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Jinacarita

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

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

(1) A Singhalese MS., denoted by C⁰, containing text and commentary. It commonly confuses cerebrals with dentals, and generally writes the nasal with o (anuswāra) before all consonants alike.

(2) An edition in Singhalese characters (C¹), published in Colombo in 1886, which has enabled me to correct nearly all the mistakes of the MS.

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

W. H. D. ROUSE.

CAMBRIDGE,
May 16, 1905.
NOTE ON MEDHAṆKARA

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

Saṅgharāja MedhaṆkara, author of the ‘Lokappadipakasāra’ (Journal of the P.T.S., 1882, p. 126; 1896, p. 43), was different from all the above, and wrote in Burma (‘Gandha Vaṇṣa,’ p. 67). He is called Nava MedhaṆkara (ibid., p. 64).

MedhaṆkara is mentioned as the author of the ‘Jina Carita’ in the ‘Saddhamma-saṅgaha,’ ix., 22 (Journal of the P.T.S., 1890, p. 63), and in the ‘Gandha Vaṇṣa,’ pp. 62, 72 (Journal of the P.T.S., 1886).

T. W. Rh. D.
JINACARITA

NAMO TASSA BHAGAVATO ARAHATO SAMMÀ-SAMBUDHASSA.

1 Uttamaññ uttamaññagena namassitvā mahesino
nibbānamadhudaññ pādapañkajāñ sajjanālinañ,
2 mahāmohatamaññ loke dhañentsaññ dhammabhākarñ
pāṭubhūtaññ mahātejoññ dhammarājādayācela,
3 jantucittasare jātañ pāsādakumudāñ sadā,
bodhentañ sañghacandañ ca silorukirāñujjalañ,
4 tahīñ tahīñ suvitthiññaññ jinassa caritaññ hitañ
pavakkāmi samāsena sadānussaranatthiko.
5 pañitaññ tañ sarantānañ dullabham pī sivañ padañ;
adullabham bhave bhogapaṭilābhāmhi kā kathā.
6 tasmā tañ bhaññamānaññ me cittavuttañapadakkamañ
sundarañ madhurañ suðdhañ sotu sotarasāyanañ.
7 sotahatthapuññañ samā gahetvāna nirantarñ
ajarāmaram icchantā sādhava paribhunjathā.
8 kappasatasahassassā catunnaññ cāpi mañthake
asaṅkhēyyānam āvāsaññ sabbadā puññakāmināñ
9 nānāratanasampannañ nānājanasamākulañ
vicittāpanasañkīnaññ toranagghikabhūsitañ
10 yuttañ dasaḥi saddehi devinda-prasannibhañ
purāñ amarasañkhātañ ahosi ruciññ vārañ.

1 Ca dā.
[C = MS.; C = printed text. Mistakes of the MS. which
are corrected in the Commentary I have not noted.
Nasals, often written with the symbol equivalent to
anusvāra, I have assimilated to following consonants,
where this was done in the printed text; on the same
authority, I have corrected confusions of n and ñ, which
are very common.]
11 tahiṣ brahmanvaye jāto sabbalokāhāpiūjito mahādayo mahāpaṇhī abhirūpo manoramo
12 Sumedho nāma nāmena vedaṣāgarapāragu
kumāro 'si: gurīnaja1 so avasāne jinaṅkuro
13 rāsvaddhakamaaccena dassitaṣ aṁitaṣ dhanaṣ
ekeṣatagabhesu nīcitaṣ taṇ udīkhiya2
14 dhanaṣannicayaṣ katva: 'aho mayhaṣ pitādayo
gātā māsakaṣ ekaṇ pi nevādaya divaṣ' iti.
15 samvegaṃ upāyaṇa va cintesiti guṇākaro
'dhanasāraṇa jīva gayha gantaṇ jyutti ti me pana.'
16 rahogato nisiditva sundare njamandire
deha đose udīkhihanto ovadanto pi āttano:
17 'bhedanaṣ tanuno dukkhaṇ dukkho tassodayo pi ca
jātīḥhammo jarāḥhammo vyāhāḥhammo ahaṣ' iti
18 evaṃ ādihi dhäśmaṇt disvā ṛdo ṛpadhā
pure bheriṅ carāpetva ārocetvāna rājino
19 bherinādusaṅghanda yacakahānamāgata
dānakīnjakkha oghena sattāḥaṃ pīnaḍi: tato
20 dānagahimahinānaṣ nipātenapi dhaṃṣanaṣ
ayatāna taṇ viloketvā ratanambujakaṇaṇaṣ,
21 rudato nāṭisaṅghhaṣa jalitānalakānanā
gajindo viya gehamha nikkhamitvā manoramā
22 mahantaṣ so mahāviro upaṇaṇi Himālayaṇ,
haricandanaṅkappuraṅgaranghehi vāsītaṇ,
23 suphellacampakāsoṅpatālītilakehi ca
pūgapunāganāgādipādapehi ca maṇḍitaṇ,
24 sīhavyaggjararacchehi ibhadipikapihi ca
turaṅgamādinekehi mighehi ca samākulaṇ,
25 sālikaravihaṃsajha haṃsakoṅcasuvehi ca
kapotakaravikādisakuntehi ca kūjitaṇ,
26 yakkharaṅkhasagandhabhavādānavakehi ca
siddhaviṣjadharaḍihi bhūtehi ca nīsivitaṇ,
27 manosilīndaniloricārupabbatapantihi
sajjhuhemādinekehi bhūdhahehi ca bhāsuraṇ,
28 suvaṃṣamanisopāṇanekatīthasarehi ca
sobhitāṇaṭaṭhā kiṃtāṅkevaṅganaṇhī3 ca,
29 sitasīkaraṃsiṇjānannijharānaṇaṣ satehi ca
kiṃnarorangareṣhehi rammhehi ca virājitaṇ,
30 sīkhaṇḍisaṅdanacehi latānaṃ maṇḍapehi ca
setavālukasajjannamālakehi ca maṇḍitaṇ,
31 suvaṃṣamanīmuṭṭaṇi anekaratanaṅkaraṇ
itchantānaṇ jānālīnaṇ puṇṇaṅkīnjakkhkm4 ālayaṇ.

1 Ca gurīnaja. 2 Ca yana. 3 C’t kilanta-. 4 Ca puṇṇaja.
32 tam ajhogyaha so dhīro sahassakkhena māpite
disvā isiparikkhāre paññasālā¹ vare tahiḥ
disvā isivesaṇ gahetvāna viharanto samāhito
sattāhabbhantare pañcaabhiṁnaṭṭhavidhāpi² ca.
34 uppādetvā samāpattisukheneva tapodhano
nabhasā divasekasmiṇ gacchanto janataq isī
dsodhentam aṅjasanq disvā otaritvā nabba tahiḥ
iti taq janitaq pucchi’ kasmā sodheta aṅjasanq
36 ‘Sumedha, tvaaq na jānāsi, dipaṇkaratathāgato
sambodhim uttamaṇ patvā, dhamaṃcakkam anuttaraṇ
37 Pavavatetvāna, lokassa karonto dhammaṃsaṅghaṇaṇ
rammaṇ rammapuraṇ patvā vasatiḥa sudassane:
38 bhiḥkhusatasaḥassehi catūhi³ vimalehi taq
nimantayimha dānena mayaq lokekanāyakaṇ:
39 ‘tassā agamanatthāya maggaṃ sodhema cakkhuma.’
iti so tassā sotassa sukhaṇ dento jano ’bravi.
40 ‘Buddho’ ti vacanaṃ suttvā pitiyodaggamanaṇo
sakabhāvena saṅhātuv n’eva⁴ sakkhi gunākaro:
41 ten’ āraddhaṇjasā dhīro yacitvāna padesakaṇ
labhītvā visamaṇ thānaṇ samaṇ katuṇ samārabhi.
42 nalaṃkate yeva tahiḥ padese
lokekanātho sanarāmarenhi
samūjitō lokahito mahesī⁵
vasihi saddhiṇ paṭipajjī maggaṇ.
43 chabbaṭharaṇsijaḷehi pajarantaq Tathāgataq
āgacchantaq tahiḥ disvā modamanō vicintayi
44 ‘Yannū’ imassā dhīrassa setuṇ katvāna kaddame
sakattanaj nipajjeyaṇ sasaṅghassa mahesino
45 digharattam alaj tam me hitāya ca sukhaṇ ca.’
Icc’ evaṇ cintayitvāna nipanno so jinaṅkuro
46 pabodhetvāna disvāna cārulocanapānkaṇe
punā po evaṇ vicintesi nipanno dhitiṃ tahiḥ:
47 ‘Iccheyyaṇ ce ’ham ajj’ eva hantvānanantaraṇe⁶ bhave
saṅghassa navako hutvā paviseyyaṇ puraṇ varaṇ
48 kim aṇātakaṃvesena klesanibbāpanena me
ayaṇ Buddhoo ’v ahaṇ Buddhoo hutvā loke anuttaro
49 janataq dhamaṃnaṇvāya tāretvāna bhavaṇṇavā
nībhānapuram ānetvā seyyam me⁷ parinibbutaṇ.
50 Icc’ evaṇ cintayitvāna nipanno kaddame tahiḥ
suvaṇaṇkadalikkhandhasannibho so ’tisobhati.
51 chabbaṭharaṇsihi virajamāṇam
disvā manuṇṇaṇ Sugat’ attabhāvaṇ

¹ C⁰-sāla-. ² C⁰-abhiṁna-. ³ C⁰-hi. ⁴ C⁰ n’evaṇ.
⁵ C⁰ mahesi. ⁶ C⁰ -no. ⁷ C⁰ seyyamema.
sañjatapitihi udaggacitto
sambodhiyā chandam akāsi dhīro.
52 āgantvāna tahiṇṭhānaṃ isim paṅke nipannakaṃ
lokassa setu bhūto pi setu bhūtaṃ tam attano
disvā uussisake tassaṃ thāvā lokekasetuno
lokekalocano dhīro Dipaṅkaratathāgato.
54 'Gotamo nāma nāmena sambuddho 'yaḥ anāgata
bhavissati' ti vyākāsi sāvake ca purādike
55 idāv vatvāna katvāna sasaṅgho tam padakkhiṇāṃ
pūjesi atthamuṭṭhihi kusumehi guṇappiyo,
56 iti kātūna pāyāsi sasaṅgho lokanāyake
Rammakan nāma nagaraṇaṃ rammārāmālayālayaṃ.
57 Jinassa vacanaṃ sutvā uṭṭhahavitvāna paṅkato
mudito devasaṅghēhi kusumādihi pūjito
58 pallaṅkam abhujitvāna nisidi kusumāsano
mahātapo mahapaṇṇa Sumedho damittindriyo.
59 devā dasasaḥassesu cakkavālesu modita
abhitthaviṇsu taṃ dhiraṇaṃ nisinnanāṃ kusumāsane.
60 Nisinno upadhāresi dhamme Buddhakare tādā
kim uddhanā va adho va pi disasā vidisāsū ca.
61 Icc' evaṃ vicinanto so sakalaṃ dhammadhātukaṃ
addakkhi sakasantane paṭhamaññā dānapārami,
62 evam evaṃ gavesanto uttarā pariṃ vidū
cabbā pāramiyō divvā attano nānacakkhunā:
63 saṃsāre saṃsāranto so bahuṃ dūkhaṃ titikkhiya
gavesanto 'mataj santo pūretvā dānapārami.
64 sattānaṃ kapparukkho vā cintāmani vā kāmado
icchitīcchitam annādīm dadaññā vara,
65 tārakāhi bahuṇa katvā nabhē cāruvilōcane
uppaṭṭetva dadañ dhīro yācakānām pamoḍito,
66 mahiyā paṃsuto cāpi samuddodakato 'dhiṃkaṇa
dadañ sarīranaṃsañ ca lohitam pi ca attano,
67 molināḷakaṃ sa se 'dhiṃkaṅ katvā Sineruto,
kampayītva mahiṇaṃ dento sute cāpi saṅgaṇanā,
68 silanekkhammapaññadiṅ pūretvā sabbapaṭārami
Vessantarattabhāve 'vam patvā tamhā cuto pana,
69 uppaṭṭijītva surāvāse sundare Tusite pure
vasanto suciraṇ kāḷaṃ bhutvānaṃantasampadaṇ.
70 katañjalihi devehi yācito dipaduttamo
'Sambodhāya mahāvīra kālo tuyhan' ti ādiṇā
71 viloketvāna kaladīṇaḥ nātva 'kālā' ti bodhiya,
paṭṭīṇaṃ devasaṅghassa datvā, Nandanakānanāṃ

1 Ca naṅgaraṃ. 2 Ca mudīto. 3 Ca pūjito. 4 Ca -bhuṇj-.
72 gantvāna devasaṅgehehi Sugatiḥ gacchato¹ cuto
abhittihuto mahāpañño: cavittvāna tato idha
73 susajjitaṁgoruturaṅgam ākule
vecittanāpanapañyasampade
manoramuttuṅgagajindarājite
vibhūṣite toraṇaketurasīhi,
74 alaṅkattālavisālasālaye
sugopure sundarisundarālaye
sudassaniyye Kapilavāye pure
Purindadassā pi purassa hāsake,
75 bhūpalamoli̊ratanālinisevitaṅghi-²
pandkeruhaṅ̃ vimalanekagunadvibhave
Okkakarājakulaketum anāthanāhaṅ
Suddhodanaṅ narapatiṅ pavaraṅ paṭicca
76 so sajjuhāmadhavalāmaladassaniya-³
soṇḍaya saṅghaṭatavāraṇavindayā
candāvatāvaravāraṇarājavāvanṇam
sandassayitvā supinena visālapañño
77 bimmbāhāraya vikacuppalaralocanāya
devindacāparativaddhanabhūlatāya
sampanvāsasommanvāliminduvaramanānaṅ
sovaṅnāhāṅsayaṅgacārupayodharāya
78 pādāravindakaraṇapallavasundarāya
sovaṅnavanatanuvānavirājītya
silādinekagunabhūsananbhūsitāya
māyāya rajavanitāy upagaṅči kucchiṁ.
79 Paṭisandhikkhane tassa jātā nekavidhabhūta
atthāyaṅ gahitārakko narehi amārehi ca
80 manuṅnārattambujaṅkaṅkīya-m-
āsinsūgipatimā ha rammā
suvānavanne dipadānam īndo
pallāṅkam abhunākiya mātugabbhe.
81 maṅimhi vippasannamhi rattasuttam iv' āvutaṁ
mātucittambujāṅ dhīro bodhayanto padissati.
82 dasamāsāvasānamhi devi raṁno kathos' idaṅ:
'mayhaṅ āṅtīgharaṅ deva gantuṁ ichāṁ' aham' iti.
83 raṁnātha samanuṅṇātā gacchhanti kulam attano
mahatā parivārenā dibbahjasasāmaṅjase.
84 surabhikusumasaṅḍālāṅkatassālasadāṁ
samadabhāmaramālāgighamānanggaṇādaṅ
nayanavilagasaṅghe avhayaṅtaṅ va disvā
vipularatinvāsaṅ īmuṁiṅkarānan taṅ,

¹ Cā gacchat' ito MS. and comm.
² Cā bhūpāli–
³ Cā -dassiniya.
85 vipulataratiniśa tamhi kätuna ramme
amarayuvatilacakarulabhirāmā
vikasitavarsālīssopagantvāna mūlañ
sayamatānmit' ekan sālasākañ agañhi.
86 tasmīñ khañe kammajāmālut' assā
calīṣu: sāñhi parikkhipitvā
deviñ1 jano tañ abhipālayanto
tamhā pātiikkamma susanñhito, 'tha
87 sā cāruhemavala'yādivbhūsitenā
accantatambanakharāñsisamujjalena
tūlātikomalasurattakareṇa sākhan
olamba tattha-m-ajanesi 'thita va dhīrañ,
88 sovānañnavatanañnavārājāmaññañ
nettābhirāmam atulañ atulañyā gabbhā
samma pasāritakaranghiyūgabhārāmā
pañkeruhā kanakahāñsan iv' otaranpañ,
89 brahma-m-anaggharatividhānahemajālān
ādāya tena upagamma paṭiggahetvā,
'sammoda devi ayam aggataro suto te
jāto 'ti, tāya purato kathayiñs tuṭtvā.
90 jāyanti sesamanujā malamakkhitaṅgā,
jāto pan' esi pavaro dipadānam indo
accantasāhāmalakāsīkaśvataṭhakamhi
nikkhittanağghanaracārumanīva suddho.
91 evam pi sante2 nabhato 'pagantvā
dve vāridhāra subhagassa dehe
jānettidehe pi utum manuññañ
gāhāpayum maṅgalakēccatāya.
92 tesañ karā ratikarā aṅinappavenim
ādāya tena upagamma paṭiggahesun
devā dukulamayacumbañtakena virañ
tesañ karā naravara narasaharājan
93 tesañ karā ratikaro vimalo va cañdo
cakkaṅkitorucañeñhi mahītalasmij
samma patippālya puratthimakañ disan so
olokayiñtha kamalāyataloceneñhi.
94 ekānganā nekasatāni cakka-
vālān' ahesun sanarāmarā 'tha
dhīrañ sugandhappabhutiñhi tesu
sampujayanta idham abravijyus:
95 'nattth3 ettha tumhehi samo subhīsa
eko pumā p' aggataro kuto 'ti

1 Ca devī. 2 Ca santo. 3 Ca natt'.
evan dis’ alokiya lokenatho
na pekkhamano sadisam pi ekañ,
96 uttarabhimukho sattapadañ gantva kathes’ idañ
‘aggo ‘ham asmi lokassa jeṭṭho setṭho’ ti1 ādikañ
97 anaññasadāhananādam uttamañ
surāsurabrhamanarindapūjitañ2
narindam ādāya gato mahājano
susajjitañ tañ kapilavhayam purañ
98 bhāratibhāranagapanāpadapamerurajañ
sabbaṁ pi sāgarajañ vahituñ samatthā
jatatthakkhañe pi guṇabhāram asayhamāṇa
sañkampayi ‘va pāthavī pavarassa tassa,
99 ramiñsu soñā harinehi saddhiñ
kakā ulukhehim udaggudaggā
supannarājūhi mahoragā ca
majjarasañghā pi ca undurehi,
100 migā migindehi samāgamiñsu
puttehi mātāpitaro yath’ eva,
nāvā videsam pi gatañ videsañ3
gatañ va kandañ4 Sarabhaṅgasatthu.
101 nānāvirāgujjalapañkajehi
vibhūsito santatarañgamālo,
mahāñnavo āsi tahini jalam pi
accantasātattam upagamāsī,
102 suphullaolambakapanµkajehi
samākulattam gaganañ agañchei,
jahiñsu pakkhi gamanañ nabhamhi,
ṭhiṭa ‘va sindhi pi asandamānā,
103 akālameghapīyasāngamena
mahīvadhū sommatamā ahosi,
maruhi vassāpiñ anekapuppha
vibhūśitenāṭivibhūsītā ‘va,
104 suphullamālābharañañ ‘bhirāmā
lataṅganāliṅgitapādāpindañ
gugandhakiniµkakkhavarambareñi
disaṅganāyo atisobhayiñsu,
105 sugandhadhūpehi nabhaj asesañ
pavāsitañ rammataña ahosi,
surāsurinda chanavesadhāri5
saṅgitiyutta vicariñsu sabhe,

1 Ca si. 2 Ca -surabbr-, -ji-. 3 Ca Ct sadesañ: videsañ, comm. 4 Ca kandañ. 5 Sic for chaña-.
106 piyam vadā sabbajana ahesuṣ, disā asesā pi ca vippasānā, gajā 'tigajīṣu, nādiṣu, sihā, hesaravo cāsi1 turaṅgamaṇaṇaḥ,
107 savēnuviṇa suradundubhi nabhe sakaṇ sakaṇ cārussam pamocayuṣ, sapabbatindapputhulokadhātuyā uḷārobhāsačayō3 manoramo,
108 manuṇāṅgandho mudusitālāniyo sukhappadaṇ vāyi asesajantuno, anekarogād upapiligadino
 tato pamutta sukhiṃsiyuṇ jana
109 vijambhamāṇāmitavālavijani-
ppabhābhīramāṇaḥ bhuvaṇaṇaḥ ahosi mahiḥ bhetvā c4 udakāni sandavyuṣ
gamiṇuṣa khujuḥ ujugattaṇaḥ jana
110 andhā paṅgulanaccāṇi līlopetāṇi pekkhayuṣ, suniṇsu badhira mūgatiyo pi manoramā,
111 sūtalattam upāgaṇci avicaggi pi tāvade, modiṇuṣa jalaṇa tasmān jantavo pabhāsiṣuṣ ca,
112 khuppipābhībhūtānam petanaṇ aṣi bhojanan, lokantare pi āloko andhakāranirantare,
113 atirekatarā tārāvali candadivākara
virocīṣu nabhe bhūmigatāni ratanāni ca,
114 mahītalādāyo bhetvā nikkhamma5 uparūpari vicitapaṇcavaṇṇesuṣuṣ suphullā vipulāmbujā,
115 dundubhi aṣi c' alaṇkāra avādāti aghāṭṭita
accentamadhuraṇaḥ nādaṇ paṃunīciṣuṣ mahitale,
116 baddhā saṃkhalikādihi muṇčiṣu manuṇa tato bhuvane bhavaṇadvārakavāta vivatā savan,
117 celukkhepādāyo cāpi pavatentā pamoditā
kiliṃsu devasaṅgha te tāvatiṃśalaye tada,
118 'pure Kapilavatthumhi jāto Sudhodanatrayo
nisajja bodhimāde ti ayaḥ buddho bhavissati.'
119 iddhimanto mahāpaṇño Kāladevalatāpaso,
Suddhodanaranindassā dhimato so kulūpago,
120 bhojanase' avasanamhi Tāvatiṃśalayaṇa gato
gantvā divāvihārāya nisinno bhavane tahīn
121 chanavesaṇ6 gahetvāna kilaṇte7 te udikkhiya
santosakāraṇaṃ pucchi tesan te pi tam abrauvuṣ.

1 Ca vāsi. 2 107 omitted in C'. 3 Ca sic., comm. -saṅcayo. 4 Cā -m- for -c-. 5 Ca nikkhamma. 6 Sic for chaṇa-. 7 Ca kilaṇtō.
122 sutvā taŋ tattato tamhā pitiyo daggamānasō tāvad evopagantvāna.1 Sudhdhananivesanaŋ
123 pavisitvā supaṇṅatte nisinno āsane īsi.3 'jāto kira mahāraja putto te 'nuttaro sudhi,
124 daṭṭhum iechām' ahan taŋ 'ti āha: rājā alaṅkataŋ ānāpeṭvā kumāran taŋ vandāpetum upāgami.
125 kumārābhūtassa pi tāvad eva gunānubhāvena manoramānī pādāravindā parivattiyaggā
patiṭṭhitā muddhāni tāpasassā.
126 ten' attabhāvena naruttamassā
na vanditabbo tibhave pi koci:
tilokanāṭhassa sace hi sīsaŋ
tapassino pādatale thapeyyuṅ,
127 phaleyya muddhā khalu tāpasassā.
paggayha so aṭṭhali uttamassā
taṭṭhāsi dhirassa guṇanānavassā
nāsetum attānam ayuttakan ti.
128 disvāna taŋ acchariyāṅ narindo
devātidevassā sakatrajassā
pādāravindān' abhivandi tuṭṭho
vicitacakkāṅkitakomalani.
129 yad' āsi raṅṇo puthuvappamaṅgalaj
 tadā puraṇ devapuraṇ va sajjitaṇ
vibhūsitā tā janatā manoramā
samāgata tassa niketam uttaman.
130 vibhūsitau go janatāhi tāhi so
puraṅkhaṭo bhūsanabhūsitatrajan,
tam ādayitvā 'tulavappamaṅgalaj
surindalīya gato narissaro.
131 nānāvirāgujjalacarusāṅ
parikkhit ekam hi ca jambumule
sayāpayitvā bahi maṅgalaj taṅ
udikkhituṇh dhātiganāgamiṣu.
132 suvaṇṇatāraḍi virājamānā
vitānajotujjala jambumule
nisajja dhīro sayane manuṅñe
jhānaṇ samāpajjī katāvakāsō.
133 suvaṇṇabimbaṅ viya taŋ nisinnaŋ
chāyāṅ ca tassā thitam eva disvā
tam abravi dhāṭijanopagantvā,
\"puttassa te abbhutam idisan' ti

1 C* evāp.- 2 C* isi. 3 Sic for -sānī.
visuddhacandānanabhāsurasā
suvāna nāṇ paṅkajalocanassa
savandanam me dutiyan' ti vatvā
puttassā pāde sirasabhivandi
tadaṅnāṇi pi lokasmiṁ jātānekavidabhubhā
dassīṁ me samāsena ganthavitthārabhirunā.
yasiṁ vicittamanimanditamaniditānaṁ
nānāvītānasayanāsanamanditānaṁ
nisseniseniputhubhūmikabhūṣitānaṁ
tiṇṇaṁ utīṇam anurūpam alaṅkatānaṁ,
siṅgesu raṅsunikarā suramandirānaṁ
siṅgesu raṁsim apahāsakarā va niccaṁ,
ādiicaraṁsi viya paṅkajakārānanāṁ
lokānanambujavanāni vikāsayanti,
nānāmanivicītāṁ bhītiṁ vanītā sādā
vinā pi dappanacchāyaṁ paśādhenī sakaṁ tānuṇ,
Kelāsaṅgaasaṅkāsaṁ vilocanarasayanaṁ
sudhāāṅkatapākaraṁ valayaṁ yatthā dissaṁ,
indaniloruvayaṁ nānāratanabhūṣitaṁ
dissaṁ va sādā yasiṁ pariṅkhaṅkaporāṅkajā,
pattvāna vuddhiṁ vipule manuṁne
bhūtvāna kāme ca tahī jī vasantō,
gacchan tilokekvilocano so
uyyānakilāya mahāpathamhi
kamena jīnaṁ vyadhītam mataṁ ca
dissvāna rūpaṁ tibhave viratto
manoraṁ saṁ pabbajitaṁ ca rūpaṁ
katvā ratīṁ tamhi ca tutthavare.
suphullanātarasandamaniditānaṁ
sikhandisāṇḍādījūpakujitaṁ
sudassaniyaṁ viya Nandanaṁ vanaṁ
manoramyyānam agā mahāyasa.
suraṅgaṁ sundarasundarinaṁ
manoramā vāditanaaccagīte
surindalilāya tahiṁ narindo
rāmītva kāman dipadānam indo.
ābhujītvāna pallauṅkaṁ nisino rucirasane'
kārāpetum acintesi dehabhūsanām attano.
tassa cittāṁ viditvāna Vissakammass' idaṁ bravi
'alauṅkarohi Siddhattham' iti devānam issaro.
tenānatopagantvāna Vissakammo yasassino
dasadussasahassehi sīsaṁ veṭhesi sobhanaṁ

1 Ca om. -sa-.
148 tanuŋ manuṅnam pi akasi sobhanaŋ anaṅnasadhāranalakkhanujjalaŋ vicittanāuttamabhūsanehi so sugandhi gandhuppalacandanaṅdinā.¹
149 vibhūsito tena vibhūsitaṅgina tahiŋ nisinnō vimale silātale suraṅganāsannibhasundarīhi so purakkhato devapatiṇa sobhati.
150 Sudhodananarindena pesitaŋ sāsanuttamaŋ ‘putto te putta jāto’ ti: sutvā taŋ dipaduttamo
151 ‘mam ajja bandhanaŋ jātaŋ’ iti vatvāna tavade samiddhasabbakāmehi agamā sundaram puraŋ.
152 thita upariṇāsade Kṣaṇatami taŋ tada rājentaŋ sataraṅsiva rājaṅ disvā kathes’ idaŋ: ¹
153 ‘yesaŋ sūnu ayaŋ dhiro, yā va jāya imassa tu, te sabbe nibbutā nūna sādā nūna gunassu ve.’
154 it’ idisaŋ girāŋ sutvā manuṅnam taya bhāṣitaŋ saṅjātapatiyā pīno gacchhamāno sakālayaŋ
155 sitalaŋ vimalaŋ harihrāṇaŋ taŋ ratiṣuddhanāŋ pesetvā santikaṅ tassa omuṇcitvāna kathato,
156 pasadam abhirūhitvā Vejayantaŋ va sundaraŋ nipajji devarājā va sayane so mahārahe.
157 sundari tam purakkhatvā surasundarisannibhā payojayinu naccani gītani vividhāni pi.
158 pabbajjābhīrata dhiro paṅcakāme nirālayo tādise naccagite pi na rametvā manorame,
159 nipanno visamitvāna isakaŋ sayane tahiŋ pallaṅkam abhujiṭvāna mahāviro mahīpāti,²
160 nisinnō va ‘nekappakāraŋ vikāraŋ padisvāna niddūpagananā vadhūnaŋ, ‘gamissām’ idānīti ubbigacitto bhāve dvāramulam pagantvāna rammāŋ,
161 thapetvāna sīsaŋ subhummārakasmiŋ ‘sunissāmi ayirassa’³ saddan’ ti tasmiŋ nipannam sudattam pasādavahantaŋ sahāyaŋ amaccāŋ mahāpuṇṇavantaŋ
162 aechantasavanaŋ Channan āmantetvā kathes’ idaŋ ‘ānehi iti kappetvā Kanthaṅkaṅ nāma sindhavaŋ.’
163 so Channo patigantvāna taŋ girāŋ tena bhāṣitaŋ tato gantvāna kappetvā sīgham anesi sindhavaŋ.

¹ Ca -ādinaŋ. ² Ca -ti.
³ Sic Ca and comm. C dhīrassa. Query, ariyassa?
164 abhinikkhamanañ tassa ṇatvā varatūrāṅgamo
tena sajjiyamāno so hesāravam udirayi.
165 pattharitvāna gacchantag saddan tañ sakalañ purañ
sabbe suragana tasmiñ sotuj nādaṣu kassaci.
166 atha so sajjānānando ‘uttamañ puttam attano
passitvā paṭhamanaj gantvā paccā buddho bhavām
ahañ.’
167 cintayitvāna evam pi gantvā jāyānivesananj
ṭhapetvā pādādumāre givan antopavesiyān.
168 kusumehi samākiñne devinda sayamūpame3
nipannaj mātuyā saddhiñ sayane sakām atrajañ
169 yiloketvāna cintesi iti lokekanāyako
‘saç’ ahañ dēviya bahum apanetvā mam’ atrajañ
170 ganhissām’ antarāyam pi kareyya gamanassa me
pabujjhitvā mahantena pemenā sā Yasodhara:
171 buddho huttvā punāγamma passissāmi ti atrajañ.’
narādhipo tada tamhā pāsādatatalo ‘tari
172 pesalananakaraṇigipaṅkajā
hāsaphenabhamaṇicībhāsurañ
nettānilakamalā Yasodhara
komudiva nyanālippatthiñā:
173 samaththo5 asa ko tassā6 jahituñ dehasampadañ
vindamāno vinā dhiran ṭhitan ṭhitan paramimuddhani.
174 ‘asso sāmi mayā nito kālañ jāna rathesabha,’
iti abruvi Channo so bhūpālassa yasassino.
175 mahipati tādā sutvā Channen’ odiriñ girañ
pāsāda otariṭvāna gantvā7 Kanthakasantiñ,
176 tess idañ vacanañ bhāsi sabbasattahite rato
‘Kanthak’ ajj ekarattiñ maj tārehi sanaramarañ,
177 lokam uttārayissami buddho huttvā anuttaro
bhavasagaraṇa ghorajārādī makarākarañ.’
178 idañ vatvā tam ārūya sindhavañ sañkhasannibhañ
gāhāpetvāna Channena sudalhañ tassa wāladhiñ,
179 patvāna so mahādvārasamipañ samacintayi8
bhaveyya vivaṭadvārañ yenaṇac ni no sace
180 wāladhiñ gahiten’ eva saddhiñ Channena Kanthakañ
nippilayitvā satthihi imam accuggatañ subhañ
ulaṅghhitvāna pākarañ gacchāmi’ mahabbalo.
181 tathā thamabalupeto9 Channo pi turaguttam10
visuñ visuñ vicintesam pākasamattikamañ.

1 Cs inserts so.
2 Cs gatvā.
3 Cs, pp.
4 Sic for -phena-.
5 Cs samatthe.
6 Cs tassa.
7 Cs gantvāna.
8 Ct -yi.
9 Cs -lu-
10 Cs turaguttamo.
182 tassa cittaṃ viditvāna moditaṃ gamane subhe vicariṣu tadā dvāraṃ dvāredhiggahitā surā.
183 'taṇ Siddhattham asiddhatthaṃ karissami' ti ciṇṭiya:1 āgantva tass' idaṃ bhāsi antalikke thit' Antako:
184 'mā nikkhamma mahāvīra, ito te sattame dine dibban tu cakkaratanañj addhaṃ pātubhavissati.'
185 iec' evaṃ vuccamāno so Antakena mahāyaso 'ko 'si tvam' iti2 tam hāsi Māro c' attānam3 ādīsi
186 'Māra jānām' ahaṃ mayhaṃ dibbacakassa sam-bhavāṇ

gaccha tvam,4 idha mā tiṭṭha, namhi rajjena-m-atthiko
187 sabbañ dasasahassam pi lokadhātum aham pana unnādetvā bhavissāmi Buddho lokakanāyako.'
188 evaṃ vutte mahāsatte attano giram uttarin gāhāpetum asakkonto tatth' ev'antaradhāyi so.
189 pāpimassa idaṃ vatvā cakkavattisirim pi ca pahāya khelapindaṇa va paccūsamaye vasi.
190 gacchantam abhipujetuñ samāgantvāna tāvade ratanukkā sahaassāni dhārayantā marū tahiṇ.
191 pacchato purato tassa ubhoppasesu gacchare tath' eva abhipūjentā supanṇā ca mahoraga.5
192 suvipulasurasena cārulābhirāmā
kusumasadiladhārā vassayantā nabhhamhā
ihahi dasasaḥassī cakkavalāgatā tā
sukhumatanaṃtekodaggudaggā6 caranti,
193 yasmiṇī sugandhavaraṇapupphasudhupacunāṇaṃ
hemaddhajappabhūti bāsura carumagge
gaccham mahājavaraṇgaṇaṁgarājā
gantun na sakhi javato kusumādilago.
194 itthān7 tamhi pathe ramme vattamāne mahāmahā
gacchanto rattisesena tiṃsayaṇanamaṇjase,
195 patvā 'nomanaditiraṇ piṭṭhito turagassa8 so
otaritvāna vimale sitale sikatītale,
196 vissamītva idaṃ vatvā 'gacchhāti ti sakaṇ puraṇ
āharaṇāni ādāya Channo maṃ turagam9 pi ca.'
197 titho tasmiṇī mahāviro acchantanisitaṣina
sugandhavāsitam molinu chetvān' ukkhīpi ambare.
198 cāruhemasumuggena kesadhātuṇa nabhiggataṇ
pūjanatthaṇ sahassakkho sirāsaṃ sampatiṭīṭhīya.

1 Cā cintaya. 2 Cā ko si tvānimiti. 3 Cā ettānam.
4 Cā gacchantam; but comm. quotes tvam.
5 Cā -raṅgā. 6 Cū -ekā, Cā -eto- : read probably -eko-.
7 Cī thaṇ. 8 Cā -aṅg-.
199 vilocanānandakarindanila-
mayehi cūlāmanicetiyaṁ so
patīṭhapesāmālatāvatiyāṁ
ubbedhato yojanamattamaggaṁ.
200 uttamaṭṭhaparikkhāre dhāretvā brahmunā 'bhataj
ambare va patijjhitha varā varā dusayugam pi ca;
201 tam ādāya mahābrāhma brahma-loke manoramaṁ
dvādasayojanubbedhā dussathūpaṁ akārayi
202 nāmenānupiyaṁ nāma gantuva ambāvanos tahiṁ
sattāhaṁ viṭṭhāmetvā pabbajjāsukhato tato
203 gantuva' ekadīnena' eva tiṣyayojanaṁajhasaṁ
patuvā Rājagahaṁ dhiro pindāya cari subbato
204 indaniṣalāyāpi katā pākāragopuṁ
hemācalā va2 dissanti tass' abhihi tahiṁ tadā.
205 'Ko 'yaṁ Sakko nu kho Brahma Māro nāgo' ti
ādēna
bhīyo kotūhalappatto padisvā taṁ mahājano
206 pavisitvā gahetūna bhataj yāpanamattakaṁ
yugamattāṁ va pekkhanto gacchanto rājavāthiyeva
207 mathitam Merumanthena samuddaṁ va mahājānaṁ
tamhaṁ so ākuliṅkatva gantuva Pandavapabbataṁ,
208 tato tass' eva chaḥyāya bhūmibhāge manoraṁ
nisinno missakaṁ bhattam paribhūṅjitum ārabhi
209 paccavekkhamattena antasappāṇaṁ nivāriya
dehavammikato dhiro nikkhamantaṁ mahabbalo,
210 bhutvāna Bimbisāreṇa narindena narāsabho
nimantito pi rajjena upagantvāna nekadhā.
211 patikkhipiya taṁ rajjaṁ atha tenābhiyācito
'dhammaṁ desēhi mayhan' ti 'Buddho hutvā anut-
taro'
212 datvā patiṅnām manujādhipassato
dhiro pagantvāna padhānabhūmiṁ
anāṇasadharānaadukkarāni
katvā tato kiṃci apassamāno.
213 olārikammapāṇāni bhūṅjitvā dehasampadaṁ
patuva 'japālanigrodhamulappatto suro viya.
214 puratthābhimukho hutvā nisinno 'si jutindhara
dehavātuṁhi nigrodho hemavaṁo 'si tassā so
215 samiddhapattānaṁ eka Sujāta nāma sundari
hemapatīṁ sapāyāsaṁ siseṁ ādāya onatā
216 tasmiṁ: 'adhiggaṁtassa rukkhadevassa tāvade
baliṁ dammī' ti gantuvaṁ disvā tāj dipaduttamaṁ

1 Ct -yi.  2 Ca ca.
217 devātisāññāya udaggacittā
pāyāsapātiḥ pavarassa datvā
taṁ sa sāmī samijhatu’ ti
218 icc’ evaṁ vacanaṁ vatvā gataṁ tamaṁ varaṁgaṇaṁ.
aṁaṁ pāyāsapātiḥ taṁ gahetvā munipuṅgavo
219 gantvā Neraṁjarātirāṇ bhutvā taṁ varabhojanaṁ
paṭisotam pavissajjī tassā pātiṁ manoramaṁ.
220 jantālipālīmanetavilumpamanaṁ
samphullasālavanarajivirajamānaṁ
devindanandanavananaṁ v’ abhinandaniyam
uyyānam utamavaram pavaro ’pagantvā.
221 katvā divāviharaṁ so sāyaṁhasamaye tahiṁ
gacchaṁ kesaralilāya bodhipadapasaṁtaṁ.
222 brahmaśurāsuraṁmahoragapakkhirājasā
sajjitoruvaṭume dipadanam indo
payasi. sotthiyadvigo tinaharako taṁ
disvāna tassa adāda tinamuṭṭhiyo so.
223 indivaraṁvinḍādi kusumāṁ ambara tahiṁ
patantivutṭhīdhārā va gacchante dipaduttame.
224 cārucaṇadanaṁcaṇḍi dhūpagandhehi nekadhā
anokāso ’si ākāso gacchante dipaduttame.
225 ratanuṭṭalachatthi cāruhemaddhajhehi ca
anokāso ’si ākāso gacchante dipaduttame.
226 celukkhepasahassehi kilantehi maruhi pi
anokāso ’si ākāso gacchante dipaduttame.
227 surudundubvihajjani karontehi maruhi pi
anokāso ’si ākāso gacchante dipaduttame.
228 saraṁgaṇāhi saṇgtiṁ gāyantihi pi nekadhā
anokāso ’si ākāso gacchante dipaduttame.
229 manoramā kinnarakinnaraṁganā
manoramaṁgam uрагoraṁganā
tamhi ca naccagitiyo
manoramā nekavidhā pavattayaṁ.
230 tādā mahogh’ eva mahāmahehi
pavattamāne iti so mahāyaso
tiṇe gahetvā tibhavekanayako
upagato bodhidumindasaṁtaṁ.
231 viddumāśītīselaggarajatācalasannibhaṁ
katvā padakkhiṇaṁ bodhipadapaṁ dipaduttamo,
232 purathimādīsābhāge acale raṇadhaṁsake
mahitale ṭhito dhīro cales tiṇamuṭṭhiyo:

1 Ca urang-.
cuddasahaththamatto so pallaṅko āsi tāvade.  
atha nañ abbhutañ disvā mahāpañño vicintayi:  
mañsalohitam aṭṭhi ca nahāru ca tacho ca me  
kāmañussatū, n’ evāhañ jahāmi viriyau’ iti.  
abhujitvā mahāviro pallaṅkam aparājitau  
pacīnābhimukho tasmīñ nisīdī dipaduttama.  
devadevassā devindo saṅkham ādāya tāvade  
visuttarasatubbedau dhamayanto tahiṅ ṭhito.  
dutiyan puñcacandañ va setacchartau tiyojanau  
dhārayanto ṭhito samma mahābrahmaḥ sahampati  
carucamaram adāya Suyāmo pi surādhipo  
vijayanto ṭhito tattha mandau mandau tigavutau  
beluvañ viñam adāya suro Pañcasikhavhayo  
nāṇavidhalayopetau vādayanto tattha ṭhito.  
thutigitāni gāyanto nātakhi purakkhato  
tath’ ev’ aṭṭhāsi so nāgarajā Kālavayho pi ca.  
ghetvā hemamañjusā surapuppehi pūrita\textsuperscript{1}  
pūjayanto va aṭṭhānau battimā pi kumārikā.  
sandadevasaṅghhehi tehi ittham mahāmahe  
vattamāne tada Māro pāpinā iti cintayi:  
‘ati kkamitukamo ’yam kumāro visayau mama  
Siddhattho ath’ asiddhatthaukarissāmi’ ti tāvade.  
māpetva bhīṣanatarorusahassabahuṇ  
aṅgayhau tehi jalita\textsuperscript{2} vividhāyuḍhāni  
āruyaḥ carudiradaṇ Giriṃkhalākhyau  
canḍam diyaḍhasatayojamanayatanau taṇ.  
nānānanāya nalaṅgasiroruḥayā  
rattoruvattabahinigatalocanāya  
datḥhotthabhiṣanamukhyā’ uraggabhujaya  
senāya so parivuto vividhāyuḍhāya  
tathtrapagamma atibhimaravaṇaḥ ravaṇo:  
‘Siddhattham ettha iti ganhatha bandhath’ emau.  
ānāpayau, suraganaḥ sahadassanena  
canḍaniluggatapićau va palāpayitha.  
gambhiramegharavasannibhācanḍanādaḥ  
vātaṇ ca māpiya tato subhagassa tassa  
kaṇṇam pi civaravarassa manoramassa  
no āsi yeva calitau pabhu antako ‘tha.  
saṅvatṭavuṭṭhijavasannibhabhiṃghora  
vassam pavassiya, tatodakebendukam pi  
nasakkhi netum atulassa simpakam pi:  
disvā tam abbhutam atho pi sudummukho so

\textsuperscript{1} Ca pūjītā. \textsuperscript{2} Ca jalito.
accantabhimananalaccaisamujjalaru
pāsānabhaskakalalayudhavassadhārā
aṅgārapajjalitavālukavassadhārā
vassāpayittha: sakalāni imāni tāni
Marānubhāvabalato nabhato 'pagantvā
patvāna puṇṇasikharuggatasantikān tu
mālāgulappabhuti bhāvagatāni 'thā pi.
lokantare va timiraq timiraq sughornāq
māpetva mohatimiram pihatassa tassa
dehappabhāhi sataraṇjī satoditam va
jātam manoramatarāma atidassaniyam
ālokapunjavam avalokiyā pāpadhammo
kopoparatthavadano bhukutippacārā
accantabhījaṃavādakāvagesadhārī
cakkāyudhaṃ varaṭaram api Merurājaṃ
sankhandayantam iva thulakalirakādaja,
vissajjitenā na kiścī gunākarassā
kātum pahuttam upagaṇci tato tam etuq
gantvā nabha kusumachattatam āga sisaq.
vissajjitā pi senāya selakūtanalakulā
pagantvā nabhasā mālāgulattaq samupāgataq.1
tam pi disvā sasoko so gantvā dhīrassā santikaq
'pāpuṇāti mam evayaq pallaṅko aparājito
ito utthaha pallaṅkā 'iti bhāsittha dhīmato
katakalīyapakkammassa pallaṅkā' attghaya Mara te
ko sakkhi ti pavutto so: 'ime sabbē ti sakkhino.'
senāyaḥbhūmikhaq hatthaq pasaretvāna pāpiṃa
ghoranāden' 'aham sakāhi akam sakkhiq 'ti tāya pi.
sakkhibhāvaq vadāpetvā tassiq evaŋ samudhirayi:
'ko ta Siddhattha sakkhiq' ti: atha tenātudena pi
'mam ettha sakkkhino Mara na santi ti sacetanā.'
rattamegho patikkhatheamavijju va bhāsurāq
niharītva surfattamā cīvara dakkhiṇakaraq
bhūmiyābhimukhaq katvā: 'kasma paramibhūmiyā
unnāditvān' idānā evaŋ nissaddāsi' ti bhūmiyā
muṇcāipe rave nekasate megharave yathā
budhanāgabalaq nāgaj jānūhi supatitiṭhitaq
disvān': 'idāni gahat' idāŋ gahātī cintiyā
sambhinnatathasappo va hatadappo sudutumukho
pahāyā' āyudhavattamilaṅkāraṇi anekadhā
cakkavālācalā yāva sasenāya palāyī so.

1 Ct -to.  2 Cā buddhā.
265 taṇ Mārasenāṇa sabbhayāṇ sasokaṇ ṭaṇā mānasā ṭaṇā devasaṅghā
disvāna 'Mārassa parājayo 'yaṇ jayo ti Siddhatthakumārakassa'  
266 sammodamāṇa abhipūjaṇa
dhirāṇ sugandhapabhuṭhi tasmiṇ pun' āgata nekathuthi samma
gghosamanā chanavesadhāri.  
267 evaṇ Mārabalaj dhīro viddhaṃsetvā mahabbalo
ādicce dharamaṇe va nisinno acalāsane.  
268 yāmaṃsiṇī paṭhama pubbenivāsaṇā nāṇam uttamo
visodhetvāna, yāmaṃsiṇī majjhe me dibbalocanaṇ,  
269 so paṭiccasamuppāde atha pacchimayāmake
otāretvāna nāṇaṇ saṇ sammasanto anekadhā.  
270 lokadhātusataṇ samma unnādetvā 'runodaye.
buddho huvāna sambuddho sambuddhabujalocano  
271 'anejakajatiṣajāraṇaṃ sandhāvissan ti ādinā
udānedaṇ udānesi pituvecena sadiso.  
272 sallakkhetvā gūṇe tassa pallāṅkassa anekadhā
'na tāva utṭhabhisāmi ito pallāṅkato iti.  
273 samāpattiṇ samāpajjī anekasatakoṭiya
sattātha tathṭ eva sattažaṇ nisinno acalāsane.  
274 'ajjāpi nīṇa dhīrassa Siddhatthassa yasāssino
atthi kattabbakiccam hi tasmā asanam ālayaṇ  
275 'na jahāsi ti ekaccadevatān asi saṃsaṇaṇ.
ñatvā tesaṇ vitakkan taṇ sametuṇ santamanaso  
276 utṭhāya hemahaṃso va hemavanto pabhaṅkaro
abhuggantvā nabhāṅ nāṭho akāśi paṭṭhāriyaṇ.  
277 vitakkam evaṇ inimā marūnam
sammuṇpasamā 'nimisehi bodhiya
sampūjayaṅ nayanambujehi
sattāham aṭṭhāsi jayāsanaṇ ca.  
278 subhāsurasmiṇ ratanēhi tasmiṇ
saccaṅkamanto varaccaṅkamasmiṇ
manoramasmīni ratanālaye pi
visuddhadhammaṇ vicitāṅ visuddho,  
279 mule 'japatātatarājavarassa tassa
Māraṅgaṇaṇāma mahānapanāṅkajāṇi
sammānilāpiya tato mucalindamuṭe
bhogindacittakumudānī pabhodhayanto.  
280 mule pi rājāyanatassa tassa
tasmiṇ samāpatti sukham pi vindaṇ  

1 Sic for chaṇa.
saṅvitināmesi manunāvanāno ekunapaññāsadināni dhimā.

281 anotattodakaññ dantakaṭṭhanāgalātāmayāñ
haritakāgadam bhutvā devindenaḥhatuttamaññ
282 vāṇijebhi samānitañ samantaraduddhupiṇḍikañ
mahārajūpanāṃ hi puttambhi paṭīgaṇhiya.

283 bhōjanass' avasānamhi 'japalatarumulakāñ
gantvā 'dhigatadhamsamā gambhirattam anussare:

284 'mahīsandhārako vārikhandhasannibhako ayañ
gambhirā 'dhigato dhāmmo mayā santo' ti ādinā.

285 'dhāmmagambhiratañ dhāmarājassa sarato sato
ās' evam takkanañ dhāmmanañ imam me paṭivijjhitañ.

286 vāyamantena sampattayacakānañ manoranañ
kantetvā uttamāṅgañ ca molabhūsanabhabitañañ.

287 suvaṃjitāni akkhāni uppaṭetvāna, lohitāñ
galato niharītvana, bhariyāñ lāvānabhasuraṅ

288 atrajañ ca dadantena kulavañ sappadipakañ:
ānājañ nāma nadinnañ ca n'atthi silaṃ arakkhitāñ.

289 tathā hi Saṅkhāpaladiattabhāvesu jīvitañ
mayā paricajantena silabhedabhayena ca.

290 khantivāddidike nekaattabhāve apūrītā
chejjādī pāpuṇantena pārami n'atthi kāci me.

291 tassa me vidhamantassa Mārasenañ vasundhara
na kampittha ayam pubbenivāsañ sarato pi ca,

292 visodhentassa me yame majjhime dibbalocanañ
na kampittha, pakampittha pacchime pana yamake

293 paccayākāraṇām me tāvade paṭivijjhito,
sādhukāraddantiva muñcamanā mahārajañ.

294 sampuṇṇalupū viya kaṇṇikāhi
takkehi puṇṇaṃ viya cātikā va
sammaṅkhitā v' aṅjanakehi hattho
vasahi sampitapilotikā va

295 kilesapuṇjaṃbhharito kiliṭṭho
rāgena ratto apidaduttāho
mohena mulho ti mahabbalena
loko avijjāni karakaro 'yañ.

296 kin nāma dhamañ paṭivijjhitañ etañ,
attho hi ko tass' iti desanāya:

297 nicchārevā mahānādaya tato Brahmā sāhampati
'nassati vata bho loko' iti 'loko vinassati.'

298 Brahmasaṅghasamādaya devasaṅghañ ca tāvade
lokāhātasate satthu samīpañ samupagato

299 gantvā mahātale januñ nihacca sīras' aṅjalīñ
paggayha ‘Bhagavā dhammañ desetu’ iti ādān.
300 yācito tena Sambuddharavindavadano jino lokadhātusatañ buddhacakkhamālokañyā tadā.
301 tasmin apparañjakkhādi maccā disvā ti ettaka vibhañjītvā ‘tha te satte bhabbhabhabbavasena so
302 abhabbe parivajjeyvā bhabbhe v’ ādāya buddhiyā: ‘upanetu jano dāni saddhābhijananam attano,
303 pūressāmi ‘ti tañ tassa saddhāmāmatadānato.’
304 vissajji brāhmasanghassa vacanāmatarañjīyā
305 tato ‘japalodayapabbatodito mahappabho buddhādivākaro nabhe,
306 manippabha bhāsurasannibhappabho pamocayañ bhāsurabuddharājā.
307 pamocayanto Upakadayo tadā kamena attārasayojanañjasañ atikkamitvāna suphullapādape
308 vijambhamānañliganabhibūjītañ nirantarān nekadijūpakūjītañ
309 suphullapankheruhagandhavāsitañ āpposanānañ yasassi migadāyam uttamañ
tahī tapassī, atha pañcacavaggīya
devātidevañ tibhavekanāthañ lokantadassīñ sugatañ sugattāñ
dissvāna dhirañ munisīharajañ kumantanañ te iti mantayañ
tahī tapassī, atha pañcacavaggīya
devātidevañṇa tibhavekanāthañ lokantadassīñ sugatañ sugattāñ
dissvāna dhirañ munisīharajañ kumantanañ te iti mantayañ
309 ‘bhutvāna olarikaannapānañ suvañnavanañ po ripuñakāyā
e‘ avuso ‘yañ samano: imassa karoma nāmbe abhivādanadīñ,
310 ayañ visālanvayato pasūto sambahāvaniyo bhūvī ketu bhūto
paṭiggaheñuñ rahañ ‘ asanan tu
311 tasmā ‘sanañ yev’ iti paññapēma.’
310 nātvā ‘tha Bhagavā tesañ vitakkañ tikkhabuddhiyā mettanilakadambehi mānaketuñ padhañsāyī.
311 samatthā nahi saññhātuñ sakāya katikāya te akuñṣu lokanāthassa vandanadīni dhimato
312 buddhabhāvañ ajānanta munayo munirājino ‘avuso’ vādatu tassa kevalajñ samudirayuy.
313 atha lokavidū lokanātho tesam ‘udirathā avuso vādatu neva Satthuno’ samudirayī:

1 Ca -pabhe, Ct sannibhabhasurappabho.
2 Ca tuñ. 3 Ca -yi. 4 Ca sakānṣu.
314 'bhikkhave arahāṇaṃ sammāsambuddho ti Tathāgato,'
buddhabhāvaṃ pakāsetvā attano tesam uttamo
315 nisino tehi paññatte dassaneyyuttarāsane
brahmanādena te there silabhūsanabhūsite
316 āmantetvāna, brahmānaṃ nekakoṭipurakkhato
dhammacakkhaṇaṃ pavattento, desanāraṇinā tadā
317 mohandhakarāsim pi hantvā loke manoramaṇaṃ
dhammālokaṇaṃ padassetvā veneyyambujabuddhiyā,
migakānamicākhate raṇabhūmitale iti
rājā mahānubhāvo va dhammarajā visārado
319 desanāsīṣamādāya dhibhujena manoramāṇaṃ
veneyyajanaṇabandhūnaṇa mahānattthakaraṇaṃ sadā
320 kilesāri padāletvā, saddhammajayadundubhi
paharitvāna, saddhammajayaṇeketaṇuddudhuṣayānaṃ.
321 ussaptvāna, saddhammajayathunuttamaṇaḥ subhayaḥ
patiṭṭhāpiya, lokekaraṇaḥ hūtvā sivānkaropānaṃ.
322 pamoṣetvāna janataṇaḥ brahā saṃsārabandhānaḥ
nibbānanaṇagaraṇaḥ netukāmo lokahite rato,
suvaṇṇācalakūtava jaṅgamaṇaḥ cārudassanaṃ
patyā 'ruvelagamiṇaḥ taṇañjaṉasānaḥ va suraṅjaṉasānaḥ,
324 Bhedavaggyabhupalakumaratiṣaṃmatakte
maggattayamatarasam pāyetvā rasam uttamaṇaḥ:
pabbajjamaṃ uttamaṇaḥ datvā lokass' atthāya bhikkhavo
uyyojeytvāna sambuddho 'cārikaḥ carathā' ti te,
gantvā 'ruvelaṇa jatilānam anto
jahā ca chetvāna jatā bahiddhā,
pāpetva aggañjasānaṃ uttamo te
purakkhato indu va tārakāhi
327 purakkhato tehi anāsavehi
chabbāṇaraṇaḥsabharaṇuttamehi
disaṅgamāyo atisobhayantapakhiṇam akkhiri pi pinayanto,
dimmam patiṇṇaṃ samanussaranto
taṇa Bimbisārasa mahāyaṇaṃ saṃc cetukāmo vararājavanīsaṃ
dhajupamānasa guṇālayaṃ.
329 sikhandimaṇḍalāraddhanaccaṇa Latthivanaṇhayaṇaṃ
uyyāṇam agamā nekatarusandabhimanditaṇaṃ,
330 Bimbisārānārindoro 'gatabhānaṇa Mahesino
suṇītva pitipāmojjaṃbhūsaneno vibhūsito,
331 tam uyyaṇa upagantvāna mahāmaṇcakupurakkhato
satthu pādāravindehi sobhayanto sisoruhe.

1 C³ Cᵐ sañ.
332 nisinno Bimbisāraṁ taṁ saddhammaamatambunā(devindagiyaṁānagavanuṁ vanṇābhirajito
333 devadānavabhogindapūjito so mahāyaso,rammaṁ Rājagahaṁ gantvā devindapurāsannibhao
334 narindageham ānito narindena narāsabo,bojanass' avasānamhi cālayanto mahāmahīṁ
335 patīgaṇhiya samphullatarūrājivājītaṁrammaṁ Veluvanārāmaṁ vilocanarasāyanaṁ
336 sitapulinasamūhacchantabhūlaṁkatasmiṁ2surabhikusumagandhākiṁṇamandā-nilasmīṁ
337 suranaramahāniyo cărupādārvindovimalakāmalanetto kundandātābhirāmo
gunaratanaśamuddo 'nāthanātho munindo
338 kanakakinarasobhohomasommaṇano so
339 vimalapavarasilakkhandhavāraṁ ca kātvā
cucirvivaramahā-kunkumant ussapayitvā
340 Tādā Suddhodano rāja: 'putta sambodhim uttamaṁ
cātva paṭavā saddhammacakko lokahitāya me
341 Rājagahaṁ va nissāya ramme Veluvane 'dhunā
casati' ti sunitvāna, Buddhaḥutaṁ sakatājaṁ
342 datthukāmo, navakkhattaṁ navāmaccaṁ mahesino
cnavayodhahasahessi saddhiṁ pesesi santikaṁ.
343 gantvā te dhammarājassā sutvanopamadesanāṁ
cuttamaththaṁ labhitvāna sāsanam pi na pesayuṁ.
344 'Sutaggaratanaṁ netvā mama nettarasāyanaṁ
cyena kena upāyena karohi' ti tam abravi.
345 atha yodhasahassena tam pi pesesi, so pi ca
gantvā sapariso satthu sutvā sundaradesanāṁ
346 araḥattāṇasāṁ paṭvā pabbajitvā narāsahāṁ
cnamassanto sasambuddhāṁ paggayha sirasaṇjaliṁ:
347 'vasantakālajaniṭīțiratta-
cvanṇābhirāmaṇkuraappallavāni
csunilavanṇojjalapattayutta-
cākhāsahassāni manoramāni

1 Wanting in MS.; supplied from printed text. The MS. has the commentary.
2 Cā -bhā-. 
348 visitsāgandhākulaṇālīphulla-\(^1\) nāṇavīcittāni mahiruhāni,
sucittanānāmicapakkaṅghasāngha-
saṅgiyamānuttamakānānāni,
349 sunīlaśatodakāpurītāni
sunādikādambakadambakāni,
sugandhaindivarakallāhārā-
ravindaratambujabhūsitāni,
350 tīranta-jātadumey puppha-
kiṅjakkharāsihi\(^2\) virājitāni
muttātisātāmalaṣekatāni
rammāni nekāni jalāsāyāni
351 manuṇāveluriyakecukāni
va guṇḍhitānīva susaddalehi
sunīlabhūtāni mahītālāni
nabhāni mandānilasāṅkulāni
352 anantabhogehi janehi pitaḥ
surajadhāniṅ kapilabhidhāniṅ,
gantuṅ bhadante samayo’ ti ādi
saṅvāṇāni vaṅgaṅ gamanaṅjasassa.
353 suvaṅṇanāna taṅ sugato sunītvā
vaṅgessi vaṅgaṅ gamanaṣs’ ‘Udāyi\(^3\)
kin nū ti bhāsīttha’ tato Udāyi
kathes’ idaṁ tassa sivaṅkarassā:
354 ‘bhante pita dassanam icchate te
Suddhodano rājavararo yaśassā:
Tathāgato lokahitekanātho
karotu saṅñatakasaṅgahān’ ti.
355 sunītvā madhuraṁ tassa girāṁ lokahiterato
’sadhu ’dāyi karissāmi nātakānan ti saṅgaḥaṅ.’
356 jaṅgamo hemamerru va ratakkambalaṅkato
vimalo punācando va tāraṅkāparivārito
357 saddhiṁ visasahassehi santacinte hi tādihi
gacchanto sirisampanno añjase satṭhiyojane
358 dine dine vasitvāna yojane yojane jino
dvīhi māsehi sampatto Buddhā jatapuraṅ varaṅ.
359 Buddhān visuddhamalānanasobhamānaṅ
balaṁsmālīsatabhānusamānabhānuṅ
cekkaṅktorucaranāṅ caranādhiṅvasaṅ
lokattayaṅkaraṅaṅ araṅgagikāyaṅ
360 sampunṇaḥemaghatatoraṅadhupagandha-
mālehi venupanavādihidundubhiṅhi

\(^1\) So C⁶ comm. C⁵ vicitta-.
\(^2\) C⁵ -rājihi.
\(^3\) C⁵ gamanassa ’dāyi.
cittehi chattadhajacamaravijanīhi  
Suddhodanādivanipā abhipūjayiṣu.

361 susajjitaṃ puram patvā munindo taṃ manoramaṃ  
sugandhipupphakīniṃjakkhaḷaṅkakadraticitudiṣaṃ  
362 suphullajalajākinnāsacchodakajalalāyaṃ  
mayūramandalāraddharaṇaṃgihī ca virajitaṃ  
363 cārucaṅkamapāsadalatamaṇḍapamaṇḍitaṃ  
pāvekkhi pavaro rammaṃ nigrodhāramam uttamaṃ.

364 'amhākam esa Siddhattho patto nattā'1 ti ādina  
cintayitvāna sañjātamānasattadhaddhasākiyā  
365 dahare dahare rājakumare idam abrūvaṃ:  
'tumhe vandatha Siddhatthaḥ na vandāma mayan  
ti taṃ.'

366 idaṃ vatvā nisidhiṣu katvā te purato. tato  
adantadamako danto tilokekavilocano  
367 tesāṃ ajjhāsayaṃ nātva: 'na mam vandanti nātayo,  
handa vandāpayissāmi dāni nesaṃ' ti. tāvade  
368 abhiññāpādakajjāhānaṃ samāpajjītva, jhānaṇo  
vyuṭṭhaya hemahaṃśo va hemavāṇṇo pabhāṅkaro  
369 abhuggantvā nabhāj sabbasattanntarasāyanaṃ  
gandamburukkhhamilaṃjī pāṭihāriyassanībhaḥ  
370 sañḍhāraṇam aṇuṇesaṃ pāṭihāriyam uttamaṃ  
ramaniyatare tasmiṃ akāsi muniṃpūṅgavo.

371 disvā tam abbhutaṇ rājā Suddhodananarāsabho  
sañjātapitipāmojjā Sakyavaṃsekanāyako  
372 satṭhu pāḍaravindehi sake cārusiroruhe  
husite kāsite, sabbe sākiyā akarun tathā  
373 dhīro pokkharavassasā avasane manoramaṇaṃ  
dhammavassasā pavavassvā sattacittavānuggatāṇ  
374 mahamoharajajatvā, sasaṅgho dutiye dine  
pavekkhi sapadānena piṇḍaya puram uttamaṇ.  
375 tassa pāḍaravindāni 'ravindāni anekadhā  
uggantvā patiganhiṣu akkantakkantathānato.

376 dehaṭotikadambhehi gopuraṭṭālamandirā2  
piṇjarattāṇaṃ gataṃ tasmiṃ pākaraṇabhubthi tadā  
377 carantam pavisītvāna piṇḍaya puravīthiyaṇaṃ  
lokālokakaraṇaṃ vīraṇaṃ sataṇaṃ dantaṇaṃ pabhāṅkaraṇaṃ  
378 pasādajanake ramme pāsade sū Yasodharā  
sihapanjarato disvā thitā pemapārayanā  
379 bhusane manirāṣhī bhuvirājā Rahulaṇaṃ varaṇ  
āmanteṭvā padassetvā 'tuyham eso pitā' ti taṃ.  
380 niketam upasāṅkamma Suddhodanayaasassino  
vanditvā tam anekāhi itthihi parivāritā

1 Ca C' natto.  
2 Ca -irau.
381 ‘deva devindalāya putto te ’dha pure pure
caritvā carate dāni piṇḍāya ti ghare ghare’
382 pavedesi: pavedetvā gama mandiram attano
anandajalasandohapūrītoruvilocanā
383 tato sesanarindānañj indo indo v’ alañkato
kampamāno ’pagantvāna vegana jinasantikañj:
384 ‘Sakyapuṅgava te n’esa vaṃso, mā cara mā cara,
vaṃse putt’ ekārājā pi na piṇḍāya cari pure.’
385 iti vutte nairidena munindo guṇasekkhara:
‘tuyham eso mahārāja vaṃso, mayham pan’ anvayo
386 buddhavaṃso’ ti Sambuddhavaṃsañj tassa pakāsayi
athā tasmiññhī tiño yeva desento dhammaṃ uttarīñj
387 ‘uttiṭhe na-ppamaṭṭeyya dhammam’ icc’ adim
uttamañj
gāthāñj1 manorāmañj vatvā sotūnañj sivam āvahāñj.
388 dassanaggarañjvatvā santappetvā tam uttamo
tenabhiyācito tassa niketāñ j samupagato.
389 siddhiñ visasahasseti tādihi dipaduttamañj
madhurodanapānena santappetvā, mahīpatī
390 culaṃnarīcihi piṃjarājālañkhi tam
rajūhi saha vanditvā nisidi jinasantike.
391 tā pi nekasatā gantvā sundarā rājasundari
nairidena anuññatā nisidiṣu tahīñ tādā.
392 desetvā madhurāñj dhammañj tilokatilako jino:
‘aham p’ ajja na gaccheyyañj sace Bimbāya man-
dirañj
393 dayāya hadayan tassā phaleyya’ ti dayālayo
savakaggayugan gayha mandirañj pitarā gato.
394 nisidi pavisitvāna Buddha buddhāsane tahīñ
chabbānarājanjālehi bhāsuranto va bhānumā.
395 manosilakusamānadeha-
maricjālehi virājamāna
pakampita hemalatā va Bimbā
bimbādharā satthu samipam āga.
396 satthu pādesu samphassa sitaluttamavārinā
nibbāpesi mahāsokapāvakañ hadayindhane.
397 rājā satthu pavedesi Bimbāyātibahuñ gunañj
munindo pi pakāsē Candakhannañ tākanañj.
398 tādā Nandakumārassa sampatte maṅgalattaye,
vivahā abhiseko ca iti gehappavesanañj,
399 maṅgalānañj pure yeva pabbājesi pabhaṅkarā
anicchantañj va netvā tāñ āramarammam uttamañj

¹ Cā gāthā.
400 attānam anugacchantaḥ dayajjatthaḥ sakatrajaḥ
kumāraḥ Rāhulaḥ cāpi kumarābhārānaujjalaḥ:
401 'sukhā va' chaśā te me' ti uggirantaḥ girappiyaḥ
dayajjam me dadāhi' ti 'dayajjam me dadāhi' ca
402 arāmaṃ eva netvāna pabbājesi niruttaraṃ
saddhammaratanaḥ datvā dayajjaṃ tassa dhīmato.
403 nikhamma tamḥā sugataśumālī
tahiḥ tahiḥ jantusaroruhāni
saddhammarauṣihi vikāsayanto
upāgato Rājagahaḥ: punā pi
404 kusumākulasundararatarpavane
padumuppalaḥsurasaranikare
puthucaṅkamamaṇḍitasitasikate
subhasitavane viharati Sugato.
405 tada Sudattavhayasetthi setṭho
bahūhi bhandaj sakaṭehi gayha
Sāvatthito Rājagahe manuṭhe
sahayasetthissa gharupagantvā.
406 ten’ eva vutto subhagena ‘Buddho
jāto ti loke dipadānam indo’
saṅjītapitihi udaggacitto:
‘rattim pabhātaḥ’ iti maṅgamāno
407 nikhamma tamhā vigatandhakare
devanubhāvena mahāpathambi
gantvāna tan Sīta anaṃ surammaṇaṃ,
sampunṇacandaṇa va virājamānaṇaḥ
408 tan diparukkhaṃ viya pajjalaṇaṃ
vilocanānandakaraṇa mahesiṃ
disvāna tass’ uttamapādarāgaṇaḥ
patiggahevatvā sīrasā, sudhīmā
409 gambhiraj nipunan dhammaṃ sunitvā vimalaṃ varaṇaṃ
sotāpattiphalam patvā saḥassanayamanditaṇaḥ.
410 nimantetvāna sambuddhaṃ sasangaḥ lokanāyakaṇaṃ
vannagandharasupetaṇ datvā danaṃ sukhāvahaṃ
411 satthu āgamanathāya Sāvatthinagarayā varaṇaṃ
patiṇaṇaḥ so gahetvāna, gacchanto antaraṇapate
412 yojane yojane cārucittakammasamujjale
vihāre pavare datvā kārāpetvā bahuṃ dhanaṃ,
413 Sāvatthiḥ² punar āgantvā pāsādaṣṭamaṇḍitäyaṃ
toranagghikapārāgopurādivirajitaṇaṃ
414 puraṇ avahasantaṇa va devindassapi sabbāda
sabbasampattisampannāṃ naccagītādisobitaṇaṃ:

¹ C³ om. va. ² C⁴ Sāvatthi.
415 'kasmiṣṇaḥ so vihareyya ti Bhagavā lokanāyakam.' samantānivilokento vihārārahabhūmiṇaḥ.
416 Jetarājakumārassv uyyanaḥ Nandopamaṇā
cchāyādakādisampattāḥ bhūmibhāgaḥ udikkhya,
417 hiraṇṇakoṭi satthāravasena' eva mahāyaso
kinitvā, pavare tamhi naraṁaramanohare
418 niccaḥ kiṅkiñjiśānādārucirāḥ sīṅgīvāṁśākulaṁ
rammaḥ nekamaṇihi chattachadanaḥ āmuttamuttā-
valiḥ
nāṇārāgavitānabhasurataraḥ pupphādīnālaṅkananaḥ
citraṇ gandhakutiṇī varaṇaḥ suvipulaṇ kāresi bhūse-
kharāṇ.
419 jinatrajānam pi visālam ālayaḥ
vitānānanāśayānāsāmuṣjālaḥ
śrīmadapacāṅkamādinā
vilampamāṇaḥ manalocanaḥ sadā
420 athā pi saṃhāmanasetthāvalukaḥ
śāvadikācāruvisālam alakaj
jalāsayaḥ sātātisātalodakaḥ
śugandhisogandhiṣapāṅkaṇākulaj rh
421 suphullasālasaṅkanāga-
punnaṃgādādityājāmaṇaḥ
manoramoṁ Jetavanabhīdhānaṁ
kāraṇāḥ setṭhi vihārasetṭhaṁ.
422 visālakelāsadharādharuttama-
bhirāmpāṅgaraphanindagopito
janassā saddhābhīmahatthasādhaṁ vin
vihāracintāmanī so virajate.
423 tato āgamanatthāya munindaḥ nāthapiṇḍiko
dūtam pahesi: so satthā sutvā dūtassa sāsanaḥ
424 mahātā bhikkhusaṅghena tadā tamhā purakkhato
nikkhamitvānupubbena patto Sāvatthim uttamaṁ.
425 samuṣjālaṁi nekāni dhajān’ ādaya sundarā
kumārā purato satthu nikkhamiṣusurā yathā,
426 nikkhamiṣo tato tesaḥ pacchato taruṇāṅgana
ecāruppuṇṇaghataḥ 'dāya devakaṁṇa yathā tathā
427 puṇṇapātīṇ gahetyāna setthino bhariyā tathā
saddhim nekasatitthiṁi nekālaṅkaralakata
428 mahāsetṭhi mahāsetṭhisatehi saha nayakaṁ
abhuggaṁci mahāvīraṇ pūjito tehi nekadhā:
429 chabbānaraṇṣiṁi manoramehi
puraṇaḥ varaṇaḥ pinjaravaṅnabhāvaṁ

¹ Cs sabbā-. 
netto munindo Sugato sugatto upāvisi Jetavānaṁ vihāraṁ
430 'catuddisassa saṅghassa Sambuddhapamukhass’ ahaṁ
imaṁ dammi vihāraṁ' ti satthucārurakarambuje
431 sugandhavāsitaṁ vāriṁ¹ hemabhūṁkārato varaṁ
ākiritvā ādi rammāṁ vihāraṁ cārūdassanaṁ.
432 surammanāṁ vihāraṁ paṭīggayha setṭhaṁ
anagghe vicitāsanasmīṁ nisinno,
jamindānam indo tilokekanetto
tilokappādadāvahantam manuññaṁ
433 udārānisaṁsaṁ vihārapadāne
anāthappadānena nāthassa tassa
Sudattābhidhānassa setṭhissa satthā
yasassī hitesi mahesi adesi.
434 udārānisaṁsaṁ vihārapadāne
kathetuṁ samatto² vinā bhūripaṁnaṁ
tilokekanāthaṁ naro ko 'si yutto
mukhānaṁ sahassehi nekehi cápi.
435 iti vapulayato so tassa dhammaṁ kathetvā
api sakalajjanānaṁ mānase tosayanto
paramamadhuranādaṁ dhammabheriṁ mahantaṁ
viharaṁ paharanto tattha tathūpaganṭvā.
436 evaṁ tilokahitadena mahādayena
lokuttamena paribhuttapadesapantiṁ
niccaṁ surāsuramahoragarakkhaṁādi
sampūjitaṁ aham idāni nidassayissāṁ.
437 saddhamaṁaraṁsinikarehi jinaṁsumāli
veneyyapaṁkaṭajaṽavaṁi vikāsyanto
vāsaṁ akāsi pavaravo paṭhamambhi vasse
Bārāṇasimhi nagare Migakānanaṁhi.
438 nānapakāraṁratanāpaṇavīṭhipanti³
ramme pure pavararājaṁgaṁbhūthaṁ
vāsaṁ akāsi dutiya tatiye catutthe
vasse pi Kantaṭāra-Veluvane pi nātha.
439⁴ bhūpaḷamolimaṁpiraṁvirājamānaṁ
Vesālināmāvidaṁ nagaraṁ surammaṁ
nissaya Sakyamunikesari paṅcamamhi
vassamhi vāsam akariṁtha mahāvānasmiṁ
440 phullātinīavimaluppalacārunetto
singismsānanatanujoṭiṁi jotamāṇo

¹ C⁴ vāri-. ² C⁴ samatto. ³ C⁴ pantivithi-. ⁴ C⁴ omits text of 439 and 440, but contains the comm.
Buddho anantagunāsannidhi chaṭṭhavasse vāsaṇā akā vipula-Maṅkula-pabbatasmīṁ.

441 gambhiraduddasatarāṇaḥ madhuraḥ marūnaḥ
desetva dhammam atulo sirisannivāso
devindasitalavisaśilasānasmiṁ
vassamhi vāsam akari muni sattamamhi.

442 phullāra vividacaranaḥ caranaḥdhivāso
so Sujuṣumāragirināmadhārdhāramhi
vāsaṇā akā paramamāraṇaḥ aṭṭhamasmiṁ
vassamhi Kantatara-Bhesakalā-vanamhi

443 nānāmatānī bahutītihiyasappadappāṇ
hantvā tilokatilako navamamhi vasse
vāsaṇā akāsi rucire atidassaniye
Kosambisimbalivane jinapakkhirājā.

444 tesān mahantakalahaṃ samituṇ yatiṇaḥ
nissaya varaṇavaram dasamamhi vasse
pupphabhikīṇaṃ vipulāmalakānasmiṁ
vāsaṇā akā munivaro vara-Pāraleyye.

445 dhammamatena janataṇ ājarāmaran taṇ
neto vilocanamanoharasuddhadanto
Nālābhidhāṇādijāgamāvare,¹ munindo
vāsaṇā akā mittabuddhi dasekasvasse.

446 Verāṇjaćarudijāgamāsamipabhūte²
ārāmake surabhīpupphaphalābhīrāme
sabhaññu Sakyamuni bārasamamhi vasse
vāsaṇā akāsi Pucimandadamindamūle.

447 phullāra vividavadado ravicārusobho
lokassa atthacariyāya dayādhivāso
vāsaṇā akā ruciṇa-Cāliyapabbatasmīṁ
vīro tilokaguru terasamamhi vasse.

448 bandhukapupphasamapādakaraṇiramo
dhannisaro pavara-Jetavane suramme
dhīro mahiddhi muni chuddasamamhi vasse
vāsaṇā akā sakalasattahitesu yutto.

449 veneyyabandhuvanarāgaḥ vihantvā
vassamhi pañcadasame muni siharāja
vāsaṇā akā Kapilavatthudharādhāroru-
Nigrodhāramāramāṇiyamanigguḥāyam.

450 yakkehaḥ pi kakkalataraṇ suvinitabhāvaṇ
netvā pure varatam Alavakabhidhāne
vassamhi vāsam akari dasachatthhamamhi
neto janaṇ bahutaram pi ca santimaggaṇaḥ.

451 pākaragopuraniketanatoraṇādi
nettābhīrāmavara-Rājagahe³ mahesī
dvija.  dvija.  netto.

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¹ Cā dvija.
² Cā dvija.
³ Cā netto.
vāsaṇā akā 'nadhiravo dasasatthamamhi
vassambhi paththaṭayaso bhuvanattayasmiṃ.
452 dharmmosadhena madhurena sukhāvahena
lokassa ghoratararāgarajaṃ vihantvā
vassambhi vāsam akari dasaṭṭhamasmiṃ
āṅgiraso pavara-Cāliya-pabbatasmīṃ.
453 veneyyabandhujanomoharipuṇaṃ uḷāraṇaḥ
hantvāna dhammaśinā varadhammarājā
ekūnavisatimake puna tattha vasse
vāsaṇā akā madhurabhārati lokanātha
454 suddhāsayo pavara-Rājagahe vicitte
vāsaṇā akāsi samavisatimamhi vasse
lokassa atthacarane subhakapparukkha-1
cintāmanippavaraṇabhaddaghato munindo
455 evaṃ tilokamahito atibaddhavāsaṇaṃ.
katvā carampaṭṭhamabodhiṃ udārapaṇño
chabbhaṇna-raṃgisamupetaviciṭṭadehe
lokekaṃbandhu Bhagavaṃ avasesakāle
456 Sāvatthiyaṃ pavara-jetavane ca ramme
dibbālaye va samalaṅkaṭapubbarīme
vāsaṇā akāsi muni visatipāṇcavasse
lokabhiṣuddhinirato sukkhasannivaso.
457 iti amitadayo yo paṇcatalīsavasse
manujaṃmanavanasmīṃ jātarāgaggirasiṃ
paramamadhuṇadhammambhī nibbapayanto
avasi samuni megho lokasantiṃ karoto.
458 paṇḍavaraṇaṃ mayhaṃ sañjītaṃ manamandire
tosayanti2 sabbajanaj vuddhiṃ gacchatu sabbāda.
459 citaṇaṃ yaṇaṃ racayantena Jinassa caritaṇaṃ mayā
puṇṇaṃ tassānubhāvena sampatto Tusitaśayaḥ,
460 Metteya-lokaṇāthassa sunanto dhammasadesanaṇaṃ
tenā saddhiṃ ciraṇ kālaṃ vidanto mahatiṃ sīriṇaṃ.
461 Buddhe jāte mahāsatte ramme ketumatiṃpure
rājaṃyaṃ janitvāna tihetupatīsandhiko,
462 cīvaraṇaṃ pīṇḍapatāṇaṃ ca anagghaṇaṃ vipulaṇaṃ varaṇaṃ
sanāṣanaṇaṃ ca bhesajjaṃ datvā tassa mahesino,
463 sāsane pabbajitvāna jotento tam anuttaṇaṃ
iddhimā satimā samma dhārento Pitakattayaṇaṃ
vyākato tena 'Buddha yaṇaṃ hesati’ ti anāgata
uppannūpoṇabuddhānaṇaṃ danaṇaṃ datvā sukkhavahaṇaṃ.
465 saṃsāre saṃsaraṇto hi3 kapparukkho va pāniṭaṇaṃ
icchiticchitam annādiṇaṃ dāṇḍanto madhuraṇaṃ varaṇaṃ.

1 C' rukkho. 2 C' tosajyanti. 3 C' ti.
466 maṇḍaloṣitaṇaṇītādīya dadañca cittassamāhito
silanekkhammapaṇṇadīyā pūrento sabbapāramiṇāy,
467 paramisikharāṇā patvā Buddho huvā anuttaro
desetvā madhurāṇaḥ dharmavā jantūnaḥ sivam āvahāy
468 sabbhāya sadevakaṇṇa lokaṇṇa brahā saṃsārabandhanā
mocayitvā varaṇaḥ kheṣaṇā pāpuṇeyyaḥ sivam puraṇāy.

4691 Laṅkālaṅkārabhūtena bhūpalanvayaketaṇu
vijayabhūtnā raṁṇā sakanāmena kārite.
470 satoyāśayapākāragopurādivirajite
parivenavare ramme vasatā sattavuttinā
471 Medhaṅkarabhidhānena dayāvasena dhīmatā
therena racitaṇṇ phanaṇṇ sabbhi saṇsēvitaṇṇ sadā
genave bhave 'dha gāthānaṇṇaḥ tesaṭṭataṇṇa
ghanthato paṅcapaṇṇasādhikaṇṇa paṅcasataṇṇa iti.

1 The text of 469–472 is not in the MS., but only the Comm. I have supplied it from the printed text.
GLORY TO THE BLESSED, THE HOLY, THE ALL-WISE BUDDHA.

1 Worshipping with obeisance of the head, the supreme lotus on the foot of the Great Being, which provides Nirvāṇa for the good as honey for bees,

2 the Sun of the Law, dispelling the great darkness of ignorance in the world, the great light shown forth on the mountain of the King of the Law,

3 the lotus of brightness ever growing in the lake of the heart of man, and the moon of the Order, emitting the great shining ray of Precept,

4 I will recite in brief the Life of the Conqueror, a blessing distributed far and wide, desiring ever to keep it in memory.

5 Sweet to those who remember, but hard is the path of bliss; yet what saying is hard in the gaining of wealth?

6 Therefore is this my discourse set out in fair verse, good, honey-sweet, pure, delightful to the listening ear.

7 Listen well, as one drawing water in a pitcher, and for ever enjoy, O ye righteous, who desire never to wax old or die.

8 A hundred thousand æons and four ago, there was a city the abode of innumerable beings, who always did good deeds,

9 provided with all manner of treasures, full of all manner of people, crowded with gay shops, adorned with arches and festoons,

10 echoing to the ten sounds, like the city of the King of the gods, called Amara, the Immortal, fair and grand.

11 There once was born of a Brahmin stock, respected through all the world, most merciful, most wise, handsome, beloved,
12 a prince called by name Sumedha, who had traversed the ocean of the Veda. This nascent Buddha, on the death of his parents,
13 Having beheld the great wealth piled up in hundreds of chambers by the treasurer,
14 piled up the treasures, and cried: ‘See, my father and the rest of my kin have gone to the world of gods without taking one small coin with them!’
15 The Mine of Mercy grew sad at this, and thought: ‘Although I have received all this store of wealth, I too must go.’
16 He sat down in solitude, in his own beautiful house, examining the blemishes in his body, and thus admonishing himself:
17 ‘Painful is the breaking-up of the body, painful also is its beginning; I am subject to birth, to old age, to disease.’
18 With these and like reflections, having seen in many ways the blemishes in his body, he sent the drum beating about the city and sent word to the King.
19 At the sound of the drums the beggars flocked together, as bees to a sweet scent, and for seven days he gratified them with the flood of the filaments of alms.
20 When he saw that although the precious gifts fell like a shower of snowflakes, the lotus-plantation of treasures was not exhausted,
21 amidst the tears of his kinsfolk, as a royal elephant flees from a forest blazing with fire, the great hero departed from his delightful house,
22 and came to the mighty Himalaya, perfumed with scents of yellow sandal, camphor, and aloes,
23 adorned with blossoming champak and asoka, trumpet-flower and tilak, areca-nut and punnāga, ironwood, and other trees,
24 filled with lions, tigers, hyænas, with elephants, cheetahs, and apes, with horses and other beasts,
25 full of the notes of maynahs and sunswans, of swans, herons, and parrots, of pigeons and cuckoos and vultures,
26 haunted by goblins, demons, heavenly musicians, gods and fairies, beings full of accomplishment and knowledge,
27 shining with great ranges of beautiful mountains all vermilion and sapphire, mountains of silver and gold,
28 brilliant with many a tank, provided with steps and
stages of jewels and gold, with many a nymph divine
dallying there,
irradiated with the spray from hundreds of secret cool
cascades, delightful nooks full of fays and Nāgas,
with flocks of dancing peacocks and festoons of creepers,
and garlands of white sand,
a treasure-mine of gold, jewels, and pearls, an abode
of merit for those who desire it, as bees desire pollen.
Entered there, the brave one beheld in it the requisites
for the ascetic, produced by Him of the Thousand
Eyes, fine leaf-huts;
he adopted the ascetic garb, and he abode there for the
space of seven days, stedfast in the Five Transcendent
Faculties and the Eight Precepts.
In the joy of Attainment thus produced, the holy
ascetic one day, passing through the air, saw some
people
sweeping the road. Descending then from the air, he
asked the people: ‘Why do ye sweep the road?’
‘O Sumedhā, knowest thou not? The Tathāgata
Diparikara has attained to Supreme Might, and has
set rolling the Supreme Wheel of the Law;
‘he makes the Canon of the Law for the world, and
has reached the fair city Beautiful, and here dwells
in Sudassana.
‘We have invited him with our alms, the ruler of the
world, and his four hundred thousand Brethren
pure.
‘For his coming, O thou of supernatural might, we
sweep the path.’ Thus spoke these people, giving
joy to his ear.
On hearing the word Buddha, the mind of virtues,
highly delighted in mind, could not keep in his usual
state,
and the hero, asking a portion of the road which the
other had begun, was given a rough place and began
to make it smooth.
Before that spot had been made ready by him, the one
Lord of the world, worshipt by men and immortals
alike, benefactor of the world, the great sage, entered
upon the road with the pious ones.
Then as he saw there approaching the Tathāgata,
blazing with six-coloured rays, happy in heart, he
thought:
‘What if I make a bridge in the mud, and prostrate
myself before this hero, the great sage, with his company?

45 For a long time it will suffice for my blessing and happiness.' With this thought, the nascent Conqueror fell down,

46 and raising his lovely lotus-eyes, he looked; and again, as he lay there, thus the courageous one thought:

47 'Should I wish, I could destroy the endless turmoil of existence, and become a novice of the Order, and enter the noble city.

48 'What use in disguise? By the extinction of sin, I having become a Buddha like this Buddha, supreme in the world,

49 will ferry the people in the ship of the Law across the ocean of existence, and bring them to the City of Nirvana, my own happiness being extinguished.'

50 Thus thinking, prostrate there in the mud, he gleamed like a golden plantain stem,

51 beholding the beautiful form of the Buddha, shining with the six-coloured rays, the hero, jubilant with the joys that arose in him, longed for Buddhahood.

52 When he came to the place, and saw the sage prostrate in the dirt, he who had been the Bridge of the World, seeing the other made a bridge for him,

53 the hero, the Tathagata Diparikara, the one Bridge of the World, the World's one Eye, stood at his head, and spake:

54 'In time to come, this man shall be a supreme Buddha, Gotama by name,' and revealed his disciples, his native city, and so forth.

55 This said and done, with his Order the pious one did obeisance to him, moving about him rightwise, and offered to him eight handfuls of flowers.

56 Having done this, the ruler of the world with his company went to the city named Ramnaka, a place beautiful with monasteries and houses.

57 The other, hearing the Conqueror's speech, arose from the dust, delighted, and reverenced by the hosts of the gods with offerings of flowers and other things,

58 and crossing his legs, sat down on the couch of flowers, the most austere, the most wise, Sumedha, conqueror of sense.

59 The gods in ten thousand spheres, delighted, praised the hero seated on the flowery couch.

60 As he sat, he pondered on the qualities which make
a Buddha: whether above or below, at the four cardinal or the four intermediate points.

61 Thus meditating, he apprehended all the elements of the Law, his own image, and first the Perfections of Giving;

62 seeking further and further the Perfections in wisdom, he beheld all the Perfections by his eye of understanding;

63 and passing through successive transmigrations, he endured great suffering, seeking Nirvāṇa in tranquillity by fulfilling the Perfections of Giving;

64 this chief of givers was like a magic tree, or a magic wishing-jewel, giving to the world all their desires, food or what not.

65 He tore out his beautiful eyes, like stars in the sky, and joyfully gave them to those who asked;

66 The flesh of his own body and his blood he gave, as much as the dust of the earth and the water of the sea,

67 heads adorned with diadems, great as Mount Sineru, he gave, shaking the earth, and sons and wives to boot.

68 He fulfilled the Precepts, the Separation, the Wisdom, all the Perfections, he attained the Vessantasa existence; and being born again from that place,

69 he came into being in the fair abode of the gods, the city of Tusita. There he dwelt for a long time, enjoying infinite happiness.

70 The gods in humble obeisance, made this request of the greatest of men: 'O mighty one, it is time for thee to become Buddha.'

71 He examined time and circumstances, and recognised that it was the time for Buddhahood, then giving his promise to the assembly of the gods, to the forest of Nandana,

72 he went with the hosts of the gods, and went to heaven, vanishing from this world amidst their praises, that wise one; vanishing thence, here,

73-5 in the picturesque city of Kapila, crowded with great coursers finely caparisoned, full of gaily-decked shops and wares, bright with beautiful tall lordly elephants, adorned with myriads of arches and banners, with spacious halls and watchtowers, with strong gates, the abode of fair women, laughing to scorn even the city of Purinda (India); to Sudhdodana, lord of men, protector of the helpless, one of Okkaka's royal stock,
the abode of many pure virtues, or lotus haunted by bees like jewels on Kings' heads,

76 the Most Wise showed in a dream a gold-coloured elephant like the pure moon, with a trunk like a pure white silver wreath, a noble festoon of white lotus;

77-8 he entered the womb of the King's wife Māzā; lips like bimba-fruit she had, eyes like the flowering blue lotus, her eyebrows like the rainbow an ever-increasing delight, her mouth like a beautiful pure full moon, her breasts like a pair of golden geeses, her feet like fair lotus shoots, the colour of her body shining like the colour of gold; adorned was she with the orna-
ments of many a virtue and good custom.

79 At the instant of his conception, beings manifold were born, and thereupon protection was assumed by men and immortals.

80 Like an image of gold seated in the pericarp of a lovely red lotus, all golden-coloured the chief of men sat cross-legged in his mother's womb.

81 Like a red thread strung through a clear jewel, the Wise One is seen causing his mother's mind to blossom.

82 At the end of ten months, thus spake the Queen to the King: 'I desire, O King, to go to the home of my family.'

83 With the King's consent, she goes to her family with a large retinue, by a road which seemed to be divine.

84 Seeing a grove of sāl-trees adorned with a multitude of fragrant flowers, echoing with the sound of clusters of murmuring intoxicated bees, with a flock of bright-eyed birds, which seemed to invite her, the Lumbini Wood, a spacious place of delight,

85 she felt a very great desire for that fair spot. So with a charming step, like a divine maiden, she approached the root of a blossoming sāl-tree, and grasped a branch, which of itself bent low.

86 At that moment, the pangs of labour seized her; then her people ran up and surrounded the lady with screens; this done, they retired apart. Then

87 she stood firm, and clinging to the branch by her red hand, soft as cotton, with its row of shining red nails, adorned with fine bracelets and ornaments of gold, brought forth the Wise One;

88 who, his body shining with a golden hue, fair to the eye, incomparable, his beautiful hands and feet fully
extended, came forth from the womb of the incomparable mother, like a golden goose emerging from a lotus.

89 The Brahmas brought a beautiful priceless net of gold, and approaching, received him, and standing before her, said: ‘Rejoice, O Queen! of thee is born a most excellent son.’

90 Other men are born with their limbs smeared in filth; but the excellent lord of men was born pure, like a jewel lovely and priceless laid in a piece of fine Benares cloth.

91 This done, down from the sky came two streams of water upon the body of the Beloved and on his mother’s body, washing away the pollution to make all auspicious.

92 From their hand the delightful gods bringing a skin rug received the hero on a cushion of fine cloth, from their hand the best of men received that lion-king among men;

93 From their hand, a beautiful and pure moon, he stood firm upon the earth, his great feet marked with circles, and gazed with lotus-eyes at the eastern quarter.

94 The hundreds of spheres became as one courtyard; men and immortals together worshipping the Wise One with perfumes and like offerings, and thus they spake:

95 ‘There is no man like unto thee, O wise one: how then can there be one superior?’ Thus the Lord of the World, seeing in this quarter not one like himself, took seven paces towards the nook, and said: ‘I am the chief of the world, choicest and best.’

97 At the words of this voice, incomparable and supreme, all did worship to the King of men—deities, Titans, and Brahmins, and the great company went to the fair-decorated city called Kapila.

98 At the instant of the birth of this noble one, the earth, although able to bear the exceeding great burden of trees, hills, and Mount Meru, and all the water of the ocean, could not bear the weight of his merits, and did quake;

99 dogs sported with deer, crows with owls, in high delight, great serpents with mighty garula birds, and hosts of cats with rats,
deer consorted with lions as parents with children, and ships sped to their goal in all quarters of the world like the arrow of Sarabhasigasatthâ.

The mighty ocean, and its lines of quiet waves, became adorned with shining lotus flowers of every hue, and its waters became quite sweet;

the heavens were filled with festoons of full-blossoming lotuses, the birds left their flying in the sky, the river stood still and flowed not

by loving union with a sudden breeze, the earth-bride waxed most lovely, adorned withal by the ornament of many flowers scattered upon her by the gods;

great trees were laden with festoons of blossoming garlands, and the four quarters, like fair women, shone brightly, clad in sweet-scented filaments;

The whole heaven was pervaded with sweet incense most delightfully, gods and Titans, in festal garb, walked about singing together;

all spoke kindly, and all the quarters of the earth were serene: elephants trumpeted, lions roared, the neighing of horses was heard;

Flutes, and lutes, and celestial drums made each its own delightful sound in the sky; the great world with its lofty mountains was pervaded by a full and lovely light;

a cool breeze, soft and fragrant, wafted pleasure to all people, and those who were afflicted by all manner of pains were set free and at ease;

the world was made pleasant by the bright waving of vast plummy fans; water burst forth from the earth and flowed along; the humpbacked were upright as they walked;

The blind saw how the lame sported and danced; the deaf enraptured heard the singing of the dumb;

the very flames of hell became cool, straightway, the things born in water rejoiced, and became visible therein to sight;

the ghosts, faint with hunger and thirst, found food, and in the dense darkness of limbo there was light;

numberless clusters of stars, of suns and moons, shone bright in the sky, and jewels upon the earth;

great lotus flowers of all hues burst in full bloom from the earth one above another;

ornamented drums, without beat or stroke, gave forth a sound exceeding sweet on the earth;
everywhere doors and windows opened of their own accord, and men bound with fetters and chains were set free;
then in the Heaven of the Thirty-Three, the company of the gods made merry in much joy, waving their scarves unceasingly and crying,
'News! in the city of Kapilavatha is born a son to Suddhodana; he is seated upon the circle of the Bo-tree, and he will become Buddha.'
The mighty and most wise ascetic Kāladevala, the trusted adviser of the wise King Suddhodana,
after his meal had gone to the dwelling of the Thirty-Three, and there sat him down for the rest of the day.
He beheld them there sporting in festive costume, and asked them the reason of their joy, and they told him.
The sage, hearing this as it truly was, enraptured with joy, at once went to the dwelling of Suddhodana,
and entering, sat down upon a goodly seat, and said: 'They tell me, O great King, that a son is born to thee, incomparable, wise:
'I wish to see him.' The King caused the boy to be sent for in his fine array, to salute the sage;
But child though he was, by the power of his virtue his fair lotus-feet uprose and placed themselves upon the ascetic's head.
In that position of the chief of men, no one in the three worlds must be worshipt: if the head of the lord of the three worlds had been placed under the ascetic's feet,
the ascetic's head would assuredly have burst asunder. He therefore stood with his hands claspt in supplication to the wise Ocean of Virtues, because he had not thought fit to destroy him.
The lord of men seeing this marvel, done by his own son the god of gods, gladly adored his soft lotus-feet, marked with various devices.
When the King's great sowing festival came on, the city was adorned like a city of the gods; and all the people in fair attire gathered at his noble dwelling-place.
Then the King, at the head of his people, thus fair adorned, took his son adorned with beauty, and with
a hero's grace went out to the incomparable sowing festival.

131 All the nurses went away to look on at the festival, leaving the child alone at the foot of a rose-apple tree, covered by a canopy painted in many colours.

132 Seated beneath the canopy, bright with gold, and shining with golden stars, at the root of the rose-apple-tree, the wise one took the opportunity and fell into ecstatic meditation.

133 The nurses returning, beheld him seated like an image of gold, and his splendour; and they said to the King, 'Such and such a marvel has been done by thy son.'

134 When he heard this of the lotus-eyed one, whose mouth is like the bright moon, he said, 'A second time I must worship him,' and set his head at his son's feet.

135 Beside these, other marvels took place also in the world, shown forth by me in due course in the compass of the book, reluctant though I am:

136 where were quantities of houses, glorious with all manner of gems, glorious with canopies and couches in plenty, fair with long flights of stairs and wide storeys, made ready to suit the three seasons,

137 multitudes of fine houses with rows of pinnacles, one row as it were always defying another, forests of lotus like rays of sunlight, illuminating the lotus faces of the folk;

138 by those walls inset with gems women adorn their bodies without even the reflexion of a mirror;

139 where is seen a circuit painted with whitewash, fair to the eye like Mount Kelāsa,

140 where is always seen a moat covered with lotus, with a great circuit of sapphire, set with many gems;

141 there he dwelt, the one all-seeing, until he came to maturity enjoying all delights. In going to the park for sport, upon the high-road

142 he saw successively the three states of existence—old age, disease, and death, and was disgusted; on a fourth occasion he saw with pleasure in the same place the welcome form of an ascetic.

143 The illustrious one went to the beautiful grove, lovely as the forest of Nandana, thick with multitudes of flowering trees, and echoing with the notes of flocks of peacocks and other birds.
There the royal chief of men, with a hero's grace, enjoyed the delightful playing, singing, and dancing of fair women like goddesses.

Seating himself cross-legged on a fair seat, he thought that he would cause his person to be adorned.

The King of the Gods, perceiving his thought, said to Vissakamma, 'Do thou adorn Siddhattha.'

At his command, Vissakamma approached, and wrapt the shining head of the glorious one with ten thousand shawls,

and his shining body, glorious with its unequalled marks, he made beautiful with variegated robes and ornaments, and with the sweet perfume of fragrant blue lotus, sandal, and other such.

Adorned by him, himself also adorned, he sat on a spotless slab of stone, attended by fair women like goddesses, and shining like the King of the gods.

A glad message was sent by King Suddhodana: 'A son is born to thee, my son!' Hearing this, the chief of men replied, 'To me this day a fetter is born,' and forthwith amid all the joys of success he returned to the beautiful city.

Then Kisagotami, in the upper story of the palace, saw the King shining like the sun, and thus she spake:

'Whoever are the parents of this steadfast one, whosoever is the wife of the noble one, happy are they all, yea, always happy.'

When he heard this pleasant speech uttered by her, gladdened within with joy, he went to his house,

he loosed from his neck the great necklace, cool, pure, exquisitely beautiful, and sent it to her;

then mounting to the terrace, lovely as Vejazasta, he reclined upon his precious seat like the King of the gods.

A company of fair women, like goddesses, attending on him, performed all manner of dances and songs;

but the wise one, longing for the ascetic life, free from the fine desires, cared nought even for dances and songs so lovely as these,

but after lying there on the couch awhile to rest, the hero, the mighty King, sat up cross-legged,

and sitting there, he beheld the changes that had come over the sleeping girls. Frightened at the thought
of mortal life, he said, 'I will go now!' and passed through the fair doorway.

161 Channa lay with his head on the fair threshold, for he thought, 'I shall hear my master's call'; and as he lay there, that most righteous friend and counsellor, giver of joy, bringer of good, the prince called him and said, 'Make ready the thoroughbred horse Kantharika, and bring him hither.'

163 Channa listened to the order given to him, and went quickly and caparisoned the thoroughbred, and brought him.

164 The noble steed, thus made ready by him, knowing that his master was to leave the world, uttered a neigh:

165 that sound filled the whole city, but the gods one and all kept it from the hearing of any.

166 Then the delight of the virtuous thought, 'First I will go and see my own precious son, then I will become a Buddha.'

167 With this thought, he proceeded to his wife's apartments, and standing upon the threshold, thrust his head within.

168 He beheld his own son, lying like his mother upon a bed strewn with flowers, with the bed of the King of heaven;

169 seeing which the supreme ruler thought to himself: 'If I take my son from the Queen's arms,

170 'Yasodharā might awaken from her great love, and cause delay in my leaving the world.

171 'When I have become a Buddha, I will return and see my son.' Then the lord of men came down from the upper storey.

172 Yasodharā had lovely lotus-like face, hands, and feet, laughter like the foam, brows like shining wavelets, eyes like the blue lotus; she was like the moon; all eyes were attracted to her like so many bees:

173 Who that enjoyed possession of her body would renounce it, save this steadfast one, standing at the summit of perfection?

174 'I have brought the horse, sire: observe the time, lord of chariots!' so spake Channa to the glorious ruler of the earth.

175 The lord of the earth heard what Channa had spoken;
down from the palace he came, and went to Kanthaka.

176 To him spoke thus he who delights to do good to all beings: ‘Kanthaka, in this one night convey me over gods and men.

177 ‘I will become supreme Buddha, and escape from the world, from the ocean of existence, the terrors of decay, the multitude of monstrous growths.’

178 With these words he mounted his thoroughbred steed, white as a conch shell, and caused Channa to grasp its strong tail.

179 When he came to the great gate, he thought: ‘If the gate will not open by any means,

180 ‘with Channa holding fast by his tail, I will press Kanthaka with my thighs, I will leap over the lofty shining wall, and begone.’ So thought the mighty one.

181 Thus the strong one, and Channa, and the noble steed, each in his own heart thought of the way to get over the wall.

182 But the gods who inhabited the gate, perceiving his thought, and delighted at his happy going, then set the gate open.

183 Then Death thought, ‘I will make this Siddhattha no Siddhattha’; and approaching, poised in air, he thus addrest him:

184 ‘Go not forth, O most wise! On the seventh day from now the divine treasure of the Wheel shall surely be made manifest.’

185 But the glorious one, thus addrest by Death, replied: ‘Who art thou?’ and Māra declared himself.

186 ‘Māra, I know that the divine Wheel will be made manifest. Go thou, and stand not here, for I have no desire for this kingdom.

187 ‘I shall become Buddha, sole ruler of the world, and all the ten thousand systems of the universe I will cause to resound.’

188 When the Great Being had thus uttered his supreme word, Māra, unable to entrap him, forthwith vanisht away.

189 After this speech of the Sinner, Gotama at dawn renounced the glory of universal dominion, like a drop of spittle, and there remained.

190 Then the gods assembled immediately, bearing thousands of precious torches, to show reverence to him as he departed.
Behind him and before and on either side there went in reverence great serpents and garula birds;
here great host of gods, showering from the sky like rain showers of lovely blossoms, coming from the ten thousand worlds, exult exceedingly over the tender-bodied one;
on the bright and beautiful road, all sweet-scented goodly flowers, and aromatic powder, golden flags, where the noble royal steed as he went, entangled in flowers, could not go at speed,
thus he proceeded upon that lovely path of thirty leagues, amidst all this festivity, for the remainder of the night.
Reaching the bank of the river Anoma, he dismounted from his horse, upon a pure cool expanse of sound, and having rested, thus he spoke: 'Go, Channa, to your own city, and take with you my ornaments and the horse.'
Standing there, the all-wise one with his sword exceeding sharp cut off his fragrant hair, and cast it up to the sky.
He of the thousand eyes received the hair-relic as it rose into the sky, in a fair golden casket, bowing his head in reverence,
and in the Thirty-Three he set up a crest-gem shrine, delightful to the eye, made of sapphire, a league in height.
The noble Eight Requisites were brought by Brahma, and cast down as it were from the air, and the goodly pair of robes:
taking these, great Brahma made in Brahma's world a beautiful robe-stupa twelve leagues in height.
The hero went to the mango-grove named Anupiya, and there spent seven days, in the bliss of retirement from the world.
One day he proceeded along the thirty-league road as far as Rajagaha, where he went about piously seeking alms.
Then the walls and gates, by his radiance, appeared as if made of gold and set with sapphires.
The crowds of people, full of excitement, when they saw him, asked again and again: 'Who is this? Is it Sakka, or Brahma, Māra or a Serpent?'
Having entered and obtained food enough for his
living, he went along the high-road, looking before him no further than a yoke's length;

and leaving the people there perplexed, as the sea is churned with the churning-stick of Mount Meru, he went to the Pandava mountain,

where, seated under its shadow on a lovely spot, he began to eat the mingled food.

By contemplation, the wise and mighty one restrained the snake of his bowels from leaving the anthill of his body.

After eating, having been many times offered the kingdom by the great King Bimbisāra, the chief of men visited him.

He declined the kingdom; but when the King prayed, 'When you have become supreme Buddha, declare the Lord to me,'

he gave his promise to the lord of mankind. The wise one then retired to the cloister, and there performed exceeding great marvels and wonders. Then considering a little,

after partaking of plentiful meat and drink, and growing stout of body, like a god he came to the foot of the Ajapāla banyan tree.

There he sat, the giver of light, facing the east; and by the colour of his body, that banyan took on the colour of gold.

Then a fair woman named Sujātā, her prayer fulfilled, came to him, bearing upon her head a golden bowl full of rice and milk, and bowing before him, said:

'I present an oblation to the spirit which dwells in this tree.' Then, seeing this incomparable man,

and conceiving that he was a god, joyful at heart, she gave the bowl of food to the noble one, saying, 'As my prayer was fulfilled, so may thine be, my lord.'

With these words, the beautiful woman departed thence. And the sage taking the bowl of food,

went to the bank of the river Nerañjarā, and when he had eaten the choice food, cast her fair bowl against the current.

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

238 Suyama, chief of gods, with a fair yak's-tail whisk three leagues long, stood there fanning him gently.

239 The god named Pañcasikha stood there playing upon a lute of vilva wood, capable of many melodies.

240 Kāla also, King of Serpents, stood there singing songs of praise, attended by dancers.

241 Two-and-thirty nymphs, with a golden shrine filled with flowers, stood in attitudes of devotion.

242 Whilst Indra and the companies of gods thus kept festivity, Māra the Sinner thought thus to himself:

243 'This prince desires to escape from my dominion: well, I will make Siddhattha no Siddhattha.'

244 He then created a thousand great and horrible arms, and with them seized all manner of gleaming weapons; he mounted upon his magnificent and fierce elephant, a hundred and fifty leagues high, named Girimekhala.

245 He then, attended by an army provided with all manner of weapons; having many mouths, with flame-coloured hair, and great round protruding red eyes, their mouths awful, snakes issuing from their breasts,

246 thither he came, roaring with a fearful sound: 'Seize you Siddhattha, and bind him!' Such was their command. At the sight, the assembly of gods was scattered, like flecks of cotton blown by a violent wind.

247 Then Death created a harsh sound like deep thunder, and a wind; but he could not so much as move a corner of the fair robe of that blessed one.

248 Then he caused to descend a horrible and terrific rain, swift as that which falls at the destruction of an age; but could not make one drop come near to the incomparable one. Seeing that wonder, the foul-mouthed one,

249 with a great and blazing conflagration of fire, showered down rocks, ashes and mud, weapons, and fiery coals, and sand; but all these things,

250 by Māra's power precipitated from the sky, when they came nigh to him of transcendent merit, became like garlands of flowers. He then created a horrible black darkness, like that

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

268 In the first watch, the supreme one obtained knowledge of former existences, in the middle watch divine insight,

269 and then in the last watch he went through the Chain of Causation, until he grasped that knowledge thoroughly.

270 At dawn, all the hundred systems of worlds shouted together. Becoming Buddha all-wise, he of the lotus-eyes, all wise,

271 he uttered this hymn of praise, moved with joy (sādiso?), ‘I have traversed a succession of many births’; and so forth.

272 Then, perceiving the many virtues of that seat, he said: ‘I shall not yet arise from this seat.’

273 The Teacher achieved the Attainment in millions of phases, sitting there for seven days on the unshaken seat.

274-5 There arose a doubt in the minds of certain gods, who thought: ‘The glorious Siddhattha must have some other duty to perform, that is why he does not leave this seat.’ Perceiving their thought, and desiring to set their minds at rest,

276 the Ruler uprose like a golden pheasant, gold-coloured, light-giving, and ascending into the air, he worked a wonder.

277 When by this means he had fully reassured the minds of the gods, for seven days he stood with unwinking lotus-eyes venerating the bo-tree and the seat of victory.

278 Then, walking up and down in the noble arcade, bright with gems, like a storehouse of precious things, the pure one investigated the pure doctrine.

279 Then beneath the noble ajapāla-tree he caused the pure lotus-faces of Mara’s women to fade, and beneath the mukaḷinda-tree he caused the serpent-King’s thoughts to expand like lotus-blossoms,

280 and beneath the rājāyatama-tree, the wise one, so fair in hue, gave himself up to the uninterrupted enjoyment of Attainment for nine-and-forty days.

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

299 He kneeled upon his knee in that place, and folded his hands upon his head, crying: 'Let the Blessed One declare the Law.'

300 At his request, the conqueror, omniscient, lotus-lipped, beheld with his divine eye the hundreds of world-systems,

301 and then, seeing how few mortals there were whose lusts were small, he divided them into two parts by the principle of good and evil:

302 rejecting the evil, he assembled the good by his wisdom, and said: 'Let each person now bring his own vessel of faith:

303 'I will fill it with this immortal gift of gospel.' He sent forth upon the company of Brahma rays of words divine.

304 Then the bright one rose over the ajapāla-tree like the sun of wisdom rising in the sky over the eastern mountain, and shining bright like the light of jewels, emitted bright rays of wisdom.

305-7 Then, gladdening Upaka and others, the glorious ascetic passed along the road eighteen leagues in length, by the flowering trees, to the incomparable deerpark, filled continually with the humming of swarms of busy bees, and the murmurs of many a bird, perfumed with the scent of full-blown lotus; then the Five Brahmins, seeing the god of gods, the ruler of the three existences, who sees to the ends of the world, the Blest One, the fair-limbed, the hero, the sage, the lion-king, devised this evil plot.

308 'Friends, here comes this ascetic, golden-hued, perfect in shape, after a meal of rich food and drink. Let us make no kind of salutation to him;

309 'but this honourable personage, born of a high stock, like a banner upon the earth, is worthy to receive a seat; therefore let us prepare a seat for him.'

310 The Blessed One thus perceiving their design by his keen wisdom, by the power of his kindness conquered their arrogance, like a banner blown down by the wind.

311 Unable to resist his words, they did all obeisance to the wise Ruler of the World.

312 But the sages, not knowing that this Prince of Sages
was Buddha, address him simply by the name of 'Friend.'

318 Then the Ruler of the World, who knows the world, said unto them, 'Call not the Teacher simply by the name of Friend;

314 'For, Brethren, the Tathāgata is the Saint, the Buddha All-knowing.' When the Supreme One had made known to them that he was Buddha,

315 sitting upon the most noble seat which they had prepared, he adorned those Elders with the ornament of virtue with a voice like Brahma's voice,

316 and, attended by millions of Brahmās, set the Wheel of the Law in motion, and by the rays of his discourse

317 he also dispersed the pall of dark ignorance in the world, and by his lotus-like wisdom showed forth the lovely light of truth to those who could be converted;

318 thus like a King of great might, the King of Truth most wise, in the field of victory called the Deer-forest,

319 grasping the goodly sword of preaching with the hand of wisdom, caused continued loss to the kindred of those ripe for conversion.

320 He destroyed sins, he beat the drums of victory, true religion, the flag of victory, true religion, hard to win;

321 he uplifted, he planted the auspicious pillar of victory, true religion, and became sole King of the world, the source of bliss;

322 he delivered the people from the mighty bond of transmigration, desiring to lead them to the city of Nirvāṇa, longing to do good to the world.

323 Reaching the road leading to Uruvela, like a road divine, fair to behold as a moving mountain of gold,

324 he gave to some thirty Bhaddavaggiya princes the excellent, immortal draught of the Three Paths;

325 then, supreme in wisdom, having conferred the excellent gift of ordination, he sent them forth Brethren for the world's good, saying, 'Go on your pilgrimage.'

326 He proceeded to Uruvela, cutting off the matted hair of the ascetics without and within. Then, reaching the highroad, he, pre-eminent, as the moon is attended by stars,

327 so attended by these persons, free from sin, shining with six-coloured rays of light, he shed splendour
upon those fair women the points of the compass, and delighted the eyes of birds.

328 Then he remembered the promise given to the glorious King Bimbisāra, like a banner to a noble royal lineage, abode of virtues; and desiring to fulfil it,

329 at the time of the peacocks' dance he went to the park called Laṭṭhivana, adorned with plantations of all manner of trees.

330 Bimbisāra, ruler of men, hearing of the coming of the great sage, adorned with the ornaments of joy and bliss,

331 entered that park, attended by his great councillors, made glorious with his hair the lotus-feet of the Teacher.

332-3 The other, sitting, bright with beauty, of excellent beauty, to whom the King of the gods did sing, worshipt by gods, Titans, and serpent Kings, glorious, (presented) Bimbisāra with the immortal draught of the true doctrine. Then to lovely Rājagaha he went, a city like that of the King of the gods,

334 and the mighty man was led by the King to the King's house. At the end of his repast, shaking the great earth,

335 he took the fair road to the lovely Veluvana Park, beautiful with lordly trees in full bloom,

336 and on a plot of earth beautified by being hidden under a quantity of white sand, filled with gentle waftings of fragrant flowers, adorned with tanks covered with all kinds of twining lotus, a wide clear place, a bower of creepers,

337 he whom gods and men ought to worship, he of the lovely lotus-feet and pure lotus-eyes, delightful jasmine teeth, ocean of precious virtues, protector of the destitute, king of sages, brilliant with golden rays, his face like a mild moon,

338 after performing a multitude of pure observances, uplifting the brilliant sceptre of tranquillity, brandishing the excellent sharp arrow of a Buddha's knowledge, he dwelt at ease in the supreme hermitage.

339 Then King Suddhodana, having heard that his own son had attained to supreme knowledge, and had set rolling the wheel of the Law for the world's good,

340 and near Rājagaha was then dwelling in lovely Veluvana, desirous to see his son who had become Buddha,
341 nine times despatcht nine ambassadors to the great
sage with nine thousand men.
342 These came and heard the incomparable preaching of
the King of Truth, and obtaining the supreme good,
did not send back so much as a message.
343 The King, not seeing a single one of them, sent for
a great minister, the orator Kāludāyi, who ever
delighted in asceticism.
344 To him he said: ‘Bring me my son, my precious jewel,
by any means, and make a salve for my sore eyes.’
345 Then with a thousand soldiers he sent him also, and
he came with his company and heard the Master’s
beautiful preaching,
346 and entering upon the path to sainthood, he renounced
the world, honouring the mighty man, the omni-
scent, by laying his folded hands on his head.
347 and 352 Then he said: ‘Lord, it is time to go to the
fine royal city named Kapila, filled with men of
boundless wealth’; and he described the journey.
‘Red shoots and creepers most beautiful grow in
the springtime, trees with lovely branches and
bright green leaves upon them,
348 ‘with all manner of excellent flowers bursting into bloom
and exhaling sweet odours; there are godly forests
filled with the voices of hosts of birds and beasts,
349-50 ‘many delightful lakes of blue water for pleasure,
with plenteous flocks of sweet-voiced Kādamba geese,
adorned with fragrant blue lotus, and water-lilies
white and red, bright with trees that grow on the
banks, with festooning filaments and flowers, with
white sand spread about pure as pearls;
351 ‘spaces of earth bespread with green grasses, as it were
covered with beautiful lapis-lazuli, formed con-
tinually by breezes gentle and cool.’
353 The Happy One, on hearing this fine description,
approved of the journey, and said: ‘What say you,
Udāyi?’ Then Udāyi replied to the Giver of
Happiness:
354 ‘Sir, your father desires to see you, Saddhadana the
noble and glorious King: let the Tathāgata, the
supreme protector who longs to do good to the
world, do this favour to his kith and kin.’
355 When he who longs to do good to the world heard the
sweet words of this man, he replied: ‘Good, Udāyi;
I will do this favour to my kith and kin.’
356 Clad in a cloak of red, the Buddha, like a moving Mount Meru of gold, like a pure full moon surrounded by stars,
357 he moved twenty thousand souls, all peace at heart like himself, full of bliss, and along his journey of sixty leagues
358 day by day he halted, the conqueror, league by league, and in two months reached the noble city of his birth.
359 The Buddha, with bright and pure lotus-face, shining like the rays of the new-risen sun, his wide feet marked with discs, the abode of good doing, sole refuge of the three worlds, with body supreme and unconquered,
360 was worshipt by Sudhdadan and other royal personages with golden vessels filled with wreaths of sweet perfume, with drums, lutes, and tabors, with goodly canopies, whisks, and fans.
361-3 Reaching the fair-adorned city, the chief of sages entered the noble, pre-eminent Nigrodha monastery, provided with beautiful cloisters, terraces, and bowers of creepers, resplendent with lakes of wholesome water covered with blossoming lotus, enlivened by the sporting of flocks of peacocks, the earth one mass of fragrant flowers.
364 The Śākiya, with minds full of stubbornness, thought, 'This Siddhattha is our son, our grandson,'
365 and thus they spake to the younger princes one by one: 'Do you greet Siddhattha; no greeting give we.'
366 This said, they sat down, putting the younger ones forward. Then the one eye of the three worlds, the tranquil subduer of the untranzquil,
367 knowing their thought, said: 'My kinsfolk give me no greeting; very well, I shall make them greet me.' Immediately
368 entering upon the transcendent meditation of supernatural knowledge, and arising from his trance like a golden goose, the Illuminator
369-70 rose into the air; and there the supreme sage performed a glorious unparalleled miracle, unrivalled by others, like the miracle done beneath the gandambtree.
371 When the King saw this miracle, Sudhdadan the mighty, sole ruler of the Śākiya race, filled with joy
and bliss, he made all his bright hair beautiful by placing upon it the Teacher's lotus-feet; and all the Sākiyas did likewise.

372-4 The wise one, after a shower of rain, showered down the rain of the Truth, washing away the great ignorance from men's hearts; then on the following day, with his company, he entered the excellent city to beg from house to house.

375 Wherever he stepped, lotus flowers sprang up, and received his lotus-feet pace by pace.

376 and 378 Then Yasodhara, standing on a fine terrace of the delightful palace, full of love, saw from a window gates and pinnacles, houses and watch-towers, all yellow by the rays from his body, and beheld the hero walking for alms in the street, wise, calm, giving light, enlightener of the world;

377 and addressing the noble Rāhula, adorned and glittering with jewelled rays, said to him: 'That is thy father,' pointing him out.

379 She went to the house of the noble Suddhodana, attended by many waiting-women, and said, with respectful greeting;

380 'Sire, thy son, who formerly walked this city with the grace of a King of gods, now walks from house to house seeking alms.'

381 This said, she went to her own house, her large eyes filled with abundance of the water of joy.

382 Then the King of all other Kings, adorned like Indra, trembling, went in haste to meet the Conqueror, saying:

383 'O chief of the Sākyas, this is not the custom of thy family; walk not, walk not; O my son, never before has a King of our family trudged for alms.'

384 When the lord of men had thus said, the great sage replied, the chaplet of virtues: 'This is thy family, O great King; mine is the family of the Buddha.'

385 Thus he declared the Buddha's family, and standing in the same spot, declared the gospel,

386 uttering this supreme and beautiful verse, which brought happiness to the hearers: 'One should not neglect the law . . . , etc.

387 Then the supreme one, after satisfying him by the gift of the choice flower of doctrine, at his request went on to his house.

388 The Lord of the Earth and twenty thousand like-minded
with him, having satisfied the chief of men with the well of sweetness,

390 greeted him with other royal personages with rays of crested gems and folded yellow hands, sat down by the Conqueror.

391 Hundreds of fair royal women also, by permission of the lord of man, sat down there also.

392 The Conqueror, the tilaka-spot of the three worlds, after preaching the sweet doctrine, thought: 'If this day I do not go to the house of Bimbā her heart will break with sorrow.' Thus thinking, the abode of compassion went with his father to the house, taking a couple of the chief disciples.

394 Entering, the Buddha sat down upon the Buddha's seat, shining like the sun with the glory of the six-coloured rays.

395 Bimbā approached the Teacher, bright with rays which shone from her body like vermilion powder, with lips like bimbā fruit, trembling like a golden creeper.

396 The Teacher, by the touch of his foot, extinguisht the great grief in her heart, as extinguishing a fire on the hearth by excellent cool water.

397 The King told the Teacher the great excellence of Bimbā, and the chief of sages related the Candakisinara Birth.

398 Then the three festivals of Prince Nanda having come, marriage, ceremonial sprinkling, and entering on the house,

399 the Illuminator ordained him even before the festivals, having brought him, though unwilling, to the beautiful monastery;

400 and when his own son, Prince Rathala, followed him for the sake of an inheritance, shining with princely splendour,

401 and crying in a pleasant voice, 'Grateful is thy shadow to save,' and 'Give me an inheritance, give me an inheritance,'

402 him also he ordained, and brought him to the incomparable monastery. Thus the Wise One gave him an inheritance, by giving him the treasure of pure religion.

403 Thence departing, Sagata, the Sun, with the rays of pure religion, causing men in this place and that to blossom like the lotus, arrived at Rājagaha. Moreover,

404 Sargata dwells in fair Sitavana, having spacious
cloisters adorned with white sand, and parks of beautiful trees laden with flowers, and multitudes of lakes shining with blue lotus.

405 Then the famous merchant named Sudatta, taking carts laden with much goods, came from Savatthi to beautiful Rajagaha, to the house of the rich merchant Sahaya.

406 This kindly person told him that the Buddha was born in the world, lord of men; and in the delight and joy of his heart he thought, 'The night has become light.'

407 Departing thence, the darkness being dispelled on the highroad by the power of the gods, he proceeded to lovely Sitavana.

408 When he beheld the Great Sage, shining like the full moon, giving out light like a blazing tree, rejoicing the eyes, he touched with his head the fair colour of the Buddha's foot.

409 Then, wise with hearing the doctrine, profound, abstruse, glorious, pure, he attained the fruit of the First Path, beautiful a thousand fold.

410 Having invited the Supreme Buddha and his company, ruler of the world, he offered a gift full of happiness, endowed with colour, scent, and taste.

411 He obtained the Teacher's promise to come to the noble city of Savatthi; and departing, on the way, league by league, he bestowed great wealth, and caused to be made goodly monasteries resplendent with paintings.

413 Reaching Savatthi again, with its hundreds of palaces, fair with garlanded arches, walls, and gates,

414 which seemed even to rival the very city of the King of gods, full of all prosperity, merry with dancing and song,

415 he looked about him on all sides for a site worthy of a monastery, wherein should dwell the Blessed One, lord of the earth.

416 He espied a spot of ground where was shade, and water, and all else desirable, a park of Prince Jeta like to Nandana.

417 The glorious one bought this for a crore of gold pieces, for the Teacher's sake alone. There in that noble place, charming the minds of men and gods,

418 he caused to be made a large and noble perfumed chamber, painted, like a crown of the earth, fair with all flowers, beauteous with variegated canopies,
its roofs adorned with strings of pearls and all sorts of jewels, surmounted with peaklike pinnacles, ever alive with rows of bells, all tinkling.

419-21 For the Conqueror’s children also the merchant had made a spacious abode, the fair and noble monastery called Jetavana, furnisht with canopies and beds, adorned with bowers and cloisters, ever charming the mind and eyes, ornamented with blossoming trees of many a kind, having tanks filled with most cool and wholesome water, and covered with sweet-scented water-lilies and lotus, having beautiful wide terraces supplied with benches, and soft pure white sand.

422 Like the wide mountain Kelâsa, protected by the excellent and beautiful rampart of the Serpent King, helpful to all believers, this monastery shines, a very magic gem.

423 Then Anathapindika sent a message to the chief of sages that he might come. The Teacher, on hearing the messenger’s words,

424 with a large company of Brethren, set forth, and in due time came to Sâvatthi the incomparable.

425 A number of handsome princes bearing flags went before the Teacher, like gods.

426 Behind them came lovely young women, like virgins divine, bearing full pitchers, and in like manner,

427 bearing a full bowl, the merchant’s wife, adorned with many ornaments.

428 The great merchant himself, with hundreds of rich merchants, approached the Lord, the great hero, to whom they did homage in various ways.

429 So Sagata the beautiful, chief of sages, was brought to the golden-coloured city, shining with the delightful six-coloured rays, and entered the monastery of Jetavana.

430 ‘I give this monastery to the Supreme Buddha with the œcumenical order,’ said the merchant, as upon the Teacher’s lovely lotus-hands

431 he poured from a golden pitcher choice scented water, and so he presented the beautiful picturesque monastery.

432-3 Having accepted the lovely and noble monastery, the King of Kings, the one eye of the three worlds, the glorious Teacher, the benevolent sage, sitting on the priceless decorated seat, preached to the merchant called Sudatta, to that lord (?) the great
benefit, delightful, bringing joy to the three worlds, in the giving of monasteries, and of gifts to the helpless.

484 What man, save the all-wise one, the sole protector of the three worlds, even though he have thousands of mouths, is able to declare the great benefit which there is in the giving of monasteries?

485 Thus the far-famed one, having discoursed to him, gladdening at the same time the hearts of all men, spent his days going here and there, beating the great drum of the Law with an exceeding sweet sound.

486 I shall now recite the list of places frequented by he who gives happiness to the three worlds, the all-compassionate, supreme in the worlds, worshiped by gods, Titans, great Serpents, demons, and other creatures.

487 In the first season, the noble Conqueror, like a sun, causing believers to unfold like lotus flowers under the shining rays of religion, dwelt in the Deer Park in Benares City.

488 In the second, third, and fourth season the Protector dwelt in most lovely Veluvana, in the fair, noble city called Rājagaha, with its rows of streets containing many a precious shop.

489 In the fifth season the Lion Sakyamuni made his abode in the great wood near the lovely city, well-known under the name of Vesāli, brilliant with the jewelled aigrettes of kings.

490 In the sixth season, the Buddha, store of infinite virtues, dwelt on the great mountain of Manikala, illuminating it with delicate golden light, his lovely eyes like blue lotus flowers bursting into bloom.

491 In the seventh season, the incomparable sage, living an auspicious life, made his abode in the cool and spacious rocky seat of the King of the gods, preaching to the gods his doctrine, sweet, profound, and difficult to comprehend.

492 In the eighth season, the supreme Conqueror of Māra, the abode of good conduct, whose feet were as the full-blown lotus, made his abode in the delightful wood of BhESakalā, on the mountain named Hill Sumsumāra.

493 In the ninth season, the royal Conqueror of garula birds, the tilaka-mark of the three worlds, having
destroyed many a heresy, and the pride of heretics and serpents, made his abode in the Kosambi silk-cotton wood, most beautiful and fair to see.

444 In the tenth season, the noble sage, to pacify the bitter quarrel of the priests by means of the noble elephant, made his abode in goodly Pâraleyya, the spacious pine-grove filled with flowers.

445 In the eleventh season, the chief of sages, the infinitely wise, whose pure teeth captivated the eyes, who leads people to freedom from decay and death with the ambrosia of the gospel, made his abode in the noble Brahmin village called Nāla.

446 In the twelfth season, Sakyamuni the all-wise made his abode in a monastery, delightful with fragrant flowers and fruits, under a noble nimb-tree near the Brahmin village of Veranija.

447 In the thirteenth season, the wise Teacher of the three worlds, whose mouth was like a lotus full-blown, the goodly sun shining for the right conduct of the people of this world, the abode of mercy, made his abode on the beautiful Câbiya Mountain.

448 In the fourteenth season, the steadfast and majestic sage, devoted to the good of all beings, the lord of the gospel, whose hands and feet were like beautiful bandhûka flowers, made his abode in fair and lovely Jetavana.

449 In the fifteenth year, the sage, the lion-King, having destroyed lust in the kindred of those fit for salvation, like an elephant in a forest, made his abode in the picturesque jewelled cave of the great Nigrodha monastery on Mount Kapilavatha.

450 In the sixteenth season, the leader of multitudes in the paths of bliss, having reduced a most cruel goblin to a state of submission, made his abode in the exceeding fair city called Alâvaka.

451 In the seventeenth season, the great sage, the incomparable, whose fame is spread abroad throughout all the three worlds, made his abode in noble Râjagaha, fair to the eye, with its walls, gates, towers, and arches.

452 In the eighteenth season, Ângirasa, having destroyed the dirt of horrible lust in the world with the sweet wholesome medicine of religion, made his abode on the great Mount Câliya.

453 In the nineteenth season, he made his abode there again, the excellent King of the Law, the sweet speaker, lord of the world, having with the sword
of the Law destroyed ignorance, the great foe of the kinsfolk of those fit for salvation.

454 In the twentieth season, the chief of sages, the abode of purity, the tree of fortune, the magic jewel, the noble and auspicious vessel, good for the right conduct of all people, abode in noble and beauteous Rājagaha.

455-6 Thus the Blessed One, blood-kin to all the world, revered by the three worlds, pleased with the world's prosperity, full of good fortune, the sage all-wise, having from the time he became Buddha made no fixed abode, but making pilgrimage, his body shining with six-coloured rays, for the rest of the time, five-and-twenty years, made his abode in Savatthi and Jetavana, noble and beautiful, incomparably fair, and adorned like an abode of the gods.

457 Thus this sage abode for forty-and-five years, in his immeasurable compassion quenching like a cloud, with waters most sweet, the lust which arose in men's minds like a body of fire in a forest. May he bring bliss to the world!

458 May that fair maiden Wisdom, in the house of my mind, increase day by day, delighting all men.

459 By the merit of my compiling this meritorious Life of the Conqueror, may I attain to the Tusitā heaven,
460 hearing the discourse of Metteyya, ruler of the world, enjoying with him great bliss for a long time.

461 When the Great Being is born, as Buddha in the lovely city, the banner of the earth, may I be born of the royal stock, obtaining the threefold fortune,

462 and give to that noble sage large, precious, and goodly robes, alms-food, a dwelling-place, and medicine.

463 Becoming an ascetic in the religion, may I be possesst of supernatural power, a great being, glorifying that incomparable one, keeping well in mind the three Pitakas.

464 May he predict, 'This man will become Buddha,' and may I in the future again and again give to the Buddhas alms which bring happiness.

465 As I go through my transmigrations, may I, like a tree of fortune, give excellent, sweet, and noble water, and all that could be wished;

466 giving my flesh, blood, and eyes, with a calm mind, fulfilling all the Perfections and Virtues, all self-abnegation and wisdom;
467 attaining to the highest perfection, may I become 
Buddha incomparable, and having preached sweet 
doctrine, bringing happiness to man, 
468 and freed all the world and the gods from the great 
bond of transmigration, may I reach the noble city 
of peace and bliss.

469-72 By King Vijayabahu, of Bhupala's royal line, the 
ornament of Ceylon, done in his own name. (?) 
The book was compiled by an Elder, wise, the abode 
of compassion, named Medhanakara, well-behaved, 
living in in a fair and goodly cell, goodly with 
cisterns, walls, and gates. May it always be pored 
over by the good! Here there are 478 stanzas, and 
according to the text 555.
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ON THE ABHIDHARMA LITERATURE

OF

THE SARVĀSTIVĀDINS.

1. Introductory Remarks.

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

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

¹ See Mabel Duff, "Chronology of India," under A.D. 495, and the authorities cited there.
(b) Paramārtha (A.D. 499-569) represents Aśvaghoṣa and Vasubandhu as being well versed in the doctrines of the eighteen schools.¹

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

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

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

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

¹ See my translation of Paramārtha’s Life of Vasubandhu (Tong-pao, July, 1904), pp. 278, 290.
² Nanjio’s Nos. 1284, 1286; cf. No. 1285.
³ Tanjur, B. Su., 157; see Wassilief, “Buddhismus,” Beiträge ii.
⁵ See Watters, “Notes on Yuan-Chwang,” pp. 21, 162. The seven schools are:—Sthavira, Mahāsaṃghika, Mahiśāsaka, Sammitiya, Kāśyapiya, Dharmagupta, and Sarvāstivādin.
⁶ See my “I-tsing’s Record of Indian Religion,” pp. xxiii–xxv.
⁷ See, for instance, the passages quoted in Mrs. Rhys Davids’ “Index to the Samīyutta,” p. 107, under Sabbaṇ atthi.
Asoka's reign. The school is otherwise called the Hetuvāda (Causationalist), a very appropriate name, in contradistinction to the orthodox Theravādins, who, according to the Tibetan and Chinese authorities, were known as the Haimavantas.

The principal seat of the Sarvāstivādins was Kaśmīra, where their doctrine was taught in its purity and developed into an elaborate system known as the Vaibhāṣika. The great commentary on Kātyāyaniputra's Jñānaprasthāna, compiled at, or probably after, the Buddhist Council under King Kaniśka, was called the "Mahāvibhāṣa," from which the name 'Vaibhāṣika' as that of a body of philosophers was derived. Kaśmīra was to them what Ceylon was to the Theravādins. The great Kaśmirian commentary, Vibhāṣā

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1 According to the Tibetan and Chinese translations of the Samayabheda-paracanaacakra (subra, c) the Sarvāstivādins separated themselves from the Theravādins in the third century after the Buddha's death. In the Dipavanisa, v. 47, the Mahimāsakas (not the Sabbathivādins) separated themselves first from the Theravādins, and from the Mahimāsakas, the Sabbathivādins, and the Dhammaguttas. In any case the separation seems to have taken place before King Asoka's council, because some three questions in the Kathāvatthu compiled by Moggallaniputtra Tissa at the close of the council (cited n. c. 250) are directed (if we may trust the commentator) against the Sabbathivādins: (1) Parināyatā Årāhatatā ti (Can an Årāhat fall from Årāhatship?); (2) Sabbam athiti (Do all things exist?); (3) Citta-santati Samādhiti (Is continuation of thought Samādhi?). To these the Sabbathivādins would answer affirmatively against the doctrines of the orthodox Theravādins. These three points, or two at least, are, I think, clearly indicated as opinions of the Sarvāstivādins in the Samayabheda-paracanaacakra above referred to, in its Chinese translations (一切有性; 阿羅漢退法). It is, however, difficult to discuss these points without having an accurate translation of the Tibetan, and also of the Chinese versions, of this important text. Cf. Rhys Davids, J.R.A.S., 1892, p. 8 et seq.; Kathāvatthu, i, 2, 6; xi, 6, in Taylor's edition; also my "I-tsing's Record," p. xxii.


3 Yaśomitra, "Vibbaṣṭaya divyantā vaibbaṣṭikā iti"; cf. Professor de la Vallée Pousin, "Dogmatique Bouddhique," i, p. 65 (p. 297), note. Huen-sang's statement that this commentary was drawn up in the Buddhist Council under Kaniśka is very doubtful, because the book relates a miracle which it says occurred formerly in the reign of that king. See Watters, "On Yuan-Chwang," i, p. 277. Sūtrepasas and Vinayavibbaṣṭās are said to have been compiled at the council just named. There is, however, no evidence that any upadesa was compiled before Assaṅga or Vasubandhu. One of the Vinayavibbaṣṭās (No. 1125) turned out to be a translation of Buddhaghosa's Samantapāsādikā. See my "Pāli Elements in Chinese Buddhism" (J.R.A.S., July, 1896).
by name, though lost in its original form and only recovered in part, seems, so far as we are able to judge from what we have now of it, to have been by no means inferior in its compass and merit to its counterpart in Ceylon, the Atthakathā (circa a.d. 420). The Sarvāstivādins appear, from this work, to have been, after their first deviation from the original school, the upholders of a well-organized philosophical system. This is fully borne out by subsequent writers, especially Vasubandhu (circa 420–500), who often refers to and criticizes the opinions of the ‘Kāśmīra-vaibhāṣikas’ as a body of thinkers. According to Paramārtha (a.d. 499–569) the Viśhāṣā was a principal subject of philosophical discussion during the fifth century, when there was also a grave controversy between Buddhist and Sāṃkhya philosophers.

Further, the Sarvāstivādins are referred to by Śaṅkarācārya (eighth century), while the Viśhāṣikā system is reviewed as one of the four Buddhist schools by Mādhabācārya (fourteenth century). Thus the existence of the Sarvāstivādins, known later as the Viśhāṣikās, can be traced during at least fifteen centuries of the history of Indian Buddhism.

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

1 Vasubandhu’s Abhidharmakōsa (No. 1267), Saṅghabhadra’s Nyāyānusāra (No. 1265), and Samayapradipikā (No. 1266) often quote the Kāśmīra-vaibhāṣika teachers (Ka-shi-mi-la-pi-p’o-sha-shi). There is an instance of Yasomitra’s explanation of this name in the Abhidharmakośa-vyakhya, ch. iii (MS. Burnouf, 469a, 5): “Kim eṣa eva Saṅkrāhādharma Jñānaprasthānādihakṣaṇo desita ‘tu idam ucyate; Kāśmīravaibhāṣikantisiddha iti vistaraḥ. Kāśmire bhavaḥ Kāśmīrāḥ; Viśhāṣyā dvijantī vaibhāṣikā iti vyākhyātam etat: santi Kāśmīrā na vaibhāṣikāḥ . . . ; santi vaibhāṣikā na Kāśmīrāḥ . . . ; teṣāṁ nityāḥ yathā siddho ‘bhidharmāḥ sa prāyepeha mayā desitaḥ. Arthād uktaiḥ bhavati ananyitissidho ‘pi deśita iti. Yad vairāhā Kāśmīravaibhāṣikanayana ananyayena vā . . .” (quoted in Professor de la Vallée Poussin, “Dogmatique Bouddhique,” i, p. 65).

2 See my translation of Paramārtha’s Life of Vasubandhu (Tong-pao, July, 1904), pp. 279, 287, 289; 281; and my “Date of Vasubandhu” (J.R.A.S., Jan., 1905), p. 47 (p. 15).

3 See below, p. 73, note 2.

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

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

This widespread school was, according to the same author,
in possession of a Tripiṭaka amounting to 300,000 ślokas.
Whether this statement be trustworthy or not, an examina-
tion of the vast Buddhist literature which has come down to
us in Chinese shows sufficiently clearly that this school had
a separate Vinaya-piṭaka4 and a separate Abhidharma-
piṭaka. An analysis of the latter is the object of the
present paper.

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

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1 Fa-hien, “Record of the Buddhist Kingdom,” ch. 39; Legge, p. 99.
2 Huen-tsang mentions some thirteen places as belonging to this school, but
the number of its adherents in India proper was not so great as in the cases of
the other schools. See Rhys Davids, J.R.A.S., 1891, p. 420.
4 The list of 19 works in 189 Chinese volumes of the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivā-
dins is given in my “I-tsing’s Record,” p. xxxvii. The Tibetan Vinaya is
said to belong exclusively to this school (Wassilief, “Buddhismus,” p. 96).
A separate Vinaya or a portion of it, in one case, belonging to each of the
subdivisions of the Sarvāstivāda school, namely, the Dharmaguptas, the Mahiśā-
sakas, and the Kaśyapiyas, is also extant in Chinese (cf. Nos. 1117, 1122, 1111).
2. The Name ‘Sarvāstivādinās.’

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

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

¹ 萨婆多.
² Nanjio, Nos. 1135, 1136.
³ No. 1132.
⁴ Mr. Thomas suggests that it may stand for ‘Sarvavāda.’ We do not, however, find any instance of the use of this word by Buddhists.
⁵ 說一切有部.
translating it himself, as I have given it in my English version of his "Record," the 'Noble fundamental school (which) affirms the existence of all (things)."¹

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

3. THE SEVEN ABHIDHARMA WORKS PECULIAR TO THIS SCHOOL.

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

¹ My I-ting, p. 8, iii. Ch. 阿離耶慕羅薩婆阿私底婆摯尼迦耶. Transl. 聖根本說一切有部.
² Bibl. Indic., Calcutta, 1863, p. 546. The three schools given are 'Sarvāsti-tva-vādīnas,' 'Vijñānāsti-tva-vādīnas,' and 'Sarvasūnya-tva-vādīnas.' These are otherwise known as the 'Vaibhāṣikas,' 'Yogācāras,' and 'Mādhyamikas.'
³ Bibl. Indic., Benares, 1880, p. 413: "Tatra ye hinamatayas te sarvāstī-tvāvadena tadāśayaṇurodhitā śūnyatāyām avatāryante | ye tu madhyamā, te jñānamātratītvavā śūnyatāyām avatāryante | ye tu prakṛtaṁ avatayate, te bhīyāḥ sakṣād eva śūnyatāttvam pratiśayate | " These points have been discussed by Professor Wallisier, Phil. Grundl., 1904, pp. 5, 6.
have no real connection. The mutual relations of the seven
books of the one set seem to have differed from those of the
other set, for in the case of the Sarvāstivādins they recognize
one as the principal book and the rest as its supplements,
while in the case of the Theravādins there seems to have
been no such subordination.

The principal work of the Sarvāstivādin Hinayāna school1
is Kātyāyaniputra’s Jñānapraśthāna, to which there are six
supplements called ‘pāda’ (foot), the latter standing to the
former in some such relation as that of the six Vedāṅgas to
the Veda.2

The seven Abhidharma works are as follows (see accom-
panying list):—

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

I. First as to the Sanskrit. The earliest information ever
given about the existence of the seven Abhidharmas and
the names of their authors was by Burnouf, who furnished
a French translation of one passage from Yaśomitra’s
Abhidharma-kosa-vaśākhyā in his “Introduction à l’Histoire
du Bouddhisme indien.” 3 As the Vākhyā just named is

1 The Sarvāstivādins are, of course, Hinayānists. The books belonging to the
school are classed in the Hinayāna section of the Chinese Catalogue. See

2 Compare the citation given below, p. 78, note 1, where the Jñānapraśthāna
is said to be the ‘Body’ and the rest ‘Feet.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>Chinese Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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

2 印牙 {.毗羅 (亦) 思旭 擊沙悉特羅. 迦旃延造.  ‘Chia-chan-yen’ here stands for ‘Kātyāyanī’ or ‘Kaechāyanī.’ Paramārtha gives ‘Chia-chan-yen-tsū’ (迦旃延子; see Tong-pao, July, 1904, p. 276, note 34), and Hiuen-tsang transcribes the name as ‘Chia-to-yen-ni-tsū’ (迦多衍尼子; see below the analysis of the work), both pointing to Skt. ‘Kātyāyanīputra.’

3 毘羅毗羅羅(亦) 擊忱. 世友造. ‘Shi-yu,’ ‘world-friend,’ stands for ‘Vasumitra.’

OF THE ABHIDHARMA.

IV.

CHINESE TRANSLATION.

Fa-ch'i-lun⁹
[The Treatise on the Opening of Knowledge],
or
Pa-ch'ien-tu¹⁰
[Attha-ganthes; Asta-grantha],
by
The venerable Chia-ta-yen-ni-ts'ũ [Arya Kātyāyaniputra].

P'in-lui-tsun-lun¹¹
[The Treatise (called) the 'Foot' on Classification],
or
Chung-shih-fei-tsun-lun¹²
[The Treatise (called) the 'Foot' on the division of various matters],
by
Shih-yu [Vasumitra].

Shih-shen-tsun-lun¹³
[The Treatise (called) the 'Foot' on the Knowledge-body],
by
O-lo-han Ti-p'o-shê-mo [Arhat Devasarmā].

Fa-yün-tsun-lun¹⁴
[The Treatise (called) the 'Foot' on the collection of the Laws],
by
Ta-mu-chien-lien [Māhā-maudgalyāyana].

Shih-shê-lun¹⁵
[The Treatise on Arrangement (or Construction)].
(Author's name is not given.)

Chieh-shen-tsun-lun¹⁶
[The Treatise (called) the 'Foot' on the Element-body],
by
Shih-yu [Vasumitra].

Chi-i-men-tsun-lun¹⁷
[The Treatise (called) the 'Foot' on the collection of various topics],
by
Sha-li-ts'ã [Śāriputra].

"阿耶達糧麻悉乾恆拔恆大目捷連造.
' Mu-chien-lien,' Jap. 'Mok-ken-len,' probably from Pāli 'Moggallāna.'
Mark the difference of the authorship of this book between Sanskrit and Chinese.
The title is here 'Abhidharma-skandha' instead of 'Dharma-skandha.'

必糧地壓必地嘔恆沙悉特羅. 失造人名.
'必糧地壓必地嘔恆沙悉特羅. 失造人名.'

達都迦牙嘔恆. 世友造.

阿耶達糧麻悉吉恆嘔哩牙壓嘔恆. 舍利子造.

發智論.
八捷度論.
品類足論.
衆事分足論.

識身足論.
法蘊足論.
設設論.
界身足論.
集異門足論.
now being carefully studied by M. Sylvain Lévi, I referred to him at once to satisfy myself as to the actual text. He has kindly furnished me the whole text of Yośomitra, and it is from this original that I have reproduced here the Sanskrit titles of the seven Abhidharmas. The existence of the “Jñānaprasthāna and the rest” is spoken of again in another part of the same work.

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

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1 In his Commentary on the Abhidharmakośa, Kārikā iii, Yośomitra says: “Kathām nāma dharmapavicayāb syād ity abhidharma upadīṣṭaḥ śāstra Buddhena | ata eva | na hi vinābhidharmopadesaḥ śīṣyāḥ śakto dharmān pravacayitum iti | uditā iti vade niśṭhāyām kṛitasamprāśānasayitad rūpam | na tu iṣṇa utpūrvasāvārthāvād | uditā ity uktāḥ | upadiṣṭaḥ ity eko ‘ṛthaḥ | kileti kilasabdāḥ parābhiprayān ghatayati* || Abhidhāmikānām etan mataṁ na tu asmākām sautrāntikānām iti bhāvaḥ | śruvantye hy abhidharmasāstraṇām kartāraḥ | tadyathā | Jñānaprasthānasya Arya-Kātyāyaniputraḥ kartā | Prakaṃpanpādasya Śhavira-Vasumitraḥ | Vijñānakāyasya Śhavira-Devasaṃmā | Dharmakānyāsya Arya-Sāriputraḥ | Prajñāptisāstrasya Arya-Maudgalyāyanaḥ | Dhātukāyasya Pūrṇaḥ | Saṃgitiṣṇayāsya Mahākauṣṭhilaḥ ||”

* Mr. Wogihara suggests that ‘ghatayati’ here ought to be ‘dyotayati.’


3 Tāranātha, 56 (45 Russ.): “Nach der ansicht der Vaibhāṣikas werden die sieben Abhidharma-bücher für Buddha-wort gehalten und als anfang der erklärung’s sūtra die Viibhāṣa angenommen; nach der ansicht der Sautrāntikas sind die sieben Abhidharma-sūtras, welche die Vaibhāṣikas als früher entstanden ansehen, von einfachen Śrāvakas verfasst und falschlich als von Sāriputra u.s.w. gesammeltes Buddha-wort ausgegeben und als anfang der erklärung’s śāstras gelten die sieben sūtras.” Further, see next.

4 Tāranātha, p. 296 (Germ.); Wassilief, “Buddhismus,” p. 116 (Germ.). But the Tibetans seem to regard the Dharmskandha as the most important of all. Cf. Walleser, Phil. Grundl., pp. 18–19. One of the Chinese writers also considers the Dharmskandha as chief; see the colophon at the end of the analysis of this work given below.
neither Tāranātha nor his translators give the Tibetan names of the seven Abhidharma\textsuperscript{1}.

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

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

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

1. Dharmaskandha (ढर्मस्कण्ठ), by Sariputra.

2. Prajñāpāramitā śāstra (प्रज्ञापारमिता शास्त्र), by Maudgalyāyana.

3. Dhātukāya (धातुकाय), by Pāṇa.

4. Vijñānakāya (विज्ञानकाय), by Devakṣema.

5. Jñānaprasthāna (ज्ञानप्रस्थान), by Kātyāyana.

6. Prakaraṇa (प्रकरण), by Vasumitra.

7. Sāṅgatiparyāya (साङ्गतिपर्याय), by Mahā-kauśṭhila.

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

“What the Master has fragmentarily taught at different places and times to different men has been collected by the Āryas of the Śrāvakas, just as the Udānāvarga (उदानावर्ग, Ched-du-brjod-paṇji-tsom) has been. Were it not so, then the number of three pitakas in the scriptures would be incomplete, because the Abhidharma is, generally speaking, included in the sūtra and the vinaya, since it is occasionally taught in them. The compendium of the meaning of these seven Abhidharmas is styled the Mahāvibhāṣā. An abridged exposition of its teaching is contained in the Abhidharmakoṣa and similar works.

“(Vasubandhu says himself in the Abhidharmakoṣa that this kośa is an exposition of the views of the Kashmirian vaibhāśikas.)”
TIBETAN REFERENCES.

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

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

(ḥṣig-rten-gtags-pa "bam-po-bdun.)

2. Kāraṇaprajñapti in 7 chapters.

(ṛgyu-gtags-pa "bam-po-bdun.)


(las-gtags-pa "bam-po-bi-a.)

"These three works are translated by Prajñāsena. The Vaibhāsikas maintain that they belong to the scriptures.

"And although they appear to be mentioned as such in the Great Index (dkar-chag-chen-po), still there is no doubt that they, conformably to the meaning of the Sautrāntikas and the remaining schools, must be reckoned as śāstras."

Dr. Stcherbatskoi writes to Mr. Thomas, of the India Office, through whom I obtained the above information, to the following effect:—"The three prajñaptis translated by Prajñāsena must be parts of the second Abhidharma, i.e. Prajñapti śāstra. If it be so, then it will result that a part of the seven Abhidharmas was known to the Tibetans, as these three are to be found in the Tanjur Mdo, lxii, 1-107; 107-119; 191-257."

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

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

Mr. Thomas took great trouble in looking through the list of the Tibetan works, but failed to find any other of the seven Abhidharmas; we can now safely state with Wassileff that the Sūrvāstivādin Abhidharmas do not exist in Tibet, except the Prajñāpāramīśāstra. The Tibetan Dharmakāvinda (Mdo, xx, 3; Wa. 39-46), to which Professor Walliser refers (Phil. Grundl., p. 18), proved, on comparison, to be an entirely different text from the Chinese one, and consequently not one of the seven Abhidharmas in question.
THE SARVĀSTIVĀDIN ABHIDHARMA BOOKS.

The earliest of all is an interesting note at the end of vol. xxiii (book vi) of the Chinese translation of the Jñānaprasthāna itself (A.D. 379). In this it is said that the ‘Aṣṭa-granthā’ (= Jñānaprasthāna) is the ‘body’ (kāya), and there are besides six ‘feet’ (pāda), amounting to 1,000,000 syllables in all. The next earliest notice of the seven books is found in Nāgārjuna’s commentary on the Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra (translated A.D. 402–405). This work mentions the “Aṣṭa-granthā-Abhidharma and the six-divisioned Abhidharma.”

There is no doubt whatever that this ‘Aṣṭa-granthā’ of Nāgārjuna refers to Kātyāyānīputra’s Jñānaprasthāna, as is proved by evidence from several sources. The ‘six-divisioned Abhidharma,’ however, is not quite clear, the six not being mentioned by name. But as it occurs with the mention of the chief work, Jñānaprasthāna, it is very likely that it refers to the six supplementary works called ‘feet’ (pāda). For accurate information concerning them it is necessary, as in other cases, to have recourse to Hiuen-tsang (A.D. 629–645), who has translated most of the seven works. His “Record of the Western Kingdom,” however, does not mention these seven as one body of Abhidharma literature. His statements that this or that one of the seven had been composed in some particular locality or hermitage shows that some of them, if not all,

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1 See, for the original, below the analysis A, the end of bk. vi.
2 Nanjio’s, 1169; small Jap. ed., 项 1, fol. 17b: 六分阿毗昙;
3 Paramārtha’s Life of Vasubandhu (Tong-pao, July, 1904, p. 276): “Kātyāyānīputra collected the Abhidharma of the Sarvāstivādins and arranged it in eight Ka-lan-ta (Grantha), and that this work was called the ‘Discourse on the Opening of Knowledge’ (Jñānaprasthāna).” Cf. Wassilief, “Buddhismus,” p. 217 et seq.; Walleser, Phil. Grundl., p. 146. (That the Paṭṭhāna which is cited as ‘Mahāpakarana’ by Buddhaghosa (“Atthasālinī,” pp. 7, 9, 87, 212, 409) refers to our book wants an elucidation, because the identity of the Paṭṭhāna with our Jñānaprasthāna cannot be proved.) The identity of the Aṣṭa-granthā with the Jñānaprasthāna is open to no doubt at all; for the earlier Chinese translation of this work (No. 1273) bears the name Pa-chien-tu (Attha-Gantho; Nanjio, Aṣṭa-Khaṇḍa), while the later one (No. 1275) with similar contents is called the Fa-chi-lun (Jñānaprasthāna), both in 44 vargas; see analysis given below.
were at that time very famous among Indian Buddhist scholars.¹

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

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

¹ Hiuen-tsang, "Mémoires," i, 201: "Fa-chi-lun (Jñānaprasthāna) was compiled by Ka-to-yen-na (Kātyāyaṇa, 300 years A.B.), while in the Tāmasavana vihāra, a Sarvāstivādin monastery in Chīnapatī, North Frontier" (Watters, i, p. 294). "Mémoires," i, 119: "Fu-su-mo-to-lo (Vasumitra) compiled the Chüng-shi-fen-O-p'ī-ta-mo-lun (Prakaraṇa-pāda-abhidharma-śāstra) in a tope at Puṣkalāvatī (Penkelaotis)" (Watters, i, p. 214). The Shih-shên-tsun-lun (Vijñānakāya) is said to have been composed by Ti-po-shē-mo (Devaśarma) in Pi-sho-ka (Viśoka), near Śrāvasti (Watters, i, p. 373).

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

³ See the analysis given below.
exposition of the principal Abhidharma text. Thus the seven books must have existed prior to the compilation of the Mahāvibbāṇa by 500 Arhats, at a time, 400 years according to one account, or 500 years according to the other, after the Buddha’s death.

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

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

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

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1 E.g., Nanjio’s No. 1263, the Mahāvibbāṇa, 17 (Jap. 仮 1, fol. 74b), quotes the Prakaraṇapāda (品類), Vijñānakāya (識身), and Prajñāpāpa (方色設); the same, 23 (仮 1, fol. 99b), cites the Sangʿitiparyāya (集異) and Dharmaṃskandha (法蓮). The Dhātukāya (界身) may be found quoted somewhere. For this information and for note 2, p. 78, I am indebted to Mr. U. Wogihara.

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

3 至元法實勘同總錄, vol. ix, Nanjio, No. 1612.
As to the contents of each work, they were satisfied to state simply whether the two, Chinese and Tibetan, agreed with each other or not. Almost all the Chinese titles were restored by them to their Sanskrit forms, which, though not always correctly given, were arrived at by a fairly accurate system of transliteration, the Chinese sounds then current being used for the purpose.

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

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

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

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

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

2 See above, note, p. 77.
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since it has been preserved in practically the same form in India, Tibet, China, and Japan.

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

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

I. JÑĀNAPRASTHĀNA,

BY ĀRYA KĀTYĀYANĪPUTRA.

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

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

A.  

A-pi-t'an-pa-chien-tu-lun.²

Abhidharmāṣṭāgrantha (-śāstra)  
(generally called the “Aṣṭa-grantha”).

Nanjio's Cat., No. 1273.

B.  

A-pi-ta-mo-fa-chi-lun.³

The Abhidharma śāstra—  
“Opening of Knowledge”  
(generally called the “Jñāna-prasthāna”).

Nanjio's Cat., No. 1275.

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

² 阿毗曇八犍度論. The eight ‘Chien-tu’ is in Paramārtha, i.e., ‘Kan-tu’ (乾度), which he himself says is equivalent to Skt. Ka-lan-la (Grantha). M. Sylvain Lévi suggests that ‘Kan-tu’ or ‘Chien-tu’ represents more likely the Prākrit form ‘Gantho.’

³ 阿毗達磨發智論. ‘Fa-chi’ may mean 'production of knowledge.'
Amount:
8 chien-tu (gantho); 44 po-ch'ü (vaggo).  
30 chüan (fasciculi); 554 pages (ye).

Author:
Chia-chan-yen-tsü [Kātyāyanputra].

Translators:
Chü-t'an Sang-chie-ti-po [Gotama Samghadeva],
from Ka-pin (Kaśmīra),
A.D. 383; and
Chu Fo-nien (a Chinese),

A vaggo by T'an-mo-pi [Dhammapiya] from Ka-pin (Kaśmīra).

These two are translations from one and the same text. Though the originals seem to have had variant readings here and there, the translations do not present any material difference in general scope. At the beginning of every

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1 Po-ch'ü (駱柴) is likely ‘vaggo.’ A does not seem to have been in Sanskrit.

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

2 八犍四十四納息. ‘Yün’ is ‘aggregate’ (skandha) in Chinese. Hiuen-tsang’s original seems to have had ‘Skandha’ instead of ‘Grantha.’ ‘Na-hsi’ is the translation of ‘Varga,’ and means ‘interception of breath,’ the sense of which is not quite clear to me. Perhaps as a class of consonants, which are generally pronounced by stopping breath, is called ‘varga,’ Hiuen-tsang may have used this translation, or one section may be understood by him to mean the resting of one’s breath in reciting a text.

3 迦多均延子.

4 迦多衍尼子. Kātyāyanputra is said to have lived 300 years A.B.; see Watters, “Yuan-Chwang,” i, p. 294.

5 瞿謨僧伽提婆, 於佛念 (Nanjio’s Catal., p. 399, §39, and pp. 405, 458).
chapter Kātyāyanīputra raises a series of questions which are subsequently to be answered by him, and then deals with them one by one. The list of questions (the mātikā) is generally left out by Hsiian-tsang, thus making his version much shorter than that of his predecessors. Unless the discovery of a Tibetan counterpart may be hoped for, the Chinese version in two recensions stands as the sole representative of the text.

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

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1 A preface to the book written by Tao-an (died A.D. 385), a contemporary of the translators, gives the number of ślokas or syllables as follows: 梵本五千七十二首, 四千四千, 十九万 (一) 千 (五) 百四言, 十二万五千万言其人忘因縁一品云言数可與十門等也. (The characters in brackets seem to be misprints of (二) and (三) respectively.) ‘The Pan (Brāhma) text consisted of 15,072 ślokas, or 482,304 syllables. In the Chin (Chinese) tongue, 193,250 words. This man (i.e. Saṃghadeva, the translator) forgot (and could not recite) a chapter on Causes (Bk. vi, 7 below), but said that the number of its syllables was equal to that of the ‘Ten Gates.’” The ‘Ten Gates’ is Bk. ii, 4, which is said to have been in 1,600 ślokas, twelve letters (syllables) extra.
That this book belongs exclusively to the Sarvāstivādins may be taken as certain from the fact that at the end of each of eight fasciculi in Hiuen-tsang’s translation it is distinctly stated, as seen from the analysis given below, that it belongs to this school.

Hiuen-tsang himself visited the monastery Tāmasāvāna in Chinapati in N. India, in which there were three hundred brethren of the Sarvāstivāda school, who were thorough students of the Hīnayāna. He records that this was the monastery in which, three hundred years after the Buddha’s nirvāṇa, Ka-to-yen-na (Kātyāyana) composed his “Fa-chi-lun” (Jñānapraśṭhāna).1 This statement of Hiuen-tsang also connects the book with this school, and again we have an indication to the same effect in the Tibeto-Chinese Catalogue above referred to, vol. ix. Under the heading of the Abhidharma literature the following statement occurs:—

“The Abhidharma-piṭaka of the Śrāvakas (of the Hīnayāna) consists of 38 texts (pu), 708 fasciculi (chūan), and 73 cases (chih). The Abhidharma-piṭaka is not one and the same in all schools. Now according to (the method of) the Sarvāstivāda school we place the original work, ‘body’ (kāya), first, and the supplementary works, ‘feet’ (pāda), next. The branches thereof, the Vibhāṣā and the like, are placed last. Those of the other schools come next in order.”2

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

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1 See Watters, “Yuan-Chwang,” i, p. 294.

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

BOOK I.

A. GANTHO I: MISCELLANEOUS.  

B. GROUP I: MISCELLANEOUS.

1. Lokuttara-dhamma-vaggo.  

(世間第一法詭渠一)  

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

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

2. Knowledge (ñāna)-vaggo.  

Knowledge-section.

(智詭渠二)  

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

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

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

2 See Childers, s.v.; compare Dharmasaṅgraha, § 23, Lokottarapañca-śandha; also Mahāvyutp., § 4.

3 Compare Childers, s.v.: viśatvatthukā sakkāyadiṭṭhi attavādupadānañī.
3. Individuality (puggala)-vaggo. Pu-tu-chie-lo (pudgala)-section.

(人 跡 汲 三) (補 特 伽 羅 納 息 三)

How many of the 12 paṭiccasamuppādas do belong to the
past, present, and future puggala?—final liberation, etc.
Several passages from the Āgama quoted.
At the end: “The original
vaggo consisted of 148 ślokas,
16 letters (syllables) extra.”

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

(愛 敬 根 汲 四) (愛 敬 納 息 四)

Respect out of love (pema)—respect out of honour (gārava)¹
—two sorts of honour (gārava), with wealth (dhana) and
with religion (dhamma)—strength of the body—Nirvāṇa
the ultimate end, etc.
At the end: “The original
text, 373 ślokas, 10 letters
(syllables) extra.”

5. Aahirikānottappa-vaggo. Section on shamelessness (ahṛī-
katā).

(無 恣 憾 汲 五) (無 恣 納 息 五)

Shamelessness (ahirikā)—fearlessness of sinning (anottappa)²
—the increasing demerits (akusalamūla), etc.
At the end: “The original text
of this vaggo consists of 220
ślokas.”

6. Form (rūpa)-vaggo. Section on characteristics (lak-
šaṇa).

(色 跡 汲 六) (相 納 息 六)

The rūpa-dhamma going through birth and death is
impermanent—why can it be called a ‘form’?—impermanence
(anitya), etc., etc.
At the end: “The original text,
47 ślokas.”

¹ Skt. prema and gaurava.
² Mahāvyutp., §104 (49, 50), ahrikyaḥ, anapatrāpyam; Dharmasaṅgraha, §30,
ahrikatā, anapatrapā.
7. Objectlessness (anattha)-vaggo.  Section on objectlessness.

(無義跋渠七)  (無義納息七)

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

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

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

(思跋渠八)  (思納息八)

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

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

BOOK II.

A.  GANTHO II:

THE BOND OF HUMAN PASSIONS
(SAṂYOJANA).

(結使縛度二)

1. Vaggo on demerits (akusalā-
mūla).

(不善跋渠一)

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

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

B.  GROUP II:

THE BOND OF HUMAN PASSIONS
(SAṂYOJANA).

(結縛二)

Section on 10 demerits (daśāku-
śalamūla).

1 See Dharmas., p. 69; Skt. auddhatya.
2. Vaggo on those who come but once (sakadāgāmin). The germs of passions, etc., still left in the sakadāgāmins—9 forms of pahāna-parinā, etc.

At the end: "The original text, 1,040 ślokas."

3. Vaggo on sentient being (sattva).

Moral defilements arising from views—those arising from practices—fruits of sāmañña—death and rebirth—regions having no rebirth, etc.

At the end: "The original text, 467 ślokas."

4. Vaggo on 10 gates.

Causes of moral defilements (1)—single cause (2)—double cause (3)—order of various thoughts (4)—awakening thought (5)—thought connected with indriyas (6)—completion (7)—incompletion (8)—knowledge that can destroy the causes (prahāna-parijñā) (9)—realization of the destruction (nirodha-sākṣātkāra) (10).

At the end: "The original text, 1,600 ślokas, 12 letters (syllables) extra."

BOOK III.

A.

GANTHO III:

KNOWLEDGE (ṆĀNA).

B.

GROUP III:

KNOWLEDGE (JÑĀNA).

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

2 See Childers, s.v. pariññā; Skt. prahāna-parijñā.

3 I put here Sanskrit on the authority of Mr. Wogihara.
1. Vaggo on 8 stages (sekha and asekha). Section on the branches of learning (śikṣāṅga).

(八道跋渠一) (学支纳息一)

Knowledge attained by the lower grades of sanctification—the state of an Arhat—views (diṭṭhi)—knowledge (ñāna)—wisdom (paññā)—views of those free from passion (anāsava-samādiṭṭhi), etc.

At the end: “The original text, 430 ślokas.”

2. Vaggo on the 5 kinds (of views, right and wrong). Section on the 5 kinds.

(五種跋渠二) (五種納息二)

Wrong views—right views—wrong knowledge—right knowledge—views of an asekha, etc.

At the end: “The original text, 200 ślokas, 14 letters extra.”

3. Vaggo on the knowledge of another’s mind (paracittañāna). Section on the knowledge of another’s mind.

(知他心智跋渠三) (他心智納息三)

What is the knowledge that discerns another’s thought?—the knowledge of the past life (pubbenivāsanussatiñāna), etc.

At the end: “The original text, 132 ślokas.”

4. Vaggo on the cultivation of knowledge. Section on the cultivation of knowledge.

(修智跋渠四) (修智納息四)

Cultivation of the eightfold knowledge—dharmajñāna—anvayajñāna—samvrtijñāna—duḥkhajñāna—samudayajñāna—nirodhajñāna—mārgajñāna—kṣayajñāna—anutpādajñāna—its relation with the secular knowledge, etc.

At the end: “The original text, 930 ślokas.”

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1 Skt. anāsara-samyagdṛṣṭi (Wogihara).
2 Compare Mahāvyutp., § 57, 2.
3 See Childers, s.v. pubbo, vijja; Dharmas., § 76.
4 Mahāvyutp., § 57; Dharmas., § 93; cf. Childers, s.v. ṇānāinā.
5. Vaggo on knowledge attained Section on 7 holy persons (ārya-pudgala).
(相應跋渠五) (七聖納息五)
77 sorts of knowledge and all the bearings of knowledge discussed.
At the end: “The original text, 1,033 ślokas.”
At the end of this section it is stated: “This text belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.”

BOOK IV.

A. B.
GANTHO IV: ACTION (Kamma). GROUP IV: ACTION (Karma).
(行犍度四) (業蘊四)
1. Vaggo on wicked actions. Section on wicked actions.
(惡行跋渠一) (惡行納息一)
All details of sinful actions (3 ducecaritas: kāya-, vaci-, mano)—their results, etc.
At the end: “The original text, 192 ślokas.”

2. Vaggo on erroneous speech. Section on erroneous speech.
(邪語跋渠二) (邪語納息二)
All details of sins by speech (micchāvācā)—their results, etc.
At the end: “The original, 245 ślokas.”

3. Vaggo on injury to living beings (hiṃśā). Section on injury to life (hiṃśā).
(害衆生三) (害生三)
All details of sins of killing life—their results, etc.
At the end: “The original, 309 ślokas.”
At the end: “This belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.”

4. Vaggo on the demonstratable and undemonstratable. Section on the visible and invisible (vijñapti-avijñapti).
(有數無數跋渠四) (表無表納息四)
All good and bad actions (kusala-kusala) relating to the past and future, etc.¹
At the end: “The original, 273 ślokas.”

¹ Abhidharmakośa - vyākyā, ch. i: avijñapti - vijñaptisamādhisamābhatāṁ kuśalakusalam rūpaṁ. See Dharmas., p. 70.
5. Vaggo on actions bearing the selfsame results.  

Section on actions bearing the selfsame results.

(自行勝槊五)  (自業納息五)
Actions bearing the like fruits, etc. Here a curious allusion to speech is given. Speech is said to be in ten forms, i.e., Buddha-vaṅka, -jalpa, -vyāhāra, -girā, -bhāṣya, -nirukti, -vaṅk-svara, -vaṅk-patha, action by mouth (-vaṅk-karman), demonstration by mouth (-vaṅk-vijñāpti).\(^1\)

At the end: “The original, 185”  At the end: “This belongs to ślokas.”

BOOK V

A.  

GANTHO V: THE FOUR GREAT  
(CATUR-MAHĀBHŪTA).

(四大捷度五)

1. Vaggo on pure organs (indriya).  

Section on the products of the Great (mahābhūta).

(淨根跋渠一)  (大造納息一)
The four elements—product of a combination of the four—complete and incomplete products—their causes, etc.

At the end: “The original, 392 ślokas.”

2. Vaggo on conditions (of the combination of elements).

(緣跋渠二)  (緣納息二)
Conditions (pratyaya)—elements of the past—those of the future, etc.

At the end: “The original, 547 ślokas.”

3. Vaggo on the visible truth.

(見諦跋渠三)  (具見納息三)
Things belonging to the rūpa-dhātu are summarily explained.

At the end: “The original, 169”  At the end: “This belongs to ślokas.”

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\(^1\) I follow mostly Mr. Wogihara’s restoration of these words.
4. Vaggo on internal products. Section on the perception-elements.

(内造跋渠四) (執受納息四)
Sensations, feelings, ideas, etc., are discussed.

At the end: "The original, 210 ślokas."

BOOK VI.


(根種度內) (根蘊內)

1. Organ (indriya)-vaggo. Section on organs.

(根跋渠一) (根納息一)
22 indriyas—eye (cakkhu), ear (sota), nose (ghāna), tongue (jivhā), body (kāya), mind (mano), the female (itthindriya), the male (puṁsa), life (jīva), happiness (sukha), suffering (dukkha), rejoicing (somanassa), sorrow (domanassa), guarding, i.e. indifferent (upekkhā), believing (saddhā), striving (viriya), recollection (sati), contemplation (samādhi), wisdom (pañña), the unknown, the known, the yet to be known (anānātanaṁ ñassamiṁ'indriyaṁ, aññindriyaṁ, aññatāvindriyaṁ),¹ etc.

At the end: "The original, 314 ślokas." At the end: "This belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

2. Being (bhava)-vaggo. Section on being.

(有跋渠二) (有納息二)
Kāma-bhava—all forms of existence—rupa-bhava—ārupya-bhava, etc.

At the end: "The original, 328 ślokas."

3. Vaggo on touch. Section on touch.

(更樂跋渠三) (觸納息三)
16 kinds of touch, etc.

At the end: "The original, 141 ślokas."

¹ Childers, s.v. indriyaṁ; see Mahāvyutp., § 108; the last three are: anājñā-tāmājñāsāyāṁindriyaṁ (19), ājñendriyaṁ (20), ājñatāvindriyaṁ (21).
4. Vaggo on primal mind.  
(始心跋渠四)  
Does mind continue as it commenced?
At the end: “The original, 269 ślokas.”

5. Vaggo on mind that is primarily produced.  
(始發心跋渠五)  
Do things thought come into existence at the commencement of the activity of mind?
At the end: “The original, 242 ślokas.”
At the end: “This belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.”

6. Fish-vaggo.¹  
(魚子跋渠六)  
Why are some complete in regard of 22 organs and others incomplete?
At the end: “The original, 173 ślokas.”

7. Vaggo on causes.  
(緣跋渠七)  
Are all the faculties of organs conditioned by the past?
At the end of this vaggo there is no number of ślokas given, but a note is added to the following effect: “This vaggo on causes was forgotten by the translator, Saṁghadeva, of Ka-pin (Kaśmīra), and therefore omitted. Lately another priest of Ka-pin (Kaśmīra) named T’an-mo-pi (Dhamma-piya), who knew this vaggo by heart, arrived, visited Saṁghadeva in Mi-ch’uan, and translated this

¹ ‘Fish’ is strange, and there is no allusion to fish in the chapter. Probably it is a misinterpretation of ‘mātsarya’ (macchariya), ‘envy’ or ‘avarice,’ one of the twenty-four minor evil passions (upakleśā); Dharmasamgraha, §§ 69, 78. However, the Mahāvībhāṣā explained this word: “It is called ‘fish’ because its various phases constantly in change cannot be grasped.” We are still in the dark as to its original meaning.
vaggo. Thus the whole text of the Aṭṭha-gantho was complete. T'än-mo-pi (Dhamma-piya) said that the Aṭṭha-gantho is the 'body' (kāya) only, and there are besides six 'feet' (pāda), 1,000,000 syllables in all. T'än-mo-pi (Dhamma-piya) could recite only two of these 'feet,' and the whole could not be reproduced in translation. While saying this he deeply regretted. This note was added in the Ching-kuan monastery of Yang-chou on the 19th of the first month in the 19th year of the Chien-yuen period (A.D. 379) in the Chin Dynasty (A.D. 351–395).”

BOOK VII.

A. GANTHO VII: MEDITATION (SAMĀDHĪ).

(定窟度七)

1. Vaggo on conditions of the past.

(過去得跋渠一)

All conditions of the past, etc.

At the end: “The original, 499 slokas.”

1八窟度論第二十三卷末: 一思經摩山日其人忘因緣一品故闕文焉。近有臘毘沙門門塔品。經密青雲僧伽譯婆譯出此耳。八窟度文具也。而八窟度及六百萬言。皆今無譯。元十五年正月十九日出於揚州正定佛圖記。
2. Vaggo on causes. Section on causes (pratyaya).

(緣 足 稀 二) Meditations on causes and conditions in the dhyāna heavens (1–4), etc.

At the end: "The original, 184 ślokas."

At the end: "This belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

3. Vaggo on liberation (vimutti). Section on comprehension.

(解 脫 稀 三) 10 forms of meditation (kasināyatana)^1—8 kinds of knowledge—3 forms of samādhi.

At the end: "The original, 573 ślokas."

At the end: "This belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."


(阿 那 含 四) 5 states of the anāgāmins.

At the end: "The original, 157 ślokas."

5. Vaggo on those who come back once (sakadāgāmin).^2

(行 足 稀 五) States of the sakadāgāmins—attainments of the divine eye, etc.

At the end: "The original, 501 ślokas."

BOOK VIII.

A.

GANTHO VIII: VIEWS (Dīṭṭhi). GROUP VIII: VIEWS (Dṛṣṭi).

(見 健 度 八)

1. Vaggo on firm meditation (satipaṭṭhāna).

(意 止 足 稀 一)

1 Meditation on the impurity of the body (kāyānupassāna)

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^1 Childers, s.v. kasino; Mahāvyutp., § 72; my Pāli Chrestomathy, p. xvii, 10.

^2 The Chinese words, however, mean the ‘one-going,’ for which see above, Bk. ii, 2, note (p. 89).
— (2) meditation on the evils of sensations (vedanānupassanā) — (3) meditation on the evanescence of thought (cittānupassanā) — (4) meditation on the conditions of existence (dhammānupassanā), etc.

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

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

(欲道果二)
(三有納息二)

Conditions of the 3 states of being.

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

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

(想道果三)
(相納息三)

10 stages of consciousness as to impermanence, sorrow, anātman, impurity, death, destruction, etc.

At the end: "The original, 104 slokas."

At the end: "This belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

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

(智時道果四)
(智納息四)

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

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

5. Vaggo on views. Section on views.

(見道果五)
(見納息五)

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

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

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1 Mahāvyutp., § 38, 1–4; see Childers, s.v. satipaṭṭhānaṃ.
2 The ten saññās are: asubha-, maraṇa-, āhāre patikkula-, sabbaloke anabhīrati-, anicea-, anice dikkhe anatta-, pahāna-, virāga-, nirodha-. See Childers, s.v. saññā.

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

The 12th Gāthā runs as follows:

"Ma-sha tu-sha sang-shi-ma sa-pi-ta-la-pi-li-ta: this is the end of sorrow." Here it is added that these are the words of the T'ān-mi-la (Damila, i.e. Tamil) language, and they are explained:

"Ma-sha," do not care or hope for evils; "tu-sha," gladly adapt to the law; "sang-shi-ma," check or control one's self; "sa-pi-ta-la-pi-li-ta," escape completely from or abandon the state of being.1

At the end: "The original text, 110 ślokas."

The Gāthā in this text is different, and goes as follows:

"Ei-ni mi-ni kiu-pu ta-ye-pu: do not care for (evils), (but) be satisfied, be subdued, escape fully from the borders of sorrow." 'Ei-ni,' 'mi-ni,' 'kiu-pu,' 'ta-ye-pu' are said to be the words of the mu-li-sha (mleecha), and mean respectively 'duḥkha,' 'samudaya,' 'nirodha,' 'mārga,' —the four ārya-satyas being expressed by the Buddha in the barbarian dialect.2

At the end: "This belongs to the Sarvastivāda school."

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1 磨舍, 児舍, 僧 貫 摩, 薩 扈 多 羅 比 比 多; 此 是 苦 邊 也 (婆 罗 国 語).

2 醫 泥, 及, 謎 泥, 陀 錫, 達 鞭 鋪; 勿 希, 應 隱, 寂 偏 離 苦 邊 (婆 罗 車 語). Mark that 'ma-sha tu-sha sang-shi-ma sa-pi-ta-la-pi-li-ta' are said to be Damila words, whereas 'ei-ni mi-ni kiu-pu ta-ye-pu' are Mleecha expressions. My friend the Rev. Monk Jones kindly took much trouble in trying to identify some of these words, which, however, are not to be recognized in modern Tamil. Mr. Wogihara ingeniously identifies the former with Sanskrit, while he considers the latter to be a Damila or Mleecha version. His restoration into Sanskrit is as follows: "Māśaya, tushya, sanśāmya, sarvatra vīṇghdi (वैण्डी)." This is partly confirmed by the Vibhāṣā-sūtra (No. 1279), in which these words are represented as follows: "Ma-sha, tu-sha, sang-sha-ma, sa-pa-ta pi-li-la." A difficulty lies still in the last word 'pi-pi-li-ta' or 'pi-li-la,' both having 'li' (or 'rī') in the medial syllable. We may therefore suggest, for this original, 'vi-viṅghdi' (वीण्डी) instead of 'vi-viṅghdi.' For an example of Huen-tsang's translating वीण्डी by Ch. 離, see next page, note on 'vajjian.'

The other Gāthā in No. 1279 is somewhat different, and is as follows: "Yin-ni (duḥkha), mi-ni (samudaya), ta-pa (nirodha), ta-la-pa (mārga)." These words are there said to be Damila.
II. SAÑGĪTI-PARYĀYA.

BY

MAHĀ-KAUSTHILA (according to Yāsomitra and Bu-ston).

ŚĀRIPUTRA (according to the Chinese authorities).

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

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

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

1 'Vajjiputtiya' in Pāli is here given as 離繫 親子, lit. 'Fathers-and-sons-free-from-bondage.' Huien-tsang is thus translating the name, deriving it from √vaj (Skt. √vaj). Mr. Wogihara, however, says that this name is a translation of 'Nirgrantha-jñātiputra.' If so, it may have nothing to do with 'vajjiputtiyas,' and note 3, p. 100, is subject to question.
This story is repeated in a short form at the beginning of every chapter; and at the end of the whole work the Buddha praises Śāriputra with the word “Śādhu!” and is represented to have said that the Ekottara-dharmaparyāyas (Aṅguttara-dhammaparīyāyas)\(^1\) thus rehearsed and collected at the con-vocation of Bhikṣus should be preached often by him (Śāriputra) before the public. The Buddha further turns to the Saṅgha and advises the Bhikṣus to learn and recite the Saṅgīti-parīyāya\(^2\) propounded by Śāriputra.

The work was probably compiled by a Mahā-kauśṭhila at a time after the council of Vaiśāli\(^3\) which was held chiefly for suppressing the ten theses of the Vajjiaṇ Bhikṣus, and later on it might have come to be ascribed to Śāriputra because he is the hero of the narrative throughout the work.

\[\text{A-\textipa{ta-mo Chi-i-mėn-tsu-lun}.}^4\]

(\textit{Abhidharma Collecting-various-subjects-foot-treatise.})

\textit{Abhidharma Saṅgīti-parīyāya-pāda(-sāstra).}

\textit{Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1276.}

\textit{Amount: 12 sections (varga); 20 fasciculi (chüan); 326 pages (ye).}

\textit{Author: Sha-li-tsu (Śāriputra).}

\textit{Translator: Hiuen-tsang, A.D. 660–663.}

\textbf{CONTENTS OF THE \textit{SAṅGĪTIPARYĀYA}.}

1. Section on the Origin (nidāna) (緣起品—).

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

\(^1\) \text{\begin{center}增一法門, the ‘Dharmaparyāyas-increasing-by-one (Ekottara).’\end{center}}\)

\(^2\) \text{\begin{center}集異法門. This is the title of the work; see below.\end{center}}\)

\(^3\) \text{\begin{center}It may be soon after the council or may be centuries after it. At any rate, it is certain that it must be after the council just referred to, i.e. 100 years A.B., because it refers to the dissension of the Vajjiaṇ Bhikṣus, and moreover it must be later than the Saṅgīti-sutta of the Dīgha-nikāya or the Aṅguttara-nikāya, on which the book seems to have been modelled, or it may belong to the period in which the Aṅguttara form of compilation was prevalent.\end{center}}\)

\[\text{‘阿毗達磨集異門足論. 舍利子造. 韓奘譯.}\]
of every section, to the following effect: "Let us now unite ourselves and collect the Dharma-vinaya, while our Master is still in the world, in order that there may be no dissension as to the teaching after the Buddha’s death, and that the Brethren may live strictly in accordance with the Brahmacarya, and the Dharma-vinaya themselves may be handed down to a remote future, to the benefit of the people."

2. Section on Eka-dharmas (一法品二).
   All beings living on food,¹ etc.

3. Section on Dvi-dharmas (二法品三).
   Mind and matter (nāma-rūpa); means for entering meditation and coming out of meditation, etc.
   At the end of chūan 2 it is stated: "This belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

4. Section on Tri-dharmas (三法品四).
   3 akusālamūsas (lobha, dveṣa, moha); 3 kuṣalamūsas;
   3 good and bad vitarkas; 3 duścaritas (kāya, vāk, manas);
   3 dhātus; 3 pudgalas; 3 sthaviras (elders in age, in the world, in the law); 3 rāsis; 3 āpattivyutthānas (ways of finding fault with others, by seeing, hearing, or suspecting); 3 vedānas; 3 vidyās, and 25 more threes.
   The Dharma-skandha (Fa-yun-lun) is quoted in chūan 3; at the end of chūan 3, 4, 5 it is stated: "This belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

5. Section on Catur-dharmas (四法品五).
   4 āryasatyas; 4 śrāmanyaphalas; 4 pudgalas; 4 speeches;
   4 samyakprahānas; 4 apramāṇas; 4 smṛtyupasthānas, and 14 more fours.
   The Dharma-skandha (Fa-yun-lun) is quoted in chūan 7; at the end of chūan 6–10: "It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school."

¹ 一切有情依食而住. ‘All beings live on food’ put under ‘Eka-dharma’ may, to some, seem strange, but an instance of this is found in the Sāmaṇera-parāham of the Khuddaka-nikāya, where under the question “Eka nāma kiṁ?” the answer is given as “Sabbe satī āhāraṭṭhitikā.” See my “Pāli Chrestomathy,” p. 243, and the authorities cited in the note, p. xv.
6. Section on Pañca-dharmas (五法品六).

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

At the end of chüan 11–14: “It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.”

7. Section on Sañ-dharmas (六法品七).

6 vijñānakāyas; 6 sparsakāyas; 6 samjñākāyas; 6 vedanākāyas; 6 dhātus; 6 abhijñās; 6 anuttaryadharmas, and 13 more sixes.

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

8. Section on Sapta-dharmas (七法品八).

7 sambodhyaṅgas; 7 pudgalas; 7 anuśāyas; 7 dhanas; 7 adhikaraṇaśamathadharmas, and 8 other sevens.

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

9. Section on Aṣṭa-dharmas (八法品九).

8 ārya-mārgas; 8 pudgalas; 8 dānas; 8 vimuktis; 8 abhi-bhavātanas; 8 lokadharmas, and 4 more eights.

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

10. Section of Nava-dharmas (九法品十).

9 abodes of beings (sattvāvasas); 9 saṁyojanas.

11. Section on Daśa-dharmas (十法品十一).

10 kṛtṣnāyatanas (Pāli, kasināyatana, objects of mystic meditation)¹; 10 aṣaikṣa-dharmas.

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

¹ See my “Pāli Chrestomathy,” p. xvii, § 10.
12. Section on Admonition.

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

At the end of chüan 20 it is said: “This belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.”

III. PRAKARĀṆA-PĀDA.

BY STHAVIRA VASUMITRA.

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

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

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\(^1\) See Watters, “Hiuen-tsang,” vol. i, p. 214.
The Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma Books.

A. Chung-shih-fen a-p'i-t'an-lun.¹ (Various-cATEGORIES-Division Abhidharma-Treatise.) Abhidharma-sāstra 'prakaraṇa.'

Nanjio's Cat., No. 1292.

Amount:
8 sections (p'in); 12 fasciculi (chüan); 229 pages (ye).

Author:
The venerable Shi-yu (Vasumitra), 300 years after the Buddha's death (according to the Tib.-Chin. Cat.).

Translators:
Chiu-na-p'o-to-lo (Guptabhadra) and Pu-ti-ye-shê (Bodhiyaśas), from C. India, A.D. 435-443.

B. A-p'i-ta-mo p'in-lei-tru-lun.² (Abhidharma Classification-Foot-treatise.) Abhidharma-prakaraṇa-pāda (-sāstra).

Nanjio's Cat., No. 1277.

Amount:
8 sections (p'in); 18 fasciculi (chüan); 294 pages (ye).

Author:
The venerable Shi-yu (Vasumitra).

Translator:
Hıuen-tsang, A.D. 659.

Contents of the Prakaraṇapāda.

A.

1. Distinction of 5 dharmas.

(B分 別 五 法 品)³ (辨 五 事 品)

Rūpa (色); citta (心); caittadharmas (心 所 法); cittaviprayukta-saṁskāras (心 不 相 應 行); asaṁskṛtadharmas (無 爲 法): these are the 5 subjects treated of in the chapter. (Dharmasamgraha, p. 69.)

At the beginning of the text A there is a note in which it is

¹ 秤事分阿毘達磨論, 尊者世友造, 宋三藏求那跋陀羅共善提耶合譯.
² 阿毘達磨品類足論, 尊者世友造, 唐三藏法師玄奘譯.
³ This title is not given in the text, but this is what it ought to be, judging from the analogy of the other titles. The original was probably something like 'Pañcadharmas-nirdeśa.'
said that this book was translated by Guṇabhadra and Bodhiyāsaśas from an Indian text, and was dedicated to the Saṃgha.¹

2. Distinction of knowledge. Distinction of various knowledge.

(分 別 智 品) (辨 諸 智 品)
10 kinds of knowledge: dharmajñāna (法 智); anvayajñāna (類 智); paracittajñāna (他 心 智); saṃvṛti jñāna (世 俗 智); duḥkhajñāna (苦 智); sahuddaya- (集 智); nirodha- (滅 智); mārga- (道 智); kṣaya- (盡 智); anutpāda- (無 生 智). (Mahāvyutpatti, § 57.)

At the end of chūian 1 it is said:
“'It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.'"

3. Distinction of āyatana.

(分 別 諸 處 品) (辨 諸 處 品)
12 organs and objects of sense (āyatana): cakṣus (眼); śrotra (耳); ghrāṇa (鼻); jihvā (舌); kāya (身); manas (意); rūpa (色); gandha (香); śabda (聲); rasa (味); spraṣṭavya (觸); dhrāmāyatana (法 處). (Mahāvyutpatti, 106 (102); Puggala paññatti, 1.)

4. Distinction of 7 categories.

(分 別 七 事 品) (辨 七 事 品)
The following are explained: 18 dhātus (Mahāvyut., 107); 12 āyatanas (see last); 5 skandhas (Mahāvyut., 100); 10 mahābhūmikadharmas, 10 kuśalamahābhūmikas, 10 kleṣamahābhūmikas, 10 upakleśabhūmikas (Abhidh. kośa, 1; Dharma-maṅgra, p. 69); beside 6 dhātus, 5 sparśas,

¹ 我 釋 迦 比 丘, 求 那 跋 陀 羅, 於 此 衆 事 分, 真 定 胡 文 本, 請 釋 迦 比 丘 師 菩 提 耶 含, 於 彼 胡 文 典, 専 精 宋 辭 譯, 執 笔 錄 心 受, 一 一 從 書 義, 句 未 粗 已 定, 謹 呈 舊 學 僧. The Hu text (胡 文) in this case may be an Indian text, or a text in the Hu language of Central Asia.
5. Distinction of minor passions.

(分 別 諸 使 品)  (辨 随 睡 品)
98 anuśayas: 36 of the kāmadhātu, 31 of the ārupadhatu,
and 31 of the ārupadhatu.

At the end of chūan 3: “It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.”

6. Distinction of the things that can be comprehended.

(分 別 攝 品)  (辨 裡 等 品)
Things to be known (jñeya-dharma) (了 知 法);
anāsrava-dharmas (無 漏 法); things to be inferred
(所 識 法, 所 通 達 法), etc.

At the end of chūan 5–9: “It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.”

7. Discussion on one thousand questions.

(千 問 論 品)  (辨 千 問 品)
Various questions about śikṣāpadas, śrāmaṇyaphalas, ārya-
vaṁśas, samyakprahaṇas, rddhipādas, smṛtyupasthānas,
āryasatyas, dhyānas, apramāṇas, bodhyaṅgas, indriyas,
āyatanas, skandhas, dhātus, etc.

At the end of chūan 10–17: “It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.”

8. Résumé.

(攝 擇 品)  (辨 决 擇 品)
Remarks on several points already discussed.

At the end of chūan 18: “It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.”
THE VIJÑĀNA-KĀYA.

IV. VIJÑĀNA-KĀYA.

By Sthavira Devaśarma.

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

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

A-p’i-ta-mo shih-shén-tsu-lun.

(Abbhidharma knowledge—body—foot—treatise.)

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

Nanjio’s Catalogue, No. 1281.

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

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

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

CONTENTS OF THE VIJÑĀNAKĀYA.

Group 1: Mu-ch’ien-lien (Maudgalyāyana) (目 乾 連 蓮 —).

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

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

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1 See above, p. 106, l. 1; p. 108, ll. 2, 7, 17.
2 Watters, “Yuan-Chwang,” vol. i, p. 373.
3 阿毗達磨識心足論, 提婆設摩阿羅漢造, 玄奘譯.
Group 2: Pu-tu-chie-lo (Pudgala) (補特 伽羅 瀧 二).
8 pudgalas, 6 vijñānakāyas, 4 smṛtyupasthānas, etc.; relation of the theory of pudgala to the theory of śūnyatā.
At the end of chüan 2: “It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.”

Group 3: Hetupratyaya¹ (因 綠 瀧 三).
10 forms of thought; 15 forms of thought; vijñānakāyas of the past, etc.
At the end of chüan 4 and 5: “It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.”

Group 4: Ālambanapratyaya² (所 綠 瀧 四).
12 forms of thought; 15 forms of thought; goodness, badness, etc., of the past, etc.
At the end of chüan 7–10: “It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.”

Group 5: Miscellaneous (雜 瀧 五).
6 vijñānakāyas; 2 forms of thought to be got rid of by adjusting one’s views and by adjusting one’s practice; 18 dhātus, etc.

Group 6: Completion³ (samanvāgama) (成就 瀧 六).
Śaikṣa, aśaikṣa; completion and incompleteness of thought, etc.

V. DHĀTU-KĀYA.

BY
PŪRNA (according to Yaśomitra and Bu-ston).
VASUMITRA (according to the Chinese authorities),
300 years after the Buddha’s death (accord. to the Tib.-Chin. Catal.).
(Skt. 6; Tib. 3; Tib.-Chin. 5; Chin. 5.)
This is the fourth of the six pāda works of the Sarvāstivādins. The original, probably Sanskrit, text seems to have existed in two or three versions. The larger text was, according to K‘uei-chi, a disciple of Hiuen-tsang, of 6,000 ślokas in

¹ Mahāvyutp., 114.
² Mahāvyutp., 115.
³ Or ‘consequence.’
length, whereas the other, middle and smaller ones, were of 900 and 500 ślokas respectively. The text which was translated by Hiuen-tsang was of 830 ślokas and was apparently the middle one.¹

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

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

Chieh-shên-tsu-lun.³
(Element-body-foot-treatise.)
‘Dhātu-kāya-pāda’ (śāstra).
Nanjio’s Catalogue, No. 1282.

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

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

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

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¹ See below, p. 111.

² The shorter Tibetan glossary gives ‘dhātukāya’ along with ‘prajñāpāti-śāstra,’ see Minayeff, “Buddhism,” vol. i, app. ii, § 43 (p. 128).

³ 界身足論，尊者世友造，玄奘譯。

⁴ 釋（玄）基後序。界身足論者，說一切有部發智足之一足也。世親三藏法師玄奘，遂以龍朔三年六月四日，於王華宮八桂亭終譯此論，原其大本領有六千，後以文繁或致删略為九百領五百領者，今此所翻有八百三十領，... 尊者世友之作也... 譯法舟之論喪故叙其時事云。
CONTENTS OF THE DHĀTUKĀYA.

Khaṇḍa I: Chief subjects (本事品一).

a. 10 mahābhūmikadharmas (大地法): vedanā (受), saṁjñā (想), cetanā (思), sparśa (觸), manaskāra (作意), chanda (欲), adhimokṣa (勝解), smṛti (念), samādhi (三摩地), mati (慧).

b. 10 kleśa-mahābhūmikadharmas (大地法): avidyā (無明), pramāda (放逸), kaścidya (懈怠), āśrāddhya (不信), muṣitasmṛti (失念), vikṣepa (心亂), asamprajānya (不正知), ayoniśomanaskāra (非理作意), mithyādhimokṣa (邪勝解), audhhatya (掉舉).

c. 10 upakleśa-bhūmikas (小煩惱地法): krodha (忿怒), mṛkṣa (覆), mātsarya (懲), īrsyā (嫉), pradāśa (惱), vihiṃsā (害), upanāha (恨), māyā (诳), sāṭhya (詭), mada (憐).

d. 5 moral defilements (煩惱): kāmalobha (欲貪), rūpalobha (色貪), ārūpyalobha (無色貪), dveṣa (瞋), vicikitsā (疑).

e. 5 views (drshti) (見): satkāya (有身), antagrāha (過取), mithyā (邪見), dṛṣṭiparāmarṣa (見取), sīlavrataparāmarṣa (戒禁取).

f. 5 dharmas (五法): vitarka (尋), vicāra (伺), vijñāna (識), āhṛikya (無懺), anapatṛya (無愧).

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

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1 See Mahāvyutp., 104; Triglotte, 68; Dharmasamgraha, p. 69. Cf. Puggalapāṇṭatti, ii, 1–9.
2 Cf. Mahāvyutp., 104.
3 See last note.
4 See Dharmasamgraha, 68.
Khaṇḍa II: Minor Divisions (分 別 品 二).

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

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

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

VI. DHARMA-SKANDHA.

BY

Ārya Śāriputra (according to Yasomitra and Bu-ston).

Mahāmaudgalyāyana (according to the Chinese authorities).

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

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

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1 For the Chinese text, see above, p. 109, note 4.
the writers of the other pādas—for instance, the author of the Saṅgitiparyāya, who often quotes it. As to the authorship of this work, we have no means of ascertaining whether either, and if so, which of the two, Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, was the actual writer.

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

A-p'i-ta-mo Fa yün-tsu-lun.²
(Abhidharma Law-aggregate-foot-treatise.)
Abhidharma Dharma-skandha-pāda(-śāstra).
Nanjio’s Catalogue, No. 1296.
Amount: 21 chapters (varga); 10 fasciculi (chüan); 232 pages (ye).
Author: The venerable Ta-mu-ch‘ien lien (Ārya Mahā-maudgalyāyana).
Translator: Hiuen-tsang, a.d. 659.

CONTENTS OF THE DHARMASKANDHA.

Section 1: Śikṣāpadas (學處品一).
Five precepts (śīla), etc.

Section 2: Srotāṭapattyāṅga (流支品二).
Srotāṭapānmas, their attainment, etc.
At the end of chüan 1 it is stated: “It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.”

Section 3: Attainment of purity (avetyaprāśāda) (證淨品三).
4 sorts of purity: As to Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha, and śīla; stage of an ārya-pudgala, etc.

Section 4: Result of Śramaṇaship (沙門果品四).
4 stages of Śrāmaṇyaphala: Srotāṭapattiphala, Sakṛdāgāmi-phala, Anāgāmi-phala, Arhattva-phala.

¹ See above, p. 77, note, towards the end.
² 阿毗達磨法蘊足論, 尊者大目乾連造, 玄奘譯.
Section 5: Mental experience (abhiṣīṇāpratipad) (通行品五).
Regulation of feeling in face of suffering and joy, etc.¹

Section 6: Noble race (聖種品六).
4 ārya-vamśas, i.e. 4 classes of the Buddha’s disciples, etc.
At the end of chūan 2: “It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.”

Section 7: Right victory (正勝品七).
4 forms of victory: suppression of bad that has been produced; prevention of bad that may come in the future; development of good that has been produced; cultivation of good for the future.

Section 8: Constituents of magic power (神足品八).
4 modes of obtaining Rddhipāda: meditation (sāmaññā); energy (vīrya); memory (sāmaññī); suppression of desire (achānda).²
At the end of chūan 3: “It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.”

Section 9: Smṛtyupsthānas (念住品九).
4 modes of the earnest meditation: on the (impurity of the) body (kāyānupasāyanā); on the (evils of the) sensations (vedanānupasāyanā); on the (evanescence of) thought (citānupasāyanā); on the conditions (of existence) (dhammānupasāyanā).³
At the end of chūan 4: “It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.”

Section 10: Ārya-satyas (聖諦品十).
A short account is given of the preaching of the 4 noble truths by the Buddha at Benares, and the truths are explained.

¹ These probably represent the four pratipads of Mahāvyutp., § 58: “Duhkhā pratipad dhānadvābhijñā, sukha pratipad dhānadvābhijñā, duḥkha pratipat kṣiprābhijñā, sukha pratipat kṣiprābhijñā.”
² But see Sanskrit and Pālī; Mahāvyutp., § 40; Childers, p. 157. Also Dharmas., § 46, note.
³ Cf. Pālī kāyānupassāna, etc.; see above, analysis of the Jiññapratsthāna, Bk. viii, vaggio i. Mr. Wogihara tells me that the form ‘anupāśyaṇā’ occurs in the Yogācārya bodhisattva bhūmi as well.
Section 11: Meditation (dhyāna) (靜慮品十一).
Forms and processes of meditations are given.
At the end of chüan 5: “It belongs to the Sarvástivāda school.”

Section 12: The immeasurable (apramāṇa) (無量品十二).
4 apramāṇas explained.
At the end of chüan 6: “It belongs to the Sarvástivāda school.”

Section 13: The formless (arūpa) (無色品十三).
4 stages of the ārūpya-dhātu.

Section 14: Bhāvanā-samādhi (修定品十四).
Meditation for cultivating the reasoning faculty (bhāvanā-samādhi) is detailed.

Section 15: Branches of knowledge (Bodhyaṅga) (覺支品十五).
7 bodhyaṅgas explained.
At the end of chüan 7: “It belongs to the Sarvástivāda school.”

Section 16: Miscellaneous matters¹ (雜事品十六).
Other mental faculties, passions, etc.
At the end of chüan 8: “It belongs to the Sarvástivāda school.”

Section 17: Indriyas (根品十七).
22 indriyas (see above, p. 93).

Section 18: Āyatanas (處品十八).
12 āyatanas (organs and objects of sense).²

Section 19: Skandhas (蘊品十九).
5 skandhas.

Section 20: Various principles (Nānādhatu) (多界品二十).
6 principles; 18 principles (dhātu); 62 principles in all.
At the end of chüan 9: “It belongs to the Sarvástivāda school.”

¹ This is “Kṣudravastuka,” and is quoted in Yaśomitra’s Kośavyākhyā (Wegihara).
² See the analysis of the Prakaraṇapāda, 3 (p. 105).
Section 21: Pratītyasamutpādās (緣起品 二十一).
12 pratītyasamutpādās explained.

At the end of chūan 10: “It belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.”

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

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唐 靖 遷 後 序。法 現 足 論 者，蓋 阿 晃 達 塔 之 權 興，一 切 有 部 之 洪 源 也，無 上 等 覺 入 室 之 神 足，摩 話 目 乾 連 之 所 製，矣 惟 一 切 有 部 卓 乎 迴 秀，若 妙 高 之 處 宏 海，猶 朗 月 之 冠 衆 星 者，不 本 弘 基 永 者 敦，至 如 八 種 慎 度，驚 徹 於 發 智 之 壇，五百 應 喜，駭 譽 於 廣 說 之 苑，斯 肯 把 此 清 波，分 斯 片 玉，遂 得 駕 群 部 而 高 蹈 …… 始 乎 順 正 理 以 折 疑，顯 異 宗 以 剖 滅，故 使 者 德 善 覆 屈 我 衆 賢，上 座 幽 宗 見 負 弘 致 也 …… 三 藏 玄 妍 法 師 以 皇 唐 顯 慶 四 年 九 月 十 四 日，奉 詔 於 大 慈 恩 寺 弘 法 苑 譯 記 大 慈 恩 寺 沙 門 釋 光 筆 受，靖 邁 鶴 文，同 州 澄 城 縣，能 耳 智 通 勤 定.
VII. PRAJÑAPTĪ-ŚĀSTRA.

By Ārya Maudgalyāyana (according to Yośomitra and Bu-ston).

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

This work is the sixth of the six pādās of the Sarvāstivāda school, according to the Chinese authorities. The text preserved among the Chinese books is of doubtful character. First of all, it was not translated until the eleventh century (A.D. 1004–1058), and the name of its author is said to have been lost.¹ In its contents the first section, called the “Lokaprajñāpti,” is missing, though the title is given there as seen from the analysis below. In a note it is stated that the first section, “Loka-prajñāpti,” exists in the commentary, but the text does not exist in the original (按 释 論 有 此 門 梵 本 元 闕). However, no such commentary seems to exist in the Chinese collection, so far as I am aware, and nothing can be ascertained as to the real state of the text.² There is no indication that this work belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school, as in the cases of the other pādās. Notwithstanding this, we have to regard this work at present as the authentic pūda of this school, since there is no other alternative that can be suggested.

Shi-shé-lun.³
(Establishment or arrangement-treatise.)

Prajñāpti-śāstra.

Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1317.

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

Author: No author's name is given.

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

¹ Dr. Nanjio, in his Catalogue, No. 1317, gives the author's name ‘Maudgalyāyana.’ The Tib.-Chin. Catalogue does not give any, and says that the name is lost (失 造 人 名). The India Office copy also does not give any name. So probably Yośomitra is the authority of Nanjio's statement.

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

³ 施設論, 朱西 天三 藏 法 護 等 譯. This book is usually quoted in the works peculiar to this school as 施設足論 (Prajñāpti-pāda).
CONTENTS OF THE PRAJÑAPTI-SĀSTRA.

1. Instruction about the world (Loka-prajñāpáti) belonging to the Abhidharma-mahāsāstra (對 法 大 論 世 間 施 設 門 一).
This section Loka-prajñāpáti is practically missing; no word is given there except a note to the following effect: "In the commentary this section exists, but the text is wanting in the original (按 釋 論 有 此 門 詞 本 元 闕)." We know nothing of the commentary referred to.

2. Instruction about Causes (Kārāṇa-prajñāpáti) (因 施 設 門 二).
Out of the 7 ratnas of a Cakravarthi king, strī, gṛhapati, and pariṇāyaka are spoken of.

3. The same.
The other ratnas: cakra, hastin, aśva, maṇi; longevity of the king; 32 signs; 1,000 sons, etc.

4. The same.
The Bodhisattva's birth in the Tuṣita heaven; conception and birth on earth; Ānanda, etc.

5. The same.
The Bodhisattva is the highest of all beings; Nirvāṇa, etc.

6. The same.
32 signs of Buddha and Cakravarthi king; other superior qualities of the Bodhisattva, etc.

7. The same.
The Buddha's teaching of 3 moral defilements, rāga, dveṣa, moha; the extremity of these three, etc.

8. The same.
Trṣṇā (love), a great cause of life; difference of human body in life and death, etc.

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1 The name "Abhidharma-mahāsāstra" is a very curious title to be used for a supplementary pāda.
2 The "Loka-prajñāpáti" must have been a section which treats of the world-system, positions of the mountain Sumēru and the great ocean, motions of the sun and the moon, etc., etc. There is a Chinese text which contains these subjects, i.e. No. 1297, "Li-shí a-p’i-t’an-iua," which Naujio restores to "Loka-sthiti (?)-abhidharma-sāstra," but it is more probably "Loka-prajñāpáti abhidharma-sāstra," and the first section of our book must have been something like the text in question. An analysis of No. 1297 is given below.
9. The same.
Drowsiness, arrogance, wickedness, talkativeness, insufficiency in speech, inability in meditation; their causes, etc.

10. The same.
Sumeru, the highest mountain; different heights of mountains, etc.

11. The same.
Difference of mental faculties between the Buddha and his disciples, etc.

12. The same.
The ocean, etc.

13. The same.
Various qualities of living-beings, etc.

14. The same.
8 causes of rain; cause of a rainy season, etc.

5. Some Important Philosophical Works Connected with the Sarvāstivāda School.

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

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1 For some particulars of this text, see above, p. 77, note.
2 Dharmashāstra, Saṅgītaparāśara, and Jñānaprasthāna are perhaps anterior to the rest. Vasumitra's works may be the latest, but this Vasumitra seems to be different from the one who is said to be the head of the 500 Arhats who compiled the Mahāvibhāṣa. The Tibeto-Chinese Catalogue says that the Mahāvibhāṣa was compiled 400 years A.D., while it assigns 300 years A.D. to the Vasumitra who is the author of Prakaraṇa-pāda and Dhātu-kāya.
Their division into one principal and six supplementary books,\textsuperscript{1} for which we have the evidence of Dhammapiya,\textsuperscript{2} A.D. 379, as the earliest, seems to be of comparatively late origin, and was probably adopted after the compilation of the Mahāvibhāṣā, which represents the climax of the Sarvāṣṭivāda philosophy.

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

The Vibhāṣika philosophy seems to have enjoyed some, probably three, centuries of peace, safely deposited in its Kaśmīrian home and maintained in its purity by the adherents of the school. Paramārtha tells us a legend according to which the system was also propagated in Mid-India by a man named Vasubhadra, who studied it in Kaśmira, and by pretending to be mad got out of that country.\textsuperscript{4}

\textsuperscript{1} Though I have called the Pādas 'supplementary,' as they are generally understood, it is possible that the 'Pādas' all, or some of them, were the 'foundations' of the Jñānapausthāna.
\textsuperscript{2} See above, pp. 94–95. Read Dhammapī (ṑ-prī) for Dhammapiya.
\textsuperscript{3} There is no positive evidence that the Mahāvibhāṣā was compiled in the reign of Kaniśka. In 383 and 439 A.D. the name 'Vibhāṣa'\textsuperscript{1} appears in Chinese, and the date of translation of the Mahāvibhāṣā itself is 437–439. The date of the original may therefore be put in c. 200–400 A.D.
\textsuperscript{4} See my translation of Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu (Tong-pao, July, 1904), pp. 279–281.
The latter half of the fifth century A.D. brings us to a period which we can well designate as Neo-Vibhāṣanism, which coincides with the rise of the Yogācārya system and the revival of the Brāhmaṇic, or, at any rate, Sāṃkhya philosophy. Vasubandhu, a Sarvāstivādin and a free-thinker, tried to interpret the philosophy according to his own views. He did not slavishly follow the Vaibhāṣīka tenets, but here and there utilized the excellent points of other systems, e.g. the Sautrāntika, a system opposed to the Vaibhāṣīka, and teaching that external objects merely exist as mental images, and are indirectly apprehended.

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

Saṃghabhadra is said to have died before Vasubandhu, and the Neo-Vibhāṣanic period seems to close practically with the conversion of Vasubandhu to Mahāyānism.

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

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

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1 See Watters, i, p. 325.
2 See my Vasubandhu's Life (Tong-pao, July, 1904), p. 291.
3 We do not know to which school the other commentators, Vasumitra and Guṇamati, whom Yośomitra mentions in his Vyākhya, belonged; see Bendall’s Catal. of Cambridge MSS., add. 1041, p. 26.
4 See above, p. 71.
external void [subjective idealism]; (3) the Sautrāntikas, who assert the inferribility of external objects [representationalism]; and (4) the Vaibhāṣikas, who acknowledge the perceptibility of external objects [representationalism].”¹

Of these the Mādhyamika is identical with the Sarvāśūnyatavādīn, the Yogācāra with the Vijnānāstītivamatrāvādīn (or the Vijnānamātrāstitivādīn), and the Vaibhāṣika with the Sarvāstivādīn of Śaṅkarācārya.² The Sautrāntika admits no direct perception of objects, but holds that external objects exist merely as images, and are indirectly apprehended, thus occupying the medium stage between the Vaibhāṣika, who acknowledges the direct perception of external objects, and the Yogācāra, who teaches the doctrine of an external void.

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


² See above, p. 73, note 2.

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

⁴ Cf. above, p. 75, note 3.
philosophical speculation they have progressed somewhat as compared with the Vaibhāṣikas.

This seems to have attracted Vasubandhu, who occasionally adopted the doctrines of the Sautrāntikas. His conversion to the Vijñānāmatrīka doctrine was no wonder at all, but was quite natural seeing that the soil had already been prepared by the Sautrāntika doctrine. His conversion was, therefore, not a miracle wrought from without by his brother Asaṅgha, but was a result of his speculative requirements from within. Thus he represents the three stages of Buddhist philosophy, and it is but reasonable that he is honoured in Japan as a patriarch of all Buddhist sects. In fact, his Abhidharmakoṣa and Vijñānāmatrasiddhi are still studied by almost every Buddhist; and two sects based on these two treatises, named respectively “Kusha” and “Yuishiki” (Koṣa and Vijñānāmatra), still exist in Japan (though practically only as study). Two important commentaries on the Abhidharmakoṣa, called Kōki and Hōsho (Notes of Fu-kuan and Fa-pao), written by two of the most distinguished pupils of Hiuen-tsang (A.D. 645–664), have been preserved in Japan. They are important for a study of the doctrines of the Vaibhāṣikas, the notes having been taken from the lectures of Hiuen-tsang.

A summary of the above statement will be as follows:—

Sarvāstivādins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gāṇḍhāra-Abhidhārmikas</th>
<th>Kāśmīra-Abhidhārmikas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(7 Abhidharmas)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vaibhāṣika-śastrins

| (Mahāvibhāṣa) |

Neo-Vaibhāṣika-śastrins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vasubandhu (Sautrāntic)</th>
<th>Saṅghabhadra (orthodox)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Abhidharmakoṣa and</td>
<td>(Nyāyānusāra and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abhidharmakoṣa-kārikā)</td>
<td>Samaya-pradipikā)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 See my Life of Vasubandhu (Tong-pao, July, 1904), p. 288.
2 See above, p. 79, note 2.
As to the analysis of the Vaibhāṣika works I prepared a lengthy note, but decided, after reflection, to make it as short as possible, for these works really ought to be treated of in a special paper. Now let us proceed with the analysis.

I. ABHIDHARMA-VIBHĀṢĀ AND ABHIDHARMA-MAHĀVIBHĀṢĀ.

A Commentary on Kātyāyanīputra's Jñānaprasthāna.

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

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

² The Mahāvibhāṣā itself mentions ‘Kāśmīra-vaibhāṣikā masters’ (Chia-shu-mi-lo-p’i-p’o-sha shi). Whether this is the translator’s chance mistake for ‘Kāśmīra sāstrins’ remains to be seen.

³ Tong-pao, July, 1904, p. 278.
of China occurs in the text as Chih-na (Cîna)\(^1\) or Chên-tan (Cîna),\(^2\) a name considered to have been originated from
the Imperial Chin dynasty of China (B.C. 221–203).

The number of ślokas, moreover, in the vibhāṣā is
variously recorded as more than 100,000 by one,\(^3\) and as
about 1,000,000 by Paramārtha.\(^4\) The date of its com-
pilation, again, is said to have been "400 years after
the Buddha’s death" by Hiuen-tsang,\(^5\) "500 years a.b." (i.e. sixth century) by Paramārtha,\(^6\) and "more than 600
years a.b." by Tao-yen.\(^7\)

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

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

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

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

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\(^1\) 致那.
\(^2\) 捏且.
\(^3\) Hiuen-tsang, see Watters, i, p. 271, and Tao-yen, 道挺, in his preface
to No. 1264. See below, p. 128.
\(^4\) Tong-pao, July, 1904, p. 279.
\(^5\) Watters, "Yuan-Chwang," p. 270; and below, p. 129, l. 15.
\(^6\) Tong-pao, July, 1904, p. 276.
\(^7\) See above, note 3.
\(^8\) "Yuan-Chwang," i, pp. 274–275.
they call themselves. We shall name them, for the sake of convenience, the smaller and larger Vibhāsās. One of those described below (A) belongs to the former category, and two (B, C) to the latter.

A (the smaller).
Pi-p'o-sha-lun.¹
Vibhāsa(-śāstra).

Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1299.
Amount: 3 chapters; 42 sections; 14 fasciculi; 400 pages.
Author: Chia-chan-yen-tsū (Kātyāyanī-putra).²
Translator: Seng-chieh-p'o-tèng (probably Saṅgha-vartin)³ of Kipin (Kaśmirā), A.D. 383.

CONTENTS.

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

i. Introductory (序 阿毘淫).

ii. Small-chapter (小 章).
Sections 1–15: All categories about passions and things
connected with them, from 3 sāṁyojanas to 98 anuśayas.

iii. Great-chapter, explaining the Ten Gates (解 十 門 大 章).
Sections 16–42: All categories about matter and mind;
sphere of the activity of mind; 22 indriyas; 18 dhātus;
12 āyatanas; 5 skandhas; 6 dhātus; 4 āryasatyas;
4 dhyānas; 4 apramāṇas; 4 ārūpyas; 8 vimuktis;
8 jñānas; 3 samādhis; 4 births, etc.

¹ 緣 姑 沙 論.
² 維 布 延 子.
³ 僧 伽 殊 澤, Chiu. 衆 現, i.e. 'assembly-appearing.' This was
restored to Saṅghabhāti, but 'p'o' is often for 'var,' e.g. in varmā.

' 說 阿毘 淫 八 捷 度.
⁵ This may be something like 'culla-vagga' or 'culla-khaṇḍa.'
The venerable Vasumitra is often mentioned, but this does not mean that he is quoted in the text. It seems to have been the case that when opinions differed during the compilation Vasumitra, Pārśva, or other elders were referred to, and their opinions were recorded, mentioning them by name.

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

B (the larger).
A-p‘i-t’an-p‘i-p‘o-sha-lun.³
Abhidharma-vibhāṣā(-treatise).
Nanjio’s Catalogue, No. 1264.

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

Author: Chia-chan-yen-tsū (Kātyāyani-putra).⁴
Translators: Fen-t’o-p’o-mo (Buddhavarmā) and Tao-tai,⁵ a.d. 437–439 (or rather a.d. 425–427).⁶

¹ 阿毘呬羅國語說：善佐（苦也）；善佐（習也）；
陀破（盡也）；陀羅破（道也）：—此說苦邊.
Cf. above, p. 98.

² 摩舍，兜舍，僧舍摩，薩婆多，鞞梨羅，此說苦邊．Cf. above, p. 98.

³ 阿毗毘喩沙論.
⁴ See above, p. 125, note 2.

⁵ 北凉沙門浮陀跋摩共道泰譯.
⁶ See below, p. 128, l. 9.
CONTENTS.

i. Introductory (序品).

ii. Miscellaneous (雜犍度).

Section 1: Lokottaradharma-varga (世第一法品一).¹
Among those mentioned we find Vasumitra, P'o-t'an-tou (i.e. Bhadanta Buddhadeva), Ghosa, Parśva, Aniruddha, etc.

,, 2: Jñāna-varga (智品二).
,, 3: Pudgala-varga (人品三).
,, 4: Love (preman) and reverence (gaurava) (愛敬品四).
,, 5: Shamelessness (āhrīkya) and fearlessness of sinning (anapatrāpya) (无惭愧品五).
,, 6: Rūpa-varga (色品六).
,, 7: Anartha-varga (无義品七).
,, 8: Cetanā-varga (恩義品八).
Vakkula, Buddhadeva, etc., mentioned.²

iii. Saṃyojanas (使犍度).

Section 1: Akusala-varga (不善品一).
,, 2: Sakṛdāgami-varga (一行为品二).⁴
,, 3: Pudgala-varga (人品三).
,, 4: Ten Gates (十門品四).
Parśva, Mahākauṭṭhila, etc., are mentioned.

iv. Knowledge (智犍度).

Section 1: 8 mārgas (八道品一).
,, 2: Paracitta-jñāna (他心智二).
,, 3: Bhāvanā-jñāna (修智品三).⁵
,, 4: Samprayogas (associations) (相應品四).
(The end.)

¹ Mr. Wogihara tells me that 'lokottara' ought to be 'lokāgra,' the meaning being the same.
² 和須密, 婆檀頭, 瞑沙, 婆奢, 阿泥盧頭.
³ 婆物羅, 佛陀提婆.
⁴ But see Mr. Wogihara’s note, p. 89, n. 1.
⁵ Cf. Bhāvanā, p. 114, l. 11.
In a preface by Tao-yen \(^1\) it is said: "At a time more
than 600 years after the Buddha's death there were in
N. India 500 Arhats . . . who compiled the vibhāṣā in
order to suppress various opinions. A priest Tao-tai \(^2\) went
to the west of the Onion range, and obtained the Sanskrit
text in 100,000 verses.

"A Śramaṇa of India, Feu-t'ō-p'o-mo (Buddhavarma),
came to the territory of Liang (涼), and was ordered to
translate the text in the middle of the 4th moon, a.d. 425
(乙 丑), with the assistance of more than 300 men, Chi-sung,
Tao-lang, \(^3\) and others.

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

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

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\(^1\) 道 揚.

\(^2\) 道 泰，see Nanjio's Catal., p. 413, No. 71.

\(^3\) 智 崙 道 郎 等 三 百 餘 人.

\(^4\) 法 胜, Nanjio (Nos. 1294, 1288), puts 'Dharmajina?' but 'Dharmottara'
is a priest who founded a school called 'Ta-mo-yu-to-li' (Dharmottari), which
is translated 法 上 or 法 勝 (No. 1284). One text (No. 1294) says
法 中 勝, the 'best of the laws' (i.e. Dharmottara).

\(^5\) 阿 耻 尨 心 論, No. 1288. There is a chapter called Dhamma-

\(^6\) In fact, 82 fasciculi are entered in the Chinese collection.
Ganaho being lost altogether.” The three Ganaho agree on the whole with C.

C (the larger).
A-p'ï-ta-mo-ta-p'i-p'o-sha-hun.¹
(Abhidharma-large-vibhãsã-treatise.)
Abhidharma-mahāvibhãsã(-śâstra).
Nanjio’s Catalogue, No. 1263.
Amount: 8 groups (skandha); 43 sections (the last Gathã section of the Jñanaprasthãna being omitted in the Commentary); 200 fasciculi (chüan); 1,438,449 Chinese letters; 3,630 pages.
Authors: 500 great Arhats.
Translator: Huien-tsang, A.D. 656–659.
The Tib.-Chin. Catalogue, vol. ix, mentions this text as:—
Mo-ho-wei-p’o-sha-sha-hsi-tu-lo,² 400 years after the Buddha’s death.
Mahā-vibhãsã-śâstra.

CONTENTS OF THE MAHĀVIBHĀSA.

Introductory remarks, in which the tradition that Kātyāyaniputra compiled this work is discussed, and the names ‘Abhidharma’ and ‘Jñanaprasthāna’ are variously explained.

i. Miscellaneous group (雜 蓮 一).
8 sections (see the analysis of the Jñanaprasthāna).

ii. Samyojana-group (結 蓮 二).
4 sections.

iii. Knowledge-group (智 蓮 三).
5 sections.

5 sections.

v. Great Element-group (大 種 蓮 五).
4 sections.

¹ 阿毗達磨大毗婆沙論五百大阿羅漢造.
² Mahā-vibhãsã-śâstra, i.e. 麻訶外拔沙沙悉特羅.
vi. Organ-group (根 難 六).
   7 sections.

vii. Meditation-group (定 難 七).
   5 sections.

viii. View-group (見 難 八).
   5 sections.

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

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

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

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

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1 說 一切 有 部 發 智.

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

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

‘阿 毘 達 磨 諸 大 論 師，‘A-p’i-ta-mo-various great Doctors.’
were two bodies of such śāstrins, differing in their views from each other, and these are often referred to in the text, whenever differences occur as to their views, as ‘Kāśmira-śāstrins’ and ‘Gāndhāra-śāstrins.’ As for the Lokottara principles, the text cites the views of several schools and philosophers; among others I may mention here the following names: ‘Vibhajyavādins,’ ‘Sautrāntikas,’ ‘Dharmaguptas,’ ‘Vatsiputriyas,’ ‘Mahīśūsakas,’ those who hold the difference of Cetanā from Citta; ‘Dharmatāra (Dharmatrāta),’ ‘Buddhadeva,’ ‘Miao-yin (Ghoṣa),’ ‘Pārśva,’ ‘Vasumitra,’ ‘Kātyāyaniputra,’ etc. The books quoted in the text are also numerous, but I am rather afraid to state anything definitely until every page of the 200 fasciculi has been studied carefully.

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

Wu-shi-p’i-p’o-sha-lun.
Five-subjects-vibhāṣā-treatise.
Nanjio’s Catalogue, No. 1283.
Amount: 3 chapters; 2 fasciculi; 36 pages.
Author: The original ‘Wu-shi’ (Five-subjects, probably ‘Pañca-vastu’), by Vasumitra; the vibhāṣā commentary, by Dharmatāra (Dharmatrāta), who is said to be Vasumitra’s uncle.
Translator: Hiuen-tsong, A.D. 663.

CONTENTS.
1. Rūpa-vibhaṅga.
2. Citta-vibhaṅga.

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

\[1\] 哈濕彌羅國諸論師；健駄羅國諸論師.
\[2\] 分別論者，經部師，法密部，毘 Yönet部，化地部，思心差別論者，法救，覺天，妙音（‘Miao-yin’ means ‘excellent sound,’ Skt. Ghoṣa），脇，世友，迦多衍尼子．
II. ABHIDHARMA-KOŚA AND THE KĀRIKĀ.

By Vasubandhu.

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

A.

A-p'ī-ta-mo-chū-shē-shih-lun.²
(Abhidharma-kośa-explaining-treatise.)

Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1269.
Amount: 9 sections (p'in); 22 fasciculi (chüan); 613 pages (ye).
Author: P'o-su-p'ān-tou (Vasubandhu)³ (e. 420–500 A.D.).
Translator: Chén-ti (Paramārtha),⁴ A.D. 563–567.

B.

A-p'ī-ta-mo-chū-shē-lun.⁵
(Alternately, Abhidharma-kośa-treatise.)

Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1267.
Amount: 9 sections (p'in); 30 fasciculi (chüan); 559 pages (ye).
Author: The venerable Shi-ch'in (Vasubandhu).⁶

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

A-p'ī-ta-lo-mo-ko-sha-sha-hsi-tu-lo.⁷
(Alternately, Abhidharma-kośa-sāstra.)

---

² 阿毗達磨俱舍釋論.
³ 達摩般若論.
⁴ 陳三藏真議.
⁵ 阿毗達磨俱舍論.
⁶ 尊者世親.
⁷ 阿毗達磨摩戾沙沙悉特羅.
ABHIDHARMA-KOŚA.

C.

A-p'ī-ta-mo-chü-shē-lun-pang-sung.¹
(Abhidharma-kośa-treatise-original-verses.)
Abhidharmakośa-kārikā.
Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1270.
Amount: 602 verses; 8 sections (p'īn); 2 fasciculi (chüan);
53 pages (ye).
Author: The venerable Shi-ch'īn (Vasubandhu).
Translator: Hsiuen-tsang, A.D. 651.

The Tib.-Chin. Catalogue, vol. ix, gives the following name:—
A-p'ī-ta-lo-mo-ko-sha-chia-li-chia.²
(Abhidharmakośa-kārikā.)

CONTENTS OF THE ABHIDHARMAKOŚA.

2. ,, Indriyas (分 別 根 品 二). 74 verses.
4. ,, Karmans (分 別 業 品 四). 130 verses.
5. ,, Anuśayas (分 別 隨 眠 品 五).⁴ 69 verses.
6. ,, Āryapudgalas (分 別 聖 賢 品 六).⁵ 83 verses.
7. ,, Jñānas (分 別 智 品 七). 61 verses.
8. ,, Samādhis (分 別 定 品 八).⁶ 39 verses.
9. Refutation of Ātmavāda (破 我 执 品 九).

Yaśomitra's Abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā-sphuṭārtha gives the titles of the chapters as follows¹:—
1. Dhātu-nirdeśo nāma prathamaṁ Kośa-sthānam.
2. Indriya-nirdeśo nāma dvitiyaṁ Kośa-sthānam.

¹ 俱 舍 論 本 頭.
² 阿 毗 達 單 麼 哥 沙 迦 哩 嘎.
³ A, 世 間 品.
⁴ A, 惑 品.
⁵ A, 聖 道 果 人 品.
⁶ A, 三 摩 踐 提, 'San-mo-p'ō-ti,' which seems to be Skt. samāpatti,
'attainment,' but may be a mistake for 'samādhi.'
3. Tṛtiyāṁ Kośa-sthānam.
4. Caturthaṁ K.
5. Anuśaya-nirdeśo nāma pañcamāṁ K.
6. Sāsthaṁ K.
7. Saptamaṁ K.
8. Aṣṭamaṁ K.
9. Deest.

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

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

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

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

By Saṃghabhadra.

Paramārtha tells us ² that Saṃghabhadra, an opponent of Vasubandhu, compiled two sāstras in Ayodhyā, one, entitled

¹ Formerly Mr. Wogihara suggested, from an analogy, ‘pudgalābhvin veśa-pratiśeda.’
² My Life of Vasubandhu (Tong-pao, July, 1904), pp. 289–290.
the “Illustration of the Samaya,”¹ containing 10,000 ślokas, which merely explain the doctrines of the vibhāṣā, and the other bearing the name “Conformity to the Truth,”² in 120,000 ślokas. The latter, he continues, refutes the Kośa in favour of the vibhāṣā. Saṁghabhadra is said to have challenged Vasubandhu to a personal debate, which the latter did not accept.

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

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

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

¹ 光三摩耶論. ‘Samaya’ means ‘doctrines.’ ‘Illustration’ or ‘exposition’ may be ‘pradipikā’ or ‘dīpikā.’
² 随實論. This is ‘nyāyānusāra.’
³ Watters, “Yuan-Chwang,” i, pp. 325–327.
⁴ 偶舍電論. This may be Skt. ‘Kośa-karakā’ as Julien supposed.
⁵ This story cannot be accepted because the author himself says that he called it ‘nyāyānusāra.’ See below, p. 137.
⁶ See my Life of Vasubandhu (Tong-pao, July, 1904), pp. 287–288.
views of his school. A comparison of the two rival philosophies of the Neo-vaibhāṣika period would be extremely interesting. But it is impossible for us to attempt anything of the sort in the present paper.

A.

A-p‘i-ta-mo-shun-chêng-li-lun.¹
(Abhidharma-conforming-right-principle-treatise.)
Abhidharma-nyāyānusāra.
Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1265.

Amount: 8 sections (p‘in); 80 fasciculi (chüan); 1,751 pages (ye).
Author: The venerable Chung-hsien (Saṁghabhadra).²

The Tib.-Chin. Catalogue, vol. ix, gives the following name:—
Ni-ya-ya-a-nu-sā-lo-sha-hsi-tu-lo.³
Nyāya-anusāra-śāstra.

Paramārtha gives the name of the author as:—
Seng-chiew-p‘o-to-lo.⁴
Saṁgha-bhadra.

CONTENTS OF THE NYĀYĀNUSĀRA.

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

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

¹ 阿毗達磨順正理論.
² 尊者般賢.
³ 儡牙壓阿耨薩羅沙悉特羅.
⁴ 僧伽絳陀羅.
The Saṅgītiparyāya, Dharmaskandha, and Prajñāaptipāda are mentioned in ch. 1 as Mo-ta-li-chia (Mātrikās). The Theravādins are often quoted and refuted, at least nine times. The Kāśmīra-vaiabhāṣīkas and Vaibhāṣīkas are referred to twice or thrice. Among the other works or schools quoted we find the Prakaraṇapāda (often), Vijñānakāyapāda, Jñānaprasthāna, and Prajñāaptipāda; the Sautrāntikas, Vibhajyavādas, Yogācāryas, etc.

B.

A-pta-mo-hsien-tsun-lun.¹

(Abhidharma-illustrating-doctrine-treatise.)

Abhidharma-samaya-pradīpika.²

Nanjio’s Catalogue, No. 1266.

Amount: 9 sections (p'ìn); 40 fasciculi (ch'ian); 749 pages (yē).

Author: The venerable Chung-hsien (Saṁghabhadrā).³


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

A-pta-lo-mo p’ti-lo-chia-lo-mo (?)-sha-sa-na-sha-hsi-tu-lo.⁴

Abhidharma-prakaraṇa-sāsana-sāstra.⁵

CONTENTS OF THE SAMAYAPRADĪPIKĀ.

1. Introductory (序 品 一).

Preliminary remarks about the doctrine, in which Saṁghabhadrā says: “I have already written a treatise and called it ‘Shun-chéng-li,’ ‘Conformity to the Truth’ (Nyāyā-nusāra). Those who are fond of philosophical speculation have to study it. With the phrases and sentences so

¹ 阿毗達磨顯宗論.
² Pradīpika’ is our conjecture; it may be some such word of like meaning.
³ See note 4, p. 136.
⁴ 阿毗達磨毗曇迦羅曇麻 (?) 沙羅拿沙悉特羅.
⁵ This is, it will be noticed, the authority for Nanjio’s restoration. If this were ‘sāsanaprakaraṇa’ it would be an appropriate title. But as Paramārtha gives the name ‘san-mo-yē (samaya) exposition,’ we have to reject the restoration of the Tib.-Chin. authorities.
detailed and elaborate, a research into it is a matter of difficulty. One will not be able to understand it unless one works hard. In order to make it easy to be understood by curtailling the elaborate composition, I again compiled an abridged treatise and called it 'Hsien-tsung,' 'Exposition of the Doctrine' (Samaya-pradipika). I embellished and preserved his verses (Vasubandhu's Kārikā), and regarded them as the source of reference.

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

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

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

¹巴説論名順正理，樂思擇者所應學，文句述演隔難尋，非少劬勞所能解，爲攝廣文令易了，故造略論名顯宗，飾存彼頌以為歸，剛順理中廣決擇，對彼證言申正釋，顯此所宗真妙義。

²非唯執教所堪能，應亦樞心於正理，故順佛言正理論，及順正理阿笈摩。He is here paraphrasing the name of his larger work, i.e. 'nyāyānusāra' or 'satyānusāra.'
At the end of each of fasciculi 11–20 and 31–40 it is stated that this text belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school.

Among the authorities quoted there are Kāśmira-vaihbāśikas (fasc. 21, 36, 40), Kāśmiras, Vinaya-vaihbāśikas, Yogācāryas; the Abhidharmakośa, Dharmaskandha, Prajñāapti-pāda, the larger text Nyāyānusūra itself, etc.

6. **Some other Books of Importance belonging to the Sarvāstivādin School (Appendix).**

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

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

I.

A-p'itamo Kan-lu-mi-lun.¹


Abhidharma-amṛta(-śāstra).

Nanjio’s Catalogue, No. 1278.

Amount: 16 sections; 2 fasciculi; 55 pages.

Author: Ch'ü-sha (Ghoṣa).³

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

**CONTENTS.**

1. Dāna and śīla (布施 持戒 品一).
2. Forms of birth (界道 品二).
3. Beings that live on food (住食 生品三).

¹ 阿毗達磨甘露味論.
² 阿毗達磨阿毗頴力沙悉特羅.
³ 瞑沙. A colophon at the end gives this name. The Mahāvibhāṣā quotes him, see above, p. 127, line 6; p. 131, line 10.
4. Karmans (業品四).
5. Skandhas (陰持入品五).
7. Causes (因緣種品七).
8. Pure indriyas (淨根品八).
10. Anāsravas (無漏入品十).
11. Knowledge (智品十一).
12. Dhyānas (禪定品十二).
15. Four āryasatyas (四諦品十五).
16. Miscellaneous (雜品十六).

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

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

II.

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

A-p'i-ta-lo-mo ha-la-ta-ya\(^2\) (Tib.-Chin.).

Abhidharma-ḥṛdaya.

Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1288.

Amount: 10 sections; 4 fasciculi; 96 pages.

Author: Fa-shéng (Dharmottara).\(^3\)

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

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\(^1\) See his Buddhismus, p. 116 (German).

\(^2\) 阿毗跋心論, 阿毗達羅摩呵咄忸牙.

\(^3\) 法勝, 'Law-superior' (not Dharmajina, but) Dharmottara; he is the originator of the Dharmottari school (法上, 法勝, or 達麻罽多梨). See p. 128, note 4.
OTHER SARVĀSTIVĀDIN BOOKS.

B.  *Fu-shêng A-p'î-t'an-sin-lun.*
Dharmottara Abhidharma-hṛdaya(-śāstra).
Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1294.

Amount: 10 sections; 6 fasciculi; 139 pages.
Author: Yu-po-shen-to (Upaśānta).

This is a commentary on A.

C.  *Tsa-a-p'î-t'an-sin-lun.*
Miscellaneous Abhidharma-hṛdaya(-śāstra).
Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1287.

Amount: 11 sections; 16 fasciculi; 362 pages.
Author: *Fa-kiu* (Dharmatāra or Dharmatrūta), ³ said to be an uncle of Vasumitra.
Translator: Seng-chie-p'o-mo (Saṁghavarmā), a.d. 434.

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

CONTENTS.

1. Introductory (序 品 一).
2. Dhātu (心 界 品 二).
3. Sainskāra (行 品 三).
5. Anuśaya (使 品 五).
6. Āryapudgalā (賢 聖 品 六).
7. Knowledge (智 品 七).
8. Samādhi (定 品 八).

¹ 法勝阿毗呾髻心論.
² 雜阿毗呾髻心論.
³ 法敎, ‘Law-deliverer.’ Dharmatrūta (Nanjio), but it may be Dharmatāra. The name ‘Ta-mo-to-lo’ (達 麻 多 羅) is given in the introductory chapter.
10. Miscellaneous (雜品十).

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

C.

11. Conclusion (揵 品 十一).

Deest.

A.

Discussions (論 品 十).

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

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

III.

Li-shih-a-p‘i-t’an-lun.

(Construction-world-abhidharma-treatise.)

Loka-prajñānapti-abhidharma(-śāstra).³

Nanjio’s Catalogue, No. 1297.

Amount: 25 sections; 10 fasciculi; 200 pages.

Author: Author’s name unknown.


CONTENTS.

1. Motion of the earth (地動品一).
2. Jambudvīpa (南 閣 汀 提 品 二).
3. Six great countries (六大國品三).
4. Yakṣas (夜 叉 神 品 四).
5. Lu-ja-gi-li (Rājagiri) elephant (濕 鬱 晰 利 象 王 品 五).
6. Four continents around the Sumeru (四 天 下 品 六).

¹ 慧 愷. See his preface to the Abhidharmakośa (No. 1269).
² See above, p. 128, l. 17.
³ 立 世 阿 水 晉 講, ‘L-i-shih,’ is ‘Loka-prajñānapti’ (not ‘Loka-sthiti). 此 設, ‘Shi-shè’ is practically the same as 立, ‘Li,’ both meaning ‘constructing’ or ‘establishing.’
7. Measure of time and size (數量品七).
8. Heavens (天住處品八).
9-17. The Sudarśana; the regions around the heavenly capital, i.e. Trayāstrimśat, Dṛṛtarāṣṭra, Virūḍhaka, Virūpakṣa, Vaśravaṇa, etc.; description of the gardens belonging to them, etc.¹
18. The battle of Indra and Asura (天非天鬪品十八).
19. Motion of the sun and the moon (日月行品十九).
20. How day and night divided (云何品卅).
22. Longevity (壽量品卅二).
23. Hells (地獄品卅三).
24. Three lesser calamities of the world (小三災品卅四).
25. Three greater calamities (大三災品卅五).

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

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

IV.
Ju-a-p’i-ta-mo-lun.³
Introduction to the Abhidharma.
Nanjio’s Catalogue, No. 1291.

¹ 初利天歡喜園, 衆車園, 惡口園雜園, 波利夜多園; 提頭臨咤 (E.), 易留勒叉 (S.), 易留博叉 (W.), 易沙門 (N.).
² See above, p. 77, note.
³ 入阿毗達磨論.
Amount: 2 fasciculi; 34 pages.
Author: Sa-kan-ti-la.¹

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

V.
Shē-li-pu-a-p’i-t’an-lun.²
Śāriputra-abhidharma-treatise.
Nanjio’s Catalogue, No. 1268.
Amount: 4 divisions; 33 chapters (varga); 30 fasciculi; 620 pages.
Author: Śāriputra.

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

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

VI.
Sui-siang-lun.³
Lakṣaṇānusāra (-śāstra).
Nanjio’s Catalogue, No. 1280.

¹ 索 (塞) 建地羅, ‘Sa-kan-ti-la.’ Julien and Watters (i, p. 280) think that this name represents ‘Skandhila,’ while Nanjio restores it to ‘Sugandhara.’ See No. 1291.
² 索利弗阿毗曇論.
³ 隨相論.
CONCLUSION.

Amount: 2 fasciculi; 41 pages.
Author: Guṇamati.¹
Translator: Paramārtha, A.D. 557–569.

This treat of 12 nidānas and 4 ārasatyas. It quotes the Vibhāṣā-masters, and mentions Vasubandhu by name. Vatsīputriya, Jaina, Sammitiya, Ulūka, and other teachers are referred to.

7. Conclusion.

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

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

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

¹ This may be Guṇamati, the author of a commentary on the Abhidharma-kośa (see above, p. 120, n. 3), who is very likely the pupil of Vasubandhu of that name.
² See above, p. 71, note 4.
³ According to I-tsing, who is a Sarvāstivādin, what constitutes the difference between Mahāyāna and Hinayāna is the worship of a Bodhisattva. The name Bodhisattva, indeed, is not found in any of the books. His "Record," pp. 14–15.
true to their traditional doctrine of Sarvāstivāda,¹ and served as a stepping-stone, as it were, between the original form of Buddhism and the later developed system of it.² When their literature, now presented in an analysed form, becomes completely accessible in a European language, several gaps in the history of Buddhist India will, I think, be filled up, and the growth and decay of religious ideas of the Buddhists be made more intelligible to us. With this hope for the future I may now be allowed to conclude my present paper, unworthy and imperfect though it is. My examination of the Abhidharma works is by no means exhaustive, nor is it uniform as regards the method of carrying it out. My perusal could only be cursory, and consequently my translations are often tentative. It would have been next to impossible for me to produce my paper, even in its present shape, had it not been for the valuable help of Mr. Wogihara, who is well versed in this field of Buddhist literature. His remarks, as seen in the notes, reflect a careful study of some important texts, the Bodhisattvabhūmi, the Abhidharmakośa, and the like.

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

¹ The two schools which constituted the Mahāyānists of the seventh century were the Śūnyavāda (Mādhyaṃka) and the Viśñavāda (Yogācārya). My I-tsing’s Record, pp. xii, 15.
² Aśvaghōsa, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, etc., originally Sarvāstivādins, eventually became Mahāyānists.
NOTES FOR AN EDITION OF THE 'PETAVATTHU'
(P.T.S., 1889)

BY EDMUND HARDY

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

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

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

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

I. 1, P. adds to the title o’pathamam.—I. 2, o’dutiyaṃ.
I. 2, 2b, pesukiyena; at the end: o’tatiyaṃ.
I. 4, 2c, P. has te c’eva.—3b, petānam (in the same
verse, recurring in I. 5, 10b, it has petassa); ūṇatākā.—At the end: catuttthām.

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

I. 6, 1b, agrees with I. 7, 1b of the published text.—2a, petalokām.—9a, sacetam pakalaṃ; b, kammassā vipakaṃ (also in the repetition of this verse I. 7, 10b; cf. also II. 3, 3b), whereas, of course, kammassā alone, as in B, is wrong.—Again at the end: ʿchaṭṭhamāṇaṃ.

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

I. 8, 1b, gatasantaṃ.—2b, va (instead of ca); yathā añaṃva.—3a, idāṃ (instead of imaṃ).—4b, tvam eva dummedhoṭi.—5a, ’va (as the Ed.), and not vā (as B. has).—7b, kedāmī, but evidently a blunder.— ʿatthamamāṇaṃ.

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

I. 10, 1a, n’upani°; b, omits tvam.—3a, handvatariyam dadāmi te idāṃ . . . nivāsiya; b, idāṃ dūssaṃ . . . ehi.—4a, hattenā hattam.—5a, ādissam; b, tathāhaṃ.—6a, vilimpetvāna.—7a, ṭaravākhanuddittthe . . . udapajjatha; b, echadhanaṃ paṇiṇyaṃ.—9a, pabhāsati (instead of ca°).—Khallātiyapetavathudasamaṇaṃ.

I. 11, 2a, tumhe phere mugga°.—3a, omits ’va; b adds ’va after so; jettho and datvā.—5b, Kaniṭṭhatā.—6e, bhinnno (varying from B.).—8b, pivitvā and na ruccār°.—9a, adāyakā.—10b, dukkhindriyani; ʿphalānī, also ittaram (twice in this and in the next pāda), both cases differing from B.— ʿekādasamaṇaṃ.

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

II. 1, 4, pitā ca.—5c, om. ’va, but the metre requires eleven syllables, and therefore also in the next line the reading namedam, which B. and P. have, is better than mama yidaṃ, which Ed. prefers.—8b, ʿtaram.—9a (cf. also
II. 3, 28, b) occhādamam pān.—12a, kim makāsi, but in the same verse II. 3, 32a, akāsi.—13b, om. tvām.—18b, omits tam before and adds ca after parid.—20a, ca after suppat. has been struck out in P.—21a, akutobhayam, lokā.—patthamān.

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

II. 3, 1a, ocandhatā (cf. also 24a).—5b, kuṭṭhatā in accordance with the Ed., but 8b P. has kuṭṭhatā, as we read both here and before in B.—10b, (cf. also 12a; 15a; 17b) saccaṃ.—11a, jāmamānīya.—13b sasāmini no ca kho, tam.—14a, tyājan.—21a, usu, as the Ed. has, and not with B.—22a, ceva, instead of āsūm; nāni ca.—22b, pari-cārenti.—23a, chiti, as the Ed.—25a, damhi ki vātha.—26a, puggale.—27a, vāttha.—29b, sapatiḥ (and 33a, sapati). The verses repeated here show the same readings as their pattern has.—38a, ahu.—tatiyaṃ.

II. 44, 2 (cf. 17a), Nandisena.—5b, neyyāmi.—6b, sūkṣaro.—8a, mama.—9a, om. tato; patisutvā; akari (C, a MS. of Minayeff's Collection, has akāri).—17a, aku.—18a, dinne na dānena.—19a, Khemān (instead of thānān); b, datvā.—20b, anindito.—catutthamān.

II. 5, P. gives in full this piece, which is also to be found in the Paramatthadipani (Commentary on the Theragāthā) and in the Vimānavatthu (P.T.S., 1886, pp. 75 sqq.). Its readings vary sometimes much from those of the text of the latter, edited by Gooneratne, whose division of the verses I adhere to only for convenience's sake.—1a, Matṭhakunda; b, malyadhari.—2c, tassā; d, om. dukkhena, and reads jāhāmi jivitaṃ.—3b, lohamayaḥ; c, ācikkham etāṃ; d, cakkhaḥ yugam patipādayāmi te.—4b, canda-sūriya ubhayatta bhataro; c, vēhāyasangamo suṇāṇam ayoratho mama.—5a, 'si; b, yāṃ tam pattayasi; d, n'eva; om. tvām; sūriye.—6a, gomanaṃ pi padissati; b, vidhiya; c, kalaṅkato.—7a, vādasi; c, gudām; d, kālakatasi pattahayam.—The following verses (8, 9, 10) repeat those of P. V., II. 6, 16-18, or vice versa, but our MS. has just the same readings as Gooneratne's edition of the V.V.
the last word of v. 10 being māṇava (instead of bhāsitam in II. 6, 18 of the Ed. of the P.V.).—11, pūrindo.—12a, yañ ca rodasi yañ ca kandasi; c, karitvāna.—13a, dassāma; c, om. vā.—14c, tinnakankham.—15a, pamud.; c, svāham.—16a, vajāmi; d, odiyassu.—17c, ma ca.—18a, omāsi twice; b, tvam asi.—19a, saranaṃ before buddham.

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

II. 7, 1a, sandhato.—4a, Dhamānaṃ.—6b, yācakānad-dasum.—9c, yato (instead of tato).—10a, panavāniyam.—13a, 'tiss' aham, not 'ssaham, as in B.—15b, phalupā-passa; aham bhūsam.—17b, palāyataṃ.—18a, pacarika.—19, om.—pālasethipetavatthussattamāṃ.

II. 8, 1b, tvam (instead of tam); °nema.—2a, adhako ahu dinno.—3, sakīncakkahhetu.—4b, parivisayanti; aham.—5a, om. tava; P. also has hi, not pi (reading of B.).—7a, api; b, tvam (instead of tam).—8a, rāja; ca (instead of pi).—9b, aroceti; adds tassa ca after tathāg; has dakkhiṇam.—10b, attisamāsadasa.—11a, mahārubh°; b, datvā; d, sāmi (instead of yām).—Cullaseththipetavatthu-aththamāṃ.

II. 9, 1b, nayāmase.—3b, bhūjeyya.—4a, chākhaya, but 5a and so on it has the correct reading.—6b, abbhūyya; tādiso.—7a, pi (instead of hi); as for the rest, it confirms the reading yattha of the Ed.—11a, om. vā after devena.—12b (cf. also 13a) Pūrindadām.—16a, nives°.—18a, in it P. also has tattha; gacchāma; bhaddante (instead bhaddam vo).—19a, bhaddo vo; b, padiyyati, and then P. continues: asayhassa nivesanam vo na pāni kāmadado.—22b, disita.—23b, Aseyho.—25b, om. tam.—26a, dassa-mannañ ca paññañ ca.—31a, pūrīsa; b, tam (instead of tvam).—37a, paridadhisattā; b, yojantu.—38b, P. has su with the Ed. (against 13), and at the end of the line; sudā paṭava.—39b, Śinduka (cf. also 40b).—41a, ca (instead of ce).—42a, ca; b, sūriy 'uggamanam.—43b, dadato ca me na; c, etam.—44a, sampavacche; b, abhi°.—46a, bhajeyyum; b, ninnam; paripūr°.—49a, pasādaye; b, yaññassa (instead of puññassa).—51a, om. jāna.—52b, palentī.—55a, khattiyo; b adds va after sah°.—56a adds ca after
bahi.—57b, so hitvā manussaṃ (cf. also 58b).—60b, adhipac.—61, P. om. this couple of verses.—65b, om. ca; sambuddhassa.—66b, abbrevi (cf. also 68a; 12, 14c, and throughout).—67b, santike.—70b, om. na between vip. and phalam (cf. also 71b).—71b, nāpi (instead of na hi); dayakaṃ.—72a puts bijam after appan; b, samādhāriṇī; pavacchante; kassakaṃ.—74b, dārakā.—75a, vppasaṭṭhaṇī. —navamaṃ.

II. 10, 2a, P. has atuditha (or perhaps atudiyā) which appears to be a mere blunder; bhumaṅvā; 2b, abbrevi.—8b, pana pāṇīyaṃ.—8b, pavacchasi.—9b, Uttraṃ.—9c, kammassa vip.—dasamaṃ.

II. 11, 1b, upasaṅkama, yaṅcatō.—2d, bahuvittī ca.—3c, punadeva (cf. also 5c); puṇñāni before kah.—(cf. also 5d); d, naye' yyaputta (cf. also 5d).—4c, ca nāt; d, gatvāna . . . karissati.—6b, om. punar eva.—ekadasamaṃ.

II. 12, 1a, sandhatā; b, sogandhiya.—4a, dijakokinnā.—6a, abhanti.—8a, kadaliyas; b, tuvaṃ, as the Ed. has, not tvāṃ as in B.—9a, te sampattā addhā.—10b, om. ca.—11a, khāditā.—14b, tass' ahaṃ.—17a, ayaṃ me.—18a, sattevassā; b adds 'yaṃ after kaṃa.—19a, bahu-kāro.—20a, tāhaṃ; p' añj.—dvadasamaṃ.

II. 13, 1b, om. taddā.—3a, caranomuni; b, te ca tattha.—11a, atume, not ahu me, as in B.—17a, pabbajjitā santā; b, abhavesi.—18b, Uruvelā.—terasamaṃ.—Here follows in P.: Udānaṃ: paṇha (1), mātā ca (2), Tissā (sic), ca (3), Nandā (4), kundalino (5), Ghato (6), dve sethi (sic, 7, 8), tumavāyo ca (9), vihāra (10), sutt (11), sopāna (12), Umbatti (13). Umbarivaggo dutiya.

III. 1, 2b, Baraṇasiyaṃ.—5a (cf. also 18a), bhārī.—7a, petā (instead of eke); va (instead of ca).—8a, te ca; pātisusamita.—9a, gharani kula.—10a, avakirati.—11b, pindī; paribhāṣitā.—13a, karā; kappaka (instead of nahaminī).—15a, va (instead of ca).—17a, gosakathate.—18b, dhaiyo (instead of jatiyo).—20b, iddh eva ca.—pathamaṃ.

III. 2, 3a, sūcikanda.—5a, tam manasikatvā.—7b, ottassanta mahattāsa; dessanti.—12b, tarā anud (cf. also 17a; 26a).—15a, nantakā (instead of tantake).—16a, mātu pitu.—17b, therassuddissayiya thunnam.—18a, P. omits the first three words.—19e, gehe.—21b, udapajjatha.—22a, nivesāna ca.—29a, sadisā.—24a, pāṇiyaṃ.—26b, raññā sumāpitā.—27a, setudakā.—28a, nthavā; adds ca after piv.—30c, sukhino.—Sānavassī dutyaya.

III. 3, 2a, kanaka sanni; d adds ca before tuyhaṃ.
3b, pahutamalyā.—4a, ci me dassaniyā; c, vaggu upana-
danti.—6c, icihāma tam and om. te.—7b, natañ ca hotum. —c, vedaniyām (instead of modaniyam).—8b, sahived.—
Rathakāra tatiyaṃ, bhāṇavāraṃ catman.

III. 4, 1a, eko sāli punāpara—2e, vañcesi.—3b, sab-
baku°; c, parigihāmi; d, ito (instead of gehe); e, santin. —4a, kamma vip.°—5a, avañjani.—°catuttham.

III. 5, 1cd, loka (instead of h'ke).—2b, na podhayay-
yum; °puññat°.°—c, h'massa.—5a, viya pavedh.°— b, jivithayavasesam; c, devamanussehi puj.°; d, ca (instead of va).—7a, om. bhikkhu.—8a, om. paṭi before vinod.°— b, °laddham; d, om. so.—°pañcamaṇi.

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

III. 7, 8a, °sattesu; b, asaṇñato (cf. also 8, 4 b).— 
5b, paec; viramā.—6b, ciraṃ pāpa.°—7b, sañyadhama. 
—8a, hanitvā; rattahosi; b, paricāremi.—10a, satathān.°— 
°sattamaṇi.

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

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

III. 10, 1a, P. has vāyasi, as we read in the Ed., and 
not vāyati, as in B.—2b, okkantanti (instead of urena 
k.°; c, khārena (also here not as B., which has kārena.— 
5a adds ca after bhariya.—6b, upapaccatta°.—7a, pac-
hāpi niraye.—8a, ne tato; b, ārantiyo; mālabbāri.—9a, 
yasassiyo.—10b, so hi nuna.—°dassaman.—P. continues
as follows: udānāṃ: abhijjāmāno (1), koṇḍañño (sic! 2), rathākāri (3), bhūsena ca (4), kumāro (5), gañako ca (6), dve luddha (7, 8), piṭhi (9), pūja (10), so vaggio tena pavuccati lūlavaggo tatiyo.

IV. 1, 2a, seyyā; c, "vattubhogo; d, pi imassa.—6c, tena.—7d, om. raja.—8a, esa.—10d, kato; uparodho.—11a, añcito; c, mam no ce; d, pucehāma tam (differs from the Ed. and B.).—12a, paṭīññāta me taṃ tadā ahu; b, ācikkh.°—13a, passāmi; c, va taṃ; d, nīyasa.—14d, asutañ cāpi.—15a, sabbāpi pi.—16d, gahetvā.—19a, niccañ pas.°—22a, va (instead of ca).—25d, ṣhayye ca taṃ.—27a, kareyyum.—29c, om. va; paricār.°; d, dvayaṃ tam.—30b, adiseyo; d, °rācavutti.—31c, om. yatva; d, sonomi.—33b, ca (instead of cāpi).—35a, appaññato; ṣbhūtā.—36c, parigg.°—37d, vinodayeyya me.—38c, P. has dhammakathan (against B.).—40b, va (instead of vo).—41a, ti (instead of hi).—42b, nhatvā ca.—45a has bhante (instead of subhāni).—47b, phāliyanti; c, pabhajita.—48d, asaṅyuto tuvaṃ.—53a, addhāhi.—54c, ca tāni casuṃ (instead of pattāni vāsu); d, passatha.—55a, sāravillām.—56b, ca (instead of 'va').—57c, deyyam.—58b agrees with the Ed. (against B.); c, disvā'haṃ (instead of svāham); ca (instead of 'va').—59a, va (instead of ca); b, devata ma.—65e, P. om. this verse.—68c, mācarissami.—69c, pajanāti.—71b, P. with the Ed. and against B.—72 shows the same readings as 67cd; 68ab, besides d luddha°.—75b, sakkaccaṃ.—78d, hoti, not homi, as B. has.—79a, ariyam before ath.° (cf. also 85a).—81 is somewhat in disorder in our MS. After ujjuhūtesu it reads immediately sada puññaṃ pavaddhati, and then continues bhikkhū.—82a, dhammāni; b, sakkaṃ; c, om. va before tamha.—87c, adds ca after kārakaro; d, sakkaṃ.—88a, sulavutako ca; adds bhikkhuṇī ca after upāgami; b, ajjhatū.—89c, aphussayi.—103pattahamaṃ.

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

1a, sunātha yakkhaśa vāniṣṭānaṃ ca; c, yassa katoṃ; d, vācā (instead of tañ ca); sagge (instead of sabbe).—2a, om. ca; b, bhūmāhaṃ sahaṃ gato; c, ca (instead of va).—3a, vaṅge; c, suduggamme vāñnapathassa; d, saṅkabbhayā.—4b, idha bhikkhāṃ; c, vālikāhi
and omits ca.—5a, iva; b, paraloko na; d, abhittarūpo.—6a, kenu na; b, kim āsi samānā; hi after padesāṃ; c, samaccāṃ; d, lobhavasāna; sampamūṭṭhā.—7b, āroṣiyitvā.—8a, anadhivāsayanto; b, sameccamānā; c, ahāma sagge.—9a, araddhamaggo; c, sudukkame vaṇṇapathassā.—10c, jivitam ānasamanā.—11a, samuddā ca; vaṇṇaṃ; b, cittacaraṃ saṅkupū.° c, nadim yo ca pana.—12a, pakkhanti yā pi vippadesa; b, manuso; pakkhanā; c, yaṇ te sutam vaṇ atha.°—d, taṃ te sun.°—13a, ito iccherakantam; d, manomavaṇṇam.—14a, vohārasam; °rañña; b, b(p)ahutam alyā; c, c’ime nicca.°—d, pavayati.—15b, sīyatataṃṣā; e, masarākallā; om. saha; lohitakā; d, ima.—16c, tadanantarim (cf. also 18a); vedamissam.—17c, om. ca before sus.°—d, manuso (instead of manuñño).—18a, annapaṇi; e, samdūttho; d, abhavantito.—19a, modati; b, varo; c, °pānā; °d, valilā.—20a, uda p’āsi yakkho; d, tuvi si yakkha.—21a, serisake; b, kaṇḍariyo.—22b, ucāhu; d, anuññaṃ.—23d, purasahi (cf. also 28d).—25b, rājjhe; c, kadittha.—26b, citrakati.—27a, suṇikatvāna; c, amajjapā.—30a, °parideve.—31a, māṇo (instead of jano); b, bhutte kalinām kato ca; d, apaccayogo nu kho.—32b, om. ca after dibbā; surabhisi; pavayanti; c, tesam pavāy.°—imaṃ; d, om. tamaṃ; nihantvā.—33b, sipati.—34b, vimāne nālataṃ; d, pamuṣcito ’smi.—35c, ca and not cāpi; uttaram upapannāse; d, tena nuna.—36a, anucchariṅkam; c, tumbe ca; om. kho; °nuputtaṃ.—37a, °suvira.°—b, udayaṃ pattapamanā.—38a, mā c’evaṃ serisaṃ aham; b, te (instead of vo); d, °hātham.—39c, supesolo; d, matimā.—40b, pi na; c, veratiyaṃ pisuṇaṃ.—42a, om. hi; c, kho (instead of yo).—43a, avaṅko.—44a, kārana; attano; b, om. maṃ; vaṇaso (instead of vanijā se); c, om. hi and reads kāsmā labetha; e, lahuppanno.—45c, dajjakamamha.—46b, kocchaphalupajivi; c, vijānātha; om. naṃ; pesiyo so; d, om. naṃ.—47a, janāma seyya tvam; b, nijanāmase ediso ti; c, na (instead of nam); 48a, satte; b, dāhara maṃ hantvā; c, āruhanti; d, phalakadariya.—49b, °kkhetvā; c, abhiruhiṃsu; d, sakkasaram.—50b, paṭidesayisu; c, paṭivirata; e, musā bhaṇi.—51a, ayam (instead of aham); c, satto (instead of satthe).—52a, katvāna; °suvira.°; b, uddayam; d, °gamisum.—53b, saṅgamibhāto; c, ānandacitto; d, uḷaḥyaṃ.—54b, °gunāṇaṃ.—°duṭiyam.

IV. 3, 3a, amanteyi; b, sovatthiko, as in the Ed.—5a, soraṭṭham; abravi (cf. also 7b, 15c, 17b).—6a, dis-
sati (instead of padissati).—10a, caturodisā; b, rukkham before nigr.⁰ and om. ramanīyaṁ.—11a, sirinnibhaṁ (cf. also 11c, 12b, 13b).—12a, om. so before nigr.⁰—13a, brahma.—15a, paniyakaṇṇaḥ; b adds ca after puriso.—17b, adds arindamo tattha nhatvā piviṭvā ca after khaḍītvā; sorrāṭhā.―18b, ajananta.—20a, aham (instead of tuvaṁ).—23b, antaraẏā karom’ aham.—25a, yikā; b, phalaṁ.—26b, labheyyaṁ.—27b, om. pi.—28a, chindate siraṁ.―29b, yojanānaṁ.—30b, ca (instead of pi); nibbedhentā.—31b, ca (instead of pi).—32b, ca (instead of pi).—37a, tiṭṭhasi; b, vassinaṁ satasahassāni suyyati (om. ghoso); e, ditthi ca.—38a, vaddhana (cf. also 44a).—39a, sile up.; b, vitam acchara.—40a, sikkhayā.—41a, bhikkhi; b, okkita.⁰—42b, paniya.—43a, kālāṅkato; b, tarā anuddiṭhe; udap.⁰.—44a, kāme kāmāṇi; vassavanṇo.—46b and 48a here quite conform with 45b.—51e, amajjapā; d adds ca after dārena. (A marginal note in P. adds after 51 a repetition of vv. 49, 50, 51.)—52a, siṅghagā; b, viramāni.—53a, sovaṭṭho; b, aruhiti.—54tiyām.

IV. 4, P. gives in full this piece, which I compare with the text of the V.V. just in the same manner as before. The first four lines, however (numbered v. 1 and v. 2 in the V.V., p. 49), are wanting in P.—3b, apāruda-vāre; c, adds na before taṁ; phunanti.—4b, om. te; bruhantā; c, Revati; e, yisu.—6a, sāralittām; c, kim dissantī sūriyazimāṇavaṇṇa.—7b, vadaṇṇa; c, tass’ evam; d, sūriya rantsi ‘va jota.⁰.—8b, vimāna upasoyanti; d, pattā.—9d, nirayaṁ dass.⁰.—10a, eso te nirayo dhammo; c, nāsatho (instead of rosako); d, saggam agānaṁ.—12a, nirayo (instead of gambhīro; cf. also 15a).—13b inserts nirayo before gambhīro.—14a, dāraṇe.―15b, satasahas-sāni vuvām paccaṭi.—16c, samacca; d, saṅgamu.—18a, paridevati; b, bhossati.—19c, dañḍo sudad.⁰.—20a, macchari ros.⁰.—21b, dāne.—22a, dārāmiṇī; dugghe; b, udapadaṁ ca.—23a, va (instead of ca); b, pathāriyaṁ pakkaṇaḥ ca attiḥaṅgaṁ su.⁰.—25a, vilappanti naṁ; b, uddhaṁ paḍaṁ avisirāṁ.—26b, paribhasikā; d, gacchāmaṇaḥ.—petavatthuṁ catutthamān.

IV. 5, 2c, chinitukāmo, but appears to be a later emendation.—4a, kilanto; d, ucchūṁ pari.⁰.—5d, vijana.—6a, ucchūṁ; b, anvagacche.—8d, om. ca after udaggo.

—pañcamaṁ.

IV. 6, 1b, om. ca.—2b, pacchappanna.—3a, va (instead
of ca); b has 'dha as the Ed., but omits na; dissantā.—4b, attānam sotti kātuṇa parittam.—5a, yan no rājakulā cutā; b, vit vivisayam.—7b, issayamadām.—2 chaṭṭham.

IV. 7, 2b, parecaritvā.—4a, bravi.—7b, "gacchittha.—8b, pādā.—" sattamaṃ.

IV. 8, 1a, om. si.—4a, issukim.—5b, kammassa vip.°—6b, pacca.—7b, parivis.°; paricārīko.—" atṭhamāṃ.

IV. 9 is identical with IV. 8, with the exceptions of: 1a, gūthakūpako; kā nu dinā patiṭṭhasi; b, pāpakammanti; 2a, duggatā Yamalokikā.—3b, kammassa vip.°—6a, mittarūpena.—° navamāṃ.

IV. 10, 1a, sandhatā; b, kisikā; na (instead of nu).—6a, ca no.—7a, "gedhino.—8a, saṃmucchitā; bhantā.—° dasamaṃ.

IV. 11, 2b, mama (instead of me).—3b, vā (instead of vāpi).—c, addasam.°—" ekādasamaṃ.

IV. 12, 1b, sutitā; c,sampupph.° (cf. also 2c).—5, P. om. this verse.—° dvādasamaṃ.

IV. 13, 1b, puts dānaṃ after tarati and omits dānena.—° tarasamaṃ.

IV. 14, ° cuddasamaṃ.

IV. 15, 3a, yesaṃ no na dadamhase.—4a, so 'ham nuna.—° pannarasamaṃ.

IV. 16, 1b, ° kammanto; saddāyase.—4b, nigacchasi.—6a, 'ddasāsi.—7b, nigacchisam.—° solasamaṃ. Then follows: Tass' udānaṃ: Ambasakkharo (1), Serisako (2), Pingalo (3), Revati (4), Uchubhadako (5), dve kumāra (6, 7), dve gudhabhojanā (8, 9), Paṭali-pokkharani (11, 12), akkharato (13), bhogasatā (14), setṭhiputtā (15), saṅittakā saṭhisahassāni (16), vaggō tena puvvucatī.

In the preceding notes no notice is taken
1°, of the innumerable cases where our MS. omits it, as it were, with a certain regularity, or
2°, of those not less numerous cases where it prefers a simple consonant instead of a double one, or vice versā, a dental instead of a lingual, or vice versā, or
3°, of the transposition of a short vowel with a long one in the next syllable, or vice versā, or
4°, of the carelessness in marking long vowels, or in the use of the nigghahita (the elision of the latter before a consonant, is, however, very constant).
ON THE PROBLEM OF NIRVĀṆA.

BY F. OTTO SCHRADER, PH.D.

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

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

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{Amarā-vikkhepi}; see \textit{Brahmajālasuttanta II.}, 23-29. These are the same as the \textit{Ajñānikas} (Agnostics) of the Jaina texts; see my Dissertation 'Über den Stand der indischen Philosophie zur Zeit Mahāvīras und Buddhas,' Strassburg, 1902 (Trübner), pp. 3, 7, 9, 46 ff.

\textsuperscript{2} Fear of a false declaration, of a sinful clinging, of a dispute, and mental laziness.

\textsuperscript{3} \textit{Brahmajālasuttanta II.}, 28.

\textsuperscript{4} Saṃy. Nik. LVI., 31. This is also the opinion of Professor Oldenberg; see his 'Buddha,' fourth edition, p. 323, note 1, and p. 326: 'Involuntarily we get . . . the impression . . . that the Perfect One knew inspeakably more than he thought fit for telling his disciples.'
the great question concerning the to be or not to be, and I proceed to show why I think his answer cannot have been a negative one.

A quite general consideration, such as may in the first instance induce people, as it induced myself, to believe a priori in the positive answer, is the following one.

Professor Max Müller asked whether a religion which attains at last to the Nothing would not thereby cease to be a religion. To this it may easily be replied that Buddhism has never been regarded as a religion in the usual sense. It is, however, another thing if we put the question in this way: 'Is it possible that a thinker who had drunk out to the bottom the cup of knowledge—and we cannot help believing that the Buddha was such a thinker—could attain to the conviction that there was absolutely nothing behind or above or besides this transitory world we conceive by our senses and supply by our fancy—this world of terrestrial and celestial things and beings?' I say no! We cannot by any means believe the Buddha, such as we know him from the Suttas, capable of such a limitation of intellect, such a testimonium paupertatis, as would place him far under all the great thinkers of all times.

But this is, of course, not an argument for everybody, and I would ask it to be considered only as a plus to what we shall find out in the further course of the argument.

Without any doubt the question of Parinibbānaṃ is, although not identical with, yet dependent on the question of the attā or substance, so that, if it were certain that the Buddha declined the idea of a substance in every sense, the answer concerning the Parinibbānaṃ would of course be that it was annihilation in every respect. But this is by no means certain.

As we know, e.g., from Saṃy. Nik. IV., p. 400, and Pugg. Paññ., p. 88 (cp. Buddhaghosa ad Jāliya-Suttanta), the sense of the doctrine of anattā is that there are no substances in the world which last either for a time (as the Ucchedavādinas think) or for ever (as is the opinion of the Sassatavā-
dinas), but that existence is something between being and not being, that it is becoming. Hence we are not entitled to say that Buddha denied the soul, but only that for him duration in time was duration of a flux and not immutability in any sense, not the stability of a substance.

The extent of the notion of anattā is evident, e.g., from Saṃy. Nik. XXII., 94, vol. iii.: 'What is that, O Bhikkhus,' the Buddha says, 'which is not granted by the wise of the world, and of which I also say: It does not exist? A material thing (rūpaṃ), O Bhikkhus, which is eternal, firm, everlasting, not subject to change, is not granted by the wise of the world, and I also say: It does not exist. Feelings (vedanā), O Bhikkhus, which are eternal ......; perceptions (saññā), O Bhikkhus, which are eternal ......; dispositions (sankhrārā), O Bhikkhus, which are eternal, firm, everlasting, not subject to change, are not granted by the wise of the world, and I also say: They do not exist. Thinking (viññānañcī), O Bhikkhus, which is eternal, firm, everlasting, not subject to change, is not granted by the wise of the world, and I also say: It does not exist. This is that, O Bhikkhus, which is not granted by the wise of the world, and of which I also say: It does not exist.'

Accordingly, the notion of anattā embraces the five Khandas or constituent parts of nature, not more. It embraces (1) the four or (including ākāsa) five material elements and whatever consists of them; (2) every kind of consciousness or spiritual existence: not only that of sensual beings as we are (kāmaloko), not only that of the Mahābrahmans and other gods like them (rūpabrahmaloko), but even the most ethereal, unlimited consciousness existing in the very highest spheres of nature (arūpabrahmaloko). It does, however, not embrace a being, provided there be such a being, which can not be called either corporeal or spiritual or both (nāmarūpañcī) in any sense, that is the existence of the Absolute One.

I cannot here explain the reasons why, to my way of thinking, philosophy is forced to accept the metaphysical
conception of the Absolute One, although, if this idea be realized in perfect sharpness, we are as unable to think as to deny that the Absolute One is either identical with, or different from, the world.\(^1\) I only state that the Absolute One in its very sense, as also, for instance, in the sense of Māṇḍūkya-Upaniṣad 7\(^2\), is something without and beyond the three Āvācaras of Buddhism, and therefore not touched by the doctrine of anattā.

So the doctrine of anattā cannot be claimed as a proof against the positive alternative of the problem of Nirvāṇa. It seems, on the contrary, for the following reasons, to strengthen this position.

As insinuated, the Parabrahman, or Absolute One, is so singular a notion that it must be looked upon at once as identical with and different from the world: the former, because there cannot be any things beside it (else it would not be the Absolute); the latter, because the principles of Nature: Time, Causality, Plurality, are incompatible with the ekam praccityam.\(^3\) Now, as is well known, the older Upaniṣads show already this double statement, but not as such, in as much as the two sides are not yet looked on together—at least, not with a clear consciousness of their being contradictory. And the next development out of this indifference or non-discrimination was not a uniting, but a going asunder.

Upaniṣad speculation began to degenerate, and the pantheistic side of the Parabrahman came to be emphasized

\(^1\) Cp. my little essay: ‘Māyā-Lehre und Kantianismus,’ Berlin, 1904 (Rastz).

\(^2\) Nāntah prajñān, na bahīḥ prajñān, nōbhayataḥ prajñān, na ‘prajñāna-ghanam,’ na prajñānī nīprajñānam, adṛṣṭaṁ, avydharmāyaḥ, agrāhyam, alaksānam, acintyam, aryapud-āyam, ekātmāya-pratyaya-sāraṇī, prapaicāpsāman, sāntam, śivam, advaitaṁ caturthaṁ manyante; sa ātmā, sa viññayah.

\(^3\) Cp. Malayagiri’s refutation of the ātma-vāda in his commentary to Nandi, p. 429.
more and more. First rendered prominent by Uddālaka Āruṇī (Chānd. Up. VI.), as a kind of svabhāva-vāda with a prakṛtiḥ parā, later on called ātman, as highest principle, the tat tvam asi = 'You are a part of the all-pervading substance,' became by-and-by the highest formula of orthodox Vedāntism. As such it remained a pantheistic formula more than a thousand years, until at last Čandarācārya reformed Vedānta into a clear māyā-vāda, while the pantheistic Vedānta also continued, and continues down to to-day as the Viśiṣṭādvaita. This is the one line of development. The other branched out somewhat later, at about the time of the so-called Middle Upanisads (Kāṭhaka, etc.), and started from the Kṣatriyas, not the Brāhmanas. It did not recognise the authority of the Veda, and therefore was held heterodox. It developed the neti neti of a Yājñavalkya into a severe tat tvam nāsi, and so became directly opposed to, and more orthodox, in the good sense of the word, than the other party. It pretended that every thing, from the lump of clay up to Brahmā (Sāṃkhya-Kārikā, 54; Majjh. Nik., 49), was produced and subject to time, and therefore anātman, 'not Self,' that is: different in every respect from the unknowable Absolute One. It consequently combated as the greatest and worst of all 'confusions' the avalokita (Āśvagh. Buddhac. XII., 29) or pantheistic identification of the world with the Absolute One (tat tvam asi; so loko so attā). The first step in this direction had probably been made before Buddhism arose; but it was the Buddha, without any doubt, who banished out of the world the last

1 Cp. my above-mentioned dissertation, pp. 31, 32; further, p. 41, middle.

2 That Bādarāyana was not yet a māyā-rādin is Professor Thibaut's important discovery.

3 "'World and Self are one; that shall I be after death; eternal, firm, everlasting, not subject to change, like the everlasting one; thus shall I stay'": is not that, O Bhikkhus, a mere, complete doctrine of fools (bala-dhammo)?" (Majjh. Nik., 32.)
glitter of immutability, and liberated, on the other hand, from the last terrestrial feature it still possessed, viz., consciousness, the notion of the Absolute; it was the Buddha who, for the first time, saw clearly that only ignorance can devise any relation at all between nature and the Supernatural One, and that a true ethic must therefore necessarily be atheistic; it was the Buddha and no one else who made the doctrine of anattā a moral principle, and that not by denying the Absolute One, but presupposing it as the true self, the only reality.

That the doctrine of anattā has indeed this supposition, is proved, e.g., by the Alagaddāpama-Sutta (Majjh. Nik., No. 22). The Buddha, after having preached the anattā and declared the liberated one as beyond nature and inconceivable already in this life, continues (p. 140):

‘Teaching this, O Bhikkhus, explaining this, I am falsely, without reason, wrongly, not truthfully, accused thus by some Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas: “An unbeliever is the Samaṇa Gotama; the real entity’s destruction, annihilation, dying away (sato satassu ucchedanti vināsaṇī vibhavant) is what he preaches.” What I am not, O Bhikkhus, what is not my doctrine, that I am accused of by these venerable Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, who say: “An unbeliever . . . . . . preaches.” Formerly, as now, O Bhikkhus, it is dukkham I am preaching, and the extirpation (nirodho) of dukkham . . . . . . Therefore, O Bhikkhus, what is not yours, throw that off! Then your having left it will become your health and welfare for a long time. Feeling, Bhikkhus, is not yours; throw it off! . . . . . . Craving . . . . . . The dispositions. . . . . . . Thinking,

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1 Even to Yājñavalkya the ātman is vijnāna-ghana (Brh. Up. II., 4, 12), and the only Upaniṣad which protests against this, viz., the above-mentioned Māṇḍukya, was hardly known to Buddha, whose two principal teachers also had not arrived at saññāvedayitanirodha.

2 Cp. Samy. Nik. IV., 4, 4: ‘To apprehend perfectly what is dukkhaṇi, the holy life is led with the Perfect One.’
Bhikkhus, is not yours; throw it off! Then your having left it will redound to your health and welfare for a long time. What do you think, O Bhikkhus: if a man would take away, or burn, or employ according to his needs, all the grasses and boughs and branches and leaves in this Jata Wood, would you then possibly think thus: "Us takes the man away, us is he burning or employing according to his needs"?

'Certainly not, master.'

'And why not?'

'Because, O master, it is not our self (attā) nor what belongs to it (attaniya).'

'Thus, verily, O Bhikkhus, (I tell you): What is not yours, throw that off! Then your having left it will redound to your health and welfare for a long time. And what, O Bhikkhus, is not yours? Bodily form . . . . . . craving . . . . . . the dispositions . . . . . . thinking is not yours; throw it off! Then your having left it will redound to your health and welfare for a long time.'

The sense of this declaration can only be: 'As the proprietor of the wood is not hurt when its grasses, etc., are taken away, even so, O Bhikkhus, in giving up your individuality (the khandhā) you are not giving up your real entity (santāni sattāni).' This is the more obvious as the formula which the Buddha teaches his followers to apply to every thing in nature, viz.: N'etaṁi mama, n'eso 'ham asmi, na m'eso attā, is applied by the Sāmkhya doctrine in almost exactly the same form, viz.: Nāsmi, na me, nāham, to exactly the same object, viz., the whole of material and spiritual things, but with the single aim of expressing the Puruṣa's not being prakṛti or vikṛti. Indeed, the end seems to be quite the same in both the systems: To reduce to a cause (pratyaya) every thing in nature, and thereby to prove that our real entity must not be looked for in, but beyond, the world. The only difference is that the Buddha, well aware that it would avert the attention of
his disciples from the practical and shortest way to salvation, declines to speak of the transcendental.\(^1\)

Like the doctrine of anattā, the more direct utterances of the Buddha on Parinibbānaṁ and the deceased Perfect One are proofs of the contrary rather than of Nihilism. An interesting example is the following one.

It is beyond doubt that in Buddha’s opinion there rests of the parinibbuto not the slightest shade of an individuality. ‘The wise,’ it is said, ‘expire like this lamp’ (Sutta-Nipāta, 235). ‘As the flame, blown down by the vehemence of the wind, goes out, and can be named no more (atthāṁ paleti na upeti saṁkhāri): even so the sage, liberated from individuality (nāmakāyo), goes out and can be named no more’\(^2\) (ibid., 1074). This image of the flame is a favourite one, and was doubtless used by the Buddha himself. What it means, is best shown by the Aggi-Vacchagotta-Sutta (Majjh. Nik., No. 72). Vacchagotta, wishing to know what becomes of the Tathāgata after death, asks if he will be reborn? or if not, whether he will both reappear and not reappear? or neither reappear nor not reappear? The answer being always that his position does not fit the case, he is then enlightened by the Buddha in the following way (p. 487):

‘This is, O Vaccha, a deep thing, difficult to see, difficult to discover, tranquil, excellent, unimaginable, internal, (only) to be found out by the wise; you will hardly understand it, you having different views, endurance, inclinations, effort, and teaching. Therefore, O Vaccha, I shall ask you concerning this matter; answer me as you like. Now, what do you think, Vaccha: if a fire should be

\(^1\) I cannot discuss here the knotty question concerning the chronological relation of the two systems. I only note that Buddhist Agnosticism may be directly derived from the older Upaniṣad speculation (neti neti), while Sāṃkhya Pluralism is evidently later.

\(^2\) That is: he is beyond all categories (vālapatha); ibid., 1076.
burning before you, would you then know: "This fire is burning before me"?

'I should, Master Gotama.'

'And if you, Vaccha, should be asked: "This fire which is burning before you, through what does it burn?" Thus asked, Vaccha, what would be your answer?'

'My answer, Master Gotama, would be: "This fire which is burning before me, does so by seizing upon hay and wood."

'And now, Vaccha: if this fire before you should go out (nibbāyeyya), would you then know: "This fire before me has gone out"?

'I should, Master Gotama.'

'And if you, Vaccha, should be asked: "This fire, gone out before you, to what direction has it gone: to the east, or west, or north, or south?" Asked thus, Vaccha, what would be your answer?'

'This does not fit, Master Gotama, because, Master Gotama, the fire burns in consequence of its seizing upon hay and wood, and, after having completely consumed them, and not seizing upon any other, it is called "gone out without food."'

'Even so, O Vaccha: whatever material form (rūpaṃ) a man may declare as the Tathāgata's, that form the Tathāgata has left behind, cut off at the root, made like the stump of a Tāla tree, made a non-existing thing, that cannot reappear in future. And the Tathāgata, O Vaccha, when thus liberated from the category of materiality, is deep, unmeasurable, difficult to fathom, like the great ocean. That he reappears, is not right; that he does not reappear, is not right; that he both reappears and does not reappear, is not right; that he does neither reappear nor not reappear, is not right.' There follow similar phrases with regard to the other Skandhas, whereupon Vaccha praises the clearness of Buddha's speech and declares himself his follower.

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1 I shorten the repetitions.
This Suttanta, according to Professor Garbe, was invented in order to veil the absolutely negative sense of Parinibbānaṃ. But this is an unproved hypothesis. The fact that the cream of the story is also contained in Sutta-Nipāta V., 7, and Udāna VIII., 10 (not to speak of other texts), seems rather to prove that the Buddha himself used to explain the matter in this way. At least the comparison of the dying saint with the expiring flame must be looked at as employed by the Buddha himself. And this is enough. For firstly the common Indian view is, since the oldest time, that an expiring flame does not really go out, but returns into the primitive, pure, invisible state of fire it had before its appearance as visible fire. Secondly, there are several Upaniṣads which apply the image of the expired flame directly to the paramātman. Śvet. Up. VI., 19, for instance, speaks of the latter as of ‘a fire, the fuel of which has been consumed’ (dagdhēndhanam ivdālam), and Nṛśimhottarātpini-Up. 2 (middle) has the sentence: ‘That Self is pure spirit, like fire after it has burnt what it had to burn’ (Ayaṃ ātmā cid-rūpa eva yathā dāhyanī dagdhava’gnir). Of special importance is the third verse of the Maitreyī-Up., as it shows the image in question in connection with the Yoga philosophy which is known to have influenced the Buddha more than any other system. It runs as follows: Yathā nirindhano vahniḥ sva-yonāv:

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1 See his introduction to ‘Der Mondschein der Sāmkhya-Wahrheit’ in Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Klasse der Königlich-Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

2 This view is, e.g., shortly before the Buddha’s time expressed in Śvet. Up. I., 13: Vahner yathā yoni-gatasya mūrtir na dvīyate n’äiva ca linga-nāsab, etc., and is still to be found in so late a text as Milindapañho IV., ed. p. 327.

3 The first chapter of which must be older than Maitrāyana-Up., because it is quoted by the latter (Maitreyī-Up. I., 1; I., 2; 1., 3-7, quoted in Maitrāyana-Up. IV., 2; IV., 3; and VI., 34, resp.). The Upaniṣad is in the One Hundred and Eight, edited in Poona in 1895.
upasaṃyati tathā vṛitti-ksayāc cittam sva-yonāc upasaṃyati. ‘As fire for want of fuel comes to rest in its own birthplace, so for the cessation of its motions the thinking principle comes to rest in its own birthplace.’

I also cannot grant that the Brahmajālasuttanta justifies in any way the nihilistic conception of Parinibbāna. For the sixty-two ditthi-gatāni are not condemned in every respect by the Buddha, but only as far as their imperfectness and exclusiveness is concerned—just as Mahāvīra declared to be ‘heretics’ all those who alleged the absoluteness (ekāntatva) of one of his own principles (kāla, purākṛta, puruṣakāra, etc.). This is quite evident, e.g., from the Buddha’s attitude in regard to the Nevasaṅgīnāṇasaṅgīyata-nāma in the sense of the highest heaven attainable in this world. Thus he also adopts, but not absolutely, the four sakalādesas (atthi, n’atthi, atthi ca n’atthi ca, n’ev’ atthi na n’atthi) of the Amaravikkhepiṅ, and so on. Farther, the Aparantakappikā, or ‘those who speculate on the future’ (Brahmajāla-Suttanta II., 37 ff.), as well as the Sassaṭavādino and Ekaccasassaṭavādino, are throughout meant to believe in an individual attā which lasts in time, without being altered (saccato ṭhetato), either for ever or till its annihilation. The Buddha, however, and none but the Buddha, teaches the anattā and shows the way to deliverance from time. All the Saṅivādino cannot be really delivered, in the Buddha’s opinion, because there is

1 Whom he highly respected all his life; see, e.g., Majjh. Nik., 36.
3 Cp., e.g., Udānaṃ VIII; 1: Tad amham, bhikkhave, n’eva āgatim vadāmi na gatiṃ na ṭhitiṃ, etc., and Sutta-Nipāta, 860: Kappam n’eti akappiya. The deceased Tathagata is not eternal in the sense of ‘ever-lasting,’ because he does not ‘last’ at all, having been delivered from time.
no absolute extinction of individuality unless by saññāvedayitanirodho. Nor can asaññivādo, because it is—like all other dītthiyo—a product of tanha, lead to any other state than a very long unconscious life or dreamless sleep in the heaven of the Asaññasattas.

From this we can also understand why the Buddha, who did not acknowledge that the brahmāsahāryata, taught by the Brahmanic priests, was sufficient for salvation, did acknowledge it as leading to rebirth in the highest stages of Rūpabrahmaloko, or in Ākāsānaṅc’ayatanam or Viññānaṅc’ayatanam, or, in the best case, in Ākliṅcaṅn’ayatanam. The Brahma (neuter) or Ātmā, as well as the Puruṣa of the Śāmkhya-Yoga, was, as a rule, taught to be sacetano nirguṇaḥ, and, consequently, in the Buddha’s conception is not beyond individuality on account of its consciousness or spirituality. Now, Infinite akāśa was taught as the highest principle by the school of Atidhanvan Śaunaka (Chānd. Up. I., 9), and All-pervading vijnāna (prajñāna, prajñā) by numerous schools (Cp. Ait. Up. III., Kaus. Up. III., etc.). So the Buddha, who wished to embrace all systems in his own, felt compelled to construct an Arūpabrahmaloko by means of these two views and those of his two principal Yoga teachers. His idea seems to have been that those who strive to become identified, after death, with the soul of the world as infinite akāso or viññānam respectively, attain to a state in which they have a corresponding feeling of infiniteness, without, however, having really lost their individuality.

The great stumbling-block in our problem is, to most people, the silence of Gotamo about the state of a deceased Tathāgato. If he had not regarded the ‘extinc-

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1 This results by a comparison of Majjh. Nik., 48; Saṃy. Nik. V., p. 115; and Tevijja-Suttantaṃ.
3 Very often prāṇa corresponds to this notion, in exactly the sense of Ed. v. Hartmann’s ‘Unbewusstes.’
tion' or 'blowing out' as resulting in annihilation—
Professor Hopkins asks¹—why did he hesitate to give an
explanation which 'would have strengthened his influence
among those to whom annihilation was not a pleasing
thought'? I should like to answer by some other
questions: Do you give a tinder-box as a toy to your little
boy? Is there no danger at all in popularizing a doctrine
like that, e.g., of Kauś. Up. III., 1, 1? Could not the
Buddha have had the conviction² that there were very few
who would not misunderstand his explanation of the most
difficult of all philosophical conceptions? that most people
would eagerly rush upon his metaphysics and neglect the
more important thing, viz., sila? I would further ask
the objector to consider that such an explanation would
have forced the Buddha to endless disputes with other
teachers, and that in that case he would have necessarily
become in the general opinion just that what he so much
abhorred: a ditthiko or 'speculative philosopher.' The
Buddha did not wish to be a philosopher; he wanted to
teach a practical way to salvation, and, in doing so,
he avoided intentionally whatever would have made him
unsuccessful.

If the word of Spencer is true—that the history of
religion is the history of the dispersonification of God—
then Buddhism is the natural end of this process.³
For this is the only religion which acknowledges so
absolutely the total difference between Nature and the
Supernatural that it forbids its followers even to speak
of the latter, without, however, denying or sceptically
doubting its existence.

¹ Religions of India, p. 321.
² Cp. the account of his mahābodhi, Majjh. Nik., 36.
³ This idea of mine has been employed by Karl B.
Seidenstücker in his little essay 'Gott und Götter' ('Der
Buddhist,' 1. Jahrgang, No. 4).
# Issues of the Pāli Text Society.

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| 1894 | 1. Peta Vatthu Cy.  
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