

Sacred Books of the Buddhists Vol. xix.

THE MAHĀVASTU
VOLUME III

TO MY WIFE
IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE

THE MAHĀVASTU

VOLUME III

Translated from the Buddhist Sanskrit

By

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ABBREVIATIONS IN FOOTNOTES*

- A. = Anguttara Nikāya
 AA. = Anguttara Nikāya Commentary
 AMg. = Ardha-Māgadhi
 Ap. = Apadāna
 AsP. = Aṣṭasāhasrika-prajñāpāramitā (ed. R. Mitra)
 Av. and AvŚ. = Avadāna-śataka (ed. Speyer)
 B.H.S.D. = Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary (F. Edgerton)
 Bk. of Disc. = Book of the Discipline (Trans. of the Vinaya-Piṭaka, by I. B. Horner)
 B.R. = Böhtlingk und Roth : Sanskrit Wörterbuch
 BSk. = Buddhist Sanskrit
 BudvA. = Buddhavaṃsa Commentary
 C.P.D. = Critical Pali Dictionary (D. Andersen and H. Smith)
 Cpd. = Compendium of Philosophy (Trans. of Abhidhamm'-atthasangaha, by S. Z. Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids)
 D = Dīgha Nikāya
 DA = Dīgha Nikāya Commentary
 Dbh. = Daśabhūmikasūtra (ed. Rahder)
 Dh. = Dhammapada
 DhA. = Dhammapada Commentary
 Dhs. = Dhammasaṅgaṇi
 Dhs. trsl. = Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics (Trans. by Mrs. Rhys Davids)
 DhsA. = Atthasālini
 Dhsg. = Dharmasangraha (Anecdota Oxoniensia)
 Dial. = Dialogues of the Buddha (Trans. of Dīgha Nikāya)
 Divy. = Divyāvadāna (ed. Cowell and Neil)
 D.P.N. = Dictionary of Pali Proper Names (G. P. Malalasekera)
 Dpvs. = Dīpavaṃsa
 Further Dial. = Further Dialogues of the Buddha (Trans. of Majjhima Nikāya)
 G.S. = Gradual Sayings (Trans. of Anguttara Nikāya)
 Gv. = Gaṇḍavyūha (ed. Suzuki and Idzumi)
 I.H.Q. = Indian Historical Quarterly
 It. = Itivuttaka
 J. = Jātakas (ed. Fausbøll)
 J.A.O.S. = Journal of the American Oriental Society.
 J.P.T.S. = Journal of the Pali Text Society
 J.R.A.S. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
 KhA. = Khuddaka-Pāṭha Commentary
 K.S. = Kindred Sayings (Trans. of Saṃyutta Nikāya)
 Kvu. = Kathā-Vatthu
 Lal. Vist. and L.V. = Lalita Vistara (ed. Lefmann)
 M. = Majjhima Nikāya
 MA. = Majjhima Nikāya Commentary
 Mbh. = Mahābhārata
 Mg. = Māgadhi
 Mhvs. = Mahāvaṃsa
 Mhvu. = Mahāvastu
 Miln. = Milindapañha (Royal Asiatic Society)
 Min. Anth. = Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon
 MIndic = Middle Indic
 Mmk. = (Ārya-) Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa (ed. Gaṇapari Śāstri)
 MPS. = Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra (ed. E. Waldschmidt)

- M.S.V. = Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya (ed. N. Dutt.)
 Mvyut. = Mahāvyyutpatti
 M.W. = Monier-Williams: A Sanskrit-English Dictionary
 Nd. = Niddesa
 Netti = Netti-Pakaraṇa
 P.E.D. = Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary
 Pkt. = Prakrit
 Pss. Sisters. = Psalms of the Sisters (Trans. of Therīgāthā)
 PvA. = Peta-Vatthu Commentary
 R.V. = R̥gveda
 S. = Saṃyutta Nikāya
 SA. = Saṃyutta Nikāya Commentary
 Saddhp. = Saddharmapūṇḍarīka
 Sat. Br. = Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa
 S.B.E. = Sacred Books of the East
 Śikṣ. = Śikṣā-samuccaya (ed. C. Bendall)
 Sn. = Sutta-Nipāta
 SnA. = Sutta-Nipāta Commentary
 Suv. = Suvaṇṇabhāsottamasūtra (ed. Noble)
 Thag. = Therīgāthā
 ThagA. = Therīgāthā Commentary
 Thig. = Therīgāthā
 ThigA. = Therīgāthā Commentary
 Ud. = Udāna
 UdA. = Udāna Commentary
 V. = Vinaya-Piṭaka
 Vbh. = Vibhanga
 Vism. = Visuddhi-magga
 V.T. = Vinaya Texts (S.B.E.)
 Vv. = Vimāna-Vatthu
 VvA. = Vimāna-Vatthu Commentary

* The Pali texts referred to are those published by the Pali Text Society.

FOREWORD

In the Foreword to the first volume of this translation, and again in that to the second, the translator expressed his intention to give, with this third and final volume, a detailed study of the composition of the whole of the *Mahāvastu*. It is now seen, however, that such a study could not be contained within the limits of a foreword. A long article, or even a whole volume, would be needed to do anything like justice to the subject. Partial analysis, confined to the more prominent or extensive passages, would not suffice to give a fair conception of the manner and process of the composition of the whole text. The traditions which have gone to the making of the *Mahāvastu* are so numerous and so varied that a comparative study of them must needs make use not only of Pali texts, canonical and commentarial, but also of other Buddhist Sanskrit works, not to speak of Tibetan and Chinese.

Here, therefore, the translator must confine himself to a few general remarks, forgoing even the quotation of parallel or relevant texts which, in a full study, would be indispensable to the argument. These remarks may consequently seem to be based too much on impressions, but the translator is convinced, even from the little progress he has already made with his full critical and comparative study, that these general remarks give a fair idea of the conclusions to which such a study will lead. Besides, he may justly claim that any mere impressions he may seem to indulge in derive a certain degree of validity from the simple fact that they are the result of a long and close acquaintance with the text of the *Mahāvastu*.

Some scholars have spoken of an author of our text, others of its redactor or redactors, but a more accurate description of its creation would be gained by imagining a community of monks, over a more or less long period of time, busily engaged, out of motives of piety, in gathering traditions of the Buddha's life and teaching from all sources accessible to them. Prose versions and metrical versions, and sometimes

more than one of each, are often given of one and the same episode, and we can reasonably assume that these are from various traditions that came to the compilers' notice at different times and from different sources. The narrative, indeed, would often be more coherent if many of these additional versions had been left out. They are not always introduced in the right place. When a narrative is given in mixed prose and verse it sometimes happens that the metrical version overlaps the prose, while at other times, on the contrary, it leaves a gap in the narrative. The addition of a single metrical version to the prose is perfectly natural. For when the two come together the metrical version may be seen to have been added because it was recognised as being more original, and, therefore, it serves as confirmation of the story as related in the prose. Anomalous forms are often, if not generally, common to prose and verse, which is proof that the verse tradition was present to the mind, if not actually in the hands, of the redactor of the prose paraphrase.

It sometimes happens, again, that a repetitive metrical version is not given in full. Parts are left out, and the context can only be understood by reference to the fuller prose version. But this does not necessarily mean that the latter is the earlier or original form of the tradition. Rather it may be taken to imply that the narrator, perhaps out of boredom, leaves out details which are assumed to be already known to the listener or reader.

Where the narrative is given in mixed prose and verse, the metrical version is inserted by way of confirmation of each stage of the story. It all looks very much as if the speaker or writer were paraphrasing in prose a story which he knew in an earlier verse form, and here and there sought to refresh his memory and keep his narrative straight by quoting the verse, which is often introduced with some such formula as *tatredamiti ucyate*, "here this is said." The explanatory note on this expression given on page 15 of the first volume is quoted by E. Waldschmidt on page 6 of his edition of the *Mahāvadānasūtra*,¹ with reference to the similar view expressed by E. Windisch in his *Buddha's Geburt*.² After

¹ Abhandl. d. deutsch. Akad. d. Wissenschaften. Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur u. Kunst. Jhg. 1952, nr. 2.

² Pp. 100, 102.

pointing out that this theory does not hold true of the *Mahāvadāna*, where, he says, the verses give the impression of being secondary or derivative, he adds, in a footnote on the same page, "beim Mahāvastu liegt der Fall komplizierter. Hier gibt es in der Tat Verse, die sich als sehr altertümlicher erweisen. Daneben stehen in dieser Zusammenwürfelung von Überlieferungsgut sehr verschiedenen Alters viele ausgesprochenen junge Verspartien."

The case is different, of course, when more than one metrical version follows the prose, just as it is when various prose sūtras on the same episodes are given successively in whole or in part. These are but examples of what was described in the Foreword to the second volume¹ as the proclivity of the compilers of the *Mahāvastu* to include in this canonical work of their sect every possible piece of tradition which bore on their subject. A good example of this proclivity may be seen in the present volume where as many as four versions are given of the tradition relating the Buddha's hesitation to preach the doctrine.² Each of the last three traditions is introduced by the formula *etthametaṃ śrūyati*, "this also is heard here or on this matter," and if the use in them of the connective particles *atha khalu*³ be taken as a criterion, these traditions are all of them early rather than late. Similarly, three traditions of the temptation by Māra are given,⁴ each beginning in the conventional form with the description of the occasion, and ending with the words *itthametaṃ śrūyati*.

Repeated editing did, as is only to be expected, produce some changes in the text, and in introducing these changes the editors were sometimes guilty of anachronisms. For example, in the dialogue between Gotama and his father,⁵ the former is made to say that he does not miss the adulation of the court, for he is celebrated instead in Discourse and Exposition, *Suttanta* and *Veyyākaraṇa*. Now these were two of the nine divisions of the completed corpus of Buddhist

¹ P. ix.

² Pp. 302 ff. Page references, unless otherwise stated, are to the present volume of the translation, where the corresponding pages of the text will be found numbered.

³ See p. xiii below.

⁴ Pp. 417 ff.

⁵ P. 120.

scriptures, which obviously was not in existence at the time. On the other hand, it may be interesting to note that the *Mahāvastu* nowhere explicitly mentions the *Tripiṭaka*.

The compilers of the *Mahāvastu* had, indeed, at one time and another a plethora of traditions to draw upon. When they thought, mistakenly or otherwise, that a narrative in the tradition they were following was not clear or full enough, they would have recourse to another tradition and insert an extract from it. Such an example of an interpolated passage can be seen in the bracketed part of the Gangapāla Jātaka,¹ which, incidentally, is nearer the Pali version of the story. Another passage bracketed for the same reason is found on page 302. The interpolation here actually does not form a complete sentence, but is interesting in itself as being clearly derived from a version nearer that of the Pali *Vinaya* than the rest of the narrative.

Another instance of the intermingling of traditions is found in the story of the conversion of Śreṇiya Bimbisāra.² The introduction to the story is peculiar to the *Mahāvastu*; subsequently there is close verbal parallelism with the version in the *Mahāvagga*. But long before the end there is interpolated an episode from some other tradition, which seems, however, to be cut short, and the story resumes, with some variations, a parallel course with that in the Pali text.

Examples could be multiplied. Here only one more can be given. After the account of the ordination of the Thirty Monks is finished,³ our text begins a story about another group of Thirty Monks. But it does no more than begin it, and passes straight on to the ordination at the end. Evidently there is here a summary of the story as handed down in another tradition. There can be little doubt also that the story which follows it, that of Pūrṇa and his twenty-nine companions, forms yet another tradition of the same theme.

The theory that there are two main strata, each distinguished by its own peculiar style, in the composition of the *Mahāvastu*, first propounded and developed by Hermann Oldenberg,⁴ has received a large measure of acceptance from other scholars. It is now too well known to need a detailed

¹ P. 189.

² P. 439.

³ P. 373.

⁴ *Studien zum Mahāvastu*. (Nachrichten von d. k. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philol.—Hist. Klasse, 1912).

account of it here. Briefly put, the theory is that the older style is characterised by the use of the connective particles *atha khalu*; while the newer style uses *dāni* instead. The earlier style, further, is marked by having its sentences formed with finite verbs, among them a copious supply of aorist tenses. The later style, on the contrary, shows a distinct fondness for nominal construction with participles or participial adjectives supplying the place of finite verbs. These distinguishing criteria have been applied to a fairly large number of passages, but by no means to the whole text, of the *Mahāvastu*. In the passages which have been subjected to examination on these lines, it has been generally assumed that the distinction in language and style is accompanied by a distinction in the nature of the subject-matter. That is to say, the earlier style is taken to be confined to passages which are more primordially canonical than those in the later style. The former passages generally deal with matters of doctrine, or at least with the historical or legendary occasions when the doctrine was formulated or preached. The later style is more particularly found in passages which are assumed to be accretions to the original tradition. A very characteristic example of accretion is said to be revealed in those passages of the *Mahāvastu* which purport to give the earlier histories of the lives of disciples or adherents who, in the assumed original tradition, appear on the scene only when they first meet the Buddha. Oldenberg, for example, instances the two versions, in the *Mahāvastu* and *Mahāvagga* respectively, of the story of Yaśoda. The former adds to the Pali narrative an account of Yaśoda's former life, his birth and his upbringing, and this addition is marked by the characteristic features of the later style. Yet, we may note the sentence *te dāni āhaṃsu* in this so-called accretion, where if the expression *te dāni* is late, the verb *āhaṃsu* has every claim to be called early. According to Edgerton¹ this verbal

¹ *Grammar*, p. 165. It has been the translator's great misfortune that Prof. Franklin Edgerton's truly monumental work, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, was not available throughout. About two-thirds of the last volume had already been completed when Edgerton's work appeared. But before the translation was sent to the printer, the whole of it was revised, so that the linguistic and lexicographical difficulties could be examined anew with the aid of his *Grammar and Dictionary*. The help which the translator has derived from these two books can be judged by the frequency with which Edgerton's name, or sometimes, for brevity's sake, only the title of his *Dictionary*, appears in the footnotes.

form, though common in the *Mahāvastu*, is not found in other Buddhist Sanskrit texts, and he concludes accordingly that "it was discarded early in the history of our dialect."

Finally, this later style, called by Oldenberg style A, is taken to be marked by a fondness for elaboration, indulgence in detail, fantastic exaggeration of numbers and multiplication of marvels and miracles.

The results which have been reached by the method of criticism here sketchily outlined are, no doubt, suggestive and instructive, and, perhaps, should be accepted as established for the passages which have been put under examination. But it may be doubted whether, in the face of the variety and diversity of the traditions which are collected to form the *Mahāvastu*, one criterion alone is sufficient to distinguish the late from the early. Even in the passages which have actually been analysed a considerable intermingling of the two assumed styles has often to be dealt with, and attempts made to account for it. To the earlier style, which Oldenberg called style B, a subsidiary style, B¹, has had to be added. This subsidiary style is apparently to be regarded as style A affected by reminiscences of style B. In other words, the redactor or compiler of a certain episode may have known it or heard it in the language of style B, but, for some reason or other, wished to preserve it for his school or for posterity in the newer style A. But, according to the theory, he could not entirely shake himself free from the influence of the older style, so that now and again he unwittingly falls into its ways and adopts its phraseology. A very cursory examination of our text, however, would seem to indicate that the matter is not so simple as that. For, even if we limit our criterion to the use of *atha khalu* on the one hand and of *dāni* on the other, we are still face to face with such a frequent and intricate intermingling of styles that it would seem impossible for a critic with even the highest degree of analytic acumen to distinguish them.

This diversity of styles in the *Mahāvastu* is matched by a dialectal diversity in its language. There have been many theories about the identity of the Middle Indic dialect on which Buddhist Sanskrit was based, just as there have been about the identity of the language in which the Buddha

preached his doctrine. But if we are right in holding that the *Mahāvastu* is a compilation of traditions from various sources, need we look in it for a single homogeneous language or dialect? The retailers of these various traditions could pass them on in their own vernacular and still be understood by their listeners in any part of the India in which Buddhism grew up. If the northern Buddhists increasingly in course of time tended to replace dialectal variations with normal Sanskrit forms, that was not due to their failure to understand or recite the traditions in their original form, but simply to the prestige of the classical language. It is nowadays generally admitted that Buddhism from the very start was preached in a variety of dialects. For thus only could the new faith be disseminated. Proof of this is found in the Pali Canon. In the *Cullavagga* (5.33) we read of certain brāhmins complaining to the Buddha that the monks were using the vulgar language or dialects, whereas they themselves used, or wished to use, Vedic or Sanskrit. The Buddha's reply is thus translated by Edgerton :¹ "You are not to put the Buddha's words into Vedic; who does so would commit sin. I authorize you, monks, to learn the Buddha's words each in his own language". Edgerton goes on to add, "Buddhaghosa and some moderns (notably Geiger) would take the last clause to mean, 'in the Buddha's own dialect.' But Chinese versions make it abundantly clear that the correct interpretation is 'each in his own dialect.' The net result seems to me to show, not only that the Buddha authorized and commanded the recitation of his teachings in local dialects everywhere, but also that from the very start there were clearly perceptible differences in the speech of different members of the Buddhist Order, which showed in their ways of reciting the sacred texts." And, it may be added, once given the Buddha legend, different communities, self-contained as they were, with their own vernaculars and with little inter-communication, would tend to develop the legend each in its own way, a way most likely in accord with, or influenced by, the forms of belief already prevailing among them. Hence, sooner or later, arose a crop of variant traditions.

¹ *Grammar*, p. 1.

Not all scholars interpret the *Cullavagga* passage just cited in the same way. E. J. Thomas,¹ for example, gives it a different interpretation. According to him, what the brāhman wished the Buddha to do was to authorise a standard versification of the texts to facilitate the memorising of them. But the brāhman's expressed complaint was that monks of various clans were corrupting the texts by repeating them in their own grammar (*nirutti*), that is to say, using the grammatical forms of their respective dialects.

But whatever be the correct interpretation of this passage, the very fact of the brāhman's complaint undoubtedly shows that even in the Buddha's lifetime his doctrine and the legends about him were already current in dialects which were more or less different from the dialect in which they had been first proclaimed. This is the conclusion which Edgerton himself has reached.² He does not agree with H. Lüders and Hiän-lin Dschī, who would make Old Ardha-Māgadhi the language of the original Buddhist Canon, or even the language of the Buddha himself. He is definitely in favour of the contrary opinion of S. Lévi and Lin Li-Kouang, who maintain that the Buddhist teaching and traditions were from the very beginning related in a variety of dialects. Edgerton goes further and says that Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, as he calls the language of the *Mahāvastu* and other Buddhist Sanskrit texts, was never spoken as a vernacular dialect. But, with all due respect to a scholar of his eminence, it is difficult to see what grounds he has for maintaining that a language which was thus never spoken can "have existed for centuries as a religious language" and that it "seems to have become the prevalent language used by north-Indian Buddhists." This apparently implies that there was a set policy among these Buddhists to frame or concoct a purely conventional language in which to preserve their various canons. It is evident, of course, and only natural that the language of these various texts did, with the passage of time, come to approximate more and more to a certain degree of uniformity. But that uniformity should rather, apart, that is, from what was due to late Sanskritising, be understood

¹ *The Life of Buddha*, p. 254.

² *Grammar*, pp. 2 ff.

as the result of several centuries of re-telling and re-writing the traditions, in the course of which there would be a progressive abandonment of dialectal differences. Besides, as has been already pointed out, even were all the dialects preserved in their pristine purity, they were never so distinct or disparate that they could not coalesce to form the language of a single work.

When we thus relate the diversity of the traditional sources from which the *Mahāvastu* was compiled to the diversity of dialects in its language, it is not suggested that the dialect of any one particular tradition can be distinguished and isolated, at least readily and certainly. In the first place there was evidently an admixture of dialects at the very beginning. The missionary might not know the language of his converts well enough to translate his message into it with perfection, though there never was more than a dialectal difference between the speech of the two. Secondly, it cannot be assumed that all the Prakrit or Middle Indic dialects of the Buddha's time have left records or traces behind them, and difficulties of vocabulary or grammatical forms may sometimes be due to our ignorance of a lost dialect to which they belonged. There are in the *Mahāvastu*, for example, many words and forms which are not found elsewhere, and so cannot be assigned to any particular dialect which is otherwise known. The number of such words and forms which are met with in the *Mahāvastu* is peculiarly and strikingly large. They cannot all belong to any one dialect or language, for they are not uniformly distributed throughout the text, as should be expected were the work composed in a single homogeneous language. Too many of them are found isolated in one or another particular narrative. Instances of this are the names of some of the articles mentioned in the prose version of the story of Kusa as having been made by that skilled and versatile craftsman.¹ In the two long lists of trades and occupations given in the present volume,² not only are many of the names of them absolutely unknown, but also only a few of them are identical with those found in similar passages elsewhere, for example, in the *Milindapañha*.³ Corruption of the original form of

¹ Vol. 2, p. 414 ff.

² Pp. 111 ff., 443 f.

³ P. 331.

these words is not sufficient to account for the complete obscurity of their meaning. They must have had meaning somewhere and have been everyday words in the vernacular of the community which developed and preserved this particular form of the story. It may, of course, be argued that there was no other occasion in the *Mahāvastu* calling for the use of these words. But why are they not found elsewhere, except for the reason that we have no remains of the dialect to which they were native? It cannot be supposed that the articles and trades referred to were confined within the limits of a single community, any more than it can be supposed that the construction of a chariot varied essentially in different parts of India. And yet in the Mañjari Jātaka we find two unidentified component parts of a chariot described by the entirely unknown and unparalleled terms *manesī* and *kupsara*. The same consideration applies to the names of musical instruments which are so frequently mentioned in our text, but several of which cannot be now identified. Here again the distribution of strange terms is not uniform. For example, in the incident where Dipamkara wakes up to find the women of his harem asleep and, some of them, clasping various musical instruments,¹ the names of these are well-known and fairly easily identifiable. But in the corresponding incident in the life of Gotama is found a much longer list of instruments. Some of these are readily identifiable, others less so, while the few remaining ones are totally strange. This episode was part of the stereotyped tradition of the Buddha's home life, but it looks as though the form of the tradition relating to Gotama which was incorporated in the *Mahāvastu* was peculiar to a community with its own particular dialect.

Passing from the names of concrete things to abstract terms, we may notice the unique *vyākutsanā*, "disgust", which is unknown outside the *Mahāvastu*, and even there is found only twice, namely in the story of Śreṇiya Bimbisāra and in what may be termed its corollary.² The latter story, by the way, also contains occurrences of the very rare word *pāri*, "vessel", found only here in the *Mahāvastu*, and related by Edgerton³ to Ardha-Māgadhi *pāri*.

¹ Vol. 1, p. 183.

² Pp. 441, 452.

³ B.H.S.D.

These examples are taken at random from among the more obvious. A minute search could no doubt multiply them indefinitely. The conclusion which, it is here suggested, may be drawn from these lexicographical peculiarities, would seem to be reinforced by a consideration of grammatical forms which are unknown outside the *Mahāvastu*. Like the strange words which we have found isolated in particular narratives, these grammatical forms, too, are often found similarly isolated. It cannot, for example, be mere accident, nor due to the compilers' whim, that most of the examples of the anomalous ending *matha* for the first person plural of the verb should be found grouped together in the metrical version of the Kuśa Jātaka.¹ It may reasonably be suggested that the metrical version, also, came from a community with its own proper dialect, whether the same community whence came the prose version, or not, may possibly be a question to which close linguistic study might provide an answer.

In phonology, again, we seem to have the same interesting and suggestive phenomena. For instance in the third volume of our text are found several examples of the use of the consonant "d" as a hiatus-bridger, all, with one exception, grouped together on page 54. It looks very much as if the tradition of the ordination of Mahā-Kāśyapa, which is here related, was either composed in a dialect using this mode of linking words, or at least was at some time or other subjected to the influence of such a dialect.

Finally, there is ground for suggesting that the distinction presented by *dāni* passages on the one hand and *atha khalu* passages on the other, is not necessarily a distinction between later and earlier styles. We cannot know for certain that these two contrasting styles, in so far as they can be isolated, were not a matter of dialectal differences. It seems to be established that the use of finite verbs which normally went with the use of *atha khalu* as a connective particle, was not maintained to the same extent in all the dialects of which we have record. For all that can be known some dialects may have abandoned the use of finite verbs entirely at the same time that others were still using them. It may be

¹ P. 5.

indeed, that the use of the nominal construction and the connective particle *dāni* was a mark of less culturally advanced communities. Such a construction would certainly come much more naturally to an untutored narrator than a construction requiring acquaintance with a complete system of verbal conjugation.

In the same way, it need not be supposed that the fondness for the fantastic, the miraculous and the supernatural, which is taken to be characteristic of the style using *dāni* and the nominal construction, is necessarily a sign of a late tradition. The area in which Buddhism arose does not seem at the time to have felt much of the influence of Brahmanism. In any case, the first converts to the new faith, even though they were brāhmins, would be well-acquainted with, even believers in, a rich and luxuriant mythology based upon an extensive polytheism or polydemonism. The world around them was peopled with all kinds of supernatural beings capable of working all kinds of marvels and magic. The Buddha himself never seems to have gone out of his way to deny the existence of these beings, but rather adopted them into his scheme of things. Supernatural or magical events were therefore a matter of everyday belief and experience to those who heard the Buddha and his disciples, and who later went about retailing his doctrine and cultivating the traditions about him. The development of doctrine itself, of course, was controlled and stabilised by the Sangha or Order. But no authority could limit the growth of apocryphal stories whether among the monks or among the laity. And it has to be remembered that the *Mahāvastu* is primarily a collection of stories. Although it is said to be the Vinaya of its school or sect, the doctrinal part could be assumed to be well known enough to be taken for granted and left out, except in so far as the stories themselves might illustrate it. Besides, not all the converts would be chiefly interested in the finer points of Buddhist philosophy and ethics. A large proportion of them, as is the way of uneducated religious converts everywhere, would be more interested in edifying tales and fables, and in correlating what they could of the Buddha legend with the mythology already known to them. For they must already have had their own legends or folk-tales which

they could adapt more or less fully to the new faith. Much of the poetry in the *Mahāvastu* has all the air of being traditional ballads originally quite independent of Buddhism. The verses of good-luck—we may even describe them as protective spells—which the Buddha is made to recite to the merchants Trapuśa and Bhallika¹ have little or nothing in them that is peculiarly Buddhist. The metrical Śārabhanga Jātaka,² again, has much in it which leads one to think that it was of non-Buddhist origin; it is so full of commendation of the gentler and more tender feelings which make for social comfort and the pleasure of living. It is also old-fashioned enough to prefer the once popular name of Indra to that of Śakra, his Buddhist supplanter. The story of Elapatra³ is another good example of the intrusion of an old fairy-tale into the legend of the Buddha. Finally, how many of the hundreds of Buddhas who are enumerated in the *Mahāvastu* may not have been originally minor local deities? These Buddhas are not necessarily the product of a dogma developed late in the history of Buddhism. At least, much of the language in which they are enumerated and eulogised looks to be as old as that of any part of our text. The belief in other or former Buddhas must have existed long before it was officially recognised by certain edicts of King Aśoka, some three centuries after the death of Gotama.

It is but natural, of course, that the Buddha legend would be embellished and elaborated in the course of time. But the fact remains that even the earliest recorders of the tradition had the same wealth of legendary or mythological parallels to draw upon as the later. Once the knowledge of the Buddha passed beyond the circle of his intimate friends and acquaintances, such was the force of his personality and the grandeur of his moral character, that ordinary men and women could conceive of him only in terms of the divine. And as soon as that happened there would be no bounds to the play of the mythopoeic fancy of those who had heard of him. If extravagant legends are not so frequent and elaborate in the earliest body of canonical texts that have come down

¹ Pp. 293 ff.

² Pp. 362 ff.

³ Pp. 381 ff.

to us, as in the *Mahāvastu*, that may well be due to editing and pruning by the Theravādin editors. Even so the difference between the Pali texts and the *Mahāvastu* in this respect is one of degree only, not of kind.

As the very great importance of Edgerton's work for the study of Buddhist Sanskrit has been referred to, it may not be impertinent, in conclusion, to touch on the question whether the new light thrown by him on so many difficulties, affects in any way the correctness of the translation presented in the first two volumes of this work. The translator is glad to say, that as far as he has been able to discover, no part of his translation calls for any serious correction. Although, before Edgerton's *Grammar* became available, the grammatical rationale of many forms may have been obscure, the context in the large majority of cases made the construction of the sentences as a whole self-evident. When this was not the case, comparison with parallel versions in other texts helped out, even if it were only by suggesting emendation of an inexplicable form with a more explicable one. All these doubtful forms should, perhaps, have been discussed in the footnotes. But, as was pointed out in the Foreword to the first volume, Senart, the editor of the text, had himself contributed long notes on most of these anomalous forms, and there was at the time of translating the first two volumes no reliable work to hand which could be used to test the validity of Senart's explanations. No useful purpose would be served by merely repeating what he had said. If criticism of Senart's explanations and emendations could be made, as it was on occasion, it was only on the score of the requirements of the context, and often with the support of parallel passages from other texts. Later on, the translator hopes, as part of a critical work on the *Mahāvastu*, to study his translation in detail, and, where necessary, to revise it, with the help of Edgerton's dictionary and grammar.

Meanwhile, it is gratifying to record one or two instances where an emendation proposed by the translator has been found subsequently to be confirmed by Edgerton. On page 86 of the second volume a footnote calls attention to the need of emending Senart's text, *svayam va me pravāreya* into *tvayā ca me pravāreya*, an emendation which was not only called

for by the context, but also brought the text of the *Mahāvastu* into accord with the parallel Pali passage, *Jātaka*, 3. 284. This emendation is exactly that proposed by Edgerton in his *Grammar*,¹ as is also that of the difficult *prattam* in the same line into *yam ca*. Again, on page 89 of the same volume there is a footnote on the word *anantapāṇi*, which Senart in his notes renders "des êtres vivants sans nombre." The note in the translation, however, suggests that a sense more appropriate to the context would be obtained by reading for *pāṇi*, "beings", the word *pāna*,² "drink" or "water". In his *Dictionary* (s.v.) Edgerton makes what is practically the same suggestion, although he is able to improve on it by adducing, instead of the Sanskrit *pāṇīya*, the Ardha-Māgadhi *pāṇi*, likewise meaning "water".

The translator was also glad to see that the explanation which he offered in the second volume³ of the strange word *hastokta*, which is unknown outside the *Mahāvastu*, is practically the same as that which Edgerton gives in his *Dictionary*.

After so much has been said to show the translator's appreciation of the value and helpfulness of Edgerton's work, it may appear as rash presumption to dare criticise his interpretation of one or two passages. It may well be that a scholar mining a text like the *Mahāvastu* for linguistic examples is in danger at times of overlooking the demands of the context and of concentrating overmuch on particular forms and philological principles. It would certainly appear that in one case, at least, Edgerton has been misled by his philological ardour and acumen. In the metrical version of the Campaka Jātaka⁴ the Nāga king's daughter, in reply to a question about her identity, answers *Nāgakanyāhaṃ bhadraṇte avīcī iha āgatā*. In the translation⁵ this has been rendered, "Sir, I am a Nāga maiden come hither on a quest." But *avīcī* is a difficult word, and a footnote attempts to explain it as being compounded of *avī*, a participial form,

¹ §20.13.

² Inadvertently for the fuller form *pāṇīya*. Here it may be pointed out that the word *pāṇa* which in vol. 2, p. 20 and on p. 433 of the present volume has been taken as a Sanskrit word for "trader", is explained by Edgerton as an Ardha-Māgadhi word meaning "a cāṇḍāla or untouchable". An intensive search would, no doubt, reveal other instances where Middle Indic words should replace words which in the translation have been taken to be Sanskrit.

³ P. 66.

⁴ Vol. 2, p. 181 (text).

⁵ P. 175.

though otherwise unknown, from *av*, "to desire", and *cī* "something" or "anything". Alternatively, the suggestion is made, on the basis of one MS. reading *acīnī*, that the correct reading might be *arthinī*, "seeking", and a comparison is made with the corresponding Pali passage¹ which reads *atthen(a) amhi idhāgatā*, "I am come hither with a purpose." The context certainly requires some such sense to the expression. Edgerton,² however, translates, "I am a Nāga girl, bless you, come hither from the nether world." That is, he takes *avīcī(d)* as an ablative case of *avīci*, the name of one of the hells. This would make the Nāga king, Campaka, and his daughter, dwell in Avīci, a hell of torment and terror for the wicked. This is not only improbable in itself, but against what we are expressly told, both in the prose and metrical versions of the story, namely, that they dwelt in Kāśi, where their home had all the wealth and splendour of an abode of the devas.

Another instance where, perhaps, we may suspect that Edgerton has not paid due attention to the text is referred to in a footnote on page 15 of the present volume. In a paragraph of his *Grammar*,³ in which he gives examples of gerunds based on present passive stems, he quotes from our text,⁴ *Yāvad . . . antarpurikāhi antahpuram praveśīya kṛīḍāpanako bhaviṣyati*. We are not concerned here with the grammatical point which is the subject of the paragraph, but with Edgerton's translation of the passage. He translates, "until he (*i.e.* Kuśa) having been brought into the harem by the harem woman, became (*lit.* should become) their playfellow." But *yāvad* here is better explained as an adverb meaning "as far as". The four words, *rājño priyo ti kṛitvā*, which immediately follow *yāvad* are omitted in Edgerton's quotation. *Kṛitvā* with the preceding *ti* means "quoting", so that *yāvad* can be easily explained, as usually in such contexts, as meaning "as far as". The point is that the story of Kuśa's various occupations as related in the previous volume is here abridged to give only the first, that of garland-maker, and the last, that of cook in the royal

¹ J. 4.459.

² *Grammar*, §10, 67.

³ §35.17.

⁴ P. 16.

kitchen. Then the events following are assumed to be known as far as the denouement of Kuśa's becoming dear to the king. The future *bhaviṣyati* fits in better with the interpretation here suggested. Edgerton, as is seen, has to render it by the past, "became", adding in parenthesis, "*lit.* should become."

One other instance may be given where Edgerton's preoccupation with philological problems may have led him a little astray. When the Buddha is contemplating the question as to how former Buddhas took their food, he asks himself *bhājanapratigrāhakā utāho pāṇipratigrāhakā*.¹ Edgerton² takes *pāṇi* here to be the Ardha-Māgadhi word for "water", which has already been referred to, and he renders "did they take a bowl (of food) or water?" But, apart from the need of a parenthesis in such a rendering, the context would be much better fitted by our taking *pāṇi* in its Sanskrit sense of "hand". For then we have the two natural alternatives of eating food from a bowl or directly with the hands without the use of any receptacle. The story is here concerned with how the Four Great Kings came to provide the Buddha with a bowl. There is no allusion as to what it was to contain.

These instances of agreement and of disagreement with Edgerton are few enough, and may appear trivial in themselves. But the translator hopes that they may be taken as an indication that he was throughout aware of the linguistic difficulties of the *Mahāvastu*, and that he took every care to be faithful to the text. To his knowledge, no difficulty, whether of vocabulary or of grammar has been ignored or slurred over. Nothing has been put in his translation which was not warranted by the text, and nothing has been left out on the score of difficulty and obscurity.

A word or two about the Index is necessary. It was thought advisable to group several classes of topics under general headings, as "animals," "entertainers", "musical instruments", "trades and occupations", and so on. The reason for this is obvious. The *Mahāvastu* only mentions these topics in passing; there is no discussion of them. But

¹ Vol. 3, p. 304 (text).

² *Grammar*, §22.4.

arranged under group-headings they may provide some guidance to the researcher into the natural and economic history of India. It is presumed, of course, that the researcher will not stop short with the translation. He must go back to the text himself. For the interpretation of many of the several terms in the various group-headings is very doubtful, even where they are found translated, and, as has been seen, many others are so obscure as to defy any attempt to render them into English. The exact definition of these awaits further research.

It is pleasant to realise that the translation of the *Mahāvastu* has, after many years of arduous toil, been at last completed. Some there have been who doubted that the text as a whole was worthy of a full-scale translation, possibly implying thereby that it was mainly material for a study of language, history, folk-tales and other accessory subjects. But however useful it may be for students of such subjects, the *Mahāvastu* must be regarded primarily as a religious work. It is true that it is not a religious classic, though we do well to remember that it is a very near relation of the great religious books of India. It is fully worthy to rank among the other sacred books which have been made accessible to English readers in the *Sacred Books of the East* and in the Series in which it now appears complete.

Once again, it is a pleasure, and a duty, to put on record the translator's gratitude to Miss I. B. Horner for her never-failing help. What the work owes to her is to a large extent evident to anyone who looks at the footnotes. When it is added that she revised the whole manuscript, made most valuable corrections and improvements in it, read all the proofs, and was throughout always ready to give generously of her great learning whenever the translator wrote to pose his difficulties to her, the degree of his indebtedness will be still more fully realised.

Another helper, alas, has not lived to see the completion of the work. In the Foreword to the first volume the translator paid tribute to the patience of his wife. Some years have passed since then, but throughout them all, to see her husband devote his leisure hours to this work, to encourage and inspire him to complete it, and to rejoice in its progress

had become a real part of her life. It is some consolation to remember that she was spared long enough to see the first proofs of this final volume. Whatever has been achieved in this work, she has a large share in it.

J. J. JONES.

Aberystwyth,
July, 1956.

THE KUŚA JĀTAKA¹

(1) In Benares there was a king named Ikṣvāku. He was mighty, glorious and triumphant. But no son had been born to him.

Then the happy thought occurred to him : " What if I were to let out the women of my harem three times a fortnight ? "

And so the king, in order to have a descendant, let out the women of his harem on the fourteenth, fifteenth and eighth days of the fortnight.²

The women in great excitement and decked out in all their finery, but timid as fawns, went about from door to door.

Some chattered as they sought to allure, others laughed, and others ran about chasing all kinds of men.

All were excited, all were bewildered. And King Ikṣvāku's city, too, was bewildered by these mistresses of the king.

. . . ³ " Let the brāhman come to me early and late.

" Let me know at once whether he is a mendicant, whether he is a mendicant a gift to whom will bring great reward."

Thereupon⁴ Śakra, lord of Trāyastriṃśa⁵ reflected (2) that the deed the king wished done had been suggested by the household priest.⁶

He made himself into an old man, bent double⁷ and leaning on his staff. With shaking limbs he came to the king's door.

To the servitor who carried messages the brāhman said, " Announce me at once. I wish to see the king."

The servitor reported this to the king, saying, " A brāhman who wishes to see the king has come to your majesty."

¹ An abridged version, mostly metrical, of the Jātaka with which Vol. 2 closed. The abridgement is clumsily done, and often the story can only be understood by reference to the other version.

² Three of the four *uposatha* (*uposadha*) or " sacred " days, the fourth being the first of the month.

³ A lacuna, covering apparently several lines, in which a brāhman, but not at first, as in Vol. 2, disguised as an old man, comes to the king's court, and orders are given by the king that he be admitted.

⁴ I.e., after learning of the king's goodness of heart.

⁵ See Vol. 1, p. 25, n 2.

⁶ See Vol. 2, p. 378.

⁷ Reading *bhugna* for *bhagna*.

"Hail to you, great Brāhman," (said the king.)¹ "You are welcome. What do you want, what do you seek, what do you need, what can I give to you?"

[The brāhman replied:]

"O Ikṣvāku, I have heard the people here say that the king, lord of men, is letting out the women of his harem thrice a fortnight,

"On the fourteenth, fifteenth and eighth days, for that the chief of men is desirous of a son. So have I heard it said.

"And now, having heard this rumour, with my senses thrilled and exhilarated, I have come² hither seeking a woman. So do you honour me."

The king said:

"Here, chamberlain, go at once and quickly³ show him the women. Oblige⁴ him to-day with whatever woman is to his liking."

He was led by the chamberlain into the women's quarters, where the chief queen at the time was named Alindā.

(3) The brāhman said:

"Let her be mine, she who stands yonder so proudly and with faultless limbs, but wets her cheeks with tears."

A hunchbacked woman⁵ said:

"Old man, do you wish to amuse yourself with young damsels? No young damsel would touch you even with her hand.

"Old man, do you wish to amuse yourself with young damsels? No young damsel would touch you even with her foot.

¹ There would seem to be a lacuna here also, covering the king's instructions to the servant and the leading in of the brāhman.

² *Gaccheyam*, pot. in aor. sense. Perhaps, however, the pot. is rather to be explained here with reference to the arising of the intention or wish to go, at the moment he heard the rumour. The force of the pot. could then be rendered in English by the insertion of "I thought that" (I would go). At the same time *iha*, "here", transforms the intended or potential going into an accomplished "coming", which brings us back again to the pot. = aor. equation.

³ *Lahum*, BSk. and Pali; a v.l. is *laghum*.

⁴ *Anugrahe*, imper. according to the first conjugation.

⁵ A personal attendant of the queen's. See Vol. 2.

"You are foul and wrinkled, pale of face; your house is evil-smelling like the jujube flower. You stink like a goat. Begone, I have naught to do with you."

The king said:

"I shall give you sustenance, wealth and riches or a fair village. Be content with this.¹ What will you do² with Alindā?"

The brāhman replied:

"I am faint from coughing; repeatedly I swoon, and I wet my bed. But she will help me on to my feet.

"Do you, hunchbacked dame, hold your tongue, and go on grinding face-powder.³ I'll make myself dear to Alindā, never you mind.

(4) "Do you, hunchbacked dame, hold your tongue, and go on twining⁴ your garlands.⁵ I'll make myself dear to Alindā, never you mind."

The king said:

"If, O brāhman, you wish to eat bread in the king's palace, you can enjoy this now. What will you do with Alindā?"

The brāhman replied:

"Lord, let not King Ikṣvāku repent of his proffered gift. If, after offering⁶ a boon, you then regret it, I'll go and tell men that you do not give what you have offered."

The king said:

"No, brāhman, I do not repent. So be satisfied again. All these women, with Alindā, shall wait on you.

"But I give you this low-caste hunchbacked woman for

¹ *Tameva bhuñjāhi*. It would seem better to read *tām*—, "her", and make the allusion to be to another hunchbacked woman whom the king, in the other version, had offered the brāhman, and part of whose reply is given in the verses immediately preceding, tacked on to the words of another hunchbacked woman.

² *Kāhisi*, fut. of *kṛi*.

³ The hunchback first mentioned, whose duty this was.

⁴ *Gūhasi*. See Vol. 2, p. 380 n. 1. Cf. B.H.S.D.

⁵ Another attendant of the queen's, who had this as her task.

⁶ *Pravārayati*, BSk., Pali *pavāreti*.

you to make love to. Or let her be your servant. Take her wherever you wish."

The hunchbacked woman said:

"I'll kill myself by eating poison if my lord gives me to him. Or I'll secretly kill this bent and aged man."

The brāhman said:

"I'll be at enmity with all hunchbacked women that cumber the earth, just because this low-caste hunchback wishes to kill me."

(5) The king said:

"We here, O brāhman, are just towards all living beings. Do not then go on reproaching and upbraiding me.

"O brāhman, an old man as good as dead, a decrepit man, though he wear the garb of a teacher—these are as disgusting to the world as an angry black snake."

The brāhman said:

"It is not fitting,¹ O Ikṣvāku, that I do not get this boon, for, after offering me the choice of a woman you repent of your offer.

"I'll go and tell people that you are a king who makes offers and then repents of them, a king who offered me the choice of a woman and then broke his promise."²

The king said:

"No, brāhman, I do not go back on my promise. So, pray,³ be a young man again. All these women, with Alindā, shall wait upon you."⁴

¹ *Āsāmprataṃ na*. This compound of *sāmprata* does not seem to be met with elsewhere, but the sense of the simple form is suitable here, "It is not fitting that we (I) do not get the boon" *āsāmprataṃ na . . . yaṃ vāyam no labhāmātha*. Possibly, however, we should read *āsāprāptā na*, 'we have not obtained our hope in that' (*yaṃ*). The verb *labhāmātha* has the anomalous ending *tha* added to the 1st pl. ending *-ma*. It is noteworthy that so many of the *Mhvu.* examples of this anomaly should be found bunched together in this metrical version of the Kuśa story, the others being *ramāmātha* (p. 6), *labhāmātha* and *āsāmātha* (p. 9), *jivāmātha* and *bhavāmātha* (p. 11) and *anupaśyemātha* (p. 23). For a discussion of this form see Edgerton, *Gram.* § 26.8-10.

² *Mithyākaroṣi yācanām*, see Vol. 2, p. 381 n. 2.

³ No, ethic dative.

⁴ There is, of course, no hint here that the king knew that the aged appearance of the brāhman was a disguise. It is but an ironic comment on the disparity of ages between him and Alindā.

"Take your joy with her, good brāhman, as much as you wish. Spread your couch and lie on it, she will be at your service."

The brāhman took by the hand the weeping and sobbing lady with the fine hips and slender waist, and went away from the king's doors. And when they had left the royal precincts he built a hut in an enclosure.

(6) Śakra said:

"Clothe yourself in fine array, lady, come, let us take our joy. Turn your face to me and gratify me; do not turn your face away. Gratify me with passion. For if I am gratified it will mean a boon for you.

"Gratify me smilingly; for if I am gratified it will mean a boon for you. Come, lady, gratify me; for if I am gratified it will mean a boon for you.

"Bestir yourself and be not weary, Alindā; thus shall I be honoured. And when you go to the king you can bid him to be glad that I had my way."

Then Śakra doffed his disguise as a brāhman and stood up in his own form, illuminating all quarters with his radiance. When Alindā looked the change had taken place. She was offered a boon by Śakra. She chose the boon of a son, saying, "Give me the boon of a son."

Śakra said:

"I am Śakra, lord of the devas, sovereign of Trāyastriṃśa. Fair lady, choose a boon, whatever your heart is set on.

The queen replied:

"May Śakra, the sovereign of Trāyastriṃśa, grant me a boon. I beg the boon of a son. Grant me this boon, O Śakra."

Śakra said:

"If you, Alindā, had been well-disposed to me and had gratified me, the son you ask for would prove to be well-born, a joy to the realm.

"A son would be born¹ to you who would be strong as a lion, powerful, radiant with beauty, (7) a well-born son, a joy to the realm.

"But as it is,² he will be ugly, though worthy to sit on the throne.³ He will be wise and a vanquisher of other realms. His name will be Kuśa."

Sakra gave the queen a medicinal pill.⁴ "Grind this pill," said he, "and taste it on the tip of your tongue. Then you will have a son." The queen tied up the medicinal pill in a corner of her robe and came to the palace. And when she arrived she told the king all about it, saying, "It was Sakra, lord of the devas, in the disguise of a brāhman, who came here. I served him well, and he gave me this medicinal pill, telling me to grind it and taste it on the tip of my tongue, and then I should have a son."

The king said :

"You have a look of content and you regard me with a smile. Surely such a blissful mien betokens the greatest good fortune."

The queen said :

"Sire, Indra⁵ has given me a son, who will be powerful, worthy to sit on the throne,⁶ strong and a vanquisher of other realms."

¹ The text has *utpadyiṣyati*, fut., but the context requires that it be taken in a potential sense, analogous to *utpāde* in the preceding stanza. The anomaly can only be explained by the supposition that our text here is a bad adaptation of a version which did not fit in with the *Mhvu.* form of the story. Cf. following note.

² I.e., since you were not well-disposed. These words have to be inserted in the translation in order to make clear the difference between the handsome son, whom the queen missed through not being well-disposed, and the ugly son she actually got. This is clearly an adaptation of another version, as found in J.5. 281, where Sakra promises the queen two sons, the one wise but ugly, the other handsome but a fool.

³ Reading *simhāsaptiṭha*, "whose seat is a throne," for *simhāsuptiṭa* of the text. Cf. Vol. 2, p. 384, n. 2. The MSS. both here and below have the variant *suptiṭha*. Senart is forced to render the text doubtfully "assez fort pour étrangler un lion." Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*) cannot say more than that the meaning must be "strong or the like."

⁴ *Guḍikā*, Sk. *guḍikā*, Pali *gulikā*.

⁵ I.e., Sakra.

⁶ See n. above.

The king in anger¹ said :

"Take her by the throat, put her away, you subjects of mine, for she has scorned my command. I have no wish to see her."

He then broke up the pill and distributed it among those four hundred and ninety-nine queens,² and said, "She shall not have any of it, because her son would be ugly."

Alindā asked where the pill had been ground. They said to her, "On the millstone³ yonder." Then she wetted the stone with water, and tasted a tiny portion of the pill (8) on a blade of kuśa grass. Thus all the five hundred queens conceived, and after an interval of nine or ten months they were delivered and five hundred young princes were born.

When Ikṣvāku passed away Kuśa succeeded to the throne. Then Kuśa spoke to his mother and his counsellors, saying, "Bring me a wife to be my chief queen." His mother said to him, "Who will give you, ugly as you are, a beautiful wife? I will get you an ugly wife."

[Kuśa said :]

"Mother, if you bring me an ugly wife,⁴ I tell you I will not touch her even with my hand.

"Mother, if you bring me an ugly wife, I tell you I will not touch her even with my foot."

Alindā said :

"My son, pleasant is the dwelling together of two whose features are like. When both have a like appearance one does not reproach the other.

¹ The anger of the king is inexplicable in the present context, for he had not been told (as he was in the version in Vol. 2), that the queen's son was destined to be ugly, which would be a proof that she had not succeeded in winning Sakra's favour.

² See Vol. 2, but not mentioned before in this version.

³ Text has *niṣidāyām* from *niṣidā* (?sic) for *niṣadā*, Pali = Sk. *dṛiṣad*. Cf. Vol. 2, p. 385 n. 3. See also *B.H.S.D.*

⁴ *Bhāryāram*, acc. sg. of *bhāryā*. On the earlier occurrences of this form in the MSS., Vol. 1, pp. 129, 233, 234, Senart has invariably emended it into *bhāryām*. Here, however, and on the next page, he has retained it, and when it occurs again at p. 295 he comments in a note that he should have retained it throughout, though he cannot account for this "bizarre" form. Now, the explanation offered by Edgerton, *Gram.* § 9.25, can be adduced, namely that "it is clearly an analogical creation, using the *r*-stem ending of *bhāryā*, 'husband', acc. sg. *bhāryāram*, and of *svasṛi*, 'sister' acc. sg. *svasāram*."

"A beautiful woman scorns a mate whom she sees to be ugly. It is better for you, my son, to have an ugly wife since you are ugly yourself."

The king replied :

"I have never heard nor seen that kings are unfortunate, or that a prince amuses¹ himself with ugly women.

"I am a king, noble, triumphant, mighty, wealthy, and powerful. I say this because women are fond of substantial things.

"Beautifully arrayed women are brought from other kingdoms, who have been purchased with wealth and whose fathers' homes are far away.

(9) "So bring me as wife the daughter of the king of the Mādrakas² who is named Prajāpati,³ and who is accomplished and perfect in all good conduct."

Her mother-in-law⁴ told the girl, "It is our rule in Ikṣvāku's court that a wife may not see her husband until after twelve years." And so no lights burned in their bed-chamber.

Sudarśanā said to King Kuśa :

"This royal palace is rich, an unfailing mine of precious stones. And yet we get no light either by night or day.

"Neither by night nor by day do we see each other, but we sit unseen by, and hidden from, each other.

"Here we⁵ dwell in the thick and blinding darkness. Meseems, this is a union of the blind."

The king said :

"I do not know the reason for it nor why it should be so. Go to my mother and ask her. She will explain it to you."

¹ Reading *paricāreti* (Pali = BSk. *paricārayati*) for *pravicāreti*.

² See Vol. 2, p. 393, n. 5.

³ Called Sudarśanā below, as also in the version in Vol. 2. In the Pali J. she is named Pabhāvatī.

⁴ The story of how Prajāpati was brought to Benares, and how she and Kuśa did not see each other by day because of the latter's ugliness, is left out here. See the version in Vol. 2. Literally here "the girl was spoken to by her mother-in-law," *kanyā śvaśrūya ukṛā*, where *śvaśrūya* is oblique (instr.) case of *śvaśrū*.

⁵ *Mo*, here obviously 1st pers. pl., and so in first line on next page. See Vol. 2, p. 51, n. 1. Cf. Edgerton, *Gram.* § 20.40.

And she, when the night was passing into day, bowed at her mother-in-law's feet and said to her :

"This royal palace is rich, an unfailing mine of precious stones. And yet we get no light by night or by day.

"Neither by night nor by day do we see each other. We sit here unseen by, and hidden from, each other.

(10) "Here we dwell in the thick, blinding darkness. Meseems this is a union of the blind."

Her mother-in-law said to her :

"When I shall see a twelve-year old son of yours, Prajāpati, then shall you see each other. Such was my prayer to the devas."

Sudarśanā replied :

"Evil was the prayer you made to the devas, madam, that we should not see our union for such a long time."

A vehement desire to see her husband came over the queen, and she appealed to her mother-in-law. Her mother-in-law answered her, saying, "My daughter, to-morrow the king is showing himself to the people. Look on him then."¹

Alindā dressed up Kuśadrūma² like the king and made him sit on the throne. Kuśa himself held the sunshade, while the princes, counsellors, townspeople and countrymen took their respective seats. When Sudarśanā saw the king and the whole assembly, she rejoiced. But when she saw the sunshade-bearer, the sight repelled her. Sudarśanā said to her mother-in-law,³ "The king is splendid, the princes are splendid, the whole assembly is splendid, but the sunshade-bearer is a repulsive sight. The glory of this royal assembly is marred by him. If this sunshade-bearer were not in view, this royal

¹ The text here is *śuve te darśanam dattam paśyāhi*, "a view has been granted you to-morrow. See him (then)." This, however, looks like a careless repetition of the text in Vol. 2, p. 446, *śuve te rājānam kuśam darśayisyāmi . . . janasya darśanam ca dattam*, "I will show King Kuśa to-morrow, for a view of him has been granted to the people." There, is, therefore, no place for *te* in our text, and it seems to be a needless conjecture of Senart's for *nam*, "him", of the MSS., i.e. (though the order of words is strange), "see him to-morrow, a view has been granted (to the people)."

² Kuśa's brother. See Vol. 2.

³ *Śvaśrūyam*. For this form of the acc. of *śvaśrū*, see Edgerton, *Gram.* § 12.21.

assembly would be splendid." Her mother-in-law replied, "My daughter, do not speak so, for you do not know the high-mindedness of this sunshade-bearer. He is high-minded, (11) strong, virtuous and wealthy, and it is through his might that we all enjoy prosperity."

Then Sudarśanā as she lay in bed said to the king:

"Could you not now, my lord, find in all the world some other man to be your sunshade-bearer? So shameless and insolent¹ is this one that you have."

The king said:

"Fair lady, what matters his outward form? He is powerful, and he pleases me because I have regard to his power.²

"Fair lady, what matters his outward form? He is wealthy, and he pleases me because I have regard to his wealth.

"Fair lady, what matters his outward form? He is courageous, and he pleases me because I have regard to his courage.

"Fair lady, what matters his outward form? He is virtuous, and he pleases me because I have regard to his virtue.

"Fair lady, what matters his outward form? His voice is loud.³ It is through his power that we all live.

"He is my good friend, an esteemed comrade, and as dear as life to me. If I lost him, neither you nor I could live."

Now it happened that the queen and all the women of the court went out to see the lotus pool. The king in simple garb⁴

¹ *Anotrapa*. See Vol. 1, p. 87, n. 1.

² Literally, "because I consider that he is powerful," *mahābala ti kṛtvāna*.

³ *Mahāsvara*, unless we should read *maheśvara*, "a great lord". The latter would fit in better with the next sentence.

⁴ *Prakṛityaiva*, see Vol. 2, p. 448, ff. where he had been advised by his mother so to dress and disguise himself and sit down in the pool. Edgerton (B.H.S.D. s.v. *pratikṛitya*) would read *pratikṛityaiva(m)*, "in advance", in all these passages. As he points out this is actually the reading of the MSS. at 2. 448, 449, and 3. 11, 12. If he is right, allusion to a disguise is made only at 2. 449 and 451, in the words *prākṛitakena veṣeṇa* "in simple garb". In the other passages Kuśa is merely bidden to be at the various places "in advance" of Sudarśanā. This, however, seems to detract from the drama of the story.

had gone down into the pool and was sitting there. When the queen went down into the pool, he seized her, and she thought (12) that she had been seized by a water-demon.¹ The women released her by throwing showers of blossoms² at the king.

The king said³:

"You went, O queen, to the park to look at the lotus-pool. But you have brought me no lotuses, and so, my dear, you do not love me."

The queen replied:

"Yes, my lord, I did go to the park to bathe in the lotus pool. But I saw a demon there and I collapsed in a sudden swoon.

"Now he who holds your sunshade and he who was there in the lotus grove were, I should think, born of the same⁴ woman. For their features were alike."

On another occasion the queen, with the women of the court, went out to see the mango grove. Now the king, in simple garb, had also gone to the mango grove and was standing there. As the queen was strolling about she was seized by him. The queen thought that she had been seized by a demon of the forest.⁵ The women released her by throwing showers of blossoms⁶ at the king.

In the bed-chamber (that night) the king said to the queen:

"You went, O queen, to see the flourishing mango grove. But you have brought me no mangoes, and so, my dear, you do not love me."

The queen replied:

"Yes, my lord, I did go to see the flourishing mango

¹ *Uḍakarākṣa*.

² Literally "by means of showers of blossoms", reading *puṣpavṛṣṭi* for *puṣpavṛṣṭi pi* of the text. Cf. the episode in Vol. 2, p. 452 (text) where the women strewed the king with "handfuls of flowers," *puṣpamuṣṭi*. Perhaps, *muṣṭi* is the right reading here too.

³ I.e., that night, after Alindā had come home.

⁴ Literally, "one", *ekina*, instr. of *eka*. See Edgerton (*Gram.* §21. 14), who, however, does not admit that the form can be fern., and he translates "begotten by one (man) from a woman", *ekina striyo* (so read for *striya* of Senart's text) *jātā*.

⁵ *Vanarākṣa*.

⁶ Reading *puṣpavṛṣṭi* for *puṣpavṛṣṭi pi*. See n 2.

grove. But I saw a demon¹ there and I collapsed in a sudden swoon.

(13) "Now he who holds your sunshade, he who was in the lotus grove and he who was in the mango grove, were, I should think, born of the same woman."

Once the elephant stable was on fire. The king girded up his loins and rescued the elephants. With a knife he cut their halters and then threw the roof down.²

The king, having the power of Nārāyaṇa,³ in his strength seized the burning⁴ elephants and threw them out and rescued them from the blaze.⁵

The women of the court sang the praises of the king. "Behold," said they, "the prowess of the king." A certain hunchbacked woman also sang the praises of the king, saying :

"He who sits on the throne⁶ is strong, splendid, resourceful and great. Like the moon in the sky he illumines all around him.

"With the red eyes of a partridge he is resplendent like Kāmadeva. The valiant, strength-endued king has rescued the elephants."

The king said :

"This hunchback who praises the king is a good dame. I will give you four garments of Benares cloth."

The daughter of the king of the Madrakas was pained

¹ Piśāca.

² I.e., in order to get the elephants out. In the fuller version in Vol. 2 (p. 458, text), he threw away the sides of the building also.

³ Nārāyaṇasanghaṭṭano. For Nārāyaṇa, see Vol. 2, p. 287, n. 4, but here he is alluded to in virtue of his mythical or proverbial strength. Sanghaṭṭano would seem to have some relation to sanghāta in the Pali expression Nārāyaṇasanghātabala, "the name given to a certain measure of physical strength" (D.P.N.). It is now seen that Edgerton, B.H.S.D., takes it as a synonym of sthāman "strength", comparing LV. 229 where, he says Mahānārāyaṇa-sanghaṭṭakāni should be read, with LV. 234, Nārāyaṇasthāmavan. He adds that the Tibetan uses the word for "hardness", "firmness" to render sanghaṭṭanaka. See also B.H.S.D. s.v. Nārāyaṇa.

⁴ Reading diptakāṃ for diptakā.

⁵ Reading dāghānmokṣitāṃ for hastānmokṣitā. Cf. Vol. 2, p. 458 agni-dāghāto mocitā. In this passage both mocita and mokṣita are indifferently used.

⁶ Reading simhāsaptiṭha, with two MSS., for simhāsuptiḍa of the text. Cf. p. 6, n. 3.

when she saw the king, and grieved that such a man as this should be her husband.

(14) The daughter of the king of the Madrakas said :

"Will no one cut off with a sharp knife the tongue of this chattering hunchbacked woman who praises the king?"

The hunchbacked woman said :

"Kings can hold out the threat of prison or of death. So I tell his praises to safeguard my life."

The queen¹ said :

"I do not see, nor shall I see, what good there is for me in life. I shall go away this very day ere the breath of life deserts me."

And the angry queen, daughter of the king of the Madrakas, accompanied by a hunchbacked woman, rode away in a carriage to the home of her kinsfolk.

Kuśa's mother, in sorrow for her son, collapsed to the ground like the broken stalk of a palm-tree.

Like a stalk of the sāl² tree cut off by an axe, she fell to the ground overcome by sorrow for her son.

The king, unhappy and grieving after his wife, decided to go in search of her. His unhappy mother spoke to King Kuśa in verse :

"Behold the harm I have done through my ill-luck. For it was I who sought after her ;³ she is a king's daughter, and she came here from five hundred yojanas away.

¹ I.e., Sudarśanā.

² See Vol. 1, p. 54, n. 2.

³ Senart's restoration of the text here cannot be right. As he gives it, it reads aho mama mandabhāgyāye artho paryāhrito kule, which could only mean, "behold the good of unlucky me which has been inflicted on the family." The corresponding passage in Vol. 2 (p. 460) has aho mandabhāgyāye anartham. Two MSS. here, too, have anartho (masc. or nom. for neut. or acc.). Paryāhrito, though it is the reading of one MS, can only stand if it is given the very doubtful sense of "inflicted". It seems better to substitute paryeṣitā, the word which begins the sentence following the expression just quoted from Vol. 2. Kule is Senart's conjecture for kalī or kalīm of the MSS. But the latter is for kali, "ill-luck", and is clearly a gloss, explanatory of mandabhāgyā, which has found its way into the text to the exclusion of another word, probably mayā. The restoration suggested, and followed in the translation, is, therefore, aho mama mandabhāgyāye (a)nartho paryeṣitā mayā (paryeṣitā fem. in agreement with sā implied), or, alternatively, paryeṣito agreeing with anartho, "a profitless thing did I seek."

"There the country people feed on barley meal and are always clothed in blankets. Coarse is their food and coarse their behaviour. How will you fare on your way?"

(15) The king replied:

"By dance and song and music and play, or by a hundred tricks of jugglery, by these various means I'll win me a livelihood."

The king established his brother Kuśadruma on the throne and said to his counsellors,

"After I have saluted my mother and respectfully taken leave of her I shall take my lute and set out for the north."

He came to a house in a certain village in the land of the Madrakas, where an old woman gave him lodging.¹ On that day he was welcomed in the village because of his playing on the lute. He was given plenty of solid and soft food, a large milk-bowl² of solid food, a large water-jug³ of soft food, together with a pot of curds and various condiments. The old woman thought to herself: "He will have one meal here, and in the morning he will go away, so that there will be enough food for me for two months." But King Kuśa, chatting the while with the old woman, ate the food in the milk-bowl in one or two mouthfuls.⁴ And the large jug-full of gruel which was enough for eight or nine meals of rice-gruel⁵ was all eaten, as well as the condiments and the dish of curds.

The old woman lost all hope, and she cried out:

"Help! help!⁶ Come in. A destructive demon⁷ in human form is within my house and is going to eat me up."

¹ *Pratiśaya*, which, as Senart says, is for *pratiśraya*. So also B.H.S.D.

² *Gopīṣaka*, see Vol. 2, p. 412, n. 1. "A receptacle for solid food" (B.H.S.D.).

³ *Alindā*, cf. *alinda*, Vol. 2, p. 412, n. 2. "A receptacle for soft food." (B.H.S.D., where Edgerton cites the AMg. *alinda*).

⁴ *Ekaḍukāye* = *ekadvikāye*.

⁵ Literally, "was the cooking of eight or nine rice-gruels," *aṣṭānām vā navānām vā tanḍula-odanānām pāko*.

⁶ *Avidha*, *avidha*. See Vol. 1, p. 251, n. 2.

⁷ *Piśāca*.

Kuśa said:

"All can live in the village, even those who are ugly. Mother,¹ I'll stay here one night, and to-morrow I'll go."

(16) After staying there one night he went on to Kanyakubja² where he joined³ a master garland-maker. When he had become a skilled craftsman he went to the king's kitchen.

The king, too, was pleased and so on up to⁴ he was dear to the king. The women introduced him into the harem, saying, "he will become our plaything." The women of the harem and the other daughters of King Mahendraṅka rode on his back. But Sudarśanā avoided him and refused⁵ to be carried by him.

[Sudarśanā said:]

"Now what am I to do, or why should I be blamed?⁶ He frightens me when he looks at me, as though he were a demon⁷ of the sea.

"What am I to do, or why should I be blamed? I fear him when he looks at me, as a straying deer fears the huntsman.

"Without sustenance⁸ as you are, return and hurry night and day along the way you came. Go, Kuśa, to your own kingdom. I have no wish for an ugly man."

¹ *Ambikā*.

² The home of Sudarśanā. See Vol. 2, p. 393, n. 3.

³ *Alīna*. See Vol. 2, p. 45, n. 1.

⁴ Literally, "quoting here as far as he was dear to the king, *yāvad rājño priyo ti kṛtvā*. I.e., the story is abbreviated because it has already been told in Vol. 2. Edgerton, *Gram.* §35. 17, seems to have mistaken the force of *yāvad* here. He takes it as an adverbial conjunction, "until", introducing the main verb *bhaviṣyati*, "until he became (lit. should become) the plaything". But the words *rājño priyo ti kṛtvā* cannot be fitted into this rendering, which, accordingly, is not consonant with the context.

⁵ Literally "was not pleased by him carrying her," *tena vāhiyamānena asātā* (Pali = Sk. *aśātā*).

⁶ *Garahāmyaham*. See Vol. 2, p. 427, n. 5.

⁷ *Rākṣasa*.

⁸ *Anūrjaka*, from *ūrj*, "food," "vigour," etc. The parallel passage in J. (5. 293) has *anujja-bhūtena*. *Anujja* there, however, is taken both by the ancient commentator and the modern translator as being for *an-ujju*, "not upright," "not fair," (i.e. with *citta* understood), a sense which is not appropriate to the *Mhvu.* text. But it would not be impossible, in spite of what the commentator says, to take the *anujju* (v.l. *anujja*) of J. as being from *an-ūri* (not *an-ujju* = *riju*), and so render the line *anujja-bhūtena* (for *anujju*)² *haram mahantam* by "the burden is too great for one who is without sustenance." It might be argued, indeed, that this gives better sense than "it is not right that you should bear this burden." (J. trans.).

The king said :

"You love me well, O dark lady of the fine hips and slender waist, and because of my love for you I shall not yearn for my great kingdom.

"I will not go away, O deep-bosomed lady, though I know¹ what land I came from. I roam the world like one distraught. I am mad with love, O lady of the fawn-like gentle eyes."

[The queen said:]

"You are out of your mind, since you desire one who does not desire you. O king, you are in love with one who loves you not. That is not the mark of a wise man."

(17) Kuśa said :

"When a man wins the lady dear to him, whether she loves him or loves him not, men acclaim his success. He who fails is a sorry fellow."²

The queen said :

"You can gratify even a thousand women in one night, but in loving one woman only you incur great misery."

The king said :

"I know none of that misery. O glorious, lovely lady, in chaste living accomplished, you will be my wife."

The queen said :

"Talk not of my chastity ; let wicked suffering³ be yours. You will make love elsewhere to a lioness or a jackal."

Kuśa said :

"Talk not so,⁴ O lady of the fine hips and slender waist. Even recluses, I see,⁵ win bright renown by their chaste living.

¹ Omitting *na*, as in Vol. 2, p. 481 (text). See Vol. 2, p. 428, n. 2.

² Cf. J. 5. 295.

³ *Aghaṃ te bhotu pāpakam*. For *agham*, see Vol. 1, p. 35, n. 1. But the corresponding passage in Vol. 2, p. 482 (text) has *ayam te bhavatu* (for *bhavati* ?) *pāpakam*. "this (chastity) is worth nothing to you."

⁴ *Mā avaca*, where *avaca* is aor. 2 sg. of *vacati*. For the form, which can also be used as 3 sg., see Edgerton, *Gram.* §32. 113. The use of the augmented aor. with *mā* is, of course, anomalous, though often found in our text.

⁵ *Me*, ethic dat. Cf. the pl. *vayam* (oblique case) in the corresponding stanza in Vol. 2, p. 482 (text). See Vol. 2, p. 429, n. 1.

"For, lady, they shine in this world by virtue of their well-spent lives, and are reborn in heaven, in Tridaśa,¹ where they enjoy the pleasures of sense."

"This I tell you, O lady of the fine hips and slender waist —no other man is your lord save Kuśa of the lion-voice."

The queen said :

"If what the prophets say be true, you can cut me in seven pieces ere I become your wife."²

(18) The king said :

"I have no wish to cut you up, O lady of the fine hips and slender waist. Whole as you are will you become my wife.

"A great realm is mine, rich in horses and in men, where gifts are endless and clothing and food are abundant.

"Yet here am I now come having abandoned³ throne and realm. Because of my love for you I care not for all that kingdom."

The queen said :

"You might as well dig a hole in the rock with the wood of the *karnikāra* tree,⁴ or catch the wind in a net, as desire one who does not desire you.

"Why do you love unloved ? . . .⁵ Go back to your kingdom, Kuśa. Why do you weary yourself ?"

The king said :

"This is no weariness for me, it is but living a chaste life. Somewhere or other, fair lady, you will be my wife."

The queen said :

"Let this chaste life of yours be regarded as worthless. Somewhere else you will woo a lioness or a jackal, or even an ass."

¹ See Vol. 1, p. 124, n. 2.

² See Vol. 2, p. 429, n. 3.

³ *Chorayitvā*. See Vol. 2, p. 429, n. 4. For the various BSk. senses of this verb see B.H.S.D.

⁴ Reading *karnikārasya daruṇā* for *karnikāreṇa karnikām*. See Vol. 2, p. 430, n. 1.

⁵ Lacuna.

Then Kuśa, the son of a king, heroic, invincible in combat, this Kuśa who was noble and wise,¹ spoke these words.

(19) "If I go away, O lady of the fine hips and slender waist, I will first bind you with fetters. What would your people do then?"

The queen said:

"You must not sin against the dharma² which you once upheld. Bearing that dharma in mind will you wish to bind me?"

The king said:

"I have the power, sovereign lady,³ to bind you and make you go wher'er I will. What can your father do?

"I can if I like gratify a thousand women in one night. But you are my choice, O sovereign lady of the gleaming teeth."

The queen said:

"I know, your majesty, that you are strong and valiant. But you are ugly and hideous too. You are repulsive, though you are a mighty lord.

"You are thick-lipped, thick-headed, fat and pot-bellied. I have no wish to see you. So do not weary yourself.

"These high walls,⁴ these lofty towers and copings, and these warriors on elephants⁵ will stop you.

"These fight with swords, axes, arrows and well-sharpened knives, and they shall seize you,⁶ O king."

(20) Then King Mahendrakā reproached his daughter,⁷

¹ *Ārūḍhaprajñā*. See Vol. 2, p. 430, n. 2.

² Reading *taṃ na dharmam aparādhyam* for *taṃ eva*, etc. Cf. Vol. 2, p. 430, n. 3.

³ Or, 'O Prajāpati.'

⁴ The text introduces this stanza with the words *devī āha*, "the queen said," but they are omitted as unnecessary in translation; for the queen was already speaking.

⁵ Reading the pl. *ye vā vahanti*, as in Vol. 2, p. 484 (text) for the sg. *yo vā vahati*.

⁶ Reading *labheyu*, as in Vol. 2, p. 484 (text) for *labheyam*. Senart is not correct in assigning these words to Kuśa, and *prajāpati* here does not refer to Sudarśanā, but is an honorific title for the king.

⁷ A reference to Vol. 2 will show how much of the story has been omitted here.

saying, "Why did you come here abandoning¹ such a king of whom rival kings are afraid? Here am I besieged by seven kings because of you. And now I will cut you up into seven pieces and give a piece to each of the seven kings."

Then the king's daughter, frightened, sobbing and weeping, with the tears filling her eyes, spoke these words:

"If, mother,² these nobles from afar slay me, then collect my bones and burn them.

"And when you have burnt them, erect a shrine.³ And when you have erected the shrine you will plant there a *karnikāra* tree.

"Then when it breaks out into blossom in the spring, when winter is gone, you will remember⁴ me, my mother, and say 'such beauty was my daughter's'."

Sudarśanā then stood up and said, "Kuśa is a king's son, skilled in battle, and noble and wise, and I must acquaint him with the situation⁵

"When he has given battle to these kings, bound them and cut them to pieces, then there will be peace."

(21) Then she, the noble and glorious lady, trembling in all her frame, thus spoke to the king's son:

"I truly admit it to you, O mighty prince and lord of men, if I at any time did give you offence.⁶

Kuśa said:

"I, too, admit it to you, O sovereign lady with the gleaming

¹ Reading *chorayitvā* (see Vol. 2, p. 429, n. 4.) for *choḍitvā*. One MS. has *choḍayitvā*.

² Reading *ambe* for *amba*, for these words are addressed to her mother, not to her father. Cf. the version in Vol. 2, p. 486 (text). And so, too, *ambe* is found in the next stanza but one.

³ *Elūka*. See Vol. 2, p. 432, n. 3. Now see B.H.S.D.

⁴ *Smareyāsi*. Opt. 2 sg. See Edgerton, *Gram.* § 29. 37.

⁵ Literally, "he is to be acquainted," *samādāpya*, so interpreted by Senart, but the text of the whole passage is doubtful. Perhaps, the more usual sense, "he is to be incited," is better.

⁶ Reading *aparādhyam ācareyam* for *aparādhye ācare va*, and *kadācid* for *kocid*. Senart admits that the text of the second line as printed is wholly unintelligible, not so much in itself but in view of the repetition immediately below. But the emendation proposed here would seem to give some semblance of coherence to the context, especially as it makes it fit in with the sense of the next stanza, where Kuśa takes up the words of Sudarśanā and applies them to his own case. It is just this repetition of the phraseology in Kuśa's reply that makes Senart so doubtful of the text of this line and of his rendering of it, "si quelqu'un lui faisait tort, le roi (son père) ne manquait pas d'intervenir."

teeth, if I at any time did give you still greater offence.¹

Then Prajāpati's mother, sobbing and weeping, with her eyes full of tears spoke these words:

"Is he a musician, or trader, or a pukkaśa?² In what royal court was he born? What is his especial skill?"³

Sudarśanā replied to her mother:

"He is no musician, nor a caṇḍāla,⁴ nor yet a pukkaśa. He is the son of King Ikṣvāku, and you think that he is a slave.

"Rich is this nobleman's court, full of the cries of peacock and curlew accompanied by the strains of music, and you think that he is a slave.

"Rich is this nobleman's court, gleaming white as a shell, the resort of throngs of women, and you think that he is a slave.

"Rich is this nobleman's court, furnished with vessels of gold and teeming with women, and you think that he is a slave.

(22) "He has sixty thousand cities, his kingdom is prosperous and peaceful. Rich is this nobleman's court, and you think that he is a slave.

"He has sixty thousand elephants arrayed in trappings and housings of gold. With their long tusks, these mighty beasts issue forth,

"Ridden by village chiefs who are armed with swords and lances. Rich is this nobleman's court, and you think that he is a slave.

"He has sixty thousand chariots, moving with a merry sound, decorated, with well-fastened felines of iron, and covered with leopard's skin;

"They are ridden by village chiefs armed with bows and clothed in armour. Rich is this nobleman's court, and you think that he is a slave.

¹ Supplying *aparādhyam*, of which there is a reminiscence in some of the MSS., with *ācareyam*.

² "Epithet of a degraded mixed caste . . . the offspring of a Ni-shāda by a Sūdra female." (M.W.)

³ *Kim (a)sya kurvantato mukham*. Cf. *kṛitamukha*, "skilled".

⁴ "The generic name for a man of the lowest and most despised of the mixed tribes, born from a Sūdra father and Brāhman mother." (M.W.)

"He has sixty thousand horses, the best of thoroughbred steeds, with girths of gold and bejewelled bits,

"Ridden by village chiefs with whips in their hands and clothed in armour. Rich is this nobleman's court, and you think that he is a slave.

"Twenty thousand brāhmanas always eat at the king's table, and day and night they are ever honoured and esteemed. Rich is this nobleman's court, and you think that he is a slave.

"Five hundred princes, who have a mother and a father,¹ dwell there. Rich is this nobleman's court, and you think that he is a slave."

Then the king heard from the queen that their son-in-law had come, and that he was in the women's apartment. He was alarmed, since the kings were a menace without, and now there was this menace within. For he wondered what Kuśa would do.

(23) [To the queen he said:]

"Why do you talk so, like one mad and demented? What is Kuśa like? Why should I not² have a look at him?"

The queen said:

"My lord, he who is within the house is a king's son. He has left his own home and come hither."

When the king heard these words he was alarmed and disturbed in mind. Then quite³ pleasantly and agreeably he respectfully saluted Kuśa, and said to him:

"Forgive us, your majesty, forgive us, valiant man. We did not know, O lion-voiced one, that you had come hither.

"Forgive us, your majesty, forgive us, valiant man. We did not know, O lion-voiced one, that you had come hither.

"Forgive us, your majesty, forgive us, great warrior. We did not know, O sweet-voiced one, that you had come hither."

¹ I.e., were legitimate.

² The text has *kasmādanupaśyematha*. The need to insert *na*, "not," is obvious, unless we read for *kasmād*, "why," *tasmād*, "therefore," and render "therefore let us have a look." For the suffix *-tha*, see p. 4, n. 1.

³ *Ekāṃsa*. Cf. Pali *ekāṃsa*.

Then the king again reproached his daughter, saying, "My son-in-law has been here a long time, but you did not tell me."

Kuśa was immediately anointed with oil worth a hundred pieces and with oil worth a thousand pieces.¹ He was bathed, rubbed with royal ointments, clothed in royal raiment, crowned with a diadem of pearls, and entertained² with music on the five musical instruments.³

Kuśa said to his father-in-law:

"Let the ears of all the elephants and horses you have be stopped,⁴ lest your own army be shattered⁵ when it hears my lion-roar.

"Quickly yoke the horses, with golden pennons flying."
(24) And, followed by King Mahendraka, he went out of the palace.

The hero, the lord of battle, roared his lion-roar, and when he had done so, the nobles were captured

He took these seven nobles prisoner and brought them to his father-in-law. And those kings said, "What do we do?" Kuśa replied, "Go to my father-in-law, fall at his⁶ feet and hail⁷ him." They therefore fell at the feet of King Mahendraka and hailed him as victor. The king of the Madrakas said, "What do I do?" Kuśa replied, "You will do as I bid you." His father-in-law said, "I will do so."

[Kuśa said] "You have (seven) daughters, dower them with a thousand pieces of gold⁸ and give a daughter to each king. Let these be your sons-in-law. Then you will live in comfort and without fear." And King Mahendraka dowered his daughters with a thousand pieces of gold and gave them to the kings. By this alliance made with gold he secured

¹ *Satapāka* and *sahasrapāka*. See Vol. 2, p. 435, n. 1.

² *Upasthihiyati*, a hybrid pass. form. Cf. Pali *upaṭṭhiyati* and *upaṭṭhaṭhiyati*.
³ See Vol. 1, p. 135, n. 2.

⁴ Vol. 2, p. 489 says "with wax," *madhusikthakena*.

⁵ *Bhajiṣyati*, fut-pass. of *bhañj*. Vol. 2, p. 289 has *bhajiṣyati*, and in both instances one MS. reads *bhañjiṣyati*.

⁶ Text has *pādehi* only (instr. for loc., as often in BSk.), "at (his) feet." This can hardly be taken with the verb *alliyatha* "resort with your feet," for in the next sentence we have *pādehi* . . . *rājño abhigatā*, "when they were come (and fallen) at the king's feet."

⁷ *Vṛiddhim karoṭha*. In the next line we have the form *vuddhi*.

⁸ *Suvarṇasahasramāṇḍitām kṛtvā*. Cf. Vol. 2, p. 436, n. 1.

sons and grandsons.¹ Then they left for their own kingdoms.

When the seven kings had gone Kuśa addressed his father-in-law, saying, "I, too, will go away." The king of the Madrakas said, "Sudarśanā, my daughter, this courageous king, who is heroic and far-seeing, a son of Ikṣvāku, mighty and well-born, is worthy of your affectionate and reverent service. For but now have I, my retinue and all my country been rescued by him from danger." "So be it," said his daughter in obedience to her father's words.

Then King Mahendraka out of his great regard for them gave his son-in-law² and daughter a rich gift of precious stones, and, providing them with an escort of an army of the four arms,³ he sent them on their way.

King Kuśa sojourned in a country that was to his liking.⁴ There he went down⁵ to a lotus-pond to bathe. (25) And as he bathed he saw his reflection. When he saw his ugly and repulsive reflection he was troubled in mind. "This then," said he, "is why the daughter of King Mahendraka despised me. I shall destroy myself." But Śakra, lord of the devas, observed⁶ that Kuśa, the Bodhisattva, was meaning to do away with himself because of his ugliness. He therefore gave him a single rope of pearls with the *jyotirasa* jewel in it,⁷ saying, "Tie this on you,⁸ then there will not be your equal for beauty in all Jambudvīpa.⁹ Whenever you wish to recover your former appearance, then hide¹⁰ this jewel with your hand."

¹ The Sanskrit is curiously succinct, *suvarṇasandhiva putrapautṛā*, "thus sons and grandsons were (the result of) the golden alliance." Cf. Vol. 2, p. 436, n. 2.

² *Jāmātuka*, Sk. *jāmātrika*, Pali *jāmātar*.

³ *Caturangabala*. See Vol. 2, p. 5, n. 6.

⁴ *Yatheccite janapade* for *yartheccite* (sic) *j.*° of the text.

⁵ *Okasta*. See Vol. 1, p. 188, n. 6.

⁶ *Samanvāhṛita*, BSk., Pali *samannāharati*.

⁷ The text has *jyotirasa-ekāvalikā* (so reading for °*valikā*) *maṇiratnam*. In the version in Vol. 2 (p. 492 text), when the *jyotirasa* is first mentioned it is described as being in the centre of the rope of pearls. When mentioned subsequently it is described as *ekāvalikā jyotirasamaṇiratnam*, where the two terms are in opposition, "a single rope of pearls (with) the *jyotirasa* jewel (in it)." See Vol. 2, p. 438, n. 2. Although the arrangement of the terms is different here, the present context and the sequel require the same rendering as that given in Vol. 2, p. 438.

⁸ "On your head", in Vol. 2.

⁹ See Vol. 1, p. 7, n. 2.

¹⁰ Literally, "you are to cover it," *pidhiyayāsi*, caus. to Sk. (a) *pidhā*, Pali pr. pass. *piṭhiyati*. It is now seen that Edgerton, *Gram.* §29. 37 prefers with one MS. the reading *piṭhiyeyāsi*, opt. 2 sg., a causative from a pass. stem, "you are to cause to be covered," *ibid.* §38. 12.

Then wearing this jewel Kuśa, divinely beautiful, came to the entrance to the royal quarters, but he was stopped¹ by the door-keeper from going in. He said, "I am Kuśa." The door-keeper replied, "It would be a good thing were Kuśa like you." King Kuśa then hid the jewel with his hand, and his complexion and form became again as they had been before. When the door-keeper saw this he fell on his face.

Kuśa then went in into the queen's presence. The queen said to him, "Do not trample on the palace floor. Why have you come in?" He said, "I am Kuśa." The queen said, "Would that King Kuśa had such beauty." The king then hid the jewel with his hand, and he appeared as he used to be. The queen said, "Take your hand away from the jewel." The king did so, and his appearance became celestial once more.

Kuśa explained, "I was intending to destroy myself, when Śakra gave me the jewel named *jyotirasa*."

When the four hundred and ninety-nine princes, the counsellors and the officers of the army heard that King Kuśa had come, they all rose up to meet him. They beheld King Kuśa mounted on a beautiful elephant, shining like the sun and coming with a large host of the four arms. But they did not recognise him. (26) When, however, the king hid the jewel with his hand, he appeared as he was before, and then they all fell down before him. And so in great pomp King Kuśa with Queen Sudarśanā entered the inner apartment.

Thus do the affairs of the virtuous man turn out well, as in the case of King Kuśa who was reunited with his wife and his kinsfolk.

The Exalted One, the Master, calling to mind a former abode and a former life, related this jāataka to his monks.

Telling² them what the skandhas, the dhātus, the āyatanas and the meaning of the ātman were, the Exalted One explained the matter thus :

¹ Reading *vārito* for *vāri* of the text.

² Literally, "These are the *skandhas*, etc." i.e., respectively, "sensory elements," "bodily or physical elements," "elements of sense perception," and "self" or "soul." The formula as here given differs slightly from its expression, elsewhere, e.g., Vol. 2, p. 93 (text), where, in the second line instead of *ātmano 'rīham ca*, "and the meaning of the *ātman*," we have *ātmānam adhiṣṭīya*, "with reference to the *ātman*."

"When of yore I abode in one of my recurrent lives which have no beginning or end,¹ then was I Kuśa and Yaśodharā was Sudarśanā.

Māyā was then my mother, Mahānāma² was Mahendrakā, and Māra was a certain king."

Thus, freed from fever, fear and grief, did he recount his birth to the monks, his former faring up and down without end and full of suffering.

The monks asked the Exalted One, "As a maturing of what karma was King Kuśa so ugly, hideous and repulsive?" The Exalted One replied :

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, in the city of Kampilla in the province of Pañcāla,³ there were a man and wife who were young and beautiful, and devoted to each other. He had provided a home which was worthy⁴ of such a wife and free from trouble.

(27) Now when Buddhas do not arise, Pratyekabuddhas⁵ arise in the world, who are splendid in their silence and (lonely) like a rhinoceros.⁶ They learn to tame and calm their own selves and then pass entirely away.

The wife had some food ready cooked. A Pratyekabuddha came in to ask for alms. He was young and handsome, and charming in deportment. Devas and men have faith in charming men, and when the wife saw the Pratyekabuddha she experienced a feeling of joy. She gave him a bowl-full of alms.

The master of the house came in and saw the Pratyekabuddha and the wife together in the house. His suspicions were aroused, because the mendicant was youthful, and so he feared that he had looked at his wife. He spoke roughly to his wife, saying, "Have you entertained this man before, as I see you are now giving him food?" She replied, "All evil in him has been quelled. He is a mendicant of great

¹ *Anavarāgra*. See Vol. 1, p. 29, n. 4.

² A Sākya king, son of Amṛitodana, elder brother of Anuruddha, and cousin of the Buddha. See Vol. 1, p. 298, and *D.P.N.*

³ For both names see Vol. 1, p. 235, n. 4.

⁴ Literally "like to," *sādyisa*.

⁵ See Vol. 1, p. 40, n. 3.

⁶ See Vol. 1, p. 250, n. 1.

gifts. To-day is the first time he has been in this house, and I gave him alms because of his charm."

Then the Pratyekabuddha, understanding the wicked thought that had occurred to the man, in the kindness of his heart flew out of the house and through the air like a king of swans. And when the man saw the Pratyekabuddha flying through the air, a serene faith arose in him that he was a seer of great parts. He asked pardon of his wife, and made a vow, saying, "In another life¹ you will be my wife, and in another realm you will be in the power of no other man; you will belong to none but me."

The Exalted One said, "It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion the man in the city of Kampilla who, because of jealousy of his wife and through his evil-mindedness, calumniated² the Pratyekabuddha, was somebody else. It was Kuśa who at that time and on that occasion was that man in the city of Kampilla. You may think that his wife was somebody else. But she was Sudarśanā, the daughter of King Mahendra. It was as the maturing of that karma, monks, that King Kuśa came to be ugly.

Here ends the Kuśa Jātaka.

THE JĀTAKA OF THE BULL

(28) The monks said to the Exalted One, "How, Lord, was it that wicked Māra followed closely on the heels³ of the Exalted One when he was living his austere life, desiring and seeking a chance to tempt⁴ him, but had to retire unsuccessful

¹ *Anye jāti*, where *anye* is for *anyasmim*, and *jāti* a stem form used as loc. So Senart. Edgerton, *Gram.* §10. 68, 69 adduces other examples of such a BSk. loc., but at §10. 189 he explains *jāti* as acc. pl. in an adverbial sense. The former explanation seems to be decidedly simpler.

² *Abhyācīkṣita*, Pali *abbhācikkhatti*. Cf. *ācīkṣati*, Vol. 1, p. 44 (text), where Senart says that the form is to be referred directly to the weakened stem *cikṣ*, Pali *cikk*, Māgadhi *cikhh*, and not to the Sk. *caḥs*. The Pali form, however, is to be regarded as an intensive derivation from *khyā* (see P.E.D.). See also B.H.S.D. s.v. *ācīkṣati*.

³ *Priṣṭhimena priṣṭhimam*. Cf. Pali *piṭṭhito piṭṭhito*, "right on one's heels (back)."

⁴ *Avatāra*, BSk., Pali *otāra*. See Vol. 2, p. 228, n. 4. Both in this sense only in the Māra myth (P.E.D.). See B.H.S.D. for BSk. references.

without finding one?" The Exalted One said, "There was another occasion, also, when he followed closely on my heels, desiring and seeking a chance to tempt me, but had to retire unsuccessful, without finding one." The monks asked the Exalted One, "Was there another occasion, Lord?" The Exalted One replied, "Yes, monks."

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, there was a bull, a lord of cattle, following a herd of cows. Now the organs of that bull were drooping and inert. With his organs thus drooping he was closely¹ pursuing the herd of cows.

In a woodland tract in that place there dwelt a jackal, named Girika, and this jackal espied the bull as he followed the herd of cows with his organs drooping and inert. So he pursued him closely for many years.

Now there was another jackal of the same age as he, and when he saw Girika closely pursuing the bull, he addressed him in verses:

"For how many years, Girika, have you been pursuing the lord of the herd? Time and again you have slunk off, and you are full of fear at the sight of him.

"Those organs, though they droop, are strong, and though inert are well-set. They will not fall off, so without a prey will you remain.

"I, too, have pursued him for fifteen years. Inert though his organs are they are well-set. There is no fear of their falling off."²

(29) The Exalted One said, "It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion that bull was somebody else. But I was that bull. The jackal named Girika was Māra. Then, also, desiring and seeking a chance to tempt me, he had to retire unsuccessful, without finding one."

Here ends the Jātaka of the Bull.³

¹ *Priṣṭhimena priṣṭhimam*. See n. 3, p. 26.

² The Sk. is remarkably close to the English idiom here, *nāsti sānaṃ patatām bhayam*.

³ Not in J.

THE JĀTAKA OF THE MONKEY (I)

The monks said to the Exalted One, "How was it, Lord, that wicked Māra was unable to get a chance to tempt the Exalted One?" The Exalted One replied, "That was not the first time that wicked Māra was unable to get a chance to tempt me. There was another occasion also." The monks asked, "Was there another occasion, Lord?" The Exalted One replied, "Yes, monks."

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, in a high region of the Himalayas a monkey had charge of a large troop of monkeys. Now in that part of the Himalayas there was a large pool of water, where the herd frequently went down to drink¹ water. But in that lake there dwelt a water demon.² Whatever deer, bird, monkey or man went down to the lake to drink was pulled³ into the water by the demon.

It happened that that herd of monkeys went down to the lake to drink. The demon being in the water observed the monkeys, but they did not see him, and he pulled in one of them. And in the same way each time that the herd of monkeys went down to the lake to drink water the demon unobserved saw them and pulled in one of them. Then the lord of the herd missed the monkeys who had been pulled in, and he said to himself, "Where are those monkeys? I am afraid they have strayed somewhere." He looked all around, but did not see them. And the sagacious lord of the herd (30) observed the tracks made by the monkeys at the place where they went down to the lake to drink water, both as they went and as they came. He saw that the tracks of those going down were more numerous than the tracks of those coming up. Understanding came to him, and he said, "They have been pulled in by the water demon. That is why I do not see them. There must be no more drinking water direct by the mouth."

Since, therefore, he saw that they were being pulled into

¹ *Pāyaka*. Formations in *-ka* often have the force of an infinitive of purpose.

² *Rākṣasa*.

³ *Okaḍḍhati*. See Vol. 2, p. 72, n.1. Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*) prefers MS. reading *kaḍḍati*.

the lake by the water demon, he gave orders to the monkeys, saying, "Go and gather the tops of reeds¹ from the reed-thicket, and drink water by means of them." So they went,² and each plucked from the thicket a very long reed-top, so that they could drink water from a distance, and the water demon could not pull them in. And when they did go to the lake to drink, they went down taking their reeds with them, and, staying at a distance from it, they drank water through the reeds. The water demon was no longer able to pull in a single monkey.

The tracks of one going down are seen, but not those of his coming up. Water must be drunk through a reed. The watchful has no cause for alarm.

The Exalted One said, "It may be again, monks, that you will think that he who was the lord of the monkeys at that time and on that occasion, was somebody else. I was he. And he who was the water demon was Māra. Then, too, was he unable to get a chance to tempt me.

Here ends the Jātaka of the Monkey.³

THE JĀTAKA OF THE MONKEY (2)

(31) The monks said to the Exalted One, "How did the Exalted One by the unique wisdom conferred by⁴ the supreme perfect enlightenment escape from the domination of Māra?" The Exalted One replied, "Monks, that was not the only time that, by my unique wisdom, I safely escaped from the domination of Māra. There was another time, also, when, being in the form of a monkey, I escaped from Māra's domination and put my feet on his head."⁵

The monks asked, "Was there another time, Lord?" The Exalted One replied, "Yes, monks."

¹ *Nala*, "a species of reed, *Amphidonax Karka*, eight to twelve feet high" (*M.W.*)

² *Gacchiya*, gerund, forming with *tehi* a locative absolute.

³ Fausböll no. 20.

⁴ Literally, "of".

⁵ *Mūrdhe*, loc. sg. of an *-a* stem of *mūrdhan*. Cf. Pali, and see Edgerton, *Gram.* §17. 15, where, however, this example is not cited.

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, in the Himalayas there was a monkey in charge of a large herd of monkeys. Now in the last month of summer the monkey, being thirsty after eating fruits of various kinds, came with the herd to a lake to drink water. This lake had precipitous banks and there was no means of going down to it nor of coming up¹ from it. The chief of the herd in his thirst for water walked all around the lake searching for a way in. While doing this he broke through a fence of stones and fell into the water.

Now in that lake there was a serpent's hole, where a large serpent lived. Living where it did, it got its supply of food with little difficulty.² For it would devour whatever beast or bird or monkey came down to the lake to drink. The serpent saw the chief of the monkeys falling into the water, and stretched out its neck from the den ready to seize him.

The serpent addressed the monkey in verse :

*"Here comes a prey again, a forest-roaming monkey,
who comes wishing to drink water at the entrance to my den
in the bank."*

The lord of the monkeys failed to get any support on which to rest his feet (32) and thus get out of the water and reach dry land. He said to himself, "If the serpent turns its neck away, I'll put my feet on its head, and so gain dry ground."

Then he addressed the serpent in a verse :

*"I am not your prey. Do you not see the crowd³ that
you should threaten me particularly in the verse which you
have just recited?"*

The serpent turned its neck in the direction in which the lord of the monkeys had pointed out the other monkeys, so that it might see them. And no sooner had the serpent turned its neck away than the lord of the monkeys set his feet on its head, and thus safely stepped out of the water on to dry land. The serpent wondered at the unique intelligence of the monkey. "This monkey," it said, "had no foothold here in the lake where he could put his feet, and so step out

¹ *Natthitum* (sic), obviously an error for *na-utthitum* or *-utthātum*.

² *Alpakisarena*. See Vol. 2, p. 206, n. 2. Cf. *B.H.S.D.*

³ *Prīhū*, "the numerous or many (others)." Cf. Pali *puṭhū*.

of the water on to dry land. So he pointed out to me the other monkeys, and thus made me avert my face and turn my neck in the direction of those monkeys. And, with his unique intelligence, he put his feet on my head and stepped out to dry land."

The serpent addressed the lord of the monkeys in verse :

*"You have quickly and speedily spoilt my plan, for
when you saw me turning away, you proved yourself bold
and valiant."*

*"He who has these four qualities, energy, intelligence,
mindfulness and wisdom, as you, lord of the monkeys, have,
can avert ill."*

It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion (33) the lord of the monkeys in the Himalayas was somebody else. But it was I who at that time and on that occasion was the lord of the monkeys. You may think that the serpent in the lake there was somebody else. You must not think so. And why? Wicked Māra here, monks, at that time and on that occasion was the serpent dwelling¹ in the lake. Then also by my unique intelligence did I succeed in putting my feet on his head and step out of the water on to dry land. And on this other occasion did I, by my unique intelligence, escape from the domination of Māra.

Here ends the Jātaka of the Monkey.²

THE PUṆYAVANTA JĀTAKA

The monks said to the Exalted One, "Behold, Lord, how thou speakest in praise of merits." The Exalted One replied, "This is not the first time that I have spoken in praise of merits. I did so on another occasion also." The monks asked, "Lord, was there another occasion?" The Exalted One replied, "Yes, monks."

¹ *Naivāsika*, BSk., Pali *nevāsika*. See *B.H.S.D.* for BSk. examples.

² Fausböll. no. 57.

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, in the city of Benares, in the province of Kāśi, a king named Añjanaka¹ was ruling. He was meritorious and mighty; he treated his people well, had the virtue of charity and generosity, was powerful and wealthy, and had a large army. His kingdom was prosperous, rich, well-supplied with food and well-peopled with happy subjects.

Now that king had a son, a young prince named Puṇyavanta, who at all times spoke in praise of merits. Of the same age as this young prince were four sons of counsellors. One counsellor's son was named Viryavanta, who always spoke in praise of energy, holding that it was the supreme thing in the world. The second was named Śilpavanta, who always spoke in praise of the arts, holding that they were the supreme things in the world. The third was named Rūpavanta, who always spoke in praise of beauty, holding that it was the supreme thing in the world. The fourth was named Prajñavanta, who always spoke in praise of wisdom, holding that it was the supreme thing in the world.

The young prince Puṇyavanta spoke to them, saying, "There is nothing equal to merits. Merit is the supreme thing in the world. (34) If you cannot understand this, let us go to another kingdom, and there find out who of us excels, the meritorious one, the energetic one, the artistic one, the beautiful one, or the wise one."

They thus left Benares and went to the city of Kampilla, so that, as they said, they should find out² who of them excelled. Now it happened that they went out of Kampilla to bathe in the Ganges. And in the stream of the river Ganges they saw a large trunk of a tree being carried down.³ The other counsellors' sons and Puṇyavanta, the king's son, said to the counsellor's son Viryavanta, "Now, here, O Viryavanta, you must exercise⁴ your energy on the trunk of a tree, and see if⁵ you can pull out⁶ that tree-trunk which is being

¹ Not alluded to elsewhere.

² Literally, "until (so that) we learn," *yāvat jñāsyāma*.

³ *Oruhyantam*, pres. part. pass.

⁴ Literally, "display", *darśayitavya*.

⁵ *Yam*. Cf. Pali, *yam te saṅkhā . . . ārogaṃ kātuṃ, tam karohi* (V. 1, 276).

⁶ *Okadḍhitum*. See p. 28, n. 3.

carried down by the river Ganges." Then Viryavanta, exerting his great strength and power, pulled out the huge tree-trunk to dry land. The others looked at it and saw it was the precious sandal-wood tree. Viryavanta, the counsellor's son, sold it to perfume-makers for one hundred thousand *purāṇas*,¹ and he brought the hundred thousand *purāṇas* and gave them to his companions. He addressed them in a verse:

"Men praise energy in the world; there is nothing superior to it in the world. See how by means of my energy I have gathered this store of wealth."

They said then, "We have seen the fruit of energy. Let us now see the fruit of Śilpavanta's art."

Śilpavanta took his lute and left his companions. He played the lute along with other counsellors' sons and merchants' sons skilled in the lute. A great crowd of people gathered. All those in the city of Kampilla who were conversant with the music of the lute (35) gathered together when they heard the music. They vied with one another in playing the lute in competition with the counsellor's son. But none could beat that counsellor's son; Śilpavanta excelled them all in playing the lute.

Now it happened that while Śilpavanta was playing his lute, one of the strings was broken. But it continued to produce the same music as before. A second string was broken, but the same music was forthcoming. A third string was broken, but the same music was forthcoming. And so one by one six strings were broken, and one alone was left.² But even from this one string the same music was forthcoming. All the bystanders were astonished at the lute-playing of Śilpavanta, the counsellor's son. He won as a reward a large quantity of gold.³ He brought the gold and gave it to his companions, saying, "Here is the fruit of my art." Then he addressed his companions in a verse:

¹ See Vol. 1, p. 188, n. 9.

² This lute, then, had seven strings.

³ *Prabhūtaṃ hiraṇyasuvāṇaṃ ācchādo ca labdho*, where *hiraṇyasuvāṇaṃ* and *ācchāda* must be in opposition. For *ācchāda* in the sense of "reward" see p. 36, n. 2.

"Men praise art in the world; there is nothing superior to it in the world. By skill with the lute I have gathered a store of wealth."

They replied, "We have seen the fruit of the art of Śilpavanta, the counsellor's son. Let us now see the fruit of Rūpavanta's beauty."

Then Rūpavanta, the counsellor's son, left his companions and went down to a stall in the market. As he was going round the stall a leading courtesan caught sight of him and saw that he was charming, comely, stately, with the most perfect beauty of complexion. (36) And as soon as she saw him she fell deeply in love with him. She sent her servant to him, saying, "Approach that man and speak to him in my name." So the servant called to him and said, "Sir, a lady wishes to see you."

And he went with the servant to the leading courtesan's house. She greeted the counsellor's son, saying, "Welcome, sir, here is a home for you, an incomparable, fine dwelling-place.¹ Indulge with me in the five sensual pleasures, and divert, enjoy and amuse yourself."

The leading courtesan made him sit down on her couch, and what with one thing and another he began to covet her wealth.² He was taken to the bathroom, was given an unguent with perfumed oil, bathed with exquisite bathing powders, anointed with exquisite ointments, and arrayed in fine garments of silk. When he came in again with the leading courtesan, costly food was laid before him. Then as he sat with her he said, "Yonder in my own house sit my four companions. You must summon them and give them a quantity of your wealth so that they do not kill you." As soon as she heard these words she set before him a hundred thousand pieces, and said, "Give these to your companions."

Then he summoned his companions. And they came to the leading courtesan's house, where they saw Rūpavanta, the counsellor's son, sitting in the arms of a great lady, a leading

Vyasanam, sic for vasanam.

¹ Literally, "in many ways he was allured by her wealth," *bahuprakāraṃ arthena lobhito*."

courtesan. When Rūpavanta saw his companions, he addressed them in a verse:

"Men praise beauty in the world; there is nothing superior to it in the world. I have won a store of wealth in a courtesan's arms."

"Take these pieces," said he, "and spend them." They took them and went to their own lodging.¹

(37) The companions said, "Now have we seen the fruit of the beauty of Rūpavanta, the counsellor's son. We must now see the fruit of Prajñāvanta's wisdom."

Prajñāvanta then left his lodging and went down to a stall in the market-place. There he saw a merchant's son wrangling with a leading courtesan in the midst of a large crowd. The merchant's son was saying to her, "Come and entertain me² to-night, and I will give you a hundred thousand pieces." The leading courtesan replied, "Sir, I have no time to-night, I have been hired by another. To-night I shall entertain him, and to-morrow³ I will come to you, sir." So she went and entertained the other man that night.

The merchant's son for his part had an impure dream of the leading courtesan as he lay in bed.⁴ In his dream he diverted, enjoyed and amused himself with the courtesan the whole night long to his heart's content. And she, after diverting, enjoying and amusing herself with the other man all night long, in the morning went to the merchant's son, saying, "Here I am come to entertain you, sir." The merchant's son

¹ *Ohāra* = *avahāra*. So interpreted by Senart. Cf. Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*), who compares AMg. *oharai*, "establish," "settle."

² *Agaccha mama . . . upasthāpanakāri*. According to Senart *kāri* is a sort of infinitive denoting "purpose" with a verb of motion, giving to the preceding substantive the force of the infinitive or future participle. Immediately below occurs the form *upasthāpanakārikā*, where the suffix-(i)kā still further enforces the idea of purpose. Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*) rightly prefers the form *upasthāna*, which is a v.l. of the MS. The causal stem is out of place here.

³ *Suve*. Cf. Pali *sve* and *suve*. Sk. *śvas*.

⁴ Literally, "lay being impure with the leading courtesan," *agraganikām sankhyanto sayito*. *Sankhyanto* is pr. part. of *sankhyati* Pali and BSk., pass. of *sankhyati*. The use of the pass pr. part. with the acc. here is noteworthy. Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*) does not agree with this. He translates, "went to bed thinking about that courtesan." And he goes on to say, "If our form is right, I can only understand it as a MIndic passive to Skt. caus. *śankhayati*, "makes concerned"; it would then mean, "being made concerned with." There is a v.l. *sakridanto*: read *saṃkriḍanto* "amusing himself (in thoughts?)"

replied, "I diverted, enjoyed and amused myself with you in my dream to my heart's content the whole night long. Go away, I do not want you." She said, "If, sir, you diverted, enjoyed and amused yourself with me in your dream to your heart's content the whole night long, you should give me a hundred thousand pieces." The merchant's son said, "Seeing that you lay with another man the whole night, why should I give you one hundred thousand pieces?" She replied, "Sir, you said yourself that you diverted, enjoyed and amused yourself with me in your dream to your heart's content the whole night long, you should therefore pay me the fee of a hundred thousand pieces." And hence rose the dispute between them, and though a great crowd (38) had gathered, none of them was able to settle the dispute.

Standing there was Prajñāvanta, the counsellor's son. The townspeople of Kampilla appealed to him, saying, "Young man, what seems to you the proper thing?¹ Should this leading courtesan be given the hundred thousand pieces by the merchant's son, or should she not?" Prajñāvanta replied, "The fee should be paid by the merchant's son to the leading courtesan in just the same fashion as he consorted with her." They said to him, "Explain then, young man, how it should be paid." Prajñāvanta ordered that a large mirror and a hundred thousand pieces should be brought. He told the merchant's son, "Take the box containing the hundred thousand pieces and set it in front of the mirror." He then said, "Come, lady, take this reflection of the box containing the hundred thousand pieces which is in the mirror. That is your fee."

The crowd roared their approval of the solution found by Prajñāvanta the counsellor's son, and they presented² him with a large amount of gold. He gave the gold to his companions, and addressed them in a verse:

"Men praise wisdom in the world; there is nothing

¹ *Pratibhāyati* = *pratibhāti*, in the sense of *videtur*, "seems good." Cf Vol. 2, p. 278, n. 6.

² *Acchādayanti*. This must be the sense of this verb here. Senart compares the use of *acchāda* in the sense of "retribution," "recompense," see p. 33, n. 3. The same use of the verb is found elsewhere in BSk., e.g., *acchādayati jīviteṇa* "to keep alive," Av. S. 1. 300, Divy. 136. This meaning may be compared with the figurative use of *acchādeti* in Pali, namely, "to envelope," "to fill." See B.H.S.D. s.v. *āchāda*.

superior to it in the world. By my thoughtful wisdom I have gathered a store of wealth."

The counsellors' sons then said, "We have now seen the power of the energy of Viryavanta the counsellor's son, the power of the art of Śilpavanta, the power of the beauty of Rūpavanta, and the power of the wisdom of Prajñāvanta. Now we shall see the power of the merit of Prince Puṇyavanta."

Puṇyavanta, the king's son, left his companions (39) and made his way to a royal palace. And he settled near that royal palace. He was seen by a certain counsellor's son. As soon as this counsellor's son saw Puṇyavanta the king's son, he conceived an affection for him. He invited him to eat with him, took him to his home and led him to his gymnasium.¹ After he had taken exercise he was bathed and anointed and taken in to eat. And there, along with the counsellor's son, the king's son was that day served with exquisite and regal food and drink. The counsellor's son took him up to the royal coach-house and made him lie down.² He was seen by the daughter of King Brahmadata,³ and she thought to herself, "This is the counsellor's son who has come." Then in the late evening she hurried out of the palace, entered the coach-house, and climbed into the carriage where Puṇyavanta the king's son was lying. She was certain that in a little while he would wake up. "Then," said she, "he will take his pleasure with me." But the prince having eaten and drunk well slept peacefully, while the king's daughter being distracted⁴ by thoughts of love kept on saying, "Presently he will wake up, in a moment he will wake up." But overcome by the excessive influence of the night she fell asleep. At daybreak she came down from the carriage, entered the palace and was seen by some counsellors. These thought to themselves, "Here is the king's daughter coming down from

¹ *Vyāyāmasāla*.

² The text is very succinct here, so much so as to be syntactically incoherent. It reads *amātyaputro . . . yānasālāmbahiruhāpayitvā śayāyito*. The object of the causal gerund is not expressed and grammatically *śayāyito*, causal pass. part. of *śi* = *śayāpito*, agrees with the subject, whence it might seem that it was the counsellor's son who was made to lie down. But the context demands that it refer to *rājaputro*, understood.

³ None of the historical kings of this name is alluded to here.

⁴ Reading, as Senart is inclined to suggest, *khidyamānā* for *vidyamānā* of the text.

the coach-house after a sleepless night and entering the palace. Can it be that she has been sitting in a carriage with some man ? ”

Now while they were thinking thus, Prince Puṇyavanta came down from his carriage. The counsellors thought. “ Where is this man from ? He has been sitting with King Brahmadaṭṭa’s daughter in the coach-house.” They seized him and led him before King Brahmadaṭṭa. “ Your majesty,” said they, “ this man has lain with your daughter in the coach-house.” The king asked, “ How was this ? ” The prince replied, “ Your majesty, a certain counsellor’s son invited me to his house and gave me to eat (40) and drink. When it was late I was dismissed, and I left for my lodging. But, because of the lateness of the hour, he made me go up¹ to the coach-house and lie down after my eating and drinking. There was no other person there.”

The king’s daughter was then asked, “ How was this ? ” She told King Brahmadaṭṭa the true state of affairs, saying, “ It was just as this man says, and not otherwise.”

King Brahmadaṭṭa was pleased with Prince Puṇyavanta. He saw that he was a gracious, handsome, intelligent and upstanding young man. And he thought to himself, “ This can be no ordinary person ; he must belong to a great family.” Then he asked him, “ Young man, whence are you ? ” The prince answered, “ I am from Benares, and the son of Añjana, king of Kāśī.”

Immediately on seeing Prince Puṇyavanta, Brahmadaṭṭa, king of Kampilla, had conceived an affection for him as for a son, for the king had no son of his own. So he dowered² his daughter with a thousand pieces of gold, and with great royal pomp and magnificence and in the presence of all the people he gave her to Prince Puṇyavanta and established him on the throne. To his counsellors and the people of town and country he said, “ He has become my son, so that he may be king. For I am old.”

Then when Prince Puṇyavanta had gained a kingdom, he summoned his companions and addressed them in a verse :

¹ *Abhiruhitvā*, radical stem for causal.

² *Maṇḍitā*, “ adorned,” “ decorated.” Cf. p. 22, n. 8.

Men praise merit in the world ; there is nothing superior to it in the world. By my merits I have won¹ a kingdom and a king’s daughter.

The Exalted One said, “ It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion the counsellor’s son named Vīryavanta was somebody else. But you must not think so. And why ? Śroṇakoṭivimśa² here, monks, at that time and on that occasion was Vīryavanta the counsellor’s son. You may think that at that time and on that occasion Śilpavanta the counsellor’s son was somebody else. (41) You must not think so. And why ? Rāstrapāla³ here, monks, at that time and on that occasion was Śilpavanta the counsellor’s son. You may think that at that time and on that occasion Rūpavanta the counsellor’s son was somebody else. You must not think so. And why ? The elder Sundarananda here, monks, at that time and on that occasion was Rūpavanta the counsellor’s son. You may think that at that time and on that occasion Prajñāvanta the counsellor’s son was somebody else. You must not think so. And why ? The elder Śāriputra here, monks, at that time and on that occasion was Prajñāvanta the counsellor’s son. You may think that at that time and on that occasion the son of Añjana, king of Kāśī, named Puṇyavanta, was somebody else. You must not think so. And why ? I, monks, at that time and on that occasion was the son of Añjana, king of Kāśī, named Puṇyavanta. Then, too, did I speak in praise of merit, just as I do now.”

Here ends the Puṇyavanta Jātaka.⁴

THE VIJITĀVIN JĀTAKA

“ And, monks, that was not the only time that I spoke in praise of merits. I did so on another occasion also.” The

¹ The text has *āgatā*, “ have come (to me),” but, as Senart remarks, it would be quite feasible to read *āhrītā* as in the other verses of this tale.

² Pali Soṇa Kolivisa, a disciple of the Buddha.

³ Pali Ratthapāla, a disciple of the Buddha.

⁴ Not in Fausböll.

monks asked, "Lord, was there another occasion?" The Exalted One replied, "Yes, monks."

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, in Mithilā¹ there reigned a king named Vijitāvin. He was meritorious and majestic. He treated his subjects kindly and had the virtue of liberality and generosity. There was nothing which he would refuse to give to recluses, brāhmins, the poor and the beggars. Whoever wanted an elephant, he gave him one. Whoever wanted a horse, he gave him one. Whoever wanted a chariot, he gave him one. Whoever wanted a conveyance of any kind, he gave him one. Whoever wanted a woman, he gave him one decked out in every finery. Whoever wanted (42) female slaves, he gave him them. Whoever wanted male slaves, he gave him them.² Whoever wanted clothes, he gave him them. Whoever wanted any kind of vessels, he gave him them. Whoever wanted cows, he gave him them. Whoever wanted oxen, he gave him them. Whoever wanted gold, he gave him it. Whoever wanted money,³ he gave him it. Whoever wanted silver, he gave him it. Whatever anyone wanted, he gave him it. There was nothing which he would refuse to give. And he did not grow to be otherwise. But he exulted in his liberality and charity, and he did not regret his gifts afterwards, but was full of joy and gladness.

Now as he went on giving excessive largesses his treasures failed. The treasurers, chief ministers, princes, counsellors, townsmen, countrymen and the mass of the people came together, and he was banished from his kingdom. He settled in a large forest grove in the Himalayas. When he came there he laid out a hermitage and made himself a dwelling by building a hut of grass and leaves. He lived there in the hermitage by gathering roots, leaves, flowers, and fruits of various kinds. But first he fed the other seers⁴ and only

¹ See Vol. 1, p. 239, n. 2.

² The text repeats the first substantive in each sentence. Here the repetition is *dāsāni*, acc. pl. with neut. ending. Cf. *brāhmaṇāni*, Vol. 1, 309 (text). See Edgerton, *Gram.* §8. 98, for other examples of this anomaly.

³ *Suvarṇa*, used in juxtaposition to *hiranya*, would seem to denote money or a gold piece. Cf. *M.* 3. 175; *J.* 1. 341.

⁴ *Riṣiṇi*, neuter. For other examples of neut. ending in nom. acc. pl. of *i-* stems, see Edgerton, *Gram.* §10. 160. Examples which have hitherto occurred in the *Mhvu.* may conceivably be explained as due to change of gender, as the substantives concerned are names of lifeless things.

afterwards took food himself. So eager was he at all times to observe the dharma.

But Śakra, lord of the devas, wishing to make trial of the king, came to the grove in all his celestial beauty. Hovering in the air he sought to dissuade the king of Videha¹ from his liberality. "Your majesty," said he, "such giving is not approved by wise men, but they always condemn it. He who gives charity becomes unhappy even in this world, and when he leaves the world of men he is reborn in the hells. Just as your majesty has been banished from his kingdom because of his liberality and is now even in this world bereft of his kingdom and afflicted with ill, so in the world beyond, too, through the influence of this liberality he will be reborn in the hells. If you do not believe me, your majesty, that (43) you will be reborn in the hells for having given charity in this world, I will give you visual proof as to where munificent and liberal donors are reborn."

Śakra then conjured up² a great hell, afire, ablaze and aflame. There many thousand beings were seen in torment³ and crying out in fearful tones.⁴ Śakra said to the king, "Your majesty, go to these crying people and ask them through what karma they were reborn there."

The king thus asked those denizens of hell, "What wicked deeds did you commit when you were human beings that you should now be crying out in fearful tones and suffering such torments in hell?" And the phantom⁵ beings replied, "Your majesty, in the world of men we were⁶ generous givers of charity. We showered handsome, liberal and lavish⁷ gifts on recluses, brāhmins, the poor and the beggars. And now, because of that, here are we, having passed away from the world of men, reborn in the hells."

¹ See Vol. 1, p. 239, n. 2.

² *Nirmita* from *nir-mā*. See Vol. 1, p. 141, n. 2.

³ *Sampaccamānā*, "being roasted," pres. part. of *-paccati*, Pali for BSk. *-pacyate*, pass. of *pacati*.

⁴ *Bhīṣmasvaram*. Senart's admittedly doubtful conjecture for *ahisvaram* or *ahasvara*. The latter, however, would seem to make quite good sense, "sound of woe." Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*), however, pointing out that the MSS. here and on p. 45 almost unanimously read *ahriṣvara*, leaves the word unexplained. *Aha* may have existed in BSk. as it did in Pali as a form of Sk. *ahaha*, *aho*. (See *B.H.S.D.* s.v.).

⁵ "The conjured-up beings," *nirmitā*.

⁶ Note the form *āsi*. See Edgerton, *Gram.* §32. 20.

⁷ Literally "scattered," *visṭirṇa*.

The king said, "Friends, this is not as you aver. There is no cause nor reason that a generous giver should be reborn in the hells for having given charity. But when generous givers of charity have made a gift, as a result of that gift they are reborn in heaven after they die. There they enjoy divers celestial joys. And having enjoyed celestial joys among the devas, when their time is up they pass away from the world of the devas, and are reborn in the world of men among wealthy families. And, O Kauśika,¹ when these mendicants leave me, rewarded and satisfied, I have a sublime feeling of joy and gladness. And they too are glad. Even if I shall be reborn in hell for it, I shall persist in giving charity."

Śakra, lord of the devas, having thus tested the king of Videha, was pleased with the result. "Your majesty," said he, "your intention is splendid and sublime. (44) I came hither but to test you."

When Śakra, lord of the devas, had so spoken, he disappeared from the forest grove and returned to his home in Trāyastriṃśa.

Now in the kingdom of Mithilā, from the time that² the king had been banished, no rain had fallen. It became short of food, and it was oppressed by robbers and enemies. So the princes, counsellors, treasurers, ministers, citizens and the country folk went to the forest grove and craved pardon of the king of Videha. With great royal pomp and splendour he was restored to Mithilā. And from that time the kingdom had abundance of food once more.

The Exalted One said, "It may be, again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion the king of Videha in Mithilā, named Vijitāvin, was somebody else. But you must not think so. And why? I, monks, at that time and on that occasion was the king of Videha in Mithilā, named Vijitāvin. Then, too, did I speak in praise of merits, just as I now do."

There³ was a king, Vijitāvin, ruler of Mithilā in Videha.

¹ Epithet of Śakra = Indra. See Vol. 2, p. 60, n. 10.

² *Yadupādāya . . . tadupādāya.*

³ The same story in verse.

He was famed far and wide for his charity, being open-handed, generous and liberal.

Elephants and horses, chariots and carriages, richly adorned women, silver and gold, not one of these would he refuse to give.

Full of joy and gladness, he knew inward happiness. When he gave he was elated and did not regret it.

When he saw a recluse, a brāhman, a poor man or a beggar, he regaled him with food and drink, with clothing, bed and couch.

His treasurers and ministers, princes and counsellors, citizens and the whole people banded together and banished¹ him from his throne.

(45) *And after he had been banished he came to a forest grove. There he laid out a hermitage and made it his home.*

There in the forest grove he would gather fruits of various kinds. But first he would satisfy the needs of other seers, and then partake himself.

Śakra in his celestial splendour approached the king, and hovering in the air, thus spoke to him.

"Wise men do not commend charity, but always censure it.

For this excessive charity of yours you have been banished from your kingdom.

"A noble though you are, you have suffered misfortune even in this world and have been deprived of your throne. And when you pass to the other world you will go² to hell.

"If you do not believe me as to where the generous man goes, I will show you the bourne of the charitable."

And Śakra conjured up³ a blazing, fiery hell, and showed him many thousands of beings in torment.⁴

Then he said, "Your majesty, ask these burning creatures yourself why they are come to misfortune and suffer⁵ grievous woes.

¹ *Vipravāsayet*, opt. (3 sg.) used in aor. sense, as frequently in *Mhv.*

² *Gansi*, v.l. *gaṃsi*, fut. of *gam*. Cf. Edgerton, *Gram.* §31. 29.

³ *Nirmāni*, aor. of *nir-mā*. See above p. 41, n. 2.

⁴ *Paccamānāni*. See above, p. 41, n. 3.

⁵ *Vedatha*, either a strange Prakrit use of 2nd for 3rd pl., or this part of the sentence suddenly turns into *oratio recta*. Its use in the very next sentence, however, would seem to show that the former alternative is the true one.

"Fearfully they cry as they suffer their grievous woes.
So ask them what wickedness they did¹ in their former lives."
They replied,

"O king, when we were among men, we were² generous
givers. And now, having dispensed great charity we
suffer³ this woe."

(46) The king said,

"That is not the reason. There is no reasonableness in
the supposition that⁴ he who is generous should, when he
passes away, go to an evil bourne.

"For generous people, when they pass away from the
world of men, go to heaven. There they enjoy the heavenly
bliss which they themselves have created.

"It is desire [that brings]⁵ suffering in the hells, immense
like the ocean⁶ . . . ⁷ I cannot bear seeing a beggar.

"Let this be my delight, O thousand-eyed one, that I
go on giving and impart counsel the while,⁸ and that he
who comes to me will go away replenished, content, satisfied
and glad.

"There shall be no gift that I will not give.⁹ Day by
day¹⁰ I shall bestow abundance and satisfaction. I shall
be a refuge, [like]¹¹ the tree of heaven¹² laden with leaves
and fruit.

¹ Akare, aor., 3rd sg. for pl.

² *vayam āsi*. Cf *vayam āst* in the prose version (p. 41, n. 6). The verbal forms in this story, and especially in the metrical version, are paralleled in *Ardhamāgadhi* and *Apabhramsa*. According to Prof. F. Edgerton the dialect on which Buddhist Sanskrit was based was closely related to these two dialects. (See his article in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. 8, pp. 501 ff.) The use of *āst* (*āsi*) just referred to is mentioned on p. 504 of this article. See also his *Gram.*, §32.20.

³ *Anubhoma* = *anubhavamas*. Cf. Pali, *homa*. This is not cited by Edgerton, *Gram.*, p. 224.

⁴ *Yatra* for *yat*, a very unusual application of the former.

⁵ Lacuna in the text.

⁶ Text has *anālparūpam idriṣam* followed by a lacuna. This lacuna has been tentatively filled by supplying *samudrāya* from the reading *sana-mudre* of one MS. However, *idriṣam samudrāya* is a form of expression which is rather unusual in our text.

⁷ Another lacuna.

⁸ This is Senart's interpretation of the obscure *girām viyāharanto*.

⁹ *Dadeha*, for *dade* (opt. 1 sg.) 'ha' (= *aha*, BSk. for *aham*). See Edgerton, *Gram.*, §20. 7.

¹⁰ *Aharaḥam*.

¹¹ Lacuna.

¹² *Kalpavrikṣa*, see Vol. I, p. 118, n. 1.

"My heart is not wroth with a beggar, and when I have
given I do not grieve and repent. I do not promise what I
cannot bestow, and whatever I promise I immediately
provide."

. . . ¹

(47) "In an instant the wish of my heart was fulfilled
and he² was truly vanquished by me,

"For seven days I sat cross-legged and at ease. Then
I stood up, a sage immovable as a rock.

"On the seventh day I went forth as a saviour and
preached the word, a mighty seer instructing all the worlds.³

"Blessed is the fruit of merits; the wish of the meri-
torious prospers. Speedily does he attain perfect peace,
utter release."

Here ends the Jātaka of Vijitāvin, the king of Videha.

THE ORDINATION OF MAHĀ-KĀŚYAPA⁴

Thus have I heard. On one occasion the Exalted One's
pupil, the venerable Ānanda, was touring Magadha, accom-
panied by a large crowd of five hundred monks. He made
for Rājagṛīha in Magadha, and when he had reached it he
stayed there in the Bamboo Grove at Kalandakanivāpa.⁵

Now just then thirty of those who had resided with⁶ the
venerable Ānanda renounced his teaching, and having thus

¹ There is an obvious lacuna here. Equally obvious is the fact that the next two stanzas are misplaced. They would be more apposite on page 33 of text.

² Sc. Māra.

³ Literally "the thousands of the world elements," *lokaḥāṭusahasrāṇi*.

⁴ With this account of the ordination of Mahā-Kāśyapa, cf. S. 2. 217 ff.

⁵ See vol. I, p. 210, n. 3.

⁶ *Sārdhamvihārikā*, "living with" Pali *saddhivihārika*, or—*vihārin*. The BSk. *sārdham*, cf. *AvŚ.2.139*, seems to be a formation independent of the Pali *saddhim*, which in form = Vedic *sadhrīm*, 'towards one aim', but in meaning = Vedic *sadhryak*, 'together' (P.E.D.) Miss I. B. Horner calls the translator's attention to the difference between an *antevāsin*, a pupil of an *ācariya*, and a *saddhivihārika*, or pupil of an *upajjhāya*, and refers to V.1.46ff. for an account of the latter's duties.

betrayed their frailty they reverted to low things¹ in the pursuit of sensual pleasures.² The venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa heard this.³

Then the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa went to the venerable Ānanda, and, having exchanged⁴ cordial greetings⁵ with him, sat down to one side. And as he thus sat down to one side the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa said to Ānanda. "I should like to question the venerable Ānanda on a certain matter,⁶ (48) if⁷ he give me leave⁸ to set forth the question."

When this had been said, the venerable Ānanda replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, saying, "O venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, ask what you will, and when I have heard your question I shall answer it." Then⁹ the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa said to the venerable Ānanda, "What, think you, were the several advantages which the Tathāgata, Arhan and perfect Buddha saw in prohibiting disciples from eating in a crowd and prescribing that they should eat in groups of three?¹⁰ The venerable Ānanda replied to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa and said, "I would come from far away, O venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, to put a question to you on this very topic. Well would it be if the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa made his interpretation clear."

The venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa replied to the venerable Ānanda, and said, "The Tathāgata, Arhan and perfect Buddha saw two¹¹ advantages when he prohibited his disciples

¹ *Hīnāyāvartanti*.

² *Kāmehi*, looks like a gloss, and does not appear in the corresponding passage at S.2.217.

³ The text repeats the whole statement of the facts.

⁴ *Vṛtisārayati*, for the usual BSk. *vyatisārayati*, Pali *vṛtisāreti*. See P.E.D. and B.H.S.D.

⁵ *Sammodāṇiyaṃ kathāṃ sammodayitvā sārāyaṇīyaṃ kathāṃ*. For *sārāyaṇīya* see vol. 1, p. 253, n.4. Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) accepts Kern's view, as quoted in P.E.D., that BSk. *saṃrañjana* (—*janiya*) is the true original form.

⁶ *Pradeśa*, corresponding to Pali *desa*, e.g. D.1.51. The only example of this use of the word given by Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) is one from the *Karmavibhaṅga*, where Lévi translates it by "une question particulière."

⁷ *Sacet* (saced) BSk., Pali *sace*.

⁸ Cf. V. 4. 344, where a nun who asked questions of a monk without asking for leave is adjudged guilty of a *pācittiya* offence. The translator owes this reference to Miss I. B. Horner.

⁹ *Evamukhe*. In the rest of this narrative this expression is either omitted in translation or rendered by "then".

¹⁰ i.e. at the houses of laymen. See V.3.251 and 4.71 ff. for rules about "eating in a group", (*gaṇabhojana*) and I. B. Horner, *Bk. of Disc.* 3. p. 306, 311.

¹¹ S.2.218 specifies them as three.

from eating in a crowd and prescribed that they eat in groups of three. What two? It conduces to the protection, safeguarding and comfort¹ of families, and to the breaking up of cliques of wicked men, stopping them from banding together out of greed and from causing dispute, wrangling, squabbling, quarrelling, contention and mischief in the Sangha. It was because he saw these two advantages, O venerable Ānanda, that the Tathāgata, Arhan and perfect Buddha prohibited his disciples from eating in a crowd, and prescribed that they eat in groups of three. And here are you, O venerable Ānanda, going the rounds of families,² with this young, fresh and tender party, troops of fellow-students in the Brahma-life,³ newly ordained monks, *theras*, and those of middle status,⁴ who have no guard on the doors of their senses, who know no moderation in food, who are ever unused to the exercise of vigilance⁵ and are irresponsible. It seems to me that you are like one destroying the harvest.⁶ You are but a youngster; you do not know moderation."⁷

Then the venerable Ānanda said to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, "Though, (49) O venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, there

¹ *Phāsuviḥāra*, Pali *id.* The P.E.D. leaves the etymology of *phāsu* doubtful, but refers to Trenckner's suggestion that it is connected with Vedic *praśu*, "enjoying", etc. The meaning is certain, as shown by the combination *yathāsukham yathāphāsu* at *Mhvu.* 3.169. The suggestion in P.E.D., following Pischel, that the synonymous *phāsuka* represents a Sk. **sparśuka* (which would be a derivation from *spṛś* in same meaning as *phassa* "lovely") is strengthened by the BSk. form *spāśaviḥārātā* at *Mhvu.* 1.323. But the latter form would seem to imply that the primary form is *phāsu* simply and not *phāsuka* as the P.E.D. (and Pischel) suggest. Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) remarks that none of the proposed etymologies is really convincing. Miss I. B. Horner, in a letter to the translator, suggests that there is here, as also in the injunction against eating in large groups, an allusion to the vexatious practice of the schismatic Devadatta and his friends who imposed on people's charity.

² Literally "among families", *kuleṣu*. The repetition has *kulehi*, instr. for loc.

³ *Sabrahmacāriṣu*, in apposition to *imāye parṣaye*.

⁴ For this division of monks see D.1.78 and S.2.220. V.1.47, 187, 290; 2.16, 212, has only two divisions, *navā* or *navakā* and *therā*. As the present passage shows, the division was not necessarily one of age. The *navas* were monks of less than five years' standing, those of middle status monks of between five and ten years' standing, and *theras* those of above ten. I. B. Horner, *Bk. of Disc.*, 4. p. 141, n. 2; Cf. V.1. 103 (*Bk. of Disc.* 4. p. 133.)

⁵ *Jāgarikā*, BSk., Pali *jāgarīyā*.

⁶ *Sasyaghātāṃ viya manye karonto*. Cf. S. 2.218.

⁷ Literally "this youngster does not know", *nāyaṃ kumārako . . . ājñāsi* (an aor. form which according to Edgerton, *Gram.* §32.48 is a derivation from Sk. *ājñāsīt* rather than originally Prakrit.)

are grey hairs growing on my head, you yet think that you should speak to me as to a youngster."¹ A second and a third time did the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa say to the venerable Ānanda, "And here are you, O venerable Ānanda, going the rounds of families with this party who have no guard on the doors of their senses, who know no moderation in food, who are ever unused to vigilance and are irresponsible. It seems to me you are like one destroying the harvest. You are but a youngster; you do not know moderation."² And a second and a third time did the venerable Ānanda reply to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, "Though there are grey hairs growing on my head, yet the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa thinks that he should thrice speak to me as to a youngster."

Now on that occasion the nun Sthūlanandā³ was standing not far from the venerable Ānanda, and she said to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, "Why does the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, who formerly belonged to another sect, think it fit thrice to speak as to a youngster to the venerable Ānanda, the sage of Videha,⁴ the Exalted One's servitor, the Exalted One's attendant, the recipient of the right rules⁵ direct from the Exalted One's mouth?" Then the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa said to the venerable Ānanda, "This sister here, O venerable Ānanda, spoke out of thoughtlessness and conceit when she asked that question."⁶ The venerable Ānanda said to the venerable

¹ Literally, "I am to be addressed with childish talk", *kumāravādena samudācarilavya*."

² *Na cāhaṃ kumārako . . . ājñāsi*, corresponding to *nāyaṃ kumārako . . . ājñāsi* on the previous page. Senart presumably regards *aham* here as the equivalent of *ayam*, though this particular example is not referred to in his note on the examples of this usage in the *Mhvu.* (vol. 1, p. 417). Edgerton, *Gram.*, §21.80, remarks that "some of Senart's cases for the alleged *aham* = *ayam* are unconvincing."

³ Pali Thullanandā. See D.P.N. S.2.215, 219 mentions two nuns who championed Ānanda against Kāśyapa. The first is called Thullatissā and the second Thullanandā, though both names are given as Fat Tissā in K.S. 2.146, 148. See the full index of references to Thullanandā in I. B. Horner, *Bk. of Disc.* 3, whence it would appear that this nun was persistently guilty of offences against the rules of the Order, and is even "shown in association with the schismatic monks headed by Devadatta." (*Ibid.*, p. xii.)

⁴ *Vaideha muni*, Pali *Vedeha muni*, S.2. 216 f., *Mhvs.* 3. 36, *Ap.* 7. In Pali, however, there was a popular etymology connecting *vedeḥa* with *vedeti*, "to know", (see *DA.* 1. 139). Hence translation at K.S. 2. 145, "the wise sage." See also K.S. 1. 321. For Videha see Vol. 1, p. 239, n. 2.

⁵ *Dharmā*. Possibly an allusion to the eight *garudhammā* "important rules," for nuns, received by Ānanda from Gotama. See e.g. *A.* 4. 276; *V.* 2. 255, 4. 51.

⁶ Literally "speaks," followed by a repetition of her whole question.

Mahā-Kāśyapa, "Forgive me, O venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, for I am foolish, womanish,¹ witless, and lacking in common-sense."² A second and a third time did the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa say to the venerable Ānanda, "This sister here, (50) O venerable Ānanda, spoke out of thoughtlessness and conceit when she asked that question." And a (second and a) third time did the venerable Ānanda say to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, "Forgive me, O venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, for I am foolish, womanish, witless, and lacking in common sense."

Then the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa said to the venerable Ānanda, "I am not aware, O venerable Ānanda, that, when I first embraced the religious life, I acknowledged³ any master outside of and other than this Exalted One, Tathāgata, Arhan, and perfect Buddha. When, O venerable Ānanda, I⁴ first embraced the religious life, I thought to myself, 'Home life is cramped, full of defilements.⁵ The life of religion is in the open air.⁶ It is not possible while dwelling in the midst of home life to live the completely bright,⁷ blameless, pure, the entirely clean Brahma-life. Let me now then leave home and take up the homeless life of religion.' So then, O venerable Ānanda, I left my sumptuous⁸ home, renounced my eighty cartloads of gold, my five hundred bondsmen, my five hundred bondswomen, my five hundred head of cattle, my five hundred fields and villages, my nine hundred and ninety-nine ploughs, goodly and shiny ploughshares made at Kapila.⁹ And, taking my one patched¹⁰ cotton cloak with me, I

¹ *Mātrigrāma*.

² *Akṣetrajña*, "not knowing one's field." Cf. Pali *akhettaññu*, *A.* 3. 384; 4.418 (applied to a cow).

³ Literally, "pointed out to another apart", *vyavāḍiṣitum*.

⁴ *Mahyam*, gen. with *pravrajitasya* as genitive absolute.

⁵ Literally, "the abode of defilements", *rajasāmāvāsa*, where *rajas* could equally well be taken in its literal sense of "dust" or "dirt". For the expression cf. *D.* 1.63, 250; *S.* 2.219; 5.250; *DA.* 1.180 (where *rajas* is given its figurative sense.)

⁶ Literally, "is the open air", *abhyavakāśam pravrajyā*, Pali *abbhokāso pabbajjā*. See P.E.D. for references. Some, e.g. K.S. 2.148, render rather loosely, "free as air is life out of the world". BSk. references in *B.H.S.D.*

⁷ Reading *saṅkhalikkhita* for *samlikkhita*. See vol. 2. p. 114, n. 3. According to *B.H.S.D.* this latter adj. or part. corresponding to the Pali subst. *sallekha* is not found in Sk. or Pali, though an AMg. equivalent form, *samlihiya*, is theregiven, but without an example of its usage. In this stereotyped formula an adjective denoting "perfection" or "brightness" seems more in place than one stressing the "austerity" of the brahma-life.

⁸ *Alūkha*, see vol. 2, p. 63, n. 1.

⁹ i.e. Kapilavastu. See vol. 1, p. 1, n. 6.

¹⁰ *Pilotika*, BSk., elsewhere *pilotikā*, as in Pali. MIndic. for *plotika*, see *B.H.S.D.*

wandered out in quest of¹ whatever arhans there might be in the world.

"Now at that time, O venerable Ānanda, there was no other arhan anywhere in the world but this Exalted One and perfect Buddha. And, O venerable Ānanda, when I had thus taken up the life of a wanderer, at the end of a full year's time I beheld the Exalted One in Rājagriha at the Bahuputraka shrine.² And when I saw him there came to me the unambiguous³ awareness that I was looking on the perfect Buddha, on the Exalted One, who was all-knowing, all-seeing, and possessed of absolute perfect knowledge.

(51) "Then, O venerable Ānanda, I approached the Exalted One, bowed my head at his feet and stood to one side. And as I thus stood to one side, I said to the Exalted One, 'Lord, thou art my Master; I am thy disciple, O Sugata.' When I had thus spoken, O venerable Ānanda, the Exalted One said to me, 'Even so, O Kāśyapa, I am your Master; you are my disciple. If a man should accept a disciple in complete possession of his mind,⁴ and then, though he was not perfectly enlightened, should claim to be so; though not all-knowing, should claim to be so; though not all-seeing, should claim to be so; though he was limited in knowledge and insight, should claim to have absolute knowledge and insight, his head would be split in seven.⁵ As for me, O Kāśyapa, I claim to be perfectly enlightened, because I am so; I claim to be all-knowing, because I am so; I claim to be all-seeing, because I am so; I claim to have absolute knowledge and insight, because I have them. Again, O Kāśyapa, I preach the dharma to my disciples out of my special knowledge,⁶ not out of ignorance. I preach to my disciples the dharma that is well-grounded,⁷ not the dharma that is groundless.⁸ I

¹ Literally, "towards", *uddiśya* in prepositional usage, here with a gen. Pali *uddiśsa* has the acc.

² On the road from Rājagriha to Nālandā. See D.P.N.

³ *Advaya*.

⁴ *Sarvacetosamanvāgata*, or, as KS. 2. 148, renders, "with his will thus fully made up."

⁵ See vol. 2, p. 23, 429, 432.

⁶ *Abhiññāya*.

⁷ *Sanidānam*. Cf. M. 2. 9, where the Comy. (MA. 3. 241), explains the word by *sappaccaya* . . . *sahetuka*. 'conditioned, having a cause.'

⁸ *Anidānam*.

preach to my disciples the dharma that is reasoned,¹ not the dharma that is unreasoned.² Therefore, O Kāśyapa, as I am one who preaches the dharma to his disciples out of his special knowledge, not out of ignorance; who preaches to his disciples the dharma that is well-grounded, not the dharma that is groundless; who preaches to his disciples the dharma that is reasoned, not the dharma that is unreasoned, I say that you should be given exhortation³ and instruction. Therefore you must train yourself in this respect, O Kāśyapa. You will say (52) 'Shall I not then⁴ abide restrained by the restraint of the disciplinary rules,⁵ pasturing in the field of good conduct,⁶ discerning the peril of the minutest faults.⁷ Shall I not adopt and practise the moral precepts, and, pure in deed of act, speech and thought, live a life of complete purity?'

"So you must train yourself, O Kāśyapa. Therefore you must train yourself in this respect, O Kāśyapa. You will say, 'Shall I not then live with the doors of my six senses well-guarded,⁸ mindful of care, mindful of kindness,⁹ abiding in steadfastness, discerning danger,¹⁰ wise as to the way out,¹¹

¹ *Sapratihārya*. For this sense of the word see C.P.D. where its converse *appatihārya*, is given as meaning 'without argument', or better, perhaps, 'without reasoned argument.' Cf. *appatihārikata*, 'witless', 'unreliable', at D.I. 193, 239.

² *Apratihārya*.

³ *Ovāda*, Pali; BSk., *avavāda*.

⁴ *Kimtu aham*. The "direct speech" is further marked in some of the clauses by "ti". Below, also, we have *kinnti aham*.

⁵ *Prātimokṣa*, Pali *pātimokkha*, a set of rules governing the external conduct of monks who assembled on the *uposatha* days to recite them. Later they seem to have done so on the 1st and 15th day only. These rules form the real subject-matter of the *Suttavibhanga* in the *Vinaya-Piṭaka*. For a discussion of the various theories as to the etymological meaning of the term *pātimokkha*, see I. B. Horner: *Bk. of Disc.*, 1, pp. xxi f., where it is made plain that the usage shows a derivation either from *pāti-muñcati* "to bind," (P.E.D.) or from *pāti-muc*, "to fasten or bind on (as armour)" (E. J. Thomas: *History of Buddhist Thought*, p. 15, n. 1). Both derivations yield the sense of "obligatory". B.H.S.D. refers to the etymology in Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, 2. 22.

⁶ *Ācāragocarasampanna*, Pali *ācāragocara*, simply.

⁷ *Ānumātreśvādyesu bhayadarśavī*.

⁸ With the whole of this passage, cf. D. 1. 70; M. 1. 180, 268; Kvu. 424-6, 463-4; Miln. 367; Asl. 400. It does not, however, occur in the account of Kāśyapa's ordination in S.

⁹ *Nidhyāpana* BSk., Pali *nijjhāpana*.

¹⁰ *Ādīnava* BSk. and Pali

¹¹ *Nih saraṇaḥ prājña*, which should be taken as a compound word, cf. Pali *nissaraṇapañña* (=n.—dassin.)

and endued with an unsullied heart? When I see an object with my eye I shall not make it an object of thought¹ nor give attention to its details.² Inasmuch as when I live unrestrained as to the faculty of sight, covetousness,³ discontent and several other sinful and wrong states overflow⁴ the heart, I will undertake to restrain myself from these and take care against them, and display restraint with regard to the faculty of sight.⁵ Thus must you train yourself, O Kāśyapa. You will say, 'When I hear sounds with my ears, smell scents with my nose, taste flavours with my tongue, touch tangible things with my body, and cognise mental objects with my mind,⁶ I shall abide without making them the object of thought or occupying myself with their details. Inasmuch as when I abide unrestrained as to the faculty of mind,⁶ covetousness, discontent and several other sinful and wrong states overflow the heart. I will undertake to restrain myself from these and guard the faculty of mind and abide restrained as to the faculty of mind.' Thus, O Kāśyapa, must you train yourself. Therefore, O Kāśyapa, you must train yourself in this respect: you will say, "Have I not then the comforting⁷ application of mindfulness with regard to the body,⁸ that the body which I shall give up is not one that is permanently assembled."⁹ Thus, O Kāśyapa, must you train yourself. Therefore, O Kāśyapa, you must train yourself in

¹ Na nimittagrāhin, Pali nimittaggāhin, "not accepting a phenomenon", i.e., by implication, not being enticed or entranced by outward appearances.

² Na anuvyañjanagrāhin, (Pali-ggāhin). On those two expressions see a note by T. W. Rhys Davies in *Dial.* 1, p. 80.

³ Abhidhyā, Pali abhijjhā, more usually in Sk. *abhidhyāna*.

⁴ Reading *anvāsraṇsu*: (from *anu-ā-sru*), to correspond with the Pali *anvāssaṇṇam* (v.l. *anvāssaṇṇam*) at D. 1. 70, instead of the text *anuprāṇsu*: which Senart is forced to explain as a Prakrit form for *anuprāṇsu* "take hold of". It is now seen that Edgerton also (*Gram.* § 2. 30) takes the *v* as BSk. for *p*.

⁵ *Manasā dharmam vijñāya*.

⁶ Reading *manindriyena* for the strange *bhavendriyena* of the text. No *indriya* or faculty of *bhava* "coming to be" is mentioned elsewhere, while the summing up at the end of the sentence has the usual expression for the sixth faculty, viz. *manindriya*.

⁷ *Sukhasahagata*, "accompanied by ease."

⁸ *Kāyagatā smṛti*, Pali *kāyagatā sati*, one of the four *smṛityupasthānas* (Pali *satippaṭṭhāna*) or "applications or a raising of mindfulness", namely with regard to the body, feelings, mind and phenomena generally. See P.E.D. and B.H.S.D. for Pali and BSk. references respectively.

⁹ *Satatasamitam kāyam na jahīṣyāmīti*.

this respect. You will say, 'Shall I not then achieve¹ all the good states there are, for the sake of taming and controlling the self, and for the sake of utter release?'² Thus must you train yourself, O Kāśyapa. Therefore you must train yourself in this respect, O Kāśyapa. (53) You will say, 'Shall I not find in the four assemblies³ exceeding great love and respect, modesty and scrupulousness,⁴ and ready opportunity for development':⁵ Thus, O Kāśyapa, must you train yourself. Therefore you must train yourself, in this respect, O Kāśyapa. You will say, 'Shall I not then abide with a discernment of⁶ the uprising and of the cessation of the five *skandhas* on which existence thrives? I shall discern that this is material form, this is the uprising of material form, this is the cessation of material form; this is feeling, this is the uprising of feeling, this is the cessation of feeling; this is perception, this is the uprising of perception, this is the cessation of perception; these are the *saṃskāras*,⁷ this is the uprising of the *saṃskāras*, this is the cessation of the *saṃskāras*; this is consciousness, this is the uprising of consciousness, this is the cessation of consciousness.' Thus, O Kāśyapa, must you train yourself."

"So, O venerable Ānanda, when I had been given this exhortation by the Exalted One, for eight days I was a probationer⁸ student, and on the ninth day I attained⁹ perfect knowledge.¹⁰

"And when, O venerable Ānanda, he had given me this

¹ *Paryāpūṣyam*, cf. Pali *pariyāpūṇāti*, BSk. *pariyavāpnoti* (*Divy.* 613). See B.H.S.D. for other BSk. examples.

² Cf. D. 3. 61; A. 3. 46; M. 1. 45; A. 2. 68.

³ See vol. 2, p. 441, n. 4.

⁴ *Apatrāpya*, elsewhere in BSk. *apatrāpya*, Pali *otappa*. See vol. 1, p. 87, n. 1 and vol. 2, p. 324, n. 8.

⁵ Literally, "ready development", *bhāvanā pratyupasthitā*. The latter word is BSk. corresponding to Pali *paccupasthitā*.

⁶ Literally, "in", *pañcasu upādānaskandheṣu*. I.e. the five *skandhas* (Pali *khandhā*, see vol. 1, p. 58, n. 3.) "or elements of sensory existence", named in the next sentence, form the *upādāna* "that (material) substratum by means of which an active process is kept alive or going", (P.E.D.), as fuel is the *upādāna* of fire. Here, by implication, the process is that of existence. The term is discussed at V. 1. 10; S. 3. 47. 86-88, 127f.

⁷ Pali *sankhārā*. See vol. 1, p. 99, n. 1.

⁸ *Sakaraṇiya*, Pali *id.*, "one who has still something to do (in order to attain perfection)" P.E.D. Cf. D. 2. 143; *Thag.* 1045; *Miln.* 138.

⁹ *Arāgayati*. See vol. 2, p. 259, n. 7. See also B.H.S.D.

¹⁰ *Ājñā*, sc. of an arhan.

exhortation, the Exalted One rose up from his seat and walked away. And I, O venerable Ānanda, followed close on the heels¹ of the Exalted One. And as I did so, this thought occurred to me: 'Behold, the Exalted One will turn aside from the roadway and lean against the trunk of some tree. I shall spread out my patched² cotton under-robe for the Exalted One.' And, O venerable Ānanda, the Exalted One, aware that I had such a thought, stepped aside from the roadway and stood leaning against the trunk of a tree. I then spread out³ my patched cotton under-robe for the Exalted One, and he sat down on the seat thus prepared for him. When he had sat down, O venerable Ānanda, the Exalted One spoke and said, 'Friendly (54) indeed,⁴ O Kāśyapa, is this patched cotton under-robe; it is soft, of good texture,⁵ exquisite,⁶ delicate, light, well-made, fine, splendid and comfortable.' And I, O venerable Ānanda, said to the Exalted One, 'Well-won gain would it be for me, Lord, if the Exalted One were to accept this patched cotton under-robe of mine.'

"Then the Exalted One said to me, 'Do you wish, O Kāśyapa, in return⁷ to wear in the presence of the Tathāgata this under-robe of mine that is made of hempen rags⁸? ' And I, O venerable Ānanda, replied to the Exalted One, 'Well-won gain would it be for me, Lord, if the Exalted One were to give me his under-robe that is made of hempen rags.' The Exalted One, O venerable Ānanda, gave me his under-robe made of hempen rags and I accepted it from him.

"Now if, O venerable Ānanda, men of right speech were to say that a disciple received from his Master, the Exalted One, an under-robe of hempen rags, those men of right speech

¹ *Prīṣṭhimena prīṣṭhimam*. See p. 3, n. 26.

² *Pilotika*.

³ *Prajñāpayet*, opt. (1 sg.) in aor. sense.

⁴ *Khudayam*. *Khu* is for *khalu*, the "d" being an adventitious "hiatus-bridger"; and Senart calls attention to the presence of this letter here and in the adjectives following, *mṛḍukādayam*, etc., as being a peculiar feature of the passage. See Edgerton, *Gram.*, §4. 64.

⁵ *Masina*.

⁶ *Sukhuma*, BSk. and Pali, Sk. *sūkṣma*.

⁷ *Punar*.

⁸ Literally, "under-robe of hempen rags from the dust-heap", *śāṇānām pāṃśukūlānām sanghāṭi*. *Pāṃśukūla*, "rag from the dust-heap", is a stock epithet of the monk's robe. See V. 1. 58; M. 1. 78; S. 2. 202, 221; etc.

would be saying what is a fact. And why? I, O venerable Ānanda, am a disciple who received an under-robe of hempen rags from the Master. And when, O venerable Ānanda, men of right speech should say that the Exalted One has a genuine¹ son, (55) born of the dharma, created by the dharma, an heir as to the dharma, not an heir as to the flesh,² these men of right speech would be saying what is a fact. And why? I, O venerable Ānanda, am a genuine son of the Exalted One, born of the dharma, created by the dharma, an heir as to the dharma, not an heir as to the flesh.

"He who could imagine that my three knowledges,³ my six superknowledges⁴ and my mastery of the powers⁵ could be hidden away, could just as well imagine that a sixty years old elephant could be hidden by a palm-leaf.⁶ He who could imagine that I could hide away my three knowledges, my six superknowledges and my mastery of the powers, could just as well imagine that the flow of the Ganges river could be checked by a handful of dust. He who could imagine that my three knowledges, my six superknowledges and my mastery of the powers could be hidden away, could just as well imagine that the wind could be imprisoned in a net. He who could imagine that my three knowledges, my six superknowledges and my mastery of the powers could be hidden away, could just as well imagine that the five-finger mark⁷ could be imprinted on the air.

¹ *Orasa mukhata jāta*. *Orasa* = Sk. *aurasa*, "belonging to one's own breast". Cf. S. 2. 221.

² *Amiṣādayāda*. Cf. M. 1. 12.

³ *Tisro vidyā*. Most likely the three knowledges referred to here are the three *viññās* often mentioned together in Pali texts (e.g. M. 1. 22.), namely, *pubbe-nivās'-anussatiññāna*, *cut'-ūpāpatti-ññāna*, and *āsavānaṃ-khaya-ññāna*, that is, "knowledge of the memory of former lives, of passing away and coming to be, and of the decay of the *āsavas*." These represented the last three stages in the achievement of the third and final *sampadā*, *prājñā*-(*paññā*-) *sampadā*. See also D. 3. 220, 275; A. 2. 165; Vism. 202. They are set antithetically to the brāhmanic three knowledges, i.e., the three Vedas, at D. 1. 100, and A. 1. 163. See P.E.D. for further references. Cf. vol. 1. p. 201, n. 1.

⁴ *Abhiññā*. These are usually enumerated as five in the *Mhvu*. See vol. 1, p. 84, n. 3.

⁵ See vol. 1, p. 43, n. 2.

⁶ Reading *lālapatrikāye* for *balaśaktikāye* of the text, to correspond with Pali *lālapattikāye* of the parallel passages at S. 2. 217 and 222. The text reading forces Senart to give *chāḍitavyam* a sense other than its usual one, from *chad*, "to cover", and to see in it "une orthographe prācritisante" of the Pali *chaḍḍeti*, "to vomit", here "to throw". But a much better sense is got here by retaining the primitive sense of *chad* and emending *balaśaktikāye* as above.

⁷ See vol. 1, p. 223, n. 5.

"And now, O venerable Ānanda, whosoever of these five hundred monks harbours doubt or mistrust of me, let him ask a question, and I, in answering the question, shall roar a veritable lion's roar."

Then those five hundred monks said to the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, "Whosoever, O venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, harbours doubt or mistrust, let him ask a question. And we shall honour you, and henceforth our obedience will be greater and better than before." The venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa then instructed, roused, gladdened and thrilled the monks with a discourse on dharma. He then rose from his seat and departed.

The venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa had not been long gone when he kept his look turned all the time on the nun Sthūlanandā, turning his whole body round to do so as an elephant does,¹ hoping that he could reconcile her heart. Though in doing so he turned right round,² (56) the nun Sthūlanandā remained unreconciled. The depraved nun Sthūlanandā uncovered herself³ before the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, and immediately she died. And as she had hardened⁴ her heart against the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa, she was reborn in one of the great hells. Such is the tradition.

Here ends the *sūtra* of the ordination of Mahā-Kāśyapa.

THE CONVERSION OF ŚĀRIPUTRA AND MAUDGALYĀYANA⁵

Half a *yojana* from Rājagṛiha there was a village named Nālandagrāmaka,⁶ which was flourishing, rich and prosperous.

¹ Literally, "looked with an elephant-look", *nāgavalokiteṇa avaloketi*. Cf. *M.* 1. 137; *Divy.* 208.

² The text here is somewhat obscure. Senart prints *śakhaṭṭakamātrā prīthivī anuparivartite*. But it would seem better from the point of view of syntax to read—*mātrām prīthivīm* (acc.), with the MSS. This would give the literal translation "he went over ground the size of a cart-wheel," i.e. he turned right round. In any case, we can not conceive here any allusion to the constellation Rohini (*śakha*, see below p. 208, text) and the rotation of the earth.

³ *Vivaram* (= ? *vivaraṇam*) *adāsi*.

⁴ *Aghāteṭi cittaṃ*. Cf. Pali.

⁵ Cf. the account in *V.* 1. 39ff.

⁶ "The commentators say that Upatissa was the name of his (Śāriputra's) village and that he was the eldest son of the chief family in the village, but other accounts give his village as Nālaka." (D.P.N.)

In it there dwelt a brāhman, who was the owner of great halls and was opulent, rich and wealthy, possessing an abundance of varied property, money, treasuries, granaries, gold, silver, means of luxury, elephants, horses, bulls, cows and goats, female and male slaves, and servants. This brāhman had a brāhman wife, named Śārī,¹ who was gracious and beautiful. The brāhmaṇī Śārī had seven sons, named Dharma, [Sudharma],² Upadharma, Śatadharmā, Sahasradharma, Tiṣya, and Upatiṣya.³ Six of them were established. The seventh and youngest, Upatiṣya, was as yet unestablished⁴ and was a student of the Vedic *mantras* at the house of a guru.

Half a *yojana* from Rājagṛiha was a village named Kolitagrāmaka, which was flourishing, rich and prosperous. In it there dwelt a brāhman, who was the owner of great halls and was opulent, rich and wealthy, possessing an abundance of money, treasuries and granaries, gold, silver, means of luxury, elephants, horses, bulls, cows and goats, female and male slaves, and servants. He was of the clan of Maudgalyāyana. He had a son named Kolita,⁵ who was gracious, comely, clever, skilful and intelligent. He, too, was studying the Vedic *mantras* at the house of the guru where Upatiṣya and some five hundred other brāhman youths were studying.

(57) Kolita and Upatiṣya were ahead of all the others in mastering the Vedic *mantras*. They gave attention and obedience to their teacher, paid him his fees, and provided him with a sunshade, shoes, a staff, a water-pot⁶ and a hempen cloak. These two were friends, being fond of and devoted to each other. Upatiṣya used to go from Nālanda to Kolitagrāmaka to visit Kolita, and Kolita would go from Kolita to Nālandagrāmaka to visit Upatiṣya.

Now at Rājagṛiha there was annually⁷ held a festival called

¹ In *DhA.* 2. 84, 188, we are told that Vangata was Śāriputra's father and Rūpasārī his mother.

² Omitted from text. Senart supplies this name from Beal: *Romantic Legend*, p. 324.

³ *DhA.* 2. 188, gives Śāriputra three younger brothers, Cunda, Upasena, and Revata (afterwards called Khadiravaniya), and three sisters, Cālā, Upacālā and Sisūpacālā. See *D.P.N.*

⁴ *Anivīṣṭaka*. Sc. in brāhmanism.

⁵ I.e., after the village.

⁶ *Kamaṇḍalūkha*, BSk. (?). Pali and Sk. *kamaṇḍalu*.

⁷ *Samasamam*. Cf. *DhA.* 1. 89, where the festival is described as being *anusamvacharam*. It is also said to be held "from time to time", *kālānu-kālam*, see *D.P.N.*

the Mountain-top Assembly,¹ at which there were five hundred religious observances. For these five hundred religious observances there were five hundred parks, and all the five hundred parks were crowded with several thousands of people. There were hundreds of shows, hundreds of choruses, several hundreds of dancers, actors, athletes, wrestlers and minstrels, *ḍimbaras*,² *valaṇṇjakas*, and drummers.

Then the two rich brāhmins' sons, Upatīṣya and Kolita, in chariots drawn by four horses yoked together by the neck, and attended by thousands of servants went to see the Mountain-top Assembly. The two were men who had merit and the root of goodness; who had excellent safeguard³ in the service they had rendered to former perfect Buddhas, to

¹ *Giriyagrasamāja*, Pali *Giraggasamajja*. At *AvŚ.* 2. 24, the Sanskrit form of the name is *Girivaggusamāgama*. For references to this festival see *Dial.* 1. 7; *VT.* 3. 71; I. B. Horner: *Bk of Disc.*, 2. 333; *D.P.N.*, and *P.E.D.* The *Mhvu.* is alone in defining the festival as consisting "of five hundred religious observances" (*pañcānāṃ tapośalānām*). There does not seem to be much doubt about the reading, but the exact sense of this definition is obscure. Senart leaves it unexplained. The same phrase occurs in the next sentence in the instrumental case, *pañcahi tapośatehi*, which can only be interpreted as an instrumental (for locative) absolute "during these 500 religious observances." Such an adverbial expression of time however, does not fit in well in a substantial sentence like "there were parks", so that this second occurrence of the phrase does not help at all in clearing up the obscurity. At the same time, it must be borne in mind that, however much the festival had been secularised at the time of our texts, and become practically a pleasure fair, there can be no doubt that its original nature was religious. While the orthodox Buddhist monks were prohibited from attending it (*V.* 2. 107, 4. 267), recalcitrants like the Chabbaggiyas and the Sattarasavaggiyas were clearly active participants (*D.P.N.*). This, too, may explain why on p. 58 (text) Śāriputra dubs the participants *munisā* (see note there.) Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.* s.v. *Tapoda*) makes the very interesting suggestion that for *tapo-* we should read *lapoda-*, and understand the allusion to be to the hot-water lake called Tapoda (Pali Tapodā) just outside Rājagṛha below the Vebhāra mountain (see *D.P.N.*) This would make *pañcahi lapodaśatehi* give what is perhaps a reasonable sense, "At these five hundred warm springs there were five hundred parks." But the genitive expression *pañcānāṃ tapodaśalānām* remains as difficult of explanation as the original one in Senart's text. The only translation possible, "The festival called Mountain-top Gathering, of five hundred warm springs," (so Edgerton) is far from intelligible. Besides we nowhere hear of five hundred springs here, but only of one lake.

² Some kind of entertainer (*B.H.S.D.*), and so, presumably is *valaṇṇjaka*, but this latter word, which seems to occur only here, is not given in any dictionary. Possibly the compound *ḍimbaravalāṇṇjaka* should be analysed differently.

³ Reading *vara-parittāgra* for *parittagṛhā*. As Senart says, *paritta* is the equivalent of Pali *paritta* (*pari-trā*) "protection", "safeguard", "protective charm", etc. For the sentiment cf. *J.* 1. 396, *pacceka-buddhehi parittaṃ karaṇeti*, "makes them find a safeguard through the Paccekabuddhas". See also *B.H.S.D.*

Pratyekabuddhas¹ and to great disciples; who had scattered the seed of true service²; who had broken the bonds that tied them to rebirth, and who, through their attainment of Āryan states, were for that cause and reason living in their last existence. While the two were looking on at the Mountain-top Assembly, the basic condition of things was revealed to them in virtue of their long-standing root of goodness. For when Śāriputra saw that great crowd of people there arose in him the awareness of the impermanence of things. "In a hundred years," thought he, "all this crowd will have ceased to exist because of their impermanence." In Maudgalyāyana, too, when he saw that crowd laughing uproariously and throwing about their wreaths of ivory, (58) there arose the idea of the skeleton.³

Then Maudgalyāyana, seeing Śāriputra's downcast countenance said,

Entrancing strains of lyre and notes of song issue from the crystalline bathing pool.⁴ Enchanting and sweet sounds are heard. So be in love with life; why be downcast of countenance?

This is a time for gladness, not for sorrow. It is a time for delight; so do not breed discontent.⁵ Hark to the chorus that is like to a chorus of the Apsarases, and be glad with this rejoicing throng of men.

But the young Śāriputra replied to the young Maudgalyāyana,

¹ See vol. 1. p. 40, n. 3. In the *Mhvu.* the indirect object is here expressed by the locative.

² ? *Uptasatyādāhikārā*, *upta* being from *vap*, "to sow".

³ *Asiḥisaṃjñā*, cf. Pali *aṭṭhisaññā*, *Thag.* 18, and *aṭṭhikasaññā*, *S.* 5. 129; *A.* 2. 17; *Dhs.* 264. See *B.H.S.D.* for BSk. references, which, however, do not include the present one.

⁴ *Tripuṣkarasphoṭikasāryamānā*. *Sphoṭika* is difficult. It has been assumed here that it is for *spṛṣṭika*, "made of crystal", with reference either to the material of certain parts of the pool, e.g., the stairs, or to the "crystal-clear" water. Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*), however, s.v. *tripuṣkara*, gives the whole compound a different interpretation. He takes *tripuṣkara* in its meaning of drum (with triple drum-skin, cf. 2. 201, text), but leaves *sphoṭika* unexplained, only querying whether it means "rattle" or is the name of some unknown musical instrument. The compound, however, is clearly an adjective qualifying *tantrīśvaragītaghoṣā*, "strains of lute and sounds of song" and it is hardly proper to speak of these as emanating from or being emitted by any kind of drum.

⁵ The text *aratim janāhi* requires the insertion of a negative, or the omission of the negative prefix *a* in *aratim*.

These are the ways of passion and wantonness. In life and its affairs what satisfaction is there either for the foolish or the wise?

Ere long all these poor devotees¹ who indulge in sensual pleasures will have to leave their bodies unsatisfied, and die. And their end will be ashes.

So it is, Maudgalyāyana, that the awareness of these things delights me not, and I have no joy therein. It is profound reflection exercised in my mind that gives me joy.²

It is time to live by dharma. For men and Kinnaras, Suras and Asuras, will, though they live, if they have coveted the joys of the senses, go to destruction unsatisfied.

The devas envy him who joyfully resorts to physical seclusion in the forest even at the time of his life when he could indulge in sensual excess.³ (59) For the hard life he has taken up is that which is lived by the gods.⁴

The man who is equable in joys and sorrows, in prosperity and adversity, the man whom soothsayers speak well of, such a man would I, the son of Śārī, become.

Then the young Śāriputra said to the young Maudgalyāyana, "The religious life appeals to me, and I shall embrace it." Maudgalyāyana replied, "What you desire that do I, too, desire. I also shall take to the religious life," and he added,

The way desired by you seems good⁵ to me also. It would be better to die with you than to live without you.

Now at that time in the city of Rājagṛiha, in the Wanderers' Retreat, there dwelt a Wanderer⁶ named Sañjayin

¹ *Munisā*, if the text is correct, can only be for *muniṣā*, pl. of the adj. *muniṣa* (from *muniṣ*), here used as a substantive probably with a pejorative force, hence "poor".

² The text is obscure here. It reads, *vipulā pratimā caiva bhāvitā matiṃ*. The translation above assumes, possibly without warrant, a figurative use of *pratimā*. "a (material) image or reflection", in the sense of "a mental reflection". Senart sees in it an allusion to the *upamās* or "similitudes" e.g., vol. 2. pp. 117ff., and he translates: "Mais la grande comparaison (que m'inspire ce spectacle) méditée en esprit, c'est là ce qui me charme."

³ Literally, "having come to the time for intoxication", *madakālopagata*.

⁴ *Maruckṛṇa*.

⁵ *Rocati*, Pali only (?) in this sense. Sk. *rocate*; BSk. *rucyati*, *ruccati*.

⁶ *Parivrajaka*, Pali, *paribbājaka*.

Vairāṭiputra,¹ with a company of fifty Wanderers. So the young Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana went to the Wanderers' Retreat and embraced the religious life in the company of the Wanderer Sañjayin Vairāṭiputra. Śāriputra mastered all the rules of the Wanderers after being a Wanderer for a week, and Maudgalyāyana did so in a fortnight. But then they said, "This is not the dharma of the way out which, for him who practises it, conduces to the cessation of ill. So let us go separate ways and let us seek the well-preached discipline of the dharma that conduces to the cessation of ill. That one of us² who first (hears³) the well-preached discipline of the dharma is to preach it to the other. Then we shall together take up the religious life in the discipline of the Āryan dharma." Then, having recited the rules of the Wanderers, they entered Rājagṛiha, Śāriputra by one road and Maudgalyāyana by another.

(60) Now at that time the Exalted One having stayed as long as he wanted to in the park Yaśṭivana,⁴ which was on the Antarāgiri⁵ hill, went to the Bamboo Grove⁶ and stayed there in the Squirrels' Feeding-place⁷ with a great company of thirteen and a half hundred monks. Then the venerable Upasena⁸ dressed himself betimes, and taking his bowl and robe went on his alms-round in the city of Rājagṛiha. And Śāriputra from a distance saw the venerable Upasena coming, courteous in his manner of approaching and taking his leave, of looking forward and around, of extending and withdrawing his hand, and of carrying his cloak, bowl and robe.⁹ He was like a

¹ V. 1. 39 and DhA. 1. 89, call him simply Sañjaya. Elsewhere in Pali texts he is called Sañjaya-Belaṭṭhiputta, being, as Buddhaghosa (DA. 1. 144) says, the son of Belaṭṭha. Divy. 143, 145 calls him Sañjayin Vairāṭiputra. He was "one of the six famous heretical teachers of the Buddha's day. He was a great sceptic, his teaching being the evasion of problems and the suspension of judgment." (D.P.N.)

² *Mam*, gen. pl. I Only in the *Mhvu*. See Edgerton (Gram. §20. 58), who, however, doubts the correctness of Senart's restoration of the text in some of the passages which show this form.

³ Lacuna; the translation is supplied from the context.

⁴ Called *Latthivana* and *Latthivanuyyāna* in Pali. It is called *Yaśṭivana*, as here, in Chinese. See Beal, p. 145. (D.P.N.)

⁵ Or Antagiri, near Rājagṛiha. Neither form in Pali (B.H.S.D.)

⁶ *Venuvana*. See vol. 1. p. 210, n. 4.

⁷ *Kalandakanivāpa*. Ibid. n. 3.

⁸ In the *Piṭakas* Śāriputra was converted by Assaji, not by Upasena. See D.P.N.

⁹ In vol. 1, p. 250 this and the rest is the description of the demeanour of a Pratyekabuddha. It is, in fact, the stock description of the calm demeanour of a self-controlled and self-possessed ascetic or monk. Cf. e.g. V. 1. 39 and D. 1. 70.

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 the dharma. He did not look before him farther than a plough's length. And Śāriputra, "seeing him", kept his mind exceeding calm. "Lovely," said he, "is the deportment of this religious man. What if I were now to approach him?"

Then the Wanderer Śāriputra went up to the venerable Upasena, and having exchanged cordial and courteous greetings with him stood to one side. And as the Wanderer Śāriputra thus stood to one side, he said to the venerable Upasena, "Sir, are you a Master or a disciple?" The venerable Upasena replied to the Wanderer Śāriputra, "Venerable sir, I am a disciple." The venerable Wanderer Śāriputra asked the venerable Upasena, "What, sir, is your master's doctrine? What does he preach? How does he teach dharma to his disciples? What kind of exhortation and instruction does he generally employ among his disciples?" The venerable Upasena replied to the Wanderer Śāriputra, "I have but little learning, venerable sir. I can only formulate the general sense of his teaching."¹ But the Wanderer Śāriputra said to the venerable Upasena,

*I am concerned with the sense, what matters the letter?
For he who teaches the sense knows the sense, and seeks
to do good thereby.*

(61) *We, too, for many a day have borne such a profitless
burden of words and text,² and ere this have been many a
time deceived.³*

The venerable Upasena said to the Wanderer Śāriputra, "The Master enjoins renunciation by illustrating⁴ the arising of things from a cause." And thereupon as he stood on that spot of earth, the Wanderer Śāriputra attained the faultless, flawless, pure dharma-insight into things.

Then Śāriputra, the Wanderer, having attained the dharma, given up false belief, overcome doubt, rid himself of perplexity, upright, gentle and supple of heart, prone and inclined

¹ *Arthamātram kalpeyam*. Cf. V. 1. 40, *saṃkhitena attham vakkhāmi*.

² *Grantha*, Pali *gantha*, only late in the sense of book.

³ *Vañcitā pūrvam vañcitā*.

⁴ *Upādāya*, "with reference to."

to nirvana,¹ asked the venerable Upasena, "Where is the Master staying?" The venerable Upasena answered the Wanderer Śāriputra and said, "The Master is in the Squirrels' Feeding-place in the Bamboo Grove." And when he had thus spoken the venerable Upasena went on his alms-round in the city of Rājagṛiha.

The Wanderer Śāriputra went to the Wanderer Maudgalyāyana. And Maudgalyāyana saw Śāriputra when he was still some way off, with a countenance like the lotus and his senses serene. And seeing him thus he said to the Wanderer Śāriputra, "Friend Śāriputra, your countenance is pure and clear, and your senses serene. Have you, O venerable Śāriputra, found the immortal and the Way that leads to the immortal? Your countenance is that of a religious man,² clear like the blossoming lotus. Serene and calm are your senses. Where did you obtain the immortal whereby there has been shed over you this two-fold shining and bright blaze of radiance?"

(62) When this had been said, the Wanderer Śāriputra said to Maudgalyāyana, "Yes, O venerable Maudgalyāyana, I have found the immortal and the Way that leads to the immortal."

*A Light of the World is arisen, one of the glorious Buddhas
of whom we are taught that they appear as rarely as the
flower of the glomerous fig-tree.³*

The Wanderer Maudgalyāyana asked the Wanderer Śāriputra, "O venerable Śāriputra, what does the Master teach and what does he preach?" The Wanderer Śāriputra answered and said,

*The Tathāgata has proclaimed the cause and also the
cessation of all the things that proceed from a cause. This
is the Great Recluse's doctrine.⁴*

Thereupon the Wanderer Maudgalyāyana, as he stood on

¹ *Nirvāṇaprayāna nirvāṇapṛābhāra*.

² Reading *pravrajitasya*, "of one who has gone forth", for the *prāvṛitasya* of the text, a reading which naturally forces Senart to wonder what the point is of mentioning that Śāriputra was "clothed". The emendation cannot, however, be regarded as certain. A MS. variant is *vṛittajya*.

³ The construction here is difficult: *Yo so . . . buddhā utpadyanti . . . utpanno lokapṛadyoto*, where singular and plural are in apposition. For this comparison of the rarity of Buddhas to the rarity of the blossoming of this fig-tree, see vol. 1, p. 190, n. 1.

⁴ Identical with couplet at V. 1. 40.

that spot of earth, attained the faultless, flawless, pure dharma-insight into things. Having attained the dharma, he gave up false beliefs, overcame doubt, rid himself of perplexity, became exultant in mind and heart, gentle and supple of heart, immersed in thoughts of nirvana, prone and inclined to nirvana.

Then the Wanderer Maudgalyāyana asked the Wanderer Śāriputra, "Where, O venerable Śāriputra, is the Master staying?" Śāriputra replied, "Venerable friend, the Master is staying in the Squirrels' Feeding-place in the Bamboo Grove, with a large company of thirteen and a half hundred monks. Let us go and tell our master Sañjayin that we are going to live the religious life under the Exalted One in the Bamboo Grove." Then the Wanderer Maudgalyāyana (63) said to the Wanderer Śāriputra, "Do you go, venerable Śāriputra, to the Bamboo Grove. What have we¹ to do with Sañjayin and his corrupt belief?" But Śāriputra said, "Not so, O venerable Maudgalyāyana, Sañjayin has done us a great service since it is through him² that we gave up the life of householders."

So they went to the Wanderers' Retreat and said to Sañjayin, "We are going to live the religious life under the exalted Great Recluse." The Wanderer Sañjayin replied to the Wanderers Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, saying, "Do not, my friends, go and live the religious life under Gotama. Here I have five hundred monks, so do you share with me the superintendence of them."³ They replied, "No, for we are going to live the religious life under the exalted Great Recluse. The discipline of the dharma has been well preached by the Exalted One, revealed⁴ and stripped of its swathings.⁵

¹ Literally, "what is there to us (of us = *mam* gen. pl.) in the sight of (or in seeing) Sañjayin," *hiṃ mam Sañjayinā . . . dṛiṣṭena*.

² *Yam āgama, Pali āgama*. See Vol. 1, p. 198, n. 2.

³ Literally, "be half the superintendents of", *arāhapaṇihārā*. *Parihāra* is the substantive corresponding to *pariharati* in the Pali and BSk. sense of "to take care of", etc. Cf. V. 1. 42, *sabbevatayo imam gaṇam pariharissāma*. See B.H.S.D. for BSk. references.

⁴ The text has *vivṛitodaya*, that is, *vivṛita-udaya*, where *udaya* is inexplicable and probably a mistake, unless we are to understand that the dharma is said to be "arising revealed". The corresponding stock passage in Pali, however, has *vivaṭa* only.

⁵ Reading *chinnāpilotiko* for *chinnā pilotikā* of the text. Cf. *chinnāpilotiko dhammo*, M. 1. 141 and S. 2. 28. The translation of the expression is that given by Mrs. Rhys Davids at the latter place (= KS. 2. 24.). For *pilotika* see p. 49 n. 10.

We have had enough of disbelief in the Beneficent One."¹

When they had thus informed Sañjayin, they left the Wanderers' Retreat and made for the Bamboo Grove. And the five hundred Wanderers went along with the Wanderers Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. Sañjayin said to Śāriputra, "Upaṭiṣya² leaves me, and takes with him not one only of these, nor two, nor three nor even four, but the whole five hundred."

At the Bamboo Grove the Exalted One gave instructions to his monks, saying, "Make seats ready. Here are the Wanderers Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana coming, with a company of five hundred Wanderers, to live the religious life under the Tathāgata. They will be my chief pair of disciples, a goodly pair, the one eminent for his wisdom and the other for his magic power."

The Wanderer Śāriputra, when he was still some way off, saw the Exalted One (64) in the Bamboo Grove moving about, honoured and attended by a great crowd, teaching the dharma which is lovely at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end, good in sense and expression, absolutely perfect, pure, clean, holy and illuminating. He was endowed with the thirty-two marks of excellence and his person was radiant with the eighty minor characteristics. He was endowed with the eighteen special attributes³ of a Buddha, strong with the ten powers of a Tathāgata, and assured on the four grounds of assurance. His faculties and mind were controlled, and he had attained the perfection of supreme self-control and calm. He was like a Nāga. He had accomplished his task. His faculties were turned inwards; his mind was not turned outwards, being well-established, in conformity with the dharma, and upright. He looked before him no farther than a plough's length. He was like a Nāga with his faculties guarded and subdued. He was like a pool

¹ *Alamārthikasya aprasādena*. *Arthika* is an epithet of the Buddha at Vol. 2 p. 284 text (see Vol. 2, p. 267, trans.) Edgerton (B.H.S.D.), after pointing out that this usage seems to be unknown in Pali, says that the word perhaps means "in possession of," "having attained his aim." But it may equally well mean "one who brings what is good or profitable," hence "beneficent."

² I.e., Śāriputra, see p. 57.

³ *Avenikā buddhadharmā*. See Vol. 1, p. 33, n. 4.

of water, clear, pure and serene. He stood like a bejewelled sacrificial post; like the shining golden *bimba*¹; like a flame of fire, ablaze with glory; like another rising sun, unclouded² and invincible. Released by insight, he was surrounded by those who were released³; self-controlled, he was surrounded by those who were self-controlled; having crossed, he was surrounded by those who had crossed; having reached the shore beyond, he was surrounded by those who had reached the shore beyond; having gained firm ground, he was surrounded by those who had gained firm ground; having won peace, he was surrounded by those who had won peace; a recluse, he was surrounded by recluses; being beyond evil, he was surrounded by those who were beyond evil; a brāhman, he was surrounded by brāhmans; a learned man,⁴ he was surrounded by learned men; having bathed, he was surrounded by those who had bathed; being beyond the states of sin, he was surrounded by those who were beyond the states of sin.

Then the Wanderers Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, accompanied by the five hundred, approached the Exalted One, and having bowed their heads at his feet stood to one side. And as he thus stood to one side the Wanderer Śāriputra said to the Exalted One,

These have dwelt in the water of the ocean, in mountain cave, in glade and wood. A long time have they surely dwelt among false sectarians, through lack of sight of thee, O Sage.

But now have they turned from the wrong ways and have crossed over in faith to thy way, O great Caravan-leader. They have traversed the thicket of rebirth, and now, strong and wise and passionless, they are no longer moved by lust.

The Wanderers Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana said to the Exalted One, "Let the Exalted One admit us as recluses."⁵ (65)

¹ The red fruit of *Momordica monodelpha*, a species of amaranth.

² Literally, "unmixed," *asecanaka* from *a* and *sic* "to pour." At Vol. I, p. 194 the MSS. vary between *āsecanaka* and *asecanaka*. See M.W. on both forms. The latter is the Pali and BSk. form.

³ *Muktapariivāra*. With this passage compare D. 3. 54; M. I. 235. 280.

⁴ *Srottriya*, cf. Pali *sottiya* and *sotthiya*.

⁵ *Pravrajētu mām*.

Let the Sugata ordain us." Then the Exalted One, with the formula of "Come, monks," ordained¹ the Wanderers Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana and the five hundred other Wanderers. "Come, monks," said he, "live the religious life under the Tathāgata." And when the formula of "Come, monks" had been pronounced over them, every mark of a Wanderer, every badge,² every emblem, and every sign disappeared from all of them. They were seen to have the three robes, *sumbhaka*³ bowls, their hair in its natural state, and their deportment established, all just like those of monks who had been ordained a hundred years. Such was the admission and ordination of the venerable Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana and the five hundred Wanderers accompanying them.

Then the venerable Śāriputra asked the Exalted One, "When we say that a thing manifests itself, what is it that is manifested?⁴ When we say a thing endures, what is it that endures?⁵ When we say a thing is broken up, what is

¹ Literally "addressed them with the (formula of) 'come, monks,' *ehibhikkhukāye ābhāse*.

² ?*Gupta*, cf. *grihigupti*, Vol. 2. p. 234 (p. 221, n. 4 of trans., where the rendering "safeguard" is perhaps too vague). *Gupti* is the better reading. "Sign" is also offered as a better (though still very doubtful) rendering of *kalpa*, instead of "usage" as in Vol. 2.

³ In this stereotyped passage *sumbhaka* appears as an adjective qualifying *patra*, and once (Vol. 3, p. 459) even as a substantive synonymous with it. Though its etymology and exact meaning are unknown, the persistence with which it occurs in this formula shows that it cannot be regarded as a mistake for *kumbhaka*, as was done in Vol. 2 of this translation. Yet it is strange that it is not found outside the *Mhvu*. See Edgerton's discussion in *B.H.S.D.*

⁴ Literally, "What making itself known is made known?" *Kim . . . prajñāpentam* (so reading for-to) *prajñāpeti*? The causal verb *prajñāpeti* (Pali *paññāpeti*) and its participle are here used in a neuter or middle sense. The "being manifested," of course, is only another aspect of "being known." Cf. the definition of *paññati* at *Cpd.* 4, where it is said that it is "either (1) that which makes known (*paññāpeti*) or (2) that which is made known." "Being manifested" further implies "being designated." See, e.g., S. 3. 101, where the four great elements are said to be the cause of the designation of the body-group in just the same way as they are in this passage said to be the cause of the "being manifested." (*Ko no kku bhante hetu ko paccayo rūpakkhādhassa paññāpanāya . . . cattāro kko bhikkhu mahābhūta hetu cattāro mahābhūta paccayo rūpakkhādhassa paññāpanāya*.) Senart, however, prefers to see in *prajñāpeti* here a figurative use of its application in the phrase *āsanam prajñāpeti*, "to set out a seat," and he translates, "qu'est ce qui a de l'étendue?" But the Buddhists expressed the idea of extension by a totally different word, *prithivī*, *paṭhavi*, see, e.g., *Cpd.* 155. See *B.H.S.D.* for BSk references.

⁵ Literally, "what standing, stands?" *kim tiṣṭhamānam tiṣṭhati*.

that which is broken up? When we say a thing is reconstituted, what is it that is reconstituted?"¹

The Exalted One replied to the venerable Śāriputra, "It is the four elements,² Śāriputra. When we say that things are manifested, we mean that the four elements are manifested.³ When we say that things endure,⁴ we mean that the four elements endure. When we say that things are broken up, we mean that the four elements are broken up. When we say that things are reconstituted, we mean that the four elements are reconstituted."⁵

Next the venerable Śāriputra asked the Exalted One, "Lord, from what cause⁶ is a thing born?⁷ From what cause does a thing endure? From what cause is it broken up? From what cause is it reconstituted?" The Exalted One replied to the venerable Śāriputra, "From what cause, Śāriputra, is a thing born? It is because of ignorance, craving and karma; that is why, Śāriputra, a thing is born. Why does it endure? It endures because of the karma of life⁸ and of the sustenance it gets.⁹ Why, Śāriputra, is it broken up? It is broken up because of the decay of life, of karma and

¹ *Paṭisaṇḍhentaṃ paṭisaṇḍheti*, causal in neuter or middle sense. Also *pratisaṃdadhāti*, Pali *paṭisaṃdadhāti*, "connects (with a new body)" B.H.S.D.

² *Catvāro dhātavaḥ*. Here *dhātavaḥ* corresponds to the *mahābhūta* of the passage cited in n. 4. p. 67. The latter seems to be the Pali term mostly used in this connection, but at M.1. 185 we have an interchange of the two expressions in the same passage. Cf. *Dhs. trsl.* p. 198, n.

³ The text is more concise here, *catvāro Śāriputra dhātavaḥ prajñāpentā prajñāpentī*, "the four elements, Śāriputra, are made manifest when they are manifested." And so for the other replies.

⁴ Or, "are standing" *tiṣṭhamānāvo*. With apparently this sole exception Senart emends all the MSS. forms having nom.-acc. in -āvo into āyo, a better authenticated BSk. inflexion, until he comes to p. 149 of this volume, when he expresses regret at having done so. For the form see Edgerton, *Gram.* §9. 93.

⁵ This exposition is referred to as the *Dhātukammaṭṭhāna* at DhA. 1. 96.

⁶ *Kimpratyaṃ*, abl. for -āt.

⁷ *Jāyati*. This question is omitted in the text, obviously by an oversight, for Senart comments on it in his notes, using this form of the verb. In the repetition, he prints *jāyati* "is born", "is produced". It is to be noted that, if Senart's text is correct, a departure has been made from the run of the argument. The first of the questions at issue was as to the nature or cause of "manifestation" or "being known." There is much to be said, therefore, for reading *jñāyati* "is known" instead of *jāyati*, and rendering "from what cause is a thing known," i.e. "manifested," with the implication that the "production" of a thing is synonymous with the "manifestation" of it.

⁸ *Āyukḥkarma*.

⁹ *Āhārapratyaṃ*. Cf. S. 3. 59, *āhārasamudaya rūpasamudayo* "from the arising of food, is the arising of body."

because of the deprivation of sustenance. Why, Śāriputra, is it reconstituted? It is reconstituted through the non-elimination of ignorance and because of subjection to craving, and so it has a maturing karma.¹ (66) That is why, Śāriputra, a thing is reconstituted. From what cause, Śāriputra, is a thing not reconstituted? It is because of the elimination of ignorance, because of the ending of craving; there is here no karma and no maturing of it. It is from this cause, Śāriputra, that there is no reconstitution.

"When the eye, an inward *āyatana*,² is unimpaired, then form, an outward *āyatana*, becomes clear to the eye.³ As a result of this there is produced an accession of what is pleasing and delicious,⁴ joy, ease and satisfaction, and the faculties are gratified. But, Śāriputra, the states which causally produce the joy, ease and satisfaction and gratify the faculties, being causally begotten, developed, perfected and experienced, and causally arisen, are not the self nor belonging to the self; but are void of self and of anything belonging to the self. And so, somewhere or other, there arises karma and the maturing of karma, and cause and the states that are produced from a cause. It is the same with regard to hearing, smell taste, body and mind, Śāriputra. When the inward *āyatana* is unimpaired, the objects which are the outward *āyatanas* become clear to the mind. As a result of this there is produced an accession of what is pleasing and delicious, joy, ease and satisfaction, and the faculties are gratified. But, Śāriputra, the states which causally produce this joy, ease and

¹ *Karmaṃ cāsyā bhavati pakvaṃ*.

² *Cakṣus . . . ādhyātmikamāyatanam*, where the two expressions are in apposition, just as *bāhiraṃ āyatanam* is in apposition to *rūpa* in the next clause. *Āyatana* is usually rendered "sphere" (of perception), but no English word fully exhausts its connotation. See Mrs. Rhys Davids' remarks at Cpā. 183, 256. As is suggested by the present passage, the word denotes at one and the same time the activity or function of both the percipient and the perceived in a single act of perception. Miss I. B. Horner calls the translator's attention to the remarks of Nyanatiloka in his *Buddhist Dictionary* (1950), p. 23, where he says "the visible object (*rūpāyatana*) is in Vbh. (p. 70 ff.) described as 'that phenomenon which is built up of the four elements (*mahābhūta*) and appears as colour, etc.' That, namely, which is seen by the visual perception, i.e. by the so-called eye-consciousness (*cakkhu-viññāṇa*), are colours and differences of light, but no tri-dimensional bodily things." Cf. *Dhs.* §617.

³ *Cakṣuṣaḥ ābhāsamāgatam bhavati*, "becomes what has come to (be) a light (appearance) of (for) the eye."

⁴ *Manāpāsecanasamutthānaṃ iasya tato nidānaṃ utpadyati*.

satisfaction and gratify the faculties, being causally begotten, developed, perfected and experienced, and causally arisen, are not the self nor belonging to the self; they are void of self and of anything belonging to the self. And thus, somewhere or other, there arises karma, the maturing of karma, cause, and the states that are produced from a cause."

Thus spoke the Exalted One. And while this exposition was being given, (67) the hearts of Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana and the hundreds of monks with them were completely rid of the *āśravas*. Seven days after being ordained the venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana attained power and control over magic and realised the four branches of logical analysis,¹ while a fortnight after he had been a monk and ordained the venerable Śāriputra attained control over the superknowledges² and realised the four branches of logical analysis. And the venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana had not been a monk and ordained for long before he realised the three knowledges:³ the deva eye,⁴ recollection of former lives, and the decay of the *āśravas*. Such is the tradition.

Here is to be supplied⁵ the *Sūtra*⁶ of the Wanderer Dirghanakha.

THE FIVE HUNDRED MERCHANTS

The monks said to the Exalted One, "Behold, Lord, how the venerable Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana and the five hundred monks with them were led by the Exalted One away from the pitiless heretical ways of the Wanderer Sañjayin, and saved from the ocean, the jungle, the wilderness

¹ *Pratisamvidā* also *-vidā*, *-vidā*, BSk., Pali *paṭisambhidā*. According to P.E.D. "the BSk. form is a new formation resting on a confusion between *bhid* and *vid*, favoured by the use and meaning of the latter root in Pali *paṭisamvidā*." The term is discussed at *Kvu. trsl.*, 377-382.

² *Abhijñā*. See Vol. 1, p. 84, n. 3; p. 201, n. 2.

³ *Vidyā*. See p. 55 n. 3.

⁴ See Vol. 1, p. 53; p. 125, n. 1.

⁵ Or, "inserted". *kartavyam*.

⁶ The *sūtra* is not given here, however. A version of it is given in *M. 1.* 497 ff. According to *D.P.N.* Dirghanakha was a nephew of Śāriputra, but Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*) points out that no source for this statement is given, and he goes on to say that according to *Av. 2.* 186 and *M.S.V. 4.* 22, Dirghanakha was an uncle of Śāriputra.

of the round, without beginning or end,¹ of birth, death and old age." The Exalted One replied, "Monks," said he, "this is not the first time that I did so.² On another occasion they were saved by me from the terrible island of the Sirens³ at a time when they had fallen into their hands. I led them safely across the great ocean and set them down in Jambudvīpa." The monks asked, "Was there another occasion, Lord?" The Exalted One replied, "Yes, monks."

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, five hundred merchants left Jambudvīpa and set sail on the great sea in an ocean-going vessel to seek for wealth. When their vessel reached mid-ocean (68) it was wrecked by a monstrous fish. And when their vessel was broken up they prayed to various devas, each one to the deva he believed in. Some called on Śiva, others on Vaiśravaṇa, others on Skanda, others on Varuṇa, others on Yama, others on Kuvera, others on Śakra, others on Brahmā and others on Diśā,⁴ all crying, "May we escape alive from this great ocean."

Now when their vessel broke up they leapt into the sea, taking with them floats of various kinds, some taking jars, others planks and others rafts made of the bottle-gourd.⁵ Others clung to the body of a comrade who had been drowned. For the sea does not harbour a dead body for long,⁶ but soon throws it up on the mainland or on an island, and they would thus reach that mainland or that island along with the corpse.

The merchants who thus floated on the sea were thrown by the wind on to the island of the Sirens. And on that island of the Sirens they saw thousands of trees of various kinds.

¹ *Anavāraṅga*, Pali *anamatagga*. See P.E.D., C.P.D. and B.H.S.D.

² The text repeats the whole statement.

³ *Rākṣasīs*, i.e. female *Rākṣasas*, see Vol. 1, p. 73, n. 5. The "Siren" of Greek mythology is not an exact counterpart, but the use of the term here is perhaps justified by the *mise en scène*, and at the same time obviates the constant repetition of a Sanskrit word in italics.

⁴ Wife of Rudra. The other gods invoked are invoked by sailors in a like predicament at Vol. 1, p. 200.

⁵ Literally, "a row (or series) of bottle-gourds", *alābūśreṇī*. *Alābū* (variously spelt *alāmbu*, *alāmbu*, *ālāmbu*, in the MSS.) is the *Lagenaria Vulgaris* *Ser.* *Sreṇī* has here the acc. sg. form *sreṇīyam* (MS. *sreṇīyam*). For other examples of this form see Edgerton *Gram.* §10. 63. The text has the sg. for each of the three terms.

⁶ Literally "does not live with," *sārdham samvasati*. For the idea, see V. 2. 237.

In whatever part of the island they were brought¹ ashore by the wind, they saw hundreds of women strolling about, who were lovely and beautiful, dressed in gay attire, decked out with ornaments and wearing earrings of gems and jewels. Some were like young brides, others like women who had recently been delivered, and others like middle-aged women—but really they were so many hundreds of Sirens in human form. They seized every one of the merchants who had escaped from the sea. “Welcome,” said they, “noble sons of nobles. You will be husbands to us who are without husbands, lords to us who are without lords and consorts to us who are without consorts. For our own masters fell into misfortune and destruction when their ship was wrecked on the great ocean. Surely the sea was gracious to us when it brought you to this island.” They raised up the merchants by their shoulders, rescued them from the sea and set them on dry land. Then (69) they cheered them up, saying, “Noble friends, do not fret nor worry.² You have come to a rich island, with an unending supply of precious stones, abounding in food and drink, flowers and fruits, perfumes, garlands and ointments, garments, rugs and cloaks. Here with us, noble friends, amuse, delight and enjoy yourselves, drinking mead and partaking of joys with no thought of trouble.” The merchants replied, “Let us be for a while that we may shake off our sorrow.”

Then all the five hundred merchants³ went away from the women, and when they had done so they wept, grieved and lamented, “O mother,” cried they, “O father, O son, O brother, O sister, O bright Jambudvīpa with its gardens!” When they had thus wept, grieved and lamented, they comforted one another and joined the women, each his own one.⁴ They went with the women along a magnificent road of fresh verdant grass, without reeds, thorns or litter, without potsherds

¹ *Alṭpiyānti*. See Vol. 2, p. 419, n. See also *B.H.S.D.*

² *Paritāṣyati*, BSk. = Pali *paritassati* “which in form clearly = Sk. *paritriṣyati*, but is frequently confused with (Pali) *tasati* (*trasati*),” *P.E.D.* Cf. *B.H.S.D.*

³ No account is taken of the fact that some had been drowned.

⁴ *Svakaśvakāni striyo allinā*. For the BSk. use of neut. adj. with fem. noun, see Edgerton, *Gram.* §6. 61. (But it seems to accord better with the syntax and with the sense to take *striyo* as acc. pl., dependent on *allinā*, “resorted to”, than nom., as Edgerton does).

or gravel, dustless, even and flat, and came to a forest glade filled with all sorts of flowers and fruits. At all seasons¹ and times of the year there were in that forest glade flowers of divers kinds that were fragrant and sweet-scented. At all seasons and times of the year there were in that forest glade divers leaves for making powders² which were of good smell and taste, like the honey of the bee. There were lovely lotus-pools of pleasant water, echoing with the cries of swans and ducks and covered with lotuses of all kinds. When they emerged from this grove they caught sight of the dwellings of the Sirens, which were lofty, imposing and gleaming white like frost. They had glittering turrets with casements and windows³ and star-shaped and crescent decorations. To their gaze the city of the Sirens was like the abode of Vaiśravaṇa.⁴

Thus the Sirens took the merchants, one each, to their homes that were like mansions of devas. (70) In these dwellings the merchants saw well-appointed couches with woollen rugs of downy fleece,⁵ spreads of pure white cloth and red cushions at both ends. The couches were of gold, silver and ivory. They saw delightful nooks in a grove of Aśoka⁶ trees which were laden with flowers and fruits, pleasant gymnasia,⁷ and various kinds of exquisite food, drink and refreshments.

The merchants were made to sit on fine bejewelled seats, and had their hair and beards trimmed by barbers. Thus they were made ready to exercise in the gymnasia and bathe in the baths. When they had been washed, massaged and anointed they were smeared with the red ointment of the fragrant dark sandal-wood. They were then clothed in sumptuous garments, and decorated with fine garlands and bouquets. Costly and exquisite meals were set before them; solid and soft foods; various kinds of condiments of the

¹ *Utuka*, BSk. and Pali. Not noticed in *B.H.S.D.*

² Literally ‘powdered leaves’, or ‘powder of leaves’, *patracūrṇa*.

³ *Simhapañjaragavākṣa*. See Vol. 2, p. 33, n. 3.

⁴ I.e. Kuvera, god of wealth.

⁵ *Lomaśagonika*. *Gonika* is for Sk. and BSk. *goṇika* or *gonaka*, Pali *goṇaka*.

⁶ *Jonesia Asoka*.

⁷ *Vyāyamaśāla*.

best flavours, whether sugary, salt, sweet, acid, pungent or astringent;¹ various kinds of meat, namely, the flesh of boars, fishes, pheasants, quails, *lābakas*,² francolin partridges,³ and antelopes. The Sirens entertained the merchants with various dances, songs, and musical instruments. Some played on tabours and drums,⁴ on *sindhavas*,⁵ cymbals, guitars,⁶ lutes, *nakulas*,⁷ *sughoṣas*,⁸ *bhāṇḍakas*,⁹ and flutes, while others sang sweetly.

When the Sirens saw that they had cheered up the merchants, they showed them their large stores of precious stones. They prepared for the gentlemen a choice, excellent and comfortable couch.¹⁰ "Enjoy yourselves here, noble friends, in this island of precious stones (71) like sons of devas in Nandana. But you must not be careless and go along the way that lies south of the city."

But, monks, he who was the leader of the five hundred merchants was clever and shrewd. And he asked himself, "I wonder why these women forbid us to go along the way to the south of the city. What now if I were to find out what there is to the south of the city or how things are there?" Then when the leader found the women were asleep or too drunk to be watchful, he took a sword, left the city and went along the road to the south. And on his way he came within sight of a habitation of a frightful aspect in a clear space, and heard the sound of the wailing of many men. Following the direction of this sound he saw a stronghold of iron encircled by walls of copper. Looking for the gate of this stronghold he went round it, keeping it to his right. He failed to find the gate, but he could still hear the sound of

¹ For these six flavours see Vol. 2, p. 478 (text) and cf. *Miln.* 56. Here, however, instead of *ambila* (= Pali *ambila*) as the first flavour, we have *khaṇḍa* ? "sugary".

² A kind of quail.

³ *Kapīñjala*.

⁴ *Alinga*, see Vol. 2, p. 155, n. 12.

⁵ ? musical instruments from Sindh.

⁶ ? "Eleven-stringed instruments," *ekādaśika*.

⁷ See Vol. 2, p. 154, n. 6.

⁸ See Vol. 1, p. 183, n. 3.

⁹ Unknown, but cf. *bhāṇḍa* 'any musical instrument', (*M.W.*)

¹⁰ *Āryaputrānāṃ vāyam ca prāṇitāṃ . . . āsanāṃ prajñāpensuh.* In this sentence *vāyam* is inexplicable. *Svakānāṃ* (< *svaka* = *svaya* in BSk.) would give good sense, viz., "they prepared seats for the men each for her own man."

many men crying out, "O mother, O father, O son, O brother, O sister, O Jambudvīpa and its fair gardens."

He went round the stronghold, and on the north side of it he saw a tall acacia¹ tree growing close against the wall. He climbed the acacia tree and within the stronghold he saw hundreds of famished² men. Their hair, nails and beards were long, their clothes filthy and ragged, and their skin and flesh shrivelled by the hot winds. They were dark and dirty, their hair was unkempt, and they were suffering the pangs of hunger and thirst. With their nails they were digging the ground for water. When they rose up from the ground they fell back again from weakness.

When they heard a noise among the branches and leaves of the acacia tree they all rose up and stretched out their joined hands. "O noble sir," cried they, "Whether you are a deva, a Nāga, a Kinnara, a Gandharva, a Yakṣa or a Kum-bhāṇḍa, we turn to you for refuge. Release us wretched ones from our bondage that we may once more (72) live in our³ land and be reunited with our friends and kinsfolk."

The leader of the merchants, perched in the acacia tree, wept and said to the merchants "within,"⁴ "I am no deva, nor Nāga, Kinnara, Gandharva, nor Śakra nor Brahmā, nor the great king Virūḍhaka.⁵ But my friends and I are from Jambudvīpa. In pursuit of wealth we went down to the great sea in a ship, but we were wrecked. We hundreds of merchants were rescued by these women. Then they diverted, delighted and amused themselves with us. As long as we do not offend them they will wish us no harm."

The merchants within replied, "We too, sir, left Jambudvīpa and went down to the great sea in a ship in pursuit of wealth. But when we were in mid-ocean our ship was wrecked. We⁶ five hundred merchants were rescued by

¹ *Sirisa*.

² *Sopavāsika* (= *sa-upa-v.*). So Senart. Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*), however, would read *śvāsopavāsika* "which may mean devoted to sighs, subject to sighs, or else fasting from (barely able to get) the breath of life."

³ *Mam*, gen. pl.

⁴ It has not yet been explained that the captives were former merchants. The word "within" is supplied in translation to distinguish the two lots.

⁵ See Vol. 1, p. 200, n. 3.

⁶ *Mam*. Nom. pl. But this is Senart's emendation of *me* of the MSS. Edgerton (*Gram.* §20. 41) says that if emendation is necessary, that into *mo* would be more plausible.

these women, who diverted, delighted and amused themselves with us,¹ as they have now been doing with you. When your ship was wrecked and you were thrown by the wind on to the island, you were seen by the Sirens. Of our five hundred merchants two hundred and fifty,² and those the younger ones among us, were devoured.³ And we, the remaining two hundred and fifty, were thrown into this gloomy⁴ stronghold. Friend, these women are not human, they are Sirens."

When the leader of the merchants, perched on the acacia tree, heard these words of the merchants imprisoned within the gloomy stronghold, he became frightened, terrified and agitated. Stretching out his joined hands he implored them, saying, "Tell me, what means is there whereby I may escape in safety from these Sirens?" They answered and said "When the moon is full in the month Kārttika,⁵ the king of horses named Keśin,⁶ who feeds on fragrant grain of rice which grows on untilled and unsown ground and is dustless and huskless, comes hither from the land of Uttarakuru to the island of the Sirens. And when he arrives he cries out three times in a human voice, saying, 'Who is there here who wishes to cross the great ocean? I will take him across in safety.' Turn for refuge (73) to that king of horses. He will take you away from the island of the Sirens across the sea. One of the five hundred merchants should cling to the mane of the king of horses, others to his several limbs, others cling to these one after the other, and others cling to his broad back, and he will bring all, whether it be a hundred or a thousand, in due course to Jambudvīpa. This is the means of escaping from the island of the Sirens and of reaching Jambudvīpa in safety. There is no other."

The leader of the merchants said to the imprisoned merchants, "Do you also all come. Let us all go to Jambudvīpa. Leap

¹ *Asmākhām*, gen. with *sārdham*, for the instr.
² *Adḍhātīyā* . . . *satā*, i.e. "the third hundred less half." Cf. Pali *adḍhātīyā*. Senart says that the MSS. here favours the form as he prints it.
³ *Khāyita*, BSk. and Pali, a twin form of *khādita*.
⁴ Or "coppery", *tāmra*.
⁵ October–November.
⁶ I.e., "the maned one." Cf. *Keśin*, the name of Indra's and Agni's horses.

over the walls of the stronghold, or else dig beneath¹ them." But they answered and said, "You do not know what the stronghold of the Sirens is like. We cannot leap out of it. But do you² escape if you want to. Thus there will be deliverance for you. But if you are thrown into this gloomy stronghold, there will be no deliverance. Go in peace to your own land. In a certain city there you will find our fathers' people. Greet them for us and bid them³ give charity and perform deeds of merit. Bid them live in Jambudvīpa, even if it be by going begging round the houses with a potsherd for an almsbowl,⁴ and not cross the sea again where such disasters as these may befall them. Or bid them seek a living by sending others to do the work,⁵ and not think of going down to the sea where such disasters as these may befall them."

He replied, "I myself will now go before the Siren, whom I left asleep,⁶ wakes up and finds that I have come here."

The leader of the merchants climbed down from the acacia tree, while the merchants within cried out, "Alas! alas!" We shall be devoured by the Sirens. We have looked upon a fellow-man for the last time."

After the leader of the merchants had climbed down from the acacia tree, he returned by the way he had come and lay down on the bed provided by the Sirens. And as he lay there he reflected, "How (74) shall I let these merchants know of this matter as I myself saw and heard it,⁸ without the Sirens getting to know, and how can this plan of mine be urged upon them?⁹ For if I tell these five hundred

¹ *Heṣṭhato*, BSk., Pali *heṣṭhato*.

² *Tumhe*. Cf. Vol. 2, p. 168, n. 1.

³ Literally "you are to say to them" *teṣāṃ vaktavyam*.

⁴ *Khaṇḍakapāla*.

⁵ Literally, "making (= using) the service of another" *parasya preṣ-yakarmam kṛitvā*. Cf. Pali *pessakamma*.

⁶ *Me rākṣaṣī śayitā*, "my Siren lying down", or, perhaps, it would be better to take *me* as an ethic dative.

⁷ *Avidha*, *avidha*, see Vol. 1, p. 251, n. 2.

⁸ *Yathā me svayam dṛiṣṭo ca śruto ca*, where the two participles are masc. although referring to the neuter (*etat*) *kāryam*.

⁹ *Eṣo ca tujyo kāryo*, where *kārya* is again masc. *Tujya* is the gerundive of *tuj* "to impel", etc. But it may be doubted whether the text here is quite correct. Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) doubtfully prefers here the v.l. *caturyo* = ? Sk. *cāturya*, "cleverness," "stratagem," "trick". But it is not necessary to assume, as he does s.v. *tujyo*, that Senart regarded that form as a 2nd pers. pron. The context would hardly admit such an interpretation.

merchants about the king of horses before he arrives, then one or other of them, being drunk or careless, will tell the Sirens. Then we shall have cause to be sorry and shall fall into misfortune and disaster. Wise men are agreed that no matter to whom a secret is revealed it is hard to find one loyal enough to keep it. Let me then keep this secret to myself until the day of the full moon¹ in the month of Kārttika. Then when the king of horses has actually come to the island of the Sirens, I shall tell them of the danger we are in."

So he kept the secret within his heart, and did not reveal it to anybody until the full moon of the month Kārttika. And when the full moon rose the king of horses arrived at the island of the Sirens. Then did their leader speak to the merchants, saying, "To-day do not indulge in drink and food, in song and music with the women. There is a certain matter about which you, my friends, must hear from me. Yonder is a hidden spot. Do you all gather there when the women have gone to bed."

And when the women had gone to bed all the hundreds of merchants gathered in that hidden place and questioned their leader. "Tell us, leader," said they, "what it is that you have seen or heard." The leader explained the whole situation to the merchants, saying, "It occurred to me to ask myself why the women should keep us away from the way south of the city. So when my woman was lying fast asleep,² I with great eagerness took a sword and went out by the road south of the city. There I saw a stronghold as of copper which had no gate, for I saw none, but I heard the noise of wailing of a crowd of people. Then keeping the stronghold on my right (75) I went round to the north side of it, and there saw a tall acacia tree. I climbed the tree and looked down into the stronghold. There I saw many hundreds of merchants. They were lean and emaciated,³

¹ *Kaumudī cāturmāsi*, cf. Pali *kaumudī caturmāsīnti*. V. 1. 155, 176 f.; D. 1. 47.

² *Sahasopiniye śayitāye*. According to Senart *sopina* is an intermediate form between the Pali *soppa* and *supina*.

³ *Dhamanīsanātata*. Cf. Pali *dhamanīsanīhata*, "strewn with veins" (*saniharati* = *saṃstri*). The P.E.D. cites Weber, *Bhagavati*, p. 289 for Jain Sk. *dhamanīsanātata*, and compares *Āl. Vist.* 226. Kern, *Toev. s.v.* considers that the right reading in Pali also should be *santata* (*saṃ-tan*—"to stretch or cover over").

their skin and flesh shrivelled by the wind and heat. They were dark and their hair unkempt. They dug the ground with their nails to look for water, and they suffered pangs of hunger and thirst. Several hundred skeletons lay round about scattered in all directions. Merchants from this and that city were all gathered together there. I was told by those merchants that those who lived there were survivors of those who had been devoured by the Sirens. The others, two hundred and fifty of them, had been devoured. These women, therefore, are not human beings, but Sirens. If we do not make an effort to return to our own country, all of us, too, will fall into misfortune and destruction at the hands of these Sirens. If you wish for deliverance from the hands of this crowd of Sirens and to go in safety to Jambudvīpa, there is Keśin, the king of horses, from the land of Uttarakuru, who feeds on fragrant grain of rice which grows on untilled and unploughed soil and is without powder and husk. He comes here to the island of the Sirens when the moon is full in the month of Kārttika. He stands on the seashore on the northern side of the island of the Sirens, and shouts 'Who is for the shore beyond the sea?'¹ So let us draw near to the king of horses. He will take us in safety to our own land."

The five hundred merchants then went with their leader to the northern side of the city of the Sirens. There they saw Keśin, the king of horses, standing on the sea-shore and stretching out his neck and shouting, 'Who is for the shore beyond the sea?' The five hundred merchants went up to Keśin, the king of horses, and said to him, "O greatly compassionate one, we come to your refuge. Do you cross and take us with you."²

(76) The king of horses gave instructions to the merchants, saying, "When I go hence from the island of the Sirens, I shall take you³ with me, neigh⁴ three times and fly through the air. Then the Sirens who have borne you boys or girls will come and bring them along. They will pitch many a

¹ Literally, "who is he that goes to the beyond"? *ko pāragāmti*.

² Literally, "make us cross" *asmākaṃ tārehi*, where *asmākaṃ* is gen. for acc. See Edgerton, *Gram.* §20. 48.

³ *Yusmākaṃ grihitvā*, gen. for acc. *Ibid.* §20. 50.

⁴ *Hiṣṭvā*, for *heṣṭvā*. See B.H.S.D.

pitiful tale¹ and say, 'Noble friends, do not forsake us at the bidding of another. Do not leave this pleasant and rich isle with its plentiful supply of precious stones.' But you must not then pay any heed to the words of the Sirens. For he who will heed their words and become full of yearning and say 'There is my wife, there my son, there my daughter,' will again fall into the power of the Sirens and drop off my back to the ground. But he who will not heed the words of the Sirens nor say 'There is my wife, there my son, there my daughter,' nor have any yearning, will go in safety to Jambudvīpa clinging to my mane."

Thus, monks, Keśin, the king of horses, after giving these instructions to the merchants, neighed three times and flew through the air carrying them all with him. When the Sirens heard the neighing² of Keśin, the king of horses, they came bringing their sons and daughters. They cried out, "Noble friends, do not forsake us at the bidding of another. Do not leave this pleasant and rich isle with its plentiful supply of precious stones." And, monks, those of the merchants who were filled with yearning at the sight of the Sirens, fell from the horse's back to the ground. Those who did not look back with yearning safely escaped from the island of the Sirens to Jambudvīpa.

It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion, Keśin, the king of horses, was somebody else. But you must not think so. And why? I, monks, at that (77) time and on that occasion was Keśin, the king of horses. It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion those five hundred merchants were some others. But you must not think so. And why? These monks here at that time and on that occasion were those five hundred merchants. Then did I rescue them from the pitiless land of the Sirens, carried them in safety across the ocean and set them down in Jambudvīpa. And now, too, have I turned them from the pitiless ways of wrong belief and led them across from the wilderness and jungle of the round, that is without beginning or end, of birth, old age and death.

¹ Literally "They will talk many pitiful things," *bahūni karuṇakarūṇāni pralapiṣyanti*.

² *Hiṣaṇa*. See B.H.S.D.

*Arouse your emotion, stir up your hearts, and listen with rapt attention and with devotion in your hearts.*¹

With glad hearts listen to the tale of a former life of the Exalted One, a tale that is bound up with the truth of dharma, and will thrill those who believe.

Now at that time I was the king of horses, and being possessed of pity, I led across in safety a company of merchants from the sea-girt isle of the Sirens.

*At that time that company of merchants had gone down to the sea and reached an island² which was rich in precious stones, surrounded by the tossing waves.*³

But their vessel was wrecked on the sea by a monster fish, which swiftly dashed against it with the speed of⁴ a Garuḍa⁵ with the wind in his wings.

There amid the waste of waters they cried out with anguished voices, calling upon the devas, each one upon the deva he believed in.

Some called on Śiva, others on Vaiśravaṇa, others on Skanda, others on Yama and others on Kuvera. Others again called on thousand-eyed Virūḍhaka, and yet others on Diśā.

(78) They seized the gear, which they had on board for other uses, and plunged into the stream of the salt sea.

Some seized rafts made of the bottle-gourd, others planks made of the silk-cotton tree,⁶ others wheels,⁷ and others bales of cotton.

Others killed their fellows, that, hanging on to their bodies, they might save their own lives. For the salt sea cannot long abide a dead body.

When they had for that night floated on the salt sea wave, they caught sight of lovely trees growing on a strand.

¹ A metrical version of the same tale.

² Understanding *dvīpam* with the adj. *bahuratanavāntam*.

³ *Uṣṇīṣaṅgamālā*, where *mālā* is taken as the compositional form of *mālā*, "wreath". It would not be impossible, however, to equate it with Pali *mālā* in the possible, though doubtful, sense of "foam" or "froth," "(amid) the foam of the tossing waves." See P.E.D.

⁴ Literally "like", *va*, so reading for *ca*.

⁵ See Vol. I, p. 165, n. 2.

⁶ *Simballi*, Bombak heptaphyllum.

⁷ *Vṛittim*, for the *vṛittim* of the text. Should it be *ghaṭim*, "jar", as in the prose version?

And as they neared the strand they could see hundreds of women, like unto consorts of the devas, wearing crimson garments.

Some looked like maidens, others were radiant like newly wedded brides. On their hair were fine garlands and bands.

Their heads dazzled with earrings of Jambunada gold. With their golden-brown eyes, they made a fine array on the sea-shore.¹

They plunged into the sea, singing a plaintive sweet strain, "Noble friends," said they, "do ye at once become the lords of those who are without lords.

"For we dwell here in a wood without husbands or kinsmen. Surely the sea was gracious to us when it brought you to our shore."²

They seized the men by their shoulders, each woman her man, and rescued them from the sea. (79) By every means they sought to cheer the men, saying to each, "Good friend, you must not despond.

"Good friends, live with us women; do not despair as do men who have left their dear kinsmen, their friends, their fathers and sons.

"Enjoy yourselves with us,³ and though you are but men you will be like a crowd of devas in Nandana, drinking sweet wine of honey, and tasting the fair joys of this isle."

But with their eyes full of tears the men, standing near the ocean wave, replied to the women and said, "Pray wait a short while that we may throw off our grief."

The merchants withdrew a short way and gathered together for comfort. They wept and cried like men suffering bereavement.

"O mother," they wailed, "O father, O sons, O my delightful land, O Jambudvīpa with its lovely and pleasant parks.

"Happy are they who can foregather with their kith and kin, though it be to dwell with them but for one night, and then die.

¹ *Saripatittra*, where *sari* is for Sk. *sarit* or for *sara* (Pali).

² Literally "by whom you were brought," *yena vo ānitā*, where *vo* is for *yūyam*. See Edgerton, *Gram.* §20. 44.

³ *Asmehi*, instr., cf. Pali *amhehi*.

"How can we, whose minds were set on doing our tasks, live in the forlorn centre of the salt sea with no sorrow in our hearts?"

When they had thus wept and cried and comforted one another, they went to the women's delightful abodes.

Walking over ground on which the green grass grew, and which was free of stones, grit, gravel and dust, and level and even, they came to a grove.

It was a grove of various trees, *aśoka*,¹ *atimukta*,² *campaka*,³ *priyangu*⁴ and *sāl* trees, (80) *tilakas*,⁵ *vakulas*,⁶ and *kulavakas*,⁷ and bushes of *punnāgas*⁸ and *tālisas*.⁹

There were flowering *karīras*,¹⁰ too, *kulatthas*,¹¹ *karamardas*,¹² and the creeper *jīvaka*.¹³ There were tender creepers of double jasmine,¹⁴ trumpet-flowers,¹⁵ *kareṇus*¹⁶ and *kāvāras*.¹⁷

Aloe-wood trees,¹⁸ *kārīs*,¹⁹ double jasmine and Arabian jasmine,²⁰ and *priyangu*, gorgeous among the bushes of swaying *vārṣika*²¹ and Arabian jasmine with their intoxicating fragrance.

The grove was gay with *sāl* trees²² and *palmyra trees*,²³ full of *campakas* and aflame with red and yellow *aśoka* trees.

¹ See p. 73 n. 6.

² See Vol. 1, p. 205, n. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 172, n. 4.

⁴ *Panicum Italicum*.

⁵ See Vol. 2, p. 58, n. 7.

⁶ *Mimusops Elengi*.

⁷ Pali and Sk. *kuravaka*, = the red amaranth

⁸ Unidentified. P.E.D. queries if the name is dialectal.

⁹ See Vol. 2, p. 99, n. 5.

¹⁰ "A thorny plant, described as growing in deserts and fed upon by camels, *Capparis Aphylla*" (M.W.).

¹¹ "A kind of pulse. *Dolichos Uniflorus*" (M.W.).

¹² Unidentified.

¹³ "Name of several plants = *Terminalia Tomentosa*, *Coccinia Grandis*" (M.W.).

¹⁴ *Navamālikā*. See P.E.D. s.v. *mālikā*. "*Jasminum Sambac*" (M.W.).

¹⁵ *Pāṭalaka*, *Bignonia suaveolens* (M.W.).

¹⁶ *Pterospermum acerifolium* (M.W.).

¹⁷ "The aquatic plant *Vallisneria*" (M.W.).

¹⁸ *Vārṣakadhātū*? = *vārṣaka* simply for *vārṣika*, "*Agallochum*" (M.W.).

It may, however, be a form of the BSk. *vārṣika* (see Vol. 2, pp. 105, 112) a name of a variety of *Jasminum Sambac*, Pali *vassikā* or *vassika*.

¹⁹ Unidentified.

²⁰ *Mālikā*. "Cf Epic Sk. *mālikā*, *Halāyudha* 2. 51." (P.E.D.).

²¹ *Vārṣikamālikā*. See notes 18 and 20.

²² *Sārehi* for *sālehi*.

²³ *Tārehi* for *tālehi*.

It was gay and delightful with mango trees, *karnikāras*,¹ *kuravakas*,² *tilakas*, and *vakulas*. And to crown all the *Suyāmas*³ graced the fair grove with their presence.

There were flowers and the iron-wood tree,⁴ the *bhavya*,⁵ the *pālevata*,⁶ the holy fig-tree,⁷ the elephant tree,⁸ the hog-plum tree,⁹ and fine thickets of the seven-leaved *mucilinda*.¹⁰

There were *campaka* trees crowned with leaves, and bushes of flowering fragrant mango,¹¹ with various other flowering trees alive with the hum of honey-making bees.

There were the *vilvāra*¹² tree, the coco-nut, the plantain,¹³ the bread-fruit, the palm, the date-tree, the lime, the citron; at no season were they not seen.

The walnut, the *tamāla*,¹⁴ the plantain, the *kimśuka*,¹⁵ the vine, the *bhavya*, and the pomegranate—at no season were they not seen.

Some bent under the weight of their crowns of flowers, others bore ripe fruit, and others were languishing. (81) And others were never seen otherwise than thickly branched.

These and other flowers were seen blossoming on the fair trees at all seasons; at no time were they not seen.

In the fair grove were lotus-pools with gently flowing water echoing to the songs of swans and cranes. Others were covered with blue and red and white lotuses—a delight to the eye.

Then some Sirens, beautiful in their dark robes and

¹ See Vol. I, p. 186, n. 2.

² See p. 83 n. 7.

³ I.e. devas in the company of *Suyāma*, chief of the *Yāma* devas, but the allusion to them here is obscure.

⁴ *Nāgavrikṣa*.

⁵ See Vol. I, p. 205, n. 2.

⁶ Ibid., n. 3 (where read *embryopteris* for *embryopheris*).

⁷ *Pippala* so *M.W.*, who also gives *pippali* = long pepper, *Piper Longum*. Perhaps it is meant here as the equivalent of Pali *pippala* (for the usual *pippali*, Sk. *pippali*), "pepper-tree" (See *P.E.D.*).

⁸ *Kapittha*, or "wood-apple tree", *Feronia Elephantum* (*M.W.*).

⁹ Reading *āmṛāka* (*Spondias mangifera*) for *mṛotaka*, of the text, which latter word is unknown to the dictionaries. One MS. does begin the line with *āmṛā*. Cf. *āmra*, "mango", *Mangifera Indica*.

¹⁰ See Vol. 2, p. 58, n. 6.

¹¹ *Sahakāra*, so *P.E.D.* citing *KhA.* 53.

¹² ? = *vilva* or *bilva* (Pali *billa*), the tree *Aegle Marmelos* or Bengal quince, also called *Bel*. (*P.E.D.* and *M.W.*).

¹³ *Moca* "Moringa pterygosperma; probably the plantain tree, *Musa sapientum*" (*M.W.*).

¹⁴ See Vol. I, p. 168, n. 6.

¹⁵ *Butea frondosa* (*M.W.*).

lovely in their tight-fitting bodices, rose up¹ from the water, and made the merchants forget² their long-standing grief.

And then among the rows of trees they graced the blossom-covered lotus-pools, and still more made the merchants forget their grief and the loss of their ship.

Emerging from the fair grove the merchants caught sight of the abodes of the Sirens, glistening like frost, like unto the abodes of the *Suras* thronged by *Apsarases*.

Polished³ and chased within, like *Vāsava's*⁴ abode in heaven, the abodes of the Sirens reared up to the sky.

With its glittering turrets, its casements and windows, its star-shaped and crescent ornaments, the city of the Sirens looked like a superior fair stronghold.

When the merchants had entered they sat down on roomy couches, and after they had had their nails, hair and beards trimmed, they were provided with a bath.

After their bath they were dressed in splendid clothes, and served with food that was seasoned with flavours and condiments.

(82) There was plentiful meat, the flesh of boars, fish, buffaloes, young goats and sheep, cock peacocks, pheasants, quails, *lābakas*,⁵ francolin partridges, and cranes.

Those Sirens who were skilled thereat played on tabours and drums,⁶ on instruments from *Sindh*⁷ and cymbals, the guitar, the lute, the *vallakiguṇaka* and *vallakitūla*,⁸ the *nakula*,⁹ the seven-stringed Indian lute,¹⁰ the horn¹¹ and the flute. Others sweetly sung.

¹ Reading, with two MSS., *samuddhṛitā*, for *samudvṛitā*, "swollen" (sc. with water) which Senart prefers, but which forces him to the assumption that the past part., though grammatically agreeing with *keci* (for *kāci*) is in sense a qualification of the garments the women wore. But *samuddhṛitā* seems much more natural and simple, especially when it is remembered that these women were really *Rākṣasīs*, who are thus represented as coming out of their natural element.

² Literally, "destroyed" *nāśayanti*.

³ Literally "rubbed," *ghaṭṭa* for *ghaṭṭita*, past part. of *ghaṭṭ*.

⁴ I.e. *Indra*.

⁵ See p. 74 n. 2.

⁶ *Alinga*, see p. 74 n. 4.

⁷ *Saindhavā*. Though this word might here be taken as adjective qualifying, "tabours and drums," the analogy of the prose passage above (p. 70 text), where it is given as the name of a special instrument, *sindhavavādyā*, suggests that here, too, the word is a substantive.

⁸ Evidently the names of two kinds of Indian lute (*vallaki*).

⁹ See Vol. 2, p. 154, n. 6. Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*) equates *AMg. ṇaula*.

¹⁰ *Parivādini*.

¹¹ ? *Gomukhi*, cf. *gomukha*.

When the Sirens saw that the merchants were cheered up, they showed them their fair parks, their rich stores of precious stones, and their wealth of beds, couches and food.

"Here, then," said they, "you and we can take our joys like the hosts of devas in Nandana. But you must not be careless and go along the way to the south."

Now he who was the leader of the merchants was a wise, clever and shrewd man. And when he was seated apart by himself, he reflected and wondered why they forbade them to go along that road.

"What if I were to go," said he, "when this Siren is fast asleep, and take a sword and go along¹ the road to the south of the city."

So when she was fast asleep, he took a sword and went out along the road to the south of the city.

And as he went along this road he heard a shouting afar off. Following in the direction of the noise he came within sight of a stronghold built as though of copper.

He came up to it and went all round it in search of a gate, but could see none. (83) Still he could hear the sound of many men coming from it.

"O mother," they were crying, "O father, O sons, O delightful native land, O Jambudvīpa with its parks.

"Happy are they who can foregather with their kith and kin, and live with them were it but for one night, and then die.

"Is it possible that because we followed our calling we shall come to perish in this forlorn island in the middle of the salt flood of ocean?"

As he listened to these lamentations the wise and shrewd merchant espied a tall acacia tree to the north of the stronghold.

He climbed the tree, and then he could see within the stronghold hundreds of men who had been without food for months,² and whose nails, hair and beards were long.

Their bodies were emaciated,³ their skin and flesh shrivelled

¹ *Upanayeham*, explained by Senart as optative of *upa-eti*. The form *upeti* is found three lines lower down. Edgerton, *Gram.* §4. 67, however, says that the use of *n* as a "hiatus-bridger" is questionable, and he is not convinced that Senart's explanation is correct.

² *Māsopavāsika*. Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) would prefer to read here, as on p. 71 (text), *śvāsopavāsika*. See p. 75 n. 2.

³ *Dhamanisantata*, see p. 78 n. 3.

by the wind and heat. Their clothes were rotting rags; they were tortured by thirst and their hair was unkempt.

Some of them in search of water would scratch the earth with their nails. And when they would stand up, they fell down. When they fell they would wallow¹ on the ground.

And as he sat safely perched in the tree he had climbed, he could see many skulls thrown about and scattered in all directions.

When the men within saw the leaves of the acacia tree suddenly bend down, they all stretched out their joined hands towards the fair tree.

"Who are you, noble sir," cried they, "are you a deva, a Nāga, a Garuḍa, a Guhyaka, a Suvarṇa² (84) or hundred-eyed Virūḍhaka, or a Yakṣa?"

"Deliver us who are in sore distress, have pity on us, O valiant man. Let these men who are still alive be restored to their land and their fond relations."

The merchant in the acacia tree, with his eyes full of tears, replied, "Good friend, I am no deva, nor Nāga, nor Garuḍa, nor Guhyaka, nor Suvarṇa. Nor am I thousand-eyed Virūḍhaka, nor yet a Yakṣa.

"I and my friends, good sirs, went down to the sea in quest of wealth. But we were ship-wrecked, and here we are after being rescued by women.

"They treat³ us right well,⁴ as mothers treat their obedient sons. For the women are kind⁵ to us⁶ and wish us no harm."

Dismayed at the words they had heard the merchants

¹ Reading *vicesṭanti* for *viveṣṭanti*. So Edgerton (B.H.S.D.), who calls attention to Senart's remarks in his introduction to Vol. I, p. xii, on the confusion of *c* and *v* in the MSS.

² For *Suparṇa*, see Vol. I, p. 165, n. 2.

³ ? *Prativartanti*, here (?) "to take to," cf. B.R. "Jmd. (acc) 3u Theil werden." But Senart admits that his text is far from certain.

⁴ *Samyag*.

⁵ Reading *priyā* for *priyam*.

⁶ *Mo*, gen. pl. But the text of the whole line is doubtful. As printed it reads *Yam priyam mo mānuṣṭyo na tā icchanti vipriyam*. Senart assumed the lacuna of a whole verse immediately preceding, but was not so confident about this when he came to write his notes. The corresponding prose passage (p. 72, text) has *sānam ca yam apriyam na karoma tā cāsmākam vipriyam necchanti*. Though one MS. begins the verse in much the same way as the prose it continues so differently as to make any restoration on the lines of the prose impossible.

within said, "We, too, are men who left Jambudvīpa and went down to the sea.

"We, too, were wrecked, and here are we, too, after being rescued by the women. They treated us, too, right well, just as they did you,¹ my friends.

"There were five hundred of us merchants who were rescued by them. Here are now but two hundred and fifty; the rest have been devoured.²

Those of us³ who were sons, young and soft-voiced, have been devoured by these voracious women, my friend.

"These, my friend, are not women, they are dread Sirens, heartless and armed with knives, Sirens in human guise."

(85) Then still more distressed did the merchant become, and he bethought him to ask what way of escape there might be from the island of the Sirens.

"Come, friends," said he, "tell me how we can win deliverance, and how we can escape in safety from this fatal horror."

And they, out of their kindness and pity, told him of how they had seen and heard that there was an escape from the island of the Sirens.

"In the month of Kārttikā", said they, "when the moon is full, there will come hither the horse Valāha,⁴ the swift and lovely-maned horse, the best of horses,

"With well-proportioned glossy limbs, clean and fragrant, full-grown, strong, speedy with the speed of the wind, coursing through the air.

"Raven-black his head, lotus-blue his eyes; he is sprung from the race of Valāhaka. His body is white like the summit of Himalaya, and his neigh is like the roar of thunder or of drum.

"When he has fed on grain of rice that is without husk or dust and grows spontaneously, he stands on the sea-shore to the northern side of the island of the Sirens.

"Lifting up his head the king of horses speaks these words,

¹ *Yusmākan*, genitive, object of *prativartensu*.

² *Khāyita*. See p. 76 n. 3.

³ *Mam*, gen. pl., *ye pi mam putrakā*.

⁴ One of the four horses of Viṣṇu. The prose version calls the horse *Keśin*.

'Who of you would go to the shore beyond the salt flood of ocean?

"Whom shall I take away to safety? Who, I pray, will say to me "May your promise prosper"?¹ Do you² go to him for refuge and he will take you in safety to the shore beyond."

The leader of the merchants said, "Come, my friends, do you, too, repair to this horse of renown. Leap out of this iron stronghold, this gloomy fortress of the Sirens. (86) Or else dig beneath it and escape to safety."

"Ah, friend," said they, "you do not know that this coppery fort of the Sirens is too high to leap over³ and too firmly founded⁴ to dig beneath it.

"Friend, there is no deliverance hence for us, who are tied to karma. It was by the karma of our own deeds that we were dragged away from Jambudvīpa.

"Our own hearts were Yama's messengers to send us to Yama's realm. Do ye go, then, without any dallying to your homes.

"And there bid our kinsfolk do acts of charity, my friends. Bid them think no more of going down to the sea.

"So long as one lives with one's own people, begging round the houses with a potsherd for an almsbowl is better than this misery.

"As long as one lives with one's own people, having to obey⁵ the bidding, orders and commands of another is better than this misery."

"Well, my friends," said the merchant, "I will go before she who is asleep wakes up, and comes here and craftily learns what we men intend doing."

¹ Literally, "whose [will be the words] let my word prosper," *kasya mama ridhyatu vacanam*. "Tava" for "mama" would be simpler and less involved, as at page 88.

² *Vo* = *yāyam*. Cf. p. 82 n. 2.

³ Literally, "is large (or high) when one leaps"—*langhayante pi varddhati*.

⁴ *Āstyati*, from *ā* + *st* (= *śt*). Cf. Pali *āstyati*, and see P.E.D., which prefers this derivation to Trenckner's *ā* + *śyā*, and cites *Miln.* 75, where it is said of the lotus *udake āstyati*, "is supported in the water." Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) explains it as 3rd sg. pass. impersonal of *ās*, "to sit".

⁵ Literally "not objecting to," "not refusing," reading *ghaṭṭentasya* for *ghaṭentasya*, as Senart in his notes suggests, though he is doubtful if the verb can have this sense. But see P.E.D., where the figurative sense of *ghaṭṭeti* (Sk. *ghaṭṭayati*) is given as "to offend, mock, object to."

And when he was coming down from the tree there were cries of "Alas! alas!"¹ They bethought them of their native land and were pierced by the shaft of sorrow.

The leader of the merchants on alighting returned the way he had come. He went in and found the others lying fast asleep on their beds.

There he began to ponder as to how he could tell the merchants (87) the true position of affairs without the crafty women knowing.

"For wise men do not commend him who reveals a secret. Drunken and careless men will talk of it, and the telling will be regretted.

"Like a drop of oil² a secret revealed is blazoned abroad³

"Hard to find are those men who will keep a secret whether it is good or bad. So let me then keep my secret until the moon is full.

"Then I will tell them after the famous horse has come, when the occasion has come and it is the month I know of."

To his fellow-merchants he said, "You must not be negligent. You must be moderate in your eating and drinking with the women."

At the close of that day when the women had fallen fast asleep, all the merchants went to that hidden spot.⁴

And when they had gathered there the merchants questioned (their leader), saying, "Tell us, friend, of this thing that you have seen and heard."

Kindly and compassionately he told them of what he had seen and heard, and of the way of escape from the island of the Sirens.

Then the merchants declared that all the women were a gang of Sirens . . .⁵

¹ *Avidha*. See Vol. I, p. 251, n. 2.

² Sc., when lit.

³ Reading, on the basis of two MSS. *tailasya va bindu vikaṣati guhyam prakāṣitam* for the text *tailasya viya bindu ca vikaṣati prakāṣitā*. The second pāda has too long a lacuna to admit of restoration.

⁴ The metrical version here and elsewhere assumes a knowledge of details which it has not itself given.

⁵ A lacuna covering most of the final pāda of this verse and part of the next.

[The leader said], "The king of horses standing on the sea-shore speaks these words: (88) 'Who of you would go to the shore beyond the salt flood of ocean?'

"Whom shall I take to safety? Who will say to me, 'May your promise prosper?' We will go to that refuge. He will take us in safety to the shore beyond."

When they had heard their leader's words all the merchants gathered¹ together on the northern shore.

Coming there they saw not far away the king of horses standing on the shore to the north of the island of the Sirens.

Lifting up his head the king of horses spoke these words: "Who of you will go to the shore beyond the salt flood of ocean? Whom shall I take to safety? Who will say to me, 'Let your promise prosper?'"

When the merchants heard the words of the king of horses, they stretched forth their joined hands and replied,

"We all come to your refuge, O benefactor of the world. Take us to the shore beyond. May your promise prosper."²

The king of horses then said, "Now take hold of my tail. I shall be flying away at great speed. But you must bear this in mind.

"If it occurs to any of you to say, 'This is my wife, this my son, or this my daughter,' you will again fall into the power of the Sirens."³

"But if it occurs to you to say, 'This is not my wife, this is not my son, or this is not my daughter,' you will go in safety to the shore beyond."

(89) When the best of horses had thus instructed the merchants, in pity and compassion he said,

"Come, friends, well is it with you, merchants, good fortune be yours. I shall lead you across, away from this pitiless, fearful, horrible place."

¹ Literally, "went," *agamu* (v.l. *agamo*), aor. 3 pl. See Edgerton, *Gram.* §32. 112.

² *Tava vacanam ṛidhyatu*. See p. 89 n. 1.

³ Reading *rākṣastvaśameśyatha* for the text *avaśaśameśyatha*. Cf. prose version *rākṣastnām vaśam āgatā*. Although there does not seem to be any MS. warrant for this emendation, some such change is necessary, for the text reading gives a very obscure sense, "you will go to what is beyond your power." Some uses of *avaśa*, indeed, would give a quite inappropriate sense, e.g. *avaśangama*, "not submitting to another's will."

And carrying the merchants with him he speeded over the earth in the ways of the birds, in the unsupporting air, swiftly flying with heavenly wings in the path of the wind.

Hosts of devas, Dānavas,¹ Bhujangas,² Yakṣas and Rākṣasas in their domains waved their garments, and shouted, "All hail, Great Being."³

"Without a doubt, thou wilt become ere long a Master, a light of the world. Thou wilt lead all men⁴ across to the shore beyond the ocean of old age and death."

Those of the merchants who thought, "Here is my wife, here my son or here my daughter," were shaken off the horse's back and thrown to earth.

Those who did not think, "Here is my wife, here my son or here my daughters," were led across in safety to the shore beyond.

. . . ⁵ and so they arrived in Jambudvīpa.

They who will not believe the words of the king of dharma will go to destruction, like the merchants who were destroyed by the Sirens.

But they who will believe the words of the king of dharma will go in safety, like the merchants who were saved by Valāha.

The Exalted One, the Master, calling to mind a former life, a former birth, related this Jātaka in the presence of his monks.

With an exposition of the skandhas, the dhātus, the āyatanas (90) and the ātman,⁶ the Exalted One explained the meaning of it.

"When," said he, "I lived of yore in one of my lives in the round of rebirth that has no beginning nor end, then was I Valāha, the lovely horse, the best of steeds. And Sañjayin was then one of the five hundred merchants."

Thus rid of old age, of fear, and griefless, he related to the concourse of his monks this story of a former life of his, his infinite sufferings, his faring up and down in the past.

¹ See Vol. I, p. 55, n. 3.

² A generic name for snakes or serpents.

³ Anticipating the identification of Keśin (or Valāha) as a former incarnation of the Buddha.

⁴ Jagad, "the world of life."

⁵ Lacuna.

⁶ Cf. Vol. 2, p. 90.

Here ends the Jātaka of the Five Hundred Monks led by Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, who were cast on the island of the Sirens.

THE BUDDHA'S VISIT TO KAPILAVASTU

Then the Wanderer Sañjayin Vairāṭiputra made an announcement in a square in the city of Rājagṛiha, in the place for proclamations.¹

Gotama the recluse has come to Girivraja² of the Māgadhans, leading all the followers of Sañjayin with him.

Whom will he lead now, I wonder?

The monks reported this to the Exalted One and he replied,

It is by means of the true dharma that the great heroes, the Tathāgatas, lead people. Who that understands will carp at those who are led by the dharma?³

When the Exalted One, perfectly enlightened, had realised the end he had set out to reach, he stayed in Rājagṛiha, a Teacher of devas and men. And the Śākyan men and women of Kapilavastu heard that the Exalted One, having set rolling the excellent wheel of dharma, was staying in Rājagṛiha and leading a life of service to devas and men. (91) The Śākyans of Kapilavastu approached King Śuddhodana and said to him, "Your majesty, the Exalted One, having awakened to the supreme perfect enlightenment and set rolling the excellent wheel of dharma, is staying in Rājagṛiha and leading a life of service to devas and men. Well would it be, your majesty, to send a messenger to the Exalted One. He has shown compassion to devas and men. Well would it be if he showed compassion to his own people." King Śuddhodana replied, "So be it. Let a message be sent to him."

The Śākyans then reflected, "Who will be a fitting and

¹ *Śrāvāṇa* (*śravaṇā-*) *mukheṣu*, properly "entrances (to places) for proclamations" (= making people hear), but the Tibetan rendering of the expression ignores the word *mukha*. See Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*).

² Pali Giribaja, name of the old capital on the hills, which was superseded by the new city Rājagṛiha built by Bimbisāra at the foot of the hills. See *D.P.N.*

³ The Pali version of these two stanzas is found at *V. i. 43*.

proper messenger to send to the Exalted One?" And they said to Śuddhodana, "Your majesty, Chandaka here was the Exalted One's attendant when he was a young prince, and his comrade when he left home. Udāyin, too, the priest's son, was the young comrade of the Exalted One when he was a young prince, and played at making mud-pies with him.¹ Let these two be sent."²

These two were then summoned. "Go, Chandaka and Kālodāyin," they were told, "to Rājagṛiha, into the presence of the Exalted One. Greet him and say to him, 'The Exalted One has shown compassion to devas and men. Well would it be if the Exalted One showed compassion to his own people.' And whatever the Exalted One tell you, that do."

And they in obedience to King Śuddhodana left the city of Kapilavastu and in due course reached the Squirrels' Feeding-place in the Bamboo Grove in Rājagṛiha. They approached the Exalted One, bowed their heads at his feet and stood to one side. The Exalted One said to them, "Chandaka and Kālodāyin, why have you³ come?" They replied and said, "We would conduct the Exalted One to Kapilavastu." And the Exalted One in that circumstance, on that occasion, at that opportunity and at that moment uttered these verses on dharma.⁴

*Whose triumph does not wane,⁵ whose triumph Māra⁶
cannot overcome,⁷ the Buddha whose range is infinite, who
knows no wordly way,⁸ along what way will you lead him?*

¹ *Sahapāmsukṛīdanaka* "playing in the mud with." Pali *sahapāmsukūlita* and *pāmsuvāgāraka*, a common expression for "youthful playmate."

² This visit of Chandaka and Udāyin (or Kālodāyin) to the Exalted One has already been related in Vol. 2, p. 221 (trans.), where it was introduced to provide the *nidāna* or occasion of the *Śiriprabha Jātaka*. Udāyin was called Kālodāyin (Pali Kāludāyī), because of his slightly dark colour.

³ *Vo* = *yūyam*. See p. 82 n. 2.

⁴ The two stanzas following as given in the Pali *Dhammapada* (179-80). read,

*Yassa jītaṃ nāvajjīyati jītamassa na yāti koci loke taṃ Buddham ananta-
gocaraṃ apadaṃ kena padena nessatha?*

*Yassa jālinī visattikā taṇhā n'atthi kuhiñci netave taṃ Buddham ananta-
gocaraṃ apadaṃ kena padena nessatha?*

⁵ Reading either *jīyati*, Pali pass. of *jī* "to conquer" for *jīvati* of the text, or *jīyati* "to grow old," "decay". The Pali *jīyati* can represent either. See also Edgerton, *B.H.S.D.*

⁶ Here called by one of his epithets, *Antaka*, see Vol. 2, p. 269, n. 7.

⁷ *Jināti*, BSk. and Pali for *jayati*. See Edgerton, *Gram.* p. 213.

⁸ *Apada*, see *P.E.D.* and *B.H.S.D.*

(92) *Who has destroyed the snare, craving, that it can no longer lead him anywhere, the Buddha of infinite range who knows no wordly way, along what way will you lead him?*

The Exalted One then asked them, "Chandaka and Kālodāyin, will you take up the religious life?" And though they were not eager to do so, yet since they had been instructed by King Śuddhodana to do whatever the Exalted One told them, and although they did not see there any yellow robes or a barber to cut their hair and shave off their beards, they reverently and against their will said to the Exalted One, "We will take up the religious life."

Then the Exalted One pronounced over them the formula of "Come, monks," saying, "Monks Chandaka and Kālodāyin come, and live the brahma-life under the Tathāgata." And when the formula of "Come, monks" had been pronounced over them every mark of a layman, every badge, every emblem and every sign disappeared from their persons. A suit of three robes appeared, and a *sumbhaka*¹ bowl; their hair assumed its natural state, and their deportment was established, all just like those of monks who had been ordained a hundred years. Such was the admission of the venerable Chandaka and Kālodāyin into the religious life, their ordination and their becoming monks.

From the time that he had left home, from the time that he had attained the supreme perfect enlightenment, a period of seven years, the Exalted One had not known his native place, had not sat down with his face turned towards it even² for as long as it takes a man to breathe in and out once. At the end of those seven years near relations of his among the Śākyaans of Kapilavastu who had passed away from their human state and had, as a maturing of good karma, been reborn in the world of devas, implored the Exalted One, saying, "The Exalted One has taken compassion on devas and men. Well would it be if the Exalted One took compassion on his own people. It is time for the Exalted One to take compassion on his own people." The Exalted One silently intimated his assent to those devas. And they, understanding

¹ See p. 67 n. 3.

² *Antamasato*. Cf. Pali *antamaso*, BSk. *antaśah*, e.g. I. 104 (text). See also I. 7; 2. 15. See *B.H.S.D.* for BSk. examples.

the silent assent of the Exalted One, (93) in joy and elation bowed their heads at his feet, saluted him from the right and forthwith vanished.

The Exalted One then arranged his seat so that he faced his native place. And the venerable Udāyin, understanding the sign thus given by the Exalted One, thought, "Since the Exalted One has arranged his seat to face Kapilavastu, he is eager to take compassion on it." Then he appealed to the Exalted One.¹

Do ye now listen with rapt attention how, with bent knees and bowed head Kālodāyin implored the infinite One, the peerless Conqueror who needs no guide.

Now have the crimson trees, Lord, shed their mantle of old leaves to make ready for fruit.² They are radiant as though they were aflame. The season, great Hero, is rich with the promise of succulent fruit.³

The delightful groves are all in bloom and breathe sweet odours all around. Shedding their flowers the trees clothe themselves with fruit.⁴ It is time, O Master, to go hence.

It is not too cold nor too hot; but it will be⁵ seasonably pleasant for thee on thy way. Let the Koliyans and the Sākyans behold thy face as stars behold Rohinī.⁶

(94) Then the Exalted One described to the venerable Sāriputra the journey of the exalted Śikhin.⁷

It was a sublime sight, Sāriputra, long ago ere this to see the world-leader Śikhin going on his journey.⁸

¹ The prose ends abruptly here, to let the story be carried on by a verse passage which, after the opening stanza of exhortation to listen, is practically identical with *Thag.* 527-9. Cf. for some parts *J.* 1. 87. See Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms of the Brethren*, and the notes there.

² Literally "searching for fruit" *phalesinas*. After this word the text has a lacuna, but the line is restored as *chadanam viprahāya*, after *Thag.* 527.

³ Literally "partakes of sap or juice," *bhagī rasānām*.

⁴ *Phalam ādiyañti*. The *Mhv.* here differs considerably from *Thag.*, which has *phalam āsāna*, "yearning for fruit."

⁵ *Bhaveya*. But *Thag.* 529 has a substantive, *bhavante*, here.

⁶ *Rohiṇīmiva tārahāni*. But *Thag.* has *Rohiṇiyam tarantam*, "crossing the Rohinī," where instead of the constellation of that name we have the river Rohinī, which flowed through the land of the Sākyans and Koliyans, and is now the Rowai in Rohwaini. See *D.P.N.* The variation between the two texts here is a good example of the vagaries of oral tradition. As compared with *Thag.*, Kālodāyin's appeal is here cut short.

⁷ The twentieth of the twenty-four Buddhas.

⁸ Literally, "it was a sublime thing when, etc." *udāram . . . cārikām pratipannasya Śikhisya lohanāyake*, which is a strange amalgamation of loc. and gen. absolutes. The same anomaly is maintained throughout the many repetitions of this phrase in the sequel. See Edgerton, *Gram.* §7. 12.

To whatever village or town the Leader came, everywhere there would be found plenty of water¹ that was considered most excellent.

To whatever village or town the Leader came, everywhere in all directions a pleasant park would greet him.

To whatever village or town the Leader came, trees covered with flowers all over their branches and trunks² exhaled their fragrance in all directions.

Whatever tree the Leader stood beneath produced radiant blossoms—it was a tree beyond compare.

Whatever tree the Leader stood beneath produced ripe fruit in all its parts.

Trees and flowers and fruits that are of this world³ were seen in the way of the journey of Śikhin, the Leader of the world.

Trees and flowers and fruits that are not of this world⁴ were seen in the way of the journey of Śikhin, the Leader of the world.

Then did the earth with the sea and the mountains quake when Śikhin, the Leader of the world, went on his journey.

Devas scattered flowers of the coral-tree when Śikhin, the Leader of the world, went on his journey, and⁵ flowers of the great coral-tree, of the karkārava,⁶ (95) of the great karkārava, of the rocamāna,⁷ of the great rocamāna, of the

¹ *Sopāntya*, "perh. for *saupāntya* or *supāntya*, "plenty of good water." (Edgerton, *B.H.S.D.*). In view of the other natural phenomena which are related as attending Śikhin's presence, this interpretation is decidedly superior to that of Senart, who suggests that *sopāntya* is a corruption of some form like *poṣadheya*, and that the allusion is to a gathering of people to make their eight vows (*aṣṭāṅgasammitam*) on a fast day! For the use of *aṣṭāṅga* in the sense of "perfect," "excellent," etc., see Vol. 2, p. 280, n. 6, and, with especial reference to water, Vol. 2, p. 332, n. 1. See also *B.H.S.D.* The translation assumes that *sammitam* should be emended into *sammataṃ*. So MSS.

² *Sihānuṣvāpuspitā*, "blossoming on their branches and/or trunks." Senart, however, is inclined to emend into *sthānasya* " (the trees) of the place," on the analogy of p. 98, l. 7 (text). But the text reading is more in keeping with the tone of the verse. Miss I. B. Horner reminds the translator that parasite flowers, such as orchids, appear to blossom on the trunks of tropical trees.

³ *Mānuṣyaka*.

⁴ *Amānuṣyaka*.

⁵ For the next page and a half the text consists of a repetition of the preceding stanza, with a different object of the verb in each case, and with the synonymous *caramānasya* for *pratipannasya* in the later stanzas.

⁶ See Vol. 1, p. 221, n. 1.

⁷ See Vol. 1, p. 186, n. 3.

manjūṣaka,¹ of the great manjūṣaka, of the bhīṣma,² of the great bhīṣma, of the samantagandha,³ of the great samantagandha, and of the parijāta⁴; flowers of gold, silver and (96) precious stones; powder of sandal-wood, of aloe-wood, of keśara,⁵ of tamāla⁶ leaves and of celestial gems.

Thousands of koṭis of musical instruments were played in the sky when Śikhin, the Leader of the world, went on his journey.

Unbeaten drums roared in the sky when Śikhin, the Leader of the world, went on his journey. Devas standing in the air waved their garments.⁷ Nāga kings, Suparnas and human beings approached; those numerous beautiful and glorious Yakṣas followed the journey of Śikhin, the Leader of the world. Eighty-six thousand laymen gathered together and followed the journey of Śikhin, the Leader of the world. (97) Neither hunger nor thirst nor want was spoken of when Śikhin, the Leader of the world, went on his journey, nor heat, nor cold, nor gadflies, nor gnats.

And when he had made his journey and instructed many men, he passed away, a perfect Buddha, a seer rid of rebirth.

Then the venerable Śāriputra rose up from his seat, arranged his robe over one shoulder, knelt with his right knee on the ground, and, holding out his joined hands, said to the Exalted One, "Lord, thou art the equal of the exalted Śikhin in morality, in wisdom, in the powers,⁸ in the assurances,⁹ and in the attributes of a Buddha.¹⁰ Such too will be thy journey as was that of the exalted Śikhin. The Exalted One will go on his journey for the welfare and happiness of men, out of compassion for the world, for the good of the great multitude, for the welfare and happiness of devas and men."

¹ See Vol. 2, p. 156, n. 5.

² See Vol. 1, p. 186, n. 4.

³ Ibid.

⁴ See Vol. 1, p. 221, n. 2.

⁵ See Vol. 1, p. 32, n. 3.

⁶ See Vol. 1, p. 168, n. 6.

⁷ The text repeats the temporal clause in each of these sentences.

⁸ I.e. the ten powers, *balāni*, of a Tathāgata. See Vol. 1, p. 126.

⁹ *Vaiśāradya*, Pali *vesārajja*. These assurances were enumerated as four. See Vol. 1, p. 33, n. 6.

¹⁰ *Buddhadharmā*, either attributes in general or the eighteen distinctive attributes—*āveṇikā buddhadharmā*. See vol. 1, p. 33, n. 4.

Then arranging his robe over one shoulder and holding out his joined hands, Śāriputra besought the Tathāgata to make his journey.

"It is time that the Exalted One, too, should now set out on his journey, a Master taking compassion on men.

"Those who have made the dharma grow and are in their last incarnation are supplicated to avail themselves of the opportunity to take compassion on men."

[The Buddha replied] "After fasting half a month (98) I shall set out on my journey to bestow compassion on men."

And so, having completed his fortnight's fast, the Master set out on his journey to bestow compassion on men.

To whatever village or town Gotama came, everywhere men completely sound in health came to meet him from all directions.

To whatever village or town Gotama came, the trees of the place¹ blossomed forth and breathed their fragrance in all directions.

Whatever tree Gotama stood beneath put forth its flowers and bent under their weight², a tree beyond compare.

Whatever tree Gotama stood beneath put forth ripe fruit in all its parts.

Trees and flowers and fruits that are of this world were seen as the Leader of the world went on his journey.³

Trees and flowers and fruits that are not of this world were seen as the Leader of the world went on his journey.

Then did the earth with the sea and the mountains quake when the Leader of the world had set out and was going on his journey.⁴

¹ *Sthānasya*. See p. 97 n. 2.

² *Onamitvā*. But the parallel passage above, p. 94 (text) has *obhāsivā*.

³ There is a slight variation here from the parallel passage, p. 94 (text), which reads *cārikāyatanāni dṛṣṭyensu*. *Cārikā-āyatanāni* has been taken to mean "the area or the ways covered by his journey", its case being accusative, object of *carante*. The present passage has *cārikān tāni dṛṣṭyensu*, where the pronoun *tāni* merely resumes the substantive subjects of the verb, *cārikān* being accusative object of *carante*.

⁴ This temporal clause, which is repeated as the last line in each stanza for the rest of the passage, but is omitted in translation, has a peculiar construction: *cārikāṃ pratipannasya carante lokanāyake* (with *caramānasya* for *pratipannasya* in the later stanzas). The anomalous concord of *pratipannasya* with *nāyake* has already been met with (see p. 96 n. 8). In the present passage, unless *carante*, too, is taken as being for gen. sing. we are left with a clause containing half of a "genitive absolute" and the whole of a "locative absolute", both referable to the same subject.

Devas scattered flowers of the coral-tree, of the great coral-tree, of the karkārava, (99) of the great karkārava, of the rocamāna, of the great rocamāna, of the manjūśaka, of the great manjūśa, of the bhīṣma, of the great bhīṣma, of the samantagandha, of the great samantagandha, and of the pariṣāta. They scattered flowers of gold, of silver, (100) and of precious stones. They scattered powder of sandal-wood, of aloe-wood, of keśara, of tamāla leaves, and of celestial gems. Thousands of koṭis of musical instruments played in the sky, and unbeaten drums roared in the air. Devas standing in the sky waved their garments. Nāga kings, Suparṇas and men approached; those numerous beautiful and glorious Yakṣas and those numerous, beautiful and glorious devas followed (101) as the Leader of the world went on his journey, and three thousand powerful, beautiful and glorious devas, eighty-six thousand brāhmanas who had gathered, and eighty-six thousand laymen.

Neither hunger nor thirst nor want was spoken of when the Leader of the world was going on his journey, nor heat nor cold nor gadflies nor gnats.

And when he had completed his journey and converted many people, the Saviour of the world came to Kapilavastu of the Śākya.

There the Exalted One stayed in the Banyan Grove¹ with his company of eighteen hundred disciples. And King Śuddhodana heard that the Exalted One was touring among the Kośalas² with a company of eighteen hundred monks, and had come to the city of the Kośalas and was staying there in the Banyan Grove.

Then all the Śākya men and women of Kapilavastu, eager to see the Exalted One, yoked their own carriages, saying, "We are going to see the Exalted One." But King Śuddhodana heard that the Śākya men and women were

¹ Nyagrodhārāma. "A grove near Kapilavastu where a residence was provided for the Buddha when he visited the city in the first year after his Enlightenment (MA. I. 289). It belonged to a Śākya named Nigrodha, who gave it to the Order" (D.P.N.)

² The inhabitants of Kosala, to the north-west of Magadha. In the 6th century B.C., the Śākya territory of Kapilavastu was subject to Kosala. See D.P.N. for references. Though the Banyan Grove, therefore, was near Kapilavastu, the *Mhv.* speaks of it as being in Kosalan territory and near its capital Śrāvastī (Sāvatthi).

yoking their carriages and saying "We are going to the Banyan Grove (102) to see the Exalted One." So he caused a proclamation to be made in Kapilavastu ordering, "No one is to go to the Exalted One before me. It is along with me that all of you must go to the Banyan Grove to see the Exalted One."

King Śuddhodana, then, with all the women of his court, with Yaśodharā at their head, with the princes and counsellors, with his Śākya attendants, his archers, charioteers and horsemen, and with the town councillors¹ led by their president, in great royal pomp and magnificence set out from the city of Kapilavastu to see the Exalted One. Now as King Śuddhodana was coming out of the city of Kapilavastu in a chariot drawn by four horses and attended by an escort of Śākyas on his way to the Banyan Grove to see the Exalted One, a company of monks entered to beg for alms. King Śuddhodana saw them, and he asked his counsellors, "Ho, counsellors, what manner of Wanderers are these?" The counsellors answered and said, "Sire, these are the attendants of the prince." And, on seeing the monks who had left home to become seers, Uruvilvākāśyapa, Nadikāśyapa, Gayākāśyapa,² Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana with their company, that they were lean of body, mortified by austerities, shaven, and holding bowls in their hands, he became troubled of countenance. He said, "If my son had not left home he would have been a universal king over the four continents, triumphant, righteous, a king of dharma, possessing the seven royal treasures, with an escort of a thousand kings, and having the whole earth as his domain. Send this company away. I have no wish to see it."

The counsellors, therefore, said to the monks, "The king does not wish to see you. Turn back." So they turned back

¹ Reading *naigamehi* "townsmen", with one MS., for the *nigamehi*, "towns", of the text. The translation follows a suggestion of Miss I. B. Horner's. See her *Bk. of Disc.*, 4, p. 379, and n. 6, where she cites *V.A.* 1114 which defines *negama* at *V.I.* 268, as *kuṭumbikagāṇa*, "a group of leading men." It is at least obvious that some special class of townsmen is alluded to.

² Three brothers known in the Pali texts as "Tebhātika Jaṭilas," the three brother "matted-hair ascetics." Uruvilvākāśyapa lived at Uruvilvā (see vol. 2, p. 119) on the banks of the Nairāñjanā with five hundred disciples. Further down the river lived his two brothers, with three hundred and two hundred disciples respectively. The three were converted by the Buddha and attained Arahantship. See I. B. Horner, *Bk. of Disc.*, 4, p. 32 ff.

and came to the Banyan Grove. "Lord," said they, "King Śuddhodana has no wish to see us. For when he caught sight of us he turned us back."¹ The Exalted One replied, "There will then be enough food here for the whole company of monks."

But Uruvilvākāśyapa said (103) to the Exalted One, "Lord, I will go and make King Śuddhodana change his mind."² But the Exalted One would not consent. In the same way Nadikāśyapa, Gayākāśyapa, Upasena³ and all the powerful⁴ monks implored the Exalted One, saying, "Let us go, Lord, to placate King Śuddhodana so that he will come to the Exalted One." But the Exalted One would not consent to their doing so.

Then the venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana considered within himself, "What monk is it that the Exalted One can be desirous should go and placate King Śuddhodana?" And by means of his deva-eye, which excelled the human eye in clearness, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana perceived that the Exalted One was thinking of the monk Kālodayin,⁵ and that it was he who should go and placate King Śuddhodana. Perceiving this he went to the venerable Kālodayin and said to him, "O Udāyin, good fortune is yours and well-gained, since it is you that the Exalted One desires should go and placate King Śuddhodana. There are other monks senior to you, who have asked to go, but without success. So do you go, venerable Udāyin, and placate King Śuddhodana."

When this had been said, the venerable Udāyin replied to the venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, "Difficult is it, O venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, to approach kings, who are anointed nobles enjoying security in their empire.⁶ Just as, O venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, it is difficult for a man to approach a great burning pile of fire, so is it difficult to

¹ ? *Pratinivartito*, for *pratinivarteti*.

² Literally, "turn him back," *nivartemi*.

³ Most likely the Upasena who is referred to p. 431 (text) as the nephew of the three Kāśyapas just mentioned. It is not clear whether he is to be identified with the Upasena who was the teacher of Śāriputra (above p. 61). See D.P.N.

⁴ *Mahaddhika* for *maharddhika*; cf. Pali *mahiddhika*. One MS. has *maharddhika*.

⁵ See above p. 94.

⁶ *Janapadasthāmavṛtyapṛāpta*. Cf. Pali *janapadasthāvāriya*, D. i. 88; 2. 16; Sn. p. 106. See vol. i, p. 293, n. 5.

approach kings who are anointed nobles enjoying security in their empire. Just as, O venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, it is difficult to approach a sixty-year old elephant, so is it difficult to approach kings who are anointed nobles enjoying security in their empire. Just as, O venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, it is difficult for a man to approach a lion, king of beasts, fanged, powerful and maned, a lord of animals (104), so is it difficult to approach kings who are anointed nobles enjoying security in their empire. Just as, O venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, it is difficult for a man to approach a leopard taut of body¹ and menacing of mien,² so is it difficult to approach kings who are anointed nobles enjoying security in their empire and are leopards among men."

Then the Exalted One addressed the venerable Kālodayin in verse:

Listen to me, good Udāyin, you who are supreme among those who repose in the perfection of merit. You will easily placate the noble king, the joy of the Śākya clan.

For no other monk is there who can win over the king's heart. By no one else but you, Udāyin, who have shared the life of the Exalted One, can it be done.

Once upon a time, Udāyin, long ago, there was a lord of earth, named Satyavardhana, and renowned far and wide, a protector of the world.

He was righteous, a king of dharma, honoured by koṭis of nayutas of men. He ruled this sea-girt earth in righteousness.

This king had a son named Matisāra, who paid heed to the Buddhas of old, sustained³ by and intent on a host of merits.

Perceiving the viciousness of sensual pleasures, caring for none of the joys of sense, and having planted⁴ the root of virtue, he found no delight at home, but in solitude.

(105) *To him Satyavardhana said, "My son, enjoy the exquisite quality of sensual pleasures here in your home that is like the abode of Vaiśravaṇa,⁵ like the abode of the immortals."*

¹ ? Or "gathered to spring". Literally, "with body clinging together", *olinakāya*.

² Or, "heavy, haughty of look", *gurudarśana*.

³ *Paricārita*, "served by", p. part. of BSk. *paricārayati*, Pali *paricāreti*.

⁴ *Orupā*. See vol. 2, p. 295, n. 3. Cf. B.H.S.D.

⁵ Epithet of Kuvera, god of wealth. See vol. i, p. 200, n. 3.

Matisāra holding out his joined hands replied, "O king, these are not the things that are good in the eyes of an intelligent man.

"They are what a foolish man is capable of, for they are known to be under the control of passion . . .¹

"Why should a man who has eyes to see take the wrong path under the guidance of a blind man? Why should a man who has arrived to time envy him who is still abroad² without a shelter?

"Why should a man who has been set free take the road back to prison³ at the bidding of one who is still in bondage? Why should a wise man hanker after the company of one who is on the wrong road?

"You seem to me, O king, to be a blind man carried away and long since lost. You are being carried away by the flood of sensual desires, while I abhor them."

And so Matisāra, with the full knowledge of his powerful father, went forth from his home, a prince renouncing without regret his kingdom and his pleasures.

As a snake sheds its withered slough, as a man spews a gathering of phlegm, so did he cast aside his kingdom, the whole sea-girt earth. For he had perceived the viciousness of sensual delights.

Surmounting the sphere of sensual pleasures, Prince Matisāra indulged in divine meditation⁴ that he might reach the state of Brahmā.⁵

¹ Lacuna.

² Literally, "is still riding," *vuhyantasya*, gen. sg. of pres. part. of *vuhyati*, BSk. = Pali, Sk. *uhyate*. For the form, see Edgerton, *Gram.*, § 2. 52. Immediately below we have *vuhyasi*, 2nd sg. pres. indic.

³ This is the translation of Senart's restored text. Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.* s.v. *kārāhva*) prefers to follow the MSS. more closely and read *bandhasya katham mukto vacanena kārāhvam abhikrameya*, which he translates, "how, having been freed from a bond by a word, would one enter into what is called a prison (viz. sensual life)?" But Senart's text seems to fit the context better. A freed man who listens to the bidding of one still in captivity to return to it, is on a par with the man who suffers himself to be led by a blind man, and with the man on the right road who goes and follows another on the wrong one.

⁴ Or "Brahma states", *brahmavihārā*, "exercises in meditation to produce the four concepts or spiritual attitudes of love, compassion, cheerful sympathy and equanimity" (*maitrā karuṇā muditā upekṣā*). See *P.E.D.* for references. Kern, *S.B.E.* xxi, p. 140, n. 3, says of them, "Otherwise they are termed *appamaññā* in Pali; they are identical with the four *bhāvanās* or exercises to develop benevolence, compassion, cheerful sympathy and equanimity," and he refers to *Yogaśāstra* 1. 33.

⁵ *Brahmatva*.

When the prince had thus taken to the religious life, out of devotion to him the son of the household priest, named Somadatta, went forth from home after Matisāra.

(106) Now when the prince left home to take up the religious life, his father took it hard, but Somadatta's going as well appeased the king.

Why should you think, Udāyin, that Matisāra at that time was somebody else? It was I who at that time cared nought for the pleasures of sense.

Why should you think, Udāyin, that Satyavardhana was somebody else? King Śuddhodana here at that time was he.

Why should you think, Udāyin, that the devoted Somadatta was somebody else? You were he who then appeased him who was named Satyamaha.¹

Therefore do you now placate King Śuddhodana. Great profit² will there be when the lord of earth is placated.

There will be, young sir, an endless store of blessings for devas and men when the noble king is placated. So haste to reconcile him.

By this time the lord of the Śākyaans is sorely stricken in mind and disturbed of thought. He stands dejected like an elephant which has fallen over a mountain cliff.

Like a strong man in the grip of a demon³ that saps his strength,⁴ he, supreme lord of the earth though he is, no longer knows either his own self nor his son.

Through thinking of loss of sovereignty and reflecting on sovereignty, he does that which displeases me. So quickly go and appease him.

King Śuddhodana turned back from the gates of Kapilavastu with all (107) his Śākyaan retinue and came and stood in his reception-hall.⁵ There King Śuddhodana addressed the Śākyaan men and women, saying, "The prince has deprived himself of the lordship of this great domain and taken up the religious life. If the prince had not taken up the religious

¹ I.e. Satyavardhana.

² *Samudaya*. Possibly, there is a play on the name Udāyin.

³ *Rākṣasa*.

⁴ *Ojahara*. Cf. vol. 1, p. 208, n. 3.

⁵ *Darśanaśālā* "hall for seeing or visiting."

life, he would be a universal king over the four continents, triumphant, righteous, a king of dharma, possessing the seven treasures. For those seven treasures would be his, namely, the treasure of the wheel, of the elephant, of the horse, of the jewel, of the woman, of the householder and of the counsellor. He would have a full thousand sons, brave, courageous, handsome, vanquishers of their foes. He would reign and exercise his sway over these four great sea-girt continents without turmoil or trouble, without rod or weapon, without violence, but with justice. He would be attended by thousands of kings. This universal rule would mean power¹ for us here. But now that the prince has taken up the religious life we have been deprived of the lordship of this mighty realm."

Then the venerable Udāyin flew up in the air from the Banyan Grove and came and stood in the air at the height of a palm-tree in front of Śuddhodana and his retinue of Śākya escort. And King Śuddhodana saw the venerable Udāyin standing in the air at the height of a palm-tree, and, seeing him, he was thrilled, gladdened and pleased. He rose up from his seat, arranged his robe over one shoulder, and stretching out his joined hands towards the venerable Udāyin he addressed him in verse:

"Whence do you come garbed in a robe of red? On what mission have you come hither? And what, Udāyin, do you desire here? Rare is the sight of those who have their vows fulfilled."

[Udāyin replied:]

(108) "O monarch of this realm, good fortune and glory is yours, since your son is the Peerless One among men. With his splendour he irradiates the whole world as the rising thousand-rayed sun the earth."

Then the elder Udāyin, as he stood in the air at the height of a palm-tree, recounted the many noble qualities of the Buddha. And King Śuddhodana on hearing was pleased, and he spoke to the Śākya men and women saying, "Just as, O sons and daughters of Vasiṣṭha,² we have in the flush

¹ *Hastakṛta*. See vol. 2, p. 66, n. 3. This is the explanation also given by Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*).

² See vol. 1, p. 32, n. 2.

of dawn a foregoing sign of the rising sun, so we have in Udāyin, the dispeller of doubt, the disciple of the Sugata."

[Udāyin said:]

A new Buddha¹ with vision of the ultimate good has at last appeared in the clan of the Śākya. As I placated Satyamaha so [may I now placate Śuddhodana].² In hope is the field tilled and the seed sown.³ In hope merchants sail the sea in quest of wealth.⁴ And now may that which I hope for as I stand here be realised.

Again and again men briskly sow the seed. Again and again the lord of devas sends the rain. Again and again the sown field ripens, and again and again the husbandmen reap their harvest.

(109) Again and again beggars approach; again and again true men give them charity. Again and again the true men who have given go to their place in heaven.

Rare is the Sterling Man⁵; he is not born everywhere. But wherever the Hero is born, his clan is happy and prosperous.

The Hero is clean⁶ back through seven generations⁷ in whatever family the vastly Wise One is born. A deva of devas he guides the Śākya like a father; for from you is born the seer Satyanāma.⁸

Verily Śuddhodana is the Conqueror's father, and likewise is Māyā the Buddha's mother. She who bore the Bodhisattva in her womb, now, after the dissolution of her body, rejoices in heaven.

She, the Buddha's mother, rejoices in the five strands of

¹ Literally, "A son of Buddha," *Buddhasya putra*.

² There is a lacuna here, but the context would seem to require a phrase to this effect.

³ *Vapyaṭe*, BSk., = Pali *vappate*, *vappati*, Sk. *upyate*.

⁴ Cf. vol. 2, p. 56. These verses are identical with *Thag.* vv. 529 ff., where they are a continuation of a verse passage the first part of which has already been reproduced p. 96 above. The first three stanzas are also found at *S.* i. 174.

⁵ *Ajanya*. See p. 118, n. 6. Here, of course, an epithet of the Buddha.

⁶ *Punāti*. *Thag.* 533 has *puneti*, which *P.E.D.* explains as "caus. f. *puna*? or = *punāti*? "to experience (over and over) again", but Kern *Toev. s.v.* takes it as = *punāti*, and Mrs. Rhys Davids translates "lifts to lustrous purity". *Thag. A.* II. 225 gives *puneti* = *sodheti*. The only variant in the MSS. of the *Mhv.* seems to be *pureti*.

⁷ For the idea that traceable descent from a common ancestor through seven generations constitutes a family, cf. *Thag.* 533 and *D.* i. 113.

⁸ Or "who bears a true name." Cf. Pali *Saccanāma* as epithet of the Buddha at *A.* 3. 346; 4. 285, 289; *PvA.* 231; *Thag.* 533.

sensual pleasures,¹ in desirable delights, exceeding eager and attended by hosts of Apsarases.

The father is pleased² with his son, the Buddha, the invincible, the mighty³ peerless scion of Angīrasa,⁴ and he exults. O Śākya Gotama, rightly art thou nobly born.⁵

The king said :

"Does he with whom you live as a recluse, O monk, live the brahma-life in faith? (110) Is he not afraid? Does he not know what fear is, but is content in his solitude at the foot of the tree?"

Udāyin replied :

"O king, he with whom I live as a recluse lives the brahma-life in faith. He is not afraid nor knows what fear is, but is content in his solitude at the foot of the tree.

"How, O Śākya, can you say that the Conqueror is afraid as he lives all alone, a diligent Seer, unmoved by censure or by praise, like a lion undisturbed by alarms, like the wind that can not be enmeshed in a net, a Leader himself not to be led by others?"

[The king said:]

"Since you know my son whose wisdom is unequalled, and whose father I say I am, and since you are a son to him, so are you a son to me. Eat then, O monk, and then take your alms-bowl.

"We, too, will go to see the Buddha, whose excellence is unsurpassed, who has passed beyond doubt. From what you say about my son, O monk, the Choicest of beings has appeared in the world."

Having eaten the food as it was proper to do, pure, exquisite and sweetly-flavoured food, (111) the monk took his alms-bowl, and set out and came to where the Conqueror who knows no leader, was.

¹ See vol. 2, p. 113, n. 2.

² There is considerable variation between the *Mhv.* and *Thag.* in the last stanza, the variation centering in the two words *prīta* *pitā* of the former text as against *pitū* *pitā* of the latter.

³ *Tāyin.* See Vol. 2, p. 318, n. 2.

⁴ Although the Commentaries propose various explanations of this term, the likelihood is that it is a mere patronymic, for the Gautamas belonged to the Angirasa tribe. See *D.P.N.* for references.

⁵ But contrast the text of *Thag.* 536, and see n.

And when he had reached that place he held out the alms-bowl to the Conqueror. Bowing at his feet he said to the Tathāgata, "Thy people are coming to see thee.

"When the king heard of all thy virtues, he thrice called out, 'Well won is my good fortune and infinite, since now that a Conqueror dwells in this universe of three-thousand worlds, I shall have intercourse with the Leader.

"The blossoming trees in their garb of flowers are the haunt of flocks of twittering birds. So, too, my heart is glad and blooming, since I have heard that my son is endowed with all good qualities.'"

Then King Śuddhodana spoke to one of his royal counsellors. "My counsellor," said he, "Prince Sarvārthasiddha¹ has awakened to the supreme perfect enlightenment. He has set rolling the noble wheel of dharma, and has reached the wood near Kapilavastu. So we will go out to meet my son, Prince Sarvārthasiddha. Have a proclamation made, then, in the city of Kapilavastu, bidding all Śākyans, brāhmans and laymen, all musicians,² all guildsmen and all craftsmen to come with me to meet Sarvārthasiddha." "So be it, your majesty," said he.

And the royal counsellor in obedience to Śuddhodana at once caused a proclamation to be made at the cross-roads and market places in the city of Kapilavastu in these words (112) "Good people, Prince Sarvārthasiddha has awakened to the supreme perfect enlightenment and has come to the wood near Kapilavastu. Therefore you all must go with King Śuddhodana to meet the Exalted One.

There has come to the clan of the Śākyans he who will be its protection. He has attained his desire; his heart is rid of craving;³ his āśravas⁴ are decayed, and his passion gone. He is all-seeing. After twelve years we shall behold him in his infinite wisdom.

When he has heard the joyous sound of drums in the kingdom of the Śākyans, and the music played by the host

¹ See vol. 2, p. 23.

² *Gāndhārvikā*, "followers or disciples of the Gandharvas", for whose musical abilities see *D.P.N.* Cf. vol. 2, p. 49, n.3.

³ *Trīṣabhāva*, "state of craving"; *trīṣa* is for *trīṣā* or *trīṣṇā*.

⁴ See vol. 1, p. 49, n. 2.

of devas in Lumbinī,¹ he who declared 'I will become a Buddha in the world,' will come, making true his word and dispelling the darkness.

He who took seven strides here in Lumbinī, he by whom the seven jewels of the bodhyangas² were understood, he who roared a lion's roar, 'I am foremost in the world,' will come and break those who speak against him.

He who has done away with all rebirth, he in whom every source of becoming is dried up, he in whom the creepers of craving and the font of ill are dried up, will come and give release from bondage in the world."

When the Śākya men and women of Kapilavastu heard this proclamation, they quickly gathered at the palace gate (113), including princes, counsellors, army officers, brāhmins with the household priest at their head,³ and the community of tradesmen with their president at their head.⁴ All the musicians⁵ were there, namely, jugglers,⁶ court bards,⁷ actors,⁸ dancers,⁹ athletes,¹⁰ wrestlers, tambourine-

¹ See vol. 1, p. 78, n. 1.

² See vol. 2, p. 142, n. 3.

³ *Purohitapramukhā brāhmaṇā*.

⁴ *Śreṣṭhipramukho vaniggrāmo*. The former word is not to be confused with *śreṣṭhipramukha*, "head of a guild," which is practically synonymous with *śreṣṭhi* by itself. For *grāma*, literally "village" in the meaning of a community of tradesmen or craftsmen, cf. the "village of smiths" in vol. 2, pp. 80 ff. There would seem to be a double organisation of professions and trades, namely into communities (*grāma*) and into guilds (*śreṇi*). The number of these latter is given as eighteen, see below, p. 114 and cf. Mrs. Rhys Davids: *Cambridge History of India*, 1, pp. 206-7, and references there given.

⁵ *Gandharvikā*. See p. 109, n. 2.

⁶ *Cakrika*, cf. Sk. *cakrin*, "a kind of juggler or tumbler who exhibits tricks with a discus or a wheel (?)". M.W. So, doubtfully, B.H.S.D.

⁷ *Vatālika*, "a bard whose duty it is to awaken a chief or prince at dawn with music and song." M.W. The Pali form is *vetālika* (Miln. 331; J. 6. 277), "a certain office or occupation at court connected with music or entertainment, a bard." P.E.D. At J. 6. 277 it is explained as *vetāla utthāpake*, where the P.E.D. suggests that for *vetāla* we may read *vettāya*, i.e., "Those whose duty it is by *vetāla* or *vetta* to make people rise." This explanation seems to tally with Buddhaghosa's explanation of the name of the corresponding profession, *vetāla*, at D. 1. 6, as being *ghanatāla*, "cymbal-beating" (D.A. 1. 84), to which he adds *mantana mata-sariv*, *utthāpanam ti eke*, "some take it to mean raising the dead by magic charms." According to the P.E.D. the word is of dialectal origin. "Perhaps to be read *vetālika*" (B.H.S.D.).

⁸ *Nāṭa*, and explained at V.A. 931 as "those who play (or dance, *nāṭenti*) a pantomime" (*nāṭakam*). See I. B. Horner, *Bk. of Disc.* 3, p. 298, n. 2.

⁹ *Nartaka*, cf. Pali *nālaka*, V. 4. 285, Miln. 191, 331.

¹⁰ *Rillaka*, see vol. 1, p. 187, n. 1, and B.H.S.D. "prize-fighter."

players,¹ clowns,² tumblers,³ tam-tam players,⁴ buffoons,⁵ *dvistvalas*,⁶ reciters,⁷ *pañcavaṭukas*,⁸ singers, dancers,⁹ comedians,¹⁰ performers on the drum, trumpet, tabour, kettle-drum, cymbal, flute, and the guitar and the lute—all gathered at the palace gate. All the guildsmen¹¹ of Kapilavastu were there; namely, goldsmiths, bankers,¹² cloak-sellers,¹³ workers in shell and ivory, jewellers, workers in stone,¹⁴ perfumers, *kośāvikas*,¹⁵

¹ *Pāṇisvariha*, "player on a *pāṇisvara*, Pali *pāṇissara*, literally "hand-sound or music." At *Dial.*, 1. 8, n. 2, Buddhaghosa is quoted as explaining the term to be "playing on cymbals." Cf. *pāṇisvarya*, vol. 2, p. 97, n. 3. But Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) says, "probably palm-clapping, not cymbal-sound."

² *Sobhika*, Sk. *saubhika*, Pali *sobhiya*. Cf. J. 6. 277 and *Dial.* 1. 8, n. 3. See also B.H.S.D.

³ *Langhaka*, Pali *id.*, J. 2. 142; Miln. 34, 191, 331. The fem. pl. form *langhikā* is found at V. 4. 285. See I. B. Horner, *Bk. of Disc.*, 3, p. 298, n. 4, where the explanation at V.A. 931 is quoted, "those who do tumbling on bamboos and thongs."

⁴ *Kumbhatūnika*, "a player on the *kumbhathuna*, "a sort of drum." See *Dial.* 1. 8, n. 4 and *Bk. of Disc.* 3, p. 297, n. 6. The form of the word in the *Mhvu.* varies between *kumbhatūni*, *kumbhātūnika*, *kumbhatūna*, *kumbhatuna* and *kumbhathunika*. The word has in this translation been hitherto rendered "drummer", but that word is required for another Sk. word later on in this passage. The translation at *Dial.* 1. 8 has therefore been adopted here. According to Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) the form with *th* is the correct one.

⁵ *Velambaka*. According to Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) = *viḍambaka* = AMg. *viḍambaga*.

⁶ "A dubious form assumed by Senart" (B.H.S.D.).

⁷ *Bhāṇaka*.

⁸ Unknown. "Very likely corrupt" (B.H.S.D.).

⁹ Reading, as Senart suggests, *tāṇḍavā* for *bhāṇḍavikā* of the text.

¹⁰ *Hāsyakāraka*, "laughter-maker."

¹¹ Many of the professions named here, and of the crafts in the next paragraph must remain unidentified. Although Miln. 331 has a long list of about eighty occupations only a very few of them are identical with those named in the *Mhvu.*, at least as far as their names are concerned. Similarly, with regard to the twenty classes of people mentioned at Miln. 191, the note in the translation in S.B.E. 35. 266 states that the meaning of most of them is obscure. Neither the list of occupations at D. 1. 51 nor that at V. 4. 6 is of much help in explaining the obscure *Mhvu.* terms, which may be regarded as regional or dialectal words.

¹² *Hairanyika*, Pali *heraññika*, Miln. 331, "assayers of gold" (S.B.E. 36. 209, where see note.) Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) says "goldsmith", but this word seems required for the preceding *sauvarṇika*, which, as a substantive, is not listed in his dictionary.

¹³ *Prāvārika*, Pali *pāvārika*, V. 4. 250. See P.E.D., s.v., where reference is made to *pāvāra* as "cloak" or "mantle" at V. 1. 281; J. 5. 409. See also I. B. Horner, *Bk. of Disc.* 3. 228, n. 4. Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) s.v. *hairanyika*, says "cloak-dealer," or read *prāvālika* "coral-dealer."

¹⁴ *Prastārika*, cf. Pali *paṭhara*, "stone-ware," Miln. 2. Edgerton, B.H.S.D.: perhaps "merchant" if related to Pali (*kaṃsā-*) *paṭtharikā*, V. 2. 135, according to Comm. 1211, "dealers in brass-ware."

¹⁵ Unknown. There is no term resembling it in the lists referred to. One MS. has *koṇāvika*, which almost makes one think that the right reading should be *loṇakārā*, "salt-gatherers," (Miln. 331), which would fit in nicely between "perfumers" and "oil-dealers." But another MS. has *nāvika* "sailors"! B.H.S.D.: "Possibly a corruption of *kaṇṣikāra*, sheath or box-maker."

oil-dealers, hawkers of jars of ghee,¹ sugar-factors,² vendors of water,³ factors of cotton, curds, cakes,⁴ dried treacle,⁵ sweet-meats, *kaṇḍu*,⁶ wheat-flour and barley-meal, hawkers of fruits, roots, perfumed oil from ground powder, *āgrīvanīyas*,⁷ *āviddhakas*,⁸ makers of confectionery from sugar and dried treacle, vendors of dried ginger,⁹ distillers,¹⁰ and factors of candied sugar—these and many other business people all gathered at the palace gate.

And all the craftsmen of Kapilavastu were there; namely, brass-founders, coppersmiths, goldsmiths, makers of wooden bowls,¹¹ *pradhvopakas*,¹² *roṣiṇas*,¹³ tin-smiths, makers of lead sheets,¹⁴ workers in grass,¹⁵ garland-makers,

¹ *Ghritakuṇḍika*. B.H.S.D.: "Seems to mean 'ghee-potter'. Does it mean 'maker of pots intended for holding ghee, a dealer in pots of ghee?' No similar word has been discovered elsewhere."

² *Gaulika* = *gauḍika*, "relating to sugar or molasses" (M.W.).

³ *Vārika*. "Probably corrupt" (B.H.S.D.).

⁴ *Pūpika*, cf. *pūvika* (Miln. 331), from *pūva* = *pūpa*. So B.H.S.D.

⁵ *Khaṇḍakāra*.

⁶ *Kaṇḍuka*, which, on the analogy of the accompanying terms, must mean "factor or dealer in some kind of eatable called *kaṇḍu*." Miss I. B. Horner has supplied the translator with the following extract from Sir George Watt, *Commercial Products of India* (1908), p. 902, under *Pistacia*: "P. vera. linn. The Pistachio nut; tree and nut = *pista*; galls = *bozghanj*; gum-resin = *kunjad*, *wanjad*, *kandur*, *shilm*, etc. The trees grow in forests in Syria (and other Near Eastern countries). The fruits, known as the pistachio nuts, are exported in large quantities from Afghanistan to India, Persia and Turkestan. In India the nut is a common article of food among the well-to-do classes . . . and a frequent ingredient in confectionery." Our word *kaṇḍu* may not be unrelated to *kandur*. B.H.S.D., however, has, "presumably from Sk. *kandū*, "iron-pan," and so makers or sellers of iron pans." But the name of such an occupation is out of place among terms for dealers in various eatables.

⁷ Unknown. B.H.S.D. lists the word with a question mark.

⁸ Unknown. "Obscure and probably corrupt" (B.H.S.D.).

⁹ *Sunṭhika* from *sunṭhi* or *sunṭhi*, "dry-ginger." One MS. adds *pācakā*, "cookers of dried ginger," i.e., makers of such confectionery.

¹⁰ *Siddhukāra* cf. *majjikā*, "dealers in strong drink," Miln. 331.

¹¹ *Taddhukāra*, is read by Senart who suggests that *taddhu* is a Prakritising form of *tardū* "a wooden ladle." Edgerton, B.H.S.D., would read *taṭṭu*-(*taṭṭa*) *kāra*, "makers of flattish bowls."

¹² Unknown; v. ll. are *prabdhopakā* and *pradhopakā*, both of which are as inexplicable as the text form. "Wholly obscure." (B.H.S.D.).

¹³ Unknown, though the reading here seems to be certain. "Obscure." (B.H.S.D.).

¹⁴ *Sisa* (= *sisā*)-*piccatahāra*.

¹⁵ *Jantukāra*, *jantu* in Pali, but not apparently in Sk., being the name of a grass. This sense fits in well with what follows. Cf. also the term *tiṇahāra*, "grass-gatherers", Miln. 331. But, perhaps, we should read *jantakāra*, "machine-workers." Cf. *janta* = *yantra*, Mhv. 2. 475 (text), *jantakāra*, *ibid.*, and *jantarakāra*, 476. In his index Senart gives the last form as being the one in the present passage.

vegetable-growers,¹ potters, tanners,² weavers of wool, makers of mail armour,³ weavers of robes for idols,⁴ laundrymen,⁵ dyers, cleaners, spinners, painters,⁶ carpenters,⁷ carvers,⁸ basket-makers,⁹ modellers in clay,¹⁰ plasterers,¹¹ barbers, hairdressers, wood-cutters,¹² decorators,¹³ builders,¹⁴ barn-makers,¹⁵ miners,¹⁶ hawkers of fragrant earth,¹⁷ wood, grass, shrubs and twigs, sailors, boatmen,¹⁸ washers of gold,¹⁹ and tricksters.²⁰

¹ Reading *paññikā* for *purimākhārakā*. Cf. Pali *paññika* in the same sense, Miln. 331; J. 1. 411; 2. 180; 3. 21. *Purima* is not known as the name of any article. Senart appears certain of the reading, but makes no comment on the word in his notes. B.H.S.D.: (very doubtfully) "professional cleaners (of clothes)."

² *Carmakāra*, cf. Pali *cammakāra*, Miln. 331; V. 4. 6, although V.A. 738 uses *cammakāra* as a synonym to explain *rathakāra*, "carriage-builder." See I. B. Horner, *Bh. of Disc.* 2, 173.

³ *Varūthantavāyaka*, "weavers of thread or wire for defence," though Senart says he would have as much justification in conjecturing *varūthavetra*, "rod of defence." But such a word would seem to demand the verbal affix *kāra*, "maker," rather than *vāyaka*, "weaver."

⁴ ? *Devatāntavāyaka*.

⁵ *Cailadhovaka*, cf. *coḍādhovaka*, vol. 2. 415, n. 2.

⁶ *Citrakāra*, cf. Pali *cittakāra*, Miln. 331.

⁷ *Vardhikarūpakāra*, literally "makers of form by cutting." One MS. reads *vaddhaki*, with which cf. Pali *vaḍḍhaki*. On this craft see Mrs. Rhys Davids: *Cambridge History of India*, 1. 206 and Fick: *Sociale Gliederung*, 181, f.

⁸ Reading *kāla* (v.l. *kāra*)-*patrika*, which Edgerton, B.H.S.D., says means "carvers". Senart emends into *kālapātrika* "monk (mendicant) whose bowl is black," a term which is obviously out of place in a list of craftsmen.

⁹ *Pelalaka*, cf. Sk. *peḷa*, Pali *peḷā*, *peḷikā*, "a basket." Miln. 331 and V. 4. 6. have *vilivakāra*, "a worker in bamboo."

¹⁰ *Pustakāra*. Cf. Edgerton, B.H.S.D.

¹¹ *Pustakarmakāra*.

¹² *Chedaka*, "cutters" or "hewers", simply. This class is called *kalṭhahāra* at Miln. 331. Edgerton, B.H.S.D.: "perhaps cutters (of wood?), quite uncertain."

¹³ *Lepaka*.

¹⁴ *Sihapitasūtrakāra*. *Sihapita* should apparently, with one MS., be read *sihapati*, which would correspond with Pali *thapati*, "builder." *Sūtrakāra* in its Pali form *suttakāra* (Miln. 331), is taken to mean "(cotton) spinner" (S.B.E. 36, 210), but in Sk. *sūtrakarma* means "rule-work," or "carpentry", so that the whole compound in our text would seem to mean "a builder working by rule" or "a builder-carpenter."

¹⁵ Literally, "maker of a store-room for seed," *uplakosṭhakāra*, which probably denotes the same occupation as *koṭṭhakakamma*, "work of a store-room keeper," mentioned at V. 4. 6 as an example of "low" work. See I. B. Horner, *Bh. of Disc.* 2, p. 175.

¹⁶ Literally, "diggers of holes," *kūpakhanaka*. According to Mrs. Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, 1. 207, "mining and miners never come on in the Jātaka scenes."

¹⁷ *Mṛttikāvāhaka*.

¹⁸ ? *Olumpika*, cf. Pali *olumpika* "belonging to a skiff," P.E.D., where the word *uḍupa*, "a skiff," is cited from *Svet. Upaniṣad*. Below p. 433 (text) the form *oḍumpika* is used.

¹⁹ *Suvarṇadhovaka*.

²⁰ *Mauṣika*. Dishonest as well as honest occupations had their guilds or communities. There was, for example, a robber *gāma* in the hills near Uttara Pañcāla. See references in Mrs. Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, p. 207, and Edgerton, B.H.S.D.

These and other people, of various classes,¹ lower, upper and (114) middle, all gathered together at the palace gate.

And so, with this crowd of people, with the women of his court, with the princes and counsellors around him, accompanied by his archers, charioteers and mahouts, himself riding in a chariot drawn by four horses, attended and honoured by the town councillors with their president at their head,² the community of tradesmen with the chief merchant at their head, the brāhmins with the household priest at their head, and the eighteen guilds, King Śuddhodana in great royal pomp and magnificence, to the loud shouts of bravo! from the people and the roar of drums, tabours and kettle-drums and the blaring of trumpets, left the city of Kapilavastu and set out for the Banyan Grove to see the Exalted One.

The Exalted One reflected: "The Śākya are a proud people. If I welcome them sitting down on my seat, they will change their minds about me and say, 'How is it that the prince who has renounced his universal sovereignty, has taken up the life of a recluse, has awakened to the supreme perfect enlightenment and attained the dharma, who claims that he is the sovereign of dharma—how is it that he does not stand up to greet his father, who is old and venerable?' And yet there is no being or group of beings whose heads would not be split into seven³ were the Tathāgata to stand up to greet them. Let me now then rise up into the air to the height of a man and take a long walk."

And so the Exalted One, knowing the excessive pride of his father, King Śuddhodana, and of his Śākya entourage, and aware of his arrival, rose up in the air to the height of a man and took a long walk without touching the ground with his feet. King Śuddhodana from a distance saw the Exalted One in the Banyan Grove taking a walk through the air at the height of a man, his feet not touching the ground. He was thrilled with wonder at such a marvel, which showed

¹ For the grading of social status according to occupation see V. 4. 6, I. B. Horner, *Bk. of Disc.* 2. 173 and *Dial.* 1. 100, 102.

² *Sreṣṭhipramukho naigamo* (so read for *nigamo* of the text. See p. 101, n. 1). This and the succeeding substantives with their adjectives are inexplicably nominative instead of instrumental.

³ Cf. vol. 2, p. 23.

that the prince had mastered the dharma and that he was the Supreme of bipeds in the whole world.

Then King Śuddhodana, the Śākya, addressed the Śākya, saying, "My friends, take notice. Whatever young man there be who is minded (115) to seek and see an omniscient one who has knowledge of all things, is successful in all things and is a lord of men, let him look at Siddhārtha, who has attained absolute success."

He saw his son full-grown of stature, his body well adorned with the brilliant marks, like the moon at the month's end surrounded by glittering stars.

He saw him lovely in body without compeer, his large eyes aflame with glory . . .¹

King Śuddhodana rode on in his carriage as far as the ground allowed. Then he alighted, and with his women and his Śākya escort proceeded on foot. He entered the Banyan Grove, approached the Exalted One, bowed his head at his feet and addressed him in verse:

Here for the third time, thou man of great wisdom, thou All-seeing One, I bow at thy feet. I did so when the sooth-sayers foretold of thee, and when the rose-apple tree's shade² did not desert thee, and now again I do so.³

Then the Exalted One standing in the air at the height of a palm-tree performed various and divers miracles of double appearance.⁴ The lower part of his body would be in flames, while from the upper part there streamed five-hundred jets of cold water. While the upper part of his body was in flames, five-hundred jets of cold water streamed from the lower part. Next, by his magic power, the Exalted One transformed himself into a bull (116) with a quivering hump. The bull vanished in the east and appeared in the west. It vanished in the west and appeared in the east. It vanished in the north and appeared in the south. It vanished in the

¹ Lacuna.

² See vol. 2, p. 42, 44.

³ *Imaṇ ca*, "and this (time)."

⁴ Literally "twin miracles" *yamaka-prātihāryāni* (Pali *paṭihāriya*). Such a miracle was said to have been first performed by the Buddha at Śrāvastī (Sāvatthi) to refute the heretical teachers. It was subsequently repeated many times. In the *Mhvs.*, 17. 44; 30. 82; 31. 99, we hear of a like miracle being performed by the Buddha's relics. See *P.E.D.* for references, and cf. vol. 3, p. 410 (text).

south and appeared in the north. And in this way the great miracle is to be described in detail. Several thousand *koṭis* of beings, seeing this great miracle of magic, became glad, joyful and pleased, and uttered thousands of bravos! at witnessing the marvel.

When the Exalted One left home, Mahāprajāpatī Gotamī's¹ eyes, as a result of her tears and grief,² had become covered as with scales, and she had become blind. So now, when the Exalted One was performing his various and divers miracles of double appearance, and there were thousands of shouts of bravo! Mahāprajāpatī Gotamī asked Yaśodharā, "What is the meaning of these thousands of shouts of bravo?" Yaśodharā replied, "Here is the Exalted One standing in the air and performing various and divers miracles of double appearance. But you cannot see them." Yaśodharā then said, "Come, I shall contrive that you see them." She cupped her two hands together and filled them from³ the water which flowed in five-hundred jets from the body of the Exalted One as he performed his miracle of double appearance. She bathed the eyes of Mahāprajāpatī Gotamī, and the scales were pierced through the virtue⁴ of the Buddha. Her sight became clear and faultless as before.

And after the Exalted One, standing in the air, had performed various and divers miracles of double appearance, he displayed magic wonders and established many thousands of beings in Āryan states. He then sat down as on an appointed seat.

Then King Śuddhodana and the Śākyans (117) bowed their heads at the feet of the Exalted One, greeted him sincerely and cordially and sat down to one side. Mahāprajāpatī Gotamī and Yaśodharā also, with the women,

¹ See vol. 2, p. 160, n. 4.

² Literally, "because of her wet (fresh) grief," *ullena sokena*, *ulla* being AMg. for Sk. *ārdra*, which is also used in the same connection. Senart emends the MS. *ullenaiva* (*ullena eva*) into *runnena*, the instr. of the past part. of *rud*, "to weep" (see vol. 2, p. 207, n. 1), used here as a substantive (cf. Pali). It is better, however, with Edgerton (B.H.S.D. s.v. *ulla*), to restore the reading of the MS.

³ *Uḍakāñjalim pūretvā*.

⁴ Used in the English New Testament sense of the word. It is offered here as a better rendering of *anubhāva* than the words "power" or "might" hitherto used in this translation.

bowed their heads at his feet, greeted him and sat down to one side. And King Śuddhodana impulsively¹ asked the Exalted One whether it was well or ill with him.

*With hands upraised the father approached his son whose beauty was celestial, whose form was graceful, as he walked in the park, as devas approach Indra or the Three and Thirty approach Śakra.*²

And he said, "This is the third time, O thou of great wisdom, O All-seeing One, that I bow at thy feet. I did so when the soothsayers proclaimed of thee, and when the rose-apple tree's shade did not desert thee, and now again I do so."

These two, of celestial beauty, the Buddha and the Buddha's father, the king, met together. And as the Buddha sat in the sāl-grove, he was all radiant like the moon emerging from the clouds.

*Then the father of the Infinite One fell to thinking, as, after a long time, he beheld seated there his gracious son who was dear to him as life itself.*³ *Impulsively he inquired whether it was well or ill with him.*

"In times past," said he, "thou hadst gaily-coloured woollen slippers and (118) thou didst walk upon a finely woven carpet, O Hero, while a white sunshade was held over thee.

"But now, with thy copper-coloured tender feet that are webbed⁴ and marked with perfect thousand-rayed wheels, thou dost walk over coarse grass, thorns and pebbles. Are thy feet, O Hero, never torn?"

The Exalted One replied:

"I am the All-conquering One, the All-knowing One, untainted by aught in the world. I have renounced everything, and am released through the decay of craving. Such an one as I knows no feelings."

The king said:

"Formerly bath attendants bathed thee early in the

¹ *Vegajāta*.

² Generally in the *Mhvu*. Śakra (Sakka) and Indra (Inda) are interchangeable names for one and the same divinity. The present passage is a reminder that they were originally distinct. Śakra is not found as a name in pre-Buddhist times. See *D.P.N.*, s.v. Sakka. For the Three-and-Thirty devas (Tridaśa), see vol. 1, p. 124, n. 2.

³ *Prāṇasama*, cf. Pali *pāṇasama*, *J.* 2. 343; *Dpus.* 11. 26; *DhA.* 1. 5. (*P.E.D.*).

⁴ *Jālini*. See vol. 2, p. 264, n. 2.

morning and rubbed thee with reddish unguent of sandal-wood, coloured like the moon, and pleasantly fragrant and cool.

"But now in the cold and bitter nights thou dost roam and wander from forest to forest. Who, prithee, does now bathe thee with clean and cool and refreshing water when thou art weary?"

The Exalted One replied:

"Pure, O Gautama,¹ is the stream which has virtue for its bathing-strand.² Untainted is it and ever commended by good men. (119) Bathed and immersed by the deva hosts in its water I cross over to the shore beyond.

"Dharma, O Gautama, is the pool which has virtue for its bathing-strand. Untainted is it, and ever commended by good men. He who has been bathed in this pool by deva hosts cleanses the whole world, making it fragrant with his own merit."

The king said:

"When thou wast garbed in Benares cloth and wast dressed in clean garments scented with lotus and campaka,³ thou wast radiant among the Sākya as Śakra is radiant among the people of the universe.⁴

"But now thou dost wear sackcloth and garments made of strips of red bark, and dost not abhor them. 'Tis passing strange that this should be so, Sir."

The Exalted One replied:

"Conquerors,⁵ O king, are not concerned about robe or bed or food. Discerning Conquerors care not whether what they get is agreeable or disagreeable."

The king said:

"Formerly noble,⁶ glittering chariots were thine, gleaming

¹ I.e., Śuddhodana, called by his clan name.

² *Sīlatirtha*, cf. Pali *sīlatīrtha*, S. i. 169, 183.

³ The tree *Michelia Champaka*.

⁴ *Sāhasragatāna*, gen. pl. I.e. the people of the whole universe consisting of "thousands" of world-systems. The number is generally 3,000 in the *Mhvu*. See index to vols 1 and 2.

⁵ I.e., Buddhas, of course.

⁶ *Ajanya*, contracted form of *ājāneya*, "thoroughbred" (of a horse as in the next stanza). Edgerton (B.H.S.D.), however, is not convinced that Senart (see vol. 1, p. 268, n. 1) is right in giving *ajanya* this sense. At *Mhvu*. i. 319, 321, and 323, where the adjective is applied to Jyotipāla's brāhman father, it must, he says, mean "ignoble", as "the father may have been an outcaste brāhman." To get the obviously required sense of "noble" in the present passage, Edgerton would read with v.l. *anajanya*, "not ignoble," adding that "the metre is bad in any case."

with gold and bronze, and costly. (120) Always did men carry for thee, when thou didst go abroad, the white sunshade, the jewel, the sword and the fan.¹

"Formerly Kaṇṭhaka, the best of steeds, was thine, fleet as the wind, spirited, swift and impetuous, a thoroughbred harnessed with trappings of gold. Always did he bear thee whithersoever thou didst wish.

"Though thou dost still own thy carriages, chariots, horses and elephants, yet dost thou tramp from kingdom to kingdom. Art thou not weary? This now tell me."

The Exalted One replied:

"Magic power² is my chariot. It is my own heart that bears me on. Steadfastness, wisdom and mindfulness are my charioteers. The four perfect strivings³ are my horses. On my own, well-made, even feet do I walk abroad."

The king said:

"Formerly thou didst eat from vessels of silver and bowls of gold. Men set before thee wholesome and exquisitely flavoured food as became thy kingly station.

(121) "But now thou dost eat without⁴ loathing, whether the food is salted or not, coarse or not, without or with flavour. 'Tis passing strange that thou shouldst do so, Sir."

The Exalted One replied:

"Like⁵ the Buddhas who lived in times past long ago, and those who will live in time to come, I, too, a Self-guiding One, do eat the fine and the coarse, the flavoured and the flavourless, seeking self-control for the sake of the world.

The king said:

"Formerly, among rugs of wool and cotton,⁶ thou didst

¹ I.e., insignia of royalty. Cf. Vol. 1, p. 214.

² Literally, "the basis or constituent of magic or psychic power," *ṛiddhi-pāda*, Pali *iddhipāda*. There were four such bases, defined by P.E.D. as "the making determination in respect of concentration on purpose, on will, on thoughts and on investigation." "Will," however, should be "energy," *virīya*.

³ *Pradhāna*, Pali *padhāna*. "Padhāna is fourfold, viz., *saṃvara*, *paḥāna*, *bhāvana*, *anurakkhaṇā*, or exertion consisting in the restraint of one's senses, the abandonment of sinful thoughts, practice of meditation and guarding one's character." P.E.D., where see references. *Bhāvana*, however, as Miss I. B. Horner points out, is "mind-cultivation" rather than "meditation," and *anurakkhaṇā*, "watchfulness".

⁴ Reading *na* for *ca* of the text.

⁵ Literally, "The Buddhas . . . and I who am a Self-guiding One."

⁶ Reading *gonakatūlikāsu* for *goṣṭhikatūl*, on which Senart remarks, "peut-il s'entendre de coussins, divans où on est assis de compagnie?" (*goṣṭhika* from *goṣṭhi*, "assembly," "society.") B.H.S.D. only quotes Senart. cf. *gonakathata*, A.I. 137.

take thy joy on a high couch spread with antelope skin and soft cushions of silk, fitted with feet of gold, and strewn with garlands of flowers.

"But now thou dost make thy bed of grass and leaves on rough and stony ground, and dost enjoy it, thou, the Choicest of Beings. O Wise One, do not thy limbs ache?"¹

The Exalted One replied:

"O Śākyan, men like me do not sleep badly. All grief and feverish sorrow have I left behind. Ever without grief and fever I keep vigil out of compassion for all beings."

(122) The king said:

"Formerly, O Gotama, thou didst live at home in an apartment that was like a mansion of the devas, lit as by a swarm of fire-flies, in an upper room with well-fitting casements,

"Where serving women decked in bright garlands and jewels, adorned like the Apsarases, waited diligently on thee, watching thy mouth to see what their master spoke."

The Exalted One replied:

"To-day, O Śākyan, even here in this sojourning-place of men there are Brahma and Prabhāsvara² devas. Their hearts are all at my command, and I can go where'er I wish."

The king said:

"Thou wert sung, to the sounds of drum and tabour, by those skilled in music and tale. Thou didst shine among the Śākyans like Śakra among the peoples of the universe."³

The Exalted One replied:

"I am now sung in Discourse and Exposition.⁴ And awake to that release which knowledge brings, (123) I shine among the monks like Brahmā among the peoples of the universe."

The king said:

"Formerly, O Formidable One,⁵ when at home in thy

¹ *Rujanti*, intrans. use.

² This class of devas seem to be mentioned only here. Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*) adds *Mmk.* 19.

³ See p. 118 n. 4.

⁴ Suttanta and Veyyākaraṇa, two of the nine divisions (*navangabuddha-sāsana*) into which the completed corpus of Buddhist scriptures was divided. In a note Senart calls attention to the anachronism involved in alluding to this division at such an early stage of Buddhist history.

⁵ *Bhima*.

apartment that was like a mansion of the devas, men in armour kept watch over thee, champions rank on rank, doughty fighters with the sword.

"But now in a forest lodging all alone, amid the hooting owls and baying jackals, through the long nights when many beasts are prowling round, art thou not afraid? This now tell me."

The Exalted One replied:

"Were all the hordes of Yakṣas to come together, and the wild elephants that roam the pathless hills, such creatures would not stir a hair of one like me. For I have abandoned fear and won through to fearlessness.

"Alone I fare along, a watchful sage unmoved by blame or praise, like a lion that is not frightened by noises, like the wind that can not be trapped in a net. How, O Śākyan, can you say that the Conqueror, a leader himself and not led by others, is afraid?"

(124) The king said:

"The whole earth should be thy domain; thou shouldst have a full thousand sons. But now thou hast renounced the seven treasures¹ and, O Valiant One, taken up a Wanderer's life."

The Exalted One replied:

"The whole earth is still my domain, and still have I a full thousand sons. And here I have eight² treasures to which no other treasure is like."

With joined hands upraised the father approached his son whose passion was all gone, whose faculties were well composed, who had won perfect release, was flawless and rid of the āśravas. "Show me the Way," said he, "for the sake of human kind."

The Master inspired³ his father Śuddhodana with knowledge, and said to him, "Always pay regard to the

¹ I.e., of kingship, see, e.g., vol. I, p. 41.

² The allusion is probably to the four pairs of men, the eight individuals (e.g., *M.* 1. 37, *cattāri purisayugāni aṭṭha purisapuggalā*) who are *satāpunnas*, etc., and have won the fruit of each of the four stages of the way. Cf. vol. I, p. 94, n. 2.

³ *Pharivā*, from *pharati*. Cf. Pali. The form is equally referable to the two Sk. stems *sphur* and *sphar*. See *P.E.D.* and *B.H.S.D.*

monks when you see them. Be not remiss.¹ Then dharma will be yours."

Thus was the father of the Infinite One, the Mighty One,² enjoined to regard the monks. And immediately after the True Man gave him insight into the transcendent dharma and made it clear to him.

Such was the thrilling encounter of father and son. (125) Who, calling to mind such a Sugata, will not experience spiritual³ gladness?

Here ends the Meeting of Father and Son.

THE JĀTAKA OF THE CROW⁴

The monks said to the Exalted One, "Behold, Lord, how King Śuddhodana was reconciled by the venerable Udāyin." The Exalted One replied, "This, monks, was not the first occasion on which King Śuddhodana was reconciled by Udāyin here. There was another occasion also." The monks asked, "Was there another occasion, Lord?" The Exalted One replied, "There was, monks."

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, in the city of Benares, in the province of Kāśī, there ruled a king named Brahmadatta. He was virtuous and mighty, treated his subjects kindly, was liberal and generous, powerful and wealthy, and had a great army. His city of Benares and the province of Kāśī were flourishing, rich and peaceful, had plenty of food and were thickly peopled with happy subjects. Riots and tumults had been quelled, robbers were held in check, and trade thrived.

Here there dwelt a king of crows, named Supātra, with a flock of eighty thousand crows. Now this king of crows

¹ *Mā pramādyi*, aor. (2 sg.). Cf. Pali *mā pamādo*, S. 4. 263; Dh. 371; Thag. 119; *mā pamādattha*, M.I. 46. For the form see Edgerton, *Gram.* § 32. 17.

² *Tāyin*, see vol. 2, p. 318, n. 2.

³ *Nirāmiṣa*.

⁴ Fausböll, No. 292.

had a wife, named Supārśvā. This female crow conceived a longing for the king's food,¹ and she told Supātra, king of the crows, of this longing. He replied, "I will give orders, and you shall eat of the king's food." And the king of crows spoke to his minister, saying, "Supārśvā would like some of the king's food. So order the crows to bring some of the king's food from the kitchen of King Brahmadatta." The minister answered and said, "Sire, I'll have some of the king's food brought here." And he gave orders to the crows, saying, "Go, bring food (126) from the kitchen of King Brahmadatta, so that the wife of Supātra, king of the crows, may eat of it." But the crows answered, "The royal palace is guarded by men skilled with bow and arrow. A bird cannot get anywhere near the royal palace, and so we cannot bring any of the king's food from the kitchen of King Brahmadatta." Other crows were given the order, but they, too, would not dare. Among all the eighty-thousand crows there was not one that would dare to fetch some of the king's food from the kitchen of King Brahmadatta. "We are afraid," said they, "that if we go there we shall be killed by an arrow or a ball."

Then the minister of the king of crows said to himself, "Am I the minister of Supātra, king of eighty-thousand crows, if I cannot get this command of his executed? We have no courage.² I'll go myself³ and speak to King Supātra about it." "Your majesty," said he, "I will go there myself and bring some of the king's food from his kitchen. If I am killed, well, let a life be sacrificed⁴ rather than that I should not bring food to the wife of Supātra, king of crows."

He was not spotted by the king's men who were skilled with bow and arrow, as their attention was distracted. And so he came away from the kitchen of King Brahmadatta bearing in his beak excellent royal food of various kinds,

¹ *Rājabhōjanena*, instr. For this BSk. use of the instr. see Edgerton *Gram.* § 7. 32.

² *Puruṣakāraka*, "manly performance" (Edgerton, *B.H.S.D.*). Senart, "emploi," "mission."

³ *Śvakam* = *svayam*, as also in the next sentence.

⁴ *Yajña* for *iṣṭa*. One MS. has the latter form, but Senart thinks that he is justified in retaining the "barbarous" form, as it is found elsewhere in the *Mhv.* Edgerton, *Gram.* § 34. 13, gives examples from other BSk. texts, and compares AMg. *jaṭṭha*.

good in colour and taste. Day after day he repeatedly stole some.

The cooks reported the matter to King Brahmadata. "Your majesty," said they, "a crow trespasses in the kitchen, spoils¹ the king's food, defiles it,² and cuts it to pieces. And while we are occupied with our work³ we are interrupted⁴ by the repeated⁵ job of driving him off." The king gave orders to his counsellors, saying, "Spread a net over the kitchen so that the crow can not trespass in it."

The wishes of devas are fulfilled by their thoughts, those of kings by the word of command; those of rich men are speedily fulfilled, and those of the poor are fulfilled by their own labours.⁶

(127) In accordance with King Brahmadata's order a net was spread over the kitchen, so that the crow could neither alight nor trespass there. The crow considered how he could go on stealing the king's food, and he said to himself, "What if I were to watch the road along which the food is brought⁷ from the kitchen to the king?" And so, whenever he saw gruel or condiment or meat dishes or solid food or sesamum confection or any other kind of food on its way to be brought to the king, he went and took some in his beak. But then the king bade all the servitors and eunuchs to put covers over the dishes of food. So the servitors brought the food from the kitchen to the king with covers placed over it. Thus the crow was no longer able to steal any. He then said to himself, "How can I still go on stealing the king's food for the wife of the king of crows?" So when King Brahmadata sent morsels of food to his queens by the hands of the serving-maids the crow snatched them from their hands. And King Brahmadata heard that as the morsels were being taken in to the queens the crow snatched them from their hands. The king then ordered that a covering should be put over all the serving-maids as they took in the morsels.

¹ Literally "makes it something left over," *ucchiṣṭha*, cf. Pali *ucchiṭṭha*.

² *Vīṭāleti*, "makes unclean or untouchable" (B.H.S.D.).

³ *karme*, loc. of a-decl. of *karman*. Cf. Pali.

⁴ Literally "thrown off", *utkṣiptā*.

⁵ *karmehi*, "by the jobs." For form see n. 3.

⁶ This proverbial distich has already been met with. See vol. I, p. 213. and 2, p. 92.

⁷ *Allīpiyati*. See vol. 2, p. 419, n. 1.

By this time King Brahmadata had become very impatient. "Pshaw," said he, "what sort of crow is this insolent, cawing, impudent and thieving crow that it cannot be kept off by the archers, but spies on what is going on in here¹ and flies down?" And the king made an order, saying, "To him who can catch this crow and bring him alive to me I will give a rich reward."² King Brahmadata communicated this order to his whole court.

(128) Now a certain serving-maid on being sent by King Brahmadata went and took a morsel to his queen, with her garments thrown over her. The crow saw her, and he said to himself, "How shall I steal the food from her hands? What if I were to hang on³ to the tip of the nose of this maid? Then in fright she will drop the food from her hands, and I shall take it and go away." So he alighted where the maid was and held on to her nose, scratching and cutting it. The frightened maid dropped the food and seized the crow in both her hands. Taking the crow with her the maid, her nose streaming with blood, went to King Brahmadata and said to him, "Here is that mischievous crow caught." King Brahmadata was pleased with the maid, and he said to her, "It was a smart piece of work for you to catch the crow." And he gave her a rich reward.⁴ He scolded the crow and said, "But it was not a smart piece of work when you trespassed in the royal palace." But the crow addressed King Brahmadata in verse:

In Benares, sire, there dwells a king of crows, Supātra, who has a following of eighty-thousand crows.

His wife Supārśvā yearns and wishes for meat, the exquisite cooked food in the king's kitchen.

And when I heard his command I did his behest. It was to honour the king, her husband, that I wounded the nose of your maid.

¹ Reading *antandriṣṭvā* "looking within" for *antandriṣṭvā* of the text, which is inexplicable, although Senart does not remark on it nor include it in his index. Possibly the syllable *ra* is a printer's error.

² *Abhicchādāna*. The word *ācchāda* is used in the next page in the same sense. See also vol. 2, p. 95, n. 1, vol. 3, p. 33 n. 3; p. 36 n. 2.

³ *Lagnati* for *lagati*, formed from the pp. base *lagna*; cf. Pali *laggati* from *lagga*. On p. 429, of vol. 2 (text) occurs the apparently passive form *laggati*. See vol. 2, p. 382, n. 1, where *lagnati* should read *lagati*. See B.H.S.D.

⁴ *Acchāda*, see n. 2.

Then, monks, King Brahmadata was pleased with the minister of the king of crows, and he said, "This minister of the king of crows had no lands nor wealth nor (129) any other means. But seeking subsistence with his beak, he did his duty to the king of crows at the risk of his own life." And, monks, King Brahmadata, addressed his company of ministers in verse:

Such an one is worthy to eat the food of a king, who, like this crow, was faithful unto death to the king of crows.

King Brahmadata directed that the crow should have some of the king's food every day. A dish was filled with excellent and varied royal food and set aside for the crow, who daily ate some of it himself and took some to the king of crows. Orders were given to the court that no one was to molest the crow as he came to and went from the royal palace.

The Exalted One said, "It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion, Supātra, the king of crows, was somebody else. You must not think so. And why? I was the king of crows. She who was the wife of the king of crows, named Supārsvā, was Yaśodharā. He who was the minister over the eighty-thousand crows was Kālodāyin. King Śuddhodana was King Brahmadata. Then, too, was he propitiated by Kālodāyin, just as he has been on this other occasion."

Here ends the Jātaka of the Crow.

THE JĀTAKA OF THE FEMALE ELEPHANT¹

The monks said to the Exalted One, "Behold, Lord, how Mahāprajāpati became blind through grief for the Exalted One, but had her sight restored through² him." The Exalted One said, "Monks, that was not the only occasion that Mahāprajāpati became blind through grief and sorrow for me, (130) but had her sight restored through me. There

¹ Not in J.

² *Agāmya*. See vol. 1, p. 187, n. 2.

was another occasion, also, when she had her sight restored through me." The monks asked, "Was there another occasion, Lord?" The Exalted One replied, "There was, monks."

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, on the slopes of the Himalayas there was a hill, called Caṇḍagiri,¹ on the side of which was a wood full of thousands of flowering and fruit-bearing trees. It had lotus-pools and retreats, and was the resort of a number of seers, being secluded² and remote. Here there dwelt a large herd of the species of six-tusked elephants. A fine³ young elephant was born there, having six tusks, his head the colour of the cochineal, his body⁴ well set up and white like the lotus. When he grew up he looked after his mother with reverence and affection. He gave her food and drink before eating and drinking himself. He duly groomed and cleaned his mother's tall body⁵ with a creeper that grew in the forest. And so this young elephant carefully looked after his mother at all times with kindness, affection and reverence.

Now whenever he had groomed his mother and served her with food, and saw that she lay down, he went off roaming with the other elephants. And so it happened that he was seen by hunters who were following the chase, and these went and reported to the king of Kāśi. "Your majesty," said they, "there is such a young elephant living in the forest yonder, such a beautiful and handsome one as would be suitable for your majesty."

Then, monks, the king of Kāśi, after hearing the hunters, came with his troops to that forest. He caught the young elephant and took it away from the forest. Surrounded by some female elephants he was brought to Benares and lodged⁶ in the elephant-stable. The king said to himself, (131) "This will be a fine riding animal for me." He showered all kinds of favours on him, and himself gave him food and drink.

¹ Named only here.

² *Prānta*. See vol. 2, p. 119, n. 3.

³ *Ajaniya*. See p. 118 n. 6.

⁴ Literally "his seven limbs," *saptāṅga*, a proper term, of course, for an ordinary elephant.

⁵ Reading *uddhataśarirān* for *śarirāyā* of the text.

⁶ *Thāvita* for *thāpita*, Sk. *sthāpita*, Pali *thāpita*. A variant in one MS. is *dhāvita*. Now, see Edgerton, *Gram.* § 38. 68 for causatives in-*āveti*.

But all this honour gave the elephant no satisfaction, for he kept sorrowfully remembering his mother. He sighed deeply, wept, languished and grew lean.

The king in affection for the elephant held out his joined hands and questioned him, saying, "I bestow all favours on you, best of elephants, yet you languish and grow lean and lose your beauty. I never see you happy and pleased and wearing a cheerful countenance. Speak to me, and tell me how I can provide you with what you want. You are an object of love and affection to me, best of elephants. Tell me why you waste away and take no food or drink."

Then the young elephant, in reply to the king's question, said in human speech, "Your majesty, what I need is nothing that can be supplied to me in service or food. For my mother dwells in the forest yonder, and she is old, advanced in years, past her prime, blind and infirm. Ever since I grew to years of discretion,¹ I do not remember myself eating before I gave food and drink to my mother. Though it be the death of me here, it is my resolve that I will not myself take food or drink again without giving my mother some."

Now the king of Kāśi was just, compassionate and concerned with showing kindness to others. And he said to himself, "It is a wonderful thing that this young elephant should be so devoted to his mother, so just and noble,² that during all these many days he has not taken food or drink because of his grief for her. There are not many men in whom it would be easy to find such qualities as these of the young elephant's. It is not well nor fitting for us to harm such fine creatures as this." Then he said to his chief ministers, "Let this young elephant go free. Let him go to the wood from which we took him. Let him be (132) united with his mother of whom he is so thoughtful, so that he do not starve to death here and we become to no purpose guilty of wrongdoing." Thus by the king's command the elephant was led to the borders of his forest and set free.

When he had gone to the forest he took no food or drink

¹ *Vijñāprāpti*. See vol. 2, p. 201, n. 4.

² *Ajāneya*. See p. 118 n. 6.

whilst he was searching for his mother. And she was weeping in her grief because she missed her son and was blind. The young elephant, failing to find his mother, went up to the top of a hill and uttered an elephant's cry. When he had thus roared loudly, his mother recognised his voice, and she said, "That is the voice of my son." And she in her turn gave a loud roar. He recognised his mother's voice and went to her.

His mother was sitting by a pool of water, sightless, groping about, her body covered with mire, when she heard the sound of her son's voice. Then the young elephant cut off some tender¹ creepers, and with them he groomed his mother and wiped off the mire from her body. Filling his trunk with water from the pool, gladly, joyfully and happily he washed his mother.

Thus she was washed, her eyes bathed, all mire wiped off her, and all dirt removed. She became spotless and clean, and her sight was restored. Then the elephant beholding her son in joy and gladness asked him, "My son, where did you go, leaving² me in my helplessness and blindness?"

Then he told his mother in full all that had happened, how he had been caught and then set free. She said to her son, "So, my son, may the king of Kāśi and his people rejoice as I rejoice to-day at the sight of my son."

It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion the king of Kāśi was somebody else. But you must not think so. And why? Nanda³ here (133), my brother on the father's side, was the king of Kāśi, and I was the young elephant. Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī was the young elephant's mother. Then, also, through grief for me she became blind, and through me she regained her sight. And on this other occasion, too, Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī became blind through grief for me, and through me had her sight restored."

Here ends the Jātaka of the Female Elephant.⁴

¹ *Sukumāra*. See vol. 2, p. 106, n. 1.

² *Mellitvā*. See vol. 1, p. 308, n. 1; 2, p. 405, n. 1. See also *B.H.S.D.*

³ See *D.P.N.*

⁴ But is followed by a metrical, and a more primitive version.

Put all distractions away, and all of you listen with undivided attention as I relate how arduous and thrilling the Bodhisattva's career was.

Even when he was an elephant in the world of beasts he was kind to his mother. How much more should I celebrate him as a man,¹ venerable and wise?

Willingly I relate, as I have heard it said by my teachers, how Bodhisattvas the world over are affectionate, good-natured and devoted.

It was on the slope of the lower Himalayas, on pleasant Candagiri, which was adorned all over with the retreats of austere men;

The haunt of many Kinnaras, elephants, apes, monkeys, boars, leopards and tigers, the resort of stags and buffaloes and deer, and where bulls, yaks and sambaras² roamed.

All that fair wood was pleasant with the sweet songs of pairing birds, peacock, pheasant, partridge and cuckoo.

(134) Everywhere there gleamed lotus-pools swarming with swans, and on the farther bank were ducks dripping with water, and wallowing³ herds of elephants.

Here around a tree where bees made honey from pollen-laden flowers there flocked in play vari-coloured gazelles and birds.

There the fair wood was graced by venerable ascetics whose delight was in the joy of meditation and who had entered the stream,⁴ and by others whose delight was in their studies.

There the fair wood was graced by the sight of young men with long matted hair and dressed in antelope-hides and bark, carrying various fruits and roots.

And in that delightful wood was an elephant, the best of his breed, devotedly tending his mother who was blind and was aged and weak.

But once, whilst he was roaming with the elephant herd and had strayed far away, the king with his army happened to be out hunting for elephants.

¹ Reading *manuṣyabhūta* for *-bhūto*.

² A kind of deer, now called sambar.

³ *Vilulita*. BSk. and Pali, Sk. *viluṭhita*. See P.E.D. s.v. *vilolana*. Not in B.H.S.D.

⁴ Literally "gone to the cascade", *nirjharagata*, a strange expression which seems to occur only here, and is assumed to be synonymous with *śrotāpanna*, "a stream-winner," or one who has entered on the first stage of the Way. See vol. 1, pp. 82, 94, 137, 138, 201, and notes.

The king's son saw this sterling elephant and excitedly he spoke, "O king, I have seen a noble elephant, the best in all the herd, with all fine qualities endowed."

And when the king of Kāśi had seen this noble elephant who was a lord among the herd, he caught him and took him captive from the wood to the city.

But the elephant would not take food or drink, but kept on continually sighing. And the king of earth with gentle voice thus spoke to this jewel of an elephant.

"Fair elephant," said he, "do not become lean, but accept this food and drink this water. I would have you to be happy in this fairest of all cities. So be not aggrieved."

(135) The best of elephants replied,

"O lord of men, I grieve not because of those fettering shackles, nor because of hunger and thirst. I have a greater sorrow than this, O king, and it is for this I grieve."

The king said,

"O fair elephant, what greater sorrow is yours that you care not for drink or food? This other greater sorrow tell me."

The young elephant replied,

"My mother is past her prime, old, advanced in years, and blind. Without my company, O king, she will die. That is why I grieve.

"To her who cannot see I used to give the lily's stalk and root, and then I would feed myself. To-day, she has no food, and that is why I grieve.

"And when her body was scorched by the summer's heat I would bring cool water from the shady forest and bathe her. But to-day there is none to ward her. And for this I grieve.

"Sightless she now roams the wood, her body covered with dust, crying, "Where is my son?" This is the greater sorrow I am this day afflicted with."

When the king heard this tender and pitiful tale of the elephant, with his face bathed in tears he spoke to the elephant, saying "One would search in vain among many men¹ for such perfect goodness as this of yours, which causes such oppressing sorrow in your heart."

¹ Literally, "among many men it would be hard to find," *ekatyeṣu manuṣyeṣu suddullabhā*.

[To his men he said:]

"Set the elephant free at once, let him roam the forest and tend the mother whom he reveres. (136) Let his mother be comforted and rejoice with her jewel of a son.

"The noble elephant's mother, oppressed by pain and wounded by the shafts of grief, as she roams the wood makes it echo to her cries, as the thunder-cloud makes the sky re-echo.

"May mother and son be glad, and the beasts and the devas of the forest as well," said the king. "See to it, I bid you,¹ that the sightless mother rejoice with her precious jewel."

The best of elephants, chased by hunters for his ivory and by tigers for his blood and flesh, was taken and brought² to the capital of Kāśi.

The devas of the forest tell her that the best of elephants, endowed with the noblest qualities, had been caught by the king of Kāśi and taken in fetters from the forest to the city.

"This," she said, "will surely mean my death, helpless and blind as I am. And that elephant, my good son, will also die through grief for me.

"For that elephant who wandered o'er the hills and through the leafy forest glades, will surely die through grief for me and his native glen."

[The king said:]

"And so, noble elephant, forasmuch as your mother had never cause to be angry with you nor was ever neglected by you, but was ever lovingly tended by you, so will release be yours.

"Forasmuch as, O valiant one, you did never eat your food of leaves and roots without first giving some to your mother, so will release be yours."

Then the noble elephant hurriedly went to his mother and affectionately spoke to her. He groomed her with tender creepers and cleaned her of dust.

¹ Me, ethic dative.

² Literally "entered" *āvikṣa*, aor. of *āviś*, for *āvikṣat*. This and the next stanzas obviously break the continuity of the story, interrupting as they do the course of the king's speech. As Senart remarks, *iṣṭam gājottamam*, etc., are anomalously neuter. He also found it necessary to make many corrections before the text as given in the MSS. could assume the required metrical form. It is more than likely that these verses are an ill-fitting interpolation from another version of the story.

(137) Said he, "I was bound in cruel fetters by the king of Kāśi in his fairest city. But because of you, my blind mother,¹ I was set free by the righteous king."

When she heard the noble elephant's voice and felt his touch, she received her son with joy and gladness, her sight restored.

The female elephant said:

"May the king of Kāśi and his people rejoice and be glad, as I to-day rejoice because of my son and my restored sight."

To-day she has her son and with her own eyes sees him, a noble elephant, as before among the crags and woods, the haunts of wild beasts.

The perfect Buddha, the prince of speakers, out of his knowledge of his former lives, related this jātaka to his monks.

"I was that noble elephant," said he, "and my mother was the female elephant. So to-day as well am I her son, and Gotamī² is dearly beloved of me.

"Thus do you who in the course of recurrent lives are brought to sorrow by love or hate, in order to give up love and hate live the life of dharma without thought of self.

Here ends the Jātaka of the Female Elephant.

THE CONVERSION OF THE ASURAS

Exalted Buddhas convert beings by means of three miracles, the miracle of magic power, the miracle of instruction, and the miracle of preaching the dharma.³ By means of these three miracles (138) many thousands of beings were converted to the Āryan dharma by the Exalted One in the Banyan Grove.

¹ *Anayanā*, voc. of the adj. for -e, or causal abl. of the substantive, for -āi(d).

² I.e. *Mahāprajāpatī*.

³ Cf. vol. 1, p. 238 (text) where for the third miracle *dharmadeśanā* we have *ādeśanā*, "mind-reading."

Then the Asura lords Rāhu,¹ Vemacitrin² and Mucilinda accompanied by sixty *nayutas* of Asuras carrying large and fragrant garlands, and many thousands of male and female Asuras decked out in full adornment and wearing jewelled ear-rings, came in the majesty and splendour of Asuras to the Banyan Grove at Kapilavastu. Standing in the air above the Banyan Park, they paid worship and honour to the Exalted One. With all kinds of perfumes, garlands, dances, songs, music and musicians skilled in playing all kinds of musical instruments, they honoured, venerated, esteemed, worshipped and revered the Exalted One. Then they turned their thought to the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment. "Ah," thought they, "may we become in some future time Tathāgatas, Arhans, perfect Buddhas, endowed with knowledge and conduct, Sugatas, incomparable knowers of the world, drivers of tameable men, and teachers of devas and men, as this Exalted One now is. May we become possessed of the thirty-two marks of excellence of a Great Man, the eighty lesser characteristics, radiant bodies, and the eighteen special attributes of a Buddha. May we become strong with the ten powers of a Tathāgata, confident on the four grounds of confidence, as this Exalted One now is. May we set rolling the incomparable wheel of dharma as has now been done by the Exalted One. May devas and men deem us worthy of obedience and faith as they now do the Exalted One. May we keep a company of disciples in harmony as the Exalted One now does. May we, having ourselves crossed, lead others across; ourselves free, set others free; ourselves comforted, give comfort to others; ourselves released, give release to others. May this come to pass for the welfare and happiness of the multitude, in compassion for the world, for the sake of the great multitude, and for the welfare and happiness of devas and men.

Then the Exalted One, aware of this aspiration in the hearts of the Asuras, (139) on that occasion smiled. And immediately on his smiling there issued from the mouth of the

¹ Rāhu was the Hindu demon of the eclipse of sun and moon, and appears as such in Buddhist legend. See *D.P.N.* for references.

² The BSk. form (cf. *Divy.* 126, 148, *Lal. Vist.* 241) of the Pali Vepacitti, often mentioned with Rāhu and Mucilinda.

Exalted One rays of many different colours, blue, yellow, red, crimson, white, translucent, and golden, which lit up the whole Buddha-field, while hosts of devas from the lowest to the highest heaven¹ came and saluted the Exalted One three times from the right, and then disappeared from before him.

Then the venerable Aśvakin² came to the Exalted One, and raising his joined hands said to him, "It is not without cause, not without reason that Tathāgatas, Arhans, and perfect Buddhas smile. What, Lord, is the cause, what the reason of thy smiling?" And the Exalted One in reply to the venerable Aśvakin discoursed in verse on this aspiration of heart on the part of the Asuras.

Then the Lord of bipeds smiled, aware of the sublime thought of the Dānavas.³ Stretching forth his joined hands when he saw that smile on the Sugata's face, Aśvakin questioned him, saying,

"The Light of the world, the Sage supreme, does not smile without a cause. O Man supreme, tell the cause of the smile thou hast now given, O Benefactor of the world.

"To-day without a doubt the thought of the sublime enlightenment has been begotten by someone in this throng, and the Tathāgata aware of this one's mental disposition⁴ smiles his delightful smile.

(140) *"Yet do I stand here perplexed at seeing the smile on the Sugata's face. O Man supreme, speak without delay and dispel the perplexity of those who are in doubt.*

"That smile which the Light of the world did give when he saw the Dānavas worshipping him, declare the meaning of it, that, when they hear it, the host of the Asuras will be glad."

The Exalted One replied :

"Well is it for you, O Aśvakin, that you ask as to why the Benefactor of the world smiled. I will tell you the whole purport of it. Listen with undivided mind as I speak.

"The Asuras here paid me honour, for they seek the

¹ *Yāvadākaṇiṣṭhā.*

² The *Mhvu.* name of one of the Bhadravargiyā Bhikṣūs who in other BSk. texts is called Aśvajit (Pali Assaji). See Edgerton, *B.H.S.D.*

³ *I.e.* the Asuras. See vol. 1, p. 55 n. 3.

⁴ *Āśaya*, BSk., Pali *āśaya*, for *āśayaṃ*, metri causa(?).

supreme enlightenment. When they have left their lives as Asuras, they will pass to heaven and dwell there in joy a long time.

"And when they have dwelt in the devas' city for a long time, endowed with the five strands of sensual pleasures, they will come again to the world of men and will worship the Conquerors, the Lords of bipeds.

"For many a hundred-thousand kalpas they will again and again show honour¹ to Conquerors; (141) and then they will themselves all become Conquerors, triumphant over their foes, brilliantly arrayed in golden splendour."

When this proclamation about the Asuras was made, the world of devas and men became glad and exultant. And many a hundred-thousand beings then and there were established in the incomparable career.²

Then Sambara, a lord of the Asuras, on that occasion spoke this verse:

"May I ever consort with friends like these. Observing this rule³ and because of it⁴ may we worship the Supreme of bipeds."

THE JĀTAKA OF NALINĪ⁵

When the Exalted One had foretold of these sixty *nayutas* of Asuras that they would win the incomparable perfect enlightenment, and had established many thousands of beings in the Āryan ways, he dismissed King Śuddhodana and his retinue. Then King Śuddhodana and his retinue rose from their seats, bowed their heads at the feet of the Exalted One, and departed.

And when the night had passed, King Śuddhodana had a plentiful supply of solid and soft food prepared. He had the

¹ *Pūja* for *pūjām*. See Edgerton, *Gram.*, § 9. 19.

² *Anuttarayāna*. But there is not necessarily any allusion here either to *Hīnayāna* or *Mahāyāna*.

³ Literally, "observing which," *yaṃ niśāmya*.

⁴ Literally, "because of which," *yaṃ āgāmya*. For *āgāmya* see vol. 1, p. 198, n. 2.

⁵ Fausbøll, No. 526.

city of Kapilavastu sprinkled and cleaned, cleared of dust, stones, gravel and pebbles, strewn with garlands of flowers, perfumed with pots of incense, gaily decorated, canopied, and festooned with streamers of silk. All the way from the Banyan Grove to Kapilavastu he stationed here and there actors,¹ dancers, athletes, wrestlers, tambourine players, tam-tam players, clowns, *dvistvalas* and buffoons. Thus, with great royal majesty and splendour he celebrated the entry of the Exalted One into the city.

Then with every manifestation of honour King Śuddhodana led the Exalted One and his company of disciples into the royal palace. (142) And the Exalted One having entered the home of Śuddhodana sat down on the seat appointed him, and so likewise did his company of disciples. King Śuddhodana with his own hand regaled and served² the Exalted One with exquisite and plentiful solid and soft food, as his friends and counsellors did the company of disciples. When the Exalted One had finished eating, washed his hands and put away his bowl, he instructed, roused and gladdened King Śuddhodana with a discourse on dharma. He then rose from his seat and departed. Another day, Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī entertained the Exalted One and his company of disciples; on another Yaśodharā; on another, the women of the court, and on another the general body of the Śākya.

Now when Yaśodharā had prepared the sweetmeats for the Exalted One and his company of disciples she invited the whole group of her relatives. The Exalted One with his awareness of the right time, opportunity, and occasion, and with his knowledge of the difference between individuals,³ dressed betimes, took his bowl and robe, and, escorted and honoured by his company of monks, entered the dwelling of Yaśodharā. He sat down on the appointed seat, as did also his company of monks. Then Yaśodharā, Rāhula's mother, and Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and the group of their relatives regaled and served the Exalted One and his company of disciples with exquisite food, solid and soft. Yaśodharā put some excellent and exquisite sweetmeat, which was good in

¹ For some of these entertainers see the longer list, p. 113 (text).

² *Sampravāreti* BSK., Pali *sampavāreti*.

³ Cf. vol. 1, p. 4, n. 9.

colour, smell and taste, in the hands of Rāhula, and said to him, "Go, give this sweetmeat to your father." Rāhula went and put the sweetmeat in his father's bowl. He then sat down in his shadow, and said to his mother, "Pleasant, mother, is the shadow of the recluse." But Yaśodharā said to the young Rāhula,¹ "Ask for your father's wealth." So the young Rāhula said to the Exalted One, "Recluse, give me my father's wealth." The Exalted One replied, "Rāhula, leave home, then I will give you your father's wealth." (143) The king, the women of his court and his Śākya retinue were thrilled, glad, and elated, and they said, "Rāhula is the Exalted One's son. What fault can Yaśodharā find in the discipline?" But Yaśodharā decked herself out in all her finery, went to the Exalted One and asked him, "How can our noble son go out into the homeless life? Is it not possible for the Exalted One to make him change his mind?" The Exalted One, however, after he had finished his meal, washed his hands and put away his bowl, and instructed, roused, gladdened, and thrilled King Śuddhodana, the women of his court, Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī, Yaśodharā and all the court with a discourse on dharma, rose up from his seat and departed.

The monks said to the Exalted One, "Behold, Lord, how Yaśodharā sought to entice the Exalted One with sweetmeats." The Exalted One replied, "Monks, that is not the first time that Yaśodharā sought to entice me with sweetmeats." The monks asked, "Was there another occasion, Lord?" The Exalted One replied, "Yes, there was, monks."

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, to the north of the city of Benares in the province of Kāśī, on the slopes of the Himalayas, there was a hermitage called Sāhanjani,² which was peaceful, sequestered, remote, aloof from men. It was a fitting spot for seclusion, and abounded in roots, leaves, flowers and water. There a seer named Kāśyapa³ dwelt. He had

¹ For the Rāhula episode cf. V. 1. 82 and the references in I. B. Horner, *Bh. of Disc.* 4, p. 103.

² Cf. vol. 2, p. 200, n. 2.

³ This, besides being the name of a Buddha, was also the name of several well-known seers or wise men, and is thus a fitting conventional name for a seer in story.

mastered the five super-knowledges, achieved the four meditations, and had great power and influence.

Now it happened that in the last of the summer months he ate ripe fruits which were sweet as honey, and then being thirsty he drank too much water. Consequently he became troubled with wind and fever,¹ and he passed water containing some semen into a stone pot. A certain doe, being thirsty, drank this urine under the impression that it was drinking water. The doe was ripe for conception, and while her mouth was smeared with the semen she licked the orifice of her uterus with her tongue. She became stupefied and conceived.

The seer was a man of kindly disposition, and the deer and birds (144) had no fear of him. Hundreds of them roamed about and dwelt in the neighbourhood of the hermitage. The doe also dwelt near the hermitage and roamed about there. In due time she gave birth to a human child.² When the seer saw³ this he fell to thinking, "How is it that the doe, being a brute, has a human offspring?"

Now when seers concentrate their minds⁴ knowledge comes to them. So this seer concentrated his mind. "A while ago," he reflected, "I ate too many sweet fruits and drank too much water. So my humours⁵ became excessive,⁶ and I passed water, which was mixed with my semen, into a stone pot. This doe, being thirsty, drank it under the impression that it was drinking water. Being ripe for conception she conceived. This child, therefore, is issue of my body."

So carrying the infant in his cloak of antelope's hide he took him to his hermitage, the doe following behind him. The seer cut the child's umbilical cord with a knife, rubbed him with sesamum oil, and washed off the impurities of the womb with sweet water. He put the child to the doe's teat and she suckled him. He even put the doe's teat in the child's mouth.

¹ Literally, "his wind and heat overflowed or became excessive," *abhiśyaṇṇā vātātapā samvṛittā*. For *abhiśyaṇṇa* from *abhiśyaṇ*, cf. vol. 2, p. 276 (text), vol. 3, p. 311. See also B.H.S.D.

² *Dārahaṃ* only in text, but *manussadārahaṃ* in the *Alambarā Jātaka* (Fausböll 523, J. 5. 152) in which this strange birth is described. Fausböll 526, the Pali *Jātaka* corresponding to the *Mhvu.* one here, merely refers to it in passing as a story already given.

³ Reading, with two MSS., *drīṣṭvā* for the text *drīṣṭā* "when she was seen."

⁴ *Samanvāharitvā* from *samanvāharati*, BSk., cf. Pali *samannāharati*.

⁵ *Dhātu*. Cf. *DA.* 1. 253.

⁶ *Abhiśyaṇṇa*, see n. 1.

When the child happened to be lying down, the doe would roam about in the neighbourhood of the hermitage, and when she had drunk water she would come and suckle the child again, and lick¹ him with her tongue. When the child could move about² on its own feet he would grasp the doe's teat for himself, and drink.

Remembering the saying³ "the one-horned beast wanders all alone," the seer gave the child the name of Ekaśringa. Now as his mother roamed about with the deer so did the seer's son Ekaśringa, playing with the young deer. Wherever his mother wandered with the herd of deer there also wandered Ekaśringa, the seer's son. (145) As he played with the young deer and wandered hither and thither,⁴ he came again with the deer and their young to the seer's hermitage. There the seer gave him delicious fruits, good in colour, smell and taste. And when the seer's son lay down in the hermitage then many deer and their young lay down around him. When the deer and their young wanted to go roaming, they woke up the sleeping son of the seer with their snouts.

In this way the deer and their young, and birds of various kinds enjoyed themselves at the hermitage in the company of the seer's son. When Ekaśringa the seer's son had reached years of discretion⁵ he cleaned and swept the hermitage of the seer, fetched roots of various kinds, and leaves, water and fuel. He massaged and bathed the seer and tended the sacred fire. He served⁶ the sage with various dishes of roots, leaves,

¹ *Parilehati*. *Lehati* from *lih*, "apparently a blend of *leḍhi* and *lihati*," (Edgerton, *Gram.* § 32. 23). Cf. Pali *lehati*.

² *Anvita*, past part. in middle sense of *anvati* = *ṛinvati*, but, as Senart remarks, the form is influenced by the analogy of *anvita* from *anveti* "to follow." Possibly, the sense meant to be conveyed here is "when the child could follow." See also *B.H.S.D.*

³ Or "quoting", = *ti* in *ekacaram śringakam jātanti* (= *jātam ti*). The horned beast is here taken to denote the Indian one-horned rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros unicornis*), the lonely habits of which were proverbial and a type of the solitary lives of Pratyekabuddhas. See, e.g., the celebrated *Khaḍgaviśāṇa-sūtra*, vol. 1, p. 303 f, and n. p. 250, and the Pali version at *Sn.* 35 ff. The implied explanation of the name Ekaśringa thus rests on the child's loneliness as a human among the brutes, and also on his destiny to live the life of a seer similar to that of a Pratyekabuddha. If this interpretation is correct, we need not, with Senart, doubt the correctness of the text. The Jātakas call the child Isisinga, and in the same folktale in the *Rāmāyaṇa* he appears as *Riṣyaśringa*. *J. trans.*, (5. 80), also refers to *Barlaam and Josaphat*.

⁴ *Anviya anvīya*. See n. 2.

⁵ *Vijñāprāpta*. See p. 128 n. 1.

⁶ *Parivisati*, BSk. = Pali; Sk. *pariviṣ* (*viveṣ*, *viviṣ*, *veṣa*).

flowers and fruits, and supplied him with water. He would first serve the seer and his mother, the doe, then he would take food himself. The seer showed his son the way to the meditations and the super-knowledges. So the seer's son by constant application of vigilance, endeavour, effort and exertion realised the four meditations and achieved the five super-knowledges.

Thus the seer's son, having realised the four meditations and achieved the five super-knowledges, grew up into a chaste youth, powerful and influential, and known among devas and men.

Ekaśringa, the seer's son, lived in the hermitage of Sāhanjanī, on the banks of the river Ganges on the slopes of the Himalayas. Now in the city of Benares the king of Kāśī was without a son. In order to get a son he performed many elaborate sacrifices,¹ saying, "It is in order that I may have a son." But he did not succeed in having a son, (146) although he had daughters in his large harem.

Then the king of Kāśī heard that on the banks of the Ganges there was a hermitage called Sāhanjanī and that a seer named Kāśyapa lived there. This royal seer who dwelt in that hermitage had a son, a seer named Ekaśringa, whose mother was a doe. The king said to himself, "What now if I were to give my daughter Nalinī, a royal maid, to the young seer Ekaśringa? He would be a son to me, as well as a son-in-law."²

Then, monks, the king of Kāśī gave instructions to his brāhman priest and tutor, saying, "Go, priest, and give Nalinī here, the royal maid, to Ekaśringa, the young seer. He will thus become my son-in-law." So, monks, the brāhman priest and royal tutor placed the royal maid Nalinī and her attendants in a chariot drawn by horses, and taking with him a large quantity of food and drink, sweetmeats of various kinds, and solid and soft food, he set out for the hermitage of Sāhanjanī. When they arrived there they stopped in the neighbourhood not far from the hermitage. There Nalinī

¹ *Iṣṭi-prakriyā-sthānāni*, *lit.* "sacrifice-ceremony conditions," (or positions), but the exact force of the last term in the compound is obscure, and it would serve no useful purpose to attempt to explain it, especially as the reading of two MSS. given in the footnotes shows that Senart has good reason to doubt the correctness of his restoration.

² *Jāmātika*, Sk. *jāmātrika*, Pali *jāmātar*. Cf. p. 23 n. 2.

the royal maid played and laughed with her friends. But when the beasts and birds saw them play they were frightened and fled in all directions.

Then, monks, the young seer Ekaśringa asked himself, "Why are the beasts and birds frightened, and flee in all directions?" And, monks, Ekaśringa the young seer, came to where Nalinī, the royal maid, was. He saw Nalinī, the royal maid, adorned and attired in costly garments, and playing with her friends. (147) When he had seen her he again said to himself, "Beautiful are these seers, fine are their garments of antelope's hide, their braided hair, and girdles of antelope's hide."¹ He considered the royal maidens, and he saw their girdles of antelope's hide shining with exceeding brilliance on their bodies.

Ekaśringa asked Nalinī, "Are these beautiful antelope hides yours, and the braided hair, girdles, and neckbands?" Nalinī, the royal maid, took Ekaśringa, the young seer, by the hand and said to him, "Yes, these beautiful antelope hides are ours, and the girdles, neckbands and bracelets." She then offered the young seer sweetmeats and drink, saying, "Here, eat this sweetmeat in my hand." He ate the sweetmeats and swallowed the drink. Now in the hermitage his sense of taste had been offended by the bitterness of the various fruits there, so as he ate these sweetmeats he was charmed by the exceeding sweetness of their flavour. And when he had drunk the various beverages he said, "Delightful are these fruits of yours, your beverages, your girdles of antelope's hide, your neckbands and your bracelets. We have no such exquisite food here in the hermitage."

Then, monks, Nalinī the royal maid said to Ekaśringa the young seer, "Come, young seer, here are our portable huts.² We go wherever we wish taking our huts with us. Come,

¹ In J. 5. 196, Nalinī is made to assume an ascetic fashion of dress as a disguise, although it was of a specially beautiful bark and adorned with splendid ornaments. The *Mhvu.*, however, hints at a folk-tale theme, according to which Ekaśringa, having known no dress but that of the ascetic style worn by him and his father, would describe all articles of dress in terms of those known to him. Just as, having known no female human being he assumes that the maidens were young male seers like himself, although the narrator seems to have missed this point when he uses the fem. *tāsām* ("their") for the masc. *teṣām*.

² *Uṭajāni saṃcārīmāni*, referring, as the sequel shows, to covered-in carriages. The story keeps up the theme of the ignorance of the "wild boy of the woods."

enter my hut and I will show you my own hermitage." And Nalinī mounted her carriage, held out her hand to Ekaśringa, and said, "Come, enter my hut, and I shall take you to my hermitage." But he, seeing the horses yoked to the carriage,¹ said, "My mother is a doe, and here is a hut drawn by deer. (148) I will not enter it." Nalinī, however, held on² to the hand of Ekaśringa, the young seer. She clung to his neck, embraced him, kissed him, and strove to entice him. The young seer noted the various features of Nalinī from her head to her feet. He saw that his and her braided hair were different. He saw that his form was different to hers; his girdle of rush was different to her girdle, and his bracelets were different to hers. But she made conversation with the young seer, won his confidence and inspired him with love. As has been said by the Exalted One.

*By living together in the past and by kindness in the present, so is this love born, as a lotus is born in water.*³

*When it enters the mind and the heart becomes glad, the understanding man will be assured,⁴ saying, "She was happy with me in the past."*⁵

For a long time in the course of recurrent lives, a thousand *koṭis* of births, the two had had intercourse together as wife and husband.⁶ Therefore, as soon as they saw each other they fell in love. Then Nalinī in her desire and love for Ekaśringa the young seer, gave him costly sweetmeats and solid and soft food to eat and choice beverages to drink. And when she had embraced him and kissed him, she stopped

¹ Not having seen a horse before, the lad calls it by the name of a quadruped already familiar to him. Cf. the Latin *Lūca bos* for the elephant.

² *Lagnati*. See p. 125, n. 3.

³ This first stanza is found at J. 2. 235 and *Mhvu.* 2. 98 (p. 95, trans., where see note) and 168 (p. 163 trans.). In the last instance cited it is followed by two other stanzas. The first verse of the third of these stanzas is identical with the first one of the second stanza here, but the last verse in each is different.

⁴ *Niṣṭhām gaccheyā*. Cf. Pali *niṣṭham gacchati*, "to come to the logical conclusion."

⁵ Literally "she will be (= will have been) happy with me in the past," *santuṣṭā me pure saha*. The verb *bhave* or *bhavet* is supplied from the repetition of this verse on p. 185. Possibly it is the right reading here instead of *saha*.

⁶ Literally "of wife and husband," *bhāryāpatiṣām*, a strange form of the gen. pl. which Senart adopts only with great hesitation. It is the only example known to Edgerton (*Gram.* § 10. 206) and he can only suggest that it is due to the influence of *s*-stems. "Or," he asks, "could the *-sām* ending of pronouns be involved?"

clinging to his neck, mounted her horse-carriage and returned to Benares. There she related all that had happened.

As for Ekaśringa, the young seer, he returned to his hermitage, where he sat thinking of the ravishing features of Nalinī from her head to her feet. No longer did he fetch roots and fruits, nor water and wood. He did not sweep out the hermitage nor tend the sacred fire. (149) The seer, seeing that there was something on the lad's mind, questioned him, saying, "You no longer cut wood; you do not fetch water; you do not make up the sacred fire. What are you thinking about?"¹ The seer's son replied, "Hither there came a young seer from some other hermitage, accompanied by many other young seers. He was lovely and handsome, with beautiful braided hair, garment of antelope's hide, necklaces, bracelets, and rush girdle. They had delicious fruits and drink, not at all like ours. They travelled in a hut drawn by deer. I saw them yonder in a part of the hermitage, and I and the young seer got to love each other. He fell on my neck and publicly put his mouth to my mouth, making a sound as he did so. This gave me a thrill. I am now sad of countenance as I think of him. Without him I have no joy in this hermitage."

When the seer heard the lad he said to himself, "From the description the lad gives of their beauty those were not young seers. They must have been women." Then to the young seer Ekaśringa he said, "My son, those were not young seers. They were women who seduce seers and keep them from their austerity. Seers should keep them at a distance, for they are a stumbling-block² to those who would live chastely. Have nothing to do with them.³ They are like snakes,⁴ like poisonous leaves, like charcoal pits."⁵

¹ As Senart remarks, this passage is metrical and should have been printed as a *śloka*; both cadence and sense would be better, however, by reading *kintuṃ abhidhyāyasi* (which is actually the reading in the Pali version) for *dhyānaṃ dhyāyasi*.

² *Antarāyakaṛa*. See vol. 2, p. 39, n. 1.

³ *Mā tehi sīrdhaṃ samaṃ karohi*, "do not make it equal (or common) with them." *Tehi*, if correct, is masc. because of the point of view of the young boy. But it could also be fem., see Edgerton, *Gram.* § 21. 37.

⁴ *Āśviṣa*. See vol. 2, p. 363, n. 3. But the translator would not now, in this case and in many others, so readily adopt the P.E.D.'s explanation of BSk. forms as Sanskritisation of Pali forms.

⁵ *Angārakaṛṣu*, Pali *angārakāsu*.

Then the king of Kāśī said to his priest, "Plant miniature groves of Aśoka¹ trees on the ships, with the trees laden with flowers and fruits. You are then to sail up the Ganges and go to that hermitage together with Nalinī and her train. Take the young seer on board and bring him here." The priest, in obedience to the king of Kāśī, made Nalinī the royal maid and her companions embark on ships which were exceeding brilliant fore and aft and throughout. They had canopies stretched over them; they were carpeted with bright cloth, draped with festoons of fine silk, fragrant with incense, (150) and strewn with garlands of flowers. Sailing up the Ganges he came to the hermitage of Sāhanjanī. He anchored the ships near the hermitage and sent Nalinī the royal maid to the young seer Ekaśringa. "Go," said he to her, "and fetch the young seer."

Nalinī the royal maid, with her companions, then disembarked, and sat down in the grounds of the hermitage lopping off various flowers and twigs of the trees. When the beasts and birds saw her they uttered each its own cry and scurried away from the hermitage in all directions. Now the young seer saw that the beasts and birds were frightened, and he came to the place. There he saw Nalinī the royal maid with her companions lopping off the flowers and twigs of the trees. And when he saw her he went up to her. Even more than before² did Nalinī find pleasure at seeing the young seer. Even more than before did she cling to his neck, embrace and kiss him. He ate sweetmeats and various other kinds of things and drank costly beverages. He then went on board the ship with Nalinī. She said to him, "These hermitages³ of ours can travel over the water." Seduced in this way by her, he came by ship to Benares.

The priest married Nalinī and the young seer by joining their hands.⁴ The young seer sat and dallied with her, but did not have intercourse with her. He only saw in her a young seer who was his friend.⁵

¹ *Aśokavanikāni*, ? "little woods of Aśoka" (Jonesia Asoka).

² *Bhūyo*, "(still) more," Pali *bhiyyo*.

³ Reading *āśramā* for *āśrame* (?sic) of the text.

⁴ *Pāṇigrahaṃ kṛtvā*.

⁵ Literally, "he knew (thought) 'the young seer is my friend,' *jānāti vayasyo me ṛṣikumāro ti*."

Then in company with Nalinī he sailed on the ship to the hermitage of Sāhanjanī. And the doe who was Ekaśringa's mother saw him coming with Nalinī the king's daughter. She asked him, "My son, where have you been?" He replied, "I have been to the hermitage¹ of this friend of mine. He is my friend. We went round the fire by the right with the water-pot² and I took his hand." But the doe said to herself, "Verily (151) this young seer does not realise that his friend is his wife, or even that she is a maid, while the young seer is a most excellent man who took her to wife when they went round the fire by the right with the water-pot and joined hands. Then who is there who will make the young seer aware of this and tell him that this is not a young seer, but the daughter of the king of Kāśi, named Nalinī, and that she has been given him to wife?"

Now below the hermitage of Sāhanjanī on the banks of the Ganges there was a hermitage of devout women ascetics. As the young seer was on the point of entering this hermitage he was stopped by the women. "You may not come into this hermitage," said they. "You are a man, and this is a hermitage of women vowed to chastity. It is not permitted for a man to enter." The young seer asked a woman ascetic, "What is a woman, and what is a man?" And she explained to him the attributes of a woman, adding, "This is not a friend who is with you, nor is he a young seer. She is a woman, named Nalinī, a royal maid, daughter of the king of Kāśi. And you are a man born of a doe. Do you not know then that she has been given you to wife by the water ritual,³ that you are her husband and that you may not forsake each other?"

When he had heard the women ascetics, the young seer, together with Nalinī, came to the hermitage of Sāhanjanī and went to his father, Kāśyapa the seer, bowed at his feet, and he and Nalinī told him all that had happened. The seer thought to himself, "The young seer cannot live here in the hermitage apart from Nalinī. These two are bound to each

¹ Sc. Benares.

² The text has *udakena*, "with water," simply. Water was used at many stages of the marriage rite, but the translation assumes that the allusion here is to the water-pot borne by a carrier who followed the pair as they went round the fire and sprinkled them with water at various points of the circumambulation. See e.g., the *Gṛhya-sūtra* of Gobhila, II. 1. 13 and 2. 15 (S.B.E., XXX, pp. 43, 46).

³ *Udakena*, "with water." See n. 2.

other by love." And to his son, the young seer Ekaśringa, he said, "My son, Nalinī, the king's daughter, was married to you when you called the deva of fire to witness,¹ had the water ritual performed for you,² and you joined hands together. You cannot forsake each other; go with her to the city of Benares." They then bowed at the seer's feet and took respectful leave of Ekaśringa's mother. (152) They went to Benares and there approached the king of Kāśi. The king gave the young seer a fitting abode, a retinue, rugs and cushions, and all means of enjoyment and sustenance. Then he anointed him as heir to the throne.

*Treasure heaps dwindle away; growth³ ends in decay.
Union in disunion ends, and life in death.*

Now the king of Kāśi, being beholden to the conditions of time, died, and Ekaśringa ascended the throne of Benares. By Nalinī he had thirty-two sons born in pairs as twins. When he had ruled his kingdom for a long time in righteousness, he anointed his eldest son as heir to the throne, and again took up the religious life of a seer. By constant application of vigilance, endeavour, effort and exertion after the manner of brāhmans⁴ he attained the four meditations and achieved the five super-knowledges. Thus passing beyond the sphere of desires, on the dissolution of his body he was reborn among the Brahmā devas.

The Exalted One said, "He who at that time was the seer Kāśyapa is now Śuddhodana. She who was the doe, monks, was Mahāprajāpatī. He who was the king of Kāśi was the Śākyan Mahānāma. I was he who at that time was the young seer Ekaśringa. And she who was the royal maid named Nalinī was Yaśodharā. Then, too, did she allure me by decking herself out in finery,⁵ just as she did on this other occasion."

Here ends the Jātaka of Nalinī the king's daughter.

¹ *Agnidevaṃ sākṣūkrivā*, i.e., when they went round the fire.

² *Udakena* simply, again.

³ *Samucchrayās*, here in its etymological sense of "uprisings," as antithetical to *patana*, "falling," rather than in its derived BSk. sense of "body", for which see vol. I, p. 134, n. 1.

⁴ *Bāhiraṇa mārgena*.

⁵ At the beginning of the tale the attempted allurements were said to be "by means of sweetmeats," *modakehi*.

PADUMĀVATĪ

(153) The monks said to the Exalted One, "Behold, Lord, how Yaśodharā here without being tried¹ and without being examined was sent away by King Śuddhodana to be punished.² The Exalted One replied, "Monks, that was not the only occasion that Yaśodharā without being tried and found guilty was sent away to be punished by King Śuddhodana. There was another occasion."³ The monks asked, "Lord, was there another occasion?" The Exalted One replied, "Yes, monks, there was."

Long ago, in a large forest on the slopes of the Himalayas there was a hermitage belonging to Māṇḍavya, a seer who had realised the four meditations and achieved the five super-knowledges. The hermitage was well supplied with roots, fruits, flowers, leaves and water, and was the haunt of thousands of deer and birds.

Now, monks, it happened that in the last month of summer Māṇḍavya the seer ate ripe fruits which were sweet as honey, and drank too much water. So his humours became excessive,⁴ and he passed water containing some semen into a stone pot. Then, monks, a certain doe, who was ripe for conception, being thirsty drank the seer's urine mixed with his semen from the stone pot, under the impression that it was drinking water. And while her mouth was smeared with the semen she licked the orifice of her uterus with her snout. The result of men's actions is unexpected. For that doe became stupefied with that blood and semen, and she conceived. She roamed and wandered round the hermitage. In due time she gave

¹ *Ananuyujyitvā*, "without being questioned," though Senart inclines to think that, in spite of the *-yujy-* the form is active. The next participle, too, is active in form, *aparyavagāhitvā* "without scrutinising" (cf. Pali *pariyogāhati*). But the turn of the whole sentence is passive; so, though these indeclinable participles may in construction go with *rajñā Śuddhodanena*, it is simpler in translation to take them as passives, as such participles can often be taken in our text.

² I.e. in her former life as Nalinī, in the tale just related, though she is there said to have been sent away to be married.

³ The text, of course, repeats the whole statement.

⁴ See p. 139, n. 1.

birth to a little girl, who was beautiful, of distinguished mien,¹ and possessed perfect beauty of complexion,² yellowish like a slab of fresh butter.

When the doe was delivered of this young girl, the seer saw it happen. He reflected, "How comes it that this doe, who is a beast, has a human offspring?" Now when seers who have the five super-knowledges concentrate their minds, understanding comes to them. Māṇḍavya the seer then, (154) having the five super-knowledges and being greatly blessed, concentrated his mind. "Here in this hermitage," thought he, "no other human comes and goes. This doe was born here in my hermitage, and there are likewise hundreds of other deer and birds as well in this forest. As far as I know³ none of the deer and birds goes anywhere to any other forest, nor does any deer or bird come hither from any other forest. These deer and birds were born here in this forest, grew up and enjoy themselves in this forest, which is not frequented by man. But some time ago, in the last month of summer, I ate some over-ripe fruits and drank too much cold water. Thus my humours became excessive, and I passed water mixed with my semen into a stone pot, and that was drunk by this thirsty doe under the impression that it was drinking water. And thus she conceived. This child, therefore, is the issue of my body."

Māṇḍavya the seer conceived a very great affection for the little girl. He carried her in an antelope's hide and brought her to the hermitage, while the doe followed behind. The seer cut the child's umbilical cord with a knife. She was brought up as a human being,⁴ but for suckling she sat at the doe's

¹ *Akṣudrāvākāśa*, cf. Pali *akhuddāvākāśa dassanāya*, "not appearing inferior," one of the attributes of a well-bred brāhman. See P.E.D. for references.

² See vol. 2, p. 375, n. 3.

³ *Mama*, ? ethic genitive. Or is it purely possessive, "my deers and birds"?

⁴ Literally, "she was nourished with a human nourishment," *mānuṣikāye kelāyanāya kelāyanti*, where *kelāyanāya* is oblique case of *kelāyana*, *nomen actionis*, and *kelāyanti*, pres. part. pass of *kelāyati*, a BSk. and Pali formation from *kīl* (=Sk. *kṛīd*, "to play") and meaning primarily "to amuse oneself with, hence to fondle, to nourish." See P.E.D. But apart from the fact that the development of meaning here assumed is rather improbable, some at least of the meanings of the word in BSk. listed by Edgerton, (B.H.S.D.) hardly bear out this etymology, and perhaps it is better, with Edgerton, to regard the origin as obscure.

teat. The seer, too, crushed sweet ripe fruit for her in his mouth, and from time to time rubbed her with sesamum oil and bathed her with pleasant water.

As she grew up the child made the wood a cheerful place, in company with the doe and the seer. Her mother would lick her with her tongue. When the child had grown big enough to move about¹ on her own feet, then, wherever she put her feet, there, as a result of good karma stored up by her in previous lives, lotuses sprang up. (155) As the child roamed about all over the hermitage of the seer lotuses sprang up, so that it became lovely like a lotus grove. And among these lotuses the child would play, culling them with her hands as she moved among them. When the seer saw that as a result of the young girl's karma lotuses sprang up in her footsteps, he was amazed, and he exclaimed, "Ah, what magic power the young girl has, since wherever her footsteps fall there lovely and beautiful lotuses spring up! It must be that she is a virtuous child who gained the root of virtue in the past by making offerings to the worthy² and planting the seeds of merit,³ since she has such great power." And the seer gave the child the name of Padumāvati.

As she grew up the child roamed all over the hermitage with her mother. Wherever the mother went roaming, there did the child roam with her, playing with the deer and their fawns. When she wanted food she came with her mother to the hermitage accompanied by the other deer and hinds and their fawns. When the doe came to the hermitage the seer would give her succulent⁴ fruits and delicious⁵ drinks. And she would eat some of the fruits herself, and then give some to the young fawns. When the child lay down in the hermitage, the young fawns, male and female, who had accompanied her in her wanderings, would lie down too. When they wished to go wandering again, they woke up the child with their snouts. Wherever the deer wandered and

¹ *Anvati*. See p. 140, n. 2.

² *Dakṣiṇīyā*. See vol. 1, p. 61, n. 3.

³ Literally, "with good or meritorious deeds planted," *oruplakūṣaliṣu*. For *orupla*. See vol. 2, p. 295, n. 3.

⁴ *Mṛṣṭamṛṣṭa*, "cleansed," "polished," "bright," "agreeable," "savoury," etc.

⁵ *Mṛṣṭamṛṣṭa*, again.

roamed, there did the child roam, playing with the deer and their young fawns. And wherever she roamed (156) there in all her footsteps lotuses sprang up. The child would gather these lotuses and string them together for herself and for the young fawns. Thus did she grow up in the hermitage playing with them. They were not happy when separated.

When the child grew to years of discretion,¹ she would sprinkle and clean the seer's hermitage, bring him dishes of various kinds of roots, leaves, flowers and fruits, and fetch water, wood and fuel. She would anoint² the seer with sesamum oil and bathe him. She would tend his sacred fire and serve him with various roots, leaves, flowers and fruits. She would bring him extracts of various fruits. Wherever she roamed in the hermitage, and wherever she went gathering roots, leaves, flowers and fruits, there was she accompanied by the deer and birds.

Now it happened that once when Padumāvati, accompanied by the deer and birds, had gone to fetch water, Brahmadata, king of Kampilla,³ was out hunting with his men. While he chased a deer on a horse swift as the wind, he outstripped his men and no one else had reached that place.⁴ The deer led King Brahmadata to a glade of the forest. As has been said by the Exalted One in the *Dharma-pada*,⁵

The way of the wild beasts is the wood ;⁶ of the birds

¹ See p. 128, n. 1.

² *Abhyaṅgeti*, sic for *abhyāṅgeti*.

³ See vol. 1, p. 235, n. 4.

⁴ The text is corrupt here. It reads *taṃ pradeśaṃ ujjhita* (? for *ujjhivā*) "he left that place behind," which hardly makes sense. Senart suggests that we should read some verb like *utsthita*, "set out." But comparison with a text describing a similar incident in the *Śyāmaka Jātaka* (2 p. 212, text) shows that the obscurity here is due to a careless abridgement of what may have been a conventional description of the over-eager huntsman. The latter passage reads, *ujjhivā balavāhanā na kaścana taṃ pradeśaṃ anuprāpta*, "he left behind his troops and no one had reached that place." The translation given above is made from the text of this latter passage.

⁵ See vol. 2, p. 202, n. 5.

⁶ *Plavana*, which is the reading of two MSS., and which, if correct, is for Sk. *pravāṇa*. But the quotation as given in vol. 2, p. 212 (text) has *pavana*, which is the usual BSk. and Pali form, and which, in the *Mhvu*. at least has the meaning of "wood" or "forest," whether analogically with, or actually derived from, *vana*. See e.g., 2. 361, 382 (text). At 3. 61 (text) *pravāṇa* has the regular Sk. meaning of "slope" or "prone." See vol. 2, p. 328, n. 3, and P.E.D. Also B.H.S.D.

the air. *Dharma is the way of the twice-born;*¹ *nirvana is the way supreme.*²

And there in the forest glade the deer was caught. Now while King Brahmadatta was (157) tracking down that deer, there at a pool of water he saw Padumāvati garbed in a cloak of antelope hide. She was carrying a pitcher of water and had a lovely lotus in her hand. She was lovely and handsome, with perfect beauty of complexion. Wherever she planted her footsteps, there charming and lovely lotuses sprang up. And, monks, when King Brahmadatta had seen Padumāvati the seer's daughter he reflected, "Ah, what splendid magical power this girl has, since, wherever she plants her footsteps, there exceeding charming, lovely and beautiful lotuses spring up! Now who can she be? Is she a girl of the devas, or of the Nāgas or of the Kinnaras? Is she a human or a non-human? What if I were to go up to her and ask?"

Then, monks, King Brahmadatta went up to Padumāvati the seer's daughter, and said to her, "Madam, who are you? Whose daughter are you?" When he had so spoken, Padumāvati the seer's daughter replied to King Brahmadatta, "I, O king, am a seer's daughter, named Padumāvati, the daughter of Māṇḍavya, who subsists on roots and fruits, dwells in the forest, and lives the brahma-life."

King Brahmadatta then³ said to Padumāvati the seer's daughter, "What kinds of food can you have living here in the forest, that your body has been so built up? Or what kinds of dress can you have that you have the appearance of being delicately brought up?" Padumāvati the seer's daughter replied to King Brahmadatta, stroking his garments the while, "Our food," said she, "consists of roots and fruits. Our clothes are of antelope hide, but not of such fine hide as these clothes of yours are."

Then, monks, (158) King Brahmadatta reflected, "This seer's daughter is unable to distinguish the sumptuous dress of a king. She does not know the difference between a seer and a king, nor between antelope hide and the rich dress of

¹ *Dvijātīnām*, i.e. Brāhmins. The quotation in vol. 2. 212 (text) has *vibhāgiyānam*. See vol. 2, p. 203, n. 2.

² *Mahati*. vol. 2 says "the way of the Arhans."

³ *Evamukte*, is omitted in translation here and elsewhere in the dialogue.

a king. Nor does she know what my horse is.¹ Yet, though she is the daughter of a seer, she is a right royal maiden who would be a fitting wife for me. But I cannot ask for her hand without the consent of Māṇḍavya the seer, not to speak of taking her hence from this hermitage to the city of Kampilla. Māṇḍavya the seer has great power, and with a curse could reduce me and my company to ashes. What if I were now by some means to try to entice Padumāvati the seer's daughter?"

Now, monks, when kings of olden days went hunting they filled a bag² with rich barley cakes made with honey and ghee, sweetmeats and confections,³ and fastened it on the horse's back behind the saddle.⁴ Thus when a king had been carried away by his horse till he was all alone in the woods, he would not die of hunger.

So, monks, on this occasion King Brahmadatta had a bag on his horse's back tied behind the saddle with a strap, and filled with barley cakes made with honey and ghee, sweetmeats and confections. And King Brahmadatta drew out⁵ a sweetmeat from the bag and gave it to Padumāvati. "Here, madam," said he, "are some of our fruits." She replied, "Sir, how much finer are your fruits than ours." And when she had eaten the sweetmeat she said, "These fruits of yours are lovely, succulent⁶ and nice, while ours

¹ This would seem to show that in the above dialogue there has dropped out an allusion to the king's horse which, on the analogy of the "wild-boy-of-the-wood" theme in the previous tāle, Padumāvati would have dubbed a deer.

² *Yamalaka*. Senart suggests a *poché* made of the material called *yamali* at *Divy*. 276 and *Avś*. 1. 265. Possibly what is meant is one of twin (*yama*) bags or panniers slung on either side of a beast of burden. Cf. *B.H.S.D.*

³ The text here and at 2. 190 has *ukkhārika*, which Senart in a note on the former passage can only explain as being for *ukhārika*, "a poultice." At neither of the two passages does such a meaning suit the context. The queried rendering, "dung," after the Pali *ukkhāra*, given in vol. 2 of this translation (p. 183), should now be amended. For it seems clear that *ukkhārika* is for *ukhārika*, "a sort of sweetmeat made with milk, treacle and ghee" (*M.W.*). See also *B.H.S.D.*

⁴ *Pallāna*, for *pariyāna* or *paryāna*. The MSS. have *pallāsa* or *palāsa*. Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*) says that Senart's emendation into *pallāna* is probably right, and he cites the Prakrit form with the same meaning. It would now appear that the verb *pallānayati* at vol. 2. 160 should be regarded as a denominative of *pallāna*, rather than, with Senart, as a compound of *pari-ā-ni*. See vol. 2, p. 150, n. 2.

⁵ *Ukhaḍḍheti*. On the verb *kaḍḍhati*, see vol. 2, p. 72, n. 1. Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*) adopts the form of the MSS., *kaḍḍati*.

⁶ *Mṛṣṭa*. See p. 150, n. 4.

are sour and bitter." The king replied, "It is fruits like these that grow on the trees in my hermitage. If you wish to eat their like, come to that hermitage of mine."

Then, monks, Padumāvati the seer's daughter said to King Brahmadata (159) "I do wish to eat fruits like these. But wait¹ a moment so that I can take this water to our hermitage, which is not far off, and tell my father that I am going to your hermitage." So, monks, King Brahmadata gave Padumāvati some more sweetmeats, saying, "Take these to your father and tell him that you are going to be the wife of the seer in whose hermitage there are such fruits as these. But come back quickly. I shall be sitting here on the bank of the stream."

Then, monks, Padumāvati the seer's daughter went to the hermitage of Māṇḍavya, put down the pitcher of water and presented those sweetmeats to her father, saying, "Eat these fruits, father, I am going to be the wife of the seer in whose hermitage such fruits are growing." But, monks, Māṇḍavya the seer said to himself, "Now Brahmadata, the king of Pañcāla, while following the chase here, has come near to this hermitage. He has given royal sweetmeats like these to Padumāvati and she has eaten them. No longer can she live on the sour and bitter fruits of this hermitage. But Padumāvati is a right royal maiden. What then if I were to give her to Brahmadata to wife?" And so, monks, Māṇḍavya the seer said to his daughter Padumāvati. "Of a truth, Padumāvati, there are no fruits like these. Who has allured you with fiery desires?" But Padumāvati thought to herself. "These 'desires' must be the trees on which fruits like these grow." And she said to her father, "If, father, the sweetness of the fruits of desire is like this, then will I eat them. The fruits we have here, large though they be, do not please me." Māṇḍavya the seer replied to Padumāvati, "Who gave you these fruits, Padumāvati? What kind of young seer was he, and where is he now?"

(160) When this had been said, Padumāvati replied to Māṇḍavya the seer and said "Father, the young seer is dressed in fine antelope hide, and he waits on the bank of the

¹ *Agame*. See vol. 2, p. 296, n. 4.

stream mounted on a deer. It was he who gave me these fruits. In his hermitage there grow fruits like these."

Then Māṇḍavya the seer together with Padumāvati went to King Brahmadata. After he had greeted him he performed the water ritual¹ and gave him Padumāvati, saying, "Your majesty, let her be your wife. Let her be considered worthy of your majesty, and do not put her away on the mere accusation of another and without trial."

And so King Brahmadata put Padumāvati on his horse's back, bade farewell to Māṇḍavya the seer and set out for Kampilla. His troops saw King Brahmadata coming when he was still some way off and came to meet him. Then King Brahmadata together with Padumāvati the seer's daughter alighted from horseback, and mounting an elephant with her he came to his own park in the city of Kampilla.

In the city of Kampilla Padumāvati heard the noise of the great crowd. She saw the pleasant city with its high walls, turrets and round watch-towers. And when she had seen it, she asked King Brahmadata, "Why, pray, do I hear the noise of seers and forest deer in this open space in the forest? And why do I see these tall grass-huts?" King Brahmadata replied to Padumāvati, "Yes, it is the voice of the seers and of the deer of the forest, and these tall grass-huts are ours."

When he had come to his own park, King Brahmadata with Padumāvati alighted from the elephant's back and entered the park. He gave instructions to the assembly of his counsellors, saying, "Ho, there, governors,² quickly (161) fetch my priest, and clothes and jewels for Padumāvati. Have all the way from the park to the palace decorated. Have a canopy stretched over it. Have it fringed with bright flowers, draped with festoons of fine cloth, made fragrant with incense, sprinkled and cleaned, and strewn with garlands of flowers. Here and there have players³ stationed, and actors, dancers, athletes, wrestlers, tambourine-players, clowns, *dvistvalakas*, buffoons, and performers on the *naṭṭa*."⁴

¹ Literally "gave her with water" (*udakena*). See p. 146, n. 2.

² *Grāmaṇika*, Pali *gāmaṇika*, *gāmaṇi*.

³ See p. 110 f. for all these terms, with the exception of the last.

⁴ Literally, "holders of the *naṭṭa*" *naṭṭadharāṇi*. *Naṭṭa* is a doubtful and inexplicable word. Also the neuter termination of a compound giving names of performers, and not those of the instruments, is strange, although it is true that our text has some other instances of neuter for masculine.

*The desires of devas are fulfilled by their minds ; those of kings by the word of command ; those of rich men speedily and those of poor men by their own exertions.*¹

As soon as the king had spoken his counsellors saw to it² that his orders were carried out. Then Padumāvati said to King Brahmadata, "Where, my lord, is your abode, your fire, your hot water³ and your water-pot?⁴ Is it time for me to tend the sacred fire?" King Brahmadata replied to Padumāvati, "Come this instant and at once.⁵ Fine antelope hides are being brought for you. Then when we have bathed together in the Ganges, we shall offer the fire sacrifice." Then at that moment and that instant the king's attendant counsellors brought the women of the court into the park, with clothes and jewels for Padumāvati. They brought also the brāhman who was the king's priest and tutor. There came out the townsmen with their president at their head,⁶ the community of tradesmen with the chief merchant at their head,⁷ and all the eighteen guilds.

The counsellors, attendants, the foremost townsmen, brāhmins and Brahmadata's priest and royal tutor saw the king's consort arrayed in all her finery, lovely, handsome and possessing perfect beauty of complexion. With King Brahmadata she circumambulated the fire by the right. And wherever she planted her footsteps, there lovely and beautiful lotuses sprang up. When the people saw this, they were thrilled, joyful and elated, and spoke of it to King Brahmadata. "Your majesty," said they, "never have we seen or heard of (162) anyone having such magic power as this that Queen Padumāvati has. Well would it be, your majesty, if Queen Padumāvati went on foot as she is being conducted to the palace.⁸ Then the multitude would witness the great magic

¹ For this couplet see vol. 1, p. 213 n., vol. 2, p. 173, vol. 3, p. 124.

² *Paṭijāgareti*, past part. of *paṭijāgareti*.

³ *Unhodaḥa*; *uṇḥa* BSk. and Pali for *uṣṇa*.

⁴ *Kamaṇḍalu*, "the waterpot with long spout used by non-Buddhist ascetics." (P.E.D.)

⁵ *Sārdham*, so interpreted by Senart on the analogy of the use of the related *saha*.

⁶ See p. 114, n. 2.

⁷ *Sārihāvāhapramukho vaṇijagrāmo*. Cf. *śreṣṭhipramukho vaṇiggrāmo*, p. 110, n. 4.

⁸ Literally, "Let her be made to enter on foot," *paḍehi praveṣiyatu*.

power the queen has, and seeing it they would be well pleased."

Then King Brahmadata together with the women of his court and Queen Padumāvati, escorted by his attendant counsellors and accompanied by a great crowd of people, in great royal splendour and majesty came from the park and entered the palace. The people saw all along the way from the park to the palace lovely and beautiful lotuses springing up from each succeeding pair of Padumāvati's footprints.¹ And when they had seen this they gave vent to a shout of joy. "King Brahmadata," cried they, "is meritorious, seeing that he has won such a jewel of a wife."

The king went up with Padumāvati to a room on an upper floor, and being possessed of and endowed with the five strands of sensual desires, he dallied and amused and enjoyed himself with her. He taught² Padumāvati how to drink,³ play the dice and sing and play. Being infatuated with her he paid no attention to the other queens. And Padumāvati cohabited with King Brahmadata and she became pregnant.

When in due course the time came for the queen's delivery, King Brahmadata ordered the chamberlains of the harem, who were skilled in the duties pertaining to women, to take Padumāvati away. The king sat down with gold and silver and various kinds of garments laid out in front of him, and said, "To those who will bring me the news that Padumāvati has been safely delivered, I will give a reward."⁴ But the other queens said among themselves, "Ever since Padumāvati was brought here the king has paid no attention to us. And now that she is about to give birth to a child,⁵ we are bound to fall on trouble and misfortune." Then they asked Padumāvati, (163) "Do you know how women bring forth?" She replied, "No, I do not." The women of the court then said,

¹ *Padavītiḥārāṇām ubhayato*. *Padavītiḥāra*, as in Pali, for *padavyatiḥāra* "taking over or exchange of steps." The translation given above seems better than saying "on both sides of her stride," for the other allusions to the phenomenon make the flowers grow from her footprints, and not beside the way she walked. Cf. B.H.S.D.

² *Seḍḍeti*, a causal denominative from *seḍḍha*, Pali *seḍḍha* or *seḍḍha*, Sk. *śaiḣṣa*, "to be trained." A passive formation from the same stem is found at 2. 434 (text), *seḍḍhiyanti* "they are taught." Cf. B.H.S.D.

³ Literally, "in intoxications", *maḍḍhi*.

⁴ *Āchāda* for *ācchāda*. See p. 36, n. 2.

⁵ *Eṣā prajāyamāni*, nominative absolute, of which another example is found at 1. 68, *vanditau kramau*, etc.

"When a woman is giving birth she is blindfolded." So she told them, "Do you then blindfold me, when I am giving birth." Thus when it was time for her to bring forth she was blindfolded. She gave birth to twins who were lovely and beautiful.

Then the women said among themselves, "This queen was beloved and honoured by King Brahmadata even when she was childless. How much more will she be so when she brings children to a childless palace? Since she has borne these twins she will become exceeding dear to King Brahmadata, and he will pay no attention to us."¹ So the women lined a chest² with cloth and put the children in it. They closed and shut it down. They sealed it with royal gold,³ and then threw it into the river Ganges.

Now Padumāvati's face was smeared with the dregs of her womb. She asked the women, "What did I give birth to?" The women steeped the two cauls in the dregs of the womb and brought⁴ them to Padumāvati. "It is these that you brought forth," said they. She replied, "Take them away. What can I do with them?"

Then King Brahmadata asked, "What did the queen give birth to?" The women answered, "Your majesty, she bore a lovely and beautiful pair of twins, but as soon as they were born she devoured them. How, your majesty, could she be the offspring of a holy saint? It was an ogress⁵ you brought home, and you were lucky to escape with your life. Come near the ogress and look at her, if you do not

¹ *Vayam*, acc. pl., cf. Edgerton, *Gram.* § 20. 46.

² *Tapana*. The meaning is certain, for the word is replaced below by a synonym *manjūṣā*. Senart does not know of any other instance of the word in this sense, either in Sk. or Pali. *Divy.* 342, 343, has *tapu*, which Cowell and Neil hesitatingly render "cauldron," but Burnouf, with greater correctness in Senart's opinion, translates "vase," or "*coupe*." Senart thinks that both *tapu* and *tapana* are collaterals from the same stem, *tap*. See next note.

³ Literally, "they gilded it with (royal) gold and sealed it," *tāpaniyena tāpayitvā mudrayitvā*. *Tāpaniya*, however, is ordinarily an adjective, so that we should probably read *tāpaniya*, which in both Sk. and Pali means "refined gold." *Tāpayitvā* is causative of the verb *tapati*, from which is derived *tāpaniya*, i.e. the burnt (or refined) metal. It is likely, therefore, as Senart suggests that *tapana* and *tapu* are from the same root *tap*, and denote a receptacle "en métal fondu ou soudé." See *B.H.S.D.*, however, where Edgerton says that *tapu* in *Divy.*, l.c. should be read *taṭṭu*.

⁴ *Allipita*. See vol. 2, p. 419, n.

⁵ *Piśācinī*, a female *piśāca*. See vol. 1, p. 74, n. 2.

believe us." So the king went in to have a look at the queen. And he saw Padumāvati (164) smeared with blood¹ like an ogress.² When he had seen her he was dismayed, and he said to his counsellors, "Go, have her put to death. I brought her here thinking that she was human. If she is a Piśācinī or a Rākṣasī I'll have nothing to do with her." Thus she was thrown out of the palace.

Then she asked the counsellors, "Where are you taking me?" They replied, "You are being sent away by King Brahmadata to be killed." She asked them, "What offence have I given King Brahmadata that I should be sent away to be killed?" The counsellors replied, "You bore two young ones and then devoured them. So the king thinks you are an ogress and is sending you away to be killed." She said, "No, I did not bear two children. I asked the women, and they said I had borne two cauls. I bid them take these away at once.³ I did not then bear two children, nor did I devour them."

Now these counsellors were wise, and familiar with the knavish wiles of women. They said among themselves, "Padumāvati here was loved and honoured by King Brahmadata. But the situation as understood by these women was that, if Padumāvati proved childless, she would be scorned and mocked at." Then they asked Padumāvati, "How were you delivered?" And she related the whole affair in detail to the counsellors. "When I was about to give birth," said she, "these women blindfolded me. Thus I did not see my children. No more did I devour them. When I was delivered I asked the women what I had given birth to. And they brought me two cauls and told me that it was those that I had borne."

Then the counsellors said among themselves, "This queen has been deceived out of jealousy, because she was loved and honoured by King Brahmadata. We must see to it that King Brahmadata (165) does not later feel remorse on account of Queen Padumāvati nor become sick with sorrow."

¹ *Rudhiramraṁṣitena*, sic(?) for *rudhiramraṁṣitām*.

² *Rākṣasī* is the word here, i.e. a female *rākṣasa*. See vol. 1, p. 73 n. 5.

³ Literally, "they were sent away just then," *te pi tatvaiva mellitā* (see vol. 1, p. 308, n. 1, for this verb.).

So Padumāvati was concealed by the counsellors in the house of one of them, while the king was told that she had been put to death.

Now when the queens heard that Padumāvati had been put to death they started flattering¹ King Brahmadata. They threw ghee and mustard into the fire,² scattered the *bali*³ offering to the four quarters, performed expiatory rites,⁴ and said to him, "Fortunate are you, O king, in that you have escaped from the clutches of the ogres." At that moment the king, bathed and anointed, was amusing himself at a dance of the women.⁵ Some of the women played the lute, others the trumpet,⁶ others the tabour and others the flute. Some danced and others sang.

Then a certain female deva who was well-disposed towards Māṇḍavya the seer, came flying through the sky and, standing in the air, said to King Brahmadata, "Your majesty, it was on a false report,⁷ without a true knowledge and understanding, that you sent the innocent Padumāvati away to be killed without examination and trial, and you forgot the words of the blessed seer."⁸ But King Brahmadata's women on hearing the voice of the deva in the air, sang and played still more⁹ in order that the king should not hear the deva talking. He then stopped the women, saying, "Wait,¹⁰ until I know what this deva in the air is talking about." At this command of the king's the women fell silent, and the deva again said to the king, "Your majesty, it was on a false report that you sent the innocent Padumāvati away to be put to death without examination or trial, and you forgot the words of the blessed seer." King Brahmadata, (166) paying heed to the deva, questioned the women, saying, "Tell me the truth. Was it children that were born to Padumāvati?" And the women

¹ *Caṭulāyati*, BSk. Cf. Sk. *caṭu*, "kind or flattering discourse." Not in B.H.S.D.

² As a thank-offering for Brahmadata's escape.

³ See vol. 2, p. 401, n. 6.

⁴ *Sāntim karonti*.

⁵ *Nāṭakena niṣpuruseṇa*. See vol. 1, p. 183, n. 2, and cf. *Divy.* 314 and Pali *nippurisa*.

⁶ *Sughoṣika*. See vol. 1, p. 183, n. 3.

⁷ Literally "it was ill heard by you," *duḥśrutante*.

⁸ I.e. the admonition not to put Padumāvati away.

⁹ *Suṣṭhutam*. Cf. Pali *suṭṭhutam*.

¹⁰ *Agametha*. See vol. 2, p. 296, n. 4.

on being thus questioned reflected,¹ "Padumāvati has been killed by the king's orders. The king can abandon us, too. Let us tell him the true facts." So they answered, "Your majesty, two children were born to Padumāvati. We put them in a chest,² which we sealed with the king's seal. We then threw the chest with the two children in it into the river Ganges. She never saw them nor did she devour them."

At this King Brahmadata was sore distressed, and said, "I have put such an innocent jewel of a woman to death. I have not followed the instructions of such a blessed seer. I have lost my sons as soon as I had got them."³

Now that chest was carried down the river Ganges and was dragged out by fishermen who were netting fish. The fishermen saw that the chest was sealed with the king's seal, and they said among themselves, "We must beware lest this comes from a burglary at the royal palace.⁴ Then this chest will be searched for,⁵ and every mystery about it will be cleared up. Let us go then and take this chest to King Brahmadata, lest, being taken for thieves, we be punished with the extreme penalty." So they came to King Brahmadata bringing the chest with them, and said to him, "Your majesty, while we were netting fish in the river Ganges we dragged out this chest which was being carried down by the stream. It is sealed with the king's seal. We pray you, sire, to have a look at it."

Then, monks, King Brahmadata said to his attendant counsellors, "Ho there, gentlemen, (167) find out what there is in this chest." The counsellors opened the chest and saw Padumāvati's two children. They said, "Your majesty, in this chest are the lovely and beautiful children of Padumāvati, boys the very image of your majesty. Queen Padumāvati was innocent, but you, sire, sent her away to be killed without examination or trial."

¹ Literally "saw (things) thus," *vā (=eva) paśyanti*.

² *Tapana*. See p. 158, n. 2.

³ Literally, "sons being got are lost," *putrā labhyantā ca paribhraṣṭā*, where *labhyantā* is pr. part. pass. with active ending. Cf. Edgerton, *Gram.* § 37. 15.

⁴ Literally "lest this is a felony by thieves in the royal palace" *mā haiva corehi rājakule aparāddham*.

⁵ *Praṣṭa* for *prīṣṭa*. See Edgerton, *Gram.*, § 34. 13.

When King Brahmadatta saw the children and remembered the many virtues of Padumāvati, he fell to the ground in a swoon at the loss of such a jewel of a woman. The counsellors said among themselves, "We must see to it that the king comes to no bodily harm through his sorrowing over Padumāvati." And to the king they said, "Your majesty, do not mourn for Queen Padumāvati. For your sake, sire, we harboured her and no harm has come to her. The queen is safe and has not been killed. We knew that some day we should have good news for you." On hearing these words of the counsellors the king rejoiced. He asked them, "Where is Padumāvati?" They answered and said, "Yonder, in a certain house."

Then the king went to Queen Padumāvati, and when he had come to her he strove in many ways to reassure her, saying, "What good fortune it is that you are this day rescued from destruction and reunited with me and your sons! Now your rivals would have had you killed. What is your pleasure that I should do to these enemies of yours? What punishment should they receive?¹ It were best if by the king's orders they should all go wandering in chains and clothed in hempen rags." But, monks, Queen Padumāvati in tears said to King Brahmadatta, "Your majesty, do not deal harshly with these queens. They are senior to me. (168) Increase the subsistence provided for them,² do not decrease it. Let things be as they were.³ Men reap the fruits of the karmas they have contracted when the proper time is come,⁴ just as the flowers and fruits of trees appear.⁵ And, your majesty, I was contracting these karmas both when I was being honoured and esteemed by you, and when I was being sent away by you to be killed."⁶

¹ Literally, "into what evil plight should they go?" *kīḍṛiṣam vyasanam nigacchantu*, where the imperative for the potential is very strange. But Senart is far from satisfied with the text.

² *Sānam*, gen. pl.

³ ? *Sarvāṇi anuvartāhi*, literally "follow (or cling to) all things."

⁴ Literally, "on reaching the time," *kālam kālamāsādyā*, where the repetition of *kālam* appears to be otiose.

⁵ This verb is supplied in translation. The text is *yathā drumāṇām puṣpaphalā*. The *yathā* which begins this sentence should probably be changed to *tathā*. As the text stands *yathā* is untranslatable.

⁶ Morally her position in the two sets of circumstances was the same; in both she alone was responsible for the karma.

Then King Brahmadatta said to Queen Padumāvati, "Madam, do not shed tears. I will make over the whole realm to you. Be glad in the company of your sons, only forgive me the wrong I have done you." But Queen Padumāvati replied to King Brahmadatta, "Your majesty, what have I, with my understanding, to do with kingdom, son, or wealth? I will go and take up the religious life again with my father. My father spoke to me, saying, "Padumāvati, who is alluring you with these desires which are as flame?" And now they do burn me as my father said¹ when he spoke to me in his hermitage. Like any deer of yours I was taken² from my father's hermitage to be slain, innocent though I was."

So Queen Padumāvati took up once more the religious life of an ascetic, and clad in red³ garments she came to the hermitage of Māṇḍavya the seer. But he was dead. His huts of grass and straw lay in ruins. Queen Padumāvati reflected, "Because of my persistence, I have had two losses. King Brahmadatta have I disowned, and now I am bereft of my father who is dead. What if I were now to live the life of a nun, wandering up and down the provinces and the royal cities?"

Thus as she wandered up and down the villages, towns and royal cities, Queen Padumāvati came to Benares, the city of King Kṛikī.⁴ And the king of Kāśi at Benares saw (169) Queen Padumāvati within the city. On seeing her he sought by various means to seduce her. "Madam," said he, "What have you, with your tender and fresh beauty, to do with the religious life? Here are trees lovely, beautiful and charming, laden with flowers and foliage. Come, let us take our joy in yonder grove." When this had been said, Padumāvati the ascetic replied to the king of Kāśi, "Your majesty, you are wishing to enter fire when you wish to make love to one who has taken up the religious life and is established in dharma.⁵ Your majesty, I have no desire for sensual

¹ Reading *vacanena* for *vacanā*. The latter reading would give "my father's words burn me."

² There is no verb in the text, only the ablative of separation *āśramāto*.

³ ? *dhāturakṭa*.

⁴ See vol. I, p. 252, n. 3; pp. 271 ff.

⁵ *Pravrajitāye sārḍham . . . dharmasīlāya*. An example of the juxtaposition of two variant forms of the oblique case of stems in -ā.

pleasures." The king of Kāśi said, "If you are not willing, madam, I will take you by force."¹ Padumāvati replied, "If you take me by force, I will burn you with the power of my austerity² as fire burns dry grass." When the king heard this he was frightened, and desisted. But she stayed on in the kingdom in ease and comfort.³ For the king said to her, "I shall entertain you with every kindness and care."

Then King Brahmadata came to the house of the king of Kāśi disguised as a brāhman. "Your majesty," said he, "I am skilled at dice." He joined the king and the queens in a game,⁴ and he accosted Padumāvati and asked her, "Because of whose anger did you come here?" Padumāvati replied, "It was because of your wrong-doing that I came here." The king of Kāśi being at a loss asked King Brahmadata, "I have never heard before of such a way of playing on the chequer board.⁵ Who are you, and what is she to you?" King Brahmadata replied, "I am Brahmadata, king of Pañcāla, and she who is here is Padumāvati my wife." When this had been said, the king of Kāśi said to King Brahmadata, "Hail and welcome to you, your majesty. Lead away your queen. I shall escort you with a well-armed army."⁶

Thus Brahmadata, king of Pañcāla, with an army of the four divisions, and mounted on horseback, in great royal majesty and splendour brought Queen Padumāvati from Benares once again to the city of Kampilla. Now when Queen Padumāvati had been sent away by King Brahmadata

¹ *Balasā*, adverbial instrumental, as if from a consonantal declension of *bala*. P.E.D. cites Trenckner at *Miln.* 430, and Prakrit *balasā* in Pischel (*Gr.* § 364). Cf. *padāsā*, vol. 2, p. 199 (text). Now add Edgerton, *Gram.*, § 8. 41.

² Or "torment" simply, *tapasā*.

³ *Yathāsukham yathāphāsu*. For *phāsu*, see p. 47, n. 1.

⁴ Literally, "he played with the king who was playing with the queens." Literally "a method of the chequer board," *aṣṭāpodasya niti*. Here neither the game of chess nor of draughts can be alluded to. More than two were playing, and they were playing with the dice (*aṣṭa*) as mentioned above. Presumably the game consisted in throwing the dice on to the board, the value of the throw being determined by the square on which it fell or settled. Cf. *D.* 1. 6. Senart doubts the reading here because of apparent irrelevance. But Kṛikī's statement is natural enough, when it is considered that the conversation between the brāhman and the unknown lady had nothing, as far as Kṛikī could see, to do with the game.

⁵ Literally, "I shall lead with an army well-arranging it," *balagreṇa saṃvibhajya nemi*. But the reading is far from certain.

to be killed (170) the lotuses stopped springing up in her footsteps. But when she was brought again by King Brahmadata from Benares to Kampilla the lotuses sprang up in her footsteps once more.

The Exalted One said, "Verily, monks, the seer Māṇḍavya was not somebody else. I was then the seer Māṇḍavya. Nor, monks, was Queen Padumāvati somebody else. Yaśodharā here was Queen Padumāvati. Nor, monks, was King Brahmadata somebody else. King Śuddhodana here was at that time King Brahmadata. Then also was Yaśodharā sent away by King Śuddhodana to be killed without examination or trial, although she was innocent. And on this other occasion also¹ was she sent away by King Śuddhodana to be killed without examination or trial, although she was innocent.

Here ends the preliminary story² of Padumāvati.

EARLIER HISTORY OF PADUMĀVATĪ

The monks asked the Exalted One, "Lord, as the maturing of what karma did lotuses spring up in the footprints of Padumāvati, while when she had been sent away by King Brahmadata to be killed they stopped doing so, but sprang up again in her footprints when she was brought by King Brahmadata from Benares to Kampilla?" The Exalted One replied, "It was a maturing of the karma here described."³

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, in the city of Benares, the servant of a certain householder was entering the city from without with a pitcher of water from the lotus-pool and carrying a lotus in her hand. (171) Now it happened that a certain Pratyekabuddha,⁴ who had been going round the

¹ I.e. as Nalinī. See p. 148, n. 2.

² *Parikalpa*. See vol. 2, pp. 175, 209.

³ Literally, "this maturing of karma," and the text goes on to repeat the whole circumstances mentioned in the question.

⁴ See vol. 1, p. 40, n. 3.

city of Benares seeking alms, was hurrying out of the city. He was graceful in deportment, graceful in advancing and withdrawing, and devas and men were devoted to him. When the girl saw the Pratyekabuddha her heart was filled with trust.¹ And out of the trust in her heart she gave her lotus to the Pratyekabuddha, who in order to please her accepted it. The girl saw the lotus shining exceeding bright when it was in the Pratyekabuddha's hand, but she saw her own hand withering.² She asked the Pratyekabuddha to return the lotus to her, saying, "Sir, give me back my lotus." The Pratyekabuddha gave the lotus back to the girl again, saying, "Here you are, madam." And she took the lotus once more from the Pratyekabuddha's hand. Then she saw her own hand shining as it held the lotus, while the Pratyekabuddha's hand was withering. She was filled with remorse, and she said, "That was not a bright deed of mine when I took back from this seer the lotus which I had given him out of the trust there was in my heart." So she gave the lotus to the Pratyekabuddha once more, saying, "Sir, accept this lotus of mine once more, and have pity on me." Thus was the girl's lotus received by the Pratyekabuddha once more.

The Exalted One said, "It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion that girl from Benares was somebody else. But you must not think so. And why? Padumāvati, monks, was that girl from Benares. Because she gave that lotus to the Pratyekabuddha in the trust of her heart, as a maturing of that karma lotuses sprang up in Padumāvati's footprints. Because she took back the lotus from the Pratyekabuddha, as a maturing of that karma the lotuses ceased springing up in her footprints when she was ordered by King Brahmadatta to be killed. (172) Because she gave the lotus once more to the Pratyekabuddha, as a maturing of that karma the lotuses again sprang

¹ Literally, "trust (or serenity) of heart arose in her," *cittaprasādamutpannam*. It was characteristic of Pratyekabuddhas to inspire such a feeling in those who looked at them. See, e.g., vol. 1, p. 252.

² *Kṣiṇita*, from *kṣi*, on the analogy, according to Senart, of *prīṇita* from *pri*.

up in her footprints when King Brahmadatta led her from Benares to Kampilla."

Here ends the story of a former birth¹ of Padumāvati.

RĀHULA IN A FORMER LIFE

The monks asked the Exalted One, "Lord, as a maturing of what karma was Prince Rāhula's stay in the womb as long as six years?"² The Exalted One replied, "This long stay,³ too, was the maturing of an old karma."

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, in the country of Videha, in the capital city of Mithilā,⁴ there was a brāhman king. He had two sons, Prince Candra and Prince Sūrya. Sūrya was the elder and Candra the younger.⁵

Now, monks, this brāhman king of Videha passed away when his time was up and his karma was exhausted.⁶ Then Candra said to Sūrya, "You are the elder, take over the kingdom. As for me I will leave home to take up the wandering life of a seer." But Prince Sūrya replied to Prince Candra and asked, "What is a king's duty?"⁷ Prince Candra answered and said, "The king has to give orders to his people." Sūrya said to Candra, "My boy, I, your king, order you to become king, while I will leave home and take up the religious life of a seer."

Then, monks, Prince Sūrya anointed Prince Candra as

¹ *Pūrvayoga*, "former association," i.e. circumstances in a former birth, and especially association with a former Buddha or Pratyekabuddha.

² The only other allusion to this circumstance of Rāhula's birth appears to be that in the Chinese life of the Buddha composed or translated from Indian sources about A.D. 588, and entitled *Fo-pen-hing-tsih-king*. See Beal: *Romantic History of the Buddha*, p. 360.

³ The text has only *vaiṣo*, i.e. *vā* = *eva* + *eṣo*, "this too."

⁴ See vol. 1, p. 239, n. 2.

⁵ But they are first mentioned in the opposite order according to the convention in Buddhist texts to name the moon (*candra*) before the sun (*sūrya*).

⁶ Literally, "through the waning of his life and his karma," *āyukṣayācca karmakṣayācca*. Cf. vol. 1, p. 44, n. 2.

⁷ Literally, "what is to be done by a king?" *kiṃ rājñā* (so read for *rājñām*) *karitavyam*.

king in Mithilā, and left home to take up the wandering life of a seer. And he, by living constantly in application to watchful endeavour accomplished the four meditations, achieved the five super-knowledges, and became a seer of great power and influence. (173) Those who had been Sūrya's attendants when he was a prince, also left home to take up the wandering life of seers with him. They all achieved the four meditations and the five super-knowledges, and came to have great power and influence.

Sūrya the seer said to himself, "Now I have achieved the four meditations and the five super-knowledges, and these attendants of mine have done so also. What if I were now to endeavour to reach a further distinction?" And he resolved not to drink water which had not been given him, not even as much as could be held on a toothpick.¹ But, monks, on one occasion Sūrya the seer, through a lapse of mindfulness² drank water from another seer's jar when it was not given him. When he had drunk it, the memory came to him that he had made a vow never to drink water which had not been given him, not even so much as could be held on a toothpick. "And now," said he, "here have I, through a lapse of mindfulness, drunk water from this seer's jar when it was not given me. I am a thief, and hence I am guilty of wrong-doing."³ I committed a theft in drinking water from another's jar when it was not given me."

Then, miserable and dejected, he rose up from his seat and sat on the ground. The young brāhmans approached Sūrya the seer and greeted him. But, monks, Sūrya the seer said to them, "Young men, do not greet me." They said to him, "Master, why should we not greet you?" Sūrya the seer replied, "I, young men, am a thief." The young men asked, "Why or how, master?" Sūrya the seer replied, "I drank water from that young man's jar when it was not given me." The young men then said, "Lord and master, do not speak so. You are not a thief. The water which

¹ *Uḍakam dantakāṣṭham pi* "water of a toothpick." So interpreted by Senart, who calls attention to the different interpretation in the Chinese version, in which the two words are, according to Beal, rendered "water or even a toothpick."

² *Smṛitisammoha*. Cf. Pali *satissammosa*.

³ Literally, "wrong-doing has arisen in me," *kaukrityam utpannam*.

you drank was as much yours as it was ours. Have no mis-giving." Sūrya the seer replied, "Young men, you know¹ that I made a vow that I should never drink water which was not given me, not even as much as could be held on a toothpick.² But now I have drunk water which was not first given me. (174) I have become a thief. Impose on me the penalty due from a thief." The young men said, "Master, we are not fit to impose a penalty on you. But there is your brother, King Candra. Go to him. He will impose a penalty on you."

So Sūrya the seer went to the capital city of Mithilā and to King Candra. And King Candra heard that his brother had come to Mithilā. With an army of the four divisions he went to meet him. When he came to him, he alighted from his carriage and greeted him. But Sūrya the seer said to King Candra, "Your majesty, do not greet me any more." When this had been spoken, King Candra said to Sūrya the seer, "Why, my good man, should I not greet my elder brother, Sūrya the seer, when I see him?"

Then, monks, Sūrya the seer said to King Candra,

I am a thief, O king, I drank another man's water. So impose on me the penalty of a thief.

But, monks, King Candra replied to Sūrya the seer. "I grant you a pardon, my good man. The water which you drank was from your own domain, for my kingdom is your kingdom. Go where you wish and have no guilty feeling."³

Then Sūrya the seer addressed King Candra in verse:

O king, I cannot shake off this feeling of guilt. Well would it be were I punished with the punishment of a thief.

(175) Then the son of King Candra of Videha, and the nephew of Sūrya, said to his father, "Sire, let a penalty be imposed on the seer so that he can shake off his guilty feeling. Let not the seer pine away with remorse." King Candra

¹ The text has 3rd pers. pl.

² The meaning is clear, but something is wrong with the text. For the past participle *bhuktam* we should expect the gerundive (*pari*) *bhuktavyam*, as when the vow is first expressed. In the translation it is assumed that the *pūrvam* which follows *bhuktam* is a mistake for *-vyam*, being inadvertently copied from *pūrvam* in the next sentence.

³ Or "guiltiness," *kaukritya*.

reflected, "What kind of penalty can I impose on Sūrya the seer so that he may be rid of his feeling of guilt?" Then he had a grove of Aśoka¹ trees sprinkled and swept; had a high couch arranged there, solid and soft food brought and royal sweetmeats hung on the branches of the trees. He said to Sūrya the seer, "Go, my good man, and sit down there in the grove of Aśoka trees. For there you will find solid and soft food, and a couch arranged for you. There I give you leave to enjoy yourself in comfort" And King Candra kept Sūrya the seer in the grove of Aśoka trees for six nights.

When the six nights were past, King Candra reflected, "How can I rid Sūrya the seer of his feeling of guilt, and let him go?" And, he said to himself, "What now if I were to proclaim a general amnesty?"² So, monks, on the seventh day King Candra proclaimed a general amnesty. And the counsellors said to Sūrya the seer, "Go, good sir, your punishment has been remitted. For King Candra has proclaimed a general amnesty." Thus rid of his feeling of guilt he went once more to his hermitage.

The Exalted One said, "It may be, monks, that you will think at that time and on that occasion King Candra was somebody else. Prince Rāhula here was then he. I was he who was then Sūrya the seer. Because Sūrya the seer was confined in the Aśoka grove for six nights, as a maturing of that karma Prince Rāhula's stay in the womb was six years long."

Here ends the story of a former birth of Rāhula the Fortunate.³

THE ORDINATION OF THE FIVE HUNDRED ŚĀKYANS

(176) King Śuddhodana called the Śākyans together and said to them, "Gentlemen, if Prince Sarvārthasiddha⁴ had

¹ *Jonesia Asoka*.

² Literally, "were to have a setting free of all bonds made," *sarvabandhanapramokṣaṃ kārāpeyam*.

³ Rāhulabhadra, Pali Rāhulabhadda, see e.g. *Thag.* 295 f.

⁴ A variant of the more usual *Siddhārtha*.

not left home and wandered forth to the homeless life,¹ he would now be a universal king, sovereign over many thousand kings, and you all would be his followers. But if he has now renounced his universal kingship, left his home in a *kṣatriyan* family, wandered forth into the homeless life and awakened to the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment, and if he, a *kṣatriyan*, has a following of brāhmins, then that would not² be fitting." The Śākyans said, "Sire, ordain what is to be done." King Śuddhodana said, "Let one young *kṣatriyan* from each family leave home. Where there is only one son, he is not to go. Where there are two brothers, let one go, and where there are several brothers, still only one is to go. Cast votes³ as is generally⁴ the custom among the Śākyans⁵ when they send⁶ their young away to take up the religious life." So they cast votes to select one man from each family as was generally the custom among the Śākyans. When King Śuddhodana had thus ordered that the Śākyan youths, one from each family, should leave home for the religious life, but that where there was only one son he should be exempted, such a selection of one son from each family resulted in five hundred young Śākyans going forth to the religious life.⁷

Now Śuddhodana had two sons, the Exalted One and Sundarananda.⁸ As the Exalted One had already left

¹ The whole paragraph, syntactically, hangs badly together. *Yadi*, "if" has no finite verbs, but only past participles; the apodosis is introduced by *taṃ*, "then," and has the finite verbs *bhavesi* and *bhavetha*. Immediately following is another conditional sentence introduced by *sace*, "if," (as in Pali), which again has participles for finite verbs, and, besides, does not appear to be complete. For the apodosis, with which the paragraph ends, really belongs to a third conditional clause introduced by the coordinating *ca*, "and." In his notes Senart is inclined to prefer *so ca* for *sace*. In that case, the whole paragraph consists of a series of conditional sentences introduced by *yadi*. The Śākyans, of course, were not brāhmins.

² No, negative.

³ *Salākhāni cāretha*. Cf. Pali *salākhāni gāheti* or *vāreti*.

⁴ *Yobhāyena*. Cf. Pali *yebhūyena*.

⁵ *Śākyaganasya utpadyati*; so read for *utpadyatu*. But Senart takes *katham . . . utpadyatu* as a clause of purpose, "de façon qu'il vienne à l'esprit."

⁶ Literally, "to send etc.", reading, with Senart, *pravrajitum* for *pravrajitum*.

⁷ Literally, "with that one man from each family, five hundred young Śākyans went forth, etc.", *tena kulapuruṣakeṇa pañca humāraṣatā abhiniṣkramanti*.

⁸ Text has *Sundaravanda* (sic).

home, Sundarananda was excused. Śuklodana's¹ sons were Ānanda, Upadhāna and Devadatta. Of these Devadatta went forth. Ānanda also wanted to leave home but his mother Mṛigī, a Śākya woman, would not let him. So he went to the country of Videha (177) and lived there under a vow of silence. Śukrodana's² sons were Nandana and Nandika, and these went forth.³ Amṛitodana's sons were Anuruddha,⁴ Mahānāma and Bhaṭṭika.⁵ Mahānāma asked Anuruddha, "Will you go forth, or will you think of your duty at home?" The meritorious⁶ Anuruddha asked him,⁷ "What is the duty of one who goes on staying at home, and what is the duty of one who has gone forth to the religious life?"

(The meritorious Anuruddha, in the possession and enjoyment of the five strands of sensual pleasures, played with the women at their dancing.⁸ At night when the sun had set one thousand lamps were lit for him. Once, in order to test whether he was befuddled⁹ or not, only nine hundred and ninety-nine were lit. But so clear was his sight that, when those nine hundred and ninety-nine lamps were lit, he was aware that all the lamps were not burning. And all the servants in attendance were amazed. "Ah!" said they, "how perfectly clear is the young man's sight. For when the thousand lamps were short of one, he detected that the light was imperfect.")

¹ See Vol. I, p. 298, and so for other brothers of Śuddhodana mentioned here.

² Senart refers to Kern: *Der Buddhismus*, I, p. 310, for the distinction between Śuklodana and Śukrodana.

³ This is contrary to the instructions of Śuddhodana.

⁴ In vol. I, pp. 54, 59 (trans.), as in northern Buddhist texts generally, spelt Aniruddha.

⁵ Usually called Bhaddiya. In the Pali texts he is called Bhaddiya, and there he is said to be the son of Kāligodhā, or Kālī of the Godhas. See D.P.N. and I. B. Horner: *Bk. of Disc.*, vol. 5, p. 255 n.

⁶ The "deeds of merit" performed by Anuruddha in previous lives as a result of which he came to be pre-eminent among those possessing the deva-eye (A. I. 23) are recounted, e.g., at A.A. I. 189-90 and Dh.A. 4. 124 ff. The story here related seems to be peculiar to the *Mhv.* It is clearly an interpolation taken from some account, probably commentarial, of Anuruddha in a former life, and inserted in the text in order to explain the epithet "meritorious" (*punyavanta*). As the interpolation breaks the sequence of the present narrative it is enclosed in brackets in the translation.

⁷ Reading *nam for na* (sic).

⁸ *Niṣpuruṣeṇa nāṭakena*. Cf. p. 160, n. 5.

⁹ *Mohanasya jñāsanārtham*. But the former word is Senart's very doubtful restoration for the impossible *māharase* and *moharese* of the MSS.

He then¹ asked his elder brother Mahānāma, "What is the duty of one who stays at home, and what is the duty of one who has gone forth to the religious life?" His brother replied to him and said, "He who stays at home must rise betimes to give morning greetings² to the king and the Śākya chieftains. He must look after their beloved ones, and make due offerings to the dead. He must supervise³ the people of the household, the female and male slaves and the servants. He must see to it that they get⁴ food and emoluments,⁵ and extra holiday pay⁶ on all holidays. (178) He must see to it that the elephants, horses, goats, cows, sheep, chariots and carriages are looked after.⁷ He must see to it that land and property are carefully guarded. He must regularly inspect all the work that is being done. He must see to it that the fruits are brought in. He must see to it that the various crops are sown, enclosed and inspected. When the crops are ripe he must see to it that they are reaped⁸ at the right time, brought to the threshing-floors and winnowed.⁹ He must perform every household duty, both indoors and out of doors."

Anuruddha then asked, "What is the duty of one who has gone forth to the religious life?" Mahānāma replied, "In the mornings he must go in quest of¹⁰ alms. When he

¹ In resuming the narrative the question at which it was broken off is repeated.

² Literally, "(the hope that they have had) a comfortable night must be given by him having risen at daybreak," *kalyato evotthitena . . . sukhārātri dātavyā*.

At *Cullavagga* VII (V. 2. 179) the duties of a householder as described by Mahānāma to Anuruddha are entirely agricultural. For a similar list of occupations cf. J. I. 215; A. I. 241 and I. B. Horner, *Bk. of Disc.*, 5, p. 253 n.

³ *Veṣṭetavyā*, from *veṣṭeti*, "to manage, supervise, etc.," caus. of denom. to *veṣṭi* = Amg. *veṣṭhi* = Sk. *veṣṭi*, "labour (forced)," "work." See Edgerton B.H.S.D.

⁴ Literally, "they are to be considered with," *samanvāharitavyā*, gerundive of *samanvāharati*. Cf. the BSk. use of this verb in the sense of "to concentrate the mind on," "to pay attention to" (Pali, *samannāharati*).

⁵ *Acchāda*, "reward." See p. 36, n. 2.

⁶ *Vyayakarmena utsavikena pāriyayikena*.

⁷ *Veṣṭāpayitavya*. See n. 3.

⁸ *Lavāpayitavya*, Pali *lavāpetabba* (*Cullavagga* VII), gerundive of the causative of *lā*.

⁹ *Opunāpayitavya*, Pali *opunāpetabba* (*Cullavagga* VII), gerundive of the causative of *ava-pū*.

¹⁰ Or "follow," *anvitavya*, from *anvati* (*rinvati*), which here is obviously taken as equivalent in meaning to *anveti* (*anu-i*). See p. 140, n. 2.

has properly made a meal with the food obtained,¹ whether it be coarse² or fine,³ he must then control and calm and extinguish his own self."⁴ Anuruddha said, "No householder's life for me. You practise it. I will go forth to the religious life."

Then the Śākya young men to the number of five hundred, with great royal majesty and splendour, each according to his means, left home. Some rode on elephants with trappings of gold and hoofs like coral;⁵ others in golden palanquins studded with divers precious stones; others in golden chariots drawn by four horses, covered with a network of jewels, beflagged, merrily rattling along with sunshades and pennons raised aloft, and others rode on horses decorated with all sorts of adornments and covered with network of gold.

Now Devadatta set out riding in a high howdah on a well-adorned elephant covered with a network of gold. And as he rode out his diadem struck against the arch⁶ over the gateway. When the arch thus knocked down Devadatta's diadem the huge crowd laughed loudly, and a diviner and an astrologer⁷ foretold of him that Prince Devadatta would not achieve the purpose for which he was leaving home. He would fail in his highest object, just as from the highest part of his person his diadem was knocked down by the arch over the gateway.

(179) Thus then did those five hundred Śākya young men, in great royal majesty and splendour, and accompanied by all kinds of dancers, minstrels, musicians and drummers,⁸

¹ *Āhāreṇa āhāraṃ kāryaṃ kṛtvā*, where *āhāreṇa* is difficult to explain.

² *Lūkha*. See vol. 2, p. 63, n. 1.

³ *Pravīṭa*. This distinction is evidently the same as that made by the two terms *olārika*, "gross," and *sukkhuma*, "fine," in Pali. (See P.E.D.).

⁴ Cf. A. i. 168; D. 3. 61.

⁵ *Sakḥurapṛavārehi* for *pravālehi*.

⁶ *Karkaṭaka*. Cf. Sk. *karkaṭa*, "a crab," "curved end of the beam of a balance." P.E.D., s.v. *karkaṭaka*, "crab," cites BSk. *karkaṭaka* in the meaning of "a hook." Evidently some kind of curved structure or decoration over the gate is meant. Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) cites *karkaṭakāṅghri* "a kind of moulding or joinery resembling the crab's leg," from Acharya, *Dict. Hindu Arch.*

⁷ *Horapāṭhaka*, from *hora* for *horā*, late Sk. from Greek, and *pāṭhaka*, "skilled in."

⁸ *Sarvanṛṭṭitehi sarvagāṭehi sarvatūryatāḍḍāvacarehi*. These three words are treated in translation as one compound, the case termination of the first two being ignored. We then have *avacara* (BSk. and Pali, "conversant with"), governing each element, i.e. persons conversant with dances, etc.

leave the city of Kapilavastu and set out for the Banyan Grove. When they had proceeded in their conveyances as far as the ground allowed, they alighted. Then, accompanied by several thousand people, they approached the Exalted One, bowed their heads at his feet and stood to one side.

Now of these Śākya young men one was named Upāli. He was a barber's assistant, who had acquired the root of virtue under previous Buddhas, had retained the impressions of his former life,¹ had broken his bonds, was not liable to rebirth, enjoyed Āryan states in his last existence and was master of the meditations and the super-knowledges. He had been sent to the Exalted One, by his mother, who said, "He will cut² the hair of the Exalted One." And the Exalted One agreed. So Upāli cut the hair of the Exalted One. His mother asked the Exalted One, "Lord, does Upāli cut hair satisfactorily?" The Exalted One replied, "Yes, but he comes rather too close³ to the Tathāgata." She then said, "My boy, do not stand too close to the Exalted One." It was then that Upāli entered upon the first meditation.

Thereupon his mother asked the Exalted One again, "Lord, does my boy Upāli cut hair satisfactorily?" The Exalted One replied, "Yes, the boy cuts hair satisfactorily, but he oils⁴ the razor too much." So she said, "My boy, do not oil the razor too much." And then he entered upon the second meditation.

Upāli's mother again asked the Exalted One, "Lord, does my boy Upāli cut hair satisfactorily?" The Exalted One, "Yes, the boy Upāli cuts hair satisfactorily, but his breathing annoys the Tathāgata." So she said, "My boy, do not annoy the Exalted One with your breathing." Then, having passed through the first and second meditations,

¹ *Vāṣṭavāsana*, Cf., e.g., Sn. 1009.

² *Olāreti*, literally, "bring" or "take down." We might more naturally, perhaps, expect *ohāreti* or *oropeti*, but the reading of the MSS. appears to be certain here and elsewhere in the passage where the verb appears. Also B.H.S.D. has sufficient examples to show that *olāreti*, *avatarayati* was a recognised BSk. verb for "cutting" the hair and beard.

³ *Abhyāsādeti*.

⁴ ? *Pilipalipāyati*, taken to be *api* and causative of a reduplicated *lip* "to smear". Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) takes the whole to be an onomatopoeic verb, "to rattle," but adds a question mark.

(180) he entered upon the third and fourth. The Exalted One said to the monks, "Take the razor from Upāli's hand so that it does not fall to the ground." And the monks took the razor from Upāli's hand.¹

Then the Śākyan princes took off their clothes and trinkets, and threw them down before Upāli, saying, "Let these be your possessions, Upāli. As we are going forth to the religious life we have no need of them." But Upāli reflected, "These Śākyan princes have renounced their kingdoms, and given me their clothes and trinkets. They are going forth from home into the homeless state. Why should not I, too, though earning my living with the razor, go forth to the religious life? Yes, I will go forth. I shall not make any use of these discarded things."²

And Upāli the barber went to the Exalted One, bowed at his feet and said to him, "Let the Lord admit me to the religious life. Let the Sugata ordain me." The Exalted One pronounced over Upāli the barber the formula of "Come, monk," saying to him, "Come, Upāli the barber, come, monk, and live the brahma-life under the Tathāgata." When the formula of "Come, monk" had been pronounced over Upāli by the Exalted One, every mark, badge, emblem and sign of the householder disappeared from his person, and he was seen to have three robes, a *sumbhaka*³ bowl, his hair in its natural state and his deportment established. In short, the admission and ordination of the venerable Upāli were just like those of a monk who had been ordained a hundred years.⁴ So while the five hundred Śākyan princes were bidding farewell to their parents, friends, relatives and kindred,

¹ These incidents in the story of Upāli seem to be peculiar to the *Mhvu*. The introduction of the theme of "meditation" (*dhyāna*) is abrupt, and possibly the story is taken from some text or tradition containing a series of examples of the practice of meditation by a variety of men in a variety of circumstances. In the *Cullavagga* (VII) the story of Upāli begins with the other Śākyan young men giving him their clothes and jewels.

² Reading *vāntānām* for *vāntantam*. A gen. pl. is needed to go with *eteṣām* as object of *paribhūñjiṣyāmi*.

³ See p. 67, n. 3.

⁴ For this passage see the references in the preceding note. The comparison here and immediately below, and also at 2. p. 234 (text) is not so clearly expressed as it is above, p. 65 (text), where it runs, *sayyathāpi nāma varṣaśatopasampannānām bhikkhūnām*, "all just like those of monks who had been ordained a hundred years."

Upāli took up the religious life ahead of them all. (181) Then the five hundred Śākyan princes went to the Exalted One, bowed at his feet, and each said to him, "Let the Lord admit me to the religious life. Let the Sugata ordain me." And the Exalted One pronounced the formula of "Come, monks" over the five hundred princes, with the exception of Devadatta, saying, "Come, Śākyan princes, come, monks, live the brahma-life under the Tathāgata." When the formula of "Come, monks," had been pronounced by the Exalted One over them, every mark, badge, emblem and sign of the householder disappeared from their persons. They were seen to have three robes, *sumbhaka* bowls, their hair in its natural state, and their deportment established. In short the admission and ordination of the venerable five hundred Śākyan princes were just like those of monks who had been ordained a hundred years.

The Exalted One then addressed them, saying, "The monk Upāli is senior to you. Therefore bow at his feet and stand in due order.¹ He who will first bow at the feet of the Tathāgata and Upāli and stand in due order, will become the next in seniority." So all the hundreds of monks bowed at the feet of the Exalted One and Upāli and stood in their proper order. This became known² and the great crowd of people cried, "The Śākyans have overcome pride and anger; they have put down pride and arrogance."

King Śuddhodana, also, his retinue and the Śākyans bowed at the feet of Upāli the monk. And the venerable Upāli said, "Hail and welcome to King Śuddhodana." But the counsellors and attendants, seeing the venerable Upāli address King Śuddhodana by name,³ reflected, "How can it be that the lowly born Upāli the barber uses the words⁴ 'King

¹ *Paṭipāṭikāye*, oblique case of the BSk. and Pali *paṭipāṭika*, adjectival derivation from *paṭipāṭi*, Sk. *paripāṭi* "succession." At 1. p. 3 (text) we have the form *paṭipāṭiya* as in Pali.

² *Jitam*, ? for *jñātam*. See vol. 2, p. 122, n. 4, and foll. pp. Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) suggests that the word is an interjection or particle expressive of astonishment. But this meaning hardly suits all the passages in which the word occurs.

³ Reading, as Senart suggests in a note, *nāmnā* or *nāmena* for *ātmanā* of the text.

⁴ Literally "speaks with (the words) King Śuddhodana," *rājñā Śuddhodanena bhāṣati*.

‘Suddhodana’ in addressing him?” (182) But King Suddhodana said to those counsellors and attendants, “Gentlemen, do not speak of the Āryan Upāli as a lowly born man.¹ For one thing there is a former birth of his, and for another there is now his royal power as a recluse. He must no more be said to be of lowly birth.”

THE JĀTAKA OF GANGAPĀLA²

The monks said to the Exalted One, “Behold, Lord, how the royal attendants at the Exalted One’s command bowed at the feet of the venerable Upāli, lowly of birth though he was.” The Exalted One replied, “Monks, that was not the first time they did so.”³ The monks asked, “Lord, was there another occasion?” The Exalted One replied, “Yes, monks, there was.”

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, in the city of Benares in the province of Kāśī, two poor boys, carrying junket for food in their knapsacks, were going out to fetch wood when a Pratyekabuddha⁴ was coming in to beg for alms. He was graceful of deportment, 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.⁵ He was like a Nāga. He had accomplished his task. His faculties and his mind were turned inwards.⁶ He was steadfast as one who had achieved harmony

¹ *Mā . . . Upālisya hinajātyena samudācaratha*. The meaning is clear, but the conjunction of a gen. (direct object) and an instr. (indirect object) with *samudācarati* in the same sentence is remarkable.

² Cf. Fausböll, No. 421. As will be seen, however, there are important differences in the two versions.

³ The text, of course, repeats the whole statement.

⁴ See vol. 1, p. 40, n. 3.

⁵ A conventional description of a Pratyekabuddha. Cf. vol. 1, p. 250. The text should be emended to read *samminjilaprasāritena saṃghātā pātracivaradhāraṇena*, in accordance with 1. 301 (text).

⁶ 1. 301 (text) has *antargatehi indriyehi abahirgatena mānasena*, “his faculties were turned inwards; his mind was not turned outwards.” Certain other differences of phraseology between the two passages may be worth noting.

with dharma. He was mindful, self-possessed, composed and tranquil of heart; his faculties were under control and his gaze fixed. When the boys saw him they experienced a feeling of trust.¹

Then with their hearts full of trust they said to each other, “All we boys whose way of life is hard,² who have no food nor home, are unfortunate, miserable, and wretched, and others like us, have not planted the roots of merit in the fields of merit provided by men such as this Pratyekabuddha.³ But all those (183) who are rich, wealthy and opulent, like nobles and brāhmins in their great halls, and others who are fortunate and well-to-do, have planted roots of merit in men like this. What now if we were to put this junket in the bowl of this seer?”

And so they put the junket in the bowl of the Pratyekabuddha. He accepted the alms from the boys and then flew away through the air like a king of swans. When the boys saw the Pratyekabuddha travelling through the air they were glad and said, “He whom we honoured by putting alms in his bowl was surely a great seer.” Then glad and joyful they made their vows. One said, “May I through this root of merit become a king, an anointed noble.” The other said, “May I through this root of merit be reborn in the family of a brāhman possessing great halls and become rich, wealthy and opulent.”

For not insignificant is an offering made with a trusting heart to a Tathāgata, a perfect Buddha, or even to disciples of the Buddhas.

Treasure heaps dwindle away; growth ends in decay. Union in disunion ends and life in death.⁴

Then the two boys, when their time was up and karma worked out, died together in the city of Benares. One was reborn in a king’s family to the king’s chief wife. The other was

¹ *Prasādam upasaṃkramanti*, “they approached trust.” The expression is unusual, the usual expression used to denote the influence of a Pratyekabuddha on his beholder being *cittaprasādam utpannam* or *jātam*. Can it be that *prasādam* is here used adverbially, to give the meaning “they approached him trustfully”?

² *Rucchavrittika*. For *ruccha*, see vol. 2, p. 30, n. 5. Cf. B.H.S.D.

³ Cf. vol. 1, p. 276, n. 2.

⁴ The second distich has occurred above p. 152 (text). See p. 147.

reborn in the family of the king's priest to the priest's wife. The king's wife and the priest's wife were delivered at the same time. Both children were boys. For both boys joyful birthday festivities were celebrated for seven days, and after the seven days were over (184) the king's son was given the name of Brahmadata, and the priest's son the name of Upaka. Competent nurses were appointed, and the king's son and the priest's son grew like lotuses.¹ As has been said by the Exalted One :

*The righteous² grow like the banyan tree in fertile soil,
but the unrighteous wither³ like trees growing in the roadway.*

Now when the boys had duly grown up and reached years of discretion,⁴ they were taught⁵ writing, reading, the arts, numeration, mnemonics, and reckoning with the fingers.⁶ Brahmadata, the king's son, also trained himself⁷ all the time in riding elephants and horses, in the use of bows and arrows, in running, leaping, racing and archery. And when his father died, Prince Brahmadata was anointed king in Benares by the counsellors.

The young brāhman Upaka became infatuated with a young girl. Everywhere and at all times he languished for her, but she did not condescend to look at him. Then the festival of the full moon in the month Kārttika⁸ was celebrated in Benares. And the young girl, being really in love with the young Upaka, came to him and said, "Young man, the festival of the full moon is here. Provide me with perfume and a garland that I may celebrate it joyfully." When he heard the young girl saying this, the young man became glad and elated. "How lucky I am," said he, "that the young girl has turned to me."

Now the young brāhman Upaka had begged and obtained

¹ Lotuses of four varieties of colour are named.

² This verse is found at 2. p. 423 (p. 376 trans.).

³ *Vihinā*. Vol. 2, l.c. has *viruhyati* "grows badly."

⁴ *Vijñāprāpta*. See p. 128, n. 1.

⁵ *Sekhiyanti*. See p. 157, n. 2.

⁶ Cf. vol. 2, p. 376.

⁷ *Gatimgata*, "went the course." B.H.S.D. has "skilled, experienced, adept." But at Vol. 2, p. 73, at least, the word would seem to denote the process of becoming adept, i.e. the training. (See vol. 2, p. 70 trans.), though at 2. 76 it does mean fully trained (vol. 2, p. 73 trans.).

⁸ *Kaumudī cāturmāsī*. See p. 76, n. 5.

a penny¹ from a man on the banks of the river Ganges. And he had stowed it away safely there. So now, in order to retrieve the penny, (185) he went in the heat of a cloudless noon to the banks of the Ganges, blithely singing sweet songs like a fairy.²

And, monks, King Brahmadata from an upper balcony of his palace saw the young brāhman Upaka going out of the city in the cloudless noon singing with a sweet voice. On seeing him he fell in love with the young man. As has been said by the Exalted One :

*By³ living together in the past and by kindness in the
present, love is born as surely as the lotus is born in water.
When love enters the mind and the heart is glad the under-
standing man will be assured⁴ and say "This woman
lived⁵ with me in the past."*

So, at the mere sight of the young brāhman Upaka, King Brahmadata was filled with love for him. He sent messengers, saying to them "Go, men, and bring the young brāhman Upaka who is going out of the city singing." And the messengers went and said to him, "Come, young man, the king summons you." The king's men brought him into the presence of the king. "Sire," said they, "the young brāhman has been brought."

Then King Brahmadata addressed the young brāhman Upaka in verse :

*It is high noon,⁶ the earth is like hot embers.⁷ But you
sing your songs and the heat does not burn you.*

¹ Literally, "a small coin," *māṣa*, properly "a bean," which was a measure of weight, and also denoted a small coin. See P.E.D. for references.

² Reading *Kinnari* (or -a) -viya for the text *kinnariya*, which is inconstruable. Possibly Senart's restoration of *kinnariya* is to be regarded as doubtful. For the Kinnaras see vol. 1, p. 54, n. 1.

³ These stanzas have occurred at 2. 98 (95, trans.), 168 (163, trans.) and above, p. 148 (text).

⁴ *Niṣṭhām gaccheyuh*. See p. 143, n. 4.

⁵ *Samvutthā*, which, according to Senart, is a Prakrit form for *saṃvṛta*. See Edgerton, *Gram.*, § 2. 54; 34. 11. At 2. 168 and 3. 148 we have the completely different words *saṃstava* and *santustā*, respectively. This latter part of the verse is not found at 2. 98, nor at J. 2. 235.

⁶ Literally, "midday is past," *madhyantihe vitinate* (= *vy-ati-nate*).

⁷ Literally, "from (something) like embers," *kukkulavattato*. *Kukkulavanti*, adj. from *kukkula*, BSk. and Pali for *kukūla*. Cf. *Kukkula*, name of one of the hells, see vol. 1, pp. 7, 10.

Above the sun is blazing, below, the sands, but you blithely and happily sing your songs.

(186) But, monks, the young brāhman Upaka replied to King Brahmadatta in verse :

It is not the heat that burns me, but desires.¹ It is these sundry wants that burn one, O king, not the heat.

A trifling thing indeed is the heat that burns my frame. It is various tasks to be done that burn one, and not the heat.

King Brahmadatta addressed the young brāhman Upaka in verse :

What causes this agitation, by what heat is this tormented body of yours burnt? This I bid you tell me.

Then, monks, the young brāhman Upaka replied to King Brahmadatta in verse :

Sire, I am in love with a Sūdra² woman, a water-carrying slave, O vanquisher of the foe. I am wholly hers ;³ my body is afire with love for her.

Then, monks, King Brahmadatta said to the young brāhman Upaka, "Where are you going, young man?" And Upaka replied in verse :

¹ Or "ardours," "exertions," *ātappā*. Senart can hardly be right in rejecting the guidance of J. (3. 447) here. In the first line he reads *antakā* for *ātappā* of J., assuming for the former word the meaning of "destruction," though properly it is an adj. formation denoting "making an end of." His translation would thus be "It is not the heat that burns me, it is destruction"! In the next line he reads, *antakāśca vighātāśca te tāpentī*, "destructions and vexations, it is these that burn." It seems much more consonant with the tenour of the whole verse to retain the Pali version, that is, *ātappā* (though no Sk. or BSk. form of this Pali word seems to be available) for the first *antakā*, and for the second *arthās* and restore the second line as *arthāśca vividhās rāja te tāpentī na ātāpo*. The idea contained in this line is then reinforced in the next stanza, *kāryā nāma vividhā* (so read for *vivādā*, "squabbles"! Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) gives *antaka* = "low, vile" (person or thing), adding that the clue to this meaning is *ivara*, "trifling," in the next stanza. But there is no analogy between the two terms, for the point of the passage is that what really burns one are the *antakā* (whatever they are). The heat of the sun is trifling by comparison, and to be ignored. The desires which really burn one, on the contrary, are to be rooted out. In giving *antaka* this sense Edgerton seems to have overlooked *antako si duḥkhasya*, "thou art the ender of ill" (3. 401), as well as *antaka* "ender" as name for Māra. See p. 94, n. 6.

² I.e. of the lowest caste, though she is termed *mānavikā* above, properly, but not always, "a young brāhman girl."

³ Literally, "I am entirely as her disposal," *īasyā upasthito sarvo*.

There's a penny I got by begging and I have it safely hidden on the banks of the Ganges, to the east of the city. I am going out to fetch it.

But, monks, King Brahmadatta said to the young brāhman Upaka "Wait here (187) a while, young man. You shall go presently when it is cool." The young brāhman Upaka, however, replied to King Brahmadatta in verse :

The things he wants are beyond him who stands still.¹ They even run away from him who runs after them by riding in a carriage. Your majesty, I'm bent to go after that penny.

King Brahmadatta replied to the young brāhman Upaka in verse :

If what you want is a penny, I'll give you one. Do what you want to do with the penny. Only, young man, do not travel in this heat.

The young brāhman Upaka said, "If his majesty will give me a penny, that will make it two. With these two pennies my poor woman will be happy and will be able to celebrate the festival without difficulty." And he spoke to King Brahmadatta in verse :²

If your majesty gives me a penny, that will make it two. With these two pennies my poor woman will be happy.

The king said, "I will give you two pennies, only don't go and get baked in this heat."

King Brahmadatta spoke to the young brāhman Upaka in verse :

If what you want are pennies, I'll give you two. Do what you want to do with the pennies ; only, young man, do not travel in this heat.

(188) Upaka said, "These two pennies will make it three, and we shall have a party,³ and my poor woman will have a merry festival."

¹ ? *ayānasya*, "without moving". Or, perhaps, "he who is without a carriage," by way of antithesis to *yāne vāhyamānasya* of the next line.

² From this point the rejoinders are given in prose as well as in verse.

³ Literally, "there will be an invitation," *āmantraṇaṃ bhaviṣyati*.

Your two pennies, sir, will make it three. With these three pennies my poor woman will be happy.

King Brahmadata said to the young brāhman Upaka, "Young man, do not travel in this heat. I will give you the three pennies."

If you are in need of pennies, I will give you still more. Do what you want to do with the pennies; only, young man, do not travel in this heat.

The young brāhman said, "Your majesty, these three pennies will make it four, and we shall have a still bigger party. And so I shall have a merry time at the festival with my poor woman."

Your three pennies, sir, will make it four. With these four pennies my poor woman will be delighted.

In this manner King Brahmadata went on to offer a hundred thousand pennies to the young brāhman Upaka, but the latter would not give up his own penny. Even when he was offered half as much again he would not forego that penny.

Then King Brahmadata offered the young brāhman Upaka half his kingdom, half his harem, half his treasury and granary, and half his counsellors and army officers. So they both ruled the kingdom jointly, and both administered its affairs. The young brāhman Upaka, being endowed with the five strands of sensual desires, enjoyed, delighted and amused himself.

Now (189) King Brahmadata had exceeding great trust in the young brāhman Upaka, and wherever he went he used to lie down with his head on the young man's bosom. But once it happened that while King Brahmadata was lying down, this thought occurred to Upaka. "How," thought he, "can there be two kings in one kingdom? What now if I were to kill King Brahmadata and thus become sole king myself?" But he thought again; "It would not be right for me nor seemly to be ungrateful to King Brahmadata who has been so kind to me." A second and a third time he thought, "Nor is it right nor seemly that there should be two kings in one kingdom. Let me then kill King Brahmadata

and become myself the sole king of Kāśi." But again a second and a third time he thought: "It would not be right for me nor seemly to be ungrateful to King Brahmadata who has been so kind to me."

And so he went away crying *avidha! avidha!*¹ Thereupon King Brahmadata woke up and said to him, "Upaka, did you shout out *avidha! avidha?*" Upaka replied, "Yes, because the thought was in me to kill King Brahmadata and become myself the sole king of Kāśi." But King Brahmadata would not believe² him. Upaka said, "Sire, it was so as I have said." Then King Brahmadata addressed the young brāhman Upaka in verse:

Little by little, young man, I gave you all you asked, even to half my kingdom. But as you won't forgo your penny, how can there be an end?³

The young brāhman Upaka replied:

In this world there is no end to endless craving. I will go forth to the religious life. I have no delight in ruling.

(190) *I have had enough of these many desires with which even a fool would not be satisfied.⁴ I have had enough of all desires. I will go forth to the religious life.*

O desire, I know thy root; thou art born of the wish. I will no more wish for thee; then wilt thou not survive.⁵

A fool will not be satisfied with few desires nor even with many. When he has abandoned all desires he will understand as one who awakes from sleep.

¹ See vol. 1, p. 251, n. 2; vol. 2, p. 401, n. 4.

² *Pattiyati*. See vol. 2, p. 106, n. 2. See also B.H.S.D.

³ I.e., the king implies that he must go on with his offers until Upaka gives up the thought of retrieving his penny.

⁴ It is instructive to compare these and the following stanzas with those at J. 3. 450. The vocabulary is practically identical, but there are slight differences in meaning. With the same or similar words the sentences in one set have obviously been refashioned, and it would seem that the verses which have undergone such changes are those in J. The *Mhv.* verses have every appearance of being more original and more in keeping with the context. For example, in this particular stanza, where the latter has *bahūhi kāmehi alam me*, J. has *appāpi kāmā na alam*, "little desire is not enough." (J. trans.) Not only is the use of *alam* as a predicate adjective incorrect, but the sentiment conveyed by such a text is not in harmony with Buddhist thought.

⁵ Cf. stanza 39 at J. 3. 450.

I wish for a gift, but these desires overwhelm me.¹ When the wish is stifled, then the desires no longer survive. Seeing then, that the fruit of desire is this, I will not desire either a son, cattle, or wealth.

Then the young brāhman Upaka said to King Brahmadatta, "Sire, allow me to go forth to the religious life." The king replied, "Do not go forth, but let us rule jointly." Upaka said, "No, your majesty, to rule is nothing to me. Allow me to go forth." King Brahmadatta then gave him permission, saying, "Since it is your wish, go forth."

Now at that time in the north of Kāśi a potter, who was a recluse and a seer possessing the five super-knowledges, had his hermitage. And the young brāhman Upaka went to this hermitage and became a recluse with the potter. By living in constant application of vigilance, endeavour, effort and exertion he attained the four meditations, and became a seer of great magic and power. While sitting cross-legged in the hermitage he could touch the moon and sun with his hand.² He had control over his body,³ even to the extent of being able to fly up to heaven.⁴

(191) But King Brahmadatta in his envy of the young brāhman Upaka was continually reciting the following verse:

That is the great fruit of a little thing.⁵ Great profit has Upaka gained. Great is the well-won gain of the young

¹ *Prabhavanti ca te*, where, as Senart says, *te* can only refer to the implied objects of desire. But the reading is not certain. *J.* has no stanza corresponding to this.

² This is one of the *riḍḍhis* (*iddhis*) or magical powers, one of a stock list of ten. See *P.E.D.* for references, and cf. vol. 2, p. 46.

³ *Kāyena vaṣe varteti*, more literally, "he got (things) under control with (in) his body." Should the corresponding formula at *D.* 1. 79 = *A.* 1. 170, *kāyena va samvatteti*, be amended into *k. vasaṃ (or vase) vatteti*? Such an emendation would make the expression more intelligible, and bring it into line not only with the form as found in the *Mhv.* but also with that in *S.* 2. 121 and 5. 265, where we have *kāyena vasaṃ pavatteti*. Cf. the note on p. 236 of vol. 5 of *KS.*, where it is said that the reading of *S.* is preferable.

⁴ Literally "as far as Brahmā's world," *yāvadbrahmalokam*. Or, perhaps, the *yāvad* here is simply enumerative, implying that the reader or listener is to supply the other stock magical achievements until he comes to this, the final one. *Brahmaloka* in this connection denotes the material heaven of popular conception, and not that sublime state which was *nirvāṇa*.

⁵ *I.e.* desire for a little.

brāhman who has become a recluse and forgone the delight of sensual pleasures.¹

King Brahmadatta's women heard him reciting this verse again and again, but they did not understand its meaning. Now King Brahmadatta had a barber named Gangapāla,² who enjoyed his confidence and entered the women's quarters to carry out his duties whenever he liked.

Once King Brahmadatta said to him, "Gangapāla, trim my hair and beard." When he had said this he fell asleep and his hair and beard were trimmed as he lay down. Then the king woke up and said, "Gangapāla, come and trim my hair and beard." Gangapāla replied, "Sire, your hair and beard were trimmed while you were lying down." And Gangapāla fetched a looking-glass, brought it to King Brahmadatta and said, "Let his majesty take a look." When the king saw his hair and beard in the looking-glass he was pleased with his barber Gangapāla, and he said "Gangapāla, I am satisfied and pleased with your handiwork. I offer you the boon of a village. Choose whatever village you wish."³

¹ Senart rightly remarks that the text of this stanza here is superior to the Pali version (*J.* 3. 450). In the Pali, Udaya, the king, is made to apostrophise himself and boast of what he has gained. But the point of the whole tale is that the real gain was the young brāhman's. There can be no doubt that in the line *Udayo ajjhagamā mahattapattam*, ("Great is the glory Udaya acquires," *J. trans.*), Udaya has been substituted for Upaka under a mistaken notion of the meaning of the stanza. Probably the error began when in the first line *phalam mama-y-idam* "my fruit," was substituted for *mahāvīpāka*, "great fruit." In order to keep up this mistaken notion *J. trans.* (3. 262) has gratuitously rendered the words introducing the stanza, *udānaṃ sakalaṃ katvā udānento chaṭṭhaṃ gātham āha* "spoke the sixth stanza in complete expression of ecstasy." But *udānaṃ udāneti* means simply "to make a solemn utterance," whether the occasion be one of joy or of sorrow. Further it renders *suladdhalābhā mānavassa* by "mighty the gains if one is resolute." But *mānava* means "a young man," especially "a young brāhman." The line stands in the Pali exactly as it is in the *Mhv.*, and presumably in the original, and means "great is the gain of the young brāhman." The resemblance between the names Udaya and Upaka made the corruption easy, but it is arguable that the naming of the king as Udaya is an innovation of the Pali tradition. For at a crucial point at the end of the tale he is called Brahmadatta, as he is throughout in the *Mhv.*

² Gangamāla in *J.*

³ *Sayadi icchasi*. *Yadi*, 'if', is, of course, a locative formation of *yad*, 'which'. Here it is preceded, as if for emphasis, by its correlative, but in the nom. masc. form, instead of the neut. *idā*. Apart from the anomalous grammar the phrase would thus mean 'that which you wish', or 'that if you wish it.' *B.R.* cites other instances of *sa* being used indifferently for all genders of its correlative, and one is almost an exact parallel of that in our text. It is *sa yadi sthāvarā āpo bhavanti . . . tā* (*Sat. Br.* 13.8.4.6.).

Gangapāla replied, "When I have taken advice, then I shall accept the boon of a village from your majesty."

Then Gangapāla spoke to King Brahmadatta's women, saying, "To-day, I gave satisfaction to King Brahmadatta with my handiwork. He offered me the boon of a village and I intend to choose one." (192) But the women replied, "Refuse¹ the boon of a village. The king is continually reciting this verse:

That is the great fruit of a little thing. Great profit has Upaka gained. Great is the well-won gain of the young brāhman who has become a recluse and forgone the delight of sensual pleasures.

"And we do not know² the meaning of it. Therefore go and tell King Brahmadatta, 'Sire, I do not want the boon of a village. But with regard to the verse your majesty is continually reciting,³ I pray your majesty that you tell me the meaning of it,'" So Gangapāla went to King Brahmadatta and said to him, "Sire, I do not want the boon of a village. But with regard to the verse your majesty is continually reciting,⁴ I pray your majesty that you tell me the meaning of it. Let this be my boon."

The king replied and said (193) "The young brāhman Upaka renounced his half of the kingdom when he saw the peril of the pleasures of sense, and went forth to the religious life. And now he has acquired the five super-knowledges and become a powerful seer, while I slothfully enjoy the pleasures of sense. So out of envy for the young brāhman Upaka I am continually reciting that verse."⁵

¹ The text has *marṣehi*, but as this word gives no sense here, Senart suggests in his note that we should read *mellehi*. For the latter word see vol. 1. p. 3c8, n. 1 and vol. 2 p. 399, n. 1. Edgerton, (*B.H.S.D.*), however, refers *marṣehi* to *marṣayati*, caus. of Sk. *mṛṣ*, 'asks to be excused from, declines.'

² *Vijñānamātha*. For the ending see p. 4, n. 1.

³ The text repeats it.

⁴ The text again repeats it.

⁵ The explanation of the verse given in *J.* (3. 451-2) is, of course, consistent with the different text there found. But the consistency is not quite successful enough to give point to the story. The king there says that the former half of the verse describes his own glory, which he has gained as a result of once in a former life observing half a fast-day. The latter half refers to the religious career of his partner, he himself, in the meantime, though left sole king, remaining in slothfulness (*aham pamatto hutvā*, as both *J.* and *Mhv.* have it). Although, in order to give verisimilitude to the tale, *J. trans.* renders these words by "I in my pride," it is obvious that the story in *J.* has taken a wrong turning. It is true that Gangamāla concludes that the king's glory is the reward for the observance of a fast-day, but his subsequent action goes far beyond that small detail of ritual or ceremonial, which he could well observe without ceasing to be a layman. What he actually does, both in *J.* and in the *Mhv.*, is to copy the example of the king's partner, give up all worldly goods, and go forth to the religious life. In *J.* he even becomes a Paccekabuddha.

Then Gangapāla, on hearing the king, went into the harem and said to the women, "Do not worry about this, the king will not go forth to the religious life. It is because of his envy of the young brāhman Upaka that he is continually reciting that verse." The women then, glad, happy and elated made a great heap of gold, money, clothes and jewels, and said to Gangapāla, "Let this be your reward."¹ But Gangapāla said to himself, "Now the young brāhman Upaka, though he was rich and wealthy, left home and went forth to the religious life. Why should I, too, not do so? Let me then go forth. Why should I care what other people think?" And to the women he said, "I want none of your gold and money, for I, too, am going forth to the religious life."

He then went to King Brahmadatta and said to him, "Sire, allow me to go forth." The king said, "Under whom will you live the religious life?" He replied, "Under the seer Upaka." The king said, "I give you permission. Go forth."

Gangapāla then went to Upaka's hermitage and took up the religious life. By living in constant application of vigilance, endeavour, effort and exertion, he achieved the five super-knowledges, and became a seer who could touch the moon and sun. And, monks, King Brahmadatta heard that all the three seers² had come to possess the five super-knowledges and were seers of great magic and power. There arose in him the desire to see those seers, (194) and he spoke to his counsellors and attendants, saying, "Let us go to the hermitage to visit these seers, the potter who became a recluse, Upaka and Gangapāla. All three seers have achieved the four meditations and attained the five super-knowledges, and have great magic and power. It is time to go to visit and do homage to such worthy men." The counsellors and attendants replied, "Let not your majesty go to them, but let them rather be brought here."

¹ *Abhicchāda*, also *abhicchādana* and *ācchāda*. See p. 36, n. 2.

² I.e. the nameless potter, Upaka and Gangapāla.

[Then¹ Gangapāla went into the Mango Park of King Brahmadata. He hung up his barber's instruments there and went forth to the religious life. A certain counsellor, thereupon, addressed King Brahmadata in verse :

*This Mango Park belongs to glorious King Brahmadata,
yet here a barber who has turned religious has hung up his
razor and his tools.]*

"Your majesty should not go into the presence of men of mean birth. Rather should they be made to come into your majesty's presence." But the king replied, "It is not dharma that worthy men should be ordered to come to visit the king. It is we who ought to go to visit the seers."

So King Brahmadata escorted by princes and counsellors set out to go to the seers. Gangapāla the seer came to meet King Brahmadata and said to him, "Welcome, King Brahmadata. Let King Brahmadata sit down." But the counsellors and attendants of King Brahmadata scolded Gangapāla, and scared him stiff.² "Why" (195) said they, "do you, Gangapāla, a man of mean birth address³ King Brahmadata by name?" King Brahmadata, however, replied to the counsellors in verse :

*Say nothing against Gangapāla who is trained in the
silent ways of sages. He has crossed the ocean flood, and
they who have crossed this are rid of passion.⁴*

¹ This passage is enclosed in brackets in the text, for, as Senart says it is obviously out of place here. The circumstances of Gangapāla's going forth have already been given in our story. The passage is interesting, however, as being an interpolation from a version of the story somewhat resembling that preserved in *J.* (3. 452), though there is here no reference to Gangapāla's having become a Paccekabuddha.

² *Sacchambitāṃ kareṇsu*. *Sacchambitā* is taken to be a compound of *chambitā*, the past participle, as in Pali, of *chambeti*, which corresponds to the causative of Sk. *stabh* or *stambh*, "to fix, make rigid, stiff (with fear), etc." For the prefix *sa-*, which is equivalent to *sam-*, cf. the Latin *con-* in *conterritus*, *consternatus*. Cf. *B.H.S.D.*

³ *Samudācarati*. See p. 178, n. 1.

⁴ Cf. stanza 44 at *J.* 3. 453.

*Through penance they have left their sins behind.¹
Through penance they dispel the darkness. Through
penance Gangapāla has risen above his birth, and now
calls on Brahmadata by name.²*

*Behold what the fruit of forbearance and gentleness³ even
in this present life is. On earth and in heaven the religious
life is worthy of the praise of devas and men.*

Then King Brahmadata and his counsellors and attendants bowed at the feet of these seers and sat down on one side.

Now she who was the wife of Gangapāla when he was a layman remained devoted to him, and not even in thought did she desire another man. But, in order to test her, Gangapāla came to her disguised as a deva,⁴ and carrying a golden vessel, and he tried to seduce her. "Take this golden vessel," said he, "and have your pleasure with me." But she replied, "No, for I am devoted to my husband." (196) Although rebuffed that day, the deva came another day carrying a silver vessel, and said, "Take this silver vessel and have your pleasure with me." But she replied, "No, for I am devoted to my husband." Rebuffed that day again, he came on yet another day carrying a bronze vessel, and said to her, "Take this bronze vessel and have your pleasure with me." And then the woman addressed the deva in verse :

A man draws a woman by offering her more and more

¹ Cf. the first line of stanza 42, *op. cit.*, which, however, is spoken by the queen in scorn of Gangamāla.

² Cf. the last two lines of stanza 42.

³ *Kṣāntisaurabhya*. *Saurabhya*, properly "fragrance," is represented in this expression in Pali by *soracca*, but Senart in a long note argues against restoring the Sk. equivalent, *sauratya*, "gentleness, mildness," of the Pali. Not only is the etymology of the Pali (*su-rata*) difficult to reconcile with the accepted sense of the word, but also BSk. texts have *saurabhya* quite as often as *sauratya*. See e.g. *Lal. Vist.* 37, 181, 431; *Mhv.* 2. 354, 362; 3. 278 and *Divy.* 39, 40. Rhys Davids has a note on *soracca* in his *Questions of King Milinda* (S.B.E. 35, p. 230) in which he points out that *Mvyut* has the form *sauratya* in the same expression. But the semantic difficulty remains, for Sk. *surata* "high pleasure" is, he says, used "almost without exception in an obscene sense." Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*), however, maintains that the correct form is *sauratya*, and that *saurabhya* is "false writing," although the BSk. instances of the word which he cites are about equally divided between the two forms.

⁴ This incident is not in *J.*

wealth¹ so that she does his will. But it is otherwise among the devas, for here are you,² rejected for offering less and less.³

The deva replied to the woman in verse :

In this world of men the beautiful woman is doomed to lose her age and her beauty. You should profit by your beauty, for already you are fading, already you are getting older.

The Exalted One said, "It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion the seer named Upaka was somebody else. You must not think so. And why? I was then the seer named Upaka. Nor was King Brahmadatta somebody else. Śuddhodana here was then the king of Kāśī named Brahmadatta. Nor, monks, was the barber named Gangapāla (197) who took up the

¹ Reading *nāriṃ naro vṛddhyantena dhānena* for *nāri naro jīhmaye vāraṇena* of the text. Senart admits that his restoration here is very uncertain, and the translation which he offers in his note on the passage makes it obvious that the text of the line, as he has restored it, causes the whole stanza to miss the point which one would naturally expect it to make. His text of the whole stanza reads *nāri naro jīhmaye vāraṇena / utkarṣaye yatra karoti cchandam / vipratyanikam khalu devatānām / pratyākhyāto alpatareṇa eṣa //*. Of this text Senart offers the translation, "Une femme attriste les hommes par un refus, elle les exalte en obéissant à leurs désirs. C'est le contraire à l'égard des dieux, tu es repoussé par un être très humble." Apart from the obscurity of the meaning and the failure to bring out fully the implied difference between the conduct of divine and human suitors, there are in this text certain doubtful points of vocabulary and grammar. *Naro* (*naras*), for example, is more correctly a nom. sg. than an acc. pl. *Jīhmayati*, an assumed denominative from *jīhma*, "crooked, bent, etc." whether in a physical or moral sense, is a strange antonym of *utkarṣati* "to draw out," even if it could have the sense of "to make sad." If, as we should certainly do, we relate the stanza to the context, the point intended to be made by it immediately becomes obvious. It is that man allures woman by offering her wealth, increasing the amount at each rebuff. The deva, however, had done the exact opposite, decreasing the value of his offers from gold to silver and then to bronze. As the third and fourth lines express it, "things are different among the devas, for here are you rejected because you offered less and less" (*alpatareṇa*). In Senart's translation this masculine adjective is rendered as though it were feminine relating to the woman who rejects the deva's addresses. It is obvious that in the first line we need, to qualify *dhānena*, some adjective of a sense opposite to *alpatareṇa* (comparative of *alpa*, "little"). *Vṛddhyantena*, a passive participial adjective from *vṛddh* "to increase," is, of course, only a tentative suggestion, and there is no means to ascertain whether it can be supported by the evidence of the MSS. (As for the form it is paralleled by similar ones in our text.) There may well be another synonymous adjective which has better support. In any case, the line as here restored does not seem any farther than Senart's from the MS tradition as he gives it in his apparatus.

² *Eṣa*, or, "here is one."

³ Literally, "rejected because of less and less"; *alpatareṇa*, being either a substantival adjective, or a simple adjective qualifying *dhānena*, understood from the first line.

religious life of a seer any other than Upāli. Then, too, lowly of birth though he was, the royal attendants by my orders bowed at his feet, just as now they have bowed at this barber's feet."

Here ends the Jātaka of Upāli and Gangapāla.

THE MAHĀGOVINDĪYA SŪTRA¹

The monks said to the Exalted One, "Behold, Lord, how, when the Exalted One went forth to the religious life, he was accompanied by a large multitude of people." The Exalted One said, "That was not the first time, monks, that a large multitude of people went with me when I went forth to the religious life." The monks asked, "Was there another occasion, Lord?" The Exalted One replied, "Yes, monks."²

"Once upon a time, monks, long ago there was a king named Diśāmpati,"³ said he, and he went on to expound the *Mahāgovindīya sūtra*.⁴

The Exalted One, the perfect Buddha having attained the end he had set himself, was staying at Rājagṛha, on Mount Griddhakūṭa, and teaching devas and men. He was honoured, revered, esteemed, worshipped and adored—the description of the occasion is to be supplied⁵ up to—and he abode in those states⁶ in which exalted Buddhas desire to abide. Now

¹ The Pali version of this celebrated *sūtra* is found at *D.* 2. 220 ff., but the *Mhvu.* version is not a translation from the Pali. Differences in the order of relation alone are sufficient to disprove the supposition that it is. As in so many other instances of parallel versions in Pali texts and in the *Mhvu.*, the evidence is such as to prove that the *Mhvu.* version is completely independent of the Pali, and, if not written down from a floating oral tradition, is based on some unknown recension. Rhys Davids has some instructive remarks on the relation between the two versions in *Dial.* 2, p. 252 ff.

² As is seen, the preamble is of the usual type introducing a *Jātaka*, and the *sūtra* is referred to as a *Jātaka* at *J.* 1. 45, 46 and 3. 469. Also the colophon describes it as a "*sūtra* relating to a former life of the Exalted One." Even in *D.* the tale closes with the Buddha's explanation of the "birth."

³ A king of long ago, also mentioned in the *Dīpaṃsa* and *Mahāvamsa* (*D.P.N.*).

⁴ As the text stands it would seem that it was Diśāmpati who told the story, for there is nothing to show that the subject of *vyākharoti* is different from that of *abhūsi*, except, perhaps, the absence of *ca* to co-ordinate the two verbs.

⁵ I.e. the stereotyped description of such occasions. See e.g. vol. 1, p. 29 f.

⁶ *Vihārā*.

when the night was far spent,¹ Pañcaśikha,² one of the Gandharvas, whose exceeding beauty irradiated the whole of Mount Griddhakūṭa, came to the Exalted One, bowed at his feet and stood to one side. And as he thus stood to one side, he said to the Exalted One, "Lord, I would tell (198) to the Exalted One, I would make known to the Exalted One, what I heard and learned from the devas of Trāyastriṃśa, from Śakra, lord of devas, and from Great Brahmā, as they sat and conversed in the devas' Hall of Good Counsel."³

When this had been spoken, the Exalted One said to Pañcaśikha, the Gandharva, "Tell me, Pañcaśikha, make known to me, Pañcaśikha, what you heard and learned from the devas of Trāyastriṃśa, Śakra, lord of devas, and Great Brahmā as they conversed."

Then Pañcaśikha the Gandharva said to the Exalted One :

Once upon a time, Lord, the devas of Trāyastriṃśa, Śakra, lord of devas, and Great Brahmā, were sitting gathered together in the Hall of Good Counsel on some business of the devas. And, Lord, there were some devas who had been reborn there later than the rest, but who excelled them in the five deva attributes of length of life, power, glory, honour and retinue.⁴ Then, Lord, some devas spoke and said, "Friends, now look at these devas who were reborn here later, but excel those born here before them in length of life, power, glory, honour and retinue." Whereupon some other devas said, "Verily, friends, these are disciples of the Exalted One. They lived the brahma-life, and at death and on the dissolution of the body they were reborn in heaven among the devas of Trāyastriṃśa. And though reborn here later, they greatly excel those reborn as devas before them in the five deva attributes of length of life, power, glory, honour and retinue."

¹ Reading *abhiḥrāntāyām* (*vātriyam*) for *abhiḥrāntakāyo*, which could only be construed as qualifying Pañcaśikha, and his beauty has already been described by the adjective *abhiḥrāntavarṇa*. The emendation also restores the phrase into its usual form as found e.g. at vol. 2, p. 257, 258 (text). See vol. 2, p. 243, n. 1.

² See vol. 2, p. 46 ff.

³ *Devasabhāsudharmā*, so rendered in *Dial.* 2. 259, etc.

⁴ Elsewhere in the *Mhvu.* these attributes are given as ten. See vol. 1, p. 25, and 2, p. 183. At vol. 2, p. 350 we have a slightly different group of five.

Then, Lord, some others again of the devas said, "Friends, would that four Tathāgatas, Arhans, perfect Buddhas arose in the world (199) and taught dharma. It would be for the welfare of devas and men. The hosts of the Asuras would wane; the hosts of the devas would wax."

But then, Lord, some other devas said, "It is impossible, friends, that four Tathāgatas, Arhans, perfect Buddhas should arise in the world. But, friends, would that three Tathāgatas, Arhans, perfect Buddhas, arose in the world and taught dharma. It would be for the welfare of devas and men. The hosts of the Asuras would wane; the hosts of the devas would wax."

But then again, Lord, some other devas said, "It is impossible, friends, that three Tathāgatas, Arhans, perfect Buddhas should arise in the world. But, friends, would that two Tathāgatas, Arhans, perfect Buddhas arose in the world and taught dharma. It would be for the welfare of devas and men. The hosts of the Asuras would wane; the hosts of the devas would wax."

When this had been said, Lord, Śakra, sovereign of devas, spoke to the devas of Trāyastriṃśa, and said, "But this, too, friends, is impossible and inopportune, that at one and the same time two Tathāgatas, Arhans, perfect Buddhas should appear in the world and teach dharma." Then were the devas of Trāyastriṃśa glad, thrilled, elated, joyful and pleased. And when Śakra, lord of the devas of Trāyastriṃśa, saw that the devas were glad, thrilled, elated, joyful and pleased, he said, "If, friends, (200) you were to hear the eight wonderful and marvellous truths¹ about the Exalted One, Arhan, perfect Buddha, you would be still more glad, thrilled, elated, joyful and pleased."

When this had been spoken, Lord, the devas of Trāyastriṃśa said to Śakra their sovereign, "Lord Kauśika,² we should like you to proclaim³ the eight wonderful and marvellous truths about the Exalted One, Arhan, and perfect Buddha."

¹ *Dharmā.* D. 2. 222 has *aṭṭha yathā-bhucce vaṇṇe*, "eight truthful items in praise of" (*Dial.* 2. 261.)

² A name of Śakra (Indra). See vol. 2, p. 49, n. 4, p. 60 n. 10.

³ Literally, "let it occur to you, proclaim," *pratibhātu te, udāhara*.

Then Śakra, lord of devas, proclaimed the eight wonderful and marvellous truths about the Exalted One. "When, friends," said he, "an Exalted One, Arhan, and perfect Buddha has arisen in the world, the hosts of the Asuras wane, the hosts of the devas wax. And, friends, I do not see, whether I survey the past, present or future, any master arisen in the world who has so wrought for the welfare of the multitude like¹ this Exalted One, Arhan and perfect Buddha. For the beautifully proclaimed dharma and discipline of the Tathāgata, Arhan, and perfect Buddha, bears on this present life and is independent of time.² It welcomes³ and guides,⁴ and is for the inward comprehension of those who are wise. For this beautifully proclaimed dharma and discipline means the crushing of pride,⁵ the repression of longing, the destruction of clinging, the breaking-up of sensorial states,⁶ the end of craving, passionlessness, cessation and nirvana. Again, friends, I say that I do not see, whether I survey the past, present or future, any teacher of such a dharma and discipline⁷ arisen in the world other than this Exalted One, Arhan and perfect Buddha. And friends, the Exalted One, Arhan and perfect Buddha has won disciples, students who are in the Way,⁸ and Arhans who abide in immovable states. The Exalted One, Arhan and perfect Buddha sends them away,⁹ and makes his home in the forests,¹⁰ which are remote,¹¹ isolated, away from the habitations of

¹ Literally "other than," *anyatra*.

² *Sāndriṣṭhikam akālikam*.

³ "Is welcoming," *ehipaṣyika*, Pali *ehipassika*.

⁴ *Aupanayika*, Pali *opanayika*.

⁵ *Māda-nirmadana*, "the making without pride," or "de-priding" as P.E.D. puts it. See s.v. *nimadana* "which is related to *nimmādeti*, either = Sk. *nirmīdayati* [sic for *nirmardayati*], from *mīd* "to crush" or **nirmādayati* to *nirmada*, "free from pride." See B.H.S.D. for an alternative explanation.

⁶ *Dharmopaccheda*. Dharma here is the "phenomenon" of the material world, and is practically synonymous with the *skandhas*. See DhA. i. 55 and S. 3. 39.

⁷ These six words are supplied in translation.

⁸ *Pratipadam*, adv. D. 2. 223 has *paṭipadānam* agreeing with *sekkhānam*.

⁹ *Teṣāṃ* (gen. for acc.) *pranuḍya*. The Pali (D. 2. 223) is different: *te apanujja ekārāmatam anuyutto viharati*, "them does he not send away, but dwells in fellowship with them whose hearts are set on one object" (Dial. 2. 262).

¹⁰ Literally "dwells on his bed and seat in the forest," *śayyāsānānyadhyā-vasati*.

¹¹ *Prānta*. See vol. 2, p. 119, n. 3.

men,¹ abodes unknown to men, and most fitting for seclusion.² There he dwells by himself aloof from the crowd, (201) all alone, giving himself to concentration.³ A master so intent on concentration, friends, I do not see arisen in the world, whether I survey the past, present or future, other than this Exalted One, Arhan and perfect Buddha.

"Again, friends, the Exalted One, Arhan and perfect Buddha gets choice solid and soft food of proper and exquisite flavour, and he makes his meals thereof. But he eats without indulgence and wantonness,⁴ being aware of the peril in pleasures of sense, knowing the way of escape, and being free of intoxication. A master, friends, who eats his food so free from self-indulgence, I do not see arisen in the world, whether I survey the past, present or future, other than this Exalted One, Arhan and perfect Buddha.

"Again, friends, it is out of his knowledge that the Exalted One, Arhan and perfect Buddha teaches the dharma and the discipline, not out of ignorance. And, friends, a master so possessed of the method of teaching dharma I do not see arisen in the world, whether I survey the past, present or future, other than this Exalted One, Arhan and perfect Buddha.

"This Exalted One, Arhan and perfect Buddha, friends, has crossed the sea of doubt, is rid of perplexity,⁵ and has won assurance in good states. A master, friends, who has so passed beyond doubt I do not see arisen in the world, whether I survey the past, present or future, other than this Exalted One, Arhan and perfect Buddha.

"Again, friends, the nirvana and the Way leading to nirvana as taught by this Exalted One, Arhan and perfect Buddha run together one into the other.⁶ Just as, friends, the waters

¹ *Gatajanapada*. At p. 143 we have *vigatajanapada* in the same sense.

² *Pratisaṃlayana*.

³ The text has *eko nāma ekanāmanāmatāmanuyukto*, which seems a bad case of dittography. The Pali, as has been seen, has *ekārāmatam anuyutto*. The translation assumes that *ekanāmatam* conceals some word like *ekāgratā*. Possibly, however, it is for *ekārāmatam*, where *ārāmata* denotes the solitude which one enjoys in an *ārāma*.

⁴ Or, "without attachment and infatuation," *anadhyavasita anadhimurchita*. See vol. 2, p. 134, nn. 1, 2.

⁵ *Vigatakaṭhamkatha*, so in Pali also, D. 2. 224, "gone by for him is all question of how or why." (Dial. 2. 262.)

⁶ This unusual figure is expressed in practically identical terms in D. 2. 223.

of the Ganges and the Jumna flow one into the other and run together into the great ocean, so do the nirvana and the Way leading to nirvana as taught by this Exalted One, Arhan and perfect Buddha flow together. A master, friends, with such a well-taught and well-revealed nirvana and Way leading to nirvana (202) I do not see arisen in the world, whether I survey the past, present or future, other than this Exalted One, Arhan and perfect Buddha."

When this had been said, Lord, the devas of Trāyastriṃśa were still more glad and thrilled, elated and joyful, pleased and happy. And they said to Śakra, sovereign of devas, "Therefore, friend Kauśika, we should like you to proclaim¹ again the eight wonderful and marvellous truths about the Exalted One, Arhan and perfect Buddha. So Śakra, lord of devas, proclaimed over again the eight wonderful and marvellous truths about the Exalted One. "Well then, again, friends," said he, "whenever the Exalted One, Arhan and perfect Buddha appears in the world, the hosts of the Asuras wane; the hosts of the devas wax. A master, friends, who has so wrought for the welfare and happiness of the multitude, I do not see arisen in the world, whether I survey the past, present or future, other than this Exalted One, Arhan and perfect Buddha." *And he continued as before as far as*²

"Again, friends, the nirvana and the Way leading to nirvana as taught by this Exalted One and perfect Buddha run together one into the other. Just as, friends, the waters of the Ganges and the Jumna run into each other and flow on together into the great ocean, so do the nirvana and the Way leading to nirvana as taught by this Exalted One, Arhan and perfect Buddha flow together. And, friends, a master who has so devoted himself to preaching a well-taught and well-revealed truth about nirvana, I do not see arisen in the world, whether I survey the past, present or future, other than this Exalted One, Arhan and perfect Buddha."

When he had so spoken, the devas of Trāyastriṃśa were still more thrilled, elated, joyful, pleased and happy.

¹ *Pratibhātu*, only, but obviously *udāhara* must be supplied. See p. 195, n. 3.

² *Peyālaṃ yāvād*. *Peyāla* is in Pali *peyyāla* "a māgadhism for *pariyāya*, so Kern *Toev*. s.v. after Trenckner." (P.E.D.). The meaning is "repetition," "succession," "formula," etc.

Then, Lord, when Great Brahmā saw that the devas of Trāyastriṃśa were still more thrilled, elated, pleased and happy, he said to Śakra, lord of devas, "Therefore, friend Kauśika, (203) we would like you to proclaim¹ the eight wonderful and marvellous truths about this Exalted One, Arhan and perfect Buddha." So Śakra, lord of devas, proclaimed the eight, wonderful and marvellous truths about the Exalted One. "When, friends," said he, "the Exalted One, Arhan and perfect Buddha arises in the world, the hosts of the Asuras wane; the hosts of the devas wax. And, friends, a master who has so wrought for the welfare and happiness of the multitude I do not see arisen in the world, whether I survey the past, present or future, other than this Tathāgata, Arhan and perfect Buddha." *And he continued as far as*² "And, friends, the nirvana and the Way leading to nirvana as taught by this Exalted One, Arhan and perfect Buddha run together one into the other. Just as, friends, the waters of the Ganges and the Jumna run one into the other and flow on together to the great ocean, so do the nirvana and the Way leading to nirvana as taught by this Exalted One, Arhan and perfect Buddha flow together. And, friends, a master who has so devoted himself to preaching his well-taught and well-revealed truth about nirvana, I do not see arisen in the world, whether I survey the past, present or future, other than this Exalted One, Arhan and perfect Buddha."

When this had been said, the devas of Trāyastriṃśa were still more thrilled, elated, pleased and happy.

Then, Lord, when Great Brahmā saw that the devas of Trāyastriṃśa were still more thrilled, elated, pleased and happy, he addressed them in verses:³

*Verily the devas of Trāyastriṃśa together with Śakra rejoice.
They adore the Tathāgata and the well-being that dharma brings.*⁴

¹ *Pratibhātu*. See p. 195, n. 3.

² Only one verse is given. Rhys Davids (*Dial.* 2, p. 258) suggests that the ethical standpoint of the others as found in *D.* 2. 227 "did not appeal any more to the Lokottaravādins." But as these consist of praise for the new devas who had been the Buddha's disciples on earth, that is not necessarily so. For the *Mhvu.* has already eulogised the great glory of these devas. The omission, therefore, is either accidental or due to difference in the respective contexts in which the verses are introduced.

³ *Dharmasya sukhadharmatām* (so for *-dharmatā*). *D.* has *dharmassa sudhammatam*, "the cosmic law sublime." (*Dial.* 2. 260).

Thus then did the devas rejoice and become pleased and happy. (204) Then, Lord, when Great Brahmā saw that the devas of Trāyastriṃśa were still more thrilled, joyful, pleased and happy, he said to them, "If, friends, you had listened in faith¹ to the ancient² instruction of the Exalted One, Arhan and perfect Buddha, you would be even still more thrilled, elated, joyful, pleased and happy."

When this had been said, Lord, the devas of Trāyastriṃśa said to Great Brahmā, "Therefore, O Great Brahmā, we would like you to proclaim³ how ancient the great instruction of the Exalted One, Arhan and perfect Buddha is." And then Great Brahmā revealed how ancient the great instruction of the Exalted One was.

Once upon a time, honoured sirs, said he, long ago, there was a king named Diśāmpati. Now King Diśāmpati's priest and tutor was a brāhman named Govinda,⁴ who was intelligent, clever and prudent in all affairs. Again, honoured sirs, King Diśāmpati had a son named Reṇu, who was beloved and popular, and intelligent, clever and prudent in all affairs. The brāhman Govinda, too, had a son named Jyotipāla. He was an only son, beloved and popular, and intelligent, clever and prudent in all affairs.

Now, honoured sirs, after the lapse of a long time, the brāhman Govinda died. And when Govinda the brāhman died, King Diśāmpati mourned for him, pined, wept, cried, beat his breast and was beside himself with grief. "Alas!" said he, "just when I had entirely entrusted all my affairs to Govinda, and when in the possession and endowment of the five strands of sensual desires, I was amusing, enjoying and diverting myself, Govinda the brāhman died."

¹ Reading *śraddhā* for *śuddhā*, as Senart is inclined to do.

² Or "long-standing." *Dirgharātram*, is properly an adv. acc. "for a long time," but in sense it qualifies *mahāprajñapti*, "the great instruction (which has lasted) a long time." Cf. D. 2. 230, where the tale of Govinda is introduced as answer to the question, *yāva dīgharattam mahāpañño ca so Bhagavā ahoṣi*, "for how long has the Blessed One been of great wisdom" (Dial. 2. 266). Cf. S. 2. 106, where the Buddha says he is treading an ancient way.

³ *Pratibhātu*. See p. 195, n. 3.

⁴ "It is evident that Govinda, literally "Lord of the Herds" was a title, not a name, and means Treasurer or Steward" (Dial. 2. 266, fn.). For simplicity's sake, however, it is taken as a proper name in the present translation.

(205) Prince Reṇu heard that King Diśāmpati was mourning, pining, weeping, beating his breast, crying and beside himself with grief for the death of Govinda the brāhman. And he went to King Diśāmpati and said to him, "Your majesty, do not mourn, nor pine, nor weep, nor beat your breast, nor cry, nor be beside yourself with grief. And why do I say this? Because, your majesty, the brāhman Govinda had a young son named Jyotipāla, who is beloved and popular, intelligent, clever and prudent in all things, in fact, more intelligent, more clever and more accomplished than his father. All that his father knew was secretly learnt by heart by the young Jyotipāla. Therefore, let your majesty appoint him to his father's place, that is to the chaplaincy and stewardship."¹

Then, honoured sirs, King Diśāmpati summoned a certain man and said to him, "Go, my good man, to the young brāhman Jyotipāla and say to him, "King Diśāmpati summons the honourable Jyotipāla. Let the honourable Jyotipāla repair to where King Diśāmpati is." On hearing this the man replied, "So be it, sire," and went to the young brāhman Jyotipāla and said to him, "King Diśāmpati summons the honourable Jyotipāla. Let the honourable Jyotipāla go to King Diśāmpati now that the brāhman Govinda is dead." "So be it, sir," said the young brāhman Jyotipāla in obedience to the man. And he went to King Diśāmpati, and, having exchanged courteous and polite greetings with him (206), he sat down to one side.

And while the young brāhman Jyotipāla thus sat down to one side, King Diśāmpati said to him, "Let the honourable Jyotipāla advise me; let the honourable Jyotipāla administer for me. Let him not refuse to advise me and to administer for me. Here and now do I appoint Jyotipāla to his father's place, namely, the chaplaincy and the stewardship."

Thus, honoured sirs, the young brāhman Jyotipāla was established in his father's place, namely, the chaplaincy and the stewardship. Whatever task his father had performed, that did the young Jyotipāla perform. Whatever works his

¹ *Paurohitye govindiye*. There is no *ca*, "and," but the priesthood and stewardship must be regarded as two separate offices, though held by one and the same person.

father had accomplished,¹ those did the young Jyotipāla accomplish. Whatever affairs his father had administered, those did the young Jyotipāla administer. Whatever projects his father had accomplished, those did the young Jyotipāla accomplish. This became known,² and the brāhman and householders, townsmen and countrymen said, "The young brāhman Jyotipāla is a Steward; Jyotipāla is a Great Steward." So the young Jyotipāla became known³ as Govinda and Mahā-Govinda. Thus did the name first become current.⁴

Then, honoured sirs, the brāhman Mahā-Govinda approached the nobles⁵ and said to them, "Honoured sirs, go to Prince Reṇu and say to him, 'When our lord Reṇu is happy, then are we, too, happy. When our lord Reṇu is unhappy, then are we, too, unhappy. Now, lord Reṇu, King Diśāmpati is old, aged, full of years, past his prime and near the term of his life. It is inevitable, lord Reṇu, that life should end in death. (207) Now if, when King Diśāmpati is gone, the king-makers will anoint our lord Reṇu king, he will be able to share the sovereignty with us.'

When this had been said, the lord Prince Reṇu replied to the six nobles, "If, gentlemen, the king-makers will anoint me king when King Diśāmpati is dead, I will share the sovereignty with you. For who should prosper in my realm other than you?"

Then, honoured sirs, after the lapse of a long time King Diśāmpati died. And the king-makers went to Prince Reṇu and said to him, "Prince, you have ascended the throne. We will anoint you king." Prince Reṇu replied to the king-makers, "Let it be then as you wish,⁶ gentlemen."

When anointed king Prince Reṇu, in the possession and

¹ *Abhisambhunoti*, Pali *abhisambhoti*. See vol. 1, p. 35, n. 3.

² *Jitam*. See p. 177, n. 2.

³ *Api hi jitaṃ Jyotipālasya*. See preceding note, but the explanation for the genitive case is obscure.

⁴ *Akṣaramagninīyaṃ upanipāte*, but reading *agrajñam* for *agninīyam*. See vol. 1, p. 287, n. 3.

⁵ Properly, "those nobles," *te kṣatriyās*. The reference is to the six nobles who were the great friends of Reṇu and Jyotipāla. See *D.* 2. 230, the *Mhvu.* itself, below, also makes them six.

⁶ *Sukhī bhavatha yasyedāni kalam manyatha*. See Vol. 1, p. 209, n. 1, p. 272, n. 1.

endowment of the five strands of sensual desires, amused, enjoyed and diverted himself. Then, honoured sirs, the brāhman Mahā-Govinda went to the six nobles and said to them, "Behold, gentlemen, King Reṇu has been anointed king. And now, in the possession and endowment of the six strands of sensual desires, he is amusing, enjoying and diverting himself. But, gentlemen, these pleasures, of sense are intoxicating. Go then to King Reṇu and say to him, 'Does our lord Reṇu remember his promise?'" "So be it, lord," said they in obedience to the brāhman Mahā-Govinda. They went to King Reṇu and said to him, (208) "Does our lord Reṇu remember his promise?"

When this had been said, honoured sirs,¹ King Reṇu replied to the six nobles, "Yes, gentlemen, I do remember my promise. But who now will be able to divide this great earth into seven parts?" The six nobles replied to King Reṇu, "Who, lord Reṇu, is more intelligent and accomplished than the lord Mahā-Govinda? He will divide this great earth into seven parts."

Then King Reṇu summoned a man and said to him, "Go, my good man, to the brāhman Mahā-Govinda, and say to him, 'King Reṇu summons the lord Mahā-Govinda'." "So be it, your majesty," replied the man in obedience to King Reṇu, and he went to the brāhman Mahā-Govinda and said to him, "King Reṇu summons the lord Mahā-Govinda. Let the lord Mahā-Govinda go to King Reṇu." "So be it," said the brāhman Mahā-Govinda in obedience to the man, and he went to King Reṇu. Having exchanged courteous and polite greetings with him he sat down to one side. And when he had thus sat down to one side the brāhman Mahā-Govinda said to King Reṇu, "Lord, this great earth is a wide expanse of seven kingdoms."²

To the south it was in seven parts³ each shaped like a

¹ This formula will be generally omitted henceforward.

² There is a difficulty here. This sentence appears to be Govinda's reply to Reṇu after he had divided the earth (sc. India) into seven kingdoms. The *Mhvu.*, therefore, omits Reṇu's request to Govinda to do so. In *D.* 2. 235 we have both the request and the statement that Govinda did as requested.

³ ? Reading *saptadhā* for *sankṣiptā*.

waggon's mouth.¹ The very centre belonged to King Renu. Then came Dantapura² of the Kalingas, and Potana³ of the Asmakas,⁴ Māhiṣmati⁵ of the Avantis,⁶ and Roruka of the Soviras; (209) Mithilā of the Videhas, Campā⁷ of the Angas, did he map out, and Benares of the Kāśis. All this was mapped out by Govinda.

Then, honoured sirs, Govinda the brāhman established the six nobles each in his own kingdom.⁸

The six kings had not been long anointed when they hastily assembled, went to the brāhman Mahā-Govinda and said to him, "Let our lord Mahā-Govinda advise us. Let our lord Mahā-Govinda administer for us. As our lord Mahā-Govinda administered all the affairs of King Reṇu, so let him administer

¹ *Sakaṭamukhasamsthitam*. The acc. *samsthitam*, where we should expect the nom. to agree with *mahāprīthivi* in the last sentence in prose, would appear to be closer to the tradition of the original as we have it in *D.* 2. 235. The verses in the *Mhv.* are very corrupt. The first line should be part of Reṇu's request to Govinda to do the dividing, or of the statement that Govinda did so. Neither is the second line part of the original verse, which, as Rhys Davids says (*Dial.* 2. p. 270) is "no doubt a very old mnemonic doggerel." *Sakaṭamukha* is a crux. See Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, p. 269 *fn.*, where reference is made to the Sinhalese translation, "on the south side like a waggon's mouth." The note continues, "Buddhaghosa has nothing here; but below as applied to the kingdoms he explains 'with their mouths debouching together.' Neither is satisfactory. It has been suggested that it might mean facing the 'Wain,' that is, the constellation of the Great Bear. But this is unfortunately in the north. The front opening of a bullock waggon is (now) elliptical in form." It may be noted, however, that in *D.* 2. 235 *sakaṭamukham* is antithetical to *āyatam*. Govinda is to divide the land so that it is *āyata* to the north and *sakaṭamukha* to the south. Can it be that the meaning is that the seven kingdoms were to have a long boundary to the north running in a single though irregular line, but each tapering from this basis towards a common apex in the South, the whole and each part thus forming a triangle? If, "the front opening of a bullock waggon is (now) elliptical in form," it could conceivably be triangular at one time or other. If this were so the meaning of the Pali *sabbāni sakaṭamukhāni aṭṭhapesi* (v. 1. 2 *paṭṭhapesi*) would be "and made them all (or each) into triangles." Exact geography, of course, is not to be sought for in such an old doggerel verse. Still, many of the kingdoms as known to history are more or less in line with one another, and even so far north the southward tapering shape of India as a whole would tend to give a triangular shape to equal divisions of the land having their bases to the north.

² Reading Dantapuram, as in *D.*, for *ataḥ puram*. One MS. has *antapuram*.

³ So reading, with *D.*, for *yo* + lacuna of the text.

⁴ Pali Assakas.

⁵ Pali Māhissati.

⁶ Supplied from *D.* Text has lacuna. The MSS. have *ca varttinām* and *vartinām*, which can plausibly be restored *c'avantinām*.

⁷ Supplied from *D.*

⁸ *D.* 2. 237 goes on to name them.

all the affairs of these six kingdoms." And so from that time the brāhman Mahā-Govinda administered all the affairs of the seven kingdoms. And he taught seven hundred thousand brāhmanas and seven hundred young householders¹ to recite the *mantras*, saying to them, "Repeat after me."

All this became known,² and brāhmanas and laymen, townsmen and countrymen came to recognise that the brāhman Govinda was a man of great parts. "The Āryan Mahā-Govinda," said they, "beholds Great Brahmā with his own eyes. It is after deliberating and taking counsel with Great Brahmā that he administers all his affairs."

Then, honoured sirs, the brāhman Mahā-Govinda heard that the brāhmanas and laymen, townsmen and countrymen were regarding the Āryan Mahā-Govinda as a man of great parts and believed that he was seeing Great Brahmā with his own eyes and that it was by deliberating with Great Brahmā that he administered all affairs. So he said, "I do not see Great Brahmā with my own eyes, (210) nor do I deliberate and consult with Great Brahmā when I administer affairs. It is not well nor seemly that I should accept³ this false and fictitious praise. Now I have heard teachers of the old things, men advanced in years, old, aged, venerable and at the end of their term of life, say that Great Brahmā comes within the vision of the man who for the four rainy months meditates in solitude the meditation of pity, and that whatever that man sets his heart on is granted him in answer to his prayer.⁴ Let me now then for the four rainy months meditate the meditation of pity in solitude, if, that is, my lord Reṇu allows me."

King Reṇu said to Mahā-Govinda, "Let it be then, O Mahā-Govinda, as you wish."⁵

Then, honoured sirs, Mahā-Govinda meditated the

¹ *Snātaka*. Pali *nahātaka*. *Dial.* 2. 271 renders "graduates."

² *Api hi jitam*. See p. 177, n. 2.

³ *Adhivāsati*, Pali *adhivāseti*, "consent," "agree to."

⁴ *Pricchitena visarjīyati*, "it is granted when it has been asked for." *Pricchitena*, past part. of *pracch*, on the analogy of Pali *pucchita*, is instrumental absolute. Or it may conceivably be taken as a substantive, when the preceding gen. *asya* would depend on it, instead of being regarded as the indirect object of *visarjīyati*. The causal *visarjayati* (Pali *vissajjeti*) is regularly used in BSk. in the sense of "answering" questions.

⁵ *Sukhimeva yasya va kalam manyasi*. See p. 202, n. 6.

meditation of pity in solitude for the four rainy months. And when the four rainy months were over, on the fast-day,¹ on the fourteenth of the month Pauṣa,² he washed his head and put on white³ and clean garments. His body bathed, he lit a fire on the flag-stone which was close by between the altar and the sacred fire and which was smeared with melted butter.⁴ He then sat down in "the house of the faithful"⁵ with his face to the north.⁶

Then, honoured sirs, before long there appeared a great radiance in the northern quarter. And Mahā-Govinda saw it, and on seeing this wonder and marvel he trembled all over, and the hair on his body bristled, because, of a truth, he was seeing what he had never seen before. Then in no long a time Great Brahmā came through the air from the north and stood above the brāhman Mahā-Govinda. And Mahā-Govinda looking up (211) saw Great Brahmā standing over him in the air. When he had seen this he held out his joined hands towards Great Brahmā and addressed him in a verse:

Whether, Lord, thou art Power, Glory, or Light, we, knowing thee not, ask that we may know.⁷

When this had been said, honoured sirs,⁸ Great Brahmā replied to the brāhman Mahā-Govinda in a verse:

In Brahmā's world they know me⁹ as the Eternal Youth. So do the devas know me. So do you, Govinda, know me.

¹ Poṣadha, Pali uposatha.

² December—January.

³ Reading *odāta* for *āhata*.

⁴ Senart is far from satisfied that his restoration of the text here is correct.

⁵ *Śrāddhānām griha*.

⁶ Rhys Davids, *Dial.* 2, pp. 257–8, thus comments on the introduction of these details in the *Mhvu.* version of the story: "The whole point of the story in the *Dīgha* is the way in which Brahmā describes his ideal brahmin as quite emancipated from animistic superstitions and practices. He gains access to Brahmā by practising . . . the Rapture of Mercy, one of the Brahma-vihāras or sublime conditions. The Mahāvastu is not satisfied with that. It makes him add to it the kindling of the Mystic Fire, Agni." At the same time, it is worth considering whether this may not be due to the fact that the *Mhvu.* is following an older version of the story where the purely religious motive was stronger and not yet weakened by a humanistic ethicalism.

⁷ It is interesting to note that while the second line is exactly the same in *D.* (2. 240), the first is entirely different. *D.* has *vaṇṇavā yasavā sirimā ko nu tvam asi mārisa*, "O vision fair, O glorious and divine! Who art thou, lord?" (*Dial.* 2. 273).

⁸ This formula is, in the translation, omitted from the rest of the dialogue.

⁹ Reading *mam* for *yam*.

The brāhman Mahā-Govinda said to Great Brahmā in a verse:

A seat, water for the feet, sweet cakes¹ and also drink, accept from me, O Brahmā. To thee the best² I bring.

Great Brahmā replied to the brāhman Mahā-Govinda in a verse:

I accept the seat, the water for the feet, the sweet cakes, and the drink, O Govinda. Bring me the best.

The brāhman Mahā-Govinda said to Great Brahmā in verse:

Whether it be for my weal in this life or for my happiness in the world beyond, I would fain get leave to ask the question that is in my mind.

(212) Great Brahmā replied to the brāhman Mahā-Govinda in verse:

Whether it be for your weal in this life or for your happiness in the world beyond, I grant you leave to ask the question that is in your mind.

And then, honoured sirs, the brāhman Mahā-Govinda reflected: "I have been offered by Great Brahmā the boon of an answer to my question. What then shall I ask Great Brahmā? Shall I consider³ what is profitable for this world or what is profitable for the world beyond? But I know that what is profitable for this world concerns the five strands of sensual desires. Let me then ask Great Brahmā a question concerning what is profitable for the world beyond."

So, honoured sirs, the brāhman Mahā-Govinda asked Great Brahmā a question about what is profitable for the world beyond.

I ask Great Brahmā, the Eternal Youth, I that doubt ask thee that doubttest not concerning acts of worship.⁴ How

¹ Literally, "sweet-preparation," *madhu(r)a*kalpa. *D.* 2. 240 has *madhu-pāka*.

² *Agram*. The *Mhvu.* text is here simpler than *D.*, and may possibly suggest that *aggha* in the latter, occurring as the word does in the strange and obscure expressions *aggham pucchati* and *aggham no karoti*, should be emended into *agga* "the best," to correspond with the *agra* of our text.

³ Literally, "considering", *ārabhya*.

⁴ *Paricāriyeṣu*. Senart suggests that *paricāriya* here is for *paricariyā*, *D.* 2. 241 has *paravediyesu*, "the things that others want to know." The readings of the MSS., *pavarevediyesu* for *D.* and *parivārayeṣu* for the *Mhvu.*, would seem to leave the question open as to which has the better reading.

acting, what performing, and what course pursuing¹ can a mortal man attain Brahmā's immortal world?

Great Brahmā replied to the brāhman Mahā-Govinda in a verse:

He among men who abandons thought of "me," is intent of mind,² compassionate and aloof,³ is free from reeking odours⁴ and innocent of fornication, he, O brāhman, though a mortal, attains the immortal world of Brahmā.

(213) Then, honoured sirs, the brāhman Mahā-Govinda said to Great Brahmā, "I know what my lord Great Brahmā means when he talks of abandoning thoughts of 'me'. It means that a man goes forth from home into the homeless state, renouncing his property, whether it be small or large, and leaving his family circle, whether it be small or large. And whether he comes from a high or low family, he sheds every mark of the householder, takes his cloak, bowl and robe, trains himself in the rules of morality, acquires purity in act and speech and lives the pure life. This I know is my lord Great Brahmā's meaning when he talks of abandoning thoughts of 'me'.

"I know also what my lord Great Brahmā means by 'intentness'.⁵ It is that a man, by suppressing applied and sustained thought through his mind becoming inwardly calm and intent, enters and abides in the first⁶ meditation, which is born of solitude and is full of joy and ease. This I know is what my lord Great Brahmā means when he talks of 'being intent'."

"I know also what my lord Great Brahmā means by 'aloof'

¹ Senart restores this line on the model of J. 4. 339. 25 and 5. 148. 14. D. is different, *kathaññhito kimhi ca sikkhamāno*, "wherein proficient, in what method trained" (Dial. 2. 273). The last line is identical in both D. and Mhv.

² Or "one-pointed," *ekotibhūta*, Pali *ekodibhūta*.

³ *Karuṇo vivikto*. The reading of D. (2. 241), *karuṇādhimutta*, "to compassion given," is better here, for *karuṇa* is not well used in the sense of "pitying"; it is rather, "pitiful," etc.

⁴ "Without smell of the flesh," *nir-āmagandha*.

⁵ *Ekotibhāva*. Cf. n. 2.

⁶ But this is a description of the second meditation (*dhyāna*, *jhāna*). except for *vivekajam*, 'born of solitude', instead of *samādhijam*, 'born of concentration'. See vol. 1, p. 184.

⁷ This is entirely different from D. (2. 242) which explains in terms of physical solitariness.

and 'compassionate'. It is that a man abides pervading one quarter of the world with thoughts of compassion, abundant, lofty,¹ single, infinite, free from hatred and ill-will, and so with the second quarter, the third and the fourth, up and down, across, everywhere, the whole wide world. This I know is my lord Great Brahmā's meaning when he talks of 'aloof' and 'compassionate'.

(214) "But I do not know what my lord Great Brahmā means when he talks of 'being free of reeking odours'."

O Brahmā, what are these reeking odours among men? I do not understand this. Tell me, O Mighty One.² What is it by which men are cloaked and enveloped,³ doomed to the ways of woe in hell,⁴ and shut out from Brahmā's world?⁵

Great Brahmā replied to the brāhman Mahā-Govinda in a verse:

Anger and lies and doubt, meanness, overweening conceit and envy,⁶ jealousy, hate and words of wrath against others. These, O brāhman,⁷ are the reeking odours whereby men are cloaked and enveloped, doomed to ways of woe in hell and shut out from Brahmā's world.

Then the lord Mahā-Govinda said to Great Brahmā, "Now

¹ *Vipulena(m) udgatena*. D. 2. 242 has *vipulena mahaggatena*, "far-reaching, expanded." (Dial. 2. 274.)

² *Vira*. D. 2. 242 has *dhira*, "wise".

³ Reading *vriitā prajā* for *vārivahā* of the text, which is inexplicable. Senart proposes to read *vāhirakā*. Taking this with the next word *kukūla*, which he assumes is for *kukkulā*, he renders, "sortis de l'enfer." But the point is that the men referred to (*prajā*) are doomed to go to hell. *Prajā* (*pajā*) is the reading of D., and seems to be suggested by the reading *pāripāha* of one MS. for the Mhv. also.

⁴ Or in *kukūla* (= *Kukkula*, see vol. 1, pp. 7 ff). *Kukūla-āpāyikā* is to be regarded as one compound. *Āpāyika* is an adjectival form from *apāya*.

⁵ Edgerton (B.H.S.D. s.v. *nirvṛita*) restores the text as *nirvṛitabrahmalokam*, which he takes as adverbial = "in such a way that the brahma-world is cut off." But he amplifies this meaning with the words "shut out, excluded from the brahma-world." These two meanings, however, are by no means identical, and can hardly be got from the same word. The second one is the more appropriate here, and it would seem better to retain Senart's *nirvṛitā* (though unmetrical) and emend *brahmalokam* into *-lokā(t)*, ablative of separation.

⁶ In the second line Senart prints *atimāno* only, leaving the rest a lacuna. *Kadaryatā* and *asūyā* have been supplied after *kadaryatā* and *usūyā* of D. 2. 243. A reminiscence of these two words may possibly be seen in the reading of the MSS., *kariyaṃ atimāno ti andha* ("māto ti andha").

⁷ *Brahma* (!) in text.

I know what my lord Great Brahmā means when he talks of 'reeking odours'. But then it is not possible for me while I stay at home to live the wholly bright,¹ the wholly blameless, the wholly pure and wholly clean brahma-life. Life is a brief affair.² We must go on to the world beyond, for there is no avoiding death for one who has been born. Therefore we must gain knowledge, take thought, wake up, do good, live the brahma-life and eschew every sinful act in this world.³ (215) So, my lord Great Brahmā, I will go forth from home into the homeless state, if thou dost consent."

When this had been said, honoured sirs, Great Brahmā replied to the brāhman Mahā-Govinda, "Let it be as you wish, O Mahā-Govinda."⁴

"I⁵ have heard that the Exalted One was at that time the brāhman named Mahā-Govinda. Does the Exalted One remember?" The Exalted One replied to Pañcaśikha the Gandharva, "Even so, Pañcaśikha. I was at that time the brāhman named Mahā-Govinda, and I remember it. But you have not heard, Pañcaśikha, how the brāhman Mahā-Govinda went forth from home into the homeless state."

I, Pañcaśikha, being then the brāhman Mahā-Govinda,⁶ went to King Reṇu and said to him,

To you, King Reṇu, lord of the land, I declare that I am going forth, leaving your kingdom and my ministry here.

But, Pañcaśikha, King Reṇu replied to the brāhman Mahā-Govinda in a verse:

¹ Reading *ṣaṅkhalikhitam* for *saṃlikhitam*. See vol. 2, p. 114, n. 2.

² Cf. A. 4. 136, *appakaṃ brāhmaṇa jīvitam manussānam*.

³ This passage is differently placed in D. (2. 243), where it forms part of Govinda's talk with the kings at a later point in the story. But the language in both versions is strikingly similar.

⁴ *Sukkhībhava yasyedānim kālam manyasi*. See p. 202, n. 6.

⁵ Sc. Pañcaśikha, who here resumes his tale. This passage comes at the very end of the *sūtra* in D. (2. 251).

⁶ This is a curious turn of the story, at least when it is compared with the Pali version. It would seem at first sight to be a later addition, inserted to supply what was omitted when the *Mhv.* passed from Govinda's conversation with Brahmā straight to the end of the story, without retailing his subsequent conversation with the nobles. It all may be, of course, a device to show that the Buddha's memory was better even than that of a Gandharva.

*If aught is lacking to your pleasures, I will make it good.
If there be a man who molests you, then will I support you..
You, my lord, are my father, and I your son. Do not,
Govinda, go forth.*

The brāhman Mahā-Govinda¹ went to King Reṇu and replied to him in a verse:

*Naught is lacking to my pleasures. I know of no one
who molests me. But I have heard a voice that is not of
man. What other course is there for me?*

(216) King Reṇu said to the brāhman Mahā-Govinda in a verse:

*What was this divine being who spoke, like? What did
he say that, on hearing it you leave my house and everything?*

The brāhman Mahā-Govinda replied to King Reṇu in a verse:²

*I used to be³ always eager for sacrifice when the festal
day came round.⁴ I would kindle the sacred fire, arrayed
in robes of kuśa grass.*

*But then Brahmā the Eternal Youth appeared to me,⁵
and when I had heard his words I fain would leave your
house and everything.*

King Reṇu said to the brāhman Mahā-Govinda in a verse:

*I believe the words that you have spoken, lord Govinda.
Having heard the voice divine, what other course could you
take?⁶*

And lord Mahā-Govinda communicated other good words

¹ The words *evamukte Pañcaśikha*, "when this was said, Pañcaśikha," with which each stage in the Buddha's narrative are introduced, are omitted in translating.

² There are two verses.

³ Literally *me sato*, "me being," genitive absolute. D. 2. 244 has *pubbe*, "formerly" for *sarvato* "always."

⁴ Literally "of the festal day," *upavustasya*. Senart retains this orthography for the Prakrit-Pali *upavuttha* on the analogy of the frequent *nivasta* for *nivattha*.

⁵ *Haṃmi*. Senart assumes this to be a locative of *aham*, analogous to the forms *amhammi* and *mahammi* cited by Hemacandra (3.116). Cf. Edgerton: *Gram.* § 20. 36.

⁶ Reading *varlesi* for *vartemi*.

he had heard. [Then King Reṇu said]¹ "Whatever course be the lord Mahā-Govinda's that also will be mine."

As a gem of beryl, pure without flaw² or dross, pure like that shall I live with Govinda to instruct me.

The brāhman Mahā-Govinda said to King Reṇu in verses³:

If you give up the sensual pleasures by which wordly men are stained,⁴ it will be praiseworthy.⁵ Be firm and steady in the power of forbearance.

(217) *This is the Way to Brahmā's city; this is the Way Eternal, the Way that is proclaimed by those who know the true dharma, the Way that leads to birth in Brahmā's world.⁶*

Now, Pañcaśikha, the six kings heard that the brāhman Mahā-Govinda was going forth from home into the homeless state, and they hastily gathered together. Then, Pañcaśikha, the brāhman Mahā-Govinda went to the six kings and said to them, "Come, gentlemen, come, gentlemen. Seek another counsellor who will administer all affairs in each of your kingdoms. And why? Because I am going forth from home into the homeless state. For I have heard Great Brahmā with his own lips speak of reeking odours. Now it is not possible for one who dwells at home to live the wholly bright,⁷ the wholly blameless, the wholly pure and the wholly clean brahma-life. Life is a brief affair. We must go on to the world beyond. There is no avoiding death for one who has been born. Therefore we must seek knowledge, gain it, wake up, do good, and live the brahma-life, and commit no sinful act in this world."

Then, Pañcaśikha, those six kings reflected: "Now these brāhmanas are greedy for wealth. What if we were to coax him with wealth."

¹ Omitted in text, but necessary to the context.

² Reading *ākāco*, as in D. 2. 244, for *ākāse*, "in the air." It is interesting to note that in D. one MS. has *ākāse*.

³ In D. (2. 246) these verses are addressed to the six kings. That they are mistakenly placed here is proved by the plural verbs *jahatha* and *bhavatha*.

⁴ *Rakta*. D. has *satta*, "cursed".

⁵ Literally, "a praised thing," *śastam*. D. (2. 246) is different just here.

⁶ *Saddharmavidbhīrākhyaṭo brahmalokopapattaye*. D. has *saddhammo sabbhi rakkhito brahmalokupapattiyā*, "the Righteous Path that good men guard, to birth in Brahmā's heaven" (Dial. 2. 277).

⁷ See p. 210, n. 1.

So, Pañcaśikha, the six kings sought to coax the brāhman Mahā-Govinda with wealth. "O Mahā-Govinda," said they, "in these six kingdoms there is an abundance of worldly wealth, honest, honestly won, gathered¹ and amassed by honest effort. Let the lord Mahā-Govinda, therefore, take of this wealth. Only, let him not go forth from home into the homeless state."

But, Pañcaśikha, (218) the brāhman Mahā-Govinda replied to the six kings and said, "We have, as you say, an abundance of worldly wealth, which is honest, honestly won, gathered and amassed by honest effort. It is just that which I am renouncing in order to go forth from home into the homeless state. And why? Because I have heard Great Brahmā with his own lips speak of reeking odours. Now it is not possible for one who dwells at home to live the wholly bright, the wholly blameless, the wholly pure and clean brahma-life. Life is a brief affair. We must go on to the world beyond. There is no avoiding death for one who has been born. Therefore we must seek knowledge, gain it, wake up, do good and live the brahma-life, and commit no sin in this world."

Then, Pañcaśikha, the six kings reflected: "These brāhmanas are greedy for women. What now if we were to coax him with women?" So the six kings sought to coax the brāhman Mahā-Govinda with women. "O Mahā-Govinda," said they, "there are in these six kingdoms plenty of lovely, beautiful, and high-class women possessing perfect beauty of complexion. Therefore, let the lord Mahā-Govinda take of these women. Only let him not go forth from home into the homeless state."

But, Pañcaśikha, the brāhman Mahā-Govinda replied to the six kings and said, "Gentlemen, I have already forty wives of equal standing, who are lovely, beautiful, high-class women possessing perfect beauty of complexion. These, too, I renounce in order to go forth from home into the homeless state."

¹ *Abhisāhrita*. On the principle of choosing the *lectio difficilior*, Senart prefers this form here and on p. 222 (text) for the *abhisāhita* of the MSS., and on p. 218 for *abhyāhrita*. The *ā* in *-sā-* is due to compensatory lengthening. Cf. *siha* for *simha*. Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) says that *abhisāhita* is probably to be read.

state. And why? Because I have heard Great Brahmā with his own lips speak of reeking odours. Now it is not possible for one who dwells at home to live the wholly bright, the wholly blameless, pure and clean brahma-life. Life is a brief affair. (219) We must go on to the world beyond. There is no avoiding death for one who has been born. Therefore we must seek knowledge, gain it, wake up, do good and live the brahma-life, and commit no sin in this world."

The six kings said to the brāhman Mahā-Govinda, "Well, then, Mahā-Govinda, wait for seven years, so that we may establish our sons and brothers¹ in our several kingdoms. Then will we come with you. For whatever be the lord Mahā-Govinda's course, that also will be ours."

Mahā-Govinda replied to the six kings and said, "Nay, gentlemen, your seven years is far too long a time. I am going forth from home into the homeless state. And why? Because I have heard Great Brahmā with his own lips speak of reeking odours. Now it is not possible, etc."²

Then the six kings said to the brāhman Mahā-Govinda, "Well, then, Mahā-Govinda, wait for six years." And they went on to ask him to wait for five years, four years, three years, two years, one year.³ "Wait for seven months, so that we may establish our sons and brothers in our several kingdoms. Then will we come with you. For whatever be the lord Mahā-Govinda's course, that also will be ours."

But the brāhman Mahā-Govinda replied to the six kings and said, "Nay, gentlemen, your seven months is far too long a time. I am going forth from home into the homeless state. And why? Because I have heard Great Brahmā with his own lips speak of reeking odours. Now it is not possible, etc."⁴

Then the six kings said to the brāhman Mahā-Govinda, (220) "Well then, Mahā-Govinda, wait for six months, so that we may establish our sons and brothers in our several

¹ *Putrabhṛtīka*, cf. Pali *puttabhātuka* (DhA. I. 214).

² Lacuna in text. But the words omitted are so obvious that they need not be supplied even in translation. It is not clear whether this lacuna is in the MSS. or whether it is Senart's device to avoid repetition.

³ The text is *evaṃ peyālaṃ pañca*, etc., "and so on for five years, etc." For *peyāla*, see p. 198, n. 2.

⁴ Lacuna, as before.

kingdoms. Then will we come with you." And they went on to ask him to wait for five months, four months, three months, two months, one month,¹ (saying), "so that we may establish our sons and brothers in our several kingdoms. Then will we come with you. For whatever be the lord Mahā-Govinda's course, that also will be ours."

But the brāhman Mahā-Govinda replied to the six kings and said, "Nay, gentlemen, your half-a-month² is far too long. I am going forth from home into the homeless state. And why? Because I have heard, etc."³

Then the six kings said to the brāhman Mahā-Govinda "Well then, Mahā-Govinda, wait for one week, so that we may establish our sons and brothers in our several kingdoms. Then will we come with you. For whatever be the lord Mahā-Govinda's course, that also will be ours."

Then did the brāhman Mahā-Govinda reply to the six kings and say, "Well, gentlemen, your week is short enough. Let it be then as you wish."⁴

Then the brāhman Mahā-Govinda went to the seven thousand wealthy brāhmins and the seven hundred young householders⁵ and said to them, "Come, gentlemen, come, gentlemen. Now choose another preceptor who will teach you to recite the *mantras*. I am going forth from home into the homeless state. And why? Because I have heard Great Brahmā with his own lips speak of reeking odours. . . ."⁶

(221) The seven thousand wealthy brāhmins and the seven hundred young householders replied to the brāhman Mahā-Govinda, saying, "Let not the lord Govinda go forth from home into the homeless state. This going forth, Mahā-Govinda, brings little profit, little wealth, little power and little praise. To be a brāhman, on the other hand, brings great profit, wealth, power and praise."

But the brāhman Mahā-Govinda said to the seven

¹ *Evam sarvatra kartavyam peyālaṃ pañca*, etc.

² *Arāhamāse*. But this period has not been named above. For this motif of reducing a stipulated period from seven years to one week cf. V. 2, 182; M. I. 62-3 (=D. 2, 214). (The translator owes these references to Miss I. B. Horner.)

³ Lacuna as before.

⁴ *Sukhi bhavatha yasyedāniṃ kalam manyatha*.

⁵ See p. 205.

⁶ Lacuna as before.

thousand wealthy brāhman and the seven hundred young householders, "Sirs, speak not so. For this going forth brings great success, gain, power and praise, while to be a brāhman brings little profit, gain, power and praise. For, sirs, whatever you have hitherto learned, all that is now the explanation of what I do."¹

The seven thousand brāhman and the seven hundred young householders replied to the brāhman Mahā-Govinda, saying, "Even so, preceptor, even so, preceptor. This going forth brings great success, gain, power and praise, while to be a brāhman, O preceptor, brings little profit, gain and praise. And whatever we have hitherto learnt all that is now the explanation of what you do.² Whatever be the course of our lord preceptor, that also will be our course."

The brāhman Mahā-Govinda said to the seven thousand wealthy brāhman and the seven hundred young householders, "Let it be then, sirs, as you wish."

(222) Then the brāhman Mahā-Govinda went to his forty wives, who were all of equal standing, and said to them, "Let each lady who wishes go back to her own family and, if she wishes, choose another husband. Let those who wish stay in this brāhman household. There is in this brāhman household an abundance of worldly wealth, honest, honestly gained, gathered and amassed by honest effort. As for me, I am going forth from home into the homeless state. And why? Because I have heard Great Brahmā with his own lips speak of reeking odours. Now it is not possible for one who dwells at home to live the wholly bright, the wholly blameless, pure and clean brahma-life. And why?³ Life is a brief affair. We must go on to the world beyond. There is no avoiding death for one who has been born. Therefore we must seek knowledge, gain it, wake up, do good, and live the brahma-life, and commit no sin in this world."

Then the forty wives, who were of equal standing, said

¹ Literally, "our (= my) reason," *asmākaṃ eva nidānam*, i.e. the reason for what I do. The expression is obscure, but it seems to mean that even the brāhmanic teaching, if followed to its logical conclusion, would endorse renunciation of the world. This sentiment is not in *D.* (2. 248).

² *Tava nidānam*.

³ This question is strangely placed. It does not occur here in the repetitions.

to the brāhman Mahā-Govinda, "But the noble Mahā-Govinda is our husband when we need a husband,¹ and our friend when we need a friend. And whatever be the course of our noble Mahā-Govinda, that also will be ours."

The brāhman Mahā-Govinda replied to his forty wives, who were of equal standing, and said, "Let it be then, ladies,² as you wish."

Then, Pāñcaśikha, the brāhman Mahā-Govinda on that seventh day had his hair and beard cut. He put on the yellow robes and went forth from home into the homeless state. And when he had gone forth the seven kings also went forth after him, (223) and the seven thousand wealthy brāhman and the seven hundred young householders and the forty wives of equal standing, without mentioning a number of courtesans, all went forth after him. The whole company was several hundreds, several thousands.

Then, Pāñcaśikha, the brāhman Mahā-Govinda, aloof from desires and rid of passion, taught the dharma to his disciples to fit them for the companionship of Brahmā's world.³ And, Pāñcaśikha, those of the disciples of the brāhman Mahā-Govinda who wholly and on all points understood the dharma taught by him, were reborn into the companionship of Brahmā's world, while those who did not wholly and on all points understand the dharma taught by him, were reborn among the Kāmāvacara devas. Some of them were reborn in the company of the Cāturmahārājika devas,⁴ others in the company of the devas of Trāyastriṃśa,⁵ others in the company of the Yāma devas,⁶ others in the company of the Tuṣita devas,⁷ others in the company of the Nirmāṇarati devas,⁸ and others in the company of the Paranirmitavaśavartin devas.⁹

¹ Literally, "on the occasion for a husband," *bhartākāle*. *D.* 2. 249 has *bhattā bhāṭukāmānam*, "husband of our heart's desire" (*Dial.* 2. 279).

² *Bhoṭīyas*, pl. of *bhoṭī*, fem. of *bhavant*.

³ Text has *sahavratāye* only, dative of purpose. *Sahavratā* is here the equivalent of Pali *sahavyatā*. At 2. 118 (text) it has a meaning more in accord with its supposed Sk. derivation from *saha-vrata*, namely, "communal devotion" or "belief held in common." See vol. 2, p. 114, n. 9.

⁴ See vol. 1, p. 25, n. 3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, n. 2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 28, n. 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 4, n. 11.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 28, n. 3.

⁹ *Ibid.*, n. 4.

Again, Pañcaśikha, the women and men who showed hardness of heart to the brāhman Mahā-Govinda and his disciples were, on the dissolution of their bodies at death, reborn to woe, to the way of ill, to ruin in the hells. But, Pañcaśikha, those who were kindly disposed¹ towards the brāhman Mahā-Govinda and his disciples were, on the dissolution of their bodies at death, reborn in the way of bliss, in heaven, in the company of devas.

Again, Pañcaśikha, whatever village or town the brāhman Mahā-Govinda came to and stayed at, there he became as a king of a kingdom,² as a deva to the laymen, and as Brahmā to the brāhmins. And whenever he walked along an unfrequented³ way, there also was he as a king of a kingdom, as a deva to the laymen, and as Brahmā to the brāhmins.

Now this became known,⁴ and when brāhmins and laymen, townsmen and countrymen tripped,⁵ they recited the solemn utterance, 'Glory be to the noble Mahā-Govinda. Glory be to the minister of seven'.⁶

(224) This did the Exalted One relate when he was staying at Rājagriha on Mount Gridhrakūṭa. And while this exposition was being given to him, the elated Pañcaśikha, the Gandharva, rejoiced at the speech of the Exalted One which was free of passion and dross and had clear dharma-insight into things.

¹ *Cittāni* only in the text; it is obviously the latter part of a compound the first part of which must have been an adjective of this meaning to form the antithesis to *paraśacittāni*. The *apparatus* affords no clue to the exact adjective missing.

² *D.*, 2. 250, has *rājā raññam*, "king of kings."

³ *Nirūḍha*, which Senart says is inexplicable. Possibly, however, it is for *nirūḍha*, ? "isolated" "removed", from *nir-ūh* (*ūh*) "to remove" etc. But, perhaps, Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*) is right in saying that the meaning cannot be "a wild, deserted place" as people are shown to be present. Still, it obviously is antithetical to "town" or "village."

⁴ ? *Api hi jñam*. See p. 177, n. 2.

⁵ *Utkhalitā*, past part. from *utkhalati*. Senart, however, sees a difficulty here, and in his note on the passage would emend into *utkalitā*, from *utkal* "to open out", "be cheerful". *D.* 2. 250 has *upakkhalanti*, with the variant *ukkkhalanti*, which the *P.E.D.* does not recognise. The right reading here, therefore, would seem to be *utkhalitā* as in the text. Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*) says the form is semi-MIndic for *utskhalati*, "to trip", "stumble."

⁶ *Sc.* the Seven Kings. Such a recital of an auspicious saying in order to counteract an ill omen is, of course, a commonplace of primitive custom and still survives in folklore. Cf. *M.* 2. 209.

The Exalted One said, "It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time the brāhman named Govinda was somebody else. That, verily, you must not think. And why? I, monks, at that time and on that occasion was the brāhman named Govinda. Then, too, when I went forth to the religious life a great multitude accompanied me. And now, also, has a great multitude accompanied me as I have gone forth."¹

Here ends the Govindīya-sūtra dealing with a former life of the Exalted One.

FORMER BUDDHAS²

The Exalted One, the perfect Buddha, having fully realised the aim he had set himself, was staying at Śrāvastī, in the Jeta Grove in Anāthapiṇḍa's³ park, and teaching devas and men. He was respected, esteemed, revered, honoured and venerated, and so on up to⁴ he had won control over his heart.⁵ And in whatever states exalted Buddhas desire to abide, in these do they abide. (225) Their hearts are upright, gentle, supple, composed, loving, controlled, calm, free, pure, stainless, honest, steady, firm, rid of attachment, not clinging, incorrupt, sober, like the earth, like water, like fire, like air,⁶ soft as *kācilinda*⁷ is to the touch, like Indra's column, and emancipated. Their knowledge is emancipated.⁸ They have

¹ In *D.* 2. 252 the object of the *sūtra* is shown to be doctrinal; it is given as a proof that renunciation always brings its reward. In the *Mhuv.*, with its fondness for edifying tales, it is a *jātaka* illustrating and emphasising an incident in the Buddha's career by recalling a similar one in a former life of his.

² In the colophon this *sūtra* is styled *bahubuddhasūtra*, the "Sūtra of the Many Buddhas." A *sūtra* of the same title is given in vol. 1, p. 46 ff, but the subject is only cursorily dealt with there. See vol. 1 (trans.), p. 46, n. 2.

³ See vol. 1, p. 5, n. 6.

⁴ Text has *vistareṇa nidānam kṛtvā*—describing the occasion in detail, i.e. as such occasions are usually described, e.g. 1, p. 34 (text).

⁵ Reading *cetovaśiprāpto* for *prāptā* of the text.

⁶ I.e., having the unspoilt characteristics of the several elements. Cf. vol. 2, p. 260-1 (text).

⁷ See vol. 2, p. 246, n. 14.

⁸ *Suvimuktaprajñā*, a *bahuvrīhi* compound, "having emancipated knowledge." Generally we have the expression *prajñāvimukta*, Pali *paññāvimutta*, "emancipated by knowledge."

removed obstacles;¹ they are not fenced in² nor obstructed. They are the best of those who have the dharma as their banner, the best of brāhmanas, nobles, young householders. They are versed in the Vedas. They speak what is true, profitable, certain, unequivocal, not what is false and untrue. [Therefore the Tathāgata is so named because he does not speak what is not true.]³

Now there the Exalted One said to the venerable Ānanda, "With only one bowl of alms, Ānanda, I am going to sit here for three months and abide in the states of former Tathāgatas, Arhans and perfect Buddhas. No one is to intrude on me in any way." "So be it, Lord," said the venerable Ānanda in obedience to the Exalted One.

So the Exalted One sat there for three months with one bowl of alms, abiding in the states of former Tathāgatas, Arhans and perfect Buddhas.

Then when the three months were over the Exalted One emerged in the evening from his seclusion. Coming out of his hut⁴ he sat down cross-legged. Now the venerable Ānanda saw the Exalted One sitting down cross-legged in the shelter of his hut,⁵ and on seeing him, he went to him, bowed at his feet, and sat down to one side. As he thus sat down on one side, he said to the Exalted One, "The Exalted One's faculties are calm and sublime, his complexion is clear, and his face is shining. Verily, the Exalted One is abiding in sublime states."

When this had been spoken, the Exalted One said to Ānanda, "Even so, Ānanda, when he so wishes, Ānanda, the Tathāgata can sit down with one bowl of alms for the *kalpa* or (226) or what is left of the *kalpa*. And why? Because, Ānanda, it

¹ Literally, "with cross-bars removed," reading *utkṣiptaparigha* for *-parikha*. Cf. Pali *ukkhittapaligha*. The latter expression is found combined with *saṃkiṇṇaparikha*, "with trenches filled", etc., as epithets of an Arhan. The text would thus seem to be faulty here, having one compound instead of two or more, and that one consisting of the participle of one and the substantive of the other. At *M.* i. 139 = *A.* 3. 84, there are five such epithets of an Arhan.

² Reading *aveṣṭitaprākārā* "with no walls surrounding," for *āveṣṭitaprākārā*, which would mean "with walls thrown round (them)."

³ This sentence, as Senart remarks, is obviously a gloss which has found its way into the text.

⁴ *Vihāra*.

⁵ *Kuṭi*, here.

was so in the case of¹ former Tathāgatas, Arhans and perfect Buddhas who abode in these states, inasmuch as they had won the perfection² of charity, morality, forbearance, energy, meditation and knowledge.

An incalculable infinite *kalpa* ago there lived a Tathāgata, Arhan and perfect Buddha named Indradhvaja.³ Now, Ānanda, the royal city of the Tathāgata, Arhan and perfect Buddha Indradhvaja was named Indratapanā, which was twelve *yojanas* long from east to west and seven wide from south to north.⁴ It was encircled by seven ramparts made of gold and faced with gold.

Again, Ānanda, the royal city of Indratapanā was surrounded by seven rows of bright and beautiful palm-trees made of the seven precious substances, gold, silver, pearl, beryl, crystal, white coral, and ruby. When the trunk was of gold the leaves and fruit were of silver. When the trunk was of silver the leaves and fruit were of pearl; when the trunk was of pearl, the leaves and fruit were of beryl; when the trunk was of beryl the leaves and fruit were of white coral; when the trunk was of white coral the leaves and fruit were of ruby, and when the trunk was of ruby the leaves and fruit were of gold. And, Ānanda, when these palm-trees were stirred and shaken by the wind, there was a rustling sound⁵ that was gentle, pleasant and charming, not grating on the ears, but like the sound of the five musical instruments played in harmony by expert performers.⁶ (227) And so, Ānanda, in the royal city of Indratapanā men then were intoxicated⁷ by the music of the leaves of the palm-trees, and, endowed and provided with the five strands of sensual desires they diverted, enjoyed and amused themselves.

¹ Literally, "it is the nature or characteristic, etc., of," *bhavati* and genitive.

² *Pāramitā*, so *Nett.* 87, but elsewhere in Pali *pārami*. "In later literature there is mentioned a group of ten *pāramis*," *P.E.D.*, where references are given.

³ Also mentioned in vol. i. See index.

⁴ Text has *vistareṇa* only, after the *sapta yojanāni*, but "from south to north" is clearly implied after the general description of such cities.

⁵ Literally "a sound came forth," *ghoṣa niṣcarati*.

⁶ The simile is shortened in translation. In full it would be "just as the sound of the five musical instruments . . . is gentle . . . so the sound of the palm-trees . . ."

⁷ *Soṇḍamanuṣyāpeyā* for *soṇḍāpeyā manuṣyā*, an instance of *tnesis*. For *soṇḍa*, vol. i, p. 194 has the Sk. *ṣuṇḍa*.

Again, Ānanda, the royal city of Indratapanā was encircled by seven bright and beautiful railings¹ made of the seven precious substances, gold, silver, pearl, beryl, crystal, white coral and ruby. Where the pillar was of gold, the cross-bars, the supports and the base were of silver; where the pillar was of silver, they² were of pearl; where the pillar was of pearl, 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 ruby, and where the pillar was of ruby, they were of gold.

Again, Ānanda, these railings were faced with two net-like fabrics, one of gold and the other of silver. On the gold network there were bells of silver, and on the silver network golden bells.

Again, Ānanda, the royal city of Indratapanā had three gates (228) on each side, bright and beautiful and made of the seven precious substances, gold, silver, pearl, beryl, crystal, white coral and ruby. These gates, Ānanda, had roofs of tiles³ made of the two precious metals, gold and silver. These gates had steps made of the two precious metals, gold and silver. The floor beneath⁴ these gates was made of the two precious metals, gold and silver. These gates had beams made of the two precious metals, gold and silver. They had *paṭimodakas*⁵ made of the two precious metals, gold and silver. They had buttresses⁶ made of the two precious metals, gold and silver.

Again, Ānanda, these gates had opening panels⁷ made of the four precious substances, gold, silver, pearl and beryl;

¹ *Vedikājālā*. See vol. I, p. 153, n. 1. For the other architectural details see the other footnotes on the same page.

² The text, of course, repeats each term.

³ The text has *iṣṭākā* "tiles" (or "bricks") only. Perhaps, "bricks" is the right rendering here, but vol. I, p. 195 (text) has *vyāmotsanga*, which has been rendered "arch". See Vol. I, p. 154, n. 1.

⁴ *Dharaṇiyo*, "earth", "ground", "supporting".

⁵ See vol. I, p. 154, n. 6. Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) would read *paṭimoka* "an ornament fastened on".

⁶ ? *Pratikūla*. This, possibly, corresponds to the *anuvargā*, "flanking towers" of vol. I, p. 195. See trans. p. 154, n. 3. Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) queries whether it is for *pratikūla*, "counter-pinnacle."

⁷ *Phalikaphalakāni*, corresponding to *phaṭikaphalakāni* of vol. I, p. 195. Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) says the right reading is *phalakha* = AMg. *phalaka* "a big plank".

They were faced with plates¹ made of the two precious metals, gold and silver.

Again, Ānanda, these gates had shrines for relics² made of the two precious metals, gold and silver. In front of these gates pillars³ were erected, which were embedded in the ground to the depth of three men's length, were three men's length high, and twelve men's length in diameter.⁴ They were bright and beautiful, made of the seven precious substances, gold, silver, pearl, beryl, crystal, white coral and ruby.

Again, Ānanda, these gates were covered with two net-like fabrics, one of gold and the other of silver. On the golden net-like fabric (229) were bells of silver and on the silver one golden bells. And, Ānanda, when these net-like fabrics were stirred and shaken by the wind, they gave out a sound that was gentle, pleasant and charming, not grating on the ear. It was just like the sound of the five musical instruments played in harmony by expert performers.⁵

Again, Ānanda, the royal city of Indratapanā was full of such sounds as those of elephants, horses, chariots, infantry, drums, cymbals, trumpets, flutes, lutes, songs and musical instruments. It was full of cries bidding men to eat, consume, drink, give gifts, live righteously, and of cries of welcome to recluses and brāhmins.

Again, Ānanda, in the centre of the royal city of Indratapanā there was a pillar named Valayā, which was bright and beautiful, and made of the seven precious substances,

¹ *Phalakastāra*. See vol. I, p. 154, n. 5. According to Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) the first part of the compound should be *phalika* = Sk. *parigha* "a bar".

² *Elūka*, as in vol. I, for *eḍūka*.

³ *Iṣṭkāni*, neut. for fem. in Sk., properly "reed," "rush." With *iṣṭkāni* cf. Pali *esika*, *esikā*, a by-form of *isikā*, meaning "column". See also Edgerton (B.H.S.D.).

⁴ The dimensional terms are different in vol. I, p. 196 (text). *Ucca*, "high" is there *udvedha*, from *ud-vyadh*, "to pierce through in an upward direction." Pali *ubbedha*. *Udvedha* here must, therefore, indicate another dimension, and the only possible one remaining is that of the diameter or length through. We should, however, expect as the term for this dimension the BSk. *pravedha* (Pali *pabbedha*), which is used to indicate the distance pierced through by an arrow. (See P.E.D. for references). In vol. I, p. 196 the standard of twelve men's length is applied to the circumference, if, that is, Senart is right in so interpreting the obscure *parigohya*. (See trans. p. 154, n. 9. Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) gives it the same meaning, but thinks the form is corrupt).

⁵ See p. 221, n. 6.

gold, silver, pearl, beryl, crystal, white coral, and ruby. It was twelve *yojanas* high and embedded in the ground to the depth of four.

This did the Exalted One say. And when he had so spoken the Master went on to say more. "There was a Master," said he, "named Indradhvaja, golden of countenance, distinguished by hundreds of virtues.

"He was a seer of great power, a Leader of the Sangha. He instructed seven hundred koṭis.

"(230) He, the honoured Leader of a crowd of recluses, entered the well-built city of Indratapanā."

Now, Ānanda, the Tathāgata, Arhan and perfect Buddha Indradhvaja proclaimed the Tathāgata, Arhan and perfect Buddha Mahādhvaja. Mahādhvaja proclaimed Dhvajottama.¹ Dhvajottama proclaimed Dhvajarucira. Dhvajarucira proclaimed Dhvajaketu. Dhvajaketu proclaimed Ketudhvaja. Ketudhvaja proclaimed Dhvajadhvaja. Dhvajadhvaja proclaimed Dhvajamaparājita. Dhvajamaparājita proclaimed Aparājita. Aparājita proclaimed Supratāpa. Supratāpa proclaimed Pradīpa. Pradīpa proclaimed Supratiṣṭhita. Supratiṣṭhita proclaimed Nāgamuni. Nāgamuni proclaimed Mahāmuni. Mahāmuni proclaimed Munipravara. Munipravara proclaimed Saṃvṛtaskandha. Saṃvṛtaskandha proclaimed Bandhuma. (231) Bandhuma proclaimed Ariṣṭa. Ariṣṭa proclaimed Vijitāvin. Vijitāvin proclaimed Krakucchanda. Krakucchanda proclaimed Asamasama. Asamasama proclaimed Prabhankara. Prabhankara proclaimed Oghaja. Oghaja proclaimed Mahābala. Mahābala proclaimed Sujāta. Sujāta proclaimed Pārangata. Pārangata proclaimed Mahāprasāda. Mahāprasāda proclaimed Sukhendriya. Sukhendriya proclaimed Nakṣatrarāja. Nakṣatrarāja proclaimed Śatapuṣpa. Śatapuṣpa proclaimed Viraja. Viraja proclaimed Brahmasvara. Brahmasvara proclaimed Śirasāhvaya.

Now, Ānanda, when Śirasāhvaya was the Tathāgata the capital city was named Puṣpāvati. It was twelve *yojanas* long from east to west and seven wide from south to north. It was surrounded by seven walls of gold faced with gold and

¹ "Tathāgata, Arhan, and perfect Buddha" are omitted in the translation of the rest of this passage, as well as "O Ānanda."

encircled by seven rows of palm-trees which were bright and beautiful,¹ and so on up to when the trunk of the palm-tree was of gold the leaves and fruit were of silver. And, Ānanda, when the palm-trees were stirred and shaken by the wind they gave forth a gentle and charming sound. The people (232) in the royal city of Puṣpāvati were intoxicated² by the music of the leaves and fruit, and, endowed and provided with the five strands of sensual desires, they diverted, enjoyed and amused themselves.

Again, Ānanda, the royal city of Puṣpāvati was encircled by seven railings, bright and beautiful, made of the seven precious substances, and so on as in the case of the royal city of Indratapanā.³ The royal city of Puṣpāvati⁴ was full of such sounds as those of elephants, horses, chariots, infantry, drums, tabours, cymbals, trumpets, flutes, lutes, songs and music. It was full of cries bidding men to eat, consume, drink, give gifts, and live righteously, and of cries of welcome to recluses and brāhmins. This royal city had a pillar named Valayā, bright and beautiful, and made of the seven precious substances, gold, silver, pearl, beryl, crystal, white coral and ruby. It was twelve *yojanas* high and embedded in the earth to the depth of four.

*This did the Exalted One say. And when he had so spoken the Master went on to say more. "In the succession of these Buddhas," said he, "Śirasāhvaya was the last."*⁵

"He was a seer of great power, a Leader of the Sangha. He instructed seven hundred koṭis. He, the honoured leader of a crowd of recluses, entered the well-built city of Puṣpāvati."

Now, Ānanda, the Tathāgata Śirasāhvaya proclaimed the Tathāgata Nāgakulottama. (233) Nāgakulottama proclaimed Kṣamottara. Kṣamottara proclaimed Nāgottama. Nāgottama proclaimed Angottama. Angottama proclaimed Vāsava. Vāsava proclaimed Candrima. Candrima proclaimed

¹ These adjectives are nominative in the text, instead of instrumental in agreement with *tālapankṣi*.

² *Suñḍāmanuṣyāpeya*. See p. 221, n. 7.

³ *Indratapanārājadhānivat*.

⁴ Text has the locative case, emphasised besides by *tatra*, but the qualifying adjective, *aśūnyā*, "not empty", is nominative.

⁵ *Pacchimaka*, BSk. and Pali; Sk. *paścimaka*.

Hetumanta. Hetumanta proclaimed Jinendra. Jinendra proclaimed Jāmbunada. Jāmbunada proclaimed Tagaraśikhi. Tagaraśikhi proclaimed Paduma. Paduma proclaimed Kauṇḍinyagotra. Kauṇḍinyagotra proclaimed the Tathāgata also named Kauṇḍinyagotra.

This did the Exalted One say. And when he had so spoken, the Master went on to say more. "In the succession of these Buddhas the last was Kauṇḍinyagotra.

"These three hundred sublime Buddhas were all named Kauṇḍinyagotra.

"They were seers of great power, Leaders of the Sangha, in that one kalpa which is named Upala. Thrice three hundred koṭis was the great assembly of their disciples.

(234) "Thrice three hundred years was the term of life of their disciples, and the true dharma survived for twenty-three¹ thousand years after they had passed away."

Now, Ānanda, the last Tathāgata named Kauṇḍinyagotra proclaimed the Tathāgata Candana. Candana proclaimed Viraja. Viraja proclaimed Hitešin. Hitešin proclaimed Supātra. And, Ānanda, when Supātra was the Tathāgata, the royal city was named Abhayapurā. It was twelve *yojanas* long from east to west² and seven wide from south to north. It was surrounded by seven walls of gold and encircled by seven rows of palm trees, bright and beautiful and made of the seven precious substances.

In short, it is to be described in exactly the same way as Puṣpāvati. There, too, was a pillar named Valayā which was bright and beautiful and made of the seven precious substances. And, Ānanda, the Tathāgata and perfect Buddha Supātra lived on for a full hundred *kalpas* contemplating the way of the dharma.³ He proclaimed the Tathāgata Varuṇa.

¹ *Treṇṇsat*, Sk. *trayoviṃsat*. Cf. Pali *tevīsā*.

² These two points of the compass are supplied in translation; they are wanting in the text.

³ Properly, "the dharma as guide," i.e., "the way along which it guides" *dharmanetṛi*, cf. vol. 2, p. 373 (= trans. p. 338). Also *Miln*, 228 (*dhammanetṛi*), where, however, *S.B.E.* XXXVI, p. 204, translates "the eye of truth." But Miss I. B. Horner, in a communication, points out that possibly the radical meaning of *dharmanetṛi* is "the cord that ties one to the dharma," i.e. the strict observances of the rules of life according to dharma, which, of course, is another way of expressing "the way of the dharma." She cites in support of this possibility *SA*. 2. 336 where *bhavanetṛi* is explained as *bhavarajju*, "the cord (tying one) to becoming." So also *MA*. 3. 342 = *DhsA*. 364.

This did the Exalted One say. And when he had so spoken, the Master went on to say more. "The Master Supātra," said he, "perfect in beneficence and compassion and contemplating the way of the true dharma lived on for a full hundred kalpas, and instructed thirty-two nayutas of koṭis."

After he had preached the word of the renowned calm¹ he proclaimed the Tathāgata Varuṇottama. (235) Varuṇottama proclaimed Dhṛitarāṣṭra. Dhṛitarāṣṭra proclaimed Śveturāṣṭra. Śveturāṣṭra proclaimed Śikhin. Śikhin proclaimed the Tathāgata who was also named Śikhin.

In the succession of these Buddhas sixty-two were named Śikhin. All lived in the kalpa of Paduma.²

Mighty in power, routing the hosts of their enemies they instructed³ many⁴ disciples in the true way.⁵

The last Tathāgata, Ānanda, proclaimed the Tathāgata Virūḍhaka. Virūḍhaka proclaimed Sunetra. Sunetra proclaimed Sujāta. Sujāta in the course of one single day⁶ instructed eighty-four thousand *nayutas* of disciples, and on the same day he passed entirely away. And, Ānanda, the true dharma of that Tathāgata survived for thirty thousand years.

This did the Exalted One say. And when he had so spoken, the Master went on to say still more.

Now, Ānanda, the Tathāgata Sujāta proclaimed the Tathāgata Utpala. Utpala proclaimed Brahmottama. Brahmottama proclaimed Sudarśana. And, Ānanda, when

¹ Literally, "made the word spreading calm," *kṣemavaistārikam prāvacanam karitvā*. *Kṣemavaistārikam*, here at first sight is an adjective qualifying *prāvacanam*, i.e. "the word spreading calm," but it seems better to take it as a substantive, either in apposition to *prāvacanam*, i.e. "The word which was the renowned calm" (sc. Nirvana) or as the object to *prāvacanam karitvā* taken as a compound verb of saying. For this sense of *vaistārika* Senart compares Pali *viṭṭhārika* at *J*. 1. 29. See also Edgerton, *B.H.S.D.*

² Not mentioned elsewhere as the name of a *kalpa*.

³ *Vinesi*, sg. for pl., i.e. "each of them" did so. According to Miss I. B. Horner there are several instances of such a usage of sg. for pl. in Pali.

⁴ *Prithū* in the sense of *bahū*. Cf. Pali *puṭhu* (2).

⁵ *Saṭpathā* for *-ān*, adjective qualifying *śrāvakān*. So *prithū* for *prithūn*.

⁶ *Ekinā divasavāreṇa*. *Ekinā* is the instrumental of a consonantal stem of *eka*. See also vol. 2. 103 (text); 3. 12, 13 (text). See Edgerton, *Gram.* § 21. 14.

Sudarśana was the Tathāgata the royal capital was named Devapurā.

It was twelve *yojanas* long and seven wide. It was surrounded by seven walls of gold (236), and encircled by seven rows of palm-trees, bright and beautiful, made of the seven precious substances. It is to be described in the same way as Abhayapurā.

In the succession of these Buddhas Sudarśana was the last. Mighty in power, Leader of a host of men, he instructed three hundred koṭis. He, the honoured Leader of a throng of disciples, entered the well-built city of Devapurā.

Now, Ānanda, the Tathāgata Sudarśana proclaimed the Tathāgata Arthadarśin. Arthadarśin proclaimed Mūla. Mūla proclaimed Auṣaḍhin. Auṣaḍhin proclaimed Hitešin. Hitešin proclaimed Jāmbūnada. Jāmbūnada proclaimed Sāla. Sāla proclaimed Abhijita. Abhijita proclaimed Jinavaruttama. Jinavaruttama proclaimed Sammatābhadrā. Sammatābhadrā proclaimed Śāśivimala. Śāśivimala proclaimed Pauṇḍarika. Pauṇḍarika proclaimed Candrima. Candrima proclaimed Bhāvītātman. Bhāvītātman (237) proclaimed Oghaja. Oghaja proclaimed Abhaya. Abhaya proclaimed Svayamprabha. Svayamprabha proclaimed Mahābala. Mahābala proclaimed Āditya. Āditya proclaimed Pratāpavanta. Pratāpavanta proclaimed Hitešin. Hitešin proclaimed Dhvajottama. Dhvajottama proclaimed Dhvajadhva. Dhvajadhva proclaimed Ketu. Ketu proclaimed Ketūttama. Ketūttama proclaimed Asahya. Asahya proclaimed Jāmbūnada. Jāmbūnada proclaimed Sālarāja. Sālarāja proclaimed Akutobhaya. Akutobhaya proclaimed Nirmita. Nirmita proclaimed Upāśānta. Upāśānta proclaimed Jinendra. Jinendra proclaimed the Tathāgata who was also named Jinendra.

In the succession of these Buddhas the last was named Jinendra. There were three hundred of these sublime Buddhas all named Jinendra.

Mighty in power were they, Leaders of a host of seers: in that one kalpa of Mahāyaśa, thrice three hundred koṭis was the great assembly of these Leaders.

(238) *Thrice three thousand years was the term of life of*

these Leaders, and thrice thirty thousand years did the true dharma survive after they had passed entirely away.

Now, Ānanda, the last Tathāgata named Jinendra proclaimed the Tathāgata Sarvārthadarśin. Sarvārthadarśin lived on in the world for a thousand *kalpas* contemplating the way of the true dharma. And then he proclaimed Aśoka. Aśoka proclaimed Dhvajottama. Dhvajottama proclaimed Nyagrodharāja. Nyagrodharāja proclaimed Vipulayaśa. Vipulayaśa proclaimed Jayanta. Jayanta proclaimed Śākyamuni. And, Ānanda, when Śākyamuni was the Tathāgata and perfect Buddha the royal capital was named Sīmhapurī. It was twelve *yojanas* long and seven wide. It was surrounded by seven walls of gold, and encircled by seven rows of palm-trees, bright and beautiful, and made of the seven precious substances. It is to be described in the same way as Indratapanā. In Sīmhapurī there was a column named Valayā, which is to be described as above.

In the succession of these Buddhas, Śākyamuni was the last. Mighty in power, Leader of a host of seers, he instructed three hundred koṭis. He, the honoured Leader of a throng of recluses, entered the well-built city of Sīmhapurī.

(239) Now, Ānanda, the Tathāgata Śākyamuni proclaimed the Tathāgata Sarvadaya. Sarvadaya proclaimed Atyuttama. Atyuttama proclaimed Uttara. Uttara proclaimed Samitāvin.¹

The Tathāgata Samitāvin lived on in the world for a full thousand *kalpas*, contemplating the way of the dharma. And then he proclaimed the Tathāgata Baladatta. Baladatta proclaimed Bhāgīratha. Bhāgīratha proclaimed Angīrasa. Angīrasa proclaimed Nāgottama. Nāgottama proclaimed Nāgabala. Nāgabala proclaimed Puṣpa. Puṣpa proclaimed Puṣputtara. Puṣputtara proclaimed Meru. Meru proclaimed Ratnāgni. Ratnāgni proclaimed Puṣpakṛita. Puṣpakṛita proclaimed Dīpaṃkara. And, Ānanda, when Dīpaṃkara was the Tathāgata the royal capital was Dīpavatī. It was twelve *yojanas* long and seven wide. It was surrounded by seven walls of gold and encircled by seven rows of palm-trees, bright and beautiful, and made of the seven precious substances. The whole description is to be made as before.

¹ Here spelt *Samitāvinā*.

In the succession of these Buddhas, Dīpaṃkara was the last. Mighty in power, Leader of a host of seers, he instructed eighty thousand disciples. He, the honoured Leader of a throng of recluses, entered the well-built city of Dīpavṛ.

(240) Now, Ānanda, the Tathāgata Dīpaṃkara proclaimed the Tathāgata Sarvābhībhū. Sarvābhībhū proclaimed Padumuttara. Padumuttara proclaimed Atyuccagāmin. Atyuccagāmin proclaimed Yaśottara. Yaśottara proclaimed Śākyamuni. Śākyamuni proclaimed Arthadarśi. Arthadarśi proclaimed Tiṣya. Tiṣya proclaimed Puṣya. Puṣya proclaimed Vipāśyin. Vipāśyin proclaimed Śikhin. Śikhin proclaimed Viśvabhū. Viśvabhū proclaimed Krakucchanda. Krakucchanda proclaimed Konākamuni. Konākamuni proclaimed Kāśyapa. Kāśyapa proclaimed Śākyamuni. And I who am Śākyamuni have proclaimed Maitreya. Now, when Maitreya will be the Tathāgata the royal capital will be¹ named Ketumatī. It will be twelve *yojanas* long and seven wide. It will be surrounded by seven walls of gold, and encircled by seven rows of palm-trees, bright and beautiful, and made of the seven precious substances. The whole previous description will apply to it.

In the succession of these Buddhas the last will be Maitreya. Mighty in power, the Leader of a host of seers, he will instruct seven hundred kotis. He, the honoured Leader of a throng of recluses, will enter the well-built city of Ketumatī.

(241) He who recounts the extolled Buddhas,² the drivers of tameable men, from Indradhvaja on to the future Maitreya, he, the Master, Ānanda, shines like the sun, as, in the Aśoka Grove, he questions the Lion-man, who is splendid in majesty, the Conqueror who has conquered the lusts, saying,
"Wonderful is the Exalted One's fame, wonderful is his

¹ *Abhūsi*, (sic) for *bhaviṣyati*. The redactor has copied the language of the previous passages too exactly.

² A metrical version of the same *sūtra* from another tradition, or, perhaps, even from a different school or sect which preferred the epithet *Daśabala* to *Tathāgata*.

glory in all the regions of the world. What deed did the Exalted One perform that he now shines in the world of men and of devas ?"

When he heard this, the Great Sage, who had utterly destroyed the sting of doubt,¹ the Choice Being, with unimpeded speech made reply,

"Hear, O Ānanda, what the root of virtue was like which I planted among Buddhas and their disciples, as I passed through my various lives.

"Whilst I was aiming at enlightenment and seeking the eternal abode, right good service did I render them with enraptured heart.

"When Dīpaṃkara was the Buddha, O Ānanda, and when Sarvābhībhū and Padumuttara and Atyuccagāmin were the Buddhas ;

"When the Buddhas were Yaśottara, Śākyamuni,² Arthadarśi, Tiṣya, Puṣya, the Best of Men, and Vipāśyin, the perfect Buddha ;

"When the Buddhas were Śikhin,³ Krakucchanda the greatly wise, Konākamuni and Kāśyapa, right great service did I render them with enraptured heart.

(242) "Mighty in power were they, infinite in wisdom,⁴ famed throughout the world. These sublime Buddhas did I honour, and hence, O Ānanda, I now prevail.

"Hence is my glory unequalled and my fame gone forth in all regions of the world. Hence do I shine in the worlds of men, of devas, and of Brahmā."

When he had heard these words spoken by the truthful Guide of the world, Ānanda, in gladness and in exaltation of heart, further asked,

"How long ago⁵ did these Buddhas achieve superiority⁶

¹ Miss I. B. Horner calls the translator's attention to *Niddesa* i. 59 where seven "stings," or "barbs," *sallas*, are mentioned, of which the "sting of doubt" is the last.

² Here called the "Śakyan-Lion," Śākyasiṃha.

³ Viśvabhū is omitted here. See p. 230.

⁴ *Ananta* + lacuna in text. ? supply *prajñā*.

⁵ *Kevaciram*. *Keva* is Sk. *kivani*, and *kivanti*, Pali *kivanti* and *kiva*. Cf. *kevarūpa* vol. i, p. 97, etc. On p. 416, of vol. i, Senart remarks on this form, "Le Māgadhi Jaina possède toute cette gamme de formes, *evam*, *kevat*, *kevatīya*, réduit en composition à *ke*" (after Weber, *Bhagav.*, 422). Now see Edgerton, *B.H.S.D.*, s.v.

⁶ *Ucātām* (? sic) for *uccatām*.

in the world? For how long did they live on for the sake of the whole world?

"For thus does the golden-bright Buddha, in rapture and joy tell the praises of the great Seers, the Buddhas of long ago.

"For thus does the Buddha, who has insight into the highest good, and is the equal and peer of Buddhas, reveal the wondrous power¹ of all Buddhas."

"The sphere of Buddhas," said he, "is beyond thought, beyond compare and beyond measure." "Enraptured was I, Lord, on hearing these immortal words.

"Infinite was the gain to the worlds of men and of devas and of Brahmā when he said that the sphere of the Buddhas was beyond the thought of others.

"That one Sākyan prince, offspring of Sākyans, of the highest Sākyan stock, the joy of the Sākyan clan, the Buddha, with those words² woke the world to truth."

"After Dīpaṃkara, O Ānanda, a full koṭi of kalpas passed, (243) and then the Daśabala³ Sarvābhibhū arose as a Light of the world.⁴

"When the Leader Sarvābhibhū had passed to his bourne, a hundred thousand kalpas afterwards the Daśabala Padumottara arose.

"When the Sugata Padumottara had passed entirely away, a hundred thousand kalpas afterwards the Exalted One, Atyuccagāmin, appeared.

"When the Saviour Atyuccagāmin had passed entirely away, having won fame throughout the world, five hundred kalpas afterwards there arose the Buddha Yaśottara.

"When the Buddha Yaśottara had passed away, a hundred kalpas afterwards there arose in the blind and lost world the valiant Buddha Sākyamuni.

"When the perfect Buddha Sākyamuni had passed away, Arthadarśin arose. Nine and ninety kalpas afterwards, O Ānanda, did he arise.

¹ Prātihārya. See, e.g., vol. 1, p. 193 (trans.).

² Text has *tathā* "thus," only, but the reference is clearly to the words quoted by Ānanda as having been spoken by the Buddha.

³ I.e., the Tathāgata, so-called from his possession of the "ten powers." See vol. 1, p. 126.

⁴ Reading *Dīpālōko*, nominative in apposition, for *Dīpālōke*.

"Five and ninety kalpas afterwards the Light of the world Tīṣya arose; two and ninety kalpas after him the valiant man Puṣya arose in the world.

"Eighty-nine kalpas afterwards Vipāśyin arose in the world; thirty kalpas afterwards arose Śikhin and Viśvabhū.

"(Then there followed) the great light Krakucchanda, Konākamuni and the glorious Kāśyapa. And in the same¹ auspicious kalpa,² I also arose, O Ānanda.

"And I have proclaimed that in a future age in this kalpa there will be a high-minded, mighty Buddha named Maitreya.

"For a whole kalpa did the exalted Dīpaṃkara live on in the world; Sarvābhibhū also lived on for a kalpa for the sake of the world.

"Padumottara lived on in the world for a full koṭi of years. (244) The exalted Atyuccagāmin lived on for a hundred thousand years.

"Yaśottara lived on for ninety thousand years, Arthadarśin for . . . ³, Tīṣya for ninety-five thousand, and Puṣya for ninety-two.

"In those days of yore the life of the Buddha Vipāśyin was eighty thousand years, and that of Śikhin seventy thousand.

"In those days of yore the life of Viśvabhū was sixty thousand years,⁴ that of Krakucchanda fifty thousand, that of Konākamuni thirty thousand, and that of Kāśyapa twenty thousand.

"And now, Ānanda, the measure of the life of me who am sovereign of the Sākyans in this insignificant world is one hundred years.

¹ Eva, "thus," "also."

² Bhadrakalpa. Cf. *Budv.A.*, 191, *yasmin kappe pañca buddhā uppajjanti so bhaddakappe*.

³ There is something wrong with the text here. It reads *yaśottara navatī varṣasahasrāṇi arthadarśi asthāsi*. But according to the list already given more than once Yaśottara should be followed by Sākyamuni. Also the absence of a copula makes *arthadarśi* look like an adjective qualifying Yaśottara, instead of being, what it actually is, the name of the Buddha following Sākyamuni. Two MSS., however, insert *Sākyasimho*, i.e. Sākyamuni. That, of course, would upset the metre. It thus would seem as if the last and first lines respectively of two successive couplets have dropped out, and these would have given the years both of Sākyamuni and Arthadarśin.

⁴ *Varṣasahasrāṇi* is understood with this and the next two numerals.

"Some thrived¹ on their magic power, others on their deeds; but then putting aside their magic power and their deeds, they passed away in the middle of their sojourn in heaven.²

"Like the blazing sun when it is high in the sky in autumn, so did Dīpaṃkara stand with his radiance pervading a hundred yojanas.

"Irradiating all the world, teaching the dharma which so rarely appears, he lit up the world, and hence was he so named.

"The Daśabala Sarvābhibhū prevailed over thousands of koṭis of beings, and led them to the immortal Way. Hence was he styled 'invincible'.

"Padumottara went to the park in his fair city, and there enjoyed himself in the pool.³ (245) In the pool he saw a lotus growing as big as a chariot wheel.

"He climbed on to this and sat down there cross-legged. And while the large lotus was fading away he attained the five super-knowledges.

"And when he was in possession of the five super-knowledges he rose up in the air by his magic power. Leaning against the foot of the bodhi tree the Daśabala won omniscience.

"When the exalted Atyuccagāmin stood up he was as tall as a palm-tree. Hence was he called 'the exceeding high one'.

"Wide-spread was the teaching of Yaśottara, who tamed the untamed. Infinite was this Exalted One's glory. Hence was he styled 'he whose glory is superior'.

"The Sākya of Gotama's clan left his prosperous and rich city and renounced the seven treasures.⁴ Hence was he styled 'the Sākya sage'.

¹ Literally, "stood" *asthānsu*.

² *Antarāparinirvṛita*, cf. Pali *antarā parinibbāyin* = an Anāgāmin. But the whole verse is enclosed in brackets by Senart as being of doubtful appropriateness here. Not only is the metre different from that of the rest of the passage, but the subject is the Buddhas who pass away from their lives on earth, not in heaven. The word "heaven" is used here only for convenience of translation; there is no *svarga* in the text. But the expression *antarāparinirvṛita* does have a sense which approximates that of "heaven", for it denotes that happy state which good men attain after death and from which they pass to nirvana instead of to rebirth.

³ *Sare* from *sara* = Sk. *saras*.

⁴ Sc. of a *cakravartin* or universal king.

"Arthadarśin instructed hundreds of disciples in what is good and in Arhatship. Hence was this Conqueror styled in the world 'he whose gaze is on what is good'.

"The Light of the world, Tisya, was born during the festival of Tisya¹; he who dispels the darkness in the world was thus called Tisya.

"The Light of the world, Puṣya, was born during the festival of Puṣya. Hence was he called Puṣya in the world after that constellation.²

"With the insight of his watchful and all-seeing eye, Vipāśyin saw that forms were impermanent.³ Vipāśyin means pure of sight. Hence came his name Vipāśyin.

(246) "A guardian of the earth, he ordained what is good and the rules that produce what is good.⁴ Hence the Exalted One was styled Vipāśyin.⁵

"When the Conqueror Vipāśyin awoke to enlightenment he looked out on this world and perceived that it was in a state of trouble.⁶ Hence was he called Vipāśyin.

"Śikhin was so called because at his birth the lock of hair⁷ on his head gleamed exceedingly brilliantly like a blazing fire fanned by the wind.

¹ *Tisya* *mahe* *varānte*, i.e. the festival celebrating the ascendancy of the lunar mansion, the sixth (or eighth), called Tisya.

² Name of the sixth lunar mansion.

³ The text has *rūpāni paśyati anīryo*. Senart explains *anīryo* with reference to *iryāpatho*, *iriyāpatho*, "the (four) postures" (see vol. 1, p. 18) and translates "supérieure aux conditions ordinaires de la vie." It is difficult, however, to see the relevance of this. The verse emphasises Vipāśyin's insight. Any man can see forms, but it requires a man of insight to discover their true nature, which is impermanence. *Anīryo* has, therefore, been emended into *anīyā*, "he sees that forms are impermanent." Cf. *rūpe anicc' anupassanā*, Ps. 2. 186 f. See the *Mahāpadāna Suttanta* (D. 2. 1 ff) for similar emphasis on Vipāśyin's insight.

⁴ This is from the tradition of Vipāśyin's sagacity as a ruler, which is alluded to, e.g., in the *Mahāpadāna Suttanta*, and is cited here as further proof of his insight.

⁵ I.e. one gifted with insight.

⁶ Text has *keśaridharmam*, "a hairy state" (!). The emendation is fairly obvious. Though two MSS. have *veśari*, the right reading is *hisara*, which is found several times in the *Mhvu*. joined to *alpa* in the sense of "with little difficulty or trouble." See the text of vol. 1, p. 270; 2, pp. 216, 286; and 3, p. 31, and translation vol. 2, p. 206, n. 2. The original form is probably the Vedic *kīcchra*. Cf. Pali *kīccha* and *kasira*. At D. 2. 30 we have the first of the two Pali forms—*kīccham vatāyaṃ loko āpanno*, "verily this world has fallen on trouble." The fact that these words are there an observation of Vipassī's strengthens the supposition that the BSk. equivalent of *kīccha* is the word needed to express what is practically the same thought in the *Mhvu*.

⁷ *Śikhā*.

"When the lord of Conquerors Viśvabhū was born it rained in a continuous downpour. So the report went forth that his name was Viśvabhū.¹

"The exalted Krakucchanda and Konākamuni, and the glorious Kāśyapa were so named by their parents after the names of their clans.

"The splendid kinsman of the sun,² the Supreme, the Exalted One, the Foremost of Men, was by birth a noble, sprung from Ikṣvāku's line.

"And then in a brāhman's unconquered and rich household, a brāhman will renounce his plentiful pleasures and go forth to the religious life.

"In a prosperous household and one well adorned with wisdom³ Maitreya will appear in the world in a future age.

"In his first assembly⁴ there will be ninety-six koṭis, all of them Arhans who have won self-control and shed their passions. In his second assembly there will be ninety-four koṭis, (247) all of them Arhans who have won self-control and shed their passions. In his third assembly there will be ninety-two koṭis, all of them Arhans who have won self-control and shed their passions.

"The greatly wise Dīpaṃkara was by birth a noble. The Daśabala Sarvābhībhū was by birth a brāhman.

"The Daśabala Padumottara was by birth a noble, while the Exalted One Atyuccagāmin was by birth a brāhman.

"Yaśottara and⁵ Śākyamuni were by birth nobles; Arthadarśin, Tiṣya, and the supreme of men, Puṣya, were by birth brāhmins, great seers who made their selves to grow.

"Viṣāyīn, Śikhin, and Viśvabhū were nobles, and Krakutsanda,⁶ Konākamuni and Kāśyapa brāhmins.

¹ The explanation of the name apparently rests on the similarity in sound between *viśva*, "all," and *varṣa*, "rain". The *BudvA.*, 247, says of his Pali name that he was so called because, when he was born, he roared like a bull, *vasabhanādaṃ nādī*. The Com. on *Mhv.* (*Vamsatthappakāsinī*, i. 63) has two other, alternative, explanations of the name.

² I.e. Gotama. The verse implies that he was called after his clan.

³ *Sumatipratimaṇḍita*. The verse implies that Maitreya is derived from *matī*, "wise".

⁴ Sc. Maitreya's.

⁵ No copula in text, while the verb *āsi* is sg. as well as the predicate *kṣatriyo*. But as seen above we have to do with two distinct Buddhas of these names.

⁶ So spelt here instead of Krakucchanda. Cf. vol. 1 (text), pp. 2, 6.

"The son of King Suddhodana of Ikṣvāku's line by Māyā, he who brings joy to the Śākyans, was a Śākyan gently brought up.

"Maitreya will he be called who, free of passion, liberated, emancipated of heart, with a retinue of a hundred koṭis will pervade the worlds of men and of the lords of the Suras.¹

"These Supreme of men arise in one of two kinds of families, either in a family of nobles or in one of brāhmins.

"For when nobles are reputed foremost in the world, then are the Buddhas, the Supreme of men, born in a noble family.

(248) "And when brāhmins are reputed for their worth in the world, then are the Buddhas, the Great Seers, born in a family of brāhmins.

"Whilst I was questing after the supreme enlightenment, I saw Dīpaṃkara, the world's Foremost Man, at a cross-roads, wearing matted hair, and in my exultation I lauded him.

"Whilst I was questing after the supreme enlightenment, I took some flowers of gold and reverently showered them on Sarvābhībhū.

"Whilst I was questing after the supreme enlightenment, I gathered a bouquet of silvery flowers and reverently showered them over Padumuttara.

"Whilst I was questing after the supreme enlightenment, I showered gold over the exalted Atyuccagāmin² who was compassionate to the world.

"Whilst I was questing after the supreme enlightenment I honoured with worship the illustrious Yaśottara as he was surrounded by his community of monks.

"Whilst I was questing after the supreme enlightenment, I took fragrant costly perfumes and sprinkled them over Śākyamuni.

"Whilst I was questing after the supreme enlightenment, I took gold and silver and beryl and reverently showered them on Arthadarśin.

"Whilst I was questing after the supreme enlightenment

¹ Merely another way of saying, "the worlds of men and of devas."

² *Atyuccagāmin* is *nominativus pendens* in the text, but in sense is the object of *okire* "I strewed him with gold," *okire* being opt. (1 sg.) in aor. sense.

with ever-present endeavour, I praised Tīṣya, Saviour of the world, in his presence.

"Whilst I was questing after the supreme enlightenment and had attained the Path,¹ with rapture and reverence I stood worshipping Puṣya.

(249) "Whilst I was questing after the supreme enlightenment, I saw Vipāśyin coming like the moon when it is full, and I spread my cloak in his path.

"Whilst I was questing after the supreme enlightenment, I regaled with solid and soft food the world's Benefactor, Sikkhī, and his attendant company of monks.

"Whilst I was questing after the supreme enlightenment, in rapture I bestowed² costly robes on Viśvabhū and his monks.

"I lived the brahma-life under three Saviours of the world, and it was Kāśyapa who proclaimed of me that I should win the supreme enlightenment.

"Having been active³ under twelve⁴ Buddhas, under three I sought for nirvana. But the three kept me in the world and I became a deva of the Three-and-Thirty.

"After I had in the ninety-first kalpa returned to the world, for nine kalpas more I passed through various lives as a Bodhisattva.

"Endowed with an energetic body and having attained⁵ wide wisdom I stood supreme in energy among men for nine kalpas.

"It is energy, the force that none other but me speaks of, which is the instrument⁶ of enlightenment. And energy is not without praise as a force and faculty of the bodhyangas.⁷

"The Best of Men progress by way of renunciation,

¹ Text has *samāpanna* only, which may indicate either the winning of the Path of Arhantship or the attainment of the (eight or nine) *samāpattis*.

² *Acchādaye*. See p. 36, n. 2. Here opt. (1 sg.) in aor. sense.

³ Or "satisfied," *kṛtīn*.

⁴ Senart reads *āpañcahi* and renders "sous cinq", but he has to admit that his interpretation is very doubtful. It seems pretty obvious, however, that the right reading is *dvādaśahi*. For we have been told that Gotama had served "twelve" Buddhas before the three under whom he lived the brahma-life, and who, presumably, were the three who prevailed on him to live on in the world.

⁵ *Samāhita*. See P.E.D. for references to the Pali use of this word in the same sense.

⁶ Literally "contrives", *yantrēti*, denominative of *yantra*, "machine."

⁷ See vol. 2, p. 142, n. 3.

charity, self-control and restraint. And when the world's age begins anew¹ they become Valiant Men.²

"For a hundred kalpas the Best of Men strive to attain enlightenment, but the Śākyan Valiant Man became a perfect Buddha in the ninety-first kalpa.³"

(250) Having a firm hold of the virtue of generosity,⁴ the greatly glorious Bodhisattvas laud the liberality, morality, and wisdom of the Great Seers.

The liberality of the Buddhas is taught by the Sugata in a matchless way and with matchless intelligence. Who will not feel a spiritual joy in remembering such a Sugata?

Thus did the Exalted One speak and the worlds of devas and of men and of Asuras rejoiced at his words.

Here ends the Sūtra of the Many Buddhas.

THE STORY OF SARVAṂDADA⁵

Hail to thee,⁶ Mahāvastu, the great repository of the dharma, the bringer of great welfare to the multitude, that art full of great knowledge. For thou wast revealed by the Sugata, the perfect Buddha, for the well-being of all men.

¹ *Vivartamāne lokasmim*. Cf. *vivartakalpa*. See vol. 1, p. 43, n. 3.

² Literally, "bull (-men)", *pungavā*, epithet of the Buddhas.

³ It seems hopeless to try and arrive at any consistency in these figures. In two places in the preceding passage Senart suggests *navatī*, "ninety", for *nava*, "nine", so as to make Gotama's re-incarnations as a Bodhisattva total a period of ninety kalpas, to be followed by his enlightenment in the ninety-first. But while this explanation would be consistent with the figure in this last line, there is much in the passage that it does not take into account. The passage as a whole clearly implies that Gotama became a Bodhisattva in the ninety-first kalpa, having in the preceding kalpas paid honour to other Buddhas. Then follow nine kalpas of successive rebirths as a Bodhisattva, which bring us to the hundredth kalpa. Thus, if the same figures apply to all Buddhas the line, *te bodhim kalpaśatena samudānenti narottamā* would be a correct summing up of the figures. Unfortunately, this line is followed by *atha ekanavate kalpe sambuddho śākyapungavo*, which can only be understood as implying a distinction between *te . . . narottamā*, "those (? other) Buddhas," and Gotama himself (*Śākyapungava*).

⁴ The sūtra is rounded off by an extract from a stock of commonplace quotations.

⁵ Cf. the story of Vijitāvin, 3. 44 ff (text).

⁶ Reading *bhadrānte* for *bhādanta* of the text. According to Senart such eulogies were a common feature of Northern Sanskrit compositions.

Those who teach the true dharma and those who listen to the teaching of it, all attain the immovable state of nirvana.

Sarvaṃdada had once achieved a life in which he blessed the whole world with the benefits of his practice of charity and self-control. And Śakra then lived as one who was opposed,¹ and feared lest Sarvaṃdada should dislodge him from his sovereignty.

Śakra therefore conjured up before Sarvaṃdada a hell into which had fallen the great and perfect in charity.

(251) And they cried "O hero, we pray you bring to an end this misery of ours of which charity is the cause. Let all beings be happy."

And Śakra said, "O hero, with your calm, your charity, and your self-control, why should you not seek² the happiness of Bhagavatī³ in the other world?"

Sarvaṃdada replied, "Naught do I care for the city of Bhagavatī, much less for those who long for it."⁴

"I seek the immovable state of nirvana, which knows no old age, death or disease, where there is no loved one⁵ nor separation from a loved one, but the peace that comes from homelessness, and constant freedom from ill."

Śakra answered and said, "Most hard to endure is that state wherein one wakes up to knowledge and leaves behind the enjoyment of sensual pleasures.

"Change your mind, indulge your wishes, delight in the happiness of sensual pleasure and in the happiness of easy⁶ enjoyment."

Sarvaṃdada replied, "If Śakra's throne were for ever mine and were I never parted from any pleasure of sense, even then my mind would not be fixed on the comfort of the

¹ Literally, "having a life with an appearance of an obstacle," *savighna-rūpacaritas*. But Senart admits that his restoration of the text is very conjectural.

² *Prārthayet*, 3rd pers. for 2nd, unless we read *viras*, nom. for *vira*, vocative.

³ As appears from the sequel, the name of a celestial city, though it does not seem to be mentioned elsewhere.

⁴ Literally, "still more, *prāgeva*, (do I not care)."

⁵ *Priyajanah*. But there is a lacuna of two syllables before this word. As the usual antithesis to *priyaviṇṇayoga* "separation from what is dear," we would expect *apriyasamyoga*, "union with what is not dear." But the MSS. do not seem to warrant a restoration on these lines.

⁶ *Viṣama-* to be read *aviṣama-*, the initial *a* being elided after *sukhe*.

pleasures of sense, and I would not forswear my vow to win omniscience.

"The pleasant things of the devas and those of men, the happiness in this present life and in the life beyond, were I blest with these for countless years (252) I would not forswear my vow to win omniscience.

"The ills that are in this world and those manifold ills of countless kalpas that we hear of, were I afflicted therewith for countless kalpas I would not forswear my vow to win omniscience.

"If, before I became possessed of the knowledge of the highest good, I had in the meantime¹ to sojourn in the hell of Avīci, I would not let my zeal abate, nor would I forswear my vow to win omniscience.

...² I would eat a ball of iron and drink molten copper,³ but I would not forswear my vow to win omniscience.

"I would dwell with murderers in a cave; I would let my body be devoured and grow up again and again. Such affliction could I bear, ere I would forswear my vow to win omniscience.

"If there rained upon me a shower of sharp arrows and knives, if every inch of my body⁴ were pierced thereby, such affliction could I bear, ere I would forswear my vow to win omniscience.

(253) "If I could win this highest knowledge only after paying homage to Buddhas as countless as the sands of the Ganges, all this long series of recurrent lives could I bear, ere I would forswear my vow to win omniscience.

"If I should have to stay amid the dregs of the womb for koṭis of great kalpas⁵ and if when born this body of mine should be maimed⁶ during a hundred lives, I could

¹ The text here has the unusual expression *yāvantareṇa . . . tāvantaram yadi*, which does not readily admit of an idiomatic rendering in English.

² A lacuna of two lines.

³ Typical torments of hell. See vol. I, p. 6 ff.

⁴ Literally "my whole body without remainder," *sarvaṃ sariram . . . aśeṣam*.

⁵ A *mahākalpa* includes the four *kalpas* of dissolution of the world, of the state of dissolution, of evolution, and of the evolved state.

⁶ Reading with one MS. (c) *chijjeya*, from *chijjati*, BSk. and Pali pass. of *chid*, Sk. *chidyate*, for *khijjeya*, the corresponding form from *khid* "to oppress." The former verb as denoting a severer kind of affliction seems preferable here.

bear my body undergoing such affliction ere I would forswear my vow to win omniscience.

"The woes of hell and the woes of the world of the brutes, and the manifold woes of the world of ghosts and of men, had my body to undergo all this affliction, I would not forswear my vow to win omniscience.

"Had I to spend in the world nayutas of lives and live for an equal number of nayutas of kalpas in hell, I could bear all this affliction for however long ere I would forswear my vow to win omniscience.

"No more can I be turned from this resolve, for I have made it for the sake of the world's welfare. Until I have won the immortal and achieved my hope, I shall not forswear my vow to win omniscience.

"Stoutly mailed and clad in adamantine armour as I am, there will be no wearying in my charity, self-control and devotion. (254) In order to release men from being born again, I will not forswear my vow to win omniscience."

And so, with their minds settled and their aims well resolved on, men will fare through the world with their hearts fixed on enlightenment. As though with many a leap¹ they will cross to the ocean's other shore. They will win enlightenment and break Namuci² and his power.

RĀHULA

When the Exalted One, standing in the air at a man's height, had performed his various miracles of double appearance,³ when Rāhu, Vemacitrin and Mucilinda, lords of the Asuras, and sixty nayutas of other Asuras had had revealed

¹Langhitabahubhir-eva, an irregular compound form for bahulanghitaiḥ. Miss I. B. Horner has supplied an interesting note on this passage. She compares Miln. 36, where *purisa* (the Hero) jumps (*paṅkhandati*) to the farther bank of a river in full spate. Others follow him, and when he sees that their minds are freed, he aspires, or leaps as it were (*sampaṅkhandati*) after the fruit of stream-winning. "This leaping to the Farther Shore," she adds, "seems to me to point to Sudden Attainment—a notion that entered Buddhism after the Pali Canon, which always speaks of gradual (*anupubbena*) attainment."

²I.e. Māra.

³See p. 115.

to them¹ the supreme perfect enlightenment, and when many thousand koṭis of beings had been established² in the noble dharma and had realised for themselves the fruit of winning the stream, and when the true unchangeable method of the Master's teaching had been seen, then King Śuddhodana rose up from his seat and, holding out his joined hands to the Exalted One, bowed before him and made this solemn utterance. "My son," said he, "great gain have I well won in that I have such a son as you, the best of bipeds, endowed with all good qualities. Not in vain, my son, but fruitful was your going forth when you renounced the sovereignty of this great kingdom of a universal ruler, and left your kith and kin behind. Not in vain, my son, but fruitful have been the six years you spent in austerities. Yea, not in vain, my son, but fruitful has been your attainment of enlightenment. Not in vain, my son, but fruitful has been the dharma revealed by you. For your like is not to be found in the world of men and devas, of Māra, of Brahmā, of recluses, of brāhmins, or of wanderers, or among the generation of devas, men and Asuras. Not in vain either, my son, but fruitful has been my own life (255), since in my realm such a son has been born, who is incomparable in the whole world, supreme of devas and of men. Well were it now, my son, that, benevolent to the whole world as you are and compassionate, bestowing your compassion on it, you should bestow your compassion on me, too, by eating at the royal palace as long as you intend to stay in Kapilavastu." And the Exalted One silently intimated his consent.

When he perceived the Exalted One's silent consent, King Śuddhodana was elated, glad and joyful. He bowed at the Exalted One's feet, saluted him three times from the right, held out his joined hands towards the company of disciples, and then departed.

Then King Śuddhodana, when the night was past, prepared a plentiful supply of solid and soft food. He had the city of Kapilavastu sprinkled and swept, and cleared of dust, stones,

¹Vyākṛitvā. Active participle for passive, with the retained secondary accusative *bodhim*, much like the retained accusative with passive "verbs of teaching" in Latin, etc.

²Pratiṣṭhāpayitvā. Active for passive again.

gravel and pebbles. He had it strewn with garlands of flowers, scented with pots of perfumes, draped in bright cloth, covered with a canopy and hung with festoons of strips of cloth. All along the way from the Banyan Grove to Kapilavastu he stationed dancers, mimes, athletes, wrestlers, tambourine players, tam-tam players,¹ players on the fife, flute and *dvistvalā*,² clowns,³ acrobats,⁴ reciters, minstrels, and performers on the *pañcavātuka*,⁵ so that the Exalted One's entry into the city should be made in great regal majesty and splendour.

Then on the next day,⁶ neither too early nor too late, the Exalted One took a Māgadhan breakfast⁷ and dressed and clothed himself. Escorted and attended by his company of disciples, with Śāriputra on his right, Maudgalyāyana on the left, and the monk Ānanda behind, he with them moved on in successive ranks each double the preceding one.⁸ The progress of exalted Buddhas is like that of a flight of swans.⁹

Now there are certain things which inevitably happen when Buddhas enter a city.¹⁰ (256) When the Exalted One enters a city, horses neigh, elephants trumpet, peacocks dance, cuckoos call,¹¹ musical instruments sound without anyone playing them, and jewels rattle in their caskets. At that moment the blind recover their sight, the deaf their hearing, and the insane their reason. The poisoned become rid of

¹ *Kumbhathūṇika*. See p. III, n. 4.

² See p. III, n. 6.

³ *Sobhika*. See p. III, n. 2.

⁴ ? *Kheluka*.

⁵ See p. III, n. 8.

⁶ *Apārejjukāto*. See vol. 2, p. 407, n. 1.

⁷ Literally, "the breakfast being Māgadhan," *Māgadhaḥ prātaraṣe*. Practically the same expression occurs at I, p. 307 (text) and was there translated "having breakfasted at Magadha," in spite of the geographical and linguistic difficulties of such an interpretation. It is now suggested that the allusion is to some unknown kind of breakfast traditional in Magadha. Alternatively, the adjective Māgadha may denote an article of food especially common in Magadha. Unfortunately, the only such article known is garlic, *lasuṇa*, which is thus defined at V. 4. 259, *lasuṇam nāma māgadhaḥ vuccati*. And the Buddhists were forbidden to eat garlic.

⁸ This is an attempt to render the obscure *dvayaoparāṇikam*. It is tentatively suggested that this compound can be analysed into *dvaya-upa-rāṇikam*, "successive rank (increased by) twice." This suggestion would seem to be borne out by the circumstance explained in the following note.

⁹ Cf. vol. I, p. 307 (text; translation, p. 256), where it said that four go in front, eight immediately behind them, and so on to the sixty-four bringing up the rear.

¹⁰ Literally "it is the *dharma* of Buddhas on entering a city."

¹¹ *Tunatuṇāyati*, on onomatopoeic verb.

poison. The unbelieving and those slow of faith now become convinced.¹

Thus then did the Exalted One enter the city, and no sooner had he planted the soles of his feet in the gateway of the city of Kapilavastu than the great earth shook, trembled, quaked and quivered in six ways. It rose up in the east and sank down in the west; it rose up in the west and sank down in the east; it rose up in the south and sank down in the north; it rose up in the north and sank down in the south.²

And after the Exalted One had entered the city of Kapilavastu, he in due course came to his father's house. The Śākyaans of Kapilavastu then called the Śākyaans together and issued a proclamation saying, "Friends, no one is to tell Rāhula that he is the son of the Exalted One. He who will do so will pay the penalty of death."

Now the Exalted One took all his meals at the royal palace. But then Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī appealed to King Śuddhodana, saying, "Your majesty, if it is agreeable to you, let the Exalted One eat at my house." And the king replied, "Gautamī, let it be so."³

Then Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī went to the Exalted One, bowed her head at his feet, (257) held out her joined hands to him, and said, "Let the Exalted One consent to eat tomorrow at my house." The Exalted One silently intimated his consent.

Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī, on perceiving the silent consent of the Exalted One, when the night was past prepared a plentiful supply of solid and soft food. She had her house sprinkled and swept, hung with festoons of fine cloth, strewn with heaps of flowers and made fragrant with incense. She assigned a

¹ *Pratisamvedita*. This word, if correctly restored, must have such a sense here, although in the only instance of the use of its Pali equivalent cited in *P.E.D.* it has the straightforward sense of "known", "recognised". But to say that the unbelieving were known is irrelevant to the context. On the analogy of what happened to the blind and the others, we expect to be told that in effect the unbelieving were made believers. It would seem, indeed, as though the right reading here is the causal form *pratisamvedita*, "were made to experience or to know," or, alternatively, the finite verb *pratisamvedayanti*, "felt," "perceived" (sc. the truth). Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*) translates, "possessed of special knowledge."

² The fifth and sixth motions, namely of the middle regions and the extremities, are omitted. See vol. I, p. 34.

³ Literally, "do so," *evam karohi*.

very costly seat for the Exalted One and seats according to their rank¹ for the company of his monks.

Then the Exalted One dressed betimes, took his bowl and robe, and, attended by the company of his monks, came to the house of Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī. The Exalted One sat down on the seat assigned to him as the company of monks sat on theirs.² And Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī with her own hands regaled and served with plentiful solid and soft food first the Buddha and then the company of his monks. When the Exalted One had finished eating, washed his hands and put away his bowl, and the company of monks had done likewise, he gave Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and the women of the court a graduated discourse on dharma.³

Now this is what the graduated discourse of exalted Buddhas is, namely, a discourse on charity, a discourse on morality, a discourse on heaven, a discourse on merit and a discourse on the fruition of merit.⁴ Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī believed with a trusting heart, and then the Exalted One revealed to her the four Āryan truths of ill, the arising of ill, the cessation of ill, and the Way leading to the cessation of ill.⁵ And while she sat there on her seat, Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī won a clear dharma-insight, pure and unsullied, into things.

Then the shadow of the Exalted One happened to fall on Rāhula. And all the hair on Rāhula's body bristled, all his limbs perspired, and his whole frame thrilled.

Sitting down in the Exalted One's shadow, (258) Rāhula regarded him with steady gaze.

¹ Literally, "according to what belonged or fitted," *yathopakam*. *Upaka* has in both BSk. and Pali the variant form *upaga*, and this may be the radical form, as is suggested by Miss I. B. Horner in a communication. She cites V. 2. 162 where monks are assigned their seats, etc., *yathā-vuḍḍham*, "according to seniority," but at V. 2. 274, after eight nuns are thus seated *yathāvuḍḍham*, the rest are seated in the order of their coming, *yathāgatiham*. *Yathā-upaka* (= *upaga*) may, therefore, simply mean that the monks took their seats in the order (*yathā*) they came in (*upagacchanti*).

² Reading *yathāsane* for *yathāsanam*. Perhaps the text is due to the corruption of an original *yathāsane sānam* (gen. pl. of 3rd pers. pronoun).

³ *Anupūrvīyadharmadeśanā*. This corresponds to the Pali expression *anupubbikathā*.

⁴ In Pali texts the topics are four, charity, morality, heaven, and the Path. See P.E.D. for references. The *Mhv.* discourses on merit and the fruition of merit are additional to the Pali formula.

⁵ The text has *mārga*, "way", only, but the usual qualification *duḥkhaniro-dhagāmin* is obviously implied.

Rāhula then asked his mother, "Where is my father gone, mother?" Yaśodharā replied, "My son, he has gone to the south country." Rāhula said, "What has he gone to the south country for?" Yaśodharā replied, "He has gone there to trade." Rāhula said, "But why does not my father send me a nice present?" Yaśodharā replied, "The way is stopped by the nobles. When it is possible for him to come,¹ he will come himself."

Rāhula then asked, "Mother, can this recluse be any relation of mine. For never has any one affected me² as this recluse has. It seems to me that he has taken possession of my whole heart. It cannot be without some cause that at the mere sight of this recluse such love is aroused³ in me as is aroused by the sight of no other Śākyan. I therefore think that he is my father." But Yaśodharā replied, "My son, he is not your father." Rāhula, however, wistfully appealed to his mother,⁴ saying "Mother, I insist that you tell me⁵ who this recluse of mine is."

Yaśodharā's heart was troubled because of her love and affection, and she considered how she should deal with him. "Now if I tell him," she thought, "the penalty for so doing is death. But then, if I do not tell him, it is my own son who will be deceived. Come what may,⁶ I will tell him. I would rather that the Śākyans stab and hack me limb by limb with a sharp knife than that I should not tell my own son, the noble Rāhula. I would rather that the Śākyans cut my body into strips⁷ with a sharp knife than that I should not tell my own son, the noble Rāhula. I would rather that the Śākyans cut my body up with a sharp knife into pieces the

¹ *Āgacchati*, impersonal passive, "cum veniri potest."

² "Fallen on my mind," *mano nīpatati*.

³ The text has no verb. Senart tentatively suggests *utpāditam*.

⁴ Reading *mālarāṃ utkaṇṭhito* (or *utkaṇṭhaya*) *yācati*. Senart's text is *mātrikharuṇakaṇṭhikāya yācati*, which he renders "avec un embrassement attendrissant pour une mère." This, as he admits, involves giving *kaṇṭhikā* an arbitrary meaning just to suit the context. Edgerton (B.H.S.D. s.v. *kaṇṭhikā*), however, agrees with Senart, though it is the only instance adduced of *kaṇṭhikā* = "embrace".

⁵ Literally "very much against your will tell me," *atyaśaṣyam me āciṣāhi*.

⁶ *Jāne kim bhavatu*.

⁷ Properly "into strips of leather or skin (flesh)," *vaddhapattikāyam*. According to Edgerton (B.H.S.D.), *vaddha* is MIndic for Sk. *vadra* or *vardhra*.

size of a penny or a farthing,¹ (259) than that I should not tell my own son, the noble Rāhula. I would rather that the Śākyaans cut up my body into a hundred pieces than that I should not tell my own son, the noble Rāhula."

When² Rāhula saw the Lion-man, the Sugata, come attended by his noble throng, he regarded him with steady and concentrated³ gaze.

After glancing at his mother, Rāhula, with his joyful and jet-black eyes like those⁴ of an elephant or a partridge, regarded the Sugata.

When he had seen the Lion-man, the perfect Buddha, sitting down surrounded by the goodly throng, he drew near to him like a suckling calf.⁵

And as the joyful prince sat down in the shadow of the Sugata, he said to his mother, "Pleasant is the shadow of this recluse.⁶

"Many Śākyaan princes have I seen who have travelled in all parts and return laden with loads of jewels. But they did not gladden my heart.

"But when I saw this yellow-garbed recluse my body was immediately thrilled. And it was thrilled also when I heard his sweet words.

"As I beheld him, with his tender and web-like⁷ hands, gracious and lovely throughout, I rejoiced, for verily he is a sublime sight.

"I was glad when from a distance I saw him coming in his golden beauty. And when he went away again I was grieved at his absence.

"Not without cause is it that, when I see one who is

¹ These terms are not actually equivalent respectively to the text *kahāpaṇa* (Pali, *id.*, Sk. *kāṣāpaṇa*, a copper coin weighing 5/6ths of a penny) and *māsika* (Pali *māsaka*, lit. a small bean, and hence a small coin of very low value). But they are appropriate to the sense. There is an allusion here to the method of torture called *kahāpaṇaka* in Pali.

² A metrical version of the same story.

³ Or "deliberate," *abhimana* "having the mind on," BSk. and Pali.

⁴ *Nayanām* should surely be changed to *nayanehi*. The accusative is inexplicable.

⁵ I.e., as a suckling calf, *vatsa kṣirapaka*, approaches its mother.

⁶ Cf. V. 1. 82 where Rāhula addresses Gotama with the words, *sukhā te samaṇa chāyā*.

⁷ See vol. 2, p. 264, n. 2.

unknown to me, (260) my mind becomes exceeding glad at the mere sight.

"I can but think that that recluse was my father or my brother, or someone else among my kin, for so was my body thrilled.

"Tell me, mother, if you have seen or heard of him before, why he so greatly gladdens my heart."

When she had heard her son speaking so, Rāhula's mother with a passionate sigh spoke and said, "My heart is aflame, for he pleads with such gentle words. I cannot but tell my own son, the noble Rāhula.

"I would rather they stab my body with a well-whetted knife, than that I should forbear to tell my own son, the noble Rāhula.

"I would rather that the Śākyaans tear my body in strips, than that I should forbear to tell my own son, the noble Rāhula.

"I would rather they cut up my body into pieces the size of a penny or a farthing, than that I should forbear to tell my own son, the noble Rāhula.

"I would rather that the Śākyaans cut up my body into a hundred pieces, than that I should forbear to tell my own son, the noble Rāhula.

"He, my son, whom you see yonder in golden beauty, like the flowering *karnikāra*¹ golden and lovely, is your father.

(261) "He between whose eyebrows is a tuft growing to the right like the spirals of a shell, he, my son, is your father. It is from him this radiance springs.

"He, my son, whom you see yonder in golden beauty, with the fragrance of good works² diffusing a scent like that of the dark sandal-wood tree, is your father.

"He, my son, whom you see yonder in golden beauty, standing fixed in the four meditations,³ like Himalaya the monarch of mountains, is your father.

¹ *Pterospermum acerifolium* or *Cassia fistula*.

² *Śīlagandha*. Cf. Dh. 55; Vism. 58.

³ As Senart remarks, the uninflected *dhyāna catvāri* for *caturṣu dhyāneṣu* is a barbarism remarkable even in the *Mhvu.*, and so is the nominative case of the substantives, *Himavān*, etc., in the similes in this and the following verses.

"He, my son, whom you see yonder in golden beauty, rising up amid his noble company like a golden elephant, is your father.

"He, my son, whom you see yonder in golden beauty, like a fanged and powerful lion surveying all around him, is your father.

"He, my son, whom you see yonder in golden beauty, attended by his noble company, like a bull among the herd, is your father.

"He, my son, whom you see yonder in golden beauty, lighting up the world with his radiance like the moon when it is full, is your father.

"He, my son, whom you see yonder in golden beauty, like the rising sun bringing light to the dark places, is your father.

"He, my son, whom you see yonder in golden beauty, escorted by hosts of devas, like Śakra their king, is your father.

"He, my son, whom you see yonder in golden beauty, uttering a wondrous sound like Brahmā in his heaven, is your father.

"He, my son, whom you see yonder in golden beauty (262) like the flowering sāl tree, his body resplendent with the thirty-two marks of excellence, is your father.

"He, my son, is your father, who left his fair city and you and me, and went forth heedless of his kith and kin.

"He, my son, is your father, who went away riding on Kaṇṭhaka's back, leaving¹ us all comfortably asleep in our beds.

"The devas opened the gate for him, the Saviour of the world, and stilled the noise that no one might hear it.

"Then when he sojourned in the land of the Mallas,² he spoke to Chandaka, saying, 'Take this lock of hair and bear it to Śuddhodana.

"Give my jewels and Kaṇṭhaka to the king and greet my mother and him for me.

"I go the way there is no turning back, but when I have reached the goal, I'll come again. Free from grief through laying down the burden³, I will become a field of merit in the world.

¹ Avahāya is to be supplied from the preceding stanza.

² See vol. 1, p. 29.

³ Sc. of existence.

"Free from grief through laying down the burden, having reached the goal and overcome the lusts, in mercy I'll come to my people in Kapilavastu'."

Then when Rāhula heard from his mother that this was his father, he clung to a corner of the Exalted One's robe and said, "Mother, if he is my father, I will go forth from home to the homeless state and follow the way of my father."

As soon as Rāhula had taken hold of the corner of the Exalted One's robe, all the women of the court cried out. And King Śuddhodana (263) heard that cry, and hearing it was terrified. He asked, "What is that dreadful noise, which is like the cry of the great crowd when Sarvārthasiddha left home?" Some people told him, saying, "Your majesty, Prince Rāhula clung to the robe of the Exalted One and said that he would go forth." Now when King Śuddhodana sighed the whole royal family sighed; when he wept,¹ then the whole body of Śākyans wept. And so both within and without all was lamentation.

When King Śuddhodana had done with weeping, he wiped his tears, went to the Exalted One, bowed at his feet, arranged his robe over one shoulder, knelt with his right knee on the ground, held out his joined hands, and said to him, "It is enough that the Exalted One should have renounced his great universal sovereignty and left his family² and gone forth from home. Well would it be, therefore, if the Exalted One should order Prince Rāhula not to go forth so that this royal family be not made extinct."

The Exalted One replied, "Your majesty, this being is in his last existence; he has done his task, and he retains the impressions of his lives³ under other Buddhas. It is impossible that he should live with a wife at home.⁴ He must be completely emancipated from these skandhas.⁵

¹ Prarunḍa. See vol. 2, p. 207, n. 1. V.A. 1010 says that Śuddhodana was concerned because, if Rāhula, following Gotama and Nanda, his half-brother, left home, there would be none to succeed to the throne. See I. B. Horner: *Bk. of Disc.* 4, p. 104, n. 5.

² Lacuna in text, but, as Senart suggests, *jñātivargam* is probably the word to be supplied.

³ *Vāsilavāsana*. See p. 175, n. 1.

⁴ *Grihakatratramadhyāvasitum*.

⁵ See vol. 1, p. 58, n. 3.

King Suddhodana believed with a serene faith, and he said to the Exalted One, "Since the time that the Exalted One left home none of us has been able to render the proper service to Rāhula, to take his horoscope,¹ to braid his hair, and provide him with earrings.² Lord, if Rāhula must needs go forth to the religious life, then it were well that the Exalted One come in seven days. On the seventh day he will be ready to leave home. For by that time his horoscope will have been taken, his lock of hair braided, and his earrings arranged. Then he can go forth."

(264) Then the Exalted One said to Rāhula, "Go back, Rāhula, and do as your grandfather bids you." So Rāhula let go his hold of the corner of the Exalted One's robe. Yaśodharā took him by the hand and led him into the inner apartment. There she sat down with Rāhula in her lap and said to him, "Rāhula, my son, do not go forth to the religious life. What you have in mind, my son, is hard to achieve.³ Here in the royal palace you have fine garments of Benares cloth to wear. You have magnificent beds to lie on, and delicate food to eat. But Rāhula, my son, when you have gone forth, you will have to lie on a spreading of straw on the ground. Your seat will be at the foot of a tree; you will have to go begging for alms among the low caste Caṇḍālas and Pukkasas; you will have to look at the snorting mouths of angry men, and eat cast-off morsels of food. You will have to collect⁴ the discarded rags of a slave-girl⁵ from the cemetery,⁶ and you will have to dwell in forest tracts. There

¹ *Jātakarma*, Pali *jātakamma*, i.e., the karma involved in the particular day of his birth; explained at *PvA.190* as *rakkhatta-yogaṃ ugganhati*.

² *Kuṇḍalavardhana*, "the arrangement (?fixing) of earrings." Possibly, however, *vardhana* is here used in the same way as Pali *vaḍḍhana* in the sense of *vaḍḍhamāna* at *Mhvs. 23, 33* to designate "a (pair of) specially costly garments," *P.E.D.* The translation would then be "(provide him) with earrings and special garments." But there is no evidence for a ceremonial occasion of this nature to support either interpretation. Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*) suggests "cutting locks (curls, *kuṇḍalaka*) of hair."

³ *Durabhisambhūna*. *Abhisambhūna* is a participial adjective of the verb *abhisambhūṇati*, BSk. and Pali, equivalent in sense to *abhisambhavati*. In a note on vol. 1, p. 406, Senart approves Childers's derivation of this verb from the root *bhri* of the *Dhātupāṭhā*. It is of frequent occurrence in our text, e.g., 1. 46, 230, 240; 3. 334. On p. 264 (text) we have *sambhūṇati* in the same sense. See also Edgerton, *B.H.S.D.*

⁴ *Sāhartavyā*. Cf. *abhisāhṛita*, p. 213, n. 1.

⁵ Reading *kumbhadāsiye* for *-vāsiye*. So Senart.

⁶ *Śmaśānā*, abl. sg., for *śmaśānā*.

you will hear dreadful noises, such as the cries of lions, tigers and jackals. But you, Rāhula, my son, grew up in the royal palace delicately nurtured¹ and used to comfort. You, Rāhula, my son, were bathed while listening to the sweet strains of lute and fife and cymbal. How will you have any joy? Surely, you will overcome² this delusion. It were well for you, Rāhula, my son, to divert and amuse yourself with the five strands of sensual pleasures here in the inner apartment. Why should we have another one going forth?"

Rāhula answered and said, "Mother, did not my father grow up in a great king's court?" Yaśodharā replied, "Even so." Rāhula said, "Whosoever speaks the truth will say that he was delicately, most delicately brought up. And yet does not he who is my father (265) now lie on a bed of straw on the ground, arrange his seat at the foot of a tree, go begging for alms from house to house, eat cast off morsels, and dwell in a forest tract? And was he not delicately brought up like me and used to comfort? What he has attained, shall I, too, not attain? I, too, mother, will give up the pleasures of sense, go forth from home into the homeless state, and inevitably I will attain nirvana. And, mother, if there be anyone here who is resolute and mindful, consider me to be so, too, in that I am going forth and following in the way of my father."

Yaśodharā said, "My son, is it inevitable that you go forth?" Rāhula replied, "It is quite inevitable." Yaśodharā said, "Is there no escape?" Rāhula replied, "There is not." Yaśodharā said, "Will you forsake me, your grandfather³ and your kith and kin?" Rāhula replied, "I certainly will." Yaśodharā said, "Listen, my son. If it is, as you say, inevitable that you go forth from home to the homeless state, you must live with the doors of your six senses well closed and guarded. You must know the proper measure

¹ *Sukumāra*. See vol. 2, p. 106, n. 1.

² *Sambhūṇati*. See p. 252, n. 3.

³ *Āryyaka*, for the usual BSk. *āryyaka*. See vol. 2, p. 379, n. 3; also vol. 3, p. 264 (text). This form, if correctly restored here, is a hybrid one, consisting as to the first part of the original Sk. *ārya*, and as to the second of the BSk. (and Pali) modified form *āryyaka*, diminutive of *ārya*, which is contracted from *ariya* (or metathesised *ayira*), the diaeretic form of *ārya*. See *P.E.D.* *B.H.S.D.* cites the fem. *āryakā*, "grandmother".

in eating. You must always apply yourself to vigilance and endeavour. You must be strenuous. You must abide in the observation of the proper way of standing, walking and sitting down.¹ And, my son, you must abstain from flesh. You must not transgress the code of morals ordained by the Buddha. You must, my son, bear fully in mind the code of morals ordained by the Exalted One. You must, my son, follow accordingly by reason of what life is.² To gain the nirvana you have not yet won you must, my son, have good self-control. And why? Women will come, my son, who are venerable,³ gracious and beautiful to make obeisance to the Exalted One, and these, my son, you must regard as you would your mother.⁴ Women will come, my son, who are young, gracious, beautiful and bedecked with jewels. But for these, my son, you must not have any desire (266), and on such occasions you must abide having an insight into what is ill and what is transient. If, Rāhula, my son, you can turn your heart away from going forth, then do so as a favour to me."

Then orders were issued by King Śuddhodana in the city of Kapilavastu. "Gather all the perfumes," said he, "and garlands, flowers and aromatic powders that are to be found around the city of Kapilavastu within a distance of twelve *yojanas*. Assemble all the dancers, actors, athletes, wrestlers and tambourine-players.

*The desires of devas are fulfilled by the thought of their minds; those of kings by the word of command; those of rich men are fulfilled without delay, and those of poor men by their own exertions.*⁵

¹ Three of the *īryāpathas*. See vol. 1, p. 18, n. 5.

² *Jivitaheṭor*. This seems a more appropriate rendering than "for the sake of life", which would be a strange sentiment for a Buddhist.

³ *Mahallika*. See vol. 2, p. 60, n. 7.

⁴ Literally, "in the case of these you should call up the mother-mind," *teṣām (for tāsām) mātṛisaṃjñā upasthāpayitavyā*. For the thought compare S. 4. 110-1, where it is said that the reason why young monks do not dally with sense-pleasures is that they obey the injunction: "in the case of those who are just mothers, sisters, daughters, call up the mother-mind, sister-mind, daughter-mind" (i.e., as the *Com.* says, regard all women-folk as you would your own mother, sister, daughter). The translator owes this reference to Miss I. B. Horner.

⁵ For this couplet, which occurs several times in our text, see vol. 1, p. 213, n. 1.

As soon as the king had spoken, the city was decorated, cleaned, swept clear of gravel and pebbles, fumigated by pots of incense, hung with festoons of fine cloth, draped in bright cloth, overhung with a canopy, and strewn with heaps of flowers.

...¹

Why do women in the prime of youth and adorned with varied garlands stand in their many thousands at the cross-roads?

Young women are there in the inner chamber of the palace . . .² hurriedly running like fawns to the windows.³

For Rāhula the son of the Buddha, the offspring of Śuddhodana, is abandoning his kingdom as the Exalted One did, and going forth to the religious life.⁴

(267) *The drum is beaten, the lutes are played, giving forth their sweet notes. Tabours are beaten, and ere long the young prince will come out.*

Seven-stringed lutes sweetly resound as they are played with the bow . . .⁵ ere long the young prince will come out.

There is a splendid, merrily rattling chariot, draped in skins of leopards and antelopes. Eagerly the young prince mounts it and leaves his home.

There are cries of loving farewells and thousands of hand-claps⁶ resound in front of Rāhula, whose glory is deathless, as he leaves home.

The Śākyaans,⁷ with radiant crests and clothed in mantles of wool,⁸ and riding on stately elephants follow the young prince as he goes away.

¹ The story is here continued in verse, for the beginning of which Senart leaves a lacuna because of the impossibility of restoring a coherent text. The MSS. suffice to show that the passage omitted consisted of a question inspired by the sight of the preparations ordered by the king to celebrate the seventh day, the day of Rāhula's leaving home.

² Lacuna.

³ *Olokanakā nidhāvanti*.

⁴ A lacuna in the second pāda makes the translation uncertain. It seems necessary, too, to read *va* (= *eva*) -*avahāya* for *cavahāya*. One MS. has *cāvahāya*.

⁵ Lacuna.

⁶ Reading, as Senart suggests, *pāṇighāta* for *pāṇighaṭa*.

⁷ Text has *te* "these", only.

⁸ *Aṃśukaśikharijātā śaṭakakambalakanivastā*. But Senart in his notes queries whether the meaning is that the Śākyaans when so dressed resembled mountains (*śikhara*) of clothes!

With radiant crests, clothed in mantles of wool, and speaking eloquently and sweetly, they follow the young prince as he goes away.

Soon, the king's women are distressed, and their eyes fill with tears when they see the gathered chariots, horses and carriages stretching over a yojana¹ as though in a display of splendour.²

He whose eyes are like the elephant's or the partridge's now has reached the city gate escorted by the comely beautiful women, as Indra is escorted by his devas.³

He comes to the Banyan Grove, to his father, the Supreme of men, the Guide, the Lion-man, whose beauty is golden.

(268) Having won glory he bows before him whose glory is supreme. And the Valiant Man, with his gentle webbed fingers, strokes the head of his noble son, and says, "My good Rāhula, surely your concern for self-control⁴ will bear fruit, for that you have abandoned material form with its pitifulness.⁵ This will be your last existence, soon you will attain nirvana."

Then the Exalted One spoke to the venerable Śāriputra, saying, "Ordain Rāhula, and let him share your hut with you." The elder asked the Exalted One, "How, Lord, shall I ordain him?" The Exalted One replied, "O Śāriputra, with the ordination of one who is a young man⁶ into the Āryan dharma and discipline. He is to say,⁷ 'I, Rāhula, am coming to the refuge of the Buddha, to the refuge of the dharma, to the refuge of the Sangha.' Secondly, he is to say, 'I am Rāhula. The Buddha and none other is my refuge. The dharma and nothing else is my refuge. The Sangha and nothing else is my refuge. As long as I live, I, Rāhula, will abstain from murder, theft, from wrong sensual behaviour, from falsehood, and from the state of indolence induced by

¹ Literally "a gathered yojana of," *yojanam samācitam*.

² *Śirīye viya* or, perhaps, "like those of the goddess Śirī." But the restoration of the text is probably incorrect.

³ *Maruhi*, a term especially appropriate here; for *maru* is really a vocalic form of *marut*, and the Marutas were the companions of Indra.

⁴ *Niyamaprekṣā*.

⁵ *Sakarunārūpe*.

⁶ Apparently the same as the ordination of a novice. Cf. V. i. 82.

⁷ *Bhaṇāti*, for *bhaṇati*, the ending *-āti* having apparently a modal force. See Senart's note at i. p. 499. Now add Edgerton, *Gram.* § 27. 4.

indulgence in toddy and spirits. Establish me as a lay devotee¹ on the basis of these five moral precepts.² I, Rāhula, will follow into the religious life the exalted Buddha who has gone forth to the religious life.' A second time he is to say, 'I, Rāhula, will follow into the religious life the Buddha who has gone forth to the religious life.' A third time he is to say, 'I, Rāhula, will follow into the religious life the Buddha who has gone forth to the religious life. I, Rāhula, as long as I live, will observe the novice's³ rule of abstention from murder and so on as far as the rule against accepting silver and gold.⁴' For these are the ten moral precepts.

"Then the elder will cut Rāhula's hair and ordain him. Śāriputra (269) will take him by his right hand and Maudgalyāyana by the left and lead him to his bed of straw.⁵"

Thus did the Exalted One direct it should be done.

The Daśabala⁶ spoke to the pair of disciples that had won fame and glory in heaven and earth, the chapter⁷ of well trained disciples, abounding in wisdom, who had done their tasks.⁸

"Inasmuch as he will acquire keen faculties, let the young Rāhula be ordained into this dharma: let him be a follower⁹ of mine."

¹ *Upāsaka*.

² *Pañca śikṣāpadāni*. See vol. i, p. 168, n. 1.

³ *Śrāmaṇera*, Pali *sāmaṇera*. Divy. 153 has *śramaṇeraka*.

⁴ I.e., he is to express his adherence to the ten *śikṣāpadāni*.

⁵ It is not quite clear whether this sentence is part of the Buddha's instructions or whether it is a statement of fact. The only finite verb in the sentence is *upaviśensu*. In the translation this aorist has been taken as equivalent to the optative, "Let them lead to." It may equally well be aorist in force. Then the translation should be, "the elder cut Rāhula's hair . . . and led him to his bed of straw."

⁶ A metrical version, from another source, of the scene between Rāhula and his mother, is introduced here. Note the use of "Daśabala", and cf. p. 230, n. 2. The verses do not seem to be in the right order. This scene should naturally, and as it does in the prose, precede Rāhula's ordination, instead of following it as it does here.

⁷ *Gaṇa* is here obviously used in the sense of *varga* (*vagga*), as Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana were acting with the recognised authority of a chapter of monks, which could consist of two, three or ten monks. See V. i. 58, and cf. vol. i, p. 3.

⁸ The text has *karakandikaro*, apparently an adjective agreeing with Daśabala. But this word, as Senart admits, is utterly inexplicable. The translation has been made on the tentative assumption that the right reading, or at least a plausible one, is *karaniyakatam* (in agreement with *yugam* 'pair'). Cf. Pali *kalakaraṇiya*, "One who has done what is to be done," a phrase indicating the attainment of Arahantship. Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*) "can do nothing with the word."

⁹ *Kṛtānukārin*.

Then Śāriputra,¹ with his knowledge of right times, said to the Guide of the world, "How shall I ordain the noble Rāhula, the Conqueror's own flesh and blood?"²

The Guide, taking pity on the world, pronounced in a voice like Brahmā's that it should be the ordination into the Āryan dharma and discipline of one who is young.

"Let Maudgalyāyana," said he, "take Rāhula by the left hand and Upatiṣya³ take him by the right. Then let them ordain him and lead him to his bed of straw."

He who takes from off his body the bracelets and the thread of gold⁴ will no longer live tormented by ill: those tormented will remind themselves of the Daśabala.⁵

His mother then took into her lap her son whose wide dark eyes were like the elephant's or the partridge's, and spoke to him in these verses.⁶

"You wear the finest of garments," said she, "your body is scented with ointment and rouge. Difficult will a wanderer's life be for you who have been used to such exceeding great comfort.

"Men like these⁷ must needs be glad when they have dug pieces of rags from the dung-heap.⁸ (270) You, my Rāhula, must needs eat the cast-off food of a slave.

"You now have anklets of gold . . .⁹ You are glittering¹⁰ like burnished gold. Your kinsmen rejoice in you.

¹ Called by the synonym Śārisuta here.

² Literally, "born of his flesh."

³ The personal name of Śāriputra.

⁴ I.e., the sacred cord of the Hindu.

⁵ Senart considers that this stanza is misplaced, and says that it would more appropriately form part of Yaśodharā's appeal to Rāhula to abandon his project. To support this suggestion Senart says that *oharati* "take off" is undoubtedly a mistake for *olagati*, "to hang on to." But such a change would seem to be inconsistent with the sentiment of the second line, where the words *arttā smaranā daśabalasya* clearly imply the freedom from ills that comes from thinking of or believing in the Buddha. With *oharati* retained the first line then describes the outward sign of conversion from Hinduism to Buddhism. The stanza is therefore retained unchanged, and may be regarded either as a remark of the narrator in passing or as part of the words spoken by the Buddha to his two disciples.

⁶ As has already been remarked, we should expect this expostulation of the mother to come before, not after, Rāhula's ordination.

⁷ *Tāyin* = *tādin*. See vol. 2, p. 318, n. 2. The allusion, of course, is to the wanderers or ascetics.

⁸ *Varca*; BSk. *vaccāh*. Pali *vacca*. (P.E.D.)

⁹ Senart leaves a lacuna here, it being impossible to conjecture a restoration from the MS. *narorimabilikho, narorishahilikho*.

¹⁰ Literally "speckled", *sabala*, which takes a variety of forms in our text: *śavala, sabala* and *śabala*.

"What have you, my son, to do with the forest, you who have listened to the sweet and charming strains of the lute . . .¹ and nakula²?"

"Will you not believe what I say?, . . .³ Come, my son, give it up. Turn your face therefrom. It is not easy to win that immovable state."

Rāhula replied:

"Mother if there be any of quick understanding,⁴ count me among them. For I, too, will crush the lusts and go along my father's way."

The barber then sharpened his razor, and Rāhula, bearing in mind the Best of bipeds deliberately⁵ gave up his bejewelled lock of hair.

And seeing him thus deliberately devoted to the Daśabala's teaching (his father said to him) "My son, quickly attain the blissful and calm nirvana.

"Quickly attain those states which are beyond birth and old age." Thus did he speak to Rāhula.

(271) When she had taken them in her lap, his mother stroked the well-combed tresses⁶ which (had grown) in dark rows on his golden neck.

Then Yaśodharā's eyes welled with tears when she saw her noble son Rāhula bereft of his hair through his eagerness for the dharma.

And Maudgalyāyana and Upatiṣya ordained the young Rāhula who was thus rid of the householder's marks, and was the colour of coral⁷ and clad in yellow robes.

¹ Lacuna; the *ca hite ca* of the MSS. evidently conceal the name of some musical instrument. Could it be *candisaka*? See vol. 2, p. 153, where, however, the word is doubtful.

² See vol. 2, p. 154, n. 6.

³ Lacuna.

⁴ *Udghaṭitajña*, Pali *ugghaṭitaññu*. See P.E.D. for references. B.H.S.D., "understanding by a condensed statement."

⁵ *Abhimana*. See p. 248, n. 3.

⁶ The text has the inexplicable *śirasijasallekhām*, which Senart suggests should be amended into *śirasijñām* (sc. *keśām*) *sallikhyā*. This, however, as Senart remarks, involves assigning the doubtful meaning of "to comb" to *sallikhyati*. There is, besides, the difficulty of construing the indeclinable participle *sallikhyā*, for we should expect the past participle passive *sallikhitām*. Above all, there is an anacoluthon involved in this interpretation, *mātāsyā* forms with *grahetvāna* a "genitive absolute," while the subject of the main verb is itself the nominative *mātā*, understood. Still, the general sense of the whole sentence remains clear.

⁷ ? *Vidrumarakta*, which, Senart says, must be substituted for *drumarakta*, "coloured like a tree," of the text.

When he had been ordained, the son of him who bore the thirty-two marks of excellence lived with the elder Upatīṣya, eager to be trained.

Thus does it behove you who have gone forth in faith, to live without regret for the strands of sensual pleasures and with your heart untainted.

Rāhula lived on gruel of fine¹ and pure rice flavoured with curry and condiments, and went round the Śākyan families for alms.

With head and heart make obeisance to this son of the Buddha, named Rāhula, who has rent the veil of darkness and rid himself of all the āśravas.

After the Exalted One had eaten with the women of the court,² Yaśodharā, Rāhula's mother, in order to do honour to these excellent women, on the next day raised her joined hands to the Exalted One and invited him to a repast on the morrow. When she perceived the Exalted One's silent consent, she was thrilled, pleased and happy.

And when the night was over (272) she had an exceeding plentiful supply of solid and soft food prepared together with a large number of most exquisite sweetmeats remarkable for colour, smell, and taste. At the same time³ she had her house sprinkled and swept, draped with festoons of fine cloth, strewn with heaps of flowers, and overhung with a canopy.⁴ A sumptuous couch was laid out for the Exalted One, and couches befitting their rank⁵ for his company of monks.

Then the Exalted One dressed betimes, took his bowl and robe, and accompanied by his company of monks, entered the women's apartment. And Yaśodharā, Rāhula's mother, having arrayed herself in bright raiment and jewels, served⁶ the Exalted One and sought to entice him with sweetmeats to stay and live at home. But he would not change his mind.

¹ *Śālīna*, of doubtful etymology; either from *śālī* "rice," or from *śālā*, "hall." See Edgerton, *B.H.S.D.*

² *I.e.*, at the invitation of Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī.

³ The text repeats *tasyaiva rātryātyayena*.

⁴ Not quite apposite here, but inadvertently applied from the stereotyped description of a road when prepared for the Buddha's progress.

⁵ *Yatha-upakam*. See p. 246, n. 1.

⁶ *Parivīṣati* for *parivīṣ* (*viveṣ*, *veṣa*), Pali *parivīṣati*.

When the Exalted One had finished eating, washed his hands and put away his bowl, and his company of monks had done likewise, King Śuddhodana, Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī, Yaśodharā, Rāhula's mother, and her attendants, were instructed, roused, gladdened and thrilled by the Exalted One with a discourse on dharma. And when he had done so,¹ he rose up from his seat and departed.

The monks said to the Exalted One, "Behold, Lord, how Yaśodharā, arrayed in all her finery and adornment, served the Exalted One with sweetmeats and sought to entice him but he would not change his mind." The Exalted One replied, "Monks, that was not the first time that she did so. There was another occasion also."

Here the Ekaśringa-Jātaka² is to be repeated.

AFTER THE ENLIGHTENMENT

After the Exalted One had awakened to the incomparable enlightenment, he sat for seven days on his bed of straw at the foot of the *bodhi* tree with his legs crossed. "Here," said he, "at the *bodhi* tree I won pre-eminence (273) after seven days, woke up to enlightenment, and reached the end of the jungle and wilderness of birth, old age and death. Here I broke Māra of the lusts.³ Here I broke Māra the deva.

¹ The text has the active participles corresponding to the passive participles of the preceding sentence of the translation. The latter do not appear in the text as they are lost in a lacuna, but the context makes it easy to supply them.

² See p. 139ff.

³ *Kleśamāra* and *devaputramāra* (see next sentence). To those appellations of Māra are added below (p. 281, text) two others, *mṛityumāra*, "Māra of death," and *skandhamāra*, "Māra of the *skandhas*." In the commentarial literature, including the *Sk. Dharmasaṃgraha*, LXXX, these appellations are taken to denote four separate Māras. Some commentaries, indeed, add a fifth, *abhisankhārāmāra*, "Māra of the *saṃskāras*." (See *D.P.N.*) But it is doubtful whether, as some modern writers assume (e.g., E. Lamotte: *Le Traité de la grande vertu de sagesse*, vol. 1, p. 339f.), the *Mhvu.* can betakenas evidence for the belief in four Māras. The compiler of the *Mhvu.* in recounting the Buddha's encounters with the Evil One is clearly thinking of only one and the same Māra. He has nowhere a hint of a distinct legend of each of the four. In these two passages of the *Mhvu.* Māra is rhetorically named in terms of the transient elements of man's make-up and of death itself. The passage in *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (p. 98) can be interpreted in the same way. It is a commonplace of the history of religion and myth that divine epithets become personified at a late stage. Examples abound in the mythology of all nations.

Here I realised the vow made by me an infinite incalculable kalpa ago. Here at the foot of the bodhi tree . . . ¹

For a full seven days² the perfect Buddha, the monument of the whole world, after awakening to the supreme enlightenment, did not rise from his seat.

Thousands of koṭis of devas assembled in the sky, and for a full seven nights poured down a shower of blossoms. Blue lotuses, red lotuses, campaka, and white lotuses, lovely, thousand-petalled and brilliant, did the devas then rain down.

And Māra was then confounded, and with his staff he wrote on the ground; "Vanquished am I by the deva of devas, by the mighty Śākyan lion."

The Trāyastriṃśa devas, the Yāma devas, the Tuṣita devas, the Nirmāṇarati devas, the Paranirmitavaśavartin devas, devas who still abide in a world of sensuous delights, scattered in the sky celestial showers of blossoms, red sandal-wood, celestial aloe and campaka.

A celestial powder of jewels rained down from the sky. This Buddha-field was spread³ all over with a rain of flowers the size of a dice.

Thousands of koṭis of Brahmās assembled in the sky, and poured down a fine⁴ powder of celestial red sandal-wood.

With the devas of earth were self-luminous Śuddhāvāsa devas; (274) every place, from one quarter to another, swarmed with devas.

The air was filled with sunshades, flags and banners, as they rendered highest honour to the glorious perfect Buddha. A rich radiance was shed wherewith the Buddha-field was suffused. The highest parts of the world-system became the colour of fire.

The hells became tranquil in the rays of the Buddha;⁵ bodies became cool,⁶ and all were happy.

¹ Lacuna.

² These verses have already appeared in vol. 2 as part of the second *Avalokita Sūtra* there inserted. See pp. 349 ff (text) and pp. 317 ff (translation, with the notes).

³ *Spharin* from *sphar*. Vol. 2, p. 349 has *phalin*, "blossomed".

⁴ *Sūkṣma*. Vol. 2, p. 349 has *sukhuma*.

⁵ *Buddharaśmibhi*. Vol. 2, p. 350 has *buddhākṣetrasmi*, "in the Buddha-field."

⁶ *Śītabhūtā angāni*, which, in Senart's opinion, is preferable to *śītabhūtā angārā*, "burning coals were cooled," of vol. 2, p. 350.

Those who had worked out their hellish penalty of woe, on passing away from the hells,¹ were forthwith reborn among the devas.

In Sañjīva, Kālasūtra, Tapana, Pratāpana and Raurava, the fire was quenched by the rays of the Saviour of the world.

In Avīci and in Sanghāta and in the separate hells, everywhere was the fire quenched by the rays of the Saviour of the world.

In all those separate hells that are in the world-systems, the fire was quenched by the rays of the Saviour of the world.

Those who in the sphere of the brutes were wont to feed on gory flesh, were filled with love by the Buddha, and did no harm to one another.

The bodhi tree was adorned with sunshades, banners and flags, and covered with minarets fashioned² by the devas.

All around on the ground away from the bodhi tree were stumps of trees,³ rough earth,⁴ gravel and pebbles.

(275) But the bodhi throne was surrounded by bejewelled ground which the devas fashioned in the centre⁵ of the Buddha-field.

Thousands of devas stood on the ground, carrying censers and worshipping the Guide of the world.

All the ground beneath⁶ was covered with lotuses the colour of Jāmbunada gold, which sprang up through the power of the Buddha.

And the beings who were afflicted with the ill of disease,⁷ and were defenceless and helpless, became whole and happy, bathed in the rays of the Buddha.

Those blind from birth gained sure sight and were able to see objects. They spoke to one another of the mighty One who had won enlightenment.

¹ *Nirayeṣu cyavivāna* (with loc. for abl.) which, as Senart says, is preferable to *nirayeṣu ca satvā*, "the beings in the hells," of vol. 2, p. 350.

² Reading *nirmitā* (irregular for *nirmitehi*, as in vol. 2, p. 350) for *nirmito* of the text.

³ *Khaṇḍa*. Vol. 2, p. 350 has *khānu*, BSk. and Pali. See P.E.D.

⁴ *Kāntarakā*. Vol. 2, p. 350 has *kāntakathala*, "thorns and potsherds," *kathala* being for *kaṭhala*, BSk. and Pali for Sk. *kaṭhara*.

⁵ *Nābhi*, loc. case. Cf. Edgerton *Gram* § 10. 89.

⁶ *Heṣṭā*. But vol. 2, p. 351 has here the BSk. and Pali form *heṭṭhā*.

⁷ *Vyādhiduhkhārttā*. Vol. 2, p. 351 has *vyādhitā satvā duḥkhitā*.

Passion, hate and folly were done with¹ when enlightenment was won by the Śākya Lion, the great Seer.

Palaces and fair mansions, gabled and delightful, all turned towards the mighty Bodhisattva.

All men and women in the Buddha-field turned towards the bodhi tree of the great Seer.

Devas, male and female, deva sons and fair deva maidens all turned towards the bodhi tree of the great Seer.

Nāgas, Gandharvas, Yakṣas, Kumbhāṇḍas and Rākṣasas all turned towards the bodhi tree of the great Seer.

Young boys and young girls arose from their beds² and (276) stood and turned towards the bodhi tree of the great Seer.

All gems of precious stones, celestial and rare, ornaments of devas, turned thitherwards.

The jewels of Nāgas, Yakṣas, Piśācas and Rākṣasas turned towards the immovable bodhi tree.

The mansions of devas, Nāgas, Yakṣas and Rākṣasas turned towards the bodhi tree of the great Seer.³

Anklelets, bracelets and armlets turned towards the immovable bodhi tree⁴ of the Buddha who had won enlightenment,

Necklaces worn⁵ on the neck and lovely strings of pearls, the adornments of human beings, all turned towards the immovable bodhi tree.

¹ Or "made an end of," *antakīkṛitaḥ*. Vol. 2, p. 351, has *tanuno kṛitā* "were allayed."

² *Śayyāyam avaropitā*. *Śayyāyam* is loc. for abl. *Avaropita* is the causal past participle passive of *ava-ruh*, used for the participle of the radical, *avaruḍha*. Vol. 2, p. 351 has *śayyāsanāvaśāyitā*—"lying on their beds and couches."

³ This couplet was inadvertently omitted from the translation at vol. 2, p. 320.

⁴ *Yena bodhi niringitā*. Vol. 2, p. 352 has *yena vilambitāmbaram*, "where hung the garment."

⁵ Literally "used", *valaṇḍita*, Pali and BSk. part. of *valaṇḍati*, a verb the etymology of which is obscure, but which is used in Pali in the two senses of (1) "to trace, track, travel (a road)"; (2) "to use, use up, spend." The P.E.D. gives the meaning "used" to the word in the present passage, though "used up" would be more in accord with the other examples of its usage which are there given. Senart gives only one MS. variant of this line, and in this *valaṇḍita* appears as *ācaramjano*, so that without further MS. evidence it is impossible to judge what warrant there is for Senart's conjecture. He lists the word in his index but makes no comment on it in his notes. Perhaps, after all, the true reading is *vilambitā* "hanging", or *vigalitā* "glittering." The corresponding couplet in vol. 2, p. 352 has nothing remotely resembling *valaṇḍita*. Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) does not mention the word.

Strings of pearls, brilliant adornments, earrings of gems, draperies¹ and signet-rings all turned towards the immovable bodhi tree.

All the inconceivable beings in the Buddha-field, wittingly or unwittingly, turned towards the immovable bodhi tree.

Cool winds, fragrant and delightful, blew² all around the Buddha-field of the Mighty One who had won enlightenment.

The love of an only son³ and the constant obedience of one beloved by his parents were there.⁴

All the devas in the Buddha-field, Nāgas, men, Asuras, Kinnaras and Yakṣas gazed upon their Guide.

(277) Carrying censers they all stood there in happiness, and worshipped the Light of the world as he stood⁵ on the bodhi throne.

With joined hands uplifted they adored and praised him in verse. They did honour to the Buddha as they stood near the bodhi throne.

All beheld him seated there, the light-bringing Saviour of the world; no one perceived him standing at a distance, even of a fathom's length.

No one in the world beheld the Buddha from behind, but all the quarters saw him face to face.

No one beheld the Guide of the world from the left or from the right, but all beheld the great Hero straight in front.

Forthwith incense was burnt in the Buddha-field and all the confines of the Buddha-fields were filled with its scent.

It is not possible to count all the koṭis who saw the glory of the Buddha as they stepped towards the bodhi tree.

All grasses, herbs and trees turned towards the bodhi tree of the great Seer.

¹ Or "veils," *ogunṭhikā*. Cf. Pali *ogunṭheti*, "to cover, veil over, hide," and BSk. *avagunṭhita* (Jtm. 30). Vol. 2, p. 352 has *kaṭakā*, "chain, bracelet," with the MS. variants *kuntika* and *kuṇḍika*. Two MSS. of Vol. 3 also here read *okuntika*, but all these variants are meaningless. B.H.S.D. gives only *avagunṭhika*, "veil," from LV. 321.

² *Vāye*, opt. (3 sg. for pl.) in aor. sense.

³ Literally, "in an only son," *ekaputrasmin*. This couplet is not in vol. 2, and at first sight it appears foreign to the context, but presumably it expresses the atmosphere of love surrounding the bodhi tree or pervading the Buddha-field.

⁴ Literally "immediately followed," *taḍanantaram*.

⁵ It might be better to read *pratiṣṭhitā* here in agreement with the plural subject of the verb, as in the next couplet. The same suggestion applies to the corresponding couplet in vol. 2, p. 352.

Who having heard of such marvellous signs displayed by the Saviour of the world, would not be glad? Who but a minion of Māra?

All the glory that was the mighty Buddha's when he won enlightenment could not be declared even in the words of one gifted with magical powers of speech.¹

(278) When those who saw the perfect Buddha as he stood on the bodhi throne, and worshipped him, the great Hero, heard of the signs they were glad because they understood.

And the monks who stand flawless in morality² will beget a fine rapture when they hear this sūtra.

There will be joy for those who are endowed with good forbearance and a gentle disposition, who are high-minded³ and desirous for knowledge of the Buddha.

There will be joy for those who, awake to the supreme enlightenment, comfort men by saying⁴ that they will deliver them from oppression.⁵

There will be joy for those who have honoured previous Buddhas, Best of bipeds, when they hear this sūtra.

Those who gladdened and refreshed men⁶ with food and drink will also do reverence to the Buddha when they hear this sūtra.

Those who succoured the poor with their wealth will do reverence to the Buddha when they hear this sūtra.

Those, too, who reared monuments to Buddhas of old, lofty and fair palaces,⁷ will be made glad.

Those who upheld the true dharma of the Saviours of the world when it was disintegrating,⁸ and who renounce gain and reputation, will also be gladdened.

¹ See vol. 2, p. 321, n. 3.

² *Śilaskandhena acchidrā*. But the reading at vol. 2, p. 353, *Śilaskandhe acchidre*, "in flawless morality," would seem to be better.

³ *Adinamanasā*. Vol. 2, p. 354 has *alinakāyamānasā*, "active of body and mind."

⁴ See vol. 2, p. 321, n. 5.

⁵ Literally, "I shall deliver those oppressed," *mocesiyaṃ upadrutā*. Vol. 2, p. 354 has *mociṣyī upapadyatām*, "I shall deliver (from) rebirth."

⁶ *Savā* only, undefined by *kṛipāṇā*, "needy," as it is in vol. 2, p. 354.

⁷ *Udviddhā varaprasādā*. Vol. 2, p. 354 has *buddhivā varaprasādā* (for *-prāsādā*) "when they are aware of the fair palace" (sc. the truth of Buddhism. See vol. 2 (trans.) p. 321, n. 1.)

⁸ Or "crumbling up," *pralujyanta*. See vol. 2, p. 323 n. 4. In his note here Senart says that this word should be read at the corresponding place in vol. 2, p. 354 (text), instead of *puluvaṃ = pūrvam*. (See vol. 2, p. 322, n. 2). Miss I. B. Horner remarks that such passages apparently forecast the Buddhist "Apocalypse," described in detail in *Anāgatavamsa*.

Those, too, whose lives are no more to be re-compounded and are rid of karma that demands requital, the beloved¹ of the Saviour of the world, will be enraptured.

(279) There will be rapture for those who, when they see Maitreya,² the Best of bipeds, will do him great honour.

There will be rapture for those who, seeing Simha, the great Nāga, the monument of the world, will do him great honour.

There will be rapture for those who, eager for knowledge of the Buddha, will do honour to Ketu, the Saviour of the world.

There will be rapture for those who, eager for knowledge of the Buddha, will do honour to the Buddha Pradyota.

There will be rapture for those who, seeing the Buddha Jyotin, the invincible, will do him great honour.

There will be rapture for those who, seeing Sunetra, the Light of the world, will revere him with adoring³ worship.

There will be rapture for those who, seeing the two Saviours of the world, the Tathāgatas named Kusuma, will revere them.

There will be rapture for those who, seeing Meru,⁴ perfect Buddha, best of bipeds, choicest of speakers, will revere him.

There will be rapture for those who, seeing Puṣpa, supreme Buddha, best of bipeds, will render him the highest worship.

Those, too, will be exultant who have revered the Sangha of the four Lords of men in this auspicious kalpa.⁵

There will be terror for those who are greedy for gain and reputation, who rely on false knowledge and are avaricious,⁶ when they hear this sūtra.

¹ *Urasā* for *orasā*. See vol. 2, p. 322 n. 4.

² Better rendered as referring to Maitreya than as an adjective qualifying the present Buddha as in vol. 2, p. 322. And similarly for Simha (lion), Ketu (banner), Jyotin (light-bringer), and Pradyota (light), that is, these epithets should be taken as names of future Buddhas.

³ *Arcamānāya* from *ṛic*. Vol. 2, p. 355 has *apramānāya*, "infinite".

⁴ Vol. 2, p. 355 has Maru.

⁵ I.e., the four Buddhas Krakucchanda, Koṇākamuni, Kāśyapa and Gotama. This couplet does not appear in Vol. 2.

⁶ *Bahvicchā*, "desiring much". Vol. 2, p. 355 (text) is different here, reading *alpeccam*, which can only be for *alpeccam*, "desiring little," and has to be taken as a neuter used adverbially to modify *śṛṇitvāna*, "when they have heard the sūtra with little desire." The context requires it to be taken in a bad sense, hence the translation "with little heed" (Vol. 2, p. 232).

(280) *There will be happiness¹ for those who, though they delight in society and dwell amid the crowd, have heeded seclusion with the Buddha.²*

Even the immoral, when they have heard the Buddha speaking thus, will turn to the Light of the world, and render him eager reverence.

There will be joy for the future gentle and blessed Bodhi-sattvas who have been proclaimed by the Buddha.

Those who will never lapse from knowledge of the Buddha will be blessed when they have heard this sūtra.

Those who, trained with submissive minds in knowledge of the Buddha, have revered, honoured and worshipped former Buddhas, choice beings and Lords of men, will be glad when they hear of the beauty of the Best of men.

Those whose faith³ is entirely perfect, those endowed with hundreds of koṭis of good qualities, those who, rejoicing in the Sugata's teaching, uphold⁴ the dharma when it is dissolving,⁵

And those who are constant and humble,⁶ and are not scurrilous and loose of talk, but are kindly of speech⁷ and not given to pride, all will be glad when they hear of the beauty of the noble Conqueror.

Those who do not forsake the knowledge of the Buddha, (281) and whose infinite, peerless enlightenment is without a fault, and those who abide in unremitting devotion, will be glad when they hear of the knowledge⁸ of the noble Conqueror.

Then at the end of the seven days the Exalted One rose up from his throne, surveyed the bodhi tree with a Nāga's look⁹

¹ *Saumanasyatā*. Vol. 2, p. 355 has *na daurmanasyatā* "no distress".

² *Vivekaṃ buddhena*. Vol. 2, *vivekaṃ buddhasya*, "seclusion of the Buddha."

³ *Yeṣāṃ . . . śraddhā*. Vol. 2, p. 356 has *ye . . . śuddhā* "those who are . . . pure".

⁴ *Dhārayi*, habitual aorist; sg. for pl. Vol. 2 has the aorist form *dharesi*.

⁵ *Lujjamāna*. Vol. 2 has *lujyamāna*.

⁶ *Anuddhatā* "not puffed up." Vol. 2 has the truncated *-ānubaddhā*, which on Senart's suggestion was restored as *vratānubaddhā*. See vol. 2 (trans.), p. 323.

⁷ *Susakkilavācā*. Senart leaves a lacuna at the corresponding place in vol. 2, the MSS. having *vikilavācā*.

⁸ *Jñānam*. Vol. 2, p. 356 has *varṇam*, as above.

⁹ See p. 56, n. 1.

and with a steady gaze. In joy and ease he stood for the second seven days fasting and gazing steadily at the bodhi tree. "Here at the bodhi tree," said he, "I made an end of the jungle and thicket of the round of rebirth and death which has no beginning or end.¹ Here I have broken Māra of the lusts, Māra of death, and Māra of the *skandhas*²; I have broken Māra the deva. Here I have realised the vow I made an infinite incalculable *kalpa* ago. Here at the bodhi tree I have won pre-eminence in the world; I have won primacy in the world; I have won the essence of being."³

Thus for seven days the Exalted One in joy and ease contemplated the bodhi tree with steady gaze. The third seven days he spent in walking up and down a long way in joy and ease. Now on that occasion wicked Māra was sitting down not far from the Exalted One; and he was ill at ease, dejected and filled with remorse. With his staff he wrote on the ground, "Gotama the recluse has escaped from my power; Gotama the recluse has escaped from my power."

Then Māra's daughters Tantrī and Aratī⁴ approached Māra and addressed him in a verse:

Is it your wish, my troubled father, that I should bring this man to you bound in the snares of passion like an elephant from the wood? I could bring him to you in chains, and he would be your slave.

(282) But wicked Māra replied to his daughters in a verse:

An Arhan and a Sugata in the world is not easily enticed⁵ by passion. He has passed beyond the sphere of my power, and hence am I sore distressed.

Māra's daughters, however, not heeding their father's words, went to the Exalted One, followed him as he walked up and down, and said to him, "We would pay worship⁶ at thy feet, O Exalted One; we would pay worship at thy feet, O Sugata."

¹ *Anavarāgra*. See vol. 1, p. 29, n. 4.

² I.e., Māra as personifying the death which is the outcome of the lusts and the *skandhas*. See p. 261, n. 3.

³ *Satvasārātā*, abstract from the concrete *satvasāra*.

⁴ This passage is to be compared with S. 1. 124 ff.

⁵ Literally "easy to bring", *suṇāyā* = *su-v-āyā*. Cf. Pali at S. 1. 124.

⁶ Literally "worship thy feet," *pādānte paricareṃha*. Note the Prakrit (? and BSk.) form of conjugation. See Edgerton, *Gram.* § 26. 7.

But the Exalted One paid them no heed, since verily his heart was perfectly emancipated through the utter decay of every substrate of rebirth.

Then Māra's daughters stepped to one side and recited their spells,¹ saying, "Manifold is the desire of men; manifold is the desire of men.² Let us now fashion ourselves³ by means of our magic power into forms of what girls of fifteen or sixteen years look like, a hundred of them for each of us." They did so and went up to Gotama the recluse and followed him as he walked up and down. "We would pay worship at thy feet, Lord," said they. "We would pay worship at thy feet, Sugata." But the Exalted One paid them no heed, since verily his heart was perfectly emancipated through the utter decay of all substrates of rebirth.

Then Māra's daughters stepped to one side. They recited their spells, saying, "Manifold is the desire of men; manifold is the desire of men. Let us now fashion ourselves by our magic power into forms of what women with one child or with two children look like, a hundred of them for each of us." They did so and went up to Gotama the recluse (283) and followed him as he walked up and down. "We would pay worship at thy feet, Lord," said they. "We would pay worship at thy feet, O Sugata." But the Exalted One paid them no heed, since verily his heart was perfectly emancipated through the utter decay of all substrates of rebirth.

Then Māra's daughters stepped to one side. They recited their spells, saying, "Manifold is the desire of men; manifold is the desire of men. Let us now fashion ourselves by our magic power into forms of what women of middle age look like, a hundred of them for each of us." They did so, and went up to the Exalted One and followed him as he walked up and down. "We would pay worship at thy feet, Lord,"

¹ *Mantrā*.

² *Uccāvacam chando puruṣānām*, repeated, would seem to be the actual words of a spell intended to achieve its object by a sort of sympathetic magic.

³ *Abhinirmṇitvā*. There is no finite verb. The *Mhv.* text is clumsily abridged here and in the repetitions below, even to the extent of ruining the syntax. We should expect to have first *yaṃ nūnaṃ vayaṃ abhinirmṇeyāma*, "let us now fashion or conjure up." The narrative would then be taken up by *abhinirmṇitvā* "they did so (they conjured up)," as in S. i. 124 ff.

said they. "We would pay worship at thy feet, O Sugata." But the Exalted One paid them no heed, since verily his heart was perfectly emancipated through the utter decay of all substrates of rebirth.

Again, Māra's daughters stepped to one side. They recited their spells. "Surely", said they, "we can go and fashion¹ ourselves into the likeness of extreme age. Let us now then become aged, old, ancient, hoary headed, bent like rafters, leaning on our sticks, and go to Gotama the recluse, bow at his feet, and one by one ask him a question." So Māra's daughters became aged, old, ancient, hoary headed, bent like rafters and leaning on their sticks. Going up to the Exalted One they bowed at his feet and stood to one side. As they thus stood to one side, Māra's daughter, Tantrī, addressed the Exalted One in verse:

*How does a monk live and apply himself in the world,²
who, having crossed the five floods³ is crossing the sixth?
(284) How does a monk meditate and apply himself so
that sensual thoughts are kept outside of him and gain no
foothold in him?⁴*

The Exalted One replied to Māra's daughter, Tantrī, in verse:

¹ Literally, "I fashioning may fashion," *abhinirmṇantī abhinirmṇeyam*.

² *Bahuliha* = *bahulī* + *iha* ("here"). For *bahulin* in this sense, cf. *bahula*, "devoted", "intent on", and *bahulī* compounded with *kara* in Pali and BSk. (e.g. *Lal. Vist.* 348). This seems better than the translation "mainly" in K.S. i. 158, which, ethically speaking, is not thoroughgoing enough. Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*) however, maintains that the text should be emended to contain some forms of Sk. and Pali *bahula*.

³ According to S. i. 3, *Th.* i. 15, 633 (cf. *Dh.* 370) the "flood" (*ogha*) is fifteen states of the mind, or three groups of five bonds or fetters. *P.E.D.* suggests that the five here alluded to are identical with the last group of five, namely, lust, ill-temper, stupidity, conceit, and vain speculation. But this leaves the sixth unexplained. It is, therefore, better to adopt the first of two alternative explanations offered by Buddhaghosa, namely, that the five are the perils by way of the five senses, and the sixth those of the door of the mind. See K.S. i, p. 158, n. 3.

⁴ *Aladdhagādhā* "not having a footing gained." Cf. *gādhām labhati*, "to gain firm footing." Senart seems to be right in asserting that the *Mhv.* text is here nearer the original tradition than is S. i. 126 which reads *aladdhāyo tan ti*. The form *aladdhā* is not easily explicable as an active participle, which the translation, "and catch him not," at K.S. i. 158 makes it to be. It is more reasonable to assume that *aladdhā* is the first part of a compound, the second element of which, whether or not it was *gādhā*, has been corrupted or lost. The *Critical Pali Dictionary* takes *aladdhā* as equivalent to the active *alabhitvā*, and adds that *yo tam* may stand for *otāram* "chance". See also S.A. i. 187.

Knowing¹ the dharma and meditating without applied thought² he is not excited by passion nor harbours slothful memories.³ Abiding and applying himself thus the monk who has crossed the five floods crosses the sixth.

His body impassible,⁴ his heart set free, he is mindful, without anger, and rid of pride. Meditating and applying himself thus, sensual thoughts are kept outside of him and gain no foothold in him.

Then Māra's daughter, Aratī, addressed the Exalted One in verse :

Is it because thou art overwhelmed⁵ with grief that thou dost meditate in the wood, seeking to spend thy life in thought⁶ ? Hast thou insulted⁷ the villagers and canst not make friends with them ? Else why dost thou not make friends with folk⁸ ?

The Exalted One replied to Aratī, Māra's daughter, in verse:

Nay, the whole root of grief have I dug out ; all greed for life have I abandoned, and I shall win (285) the goal of my endeavour, the peace of my heart. Devoted to meditation,

¹ *Aññāya*, BSk. for *ājñāya*, restored by Senart after the Pali form at S. i. 126, for *anyāya* of the MSS. See Edgerton, *Gram.* § 2. 15.

² *Avilarka*, as in the second *dhyāna*.

³ Literally "does not remember slothfully" *na sarati* (BSk. and Pali = *smarati*) *thinam* (BSk. and Pali = Sk. *styāna*).

⁴ Or, "composed", *praśrabdha* BSk. = Pali *passaddha*.

⁵ *Abhitunna*. BSk. and Pali for *abhitunna*, Sk. *abhitūrṇa* from *abhiturvati*. S. i. 126 has *avatinna*.

⁶ This *pāda* is difficult. Senart's text is *cittāya jīvaṃ abhiprārthayanto*, and he translates, "ne désirant la vie que pour le bûcher" (*cittā*). But he has no faith in the correctness of the text. Nor will he allow that Windisch (*Māra und Buddha*) has succeeded in interpreting the equally obscure corresponding *pāda* at S. i. 126. The latter reads *cittam nu jinno uda patihayāno*. K.S., i. 157, inexplicably expands this to mean "Art downcast at loss of wealth, or art thou wishing it were thine ?" The Pali as it stands says no more than "Art old ? Or longing with your heart (or mind) ?" as Miss I. B. Horner, in a letter to the translator, renders it. At the same time, she calls attention to the v.l. *jīna*, when possibly the sense would be "art thou deprived of thought (or mind) ?" In any case, it is clear that the correct reading in the *Mhv.* should be some form of *citta* ; two MSS. have *cittā ca* (or *va*). Reading *cittāya* we would have the meaning "seeking a livelihood (? = to spend your life) for thought or by means of thought."

⁷ Or "assaulted", *āsāḍya*. S. i. 126 has *āgum nu gāmasmim akāsi kiñci*, "hast some misdeed in the village wrought ?" (K.S. i. 158).

⁸ *Kasmājjane na karosi sākhyam*. S. i. 126 is only slightly different : *hasmā janena na karosi sakkhim*.

aware of true happiness, I thus cannot make friends with man ; there can be no friendship between him and me.¹

Then Aratī, Māra's queen,² addressed the Exalted One in verse :

He who fares on with his groups and orders³ has cut off all craving. And many beings⁴ will make a resolve.⁵ Yea, he will surely pluck many men from the clutches of the king of death,⁶ and lead them to the sphere of the immovable and the griefless.

The Exalted One then replied to Māra's daughters in verse :

You seek to dig through a mountain with your finger-nails. You chew iron with your teeth ; you beat your heads against a hillside ; you seek a footing in the abyss. What else, you wicked ones, is your pursuit of me because of your envy of the Buddha ?

Māra's daughters, thus perceiving that Gotama the recluse knew them, in their distress, dejection and remorse came to Māra, their father, and addressed him in verse :

This day, father, have I been beaten. This man cannot be led by passion. He has passed beyond my power, and hence I grieve me sore.

"Any other man, father, who was not free of attachment,

¹ Literally, "no friendship with him is found in me," *sākhyam na saṃvidyate tena asme* (loc. or gen. of *aham*).

² So called here, Māradevi. But at S. i. 127 this verse is put into the mouth of Ragā, the last of the three daughters of Māra there mentioned.

³ Reading, on Miss Horner's suggestion, *gaṇasanghacārī* for *gaṇasampracārī* of the text. The Pali has *gaṇasanghāvārī* "(goes) attended by his bands" (K.S. i. 159), but the *Commentary* (S. i. 182) quotes the line as *gaṇasanghacārī* (for *-cārī*), and interprets it by, *gaṇe ca sanghe carati* "he fares in groups and orders."

⁴ Reading *sattvā* for *raktā*, "defiled persons."

⁵ *Chandaṃ karissanti*. The corresponding Pali *pāda* is *addhā carissanti bahū ca sattā*, "yea, surely many souls will go" (K.S. i. 159), which is better in that it continues the sentiment of the preceding *pāda*.

⁶ There is a lacuna here, but not necessarily of a word forming the construct of the genitive *mṛtyurājño*. The latter can well stand as gen. of separation after *acchetvā* as *maccurājassa* does after *acchijja* in the Pali (S. i. 127).

would, on seeing us in all our beauty (286) be overcome¹ and fall down in a swoon. The warm blood would be drained from his face, and he might die from his affliction, or suffer the loss of his senses. But Gotama the recluse, father, being an Arhan and rid of passion, hatred and folly, has proved superior."

Then wicked Māra approached the Exalted One and stood to one side, and as he thus stood to one side he addressed the Exalted One in verse :

Hither came in joyful anticipation, Tantrī, Aratī and Ratī,² but the great Hero swept them away as the wind³ sweeps away a fluttering tuft of cotton.

When he had recited this verse, wicked Māra, unhappy, dejected and remorseful, forthwith disappeared.

THE DHARMALABDHA JĀTAKA

When the Exalted One had set rolling the excellent wheel of dharma, the monks said to him, "How was it that⁴ Māra's daughters came to the Exalted One desiring and seeking an opportunity to tempt⁵ him, but not succeeding in finding one left him alone?" The Exalted One replied, "Monks, that was not the first occasion they acted so. They did so on another occasion also." The monks asked, "Was there another occasion, Lord?" The Exalted One replied, "Yes, monks."

¹ Reading *jito* for *jitam*. Senart retains the latter and identifies it with the inexplicable *jitam* which has been met with several times already in our text. Hitherto it has been tentatively explained as a corrupt (?) form of *jñātam* "known", but this explanation would not be admissible here, unless we render it by some cognate adverb like "assuredly" (= "it is known"). But it seems much simpler here to change it into *jito*. Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*) takes it as an interjection or particle expressive of *astonishment*.

² This is the first hint in the *Mhvu.* that the daughters of Māra were three as they are in *S.*, though there the first and the last respectively are named Tanhā and Ragā.

³ Reading *māruto* for *mārutam*.

⁴ Unless we supply *paśya*. "Behold, Lord, how . . .," as the formula generally is.

⁵ *Avatāra*, Pali *otāra*. See vol. 2, p. 228, n. 4.

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, in the city of Benares in the province of Kāśī, there was a trader named Dharmalabdha. He was a seafaring merchant and used to cross the great ocean and return after a prosperous voyage.¹

Now once as he was leaving Benares some five hundred merchants approached him and said (287) "We, too, will cross the great ocean with you." But Dharmalabdha replied, "You cannot go the way I go. For I go to the island of the ogresses,² and these ogresses seduce traders with hundreds of wiles. Hundreds of traders are there who have been seduced by the ogresses and have fallen upon misfortune and disaster. You cannot go with me." Thus the merchant Dharmalabdha refused permission to those five hundred traders, "Lest," as he said, "you be seduced by those ogresses and fall upon misfortune and disaster."

But then the five hundred traders met together and said, "Here is this merchant Dharmalabdha who goes his prosperous way over the great ocean; he goes and comes in safety, and he quickly returns after a successful voyage. But he will give us no chance to go. Friends, whatever kind of merit the virtuous trader Dharmalabdha has acquired,³ do you, too, acquire a like one,⁴ so that when he sets out from Benares we, too, shall go." And so all the five hundred traders acquired the same kind of merit as Dharmalabdha, and when he set sail all the five hundred traders set out with him and went with him as their leader.

When they reached the place where those ogresses lived, all the five hundred traders were called together by Dharmalabdha the merchant and given a warning. "Friends," said he, "all you five hundred traders set out from Benares with me, and now we are about to reach the dwelling-place of the ogresses. These ogresses will try to seduce you in

¹ Literally "having a successful ship," *siddhayānapātra*.

² A convenient English equivalent of *Rākṣasī* fem. of *Rākṣasa*. See vol. 1, p. 73, n. 5. The text reads *rākṣasīdvīpasya maddhyena gacchāmi*. In this circumlocution Senart sees yet another example in the language of the *Mhvu.* of the periphrastic declinations of modern Indian languages. *Dvīpasya madhyena* is simply equivalent to the acc. *dvīpam*.

³ *Samgrīhṇatī*. An unusual verb to use in this connection.

⁴ Presumably to convince Dharmalabdha of their fitness to withstand the seductive charms of the ogresses. The merit would, of course, be acquired by the performance of some particular religious act.

various ways, some with their beauty; (288) others with their voices; others with perfumes; others with sweet flavours, and others with their touch. There in your path they will conjure up various and divers desirable and lovely things; they will conjure up wares laid out for sale by the road-side. Wherever there is any desirable and lovely thing¹ do not look at it. None of you must covet it in any way. You must in no way lay hold of anything; you must in no way eat of anything. They will conjure up thousands of various kinds of flowering trees and fruit trees laden with intoxicating flowers and fruits, from the roots right up to the flowers heavy with clusters of leaves and fruits. But you must not touch any flower or any fruit. They will conjure up divers lotus-ponds, clear and bright, with cool water, and strewn with golden sands, covered with lotuses, and having pleasant strands for bathing. These, my friends, you must in no wise go near.² You must in no wise taste the water from the pools, or a red and white lotus, or a blue, red and white one, or a white one, or the fibrous stalk of a lotus. They will conjure up as well divers kinds of gems and precious stones. You must in no wise let greed for these arise in you. Whoever will let greed arise in him will never again return to Jambudvīpa; for thus will he pass from misfortune to disaster. But he who will turn away from everything in the dwelling-place of the ogresses will have a prosperous voyage and return successfully to his own land."

When they should have acquired³ merit the traders would set out⁴ from Jambudvīpa for the great ocean, which was a source⁵ of wealth and treasures.

(289) Embarking on their ships and going down to the

¹ The concord is irregular here—*Yatra nu so kocikāmakalyāṇam*.

² *Allīpīlavaya*, gerund. from *allīpeti*, Pali *alliyāpeti*.

³ *Samudānetvā*, from *samudāneti* Pali = BSk. *samudānayaṭi*.

⁴ *Prastihensuḥ*, aorist in potential meaning, for, on the analogy of the prose the metrical version should have begun with an account of the merchants deliberating and deciding that they would acquire merit, etc. The first two stanzas are really *oratio obliqua*, as is shown by the words *svastinā punarāgatā* which, in the light of the story, cannot mean "they returned in safety," but rather "they would return, etc." Three other verbal forms in *-ensuḥ* in the same passage, below, are pure aorist.

⁵ Literally, "mine," *ākara*.

sea they would gather treasures from the islands and return successfully.

Their merchant leader was a wise and prudent man, named Dharmalabdha, and he warned them, saying, "Traders, on the way we go are terrible ogresses who wield power through their magic and are well-versed in the art of illusion.

"The foolish simpleton who succumbs to their charms¹ will no more return to Jambudvīpa, his home. But he who will pay them no heed will successfully return to his home in Jambudvīpa."

And so they went on the course that brought them to where the ogresses dwelt. These sought to seduce² the traders by means corresponding to the susceptibilities of each.³

With their beauty, their voices and their touch, with perfumes and sweet flavours, with many a varied pleasure, they sought to seduce the traders.

Thus the traders who were susceptible to beauty were seduced with beauty; those susceptible to sounds were seduced with charming songs and music; those susceptible to perfumes were seduced with charming perfumes of various kinds; those susceptible to sweet flavours were seduced with exquisite flavours of various kinds, and those susceptible to touch were seduced with contacts of various kinds.

Then all⁴ the five hundred traders said, "Why should we night and day (290) wear ourselves out in the pursuit of various occupations, when we can enjoy here such beauty, sound, perfume, flavour, and touch? Let us divert and enjoy ourselves here, and return no more to Jambudvīpa."

They told their leader Dharmalabda about it, saying to him, "Greet our friends, relations and kinsmen in Jambudvīpa for us, for we mean to stay and enjoy ourselves here." Their leader replied and said to them, "Friends, these women are not human beings, they are ogresses. I told you so from the start. For I said to you, 'To-morrow we shall reach

¹ Literally "will do their will," *tāsu kahinti cecchandam*.

² Reading *upalobhensuḥ* here and in the next stanza for *upalabhensu(h)*.

³ Literally, "according to their dispositions," *yathādhimukta*.

⁴ Reading *sarve* for *sava* (sic.).

the dwelling-place of the ogresses, and they will try to seduce you¹ in many ways.' But you must not covet anything there. If you wish to return to your own land in safety, do not let yourselves imagine that these ogresses are human beings, lest you all pass from misfortune to disaster." But though repeatedly warned by their leader Dharmalabdha, they did not heed him, because they were deluded by their folly.

The merchant-leader Dharmalabdha, with his own company, sailed on, and all² the things which the ogresses had conjured up vanished and seemed to have been just a dream. All the five hundred traders were devoured by five hundred ogresses, their bones alone being left.

When they had devoured the five hundred traders, the whole band of ogresses gathered together, and said, "Here is this merchant-leader Dharmalabdha repeatedly sailing this way. He wins wealth time after time and returns safely to his own land. He also prejudices³ men against coming this way lest, as he says, they be devoured by ogresses. Who has the power to seduce this Dharmalabdha and then devour him?" Then a certain ogress came in, whose wiles were many and who had seduced and devoured several hundreds of traders. (291) She was prevailed on by the ogresses to seduce Dharmalabdha. "He will then," said they, "be your meat." So she transformed herself into a young and beautiful woman, and followed close behind Dharmalabdha wherever he went. Now and again she would move up within the view of the merchant-leader. But he paid no heed to the woman.⁴

The merchant-leader in virtue of his merit⁵ came down to the sea-port carrying treasures of various kinds. He crossed the great ocean in safety and came to Jambudvīpa. But the ogress in the semblance of a young and beautiful woman followed close behind the merchant-leader and strove in many ways to seduce him.

¹ *Yuṣmākam*, genitive object. Cf. p. 79, n. 3.

² *taṃ sarvaṃ* for *tāni sarvāni* (*bhavanāni*).

³ *Vigrahēti*. Cf. BSk. *vigrahita* and Pali *viggahita*. See P.E.D. for references. Cf. B.H.S.D.

⁴ Literally, "his thought (or mind), did not go on the woman," *na . . . striyaṃ* (BSk. loc. for *striyām*) *manam* (for *manas*, as often in BSk.) *gacchati*.

⁵ *Taṃ puṇyam*, "that merit." But the phrase is obscure. Syntactically it can only be explained as an "adverbial accusative."

When Dharmalabdha had safely reached the province of Benares, the ogress conjured up a young boy resembling the merchant-leader, to whom she presented him. "If," said she, "you go and forsake me, at least take this boy. For who will bring him up when you are gone?" But the merchant-leader replied, "This is not my son, nor are you my wife. I am a human being; you are an ogress. Hundreds of traders have been seduced by you and your companions¹ and have fallen from misfortune to destruction."

But then the ogress went about the villages, cities, towns and the provinces complaining to the people. "This Dharmalabdha," said she, "with his fair words brought me from a certain town and now he would abandon me here. He will not receive this son of his nor take me with him." The merchant-leader was reprov²ed by the crowd, by the men as well as by the women. "Merchant," said they, "do not send³ this woman away after bringing her from that seaport town. This is your son, for he is like you."

The merchant-leader answered and said, "He is not my son, nor is she my wife. She is an ogress. Many hundreds of traders have been seduced by these ogresses and then devoured."

But the ogress said to the people, "This is just like those men who have gained their desire.⁴ When they are enamoured of a woman, then they talk about her hundreds of good qualities. (292) But when their passion is spent we are made out to be Piśācanīs,⁵ and Rākṣasīs, and reviled on the score of a hundred blemishes."

Thus did the ogress try to convince⁶ the people, and thus did the merchant-leader Dharmalabdha safely reach his home in Benares.

¹ Or, "by you ogresses," for *yuṣmābhiḥ* is plural.

² *Upalabhyati* (= — *te*) for *upālabyati*. So also on p. 295 (text).

³ *Mellehi*, see vol. 1, p. 308, n. 1.

⁴ *Arthalabdha*. Better, perhaps, is the reading *arthalubdhā* of one MS., "greedy for wealth."

⁵ Female Piśācas. See Vol. 1, p. 74, n. 2.

⁶ Literally, "convinced", *pattipayati*, which, if the reading is correct, can only be the causative of *pattiyati* (see Vol. 2, p. 106, n. 2). In view of the context Senart argues that the verb should be negated. But the required sense is got by rendering "tried to convince". Cf. the frequent use of *lobhēti* in the same story in the sense of "try to seduce," and the conative force implicit in the present tense of many verbs in Greek and Latin.

The traders¹ at once replied to the merchant-leader and said, "Why should we toil² unceasingly night and day, when we have here and now attained the beautiful things we sought?"

"So, master, bid farewell for us to our kith and kin in Jambudvīpa; for it is here that we shall enjoy ourselves. Thither we shall return no more."

The merchant-leader said,

"O my friends, have you lost your senses³? If you act thus, before long you will become meat for ogresses.

"They will eat your skin, your fat and your flesh, and drink your blood. Glad will the ogresses be when they have won such a feast.

"He who will not do as I say will repent it afterwards." Thereupon other traders made haste to speak to the merchant-leader.

"Why," said they, "should we toil night and day without ceasing when we have here and now got the sounds we sought?"

"Master, bid farewell for us to our kith and kin in Jambudvīpa. For it is here that we shall enjoy ourselves; thither we shall return no more."

(293) Other traders again made haste to speak to the merchant-leader. "Why," said they, "should we toil night and day without ceasing when we have here and now got⁴ the sweet scents we sought?"

"Master, bid farewell for us to our kith and kin in Jambudvīpa, for it is here that we shall enjoy ourselves; thither we shall return no more."

Other traders again, thereupon made haste to speak to the merchant-leader. "Why," said they, "should we toil

¹ The metrical version is resumed from where it was left off, but it breaks the continuity of the prose.

² *Ghaṭṭāma* for *ghaṭāma*. The roots *ghaṭ* and *ghaṭ* are frequently confused in our text. See e.g., vol. 3, p. 89, n. 5.

³ Literally, "is not your memory (or mindfulness) perverted," *na smṛitir vo asti viparyastā*.

⁴ *Te mam adhigatā*, corresponding to *te no adhigatā* "they are got of (= by) us", in the repetitions generally. While Senart admits that *mam* could well be emended into *no*, he is inclined to let it stand here for the reason that it appears elsewhere in our text as the genitive plural form of *aham*. See, e.g., on this same page of the text and p. 310 below. See Edgerton, *Gram.* § 20. 59.

night and day without ceasing, when we have here and now the sweet flavours we sought?

"Master, bid farewell for us to our kith and kin in Jambudvīpa, for it is here that we shall enjoy ourselves; thither we shall return no more."

The merchant-leader said:

"O my friends, what is this you do? Do you not remember,¹ or are you perverse? If you act so, you soon will become meat for ogresses.

"They will eat your skin, your fat, and your flesh, and drink your blood. Glad will the ogresses be when they have won such a feast.

"If you do not as I say you will repent it afterwards." But still other traders made haste to speak to the merchant-leader.

"Why," said they, "should we toil night and day without ceasing when we have here and now the contacts we sought?"

(294) "Master, bid farewell for us to our kith and kin in Jambudvīpa, for it is here that we shall enjoy ourselves; thither we shall no more return."

The merchant-leader said:

"O my friends, now² have you not lost your senses? If you act so, you will soon become meat for ogresses.

"They will eat your skin, your fat and your flesh, and drink your blood. Glad will the ogresses be when they have won such a feast. If you do not as I say, you will afterwards repent it."

Then the terrible ogresses quickly threw³ all the traders into their grim stronghold of iron.

Then they all came together and took counsel because⁴ that one merchant came time and again and safely sailed back across⁵ the sea, and they were not able to devour him.

¹ *Tam khalu vo na smaratha*. This phrase differs, as is seen, from the form of the question elsewhere. For *vo* as nom. pl. cf. p. 82, n. 2. See also Edgerton, *Gram.* § 20. 44.

² *Tam kku*.

³ Reading *pratiksipe* for *pratitiṣṭhe*. If the latter is to stand, it must be taken in a causal sense, and is so explained by Edgerton, *Gram.* § 38. 24.

⁴ *Tāvātā*.

⁵ *Tarātā* (sic), for *tarati*.

Now there was one ogress among them who was clever and cunning, and had seduced and devoured many a trader.

And she spoke to all the other flesh-eating and pitiless ogresses. "I," said she, "will seduce him and he will be my meat."

So when the merchant crossed the sea, the ogress crossed with him, following behind him close on his heels.

Said she to him, "Here is your little son; he will die of grief for you. So take him. Why should you forsake your own begotten son?"¹

(295) Dharmalabdha replied:

"Deliver² him to him whose wife you are, instead of saying he is the son of a childless man. You are not a human being. You are an ogress, though you cannot devour me."

But she went round the villages, towns, the kingdom and the provinces, saying to the people, "He, my husband, is forsaking me."

The people came together, both men and women, and reproved the man, saying, "Why do you desert your wife?"³

The nobles, too, the brāhmans, the vaiśyas and the śūdras⁴ came together and reproved him, saying, "Why do you desert your wife?"

Dharmalabdha replied:

"My friends, she is not my wife; she is a terrible ogress. She is a cruel man-eater. Be assured of this."⁵

Dharmalabdha in spite of being reproved by the crowd did not give way but persisted in saying, "This is not my son;

¹ Orasa ātmano tava.

² Appēhi, from appēti, Pali id., Sk. arpayati, causative of ṛi.

³ Bhāryarām. See p. 7, n. 4.

⁴ People of the third and fourth castes respectively.

⁵ Literally, "thus know," *evam jānethanattave*. Senart leaves unexplained the termination *itave*, which also occurs on p. 299 (text) in the expression *āgacchathattave*. This latter example could be analysed into *āgacchath'attave*, where *attave* would be the Vedic infin. from *ad* "to eat," the expression thus meaning "come to eat." It is now seen that Edgerton, *Gram.* § 36. 14, offers the same explanation for *jānethanattave*, which he would analyse into *jāneth' an-attave*, literally, "know, for not-eating, i.e. "know that thus you may not be eaten."

this is not my wife. She is an ogress." But she went about by night and sought to convince the people, saying, "This is just like men who have gained their desire. At one moment they are inflamed with passion;¹ the next moment their passion is spent. While they are still pursuing their desires they are always speaking hundreds of endearments to their women. But when their passion is spent, then we are made out to be Rākṣasīs, Piśācinīs, and low-class women, and reviled with a hundred insults."

The woman was thus disowned² by Dharmalabdha. The counsellors reported this to King Brahmadatta, (296) saying, "Your majesty, the great merchant-leader Dharmalabdha brought a woman with him from a town across the sea, and she is lovely, handsome, possessing most perfect beauty; her equal in beauty is not known. But Dharmalabdha for some reason or other does not acknowledge her as his wife, nor does he acknowledge this son of his."

The king bade his counsellors summon Dharmalabdha the merchant-leader before him. He was thus haled before the king, as was also the woman. When King Brahmadatta saw the woman, that she was lovely, handsome and possessing most perfect beauty, he fell violently in love with her. He then said to the merchant-leader, "If you have no use for the woman, give her to me." Dharmalabdha replied, "Your majesty, do not commit an act of folly. She is not my wife, nor is this my son. She has come from across the sea trying to seduce me, following close behind me in order to try her wiles. She is not a woman; she is an ogress. Do not, your majesty, think of doing this."

But the king, infatuated with the woman because of her tender beauty, refused to listen to Dharmalabdha. As was said by the Exalted One:

The impassioned man knows not what is good, nor does he perceive dharma. A man always becomes blind when passion overcomes him.

¹ *Sārajjanti*. "Senart's plausible emendation for *sāraṣyanti* or *-raṣṣati* (= *sārajjati*, Sk. *saṃrajjate*)," Edgerton, *B.H.S.D.*

² Literally "was not wished for," *anicchīyati* (for *-te*). Cf. the active *na icchati* "does not acknowledge", below, next page (text).

So the king took the woman into the women's quarters. When King Brahmadata had dallied with her and enjoyed and amused himself with her, he lay down with her. Now the ogress had put the whole court to sleep. She and her son then devoured the king. When they had devoured the king she sent her son to the other ogresses to tell them to come quickly, for all the court was ready to be eaten. In an instant the son returned bringing the crowd of ogresses. And that night they devoured all the people of the court, both those within and those without (297), men, women and children, elephants and horses, and nothing but bones and skulls were left.

In the morning the counsellors went to the palace and saw that the doors were closed. The household priests, too, came, and the army officers, the town treasurers and councillors,¹ and the community of traders with Dharmalabdha at their head, all came to give the morning's greetings² as usual. They, too, saw that the palace doors were closed. The counsellors asked among themselves, "Why are the palace doors not open to-day? Usually the palace doors are open, the palace sprinkled and swept, and the appointed seats set out. We do not hear the sound of any one, either of a woman or of a man, or of an elephant or horse. In all the spacious palace with its crowd of people we do not hear the sound of anyone."

But Dharmalabdha the merchant-leader said, "Gentlemen, you will no more hear any sound coming from the palace. That pitiless ogress who feeds on flesh and blood was admitted into the palace. And she has made great havoc there. Open these doors so that we may know what is toward in the palace."

The counsellors had a ladder brought, and they made some men scale it, bidding them to go and open the doors. When these men got up into the palace they saw the skulls of elephants and horses. And they told the crowd of people, saying, "The whole court has been devoured; there are only skulls left." They were then bidden to get down³ and open

¹ *Sreṣṭhinaigamā*.

² Literally "to inquire after the comfortable night," *sukharātrīpicchikā*.

³ I.e., inside the palace or the grounds, so as to open the doors from within.

the doors. They got down then and opened the doors. The counsellors, army officers and town councillors (298) passed through the outer gate of the king's palace. In the elephants' enclosure¹ they saw bones and skulls; in the horses' enclosure only skulls were left, and only the bones, too, were left of the grooms and keepers. On the outside the royal palace looked frightful and smelt foul like a cemetery.

They opened the inner doors of the royal palace and went inside. There again they saw that only the bones were left of the king and his queens. And thus the palace both within and without looked frightful and smelt foul like a cemetery.

Then the counsellors and town councillors called the people together and had the palace within and without sprinkled, swept and fumigated. They paid due honour to the remains of the king and his queens. From all parts around the city a troop of soldiers of the four arms: fighters on elephants, cavalry, charioteers and infantry were levied and drawn up. In this way the city and province were protected against the assault of any king.

The counsellors, town-councillors and the country people assembled to deliberate. They consulted among themselves, saying, "Friends, who of us here in Benares can become a king fit to protect this kingdom righteously?" And they all, counsellors, town-councillors and country people, reflected thus: "There is no fitting king for Benares other than Dharmalabdha, the merchant-leader. He is virtuous and vigilant. Not even Yakṣas and Rākṣasas can succeed in tempting him. For thrice² has he crossed the great ocean, and every time he has had a prosperous voyage and returned in safety." So they set Dharmalabdha on the golden throne and anointed him king.

The Exalted One said, "It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time (299) and on that occasion Dharmalabdha the merchant-leader was somebody else. You must not think that. And why? I, monks, at that time and on that occasion was the merchant-leader named

¹ *Bāhīrye* "in what is outside" or "shut off from" (the palace itself).

² This is the first time in the story that the voyages he had made are definitely numbered.

Dharmalabdha. The chief ogress was Māra's daughter. Then, too, did she approach me, desiring and seeking an opportunity to tempt me. But she did not succeed. And this other time, too, when she approached me desiring and seeking an opportunity to tempt me did she fail to succeed."

When the king had heard¹ from his chief ministers² that Dharmalabdha would not acknowledge the woman he had brought from over the sea,

He immediately instructed his chief counsellors,³ saying to them, "If this man will not have the woman, take her into my women's quarters."

Conscious of the risk,⁴ she did not set about eating⁵ them herself,⁶ but sent her son to take the news to the other ogresses and to say, "I have devoured the king. Come hither at once to eat."⁷ Five terrible blood-drinking ogresses all came to the palace, and then returned⁸ the way they had come.⁹

The Exalted One, the Master, calling to mind a former abode, a former birth, related this jātaka to his monks.

The Exalted One explained the meaning of it in a discussion of the (300) skandhas, the dhātus, the āyatanas and the ātman.¹⁰

"When of yore," said he, "I lived in one of my lives in the round of rebirth that has no beginning or end, then was I Dharmalabdha, the prudent trader. The daughters of Māra were the ogresses. Thus understand this jātaka."

¹ A resumption of the metrical version. As is seen the text is disjointed and fragmentary.

² *Mahāmātrā*, Pali *mahāmatta*.

³ *Mahāmātya*, Pali *mahāmacca*.

⁴ Literally, "hindrance" or "obstacle," *antarāya*. Dharmalabdha might intervene or the intended victims might wake up.

⁵ Literally, "did not eat," *na khāyi*. For this verbal form, aor. 3 sg., cf. the past part. *khāyita*, p. 76, n. 3. See Edgerton, *Gram.* § 32. 23.

⁶ The text has *sānam*, genitive object of the verb. Senart suggests *sāmam*, "herself." Whatever word is adopted, the other can be appropriately understood for purposes of translation.

⁷ *Āgacchattattave*. For the termination, see p. 282, n. 5.

⁸ Reading *pratīkramensu* for *parākramensu* of the text.

⁹ *Yathāgatam*.

¹⁰ See e.g., vol. 2, p. 90, n. 4.

Rid of old age and grief, the Exalted One told his monks of his many and infinite sufferings, of his long faring up and down in the past.

Here ends the Jātaka of Dharmalabdha the merchant-leader.

VISITS TO NĀGA KINGS

Now while the Exalted One was taking his long walk up and down, Kāla,¹ the Nāga king, came to him. He bowed his head at the feet of the Exalted One, arranged his robe over one shoulder, raised his joined hands, and said, "Lord, former perfect Buddhas, the exalted Krakucchanda, Konākamuni and Kāśyapa, lodged in my abode. Well would it be if thou, Lord, would take pity on me and also lodge in my abode." And so the Exalted One spent the fourth week in joy and ease at the abode of the Nāga king Kāla. Then at the end of the fourth week the Exalted One left the abode of Kāla the Nāga king.

The Nāga king Mucilinda² who also had shown respect to former Buddhas came to the Exalted One. Having bowed his head at his feet, he stood to one side with his joined hands raised and appealed to the Exalted One. "Lord", said he, "former perfect Buddhas, the exalted Krakucchanda, Konākamuni and Kāśyapa, lodged in my abode. Well would it be if thou, too, Lord, would take pity on me and lodge in my abode." And so the Exalted One spent the fifth week fasting in joy and ease at the abode of Mucilinda the Nāga king.

(301) Now in that week unseasonable rainy weather³ came on. For the whole week it rained night and day. But Mucilinda the Nāga king threw his coils seven fold⁴ around the Exalted One to form an envelope of half a *yojana* and

¹ See vol. 2, pp. 249, 284, 354.

² See p.

³ *Vārdala*, not *vārdalika* as it is quoted in *P.E.D. s.v. vaddalikā*. Late Sk. *vārdala*.

⁴ *Saptakuttam*. Cf. the account of the same incident at *V. i. 3*.

covered him above with his broad hood. And so that the Exalted One should not be assailed by any poisonous or offensive smell the Nāga king named Mucilinda¹ emerged from his abode, threw his coils around him² and covered him for seven days with his splendid well-shaped hood, and thus begat rich merit. The Nāga king Vinipāta³ also won merit, for he threw his huge coil around him for seven days.

THE GOATHERD'S BANYAN TREE

When the Exalted One, the perfect Buddha, was living his life of austerity on the banks of the river Nairāñjanā, he was seen by a goatherd. Now when the goatherd saw the Exalted One mortifying himself with these grim austerities faith arose in him. With serene heart he planted a young banyan tree for the Exalted One. When he had planted this young banyan tree, he went to the Exalted One, held out his joined hands, and said to him, "Lord, I planted this young banyan tree for the Exalted One, believing that when the banyan tree should have grown to its full size, the Exalted One would have achieved his aim. So, for my sake, be pleased to make use of this banyan tree." The Exalted One silently intimated his assent to the goatherd.

When the goatherd perceived this silent assent he became glad, exultant, delighted, pleased, joyful and content. From

¹ One would expect a different name here, for the action is more or less a repetition of the preceding one.

² The verb, finite (*parikṣīpe*) or participial (*parikṣīpitvā*), is wanting.

³ *Vinipātena*. Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*) would read instead *vivipātena*, "without quitting", which would give the translation, "he (the Buddha) was enveloped (reading *parikṣīpto* for *ca puṇyam prasūtam* of Senart's text) by the Nāga king without quitting (*i.e.*, continuously), for he enveloped him for seven days." Edgerton's emendation, however, does not seem to take account of the *yo sūtam* of the same two MSS. which give him *parikṣīpto*. Further, as has already been remarked, the text clearly implies that more than one Nāga king contributed to the protection of the Buddha on this occasion. Now Mucilinda appears in the *Mhvu.* as one of a trio. See 3. 138, and 254 (text) where he, Rāhu and Vemacitrin are three Asuras. Mucilinda on its second occurrence is clearly a mistake for another name (? Rāhu), and Vinipāta might well be a corruption (or another name) for Vemacitrin, Pali Vepacikin. The whole passage is difficult reading.

time to time he would dig about and around the banyan tree, stake it and hoe¹ around it. From time to time he would water and sprinkle it by pouring cool water on and around it. Thus the goatherd's² young banyan tree quickly grew to have great branches and to be a lovely and beautiful tree through the power of the Exalted One.

(302) And when the goatherd saw the young banyan tree grown into a lovely and beautiful tree with its branches spreading downwards and outwards,³ his heart became exceeding serene. In virtue of that serenity of heart and his root of merit, on the dissolution of his body he was reborn among the devas of Trāyastriṃśa as a deva named Nyagrodha⁴ possessing great majesty and power. Though he had been reborn there later than they, he excelled the other devas born before him in Trāyastriṃśa in the five⁵ deva attributes of length of life, complexion, happiness, dominion and retinue. As soon as he was reborn there this reflection occurred to him: "What fair karma did I contract and store up when I was a human being? As the maturing of what karma have I been reborn here in the world of the Trāyastriṃśa devas?"

Then the deva Nyagrodha, while he was thus pondering what his root of merit might be, saw the banyan tree which he had planted for the Exalted One on the banks of the river Nairāñjanā. And so, accompanied by several thousands of devas, the deva Nyagrodha, in his surpassing beauty irradiating the whole abode of Mucilinda with a sublime radiance, came to the Exalted One, bowed his head at his feet and stood to one side. Arranging his robe over one shoulder and holding out his joined hands, he said to the Exalted One, "Lord, when I was a human being and a goatherd looking after my goats, I planted this banyan tree for the Exalted One. As a result of that root of merit, when I passed away

¹ *Parikuḍḍāleti*, a conjecture of Senart's, explained as a denominative of *kuddāla*. In his note on the word he would favour *dd* instead of *ḍḍ*, in spite of the evidence of the MSS. Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*) suggests "walls about," as the MSS. have *parikuḍeti*,—*kūḍyeti*, denominative of *kūḍya*, "wall".

² *Ajapālena*, instr. for gen.

³ *Osākhaprasakha*. For this story about the Goatherd's Banyan-tree see also Beal: *Romantic legend of the Buddha*, pp. 192, 238.

⁴ Or, translated, Banyan.

⁵ Elsewhere numbered as ten. See e.g., vol. 1, p. 25; 2, pp. 183, 350.

from among men I was reborn among the deva hosts of Trāyastriṃśa. Well would it be if the Exalted One would take pity on me and make use of this banyan tree, so that thereby I may have a greater reward still."

The Exalted One silently intimated his assent to the deva. And the deva perceiving the Exalted One's silent assent, was glad, thrilled, exultant, joyful and content. He bowed his head at the Exalted One's feet, saluted him thrice from the right, and then departed.

TRAPUṢA AND BHALLIKA

After he had left the abode of Mucilinda the Nāga king, the Exalted One spent the sixth week fasting in joy and ease at the foot of the Goatherd's Banyan-tree. When this sixth week at the foot of the Goatherd's Banyan-tree was over, (303) he spent the seventh week fasting in joy and ease at a shrine of many devas in a thicket of *kṣīrikā*¹ trees. Thus the Exalted One fasted for seven weeks or forty-nine days.

In the north country is a town² called Ukkala.³ Now it happened that two merchants of this town of Ukkala, by name Trapusa⁴ and Bhallika,⁵ who were rich, wealthy, opulent,

¹ *Kṣīrikā*, an unidentified tree. Cf. vol. 2, pp. 248, 475 (text). V. 1. 3, says he sat at the foot of the *Rājāyatana* tree, while *Lal. Vist.* 381 calls the tree *Tārāyaṇa*. *Dpvs.* 2. 50 seems to approximate the *Mhvu.* tradition when it calls the tree *khīrapāla*. According to V. 1. 1. he fasted only four weeks. J. 1. 77 and *Lal. Vist.* 377 ff, like the *Mhvu.*, make the period seven weeks.

² Properly "place", *adhiṣṭhāna*. *D.P.N.* is not correct in taking this as the proper name of the place from which Trapusa and Bhallika hailed. The text simply says *Uttarāpathe Ukkalaṃ nāmādhiṣṭhānam*, which must be interpreted as *Ukkalanāma adhiṣṭhānam*.

³ Ukkalā in Pali. The region is generally identified with the modern Orissa. See *Vin. Texts* 1 p. 81, Thomas: *Life of Buddha* p. 85, and *D.P.N.* But the *Mhvu.* definitely places it in the north country and implies that they were passing that way on their journey home from the south, *dakṣiṇā-pāthāto*.

⁴ Also spelt Trapuṣa in this story. The Pali forms vary between Tapassu and Tapussa.

⁵ In Pali also Bhalliya and Bhalluka. The story of Trapusa and Bhallika is also found at V. 1. 4, J. 1. 80, and *Lal. Vist.* 381 ff., and *BudvA.* 290 f. It is interesting to note how the story has been much expanded in the *Mhvu.*, even as compared with the version in *Lal. Vist.*

virtuous, and possessing many attendants, were coming with five hundred loads along that way from the south. Of their luck-bringing oxen one bull was born under the constellation Sujātā,¹ and another under the constellation Kīrtikā.² And they were hence called Sujāta and Kīrtika after the constellations. They went in front of the whole caravan drawing the leader's waggon. Wherever on the journey there was any danger, whether from a lion, tiger, leopard, rhinoceros, elephant, demon of the forest, flood or brigand, the bulls would refuse to go that way. The merchants thus knew there was danger there, and they would come together and go scouting in all directions.

Now the bulls Sujāta and Kīrtika came to the thicket of *kṣīrikā* trees. There in the thicket of *kṣīrikā* trees they were stopped by the magic power of the dead relatives of the traders Trapusa and Bhallika who had become devas, and they could not go on. When they stopped all the men of the caravan became frightened and got ready to fight. But the relations who had become devas, standing in the air, raised a shout and made their noise heard. "Traders," cried they, "be not afraid. No danger threatens you. But the Exalted One, the Buddha, abides in the wood here, having appeared after a period of seven incalculable *kalpas* for the sake of the welfare and happiness of mankind, out of compassion for the world, for the benefit and welfare of the great multitude of devas and men. (304) And he has been fasting these seven weeks or forty-nine days. Serve him with food. Thus will your root of merit be infinite."

On hearing the words of the devas the traders Trapuṣa and Bhallika brought refreshment of honey mixed with ghee. And the devas went in front of the traders, saying, "Come, this way." Thus the traders were led by the devas into the presence of the Exalted One.

The traders, taking with them the refreshment of honey,

¹ An unknown constellation.

² *Kīrtikā*. According to Senart this is a wrong Sanskritisation of *hittikā*, instead of *hittikā*, "the Pleiades." Cf. *Kārtika*, the month November-December. Below, p. 305 (text) it is correctly spelt *hittikā*. But Senart's reading *hittika* may be queried. Edgerton, however, accepts it as "hyper-Skt. for AMg. *hittā* = Skt. *hittikā*." (*B.H.S.D.*). This seems to be the only known instance of the form.

approached the Exalted One and said to him, "We pray thee, Lord, eat of this refreshment of honey as a favour to us."

But then this thought occurred to the Exalted One: "Now did the perfect Buddhas of yore receive food in their bowls or in their hands¹? They took it in bowls." As soon as this thought occurred to the Exalted One, the Four Guardians of the world² came bearing four golden bowls and went up to him. But the Exalted One, on the score that bowls of precious metal were not suitable for a recluse, would not accept them. So they brought silver bowls and went up to the Exalted One. But these again the Exalted One would not accept, because they were of precious metal. In the same way they brought bowls of pearl, of beryl, crystal, white coral and ruby, but on the score that bowls of precious stones were not suitable for a recluse, the Exalted One would not accept them.

Finally they came to the Exalted One bringing bowls of stone.³ Then the thought occurred to the Exalted One: "If I accept a bowl of one Guardian of the world, misgiving will arise in the hearts of the other three." So the Exalted One accepted all the four bowls of the Four Guardians. He touched them with his thumb and they became one bowl. But though the four bowls were thus become one bowl, four *koṭis* of replicas of all the four bowls were to be seen.⁴

Then the Exalted One partook of the refreshment of honey given him by the traders Trapusa and Bhallika.

(305) When the Exalted One had drunk the refreshment of honey which had been given him by the traders Trapusa and Bhallika and which was choice and exquisite, having good

¹ Edgerton, *Gram.* § 22. 4, interprets this passage differently. He takes *pāni* in *pānigrāhaka* as an AMg. word for "water" (see *B.H.S.D.*), whence his translation "did they take a bowl (of food) or water?" But *pāni* in its Skt. sense of "hand" would seem to give a better meaning here, that is, "taking (food) in a bowl," *bhājanapratigrāhaka*, is contrasted with "taking (food) in the hand." Besides, the context deals with the matter of providing the Exalted One with bowls, and not with that of providing him with food as contrasted with water.

² I.e., the "Four Great Kings." See vol. 1, p. 25, n. 3.

³ At V. 3. 243 (= 4. 243) the orthodox bowls must be of iron or clay (*mattikā*). V. 2. 112 adds that they must not be of gold, silver, jewels, beryl, crystal, bronze, tin, lead or copper.

⁴ Literally "four *koṭis* of all the four bowls were seen," *sarveṣāṃ catuṃnām pātrāṇāṃ catvāri pātrakoṭīni dṛiṣyanti*.

colour, smell, and taste, he pronounced a blessing¹ on them:

Many a goodly quality the refreshing food was said to have. It was good of colour, smell and taste.

The first refreshment that Trapusa and Bhallika gave the Master was choice, exquisite, desirable and fitting.

The Supreme of men drank this drink of honey and ghee. By them was the Hero regaled as he came out of his seclusion, as he himself regaled devas, Gandharvas and men with the rain of dharma.

He bestowed² a blessing on them,³ a blessing divine, bringing good luck and success. When they heard it they were glad, for it would prosper all their affairs.

Blessing be on your men and on your beasts; blessing be on you when you go your ways and when you return.

Blessing be on you by night and by day; blessing be on you at noon-tide. Blessing be on you always; may no evil befall you.

May good luck stand on your right shoulder and on your left; may good luck cling to your every limb like a garland.

Good fortune and good luck be yours, traders; may it be well with you on whatever business you go to the regions of the east.

May the stars that stand over that region protect you, Kṛittikā,⁴ Rohiṇī, Mṛiga, Ārdrā, Punarvasu, the fair constellation Puṣya, and Aśleṣā, the seventh.

¹ *Dakṣiṇām ādisati*. Cf. Pali *dakkhiṇam ādisati*, "to assign a gift." Although the following verses are practically identical with those found at *Lal. Vist.*, 387 ff, in the same context, there is yet too much difference in detail for the text of the latter to be taken as a sure guide in correcting the occasional faultiness of the *Mhvu.* text. It is to be noted also that the *Mhvu.* differs from *Lal. Vist.* in having a few verses at the beginning which contain a brief allusion to the occasion on which they were spoken.

² *Diṣe*, aor. of *disati*. Senart prefers this reading to *disā* in spite of the frequent allusions to the "quarters" of the world in the sequel and in spite of the reading in *Lal. Vist.* Besides, a finite verb is needed in our text.

³ *Sovatthika*. Pali and BSk., Sk. *svastika*.

⁴ The constellations and mythological persons mentioned in these verses are left unannotated: they will be found listed in the dictionaries. Although the verses are put in the mouth of the Buddha, they contain nothing specifically Buddhist. They evidently were a traditional song of prayer or magic recited to safeguard travellers on distant journeys. It is interesting to note that both the *Mhvu.* and *Lal. Vist.* introduce the song at the same point in the story. The lists of names are practically identical in the two texts. It should be noted, however, that *Lal. Vist.* adds some verses at the end, which imply that the whole poem was composed and recited by the Buddha on this particular occasion.

(306) These are seven glorious constellations which keep ward in the world ; to them is assigned the eastern quarter in the region of the east.

May these watch over you abroad and at home.¹ May the quarters be propitious to you. May no evil befall you. Return successful, guarded by these constellations.

In the region of the eastern quarter are eight young deva maidens, Nandottarā, Nandisenā, Nandinī, Nandirakṣitā, Jayantī, Vijayantī, Siddhārthā and Aparājitā, whose sovereign lord is named Dhṛitrāstra.²

He is king and lord of the Gandharvas, and is protected by the devas.³ May he, too, watch over you abroad and at home.

May the quarters be propitious to you. May no evil befall you. Return successful, guarded by all the devas.

In the region of the eastern quarter is a shrine named Cāpala,⁴ which is always ablaze with splendour and where prayers are always answered.⁵ May it watch over you abroad and at home.

May the quarters be propitious to you. May no evil befall you. Return successful, guarded by all the shrines.

On whatever business you go to the south, may the constellations that stand in that quarter guard you—Maghā, the twin Phālgunī, Hastā, Citrā, the fifth, (307) Svātī and Viśākhā—the southern quarter is theirs.

These are seven glorious constellations which keep ward in the world ; to them is assigned the southern quarter in the regions of the south.

May these watch over you abroad and at home. May the quarters be propitious to you. May no evil befall you. Return successful, guarded by these constellations.

¹ ? bhūmiye bhavanena (instr. for loc.) ca, literally, "in the district (and) at home."

² One of the "Four Great Kings." See vol. 1, p. 25, n. 3. The others are mentioned below, viz. Virūdhaka, Virūpākṣa and Kuvera. As a "Great King" the last is generally known by his patronymic Vaiśravaṇa (See, e.g., vol. 2, p. 153, n. 15).

³ See p. 297, n. 1.

⁴ This is probably mythical. At any rate it cannot be identical with the well-known Cāpala-cetiya near Vesālī, the capital of the Vajjis to the north of the Ganges. Lal. Vist. names it Acāpala.

⁵ nityam satyopayācanam, literally "which always has true prayer."

In the region of the southern quarter there are eight young deva maidens, Lakṣmatī, Śrīmatī, Yaśomatī, Yaśodharā, Subheṣṭhitā, Suprabhātā, Suviśuddhā and Suvyākṛitā. May these, too, watch over you abroad and at home.

May the quarters be propitious to you. May no evil befall you. Return successful, guarded by these deva maidens.

Their lord and king is named Virūdhaka. May this king and lord of the Kumbhāṇḍas, together with Yama, protect you.

May the quarters be propitious to you. May no evil befall you. Return successful, guarded by the Kumbhāṇḍas.

In the region of the southern quarter is a shrine named Abhipāśya,¹ which is always ablaze with splendour and where prayers are always answered.

May this, too, watch over you abroad and at home. May the quarters be propitious to you. May no evil befall you. Return successful, safeguarded by the shrine.

On whatever business you go to the western quarter (308) may the constellations that stand in that quarter guard you: Anurādhā, Jyēṣṭhā, Mūla, steady and strong, the twin Āśādhās, Bhiji, and the seventh, Śravaṇā.

May these, too, watch over you abroad and at home. May the quarters be propitious to you. May no evil befall you. Return successful, guarded by these constellations.

In the region of the western quarter are eight young deva maidens, Alambuṣā, Miśrakeśī, Ariṣṭā, Suprabhāyakā, . . . ² Kriṣṇā, Śukrā and Draupadī. May these, too, watch over you and give you health and prosperity.

May the quarters be propitious to you. May no evil befall you. Return successful, guarded by these deva maidens.

Their lord and king is named Virūpākṣa. May he, the lord and king of Nāgas, together with Varuṇa, protect you. May he watch over you abroad and at home. May the quarters be propitious to you. May no evil befall you. Return successful, protected by all the Nāgas.

¹ Otherwise unknown. The corresponding name in Lal. Vist. is Padma.

² Lacuna, which Senart prefers to leave in his text rather than restore it after Lal. Vist.

In the region of the western quarter is a mountain called Asta, where the moon and sun turn round.¹ May Asta give you wealth. May it, too, watch over you abroad and at home.

May the quarters be propitious to you. May no evil befall you. Return successful, all guarded by Asta.

On whatever business you go to the northern quarter, (309) may the constellations that stand in that quarter guard you,

Dhaniṣṭhā, Satabhiṣā, the twin Proṣṭhapadā, Revatī, Aśvinī, and the seventh, Bharanī.

May these, too, watch over you abroad and at home. May the quarters be propitious to you. May no evil befall you. Return successful, guarded by these constellations.

In the region of the northern quarter eight young deva maidens are gathered, Ilādevī, Surādevī, Prithivī, Padumāvatī,

Āśā, Śraddhā, Hirī and Śirī.² May these watch over you abroad and at home.

May the quarters be propitious to you. May no evil befall you. Return successful, guarded by these deva maidens.

Their lord and king is named Kuvera. He is lord and king of all the Yakṣas. May he, together with the Rākṣasīs protect you.

May he, too, watch over you abroad and at home. May the quarters be propitious to you. May no evil befall you. Return successful, guarded by the Yakṣas and Rākṣasas.

In the region of the northern quarter is a mountain called Kailāsa,³ the abode of the Yakṣa hosts and the home of the Rākṣasas.

¹ Literally "(which is) the turning round of moon and sun," *āvarto candrasūryāṇām*. *Asta*, "the western mountain," is the same word as is used in the expression *astam i* (*gam*, or *yā*) meaning, "to go home," "go down," "set."

² Senart reads *Śrī*, and leaves a lacuna after it. But perhaps, the line should be made up by reading the BSk. form of this name, *Śirī*, as in *Lal. Vist.*, and adding a conjunction like *atha* or *api ca*. One MS. actually has *api*.

³ A mountain range located in the Himalayas and famous in epic and Buddhist mythology. In the *Mhvu.* it is the home of Kinnaras. See vol. 2, pp. 34, 97, 109 (text).

May it, too, watch over you abroad and at home. May the quarters be propitious to you. May no evil befall you. Return successful, guarded by the Yakṣas and Rākṣasas.

Eight and twenty constellations, seven for each of the four quarters, (310) with the moon and sun making a full thirty.

Two and thirty deva maidens, eight for each of the four quarters. Four Great Kings, glorious guardians of the world, with blazing radiance guard the four quarters.

Eight recluses,¹ eight brāhmanas, eight nobles in the provinces, eight devas with Indra, may these always watch over you.

Then the Exalted One gave them the three resorts² of refuge. "Come," said he, "to the refuge of the Buddha, to the refuge of the dharma, to the future refuge of the Exalted One's community of disciples." And so they came to the refuge of the Buddha, of the dharma and of the Sangha.

Then they said, "We, Lord, are traders who range over many a country and kingdom. Well would it be if the Exalted One were to give us³ a relic which we could worship." With his own hand the Exalted One cut off some of the hair on his head and gave it them, saying, "Have a tope made for this hair". He then cut his nails and gave them the parings, saying, "Have a tope made for my nails. Stones will be provided⁴ you and do you set them up." So they erected

¹ The allusion to the eight recluses, brāhmanas and nobles, which is found in *Lal. Vist.* also, is obscure. As for the eight devas, Senart suggests that they consist of the "Four Great Kings" each attended by another deva. Thus Yama is mentioned with Virūḍhaka and Varuṇa with Virūpākṣa. To get Dhṛitarāṣṭra's auxiliary deva Senart suggests that, at verse 10, p. 306, for *devahi sa ca rakṣitaḥ* we should read *devendrena sa rakṣatu*. The latter reading is more reasonable on other grounds also, for the text makes a "Great King" to be protected by devas at the same time as he is invoked himself to protect human beings. In *Lal. Vist.* Mañibhadra is invoked with Kuvera, and Senart suggests that for *rākṣasihi* at verse 14, p. 309 should be substituted either this name or the name of a comparable deva.

² I.e., Buddha, dharma and the Sangha. At *V. 1, 4* they are said to come to only two refuges, that of the Buddha and that of dharma, the Sangha not being yet established. They are there thus said to be "the first lay-disciples in the world using the two-word formula (*dvevācikaḥ*). See I. B. Horner: *Bh. of Disc.*, Vol. 4, p. 6.

³ *Mam.*, gen. pl. See p. 61, n. 2.

⁴ "Will come," *āgamiṣyanti*.

a tope for the hair where the place named Keśasthālin now is. They erected a tope for his nails where the city named Vālukṣa now is. At the place named Śilukṣa¹ they set up the stones which the Exalted One by his magic power had thrown there with his own hands.²

Then the Exalted One, after his fast of seven weeks or forty-nine days, drank (311) the refreshing drink of honey given by Trapusa and Bhallika. But then the bilious humour of the Exalted One overflowed.³

Then Śakra, lord of the devas, offered the Exalted One the fruit of the myrobalan tree,⁴ saying that it would ease⁵ the humours. The Exalted One partook of the myrobalan and he planted the stalk in that spot. And on that very same day it grew into a big myrobalan tree with wide-spreading branches and laden with flowers and fruit. This was the first of the trees that grew by the magic power of the Exalted One. The myrobalans which grew from this tree are to-day known as the Consecrated Myrobalan Wood.⁶

¹ These three places do not seem to be otherwise known. Rhys Davids, in *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. 206, n. 2, has an interesting note on these hair-relics, in the course of which he alludes to the claims of both the Burmese and the Singhalese to be the modern possessors of them. He alludes also to the fact that the legend as given in *J.* is found in an ancient inscription on the great bell at Rangoon.

² See below, p. 313, (text).

³ Senart's text here is *pīlena Bhagavato te ca abhiṣyanditā*. He takes the latter word as meaning "overflowed (with satisfaction)," i.e., "they (Trapusa and Bhallika) were overjoyed that the Buddha had drunk." But the verb *abhiṣyandati* is also used of the "over-flow" of the humours of the body. See, e.g., 3. 143, 144, 153, 154 and cf. Pali. Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*) in calling attention to this wrong interpretation by Senart adds that the exact reading of the whole sentence is uncertain; possibly, he says, it should be *tathā* (so MSS.) *abhiṣyanditam* (impersonal), "over-exuberance of humours was caused." But it may be suggested that for *pīlena*, which is not readily construable, we should read *pīlāni* or *pīṭā* and retain *abhiṣyanditā*, or else *pīṭam abhiṣyanditam*, "the bilious humour overflowed." Hence the purgative *haritaki* given the Buddha by Śakra, so that there should be easing of the humours, *dhātūnām sukham bhaviṣyati* (Senart, however, emends *sukham* (so MSS.) into *mukham* giving the sense, "so that the myrobalan tree should be the chief of relics" (*dhātūnām*).

⁴ *Haritaki*. Pali (also Sk.) *haritaka*, yellow myrobalan, *Terminalia citrina* or *chebula*. Used as a purgative.

⁵ Reading *sukham* for *mukham*. See preceding note.

⁶ The text has *cetakiyā haritakiprabālā*. *Cetakiyā* must be interpreted as an adjective formation equivalent to *cāitya*. *Prabālā* is Senart's conjecture for the *pravānā* of the MSS. Possibly however, the right reading is *pravāṇa* or BSk. *pavana* in the sense of "wood" (see vol. 2, p. 328, n. 3), and the whole phrase should be *cetakiyaṃ haritakipravaṇam* (or *-pavanam*). The translation has been made on this assumption.

FROM URUVILVĀ TO BENARES

Then¹ for six years the Exalted One lived a life of hard austerity at Uruvilvā. And there at Uruvilvā a public washer-woman² from Senāpatigrāma,³ with a heart full of faith, offered a hempen rag-robe⁴ to the Exalted One as he was practising his austerities. "Lord," said she, "When thou wilt have achieved thy purpose, then mayst thou for my sake make use of this hempen rag-robe." When she became aware of the Exalted One's silent consent, glad and exultant she hung the rag-robe on the branch of a tree. Then she bowed her head at his feet, saluted him three times from the right, and departed.

Not long afterwards she died in the presence of the Exalted One, serene of heart because she remembered her gift of the rag-robe. Immediately after her death she was reborn among the devas of Trāyastriṃśa, the most excellent among a hundred thousand Apsarases in the mansion of a certain splendid and powerful deva. There, as an Apsaras, she asked herself, "What root of merit did I acquire when I was a human being and what kind of offering did I make, whereby I have been reborn among the devas of Trāyastriṃśa?" And as she thus reflected she could see that a certain public washer-woman, named Gavā, of Senāpatigrāma near Uruvilvā was in distress.⁵ "Now," said she, "just before I died, I gave a hempen rag-robe to the Bodhisattva as he was practising his austerities. As the result of the root of merit I thus acquired, (312) when I passed away from among men I was reborn here among the devas of Trāyastriṃśa. But this

¹ The story now turns back to relate some incidents which occurred during the austerities at Uruvilvā.

² Or "city-washerwoman or woman who hangs out clothes (to dry)," *nagara-avalambikā*. This is the interpretation suggested by Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*), who refers for confirmation to the statement below that the woman "hung out the robe on the branch of a tree," where the verb used is *olambitvā*. In his Introduction, p. xxix, Senart himself translates the expression by "étendeuse de linge," but in his note on the present passage he makes the less probable suggestion that *avalambika* is synonymous with *velambika*, "a musical instrument" (or its player). Against Edgerton's interpretation is the fact mentioned later in the story that the robe needed washing!

³ See vol. 2, p. 119, n. 2.

⁴ Literally "hempen rags from the dust-heap," *śānapāmsukūla*. The details of this episode in *Lal. Vist.* 265 ff. differ somewhat. *V. I.* 27 ff. does not say how the Buddha got the robe.

⁵ I.e., reflection brought back to her mind her own past life.

meritorious gift¹ of mine has not yet been made use of by the Exalted One. If the Exalted One would graciously make use of that meritorious gift, then my reward would be still greater."

So, accompanied by a hundred thousand Apsarases and in the great majesty and splendour of the devas, she left her home in Trāyastriṃśa, took the hempen rag-robe from the branch of the tree, approached the Exalted One and said to him, "Lord, when I was a human being, with a heart full of faith I gave this hempen rag-robe to the Exalted One while he was practising his austerities, so that he should for my sake make use of it when he had achieved his purpose.² As a result of that root of merit, when I passed away from among men I was reborn among the devas of Trāyastriṃśa. Well would it be if the Exalted One, taking pity on me, would now make use of the hempen rag-robe, so that thus my reward might be still greater."

But devas who appeared in the sky said to the Exalted One, "Lord, pray do not accept this hempen rag-robe. We will give the Exalted One special³ garments made in heaven." The Exalted One, however, would not accept the devas' gift of special garments.

When he had accepted the hempen rag-robe of Gavā the public washer-woman, hundreds of thousands of devas in the sky waved their garments in honour of the Exalted One and shouted "ha! ha! hail! hail!"⁴ As he has renounced his universal sovereignty, are not our hearts glad that he has gotten him hempen rag-robcs?"

Then the Exalted One wished to wash the hempen rag-robe. Water was needed, and Śakra, lord of the devas, with his own hands channelled out⁵ a stream. To this day the stream is called Pāṇikhātā.⁶ A stone slab was needed on which to bleach the hempen rag-robe. Four stone slabs were provided

¹ *Deyadharmā*, Pali *deyyadhamma*.

² The text here is in oratio recta.

³ *Vikalpa* "(specially) assigned." Cf. Pali *vikappetabba* V. 1. 297 and Miss I. B. Horner's note on *a-vikappita* in *Bk. of Disc.*, vol. 2, p. 7.

⁴ *Hakkhārakkilāṇi*. The expression is found also at *AvS.* 1. 67 and *Divy.* 459. With the latter part of the compound cf. Pali *kilikkilāyati*, denom. of *kili*. See *P.E.D.* for the etymology.

⁵ Literally, "dug," *khatā*.

⁶ "Name of a sacred bathing-place," (*M.W.*). In *Lal. Vist.* the name is Pāṇihatā.

by the Four Great Kings. On one stone slab the Exalted One bleached his hempen rag-robe. (313) On the second stone slab he dried it. By his magic power the Exalted One threw the third stone slab in front of Trapusa and Bhallika who dwelt in the town called Śilukṣa,¹ and it was set up there as a monument. Even to this day there is a place in the kingdom of Gandhāra known as Śilā.²

On the fourth stone slab the Exalted One sat down to darn the hempen rag-robe. And this stone slab received the name of the Exalted One's Anusivana.³ Thus the Exalted One made use of all the four slabs, and so they became monuments in Jambudvīpa in the eyes of both devas and men.

When the Exalted One had washed and darned his hempen rag-robe, he went down⁴ to the river Pāṇikhātā to bathe. When he had bathed the Exalted One proceeded to step out⁵ of the river. Now exalted Buddhas are untiring⁶ of body and of mind.⁷ But there was on the river-bank a beautiful and

¹ See p. 298.

² Unless the narrator's geography is atrociously incorrect, the text can hardly mean that Śilukṣa and Śilā were the same, for Gandhāra is in the extreme north-west of India. The second name may be adduced here only as another example of a place-name of the same derivation. But possibly the explanation is that the stone was cast not to where Trapusa and Bhallika were temporarily staying in the neighbourhood of Uruvilvā, but to their permanent home, which according to the *Mhvu.* was in the north.

³ "Sewing-place" from *siv.* "to sew." In *Lal. Vist.* 267 it is called Pāṃsukūlasivana "the sewing of the rag-robe."

⁴ *Okasta*, see vol. 1, p. 188, n. 6.

⁵ Literally "would step out of," *uttariṣyati*. Senart's remark that the text here is obscure seems uncalled for. He takes *bhagavān . . . uttariṣyati iti* as words spoken by Kakubha, and is forced by this assumption to give a most unlikely pregnant meaning to *prativasati* ("to dwell"), making it connote a verb of "saying". Even if this were in itself admissible, the arrangement of the whole long sentence is against it. For between the words assumed to be spoken by Kakubha and the verb (*prativasati*) on which, according to Senart, they depend, there intervene three independent clauses. It seems better therefore to take *uttariṣyati* as historic future, "he was about to," "was intending to," etc., and omit *iti*. Or, which would be quite in the style of our text, we might emend into *uttariṣyāmi ti* the Exalted One (said) "I will get out of the water." Cf. *Lal. Vist.* 267.

⁶ *Akilanta*, BSk. and Pali, past part. of *kilamati*, Sk. *kīlāmati*.

⁷ This sentence looks very much like a parenthesis inserted to avoid the implication of the story that the Buddha required help to come out of the water. Perhaps the Lokottaravādin theory is hinted at, namely, that a Buddha's bodily ills are only apparent. It is to be noted that in *Lal. Vist.* the whole episode comes before the enlightenment, and not, as in the *Mhvu.*, only that part of it in which he is offered the robe. In the latter text, by the time he had finally accepted it he was fully Buddha. But in *Lal. Vist.* he was a Bodhisattva to whom fatigue could be attributed. And the need for help is still greater there, because Māra is said to have raised the banks to make the ascent more difficult.

lovely tree called *Kakubha*¹, with wide-spreading branches, in which dwelt a deva bearing the same name as the tree. And as he was coming out of the water the Exalted One spoke to the deva, saying, "Kakubha, lend me a hand." The deva, who wore fine and faultless earrings, held out his arms to the Exalted One, who grasped them and thus stepped out of the river Pāṇikhātā. And as soon as he had withdrawn his hand from the deva Kakubha's arms, on the branch of the tree was seen the mark of the Exalted One's five fingers.

(When I attained enlightenment, when the good Kakubha extended his arms, when the stream Pāṇikhātā was channelled out and when the stones were thrown down by the devas.)²

Then the Exalted One went on to the Goatherd's Banyan-tree, and while staying (314) at the foot of the tree he reflected on the world.³ "Profound," said he, "is this dharma of mine to which I have awakened,⁴ abstruse, subtle, hard to understand, but no mere dialectic; it is intelligible only to the wise, and repugnant to the world in general.⁵ But this race of men⁶ delights in the things to which it clings, rejoices and exults in them. And for a race of men which delights, rejoices and exults in the things to which it clings, this is a matter hard to understand, namely, what antecedent condition is, what cause is, and what the arising of all things from a cause; the renunciation of all substrates of rebirth, the break-up of sensorial states by the previous stilling of the

¹ Spelt *kakudha* in *V. i. 22*, but *kakubha* in *Lal. Vist.* The *Terminalia* Arjuna. See I. B. Horner: *Bk. of Disc.*, 4, p. 38, n. 1.

² Senart rightly prints this passage in brackets. It is obviously a fragment of another version of the episode, which would seem to resemble closely that in *V. i. 28 f.*, where the Buddha recounts the incident of the rag-robe and of its washing, etc., to Uruvela-Kassapa. *Bodhim* has no verb governing it. Either a verb like *prāpnuvan* has to be supplied or as Senart doubtfully suggests *bodhim* may be aorist meaning "I reached enlightenment."

³ The close verbal resemblance of the account of the events leading up to the first sermon as given in the *Mahāvagga* (*V. i. 4 ff.*) and the *Mahāvastu*, respectively, will be found analysed by E. Windisch: *Die Komposition des Mahāvastu*, p. 13 ff. I. B. Horner: *Bk. of Disc.*, 4, p. 6, gives in a note the following Pali references to the Buddha's "Great Hesitation"—*S. i. 136, D. 2. 36, M. i. 167*, and refers to notes on the subject in *K.S. i. 171, Dial. 2. 29, and Further Dial. 1. 118*. See also *Lal. Vist.* 396 ff.

⁴ *Abhisambuddha*. The Pali texts have *adhigata*.

⁵ *Sarvalokaviṣṭyānīka*. This expression is absent from the Pali texts.

⁶ *Ayam* only in the *Mhvu.* The Pali texts have *ayam pajā*.

saṃskāras,¹ the destruction of craving, passionlessness, cessation, nirvana. And were I to teach the dharma to others and those others were not to understand,² that would be a vexation³ for me. Let me then abide in silence on a mountain in the wilderness."⁴

And on that occasion these verses⁵ were revealed to the Exalted One:—

The Way up against the stream, profound and hard to see, passion's slaves will fail to see it. Enough then of the thought of preaching it.

*With hard toil did I win it. Enough then of the thought of preaching it. For men who are consumed by sensual desires are carried down with the current.*⁶

Not long after his enlightenment the Exalted One was staying at Uruvilvā on the banks of the Nairāñjanā, at the foot of the Goatherd's Banyan-tree. Now while the Exalted One was all alone in solitude and seclusion, the following thought and reflection occurred to him: "Since the dharma to which I have won⁷ is profound, abstruse, subtle, hard to understand, not won by speculation, no mere dialectic, intelligible only to the wise, and repugnant to the world in general, were I to teach it to others, those others would not understand.⁸ And that would be the greatest vexation to

¹ *Pūrvasaṃskārasamathadharmopaccheda*. Pali texts have for this formula *sabbasaṃskhārasamatho*. In the *Mhvu.* expression *dharma* is the phenomenal world of matter as it conditions sentient life.

² *Vibhāvayensu*. Pali texts have *ājāneyyūm*.

³ *Vighāta*, corresponding to the Pali *vihesā*. The *Mhvu.* omits the expression *so mam' assa kilamatho* "this would be a weariness to me."

⁴ *Aranyaparvate*. But the v.l. *pavane*, in a "wood" in the wilderness, may be better than *parvate*. For *pavana* see Vol. 2, p. 328, n. 3. This sentence does not appear in the Pali accounts.

⁵ In the *Mhvu.* and *Lal. Vist.* 397, these two verses are in inverse order as compared with the Pali. Also, the Pali verse has *dhamma* where the *Mhvu.* has *mārga*.

⁶ This last line, *anuśrotam hi vuhanti kāmēsu grastā narāḥ*, is utterly unlike anything in the Pali verses. Incidentally, it confirms Miss I. B. Horner's remarks (*Bk. of Disc.*, 4, p. 7, n. 3 and 4) that *paṭisotagāmin* means "up against the stream to the source (*nibbāna*)" and not, as *Dial. 2. 30* renders it "against the stream of common thought." She cites *VA. 962* that *paṭisota* is called *nibbāna*. She also refers to Lamotte (*op. cit.*) 1, p. 50, n. 1.

⁷ *Adhigata* here.

⁸ *Ājānsnsu* here.

me. Let me then abide (315) in silence all alone in a tract of wilderness."

But then Great Brahmā, becoming aware of this thought and reflection of the Exalted One's, went to Śakra, lord of the devas, and said to him, "Friend Kośika,¹ the Exalted One is turning his heart to inactivity rather than to setting the wheel of dharma rolling. Why should we not, friend Kośika, go to the Exalted One and implore him to set rolling the wheel of dharma?" "So be it, friend," said Śakra, lord of the devas, in reply to Great Brahmā.²

Then Great Brahmā, Śakra, lord of the devas, the devas Suyāma, Sunirmita, Vaśavartin,³ the Four Great Kings, the ten Yakṣa lords, and the ten Yakṣa chieftains accompanied by several hundred Yakṣas, at dawn of day came to the Exalted One, irradiating with their radiance the whole of the ground at the foot of the banyan-tree. They bowed their heads at his feet and stood to one side. And as they thus stood to one side, Great Brahmā said to Śakra, lord of the devas, "Friend Kośika, implore the Exalted One to set rolling the wheel of dharma."

And Śakra, lord of the devas, arranging his robe over one shoulder, approached the Exalted One and addressed him in a verse.

Arise thou who art victorious in the fight. Fully laden art thou. Fare through the world free of debt.⁴ Chaste is thy heart like the moon in its fifteenth night.

But the Exalted One kept silent and would not give his consent that he should set rolling the wheel of dharma.

¹ For this appellation of Śakra (Indra), see vol. 2, p. 49, n. 4 and p. 60.

² This incident of Śakra first appealing to the Buddha is common to the *Mhvu.* and *Lal. Vist.* (396), but is not found in the Pali accounts. Cf. S. 1. 233.

³ For these devas, see vol. 1, p. 165, n. 4.

⁴ This line is identical with one of the lines spoken in the Pali accounts by Brahmā (see below), with the exception that it has *pūrnabhāro* (?so read for *-bhāro*) instead of *saṭṭhavāha*, "caravan-leader." Senart suggests that the former word should be emended into *prajñākarō* "wisdom-maker," as in *Lal. Vist.* But the *Mhvu.* word may be retained on the ground that it is not unrelated in meaning to *saṭṭhavāha*, i.e. the successful merchant is one who has a "full-load," and is also free of debt. Or else, *pūrnabhāro* may be a corruption of an original *pannabhāro* "one who has laid down his burden," i.e. is saved or become an Arhan.

Then Great Brahmā¹ said to Śakra, lord of the devas, "Friend Kośika, not so are Exalted Ones, Arhans, perfect Buddhas entreated to set rolling the wheel of dharma. Tathāgatas, Arhans and perfect Buddhas, when so entreated will not set rolling the wheel of dharma."

When this had been said, Śakra, lord of the devas, replied to Great Brahmā, "Friend Great Brahmā, you knew the perfect Buddhas of old, (316) and so do you yourself implore the Exalted One to set rolling the wheel of dharma." And so Great Brahmā, arranging his robe over one shoulder, held out his joined hands to the Exalted One and addressed him in a verse²:

Arise thou who art victorious in the fight. Fully laden art thou. Fare through the world free of debt. Teach dharma, O Sugata. Those who learn will grow.³

But the Exalted One kept silent. Then Great Brahmā, Śakra, lord of the devas, the devas Suyāma, Santuṣṭa, Nirmita, Vaśavartin, the Four Great Kings, the many hundreds of Yakṣas and the many hundreds of the Yakṣas' retinue, perceiving the Exalted One's unwillingness to set rolling the wheel of dharma, were pained and grieved. They bowed their heads at his feet, saluted him from the right, and forthwith disappeared.

There is also the following tradition concerning this⁴:

The Exalted One was staying at Uruvilvā on the banks of

¹ The *Mhvu.* and *Lal. Vist.* throughout this episode speak of Mahā-Brahmā only and there is nothing to imply that a particularly Great Brahmā is alluded to. D. 2. 36 is similar in this respect. But V. 1. 4 and M. 1. 169 speak of a particular Great Brahmā, viz., Sahampati, which name Rhys Davids (*Dial.* 2. 70) regards as a gloss. Lord Chalmers (*Further Dial.* 1, p. 118, n. 2) says, however, that "there is no justification for assigning seniority here to the Digha over the Majjhima and Vinaya." The absence of any mention of Sahampati in *Mhvu.* and *Lal. Vist.* would seem to confirm the truth of this assertion.

² As in *Lal. Vist.* Great Brahmā here utters only one verse as compared with three in V. and M. and two in D. The second line is identical with the last of the Pali lines, with the exception that it has Sugata instead of Bhagavān.

³ *Ajñātāro bhaviṣyanti* "the knowers will become," corresponding to *aññātāro bhaviṣṣanti* of the Pali texts cited (add also S. 1. 234). The rendering is that adopted in I. B. Horner: *Bh. of Disc.* 4, p. 8 after Mrs. Rhys Davids: *Manual*, p. 82.

⁴ Literally, "This also is heard," *etthametam śrūyati*, which corresponds to the expression "tatredam ucyate" so often used in vol. 1 to introduce variant versions of episodes.

the river Nairañjanā at the foot of the Goatherd's Banyan-tree, not long after his enlightenment. Then at dawn Great Brahmā approached the Exalted One. In his surpassing beauty he irradiated the whole of the ground at the foot of the Goatherd's Banyan-tree with his radiance. He bowed at the Exalted One's feet, and saluted him from the right. He then stood to one side and addressed the Exalted One in a verse.

Arise thou who art victorious in the fight. Fully laden art thou. Fare through the world free of debt. O Sugata, teach dharma. Those who learn will grow.

But the Exalted One replied to Great Brahmā in a verse :

The Way up against the stream, profound and hard to see, passion's slaves will fail to see it. Enough then, O Brahmā, of the thought of preaching it.

(317) Then Great Brahmā seeing the Exalted One's refusal at the foot of the Goatherd's Banyan-tree to set rolling the wheel of dharma, was pained and grieved. He bowed his head at the Exalted One's feet, saluted him from the right, and forthwith disappeared.

There is further the following tradition :

Not long after his enlightenment the Exalted One was staying at Uruvilvā on the banks of the river Nairañjanā, at the foot of the Goatherd's Banyan-tree. Now at that time there had spread among the brāhmans and laymen of Magadha such wicked and wrong beliefs as that (there would come a time when) the wind would not blow, rivers not run, embryos not be born, birds not fly, fire not burn, moon and sun not rise, and the whole habitable world be stricken with darkness.¹ Then Great Brahmā, aware that such wicked and wrong beliefs had arisen among the brāhmans and laymen of Magadha, at dawn of day came to the Exalted One, in his surpassing beauty irradiating the whole of the ground at the foot of the Goatherd's Banyan-tree with his radiance. He bowed his head at the Exalted One's feet, stood to one side, and recited this verse.²

¹ The Pali texts do not specify what the heresies which had arisen in Magadha were. *Lal. Vist.* describes them in the same terms as the *Mhvu.*

² This is another of those verses which in the Pali tradition were all recited at one and the same time by Great Brahmā. *Lal. Vist.* has here as many as twelve verses.

Already there has appeared in Magadha an impure doctrine devised by men unclean. Thou hast opened the door of immortality, so let them hear the dharma to which a stainless man has awakened.

Then the Exalted One, himself inwardly aware, through the insight gained by his enlightenment, (318) of the request of Great Brahmā, surveyed the whole world with his incomparable Buddha-eye.¹ He saw beings high and low, mean and noble. He saw beings who were of a bad disposition and difficult to instruct and make pure ; he saw beings who were of a good disposition and easy to instruct and make pure ; he saw beings who were quick learners² and beings who learnt only after a lengthy exposition³ ; beings who had to be led on, and beings who were merely word-perfect⁴ ; he saw beings who were astute of faculty and beings who were dull of faculty.⁵ He saw three categories⁶ of beings, the category in which good results are necessarily entailed, that in which evil results are necessarily entailed, and that in which no result is entailed. Just as a man of vision, standing on the brink of a lotus-pool, could see with little difficulty blue, red and white lotuses, some in the water, others on the surface, and others growing up out of the water, so did the Exalted One with his incomparable Buddha-eye see the whole world as he surveyed it.

Then this thought occurred to the Exalted One : "Whether I teach the dharma or whether I do not, the category of men in which evil results are necessarily entailed would not be able to understand it. Whether I teach the dharma or whether I do not, the category of men in which good

¹ This passage closely resembles the corresponding passages in the Pali texts already cited. The slight differences are common to the *Mhvu.* and *Lal. Vist.*

² *Udghaṭṭitāñña.* See p. 259, n. 4.

³ *Vipaṇcitāñña.* Cf. Pali *vipaṇcita* (references as in preceding note).

⁴ *Padaparama.* Cf. Pali, *id.* (Add J. 6. 131 to references in the two preceding notes). The three types of men referred to below are not enumerated in the Pali parallels to this passage.

⁵ The text has *riddhindriya*, but mention of the possession of a faculty of magic is entirely out of place here ; an antonym of *likṣendriya* is wanted. Hence emendation into *mṛidindriya* has been made. Cf. *mudindriya* in the corresponding place in the Pali texts.

⁶ *Rāṣīyas*, BSk. pl. of *rāṣi*, "heap". See vol. 1, p. 138, n. 5. *Lal. Vist.* also alludes to these categories, but the Pali parallels do not.

results are necessarily entailed will in any case get to know what I preach. The category of men in which no result is necessarily entailed will learn if I preach the dharma to them, but they will not know it if I do not preach it to them."

So the Exalted One, taking into consideration the category of men in which no result is necessarily entailed, and being aware of those wicked and wrong beliefs which had arisen among the brāhmins and laymen of Magadha, aware of the entreaty of Great Brahmā, aware of his own vow made seven incalculable *kalpas* ago, conceiving a great compassion for men and remembering that those majestic lords of devas and rulers of the world had come to him and implored him to set rolling the noble wheel of dharma, (319) granted Great Brahmā's request¹ that he should do so. And on that occasion the Exalted One addressed Great Brahmā in a verse :

*I have opened the door of immortality, O Brahmā.
Let those who list to hear the Exalted One shed the faith
that is based on a harmful idea. For already there has
arisen in Magadha a doctrine that is impure, based on a
harmful idea, and wrong.*²

Then when the Exalted One had granted Great Brahmā's request that he should set rolling the incomparable wheel of dharma, the devas of earth raised a shout.³ "Behold, friends," said they, "the Exalted One has granted Brahmā's request that he set rolling the incomparable wheel of dharma. This will confer welfare and happiness on mankind, compassion on the world, good, welfare and happiness on the great

¹ Literally, "gave him leave," *avakāśamakārṣṭi*.

² The sense of this verse as a whole is pretty much the same as that of the corresponding verse in the Pali texts (V. i. 7, D. 2. 39, M. i. 169, S. i. 138). There are, however, differences such as oral tradition in the course of time may be expected to have brought about. Words in the original are replaced by others of like sound. For example, the Pali line *vihiṃsasaññi paṇaṃ na bhāsim (dhammam)*, "Thinking of fatigue I did not preach the correct dhamma," becomes in the *Mhvu.*, *viheṣṭhasamjñō (a)praguno abhūsi dharmo*. As E. Lamotte (*op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 60, n. 1) points out *praguno* in the *Mhvu.* line must be read *(a)praguno*. But the run of the Pali verse demands *paṇaṃ*. With some variations the verse is also found at *Lal. Vist.* 400. The Pali version has the greater claim to represent the original tradition in that it makes more explicit the Buddha's consent to teach the dharma, *na bhāsim*, "I did not preach," implying that he is now ready to do so.

³ This exultation of the devas is absent from the Pali parallels, but appears in *Lal. Vist.*

multitude, and on devas and men. The hosts of the Asuras will wane, the hosts of the devas will wax." When they heard the shout of the devas of earth, the devas of the Four Great Kings, the devas of Trāyastriṃśa, the Yāma devas, the Tuṣita devas, the Nirmāṇarati devas and the Paranirmitavaśavartin devas raised a shout and made their cry heard. "Friends," said they, "the Exalted One has granted Great Brahmā's request that he set rolling the incomparable wheel of dharma. This will confer welfare and happiness on mankind, compassion on the world, good, welfare and happiness on the great multitude and on devas and men. The hosts of the Asuras will wane, the hosts of the devas will wax." And so on to¹ at that time and on that occasion the shout rose up to reach Brahmā's world.

There is also the following tradition concerning this :

(320) At the moment that he set the wheel rolling, the Exalted One reflected on what kind of beings set rolling the noble wheel of dharma. "Those beings," said he, "who have had association with former Buddhas² set rolling the noble wheel of dharma. Now I have had association with former Buddhas, and therefore I am worthy to set rolling the noble wheel of dharma. Those beings who are endowed with peerless conduct set rolling the noble wheel of dharma. Now I am endowed with peerless conduct, and therefore I am worthy to set rolling the noble wheel of dharma. Those beings who are endowed with a peerless dwelling-place set rolling the noble wheel of dharma.³ Those beings who have the distinctive attributes⁴ set rolling the noble wheel of dharma. Those beings who have been able to pass away⁵ set rolling the noble wheel of dharma. Whatever beings have been able to descend into a womb⁶; whatever beings

¹ I.e., according to the stock account of the devas' exultation when a future Buddha was proclaimed. See vol. i, *passim*.

² Literally, "are endowed with former association," *pūrvayogasampannā*. See vol. 2, p. 245, n. 2. This reflection of the Buddha's is not found either in the Pali parallel texts or in *Lal. Vist.*

³ The corollary, "I am endowed, etc.," is omitted in the text from here on.

⁴ *Āveṇikā*, sc., *buddhadharmā*, the eighteen distinctive attributes of a Buddha. See Vol. i, p. 33, n. 4.

⁵ Literally "are endowed with a passing-away" sc. from among the devas, *cyūṭisampanna*.

⁶ *Garbhāvakrāntisampanna*.

have been able to stand in a womb¹; whatever beings have had such a birth; whatever beings are endowed with the characteristics;² whatever beings are endowed with the lesser characteristics³; whatever beings are endowed with merit, steadfastness and mindfulness; whatever beings are possessed of the current dharma⁴; whatever beings are possessed of unimpaired⁵ dharma; whatever beings are pre-eminent in the world; whatever beings have the gift of investigating the world⁶; whatever beings are endowed with the essence of being; whatever beings can with their perfect knowledge understand the sound conclusion that comes from sound premises, and the unsound conclusion that comes from unsound premises; whatever beings can with their perfect knowledge understand as it really is the way that leads everywhere and the way that leads here and there; whatever beings can with their perfect knowledge understand the various and several components of the world as they really are; whatever beings can with their perfect knowledge perfectly understand as it really is the diversity⁷ of the faculty of energy⁸ of other beings and individuals (321)—(all) these set rolling the wheel of dharma. Those who can, with their perfect knowledge, understand as they really are the various and several dispositions of men in the world, set rolling the wheel of dharma. Whatever beings perfectly understand as it really is the difference between present and future maturing of the karma attaching to all past, present and future deeds, contracted, stored up and unrequited, these set rolling the wheel of dharma. Whatever beings perfectly understand as it really is the riddance from all defilements that comes from the attainments of meditation, concentration, and freedom; whatever beings by means of their deva-eye, which has vision beyond that of the human eye, see beings

¹ *Garbhasthitisampanna*.

² I.e., the thirty-two marks (*lakṣaṇāni*) of a Mahāpuruṣa. See Vol. 1, p. 80 ff.

³ I.e., the eighty *anuvyañjanāni* of a Mahāpuruṣa. See Vol. 2, p. 40 f.

⁴ *Pratyupasthitadharmasampanna*.

⁵ Reading *aduṣya* for *duṣya*.

⁶ *Lokaṇvācāya*.

⁷ *Vaimātrātā*. Senart refers to *P.W.* which cites *Mvyut*. Cf. Pali *vemaṭṭatā*.

⁸ Taking *indriyavīrya* as being for *vīrya-indriya* as at S. 1. 437.

passing away and coming to birth, beings fair and foul, fortunate and unfortunate, humble and exalted, and understand that they are duly reaping the fruits of karma—all these beings set rolling the noble wheel of dharma. Whatever beings remember their various past abodes; whatever beings understand as they really are the freedom of the heart and the freedom through intuitive wisdom which are rid of the *āśravas* because of the decay of the *āśravas*; whatever beings are long-lived, have the right way of life,¹ morality, concentration, emancipation, the knowledge of emancipation; have given up the world, have conceived the great compassion, have won enlightenment, are skilled in the ways of the heart, have the wonder-working power of magic, mind-reading and instruction, and are gifted with all good qualities of character; whatever beings have mastered the analysis of meaning, of reasons, of definitions, and of understanding; whatever beings have attained the noble five-fold concentration,² the concentration of the five knowledges,³ the noble, great five-fold perfect concentration, (322) the noble, great perfect concentration of the five knowledges, and are endowed with strength, the faculties and magic; whatever beings are gifted with polite speech,⁴ with distinct and faultless speech which makes the meaning clear, and have the ability to answer questions; whatever beings have the power to transform the despondency of others into confidence, and to restrain by means of the dharma the malevolence of others; whatever beings have the power to bestow on others the gift of happiness—it is beings like these that set rolling the noble wheel of dharma. It is beings who are endowed with all the attributes of a Buddha that set rolling the noble wheel of dharma. And I, again, am endowed with all the attributes of a Buddha, and therefore I am worthy to set rolling the wheel of dharma."

Then the Exalted One, aware that he had himself acquired such virtue, reflected: "What if I were now to set rolling

¹ *Ājiva*. The adjective "right" is inserted as being implied by the context.

² See vol. 2, p. 273, n. 4.

³ *Pañcañānikasamādhī*. Cf. D. 3. 278.

⁴ *Paurī vācā*, Pali *pori vācā*.

the peerless wheel of dharma? But I wonder who is competent to understand this dharma of mine when I first preach it and not be annoyed with me at the preaching of it?" He then said to himself, "Udraka Rāmaputra¹ was² pure, of little defilement and with little dust in his eyes.³ He had gone far, proceeded far, and taught as his doctrine the dogma concerning the sphere of what is neither consciousness nor unconsciousness.⁴ But Udraka Rāmaputra has been dead seven days. His death is a great loss.⁵ Now what other man is there who is pure, of little defilement, with little dust in his eyes,⁶ who is competent to understand the dharma when it is first preached and would not be annoyed on hearing it? Ārāḍa Kālāma⁷ was⁸ pure, of little defilement, and with little dust in his eyes,⁹ and he would be competent to understand the dharma when it was first preached and would not

¹ The second teacher resorted to by Gotama after he had left home.

² The past tense is used in translation, because there is nothing in the *Mhvu.* text to indicate that the Buddha did not know that Udraka was dead. In the Pali texts and *Lal. Vist.* the news that Udraka (and below, Ārāḍa) was dead was brought just as the Buddha had decided on communicating the dharma to him.

³ Senart prints *aparokṣajātiyo*, which could only mean "of evident good birth," a sense not quite apposite to the context. The corresponding adjective applied below to Ārāḍa Kālāma is, however, *alparajaskajātiyo*, which is clearly the equivalent of the Pali *apparaṣajakkhajātiko* applied to both teachers at *V. i. 7* and *M. i. 169, 170*. I. B. Horner, *op. cit.* p. 10 and Lord Chalmers, *Further Dial.* 1, 120, take this to be a compound of *appa* (*alpa*)-*rajas*-*akkha* (*akṣa*) i.e. "an eye with little dust." *P.E.D.*, however (*s.v. rajakkha*) explains *-kkha* as an adjectival suffix, *rajo* (*rajas*) *-ka*, giving *rajakkha*, and compares *purakkhata* from *puras-kata*. The translation adopts the former interpretation, although doing so involves taking *rajas* in both its literal and metaphorical senses in the same sentence. In any case, it would seem justifiable to emend *aparokṣajātiyo* into *alparajaskajātiko*, in spite of the fact that *Lal. Vist.* 403 has in the corresponding place *aparokṣaviññāna*. But it is to be noted that, when the Buddha, continuing his pondering, asks again who is *aparokṣajātiyo*, in his answer this adjective has become *alparajaskajātiyo*, and the latter is also the adjective applied to the group of five monks. But now see Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*).

⁴ See vol. 2, p. 114, n. 2.

⁵ Literally "Udraka R. is a great loss," *mahāhāni*, *Lal. Vist.* 403, has *mahāhānir vattate Udrakasya*. For *mahāhāni* the Pali texts have *mahājāniyo*, from *jāni* = *hāni*.

⁶ Reading *alparajaskajātiko*, for *aparokṣajātiyo*. See n. 3.

⁷ The first teacher resorted to by Gotama after he had left home. It is to be noted that the *Mhvu.*, like *Lal. Vist.*, has inverted the order in which the Buddha mentions him and Udraka Rāmaputra in vol. 2, p. 118 and at *V. i. 7* and *M. i. 169 f.* I. B. Horner: *Bk. of Disc.*, Vol. 4, p. 10, n. 4 gives the following references to these two teachers—Mrs. Rhys Davids: *Manual*, 57 ff., E. J. Thomas: *Life of Buddha*, 184 (add 62 and 229), *Miln.* 236, and *ThigA.* 2.

⁸ See n. 2, for the tense used in translation.

⁹ *Alparajaskajātiyo*, here.

be annoyed with me when he heard it. The loss of Ārāḍa is great, for he has been dead these three days. What other man is there, then, who is pure, has little dust in his eyes,¹ who is competent to understand this dharma of mine when it is first preached and will not be annoyed with me when he hears it?" He then thought to himself: "The good group of five² are pure, of little defilement, and have little dust in their eyes.³ (323) They are competent to understand this dharma of mine when it is first preached and they will not be annoyed with me when they hear it. They accompanied me in days gone by when I was living my life of austerity. Now they are staying in Benares, in the Deer Park at Rīṣipātana. What if I were now to go to Benares, to the Deer Park at Rīṣipātana, and preach the dharma first to the good group of five?"

Then many of the powerful Śuddhāvāsa⁴ devas approached the Exalted One, bowed their heads at his feet, and stood to one side. And as they thus stood to one side, they said to the Exalted One, "As is known and recognised by the pupils⁵ of the Exalted One, we, too, are able to perform for the Exalted

¹ *Alparajaskajātiyo*. The text omits *alparajo*, "of little defilement," here.

² *Pañcakā bhadravaggiyā*. The group of five religious seekers, probably pupils of Ārāḍa and Udraka, who had been Gotama's companions during his austerities, but who deserted him when he decided that asceticism was not the way. Why the group is described as *bhadra* it is impossible to say. They are first alluded to, in exactly the same terms, both in the *Mhvu.* and *Lal. Vist.*, on the occasion of their desertion of Gotama, so that there is some ground for supposing that *bhadra* is there used ironically in the sense of "fine" (See vol. 2 (trans.), p. 228). It has been rendered in a variety of other ways, "wealthy" (Rhys Davids and E. J. Thomas), "de bonne caste" (Foucaux) and "die schöne Gruppe bildend" (Pischel). On the whole it would seem safer to give *bhadra* here the general, if vague, sense of "good". (See E. J. Thomas: *Life of Buddha*, p. 80, 91; Mrs. Rhys Davids: *Manual*, p. 62 f., and *J.R.A.S.*, 1922, pp. 193 ff.; and *D.P.N.*) The Pali texts do not describe them as *bhadra*, but call them simply *pañcavaggiyā bhikkhū* (*V. i. 8*; *M. i. 171*), although they were not yet "monks" in the Buddhist sense. The Pali expression *bhaddavaggiyā* is applied to a totally different group of thirty (not five), who were converted and ordained by the Buddha on a later occasion (*V. i. 23*). See I. B. Horner, *op. cit.*, p. 31, n. 2, where the rendering of *bhadra* by "of good standing" is shown to have the support of the Commentaries. Miss Horner, in a letter, suggests that *bhadra* applied to the five is due to contamination from the group of thirty).

³ *Alparajaskajātiyo*.

⁴ See vol. 1, p. 28, n. 4. The intervention of the devas at this point is not found either in the Pali texts or in *Lal. Vist.*

⁵ *Antevāsīnas*.

One various and divers wonders of magic. As the Exalted One goes from the *bodhi*-tree to Benares to set rolling the peerless wheel of dharma in the Deer Park at Rīṣipātana, we will see to it that the whole way from the *bodhi*-tree to Benares is made level, even, like the palm of the hand, with an awning stretched over it, and is bordered with bright cloth, draped with festoons of fine cloth, sprinkled and swept, made fragrant with incense, scattered with heaps of flowers, strewn with golden sand and with powder of celestial pearls, crystal, white coral and ruby. And there, Lord, on the way from the *bodhi* tree to Benares we will create rows of celestial palm-trees . . .¹ bright and beautiful, made of the seven precious substances, gold, silver, pearl, beryl, crystal, white coral and ruby. There too, Lord, on the left and on the right of the way we will create celestial streams, (324) transparent,² unruffled, with sandy banks, attractive,³ their beds strewn with golden sands, with pools of fragrant blue, red and white lotuses and shaded by flourishing trees, mango, rose-apple, *lakuca*,⁴ bread-fruit, coconut, *pālevatā*,⁵ *bhavya*⁶ and pomegranate. There too, Lord, on the way from the *bodhi*-tree to Benares we will create celestial sunshades and celestial banners. We will create celestial gabled buildings, bright and beautiful, made of the seven precious substances, gold, silver, pearl, beryl, crystal, white coral and ruby. As the Exalted One moves on, these will move on; when he stops, they will stop. In front of him the Varṣavalāhaka devas⁷ will scatter celestial flowers; gently, gently will the devas throw them down."

Thus when the Exalted One set out from the *bodhi*-tree to the Deer Park at Rīṣipātana in Benares, to set rolling the peerless wheel of dharma, the way had been made ready

¹ There is here what must be regarded as a copyist's error, for four adjectives *acchā*, *samā*, *saiketā* and *sukhopanītā* are applied to the palm-trees, which are properly only applicable to streams and are so applied immediately below.

² *Accha* P.E.D. relates it to root *ṛic* and compares Sk. *ṛikṣa*, "bald," "bare" and Vedic *ṛikvan*, "bright." M.W., however, derives it *a + chad*, "not covered," "not shaded."

³ ? *Sukhopanītā* "where one is led to pleasure." The corresponding adjective et p. 288 (text) is *sukhopatīrtha*.

⁴ See vol. I., p. 205 (trans.).

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ The rain-making class of the *Vahālakāyika* or "Cloud" devas. See D.P.N.

for him by the Śuddhāvāsa devas. They created a great army of the four arms, warriors on elephants, cavalry, charioteers and infantry, and escorted the Exalted One as he went to Benares. All the lords and kings of the Suvarṇas,¹ whether born of eggs, or of the womb, or spontaneously, or of moisture, by their magic power created a great army of the four arms and escorted the Exalted One as he went on his way. Also all the Nāga lords and kings, whether born of eggs, or of the womb, or spontaneously, or from moisture, by means of their magic power created a great army of the four arms and escorted the Exalted One as he went to Benares. The Cāturmahārājika devas, the Trāyastriṃśa devas, the Yāma devas, the Tuṣita devas, the Nirmāṇarati devas, the Paranirmitavaśavartin devas, and the devas of Brahmā's world, by means of their magic power created a great army of the four arms and escorted the Exalted One as he went to Kāśi.

And so the Exalted One, honoured and escorted by a great host of several hundreds, several thousands, several hundreds of thousands went from Uruvilvā to Gayā and from Gayā to Aparagayā.²

At Aparagayā there was a Nāga king named Sudarśana, and he invited the Exalted One (325) to lodge and eat with him at Aparagayā.³ When the Exalted One had lodged and eaten at the home of Sudarśana, the Nāga king, he went on to Vaśālā. At Vaśālā there was a brāhman named Nadin, and he was said to be of those who put faith in the sound "hum, hum"⁴. As the Exalted One was walking on he

¹ See vol. 2, p. 165, n. 2.

² Not mentioned in the Pali texts nor in *Lal. Vist.*

³ This incident at this point is peculiar to the *Mhvu.* In *Lal. Vist.*, 406, it occurs after the meeting with Upaka.

⁴ *Huhunkajātiko vuccati* "he was said to be a Huhunkajātiko". Hardy, quoted by Mrs. Rhys Davids in *J.P.T.S.*, 1901, p. 42, says that *huhunka* is apparently the designation of a class of brahmins uttering and putting their confidence in the sound *hum*, and he cites an *Avanyaka* passage which would seem to show that the sound was considered to possess a great power. Dr. E. H. Johnstone also thinks it may refer to confidence in ritual-syllables. See F. L. Woodward: *Verses of Uplift*, p. 3, n. 1 and the references there and in I. B. Horner, *op. cit.*, p. 3, n. 3. According to P.E.D. *huhunkajātiko* means "one who has a grumbly nature." Cf. *DA.* and *UdA.* cited in *Verses of Uplift*, l.c. But in the *Mhvu.* the brāhman utters the sound "hum" before the Buddha speaks a word at which he can carp.

In *V. I. 2*, cf. *Ud. 3*, this incident takes place earlier, namely, when the Buddha was staying near the Goatherd's Banyan-tree. The *Mhvu.* alone gives the brāhman a name.

turned his left¹ side to him and cried "hum-hum."² The Exalted One in that circumstance, on that occasion, for that reason and at that time made this solemn utterance:

The brāhman who is outside the state of evil,³ who does not cry "hum-hum," who is free of impurity,⁴ whose self is under control, who is rid of the āśravas and who is in his last bodily existence, it is that brāhman who can rightfully proclaim the religion of Brahmā.⁵

At Vaśālā a certain householder invited the Exalted One to lodge and eat with him.⁶ And after the Exalted One had lodged⁷ and eaten there he left Vaśālā and came to a place called Cundadvīla.⁸

And Upaka, the Naked Ascetic,⁹ saw the Exalted One when he was still some way off. Seeing him coming he went to meet him, and exchanged friendly and courteous greetings with him. He then stood to one side. As he thus stood to one side, Upaka, the Naked Ascetic, said to the Exalted One, "Very clear is the complexion of the exalted Gotama, very clear and very bright; very serene is his countenance.¹⁰ Like as, when a ripe palm-nut has just fallen from the tree, the stalk which supported it¹¹ is very clear and bright with a golden sheen, just so is the complexion of Gotama the Exalted One very clear and bright and his countenance very serene. To-day,

¹ *Apasavyīkaroti*. See P.E.D., s.v. *apasavya*; also Edgerton (B.H.S.D.).

² *Huhun-ti karoti*.

³ *Bāhitapāpādharmā*. *Bāhitapāpa* is a "traditional and fanciful etymology of brāhmaṇa" (F. L. Woodward, *op. cit.*, p. 4, n. 3.).

⁴ *Niṣkaṣāya*. Pali *nikasāva*.

⁵ Literally "speak the brahma-speech," *brahmavādāṃ vadeya*. I. B. Horner, *op. cit.*, p. 4, n. 3, quotes VĀ. 958 = UdA. 55 as saying that this means he can rightly say "I am a brāhman." She also refers to Mrs. Rhys Davids: *Manual* p. 85, where *brahmavāda* is rendered "Brahma-faith."

Only the first two and the last pādas of this verse are found at V. 1. 3 and Ud. 3.

⁶ This incident again is peculiar to the *Mhvu*.

⁷ *Vusta*, past part. of *vasati*. Cf. Pali *vuttha*.

⁸ A village near Benares, but on the other side of the river. A variant Pali form of the name is Cundatthila (D.P.N.). The Pali texts and *Lal. Vist.* do not specify the exact spot where the Buddha met Upaka.

⁹ *Ājivaka*, literally "man of the livelihood." For their beliefs and practices see Rhys Davids: *Buddhist India*, p. 143; D.P.N.; and A. L. Basham: *History and Doctrines of the Ājivikas*.

¹⁰ Unlike the Pali texts and *Lal. Vist.* the *Mhvu*. does not allude to the Buddha's *indriyāni*, "faculties or organs of sense."

¹¹ *Bandhanāśraya*. Cf. *Lal. Vist.*, which has two other similes at this point. The Pali parallel passages have none.

Gotama the Exalted One (326) has attained immortality, and the Way that leads to immortality."¹

When this had been said the Exalted One replied to Upaka, the Naked Ascetic, "Yes, Upaka, I have attained immortality and the Way that leads to immortality." Upaka then asked the Exalted One, "Under whom,² O Gotama, dost thou live the brahma-life?"

The Exalted One replied to Upaka, the Naked Ascetic, in a verse³:

*All-conquering and all-knowing am I, in all things undefiled. Omniscient am I, freed through the decay of craving. Having won the higher knowledge, whom should I follow?*⁴

When this had been said, Upaka, the Naked Ascetic, asked the Exalted One, "Does Gotama, the Exalted One, claim to have no teacher?" And the Exalted One replied to Upaka, the Naked Ascetic, in a verse⁵:

Without a teacher am I; none equal to me can be found. I alone in the world am perfect Buddha, having won the peerless enlightenment.

Upaka, the Naked Ascetic, then⁶ asked the Exalted One, "Does Gotama, the Exalted One, claim that he is an Arhan?" And the Exalted One replied to Upaka, the Naked Ascetic, in a verse:

I am an Arhan⁷ in the world; I am supreme in the

¹ This allusion to immortality is not found either in *Lal. Vist.* or in the Pali texts.

² Or "where" *kāhim*.

³ This verse is practically identical, word for word, with the corresponding verse at V. 1. 8 and M. 1. 171. Cf. also Dh. 353.

⁴ For *aham* as the subject of *uddiṣeyam* the Pali texts have *sayam*, i.e. having gained the higher knowledge "myself".

⁵ In Pali this verse and the following one form a continuous whole with the first two, containing the answers to a series of questions asked in the prose. In the *Mhvu*. and *Lal. Vist.* the questions are given one by one with a verse in reply to each.

⁶ *Evamukhe*, "when this was spoken," omitted in the translation of the rest of this dialogue.

⁷ In Pali this verse appears as the second in the whole series and is not a reply to any specific question about Gotama's Arhantship. However, the fifth verse in Pali is introduced by a question in the form of a statement, *yathā . . . paṭijānāsi arah' asi anantajino ti*, "according to what you claim you ought to be victor of the unending." "But there is also the reading *arahā asi* (You are an Arhan) as at *Kvu*. 289, and cf. *Pss. Sisters*, 129 f." (I. B. Horner: *op. cit.*, p. 12, n. 3). In the *Mhvu*., as also in *Lal. Vist.*, this verse has been transferred to form the answer to an additional question. It would seem as though the question was suggested by the statement in the original verse, the second in the Pali series.

world. In the world of devas and of men none equal to me can be found.

Upaka, the Naked Ascetic, then asked the Exalted One, "Does Gotama, the Exalted One, claim that he is a Conqueror¹?" And the Exalted One replied to Upaka, the Naked Ascetic, in verse:

They are, like me, Conquerors, who have achieved the destruction of the āśravas. Evil things have I overcome, and hence, O Upaka, am I a Conqueror.

As the beauty of the lotus is not besmirched by the marshy soil² so am I not besmirched by the world. Therefore, O Upaka, I am a Conqueror.³ I have won the higher knowledge that was to be won; I have declared the truth that was to be proclaimed; I have renounced what was to be renounced. Therefore, O Upaka, I am a Conqueror.

Upaka, the Naked Ascetic, then asked the Exalted One, "Whither is Gotama, the Exalted One, going?" And the Exalted One replied to Upaka, the Naked Ascetic, in verse:

I go to see Benares to beat the drum of immortality. I go to set rolling in the world the wheel of dharma that may not be rolled back.⁴

The dharma that I have won to is passionless, tranquil and blest. This shall I promulgate⁵ for the weal of every creature.

The perfect Buddhas that have been, those yet to come, and those that now are, the dispellers of the sorrows of the multitude, all have taught, will teach and do teach⁶ dharma to men, for such is the obligation⁷ of Buddhas.

¹ This corresponds to the question introducing the fifth verse in Pali.

² Literally, "watery land," *anapa*, a BSk. variant of Sk. *anāpa*, which is also the predominant form in Pali, from *anu* + *āpa* (See P.E.D.). Cf. B.H.S.D.

³ This simile and the following verse are not found either in the Pali texts or in *Lal. Vist.*

⁴ This verse, with some variations, corresponds to the fourth in the Pali series. The two following verses have nothing corresponding to them in the Pali or in *Lal. Vist.*

⁵ Literally "set rolling," *pravartayisyāmi*.

⁶ The text has the present, *deśenti*, only, but it is necessary in translation to repeat the verb in the other two tenses.

⁷ *Dharmatā*.

Devas in the sky recited a verse¹:

Whosoever, having seen that he was such a driver of tameable men, should shun² the Great Seer, would be as one who should with hands and feet spurn great good luck.

At Cundadvīla there was a Yakṣa named Cunda, and he invited the Exalted One to lodge and eat at his abode. When the Exalted One had lodged for one night at the abode of Cunda, the Yakṣa, and had duly eaten, he went on to Lohitavastuka near Sārathipura. At Lohitavastuka there was a Nāga king named Kamaṇḍaluka, who (328) invited the Exalted One to lodge and eat at his abode. When the Exalted One had lodged there for one night and had duly eaten, he went on to Gandhapura. At Gandhapura there dwelt a Yakṣa named Kandha, who invited the Exalted One to lodge and eat at his abode. When the Exalted One had lodged there for one night and had duly eaten, he went on to Sārathipura. At Sārathipura the Exalted One was invited to lodge and eat with a certain householder. When the Exalted One had lodged there for one night and had duly eaten, he went on and reached the banks of the Ganges. The ferryman³ said to him, "Give me the fare for crossing." The Exalted One replied, "How can I have the fare for crossing when the shining metal means no more to me than a clod of earth and when I have dispensed with silver and gold?⁴" But the ferryman said, "If you give me the fare for crossing, you shall cross⁵; if you do not give it, you shall not cross."

¹ This and the other incidents described in the *Mhv.* as taking place on the way to Rīṣipatana are not alluded to in the Pali texts. *Lal. Vist.* 406, says simply that after being entertained by Sudarśana the Nāga king at Gayā (cf. above, p. 315, n. 3), the Buddha passed successively through Rohitavastu, Uruvilvākalpa, Aṇḍā and Sārathipura, at each of which places he was entertained; but it is not said by whom.

² *Parivarjayeya*. Senart, however, gives this the opposite sense of "satisfaire, rendre favorable," on the analogy of the problematical *āvarjanā* for which he refers to his notes on p. 377, 482 of vol. I. But it would seem better to give it its normal sense of "to shun, avoid," etc., and the point of the simile is retained simply by giving *praṇāmye* (from *praṇāmeti*) the meaning it has e.g., at V. I. 54, namely "to dismiss, send away," hence "spurn".

³ *Nāvika*. This encounter with the ferryman is also found in *Lal. Vist.* 407, but the account of it varies in the two texts, that in the *Mhv.* being for more circumstantial and interesting.

⁴ *Kuto mama samaleṣṭukhāñcanasya vyapagatajātārūparajatasya tarapanyam.*

⁵ *Tarihasi*, BSk. fut. of *tarati*. Edgerton, *Gram.* § 31. 3, explains the form as fut. of the MIndic pass., *tariyati*, from the same verb.

The Exalted One replied :

"The swan on the banks of the Narmadā¹ does not ask leave of the ferryman, but crosses by its own abundant strength." And with the words, the Buddha passed over like a king of swans ; the Great Sage crossed the stream and stood on the further bank of the Ganges.

After he had crossed the Ganges the Exalted One came to Benares. He stayed at Sankhamedhī² and at the proper time went to Benares to beg for alms.

For Buddhas are not unpunctual in their lives, but go the rounds of a village for alms at the proper time. Worldly leanings are strong in³ those who do their rounds at improper times. Therefore Buddhas do not go round at improper times.

At Rīṣipātana were staying the good group of five,⁴ namely Ājñāta Kaundinya, Āsvakin, Bhadraka, (329) Vāṣpa and Mahānāma.⁵ And when the Exalted One had made his alms-round in Benares and had duly eaten, he came to Rīṣipātana. He was then seen by the good group of five, who, espying him when he was still some way off, resolved on a course of action.⁶ "Here," said they, "comes Gotama the recluse, who is a profligate, living in abundance, and has strayed from his striving."⁷ No one is to rise up to greet him." But when the Exalted One came up, they felt ill at ease in their places. Just as when birds in their nests or on the branches of trees, scorched by fire burning beneath them,

¹ Pali Nammadā, the modern Nerbudda.

² This place is not mentioned in the Pali texts and *Lal. Vist.*

³ Literally, "dwell in," *vasanti*, unless we read *va (=eva) santi* "are."

⁴ See p. 313, n. 2. From this point the *Mahāvastu* and the *Mahāvagga*, V. i. 6 ff. are closely parallel. For a detailed comparison of the two texts, with references to *Lal. Vist.*, see Windisch, *op. cit.*, p. 19 ff.

⁵ Corresponding to the Pali Āññā (or Āññāta-) Koṇḍañña, Bhaddiya, Vappa, Mahānāma, Assaji (V. i. 12 ff.). *Lal. Vist.*, 408, mentions only ĀjñātaKaundinya by name, and elsewhere, 245 ff., mentions them only as a group. For the supposed etymology of his name see V. i. 12 and I. B. Horner, *op. cit.*, 18, n. 4.

⁶ *Kriyākāraṃ karonī*. *Lal. Vist.* 407 has *kriyābandham akāṛṣa*. V. i. 8 has *aññamaññam sañthapesum*, "they agreed among themselves."

⁷ The text has *pradhāna*, Pali *padhāna*. But *vikrānto*, "heroic," can hardly be correct, as it would give the compound a sense contrary to what is demanded by the context. The right reading is evidently *vibhṛānto* corresponding to the Pali *vibbhanto* in the same expression, i.e., the participle of *vibhramati*; or we could restore the synonymous *vibhṛaṣṭo* (*vi-bhramṣ*) as at *Lal. Vist.* 407.

fly off, so did the good group of five feel ill at ease in their seats when they saw the Exalted One coming, and rise up and go to meet him.¹ "Come, venerable Gotama," said they, "hail and welcome to the venerable Gotama." But the Exalted One replied to them, "O monks of the good group, your vow is broken. But, O monks of the good group, do not address² the Tathāgata as 'venerable'."

When the Exalted One had proclaimed them to be his disciples every mark of the heretic, every badge, every sign disappeared from their persons. They were seen to have the three robes, *sumbhaka*³ bowls, their hair in its natural state, and their deportment established, just like those of monks who had been ordained a hundred years.⁴ Such was the ordination into the religious life and the admission into monkhood of the good group of five.

At that place there was a lotus-pond named Buddhavicīrṇā. The Buddha bathed there, for exalted Buddhas know⁵ . . . Then the Exalted One reflected: "On what spot of earth did former perfect Buddhas set rolling the wheel of dharma?" And as soon as this thought occurred to the Exalted One that spot of earth on which he stood sank down.⁶ (330) The Exalted One again reflected: "Now did former perfect Buddhas set rolling the wheel of dharma as they walked or as they stood still, as they sat down or as they lay down?" And as soon as this thought occurred to the Exalted One there appeared in Rīṣipātana five seats.⁷ The good group of

¹ This simile is also given in *Lal. Vist.* 408, but not in the Pali texts, not even at J. i. 68.

² *Samācaratha vādena*. Cf. p. 178, n. 1. *Lal. Vist.* 409 uses the verb *samudācarati* here, as also does V. i. 9 and M. i. 171.

³ See p. 67, n. 3.

⁴ This detail is given at *Lal. Vist.* 409, but not in the Pali texts. For similar passages in the *Mhvu.* see vol. 2, 234; vol. 3, 65, 92 (text).

⁵ There must be a lacuna here, if, that is, the words *jānantā ca buddhā bhagavanto* are in place. Possibly they form the beginning of a stock description of the Buddha's knowledge of due times for various actions. *Lal. Vist.* 410, mentions the bathing but does not give a name to the pool, merely describing it as *bahuvicīra*, which is suspiciously like the proper name of it in our text.

⁶ The miraculous answer to the Buddha's question is different in *Lal. Vist.* 410. All these details are absent from the Pali accounts.

⁷ I.e., one for each of the Buddhas of the *kalpa*, including the future Buddha Maitreya. But immediately below the Buddha is made to allude to the later doctrine that a thousand Buddhas appear in a *bhadrakalpa*, a doctrine which *Lal. Vist.* would seem to refer to when it speaks of the thousand seats which appeared when former Buddhas preached the dharma.

five asked the Exalted One, "Lord, whose are these five seats?" . . . ¹

The Exalted One replied, "Monks, this is an auspicious *kalpa*, which is named Puṣpika, and in an auspicious *kalpa*² a thousand Buddhas must arise. Three have come and gone. I am the fourth. Krakutsanda had a radiance extending nine *yojanas*, Konākamuni one extending two *yojanas*, and Kāśyapa one extending four *yojanas*. I, Sarvasiddhārtha, have a radiance of one fathom. Ajita will have one of twelve *yojanas*, Siddhārtha one of twenty, Maitreya one of twelve, Maitriyaśa one of eighteen, Sarvaprabha one of ten, Prithivīpāla one of twelve, Prithivīvijaya one of four, Prithivīpaśyin one of three, Jayamitra one of four, Sugriva one of twelve, Sudarśana one of ten, Supaśyin one of ten, Sarvajaya one of eight, Sarvābhībhū one of a *kos*³ of *yojanas*, Sarvābhībhū⁴ one of eight, Sarvamitra one of two, Abhinnaḥ one of twelve, Atisūrya one of four, Abhihūyaśa one of one *yojana*, Sudaya one of one, Sudarśana one of one, Sarvābhībhū one of sixty, Vairocana one of seven, Sarvapaśyin one of . . . ⁵ and he who will be named Vairocanaprabha one of ten.

THE ROLLING OF THE WHEEL

Thus have I heard.⁶ On one occasion the Exalted One

¹ Lacuna in text.

² *Bhadrakalpa*. According to the more usual doctrine only five Buddhas appeared in such a *kalpa*. See B.H.S.D. and D.P.N.

³ See vol. I, p. 36, n. 2.

⁴ It is strange to find two Buddhas of the same name juxtaposed. Perhaps the reading of MS.M. should be adopted here. This runs *sa sarvābhībhū no aṣṭayojanaprabho*, which could be interpreted as a parenthesis correcting some other tradition. "It is not a radiance of eight *yojanas* that this Sarvābhībhū (will have)."

⁵ Lacuna.

⁶ It is to be noted that the course of the narrative hitherto followed in our text breaks off here, and the story takes a fresh start with the insertion of an independent *sūtra* (*sutta*), identical to all intents and purposes with the *Dhammacakkapavattana-vaggo* as found in S. 5. 420 ff., which purported to give both the historical occasion and the content of the First Sermon. In the *Mahāvagga* (V. 1. 10 ff.) the sermon takes its place in the narrative immediately after the account of the events which led up to it. In *Lal. Vist.*, (416 ff.) also, the sermon is part of the consecutive narrative, although it is preceded by an account, peculiar to this text, of the many prodigies which intervened upon the Buddha's decision to preach the dharma.

was staying in Benares, in the Deer Park at Rīṣivadana.¹ There (331) the Exalted One addressed the venerable five monks, saying, "Monks." "Lord," said they in reply. Then the Exalted One said to the monks, "There are these two extremes to which a man who has gone forth to the religious life is liable.² What two? There is the addiction to sensual enjoyment among the pleasures of sense, which is loutish,³ common,⁴ unAryan, profitless, not conducing⁵ to brahma-life in the future, to disgust with the world,⁶ to passionlessness, to cessation, to the state of a recluse, to enlightenment, and to nirvana. Then there is addiction to mortification of the self, which is evil, un-Aryan, and profitless. These, monks, are the two extremes to which a man who has taken up the religious life is liable. Avoiding these two extremes, monks, by⁷ the Tathāgata's Aryan dharma and discipline is the middle course, which is the way of the Buddhas,⁸ and confers insight, conduces to calm, to disgust with the world, to passionlessness, to cessation, to the state of a recluse, to enlightenment, and to nirvana.

"And what, monks, is this middle course fully awakened to by the Tathāgata⁹ in his Aryan dharma and Discipline, which

¹ See Vol. I, p. 37 n.

² All this is expressed in the text by the three words *dvāvimaṃ pravrajitasya antau*, "there are these two extremes of (= for) one who has gone forth." The Pali texts have *dve 'me antā pabbajitena na sevittabbā*, "these two extremes are not to be followed by one who has gone forth." *Lal. Vist.*, 416, says *dvāvimaṃ pravrajitasyañāivakrāmau*, "these two extremes beset one who has gone forth." I. B. Horner, *op. cit.*, 15, n. 3, cites the interesting remark of *MA.* I. 104—"the Way does not lead to, does not approach these sides, it is freed from these sides, therefore it is called the middle course." The reader is referred to the rest of Miss Horner's notes on this passage and also to Mrs. Rhys Davids: *Manual*, p. 109. E. J. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 87, gives a translation of the *sutta* from S. 5. 420.

³ *Grāmya*, "belonging to the village." Miss I. B. Horner cites *SA.* 3. 297 which explains by *gāma-vāsinaṃ santiako*, "belonging to village dwellers." She herself suggests "boorish."

⁴ *Prāthujjanika*, Pali *pothujjanika*. *Lal. Vist.*, 416, has *pārthagjanika*. Cf. BSk. *prithagjana*, Pali *puṭhujjana*.

⁵ This and the rest of the description of the first extreme is also, with slight differences, given in *Lal. Vist.*, but not in the Pali texts.

⁶ *Nirvidā*, BSk. Pali, *nibbidā*; Sk. *nirvid*.

⁷ Literally, "in" (loc. case).

⁸ *Pratipadā anubuddhā*. In the Pali texts, however, instead of *tathāgatasya* depending on *dharma-vinaye* (not in the Pali), we have *tathāgatena*, instr., to be construed with the past part. *abhisambuddhā*, i.e. the course to which the Tathāgata has fully awakened. *Lal. Vist.* differs greatly here from both the *Mhvu.* and the Pali texts.

⁹ Here we have *tathāgatena abhisambuddhā*. See preceding note.

confers insight and knowledge and conduces to calm, to disgust with the world, to passionlessness, to cessation, to the state of a recluse, to enlightenment, and to nirvana? It is the Aryan eightfold Way, that is to say, right belief, right purpose, right endeavour, right action, right living, right speech, right mindfulness, right concentration. This, monks, is the middle course fully awakened to by the Tathāgata in his Aryan dharma and discipline, which confers insight and conduces to calm, to disgust with the world, to passionlessness, to cessation, to the state of a recluse, to enlightenment, and to nirvana.

"Now, monks; there are these four Aryan truths.¹ What four? They are the Aryan truth of ill, the Aryan truth of the uprising of ill, the Aryan truth of the stopping of ill, and the Aryan truth of the course that leads to the stopping of ill. (332) And what, monks, is the Aryan truth of ill? It is this, namely, that birth is ill, old age is ill, disease is ill, death is ill, association with what is not dear is ill, separation from what is dear is ill, failure to get what one wants and seeks is ill, body is ill, feeling is ill, perception is ill, the *samśkāras* are ill, consciousness is ill, in a word all the five *skandhas* of grasping at material things are ill.² This, monks, is the Aryan truth of ill.

"Then what is the Aryan truth of the uprising of ill? That it is the craving which leads to further existence³ and which is bound up with the passion for pleasure, finding delight in this and that—this, monks, is the Aryan truth of the uprising of ill.⁴

"Then what is the Aryan truth of the stopping of ill? That it is the utter extinction of this craving which is bound up with the passion for pleasure, finding delight in this and that; it is passionlessness, cessation, self-sacrifice, renunciation, and surrender.⁵

¹ As in *Lal. Vist.*, 417. The Pali texts go straight on to the definition of each of the truths, without explicitly saying that they are four.

² The Pali texts do not name the five *skandhas*, as is done here and in *Lal. Vist.*, 417.

³ *Paunarbhaviṇa*, Pali *ponobbhaviṇa*.

⁴ The *Mhvu.* and *Lal. Vist.* 417 do not add the further definition of *trīṣṇā* (*taṇhā*), namely, *kāmatāṇhā bhavataṇhā vibhavataṇhā* given at *V. 1. 10* and *S. 5. 421*.

⁵ The phraseology here differs from that in the Pali texts. It has *trīṣṇāye . . . aśeṣakṣayo* "the utter extinction of craving," amplified by the explanatory substantives *virāgo nirodho*, etc. The Pali has *taṇhāya . . . asesavirāgaṇirodho*, i.e., "the utter and passionless stopping of craving," followed by the other substantives governing the genitive *taṇhayā*. *Lal. Vist.* 417 is similar to the *Mhvu.*, but adds two adjectives in further qualification of *trīṣṇā* namely, *janiḥā* and *nivartikā*.

This, monks, is the Aryan truth of the stopping of ill.

"Then what is the Aryan truth of the course that leads to the stopping of ill? That it is the Aryan eightfold Way, namely, right belief, right purpose, right speech, right action, right living, right endeavour, right mindfulness and right concentration—this, monks, is the Aryan truth of the course that leads to the stopping of ill.

"From the truth¹ 'This is ill,' by whole-hearted attention² to things unheard of before,³ there arose in me knowledge, vision, understanding, wisdom, intelligence⁴ and insight, and light appeared.

"From the truth 'This is the uprising of ill,' by whole-hearted attention to things unheard of before, there arose in me knowledge, vision, understanding, wisdom, intelligence, sagacity⁵ and insight, and light appeared.

"From the truth 'This is the stopping of ill,' by whole-hearted attention to things unheard of before, there arose in me knowledge, vision, understanding, wisdom, intelligence, sagacity (333) and insight, and light appeared.

"From the truth 'This is the course that leads to the stopping of ill,' by whole-hearted attention to things unheard of before, there arose in me knowledge, and so on to⁶ light appeared.

"At the thought⁷ that this Aryan truth of ill must be thoroughly known,⁸ by whole-hearted attention to things unheard of before, there arose in me knowledge and so on to light appeared.

¹ Or "thinking"—*iti*. The *Mhvu.* and *Lal. Vist.* do not here add *āryasatyam* to correspond to the *ariyasaccam* of the Pali texts.

² *Yoniṣo manasikārā*(?), so also *Lal. Vist.* 417. But the words do not appear in the Pali texts.

³ Literally "among things, etc.," locative case. It would make for simplicity here if *yoniso manasikārā* could be taken with *idaṃ dukkhaṃ iti*, thus, "by whole-hearted attention to (the truth that) 'this is ill' there arose in me concerning things unheard of before knowledge, etc." But the position of the two words after *purve ananūsutehi dharmehi* seems to be against this interpretation.

⁴ *Bhūri*, BSk., also at *Lal. Vist.* 417. Pali *bhūri*.

⁵ *Medhā*. Not in the first series.

⁶ *Yāvad*. *Lal. Vist.* 417 uses *peyālam*.

⁷ *Iti*. This rendering is more suitable here, especially as each truth is defined by *āryasatyam*.

⁸ In the Pali texts these gerundival sentences follow directly upon the statement of each of the truths. *Lal. Vist.* 418 has the same arrangement as the *Mhvu*.

"At the thought that this which is the Aryan truth of the uprising of ill¹ must be given up, by whole-hearted attention to things unheard of before there arose in me knowledge and so on to light appeared.

"At the thought that this which is the Aryan truth of the stopping of ill has been realised, by whole-hearted attention to things unheard of before, there arose in me knowledge and so on to light appeared.

"At the thought that this which is the Aryan truth of the course leading to the stopping of ill has been made-to-become, by whole-hearted attention to things unheard of before, there arose in me knowledge and so on to light appeared.

"And, monks, as long as I did not with perfect insight fully know² these four truths, which are three-fold and of twelve modes,³ as they really are, so long could I not claim to be thoroughly awakened to the supreme perfect enlightenment, so long did knowledge not arise in me, and so long did I not realise an unshakeable freedom of heart. But when, monks, I did with perfect insight fully know these four truths, which are three-fold and of twelve modes, as they really are, then was I aware that I had awakened to the supreme perfect enlightenment; knowledge then came to me, and I realised unshakeable freedom of heart, and freedom through intuitive wisdom."

¹ I.e., "craving," *trīṣṇā*, which is the Aryan truth of the uprising of ill. The translation follows I. B. Horner, *op. cit.*, p. 17. A too literal rendering would give "the Aryan truth of the uprising of ill must be given up." The same is the case with the Pali texts (*V. i. 11* and *S. 5. 422*). Mrs. Rhys Davids (*K.S. 5*, p. 358 n.) would, accordingly, omit *ariyasaccam* in this particular sentence.

² *Abhyajñāṣaṃ*, a regular Sk. aorist, a form unusual in the *Mhvu.*

³ In the Pali texts and in *Lal. Vist.* 418 the statement of each of the four truths is followed by two amplifications. Thus, of the first it is said that it "was to be known" and then that it "was known". The second (that is the "craving") was "to be given up" and "was given up"; the third was "to be realised" and "was realised," and the fourth was "to be made-to-become" and "was made-to-become." The *Mhvu.*, however, omits four of these amplifications, which in their totality make three stages or "folds" for each truth, or twelve "modes" in all. *Triparivartam* and *dvādaśākāram* appear in our text as though they were in apposition to *catvāryāryasatyāni*. But they are really adjectives, and in the Pali texts they qualify *nānadassanam*, i.e., "the vision of knowledge of (literally 'in'—*imesu catūsu ariyasaccesu*) these four truths" (so also in *Lal. Vist.*). It would seem as though in the *Mhvu.* the word *jñānadarśanam* has been accidentally omitted, or it may be that the formula was too well known to need particular care about its correct statement. These two adjectives came afterwards to be applied to the *dharmaśāstra* itself. See *Mhvu.*, *passim*.

Thus did the Exalted One speak while he was staying in Benares in the Deer Park at Rīṣivadana. And at this discourse¹ the venerable Ajñātakaundinya acquired the unimpaired and unblemished pure dharma-insight into things, (334) as did² also eighteen *koṭis* of devas. Then did this great earth quake violently. In six ways, like a fallen leaf it trembled and shook.³ The eastern extremity rose, the western sank; the western extremity rose, the eastern sank; the southern extremity rose, the northern sank; the northern extremity rose, the southern sank; the centre sank, the extremities rose; the extremities sank, the centre rose. Then there appeared in the world an infinite radiance, surpassing the splendour of devas, of Nāgas and of Yakṣas. And the regions between the worlds, regions of darkness wrapped in darkness, regions of blackness wrapped in blackness, gloomy regions, unfathomed, never before fathomed, where the moon and sun, powerful and majestic though they be, with all their brilliance cannot make their brilliance prevail, with all their light cannot spread⁴ their light—these regions were suffused with that radiance.⁵ Some beings who had been reborn in those regions were able to see one another in the light of that radiance, and they exclaimed, "Lo, other beings have been reborn here. Lo, other beings have been reborn here." For that moment, for that instant all beings were lapped in entire well-being, even those who had been reborn in the great hell of Avīci.

The devas of earth raised a shout and made the noise of it heard. "Behold, friends," cried they, "in Benares, in the Deer Park at Rīṣivadana, the Exalted One has set rolling the incomparable wheel of dharma, which is thrice-revolved and

¹ *Vyākaraṇa*, Pali *veyyākaraṇa*, "called at *DA.* 130 a *sutta* (discourse) without verses." (I. B. Horner, *op. cit.*, 17, n. 4). The *Mhvu.* has *vyākaraṇa* (loc.) only, where the Pali texts have the loc. absolute *veyyākaraṇasmiṃ bhaññamāne*.

² The text, of course, repeats the whole statement. The Pali texts here have no allusion to the conversion of the devas.

³ *Vedhati*, *sampravedhati*. Cf. Pali *vedhati* **vethati*, *vyathati*. See also *B.H.S.D.*

⁴ Or "flash, make manifest." The text has *sphurati*, but it may be better to read, with one MS., *spharati*, which serves for a causal stem for *sphurati* and is thus a more apposite form to use with the cognate accusative *ālokaṃ*. It is also the reading in the parallel passages at 1. 240 and 2. 162. The expression is not found in the parallel passage at 1. 41.

⁵ Cf. vol. 1, p. 35 and notes there.

twelve-fold¹ and which can not be rolled² in accordance with dharma³ by any recluse or brāhman or deva, by Māra or by any one else in the world again. This will be for the welfare and happiness of mankind, out of compassion for the world, for the benefit, welfare and happiness of the great multitude of devas and men. The hosts of the Asuras will wane; the hosts of the devas will wax."

(335) When they had heard the shout of the devas of earth, the Caturmahārājika devas raised a shout and made the noise of it heard. And so did the devas of Trāyastriṃśa, the Yāma devas, the Tuṣita devas, the Nirmāṇarati devas, and the devas of Brahmā's world. "Behold, friends," cried they, "in Benares, in the Deer Park at Rīṣivadana, the Exalted One has set rolling the incomparable wheel of dharma which is thrice-revolved and twelve-fold, and which can not be rolled in accordance with dharma by any recluse or brāhman or deva, by Māra or by anyone else in the world again. This will be for the welfare and happiness of mankind, out of compassion for the world, for the benefit, welfare and happiness of the great multitude of devas and men. The hosts of the Asuras will wane; the hosts of the devas will wax."

The venerable good group of five were elated and they applauded the words of the Exalted One.

The Exalted One, fully enlightened and having realised the aim he had set himself, was staying in Benares, teaching devas and men.⁴ And he addressed the venerable good

¹ *Triparivartam dvādaśākāram*, which, as has been seen (p. 326, n. 3) are really applicable to *jñānadarśanam* or knowledge of the four truths. When applied to *dharma cakram* they have to be rendered in slightly different terms.

² *Apravartiyam*. The Pali texts have *appaṭivattiyam*, "not to be rolled back".

³ *Saha dharmena*. Although in the text put at the end of the sentence this phrase must be taken adverbially with *apravartiyam*. Owing to its strange position the whole expression *punarloke sahadharmena* has on its previous occurrences been construed in translation with the following clauses. (See vol. 1. 33 (= 39 trans.), 277 (= 330) and Vol. 2. 13§ = 132). In the present passage, however, it is definitely final as it is in *Lal. Vist.* 104. It does not occur in the Pali versions of this formula, but is found in *Nett.* 169 in another connection. See *B.H.S.D.*

⁴ Here again, the *Mhvu.* continues the narrative by introducing bodily a whole *sūtra* complete with the *nidāna*, or "occasion," with which it was the fashion to introduce such *sūtras*. In the *Mahāvagga* this second "sermon" is separated from the first by the account of the conversion and ordination of each of the five monks in succession. Then that text goes on to give the second "sermon" as part of the consecutive narrative. In the *Mhvu.*,

group of five, saying, "Monks, body is not the self; feeling is not the self; perception is not the self; the *saṃskāras* are not the self; consciousness is not the self. If, monks, the body were the self,¹ it would not be liable to affliction and ill, and one could² say at will in regard to the body, "Let my body become thus; let my body not become thus." But since the body is not the self, therefore, monks, it is liable to affliction and ill, and one cannot³ say at will, "Let my body become thus; let my body not become thus."

"If this feeling, monks, were the self, it would not be liable⁴ to affliction and ill and one could say at will⁵ in regard to the feeling, "Let my feeling become thus; let not my feeling become thus." But inasmuch, monks, (336) as feeling is not the self, it is liable to affliction and ill, and one cannot say at will, "Let my feeling become thus, let not my feeling become thus."

"If, monks, this perception were the self, it would not be liable⁶ to affliction and ill, and one could say at will⁷ in regard to perception, "Let my perception become thus, let not my perception become thus." But inasmuch, monks, as perception is not the self, therefore it is liable to affliction and ill, and one cannot say at will in regard to perception, "Let my perception become thus."⁸

however, it has all the marks of a *sūtra* which was current at the time of the compilation of our text, either separate, or already as much a part of a collection of *sūtras* as the corresponding Pali *sutta* was part of the *Samyutta Nikāya* (S. 3. 66 ff.). This second utterance as such is not found in *Lal. Vist.*, being replaced there (418 ff.) by a number of traditional (hence introduced by the words *tatredamucyate*) *gāthās* more or less on the same subject. As Windisch, *op. cit.*, p. 24, points out, however, these *gāthās* are not without some relation to the text of the *Mahāvagga*.

¹ In V. 1. 12 and S. 3. 66, the arguments in support of each thesis immediately follow the statement of it.

² The text has *ṛiddhyācca (ṛiddhyāt-ca) rūpe kāmākārikatā*. Senart renders the latter compound by "la libre production de" or "la libre disposition sur," i.e., "the free power ('to say' being implied in the following words, in spite of the absence of *iti*) would thrive" (*ṛiddhyāt*, potential of *ṛiddhyati*). The Pali texts have simply *labbhetha* "you could say." Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*) renders "one could make what he pleased in regard to his form."

³ *Ṛiddhyati*, indicative here in accordance with the sense.

⁴ Reading *saṃvarteta*, potential, (as in preceding paragraph) for the indic. *saṃvartati*.

⁵ *Ṛiddhyā* (for *ṛiddhyāt* see Edgerton, *Gram.* § 29. 42.) *kāmākārikatā*.

⁶ The text has *bhavati*, which must be considered an error for *saṃvarteta*.

⁷ *Ṛiddhyati*, indic., instead of the regular potential *ṛiddhyāt*.

⁸ The negative clause is omitted in the text.

" If,¹ monks, the *saṃskāras* were the self, they would not be liable² to affliction and ill, and one could say at will in regard to the *saṃskāras*, "Let my *saṃskāra*³ become thus, let not my *saṃskāra* become thus." But inasmuch, monks, as the *saṃskāras* are not the self, they are liable to affliction and ill, and one cannot say at will, "Let my *saṃskāras* become thus, let not my *saṃskāras* become thus."

" If, monks, consciousness were the self, it would not be liable⁴ to affliction and ill, and one could say at will⁵ in regard to consciousness, "Let my consciousness become thus, let not my consciousness become thus." But inasmuch, monks, as consciousness is not the self, therefore it is liable to affliction and ill, and one cannot say at will, "Let my consciousness become thus, let not my consciousness become thus."

" Therefore, monks, on this point,⁶ you must teach yourself thus: Whatever is body, internal or external, gross or fine, base or choice, far or near, past, future or present, it must be seen as it really is in the light of right knowledge, namely, that all this body is not mine, is not I, is not my self. What ever is feeling, whatever is perception, whatever are *saṃskāras*, whatever is consciousness, internal or external, gross or fine, (337) base or choice, far or near, past, future or present, all this consciousness is not mine, is not I, is not my self. Thus must you see it as it really is in the light of perfect knowledge."

Thus did the Exalted One speak when he was staying in Benares, in the Deer Park at Rīṣivadana. And while this discourse was being delivered the heart of the venerable Ājñātakaundinya was rid of the *āśravas*, grasping no more at existence,⁷ and the four other monks, Aśvaki, Bhadrīka, Vāṣpa and Mahānāma, won the unimpaired and unblemished pure dharma-insight into things, as also did thirty *koṭis* of devas.

¹ The three words, *saṃskārā bhikṣavaḥ ābādhāya*, at the beginning of this sentence are obviously out of place.

² *Samvartanti*, indic., where the pot. *saṃvarteyus* would be rightly expected.

³ Singular.

⁴ *Samvartati*, indic. again for the pot.

⁵ *Riddhyet*, pot. according to the first conjugation.

⁶ *Iha*, "here".

⁷ *Anupādāya*, "without grasping" or "clinging to" (existence).

The venerable good group of five were elated, and they applauded the words of the Exalted One.

The Exalted One, perfectly enlightened and having achieved the aim he had set himself, was staying in Benares, in the Deer Park at Rīṣivadana. And there the Exalted One addressed the monks,¹ saying, " If you think of it, monks, from what source do grief, lamentation, ill, despair and tribulation spring? Whence do they have their birth and origin? "

When this had been said, the venerable good group of five replied² to the Exalted One, " Coming-to-be, Lord, is the source of things; coming-to-be is their conduit;³ coming-to-be is their cause; coming-to-be is their mainstay.⁴ Well would it be if the Exalted One explained to the monks the meaning of this. The monks hearing it and grasping it from the lips of the Exalted One will hold it to be the truth."

When this had been said, the Exalted One replied to the good group of five, saying, " Monks, grief, lamentation, ill, despair and tribulation have their source in body; body is their birth and origin. They have their source in feeling, in perception, in the *saṃskāras* and in consciousness; these are their birth and origin.

" If you think of it, monks, is body permanent or impermanent? " " Surely it is impermanent, Lord." (338) " Now when you have recognised the impermanence of body, its instability, its frailty,⁵ its changeableness, its evane-

¹ This discourse on the impermanence of the *skandhas* is here given the form of a separate *sūtra*, which is introduced by a similar device as the first *Avalokita-sūtra* (vol. 2, 257, text, = 2. 242 trans.) That is to say, the monks are said to have invited the Buddha to pronounce the discourse. In the *Mahāvagga* (V. 1. 14) and S. 3. 66, however, the discourse is given immediately after the discourse on the " not-self," without any preamble.

² *Uvācat*, a hybrid form intermediate between perf. *uvāca* and aor. *avocāt*. So Senart. See Edgerton *Gram.* § 33. 10.

³ Senart's difficulty over the form *netrika* (*netraika*) seems to be due to a misunderstanding. There is here no statement by the monks as to what constituted *bhavanettri* (see vol. 2, 206, 307 (text) and cf. Pali *bhavanettri*). That was to be explained by the Buddha in his discourse. Here the monks merely make the empiric observation that " things (*dharmā*) have existence as their conduit " (*bhavanetrikā*). The conduit to existence itself is a deeper problem.

⁴ *Pratīṣaṇa* " shelter," " protection."

⁵ *Prabhāṅgunatā*, BSk. Cf. Pali adjs. *paḥṅgu*, *paḥṅguṇa*, *paḥṅgura*. The text form is Senart's emendation of the MS. *prabhāṅgunatā* (-*latā*). See B.H.S.D. s.v.

science, and its perishableness, then the *āśravas* which arise because of body, the vexations and troubles, feverish and baneful, involving other existences in the future, birth, old age and death, will stop. When body¹ is stopped, the *āśravas* arise no more, nor the vexations and troubles, feverish and baneful, involving other existences in the future, nor birth, old age and death.

"If you think of it, monks, are feeling, perception, the *saṃskāras* and consciousness permanent or impermanent?" "Surely they are impermanent, Lord." "Well said, monks. Now when you have recognised the impermanence of consciousness,² its instability, its frailty, its changeableness, its evanescence and its perishableness, then the *āśravas* which arise because of consciousness, the vexations and troubles, feverish and baneful, involving other existences in the future, birth, old age and death, will be stopped, suppressed, eliminated³ and brought to an end.⁴ When these⁵ are stopped, then the *āśravas* which arise from consciousness,⁶ the vexations and troubles, feverish and baneful, involving other existences in the future, birth, old age and death, which have their birth and origin in consciousness, no more arise.

"Therefore, monks, on this point you must teach yourselves thus: whatever is body, internal or external, gross or fine, base or choice, far or near, past, future or present, all this body is not mine, it is not I, it is not my self. Thus must you teach yourselves. Whatever is feeling, perception, the

¹ The text has *teṣāṃ nirodhāt* "from the stopping of these," where *teṣāṃ* can, grammatically, only refer to the plural antecedent *āśravas*. But the sentence goes on to add *na utpadye āśravas*, i.e., as the text stands the argument is that the knowledge of the impermanence of the body brings about the cessation of the *āśravas* and that from the cessation of these [*sc.* the *āśravas*] the *āśravas* do not arise. It seems imperative, therefore, that *teṣāṃ* be changed into *tasya*, i.e. *tasya rūpasya*. The argument then runs: "when one realises the impermanence of body the *āśravas* which arise because of body will stop. When that (*sc.* body) stops the *āśravas* do not arise." That the recognition or realisation of the impermanence of the *skandhas* leads automatically to their destruction is a well-known Buddhist doctrine. See, e.g., S. 3. 60, 131 f.; A. 2. 45, 90; 4. 153.

² The discourse is abridged here by limiting the argument to the last thesis.

³ *Prahāṇam gacchanti* "go to an abandonment."

⁴ *Astaṃ (gacchanti)* "set, disappear, vanish." Cf. *rūpassa . . . viññā-ṇassa atthangamo*, S. 2. 28 f.

⁵ *Teṣāṃ* is correct here, for the reference is to the last four *skandhas*.

⁶ And, of course, because of the other *skandhas*.

saṃskāras, and consciousness, internal or external, gross or fine, base or choice, far or near, past, future or present, all these are not mine, they are not I, they are not my self. Thus must you look on things as they really are in the light of perfect knowledge."

Thus did the Exalted One speak when he was staying in Benares, in the Deer Park at Rīṣivadana.¹ And while this discourse was being delivered the venerable Ājñāta Kaundinya attained mastery of the powers.² The hearts of the four other monks, (339) Aśvaki, Bhadrīka, Vāṣpa and Mahānāma were rid of the *āśravas*, grasping no more at existence, and five *koṭis* of devas won the unimpaired, unblemished pure dharma-insight into things.

The venerable good group of five were elated and they applauded the words of the Exalted One.

The Exalted One, perfectly enlightened and having achieved the aim he had set himself, was staying in Benares, in the Deer Park at Rīṣivadana. Now on that occasion three monks went into Benares to beg for alms. Then the Exalted One, controlling³ with his own heart the hearts of those monks, exhorted and instructed them, saying, "Thus act with your minds; thus direct your minds; think these thoughts. Live, monks, with the self and no other as your island;⁴ live with the self and no other as your haven; live with the dharma as your island, with the dharma and no other as your haven. Then, monks, those living with the self and no other as their island, with the dharma as their island, with the dharma and no other as their haven, must carefully investigate the source from whence grief, lamentation, ill, despair and tribulation arise, their birth and their origin."

¹ This *sūtra* on the impermanence of the *skandhas* has a closer resemblance to the latter half of the *Attadīpa-sutta* of S. 2. 42 than to the discourse on the same subject in the *Mahāvagga* (V. 1. 14) and the *Pañca-sutta* at S. 5. 66. The first part of the *Attadīpasutta* is given in the following *sūtra* of the *Mhvu*. But S. locates the delivery of it at Sāvattihī. It should be noted also that each of the *sūtras* into which the "second sermon" is divided in the *Mhvu*. has an allusion to the effect the preaching of it had on the five monks. The Pali texts, having only two separate discourses, refer to them only twice.

² I.e., the *balāni* of an *ārya-śrāvaka*. See vol. 1, p. 43, n. 2.

³ *Adhiṣṭhāya*, from *adhiṣṭhāti*, with the implication that the control was supernatural. See B.H.S.D. s.v. *adhiṣṭhāti*.

⁴ *Ātma-dīpa*. See vol. 2, p. 280 n. 1.

When this had been said, the monks replied to the Exalted One, "Coming-to-be,¹ Lord, is the source of things; coming-to-be is their conduit; coming-to-be is their cause; coming-to-be is their mainstay. Well would it be if the Exalted One explained to the monks the meaning of this. The monks hearing it and catching it from the lips of the Exalted One will hold it to be the truth."

Then the Exalted One said to the monks, "Grief, lamentation, ill, despair and tribulation have their source in body; body is their birth and origin."

"If you think of it, monks, is body permanent or impermanent?" "Surely it is impermanent, Lord." "Well said, monks. Now when you have recognised the impermanence of body, its weakness, its frailty, its changeableness, its evanescence (340) and its perishableness, then the *āśravas* which arise because of body, the vexations and troubles, feverish and baneful, involving other existences in the future, birth, old age and death, will stop."

"If you think of it, monks, are feeling, perception, the *samskāras* and consciousness permanent or impermanent?" "Surely they are² impermanent, Lord." "Well said, monks. Now when you have recognised the impermanence of consciousness, its weakness and its frailty, the *āśravas* etc.,³ are stopped, suppressed, eliminated and brought to an end. When these⁴ are stopped the *āśravas* arise no more, and the vexations and troubles, feverish and baneful, involving other existences in the future, birth, old age and death, are stopped. For consciousness is the source of the *āśravas*, the vexations and troubles, feverish and baneful, involving other existences in the future, birth, old age and death; consciousness is their birth and origin."

"Therefore, monks, you must teach yourselves thus on

¹ This is a repetition of the preceding *sūtra*.

² In the text the answer refers to consciousness (*viññāna*) only and the argument goes on to deal with the impermanence of this last one of the four *skandhas*. But, of course, the same answer and argument apply to all the four.

³ The whole of the antecedent clause, *ye viññānapratyayā utpadyanti āśravā*, etc., is omitted in the text. Just so much of it is given in translation to make the argument intelligible.

⁴ *Sc.* the four particular *skandhas* mentioned in this paragraph.

this point: Whatever is body, internal or external, gross or fine, base or choice, far or near, past, future or present, all this body is not mine, it is not I, it is not my self. Thus must you look on it as it really is in the light of perfect knowledge."

Thus did the Exalted One speak when he was staying in Benares, in the Deer Park at Rṣivādāna. And when this discourse was delivered three monks¹ achieved mastery of the powers and eighty *koṭis* of devas won the unimpaired, unblemished clear dharma-insight into things.

The monks were elated and they applauded the words of the Exalted One.

Then² on the twelfth day of the second fortnight of the month *Āṣāḍha*,³ the Exalted One, after his midday meal, sat down with his face to the east. When the sun's shadow was half a man's length and the asterism Anurādhā⁴ in the ascendant, at that instant he set rolling⁵ the peerless wheel of dharma. Now the wheel that exalted Buddhas set rolling is not of gold, nor of silver, nor of pearl, nor of beryl, nor of crystal, nor of white coral, nor of ruby, (341) nor of brass, nor of copper, nor of bronze, nor of wood, nor of clay. But the thrice-revolved and twelve-fold wheel of dharma consists of the four Āryan truths.

When the *sūtra* of "setting the wheel rolling" was first delivered the venerable Ājñāta Kauṇḍinya acquired the unimpaired, unblemished clear dharma-insight into things, as did also eighteen *koṭis* of devas. Then this great earth shook, trembled, quaked, quivered, vibrated and rocked in six ways.

¹ Reference to "three" monks here may be a reminiscence of the tradition preserved in *M.1.* 173 and *V.1.* 13, according to which the Buddha discoursed on the enlightenment and dharma to three of the five monks, while the other two were away seeking alms, and then to the two while the three were absent.

² Another independent account of the rolling of the wheel of dharma is added here.

³ June-July.

⁴ *Vijaya*. This is also "the name of a particular Tithi or lunar day (third, eighth or thirteenth)" *M.W.* But the day has already been said to be the twelfth.

⁵ Reading *pravartesi* for the ungrammatical *pravartitam*.

It rocked¹ on the right hand, it rocked on the left, it rocked on the left and the right.² There was something thrilling in this quaking,³ something beautiful, joyful, amiable, exhilarating, refreshing,⁴ cheerful, assuring, gladdening,⁵ causing no mis-giving nor fear. For while this great earth quaked, it destroyed no life whatever, whether animal or plant.⁶ And through the power of the Exalted One an infinite radiance was shed in the world, surpassing the splendour of devas, Nāgas and Yakṣas. And the regions between the worlds, regions wrapped in darkness, regions of blackness wrapped in blackness, gloomy regions, impenetrable, never before penetrated,⁷ where the moon and sun, splendid and powerful though they be, with all their brilliance cannot make their brilliance prevail,⁸ with all their light cannot spread their light,—these regions became suffused with this radiance.

¹ *Abhidhyāyati* in the text. This is Senart's restoration, but he is, of course, hard put to it to fit this verb, which normally means "to covet," into the context. It is impossible to conceive how any of its figurative developments could produce the sense required here. Senart can only ask "marque-t-il un mouvement, un sobresaut violent?" Emendation seems clearly to be called for, and it is suggested that the right reading is some compound of *vyath*, the root which actually appears in the BSk. and Pali *vedhati* and its compounds in the preceding sentence. The MSS. vary between *abhiv-* and *adhiv-*; neither *adhivvyati* nor *abhivvyati* seems, however, to be known to the dictionaries. One MS. reads *adhivyāyati*. Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) explains the verb *abhidhyāyati* as a compound of *dhyāyati*, from Pali *jhāyati*, the verb which, in its causative form, is used in our text for "to cremate". (See I. 126, 302, 304, 357; 2. 78, 174). The "burning" of the earth, however, is not usually a part of the stock account of earthquakes in our text. Just at the point where this verb occurs we are generally told of the rising and sinking of the earth in the various quarters. Besides, the "burning" would seem to be particularly out of place here, for express mention is made of the harmlessness of the earthquake.

² This gives only three ways of quaking, instead of the six alluded to (*ṣaḍvikhāram*). Also, there is a variation from the stock description of these earthquakes.

³ See Vol. I, p. 164, n. 1.

⁴ *Nirvāpaniya*. So B.H.S.D.

⁵ Reading *prasaraṇiya* (see Vol. I, p. 164, n. 2) for *prasadanīya*.

⁶ *Trasam vā sthāvaram*, corresponding to *jaṅgamam sthāvaram vā* of the corresponding passage at I. 207 (text). Cf. *trasasthāvarā* (3. 386) and Pali *tassthāvarā*.

⁷ *Aghā asambhūtā asambhūtapūrvā*. *Asambhūta* here is taken as the past participle pass. of *a-sambhūnati*, a special form of *sambhāvati* in the sense of "to reach", "to be able to". (See Vol. I, p. 35, n. 3). The corresponding phrase in the parallel passage at I. 41 is *aghā asamviditā asamviditapūrvā* "dark regions unknown, unknown before," at I. 240 it is *aghā aghasambhūtapūrvā* "dark regions produced of yore from dark regions" (Trans. p. 106—"eternal darkness"); at 2. 162 it is *aghā asamviditapūrvā* as in the first example. See Vol. I, p. 35, n. 2.

⁸ *Abhisambhūnanti*. See preceding note.

And the beings who had been reborn there were able to recognise one another. "Lo", cried they, "other beings have been reborn here; other beings have been reborn here." Those beings for that moment and for that instant were lapped in entire well-being, even those who had been reborn in the great hell of Avīci.

While he was setting the wheel of dharma rolling the Exalted One (342) made his voice as he spoke¹ resound through the sixty-one universes of thrice thousand great thousand worlds and the Buddha-fields beyond. And the exalted Buddhas who at that time were teaching dharma to their assemblies in the other universes fell silent when the Exalted One set rolling his wheel of dharma.

The perfect Buddha Duṣprasaha was teaching dharma to his assembly and he became silent when the sound of a Buddha's voice went forth. His astonished assembly asked Duṣprasaha, "Lord, the sound of a Buddha's voice goes forth, and as it goes forth the world-saviour Duṣprasaha becomes silent. The assembly is astonished. For while the sweet voice of the cuckoo is heard even at the same time as the distant rumble of the thunder-cloud, the Exalted One,² a prince of speakers, speaks not when this sound of a Buddha's voice goes forth."

Duṣprasaha replied:

O Mahānāma,³ in that world yonder a Conqueror, a Śākyan sage, sets rolling the wheel of dharma. It is the sound of his voice that goes forth.

He shouts through countless thousands of worlds and the sound of the voice⁴ of the nobly intelligent One is heard both far and near.

Such is his majesty that the perfect Buddha, who fulfils

¹ Literally "makes resound with his speaking voice", *bhāsamānasvareṇa abhivijñāpeti*. For this use of *abhivijñāpayati*, "make perceptible" and so "make to resound", see B.H.S.D., s.v., and the examples there quoted.

² Sc. Duṣprasaha.

³ The spokesman of the assembly; not, of course, to be identified with any of the persons of this name already met with. We have here a piece of Buddhist mythology concerning the Buddha of a different universe. *Ghoṣa*, to be supplied from the context as the subject of *śrūyati*.

all desires, distributes¹ his gifts to those who wish for enlightenment.²

The voice with which the Tathāgata, Arhan and perfect Buddha was endowed when, in Benares, in the Deer Park at Rīṣivadana, he set rolling the thrice-revolved and twelve-fold peerless wheel of dharma, had sixty qualities.³ What sixty? The voice of the Tathāgata was deep, awe-inspiring, understandable, (343) reaching the heart, amiable, charming, irresistible,⁴ flowing, agreeable, faultless, unbroken, even,⁵ unblemished, like the sound of a chariot-wheel, like the roar and rumble of a thunder-cloud, like the sougling of the wind, like the patter of rain, like the voice of a deva, like the voice of Brahmā, pleasant, unspoilt, not confused, moderate, not excessive, firm, significant, truthful, glorious, like the voice of a bull, a lion, an elephant, a steer, a thoroughbred horse,⁶ like the voice of a curlew, a sparrow, a cuckoo, resonant, lovely, a voice of understanding, constant, a voice full of understanding and gentleness, a voice with a wide range, full of native goodness, truthful in every detail, full of the native root of goodness, full of real ease, thrilling, like the sound of a stringed instrument, of song, of music, of the drum, a man's voice, a superb voice, like the sound of the kettle-drum, a matchless voice, a Tathāgata's voice. The Tathāgata's voice permeates all quarters; nowhere is it obstructed. The voice, then, that the Tathāgata was endowed with when, in Benares,

¹ Literally, "rolls out", *pravarteti*; keeping up the metaphor of rolling the wheel of dharma.

² The episode of Duṣprasaha ends abruptly here, and seems to have been related only in order to introduce the following description of the Buddha's voice.

³ This list of qualities is comparable, but far from identical, with the list in 1. 170-2 (134-6, trans.).

⁴ *Aprativāṇīya*. BSk., cf. *Divy. aprativāṇīh* and Pali *appaṭivāṇīya*, grd. of *a - paṭi - vṛi* (See P.E.D.) B.H.S.D. gives it the meaning of "not repellent".

⁵ *Aprāgbhāra*, Senart's restoration of *apabhāra* and *apadbhāra* of the MSS. Cf. Pali *apabbhāra*, "not slanting or sloping" (P.E.D.). The B.H.S.D. prints the word with a (?) and says of it, "Perhaps level, even, without descents or drops(?) Pali *apabbhāra* is used of a body of water having even or smooth banks, without steep slopes." The corresponding adjective in Vol. 1. 171 would seem to be *anamanti* "not bending" ("even", trans. p. 135). Perhaps it would be better to render both words more literally, thus, "not bending", "not sloping", "not prone to" (sc. hastiness).

⁶ *Ājāneyasvara*.

he set rolling the thrice-revolved and twelve-fold wheel of dharma, had these sixty qualities.

Then on that occasion Great Brahmā extolled the Exalted One in his presence in these fitting verses.¹

By the very choicest of beings, by the scion of Ikṣvāku's line, the whole earth is made to tremble as he sets rolling the wheel of dharma.

Then, indeed, by the might of the wheel of dharma eighty terrible portents arose and also eighty earthborn demons.² Clouds consisting of waves of bright flowers arose and swept down on Kāśi's Benefactor, the Saviour, the Man Supreme. (344) Clouds like elephants with swaying trunks³ arose, awe-inspiring masses, full of golden shells and laden with flowers.

When he heard that the Lion-man had at length appeared in his dharma body⁴ Sanatkumāra⁵ reflected and said, "I will sing the praises of the Tathāgata."

He, Brahmā, in his aerial home, then lauded him who beholds all good and is distinguished⁶ by his native brilliance and splendour.

¹ The eulogy of Brahmā's actually begins with the 7th stanza.

² The text has *bhūmijā*, "earthborn", only. It is not clear what phenomenon is referred to here.

³ Literally "with outstretched limb", *pramuktāṅgin*. This simile would seem to confirm the explanation in the B.H.S.D. of *gajaśvasana* at 1. 216 (= 2. 19) as meaning "elephant's trunk" and equivalent to AMg. *gayasasana*. The translation (Vol. 1, p. 172 and 2, p. 17) unfortunately has followed Senart's misinterpretation of *śvasana* as meaning "the vapour of the elephant's breathing."

⁴ Literally "that the dharma-body of the Lion-man had appeared." The Buddha assumed such a body or became dharma incarnate when he won enlightenment. For the identification of Buddha with dharma, see vol. 1, p. 192 n. 4. *Dharmakāya* may, formally, be related to the later doctrinal development which represented the Buddha as having three bodies, *dharmakāya*, *sambhogakāya* and *nirmānakāya* (see B.H.S.D. for references), but there is nothing to indicate that the *Mhvu.* itself knew of such a doctrine. In Pali this compound expression is an adjective, meaning "he whose body is the dharma", that is, he who is in every way identical with dharma, and therefore different from those whose body is material form (*rūpakāya*) only. The same usage is found in BSk., e.g. *AsP.* 513, *na hi tathāgato rūpakāyato draṣṭavya, dharmakāyās tathāgatāh*. But BSk. also uses *dharmakāya* as a substantial compound, again in antithesis to *rūpakāya*. B.H.S.D. says of this that it is "perhaps to be rendered spiritual body(?)." But it would seem simpler and truer to say that *dharmakāya*, in our text at any rate, merely means a body or personality so informed, or even reformed, by the dharma that henceforth it is radically and essentially different from the crude physical body (*rūpakāya*).

⁵ I.e. Great Brahmā. See D.P.N.

⁶ *Suvijānita*, apparently an anomalous form of *suviññāta*. The MSS. have an infinitive form, which is inconstruable. Now see Edgerton, *Gram.* § 34. 10, for another example of *jānita*.

"O Gotama, thou dost hurl thy thunderbolt¹ as thou sittest here, and makest to tremble the three thousandfold world that is full of precious stones and surrounded by an ocean of Buddhas.²

"O Best of men,³ when thou dost hurl thy consummate weapon, the ten quarters all around are visibly shaken.

"Uprooting the errors lurking in the thicket of false belief he shines as a king of Nāgas, a foremost Lord of men, a lion-hearted Conqueror.⁴

"Like a fearless lion lying in his mountain lair, filling all his foes with fear, shines forth the lion-hearted Conqueror.

"Smiting Māra's troops, routing Māra's ranks, scattering⁵ them with thy right hand, thou dost raise thy Conqueror's banner."⁶

The wealth-bearing earth quaked to the rattling of its many precious stones,⁷ for it rises up when it remembers that speaking voice.⁸

Devas standing in Meru's sky from all sides showered

¹ *Vajira*, Pali *id.*, Sk. *vajra*. A metaphor for spreading the doctrine.

² Sc. in the various Buddha-fields.

³ Reading *puṇiṣottama* for - m.

⁴ Literally "a conqueror whose sphere or career is a lion's", *simhagatirjina*.

⁵ *Vyūhanā* from *vi-ud-han*. So Senart, comparing *sāmūhata* i. 506 (text).

⁶ Great Brahmā's eulogy ends here, but the compiler or compilers of the *Mhvu.*, forgetting that it was just this only that they meant to quote, add some other verses from this, otherwise unknown, metrical version of "the turning of the wheel".

⁷ *Mahāratananirghoṣā*. Or does this mean "(the earth) famed for its great riches"?

⁸ *Svareṇa vadatottāpyānusmṛitā*. The above seems to be the only feasible translation of this phrase. But, though Senart does not remark on it, the text must be regarded as very doubtful, especially as the line is a syllable short. The construing of it is difficult, almost impossible. It seems necessary to take the causative *utthāpya* in a radical sense, while *anusmṛitā*, on the contrary, has to be given a causal sense equivalent to that of *anusmaritā*. For *anusmṛitā* one MS. reads *anusritā*, which could, perhaps, give "(rising) in consequence of (that speaking voice)". For *utthāpya* the two MSS. quoted in the *apparatus* have *utādya*, which provides no safe clue to a certain restoration. The line would be construable and would give a clear meaning if we could read *svareṇa vadatōnnatāvanatā*, "the earth rising and sinking at (= when it heard) that speaking voice". *Unnamati* and *avanamati* are the verbs usual in our text to describe the behaviour of the earth when it quakes. But this emendation also leaves the line a syllable short. Alternatively, one might suggest *svareṇa vadatā sadāniścaratā* "at that speaking voice which then went forth".

wreaths on the Sage, the supreme being whose radiance is golden.¹

(345) *Sumanas*,² with devotion in my heart, my joined hands raised³ and doing obeisance,⁴ I have come hither because I have heard of the wheel of dharma.

When the Exalted One first delivered the *sūtra* of "setting the wheel of dharma rolling," Ājñāta Kauṇḍinya and eighteen *koṭis* of devas were converted. And the devas went to their own homes carrying the tidings⁵ to the deva worlds.

"There is no safety in the skandhas, but torment and great fear. There is no freedom in them⁶: they are worthless." This does Gotama declare.

Enough talk of faith, sir.⁷ With an insight into the meaning of truth, go⁸ to salute the Buddha who makes hate and fear things of the past.

¹ Senart admits that the text here is "infiniment problématique". In the translation "devas" has been taken to be implied in *merugaganamāsrītā*. *Dhātum* is unusual if not unique in the sense of "being", and it would seem to be necessary to emend *dhātum uttamam* into *sattvam uttamam* (in apposition to *munim*), unless we actually have here a unique example of *dhātu = sattva*. (Cf. the compound *sattvadhātu*, which, however, according to B.H.S.D., means "a number of beings," and is not an abstract compound equivalent to the simple concrete *sattva*). Senart takes *dhātum* as being for *lohadhātum*, and explains the accusative as being dependent on *samanā* (= *samanā*), "from all sides of the world." But then it would be difficult to explain the adjective *uttamam* "supreme" as qualifying (*loka*)*dhātum*. In the text the verb *abhikirensu* has no secondary object to denote with what "they bestrewed the sage". *Uttamāḥ* has, therefore, been tentatively emended into *uttamsām* "wreaths", although this word is not found elsewhere in our text in this connexion. Alternatively, we might suggest *uttamām* "upper garments". Cf. Vol. 2, p. 24-5 (text) where we read of devas taking off their upper garments (*uttariya* there) and waving them in honour of the Buddha.

² Presumably one of the devas alluded to in the preceding verse. But as we have here only a fragment of a longer narrative the allusion must remain obscure, just as is that to Mahānāma in the same passage, above p. 337. An alternative interpretation would be to take *sumano* as an adjective and understand all the verses from the ending of the eulogy onwards as being Great Brahmā's description of the scene at the turning of the wheel. This verse would then read, "with devotion in my heart, and glad, etc., I have come hither after hearing of the wheel of dharma."

³ *Prāñjali*, adjectival here as at Sn. 1031, with compositional *i* for *ī*, for the more usual *prāñjalikṛita*.

⁴ *Pranāṭendriyaḥ*—"with bent or bowed senses, i.e., body."

⁵ *Arocetā*, pr. part. of *ārocayati*, *āroceti*, BSk. and Pali, "to tell, announce."

⁶ Lit. "they (the *skandhas*) are not freed," *aniḥṣṛita*.

⁷ *Bhavān*, nom. for voc.

⁸ *Abhikramatha*, pl. for sg.

Thirty *koṭis* of devas then came to Rīṣivadana, and they were converted when the second *sūtra* of "setting the wheel of dharma rolling" was delivered. They then went to their own homes bearing the tidings¹ with them. On hearing these fifty, *koṭis* of devas came, and they were converted when the Exalted One delivered the *sūtra* of "setting the wheel of dharma rolling" the third time. They then went to their homes bearing the tidings to the deva worlds. On hearing these, eighty *koṭis* of devas came and these were converted when the Exalted One delivered the *sūtra* of "setting the wheel of dharma rolling" the fourth time. They then went to their own homes bearing the tidings to the deva worlds. Then a deva of Tuṣita, named Śikharadhara, recited these verses of praise before the Exalted One at Rīṣivadana.²

Hail to thee, hail to thy beauty. Thy radiance extends a full fathom. Hail to thy profitable, successful and charming speech.

(346) *Hail to thee who art devoted to aversion from the world and art endowed with the virtue of absolute non-attachment.³ Hail to the Four Truths. O Sage, it is the truth that thou dost proclaim.*

Hail to thee. The devas and Gandharvas imbibe thy sweet song. Hail to thee. Thou hast set rolling the matchless wheel that may not be rolled back.

¹ *Rocentā* for *ārocenā*. Cf. Vol. I, p. 394, n. 4.

² But the compiler in quoting these verses from some source or other, did not begin his quotation at quite the appropriate place. Inadvertently he has started off with verses in which it is Brahmā and not Śikharadhara that eulogises the Buddha, but he immediately recollects himself, after giving only half a *śloka* of the verse introducing Brahmā's words. This line is omitted from the translation. In vol. I, p. 174 these verses of Śikharadhara are spoken in praise of the Buddha's voice.

³ This line is difficult. The text reads *sādhū aratisaṃyogaḥ sarvasandhi-guṇānvitah*. Senart combines the two compounds into one word, taking the initial *a* to negate the whole. He renders "le détachement de la personnalité dont les chaînes sont faites de tous les liens des naissances accumulées." He comments, however, "l'expédient est, même pour ce style, beaucoup trop violent pour que j'y aie grande confiance." It is perhaps, better to make a slight emendation and read (for *sarvasandhi-*) *sarvāsandhi-*, that is, "every non-attachment." The expression then approximates to *sarva-dharmānām . . . asandhi*, "emancipation of all states of being," in *Lankā*. 160. 11 (quoted in *B.H.S.D.* s.v. *sandhi*) where *asandhi* is expressly the synonym of *parimocana*. This suggested emendation has been adopted in translating. The corresponding words in vol. I, p. 174 are, of course, modified to suit their application to *vāca*.

In all the world there is none thy equal in form, in beauty and in birth, in deportment, in energy, in meditation, nor yet in knowledge.

O valiant Sage, this day at thy first teaching¹ eighteen² koṭis of devas were led to the first fruition.

At thy second teaching, O valiant Friend, thirty koṭis more of devas were led to the first fruition.

At thy third teaching fifty koṭis more of devas were converted and saved from states of woe.

At thy fourth³ teaching eighty koṭis more of devas were led to the fruit of winning the stream and saved from spheres of ill.

Hence is there none like thee in love, O Man supreme, so merciful with compassion, O fearless, valiant Man.

O joy! Thou wert born a boon to the world, O tiger-like Man, to confer blessings on all beings, O long-living great Sage.⁴

A short while ago⁵ thou wert born the son of a king, O bull-like Man, to be a guide of the lost, to give sight to the blind.⁶

May the teacher who is now with us never disappear.⁷ (347) May thy stability have no limit, O Guide of the world. By thy majesty, O Self-becoming One, states of desolation are brought to an end.⁸ Through thee, O Man supreme, heaven is made completely full.⁹

Thanks to thee, O valiant Man supreme, he who belongs to the class of people whose wrong-doing is fixed in its consequences achieves the class where no consequences are entailed.¹⁰

¹ Reading *śāsane*, here and in the immediate sequel, for *āsane* of the text. The former is the reading at I. 174.

² Vol. I, p. 174 has *hrīṣṭā daśa* "ten (*koṭis*) were thrilled", for *aṣṭādaśa*.

³ This has inadvertently become "third" in the translation of Vol. I, p. 138.

⁴ The passage at I. 175 here speaks of Bodhisattvas, with a corresponding modification of language.

⁵ *Acirasya*. Vol. I. 175 has *aticirasya*, "a very long while ago".

⁶ *Andhānām nayanam dadā*. Vol. I, 175 has *ārtiānām nayanandanam*.

⁷ *Nāsmāsu kadācidbhūtvā gururantarahāyatu*. Vol. I. 175 has *mā kadācidbhūtaguru nāho antarahāyatu*.

⁸ ? *Antibhūtā*. Vol. I. 175 has *tanukibhūtā*. Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*) would retain the MS. reading *kimbhūtā*, "become what" = "destroyed".

⁹ *Nirākāśa* "having no (free) space." This seems to confirm the correctness of Senart's restoration of the MS. *anākāśa* at I. 175 into *anokāśa* "having no sufficient space," Pali *anokāśa*. Cf. *B.H.S.D.*

¹⁰ See Vol. I, p. 138 (trans.), nn. 4, 5.

Thanks to thee, O thou that art extolled of Suras, he who belongs to the class where actions entail no consequences achieves the class where righteousness is fixed in its consequences.

O Man of light, thanks to thee, the steadfast dispeller of darkness, the growth¹ of wondrous states is won.

Whilst thou speakest of these true states, O beloved of men,² the worlds of men and of Indra extol thy voice, O great Sage.

Thus with gladsome hearts³ did the hosts of devas laud the beneficent One who is endowed with boundless virtue, the Caravan-leader,⁴ the Man Supreme.

ĀJÑĀTA KAUNḌINYA

The monks asked the Exalted One, "Lord, as a maturing of what karma was the venerable Ājñāta Kaunḍinya the first of all to learn the dharma?" The Exalted One replied, "Monks, he made a vow long ago to be so."⁵

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, in the city of Rājagṛīha, a Pratyekabuddha, who suffered from biliousness, sought shelter in a potter's shed. The potter took him in and cured him of his biliousness. Then the Pratyekabuddhas attending on that Pratyekabuddha who suffered from biliousness came to the potter's⁶ shed to inquire after his health. The

¹ *Vivṛiddhi*. Vol. 1. 175 has *viśuddhi*.

² *Janapriya*. Vol. 1. 176 has *jinaṣabha*.

³ Reading *prītimānasā*, as at 1. 176, for *prītimānasam*.

⁴ *Sārihavāha*. Vol. I. 176 has *saṁstavārha* "worthy of praise."

⁵ "That was his vow" *etasya eṣa* (for *eṣam*) *praṇidhānam*.

⁶ *Bhārgava*, properly a patronymic from Bhṛigu. It is not clear how this word came to have the meaning "potter". Examples of the similar usage of the corresponding Pali *bhaggava* are referred to in *D.P.N.* (s.v.), to which Miss I. B. Horner, in a letter, adds *M.* 2. 52. The *P.E.D.* is obviously wrong in saying that the one passage in which it occurs in Pali is *J.* 3. 381-2, where it is an epithet of, rather than a synonym for "potter". In other Pali passages it is a synonym, as it is here in the *Mhv.* According to Kern, *Toev.*, the Sk. form in this meaning also occurs at *MBh.* 1. 190. 47 and *Saddhp.* 191 f. See *P.E.D.*, also *B.H.S.D.* for BSk. references. It is possible that potters were so named because *Bhṛigu* was the mythical discoverer of fire which became the means for the development of so many arts and crafts.

potter asked the Pratyekabuddha whom he had cured of his biliousness, "By which one of you was the dharma first learnt?" (348) The Pratyekabuddha replied, "The dharma was learnt by me first of all, and afterwards by these others." The potter then made a vow, saying, "By this root of merit, which I have acquired in doing this service and tendence to you, may I be the first of all to learn the dharma when it is proclaimed by an exalted Buddha. May I not crave for gain and honour. May I crave only for a solitary¹ bed and seat and be content with any kind of almsman's bowl. May I lay aside my body amid the cascades and forest glades, dying all alone."²

The Exalted One said, "It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion, that potter in the city of Rājagṛīha was somebody else. But you must not think that. And why? This elder here, Ājñāta Kaunḍinya, was at that time and on that occasion the potter in the city of Rājagṛīha. For that he gave shelter to the Pratyekabuddha who was suffering from a bilious affection and tended him, and then made a vow, saying, 'As you learned the dharma first of all and these others afterwards, so may I, too, be the first to learn the dharma when it is proclaimed by an exalted Buddha,' as a maturing of that karma Ājñāta Kaunḍinya has been the first to learn the dharma; afterwards the others did so.

Through³ the root of merit which is acquired by service of food, shelter and sustenance, may I foregather with the Best of men.

As you were the first to learn the dharma and were followed by these others, so may I be the first to learn it when it is proclaimed by a Conqueror.

¹ *Prānta*. See Vol. 1, p. 119, n. 3.

² Literally, "may the laying aside of my body be that of one who dies all alone," *ekasya mṛitabhūtasya śarīranikṣepanam bhaveya*. For *śarīranikṣepana* cf. Pali *dehanikkhepana* (*Vism.* 236). *B.H.S.D.* does not notice this use of *nikṣepana* (= *nikṣepana*). Edgerton there (s.v.) says that *nikṣepana* at vol. 2, p. 287 means "subjugation" or "conqueror". The translation (2 p. 270), however, has rendered it "renouncing", this interpretation being based on the radical sense of *nikṣip*, "to throw down", "lay aside", etc.

³ Part of a metrical version of the same tale.

My wishes few, may I be content to earn my living with any kind² of bowl. My heart fortified with calm and ease, may I not covet gain and honour.

In the lonely forest and on the mountains³ haunted by herds of deer, there, when my time is come, may I lay aside my body.⁴

(349) Whether honoured or unhonoured, life and consciousness pass away like vapour. Who can find pleasure in a dead body that is but dust of the earth?

Here ends the Jātaka of Ājñāta Kauṇḍinya.

The monks said to the Exalted One, "The Lord made renunciation of self, of son, of wife, of wealth and of kingdom, and when he had awakened to the incomparable perfect enlightenment, he made the venerable Ājñāta Kauṇḍinya to share in a great blessing." The Exalted One replied, "Monks, this was not the first time that I made Ājñāta Kauṇḍinya to share in a great blessing. I did so on another occasion also." The monks asked, "Was there another occasion, Lord?" The Exalted One replied, "Yes, monks."

Once upon a time, long ago, there was a king of the Kośalas who was virtuous, mighty, powerful, and wealthy and had a great army. His realm was prosperous, rich, peaceful, well supplied with food, and thickly peopled with happy subjects. Violence, brawling and rioting were quelled and robbers held in check. The kingdom was busy with trade, and governed with justice. The fair renown of that king was spread in all directions. He was a sovereign honoured for his generosity and liberality. He was intent on doing kindness to others and had his gaze on the world beyond. Thus he was styled "the Just."

¹ Literally "living on any kind of bowl," *itaretarapiṇḍakena yāpentō*. This use of *yāpayati* (Pali *yāpeti*, *yapeti*) seems to be a natural extension of its use, with the instrumental, to denote "living on" some article of food, as at *Mhv.* 2. 125, 126, 128; 3. 159. See *B.H.S.D.* for BSk., and *P.E.D.* for Pali, instances. The expression may equally, of course, be analogous with *paṃsukūlena civarena yāpayitum*, "to live with a robe consisting of refuse rags," cited by the former dictionary from *Bhik.* 22 b. 3.

² *Itaretara* (Pali *itaritara*). See *B.H.S.D.*

³ There is a lacuna in this verse which leaves the construction obscure.

⁴ *Sarīranikṣepaṇo bhavēyā*, see p. 345, n. 2; but here the word is masc.

Now a worldly king of the Kāśis had designs to invade the kingdom of the Kośalas. He equipped a strong force of the four arms, warriors on elephants, cavalry, charioteers and infantry, and invaded the land of the Kośalas. But the counsellors and troops of the king of the Kośalas (350) defeated the king of the Kāśis and all his army was completely routed and broken up. He came again with a greater army of the four arms, but again he went away defeated. Again and again did the king of the Kāśis invade the territory of the Kośalas with a four-fold army. Thus many thousands of people, exposed to one another's knives, arrows, swords and axes, fell into misfortune and ruin.

The heart of the just, compassionate and considerate king of the Kośalas was moved when he saw these thousands of people fallen into misfortune and ruin, his kingdom invaded, men destroyed because of another's greed for a kingdom, and such wrong perpetrated. Moved by this consideration, he left his kingdom, and all alone he went to the southern country disguised as an unknown man. He said to himself, "There, by some means or other I shall manage to gain a living for myself."

And as he went on his way, tired with the journey and scorched by the hot wind, he sat down to rest in the cool shade of a banyan tree. There came along on his way from the southern sea to Kośala a certain sea-faring trader, whose ship had sunk with the loss of all the cargo. He had heard that the king of the Kośalas was just, compassionate and devoted to helping others, and that he had relieved thousands of people who had lost their wealth and given them material assistance.¹ "He," thought the merchant, "will give me, too, some money which will enable me to ply my trade again and recover from this disaster."

Thus, with his hopes on the king of the Kośalas, he came in due course from the southern country and reached the place where the king was. He came upon him under the banyan tree. The king questioned the merchant, saying, "Can it be

¹ Literally "did them a favour with property (money)" *arthamātrāye parigrahaṃ karoti*. *Parigraha* itself, of course, can mean "property", but here as the object of *karoti* its meaning must be "grace, favour, patronage" (see *M.W.*). In the repetition of the phrase (p. 351) we have *sangraha* for *parigraha*.

that you are not¹ weary or sick, good brother? Rest awhile. The shade of this banyan tree is cool, for you are tired with your journey." The merchant replied, "Good brother, a blessing on you, but I will go on." The king said, "Whither are you bound in such hurry that you do not wish to rest?" The merchant replied, "Kind sir, (351) I am a sea-faring merchant from a certain place. Having plentiful resources I left my native place and crossed the great ocean in a well-fitted vessel, taking with me wares of various kinds to sell among the seaboard towns. But in mid-ocean my wealth-laden vessel sank. By clinging to a plank I escaped from the sea with my life, but lost everything else.² And now I go to the king of the Kośalas to get money wherewith to ply my trade again, and recover from disaster. In this hope I have travelled far."

But when the king of the Kośalas heard the merchant speaking thus, he began to weep and shed tears. The merchant asked him, "Kind sir, why do you weep?" The king replied, "I weep because you, a shipwrecked man, have come to me from afar in the hope that the king of the Kośalas will give you material assistance wherewith to ply your trade again and recover from your disaster. But that kingdom of mine has been invaded by the king of the Kāśis, and I have come, bereft of everything,³ to this southern land thinking to maintain myself by some means or other. Thus I weep because you have come from afar through hearing about me, because report of me has brought you here from afar at the time I am in such misfortune and robbed of my kingdom."

Then the merchant addressed the king of the Kośalas in a verse:

*You valiant man in self-denial, hearing of your repute
I have come hither from afar. My desires were fortified
by the force of hope.⁴ But now, from what I see, my hope
has been turned to despair.*

¹ "Can it be that . . . not," a rendering of mā (+ pres. indic.) introducing a question. Cf. Edgerton, *Gram.* § 42. 12.

² Literally "with my body only," śarīramātreṇa.

³ "With my body only," śarīramātreṇa.

⁴ *Manorathāśābalavṛṇhitā*. So Senart. *B.H.S.D.* (s.v. *brimhayitar*) renders "my desires and hopes were mightily swollen, augmented." But as the story lays so much stress on the merchant's hope, the former interpretation seems more in accord with the context.

The king said:

*I was a giver of a hundred desirable things. None like
what I was is there among devas or men. (352) Because of
you, I will forfeit my life, lest my fame be other than the
truth.*

Then the king set about consoling the merchant, who, dazed with despair, had fallen to the ground. "You have come from afar," said he, "with your hope set on me. Therefore I shall so act that your coming will not be profitless. For your sake I will sacrifice myself. Tie my arms behind me and take me to the king of the Kāśis. He will be pleased with you and he will give you great riches. Willingly do I sacrifice myself in order that the hope you had put in me be not in vain."

But the merchant said:

*I cannot do wrong to a valorous man for the sake of gain.
As your fame was so do you prove to be.¹ 'Tis a doughty
deed you do, O wise man of the world.*

The king replied:

*What boots life to those whose fame brings no blessing in
the world? Riches are then of no avail, and confidence once
shattered will no more be recovered.*

*Gladly will I suffer the cruel deed of being killed by my
foes. Gladly will I let my foe cut up my body. Gladly
will I go through the most bitter sufferings. Pain will I
endure so that your hope be not in vain.*

Now the king of the Kāśis was not² pleased that the king of the Kośalas should be living. Daily he made a proclamation, saying, "To whomsoever brings me the head of the king of the Kośalas I will give a great reward." While the king of the Kāśis³ was (353) continually proclaiming this, the king of the Kośalas, with his hands bound behind him, was brought to him by the merchant.

The king of the Kāśis said, "Ah! The king of the Kośalas

¹ Literally "such is the sight or experience of you," *tādṛśam darśanante*.

² The negative *na* is obviously required with *nandati*, and is therefore supplied in translation.

³ *Kośalarājñā* is clearly a slip for *Kāśirājñā*.

is brave and well-trained. How comes he then to have been caught and to be brought in by you?" And when the merchant had related all that led up to his coming, the king of the Kāśis was amazed, and he said, "It is not right for me to deprive such a righteous king of his kingdom." He consecrated the king of the Kośalas to his throne once more. He then left for his own kingdom, while the king of the Kośalas bestowed a large amount of riches on the merchant.

It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion the king of the Kośalas was somebody else. He was not somebody else, for I at that time, monks, was the king of the Kośalas. It must not be thought, either, that the merchant was somebody else, for at that time Ājñāta Kauṇḍinya was he. Then also did I make renunciation of my self and bestow great wealth¹ on him. And now, too, after I have made hundreds of painful self-sacrifices and awakened to the supreme perfect enlightenment, have I made him share in a great blessing.

Here ends the Jātaka of Ājñāta Kauṇḍinya.

THE FIVE MONKS

The monks said to the Exalted One, "This good group of five monks² were once adherents of another sect, carried away by the strong current of heresy. But then the Exalted One turned them away from these paths of false belief, raised them up out of fear and dismay, out of the ocean of recurrent birth, and established them on the firm ground of peace, happiness, calm, fearlessness and nirvana." The Exalted One replied, "Monks, that was not the only time that the good group of five were led by me across the ocean of recurrent birth. There was another occasion, also, when I, through sacrifice of my own self, saved them from the great

¹ *Artha*. Here referring to the *ghanaskandha* conferred on the merchant. The same word is used for the moral or spiritual benefit (blessing) conferred by the Buddha on Ājñāta Kauṇḍinya.

² See p. 313, n. 2.

ocean when their vessel had been wrecked and they were without shelter, protection, refuge or succour but fallen into dire straits and adversity, and established them in prosperity." The monks asked, "Was there another occasion, Lord?" The Exalted One replied, "Yes, monks."

(354) Once upon a time, monks, long ago, some merchants of Jambudvīpa were crossing the ocean in quest of gain. But their ship was wrecked by a monster fish. Now all the merchants who had previously performed some religious rite, whether an unknown or a strange one,¹ swam about in the sea by means of their arms.² The merchant-leader, too, had previously performed a religious rite, and so he also swam about in the sea. Thus five merchants were swimming in the sea near the leader.

Then the merchant-leader thought, "It is not possible for us to cross the great sea by swimming. We must needs all perish. But I have heard that the great sea will not brook a dead body³ for a single night. What now if I were to sacrifice my own body and enable these five merchants to escape from the sea on to dry land in safety?"

The merchant-leader had a weapon in his hand, and he said to the five merchants, "Do you all cling⁴ to me and I shall save you from the sea and set you in safety on dry land." Then all the five merchants there in the sea that gave no stay or support⁵ hung on to the merchant leader.

¹ ? *Ajñātām vā apūrvam*, taken from the *apparatus*. But Senart leaves a lacuna for the whole clause, owing to the difficulty of restoring a satisfactory text from the MS. tradition which gives *ye kecidvānījā te (ke) hi pūrvagrihītokteti ajñātām vā apūrvam*. In the next sentence it is said of the merchant-leader (*sārthavāha*) that he had to some extent engaged in some previous practice of a religious rite—*sārthavāhenāpi kimcītpūrvam pratipannam*. (For this sense of *pratipanna* see B.H.S.D.). Below on the same page the merchants saved are those *yehi pūrvam pratipannam* "those by whom a religious rite had been previously performed." Though it is inexplicable how it arose, *grihītokteti* is taken to be a corruption of *pratipannehi*, (instrumental, by false attraction to *tehi*, for acc. Cf. MS. *pratipannehi* for *pannam*, below on the same page). Senart's lacuna, therefore, is filled in by restoring *tehi pratipannehi ajñātām vā apūrvam*. This may not be satisfactory palaeographically, but it does give a construction and sense consonant with the context.

² *I.e.*, they were saved from drowning outright.

³ Literally, "live with a dead body," *mrītakūṇapena sārddham na prativasati*. For the idea cf. p. 78 (text).

⁴ *Lagnaṭha*. See Vol. 2, p. 382, n. 1, and B.H.S.D.

⁵ *Apratiṣṭha anālamba*. Cf. Sn. 173.

And he with his weapon cut his own throat, for he knew that the sea cannot brook a dead body for a single night.

And so, monks, the sea quickly cast up his dead body on to dry land. The five merchants also by the force of the sea were cast up on shore along with the corpse.

Then did this great earth shake violently, and a loud shout was raised by all the powers of nature.¹ Devas, Nāgas, Yakṣas, and Asuras cried out, "What is this in the great sea?" The deva of the sea replied, "This is the Bodhisattva, who was sailing across the sea with other merchants when their ship was wrecked by a monster fish. Those merchants who had previously practised religion were saved from the sea by the Bodhisattva's self-sacrifice and enabled to reach dry land. (355) But we² were living in slothfulness in that we did not notice that such are the arduous deeds performed by Bodhisattvas for the benefit of all beings."

Once upon a time,³ long ago, while the Most Eloquent One was faring onwards in his quest of enlightenment, he happened to cross the delightful ocean, the haunt of a monster fish.⁴

Then in mid-ocean his ship was wrecked by the monster fish. The wise merchant, though he had lost his wealth,⁵ swam about in the sea.

When he saw the other merchants helpless, shiftless and in dire straits, he began to think of a way whereby he could succour them in their sorry plight.

And this reflection came to him; "I have heard it said that the sea, in which this monster fish lives, will not brook a dead body for a single night.

"I will then sacrifice myself that the merchants may not perish in the sea." Thus spake he to himself, conscious of the firm resolution of one who had reached perfection of thought and conduct.

And that great compassion, which was solicitous of

¹ Bhūtā.

² Mayam = vayam. This form of the 1st pers. pl. is not noticed (? recognised) by Edgerton, *Gram.*, p. 111 § 20. 371.

³ A metrical version of the same tale.

⁴ Timimākara. Cf. *timitimaṅgila*. Vol. I. 245 (text), p. 200 (trans.).

⁵ Visārtha (= vi + sa + artha). Senart lists the word in his index, but has no note on it. Neither is it found in the dictionaries. For the formation cf. *visārathi*, "ohne Wagenlenke" (*B.R.*).

man's welfare and which he had acquired during the course of his long career, inspired¹ the disposition of his heart.²

To the group of merchants he said, "I am going to sacrifice myself. Do you hold on to my body, for the deva of the sea will not keep a dead body for a single night."

He took a sharp weapon and made an end of his own life.³ Soon all the merchants were cast up on the shore.

The earth, with its mountains, cities and towns, its rocks and its forest glades, violently shook. (356) The ocean, the strongholds of the Dānavas,⁴ and the lairs of the serpents trembled.

"What is this?" So did men and the devas of mountain and forest, and serpents ask one another . . .⁵ Then did the disconsolate deva of the sea make answer.

"This Most Eloquent One," said she, "this most select of elephants,⁶ while he fared on in quest of enlightenment, was crossing the briny ocean. But I in my heedlessness was not aware of it.

"And he, the Best of Men, was shipwrecked, but he achieved⁷ his quest in the sea. For he sacrificed his own dear self for the sake of the deliverance of other men.

¹ Bhajahe, from bhaj, "to share". So, doubtfully, Senart. The context would certainly seem to require a historical present here. Edgerton (*Gram.* § 31. 20), however, explains the verb as an example of a future formation with h for sy, and with ending of 1st sg. mid. for 3rd, and he translates "will take possession of".

² Cittasantiāna. Cf. *Divy.* 286, and Pali *santiāna*. Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*) adduces BSk. instances where *santiāna* alone is used as a synonym for the whole compound.

³ Nivartaye ātmano . . . śarīram. But the lacuna makes the exact sense of *nivartati* here doubtful.

⁴ I.e., the Asuras. See Vol. I, p. 53, n. 3.

⁵ Lacuna.

⁶ Gajasattvasāro, literally, "the essence of an elephant's being." Probably the idea behind the expression is that the Buddha is as select among men as the elephant is among beasts, and it was so paraphrased, rather loosely, in Vol. I, p. 166 and Vol. 2, p. 12, of this translation.

⁷ *Paripūrati*. This verb is commonly used in both BSk. and Pali in the sense of "to accomplish fully," but always with an object in the accusative. Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*), therefore, argues that here the verb can only be taken in its literal sense of "to fill up", and he considers that Senart is at fault in emending *sāgarām* of the MSS. into *sāgare*. Edgerton renders "the noble man filled the sea," but it is difficult to see how this can be an expression for "giving his life to it." It seems more reasonable to assume that the object of *paripūrati*, "accomplish", is to be supplied from *bodhāya caranto* of the preceding stanza. This "faring after enlightenment" must have been present in the mind of the poet, and in thought he could easily supply the substantive corresponding to this participial phrase, viz., *bodhicārim*, a substantive which actually occurs as object of *paripūrati* in an example cited by Edgerton from *Bhādracarī*, 22.

"Because of his virtue,¹ the earth, with the sea and Mount Meru, quakes, and the strongholds of the Guhyakas and Dānavas and the lairs of serpents tremble.

"How can any being requite² the Choice Beings as they fare onwards in quest of enlightenment, not to speak of³ when they have won omniscience?

"If a man becomes an adherent of the Conqueror's teaching with his whole being, to that extent⁴ he can requite⁵ him who is the most select of elephants.

The Exalted One said, "It may be again, monks, that you will think that at that time and on that occasion the merchant-leader was somebody else. You must not think so. And that because it was I, monks, who was that merchant-leader. Those five merchants were none other than this good group of five monks. Through my self-sacrifice they were then rescued from the sea and landed in safety on the sea-shore. And now, too, have they, through my self-sacrifice, been led across the ocean of recurrent birth and set firmly in nirvana.

Here ends the Jātaka of the Good Group of Five.

KṢĀNTIVĀDIN⁶

The monks said to the Exalted One, "Dharma has been taught by the Lord to an assembly of devas and men." (357) The Exalted One replied, "This, monks, is not the first time that I have taught the dharma to an assembly of devas and men." The monks asked, "Was there another occasion, Lord?" The Exalted One replied, "Yes, monks."

¹ In the New Testament sense, for *anubhāva*, "power", "potency".

² *Pratīkartum*. Or, possibly, "imitate, emulate", though in this sense in BSk. this verb takes the dat. Here the object is gen. (for acc., as often).

³ *Prāgeva*. See p. 240, n. 4.

⁴ *Etāvatā*. This instance is not cited in B.H.S.D.

⁵ Literally, "there is requital", *pratīkṛitaṃ bhavati*.

⁶ This is Jātaka No. 313 Fausböll. J. 3. 59 ff. The "occasion", however, is entirely different.

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, in the city of Benares, in the province of Kāśī, there reigned a king named Kalabha,¹ who was savage, cruel and violent. On one occasion, while the women of his court were sauntering in the park, he started playing a water-game with them in the lotus-pool. They trampled the lotuses as they played and sported and amused themselves, until he and the women became tired with the sport. The king fell asleep and the women scattered about the park.

Then by means of his magic the seer Kṣāntivāda came from the continent of Uttarakuru,² and sat down in the park. He was seen by the women as they strolled about the park, and they, beholding in him a seer of great gifts, sat down around him with faith in their hearts, and said to him, "Teach us the dharma." So the seer gave them a discourse on charity, morality, heaven and merit, and he explained to them the peril, the degradation³ and the defilement of sensual pleasures, and the benefit⁴ and purification that comes from renouncing the world. The noble seer explained to them the path of the ten moralities, from which springs well-being in the world for devas and men, which is bright and the fruit of which is happiness.

Thus did the women of the court sit round the seer wrapt in attention. Then the king woke up and failed to see the women. He was angered, and unsheathing his sword he went off on foot to search for them. And he saw those women of the court⁵ sitting in front of the seer. When he saw the latter he was still more violently enraged because he had looked on the whole of his harem. In his anger and malevolence, he asked the seer, "Who are you?" The seer replied, (358) "I am a preacher of forbearance,⁶ your majesty". The

¹ Kalābu in J.

² See Vol. 1 p. 7.

³ *Okāra*, Pali *id.* B.H.S.D. renders "elimination", which, however, seems out of place between "peril" (*bhaya*) and "defilement" (*sankileśa*).

⁴ *Anuśamsa*. See Vol. 2, p. 337, n. 5, and B.H.S.D. s.v. *anuśamsa*.

⁵ *Tāvo antahpurikāvo*. For the nom. acc. pl. in *-āvo*, not found outside the *Mhv.*, see Edgerton *Gram.* § 9. 93.

⁶ *Kṣāntivāda*. This is followed in the text by *nandatām*, for which Senart can find no explanation or emendation. Can it be a corruption *nandā(ṭ)datā* "giver of joy"? Analogous epithets of a king are plentiful. The word occurs several times in the sequel, and always in the seer's replies to the king, where the corresponding Pali, just as one would expect, has *mahārāja*. Whatever the explanation of the word is, it would seem obvious that it denotes some appellation of a king. Hence "your majesty" in the translation.

king was still more enraged and said, "If you are a preacher of forbearance, stretch forth a finger." The seer did so. With his sword the king lopped off the seer's finger, and from it there flowed milk, just as a mother's milk flows from her breasts out of love for her offspring. In the same way all the benevolent seer's five fingers of each hand were lopped off one by one, and from each one milk flowed.

The king asked again, "What do you preach, sir?" Even then did the seer display his forbearance, and he replied, "I am a preacher of forbearance, your majesty." Then his hand was chopped off, and again did milk flow.

Again the king asked, "What do you preach, sir?" Even then did the seer display his forbearance, and he said, "I am a preacher of forbearance, your majesty." Then the king chopped off his other hand, beginning with the fingers and ending at the wrist, and always did the milk flow when each part was cut off.

Again the king asked, "What do you preach, sir?" The seer even then displayed his forbearance, and said, "I am a preacher of forbearance, your majesty." Then his feet were cut off, beginning at the toes and ending at the knees."

Again the king asked, "What do you preach, sir?" Even then the seer displayed his forbearance and said, "I am a preacher of forbearance, your majesty." One of his ears was then cut off, and again milk flowed from the cut-off ear.

Again the king asked, "What do you preach, sir?" Even then the seer displayed his forbearance (359), and said "I am a preacher of forbearance, your majesty." His other ear was then cut off, and from it there flowed the milk of one who was incorrupt of heart.

Again the king asked the seer, "What do you preach, sir?" Even then did the seer display his forbearance, and he said "I am a preacher of forbearance, your majesty." His nose was then cut off, and from it there flowed the milk of one who was incorrupt of heart.

Again the king asked the seer, "What do you preach, sir?" Even then did the seer display his forbearance, and he said, "I am a preacher of forbearance, your majesty. If you cut up my body into a hundred fragments and throw it away

in a hundred pieces, even then, still incorrupt of heart,¹ I would not give up my forbearance."

When the seer had been thus mutilated, devas, Nāgas and Yakṣas were perturbed, demons² made a loud outcry, and beings knew a fearful trembling. People of town and country, seeing the great fear of the demons and hearing the noise of those who cried out, fell at the feet of the seer and implored his forgiveness.

O Great Brahmā,³ be wroth with him who lopped off your hands, your feet, your ears and nose. May it be well with other men.

The seer replied :

I'll not be wroth even with him who lopped off my hands, my feet, my ears and nose, much less⁴ with the rest of men.

The devas, Nāgas, Yakṣas and Gandharvas said, "Let us urge this seer to see to it that the kingdom, realm and dominion of King Kalabha do not prosper."⁵

Let his rich country be laid waste with fire and his realm destroyed, since they have harmed the seer, the harmless Kṣāntivāda.

(360) *Let this city be laid waste with fire and be made an abode of death,⁶ since they have harmed the seer, the harmless Kṣāntivāda.*

Let this king be burnt, together with his counsellors and his court, since they have harmed the seer, the harmless Kṣāntivāda.

Townsmen and countrymen seeing the great perturbation of the demons were terrified, and falling at the seer's feet, they implored him :

O Great Brahmā be wroth with him who lopped off your

¹ Reading *apraduṣṭacitta* for *praduṣṭa*.

² Or "powers of nature", *bhūtā*.

³ Here an honorific appellation of the seer.

⁴ *prāgeva*.

⁵ If *na riddhikartum labhyati* is a final or consecutive clause, the omission of *ca* is strange. But the whole construction is doubtful owing to the uncertainty of the reading *uttejema* (caus. of *uttij* "to incite").

⁶ *Kālavastu*. Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) is inclined to adopt the suggestion of P.E.D. that this a corruption of *tālavastu*, Pali *tālavatthu* "destroyed utterly".

hands, your feet, your ears and nose. Let it be well with the rest of men.

But the seer replied :

Be not afraid that any harm will come to you. For not even with him who lopped off my hands, my feet, my ears and nose will I be wroth, much less with other men. But the king will have to reap the fruit of the deed he has done.

To the devas, Nāgas, Yakṣas and Gandharvas the seer said:

The deva will not send rain¹ in due season. The seeds that are sown² will not grow, because they will be burnt by the heat and destroyed by the wind.

Thus there was in times past a seer, a shining light with his forbearance.³ Him as he stood firm in his forbearance did the king of Kāśi slay.

Bitter was the ripened fruit of this cruel deed since, as you know, that king of Kāśi was consigned to hell.

(361) So be forbearing,⁴ as Kṣāntivādin the seer was. For though his limbs were cut off he was not wroth with any man.

And so Kalabha the king of Kāśi was burnt with fire and he was reborn in the great hell of Avīci.

ŚARABHANGA⁵

In Hastināpura⁶ there was a king named Arjuna,⁷ who, when he saw some good men, put questions to them, saying,

¹ Text has the present tense.

² *Vutta* past. part. of *vap*, for *uṭṭa*.

³ *Kṣāntiya*, instr. case.

⁴ It would seem to be obvious that the fragmentary *adhivā* (followed by a lacuna) of Senart's text is part of the adjective *adhivāsaka* or of the corresponding verb *adhivāsayaṭi*. The adjective, though known in Pali, is not elsewhere found in BSk. and is not listed in *B.H.S.D.* But the verb *adhivāsayaṭi* in both languages has the sense of "to endure" as well as that of "to consent".

⁵ Cf. the Pali *Sarabhangajātaka*, Fausböll 522, (J. 5. 125 ff). Śarabhangā is a noted sage in the *Mahābhārata* also, but the stories there told of him are different from the Buddhist ones.

⁶ See Vol. 2, p. 91, n. 2. This note is incorrect in implying that this city is identical with the Hastināpura of the *Mahābhārata*.

⁷ Identical with Arjuna Kārtavīrya of Sanskrit epic. See *B.H.S.D.* and *D.P.N.*

"He who can reply satisfactorily¹ will be allowed to go free with his life in safety. But he who cannot satisfy King Arjuna with his answer to the question will be slain with the sword by the king's own hand."

Now there had come to Hastināpura from the Himalayas a seer named Gautama. He had won the five super-knowledges, achieved the four meditations, had great magic and power, and was rid of the passion for sensual pleasures. When this seer was asked a question by King Arjuna he answered it correctly.² But the king did not understand the answer, and with his own hand he slew the gifted seer Gautama with a sword.

This king Arjuna, also,³ was burnt with fire, and he was reborn in the great hell Śaktiśūla.⁴

Among the Kalingas⁵ there was a city named Dantapura. A king named Nārikela ruled there, and he was wicked, ill-favoured, fierce, cruel, and violent. He would invite recluses and brāhmins to his house and there have them devoured by dogs, and he would laugh as they were being eaten.⁶ But he also was burnt with fire and was reborn in a great hell, where he was eaten day and night by black dogs.

In the city of Kampilla⁷ there ruled a king named Brahmadatta. This king Brahmadatta had a hundred sons who were young princes. His household priest also had a son named Yajñadatta, who was a young brāhman priest.

Now a teacher of archery from the southern country heard that in the city of Kampilla, King Brahmadatta (362) had a hundred young princes. "I will go there," said he, "to the city of Kampilla, and teach the hundred princes the art of archery. Thus I shall make a living." So he came to the city of Kampilla and attached himself⁸ to the household priest, by whom he was brought⁹ to King Brahmadatta.

¹ Literally "please or convince the heart," *cittamārādhayitum*.

² Or "easily", reading *aviṣamam* for *saviṣamam* "with difficulty," of the text. The emendation seems suggested by the reading *asaṃviṣe* of one MS.

³ Sc. like Kalabha of the preceding tale.

⁴ Pali *Sattisūla*, apparently only mentioned in this story.

⁵ See Vol. I, p. 140, n. 3.

⁶ *Khādyantehi*, act. pres. part.

⁷ See Vol. I, p. 235, n. 4.

⁸ *Allina*. See Vol. 2, p. 45, n. 1, and *B.H.S.D.*

⁹ *Allāpita*, *ibid.*, p. 419, n. 1, and *B.H.S.D.*

The king said to him, "Train my hundred young princes in the skill of archery, and I will give you abundant wealth."

Thus the teacher of archery taught the skill of archery. And Yajñadatta, the priest's son, also learnt the art along with the princes. They were trained in the whole art, but Yajñadatta distinguished himself in it above all the others.

When they had completed their training they gave an exhibition to the public in the presence of the king and his court. The hundred princes shot their arrows at Yajñadatta, but he with his sabre cut down all the arrows aimed at him before they reached his body. All the king's company marvelled at Yajñadatta. Thus did he get his name of Śarabhangā.¹

To the north of Benares, on the slopes of the Himalayas, there was a hermitage named Sāhañjanī.² It was well-supplied with roots, leaves, flowers and fruits and had good crops of *kodrava*,³ *śyāmaka*,⁴ hemp, rice,⁵ vegetables and lily-roots. It was made pleasant by several thousands of trees which were laden with flowers and fruits, and it was well provided with water for drinking. There dwelt a seer named Kāśyapa with a company of five hundred, all of whom had won the five super-knowledges, achieved the four meditations and had great magic and power.

Śarabhangā, the priest's son, went to the hermitage Sāhañjanī and took up the religious life of a seer under the seer Kāśyapa. By living in assiduous devotion to the practice of vigilance, in endeavour, effort and exertion he attained to the four meditations and realised the five super-knowledges. Master of the four meditations and possessor of the five super-knowledges Śarabhangā, too, became a seer of great magic

¹ I.e., "cutter of arrows".

² See Vol. 2, p. 200, n. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, n. 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, n. 6.

⁵ *Prāsādhika*. This word was left untranslated in Vol. 2, p. 200 (= 210, text). Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*) now tentatively explains the word with reference to Sk. *prasādhika* (cf. Vol. 2, p. 58, n. 10) and the *Lex. prasādhikā*, "a kind of rice", Pali *pasādiyā* (*J.* 6. 530), which the Com. says is the kind of rice called *samsādiyā* (= "when it has fallen on the ground") and Sk. *prāsādhika* (*ApS.* 4. 3. 8.), but he does not give a more precise definition than that of "some edible plant, vegetable or grain".

and power. He became known and renowned among men and devas as a young man living the brahma-life, devoted to severe austerity, and as a great Nāga.¹

(363) Then he went to the southern country. In the country of the Asmakas² is the river Godāvarī, on the banks of which he established a hermitage named Kapitthaka³ and dwelt there.

The seer Kāśyapa had a pupil named Vatsa,⁴ who lived in a hermitage on the banks of the Ganges, on the slopes of the Himalayas, with a company of five hundred all of whom possessed the five super-knowledges, were masters of the four meditations, were rid of the passion for sensual pleasures, lived on what they could glean, and were of great power.

Now Vatsa the seer became ill with flatulence. Unable to endure the cold of the Himalayas he went to the southern country, to a city called Govardhana. There a king named Daṇḍakin⁵ was ruling. He was unjust, a king of unrighteousness. He had gone wrong in his beliefs, was greedy for worldly pleasures, foolish, perverse in his views, disrespectful of mother and father, unkind to recluse and brāhman, cruel, merciless and violent. When he saw Vatsa the seer he had him trampled⁶ in the mud, innocent, harmless and inoffensive though he was.

The chief counsellor of that kingdom was named Vighuṣṭa.⁷ He quickly dug out the seer alive from the heap of mud. He then fell at his feet and craved his forgiveness. "Lord," said he, "I do not approve of the violence committed by the king. May your reverence be pleased to pardon me." The seer replied, "Counsellor, leave the kingdom at once. In seven days I shall be dead, and when I am dead there will be in this kingdom a great and terrible calamity."

¹ An honorific term, applied also to the Buddha and to Arhans.

² Pali Assaka, one of the sixteen *Mahājanapadas* mentioned in the *Anguttara Nikāya* (*A.* 1. 213; 4. 252, 256, 260). See *D.P.N.*

³ Pali Kapitthavana.

⁴ Pali Kisavaccha or Vacchakisa.

⁵ In *J.* 5. 134 and elsewhere his city is called Kumbhavatī.

⁶ *Ākramāpita*, caus. of *ākramati*. See *B.H.S.D.*

⁷ Replaced in *J.* by an unnamed commander-in-chief, *senāpati*. But the details of the story generally vary considerably in the two texts.

And when he had heard this from Vatsa the seer, the counsellor, with his sons and wife, his retinue and his relatives, left the kingdom of King Daṇḍakin and went to another kingdom.

When the seventh night was past, Vatsa the seer died. Immediately on his death there was a great commotion among the demons,¹ who on that night reduced the city and kingdom to ashes.

Kāśyapa the seer was performing a sacrifice between the Ganges and the Jumna. Thither there flocked² ninety-eight thousand ascetics (364) all possessing the five super-knowledges, masters of the four meditations, and having great magic and power.

In the country of the Kalingas was a city named Dantapura, where there was a king named Uggata.³ When he saw the terrible and frightful calamity which had overcome those cruel kings he went to Sañjayantī⁴ to visit the seers.⁵ In Sañjayantī the king was named Bhīmaratha.⁶ He, too, was stirred by the sight of the destruction of those kings, and he asked the king of the Kalingas, "Whither are you going?" The latter replied "I am going to visit the seers."

In Hastināpura there reigned a king named Aṣṭamaka.⁷ And he, too, terrified and perturbed on seeing the dreadful calamity which had befallen those four cruel kings, set out to visit the seers. Śakra, lord of the devas, also, on seeing the calamity which had befallen those unjust, unrighteous, heretical, merciless, cruel and violent kings, came in the great pomp of devas to visit the seers.

On the slopes of the Himalayas⁸ there were⁹ five hundred seers who lived on roots and fruits, were content with what

¹ Bhūtā.

² Samnipatitāvo. For the ending -āvo see p. 355, n. 4.

³ Uggata, below, Uggata in Pali.

⁴ So in J.

⁵ In J. they go to visit one seer only, viz., Śarabhangā.

⁶ So in J.

⁷ Aṣṭhaka in J. His capital is not named there.

⁸ A metrical version of the tale.

⁹ Literally "were seen", paśyensuḥ. But Edgerton (*Gram.* p. 220 and §37.26) does not list this particular occurrence of this form among the inflexional forms derived from paśyati.

they could glean, were ascetic, pure though poor,¹ well-controlled, sternly austere, and sublime.

One seer was there who was styled Vatsa.² He became ill with flatulence and, unable to endure the cold of the Himalayas, he left the forest and went down to the king's city.

Now in that city was the king named Daṇḍakin, a man of unrighteous life, intent on violence,³ who had irrationally⁴ adopted a wrong belief. (365) He trampled that seer in the mud.

But the king had a chief counsellor in his state, named Vighuṣṭa, and he raised up the seer and said to him, "This pleases me not. So deign to forgive me, O holy man."

Vatsa the seer replied to the counsellor, "Go hence, lest evil fortune be yours. For when seven nights are past⁵ a fearful calamity will befall."

When the seer was dead, there was a great commotion among the demons, and in a single night they reduced to ashes that king's realm, his wealth and his might.

Then did the ascetic Śarabhangā speak to the assembled seers,⁶ "Not seemly was this thing which Daṇḍakin did. Let us go and do honour to Vatsa."

Then, also, did Aṣṭamaka and King Bhīmaratha and

¹ *Suddhalūkhā*, interpreted here as a dvandva or copulative compound. *Lūkhā* (also *lūha*) is Sk. *rūkṣa*, Pali *lūkhā*, "coarse" poor", especially applied to food and clothing, but also used in a mental or moral sense. On the analogy of *lūkhā* in the expression *lūkhādhimuktikā* at 2. 313 (text), where he assumes it is a substantive meaning "evil", Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*) renders *suddhalūkhā* "purified from evil", but adds in parenthesis "does it really refer to their diet? improbably, but they are *mūlaphalāhārā* in the preceding line; possibly then, 'of pure and coarse food'. But *lūkhādhimuktikā* can well be rendered "being of gross disposition" (see vol. 2, p. 293). As the variant form *lūha* can mean "poor" of bodily condition (see *B.H.S.D.*), there seems to be every justification for transferring the application of *lūkhā* here from the "coarse" or "poor" food to the men who lived on it.

² Literally "named Vatsa after his clan", Vatsagotra. Cf. Vacchagotta, the name of several persons in the Pali texts. See D.P.N.

³ There is a lacuna before *niviṣṭa* "intent on" (lit. entered on), but the context clearly requires some word of this meaning.

⁴ Literally, "having a perverse reasoning", *viparītasamkhyā*.

⁵ *Saptarātriyaṇa ito 'tyayena*. The inflexion of the first word is strange, to say the least. It looks like an instr. (? abs.), but *atyayena* is generally construed with the gen. of the expression of time. Edgerton (*Gram.* § 10. 202) is, therefore, probably correct in reading instead *saptāna rātriṇa*, gen. pl., and he adduces other BSk. examples of "i" stems with this inflexion.

⁶ There is a lacuna here, the régime of *samāgatā riṣayo* being lost, but the context allows them to be taken in effect as the object of *abravīti* "said". As in the prose version, here again it is not made clear who these several seers were or how they came to be assembled.

Udgata, the king of Kalinga, excitedly and eagerly say
"Let us go to visit the seers and ask them how this may be."¹

And so in gladness and excitement the three lords of
men came into the presence of the seers, (366) in fine array,
wearing ornaments and earrings, and carrying swords
inlaid with pearl and beryl.

The seers said to them :

O king, tell the seer² who you are, and how do they know
you in the world of men.

The kings replied :

We are Aṣṭamaka and King Bhīmaratha and this is
Udgata the king of Kalinga. We have come hither to visit
seers who are well-controlled, wishful to ask a question of
them.

The seers asked Indra as he stood in the air :

In the sky you stand upborne by the air and radiant as
the moon of fifteen days. We ask you, O deva of great
power, how do they know you³ in the world of men?

Śakra replied :

The devas know me⁴ as husband of Śacī.⁵ In the world
of men they call me Maghavan. Here I am come, a deva
of great might,⁶ to visit the seers who are well-controlled.

(367) The seers said :

He who is the Razer of cities,⁷ Lord of demons, Sovereign
of devas, king of the Three-and-Thirty, and Vanquisher of
the Asuras, has come hither seeking leave to ask a question.⁸

¹ The subject of this inquiry is alluded to as though it had already been mentioned, which is not the case in our text. In J. 5. 135, the question which exercised the minds of the kings was the destiny of the cruel kings who had ill-treated the seers.

² Sc. Śarabhangā, the chief of them.

³ Ti = te acc. sg. of 2nd. pers. pron. See Edgerton, *Gram.*, § 20. 16.

⁴ Mi = me. Cf. preceding note and reference.

⁵ J. has *Sujampati* for *Śacīpati*.

⁶ Reading the nom., *devo mahānubhāvaḥ*, for the voc.

⁷ *Puraṇḍara*. J. has *purindada*. See vol. 2, p. 52, n. 1.

⁸ In J. 5. 139 this stanza is recited by Anusissa, one of Śarabhangā's disciples.

[Śakra said :]¹

Ye seers who're here assembled, your fame we've heard
from far.² To you, O seers who're well-controlled, we have
come to bow before you, O masters,³ with trusting hearts.
He⁴ is in all the world the best of men.

The seer⁵ said :

The odour of seers who are "far advanced"⁶ is wafted
abroad, blown about⁷ by the wind. Keep off from here,
O Śakra, stay where you are.⁸ This odour cannot be
endured by devas.

Śakra said :

Yea, the odour of seers who are far advanced is wafted
abroad, blown about by the wind, but it is sweet and pleasant,
and is not disagreeable to me.⁹

The seers said:¹⁰

This seer, the noble Śarabhangā, is well-trained and free

¹ Śakra āha. This must be supplied, since this stanza can only be assigned to Śakra, as the parallel one is in J. 5. 138. The plural forms misled Senart to assign it to the kings.

² Literally "from far you have been heard by (of) us", *dūrā śrūtā mo*, where *mo* is gen. pl. of 1st pers. pron. Cf. Edgerton, *Gram.* § 20. 58.

³ Reading *āryā* for *ārya* which Senart has printed as first element of the compound *āryaprasannacittā*, where, however, it is inconstruable.

⁴ *Ayam*, referring presumably to Śarabhangā. But *ayam* is suspect as Śakra here, as in J., has been praising all the seers in general. There has been no allusion as yet, in the metrical version, that is, to Śarabhangā, their master.

⁵ Anusissa according to J. 5. 138.

⁶ Literally "been made to become for long", *cirabhāvitānām*. J. has *ciradakkhitānām*, which J. *trans.* (5. 74), paraphrases "aged"! With *riṣiṇām gandhas*, "the odour of seers", Miss I. B. Horner, in a letter, compares the Pali expressions *isivāta* (*Miln.* 19; J. 3. 142) and *sataṃ gandho* (*Dh.* 54).

⁷ *Erīta*. "Pali *id.* to *ereti*, Sk. *irita* to *irayati*, which takes the preverb *ā* only in the Veda, and no *erita* ppp. seems recorded even there" (*BH.S.D.*).

⁸ Literally "sit down", *niśīda*, but this verb sounds strange following a command to go away, and the reading is, therefore, doubtful. J. 5. 138 reads *ito parakkamma sahasanetta*, "Go away hence, O thousand-eyed one."

⁹ In J. 5. 139 Śakra's reply contains six pādas, and there are in the MSS. of the *Mhvu.* some isolated words which indicate that originally there were six here also.

¹⁰ In J. 5. 140 the seers recite this stanza in reply to two stanzas of Anusissa in the first of which he informs them that Śakra is present, and in the second asks them who is competent to reply to his questions. The *Mhvu.*, however, has transferred the first stanza to an earlier part of the narrative (see p. 367, text).

from lust, (368), an enlightened teacher¹ and well-disciplined, let him then answer the questions.

[Anuśiṣya said to Śarabhangā]²:

O Son of Vasiṣṭha,³ the good seers beg that you answer these questions. For this is the rule among men, O wise one, that the task should be his who has come to old age.⁴

Śarabhangha said:

Now I give you leave to ask whatever question it is in your heart to ask. So do you speak, and I will answer your questions. For I have true knowledge of this world and the next.

The king then asked⁵:

With regard to those who have been and gone,⁶ Daṇḍakin, Nālikera, Arjuna and king Kalabha, tell me the bourne of those men of wicked deeds. Where were they reborn for that they had done harm to seers?

Śarabhangha replied:

With regard to those who have been and gone, Daṇḍakin, Nālikera, Arjuna and King Kalabha, understand what the bourne of these men of wicked deeds was, (369) and where the violators of seers were reborn.

¹ Reading *ācārya buddho* for *ācārya buddho*. J. 5. 140 has *ācariyaputto*, "teacher's son", a way of saying "a teacher born and bred".

² Supplied from the prose of J. 5. 140, where the seers prevail upon Anusissa (= Sk. Anuśiṣya) to approach Śarabhangha and ask him to answer the questions. Senart, however, prints *ṛiṣayo āhansuḥ* in brackets, thus assigning the stanza to the seers.

³ A conventional term of address, especially to a seer, see vol. I, p. 32, n. 2.

⁴ There seems little doubt that the *Mhvu.* text here is corrupt. It reads *Eṣo hi dharmo manujehi paṇḍite yaṃ vṛikṣamākāṅkṣati tasya bhāro*. Senart renders this, "car tel est le privilège du sage parmi les hommes: il porte à son choix les fruits de tout arbre, c'est à dire, tu es prêt d'avance à répondre n'importe quelle question". He comments on this, "c'est une façon de dire bien contournée." It is worse than that. Not only do the words *dharmo paṇḍite* form a strange expression for "the privilege of a seer," but the use of *bhāro* in the sense of "fruit" is unusual and forced. The two pādas become intelligible if we emend *vṛikṣamākāṅkṣati* into *vṛiddham* (or *vuddham*) *āgacchati* as in the corresponding Pali (J. 5. 140). It then only remains to read *paṇḍita*, voc. sg. for the loc. *paṇḍite* to reach the rendering given above.

⁵ In J. 5. 141, it is Sakka who first puts his questions, later giving way to the kings to ask theirs.

⁶ *Yathā abhūd*? "as to how he (and the rest) was (and is no more)." Cf. J. 5. 143 *yathā ahū*, explained by the Com. as *yo nāma ahosi*.

For that Daṇḍakin trampled the seer in the mud, he with his wealth and his realm was utterly destroyed. He fell into the hell Kukkula where bodies¹ become fiery embers.²

Arjuna fell headlong into the hell Śaktiśūla for that he had violated Angīrasa Gautama,³ the ascetic seer who had so long lived the brahma-life.

And as for Nālikera who violated the self-controlled religious men after inviting them to eat and drink with him, in the other world dogs attack him and devour him as he lies writhing on the ground.

Kalabha who mutilated that religious man, the seer Kṣāntivādin, the harmless recluse, fell into Avīci, the fiery, scorching, terrible hell.

He who has heard of hells like these and seen whole kingdoms stricken down will deal justly with recluse and brāhman, and acting thus he will gain the heavenly place.

The kings said:

You have answered⁴ what I asked you. Now I ask you another question and do you reply to it.

(370) What, I ask you,⁵ can a man kill without feeling remorse? What do seers recommend that men should put away?

Śarabhangha replied:

One may kill anger and never repent it. Seers recommend that one should put away jealousy. One should bear with rude speech no matter who utters it. Good men say that this power of forbearance is hard to overcome.⁶

The kings said:

It may be possible to bear with the rude speech of two

¹ *Samucchraya*. See vol. I, p. 134, n. 1.

² Reading *sphulingajātā*, for *-jālā* which would give "nets of embers."

³ Called Gautama simply in the prose version.

⁴ Literally "you have overcome", *abhibhavesi*. But Senart rightly doubts the correctness of the reading.

⁵ So, for *su* = *svīd*, interrogative particle. According to Senart the form so corresponds to the metrically lengthened *sū* of the parallel Pali verse, J. 5. 141. Cf. B.H.S.D. It may be added here that in J. this and the following questions are asked by Sakka (Śakra).

⁶ The *Mhvu.* does not contain the question to which these last two sentences form the answer. For the question see J. 5. 141.

men, that of a superior and that of an equal. But how may one bear with the speech of an inferior? Tell me this, O Kaundinya.¹

Śarabhangā replied :

Men bear with the speech of a superior because of fear, and with the speech of an equal to avoid a quarrel. But when a man bears with the speech of an inferior, good men say that this is forbearance at its strongest.

And how can you be sure about a man who is outwardly well-behaved² that he is a superior, an equal or an inferior? Good men may present a rough exterior. (371) Therefore one should bear with the speech of all and sundry.

Not even a great royal army can win so great advantage in a fight as the good man wins by forbearance. Enmities³ are quelled⁴ by forbearing men.

The kings⁵ said :

We are gratified⁶ at your well-spoken reply. Now I ask you another question and do you tell me the answer. What kind⁷ of man do you call a moral man? What kind of man do you call a wise man? What kind of man do you call a good man? What kind of man is it whom fortune never deserts?

Śarabhangā replied :

Whoso is self-controlled in act and word and thought, does no wickedness, nor does unkindness to anyone in the world, such a man do I call a moral man.

¹ The clan name of Śarabhangā.

² There is a difficult word here, *catuchannarūpam*. Senart believes that his reading is supported by the Com. on the corresponding Pali *catumattḥarūpam* (J. 5. 142) which explains it, *catūhi iriyāpathehi paṭicchannasabhāvam*. That is to say, *catuchannarūpam* may allude to a man who is "clothed" in the "four" deportments, or is perfect to all outward appearance.

³ *Vīra* (m) = Pali *vera*, Sk. *vaira* (B.H.S.D.).

⁴ *Vopasamati*, "Mindic for Sk. *vy-upa-sam" (B.H.S.D.). J. 5. 143 has here *ūpasamati* = *vūpasamati*.

⁵ Again it is Sakka, not the kings, who in J. 5. 146 asks this question.

⁶ *Anumodayāma*, if it is to stand, is causal in middle or passive sense.

⁷ The text here has throughout *katividham* "how many kinds of?" The sense is obviously "what kind of?" and the corresponding Pali (J. 5. 146) has accordingly *kathamvidham*. But Senart says that the MS. reading is too certain to admit of emendation.

Whoso, though all his wealth be lost, does not seek¹ worldly² gain, and, for his own selfish ends, does not live a life of wrong-doing,³ such a man do I call a wise man.

The man⁴ who is grateful, and mindful of benefits done him, who is a good friend, is steadfast in devotion, (372) and in adversity honourably does his duty, such a man do I call a good man.

Whoso is endued with these three qualities, is cheerful, gracious, kindly of speech, respectful, reverential and modest, good fortune never deserts such a man.

The kings said :

We are gratified⁵ at your well-spoken reply. I now ask you another question, and do you tell me the answer. Of morality, wisdom, good fortune and gratitude, which do good men say is the best?

Śarabhangā replied :

Good men say wisdom is the best by far, just as the moon is best among the stars. Morality, good fortune, gratitude are but wisdom's fair handmaids.⁶

The kings said :

We are gratified at your well-spoken reply. I now ask you another question, and do you tell me the answer. Through what behaviour, what pursuit, what conduct does a mortal⁷ man become wise?

¹ Or "set out to", *prayāti*.

² Or 'temporal', *kālāgata*. J. 5. 146 is very different here. It has *kālābhatam* (v.l. *gataṃ*) *atthapadam riñcati* "prompt with good word in season to advise" (J. trans.).

³ The text here has a lacuna representing the first element of a compound ending in *vidham*. The apparatus affords no clue to restoration and the corresponding *pāda* in J. is entirely different.

⁴ *Posa*, Pali *id.*, "contraction of *purisa* for **pūrṣa* > **pussa* > **possa* > *posa*. So Geiger. P. Gr." (P.E.D.). But Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) says that "Geiger's theory is not compelling."

⁵ *Anumodayāma*. See p. 368, n. 2.

⁶ *Prajñopaka*, literally "associates of wisdom". *Upaka*, variant *upaga* "pertaining to", here probably used, as B.H.S.D. suggests, by analogy with *kulopaka*, said of a monk "belonging to a certain family".

⁷ Reading *mṛityo*, corresponding to Pali *macco* of J. 5. 148 for the text *manye*, "methinks", etc., which is out of place in a question, though less so in the reply on the next page. But in both places the correction *mṛityo* is called for, especially as a nominative subject to *bhoti* is required.

(373) Śarabhangā replied :

By consorting with the old, the clever and the learned,¹ questioning them and holding fast² to their replies, harking to and heeding their good words, by such conduct a mortal man becomes wise.

The wise man perceives the truth concerning the pleasures of the senses, that they are ill, impermanent and liable to change. Perceiving this he shuns desire as one of the things of terror, one of the things that is like to destroy him.

Thus freed from passion, all hatred quite removed,³ he will diligently promote the growth of love, and living thus with loving heart, kindly and compassionate, he will pass on to the heavenly place.

Such were the verses recited by the good man by way of giving his eloquent replies. Whoso will live in perfect accordance with these, will escape beyond the range of the King of Death.⁴

Brahmā, Indra and the Three-and-Thirty devas were delighted at these eloquent words. The glorious beings were greatly stirred,⁵ and taking reverential leave repaired in ecstasy to the city of the devas.

Of great profit thus was the coming of Aṣṭamaka, Bhīmaratha (374) and Udgata the king of Kalinga. For to them all there came a riddance from the passion for sensual pleasures.⁶

The kings said :

Even so, O knower of other men's hearts, we one and all have won riddance of the passion for pleasures of sense.

¹ Reading *nipuṇā bahutrūṭā*, etc. pl. acc., for the nom. sg. of the text.

² *Ogrāhaka* "Prob. false Sktization of Pali *uggāhaka*" (B.H.S.D.).

³ *Suvinitadoṣa*. It is strange to find *suvinīta* in this connexion, for it is usually applied to the development of, or training in, good qualities. It is hardly appropriate to interpret the expression as meaning "with his hatred in good control". The text implies its complete destruction. J. 5. 148 has *ṣavineyya doṣam*, "he will expel sin."

⁴ In J. 5. 151 these verses are recited by the Master himself to sum up the teaching of the *Jātaka*, just before he identifies the birth.

⁵ *Vegajāta*, which Senart says should replace *vedajāta* in the corresponding verse in J. 5. 151.

⁶ In J. (5. 149), this stanza is spoken by the Great Being (Bodhisattva) i.e. Śarabhangā, and comes before the summing up by the Master.

Be gracious and grant us¹ that we may attain² unto your state.

Śarabhangā replied :

I will be gracious and grant you this, inasmuch as you all have won riddance of the passion for pleasures of sense. Let boundless joy pervade you³ so that thus you may attain unto my state.

The kings said :

We will do all that you enjoin, whatever that you of your great wisdom tell us. Boundless joy shall pervade us that so we may attain unto your state.

[Śarabhangā said :]⁴

Great honour has now been paid to Vatsa the seer. So depart, ye holy seers. Delight in meditation and abide in your retreats—this is the greatest wealth of him who has left the world.

(375) Thus did the Exalted One, the Master, calling to mind a former abode and a former life, relate this *jātaka* to his monks.

After a discussion on the skandhas, the dhātus, the āyatanas and the ātman, the Exalted One explained the meaning of this *jātaka*.

"When of yore I lived in one of my existences which have neither beginning nor end,⁵ Anāthapiṇḍika was Śakra Śacīpati, the lord of devas, Ānanda was the king of Kalinga,

¹ Literally "make opportunity", *okāsam karohi*. Here and in the next stanza *okāsam* is Senart's emendation, influenced by *okāsam* of J. 5. 150, for *ekāsam* of the MSS. Edgerton, however, in B.H.S.D. (s.v. *ekāsa*) is of opinion that the latter word should stand, and should even be regarded as the right and original word of J. also. The sense, then is "make absolute assurance that we may attain, etc." But it is a debatable point whether this gives a sense more appropriate to the context.

² *Abhisambhūṇati*. See vol. I, p. 35, n. 3. Cf. B.H.S.D.

³ Literally "fill your body with", *pharati kāyam*. *Pharati* = Pali *id.*, Sk. *sphurati*, *spharati*.

⁴ These words have to be supplied, for the following verses are obviously spoken by Śarabhangā.

⁵ See vol. I, p. 90, n. 5. Cf. B.H.S.D., where Edgerton says the BSk. form is probably hyper-Sk. for *anavayagga*, one of two AMg. forms of the word. He also refers to C.P.D. for other theories of the etymology.

and Śāriputra was Aṣṭaka.¹ The powerful Maudgalyāyana was Bhīmaratha, and I was Śarabhanga. Thus understand this jāta.

Then, too, did I preach the dharma to a congregation of devas and men, just as I have now done also.

Here ends the Jātaka of Śarabhanga.

THE THIRTY MONKS

At Benares thirty boon companions² went out to a park. The mother of one of them was dead and had been reborn among the devas. She had mastered the dharma at the time the wheel of dharma was set rolling, and she now remembered her son. Because of her love for her son, she loved all his companions as much as she did him.

Now in Benares there was a courtesan named Kāśikā. And why was Kāśikā the courtesan so called? As a maturing of good karma she came to have a lovely body, so that her fee³ was the whole of a thousand pieces of money.⁴ That was why she was called Kāśikā. Upārdhakāśikā was Kāśikā's sister, and she also like Kāśikā, as a maturing of former karma came to have a lovely body. (376) But she had only one eye, and that a red one. For that reason her fee was half a thousand pieces of money.

The boon companions said to Kāśikā, "Come and serve⁵ us." But she, under the control of⁶ that deva,⁷ refused to go and

¹ Aṣṭamaka in the story.

² *Goṣṭhika*, in this sense BSk., but not Pali, corresponds to AMg. *goṭṭhiya*, -iga (B.H.S.D.). In the Pali texts it is these and not the five monks already mentioned (p. 313) who are designated *bhaddavaggiyā* "the good group" or "group of high standing." See I. B. Horner, *Bk. of Disc.* 4, p. 31, n. 2, for references to Pali commentaries on the meaning of this term. But the account of their conversion as given in the *Mhvu.* differs considerably from that at V. i. 23 f.

³ Literally "she was worth", *kṣamati*, cf. Pali *khamati*.

⁴ *Kāśibhūmi*. For this sense of *kāśi* see B.H.S.D., where Edgerton refers to the same meaning given the Pali *kāśi* by the Com. on V. i. 281. See also Miss I. B. Horner's long note on the same passage in *Bk. of Disc.* 4, p. 398. Cf. D.P.N. s.v. *Addhakāśi*.

⁵ *Upasthānakāri*. Cf. p. 37 (text).

⁶ *Adhiṣṭhitā*. See p. 333, n. 3.

⁷ I.e., the deceased mother of one of the young men.

said, "I have some household work to do and I cannot come." So they went to the park taking Upārdhakāśikā with them instead.

Then the deva, disguised as Kāśikā, came and stood where the companions could see her. And when they saw her they ran to her. But she kept moving on without stopping, though they could see her all the time. Thus the deva led the companions from the park and took them to Rīṣivadana into the presence of the Exalted One, and then she vanished. The companions went up to the Exalted One to bow at his feet.

The Exalted One said:

What play, what delight can there be while the world is ever burning? Plunged in darkness as you are will you not seek a light?

*What cheer, what joy can there be while the world is ever burning? Plunged in darkness as you are will you not make a light to shine?*¹

Then they were all converted by the Exalted One into the state of having control over the powers,² initiated with the formula of "Come, monks," and ordained as monks. Such was the initiation, ordination and admission into monkhood of the venerable thirty companions.

Here ends the account of the ordination of the thirty companions.

PŪRṆA THE SON OF MAITRĀYAṆĪ

(377) The Exalted One was staying in Benares teaching devas and men, and so on.³

Now another group of thirty men happened to be going along the road not far from Rīṣivadana. The Exalted One, in order to do them a kindness, sat down by the roadside. When they saw the Exalted One they advanced to bow at

¹ Cf. Dh. 146.

² *Balavaśibhāva*. See vol. I, p. 43, n. 2.

³ Literally "describing the occasion in detail," *vistareṇa nidānaṃ kṛtvā*, i.e., as such occasions are generally described.

his feet. Then the Exalted One converted them all to the state of having control over the powers, initiated them with the formula of "Come, monks," and ordained them. Such was the initiation, ordination and admission into monkhood of these venerable thirty men.

The Exalted One was staying in Benares, in the Deer Park at Rīṣivadana, teaching devas and men, *and so on*.

Now in the land of the Kośālas there was a village named Droṇavastuka,¹ where there lived a certain brāhman, who was rich, wealthy, opulent, having great possessions and property, money, treasures and granaries, abundance of gold, silver and other resources, a large number of female and male slaves and servants, elephants, horses, goats and sheep. This rich brāhman had a brāhman wife, named Maitrāyaṇī,² who was gracious, lovely, distinguished of mien, and endowed with the flower of beauty to perfection. Maitrāyaṇī had a young son named Pūrṇa,³ who was gracious and handsome, of fresh beauty, virtuous and dignified. He had rendered service to former Buddhas, had broken his bonds, had knowledge of the Aryan truths, and was in his last existence.

Pūrṇa had heard that King Śuddhodana had a son named Sarvārthasiddha, who was endowed with the thirty-two marks of a Great Man. Now a Great Man who was thus endowed had two alternative careers open to him; there was no third. If he continued living at home he would become a universal king over the four continents, triumphant, just, a king of righteousness, possessing the seven treasures. These treasures are the wheel, the elephant, the horse, the jewel, the householder, the woman, and the counsellor the seventh. He would have a full thousand sons, brave, courageous, comely, (378) and vanquishers of their foes. He would hold sway over these four continents, to wit, Jambudvīpa, Pūrvavideha, Aparagodānika and Uttarakuru. He would rule and govern this great earth, bounded by its ocean and mountains, in prosperity and peace, without scourge, weapon or any sort of violence, but with justice. If, on the other hand, he went forth from home into the homeless state,

¹ Pali, Doṇavattthu.

² Pali, Mantānī, sister of Aññākondañña (ĀjñātaKaundinya).

³ Pali, Puṇṇa.

he would become a Tathāgata, an Arhan, a perfect Buddha, endowed with knowledge and good conduct, a Sugata, a peerless knower of the world, a driver of tameable men, a teacher of devas and men, famous and renowned,¹ not led by others, triumphant, invincible, having insight into knowledge and the good, self-control and self-mastery. And a seer² of great magic and power would make an absolute proclamation on four grounds that he would become a Buddha in the world, and soothsayers would do so as well.³

When the Exalted One left home, Pūrṇa also on the same day left home and went to a retreat in the Himalayas. He there embraced the religious life of a seer, achieved the four meditations, attained the five super-knowledges and became a seer of great magic and power. He had twenty-nine young seers as pupils, all of whom were masters of the six Vedāṅgas,⁴ had achieved the four meditations, attained the five super-knowledges and possessed great magic and power. He said to his pupils, "A Buddha has appeared in the world. He is staying in Benares, in the Deer Park at Rīṣivadana, teaching men the dharma which is fair in the beginning, in the middle and in the end, profitable, well-articulated⁵ and absolutely perfect, and he reveals to them the perfectly pure and clean brahma-life.

"All the skandhas are without refuge: they are afire, full of terrors and untrustworthy are they, without substance," so does Gotama proclaim.

¹ A paraphrase of *vighuṣṭaśabdo vighuṣṭakirtirekko*. The first compound is easily explained, "the renown of whom is proclaimed." But the second is difficult. Does it imply a fame that is proclaimed in writing, *rekhā* being = *lekhā* "writing"? Even so, the compound is hard to construe, ? "having the writing of a proclaimed renown." Senart lists the compound in his index, but has no note on it. Neither is it given in *B.H.S.D.*

² Alluding to Asita, whose proclamation of the Buddha is described in the same terms. See vol. 2, p. 33 (text). The four grounds on which the proclamation is based are explained on p. 43 (text) as consisting of four qualities of the thirty-two marks. The translation of the former passage (2. p. 30) is to be emended, as Asita is there "proclaiming" (*vyākāritvā*) the Buddha on four grounds (*caturhi kāraṇehi*) not "explaining" (*vyākāritvā*) what the four grounds were. The wrong rendering of *ekāṃsena*, there, is due to this mistaken interpretation.

³ See, e.g., vol. I, p. 364.

⁴ I.e., "Six limbs" of the Vedas, or the six subjects, and the corresponding works dealing with each, which comprised the study of the Vedas.

⁵ *Suvyañjana*.

"Let us then, young men, go to Benares, to the Deer Park at Rīṣivadana, (379) to see Gotama, the Exalted One. For it is good to see such Tathāgatas, Arhans and perfect Buddhas and to worship¹ them." "So be it," said the young men in answer to Pūrṇa. [And they came and saw Gotama]² the Exalted One as he revealed the brahma-life. They saw that he was endowed with the thirty-two marks of a Great Man and with the eighty lesser characteristics; that his body was radiant; that he was gifted with the eighteen special attributes of a Buddha;³ that he was strong⁴ with the ten powers of a Tathāgata and confident on the ground of the four assurances; that his faculties and mind were under control, as he had attained the perfection of utmost restraint and self-control, the perfection of consummate restraint and self-control; that his faculties were turned inwards and that his mind was not turned outwards, but was steady through its having attained its true state. He was transparent as a pool, untroubled and serene. He stood erect like a sacrificial pillar of jewels or of gold, radiant with splendour, ablaze with glory, sublime, and a joy to behold.

When Pūrṇa beheld him, his mind became exceeding calm. Serene of heart he approached the Exalted One, bowed at his feet, and said to him, "Lord, initiate me. Lord, ordain me." Then the Exalted One pronounced the formula of "Come, monks" over Pūrṇa the son of Maitrāyaṇī and the twenty-nine others. "Come monks," said he, "live the brahma-life under the Tathāgata." And when the formula of "Come, monks" had been pronounced over them every mark of the seer, every badge, every emblem and every sign disappeared from all of them.⁵ They were seen to have three robes and the *sumbhaka*⁶ bowls, their hair in its natural state, and their deportment established—all just like

¹ Reading *paryupāsānāya* for *paryupāsānā* of the text.

² Lacuna in text.

³ *Āveṇikā buddhadharmā*. See vol. I, p. 33, n. 4. B.H.S.D. has nothing to add on the obscure word *āveṇika*, but refers to Konow: *Avhandl. Norskse viden*, Akad. 1941, II. *Hist.—Fil. Kl.*, p. 41.

⁴ From this point several of the adjectives are nom. case, as though the construction of the sentence was overlooked. Before the end of the passage the acc. is restored.

⁵ See p. 67, n. 2.

⁶ See p. 67, n. 3.

those of monks who had been ordained a hundred years. Such then was the initiation, ordination and admission into monkhood of Pūrṇa the son of Maitrāyaṇī and his twenty-nine companions.

He and his twenty-nine companions were converted by the Exalted One into the state of having mastery over the powers. And when he had attained that state he addressed the Exalted One in these seemly verses:

(380) Glad¹ am I, O kinsman of the sun,² that when thou wast in Tuṣita thou didst become an elephant, snow-white like Hima's summit, and didst enter a womb for the last time.

Glad am I, O kinsman of the sun, that thy mother and thy father in this world were both of comely form, and wast born in the family of a great king.

Glad am I, O kinsman of the sun, that thou didst come down and expose thyself to the world of life but wast untouched by aught of it, nor defiled by gall, blood and phlegm.

Glad am I, O kinsman of the sun, that those who saw thy golden beauty felt perfect joy of heart, like that of snakes when they follow a crimson thread.³

Glad am I, O kinsman of the sun, that thou madest the earth to tremble when thou wast born for the sake of the welfare of men, and that after being born thou didst take seven strides.

Glad am I, O kinsman of the sun, that when thou wast born, O Sage, Guhyaka lords held up a sunshade and fans on both sides of thee.

Glad am I, O kinsman of the sun, that as soon as thou wast born there sprang up two wells of water, the one warm and the other cold.

Glad am I, O kinsman of the sun, that thou didst go forth from home renouncing the pleasures of men, the seven treasures and the four continents.

Glad am I, O kinsman of the sun, that, leaving thy queen and thy folk and renouncing the seven fair treasures, thou didst make an end of birth and death.

(381) Glad am I, O kinsman of the sun, that a great

¹ Literally "it is agreeable to me," *priyam me*.

² Literally "of the family or clan of the thousand-rayed one," *daśaśata-raśmisagotra*.

³ *Phaṇikā anugatā va raktasūtram*. The simile is obscure.

radiance uprose when the Exalted One's heart won deliverance, O Hero,¹ and men² became entirely happy.

Glad am I, O kinsman of the sun, that this noble congregation, calmed and perfectly joyful, has to-day been converted by the Conqueror. O Vanquisher of thy foes,³ thou dost near thy destiny.⁴

Glad am I, O kinsman of the sun, that the vow thou madest of yore has now come to pass, O Saviour of the world. Thy vow and its fulfilment⁵ have prospered.⁶

Glad am I, O kinsman of the sun, that thy cry of "In all the habitations of men there is none equal to me" permeated the ten quarters. Thou hast reached the highest sphere in accordance with thy nature.⁷

All hail!⁸ Happy and whole is the Exalted One. This task of thine doth prosper. All hail! By thee has Namuci⁹ been overcome and all his host. All hail! this world and the world beyond are known to thee.

All hail! Sahampati entreated thee.¹⁰ All hail! Thou didst assent, O Hero. All hail! Thou didst set rolling in righteousness the wheel of dharma with its twelve parts.¹¹

All hail! Thou didst cry out with a lion's roar. All hail! There is no one anywhere to gainsay thee. All hail! The dharma has been attained by the Conqueror. All hail! There is no envy of thee, O Noble One.

All hail! I have the deva-eye. All hail! I have the superhuman ear. In the Himalayas I saw Māra.¹² All hail! Now I have seen thine encounter with him.

(382) Here I have won the five super-knowledges. All hail! Here is the docility of pupils. All hail! We¹³ do not

¹ *Vīra*, a doubtful restoration of Senart's.

² There is no subject to *bhāvensu*, but some word like *sattvā* or *janā* can be easily supplied.

³ *Sātrudamane*, should be *voc*.

⁴ *Kālam upesi*.

⁵ Literally, "coming", "result", *āgama*.

⁶ Perhaps we should read *saṃvīdā*, pl., for *saṃvīdho*.

⁷ *Dharmatāye*.

⁸ *Diṣṭyā*.

⁹ I.e., *Māra*.

¹⁰ Sc. to set rolling the wheel of dharma. See p. 304 f.

¹¹ See p. 326.

¹² *Mṛityu* = *Māra*.

¹³ *Mo*, nom. pl. See p. 8, n. 5.

associate with evil.¹ All hail! We know² the king of dharma.

All hail! We are come to the refuge. All hail! We have understood³ the Four Truths. All hail! We have assurance in thy dharma. All hail! We have attained unto mastery.

Thus then in the presence of the Exalted One, on the road mentioned, in Benares, in the Deer Park did the venerable Pūrṇa rejoice and exult at having attained the dharma.

Here ends the story of Pūrṇa the son of Maitrāyaṇī.

THE QUESTIONS OF NĀLAKA⁴

The Exalted One, perfectly enlightened and having realised the aim he had set himself, was staying in Benares, in the Deer Park at Rīṣivadana, teaching devas and men, and so on.⁵

In the land of the Avantis⁶ there was a town called Markaṭa⁷ where there lived a wealthy brāhman, who was the household priest and tutor of King Ujjhebhaka Tṛṇhāraka. He was rich and opulent, having great possessions and property, money, treasures and granaries, abundance of gold and silver and other resources, a large number of female and male slaves and servants, elephants, horses, goats and sheep. He belonged to the Kātyāyana clan, and had two sons, one named Nālaka⁸ and the other Uttara.

Uttara was the elder. Nālaka, the younger, was clever, skilful, intelligent, of quick understanding and keen wit. Their uncle was named Asita,⁹ a seer who dwelt in a hermitage

¹ *Pāpasangata*. Cf. Pali *pāpasangatika*, M. 2. 222, 227.

² Or "experience", "understand", *anubhomo*.

³ *Abhisamita*, which, if correct, must be interpreted as plural. The MSS. have *abhisame* which Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) suggests, with a question mark, may be an aorist.

⁴ See vol. 2, pp. xi, 27, 30; D.P.N.; and B.H.S.D.

⁵ *Kṛtvā nidānam*.

⁶ To the north of the Vindhya. Its capital Ujjeni was the Greek Ozēnē. See D.P.N. and E. J. Thomas, *The Life of Buddha*, p. 14.

⁷ Cf. Pali *Makkarakatā*, which also was associated with Kātyāyana. (Kaccāna). See D.P.N.

⁸ In vol. 2, p. 43 (text) it is Nārada who belongs to this clan, while on p. 63 of the same vol. he is said to belong to the Kausika clan. For the confusion between the two see above references to Nālaka.

⁹ See Vol. 2, p. 27 ff.

in the Vindhya, in the land of the Avantis, with a company of five hundred pupils. He lived on wild roots and fruits and on gleanings, and taught the five hundred young men to recite the *mantras*¹ and the Vedas.

(383) Uttara went there and studied the Vedas. When he had recited them, he came to his father and before him and other brāhmins proficient in the Vedas he underwent an examination.² And while he was being examined³ Nālaka picked up all the Vedas.⁴ And when he had thus heard the Vedas recited by his brother, he, too, was examined before his father and the brāhmins who were proficient in the Vedas. They were amazed, and exclaimed, "Behold the intelligence of this young man."

His parents then told him that a Buddha had appeared in the world, and said to him, "Go and take up the religious life." So he went to the Vindhya and embraced the religious life of a seer in the hermitage of his uncle, Asita the seer. By devoting himself all the time to endeavour, effort, exertion and vigilance, he achieved the four meditations and attained the five super-knowledges.

Now the Exalted One had awakened to the supreme perfect enlightenment and had set rolling the noble wheel of dharma. He was staying in Benares, in the Deer Park at Rīṣivadana, living a life of service to devas and men and enabling hundreds of thousands of beings to attain immortality. Then Asita the seer said to his pupil, "A Buddha has appeared in the world. Go east and take up the religious life." So he left the seer's retreat and in due course reached Benares.

In Benares there lived six self-styled teachers,⁵ Kāśyapa Pūraṇa, Maskarin Gośālikāputra, Ajita Keśakambalin, Kakuda Kātyāyana, Sañjayin Veraṭṭikāputra and Nirgrantha Jñātiputra.⁶ Nālaka went to these six self-styled teachers, but they did not satisfy his mind.

Now there are four great treasures, the "shell" in Benares, the "lotus" in Mithilā, the *pingala* in Kalinga and the

¹ See vol. 2, p. 27, n. 3.

² *Anuyogam deti*. Here not exactly "passed an examination," as Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*) has it. Cf. n. 3.

³ *I.e.*, while he was reciting the Vedas.

⁴ *I.e.*, by listening to his brother. See next sentence.

⁵ *Śāstarapratijñā*. For *pratijñā*, Pali *patiñña*, see *B.H.S.D.* and *P.E.D.*

⁶ See vol. I, p. 208 ff, and *B.H.S.D.* for BSk. references and *D.P.N.* for Pali.

elapatra in Takṣaśilā.¹ Just then the monthly festival in honour of the "shell" was being held. To it there came as guests the Nāga kings, the guardians of treasures. (384) There the Nāga king Elapatra posed questions, saying that who-soever could answer them would be given his daughter and a thousand pieces of gold.²

Through being sovereign of what is a man a king? How does he become a slave of passion?³ How does he become free of passion? And how does he come to be called a weakling?

The Exalted One replied:

A man is a king when he is sovereign in relation to the six senses.⁴ When he is excited by his senses⁵ he becomes

¹ Cf. the four great treasures mentioned in *DA*. 1. 284, each presided over by a Nāga king presumably of the same name as the treasure he guarded. The treasures are there named *saṅkha* (shell), *ela* (?), *uppala* (blue lotus) and *puṇḍarīka* (white lotus). Elapatra is also the guardian of a treasure in *Divy*. 61, but there he is styled simply "king", not "Nāga king". He is evidently identical with the Elapatra mentioned, but without allusion to the treasure, in *Mvyut*. 3271, *Sw*. 162, *Mmk*. 452, *Kv*. 2, *Māy*. 222, 247. See *B.H.S.D.*, where reference is also made to the nine treasures of Kubera, and the nine treasures of the Jains, three of the latter being identical with three in the BSk. and Pali lists. The Nāga king Elapatra, under the name Erakapatta, appears also in *DhA*. 3. 231 ff. (see *D.P.N.*), but without allusion to the treasure he guarded, although the questions he poses, and the replies to them, are identical with those in the *Mhvu*. The episode of Elapatra appears also in the Chinese. (See Beal, *Romantic legend*, 275 f.). The precise nature of these treasures is not certain. *Saṅkha* and *paduma* are possibly a wonderful shell and lotus respectively. *Pingala* as a substantive has too large a variety of meanings to afford any clue. *Ela* is a 'high number'. It would appear that the names of the guardian kings were prior to those of the treasures.

² In *DhA*, *l.c.*, the questions are asked by Erakapatta's daughter, and answered by Uttara on the Buddha's instruction, not directly by the Buddha himself as here. But the latter circumstance is clearly a mistake in our text, for the prelude has prepared the way for the clever Uttara to figure as the answerer.

³ Taking *rajasvaro* as being a corruption of *raja-iśvaro*, "having passion as his master." (So Edgerton *B.H.S.D.*, *s.v.*). This would correspond to the *rajissaro* of *DhA*. 3. 231, 238, and would also be more apposite to the context. *Rajasvaro*, of course, could possibly be taken as equivalent to *Sk rajasvallo*, "full of passion," but there is an implied contrast between a king who is a sovereign and a king who is a slave (to passion).

⁴ Reading with Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.* *s.v.*) *ṣaṣṭo* (= *ṣaṣ-tas*) for *ṣaṣṭho* of the text. Cf. *DhA*. 3. 233, *cha-dvārādhipatī rājā*, where the allusion is to the "six doors of the senses."

⁵ Reading *rakto* for *rājye*. The latter cannot be correct here, for it would give the irrelevant sense "he becomes a slave of passion in his kingdom." The sentence rather is meant to be antithetical to the first, which alludes to a man who is dominant over his senses. In contrast to him there is the man who is *rakto* "excited" by them. *DhA*. 3. 233 has the corresponding pres. part. pas. *rajjamāna*. The verse goes on to speak of the man who is *arakto* "unexcited", just as *DhA*. speaks of one who is *arajan* (neg. of mid. part. corresponding to pass. *rajjamāna*).

the slave of passion. When he is not excited he becomes rid of passion. He who is excited is said to be a weakling.

Elapatra asked :

By what is the weakling carried away ? What does the wise man shake off ? How does a man come to have freedom from bondage ?¹ This I ask thee : do thou tell me.

The Exalted One replied :

The weakling is carried away by the ties of attachment.² The wise man shakes off his bondage. He who is not tied by any bond is said to have freedom from bondage.

Elapatra asked :

Buddha, Buddha, art thou called. Is this a dream or is it as it does appear ? Speak and dispel my doubt,.

A deva replied :

Here you have beholden face to face the Great Hero who abides in the Deer Park, like a lion in a mountain cave, proclaiming the best of dharmas.

(385) Verily, after a long time we now shall see the body of the nobly wise Buddha bright with the starlike marks.

Verily, after a long time we now shall hear the speech that sounds like Brahmā's voice, proclaiming what is impermanent, ill and without self, and annihilating all the vices.

Hearing the fresh sound of this Brahmā-like voice, we shall win deliverance from false sects by drawing near to the Valiant Man.

Now³ that we have beholden the great Seer who lives for the sake of the world's welfare, the greatly glorious Kāśyapa, who has insight into the good, who is the root of all that

¹ *Yogaṣemin* BSk., Pali *yogakkhemin*.

² *Yoga*, of which there are four, identical with the four *oghas*—or "floods", namely, *kāma*, *bhava*, *dīṭṭhi* and *avijjā*. See P.E.D. for references.

³ Here begins another set of verses in a different metre in eulogy of Kāśyapa. The only explanation of their insertion here is that the compilers may have remembered that the history of Elapatra (Erakapatta) as recounted in the original tale preserved in *DhA.* (*l.c.*) began with his life as a monk under the Buddha Kāśyapa.

is fair,¹ we will guard our morality and keep it serene like the young moon.²

Hewing our way through the trackless jungle and taking the Seer as our master . . .³

But he who breaks up the teaching of him who discerns the highest good, falls away from the Way and passes to the dire hell of Avīci.

On his body there falls like a mountain . . .⁴ like an unending shower of rain, which mangles⁵ the limbs of the woe-afflicted wight. From this deliver us, O thou whose fame is widespread.⁶

I hear of the dharma, although, as one who has lost his sight, I see not him who is like the rising sun. O thou whose splendour is like the comforting sun,⁷ (386) when will there be deliverance for those in the world of brutes ? Who, seeing this body mutilated as the result of vice, would not sob and weep and live a life of virtue ? No more would he delight in pleasures . . .⁸ but he would be steadfast in morality as one who cannot be moved. Do thou proclaim it who dost behold the truth, who art intelligent, of the clan of Maitreya, and dost rout the passion for existence.⁹

¹ But there is a lacuna in the text here.

² Reading *candram iva* for *camariva* (= "like the deer").

³ Although the MSS do not indicate it, Senart is right in saying that there is a lacuna here. The context requires a sentence to express the result of the actions denoted by the two participles. Instead it abruptly goes on to speak of what happens to those who pursue a different line of conduct.

⁴ A lacuna representing the subject of the sentence, which the MSS. give as the inexplicable *sābālikā*.

⁵ *Sāṭeti*, BSk. and Pali, "to destroy", "cut".

⁶ There would seem to be here an omission of some verses in which the luckless man (or men) in hell is made to pray for release. Senart rightly points out the impropriety of these words in the mouth of a deva, and he would assign the words to Elapatra. But it seems better to regard the whole passage as entirely independent of the tale of Elapatra. See p. 382, n. 3.

⁷ ? *āśvāyādityamaricitejā*.

⁸ Lacuna.

⁹ This verse is obscure, as indeed is the whole passage on account of its abrupt introduction into the narrative. The verb *vyākaraṣa* has no object. If we are right in assuming that the passage consists of a eulogy of the Buddha Kāśyapa, it would seem out of place to appeal to him to proclaim Maitreya. It was for him to proclaim rather Śākyamuni Gotama. Besides *Maitreyagotro* is nom. agreeing with *tvam* the subject of *vyākaraṣa*. But even if Śākyamuni is the subject of the eulogy, it is difficult, as Senart admits, to understand why at this point he is urged to proclaim a future Buddha.

Nālaka Kātyāyana¹ bowed his head at the Exalted One's feet and said to him :

My father is the household priest of King Tōnehāra. He is well versed in augury² and adept³ in astrology.

In his compassion and moved by desire for my welfare, my father⁴ said to me, "A Buddha has appeared in the world. Go east and take up the religious life."

And so, Lord, here I have come. Well would it be if thou wouldst ordain me". The Tathāgata replied in words that were full of assurance.

He addressed the brāhman of Kātyāyana's clan and said to him, "Come, monk." Such was his initiation and ordination.

The venerable Kātyāyana⁵ said :

I fully understood⁶ all that Asita said to me, that it was the truth.⁷ Now I ask thee, O Gotama, who art accomplished in all things.

(387) To one who has taken up the homeless life and seeks the life of a monk, tell, O Sage, what is this state of being a sage,⁸ man's highest destiny?

The Exalted One replied :

The state of a sage that you ask about, O Nāla, is hard and difficult to attain. But come, I'll tell you what it is. Be steadfast and strong.

Maintain your equanimity⁹ whether you be reviled or

¹ We now return to the story of Nālaka which was interrupted by the story of Uttara his brother. But the following verses are a dialogue between him and the Buddha, and not all his own words.

² Or "omens", *utpāda* BSk., Pali *uppāda*.

³ *Gatingata*. See p. 180, n. 7.

⁴ It was his uncle Asita who gave him this direction.

⁵ I.e., Nālaka.

⁶ *Ajñāsi* (= *ājñāsi* aor. of *ājñā*) restored by Senart for *anyāsi* of the MSS. But there are other instances of *ny* (= *ññ*) for *jñ* in BSk. See Edgerton, *Gram.*, § 2. 15.

⁷ Allusion to Asita's advice to Nālaka to seek out the Buddha is made in vol. 2 (see p. 39 trans.). His prophecy with regard to Gotama is also given in *Sn.* 679 ff. by way of prologue to Nālaka's questioning of the Buddha. This latter text has afforded Senart many clues for the restoration of the text of this part of the *Mhv.*

⁸ Or "sage-hood", *dharmam mauneyam*.

⁹ *Samānabhāga* = *Samānabhāva* in *Sn.* 702.

spoken well of¹ in the village. Keep ill-will away from your mind. Be calm and humble.²

Women high and low, like flames of fire in a wood, come forth to seduce the sage, but let them not succeed in doing so.³

Abstain from sexual indulgence, and abandon pleasures high and low.⁴ Be frank and free⁵ with both the timid and the stout.⁶

Regarding others like yourself and yourself like others, cause no one to be harmed or killed.

Give up even your small desire. Nay, be wholly without desire, and therefore freed.

Abandon desire and greed to which the common herd are addicted. The wise man will follow the right path⁷ and pass beyond the danger of hell.⁸

¹ Reading, as Senart suggests, *vanditaḥ* for *vanditam* of the text. He also suggests that the Pali (*Sn.* 702) *vanditam* should be changed to the nom. pl. *vanditā*. As the text in both versions stands, the meaning would be "the equanimity which is reviled and praised". It is obvious that Senart's emendation gives a far better sense, for it makes the point that the monk is to preserve his equanimity whether men praise or revile him, and not his attribute. E. M. Hare, *Woven Cadences*, p. 105, unaccountably takes *samānabhāvam* as though it were equivalent to *samāññabhāvam*, and translates "Induce the quiet state of a recluse—mocked at and praised alike by the village."

² Reading *anunnata* "not raised" = *anunnata* (*Sn.* 702), instead of *anumata*, "approved of", which clearly makes no sense here.

³ Literally "let them not seduce him," *taṃ mā pralobhaye*, where *pralobhaye* is the augmentless aorist, 3rd pl. Cf. *lobhaye*, vol. 2, p. 425 (text) and see Edgerton, *Gram.*, p. 229.

⁴ *Parovara* = Pali, *id.*

⁵ Literally, "not obstructed and not impeded," *aviruddho asamruddho*. *Sn.* 704 has *aviruddho asāratto*, which Hare translates "gentle and dispassionate." "Gentle" surely is a loose paraphrase for *aviruddha*. Fausbøll (*S.B.E.*, X, p. 127 of *Sn.* trans.) renders the word "inoffensive". *Viruddha*, among its secondary meanings, can have that of "hostile" or "adverse", that is, it can have an active force, but *samruddha* can only be used, apparently, in its formal passive sense of "completely stopped or checked", etc. If the reading is correct, therefore, both participles equally must be taken in a passive sense, and the verse interpreted to mean that the sage must not withhold himself in opposition to or aloof from the timid and the stout. There is another Pali parallel at *Dh.* 406. *aviruddham viruddhesu*, which Mrs. Rhys Davids (*Min. Anth.*, i. p. 130) translates "whoso among with-standers, withstands not," while Fausbøll (*op. cit.*, p. 93 of *Dh.* trans.) translates "who is tolerant among the intolerant." At *Sn.* 365, Hare translates *aviruddha* by "foe of none".

⁶ *Trasasthāvarā*, properly of animals and plants, but here metaphysically used.

⁷ *Pratipajjeya*, from *pratipadyate* "to enter on a path", restored by Senart after the Pali *paṭipajjeyya* of *Sn.* 706, for *prativarjeya* of the MSS. But the latter would give quite a good sense: "the wise man will avoid them."

⁸ *Tare narakam imam*, "will surmount that hell," sc. which awaits the covetous and greedy, not necessarily as Hare, p. 105, renders, "cross man's purgatory here." The good man suffers no hell in this world or the next.

Then¹ at dawn he will go down to the village to beg for alms. He will not indulge in loud begging² nor rejoice in what the village offers.³

When he has descended on⁴ a village the sage will not rush about in a hurry from house to house. (388) Chary of words⁵ as he begs for food,⁶ he does not make a speech when he has obtained it.⁷

He will wander alone with his bowl in his hand, not dumb,⁸ though he seem to be so. He will not scorn a gift whatever it is,⁹ nor slight the giver.

He will say to him, "You have given; good was it of you. You have not given; good fortune be yours." In both cases he will keep the same frame of mind¹⁰ and avoid all harsh feelings.¹¹

¹ The order in which this verse comes is different in Sn. There are other instances of variation in the order of verses as between Sn. and Mhv.

² *Ahvaya*, Pali *avhāna*. See B.H.S.D. and P.E.D. If this is the sense of the word the verb *abhinandeya* must be translated twice over, "indulge", and "rejoice". It is hardly appropriate in English to speak of "rejoicing" in loud begging. It is possible to avoid this duplication by taking *ahvaya* in the sense of "invitation", as Fausbøll does. Hare loosely translates the corresponding Pali (Sn. 710). "Nor be o'erjoyed by alms offered or borne away," where "alms offered" presumably are the alms the monk is "invited to take." At *Vism.* 68 these two rules of a monk's conduct are expressed somewhat differently, namely as consisting of *avhānānabhinandanā* and *abhihārena anattihikāṭā*, translated by Pe Maung Tin (*Path of Purity*, p. 78), "non-acceptance of invitation" and "absence of wish for a meal to be served."

³ *Abhihāra*.

⁴ *Āsāya* is more than "come to" simply.

⁵ *Chinnakatha* "of broken speech".

⁶ It is surely better to read *ghāseṣaṇo* rather than have two negatives (*na*) in the sentence, the second of which Senart is forced to explain as expletive or emphatic.

⁷ Senart's text has *vācā* (for *vācām*) *prepsutām*, and he explains the line as meaning "Que dans son désir d'obtenir de la nourriture, il n'interrompte pas ses exhortations pour mendier," an interpretation which is neither easy to gather from his text nor appropriate to the context. The MSS. are definitely in favour of some form of *prāpnoti*, so that it is not justifiable to replace *prepsutām* with *payutām*, corresponding to *payutam* of the corresponding Pali verse (Sn. 711). The emendation *prāptavān* "one who has obtained" which has been adopted for the translation here, is near enough to the MS. tradition and gives a reasonable sense.

⁸ *Amūga*, Pali *id.*, Sk. *a-mūka*.

⁹ *Tam tam*, "this or that". But Sn. has *appam*, "little".

¹⁰ Literally "(He will be) like", *sadyiso*, sc. what he was before.

¹¹ *Rukṣatva*, subst. from *rukṣa*, "harsh", "rough", etc. Senart claims that the text here, *rukṣatvaṃ vinivartaye* is superior to that of Sn. 712, *rukṣham va upanivartati*, "he returns to his tree." In support of Senart's claim it may be pointed out that the reading of the Pali would seem to imply that the text is done with instructions for the sage's conduct on his alms-round. But the very next verse (Sn. 713) is still concerned with the same subject, urging the sage to go about dumb, neither scorning the small gift nor despising the giver of it. It is out of place, therefore, for Sn. 712 to speak of his returning to his home at the foot of the tree.

When the sage has finished his alms-round, he should keep to the edge of the forest. Though his stomach be empty he should eat sparingly, have little desire and be not greedy.

And when the sage has come to the foot of the tree and sat down on his seat, he then meditates on what is to be,¹ and should not enjoy himself too much.²

For him in whom there is no flow³ of desire, for the monk⁴ who has cut off the stream⁵ and who has acquitted himself of all duties and tasks, there is no torment of desire.

Thus has the life of repose been described by the all-knowing Buddha. In solitude you will find joy. Thus will you go through the ten regions.⁶

Thus will you attain the state of a sage. Become keen as a razor's edge. Press your tongue against your palate, and thus be restrained of appetite.⁷

Taintless,⁸ unfettered,⁹ leaning against the foot of the tree, let him train himself in solitariness, in the duties of a recluse.

When he has heard of the honest and worthy¹⁰ meditation of those who meditate and have abandoned sensual desire, (389) let my disciple¹¹ train himself in modesty and faith.

¹ Reading *dhyāyati ato bhavyam*. Senart prints *dhyāpayati*, etc., and translates "il détruit l'avenir". Two MSS. have *dhyāyati* and *dhyāyanti* respectively.

² *Ātmānam nātitoṣaye*. The corresponding verse in Pali (Sn. 709) is *jhāyetha rukkhamaḥḥamim attānam abhitoṣayam*—he will meditate at the foot of the tree enjoying himself.

³ *Sariā*, "fig. applied to desire or greed, as in Pali Sn. 3, etc." (B.H.S.D., citing MSV. 3. 54; 57, but not this instance in the Mhv.). Senart says that this word is more suitable here than the obscure Pali *visatā* in the corresponding verse of Sn. (715), arguing that it accords better with the end of the verse—*paridāgho na vijjati*, "où il n'y a pas d'eau il n'y a pas d'assèchement." But such an argument is beside the point. Senart is mistaken in taking the whole verse in a literal sense. *Paridāgha* is not "heat" or "dryness" but the burning torment of desire.

⁴ Reading *bhiksuno*, gen. sg., for *bhiksavo*, nom. pl.

⁵ Sc. of desire.

⁶ Sc. of the world. But for *gamiṣyasi* Sn. 719 has *bhāsihi*, "light up" or "shine through".

⁷ Text has *saṃyato*, "restrained", only. But the meaning is obvious. Sn. 716 is more explicit with *udare saññato* "restrained in regard to your belly".

⁸ *Nirāmagandha*, "free from foul odours". So B.H.S.D. But P.E.D. gives a different etymology.

⁹ *Asita*, BSk., Pali *id.*, = *asrita*, "not leaning on" or "clinging to".

¹⁰ *Rijuraham*, which Senart doubtfully takes to be for *rijarham*. Instead of *rijarham dhyānam*, Sn. 719 has *dhīrānam nigghosam* "the voice of the wise."

¹¹ *Māmaka*, so in Sn. 719. Fausbøll: "my adherent". Hare: "my man".

The Beyond is not a future twice-repeated, nor is it merely a future once-repeated.¹ Various are the courses of conduct revealed by the state of a recluse.

This is what a man learns by observing the streams in chasms and ravines; their flood makes a loud roar. But the great ocean rolls on in silence.

What is empty makes a noise: what is full is silent. The fool is like a pot not quite full;² the wise is like a full pool.

When the sage speaks much it is all on and about the goal. Because he knows nirvana he speaks much for the realisation of it.

He who is wise and moderate of speech, and though he knows, does not speak much, is a sage who merits the state of a sage, is a sage who has attained it.

Here end the Questions of Nālaka.

THE QUESTIONS OF SABHIKA³

The Exalted One, perfectly enlightened and having attained the goal he had set himself, was staying in Benares, in the

¹ This seems to be the only possible rendering, obscure though it is, of the line as it stands. *Guṇāyati* has been taken as divisible into *guṇa-āyati*, which is, however, a strange, if not an impossible compound. If, on the other hand, *guṇāyati* be taken as a causal of *guṇayati*, we could, perhaps, still reach the same sense. The Recluse (i.e., the Buddha) does not multiply the Beyond twice nor indeed once. This might conceivably be a way of saying that once nirvana is attained, there is no recurrence, either twice or once, of the process that led to it. Senart says of this line that he cannot make better sense of it than Fausbøll (l.c.) did of the corresponding Pali (Sn. 714), which runs *na pāram diguṇaṃ yanti na idam ekaguṇaṃ mutam*. Fausbøll translates "they do not go twice to the other shore, (this) is not once thought." The *Mhv.* version is *na pāram dviguṇāyati nāpi caivaṃ guṇāyati*, which would become nearer the Pali and a little more intelligible by the change of *caivam* into *caikam* (*ca-ekam*). Hare (l.c.) renders the Pali, "They fare not yon by twain / Yet single deem it not," the sense of which is by no means obvious. On the whole we may assume that the allusion is to the finality of nirvana, or to one of the groups of the four *pratipādas*, "courses of conduct", which are actually alluded to in the next line.

Miss I. B. Horner, in a letter, gives a most interesting, and probably the correct, interpretation of this obscure passage. The Beyond (*pāram*), she suggests, is not here another world, but the state of happiness or delight, in a word the nirvana, which can be gained in meditation here and now in the present life. Once this meditational bliss has been experienced, the adept can regain it at will any number of times. Hence this Beyond is not a once-repeated future. Nor is it a twice-repeated future, because each recurring experience is completely identical with the first.

² *Unakumbha*. The Pali, Sn. 721, has *aḍḍhakumbha* "a half-filled pot".

³ Cf. Sn. pp. 91 ff.

Deer Park at Rṣivādāna, teaching devas and men, and so on.

Now in Mathurā there lived a guild-president. He was rich and wealthy, having great possessions and property, money, treasures and granaries, abundance of gold and silver and other resources, a large number of elephants, horses, goats and sheep, female and male slaves and men servants. To this guild-president was born a daughter, one of triplets.¹ Considering that she was unlucky² he dedicated her to a religious life. And when she had grown up (390) he bade the nurse, "Take her away from home and you will be given a salary."³ For a nurse had been given her who brought up the young girl and all whose expenses were paid by the guild-president.

The young girl grew up like a blue, red or white lotus, and when she had reached years of discretion⁴ she took up the religious life of a Wanderer. She was trained⁵ as a seer and she mastered all the lore of the Wanderers. She used to hold debate with one or another of the female Wanderers, but none had a wider understanding⁶ than she. Thus she came to have the highest reputation for⁷ eloquence and for proficiency in all branches of learning.

Now there was a certain brāhman who was proficient in the Vedas and master of all branches of learning, adept⁸ in exposition,⁹ and eloquent of speech. He came to Mathurā from the south country. He entered Mathurā with a copper vessel tied¹⁰ to his side, in which he carried a large flaming

¹ *Tryantarā*, "among three". But the meaning must remain doubtful. In the Chinese version she is one of twins.

² As being one of triplets(?).

³ The text does not make it clear to whom this order was given. It has simply *nāṃ pravāḥeḥi va vṛttikā te bheṣyati*, "take her from home (start her in the religious life) and you will have a salary." The nurse is first mentioned in the next sentence.

⁴ *Vijñāprāpta*. See vol. 2, p. 201, n. 4.

⁵ *Sekhita* = *sekhita*, past pt. of *sekhayati*, *sekheti*, "Mg. sehai, denom. from Pali *sek(h)ha*, AMg. *seha*" (B.H.S.D.).

⁶ Literally "was not able to understand farther," *na śaknoti uttarāṃ sandhītum*.

⁷ *Agramākhyāyati*. *Ākhyāyati* in pass. sense. Cf. Pali *aggam akkhāyati*. B.H.S.D. does not note this usage.

⁸ *Gatimgata*.

⁹ *Vaiyākaraṇa*, here, of course, with reference to brāhman scriptures, not to the ninth division of the Buddhist canon so named. See p. 120, n. 4;

¹⁰ *Vethayitvā* from *vethayati*, *vetheti*, Pali *id.*, "MIndic form of Sk. *veṣṭi*" (B.H.S.D.).

torch. In the market-place in the centre of the city he made this announcement. "Is there any one here skilled in words who will have a debate with me?" The people of Mathurā said to him, "Put out that torch. We have here a female Wanderer who is young, of tender years. She will debate with you on the seventh day from this, if that is, you will be able to hold debate with her; so eloquent is she." He replied, "So be it, in seven days I will hold a debate with this female Wanderer, and you, sirs, must attend."

Then the townsmen of Mathurā and the people of the surrounding districts summoned the female Wanderer, and said to her, "A brāhman from the south country has come, who is eloquent, proficient in the Vedas and eager to talk on matters of exposition. Can you hold a debate with him in seven days' time?" She replied, "I am well able to hold a debate with this or any other brāhman. I, too, am eager to speak."

When the townsmen of Mathurā heard the female Wanderer, bells were rung in the town at the cross-roads, at street-entrances and other places for making proclamations,¹ (391) and an announcement was made that the female Wanderer would on the seventh day hold a debate with an eloquent brāhman from the south country. All who wished to listen were to come. Platforms were set up around a stage.² And when they heard of this a great crowd of the country people came to Mathurā.

Then the brāhman thought, "What sort of a Wanderer is she who is going to debate with me? What if I were to have a look at her?" So out of curiosity he went to the dwelling of the Wanderers to make inquiries. When he got there he asked, "Who is this Wanderer who is going to debate in public with the brāhman from the south country?" Those whom he asked pointed out the Wanderer to him sitting in her own cell,³ and reciting in a clear voice and with

¹ *Śravaṇāmukhā*. See p. 93, n. 1.

² Or "an arena". Senart suggests that for *latra rangena*, a better reading would be *caturangena*, as on the next page. This would give "platforms were set up around a square stage or arena."

³ *Pariveṇa*. Though the etymology of this word is unknown, its occurrence in Pali is well authenticated. This is the only instance of it in BSk., however, and Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*) points out that it is really Senart's restoration for what appears in the MSS. to be some form of *purima*, "in front of (him)."

concentration.¹ The brāhman approached the Wanderer and asked her, "Lady, is it you who are going to debate with me in public?" She replied, "Certainly. What doubt can there be? I will debate in public with you or with any other believer."²

Now the brāhman was young and handsome, and the female Wanderer was young and handsome, too, and they fell completely in love with each other at first sight. The brāhman said to the female Wanderer, "Lady, I am in love with you."³ She replied, "And I am in love with you." He said, "Since it is so, lady, let us so arrange that we meet without anyone else knowing. We will come to an understanding before we debate in public. The one who is defeated must become the pupil of the other. There will be nothing strange in the woman being defeated by the man. But if you, a woman, defeat me I shall be reviled and despised by the whole crowd. People will say to me, 'You were defeated by a mere woman's two-inch wit.'⁴ So, lady, arrange it that I defeat you there. Then you will become my pupil, (392) and we can meet each other and no one will know of it." The female Wanderer said, "So be it." And the brāhman having made this plan with her went away.

Then on the seventh day many thousands of people gathered in the square arena. The king of Mathurā came, and the princes and counsellors, the townsmen with the treasurer at their head, the community of traders with the chief merchant at their head, and the college of brāhmins with the king's chaplain at their head. The members of the eighteen guilds came,⁵ and recluses, brāhmins and heretical teachers.⁶ The brāhman, too, came, and the female Wanderer accompanied by several other female Wanderers, and when they had come into the middle of the throng they sat down on their seats.

¹ *Abhisamśhāra*, Pali *abhisankhāra*, properly "intent performance of an action."

² *Śvaddhāvādin*, "one who claims or professes the faith."

³ *Arihika*, with instr. case.

⁴ Or "two-finger wit," *dyangulaprajñā*. Cf. Pali S.I. 129 = *Thig.* 60. "According to comm. on *Therig.* 67, 1-5, the word refers to a feminine habit of taking grains of rice between two fingers to see if the rice is cooked enough." (*B.H.S.D.*)

⁵ *Samāgatavo*. For this plural form see p. 355, n. 4.

⁶ *Gaṇika* = *gaṇin*. The sole example cited in *B.H.S.D.*

The brāhman stood up and made an announcement to the king and the crowd, saying, "Gentlemen, we do a stupid and insensate thing when we enter into a debate with women. It would not be strange if I were to defeat this female Wanderer. Men would only say, 'What is there wonderful in a woman being defeated by a man?' But if the female Wanderer were to defeat me, then I should be reviled and despised by the whole crowd, and men would say to me, 'You have been defeated by a mere woman's two-inch wit.' So I make this announcement before the king and the crowd. If this female Wanderer can defeat me in the presence of this crowd, then I shall be bound to become her pupil, while if I defeat her she must become mine."

The assembly asked the female Wanderer, (393) "What do you think¹ of what this brāhman says?" And she replied, "Let it be as he says."

When this agreement had been made by the brāhman, he handed over his staff to the female Wanderer, and she in turn took off her cloak and gave it to the brāhman,² as a

¹ Literally, "How does it occur to you?" *katham tava utpadyati*.

² This is Senart's interpretation of the Sk. *brāhmaṇam . . . uttaram pratyuddhāreti*, and would certainly seem to be in accord with the context. For as we have just been told that the brāhman held out his staff to the woman, presumably as a gage, so we should expect to hear of some kind of reciprocal action on her part to clinch the bargain. And the sentence, beginning as it does with *parivrājikāpi*, where *api* may be correctly explained as a sign of change of subject ("but she for her part"), would lead us to suppose that such an action was meant to be described. Unfortunately there is a lexicographical difficulty with regard to the verb *pratyuddhāreti*. While Senart cites Childers for the Buddhist use of the substantive *paccuddhara* to denote a ritualistic giving up of a robe, Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*), though citing MSV. 2. 156 for a similar use of the verb, maintains that its meaning here is "to hold back, restrain." According to him the sense is that the woman held back or moderated her answer (*uttaram*, which means "cloak" in Senart's interpretation), that is, she deliberately refrained from doing her best in the debate. This, of course, was the secret purpose of the agreement between the two debaters. But the account of the debate has not yet begun, and when it does we are told that for seven days each matched the other's statements with counter-statements. The basic sense of the verb in both BSk. and Pali is, according to Edgerton, "to remove". But it is not easy to accept the logic of the stages through which this meaning becomes gradually modified until finally it comes to mean "to moderate". *Pratyuddhāreti* has, therefore, been taken in its literal sense of "to take off in return." *Tam brāhmaṇam* remains accusative of the recipient under either interpretation. Miss I. B. Horner, in a letter, says that she would now be inclined to revise her note on *paccuddharati* in *Bk. of Disc.*, 2, p. 22, n. 3, and is of the opinion that "to give or hand over formally" makes better sense than "to take away", both on p. 22, and pp. 411, 412 of the same volume.

mark¹ of participating in the agreement. And so they spent that day in making statement and counter-statement, but neither was able to defeat the other. And as that day so the whole week went by. Men who came home so very late from the meeting were asked by their womenfolk, "How is it that you are so late to-day, and all the week as well?" They replied, "Do you not know the reason why we are so late? There is a brāhman here who has come from the south country. He is proficient in the six Vedangas, adept in all the lore and in exposition. He has been debating a whole week with the female Wanderer, but he cannot defeat her." The women said to their husbands, "You see then how clever women are. What man is there who can excel a woman in intelligence and in discussion?" The men thought, "If that brāhman be in any way defeated by that female Wanderer, then for all time the women will despise us and think us not worth a straw."² The majority of the whole city became favourable to the male Wanderer rather than to the female.³

On the next day, when the crowd came together, the brāhman made a reply to the female Wanderer and she wilfully refrained from countering it.⁴ Then the crowd shouted "Hurrah! The victory is the brāhman's. The female Wanderer is beaten." The brāhman made her raise up⁵ his staff and hold his sunshade and shoes. She thus revealed herself in the eyes of the crowd to be in the state of pupillage. The

¹ "In order to", *arīham*. But the whole compound of which it forms the last part is difficult to explain. As the text has it, it reads *samajyā-pratyānubhāvārīham*. *Samajyā* is possibly to be emended into *samaya*, the word already used in this passage for "agreement", unless it can be assumed that *samajyā*, "a gathering together", may like *samaya*, "a coming together", also have the meaning of "agreement". But the expression must remain doubtful. Senart renders, "pour s'en servir personnellement au cours de cette réunion", and Edgerton (*l.c.*, under *samajyā*), "in order to participate in the public meeting."

² Literally "produce grass-notions (concerning us)," *trīṇasamjñām pi tā utpādayensuḥ*.

³ The text runs *nagaram sarvaṃ yobhūyena . . . parivrājikasya yobhūyena . . . parivrājikāye anukūlakam samvṛitam*, which would give the sense that the city became favourable mostly to both. The translation given above assumes the accidental dropping (haplography) of the negative *na* after the second *yobhūyena*. Miss I. B. Horner notes the implication here that Wanderers could be brāhmins as well as recluses.

⁴ Literally, "was not replied to (by her)," *na pratyānubhāṣati* from *pratyānubhāṣati*. See *B.H.S.D.* for an instance of this verb in Sk.

⁵ *Arūpayitvā* from *ārūpayati*, BSk. = Sk. *ārūpayati*.

brāhman (394) went to the dwelling-place of the female Wanderer, and there they lived together to their mutual pleasure. As a result of frequent intercourse the female Wanderer became pregnant.

They then left Mathurā and went travelling through the provinces of the south country. After nine or ten months they came to Śvetavalākā,¹ where they lodged for the night. In the inn² there the female Wanderer was delivered, and a boy was born, who was lovely, handsome, possessing the flower of perfect beauty. As the boy had been born in an inn they gave him the name Sabhika.³

The young brāhman was brought up by his parents. When in due course he had reached years of discretion,⁴ he was taught writing, numeration,⁵ mnemonics,⁶ and mathematics.⁷ He was taught all the lore of a Wanderer, and he became an eloquent preacher.

He sailed over the ocean as he sought for a wise man in one who was not wise.⁸ He wandered through the sixteen great provinces, and, coming to Benares, he went to the Exalted One in the Deer Park at Rṣivādāna.

Sabhika the Wanderer exchanged friendly and courteous greetings with the Exalted One, and sat down to one side. He then asked a question of the Exalted One.⁹

In doubt and perplexity I have come hither wishful to ask a question. The question that Sabhika now asks do thou, Lord, answer duly, properly, correctly and truthfully.

The Exalted One replied:

(395) From afar have you come hither, O Sabhika, wishful to ask a question. I will reply to your question and answer it duly, properly, correctly and truthfully.

¹ Apparently mentioned only here.

² *Sabhā*. Cf. Pali *id.*, J. 1. 302. But *D.P.N.* says "her child was born in the open (*sabhāyam*), hence his name."

³ He is called Sobhiya in the Chinese version (Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 280), but the explanation of his name is the same there as it is here, which shows that the correct form should be Sabhiya.

⁴ *Vijñāprāpti*. See vol. 2, p. 201, n. 4.

⁵ *Gaṇanā*. See vol. 2, p. 376, 387.

⁶ *Dhāraṇa*. See *ibid.*

⁷ *Nikṣepaṇa*, "working at mathematical problems" (?) So *B.H.S.D.*

⁸ Or, "a Buddha in one who was not a Buddha," *abuddhe buddham mārgati*.

⁹ The verses following are practically identical with those of *Sn.* 510 ff.

When this had been spoken Sabhika the Wanderer said to the Exalted One:

What has a man attained that he should be called a monk? How does he come to be called gentle¹ and tamed? How does one come to be styled a Buddha? This do I ask, and do thou, Lord, answer duly, properly, correctly and truthfully.

When this had been spoken the Exalted One said to Sabhika the Wanderer:

He who by a path he has himself made has won complete release and passed beyond all doubt, who has learnt what cessation of becoming² is and what coming-to-be, who has finished his life in the world and is no more liable to rebirth—he is a monk.

Ever patient and mindful, he harms no one in the world; he is an immaculate recluse who has crossed the stream. He does not, puffed up with pride,³ contract any āśrava.⁴

He who in this world has developed his faculties, (396) both those within and those without, who has plumbed⁵ this world and the world beyond, and awaits the end⁶ well-trained—he is the tamed man.

He who has scattered⁷ all false fancies,⁸ the ills of rebirth, passing away and coming-to-be,⁹ who is free of blemish, defilement and sin, and who has reached the stopping and ending of life—he is called a monk.¹⁰

¹ The text (so MSS.) has here *svrata* "pious", which does not suit the context. It must be regarded as a mistaken Sk. equivalent of the BSk. *surata* or *sūrata*, corresponding to the Pali *sorata*, "gentle, kind, self-restrained". See *P.E.Ā.* and *B.H.S.D.* The latter does not note the occurrence of *svrata* here.

² *Vibhava*.

³ *Utsanna*, "excessive", as in Pali *ussanna*, the adjective corresponding to *ussada*, BSk. *utsada* (see vol. I, p. 6, n. 1), from *udsyand*. The Sk. *utsanna* (*ud-sad*) in the sense of "raised" "exalted", would not be quite inapposite, but the corresponding Pali, *ussadā yassa na santi* (*Sn.* 516), makes it clear that the former is the right interpretation here.

⁴ *Na karoti āśravam*. The Pali has *sorato so*, "he is the gentle man."

⁵ After Hare, *op. cit.*, p. 78, for *nirvidhya*, "penetrating".

⁶ *Kālam rakṣati*.

⁷ *Vikṛiya*. *Sn.* 517 has *viceyya*, "discerning", with which both Fausbøll and Hare take *kalpāni* (see next note) in the sense of times.

⁸ *Kalpāni*. See *B.H.S.D.*, for this sense of the word.

⁹ *Catūpapātām*, i.e. *cata-upapātām*. Senart retains *cata* for *cuta*, the BSk. and Pali form for *cyuta*, as he cannot decide whether the form is due to a scribal error or whether it is not the form found in the original text.

¹⁰ In *Sn.* 517, this is the definition of a "Buddha".

Then Sabhika the Wanderer, delighted at the words of the Exalted One, asked him a further question :

What has a man attained that he should be called a brāhman?¹ How does a man come to be called a recluse, and how "one who has bathed"? How does a man come to be called a pure Nāga? This, Lord, I ask thee. Do thou reply duly, properly, correctly and truthfully.

When this had been spoken the Exalted One said to Sabhika the Wanderer :

He who has kept away² from all sins, who is stainless, well-composed and steadfast; he who has passed beyond³ the whole round of recurrent life, who has lived his life, and is no longer liable to rebirth—he is a brāhman.

He who is tranquil, having abandoned all merit and its maturing,⁴ he who is passionless, knowing this world and the world beyond, (397) who has overcome birth and death—such an one is truly called a recluse.

He who has washed away all his sins, within, without, in all the world; who does not again come to the world of time among devas and men who are subject to time⁵—he is "one who has bathed".⁶

He who commits no wrong⁷ in the world, who sheds the

¹ Sc. in the Buddhist sense; and so for the other terms.

² Bāhetva, that is, vāhetva, cf. Pali bāheti.

³ Avetya = ava-itya. Philologically this is the equivalent of Pali avecca, which form is, however, "not sufficiently cleared semantically" (P.E.D.), for it is used in the sense of "certainly", "definitely", "absolutely", etc. The corresponding Pali verse (Sn. 519), has aticca, that is, ati-itya. The Mhvu. text, however, may not be correct. One MS. has ayatya, which is possibly a corruption of aītya.

⁴ Punyavipāka, or, perhaps, "reward of merit," or "maturing of merit". Sn. 520 has puññapāpam "merit and sin," or better, "good and evil" and as Senart says, the metre requires punyapāpam here also. In Mhvu. i. 316 (text) we have exactly the same expression as in Sn.

⁵ Reading devamanuṣyeḥi kalpiyehi (instr. for loc.) on the analogy of devamanuṣsesu kappiyesu of Sn. 521. In the text reading, devamanuṣyeḥi kalpiātāni, the latter must bear the sense of "vain imaginings" (see p. 395, n. 8); it can hardly be a past part. pass. agreeing with pāpakāni of the first pāda.

⁶ Reading, as Senart suggests, punaḥ sa for punar. The final me of the verse is difficult. Senart renders "pour moi", "suivant moi," that is, taking it as an ethic dative. It would seem better to go further than Senart in emending and restore the text as punar āhu snātako ti, "they (the punar has been taken with the preceding clause) call him "one who has bathed."

⁷ Agum (sic for āgun) na karoti, the popular etymology of Nāga. See vol. I, p. 35, n. 4.

bonds that tie him to all attachments, who is ever independent and free—such an one is truly called a Nāga.

Then Sabhika the Wanderer said to the Exalted One :

What has a man attained that he should be called an expert in knowledge?¹ How do men say that one is learned and how do they say that one is energetic? And how does a man come to be styled a sterling man? This question do I ask thee, Lord, and do thou answer duly, properly, correctly and truthfully.

When this had been spoken the Exalted One said to Sabhika the Wanderer :

He who has tested² all the experiences³ of recluses (and brāhmans),⁴ he, rid of passion in all feelings, having passed beyond all feelings, is the expert in knowledge.

(398) He who has seen through⁵ illusive⁶ individuality within and without, recognising that it is instinct with passion;⁷ he who has been delivered from the bond at passion's root, such an one is truly called a learned man.

He who has cast off his bonds, is full of striving;⁸ he who has realised the stopping of ill, who is rid of defilement and always protects others⁹—he is truly called an energetic man.

He whose bonds have all been broken, within, without, in all the world, and is delivered from the bonds of passion, him do the very wise men call a sterling man.

¹ Vedaka, Pali vedagū, in the Buddhist sense, of course, not with reference to the Vedas. Cf. Nā.2. 612, where vedagū is defined as one having catusu maggesu ñānam, "knowledge of the four Paths."

² Vicārya. Sn. 529 has viceyya.

³ Vedāni, so translated here, as there is twice in the verse a play on the common root of veda "knowledge", and vedanā, "feeling" or "sensation".

⁴ Lacuna in text; the translation is supplied from Sn. 529.

⁵ Reading, as Senart suggests, anuvidya, to correspond with anuvicca (= anuvijja) of Sn. 530, for abhāvelvā of the text.

⁶ Prapañca, Pali papañca, "a word which in Pali and BSk. is very hard to define" (Edgerton, B.H.S.D.). Cf. P.E.D.

⁷ Rāgabhūta. Sn. 530 has rogamūlam "root of disease."

⁸ Pradhānavat, for pradhānavat, Pali padhānavat. Not given in the dictionaries, but cf. BSk. prahāṇa (for pradhāṇa), Pali padhāṇa. See vol. 2, p. 120, n. 2. This definition of the energetic man differs considerably from that in Sn. 531.

⁹ Nānyān sarvatra na rakṣati. But the text must be regarded as very doubtful.

Again did Sabhika the Wanderer ask a question of the Exalted One :

"Then there is the man who is a knower of the field,"¹ said Sabhika as he asked a question of the Sage. "How, I pray thee, is a man called a sage? This question I ask of thee, Lord, and do thou answer duly, properly, correctly and truthfully."

When this had been spoken the Exalted One said to Sabhika the Wanderer :

He who has control² over all fields, of devas, of men and of Brahmā, (399) and is freed from every bond that lies at the root of the fields,³ such an one is truly called a knower of the field.

He who has tested⁴ all the treasures of devas, of men and of Brahmā, and is freed from bondage to any treasure—such an one is truly called an expert.⁵

He who has tested⁶ both kinds of senses,⁷ those within and those without ; who has overcome the root of light and the

¹ Kṣetrajña, alluding probably to the field of karma. But Sn. 523 has *kṣetrajña*, "conqueror of the field of the senses" according to Hare, *op. cit.*, p. 79, who here follows SnA. 2. 428.

² *Samyama*, but the verbal form *saṃyama* is surely needed here. It is curious to note that in the four instances where Sn. has *viceyya*, "discerning", the *Mhv.* has a different verb each time ; see p. 395, n. 7 (*vikīrya*) ; p. 397, n. 2 (*vicārya*), *saṃyama* here, and *vicārya* again, n. 5.

³ *Sarvamūlakṣetrabandhana*. This compound would be more logically arranged as in Sn. 524, *sabbakkhettamūlabandhana*. But the exact meaning of *mūlabandhana* is obscure. P.E.D. says "fundamental bond (?) " or "set of causes (?)". Fausbøll, *op. cit.*, p. 89 renders "radical bond", and Hare, *op. cit.*, p. 79, "all their roots and bines." Perhaps the expression becomes clearer if *kṣetra* is taken as = "field of the senses". The bond then that lies at the root, or is the root, of the field, that is, is the cause of sensual life, is attachment to the world.

⁴ *Vicārya*, for *viceyya* of Sn. 525.

⁵ *Kuśala*, apparently with a play on the words *kośa*, "treasury" and *kuśala*. Our text, however, does not contain the question asking for the definition of this term.

⁶ *Vicārya*, for *viceyya* of Sn. 526.

⁷ This translation is made from the corresponding Pali. The text has *ubhayāni prahīṇāni*, which Senart says is preferable to the text of Sn. 526. He says that the expression refers to the two kinds of action, good and bad. But how the past part. pass. *prahīṇa*, "abandoned", comes to have this sense, it is impossible to see. The Pali has *ubhayāni paṇḍarāni*, which Fausbøll, *op. cit.*, p. 90, renders "two kinds of senses." Hare, *op. cit.*, p. 78, renders "twin warring states," referring *paṇḍarāni* to root *bhaṇḍati*, "to quarrel" (cf. *paṇḍa* = *bhaṇḍam* P.E.D.). The P.E.D. gives to *paṇḍara* only the sense of "white, pale yellowish". It is worth noting, however, that SnA. 2, 430 explains *paṇḍarāni* by *āyatanāni*, *tāni hi pakatiparisuddhattā rūlhiyā ca evaṃ vuccanti*. This last reference is due to Miss I. B. Horner.

root of darkness—such an one is truly called a skilled man.¹

He who knows the dharma of the good and the bad ; who is emancipated of heart, within and without ; who is honoured of devas and men and has escaped the contamination of ties—he is a sage.

Then Sabhika the Wanderer said to the Exalted One :²

"What has a man attained that he should be called learned? Why is one called an Āryan? How does a man come to be called a man of good conduct? And what is a Wanderer? This question do I ask of thee, Lord. Do thou answer duly, properly, correctly and truthfully."

When this had been spoken the Exalted One said to Sabhika the Wanderer :

He who hears and understands all things, the blame-worthy and the blameless, in the worlds of devas and of men ; (400) who is unselfish,³ ungrasping, pure and free from evil⁴—such an one do they call a learned man.

He who has cut out⁵ all clingings and all āśravas⁶ : who has escaped his bonds, who goes no more to lie in a womb, and who has no delight in sinful things—such an one is truly called an Āryan.

He who has achieved all that can be achieved in conduct⁷ ; who with perfect knowledge surmounts all things and is endowed with knowledge and conduct—he is truly called "one whose conduct is good."

He who, faring with understanding, eschews everything⁸ that bears ill fruit, above, below, between, in the worlds of

¹ *Paṇḍita*. In Sn. 526 there is a play on the words *paṇḍara* and *paṇḍita*.

² The following verse has too long a lacuna to admit of restoration. But the first word of the verse, *īrotiya*, is preserved, and this together with the verses given in reply, shows that the missing verse corresponded to Sn. 533. The translation here given is of the latter text.

³ Reading, with one MS., *amamo* for *asamo*, "unequaled", of the text.

⁴ *Anigha*. See vol. 2, p. 339, n. 1, and now add B.H.S.D.

⁵ Literally "abandoned", *hitvā*. Sn. 535 has *chetvā*, and this, or *chitvā* should probably be read here also.

⁶ Reading as Edgerton (B.H.S.D. s.v. *āsaya*) suggests *āśravāni* for *āsayāni* of the text. The latter could only be for *āsayāni*, "intentions", which, as Edgerton points out, is not used in the pejorative sense required here.

⁷ The *me* in this line is inexplicable, unless it be an ethic dative, which is very improbable. Could not the right reading be *iha*, "here" corresponding to *idha* in Sn. 536?

⁸ *Dharmā*. Sn. 537 has *karma*.

devas and of men ; who makes an end of deceit¹ and pride, and of wrath and greed, and of individuality—him do men call a Wanderer who has attained what is to be attained.

Then Sabhika the Wanderer gratified with and grateful for the eloquent words of the Exalted One extolled him in these appropriate verses :

(401) *In thy great wisdom thou, O Hero, hast cleared² from the path the three and sixty tenets based on the arguments of recluses,³ based on taking sound for sense,⁴ those outworn creeds.⁵*

Thou art the ender of ill ; thou hast passed through all states. Thou art perfect Buddha, rid of all the āśravas. Thou art glorious, resolute, replete with wisdom. Making an end of ill thou art free of all passion.

O Sage, thou hast successfully and unwaveringly trod the path of sagedom. O Peerless One, kinsman of the sun, thou art a gentle⁶ giver of freedom.

When thou, O Nāga of Nāgas,⁷ O great Hero, speakest, all the devas rejoice, and both Nārada and Parvata⁸ as well.

The Man of insight explained things to me when he saw

¹ *Māyam*, neut. for fem. *māyā*.

² *Osaresi*. But this whole line as well as the corresponding one at Sn. 538 is regarded as corrupt. It may be questioned, however, whether the *Mhu*. line is really as corrupt and inexplicable as it is made out to be, for example, by Edgerton in *B.H.S.D.*, s.v. *osaraṇa*, and by the editors of *Sn.*, p. 100, n. 8. *Osaresi* can well be explained as being from *avaśirati*, of which Edgerton himself says, "it is also spelled with *ś* or *s* for *ś*, and MSS. sometimes show "a" for "i" after the sibilant, *ośarati*, *osarati* . . . cf. Pkt. Lex. *osiraṇa* = *vyutsarjana*, *parityaja*." He then refers to Senart's note on p. 390 of vol. 1, where the latter cites many instances of a verb variously spelled *osarati*, *osirati* and *ośirati* and meaning "to abandon, reject, etc.", to which the most closely corresponding verb in Sk. would seem to be *avasrij*. See Vol. 2 (trans.) p. 253, n. 5, p. 393, nn. 1 and 4. Senart's rendering of the line is unfortunate. He takes *osaraṇa* in the sense of "doctrine" in general, and *mārgā* as gen., instead of abl., and renders "tu as rejeté les doctrines de la (bonne) voie" (!).

³ *Śramaṇaprapāḍiṇīśrītāni*.

⁴ *Samjñāṣarasaṃjñāniśrītāni*.

⁵ *Osaraṇāni*, pl. of *osaraṇa*, for the meaning of which see n. 2. Cf. *SnA*. 538, *osaraṇāni* = *ogahanāni* *tiṭṭhāni*, *diṭṭhiyo*.

⁶ *Subhaurata*, which cannot have its Sk. sense here, and must be regarded as a variant or even an error for *suvarata*, elsewhere found in this sūtra for *sūrata* = Pali *sorata*. See p. 395, n. 1. *Sn*. 540 has *sorata*.

⁷ No doubt the term here has reference to the definition of *nāga* given above.

⁸ Two well-known brāhman sages. For the former see vol. 2 (trans.), p. 50, n. 5.

that I was in doubt.¹ All these troubles are dispelled and ended.

Truly, O Sage, thou art perfect Buddha. No longer are there any hindrances.² By neither merit nor sin art thou soiled.

Thou art cooled and tamed, glorious³ and truthful. O Hero, put forth thy feet, that Sabhika may bow down at them.

Then was Sabhika converted by the Exalted One to mastery over the powers, and ordained and initiated with the words "Come, monk." Such was the ordination, initiation and admission into monkhood of the venerable Sabhika.

Here ends the story of Sabhika, his questions, the ending of his āśravas, and his ordination.

YAŚODA⁴

The Exalted One was staying in Benares, on the banks of the river Varanā,⁵ teaching devas and men *and so on*.⁶ Now on the banks of the river Varanā there was a huge banyan-tree with wide-spreading roots, a big trunk and thickly growing branches and leaves. It was a handsome, lovely tree, looming dark (402) like a black cloud.⁷ A prayer which a man chanced to make at that banyan-tree was answered.⁸ Therefore great veneration and honour were paid to the tree. Seeing what had happened to that man, other men and

¹ Reading, on the analogy of *Sn*. 540, *yaṃ me kāṅkṣitam ājñāsi*, for *ahaṃ kāṅkṣitamanveṣe*, which would give the irrelevant sense—"I followed one who was in doubt."

² *Nivaraṇāni*. See vol. I, p. 117, n. 1.

³ *Dyutimān*. *Sn*. 542 has *dhitimā* (= *dhṛitimā*), "resolute".

⁴ The same story, with certain variations, is found in the *Mahāvagga* (V. 1. 15 ff). Windisch (*op. cit.*, p. 26) points out that the details of Yasa's (or Yaśoda's) youth and upbringing formed the model for the later history of Gotama's youth. See *Yasa* in *D.P.N.*

⁵ See *D.P.N.*

⁶ *Vistareṇa nidānam kṛtvā*.

⁷ *Āñjanameghasamākāśa*. But Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*) says, against *P.E.D.*, that there is no authority for the use of *añjana* as an adj. This example seems to prove him wrong.

⁸ Literally "flourished" or "prospered", etc., *sampriddha*.

women, believing that the banyan-tree answered prayers, came and prayed to it. The banyan-tree became known to the whole of Benares as a tree which answered prayers,¹ for whatever a man prayed for at that tree came to pass.

There was once a man who approached a goddess to pray for prosperity. And quite by chance he secured it.² It is just like this that false beliefs arise.

In the city of Benares there was a guild-president who was rich, wealthy and opulent, having great possessions and property, much money and money's worth, large treasures and granaries, abundance of gold, silver and other resources, and a large number of elephants, horses, sheep and goats, and female and male slaves and servants. But he had no son. In order to try and have a son he made several hundreds of sacrifices and prayers, but without success.

Then the guild-president's wife heard that on the banks of the river Varanā there was a banyan-tree which answered prayers;³ whoever made a prayer there had the prayer answered. And so she said to the guild-president, "My good man, I have heard that on the banks of the river Varanā there is a big banyan-tree which answers prayers;⁴ whoever prays at that tree has his prayer answered. Let us go there to the banyan-tree and pray for a son."⁵

The guild-president then, with his retinue and with great pomp and ceremony, went to the banyan-tree. He rendered it great veneration and worship, and with his wife addressed a prayer to it, saying, (403) "We wish to have a son through thee.⁶ If a son is born to me, I shall set up a shrine here and in it render thee great veneration and worship."

¹ Literally, "known because of its being a thing having true prayer" *satyopayācanāto abhiññāta*.

² *Yadricchayā tam padamupaneti*, "by accident (spontaneously) he reached that stage." This follows Senart's interpretation of *upaneti* as = *upeti* (*upaiti*), with *n* as a hiatus-bridger. See p. 86, n. 1, where reference is made to Edgerton's stricture on this interpretation (*Gram.* § 4. 65), and his suggested alternative reading *param upanamati*. But it is not easy to give a translation of this new reading which would suit the context.

³ *Satyopayācanam*, a neuter substantive, not an adj. in agreement with *nyagrodho*. See n. 1.

⁴ *Satyopayācano*, an adj. here.

⁵ Cf. Sujātā's offering to a banyan-tree, vol. 2, p. 126, n. 7.

⁶ *Tava mūlāto*, "from you".

Women are able to coerce men. When a man is successful, his wife is the cause of it. And when great heroes are slain in battle, women again are the cause of their misfortunes.

The guild-president's wife also offered a prayer. "O banyan-tree," said she, "thou art reputed to answer prayers. Just as the guild-president has promised thee a shrine and honour and worship, so I do also. But if thou dost not grant me a son, then shall I cut thee down to the very roots."

Now a tree deva of the same name as the tree dwelt there, that is, in the banyan-tree there resided a deva called Banyan.¹ And when that deva was prayed to by the guild-president's wife in that way, he became alarmed. "For," said he, "I do not give to anyone, nor take away from anyone.² But now here is this guild-president's wife who prays to me on these terms, namely, that if she does not have a son, she will have this dwelling-place of mine cut down with an axe."

So Banyan the deva entreated³ Śakra, lord of devas, saying to him, "O Kauśika,⁴ I do not give to anyone nor take away from anyone. But now here is this guild-president who has rendered veneration and worship at my dwelling and offered up a prayer. This is then my request, that it be so arranged that this guild-president of Benares may have a son, lest my dwelling-place be cut down." Śakra, the lord of devas, reassured Banyan the deva, saying, "Be not afraid. I will so arrange that he will have a son and that your dwelling-place be not cut down."

(404) At that time in the world of the Trāyastriṃśa devas there was a certain deva who was meritorious, distin-

¹ Or "Nyagrodha."

² The text here is difficult. Senart prints *na kasya cidemināpi ācchindāmi*, where *eminā* is inexplicable. Senart proposes to emend into *cid manāpi* (for *manāgapi*), and render "Je n'ai jamais été coupé (taking *ācchindāmi* in passive sense) si peu que ce fût (*manāgapi*) par personne." Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*, s.v. *acchindati*) proposes a different restoration: *aham na kasyaci demi nāpi ācchindāmi* (adopting the form and meaning of Pali *acchindati*). This certainly gives a clear grammatical construction, and makes excellent sense. For the BSk. (= Pali) *ācchindati* (so written by Senart), see vol. 2, p. 434 (text) and vol. 3, 7 (text).

³ *Adhiṣṭa*, past. part. pass. of *adhyeṣati*. See *B.H.S.D.*

⁴ I.e., Śakra. See vol. 2, p. 49, n. 4 and p. 60, n. 10.

guished, of great magic and power, who had rendered service to former perfect Buddhas, whose root of merit was mature, who was near nirvana, liable to only one more rebirth and in a condition to depart from¹ among the devas of Trāyastriṃśa. Śakra, lord of the devas, spoke to him thus. "You are in a condition to depart, for the signs of it are manifest. You will therefore pass away hence and be reborn. Reappear then in the womb of the guild-president's wife." The deva replied to Śakra, lord of the devas, saying, "I do want to be reborn among men, for I should then take up the religious life following the teaching of the exalted Buddha and thus make an end of ill. But it will not do for me to be reborn in Benares in the guild-president's family, because his family will provide me with pleasant things and bar the way to good states. I will, therefore, be reborn in some middle-class family. Then to my heart's content and without impediment I shall embrace the religious life after the teaching of the Exalted One and shall make an end of ill."

Śakra replied and said, "Set your heart on rebirth in that guild-president's family. For I will see to it that you will go forth from home and embrace the religious life after the teaching of the Exalted One." So at the bidding of Śakra, lord of the devas, that deva set his heart on the family of the guild-president, Oka.² Leaving the devas of Trāyastriṃśa he reappeared in the womb of the wife of the guild-president in Benares, and after a period of nine or ten months she was delivered.

She gave birth to a boy who was lovely, handsome, noble of appearance, possessing the perfect flower of beauty. When he was born, the guild-president celebrated joyous birthday festivities. (405) Drink and solid and soft foods, perfumes, garlands and ointments were dispensed to recluses and brāhmanas, to the poor and the beggars, and to other people. Oil, ghee and drink flowed in streams. When a week was up a number of brāhmanas skilled in astrology were summoned and bidden to give a name to the boy. They gave him a name, calling him Yaśoda. The brāhmanas were then regaled

¹ *Cyavanadharmā*.

² The first time he has been named.

and served with solid and soft foods, given a large quantity¹ of gold and money,² and then dismissed. Four nurses were put in charge of Yaśoda. One anointed and bathed him; the second suckled him; the third washed off his faeces and urine, and the fourth carried him about in her arms. So the young Yaśoda grew up like a blue or red or white lotus. As was said by the Exalted One:

The meritorious man grows like a banyan-tree; but the man of little merit becomes stunted like a tree planted in the roadway.³

When the lad had reached years of discretion⁴ he was taught writing, mathematics,⁵ mnemonics,⁶ and business. His father had three palaces built for him, one for the winter, the second for the summer and the third for the rainy season, and established for him a harem of sixty thousand women. These palaces had staircases fitted by means of mechanical devices⁷ which took five hundred men to bring up and remove. And when they were being brought up and removed the noise could be heard for half a *yojana*.

Now a kinsman⁸ who had been to the eastern country on business returned home. The guild-president sent him a message, saying, (406) "Come and see the prowess of my son." So the kinsman came to the guild-president's house. The guild-president made him sit down on the same sofa as he. He then called for the young Yaśoda, who, having saluted his father and his kinsman, was also made to sit on the same

¹ *Utsanga*. This expression has already occurred in vol. 2, p. 421 (text), where the translator (vol. 2, p. 374, n. 2) has suggested that *utsanga* can well be taken, in its sense of "lap". They were given, that is, a "lapful" of gold. This seems more natural than saying "a high-number" (say "myriads") of gold. This latter is the sense given by Senart to *utsanga*, however, on the basis of *Lal. Vist.* 76. It is now seen that Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*) gives it the same sense, but it is pertinent to note that he quotes the Tibetan definition of the word in the *Mvyut.* as meaning "lap-top".

² *Hiranyasuvarṇa*. Better, perhaps, "gold" simply.

³ This verse has already been quoted with reference to Ikṣvāku. See vol. 2, p. 423 (p. 376, trans.).

⁴ *Viññāprāpti*.

⁵ *Nikṣepaṇa*. See p. 394, n. 7.

⁶ *Dhāraṇa*.

⁷ *Yantramantrayukhāni soppānāni*.

⁸ *Dvītyakulika*, which Senart interprets as "wife's kinsman". But Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*) doubts this meaning, as it would require *dvītyā-*, and he would prefer to give the word the meaning of "a second or fellow kinsman." On the next page *kulika* alone is used.

sofa. So all three settled themselves on one and the same sofa.

Then it happened that the king sent a message to the guild-president, telling him that there was some urgent state business to be done and that he was to come at once. The guild-president said to his kinsman, "Sit here with the lad until I return from the king's palace." He then went to the king's palace, and his kinsman, who was a layman, sat with the young lad Yaśoda.

Now when the kinsman saw the accomplishments of Yaśoda, the guild-president's son, he thought, "Surely this boy must not be accepted¹ as a home-dweller, though he has such ample means of enjoyment at his disposal. There is no doubt that he is to be accepted as one who has rendered service to a Buddha, Pratyekabuddhas and distinguished disciples, who has been given all good qualities, has the memory of past lives,² has achieved a previous association with a Buddha,³ who is unique, and who has planted the roots of merit.⁴ If the lad were to see the exalted Buddha, the deva above all devas, it would do him great good."⁵ The layman then said, "My boy, all youth ends in old age, all good health in sickness, all life in death, and all prosperity in adversity. From all things dear and pleasant sooner or later there comes parting⁶ and separation and deprivation. You will leave this father of yours or you will leave this life. Have you not, my boy, seen the Exalted One?" The lad asked, "Whom do you mean by the Exalted One?" The layman answered and said, "I mean the deva who is above all devas, the Exalted One, Tathāgata, Arhan, perfect Buddha, (407) who is gifted with knowledge and conduct,

¹ *Ichchilavya*, according to a normal use of Sk. *icchatī*, "to wish". See B.H.S.D., where, in apposition to Senart's theory that *icchilavya* stands here for *iṣṭilavya*, "to be regarded", it is pointed out that in Pali and Prakrit *icchatī* seems always to represent Sk. *iṣ* "to desire". Still *iṣṭilavya* is the more straightforwardly apposite word, though the sense is clear on either interpretation.

² *Vāṣṭavāsana*.

³ *Kṛitapūrvayoga*. Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) says that Senart in his note on i. 267 is wrong in assuming that *pūrvayoga* necessarily implies "réunion antérieure" with a Buddha. But the context here, and probably always, implies such an association. Cf. vol. 2, p. 245, n. 2.

⁴ *Avatūṣṭakūṣalamūla*. See vol. 2, p. 295, n. 3.

⁵ Literally, "he would be joined to or endowed with great good," *mahatārthena saṃyujyeya*.

⁶ *Nānābhāva*. B.H.S.D. cites a similar usage in MPS. 3.

the Sugata, the peerless knower of the world, the driver of tameable men, teacher of devas and men, who has the thirty-two marks of a Great Man and his eighty lesser characteristics, whose body is radiant, who is gifted with the eighteen special attributes of a Buddha, who is strong with the ten powers of a Tathāgata, who is confident on the four grounds of confidence, who is gracious and comforting, who has his faculties and mind under control, who has attained the utmost perfection of self-restraint and calm, who is like a Nāga, who has accomplished his task, whose faculties are turned inwards not outwards, who is resolute and has attained conformity with the dharma, who is a Nāga with his faculties well-guarded and subdued, who is transparent as a pool, not turbid, but serene, erect like a bejewelled or golden sacrificial post, who shines in glory like a flame of fire, who is lovely, not repellent to behold. He is staying here in Benares, on the farther bank of the river Varāṇā, himself released and with a company of men who are released, himself tranquil and with a company of men who are tranquil, himself self-controlled and with a company of men who are self-controlled, himself a brāhman¹ and with a company of men who are brāhmins, himself learned² and with a company of men who are learned, himself bathed³ and with a company of men who have bathed, himself expert in knowledge⁴ and with a company of men who are expert in knowledge, himself having passed beyond ill and with a company of men who have passed beyond ill, himself standing on firm ground and with a company of men standing on firm ground. He has left behind him all wrong states and has won all good states. He is triumphant and invincible. He has insight into wisdom and what is good. He has mastery and exercises mastery. He fares on, teaching what is good to devas and men."

Thus did the layman, his relative, speak the praises of the Buddha before the young lad Yaśoda. Now the young lad Yaśoda, because of his association with a Buddha in a

¹ In the Buddhist sense of course, and so for the following brāhmanical terms. Cf. p. 396, n. 1.

² *Śrottriya*.

³ *Snātaka*.

⁴ *Vedaka*. See p. 397, n. 1.

former life,¹ was in his last existence. And there arose in him a desire to see the Exalted One. There arose in him, too, a feeling of disgust with his sensual pleasures. He gave his mind entirely to the thought of leaving home. To this did his heart turn, and there it stood and settled.

Now it happened that at midnight he woke up and saw the women of the harem asleep. One was clasping a *vīṇa*,² another a *tūṇa*,³ another a *sughoṣakā*,⁴ another a *nakula*,⁵ another a *venu*,⁶ another a *mahatī*,⁷ another a *vādiśa*,⁸ another a *vikūṭaka*,⁹ another a *bhramarikā*,¹⁰ another an *ekādaśikā*,¹¹ another a *mṛidanga*,¹² another an *āṅgikā*,¹³ another a *paṇava*,¹⁴ and another a *dardura*.¹⁵ Some had their arms round one another's necks, some were holding up their chins, (408) and others were drivelling. When the young man saw this sorry change in his harem, there arose in him a presentiment of the burial-ground, and he became eager to leave home. "I will go forth from home," said he, "into the homeless state in the company of the Exalted One."

Then Śakra, lord of the devas, came with a retinue of countless thousands of devas carrying fragrant garlands. The stairs were brought up by the devas, and when Yaśoda had set his foot on the last step, the devas scattered a shower of celestial flowers so that in the guild-president's house there was a sea of flowers a knee deep. Thus the young man, surrounded by hundreds of thousands of devas, left the city of Benares

¹ Literally, "being endowed with a previous association." Cf. p. 406, n. 3.

² Indian lute. This list of musical instruments differs considerably from that in vol. II, p. 159 in a similar context. See trans. p. 154-5.

³ *Tūṇaka* in vol. 2, "perhaps a kind of drum" (B.H.S.D.).

⁴ *Sughoṣa* in vol. 2. See also vol. 1, p. 183, n. 3.

⁵ "A kind of musical instrument = AMg. *ṇaula*" (B.H.S.D.).

⁶ Flute or reed-pipe.

⁷ "Presumably a kind of lute. So in Sk. of Nārada's seven-stringed lute" (B.H.S.D.).

⁸ "Represents, possibly corruptly, the same original as *vevādiha*, the reading of the MSS. in vol. 2 which Senart restores there as *vipañcika*" (B.H.S.D.).

⁹ Not in vol. 2. "Some musical instrument" (B.H.S.D.).

¹⁰ Not in vol. 2. "AMg. *bhamarikā*, Sk. *id.*, and Pali *bhamarikā* = "humming-top". A kind of musical instrument (B.H.S.D.).

¹¹ *Ekādaśikā*. Not in vol. 2, but cf. vol. 3, p. 70 (text).

¹² A kind of drum or tabour.

¹³ Cf. *āṅga* in vol. 2. "A kind of drum" (B.H.S.D.).

¹⁴ A small drum or tabour or kind of cymbal.

¹⁵ Not in Vol. 2. A flute.

and went to where the Exalted One was. A radiance was shed by the Exalted One, and the noble Yaśoda beheld him on the farther bank of the river Varanā, lovely and attractive to look on. He then doffed his bejewelled sandals,¹ and addressed the Exalted One in a verse:

"I am oppressed, O Recluse; I am oppressed, honoured sir."

The Exalted One said, "Come, young man, be not afraid of this oppression. When you have heard this dharma of mine preached you will be rid of passion."

Then Yaśoda, the guild-president's son, approached the Exalted One, bowed his head at his feet, and sat down to one side. And the Exalted One delivered to him an edifying discourse, that is to say, a discourse on charity, morality, heaven, merit and the ripening of merit. And Yaśoda, the guild-president's son, trustfully put his faith in the Exalted One.

The Exalted One then revealed to Yaśoda, the guild-president's son, the Four Noble Truths. He taught, made known, explained, communicated, manifested,² and revealed the noble truth of ill, the noble truth of the arising of ill, the noble truth of the cessation of ill and the noble truth of the course that leads to the cessation of ill. (409) And Yaśoda, the guild-president's son, as he sat there, attained the three super-knowledges,³ the six super-knowledges and mastery of the powers, and acquired⁴ the various kinds of magic power.

But when the night was over the parents of Yaśoda, the guild-president's son, failing to find him, sobbed and wept. Accompanied by a large crowd of kinsfolk and thousands of other people, they left Benares and came to the Exalted One seeking after Yaśoda, the guild-president's son. On the banks of the river Varanā the parents of Yaśoda, the guild-president's son, saw his bejewelled sandals. And on seeing them they picked them up and kissed them, weeping, crying, mourning and lamenting the while. Thus weeping, crying, mourning and lamenting they approached the Exalted One,

¹ *Mañipādukeṣu uttaritvā*, "having stepped out of his sandals," locative case for ablative.

² *Uttānikaroti*. Cf. Pali *uttāna* "open" (of countenance, *mukha*).

³ These three do not seem to be specified anywhere.

⁴ *Pratyānubhavati*. For this sense of the verb see B.H.S.D.

bowed at his feet and said to him, "Has the Exalted One seen Yaśoda, the guild-president's son?"

Now Yaśoda, the guild-president's son, was immersed in such rapt concentration of thought that neither his parents nor anyone else saw him sitting there. The Exalted One said to the parents of Yaśoda, the guild-president's son, "Sit down, layman. The opportunity is now here. Look at Yaśoda, the guild-president's son, and seeing him have faith in him." Then the parents of Yaśoda, the guild-president's son, bowed at the feet of the Exalted One and sat down to one side, and so did the rest of the crowd.

Then the Exalted One mentally addressed Yaśoda, the guild-president's son, bidding him to display a miracle of magic. And Yaśoda, the guild-president's son, rose up in the air to the height of a palm-tree, and displayed various miracles of magic. From being one he became many; from many he became one. (410) He appeared standing over against a wall,¹ a rock and mountains without touching² them. He emerged from the ground and sank into it. Just as a man sinks into and rises from the water without dividing it,³ so did he emerge from and sink into the ground. Sitting down cross-legged he stroked and touched the mighty and powerful moon and sun with his hand. He did what he liked with his body⁴, even to flying up to Brahmā's heaven.⁵ He performed various miracles of double appearance.⁶ The lower part of his body would be in flames, while five hundred jets of cold water streamed from the upper part. The upper part of his body would be in flames, while five hundred jets of cold water

¹ Literally, "he went to a manifestation over against a wall" *āvirbhāvam tirokuḍyam . . . gacchati*. Cf. D. 1. 78 = A. 3. 280.

² *Asajjamāna*, Pali *id.*, negative of pres. part. pass. of *sañj*.

³ This simile is much lengthened in translation so as to make it clearer. The phrase *udahe pi abhidyamāno* corresponds to the Pali stock phrase in the description of this miracle—*udahe pi abhijjamāne*. See P.E.D. for the numerous instances, in about half of which the reading is, however, *abhijjamāno*. On this reading and on that of the *Mhv.* the translation is ("he goes in) the water without splitting it," that is, the participle is to be taken as middle. On the other reading, we have "(he goes in) the water which is not split," that is, the participle is passive. The point of the simile would seem to be that in rising from and sinking into the ground, he left no permanent mark on the surface, any more than he would do in the case of water.

⁴ See p. 186, n. 3.

⁵ See p. 186, n. 4.

⁶ See p. 115, n. 4.

streamed from the lower part. His left side would be in flames, while five hundred jets of cold water streamed from his right side. His right side would be in flames while five hundred jets of cold water streamed from his left side.

Next Yaśoda, the guild-president's son, transformed himself by his magic power into a bull of a blue-black colour, which disappeared in the east and reappeared in the west. It disappeared in the west and reappeared in the east; it disappeared in the south and reappeared in the north; it disappeared in the north and reappeared in the south. Yaśoda, the guild-president's son, transformed himself by his magic power into a lion, king of beasts, fanged, powerful and maned, which thrice roared a lion's roar. It then disappeared in the east and reappeared in the west; it disappeared in the west and reappeared in the east; (411) it disappeared in the south and reappeared in the north; it disappeared in the north and reappeared in the south. It disappeared from the earth and reappeared in the sky; it disappeared from the sky and reappeared on the earth.

By his magic power Yaśoda, the guild-president's son, transformed himself into an all-white¹ elephant, with six tusks, a red² head, and seven sturdy limbs, the colour of a white lotus. It disappeared in the east and reappeared in the west; it disappeared in the west and reappeared in the east; it disappeared in the south and reappeared in the north; it disappeared in the north and reappeared in the south. It disappeared from the earth and reappeared in the sky; it disappeared from the sky and reappeared on the earth.

Then Yaśoda, the young man of good family,³ transformed himself into the guise of a universal king, possessing the seven treasures and attended by an army of the four arms. He disappeared in the east and reappeared in the west; he disappeared in the west and reappeared in the east; he disappeared in the south and reappeared in the north; he

¹ *Sarvaśveta*, but his head was red.

² *Indragopa* (or *indrogopaka*). In Sk. and Pali both forms denote a red insect. According to B.R. "the cochineal insect" (*B.H.S.D.*). Miss I. B. Horner, in a letter, gives it as her opinion that the colour denoted by *indragopa* is that of a lady-bird, pinkish or vermilion.

³ *Kulaputra*.

disappeared in the north and reappeared in the south. He disappeared from the earth and reappeared in the sky; he disappeared from the sky and reappeared on the earth.

Next Yaśoda, the guild-president's son, rose up in the air to the height of a palm-tree. He moved, he stood, he sat, he lay down,¹ he rushed around with his scorching heat.²

Just as in the last month of summer the winds called the "Smashers"³ blow, so did Yaśoda, the guild-president's son, having risen in the air to the height of a palm-tree, move, stand, sit, lie down and rush about with his scorching heat. While he stood at the height of one or two palm-trees, from being one he became many, and from being many he became one. *The story is to be continued as in the first chapter⁴ up to*—from the height of seven palm-trees (412) he descended to the height of six, from six to five, from five to four, from four to three, from three to two, from two to one, and from the height of one he descended to the ground. From being one he became many, and from being many he became one. He appeared standing over against a wall, a rock and mountains without touching them. He emerged from and sank into the ground. Rising up from the ground, he moved, stood, sat, lay down, and rushed about with his scorching heat.

Then two Wanderers belonging to other sects⁵ and the

¹ Literally, "made his bed", *seyyām* (Pali *id.*, Sk. *śayyām*) *kalpayati*. Cf. Pali *seyyam kappeti*.

² Literally, "he scorched all round and rushed all round," *paritapati pi paribhramati pi*.

³ So Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*) for *sanghaṭṭakā*, a name given to the monsoon winds. Only here apparently.

⁴ *Parivartake*. The "first chapter" presumably refers to the beginning of the account of Yaśoda's magic-working, where, however, the stock description of rising in the air by stages of the height of one palm-tree to that of seven is not given.

⁵ The translation here is a summary to avoid the cumbersome and obscure terms denoting each sectarian. As the female recluse is said to be third, *trityā*, implying a series of three sectaries, it is assumed (so Senart) that her companions were two male sectaries, a *traiḍaṇḍikamānandikaguruputraka* and a *gautamadharmacintikavṛiddhaśrāvaka*. Otherwise these two long compounds admit of being split up into the names of several sects. Thus *traiḍaṇḍika* "carrying the tripod" is a Brāhman ascetic (*B.H.S.D.*). According to Schmidt, there quoted, a Śaiva; *ānandika* is "a kind of ascetic?" (*B.H.S.D.*); *guruputraka*, "some kind of heretical ascetic or sectarian" (*B.H.S.D.*); *gautama*, "name of a non-Buddhist sect" (*B.H.S.D.* with instances from *Sikṣ.* 331 and *Lal. Vist.* 380); *dharmacintika*, "apparently some kind of heretical ascetic" (*B.H.S.D.* citing only this instance); *vṛiddhaśrāvaka*, "according to *pw.* a Śivaitic mendicant monk" (*B.H.S.D.*, citing another instance from *Lal. Vist.* 380).

female recluse Ulūkapakṣikabhaginī,¹ on seeing such various and divers miracles of magic performed by Yaśoda, the guild-president's son, were astonished, amazed, excited and thrilled that the well-proclaimed dharma and discipline of the exalted Gotama had been revealed, its swathings cut as with a stick.² And they said, "This is what comes of adornment, this is what comes of faith."³ For when this man was taken up by his father he was dressed all in white, wearing garments of pure Benares cloth. His body was anointed with sandalwood ointment and he wore bracelets and earrings. And now he has realised this dharma."

Then on that occasion the Exalted One made this solemn utterance touching Yaśoda, the guild-president's son.

Not baldness, nor matted hair, nor mire, nor fasting, nor lying on the bare ground, nor dust and dirt,⁴ nor striving when one is squatting on the ground,⁵ brings freedom from ill.

Though he be brightly arrayed, if he live the life of dharma, calm, tamed, restrained, living the brahma-life, forbearing to use violence against all creatures, then is he a brāhman, a recluse, a monk.

(413) The Exalted One then preached an edifying discourse on dharma to Yaśoda's parents and the crowd of people with them, that is to say a discourse on charity, morality, heaven, merit and the ripening of merit. Yaśoda's parents believed in the Exalted One, and the large crowd did likewise. The Exalted One revealed to Yaśoda's parents and the large crowd the Four Noble Truths of ill, of the arising of ill, of the cessation of ill, and of the Way that leads to the cessation of ill. And while the parents of Yaśoda, the guild-president's

¹ Senart takes this to be a proper name, but it would be possible to take it as meaning "a sister wearing a dress or decoration of owl's feathers" (*ulūkapakṣika*, Pali *ulūkapakkhika*). See *B.H.S.D.*

² *Daṇḍachinnapilotika*. For *chinnapilotika* see p. 64, n. 5. The force of *daṇḍa*, "stick", however, is obscure, and it is apparently found only here in this connection.

³ *Alaṃ alamkāraṃ alaṃ prasādāya*.

⁴ *Rajoalam*, which would in itself mean dust and water. But there can be no doubt that the word is intended for *rajojalam*, as in the Pali version of these verses, i.e., *Dh.* 141-2. The verses also occur at *Divy.* 339, where the word appears as *rajomalam*, "dirt and impurity."

⁵ *Ukkuṭukapradhānam*, Pali *ukkuṭikappadhānam* (*Dh.* 141).

son, were seated on those seats, they won the pure and stainless dharma-insight into things and came to understand the states¹ of several thousands of beings.

Then the parents of Yaśoda, the guild-president's son, said to the Exalted One, "Lord, initiate Yaśoda, the guild-president's son. O Sugata, ordain Yaśoda, the guild-president's son." And the Exalted One pronounced the formula of "Come, monk", saying, "Come, monk, live the brahma-life under the Tathāgata."

When Yaśoda, the guild-president's son, had been addressed with the words "Come, monk," every mark of a layman, every badge, every emblem and every sign disappeared from him."² He was seen to have the three robes and the *sumbhaka*³ bronze bowl, his hair in its natural state, and his deportment established—all just like those of a monk who had been ordained a hundred years. Such then was the initiation of Yaśoda, the guild-president's son, his ordination and his admission as a monk.

Here ends the story of Yaśoda, the guild-president's son.

JĀTAKA OF YAŚODA

The monks said to the Exalted One, "Lord, as the maturing of what karma did Yaśoda, the guild-president's son, who was rich, wealthy, opulent and born in a guild-president's family, become quick of attainment even as a layman and achieve mastery of the powers?" The Exalted One replied, "Monks, Yaśoda, the guild-president's son, made a vow to that effect in a former life."

(414) Once upon a time, monks, long ago, here in the city of Benares, there was a son of a decayed family, who was indigent and poor and made a living by working for others. Now when there are no Buddhas in the world, in the intervals

¹ *Adhigatā ca dharmā.*

² See p. 67, n. 2.

³ See p. 67, n. 3.

between the Buddhas, there appear in the world Pratyekabuddhas, who are worthy of offerings, who are splendid in their silence and live in loneliness like a rhinoceros.¹ They train each his own self and attain nirvana. They are worthy of offerings and constitute a field for winning merit.

There was then at that time a Pratyekabuddha named Bhadrīka, who, dressing himself betimes and taking his bowl and his robe, neither too early nor too late, when it was time for the morning meal, left Rīṣivadana and came into the city of Benares to beg for alms. He was well-restrained in body, speech and mind, with steady mindfulness, tranquil of heart, and with his faculties under control.

Now as he went round the city of Benares in quest of alms he was seen by that man from the decayed family. Devas and men were kind and favourably disposed to that man. When he saw Bhadrīka the Pratyekabuddha his mind became exceeding trustful. With faith in his heart he took him to his home and provided² him with food. He then made a vow, saying, "Inasmuch as there is a root of merit in my having rendered a service to such a worthy man, may I never pass to a sphere of ill, nor go to ruin, nor ever be reborn in poor families. But may I be reborn in families that are rich, wealthy and opulent."

Then Bhadrīka the Pratyekabuddha, being aware of this vow, flew away through the air like a king of swans. And when the man saw Bhadrīka the Pratyekabuddha flying through the air like a king of swans, eager to emulate the Pratyekabuddha he made a vow with still greater faith in his heart. "May I," said he, "come to possess the qualities which this religious man has."

The Exalted One said, "Monks, this Yaśoda here, the guild-president's son, at that time and on that occasion (415) was the man of decayed family in this city of Benares. Inasmuch as he did a service to the Pratyekabuddha and made a vow, as a ripening of that karma, therefore, he has never been

¹ See vol. I, p. 250, n. 1. Add now Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*)—"actually the compound (*khadgaviṣāṇa*) means a rhinoceros", not its horn.

² Or "honoured with", *pratimāṇita* from *pratimāṇayati*. There is not sufficient difference between saying "to provide with" and "to honour with", to warrant regarding this use of the verb as specifically BSk. Cf. Pali *paṭimāṇeti*.

reborn in spheres of ill or evil plights. But when he passed away from among men he was reborn among devas. Passing away from among the devas he was reborn as a distinguished man, and now here in his last existence he has won the favour of¹ the Tathāgata and attained mastery of the powers.

Here ends the Jātaka of Yaśoda.

THE TEMPTATION BY MĀRA

The Exalted One, fully enlightened and having realised the aim he had set himself, was staying in Benares, in the Deer Park at Rīṣivadana. And there the Exalted One spoke to the venerable good group of five monks.² "Monks," said he, "I am freed from all snares, whether of devas or of men. Go on your journeys, monk, but do not go two of you the same way. For, monks, there are beings who are pure, undefiled, with but little dust in their eyes,³ but who, because they have not heard the dharma, are losing ground. As for me, I will go to the village of Senāpati⁴ at Uruvilvā, out of compassion for the Matted-Hair Ascetics."⁵

Then most wicked Māra thought, "Here is this recluse Gotama staying in Benares, in the Deer Park at Rīṣivadana. And he has spoken to the group of five monks, saying, 'Monks, I am freed from all snares, whether of devas or of men. You, too, monks, are freed from all snares, whether of devas or of

¹ *Arāgetvā* from *ārāgayati*. To the note in this word in vol. 2, p. 330, n. 2., has now to be added reference to the long article in *B.H.S.D.*, where Edgerton explains the verb as "a quasi denom. to an unrecorded *ārāga* cf. *ārāṅga* and *ārāgaṇa*, but prob. actually formed as a pendant and opposite to *virāgayati* with which it is often associated; used exclusively as substitute for *ārādhayati*, which is often . . . recorded as v.l. for this."

² See p. 313, n. 2.

³ Reading *alparajaskajātikhā* for *aparokṣajātikhā*. The parallel passage, V. 1. 28, has *apparajakkhajātikhā*. The *aparokṣaviññāna* of *Lal. Vist.* 403 is no analogical justification for preserving *aparokṣajātikhā* (-*jāṭiyo*) in the *Mhvu.* The *Lal. Vist.* compound admits of intelligible analysis, but, as Edgerton himself confesses, the precise meaning of *aparokṣajātikhā* is obscure. (*B.H.S.D.* s.v.) See further p. 312, n. 3.

⁴ See vol. 2, p. 119, n. 2.

⁵ *Jaṭilas.* V. 1. 21 says only *dhammadesanāyā*—"to teach the dharma."

men. Do you, monks, go on your journeys, but do not go two of you the same way. There are, monks, beings who are undefiled and with but little dust in their eyes,¹ but who, because they have not heard the dharma, are losing ground. As for me, I will go to the village of Senāpati at Uruvilvā, out of compassion for the Matted-Hair Ascetics.' What, then, if I were (416) to go to them in order to confuse² him?"

Then wicked Māra addressed the Exalted One in a verse:

Unfreed, thou thinkest thyself freed. What meanest thou to say thou art freed? In close bonds art thou bound, for from me thou wilt not escape, O Recluse.

But the Exalted One replied to wicked Māra in a verse:

*Freed am I from all snares, whether of devas or of men. Know this, wicked one, that thou art beaten by me, O Death.*³

Then wicked Māra, thinking "Gotama the recluse knows me," wretched, dejected and discomfited forthwith disappeared.⁴ This is the tradition.⁵

The Exalted One, perfectly enlightened and having realised the aim he had set himself, was staying in Benares, in the Deer Park at Rīṣivadana, teaching devas and men. And while the Exalted One was alone in seclusion and retirement this mental reflexion uprose in him. "Sensual pleasures", thought he, "are impermanent, ill, liable to change." But then wicked Māra thought, "Here is this recluse, Gotama, staying in Benares, in the Deer Park at Rīṣivadana, and he, while he is alone in seclusion and retirement has had the mental reflexion that sensual pleasures are impermanent, ill and liable to change. What if I were to go to him and confuse

¹ Reading, as above, *alparajaskajātikhā* for *aparokṣa*—.

² Or, "blur his vision", *vicakṣurkarmāya*, dat. of *vicakṣurkarma*, Pali *vicakkhukamma*. See *P.E.D.* and *B.H.S.D.*

³ Literally "ender", *antaka*. See I. B. Horner, *Bk. of Disc.*, 4, p. 29.

⁴ The *Māvakathā* of the *Mahāvagga*, however, inserts two additional verses before describing the final discomfiture of Māra. But in the *Mhvu.*, as in the *Mārasamyutta* of S. 1. 105 f., these verses seem to form part of separate traditions concerning the temptation; hence the words *itthametam śrūyati* with which the incident closes in the *Mhvu.* See Windisch, *op. cit.*, p. 30-1.

⁵ *Itthametam śrūyati*.

him?" And so wicked Māra approached the Exalted One and addressed him in verse:

Fast is the snare I've set, for it is the very life of thy mind.¹ By means of this I'll hold thee bound; thou wilt not escape from me, O Recluse.²

(417) But the Exalted One replied to wicked Māra in a verse:

There are five strands of sensual pleasures in the world; the mind has been declared a sixth.³ Gone, scattered, destroyed is my wish for them. Know this, O wicked one; thou art beaten, O Death.

Then wicked Māra thought, "Gotama the recluse knows me." And wretched, dejected and discomfited he forthwith disappeared. Such is the tradition.

The Exalted One, perfectly enlightened and having realised the aim he had set himself, was staying in Benares, in the Deer Park at Rīṣivadana. And while the Exalted One was alone in seclusion and retirement this mental reflexion arose in him. "All attachment to existence",⁴ thought he, "is impermanent, ill, and liable to change." But wicked Māra thought, "Here is this recluse, Gotama, staying in Benares, in the Deer Park at Rīṣivadana. And he, while he is alone in seclusion and retirement has had the mental reflexion that all attachment to existence is impermanent, ill and liable to change. What if I were to go to him and confuse him?" And so wicked Māra approached the Exalted One and addressed him in a verse:

He who has sons delights in his sons; the cowherd delights in his cattle. Man delights in attachments, but he who has no attachments has naught to delight in.

(418) But the Exalted One replied to wicked Māra in a verse:

He who has sons worries over his sons; the cowherd

¹ *Carati mānasam tava.* Cf. V. 1. 21, *ayaṃ carati mānaso.*

² S. 1. 111.

³ Identical with Sn. 171 (cf. S. 1. 16), but not with any of the lines in V. 1. 21 or S. 1. 103 ff.

⁴ *Upādhi.*

worries over his cattle. A man is tormented by his attachments to existence. But he who has no attachments has no occasion to worry.¹

Then wicked Māra thought, "Gotama the recluse knows me." Wretched, dejected and discomfited he forthwith disappeared. Such is the tradition.

Far famed is the stainlessness of the exalted Gotama, the spotless, the undefiled and the pure one.² He gives to all beings this honoured³ place. He brings within reach⁴ of the whole world complete extinction of the deed.⁵

The monks asked the Exalted One, "How does the Lord speak a solemn utterance?"

He in whom no illusion dwells, nor pride; he who is rid of passion, free from evil⁶ and from longing; he who has shaken off all wrath, and whose self is completely freed, he is a brāhman, he is a recluse, he is a monk.⁷

INSTRUCTIONS ON BEGGING

The monks asked, "Lord, how ought we to conduct the alms-round? Are we to say 'Give alms'?" The Exalted One replied, "No. You should stand in silence and point to your alms-bowl."

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, here in the city of Benares the king's son had a companion of the same age, named Asthisena, who was the son of the household priest.

¹ These last two verses are almost verbally identical with Sn. 33, 34, where they are, as here, put into the mouths of Māra and the Buddha, respectively, and with two of the verses in the parallel passage at S. 1. 107-8.

² This verse and the next one are introduced abruptly, having no connection either with what precedes or with what follows.

³ *Tam arahitam pradeśam.* But Senart's restoration must be regarded as very doubtful. For *arahita* (= Sk. *arhita*), see C.P.D.

⁴ *Prāpuṇeti*, in causal sense, according to Senart, but Edgerton (B.H.S.D. s.v.) points out the uncertainty of the text.

⁵ *Kriyābhirmirṣṛitī*, i.e., deliverance from the results of action.

⁶ *Anigha*. See p. 399, n. 4.

⁷ Cf. Sn., 464, 494.

Asthisena, seeing the danger of sensual pleasures, went forth to embrace the religious life. (419) He observed chastity, lived following the path of the ten moralities and became proficient in the Veda and familiar with all branches of learning relating to the religious life.¹

Then the king's son ascended the throne. And he addressed Asthisena, the priest's son, in a verse:

Wise men, O Asthisena, do not despise a mendicant. O chaste youth, you are dear to me. Ask, O brāhman, for whatever you wish.

Then, monks, Asthisena the mendicant replied in a verse:

He who begs becomes disliked; he who gives not becomes disliked. And so I ask not of my lord, lest I incur hatred.²

But, monks, the king of Benares replied to Asthisena the mendicant in a verse:

He who is a beggar and begs not when he should, causes another to lose merit, and harms himself.

Then, monks, Asthisena the mendicant replied to the king of Kāśi:

They say that begging leads to weeping; refusal to give likewise causes weeping. And so I beg not of you, my lord, lest I be the cause of weeping.³

The wise man asks not; the Āryan deigns not to make his need known.⁴ The Āryans stand and show their alms-bowls. Such is the way the Āryans beg.

Then, monks, the king of Kāśi replied to Asthisena the mendicant in a verse:

I offer you, O brāhman, a full thousand red cows, together with a bull. (420) For, being an Āryan, how should I not give⁵

¹ *Parivṛājakaśāstra*.

² Literally, "lest there be hatred (*vidveṣaṇā*, Pali *viddesanā*, Sk. *vidveṣaṇa*) of me."

³ Literally, "a weeping be mine," *me ārodanam bhavet*.

⁴ *Veditum*, for *vedayitum*. So Senart, and as in the repetition on the next page.

⁵ *Dadyā*. In form this may be either 3rd or 1st sg. opt. (BSk.). Perhaps it is better taken here as 1st, rather than with Edgerton (*Gram.* § 29. 42) as 3rd.

to an Āryan after listening to the eloquent verses he has recited?

The Exalted One said, "The Wanderer, named Asthisena, the son of the household priest and friend of the king of Kāśi was not anyone else. For I at that time was the Wanderer Asthisena."

Here ends the Jātaka of Asthisena.¹

The Exalted One said:

"Verily the wise man does not ask; the Āryan deigns not to make his need known. The Āryans stand and show their alms-bowls. Such is the way the Āryans beg."

"It is in this way, monks, that you are to make your alms-round."

Then the monks asked the Exalted One, "Lord, when we have received alms, are we to say 'bless you, bless you'?"² The Exalted One replied, "No, monks, you are not to salute³ when you have received alms."

To commit no sin, to achieve virtue, to master⁴ one's heart—this is the teaching of the Buddhas.

Then the monks, having stayed in the Deer Park at Rīṣi-vadana for the rainy season, set out on their tours in various directions. And on seeing empty and desolate the places where the monks had stood, walked, sat and lain down, a

¹ Cf. Fausbøll, no 403.

² Or, "good luck" *svasti*.

³ *Ādiṣati*. See B.H.S.D., where Edgerton compares Hindi *ādes*, "salutation," and late Sk. *ādeśa* with the same meaning, and refers to an article by himself in JAOS. 38. 206 f.

⁴ *Paryādāpana*. This word is interpreted here as a substantive from the causal of *paryādāpāti*, "to master". The verse is Dh. 183, where the corresponding Pali word is *pariyodāpana*, "purification," and the P.E.D. may be correct in saying that the form in our text is a corrupt BSk. form of the Pali. The correct BSk. form, *paryavadāpana*, is found in Dbh. 3 and Gv. 492 (see B.H.S.D. which does not list the word of our text). It is interesting to note, however, that Burnouf in his note on the Dh. verse (*Lotus*, p. 527, 8, quoted in Max Müller's note on p. 51 of his translation of Dh. in S.B.E., vol. X), prefers the form *paridamāna*, "complete subjection", which in meaning approximates *paryādāpana*. (Müller himself says that *pariyodāna* is the correct reading). Note also that two MSS. of the *Mhvu.* actually have *paryādāmana*. There is, therefore, some ground for believing that in its original form this celebrated verse of the Dh. spoke of the mastering and not of the purification of the mind or heart.

deva of the Deer Park felt sad. He approached the Exalted One and addressed him in a verse¹:

This place looks sad to me to-day, for I see it empty and deserted of men. (421) Learned men of varied talk were they. Where, O Gotama, are those disciples of thine gone?

The Exalted One replied²:

They have gone to Magadha and to Kosalā, and some have gone to the land of the Vajjis. The monks live unfettered lives and roam about free as deer.

The Exalted One set out.³ A boatman saw the Exalted One approaching the banks of the Ganges and brought up his boat. The Exalted One stepped on board and said to the boatman⁴:

Besprinkle this boat,⁵ O monk. Besprinkled with love, it will float more lightly for you.⁶ Cut out passion and ill-will. Thus will you go on to nirvana.

Besprinkle this boat, O monk. Besprinkled with pity, it will float more lightly for you. Cut out passion and ill-will. Thus will you go on to nirvana.

¹ This episode, with more or less similar verses, is found at S. i. 199.

² In S. the question is put to and answered by another deva.

³ This episode, so abruptly introduced, looks like a commentarial invention to serve as introduction to the following verses, which are greatly enlarged versions of Dh. 368 and 369.

⁴ But in the following verses, as in Dh., he is addressed as monk.

⁵ I.e., your self.

⁶ Literally, "it will be light for you," *te laghu bhesyati*. The Pali version of this verse (Dh. 369) reads *siñca bhikkhu imāṃ nāvāṃ sikkhā te lahuṃ essati*, "Bale out this boat, monk; baled out/It will lightly go along for you" (Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Minor Anthologies I*, p. 121), or as Max Müller (S.B.E. X, p. 87) renders it, "O Bhikshu, empty this boat! If emptied, it will go quickly". But it may be doubted whether "bale" or "empty" is the right rendering of *siñcati*, although at the only other place where the expression *nāvāṃ siñcati* occurs, namely Sn. 771, both Fausbøll (l.c.) and Hare (l.c.) translate it by "to bale". But *siñcati* means "to pour out," "to sprinkle liquid on to something," and if it here really means "to bale", *nāvāṃ siñcati* is a pregnant expression equivalent to "pour the water out of the boat." In the *Mhvu.*, at least, *siñcati* is often used to denote the "sprinkling" of a road or floor preparatory to sweeping or scouring. See e.g. vol. I, p. 231 (text), *sikṭam sammṛiṣṭam* (of a roadway). Anyhow, the *Mhvu.* version will hardly admit of the figure of "baling out" a boat, for the verse continues *maṭṭhāye sikkhā te laghu bhesyati*. That is to say, the *Mhvu.* seems to change the metaphor from that of "baling out," if, that is, such is the meaning of the Pali, into that of cleaning or "sprinkling" it, first with love, and then in the succeeding verses, for which there are no parallels in Dh., with the other three of the *brahmavihārā*. (See p. 423, n. 2.).

Besprinkle this boat, O monk. Besprinkled with sympathetic joy,¹ it will float more lightly for you. Cut out passion and ill-will. Thus will you go on to nirvana.

Besprinkle this boat, O monk. Besprinkled with equanimity,² it will float more lightly for you. Cut out passion and ill-will. Thus will you go on to nirvāna.

The monk who abides in love and puts his faith in the teaching of the Buddha, will win through to the sphere of calm and blissful release.³

The monk who abides in pity and puts his faith in the teaching of the Buddha, will win through to the sphere of calm, which is untrodden by the vulgar herd.

The monk who abides in sympathetic joy and puts his faith in the teaching of the Buddha, (422) will win through to the sphere of calm, which is untrodden by the vile man.

The monk who abides in equanimity and puts his faith in the teaching of the Buddha, will win through to the sphere of calm, the immovable sphere of nirvana.

The monk whose delight and joy are in the dharma, who meditates on it and ever bears it in mind, does not fall away from the true dharma.⁴

Glad of heart and happy, surmounting that which is pleasant and what is unpleasant, and hence replete with joy, the monk draws near to nirvana.

Not even by observing good works alone,⁵ nor by much learning, nor by attainment of concentration on solitary couch or bed,

Can the monk who is eager for the bliss of renunciation which is not ensued by the vulgar herd, win assurance as long as his āśravas are not extinct.⁶

¹ *Mudutā*. See vol. I, p. 303, n. 4. Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) however, maintains that the meaning is "joy" (i.e. he regards it as derived from *mud*, not from *myidu*.) according to the "unanimous tradition, both of Pali comms. and of northern texts and transl." But see Senart's note, i. 629, and P.E.D.

² The four qualities named here, *maṭṭhā*, *karuṇā*, *mudutā*, and *upekṣā* constitute the four *brahmavihārā* or sublime states of heart or mind. Cf. vol. I, p. 186 (text), and see references in P.E.D. and B.H.S.D.

³ Cf. Dh. 368.

⁴ Cf. Dh. 364; It. 82; Thag. i. 1032; Sn. 327.

⁵ *Śīlavatāmāreṇa*.

⁶ Cf. Dh. 271-2.

A man is not a monk just because he begs alms from others. He is no monk as long as he harbours wrong states of mind.¹

He who, living the brahma-life, regards pleasures of sense as evil, and has become a ladder,² he, with his wisdom, is in truth said to be a monk.

When he walks abroad, when he stands, when he sits, when he lies down, when he bends his body and when he straightens it,

He should be restrained as he moves, restrained as he lies down. He should be restrained of purpose as he meditates diligently. (423) He who takes joy in study, is concentrated, and content to be alone—him do they call a monk.

Restraint in eye is good, and good restraint in ear. Restraint in smell is good, and good restraint in tongue. Restrained everywhere, the monk from ill obtains release.³

The boatman⁴ was led by the Exalted One to the state of mastery.⁵ When the Exalted One spoke the words, "Besprinkle the boat," every mark of the layman, every badge, every emblem and every sign disappeared (from the boatman's person). He was seen to have the three robes and the *sumbhaka*⁶ bowl, his hair in its natural state, and his deportment established—all just like those of a monk who had been ordained a hundred years. Such was the initiation of the venerable boatman of the Ganges, his ordination and his admission into monkhood.

¹ *Viṣamām dharmān.*

² *Niḥśrenībhūta.* The metaphor is based on the idea of crossing, here by means of a "ladder", from the world of sense to the world beyond the senses. The monk, that is, who, as he is said to have done in the first part of the verse, has renounced the pleasures of sense, has thereby made for himself a "ladder" to cross to the beyond, or, in modern parlance, to ascend from earth to heaven. The symbolism is even carried further, and he is said to have actually "become a ladder". Miss I. B. Horner, in a communication, points out that this is in accord with traditional Indian symbolism, and she appositely quotes RV. X. 61. 16, *apaś ca vipras taratī svasetuḥ*, "the sage crosses the water, himself the bridge." The analogy is complete if we regard a ladder as an upright bridge.

³ This is copied from Mrs. Rhys Davids' version of the corresponding verses at Dh. 360-1, which, however, contains one more line than our text. See *Minor Anthologies* I, p. 119.

⁴ Text has so, "he", only.

⁵ Sc. of the powers of an *āryaśrāvaka*.

⁶ See p. 67, n. 3.

Then the Exalted One dismissed him. He asked the Exalted One, "Lord, if I am asked by anyone who I am, what am I to say?" The Exalted One replied and said, "Tell him that you are a recluse, a brāhman, one who is proficient in knowledge, one who has crossed, one who has reached the farther shore."

Then Śakra, lord of the devas, by his magic power assumed the guise of a brāhman youth, comely and handsome, with glossy, dark braided hair, like a peacock's neck, and carrying a golden staff and water-pot. He took with him a bowl, robe and earrings, and walked behind the Exalted One. A man asked, "Who is this comely and handsome youth?" He¹ replied,

I am a follower of that resolute, meditative and peerless Hero, who is Arhan and Sugata in the world.

(424) *I am a follower of Gotama who carries his fare² across in his boat of dharma, the Buddha who has crossed and reached the shore beyond.*

THE THREE KĀŚYAPAS

Then³ the Exalted One reflected, "What are the Matted-hair Ascetics intent on? The Matted-hair Ascetics are intent on just the Matted-hair Ascetics." And the Exalted One conjured up a thousand Matted-hair Ascetics, who were comely, handsome and distinguished. With these as an escort he flew through the air by his magic power and came to Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa, the Matted-hair Ascetic.

Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa, the Matted-hair Ascetic, together with his company of five hundred, saw the thousand comely and

¹ I.e., Śakra, who seems to be impersonating the boatman, but the reason for the impersonation is not clear. Possibly we have here only a fragment of an episode in which Śakra played a prominent part, along with the boatman.

² Literally, "him who is being carried," *vuhyamāna*, pr. pt. pass. of *vahati*.

³ The story is now resumed from p. 415 of text, where the Buddha expresses his resolve to visit these ascetics, the Jāṭilas. See I. B. Horner, *Bk. of Disc.*, 4, p. 32, n. 4.

beautiful Matted-hair Ascetics and he cowered¹ before them. "A great crowd of people is near at hand," thought he, "and they will come to this retreat of mine. They have faith in me, believing that there is no one in the world the equal of the seer Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa with his company. But now here is this other seer, with his company of a thousand Matted-hair Ascetics, who has great magic and power. He has to-day come to this retreat, and the whole crowd of people will put their faith in this seer, with his company of a thousand and with his great magic and power. Believing in him, they will trustfully serve him, honour, revere, respect, venerate and worship him, and they will pay no attention to me and my company."

But the Exalted One, being aware of this mental reflexion on the part of the seer Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa, put off his disguise of a Matted-hair Ascetic, and caused the thousand Matted-hair Ascetics whom he had conjured up to disappear. When the thousand Matted-hair Ascetics had disappeared Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa, the Matted-hair Ascetic, saw the Exalted One in his proper guise as the Tathāgata, Arhan, perfect Buddha, endowed with knowledge and conduct, the Sugata, the peerless knower of the world, the driver of tameable men, (425) the teacher of devas and men, endowed with the thirty-two marks of a Great Man, his body brilliant with the eighty lesser characteristics, gifted with the eighteen special attributes of a Buddha, strong with the ten powers of a Tathāgata, confident on the four grounds of confidence, gracious and comforting, with his faculties and mind under control, having attained the utmost perfection of self-control and calm, Nāga-like, having accomplished his task, with his faculties not turned outwards, his mind not turned outwards, but steady, as it had reached conformity with the dharma, well-guarded, a Nāga, with his faculties in subjection, transparent as a pool, pure, serene, erect like a bejewelled sacrificial post, like the golden *bimba*,² a blaze of shining splendour, flaming with glory like another rising sun, charming and not repellent to behold. When Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa, together with his company, saw this he

¹ Or "shrank", *sankocamāpanna*.

² The red fruit of *Mornordica monadelphica*, a species of Amaranth.

was amazed. But still he said, "Though the recluse Gotama has great magic and power, I have still greater magic."

Then the great crowd came and approached the Exalted One, bowed at his feet, worshipped him, and could not have enough of gazing on him. And Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa thought, "Would that Gotama the recluse went elsewhere, away from my retreat." But the Exalted One, being aware of this mental reflexion on the part of Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa, in the time that it takes a strong man to stretch out his folded arms and fold his outstretched arms, in a moment's time, rose up in the air at the seer Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa's retreat and alighted at the village of Senāpati, near Uruvilvā, at the foot of the Goatherd's Banyan-tree on the banks of the river Nairāñjanā.

But when the crowd had spurned the way of life of the Matted-hair Ascetics, Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa said to himself, "Would that Gotama the recluse came here and partook of solid and soft food." The Exalted One, being aware of this mental reflexion on the part of Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa, the Matted-hair Ascetic, in the time it takes a strong man to stretch out his folded arms and fold his outstretched arms, in a moment's time, rose up in the air at the Goatherd's Banyan-tree and alighted in the retreat of Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa, the Matted-hair Ascetic. (426) Then Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa, the Matted-hair Ascetic and his company thought, "Gotama the recluse has great magic and power, for he knows in his heart the thoughts of other beings and men. Yet we have greater magic power."

Then the seer, the Matted-hair Ascetic Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa, with his own hands regaled the Exalted One with choice food, solid and soft. And when the Exalted One had eaten, washed his hands and put away his bowl,¹ he expressed his thanks to the seer, the Matted-hair Ascetic Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa, for this meritorious gift.²

The fire-sacrifice is the chief of sacrifices ; the Sāvitrī³ is

¹ The text has *dhautapatra āpanitapāni*, "washed his bowl and put away his hands."

² *Deyadharma*, Pali *deyyadhamma*. See vol. I, p. 246, n. 2.

³ I.e., RV. 3. 62. 10, so called as being addressed to the sun (*savitrī*). It is also called *Gāyatrī* and is recited by brāhmins morning and evening.

the chief of sacred hymns. The king is the chief of men, and the ocean the chief of streams.

The moon is the chief of stars . . .¹ and the sun the chief of all fires that burn above, across and below. The perfect Buddha is the chief of speakers in the world of men and of devas.

Then Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa and his company, standing in the air above, offered a sacrifice to Agni. When the fire would not burn they asked one another, "Whose power is it that prevents the fire burning? It must be the power of Gotama the recluse." And when the fire did burn they said among themselves, "Gotama the recluse has great magic and power, but we have greater magic." He threw the oblation into the fire, but it would not fall in it. They asked themselves, "Whose power is it that prevents the oblation falling into the fire? It must be the power of Gotama the recluse." And when they had decided that it was the power of Gotama the recluse, then the oblation fell into the fire.

When they had completed the fire-sacrifice (427) they prepared to descend² from the air. But they could not do so. They asked themselves, "Whose power is it that makes us unable to descend from the air into our retreat? It must be the power of Gotama, the recluse?" And when they had decided that it was the power of Gotama the recluse, then they descended from the air into their retreat.

Then they wished to sit down, each on his own litter. But they failed to see the litters. They asked themselves, "Whose power is it that prevents us seeing our litters? It must be the power of Gotama the recluse." And when they had decided that it was the power of Gotama the recluse, then they were able to see their litters. They thought, "Gotama the recluse has great magic and power, but we have greater magic."

Next they prepared to go and fetch water in their water-pots. But they could not see the pots. They asked themselves, "Whose power is this? It must be the power of Gotama the recluse." And when they had decided that it

¹ Lacuna.

² Literally, "(they said) we will descend", *otariṣyāmo ti*. And so of their other intended actions.

was the power of Gotama the recluse, then they were able to see each his own pot. They thought, "Gotama the recluse has great magic and power, but we have greater magic."

Taking their water-pots they went to the river Nairāñjanā to fetch water, but they could not fill¹ the pots. They asked themselves, "Whose power is this? It must be the power of Gotama the recluse." And when they had decided that it was the power of Gotama the recluse, then they filled² the pots with water. They thought, "Gotama the recluse has great magic and power, but we have greater magic."

Then they decided to have a meal, but they could not prepare the food. They asked themselves (428), "Whose power is this? It must be the power of Gotama the recluse." And when they had decided that it was the power of Gotama the recluse, then they were able to prepare the food. They thought, "Gotama the recluse has great magic and power, but we have greater magic."

When they had had their meal, they set about cutting logs. They raised their axes, but they could not bring them down. They asked themselves, "Whose power is this? It must be the power of Gotama the recluse." And when they had decided that it was the power of Gotama the recluse, then they were able to bring down their uplifted axes and cut the logs. They thought, "Gotama the recluse has great magic and power, but we have greater magic."

In this way, by five hundred miracles, the Exalted One convinced Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa, his two brothers³ and his company. And the last miracle was this.⁴ The Exalted One

¹ *Bharayati* also *bharati*, "denom. to Sk. *bhara*, cf. Sk. *bharita*, more rarely *bhr̥ita*" (B.H.S.D.).

² *Bharen̥suḥ*. One MS. has *bharayetsuḥ*.

³ Literally, "the three brothers, U.K. being chief," reading, as Senart suggests *Uruvilvākāśyapapramukhāṇ* for *-kāśyapasya sammukhāṇ*.

⁴ The miracles recounted hitherto are, with three exceptions, totally different from those in the corresponding episode in *V. i. 24 ff.* This one, which the *Mhvū.* says is the last of five hundred, is in *V.* the first of an enumerated series of five. But the latter text goes on to mention other miracles, among them one which closely resembles the miracle of the wood-cutting in our text. But *V.* says simply that they were unable to cut the wood; it lacks the picturesque detail of the uplifted axes which could not be lowered. The third miracle which is common to the two texts is that of the fire which could not be kindled. This is the first in the *Mhvū.*, but in *V.* it comes later, among those which are outside the enumerated series of five. See Windisch (*op. cit.*, p. 31 ff.) for a detailed parallelism between the respective accounts in the two texts of the episode of the three Kāśyapas.

wished to go into seclusion and he said to Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa, "O Kāśyapa, I should like to go into seclusion in your fire-hut."¹ But Kāśyapa replied, "O Gotama, this fire-hut must not be entered by any man or deva. For in it there dwells a malevolent Nāga, and we ourselves keep far away from that fire-hut for fear of the Nāga." The Exalted One, however, said, "Give me your consent, O Kāśyapa, and I will go into seclusion in that fire-hut." Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa said, "No, Gotama, I will not consent that you go into the fire-hut. This fire-hut is reputed² to be evil. But here are all these many hundreds of huts of grass and leaves. Let the honourable Gotama seek seclusion in whichever one of these he likes."

But the Exalted One rose from his seat and entered the fire-hut of Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa (429) and sat down in seclusion. There in the fire-hut the Exalted One turned himself into the element of fire.³ The Nāga, unable to endure the heat of the Exalted One fled into⁴ the Exalted One's bowl, which had been given him by the Four Great Kings. The Exalted One inspired⁵ him with love, tamed him, and rendered him harmless,⁶ so that he no more displayed⁷ malevolence.

Because of the Exalted One's fire the fire-hut appeared to be one flaming mass. And the Matted-hair Ascetics thought, "Gotama the recluse has been burnt by the malevolent Nāga, and the whole hut is on fire." So they ran and carried water to quench the burning hut and to rescue Gotama the recluse. But the Exalted One, having tamed the Nāga and rendered him harmless, presented him in the bowl to Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa. When they saw the Nāga in the Exalted One's bowl, Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa and his company were amazed. "Gotama the recluse," said they, "has great magic and power, inasmuch as he whose dwelling⁸ might not, so 'twas said, be

¹ *Agniśarana*. Cf. Pali *aggisaraṇa* in the Cingalese edition of V. (I. 23) for *aggisālā* of the P.T.S. edition.

² *Ākhyāyati*. See p. 389, n. 7.

³ *Tejodhātum samāpanna*.

⁴ *Okasta*, "gone down" "descended". Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) says that he cannot improve on Senart's explanation of this word. See vol. I, p. 188, n. 6. It is not found outside the *Mhvu*.

⁵ "Filled", *sphuṭa*.

⁶ "Poisonless", *nirviṣa*.

⁷ *Vyāvahati*. See B.H.S.D.

⁸ Reading, as suggested by the MSS. and the metrical version below, *Yasya bhavanam*, for *paśya bhagavan* of the text.

entered, has been overcome,¹ by the fire of Gotama the recluse."

With this last miracle Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa and his two brothers² and their companies were convinced by the Exalted One.

When he had tamed the king of serpents³ in the fire-hut of Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa, he carried him out⁴ in his bowl and presented him to the honourable Kāśyapa.

"See, O Kāśyapa," said he, "how the fire of him whose dwelling no one in the world might enter has been overcome by my fire."

Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa and his company were thrilled when they saw that the Nāga had been tamed and calmed by the Nāga among men.

That Nāga, because of whom the great seer's dwelling could not be entered, had been tamed and rendered harmless by the power of the Buddha.

(430) The Exalted One said :

There is no malice in one trained by me ; among such, O Kāśyapa, there is none that is unrestrained. Though the heavens fall or the earth be cleaved in two, a man who has been tamed by the Buddha will fare immune from poison.⁵

The Exalted One let the serpent go, saying, "This serpent is a restrained Nāga."⁶ The serpent assumed a human form and walked in the footsteps of the Sugata.

"Be my refuge, O Best of men," said he, "there is no longer any sin in me,⁷ since I have just now discarded the wicked heart that was mine, O greatly wise One.

"O Supreme of men, I have thrown off my guilt,⁸ since

¹ *Paryādinna*, past. part. of *paryādāti*. See B.H.S.D. Cf. Pali *pariyādiyati*. See also p. 421, n. 4.

² See p. 101, n. 2.

³ A metrical version of the episode.

⁴ *Niharati*, Pali *id.*, Sk. *nirharati*.

⁵ Literally "will not fare having poison", *na . . . saviṣo caret*.

⁶ Reading so *samvṛitanāgo ti* for *sa samvartanāgo ti* of the text, which is Senart's doubtful conjecture and which he explains, by analogy with *samvartāgni* ("the fire at the end of the world"), as "the serpent which is capable of destroying the world" (!)

⁷ Literally "that sin (sc. which used to be mine) is not mine," *ayaṃ na me atyayo* (Pali *accayo*).

⁸ *Aparāḍha*, masc. with neut. predicate *bāhyam kṛitam*; the phrase is passive in the original.

I am now sinless. O Best of guides, may I come again to thy refuge."

And then repeatedly saluting from the right and doing obeisance with great reverence, the Nāga departed.

All the three brothers, Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa with his company of five hundred, Nadi-Kāśyapa with his company of three hundred, and Gayā-Kāśyapa with his company of two hundred were by means of these five hundred miracles converted by the Exalted One into the state of mastery. All were initiated and ordained by means of the "Come, monk" formula. "Come, monks," said he, "live the brahma-life under the Tathāgata." And when the Exalted One had pronounced the words "Come, monks," every mark of the seer, every badge, every emblem and every sign disappeared from their persons. They were seen to have the three robes and the *sumbhaka*¹ bowls, their hair in its natural state, and their deportment established—all just like those of monks who had been ordained a hundred years. Such was the initiation, ordination and admission into monkhood of the three brothers, the venerable Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa, Nadi-Kāśyapa and Gayā-Kāśyapa and their companies.

(431) Now their nephew, named Upasena,² had constructed a hermitage on the banks of the river Nairāñjanā, which was well-supplied with leaves, flowers and fruits. He lived there with a company of three hundred.³ He was master of the four meditations, had attained the five super-knowledges, and had great magic and power.

Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa and the monks with him had thrown all the trappings they had had as seers, their shoes and their cloaks of antelope hide, their cotton robes and their water-pots, to be carried away by the river Nairāñjanā. "Our nephew Upasena and his company," said they, "will make use of these trappings." And when these saw the trappings

¹ See p. 67, n. 3.

² Not certainly identical with any of the persons of this name mentioned in the Pali texts, nor with the monk who, according to the *Mhv.*, converted Śāriputra (see vol. 3, p. 60, text). This same Upasena has, however, been already mentioned in our text (3. 103).

³ As Senart points out, this number should be corrected into 250, *ardha-trisata*. See below, p. 432 (text).

being carried down by the Nairāñjanā they dragged them out.

But the thought occurred to the seer Upasena, "Can my uncles have been molested by anyone?" With all speed he and his company hurried to the retreat of Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa and his two brothers.¹ When he arrived the Exalted One and his company had just finished a meal. The company of monks were dipping their vessels in the river Nairāñjanā and cleaning and polishing them.

Upasena the seer went up to the venerable Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa and addressed him in a verse:

In vain² did you offer the fire sscrifice; in vain did you make your penance, since at the last you abandoned³ them, as a snake its cast-off skin.

And the venerable Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa replied to the seer Upasena in verse:

Yea, in vain did I offer the fire-sacrifice; in vain did I make my penance, since at the last I abandoned⁴ them, as a snake its cast-off skin.

And Upasena, too, with his company was converted by the Exalted One to the state of mastery, and initiated and ordained by means of the "Come, monk" formula. (432) "Come, monks," said he, "live the brahma-life under the Tathāgata." And when the words "Come, monks," had been addressed to them, every mark of the seer, every badge, every emblem and every sign disappeared from their persons. They were seen to have the three robes, the *sumbhaka*⁵ bowl, their hair in its natural state and their deportment established—all just like those of monks who had been ordained a hundred years. This was the first assembly of the monks of the Exalted One and consisted of one thousand two hundred and fifty monks.

The monks asked the Exalted One, "Lord, as the maturing of what karma were the three brothers, Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa, Nadi-Kāśyapa and Gayā-Kāśyapa possessed of such great

¹ The text names them.

² *Moham*, AMg. id., Sk. and Pali *mogham* (B.H.S.D.).

³ *Jahe*, 2nd sg. opt., used as aorist.

⁴ *Jahe*, 1st sg. opt., used as aorist. See Edgerton, *Gram.*, § 32. 91-2.

⁵ See p. 67, n. 3.

magic and power and were so quick of attainment?" The Exalted One replied, "They made a vow to that effect in a former life. It is by way of the ripening of the root of merit planted under a Buddha that these should now be possessed of great magic and power and be so quick of attainment."

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, in Hastināpura there was a king named Mahendra,¹ who was meritorious, distinguished, righteous, a king of righteousness. He had loyal subjects, and he was generous and charitable. Now when he was king, the Buddha named Puṣpa,² a Tathāgata, Arhan and perfect Buddha, with his community of disciples, was staying in Hastināpura by invitation.

In the land of the Kalingas there was a town named Simhapura,³ where three brothers of the same mother were ruling. In their kingdom a treasure had been discovered, and they brought that treasure with them from Simhapura to Hastināpura and presented it to King Mahendra. On that account King Mahendrakā became kindly disposed to the three brothers, and he asked them, "What shall I do for you?" They replied, "We desire that out of compassion for us the exalted Puṣpa dwell in our city for the rainy season. If we secure this to-day, we wish to perform a great deed of merit."⁴ King Mahendrakā replied, "The exalted Puṣpa can well stay in our city some other time. (433) May you find favour with this Puṣya."⁵

¹ Pali *Mahinda*. See *D.P.N.* s.v. Uruvela-Kassapa for Pali references to the story of a former life of the three Kāśyapas.

² Pali *Phussa*.

³ Two other cities of this name are mentioned in the *Mhvu.*, namely, a city of the Kinnarīs (2. 95, text) and the capital of Śākyamuni (3. 238, text). The Kalinga city of this name seems to be identical with one of the three Sihapuras mentioned in Pali texts. The two others are entirely different. See *D.P.N.*

⁴ Senart doubtfully restores *āpūrtam* (or *prapūrtam*) for the inexplicable *prapuḷam* and *prapūḍham* of the MSS. He takes *āpūrtam* (*prapūrtam*) as equivalent to *pūrtam*, but has to confess that this latter word is not used by the Buddhists. Perhaps, in spite of the MSS., we should fall back on restoring the simple word *puṇyam*.

⁵ Reading *puṣyena* for *puṇyena*. The text would give "may you be favoured by this deed of merit". But the deed of merit was yet to be performed. As the Pali name of the Buddha in this story is Phussa, it is likely that we should read Puṣya for Puṣpa throughout. The two names are often interchangeable in MSS. and editions, and Senart himself has often emended the latter into the former. See *B.H.S.D.* for instances of this confusion.

The brothers then invited the exalted Puṣpa and his community of disciples to their city. So the Exalted One spent the rainy season in their city, and there he passed away. The brothers paid worship to the body of the deva Puṣpa and erected a tope in his honour.

When¹ King Mahendra was ruling the earth in justice and guiding his conduct with knowledge, there were three brothers living in unison, with sons and daughters loyal² to them.

And while they thus lived together in unison, they ruled their realm with justice, having abundant wealth and being encompassed³ with riches. They thus lived in joy for many years.

And while they thus shared together one rule, they happened to see the Buddha, the Supreme of bipeds. He was the Buddha named after a constellation.⁴ He had reached perfection by his own power and was worshipped by devas and men.

When the compassionate Master passed away we, in our wisdom, we and our sons and daughters and our kinsfolk, our nobles and our chieftains, erected⁵ a tope for him here in our city.

Then with warriors on elephants, horsemen, charioteers and footsoldiers, with dance and music and song, (434) with incense, garlands and ointments, we did honour to the great seer.

And now, as the fruit of this worship at that tope, we shall not go to bourne of ill for ninety-two kalpas. By this karma, O great Sage, we are now all tamed in thy teaching, O Wise One.⁶

Here ends the Jātaka of the venerable Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa, Nadi-Kāśyapa and Gayā-Kāśyapa.

¹ A metrical version of the tale.

² *Anuvartaka*.

³ Properly "bound to", *anubaddha*. But *ratnānubaddhā* is a compound of which it is difficult to give a significant analysis. It is Senart's conjecture from the still more obscure *ratnāni bandhanāni* of the MSS. A possible emendation of the whole line would be *prabhūtabhogaratnā bandhumantāḥ*, "with abundant wealth and riches and many relations."

⁴ I.e., Puṣya. See p. 434, n. 5.

⁵ Or "made", *akarimha* 1st pl. aor. of *karoti*. See Edgerton, *Gram.*, § 32. 40 where it is pointed out that the metre requires *akarimha*, which is also the reading of one MS.

⁶ The three Kāśyapa brothers are themselves giving the explanation, as in the prose version the Buddha does, of the reason why they have so readily accepted his teaching. Their identification with the three brothers of Simhapura is implied. But this metrical version is obviously much abbreviated, and consequently somewhat incoherent.

THE CHAPTER OF THE THOUSAND

The Exalted One left the retreat of Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa with his community of one thousand two hundred and fifty monks, and came to Dharmāraṇya¹ where some great seers had their hermitage. Seven hundred Matted-hair Ascetics lived there, all of whom had mastered the four meditations and attained the five super-knowledges. All were two thousand years old; their roots of merit were mature and they were in their last existence. For their sake the Exalted One entered their retreat and recited to the Matted-hair Ascetics the *Sahasravarga* of the *Dharma*pada.²

*Better than a thousand speeches made up of profitless words is one profitable speech by which a man who hears it is made calm.*³

*Better than a thousand verses made up of profitless words is one profitable verse by which a man who hears it is made calm.*⁴

*Better than a man who beats in combat hundreds of thousands of men is he who conquers one, his own self. He, verily, is the noblest conqueror.*⁵

He who can beat hundreds of thousands month after month, is not worth a fraction⁶ of him who puts his faith in the Buddha.

¹ Or "the Forest of Dharma". Senart gives this as a proper name in his introduction, but does not list it as such in his index. There is no corresponding Pali place-name in *D.P.N.*, nor does it appear in *B.H.S.D.* either as a proper or common noun.

² *Dharmapadesu sahasravarga*. Cf. the *Sahasravagga* of the Pali *Dhammapada*, vv. 100 ff. Senart maintains that the use of the two genitives *vācānām* and *gāthānām*, both dependent on *sahasram*, in the first two stanzas, respectively, with a qualifying adj. in the nom., *saṃhitā*, is not without parallel in our text, but that it puzzled the redactor of the corresponding Pali who was misled to adopt what, according to Senart, is the less admissible construction of *sahasram* with the nom., *sahasam* . . . *vācā*. Senart argues from this that the Pali represents an inferior tradition as compared with the *Mhvu.* Max Müller (*S.B.E.* X, p. 13, n.) however, says, "Here the Pali text seems decidedly more original and perfect."

³ *Dh.* 100.

⁴ *Dh.* 101

⁵ *Dh.* 103.

⁶ Literally, "is not worth a sixteenth part of" *kalamarghati soḍaṣim*. Cf. Pali *kalam nāgghati soḷasim*. This is verse 106 in *Dh.* but a different main verb in each text, *yajetha* (from *yajati*) in *Dh.* and *jayeta* (from *jayati*) in *Mhvu.*, gives a completely different turn to each. It is needless to remark how easily these two similarly sounding verbs could be confused in oral tradition. There can be little doubt that the Pali *yajati* is more original here, and gives a better sense.

(435) *He who can beat hundreds of thousands month after month, is not worth a fraction of him who puts his faith in the dharma.*¹

He who can beat hundreds of thousands month after month, is not worth a fraction of him who puts his faith in the Sangha.

He who can beat hundreds of thousands month after month, is not worth a fraction of those who have mastered the rules of morality.

He who can beat hundreds of thousands month after month, is not worth a fraction of those who have the well-preached dharma.

*Month after month the foolish man may take his meal on tip of kuśa grass,² but he is not worth a fraction of the man who puts his faith in the Buddha.*³

Month after month the foolish man may take his meal on tip of kuśa grass, but he is not worth a fraction of the man who puts his faith in the dharma.

Month after month the foolish man may take his meal on tip of kuśa grass, but he is not worth a fraction of the man who puts his faith in the Sangha.

Month after month the foolish man may take his meal on tip of kuśa grass, but he is not worth a fraction of the man who puts his faith in the meditations.

Month after month the foolish man may take his meal on tip of kuśa grass, but he is not worth a fraction of the men who have mastered the rules of morality.

Month after month the foolish man may take his meal on tip of kuśa grass, but he is not worth a fraction of the men who have the well-preached dharma.

A man may live a hundred years in careful tendance of

¹ This and the next nine stanzas are not in the Pali *Dh.* See vol. II, p. 202, n. 5.

² A proverbial expression for a scanty meal.

³ The first line of this stanza and the last line of the preceding together make up stanza 70 of *Dh.*, in the chapter entitled *Bālavaggo* "The Chapter of the Fool." For *svākhyātadhammānām*, however, the *Dh.* has *sankhātadhammānām* "those who have reckoned on or recognised the truth of things or the dhamma." *Sankhātadhamma* is an epithet of the Arhan (*S.* 2. 47; 4.210) and of the Paccekabuddha (*Sn.* 1038). It might seem better, therefore, to emend the *Mhvu.* accordingly and read *sankhyāta*, which in *BSk.* has a meaning similar to the Pali *sankhāta*.

the sacred fire, eating from his bowl, dwelling among corpses, and performing many a penance ;

A man may, too, for just one moment worship one in whom the self is developed—that one act of worship is worth more than a hundred years of sacrificing.¹

Whatever a man has offered or sacrificed in this world (436) as he pursues his year-long quest of merit, is worth but a quarter of the homage paid to upright men.²

One may live for a hundred years, immoral, with mind unconcentrated, but better is the one day's life of him who is moral and who meditates.³

One may live for a hundred years, sluggish and inert, but better is the one day's life of him who firmly exerts his energy.⁴

One may live for a hundred years without seeing the Buddha's teaching, but better is the one day's life of him who sees it.

One may live for a hundred years without seeing the unsurpassed dharma, but better is the one day's life of him who sees it.

One may live for a hundred years without seeing the rise and fall of things, but better is the one day's life of him who sees them.⁵

One may live for a hundred years without seeing the immovable,⁶ but better is the one day's life of him who sees it.

One may live for a hundred years without seeing the immortal, but better is the one day's life of him who sees it.⁷

The Matted-hair Ascetics were all converted by the Exalted One to mastery of the powers, and they all passed to nirvana. The Exalted One paid honour to their bodies and erected topes for them. He then left Dharmāranya and returned to the Goatherd's Banyan-tree.

¹ These last two verses are comparable to, but not identical with Dh. 107.

² Dh. 108.

³ Dh. 110.

⁴ Dh. 112.

⁵ Dh. 113.

⁶ Sc. nirvana, *acyutam padam*.

⁷ Dh. 114.

THE CONVERSION OF BIMBISĀRA¹

The Exalted One, perfectly enlightened and having realised the aim he had set himself, was staying, not long after his enlightenment, at Uruvilvā, at the foot of the Goatherd's Banyan-tree on the banks of the river Nairañjanā.

(437) Now it happened that King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra's brāhman household-priest and tutor had at daybreak gone up to the upper terrace of the palace and was reading the detailed description of the thirty-two marks of a Great Man. King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra heard him,² and there came to him then the recollection of the Buddha. "Ah!" said he, "may the exalted Buddha appear in my realm once more, and may I once more see him. And when I have seen him may he approve of my way of life. May I with trustful heart pay homage³ to the Exalted One. And may he teach me the dharma, and may I listen to and understand the dharma."

And when the night was past King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra gave instructions to a certain man, saying to him, "Go, man, and quickly hitch the fine carriages, and let me know when it is done." "So be it, your majesty," said the man in obedience to King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra. Quickly he hitched the fine carriages, and when he had done so he reported. "Your majesty," said he, "the fine carriages are ready and at your disposal."⁴

Then King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra mounted a fine carriage, and with great royal majesty and splendour and to the accompaniment of shouts of "bravo" and "hurrah" and the noise of drums, tabours, cymbals and trumpets he left the city of Rājagṛiha and came to a certain park. He drove on as far as the ground allowed, and then proceeded on foot. He roamed and wandered through the park, and then sat down on a golden palanquin with his face to the east, surrounded by his women and attended by his council of ministers.

¹ Cf. the account in the *Mahāvagga* 1. 22. The circumstances related by way of introduction are peculiar to the *Mhv*. Verbal parallelism with the Pali version begins only with p. 441.

² The text repeats the whole previous statement.

³ *Paryupāseyam*, opt. of *paryupāsayaṭi*, a BSk. formation of *paryupāste*. Cf. Pali *payirupāsati*.

⁴ *Yasyedāniṃ kalam manyase*. See vol. I, p. 269, n. 1.

When King (438) Bimbisāra looked towards the city of Rājagṛiha, its hills and lotus-pools, and remembered the nobles of old who were dead and gone, there came to him the forthright understanding¹ of one who is disgusted² with pleasures of sense.

He who brought increase to the realm of the Angas³ left the park and sat down on his splendid throne of gold.

The fair blossoming sāl-trees, rustling as with sound of music,⁴ and just then duly bursting into bloom,⁵ were laden with flowers.

He gazed on the hills that were filled with wild beasts, the haunts of monkeys and numerous lions.

The king sat down with his face to the east and thought of the days of old. With tear-dimmed eyes he recited these verses ;

Though I now stand in glory like snow-white mount Kailāsa, yet my father and my grandfather are dead and gone, their craving still unsatisfied.⁶

To what regions are they now gone, who spent their lives among these fair and bright and happy glades, these lotus-pools and crags ?

To what regions are they now gone, who spent their lives among these wide-spread domains ?

To what regions are they now gone who, when they lived, enjoyed these clothes and necklaces and earrings ?

To what regions are they now gone, who bathed in these delightful lotus-pools which echo to the songs⁷ of various birds and (439) are covered with fragrant white lotuses ?

To what regions are they now gone, who spent their lives among these delightful and heavenly resorts, with their green grass nestling by the water, shady and cool and pleasant ?

¹ *Yoniso manasikāro.*

² *Jugutsuno (-as), gen. sg. of jugutsu, "unhistorical hyper-Sk. for MIndic *jugucchu = Sk. jugupsu" (B.H.S.D.)*

³ *Sc. Bimbisāra.*

⁴ *Tantrighoṣābhināḍita.* But Senart, with reason, doubts the correctness of *tantri*, and suggests *dviḥ* or *pakṣi* or other term for "bird".

⁵ *Samyakkālāprabodhana, "waking up at the right time."*

⁶ *Avilātriṣṇā.*

⁷ *Nikūjita, past. part. of kūjati.* But this compound seems to be unknown to the dictionaries.

Today, I see no life in these abodes where hundreds used to live, nor in these mountains over which I used to roam. These places which I used to haunt I now deem emptiness. So what, verily,¹ is life but death, a mere fleeting moment² full of ill ?

Death, certain death, inevitably follows life. A man that is born cannot but die—this is the lot of living things.

Wherever a living man goes wearily along his way, there Yama's messengers come night and day bearing his commands.

Then one of the king's counsellors thought, "Verily, melancholy has got hold of King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra. What means is there whereby I can shake off his melancholy ?" He then reflected, "Of a truth, the city of Rājagṛiha is dear to and beloved of King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra. (440) What now if I were to recite the praises of the city of Rājagṛiha in his presence ?" So the king's counsellor addressed King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra in a verse :

These well-watered hills and these charming crags of Rājagṛiha, drenched by water from heaven . . .³

But King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra reproached the counsellor, saying, "You are indeed a stupid man when you think that you should praise what I have despised." And in King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra there all the more arose a loathing⁴ for the pleasures of sense, a dejection of heart and deep reflection.

Then the brāhman household priest and royal tutor thought, "Verily, distress and dejection have got hold of King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra. What means is there whereby I can dispel this distress and dejection ?" And he reflected, "The exalted Buddha is dear to and beloved of King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra. What now if I were to recite the Buddha's praise in his presence ?" So he addressed King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra in a verse :

O lord of this realm, O glorious king of Anga and sovereign

¹ *Kimsya*, where *sya* (also *asya*) is BSk. for the Sk. emphatic particle *svīd*, Pali *su*, *assu* and *assa*. See Senart's note in vol. I, p. 412, B.H.S.D. and P.E.D.

² "A mere trifle", *parittam*, BSk. and Pali.

³ Lacuna of practically a whole stanza.

⁴ *Vyākūtsanā.* Only here and on p. 451 (text). See B.H.S.D., where it is misplaced.

of Magadha, great gain is yours in that there has appeared in your land a Tathāgata whose fame is wide-spread like that of the Himālaya mountain. (441) Endued with morality, forbearance and austerity, he has lived the brahma-life and is at the end of all worldly things.

He gathers hundreds of thousands of nayutas of beings and enables them to attain immortality, the calm and the matchless peace.

King Bimbisāra replied to his brāhman priest and tutor in a verse :

Dear brāhman, you have praised¹ him who is dear to me. You have praised him who is dear to my kingdom, the dear Buddha² who lives for the good of the world.

I give you sixteen villages of your choice, ten chariots with thoroughbred steeds harnessed to them, a hundred female slaves, and a hundred cows, because³ you have celebrated⁴ the glory of the dear Buddha.

Now⁵ it happened that the Exalted One was touring Magadha with a great company of monks to the number of one thousand two hundred and fifty. He made for Rājagṛiha, the city of the Magadhans, reached it and stayed there. And King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra heard from his brāhman priest and tutor that the Exalted One, while touring Magadha with a great company of monks to the number of one thousand two hundred and fifty, had made for Rājagṛiha, the city of the Magadhans, reached it, and was staying there in the park Yaśṭivana on the hill Antagiri. When he heard this⁶ he gave instructions to a certain counsellor, saying to him, "Ho there, counsellor, I am going to meet the exalted Buddha. Have Rājagṛiha gaily bedecked. Fit out fine carriages, for

¹ *Kīrtaye*, opt., in sense of aor., 2 sg., of *kīrtayati*.

² *Buddhasya*, gen. obj. of *kīrtaye* (understood); the preceding obj., *priyam*, "him who is dear" is, however, acc.

³ The text, however, has no causal particle here.

⁴ *Prakīrtaye*, opt. = aor. 2 sg.

⁵ What has just been related is obviously a fragment of another version or tradition of the story of Bimbisāra's conversion. But it is cut short and recourse is had instead to the same tradition as that embodied in the *Mahāvagga* (V. 1. 35 f.). Anyhow, from this point the account is closely parallel with that in the latter text, although there is also considerable and interesting variation in circumstantial detail.

⁶ These details are not in the *Mahāvagga*.

all the brāhman and householders and all the craftsmen and guildsmen of Rājagṛiha are to go with me to meet the exalted Buddha."

(442) "So be it," said the royal counsellor in obedience to King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra. Quickly he hitched the fine carriages, and at the cross-roads and entrances to bazaars in the city of Rājagṛiha, he caused proclamations to be made, announcing, "The exalted Buddha has arrived at the park Yaśṭivana on the hill Antagiri near Rājagṛiha, and thither all must go along with King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra to meet the Exalted One."

On hearing this proclamation there assembled at the gates of the palace the council of princes and counsellors, the brāhman with the household priest at their head, the townsmen with the guild-president at their head, the community of traders with the chief merchant at their head, and all the eighteen guilds of Rājagṛiha. There were¹ jugglers, court-bards,² musicians, actors, dancers, athletes, wrestlers, tam-bourine-players, clowns, tumblers, tam-tam players, buffoons, *dvistvalas*, reciters, *pañcavaṭukas*, singers, *guṇavartas*³, dancers, *cetayikas*,⁴ courtesans,⁵ jesters, performers on the drum, trumpet, kettle-drum, tabour, flute, cymbal, guitar, the lute and the *yella*(?)—these and many other musicians gathered at the gates of the palace. All the guildsmen were there, to wit, goldsmiths, bankers, cloaksellers, workers in jewels and stones,⁶ perfumers, *kośāvikas*, oil-dealers, hawkers of jars of butter, factors of sugar, of curds, of cotton, of dried treacle, of sweet-meats and *kaṇḍukas*, factors of wheat-flour and of barley-meal, hawkers of fruit, of roots, perfumed oil from ground powder, *aṭṭavānījās*,⁷ *āviddhakas*, makers of confectionery from sugar, dealers in honey and candied sugar—

¹ Cf. the list on p. 113 (text), p. 111 ff. (trans.), with the notes there. The two lists are not, however, quite identical.

² Reading *vaitālikā* as on p. 113, for *tālikā*.

³ Not on p. 113. Cf. *guṇa*, "string", of a musical instrument.

⁴ Not on p. 113.

⁵ *Ganikās*. Not on p. 113.

⁶ *Maṇiprastārikā*. On p. 113 we have *maṇikārā* and *prastārikā*, two separate words. Of *prastārika* itself B.H.S.D. says "perh. jewel-merchant?"

⁷ Corresponding to the equally inexplicable *āgrivantiyā* on p. 113. More than 18 guilds, it will be noticed, are mentioned, which is evidently the result of later elaboration.

these and other business people were there. And all the the craftsmen were there, to wit, brass-founders, coppersmiths, goldsmiths, bowl-makers,¹ *praccopakas*,² (443) *roṣyaṇas*,³ tinsmiths, makers of lead sheets, machine-makers,⁴ garland-makers, vegetable-growers,⁵ potters, tanners, makers of iron pans,⁶ makers of mail armour, dyers, cleaners, cotton-spinners, painters, carpenters, carvers, masons,⁷ modellers, barbers, hairdressers, woodcutters, decorators, builders, barnmakers, miners, hawkers of fragrant earth, and of wood, traders in bark, shrubs and twigs, sailors, boatmen, washers of gold, and tricksters⁸—these and other people of various classes, lower, upper and middle, all assembled at the gates of the palace.

When the royal counsellor saw that the great crowd had assembled and the fine carriages hitched, he went to King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra and said to him, "Your majesty, the fine carriages are hitched and the great crowd has assembled. Sire, now let it be as you wish."⁹ Then King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra mounted his fine carriage, and escorted by twelve *nayutas* of the brāhmanas and householders of Magadha, in great royal splendour and to the accompaniment of shouts of "bravo" and "hurrah" from the people, and the noise of kettle-drums, tabours, drums,¹⁰ cymbals and trumpets, left the city of Rājagṛīha and came to the park Yaśṭivana on the hill Antagiri. He rode in his carriage as far as the ground allowed, and then alighted and proceeded on foot to where the Exalted One was. He bowed at his feet and sat down to one side. Some exchanged expressions of friendliness and courtesy with the

¹ Reading, as Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) suggests, *taṭṭukāra* or *-kāraka* for Senart's emendation of the MS. *taḍva* into *taddhu*.

² *Pradhvopaka*, on p. 113.

³ *Roṣyaṇas* on p. 113.

⁴ *Yantrakāraka*. But p. 113 has *jantukāraka*, ? "workers in grass." But see p. 113, n. 1.

⁵ *Purimākāraka*. But see p. 112, n. 15.

⁶ *Kandukāraka*. Not on p. 113, but cf. *kaṇḍuka* there and on p. 442.

⁷ Reading *śelālaka* for *peśālaka* of text. See Edgerton, B.H.S.D.

⁸ *Moṭṭhika* for *mauṣṭika* on p. 113.

⁹ *Yasēdāni kalam manyasi*. See p. 439, n. 4.

¹⁰ *Maru*, "a kind of drum" (B.H.S.D.). The word occurs also at i. 259; 2, 180, 410, but nowhere outside the *Mhvu*. It is always found in this stock enumeration of drums and similar instruments, and it cannot be certain whether or not the word forms a compound with the preceding word *mṛḍanga* or the following *paṭaha*.

Exalted One, and sat down to one side; others called out their personal and clan names to the Exalted One, and sat down to one side; others stretched out their joined hands to the Exalted One, (444) and sat down to one side; others, again, the brāhmanas and householders of Magadha, remained silent and sat down to one side.

Now it happened that at that time Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa was sitting down not far from the Exalted One. And the thought occurred to those brāhmanas and householders of Magadha, "Does Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa live the brahma-life under Gotama the recluse, or does Gotama the recluse live the brahma-life under Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa?" But the Exalted One, aware that there was such a thought in the minds of those brāhmanas and householders, addressed Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa in a verse:

What did you see, O dweller in Uruvilvā, that, renowned as you were for your penances,¹ you abandoned the sacred fire? I ask you, O Kāśyapa, the meaning of this. How did you come to abandon the fire-sacrifice?

When this had been spoken, the venerable Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa replied to the Exalted One in a verse:

In the sacrifice men speak of food and drink² and sweet things, of sensual pleasures and women. But I am aware of what is dross among attachments and I therefore take no delight in sacrifice and offering.

The Exalted One spoke to the venerable Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa in a verse:

But if you do not set your heart on these things, on food and drink and sweet things, there must be something better in the world of devas and of men in which your heart delights.

(445) And the venerable Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa replied to the Exalted One in a verse:

When I had seen the Sage,³ calm, free from all substrate

¹ Literally, "known as emaciated," *kṛṣako vadāno*. See *Vin. Texts*, i, p. 138, n. 1.

² *Annāni pānāni*. V. i. 36 has *rūpe ca sādde ca*, "forms and sounds".

³ V. has, for *munim*, *paḍam*, which practically makes of each of the succeeding adjectives *śāntam*, etc., a substantive synonymous with nirvana.

of rebirth,¹ possessing nothing,² rid of all attachments to existence,³ unchanging, and not led by others, then I lost all delight in sacrifice and offering.

The Exalted One said to the venerable Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa in a verse :

In vain did you offer the fire-sacrifice; in vain did you make your penance, since at the last you abandoned them as a snake its cast-off skin.

Then the venerable Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa replied to the Exalted One in a verse :

Yea, in vain did I offer the fire-sacrifice; in vain did I make my penance, since at the last I abandoned them as a snake its cast-off skin.⁴

"Man is freed by fire-sacrifice and offerings," so in my ignorance I formerly believed, as I blindly followed after birth and death, unable to see the perfect immovable state.

But now do I see that pure state, for it has been so clearly revealed to me by the mighty⁵ noble Nāga. I have attained that complete and perfect state, and have escaped the round of birth and death.

Many men are lost though they perform divers austerities. They do not reach perfection because they have not passed beyond doubt.

(446) Long was I soiled, bound in the chains of wrong belief. But the clear-sighted Exalted One has set me free from all my fetters.

"The Exalted One is my Master, and I am a disciple of the

¹ *Anupadhika*.

² *Akiñcana*. V.A. 973 says that this word means "without the stain of passion." See I. B. Horner, *Book of Disc.*, 4, p. 48, n. 4.

³ *Sarvabhavaśvasakta*. V. has *kāmabhava asattam*, "not attached to sensations' becoming" (I. B. Horner, *l.c.*).

⁴ This and the preceding verse are not in V., and are repeated here from p. 431. The compiler has also overlooked the fact that the Buddha's reply is said to be given in a single verse (*gāthāye*), and has added from his memory some verses which he considered apposite here. These latter verses bear some resemblance to *Thag.* I. 34. 1.

⁵ *Tāyin*. See vol. 2, p. 318, n. 2. The explanation of the word there given is now found confirmed by Edgerton's remarks in *B.H.S.D.*, although the translation "mighty" i.e. "such", "so great", is still preferred to Edgerton's "holy". In other instances, e.g., 3. 397, 400, 402, the word is not an epithet of the Buddha, and has been taken as equivalent to *tādṛśi*.

Sugata."¹ Then Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa rose up from his seat, arranged his robe over one shoulder, and bending his right knee to the ground he bowed his head at the feet of the Exalted One. After going round him thrice from the right, he stood behind the Exalted One and fanned him with a peacock's tail-feathers.² It then occurred to those brāhmins and householders of Magadha that it was Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa who was living the brahma-life under Gotama the recluse.

The Exalted One then delivered a discourse³ on dharma to the brāhmins and householders of Magadha. "O brāhmins and householders," said he, "Body arises and ceases to be. Feeling arises and ceases to be. Perception arises and ceases to be. The *saṃskāras* arise and cease to be. Consciousness arises and ceases to be. Noble disciples, brāhmins and householders, regarding body as subject to arising and ceasing to be, one regards feeling, perception, the *saṃskāras* and consciousness as impermanent. Regarding body as impermanent, and feeling, perception, the *saṃskāras* and consciousness as impermanent, regarding body as ill, and feeling, perception, the *saṃskāras* and consciousness as ill, one regards body as being not the self, and feeling, perception, the *saṃskāras* and consciousness as being not the self. Regarding body as being not the self, and feeling, perception, the *saṃskāras* and consciousness as being not the self, (447) one understands that body appears and disappears. Understanding this, one understands that feeling, perception, the *saṃskāras* and consciousness appear and disappear. Understanding this, one understands that body is impermanent. Understanding this, one understands that feeling, perception, the *saṃskāras* and consciousness are impermanent. Understanding this, one understands that body is ill. Understanding this, one understands that feeling, perception, the *saṃskāras* and consciousness are ill. Understanding this, one understands that body is not the self. Understanding this, one understands that feeling,

¹ In the *Mahāvagga* (V. I. 36), this sentence comes after the account of Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa's getting up and bowing to the Buddha, as related in the next paragraph, where, of course, its obviously correct place is.

² *Morāhastā* = *mayūrahastā*, Pali *morahattha*. See *B.H.S.D.* These details are not in V.

³ The subject of the discourse differs from that in V.

perception, the *saṃskāras* and consciousness are not the self. When one understands this one does not grasp at anything in the world. And when one does not grasp one personally¹ wins complete release.² One knows that one can say 'Rebirth is ended for me. I have lived the brahma-life and done what was to be done. There is for me no further life here.'³

Then those brāhmins and householders of Magadha thought, "Now since body is not the self, and since feeling, perception, the *saṃskāras* and consciousness are not the self, who is it that acts, or causes the act, prompts or instigates it, or rejects it?⁴ Who is it that appropriates or rejects these *saṃskāras*, since these *saṃskāras* are void, without a self, or what is possessed of self?"

But the Exalted One, aware that there was such a thought in the minds of those brāhmins and householders, said to his monks, "The foolish man, though it is admitted that he is without a self,⁵ avers that body,⁶ feeling, perception, the *saṃskāras* and consciousness are his self. But not so do I say that I am the one that acts, or causes the act, or prompts it, or appropriates⁷ it, or rejects it, the one that rejects the *saṃskāras* here or appropriates others elsewhere. For the *saṃskāras* arise and cease to be, and they do so from a cause. The Tathāgata, monks, teaches that the self is a reconstitution⁸ of the *saṃskāras* through a cause; (448) it is what appropriates⁹ the *saṃskāras*.¹⁰ I assert the passing away and coming-to-be of beings. With my deva sight, which is more

¹ *Pratyātmam*, BSk., Pali *paccattam*.

² Or "extinction", *parinirvāyati*.

³ "The being here," *itthātvam*. Senart, following the MSS., has elsewhere in the *Mhvu.* printed *icchatva*, but Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.*) is of opinion that this is a "mere graphic corruption".

⁴ The text has verbal substantives, *kāraka*, *kārāpaka*, *utthāpaka*, *samutthāpaka*, *nikṣepaka*.

⁵ Literally, "(though) he has been admitted (to be) without a self", *abhyupagato anātmā*.

⁶ *Rūpam* to be inserted in the text according to Senart. But the whole argument of this passage is obscure, and the order of the opening words, *prajñāpeti bhikkhavo bālā abhyupagato anātmā*, is unnatural. Edgerton (*B.H.S.D.* s.v. *prajñāpeti*) would prefer *prajñāpti*, as in MSS., "There is a declaration." But even this would not render the sentence more readily construable.

⁷ *Ādiyaka*, the verbal substantive corresponding to *ādiyati* above.

⁸ Or "reunion", "new connexion", "rebirth", *pratisaṃdhi* Pali *paṭi-sandhi*. Cf. *paṭisandheti*, p. 65 (text).

⁹ *Ādiyaka*.

¹⁰ Supplied from the context.

penetrating than the sight of men, I perceive beings passing away and coming to be. I perceive beings fair and foul, happy and unhappy, mean and exalted according to karma. Again, monks, I do not say that I am the one that acts, or causes the act, or prompts it, or appropriates it, or rejects it, the one who rejects these *saṃskāras* here and appropriates others elsewhere. The *saṃskāras* rise and they cease to be, and they do so from a cause.

"There is the erroneous view of becoming and not-becoming without a cause.¹ But, monks, he who perceives with true perfect insight that it is from a cause that the *saṃskāras* arise, will have none of this erroneous view of becoming, this heresy of eternalism.² He, monks, who perceives with true perfect insight that it is from a cause that the *saṃskāras* cease to be, will have none of this erroneous view of ceasing to be, this heresy of annihilation.³ And so, monks, the Tathāgata, avoiding⁴ these two extremes,⁵ teaches a dharma that is a mean between them.

"The *saṃskāras* are the result of ignorance;⁶ consciousness is the result of the *saṃskāras*; individuality is the result of consciousness; the six spheres of sense are the result of individuality; touch is the result of the six spheres of sense; feeling is the result of touch; craving is the result of feeling; grasping is the result of craving; coming-to-be is the result of grasping; birth is the result of coming-to-be, and the result of birth is old age, death, grief, lamentation, ill, despair and tribulation.⁷ In such a way there comes to be the arising of all this great mass of ill. But from the cessation of ignorance there comes the cessation of the *saṃskāras*; from the

¹ Reading, as the context seems to demand, *ahetu*, for *sahetu*.

² *Sāsvatadriṣṭi*, Pali *sassatadriṣṭhi*.

³ *Ucchedadriṣṭi*, Pali *ucchedadriṣṭhi*.

⁴ Reading *anupagamya*, "not approaching", as on p. 331 (text) for *anugamya*.

⁵ Sc. of eternalism and annihilationism. Possibly, as Senart suggests, there is here an allusion to the doctrine of the sect known as Mādhyamikas, "those of the middle." The allusion is not, of course, to the doctrine of the moral "mean" between the two extremes of sensuality and asceticism, enunciated on p. 331 (text). For the two theories of nihilism and annihilationism see S. 2. 17 (= S. 3. 135).

⁶ See vol. 2, p. 267, n. 9.

⁷ *Upayāsa*, for *upāyāsa*, Pali *id.* Is the form an inadvertence? It is spelt so also on the next page.

cessation of the *saṃskāras* comes that of consciousness ; from the cessation of consciousness comes that of individuality ; from the cessation of individuality comes that of the six spheres of sense ; from the cessation of the six spheres of sense comes that of touch ; from the cessation of touch comes that of feeling ; from the cessation of feeling comes that of craving ; (449) from the cessation of craving comes that of grasping ; from the cessation of grasping comes the cessation of coming-to-be ; from the cessation of coming-to-be comes the cessation of birth ; from the cessation of birth comes that of old age and death ; from the cessation of old age and death comes that of grief, lamentation, ill, despair and tribulation. In such a way there comes to be the cessation of all this great mass of ill."

Thus did the Exalted One speak when he was staying in Rājagṛha, in the park Yaśṭivana on the hill Antagiri. And while this exposition was being given King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra won the spotless, pure and clear dharma-insight into things, as also did the eleven *nayutas*.¹ And the twelve *nayutas* of teamsters and coachmen afterwards came to the refuge of the Buddha, dharma and Sangha. The enraptured King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra, monks, and the brāhmanas and householders of Magadha applauded the words of the Exalted One.

ARINDAMA²

The monks said to the Exalted One, "Behold,³ Lord, how a rich reward⁴ was given by King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra to his household-priest when he came to hear of the Exalted One." The Exalted One replied, "Monks, that was not the first time he did so." The monks asked, "Was there another occasion, Lord?" The Exalted One replied, "Yes, monks."

¹ Presumably, of the brāhmanas and householders. But the number of these is given on p. 443 (text) as "twelve *nayutas*".

² This is Jātaka No. 529 (Fausbøll), J. 5. 247. But the details vary greatly in the two texts.

³ Reading *paśya* for *kisya* of the text.

⁴ *Acchāya*, Prakrit for *acchāda*. For the latter see p. 36, n. 2.

Once upon a time, monks, long ago, in the city of Mithilā,¹ the capital of the country of Videha, a king named Arindama was ruling. He was righteous, a king of righteousness, had loyal subjects, and was charitable and generous. He had a great army and many beasts of burden. He had sixty thousand elephants and sixty thousand horses all fully caparisoned ; he had sixty thousand chariots with coverings made of the skins of tigers and lions, and carrying banners and bells,² (450) with stout armour, and flags and pennons fluttering aloft. He had sixty thousand milch cows sucking calves ; sixty thousand girls and sixty thousand palanquins of gold, silver and ivory.

Again, monks, King Arindama had sixty thousand vessels³ of gold and sixty thousand of silver. Again, monks, King Arindama had sixty thousand treasures inherited from his great grandfather, and sixty thousand cities which were flourishing, rich and peaceful.

Now King Arindama's household priest had a son named Śroṇa who was proficient in the three Vedas, in phonology, in the fifth branch of study, that is, traditional lore, in the indexes and ritual,⁴ and expert in the verbal exposition of the Brāhmaṇas and Vedas. He lived following the path of the ten moralities. Seeing the peril of sensual pleasures he went to the Himalayas and embraced the religious life of a seer. There, pursuing the brāhmanic way of life⁵ with endeavour, effort and exertion, he achieved the four meditations, attained the five super-knowledges, and became a seer of great magic and power.

But, monks, after a long time had gone by, Śroṇa the seer thought, "King Arindama and I were boys and playmates

¹ See vol. I, p. 7, n. 3.

² *Nandighoṣa*, hitherto in this translation rendered "merrily rattling" ; but now as above, following Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) who defines the word as "some sort of bell or other sound-producing instrument, normally referred to as attached to chariots." He cites AMg. *nandighosā*, "the bell of a certain deity," and *nandighosa*, "a sound produced by playing upon twelve kinds of instruments at once" (Both according to Ratnach).

³ *Pāri*: Senart had already given this word the meaning of "vase" on the basis of *pāripāna* in Divy. 221. Now Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) cites *pāri* from AMg. meaning "a vessel".

⁴ For these terms see vol. I, p. 188, n. 1-3.

⁵ *Bāhirakeṇa mārgaṇa*. See vol. I, p. 236, n. 2.

together. Now he has been ruling his kingdom for eighty-four thousand years,¹ and it is time for him to go forth to the religious life. Let me then urge him to do so." Then, monks, Śroṇaka the seer, in the time it takes a strong man to stretch out his folded arms and fold his outstretched arms, in a moment's time rose up in the air at his hermitage in the Himalayas and alighted in the Mango Grove of Mahādeva.² And, monks, the brāhman household priest and royal tutor of King Arindama saw Śroṇaka the seer seated at the foot of a mango tree in the Mango Grove of Mahādeva. He approached him, and having welcomed and greeted him he bade him farewell, and then proceeded (451) to Mithilā to inform King Arindama. At that very time, monks, there had come to King Arindama a loathing³ for pleasures of sense. After profound thought there came to him a desire to see Śroṇaka the seer. And, monks, on that occasion King Arindama recited these verses:⁴

I'll give a fair village and gaily dressed women to him who gives me news⁵ of Śroṇaka, my friend and playmate.⁶

The king had a brāhman teacher of good family, who, seeing him so unhappy and dejected, said to him,⁷

Give the fair village and the gaily dressed women to me, for I will give you news of Śroṇaka, your friend and playmate.

In your own dominion, in the ground of your own park, where the mangos flower and bear fruit, there sits the seer.

Then the king hurriedly spoke to a counsellor:

¹ I.e., he was a cakravartin. Cf. *M.* 2. 76 where 84,000 years seem a stock term of years for playing at boy's sports, being a viceroy, king, etc.

² Or "in the mango grove of a Mahādeva." It is listed as a proper name in Senart's index, but is not recorded in *B.H.S.D.*, nor mentioned in Pali texts. On the whole it is simpler to take it as a proper name of a place. But Miss I. B. Horner, in a letter, makes the brilliant suggestion that the right reading here should be Makhādeva. She writes: "According to the *Makhādeva Sutta* (*M.* 2. 74) Makhādeva's Mango Grove was near Mithilā and according to *M.A.* 3. 309 the grove was originally planted by Makhādeva, and although other kings replaced trees that died, the grove was known by its early name."

³ *Vyākṛtsanā*. See p. 441, n. 4.

⁴ Actually the king speaks only the first verse.

⁵ *Ākhyāsi*, aorist with future sense(?), so Edgerton, *Gram.*, p. 210, but Senart would rather regard it as a truncated form of a future *ākhyāsyē*, with optative ending.

⁶ The second line is identical with the corresponding line in *J.* 5. 250, but the first line, stating the reward, is totally different.

⁷ In *J.* the news is given by a young lad from the harem.

Quickly harness for me all my caparisoned elephants. Let the drums and tabours sound, and one trumpet among them.

I fain would see my comrade Śroṇaka, and reverently wait upon him. And he set forth for the forest with its varied fruit-bearing trees.

And there he saw the seer, his former friend and playmate, and on seeing Śroṇaka there he thus spoke to him.

(452) *How is it, monk, that, wretched, shaven, clad in a robe, and poor, without mother and father,² you stand in meditation at the foot of a tree?*

But, monks, Śroṇaka the seer replied to King Arindama in a verse:

O king, he is not wretched who realises the dharma in his own person.³ But whoso does violence to⁴ the dharma, the man who delights not in this dharma, it is he, O king, that is wretched, his destiny utter darkness.⁵

Then, monks, King Arindama, spoke to Śroṇaka the seer in a verse:

How, friend Śroṇaka, can you be at ease as you lie at the edge of the forest? How, living alone in the wood, can you be happy?

How can it be that your body suffers no torment? I'll bestow on you my protection and take you to the city.

¹ This verse has too long a lacuna to admit of translation. It does not seem to correspond to any verse at *J.* 5. 251.

² Reading, as Senart suggests, *amātāpūtrika* for *samātā*. The corresponding verse in *J.* 5. 251 has *amātiko apūtriko*.

³ Reading *dharmam kāyena samspṛśanto* for *dharmakāyasya śriyāpi ca* of Senart's text, which the MSS. do not seem to support at all. The emendation proposed brings the line into complete accord with the corresponding Pali (*J.* 5. 251)—*dharmam kāyena phassayam*, which *J. trans.* (5, p. 130) renders, "who in his every action has aye attained to truth." But to translate *kāyena* by 'action' is incorrect. *Kāya* is here both *nāmakāya* and *rūpakāya* (see e.g. *SnA.* 2. 594), the "whole person". The verse occurs also at *Divy.* 560 "*na rājan kṛpāṇo loke dharmakāyena samspṛśet*."

⁴ *Samupakramya*, corresponding in sense to *nirāṃkatvā* of *J.*

⁵ It is difficult to conceive what apposite sense can be drawn from Senart's text here. He reads *jyotiṣṭomaparāyaṇo*, "his end is the *jyotiṣṭoma*" (= a particular name for a Soma sacrifice. See *M.W.*). The MSS., however, clearly have *tama not stoma*. *Jyotiṣṭama* might possibly be interpreted to mean the "darkness (or darkening) of light," but, it has been thought better to restore here the reading of *Divy.* 560, *tamastamaḥparāyaṇo* "his end is darkness of darkness."

But, monks, Śroṇaka the seer replied to King Arindama in a verse:

*O king what is a kingdom to a man who fares all alone?
This is the first blessing of the poor, homeless monk.¹*

*I go from village to village, traverse kingdoms and towns,
heedless of all, with none to thwart me. This is the second
blessing of the poor, homeless monk.*

*Though there be robbers on the way he goes, with his bowl
and his robe he ever moves secure. This is the third bless-
ing of the poor, homeless monk.*

*(453) Though Mithilā be on fire, there is nothing of hsi
that is burning. This is the fourth blessing of the poor,
homeless monk.*

*These monks do not hoard,² in granary, pot or basket.³
But they stand around and beg,⁴ and live dutifully on
what they get. This is the fifth blessing of the poor, homeless
monk.*

Wanderers are maintained by various families and by

¹ There is considerable difference in the respective descriptions of these blessings in J. and Mhvu. The former enumerates eight blessings.

² Or "deposit", *osaranti*. The context requires that this verb be given a causal sense, or even actually changed into the causal *osārenti*. Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) s.v. *avasarati*, after noting that the verb in the corresponding Pali verse (J. 5. 252) is *upenti*, renders *osaranti* here by "go to" or "resort to". *Avasarati*, however, the Sk. form of the verb, denotes "to arrive at" quite as often as "to approach to", and in our text here *osaranti* is used in conjunction with the loc. case. *Osāreti*, the causal form, is used in BSk., as in Pali, in the technical sense of "restoring" a monk to his status after doing penance for a fault. But in Pali it is also, even if only as a v.l. of *osāpeti*, used in the sense of "to deposit" (P.E.D.). This last verb is, according to Morris (J.P.T.S., 1887, p. 158) caus. of *ava-sā*, Sk. *avasāyayati* (cf. Pali *avaseti*, *oseti*), but by MSS. and Pali grammarians it is taken as caus. of *ava-syi*, *sarāpeti* being contracted to *sāpeti*. See P.E.D. The verb *oseti* itself is found at Thag. 2. 283 of which the repetitive passages at J. 2. 252 and S. 1. 236 have *opeti*, which, in turn, may be the caus. of *upeti*, and is anyhow used in the sense of "to deposit" "to receive". ThagA. glosses *opeti* with *ṭhapeti*. *Openti* also is a v.l. for *upenti* at J. 2. 252. Not only the context, therefore, but the parallel passages make it clear that whatever the exact form of the verb in our text may be it must be given the meaning of "to deposit", or something similar. The absence of any object to *osaranti* (*osārenti*) need be regarded as no more strange than the frequent absence of it after the English "to deposit" and "to hoard".

³ Reading as Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) rightly suggests, *kalopiya*, loc. sg. of *kalopi* for *kulopakam* of Senart's text. J. 2. 252 has *kalopiya* (loc.). The Mhvu. MSS. have *kulopiya*. Senart's restoration leads him sadly astray in his interpretation. He has, for example, to take *koṣṭhasmim osaranti* as a loc. absolutes, and translates it, "quand laisse (le provision dans) le grenier."

⁴ Reading *eṣānā* for *eṣāno*.

various country districts; with one and all they have friendly relations. Behold the rule of dharma.¹

Then, monks, King Arindama spoke to Śroṇaka the seer in a verse:

Lasting, O Śroṇaka, is this blessing of theirs that you praise. But as for me, I am greedy for sensual pleasures. What am I to do, O Śroṇaka?

And, monks, Śroṇaka the seer replied to King Arindama in verse:

Your majesty, I shall tell you a similitude.² Pray do you listen. There are many wise men in the world who learn the truth through a similitude.

Once upon a time, your majesty, an elephant, sixty years old, fell down from the mountain fastnesses and was being carried away by the flood of the Ganges.

Then a silly, stupid crow thought, "What a fine boat is this that I have found. This will be a nice little passage."³

And so night and day to his heart's content⁴ eating the elephant's flesh and drinking the water of the Ganges, the bird floated on past beautiful sights.⁵

(454) Bhagīratha's⁶ Ganges carried him on as he thus stood heedless on the carcase and bore him out to the deep sea, where there is no way for birds.

The monstrous fish Timitimingila⁷ caught and devoured the silly bird. Just so, O king, do those who are bent on pleasures fall to ruin.⁸

This, O king, do I say unto you—be not heedless of the dharma lest you fall⁹ headlong to a terrible hell,

¹ *Pasya dharmasya dharmatām*.

² Or "parable", *upamā*.

³ *Vyāyāma*, "effort, labour, difficult passage," etc. But it would seem better to emend *bhadro vyāyāma alpako* of the text and restore it after J. 5. 255, reading *bhākṣo cāyam analpako*, "this is a goodly store of food."

⁴ Reading with one MS. and J. *nirato mano* for *niyato mano*.

⁵ *Varacitrāṇi*. J. has *vanacetiyāni*, "groves and shrines."

⁶ An ancient king who, with Śiva's help, brought down the Ganges from heaven to earth.

⁷ See vol. I, p. 200, n. 2.

⁸ From this point the Mhvu. differs utterly from J., where there is no allusion to the hells.

⁹ Literally, "but you will fall", *atha prapatiṣye* (2 sg. fut., see Edgerton, Gram., § 31. 35), with the protasis, "if you are heedless", implied. The repetition, p. 457 (text), has *mā prapatiṣye*.

To Sañjīva, Kālasūtra, Saṅghāta, and the two Rauravas, Mahā-Avīci, Tapana and Sampratāpana.¹

So are those eight great hells called. Hard to get through are they, being full of frightful creatures.² Each has a subsidiary hell.

Four-cornered³ are they, with four gates. They are divided up and well-laid out in squares, a hundred yojanas high and a hundred square.

These hells are surrounded with walls of iron,⁴ with a vault of iron above. Their floor is of hot and glowing iron.

Greedily burning⁵ are they, terrible, flaming, hard to endure, hair-raising, fearful, terrifying, and evil.

They are awe-inspiring, being filled with hundreds of flames. Each sheds its glow abroad for a hundred yojanas.

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

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

(455) All this I shall tell you of duly in verse. Give ear and attentively listen to me as I speak.

In the hell Sañjīva creatures hang with their feet up and heads down, the while they are trimmed with axes and knives.

Carried away by anger and frenzy, they assail one another with their own sharp talons of iron.

Sharp knives also grow in their hands, wherewith these utterly demented creatures rend one another.

A cool wind blows on their mangled limbs, and every limb grows whole again, that their former deeds may be requited.⁶

¹ For these hells and the whole passage generally, see vol. I, p. 6 ff.

² *Raudrasatvehi*. Vol. I, p. 9 (text) has *raudrakarmehi*, "(results of) terrible deeds."

³ *Catukharnā*. The same passage at 1. 9 has *catukhalā* which has been emended into *catukharnā* (see vol. I, p. 9. n. 2). Edgerton (B.H.S.D.), however, quotes P. Mus, *La Lumière des six voies* (p. 94 ff.) who says that *catukhalā* should be retained, with the same meaning.

⁴ Reading, as in 1. 9, *ayah prākāraparikṣiptā* for *atha ye narakapraṁkṣiptā*, "and those who are thrown into hell." Otherwise Edgerton (B.H.S.D. s.v. *pratikubjita*), but it is the hells, not the inmates, that are described here.

⁵ *Kadaryatapanā*. *Kadarya*, Sk., = "stingy", and so Pali *kadariya*. Edgerton (B.H.S.D.) says, "perh. evil, wicked (of persons)" but this and the other adjectives are applied to the hells themselves, not to the inmates. Cf. vol. I, 9 (text) where more or less the same adjectives are applied to *āvasathā*, "dwellings", (in opposition to *narakā*, implied).

⁶ The text here gives a better sense than that of the corresponding verse at vol. I, p. 10 (text).

Thus did Śronaka out of his perfect knowledge describe Sañjīva, the bourne of evil-doers, to the king.¹

Released from Sañjīva they plunge into Kukkula. There they foregather with one another² for a long stretch of time.

There in Kukkula³ they run about as they burn for many a yojana and endure bitter sufferings.

Released from Kukkula they plunge into Kuṇapa, which is a long, vast and wide expanse, the height of a hundred men.

And there asses, swarthy brutes⁴ with sharp swords in their mouths, rend their skin and devour and feed on their flesh and blood.

When they have passed out of Kuṇapa they catch sight of pleasant trees, and in quest of relief they make for the shelter of their verdant foliage.

(456) But there hawks, vultures, ravens and owls with beaks of iron, seeing them from the tree-tops,⁵ devour them still steeped in blood.

And when they have been devoured and nothing but their bones is left, then their skin and flesh and blood begin to grow once more.

In their terror they run away⁶ all stricken to the terrible forest where the leaves are swords, thinking there was shelter where there was none.

When they have escaped from the sword-leaved forest, wounded, racked and steeped in blood, they go to the river Vaitaraṇī.

Then they dive into that river with its caustic water, which pierces their mangled⁷ limbs.

Yama's myrmidons then gaff⁸ them with hooks of iron, fling them on the river-bank, and give them pellets of iron to eat.

¹ *Rājinas(o)*, gen. sg. See

² *Anyamanyam*. Vol. I, p. 11 (text) has *hanyamānā* "beaten".

³ *Kukkuleṣu*, possibly, "in (among) hot ashes." Vol. I, p. 11 (text) has *kukkulena*, instr. for loc.

⁴ Reading *kṛṣṇapṛāṇakā* for *kṛipayā tatra*. The word *kṛipā*, "pity" is obviously out of place here.

⁵ *Urdhāvṛkṣe va nām dṛṣtvā*. Vol. I, p. 11 has *ārdhāvṛkṣe va varjitvā* "driving them from a verdant tree."

⁶ Or "start up", "flee off", *utpattitvāna*. Vol. I, p. 11 has *utpatitvāna*. See Edgerton, B.H.S.D., on these two forms.

⁷ *Vardhita*, from *vardh*, "to grow". Or is it from *ṛidh*, "to cut"? "their limbs but now grown"? But vol. I, p. 12 *kṣata* "wounded".

⁸ Literally, "pierce", *vijhitvā*, from *vijjhati*, BSk. and Pali for *vyadhāti*. Vol. I, p. 12 has *viddhitvā* (see vol. I, p. 11, n. 3).

They give them molten red copper to drink, and this passes through their inwards down to their lowest parts.

Evil-doers who follow the path of sensual pleasures and do not perform the right deed, go down to hell.

But the men¹ who eschew wicked deeds, whose conduct is entirely virtuous, do not pass to the bourne of ill.

Therefore with regard² to the two kinds of karma, the good and the bad, one should avoid the bad and ensue the good and fair.

Or in other words³ one should cultivate the noble and fair Eight-fold Path, and by abandoning all that is ill come to know the dharma that brings no rebirth.⁴

(457) Such, your majesty, are the sufferings borne in the hells by those who are evil-doers, the heedless and the foolish.

This, O king, do I say unto you—be not heedless of the dharma lest you fall headlong into a terrible hell.

When he heard the eloquent words of Śroṇaka, the king was greatly moved and a strange and shuddering tremor took him.

Hurriedly then he spoke to his counsellor and said, "Quickly bring here the young prince Dīrghāyu.

"For I have a young son, Prince Dīrghāyu. Him will I establish on the throne and he will be your king."

Then the king's messengers and the counsellors out of pity quickly fetched Prince Dīrghāyu.

Then, monks, King Arindama addressed Prince Dīrghāyu in verse:

I tell you, sir, the religious life appeals to⁵ me, lest like the witless crow I become a slave of my desires.⁶

¹ Mānuṣāḥ. Vol. I, p. 12 has *yonīṣaḥ*, "(those who) wholly."
² Āgama, Pali āgama. B.H.S.D. cites only one instance (Divy. 269) of this sense of the word in BSk. The usual meaning is "because of", etc. See vol. I, p. 198, n. 2. For *durūpamāgama karma* vol. I, p. 12 has *durūpamāgama karma*, "karmas are of two kinds."

³ *Ātha vā punar*, "or yet again".

⁴ *Dharmaṃ nirodadhīm*. See B.H.S.D.

⁵ Or "pleases"; *rocati* for Sk. *rocatē*. Cf. *ruccati* and see vol. 2, p. 379 n. 2.

⁶ Literally, "lest I go to the power of my desires," *mā kāmānām vaśa-manvagā*. The verb *anvagā* (*anu-agā*) is the root aorist of *anu-gā*, without a consonantal termination. The same form appears elsewhere on the same page, but in the repetition on the next page, the form used is *anvagāt*, with 3rd pers. ending for the 1st. See Edgerton, *Gram.* § 32. 106. The augmented form of the aorist is used here with *mā*, instead of the usual Sk. augmentless form.

Here I have sixty thousand cities and a rich and peaceful realm. To these succeed, my son; I hand over my kingdom to you.

This very day I will go forth to the religious life, lest like the witless crow I become the slave of my desires. Who knows but that tomorrow I shall be dead? For there has to be a meeting with Death and his mighty host.

Here I have sixty thousand elephants all gaily caparisoned, (458) tusked and powerful, wearing harness of gold, with riders¹ armed with spears, lances, clubs, axes and lassoes.²

To these succeed, my son; I hand over the kingdom to you.

This very day I will go forth to the religious life, lest like the witless crow I become the slave of my desires. Who knows but that tomorrow I shall be dead? For there has to be a meeting with Death and his mighty host.

Here I have sixty thousand steeds of Sindh, fleet of foot, gaily bedecked, all ridden by heroes . . .³ lest like the witless crow I become the slave of my desires.

Here I have sixty thousand cows each with a suckling calf. To these succeed, my son; I hand over the kingdom to you.

This very day I will go forth to the religious life, lest like the witless crow I become the slave of my desires. Who knows but that tomorrow I shall be dead?

Here I have sixty thousand maidens with jewels, gems and earrings bedecked. To these succeed, my son; I hand the kingdom to you.

This very day I will go forth to the religious life, lest like the witless crow I become the slave of my desires. Who knows but that tomorrow I shall be dead?

Here I have sixty thousand palanquins made of gold and silver. To these succeed, my son; I hand over the kingdom to you.

¹ Literally "ridden (or mounted) (*ārūḍhā*) and having as weapons,—*āyudhā*."

² *Nigaḍa*, which here must denote a noose for catching an animal by its feet and thus forming part of a warrior's or hunter's outfit. Its more usual sense of a fetter for securing the hind feet of an elephant is not suitable here.

³ Lacuna in text.

This very day I will go forth to the religious life, (459) lest like the witless crow I become the slave of my desires. Who knows but that tomorrow I shall be dead? For there has to be a meeting with Death and his mighty host.

Here I have sixty thousand vessels¹ made of gold and silver. To these succeed, my son; I hand over the kingdom to you.

This very day I will go forth to the religious life, lest like the witless crow I become the slave of my desires. Who knows but that tomorrow I shall be dead? For there has to be a meeting with Death and his mighty host.

Here I have sixty thousand treasures, a plentiful store of gold. To these succeed, my son; I hand over the kingdom to you.

This very day I will go forth to the religious life, lest like the witless crow I become the slave of my desires. Who knows but that tomorrow I shall be dead? For there has to be a meeting with Death and his mighty host.

Here I have sixty thousand treasures, a plentiful store of the seven precious stones. To these succeed, my son; I hand over the kingdom to you.

This very day I will go forth to the religious life, lest like the witless crow I become the slave of my desires. Who knows but that to-morrow I shall be dead? For there has to be a meeting with Death and his mighty host.

Then, monks, Prince Dīrghāyu replied to the king in verse:

Already I have heard them say that my mother was dead. I cannot live without you too, sire.

As through the forest its young one² follows after the elephant, so will I follow you and carry your bowl.

(460) Then, monks, King Arindama addressed the assembly of counsellors in verse:

As a sea monster might wreck the ship of gain-seeking merchants on the sea and the merchants be lost, so I fear me lest this son of mine prove a stumbling-block

¹ Pāri. See p. 451 n. 3.

² Payaka, properly a "drinker", i.e. "suckling".

to me.¹ Then quickly take away this young Prince Dīrghāyu.²

Quickly lead him within the women's apartment in my palace, where all joy abounds. These deva-like maidens will delight him.

Then the magnificent chief counsellors took the prince and with great royal pomp led him within the city of Mithilā.

But then a royal maiden gaily bedecked with garlands and jewels stood up and spoke to the king;

Tell us this, are you a Gandharva, or are you Śakra, the razer of cities?³ By your majesty's consent,⁴ I ask you:

How can you leave us, your rich and peaceful realm, Prince Dīrghāyu, your counsellors, and all your stores and wealth?⁵

The king replied to the royal maiden:

No deva, or Nāga, or Gandharva, or Śakra the razer of cities, am I. I am a human being who became terrified of sensual pleasures on hearing the counsel of a seer. And lest like the witless crow I become the slave of my desires, (461) this very day will I do what I wish.⁶ Who knows but that tomorrow I shall be dead? For there has to be a meeting with Death and his mighty host.

¹ Senart misunderstands this simile. He takes it to mean that the king is afraid he will drag the boy to ruin as the wrecked ship does the merchants. He accordingly prints *mā vāyam antarāyam karoma . . . mama*, "lest we (= I) cause an obstacle to [this son] of mine," i.e., lest I lead him into danger. But the king conceives he is going forth to his salvation in the religious life, to which wives and sons and daughters are acknowledged hindrances. It is obvious, therefore, that Senart's text should be emended to read, on the analogy of J. 5. 259, *mā evāyam antarāyam hareyyā . . . mama*. Whether the four syllables still wanting to complete the line can be supplied by restoring *putrakali* (= *puttakali* in the Pali) cannot be decided on the evidence of the MSS. quoted in the apparatus. For the verb form *hareyyā* cf. vol. 2, p. 144 (text). See Edgerton, *Gram.*, p. 207.

² It is better to take this line as the second line of this verse, where Senart leaves a lacuna instead, than as the first line of the next verse, to which he assigns three lines.

³ See vol. 2, p. 52, n. 1.

⁴ *Rājānattim*, for *ānattim*, adverbial acc. of *ānatti*, Pali and BSk. (only in *Mhv.*) Sk. *ājñapti*. The context requires the sense of "permission," here, rather than command. B.H.S.D. does not cite this instance of *ānatti*, all the instances there cited being from the prose passages.

⁵ The *Mhv.* differs considerably from J. here.

⁶ *kuryādiṣṭam*. *Kuryād* (†) is 3rd sg. opt. with 1st sg. subject. Cf. Edgerton, *Gram.*, § 25. 11, where, however, this instance is not cited.

When he had so spoken the king was initiated into the religious life in the presence of Śroṇaka the seer.

The Exalted One said, "Do you think, monks, that at that time and on that occasion the seer named Śroṇaka was somebody else? Verily you must not think so. And why? Because I at that time and on that occasion was the seer named Śroṇaka. Nor must King Arindama be thought to be somebody else, for he was King Śreṇiya Bimbisāra here. Then, too, did he bestow a rich reward on him who told him of Śroṇaka the seer. And now likewise has he bestowed a rich reward on the priest's son for speaking the praises of the Buddha."

Here ends the Jātaka of King Arindama.

Thus did the Exalted One speak, and the devas, Asuras, Garuḍas, Kinnaras, Mahoragas, the whole concourse, and the monks, were elated, and applauded the words of the Exalted One.

Here ends¹ the Mahāvastu Avadāna in the version of the Lokottaravādins of the noble Mahāsāṅghikas.

¹ The text actually ends with a distich, a sort of *envoi* summing up the doctrine of the *Mahāvastu* as follows—"The Tathāgata spoke of the cause of those things which proceed from a cause, and the Great Recluse also told of their cessation." Finally, Senart prints the colophon of the Bibliothèque Nationale manuscript (Fonds Burnouf), the foundation of his text, with variations from the Minayeff manuscript. The colophon is dated the year 920 of the Nepal era (A.D. 1800).

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