the Lokottaravādins of the Middle Country.8

Ordinations are of four kinds, namely, self-ordination, ordination by the formula, "Come, monk," ordination by a chapter of ten monks, and ordination by a chapter of five. The ordination called self-ordination (3) was that of the Exalted One near the bodhi tree.

All those who live in the practice of the ten right ways of behaviour thereby get nearer to enlightenment, but Śākyamuni in this respect won especial distinction. After living in the practice of those good deeds which fitted him to receive the Buddha's teaching, he in due course came to Dipamkara. And when he saw him, conspicuous for beauty among beings, altogether lovely and inspiring confidence, with his company of disciples around him, Śākyamuni conceived the thought of emulating him. "Well would it be," said he, "if I, rising superior to the world, living for the good of the world, should be reborn for the sake of this world."

Dipamkara, aware of the effort Śākyamuni had made to win enlightenment, and of the vow he had made, proclaimed that he would win an equality with himself, in short an equality with a Self-becoming One.7 "An immeasurable future hence," said he, "thou wilt become a Buddha, of the house of the Śākyans, a scion of the Śākyans, for the welfare of devas and men."

1 The Mahāsāṅghikās were a Buddhist sect formed at the time of the Second Council, at Vesāli, 348 B.C. They subsequently split up into several schools, among which the Lokottaravādins seem to approximate closest to the original sect. These latter believed in the supramundane nature of the Buddha; his human traits while on earth were only apparently so. Compare the Dogmae of early Christianity.

2 That part, variously delimited, of central India, which was the birthplace of Buddhism.

3 Popularly called the Bo tree, or the tree under which a Buddha sat when he achieved enlightenment. The particular tree under which Gotama Buddha sat was the fig tree (Assathāla or Ficus Religiosa). The Bo trees of other Buddhhas are also specified. See e.g. pp. 99, 124, 204.

4 Datta kusalam karmapatā, the equivalent of the ten śīlāni or precepts of Buddhist ethics. See note p. 168.

5 A koṭī strictly denotes one hundred thousand, or, according to others, ten million, but is here and elsewhere used to denote "innumerable." Sāmātā. This word, as Senart shows, could also be rendered "impassibility," "impassibility," i.e., the equability of self and of a Self-becoming One respectively. Cf. Mānas 351, dhātusamātā, "ease to the limbs." In Mānas, 96, sāmātā means simply "equality." Cf. Mānas Dharmāśāstra xxii. 90, devānāmī la bhajaranām "he becomes the equal of the gods."

6 See Mahāyāna, an appellation of the Buddha.
THE MAHAVASTU

He, to whom it was thus foretold by the Exalted One, the lord of men,¹ that he would win pre-eminence among men, lived the life of a pre-eminent man, a foremost man,² a consummate man. During his career as a Bodhisattva, he lived through many lives, seeking the good and happiness of grounds,³ namely, consummate man. During his career as a Bodhisattva, he all he did he ensued charity, morality, justice,⁴ and self-denial, seeking the welfare of the world, and aloof from self-interest.

The Conqueror⁵ won men by appealing to them on four grounds,⁶ namely, his generosity, his affability, his beneficence, and his equanimity in prosperity and adversity. There was nothing he possessed which he was not ready to give up. Time and again, when he saw a beggar the sight gladdened his heart.⁸ Repeatedly he gave up his eyes, his flesh, his son and his wife, his wealth and his grain, his self and his very life.

In this manner he passed through a nayuta⁷ of hundred-thousand births, (4) a Bodhisattva intent on the welfare of beings, having true discernment of the right occasion and befitting conduct,⁸ and skilled in the knowledge of the diversity of man's individuality.⁹ Yearning for the due occasion, he passed his life subsisting on only one sesamum seed and one jujube fruit. But after extreme mortification of his body, he realised that that was not the way of release.

When he had duly bathed in the river Nairanjana,¹ fearlessly like a lion he settled in the city called Gayā.³

In the first watch of the night, the Exalted One thoroughly cleared his “deva-eye”⁸ from all defect, and comprehended the different comings and goings of men. In the middle watch he called to mind previous existences of others and of himself, and came to know the various occasions of former existences. In the last watch he woke in an instant and spontaneously to what is to be known by the Driver of tameable men,⁴ to the equanimity of a Self-becoming One.

Here end the verses on the subject-matter of the Mahāvastu.

The Exalted One, the perfect Buddha, having fully achieved the end he had set himself, stayed in Srāvasti,⁶ at the Jeta Grove in Anāthapiṇḍika’s park,⁷ teaching devas and men. (This occasion is to be described in detail.)¹⁷

¹ Identified with the modern Nīlājanā, rising in Hazaribagh.
² Between Benares and the Bodhi-tree.
³ See p. 125.
⁴ Purṣadāmysārāthin. The corresponding Pali term has been variously translated: “Guide to mortals willing to be led” (Prof. Rhys Davids); "The Bridler of men’s wayward hearts,” “Driver of men willing to be tamed” (Prof. and Mrs. Rhys Davids); “Tamer of the human heart” (Lord Chalmers)
⁵ Identified with Sāhet-Āññet on the banks of the Rapti.
⁶ A rich citizen of Śrāvasti who bought the Jeta Grove as a retreat for the Buddha.
⁷ See page 34 of text.

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¹ Puruṣasimha, literally “a lion of a man.”
² Agraṇāra. Elsewhere in the text this appellation is used as a synonym for Buddha and is then written with capital letters in translation.
³ Samaya, or “(conduit befitting) the occasion.”
⁴ jina, an appellation of the Buddha.
⁵ Or “four bases of sympathy,” samgrahavastu. See A. 2. 32, where the last term of the series is samānātā. This is translated (Grad. Sayings, 2. 36) as “treating all alike.” The Commentary, however, explains the term by samānādakkhābhojana, i.e. “imperturbable,” which is analogous to the samānāsukhandhumkhālā of the text.
⁶ I.e., it gave him an opportunity for charity.
⁷ Pali sahula, “a hundred-thousand millions,” denoting a number beyond comprehension.
⁸ Kālājanā and samayajāna. For the former, cf. A. 2. 101, kālājanā, “discrimination of proper occasions.”
⁹ Pudgalapāramarajā. Senart compares Louis, fol. 69a, Vīryaparājā, which Burnouf translates “les degrés d’énergie.”
¹⁰ Samaya.
¹¹ I.e., “The Happy Devas.” Their world or heaven, also called Tuṣita, was the fourth of the six deva worlds.
¹² Literally “Well-gone,” an appellation of the Buddha.
MAUDGALYĀYANA’S VISITS TO HELL

Now the venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana often went on a visit to hell. There in the eight great hells, each with its sixteen secondary hells, he saw beings enduring thousands of different hellish torments.

Many were the torments which the venerable elder Kolita saw beings suffering in the hells as he went on his way. In the Saññīva hell people had their feet upwards and heads downwards, whilst they were destroyed with hatchets and knives. Others, again, instigated by malevolence, assailed one another with claws of iron, and in their hands appeared sharp sword-blades with which they rent one another. Yet they do not die as long as their evil karmas are not exhausted.

In the great hell Kālasūtra he saw beings with their limbs lashed with black wire, beaten and maimed and cut piece-meal with hatchets and saws. But their bodies, although beaten and mauled, grow again to undergo the same hideous torments. And thus they do not die, because they are upheld by karma.

In the great hell Sanghāṭa, too, he saw thousands of beings tormented by the mountains that are afire, ablaze, and aflame, while the rivers run blood. Yet, in spite of their continually roving over these mountains, they do not die, because they are upheld by karma.

1 Utśada-niraya. Utśada = Pali utsassa is a term of doubtful signification. If, as the Pali Dictionary suggests, it is from ud and syad, the sense may be “swarming with,” “full of,” and this suits the frequent use of the adjective compound utsassada “crowded with beings” (sattra) to qualify niraya. But utsassada is also referred to sappha-ussada, as in satrussada “having seven probterubences,” one of the characteristics of a Mahāpurṇa (see p. 180). In Divy. 620, 621, sapphasadda is even found in the former sense. In the present instance utsassada is better taken in the sense of a “probterubence,” “eminence” (cf. Skt. utsedhā), “outgrowth,” whence an “annexe” or “secondary” (hell).

2 The personal name of Maudgalyāyana, which was a clan name.

Kālasūtra. According to Senart this is “un certain instrument de supplice que je n’ai pas les moyens de déterminer plus précisément.” But Morris in J.P.T.S., 1884, p. 76-8, has an interesting note on this word, and the Pali instances of its use cited by him make it clear that it meant a “measuring-line” or “rule” of wire, hence “black,” put round a log of wood to guide the saw. It becomes clear, also, that the denominative verb sūraya, here and below, has the quite normal sense of “tie round” or “lash,” and not as Senart conjectures that of “mettre en morceaux” or “en charpie.”

Kirkel, Kosmographie der Inler, 202 refers to a discussion of this term by F. W. K. Müller in Ethnologisches Notizblatt, I. (The translator owes this reference to Prof. H. W. Bailey.)

1 The name of a whole world-system, in the centre of which is Mount Sineru, itself surrounded by seven mountain ranges.

2 Each Cakravāda, of which the number is countless, consists of four great continents with these names.

3 A yojana is about seven miles.

In Raurava he saw many thousand beings suffering thousands of torments, being enclosed by solid masses of copper which was afire and ablaze, amid dense smoke.

In Mahā-Raurava which is afire, ablaze (6) and aflame, he heard the loud wailing of those who were hurled into the fire. And the cries of the wailers re-echoed in the great mountains of Cakravāda and Mahā-Cakravāda, where they reached the ears of men in the four great continents of Jam-budvīpa, Pūrvavedha, Aparagodāṇīya, and Uttarākura.

In Tapanā he saw several thousands experiencing extremely terrible sufferings, being ground from heel to neck by iron grinders, and undergoing thousands of other torments as well. Yet even so they do not die, because they are upheld by karma. In this great hell, which is afire, ablaze and aflame, many thousands are reborn and suffer agonies. In this great hell which is a hundred yojanas in perimeter, the thousands of flames which leap up from the eastern wall beat against the western; the thousands of flames which leap up from the western wall beat against the eastern. Leaping up from the southern wall they beat against the northern, and leaping up from the northern wall they beat against the southern. Leaping up from the ground they beat against the roof, and from the roof they beat against the ground. Those thousands of beings collapse on all sides, but they do not die yet, because they are upheld by karma.

In the great hell Pratāpa there are mountains which are afire, ablaze and aflame. [The denizens of this hell] are driven to run over these mountains by hellish creatures armed with pikes. Such are the torments they undergo, but they do not die yet, because they are upheld by karma.

Then, released from this great hell they plunge into Kukkula. There also in Kukkula these people run about in flames (7), but they do not die yet, because they are upheld by karma.

Released from Kukkula they plunge into Kuṇapa. There they are devourd by black creatures with jaws of iron. But still they do not die because they are upheld by karma.
Released from the secondary hell Kunapapa they catch sight of delightful trees on the edge of a forest, and in search of relief they run thither. But there, hawks, vultures, ravens and owls with beaks of iron drive them from under the verdant tree\(^1\) and consume their flesh. When their bones alone are left, their skin and flesh and blood grow again, and so they do not die, because they are upheld by karma.

Terrified by these birds, and deeming there was refuge where there was none, they enter the forest where the leaves are swords, and which is the hell Kumbhā. When they have entered it, winds blow and cause the sharp sword-leaves to fall. These strike against their bodies, and on the body of none of them is there a spot which is not stabbed, not even a spot the size of the pore of a hair-root. But they do not die yet, because they are upheld by karma.

These beings, prostrate with wounds and with their bodies drenched with blood, then plunge into the river of hard acid water, by which their flaccid bodies are pierced.

The warders of hell raise their bodies thence with hooks of iron, and set them out in array on the fiery, blazing(8) river of hell. They forge pellets of iron, and divide them into their mouths with bars of fiery, blazing and flaming iron.\(^1\) They forge pellets of iron

\(^1\) The context shows that the locative *ā́ḍrā́vyahā* must be given a partially ablative force. The expression recurs several times below. (See pp. 11 to 19.)

\(^2\) A river of hell.

\(^3\) *Ayosvijñānābhaṃkha mukkham viśkambhayînḥ.* Senart translates by “leur ayaing fermé la bouche au moyen de baillons en fer,” that is, he takes *viśkambha* as an emphatic form of the simple *skambha* or *skabh.* But as the victims are immediately afterwards described as being forced to eat and drink it is not quite easy to see the point of “gaggling” them. It would seem to be better to take *viśkambha* in its other sense of “fix asunder” (Monier-Williams), “losmachen” (Bohtlingk & Roth), especially as we have here the causative form of the verb. *Viśkambhāna* would then be an “obstacle” against the victims’ closing their mouths, that is, a bar or something similar. Of course, we are told that before the eating and drinking the victims had their mouths opened (*bhūryaiḥ)*, but this does not necessarily imply a second act on the part of the tormentors. It may merely mean that the pellets were thrown into their mouths “already opened” by the previous act. The following passage in J. 5. 268 supports this interpretation: *viśkabhāhānādāya viśkhyajā rajjñih—vai te mūkle śaṃsanyayantī rakkhasāḥ, i.e. “with a prop (fixed with) ropes the Rakṣakes divide (= force open) their jaws and pour liquid into their mouths.”

and make those beings open their mouths into which they then throw these pellets of fiery, blazing and burning iron. “Eat this, fellows,” say they. Then they tender them a drink of molten copper, saying, “Drink fellows.” This molten metal burns their lips, their tongues, their palates, their throats, their entraîls; it assails their bowels and passes on to their lower parts. But they do not die yet, because they are upheld by karma.

Thus when the elder Mahā-Maudgalyāyana had seen the beings in the eight hells undergoing their thousands of torments (Ah! what misery!) he came to the four assemblies in the Jeta Grove and recounted it all at length. “Thus,” said he, “do the beings in the eight great hells and the sixteen secondary hells endure thousands of different torments. Therefore, one must strive after knowledge, win it, be enlightened, be fully enlightened, do good, and live the holy life. And in this world no sinful act must be committed.”

The many thousands of devas and men were seized with wonder when they heard the elder Mahā-Maudgalyāyana speaking so.\(^9\) Such is a summary description of hell. Now I shall go on to describe it in detail.

The Enlightened One himself looked on this world and the world beyond, on the coming and going of men, on the round of passing away and coming to be.

The Seer himself reflects upon and understands the peculiar fruition of acts which is bound up with the nature of man,\(^5\) and the place wherein they come to fruition.

Gotama, the Exalted One, the seer with clear insight into all things, has in his understanding named the eight hells, Saṅhāra, Kalāśatra, Sanghāta, the two Rauravas, Mahāvīci, Tapana and Pratāpana.

Thus are these eight hells named. Hard are they to traverse, being strewn with the consequences of terrible deeds. Each has its sixteen secondary hells.

They have four corners\(^2\) and four gates. They are divided up and well laid out in squares. They are a hundred yojanas high, a hundred square.

\(^1\) Literally “joined to beings”—pravasamārthā.

\(^2\) Reading *cauks.kāra* or *caukskōna* for *cauks.kāla* of the text. The Pali equivalent is *cauks.kappo* (D. 1. 142; M. 3. 167).
They are encircled by a wall of iron, with a vault of iron above. The floor is of hot and glowing iron. Habitations hard to dwell in are they, being everywhere expanses of iron boards, hair-raising, fearful, terrible, and full of woe.

(10) All the fearful hells are filled with hundreds of flames, each of which spreads its glow abroad a hundred yojanas.

Here the many fearsome beings, the great sinners, burn a long time, even for hundreds of years.

With scourges of iron the ruthless warders of hell mercilessly beat those who have sinned.

These I shall tell of in well-ordered words. Give ear and attentively hear me as I speak.

In the Sānjīva hell beings hang with their feet up and their heads down, and are trimmed with axes and knives.

Carried away by frenzy of anger they fight among themselves, using their own sharp claws of iron.

Sharp knives also grow from their hands, and with them these utterly demented beings rend one another.

Though their bodies collapse under the cold wind that blows on them, yet all their limbs are afire as they reap the fruit of their past deeds.

Thus has the Master, the Tathāgata, understanding its true nature, called this hell Sānjīva, a bourne of evil deeds.

(11) Released from Sānjīva they plunge into Kukkula. Forgathering there they are tortured for a long stretch of time.

There, in Kukkula, they run about in flames for many a yojana, and suffer great misery.

Released from Kukkula these broken men plunge into Kuṇāpa, a vast expanse spreading far and wide.

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1. Spārśa is here translated “expanses” on the analogy of the use of phārītā in the corresponding Pali gathās: Sāmantā yojanasam phārītā ītsāthi sabbādi ti (i.e.). Compare, also, Sanskrit spārśa, “swollen out,” “spread out,” etc., from spārṣa (2) [see Monier-Williams, s.v.] Phāra is to be equated with Pali phāsa (2) “an iron board,” “slab,” etc., rather than with Vedic phāla “ploughshare.” This seems to give a more natural sense than the version proposed by Senart, “toujours déchirés (labourés) par des tocs de fer.”

2. Vidhuvamśita.
Then plates of iron heated a long time are put round their bodies, burning and torturing them. (13) When they have been burnt and tortured in this way, these plates are taken off, which causes the skin and flesh to come off in shreds and the blood to flow.

Then the warders of hell rend them from heel to neck, and many do they dash against one another in the hell Kālasītra.

After this they fling them into the smoking hell of terrible darkling Sanghāta, where no unscathed men are seen. There they run about in their milliards over many a yojana, assailing one another with leaden thongs.

Thus has the Master, the Tathāgata, understanding its true nature named this hell Kālasītra, a bourne of evil-doers.

From the surface of the hell Sanghāta mountains rise up on both sides. In between these mountains beings are herded in immense numbers.

And these stony mountains come together through the working of men's karma, and crush many beings like so many fire-brands.

Blood flows in streams from their crushed bodies, and from this confused pile of crushed bodies issue rivers of pus.

(14) Merciless creatures beat them up in iron tubs with iron-tipped pestles, even for many a hundred years.

Thus has the Master, the Tathāgata, understanding its true nature, named this hell Sanghāta, a bourne of evil-doers.

Large numbers are imprisoned in the hell Raurava, which is ablaze with fire, and make a terrible lamentation.

When the fire is put out they become silent. When it flames up again, they resume their loud cries.

Another hell also has been called Raurava, horrible, shoreless, abysmal, and impassable.

There the ruthless warders of hell with scourges in their hands mercilessly strike them, even for many a hundred years.

Thus has the Master, the Tathāgata, understanding its true nature, named this hell Raurava, a bourne of evil-doers.

In the hell Tapana red-hot iron is prepared for them, and the wretched beings, burning like firebrands, cry out.

Imprisoned here are many men of wicked conduct. Evil-doers who have sinned are here roasted.

(15) As soon as they are done and rendered inert many dogs, great-bodied flesh-eaters, devour them.

When they are devoured until their bones alone are left, their skin and flesh and blood grow again.

Thus has the Master, the Tathāgata, understanding its true nature, named this hell Tapana, a bourne of evil-doers.

In the hell Pratāpana there are creatures armed with sharp pikes, and having jaws of iron. There is a fearful mountain, one great solid mass of fire.

Here many people of sinful conduct are confined, and these evil-doers leap like fishes stranded on the sand.

Thus has the Master, the Tathāgata, understanding its true nature, named this hell Pratāpana, a bourne of evil-doers.

Next, the hell Avici, everywhere searing, evil, immense, red-hot, full of dense flames.

On all sides, above, below and athwart, the hell Avici is like masses of iron heated in fire.

The bodies of the denizens of this hell are like fire. They realise the stability of karma and that there is no escape for them.

Seeing the gate open they rush to it, thinking that perhaps there is escape this way for them as they seek release.

But as their sinful karma has not borne all its fruit, through the effect of this karma they do not win a way out of hell.

Thus has the Master, the Tathāgata, understanding its true nature, named this hell Avici, a bourne of evil-doers.

The hell named Sañjīva

As the maturing of what karma are beings reborn there?
Those who in this world are enemies and rivals, are vindictive,
are haters of their fields, houses or tills, are warring kings, thieves, or soldiers, and those who die nursing hostile thoughts of one another, have rebirth in this hell as the maturing of such karma. But this is no more than the principal cause of rebirth in this hell. Those reborn here reap the fruit of still other wicked and sinful deeds.

As the maturing of what karma are they cut up? Those who in this world have cut up living creatures with knife, axe or hatchet, are themselves cut up as the maturing of such karma.

As the maturing of what karma does the cold wind blow on them? Those who in this world scatter grain as bait for jackals, buffaloes, hogs and wild cocks, saying, “we are fattened we shall kill them for their flesh,” [are blown upon by the cold wind] as the maturing of such karma.

[As the maturing of what karma] do nails or rods of iron grow on their hands? Since in this world they have put weapons of war in men’s hands, urging them with these weapons to smite such and such a village, city, town, man, or beast, so, as the maturing of such karma, iron rods and daggers grow on their hands.

Why is this hell called Sañjiva? To the denizens of this hell the thought occurs, “We shall survive only to experience Kālasūtra.” That is why this hell is called Sañjiva.

The hell named Kālasūtra.

This hell, and so on up to “armed” and “afame.” Here the warders of hell drive its inmates from under a verdant tree, and by means of the measuring rule of black wire cut them into eight, six, or four parts. They go on to cleave the bodies of some from heel to neck, like a sugar-cane. They go on to cleave the bodies of others from neck to heel, like a sugar-cane. In this state the inmates suffer agonies beyond measure, but they do not die as long as their evil karma is not exhausted.

(18) As a maturing of what karma are beings reborn here? Those who in this world cause slaves to be shackled with fetters and chains and force them to work, ordering the hands and feet of many to be pierced, and the nose, flesh, sinews, arms and back of many others to be slit five times or ten, are reborn here as the maturing of such karma.

But this, again, is no more than a principal cause of rebirth here. Those reborn here reap the fruit of still other wicked and sinful deeds. The warders of this hell beat and jeer at the inmates, who implore them, saying, “Kill us.” In their many thousands these creatures stand benumbed with terror, as though bereft of life. Then in front of Yama’s myrmidons thousands of pieces of burning, flaming and blazing cloth fly through the air, and as they come near them the denizens of hell cry out, “Lo, they are on us.” The pieces of cloth come on and envelope the limbs of each one of them, burning their outer and inner skins, their flesh and their sinews, so that their forms are not exhausted.

1 *Vapra.* Like Pali *vappa*, explained as “sown ground,” occurring beside astra, “field” and sūstī, “house-property” (Prof. H. W. Bailey in a communicated note).

2 There are lacunae here, or rather one continuous lacuna.

3 The fitting of the punishment to the crime is suggested, of course, by the similarity of the roots of upadāyi, “blows on,” and nirādā, “lodger,” “bait,” viz. vā, “to blow” and vāp, “to scatter.”

4 There are lacunae here, or rather one continuous lacuna.

5 The order here is irregular; they are usually, especially in Pali texts, given in the ascending order of their size: grāma (grama), “village,” niyama, “market-town,” and nagara, “(fortified) town.”

6 Literally, “Survival (sañjiva) is existence in Kālasūtra” (Kālasūtra-tekbhāṣā). This is obviously an anomalous way of explaining the meaning of the word. The Commentary at J. 5. 270 explains the name in a very straightforward fashion: nirayapāli. . . khandhāh khandhāh chinnā nerya-kasāla uthapuppa sañjivavati itthā “Sañjiva, that is, “though cut to pieces by the warders of hell, the inmates of this hell survive again and again. Hence the name Sañjiva.” Samju actually expresses the idea of “reviving” dead persons. Senart translates, “C’est par l’enchainement inductible des destinées que l’on ressuscite dans le Samjiva.” C’est pour cela que cet enfer a le nom de Sañjiva.” But this would seem to be an explanation, and a very conjectural one, of the name Kālasūtra, rather than of Sañjiva.

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1 Kālasūtra, see p. 6.
2 Senart prints kāsinigaddādhi: “with chains used for elephants,” but, as Prof. H. W. Bailey suggests in a communicated note, the MS. reading kāsi should be retained here. The latter word occurs in Divy. 365 and 435 in the sense of “fetters.”
3 Subhāsūrā, an admittedly doubtful conjecture of Senart’s, which is adopted in the translation with much misgiving, especially as it involves the insertion of the words “who implore them.” The MSS. are practically all agreed in having sañjivasūtthā, which might be interpreted as “offspring of rogues.” We could then render, “they (they, i.e., the warders of hell) called them rogues.” The slight break in syntactical sequence involved in making nirayapāli (understood) nominative when it is in the instrumental case in the first half of the sentence is a peculiarity fairly common in the language of the Mahābhūṣaṇa. The intrusion of the m between the two elements of the compound sañjivasūti (ad) is, of course, a difficulty, although there are several examples, both in Pali and in Buddhist Sanskrit, of the intrusion of this letter, to emphasise hiatus, as it were, and obviate the normal sandhi, e.g. adudhānakamamupakṣa (Lal. Vist. 439. 12). See Senart’s note on p. 395.
that the whole of them is on fire. Thus their torn skin and
their flesh and blood are burnt away. In this state they
suffer agonies beyond measure, but they do not die as long
as their evil karma is not worked out to its end.
Again, this is only a principal cause of rebirth there. Those
reborn there reap the fruit of still other wicked and sinful
deeds. As a maturing of what karma are beings reborn
there? Those who in this world have repeatedly caused
human beings to be slain, and those mendicants, eunuchs,
criminals and sinners who become recluses and usurp the
monk’s robe and girdle, have rebirth here as a maturing of
such karma.
Again, this is only a principal cause of rebirth there, for
those reborn there reap the fruit of still other wicked and
sinful deeds. Some have their skin torn into shreds from
heel to neck, others from neck to heel, and others from neck
to hip. In this state they suffer agonies beyond measure.
As a maturing of what karma are beings reborn there?
Those who in this world cause the “hay-band” and the
”bark-robe” to be prepared are reborn there as a maturing
of such karma.
The volume of blinding smoke that is everywhere in this
hell, acrid, pungent and terrifying, pierces outer and
inner skin, flesh and bone, penetrates the very marrow
of bones. All bodies become numbed and exhausted. Then
they reel about for many a hundred yojanas, trampling on
one another and stumbling. In this state they suffer agonies
beyond measure, but they do not die as long as their evil
karma is not worked out to the end.
As a maturing of what karma are beings reborn here?
Those who in this world smoke the openings of the dens,
burrows, enclosures, and traps of sāhkas, monkeys, rats,
and cats, and the holes of serpents, guarding the exits, or

1 It is a simple emendation to change erakavarta and strakavarta of
Senart’s text into erakavitaka and strakavitaka respectively, especially as
some of the MSS, actually have the latter word. The reference is then to
two of the methods of torture enumerated at M. 1. 67; A. 1. 47, and Milm.
roy. The above translation of these terms is that of Lord Chalmers in
Further Dialogues 1. p. 62. Woodward in Gradual Sayings, 1. p. 43, has
“hay-twist” and “bark-dress.” Senart’s reading would make the sin
to consist in making garments for the rainy season from grass or the bark
of trees.
2 An unknown animal.

who suffocate bees with smoke, have rebirth there as the
maturing of such karma.
Again, beings are reborn there as a maturing of various
other wicked and sinful deeds, for what has just been said
is only a principal cause of rebirth there. Those reborn there,
and so on.
Why is this hell called Kālasūtra? The warders of this hell
drive the denizens from under a verdant tree and cut them
by means of the measuring line of black wire. That is why
this hell is named Kālasūtra, namely from what is done
there.

(21) The hell named Sanghāta

This hell is situated between two mountains, is made of
fiery, flaming and blazing iron, and is several hundred yojanas
in extent. The armed warders of this hell show the way
to the doomed, who in terror enter in between the mountains.
In front of them fire appears, and in their terror they turn
back. But behind them, too, fire appears, and the moun-
tains converge to meet each other, and as they do so the
doomed shout, “Look at the mountains coming on us! See
them come!” The mountains meet and crush them as
so much sugar-cane.
Again, the mountains rise up into the air, and the doomed
pass beneath them. When many thousands have done so,
the mountains subside so that they are crushed as sugar-
cane is crushed, and their blood flows in streams. They
are left heaps of bone refuse, without flesh, but held together
by their sinews. In this state they suffer agonies, but they
do not die as long as their evil karma is not worked out
to the end.
As a maturing of what karma are beings reborn there?
Those who in this world cause worms to be crushed, or
the earth to be dug up, or, just as happens to beings in the sword-
leafed forest, who flog living creatures with clubs, have living creatures with clubs having the

1 See above pp. 6, 11.
2 Or, “according as it is to be described,” yathākaraya. Karaya is
often used to refer to words that are to be supplied as understood.
3 Devīnām should obviously be changed to salānām (sāloam) or
it is impossible to imagine the devas possessing, or dwelling in, a sword-leafed
forest.
leaves still on them, or who crush with their finger-nails nits, lice, and śānkuśas, are reborn there as a maturing of this karma.

This, again, is only a principal cause of rebirth there. Those reborn there reap the fruit of still other sinful and wicked deeds. They are kept a heap of bones for five hundred years in iron pots that burn, blaze and flame, and under a veritable shower of burning, blazing and flaming iron pestles. In this state they undergo intense sufferings.

As a maturing of what karma are beings reborn there? Those who in this world stab living creatures with daggers, or fell them with bludgeons, and those who destroy living creatures by grinding them in mortars with red-hot pestles, are reborn there as a maturing of this karma.

Why is this hell called Sanghāta? People in this hell endure being herded together. That is why this hell is called Sanghāta.

[The hell named Raurava . . .] 4

Thousands of beings in this hell are confined each in a narrow cell, where they are denied the exercise of the four postures. Fire blazes in their hands. While the fire burns they cry out. As often as this fire goes out they become silent. In this state they suffer agonies beyond measure.

As a maturing of what karma are beings reborn there? Those who in this world enslave beings who are without protection or refuge, those who set houses and forests on fire, those who light a fire at the openings of the dens, burrows, enclosures, and traps of sāhikas, monkeys, rats, cats, and the holes of serpents, guarding the exits; those who destroy bees with the betel-leaf or with fire, have rebirth there as a maturing of such karma. This again is only a principal cause of rebirth there. Those reborn there reap the fruit of still other wicked and sinful deeds.

1 An unknown insect, literally, if, that is, the reading is correct, "having a goad or sting."
2 Literally "as in a shower of iron," āyopāte yathā.
3 I.e. from sam-han, "to beat together," etc.
4 Lacuna.
5 Tiryāpātha, Pali iriyāpāthā. The four were, walking, standing, sitting, lying-down. Or, perhaps, chintriṭyāpāthā here simply means crippled, as in V. 1. 91.
6 See above p. 16.
7 Read tāṃbūlīna for tāṃbālāni, that is, this pungent leaf is used to "smoke out" the bees.
8 Lacuna.

1 I.e., this word is connected with the root ru or rud, "to cry."
and unscaleable\(^1\) walls, where living beings are cut up with hunting knives, have rebirth there as a maturing of such karma.

As a maturing of what karma are beings devoured there? Those who in this world have caused living beings to be devoured by lions, tigers, panthers, bears and\(^{25}\) hyenas are themselves devoured as a maturing of such karma.

As a maturing of what karma does a cool wind blow on them? Those who in this world scatter grain as bait for deer, buffaloes, hogs and wild cocks, saying, "We shall kill them for their fat flesh," are blown on by the cool wind as a maturing of such karma.\(^3\)

Why is this hell called Tapana? The denizens of it are burnt, hence the name Tapana\(^3\) for this hell, which is surrounded on all sides by spits of red-hot iron. There the denizens are impaled and roasted, some on one-pronged spits, others on two-pronged spits, and so on up to ten. When one side is roasted, the other side is exposed. Indeed, some of them, as a maturing of particularly wicked and sinful deeds, turn round of their own accord. In this state they suffer agonies beyond measure.

As a maturing of what karma are beings reborn there? Those who in this world have caused living sheep to be fixed on a spit have rebirth there as a maturing of such karma. This again is only a principal cause of rebirth there. Beings re-born there reap the fruit of yet other sinful and wicked deeds.

\[\text{[The hell named Avici]}\]\(^4\)

Why is Avici so called? Flames from its eastern walls beat against the western\(^{26}\); from the western wall they beat against the eastern. Flames from the southern wall beat against the northern; from the northern wall they beat against the southern. Flames leaping up from the ground beat against the roof, and from the roof they beat against the ground. The whole of this hell is beset with flames, and the many thousands denizens of it burn fiercely\(^1\) like firewood. In this state they suffer painful, violent, severe and bitter agonies, but they do not die until their evil karma is worked out to the end. Thus, their suffering is determined in accordance with\(^8\) what they have stored up by their conduct\(^3\) in the past when they lived as humans.

Again, this is only a principal cause of rebirth there. Beings reborn there reap the fruit of yet other sinful and wicked deeds.

As a maturing of what karma are beings reborn there? Those who kill their mother or father, or an Arhan, or show malevolence to a Tathāgata or shed his blood, have rebirth there as a maturing of all such wrong courses of conduct.

Beings are also reborn there as a maturing of various other sinful and wicked deeds.

This hell is called Avici for this reason. The denizens of it suffer bitter, violent, and severe agonies, nor, as in the other hells do the warders set the terror-stricken denizens to various tasks, nor does a cool wind blow here as in the other places. Here, then, in the great hell Avici they suffer painful, violent, severe and bitter agonies. That is why this great hell is named Avici.\(^4\)

\(^{27}\)Here ends the sūtra\(^5\) of the Mahāvastu-Avadāna called the "Chapter\(^6\) on Hells."

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\(^1\) The reading in the text is listipatippayam, which Senart prints with a question mark, and for which he cannot make a satisfactory restitution. The first part of this compound, however, seems certainly a mistake for īpta, a reading preserved by one MS; that is, the walls were "smeared" (īpt) or allowed to become wet to make them slippery. \textit{Cf. M. I. 86, addivalepanā upahāriyo, "slippery walls," literally, "walls smeared with moisture." The final part of the compound probably conceals apathā or apathin, "pathless."}

\(^2\) See above p. 14, footnote 3.

\(^3\) From īpa, "to be hot," "to burn."

\(^4\) There is a lacuna in the text here, representing the heading and introductory matter of the section.

\(^5\) Literally "brilliantly," vijīram. Senart, however, takes the word to mean here "de différentes façons," i.e., "burning on all sides."

\(^6\) Abhisamādayitā, cf. Pali samādaya and samādayita in the same sense.

\(^7\) Abhisamītiyam, cf. Pali abhisankhāra and sankhāra.

\(^8\) I.e., it is so called because of the unintermittent nature of its torments. \textit{Cf. Pali Dict., s.v. avicī} "[Bak. aveti, a + eti (?) "no intermission" or "no pleasure (?)", unknown, but very likely popular etymology]."

\(^9\) Pali sūla.

\(^{20}\) Parivartaka.
VISITS TO OTHER WORLDS

The venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana often went on a visit to the world of the brutes, and saw beings reborn among the brutes suffering miseries of various kinds.

The venerable elder Kolita as he went journeying among the brutes, saw among them beings in extreme misery, who were glad to have dried or fresh grass to eat, and cold or warm water to drink. They knew neither mother nor father, neither brother nor sister, neither teacher nor teacher's pupil, neither friend nor kinsman. They devoured one another and drank one another's blood. They slew and strangled one another. From darkness they passed into darkness, from woe into woe, from evil plight into evil plight, from ruin into ruin. They suffered thousands of divers miseries, and in their brute state it was with difficulty that they survived them.

When he had seen this great wretchedness among the brutes, Maudgalyāyana came to the Jeta Grove and described it at length to the four great assemblies.

"Thus," said he, "do beings reborn among the brutes endure thousands of divers woes, and it is with difficulty that in their brute state they survive. Therefore we should strive after knowledge, win it, be enlightened, be fully enlightened and live the holy life, and we should not commit any sin in this world. Thus I declare."

The venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana often went on a visit to the world of the ghosts. There he saw beings reborn in the ghost-world suffering thousands of divers miseries.

The venerable elder Kolita as he went his way among the ghosts, saw the ghosts in the ghost-world in extreme misery. Though their bodies are big, their mouths are the size of a needle's eye, and their throats are constricted, so that, although they are always eating, they are never satisfied. Moreover, through their failure to perform meritorious deeds, whereby they are utterly without reward, they are ill-favoured of complexion, aspect, smell, and form, and are vile and repulsive, naked, without clothes. When they are hungry and thirsty, they drink indiscriminately excrement, urine, phlegm, mucus, pus and blood.

As a maturing of their karma a wind blows and whispers "Here is something to drink! Here is something to drink! Here is boiled rice! Here is rice-gruel!" When they hear this whisper the ghosts go leaping across rivers and mountains, shouting, "Now will we eat, now will we feed, now will we drink." But those who have thus built up a hope, are immediately robbed of it, for the wind whispers to them, "There is none! There is none!" Hearing this the ghosts fall prostrate in despair.

A female ghost recites a verse:

For five hundred years have I heard this cry, "See, how hard it is to get aught to drink in the world of ghosts."

Another female ghost recites a verse:

For five hundred years have I heard this cry, "See, how hard it is to get boiled rice in the world of ghosts."

Another female ghost recites a verse:

For five hundred years have I heard this cry, "See how hard it is to get rice-gruel in the world of ghosts."

Another female ghost recites a verse:

Thirsty they run to a stream, but its channel is empty.

Another female ghost recites a verse:

An ill life have we spent, since, when we could, we did

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1 See p. 6, footnote 2.
2 Or, eat "cheerfully," mukhulocakam, which Senart equates with Pali mukhulokāha (Pali Dict., mukhulokika, "flattering").
3 Guruskhāya, the equivalent of Pali (śārya-)antevāsika or antevāsin.
not give. When the means were at hand, we did not light a lamp for the self.\footnote{1}

When Maudgalyāyana had seen this great wretchedness in the world of the ghosts, he came to the Jeta Grove, and in one discourse revealed it in detail to the great four assemblies. “Thus” said he, “do the beings reborn in the ghost-world suffer thousands of divers woes. Therefore we ought to strive after knowledge, win it, be enlightened, be fully enlightened, do the virtuous deed, live the holy life, and commit no sin in this world. Thus I declare.”

When they heard the elder, several thousands of devas and men attained immortality.

\footnote{2} The venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana often went on a visit to the Asuras. In their citadel he saw Asuras of gigantic size, of frightful aspect and of great malevolence, beings who at death had fallen down in ruin to the world of the Asuras. The venerable elder Kolita as he went on his way among the Asuras, saw five classes of Asuras greatly tormented by their envy of the Suras.\footnote{3}

This is the burden of their thought: “We are down greatly below, suffering thousands of divers woes. Therefore we ought to strive after knowledge, win it, be enlightened, be fully enlightened, do the virtuous deed, live the holy life, and commit no sin in this world. Thus I declare.”

When they heard the elder, many thousands of devas and men won immortality.

The venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana often went on a visit to the Cāturmahārajika\footnote{4} devas.

There he sees the Cāturmahārajika devas who are virtuous, mighty, long-lived, beautiful, enjoying great well-being.\footnote{5} They have the devas’ span of life, their bliss, their sway, their retinue, and their form, voice, smell, taste, touch, garments and ornaments. The ornaments they wear in front are seen from behind, those they wear behind are seen from the front.

\footnote{1} This gathā is obviously identical with that in Fv. 4. 15, 3. Cf. J. 3. 47. (I owe this latter reference to Dr. W. Stede.) The text has, therefore, been emended in order to make the language and sense of it to conform with the Pali. Senart’s text is:

Dhījīvitaśa ājīvū yamantasmīṃ nādāmatu
vidyāmāṇeṣu bhogeṣu prātipām na karotu va

The Peta-vatthu has:

Dhūjīvitaṃ jīvamha ye sante na dādamha
sāntesu dēyyadhammesu ātipām nākamha attano

The Mahāvastu text as emended for the translation given above is:

Dhūjīvitaṃ ājīvū yamantasmīṃ nādāmatu
vidyāmāṇeṣu bhogeṣu ātipāṃ nākarma atmano

Sanatasmīṃ, loc. sing. (here absolute = “when there was [something]”) has an inflection common in Buddhist Sanskrit. Nādāmatu, (with Senart) is for na + adāmatu, from dādā, with a first plural ending for which Senart believes there is a parallel elsewhere in the Mahāvastu. (See his note.) It would be simpler, of course, to read nādāma ca or sa, but the MSS. seem to be agreed on the ending -tha.

To show the necessity of some such emendation as that proposed, Senart’s translation of the text adopted by him is here given—“Fis de la vie de mendicants (Cette nourriture) qui est tout pôre, nous n’en profitons pas. Du moins ne nous faîtes pas voir ces jouissances qui sont (sous notre main) (mais qui nous demeurent inaccessibles)”. So many interpolations in translating do not suggest a very successful attempt at emendation.

\footnote{2} The Giants or Titans of Indian mythology, in Buddhist literature they are classed as inferior devas. Rebirth as an Asura was considered one of the four unhappy births. Cf. note p. 36.

\footnote{3} See p. 56.

\footnote{4} The Giants or Titans of Indian mythology; in Buddhist literature they are classed as inferior devas. Rebirth as an Asura was considered one of the four unhappy births. Cf. note p. 36.

\footnote{5} The Yakṣas were, roughly speaking, the spirits that, in popular belief, haunted the woodland and watery depths. These three classes of Yakṣas supported the devas in their fight with the Asuras. The first are evidently three kings are Dhatarattha, Viriīhaka, Viriipakkha and Indra. The number thirty-three is conventional, and the Commentaries say that this heaven was so named after Mahā, a previous birth of Sakra, and his thirty-two companions who were reborn there. (See D.P.N.)

\footnote{6} Pali Cātummahārajika, the name of the devas in the lowest of the six heavens, who were regarded as the retinue of the “Four Great Kings” dwelling there as guardians of the four quarters. The Pali names of these four kings are Dhaturaṭṭha, Viśīhaka, Viśuppakkha and Vessavaṇa.
They cast no shadows. They are self-luminous. They travel through the air, going wheresoever they wish. In the bejewelled mansions of the devas they have plenty of food, abundant meat and drink. They are endowed and gifted with the five modes of sensual pleasure, and disport, enjoy and amuse themselves.

But the elder saw this prosperity end in adversity. For when the self-luminous ones pass away from the realm of evil vicissitude of the world, they enjoy the bliss of devas. But when they pass away from that state these beings are reborn in hell and in the seven-jewelled splendour of the fair deva city, the seven-jewelled splendour of the fair deva city, and the holy assembly hall of the devas all radiant with the sparkles of beryl and extending a thousand yojanas. There the Trayastrīśa devas and Śakra, the lord of the devas, abide and dwell together immersed in the affairs of devas, and are seen from outside in the assembly hall of the devas. The Trayastrīśa devas, too, as they dwell in their sacred assembly hall look out on the whole of the fair deva city.

When he had seen all this prosperity of the Trayastrīśa devas, the elder came to the Jeta Grove and described it at length to the four assemblies. “Thus,” said he, “be beings who are reborn among the Trayastrīśa devas, as a maturing of their good karma, attain the bliss of devas. But this bliss, also, is impermanent, unstable, and liable to change. For when they pass away from that state these beings are reborn in hell and as brutes and ghosts. Therefore one must strive after knowledge, win it, (33) be enlightened, be fully enlightened, perform the right deed, live the holy life, and commit no sin in this world. Thus I declare.”

When they had heard the elder, many thousands of beings, devas and men, won immortality.

The venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana often went on a visit to the Trayastrīśa devas.

There he sees the Trayastrīśa devas, who are virtuous, mighty, long-lived, strong, and enjoying great well-being. They have the devas’ span of life, their strength, their bliss, their sway, their retinue, and the forms of the devas, their voice, smell, taste, touch, their garments and their ornaments, and their sensual pleasures. They are self-luminous, travel through the air, live in happiness, and go wheresoever they wish. They have plenty of food, abundant meat and drink. In the bejewelled mansions of the devas, in the eight great parks, Vaijayanta, Nandāpuṣkarīṇi, Pāripātraśakāvīrīṇa, Mahāvana, Pārusṣayaka, Citraratha, Nandana, and Miśrakāvana, and in other bejewelled mansions, endowed and gifted with the five modes of sensual pleasure, they disport, enjoy and amuse themselves. Śakra, too, lord of the devas, attended by eight thousand Apsarases, and endowed and gifted with the devas’ five modes of sensual pleasure, disports, enjoys and amuses himself in his palace Vaijayanta.

The elder Maudgalyāyana saw all this prosperity of the Trayastrīśa devas, their deva bliss, their fair deva city, the seven-jewelled splendour of the fair deva city, and the holy assembly hall of the devas all radiant with the sparkle of beryl and extending a thousand yojanas. There the Trayastrīśa devas and Śakra, the lord of the devas, abide and dwell together immersed in the affairs of devas, and are seen from outside in the assembly hall of the devas. The Trayastrīśa devas, too, as they dwell in their sacred assembly hall look out on the whole of the fair deva city.

When he had seen all this prosperity of the Trayastrīśa devas, the elder came to the Jeta Grove and described it at length to the four assemblies. “Thus,” said he, “be beings who are reborn among the Trayastrīśa devas, as a maturing of their good karma, attain the bliss of devas. But this bliss, also, is impermanent, unstable, and liable to change. For when they pass away from that state these beings are reborn in hell and as brutes and ghosts. Therefore one must strive after knowledge, win it, (33) be enlightened, be fully enlightened, perform the right deed, live the holy life, and commit no sin in this world. Thus I declare.”

The venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana often went on visits to the other worlds.

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1 Vimāna, in late Buddhist thought this was equivalent to heaven or paradise in so far as it was a place of almost magic splendour. For references to the literature describing the Buddhist happy other-world, see Pali Dictionary, s.v.

2 See p. 25.
to the Yāmā devas, the Tuṣita devas, the Nirmāparatā devas, the Paranirmittavaśavartin devas, and the devas of the Brahmā worlds including the Śuddhāvāsa devas. He saw the Śuddhāvāsa devas, how they are virtuous, mighty, long-lived, beautiful, and enjoying great well-being. They are self-luminous, travel through the air, have pleasant food, live happily, and go wheresoever they wish. They are free from passion. They are deva arhans who win release in the middle of their sojourn in heaven, are not subject to return to this world, and are free from all association with the ignorant and average worldling.

When the elder had seen all this prosperity of the devas, he came to the Jeta Grove, and described it at length to the four assemblies. “Thus,” said he, “do beings, as a maturing of their good karma, attain the bliss of devas among the devas. But this, too, is impermanent, and liable to sorrow and change.

The whole world is fraught with peril. The whole world is on fire; the whole world is ablaze. The whole world is in flames. The whole world is quaking.

But the dharma which the Buddhas preach for the attainment of the ultimate goal, and which is not practised by the average worldling, is immovable and unshakable. Therefore we must strive after knowledge, win it, be enlightened, perform the right deed, live the holy life, and commit no sin in this world. Thus I declare.”

1 A class of devas ranking between the Trāyastrīpā and the Tuṣita devas. The Commentaries explain the name as meaning “having attained divine bliss,” or “freed from misery” or “governing devas” (v/yam). They have also been taken to be the “devas of Yāma’s realm.”

2 See above p. 4.

3 See above p. 4.

4 Devas inhabiting the fifth of the six deva-worlds. The name means “delighting in their own creations.”

5 Devas inhabiting the highest stage of the sensuous universe. Their name is interpreted as meaning “those who have power over the creations of others.”

6 Or, the devas of the “Pure Abodes,” a name given to a group of Brahma-worlds consisting in the Pali form of their names, of Avihā, Atappā, Sudassā, Sudassī, and Akanīthā.

7 Antarāpariniñāyā, Pali antarāparinibbāyin, e.g., D. 3. 237.

8 Anātarāparikadānaṃ asmin lokā.

9 Pṛthahajana = Pali puthahajana, which obviously is derived from Pali puthu = prithū, “separate,” “individual,” but, in sense, is taken as though it were from puthu = pṛthu, “wide,” “numerous,” i.e. the “many-folk.”

10 The Pali parallel to these gāthās is to be found at S. 1. 133, following which, the confessedly difficult reading saprthahajanenaśvāgam of Senart’s text has been changed into aprthahajanenaśvāgam, “not by the worldling practised.”

11 Pali Rājagaha, the capital city of Magadha.

12 “Vulture Peak,” one of the five hills around Rājagriha. Here is resumed the story interrupted at p. 4 by the account of Mahā-Maudgalāyana’s visits to the other worlds—only the compiler has forgotten that the nīdāna was there located at Śrāvasti, not as here at Rājagriha, more than a hundred miles to the south-west.


14 Ananūratā, a Sanskritisation of Pali anumatagga. See Pali Dictionary. Read gahana for grahanā.

15 Pali Vamāḥ.

16 Pali Vamchā.

17 With this list of Central India peoples, compare similar and more or less identical lists at A. 1. 213: 4, 252, 256, 260; D. 2. 200: 3, 5.

18 See Pali Dictionary. The term is translated “Self-becoming one.” The term is translated “self-dependent” by Rhys Davids in S.B.E. 36, p. 16 (= Mīna p. 214), and that translation is adopted here as being in keeping with the preceding expression, i.e. the Buddha is independent of others for the knowledge in which he excels. See footnote l.c. Cf. also Mīna, p. 256, Sayambhā: “Tathāgata, anātariyaḥ, “Self-dependent for his knowledge is the Tathāgata, without a master.”
abode in deva states, in immovable, unchangeable states. A Buddha, he abode in a Buddha’s states; a Conqueror, he abode in a Conqueror’s states; an expert, he abode in an expert’s states, and omniscient he abode in the states of omniscience. He had attained control over his thoughts, and, in short, the Buddha abode in whatever states appropriate to an Exalted One that he desired.

Now the venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana dressed early and set out for the city of Rājagriha to beg for alms. But before he had gone far this thought occurred to him: “It is as yet much too early to go to Rājagriha for alms.” What, then, if I were to go where the company of the Śuddhāvāsa devas are? It is a long time since I have visited them.”

Then the venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana by means of his magic power reached the Śuddhāvāsa devas in one stride. The multitudes of the Śuddhāvāsa devas saw him coming from afar and came forth to meet him. “Here,” said they, “here is the noble Mahā-Maudgalyāyana. Hail and welcome to the noble Mahā-Maudgalyāyana. After a long absence the noble Mahā-Maudgalyāyana has taken the opportunity to come here.” And the multitudes of Śuddhāvāsa devas bowed their heads at the feet of the venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana and stood on one side.

A certain Śuddhāvāsa deva then spoke to the venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana thus, “Strange is it,” said he, “wonderful is it, O noble Maudgalyāyana, that it is so hard to attain the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment. For it takes a hundred thousand kalpas to do so.”

Then the blessed Śuddhāvāsa deva related the following tale to the venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana:

For a hundred thousand kalpas a monk called Abhiya lived in passion, malice and folly. Now at that time, Maudgalyāyana, there was a city named Vasumata which was thriving, prosperous, peaceful, having an abundance of food, was thronged by a multitude of happy citizens, was free from violence and riots, rid of thieves, and busy with commerce.

Now, Maudgalyāyana, in this great city of Vasumata, there was a merchant named Uttiya, who was virtuous, powerful, rich, wealthy, opulent, with great property, and having plenty in his treasury and granary. He had an abundance of gold, silver, luxuries, elephants, horses, cattle, sheep, bondsmen, bondswomen, and workmen. He believed in the teaching of the exalted Sarvabhūṁī and paid homage to the Buddha, the dharma and the Sangha and was devoted to Nanda and other monks.

Now, Maudgalyāyana, the monk Nanda and the monk Abhiya came to the house of the merchant Uttiya, and the monk Nanda was honoured, revered, esteemed, venerated and respected in the merchant's household, but not so the monk Abhiya.

Now, Maudgalyāyana, the daughter of the merchant Uttiya was the wife of a certain great householder in the great city of Vasumata, and she was especially devoted to the monk Nanda. Then, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, the monk Abhiya, because of his jealous nature, made a false accusation of adultery against the monk Nanda. “The monk Nanda,” said he, “is unchaste, wicked, licentious, and a secret sinner. He is living a dissolute life with the daughter of Uttiya the merchant.”

People in the great city of Vasumata took up this accusation, which they considered worth listening to and believing in. Then, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, the priests and laymen in the great city of Vasumata, and Uttiya the merchant, decided that the monk Nanda should no longer be honoured, revered, esteemed and venerated as before.

Genuine men readily repent and feel remorse for a wrong deed. And thus, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, this thought occurred to the monk Abhiya: “Because of my jealous nature I falsely accused the monk Nanda of immorality, although he is free from passion, malice and folly, and is a worthy and distinguished man. Much demerit have I begotten. What, then, if I now ask the monk Nanda’s pardon, and confess my sin before the exalted Sarvabhūṁī?”

1 Vilāra, here a state or condition of moral or spiritual life. In the Pali texts these states are more dogmatically defined. They either denote the sublime states in general, usually three in number (e.g. D. 3. 341), devamāra, brahmacāra and ariyavāca, or, more specifically, the four qualities or forms of the brahmavihāra, viz. metta, kārma, mudita and upekkhā, i.e. “love, pity, sympathy, and disinterestedness.” These are also called the four appamānas or “infinite conditions,” and are referred to in Dīya. 224. Cf. also Mahāvastu, 2. 419.

2 See p. 28.

3 Otherwise unknown.

1 “The Order, the priesthood, the Buddhist Church.” (Pali Dictionary.)
2 Sevitam, of. use of devatī in Pali—“to embrace,” “make use of.”
Then, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, the monk Abhiya asked forgiveness of the monk Nanda, and confessed his sin before the exalted Sarvābhībhu. Next, he went to the merchant Utthiya and said to him, "I should like, householder, to make an offering to the exalted Sarvābhībhu and his company of disciples. Pray, give me the means of doing so." And Utthiya the merchant gave the monk Abhiya much gold, and other rich householders did the same.

(38) Now, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, in the great city of Vatsamata, there were two dealers in perfume who were devoted to the monk Abhiya. So, the monk Abhiya, with a hundred thousand pieces¹ in his hand, went to the two perfume dealers and said to them, "My good friends,² I want these one hundred thousand pieces' worth of kesara³ essence. I shall take care⁴ of it and offer it to the exalted Sarvābhībhu and his company of disciples."

The two perfume-dealers gave⁶ him a hundred thousand pieces' worth of kesara essence. Then the monk Abhiya feasted and regaled the exalted Sarvābhībhu and his company of disciples with plentiful and palatable food, both hard and soft. When he saw that the exalted Sarvābhībhu had eaten, washed his hands, and put away his bowl, he scattered the hundred thousand pieces' worth of kesara essence on, over and about him and his company of disciples. And when he had done so he conceived the thought: "Ah, may I in some future time become a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, proficient in knowledge and conduct, a Sūtak, an unsurpassed knower of the world⁴, a driver of tameable men, a teacher of devas after a hundred thousand kalpas, become a Tathāgata of the name of Śākyamuni, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, proficient in knowledge and conduct, and men, as this exalted Sarvābhībhu now is. Thus may I become a Great Man,¹ endowed with his thirty-two marks,² my body adorned with his eighty minor characteristics,³ and possessing the eighteen distinctive attributes⁴ of a Buddha, strong with the ten powers⁶ of a Tathāgata, confident⁸ with a Buddha's four grounds of confidence,⁸ as the exalted Sarvābhībhu now is. Thus may I set rolling the unsurpassed wheel of dharma never yet set rolling⁷ by recluse, brahman, deva, Māra,⁸ Brahmā or any one whatsoever. May I, reborn again in the world, together with dharma, preserve the community of disciples in harmony as the exalted Sarvābhībhu now does. Thus may devas and men decide that I am to be hearkened to and believed in as they now do this exalted Sarvābhībhu. Having myself crossed, may I lead others across; released, may I release others; comforted, may I comfort others; emancipated, may I emancipate others. May I become all this for the benefit and welfare of mankind, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the multitude, for the good of devas and men."

Then, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, the exalted Sarvābhībhu, aware of this vow of the monk Abhiya, said to him, "You will, Abhiya, in some future time, after a hundred thousand kalpas, become a Tathāgata of the name of Śākyamuni, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, proficient in knowledge and conduct, and men, as this exalted Sarvābhībhu now is. Thus may I become a Great Man,¹ endowed with his thirty-two marks,² my body adorned with his eighty minor characteristics,³ and possessing the eighteen distinctive attributes⁴ of a Buddha, strong with the ten powers⁶ of a Tathāgata, confident⁸ with a Buddha's four grounds of confidence,⁸ as the exalted Sarvābhībhu now is. Thus may I set rolling the unsurpassed wheel of dharma never yet set rolling⁷ by recluse, brahman, deva, Māra,⁸ Brahmā or any one whatsoever. May I, reborn again in the world, together with dharma, preserve the community of disciples in harmony as the exalted Sarvābhībhu now does. Thus may devas and men decide that I am to be hearkened to and believed in as they now do this exalted Sarvābhībhu. Having myself crossed, may I lead others across; released, may I release others; comforted, may I comfort others; emancipated, may I emancipate others. May I become all this for the benefit and welfare of mankind, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the multitude, for the good of devas and men."

¹ Mahāpuruṣa, Pali Mahāpurisa, "a great man, a hero, a man born to greatness, a man destined by fate to be a Ruler or Saviour of the world." (Pali Pali.)
² See p. 130.
³ See p. 181, n.4
⁴ See p. 181, n.5.
¹ A perfume prepared from the flower of that name.
³ A perfume prepared from the flower of that name. See p. 181, n.4.
⁴ A perfume prepared from the flower of that name.
⁵ A perfume prepared from the flower of that name.
⁶ A perfume prepared from the flower of that name. See p. 181, n.5.
⁷ A perfume prepared from the flower of that name. See p. 181, n.5.
⁸ See p. 156.
⁹ A perfume prepared from the flower of that name. See p. 181, n.5.
¹⁰ A perfume prepared from the flower of that name. See p. 181, n.5.
¹¹ A perfume prepared from the flower of that name. See p. 181, n.5.
¹² A perfume prepared from the flower of that name. See p. 181, n.5.
¹³ A perfume prepared from the flower of that name. See p. 181, n.5.
¹⁴ A perfume prepared from the flower of that name. See p. 181, n.5.
¹⁵ A perfume prepared from the flower of that name. See p. 181, n.5.
¹⁶ A perfume prepared from the flower of that name. See p. 181, n.5.
¹⁷ A perfume prepared from the flower of that name. See p. 181, n.5.
¹⁸ A perfume prepared from the flower of that name. See p. 181, n.5.
¹⁹ A perfume prepared from the flower of that name. See p. 181, n.5.
a Sugata, an unsurpassed knower of the world, a driver of
tameable men, a teacher of devas and men, even as I now am.
You will become endowed with the thirty-two marks of a Great
Man, your body adorned with his eighty minor characteristics.
You will have the eighteen distinctive attributes of a Buddha.
You will be strong with the ten powers of a Tathāgata, and
confident with a Buddha's four grounds of confidence, even
as I now am. And thus you will set rolling the unsurpassed
wheel of dharma never yet set rolling by recluse, deva, Māra,
or anyone else. Reborn again in the world, together with
dharma, you will preserve in harmony the company of
disciples as I do now. Thus will devas and men decide that
you are to be hearkened to and believed in, as they now do me.
Having yourself crossed, you will lead others across;
released you will release others; comforted, you will comfort
others; emancipated, you will emancipate others, as I now do.
You will become all this for the benefit and welfare of
mankind, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of
the multitude, for the sake of the multitude, for the good and well-being of
devas and men."

Then, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, as soon as it was proclaimed
by the perfect Buddha Sarvābhībhū that the monk Abhiya
would win the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment, the system
of the three-thousand worlds trembled and quaked six times. 1
The eastern region rose, the western subsided; the eastern
region subsided, the western rose; the southern region rose,
the northern subsided; the southern region subsided, the
northern rose; the middle regions subsided, the extremities
rose; the middle regions rose, the extremities subsided. The
devas of earth 2 shouted and made their cries heard. "It has
been proclaimed by the exalted perfect Buddha, Sarvābhībhū,
that this monk Abhiya will win the unsurpassed perfect
enlightenment. He will do this for the welfare and benefit of
mankind, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of
the multitude, for the good and well-being of devas and men."

When they heard the shout of the devas of earth, the devas
of the sky, the Caturmahārājika devas, the Trāyāstrīṃśa devas,

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1 Aga. Senart, being practically confined for parallels to the Lotus
and Lal. Viṣ., is in difficulties regarding this word, and is constrained to
render it by " souffrances," thus differing from Burnouf who, in Appendix III
to the Lotus had translated it " pêcheresses." The parallel passages in Pali
texts since published, e.g., A. 2. 130; S. 5. 454; and D. 2. 12, however,
makes it clear that agha is either a substantive meaning " darkness " or
" blackness " or an adjective, " dark," " black."

2 Asaṃvita, " unknown," " uncomprehended." The corresponding word
in the Pali parallel passages is asaṃsava, " unrestrained," " orderless,"
" baseless," and is explained by the Commentary on A. 2. 130 as haṃtakā
apattā, i.e., " without a support beneath."

3 Abhisambhānuṇāti. According to the Pali Dictionary, this is a variant
form of sambhāvati (sambhavi), having the more particular sense of " to reach "
or " to be able to." The Commentary on Sn. 396 has the gloss asambhānuṇāto:
asahkhanto (" unable "). See also the long note by Senart who, after an
examination of its use in Buddhist Sanskrit, arrives at pretty much the
same interpretation of its meaning.

4 A class of beings in primitive Indian belief, evidently surviving in
Buddhist folklore. In form they were snakes, and were gifted with miraculous
powers. But there is undoubtedly great confusion between the Nāgas as
supernatural beings, and as the name of certain non-Aryan tribes. In the
Mahāvastu, e.g. p. 190, we hear of Nāga devas. Nāga also means " elephant " ;
indeed, men were inclined to call all big things " Nāga " (A. 3. 345 f.). When
the Buddha or an Arhan is styled Nāga, we are to bear in mind the accepted
eymology of the name as ājīva na karoti " does no wrong."
The realms of Māra were eclipsed, 1 rendered lustreless and joyless. Shattered they fell a kos, 2, two kos, three. Shattered they fell for yojanas, for twice five yojanas. And wicked Māra was unhappy, discomfited, remorseful, tortured by the sting within him.

When 3 he had presented his gift, he made his vow. "May I," said he, "become a guide of the world, a teacher of devas and men. May I preach the noble dharma. "May I bear about the torch of dharma. May I beat the battered drum of dharma. May I raise the standard of dharma. May I blow the noble trumpet.

"Thus may I expound and preach dharma. Thus may I establish many people in the noble dharma. "Thus may devas and men listen to my eloquent words. Thus may I set rolling the wheel of dharma for the sake of the multitude.

"May I plant the rudiments of wisdom in the people who are sunk in misery, who are tormented by birth and old age and are subject to death, who see only with the bodily eye, and (lead them) from their evil plight.

"May I release from the round of existence those who are scattered in Saññivā, Kālasūra, Sanghāta, Raurava, Avīci, and the six spheres of existence. 4

(43) "May I release from the round of existence those whose karma has fully or partly matured 4 in hell, those who are afflicted in evil plight, those who are subject to death, and those of little happiness and much misery.

"May I live on doing good in the world, teaching dharma

1 Dhyāma, which Senart explains as "une orthographe sanscritisante pour le pāñc-prākrit dhāmā = kṣāma, "consumé, brûlé," but modified in meaning here to denote "obscure, eclipse." 2 Sanskrit kroṣa (here kroṣha), a measure of distance, equal to ½ yojana or, according to others, ¼. 3 A verse redaction of the story of Abhiya.

4 In the earlier Pali texts these gati or "spheres of existence" are five in number, viz. hell, the brute creation, the ghost world, human life, and the deva worlds. Later texts add a sixth, viz. existence as asuras. Elsewhere the Mahāvastu (1. 293) makes the gati eight in number, without, however, indicating what the additional ones may be.

5 Pakuāpahā, a reading adopted by Senart in preference to the obscure pakṣaipāhā of the MSS.

1 Lokapradyota (once also lokaya pratipa, p. 167, where see note) occurs several times in the Mahāvastu as an appellation of the Buddha, but has no exact counterpart in the Pali texts, the nearest being "eye in the world." (The translator is indebted for this suggestive comparison to Miss I. B. Horner.)

2 Although these adjectives are, in the text, nom. sing. masculine, the analogy of other passages shows, as Senart suggests, that they must be regarded as qualifying caileen, and they are translated accordingly.

3 In Pali Isipatana, the open space near Benares where was situated the famous Migādāya or Deer Park. Riśivadana is the more frequent of the two forms of this name in the Mahāvastu, the other form being Rißivatana. In one place, however, (1. 359), it is spell Riśivatana in accordance with the etymology of the name there given, viz. that it was so-called because the bodies of the Pratyekabuddhas fell "there—riśayatra patita. The explanation of the name in Pali texts is slightly different. "Rißivatana was so called because sages, on their way through the air (from the Himalayas), alight here or start from here on their aerial flight—isa-yo nipaṭanai uppaṭanā cātī Rißivatana." (D.P.N.)

perfect enlightenment, the two perfume-dealers, enraptured, rejoicing, elated, and glad, conceived this thought: “When the monk Abhiya becomes awakened to the perfect enlightenment, then may we become his chief disciples, the chief pair, a noble pair, like this pair of disciples of the exalted Sarvābhībhū, the one pre-eminent for wisdom, the other for magic power”.

Then, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, the daughter of Uttiya the merchant heard that it had been proclaimed of the monk Abhiya by the exalted Sarvābhībhū that he would win the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment. And when she had paid honour, reverence, respect and veneration to the Exalted One and his company of disciples, she made this vow: “A false accusation was made against me by the jealous monk Abhiya. When, therefore, through serving the exalted Sarvābhībhū and his company of disciples, I shall have acquired merit, by the power of this root of merit, I shall slander the monk Abhiya with false accusations wherever he be reborn, until he has attained to perfect enlightenment.”

Now, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, perhaps you will think that it was somebody else of the name Abhiya who at that time and on that occasion was the disciple of the exalted Sarvābhībhū. But you must not think so. And why? It was I, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, who at that time and on that occasion was the exalted Sarvābhībhū’s disciple named Abhiya.

Again, you may think that at that time and on that occasion the two perfume-dealers of the great city of Vasumata were some two others. No more must you think that either. And why? Because at that time and on that occasion you two, Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, were those two perfume-dealers. The vow you made then was your initial vow.

Perhaps, again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, you will think that at that time and on that occasion the daughter of Uttiya the merchant was somebody else [...]. In pursuance of that vow the Brāhmaṇ woman made false accusations against me in every one of my lives until I attained perfect enlightenment.

Perhaps, again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, you will think that at that time and on that occasion the merchant named Uttiya in the great city of Vasumata was somebody else. You must not think that. It was this Śuddhāvāsa deva here who, at that time and on that occasion, was the merchant named Uttiya in the great city of Vasumata. And he remembers these hundred thousand kalpas and recollects the dharma.

Here ends the story of Abhiya, with the accompanying verse, in the Mahāvastu-Avadāna.

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(46) O Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, from the time that I made a vow to acquire enlightenment there have been immeasurable, incalculable kalpas. Countless Tathāgatas, Arhans, and perfect Buddhas did I adore, but none of them proclaimed my enlightenment. I adore three hundred of the name Puṣpa, yet I received no proclamation from them. Immeasurable, incalculable kalpas did I live and pass through, and countless Buddhas did I adore, but they made no proclamation concerning me.

Here, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, are the four stages in the careers of Bodhisattvas. What are the four? They are these: the “natural” career, the “resolving” career, the “conforming” career and the “persevering” career.

And what, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, is the “natural” career? It is the nature of Bodhisattvas in this world to respect mother and father, to be well-disposed to recluses and brahmans, to honour their elders, to practise the ten right ways of behaviour, to exhort others to give alms and acquire merit, and to honour contemporary Buddhas and their disciples. But as yet they do not conceive the thought of winning the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment.

First they worship glorious Tathāgatas with great reverence, but not yet do these supreme men turn their thoughts towards becoming a Foremost Man.

1 See below.
2 Reading, with Senart, kusalamārjitaḥ for kusalamālām of the MSS.
3 Lacuna.
I first offered a drink of rice-milk to the world-transcending exalted Śākyamuni an incalculable kalpa ago. Then was my first vow made.

An immeasurable, incalculable kalpa afterwards, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, a Tathāgata of the name of Samitāvin appeared in the world, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, proficient in knowledge and conduct, a Sugata, an unsurpassed knower of the world,(49) a driver of tameable men, and a teacher of devas and men.

Now at that time there was a Bodhisattva, who was a universal king, ruling over the four continents, who was triumphant, possessing the seven treasures of a king, who was righteous, a king of righteousness, pursuing the path of the ten virtues. These seven royal treasures are the wheel, the elephant, the horse, the precious stone, the woman, the householder, and the counsellor. He had a full thousand sons, who were valiant, courageous, and stout of limb, who crushed the armies of their foes. He ruled over these four continents, to wit, Jambudvīpa, Pūrvavideha, Aparagodānīya and Uttarakuru—a land compact and peaceful, untroubled by the scourage and sword, girt by sea and mountain, which he had won not by violence, but by righteousness.

Now, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, this universal king supplied the perfect Buddha Samitāvin and his company of disciples with all the requisites, with robe, alms-bowl, bed, seat, and medicines for use in sickness. He had a palace built of the seven precious substances, gold, silver, pearls, beryl, crystal, white coral, and ruby, with eighty-four thousand pillars, each pillar up to its middle fashioned of points of gold set close together. He had erected eighty-four thousand buildings with peaked roofs, bright and sparkling, of the seven precious substances, gold, silver, pearls, beryl, crystal, white coral and ruby.

When, Mahā-Maudgalyāna, he had built such a distinguished palace, the universal king presented it to the perfect Buddha Samitāvin, and made this vow: "Ah! May I in some future time become(50) a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, proficient in knowledge and conduct, a Sugata, an unsurpassed

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1 Reading anupādi for anupādena, as the syntax demands; aṇaṃjena is tautological, repeating the same word earlier in the compound.
2 °āduddhakiranyakesi niṃrita upārdhāya.
knower of the world, a driver of tameable men, and a teacher of devas and men, as this exalted Samitāvin now is. May I become endowed with the thirty-two marks of a Great Man, and be strong with the ten powers of a Tathāgata, and confident with the four grounds of self-confidence, as this exalted perfect Buddha Samitāvin now is. Having crossed over, may I lead others across; comforted, may I comfort others; emancipated, may I emancipate others. May I become so for the benefit and welfare of mankind, out of compassion for the world, for the good of the multitudes, for the welfare and benefit of devas and men.

Such, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, was the vow of the Tathāgata.

May I journey through this world as He whose mind is rid of attachments does. May I set rolling the wheel that has not its equal, and is honoured of devas and men.1

Then, this thought occurred to the perfect Buddha Samitāvin: “How now? When I have utterly passed away,2 when these disciples of mine have passed, and when the preaching of the dharma has ceased, after how long a time will a Buddha appear in the world? I did not foresee one in one kalpa, nor in two kalpas, nor in three. But in a hundred thousand kalpas I did foresee a Buddha in the world. Now, I must inevitably fulfil the five obligations of a Buddha, and this person whom I have to anoint heir to the throne will be reborn among the long-lived devas. What now if I decide to live on for these one hundred thousand kalpas? Who will stay with me?”

(52) Then, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, eighty-four thousand monks who had full mastery over the powers,3 chose to live on in this world. “We, lord,” said they, “We, Sugata, will stay.” And so the perfect Buddha Samitāvin and his disciples lived for a very long time.

At the dissolution4 of the universe men after death are

1 In the Pali texts, the Buddha Metteyya is to be born at Keśumati.
2 I.e., the powers or balāni of an āryaśravaka, or “noble disciple,” namely, prajñābala (Pali paññā), “power of wisdom,” āryabala (viriya), “of exertion,” ananudaya (anuñjya), “of blamelessness,” and sāngāka (sangkha) “of self-restraint.” (A. 2. 142; 4. 363.) At D. 3. 329, these balāni are given in greater detail as consisting of three groups of four balāni each.
3 Samavatthulassaṃaya, literally “at the time of the same era (Pali samavattha). Samavattha is the noun of the verb samevatthi (Pali samevatthi) which, according to the Pali Dictionary, means “to be evolved,” or “in process of evolution,” while samevatthi is said to mean “rolling on” or “forward,” opp. to vivaṭṭa (see below), “rolling back.” But the texts, on the whole, would seem to suggest the meaning of “rolling up” for samevatthi and “rolling out” for vivaṭṭi, or practically “involution” or “dissolution” for the former and “evolution” or “coming to be” for the latter. At D.A. 1. 110 Buddhaghosa glosses samevatthi with viṇassati (“is destroyed”) and vivaṭṭi with saṁsārati (“comes to be”), Woodward (A. 2. 142) translates the two terms respectively “rolls up” and “rolls out,” while Rhys Davids (Dial. 1. 17) has “passes away” and “re-evolves.” Buddhaghosa at Vis. 44 defines these two cycles in the words paṛhiyamano hoppa samatathoppa, vaḍḍhamano vivaṭṭhoppa — the descending [lit. “waning”] cycle is the cycle of dissolution, the ascending [lit. “growing”] cycle is the cycle of evolution.” (Maung Tin’s translation.) A little later, Buddhaghosa uses the term samevattha to denote the “end” of the world, whether caused by water, fire, or air.
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reborn among the Ābhāsvara devas. On his death, therefore, the king was born among these devas, and the Exalted One also, together with his disciples, passed to the realm of the Ābhāsvara devas.

When the universe begins to re-evolve, and the world is being resettled, beings pass away from the world of the Ābhāsvara devas, because their span of years there is ended, and they come down to this world. The Bodhisattva also passed away from the realm of the Ābhāsvara devas, and, coming to the world, became again a universal king over the four continents, triumphant, and so on up to "he ruled over these four continents having won them by righteousness."

When the duration of men's lives began to be limited, and old age, sickness and death became known, the exalted Samitāvin, the perfect Buddha, came to Jambudvīpa, and there taught men dharma. Then the universal king presented the perfect Buddha with all the requisites, robe, alms-bowl, bed, seat, and medicines for use in sickness. He built a palace of the seven precious substances like the one already described, and presented it to the exalted perfect Buddha. In this way the perfect Buddha Samitāvin and his community of disciples survived for one hundred thousand kalpas, and was always served by the Bodhisattva, who in every kalpa without fail built a similar palace of the seven precious substances and presented it to the perfect Buddha Samitāvin. In his quest for the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment, the Bodhisattva as a universal king presented Samitāvin with a hundred

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1. "The shining devas" or the devas of Ābhāsvara (Pali Ābhassara), "a Brahmā-world where live radiant devas from whose bodies rays of light are emitted like lightning" (D.P.N.) The world of the Ābhāsvara devas was left untouched when the dissolution was the kind caused by fire, as the Subhanaṅka world was in that caused by water, and the Vehapphaḷa in that caused by air. (Vism., l.c.)

2. Āyukiṣhaya of the text has been changed to āyukṣhaya (causal ablative, for aī, cf. apāya, abī, p. 42 of text), so as to bring the passage into conformity with such Pali passages as D. i. 17, atī aṅkhatara saha āyukṣhaya vā pūṇākṣhaya vā Ābhassaraṅkṣaya caṅkita, "and some being or other, either because his span of years has passed or his merit is exhausted, falls from the World of Radiance" (Buddh. 3. 39). In printing āyukṣhaya (dative of purpose), Senart took the meaning to be "pour épouser ce qui leur karman leur attribue encore d'existence," and cites in support of his interpretation Mahāvastu i. 338, where āyukṣhaya is coupled with karmanāṣaya. But the latter is there equivalent to the Pali pūṇākṣhaya, that is to say, karma as good karma, which it is here, is equivalent to pūṇa (pāṇā).

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thousand palaces made of the seven precious substances. An incalculable kalpa afterwards,

When he had prescribed his gift, the Bodhisattva made his vow: "May I become a guide of the world, a teacher of devas and men. May I expound the noble dharma."

"Thus may I expound and preach dharma; thus may I establish many people in the noble dharma."

"Thus may devas and men listen to my eloquent words; thus may I set rolling the wheel of dharma for the sake of the multitude."

"May I bear about the torch of dharma; may I beat the bannered drum of dharma. May I raise the standard of dharma; may I blow the noble trumpet."

"May I plant the rudiments of wisdom in the world which is sunk in misery, is afflicted by birth and old age, is subject to death, and sees only with the eye of the body, and (may I lead it) from its state of woe.

"May I release from the round of rebirth those who are scattered in Saṁññīva, Kālaññīva, Saṅghā, Raurava, Avīci, and the six spheres of existence."

"May I release from the round of rebirth those whose karma has fully or partly matured in hell, those who are afflicted in the states of woe, those subject to death, and those of little happiness and much suffering."

"May I live on doing good in the world, and teach dharma to devas and men. Thus may I convert people as this Light of the world now does.

Then was the second vow made.

The Bodhisattva gave eighty mansions built of sandalwood to the world-transcending Buddha, Guru, and vowed: "In an incalculable kalpa hence may I become an Exalted One.

Then was the third vow made.

As King Arka the Bodhisattva gave to the Buddha named Parvata eighty-thousand grottos adorned with the seven precious substances. Then was the fourth vow made.
He spent six years being instructed by Ratanendra in the ideas of impermanence, mental images, and the pleasures of the senses. Then was the fifth vow made.

Here ends the sutra on the “Many-Buddhas” in the Mahāvastu-Avadāna.

A VISIT TO THE SUDDHĀVĀSA DEVAS

Thus have I heard. The Exalted One was once staying near Rājagriha on Mount Gridhrakūṭa. Then the venerable Maha-Maudgalyāyana dressed early in the morning, took his alms-bowl and robe, and set out for the city of Rājagriha in quest of alms.

But, before he had gone far, this thought occurred to him: “It is as yet much too early to go to Rājagriha for alms. What now if I pay a visit to the Suddhavāsa devas?” Then in the time it would take a strong man to stretch out his bent arm and bend his outstretched arm, rose up in the air at Rājagriha and in one instantaneous stride alighted near the Suddhavāsa devas.

The Suddhavāsa devas saw him coming when he was yet far off, and came in a body to meet him. They bowed their heads at his feet, and stood to one side. As they thus stood, the numerous Suddhavāsa devas addressed the venerable Maha-Maudgalyāyana in verse:

It was after a very long time, after he had passed through a hundred thousand kalpas in quest of the perfection of enlightenment, that the infinitely precious Buddha appeared in the world.

When they had thus spoken, the numerous Suddhavāsa devas bowed their heads at the feet of the venerable Maha-Maudgalyāyana, stood to one side, and forthwith vanished.

1 A name unknown to the Pali texts. Of the other names on this page neither Guru nor Parvata (Pabbata) appears in those texts as the name of a Buddha, although the latter is the name of both a Paccekabuddha and a Bodhisattva. Araka (= Arka) is the name of the Bodhisattva as a brahmin teacher at J. 2. 195 and A. 4. 136-8 (D.P.N.).

2 Strictly speaking, as Senart points out, the foregoing is neither a sutra, nor is the subject-matter “The Many-Buddhas.” That subject is dealt with rather in the following.
And those exalted Buddhas thus proclaimed to me: 'You will in the future become a Tathagata, an Arhan, a perfect unsurpassed knower of the world, a driver of tameable men, and a teacher of devas and men.'

in the future go on acquiring the roots of virtue. I knew Buddha, proficient in knowledge and conduct, a whom, with their communities of disciples, I honoured, and under a countless number of Tathagatas, Arhans, and perfect Buddhas that those who seek perfect enlightenment in the future go on acquiring the roots of virtue. I knew three-hundred kotis of Buddhas of the name of Sākyamuni, whom, with their communities of disciples, I honoured, venerated, revered, worshipped and esteemed when I was a universal king aiming at perfect enlightenment in the future. And those exalted Buddhas thus proclaimed to me: 'You will in the future become a Tathagata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, proficient in knowledge and conduct, a Sugata, an unsurpassed knower of the world, a driver of tameable men, and a teacher of devas and men.'

'Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, I knew eight-hundred Buddhas named Dipāmkara, who, with their communities of disciples were honoured, venerated, revered, worshipped and esteemed by me, when, as a universal king I was aiming at perfect enlightenment in the future. And these exalted Buddhas proclaimed to me: 'You will become in the future' and so on. I knew five hundred Buddhas of the name of Padmottara. Repeat as above: "You will become in the future" and so on. I knew eight thousand Buddhas named Pradyota, three kotis named Puṣpa, eighteen thousand named Māradhvaja, at the time when I was living the holy life and aiming at perfect enlightenment in the future. And these exalted Buddhas made their proclamation of me.

'I knew, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, five hundred Buddhas of the name of Padmottara, who, with their communities of disciples were honoured by me. I knew ninety thousand named Kāśyapa; fifteen thousand named Pratāpa; two thousand named Kaṇḍinya, and eighty-four thousand Pratyeκabuddhas. I knew the Tathāgata, Arhan and perfect Buddha Samantagupta. I knew the thousand Buddhas named Jambudhvaja; the eighty-four thousand named Indradhvaja; the fifteen thousand named Āditya; the sixty-two hundred named Anyonya, and the sixty-four(59) named Samitāvīn.

"Suprabhāsa was the name of the Tathāgata, Arhan, and perfect Buddha when the Bodhisattva Maitreyā, as the universal king, Vairocana, was aiming at perfect enlightenment in the future and first acquired the roots of goodness. And, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, when Suprabhāsa was the Tathāgata, the measure of man's life was four times eighty-four thousand kotis of years, and men lived more or less to this age.1

'Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, when Suprabhāsa was the Tathāgata, Arhan and perfect Buddha, there were three assemblies. The first assembly of disciples consisted of ninety-six kotis, who were all arhans, who had destroyed the āsravas, who had kept all the observances, who were emancipated by perfect knowledge, who had broken the fetters that tied them to existence and who had reached the goal they had set themselves. The second assembly of disciples consisted of ninety-four kotis, who were all arhans, who had destroyed the āsravas, had kept the observances, were emancipated by perfect knowledge, had broken the fetters that bound them to existence, and had reached their goal. The third assembly of disciples consisted of ninety-two kotis, who were all arhans, who had destroyed the āsravas, had kept the observances, were emancipated by perfect knowledge, had broken the fetters that bound them to existence, and had reached their goal.

'When the venerable Maha-Maudgalyāyana had thus spoken, the Exalted One said to him, "The one hundred thousand kalpas of the Suddhāvāsa devas are too short a time, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana. It is for immeasurable incalculable kalpas and under a countless number of Tathāgatas, Arhans, and perfect Buddhas that those who seek perfect enlightenment in the future go on acquiring the roots of virtue. I knew three-hundred kotis of Buddhas of the name of Sākyamuni, whom, with their communities of disciples, I honoured, venerated, revered, worshipped and esteemed when I was a universal king aiming at perfect enlightenment in the future. And those exalted Buddhas thus proclaimed to me: 'You will in the future become a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, proficient in knowledge and conduct, a Sugata, an unsurpassed knower of the world, a driver of tameable men, and a teacher of devas and men.'

1 Antara ca uccāsaṇatā āyuṣa: literally, "(men's) lives were high and low within (this limit)."
2 A wrong Sanskritisation of the Pali āsava, a term for which many translations have been offered, but none of them entirely satisfactory. It has been deemed better to retain the Buddhist Sanskrit form. Meanwhile, the definitions of āsava in the Pali Dictionary will give an indication of its meaning, literal and applied: (1) "Spirit, the intoxicating extract or secretion of a tree or flower." (2) "Discharge from a sore." (3) "In psychology, a technical term for certain specified ideas which intoxicate the mind..." The āsavas are four in number, viz. sensuality, love of life, speculation, and ignorance.
of years. Then he conceived the thought: "May I become in some future time a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, proficient in knowledge and conduct, a Sugata, an unsurpassed knower of the world, a driver of tameable men, a teacher of devas and men as this exalted Suprabhāsa now is. Thus may I preach the dharma that is endowed with all good qualities, altogether perfect in all good qualities, as the exalted Suprabhāsa now does. Thus may I preserve in harmony a community of disciples as the exalted Suprabhāsa now does. Thus may devas and men decide that I am to be hearkened to and believed in as they now do the exalted Suprabhāsa. May I become so for the benefit and welfare of mankind, for the sake of the multitude, for the good and well-being of devas and men."

"Even so, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, there is something to add to this. For it was after he had been a Bodhisattva for forty-four kalpas that Maitreya conceived the thought of enlightenment.

"There was a Tathāgata, Arhan, and perfect Buddha named Aparājita-dhāvaja who, with his community of disciples, was honoured, venerated, revered, worshipped and esteemed by me, when, as the universal king, Driḍhadhanu, I was aiming at perfect enlightenment in the future. I clothed him with five hundred costly suits of garments, and when he passed utterly away I erected a tope for him, a yojana high and a yojana deep." And all the time, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, this was my aspiration: "When beings come to be without refuge, support, protection, shelter and succour, when they become characterised by fickleness, malice and folly, when they live in accordance with wrong standards of conduct, and generally go to crowd the worlds of woe, then may I awake to the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment. May I do so for the benefit and welfare of mankind, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the multitude, for the good and well-being of devas and men."

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1 Reading mahārākṣatehi, "worth much," for mahantehi, "large, great." The former is conjectured from the MS. variation between mahantehi and arhantehi. Senart's note, however, is: "On remarquera la résolution anomale du composé: mahantehi ... dasyayugasatehi est pour mahādāsya."

2 Abhinivesa, literally "in entering in (i.e. the earth)." Abhinivesa in this case is several times used in the Mahāvastu to denote a dimension in contradistinction to "height," e.g. I. 196; 3. 222, 232.

3 Utṣada = Pali ussada in this sense, possibly a derivative meaning from that of "prominent," "prominence." See note p. 6.

For the Tathāgatas, Arhans, and perfect Buddhas, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, live their lives for the sake of the world, doing the things that are hard to do."

Thus spoke the Exalted One, and the venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana was enraptured, and rejoiced at what he had said.

Thirty kotis of Conquerors named Śākyamuni appeared in the world, and eight-hundred-thousand named Dīpankara.

Sixty thousand named Pradyota ... Three kotis of lion-voiced Buddhas named Puṣpa.

Eighteen thousand Sugatas of the name Mārādhvaja appeared in the world while [Śākyamuni] lived the holy life in his desire to attain omniscience.

He adored five hundred Sugatas named Padmottara(62) and two thousand others named Kauṇḍinya.

He adored infinite countless kotis of nayutas of Pratyekabuddhas, and a thousand Buddhas named Jambudvaja.

Eighty-four thousand Sugatas named Indradhvaja, and ninety thousand named Kāsyapa:

Fifteen thousand Sugatas named Pratāpa, and fifteen thousand named Aḍītya.

Sixty-two hundred Sugatas named Anyonya, and sixty-four thousand named Samitavin.

There were these and countless other Dasabalas, noble Kolita, all lights of the world who had overcome impermanence.

All the powers of those who bear the excellent marks of a Great Man, O Kolita, do not come within the time and definition of what is impermanent.

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1 A lacuna.
2 A name for the Buddhas as possessing the "ten powers." See p. 126.
3 i.e.-Mahā-Maudgalyāyana. See p. 6.
4 The text and metre are faulty here. Senart's interpretation is: "tous ces flambeaux du monde ne peuvent être énuméré à cause de (notre) impermanence." This, like his translation of the next stanza (q.v.), is somewhat strained, and not in keeping with the concluding portion of this verse passage, the burden of which is the apprehending and overcoming of the power of impermanence. The word samātī, which is unintelligible here, has been, in the above translation, taken to conceal some form of the causative of sam, like sanyayi, for example, "having suppressed" or "overcome." This, of course, involves reading anityayā for anitya. Senart assumes in the place of samātī some word meaning "qui ne peut être énuméré."
5 Anityayā, for anityayā, which is demanded by the metre, is here taken as an oblique case used in a genitive sense. Senart's translation is "tous les forces ... échappent au temps et à l'énumération, à cause de notre impermanence." But the enumeration of a Tathāgata's sālānī, was, of course, quite a definite one, and a commonplace of Buddhist dogmatics.
Apprehending the remorseless force of impermanence, (Sākyamuni) as soon as he had worshipped [a Buddha], resolutely exerted himself to destroy that power.

“An immeasurable incalculable kalpa afterwards, Maudgalyāyana, there was a perfect Buddha named Ratna, a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, proficient in knowledge and conduct, a Sugata, an unsurpassed knower of the world, a driver of tameable men, and a teacher of devas and men. At that time I was a universal king.

“For the exalted Ratna I built eighty-four thousand gabled buildings,(63) bright and fair to behold, made of the seven precious substances, gold, silver, pearls, beryl, crystal, white coral and ruby. When I had presented these to the Exalted One I made a vow to win enlightenment. (To which Ratna replied), “Exalted Buddhas do not pass away until they have anointed an heir to the throne. He will become a Buddha in the world immediately after me. As I now proclaim of

This Exalted One with his eighty-four thousand disciples, lived on for eighty-four cycles of the world’s dissolution and evolution. At each dissolution of the world the Exalted One, together with his eighty-four thousand disciples, passed into the realm of the Ābhāsvara devas. When the world re-evolved once more, he came into the world and preached dharma. And at each such time I became a universal king, and built and presented to the exalted Ratna eighty-four thousand gabled buildings.

“This, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, is the “resolving” career. And what is the “conforming” career? In this career, the great being, the Bodhisattva, is established in conformity with his (future) enlightenment. This, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, is the “conforming” career.

“And what is the “persevering” career? Vivartacaryā means that Bodhisattvas fall away and go again through the round of rebirths. Avivartacaryā means that they are unwaveringly set for enlightenment.”

Here must be given the Ten Bhūmis and the history of Dipamkara.

Homage to the Buddhas! Homage to the Arhans!

The beginning of the Ten Bhūmis.

Incomparable is the insight into dharma of those who in the round of rebirths have gathered lives through several hundred kalpas. The glorious Conquerors pass through ten bhūmis. Hear, ye wise, with what feats of wonder do they do so.

Rid of pride, arrogance, conceit and folly, ended with perfect gentleness, feeling reverence for the omniscient ones, listen to the noble Conqueror’s teaching.

When the Tathāgata, the Sākyan’s joy, radiant like the sheen of gold, passed away, the earth, girt by sea and sky, with its rocks and forests and mountains, shook. Seeing the hair-raising, terrible earthquake, Kāśyapa, perfect in piety, then fell to thinking:—

“Why does the firm and wealth-bearing earth, that supports ocean and sky, with its mountains, shake to-day with such a terrible roar? Surely it is because the Tathāgata has passed away.”

And when, with his deva-sight, he saw that the Tathāgata

1 Bhūmi, literally “ground,” “soil,” “earth,” here used to denote a career, or stage of development, of a Bodhisattva.
2 Vade, according to Senart for varte, an irregular Sanskritisation of the Pali vaṭta. But the whole passage is obscure, and vade is strangely placed in the construction. Perhaps, we should read vande, “I extol the incomparable insight into dharma of those who have, etc.”
3 Literally, “there are ten bhūmis of the glorious Conquerors.”
4 Adopting Senart’s suggestion of smāhā for sādā.
5 Viññūpa, from vikur, this stem having, as Senart shows, the sense of “miracle,” etc., derived from the primary sense of viṣā, “to transform,” etc.
6 Or, “in scrupulous observance of routine rules of conduct.” Dhutagunga is the virtue of keeping what in Pali is termed dhutanga, “a set of practices leading to the state of, or appropriate to, a dhuta, that is, to a scrupulous person” (Pali Dictionary). The use of dhutaraṇa on p. 66 in the sense of “undefiled,” literally, “with defilement shaken off (dhuta), serves to show that the dhutanga practices were regarded as marking, or conducing to, stainlessness of character.
7 See p. 125.
THE MAHĀVASTU

adored by the Kinnara devas[65] had made an end of all the ties that bound him to existence and had passed away between the twin Sāl trees, he said,

“Now it is not seemly for me to go to Gotama, the Tathāgata, by means of my magic power. A pilgrim on foot will I go to see the peerless sage, the best of speakers.”

When he had thus reflected, the wise Kāśyapa, the monk supreme among the many monks, distressed in mind made haste and presently came to him who had won final release.

Then Kāśyapa felt an overpowering desire to salute the Conqueror’s feet, to salute the great seer’s feet, by caressing them with his head.

Four sturdy Mallas[3] had come on the scene carrying large firebrands fanned to flame, which had been prepared by the chief Mallas.

The firebrands were carried by the energetic and strong chariot-warriors to the funeral-pile[66], but there they were at once extinguished as though they had been drenched with water.

In doubt and perplexity the Mallas, reverently, obeisantly and courteously approached Aniruddha,[4] who had a deva’s sight, to ask him this question.

“What, we pray you, is the reason, what the cause, O son of the Conqueror, that these firebrands which we brought with us have been suddenly put out? Noble sir, declare the reason for this.”

[Aniruddha replied] “The devas, you must know, are gracious to Kāśyapa, and it is by the force of his magic power that the flames will not burn before he who has pre-eminence comes along.”

1 Literally “a what-do-you-call-it man,” kim-nara. For formation compare Sanskrit kinnakṣi, “a bad friend,” etc., and Pali kippurīca, “a wild man of the woods.” A Kinnara was half man, half beast, or, as in Pali, a bird with man’s head. As in the case of other fabulous beings, these were taken up by late Buddhist thought and classed as devas or re-incarnations of human beings.

2 Sāla or sāla, “Shorea robusta.”

3 Inhabitants of Malla, one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas or provinces of India in Gotama’s time. They are generally identified with the Malloi of the Greek accounts of the wars of Alexander the Great. (D.P.N.)

4 In Pali usually Aniruddha, first cousin of the Buddha, and one of his most eminent disciples.

THE TEN BHŪMIS

Thus did the pious Kāśyapa realise his desire to salute with his head the two feet of the glorious and mighty Daśabala, the great sage.

And the saintly[1] Kāśyapa, a son of the Conqueror, honoured by all the monks, raised his joined hands and went up to the Conqueror’s funeral-pile, reverently, with bowed head and a humble heart.

(67) When he saw the Tathāgata in all his superb beauty laid out on a funeral-pile, he exclaimed, “Fie on existence that always bears the manifest marks of its true nature.”

“What creature is there that comes into existence without falling into the power of death, since he who was but lately radiant as fire and gold, is now extinguished like a lamp without a light?”

The glorious Kāśyapa, reverently raising his joined hands threw himself on his face at the Conqueror’s feet, and for the last time adored the great seer and sage.


Taking in his hands the feet of the sage, and bringing them together over his head, Kāśyapa turned[6] to the great and learned sage [Aniruddha] and spoke to him:

(68)“Why, learned friend, are the sage’s feet dulled and not gleaming? Tell me the whole cause of it, I pray you. Why do these feet no longer charm the eyes?”

When he had heard this, the learned and wise [Aniruddha] replied to Kāśyapa: “These cold feet have been soiled by the floods of tears of mourners, besmirched by their weeping.

“Soiled, therefore, by weeping men the great sage’s feet do not now gleam as they used to do. Understand the matter so, my devout friend.”

Kāśyapa, his mind full of the greatest reverence for the

1 Dhutarajo, see note p. 33.
2 An alternative rendering, favoured by Senart, would be, “He exclaimed, ‘Fie on existence,’ in a voice that betrayed his true nature.” The position of iti, however, on which Senart bases his version, is often irregular in the Mahāvastu, and it does not necessarily support him, while the sentiment of the next stanza seems to support the translation given above.
3 A name for the Asuras, as being descendants of Danu.
4 See note p. 25.
5 Antihāvacara = santihāvacara, “keeping” or “being near.”
Master, fell on his face, and again and again caressed with his hands the Sage's feet which were marked with perfect circles. As soon as the Master's feet had been saluted by the pious and virtuous Kāśyapa, the funeral pyre of the Lord of the world went up in flames, fanned by a gust of wind.

(69) As the moon-like body of the Conqueror was burning the five hundred holy men came up and together recited a chant as he passed away:

"He who bore the excellent marks of a Great Man has passed away, he who was our Master, the guide of Suras and Asuras. What does it profit us to tarry in the world any longer? Let us now abandon our bodies. "We have entirely accomplished our duties; we have attained griefless endless permanence, having passed through all the various lives. Let us then, even here and now, pass away, immune from any source of rebirth."

For, if you did, sectarian and heretics would arise and do harm to the peerless doctrine. This is the occasion of the Śramaṇa's cremation, and that is all we are concerned with.

"Those world-saviours, those many lion-hearted men, (70)the wise and valiant yet to come, could not appear exultantly in the world if the Master's teaching were not unified."

"Therefore, without a break and in perfect unison, recite the Sugata's excellent teaching, so that this recital well and truly made, may long have bright renown among men and devas."*

"So be it," said these holy men, heeding Kāśyapa's words. And they pondered then, "In what place, now, shall be held the assembly of those who believe in the dharma?"

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1 " Gods" of Hindu mythology as opposed to " Giants" (Asuras). The name is formed from asura (as-ura) on the false assumption that the latter was a negative formation. Cf. note p. 24.
2 *I.e. the Buddha, the " ascetic" or " recluse," par excellence.
3 Sankaliya "un optatif passif de sankal dans le sens d' 'accumuler,' 'réunir' " (Senart). Some form of samphi "make perfect" (cf. āsānakārā, p. 71) or of sankhip would be expected here. Note that one MS. has samskāriya.
4 Maru, a frequent synonym for deva.

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"Let it be in the pleasant luxuriant grove near the fair city of Rājaigraha that is the capital of Magadha's lord, in the grotto named Sāptaśārpa.

"On the northern slope of Mount Vaiśāya, on a rocky-surfaced spot of earth shaded by divers trees. There let the council of dharma be held."

Then, strong by their mastery of magic power(71) those sons of the Conqueror instantaneously rose up in the air, and flew like a flock of flamingoes on their way to lake Mānasā.3

Alighting on the slope of the fair mountain they entered the forest and there sat down. When the Sugata's teaching had been recited bands of celestial drums crashed forth.

And when they who were establishing the Sugata's teaching heard the echoing sound of the drums and saw the terrible quaking of the earth, they spoke thus to the saintly Kāśyapa:

"Why, pious friend, does the earth with its oceans and its streams tremble? Why do celestial drums joyfully resound? And why are celestial garlands strewn around?"

And the pious Kāśyapa replied to the holy sons of the Conqueror: "These companies of devas have assembled because they have heard the harmonious recital of the doctrine. "These assembled devas, themselves characterised by noble harmony, reverently rejoice, and do honour to the Peerless One (72) Eager were they to hear the whole harmonious doctrine.

"For after many a hundred kalpas of existence, during the long night he conceived this thought* for the benefit and welfare of devas and men: 'Free myself, I will set men free.' "I, who have won the highest good that is beyond grief, and the cessation of the ill of rebirth in all states, for the benefit of devas and men will set rolling the wondrous wheel of dharma in the city of the Kāśis.'

"With those five sages, the supreme guide of those who preach the Vinaya delivered hosts of devas and nayutas of kōtis of beings from rebirth and death. "He, the lion-hearted man, the Exalted One, who gave..."
happy release to men and devas who were wont to be fond of existence, having crushed all his adversaries, has now passed away without regret.”

When the hosts of devas hovering in the air had heard this entrancing discourse of the pious Kāśyapa, they joyfully uttered these heart-delighting words:—

“Hail, hail to him who is an expert in piety,(73) who is the infallible expositor of the Master’s teaching. You have proclaimed the worth of him whose wisdom is infinite. Men and devas have found joy in the excellent Conqueror.”

“For he is supreme among devas and men. He is the Foremost Man, the mighty sage, the unsurpassed refuge, the Lord, he who has discerned the truth for the sake of living beings.

“He whose virtues are sung here, the knowing Daśabala, has shown that the skandhas are but as a lightning’s flash, as a bubble of air, or as the snow-white foam on the crest of a wave.

“He whose virtues are sung here, the Foremost Man, has shown the pleasures of sense to be like a black serpent’s head, like a flashing sword, and like cups full of poison.

“By his perfectly sound beliefs he saw the unfluctuating bliss beyond, and out of his joy in charity he ungrudgingly revealed the wonder of it.

“As a glow-worm loses its brightness when the sun rises, (74) and no longer glists, so, when the light-bringing Conqueror arises fickle heretics lose their lustre.

“Behold, he who had won perfect strength in magic power, he who was a lord with a Conqueror’s might, possessed of clear insight, a Buddha, the eye of the world, radiant like an orb of gold, has passed away.

Then the venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana addressed the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa. “O son of the Conqueror,” said he, “set the holy men to examine those in the assembly whose minds are assailed by doubt.”(75) And so Kāśyapa said to Aniruddha, Upāli, the elder Alakupāḷa-Bhaṭṭiya, and Sunda-rananda:—

“O sons of the Conqueror, examine the minds of those assembled and find out who is doubting and on what matter.”

And they, experienced in the Conqueror’s teaching, obeyed, and said “So be it.” They can see the minds of others as clearly as a fruit held in their hands.

To the holy Pralambabāhu Kāśyapa said, “Create at once an arena on the summit of Mount Gridhrakūṭa.

“Eighteen thousand have come together for the assembly. Call up your magic power to scrutinise them all.”

To the holy Vicintacūḍa Kāśyapa said, “Create at once in the sky clouds that shall be as rich in water as the Ganges.

“Everywhere let flowers of divers scents spread their fragrance, and forthwith cause the smell of raw human flesh to disappear.”

To the holy man named Haryakṣa Kāśyapa said, “O son of the Sugata, quickly exert your concentration to prevent the goods of householders being lost.”

To the holy man Varuṇa Kāśyapa said, “Keep away from men baneful flies and gnats.”

(76) To the holy man Ajakaraṇa Kāśyapa said, “Keep away from men hunger and thirst and sickness.”

And the sons of the Conqueror obeyed Kāśyapa, saying “So be it,” and bestirred themselves to the tasks ordained them.
Then the elder Kāśyapa said to Kātyāyana, “Speak of the careers of the great-hearted kings of dharma.”

When this had been said, the wise and noble-born Kātyāyana, in reply to Kāśyapa’s question, spoke of the careers of the Buddhas.

“Hear, O son of the Conqueror, the careers, set out in due order, of the all-seeing Buddhas whose conduct is unsullied.

“Verily, O son of the Conqueror, there are ten bhūmis for the Bodhisattvas [. . .]. What are the ten?

1. The first is called durāroha; 2. the second bhadhamānā, the third puspamaṇḍita;

3. The fourth rucirā, the fifth cāttivastārā, the sixth rūpavatī, the seventh durjāyā,

4. The eighth is called janamāṇideśa; the ninth derives its name from yauvarājya, and the tenth from abhisēka. These are the ten bhūmis.

When Kātyāyana had so spoken in verse, the learned Kāśyapa then, following his purpose, addressed this incomparable exhortation to Kātyāyana.

“Tell me now the manner of the transitions from bhūmi to bhūmi, and how the glorious Bodhisattvas lapse as they pass from one life to another.

“And how do these choice beings advance? This tell me. And say what their dispositions are.

“How do they who are endued with the essence of being convert beings? How do they give alms? All this explain to me.

“Do you, who have seen Buddhas and can speak with charm, tell me their names and origin.” Thus spoke Kāśyapa.

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1. Lacuna.
3. Literally “for this purpose,” “iyarham.”
4. vivartante—“turn away.”
5. Sattvasārā, i.e. the Bodhisattvas. Cf. M. 3. 69, sattvasārā applied to paccakabuddhas.
6. Sattvasaṃsaddhi—“Come to be,” “arise,” etc. Both this verb and vivartante are here used in more or less their literal sense, without reference, that is, to their special application to denote, respectively, the “evolution” and “dissolution” of a cycle of the world. (See note p. 43.)
7. Sattvasaṃsaddhi, same as sattvasārā.

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When they had heard these words the saintly great beings stood up in reverence for the great-hearted Buddhas.

When this had been spoken Kātyāyana said to Kāśyapa, “It is not possible, O son of the Conqueror, to measure the bhūmis of Bodhisattvas. They last through so many, nay infinite, kalpas. But every existence of Bodhisattvas is succinctly defined as an “earth,” whence the name bhūmi.”

When Kātyāyana had said this, the venerable Ānanda asked him, “If, O son of the Conqueror, a single bhūmi is immeasurable, (78) how, I ask you, can there be a distinct conception of the others?”

When this had been said, the venerable Kātyāyana addressed the venerable Ānanda in verse:—

As the kalpa has been declared immeasurable by the discerning, truth-speaking One himself, and the preaching of the dharma goes on for several kalpas—this, my friend, is what the pre-eminent man teaches.

So the bhūmi has been declared immeasurable by the discerning One whose understanding is unobstructed. And this definition of general characteristics applies equally to the other bhūmis.

THE FIRST BHŪMI

“O son of the Conqueror, Bodhisattvas in their first bhūmi, ordinary men though they be, win fruition, become worthy of offerings in the worlds, where they have bright renown. They are as described in this verse:—

The glorious Bodhisattvas are perfect in liberality and light up the worlds to make them shine as radiantly as moon and sun.

“ There are eight rules of conduct for Bodhisattvas when they are in the first bhūmi. What are the eight? They are liberality, compassion, indefatigability, humility, study of all the scriptures, heroism, contempt for the world, and fortitude. They are as described in this verse:—

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1. Mahāsaṃgha, i.e. the saintly disciples already referred to.
2. Adopting Senart’s interpretation of sāṃsāraṁ sattvāḥ tān nirūpaṇam.
3. Dakṣināyana (Pali dakhiṇeyya), worthy of a dakṣinā (Pali dakhiṇā) or a donation to a man of religious or moral worth, intended, at least originally, to secure the alleviation of the sufferings of the pretas (petas) “ghosts”; but subsequently the idea seems to have been that the donor of such a gift acquired merit for himself.
Conqueror, he who vows to win enlightenment generates richer merit than he who should give the virtuous Buddhas all the three thousand universes with their stores of treasures and riches. O son of the Conqueror, he who vows to win enlightenment generates richer merit than he who should offer the Saviours of the world whole universes as numerous as the sands of the river Ganges, and all filled with heaps of precious stones. O son of the Conqueror, he who vows to win enlightenment generates richer merit than he who should honour Foremost Men\(^1\) by giving them whole universes as numerous as the sands of the ocean, and all their varied precious stones.

And why? Because these are not the purposes of ordinary men. Because it is for the sake of mankind that these valiant men form their wishes.

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "Again, O son of the Conqueror,\(^2\) do those Bodhisattvas who continue in unwavering progress\(^3\) make their first vow when they have acquired merits, or when they have acquired the roots of goodness?"

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa in verse\(^4\):—

First they worship the glorious Tathāgatas with great reverence, but not yet do these supreme men turn their thoughts towards becoming a Foremost Man.

These wise men honour koṭis of Pratyekabuddhas, men who have won the highest good, but not yet do they turn their thoughts to a knowledge of the whole dharma.

They worship koṭis of those who have won mastery over all the powers,\(^4\) long since reached perfect mastery, but not yet do these leaders turn their thoughts to crossing the ocean of knowledge.

But when they have laid up abundant store of merit, and have body and mind well developed, they approach the beautiful Buddhas, turn their thoughts towards enlightenment, (and say :)—

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\(^1\) Agraśpadalās. See note p. 39.
\(^2\) Avivairuśaśayai pariśānameti; with Senart, taking the verb as a denominative from pariṣāma, "change," "transformation," "progress."
\(^3\) Some of these verses have already occurred on p. 46-7 of text.
\(^4\) See footnote p. 126.
"By the root of goodness I have laid in store may I have insight into all things." May not the realisation of my vow be deferred too long, but may my vow be fulfilled.

"May my store of the root of goodness be great enough for all living things. Whatever evil deed has been done by me, may I alone reap its bitter fruit."

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "How, O son of the Conqueror, do those Bodhisattvas who do not lapse, become steadfast and brave?"

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa in verse:

"If I am doomed to dwell in Āvīci from this moment to that in which I am to become aware of the ultimate truth, I shall go through with it, nor shall I withdraw my vow to win omniscience. Such is my resolve."

"Although I could quit the round of birth, death, grief and tribulation, I should not let my mind waver. Though overwhelmed with ills, I would bring blessings to the world."

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "Again, O son of the Conqueror, when a Bodhisattva who does not lapse first comes to the thought of enlightenment what marvellous portents are then seen?"

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa in verse:

"When the vow of these, the world's foremost men, is made for the first time, then the jewel-bearing earth, with its cities, towns, and rivers, shouts for joy.

A radiant splendour like that of the star of day is shed over all the regions of space, when a vow is first made to win the qualities of the lion-man.

Hosts of exulting Suras exclaim to one another, 'This infinitely exalted man vows to win the qualities of the lion-man.'"

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1 Text corrupt. Senart prints the pāda as follows:

Pascaitañā na tu taṁpasi tapanirādī iti,

and translates "ils ne se livrent pas, après cela, aux austerités, désespérant, comme ils font, de l'austerité." He assumes that tapas (tapo) was wrongly written, in most MSS., because of the preceding pātu, the compound pascatāpā being a common term for 'remorse.' But the avoidance of remorse or regret on the part of Bodhisattvas is often dwelt on (see e.g., the preceding page), and that idea can be expressed here by reading pascanutapā after the analogy of the Pali pacchaṇuṇṭapā (instead of the regular Sanskrit paścaṭāpā, which would be unmetrical here). One MS., indeed, seems to have a reminiscence of the syllable an of anu. Such an emendation, also, does not require the change of patanti, on which all MSS. seem to be agreed, into lapanti. Consonant with the sense given by this emended form, the latter half of the pāda is conjecturally emended into tapāṇi tāṁ iti, so that the whole pāda adopted for translation reads:

Pascahuṇṭapā na taṁpasi, lapāṇi tāṁ iti.

That is to say, the verse closes by summing up the arduous tasks or austerities of the Bodhisattvas in their first bhūmi, when it is too soon to speak of their ineffectiveness. The tone of the whole passage rather stresses their value."
Then the elder Kāśyapa said to Mahā-Kātyāyana, “O great being, you have given an alluring description of the first bhūmi.

“Now tell me, O son of the Supreme Man, what state of heart is born in the Bodhisattvas immediately on their passing into the second bhūmi?

“What are their dispositions in the second bhūmi? O son of the Conqueror, describe to me this bhūmi exactly as it is.”

Then the elder Kātyāyana replied to Kāśyapa, “It shall relate an entrancing description of the Bodhisattvas.

“Now, in Bodhisattvas as they pass on into the second bhūmi there is born first of all an aversion to all forms of existence. Of this there is no doubt.

“O son of the Conqueror, the dispositions of Bodhisattvas, who are in their second bhūmi, are as follow. They are good, amiable, sweet, keen, bountiful, charming, profound, whole-hearted,1 imperturbable, distinguished,2 lofty, noble,3 resolute, sincere, pure, steadfast, independent, contented, and intent on the Foremost Man4 and the infinite!

“In what way, my pious friend, are the dispositions of the Bodhisattvas good?”

“It is said” :-

In no way whatsoever do they harbour doubt of the Buddha, dharma, and Sangha. Thus is their disposition shown to be good.

“In what way, my pious friend, are the dispositions of the Bodhisattvas amiable?”

“It is said” :-

Ungrudgingly they give charming and heart-delighting gifts. Thus are the dispositions of these men who perceive the highest good, charming.

“In what way, my pious friend, are the dispositions of the Bodhisattvas whole-hearted?”

“It is said” :-

Their hearts are whole,5 their insight6 lends them courage. Thus is their disposition said to be whole-hearted.

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1 Aparājīda, literally, “not taken possession of.” In Pali, however, pāryājīda, as a passive participle, means “exhausted,” or “finished.” But it has also a middle force, “overcome” (usually citta). The above translation “whole-hearted,” is based on this latter use in Pali.

2 Aśīkādāna, “not general,” “uncommon.”

3 Abhipraṇa, “not miserable.”

4 Aṅgirudgala, see note p. 39. The text here, however, and on p. 88 has pujitā simply.

5 Or, “actions within the bounds of virtue,” anta: kusalakārmāni. But Senart cites Pali antokileS.l. in support of the meaning rendered above.

6 Aparājīdaṇācittā, see note p. 66.

7 Pratiśodha, Pali pāṭisodha, lit. “piercing.”
“In what way, my pious friend, are the dispositions of the Bodhisattvas imperturbable?”

“It is said”:

No malevolent man can suppress them. Thus are their dispositions entirely unperturbed.

(87)“In what way, my pious friend, are the dispositions of the Bodhisattvas distinguished?”

“It is said”:

When a man conceives no other resolve but that of benefiting all creatures, people regard this as no common thing.

“In what way, my pious friend, are the dispositions of the Bodhisattvas lofty?”

“It is said”:

When they hear a heretic, they ignore him and go their way. Thus are the dispositions of these lion-hearted men lofty.

“In what way, my pious friend, are the dispositions of the Bodhisattvas noble?”

“It is said”:

In their wisdom they do not gather as being good those things which have to do with the pleasures of sense. Thus are their dispositions always noble.

“In what way, my pious friend, are the dispositions of the Bodhisattvas resolute?”

“It is said”:

Having made a resolve to win Buddha-hood, they are not distracted from it by indulgence in pleasures of sense. Thus are their dispositions said to be resolute.

“In what way, my pious friend, are the dispositions of the Bodhisattvas sincere?”

“It is said”:

In no way do they envy saintly Pratyekabuddhas. Thus are their dispositions always sincere.

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1 Na avahryante, literally “they are not scattered from it.” Compare avahetva, “breaking a vow of chastity.”
They do not aim at great wealth, the prosperity that comes through miserliness. Thus do these highest of men become intent on what is infinite.

With all these twenty dispositions, the noble and true men, experienced in all things, are gifted with beautiful dispositions.

"With these twenty dispositions, then, my pious friend, are the Bodhisattvas endowed."

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "O son of the Conqueror in what ways do Bodhisattvas who are in their second bhūmi lapse and fail to reach the third?"

The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, "Bodhisattvas who are in their second bhūmi lapse and fail to reach the third for twenty-eight reasons. What are the twenty-eight? Bodhisattvas come to set a value on gain, honour, and fame. They become dishonest. They build up prosperity by unjust means. They speak angrily to their teachers, and do not abide respectful to the Triad of Treasures. They do not look for a Bodhisattva's character in those they deem worthy of offerings. Though they have reached the stage of a Bodhisattva's career they do not duly honour it. They do not shoulder the burden which befits the highest honour, but continue under one which does not so

1 Literally "miserly prosperity." adānagāyasampādām (acc. with two MSS. for the nom. of the text). With adānagāya, cf. Pali adānāsīla. "of miserly character." Senart's interpretation is different: "ils ne désirent pas de grands biens, si ce n'est des trésors de charité et de misère.

2 The account of the lapping of the Bodhisattvas after their first bhūmi (see p. 79) is quite intelligible, that is, Bodhisattvas who have lived (sthiti) through their first bhūmi lapse in the second. But lapses in succeeding bhūmis are not so clearly described. The expression used with regard to them is "Bodhisattvas who are (varindamās) in a certain bhūmi lapse in (loc. case) the next." This leaves it obscure as to which bhūmi the faults are incurred in. Either we must not press too closely the present force of the participle varindamās, but take it as practically equivalent to adhikāi (above), or we must give the second locative bhūmas an ablative force, i.e., those who have successfully lived through one bhūmi lapse from the next. The translation above is a compromise between these alternatives. Compare Har Dayal: The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature who interprets the meaning as "fail to arise to (a succeeding bhūmi) and abide in it" (pp. 273 ff.

3 Labhaguru, etc. Senart cites a similar use of guru in the Lotus f 14b. Compare also the use of the Pali equivalent guru in such compounds as kammaguru, "attributing importance to kamma" (Pali Dict.).

4 Cittikāra, which Senart takes to be the Buddhist Sanskrit form, based on a false analogy of the Pali citikāra, "respect," "consideration."

5 i.e., Buddha, Dharma, Sangha.

Such is the description of the second bhūmi of the Bodhisattvas, who, with store of varied merits, live happy for the world's sake.

Of both those who lapse through their faults, as related, and of those who, in their wisdom, do not lapse as they pass on from life to life.

Patient and wise they take the path of courage that is so difficult to traverse, and through many a tribulation they fare along it out of compassion for the world.

1 The text here, if not corrupt, is at least obscure. Atireka, "excessive" is a strange epithet to apply to the "highest" honour, i.e., enlightenment, which Bodhisattvas aim at. The force of prāpyan and aṣṭāpyan, respectively, as applied to bhūyan, "burden," also is not clear. Senart translates them by "light" and "intolerable," respectively, "un fardeau léger (c'est à dire le fardeau de toutes les bonnes œuvres qui méritent l'intelligence suprême, fardeau relativement léger aux yeux d'un bouddhiste, etc." -a weak explanation in view of the oft-repeated theme of the difficulty of attaining enlightenment, or supreme honour. It seems better, therefore, to take prāpya in its literal sense of "suitable," "fitting," "proper to," and naturally governing the dative prāpya.


3 Kathināmasālānas-a very unusual compound. The usual figurative sense of kathina ("still," "rigid," etc.) is "cruel," "hard" (e.g. of the heart). Here it is applied to "opinion" or "idea," if, that is, sālāna can have that sense, and Senart admits that he knows no other example of this sense of the word. But may not the right reading be something like kathikathinas "dubbing," or kathikathāsamāpas, "afflicted with doubt?"

4 Durāroham, the adjective which also gives its name to the second bhūmi.
THE MAHĀVASTU

All these Tathāgatas who are honoured of devas and men pass through the manifold ills that precede knowledge.

Wisely they adapt themselves to the world with its divers elements, and so their renown goes forth in the worlds of devas and men.

Here ends the second bhūmi of the Mahāvastu-Avādana.

THE THIRD BHŪMI

(91) When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, “O son of the Best of Men, what state of heart exists in Bodhisattvas as they pass on from the second bhūmi to the third?”

Then the elder Kātyāyana replied to Kāśyapa, “Hear what the unsurpassed state of heart of the Bodhisattva is which links up the two bhūmis.

“O venerable son of the Conqueror, the hearts of Bodhisattvas as they pass from the second bhūmi to the third are set on renunciation”.

These lords of men render happy the condition of all creatures; but they do this in no wise for the sake of their own well-being, nor for the sake of enlightenment.

They buy one verse of a wise saying with the sacrifice of wife and child...3

1 Sandhitītta—a strange expression, the only parallel to which that is known to Senart is sandhyābhāṣya in the Lotus, translated by Burnouf (p. 343) as “le langue énigmatique.” This parallelism, if it is anything more than formal, would require for the Mahāvastu expression some translation other than that given above. The term occurs too persistently to admit of any doubt as to its correctness. Now, the Mahāvastu does not define the temporal or spatial relations of the several bhūmis, but it would seem that there was conceived to be some intermediate stage between every two of them. As, then, the Bodhisattva’s citta, or state or disposition of the heart, within each bhūmi is so fully described, it becomes necessary to describe his citta when he is in the intervening stage, or in process of passing from one bhūmi to another.

2 Subḥāṣīṭā gāthā—a well-spoken verse.

3 A lacuna, representing the second half of this stanza and that of the next one. The first half of the latter is evidently the introduction to a short tale which, on the analogy of the following, related an example of the Bodhisattva’s self-sacrifice. But it is too fragmentary to be translated. The next two stanzas are the subḥāṣīṭā: gāthā: which he won by this self-sacrifice.

1 Vanāmī—an example of a play on words. Vana in the first line is taken literally in its sense of “jungle” or “forest,” but here it is equated with Pali vana (from vanati, “to desire”)—”lust” “desire.” It is a common-place of Pali exegesis to explain the meaning of the first vana with reference to the second. See Pali Dictionary, s.v.

2 A lacuna, representing probably the gāthā subḥāṣīṭā referred to in the next stanza.

3 The second stanza on this page is omitted as it is obviously corrupt. It forms a part only, and an obscure one at that, of the account of a transaction between a Bodhisattva and a snake-charmer, who has a subḥāṣīṭā gāthā for sale.

4 Rūṣi—the word Deva can here be no more than an honorific term. Rūṣi, simply, is used below.

5 One of a class of demons, generally haunting the water, and nocturnal and harmful in their habits.
Then the rākṣasa recited this verse of a wise saying:

"It is better to dwell in the hells that throb with lamentations where one meets people one wishes far away, and is separated from the people one loves, than in the society of wicked men."

A piśāca said to a king's minister named Sanjaya, "Give me your heart and hear in return a verse of a wise saying."

Without a tremor the brave Sanjaya replied, "I give you my heart. Speak that verse of a wise saying."

Then the piśāca recited this verse of a wise saying:

"As the fire that burns when grass and wood are set alight never stops burning, so craving is never assuaged by indulgence in sensual pleasures."

A certain poor man said to a merchant named Vasundhara, "This verse of a wise saying will be given you in return for all you possess."

The Bodhisattva replied:

"I give you all I have. Speak the verse of a wise saying."

Then the poor man recited this verse of a wise saying:

"When men are foolish plenty is changed to dearth. But a single wise man transforms dearth to plenty."

A certain man said to a king named Surūpa, "At the price of Jambudvipa you may hear a verse of a wise saying."

The Bodhisattva replied:

"I give you Jambudvipa and all you desire. Quickly speak this verse of a wise saying, truly say what you will."

Then the man recited this verse of a wise saying:

"When egotism, selfishness, passion and pride prevail then Tathāgatas appear in the world to quell them."

A certain hunter said to a deer named Satvara, "I have here a verse of a wise saying. Give me your flesh and you shall hear it."

[The deer replied]
they come to rule over their kingdoms they are overcome by avarice and rob their own subjects\(^1\) of all their possessions. They accuse of murder people who do not deserve to be called into account for any offence. They do not protect those in danger of being killed. They mutilate men. They fall into erring ways. Even though they have wealth they do not dispense to others the means of life. And though they take up the religious life they do not learn by heart the great doctrine\(^3\), even while the Buddhhas themselves teach it. Although they have already made a vow, they do not preach the great doctrine. They follow those who are bound to the flesh, not those who are bound to dharma. They do not repeatedly declare the splendour of the Buddha. They teach that Buddhhas are of the world.\(^3\) They do not teach that Buddhhas transcend the world.

"In these fourteen ways, my pious friend, Bodhisattvas who are in the third bhūmi lapse and fail to reach the fourth. All Bodhisattvas who, being in the third bhūmi, have lapsed, are lapsing, or will lapse, do so in these fourteen ways. There is nothing more to add."

\(^{(97)}\)When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "Again, O son of the Conqueror, when the Bodhisattvas who do not lapse first evolve the thought of enlightenment, to what kind of well-being are they wedded, and how many creatures become happy and joyful?"

The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied in verse to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa:

All creatures become happy and joyful when this incomprehensible, marvellous thought, instinct and permeated with the idea of the way of enlightenment, is born in the way of enlightening.

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\(^1\) Atrāntareni viṣistinām, literally, "the conquered (or subject) inhabitants there within," i.e., the subjects of the country to the government of which he has been appointed. Senart considers atrā to be due to a faulty restitution of atā for dāna, and translates "les habitants de leurs propres territoire et de ceux des autres." But such a conjecture is quite uncalled for, as the MS. atrāntarena—"there within," makes satisfactory sense.

\(^2\) Badhusrutya, abstract term from the adjective bahusruti, Compare Pali bhākusasita (implying a Sanskrit bhākṣruta) and bahussita.

\(^3\) Literally "they display the Buddhhas on (for) an equality with the world," lokasaṃsāra deśenti. This was, of course, a heresy from the point of view of those Buddhists, the Lokottaravādins, whose special scripture the Mahāvastū was.

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\(^1\) Those who are under doom of death in seven nights,\(^2\) those who dwell in the pitiless hells, and those in the world of ghosts, all become glad and happy.

For those seven nights, in sympathy with the Bodhisattva's virtue, men do not die. Earth, with its oceans, quakes, and the glittering summit of Mount Meru\(^3\) trembles.

This earth as a rule remains fixed on its foundations, immovable in space. This is beyond doubt. But now, through the power of these beings who have laid up a store of all good deeds, this earth trembles in all its wide extent.

\(^{(98)}\)Then a certain deva of Trayastrimśa, named Namatideva, who was a Bodhisattva, hitched his robe over one shoulder, and, stretching out his joined hands in the direction of the Exalted One, sang his praises in these verses in the presence of a throng of holy men.

Thee I praise, whose form, radiant as gold, with beauty uneclipsed by the newly risen sun and with lustrous splendour, is perfectly marked with all the thirty-two marks of men who live in the right way, thee I praise, who art supreme in goodness, full of splendour, mightier than the earth and its mountains, unsurpassed in strength, who art serene and self-controlled, skilled in mindfulness and the Discipline,\(^3\) and revered of Suras and Asuras.

After many a course of life spread out over a long time, meritorious, conferring bounteous blessings, and aiming at the destruction of existences, the Sage, by means of divers praiseworthy merits previously achieved in plenty and variety through acts of goodwill, came near unto peace. But though he had found the eternal blissful abode that is honoured of Asuras and Suras, he renounced it for the sake of enlightening men. He came down to the surface of earth, was born in the family of Ikṣvāku,\(^4\) and stood in glory, immovable and firm.

Desiring to enter the womb of Queen Māyā in the form of a noble lotus-white elephant, he, the light of the world,\(^5\)
left the fair realm of Tusita, and came down to earth to raise
up the people whom he saw were wanant and blind and who
had succumbed to doubt and unrighteousness.

(99) Then did the jewel-strewn earth, rich in varied treasure
and wealth, quake in salutation to the great Sage, the lord
of the Śākyans, who is rich in experience, replete with
mindfulness, and well-stored with merit.

Queen Māyā was on the terrace of her valiant husband’s
fair palace, like a goddess among the Suras, being entertained
by merry dancing accompanied by songs and music that were
a delight to ear, heart and eye.

To the anxious king the queen said, “My lord, if you
will, I shall withdraw to the forest, to the Lumbār park,
which is carpeted with flowers, and filled with the sweet notes
of the cuckoo which give joy to heart and soul.”

She went, and wandered forth with her women, roaming
the forest, glad and happy and eager. While she paced the
forest, she espied a lumbī tree bearing fresh creepers and
shoots, and, in the rapture of perfect joy and gladness she
grasped a branch of it, and playfully lingered there. As she
held the branch she gave birth to the Conqueror of the un-
conquered mind, the great supreme seer.

As soon as he is born devas, with two showers laden with
exquisite flowers, the one cold the other warm, bathe the
Lord of men, who is honoured in the realm of the Asuras,
the great Lord of the three worlds, compassionate, the world
transcending, a refuge here, in heaven and on earth, to
whom old age and death are no more, whose like the earth
does not know, who is wise, whose eyes are like a lotus-leaf,
and who is the delight of Suras and Asuras.

All the devas, the Trāyāstrimśa devas and the others,
glad and joyful leave their abodes and gather together in
the forest glade. (100) “The scion of the Ikṣuākṣus” [they
exclaim] “has come down to the earth’s surface where he
stands in glory, inmoveable and firm.” When he had

THE FOURTH BHŪMI

taken seven full strides, like the lion, the master, king and
lord of beasts, he roared out,1 “I am best, unsurpassed,
supreme in the world. For me there is no more either old
age or death. I have overcome the oppression of existence.”

A celestial sunshade studded with gems, clear as crystal
and gay with flowers, brilliantly white like camphor, stood
up of itself in the air, unsupported by hand, and shaded the
Lord and Guide of men.2 A chowrie fan made in heaven,
of stiff strong hair, having the incomparable sheen of mother-
of-pearl, studded with gems and gold, and pearly white, is
waved with its handle upwards.

Loud roars of drums resound, echoing in the clouds
and pervading the sky. In the path of Daśabala the Con-
queror the devas pour down showers of celestial blossoms
and powder of sandal-wood. Suras and devas give vent
to hundreds of cries in their exceeding great joy. “The
creator of happiness is victorious!”

In ocean and on earth hidden treasures of many precious
stones were revealed as the earth and water heaved through
the power of the Tathāgata.

Here ends the third bhūmi of the Mahāvāstu-Avadāna.

THE FOURTH BHŪMI

(101) When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa
asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, “Again, O son of the
Conqueror, what deeds do Bodhisattvas who are established
in perseverance refrain from doing because they are out of
place?3

1 The text here is corrupt. The translation is made on the emendation
suggested by Senart in his notes.
2 Reading nripatīnaya nam for “tanayam of the text. Even though tanayam,
from tan, “to stretch,” would seem at first sight appropriate here, it is
difficult to see how the form could give the required sense, i.e. the sunshade
“stretched over” the Lord of men shaded him. Note that one MS. actually
has nayanām.
3 Asthānānty (na) samuṣṭa caranti. The na is adopted from the reading
of five MSS. Senart, however, rejects the negative, and translates “quelles
actions ... accomplissemnt pour avancer vers le but” [littéralement “pour
ne pas demeurer en place”]. Below, line 7, Senart makes the obviously
necessary correction of asthānānto into asthānānty. Na suante of this line
corresponds closely with na samuṣṭa caranti of the passage in question, and
it is not easy to see why Senart should reject the negative here and in so doing
incur the necessity of giving a different sense to asthānānty in the two places
respectively.
they, like ordinary men, pass into very low states, or do

The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, “Bodhisattvas, my pious friend, who are not liable to lapse, do not in the course of these seven bhūmis, in any way, for any reason, at any time, or by any chance, pass into a hell, nor are they reborn in a brute state, nor do they become poor(103) or infirm. But they become Brahmas, Pratyekabrahmas,1 Indras, Upendras,2 Yakṣa kings and Yakṣas, Nāgas and kings of Nāgas, Gandharvas and kings of Gandharvas, universal kings and kings of regions. They become chief counsellors, heads of merchant guilds, provincial chieftains, sons of kings and merchants and of a king’s chief wife. They become valiant, courageous and powerful leaders. They become men who are esteemed, respected, saluted and obeyed. They become men who are dear to, beloved of, and popular with the multitude. They become men whom people praise and delight in. They become wealthy men, powerful men, with a large retinue, men of resolution and influence. If, as a result of reviling an Ārya3 at any time or in any way while they are in one of the seven bhūmis, they incur rebirth in the great hell Avīci, they go to an especial part of it. They are not reborn among the perpetual ghosts, nor among the Asuras. They are not reborn as inferior animals nor in Uttarakuru,4 nor as women,

1 The text has brāhmaṇa and pratyekabrahmaṇa, but, as Senart rightly points out, we have to do here with “divine categories,” and the reading should therefore be brahmaṇa and pratyekabrahmaṇa. “Brahma” was a generic term for all the devas in Brahmāloka, the highest heaven, and generally referred to as Brahmābhāyaḥ devas. The peculiar Buddhist treatment of the gods of Hinduism made them into celestial reincarnations of men, with the result that even Mahā-Brahma himself was pluralised, the Pali texts mentioning several of them by name. Cf. below p. 84. In the same way, immediately below we read of Indras and Upendras. The term “Pratyekabrahmaṇa” is a formation analogous with that of Pratyekabuddha, but though the Pali texts mention a few Pratyekabrahmaṇas by name, no definition of this class of beings seems to be given anywhere. (See further D.P.N., s.v. “Brahmaloka.”)

2 Upendra was a name for Viśnu or Kṛṣṇa as a younger brother of Indra.

3 I.e., literally a member of an Aryan clan considered to possess superior moral qualities as compared with the indigenous tribes, and by implication denoting a Buddhist as being an Aryan par excellence. Hence “noble” in a moral sense, cf. “the four Aryan truths,” etc.

4 See note p. 7. Rebirth in this mythical land would not, from the description of it in Pali texts, seem to be on the whole a bad eventuality. Still, it was an inferior state to rebirth among the devas.
nor as eunuchs. Thus, then, in all the ten bhūmis they become men, and have all the limbs, great and small, and all the faculties of men, unimpaired.

"If a Bodhisattva slays another Bodhisattva, or a disciple of the Buddha, or one who has entered the stream, or if those who are qualifying themselves for the state of a Pratyeka-buddha(104) slay an ordinary man, they go to hell. Whether Bodhisattvas in the first seven bhūmis murder or rob or commit any utterly wrong act, none of these things can lead them to hell. And as for the wrong karma accumulated by Bodhisattvas before they make their vow, this, once they have evoked the thought of enlightenment, is hidden away like a troop of deer by a great rock.

"If a Bodhisattva has not attained the condition of heart to make a vow, this matures in him in the course of his second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh bhūmis, at the cost of whatever pain in the head that may be involved."

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "Again, O son of the Conqueror, with what kind of homily do the Tathāgatas exhort Bodhisattvas who do not lapse, when, having won the favour of the Buddhas as laymen, they go forth to the homeless state?"

Then the elder Kātyāyana replied to Kāsyapa, "By means of discourses without illustrations, arranged in due order.

"The lords, learned in the Jātakas and other lore, preach to the concourse of Bodhisattvas self-control, charity, and restraint, as the qualities that bring a Bodhisattva's career to a great maturity."

"The wise Tathāgata tells them too of Him, the supreme

1 Srotāpanna, Pali sotāpanna, the "stream" being, by a change of metaphor, identified with the "noble eightfold way." Or, "the stream" of dharma.
2 Viṁśaṭha. Senart doubts this reading as the prefix vi is neither found with nor is it apposite to the sense of, this participial adjective. He accordingly suggests parv which is regular Sanskrit.
3 This seems inconsistent both with what precedes and with what follows, and Senart's suggestion that the whole passage is an interpolation can be readily accepted.
4 jāti, for bhūmi. Here, at least, a jāti, "birth," of a Bodhisattva is synonymous with a bhūmi.
5 Literally, "great maturity," mahāpokām, shortened metri causa from mahāpokām, is Senart's conjecture for the meaningless sahāyakam. Or, should we not read mahāpokām, "great fruition"?
Henceforth, they are born of whatever sex they wish, and as whatever kind of deva they wish.

Henceforth, as ascetic pilgrims,\(^1\) they become destroyers of existence; they abhor the pleasures of sense and extol release.

Henceforth, they become the most excellent of eloquent men, pupils of the glorious perfect Buddhas, the devas above all other devas.

Thus are they bidden by the Buddhas, the preachers of dharma, at the moment of their passing away, "O wise men, teach dharma, and take up the banner of the seer."

Henceforth they train many to be arhans, and many to qualify for discipleship.

Henceforth, devas, Yakṣas, Guhyakas,\(^2\) follow the great being, the Bodhisattva, until they win back their true nature.

Henceforth, the form of the Bodhisattvas is supreme in the world of men and devas, and unsurpassed are the lustre, the radiance, the fame and glory and might of the Bodhisattvas,\(^3\) and hard to attain by the world.

And though there are no Buddhas in the world at the time, the Bodhisattvas come to have the five super-knowledges.\(^4\) Perceiving the depravity of lusts, they extol renunciation of the world.

Henceforth, devas, Assuras, and Brahmās, allured by their virtues, come to them with hands joined in adoration.

Such is the mode of life of the holy Bodhisattvas when they are in the eighth bhūmi.

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "O son of the Conqueror, what sort of dharma do Bodhisattvas who do not lapse preach to men, when they exercise the sway of universal kings? When there are no Buddhas in the world, with what sort of appeal do they win men? In what way\(^5\) do they deal\(^6\) with men?"

The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied, "My pious friend, Bodhisattvas who do not lapse and are universal kings teach men dharma in this way. Intent upon the ten right ways of behaviour they proclaim to men: 'Do not kill nor steal. Safeguard the wives of other men. Eschew falsehood, treachery, cruelty, frivolous and senseless talk, covetousness, malevolence and heresy.' Laying up heaps of gold in front of their palaces, they declare,

'Whoever is in need of anything let him take from this heap of gold.\(^{108}\) My riches were acquired righteously; do not, my friends, have any misgiving.

I shall give you garlands, perfumes, incense and fragrant powder. Do not, my friends, be cast down, but be glad.'

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "Through what kinds of deeds do Bodhisattvas who are universal kings become possessed of the seven treasures?"

The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied in verse:

'I shall relate how the valiant man, the king of the four continents, the wealthy lord, wins the seven treasures.

As the result of former meritorious conduct, the noble man wins the treasure of the wheel that shines like the orb of the newly-risen sun, and is lovely in all its ten-hundred spokes.

With honest intent\(^7\) he dispenses charity that serves to help. Thus he wins the invincible and triumphant wheel that knows no obstacle.

He wins the wondrous treasure of the seven-limbed elephant that is lily-white like a mass of snow, and swift like the strong wind.

He destroys his foes, and thus makes safe the way in dangerous places. Thus does he win the fair treasure of the elephant that moves with the speed of a bird.'

\(^1\) Tīṭṭhika. Usually in Buddhist Sanskrit this word has the bad connotation of "heretic," Pali tiṭṭhaka. Senart cites Lal. Vist. 313. 19 for the use of tiṭṭha, in a good sense. The classical Sanskrit form tīṭṭhaka means "worthy," "holy," "ascetic," etc., but, of course, from the Hindu point of view.

\(^2\) In the popular mythology demigods and guardians of Kuvera's wealth. From the root gu, " to hide."

\(^3\) Abhiṣajñā. Pali abhiṣajñā. See note p. 201, where they are, however, as usually in the Pali texts, given as six in number. Generally the Mahāvastu makes them to be five. Cf. S. 2. 216.

\(^4\) \(\text{kevarapiim} \) for \(\text{kevarapiim} \). See note p. 201, where they are, however, as usually in the Pali texts, given as six in number. Generally the Mahāvastu makes them to be five.

\(^5\) Read \(\text{kevarapiim} \) for \(\text{kevarapiim} \). So Senart.

\(^6\) Read \(\text{du} \) . . . \(\text{upekhante} \), for \(\text{ca} \) . . . \(\text{upekhante} \), i.e., "[do not] ignore."

\(^7\) \(\text{ca} \) gives a sense contrary to the tenour of the passage.

\(^{108}\) Read \(\text{sankalpo} \) for \(\text{sankalpe} \).
Through his store of merit acquired by good deeds well done, the king wins also the treasure of the well-trained horse, that is black as a bee, with a golden mane streaming in the wind.

In his covered waggon¹ he has carried a mother, a father, and a venerable teacher, and for this good deed the king wins the wondrous treasure of the horse.

In a former existence the king was temperate in his enjoyment of his wife, and for this he wins the treasure of the woman.

The noble king, great in self-control, wins also the treasure of the householder who is wealthy, opulent, and plentifully supplied with a store of riches.

Because he has given his stores of wealth to venerable teachers out of respect for them, the king wins therefore the treasure of the wealthy householder.

The mighty lord, free from desire, wins also the fair treasure of the counsellor, who is a wise leader, prudent and skilled, who is the guiding standard of the four continents.

In that he, having entered upon the Way himself, has shown the Way to the blind and the lost, he therefore wins the peerless excellent treasure of the counsellor.

It is by these deeds, my pious friend, that the treasures are won, and it is in such righteousness that the king rules the earth.

(110) When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, “O son of the Conqueror, in what ways do Bodhisattvas, who have conceived the thought of enlightenment for the first time while in the fourth bhūmi, lapse and fail to reach the fifth?”

The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied, “In seven ways. What seven? They become corrupters of nuns, of men, and of eunuchs. By the power of spells they cause unnatural disease in others. They seduce good men from virtue. They become shameless and unscrupulous.¹ In these seven ways, my pious friend, do Bodhisattvas who for the first time, while they are in the fourth bhūmi, evolve the thought of enlightenment, lapse and fail to reach the fifth”.

Thus, then, O son of the Sugata, you have had explained to you the delectable fourth bhūmi of the Bodhisattvas whose goal is enlightenment.

Here ends the fourth bhūmi of the Mahāvastu-Avadāna.

THE FIFTH BHŪMI

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, “O son of the Conqueror, what is the state of heart of the Bodhisattvas which links² the two bhūmis, as they who do not lapse advance from the fourth bhūmi to the fifth?”

The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied, “They see all existences inflamed by passion, hatred, and folly, and accordingly the state of heart that links the two bhūmis and brings them to the fifth immediately after the fourth is one full of despair and disgust.”

Then the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, “Again, (111) O son of the Conqueror, what were the names of the Buddhas worshipped by the Exalted One when he was in his fifth bhūmi? What were their families? How large were the assemblies of their disciples? What radiance was theirs? And how long was the span of their lives?”

¹ Anotāpiṇas, corresponding to the Pali anotāpiṇa, alternative form for anotappin, a negative adjective from otappa. Senart, as against Childers and the P.T.S. Dictionary, derives otapa from apaṭrapya, apa first weakening into ava = o. The latter form is found in Mahāvastu, 3.53 and in Dalābhāmūtisāra, fo. 195. The “r” in the Sanskrit anotāpi is, therefore, according to Senart, an example of “l’heureuse rencontre d’une restitution faite à l’aveugle.” The root trap, which literally means “to be ashamed,” certainly seems to suit the sense of this derivative better than tap used in a metaphoric sense, “to be tormented by remorse.” Besides, the Pali verb ottappati is difficult to explain as being from or for utappati (so P.T.S. Dictionary), for there is nothing to justify the modification of ut (ud-) into ot-. But both the form and meaning are explicable on the supposition that this verb is derived from apa ( = ava = o) + trap.

² See note p. 72.

¹ Hayana, so Senart, after the Amarāhosa (187. 4).
² The first line of the first of the two couplets which, on the analogy of the rest of the passage, should be devoted to the treasure of the “jewel,” is followed, after a lacuna in the text, by the second line of the first couplet on the treasure of the woman. Because of this confusion, the two lines are omitted in translation.
The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied in verse:

“There was a noble Conqueror, styled the Śākyan Seer, who had a following of a koṭi of saints. His radiance extended one fathom. He was massive like a mountain crag, gleaming like a mountain of gold. And he was a destroyer of his foes. At that time the span of life of the Supreme Man was six thousand years. His name was Yaśavrata, and he was beneficent and enlightened.

By family he was a Gotama, and this present Exalted One was then a merchant’s son, who, when he made the Buddha an offering of rice-gruel, made a vow in his presence. Saying, “Since I have laid up a store of merit by giving all to the holy Sangha, may I become one who will realise the ultimate good. May my merit be unimpaired.”

Then there was the beneficent valiant man, named Sudarśana, who had come down to his last existence on earth. He was of the family of Bhāradvāja, and his radiance extended ten yojanas.

This choicest of beings had a following of a koṭi of saints. At that time the life of Māra’s vanquisher was ten thousand years.

(112) Now there was a universal king, by name Dharaṇīdhara, who thus spoke to the Conqueror Sudarśana and his community of disciples. Thus did that wise man speak: “I give (to thee and the Sangha) all that is necessary to your comfort.” And then the king made the following vow, saying, “May I become like unto thee.”

“May I be active in leading across men who have entered upon the ocean of old age and death. . . .”

Then there was an Exalted One with a sound root of merit, named Nāresvara, of the Vāsiṣṭha family, whose radiance extended ten yojanas.

He had a retinue of twelve koṭis of saints, and the span of men’s lives was then nine thousand years.

Now there was a universal king named Aparājita. With devotion in his heart he thus addressed the Daśabala, the lord of men:—

“I give to thee, Lord, these eighty-four monasteries, with their corners bright with the seven precious stones, and adorned with many gems.”

And when he had offered this gift to the lord of men, he made his vow saying, “May I become like unto thee. May I win the Conqueror’s powers.”

Once on a time there was a king’s minister, named Vijaya, and the Conqueror of that time was named Suprabha. (113) The latter belonged to the Śākyapa family, and his radiance extended ten yojanas.

His community of disciples consisted of ten koṭis of men who had shed their passions. At that time the span of man’s life was twenty-thousand years.

Vijaya greeted and invited the noble Conqueror, the destroyer of existences. The Daśabala accepted, and Vijaya was thrilled with joy.

Vijaya regaled him with the choicest, most excellent, and sweetest of foods, and following this duly made his vow, saying:—

“May I become like unto thee, honoured of the best men, and a benefactor of devas and men. Thus may I become a noble guide, a Daśabala, and a tiger in eloquence.”

Once on a time there was a Buddha, a Tathāgata, named Ratanaparvata. He was a Gotama by family, and his radiance extended ten yojanas.

He had a retinue of thirty koṭis of men whose minds were well-controlled. The span of man’s life was then twenty-thousand years.

Now there was at that time a universal king named Acyuta, who, embracing the Conqueror’s feet, thus addressed the supreme of devas and men:—

“O thou elephant among men, I have eighty-four thousand palaces. (114) These in all their splendour I give to thee and thy community of disciples.”

The king was exultant when he saw (that the Conqueror) was willing to accept, and he made his vow accordingly in

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1 Śamśīya, “complètement, comprenant tout” (Senart).
2 Lacuna.
the presence of him who bore the marks of excellence, saying:—

"By the merit of this good deed, may I become an unfaillingly strenuous performer of good deeds which heap up merit, and a protector of the unprotected."

There was a perfect Buddha, named Kanakaprabhuta, whose mind was unsullied by anything in heaven or earth, and who was honoured by men. His family was named Kauśīnīya.

His radiance, born of fair deeds, extended six yojanas, and he had a retinue of five kotis of saints.

Now there was at that time a universal king, named Priyadarśana, who was resplendent with the seven treasures of royalty, sovereign over the four continents, and protector of the earth.

Accompanied by his counsellors, and his women wearing their necklaces of pearls, he fell at the lovely feet of the Buddha Kanakaprabhuta, and implored him saying,

"I have a kingdom full of cities and towns, the four wealthy great continents. Ungenuinely I give these to thee, O hero, and to thy community of disciples."

(115) Whatever food is befitting to seers, whatever garments, whatever kinds of medicine, whatever couches and seats, all these are to be found in my fair palace.

"O most comely one, in thy compassion have pity on me who have dispensed all the things, of twelve kinds, that are the requisites of monks."

After the excellent prince¹ had made this gift he duly made his vow with a glad heart in the presence of the perfectly virtuous one, saying:—

"May I become a noble leader having a keen discernment of the ultimate good, and gifted with perfect skill, one who has destroyed all the bases of existence."¹

There was an Exalted One, who bore the thirty-two marks and was named Puṣpadanta. He was of the Vatsa family and was a perfect Buddha who had sight of the ultimate good.

This most excellent Conqueror had a radiance extending nine yojanas. Thirty-four kotis of saints attended upon this Daśābala.

The span of man’s life was then fifty-thousand years, and thus there was no occasion for doubt as to what was then taught.

Now there was at that time a king, a lord of men, named Durjaya, who with his train of followers approached Puṣpadanta and bowed at his feet.

(116) Raising his joined hands, the king serenely addressed Puṣpadanta, saying, "May the Daśābala deign to be gracious and live on my store of food for seven days².

When the king, invincible in majesty and might,³ saw that the Daśābala consented, he covered the ground with bright carpets of golden cloth.

Thereon he set down resplendent bejewelled couches, and laid out richly varied food of the most exquisite fragrance.

Eight-hundred individual devas and men⁴ in magnificent attire and gay adornment held up sunshades sparkling with the seven precious stones.

So that for each saint they reverently⁵ held up a gem-studded sunshade that was radiant and spotless, like the moon or a disc of mother-of-pearl. When he had thus regaled the Sugata named Puṣpadanta and his followers, the king duly made this vow in his mind:—

¹ The text of the stanza giving the length of man’s life is very corrupt, and no attempt has been made to translate it.
² Paribhojya paraśava, evidently referring to the original four requisites (prataya, Pali paccaya) of a monk’s daily life, namely, robe, alms-bowl, seat and bed, and medicine, plus the other, and later, set of eight requisites (pariśhāra, Pali pariśhāra), which consisted of the three robes, a bowl, razor, needle, girdle, and a water-strainer.
³ Pārīhavalamākha. Although there is no manuscript authority here for the emendation, lāmbaka of the text has been changed to lākāka. At 2. 421, where lākāka occurs again, some MSS. have lāmbaka. The former, although its exact sense is obscure, is usually rendered by translators from Pali, by "excellent." As, however, it seems to be a derivative of lāka, "gift," "present," it might be translated as "boon (of princes)," and this sense seems an appropriate one in the compound word in which it is generally found in the Mahāvastu, viz. nāralambaka which is throughout read nāralākāka; "a boon for men" (see pp. 123, 123, 150). Note, also, that Trenckner (Mih. p. 424) translates lākāka as "excellent gift," thus combining the two ideas.
⁴ See p. 199.
⁵ According to a regulation at V. 4. 87 no more than a seven days’ supply of food could be stored at one time, and it must be eaten within that period.
(The translator owes this reference to Miss I. B. Horner.)
⁶ Reading durjayordhavāla, on Senart’s suggestion, for durjayordhavālā.
⁷ Naraṁdham... puruṣa.
⁸ Reading hirimandha for hridimana. So Senart.
“May I become a perfect Buddha like thee, and preach dharma to devas and men...”

There was a perfect Buddha, who bore the thirty-two marks and was named Lalitavikrama, an Exalted One, a destroyer of existence, one who had shaken off the lusts. He belonged to the Vasiṣṭha family.

The radiance emitted from his body extended thirty-two yojanas and this most excellent of men had a retinue of thirty-two kotis of saints.

The span of man’s life was then eighty-four thousand years.

Now there was at that time a king named Caturangabala, who was beloved and popular.

This guardian of earth built forty kotis of palaces made of many precious stones, and one palace besides of pre-eminent beauty.

The king also caused to be made an abundance of couches and seats of faultless workmanship, and prepared the requisites of food and medicines befitting seers.

When the king had offered all this to the Exalted One and his community of disciples he joyfully and duly made his vow in the presence of the Daśabala, saying, “The Daśabala is one whose like is hard to find; he is incomparable. He crushes old age, death and doubt. May I, too, become supreme among devas and men, and confuse the talk of the vulgar herd.”

There was an Exalted One who bore the thirty-two marks, named Mahāyasas, of the Kaśyapa family. He was of wide renown and boundless fame.

The radiance of the body of this virtuous one extended fifty yojanas, and he had a retinue of fifty-five kotis of saints.

The span of man’s life was then eighty-four thousand years.

Now there was at that time a king named Mrigapatisvara, a lord of the four continents, unsurpassed in his abounding might, whose wheel was invincible.

For ninety-six yojanas this king had the branches of the forest trees decked out with jewels and hung with fine tapestry.

The surface of the earth he made radiant and resplendent with beryl, and he rendered it fragrant with aloes wood, and strewed it with sweet-smelling flowers.

There for seven days the protector of the earth, with devotion in his heart, regaled the lion-voiced valiant man with abundant food.

Then in gladness he offered that heavenly forest as a place of rest by day to the Daśabala, the choicest of all beings.

And when he had made his gift to Mahāyasas and his community of disciples, the king in ecstasy of heart duly made his vow, saying, “May I become honoured by the multitude, self-dependent, not led by another; may I become omniscient. By this deed of merit of mine, may I become mighty with a Tathāgata’s strength.”

There was a Conqueror named Ratanacūḍa, who was richly endowed with powerful merit, a skilful guide, having deep dark eyes, with an incomparable store of virtue, and wise.

The radiance of his body extended one hundred yojanas all around. The All-seeing One of that time belonged to the Bhāradvajā family.

He had a Sangha of ninety-nine kotis of men who had shaken off the defilements. The span of man’s life was then eighty-four thousand years.

Now there was at that time a universal king, lord of the four continents, holding sway over all the earth. He was named Mahāsīmā, and he governed men in righteousness.

This protector of earth built for Ratanacūḍa ninety-two kotis of nayutas of palaces of varied design.

And he feasted the gold-like Ratanacūḍa, the honoured of devas and men, and his followers for ten years without wearying.

The first day that he feasted the Sugata and his community of disciples the prince of men presented these noble palaces to the Virtuous One.

When the king had made this gift to the Great Man, with devotion in his heart he duly made his vow in the Conqueror’s presence, saying,
"May I safely lead across all men who have fallen into the great flood of recurrent birth, having myself burst through the toils of illusion, with peace in my heart, and with my mental power free from attachment to the world."

Thus, the lion-hearted Buddhas in the fifth bhūmi were innumerable,(120) as were also Pratyekabuddhas, those in training, and the adepts, the disciples of the Conqueror. All these and other Tathāgatas as well were worshipped by the Exalted One, and it is thus that he laid up the root of goodness for the sake of the whole world's welfare.

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "O son of the Conqueror, in what ways do Bodhisattvas who have made a vow to win enlightenment, while they are in the fifth bhūmi, lapse and fail to reach the sixth?" The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied, "O son of the Conqueror and my pious friend, there are four ways in which Bodhisattvas who have made a vow to win enlightenment in the fifth bhūmi, lapse and fail to reach the sixth. What are the four ways?

"Though the Bodhisattvas have taken up the religious life on the Buddha's instruction, they yet join forces with the Yogācāras.1 Hankering after the sensations which are abjured by a convert,2 they turn away in fear from self-development.3 They live perpetually inattentive to the cultivation of calm and introspective insight,4 and they inevitably train their thought to be fixed on objects of perception.5

1 It is worth noting that the Yogācāras formed one of the great schools or sects of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

2 Asamaka. Of this word Senart says, "Je ne puis rien faire de asamaka," and he proposes to read asāṅka, making the reference to be to the "eight-fold way." Asamaka, however, is clearly the Pali asañkha, thus defined in the P.T.S. Dictionary: "the eighth of eight persons who strive after the highest perfection, reckoned from the first or Arhat. Hence the eighth is he who stands on the lowest step of the Path, and is also called a sotāpanna." For the moral attainments of such a person, see Kev. 243 ff. Asamaka, locative case, does not admit of translation without doing undue violence to the use of cases, although the case suits Senart's emendation into āsāṅkha. The right emendation, however, would seem to be the simple one of reading asañkha as one compound word, which would thus give the above translation.

3 I.e. development by means of mental application, bhāvana.

4 The negative required by the sense in this sentence may be supplied by resolving the compound word to read abahuliṣca.

5 Alambana, with p on the analogy of Pali ārammaṇa, meaning the "perceived object," the relation of which to the perceiving subject may be said to constitute consciousness.

THE SIXTH BHŪMI

"All the Bodhisattvas, my pious friend, who, having vowed to win enlightenment in the fifth, lapse and fail to reach the sixth bhūmi, have done so, do so, and will do so, in these four ways.

Thus, my friend, the fifth bhūmi of Bodhisattvas whose merits are many and various, has been expounded and illustrated.

Here ends the fifth bhūmi of the Mahāvastu-Avadāna.

THE SIXTH BHŪMI

(121) Then the elder Kāśyapa asked Kātyāyana, "What is the state of heart of the wise Bodhisattvas in the fifth bhūmi?"

The elder Kātyāyana, the sage, replied to the pious Kāśyapa in verse:—

That the vortex of the world holds little delight, but is exceeding painful (is the thought that) is (in them as they pass from the fifth to the sixth bhūmi).2

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana concerning the "field" of a Buddha.

Then the elder Kātyāyana said to Mahā-Kāśyapa, "Hear what the field of the savours of the world is in its true essence. "And I shall tell you, too, noble sir, what the upākṣetra4

1 The citta or state of heart or mind meant here must be the same as that elsewhere (see p. 72) described as sandhiccita, for we have to do now with the passage from the fifth bhūmi to the sixth.

2 The words in brackets represent a lacuna in the text. They are supplied in translation on the basis of the assumption made in footnote 1, p. 72, and by analogy with the parallel passages on pp. 72, 87.

3 This passage is defective; the only part of the question that remains is the word kṣetram. The "field" (kṣetra, Pali khetta) is thus described by Buddhaghosa in Vism. 414: Buddhabhikkhatam nāma livissam hoti, jñāth­­khettam, āpannāhakkatam, visayahakkatam. "The field of a Buddha is of three kinds: the field of his birth, the field of his authority, and the field of his sphere."

4 From its form the word upākṣetra might be expected to denote a subdivision of the kṣetra, rather than an area four times its size, as it is defined below. There is no reference elsewhere to the upākṣetra, unless it is meant to denote one of the three fields mentioned in the preceding note.
THE MAHAVASTU

of these men of perfect eloquence is. Pay heed to these words of mine and to my teaching.

"A Buddha's field is proved to be sixty-one systems of three thousand worlds, and an upakṣetra is to be understood as being four times this."

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "Again, O son of the Conqueror, do Buddhas appear in all Buddha-fields, or do they appear in some only?"

The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa in verse:

Here and there is a field that is not empty of those whose form is peerless. (122) But many kotis of nayutas of fields are empty of the pre-eminent men.

Of a truth, rare is the appearance of Him who bears the marks of excellence, who has won perfect knowledge at the end of a long time, who is adept in the consummate dharma, who is of great glory, and who is a being mindful of the welfare of all creatures.

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "Again, O son of the Conqueror, how many other Buddha-fields are there at the present moment where Buddhas now preach dharma?"

The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa in verse:

In the eastern quarter of the world there is a well-laid-out Buddha-field, where abides the supreme Conqueror named Mrigapatiskandha.

In the eastern quarter of the world there is a healthy Buddha-field, where abides the Conqueror with the thirty-two marks, named Sīmhahanu.

In the eastern quarter of the world there is a resplendent Buddha-field, where abides the all-seeing great Seer, named Lokaguru.

In the eastern quarter of the world there is a secure Buddha-field, where the Master named Jñānadhvaja teaches men.

In the eastern quarter of the world there is a bright Buddha-field, where abides the Conqueror, named Sundara, who is radiant like the golden bimba. (1)

In the southern quarter of the world there is a Buddha-field that is full of palm-trees. There abides the Buddha named Anihata, who is the joy of devas.

In the southern quarter of the world there is a pleasant Buddha-field, where abides the great Seer, the Buddha Ciirunetra.

(124) In the southern quarter of the world there is a Buddha-field free from all impurity. There abides the Guide, the Buddha named Mālādhārīn.

In the western quarter of the world there is a Buddha-field free from strife. (2) There abides the Buddha, the destroyer of existence, named Ambara.

In the northern quarter of the world there is a pleasant Buddha-field, where abides the Buddha named Pūrṇācandra, learned in the sacred lore.

In the nadir of the world there is a securely-fixed Buddha-

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1 "The red fruit of Momordica monadelpha, a species of amaranth." (P.T.S. Dictionary.)
2 Or "incorporeal," avigraha.
field, where abides the Buddha, the Tathāgata, named Drīḍhakāhu.

In the zenith of the world there is an unshaken Buddha-field, where abides the Buddha named Mahābhāga, a destroyer of his foes.

There are besides thousands of other Buddha-fields, and yet other thousands, of which one cannot reach the end in enumerating.¹

Thousands of empty Buddha-fields which one does not know where to begin counting,² and thousands of universes of three-thousand worlds.

As the beginning of the round of rebirth is not known, so neither is that of the universes.

One does not know where to begin counting the number of past Buddhas, nor of those who vow to win enlightenment.

Nor the number of those who are incapable of lapsing, nor of those who achieve consecration as kings.

(125) Nor the number of those who dwell in Tuṣita, nor of those who pass away from there.

Nor the number of those who lie in their mother’s womb, nor of those who stand there.

Nor the number of the heroes who are being born, nor of the world-saviours who have been born.

Nor the number of those who are taken on their mothers’ laps, nor of those who take the mighty strides.

Nor the number of those who laugh aloud, nor of those who survey the regions of the world.

Nor the number of those who are borne in their mothers’ laps, nor of those who are adopted by Gandharvas.³

¹ Literally, “the other end of which is not known,” koṭī na praśāya-te ‘paraḥ.
² Koṭī na praśāya-te “stārā, literally, “the inner end (or starting-point) is not known.” In the succeeding stanzas this is expressed by pārā koṭī, “the point farthest back,” i.e. the beginning. See P.T.S. Dictionary s.v., koṭī. The latter phrase is translated where it first occurs; subsequently, to avoid a jingling repetition, it is represented by “nor the number of” and “nor.”
³ In Buddhist mythology the lowest class of devas. Here and elsewhere in the Mahāvastu (e.g. 1. 204) we find them attending the newly born Buddha. This is possibly a reflect of one of their functions in Hindu mythology, where Gandharva, their eponym, as parent of Yama and Yamī presided over marriage. The idea, however, that in Buddhist mythology they were regarded as presiding over conception has been shown to be wrong. See D.P.N. s.v.

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, “O son of the Conqueror, if there are so many Buddhas, and each one of them leads an infinite number of beings to entire release, then in no long a time they will have enabled all beings to win it. Thus this world will become absolutely empty, completely denuded of beings.”

The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa in verse:—

Suppose empty space everywhere become full without a gap, suppose space that is without foundation and support be inhabited in all its extent.

Numerous though these worlds might be, still more numerous would be the average worldlings therein to be taught by Him who has insight into the highest good.

Whence, then, can there be a limit to the countless beings who listen to the teaching of the Supreme of men? Thus has the great Seer proclaimed the truth.

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa

¹ Ayu śaṃkha. Śaṃkha is the Pali sānkha, “one of the most difficult terms in Buddhist metaphysics” (P.T.S. Dictionary). These elements or components may be viewed from two aspects: (1) as conditioning present sentient life, and (2) as forming the potentiality of rebirth into another life. Cf., D. 2. 106 satō sampojaṇa ayu-śaṃkhāram oṣeṣā (Trans. Dial. 2, p. 113 “he deliberately and consciously let go (interest in) life’s conditions.”)
² Literally “causes to pass entirely away,” parinirvāṇapayaḥ.
The venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa in verse:

A mind of the supreme benefactors of mankind is bent on self-control. Such is their state of heart that links the two bhūmis as they advance to the seventh.

(128) When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, “O son of the Conqueror, with what quality of act of body, do Bodhisattvas who do not lapse become endued from the first bhūmi onwards? With what quality of act of speech, with what quality of act of thought? In short, with what quality of being do they become endued?”

The venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, “From the first bhūmi onwards there are the acts of Bodhisattvas who do not lapse. They preach and commend abstention from murder. They praise beings in the various bhūmis who are so disposed and who do not henceforth in any way, even when associated with evil companions, deprive living things of life. After passing through the first seven bhūmis, they conceive pity for those beings who have a hard lot to bemoan. They apply themselves to the practice of morality. They renounce their kingdoms or whatever sovereignty is theirs. They go forth from home into the homeless state, and they constantly preach the dharma of abstention from murder.

“Once upon a time, my pious friend, when he was in his seventh bhūmi, this Perfect Man was a king named Kuśa. His queen was named Apratimā, she who has since become Yaśodharā, the mother of Prince Rāhula. He who is now the wicked Devadatta was then a regional king, named Jāthara. When Jāthara heard of Queen Apratimā, the passion of desire seized his mind, and he sent a messenger to King Kuśa, saying:

Give me your consort Apratimā, let her become my wife.
If you give her not, then get your forces ready to fight.
Send me a message, O king, to acquaint me of your choice. (129) If you do not, so will you and your kingdom fall into my power.

1 Pradēśarāja, as distinguished from a cakravartin. (See note p. 1.)
When he heard this, King Kusa said to his wife, “Listen, my queen, to the words of Jathara, and tell me what you think of them.”

The queen, shedding a flood of tears, replied to King Kusa, “My lord, I am adept\(^1\) whether the need be for stabbing or thrusting with the sword, and so expert that not even you surpass me in the use of arms.

“O king, you shall see Jathara’s proud\(^2\) head cut off by me and rolling all gory at your feet.

“Whether he be on horseback, in chariot, or riding an elephant, or at the head of a brave army, I will make an end of Jathara.

“However invulnerable he may be, I’ll slay him by some means or other, by incantation, spell, or ruse of words.\(^3\)

“I would deliver you, my lord, of two such foes as he; my magic power is incalculable, the world is as straw to me.

(130)“Let the king, therefore, be undismayed, and, wearing sweet-smelling garlands, let him pace his four-grounds and amuse himself among his thousand women.”

“Then, O son of the Conqueror, Queen Apratima devised a trick whereby King Jathara, all unsuspecting, entered King Kusa’s inner apartment, and fell into her power. Queen Apratima then put her right foot over King Jathara’s heart and her left on his ankles, and recited these verses:

When bees sip the flowering creepers of the forest in spring-time, their wings become spotted with pollen.
You have not heard it said, O wretched man, that the creepers still preserve their virgin freshness. Other bees do not take their pleasure there.
You have not heard it said, O wretched man, that the lotus

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\(^1\) Reading bhadrā for bhādra. So Senart.

\(^2\) Samakālam. Senart takes this as equal to kājasamam, and translates “haute comme une montagne.” But as kāja originally means “forehead” the meaning may be simply “proud” or “haughty” (carriage of the head).

\(^3\) Vacanahrīma, which must be taken as equivalent to kātrīmanama. Senart explains kātrīma as an arbitrary restitution from the Pali kitiya, “artificial,” “clever.” The regular Sanskrit form is kṛitrīma.

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You have set your heart on winning this graceful woman of faultless body, who, when she lies at night like a necklace of pearls in the arms of an honoured king, trembles with joy. You are like a man who, standing on earth, would fain win the moon.

(131)“Then, my pious friend, at that moment King Jathara cried out, “Be gracious, lady, and spare me.” And King Kusa said to Queen Apratimā:

“O queen, let this craven man go unpunished, for he has turned to you for protection, holding out suppliant hands. Such mercy is the dharma of the good.”

“Once upon a time, my pious friend, this Exalted One, being then a king of the Nāgas, named Ugra, had been brought under the spell of the charms and magic herbs of a wizard, and was held in duress.\(^1\) But through his carelessness the wizard’s spell lost its power, and Ugra, the Nāga king, said to himself, “I could easily reduce this wretched man to ashes, but that would not be seemly for us who are devoted to the preservation of dharma.” And he recited this verse:

You have lost the spell of your magic, and I could with my own power reduce you to ashes. But I spare you, and as far as I am concerned, long life be yours.

“Once upon a time, my pious friend, this Exalted One was a lion, a king of beasts, and this wretched man Devadatta was a hunter.

“Now the hunter, under the influence of a bitter hatred long pent up, shot the lion with a poisoned arrow when he was alone in the forest, in a small grove that was his wonted haunt, reclining unsuspecting, motionless, tranquil, and without looking round. When he had been shot, the lion, unmoved, with inexhaustible fortitude, and relying on his own strength and without any fear\(^2\) slightly raised his head, and saw

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\(^1\) Sambādhakāpanna, cf. Pali sambadhapananna, of the moon when eclipsed. (S. 1. 50.)
that worthless man timidly approaching his lair. And when he saw him, he reflected, "Now I could easily kill that foolish man, even though he were to run to a mountain-top, to a cavern, to a wood, or even to hell itself." But having quoted the words, "Hatred is not allayed by hatred" he recited this verse:

*I am shot by a poisoned shaft that wounds me in a vital spot. Let not the same happen to-day to this terrified man. You have nothing to fear.*

"Once upon a time, my pious friend, this Exalted One was a worthy caravan-leader. Now the caravan, under the guidance of the treacherous Devadatta who was in collusion with brigands, happened to go on a long trek through the forest. Moved by long-standing hatred Devadatta went up to the caravan-leader to point him out for the brigands to kill. But the brigands were seized by the merchants led by the caravan-leader. When, with their guide in front, they were led up for execution, they cried out in their helplessness and implored the caravan-leader to spare them. And the guide himself, guilty as he was of treachery, raised supplicant hands and begged the caravan-leader for immunity. Then he addressed the guide:

*Though I could release smoke on the wind to destroy the whole land, and guide and robbers as well, yet I let them go with their lives.*

"Again, my pious friend, when this Exalted One was a king, his principal wife was caught in sin. But in response to her entreaties he spared her life, even though she had already been led out to the place of execution. The king, his principal wife was caught in sin. But in response to her entreaties he spared her life, even though she had already been led out to the place of execution. The king, moved by the gentleness and rectitude he had accumulated during hundreds of thousands of existences, and he granted pardon to the would-be murderers. Then he addressed the guide:

*The executioner could make his steel pierce her body, which is as soft as a vessel of unbaked clay. But I spare your life and restore you to your former position.*

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1 *I.e. Dhammapada, 5: Na hi verena samanadha huddanan.*
are anxious not to blight the maturing of their karma, and they acquire the roots of virtue by keeping themselves afool from passion, hatred and folly. They are skilled in bringing solace to those in trouble and misfortune. They do not hesitate to render all kinds of service. In all matters they are untiring in their purpose. They are endowed here in this world with the profound attributes of a Buddha. In their progress towards their goal they are undefiled in acts of body, speech and thought. Through the uprightness of their lives in former existences they are untarnished and pure in conduct. Possessing perfect knowledge they are men of undimmed understanding. They are eager to win the sphere of power of a Buddha—so far are they from refusing it. With knowledge as their banner they are untiring in speech and skilled in teaching. Being of irreproachable character they are immune from disaster. They are free from sin. They shun the three-fold distractions. Leaving vain babblers alone, they love their enemies. They do not indulge in sexual pleasures. They know how to win the affection of all creatures. When they enter the world they become endowed with powers that are in accordance with the vow they have made. In all matters they are skilled in the knowledge of correct and faulty conclusions. They are rich in goodness and blessed with good qualities. Eminent, wise in their purpose. They are endowed here in this world with the profound attributes of a Buddha. In their progress towards their goal they are undefiled in

As it is not possible for any bird to reach the confines of the sky, so is it not possible for any man to comprehend the good qualities of the self-becoming Buddhas.

THE SEVENTH BHŪMI

"All the charms and medicines, my pious friend, which have been devised for the benefit and welfare of the world and for the service of men,(135) were discovered by Bodhisattvas. All the remedies that are current in the world for the benefit and welfare of men were prescribed by Bodhisattvas. All the sciences devoted to the ascertainment of truth which are known in the world were developed by Bodhisattvas. All the methods of calculating in the world, and all the forms of writing were invented by Bodhisattvas. All the names of the styles of writing known in the world were introduced by Bodhisattvas. These are the Brāhmi style, the Puṣkaraśā, the Kharosti, the Greek, the brahmavāṇi, the puṣpā, the kuṭā, the śaktinā, the vyātystā, the lekha, the mudrā, the style of Uttarakuru, of Magadha, that of the Daradas, of the Chinese, of the Hūnas, of the Abhūras, of the Vангas, the śīphalā style, the Dravidian, the Ramatha, the bhayā, the vaicchetukā, the kuskara, the kasūla, the ketukā, the kusuvā, the taliikā, the jajaridēṣa, and the akṣarabaddhā. All fields of gold, silver, tin, copper, lead, precious substances

1 Terms derived from geographical, national or tribal names are written with a capital initial. A few others can be explained etymologically as denoting peculiar variations of a standard type, but the rest are obscure. See Senart's note, in which he calls attention to the analogous list in Lal. Vist., 143, 17 ff., which however, is not sufficient to restore all the doubtful terms in this list. All are here rendered by the feminine adjetival form to agree with līpī, "writing," with which most of them are compounded.

2 i.e. Kharoṣṭhī.

3 Yāsau., " Ionian " or " Greek."

4 Senart suggests, on the analogy of Lal. Vist., which has sahāritis, that the right reading is sāhāri, and cites the Prakrit dialect of the same name.

5 "L'écriture tournée" (Senart).

6 "L'écriture épistolaire" (Senart).

7 "L'écriture de sceaux" (Senart).

8 The text has ukharamadhuradarada, which is obviously corrupt. Senart suggests uttarahurmogadharada, or, perhaps better, uttarahurmogadharada. The second suggestion has been followed here.

9 The people of what is now Dardistan in Kashmir.

10 The huns, who broke up the Gupta empire at the end of the 5th century.

A.D. (Cambridge History of India, I. p. 304.)

11 A tribe of northern India.

12 The people from whom Bengal derives its name. The MSS. have vanda (sic).

13 Trimūḍa. For the variant forms of the name of this people see Caldwell: Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, pp. 12-14.

14 A mountain in the south of India.

15 A people in the west.

16 Aksabhadhā, a conjecture of Senart's for aksabhadhā of the text, and translated by him, "liée aux lettres, s'exprimant par la succession des lettres."
and gems were revealed by Bodhisattvas. All the expedients that exist for the service of men were the inventions of Bodhisattvas.

"On this matter it is said":

The peerless pre-eminent men pass through their successive lives aware of what is good for the world. Their lives are better than those of devas, men, and Guhyakas. For the perfect knowledge gained by these lords is unsurpassed.

(186) When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "O son of the Conqueror, what is the state of heart of Bodhisattvas who do not lapse (as they advance from the seventh bhūmi to the eighth)?" The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied, "There arises in them, my pious friend, a heart that is set on the great compassion as they advance from the seventh bhūmi to the eighth."

Such is the description of the seventh bhūmi.

Here ends the seventh bhūmi of the Mahāvastu-Avādana.

THE EIGHTH BHŪMI

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "O son of the Conqueror, what were the names of the Buddhas under whom the Exalted One, the Buddha Śakyamuni, acquired merit while he was advancing from the first to the seventh bhūmi?"

The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied, "Hear, my pious friend, the names of the powerful and renowned Buddhas, under whom this Exalted One of the Śākyan royal family acquired the root of virtue. First there was Satyadharmavipula-kirti, then Sukirti, Lokābharaṇa, Vidyu-trabha, Indratajas, Brahma-kirti, Vasumdhara, Supārśva, Anupadaya, Sujuṣṭha, Śrīṣṭa-rūpa, Praṣastagunāraśi, Meghasvara, Ṣeṣavaraṇa, Mrgarājaghoṣa, Āṣukārīna, Dhitarāṣṭragati, Lokā-

1 The answer shows that the words bracketed must be supplied.
3 As will be seen the list is not confined to the Buddhas of the first seven bhūmis, but goes on to enumerate those of the eighth and ninth.
4 Most of these names seem to occur only here.

1 Possibly, as Senart suggests, the MS. reading prabhemi should, instead, be resolved into something like tātra bhūmi, i.e. "in this bhūmi."
2 i.e. as a round number. The first and second hundred in each half of this enumeration of 500 Buddhas end with a summing up in this phrase. The remaining fifty, approximately, in each half are not so summed up.

Text mubhuja (sic.).

"Then there were the Buddhas Pratyā-sannabuddhi, Satvasaha, Puṣyagupta, Ārjuna, Dānakula, Subhāṇatha, Suvaladanta, Kanakākṣa, Vrāmāgupta, Dānakula, Subhāṇatha, Viśalaprabha, Janaḵṣatiṛi, Lokakṣatiṛi, Ananta-gupta, Dharmagupta, Sūkṣma-vastra. These form the second hundred of Āryans.

The list continues, although Kāśyapa asked for the names of the Buddhas whom Kāśyapa knew in the first seven bhumis only. See p. 108.

THE NINTH BHŪMI

Sukhaprabha, Bhūrisatva, Bhadragupta, Candrasūba, Bhadrājeśa, Īṣṭārūpa, Cakravartidatta, Suvigaṇapātṛi, Vaiśā- vanarājā, Saṃśuddhayajna, Saṃmatarasmi, Dānakula, Sārjamālādhārīn, Suv composed by the Exalted Ones Citrabuddhi, Yudhikā, Śānta-gupta, Atma, Kāyēśvara, Kṣaṇa, Jñātārāja, Saṃśuddhayajna, Saṃmatarasmi, Dānakula, Sārjamālādhārīn, Suv

THE NINTH BHŪMI

Again, my pious friend, following these were the Exalted Ones Citrabuddhi, Cāruhāṇu, Dīptahāṇu, Rucitahāṇu, Asitahāṇu, Hemaratha, Cāmiṇi-kā, Jñātārāja, Saṃśuddhayajna, Saṃmatarasmi, Dānakula, Sārjamālādhārīn, Suv
prabha, Pratyakṣadeva, Ahibhānurāga, Kusumottarīya, Avirasa, Prathamarājan, Puṇḍarikarājan, Subhikṣaṛāja. This is the second hundred of the host of Aryans in the ninth bhūmi.

"Then there were the Buddhas Snīghagatra, Paramārthasatva, Aklīnagātra, Dharmāsūra, Sūtīrtha, Lokālokanīhitamalla, Kundapuspagandha, Nirankuṣa, Anotaptagātra, Upādhyāyarājan, Pravarāgramati, Aṇabhīhūtayaśā, Anupachchinīlamba, Devaguru, Ratnapuṣpa, Suddhasatva, Vaiḍūryaśikhara, Citramālya, Sugandhakāya, Aṇantakoṣa, Samamathita, Satyaprabha, Adinagamin, Suvikranta, Asambhrantavacana, Grahakosa, Anuraktarāṣṭra, Sivadattamala, Sikharadatta, Citramrua, Mahāvimana, Anotaptagātra, Citrahejavarga, Santa-rāja, Sangrihitapakṣa, Aprakriṣṭa, Raktacandanaṇgandha, Acalitasunan, Upacitahānu, Jvalitayasas, Raceitamala, Siramakuṭa, Tejaguptarājan.

Here ends the ninth bhūmi in the Mahāvastu-Avadāna.

THE TENTH BHŪMI

(142) When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, "O son of the Conqueror, with regard to those Bodhisattvas who have amassed the roots of virtue, who have accomplished their tasks, who have passed through the ninth bhūmi, and encompassed the tenth, and who, having won to the realm of Tuṣita, yearn for human existence and descend to a mother’s womb with the resolve that it will be their last existence, tell me the wonderful and marvellous attributes of these supreme men, which are not shared by Pratyekabuddhas, etc., nor by saints, etc., nor by disciples, etc., nor by average men, etc."

Mahā-Kātyāyana replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, "Buddhas know what it is to be conceived, to take up a position in the womb, to be born, to have parents, to take up the religious life and to be energetic and attain wisdom."

1 Literature "they are endowed with [the attribute of] descent into the womb," etc., garbhavakrantisampannas, etc.

1 Atisayena is Senart’s emendation to restore the metre. But neither this nor the original atisaya gives satisfactory sense. The context requires something like "carefully" or "attentively." The translation offered above comes near enough, perhaps, to the root meaning of atisaya, viz. "eminent."
"It is in this way, my pious friend, that Buddhas become conceived."

"And how do Buddhas take up their position in the womb?"

"Bodhisattvas, having entered their mothers' bodies, stand in the womb, or in the back, or in the belly, or in the side. But just as a fine thread on which has been strung beads of coral or beryl is not visible in any part because it is hidden, although it really exists in its whole length, so Bodhisattvas have and have not a position in their mothers' bodies.

"Again, my pious friend, when the Bodhisattva has entered his mother's womb, the host of devas joyfully approach, bowing with their hands joined before them, and enquire the happy moment and day of his birth. The Bodhisattvas greet the enquiring devas by raising their right hand, but they do not hurt their mothers. Nor, indeed, do Bodhisattvas, when they are in their mothers' bodies, by the power of the root of goodness that is present in their bodies, hurt their mothers. Nor, indeed, do Bodhisattvas, although it really exists in its whole length, so Bodhisattvas have and have not a position in their mothers' bodies.

"Further, my pious friend, when they are yet in their mothers' bodies, by the power of the root of goodness that is present in their bodies, hurt them either when they sit or when they lie on their side or when they stand up in any position whatsoever. Again, they do not hurt their mothers when they sit cross-legged.

"Verily, my pious friend, when they are in their mothers' bodies, by the power of the root of goodness that is present in their bodies, they have and have not a position in their mothers' bodies. Celestial musical instruments play without ceasing day or night in honour of the Bodhisattva who has entered his mother's womb. Again, in honour of the Bodhisattva who has entered his mother's womb a hundred thousand Apsaras cause to appear never-failing showers of celestial blossoms and aromatic powders. From the time they are Bodhisattvas in their mothers' womb until as Daśabalas they pass finally away, the celestial incense of aloe-wood does not cease.

The whole simile is far from clear.

Note is .. because of the obstacle " [i.e. of the beads], viṣṭambhitāyā. Senart's note is " viṣṭambhītā se rapporte à la 'mobilité' des pierres enfilées, qui empêche de saisir nettement le fil en aucun endroit."

"Verily, my pious friend, Bodhisattvas are not born of the intercourse of a father and a mother, but by their own merit independently of parents."

"On this matter it is said:"—

Then dusky Māyā, with eyes like lotus-leaves, attended by many Gandharvas, earnestly and sweetly spoke to Suddhodana:

"Henceforth I will refrain from doing harm to living things, and will live a chaste life. I will abstain from theft, intoxication, and frivolous speech. "I will, my lord, refrain from harsh speech and from slander, and from falsehood. This is my resolve. "I will not nurse envy of the pleasures of others, nor do them harm, but I will be full of amity towards all, and I will give up false views.

"I will, O king, live in the practice of the eleven moralities. All night long this resolve has been stirring in me. "Do not then, O king, desire me with thoughts of sensual delight. See to it that you be guiltless of offence against me, for I would observe chastity."

The king replied to his wife, "I shall comply with all your wishes. Be at ease. You have taken up a noble life, and I and my whole realm will obey you."

Māyā then took her thousand beloved principal maidens, went up to the fair mansion, and sat down surrounded by her entirely gracious attendants.

On her couch that was the colour of the snow-white lotus,
she whiled away her time in silence, contentedly calm and self-controlled.

Moved by excitement, a throng of deva-maidens, wearing bright garlands, came, eager to see the Conqueror’s mother, and alighted on the beautiful terrace.

And when they had come and seen Māyā on her bed in beauty that dazzled like the lightning, they felt great joy and happiness, and showered on her flowers from heaven.

When they had stood awhile contemplating such a comely and wondrous, albeit human, form, they said to themselves,

"There can be none like her even among the consorts of devas. Ah! dear friends, observe the loveliness of this woman. How befitting (a Conqueror’s mother). As she lies on her bed, she is radiant and alluring, and gleams like a stream of gold.

And she will bear a Great Man who delights exceedingly in charity, self-restraint and virtue,(147) who has made an end of all the āsravas, and who is rid of passion. What more can you want, O queen?"

"In you, whose belly, with its fair streak of downy hair, curves like the palm of the hand, and whose renown is bright, the Exalted One has taken up his abode, the Gracious One who is untainted by impurity.

"You are a worthy woman, supreme of mothers, as he, your son, is pre-eminent, he who ends existences, and is blessed. What more can you want, O queen?"

"In that conception, my pious friend, in which the mothers of Bodhisattvas conceive a Bodhisattva for his last existence those best of women live a pure, completely perfect and chaste life. For in the hearts of these peerless women no passion for any man arises, not even for their husbands. And when a Bodhisattva has entered his mother’s womb, her body becomes clothed in celestial raiment and adorned with celestial jewels, while troops of Apsarases attend to the bathing, rubbing, massaging and anointing of her body.

"When a Bodhisattva has entered his mother’s womb, his mother, in company with a hundred thousand deva-maidens,
“Quickly make the Lumbini grove like a celestial abode for the queen, clean and pleasant, with the grass, mire, leaves and litter swept away.

“Deck each fair tree with streamers of fine cloth, jute, wool and silk, that it be like the kalpavrikṣa trees of the lord of devas in heaven.”

“Be not anxious,” said they in obedience to the scion of kings, and soon they reported to him that everything had been done as he had commanded.

She, the mother of the vanquisher of Mara’s might, speaking affectionate and loving words the while, with her escort mounted the lovely chariots.

The king’s host, adorned with jewels, was resplendent as it set out in brave array, many on foot and many in chariots.

Entering the fair forest, Maya, the Conqueror’s mother, attended by her friends, roamed about in her dazzling chariot, like the consort of an immortal, knowing the rule of true delight.

Playfully she went up to a wavy-leaved fig-tree and hung with her arms to the branches, and gracefully stretched herself at the moment of giving birth to the Glorious One.

Then twenty thousand peerless Apsaras, holding out their joined hands, greeted and addressed Maya:—

(150) “To-day, O queen, you are giving birth to him who crushes old age and rebirth, a tender youth of immortal stock, honoured in heaven and on earth, friend and benefactor of men and devas.

“Do not give way to anxiety, for we shall render assistance to you. Only tell us what is to be done, and lo! it is done. Be not anxious.”

From Maya’s right side, without hurting his mother, the charming babe was born, the thoughtful sage, the preacher of the highest truth.

Then at the birth of the Lord of men, cities and towns, 

1 One of the trees in Indra’s heaven. The corresponding Pali, kappa-rukkha, also denotes a “wishing” or “magical” tree.
2 Pratijrimbhitā, so interpreted by Senart on the analogy of viṣṇijrimbhamāṇā in Lal. Vist., 94, 22, and Beal’s translation of the Chinese version of this episode, where Maya at this moment is compared to a rainbow stretching athwart heaven.” (Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha, p. 43.)
3 Adopting Senart’s suggestion that the right reading here is naga-ranigamā instead of naga-ranagā of the text; the latter could only mean “cities upon cities.”

several thousands of them, gleamed bright and clear like heaps of divers precious stones.

“But, my pious friend, no being in animate creation other than the Śuddhāvāsa devas can proclaim a Bodhisattva when he is born into his last existence.

“On this matter it is said”:

With their persons arrayed in fine cloth, eight thousand of these great lords,1 disguised as brāhmans, went to the city of Kapilavastu.

In their splendid raiment and jewels these noble beings arrived at the door of the king’s palace, and joyfully addressed the door-keeper, saying,

“Go in to Śuddhodana and tell him, ‘Here are eight thousand men expert in the science of the significance of signs, and they crave admission, if it is your pleasure.’”

When he had heard these words, the door-keeper went(151) in to the king, bowed and, holding out his joined hands, said,

“O king, peerless in strength, illustrious smiter of your foes, may you wield long and blessed sway. There are men like the immortals standing at your gates and craving admission.

“Because of their full clear eyes, their soft voices, their tread like that of elephant in rut, doubt arises in me whether these be men and not devas.2

“As they walk, the dust of the ground does not soil their feet; nor at any time is there heard any accompanying noise as they move along.

“With their stately gentle gestures, their noble bearing and their control of their range of vision,3 they give great joy to all who behold them.

1 Mahelvarās, see note p. 155.
2 Here called by the name Marutas.
3 Pratijrimbhitā, to be explained, apparently, by analogy with one of the attributes of the Pratyekabuddhas, namely, that “they did not look ahead farther than a plough’s length” (yuγamāṭrām, Pali yuγamattam). See Mahāvastu i. 273, and in Pali Sn. 83, etc., Mthn. 398. Patkā, here translated “range,” is Senart’s emendation of yathā in the MSS. On the interpretation suggested it may be possible to retain yathā, and translate “like one (those) whose vision is controlled” i.e. “like a Pratyekabuddha.” Senart, however, renders, “Ils répondent le calme, la ruix dans tout ce qu’attéquent leurs regards.”
"Without a doubt these imposing men are come to see your son, to greet and salute the deva of devas and of men, the lion among men."

When he had heard these words the king said to his door-keeper, "I have given the order. Let them enter the palace."

Then the select band of immortals, lustrous as the sky, and pure of deed, went in to the palace of the high-born king.

And King Sudhodana, seeing the great lords when they were still some way off, with his court rose up from his throne to meet them with dignified reverence.

The king bade them all a gracious welcome. "For," said he, "your appearance, your calm and self-control and power give us joy.

"Here are fine seats beautifully fashioned. Sit down at once, sirs, to give pleasure to us."

Then they who rejoiced in their freedom from conceit and pride, sat down in comfort on those fine seats, the feet of which were bright and gleaming with silver and gold.

As soon as they were seated one of them addressed the king saying, "Let his majesty hear what the cause of our coming is here is.

"A son is born to you who is of a wholly faultless body, and bears the marks of excellence to perfection. . . ."

"For we, skilled in the science of signs can distinguish the defects from the excellencies by their marks. If it is not inconvenient for you we would see your son who bears the form of a Great Man."

The king replied, "Come, see my son whose fame is secure, who is renowned and glorious among devas and men, and bears the marks of excellence to perfection."

Then the king brought in the Sugata, the adored of devas and men, lying like unto a piece of gold in soft swaddling clothes of gaily coloured wool."

1 Lacuna.

2 Vijañapti. For this sense of the word Senart refers to his Légende du Bouddha, 2nd ed. p. 256, and adds other instances from Lal. Viss. It occurs again in the Mahāvastu in this sense at 1.157, 216, 226; 2.19, 29.

3 The son of Gotama.

4 Aṣṭapādāṣṭha, see note above p. 115.

5 All these kings are otherwise unknown, with the exception of Māndhātar (Pali Mandhāta), who was the son of Uposadha (Uposatha), ultimately descending from Mahāsammata. (See p. 593.)
host of universal kings were born spontaneously. But not so was Prince Rāhula born."

"How, my pious friend, do Bodhisattvas achieve retirement from the world?"

"Once upon a time, O son of the Conqueror, the Bodhisattva was on the point of withdrawing from the world. He went to the king's palace and spoke to Chandaka\(^1\) in verse:

"Quick, Chandaka, bring me my steed Kaṇṭhaka. Do not tarry long. To-day I am going to win a hard-fought fight. So be glad."

But Chandaka, his face bathed in tears, sighed deeply. He gave vent to his tears and his cries of grief to wake up the sleeping palace folk.

"How," cried he, "can the women, brilliantly\(^2\) garbed in raiment of precious silk,\(^3\) stretched out amid waves of perfume,\(^4\) give themselves up now to the joys of love, when it is the time for grief and lamentation, and to sleep when it is the place and time for wakeful watching?"

"Can it be that Māyā, the queen, beautiful as Saudamāni,\(^5\) although, it is true, she has kept vigil a long time, is now lying down in carefree joy like a Śūra's wife in a fair city of the Sūras, at the moment when he who is the boon\(^6\) of men is leaving home?"

\(155\) She, the queen, the mother of the Lord of men, she whose eyes are kind, large, and full of tenderness, in spite of the imminence\(^7\) of this cruel separation, hears not my cries, for she is sunk in sleep.

"Where now is that brave array of warriors with their elephants and horses, and brightly armed with arrows, darts and spears? What boots it now? For it does not need the departure of the champion of the Śākyans.

"Whom shall I arouse? Who will be my ally? What can I do now that it is no longer day? Alas, the king and his folk, bereft of him whose splendour is golden, perish."

A throng of devas spoke to him in sweet tones, "Why do you lament, Chandaka, why are you troubled at this? Trained warriors could not bar his going forth. How then can you?"

"If one were to create an uproar in Kapilavastu with kettle-drums, tabours, and a thousand trumpets, in order to arouse it, this fair and prosperous city would not wake up, for it is lulled to sleep by the immortals and their lord."

"See the devas of heaven, with diadems of gems and jewels, (156) how, obedient to the Worshipful One, they bow low with their hands joined before them, and, bending their heads, adore him with the words, "Thou art our kinsman, thou art our refuge."

"Therefore, cheerfully bring up Kaṇṭhaka, the Leader's steed, caparisoned in silver and gold, which was born the same moment as its master.\(^1\) For there is not in heaven or earth anyone who could put an obstacle in the way of him who is the boon of men.\(^2\) Lead up the noble steed."

Chandaka, incited by the words of the virtuous deva, obediently, yet weeping the while, led up the horse whose colour was shining white like the water-lily and the jasmine, which was beautiful as the moon when it is full, and which had been born the same time as its master.

"Here, Saviour," said he, "is thy steed, comely of limb, and ready, fleet of foot as the lightning streak, and friskily rearing. O beautiful broad-chested steed, may what you are now intent on doing turn out successful.

"O sturdy steed, may your adversary be quickly overcome, like a feeble and broken awn of barley, vanquished by your matchless might. May your hope be fulfilled, O boon of men,\(^3\) and enriched as with mountains of gold.

"Let those who would impede you be gone.\(^1\) Let those who bring support win abundant strength. May you whose stride is stately like that of elephant in rut fully achieve the end you aim at."

\(^1\) Chandaka, Pali Channa, the charioteer and companion of Gotama.
\(^2\) Angicala, cf. vigalita, p. 121.
\(^3\) Accepting Senart's suggestion of kolahārā or kolikārā for kolabhārā of the text.
\(^4\) Again on Senart's suggestion, reading vāsaugha for vāśaungha (i.e. bāṣp) of the text.
\(^5\) One of the Apsaras.
\(^6\) Reading laṇḍaka for lambha. See note p. 90.
\(^7\) Literally "seeing" it, sampāśiyamāna (for sampāsiyamāna, "metri causa"), which, as the queen is asleep, cannot be literally true.
The floor of the king's courtyard, inlaid with precious stones, rumbled to the beat of Kaṭṭhaka's hoofs, and the wondrous sound echoed softly through the night.

But the four guardians of the world,\(^1\) in their brilliant diadems and flowing garlands, put their hands that were as the red lotus under the hoofs of Kaṭṭhaka.

In front, his hair clasped with a jewel, Indra, the wielder of the thunderbolt, the teacher of the Three-and-Thirty\(^2\) devas, the thousand-eyed, went before the Best of Men.

One might think that it was the horse Kaṭṭhaka that bore him, but in reality it was the devas who carried in their noble hands the tiger of eloquence, him who sheds wondrous rays around him.

When he had withdrawn from the fair city, the lion-hearted man looked down on the goodly citadel, and said, "I shall not enter it again before I have passed beyond the power of old age and death."

"Thus, my pious friend, do perfect Buddhas achieve retirement from the world. But I cannot define exactly the kalpa that elapsed from the conception of the Bodhisattva up to his leaving home, nor the rest of the kalpa".

ATTRIBUTES OF THE BUDDHAS

"Nor is it possible to comprehend all the virtues of a Buddha, so numerous are the virtues with which Buddhas are endowed.

After they have come to the bodhi tree, but before they acquire comprehensive knowledge, Buddhas become gifted with the five eyes."

When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa said

\(^1\) Only one, Indra, is referred to in the next stanza. In Hindu mythology there were usually eight lokapālas, but in Pali texts there are only four. These are identical with the four kings of the lowest deva-heaven which is called after them cāturmāhārājacakṣa (see p. 25), where they dwell as guardians of the four quarters, namely, Dhatārātha of the east, Viriḷhaka of the south, Virūpakṣa of the west, and Vessavaṇa of the north. This inclusion of Indra among the "four guardians" (who the others were regarded as being not stated) is not the only indication we have that the redactors of the Mahāvastu were more conversant with Hindu mythology than with Buddhist, or, to be more exact, gave a larger place to it than was usual in Buddhist scriptures.

\(^2\) Literally, "the thirty," tridāsa, the devas who inhabited Tridāsa, a conventional name for Tīryastraṁa, the home of the Three-and-Thirty devas. (See note p. 25.) Similarly Tāvatimśa in Pali is often called Tīdasa.

124 THE MAHĀVASTU

The venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, "These, my pious friend, are the five eyes of the perfect Buddhas. What five? The eye of the flesh, the deva eye, the eye of wisdom, the eye of dharma, and the eye of a Buddha. These five eyes,\(^1\) my pious friend, are possessed by perfect Buddhas. They are not attributes\(^2\) of Pratyekabuddhas, arhans, disciples, nor of the utterly ignorant men of the crowd.

"With regard to the Tathāgatas' eye of the flesh, this eye is endowed with such brilliance, such power of perception of what is minute and real, as does not belong to the eye of the flesh of any other being. And when Bodhisattvas have attained this all-seeing faculty, their range of vision is unobstructed, no matter what extent of space they desire to scan. What is the reason for this? It comes of their rich accumulation of merit. As it must be believed that a universal king with his fourfold army moves through the air from continent to continent by his magic power, and as it must be believed that the firm earth, when Buddhas walk on it, rises and subsides and rises by their magic power, even though they do not will it, in the same way and by other analogies as well this(159) eye of the flesh is proved to be an essential attribute of perfect Buddhas. Not in a kalpa is it possible to reach the limit of the qualities of the physical eye of Buddhas. And why? Because there is nothing in the Buddhas that can be measured by the standard of the world, but everything appertaining to the great seers is transcendental.\(^3\) Likewise the experience of the Buddhas is transcendental. And yet this physical eye of the Buddhas has the same colour, the same mode of working and the same position in the body as it has in other beings.

"The deva eye of the Buddhas is the same as that which

\(^1\) In the Pali canon these "eyes" are described somewhat differently. At Nd.\(^1\) 235 we have māṃsacakkhu, "the eye of the flesh or physical eye," dibba, "the deva eye," paññā, "the eye of wisdom," buddha, "the eye of a Buddha," and samanā, "the eye of all-round knowledge, the eye of a Tathāgata."

\(^2\) Asādhārama, "not general to," "not shared by."

\(^3\) A statement of the special doctrine of the Lokottaravādins, that same sect of which the Mahāvastu is the scripture. See p. 3 and compare pp. 45, 76, 132.
devas of earth, Yakṣa devas, Rākṣasa devas, Kāmāvacara1
devas and Rūpāvacara2 devas have, only superior, larger, and
more expansive. This eye is concerned with mental forms.

“The eye of wisdom of the Buddhas is the same as that
which individuals, arranged in eight classes3 according to their
power of sight from the convert up to the arhan, have, but is
clearer. Then what is the dharma eye of the Buddhas?
This consists in the intellectual possession of the ten powers.4

What ten powers? They are as follows:—

A Buddha knows what is and what is not a casual occasion.
This is the first power of the infinitely wise ones. He knows
whither every course of conduct tends. This is the second power.
He knows the various elements which make up the world.

1 Certain grades of devas in a heaven where they are still amenable to
the seductiveness of the senses.
2 Devas in a heaven or sphere where ” rūpa’s or objects of sight are the
principal medium of experience.” (Expositor, p. 216 n.).
3 Senart has a long note on these balāni and resolves many of the difficulties
in the text with the aid of the two lists in the Pali and the Mahāvastu,
respectively. It may here be said that with the limited sources for collation
at his disposal, Senart has been remarkably successful
in restoring corrupted
terms. At first sight, and independently of the ordinals
34, he sees beings passing away and being born...

This consists in the intellectual possession of the ten powers.

A Buddha knows what is and what is not a casual occasion.
This is the first power of the infinitely wise ones. He knows
whither every course of conduct tends. This is the second power.
He knows the various elements which make up the world.

1 Dhyāna, Pali jhāna. “Meditation” is, perhaps, the English word that
comes nearest to the meaning of the original, and may be used in translation
if only it is remembered that it is a particular type of meditation, special
to Buddhist theory and practice. It is essentially a form of religious experi­
ence, or rather exercise, and in some ways is “ mystic.” Mrs. Rhys Davids
translated jhāna by “ musing,” believing that she would avoid the
intellectual associations of the word “ meditation.” “ Musing,” however,
seems too passive a term, for dhyāna (jhāna) was throughout all its stages
distinctly an active and well-ordered exercise. It is described in detail
below p. 182.
2 Aṭṭhikā buddhakhārī: See note p. 33.
3 Ravita, so translated here on the analogy of the use of Pali rāva in the
Vinaya to denote ” speaking and making blunders by over-hurrying oneself
in speaking.” (Pali Dictionary). Compare also the use of rāva cited by Senart
from the corresponding list in Jina Alamkāra (Burnouf, Lotus, p. 648 l.)
and translated by “ action vio­lent.”
His mindfulness never fails. His mind is never disturbed. There is no thoughtless indifference. There is no preoccupation with the multiplicity of phenomena. The knowledge involved in these eighteen special attributes of a Buddha is what is meant by the Buddha eye.

(161) When this had been said, the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa asked the venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana, “Again, O son of the Conqueror, does this account of the bhūmis apply to the Exalted One (Śakyamuni) particularly, or to all perfect Buddhas generally?”

The venerable Mahā-Kātyāyana replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, “Once upon a time, my pious friend, the Exalted One was staying near Benares, at Rishivadana, in the Deer Park,² attended by eighteen thousand saints. There the Exalted One analysed the eighteen special attributes of a Buddha by saying, ‘Perfect Buddhas have infallible knowledge and insight of the past,’ etc., and expounded the ten bhūmis. It is by taking the perfect Buddha Śakyamuni as a type that the ten bhūmis are explained. Concerning this matter it is said:

The man of vision gives up his dear possessions with a glad heart, as he passes through his long succession of lives. That is why the Tathāgata, reaching his high ideal, awakens to that unsurpassed knowledge which is dear to him.

With wholly contented mind he gives up women garbed in fine raiment and wearing brilliant jewels. His splendid wonderful purpose is disclosed by the fruit of this deed.

Never did he in the course of his existence shoot arrows, darts, spears and javelins at living beings. Hence his path is free from grass, brambles, and thorns(162) as he passes harmlessly through town and village.

He listens respectfully even to his servant if he speaks the truth, and does not interrupt his tale. That is why, when he himself preaches dharma to the multitude, there is none that is not glad and does not rejoice.

He bestows choice gifts. . . .³ He dispels doubt and perplexity, and that is why cool radiance, like shafts of light, emanates from his body.

Mrigadāva. See note p. 311.

Lacuna.

ATTRIBUTES OF THE BUDDHAS

No beggar lays his request before the Lord of men in vain. That is why his preaching is not in vain. Hence also the marvel of his destruction of Māra’s power.

Right gladly do they⁴ give the Conquerors lovely golden palm-leaves. That is the reason for the marvel that the kinsmen of the world always go about in the world with cheerful faces.⁵

Right gladly does he give at all times jewelled sandals and shoes.(163) That is why the Supreme of Men always walks without touching the ground for as much as the width of four fingers.

Although reviled by others again and again, the Lord bears it with composure and pays no heed to it.⁶ That again is why this earth with its mountains rises and subsides as he walks over it.

With his guidance he gives protection to the humble and raises up the fallen multitude. That is why the jewel-bearing earth rises and falls as he walks along.

The chapter of the dharma called Buddhānusmruti⁴ was then recited by the perfect Buddha to celebrate his own virtues, and at the end of that he was extolled in his presence by the venerable Vāgīsa:

Homage to thee, O Buddha, who art boundless of vision, limitless of sight, who bearest the hundred marks of merit, who art friendly and compassionate, who knowest the highest good. I greet thee, Gotama, in these pleasant strains.

¹ I.e. the Bodhisattvas generally—a discorning change of number from the singular otherwise used throughout this passage.
² Text has añāloliyā, which is unsatisfactory. Senart suggests mukholokiyā, which may be taken as a variant of mukholoka (above p. 27 of text) “glad” i.e. “with a cheerful look.” Cf. Pali mukholokana, “cheerful” and mukholokeha, “flattering.”
³ Odhāte = Vedic odhate. (वाः, “to consider.”) So Senart. It may be better to read ūdhāta (Pali), “disturbed,” past participle from ūdnāt = ud + ānāti, and translate “is not disturbed.”
⁴ A work which cannot with certainty be identified with the Bodhisattvabhūtānusmrutisamādhikā, referred to by Wassiljew: Buddhismus, p. 107. See Senart’s note. Note, also, that there is an evident break here in the coherence of the narrative.
⁵ I.e. Vāgīsa, “lord of speech.” Usually this word is an epithet, and is often found compounded with the names of scholars. It is not clear to whom this title is applied here or at pp. 287, 269, of the text where the name occurs again. Is he identical with Vāgīsa Thera, whose verses are given at Theragāthā 1099-79?
⁶ I.e. every possible such mark.
Having thyself crossed, O great seer, thou leadest others across. Thou Foremost Man, thou bringer of peace, thou knowest no fear. Making clear what valid reasoning is, thou leadest many men to the deathless truth.

The moral worth of the all-seeing great seer is well described as deep, noble, and rich. Thou art devout in this world and beyond, distinguished for thy moral worth, a crusher of thy foes. O great sage, thy life is flawless, stainless, and freed of the āśravas. Clean and perfectly pure, thou art all aglow like a fire on a mountain top. In steadiness of mind thou hast reached perfection.

Thus, too, O Man, thou hast gained mastery of concentration and of thought. Thou hast reached perfect mastery. Far removed from the sphere of evil, thou shinnest forth. Just as thy wish is, thou art extolled with devas and men, thou dost ensue, with all thy heart, solitude and concentration; thou art resplendent as a garland of gold. Homage then, to thee, O truly valiant Gotama.

As the glorious sun shines in the sky, and the full moon when the sky is clear, so dost thou, O Man, firm in concentration, shine forth like burnished gold.

Men who strive in perplexity and ignorance know not the whole-hearted endeavour of him who ensues solitude and blissful concentration. Homage to thee, who art adored by devas and men.

Both when thou lookst out upon the world, O thou whose tread is like a Nāga's, and when thou reachest the shore beyond death, mindful and with thy thought unsullied, this life-bearing earth quake does this life-bearing earth quake.

Since, through thine own understanding, thou hast appre-

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**ATTRIBUTES OF THE BUDDHAS**

headed the truth and knowledge unheard of before. O Foremost Man, who shinnest like thousand-eyed Maghavan, pray give utterance to it.

This terrible misery is now at an end; it will arise no more.

The cessation of it is complete. The result of deeds fades away like the sighing of the wind.

The words that proclaim emancipation of mind and reveal deliverance, are beyond thought, yet are fixed in the way of reason,(166) sound strong and clear, are eloquent, gentle, and instinct with truth.

Explain these matchless words . . . , for thou art the presence of men. Verily, when they hear thy sweet well-spoken speech, the thirsty will drink as from a brook of water.

Among stricken men, do thou devise a kindly, incomparable readiness of speech that will have the force of supreme authority.

For thou hast attained perfection in the highest attributes as has no one else in the world.

O Sage, thy wisdom is supreme, unequalled, matchless in the whole world. Thou art the highest of all living beings, as Mount Meru is among rocky peaks.

Endowed with so much virtue as thou art, there is none equal or like, much less superior to thee in good qualities. Thou art the highest, the perfect man, as immovable blessed Nirvana is best of all states.

Having abjured passion, folly and vice, conceit, hypocrisy and ensnarling lust(167), thou, with thy mind delivered from sin, shinnest forth like the full moon in the clear sky.

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1 Abhisamet, Pali abhisameti, for which the Buddhist Sanskrit form in Divy. 617 is abhisamayati. The latter, however, may be a denominative from abhisamaya. See note p. 206. On p. 312 of the text abhisameti is used with the locative case of the object.

2 dārśanam labhasu . . . avanśrutam. The text has avanśrutam, but, as Senart points out, the sense requires anāśrutam or anāvānśrutam.

3 A name of Indra; in Pali Mahā, the name Sakka bore in a previous birth when he was born as a man in Mahākāma in Magadhā. His story is given in the Kūlasāka Jātaka” (D.P.N.).

4 The speech which is here begged of the Buddha is not forthcoming, and Senart, therefore, suggests that the eulogy of Vācūti’s is out of its proper place.

5 Ho . . . agra—henceforth; cf. Pali yadagge . . . tadage, and BSk. tadagreṇa, adyagreṇa cited by Senart from Lāl. Vis. and Lotus.

6 Literally, “the cessation of it has reached bottom,” reading, with Senart, avarādhanaṃ adho pravaraḥi, for avarādhanaṃ, etc., of the text.

7 Pākā, “ripening,” “maturing,” sc. of karma.

8 Lacuna.
THE MAHĀVASTU

Since thou hast uprightly walked in the way of truth, thou art a mighty bridge over which good men cross. O Foremost Man, thou that shinest forth like thousand-eyed Mañşavana, pour forth this hymn of thine.

Cultivate the concentration that is free of defilements, pure and calm, the refuge of men. For the good of living beings, thou art triumphantly resplendent like the sun, and revered of devas and men.

Free of all attachments in this world and the world beyond, meditating thou rejoicest in thy meditation. Crowds of devas throng together to adore the great Seer, with joined hands outstretched.

Manifold1 in many ways is the eye of the clear-seeing Buddhas, who crush old age and death, who tame the untamed.

The conduct of the Exalted One is transcendental, his root of virtue is transcendental. The Seer's walking, standing, sitting and lying down are transcendental.

The Sugata's body, which brings about the destruction of the fetters of existence, is also transcendental. Of this, my friends, there should be no doubt.

The Seer's wearing of his mendicant's robe is transcendental. Of this there is no doubt. The Sugata's eating of his food is likewise transcendental.

The teaching of the heroic men is to be deemed wholly transcendental, and I shall proclaim, as it truly is, the greatness of the eminently wise Buddhas.

When they have obtained opportunity of place and time, and maturity of karma, the Leaders preach the true dharma each time it is born anew.2

The Buddhas conform to the world's conditions, but in such a way that they also conform to the traits of transcendentalism.

The pre-eminent men practise the four postures of the body,3 though no fatigue comes over these men of shining deeds.

ATTRIBUTES OF THE BUDDHAS

It is true that they wash their feet, but no dust ever adheres to them; their feet remain clean as lotus-leaves. This washing is mere conformity with the world.

It is true that the Buddhas bathe, but no dirt is found on them; their bodies are radiant like the golden amaranth. Their bathing is mere conformity with the world.

They clean their teeth and perfume their mouths with the fragrance of the lotus. They put on clothes, the cloak and the three robes.

Though the wind blows their garments about, it does not harm their bodies. (169) This clothing of the lion-hearted men is mere conformity with the world.

They sit in the shade, though the heat of the sun would not torment them. This is mere conformity with the world on the part of the Buddhas whose karma has had a happy outcome.1

They are in the habit of taking medicine, but there is no disease in them, for great is the reward that those leaders reap. This taking of medicine is mere conformity with the world.

Although they could suppress the working of karma, the Conquerors let it become manifest and conceal their sovereign power.4 This is mere conformity with the world.

It is true that they eat food, but hunger never distresses them.

It is in order to provide men with the opportunity to give alms that in this respect they conform to the world.

It is true that they drink, but thirst never torments them —this is a wondrous attribute of the great seers. Their drinking is mere conformity with the world.

They put on robes, and yet a Conqueror would always be covered without them and have the same appearance as devas. This wearing of robes is mere conformity with the world.

They keep their dark and glossy hair close cropped, although no razor ever cuts it. This is mere conformity with the world.

They take on the semblance of being old, but for them there is no old age, for the Conquerors have the gift of overcoming it. This appearance of old age is mere conformity with the world.

1 Literally "the issue of whose karma is fair"—abhaniśyānā. Cf. the use of abhiśandā in Pali.
2 I.e., they are or remain in the world of their own free will, and not because any karma of theirs has entailed rebirth.
Although they have reached perfection by the merits won in the course of countless kalpas, they make it appear as though they were at the beginning. This is mere conformity with the world.

(170) Although the Sugata's corporeal existence is not due to the sexual union of parents, yet the Buddhas can point to their fathers and mothers. This is mere conformity with the world.

From Dīpaṃkara onwards, the Tathāgata is always free from passion. Yet (the Buddha) has a son, Rāhula, to show. This is mere conformity with the world.

Although in the course of countless kotis of kalpas they have attained to perfect insight, they yet wear the semblance of being ignorant. This is mere conformity with the world.

Although in the worlds both of devas and of men they condemn upholders of wrong beliefs, they yet resort to heretics. This is mere conformity with the world.

Although, for the sake of all beings, they have awakened to the unsurpassed enlightenment, they yet put on the appearance of a lack of zeal.

This is mere conformity with the world.

All perfect Buddhas are endowed with a voice of perfect qualities. It has sixty qualities. What are the sixty?

The voice of the Excellent Man pervades everywhere with a sweet musical sound. The Sugata's voice is like the sound of the lute and the fife. It is like a swan's song.

The voice of the eminently wise one is like the roar of the thunder-cloud, yet sweet, like the cuckoo's call.

It is like the rattle of chariot-wheels, like the booming of the ocean, like the cry of a water-bird.

Like the notes of the kinnara, the sparrow, and the cloud-bird is the voice of them who bear the marks of excellence. It is like the trumpeting of an elephant, and like the roar of the king of beasts.

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do not teach that base things are sublime, nor that sublime things are base. I do not teach that things which pertain to a layman pertain to a recluse, nor that things which pertain to a recluse pertain to a layman.'

'Thus, my pious friend, do the perfect Buddhas teach, speaking the truth, speaking in due season, speaking what is real, what is full of meaning, what is certain, not what is false and uncertain, speaking in accordance with the dharma and the Discipline.

(174)" Once upon a time, my pious friend, when the Buddha had gone to Riṣivadana near Benares, to the grove there, on the day he set rolling the noble wheel of dharma, a Tuṣita deva, named Śikharadharā, who was a Bodhisattva, went to speak to him in person, and greeted him with respect and deference.1 Bowing, and holding out his joined hands he said,

Hail! Thy voice, O beautiful one, knows no obstruction. Hail to thee! Thy voice is rich, perfect and pleasant. Hail! Thy voice possesses sweet tone, and is ended with melodious timbre. Hail, great sage, who proclaims the Four Truths.

Hail! The Gandharva devas imbibe thy sweet music. Hail! Here thou settest rolling the irresistible wheel of dharma that obeys thy command.2

There is none in the world equal to thee in form, beauty, birth and strength, in the four postures, in energy, in meditation, in knowledge, in calm and in self-control.

To-day, valiant sage, with thy first exhortation, ten kotis of devas were thrilled and led to the first fruition.3

O valiant lord, with thy second exhortation, thou didst lead thirty kotis to the first fruition.

Fifty kotis more of devas were converted by thee, O sage, with thy third exhortation, and were delivered from the desolate ways.

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1 Sappattisa, a Buddhist Sanskrit form corresponding to Pali sappattissa from paññunā (paññu-ṛtri). It occurs again in the Mahāvastu at 2. 258; 3. 345, and 372, the form varying between sappattisa and sappatttta.
2 Reading after one MS. anuvat'ti11 following,""obedient,""""compliant"" for the anuvattika1 of the text, which would mean "not returning" or "not to be rolled back." As has been seen (p. 33 note 7) the Mahāvastu never speaks of the "rolling back" of the wheel of dharma.
3 I.e. to the first stage in the Way, or "entering the stream." (See below)
(175) Eighty kotis more of devas didst thou tame, O lord, with thy third exhortation, to the fruition of entering the stream, and didst deliver from the ways of ill.

Hence there is none equal to thee in friendliness, O supreme of men. Compassionate, thou art still more in compassion, O heroic man.

In joy, great sage, are the valiant men born; to the whole world are they gracious. They live their lives for the welfare of all beings.

A very long time ago, thou man of strength, thou wast born in the world as a king's son, a leader of the lost, a gladdening guide of the afflicted.

May our revered saviour never disappear, for thy strength, O kinsman of the world, is boundless.

By thy power, Self-becoming One, states of desolation are become of no account. Through thee, O Man Supreme, the heavens are rendered inadequate.

Thanks to thee, O Very Man, he who belongs to the class of people whose wrongdoing is fixed in its consequences achieves the class where no consequences are entailed.

O thou of illustrious birth, he who belongs to the class where actions entail no consequences will, thanks to thee,

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3. 217.

The use of sotāpanna (Pali, sabbatāpanna) has destroyed the first three fetters. (See below p. 150 and D. 1. 150, etc.)

3. 156, etc.)

The use of rāsi for "class," "category," etc. is incorrect in saying that Buddhist Sanskrit knows of only two rāsis, for even if the metre of the text here does not allow of the emendation of samyaktvaniyata into the full name of the third rāsi, samyakātuṣṭaṇi, the sanyāk of this compound must be taken as qualifying rāsi and serving, in its truncated form, for the whole compound—a mnemonic use of abbreviation which we meet with elsewhere in the Mahāvastu (e.g. 1. 86). All the three rāsis are also mentioned in V. 4. 318. In both the Mahāvastu passages it seems simpler to take rāsi in the sense of a class of people rather than of things or actions. Cf. also 1. 316.
do not falter, but, suiting actions to their words, they are of irreproachable conduct.

With the fire of knowledge the lords burn the noxious poisonous weed of false belief, and without fear or trembling they hold out to men the prospect of the beyond.

The valiant men, having traversed the wilderness and attained peace, in their wisdom proclaim, "Here is the place where no terror is.

"Here is found no recurrence of old age and death and disease. Here is experienced no event of tribulation or sorrow."

Devas and men hearing his\(^1\) sweet words and paying due heed to them, attain to that well-being.

Therefore their renown is spread far and wide and is supreme in the three worlds. The Buddhas fare onwards, praised of good men, and never do they rest.

APPARITIONS

"For the benefit of men, my pious friend, the Buddhas grant apparitions,\(^3\) as, for example, when the Exalted One produced one for the king of Kalinga,\(^3\) for Queen Kusumā, and for the merchant Dhruva."

Thus, too, in the chief city of Rājagriha, the Exalted One produced an apparition,\(^1\) and then he who is skilful in his expedients, explained to Upāli\(^4\) the words spoken by the apparition.\(^5\)

1 A change from plural to singular, from the subject of Buddhas in general to that of an individual Buddha.

3 A very inadequate rendering for paropakhāra (here) and upakhāra (below). These two terms are unknown in this sense either in Pali or in classical Sanskrit. Upakhāra properly means "gift" (cf. upakārti, the verb here translated by "grant"), and this meaning underlies the usage here. But the term here also connotes, first, that the "gift" consists of moral or religious instruction, and, secondly, that the instruction is given by "apparitions" miraculously produced by the Buddha. This second connotation is more explicitly expressed by the term paropakhāra, "a gift (of instruction in the person of) another." Vacanopakhāram on this page must be changed to ca paropakhāram, as it is entirely a question of producing a miraculous apparition, but on page 178 the same word is to the point as it is a question of explaining to Upāli an "apparition of speech", i.e. the words spoken by an apparition.

\(^1\) Or Kālinga, "one of the seven political divisions mentioned in the time of the mythical King Remū." (D.P.N.)

\(^2\) One of the most eminent of the Buddha's immediate disciples" (ibid).

\(^3\) See note \(^1\) at end.

\(^4\) See note \(^1\) at end.

\(^5\) Otherwise unknown.

\(^6\) Literally "in his natural, or ordinary, form," prakṛtitārthanaṃ.
Then the Supreme of Men, in the guise of a king, and hovering in the air, spoke these words of wisdom to King Abhaya:

"It does not become a king to neglect his own affairs and concern himself only with the affairs of others. Kingship is only kingship in name when it is associated with false doctrines.

"At present your destiny can only be the great and pitiless hell, as is also the destiny of those whom you have taught.

"Destroyed yourself, you destroy others; ruined yourself, you ruin others. Blind yourself, you make others blind without scruple.

"Deluded yourself, you delude others; dead yourself, you cause others to die. You evil-minded man, you bring happy beings to woe.

"Plunged in the mire of lusts, libidinous, infatuated by sensual desires, you want to see the other world, and yet a king should have insight into all states."

"That is not possible for you, O king, since your whole aim is to gratify your senses. You cannot, my lord, go to this other world just yet.

"But if you will learn to free yourself of lust, recognising the sweet allurement of sensual pleasures, and the wickedness thereof, I know that you will come to me in heaven."

When he heard this, King Abhaya trembled with fear, and, bowing, he said to that fair vision in the air,

"I believe thee, deva, that this is so and not otherwise. Be gracious to me, saviour, and deliver me from fear.

"Stay in this palace as my counsellor and teacher, O peerless man, for, trained by thee I shall win mastery, and so shall many others with me."

In this way then did the perfectly wise one produce an apparition for the edification of men.

Again, there was the famous Kusumā, queen of King

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1 In the text the verbs of this stanza are 3rd pers. sing., which makes it appear to be a quotation applicable to the case of Abhaya. For the sake of uniformity the 2nd pers. has been used in translating.

2 I.e., before believing in it.

3 Literally "is (or should be) the eye of all states," dharmāpāṃ nayānam.
“Let the king then go up to his palace attended by his women-folk and pray thus: ‘We wish to see him who discerns all that is good.’

“Praising him who is endowed with all good qualities, let him go to him for refuge. The Conqueror will then declare to you what you now ask of us.”

“So be it,” said she in obedience to the phantoms, and immediately the king with his women-folk went up to his palace.

Hurriedly, along with his women-folk, and Kusumā too, he bowed, his hands reverently joined, and spoke these words,

“Exceeding great is the joy derived from the homage paid to them who are gifted with all virtues and are full of compassion for the worlds.”

Then the Master addressed the monks who delighted in his teaching, Cāruvāna,1 Simhahamula, and blameless Drīghabāhu,

Kīrītīnā, Mahānāga, Cāturanta, Mahābala, Nilakeśa, Vrīdhāka, Vānta, Sāstrivārāda.

And peerless Sārāsa, blameless Guptakāma(183), Simhamāndi, Viśālākṣa, and Lakṣāṇeyya the incomparable.

“Behold, monks, I go: follow me your Master. I go to convert a great multitude, and Kusumā chief among them.”

“So be it,” said the self-becoming saints in obedience, and gathering round the Buddha, they said,

“O valiant one, our two feet can traverse the air. We will follow wherever the clear-seeing Buddha goes.”

In his compassion for men, the Exalted One attended by his disciples arrived in an instant in Kusumā’s city. The Leader took on the form of the wielder of the thunderbolt,2 and sure in his powers of thought,3 he called to mind a host of devas.

The supremely wise one shed his radiance all around for fourteen yojanas, while devas greeted his progress.

Then Queen Kusumā, bowing, said to the Sugata, “With my hands joined in veneration, I would salute thy feet, O saviour.”

The Master alighted on the roof of the palace, and in his glory flooded all quarters with his radiance. Queen Kusumā, with the King, saluted the Conqueror’s feet, and the queen’s escort, too, bowed down before the strong man.

“O Best of Men,” said she, “we come to thee for refuge, to thee that art adored by Suras. What fruit does that one reap who has killed his mother and father?”

(184)“Hear, Kusumā, what the certain retribution is that awaits the one who has killed his mother and father. Immediately after this life he is reborn in the hell Mahāvīrī.”

Then the eloquent Master, the Leader, with a Buddha’s power, described Mahāvīrī to Kusumā.

And Queen Kusumā, terrified at this dire hell, shed floods of tears and spoke these words:

“I was moved by pity for my parents. What then is the retribution that awaits him in the world beyond who kills with evil intent? Pray tell me the truth of this.”

“He who would do so, Kusumā, out of an evil heart, could not be rid of his disposition. And this is the retribution for his wrong-doing that awaits him in the other world.”

Then in the presence of the king of dharma Kusumā joyfully and gladly renounced her cruel design.

And the Omniscient One spoke of the sweet allurement of the pleasures of sense; the Supreme of Men spoke of the peril of sensual desires.

He whose thought is intrepid spoke of the escape from sensual delights; the discerner of truth spoke of the wonderful blessings of Nirvāṇa.

The Sage converted twelve kotis of human beings, with Kusumā chief among them. Such then was this apparition.

There was also a merchant named Dhrūva in the city of Kāśīvardhana,4 and he held a sinful view concerning the treatment of mothers and fathers.

1 Sadāya, according to Senart, a Sanskritisation of sajja, “ready,” “imminent.”
2 Otherwise unknown, but obviously situated in Kāśī.

1 All these seem to be unknown to the Pali Canon, nor is it easy to distinguish between epithets and proper names.
2 i.e. India.
3 Dhārṇa, here not used in the strict doctrinal sense of “meditation.”
4 Otherwise unknown, but obviously situated in Kāśī.
He held that whoso should invite his aged and decrepit mother and father (185) to a family meal and regale them with food, and should then burn both his parents on the funeral pyre, would have a reward¹ assigned him, for the merit of such a man would be boundless.

The Leader accordingly created thousands of Rākṣasas, and these stood before Dhrūva as he slept in his fine mansion.

In their hands were scourges, whips, swords, hammers, knives and fire-brands, and clubs and hundreds of arrows, and lances and mallets, as they stood before the merchant.

"Vile man," said they, "it is indeed an accursed belief that you have formed. As you hold this accursed and perverse view, you are not worthy to be believed.

"Now that misfortunes have come upon you, wish the death of those who in days gone by succoured you with loving hearts in all your hardships.

"You wish the death of those who would not be adequately repaid by their son even though he gave them all his wealth.

"It were better for you to die than live and hold such a view. You who reject the belief on which the Best of Men acts.

"This day your life comes to an end, as well as that of your wife, of your kinsmen, of your servant, and of your son. And when you die you will pass to hell.

"And there may you and yours be happy, sir! We consign to perdition the merchant Dhrūva, with his false belief, his stupid and ignorant mind.

(186) "Who seduces other men with his sinful belief, and despises Aryan teaching."

When he heard this, Dhrūva became distressed, perspiring over all his body; he was humbled and terrified.

He became perplexed, distracted and scared. Then raising his joined hands, he said,

"May the host of the Rākṣasas be gracious to me and mine! Be ye my sanctuary, my shelter and my refuge!

"Make known what I can do this day to deliver myself and my people from fear, and not pass to the bourne of ill."

And those hosts of Rākṣasas hovering in the air thus made answer to Dhrūva the merchant: "Come not to us for refuge. Seek rather the refuge of him, "Who desires the welfare of all beings, the Buddha who is adored by devout men, who is above all worlds, the lion-hearted eloquent Śākyan, the joy of men's minds."

"Where now, I pray you, is the Exalted One who is worshipped of men? For I would go for refuge to him, the Sage, the Best of Men."

"He who is endowed with all good qualities is in the city of Ratanakholaka,¹ in the fragrant park there that is strewn with variegated flowers.

"There, surrounded by ninety-thousand saints, abides the Sage who is wise and proficient in the moral states.² (187) "To that refuge go with all your people. Look on that sun among men and abandon your false belief.

"And consider with understanding the fair dharma that he will teach you by means of examples.³ Thus will life be yours.

"If you go not to the Buddha, you will not be worthy of the name of Dhrūva,⁴ for your death will be near.⁵ Believe our counsel and act accordingly."

Then Dhrūva, the merchant, with his people, in all humility bowed his head to the ground where the Supreme of Men was standing, and said,

"O Sage, who art gifted with all virtuous qualities, the great, compassionate one, I with my folk come to thee for refuge, O thou of great glory.

"To the fearful thou who endest fear can give fearlessness. And I, with my people, am wholly possessed by fear, O Great Being.

¹ Otherwise unknown.
² Sadya, see note p. 140.
³ Literally, "the dharma arranged in (or supplied with) examples," dristāntavihitam.
⁴ A play on the word dhrūva, "firm, stable, lasting." "You do not deserve to be called Mr. Steadfast." ⁵ Sadya, see note p. 145.
"I desire to extol the ways of the Master, O thou most eloquent. I wish to see the True Man, if so it be that we are worthy of the favour."

Then out of his compassion for men the Leader appeared, arriving in an instant and attended by his saints. Seeing him hovering in the air, self-controlled, calm and honoured, (188) graciously appearing to him and his folk, the merchant went up to the Refuge, the tiger in eloquence, and learned from him what a good son should believe.

The Best of Men, the Tathāgata, the sage, the truthful one, understanding the merchant's fault, proclaimed the Four Truths.

The Lord, a sun among men, like a lion roaring in the forest, explained at length the fruit of good and bad acts.

The merchant, with his people, hearing that lion's roar, immediately won the salutary fruit.

Such a service as was then rendered by the great Seer is called an upahāra1 by those expert in philosophy.

Again, there was in a certain island continent a king named Taru,2 and he had formed a sinful and frivolous view.

Namely that whosoever, after inviting a brāhman, a recluse, or any other wayfarer, did not then give him food, bore an excellent character.

And so with regard to whosoever invited a crowd of any people from śūdras3 to brāhmans, and then clapped them in prison and let them starve.

(189) At that time there appeared in yet another of his existences, the noble, the mighty and glorious Lord, arrayed in rich garments and jewels.

Now the king was seducing his subjects with that wicked opinion of his, for the crowd listened to him and believed.

The Sage, extolled of devas and Gandharvas, aware of this belief of the king's, in an instant created five thousand monks.

These saints went to the island where Taru was king, and wandered and roamed through his kingdom.

When the king saw those who had been created in the likeness of monks, he saluted their feet as they sailed down from the air, and said, "With true joy I invite you, seers, to a repast. Let the seers accept if I find favour with them."

When he saw that they accepted, he saluted the seers' feet, hurried away and came to his palace.

And when he saw that night had passed into day, he bade his servant go to the monks and invite them, saying the meal was ready.

The seers were conducted by the king into a wonderful prison, which was perfectly secure and well-fitted with firm bolts.

When the seventh day was past the king went to visit them. (190) They who were in the guise of monks were quietly meditating, serene of countenance.

The king again abandoned the phantom creations, and at the end of the second week he paid them another visit.

And so for the third, the fourth, the fifth, the sixth, the seventh, the ninth, and the tenth week. Then he said, "Whether you are Nāga devas, Gandharvas, Yakṣas, Guhyakas or Asuras, you have come in the guise of seers to confound me.

"Make known to me who you are, if I find favour with you. In the same way, he who will make himself known to me will find favour with me."

They replied, "Favour is shown you, O king. Therefore heed the words we truthfully speak.

"In Kāśī's capital city, in Benares, in the fair forest there, abides the Master, who is perfect in all things, who is the dispeller of all doubt."

Then the king, with his people, went up to his palace, and bowed and prayed, saying, "We wish to see the Best of Men, the incomparable man."

The Master, hearing this, forthwith arose, and flying through the air came to the island.

And the four saints1 Kunjara, Karabhogaja, (191) Vāraṇa and gracious Mahādhūyaśīn came thither with him.

1 Vāraṇa appears to be the only one of these names to be found in the Pali Canon; the two persons are not necessarily identical.
When the other monks saw the Buddha shining like the moon, they reverently and enthusiastically sang the praises of the teacher of dharma.

With devotion in their hearts, glad, and ended with all good qualities, they sang, "O saviour of devas and men, homage to thee, O boon of men."

"O mighty being, great in majesty, splendour, knowledge and power, reveal truly who thou art, we pray thee."

"I, born of a royal race, established as king of dharma, am the refuge of all living things. Men know that I am Buddha.

"I am the saviour of devas and men, guide and physician; I am he who puts an end to doubt. I am perfect Buddha, adored by devas."

When he heard this King Tara addressed the Buddha, saying, "Homage to thee, O tiger in eloquence, O thou dispeller of doubt.

"Behold me here come to my palace with my folk. I and my realm turn to thee, O true man, for refuge. Be therefore a refuge to us all."

Then the king described his belief to the great Seer, and when he had heard it the Valiant One said to the king, "It does not profit you, O king, to believe in the sinful way that leads to the bourn of ill. Renounce this belief of yours."

The king denounced his belief and said, "O wise one, teach me the dharma whereby ill is suppressed."

And the Supreme of Men, assured in his Buddhahood, considered how the merit of all those people befitted them to hear dharma.

The king and his people, having learnt dharma, cast off the three fetters, and won the first fruition.

And countless other people won the first fruition. Behold, O worthy king, the incomparable power of love.

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Those created as monks here are not to be considered real monks. This is what the Conquerors, confident in their teaching, call an upahāra.

It is impossible, O son of the Conqueror, that the Tathāgatas should attain omniscience before this, when they are still in the low bhūmīs. But once they have passed through the bhūmīs, they attain it without loss of time. This is what the tigers in eloquence, the Supreme Men, teach.

When he had come to the forest at Benares, the Leader, honoured for his Buddhahood, expounded the ten bhūmīs at length.

The Buddhas, who understand good and bad conduct, know all the thoughts of others. In their various existences they examine the dispositions of all beings.

By the gentle eloquent guidance of him who has insight into worth many men are converted by the understanding Buddha.

Those who have drawn nigh to the highest friend and are converted by his wisdom, are in no wise reborn, nor grow old, nor die.

All the wise Buddhas, with bodies all radiant, severally discover the profound way of life, which is of infinite light.

Here ends the tenth bhūmi, called the "Consecrational," of the Mahāvastu-Avadāna.

The introductory instruction contained in the section on the ten bhūmīs was proclaimed on Mount Gridhakūṭa in an assembly of five hundred saints. Here ends the section on the ten bhūmīs.

The doctrine of the ten bhūmīs must be taught by those who aspire after enlightenment, and presented to those who trust in the right-thinking Bodhisattvas, but not to others. For the former are ready to believe; those others would doubt.

Here ends the section on the bhūmīs from the first to the tenth, being an introduction to the Mahāvastu.
THE HISTORY OF DĪPAMKARA

The beginning of the history of Dīpamkara.\(^1\)

An immeasurable, incalculable kalpa ago, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, there was a universal king, named Arcimat,\(^2\) who was virtuous, mighty, possessing the seven treasures, sovereign over the four continents, triumphant, blessed with devoted subjects in town and country, righteous, a king of righteousness, and pursuing the ten right ways of behaviour. His were the seven treasures, to wit, the treasure of the wheel, of the elephant, the horse, the jewel, the woman, the householder, and the counsellor. He had a full thousand sons, who were valiant, brave, comely, and vanquishers of the armies of their foes. The king dwelt in complete ascendancy over these four continents, which were girt by ocean and mountain, and held them in peace and quiet, ruling by righteousness and not by means of the scourge, the sword, and oppression. (194) King Arcimat, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, had a royal city named Dīpavati, which extended twelve yojanas east and west, and seven yojanas south and north. It was encircled by seven ramparts made of gold and covered with gold. Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, the royal city of Dīpavati was surrounded by seven rows of bright and beautiful palm-trees of the seven precious substances, gold, silver, pearl, beryl, crystal, white coral, and ruby. The palm-tree which had a trunk of gold had leaves and fruit of silver; the palm-tree with a trunk of silver, had leaves and fruit of pearl; the palm-tree with a trunk of pearl had leaves and fruit of beryl; the palm-tree with a trunk of beryl had leaves and fruit of crystal; the palm-tree with a trunk of crystal had leaves and fruit of white coral; the palm-tree with a trunk of white coral had leaves and fruit of ruby; and the palm-tree with a trunk of ruby had leaves and fruit of pearl. When these palm-trees, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, were stirred and fanned by the wind, their rustling was gentle, pleasant and charming, not grating on the ears, but like the sound of the five musical instruments played in harmony by skilled performers. Thus . . .\(^3\) Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, at that time and on that occasion the men of the royal city of Dīpavati were intoxicated by the music of the leaves of the palm-trees, and, endowed and provided with the pleasures of the five senses, they diverted, enjoyed and amused themselves. Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, the royal city of Dīpavati was encircled by seven bright and gleaming railings\(^4\) of the seven precious substances,\(^5\) gold, silver, pearl, beryl, crystal, white coral, and ruby. Where the pillar was of gold the crossbars,\(^6\) the supports,\(^7\) and the base\(^8\) were of silver; where the pillar was of silver, they were of pearls; where the pillar was of pearls, they were of beryl; where the pillar was of beryl, they were of crystal; where the pillar was of crystal, they were of white coral; where the pillar was of white coral, they were of rubies, and where the pillar was of ruby, they were of gold. Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, these railings were covered with two net-like fabrics, one of gold, the other of silver. On the gold net-work there were silver bells; on the silver network, golden bells. And the royal city of Dīpavati had three gates on every side, bright and beautiful, made of the seven precious substances, gold, silver, pearl, beryl, crystal, white

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1 Here related to Maudgalyāyana by Śākyamuni, who, however, once or twice is referred to in the third person in the course of the narrative.
2 Aciima in Pali.
3 Vedikhājāla. Vedikhā from meaning "terrace" came to mean first "a terrace with balustrade," and then the "balustrade" itself, or " railings." Cf. D. 2. 170 (Dial. 2. 210) and Mhas. tari., 220 and 296. Vedikhājāla a net-work of a balustrade seems to be an attempt at a more specific term for "railings," and to denote railings consisting of close horizontal bars crossed by vertical ones at frequent intervals to give the effect of a "net" or a grille pattern. Cf. jālavatāpāna at V. 2. 148 denoting a "latticed shutter" (or "window"). (The translator owes this reference to Miss I. B. Horner.)
4 Varna for ratna or ratana.
6 Ālamāna, cf. the same use in Pali.
7 adivaṭṭhāna, or, perhaps, "niches" or "look-out places," so interpreted by Senart on the assumption that the Chinese terms so translated by Beal correspond to the Sanskrit. The precise significations of all these terms is doubtful. The description of a similar "heavenly" city in the Mahāvastu (Sudassana Sutta (D. 2. 169 ff) translated by Rhys Davids in S.B.E. xi, and Dial. 2. 199 ff., is much clearer in its details, but unfortunately does not afford much help in the interpretation of the Mahāvastu description. A. K. Coomaraswamy Indian Architectural Terms (J.A.O.S., 45, No. 3) takes adhiṭṭhāna to mean "a plinth," and refers to Mukherji: Report on the Antiquities of the District of Lalitpur (1899). (The translator owes this reference also to Miss I. B. Horner.)
coral and ruby. These gates had an arch made of the two metals, gold and silver. These gates had beams of two metals, gold and silver. They had flanking towers of two metals, gold and silver. These gates had opening panels of two metals, gold and silver. They were faced with plates of two metals, gold and silver. They had āparimodakaś of four precious substances, gold, silver, pearl and beryl. By these gates, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, were shrines for relics built of two metals, gold and silver. In front of these gates were Indrabhūta-panchās made of four precious substances, gold, silver, pearl and beryl. These gates had swing-doors of two metals, gold and silver. The bolts were of two metals, gold and silver.

(196) Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, in front of these gates pillars were reared which were embedded in the ground to the depth of three men’s lengths, were three men’s lengths in circumference and twelve men’s lengths in height. They were bright and beautiful, made of the seven precious substances, gold, silver, pearl, beryl, crystal, white coral and ruby. These gates, again, were encased in two net-like fabrics of gold and silver. The golden net-like fabric had bells of silver, and the silver one had bells of gold. And the rustling of these

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Dīpankara will pass away from his life in Tuṣita.” The Śuddhāvāsa devas then disguised themselves as brāhmaṇs, and instructed the brāhmaṇs in the mantras, the Vedas, and the thirty-two marks of a Great Man, so that, when the Bodhisattva appeared in the world, they should be able to declare his buddhahood.

Then, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, when it became time for the Bodhisattva to leave his abode in Tuṣita, he made four great surveys, to wit, of the time, the region, the continent, and the family in which he should be born.

Bodhisattvas are born in one of two classes of families, either noble or brāhmaṇ. The family in which Bodhisattvas are born is endowed with sixty qualities. What sixty? Such a family, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, is distinguished, well-known, and dignified. It is of high birth and lineage, with a long, distinguished and powerful ancestry, and rich in women and men. It is not greedy, nor covetous. It is without fear or baseness; it is intelligent, virtuous, not bent on hoarding riches, but rather making use of its wealth. It is steadfast in friendship, grateful and devout.¹ Its conduct is not motivated by partiality, nor by malice, nor by fear.² It is irreproachable and hospitable.³ It is manly-minded, and steadfastly heroic. It honours shrines, devas and ancestors. It is zealous in duty, keen on charity, and intent upon religious observances. It maintains its continuity⁴ and is well-spoken of among the devas.⁵ It is foremost, supreme, pre-eminent among families, and has ascendancy over other families. It yields great power, and has a large, tireless, faithful and loyal retinue. It respects mothers, fathers, recluses, brāhmaṇs and noble families. It is rich in wealth, treasuries and granaries, elephants, horses, cattle and sheep, in female and male slaves and servants. It is inviolable by strangers, adversaries and retinue.

Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, when it was time for him to pass away, the Bodhisattva made his great preparation. A certain deva addressed the thousands of other devas, saying. “Be reborn in the sixteen great provinces,⁶ in the interior districts, in the rich families of nobles, householders, kings, and kings’ counsellors. As you have been trained in the Discipline, the mass of the people will in their turn accept it.”

At the time of his passing away, the Bodhisattva scanned the quarters of the world, looking for a place in which he should be born. “This King Arcimat,” thought he, “is virtuous, powerful, a universal king, a king over the four continents. He is worthy to be my father.”

(199)He then sought a mother who should be gracious, of good birth, pure of body, of tender passion, and short-lived, of whose span of life only seven nights and ten months remained.

The mothers of all Bodhisattvas die on the last of the seven days after they are delivered of the Supreme of Men.

Now what is the reason that a mother of an All-knowing One should die so soon after giving birth to the Best of Men?

While he is still dwelling in Tuṣita, the Bodhisattva exercises great mindfulness in his search for a mother whose karma is good.

For he must descend into the womb of a woman, who has only seven nights and ten months of her life remaining.

And why so? Because, says he, it is not seemly that she who bears a peerless one like me should afterwards indulge in love.

But if, on the other hand, the mother of the Sugata should

¹ I.e. Bodhisattvas born in such a family are marked out as destined to attain a Buddha’s attribute of “great compassion” for the world. Bodhisattva Mahā-Varāhajīva clearly regarded the “sixty” as a “law-abiding” characteristic.

² These are the four agatis or evil ways of living.

³ Sthulabhikṣa, literally “having plenty of food,” like subhikṣa, Pali subhikka. But as it is moral qualities that are recounted just here, the translation given above seems better. It is tempting to amend the word to sthūlābhikṣa or lakṣya, “liberal,” “munificent,” etc.

⁴ Labdhapurviṣṭam, “with what is before and after gained or kept.”

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⁶ These are referred to again, but not enumerated at 2. 2 and 3. 394. They are to be found enumerated at A. 1. 213. Cf. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 23.

⁷ In the text the reading is pratiseyuḥ: kāmaṁ suyatamātari na piṭā, “if (the father) had intercourse with the mother would he not be said by the hosts of devas to be violating his duty?” But this makes piṭā, or the understood personal pronoun standing for it, the subject of a plural verb. Senart therefore suggests the pl. niśāra, i.e. “if the mothers indulge in love,” and for na piṭā, niśāti as the subject of vatsyate, “the king will be said.” Devasātghānaṁ is a Buddhist Sanskrit use of the genitive for the instrumental.
indulge in the pleasures of love, the hosts of devas would say that the king was violating his duty. 

The Exalted One, indeed, at all times, proclaims the depravity of sensual desires. Shall, then, the mother of the saviour of the world indulge in love?

[To take an illustration from] the jewel-caskets which are found in the palaces of princes, the Best of Men is the jewel, his mother the casket.

While he carefully searched, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, the Bodhisattva saw Sudīpa, the queen of Arcimat, king of the royal city of Dipavati. He saw that she was gracious, of good birth, pure of body, tender of passion, of whose span of life only seven nights and ten months were left.

As he contemplates the world he sees in Arcimat's court Sudīpa, a woman like the consort of an immortal, radiant as the lightning's flash.

Seeing in her his mother he says to the peerless Sudīpa, the chief wife of King Arcimat, went up to him and spoke. She, Sudīpa, with eyes like a young fawn's, radiant like a Gandharva's wife, and dusky, spoke thus persuasively and sweetly to Arcimat:

"Adorned with jewels, wearing my choicest raiment, and attended by my friends, I wish, O mighty king, to spend this night away from you.

"O Best of Men, I would go up to the highest part of the fair palace of Śataraśmi, to the fair spotless bed there that is covered as though with lotuses."

Pleased with the charming speech of his queen, King Arcimat, with joyful intent addressed his courtiers, saying:

"Quickly let them tell me where Śataraśmi is. Have the place wreathed in fair flowers, and strewn with heaps of flowers, like an abode of a deva in heaven.

"Speedily make Śataraśmi resplendent with festoons of fine cloth, have it covered with a network of gold, that in appearance it be like Meru's fair summit.

"Let an entire army, bristling with spears, arrows and lances, at once stand guard over Śataraśmi's stately pile."

All was done as the king had commanded; and when they had made all things ready, his courtiers approached the king and said,

"Thou, whose intelligence is infinite, excellest the Mahāśvaras and Dānavas, the hosts of Māra, and the stars that move in the sky—this also is a wonder.

"How can we then not be loth to part from thee, Master of all that is? (201) For thou, O lotus-eyed, wilt become the bourne of devas and men."

Thus, at the time and on the occasion of the descent of him whose eye was like the bright hundred-petalled lotus, did the glad hosts shout through all quarters of the world.

And such was the talk that went round in the city of Tuśita, whilst she, the peerless Sudīpa, the chief wife of King Arcimat, went up to him and spoke. She, Sudīpa, with eyes like a young fawn's, radiant like a Gandharva's wife, and dusky, spoke thus persuasively and sweetly to Arcimat:

"Adorned with jewels, wearing my choicest raiment, and attended by my friends, I wish, O mighty king, to spend this night away from you.

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Ayuś, for the usual prajā in this formula. Cf. Mahāvastu 2. 5. Senart quotes two passages of Lal. Vīst. also (90. 14; 117. 11) which have ayuś.

Askhā, a peculiar use of this word as the opposite of sakhiṇa. Cf. 2. 6. But in the parallel passage at 1. 145 we have amūla.

Notes:
1 See note p. 115.
2 3rd pers. imperative in text, translated by 2nd pers. for convenience.
Next to these the Yaksas, a monstrous crowd, with flaming crests, were posted, and bidden to ward off all who were malevolent, but not to slay any.

And next the mighty host of Gandharvas, comely in form and noble of features, with shining bows stood to guard him who is abundantly wise.

The Four Lords\(^1\) of the world stood in the air along with their own retinues. "For to-day," said they, "the Exalted One is coming down to earth to bring welfare, happiness and prosperity to the world."

The Three-and-Thirty devas along with their chief, the bearer of the wheel,\(^2\) stood in the air, saying, "Soon the Exalted One, in his yearning for the utmost happiness of the world, will make his last descent."

A great host of devas, raising their joined hands and bowing at the queen's feet, looked out for the Conqueror's coming from Tuṣita, and uttered sweet words:

"O thou who art strong with merit won by purification, now is it time for thee to enter upon thy last existence. Thy mother is ready. Now have pity upon afflicted mankind."

(205) "Lo, I depart hence." So did [the Exalted One] speak out and utter the happy word. . . \(^3\) And at that very moment the Conqueror's mother saw in a dream him who had won maturity of fruition.

He enters her\(^4\) body in the form of a noble elephant, light of step, perfectly flawless of body, gleaming like snow-white silver, with six tusks, a gracefully waving trunk and a crimson head.

Bodhisattvas, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, do not descend into their mothers' womb during the dark fortnight, but on the day of the full moon in the month Pauṣa.\(^5\) Bodhisattvas enter the womb of a mother who observes the fasts, who is tall and well-proportioned,\(^1\) who is accomplished and in the flower of youth, who is trained in the Discipline, who is learned, mindful and self-possessed, in every way right-minded and seemly, the most perfect of women.\(^2\)

When a Bodhisattva of Tuṣita, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, passes away thence, there is shed a radiance which illumines a whole Buddha-field. [And then] one deva asks another,

"Why is a radiance shed by the excellent Sura, which is more serene than the moonbeams, which is pure like gold, and which gladdens the lords of the Asuras and of men and even the fiery flaming hells?"

And that deva replies:

"The radiance is shed as a greeting by the liberating, sinless glory of those who everywhere succour men caught in the toils of rebirth and obsessed by intoxication."

(206) The Bodhisattva said [to the devas]:—

"Leave your cities, ye immortals. Verily this is not the time to indulge in their delights. Rather is it time to rive the strongholds of old age and death with the blows of knowledge."

The Bodhisattva, thoughtful, self-possessed and right-minded, entered his mother's womb.

The lion-hearted man, roaring a lion's roar, when it is the time and the occasion for him to pass away, leaves on the instant, and re-appears in the home of a king.

He who lights up Tuṣita with his radiant beauty, leaves the cities of the immortals and becomes an incomparable light in the world.

This incomparable light of the world illumines with his beauty the whole world including Brahmā's, and all the race of men, brahmans and recluses.

Behold this wonder and this marvel, that the potent Master, mindful and self-possessed, has come down into his mother's womb,

\(^1\) See note p. 124.
\(^2\) See Indra.
\(^3\) Lacuna.
\(^4\) The text has me, "my," which would imply that the queen is here recounting her narrative in the first person. It is better, with Senart, to change me into se which can stand for asya as well as asya.
\(^5\) Literally "when the full moon is in conjunction with the asterism or lunar mansion, pūṣya, pṛthāyāṁ pṛthamaśyaṁ pṛṣyaṁ pātṛayogayuktaḥpāyaṁ; whence the name of the month Pauṣa, corresponding to December-January.

\(^1\) Pariṇāhasampānna, "possessing breadth or girth."
\(^2\) There is some grammatical incoherency here. The adjectives are loc. sing., much as though mānas kujīmanavāhāmanī had the force of "are born of."
That the Very Best of Men, bearing the marks of excellence, mindful and self-possessed, has taken his place in his mother’s womb.

As soon, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, as the Great Being, the Bodhisattva, had descended into his mother’s womb, this great earth quaked, shook and trembled violently six times. There was something thrilling in this quaking, something beautiful, merry, gleeful, amiable, exhilarating, admirable, cheerful, assuring, graceful, lovely, gladdening, causing no misgiving nor fear. For while the earth quaked, it destroyed no life whatever, whether animal or plant.

Then this earth bounded by ocean and Mount Meru quaked six times. And the world was made bright and lovely by the splendour of him who dispels the great darkness.

When the powerful and mindful one passed away from Tuṣita, taking on the form of an elephant, the colour of a white boar, and having six tusks, Mindful, self-possessed, and virtuous, he entered the womb of his mother as she lay high up in the palace, fasting and clothed in pure raiment.

When night had passed into day, she said to her gracious spouse, “Noble king, [in my dream I saw] a white and kingly elephant enter my womb.”

When her husband, the king, heard this, he assembled the diviners, and bade them all declare the full portent of this dream.

The diviners said in answer to the king, “He who bears the thirty-two marks of excellence has entered the queen’s womb.

1 Literally “it quaked thrillingly,” etc.
2 Prataraṇyā, which Senart plausibly takes as equivalent to Pali sārāṇyā, probably derived from sam + r, “to rejoice,” “to gladden.” (See Pali Dictionary.)
3 Reading, with Senart, vīṭāsana for vīḍāsana of the text. Böhtlingk and Roth give vīṭāsana = “das Stehen auf einem erhöhten Plätze.” This agrees with what we are told of the situation of the queen’s bed.
4 The MSS. have vīṣpaṇakārī, but the metre requires vīṣpaṇakārī. Both forms are obviously related to Pali vīṣpaṇakārī, “knowing diffuseness or detail” or “of unillusioned understanding” (Pali Dictionary, where references to variants in Buddhist Sanskrit are given, but not to the Mahāvastu instance.) In the next stanza these diviners have the more usual appellation nimitthika, from nimitta, “sign,” “omen,” etc., which corresponds to the classical Sanskrit naimittika, Pali, nemittika or nemittika.
5 Literally “the realisation of the fruit of,” phalaśiṣṭa.

O king, you should rejoice because of him who has appeared in your family. O sovereign of earth, the noble child in the womb is the peerless Great Being.

According to what I myself have learnt from the ancient masters, one of two alternative careers lies before him, O valiant king.

“If he remains in the world he will become a mighty lord, possessing treasure, prosperous, always attended by victory, with a hundred thousand kings in his train.

“But if he embraces the religious life and renounces the sovereignty of the four continents, he will become a self-guiding Buddha, the guide of men and devas.”

All the Nāgas kings and lords eagerly rushed to mount watch and ward over the Bodhisattva. Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, when the Bodhisattva had entered his mother’s womb, all the Suparṇa kings and lords eagerly rushed to mount watch and ward over the Bodhisattva. And so, too, did the Four Great Kings.

The Four Lords of the world, also, watched over the world’s favour, lest any malevolent being harm him who is destined to rout the power of Namuci.

Śakra, also, king of the devas, and the deva Suyāma, the deva Santuṣṭa, the deva Sunirmita, the deva Vaśavartin, Great Brahma, and a Sudhāvāsa deva, eagerly rushed to mount watch and ward over the Bodhisattva when he had entered his mother’s womb.

Delighted thousands of devas come to Arcimāth’s city, as to a city of the immortals, to guard him whose wisdom is most choice.

The delightful city of Dipavati is become the chief of cities; it is made all radiant by the hosts of devas who enter it—the immortals whose coming is swift as thought.

1 Saratna, or, perhaps, “possessing the seven gems or treasures of a universal king.” See p. 41.
2 The text has the Prakrit form Suvarṇa. Cf. Pali suvaṇṇa beside suvaṇṇa, descriptive epithet (“well-winged”) of the Garuḍa, “a class of mythical birds generally mentioned in company with the Nāgas.” (D.P.N.)
3 A name for Māra, given him because he does not allow either gods or men to escape (muc) from his clutches. (D.P.N.)
4 Chiefs of the Yaśa, the Tuṣṭa, the Nirmāṇarati, and the Paranirmitavaśavartin devas respectively.
5 Manomayavikaraṇa, “who have come with a pace made of mind.”
Eight thousand of the lordly hosts, taking up their stations in sky and air, wait upon the queen.

Behind them Indra's thousands, with spotless crests, take up their stations in great numbers to guard him whose worth is great.

Behind these deva chiefs thousands of nayutas of Kāmācārā devas take up their places in the unsupporting air.

Behind these deva hosts again, Asuras, throngs of fork-tongued Asuras, Yaśas of strange forms, and hordes of Rāṣṭras take their places.

And in this way the air, thronged by hundreds of thousands of immortals, was glorified and utterly purified, for so great was the merit acquired by him who is free of passion.

Great Brahmā speaks:

The woman who in her dream has seen the sun from the sky enter her womb, will give birth to one who bears the marks of excellence. He will be a mighty universal king.

The woman who in her dream has seen the moon from the sky enter her womb, will give birth to a son who is both man and deva. He will be a noble universal king.

The woman who in her dream has seen a white elephant enter her womb, will give birth to a being as select as an elephant is among animals, and he will be a Buddha who knows what is good and true.

And he asks the queen, "Whom do you bear? And she replies, "A universal king."

"I bear a universal king, a choice man, a valiant king, who illumines my womb with his golden beauty and is endowed with the marks of excellence."

But the devas in the sky acclaim him with the title of the Exalted One, saying, "He will become a Buddha, not a mighty universal king."

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1 Mahāśāyāna, see note p. 155.
2 Gagane nirālambā. As Senart suggests, these verses would be more appropriately assigned to the diviners.
3 Literally "the select being of an elephant," gajasattvasāra.
4 Budhārthadārma.

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Great Brahmā recites this verse:

You bear [one who is like] an elephant [among men], the best of treasures, destroyer of the force and violence of intoxication, light of the world, dispeller of dark and murky folly, the storehouse of virtues, the possessor of boundless wealth, a royal seer, whose wheel knows no obstacle, whose radiance is deathless.

The queen replies:

"As passion and vice no longer have power over me who have conceived the seed of the king of men, there is no doubt that he will be of such splendour as you say."*

Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, when the Bodhisattva has entered his mother's womb, his mother is comfortable whether she walks, stands, sits, or lies down, because of the power of the Bodhisattva. No weapon can pierce her body, nor can poison, fire or sword prevail against her, because of the power of the Bodhisattva. Deva maidens attend to her with preparations made in heaven for cleaning and massaging the body, and she is clothed in celestial raiment and adorned with celestial jewels, because of the power of the Bodhisattva. She obtains celestial perfumes, garlands, cosmetics and essences, because of the power of the Bodhisattva.

Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, when the Bodhisattva has entered his mother's womb, because of his power all her escort deem her worthy of perfect obedience and loyalty, and those who see her go up to her and offer their services. Nothing, not even a bird, passes over her, because of the power of the Bodhisattva. She becomes sound and healthy, and enjoys a digestive heat neither too cold nor too hot, which ensures a perfect digestion, because of the power of the Bodhisattva. She receives the choicest solid and soft food of the best and most superlative flavour, because of the power of the Bodhisattva. She becomes rid of passion, and lives an unimpaired, flawless, unspotted, untarnished and absolutely

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1 Lohasya pradīpa, see note p. 37.
2 Literally, "as the saying goes forth," yatha niścoratī sād, or, perhaps, "as men say."
3 This phrase, forming a stereotyped beginning for the sentences in this passage, is, as far as is consonant with clearness, subsequently omitted.
pure and perfect chaste life. In the heart of this pre-eminent woman no passion arises for any man, not even for King Arcimañ. She lives in accordance with the five moral precepts, observing them to the full.8

Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, when the Bodhisattva has entered his mother's womb, all the Nāga kings and lords, whether born of eggs, or from the womb, or from moisture, or spontaneously, enter her abode and sprinkle her with celestial sandal-wood powder. Similarly they sprinkle her with aloe-wood powder and scatter showers of blossoms over her. They laud her with perfect praise, with consummate praise, with absolutely pure praise. When they have scattered celestial sandal-wood powder, they scatter keśara9 powder, and powdered leaves of the tamāla4 tree, and showers of blossoms. (212) They laud her with perfect praise, with consummate praise, with absolutely pure praise. And when they have thus lauded her with this perfect and pure praise, and scattered celestial powder of sandal-wood, aloe-wood, keśara and tamāla leaves, and showers of blossoms, on, about, and over the Bodhisattva's mother, they salute her three times from the right, and go their way. [And all this is] because of the power of the Bodhisattva.

Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, when the Bodhisattva has entered his mother's womb the Cāturmahārājaka devas, the Trayaṅga devas, the Yāma devas, the Tuṣita devas, the Nirmāṇaratī devas, Paranirmitavaśavartin devas, the Brahmā devas, and the Śuddhāvāsa devas enter her abode and scatter over her celestial sandal-wood powder, celestial aloe-wood powder, celestial keśara powder and powder of tamāla leaves, and showers of celestial blossoms. Then they laud her with perfect praise, with consummate praise, with absolutely pure praise. When they have scattered over and about her celestial powder of sandal-wood, of aloe-wood, of keśara and of tamāla leaves, and showers of celestial blossoms, and lauded her with perfect praise, with consummate praise, with absolutely pure praise, they salute the Bodhisattva's mother three times from the right and go their way. [And all this is] because of the power of the Bodhisattva.

Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, when the Bodhisattva has entered his mother's womb he does not occupy a position that is too low or too high. He does not lie on his face, nor on his back, nor on his left side, nor squatting on his heels.1 But he sits2 in his mother's right side with his legs crossed. He is not polluted by bile, phlegm, blood or any other unclean matter. For the Bodhisattva, while he is in his mother's womb, is rubbed with perfumes and washed clean. He is able to see his mother, while she, in her turn, can see the Bodhisattva in her womb like a body of pure gold and is enraptured at the sight. It is as though a jewel of beryl were

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1 Pañca sīkhāpadāṇī (Pali sīkhāpadāṇi), i.e. the five precepts inculcating the practice of the five sīlāni, or “behaviours.” Both precepts and behaviours are sometimes given as ten, but when enumerated as five each group denotes abstinence, respectively, from murder, theft, adultery, falsehood, and slander, the committing of which occasions the “five-fold guilty dread” (pañca bhaya rūpā). See e.g. S. 2. 68. The later additional five sīkhāpadāṇī are not identical with the corresponding five sīlāni.

2 Reading, as Senart tentatively suggests, sāmpūrṇasamaḍāvīmnāṇī, for sapūrṇa of the text.

3 Cf. M. 1. 73.

4 Some of the tenses here are past (aorist), implying an account of a particular conception of the Bodhisattva. Others are present describing such a conception in general terms. But the two tenses are so mixed up that it has been thought better to render both by the present (or present perfect).

5 See p. 32.

6 A tree with a very dark bark, but white flowers, Xanthochymus pictorius.
placed in its crystal casket. Just so does his mother see the Bodhisattva like a body of gold illuminating her womb.  

(214) Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, when the Bodhisattva has entered his mother’s womb, hosts of devas come day and night to inquire after his welfare. And the Bodhisattva greets them by raising his right hand, but without hurting his mother. Neither the devas nor the Nāgas, nor the Yaśas, nor the Dānavas, nor the Rakṣasas, nor the Piśācas leave him day or night. Nor is there any talk of the affections, nor talk concerned with sensual pleasures, nor any other trivial talk there. But they speak of nothing other than the Bodhisattva’s beauty, his comeliness, his being, his might, his colour, his glory, and his root of virtue. Their worship of the Bodhisattva in his mother’s womb does not cease. Celestial musical instruments are played, celestial scents of aloes-wood are wafted abroad, celestial flowers and celestial powders rain down. And thousands of Apsarases sing and dance around. 

Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, when the Bodhisattva has entered his mother’s womb, she laughs and talks with thousands of deva maidens. And again when she falls asleep the hosts of deva maidens fan her with garlands of the coral-tree. [And all this is] because of the power of the Bodhisattva. 

Such then, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, is this perfect descent into the womb, unsurpassed in all the great universe of the three thousand worlds.

And now behold another marvel, the marvel of the talk begetting the most perfect ecstasy, which there was among all that great concourse of devas.

There is no talk of sensual delight, nor of Apsarases, nor of song, nor of instrumental music, nor of eating and drinking. 

There is no talk of jewellery, nor of dress. (215) No talk of driving and pleasure-gardens occurs to their minds.

1 In the corresponding passage in Vol. 16 the simile is in the metrical form of an aryā of three hemistiches. In his notes Senart makes an attempt at the restitution of the metrical form here, but has to admit that there is no MS. authority for the introduction of the necessary words.

2 Literally “laughter and talk befall (abhyābhavati) the B.’s mother.” This use of the verb abhi-a-bhū is Brāhmānic, and Senart suggests that it is an example of not a few parallels which examination might reveal between the language of the Mahāvastu and the Brāhmaṇas.

THE BIRTH OF DĪPAṀKARA

“Oh! Good is the inimitable light of the Leader who is strong through his merit. It outshines the world of men and devas.” Such is the talk that echoes there.

“Oh! Good is the incomparable conception of him whose form is perfect.” Such is the varied talk that echoes there among that gathering.

With these pure psalms of acclamation for him whose wisdom is excellent do they while away the time, and such is the talk that echoes in that gathering.

And so the hosts of deivs rejoice as they relate their varied themes, telling of the form, the colour, the might and the strength of him who is free from passion.

THE BIRTH OF THE BUDDHA DĪPAṀKARA

The mothers of all Bodhisattvas are delivered when the tenth month is completed. So at the end of the tenth month, the queen, named Sudīpā, said to King Arcimat, “My lord, it is my desire to go to the pleasance in the Lotus Grove.” And when the king heard Queen Sudīpā, he said to his ministers, “With the women of my court I am going for diversion to the pleasance in the Lotus Grove.

Quickly make ready the Lotus Grove by clearing it of grass and litter and leaves. Make it a mass of fair and fragrant flowers, and make it sweetly smelling with scented water.

“In the Lotus Grove let the sportive breezes laden with the scent of tamāla leaves diffuse an ambrosial fragrance; let the boisterous breezes be gone.

Let clouds charged with the fragrance of aloes-wood quickly descend from the sky to shade the Lotus Grove that is full of the exquisite aroma of powders.

(216) “Adorn each fair tree with streamers of jute and wool and silken cloth, that they be like the kalavṛkṣa trees of the chief of deivas in heaven.”

1 Kathā vihāsati. Senart tentatively refers vihāsati to vikās and cites kāl given by Vopadeva in the sense of “to resound,” etc. See also Böhlīng and Roth s.v. kāl, kas, kams.

2 Nirvāmīṣa, “not fleshly,” “not gross,” “spiritual.”

3 Sūkla for sārāḍa. So Senart.

4 Literally “intoxicating,” madajñana, but the exact meaning is not clear.
Devas and deva maidens, bearing scented garlands, come to the pleasance in the Lotus Grove of King Arcimat.

Wearing ear-rings of crystal gems, resplendent garments and drooping jewels, and carrying fragrant garlands, they come floating down the pathways of the sky.

Some carry baskets full of the flowers of the coral-tree, others baskets of the yellow sandal-wood flowers, and others baskets of suitable woven stuffs.

With joy in their hearts the Apsaras, bearing garlands of land and water flowers and gems and jewels, turn their faces towards Jambudvīpa.

Deva maidens come floating through the air carrying full eighty-four thousand sunshades of gold and gems.

The sky, with hundreds of pennants of woven cloth flying high, is filled as though with pinnacles plastered with gleaming crystals and gems.

And clouds of vapour, like the breath of elephants, glisten [in the air], with their fragrant flowery scents, a blend of lotus, water-lily and campaka.

Delighted serpent-lords besprinkle the air with clouds of sweet-smelling vapour. And there were hundreds of other wonders besides.

Thus then, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, did King Arcimat with his women set out for the pleasance in the Lotus Grove, with great royal pomp, splendour and magnificence.

When she enters that fair grove, the queen, the Conqueror’s mother, attended by her friends, rides on in her gay chariot, a queen like the consort of an immortal, knowing the rule of joy.

Then, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, Queen Sudīpā, attended by her friends, sported on the lake in the grove in boats which had platforms fore and aft, and canopies spread above. They were carpeted with glittering cloth, draped with flowing bands of fine silk; they were painted, scented, and strewn with heaps of flowers, and were surrounded by railings. Above were sunshades, flags and pennons. As Queen Sudīpā was being drawn along in her boat, the fancy took her to disembark. And then, through the power of the Bodhisattva, an island appeared in the middle of the lake, level and even, fringed by beautiful sand. Tender grasses grew from the soil that were blue like tufts of sansparśa, and like a peacock’s neck. When these were tread upon they bent to no more than four inches from the ground. Trees grew there laden with pleasant fruit. On this island did the queen land.

Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, the Bodhisattva’s mother does not give birth to him as she is lying down or sitting. Nor does she give birth to him without his being perfectly free of bile, phlegm, blood or any other foul and unclean matter, but his body is bathed with perfumes and washed clean.

She, tired in body, leant with her arm on the branch of a tree and comfortably stretched herself at the moment of giving birth to the Glorious One.

Then twenty thousand deva maidens quickly flocked thither and, raising their joined hands, addressed the queen with devoted intent.

“Today, O queen, you will give birth to him who crushes old age and disease, a noble youth of immortal stock, honoured and beloved in heaven and on earth, a benefactor of devas and men.

“Do not give way to anxiety, for we shall render service to you. Only tell us what is to be done, and lo! it is all done.”

Then the Four Great Lords of the world with their thick celestial tresses of hair, attended by their retinues, speedily foregathered there and drew near to the queen from the right.

And all the deva hosts hovering in the air as they attended upon the queen, carrying fragrant garlands, and with their own attendant hosts, presented a bright array.

The Bodhisattva, mindful and thoughtful, issues through his mother’s right side without doing her any injury.

1 Vedāvijālā, see note p. 153.
2 A fragrant plant or perfume.
3 Divyapravṛcīya-hasta. For the force of 'hasta, cf. keśahasta, "a good crop of" or "ornamented with hair."
For the Supreme of Men are born from their mothers' right side. It is here that all the valiant men abide [when in their mother's body].

Why is not that side of the Conqueror's mother rent as she is delivered of the Best of Men, and why does no pain ensue?

Talhāgatas are born with a body that is made of mind, and that is why the mother's body is not rent and why no pain ensues.

Tired out with his stay in the womb, the Bodhisattva takes seven strides over the earth, scans the regions of it, and laughs a loud laugh.

Now listen to what the tradition says as to the reason why he takes seven strides, rather than eight or six.

(219) When the Sage, the benefactor of the whole world, was tired with his stay in the womb, he strode forth eagerly, as it was his last sojourn there.

When he had taken seven strides over the earth, throngs of devas suddenly came flying down, and the Sage was taken up in the arms of the Four Great Lords.

Then there fell down a drizzling rain of celestial blossoms, mingled with the powder of the coral-tree, and thick with that of the celestial sandal-wood tree.

And for a long time the exultant devas diffused the most divine incense to grace the splendour of the supremely Intelligent One.

I shall here, too, tell the tradition, the edifying doctrine, as to why the Peerless Man surveys the regions of the world. He finds not among beings, either devas or men, anyone whose birth was like his, or whose conception was like his.

As shining gold is the side of the Conqueror's mother from whom the Omniscient is born into his last existence.

As soon as he was born this was the thought that occurred to the supremely Eloquent One, "Is there anyone my equal in intelligence?"

"Are there any who are irked by the snare of recurrent
Two pitchers of water appeared, one of cold, the other of warm water, wherewith they bathed the golden body of the Sugata.

Because of the power of the Bodhisattva, immediately after the Sugata was born, his mother was without hurt or scar. Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, immediately after the Bodhisattva was born, his mother's womb, because of his power, remained quite unscathed and without the effect of strain. Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, immediately after the Bodhisattva was born, because of his power there appeared on the island a forest of sandal-wood trees, which became a source of delight and enjoyment to him.

Then, hundreds of thousands of devas assemble, with fragrant garlands in their hands, to do honour to the Bodhisattva. One deva asks another, "Whither do you go?" And the other replies:

The consort of the king is about to give birth to that peerless offspring who is bright like the calyx of the blossoming lotus. Here on earth he will win the highest good, overcoming Mara and his power. It is to this hero that I repair.

His body is untouched by the impurities of the womb, even like the exquisite lotus that is born in the mud of pools. Beautiful like the newly-risen sun, he excels the immortals in Brahmā's heaven.

Then as soon as he was born in Arcimat's household, the Wise One took seven mighty strides. Scanning the regions of the world, he laughed aloud, and said, "This, at length, is my last existence."

And many devas held up in the sky a glittering sunshade, inimitably studded with gems and pearls and outshining all others in splendour, and waved garlands of the coral-tree.

They held up in the sky a fair and golden sunshade, gleaming like a shell in the sunshine, whilst they waved cunningly fashioned fans in their hands as they fanned the Conqueror.

Two pitchers of water suddenly appeared in the sky, one fragrant, pleasantly warm, agreeable and beneficial to man, the other healthful, invigorating and icy cold.

Then on Meru's summit devas of various kinds took off their robes that were scented with all sorts of perfumes, and, standing in long ranks on all sides, vigorously waved them. Six times did they make the firm earth quake.

Devas in their mansions resplendent in gold and silver and jewels, to the sound of musical instruments, looked on the Conqueror's auspicious birth. They lit up the sky, with its moon, sun and stars.

"This is the great Seer, who, having crossed the great ocean of life through the worlds of devas, Nāgas, and Yakṣas will attain that one region where peace." Thus did the enraptured devas in the sky proclaim of him.

King Arcimat then ordered the child to be led to pay worship at the feet of a certain goddess. In what sort of conveyance will the child be seated? In a jewelled palanquin fashioned by devas. Who will bear this palanquin? The Four Great Lords are standing by and say "We will carry the Elect of beings, the Bodhisattva, together with Queen Sudīpā and his nurse."

They climb into the palanquin, and Śakra, the lord of devas, and Great Brahmā form an escort. Thus the Bodhisattva in great pomp, in the great pomp of a deva, in the great pomp of a king, was taken from the pleasure in the Lotus Grove and brought to the royal city of Dipavatī, where he was led into the temple of the goddess.

Against his will the hero, the great saviour of the world, the teacher of kings, entered the shrine. But when they would have him salute the goddess with his head, it was his feet that he put forward.

1. Antaradāpe. Senart explains: "dans l'intervalle qui sépare les uns des autres les quatre dvipa dont la réunion forme un monde." But it seems more natural to make the reference to be to the island on which the Buddha was born. For the compound, cf. Pali Antaradāpā, "in the centre of the island" (J. 1. 240). It should be added, however, that in the parallel passage in Vol. 2, p. 23, there is an additional marvel, viz. the holy fig-tree which appears in the midst of the four million islands or continents.

3. imāye devīye. But, perhaps, the pronoun imāye should be, as Senart suggests, changed into Abhayāye, Abhayā being the name given to this goddess in the parallel passage (2, 26).
4. Kalam (sic) in the text, for Kulam.
5. Literally "his feet appeared," prādurbhāvānu.
Then the goddess said to another goddess, “It is not fitting that this child should worship me. And if he should make obeisance before another, that one’s head would assuredly be split in seven.”

When this child was born all beings, including even those in Avici, became prosperous and happy. All devas bowed to him in joy.

(224) When the child had entered the royal palace, the king bade his priest fetch at once the wise men who were skilled in the rules and significance of signs.

Learning this, the saintly devas, called Mahesvaras, (came on the scene), lest the unskilled crowd of the twice-born should seek to interpret the signs.

Rid of conceit, pride, and arrogance, eight thousand Mahesvaras approached him who was newly born and revered by the hosts of devas.

Arrayed in fine and pure raiment they stood in silence at the door of the king’s palace and addressed the door-keeper in a tone gentle as the cuckoo’s, saying,

“Go in to the king and say to him, ‘Here are eight thousand men who know the significance and rules of signs, and they would enter if it is your pleasure.’”

“So be it,” said the door-keeper obeying them, and he went into the palace. Raising his joined hands, he joyfully addressed the lord of earth:—

“O King, peerless in strength, whose glory is ablaze, smiler of your foes, may you rule your realm a long time yet. Men like the immortals stand at your gates and crave admittance.

“Because of their full clear eyes, their soft voices, their tread like that of elephant in rut, doubt arises in me whether these be men and not sons of the devas.

1 Literally “heart or mind controlling,” cittamahsartam.

2 Devas of this name do not seem to be known outside the Mahāvastu. Usually it is the Sudhāvāsa devas who figure in this scene, and as at p. 150 these are described as mahesvaras or “great lords,” it is likely that this descriptive title has, in the present passage, been taken as a well-understood alternative name for the Sudhāvāsa devas. The king’s visitors are actually called by the latter name later on in this same passage (p. 182).

3 I.e. Brāhmans.
“Here are our most honourable seats. Pray be seated at once, sirs, to give pleasure to us.”

Then they who were rid of conceit, pride and arrogance, and were blameless in deed, sat down on those seats, the feet of which were bright and glittering with many a gem.

After waiting a while (one of them) addressed the king saying, “Let his majesty hear what the cause of our coming hitherto is.

“A son is born to you, O king, of a wholly faultless body, who is judged fair by all the world, and who possesses to perfection the marks of excellence.

“For we, skilled in signs, can recognise the marks of virtues and of vices. If it be not hard for you, we would see him who bears the form of a Great Man.”

The king replied, “Come, see my son whose good name is secure, who brings joy to devas and men, and possesses the marks of excellence to perfection.”

Then taking in his arms the Virtuous One, swathed in delicate, soft and gaily-coloured wool, he brought him whose eloquence is clear to the noble Suras.

When the Mahévaras observed from a distance the dignified approach of the Dásabala, they thrilled with joy and bowed their heads, crowned with glittering diadems, to the ground.

And now they declare to the king, “Great profit have you well gained, O King, in that there has been born in your family the Great Man who possesses the thirty-two marks, which are:

He has feet with level tread. He has designs of wheels on the soles of his feet. He has long toes and fingers.

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1 Suryapadaksena. See note p. 120.
2 Literally “whose speech is (clear like) the moon,” vādicandra. For this similitude between the clearness of voice and that of light, cf. the Irish de ghuth ar solas-glian, “With a loud voice clear as light.”
3 These terms are given in mnemonic verse. Only a single word, and that not always the distinctive or key word, of the sentences which in the lists given elsewhere describe the marks, is given. They have been interpreted here on the basis of the list given in D. 3. 143 ff. (= D. 2. 17 ff. and translated in D. 3. 137 ff.
4 Soma. The Pali has supattiśhīla-pādo. But compare samahī padehi above p. 175.
6 Dīrghā. Pali: dīghanāti hoti.

1 Ayutā. Pali: āyuta-paṭhi hoti.
2 Ucchanga. Pali: usānka-pādo hoti. D. 3. 138 translates “his ankles are like rounded shells” (sankha = Skt. śankha) but the Pali Dictionary, following the Commentary, translates “with ankles in the middle,” which implies the translation given above. Mahāvastu, 1. 107, and 2. 29, has uṣaṅga” “slopes,” “roof” which seems to confirm this interpretation. The text, however, is uncertain. The MSS. here give uchaka and uchamka, and at 2. 29 upasamkha, all of which seem to be an echo of the Pali usānka.
3 Esi. Pali: epi-jangho hoti.
4 The text has brikat only, which may correspond to the Pali brahmujjuy-gatı hoti, and has so been translated here. Senart, however, would read vrītā, which could be understood as “his limbs are rounded.” This, however, is one of the anuvahejmanā, or eighty “lesser characteristics.” (Vol. 2. 43.)
5 Tisṭhanto. Pali (?) = viṭaka va anamanto hoti ubhohi paśitale hi jayūkāni parimāṣa parimāṣā.
7 Nyagrodha. Pali: nyagoda-parimāṇḍalo hoti.
8 Myānu. Pali: myātudūyakatthalpa hoti.
10 Pratīpārā. This corresponds to nothing in the Pali lists and has to be interpreted by reference to the “80 lesser characteristics.”
13 Śākhya-cchāvi. Although this term is practically equivalent to the single Pali term uccahejācchāvā, the enumeration of the marks shows that it covers two. If we take śākhya as the key-word to the description of one mark and translate as above, we are left with čāhā, which obviously refers to some other quality of the skin and this may be found among the “lesser characteristics.”
14 See preceding note.
15 Hamsa. This and the word to which it is joined, antāra, together look like a key-word to one only of the Pali terms, viz. ci-antarpamso, literally “one whose shoulder-hole is heaped up.” But to make up the quota of thirty-two, they must be taken as two. That is hamsa refers to the mark of a “swan’s gait,” which is really, however, one of the lesser characteristics, while antāra is a mnemonic for the Pali ci-antarpamso.
There is no hollow between his shoulder blades.\(^1\)
His body has the seven convex surfaces.\(^2\)
(227) **He has an exquisite sense of taste.**\(^3\)
His skin is the colour of gold.\(^4\)
He has the bust of a lion.\(^5\)
He has regular teeth.\(^6\)
His teeth are perfectly white.\(^7\)
His bust is consistently rounded.\(^8\)
His tongue is long and slender.\(^9\)
His voice is like that of Brahmā.\(^10\)
His eyes are blue.\(^11\)
His eyelashes are like a cow's.\(^12\)
Between his eyebrows he has a hairy mole.\(^13\)
His head is shaped like a royal turban.\(^14\)

Such is the saviour with the thirty-two marks of excellence.

Then King Arcimat asked the brāhmans\(^15\) to give a fitting name to the child. The brāhmans replied, ‘‘Your majesty, when the child was born a great resplendent light\(^16\) appeared, hence let the child be named Dipatp.\(^{\text{karā.}}\)’’ Thus did the Śuddhāvāsā\(^{\text{17}}\) devas, in the guise of brahmans, give the name Dipatp.\(^{\text{karā}}\) to the child.

Capable nurses came and reared the child. And when the Bodhisattva had become a young man, the king had three terraces made for him to play and stroll in, and a spacious gynaeceum was set near them.

Then the Bodhisattva in great regal pomp, magnificence and splendour went with the women for diversion in the pleasance of the Lotus Grove, and King Arcimat bade the women amuse the young man well. After sailing on the lake in boats which had platforms fore and aft, enclosed by railings,\(^1\) with canopies spread above, and were draped in flowing bands of fine silk, carpeted with glittering cloth, scented and strewn with bright flowers, crescents and pearls, the Bodhisattva with the women\(^2\) disembarked on the shore. His female escort fell asleep from weariness, one holding her chin, another leaning on her arm, another clasping a cymbal, another a flute, another a guitar, another a lute, another a trumpet,\(^3\) another an anklet, another a tabor, another a lālāghara.\(^4\) And when he saw them thus, there came over him an awareness of the burial ground.

**ENLIGHTENMENT**

In the middle of the lotus-pond a lotus appeared with petals as large as chariot-wheels, and surrounded by thousands of other lotuses.\(^{228}\) The Bodhisattva sat cross-legged on that lotus, which immediately closed up to form a peaked roof over him.

All the outward marks of a layman vanished from the Bodhisattva’s person, and he appeared in the yellow robes of a recluse. Then, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, the Bodhisattva Dīpankara entered and abode in the first meditation,\(^6\) which is aloof from sense desires and from sinful and evil ideas, is attended by applied and sustained thought, and is born of solitude and is full of zest and ease.

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\(^1\) See preceding note.
\(^2\) Utsād. Pali: sattussado hoti.
\(^3\) Rasam. Pali: rasagas-agti hoti.
\(^5\) Sīho. This key-word can correspond to either of two terms in the Pali list, either sīho-pakṣadukkāyo hoti (as above) or sīha-hanu hoti, ‘‘he has the jaws of a lion.’’
\(^7\) Śūkla. Pali: susukha-dāhi hoti.
\(^8\) Samā. Pali: samavattakhanda hoti.
\(^10\) Brahmā. Pali: brahma-saśar hoti.
\(^12\) Gopākṣa. Pali: go-pākṣhuno hoti.
\(^13\) Uriṇa. Pali: ṣṛṇa-bhamuk antare jāta hoti.
\(^14\) Uṣanta śtrīgaṇ. Pali: uṣanta-sisō hoti.
\(^15\) I.e. the Mahāvīravas (or Śuddhāvāsas) disguised as brahmans.
\(^16\) Dīpa mahāhām obhāso. What had appeared, however, was the island in the lake (see p. 173). ‘‘Island’’ is dīpa in Sanskrit, but in Pali dīpo, which is also Pali for ‘‘light.’’ It would seem, therefore, as Senart suggests, that the story of the island was introduced by a narrator who had dīpa = ‘‘island’’ in mind.
\(^17\) See note p. 178.
Suppressing applied and sustained thought, he entered and abode in the second meditation, which is born of concentration, is full of zest and ease, and is free from applied and sustained thought through the mind becoming inwardly calm and one-pointed.\(^1\) Indifferent to the fervour of zest,\(^2\) he abode mindful and self-possessed,\(^3\) and entered and abode in the third meditation, which is free of zest, and experienced in his person that ease whereof the Ṭrāyastriṃśa devas declare, “\(\text{He that is indifferent and mindful dwells at ease.}\)\(^4\)” By putting away ease and by putting away ill, by the passing away of the happiness and misery he formerly felt, he entered and abode in the fourth meditation, which is utter purity of equanimity\(^5\) and mindfulness and is free of ill and ease.

Thus with heart composed, purified, cleansed, without blemish, free of the lusts, supple, ready to act, firm and unperturbed, he, in the first watch of the night, turned and applied his mind to acquire the sight of the deva-eye.\(^6\) By means of his deva-eye he sees fair beings and foul beings passing away and coming to birth, perceives how they go in accordance with their karma.

Then the Bodhisattva, with heart composed, purified, cleansed, without blemish, free of the lusts, supple, ready to act, firm and unperturbed, in the middle watch of the night, recalled to mind his many different sojournings on earth, to wit, one birth, two births, three births, five, ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, hundred, thousand, many hundreds\(^{(229)}\), many thousands, many hundred-thousands. He recalled to mind \(\text{kalpas}\) of the world’s dissolution, \(\text{kalpas}\) of the world’s evolution,\(^7\) \(\text{kalpas}\) of both evolution and dissolution, many \(\text{kalpas}\) of the world’s dissolution, and many \(\text{kalpas}\) of the world’s evolution, and many \(\text{kalpas}\) of both dissolution and evolution. (He remembered thus:) “\(\text{At such and such a time I was named so and so, I was of such and such an ancestry, belonging to such and such a family. I ate such and such food. I had such and such an end to my life, and I experienced such and such ease and ill.}\) Thus does he recount his different previous existences in all their details and particulars.

Then the Bodhisattva, with heart composed, purified, cleansed, without blemish, free of the lusts, firm and unperturbed, in the last watch of the night, in the flush of dawn\(^1\) towards daybreak, woke up to all that the “\(\text{elephant-man,}\)\(^{2}\) the “\(\text{lion-man,}\)” the “\(\text{bull-man,}\)” the “\(\text{red-and-white-lotus-man,}\)” the “\(\text{white-lotus-man,}\)”\(^3\) the “\(\text{man of the yoke,}\)” the “\(\text{true man,}\)” the “\(\text{noble steed of a man,}\)”\(^4\) the peerless driver of tameable men, the Sugata,\(^5\) the mindful, the steadfast, and the intelligent man has at all times and everywhere to know, attain, become aware of and become fully aware of; he awakened to the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment by insight gained in a momentary flash of thought.

And then this great earth trembled and quaked six times, and the devas of earth raised a shout and made it heard in heaven, as they cried, “\(\text{This exalted Dipamkara, friends, will become awakened to the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment for the welfare and happiness of man, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the great multitude, for the welfare and happiness of devas and men.}\)” When they heard the shout of the devas of earth, the devas of the heavens, namely, the Trāyastriṃśa devas, the Yāna devas, the Tuṣita devas, the Nirmāparati devas, and the Parinirmātavāsavartin devas, at

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\(^1\) Adhyāyam sampāsādācetasa: ehottihbhavā. Instead of \(\text{adhyāyam,}\) which evidently has adverbial force, the Pali has the adjectival ajjhātim, taken in Grad. S. (i.e.) as qualifying \(\text{jhānam}\) and translated “self-evolved,” but in Dial. (i.e.) as qualifying sampāsādananam and translated “internal.” In place of the causal genitives sampāsādāṇam and ehottihbhavā, the Pali has the accusative substantives sampāsādānam and ehodihbhavām used appositionally to \(\text{jhānam.}\)

\(^2\) Pīleriśārāgāupekkhā. \(\text{Upekkhā}\) is adjective from \(\text{upekkhā, Pali upekkhā or upēkkhā, “hedonic neutrality or indifference, zero point between joy and sorrow, disinterestedness, neutral feeling, equanimity.” (Pali Dictionary.)}\)

\(^3\) Reading samprājāna for samprajānam.

\(^4\) I.e. to emotion.

\(^5\) \(\text{Upekkhā. See note 2 above.}\)

\(^6\) See note pp. 125-26. \(^1\) \(\text{Samvartakalpa and vivartakalpa. See note p. 43.}\)

\(^7\) Samsārvāna. \(\text{Nandimukhāya, “in the joy-faced night,” although the etymology is not certain. Nandimukhā is found as an epithet of night, especially of the eve of the \(\text{uposatha,}\) in Lal. Vist. 441, 447, and in Pali at V. 1. 286 and 2. 250.}\)

\(^8\) In other places where these expressions occur they have been rendered by conventional epithets such as “\(\text{heroic,}\)” “\(\text{valiant,}\)” etc., but they have been rendered literally here, because, coming together in the same sentence they have a certain naivete which would be spoilt by a paraphrase.

\(^9\) With these two terms cf. \(\text{samaraṇgadurikhā and samaraṇadatura at A. 2. 86-90.}\)

\(^1\) \(\text{Purnāśajñeya. Ājñeya, Pali ājñiṣya (contr. ājñāṇa), “of good race or breed,” especially applied to a thoroughbred horse.}\)

\(^2\) Here denoted by the synonymous gatima = gatimant.
that moment, at that instant immediately raised a shout that reached the devas in Brahmā's world, crying, "This exalted Dipaṃkara, friends, will become perfectly enlightened. And he will become so for the welfare and happiness of men, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the great multitude, for the welfare and happiness of devas and men."

Then a great radiance, immense and sublime, shone forth in the world. And all the intervals between the spheres, regions of blackness lapped in blackness, of gloom lapped in gloom (230), and of eternal darkness,1 where the moon and sun, powerful and majestic as they are, with all their brilliance cannot make their brilliance penetrate, with all their light cannot exert their light, even these regions become suffused with this radiance. The beings who had been reborn in those spheres became aware of one another (and cried), "Lo! There are other beings reborn here. Lo! There are other beings reborn here. Lo! There are other beings reborn here." Now all these beings were for that moment, for that instant, immersed in bliss. Even those reborn in the great hell Avīci excelled the splendour of devas, of Nāgas, and of Yakṣas. The realms of Māra were eclipsed, rendered lustreless, gloomy and joyless. They fell in fragments, here for one, there for two, there for three. They fell in fragments for yojanas. Their standards too fell, and wicked Māra was unhappy, discomfited, remorseful, tortured by an inward sting.

There in his lotus pavilion, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, the exalted Dipaṃkara was attended by the Four Royal devas, by Sakra, the lord of devas, by the devas Suyāma, Santuṣita, Vaśavartin, Great Brahmā, and a company of many other devas. They paid sublime homage to the exalted Dipaṃkara. They scattered on, about, and over the exalted Dipaṃkara flowers of the celestial coral-tree, of the great coral-tree, of the karṇīkāra,2 of the rocānā,3 of the bhīṣma,4 of the great bhīṣma,5 of the samantagandha,6 of the great samantagandha, and powder

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1 Literally "darkness (or blackness) become darkness long ago," aghā aghasambhālapāraṃ. The Pali Dictionary, s.v. agha, wrongly cites this as aghasamāgiri. (The reference, 2, 240, is also wrong; it should be 1, 230 and 1, 240). See note p. 35.
2 Pterospermum acerifolium or Cassia fistula.
3 Unknown, but cf. rocana, the name of various flowering trees.
4 Unknown.
5 Name of a tree and its flowers in the Mahāvīryutpatti.
MEGHA AND MEGHADATTA

Now there was a certain learned man who was perfectly versed in the three Vedas and the six Vedāngas, in phonology, in the fifth branch of study, that is, traditional lore, and in the indexes and ritual. He was an expert teacher of young brāhmans, and taught five-hundred of them from among the brāhman princes to recite the hymns of the Vedas.

At this time he had as pupils two young brāhmans, named Megha and Meghadatta, who were bound together by ties of mutual affection and friendship. The young brāhman Megha was clever, intelligent, thoughtful, and keen-witted, so that before long he had learnt all the hymns by heart. When he had completed learning the Vedas he left the Himalayas and came down into the provinces, saying, "I shall go and seek the means to pay my master's fees." He took with him his staff, his water-pot, his sunshade, his sandals and his bathing-mantle. Whatever village, city or town he entered the confines of became free from affliction and distress through the power and influence of the young brāhman Megha. On his way he begged of somebody, and was given five-hundred purāṇas.

MEGHA AND MEGHADATTA

Then the thought occurred to him, "What if I now go to the royal city of Dipavati that I may see the citadel of a universal king with its seven treasures and its joyfulness?" When he entered the royal city of Dipavati he saw that it was in festive array. He wondered to himself, "What holiday is there to-day in the royal city of Dipavati, or what public affair or what festival?" Perhaps King Arcimat has heard that the young brāhman Megha, who has thoroughly mastered the Vedas, has come down from the Himalayas to the provinces, and is on his way to the royal city of Dipavati. Hence this gay adornment of the city." And as he goes forward he looks for someone who is entering the city to question him.

Just then there came along a young brāhman girl, gracious, comely, sedate, modest and coy, who was carrying a pitcher of water and seven lotuses. Megha asked her, "Is there a festival in the city to-day?" The young girl (who was named) Prakṛiti replied to Megha in verse

Of a truth, young man, you are not of this place; you have come from another city, since you do not know that the Benefactor of the world, the Light-bringer, has come to Dipavati.

(DiPa1J'tkara, the Guide of the world, Arcimat's glorious offspring, a Buddha, is about to enter the city. It is in honour of him that the city is gaily decked out.

Megha asked her, "What price did you pay for those lotuses, lady?" She replied, "I bought five of them for five-hundred purāṇas, and the other two I had from a friend." Then the young brāhman Megha, said to her, "I'll give you five-hundred purāṇas for the five lotuses. With them I'll pay homage to the exalted Dipamkara, and you can honour him with the other two." She replied and said, "I'll give you the five lotuses on the one condition that you will take me to wife. Wherever you may be reborn, I shall be your wife and you will be my husband." The young brāhman Megha replied, "I mean to conceive the thought of winning the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment. How then shall I think of marriage?" She answered "Go on and conceive that thought. I shall not hinder you."

Megha consented, and said, "I shall take you to wife in
THE MAHAVASTU

return for these lotuses. I shall honour the exalted Dipamkara, and, also, I shall conceive the thought of winning the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment." When he had given the five-hundred āvatāras and received the five lotuses, a sublime and sweet exaltation rose within him as he heard the maiden Prakriti utter the name of Buddha.

"If you desire to honour the Guide of the world with a charming bouquet of lotuses, take me to wife to-day. So shall I be constantly faithful in love.

"As the blossom of the glomerous fig-tree but rarely is found appearing in the world, O young brāhmaṇa, so is it with the appearance of glorious Buddhas and Tathāgatas.

"With this enchanting bouquet of lotuses do you honour the Buddha, the driver of tameable men. It will be the means of your enlightenment. And I shall everywhere be your wife."

Megha replied:

"To-day I take you to wife in return for this enchanting bouquet of lotuses. I shall honour the Buddha, the driver of tameable men, and this will be the means of my enlightenment."

She, transported with joy, gave him the lotuses, knowing that he was allure by her love. And as he went his way she followed, until the young brāhmaṇa stood at a cross-roads.

Now the Exalted One, accompanied by eighty-thousand monks and by King Arcimat with eighty-thousand vassals and several thousands of wealthy nobles, recluse, brāhmaṇas and sectaries, was on his way to the royal city of Dipavati.

As the Exalted One sets forth, thousands of devas assemble, bringing thousands of sunshades studded with the seven precious stones.

Then he, the possessor of great virtue, with the swinging gait of an elephant in rut, with his body covered in sparkling net-work, put himself at the head of the noble throng.

(235) Devas hold sunshades over the pure deva, the handles of which were cunningly adorned with beryl, crystal, and solid gold.

1 Udumbara, the Ficus glomerata. The rarity of Buddhas is often compared to the rarity of the blossoming of this tree.

MEGHA AND MEGHADATTA

These had been made by devas, and shone like the orb of the newly-risen sun in the sky. They were filled with brightly-shining, sweetly-tinkling bells.

The lord of the Three-and-Thirty devas held up a sunshade for him who shelters the world, a sunshade made in heaven, bejewelled with the seven precious stones and crowned with flowers of heaven.

Three thousand devas followed fanning the stainless lord, the sovereign of men, with a chowrie fan, the handle of which was well made of solid gold.

The earth heaves and subsides and heaves at the moment the Exalted One enters, owing to the power of the Daśabala.

And as soon as the Exalted One puts his golden-sandalled right foot down by Indra's column there arises a marvellous noise.

Trumpets resound, and labours and war-drums, though no one beats them, and horns, cymbals and pipes are played as the Pre-eminent Man enters.

And all the jewels in the city which are kept in caskets and wickerwork boxes rattle together, when he who knows the best of all jewels enters.

Then they carpet the ground before the Exalted One with costly soft garments of many a kind, crimson-dyed Benares cloth and woven silk.

1 (236) From the edge of the park right up to the inner court of the great king, the path of the king of men was radiant in its carpet of a hundred-thousand cloths.

And then young women go to the forest glades and gather heaps of flowers, which they shower on the lion-hearted man, pouring them over him as over a hill of gold.

As the mighty and merciful one draws near to Dipavati they pour the heaps of flowers on the glorious Exalted One.

These fragrant flowers when thrown from their hands stand over the Exalted One, the saviour of the world, like a

1 A corrupt unintelligible passage of two lines, apparently specifying other kinds of material, or, perhaps, explaining those already named. Possibly, as Senart suggests, it is a gloss, as it breaks the continuity of the verse, and does not readily admit of a metrical arrangement.
five-hued canopy of blossoms.

Hovering unsupported in the air, these fragrant flowers with their stalks turned inwards salute him by moving to the right when he stops.

When he, the Light of the world, moves on they follow; when he stops they stop. Not a single posture of the mighty All-conquering One do they miss.

Even if the disintegrating winds of the end of the world carried away this universe of three thousand worlds, they could not shake the canopy of flowers, much less carry it away.

The throng of devas in heaven, seeing the Exalted One all golden like the colour of the golden sugar-cane, exclaimed, “Behold the Dharma!”

(237) The sky is draped with festoons of flowers; floods of flowers knee-deep sparkle on the earth, and in the air stands the canopy of flowers.

On all sides, to the accompaniment of music, exclamations of “Behold the Dharma” re-echo through the city as the valiant man enters.

The clear notes of the swan, sparrow, peacock and cuckoo, and the humming of bees are heard in Dipavati, mingling with the rattle of jewels in their caskets.

Then, Maudgalyāyana, the young brāhman Megha saw the exalted Dipamkara coming when he was yet some distance away. He saw that he possessed the thirty-two marks of a Great Man, and the eighty minor characteristics; that his body was radiant; that he was endowed with the eighteen special attributes of a Buddha; that he was strong with a Tathāgata’s ten powers, and gifted with the four grounds of perfect self-confidence. He was like a Nāga, perfected in action, with his faculties turned inwards, with a mind not turned to external things; he was steadfast in dharma, with his faculties under control, with his mind calm, having attained the perfection of the ideal self-control and tranquillity, and having himself well-guarded. He was like a Nāga who had triumphed over the functions of his senses, who was transparent as a pool, not muddied, but pure and fair. He was good to look upon, lovely, of peerless birth, shining with a lovely radiance that extended a yojana.

When he had seen all this, perception of the truth came to Megha and he exclaimed, “I, too, will become a Buddha in the world.” Then, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, the young brāhman Megha recited these verses:

It has taken a long time for the All-seeing One to appear in the world. It takes a long time for Tathāgas to be born.

After a long time, too, my vow will be fulfilled, and I shall become a Buddha. Of this I have no doubt.

(238) Then, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, the young brāhman Megha feeling a sublime exhilaration, a sublime joy and gladness, threw those five lotuses towards the exalted Dipamkara, and they remained fixed as a bright veil covering the circle of Dipamkara’s head. The young brāhman girl Prakṛiti, also, threw her two lotuses, and these, too, stood suspended in the air.

Exalted Buddhas convince people by means of three miracles, the miracle of magic power, the miracle of mind-reading, and the miracle of instruction. The five lotuses thrown at the exalted Dipamkara by the young brāhman Megha, those thrown by the young brāhman girl Prakṛiti, and those thrown

1 Vaiśravāṇya. See p. 33.
2 Advayavasīdhā. The meaning of advaya in this term is not certain. Senart cites Hemacandra who gives advaya as a name for the Buddha, while the Mahāyupādīya gives advayāsādhin as a similar name. From the latter it would appear that advaya could denote “Buddhist doctrine” or “truth.” Miss I. B. Horner has called the translator’s attention to what may be a related idea in Skt. 884, ekān hi saccaṃ na dūtyāṃ aṣṭhi.
3 Pāñjikārī, Pali pāñjikārī. 
4 Ādesāṇā, Pali ādesāṇā.
by other people, stood over the Exalted One as a canopy of
flowers so as to win power over men ready to be trained,¹
and to bring joy and gladness to the young brāhman Megha.
It was a canopy² lovely and fair to behold, with four props,
four entrances, and draped with festoons of fine cloth.

When Megha saw these lovely and bright lotuses standing
all around over the radiant head of the Exalted One, joy
and gladness arose in him as he became aware of his sublime thought.
Putting his water-pot on one side, and spreading out his robe
on the ground, he threw himself down at the feet of the Exalted
One, and wiped the soles of them with his hair. And then
he conceived this thought:—

"Ah! May I too in some future time become a Tathāgata,
an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, gifted with knowledge and con­
duct, a Sugata, an unsurpassed knower of the world, a driver
of tameable men, a teacher of devas and men, as this exalted
Dīpaṃkara now is. So may I become endowed with the
thirty-two marks of a Great Man, with his eighty minor
characteristics, and with his radiant body. May I become
endowed with the eighteen special attributes of a Buddha,
strong with a Tathāgata's ten powers, and confident with the
four grounds of self-confidence. Having yourself crossed, you will lead others across; emancipated, you will emancipate others; comforted, you will comfort others; having won final release you will give final
release to others, as I now do. So will you set rolling the
incomparable wheel of dharma. So will you preserve a
body of disciples in harmony. So will devas and men deem
me worthy to be heard and believed. And as I now am,
you will become this for the welfare and happiness of mankind,
out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the great
multitude, and for the welfare and happiness of devas and men.

Immediately, Maha-Maudgalyāyana, the exalted Dīpaṃkara,
aware of the young brāhman Megha's great striving after the
unsurpassed knowledge of a Buddha, aware of his store of the
roots of goodness and of the vow of his heart, and knowing

¹ Or, "because, for the sake of, men ready to be trained." Vaineyavatena
For vaineya see note p. 42.
² Vidāna. The accompanying adjectives are masculine, as the substantive
itself sometimes is, although it is neuter immediately above.

that he was without fault or defect, without blemish or scar,
proclaimed that he would win the unsurpassed perfect enlighten­
ment. "You will become, O young brāhman," said he, "in the
future, after an immeasurable, incalculable kalpa, in
Kapilavastu, the city of the Śākyans, a Tathāgata of the name
of Śākyamuni, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, gifted with know­
ledge and conduct, a Sugata, an unsurpassed knower of the
world, a driver of tameable men, a teacher of devas and men,
as I now am. You will become endowed with the thirty-two
marks of a Great Man, his eighty minor characteristics and
his radiant body. You will become gifted with the eighteen
special attributes of a Buddha, strong with a Tathāgata’s ten
powers, and confident with the four grounds of self-confidence.
Having yourself crossed, you will lead others across; emancipated, you will emancipate others; comforted, you will
comfort others; having won final release you will give final
release to others, as I now do. So will you set rolling the
incomparable wheel of dharma. So will you preserve a
body of disciples in harmony. So will devas and men deem
you worthy to be heard and believed. And as I now am,
you will become this for the welfare and happiness of mankind,
out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the great
multitude, and for the welfare and happiness of devas and men.

Hearing the shout of the devas of earth, the devas of heaven,
the Cāturmahārajika devas, the Trayastrīma devas, the Yāma
devas, the Tuṣita devas, the Nirmānarati devas and the Paranirmitavaśāvatīrṇa devas, at that moment and instant raised a shout that reached the devas in Brahmā’s heaven, crying, “Behold, thus has this young brāhmaṇa Megha been proclaimed by the exalted Dipañkara to win the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment. He will do so for the welfare and happiness of mankind, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the great multitude, for the welfare and happiness of devas and men.”

Then a great radiance, immense and sublime, shone forth in the world. And all the intervals between the spheres, regions of blackness lapped in blackness, of gloom lapped in gloom, of eternal darkness, where the moon and sun, powerful and majestic though they are, with all their brilliance cannot make their brilliance penetrate, with all their light cannot exert their light, suddenly became suffused with this radiance. The beings who had been reborn in those spheres became aware of one another, (and cried) “Lo! there are other beings reborn here. Lo! There are other beings reborn here.” Now all those beings were for that instant, for that moment immersed in bliss. Even those reborn in the great hell Avīci excelled the splendour of devas, of Nāgas, and of Yakṣas. The realms of Māra were eclipsed, rendered lustreless, gloomy and joyless. They fell in fragments, here for one kos, there for two, there for three. They fell in fragments for yojanas. Their standards, too, fell, and wicked Māra was unhappy, discomfited, remorseful, tortured by an inward sting.

(241) "Spreading out his robe, and putting his water-pot on one side, he threw the lotuses he had in his hand, and fell down at the feet of the All-Wise.

The fragrant lotuses, when they leave his hand, stand to form a flowery five-hued canopy for the exalted saviour of the world.

Hovering unsupported in the air, these fragrant flowers with their stalks turned inwards, saluted him by moving to the right when he stopped.

As the Light of the world moves on, they follow; they stop when he stops. They do not miss a single posture of the mighty All-conquering One.

Even if the disintegrating winds of the world’s end carried away the universe of three-thousand worlds, they could not touch this canopy of flowers, much less carry it away. The throns of devas in heaven, seeing the Exalted One all golden like the golden sugar-cane, exclaimed, “Behold the Dharma!”

Then the earth with ocean and sky quaked, and among the devas in heaven a wondrous shout went up when this prediction was proclaimed.

The Exalted One who carries high the banner of the unique good news, the sage Dipañkara, has foretold of this Megha, “You will become a Conqueror.

“You will do this for the welfare and happiness of the worlds of men, of Brahmā, of Sūra and Asura. The desolate ways and the hells will fade away, the devas will wax strong.”

(242) A most incalculable kalpa ago there was a Master, named Dipañkara, a light, a refuge, and a haven, a preacher of his own dharma, exalted, a prince of men.

He, in his wisdom having attained the highest good, confidently set rolling the wheel of dharma. Mindful, and firmly established in truth and dharma, he raised men out of their great fear and the rough places.

Megha saw the leader of the throng of recluses, Dipañkara, who bore the bright marks of perfection. Calming his heart he worshipped the Conqueror, and as he worshipped he made his vow:

“So may I live through this world as he whose mind is free of attachment lives. May I set rolling the incomparable wheel of dharma, the well-wrought wheel revered of devas and men. “May I live for the sake of the world, and teach dharma to devas and men. So may I convert men as this Light of the world now does.”

1 Ako dharmay. See note p. 192.
3 Another metrical version of the proclamation of Megha’s future Buddha-hood, but without the details of the legend as given above.
4 Asamkhyeyotara, comparative for superlative, as often.
and grasp at material form and the substratum of existence.

But all Meghadatta said was, "This young brāhmaṇ Megha is much too ready to bow his head." And he was not at all thrilled at hearing news of the Buddha from the young brāhmaṇ Megha. Through consorting with bad friends, he went on to commit the five crimes that bring immediate retribution.

He fell in love with another man's wife whom he visited early and late. Her mother, out of love for her child, tried to keep him away, fearing lest the husband should take him for an adulterer and kill him.

The impassioned man does not know moral good, nor does he see dharma. When passion overcomes a man, he becomes blinded.

Meghadatta killed the mother, and then went to his mistress, and in his infatuation laughingly told her what he had done. "I love you so much," said he, "that for your sake I killed your mother." The woman was horrified, and replied, "Do not come to me any more."

He next became infatuated with his step-mother. She told him, "Go and kill your father, and you shall be my husband." So he murdered his own father.

He was shunned in the neighbourhood, and his friends and relatives avoided him. From that neighbourhood he went to another place, saying, "No one will know me here." Now to that place there came, in the course of his wanderings through the provinces, a monk who was a client of his parents, and an arhan of great power. This monk saw his patrons' son there.

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1. Rāpa.

2. Utpatti, Pali id. "Stuff of life, substratum of existence" (Pali Dictionary). In Pali always in the compound upādīsa, "having some basis of existence left," and more frequently negative, avupādisa, as descriptive of nibbāna. Cf. above p. 60 (text), avupādisamutta, "complete release."

3. Pañcānāṃasyaśccā. karmāṇi. The five such crimes specified here are matricide, parricide, killing an Arhan, causing schisms, and wounding a Buddha. These are five of the six abhiññās referred to at Sn. 231 = Kh. 6. 10 and enumerated by the Commentary on that passage as consisting of the five just named, together with the crime of following other teachers. The only other place where these crimes are given as five, viz. Miln. 25, does not say what they were, for the five offences mentioned immediately before, murder, theft, impurity, lying and intemperance are the converse of the five śīla. See p. 168 and Mrs. Rhys Davids at Dhs. trsl. 267.

MEGHA AND MEGHADATTA

over the vessel of Thapakarna on the sea. And all the five hundred merchants, stretching out their joined hands, stood up and cried, “Lord, lord, we turn to thee for salvation.”

The wise man replied, “I am not the Exalted One. I am but a disciple of his. Do you all with one voice cry out, ‘Homage to the Buddha.’” And all the five-hundred merchants cried out “Homage to the Buddha.” The sound of the Buddha’s name reached the ears of Timitimingila, and this sound which he had heard an immeasurable incalculable kalpa before when the young brāhmaṇa Megha had mentioned the name of the Buddha Dipaṃkara, came to him again when he was in the form of the fish Timitimingila in the great ocean.

The sound of the Buddha’s name is not unavailing. And now, in the form of Timitimingila, Meghadatta thought, “A Buddha has appeared in the world, whilst I am fallen into a state of woe.” Deeply moved he shut his jaws again, and just because he had called to mind the Buddha’s name he died of hunger. Immediately after his death he was reborn in the great city of Śrāvasti, in a family of brāhmaṇas. There was he born and grew up to be a young lad.

As it has been said by the Exalted One, “I declare, monks, there is no other cause but karma.”

Now the name of Dharmaruci was given to this young lad, and when he grew up he embraced the teaching of the Exalted One. By application, endeavour and exertion he attained the three stages of knowledge and the six super-knowledges, and realised the mastery of the powers. Three times daily did he repair to the Exalted One to bow at his feet, and each time the Exalted One reproved and reminded him, saying, “It is a long time, Dharmaruci, it is a very long time, Dharmaruci.”

1 Vidyā, Pali vijiīā. When given as three the vīdīyās usually denote the last three degrees in the third stage of attainment of the highest knowledge, v. “deva-ear” or clairaudience, “deva-eye” or clairvoyance, and “deva-eye” or clairvoyance.

2 Akhiṇā, Pali ahiṇā, as described e. g. at D. 3. 280 are six, and consist of (1) various manifestations of riddhi (tiddhi) or magic power, (2) the possession of the “deva-ear” or clairaudience, (3) mind-reading, (4) memory of former lives, (5) the “deva-eye” or clairvoyance, and (6) the eradication of the āśravas. Three of them are thus identical with the three vīdīyās.
And Dharmaruci always replied, "Just so, Lord, just so, Sugata. It is a long time, Lord, a very long time, Sugata."

The monks in perplexity inquired of the Exalted One, saying, "Three times a day does Dharmaruci come to the Exalted One and the Exalted One says, 'It is a long time, Dharmaruci, it is a very long time, Dharmaruci.' And Dharmaruci always replies, 'Just so, Lord, just so, Sugata. It is a long time, Lord, a very long time, Sugata.' Now we, Lord, do not understand the meaning of these words."

The Exalted One explained in detail to these monks the course of events since the time of Dipatp̣karā, "and," he added, "I was the young brāhmaṇa Megha, and Dharmaruci here was Meghadatta."

"Thus, monks, not in vain is the sound of the Buddha's name. It persist[s] until all ill ceases."

Then Dharmaruci, the elder, approached the Master and bowed at his feet. The Master said, "It is a very long time, Dharmaruci."

"It is a very long time, O Guide of the world," says Dharmaruci in reply to the Master, and the Conqueror, though he knows, asks him, "Why do you say, 'It is a very long time'?"

Dharmaruci replies, "Of yore I was the fish Timitimingila in the sea, extremely weak from hunger, and foraging for my food.

(247)"Many nayutas of creatures had found their way into my maw, when there came along five-hundred merchants, in their ships.

"When the vessels came my way all the merchants, distraught with terror at the peril they were in, with one voice called out, 'Homage to the Buddha, to the Daśabala.'

"Hearing the sound of the Buddha's name, unheard of by me before, I was gladdened, thrilled and uplifted in heart, and I hurriedly closed my mouth.

1 A metrical version of the story of Meghadatta.

2 Reading jānanto for jānantam of the text.

3 Viparimūgam, root mu, "to plunder"—a doubtful conjecture by Senart.

4 abhuta. Is this correct here? In the prose version the fish, as Meghadatta, had heard of the Buddha from his companion Megha.

"Nayutas of beings reborn as beasts heard these five-hundred merchants, and through the sound of the Daśabala's name I raised myself out of my state of woe.

"Lord, it was through this meritorious act of mine that I won my present human state. It was as the fruit of this good conduct that I came to be called Dharmaruci.

"By that same cause, O Self-becoming One, not long after I had become a monk under thy teaching, I shed my lusts and became an arhan.

"Having gone through an endless round of rebirths for kōṭis of nayutas of kalpas, I called to mind the Sugata, and exclaimed, 'At long last, O Benefactor of the world.'

"At long last my dharma-eye is cleared, my doubt of dharma is dispelled. Long did I dwell in the dark dungeon of folly, in states of woe.

"By this merit of mine, the darkness was dissipated, and passion and hatred were suppressed. And here at length is this birth of mine free of any residual basis of another life, with the stream that is a conduit to further existence completely dried up.

"Great then was the fruit for Timitimingila of his hearing the Buddha's name. Who, then, Lord, would not produce that immortal sound?"

(248)"One must therefore rid oneself of the five hindrances which are the shackles of the heart, and listen to the Buddha's voice, fully realising how rare a thing it is.

"Hard is it for men to win deliverance from the jungles of unreal forms. But Buddhas appear, and then will come faith and release."

Here ends the history of Dipatp̣karā in the Mahāvastu-Avadāna.
THE BUDDHA MANGALA

After that auspicious kalpa, an infinite, immeasurable, incalculable kalpa afterwards, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, there appeared next after Dipamkara the Tathāgata, Arhan and perfect Buddha named Mangala. And when Mangala was the perfect Buddha the span of man’s life was a hundred thousand koṭis of years.

Mangala held three assemblies of his disciples. In the first assembly there were one hundred thousand koṭis of disciples, all arhans who had destroyed the āśravas, who had kept the observances, who had their minds liberated by perfect knowledge, whose fetters binding them to existence were utterly decayed, and who had reached their goal. The second assembly consisted of ninety koṭis of disciples, all arhans who had destroyed the āśravas, who had kept the observances, who had their minds liberated by perfect knowledge, whose fetters binding them to existence were utterly decayed, and who had reached their goal. The third assembly consisted of eighty koṭis of disciples, all arhans who had destroyed the āśravas, who had kept the observances, who had their minds liberated by perfect knowledge, whose fetters binding them to existence were utterly decayed, and who had reached their goal.

Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, the perfect Buddha Mangala had a pre-eminent and noble pair of disciples, named Sudeva and Dhammadeva, the former eminent for his wisdom, the latter for his magic power. He had a nun named Śivālī, and a leading female disciple named Asokā, the former eminent for her wisdom and the latter for her magic power. He had an attendant monk named Pālita. His bodhi tree was the iron-wood tree. His city was called Uttara, and it extended twelve yojanas east and west and seven yojanas south and north, and was surrounded by seven golden ramparts with golden roofs. It was encircled by seven long lakes shining and sparkling with the seven hues of gold, silver, pearl, beryl, crystal, coral, and ruby. These lakes had stairs leading down to them of two precious substances, gold and silver. The steps of these stairs were of the four precious substances, gold, silver, pearl and beryl. These lakes were covered with lotuses, blue, red and white, of fragrant smell. They were shaded by trees of these kinds, to wit, the mango, the rose-apple, the breadfruit, the labuca, the bhavya, and the pālevata. On the shores of these lakes, again, were beds of land and water plants, to wit, atīnuhāka, campaka, jasmine, vātuskāra, blue water-lily, and damanaka, flowers culled by devas.

Again, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, the city of Uttara was surrounded by seven rows of palm-trees—in general the description of the royal city of Dipavati can be applied to it.

The perfect Buddha Mangala’s father, named Sundara, was a noble and a universal king. His mother was the queen named Śīrī.

At that time, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, I was a Nāga king, named Atula, one who had done good deeds and had great authority and a store of outstanding merit. I venerated, honoured, revered, and worshipped the exalted Mangala and his community of disciples, gave him a suit of garments, and made my vow to win enlightenment. The Exalted One proclaimed of me, “In an immeasurable, incalculable kalpa in the future, you will become a Tathāgata named Śākyamuni, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha.”

After Dipamkara came a Leader named Mangala, who dispelled the darkness in the world and lit his torch of dharma. Matchless was his radiance beyond other Conquerors. He shone forth with his thousand rays, outshining the radiance of a koṭi of suns.

And this Buddha expounded the four ultimate truths, and men, imbuing this essence of truth, dissipated the great darkness.

1 A species of bread-fruit tree.
2 Perhaps, Averrhoa carambola.
3 Diospyros embaphorpha.
4 Gaerelia racemosa.
5 See p. 172.
6 An unknown plant. The reading is doubtful.
7 I.e. damana, the flower Artemisia Indica, commonly called Donā.
8 In the Pali texts his parents are Uttara and Uttarā.
When he had awakened to the unsurpassed enlightenment there was first a conversion of a hundred thousand koṭis at the first preaching of dharma to the devas.

When\(^2\) ... then the Buddha beat the peerless drum of dharma.

Again, when he expounded the Four Truths in the second assembly of devas, there was a second conversion of ninety koṭis.

When Sundara, the universal king, accepted Buddha and the dharma, the perfect Buddha beat the peerless drum of dharma.

Sunanda's\(^3\) subjects were ninety koṭis of men. All these without exception became disciples of the Buddha.

(251)When he again expounded the Four Truths in a third assembly of devas there was a third conversion of eighty koṭis.

When the layman Uttara\(^4\) accepted the Buddha's teaching, then the perfect Buddha beat the peerless drum of dharma.

Uttara's subjects were eighty koṭis of men, and all these without exception became disciples of the Buddha.

The great seer Mangala held three assemblies of disciples, who were rid of the āsāvās, passionless, calm, and austere.

The first assembly consisted of a hundred-thousand koṭis, the second of ninety, and the third of eighty.

At that time I was a Nāga king, named Atula, enjoying great prosperity and possessing an outstanding store of merit.

To the accompaniment of the celestial instruments of the Nāgas I sang the praises of the great seer Mangala, gave him garments, and came to his refuge.

He, Mangala, the Buddha, the Guide of the world, proclaimed of me, 'In an immeasurable kalpa hence you will become a Buddha in the world, in the happy flourishing city of the Śākyans, Kapilavastu.

'The mother who will bear you will be called Māyā. Your father will be a Gotama, named Īśudhodana.'

'Kolita and Upatiṣya will be your chief disciples; Kṣemā and Utpalavarnā your chief nuns.'

'Your attendant will be named Ānanda,(252) and your bodhi tree will be that noble tree, the holy fig-tree.'

When I heard this prediction by the great seer Mangala, I exerted my energy and made my mind steady with the resolve never, as I fared along, to abandon the ways of enlightenment.

Uttara was the name of the great seer Mangala's city, Sundara the name of the noble, his father, and Sirīkā his mother's name. Sudeva and Dharmadeva were the great seer Mangala's chief disciples, Śivāli and Aśokā his chief female disciples.

His attendant was named Pālita, and his bodhi tree was the blossoming iron-wood tree.

The great seer had a brotherhood of a hundred thousand koṭis, and while on earth the great hero led across a great multitude.

He led across a great multitude by spreading his teaching abroad, shining bright as fire or the newly-risen sun.

As it is not possible to count the waves of the ocean, so is it not possible to count the sons of the Exalted One.

And now the blessed Buddha, the true dharma, and the noble company of his disciples all are wholly gone. Are not all existing things\(^5\) vanity?\(^6\)

Here ends the history of Mangala in the Mahāvastu-Avadāna.

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\(^1\) Or "conviction," abhisamaya (Pali id.) "insight into, comprehension, realisation," etc. See Pali Dictionary and Rev. Pali. 381 f.

\(^2\) Lacuna. Ct. Bha. IV.

\(^3\) Sic for Sundara.

\(^4\) Possibly an echo of the tradition preserved in the Pali texts, where this was the name of Mangala's father. He is called a "layman" (grihyapati) as he could not be called a cakravartin so soon after the mention of another, although his retinue is that of a universal king, not that of a layman. This reference to the Pali texts solves the difficulty caused by the name better than Senart's suggestion in his notes on this passage, namely, that the passage is an interpolation which grew out of a gloss giving "Uttara" as a synonym for Sundara.

\(^5\) So in the Pali tradition, Kolita and Upatiṣya being the personal names of Mahā-Maudgalāyana and Śāriputra, respectively. Similarly with regard to Ānanda (below).

\(^6\) "Asvattā (Pali assātha), usually, though doubtfully, explained as assā-tha, "where the horse stands." The Ficus religiosa.

\(^7\) Sanskāra. See p. 99.

\(^8\) Reading naṇu rīṭa on the analogy of Bu. 11. 219 (p. 18) (sabbaṃ saṃvataraṅgaḥ naṇu rīṭa sabbasampākā) for anumākita of the text. The emendation seems to be justified, also, by the reading of one MS. which has "Uttā anumākita" for the "Uttā anumākita of the text."
THE BUDDHA'S VISIT TO VEŚÁLÍ

(253) Here begins the story of the sunshades.

On the slopes of the Himalayas there dwelt a Yakṣini,1 named Kundaśī, who in two successive years gave birth to five hundred sons, and when she had begotten these thousand sons she died. These sons were sent to Veśālī2 to rob it of its strength,3 and when they came there they robbed men of their strength.

There are two kinds of disease which are produced by demonic agency,4 maṇḍalaka and adhīvaśa.5 The plague maṇḍalaka, when it attacks a family, does not spare anyone, but carries away everybody. The plague called adhīvaśa attacks a whole district.

Now the people of Veśālī were stricken with the adhīvaśa and many died.6 They prayed to one deva after another, and they wondered who would come and relieve the affliction of the people of Veśālī. They sent for Kāśyapa Pūrana, saying, "Come, a demonic plague has broken out among the people of Veśālī. If you come, it will be allayed.7"

Kāśyapa Pūrana came to Veśālī but failed to allay the plague. And the people reflected, "Kāśyapa has come, but the demonic plague has not been allayed."

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1 A female Yakṣa, see p. 25.
2 Veśālī, the capital city of the Licchavīs, see below p. 210.
3 Ojoharaka, ojas, "strength" and kāraka, from karati, "to take away"; the adjectival ending -ka, as often in this text, expresses purpose.
4 Arddhā, from root ridd, which also gives riddhi (iddhi) so often used in the sense of "magic" or "psychic" power. Here it is identical in meaning with anna, "not human," which is the adjectival used elsewhere in this passage to describe the plague which befell Veśālī. "Demonic" is a convenient, though not exact, rendering.
5 Or, respectively, a disease confined to a restricted area or circle, maṇḍala, and one affecting a whole neighbourhood or district, adhīvaśa. It is possible, of course, that the former refers to the skin disease (white-leprosy) so called.
6 Cf. the adhīvaśakaraṇa at Vin. i. 78-9, J. 2. 72, A. 200.
7 This account of the Buddha's visit to Veśālī is found in Pali texts only in the Commentaries (KhP. 160; SmA. 1. 278; DAA. 3. 436). The six experts who were called in to deal with the plague were the heads of six "heretical" schools contemporary with the Buddha. Their name in Pali are—Pūrana-Kassapa, Makkhali Gosha, Kakudha (Pakudha) Kaccāna, Ajita Kesakambala, Sañjaya Belathiputta, and Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta (D. P. N.).
8 Pratītisparśaṅka, and pratītisparśabhāyati (below) from pratītisparśa or -sparśa, not in this sense in classical Sanskrit, but so used in Pali (patti-passamaññati, etc., see Pali Dictionary).
retinue. The people sought him and despatched him with the injunction: "Go to Rājagriha, where the exalted Buddha is staying. He is staying there at the invitation of Śreniya Bimbisāra. When you come to him offer him and his company the homage of the Licchavis of Vaishāli. Inquire after his health, well-being, ease and comfort. Speak to him thus, 'Lord, among the Licchavis of Vaishāli there has broken out a demonic plague, and many thousands have fallen on misfortune and distress. Well would it be if the Exalted One who is beneficent and benevolent would come and bring mercy to Vaishāli.'"

Tomara obeyed the Licchavis, and with a fitting escort riding in fine carriages left the city of Vaishāli and set out for Rājagriha. He reached that city, entered it, and proceeded to the (place called) Kalandakani vipā in the Bamboo Grove, in order to see, approach and worship the Exalted One.

Now at that time, on the holy day, the fifteenth day, the day of the full moon, the Exalted One was preaching the dharma which is lovely in the beginning, in the middle, and in the end, to five hundred monks and several thousands of other people, and proclaiming the holy life which is entirely perfect, pure and clean. Tomara the Licchavi, after proceeding in his carriage as far as the ground allowed, alighted and set out on foot to where the Exalted One was. But he was not able to make his way through the great crowd which was gathered there and reach the Exalted One. So, throwing his robe over one shoulder, he held out his joined hands towards the Exalted One, and addressed him in verse:

"On the pure holy fifteenth day the seers, with Śakra, lord of the Three-and-Thirty devas, gather to worship thee. By these art thou honoured, O thou who bearest what others cannot bear."

1 This pada is printed as part of the preceding stanza, but in sense it belongs to the next, and is so placed in the translation.

2 Sparśavihāratā, cf. Pali phāsavihāra, "comfort." This word confirms the etymology suggested in the Pali Dictionary for Pali phāsaka as being for Sanskrit sparsa, root spṛṣ, "to touch." Cf. phaśa (Sanskrit sparsa), "what is (pleasant) to feel or touch."

3 A place where food (mīśā) or offerings were given to squirrels (kalandaka). See D.P.N. for other explanations of the name.

4 Venuvāna, the pleasure-ground of Bimbisāra at Rājagriha.

5 Or, "who triumphest over the invincible," asakyaśākhi.
many thousands are fallen on misfortune and distress. Six
disastrous plague is checked by the influence of the Buddha,
Jatiiputra.

Well would it be, your majesty, if you granted permission
to the Exalted One and the Sangha. Fetch him, and when he comes
experts came in answer to our summons, namely, Kāśyapa
Puruṣa, Maskarin Goṣalin, Ajita Keśakambalin, Kakuda
Kātyāyana(257), Sañjāyin Varaṭikaputra, and Nirgrantha
Jāttiputra. But the demonic plague among the people of
Vaiśāli was not allayed by their coming.

Then, your majesty, the devas announced to the Licchavis:
‘Here is this Buddha, the Exalted One, who after an incalcul-
able kalpa has appeared in the worlds of devas and men with
the majesty of dharma. He is a shelter, a protection, a refuge,
and a relief for the worlds of devas and men, a deva above
all devas, a teacher of devas and men, of Nagas, of Asuras,
Vaiśālis, of Rākṣasas, of Piśācas, and of Kumbhāṇḍas.1
Whenever he comes to a field bordering a village every
deva will cross the Ganges on their way to 

Thus addressed, King Śreniya Bimbisāra said to Tomara the Licchavi, “If, O son of Vasiṣṭha, the Licchavis of Vaiśāli
will march out in procession as far as the boundary of their
own territory to meet the Exalted One on his way from
Rājagriha to Vaiśāli, just as I shall escort him as far as the
boundary of mine, then I shall allow the Exalted One to go
from Rājagriha to Vaiśāli.”

Then Tomara the Licchavi, in obedience to King Śreniya
Bimbisāra, sent messengers to the assembly at Vaiśāli to report:
“O sons of Vasiṣṭha, thus does King Śreniya Bimbisāra
say to Tomara the Licchavi.” These messengers in obedience
to Tomara the Licchavi went to Vaiśāli and reported to the
assembled Licchavis: “Thus, O sons of Vasiṣṭha, does King
Śreniya Bimbisāra answer Tomara the Licchavi: ‘If the
Licchavis of Vaiśāli will march out in procession as far as the
boundary of their territory to meet the Exalted One on

1 A class of demons. “They had huge stomachs, and their genital organs
were as big as pots, hence their name” (O.P.N.).

8 Literally (a plague) “the ill-luck of which was black-eared” “kalikālakarṇī.”

constituting a change of metaphor, is used here in its usual metaphorical
sense.

1 This couplet which, as Senart points out, is evidently proverbial, is very
e整个人口，而要使其在翻译时保持文意。
hundred royal sunshades girt with festoons of fine cloth, with flags and banners flying, in great royal pomp, magnificence and splendour escorted the Exalted One on his way to Vaiśāli, halting at intervals of half a yojana, until he came to the boundary of his domain on the banks of the river Ganges.

The Licchavis of Vaiśāli heard in what manner (259) King Śrēṇiya Bimbisāra was escorting the Exalted One on his way from Rājagriha to Vaiśāli. And when they had heard they in turn carefully prepared the road in their own domain from Vaiśāli to the banks of the Ganges, and had it made even and level like a chequer-board, like the palm of the hand, sprinkled and swept, strewn with garlands of flowers, with an awning stretched over it, carpeted with bright cloth, draped with festoons of fine cloth, and well-scented. Here and there they placed mimes, dancers, athletes, wrestlers and musicians. At intervals of half a yojana they made provision of tents, with a supply of couches, drink and food for the Exalted One and his company of disciples. Within Vaiśāli they yoked eighty-four thousand chariots, nay, twice eighty-four thousand and staves, dark-blue garments, decorations, turbans and sunshades, yellow swords, jewels and shoes.

This has been described in verse:

(260) Yellow horses and chariots, yellow reins, whips and turbans; five yellow insignia, yellow garments and decorations.

There were Licchavis with yellow horses and chariots, yellow reins, whips and staves, yellow garments, decorations, turbans and sunshades, yellow swords, jewels and shoes.

This has been described in verse:

Crimson horses and chariots, crimson reins, whips and staves, five crimson insignia, crimson garments and decorations.

There were Licchavis with crimson horses and chariots, crimson whips and staves, crimson garments and decorations, crimson turbans and sunshades, crimson insignia of jewels, shoes and fans.

This has been described in verse:

Red horses and chariots, red reins, whips and staves, five red insignia, and red garments and decorations.

There were Licchavis with red horses and chariots, red whips and staves, red garments and decorations, red turbans and sunshades, and red insignia of swords, jewels, shoes and fans.

This has been described in verse:

White horses and chariots, white reins, whips and staves, five white insignia, and white garments and decorations.

1 The usual lattradamiti ucyate, "here it is thus said," introducing a redaction in verse, which is probably traditional and the basis of the preceding prose account.
There were Licchavis with tawny horses and chariots, tawny reins, whips and staves, tawny garments and decorations, tawny turbans and sunshades, tawny swords, and tawny insignia of jewels, shoes and fans.

This has been described in verse:

Tawny horses and chariots, tawny reins, whips and staves, five tawny insignia, and tawny garments and decorations.

There were Licchavis with mottled horses and chariots, mottled reins, whips and staves, mottled garments and decorations, mottled turbans, sunshades and swords and mottled insignia of jewels, shoes and fans.

This has been described in verse:

Mottled horses and chariots, mottled reins, whips and staves, five mottled insignia, and mottled garments and decorations.

There were Licchavis with golden sunshades mounted on elephants caparisoned in varied adornments. There were Licchavis in golden palanquins decked out with jewels of all kinds, in befleged golden chariots moving with a merry sound and carrying arrows and axes, sunshades, banners and streamers. In such pomp, array, and circumstance, with such regal power, magnificence and splendour did the Licchavis of Vaisali, accompanied by Gośrīngi and Amrāpalīka and the people generally, go forth with twice eighty-four thousand carriages as far as the banks of the Ganges to meet the Exalted One.

When the Exalted One, on the other bank of the Ganges, had instructed, gladdened, and thrilled King Śreniya Bimbisāra and brāhmans from Magadha with talk about dharma, and had established eighty-four thousand brahmans of Magadha and brahmans from Magadha with talk about dharma, and addressed his monks.

"Monks," said he, "you did not see the devas of Trāyastriṃśa when of yore they set out from their city of Sudarśana..."

1 Vidyukita, an unknown word, of doubtful meaning. The translation follows Senart's suggestion that the word may mean "de couleurs variées." This meaning is, etymologically, not impossible, if, that is, the word is from vi (negative) + dyukita, "joined, yoked," i.e. "not uniform or homogeneous" (in colour).

2 Otherwise unknown.

3 Pāli Ambapālī or Ambapālikā, a celebrated courtesan of Vaisali.

By this time pontoon bridges had been thrown across the river Ganges, by King Śreniya Bimbisāra, by those from within Vaisali, by those from without, and by the Nāgas of the Ganges, the Kambalas and the Aṣvataraś (each party saying), "This is an intricate use of the traditional text as we have it, e.g., in V. I. 232, yevi bhikkhave bhikkhūhi deva Tāvatiṃsā adiṭṭhapubba, okalethi bhikkhave Licchaviparicantam, "You, monks, by whom the Tāvatiṃsā were not formerly seen, look on the concourse of the Licchavī."
of disciples to a meal on the morrow, and he silently accepted.”

The Exalted One stepped on to a bridge of boats. King Śreniya Bimbisāra saw the Exalted One on his bridge. Those from within Vaiśāli saw the Exalted One and his company of disciples on theirs; those from without Vaiśāli saw them on theirs, and the Kambalas and Aśvataras, the great Nāgas of the Ganges, saw them crossing by their bridge.

**THE SUNSHADES**

When the Kambalas and the Aśvataras of the Ganges saw the five hundred sunshades of King Śreniya Bimbisāra and the five hundred sunshades of the people of Vaiśāli, they too held up five hundred sunshades for the Exalted One as he crossed the river. The Yākṣas also held up five hundred sunshades, as did the Cāturmahārājika devas. An exquisite sunshade was held up by the deva Sunirmita. Five hundred sunshades were held up by the Paranirmitavasavartin devas, five hundred by the Four Great Kings and five hundred by the Trāyāstrimśa devas. A sunshade was held up by Śakra, lord of the devas, by the deva Suyāma, and five hundred sunshades by the Tuṣita devas. The deva Santuṣita held up an exquisite sunshade. Five hundred sunshades were held up by the devas of Brahmā’s world, and an exquisite one by Great Brahmā himself. (264) The Śuddhāvāsa devas held up five hundred sunshades for the Exalted One as he crossed the Ganges, and a Maheśvara deva held up one. By whom could these thousands of sunshades carried by devas and men for the Exalted One be exceeded?

_Scions of kings faithful in the daily performance of religious duties deserve the sunshade. He deserves it, too, this illustrious valiant man._

_Those brave men deserve it who, victorious over foreign foes, wield invincible sovereignty._ . . .

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1. Literally "held out," _prāgyiḥita._
2. There is a lacuna here of a noun or nouns qualified by, or forming part of, a compound ending in _saṃpanṇā._
4. The text has Vaji, the popular form of the Sanskrit _Vṛjī_, Pali _Vajji_.
5. See note p. 155.
6. _Mahābhārata._ Senart cites the _Mahābhārata_ for this use of the word. See Böhlíngk and Roth s.v.
7. _Dharmadhāra_ for _dharapīdhara_. "bearing the earth," epithet of fabled elephants, also of Seśa, Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, and Śiva.
8. _Jāgārāya_, is a doubtful conjecture of Senart’s.
9. Reading _suyāma_ for _vasūyā_. There does not seem to be any mention of Vasūyāma devas elsewhere, although Senart lists the word Vasūyāma as a proper name in his index. The verb _dharāya_, also, implies a singular subject. With this emendation the idea seems to be that Suyāma, himself the lord of the Yāma devas (see p. 163) comes to the Buddha as to an overlord.
adored by Yama, Varuna and Nāga, and held up a sunshade for him who moves with the speed of a storm-cloud, a sunshade yellow like the autumn rain-cloud.

A dweller in Tuṣita, again, who was rid of delusion, assumed the grossness of corporeal form and devotedly held up a sunshade for the Exalted One.

The deva Sunirmiṭa held up a sunshade with its handle well-fashioned of beryl, its ten hundred ribs of gleaming coral, and its covering of flowers in bloom.

A Paranirmiṭavasavartin deva fashioned for him who is extolled in the three worlds a sunshade covered with a weight of gold, with hanging garlands of clustered gems.

With devoted mind Brahmā held up a sunshade like the moon for him whose heart is as clear as the path of the wind, for the crusher of his opponents.

A Mahēśvara deva, again, held up for him who fully deserved it a sunshade made of the seven precious substances, adorned with festoons of celestial flowers.

Thus was this great throng of Kāmāvacara devas assembled by their great lord, the ruler of Suras, to do homage to him whose strength is matchless.

(266) The Exalted One conjured up as many Buddhas as there were sunshades. They who held the sunshades did not see one another's Buddha, and each thought, "Under my sunshade there stands the saviour, the Sugata, the standard-bearer." Through the Buddha's power devas and men beheld the abode of the highest of the devas.

Then the Exalted One, the moon-like man, conjured up by magic these many Buddhas. The Exalted One made them appear, but the crowd did not see one another's Buddha.

In the aerial abodes of the highest devas the Buddhas of the ten powers make the serene heaven bright as a sacrificial post glittering with jewels.

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2. Samvaritakkarasamanapu. Otherwise these devas would be invisible.
4. See p. 126.
5. Or Mahēśvara. Here apparently the proper name of the lord of the Suras.
6. Literally "fashioned" or "created." nirmita.
7. This description of the phantom Buddhas as appearing in the sky seems to be an interpolation here, for the rest of the scene is on the Ganges.

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All are of golden colour, all endowed with the thirty-two marks of excellence, all are like a mass of gold, all move like stately elephants.

All are gracious in their ways, and their web of radiance is resplendent; all possess infinite virtue, all are creators of joy.

Devas and men, seeing the sky made resplendent by the Daśābalas, are greatly stirred by elation and utter shouts of Ha! Ha!

They move on in a vibrant loud-murmuring throng, and from the sky they release a cloud of fragrant powdery dust.

When they saw this magical miracle of the creation of Buddhas by the Exalted One, the devas paid him exceeding great homage. They showered on and over the Exalted One flowers of the coral-tree, of the great coral-tree, of the karkāraṇa,1 of the great karkāraṇa, of the rocamāṇa(267) of the great rocamāṇa, of the bhīṣma, of the great bhīṣma, of the samantagāndha, of the great samantagandha, and of the pāryāṭraka,2 flowers of gold and silver, powder of the sandal-wood tree, of the aloe-wood tree, and of the kéśara. All around for six yojavanas and to the depth of a man's knees there is a flood of celestial sweet-smelling powder.

The monks asked the Exalted One, "What is this majesty, lord, for which these thousands of sunshades are held up by devas, Nāgas and kings? Is it the majesty of deva, or of Nāga or of Yakṣa?" The Exalted One replied, "Monks, this majesty appertains to the Tathāgata as a result of his righteousness in former lives. If the Tathāgata in the course of his many lives were not to awaken to the supreme perfect enlightenment, he would rule as many kingdoms of a universal king as there are sunshades here for the Exalted One. But, as it is, for the Tathāgata who has perfect virtue through the extinction of sin there will be utter passing away."

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1. Cf. karkāraṇa, "a species of gourd," Borinhasa cerifera; Pali kakkāraṇa, the same, but also "a heavenly flower." at J. 3. 87, 88.
2. The coral-tree Erythmica Indica, a tree in Indra's heaven. Senart, following one MS., prefers the form pāryāṭraka to pāryāṭra, and regards the Sanskrit form pāryāṭa as "le levet précritisant" of the former. The Pali form of the name is pārichatatka, due to the popular etymology of pari + catta, "shading all round." For other trees in Indra's heaven see pp. 27, 118.
Then the Exalted One said to the venerable Vāgīśa,1 "Let there come to your mind, Vāgīśa, the recollection of a former association of yours with the Tathāgata."

"So be it, lord," replied the venerable Vāgīśa, and in obedience to the Exalted One he on that occasion recited these verses:

"Once upon a time there was a Master, a brāhman who had nothing to fear, being immune from rebirth, a brāhman perfected in the holy life.

"Seeing men in misery and consigned to states of wretchedness, he set rolling the wheel of dharma, and shed abroad an incomparable light.

"When he had set rolling the wheel of dharma and shed abroad that incomparable light, he passed utterly away, a perfect Buddha, a great seer, with all possibility of rebirth extinct.

"For him his disciples who had naught to fear and his most advanced and well-trained students erected a tope to perpetuate his fame.

"Noble, priest and commoner paid homage to the great seer(268) foregathering there in motley garlands for dance and music and song."

"And then the brāhman who was the wise parent of the Buddha thought, 'What now if I were to make a canopy, fair and white, and studded with gems?'"

"When he had raised this spotless canopy over the lofty tope, the father shed tears and paid homage to his son.

"Having performed this lovely deed in praise of the Buddha, the brāhman died, as is the lot of those that are born. "As a result of that act, during eighty kalpas of the world's dissolution and evolution he experienced no rebirth into evil states. Such was the fruit that canopy bore.

"When he was reborn among men, he then ruled in righteousness as a universal king on earth, triumphant and mighty.

"He was a noble, possessing divers domains and a large retinue. He was honoured with a white sunshade which ensured his comfort.

1 See note p. 129.
THE MAHĀVASTU

“For I know of no worship here on earth equal to this, much less superior to it. I know of none other by worshipping whom you will attain greater merit. 

“If a man were to worship here on earth all the devas without ceasing(270) and make them all the most costly offerings, he would not gain equal blessings. 

“It is no easier to win sight of the Buddhas, who are so great in glory, in mercy, in compassion and in beneficence, than it is to see the flower of the glomerous fig-tree.¹

“Thus those who laud me for my concentration, my virtue, my wisdom, my attainment, my withdrawal from the world, for my exertion, my nobility of birth, and for my past, all become mighty and meritorious, command obedience² in all their lives, and become renowned among men.

“When a man has thus developed the roots of goodness, this prison-house of body will not trouble him much afterwards. 

“Therefore one should perform meritorious deeds, thus laying up a store for the life beyond. For meritorious deeds are a sure foundation for men in the life beyond.”

When the Exalted One had crossed the Ganges he came to the frontiers of Vaiśāli and caused the demons of the plague to flee. But wicked Māra filled with living things the way which had been garnished with flowers and swept and prepared by the Licchavis for the progress of the Exalted One. He also conjured up a beggar named Kuṇḍala, who said to the Buddha as he went along this way, “Turn back.”

“The ground is covered with many creatures, small, large, and medium-sized. When the Buddha walks over these creatures lying on the ground, his tread will be the cause of suffering.”

(271)The Exalted One replied:—

“The touch of the Tathāgatas is as gentle as that of the breezes that waft lightly down from the sky. The touch of the bodies of the supreme Buddhas, the Tathāgatas, inflicts no harm.”³

¹ Literally “no harm arises because of his body” (śartramāgamyā). For āgamyā see note p. 193.
² Aḍeyavacana, cf. Pali vacanam anādiyitvā, “not paying attention to his word.” Pād., 212.
³ This story closely resembles jātakā 521.
he heard that in a hermitage on the slopes of the Himalayas
there dwelt seers who were powerful, possessed the five super­
knowledges and had mastered the four meditations. The king
should consult these as to how he could have a son. "These
powerful seers," said the ministers, "will reveal to his majesty
how he may have a son."

Then the king, with his women-folk, his daughters, his
ministers and his army set out for the hermitage of these seers.
On the way he with his women and his army made a halt.
There he saw three birds flying out of the hollow trunk of
a cotton-wood tree,1 namely, a female owl, a female śārīka,2
and a female parrot. When he saw this, the king was seized
with curiosity, and he ordered a man to go and see what there
might be in the hollow trunk of the tree. The man climbed
up the tree, looked, and saw three eggs. He called out, "Sire,
I see three eggs." The king replied, "Bring them down
wrapped up one by one in a fold of your dress so that they
do not break." The man wrapped them up one by one in
a fold of his dress and brought them down unbroken.

The king questioned his ministers, "Whose eggs are these?"
But they replied, "The fowlers had better be asked; this is
their province." The fowlers were summoned and the king
questioned them saying, "Ho there! fellows, find out whose
eggs these are." Now the fowlers were experienced in such
a matter, and knew all birds' eggs, and what every bird was
like. So they replied, "Your majesty, of these three eggs the
first is an owl's, the second a śārikā's and the third a parrot's."

The king then asked, "Can these eggs be hatched?" And
the fowlers replied, "They can, your majesty, since they
were brought down without being damaged." The king
asked, "What treatment should be given these eggs in order
that, when so treated, they be successfully hatched?" "Your
majesty," said they, "a piece of cotton cloth must be cut
and arranged to hold them on all sides. Then when the eggs
have been steeped in honey and ghee they must be placed
on it, and a piece of cotton cloth over them will cover them
like a broody hen."

The eggs were laid down as the fowlers had directed, and

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1 Śāmbali, Sanskrit सांभली. Cf. Pali simbali.
2 The maynah bird, Pali sāṭikā, or sāṭiyya.
Knowing the force of their sagacity, the king, the lord of men, rejoiced, and said, "I'll ask them all one by one and privily concerning the duties of a king.

"I'll begin by asking the owl. 'Greetings to you, bird. What, my son, do you consider is the duty of one who rules a kingdom?'"

The owl replied:

"At last my father asks me about the duties of a king. Come then, I'll tell you, and do you listen with attentive mind.

"A king should not fall into the power of wrath. Rather let him curb his anger, for, O king, neither the interests nor the duty of a man thrive when he is angry.

"But when a king is not subject to wrath, his interests, his duty and his wisdom always thrive. Hence should he restrain his anger.

(275)"When a dispute arises, he should pay equal attention to both parties to it, and hear the arguments of each and decide according to what is right.

"He should not, O king, act out of favouritism, hatred, fear or folly. He should hear the arguments of each side and act according to what is right.

"He will not go to ruin, for the intelligent man knows how to look after his interests, so that, preserving his good name, he follows the road to heaven, O king.

"Thus, O king, shun what is unjust and rule in accordance with a king's duty. So will you, mighty lord, pass thither.

"Do not delight overmuch in the excitement of sensual pleasures, for his enemy overcomes him who is drunk with pleasures.

"A king should administer all the affairs of his city and his provinces as well in righteousness.

"He should uphold his sovereignty in city and province by his good qualities, by the giving of largesse, and by performing his duties.

"Then he should maintain his influence with his court

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1 Literally "for he is intelligent in that he does what profits him" artha-krupā. Senart plausibly suggests "hārīyā—" for the intelligent man does what profits him."
"As for the man who keeps all relating to his counsel secret, his foes,(277) being rid of fear, becomes like one of his subjects.

"Always, O king, give your protection to those who live justly. For the wheel of power turns in dependence on the wheel of justice. 1

"By the power of those who live righteously, all ills are assuaged. The devas send rain in season, and then the corn-crops grow.

"It is thus, O king, that the deeds done by virtuous men are a source of blessing in this world and of happiness in the world beyond.

"A king should therefore see to it that his acts are just. For, O king, your good is also that of your kingdom.

"Be circumspect in all things, O lord of men, and diligent in the care of your treasury and granary.

"Such is my salutary counsel. Do you, O king, accept it fully, and act in accordance with it.

"If you follow it, glory and renown will be yours. Your kingdom will be peaceful, prosperous, flourishing and populous."

When he had heard the owl's excellent words, so full of truth and profit, the king said, "I'll ask the śārika. Tell me, śārika, what the duties of a king are."

The young śārika replied:—

"At long last, father, you ask me about the duties of a king. Come, then, I'll tell you. Do you listen with attentive mind.

"This world, father, rests on two foundations. The acquisition, without avarice, 2 of wealth, and the conservation of what is gained.

"Therefore, O lord of men, to acquire wealth and conserve what you have gained(278) make firm efforts within the bounds of righteousness.

1 Balacakra niśrāya dharmacakra praunātate. Strictly speaking, as niśrāya normally is a post-position, "leaving on," the meaning of this sentence should be "the wheel of justice turns in dependence on the wheel of power." But such a doctrine of "might is right" is hardly in keeping with the tone of the rest of the passage. Niśrāya is, therefore, here taken as a preposition. For niśrāya see note p. 114.

2 Reading alubha for alabhā of the text.
“Sire, appoint as your minister a man who is wise and thinks of what is beneficial, who is not covetous, but is loyal and a counsellor to the realm.

“When ministers are imperfect in wisdom, and set small store on it, kingdoms and the heads of kingdoms have their troubles increased.

“O king, through the power of the wisdom of intelligent ministers kingdoms and the heads of kingdoms grow in prosperity.

“A covetous and foolish minister, O lord of men, is of no avail to king or kingdom.

“Therefore, O lord of men, appoint as your minister a man who is not covetous, but is prudent and devoted in counsel, a guide to the realm.

“Your eye is not as good as a spy; your policy is not as good as a spy. Therefore a king should employ a spy in all his affairs.

“O king, keep firm control over all your followers in your kingdom, both military and civilian, in all they have to do.

“Therefore, O king, you should find a wise door-keeper. He will exercise vigilance, and this will ensure your ease.

“Such is my salutary counsel (280). Do you, O king, accept it fully, and act in accordance with it.

“If you will follow this, glory and renown will be yours. Your kingdom will be peaceful, prosperous, flourishing and populous.

“Now has the owl as well as the śārika been questioned and they have given their answers to me. Next I ask you, parrot, concerning the true duties of a king.

“Clever and sensible parrot, tell me truly what are the kinds of kingly power a king should desire to have.”

The parrot replied:—

“O lord of men, a five-fold power is desirable for a king. Be attentive and hearken to my words.

“The first power is innate in him; the second power is the power of his sons, the third that of relations and friends.

1 Balaṁ ... rājadharmaṁ.
THE MAHĀVASTU

"Do the right in this world and beyond, O great king, for the king who has walked in righteousness in this world goes to heaven.

"Such is my salutary counsel. Do you, O king, accept it fully, and act in accordance with it.

"If you will follow this, glory and renown will be yours, and your kingdom will be peaceful, prosperous, flourishing and populous."

Then thus spoke to them illustrious Brahmadatta(282), "Wholly wise are you, my sons, clever and sensible.

"I shall act in accordance with the words of counsel spoken by you all. For I have learnt from your talk on justice what is profitable for the life beyond."

Calling to mind a former existence and a former birth, the Exalted One, the Master, explained this Jātaka to his monks:

"When of yore I lived in one of my intermediate existences, I was then this parrot, Śāriputra was the śārika, Ānanda was the owl, and Śuddhodana was Brahmadatta."

Thus does the Exalted One, now exempt from trouble, fear and sorrow, relate to his monks his rebirths, his endless, toilsome faring up and down in the past.

Here ends the avadāna of the Mahāvastu called the "Jātaka of the Three Birds."

Then the Bodhisattva putting off his parrot nature became a young man, and taught the ten right ways of behaviour.

Ten powers are declared by the Buddha, the kinsman of the sun, to be the attributes of the valiant Bodhisattvas. Hear me as I recount them.

The wise Bodhisattva has power over his own life, and the power of intelligence. He has won power over rebirth, over his acts and his thoughts. He has the power of dharma, and of magic, and power over his own purpose. The wise Bodhisattva has power over time and place. These are the ten powers.

1 Vasīta. These vaśitas, being attributes of a Bodhisattva, are not to be found in the Pali texts. There is, however, a more or less similar list in the Mahāyutpatti (see Böhling and Roth s.v.). They may be compared, but are not to be confused, with the ten bālas of a Tathāgata. The whole passage, however, is obviously out of place here.

PLAUGUES OF FORMER DAYS

(283) Relying steadfastly and confidently on these ten powers, the valiant men bring to moral maturity thousands of kotis of beings.

The Bodhisattvas purify the Buddha-field; they are guides. The Bodhisattvas are radiant and filled with great compassion.

When this Jātaka was finished eighty-four thousands were brought to moral maturity and a full comprehension of dharma.

PLAUGUES OF FORMER DAYS

When the exalted Buddha came to the confines of Vaiśālī all the demons of the plague fled, and the great multitude in their joy asked the Exalted One, "Behold, Lord, how do all the demons flee when the Exalted One comes to the confines of Vaiśālī?" The Exalted One replied, "O sons of Vaiśīṭha, why should it be strange that the demons flee when the Tathāgata, who has won perfect enlightenment, who is a deva above other devas, enters the confines of your city? There was another occasion also on which the demons fled before me, namely, when as a seer I entered the confines of the city of Kampilla." The Licchavis asked, "Was it so, Lord?" "Yes," he replied.

Once upon a time, O sons of Vaiśīṭha, long ago, in the land of Pañcāla, in the city of Kampilla, there reigned a king named Brahmadatta, who treated his servants kindly, and was charitable and liberal. Therefore the province of Kampilla was prosperous, flourishing, peaceful, well-supplied with food, and thickly peopled with happy subjects. Punishments were abolished, and tumults suppressed. Robbers were put down and trade thrived.

1 Paripūṣāti.

3 Reading, on Senart's suggestion, Caitra[ttisasahrehi dharma abhisamita abhit, literally "dharma was comprehended by 84,000." Caitra[ttisasahrehi must be supplied with paripūṣāti in the preceding stanza. Abhisamita is the past participle of abhisameti. (See note p. 131.)

4 Pañcāla (also Uttarapañcāla) and Kampilla alternate in the Pali texts, as here, between being the name of a land and of its capital city, respectively.
Now the son of King Brahmadatta’s priest, named Rakṣita, a man of great power, who practised the ten right ways of conduct, realising the peril in the pleasures of sense and knowing (the way of) escape from them, was passionately bent on withdrawing from the world.

Seeing, then, the peril of sensuous desires, he went to the slopes of the Himalayas and embraced the religious life of a seer. In the Himalayas he constructed a hermitage (284), making a hut of grass and leaves, and lived on roots, leaves, flowers, and fruits. Following the practice of an unorthodox recluse he kept vigil during the first and last watches of the night. He mastered the four meditations and realised the five super-knowledges.

The young man who had thus attained the four meditations and the five super-knowledges, who followed the path of the ten virtues and lived the holy life, could, as he sat cross-legged in his hermitage, touch the orbs of the moon and sun with his hand. An austere recluse, a gifted seer, he had power over all beings, including the devas of Brahmā’s world.

Once a time, a terrible plague, the work of demons, broke out in the great city of Kampilla and its province. Infected by this demonic plague many thousands of beings perished. When King Brahmadatta saw this great calamity in Kampilla, he sent a messenger to Rakṣita on the slopes of the Himalayas to say that a demonic plague was raging in Kampilla and that many thousands were perishing. “Well would it be were the blessed seer to come to Kampilla and bring mercy.”

When the seer heard the messenger’s words, he left the Himalayas and came to Kampilla. As he entered its confines all the demons fled. The seer brought well-being to Kampilla and taught the ten virtuous ways of conduct to eighty-four thousand beings.

What spell does he, who is attended by good fortune in this world and the next, pronounce or study at the due time?

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1 Implying, of course, that he is “protected” from evil spells and misfortune. Senart seems to have missed the point concerning the significance of these verses. He calls them “formules d’exorcisme,” but analogous passages in the Pali texts show that their intention is rather to confute the popular belief in the worth of omens, spells, and charms. For example in the Mahāvamsa (Jāhaka, X. V.), the Buddha, as the bodhisatta Rakṣita Kumāra (cf. the name Rakṣita here) is asked to define what constitutes things of good omen, and he replies by confuting popular notions about good luck and giving instead a list of moral qualities the possession, or the possessor, of which alone can confer blessings on men. The parallel Mahāvamsa of Kāp. and Sā. has the same motive, as well as the Ratana Sutta of the same two works. (A version of this latter suttta is found in the Mahāvatsa, below p. 242.)

2 A few obvious emendations in the text are:—

Kīm sa naro jalpamacintyākāle
Katamsya vidyā katamaṁ syā dānam,
while those of J. are
Kīm sa naro jappam adhīcça kaḷa
Kam vā viḥjan katamaṁ vā suṭānam.

It is fairly obvious that acintya should be changed into adhīya and syā dānam into suṭānam.

It is apparent also that the refrain of all the following verses, svastiyayanaṁ taddhāṁ is out of place at the end of this first stanza, which should end with kathatākaro rakṣito svastiyayena corresponding with the Pali kathakaro rakṣito soṭhāno guto, etc.

Finally, on the interpretation suggested above, rakṣita is out of place in the refrain to all the verses except the first. The verses are not concerned with the qualification of a wizard but with the blessings conferred by a holy and moral life. The blessing (svastiyayana) of each stanza consists in the exercise of the virtues eulogised in each. By the omission of rakṣita (and this can be done without violence to metrical laws) the refrain becomes practically identical in form, if not in content, with that of J. Also two MSS. of the Mahāvatsa omit the word in two separate stanzas.

3 Literally “ they say it,” taddhāṁ.

4 Siddhādeva. Cf. Mil. 120, 267, and other references in Pali Dictionary.
He verily is a blessing to kings, in whom kings, lords of the earth, put their trust, knowing him to be for all time unequalled in this world for truth and courage.

He verily is a blessing in the home whom a fond mother... compassionate towards her offspring, beautiful and virtuous has borne.

(286) They verily are a blessing among arhats, who praise the Buddha after the manner of Aryans and serve him with worship, who are learned, triumphant over doubt, and emancipated.

They verily are a blessing in the village who dispense food and drink in season, sandal-wood from Kāśī, perfumes and garlands, and who are well-disposed to recluses and brāhmans.

He verily is a blessing in the village who teaches men that by eschewing falsehood, slander, adultery, murder and drunkenness they shall go to heavenly bliss.

It may well occur to you, O sons of Vasishtha, that the seer named Rakṣita at that time and on that occasion was somebody else. You must not think so. And why? I, O sons of Vasishtha, at that time and on that occasion was the seer named Rakṣita. You may think that the king, named Brahmadatta, in the city of Kampiila at that time and on that occasion was somebody else. That, too, you must not think. King Śreniya Bimbisāra here at that time and on that occasion was the king named Brahmadatta in the city of Kampiila. And it was then that I as a seer entered the confines of Kampiila and all those demons of the plague fled. So now, too, do the demons flee as I enter the confines of Vaiśāli.

Not only on these occasions have all demons fled on my entering the confines of a city. There was another occasion also.

Once upon a time, O sons of Vasishtha, long ago, in the city of Benares in the province of Kāśī there ruled a king who was virtuous, majestic, strong and wealthy. He had a great army, treated his servants kindly, and was charitable and liberal. (287) His city of Benares and his province of Kāśī were flourishing, prosperous, peaceful, well-supplied with food, and populous.

Now this king had an elephant1 which was virtuous, and of great might, force, and power. Through its force and power Benares and the province of Kāśī were immune from afflictions and calamities, and when it entered the confines of other towns and provinces, they, too, were rendered immune from afflictions and calamities.

Once there broke out a demonic plague in the city of Mithilā,2 in Videha, and many thousands perished. The citizens heard that the king of Kāśī had an elephant which was virtuous, and of great might, force and power, and that any town or village it entered was rid of afflictions and calamities. So the king of Videha said to a certain brāhmaṇ, "Go to Benares. The king of Kāśī is at all times generous, charitable and liberal. Tell him how things are here, and ask him for his elephant. If that elephant comes here, all this demonic plague will be allayed."

The brāhmaṇ, in obedience to the king's command, in due time reached Benares and entered it. And the king of Kāśī happened to be coming out of Benares in great regal magnificence and pomp, with the elephant going in front gaily caparisoned, covered with a net-work of gold, and radiant with splendour. The brāhmaṇ stood in front of the king of Kāśī, and greeted him with a cry of "Victory to the king!"

The king, on seeing the brāhmaṇ, stopped, and asked him, "What do you want, O brāhmaṇ? What can I give to you?"

The brāhmaṇ related to the king all about the onslaught of the demons in Mithilā, and said, "O great king, allow this elephant to come and bring mercy to Mithilā." The king was merciful and ready to succour others, and he gave the elephant, all gaily caparisoned as it was, to the brāhmaṇ, saying, "I give you, brāhmaṇ, this caparisoned elephant, clothed in a net-work of gold, regal, royal, and noble(288), as well as its driver. Go your way."

Perhaps, again, O sons of Vasishtha, you will think that

1 Literally "a Nāga elephant" hastināga, but nāga here is a mere conventional epithet, denoting "fine," "valiant," "heroic," etc.
2 Capital of the Videha country which bordered on the Ganges and was one of the two important principalities of the Vajjian confederacy. In the Indian epics Mithilā is chiefly famous as the residence of King Janaka, and it is, nowadays, generally identified with Janakapura, a small town within the Nepal border. (D.P.N.)
at that time and on that occasion, that king in Benares was somebody else. You must not think so. The king in Benares at that time and on that occasion was King Śreniya Bimbisāra here. Perhaps, again, O sons of Vasiṣṭha, you will think that at that time and on that occasion the king of Mithilā was somebody else. You must not think so. And why? The king of Mithilā at that time and on that occasion was general Śiṃha\(^1\) here. You will, perhaps, suppose that the brāhmaṇ was somebody else. Really he was this Tomara the Licchavi. You will, perhaps, think that the elephant was somebody else. Verily, you must not think so. I was the king's elephant at that time and on that occasion. Then, too, did all the demons in Mithilā flee before me when I was in the form of that elephant, just as they have done now on my entering the confines of Vaiśālī.

Moreover, O sons of Vasiṣṭha, these were not the only occasions that all demons fled on my entering the confines of a city. They did so on another occasion also.

Once upon a time, O sons of Vasiṣṭha, long ago, in the city of Rājaśīhā, there were a king who was virtuous, mighty, kind to his servants, liberal and charitable, powerful, wealthy and possessing a great army. His kingdom was flourishing, prosperous, peaceful, well-supplied with food, and densely peopled with happy subjects. Punishments were abolished, riots suppressed, and robbers kept in check, and trade thrived. But a demonic plague broke out there and many thousands perished by it.

Now the king of Anga\(^2\) had a bull which was handsome, beautiful, virtuous and strong. By its might and power all the land of Anga was rendered immune from afflictions and calamities. The brāhmaṇs and laymen of Rajagriha heard that the king of Anga had a bull which was handsome, beautiful, virtuous and strong, and that by its might and power the land of Anga\(^289\) was rid of afflictions and calamities. They therefore informed the king, saying, "Your majesty, we hear that the king of Anga has a bull that is handsome, beautiful, virtuous, strong and powerful. Whatever village or town it enters becomes rid of affliction and calamity. O great king, send for the bull, so that when brought here it may allay the demonic plague in Rājaśīhā."

The king of Rājaśīhā sent a brāhmaṇ to the king of Anga. "Go to the king of Anga," said he to him, "make known our troubles to him and entreat him for his bull." In obedience to the king the brāhmaṇ left Rājaśīhā and duly arrived at the city of the king of Anga. He approached the king of Anga and greeted him with a cry of "Victory to the king!" He told him in detail all about the demonic plague in Rājaśīhā and asked him for the bull.

Now that king was merciful and ready to succour others. So, when he had heard of the great trouble of the people of Rājaśīhā, he gave the bull to the brāhmaṇ, saying, "Depart, brāhmaṇ, and let the people and all creatures in Rājaśīhā be relieved."

The brāhmaṇ took the bull, left the land of Anga and came to the land of Magadha. And, O sons of Vasiṣṭha, no sooner had the bull entered the confines of Rājaśīhā than all the demons fled, and the whole province of Rājaśīhā was rid of affliction and calamity.

Perhaps, again, O sons of Vasiṣṭha, you will think that this king of Anga in the city of Anga at that time and on that occasion was somebody else. You must not think this. And why? This King Śreniya Bimbisāra here was at that time and on that occasion the king of Anga. You will, perhaps, think that the king of Rājaśīhā at that time and on that occasion was somebody else. You must not think so. Why? That king of Rājaśīhā was this general Śiṃha here. You will, perhaps, think that the brāhmaṇ who at that time and on that occasion brought back the bull was somebody else. You must not think so. And why? This Tomara the Licchavi here, O sons of Vasiṣṭha, was at that time and on that occasion the brāhmaṇ of Rājaśīhā who brought the bull from the king of Anga to Rājaśīhā. You will, perhaps, again think that the bull of the king of Anga at that time and on that occasion was somebody else. Verily you must not think so. And why? I, O sons of Vasiṣṭha, was the bull of the king of Anga at that time and on that occasion. Then did I

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\(^1\) Pali Sīha, a Licchavi general of Vaiśālī, who was originally a Niganṭha, or Jain, but on the occasion of the Buddha's visit to Vesālī he came to him and accepted his teaching. (D.P.N.)

\(^2\) One of the sixteen Mahājanapadas or great countries often referred to in the Pali texts. It lay to the east of Magadha.
in the form of a bull enter the confines of Rājagriha and all the demons fled, just as they have done now when I, in the possession of perfect enlightenment, entered the confines of Vaiśālī.

Here ends the "Jātaka of the Bull" in the Mahāvastu-Avadāna.

THE BUDDHA IN VAIŚĀLĪ

So in due course the Exalted One reached Vaiśālī. There he brought well-being both to those within and to those without Vaiśālī, and recited these verses1 on well-being.

Homage to the Enlightened One. Homage to his enlighten-
ment. Homage to him who is freed; homage to his freedom. Homage to wisdom; homage to him who is fully wise. Pay homage to the foremost and the best in the whole world.

All creatures here assembled, creatures of earth and of sky, be ye all gladdened, and listen to what the Conqueror declares to be well-being.2

Whatever be the choicest gem in the world or the world beyond, or in heaven, it is not comparable to the Tathāgata,(291) the deva above all devas, the supreme of men. This choicest gem is in the Buddha. By this truth let blessing come from man and from demon.

The choicest gem is in the dharma. By this truth let blessing come from man and from demon.

There is no equal to that pure concentration which the supreme Buddha extols and which men say is unbroken.1 This choicest gem is in the dharma. By this truth let blessing come from man and from demon.

The eight orders of men whom people always praise form four pairs.2 The Sugata has declared that they are worthy of offerings, and the giving of these brings great reward. This choicest gem is in the Sangha. By this truth let blessing come from man and from demon.

He who has the good fortune to possess all the true doctrines3 has left behind the three evil states of harbouring theories about individuality,4 of doubt, and of the delusion concerning good works.5 This choicest gem is in the Sangha. By this truth let blessing come from man and from demon.

Whatever wrong a pupil commits in deed, speech, or thought, it is impossible6 for him to conceal it. This impossibility has been proclaimed by those to whom the way is manifest. This choicest gem is in the Sangha. By this truth let blessing come from man and from demon.

As Indra's column is firmly grounded so that it is unshaken by the four winds, like it do I proclaim the worthy truth of which is immediate. This choicest gem is in the Buddha. By this truth let blessing come from man and from demon.

Those who clearly understand the Aryan truths well-taught

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1. These verses are a version of the Ratana Sutta of Sm. and Kkp. already referred to in a note on p. 237. Although the verses are here introduced by the words svastiyayangāthām bhaśati which might be translated "he pronounced an incantation" ("a spell-verse"), it seems better, as has already been suggested, to take these verses as meaning that true welfare consists in the acceptance of the truth enunciated in each, rather than to regard them as "incantations" calculated to produce good results by a mere recital of them. The point of the whole series of stories is that the plagues were automatically allayed by the very presence of the Buddha in one or another of his incarnations.

2. These words may equally serve to emphasise the immunity of the believer in the truth of the "gems" from all evil machinations whether of man or of demon. True blessings, pearls of priceless value come from belief in the Buddha and his doctrine.

3. Literally "the blessing pronounced by the Conqueror", svastiyayam jinena bhāṣālam. The corresponding Pali is (ātho pi) sakkaccaṁ (sunnantu) bhāṣālam, which would make it tempting, if there were MS. justification for it, to emend svastiyayam into sannyayam, the Buddhist Sanskrit form corresponding to sakkaccaṁ, "respectfully," "reverently," etc.

4. Lacuna.

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1. Ānantariya, or "the result of which is immediate." Cf. ānantaryāni karmāṇi, p. 199. Pali ānantariha.

2. I.e. one man in each of the four stages of the Path and another in the corresponding stage of fruition make four pairs and a total of eight individuals. See S, 4. 272 and Vism, 219.

3. Dārakasamāpādāyo, the equivalent of Pali dīthissampadā which appears at A. 1. 269 as the third of a set of three sampadās or "attainments," the other two being ātāna and cittasampadā.

4. Sattāyadrīṣṭi, Pali sakkhiyadīṭhi, "theory of soul, heresy of individuality, speculation as to the eternity or otherwise of one's own individuality" (Pali Dictionary).

5. Silavatā, here in a bad sense, usually rendered in Pali by silabbataparamāsā, "the contagion of mere rule and ritual, the infatuation of good works, the delusion that they suffice" (Pali Dictionary). The term is rendered by Lord Chalmers at M. 1. 9 by "the virus of good works."

6. Abhaaya, with abha fellow for the abstract noun below. I.e. (?) "a moral impossibility," called abhappabbaṁhāna at D. 3. 133, etc.
by him whose wisdom is profound, however sorely they are
tempted by the world(293) do not cling to life in any of the
eight spheres of existence. This choicest gem is in the
Sangha. By this truth let blessing come from man and from
demon.

Those who are devoted to endeavour, their minds intent
on what is good, those who have withdrawn from the world
as Gotama taught them, win the highest gain, pass to
immortality, and with their hearts liberated enjoy complete
release. This choicest gem is in the Sangha. By this truth
let blessing come from man and from demon.

Their old karma is exhausted; there is no fresh accumulation
of it. Immune from future existence, with the seed of life
destroyed, and no longer in a condition of growth, the wise
pass out like a lamp. This choicest gem is in the Sangha.
By this truth let blessing come from man and from demon.

As a fire lit by night4 after burning fiercely goes out for
lack of fuel, so also do the wise sons of the Buddha, when
they have by their wisdom overcome their proneness to passion,
escape the visitation of the king of death.(294) This choicest
gem is in the Sangha. By this truth let blessing come from
man and from demon.

As the tree-tops in the forest break out in bloom in Caitra,
the first month of summer, and, stirred by the breezes, shed
their fragrance abroad, so also do the wise sons of the Buddha
shed forth the fragrance of the virtue they have won. This
choicest gem is in the Sangha. By this truth let blessing come from
man and from demon.

All demons that are here assembled, those of earth and
those of air, let them always deal kindly with the race of men.
Day and night they bring you offerings.
Therefore keep diligent watch over this man, as a mother
shows anxious care for her child. This choicest gem is in the
Sangha. By this truth let blessing come from man and from
demon.

I bow before him, the Buddha, the best of men and devas,
who, overcoming the world, set rolling the wheel of dharma
for the sake of all creation. Let there be prosperity. I bow
before the dharma. Let there be prosperity. I bow before
the Sangha. Let prosperity come from man and from
demon.

When she had fed the Buddha and his monks Gosrìngī
presented them with the sāl-forest. And then this thought
occurred to the Licchavis: "Each one of us could provide
the Exalted One and his community of monks for a whole
life-time with robe, almsbowl, lodging, and medical requisites
for use in sickness. But let us so act that the multitude can
join together in a deed of merit. Let us make a levy on each
of sufficient rice for one man."

An individual levy of rice was thus raised containing
twenty-five and more kinds of rice. And so they maintained
the Exalted One and his community of disciples for a week.

(296)As the starry hosts encircle the moon, so does
the throng sit around the radiant, mighty, beautiful, and glorious
Buddha.5

Arrayed in golden garments, the colour of karṇīkāra6
flowers, and wearing solid bracelets they sit around the
Buddha.

Their bodies smeared with yellow sandal-wood ointment,
and clothed in best Benares cloth, [they sit around the
Buddha]7

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1 See note p. 36.
2 Reading, on Senart's suggestion, with the for md of the text.
3 I.e. the man who believes and trusts in the "gems" of Buddhist doctrine
(or, alternatively the man on whose behalf these verses are pronounced
as a spell, see p. 247).
4 See p. 136.
5 Lacuna.
The Buddha with all his splendour outshines this attendant band of devas which had forgathered, pure, well-born and virtuous though they were, as the lord of the stars outshines the planets.

As the light-giving moon in a cloudless sky outshines the hosts of stars, so does the Buddha with all his splendour outshine the noble lords of earth.

As the sun prevails in the sky and dazzles as it stands in its sunny path, so does the Buddha with all his splendour outshine the noble lords of earth.

As the sun blazes in the sky and dazzles as it stands in its sunny path, so does the Buddha with all his splendour outshine the noble lords of earth.

Like the tall and bright red-lotus with its fragrant petals, so does the Buddha with all his splendour outshine the noble lords of earth.

As Śakra, the hundred-eyed crusher of the Asuras, outshines the Three-and-Thirty-devas, so does the Buddha with all his splendour outshine the noble lords of earth.

As Brahmā, compassionate to all creatures, outshines the splendour of all the devas, so does the Buddha with all his splendour outshine the noble lords of earth.

The Exalted One shed a pure, perfect radiance. Then, aware of their faith in immortality, he instructed the noble lords, and revealed dharma to them as clearly as though he held it in his hand.

Thus did the venerable Ānanda praise the Exalted One. The Exalted One instructed, gladdened and thrilled the Licchavis of Vaiśālī with a discourse on dharma, and he converted many thousands.

Thus the gift made by the Licchavis of Vaiśālī was a meritorious gift, for it performed its deed of merit.

As the sun blazes in its sunny path, so does the Buddha with all his splendour outshine the noble lords of earth.

As the light-giving moon in a cloudless sky prevails in the sky, so does the Buddha with all his splendour outshine Śakra, the hundred-eyed crusher of the Asuras, outshines the Three-and-Thirty-devas, so does the Buddha with all his splendour outshine Śakra, the hundred-eyed crusher of the Asuras, outshines the Three-and-Thirty-devas, so does the Buddha with all his splendour outshine the noble lords of earth. The Three-and-Thirty-devas, so does the Buddha with all his splendour outshine the noble lords of earth.

As the sun blazes in the sky and dazzles as it stands in its sunny path, so does the Buddha with all his splendour outshine the noble lords of earth.

Thus did the venerable Ānanda praise the Exalted One. The Exalted One instructed, gladdened and thrilled the Licchavis of Vaiśālī with a discourse on dharma, and he converted many thousands.

Thus the gift made by the Licchavis of Vaiśālī was a meritorious gift, for it performed its deed of merit. 

Thus the gift made by the Licchavis of Vaiśālī was a meritorious gift, for it performed its deed of merit.

As the bees come together and cull the essence of various flowers, gathering it in their mouths and on their feet.

Through their concerted efforts is made a juice that is sweet of taste and smell, and that, pressed together, becomes choicest honey, goodly in colour, taste and smell, and useful as food and medicine.

In the same way, wherever the Exalted One comes, to village or to town, the multitude flock together, children and wives, men and women, bent on lovely deeds.

Making common contribution they give the Sangha drink and food, and prepare rice-gruel for them. They give drink and most pleasant hard food, and essences approved by Aryans.

In proportion to their faith and their means they make their common contribution over a long period, and, with devotion in their hearts, they give again and again. And thus the store of their merit goes on increasing.

Adoring him with their joined hands raised in salutation, they respectfully rise up from their seats. They render him service, and give thanks for dharma. So does the great multitude joyfully perform its deed of merit.

Those who give gifts and do deeds of merit, whether they contribute with words of praise or participate in the communal offering all go to a heavenly abode.

Invested with the forms of devas, waited on by throngs of Apsarases, with plenty of food, choice things to eat and drink, they rejoice in the mansion they have come to.

And when they come again into the world of men, they all are born in families that are rich, thriving, prosperous, and fruitful in men and women.

The good and true man esteems the honey gathered from all kinds of flowers as bringing great blessing. Whatever man desires, so is it fulfilled with his mind, if it shall turn well for him, even as he wishes.

Gaining all your ends, you pass on to that release in which...
all the lusts that are inherent in the elements of sentient life are cast away. Thus did the Saviour of the world, the Great Lord, bestow his blessing on them, their sons and wives, their kith and kin.

Then the Licchavis said to the Exalted One, "Here, Lord, is the greatest of our pleasure grounds, namely the Great Grove, with its pavilion. This we give and present to the Exalted One and his company of disciples." The Exalted One said to his disciples, "Herewith, monks, I grant you permission to use this as a place of rest, of lodging, and of recreation."

Then the Exalted One left the Great Grove and came to the shrine of Cāpāla. The Licchavis asked, "Where is the Exalted One?" The monks replied, "O sons of Vasiṣṭha, the Exalted One has gone from the Great Grove to pass the day at the shrine of Cāpāla." Then the Licchavis said, "We give and present the shrine of Cāpāla to the Exalted One and his company of disciples."

On another occasion, when the Licchavis went to the Great Grove to bow at his feet, the Exalted One had finished his meal and had gone to pass the day at the Saptāmra shrine. The Licchavis asked the monks, "Friends, where is the Exalted One?" The monks replied, "O sons of Vasiṣṭha, the Exalted One has finished his meal and has gone to pass the day at the Saptāmra shrine." The Licchavis proceeded to the Saptāmra shrine, and, after bowing at the feet of the Exalted One, said to him, "Lord, we give and present the Saptāmra shrine to thee and thy company of disciples."

In the same way were presented the shrines of Bahuputra, Gotamaka, and Kapinahya.

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1) Samskāra. See p. 99.
2) Mahāvāna.
3) A shrine near Vesāli, at one time the dwelling place of the yakṣa Cāpāla.
4) Pali Sattambaka or Sattambaka, a shrine near Vesāli, so-called after the seven daughters of King Kiki of Benares who strove for attainment there. (D.P.N.)
5) Pali Bahuputta or Bahuputtaka, a shrine to the north of Vesāli, originally a many-branched banyan tree where people prayed to the spirit of the tree for sons. Hence the name. (D.P.N.)
6) As the above three shrines were, respectively to the west, north, and south of Vesāli, it may be presumed that Kapinahya was to the east, although the shrine named at D. 1. 9-10 as being to the east was Udena. It is possible that Kapinahya has some connexion with the place called Kapinaccaka, which, however, was not a shrine. (See D.P.N.)

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The story of Mālinī

On yet another occasion, the Exalted One, having finished his meal, had left the Great Grove to pass the day at the shrine of Maraṭāhradatira, when the Licchavis came to the Great Grove to bow at his feet. They asked the monks, "Friends, where is the Exalted One?" The monks replied, "O sons of Vasiṣṭha, the Exalted One has finished his meal and has gone to pass the day at the shrine of Maraṭāhradatira." Thereupon, the Licchavis went to the shrine of Maraṭāhradatira, and, having bowed at the feet of the Exalted One, said to him, "We give and present the shrine of Maraṭāhradatira to the Exalted One and his company of disciples."

When Amrāṇa had entertained the Exalted One and his company of disciples, she gave them the Mango Grove, and when Bālikā had done so she gave them her park Bālikāchavi.

Here ends the chapter of "The Sunshades" in the Mahāvastu-Avadāna.

And so may the noble Sangha, guardian of the treasure of dharma, which is contained in the nine-fold scriptures, the Sangha that belongs to the king of dharma of infinite glory, long continue in the greatest prosperity, as steadfast as Mount Meru.

The story of Mālinī

Whenever Buddhas appear in the world, Pratyekabuddhas also appear, who, splendid in their silence and of great power,
live in loneliness like a rhinoceros, train each his own self, and finally pass away.

Now a certain Pratyekabuddha of the land of Kāśi one morning entered a village to beg for alms. He was courteous of manners, both in approaching and in taking his leave, in looking forwards and backwards, in extending and withdrawing his hand, and in carrying his cloak, bowl and robe. He was like a Nāga. He had accomplished his task; his faculties were turned inwards; his mind was not turned outwards. He was unwavering as one who had achieved harmony with dharma. He did not look before him farther than the length of a plough.

The village overseer, who was an amiable man and at peace with devas and men, happened to be hurrying out of the village to inspect the work in the fields. Meanwhile, the Pratyekabuddha, although he had scavenged all the streets systematically in quest of alms, had to hurry away from the village with his bowl just as it was after being washed. "It is meal-time," said he, "yet no one has given me alms."

When the village overseer had attended to his business and was returning to the village, he saw the Pratyekabuddha hurrying away. He thought to himself "It is meal-time. I'll just see what alms this mendicant has received." So he

1 Khadāgavīṣṇukalpa, literally, "like the horn of the Indian rhinoceros" (Rhinoceros unicornis). This was a stock description of Pratyekabuddhas, cf. Mahāvastra i. 357, 327; Divy. 294, 582, and, in Pali, Vism. 234. It is the title of a sūtra in Sn. (35 ff.) a version of which is given below, p. 358. Translators do not seem to be agreed as to whether khadāga denotes the animal itself or its horn. The Commentary on J. 5. 406 gives khagga (= khaḍga) as the equivalent of palasāda, "rhinoceros", so that khadāgavīṣṇukalpa must thus mean "like the horn of a rhinoceros" and is so translated, e.g. by P. Maung Tin in Path of Purity (= Vism. 234). Others, however, like Fausboll (S.B.E. X, pt. II, p. 6) and E. M. Hare in Woven Cadences, p. 6 (S.B.B. XV) render "like a rhinoceros." The latter rendering is possible if khaḍga in its primary sense of "sword" and vīṣṇa, "horn" be taken together as a bahuvrihi compound name for a one-horned animal.

1 Literally, "part by part," sauvadānam (from sa-ava-dā), Pali sapādānam. According to Senart the Pali form is due to a wrong assumption that the root of the word is pada. (Cf. the etymologies cited in Pali Dictionary.) He is of the opinion that the Mahāvastra form is the correct one, and seems to be supported in this by Beal's rendering of the Chinese version by "divide the streets." The confusion of dāpa and sauvadānam is a commonplace of Pali etymology.

2 Yathādhāvata, i.e. not soiled by food.

3 Prāyonnādālo, an admittedly doubtful conjecture of Senart's. If the MSS. were not to be agreed here and immediately below that the word begins with priya (which Senart emends into prā) it would be tempting to read pāyonnādālo, "time for drink and food."

1 The text is so corrupt here as almost to make it advisable to omit the sentence and leave a lacuna. Not the least objectionable feature is the reference to a Pratyekabuddha as a "light" dāpa, if, that is, Senart's conjecture of taddītspam for the MS. sādītspayam and taddītspayam, together with the insertion of na, is correct.

2 Senart compares the Prakrit interjection avida.

3 The text has kihm kihmām, which Senart attributes to a scribal error, by way of khamām, for kihm kihmām = kihm khalvidam (kīm khalu idam).
The Pratyekabuddha, eating with the right view of food, and ridding himself of all impurity, had great good fortune. And as the village overseer's daughter saw the Pratyekabuddha's various deportments there grew up in her a sublime trust. And other people, too, believed in him.

Now the Pratyekabuddha, through the kindness of the village overseer, won his final release in a field near the village. The overseer cremated him, and erected a tape for him, neither very low nor very high, plastered with durable cement. At that tope the overseer's daughter made daily offerings of food in a bronze bowl, of perfumes, wreaths and incense. One day, her wreath of various flowers was snatched away from the tope by the wind. She thereupon, with her servants' help, made a fresh wreath in place of the one carried away, a long wreath like a chain consisting of various flowers. With this wreath she encircled the whole of the Pratyekabuddha's tope. Her heart became filled with exceeding great joy when she saw that this wreath of hers outshone in beauty and brilliance all other wreaths, and kept its beauty fresh even after she had lived the life-time of a deva among the devas. Then with devotion in her heart she made a vow, saying, "Wherever I am reborn, may I have a chaplet on my head like this wreath that glitters here on the tope."

After doing this fair deed she died, and was reborn among the devas having a chaplet of jewels on her head, and was waited on by a thousand Apsarases. Passing away thence she came to a new existence in the womb of the chief wife of King Kṛiṣṇa of Benares. After nine or ten months there was born to the queen a handsome and beautiful daughter whose head was crowned by a chaplet of jewels. Hence they gave her the name of Mālinī. She was dear to and beloved of not only the king but all his court, and the whole capital was unanimous in judging her a virtuous maiden.

A Pratyekabuddha went to a village to beg for alms, but came away with his bowl just as it was when washed. A village overseer saw this Buddha and said, "I wonder what this healthy, exalted man has received by way of alms."

Then the exalted man held out his alms-bowl to the overseer, who, when he saw it contained no alms, was sorely distressed. "The world is blind," said he, "and always afflicted with wrong belief. Men do not duly honour such a man who is so worthy of offerings."

Coming to the village he stood in the square and shouted avidha! avidha! so that people collected in crowds.

When a great crowd, both men and women, had come together, they approached the village overseer and asked him, "What is the matter? What means this cry of avidha! avidha!"

(304) The overseer replied:—

"You are indeed a fine crowd, but without any sense of generosity. For here is this solitary mendicant treated scornfully in your village."

When they heard the overseer's words, the whole village including the women, treated the Buddha with repeated acts of kindness.

The overseer himself, with his wife and children, said, "I shall invite the Tathāgata to live with me in ease and comfort."

And the overseer's own daughter, well-clothed in neat garments, and virtuous in her conduct, ministered to the Tathāgata.

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1 Parījñātabhojana, cf. Pali pariññātabbojanā, Dh. 92, where it is translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids as "who understand the body's need," and by Max Müller, "who live on recognised food." The Commentary (Dh. 2. 172) explains the term with reference to the three pariññā or "understandings," viz. nīcapiññā, "understanding through experience (of cooked food)," ittraññapariññā, "understanding through judgment (of what is unwholesome)," and posanapariññā, "understanding (what food to leave)."

2 Literally "passed away without attachment or clinging (to rebirth)" anupādāya parinirvīrtā.

3 Pali Kīkī, king of Benares in the time of the Buddha. The Pali texts mention eight daughters of his, of whom seven have already been referred to (see p. 248), but Mālinī is not mentioned among them.

4 Parījñātabbojana, which, however, is used only with kathā in the sense of "polite, courteous, kindly speech," or with dhammā, "states of conciliation." Other Buddhist Sanskrit texts have samphārjānta and samphārjānta (Avś. 1. 259 and Divy. 404), which seem to confirm its etymology as being from sam + raj, "to plaudit." The use of the word as a substantive, as here, is unusual. Cf. Mahāvastu, 3. 47, 60, 206, etc.
Through the overseer's kindness, the devout Buddha, a seer exempt from further existence, won final release in that village.

And when he had thus passed away, the overseer cremated him, erected a stupa, and honoured the great seer with dance and music and song.

One day, his daughter finding white flowers blown about by the wind, gathered them, put them together and wove them into a long wreath.

"May I," said she, "wherever I be reborn, have a chaplet round my head like this bright wreath placed here by my hands. May this vow of mine be fulfilled."

After doing this lovely deed in the Buddha's honour she passed away, and was reborn as an Apsaras among the devas of Trayastrimśa.

A hundred-thousand Apsarases attended to do her honour, but of them all she was the fairest and best, a maiden of consummate beauty.

(305) Then when she, the glorious deva maiden, passed away hence, she appeared in the womb of King Kriki's wife.

When the twelfth month had run its course, the king's wife gave birth to a girl, beautiful throughout, Mālinī by name.

...Exceeding fair and lovely was she, the best of royal maidens, daughter of Kāśi's king.

Virtuous, well-clothed in neat garments, she came and stood before King Kriki, raising her joined hands in greeting.

And as she stood thus in respectful salutation, the king spoke to her and said, "Good daughter, I bid you feed the brāhmans without wearying."

Obeying her father's command, Mālinī ministered to all the needs of twenty-thousand brāhmans.

Now when the brāhmans saw Mālinī, who was so like an Apsaras, passion assailed their hearts, and they strove again and again to caress her.

When Mālinī saw how frivolous, insolent, wanton and crude of sense they were, she decided that they were not worthy of offerings.

Going up to the terrace she looked out all around, and espied a pupil of the Exalted One, the glorious Buddha.

1 Lacuna.

1 Literally "whose selves were made-to-become" bhāsītaṁmanān.
Tiśya¹ and Bhāravadāja, having partaken of Mālinī's food, hastened to Rṣipatana, taking some food with them for the exalted Kāśyapa. When they had preferred the bowl to the exalted Kāśyapa, they reverently greeted him in Mālinī's name. "Lord," said they, "the daughter of Kṛiṅka, king of Kāśi, sends her greeting to the Exalted One and his company of disciples and invites him and them to a meal on the morrow in the palace of King Kṛiṅka. Therefore, let the Exalted One out of his compassion consent."

The exalted Kāśyapa accepted the invitation for the sake of men ready to be trained.² And the men who had come with the great disciples, having thus secured the exalted Kāśyapa's consent, returned and informed Mālinī. "The exalted Kāśyapa," said they, "along with his company of monks, has accepted the invitation to eat with you to-morrow."

When Mālinī heard these men she stayed awake that night preparing plentiful food, both solid and soft, as it had been announced to her what time the exalted Kāśyapa would eat. For the Exalted One pays due regard to time, occasion, circumstance, individuals, and the difference between individuals.³

Hearing this the Exalted One took his alms-bowl and robe. And when evening, the time for desisting from the alms-round, was come, having taken his breakfast at Magadha,⁴ he entered the city of Benares with twenty-thousand monks. When Mālinī heard these men she stayed awake that night preparing plentiful food, both solid and soft, as it had been announced to her what time the exalted Kāśyapa would eat. For the Exalted One pays due regard to time, occasion, circumstance, individuals, and the difference between individuals.³

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Hearing this the Exalted One took his alms-bowl and robe. And when evening, the time for desisting from the alms-round, was come, having taken his breakfast at Magadha,⁴ he entered the city of Benares with twenty-thousand monks.

Buddhas make their entry into a city in the same formation as that of a flight of swans. On the right was the great disciple Tiśya, on the left the great disciple Bhāravadāja. Behind them came four great disciples; behind these four came eight; behind the eight came sixteen; behind the sixteen came thirty-two, and behind the thirty-two came sixty-four.

And so the Exalted One, attended by twenty-thousand monks, (308) entered the palace of King Kṛiṅka. As he came into the city, the depressions in the ground rose up so that the whole surface was on the same level. All unsightly rocks, gravel, and pebbles disappeared into the earth, leaving it covered with masses of flowers. Flowering trees blossomed; fruit-bearing trees bore fruit. The ponds in which lotuses had been sown, pools full of cool water on the right and on the left of the roadway, became covered with fragrant blue, white, and red lotuses. Water streamed from the mouths of wells. Horses neighed, bulls bellowed and elephants roared. At the same time Indra's column left its pedestal, and the whole city quaked. The blind saw; the deaf heard. The insane recovered their reason; the sick were healed, and women with child were safely delivered. The naked appeared clad, and the fetters of those in bondage were loosened. Jewels rattled in their caskets, and earthenware vessels clattered. All the seven-stringed lutes in the city, all the Indian lutes, all the mandolins, flutes, tabours, drums and cymbals, without any cause,¹ without being touched, gave forth music. Parrots, śārikes,² crows, swans, and peacocks all uttered their notes.

The Buddha walked without touching the ground for even as much as the width of four fingers, and yet the impress of the wheel-marks on his feet, complete with a thousand spokes, hub, and every part, was visible on the ground. In the sky devas played on thousands of celestial musical instruments and rained down celestial flowers.

The exalted Kāśyapa, with his company of disciples, in this manner and with all this splendour, effulgence, pomp and power, and honoured by devas and men, entered the palace of King Kṛiṅka. There, in the inner square room, the Exalted One was reverently served by Mālinī with plentiful and choice food, both solid and soft, of correct, (309) excellent, lasting, and most exquisite flavour.

When the Exalted One, with his company of disciples, had eaten, washed his hands, and put away his bowl, he instructed,

¹ Pali Tissa. He was the Buddha's brother. He and Bhāravadāja are the two chief disciples of Kāśyapa (Kassapa) in the Pali texts also.
² Vaineyavannana. See note p. 42.
³ Pudgalaparipojana. See note p. 4.
⁴ Māgadhte prāsarate varītamāne, literally, "the morning-meal being Magadhian." - A strange expression, and suspect for several reasons. In spite of the present tense of the participle, it has to be translated as though it were past. Besides, the Buddha is said to be at Rṣipatana, near Benares. Perhaps, there is an implication of his magic power of rapid motion, i.e., that he went from Rṣipatana to Magadhē, breakfasted there, and was back again at Rṣipatana in the evening.

¹ Asanakhā, the plural, if correct, of Pali asanakkha (Sanskrit asamskrta), which, however, is used in the very special sense of "not put together, not proceeding from a cause," e.g. as epithet of niibhāna. Perhaps we should, therefore, read in our text sanbhāna, "trumpets," a word often included in lists of musical instruments, e.g. in a practically identical passage on p. 235 of text above, where, however, it is masculine.
² See note p. 226.
roused, inspired and thrilled Mālinī with a talk on dharma. Then he rose up from his seat and departed.

All the twenty-thousand brāhmans who were the permanent guests of Kṛiṣṇa, king of Kāśi, were incensed when the Exalted One, with his company of disciples, was waited upon by Mālinī in the king’s court with such great honour and respect. They called together the whole multitude of brāhmans, several thousands of them. At that time and on that occasion the whole land was over-ridden with brāhmans.

When they assembled the brāhmans were eager to put Mālinī to death. “For,” said they, “she is a thorn in the side of the brāhmans in the king’s court. King Kṛiṣṇa was devoted to the brāhmans, and twenty-thousand of them ate daily at his court, while Mālinī had been charged by her father to daily with food.’ But she, disdaining the brāhmans, has introduced recluses into the king’s court and has treated them with all this veneration and honour. She has served and minister to the brāhmans in these words, ‘Serve the brāhmans daily with food.’ But she, disdaining the brāhmans, has introduced recluses into the king’s court and has treated them with all this veneration and honour. She has served and ministered to the recluses with the means of subsistence which was due to the brāhmans at the king’s court.”

The brāhmans, therefore, resolved to put Mālinī to death. Now it happened that at that time Kṛiṣṇa, king of Kāśi, had gone on a tour of inspection in the provinces. So the brāhmans sent a messenger to him to say: “Mālinī has developed a great contempt for the brāhmans. She has introduced Kaśyapa and his company of disciples into the king’s court, and they will not be able to receive the king’s hospitality until Mālinī is done away with. This is the unanimous resolve of the brāhmans. Your majesty is devoted to the brāhmans, and you must give your consideration to this resolve of the brāhmans. If you are still attached to the brāhmans, then you will give up Mālinī. But if you do not give up Mālinī, then you are no longer attached to the brāhmans.”

As the king was pondering this resolution of the brāhmans, he thought: “This land is full of brāhmans, overrun by them. If I do not give up Mālinī there will be a riot, and then neither Mālinī nor I will survive.”

One should be ready to sacrifice one individual for the sake of a family, a family for the sake of a village, a village for the sake of a country, and a whole country for the sake of self.

Thus it was that the king of Kāśi delivered up Mālinī, saying, “Let it be as the assembly of brāhmans wishes.” The brāhmans replied, “Since Mālinī is to be given up, let his majesty give instructions accordingly.”

Then the king, as he stood with the brāhmans outside the city, sent a messenger to go and fetch Mālinī. And the messenger reached the court with the king’s orders. “Come, Mālinī,” said he, “your father has given you up to the brāhmans, and they will put you to death.”

Mālinī ran to her mother, while a cry rang through the whole palace. And the people of the city at the sound of that cry became distressed and bewildered. Great was the lamentation.

(311)Mālinī was taken by the messenger from Benares to the presence of her father. And when she had thus been taken by the messenger, she clung to her father and said, “Here, sire, is Mālinī.” The king, sobbing and weeping, handed over Mālinī, thus sacrificed by a father, to the large concourse of brāhmans.

When Mālinī had been given up by her father to the will of the brāhmans, raising her joined hands she prostrated herself before the assembly of the brāhmans, and said, “I have one request to make, if the assembled brāhmans will grant it.” The brāhmans replied, “Speak, what is your request?”

“I,” replied she, “have been given up to you by my father, and am now in your power. And it is the brāhmans’ resolve that Mālinī die. Now this is the request that I make of the
assembly of brāhmans, namely, that I be allowed to live for seven days in order to give largesse and thus perform a deed of merit. After all, I duly ministered to the brāhmans and tended them at my father's bidding. Then at the end of seven days put me to death, or do whatsoever is your pleasure."

The oldest among the brāhmans reflected: "Yes, this is as Mālinī says. For a long time she served and fed the brāhmans by her father's orders. But, afterwards, it was a wicked thought that arose in her when she turned away from the brāhmans and became devoted to the recluses. Now, when she is at liberty again, she will not deign to give more alms to the recluses, but for seven days will give them to the brāhmans instead. Therefore let her request be granted. Let her be set free for seven nights. On the seventh day she will be put to death."

Thus the cause which led the brāhmans to resolve to kill her turned out to be the cause of a renewed term of life for her. Her request was thus granted by the brāhmans. Mālinī said to herself, "Having gained a week's respite from the large mob of brāhmans, I must not be remiss and waste the seven nights." Free once more, and attended by a great crowd, she entered her father's court and appealed to him, saying, "I desire to spend these seven days in giving gifts and performing deeds of merit(312) wherever I wish." The king replied, "So be it, child. Do good wherever you wish." "I would invite to the court for seven days," said Mālinī, "the exalted Buddha Kāśyapa and his company of disciples." "As you please," answered the king.

Thus the exalted Kāśyapa with his company of disciples was invited to the king's court for seven days. Out of compassion the exalted Kāśyapa complied for the sake of men ready to be trained, saying, "The great multitude will be converted."

The brāhmans were greatly enraged and designed to kill her in spite of the reprieve they had given her. But Mālinī,

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1 Viulpe, from vilumpati, literally, "to tear away, rob, etc." a unique use of this verb in the sense for which our text generally uses kṣepayati, a hybrid causative to be referred to the two roots kṣip, "to throw" and aṣi, "to destroy."

2 Vaineyavaśena. See note p. 42.

3 Literally "to kill her alive," hānītam ātamaṁ.
us go," said they, "along with Mālinī. She has been a good friend to us, and while we live you may not put her to death. But when none of us is left then you may kill her."

So in a great crowd including soldiers, and with Mālinī at their head, they left Benares and proceeded to the place where those thousands of brāhmans were. And when they saw the endless army coming with Mālinī, the brāhmans were sore afraid and terrified. They sent a messenger to the king, saying, "Let Mālinī this day go free. Let her whose punishment had been fixed be reprieved and set free to go to her father's sight. It is not Mālinī who has offended us. It is Kāśyapa with his crowd who has offended us, and on him will we wreak our vengeance."

And the brāhmans sent ten armed conspirators with a thousand wiles at their command to Rṣivadana, with instructions to kill Kāśyapa the recluse and his company of disciples. But the exalted Kāśyapa inspired them with friendliness and established them in the truths of the noble dharma. Then the brāhmans sent another twenty armed conspirators to kill Kāśyapa the recluse. These men came to Rṣivadana with arms and weapons, but they, too, were inspired with friendliness by the Exalted One and established in the truths of the noble dharma.

In the same way(314) thirty, forty, and fifty men were sent, but all were inspired with friendliness by the exalted Kāśyapa and established in the truths of the noble dharma. Such is the Buddha's power of attraction. Through the Exalted One's power of attracting those amenable to conversion, all those who were amenable to the Buddha among those thousands of brāhmans and were sent to him, were established in the truths of the noble dharma by the Exalted One. And there remained but a few thousands who were still sunk in error.

Then those who had been converted to dharma thought: "These brāhmans do not know the Buddha's magnanimity. If they were to go to the exalted Kāśyapa they would derive great profit." So they sent a messenger to the brāhmans,

The exalted Kāśyapa, the Buddha, is magnanimous, full of great compassion, and bent on doing good in the world. Friends, do not be guilty of this crime of violence against Kāśyapa or even against his community of monks. But, leaving conceit and pride behind you, come all of you to bow at the feet of the exalted Kāśyapa. Great will be the good you will derive therefrom.

The Buddha's kindly speech is sincere, untinged with malice, beneficial, pure, sweet to others, and apt.

The Buddha's kindly speech gives delight. It is not blustering, but destroys the fires of evil. It is faultless and pleasant.

The Buddha's kindly speech is without impediment and defect. It is not untruthful, nor false, but truthful and apposite.

The speech of him who is infinitely wise is replete with the knowledge of what is to be known. It has no beginning nor end. It is inimitable. It has power over man, and is well-ordered.

He speaks the truth without malice. Ever is he kindly of heart to others.(315) Rich in the highest good that brings blessing to men—such is this perfect eloquence.

Penetrating and gushing is his speech, in the high, the low and the middle tone, correct in measure and in sound, and pure—such is this perfect eloquence.

Wedded to perfect compassion and joy, wedded to the ten fruitions is the speech that he utters. It has the eight quali-
ties and the four modes of the Buddha’s voice—such is this perfect eloquence.

The speech that he utters has the five good qualities. Full of conviction is it, and dispelling doubt. No evil at all does it work. Such is the nature of the supreme of men.

A nature endowed with excellent qualities, which rules the great host of light. Renouncing the fair treasure of kith and kin it goes forth to larger joy.

When she saw the complete transfiguration of him who was preparing to win the source of immortality, the best of trees of incomparable fragrance, Nanda’s daughter\(^1\) boiled him gruel of rice.

(316)Thus do these men of inferior understanding revile Kāśyapa the seer, the eloquent preacher, the irreproachable, the sterling\(^2\) man who does not transgress.

Him, the sinless, do these men revile, him who is tranquil, who has abandoned sin, who rejoices in the falling off of the fetters of existence, who is calm and well-controlled in mind.

We, monks and faithful laymen, who have great joy in Kāśyapa’s teaching, gather here to adore him, the burning, fiery flame.

He, the supreme of two-footed creatures, is a giver of insight; he is a guide. Putting off pride and conceit we gather here to adore Kāśyapa.

The brāhmans, however, were in the class of those who are

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\(^1\) These eight qualities of the Buddha’s voice, to which Senart could find no reference, are described at D. 2. 211, as follows: (saro kha) vissajhiko ca vihīyayo ca mañju ca saratiyo ca bindu ca avīyati ca gambhīro ca nimañña. “fluent, intelligible, sweet, audible, continuous, distinct, deep, and resonant.” For other references see Pali Dictionary (v. affanga). But there does not seem to be any reference elsewhere to the four modes (prakārā) of the Buddha’s voice nor to the set of five qualities referred to below, unless the latter are the five first ones in the pairs of vacanapatha at M. 1. 126.

\(^2\) Senart refers this passage to the episode of Nanda’s daughter feeding the Buddha in the forest. The following stanzaas then relate to the vituperation of the Buddha or bodhisatta on that occasion by the five monks, who were incensed at his abandoning the practice of austerities. (Lal. Vist. 331.) But it must be remembered that in Bu A. 263 his wife Sunandā is said to have given Kāśyapa rice-gruel just before his enlightenment, and the allusion to Kāśyapa’s transfiguration in our text would seem to imply that the reference is to that incident and that Nandajātā (Nanda’s daughter) and Sunandā are identical. In either case the verses are an interpolation as far as the story of Mālinī is concerned.

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fixed in wrongfulness,\(^1\) and even if a thousand Buddhas were to preach dharma to them, they would be incapable of understanding it and of believing in the Buddha, the dharma and the Sangha.

Armed with sticks and cudgels they rushed on the exalted Kāśyapa. The Exalted One called up the goddess of earth,\(^2\) and she, by her own power, appeared and stood as tall as a palm-tree in front of Kāśyapa. He spoke to her, saying, “Who are these brāhmans here?” “These,” she replied, “are mine, the earth-bound\(^3\) slaves of the goddess of earth.”

The Exalted One said to her, “Deal with them, therefore, as slaves are wont to be dealt with.”

Then the goddess, plucking up the trunk of a big palm-tree\(^3\) by its roots, advanced against the brāhmans and brought it heavily to the ground. Thus the terrified brāhmans were utterly destroyed.

Here ends the story of Mālinī in the Mahāvastu-Avadāna.

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\(^1\) Reading mihāyāvaniṣyatārātī for niyatisa, so as to make the word identical with the name of one of the three rājis, two of which are referred to above p. 138, and all the three at 3. 318 (text).

\(^2\) Another interesting sidelight on the relations between Buddhism and primitive belief. With this may be compared the incident of a yakṣa (yakha sāgrāpaṁ = Śakra = Indra) appearing from below the ground to confirm the Buddha’s words to Saċcāka the Jain. M. I. 231. (The translator is indebted for this reference to Miss I. B. Horner.)

\(^3\) Reading, with Senart and as the context seems to require, niṣṭaḥ for niṣṭātā.

\(^4\) Called Vehalinga (v. l. Vehalinga, Vehalinga) in the Pali texts, which may correspond to its earlier name of Verulingga. (See below p. 267.) The Pali texts, however, do not seem to mention the newer name of Mārakaṇḍa.

\(^5\) The text repeats the narration of the actions in detail.
he had seen it he repaired to where the large body of monks was, and said to them, “Behold, the Budhā, the Exalted One, emerged from his seclusion in the evening, and left his sojourn ing-place. He looked up, he looked to the ten quarters, and he looked down. And now with his gaze on the level ground he is taking a long walk, with a smile on his face. Now brethren, Tathāgatas, Arhans, and Buddhas do not smile without reason or cause. What if, brethren, we were now to go to the Exalted One and ask him the meaning of this? As the Exalted One will explain it, so will we believe.”

“So be it, O venerable one,” asserted the monks.

Then the venerable Ananda with those monks went to the Exalted One, and, after bowing at his feet, stood to one side. As he thus stood on one side the venerable Ananda(318) said to the Exalted One, “Behold, I saw the Exalted One emerging from his seclusion at evening and leaving his sojourn ing-place. He looked up; he looked down; he looked to the ten quarters, and then with his gaze fixed on the level ground he walked a long way, with a smile on his face. Now, Tathāgatas, Arhans, and Buddhas do not smile without reason or cause. Lord, what is the reason, what is the cause of thy smiling?”

When this had been said, the Exalted One replied to the venerable Ananda, “You see that plot of ground, Ananda?”

“Yes, Lord.”

“That plot of ground, Ananda, was the site of the exalted Kāśyapa’s retreat.¹

“You see that plot of ground, Ananda?”

“Yes, Lord.”

“That plot of ground, Ananda, was the site of the exalted Kāśyapa’s hut.

“You see that plot of ground, Ananda?”

“Yes, Lord.”

“That plot of ground, Ananda, was the site of the exalted Kāśyapa’s cloister.”

¹ The text has āgama, which is obviously to be emended into ārama.

² The text has cānakramasāśī. Saṣṭi is obviously corrupt as there can be no question of sixty cloisters or terraced walks. Senart suggests bhūmi, “site,” to correspond with the vastu of the other terms. Miss F. B. Horner, in a letter to the translator, makes the more plausible suggestion that the reading should be cānakramasāla, “hall for pacing up and down,” corresponding with cānakramasāla at V. 1. 139.

“ ‘You see that plot of ground, Ananda?’”

“Yes, Lord.”

“On that plot of ground, Ananda, were the seats of the three Tathāgatas, Arhans and Buddhas, the exalted Krakucchanda, the exalted Kanakamuni, and the exalted Kāśyapa.”

Then the venerable Ananda, amazed, astonished, stirred and thrilled, went in a very great hurry to that plot of ground and folded his robe in four. Raising his joined hands to the Exalted One he said to him, “Let the Exalted One sit here¹ as on an appointed seat. Then will this plot of ground have been made use of by four Tathāgatas, Arhans, and Buddhas, by the exalted Krakucchanda, by the exalted Kanakamuni, by the exalted Kāśyapa, and now by thee. Let the Exalted One, therefore, sit down as on an appointed seat.”

And the venerable Ananda, having bowed at the feet of the Exalted One (319) sat down on one side. The monks, too, having bowed at the feet of the Exalted One sat down on one side. To Ananda thus seated on one side the Exalted One said, “Would you like, Ananda, to hear from the Tathāgata an instructive tale relating to a former existence of his which is connected with this town of Mārakaraṇḍa?”

When this had been said, the venerable Ananda replied, “Now is the time, Lord, now is the occasion, Sugata, to tell this tale which will be profitable to the monks. For the monks, having heard it from the lips of the Exalted One, having grasped it from the lips of the Exalted One, will hold it for truth.”

Then the Exalted One said to the venerable Ananda:

Once upon a time, Ananda, in the time of the exalted Kāśyapa, this town of Mārakaraṇḍa was a brāhmaṇ village called Verudinda.² Now in this brāhmaṇ village of Verudinda there lived a potter named Ghaṭikāra,³ who was a servant of the exalted Kāśyapa. Ghaṭikāra the potter had a young brāhmaṇ friend named Jyotipāla, companion and playmate⁴

¹ I.e. on the robe.
² See above p. 265.
³ The story of Ghaṭikāra and Jyotipāla is given also in the Ghaṭikāra Sutta at M. 2. 43 ff., while references to them are made in J. 1. 43, Bu. XXV, 10, S. 1. 34 L. and Miō. 222.
⁴ Literally, “with whom he played at making mud-pies,” sahaṇiṣukri-đanaka.
of his youth, dear to him and beloved, who was the son of a brahman of good birth.¹

Now, Ānanda, the exalted Kāśyapa happened to be touring in Kośala along with a great company of seven thousand monks. He came on a visit to the brahman village of Veruṅginga in Kośala, and stayed there in the forest grove. Ghaṭikāra the potter heard that the exalted Kāśyapa while touring in Kośala had come on a visit to the brahman village of Veruṅginga and was staying there in a certain forest grove. He went then to the young brahman Jyotipālā and said to him, "I have heard, my dear² Jyotipālā, that the exalted Kāśyapa in the course of his tour of Kośala, along with his company of seven thousand monks, has come on a visit to the brahman village of Veruṅginga,³ and is staying there in a certain forest grove. My dear Jyotipālā, what if we were to go to the exalted Kāśyapa and see, adore, and honour him?"

When this had been said, the young brahman Jyotipāla replied to Ghaṭikāra the potter, "Look here, Ghaṭikāra, what have I to do with these shaveling ascetics that I should go and see them and do them honour?" Twice and thrice, Ānanda, did Ghaṭikāra the potter speak thus to the young brahman Jyotipāla [and each time the latter replied] "What have I to do with these shaveling ascetics that I should go and see them and do them honour?"

Then, Ānanda, Ghaṭikāra the potter considered what means there might be by which the young brahman Jyotipāla should be induced to go to the exalted Kāśyapa, to see and honour him. And this is what he thought of.

Not far from that forest grove is a lotus-pond called Sumukā. "What if I and the young brahman Jyotipāla," thought he, "were to go and bathe our heads in the lotus-pond Sumukā?" So he went to him and said, "My dear Jyotipālā, let us go and bathe our heads in the lotus-pond Sumukā."

When this had been said, the young brahman Jyotipāla replied to Ghaṭikāra the potter, "Well then, Ghaṭikāra, let it be as you wish."¹

Then, Ānanda, Ghaṭikāra the potter seized the young brahman Jyotipāla by the neck, and said to him, "My dear Jyotipāla, the exalted Kāśyapa is actually staying in the forest grove here. Let us go to the exalted Kāśyapa to see him and do him honour." But the young brahman Jyotipāla pushed him off and went his way.

Ghaṭikāra the potter hurried after him, and, seizing him by his braid, said to him, "My dear Jyotipāla, the exalted Kāśyapa is actually staying in the forest grove here. Let us go to the exalted Kāśyapa to see him and do him honour."

Then, venerable Ānanda, Jyotipāla thought, "It cannot be without reason that Ghaṭikāra the potter should seize me by the hair as I come from washing my head, although I resist him, and although he is of low birth." So he said, "Well then, Ghaṭikāra, let it be as you wish."

Thus, Ānanda, Ghaṭikāra the potter along with the young brahman Jyotipāla went to the exalted Kāśyapa, and, having bowed at his feet, stood to one side. And as he thus stood on one side, Ghaṭikāra the potter said to the exalted Kāśyapa, "Lord, this young brahman Jyotipāla was the friend of my boyhood and my playmate. He is dear to me and beloved.

¹ Ajanya for ājanya, which corresponds to Pali ājāñña, the contracted form of ājāñyā. Skt. ājāñña. Cf. note p. 185.
² Samyag, a form due to faulty Sanskritisation of Pali samma (which some relate to Sanskrit sama, "my friend"), through confusion with Pali samma, "perfect," which regularly gives Sanskrit saṁyog. For other suggested etymologies see Andersen: Pali Reader, s.v.
³ Lacuna in text.

¹ Sukhī bhava yassādāni kālam manyase, literally "be lucky in what you think it is time now (to do)." Cf. Pali yassa kālam mahāsā, rendered in Pali Dictionary by "good-bye." But the context and the presence of sukhi bhava in our phrase require some translation like that given above.
He is the son of a brāhmaṇ of good birth. Teach him, Lord, and instruct him."

And so, Ānanda, the Exalted One initiated the young brāhmaṇ Jyotipāla in the three refuges\(^1\) and in the five precepts.\(^2\) But Jyotipāla said to the exalted Kāśyapa, "Lord, I am not yet prepared to be initiated in all the five precepts, for there is a troublesome and ill-tempered man whom I must put to death."

When this had been said, the Exalted One asked, "Who, Jyotipāla, is this troublesome and ill-tempered man whom you must put to death?" Jyotipāla replied, "Lord, it is this Ghaṭīkāra the potter here. He seized me by the hair just as I was coming from bathing my head. And then he said, 'Let us go to the exalted Kāśyapa to see him and do him honour.'"

"Let it be, sir, as Ghaṭīkāra the potter wishes. I am now prepared to be initiated in the five precepts."

Then, Ānanda, the exalted Kāśyapa exhorted Ghaṭīkāra the potter and the young brāhmaṇ Jyotipāla, instructing, rousing, gladdening, thrilling and inciting them with a discourse on dharma. Then Ghaṭīkāra the potter and the young brāhmaṇ Jyotipāla bowed at the feet of the exalted Kāśyapa and went their way.

Before they had gone far the young brāhmaṇ Jyotipāla said to Ghaṭīkāra the potter, "I say, Ghaṭīkāra, you know the perfect dharma taught by the exalted Kāśyapa just as well as I do." Ghaṭīkāra answered, "Yes, my dear Jyotipāla. I know the perfect dharma taught by the exalted Kāśyapa just as you do." Jyotipāla asked, "Why then, Ghaṭīkāra, do you not go forth from home into the homeless state with the exalted Kāśyapa?" Ghaṭīkāra replied, "My dear Jyotipāla, I have aged parents whose sight is failing, and there is no one else but me to look after them. That is why I do not embrace the religious life with the exalted Kāśyapa."

Not long afterwards, Ānanda, the young brāhmaṇ Jyotipāla, becoming dissatisfied with his home life turned his thoughts to the religious life. He went to Ghaṭīkāra the potter and said to him, "Come, my dear Ghaṭīkāra,\(^3\) I am going to express to the exalted Kāśyapa my resolve to take up the religious life, and I shall go forth from home into the homeless state."

So Ghaṭīkāra the potter repaired with the young brāhmaṇ Jyotipāla to the exalted Kāśyapa, and, having bowed at his feet, stood to one side. And as he thus stood on one side, Ghaṭīkāra the potter said to the exalted Kāśyapa, "Lord, this young brāhmaṇ Jyotipāla was the friend of my boyhood and my playmate. He is dear to me and beloved, and is the son of a brāhmaṇ of good birth. Ordain him, Lord, and admit him to the community."

Then, Ānanda, the exalted Kāśyapa addressed his monks, saying, "Monks, ordain and admit the young brāhmaṇ Jyotipāla." And the monks ordained him.

Shortly after the admission of Jyotipāla as monk, the exalted Kāśyapa left Kośala and went touring in Kāśi. And, venerable Ānanda, as the exalted Kāśyapa was touring in Kāśi with his great company of seven thousand monks, he made for and reached the Kāśi city of Benares, and stayed at Rīṣīvadana in the Deer Park. King Kriki heard that the exalted Kāśyapa was touring in Kāśi with a great company of seven thousand monks and had made for and reached the Kāśi city of Benares, and was staying at Rīṣīvadana in the Deer Park.

Then, Ānanda, Kriki, king of Kāśi, instructed a certain man, saying, "Go, man, to the exalted Kāśyapa and greet him in my name, and say, 'Kriki, king of Kāśi bows at the feet of the exalted Kāśyapa and inquires after his health, well-being, strength, ease, and comfort. He invites him and his company of monks to eat at his house on the morrow, if the exalted Kāśyapa will consent.'"

When this had been said, Ānanda,\(^4\) the exalted Kāśyapa replied to the man, "It shall be as Kriki\(^5\) king of Kāśi, amat 1 There is a lacuna here representing the repetition of the king's message to Kāśyapa.

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\(^1\) I.e., Buddha, dharma and Sangha.

\(^2\) Sīkṣāpadāṇī, Pali sikkhāpadāṇī, five rules or precepts enjoining the stīlas or points of good conduct. (See p. 168.)

\(^3\) There is an evident lacuna here of a passage in which Jyotipāla finishes his account of his friend's conduct, and the latter, or Kāśyapa, by some means or other mollifies him.

\(^4\) In this interlocution, as on a few other occasions, the introductory phrase evasmuḥte, Ānanda, " when this was said, Ānanda, " is omitted in translation, in order to avoid close repetition of the same words.

\(^5\) There is a lacuna here representing the repetition of the king's message to Kāśyapa.
his son and his court wish."1 And when the man had ascertained the Exalted One's consent, he returned to Benares, went to King Kriki and said to him, "Your majesty, I saluted the exalted Kāsyapa in your name. I inquired after his health, well-being, ease, strength, and comfort, and invited him and his company of disciples to a meal to-morrow. The exalted Kāsyapa complies with your wish."

Then, Ānanda, Kriki, king of Kāsi, spent that night preparing a plentiful supply of choice food, solid and soft. And when the night was past he bade a man go to the exalted Kāsyapa and say to him, "Lord, it is time to eat at the house of Kriki, king of Kāsi, and we await the Exalted One's pleasure." The man, saying "So be it, your majesty," in obedience to Kriki, king of Kāsi, left the city of Benares and went to the Deer Park at Rīṣivadana. And when he had come to the exalted Kāsyapa and bowed at his feet, he said to him, "Lord, it is time to eat at the house of Kriki, king of Kāsi, and we await our lord's pleasure."

When the exalted Kāsyapa heard the man, he dressed betimes, took his alms-bowl and robe, and, attended and honoured by his monks, set out for the city of Benares.

Now, Ānanda, at that time Kriki, king of Kāsi, accompanied by his sons and ministers was standing at the door of his palace, looking out for the approach of the exalted Kāsyapa and his company of disciples. When they were yet a long way off he saw them, and, having seen them, he went to meet the exalted Kāsyapa and bowed at their feet and led them in great honour(325) to his palace.

At that time, Ānanda, the palace of Kriki, king of Kāsi, had a terrace called Kokanada.3 It was new, having but recently been completed, and had not been used before by any recluse or brāhmaṇ. And Kriki, king of Kāsi, said to the exalted Kāsyapa, "Here, at my house, Lord, I have a new terrace called Kokanada, but recently finished and not used yet by any recluse or brāhmaṇ. Let the Exalted One be the first to use it, and when he has used it, then we shall afterwards make use of it."

When this had been said, the exalted Kāsyapa replied to Kriki, king of Kāsi, "Be it as you wish."1 So, King Kriki arranged seats on the terrace which was called Kokanada, and had solid and soft food served out. And the Exalted One mounted the terrace Kokanada and sat down, he and his disciples each on the seat assigned to him. With his own hands Kriki, king of Kāsi, regaled and served the exalted Kāsyapa with solid and soft food, while seven men waited on each member of the company with seven kinds of dishes and with parnakulaka2 rice.

When Kriki, king of Kāsi, saw that the exalted Kāsyapa had finished his meal, washed his hands and put away his bowl, he took a low stool, and going up to the exalted Kāsyapa, he bowed at his feet and sat down to one side. And as he thus sat down on one side, Ānanda, he said to the exalted Kāsyapa, "May it please the Exalted One to reside at Benares for the rainy season. I, Lord, shall have a retreat made, and in it seven thousand gabled buildings, seven thousand seats, seven thousand paths, and seven thousand horses. And I shall appoint seven thousand park attendants who will individually serve each one of the brotherhood. With a service of this kind they shall wait upon the Exalted One and his company of monks."

When this had been said,(326) Ānanda, the exalted Kāsyapa replied to Kriki, king of Kāsi, "No, your majesty, it is not possible for me to spend the rainy season among the Vajjis."3

A second and a third time did Kriki make the same request and Kāsyapa the same reply.4

And, Ānanda, when Kriki, king of Kāsi, saw that the
exalted Kāśyapa would not consent to stay in Benares for the rainy season he cried and wept. And he asked the exalted Kāśyapa, "Has the Lord any other servant such as me?"

The exalted Kāśyapa replied to Kṛśi, king of Kāśi, "Indeed, your majesty, you are an imperfect servant of mine." King Kṛśi then asked, "Who, Lord, is a more satisfactory and perfect servant than I?" The exalted Kāśyapa replied, "In your domain, O great king, there is a brāhmaṇ village called Veruṅginga. There lives a servant of mine, Ghaṭikāra." King Kṛśi asked, "What manner of wealth has Ghaṭikāra with which he has served the Exalted One and his community?"

The exalted Kāśyapa replied, "Your majesty, Ghaṭikāra the potter has all his life abstained from murder; all his life he has abstained from theft; all his life he has abstained from immorality; all his life he has abstained from false speech; all his life he has abstained from intoxication by strong spirits, rum and wine; all his life he has abstained from dance, music and song; all his life he has abstained from the use of scents, garlands, and cosmetics; all his life he has abstained from lying on high and large beds; all his life he has abstained from taking food at the wrong time; and all his life he has abstained from hoarding gold and silver.

"Ghaṭikāra the potter, your majesty, does not dig up earth himself. But wherever there are heaps of earth thrown up by mice or washed down or scooped out by water, it is there that he takes his earth and makes it into pots. These he sets down on the cross-roads, and those people who want pots pay for them by putting down in their place a measure of kidney-beans, or beans, or rice. They take the pots with them without more ado, and go their way.

"Such, your majesty, is the wealth of Ghaṭikāra the potter wherewith he serves the Tathāgata and his community. And his parents are infirm, aged and blind. There was one occasion, your majesty, when I was staying in the brāhmaṇ village of Veruṅginga. One morning, I dressed early, took my alms-bowl and robe and went round the brāhmaṇ village of

1 Evamukha Ananda, "when this had been said, Ananda," is omitted in the rest of this dialogue.
2 I.e., "in the afternoon." The correction of vikāra, which makes no sense, into vikāla, is imperative here, although Senart does not remark on it.
3 I.e., for fear of harming animal life.
'Who is it that strips off the straw from the new roof of Ghatikāra the potter’s workshop?' The monks answered them, ‘Good folk, since there is not enough straw for the roof of the hut of the exalted Kāśyapa and his monks, this straw is being taken there.’ Ghatikāra the potter’s parents then said to the monks, ‘Take it, take it for your own.’

‘Then, your majesty, Ghatikāra the potter returned home. He saw that the straw had been taken away from the new roof of his workshop, and when he had seen this he questioned his parents. ‘Father,’ said he, ‘who(329) has stripped the straw off the new roof of Ghatikāra the potter’s workshop?’ His parents replied, ‘Son, the exalted Kāśyapa had not enough straw for his hut in the woods, and the monks have taken your straw there.’

‘Then, your majesty, Ghatikāra the potter reflected, ‘Now great is my gain and well-won in that the exalted Kāśyapa even in my absence1 has again shown himself exceeding great trust.’ Joy and gladness did not leave him for a whole month, and rising from his seat he went his way.

For men are fields wherein one may win merit.”2

Then, Ānanda, Kṛiκī, king of Kāsi, reflected, ‘Great is my gain and well-won in that such a holy man dwells in my realm. For men are fields wherein one may win merit.”3 So Kṛiκī, the king of Kāsi, sent to Ghatikāra the potter seven cartloads of pānakula rice, fresh water, sesame oil, salt and cooked food.

Then, Ānanda, Kāśyapa taught, roused, gladdened, and thrilled Kṛiκī, king of Kāsi, with a discourse on dharma. And rising from his seat he went his way.

Then, Ānanda, the exalted Kāśyapa, after finishing his meal on his return from the alms-round, said to his monks, ‘Sit down together, monks, and cross your legs, as I am doing. I shall not uncross them until the hearts of all the seven thousand monks seated on these couches are completely rid of the āsravas.’

‘So be it, Lord,’” said the monks in obedience to the exalted Kāśyapa. And they sat down together crossing their legs.

Afterwards, Ānanda, this mental reflection arose in the monk Jyotipāla as he was meditating in solitude and seclusion: (330)‘Ah, may I in some future time become a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, endowed with knowledge and virtue, a Sugata, an unsurpassed knower of the world, a driver of tameable men, and a teacher of devas and men. And after gaining experience of this world, of the world beyond, of the worlds of devas, of Māra, of brāhmans and recluse, and of the offspring of devas and men, then may I here in the Deer Park at Rīṣivadana near Benares set rolling the wheel of dharma that is twelve-fold and that can not be rolled by recuse, brāhman, deva, Māra or anyone else. Reborn in the world again, together with dharma, may I thus teach the dharma that is endowed with and altogether perfect in all good qualities, as this exalted Kāśyapa now does. Thus may devas and men deem me worthy to hearke to and believe in, as they now do the exalted Kāśyapa. May I become all this for the welfare and happiness of mankind, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the great multitude, for the welfare and happiness of devas and men. May the hosts of asuras dwindle; may the hosts of devas wax great.”

Now, Ānanda, the exalted Kāśyapa, becoming aware of such a mental reflection on the part of the monk Jyotipāla, told a certain monk to go to the monk Jyotipāla and say to him, ‘Your master calls you, venerable Jyotipāla. Come to the Tathāgata.’ In obedience to the exalted Kāśyapa that monk went to the monk Jyotipāla and said to him, ‘Venerable Jyotipāla, your master calls you. Come to the Exalted One.’ ‘So be it, venerable sir,’” said the venerable Jyotipāla, and in obedience to the monk, he went to the exalted Kāśyapa, bowed at his feet and sat down to one side.

And as the venerable monk Jyotipāla thus sat down on one side, the exalted Kāśyapa said to him, ‘Jyotipāla, did not this mental reflection arise in Jyotipāla as he was meditating in solitude and seclusion’?—’May I in some future time become

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1 See note p. 37.
a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, endowed with knowledge and virtue, a Sugata,(331) an unsurpassed knower of the world, a driver of tameable men, and a teacher of devas and men. And after gaining experience of this world, of the world beyond, of the worlds of devas, Māra, brāhmans, and recluses, and of the offspring of devas and men, then may I here in the Deer Park set rolling the wheel of dharma which is thrice-revolved and twelve-fold and may not be rolled by recluse, brāhman, deva, Māra, or by anyone else. Reborn in the world again, together with dharma, thus will you teach the dharma that is endowed with and altogether perfect in all good qualities, as the exalted Kāśyapa now does. Thus will you preserve in harmony a community of disciples even as the exalted Kāśyapa now does. Thus will devas and men deem you worthy to hearken to and believe in as they do now the exalted Kāśyapa. You will become all this for the welfare and happiness of mankind, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the multitude, and for the welfare and happiness of devas and men. The hosts of asuras will dwindle; the hosts of the devas will wax great.

Then, Ānanda, when this had been proclaimed of Jyotipāla by the exalted Kāśyapa, the devas of earth cried, “Ho! friends, it has been proclaimed by the exalted Kāśyapa of this monk who is named Jyotipāla, that in some future time he will become a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, endowed with knowledge and virtue, a Sugata, an unsurpassed knower of the world, a driver of tameable men, and a teacher of devas and men. After gaining experience of this world and the world beyond, of the worlds of devas, Māra, Brahmā, and of the race of recluses, brāhmans, devas, and men, he will here in the Deer Park set rolling the wheel of dharma that is thrice-revolved and twelve-fold, and may not be rolled by recluse, brāhman, deva,(333) Māra, Brahmā or by anyone else. Reborn in the world again, together with dharma, thus will he teach the dharma that is endowed with and altogether perfect in all good qualities, as the exalted Kāśyapa now does. He will become all this for the welfare and happiness of mankind, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the multitude, for the welfare and happiness of devas and men. The hosts of asuras will dwindle; the hosts of devas will wax great.”

This cry of the devas of earth was heard by the Caturmahā-

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1 The wheel, to which these epithets are applicable, is the symbol of dharma or the teaching of it. Cf. p. 279 and p. 386, and S. 5. 422.
2 Reading, on Senart’s suggestion, kyālapuyasyate for kyālapuyāste.
Then, Ananda, when that shout had died away, the exalted Kāśyapa taught\(^\text{334}\), roused, gladdened and thrilled the monks with a discourse on dharma. “Reason thus, monks,” said he, “not thus. Apply your minds thus, not thus. Abide having your own selves as your island, and not others; having your own selves as your refuge, and not others; having the dharma as your island, and not anything else; having the dharma as your refuge and not anything else.”

Then, Ananda, the exalted Kāśyapa rose from the height of one palm-tree to two, from two to three, from three to four, from four to five, from five to six, and from six to seven. And from that height he taught, roused, gladdened and thrilled the monks with a discourse on dharma. “Reason thus, monks,” said he, “not thus. Apply your minds thus, not thus. Abide having your own selves as your island, and not others; having your own selves as your refuge, and not others; having the dharma as your island, and not anything else; having the dharma as your refuge and not anything else.”

Then, Ananda, the exalted Kāśyapa, descending from the height of seven palm-trees to six, from six to five, four, three, two, and one, sat down on his seat again. There he taught, roused, gladdened, and thrilled the monks with a talk on dharma. “Reason thus, monks,” said he, “not thus. Apply your minds thus, not thus. Abide having your own selves as your island and not others; having your own selves as your refuge, and not others; having the dharma as your island, and not anything else; having the dharma as your refuge, and not anything else.”

Then, Ananda, the exalted Kāśyapa uncrossed his legs\(^\text{335}\) and said to his monks, “Monks, I uncross my legs as I have completely rid of the āśravas the hearts of all these seven thousand monks who are seated on these seats, except only the heart of the monk Jyotipāla. And of him I have proclaimed that he will win the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment.”

Now, Ananda, you will perhaps think that the monk named Jyotipāla at that time and on that occasion was somebody else. You must not think so. For it was I who at that time and on that occasion was the monk named Jyotipāla.

Thus did the Exalted One speak, and the venerable Ananda himself and the seven thousand monks rejoiced in his words.

Here ends the chapter on Jyotipāla in the Mahāvastu-Avadāna.
When the monk Jyotipala had prepared rice-gruel for the exalted Kāśyapa and his company of disciples, he bought a thousand-pieces' worth of kesa' powder and sprinkled it over the exalted Kāśyapa and his company of disciples. He then gave the exalted Kāśyapa a golden seat and a suit of garments, and afterwards made his vow. "Like this exalted Kāśyapa," said he, "a perfect Buddha, who bears the thirty-two marks of a Great Man, is gifted with his eighty minor characteristics, has a radiant body, is endowed with the eighteen special attributes of a Buddha, strong with the ten powers of a Tathāgata, and confident with the four grounds of confidence, may I, too, in some future time become a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, endowed with knowledge and virtue, a Sugata, an unsurpassed knower of the world, a driver of tameable men, and a teacher of devas and men, as this exalted Kāśyapa now is. Thus may I set rolling the wheel of dharma, that is thrice-revolved, twelve-fold, and incomparable, as the exalted Kāśyapa now does. Thus may I maintain a community of disciples in harmony as the exalted Kāśyapa now does. Thus may devas and men deem me worthy to hearken to and believe in as they do now the exalted Kāśyapa. Thus having myself crossed, may I lead others across; released, you will release others; comforted, you will comfort others; finally released you will give final release to others, as I do now. You will become all this for the welfare and happiness of mankind, for the sake of the multitude, out of compassion for the world, for the welfare and happiness of devas and men."

And immediately it was proclaimed by the exalted Kāśyapa that the monk Jyotipala would win the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment, this great earth violently shook, trembled, and quaked six times. And the devas of earth cried out and made their shout heard. . . . The account of this proclamation by the Exalted One is to be completed in the same way as that of other proclamations.

The Bodhisattva Jyotipala embraced the religious life under the exalted Kāśyapa, cleaned his retreat, served him with drink, and in turn was instructed by the Buddha.

Jyotipala, the Bodhisattva in his quest for the cessation of existence, gave the Exalted One rice-gruel, a seat of gold, and a suit of garments.

When he had made this gift he made a vow to be a guide of the world, a teacher of devas and men, and a preacher of the noble dharma.

(337) "Thus," said he, "may the dharma be preached by me, and thus may many beings be established by me in the noble dharma. Thus may devas and men hearken to my voice. May I for the sake of mankind set rolling the wheel of dharma. May I light the torch of dharma; may I beat the bannered drum of dharma; may I raise on high the standard of dharma; may I blow the trumpet of dharma. May I bring the sight of understanding to those who are in the ways of ill, who are fallen on suffering, are tormented by birth and old age, and are subject to death, who see only with the eye of the flesh.

1 A partial repetition of the history of Jyotipala. Such repetitions are usually in verse, and there are some indications that this passage also was originally metrical.

2 See note p. 32.
May I set free from the round of rebirths those who are in the hells of Sanjiva, Kālasūtra, Sanghāta, Raurava and Avici, or are scattered in the six realms of existence. May I set free from the round of rebirths those who have fully or partially expiated their sins in hell, who are tormented in the states of desolation, who are subject to death, whose bliss is little and misery great. May I live for the welfare of the world, and teach dharma to devas and men. Thus may I convert men as this Light of the world now does.”

When that auspicious kalpa comes, you will be a Buddha, a guide of the world, in Rṣivadana, a Śāhyan of the city named Kapila. Then will your vow be realised.

After living a flawless, faultless, unspotted, unblemished, perfect holy life Jyotipāla died and was reborn in the deva world called Tuṣita as a deva named Śvetaketu, who was of great power and might. He excelled the other devas in the ten heavenly attributes, namely, heavenly length of life, heavenly complexion, heavenly bliss, heavenly majesty, heavenly fame, heavenly form, heavenly voice, and the heavenly senses of smell, taste, and touch. [And the other devas asked him for orders in all cases where an order was necessary.]

This deva named Śvetaketu was learned, accomplished, confident, skilled, and intelligent, and he pursued the religious life under eighty-four thousand Buddhas, not to speak of ninety-six kotis of Pratyekabuddhas and illustrious disciples.

Forty thousand Buddhas, guides of the world, passed away, what time the Conqueror lived the holy life in his quest to end existence.

Fifty thousand Buddhas, guides of the world, passed away, and under them the Conqueror fulfilled his time in his quest to end existence.

The association of the Master, the Daśabala, with these in his former lives has thus been related. A few Buddhas have been mentioned, many more are unmentioned of those under whom the Conqueror fulfilled his time in his quest to make existence cease.

Here ends the proclamation made concerning Jyotiṣṭala in the Mahāvastu-Avadāna.

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1 Gātis, see p. 36.
2 Pakvipaka, see p. 36.
3 Senart is undoubtedly right in enclosing this passage in brackets, as it is obviously a gloss meant to explain प्रत्यावेक्षय (pratyāvāke), which, however, the glossator mistook for the future participle passive of प्रश्न, “to ask,” whereas it is really a Buddhist Sanskrit form for sparsa, and corresponding to Pali phoṭhabba, “touch.” The form pratyāvāya occurs also above p. 31 (text).

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1 I.e. The lineage or history of kings. For a parallel account of this Buddhist "Genesis" see D. 3. 84 ff. Cf. D. 1. 17.
2 Samparatī. See note p. 43.
3 See note p. 44.
4 Vivartti. See p. 43.
and fortnights, nor seasons and years. That, monks, is the appropriate condition of those beings who are self-luminous, move through space, are made of mind, feed on joy, abide in a state of bliss, and go wherever they wish.

Then this great earth came into being like a lake of water, goodly in colour and taste. It was sweet even as the pure honey of the bee. In appearance it was like an expanse of milk or butter.

Then, monks, some being who was wanton and of greedy disposition tasted this essence of earth with his finger. It pleased him by its colour, smell and taste. Now other beings, when they saw what he had done, began to follow his example, and they too tasted this essence of earth with their fingers. They also were pleased, and so on to "taste."

On another occasion, monks, that being ate a whole mouthful of this essence of earth as ordinary food. Other beings, also, when they saw him, began to follow his example, and ate whole mouthfuls of this essence of earth as food. Now, monks, from the time that these beings began to eat whole mouthfuls of this essence of earth as food, their bodies became heavy, rough and hard, and they lost the qualities of being self-luminous, of moving through space, of being made of mind, of feeding on joy, of being in a state of bliss and of going wherever they wished. When these qualities disappeared the moon and sun became known, and consequently the forms of the stars, the paths of the constellations, night and day, months and fortnights, and the seasons and years.

These beings, monks, lived on a very long time feeding on this essence of earth, it being the source of their appearance, nourishment and sustenance. Those who took much of it became ugly; those who ate little, comely. And those who were comely scoffed at those who were ugly, saying, "We are comely, they are ugly." While they thus lived on, proud of their beauty, vain and conceited, the excrescence on the surface of the earth vanished, and in its place a creeping-plant appeared, like the bamboo in appearance. It was goodly of colour, smell and taste. It was sweet as the pure honey of the bee.

When the excrescence on the surface of the earth had disappeared, those beings groaned, "Alas! Oh! Alas! Oh!" Just as now, when men are afflicted by any calamity, they groan, "Alas! Oh! Alas! Oh!" In this way does that ancient primeval expression become current once more, although men do not understand the significance of it. Thus, then, did those beings, when the excrescence on the surface of the earth had disappeared, groan, "Alas! Oh! Alas! Oh!"

Now, monks, when the excrescence on the surface of the earth had disappeared, those beings went on living for a very long time, as did those beings when the excrescence on the surface of the earth had vanished, and those beings exclaimed, "Ah! What flavour it had! Ah! What flavour it had!" Even as men now do, when they are satisfied after eating good food, and exclaim "Ah! What flavour it had! Ah! What flavour it had!" Thus does that ancient primeval expression become current once more, although men do not understand the significance of it.

And so, monks, those beings lived on a very long time feeding on this excrescence on the surface of the earth, it being the source of their appearance, nourishment and sustenance. Those who ate much of it became ugly; those who ate little, comely. And those who were comely scoffed at those who were ugly, saying, "We are comely, they are ugly."

While they thus lived on, proud of their beauty, vain and conceited, the excrescence on the surface of the earth vanished, and in its place a creeping-plant appeared, like the bamboo in appearance. It was goodly of colour, smell and taste. It was sweet as the pure honey of the bee.

When the excrescence on the surface of the earth had disappeared, those beings groaned, "Alas! Oh! Alas! Oh!" Just as now, when men are afflicted by any calamity, they groan, "Alas! Oh! Alas! Oh!" In this way does that ancient primeval expression become current once more, although men do not understand the significance of it. Thus, then, did those beings, when the excrescence on the surface of the earth had disappeared, groan, "Alas! Oh! Alas! Oh!"

Now, monks, when the excrescence on the surface of the earth had disappeared, those beings went on living for a very long time, as did those beings when the excrescence on the surface of the earth had vanished, and those beings exclaimed, "Ah! What flavour it had! Ah! What flavour it had!" Even as men now do, when they are satisfied after eating good food, and exclaim "Ah! What flavour it had! Ah! What flavour it had!" Thus does that ancient primeval expression become current once more, although men do not understand the significance of it.
long time on the creeping-plant, which became the source of their appearance, nourishment and sustenance. Those who ate much of it became ugly; those who ate little, comely. And those who were comely scoffed at those who were ugly, saying, “We are comely, they are ugly.” While they thus became proud of their beauty, vain and conceited, the creeping-plant vanished.

In its place there appeared rice (342) which was without powder or husk, being just fragrant grain. If it was cropped at evening, by the morning it had sprouted, ripened and fully grown, without any signs of its having been cut. If it was cropped in the morning, by the evening it had sprouted, ripened and fully grown, without any signs of its having been cut.

Now, monks, at the disappearance of the creeping-plant, those beings groaned, “Alas! Oh! Alas! Oh!” Even as men now do when they are afflicted by any calamity. In this way does an ancient primeval expression become current once more, although men do not understand the significance of it.

Then, monks, after the disappearance of the creeping-plant, those beings lived on a very long time feeding on the rice which was without powder or husk, but was just fragrant grain. And from the time that they did so,1 the distinguishing characteristics of female and male appeared among them. They looked on one another with inordinate passion in their hearts. Looking on one another with passion in their hearts they became inflamed with passion for one another. Becoming inflamed with passion they violated one another.

And, monks, those who witnessed them violating one another, threw sticks at them, and clods of earth and mud. For, my friends, wrong and sin appear in the world when one being violates another. Just as now, monks, when the young bride is being carried away, people throw sticks and clods.

From the time, monks, that these beings began to live by hoarding the rice that was without powder or husk, but was just fragrant grain, powder and husk began to appear on it. And when it was cropped at evening it did no longer sprout, ripen and fully grow by the morning, while the signs of its having been cut were clearly seen.

Then, monks, those beings hurriedly gathered together and took counsel. “Surely this is a splendid practice. What if I in my turn were to gather at one time enough rice for two or three days?” And he went and gathered enough rice at one time for two or three days.

Then, monks, this thought occurred to some being who had gone to gather rice, “Why should I tire myself, as I have hitherto been doing, by gathering rice at evening for supper, and again in the morning for breakfast? What if I were to gather once daily enough rice for both the evening and morning meals?” So, monks, this being gathered once a day enough rice for evening and morning. Then some other being said to him, “Come, good being, let us go and gather rice.” When this had been said, that other being replied, “You go, good being. As for me, I have fetched at one and the same time enough rice for both evening and morning.”

Then, monks, this thought occurred to some other being also, “This is surely a splendid practice. What if I in my turn were to gather at one and the same time enough rice for two or three days?” And he went and gathered enough rice at one time for two or three days.

Then yet another being said to him, “Come, good being, let us go and gather rice.” When this had been said, that being replied, “Do you go, good being, for I have gathered at one time enough rice for two or three days.”

Then, monks, this being gathered once a day enough rice. When this had been said, that other being replied, “Surely this is a splendid practice. What if I in my turn were to gather at one time enough rice for four or five days?” And he went and gathered enough rice for four or five days at one time.

From the time, monks, that these beings began to live by hoarding the rice that was without powder or husk, but was just fragrant grain, powder and husk began to appear on it. And when it was cropped at evening it did no longer sprout, ripen and fully grow by the morning, while the signs of its having been cut were clearly seen.

Then, monks, those beings hurriedly gathered together and took counsel. “Friends,” said they, “in the past we were self-luminous, moved through space, were made of mind, fed on joy, lived in bliss, and went wherever we wished. And
while we were thus self-luminous, moved through space, were made of mind, fed on joy, lived in bliss, and went wherever we wished, the moon and sun were not known in the world, nor the forms of the stars, nor the paths of the constellations, nor day and night, months and fortnights, nor seasons and years.

Then this great earth appeared, like a lake of water. In appearance it was like an expanse of butter or milk, and had a goodly colour, smell and taste. It was as sweet as the pure honey of the bee. But, friends, some being who was wanton and of greedy disposition tasted this essence of earth with his finger, and it delighted him with its colour, smell and taste. Then that being on another occasion ate a whole mouthful of this essence of earth as ordinary food. And we, seeing him, followed his example and ate whole mouthfuls of this essence of earth as ordinary food.

Now, friends, from the time that we began to eat whole mouthfuls of this essence of earth as ordinary food, our bodies acquired weight, roughness and hardness, while the attributes we had before of being self-luminous, of moving through space, of being made of mind, of feeding on joy, of living in a state of bliss, and of going wherever we wished, were lost. And with the loss of these attributes, moon and sun became known in the world, and the forms of the stars, the paths of the constellations, days and nights, months and fortnights, and seasons and years.

Friends, we lived on for a very long time feeding on that essence of earth, which was the source of our appearance, our nourishment and our sustenance. But when wrong and sinful states came to be known among men, powder and husk began to envelop the surface of the earth, like honey in appearance and of goodly colour and smell. Then that being on another occasion ate a whole mouthful of this essence of earth as ordinary food. And we, seeing him, followed his example and ate whole mouthfuls of this essence of earth as ordinary food.

And so, monks, this thought occurred to some being who had gone to gather rice: "What will become of me? How shall I get a living, if my plot of rice fails? What if now I were to steal and take another's?" And so, monks, they set boundaries to the rice-fields, saying, "This field is yours, this is ours."

Then, monks, this thought occurred to some being who had gone to gather rice: "What will become of me? How shall I get a living, if my plot of rice fails? What if now I were to steal and take another's?" And so, monks, while he was watching over his own plot of rice, he stole and took another's...
Another being saw him steal and take another's rice, and when he had seen him, he went to him and said, "Indeed, good being, you have stolen and taken another's rice." And he replied, "Yes, good being, but it will not happen again."

But, monks, the thought occurred to him a second time when he had gone to gather rice: "What will become of me? How shall I get a living, if my plot of rice fails? What if now I were to steal and take another's rice?" And a second time did that being, while watching over his own plot, steal and take another's rice.

That other being saw him thus a second time steal and take another's rice, and when he had seen him, he went to him and said, "Good being, it is the second time(347) that you have stolen and taken another's rice." And a second time, monks, did he reply, "Yes, but it will not happen again."

But a third time, monks, did the thought occur to that being when he had gone to gather rice: "What will become of me? How shall I get a living, if my plot of rice fails? What if now I were to steal and take another's rice?" And so a third time did that being while watching over his own plot steal and take another's rice.

The other being saw him thus a third time steal and take another's rice, and when he had seen him he went to him and beat him with a stick, saying, "Sir, wrong and injustice have made their appearance in the world, now I were to steal and take another's rice, and when he had seen him he went to him and said, "Good being, you have stolen and taken another's rice." And a second time, monks, did he reply, "Yes, but it will not happen again."

Now that violence is known, monks, did the thought occur to that being a second time. He said, "Sir, it is when theft and falsehood make their appearance in the world that wrong and injustice are known."

And so, monks, the three wrong and sinful states of theft, falsehood, and violence made their first appearance in the world.

Then, monks, those beings hurriedly gathered together and took counsel. "Friends," said they, "what if we were to select him who is most kind-hearted among us, and most authoritative, to reprove whoever among us deserves reproof, and to approve whoever deserves approval? And we will assign1 to him a portion of the rice in the fields of each of us."

And so, monks, those beings selected him(348) who was the most kind-hearted and authoritative among them, and said to him, "Let your majesty reprove whosoever among us deserves reproof, and approve whosoever deserves approval. We elect you to sovereignty over us all, and we give you a sixth part of the rice in the fields of each of us."

So originated the idea that Mahâ-Sammata means "elected by the great body of the people." So originated the idea that râjan means he who is worthy of the rice-portions from the rice-fields. So originated the idea that an anointed [noble] means he who is a perfect guardian and protector. So originated the idea that he who achieves security for his country is as a parent to towns and provinces. That is how a king can say, "I am king, an anointed noble, and one who has achieved security for my people."

The son of King Sammata was Kalyâna, whose son was Rava. Rava's son was Upoşadha, and Upoşadha's son was King Mândhâtar.6

King Mândhâtar had many thousand sons, grandsons, and grandparents' grandsons, all of them kings. The last of these was Iksvâku,7 styled Sujâta, king of the great city of Sâketa.

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1. The text has delaye câyam, "and he shall designate," which is not satisfactory in view of what is explicitly said later that the rice portions were assigned by the owners themselves. Senart, therefore, proposes delaye yema cayam or dâdyâma cayam, and this has been followed in the translation.

2. The first king of the present age, and the progenitor of the Sâkya clan, his name being here explained from his having been thus "elected" or "selected" (sammata).

3. I.e., arahati, "he deserves or merits" is here taken to be etymologically connected with râjan, "king."

4. There is a lacuna in the text, but Senart makes the obvious conjecture and supplies hâtryati, for this seems just the word the fanciful etymology requires to connect with râkshati, "to protect."

5. Senart prints the form janapadasthiiviryastrapta, which, however, as he says in his note, is inexplicable in this context. He cites the form janapadasthiivaryastrapta given in some other MSS, and interprets this as "qui excerce sur le pays l'autorité de l'âge." That the latter form is the correct one is proved by the Pali janapadathâvâriya, literally "security of a country," i.e. an appeased country as one of the blessings of the reign of a Cakkavattin (see Pali Dictionary for references). It seems better to give thâvâriya here its primary sense of "fixity," "security," etc. (vâ skhâ), rather than the derivative one of "age."

6. The genealogy in most Pali texts is, Mahâsammata, Roja, Vararoja, Kalyâna, Varakalyâna, Upoşadha and Mândhâta. (D.P.N.)

7. Pali Okhâha, "although it is unlikely that the latter is identical with the Iksvâku of the Purâpas, the immediate son of Manu." (D.P.N.)

The story here given, with some differences in nomenclature, follows pretty closely that in the Pali texts.
Jenta, a concubine's son, anointed heir to the throne. Then, owing to the sterling worth of those young men, there was great sorrow among the people, and they said, "Where they go, we go."

King Sujatha heard that the people were intending to leave Saketa and the provinces with the princes, and he caused a proclamation to be made in the great city of Saketa: "To all who go out of Saketa with the princes will be given all they want from the royal store. If they want elephants, horses, chariots, carts, carriages, waggons, oxen, rams, goats, antelopes, corn, or anything else, such as clothes, ornaments, male and female slaves, all these will be given them from the royal store." And at the king's command, his ministers produced and gave from his store-house, granary and treasury, whatever any of those going into exile asked for.

So the young princes accompanied by several thousands of their countrymen left the city of Saketa in a strong body with many thousands of waggons, carts and carriages, and made for the north. There they were befriended by the king of Kasi and Kosala. For the young men were good, masterly, gentle, pleasant, virtuous and honourable, and all the people of Kasi and Kosala were entirely delighted with them. "Ah!" said they, "how good and honourable are these young men."

But then it happened with this king as the Exalted One says in the Questions of Sakra: "Devas and men, Asuras, Garudhas, Gandharvas, Yakhas, Rakshasas, Pisacas, Kumhans, and all other denizens of earth are bound in the fetters of jealousy and envy."

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1. Rajaabhitya. For this use of kriya as a genitive suffix Senart compares one or two instances in Lai. Vist., as well as the parallel formation in Prakrit and certain modern Indian languages, e.g. the genitive ending kā, ke, ki in Hindi.

2. 263 The text has masniyahi (masniya) which is obviously corrupt. Senart takes the reading of one MS., masniyahi as being, palaeographically, an approximation to the true reading, which he says should be meṇṭha, Pali for "ram" (Prakrit meṇṭha or meṇṭha, see Pali Dictionary). But, to speak without the palaeographical evidence, the regular Sanskrit meṣa, "ram," seems quite as close, if not closer, to the reading of both text and manuscript.

3. These two countries were often at war, now one and now the other being conquered and ruled by one king.


5. Suhkhasāmparā, "pleasant to touch, deal with."

6. The reference is to the Sakkapāṇha Sutta, D. 2. 263 ff. In the particular extract quoted (p. 276) the Pali text names only devas, men, Nāgas, and Gandharvas.
And so jealousy took hold of the king of Kaśi and Kośala. "As this people of mine," thought he, "have been attracted by these young men, it is possible they will kill me and then anoint them as heirs to the throne." Therefore the king of Kaśi and Kośala drove them out of the land.

Now there dwelt on the slopes of the Himalayas a seer named Kapila, who was in possession of the five super-knowledges, had achieved the four meditations, and was of great might and power. His hermitage was extensive, delightful, rich in roots, flowers, leaves, fruits, and water, was bright with a thousand plants, and included a large wood of sākoṭa trees.

And the young men sojourned there in the wood of sākoṭa trees. Thither there came some merchants on their way to the lands of Kaśi and Kośala. (On their return home) somebody asked these merchants, "Whence do you come?" And they replied, "From the forest of sākoṭa trees yonder. Men of Śāketa in Kośala also are travelling there in the forest of sākoṭa trees. For we asked them, "Where are you going?" And they replied, "To the sākoṭa forest in the Himalayas.""

Now those young princes said among themselves, "There must be no corruption of our race." And from fear of such a corruption they each married a half-sister born of a different mother.  

Then King Sujātā asked his ministers, saying, "My ministers, where do the princes dwell?" And his ministers replied, "Your majesty, the princes dwell in a great wood of sākoṭa trees in the Himalayas."

Next, the king asked his ministers, "Whence do the princes get themselves wives?" They replied, "We have heard, your majesty, that the princes, through fear of corrupting their race, each married a half-sister of a different mother, saying, 'There must be no corruption of our race.'"

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1 An unidentified tree.
2 The text here is very corrupt.
3 The word mātrīyo, if the reading is correct, presents a serious grammatical difficulty. Senart, on the basis of the Tibetan account translated by Csoma, proposes to read, svahavasāh paramātrīyo bhāgīntyo, and this has been followed in translation. But the form mātrīyo, which must be nom. pl., cannot be satisfactorily accounted for.
was Nipura; his son was Karandaka; his son was Ukamukha; his son was Hastikaśīra, and his son was Simhahanu.¹

King Simhahanu had four sons Sudhodana, Dhaudodana, Suklodana and Amritodana, and he had a daughter named Amita.

Now a certain chieftain of the Sakyanas had a daughter who was charming, comely, strikingly handsome, and gifted with consummate beauty. But leprosy attacked this young girl, and she was being consumed by this disease. Physicians exerted themselves, and everything possible was done for her, but she was not cured. Salves after salves, emetics, and purgatives were applied, but the leprosy was not checked. Her whole body became one sore, and all the people were filled with pity at sight of her.

Then her brothers put her in a litter, and carried her to the city of Kapilavastu. There she lived with Kola, the royal seer, who had thirty-two young sons. The seer's thirty-two young sons were amongst the greatest seers of the days of the Buddha. He built a city in the forest, removing a big jujube tree for the purpose, whence their descendants are called Koliyans. (D.P.N.)

By that time the tiger had scratched away with its paws all the heap of earth, leaving only the wooden framework. When the tiger had scratched away by the tiger, the seer was greatly disturbed, and he pulled away the pieces of wood so that the entrance to the hole was revealed. When he saw the Sakyan maiden in the perfection of her bloom, he exclaimed, "This is no human female that I see here."

The seer questioned her. "Good lady," said he, "who may you be?" The woman replied, "I am from Kapilavastu, the daughter of a Sakyan there. I was afflicted with leprosy and was abandoned alive here."

When he saw the peerless beauty of the Sakyan maiden violent passion stirred in him.

(354) Though a man live a chaste life for a long time, yet the latent fires of passion in him are not put out. But once again will the poison of passion break out, just as the fire that is latent in wood can not be suppressed.

So the royal seer had intercourse with the Sakyan maiden, thus apostasizing from his meditations and his super-knowledges. He took the Sakyan maiden with him to his hermitage. There she lived with Kola, the royal seer, and bore him sixteen pairs of twin sons. The seer's thirty-two young sons were prepossessing and beautiful, and wore antelope's hide and kept their hair braided.

When they had grown up they were sent by their mother to Kapilavastu. "Go, my sons," said she, "to the great city of Kapilavastu. A Sakyan of such and such a name is my father and your grandfather. That Sakyan's sons are your uncles, and almost all the Sakyan nobles are your kinsmen."
Such is the great family to which you belong. They will provide you with means to live."

And she trained them in the ways of the Śākyans, saying, "Thus are you to approach the assembly of the Śākyans; thus are you to address them; thus are you to sit down among them." And when they had all been instructed in the ways of the Śākyans, they were sent off. They respectfully took leave of their mother and father, departed, and in due time reached Kapilavastu.

They entered Kapilavastu one after the other in the order of their ages. When the multitude saw these young hermits they remarked on them, saying, "Ah! look at these young hermits. How charming and beautiful they are in their antelope's hide and braided hair."

And so the young men, escorted by a great crowd, proceeded to the public place of assembly. About five hundred Śākyans were seated there, having come together on some business. The young men approached the assembly in the manner taught them by their mother, so that when the assembly of the Śākyans saw the young hermits they were seated there, having come together on some business. The young men approached the assembly in the manner taught them by their mother, so that when the assembly of the Śākyans saw the young hermits comporting themselves like Śākyans, they were amazed.

Then the Śākyans asked the young hermits, "Where do you come from?" In reply they related all the circumstances as they had been instructed by their mother. "We are the sons of Kola, a royal seer of a certain hermitage on the slopes of the Himalayas, and our mother is the daughter of a certain Śākyan." And repeating what they had heard from their mother they told the Śākyans in full how the Śākyan maiden had been driven forth to that place.

When the Śākyans heard this they were delighted. Now their grandfather, a chieftain of the Śākyans, and a large number of their relatives were still living. Further, Kola, the royal hermit, was from Benares, whence he had gone into seclusion after anointing his eldest son to the throne, and he was a distinguished seer, known far and wide.

Thus the Śākyans were delighted that these young men were the sons of a royal seer and not of a common man. And the thought occurred to them: "These young men are of our blood, so let them be given Śākyan maidens and means to live." So Śākyan maidens were given them, as well as tracts of arable land, namely, Āśrama, Nigama, Sumukta, Karkarabhādra, and other tracts—a rich estate for their very own.

The Koliyans were so named from their being the offspring of Kola the seer, and Vyāghrapadāya, was so named after the tiger's haunt.

Here ends the chapter of the Mahāvastu-Avakāśa on the origin of the name of the Koliyans.

Now the Śākyans had a town named Devadaka, where there lived a Śākyan chieftain named Subhuti. And he took to wife a Koliyan maiden from a certain town, who bore him seven daughters, namely, Māyā, Mahāmāyā, Atimāyā, Anantamāyā, Cūliyā, Kolisovā, and Mahāprajāpatī.

The history of Māyā.

The Śākyan king Simhahanu had four sons and one daughter. The sons were Suddhodana, Śuklodana, Dhautodana and Anrītodana, while the daughter was Amitā. When King Simhahanu died, Suddhodana succeeded to the throne. And King Suddhodana bade his ministers bring him a maiden who was lovely and of good birth. The ministers at once sent out brāhmans who were clever, learned and adept in assessing the qualities of women, men and maidens. "Go," said they, "discover a maiden worthy to be a consort to King Suddhodana."

As these brāhmans scoured the villages, towns, cities and provinces, they saw in the Śākyan town of Devadaka the seven daughters of the Śākyan Subhuti, and of the seven Māyā was outstanding. A maiden like her it would be very hard to find in the whole of Jambudvīpa.
They reported this to the king, saying, “In the town of Devādaha the Sākyan Subhūti has seven lovely and beautiful daughters, and one of them is pre-eminent among all the seven sisters in beauty, radiance, and wisdom. She is gifted with all good qualities, and her name is Māyā. In all the villages, cities, towns, and provinces that we searched, we did not see before we came to Devādaha anyone like Māyā, the daughter of the Sākyan Subhūti.”

Suddhodana sent a message to Subhūti, saying, “Give me your daughter Māyā to wife, and she shall become my chief queen.” But Subhūti replied to the messengers, “Māyā has six sisters older than she. When these are married, then shall Māyā be given to his majesty.”

The messengers reported this to king Suddhodana and said, “Your majesty, thus says the Sākyan Subhūti, ‘When her six elder sisters are married, then will Māyā be given to his majesty’.”

King Suddhodana sent a further message to Subhūti the Sākyan, saying, “Give me all your seven daughters.” The messengers took this message back to Subhūti the Sākyan and said to him, “Thus says king Suddhodana, ‘Give me all your seven daughters’.” And Subhūti the Sākyan complied with king Suddhodana’s request, and said, “Your majesty, let them be given you.”

And so with great royal magnificence, pomp and splendour all the seven maidens were led forth by King Suddhodana from the town of Devādaha to Kapilavastu. The king established two of them, Māyā and Mahāprajāpāti, in his own harem, and gave the other five to his five brothers.4

“In twelve years the Bodhisattva will leave his abode in Tuṣita.” So did the Suddhāvāsa devas proclaim to the Pratyekabuddhas in Jambudvīpa, “The Bodhisattva is about to descend. Quit the field of the Buddha.”

The Great and Glorious One, endowed with infinite knowledge and insight, is about to come down from his abode in Tuṣita. Quit the field of the Buddha [the Master], who bears the marks of excellence.

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1 Literally “made their proclamations” or “manifestoes,” vyākaraṇī vyākārītā.
2 See note 14.
3 See note p. 250.

4 Tejodhātum samāḍḍhītavā. This expression is rendered in the Pali Dictionary by “converting one’s body into fire.” The same rendering is found in S.B.E. XIII. 120 for the passage at V. 1. 25, where it is said bhagavāni tejodhātum samāḍḍhītā paññajīti—and the Blessed One converting his body into fire sent forth flames. But samāḍḍhītavā (samāḍḍhījīvī) has no passive or middle force here, but literally means “to attain,” “win mastery over.” The idea then is that the Pratyekabuddhas in the passage in the Mahāvastu summoned up fire, over which they had command, to achieve their own parinibbāna, just as Dabba at V. 2. 76 called up fire (tejodhātum samāḍḍhītā) to light the way for the monks. (Note: S.B.E. XX. 7, translates the phrase here “caught up fire.”)

The translator owes this interpretation to a suggestion by Miss I. B. Horner.

5 Middā, Pali id., a by-form of Pali muddā (Sanskrit mrdutā) in the special sense of sympathising in the joys of others.

6 This begins a version of the Khaggaviṇa Sutta (Sn. 35 ff.). The second stanza, however, is based on Dhammapada, 405.

1 See note 14.
2 See pp. 198 and 391, he is said to be one of four brothers.
3 See p. 95.
4 Lacuna in text.
Throwing off the marks of a householder, like the pāripātra tree denuded of leaves, and going forth from home clad in the yellow robe, let one live in loneliness like a rhinoceros.

Tearing off the marks of a householder, let one go forth from home clad in the yellow robe, like a solitary flame that rises from the ashes, and live in loneliness like a rhinoceros.

If one associates with one's fellows, there is the risk of too great affection. And the pain in this world is the result of affection. Therefore one should avoid society, and live in loneliness like a rhinoceros.

If one associates with one's fellows, there is the risk of too great affection. And the pain in this world is the result of affection. Therefore one should avoid too great affection for those who are dear, and live in loneliness like a rhinoceros.

If one associates with one's fellows, there is the risk of too great affection. And the pain in this world is the result of affection. Therefore although one is loth to part from friends, one should live in loneliness like a rhinoceros.

If one associates with one's fellows, there is the risk of too great affection. And the pain in this world is the result of affection. Therefore, thoroughly grasping the peril that lies in having friends, one should live in loneliness like a rhinoceros.

If one associates with one's fellows, there is the risk of too great affection. And the pain in this world is the result of affection. Therefore, thoroughly grasping the peril that lies in having sons, one should live in loneliness like a rhinoceros.

He who takes thought of sons and friends, and whose heart is bound by the ties of affection, loses his own good. One should not, then, desire sons, much less friends, but live in loneliness like a rhinoceros.

He who takes thought of relatives and friends and whose heart is bound by the ties of affection, loses his own good. One should not, then, desire relatives, much less friends, but live in loneliness like a rhinoceros.

All the stanzas of the Khaḍgaviśāna are to be supplied here in full, namely the stanzas pronounced by each one of the Pratyekabuddhas.

Risipatana was so named from the falling of the seers. Now in a forest at that place there was a king of deer named Rohaka who looked after a herd of a thousand deer. He had two sons, Nyagrodha and Viśākha. And the king gave five hundred deer to each son.

Brahmadatta, the king of Kāsi, was continually hunting in all parts of that forest and killing deer. But not all the deer he shot found their way to his table, for many of them escaped wounded into the bushes and thickets of the forest, into the clumps of grass, reeds and brambles, and died, and were devoured by ravens and vultures.

The deer-king Nyagrodha said to his brother Viśākha, “Let us, Viśākha, appeal to the king and say to him, “You do not feed on all the deer you shoot, for many of them escape wounded to their lairs, where they die and are devoured by ravens and vultures. Now we shall give your majesty one deer daily which will come of its own will to your kitchen. In this way disaster and destruction will not befall this herd of deer.”

His brother Viśākha replied, “Very well, let us appeal to him.”

Now the king was out hunting, and the kings of the herds of deer saw him coming from a distance, with an army and accompanied by men carrying knives, bows, spears and lances. When they saw the king, they went up to him without fear or trembling, although it was at the risk of their lives.

The king of Kāsi saw the deer-kings coming when they were still some way off, and he gave an order to his army, “Let no one molest these deer which are coming. Who knows what significance it has that they do not flee at the sight of the army, but come to meet me?” So the army made way for those deer, parting to the left and to the right. And the two deer came up to the king and fell at his knees.

1 The Khaggavisāna Sutta in Sn. (35-75) contains only 41 stanzas. But it is implied here that there were 500 stanzas, i.e. the number of the Pratyekabuddhas.

2 The form of the name of this place in the Mahāvastu, however, is generally Risipatana.

3 This story is Nigrodhamiga Jātaka (No. 12).
The king asked the deer-kings, "What do you ask for? Make known what you want done." And they, in a human voice, appealed to the king and said, "Your majesty, this is what we beg for. We two were born and grew up in your dominion in the forest here, together with many a hundred other deer as well. We two are brothers, and kings of these herds of deer, and we dwell here in your majesty's domain. Now, just as your majesty's cities, towns, villages and provinces are graced by people, kine, oxen and many thousands of other living creatures, two-footed and four-footed, so are these forest glades, fastnesses, rivers and streams graced by these herds of deer. And this, your majesty, is what adorns sovereignty, that all the two-footed and four-footed creatures which dwell in your majesty's domain, in village, forest or mountain, come to your majesty for protection and all of them are cared for and protected by you. Your majesty and no other is their sovereign.

"But when your majesty goes hunting many hundreds of deer come by disaster and destruction. Not all the deer hit by arrows reach your majesty's table, for some escape into the thickets and brushwood of the forest, and into clumps of grasses and reeds, where they die and are devoured by ravens and vultures. Thus your majesty is tainted with wrongdoing.

"Now, if it is your majesty's pleasure, we two kings of deer will send you each day one deer which will come of its own free will to your kitchen. From one herd on one day and from the second the next, each day will we send one deer to your majesty, so that there will be no break in the provision of venison for the king, while these deer will not come by disaster and destruction."

The king granted this appeal of the kings of the herds of deer, saying, "Let it be as you wish. Go, and live without fear or trembling, and send me one deer daily."

And when he had granted this appeal the king instructed his ministers that no one was to molest the deer. Having given this order he returned to the city.

The kings of the herds of deer gathered all the deer together and comforted them. "Be not afraid," said they, "for we have appealed to the king not to go hunting any more, and no one will molest deer. But each day one deer is to be sent to the king's kitchen, from one herd on one day and from the other the next."

And they counted the numbers in both herds and decided the order in which they should be taken from each. From one herd on one day, and from the other the next day, one deer was to go daily to the king's kitchen.

One day, it being the turn of Viśākha's herd, it fell to the lot of a doe which was with young to go to the king's kitchen. And the deer which acted as crier called her and said, "To-day it is your turn. Go to the king's kitchen." But she replied, "I am pregnant, and have two young ones in my womb. Therefore order another to go, and when I am delivered, then will I go. If I go now we shall be three going instead of one. But if these two young ones are born, the time of you all will be so much lengthened." 3

The crier reported this matter to the king of the herd, who replied, "Bid another deer to go, the one due to go next after the doe, and she will go afterwards when she is delivered." The crier thus passed over the doe, and ordered the deer whose turn it was next after her to go to the king's kitchen. But that deer said, "It is not my turn to go to-day: it is that doe's turn. I have, therefore, yet a while to live."

In the same way others were called, but they would not go out of their turn. They all said, "It is that doe's turn. Let her go."

So the doe was called again. "Good doe," she was told, "no one is willing to go out of his turn. It is really your turn, so do you go to the king's kitchen." Then, as they would not give her respite, the doe, out of love for her young, knowing that if she were slain they also would be destroyed, went to the other herd. And when she had come thither, she prostrated herself before the king of the herd. He asked her, "Good doe, what is this? What do you want? What is to do?" The doe replied, "To-day it is my turn to go from

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1 Literally, "made or fixed the turn," osaram (= avasaram) kyālam.
2 Viśākha (Pali), "giving an order." "one who calls out orders."
3 I.e. "the turn of each will be longer in coming."
4 Mama sanni pérdena, "by the death of me." For this sense of sanni pérda Senart refers to Bôhlingk and Roth who cite Nîlakantha as giving this sense to the word in the Mahabhârata XII. 7408.
going followed him, for he was a deer of striking comeliness, brightly speckled, with red hoofs, and bright and lovely jet-black eyes.

Followed by a great crowd of people he went on his way until he entered the city. And when he was seen by the citizens he was recognized by the great throng as the king of the deer. When they saw him they were sore distressed.(364) For they thought that the whole herd of deer had dwindled away, and that now the king himself was coming. “Let us go to our king,” said they, “and appeal to him and ask that this king of the deer be set free and not killed. For this deer will be an eye-delighting adornment of this capital city as he runs about in the gardens and parks, and when people see him they will enjoy a pleasing sight.”

So the nobles, accompanied by the great multitude, entered the king’s palace on the heels of the king of the deer. And while the king of the deer proceeded to the kitchen, the citizens approached the king where he sat on the seat of judgment and petitioned him. “O great king,” said they, “all that herd of deer is destroyed. Though they feed inoffensively on dried and fresh grass, molesting no one, yet have they all been destroyed, and here is the king of the herd himself come. Hard would it be, your majesty, to find such a lovely, beautiful deer, such a delight to the eye of man, as this king of deer is. As the people strolled out of the city among the gardens, parks, pleasure-grounds and lotus-ponds, they could see this king of deer, and would be glad that he had become an adornment of the city’s pleasures. Therefore, if it is your majesty’s pleasure, let this king of deer go free with his life.”

Then the king bade his ministers go and bring that king of deer from the kitchen. The ministers went and brought the deer into the king’s presence. The king asked him, “Why did you come yourself? Is there no longer any other deer that you come yourself?”

The king of deer replied, “Your majesty, it is not that there are no other deer. Moreover, to-day it was really the turn of the other herd. But the doe in that herd, whose turn it happened to be, was pregnant with two young ones in her womb. That doe was called and bidden: ‘Go to the king’s kitchen. To-day is your turn.’

The king of the herd replied, “To-day it is not my turn, but that doe’s: ‘Let her go.’ Thus they will not release me from my turn, but call me and say, ‘Go, it is your turn.’ Now this is what I desire, that a deer from this herd be sent by the king of the herd, and then, when I am delivered, I shall go.” The king of the herd came down the track that led from the forest and went towards Benares. All men who saw him were unwilling to go out of their turn. “Now, that turn is yours, so go.” But those others who have been ordered by the king of the herd to go are not willing, and say, ‘It is not our turn, but that doe’s: ‘Let her go.’ Thus they will not release me from my turn, but call me and say, ‘Go, it is your turn.’ Now this is what I desire, that a deer from this herd be sent by the king of the herd, and then, when I am delivered, I shall go.”

The king of the herd said to her, “Now be not afraid. I shall send another.” And he instructed the crier, saying, “Command the deer in this herd, whose turn it is, to go. I have granted immunity to this doe.”

So the crier ordered the deer, whose turn it was, to go to the king’s kitchen. But that deer replied, “It is not the turn of our herd to-day, it is the turn of Viśākha’s herd.” The crier answered and said, “Yes, to-day it is the turn of Viśākha’s herd, but the doe whose turn it is, is pregnant with two young ones in her womb. But they will not give her respite, and say, ‘It is your turn, go.’ And thus, as she was not relieved, she came to this herd, and appealed to Nyagrodha, the king of the herd. Nyagrodha granted her immunity, and gave orders that the deer in this herd whose turn it was should go. Now, that turn is yours, so go.” But that deer replied, “To-day is the turn of the other herd. I shall not go out of my turn.” And in the same way all who were ordered were unwilling to go out of their turn.

So the crier reported to Nyagrodha, the king of the deer, and said, “No one at all is willing to go out of his turn; they say that it is not the turn of this herd to-day, but of the other.” The king of the herd replied, “Go to my herd. I have granted immunity to this doe, and therefore she cannot be sent to the king’s kitchen. I shall go myself.”

The king of the herd came down the track that led from the forest and went towards Benares. All men who saw him...
"Now the king of that other herd is Viśākha. The doe went to him and said, 'To-day, it is my turn to go to the king's kitchen, but I am pregnant with two young ones in my womb. I wish, therefore, that another be sent, and then, when I am delivered, I will go.' But the other deer that was ordered to go in her stead was not willing, saying that it was the doe's turn and that she should go. In short, all those deer would not excuse her but kept saying, 'To-day is your turn. Go.'

"And as she was not relieved by them she came and appealed to me, saying,(365) 'To-day it is my turn to go from my herd, and I have two young ones in my womb. But they will not let me be. What I desire is that the king of the deer should order a deer from this herd to go to the king's kitchen. When I am delivered I will go myself.'

"I gave immunity to that doe. But the deer that I ordered to go in her place was not willing and said, 'It is not the turn of our herd, but of the other.' And in the same way all who were ordered were unwilling to come hither out of their turn. Then I reflected that, since I had given immunity to the doe, I should go myself. And so here am I come myself."

When the king heard the deer he was amazed, and all the people with him, exclaiming, "Ah! What a righteous king of deer!" And the king of Kāśi thought, "It is not this deer which lays down his life for another and knows what is dharma, that is the beast. We are the beasts, who know not dharma and inflict harm on such beautiful, sterling, and inoffensive creatures." To the king of deer he said, "I am delighted with your presence. You are compassionate and magnanimous, since, though only a deer, you gave immunity to that doe who bore life within her. On your account and as a result of what you have said, I also grant immunity to all deer. From this day forth I grant immunity to all deer in the land. Go, and dwell here all of you without fear or trembling.'"

And the king caused a proclamation to be made in the city by bellmen: "No one is to molest deer in my realm, because of the grant of immunity that I have bestowed on this king of deer."

In time the rumour of this reached the devas, and Śakra, the lord of devas, in order to test the king, created several hundred thousand deer. The whole land of Kāśi swarmed with them; there was not a field without deer. The people of the country appealed to the king.

Nyagrodha, the king of deer, called the doe and said to her, "Good doe, return to the herd of Viśākha." But she replied, "O king of deer, I will not go. I had rather die with you than live with Viśākha." And she recited this verse:—

(366)Men should follow Nyagrodha and not seek Viśākha.
It is better to die with Nyagrodha than live with Viśākha.¹

The people of the country appealed to the king, saying,

"The land is being despoiled; this rich realm is being ruined. Deer devour the crops. O king, put an end to this."

"Let the land be despoiled and this rich realm ruined. I will not call it a wrong that I have given this boon to the king of deer."

From this bestowing of a gift on the deer the wood at Rishipattana² was named Mrigadāya.³

"In twelve years the Bodhisattva will leave his existence among the Tuṣitas." And the Śuddhāvāsa devas, assuming the guise of brāhmans, recited the Vedas and Mantras, and told the thirty-two marks of a Great Man, as they proclaimed the coming of the Bodhisattva into the world.

¹ Cf. Jātaka 1, 152, 4, 43.
² So spelt here.
³ Elsewhere in the Mahāvastu and in Buddhist Sanskrit the name of this park is Mrigadāya. Here it is called Mrigadāya in order to fit the etymology suggested by the above story (Mriga + dā). In the Pali texts, also, the name is almost always Migadāya.
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