

The Jātakanidāna

A Critical Study, Tibetan Edition and Annotated Translation

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Volume I

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Abstract

This thesis provides a critical study, an annotated translation, and a diplomatic edition of the Tibetan text of the *Jātakanidāna*. Its overall aim is the study of the Tibetan text and its relationship to the Pāli version. This is accompanied by a study of the bodhisatta ideal as it is found in this Pāli text, and in other related canonical and commentarial works.

The thesis is divided into the following three parts:

Part One consists of a study in five chapters: Chapter one provides a description of the methodologies used in the thesis and the historical background to the text. Chapter two defines the genre of literature to which the *Jātakanidāna* belongs, and also discusses the doctrine of past buddhas as it is presented in the text. Chapter three deals with the doctrine of the bodhisatta as it is presented in the text, and provides an analysis of the doctrines peculiar to this Pāli bodhisatta concept. Chapter four provides a detailed study of the concept and nature of the ten *pāramīs*, and shows how the *pāramīs* are defined in the literature produced prior to the *Jātakanidāna*. Chapter five examines the way the *Jātakanidāna* presents the life of Gotama as a bodhisatta.

Part Two provides an annotated translation of the *Jātakanidāna* based on the edited text of its Tibetan version.

Part Three provides a Tibetan edition that has been produced utilising five different Tibetan editions of the text, together with appendices and bibliography.

The appendices include the following items:

- (i) *Dhammapada* verses occurring in the *Jātakanidāna*, their Tibetan translations, with Sanskrit and Prākṛit parallels.
- (ii) Miscellaneous Pāli verses in the *Jātakanidāna*, their Tibetan translations together with Sanskrit and Prākṛit parallels.
- (iii) *Jātakanidāna* verses with no identifiable Pāli canonical source.
- (iv) Jātaka verses in the *Jātakanidāna* varying from the extant Jātaka verses.

The Bibliography consists of primary sources in Tibetan, Pāli and Sanskrit which are cited in the thesis, and secondary sources referred to in the study.

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Abbreviations

A	Aṅguttara-nikāya
Ap	Apadāna
Ap-a	Apadāna commentary (Visuddhajanavilāsini)
As	Atthasālinī
AOH	Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungarica
BC	Buddhacarita
BEFEO	Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient
BHSD	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary (F. Edgerton, rpt. 1985)
BPS	Buddhist Publication Society
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
Bv	Buddhavaṃsa
Bv-a	Buddhavaṃsa commentary (Madhuratthavilāsini)
Cp	Cariyāpīṭaka
Cp-a	Cariyāpīṭaka commentary (Paramatthadīpanī)
CAJ	Central Asiatic Journal
D	Dīgha-nikāya
Dhp	Dhammapada
Dhp-a	Dhammapada commentary
DOP	A Dictionary of Pāli, vol 1, PTS (M. Cone, 20001)
EW	East and West
GDhp	Gāndhārī Dhammapada
HJAS	Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies
IBK	Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
IJJ	Indo-Iranian Journal
J	Jātaka
JA	Journal Asiatique
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JGJRI	Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute
JIABS	Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies
JPTS	Journal of the Pāli Text Society

Khv	Khuddakapāṭha
Kv	Kathāvatthu
Kv-a	Kathāvatthu commentary (Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā)
LV	Lalitavistara
M	Majjhima-nikāya
MCB	Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques
Mil	Milindapañha
Mil-ṭ	Milindapañha commentary (Milindaṭṭhikā)
Mvu	Mahāvastu
Mvy	Mahāvvyutpatti (ed. Sasaki, 1916, rpt. 1973)
PDhp	Patna Dharmapada
PEFEO	Publication de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient
PEW	Philosophy East and West
PDPN	Pāli Dictionary of Proper Names
Ps	Majjhima-nikāya commentary (Papañcasūdanī)
PTS	Pāli Text Society
PTSD	Pāli Text Society Dictionary (Rhys-Davids & Stede, 1925, rpt. 1979)
S	Saṃyutta-nikāya
SBE	Sacred Books of the East
SBV	Saṅghabhedavastu
Sn	Suttanipāta
Sp	Vinaya commentary (Samantapāsādikā)
Spk	Saṃyutta-nikāya commentary (Sāratthappakāsinī)
Sv	Dīgha-nikāya commentary (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī)
Th	Theragāthā
Thī	Therīgāthā
Thūp	Thūpavaṃsa
Ud	Udāna
Ud-a	Udāna commentary (Paramatthadīpanī)
Uv	Udānavarga
Vin	Vinayaṭṭhaka
Vsm	Visuddhimagga
WZKSO	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd-und Ostasiens
WZKS	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

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Method of Transliteration of Tibetan in the Edition, Translation and Study:

ka	ཀ	kha	ཁ	ga	ག	ña	ང
ca	ཅ	cha	ཅཾ	ja	ཇ	ña	ཉ
ta	ཏ	tha	ཏཾ	da	ད	na	ན
pa	པ	pha	པཾ	ba	བ	ma	མ
tša	ཅ	tsha	ཅཾ	dza	ཇ		
lwa	ལ	za	ཞ	za	ཟ	'a	འ
ya	ཡ	ra	ར	la	ལ	śa	ཤ
sa	ས	ha	ཏ	a	ཨ		

Introduction

The Scope and Purpose of this Study

The present study takes as its focus a series of issues that are connected with the Pāli text of the *Jātakanidāna* and its Tibetan translation. These issues include the historical, textual, terminological, and doctrinal concerns, that are involved with the Pāli text. For the Tibetan text there are issues of bKa' 'gyur transmission, and translation, that impinge upon the areas under consideration. The historical background, and sources, to this Pāli text distinguish it from all other commentarial works in Pāli literature, and for that matter in the Tibetan translation literature. Its subject matter, method of presentation, genre, and doctrinal position, are all representative of a relatively developed literary style, and an advanced stage in the doctrines associated with buddhas and bodhisattas. An important aspect of this text is that it constitutes the primary Theravādin source for the complete systematisation of the bodhisatta doctrine. One of the things this thesis demonstrates is the extent to which the *Jātakanidāna* was involved with the development of this doctrine in the Theravādin tradition. The use of canonical precedents for the episodes depicted in the text is a characteristic feature of its method of composition. It also uses a range of technical terms, extracted from late canonical texts, that define the bodhisatta in a unique manner for the Theravādin tradition. The *Jātakanidāna* then proceeds to give these terms a coherence, and a more exact doctrinal significance, by means of the commentarial exegesis included within it that is aimed at their authentication within the Theravādin tradition. Thus, the principal areas of discussion in this study are confined to an account of the textual background to the text via the Pāli and Tibetan sources, this is coupled with a study that analyses certain of the doctrinal concepts and positions adopted by the text.

The historical survey of the text is in two parts, one relating to the Pāli text, and the other to the Tibetan text. For the purposes of defining which Buddhist school is being referred to, this study takes the terms Pāli tradition, and Theravādin tradition, as representing more or less synonymous entities. Since the *Jātakanidāna* refers to itself as a text in accordance with the teaching of the Mahāvihārin tradition, this study also takes the term Theravādin, in the textual sense at least, to refer specifically to that school of Buddhism stemming from the Mahāvihārin tradition established in Ceylon. The historical and textual tradition of this school has a greater amount of material, that can be utilised for this historical and textual study, than is found in any of the Tibetan sources. Therefore, any meaningful research into the history, or canonical and doctrinal antecedents to the text, the Pāli sources are the only possible body of materials that can be profitably consulted. The *Jātakanidāna* is a product, or property, of this Theravādin tradition, which has also maintained all the canonical source texts referred to in the *Jātakanidāna* itself. The study of these Pāli source texts undertaken here, and their relationship with the *Jātakanidāna*, reveals the precise areas of development in the doctrinal sphere between the early Nikāyas and the *Jātakanidāna*.

The survey of the Tibetan translation uses the relevant Tibetan historical, and bibliographic, sources to discern what was known of the text by the Tibetan tradition. The *Jātakanidāna* was imported into the Tibetan translation tradition, but this tradition contained no translations of the other Pāli canonical texts referred to in the *Jātakanidāna*. Thus, from the perspective of comparative textual studies, the Tibetan

tradition offers no materials that could be used for such purposes. One of the most important questions addressed in this study is in relation to the Tibetan text, and in establishing that the Tibetan translation was in fact made from a version represented by the existing version of the PTS Pāli edition. To this end a Tibetan edition is provided that has been exhaustively compared with the Pāli text. The results of this comparison are contained in the translation from this Tibetan edition which is included in this study. This comparison shows conclusively that the Tibetan text follows the Pāli so closely throughout, that there can be no doubt that the Tibetan translation was made from a text that was, for all practical purposes, identical to the existing PTS Pāli edition.

The text occupies a unique position within the Theravādin tradition as the first to provide a doctrinally integrated record of the bodhisatta's career. It represents a clear, unambiguous presentation, and rationalisation, of both the historical and doctrinal foundations for the bodhisatta doctrine. Thus, the text belongs formally to what is called by contemporary criticism the biographical, or narrative genre, though this genre has no clearly established definition in the Pāli literary tradition. Because of this the precise role and function of this type of work, and its exact place in the Pāli canonical and commentarial tradition, has been dealt with in some detail. That textual tradition has itself established various criteria to ascertain the authenticity of the texts in its canon, and a developed set of definitions for the types of work that may be contained in that canon. The history and role of the Khuddaka-nikāya is then surveyed, and it is seen to be the repository of miscellaneous texts, some of which are clearly of a later date than the four Nikāyas. This fact is significant to the present study, where²¹ is argued that the acceptance of this fifth Nikāya by the Theravādins was instrumental in the introduction of doctrines previously unknown to that tradition.

The example of the existence of previous buddhas is one such doctrine, which is contained in only a limited form in the early Nikāyas. The *Buddhavaṃsa* provides the historical and doctrinal precedents for previous buddhas that gives a canonical authority to this teaching. In its description of the necessary conditions for the appearance of buddhas, the text makes the most detailed exegesis of what it now claims to be the basis of buddhahood. The lives of the twenty-four previous buddhas are set out, showing the events that are unique to each buddha. It is this part of the canonical tradition that is used in the Dūrenidāna section of the *Jātakanidāna* as the basis for its commentarial exegesis of the history of these earlier buddhas. Considerable numbers of the *gāthās* from this text are used in the *Jātakanidāna*, where they are given their first extensive commentary in Pāli. The *Buddhavaṃsa* itself serves as the authoritative canonical foundation for the commentarial text contained in the *Jātakanidāna* and the doctrines that it includes. The *Buddhavaṃsa* is the first Pāli canonical work to overtly portray what can legitimately be called a bodhisatta doctrine, though it is the lives of the buddhas that are its primary focus. That is to say, all the basic doctrinal elements for a bodhisatta doctrine occur in this text, but they are not fully elucidated or defined there in such an extensive fashion as later occurs in the *Jātakanidāna*. Like the *Buddhavaṃsa* the *Cariyāpiṭaka* also belongs to this late class of canonical work, but is not so important as the *Buddhavaṃsa* or the commentarial *Jātakanidāna*, to the emerging bodhisatta doctrine. The *Cariyāpiṭaka* commentary, however, is the single most important Pāli commentarial source for elucidating some of the key doctrines that are laid out in the *Jātakanidāna*. This commentary is also an important text

for its introduction of some key technical terms, some very similar to those found in the Mahāyāna tradition, which however are not found in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, *Cariyāpiṭaka*, or *Jātakanidāna*. One of the major contentions of this study is that only with the appearance of the *Jātakanidāna* can there be said to be any systematic attempt at producing a completely coherent, and doctrinally meaningful, bodhisatta doctrine for the Theravādin tradition.

The specific doctrinal elements that comprise the bodhisatta doctrine, in the *Buddhavaṃsa* and the *Jātakanidāna*, are illustrative of a considerable change of emphasis in the doctrinal sphere of the Theravāda. The basic initial notion, found in the *jātakas* and some *suttas*, of Gotama having been a bodhisatta in his lives prior to enlightenment, is completely superseded by these two texts. This occurs not only on the simple biographical level, but also on a doctrinal level that is reflected in the range of technical terminology that is employed in discussing the bodhisatta. The most innovative and important of these new terms are the ten *pāramīs* that depict the new path of the bodhisatta which is first outlined in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, and later fully developed in the *Jātakanidāna*. These ten terms are indicative of an entirely novel outlook for the Theravādin tradition. These terms are not all totally innovative concepts within the Pāli canon, as seven of the ten: *dāna*, *sīla*, *nekkhamma*, *paññā*, *virīya*, *mettā*, and *upekkhā*, are attested in that canon prior to the *Buddhavaṃsa*. The three terms: *khanti*, *sacca*, and *adhiṭṭhāna*, are not attested in the canonical texts in the sense that they occur in the *Buddhavaṃsa*. It should be remembered, however, that the definition of these seven terms in the pre-*Buddhavaṃsa* canonical literature has a completely different frame of reference to the literature that comes after that text. The three terms that do not occur in the pre-*Buddhavaṃsa* literature are indicative of the new emphasis in doctrine which had taken place in this text, and in the texts associated with it. Thus, the group of ten *pāramīs*, taken as a whole, represent a combination of already established concepts, and those concepts novel to the Pāli canon and Theravādin tradition. Even those terms among the ten that have some kind of canonical precursors are not used in the *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Jātakanidāna* with the same limited semantic range of meaning. Therefore, the three *pāramīs* consisting of *khanti*, *adhiṭṭhāna*, and *sacca*, are very much part of the developed teachings centred on the figure of the bodhisatta.

There are three other groups of terms that are also fundamental to the complete establishment of the bodhisatta ideal in the Theravādin tradition. Again the initial canonical occurrences of these terms are encountered only in the *Buddhavaṃsa*. The terms in question cover a wide range of concepts, but are all in some way significant for the bodhisatta ideal. The novel terms such as *abhinīhāra*, *vyākaraṇa*, and *adhikāra*, express the indispensable opening stages of the bodhisatta's career. In its treatment and definitions of these concepts, the *Jātakanidāna* provides the most wide ranging attempt at the complete systematisation of the bodhisatta doctrine to be encountered in either the canonical or commentarial texts of the Theravādins. Other key terms are dealt with, such as *buddhabhāva*, *buddhabijaṅkura*, which are expressive of the two related ideas that are now associated with the bodhisatta. The first of these relates to the concept of the state of buddhahood, that is the goal for the bodhisatta in that text, the second indicates the innate state of buddhahood within the bodhisatta. While the terms *buddhakara-dhammā*, *buddhadhammā*, and *dhammā bodhipācanā*, all refer to the specific practices that produce either buddhahood or enlightenment. Their appearance in the *Buddhavaṃsa* constitutes an entirely new way of thinking about the ultimate aims of

the bodhisatta, and the means for achieving this aim. This approach is extended in the *Jātakanidāna* where the terms are used in the formulation of the bodhisatta doctrine that emerges from that text.

The final innovatory element in the *Jātakanidāna* considered in this study, is in the sphere of the legends connected with Gotama. These had their origins in early Vinaya texts, as attested by the occurrence of similar episodes in the various Vinaya traditions. Among each Buddhist school some attempt was eventually made at narrating a more connected series of the important life events in their founder's life than was known to the early Vinaya traditions. For the Theravādin tradition the *Jātakanidāna* has an important place in the evolution of these legends, where episodes that are unknown to the early Nikāya tradition begin to emerge as part of an attempt at a fuller life story than is met with in any other Pāli text. This part of the study focuses on several of these episodes, and considers some of the Sanskrit parallels to them that are found in the texts of other Buddhist schools. In this way they are shown within their context in the Pāli textual tradition, and as general trends within the various Buddhist traditions as a whole.

The *Jātakanidāna* is the first Pāli text to present the life of Gotama in the light of the developed bodhisatta doctrine. In this text Gotama's life is narrated, from conception up to the donation of the Jetavana by Anāthapiṇḍika, as if it were a well attested historical occurrence. In this sense the presentation owes much to the *Buddhavaṃsa*, with its canonical precedents for the depiction of the lives of past buddhas. Though the *Jātakanidāna* moves the focus from the buddhas to the history and doctrinal foundations of the character of the bodhisatta. This study shows, however, that there are some episodes depicted in the *Jātakanidāna* that have no canonical basis. They appear to be unique to the commentarial traditions that form the narrative in the Avidūrenidāna and Santikenidāna sections of the *Jātakanidāna*. In some cases these episodes simply provide an account that fills a hiatus in the canonical materials, while in others they provide examples of the docetic trend that is characteristic of the text. There are yet others that develop the mythological traditions about Gotama's life, and give symbolic representations of certain key life events. By examining these key episodes the study seeks to indicate those areas in which the doctrinal position of the *Jātakanidāna* is a departure from the early Nikāya tradition.

In summary, the study undertaken here is directed towards an historical and textual analysis of the Tibetan text that is translated here. Following this there is a study of the specific doctrines in the *Jātakanidāna* that represent the developed bodhisatta doctrine for the Theravādin tradition. It is argued here that the bodhisatta doctrine for the Theravādins can really only be said to exist after the production of the *Jātakanidāna*. This text, and the commentaries associated with it, are representative of the kind of development that had occurred within the Pāli tradition. One of the primary methods of studying this development has been through tracing the use of the specific technical terms used to define the bodhisatta, and a comparison of these usages with those found in the early Nikāyas. This analysis of terms show the extent of doctrinal development that had occurred in the Theravādin tradition in regard to the bodhisatta doctrine. There is also a comparison of some of the central episodes of Gotama's life that are contained in the Sanskrit sources, which indicates the common areas of concern for the various Buddhist traditions. In this way it is attempted to view the text within the historical and conceptual framework of its own school, and those of the other Buddhist textual traditions in general.

Chapter One

Methodological Considerations and Historical Background to the Text

Introduction

The text that forms the subject matter of this thesis, is extant in the two languages of Pāli¹ and Tibetan.² In Pāli this text is entitled the *Jātakanidāna*, and this is translated into Tibetan as *sKyes pa rabs kyi glen̄ gzi*.³ These two quite dissimilar languages have both preserved copies of this work, one in its original form as an example of a Pāli work of literature, commentary, and doctrinal history. With the Tibetan translation of this Pāli text representing an example of the later bKa' 'gyur translation tradition in Tibet. The original Pāli work belongs to what was the most productive period for composition of Pāli commentarial literature in Ceylon. The text is largely considered, by the contemporary Theravādin tradition, to be an apocryphal, or almost para-canonical work. The methods used by the Theravādin tradition for classifying texts as canonical raises the issue of the criteria used within that tradition itself for establishing textual authenticity, or canonicity, and the reasons for a late text becoming considered in this ambiguous way. The Tibetan tradition, being for the most part isolated from the traditional canonical texts of the Pāli canon, has knowingly or unknowingly ignored the traditional Theravādin classification criteria, and included the *Jātakanidāna* in the bKa' 'gyur among the canonical texts.

These two versions of the text date to widely disparate eras, with the Pāli version in its present form belonging to the fifth century CE, while the Tibetan translation of it was made in the early part of the fourteenth century CE. The impetus for the present study of this text came from the remarks of a number of scholars⁴ who had questioned the original source which served as the basis for the Tibetan translation. Their opinions were that the Tibetan translation had been made from recensions in Sanskrit, or a Middle Indo Aryan dialect other than Pāli, or even possibly from Chinese translation of a Sarvāstivādin text. Despite this contention by some scholars the group of thirteen texts described above, that include the *Jātakanidāna*, have been considered by other scholars to stem from Pāli originals.⁵ In relation to the Pāli

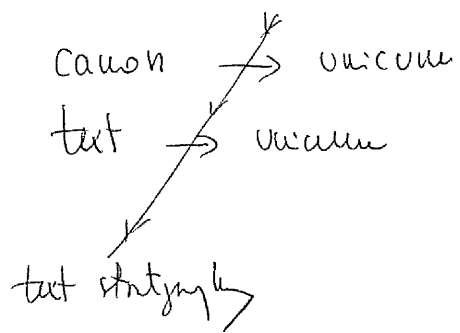
¹ The primary version of the Pāli text utilised in this thesis is the edition prepared by V. Fausbøll, *The Jātaka Together with its Commentary*, vol. 1, London: Pāli Text Society, 1877, pp. 1-94.

² The principal Tibetan text used for the diplomatic edition is that of the sTog Palace bKa' 'gyur, *sKyes pa rabs kyi glen̄ gzi (Jātakanidāna)*, mDo sde, vol. 87, Chi, no. 290, folios. 7a-104b, see T. Skorupski, *A Catalogue of the sTog Palace Kanjur*, Tokyo: The International Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1985, p.158.

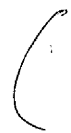
³ There are at least two names by which this text is known in Pāli, the names *Nidānakathā*, and *Jātakanidāna* are both used. The second of these has been used throughout this thesis, the main reason for this is that the Tibetan translation of the text name *sKyes pa rabs kyi glen̄ gzi*, is a literal rendering of the name *Jātakanidāna*.

⁴ Chief among these was E. Conze, who was certain that the group of thirteen texts grouped at the end of the *Ser phyin* section of the Narthang bKa' 'gyur were not from Pāli originals, he says: They (the thirteen) are sometimes said to be translated from the Pāli, but they differ too much from the Pāli text, and on closer investigation they turn out to represent Hīnayāna Sūtras from the Canon of the Sarvāstivādins and other Hīnayāna sects in contact with Tibet. See E. Conze, *The Prajñāpāramitā Literature*, Tokyo: The Reiyukai, 1978, p. 25.

⁵ From an early period in bKa' 'gyur studies some scholars have concluded that the Tibetan translation of the thirteen texts in question were made from a Pāli originals, among these are L. Feer, who made a translation of several sections of the Tibetan *Jātakanidāna*, see L. Feer, "Fragments extraits du Kandjour", *Annales du Musée Guimet*, 5, Paris, 1883, pp. 322-361; also L. Renou & J. Filliozat, *L'Inde classique*, vol 2, Paris: EFEO, 1953, pp. 393-394; R. Tokuoka, who notes the thirteen as having corresponding texts in the Pāli canon, see R. Tokuoka, *A Catalogue of the Lha-sa Edition of the bKaḥ-ḥgyur of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka with Sanskrit Restoration in Detail*,



Universe!



text, there are also some who urged a reassessment of the very criteria for including a text in the Theravādin canon of scripture.¹

The general approach adopted throughout this present study, when dealing with these two texts, is to take the Pāli version of the *Jātakanidāna* as the source text. That is to say, it will be treated as the original text from which the Tibetan translation was made. In this capacity it serves as the original or base text against which the Tibetan translation is then compared. This is an important distinction to make at the outset of this study. For it is one of the primary contentions of this thesis that the Tibetan translation of the *Jātakanidāna* has been made from the Pāli version, and not from a Sanskrit, or Chinese, version of the text. One of the textual issues this thesis attempts to resolve is then that the Pāli version of the *Jātakanidāna* was in fact the text that was used as the basis, or source text, for the Tibetan translation. The edition of the Tibetan text prepared here, and its translation, are the means by which it can be clearly demonstrated that the Pāli edition was in fact the source text for the Tibetan translation. This study is in many ways aided by the unique character of the Pāli text of the *Jātakanidāna*, drawing as it does upon a wide variety of historical, and literary materials, spanning a period of perhaps one thousand years, and incorporating both canonical and commentarial sources.

The present study seeks to address certain areas of research that need to be defined and specified in the preliminary stages. These are the theories relating to the editing of Tibetan bKa' 'gyur texts, the historical approaches towards Buddhist legendary, doctrinal, and textual history, and lastly, the various hermeneutical approaches adopted in the study of Buddhist texts. They are not of course dealt with in equal length, because the theories regarding bKa' 'gyur texts are of importance in the preparation of the Tibetan edition, and are therefore obvious in the edition itself, but not fully apparent in the translation where only the consequences implicit in their application occur. These three primary areas are of course only the most significant components of a complex process that anyone engaged in the editing and explication of Buddhist sacred texts² must address. Much work has been carried out in each of these individual fields, to the extent that each one of them has become a specialised field of study in its own right. It is not the intention here to give a full survey of the individual studies carried out by scholars in each of these fields of research, but only to indicate how these distinct disciplines have relevance to the present study of a

Patna: Nava Nalanda Mahavihara, 1968, pp. xxi, 58-59; F.A. Bischoff also says the thirteen are from the Pāli, and gives their Mongolian titles, see F.A. Bischoff, *Der Kanjur und seine Kolophone*, Bloomington: Selbstverlag Press, 1968, pp. 333-338; J.W. de Jong also acknowledges a probable Pāli source, see J.W. de Jong, "Notes a propos des colophons du Kanjur", *Zentralasiatische Studien*, 6, 1972, pp. 537; D. Seyfort Ruegg refers to a number of texts parallel to Pāli Suttantas in the Tibetan bKa' 'gyur, see D. Seyfort Ruegg, "Some Observations on the Present and Future of Buddhist Studies", *JLBS*, 15, 1992, pp. 110-111; moreover, Skilling's observation that since Śāstivādin counterparts of some of the thirteen texts existed, they may have been assumed to be the source for the Tibetan translations, P. Skilling, "Theravādin Literature in Tibetan Translation", *JPTS*, Oxford, 19, 1993, p. 79.

¹ The meaning of the term canonical in reference to Pāli texts is not as clear cut as would at first appear. S. Collins makes the point that ideally each text needs to be researched on an individual basis: If we wish to delineate the actual 'canon' or 'canons' of scripture (in the wider sense) in use at different times and places of the Theravāda world, we need empirical research into each individual case, not a simple deduction from the existence of the closed *tipiṭaka* produced by the Mahāvihāra. See S. Collins, "On the very Idea of the Pāli Canon", *JPTS*, 15, 1990, p. 104.

² A particular problem with Indian texts in general and Buddhist texts in particular is that what we refer to as the 'original' text is not that at all but the outcome of a long process of textual transmission, and in many cases textual corruption. See L. Lancaster, "Buddhist Literature: Its Canons, Scribes, and Editors", pp. 221, in *The Critical Study of Sacred Texts*, ed. W. Doniger O' Flaherty, California: Berkeley Religious Studies Series, 1979.

particular Buddhist religious text.

The editing of Tibetan bKa' 'gyur texts

One of the major components contained in this study is the edition of the Tibetan text using certain of the bKa' 'gyur translations of the Pāli *Jātakanidāna*. This edition of the Tibetan text forms the basis for the English translation also contained in this thesis. Historically there have been a number of editions¹ of the bKa' 'gyur produced at different times, and places, in Tibet. This collection of various texts that were classified as representative of canonical tradition, and included in these various editions of the bKa' 'gyur, began at an early period in Tibetan literary history. So far as Western scholarship is concerned the initial task of tracing the origins and composition of these different bKa' 'gyur traditions was undertaken, and first put on a scientific footing, by Csoma de Kōros.² It was he who recognised the importance of the historical study and analysis of the bKa' 'gyur texts. Since that time our understanding of the beginning of the translation process in Tibet, and the production of Tibetan translations of original Indian texts, has increased significantly. The relationships between the different Tibetan editions of the bKa' 'gyur has been investigated, and the major lines of transmission distinguished. Any attempt at understanding a bKa' 'gyur text, of whatever type be it *sūtra* or *tantra*, must necessarily involve itself to some degree or other with the question of bKa' 'gyur transmission. de v.

Our knowledge of the bKa' 'gyur's formation, stemmatic relationships, and its contents has undergone considerable development since the inception of that branch of Buddhist studies. The last twenty years in particular have seen enormous advances made in our knowledge with regard to the kinds of relationships that exist between the different editions of the Tibetan bKa' 'gyur.³ There is now a greater understanding of the probable dating of most of these different editions, and of the major lines of textual transmission that they represent. Much of this work is largely due to the labours of two scholars in particular, H. Eimer and P. Harrison⁴ who have dedicated much time and energy to tracing the textual relationships of a

¹ It is not always safe to consider these editions as merely different orderings of the same collection of texts. Arnold Kunst points out that the different versions of the bKa' 'gyur often provided not only different recensions of the texts, but also differing locations for the texts, and even differing schemes for their pagination in the various bKa' 'gyurs that are still extant, see his "Kamalaśīla's Commentary on Śāntaraṅgita's Anumānapariṅkā of the Tattvasaṅgraha", *MCB*, 8, 1947, pp. 119-20. The idea of there being, or ever having been, a single standard or authorised version of the bKa' 'gyur is also discounted by Skilling: In the following discussion it is important to bear in mind that there is no *Kanjur*—there are only *Kanjurs*. There is not, and there never has been, a single standard or "authorised" edition. See P. Skilling, *Mahāsūtras: Great Discourses of the Buddha, Volume I: Texts*, Oxford, PTS, 1994, pp. xl-xli.

² His work represents the earliest systematic study by a European scholar of the scope and contents of the Tibetan Buddhist canonical texts. For a study of the contents of the Narthang edition of the bKa' 'gyur, and the location of the thirteen text in question see A. Csoma de Koros, *Analysis of the Kanjur*, Calcutta, 1836-9, rpt. Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1982, pp. 181-182.

³ There are according to Skilling four main lines of bKa' 'gyur lineage, some of the examples of these he provides are: 1. independent lineages, consisting of the Newark Kanjur, Phug brag Kanjur, and the Tabo MS; 2. Tshal pa lineages, consisting of the Berlin MS, Peking (Kangxi), Peking (Quinlong), 'Jang sa tham Kanjur, and sNar than Kanjur; 3. Them spangs ma lineages, consisting of London MS, sTog Palace, and Tokyo MS; and 4. mixed lineages, consisting of sDe dge Kanjur, sNar than Kanjur, and lHa sa Kanjur. See P. Skilling, *Mahāsūtras: Great Discourses of the Buddha, Volume I: Texts*, Oxford, PTS, 1994, pp. xxvi-xl.

⁴ See especially H. Eimer, *Ein Jahrzehnt Studien zur Überlieferung des tibetischen Kanjur*, Wien: Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 28, 1992. This collection of seventeen of Eimer's articles related to bKa'

number of bKa' 'gyur texts. Their work has enabled other researchers in this field to assess which textual transmissions are most important, and which are of a secondary value to the preparation of an edited Tibetan text.

The results of the research into the different bKa' 'gyur traditions has revealed some important historical and textual issues that must be seriously considered by anyone engaged in research on bKa' 'gyur texts. There are two issues in particular that are most important for the present study of the *Jātakanidāna*. The first of these is centred on the choice of which of the extant bKa' 'gyur traditions should be utilised in the preparation of an edited text. The second relates to the type of edition to be prepared using the bKa' 'gyur editions that have been selected. The choice of the bKa' 'gyurs to be consulted must firstly of course be dependent, in the first instance, on those editions of the bKa' 'gyur that actually contain the text of the *Jātakanidāna*. Though even then it is not necessary to consult all editions of the bKa' 'gyur that contain a translation of the text. The second issue concerns the type of edited text to be produced, this is a matter that is based on the results of bKa' 'gyur research but which also goes beyond the strict scope of that branch of studies. This second issue is also the concern of text-critical studies that must be decided by the type of text one is dealing with, and the reason for producing an edited version of that text in the first instance.

Taking into consideration the conclusions reached by scholars from the study of the various bKa' 'gyur lines of textual transmission, a number of the bKa' 'gyur textual sources can be eliminated from this study at the outset. These editions can be disregarded on the basis that they are either conflated editions, or that they can be shown to stem ultimately from the same original.¹ The five bKa' 'gyurs containing the *Jātakanidāna* text that are utilised for the present study are the Peking,² sDe dge,³ sTog Palace,⁴ sNar

'gyur research represents some of the groundbreaking work that he has accomplished. See also P. Harrison, "In Search of the Source of the Tibetan bKa' 'gyur: A Reconnaissance Report", *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, ed. Per Kvaerne, Oslo, 1994, vol. 1, pp. 295-317, and also his *Druma-kinnara-rāja-paripṛcchā-sūtra*, Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1992, pp. xvi-1, for a discussion of the various editions of the bKa' 'gyur.

¹ Among these conflated editions are the Lhasa, Urga and Co ne editions. The choice of editions has become a more challenging task with the availability of as many as thirteen different bKa' 'gyur now accessible. There is also as yet no universally agreed number of editions to employ in studying one text. Prof. P. Harrison has suggested that just the two editions of Peking and sTog Palace could be used for a rough check of a text which would still provide a balanced view of its transmission. However, the same scholar says that for a more critical study at least six editions should be consulted, and suggests these be the Śel dkar, Tokyo, sTog Palace, Lithang, sNar thañ and Peking. See P. Harrison, "Meritorious Activity or Waste of Time? Some Remarks on the Editing of Texts in the Tibetan Kanjur", *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies Narita 1989*, vol. 1, Naritasan, 1992, p. 90. Others have different views, J. Schoening says that sNar thañ, sDe dge, sTog Palace and Peking should be included in any edition of a text. He goes on to say that ideally the Lithang, sNar thañ, Berlin MSS, Kangxi, Śel dkar, sTog Palace, Phug brag and sDe dge editions should be included in any detailed study. See J. Schoening, *The Śālistambha Sūtra and its Indian Commentaries*, vol 1, Wien: Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 35 1-2, 1995, p. 185.

² The edition used is the Japanese reproduction, see The Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition, *Skyes-pa rabs-kyi glen-gshi [Hi bsad-pa]. Jātaka-nidāna [-kathā].*, Tokyo: Suzuki Research Foundation, 1956, vol. 21, No. 748, pp. 261-292.

³ This is a xylographic copy in the sDe dge bKa' 'gyur, *sKyes pa rabs kyi glen gzi (Jātakanidāna)*, Śes rab sna tshogs, vol. Ka, folios 183a-250a., London: British Library.

⁴ This is one of the manuscript editions consulted in microfiche form, sTog Palace bKa' 'gyur, *sKyes pa rabs kyi glen gzi (Jātakanidāna)*, mDo sde, vol. 87, Chi, no. 290, folios. 7a-104b., London: SOAS Library.

thañ,¹ and Śel dkar² editions. Among the sources that do not contain a Tibetan translation of the *Jātakanidāna* are the ancient Buddhist textual sources from Tun-huang, which are of too early a date to have known of the text, and the Phug brag³ manuscript bKa' 'gyur. This last edition represents an independent line of textual transmission that does not always include texts that are found in the other major lines of bKa' 'gyur transmission.

The Tibetan classifications of the Jātakanidāna

The first issue to be considered, having selected the Tibetan editions for the study, is the matter of how the different bKa' 'gyur traditions have themselves classified the *Jātakanidāna*. This is also related to the question of which section of the bKa' 'gyur they have located the text. This procedure allows for an appreciation of how the Tibetan tradition regarded this text, and whether or not it was considered as being a canonical or commentarial work. For this part of the investigation, and in order to establish how the Tibetans classified and located the *Jātakanidāna*, nine editions of the bKa' 'gyur have been consulted. This group of nine editions contains in all five different locations for this text. The Śel dkar, sTog Palace, Ulan Bator MS,⁴ sNar thañ and Lhasa editions all place the text at the end of the *mDo* section. Among this group the Lhasa edition also places it into a separate sub group of the *mDo* section called *mDo tshan bcu gsum*. In the sDe dge, Urga, and Lithang editions the text is found at the end of the *Śes rab sna tshogs* section. However, although the Lithang edition locates the text at the end of the *Śes rab sna tshogs* section, it includes it within a separate category of *gsar 'gyur gyi mdo*⁵ 'newly translated sūtras.' The fifth location for the text is found in the Peking edition where the text is found at the end of the *Śer phyin* section

The difference of opinion between these various editions in locating the text is difficult to account for, but it does indicate that there were divergent methods in use for classifying Tibetan canonical texts. The locations of the text in these nine editions cannot easily be traced back to an original method of classification. In fact the five locations of the *Jātakanidāna* cut across all known methods of describing the different editions of the bKa' 'gyur. The division of these bKa' 'gyur editions based on their origin from the Tshal pa, or Them spañs ma,⁶ manuscript editions shows no absolutely definitive location for the *Jātakanidāna*

¹ A photo-copy of this xylographic version of this edition has been used, sNar thañ bKa' 'gyur, *sKyes pa rabs kyi gleñ gzi (Jātakanidāna)*, mDo, vol. A, folios 432a-543a, Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, India,

² Both photo-copies and microfiche of this manuscript edition have been used, Śel dkar bKa' 'gyur, *sKyes pa rabs kyi gleñ gzi (Jātakanidāna)*, mDo, vol. 36, Chi, no. 205, folios. 8a-99b., London: British Library, microfiche reference 3F-19B/63, uin: 3766-3782, see, U. Pagel & S. Gaffney, *Location List to the Texts in the Microfiche Edition of the Śel dkar (London) Manuscript bKa' 'gyur (Or. 6724)*, London: The British Library, 1996, p. 43.

³ For the contents of this edition of the bKa' 'gyur see J. Samten, *A Catalogue of the Phug brag Manuscript Kanjur*, Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1992.

⁴ See G. Bethlenfalvy, *A Handlist of the Ulan Bator Manuscript of the Kanjur rGyal-rtse Them spañs-ma*, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiado, 1982, p. 33.

⁵ See Y. Imaeda, *Catalogue du Kanjur tibétain de l'édition de 'Jang sa tham*, part, IIb, Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1984, p. 27.

⁶ See P. Skilling, "Theravādin Literature in Tibetan Translation", *JPTS*, Oxford, 19, 1993, pp. 74-83, and also G. Bethlenfalvy, *A Handlist of the Ulan Bator Manuscript of the Kanjur rGyal-rtse Them spañs-ma*, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiado, 1982, pp. 6-7, 192-193.

translation, and the other twelve texts.¹ The problem is not solved by employing the grouping of bKa' 'gyur editions into Eastern and Western² traditions, for there is also no unanimous agreement among them as to where the texts should be located. In very general terms it can be said that using the classification into regional origin the Western group, Śel dkar, sTog Palace, Ulan Bator MS, sNar thañ and Lhasa, all place the text in the *mDo* section, or a sub section of that section. While the Eastern group, sDe dge, Urga, Lithang and Peking, agree in locating it at the end of the *Śes rab sna tshogs* or *Śer phyin* section.

If the classification of the bKa' 'gyurs into the places of origin of their two principal manuscript sources is applied, that is into Them spañs ma, and Tshal pa recensions, there is also no overall unanimity as to the text's location. The Them spañs ma editions, consisting here of the Śel dkar, sTog Palace and Ulan Bator manuscript, can be seen to place the text at the end of the *mDo* section. However, the two Tshal pa editions of sNar thañ and Lhasa also locate it in at the end of the *mDo* section. The remaining Tshal pa editions, sDe dge, Urga, and Lithang, all locate it at the end of the *Śes rab sna tshogs* section, while the Peking edition puts it at the end of the *Śer phyin* section. Thus, whatever classification of the bKa' 'gyur editions is employed, Western and Eastern, or Them spañs ma and Tshal pa, there are obviously some discrepancies among them in the methods they each must have used in deciding on the location of the translation of the *Jātakanidāna*. It may be that they were following Bu ston's suggestions concerning the group of thirteen texts, and so located it along with the other twelve texts, at the end of the *mDo* section. Another possibility is that the group of thirteen texts, to which the *Jātakanidāna* belongs, were recognised as being a special group, and so added at the end of specific sections as a kind of *dhāraṇī*³ or auspicious conclusion to a section of texts.

Criteria for selection of Tibetan editions used in the diplomatic edition

As already indicated the choice of bKa' 'gyur traditions utilised in this study will be confined to five of the major transmissional lines of the bKa' 'gyur. These consist of the three xylographic editions of Peking, sDe dge, and sNar thañ, together with the two manuscript traditions of sTog Palace and Śel dkar. This choice of Tibetan editions gives a fair representation of the two major lines of bKa' 'gyur traditions, these are often referred to as the Eastern and Western⁴ traditions. These two traditions are also called the Them

¹ Though P. Skilling in his work on this problem, and using fourteen bKa' 'gyurs, broadly concluded that the Tshal pa tradition put the thirteen texts at the end of the *Śes rab sna tshogs* section, and that the Them spañs ma editions do not, see P. Skilling, "Theravādin Literature in Tibetan Translation", *JPTS*, Oxford, 19, 1993, pp. 76-77.

² For the division into Eastern and Western groups see, H. Eimer, "Some Results of Recent Kanjur Research", *Archiv für Zentralasiatische Geschichtsforschung*, VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, Sankt Augustin, 1983, p. 13. See also H. Eimer, *Ein Jahrzehnt Studien zur Überlieferung des tibetischen Kanjur*, Wien: Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 28, 1992, pp. xiv, xvii.

³ These *dhāraṇīs* are known to have been added at the end of sections or chapters in a text as a means of providing a blessing. For the conclusions of P. Skilling on this question see, "Theravādin Literature in Tibetan Translation", *JPTS*, Oxford, 1993, 19, p. 83.

⁴ The division into Eastern and Western groups is not universally favoured, though it is a useful classification for descriptive purposes. Eimer has made extensive use of this method of classification, see "The Position of the Lithang Edition within the Tradition of the Kanjur", in H. Eimer, *Ein Jahrzehnt Studien zur Überlieferung des tibetischen Kanjur*, Wien: Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 28, 1992, pp. 142-3, also pp. xiv, xviii, of his introduction. While P. Skilling prefers the classification of the bKa' 'gyur into Tshal pa and Them spañs ma lineages to the Eastern and Western classification, see his "Theravādin Literature in Tibetan Translation", *JPTS*,

spaṅs ma tradition and the Tshal pa tradition, in reference to the two original manuscripts from which they initially stem. The sNar thañ, Śel dkar and sTog Palace¹ bKa' 'gyurs belong to the Eastern, or Them spaṅs ma line, while the Peking and sDe dge² bKa' 'gyurs belong to the Western or Tshal pa line. The choice of these five editions makes it possible to provide a broad picture of how the text of the *Jātakanidāna* was recorded within the Tibetan bKa' 'gyur traditions as a whole. It is by no means intended to provide a definitive examination or study of all bKa' 'gyur transmissions and their variations of this text. It must be emphasised that the purpose is not to provide a fully critical edition that makes use of all possible sources. The primary aim in this study is to produce an edited Tibetan text that is both accurate and representative of the two major lines of bKa' 'gyur tradition. The other purpose implicit in this process of making an edition is to make a thorough and detailed comparison with the Pāli text, in order to ascertain the exact relationship between the two versions of the text.

The main function of a full critical edition of a given text is to provide a reading of that text, together with a critical apparatus, that allows all the significant variants to be shown. The purported goal of establishing such an edition is to produce a text that is as close as possible to the original.³ This practice, still common among scholars of Greek and Latin, is not universally favoured among scholars of Tibetan texts.⁴ The method of using a full critical edition is not employed in the present study. As one of the primary aims of a critical edition is to reconstruct a text whose original no longer exists, it would be inappropriate to make an edition of this kind for the *Jātakanidāna*. Since the Pāli original of this text is still extant, and the Tibetan translation is an extremely faithful reproduction of this, there is no necessity to attempt the reconstruction of a conjectured original text. The approach adopted here is to produce a diplomatic edition of the Tibetan text. The meaning of the term diplomatic edition is used in slightly divergent ways by different scholars.⁵ In this study the term is used to differentiate between a full critical

Oxford, 1993, 19, pp. 74, 76-77.

¹ The sNar thañ and Śel dkar are apparently both based on an older manuscript no longer extant called the Śel dkar rdzoñ Manuscript. The sNar thañ edition while formally belonging to the Western, or Tshal pa line, often agrees in its arrangement with the Eastern or Them spaṅs ma line. See, P. Harrison, *Druma-kinnara-rāja-paripṛcchā-sūtra*, Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1992, p. xviii-xix. The sTog Palace edition is based on a Bhutanese manuscript that stemmed from the Western or Them spaṅs ma line, see T. Skorupski, *A Catalogue of the sTog Palace Kanjur*, Tokyo: The International Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1985. pp. xi, xvii-xix.

² The sDe dge edition stems from the 'Jañ sa tham Manuscript line of the Eastern or Tshal pa lineage while the Peking edition of 1737 (Q) stems from the Eastern or Tshal line via a series of earlier Peking editions. See, H. Eimer, "A Note on the History of the Tibetan Kanjur", in *Ein Jahrzehnt Studien zur Überlieferung des tibetischen Kanjur*, Wien: Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 28, 1992. p. 180.

³ See P. Maas, *Textual Criticism*, tr. B. Flower, Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1958, p. 1. See also V.A. Dearing, *Principles and Practice of Textual Analysis*, University of California, 1974, pp. 1, 5, and M.L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique*, B.G. Teubner Stuttgart, 1973, pp. 86-87.

⁴ The debate over the choice and type of edition to produce still carries on, R. Mayer claims that many scholars working on Tibetan texts have abandoned attempts to establish critical editions of these texts since the work of H. Eimer has shown the flaws in this method. See R. Mayer, *A Scripture of the Ancient Tantra Collection*, Oxford: Kiscadale Publications, 1996, p. 186. P. Harrison on the other hand believes that we are obliged to practice the method evolved for dealing with Greek and Latin manuscripts, even though it has not been standard practice among Tibetologists. See P. Harrison, "Meritorious Activity or Waste of Time? Some Remarks on the Editing of Texts in the Tibetan Kanjur", *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies Narita 1989*, vol. 1, Naritasan, 1992, pp. 90-91.

⁵ The main sense of the term diplomatic edition as used by Schoening is that all variants, including punctuation, are given in an attempt to present the full textual history of the text in question. See J.D. Schoening, *The Śālistambha*

edition, and an edition produced from a single textual witness. This diplomatic edition is intended to fulfil several different functions. Firstly, it has to produce a text that is grammatically correct, so far as the Tibetan readings allow, and which is a complete representation of the five Tibetan source editions used in this study. Secondly, the text is measured against the datum of the existing Pāli edition, and follows its readings in cases of discrepancies among the Tibetan editions. Finally, the text includes a critical apparatus that records all the variant readings that occur in the Tibetan editions, without excluding any single variants, or different orthographies. However, the only *śad* punctuations and folio pagination used are those of the sTog Palace edition, without noting the positioning of these punctuation marks or pagination used in the other four Tibetan editions.¹ This critical apparatus has the function of indicating all the possible variants that occur, and also allows it to be seen immediately which of these readings is omitted from, or different to, that reading found in the diplomatic edition of the text.

The value of a diplomatic edition lies not in the method of editing a given text, but in what is the way in which information about that text can be presented. The most important aim of the diplomatic edition of the Tibetan translation of the *Jātakanidāna* contained in this study, is to compare it in precise detail with the Pāli original. The question of the stemmatic relationships that exist between the Tibetan editions, are then not a primary concern of this study. This is especially pertinent in regard to this text, because the Tibetan translation of it was made at a late date in the process of translating Indian works into Tibetan.² There is also the fact that in the case of this text the original, or what might be termed the Ur-text, of the Pāli is still extant, and moreover, the translation into Tibetan seems to have made only once from a single Pāli original.

To speak of a Ur-text³ in relation to Indian literature is in most cases a nonsense, however in the case of the *Jātakanidāna* there does seem to be a single source text that has no major recensional variations. This is in large part due to the nature of this particular text that is unique to the Theravādin tradition of Ceylon. This being the case a diplomatic edition allows for a more eclectic approach to the comparison of the Tibetan and Pāli versions than would be possible with a critical edition. It may well prove to be the case that there is no one way to edit 'Tibetan bKa' 'gyur texts.⁴ This is largely because the circumstances in which they were translated, and the manuscripts that they used, were so varied that a single method applicable in all circumstances is unlikely to be developed. The diplomatic edition does also have the

Sūtra and its Indian Commentaries, vol 1, Wien: Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 35 1-2, 1995, p. 180; For Mayer the term implies that the earliest edition available will be used as the base text, see R. Mayer, *A Scripture of the Ancient Tantra Collection*, Oxford: Kiscadale Publications, 1996, p. 221.

¹ This is purely an editorial decision based on the amount of extra footnoting and page space that would be involved. This is the kind of information that would normally be included in a full critical edition. For some comments on this issue of recording punctuation marks, see P. Skilling, *Mahāsūtras: Great Discourses of the Buddha, Volume I: Texts*, Oxford, PTS, 1994, pp. xlix-l; and J. A. Silk, *The Heart Sūtra in Tibetan: A Critical Edition of the Two Recensions Contained in the Kanjur*, Wien: Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 34, 1994, pp. 66-67.

² Their status as *gsar 'gyur gyi mdo* 'newly translated *sūtras*' was remarked upon by Bu ston, see P. Skilling, *Mahāsūtras: Great Discourses of the Buddha, vol. II Parts I & II*, Oxford: PTS, 1997, p. 137.

³ The aim of critical editions, certainly among scholars of Greek and Latin, is to trace the various readings of a text back to an original Ur-text. See J.A. Silk, *The Heart Sūtra in Tibetan: A Critical Edition of the Two Recensions Contained in the Kanjur*, Wien: Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 34, 1994, p. 8.

⁴ See R. Mayer, *A Scripture of the Ancient Tantra Collection*, Oxford: Kiscadale Publications, 1996, p. 187.

advantage of presenting a text that reflects both the Tibetan variations, and any Pāli additions or omissions that may occur. This type of edition is therefore of use to researchers in a wider range of disciplines than that of bKa' 'gyur research alone.¹

General historical, and hermeneutical considerations /e

The most productive methods of approach in studying a text such as the *Jātakanidāna* are through the study of its language, doctrines, and textual history. The language of the Pāli *Jātakanidāna* preserves elements from an extremely long time period. Furthermore, it is composed in a varied mixture of narrative commentarial prose sections and also in canonical *gāthā* form. The innovative doctrinal concepts, the bodhisatta doctrine, the practice of the ten *parāmīs* 'perfections', and the docetic doctrines that emerge in the *Jātakanidāna* are possibly indicative of influences from outside the Theravādin tradition. While the history of the text is firmly rooted in ancient Pāli canonical material, the compilation in its present form dates to quite a late period in the history of the Pāli language. An interesting feature of the text is that despite its apparent novelty to the Theravādin tradition, and its relatively late appearance, it has gained considerable status as an authoritative, and ancient work. The *Jātakanidāna* is probably one of the most widely known, and popular works in present day Theravādin countries, in particular in Sri Lanka. This text provides the basis for the Sinhala lay perception of the events, and specific episodes in the life of the Buddha. This occurs to the extent that if one questions Sinhalese lay people about the Buddha's life, they invariably respond by quoting incidents found in the *Jātakanidāna*. It is also noteworthy that portions of the *Jātakanidāna* text itself, and ideas contained in it, were used in later Pāli literary works.² This gives some indication of the regard with which the text was held even in ancient times. Many sections and *gāthās* from it were incorporated into later Pāli historical and doctrinal works to provide an authoritative connection to the Buddhist teaching.

The study of those specific aspects of the text that are isolated in this thesis is conducted in accordance with the scientific research methods appropriate to each of them. In some instances the approach is historical, in others philological, or doctrinal. The philological and text-critical approaches are the most often employed methodologies in the case of this text. The study of this class of ancient work is entirely dependent on the text itself, there being no separate commentary for it, and on any parallel, or historical references to it found in Pāli or other Buddhist works. The approach method adopted for the present study of the text of the *Jātakanidāna* consists initially of a close text-critical study of its Tibetan translation. The aim of this procedure is to provide a diplomatically edited version of the Tibetan text. This will in turn provide the basis for both the translation, and the textual study stemming from that translation. The diplomatic edition produced from the five Tibetan editions notes all variations between them. The critical apparatus lists all omissions, additions, variant readings, variant orthographies, that occur within the five

¹ J. Schoening also considers the diplomatic edition to be more scientific than the critical edition, see J.D. Schoening, *The Śālistambha Sūtra and its Indian Commentaries*, vol 1, Wien: Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 35 1-2, 1995, p. 179.

² The *Jinacarita*, *gāthās* 8-18, contains *gāthās* that are used in the *Jātakanidāna*, see for example W.H.D. Rouse, "Jinacarita", *JPTS*, 5, 1904-5, pp. 1-2.

Tibetan translations. In the matter of punctuation and folio pagination the sTog Palace edition has been followed exclusively.

The translation made from the Tibetan edition is as literal¹ as possible to the text of that edition. In some cases the Tibetan translation is rendered in what must be taken in Tibetan as short sentences, but which in Pāli are elaborate long sentences.² The translation is also presented without any parentheses, or other bracketed insertions. The text has been translated into as accurate an English rendering as possible, with most of the technical terminology also translated.³ The aim has been to provide a readable, and reliable translation, with any problem of translation consigned to the footnotes. These give both the Tibetan and Pāli version of the problematic term or sentence. These footnotes to the translation also deal with textual matters arising from the comparison of texts, such as differences in wording, or meaning, and doctrinal matters occurring in the text. The edited Tibetan text is then carefully compared with the original Pāli version⁴ in order to facilitate a thorough analysis of the exact content of the Tibetan translation, and how this compares with the Pāli source text. This stage of the text-critical study aims to establish that the Tibetan is indeed a translation from a Pāli original. This procedure also unearths any discrepancies between the two versions, and shows the precise relationship between the Pāli and Tibetan versions of the text.

The text-critical approach is supplemented by an historical study that tries to assess the relative dating of the component parts of the *Jātakanidāna*. This study also considers some of the historical problems surrounding the dating and classification of the Pāli canonical literature that is the basis for the *Jātakanidāna*. In the historical study the issues of the Pāli textual sources, the development of doctrinal positions and the background to the Tibetan translation are considered. It also utilises the Tibetan historical materials in order to discover what is known by that tradition concerning the text, its process of translation and its

¹ There are a number of methods open to the translator of Buddhist texts, these can be reduced to two basic positions: extreme literalness, and interpretive. Each have their advantages, but as one of the aims of the study is to compare the Pāli and Tibetan versions the literal method is preferable here. Very little work has been carried out on these Pāli texts in Tibetan, only L. Feer. and P. Skilling have translated any of them. For a discussion of the various methods of translating from Tibetan see, A. Wayman, "Observations on Translation from the Classical Tibetan Language into European Languages", *IJJ*, 14, 1972, pp. 165-171.

² For example, in some cases the Tibetan cannot be read as short sentences, without disturbing the overall meaning of the original Pāli sentence. In these cases the Pāli text has been of great importance in understanding the general intention of the Tibetan translation. The difference in the use of the Tibetan in the *Jātakanidāna* has been noted by Skilling, who remarks that many phrases encountered in that text differ significantly from standard Tibetan. See P. Skilling, *Mahāsūtras: Great Discourses of the Buddha, vol. II Parts I & II*, Oxford: PTS, 1997, pp. 138-139; see also J.L. Panglung, "Zur tibetischen Übersetzung des *Jātakanidāna*", *Festschrift Dieter Schlingloff*, ed. F. Wilhelm, Reinbek, 1996, pp. 211-212.

³ In some cases the original Pāli term has been retained, as in the case of the words, *bodhi*, *nibbāna*, *deva*, to name some 'ordinary' terms. The technical terminology in Buddhism often provides problems for the translator, again there are a number of views on this. Some translate all terms, while others preserve the original Tibetan, Pāli or Sanskrit term. Since the *Jātakanidāna* is not an overtly philosophical text, most of its terms can be meaningfully translated. For an interesting discussion of this problem see, P.J. Griffiths, "Buddhist Hybrid English: Some Notes on Philology and Hermeneutics for Buddhologists", *JIAS*, 4, 1981, pp. 17-32.

⁴ For the Pāli version of the *Jātakanidāna* two editions have been consulted, Fausbøll's roman edition which is based on three Sinhalese MSS that seem to represent one tradition and Tiwari's Devanagari edition that is based on four different editions: V. Fausbøll, ed. *The Jātaka Together with its Commentary*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1877, pp. 1-94; L.N. Tiwari, ed., *Paramatthajotikā nāma Jātakatṭhakathā*, Varanasi: Sampurnanand Sanskrit University, 1992.

translators. There are several historical problems with a bearing on the history of the text, both in its development in the Pāli language, its overall place within the Pāli canon, and also concerning its subsequent translation into Tibetan. All such issues are almost entirely concerned with the Pāli literary sources, and therefore, dependent upon those sources for any conclusion. There are also a number of Buddhist works in Sanskrit that must also be referred to in order fully to understand the historical and doctrinal context in which the *Jātakanidāna* was produced. In this way a more detailed picture of the history of the text itself, and of the development of the doctrines appearing in it can be gained.

The philological and text-critical approaches adopted here supplement one another, each allowing for particular insights that can lead to a greater understanding of the text of the *Jātakanidāna*. These processes provide the two most distinct methods of collecting, and collating linguistic and textual evidence. They allow for a more detailed analysis of the text, together with the philological and doctrinal issues connected with it. These two approaches form the foundation of the methodology used for this present study of the *Jātakanidāna* text. Among other things, through the philological and text-critical study undertaken in this thesis, the Tibetan translation of the *Jātakanidāna* can be clearly demonstrated to be a direct translation from a Pāli original. While by means of philological, textual, and historical, analysis, the antecedents of the doctrines found in the Pāli text of the *Jātakanidāna* can be traced. The philological and text-critical methods outlined above by no means exhaust the lines of approach adopted in the present study. Other methods of research also have to be employed at certain times, comparative mythology, and comparative religious studies each have their role to play in any serious attempt to understand this type of religious text. For it makes so much use of Indian myth, coupled with various levels and stages of Buddhist doctrinal development. It is via such a combination of these research methods that the text can be properly viewed within its own linguistic, historical, cultural and doctrinal parameters, and compared with similar works of both Buddhist and of other Indian religious traditions.

Historical survey, and background to the text

A purely historical study of the *Jātakanidāna* allows for an understanding of how the text emerged within the Theravādin tradition. This kind of historical approach is able to show how the text first lays out its own Buddhist history, together with its doctrine of the twenty-four buddhas. The purpose of this approach is to show how it incorporates both old and new conceptions of buddhahood, and the place of the bodhisatta in the later stages of Buddhist history. The history of the text of the *Jātakanidāna* can usefully be divided into two discrete parts. The first part is the historical background connected with the Pāli version of the text, its origins, and its transmission within the Theravādin tradition. This can be reasonably well reconstructed back to a certain point in the history of the Pāli canonical, and commentarial tradition. However, going beyond this traceable point becomes extremely problematic. Nevertheless the history that can readily be traced is most valuable for the insights that it provides about the Indian textual tradition, and the process of text building that must have occurred during the evolution of the *Jātakanidāna*, and other similar texts.

The second source for certain elements in the later history of the *Jātakanidāna* is found only in Tibetan

historical, and bibliographical texts. Our knowledge of the *Jātakanidāna*, or rather its Tibetan translation the *sKyes pa rabs kyi glen gzi*, does not only come from the colophons in the various Tibetan translations made of the text.¹ There are a number of Tibetan historical works that have some valuable references to the history of the text. These sources contain references to the translators, place of translation, and also some catalogues that mention the work and its translator. This material provides some basic information about the people who collaborated in this translation. Though the information is very much confined to these spheres, and does not mention anything regarding the doctrines found in the *Jātakanidāna*. From this it can be seen that the historical information that can be ascertained from the Tibetan historical sources is limited to certain topics only.

The Theravādin tradition contains its own historical accounts about the origin of the corpus of texts first recited at a council of the Buddhist *saṅgha* shortly after the Buddha's death. The entire teachings of Buddhism, and all its canonical texts are traditionally asserted to stem from this one 'historical' event.² The earliest of these historical accounts concerning this event are themselves contained within the canonical material of the Pāli canon. From the point of view of historical analysis these accounts of the formation of the Pāli canon are fraught with the most basic of historical problems. Since even the date³ of the historical Buddha Gotama has not been satisfactorily established, much less the dating of the texts comprising the Pāli canon. From the traditional Theravādin view, the formation of the canon is a unique historical event, emanating directly from the person of the Buddha Gotama. It is this which provides the authority to the Pāli canon that is afforded to other orthodox Indian brāhmanical texts referred to by the appellation *śruti* 'heard', and therefore authoritative. The Buddhist text, for the Theravādin tradition at least, gains its authority not from the content, but from its purported association with this historical event of the First Council. ?

The Theravādin Buddhist tradition, and all other Buddhist traditions for that matter, begins its textual history with the production of a canon containing texts⁴ claimed to have been personally taught by the Buddha to his disciples. This vast corpus of Pāli literary material is regarded as the authentic teachings or *buddhavacana* 'word of the buddha' by the Theravādin Buddhist tradition. Grouped into three collections

¹ Some specific studies have focussed on the colophons to bKa' 'gyur texts, and produced some valuable data. See in particular F.A. Bischoff, *Der Kanjur und seine Kolophone*, Bloomington: Selbstverlag Press, 1968; and J.W. de Jong "Notes a propos des colophons du Kanjur", *Zenralasiatische Studien*, 6, 1972, pp. 504-559.

² The historicity of this First Council has long been questioned by scholars, from the time of R.O. Franke in his "The Buddhist Councils at Rājagaha and Vesālī", *JPTS*, 1908, pp. 1-80; E.J. Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought*, London: RKP, 1933, rpt. 1971, pp. 27-30; L. de la Vallée Poussin, *The Buddhist Councils*, Calcutta: Bagchi & Co, 1976; K.R. Norman, "The Pāli Language and Scriptures", *Collected Papers*, vol.4, Oxford: PTS, 1993, pp. 91-97. /e

³ The possibly time ranges for the buddha's birth vary from 560 BCE, up to 350 BCE depending on which method of dating is adopted. For the most notable modern studies on the subject of the dating of the buddha, see H. Bechert, ed. *The Dating of the Historical Buddha*, part 2, Gottingen, 1992.

⁴ Conze gives the inescapable historical conclusion concerning the early history of Buddhist literature: "The fact of the matter is that there were eighteen schools in the first period of Buddhist history, that most, if not all, had their own set of Scriptures, and that each of them can equally well claim to represent the teaching of the Buddha. If the Canon of one school only, that of the Theravādins, has reached us intact and in its entirety, this is not due to its greater antiquity or intrinsic merit, but to the accidents of historical transmission." E. Conze, *Thirty Years of Buddhist Studies*, Oxford, 1967, pp. 3-4.

or Piṭakas, with each Piṭaka¹ classified according to the type of materials it contained. There is, historically at least, no conception among the Theravādin Buddhist tradition, unlike the Mahāyāna traditions, of an evolving canon which was expanded over generations.² The Pāli canon is traditionally seen by the Theravādin school as the authoritative representation of the teachings of the historical Buddha, and furthermore, to have come into existence as a complete corpus at one specific time. The Pāli canon can then be classified as a closed³ tradition, in that from the traditional viewpoint it has no early or late parts, each section or text is regarded as equally ancient and stemming directly from the historical Buddha himself.

This concept of the Pāli canon being a closed tradition, in the sense of having no late parts, has long been shown by scholarly studies to be an untenable position. The traditional view of the Pāli canon being an unchanged, and unbroken tradition, going back to the First Council has been challenged and disproved.⁴ The philological studies on Pāli texts carried out over the last century and a half⁵ have discovered the extremely composite nature of this reputedly closed collection of texts. The Pāli canon is seen, from the viewpoint of comparative philological studies, to be an edited, and worked over collection of texts, containing strata of different dates and, of widely divergent genre. The position is one where some of these purportedly ancient texts often contain *gāthās*, sentences, or developed styles, from texts of a much later date. Thus, the precise dating of Pāli texts can be difficult, even in respect of the truly canonical works. When dealing with apocryphal or para-canonical texts the problem of establishing even a tentative date is exacerbated. Nevertheless, the Pāli canon still represents the most complete form of any early Buddhist canon⁶ yet discovered, and this is its true importance for philological, historical, and religious studies.

¹ While the Theravādin tradition considers the earliest canon to consist of these three Piṭakas, including the Abhidhammapiṭaka, the earliest Pāli sources on the First Council make no specific reference to the Abhidhammapiṭaka as a distinct collection. See chapter XI Cullavagga, where only the twofold division into Dhamma and Vinaya is made. H. Oldenberg, ed., *Vinayaṭīkā*, vol. 2, London: PTS, 1880, rpt. 1995, pp. 285-286.

² The diversity of the Mahāyāna tradition probably owes a great deal to the fact that their texts seem to have been written, rather than oral, as is the case in the Pāli tradition. See D. Mc Mahan, "Orality, Writing, and Authority in South Asian Buddhism: Visionary Literature and the Struggle for Legitimacy in the Mahāyāna", *History of Religions*, 38, 1998, pp. 272-274.

³ The classification of the Pāli canon into a closed tradition is not universally accepted, as a historical development is seen by some. For some pertinent comments on this see S. Collins, "On the very Idea of the Pāli Canon", *JPTS*, 15, 1990, pp. 90-91.

⁴ Much of the consensus about the date of the Pāli canon favours a later date than the traditional version, even as late as the fifth century CE, see S. Collins, "On the very Idea of the Pāli Canon", *JPTS*, 15, 1990, p. 95-97; E.W. Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo: Migoda, 1946, p. 94.

⁵ There have been many studies on this subject, for example see such authors as R.O. Franke, who undertook extensive research into the composition of the Pāli texts in his works: "The Buddhist Councils at Rājagaha and Vesālī", *JPTS*, 1908, pp. 1-80; "Die Gāthās des Dīghanikāya mit ihren Parallelen", *JPTS*, 1909, rpt. 1978, 6, pp. 311-384; "Die Suttanipāta-Gāthās mit ihren Parallelen", *ZDMG*, 63, 1909, pp. 1-64, 255-286; 1912, 66, 204-260, 699-708; "Die Gāthās des Vinayaṭīkā und ihre Parallelen", *WZKM*, 24, 1910, pp. 1-32, 225-80, and his "Konkordanz der Gāthās des Majjhimanikāya", *WZDMG*, 24, 1912, pp. 171-221. Also concentrating on the Pāli texts, H. Lüders, *Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen urkanons*, ed. E. Waldschmidt, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1954. While others have done similar work on the early Sanskrit manuscripts that have come to light, for example see, E. Waldschmidt, ed. & tr. *Das Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, 3 vols. Berlin, 1950-51, and more recently K. Meisig, *Das Sūtra von den vier standen*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1988.

⁶ See K.R. Norman, "The Value of the Pāli Tradition", *Collected Papers*, vol. 3, Oxford: PTS, 1992, pp. 33-44.

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Authorship and sources of the Jātakanidāna

The Pāli text of the *Jātakanidāna* is the first text of its kind within the Theravādin tradition that provides a developed biography of the Buddha. This is not to suggest that biographical material on the life of the Buddha is completely wanting in the Pāli canon. However, where such biographical details do occur they depict only isolated events which have no substantial, or in most cases, chronological, connection. The reasons for the late addition of a more detailed account of the Buddha's life and career to the Pāli canon are not yet fully understood. Among the various possible reasons for the production of such a text may be the emergence of a cult centred on the personality of the Buddha that sought to treat him as a more than a mortal, and yet at the same time to show his apparent humanity, and the trials that it was necessary for him to undergo in order to become a buddha. It is of course also quite possible that influences from the Buddhist schools on the Indian mainland came to impinge upon the Buddhist tradition in Ceylon where the *Jātakanidāna* appears to have been composed.¹

The *Jātakanidāna* is still extant in its original form, and has a history that can be traced with some degree of precision. This text is the outcome of both oral and written traditions spanning many centuries. The text of the *Jātakanidāna* is a composite work, containing as it does material from the earliest strata of the Pāli canon, possibly dating to the fourth century BCE. It also, presumably, contains materials from the old oral commentaries accompanying these canonical works, and finally commentarial material possibly from as late as the fifth century CE that was added in Ceylon. This text is, however, one of the few Pāli texts whose date of compilation in its present form can be put within reasonably narrow parameters. From the introductory verses² we learn that the text was composed at the request of three *theras*, Atthadassī, Buddhāmitta, and Buddhadeva.³ The first two of these *theras* appear to have come from the Mahāvihāra monastery⁴ in Anurādhapura during the early fifth century CE. The last *thera*, Buddhadeva,⁵ did not belong to the Mahāvihāra school but was a member of the Mahīmsāsaka school. The authorship of this text is uncertain, being ascribed by the Singhalese tradition to the great Indian commentator and translator Buddhaghosa,⁶ though this is disputed by many on stylistic and other grounds. As there were a number of

¹ It is probable that the Mahāyāna tradition was present in Ceylon from as early as the second century CE, so there would have been the opportunity for their texts to become known in the monasteries in Ceylon. See S. Paranavitana, "Mahāyānism in Ceylon", *Présence du Bouddhisme*, ed. R. de Berval, Saigon, 16, 1959, p. 515.

² These verses are unfortunately not included in the Tibetan translation, but are given in the Pāli, see V. Fausbøll, ed. *The Jātaka Together with its Commentary*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1877, p. 1.

³ Given the fact of the existence of Theravādin groups on the Indian mainland, and that many of these famous translators and commentators were of Indian origin, it could well be that the *Jātakanidāna* was composed in southern India. See B.S. Padma & J.C. Holt, "Buddhism in Andhra and its Influence on Buddhism in Sri Lanka", *The Indian Historical Review*, 23, 1997, p. 7.

⁴ For the probable school affiliation of Atthadassī, see G.P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, vol. 1, London, 1937, rpt. Delhi: Oriental Reprint, 1983, p. 56; for Buddhāmitta, see vol 2, p. 308

⁵ See G.P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, vol. 2, London, 1937, rpt. Delhi: Oriental Reprint, 1983, p. 308.

⁶ That Buddhaghosa was the author of the text is by no means certain, not least because of the introductory verses, see K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature*, Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983, p. 128. The authorship by Buddhaghosa has also been questioned on grounds of literary style, the *Jātakanidāna* and Dhammapada commentary are so different from the other works purportedly written by Buddhaghosa that Burlingame and Rhys Davids are certain that he was not the author. See E.W. Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends*, vol 1, London: PTS, 1921, rpt. 1979, pp. 59-60. The authorship of the text by Buddhaghosa is also doubted by Renou, see L. Renou & J. Filliozat, *L'Inde classique*, tome

contemporaries of Buddhaghosa, also working on translating or editing the Sinhalese commentaries, the authorship of many of them is uncertain. Even to say that the text had an author in the contemporary sense of the term is misleading, for as has already been mentioned the *Jātakanidāna* is made up of layers of early canonical materials, particularly *gāthās*, interspersed with both early and later prose commentary.

Some of the early commentarial material contained in the *Jātakanidāna* has a history almost as old as the canonical literature itself, being collected together from a very early date in Buddhist history.¹ The oral traditions preserving the Buddhist canonical teachings were taken to Ceylon by Mahinda in the third century BCE. At that time, or very soon after,² the oral commentaries on the canonical texts were also taken to Ceylon. The canonical works in Pāli, while the commentaries appear to have been in a north Indian Prākṛit³ that was very closely related to Pāli. In Ceylon the canonical works were maintained in an oral tradition using Pāli but the commentaries, with the exception of any canonical *gāthās* contained in them, were retained in Prākṛit. These commentaries were themselves soon translated into Old Sinhalese Prākṛit, apparently in order to make them more easily accessible to the Sinhalese. So, from a very early period the canonical material in Ceylon was preserved orally in Pāli, with the Indian commentaries being translated into Old Sinhalese Prākṛit. These Old Sinhalese commentaries came to be known collectively as the *Aṭṭhakathās*, and were considered as authoritative sources for elucidating the topics contained in the canonical works.

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With the committing of the Pāli canon to writing in Ceylon during the first century BCE the ability to preserve, and disseminate, canonical texts was greatly improved. From this time, up to the fifth century CE, the Old Sinhalese commentaries were retained as they were, with other newer commentaries being added to them over time. Thus, by the fifth century CE a mass of commentarial literature in Sinhalese Prākṛit, ancient and medieval, had built up around the Pāli canonical sources. As the original canonical literature was preserved in the now sacred language of Pāli a movement arose aimed at translating, or more correctly retranslating, all of the commentarial materials into that language. It is a curious fact that the many of the leading names in this translation work, Buddhaghosa, Buddhadatta, and Ācariya Dhammapāla,⁴ are all Indian monks from the mainland, rather than Sinhalese monks. This translation project had a twofold objective, the first being to clarify the meaning of these works, as the Sinhalese language had changed significantly since their translation from Pāli into Old Sinhalese, so much so that

2, Paris: EFEO, 1953, pp. 357-8.

¹ One of Buddhaghosa's Abhidhamma commentaries contains the Dūrenidāna section of the *Jātakanidāna* in its entirety. So it is possible that this part of the text either was considered as an independent work, or was in fact an independent work. See E. Müller, ed. *Atthasālinī*, London: PTS, 1897, rpt. 1979, p. 32.

² See E. Frauwallner, *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature*, Rome: Serie Orientale Roma, 1956, p. 18.

³ Though some scholars, such as Childers, consider that the commentaries were in Pāli rather than some other Prākṛit dialect. Norman says there is no evidence about which language the commentaries were in at Mahinda's time. He speculates that these commentaries: represented a heterogeneous mass of material, in various dialects, and probably included comments on readings which differed from those in the canon as established in Ceylon. see K.R. Norman, "The Role of Pāli in Early Sinhalese Buddhism", in *Collected Papers*, vol 2, Oxford: PTS, 1991, pp. 37-38.

⁴ It is not overstating the case to say that these three persons were the prime figures in the work of translating these commentaries into Pāli. I.B. Horner says: the production of the Commentaries in the form we have them now was undertaken in the main by Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla and to a lesser extent by Buddhadatta. *The Clarifier of the Sweet Meaning*, London: PTS, 1978, p. vi.

the interpretation of some of them was uncertain. The second task was to edit the texts, eliminating duplications and spurious texts, and expounding a teaching consistent with that of the Mahāvihāra tradition.¹ Thus, whoever the translator, and composer, of the *Jātakanidāna* may have been, it is evident that they relied heavily on these Old Sinhalese commentaries for the traditions explaining the canonical *gāthās* included in that text.

There were several Indian translators from this period working in Ceylon, who were associated with this translation and editing work. The most important figure being that of Buddhaghosa, though whether he composed the *Jātakanidāna* is a contentious issue.² He is the undisputed compiler of a great many Pāli commentarial works, but his method was not a straightforward translation. However, since none of the Old Sinhalese commentaries are currently extant it is impossible to ascertain what relationship his works have to their original texts. There are also two other commentarial texts that have a very close relationship with the *Jātakanidāna*, these are the *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary, the *Madhuratthavilāsini*,³ and the *Apadāna* commentary, the *Visuddhajanavilāsini*. It is probable that both these texts are later than the *Jātakanidāna*, and that they borrow significant portions from it.⁴ What is significant is the fact that the *Jātakanidāna* itself is the product of numerous levels of canonical text, translation of old commentary, and the commentary of its compiler. Parts of it being initially compiled in a north Indian dialect, followed by a retranslation into Old Sinhalese Prākṛit, and finally a retranslation into Pāli. While it is apparent that other parts of it were composed in Pāli either during the fifth century CE, or shortly before this time.

The Tibetan translation of the Jātakanidāna and its Tibetan translator

The Tibetan translation of the *Jātakanidāna* provides one of the few⁵ Pāli texts appearing in Tibetan

¹ All of these three major commentators studied and worked in the Mahāvihāra, and so it is reasonable to assume that any text they produced would at least have some approval from that tradition. See I.B. Horner, *The Clarifier of the Sweet Meaning*, London: PTS, 1978, pp. viii-ix; and S. Collins, "On the very Idea of the Pāli Canon", *JPTS*, 15, 1990, p. 96.

² Other possible authors of the text are Buddhadatta and Ācariya Dhammapāla. Buddhadatta is attributed with the authorship of the *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary. While Dhammapāla is said to have been interested in the Khuddakanikāya, he did write commentaries on some of the texts in this Nikāya. See G.P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, vol. 1, London, 1937, rpt. Delhi: Oriental Reprint, 1983, pp. 1145-1146

³ The author of this commentary, Buddhadatta, was originally from south India, and it is possible that he actually composed it in India. He may also have visited Ceylon before Buddhaghosa had been there. See A.P. Buddhadatta, *Buddhadatta's Manuals*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1915, pp. x-xii.

⁴ Certainly the *Apadāna* commentary borrows directly from the *Jātakanidāna* in its Nidānakathā section, see C.E. Godakumbura, ed. *Visuddhajanavilāsini nāma Apadānaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1954, p. xv. The composition of the *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary, that is traditionally thought to have been completed soon after the *Jātakanidāna*, also draws on the *Jātakanidāna* for much of its prose commentary on the *gāthās* of the *Buddhavaṃsa*. See I.B. Horner, ed. *Madhuratthavilāsini nāma Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1978, pp. v-vi. The *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* commentary also has a version of the first part of the *Jātakanidāna*, the Dūrenidāna, that corresponds to the first forty seven pages of the PTS edition of the *Jātakanidāna*. However, the PTS edition does not actually include the text there, so it is not possible to make a comparison, but only refers one to the edited text of V. Fausbøll, ed. *The Jātaka Together with its Commentary*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1877, pp. 2-47. See E. Müller, ed. *Atthasālini*, London: PTS, 1897, rpt. 1979, p. 32.

⁵ There are the thirteen Pāli texts translated by the Sinhalese monk Ānandaśrī and the Tibetan translator Ñi ma rgyal mtshan which are listed in the Peking bKa' 'gyur. Volume twenty-one: no. 747, Chos kyi 'khor lo rab tu bskor ba'i mdo (S. 56, 11-12); no. 748, sKyes pa rabs kyi gleṅ gzi ('i bśad pa) (J, 1, 1-94); no. 749, lCañ lo can kyi pho brañ gi mdo (D. III, no. 32, 194-206); no. 750, 'Dus pa chen po'i mdo (D. II, no. 20, 253-262); no. 751, Byams pa'i

translation included in the Tibetan bKa' 'gyur. The comparative scarcity of the occurrence of Pāli texts included among the Tibetan translations renders them important, both from the point of view of the history of the Buddhist religion, and from the viewpoint of philological research. The Tibetan text of the *Jātakanidāna*, like the Tibetan translations of Sanskrit texts, represents an extremely precise and literal translation of the Pāli version. The translator has been at pains to construe both the technical terminology, and the meaning of the Pāli original into an accurate Tibetan translation. Despite the time and effort that this translation must have taken, and the fact that it had been translated into Tibetan at all, the history and doctrines of the text are sparsely dealt with in the Tibetan historical or commentarial sources.

Neither the Tibetan canonical, and commentarial literature, nor the Tibetan historical sources have any extensive works on the Pāli texts that are found in Tibetan translation. In his *Chos 'byuñ* in the section on *sūtras*, Bu ston simply lists the group of thirteen Pāli texts translated into Tibetan, and says that they were recently translated by *pañḍita* Ānandaśrī and *bla ma* Ņi ma rgyal mtshan dpal bzañ po.¹ The case of the Pāli texts translated into Tibetan is quite different to the Tibetan translations of Sanskrit texts, which were systematically translated together with any commentarial works that were available for those texts. The reasons for the translation of this group of texts remains unknown. It could be that their status as *paritta* texts made them important enough to warrant translation. It may also simply be that for the monk Ānandaśrī the translation of the thirteen texts was sufficient for his purposes, or that he just did not have in his possession any copies of the commentaries to the thirteen texts.

The Pāli texts found translated into Tibetan in the bKa' 'gyur had to employ a separate and quite distinct system of translation terminology. It is evident that the Tibetan translator of the *Jātakanidāna* had a knowledge of Sanskrit, for most Tibetan *lo tsā bas* 'translators' were proficient in this language, but whether he also knew Pāli is uncertain. The colophon to the Tibetan translation of the *Jātakanidāna*, the *sKyes pa rabs kyi gleñ gzi*, names both the Tibetan translator of the text and the *pañḍita* who had brought the text for translation, and who presumably must have participated in the translation process. The Tibetan translator or *lo tsā ba* is named as Śākya'i dge sloñ Ņi ma rgyal mtshan dpal bzañ po.² This

mdo (Pāli uncertain); no. 752, Byams pa bsgom pa'i mdo (A, II, 16); bSlab pa lña'i phan yon gyi mdo (Pāli uncertain); no. 754, Ri'i kun dga' ba'i mdo (A, LX); no. 755, Klu'i rgyal po dga' bo ñer dga' 'dul ba'i mdo (Vism, XII); no. 756, 'Od sruñ chen po'i mdo (S, V, II); no. 757, Ņi ma'i mdo (S, I, 51); no. 758, Zla ba'i mdo (S, I, 50); no. 759, bKras śis chen po'i mdo (Khp, V). Besides the above works there are also eleven other texts listed in the Peking catalogue as having parallels to the Tibetan, or being the basis for the Tibetan translations, the Peking bKa' 'gyur volume thirty-eight lists them: no. 955, mDo chen po gzugs can sñiñ pos bsdu ba śes bya ba (cf. Pāli, Vin, I, 22); no. 956, mDo chen po stoñ pa ñid ces bya ba (M, no. 121); no. 957, mDo chen po stoñ pa ñid chen po śes bya ba (M, no. 122); no. 958, mDo chen po rgyal mtshan mchog ces bya ba (cf. Pāli, S, XI, 3.); no. 962, gZon nu dpe'i mdo (S, III, 1); no. 963, Khams mañ pa'i mdo (cf. Pāli, M, no. 115); no. 966, 'Phags pa dge ba'i bśes gñen bsten pa'i mdo (cf. Pāli, S, XLV, 2); volume thirty-nine, no. 982, 'Phags pa bden pa bzi'i mdo (S, LVI, 21); no. 997, Zla ba'i mdo (S, II, 1. 9); no 1005, Las mnam par 'byed pa (cf. Pāli, M, no. 135); volume forty-two, no. 1031, So sor thar pa'i mdo (cf. Pāli Pātimokkha).

¹ See Bu ston's work, *Bu ston chos 'byuñ gsuñ rab rin po che'i mdzod*, China Tibetology Publishing House, Qinghai, 1988, p. 225: ri'i kun dga' bo'i mdo / klu'i rgyal po dga' bo ñer dga' bo btul ba'i mdo / 'od sruñ chen po'i mdo / ñi ma'i mdo / bkra śis chen po'i mdo / a'dul pa chen po'i mdo / byams pa'i mdo / byams pa sgom pa'i mdo / slabs pa lña'i phan yon gyi mdo / chos kyi 'khor lo rab tu bskor ba'i mdo / sKyes pa rabs kyi gleñ gzi / lcañ lo can gyi pho brañ gi mdo / de rnam pañḍi ta ā nanta śrī ñi ma rgyal mtshan dpal bzañ pos gzar du bsgyur pa yin /.

² Bu ston gives the name Ņi ma rgyal mtshan bzañ po as one of the later translators in Tibet, *Bu ston chos 'byuñ gsuñ rab rin po che'i mdzod*, China Tibetology Publishing House, Qinghai, 1988, p.210. Like other Tibetan teachers

person was a well known Tibetan teacher and translator¹ who had translated more than thirty-three² *sūtra* and *tantra* texts included in the bKa' 'gyur, and some forty-five³ translations included in the bsTan 'gyur. He was also a leading figure in the field of Sanskrit grammatical studies in Tibet, and well known for his knowledge of Sanskrit grammar, lexicography and other Indian languages.⁴ The dating of this person can be approximately given by referring to the Tibetan tradition regarding the dating of Ņi ma rgyal mtshan's own teacher, Śes rab señ ge, and his pupil Bu ston. The *Deb ther sñon po*⁵ gives the dates, based upon Roerich's reckoning, of Śes rab señ ge as 1251-1315. The probable dating for the life of Bu ston of 1290-1364 is given in his *rNam thar*.⁶ It is also mentioned in Bu ston's *Chos 'byuñ* that Ņi ma rgyal mtshan dpal bzañ po had lived in Nepal for a fourteen year period during which he met the *paṇḍita* Ānandaśrī.⁷

These Tibetan sources allow us to ascertain certain important details and information about Ņi ma rgyal mtshan, the Tibetan translator of the *Jātakanidāna*. The internal evidence of the colophon itself provides the name of the translator. This person as a scholar and teacher of some repute would no doubt have been well known in Tibet at the time. The secondary bibliographic, biographical and historical sources of the Tibetan tradition allow for an approximate dating of Ņi ma rgyal mtshan to around the turn of the fourteenth century. The information provided in Bu ston's *rNam thar* indicates that Ņi ma rgyal mtshan knew Sanskrit grammar and other Indian languages. The fact that he was also conversant with other Indian languages is significant, as this knowledge would have been essential for his translation of Pāli texts into Tibetan. Based on this historical evidence we can deduce that the Tibetan translator Ņi ma rgyal mtshan can be placed fairly accurately between the last half of the thirteenth century and the early decades of the fourteenth century, and that the translation of the *Jātakanidāna* into Tibetan must have taken place during the latter part of that period.

The Tibetan historical sources furnish us with a reasonably detailed picture of the Tibetan translator of

Ņi ma rgyal mtshan was known by a variety of names, such as Thar pa lo tsā ba Ņi ma rgyal mtshan, Ņi ma rgyal mtshan, Ņi ma rgyal mtshan bzañ po and Thar lo Ņi ma rgyal mtshan; see P.C. Verhagen, *A History of Sanskrit Grammatical Literature in Tibet*, vol. 1, Leiden: Brill, 1994, pp. 94, 324; see also J.L. Panglung, "Zur tibetischen Übersetzung des *Jātakanidāna*", *Festschrift Dieter Schlingloff*, ed. F. Wilhelm, Reinbek, 1996, p. 209-210.

¹ He is listed among the later group of translators by the sixteenth century Tibetan historian dPa' bo gtsug lag (1503-1565), see, L. Chandra, ed. *mKhas-pa'i-dga'-ston of dPa'-bo-gtsug-lag*, part 1 (*ka-tha*), New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1959, p. 176.

² See, D.T. Suzuki, ed., *The Tibetan Tripitaka Peking Edition Catalogue and Index*, Tokyo: Suzuki Research Foundation, 1956, rpt. Kyoto: Rinsen, 1985, index p. 187.

³ P.C. Verhagen, *A History of Sanskrit Grammatical Literature in Tibet*, vol. 1., Leiden: Brill, 1994, p. 94.

⁴ The *rNam thar* of Bu ston describes Ņi ma rgyal mtshan as being: renowned as Tibet's chief bhadanta (btsun pa) in the East, West and Centre of India", see, D. Seyfort-Ruegg, *The Life of Bu-ston Rin-po-che*, Rome: Serie Orientale Roma, 1966, p.80; P.C. Verhagen, *A History of Sanskrit Grammatical Literature in Tibet*, vol. 1., Leiden: Brill, 1994, p. 94; Bu ston's study of Sanskrit grammar and different languages with the Thar pa lo tsā ba (Ņi ma rgyal mtshan) are referred to in the *Deb ther sñon po*, see, G.N. Roerich, tr., *The Blue Annals*, Calcutta, 1949, rpt. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1979, pp. 792-3.

⁵ See G.N. Roerich, tr., *The Blue Annals*, Calcutta, 1949, rpt. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1979, pp. 791-2.

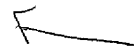
⁶ See D. Seyfort-Ruegg, *The Life of Bu-ston Rin-po-che*, Rome: Serie Orientale Roma, 1966, pp. 65, 165.

⁷ The text seems to suggest that the translation of the thirteen Pāli texts took place in Nepal. The text reads: bdag gi bla ma Ņi ma rgyal mtshan dpal bzañ pos bal por lo bcu bzir sbyaṅs pa mdzad / ri'i kun dga' imdo la sogs mdo bcu gsum tsam paṇḍi ta ā nanda śrī spyān draṅs te bsgyur ro // . See Bu ston's work, *Bu ston chos 'byuñ gsuñ rab rin po che 'i mdzod*, China Tibetology Publishing House, Qinghai, 1988, p. 206.

anachronism!



cross-reference!



the *Jātakanidāna* into Tibetan. Though many details are not included in these sources, they give a basic historical background to the translation process. However, the most intriguing question, as to why this particular group of Pāli texts was translated into Tibetan at all, remains unanswered. There are no indications in the Tibetan sources about Ñi ma rgyal mtshan's motives or reasons¹ for translating these texts, and thus from the point of view of understanding his purpose or intentions in translating these Pāli texts we know nothing. Furthermore, there is absolutely no information whatever in the colophon, or the Tibetan secondary sources, concerning the transmission of the thirteen Pāli texts in Ceylon, or for that matter their transmission in India.

The standard practice in the colophons to bKa' 'gyur texts is to give the nationality of the *paṇḍita*, usually Indian, as one of the means of establishing the text's authenticity. The *paṇḍita* who was collaborator in the translation of the *sKyes pa rabs kyi glen gzi* is named in the colophon of the sTog Palace² edition as *paṇḍita* Ānandaśrī. In this colophon there is no further information given about this *paṇḍita* concerning his nationality or sectarian affiliations. However, the colophon found in the dDe dge edition of the bKa' 'gyur which is appended to the last of this group of thirteen Pāli texts translated into Tibetan, the *Mahāmaṅgala-sutta*, adds some important additional information about this *paṇḍita*. This colophon states that *paṇḍita* Ānandaśrī was from Ceylon, a place which is said to be six hundred *yojanas* to the south of Bodh Gayā. He was born in a brahmin family, became a Buddhist monk, and mastered the Tripiṭaka.³ Some of the thirteen colophons refer to Ānandaśrī as *mahāpaṇḍita*, while others describe him as a virtuous Sinhalese monk who was a pupil of Dīpaṅkara from Bodh Gayā.⁴

There is a certain amount of detail that can be obtained from the colophon and other materials about the Tibetan translator, but regarding the Sinhalese monk Ānandaśrī we learn only his nationality, caste and name. The Tibetan historical sources say nothing more about this person, and there appear to be no

¹ One possible reason is that Ñi ma rgyal mtshan was aware of their status as *paritta* 'protective' texts and as an avid translator of *tantras* and *stotras* translated these thirteen texts. See, P. Skilling, "Theravādin Literature in Tibetan Translation", *JPTS*, Oxford, 1993, 19, pp. 82-3, where he says the thirteen texts could have been placed at the end of the Tshal pa *Kanjur* because they were recognised as *paritta* texts and so put in an auspicious location.

² The translation of the colophon in this study is located at section III 31 of the translation, in the sTog Palace bKa' 'gyur, the Tibetan colophon to the *sKyes pa rabs kyi glen gzi* (*Jātakanidāna*), is at mDo sde, vol. 87, Chi, no. 290, folios. 104b-105a: paṇḍi ta ā nanda śrī'i žal sṅa nas dañ / mañ du thos pa'i lo tsatsha ba śākya'i dge sloṅ ñi ma rgyal mtshan dpal bzañ pos / skad gñis smra ba rnam kyī gdan sa gtsug lag khañ chen po dpal thar pa gliñ du bsgyur ciñ žus te gtan la phab pa'o // sa'i steñ du ñi zla ltar gyur cig //

³ The sDe dge colophon is found in the sDe dge bKa' 'gyur, *bKra śis chen po'i mdo* (*Mahāmaṅgala-sutta*), Śes rab sna tshogs, vol. Ka, folio 284a: de ltar mdo bcu gsum po 'di rnam ni 'dzam bu'i gliñ gi dbus / 'phags pa'i yul / byañ chub kyi sñiñ po rdo rje'i gdan las dpag tshad brgya tsam byañ śar du bgrod pa'i bod yul / gañ sa'i 'khrod / rtsaṅ ñiñ ro tshoñ 'dus 'gyur mo'i sa cha / 'phags pa'añ byuñ 'jig rten dbaṅ phyug gi gtsug lag khañ gi bdag po / sañs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyi bstan par la lhag par mos sñiñ / dpal 'byor dañ chab srid du ma la dbaṅ phyug dam pa'i go 'phañ thob pa'i ža lu pa sgu žaṅ grags pa rgyal mtshan du dpen śa'i bka' luñ gis / byañ chub kyi sñiñ po rdo rje'i gdan las lho phyogs su dpag tshad drug brgya tsam bgrod pa'i gnas / siñ gha gliñ pa bram ze'i rigs las legs par rab tu byuñ žiñ bsñen par rdzogs pa sde snod gsum la thugs legs par byañ pa'i paṇḍi ta ā nanda śrī'i žal sda nas. The Tibetan Tripiṭaka, Taipei Edition, vol. 7, *sKyes pa rabs kyi glen gzi* (*Jātakanidāna*), vol. Ka, no. 43, folio 294a, Taipei: SMC Publishing, 1991, p. 423.

⁴ In the sTog Palace edition the *Maitrī-sutta*, *Maitribhāvana-sutta*, *Nandopānandanāgarājadamana-sutta*, *Giriānanda-sutta*, and *Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta* all include the suffix *chen po - mahā-*. The information about Ānandaśrī's teacher is from the sNar than edition, quoted by Skilling, p.89-90. P. Skilling has discerned two different colophons, one belonging to the Them spañs ma tradition and one to the Tshal pa tradition, for a full discussion see his "Theravādin Literature in Tibetan Translation", *JPTS*, Oxford, 1993, 19, pp.88-90.

Sinhalese historical sources that cover his life or activities. The occurrence of a Sinhalese monk as collaborator in a Tibetan canonical work is unusual, but there are instances of at least one other Sinhalese collaborator appearing in the bKa' 'gyur. There are five texts in the *tantra* section of the bKa' 'gyur that are ascribed to a Sinhalese *yoginī* named Candramāle.¹ Beyond giving her name the colophons provides no other information.

In view of this lack of Tibetan sources on the history or composition of the *Jātakanidāna*, any study of its Tibetan translation must, therefore, be almost entirely dependent upon Pāli historical sources for information on the author and other details. The Theravādin tradition, however, has a number of commentarial sources that enable a study from a historical, textual, and doctrinal viewpoint. The commentarial section to the *Buddhavaṃsa gāthās* quoted in the *Jātakanidāna*, also has parallels in the individual commentary to this text in Pāli, as do the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, *Dhammapada*, *Theragāthā gāthās* which are also cited in that text. Although information on the background and history of the text through Tibetan sources is extremely limited, this is more than compensated for by the amount of material that can be found in the Pāli and Sanskrit sources. It is these sources that allow for a greater appreciation of the elements which find their way into the text, and for an understanding of the doctrinal developments contained in it.

Place of the Jātakanidāna in Pāli literature

The Pāli text of the *Jātakanidāna* represents the earliest systematic attempt within the Theravādin tradition at a connected, and elaborated, biography of the Buddha. This is not to infer that biographical material on the life of the Buddha is completely absent from the Vinaya-piṭaka and Sutta-piṭaka of the Pāli canon. However, where it is present it is purely incidental to the specific text in which it occurs, and is recorded in an extremely fragmentary and unsystematic form, without any regard to the overall chronology of the major events of the Buddha's life.² There is one major occurrence in the Sutta-piṭaka of the Pāli canon on the legendary traditions concerning the Buddha's birth, these are found in the *Acchariyabbhutadhammasutta*³ of the Majjhima-nikāya. In this text the extraordinary events surrounding the conception and birth of the Gotama are portrayed. The treatment of the story here is the most systematised and developed that is found in the early Nikāya literature. It represents the beginnings of the bodhisatta myth for the Theravādin tradition, and contains the first canonical record of the conception that the Buddha belongs to an altogether more supramundane lineage than that of a mere human.

The longest and most coherent attempt at a biographical work on the Buddha's life in the early Pāli

¹ The texts appear in volume three of the bKa' 'gyur, the numbers and titles of the five texts are: no.37. *dPal ye śes gsañ ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po*, no. 38. *dPal ye śes phreñ ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po*, no.39. *dPal ye śes 'bar ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po*, no. 40. *dPal zla ba'i phreñ ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po*, no. 48. *dPal rdo rje rgyal po chen po'i rgyud*, no.50. *dPal ye śes bsam pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po*, all these texts appear in volume three of the Peking bKa' 'gyur, see, D.T. Suzuki, ed., *The Tibetan Tripitaka Peking Edition Catalogue and Index*, Tokyo: Suzuki Research Foundation, 1956, vol. 3, pp. 17-25.

² There are of course certain texts within the Pāli tradition in particular those contained in the *Khuddakanikāya* that are concerned with providing a more complete picture of the life of the Buddha. The *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Cariyāpiṭaka* are the most important of this genre, but these works along with the *Jātakanidānakathā* have been shown to be of a later date than the First Council, and these two texts will be dealt with at the appropriate place in this study.

³ *The Majjhima-nikāya*, ed. R. Chalmers, Oxford: PTS, 1994, vol. 3, pp. 118-124.

On this subject, whether or not,
we should cite Schyler's
criticism

canonical literature of the Sutta-piṭaka is found in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*¹ of the Dīgha-nikāya. This text is by no means a full biography, but is only a connected record of the events during the last few months in the life of the Buddha, culminating with his death and *parinibbāna* at the village of Kusināra. The reasons for the relatively late addition to the Pāli canon of a more detailed account of the Buddha's life and career, such as that found in the *Jātakanidāna*, have not yet been satisfactorily resolved. Among the various possible reasons for the production of such a biographical text may be the emergence of a cult² centred on the personality of the Buddha. Such a cult would require a more complete depiction of the Buddha's life in order to show his humanity as well as the trials, hardships, and the sheer time span during which he underwent countless rebirths in order to become a buddha. It is of course also possible that other doctrinal influences from the Buddhist schools on the Indian mainland³ came to have an effect upon the Buddhist tradition in Ceylon where the *Jātakanidāna* is assumed⁴ to have been composed.

Though the early texts of the Pāli tradition contained a collection of *Jātaka* stories relating to the Buddha's previous lives, it possessed no continuous or detailed life story of the Buddha Gotama prior to the *Jātakanidāna*. Nevertheless, the Sutta-piṭaka of the Pāli canon does contain works that are what might be termed emblematic biographies. They establish the notion of buddhas existing prior to Gotama, and give each of them an emblematic biography, a biography that emphasises the similarity of all their lives, and establishes the key religious events common to all buddhas. The *Mahāpadāna-sutta* of the Dīgha-nikāya⁵ mentions six buddhas who preceded Gotama: Vipassi, Sikhi, Vessabhu, Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana, and Kassapa. The accounts of these buddhas is given in an already fairly codified list, where each buddha's life span is given together with their clan name, names of their two chief disciples, the number of *arahats* in their assemblies, attendants' names, parents' names and their places of birth and the trees they sat under at their enlightenment. In brief, these early Nikāya accounts of previous buddhas provide a stylised and religiously authoritative basis for the concept of a previous lineage of buddhas. These Pāli references to previous buddhas are significant for the reason that they are indicative of an early, if scantily recorded,

¹ *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, no. 16, *Dīgha-nikāya* vol. 2, eds. T.W. Rhys-Davids and J.E. Carpenter, PTS, London, 1903, rpt. 1982, pp. 72-168.

² It is well known that there were Buddhist centres in southern India, such as Nāgāḥiṇakoṇḍa and Amarāvati, that had cults practising *stūpa* worship and Hirakawa suggests that the *stūpa* cult was instrumental in bringing about a cult of *bodhisattva* worship. See: A. Hirakawa, "The Rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its Relationship to the Worship of Stūpas", *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, 1963, 22, pp. 85-91.

³ There were significant contacts between Ceylon and the Indian mainland, particularly with Buddhist sects in southern India such as the Mahīśāsaka, Sarvāstivādin, Mahāsaṃghika and other sects who were also represented in the south. See: S. Paranavitana, "Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in Ceylon", *B.C. Law Volume, Part 2*, eds. D.R. Bhandarkar et al, Poona, 1946, pp. 15-18. also his "Mahāyānism in Ceylon", *Présence du Bouddhisme*, ed. R. de Berval, 1959, 16, pp. 515-527; H. Bechert, "On the Identification of Buddhist Schools in Early Sri Lanka", *Indology and Law, Studies in Honour of Prof. J.D.M. Derrett*, eds. G.D. Sontheimer et al, Wiesbaden, 1982, pp. 60-76.

⁴ The introductory verses to the *Jātakanidānakathā* do not give the name of the author of the text, though the Theravāda traditions of both Śri Lanka and Burma ascribe it to Buddhaghosa. However, many scholars question this, B.C. Law who omits the *Jātaka* commentary from his list of Buddhaghosa's works, says: I have great doubt as to the correctness of the theory that Buddhaghosa was the author of the *Jātaka* commentary. See O. von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*, 1996, p. 131; and see also K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature*, 1983, p. 128.

⁵ The *Mahāpadāna-sutta*, Dīgha-nikāya II, no. 14. The Buddha-vagga of the Saṃyutta-nikāya, II, p. 4-9, also mentions six previous buddhas: Vipassi, Sikhi, Vessabhu, Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana, Kassapa. The Saṃyutta-nikāya, II, p. 191-2, mentions three buddhas: Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana, Kassapa. The *Māratajjaniya-sutta*, Majjhima-nikāya I, no. 50, pp. 332-338, mentions the buddha Kakusandha.

Pāli tradition dealing with the conception of buddhas predating Gotama. They also begin to set out the stereotype for the idealised life of a buddha, and the specific life events, which come to be seen later as the defining features of any buddhas' life.

All the other Hīnayāna schools possessed Prākṛit, Sanskrit or mixed-Sanskrit, biographical materials of some kind or other, and of varying degrees of completeness, on the Buddha Gautama's life. The four most important of these early Sanskrit biographical records are the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, *Lalitavistara*, *Buddhacarita*, and the *Mahāvastu*. The *Saṅghabhedavastu* is a Vinaya text of the Mūlasarvāstivādin and is thought to date from as early as the second century BCE. This text contains a remarkably detailed biography of Gautama that forms one of the earliest attempts in the Buddhist Sanskrit tradition to flesh out the life story of Gautama.

The *Lalitavistara*¹ though now considered a thoroughgoing Mahāyāna work can be clearly seen to be a product of the Hīnayāna Sarvāstivādin² school. Philological and historical studies on this text have found that it can shown to have derived much of its material from Sarvāstivādin³ canonical sources, some of these dating from between the second century BCE and the first century CE. However, on the basis of the inclusion of these early Hīnayāna sources, the work in its present form is regarded as a product of considerable editing and revision. It represents, therefore, a perfectly Mahāyāna view of the Buddha.⁴ This work relies heavily on Sarvāstivādin Sanskrit materials, and gives that school's traditional account of the life of Gautama, covering the period of his descent from the Tuṣita heaven up to his preaching of the *Dharmacakrapravartana-sūtra*. In the *Lalitavistara* the details of the life of the Buddha are given in some detail, and provide what may be the most complete account of the Buddha's life in the period from birth to enlightenment.⁵

This text continues a trend in Buddhist thought and literature that comes to be almost exclusively concerned with the life of the Buddha Gautama. This work also concerns itself with the nature of the bodhisattva, and of the path followed for the achievement of buddhahood. The *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghōṣa, who is thought to have belonged to the Bahuśrutika⁶ school, dates to approximately the first century CE.⁷

¹ See A.C. Bannerjee, *Sarvāstivāda Literature*, Calcutta, 1957, rpt. Calcutta: The World Press, 1979, pp. 247-8; *Lalitavistara*, 2 vols., ed., Lefman, S., Halle, 1902.

² See: E.J. Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought*, 1971, p. 134. where Thomas says that the *Lalitavistara* is probably based on an older Sarvāstivādin *avadāna* but with a Mahāyāna overlay. Also see: J.K. Nariman, *Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism*, 1919, rpt. Delhi, 1992, pp. 19-20. who points out that the *Lalitavistara* is regarded as one of the *Vaipulya-sūtras* of Mahāyāna tradition.

³ E.J. Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought*, London: RKP, 1933, rpt. 1971, p. 282, see also E.J. Thomas, "The Lalitavistara and Sarvāstivāda", *IHQ*, 16, 1940, p. 241; Jong, J.W. de, "Recent Japanese Studies on the Lalitavistara", *Indologica Taurinensis*, 24, 1998, pp. 248-249, 251; M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. 2, Calcutta, 1933, p. 248; E. Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism*, Louvain-Paris, 1988, pp. 624-5.

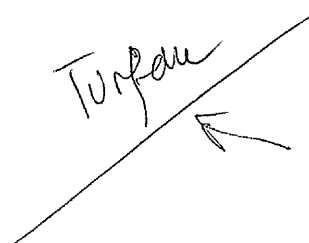
⁴ The dating of the *Lalitavistara* is problematic because of its composite nature, but a date for its essential elements ranging from between the second century BCE to the second century CE seems possible, though the last two chapters could well be of a much later date.

⁵ The *Lalitavistara* has been translated into both Chinese and Tibetan, while in Nepal it is given an exalted place in the classification of Buddhist texts being regarded as one of the *Vaipulya-sūtras*, see R. Mitra, ed., *The Lalitavistara, or the Memoirs of the Early Life of Śākya Siṃha*, Calcutta: Baptist Press, 1877, pp. 17, 22.

⁶ E.H. Johnston *Buddhacarita or Acts of the Buddha*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1984, pp. xxiv-xxxlv.

⁷ E.H. Johnston, *Buddhacarita or Acts of the Buddha*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1984, pp. xiii-xx.

Turfau



This text covers a similar portion of Gautama's life as described in the *Lalitavistara*, and may owe much to the *Lalitavistara* as a source¹ of biographical materials.

The *Mahāvastu*² dating from between the second century BCE and the third or fourth century CE,³ represents the history of Gautama's life as recorded by the Vinaya traditions of the Mahāsāṃghika Lokūttaravādin school. This text also gives a history, and life story, of the previous Buddha Dīpaṃkara. This is the buddha who was said to have been the first to appear in the world, though the version of the story found here is not the same story found in the Pāli⁴ sources. The text then relates the life story of Gautama up to his first teaching and some of the early conversions that he made. The importance of all these early sectarian biographies for historical and doctrinal research, lies in the common stock of early historical and textual materials that they all appear to be based upon. Each one of the Buddhist schools draws on the historical and textual traditions preserved by their own particular tradition's canonical corpus of literature. In this way they each construct a biography of the historical Buddha from a basic core of ancient Buddhist literary, legendary, and mythological tradition.

Biographical sources in the Vinayas

Among the earliest traceable canonical elements forming these old biographical traditions, of whichever school, are the historical and legendary materials preserved in the Vinayas of the different Buddhist schools. These basic core biographical accounts of the Buddha's life are found not only in the Vinaya of the Pāli canon, but also in the Vinaya texts of those schools that used Sanskrit.⁵ Currently only the Mūlasarvāstivādin recension of this Sanskrit Vinaya tradition exists, albeit in an incomplete form, in its original language. The Vinayas of the other four known Sanskrit Vinaya traditions, Sarvāstivādin, Dharmaguptaka, Mahīśāsaka and Mahāsāṃghika,⁶ are extant only in Chinese or Tibetan translation. Though the biographical nature of all these Vinaya materials, apart from that of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, is confined to a very short time in the life of the Buddha. They deal with an extremely limited period of

¹ J.K. Nariman, *Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism*, 1919, rpt. Dehli, 1992, pp. 28-9.

² E. Sénart, *Le Mahāvastu*, ed., 3 vols, Paris, 1882-1897.

³ J.J. Jones, tr. *The Mahāvastu*, vol. I, London, 1949, p. xi; *Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism*, J.K. Nariman, 1919, rpt. Dehli, 1992, pp. 17-18; *A Critical Study of the Mahāvastu*, T. Rahula, Delhi, 1978, pp. 13-16.

⁴ The Sanskrit version in the *Mahāvastu* clearly represents a quite different tradition than that of either the *Jātakanidāna* or *Buddhavaṃsa* versions of the Pāli canon, there being hardly any correspondences between the two accounts. For the *Mahāvastu* account of Dīpaṃkara see: *Le Mahāvastu*, vol. I, ed., E. Sénart, Paris, 1882, pp. 193-248. The Pāli accounts are in the *Jātaka* at ed. V. Fausbøll, ed. *The Jātaka Together with its Commentary*, vol. I, London: PTS, 1877, pp. 10-30, and the second *vaṃsa* of the *Buddhavaṃsa*, see N.A. Jayawickrama, ed. *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka*, London: PTS, 1974, pp. 9-23.

⁵ There are in fact nine different Vinaya traditions in all: Pāli, Mahāsāṃghika, Mahāsāṃghika Lokūttaravādin, Mahīśāsaka, Dharmaguptaka, Kāśyapīya, Saṃmitīya, Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda. Some of these are extant only in partial Chinese translation so for the purposes of this study only the more complete versions that have an extant Skandhaka section are dealt with. See E. Frauwallner, *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature*, Rome: Serie Orientale Roma, 1956, pp. 1-2, 46; and also C.S. Prebish, *A Survey of Vinaya Literature*, Taipei: Jin Luen Publishing House, 1994, p. 46.

⁶ The *Mahāvastu* is a work of the Mahāsāṃghika Lokūttaravādin school and though extant in Sanskrit is really only a fragment of their Vinaya collection.

approximately ten¹ months or a year. It is this early, basic material, found in the Vinayas treating of the life of the Buddha, that represents some of the oldest strata of the Buddhist historical and legendary traditions that began to record the life story of the Buddha Gotama.

For the Pāli canon the principal Vinaya source as the earliest probable starting point for the depiction of the life, or most significant event of it, of the Buddha was the Mahāvagga section of the Vinaya-piṭaka. The Mahāvagga itself is contained within the Khandhaka² that consists of the twenty sections of the Vinaya that give the stories, or precedents, connected with the rules for the *saṅgha*. Though this Pāli account was, like all the other Vinaya biographies, an extremely restricted view of a limited period of the Buddha Gotama's life. The Mahāvagga account begins with the period immediately after the Buddha's enlightenment and extends only as far as the conversion and ordination of the two men who were to become his chief disciples.

The primary extant Sanskrit Vinaya sources for a biography of the Buddha are contained in the final two sections of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, the *Samghabhedavastu*³ and the *Kṣudrakavastu*,⁴ Though other sections of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya such as the *Śayanāsanvastu* and the *Adhikaraṇavastu*⁵ also contain a significant amount of biographical detail on the life of the Buddha. The two sections comprising the *Samghabhedavastu* and the *Kṣudrakavastu* correspond in name to the Pāli Khandhaks found in the Mahāvagga. However, the Sanskrit works are not found in the section corresponding to the Pāli Mahāvagga section, but in the section that corresponds to the Pāli Cullavagga section that is found at the end of the Pāli Khandhaka. It should be mentioned that the biographical accounts found in the Sanskrit *Samghabhedavastu* and the *Kṣudrakavastu* provide, in contrast to the Pāli Vinaya records, a relatively detailed and extended life of the Buddha following his enlightenment, and cover some episodes that occur in the *Jātakanidāna*.

History and Role of the Skandhaka

The themes and the topics dealt with in all these early Hīnayāna Sanskrit Vinaya biographies, and the corresponding Pāli versions, indicates that there were a common stock of ideas and legendary materials to which they all referred. These identifiable themes concern what must be among the earliest attempts at

¹ See: S. Jinananda, "A Comparative Study of the Mahāvagga and the Mahāvastu", *The Nava-Nālanda Mahāvihāra Research Publication vol 1*, Patna, 1957, p. 248. /a

² For details on the precise composition of the Pāli Khandhaka see, O. von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*, Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1996, p. 16; K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature*, Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983, p. 22-26. For the composition of the Sanskrit Skandhakas, and their Chinese translations, see E. Frauwallner, *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature*, Rome: Serie Orientale Roma, 1956, pp. 3-5, 68-130, and C.S. Prebish, *A Survey of Vinaya Literature*, Taipei: Jin Luen Publishing House, 1994, pp. 46-56.

³ R. Gnoli, ed., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Samghabhedavastu*, vol. XLIX 1, Part I, Rome: Serie Orientale Roma, 1977. *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Samghabhedavastu*, vol. XLIX 2, Part II, Rome: Serie Orientale Roma, 1978.

⁴ The location of the two sections of *Samghabhedavastu* and *Kṣudrakavastu* at the end of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya is at variance with the Vinayas of other schools. In the Vinayas of the Pāli, Dharmaguptaka and Mahīśāsaka schools all place the sections corresponding to these two Sanskrit sections at the beginning of their Khandhakas. See, E. Frauwallner, *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature*, Rome: Serie Orientale Roma, 1956, p. 46.

⁵ These two sections have been edited by R. Gnoli, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanaāsanavasyu and the Adhikaraṇavastu*, vol. L, Rome: Serie Orientale Roma, 1978.

historicising the character of the historical Buddha, in particular the Buddhistically significant events of his life. It is this common stock of tradition which forms the basis of all of the biographical works that evolved among the different schools. Among the primary canonical source materials for the early Hīnayāna biographical works like the *Sanḅhabhedavastu*, *Lalitavistara*, *Buddhacarita* and *Mahāvastu*, would seem to be a part of the Vinayas that each of the Buddhist schools preserved in their canons. These historical traditions, preserved in the Vinayas of the different schools, are therefore, a focal point in any study of a Buddha biography, since they are among the oldest strata¹ of all the Buddhist literature that has come down to us.

The fact that all the six Vinaya traditions of the Sarvāstivādin, Dharmaguptaka, Mahīśāsaka, Pāli, Mūlasarvāstivādin and Mahāsaṅghika,² share not only a common twofold division into a Vibhaṅga section, and a Skandhaka section, but also similarity of content, is of great importance. This close similarity in the structure and content, though not always in their sequence, of the Skandhaka sections³ of these different Vinayas is an indication of their common origins. On this basis it has been asserted by Frauwallner⁴ that they are all entirely reliant upon a common source of ancient Buddhist tradition for their origin. Moreover, of these six schools the Skandhaka sections of four, the Sarvāstivādin, Dharmaguptaka, Mahīśāsaka, and Pāli, have all been traced back to a single⁵ source text dating to approximately the mid-second century BCE. If the text upon which the Skandhakas of the four above Vinayas are all based does indeed predate Aśoka's mission to Ceylon, as Frauwallner maintains, then it is correct to infer that this source text is of great antiquity⁶ within the Buddhist textual tradition. It can thus be taken as representative of a very early layer of Buddhist historical, and legendary traditions.

¹ A date of origin between 100 and 160 year after the Buddha's death has been assigned to these sections of the Vinaya by Frauwallner, see E. Frauwallner, *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature*, Rome: Serie Orientale Roma, 1956, p. 53. /d

² Four of these are preserved in their Chinese translations, these are the Vinayas of the Sarvāstivādin, Dharmaguptakas, Mahīśāsakas, and Mahāsaṅghikas. See E. Frauwallner, *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature*, Rome: Serie Orientale Roma, 1956, p. 2, C.S. Prebish, *A Survey of Vinaya Literature*, Taipei: Jin Luen Publishing House, 1994, pp. 76-83, 70-75, 66-70, 56-61, and J.W. de Jong, "Les Sūtrapīṭaka des Sarvāstivādin et des Mūlasarvāstivādin", *Mélanges d'Indianisme*, Paris, 1968, p. 396.

³ For the divisions of the Sanskrit *Skandhaka* and Pāli *Khandhaka* see C.S. Prebish, *A Survey of Vinaya Literature*, Taipei: Jin Luen Publishing House, 1994, pp. 22-31, 51-52, 68-70. See also E. Frauwallner, *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature*, Rome: Serie Orientale Roma, 1956, pp. 2-4, and J. Przyluski, *Le Concile de Rājagṛha: Introduction a l'histoire des canons et des sectes bouddhiques*, Paris: Paul Geuther, 1926, pp. 134-200.

⁴ The main argument of Frauwallner is that all six Vinaya traditions stemmed from the same ancient Vinaya that is no longer extant, see: *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature*, Rome: Serie Orientale Roma, 1956, pp. 2, 4.

⁵ E. Frauwallner argues that the *Skandhaka* section of the Vinayas of these four schools derive from the same ancient tradition, namely: "the Vinaya brought with them by the missionaries of Aśoka when they founded the oldest Buddhist communities; and this was the Vinaya current about 250 BCE, in the region of Vidiśā." *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature*, Rome: Serie Orientale Roma, 1956, p. 23. This view for such an early date for the Vinaya is not universally accepted, see H. Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism: A Survey with Bibliographical Notes*, Tokyo, 1980, rpt. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1989, p. 51, where T. Ueda dates the compilation of the Vinaya to c.100 CE.

⁶ Regarding the early dating and significance of this Skandhaka/Hinayāna states: "The existence of a structure comprising the whole Khandhaka at the same time means that this is the first successful attempt to compose a really long text in the history of old Indian literature, longer still than the Mahāparinibbānasuttanta", *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*, Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1996, p. Ly, 10

The researches of some scholars into the different Buddhist Vinayas lead them to conclude that the Old Skandhaka text¹ provided the basic raw materials for the stories about the life of the Buddha compiled by the different schools following the period of the schisms. The Old Skandhaka text that is referred to here is really a hypothesised text that no longer exists in its original form, if it ever did exist as envisaged by those scholars. It is in a sense known only by the recurrence of the same basic motifs and details about the life of the Buddha that occur within the extant Vinaya traditions. This Old Skandhaka text has since been elaborated and developed over time in various ways by the different schools, but certain key parts of it can be discerned, to a greater or lesser extent, in the accounts found in the six extant Vinaya traditions.

From a very early period each school seems to have provided itself with a biography of the Buddha that can be seen to stem from this extremely ancient common source. The Chinese recension of the *Abhiniṣkrama-sūtra* questions what is the name of the text dealing with the life of the Buddha. Providing the answer that the Mahāsāṃghikas call it the *Mahāvastu*, the Sarvāstivādins call it the *Mahālalitavistara*, the Kāśyapīyas call it the *Buddhajātakanidāna*, the Dharmaguptakas call it the *Śākyamunibuddhacarita*, the Mahīśāsakas call it the *Vinayapiṭakamūla*.² The common significant feature of all these biographies is that they depended on the Old Skandhaka text for their inspiration, for it provided them the canonical authority, and precedent, for their compilation.

The Old Skandhaka text which formed part of the early or proto-Vinaya text, was itself a derived work in that much of the text is devoted to the elaboration of already existing monastic regulations. For the very earliest³ layer of Vinaya that can be reasonably posited must be the Pātimokkha, or some very similar list of monastic rules. This is due to the fact that the recitation of the Pātimokkha rules is one of the earliest known regular⁴ monastic rituals. An indication of its importance for the *saṅgha*, and we may assume the familiarity that the *saṅgha* would have had with it, is that the *saṅgha* was required to perform the recitation⁵ of the Pātimokkha every two weeks. The Skandhaka section, as a commentary on the

¹ E. Frauwallner treats the 'Old' *Skandhaka* as representative of the earliest Buddhist recording of traditions concerning the first two Councils and the Buddha's life story, see *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature*, Rome: Serie Orientale Roma, 1956, pp. 46-48. T. Brekke defines this 'Old' or 'Original' *Skandhaka* as a literary work more than two-thousand years old and refers to the original form of the text, not to the Skandhaka text of any particular school, "The Skandhaka of the Vinaya Piṭaka and its Historical Value", *WZKS*, 1998, 42, p. 23. E. Lamotte argues that "the structure of the Old *Skandhaka* is only just recognizable in the Vinaya of the Dharmaguptakas and Mahīśāsakas and the Pāli Vinaya." *History of Indian Buddhism*, Louvain-Paris, 1988, p. 178.

² This Chinese text is probably a translation of the *Abhiniṣkrama-sūtra*, or some other such text that is concerned with detailing the early life of the Buddha. See, E. Frauwallner, *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature*, E. Frauwallner, Rome: Serie Orientale Roma, 1956, p. 50; Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism*, Louvain-Paris, 1988, p. 177; R. Mitra, ed., *The Lalitavistara, or the Memoirs of the Early Life of Śākyā Simha*, Calcutta: Baptist Press, 1877, p. 19.

³ There are however divergent views about the date of the very earliest Vinaya materials. The Pātimokkha with its intimate connection to monastic life must probably rank as one of the main contenders most ancient part of the Vinaya. H. Oldenburg considers the Pātimokkha to be the earliest example of Buddhist Vinaya literature, see *Vinayapiṭaka*, vol. II London: PTS, 1880, rpt. 1995, p. xv, though T.W. Rhys Davids ranks the Vinaya collection as a whole to be a late work, see his *The History and Literature of Buddhism*, 1896, rpt. Varanasi: Bhartiya Publishing House, 1975, p. 67.

⁴ The recitation of the Pātimokkha rules is among one of the oldest communal rituals of the Buddhist *saṅgha*, see O. von Hinüber, "Structure and Origin of the Pātimokkhasutta of the Theravādins", *AOH*, 51, 1998, p. 261

⁵ O. von Hinüber says in support of this: Every single monk has to know them by heart so to join in their recitation

monastic regulations, would then appear to have been compiled somewhat later¹ than the Pātimokkha. This Skandhaka text serves as an early attempt to make known the early events in the life of the Buddha following his enlightenment, and at thus at the same time the early history of the *saṅgha*. It also provides a commentarial explanation of the monastic regulations. All such matters of monastic regulations and records concerning the beginnings of the *saṅgha* were of great importance for the identity and functioning of the early Buddhist *saṅgha*.

Concluding remarks

From the outline of the historical background to the *Jātakanidāna* it is clear that the text is unique in the textual history of both Pāli and Tibetan. Its production was dependent on a varied assortment of canonical, and commentarial, materials of widely different content and date. From the point of view of the Theravādin tradition it is a seminal work for two reasons. Firstly, it is the first Pāli text to give a systematic historical and legendary basis to the life of the Buddha Gotama. In the second instance it is also the first text to present the doctrine of the bodhisatta, along with the novel doctrines of *vyākaraṇa* 'prediction', and the ten *pāramīs*, as integral and indispensable stages of the bodhisatta's career. Also on this doctrinal level, another layer of innovative technical terminology emerges that is employed in the text to describe the bodhisatta, the terms *buddhabijāṅkura* 'nascent buddha', and *buddhalīḷha* 'play of the buddha' belong to this category of concept. This range of concepts together with the depiction of certain episodes in the bodhisatta's life develop a more docetic view of both buddhas, and bodhisattas, than is found in the Theravādin tradition prior to this.

The Tibetan translation of the text is equally unique, both for its witness to the Pāli text at a given historical period, and for the fact that it appears in all Tibetan sources classified as a bKa' 'gyur text. The ability to date the Tibetan translation within certain limits means that the Tibetan text represents an independent record of the state of the Pāli text at the time of its translation into Tibetan. Thus, the comparison of the Pāli and Tibetan versions undertaken in this study reveals that there are very few discrepancies between the two versions. This allows for the conclusion to be made that the Pāli text, as we have it today, is little altered from the version of it that was translated into Tibetan during the fourteenth century. As has already been mentioned the Tibetan classification of the *Jātakanidāna* as a canonical text may be due to a number of wrong assumptions, though it is not impossible that the Tibetans were following the tradition of the Sinhalese monk with whom they were collaborating on the translation. From the philological perspective the Tibetan text is an important example of the way in which the Tibetans translated a highly developed, and stylistic work of narrative prose literature that is far removed from the style, and ethos, of the Pāli oral tradition.

The methods used in preparing the Tibetan diplomatic edition are designed to produce a text that gives

every fortnight on the *uposatha*-day. See, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*, Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1996, p. 9.

¹ It is of course entirely possible that the rules and their commentary came into existence very early in the development of the Vinaya. H. Oldenburg when regarding the relative dating of the component parts of the Vinaya states that: in the Mahāvagga and Culavagga the ecclesiastical regulations, and stories given in connexion with these, were composed at one and the same time. *Vinayapīṭaka*, vol. II, London: PTS, 1880, rpt. 1995, p. xxiv. /c

an accurate representation of five of the Tibetan translations. The English translation that is made from this edition includes the complete text of the Tibetan edition. Every opportunity is taken in the critical apparatus of the edition, and notes in the translation, to give cross references to the Pāli text. However, the critical study undertaken here is not intended to be a systematic study of the entire text. For the *Jātakanidāna* is an encyclopedic collection of Buddhist legends, and doctrines, presenting a connected account of the lives of past buddhas and bodhisattas. The all encompassing nature of the text force the aims of the present study to be limited in scope from the beginning. The essential purpose of the critical study is then to focus on a number of textual and historical issues, together with a study of the doctrines specific to the *Jātakanidāna*.

The remainder of this study is devoted to the identification, and exegesis of certain of the distinctive doctrinal, and legendary, elements presented in the text. This includes a study concerning the place of the text in Pāli literature, and its depiction of the twenty-four buddhas. There is then an examination of how the bodhisatta doctrine is presented in the text, with a study of the role of the *pāramīs*, and how the text presents the seminal episodes in the life of Gotama as a bodhisatta. Hence, only those doctrines that are presented as being essential for the bodhisatta will be focused on. By taking each of these elements of the doctrines in turn, and attempting to trace their canonical precursors, the importance of these doctrines, and concepts, for the emerging bodhisatta doctrine is effected. By viewing the text within its historical, literary, and doctrinal contexts an appreciation of the importance of the text, for the Theravādin tradition, can be achieved. While the study of those salient doctrines contained in the text show their overall significance for that tradition, and for its doctrinal evolution of the bodhisatta concept.

Chapter Two

The Jātakanidāna as a Literary and Historical Continuation of the Canonical Records of Past Buddhas

Introduction

The study in the preceding chapter has shown that the historical backgrounds to the Pāli *Jātakanidāna*, and its Tibetan translation, are to some extent recoverable. Though in the matter of canonicity the Pāli, and Tibetan, traditions regarded the text in entirely different ways. The focus in this chapter is on the text as a literary type, and a vehicle of doctrinal development. In regard to the central theme of the text both Pāli¹ and Tibetan² versions make initial reference to the concept of a *buddhavamsa* 'lineage of the buddhas' or 'history of the buddhas'. Other than these brief references neither of these two traditions makes any mention of the biographical or historical nature of the text that is implicit in the concept of *buddhavamsa*. This biographical element of the *Jātakanidāna*, that is also its single most distinguishing feature, is the unmistakable concern of the text. The only canonical Pāli text to present an attempt at such an overtly biographical approach is the *Buddhavamsa*. It might be argued that the Jātaka is itself a collection of biographical works that already existed in Pāli, but if we take only the *gāthās* as representing canonical³ tradition then very little of what we could term biography remains. Apart from in the late *jātakas*⁴ the biographical elements are only introduced into the individual *jātakas* through the prose commentaries, that are used to contextualise and explain the *gāthās*. The four commentarial prose sections of the *paccuppannavatthu*, *aṭṭavattthu*, *veyyākaraṇa*, and *samodhāna*,⁵ are used to contextualise and authenticate the *gāthā* or *gāthās* they are connected with. Without these commentaries it would be very difficult to consider many of the *gāthās* in the *jātakas* as representing biographies, or biographical

¹ The Pāli reference to this concept of a *buddhavamsa* does not appear in the text proper of the *Jātakanidāna*, but in the introductory verses. Here the reason for the composition of the *Jātakanidāna* is the preservation of the knowledge of the *buddhavamsa* 'lineage or history of the buddhas'. See V. Fausbøll, ed. *The Jātaka Together with its Commentary*, vol 1, London: PTS, 1877, p. 1.

² The Tibetan has the buddha himself giving the teaching about the *saṅs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyi rgyud* 'lineage of the bhagavan buddhas' or 'lineage of the buddhas and bhagavans'. See sections I 1 of the translation and edition.

³ How the Pāli tradition itself regards the status of the Jātaka prose commentary to the *gāthās* is unclear. Among scholars the status of the commentary to these *gāthās* is generally considered to be non-canonical, this is the view of Geiger, Winternitz, Nakamura, Norman, and von Hinüber, see W. Geiger, *Pāli Literature and Language*, Leipzig, 1916, tr. Ghosh, B., Calcutta, 1978, p. 21, remarks: Only the verses however were regarded as canonical; the prose narrative was left more or less to the discretion of the reciters; M. Winternitz, "Jātaka Gāthās and Jātaka Commentary", *IHQ*, 4, 1928, pp. 1-14, who says: p. 2, it has become almost the general opinion of scholars that only the *Jātaka-Gāthās* can claim canonical authority; Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism: A Survey with Bibliographical Notes*, Tokyo, 1980, rpt. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1989, p. 48; K.R. *Pāli Literature*, Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983, p. 77, where he says: With very few exceptions only the verses are regarded as canonical; O. von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*, Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1996, p. 55, says: The (prose) story, however, does not enjoy canonical status as do the verses, but is considered a commentary.

⁴ The prose commentary is only absolutely essential to an understanding of the *gāthās* in the first five hundred *jātakas*, following these a new type of self explanatory *gāthās* occur in the remaining stories, see O. von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*, Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1996, p. 57.

⁵ The four elements are discussed by Norman, where he also says that the entire Jātaka prose commentary was probably the work of a single author, see K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature*, Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983, pp. 77-78.

materials at all.

The conception of a *buddhavaṃsa* is then a central, if not well articulated, theme of the *Jātakanidāna*. This is especially the case in the *Dūrenidāna* section that is concerned with the history and lineage of past buddhas. The narration of the history of these previous buddhas provides the opportunity for a general narration of their individual biographies. The biographical theme itself becomes the mechanism for developing the doctrinal theories dealing with the specific characteristics of buddhas. Moreover, the addition of the commentarial explanations to the canonical accounts of previous buddhas in the *Dūrenidāna*, allows for the inclusion of a detailed exposition of the nature of buddhahood. In this present chapter of the study the traditional Theravādin interpretation of the possible types, forms, or categories of text, together with the place of the text in the Pāli canon is discussed. Following this the Jain and Pāli canonical forerunners to the *Jātakanidāna*'s lives of the previous buddhas are assessed. Then the concept of buddhahood in the early Nikāya works is traced in order to contrast it with its later treatment in the *Jātakanidāna*.

Canonicity and text genre

The Pāli canon is composed of texts in a wide variety of differing literary forms, styles, and genres. While all of these texts are in some way or other pedagogic in nature, they are presented in the commentaries as belonging to particular literary forms, styles, and categories. There is no conception of genre, as it is understood in the West, found in the Pāli canon, nor even in the commentaries. There is strictly speaking no Pāli word that has the same connotation as the Western term for the concept of genre. The Pāli commentarial tradition does however recognise a nine-fold classification¹ of their canonical literature as one of the possible numerical divisions or classifications of their canonical texts. This division is not fully equivalent to the Mahāyāna tradition, which has a twelve-fold classification² of its texts. What is of importance for both the nine or twelve-fold divisions, is that they are only applicable to the canonical texts, they are not intended to be used to make a classification of the entire corpus of Buddhist literature.

The Pāli commentators have elaborated the scheme of nine *aṅgas*³ 'branches' of the Pāli canon, consisting of: *sutta*, *geyya*, *veyyākaraṇa*, *gāthā*, *udāna*, *ittivuttaka*, *jātaka*, *abbhutadhamma* and *vedalla*. The ninefold system of classification into *aṅgas* may in fact be the earliest Buddhist method of dividing the Pāli canon, earlier even than the division into the three *piṭakas*.⁴ These nine *aṅgas* can actually

¹ The nine are dealt with in the following works, K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature*, Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983, p. 15; O. von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*, Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1996, pp. 7-8, and W. Geiger, *Pāli Literature and Language*, Leipzig, 1916, tr. Ghosh, B., Calcutta, 1978, p. 13.

² The twelvefold classification is really a Hīnayāna scheme that came to be adopted by the Mahāyāna which adds a further three elements: *avadāna*, *nidāna* and *upadeśa*, to the ninefold scheme of the Pāli school. See, E. Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism*, Louvain-Paris, 1988, pp. 145-148; A. Hirakawa, *A History of Indian Buddhism from Śākyamuni to Early Mahāyāna*, ed. and tr. P. Groner, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1990, pp. 74-5; H. Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism: A Survey with Bibliographical Notes*, Tokyo, 1980, rpt. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1989, pp. 28-9.

³ K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature*, Wiesbaden, 1983, p. 15; O. von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*, Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1996, pp. 7, 41; E. Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism*, Louvain-Paris, 1988, pp. 143-45, 147-49.

⁴ The number of these *aṅgas* seems to have varied at various times from an original three into the present scheme of nine, see O. von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*, Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1996, p. 8.

represent either one of two entirely different things. They may in the first instance refer to a text with a particular content, or secondly, to a text in a particular literary form. This ninefold classification into *aṅgas* goes beyond the contemporary use of the term genre, and in this respect the *aṅga* classification often conflates the modern notions of both genre and form. Nevertheless, it is quite useful to think in general terms of the *aṅga* classification as sometimes approximating a Buddhist notion of genre. This is especially so in regard to the *sutta* and the *jātaka* classifications, as these are both representative of texts that must have a particular content, though they may be in more than one form.

Within the Theravādin tradition as a whole there are in reality, without including historical or grammatical works, only two categories of text. The first category is comprised of canonical works, the primary two groups of which are the *Sutta-piṭaka* divided into the five *Nikāyas*, and the *Vinaya-piṭaka* dealing with monastic discipline. These two classes of text were assigned a canonical status that reflected their direct connection with the historical Buddha. The second category of text consists of the commentaries on these canonical texts. This category also includes later independent works that are not strictly commentaries to any one specific text. The *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* is one such example of a work of this kind. This class of work is really a precis of a complete system of ideas, with the addition of the commentarial understanding of the works in that system. The twofold scheme of classification imagined here encompasses all the materials that were of importance from a strictly religious perspective, and for an understanding of the Buddha's teaching via the commentarial traditions associated with them.

One of the most basic criteria for according a text canonical status within the Theravādin tradition was whether or not it began with the formula *evaṃ me sutam* 'thus have I heard'¹ that was the hallmark of authoritative Pāli, or Sanskrit for that matter, canonical *suttas* or *sūtras*. The commentator Buddhaghosa states clearly in the *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*, commentary to the *Dīgha-nikāya*, the importance of the phrase *evaṃ me sutam* for the Theravādin tradition. In the introduction to that commentary² he explains that the phrase *evaṃ me sutam* was spoken by Ānanda as an introduction to the *suttas* that were recited during the First Council at Rājagaha. Therefore, the phrase validates the texts that it introduces, and shows that they were considered to be the actual words of the Buddha, as remembered by Ānanda, and so were accepted at the First Council as canonical from the very inception of the Pāli canonical tradition.

This phrase is then allotted the role in Buddhist textual history of introducing any of the canonical *suttas* that were immediately traceable to the Buddha's attendant Ānanda. The precise historical significance

¹ The short introductory phrase *evaṃ me sutam ekaṃ samayaṃ* has caused no small amount of discussion among scholars of the various Buddhist languages as to its precise semantic meaning. Of course the meaning of *evaṃ me sutam* as 'thus have I heard' is not disputed, the issue centres on whether or not to read it on its own or as an integral part of the following phrase. See J. Brough, 'Thus Have I Heard', *BSOAS*, XIII, 2, 1950, pp. 416-426. For more opinions on this topic see, Y. Kajiyama, "Thus Spoke the Blessed One...", in *Prajñāpāramitā and Related Systems: Studies in Honor of Edward Conze*, ed. L. Lancaster, Berkeley: University of California, 1977, pp. 93-99; J.A. Silk, "A Note on the Opening Formula of Buddhist *Sūtras*", *JIAS*, 12, 1989, pp. 158-163; B. Galloway, "Thus have I heard: At one time...", *IJ*, 34, 1991, pp. 87-104; M. Tatz, "Thus have I heard: At one time", *IJ*, 40, 1997, pp. 119-123; B. Galloway, "A Reply to Professor Mark Tatz", *IJ*, 40, 1997, pp. 367-371; C. Dragonetti & F. Tola, "Ekaṃ Samayaṃ", *IJ*, 42, 1999, pp. 53-55.

² See *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī: Brahmajālaśāpi 'Evaṃ me sutan' ti ādhikaṃ āyasmataṃ Ānandena paṭhama-mahāsaṃgīti-kāle vuttaṃ nidānam ādi*, see T.W. Rhys Davids & J.E. Carpenter, eds. *The Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1886, rpt. 1968, p. 2.

of this is expanded upon in the Cullavagga section of the Vinaya¹ where the first *saṃgīti* 'recital' of the Buddhist canon is recorded. The Cullavagga account of the events of this First Council says that following Upali's questioning by the *thera* Mahākassapa on the Vinaya, he then questioned Ānanda on the Dhamma after asking the *saṅgha* if the time was right for this.² Buddhaghosa's commentary to the Dīgha-nikāya has the same *thera* Mahākassapa, convenor of this Council, addressing the assembly saying:

Perhaps we should now recite the Dhamma and the Vinaya. I ought to question Upali on the Vinaya, and question Ānanda on the Dhamma.³

Both the Vinaya account, and the commentarial account, of this event are focused on verifying the persons from whom the Dhamma and Vinaya were obtained. This is the primary method by which the Theravādin tradition sought to authenticate their scriptures. In this respect this tradition is certainly aware of the historical importance of the existence both of the person of the Buddha Gotama, and of the teachings that are attributed to him.

The question of canonicity can also be viewed, from a purely historical perspective, as a question of the historicity of texts. For, in Buddhism these two issues of canonicity and historicity, are to some degree enmeshed. The conclusion that cannot be avoided here is that there is an intrinsic historical flaw in the traditional Theravādin explanation about the origin of the Pāli canon. Since philological studies over the last century have repeatedly uncovered historical discrepancies in the language of these texts. Hence the Pāli canon, as it now exists, is generally viewed as in all probability the product of the Mahāvihāra⁴ school who for historical reasons were the most influential in what must have been its final redaction. While it may not be possible to know what texts were actually recited at the First Council, that is posited by this canon, it is possible by philological research to ascertain which of the texts represent a historically later strata of that canon. This is not to question directly their traditional claim to canonicity, though that question is referred to, but simply to show that they appear in a certain chronological order.

In this study the historical and philological approaches are the first means of analysis in the matter of assessing the relative age of any canonical text. Though the traditional views about their origins have of course to be taken into consideration and evaluated. These two approaches are particularly relevant to the texts under consideration in this study, the *Buddhavaṃsa*, *Cariyāpīṭaka*, and the *Jātakanidāna*, that are rich in significant doctrinal and technical terminology. The language of these texts preserves a conceptual

¹ The Cullavagga chapter XI of the Vinaya-pīṭaka gives the background events to the First Council. The essential *raison d'être* for holding the First Council consists in the potential for dissension within the *saṅgha* represented by the figure of Subhadda who questions the validity of the monastic rules established by the Buddha, and the need to establish the correct wording of his teaching. See H. Oldenberg, H., ed. *Vinayapīṭaka*, vol. 2, London: PTS, 1880, rpt. 1995, pp. 284-285.

² This account is found in the Vinaya Pīṭaka: *Yadi saṅghassa pattakallaṃ, ahaṃ Ānandaṃ dhammaṃ puccheyyan ti*, see, H. Oldenberg, H., ed. *Vinayapīṭaka*, vol. 2, London: PTS, 1880, rpt. 1995, p. 287.

³ The Dīgha-nikāya commentary relates this 'Yaṃ nūna mayaṃ dhammañ ca vinayañ ca saṅgāyeyyāma. Ahaṃ Upāliṃ vinayaṃ puccheyyaṃ, Ānanda dhammaṃ puccheyyan ti', see, T.W. Rhys Davids & J.E. Carpenter, eds. *The Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1886, rpt. 1968, p. 16. See also the Vinaya commentary, J. Takakusu & M. Nagai, eds., *Samantapāsādikā*, vol 1, London: PTS, 1924, pp. 12-15.

⁴ In the view of S. Collins the Pāli canon represents the outcome of the process of legitimising the Mahāvihāra scriptures in the early part of the first century CE, see S. Collins, "On the very Idea of the Pāli Canon", *JPTS*, 15, 1990, p. 89.

view of both buddhas, and bodhisattas, that is unknown to other Pāli texts. This again raises the issue of the canonicity, or from the point of view of this study the historicity, or chronology, of particular texts. There can be no mistaking the historical, philological, and doctrinal developments that must have occurred for such a text as the *Buddhavaṃsa* to appear. The two canonical texts comprising the *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Cariyāpīṭaka* extend the *terminus ante quem* for the closure of the Pāli canon to perhaps the second century BCE. Though in regard to the latest probable date for the closing of this canon some Western scholars, and some Theravādin scholars, now accept that the final closing was probably a good deal later than the traditionally asserted date, possibly even as late as the time of Buddhaghosa in the fifth century CE.¹

Thus, while canonicity was an important issue the concept of genre is not formally recognised within the Pāli canon, or the commentarial traditions connected with it. The entire focus for those who compiled the canon was to distinguish between those works that could be demonstrably traced to the Buddha, and so be included in the canon, and those which were not traceable to the Buddha and were regarded as non-canonical. The scheme elaborated by the Theravādin tradition was essentially focused on authenticity of content, not on literary form or style. This system of classification had nothing whatever to do with genre or with any other modern literary theory, the focus of attention was only establishing authenticity from the Buddhist perspective. That the various types of literature which modern literary theorists would call genre exist in the Pāli canon is unquestionable. Though for the Buddhists the forms or styles in which the canonical texts appear was entirely insignificant. The purpose of the texts being subordinated to their religious purpose which was the authoritative transmission of the Buddhist teaching.

Despite what has been said above, it can be useful to regard the canonical works from the Western perspective of genre. Though it is clear that not all the modern categories are encompassed under the nine or twelve-fold schemes of Buddhist tradition. In some cases there are no corresponding categories in the Western system into which the works can be classified. This is because the major concern of Buddhist tradition was not with literary form or style, but with establishing whether or not texts were *buddhavacana*. In the cases of the *Buddhavaṃsa* or *Jātakanidāna* it is one where the texts can be viewed as representing that genre called in modern literary terms a biography. The trend towards producing biographies of the Buddha, in however truncated a form, seems to have been a common development in this branch of literature that emerged among most of the Buddhist schools.

The Khuddakanikāya, and its place in Buddhist literature

The Pāli text of the *Jātakanidāna* forms an introduction to the Jātaka collection contained in the Khuddakanikāya. This Nikāya is one of the more anomalous and irregular of the Pāli canon. This is both from the point of view of the texts it may contain, the doctrines within those texts, and the various ways in which it was classified in the Pāli commentaries. Even the precise number of texts collected in this Nikāya has varied widely for the Theravādin tradition at different times in Buddhist history, from as few as nine to as

¹ This view for such a late completion to the Pāli canon is held by such diverse scholars as S. Collins and W. Rahula, see S. Collins, "On the very Idea of the Pāli Canon", *JPTS*, 15, 1990, p. 95-96; and W. Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo: Gunasena, 1956, p. xix.

many as nineteen. The number of texts that have been accepted by the commentarial in Ceylon as constituting this Nikāya, from at least the fifth century CE, are the fifteen now included within that collection in the Pāli *tipiṭaka*.¹ That different traditions existed concerning the contents of one of the five Nikāyas of the Sutta-piṭaka, all five of which are accepted as canonical by the Theravādin tradition, in no way invalidates the claim for the Khuddaka-nikāya to be considered as an extremely ancient collection of texts.

There is evidence, from inscriptions found at Bhārhut and Sāñcī, for the term *pacane-kāyika* 'one knowing the five Nikāyas' being employed from as early as the second century BCE.² This is not to maintain that all the texts collected within the Khuddaka-nikāya are of equal antiquity, for clearly many of its works can be shown to date from a period considerably later than the First Council. In consideration of the relative age of some of its texts, it may be noted that other works from within the first four Nikāyas quote from some of the texts that are contained in the Khuddaka-nikāya.³ The discrepancy between the number and position of the various texts of the Pāli Khuddaka-nikāya assigned by the different Pāli Buddhist traditions, may at least be ascertained with some certainty. It is thus possible to see how these traditions classified these texts, and which of them they included or omitted.

The Khuddaka-nikāya is comprised of a group of disparate texts that seem to have proved something of a problem to the compilers of the Nikāyas. The Theravādin tradition appears to have placed all these miscellaneous texts that did not readily fit into the scheme of the four Nikāyas into this Khuddaka-nikāya or fifth Nikāya. It is possible that not all the texts of the Khuddaka-nikāya were originally accepted as equally authoritative, in that they may not have been regarded as *buddhavacana* in the strict sense of the term. On account of this they were, therefore, classified as Khuddaka or 'Minor works'.⁴ Whatever the initial standing of this Nikāya may have been it is apparent that the division into five Nikāyas is an old one. For, according to Theravādin sources, the last work to be added to their canon was the *Kathāvatthu*⁵ during the Third Council in the third century BCE. If this is the case, it can be surmised that the

¹ The discrepancies in the number of texts contained in the Khuddaka-nikāya are indicative of its 'unstable' nature for the Theravādin Buddhist traditions. K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature*, Wiesbaden, 1983, p. 9, gives the lists of twelve texts, excluding the *Buddhavaṃsa*, *Cariyāpiṭaka* and *Apadāna*, as recorded by the Dīgha-bhāṇakas, who included them in the Abhidhamma-piṭaka. While p. 31 of Norman's work gives the fifteen texts reckoned by Buddhaghosa to constitute the Khuddaka-nikāya and which he incorporates within the Sutta-piṭaka. M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature* vol. 2, 1933, p. 77, adds that the Burmese tradition include four texts in their Khuddaka-nikāya that are not regarded as canonical in Ceylon namely: *Milindapañha*, *Suttasaṅgaha*, *Petakopadesa* and the *Nettipakaraṇa*. See also W. Geiger, *Pāli Literature and Language*, 1978, p. 19, who says of the Khuddaka-nikāya: It contains texts of the most diverse characters, and it is significant that among the Buddhists of Ceylon, Burma and Siam there is no complete agreement as to the pieces belonging to it.

² Lamotte, E., "Khuddakanikāya and Kṣudrakapiṭaka", *EW*, 1957, 4, p. 343. The term *pañcane-kāyika* is also recorded, see W. Geiger, *Pāli Literature and Language*, Leipzig, 1916, tr. Ghosh, B., Calcutta, 1978, p. 10.

³ E. Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism*, 1988, p. 157. Where he gives two reasons for believing the antiquity of at least some of the texts of the Khuddaka-nikāya; firstly they are used as sources by the first four Nikāyas, and secondly, most of them have corresponding versions in Sanskrit or Prākṛit.

⁴ Sangharakshita, *The Eternal Legacy*, 1985, p. 45.

⁵ The Pāli chronicle the *Dīpavaṃsa* chapter seven, verse 41, states that Moggaliputta taught the *Kathāvatthu* after the council of Pataliputta, see H. Oldenberg, ed. & tr. *The Dīpavaṃsa: An ancient Buddhist historical record*, London: 1879, rpt. Delhi: AES, 1982, p. 52. The later chronicle the *Mahāvaṃsa* follows this statement at chapter five, verse 278, see Geiger, W., ed. *The Mahāvaṃsa*, London: PTS, 1908, p. 55.

Khuddaka-nikāya, in either its twelve or fifteen text format, or both, had been known in Ceylon from a very early period. Whatever the date of its introduction the Khuddaka-nikāya became a well established part of the Sutta-piṭaka for the Theravādin tradition. The importance of the Pāli Khuddaka-nikāya for textual and historical studies is that it represents the only complete and extant specimen of this fifth Nikāya from amongst all the Buddhist traditions.

The position of the Khuddaka-nikāya in relation to the Pāli commentarial tradition in Ceylon, from at least Buddhaghosa's time in the fifth century CE, and therefore in all probability from a somewhat earlier period, seems to be unanimous in accepting a canon consisting of five Nikāyas. Three of Buddhaghosa's commentaries, the *Attahasālinī*, the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* and the *Sāmantapāsādikā*¹ give a list of five Nikāyas with the Khuddaka-nikāya as the fifth. What is interesting here is the definition of the Khuddaka-nikāya given in those commentaries. The Khuddaka-nikāya is said to consist of certain short texts, but also said to include the entire Vinaya-piṭaka and Abhidhamma-piṭaka.² The number of the actual texts in the Khuddaka-nikāya is given as fourteen in the *Attahasālinī*, while the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* gives a figure of fifteen. So, even though a collection known as the Khuddaka-nikāya was recorded within the fairly homogenous Pāli commentarial traditions of Ceylon, the number of texts included within it was anything but firmly established. The inclusion of the Vinaya-piṭaka and Abhidhamma-piṭaka in the Khuddaka-nikāya by these same sources gives an insight into how that Nikāya had come to be used as a convenient place to locate texts that were considered as *buddhavacana* but had no other place for inclusion within the five Nikāya classification of texts.

Given that the Khuddaka-nikāya seems to have been known in Ceylon from an early period it is unusual that the term for the transmitters of this Nikāya, the Khuddaka-nikāya-*bhāṇakas*, or Khuddaka-*bhāṇakas*, does not occur in the commentarial literature of that country.³ It may well be as Adikaram suggests that the Khuddaka-*bhāṇakas* existed in India at that time but not in Ceylon. For the first reference to this school of Khuddaka-*bhāṇakas* in the Pāli texts only occurs in the *Milinda-pañha*,⁴ a work of a later date than the five Nikāyas,⁵ that came to Ceylon from the Indian mainland.⁶ Although there is no term used to describe the transmitters of the Khuddaka-nikāya, at least in Ceylon, there is reference made to the transmitters of the Jātaka collection who were known as the Jātaka-*bhāṇakas*. These Jātaka-*bhāṇakas* were supposed to learn not only the Jātaka and its commentary but also the text of

¹ See the Vinaya commentary, J. Takakusu & M. Nagai, eds., *Sāmantapāsādikā*, vol 1, London: PTS, 1924, p. 16.

² The definition in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*: Katamo Khuddakanikāyo? Sakalaṃ Vinayapiṭakaṃ Abhidhammapiṭakaṃ Khuddakapāthādayo ca pubbe-nidassita-pañcadasa-bhedā, ṭhapetvā cattāro nikāye avasesaṃ Buddha-vacanaṃ, see T.W. Rhys Davids & J.E. Carpenter, eds., *The Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1886, rpt. 1968, p. 23. See also the *Attahasālinī*: Katamo Khuddakanikāyo? Sakalaṃ Vinayapiṭakaṃ Abhidhammapiṭakaṃ Khuddakapāthā-Dhammapadādayo ca pubbe dassita-cuddasappabhedā, ṭhapetvā cattāro nikāye avasesabuddhavacanaṃ ti, E. Müller, ed. *Attahasālinī*, London: PTS, 1897, rpt. 1979, p. 26.

³ The lack of any evidence of these *bhāṇakas* in Ceylon is difficult to account for, some possible solutions are forwarded by Adikaram, see E.W. Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, 1946, p. 25.

⁴ This occurs in V. Trenckner and P.S. Jaini, *Milindapañho with Milinda-tīkā*, PTS London, 1986, p. 342. Where, interestingly, a list of six groups of *bhāṇakas* is given: *Jātakabhāṇakā*, *Dīghabhāṇakā*, *Majjhimbhāṇakā*, *Samyuttabhāṇakā*, *Anguttarabhāṇakā* and *Khuddakabhāṇakā*.

⁵ But the *Milindapañha* is earlier than Buddhaghosa's commentaries, and so one would have expected Buddhaghosa to have known of these *bhāṇakas*, see E.W. Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, 1946, p. 25.

⁶ E.W. Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, 1946, p. 25.

the *Dhammapada*, but there is no record of how the other texts of the Khuddaka-nikāya were to be transmitted, though it must be assumed that there were *bhāṇakas* of the other Khuddaka-nikāya texts.¹ It may be that the other texts of the Khuddaka-nikāya were grouped in a different way for the purpose of transmission, perhaps being categorised in groups and recited with other texts, as in the case of the *Jātaka-bhāṇakas* having to learn the *Dhammapada*.

The Sanskrit Kṣudraka-āgama

The contents of the Sanskrit Kṣudraka-nikāya, or Kṣudraka-āgama, and its full list of works is a much more problematic issue than that of the Pāli Khuddaka-nikāya. The Sanskrit schools' classification using a fifth Āgama appears to have been used, in the same way that it is used in the Theravādin tradition, as a convenient place to locate miscellaneous texts that had not been included in the other four Āgamas. Their position within the Sanskrit Canons was by no means fixed, with the different schools resorting to diverse methods of classifying them. Some schools, notably the Sarvāstivādins, while using some of the texts from within the Kṣudraka-āgama² referred to them as Kṣudraka 'Minor works' while only recognising four Āgamas. Other schools, whose canons are only fully preserved in Chinese translations from the original Sanskrit, such as the Mahāsāṃghikas, Haimavatas, Mahīśāsakas and the Dharmaguptakas,³ did not have a collection specifically referred to as the Kṣudraka-āgama. These schools collected the texts that formed this Āgama among other schools, into what they termed the Kṣudraka-piṭaka or Tsa-pao-tsang⁴ in Chinese, so forming the fifth collection of their Sūtrapiṭaka⁵.

The exact number of texts comprising the Sanskrit Kṣudraka-āgama, or Kṣudraka-piṭaka, is as yet an unresolved area of research. This question can only be satisfactorily resolved by the discovery of either the texts themselves or of references to them in the works of the other four Sanskrit Āgamas. This fifth collection seems to have been for the Sanskrit tradition, or at least sections of that tradition, a notional or theoretical possibility rather than an actually existing collection of texts that were accepted as being canonical. As with the Pāli recension of this Nikāya the Sanskrit recension also appears to consist of a series of works in verse, with its contents varying greatly, but at least the texts : *Udāna*, *Dharmapada*, *Sthaviragāthā*, *Vimānavastu*, *Pretavastu*, *Avadāna*, and *Buddhavamśa* are known to have existed in the Sanskrit Canons.⁶ It is noteworthy that the Chinese sources only know of four Āgamas,⁷ but fourteen of

¹ K.R. Norman, 'Pāli Language and Scriptures', in *The Buddhist Heritage*, 1989, p. 33.

² See A.C. Banerjee, *Sarvāstivāda Literature*, 1979, p. 19, and E. Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism*, 1988, p. 152. Although the Sarvāstivādins list only four Āgamas in their Sūtrapiṭaka they had and used texts that they refer to as coming from the Kṣudrakāgama.

³ A. Hirakawa, *A History of Indian Buddhism*, 1990, p. 128.

⁴ For the Chinese view on the Kṣudrakapiṭaka see, C. Willemsen, "A Chinese *Kṣudrakapiṭaka*", *Asiatische Studien*, 46, 1992, pp. 507-515.

⁵ E. Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism*, 1988, p. 159. Sometimes they are assigned to the Kṣudrakāgama or Kṣudraka-piṭaka, and sometimes they are classified as a fourth *Piṭaka* distinct from the *Tripitaka*. See also E. Lamotte, "Khuddakanikāya and Kṣudrakapiṭaka", *EW*, 4, 1957, p.342; E. Lamotte, "Problèmes concernant les textes canoniques 'mineurs'", *JA*, 144, 1956, pp. 254-55.

⁶ K.R. Norman, "The Value of the Pāli Tradition", *Collected Papers*, vol. 3, Oxford: PTS, 1992, p. 40. See also M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. 2, 1933, p. 236.

⁷ A.C. Banerjee, *Sarvāstivāda Literature*, 1957, p. 20; also E. J. Thomas, *The Life of the Buddha*, 1933, p. 272.

the texts which constitute the Kṣudraka-āgama of other schools appear in the Chinese canon as individual works, this includes a version of a work entitled the *Jātaka-nidāna*,¹ though this text does not correspond to the Pāli text of the same name.

This Nikāya, or Āgama, is then the most unstable, in terms of its contents, of any of the Pāli Nikāyas, or Sanskrit Āgamas. The Pāli Khuddaka-nikāya is still viewed differently by various Theravādin traditions, and so some of its works cannot claim full canonical status. The most noteworthy fact in relation to the Khuddaka-nikāya is that some of its texts are not known to the early four Nikāyas, and that it nevertheless became accepted, in some form or other, by both the Pāli and Sanskrit textual traditions. The texts under consideration in the present study are both included in this Pāli Nikāya, the *Buddhavaṃsa*, and the *Jātakanidāna*, form part of that collection. The *Buddhavaṃsa* as a text in its own right, while the *Jātakanidāna*, ostensibly only a preface, and a commentarial work, gains an authoritative status for itself and its doctrine of the bodhisatta, by its inclusion as an introduction to a canonical Khuddaka-nikāya text. It is for these reasons that the formation, and history, of that Nikāya are important component elements in any study of those two texts.

Pāli concepts of buddhahood prior to the Jātakanidāna

The *Jātakanidāna* plays an important role within Pāli literature, as representative of the first occurrence of a systematic and coherent life of the historical Buddha Gotama. It is not only is Gotama's life that is dealt with in that text, but also the lives of the twenty-four buddhas preceding him. Judging from the nature and content of the early Pāli canonical texts, the very idea of a biography of the historical Buddha does not appear to have even been considered as a topic for inclusion in the corpus of canonical works gathered together at the First Council. The two earliest and most lengthy accounts of relatively short periods of the Buddha's life being contained in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* of the Dīgha-nikāya, and the Mahāvagga section of the Vinaya. The absence of a biography of the Buddha is difficult to account for² given the overall historical and doctrinal importance of the figure of Gotama Buddha for the Buddhist teaching as a whole. There are two immediate possibilities that may account for the omission of such a biographical work from the early textual sources.

¹ See Nanjio, B, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, rpt. Osnabruck: Biblio Verlag, 1988, p.161, where this text appears as number 669 named the *Jātaka-nidāna*, *Fo-swho-shaṅ-kin* in Chinese, that was translated by Fā-hu (Dharmarakṣa) in 285 CE. However Prof. Paul Harrison was kind enough to compare the Tibetan text of the *Jātakanidāna* with this Chinese edition and concluded that they were in fact different completely texts.

² The absence of a biography of the Buddha is rather difficult to explain and has been commented on by scholars from an early period in the academic study of Buddhism, H. Oldenberg says: "a biography of the Buddha has not come down to us from ancient times, from the age of the Pāli texts, and we can safely say, no such biography was in existence then", *Buddha: His life, his Doctrine, his Order*, tr. W. Hoey, London, 1882, pp. 78-9; T.W. Rhys Davids, sums up the position succinctly by saying: "It is a strange thing, and very characteristic of the real meaning of the true Buddhism, that there is no life of Gotama the Buddha in the (Pāli) Buddhist Scriptures", *The History and Literature of Buddhism*, 1896, rpt. Varanasi: Bhartiya Publishing House, 1975, pp. 56-7; M. Winternitz has made the same point but indicates where he thought the Buddha biography originated: "It is remarkable that in the Pāli Canon there is no biography of the Buddha; but the beginnings of one are to be found partly in the Vinayapīṭaka, and partly in the Sūtrapīṭaka", *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. 2, Calcutta, 1933, pp. 38-9; E.J. Thomas, says: "a continuous life of the Buddha, except in a very concise form, is not found until long after the close of the Pāli Canon", *The History of Buddhist Thought*, London: RKP, 1933, rpt. 1971, p. 134.

The first of these possibilities is that the early Buddhist community was principally concerned with preserving the teachings of the Buddha, as opposed to the details of his life. It is quite probable that the details of his life would have been known to the participants of the First Council by first or second hand experience. The reason for convening the First Council, as set out in chapters eleven and twelve of the Cullavagga¹ section of the Vinaya-piṭaka, was to establish the *dhamma-vinaya* 'teaching and discipline' as taught by the Buddha. This fact alone furnishes us with the evidence that the essential problem for the early Buddhist *saṅgha* was simply to establish a body of teachings, and a code or monastic rules that accurately reflected the Buddha's intentions. The Buddha's existence was not disputed by anyone, whereas the teaching of the Buddha was clearly understood differently² by various members of the *saṅgha* from the very earliest times. For this reason the First Council was involved in the extremely important task of compiling an agreed record of precisely what it was that the Buddha had taught.

The second possibility that may go some way to explain the absence of any overtly biographical work on the Buddha within the early Buddhist literature, concerns the actual nature of the Buddha himself. The person of the Buddha seems to have been seen from the earliest times in a somewhat ambiguous manner. In the Pāli canon he Buddha is generally depicted in a dual manner as both a human, and a superhuman, or at the very least supernormal, character. There are numerous examples of this ambiguity in the Pāli texts, in the *Alagaddūpama-sutta* of the Majjhima-nikāya the Buddha says:

I say, monks, that the Tathāgata cannot be known here and now.³

A similar point is made in many *suttas* that what can be said about the nature and ontological status of the Buddha is extremely restricted. The method of dealing with these questions in the *suttas* is to classify them as *avyākata* 'unexplained'⁴ questions, in that nothing meaningful could be said about the subject. These examples show there was speculation about the Buddha's nature from a very early period, according to the textual evidence of the Nikāyas, during the lifetime of the Buddha himself. This attempt to establish the real nature of the Buddha is one manifestation of the search for the authority that underlies the Buddha. This speculation about the true nature of the Buddha may also be one of the sources of inspiration for those Buddhist schools that came to develop a transcendentalist view of the Buddha. The

¹ The call for a *saṅgīti* 'recital' was at the instigation of the *thera* Mahākassapa, and the immediate reason for this was the prevention of false teachings taking root in the *saṅgha*. See H. Oldenberg, H., ed. *Vinayapīṭaka*, vol. 2, London: PTS, 1880, rpt. 1995, p. 285.

² There is the case of the *thera* Purāṇa at the First Council who when asked what he thought of the teaching that had been recited there replied that he preferred to remember the teaching as he himself had heard it from the Buddha. This episode gives a hint of the latent dissent that must have been present in certain sections of the *saṅgha*. See, H. Oldenberg, H., ed. *Vinayapīṭaka*, vol. 2, London: PTS, 1880, rpt. 1995, pp. 289-290.

³ *Diṭṭhe vāhaṃ bhikkhave dhamme tathāgataṃ ananuvejjo ti vadāmi*. See V. Trenckner, ed. *The Majjhima-nikāya*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1888, rpt. 1979, p. 140.

⁴ The Pāli term *avyākata* 'undecided, indeterminate' is often used as a philosophical term that is applied to the various questions regarding the Buddha's ontological status. The questions vary in number in different *suttas* from four to fourteen, but the basic fourfold scheme gives the most important of them, 'hoti tathāgato param marañā iti pi, na hoti tathāgato param marañā iti pi, n'eva hoti na na hoti tathāgato param marañā iti pi', "the tathāgata exists after death, the tathāgata does not exist after death, he neither exists nor does not exist after death". See, the *Cūlamālunkya-sutta*, p. 426, Trenckner, V., ed. *The Majjhima-nikāya*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1888, rpt. 1979. These four are also found in the *Poṭṭhapāda-sutta* of the Dīgha-nikāya, see, *The Dīgha-nikāya*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1890, rpt. 1975, p. 188.



interchangeability of the Buddha and his teaching is a common theme in the Pāli canon generally and is made explicit in a quotation from the Saṃyutta-nikāya, with the Buddha asserting:

O Vikkali, he who sees the Dhamma sees me, he who sees me sees the Dhamma.¹

Therefore the focus can be seen to be centred not on the personality, or any specific life story of the Buddha, but only on what he had actually taught. This can be accounted for by the Buddha's emphasis on the overriding importance of the teaching over his own personality. There is also the fact that the canonical *suttas* and Vinaya rules contained abundant examples of instances from the Buddha's teaching career, though not in any orderly or chronological sequence. This collection of instances from the Buddha's life was perhaps considered to be sufficient in itself as a guide to the Buddha's life from the point of view of the first compilers of the Pāli canonical texts.

The Buddha's use of various epithets when referring to himself such as, Tathāgata,² Sugata, and others, all indicate that as well as nominally being a person, the Buddha was also someone who transcended the human condition. He was considered as a being of a totally different order to the *puṭhujjana* 'average person' from the earliest period of Buddhist history. As the one who had personally discovered, formulated, and disseminated, the teachings known as Buddhism he was bound to hold a special position for the followers of that religion. Given this picture of the Buddha as something other than human, it is not difficult to see how a transcendentalist view of the Buddha might arise that could have had some role in preventing the development of a biography of the Buddha. The grounds for not producing a biography being that it would be irreverent, or somehow inappropriate, to attempt to depict the life of the founder who had transcended all worldly limits. It has long been thought that it was this very transcendentalist view of the Buddha that inhibited the development of images of the Buddha until at least the late first century BCE or early first century CE.³ This is in spite of the archaeological evidence that images of deities are well attested in India from at least the third century BCE.⁴

The discussion about a religious leader's true nature is not something confined to the Buddhist religion, it is a common theme among different religions traditions. Other theistic religions have also had to address the inescapable question regarding the nature of their founders, and have arrived at various conclusions in an attempt to explain this. The second possibility mentioned above seems the more likely of the two to offer some kind of plausible explanation to account for the lack of development of any biographies for a considerable time in the history of the Buddhist schools and their literature. The

¹ Yo kho Vikkali dhammaṃ passati so maṃ passati, yo maṃ passati so dhammaṃ passati, see L. Feer, ed. *The Saṃyutta-nikāya*, vol 3, London: PTS, 1890, rpt. 1975, p. 120.

² An indication of the importance and the extreme ambiguity of the epithet Tathāgata is seen by the way that the term is defined by the commentaries. The *Suṃāṅgalavilāsini* commentary of Buddhaghosa on the *Brahmajāla-sutta* of the Dīgha-nikāya gives eight different definitions of the term, see T.W. Rhys Davids & J.E. Carpenter, eds. *The Suṃāṅgalavilāsini*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1886, rpt. 1968, pp. 59-67.

³ D. Snellgrove thought that the need for more than aniconic or symbolic representations of the Buddha for the purpose of worship was the prime influence in the origin of the Buddha image. He also says that the development of *bhakti* 'devotional' cults centered on the person of the Buddha helped to spur the introduction of the Buddha image. See, *The Image of the Buddha*, D. Snellgrove, London: Serindia, 1978, pp. 47-8.

⁴ A.K. Coomaraswamy, *The Origin of the Buddha Image*, Calcutta, 1970, p. 22.

question of the real nature of the Buddha has been discussed on a commentarial level from very early times by the Buddhist *saṅgha*, and has formed the basis of differing views about the Buddha. There is one canonical work, the *Kathāvatthu*, that addresses this question¹ and though a comparative latecomer to the Pāli canon the evidence it provides for the existence of debate about divergent views on the nature of the Buddha is important.

An important facet of the presentation of Gotama Buddha in the early Pāli canonical sources is that, for the most part, he is depicted as a human. The accounts of his death give depictions of an old, sick man who had reached the end of his natural life-span. He is always shown as having accomplished enlightenment through his own efforts, and to have managed to achieve a supranormal state of being. There are of course many supernormal events related in connection with him, such as the performance of various miracles. Despite these kind of instances, the general picture built up of this personage is that of a human who had transcended *saṃsāra*. In the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* we begin to encounter certain ideas connected with the Buddha Gotama that give the impression that he is no ordinary mortal who is subject to the same mundane restrictions as the rest of humankind. The most notable difference is that Gotama is claimed to be able to extend his life to whatever age he wished.² These supranormal events, coupled with such scenes as those at Gotama's death where the trees are said to have blossomed out of their season, mark some of the earliest appearances of supranormal, or transcendentalist, tendencies in the Pāli canon. These events, among others, indicate the commencement of a trend that is later taken up and expanded upon in the later canonical works and commentaries.

For Buddhism, a non-theistic religion founded by a human who is subject to human limitations, the impetus for a greater understanding of the founder and his attainments, those things which made him a buddha, are perhaps more important. They are more important for Buddhism since it has no transcendent or divine being that underlies reality. All the events of the phenomenal world have to be accounted for by the Buddhists only by reference either to the Buddha, as a being who has understood the true nature of reality and who has also transcended it, or to his teachings that seek to explain the world and how to transcend it. Because of this, Buddhism necessarily becomes 'buddha-centred', that is to say the Buddha functions as both the embodiment and source of the teaching. Furthermore, the concept of buddhahood, and the status of Gotama, undergoes a complete revision culminating in the virtual apotheosis of Gotama from a mere human into a *lokuttara* 'supramundane' being.

¹ The discussion about the nature of the Buddha must have begun from a very early period given the inclusion of sections dealing with the nature of the Buddha in the *Kathāvatthu* that is traditionally dated to the time of the Third Council at Pāṭaliputta in the third century BCE, see, J.P. Minayev, *Kathāvatthu-ppakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā*, JPTS, 1889, chapter 2, section 8, pp. 59-60, chapter 18, sections 1-2, pp. 171-2, section 4, pp. 172-3, chapter 21, sections 4-6, p. 190-1.

² The Buddha tells Ānanda in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, that he could extend his life for another *kalpa* if he so desired. See T.W. Rhys Davids & J.E. Carpenter, eds. *The Dīgha-nikāya*, vol. 2, London: PTS, 1903, rpt. 1982, pp. 103-4.

The Jaina concept of twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras

Before dealing with the Buddhist treatment of their previous buddhas in the Nikāyas, it is noteworthy how important this conception of religious lineage also was for Jainism. The position of both Buddhism and Jainism in historical and cultural terms is very close, they shared a similar philosophical, social and cultural background. Moreover, both were non-theistic religions that were established by human founders, and so they both had concerns about the question of succession or lineage. It is, therefore, important to consider the Indian background to the historical traditions that had developed concerning Vardhamāna the last recorded founder of Jainism. For it is in these historical traditions that Jainism begins to set out those issues that were considered of the utmost importance to the emerging Jain community. These traditions deal with the major events in the life of their historic or most recent founder.

The Jain literary tradition of the twelve Aṅgas, like the first four Nikāyas of the Buddhists, is generally considered to contain some of the oldest extant material in the Jain canon that deals with the events in the life of Mahāvīra. The *Ācāraṅga-sūtra*, the first of the twelve Aṅgas, with its first part dating to perhaps the fifth or fourth century BCE.¹ The second part of this text, dated to the second or first centuries BCE, gives the earliest biography of Mahāvīra found in Jain sources, though the life story only extends up to Mahāvīra's enlightenment and omits any detail of his last thirty years as a teacher. Some scholars consider the earliest Jaina Sūtras, such as the *Ācāraṅga-sūtra*, to be very close in date to the Theravādin or Southern Buddhist canon² in Pāli of approximately the third or second century BCE. The account of Mahāvīra's life given in the *Ācāraṅga-sūtra*, though among the most complete early accounts is not a full biography, the story of the life of Mahāvīra related in the *Ācāraṅga-sūtra* provides only the bare outline of Mahāvīra's career as a Tīrthaṅkara. This incomplete depiction of the life of the Jain founder mirrors closely the position found in the early strata of Buddhist works on the life of the buddha.

The key to understanding the notion of the early Jain religious biography of Mahāvīra lies in this very brevity, with its focus confined to those events that are unique to a Tīrthaṅkara's life. The person of Mahāvīra himself really seems to be of secondary importance, and very little if any of his personality is depicted, only the events of his life that were considered by the Jains as of some religious significance are given any real weight. The essential core of Mahāvīra's life is contained in the scheme of the five events that delineate him, and other Tīrthaṅkaras, as a founder and leader of the Jain tradition. For this reason the five most important events in Mahāvīra's life are: descent from heaven and entry into a *deva*'s womb, removal to a human womb, birth, tearing out hair and becoming an ascetic, attainment of highest knowledge³ '*kevala*'. Each of the five events is later expanded upon, and it is in this elaboration that the issues seen as being of primary importance to the Jains are elucidated.

¹ There are various opinions as to the date of the Jain texts, M.A. Dhaky, *Arhat Pārśva and the Dharaṇendra Nexus*, Delhi: Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Institute of Technology, 1997, p. 25, gives a range of dates between the fifth and the third century BCE; P. Dundas, *The Jains*, London, 1992, p. 20, thinks a date in the second century BCE is probable; A.K. Chatterjee, *A Comprehensive History of Jainism*, Calcutta, 1978, says: There is very little doubt that the *Ācāraṅga-sūtra* account of the life of Mahāvīra was composed a century or two after the demise of the teacher and is therefore tolerably reliable. p. 17.

² H. Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras Translated from the Prakrit*, SBE vol. XXII, Oxford, 1884, p. xli.

³ H. Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras Translated from the Prakrit*, SBE vol. XXII, Oxford, 1884, pp. 189, 190-202.

The traditions about Mahāvīra's life preserved in the early Jain sources, such as the *Ācāraṅga-sūtra*, must be given close attention as they can be shown to come from very old Jain tradition. The primary concern with regard to Mahāvīra in the biography found in the Jain *sūtras*¹ is in the exact detail of his lineage, hence it concentrates on his family background and descent. The description of Mahāvīra's family background goes to great lengths, even in the early *sūtras*, to show the precise lineage to which he belonged. In particular, the lineage of his mother and father are given much attention, with each of their names, *gotras* and clans being given, as well as any other names they may have been known by. This sort of genealogy was a very important aspect of ancient Indian culture, and it is probably not the sort of thing that would necessarily have been, or would have need to have been, fabricated by the early Jains. Since these matters of lineage were of such paramount concern to any Indian tradition, religious or secular, that they would have been recorded, in however a rudimentary way, from the very outset of any such tradition. The names, *gotras*, and clans, associated with Mahāvīra and his family are the very things that we may suppose would, in all probability, have been accurately preserved within the Jain tradition. For the history of the founder was an important part of the early Jain oral, and textual, transmission of their tradition.

The Jains produced biographical works on the life of Mahāvīra in their early *sūtra* texts. These accounts are not dissimilar to the early Buddhist works, such as the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, and the *Mahāpadāna-sutta*, dealing with the life of their founder. The early Pāli canonical sources are probably of a similar date to the early Jain canon, its compilation in its present form dating perhaps from between the third and second centuries BCE. As already seen the Pāli canon contains numerous individual instances of events from the life of the Buddha. However, the vast majority of these references are, like their Jain counterparts, extremely short, giving only certain facts about towns or villages visited by the Buddha on different occasions, or of occasions when he encountered or converted ascetics of other sects. The longest and most coherent attempt at a biographical work in the early Pāli canonical literature is found in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*.² This text, like that of the early Jain works on Mahāvīra, is not a full biography, but a connected record of events of the last months in the life of the Buddha, culminating with his death and *parinibbāna* at the village of Kusinara. Other Pāli texts give some details about the family lineage of the Buddha's parents in the same way as the Jain sources provide details of Mahāvīra's parents.

Within the scheme of the Indian religious, and secular, background the concept of lineage had a vital function to perform. This function was to highlight the person or tradition in question, and then show their antecedents in order to establish their antiquity together with their authentic claim to represent a valid tradition. The early Jain treatment of their founder is primarily concerned with establishing a life story of his career up to his enlightenment, and an extremely rudimentary genealogy for their founder,

¹ The later commentarial material of Hemachandra provides much more detail on the life of Mahāvīra but of course this work, in particular the tenth book of the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* entitled the *Mahāvīracaritra*, belongs to a much later period of Jain history. This text has many parallels to the later Buddhist works like the *Buddhavāmsa* and *Jātakaniḍāna* that deal with the life of the Buddha, see, H.M. Johnson, *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra or The Lives of the Sixty-Three Illustrious Persons*, vol. VI, Oriental Institute Baroda, 1962, pp. 1-358.

² *Mahāparinibbānasutta*, *sutta* no. 16, *Dīgha-nikāya* II, see T.W. Rhys-Davids and J.E. Carpenter, eds. *The Dīgha-nikāya*, vol 2, PTS, London, 1903, rpt. 1982, pp. 72-168.

this is not unlike the early Buddhist accounts of Gotama. Later the conception of twenty-four Tirthankaras appears in the Jain texts and commentaries, and the lineage of Mahāvira is pushed back further into prehistory.

Presentation of former buddhas in the Vinaya and early Nikāyas

There are only a few early Pāli canonical texts that preserve some of Gotama's recollections about former buddhas. The Vinaya has one reference to former buddhas, this is a curious example where three of the former buddhas, Vipassi, Sikhi and Vessabhu, are actually censured by the Buddha Gotama for the early demise of the teachings that they had each established.¹ Their lack of effort in communicating their teachings to their disciples is said to be the direct reason for the decline in their monastic lineages, while the reverse is true of the buddhas, Kakusandha, Konāgamana, and Kassapa. This example from the Vinaya simply uses the conception of former buddhas in order to make a point about monastic matters, there is no expansion in that occurrence of the lives of these former buddhas. The *Theragāthā* contains two *gāthās*² that refer to the six buddhas, but only to say that Gotama had followed the same path as these six, again there are no details given of them individually. The *Acchariyabbhutadhamma-sutta* of the Majjhima-nikāya makes brief mention that the Buddha Gotama could recall the previous buddhas who had preceded him.³ This text makes no further attempt to explain the previous buddhas referred to, but goes on to list the marvellous events surrounding the events of Gotama's birth. These events are largely taken from the *Mahāpadāna-sutta*, where they are used in reference to the Buddha Vipassi, but are now applied directly to Gotama.

From the forgoing examples it can be seen that the phenomenon of the appearance of buddhas prior to the historical Buddha Gotama does occur in isolated instances in various Nikāya, and Vinaya texts. A certain number of these texts come from materials that are generally accepted to be among the oldest literary strata of the Pāli canon. To conclude from this that the tradition about former buddhas is an early and integral teaching of Buddhism would be to ignore the evidence regarding the way in which texts of the canon were often edited and worked over. In many cases they have been shown to have been re-edited and expanded at different times, before taking the form in which we now know them. The impetus for the development of the concept of buddhas appearing prior to Gotama is uncertain. The relative silence in the majority of the Pāli canonical texts on this issue can lead to only one conclusion. The conclusion is that though the concept of former buddhas is present in several canonical works, it can by no means be viewed as an inherent or integral part of the doctrinal teaching contained in the Pāli canon. The instances of the occurrence of former buddhas in the early Nikāya and Vinaya works are isolated instances which are not expanded upon or developed further.

¹ This occurs in the Suttavibhaṅga section of the Vinaya-piṭaka, see H. Oldenberg, ed. *Vinayapīṭaka*, vol. 3, London: PTS, 1881, rpt. 1993, pp. 7-9.

² See *gāthās* 490-1, H. Oldenberg & R. Pischel, eds., *Thera- and Therī-gāthā*, 1883, London: PTS, rpt. 1966, p. 51.

³ See Majjhima-nikāya III, *sutta* no.123, "yatra hi nāma Tathāgato atīte Buddhe parinibbute chinnapapañce chinnavaṭume pariyādinnavaṭṭe sabbadukkhavitivatte jāmissati", R. Chalmers, ed. *The Majjhima-nikāya*, vol. 3, London: PTS, 1899, rpt. 1994, p. 118.

There are several instances found in the early strata of the canonical texts, as mentioned above, where reference is made to the appearance of buddhas prior to Gotama. The most elaborate and developed of these is the *Mahāpadāna-sutta*¹ of the Dīgha-nikāya. Though the Dīgha-nikāya is thought to contain some of the earliest Buddhist literary and doctrinal materials extant, the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* has been labelled a late text by many scholars. Rhys Davids pointed out the reasons why that *sutta* must represent a fairly advanced stage in the development of a theory of buddhas:

The theory of a number of successive buddhas presupposes the conception of a Buddha as a different and more exalted personage than an Arahant.²

The conclusion reached by Rhys Davids that the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* is a late addition to the Dīgha-nikāya has been followed by a number of scholars³ since then. His conclusion rests to a large extent on doctrinal grounds. The basic doctrinal and conceptual outlook necessary for the presentation of former buddhas, given later in the *Mahāpadāna-sutta*, are completely absent in the vast majority of the early Nikāya materials.

The view of buddhas given in the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* represents a change in emphasis for the Theravādin tradition. In that text we encounter a novel form of teaching concerning not only the Buddha Gotama, but also the six buddhas that are now said to have preceded him. The Buddha Gotama states that six buddhas had existed before his appearance, naming them as: Vipassi, Sikhi, Vessabhu, Kakusandha, Kanāgamana, and Kassapa. The *sutta* does not elaborate in detail on each of the six buddhas, but makes known in detail the key life-events of only one of them, Vipassi, and implies that all the others shared the same defining life-events. Whatever the origin of this tradition about the six previous buddhas, the most interesting features to emerge from it are the treatment of the lives of those six buddhas. The life story connected with each of the six buddhas shares a marked resemblance to the story of Gotama's life as it later appears in the *Jātakanidāna*. In fact each buddha is given a stereotyped life story which includes all the personal details that are related in various parts of the Pāli canon in respect of Gotama. This list includes his clan, *gotta*, tree under which he became enlightened, names of two chief disciples, number of *arahats* in his assembly, his attendant's name, parents' names and his place of birth. In the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* the very idea of the continuous arising of buddhas is brought forth and used as evidence to demonstrate that far

¹ *Mahāpadāna-sutta*, Dīgha-nikāya II, *sutta* no. 14, T.W. Rhys-Davids & J.E. Carpenter, eds. *The Dīgha-nikāya*, vol. 2, London: PTS, 1982, pp. 1-54.

² See T.W. Rhys-Davids, *The Dialogues of the Buddha*, vol. 2, London: PTS, 1977, p. 1.

³ The *Mahāpadāna-sutta* has been almost universally seen as representing a developed form of teaching on the nature of a buddha. M. Winternitz says of it: The Suttas (especially in Book 1) in which the Buddha appears as a human teacher only, cannot possibly have been written at the same time as the Mahā-Apadāna-Sutta (No. 14), "the great discourse on the miracles (of Buddha)" in which the dogma of the six Buddhas, who are said to have been precursors of Gotama Buddha, is already taught, and in which the entire Buddha legend, adorned by numerous miracles, especially all the miracles of the conception and birth of the Buddha, is recited. *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. 2, Calcutta, 1933, p. 42; E.J. Thomas calls it: The only prose *apadāna* in the Pāli canon, "Avadāna and Apadāna", *IHQ*, 9, 1933, p. 35; G.C. Pande, states that: with the very first *sutta* (i.e. *Mahāpadāna-sutta*) of the second *vagga* of the Dīgha-nikāya a change in atmosphere is unmistakable. He also goes on to say that the very title *apadāna* suggests it to be a late work, *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism*, Allahabad, 1957, rpt. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1974, pp. 94-6; K.R. Norman, says that while the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* does generally appear to be a late work, it does contain some elements that could be genuinely old, see, *Pāli Literature*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983, p. 36.

what is the meaning
of criticism, here?

from Gotama Buddha being a single unique occurrence, he is only the last in a line going back into history.

Almost all of the information provided about the lives of previous buddhas in the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* is given in reference to the Buddha Vipassi.¹ He is portrayed as the first in a line of buddhas that ends with Gotama as the seventh. The life of Vipassi is provided in detail² as an example of the buddhas' lives in general, and in so doing the entire history of Buddhism is rewritten, with a view to accommodating the new concept that the appearance of the Buddha Gotama was not a unique historical occurrence. It would appear that once this idea was taken up by the compilers of this *sutta*, the most natural procedure was for them to utilise the existing stock of textual traditions that referred, in however a fragmentary fashion, to the life of the Buddha Gotama. Viewed in this way, the *sutta* can be seen as a drawing together of many divergent ideas, and traditions, and as a way that the Buddhist tradition could systematise and historicise the disparate textual traditions dealing with the life of Gotama. In the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* the very notion of buddhas appearing at different times, and living their lives in a stereotyped fashion, is normalised and shown to be a naturally³ occurring event. The *Mahāpadāna-sutta* is then the first canonical text to introduce the concept of former buddhas in a systematic way, and to show their arising to be a completely normal phenomenon.

The very title of this text has posed a problem for Pāli philology, with the word *apadāna*⁴ being used in this text with the connotation of 'legend' or 'story'. It is also quite possible that the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* was somehow instrumental in, or at least influential in, the compilation of the *Mahāvastu-avadāna*.⁵ This assumption is not only based on philological grounds, for the type of genre that the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* introduces to the Pāli canon is that of the biography of the first Buddha Vipassi, and by extension any of the following six buddhas. This is a similar format to that which appears in the Lokuttaravādin text, the

¹ In fact the majority of the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* is concerned with the depiction of the life of Vipassi, all the seminal events that are associated with the Buddha Vipassi are also applied to the Buddha Gotama. Hence the birth story, thirty-two marks and the prediction by *brāhmaṇas*, three palaces, four sights and the decision to teach, are included for the first time in one text in a kind of summary of the events common to all buddhas, see, *The Dīgha-nikāya*, vol. 2, London: PTS, 1982, pp. 16-50.

² The life story of Vipassi is said to have great significance for Buddhist doctrinal and textual history, O. von Hinuber says: The life story of the sixth (first), Vipassin, is related at length and serves as the model for the later Buddha-legend, see *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*, Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1996, p. 30.

³ The Pāli word used in each case is *dharmatā* 'a general rule or a regular phenomena.'

⁴ The meaning of the word in Pāli is said to be 'legend, life, history' in Rhys Davids, T. W. and Stede, W., *The Pāli Text Society's Pāli-English Dictionary*, London: PTS, 1925, rpt. 1979, p. 51; E.J. Thomas says: "The Pāli word appears to have been beyond the comprehension of the commentators", see his "Avadāna and Apadāna", *IHQ*, 9, 1933, p. 34; while the *Pāli Tipiṭakam Concordance* gives it as 'exploit', see Woodward, F.L. et al, *Pāli Tipiṭakam Concordance*, vol. 1, Oxford: PTS, 1991, p. 178; the DOP assigns *apadāna* a wide range of meanings: '1. cutting, reaping, harvest; 2. a person's "reaping", (the result of) one's actions; 3. the story of a person's actions and their result; 4. division, discrimination', see M. Cone, *A Dictionary of Pāli, Part I, a-kh*, Oxford: Pāli Text Society, 2001, p.163; K.R. Norman gives it a 'noble deed' in *Pāli Literature*, Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983, p. 190. K.R. Norman has also indicated the problems involved in trying to find an etymology for the term *apadāna* given the range of dialects that may have been used by the early Buddhists, see his "Dialect forms in Pāli" in *Collected Papers*, vol. 4, Oxford: PTS, 1993, p. 53, and "Pāli Philology and the Study of Buddhism" in *Collected Papers*, vol. 4, Oxford: PTS, 1993, p. 86.

⁵ See K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature*, Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983, p. 24, where he remarks that the use of the term *avadāna* in the Sanskrit title resembles the use in the Pāli title *Mahāpadāna*; also G.P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, vol. 2, London, 1937. rpt. Delhi: Oriental Reprint, 1983, pp. 525-6.

Mahāvastu, with the lives of former buddhas being recounted there in a similar manner to that found in the *Mahāpadāna-sutta*. Thus, the beginnings of what might be termed the biographical genre becomes apparent in this text of the Dīgha-nikāya, though not the only Nikāya text to mention past buddhas, it is the most developed and extensive of its kind in the Theravādin tradition.

Presentation of former buddhas in the later Nikāyas

The occurrences of six earlier buddhas, in the four Nikāyas so far dealt with, seems to give the precedent for the concept of the appearance of former buddhas in general. The treatment of the lives of former buddhas in the later texts of the Khuddaka-nikāya show a marked development over the representations of the earlier strata of the Vinaya, and Sutta-piṭaka texts. The conception of there being more than the six buddhas already noted occurs in the *Buddhavaṃsa*,¹ which relates in *gāthās* the accounts of the twenty-four buddhas said to be prior to Gotama. The *Buddhavaṃsa* introduces this innovative idea of twenty-four former buddhas, to the Pāli canon, and predicts that the buddha following Gotama will be called Metteyya, thus giving a total of twenty-six² buddhas in all. The lives of the twenty-four previous buddhas are given in individual *vaṃsas* 'lineages' dealt with in a tediously similar pattern, with minimal variation in most cases, the only significant difference being in the length of some of the life stories. From the beginnings of studies on Pāli texts the *Buddhavaṃsa* has been recognised by scholars to be a late work.³ Since the *Buddhavaṃsa* is, however, regarded as a canonical work belonging to the Khuddaka-nikāya, the occurrence of these twenty-four buddhas must be considered to be a teaching that was accepted by the Theravādins as representing an old tradition.

The appearance of the twenty-four buddhas in the *Buddhavaṃsa* would appear to be a completely innovative development for Theravādin Buddhist doctrine. Excepting the reference to six earlier buddhas, mentioned in the texts already referred to, there is no reference whatever in the early Pāli materials to a figure of twenty-four buddhas. It is difficult to provide a reasonable explanation for the sudden appearance

¹ Of the two available PTS editions of the *Buddhavaṃsa* text that of N.A. Jayawickrama has been the primary edition used in this study, see: N.A. Jayawickrama, ed. *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka*, London: PTS, 1974, pp. 1-121. The edition of R. Morris has also been consulted for the sake of comparison, see: R. Morris, ed. *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyā-piṭaka*, London: PTS, 1882, pp. 1-69.

² The *Buddhavaṃsa* also includes in an appendix the names of three other Buddhas prior to the first of the list of twenty-four, N.A. Jayawickrama, *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka*, Oxford: PTS, 1974, p. 100.

³ There is unanimous agreement over its late date, based both on textual and doctrinal grounds, M. Winternitz, says we are: compelled to class the *Buddhavaṃsa* among the latest productions of the canonical Pāli literature. Moreover it is replete with that Buddha-worship and Buddha-deification, which is foreign to the early texts of the Tipiṭaka, but at its height in Buddhist Sanskrit literature, especially that of Mahāyāna, see *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. 2, Calcutta, 1933, p. 162; E.J. Thomas questions the school affiliation of the *Buddhavaṃsa*: The developed state of the Bodhisatta doctrine (in the *Buddhavaṃsa*), with its entire absence in the earlier literature, makes it appear as if it had been introduced from another school, see *The History of Buddhist Thought*, London: RKP, 1933, rpt. 1971, p. 172; E. Lamotte considers that it was the deification of the Buddha that occurred in the *Mahāvastu* which had an influence on certain later works in the Pāli canon, such as the *Apadāna*, *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Cariyāpiṭaka*, see *History of Indian Buddhism*, Louvain-Paris, 1988, p. 714; I.B. Horner in her introduction to the text says: Also presented in the *Buddhavaṃsa* is therefore a developed Bodhisatta doctrine. It is the only Pāli canonical work to do so on a full scale, see *The Minor Anthologies of the Pāli Canon*, part III, London: PTS, 1975, p. xiii; K.R. Norman thinks it late on philological and doctrinal grounds: The *Buddhavaṃsa* is therefore a developed Bodhisatta doctrine....The whole text is composed in the Śloka metre, which shows no particularly early features, see *Pāli Literature*, Weidbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983, pp. 93-4.

of this teaching of twenty-four previous buddhas from within the Theravādin tradition itself.¹ There is evidence that there was a cult of former buddhas² as early as Aśoka's time, but how widespread or influential this was is not known. The emergence of such a text as the *Buddhavaṃsa* could of course simply be the Theravādin response to the trend toward elaborated buddha biographies that were developing in other Buddhist schools. As with the idea of previous Jain Tīrthaṅkaras, the Buddhist notion of previous buddhas comes down to us as an unprecedented, and novel, element in Buddhist thinking about its own founder and its own religious history.

The treatment of the lives of these twenty-four buddhas in the *Buddhavaṃsa* has some obvious parallels with the Jain treatment of the previous Tīrthaṅkaras in the *Kalpasūtra*. The most notable similarity is in the detail concerning each previous buddha. Each of their places of birth, parents' names, disciples names, and so on, are listed in almost unvarying order. What is also significant in the accounts of these former buddhas is that some of the earliest buddhas, like Dīpaṃkara, have very detailed and lengthy accounts of their lives. This level of detail is also encountered in the *Kalpa-sūtra* accounts of the life of the first Jain Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣabha. There would appear to be a desire for the Buddhists, and Jains, to know the life stories and lineage details, and therefore the historicity,³ of their earliest founders in some considerable detail. For this recording of the founders' lives in such minute detail endowed Buddhism with an added authority by showing how ancient it was, and the unbroken continuity of its lineage, teaching, and tradition.

In summing up the position of the Theravādin tradition regarding previous buddhas, it can be seen that there had clearly been a development of ideas about these legendary figures. The basis for the concept is preserved in the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* where the kernel of the idea is presented, albeit on a limited time scale. This also reveals the composite, and gradual manner in which some texts in the Pāli canon must have been formed. Taking an occurrence of an idea, or incipient doctrine, from the Dīgha-nikāya, and then developing this far beyond the initial scope of that text, until a new level of doctrinal thinking emerges. It is perhaps in this way, or some similar fashion, that the doctrine of the twenty-four previous buddhas, began to evolve and then find its place in the doctrinal, and conceptual, world of the Theravādin tradition. Thus the *Buddhavaṃsa*, and the *Jātakanidāna*, are the texts that rely on this early presentation of former buddhas in the *Mahāpadāna-sutta*, for their treatment of the former buddhas would not be possible were it not for the precedents found in that text.

Presentation of former buddhas in the Jātakanidāna

The first section of the *Jātakanidāna*, the Dūrenidāna 'Distant Era,' contains an account of the buddhas

¹ R. Gombrich points out that the Buddhists shared the prevailing Indian belief in continuously evolving periods of time (*kalpas*) and that this may shed some light on how the Buddhist doctrine of twenty-four previous buddhas arose. See, R. Gombrich, "The Significance of Former Buddhas in the Theravādin Tradition", ed., S. Balasooriya et al, *Buddhist Studies in Honour of Walpola Rahula*, London, 1980, pp. 64-65.

² K.R. Norman, "Observations on the Dates of the Buddha and the Jina", *Collected Papers*, vol. 4, PTS, Oxford, 1993, p. 195.

³ Though the historical aspects are not as reliable as historians would want, E.J. Thomas says: "The Buddhists were more interested in those events of the Buddha's life that have a doctrinal significance than those which appeal to the historian", *The History of Buddhist Thought*, London: RKP, 1933, rpt. 1971, p. 147.

who are said to have preceded Gotama. This section draws heavily on the *Buddhavaṃsa*, *Cariyāpīṭaka*, and the *Jātaka* collection, for its canonical source material. While the *Dūrenidāna* ostensibly serves as a commentary to the *Buddhavaṃsa*,¹ it actually relies on that text for its own existence. The *Dūrenidāna* section in particular, is a text in its own right, together with its own unique teachings. The *Dūrenidāna* section taken as a whole deals with the teaching about the twenty-four former buddhas.² All the twenty-four are given in the same order in which they are found in the *Buddhavaṃsa*. The treatment of each of them also follows the *Buddhavaṃsa* closely, but the life of the first buddha, *Dīpaṃkara*, is dealt with in two ways. First, the meeting of *Dīpaṃkara* and *Sumedha* is related, where *Dīpaṃkara* makes the prophesy to *Sumedha* that he will become the Buddha Gotama, stating his name, lineage and pupils names.³ The details of *Sumedha*'s future life are stated in an almost identical pattern to those of the other buddhas whose biographies are given in the *Buddhavaṃsa*. Moreover, it is also very similar to the *Mahāpadāna-sutta*'s treatment of the life of the Buddha *Vipassi*.⁴ In this instance, the emphasis is on *Sumedha* as a future buddha, and *Dīpaṃkara* is the means by which *Sumedha*'s future is made known. In other words, *Dīpaṃkara* is only important in this instance as the embodiment of the first historical buddha, and the buddha who predicted the future Buddha Gotama.

The second way in which the *Jātakanidāna* deals with *Dīpaṃkara* is the method found in the *Buddhavaṃsa*. In this case there is only a very short piece of prose commentary in the *Jātakanidāna* as a preamble, followed by most of the *gāthā* text of the *Buddhavaṃsa*⁵ on the life of *Dīpaṃkara*. These *gāthās* contain all the stock references to name, *gotta*, clan, and so forth, but add nothing to our understanding of the life of *Dīpaṃkara* from the commentarial point of view. The omission of any prose commentary on these *gāthās* in the *Jātakanidāna* is unaccountable, given that the text has one of its stated aims as elucidating the meaning⁶ of the *gāthās* of the *Buddhavaṃsa*. This omission could provide a reason for the life of *Dīpaṃkara* being dealt with in such a cursory fashion in the *Jātakanidāna*. The text already acknowledges the existence of *Dīpaṃkara* as the Buddha who made the prediction about *Sumedha*, which from the

¹ See the introduction to the Tibetan text where the *mahāthera* *Atthadassi* say^l to the Buddha: "Reverend sir, I ^{whs} ^{hs} want to learn the teaching concerning the lineage of the buddhas and bhagavans." The Bhagavan replied: "O, Atthadassi, be attentive and I shall explain it." see section I 1 of the translation and edition; Tibetan edition folio 7a: "btsun pa bdag ni saṅs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyi rgyud kyi chos thos par 'tshal lo // bka' stsal pa / don mthoñ yid la zuñ žig dañ / ñas bśad par bya'o žes byuñ no //". The Pāli text has no counterpart to this introduction found in the Tibetan, but the *Buddhavaṃsa* I 79, p. 7, N.A. Jayawickrama, ed., *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpīṭaka*, London: PTS, 1974, does give the text canonical status by stating that the Buddha initiated the teachings about the former buddhas.

² For the parts of the text covering these twenty-four buddhas, see sections I 33-56 of the translation and edition; Tibetan sTog Palace edition folios 35b-52b; Pāli pp. 28-44.

³ See sections I 19 of the translation and edition.

⁴ See the *Mahāpadāna-sutta*, T.W. Rhys-Davids and J.E. Carpenter, eds., *The Dīgha-nikāya*, vol. 2, London: PTS, 1982, pp. 2-7. It is also remarkably similar to the outline biography given by the Jains in the *Ācāraṅga-sūtra* about *Mahāvīra*.

⁵ See sections I 33 of the translation and edition; Tibetan sTog Palace edition folios 35b-37a; Pāli pp. 28-9; *Buddhavaṃsa* II *gāthās* nos. 188-206, 212-213, 215-218, N.A. Jayawickrama, *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpīṭaka*, Oxford: PTS, 1974, pp. 21-23.

⁶ See sections I 1 of the translation and edition: "Moreover, since it is difficult to understand even the explanation, as it is contained in verse, it will be explained clearly using now and then certain words from the verses"; Tibetan sTog Palace edition folio 8a: slar yañ tshigs su bcaḍ pas bciṅs te bśad kyañ go dka' bas / de dañ de'i bar bar du tshigs su bcaḍ pa'i tshig gis gsal ba dañ bcaḍ par bya'o //.

standpoint of the *Jātakanidāna* is the most important factor. Therefore, going beyond the stereotyped biography found in the *Buddhavaṃsa* was unnecessary. It may also be due to the fact that the four main events of Dīpaṃkara's life were briefly alluded to in its Sumedhakathā section.

Following the *gāthās* on Dīpaṃkara, the Buddha Koṇḍañña's life is given in a format followed for the most part in the remaining twenty-two buddha biographies. The basic format is as follows, first a *gāthā* from the *Buddhavaṃsa* is cited, followed by the prose commentary of the *Jātakanidāna*. In the case of Koṇḍañña, the first *gāthā* of the third chapter¹ of the *Buddhavaṃsa*, the *Koṇḍaññabuddhavaṃsa*, is prefixed to the prose commentary. The commentary in this case talks almost as much about the bodhisatta as about the Buddha Koṇḍañña. Though the chief events in Koṇḍañña's life are enumerated in a very concise form: number of disciples in his retinue, city name, parents' names, foremost of his male and female disciples, attendant's name, the name of his *bodhi* tree, the length of his body and span of life. The gift from the bodhisatta to Koṇḍañña, and the latter's prediction of buddhahood for the bodhisatta are also briefly related.

This concise biographical layout is then used as the basis for the remaining twenty-two biographies. All of these biographies commence by citing a *gāthā* from the *Buddhavaṃsa*, this is always the first *gāthā* of the specific chapter named after the buddha of that era. The most striking textual difference in these biographies is the location of the first *gāthā* of each chapter quoted from the *Buddhavaṃsa*. Within the *Jātakanidāna* we can see that the *Buddhavaṃsa gāthās* quoted, beginning with the history of the Buddha Maṅgala, come at the end of their respective prose commentaries. In the case of Koṇḍañña, the second buddha, the *gāthā* is at the beginning of its commentary.² These twenty-two following sections are of such a stereotyped nature that it is unnecessary to add to what has been said of the biography of Koṇḍañña, they all provide that same basic information about their respective buddhas. The only variant to be remarked upon is the life of the Buddha Maṅgala, the third buddha, where the prose commentary is considerably longer than the remaining twenty-one biographies. This section also cites a *gāthā* from the *Theragāthā*,³ in the midst of the prose commentary, as well as the *Buddhavaṃsa* verse at its end.

This is all that the Dūrenidāna section of the *Jātakanidāna* has to say regarding the twenty-four previous buddhas. This brief commentarial explanation of each of their lives is all that the text provides. The only other explicit reference to the existence of former buddhas comes in the third section of the *Jātakanidāna*, the Santikenidāna, where the Buddha Gotama tells his father:

¹ III 1 of the *Buddhavaṃsa*, see N.A. Jayawickrama, *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpitāka*, Oxford: PTS, 1974, p. 26; see sections I 34 of the translation and edition; Tibetan sTog Palace edition folio 37a; Pāli p. 30.

² The PTS edition of the *Jātakanidāna* places the first *gāthā* of chapter three of the *Buddhavaṃsa* at the head of its history of Koṇḍañña, the Tibetan translations follow this positioning, see, V. Fausbøll, ed., *The Jātaka Together with its Commentary*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1877, p. 30; Tibetan sTog Palace edition folio 37a. The commentary to the *Buddhavaṃsa* appears to follow this scheme, see, I.B. Horner, ed., *Madhuratthavilāsini nāma Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, PTS, London, 1978, p. 134. However it should be noted that the Devanāgarī edition of the *Jātakanidāna* places this particular *gāthā* at the end of the history of the Buddha Koṇḍañña, see, L.N. Tiwari, ed., *Paramatthajotikā nāma Jātakaṭṭhakathā*, Varanasi: Sampurnanand Sanskrit University, 1992, p. 79.

³ The *gāthā* corresponds to *Theragāthā* 303, see K. R. Norman & L. Alsdorf eds., *The Thera and Therī-gāthā*, London: PTS, 1966, p. 35. This *gāthā* is preserved in other Buddhist traditions in both Prakrit and Buddhist Sanskrit, and is equivalent to the Patna *Dharmapada gāthā* 227; *Udānavarga gāthā* 30.7; *Mahāvastu* II p. 80-81, to name but a few. For a full list of parallels to this *gāthā* see section I 35 of the translation and edition.

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This lineage of yours is the so-called lineage of great kings. O Great king, do not be sad! My lineage is the lineage of the buddhas such as Dīpaṃkara, Koṇḍañña, and Kassapa. These and many thousands of other buddhas have made a living by wandering for alms.¹

This extension of the number of previous buddhas into thousands is not found in the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* or the *Buddhavaṃsa*. This reference clearly demonstrates that the thinking about former buddhas had moved on considerably on the commentarial level compared to the canonical idea of twenty-four buddhas beginning with Dīpaṃkara that is found in the *Buddhavaṃsa*.

The position in relation to the former buddhas, contained in the *Jātakanidāna*, is a further development to that found in the *Buddhavaṃsa*. Both texts give a biographical background for these buddhas in considerable detail, in particular for the *Jātakanidāna*'s developed biography of Dīpaṃkara. The remaining buddhas having only outline biographies based on this stereotype biography that is applied to Dīpaṃkara. From the purely historical stance the gradual evolution of the increasing number of former buddhas can be discerned without too great a speculative leap. What is of most significance in the *Jātakanidāna*'s treatment of previous buddhas is the range of terminology that comes into play, to define and describe certain key phases in the lives of buddhas and bodhisattas. It is in this application of a distinct terminology that the real developments in both doctrine, and mythology, come to prominence.

The development of the bodhisatta concept in the Jātakanidāna

There is a dual focus developing in the *Jātakanidāna*, that is a continuation of the trend already begun in the *Buddhavaṃsa*. For, within the lives of each of the twenty-four buddhas presented in that text, we find embedded accounts of the life of the bodhisatta who was to be the Buddha Gotama. The added attention included here linking the bodhisatta with each of the twenty-four buddhas represents a significant change in doctrinal thinking about the personage of Gotama. The text attempts to trace Gotama's connection with, and service to, these previous buddhas over this unimaginably long period of time. So that for each story of a former buddha, there is found within it the details of the bodhisatta as he was at that time, and the service performed by the bodhisatta to the specific buddha of that age. Thus, in a sense, although the *Jātakanidāna* makes use of the historical, and doctrinal, framework of the twenty-four buddhas contained in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, the story it is relating is not primarily about the twenty-four buddhas themselves. The story is really about the bodhisatta's connection with them during his long career before becoming buddha.

The relationship of the bodhisatta with previous buddhas is dealt with at length in the section of text called the Sumedhakathā.² This section is really the core of the Dūrenidāna, and presents the lives of two buddhas, one past and one yet to be. Before Dīpaṃkara is even mentioned the background, early strivings, and asceticism of Sumedha, the buddha to be, are dealt with in detail. At the outset the details of his lineage are laid out:

¹ See sections III 25 of the translation and edition; Tibetan sTog Palace edition folios 99b-100a; Pāli p. 90.

² For the Sumedhakathā see sections I 2-32 of the translation and edition; Tibetan sTog Palace edition folios 8a-35b; Pāli pp. 2-28.

There, commencing in the beginning, more than four incalculable aeons, and one hundred thousand aeons ago, appeared a city called Amaravati. Therein lived a *brāhmaṇa* named Sumedha. He entered the birth of good lineage on both mother's and father's side, up to seven generations of which had no quarrel, argument or dispute with others and who were quite pure. He was a man who possessed a beautiful body, pleasing to look at and with the fairest complexion. He learned only the rituals of the *brāhmaṇas* who did not perform other rituals.¹

The detail given here in the *Jātakanidāna* forms the biographical prototype that is developed, systematised, and used for each of the succeeding buddhas. This is a condensed formula that is also very similar to that which is used in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, and the later sections of the *Dūrenidāna* when expounding the biography of each of the twenty-four buddhas.

The inclusion of, and the prominence of, the bodhisatta in the *Jātakanidāna* accounts of the lives of these past buddhas, brings a new dimension to the outlook of the Theravādin tradition. It may be argued that the position here is not in fact a new one, but only stated in its full form. The flaw in this argument would be to misunderstand the extent to which the teaching about the bodhisatta is systematised, and codified in the *Jātakanidāna*. As has already been pointed out, the concept of buddhahood underwent an unprecedented development in its portrayal in such texts as the *Buddhavaṃsa*. In parallel with this development in the view of the buddhas, the basic conception of the bodhisatta is also seen to undergo a major doctrinal change. Yet it is only with the appearance of the *Jātakanidāna*, and its prose narrative sections, fleshing out the scanty depictions found in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, that what can really be termed a bodhisatta doctrine is introduced to the Theravādin tradition. The specific technical terms, and ways of talking about the bodhisatta, will be dealt with in detail in the next chapter.

Conclusion

The major areas of importance for the *Jātakanidāna*, on the purely literary and historical levels, concern its development of the legendary materials of the Pāli canonical tradition concerning the past buddhas. These initial canonical literary, and historical, accounts form the beginnings of speculation, and theorising about the nature, and function of buddhas and bodhisattas within the Theravādin tradition. Therefore, in order to deal with such topics involving largely biographical themes, the Theravādin tradition had in effect to create a new form, or genre, of literature. It is not too extreme a position to refer to this new literature as representing what would be termed a genre in modern terminology. This new form of literature had no precedent in the older ninefold classifications of the Pāli tradition, nor any examples preserved among Pāli texts prior to its composition. Though the Indian tradition did have the genre of the *vaṃśa*, or *vaṃśāvalī*, that served as a literary method for recording chronological information, usually on the lineage of royalty. The new biographical genre in prose had only the limited occurrences from the *gāthā* form of the *Buddhavaṃsa* on which to model itself. Yet we encounter in the *Jātakanidāna* a fully functioning biographical narrative genre, specifically devoted to the exposition of the biographies of the

¹ Sections I 1 of the translation and edition.

former buddhas.

A second important issue associated with the group of texts comprising the *Jātakanidāna*, *Buddhavaṃsa*, and *Cariyāpiṭaka*, is that of the canonical authority or historicity of these texts. The canonical status of these texts is an important question, though it must also be considered by the textual historian in the terms of reference established by the Buddhist tradition. As has been shown, the concept of canonicity may in fact be more open to interpretation than it initially appears, for it becomes apparent that texts unknown to the First Council were in fact included in the canon at later stages in its history. Taken from the purely historical perspective the matter is clear, since any text that was unknown to the traditions recording the events of the First Council is automatically excluded from being canonical. However, the Theravādin tradition does not in fact come to such stark conclusions, it is seemingly content to allow its basic criteria for canonicity to be disregarded by the addition of texts of a demonstrably later date to that original canon. The Khuddaka-nikāya is the chief means through which these later texts come to be included in the canon. Hence the analysis of the historical formation, and composition of that collection. The general conclusion arrived at here is that this Nikāya seems to be used by both Pāli, and Sanskrit, traditions as a location for any anomalous text that was considered to be canonical, but which was not already included within the texts comprising the four Nikāyas. Thus whichever way the issue is addressed the canonicity, or historicity, of some texts in this collection comes under severe pressure. This is so from the perspective of the traditional Pāli criteria, from the historical perspective, or from the perspective of comparative philology.

The *Jātakanidāna* contains an added impetus to the biographical theme that ultimately stems from the *Buddhavaṃsa*. This biographical theme has precursors in the Indian literary tradition generally, as revealed by consulting the Jain texts dealing with their earlier founders. These retrospective biographies, of both the Jains and the Buddhists, serve the purpose of giving a prehistoric foundation to the two traditions. Within its prose narrative sections the *Jātakanidāna* gives an added validity to the biographical outlines contained in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, providing a thoroughgoing Buddhist conceptual background to the biographies it contains. Alongside this the technical terms that are introduced in the *Buddhavaṃsa* to define, and describe, buddhas and bodhisattas in general, are taken up and used throughout the *Jātakanidāna*. One example of this use of certain terminology is represented in the *Jātakanidāna* by the completely novel way that the concept of buddhahood is treated in that text. The text deals with buddhahood in a manner that is almost entirely dependent on the *Buddhavaṃsa* method of describing this. Thus, buddhahood is defined by the employment of this novel technical vocabulary, and is also viewed as a naturally recurring event that is emphasised by the continual repetition of the past lives of the buddhas.

Chapter Three

The Bodhisatta Concept and the Doctrines Specific to it in the Jātakanidāna

Introduction

The *Jātakanidāna* contains a combination of both early and late canonical, and commentarial, traditions that were concerned with depicting the life of Gotama. It also deals with his twenty-four predecessors, and the bodhisattas of each buddha era. The text performs multiple functions in the history of Pāli literature, Theravādin doctrine, and Buddhist mythology. It includes a great deal of unique detail on many of the seminal events of the historical Buddha's life. The ostensible aim of the *Dūrenidāna* section¹ is the depiction of the lineage, and history, of the buddhas who appeared prior to Gotama. In this section the text produces the *gāthā* accounts, that are taken directly from the *Buddhavamsa*, that elaborate the teachings about the twenty-four buddhas. These teachings are primarily concerned with the main events in the lives of these buddhas. The narration of these events also functions as a means of systematising novel, or at least hitherto undeveloped, doctrines within the Theravādin tradition. Thus the text is based on an existing collection of traditions about these lives, but it is at the same time projecting the new ideal of the bodhisatta.

For, while the text is explicitly teaching about the lineage of former buddhas, it is implicitly laying the basis for the development of the bodhisatta doctrine within the Theravādin tradition. On the mythological, and historical, levels the text creates the conceptual framework within which the bodhisatta doctrine is described and delineated. The really innovative function of the *Dūrenidāna* is the description of the bodhisatta's life, and the elucidation of the doctrinal foundation of this type of person. There is no other text in Pāli literature, canonical or commentarial, that deals with the bodhisatta doctrine in such a specific and detailed manner. The treatment of the bodhisatta contained in the *Jātakanidāna* is the most developed, and integrated example² found in Pāli literature. Wherein the bodhisatta doctrine is clearly stated, the major events a bodhisatta must undergo established, and the path of the bodhisatta is said to consist of the practice of the ten *pāramīs*.³

Canonical forerunners of the bodhisatta concept

That some notion of the concept of bodhisatta⁴ existed in the Pāli canon prior to the *Jātakanidāna* is

¹ See sections I 1 to I 69 of the translation and edition.

² There are some other examples of later poetical works such as the twelfth century *kāvya* work the *Jinālakāra* and other works of that kind.

³ The origin of the bodhisatta doctrine is still far from clear, though many scholars maintain that it is not a specifically Mahāyāna teaching but inherent in the *jātaka* stories common to the Buddhist schools. See A.K. Warder, "Original Buddhism and Mahāyāna", *Publicazioni di Indologica Taurinensia*, 16, 1983, p. 9. LS

⁴ An early reference to Gotama as a bodhisatta is given in the *Suttanipāta*, interestingly this *gāthā* includes the idea that he is born for the benefit of mankind, which is most commonly found as a definition of a bodhisattva in the Mahāyāna traditions, see D. Anderson, & H. Smith eds., *Sutta-nipāta*, London: PTS, 1913, rpt. 1965, *gāthā* 683a/b, p. 132:

So Bodhisatto ratanavaro atulyo
manussaloke hitasukhatāya jāto

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Publicazioni di Indologica Taurinensia

unquestionable. However, the usage of the term in the early texts of the Pāli canon is never precisely defined, or delineated, in strictly doctrinal terms. There are numerous examples in the Nikāya texts of the term bodhisatta occurring, though the bodhisatta portrayed is not a generalised or ordinary being. In these examples the term is specifically applied by Gotama when referring to himself, or relating some event either in one of his past lives, or during his last life prior to his enlightenment.¹ Thus, while the word bodhisatta² may occur from a very early period in the history of the Pāli canon, its conceptual scope, semantic range, and doctrinal usage, is extremely limited, being always identified with the historical personage of Gotama. Furthermore, within the context of the *jātakas* the word has no specifically defined technical usages or nuances, but again only refers to Gotama in one of his previous existences.

Despite this early provenance for the existence of the term bodhisatta, there is no evidence in the early strata of the Pāli canon for the existence of a corresponding bodhisatta doctrine.³ All that can be inferred from the *sutta* or *jātaka* references to this concept, is that Gotama had many past lives during which he was called a bodhisatta. During these lives depicted in the *jātakas*, he is shown to have performed virtuous deeds, and generally acted in a prudent and wise manner. There is no attempt at a depiction of what might be termed a bodhisatta doctrine, or even of a specific path for a bodhisatta to follow.⁴ In these early examples the usage of the term bodhisatta is employed solely as an epithet, or synonym, for Gotama before he became a buddha.⁵ This position has been rejected by some scholars, but their objections appear to be based on an extremely tenuous, and anachronistic, form of reasoning.⁶ The use of the term as representing a concept with a universal application, or unique doctrinal significance, is therefore, entirely absent in the *sutta* and *jātaka* texts. Nevertheless, even with this extreme lack of antecedents, the Pāli tradition manages to produce works that develop, to a considerable degree, the concept of the bodhisatta

¹ The examples of this kind of reference to a bodhisatta are fairly numerous in the Nikāyas, see for example, *Dvedhavitakka-sutta*, M I p. 114, *Ariyapariyesana-sutta*, M I p. 163; *Acchariyabbhuttadhamma-sutta*, M III p. 119.

² The formation of the term bodhisatta in Pāli has been questioned by some scholars, Basham points out the apparent inconsistency of the term in the doctrinal scheme of the Theravāda, see A.L. Basham, "The Evolution of the Concept of the Bodhisattva", in *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhism*, ed. L.S. Kawamura, L., Ontario: Wilfred Laurier Press, 1978. pp. 21-22. For a full range of possible meanings and etymologies of the Pāli term bodhisatta, and Sanskrit bodhisattva see, H. Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, 1932, rpt. Delhi: Motilal Barnarsidass, 1975, pp. 4-9.

³ The importance of the *pāramīs* in the developing bodhisatta doctrine cannot be overestimated, for they are representative of an entirely new way of practice in Buddhism. The term has been commented on in Jayawardhana's work on the commentaries. See, S. Jayawardhana, "A Critical Introduction to the Study of Pāli Tikas", *Sesquicentennial Commemorative Volume of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka 1845-1995*, Colombo, 1995, p. 300.

⁴ It has been pointed out by Choong Mun-keat that the term bodhisattva is often omitted in the Sanskrit Āgamas in precisely the place where it occurs in the corresponding Pali text. In some of these instances Choong claims that the term bodhisattva was in fact added later. See Choong Mun-keat, *The Fundamental Teachings of Early Buddhism: a comparative study based on the Sūtrāṅga portion of the Pāli Saṃyutta-nikāya and the Chinese Saṃyuktāgama*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000, p. 179.

⁵ This view is shared by Samuels, but he adds that there are references in the Pāli canon to at least one future buddha named Metteyya, see J. Samuels, "The Bodhisattva Ideal in Theravāda Buddhist Theory and Practice: A Re-evaluation of the Bodhisattva-Śrāvaka Opposition", *PEW*, 47, 1997, p. 403.

⁶ In particular Rahula attempts to justify the early equivalence of the bodhisattva ideal of the Mahāyāna with that appearing in the later texts of the Pāli canon. It is difficult to accept his arguments as, has been shown, the concept of the bodhisatta in the Pāli tradition is quite separate from that of the Mahāyāna ideal. For his full argument see W. Rahula, "The Bodhisattva Ideal in Theravāda and Mahāyāna", *Zen and the Taming of the Bull*, London, 1978, pp. 71-77.

as a key figure in the developing buddhology of that Buddhist tradition.¹ The most significant example of this tendency is the *Jātakanidāna*, nowhere else is there found a text that portrays in such detail the ideal life of the bodhisatta, and the principles laid out that fully elucidate the bodhisatta concept. Despite this elucidation of the concept in the *Jātakanidāna*, there are some elements associated with it that were not introduced or developed to the extent that occurs in the Mahāyāna.

The bodhisatta in the late canonical and commentarial texts

In the group of three texts consisting of the *Jātakanidāna*, *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Cariyāpiṭaka*, the position taken regarding the concept of the bodhisatta is quite distinct from the usages of the term in the *suttas* and *jātakas*. The usage of the term bodhisatta in these three texts, and the view of the role of that concept within Theravādin Buddhism, is transformed to an almost unrecognisable extent. The overall intention of the Dūrenidāna section of the *Jātakanidāna* is to provide a complete systematisation of the life, and practices, of the bodhisatta as a formal element in Theravādin doctrine. This cluster of fragmentary, and more developed, traditions about the bodhisatta, represented by these three texts, are the only accounts within the Theravādin tradition that provide any kind of coherent doctrinal rationale for the bodhisatta. It is only with the appearance of these texts that we can begin to speak of a bodhisatta doctrine² in any meaningful sense. The view of the bodhisatta in these texts has been thoroughly thought out, and incorporated into the conceptual framework of Theravādin Buddhism. All three texts, in one way or another, undertake the task of setting out a universal path that all bodhisattas must follow.

The *Jātakanidāna* is the most developed of this group of three texts dealing with the life and career of the bodhisatta, and it exhibits some similarities with the Mahāyāna position on the subject. The Mahāyāna conception of the bodhisattva, as it is contained in texts like the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*,³ envisage a long career spanning many thousands of *kalpas* for the bodhisattva. Though in those instances the bodhisattva is never depicted as Gautama, the ideal in those *sūtras* is of a bodhisattva as a category of person who strives for buddhahood, but who never, and who can never, actually attain it. One of the essential purposes of the Mahāyāna doctrine of the bodhisattva is to emphasise one's own rejection of the ultimate goal for the benefit of others. It is a doctrine that seeks to promote this self denial as a means of practice, and raises altruism to the level of a soteriological tool on the bodhisattva path. The bodhisatta doctrine, as it unfolds in the Theravādin tradition, has distinct differences to that corresponding doctrine

¹ However much the bodhisatta ideal may be emphasised in the *Jātakanidāna*, there is no denigration of the path of the *arhat* that is found in the *Saddharmapuṇḍṛīka-sūtra* and other early Mahāyāna *sūtras*. Nor is there a criticism of the *arhat* ideal itself, see T.W. Rhys Davids, *The History and Literature of Buddhism*, 1896, rpt. Varanasi: Bhartiya Publishing House, 1975, p. 136.

² There is the possibility that contact between the Theravāda and Mahāyāna traditions was more extensive than the historical evidence would allow us to conclude. The influence of the Mahāyāna schools that were present in Ceylon is very difficult to assess, given the fragmentary and sectarian nature of the historical sources for that period. There is some evidence that the Mahāyāna schools began to be accepted in Ceylon from at least the third century BCE during the reign of Vohārika Tissa, see J.C. Holt, *Buddha in the Crown: Avalokiteśvara in the Buddhist Traditions of Sri Lanka*, Oxford University Press, 1991, pp. 57-58.

³ The Mahāyāna *sūtras* also make great use of the concept of *puṇya* 'merit' that the bodhisattva has to accumulate in order to proceed on the path. This is a notably rare term in the Pāli teachings about the bodhisatta, the *Buddhavaṃsa* II 56, says the bodhisatta must have performed the necessary *adhikāra* 'meritorious act' to make progress. See N.A. Jayawickrama, ed., *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka*, London: PTS, 1974, p. 12.

which is found in the Mahāyāna. There are also significant correspondences however, and the most marked similarity is in the employment in the *Jātakanidāna* of a system of *pāramīs* 'perfections' as an essential ingredient of the bodhisatta's path. Some of these Pāli *pāramīs* have their counterparts in the Mahāyāna schemes of the *pāramitās*, but the Pāli system of ten does not ultimately seem to be derived from the Mahāyāna scheme.

The overall purpose of the *Jātakanidāna* is to provide a means for authenticating, and elaborating, the biography of the historical buddha. In the text his life is seen against the background of a long series of earlier preparatory lives. This prehistory is portrayed by using the materials found in the *Buddhavaṃsa* relating to the lives of the twenty-four previous buddhas. While these lives are being narrated the role of the bodhisatta, in relation to each of those buddhas, is enlarged and given a greater doctrinal importance than hitherto encountered in the Pāli canonical texts. The result of this is that the real focus of the legend is not about any of the buddhas themselves, but the life of the bodhisatta during each of these buddhas' lives. The bodhisatta emerges as the single most important character, concealed within the epic legend of the twenty-four buddhas. It would seem that the bodhisatta doctrine develops in the *Jātakanidāna* almost as a necessary corollary to the doctrine of former buddhas. It is in this text that the conception of the bodhisatta, as something more than a mere epithet of Gotama, receives its most detailed and systematic exposition within the Theravādin tradition.

The bodhisatta becomes as important as any buddha, for in the doctrinal scheme of the *Jātakanidāna*, all buddhas have been bodhisattas, and all bodhisattas will inevitably become buddhas. The *Jātakanidāna*'s description of the path that the bodhisatta must follow brings about the amalgamation of some of the most innovative elements of any text of the later Theravādin tradition. There are, however, two elements that are characteristic of the bodhisattva concept in the Mahāyāna, but which have no parallel in the Pāli sources. These elements consists of the vow that is taken by the bodhisattva to save all sentient beings, and the production of the *bodhicitta*. For whatever reason, this vow, and the production of the *bodhicitta*, have absolutely no occurrences in the Pāli texts. There may be certain cultural¹ or philosophical differences between these two Buddhist traditions, and thus between the doctrines they were likely, or able, to elaborate. Whatever the reason, the Theravādin tradition does not seem to have regarded the bodhisattva vow, or the production of *bodhicitta*, as something that could be, or was strictly necessary for their own tradition.

Incorporation of the bodhisatta ideal in the Jātakanidāna

As has already been shown, the Theravādin tradition has strict principles for assessing the canonicity of any particular text, and by inference any doctrine that may occur within them. This was the manner in which orthodoxy in doctrine, and belief, was determined and maintained by that tradition. Any doctrine or teaching could be verified as authentic, and so orthodox, by reference to its occurrence within that

¹ Some of the possible reasons for the manner in which the bodhisatta doctrine omits such features as the bodhisatta vow are discussed by Holt. For his speculations about the different conception of the vow for the Mahāyāna, and how this was interpreted within the Theravāda see, J.C. Holt, "*Buddha in the Crown: Avalokiteśvara in the Buddhist Traditions of Sri Lanka*", Oxford University Press, 1991, p. 73.

canonical textual tradition. Therefore, within the Theravādin tradition any doctrine being posited as representing canonical Buddhist doctrine must necessarily be proved to ultimately be, whether directly or indirectly, *buddhavacana*. It is one of the dilemmas of any closed, or at least fixed textual tradition, that any new, developing or emerging doctrine, has difficulty in becoming recognised as being a part of the inherited tradition. Any new doctrine can only be admitted into the corpus of canonical doctrines by having some formal connection established with the earlier tradition. This problem occurs for both theistic and non-theistic religions alike, Christianity and Islam have their *Apocrypha* and *Hadith*, Hinduism its *Purānas* while Jainism has its *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra*. All of these works are what might be termed para-canonical, in that they represent attempts to incorporate later rationalisations, about existing or novel doctrines, into the teachings of those religious traditions. The method adopted by the Theravādin tradition to overcome this conundrum was entirely in keeping with their own ideas about textual canonicity.

This dilemma existed for the Theravādin tradition in regard to the concept of the bodhisatta, and in specific terms to a fully thought out doctrine of the bodhisatta. All that can be said of the Nikāya, and Jātaka occurrences of this term bodhisatta, is that the name existed in those texts along with some rudimentary notions of the function of this person in the Buddhist world view. The most important aspect of the varied functions of the bodhisattas, both for the Theravādin and Mahāyāna traditions, is that their goal is buddhahood, not simply the attainment of *arahatta*.¹ For the Theravādin tradition the introduction of new or developed doctrines, has been effected by what might best be termed a system of textual osmosis. In the case of the *Jātakanidāna* this process can be seen quite distinctly. The largest canonical extracts embedded in the text are the *gāthās* of the *Buddhavaṃsa*, though *gāthās* from the *Dhammapada*, *Theragāthā*, *Cariyāpiṭaka*, and the *Jātaka*, also occur. It is the inclusion of these *gāthā* portions of canonical texts, and the extension of the sphere of what might be termed *buddhavacana*, that allow the *Jātakanidāna* to become considered, in however ambiguous a manner, as representative of canonical doctrine. The *Buddhavaṃsa* represents a later stage in the historical development of the doctrine of former buddhas than is found elsewhere in the Pāli canon. It is this text which is used in the *Jātakanidāna* as the basis for the further development, and full elucidation, of the doctrine of the bodhisatta. The *Jātakanidāna* appears then to gain its elevated, or para-canonical, status from a combination of the canonical materials it utilises, its doctrinal subject matter, and its formal status as the introduction to the Jātaka collection.

The doctrinal scope of the *Jātakanidāna* is unparalleled in the literary history of Pāli. Covering as it does the twenty-four buddhas, and the bodhisattas who lived during each of their lives. This is then followed by the life of Gotama, from birth up to the donation of the Jetavana park by Anāthapiṇḍika. The text details these events, incorporating doctrines that are found for the first time in their developed and systematised form. There can be said to be two primary types of doctrine that appear in the *Jātakanidāna*. Existing doctrines that are found elsewhere in the Theravādin tradition, and the newly formulated doctrines

¹ In opposition to this Rahula denies the early goal of Pāli Buddhism as being *arahatta*. He attempts to show that Theravādin tradition held the attainment of buddha-hood as one of the goals of that tradition from its very origin. See W. Rahula, "The Bodhisattva Ideal in Theravāda and Mahāyāna", *Zen and the Taming of the Bull*, London, 1978, p. 72. A similar case is made by Werner for the goal of early Buddhism, see K. Werner, "Bodhi and Arahattaphala. From early Buddhism to early Mahāyāna", *JIAS*, 4, 1981, pp. 73, 76.

that appear for the first time within that tradition in this text. There could also be said to be another type, which are the existing doctrines that are found in the *Jātakanidāna* in a form more fully developed than hitherto known in the Theravādin tradition. This latter category can usefully be included under the heading of new doctrines, in that they are representative of a new level of thinking, and can therefore be treated as being indicative of a considerable change in doctrinal emphasis.

The doctrines belonging to the existing stock of early Theravādin Buddhist teachings, that are found in the *Jātakanidāna*, reflect the concern of its compilers to present the previous buddhas, and the bodhisattas, within a wholly Buddhist perspective. All the central Buddhist doctrines occur in the text, the doctrines of the four *ariyasacca*, *aṭṭhaṅgikamagga*, *anattā*, *paṭiccasamuppāda*, are all referred to. Though it is with the presentation of the doctrines associated with the previous buddhas, and the bodhisatta, that the Dūrenidāna section of the *Jātakanidāna* is specifically concerned. The doctrine of former buddhas is taken in its entirety from the *Buddhavaṃsa*, and represents the starting point for the systematisation of the doctrine of the bodhisatta. Thus, while the doctrine of former buddhas is accepted, and fully represented in the *Jātakanidāna*, in the scheme of that text the emphasis shifts to the figure of the bodhisatta. Furthermore, it is in the light of this shift in emphasis, that the *Jātakanidāna* is seen as the first Pāli text in which the doctrine of the bodhisatta is crystallised into a coherent, defined, and integral teaching for that tradition.

The *Jātakanidāna* also contains a wide range of novel terms, and doctrines, that are built up around the character of the bodhisatta. These types of technical terms, and doctrines, are an innovatory addition to the bodhisatta concept within that tradition. Among the terms that come under this heading are those that refer to specific phases of the bodhisatta's career. Thus, such terms as *vyākaraṇa* 'prediction', *abhinīhāra* 'aspiration' and *adhikāra* 'meritorious acts' come to the fore in the text as a means of defining key stages in the bodhisatta's development. Another definitive way in which the bodhisatta doctrine is furthered in the *Jātakanidāna* is through the depiction of the bodhisatta as a wholly altruistic person, who is bent on the liberation of other beings. The text narrates Sumedha's thoughts on the matter:

If, wishing to subdue all my defilements, I were to become a novice in the *saṅgha* who desired to enter the city of Ramma, although disguised¹ as one who has subdued these defilements² there would be no purpose in obtaining *nibbāna*. I should rather act in the same way as Dasabala Dīpaṅkara who, after obtaining perfect enlightenment, put many people in a boat on the great ocean of *saṃsāra* and made them cross to the other side. Following that it would be proper that I obtain this *nibbāna*.³

¹ The Pāli term *aññātakavesena* means in this adverbial form 'in disguise, not in one's own form', see M. Cone, *A Dictionary of Pāli, Part I, a-kh*, Oxford: Pāli Text Society, 2001, p. 48. The Tibetan translation gives *gžan gyi cha lugs kyis*, which might be literally rendered 'with the form/garb of another'.

² Tibetan: gal te bdag gi ñon moṅs pa thams cad gžom par 'dod pa dañ / dge 'dun mams kyi gžon nur 'gyur bar bya ba dañ / dga' ba can gyi groñ khyer du 'jug par 'dod do // gžan gyi cha lugs kyis kyañ ñon moṅs pa 'di gžom par byas nas mya ñan las 'das pa thob pa la don med do //. Pāli: Sace ahaṃ iccheyyaṃ sabbakilese jhāpetvā saṃghanavako hutvā Rammanagaraṃ paviseyyaṃ aññātakavesena pana me kilese jhāpetvā Nibbānapattiyā kiccaṃ n'atthi. This is an extremely important passage in the development of the doctrine of the bodhisatta in the *Jātakanidāna*, the Tibetan and Pāli are slightly ambiguous in their precise intent, though the overall idea of giving assistance to others is evident.

³ See sections I 18 of the translation and edition.

This is the earliest formulation in Pāli of the rationale behind the bodhisatta doctrine. The early Buddhist goals of the attainment of *arahatta*, the destruction of the *āsavas*, the attainment of *nibbāna*, or the understanding of *paṭiccasamuppāda*, receive no mention whatever. The goal in this passage is no longer simply the attainment of *bodhi* or *nibbāna*, as is the case in the early Nikāya accounts of Gotama's enlightenment. Here the emphasis is firmly on the altruistic nature of the bodhisatta's career, and the attitude that must be adopted. The most important element is that of assisting others to gain liberation from *samsāra*, only after that is it deemed right for the bodhisatta to attain *nibbāna*. The passage represents the single most significant statement about the bodhisatta's ultimate goals, and motives, contained in the *Jātakanidāna*. This passage can then be viewed almost as a concise Theravādin reformulation of the Mahāyāna bodhisattva¹ ideal.

The inclusion of this kind of narrative in the *Jātakanidāna* emphasises the difference in goal between the early, and later phases of the Theravādin tradition. Certainly, in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, the real goal for the bodhisatta is *sabbāññuta*² 'omniscience', and buddhahood. The ideal pattern of behaviour to be followed is that of Dīpaṃkara's life, so the bodhisatta in emulating this, is only doing the correct thing for a bodhisatta. There is also a qualitative difference depicted here between the early idea of the attainment of *arahatta* in this life, and the inevitable *nibbāna* that would entail. This is contrasted with the ideal of the aspiration to become a buddha at some unimaginably distant future time, and so effectively deferring³ the attainment of *nibbāna* in order to be of service to others. This passage serves to turn attention to the question of what it means to be a bodhisatta, and how this teaching is rationalised within the scheme of the Theravādin tradition's understanding of the term. The bringing together of these three concepts marks a significant development in the formative phase of the evolution of the bodhisatta doctrine in that tradition.

The concepts of vyākaraṇa, abhinīhāra and adhikāra in the Jātakanidāna

Notwithstanding the claim of the Theravādin tradition that its teachings and doctrines go back to the historical buddha, and the recital at the First Council, there are a number of innovative concepts which only occur in some of their later canonical and commentarial works. The Theravādin tradition employs, therefore, a number of doctrinal and technical terms, that are not always attested in the earliest period of the Pāli canonical texts. These doctrines and terms are in some instances little more than isolated occurrences,

¹ Being careful to remember that the Mahāyāna bodhisattva ideal is much extensively documented in their *sūtras*, and later in their *śāstras*, than in any group of Pāli texts. The bodhisattva doctrine was also more important to the Mahāyāna, for according to Conze: it was to its teachings about the "Bodhisattva" that the Mahāyāna owed its success as a religion. See E. Conze, *Thirty Years of Buddhist Studies*, Oxford: Cassirer, 1967, p. 54.

² The *Buddhavaṃsa* is quite clear that reaching omniscience and buddhahood are the ultimate aim of the bodhisatta, but that omniscience is the quality that allows the bodhisatta to help others to escape *samsāra*. For reference to this see *gāthās* 54-55, N.A. Jayawickrama, ed. *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka*, London: PTS, 1974, p.12. These *gāthās* also occur in the Tibetan, see section I 18 of the edition.

³ This point about the deferring of *nibbāna* has been noted before, a recent work has summed up the position succinctly: Presumably Śākyamuni actually could have attained enlightenment for himself (the state of an arhat) in the presence of that previous Buddha. Why did he undergo the many, many rebirths necessary in order to follow the path to Buddhahood if the eventual goal of Buddhahood is not qualitatively different to -- not in some significant way very much superior to -- the state of an arhat? See P. Williams & A. Tribe, *Buddhist Thought: A complete introduction to the Indian tradition*, London: Routledge, 2000, p. 137.

both in the philological, and the doctrinal sense. That is to say, these terms appear in an extremely small number of cases within only two texts, the *Buddhavaṃsa*, the *Jātakanidāna*, and in the commentaries to the *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Cariyāpiṭaka*. An example of this development of doctrinal thought can be seen in the *Jātakanidāna* in connection with these three concepts that are presented as essential stages for the bodhisatta to achieve. These three are the concepts of *vyākaraṇa*¹ ‘prediction’ in foretelling Gotama’s future, *abhinihāra*² ‘aspiration’ representing the bodhisatta’s desire for buddhahood, and the bodhisatta’s *adhikāra*³ ‘meritorious act, service’ to earlier buddhas. By studying the occurrences of these three terms, it can be demonstrated that they represent significant additions to the array of terms used to describe a bodhisatta. It can also be shown that with the linking of the three terms, the definition of the bodhisatta becomes more formalised, and an important set of elements appear in the emerging bodhisatta doctrine.

The term *vyākaraṇa* is known and used in the Pāli canon, in its basic non-technical meaning, prior⁴ to

¹ The primary meanings of the Pāli word *vyākaraṇa* are three-fold: i. explanation, exposition; ii. grammar; iii. prediction, see T. W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede, *The Pāli Text Society’s Pāli-English Dictionary*, London: PTS, 1925, rpt. 1979, p. 653, and R. C. Childers, *A Dictionary of the Pāli Language*, London, 1875, rpt. Kyoto: Rinsen, 1987, pp. 591-2. The Sanskrit word *vyākaraṇa* also has the above connotations of the Pāli word as well as many more meanings, Monier-Williams notes of the word that it has for the Buddhists the sense of ‘prediction’ or ‘prophecy’, see M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford: At The Clarendon Press, 1889, rpt. 1988, p.1035; see also F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, 2 vols, New Haven: 1953, rpt. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1985, vol 2, pp. 516-7.

² The Tibetan translates this term by *smon lam* which is the standard Tibetan rendering of the Sanskrit term *pranidhāna*, see R. Sasaki, *Mahāvvyutpatti*, Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1916, rpt. 1973, no. 921, p. 71. The Pāli word *abhinihāra* is given by Childers as ‘earnest wish or aspiration’ PTSD has ‘resolve, aspiration’, see R. C. Childers, *A Dictionary of the Pāli Language*, London, 1875, rpt. Kyoto: Rinsen, 1987, p. 5; T. W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede, *The Pāli Text Society’s Pāli-English Dictionary*, London: PTS, 1925, rpt. 1979, p. 67. In the DOP *abhinihāra* is defined in its primary meanings: ‘stretching out, moving (towards); intended action, firm intention; scheme’ but its use as a technical term related to a specific stage in the bodhisatta’s development is not commented on, see M. Cone, *A Dictionary of Pāli, Part I, a-kh*, Oxford: Pāli Text Society, 2001, p. 205. The CPD gives it as ‘earnest wish, aspiration, resolve, determination’ and also says that it is used synonymously with *panidhāna* and *patthāna*, see V. Trenckner, *et al*, (1924-1997), *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Copenhagen: Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, Vol. I (1924-1948), p. 361. The Pāli *abhinihāra* is apparently related to the Buddhist Sanskrit word *abhinirhāra*, the Buddhist Sanskrit usage does not include as primary usages the meanings of ‘aspiration, resolve’ that the Pāli does. In that language it has the primary meanings of ‘accomplishment, realisation’ but may mean ‘vow, resolution’ in certain contexts, see F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, vol 2, New Haven: 1953, rpt. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1985, p.53.

³ The term *adhikāra* is translated by two terms in the Tibetan, either *rigs pa* or *gzi*. It is not a well attested Pāli concept, but is better known in Buddhist Sanskrit works. This term can also have the meaning in Pāli of ‘resolve’, see, T. W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede, *The Pāli Text Society’s Pāli-English Dictionary*, London: PTS, 1925, rpt. 1979, p. 27, where it is rendered by ‘attendance, service, help’, and R. C. Childers, *A Dictionary of the Pāli Language*, London, 1875, rpt. Kyoto: Rinsen, 1987, p. 12, where it is given as ‘office, authority; function, act; desire, resolve’. The CPD records it as ‘office, function; meritorious act’, see V. Trenckner, *et al*, (1924-1997), *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Copenhagen: Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, Vol. I (1924-1948), p. 129. In the DOP *adhikāra* is rendered as ‘office, employment; supervision; service, help; act of merit’, see M. Cone, *A Dictionary of Pāli, Part I, a-kh*, Oxford: Pāli Text Society, 2001, p. 85. In the BHSD *adhikāra* is translated as ‘service, respectful duty’, for these meanings see F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, vol 2, New Haven: 1953, rpt. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1985, p. 12. The Sanskrit term *adhikāra* is found in the *Mahāvvyutpatti* with *gzi* as its Tibetan equivalent, see R. Sasaki, *Mahāvvyutpatti*, Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1916, rpt. 1973, no. 7633, p. 491. The Sanskrit definition of the term is given as ‘authority; administration; prerogative; rank; office; right to perform beneficial sacrifices; privilege; ownership; property’, see M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford: At The Clarendon Press, 1889, rpt. 1988, p. 20.

⁴ The initial prediction by Dīpaṃkara in the *Buddhavaṃsa* that Sumedha will achieve buddhahood does not actually use the term *vyākaraṇa* or any of its derived forms. See N. A. Jayawickrama, *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka*, London: PTS, 1974, II 59-68, pp. 12-13, for the *gāthās* relating to Sumedha’s *vyākaraṇa*.

the compilation of the *Jātakanidāna*. It is most often encountered in its primary verbal form of to answer or reply, its use in the sense of prediction is in fact a late usage of the term. It occurs in the sense of prediction in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, where it is depicted as an integral stage in any buddha's life, and also occurs in that text in relation to all but three¹ of the lives of the previous buddhas. The *Jātakanidāna* adopts this term, and develops its usage, so that it comes to represent an essential ingredient of the bodhisatta's life. Through this means it is elevated to the level of a thoroughgoing doctrinal, and technical term. Another term that is closely connected with the concept of *vyākaraṇa* is that of *abhinīhāra*, which describes the bodhisatta's ardent aspiration to become a buddha. This term itself is actually used on only two occasions in the entire *Buddhavaṃsa*, once in the introduction as a question about Gotama's past *abhinīhāra*, and the single occurrence relating directly to Sumedha.² This concept comes to represent the irrepressible volition that a bodhisatta has towards the ultimate goal. It is another quality that the bodhisatta must develop, but is not solely dependent on the bodhisatta. For it becomes clear in the text that the *abhinīhāra* can only occur successfully under certain essential preconditions, the principal one of which is the prior intercession of a buddha. In this way, these two interrelated concepts evolve into the key innovative elements in the bodhisatta doctrine as recorded in the *Jātakanidāna*.

These three concepts of *abhinīhāra*, *vyākaraṇa*, and *adhikāra*, found initially in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, are the basic elements used in the *Jātakanidāna* to elaborate the teaching about the unique role of buddhas in the bodhisatta's life. The two texts draw out the full implications of the relationship between these two characters in the Buddhist world view. Although the making of the *vyākaraṇa* is most closely associated with a buddha, the *Jātakanidāna* also has accounts of it being made by certain categories of people, or even inanimate things, other than a buddha. Viewing these from a purely descriptive position there are five distinct ways in which the concept of *vyākaraṇa* is depicted within the *Jātakanidāna*. The five are *vyākaraṇa* by a buddha, by *devas*, by an ascetic, by *brāhmaṇas*, and by natural phenomena.

Only the first of these is doctrinally essential to the bodhisatta, the remainder represent symbolic affirmations of the *vyākaraṇa* within the specific world view of the *Jātakanidāna*. These five types of *vyākaraṇa* are the textual reiterations of the teaching that a bodhisatta will become a buddha. The five examples referred to do not all use the term *vyākaraṇa* explicitly, but in the instances where it is not employed the sense of *vyākaraṇa* is made by other means. In some cases this is achieved by the use of the future tense 'he will become a buddha', while in yet other case they are a symbolic representation of a *vyākaraṇa* by means of signs rather than words. In this way the *vyākaraṇa* becomes the single most

¹ The three *gāthās* that do not have the verb *vyākāsi* are II 60, p. 13; XVIII 10, p. 44, and XXII 15, p.84, in N. A. Jayawickrama, *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpīṭaka*, London: PTS, 1974. The *Buddhavaṃsa* has twentyfour acts of *vyākaraṇa* but not always using that term explicitly, the aorist form *vyākāsi* is employed in *gāthās* II 173; III 11; IV 12; V 18; VI 12; VII 13; VIII 14; X 15; XI 12; XII 13; XII 15; XIV 12; XV 11; XVI 10; XVIII 13; XIX 9; XX 13; XXI 12; XXIII 10; XXIV 12. Thus IX 13, and XXV 16 have the aorist form *viyākari*, while *gāthās* II 60, XVII 10, and XXII 12 do not have the verb *vyākaroṭi* in any form, but rely one of the two the phrases: 'buddho loke bhavissati' or, 'ayaṃ buddho bhavissati' to convey the notion of *vyākaraṇa*.

² There are only two references to the *abhinīhāra* in the entire *Buddhavaṃsa*, one in reference to Gotama and the other in a list of the eight things in the *Buddhavaṃsa*. The reference in question refers only to *abhinīhāra* as being dependent on eight conditions, but the depiction of a bodhisatta actually making this *abhinīhāra* does not occur anywhere in that text. See N. A. Jayawickrama, *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpīṭaka*, London: PTS, 1974, chapter II, verse 58, p. 12.

important aspect of the early phases of the bodhisatta doctrine, for it is quite clear in the text, that no bodhisatta can begin to be defined as such until they have undergone this process.

1. *Vyākaraṇa* by the Buddha *Dīpaṃkara*

The *vyākaraṇa* by a buddha is dealt with at some length and detail, for this is the most important from the doctrinal standpoint. The first canonical example of a *vyākaraṇa* made by a buddha occurs in the Sumedhakathā section of the *Buddhavaṃsa*,¹ and hence also in the *Jātakanidāna*. The term in this instance is linked specifically to both the buddha *Dīpaṃkara* and the bodhisatta Sumedha. This particular example also provides one of the most detailed expositions of the process of *vyākaraṇa* recorded in the Theravādin tradition, together with the conditions necessary for it to occur. In this example the novel terminology, which is used to describe a bodhisatta, comes into play, together with the explanation of how these three interrelated concepts function in relation to the bodhisatta. The *Jātakanidāna* commentarial section sets out in detail the conception of one buddha-to-be being recognised as such by the buddha of that age, and his future buddhahood prophesied by that buddha. The text establishes the concept of the *vyākaraṇa* in this sense when it has the buddha *Dīpaṃkara* making the prophesy after meeting with Sumedha:

he saw Sumedha the ascetic lying on the earth, and thought: 'This ascetic lays here after making the aspiration in order to become buddha. Will he fulfil the aspiration for this or not?' Reflecting with a knowledge of the future, he thought: 'There after four immeasurable aeons and more than one hundred thousand aeons, he will be the buddha named Gotama.' He made the prediction in the midst of the assembly saying: 'Do you see the asceticism of this supreme ascetic who lies on the ground?' They replied: 'Sir, indeed we see it.' The buddha said: 'He lies here intending to obtain buddhahood.' And he asked: 'Will he fulfil his aspiration?', then he said: 'There after four immeasurable aeons, and more than one hundred thousand aeons, he will be the buddha named Gotama. Furthermore, he will be born in this city of Kapilavatthu, his mother will be the queen named Mahāmāya, his father the king named Suddhodana.'²

This occurrence of the *vyākaraṇa* provides most of the basic components that come to form what becomes an essential part of the bodhisatta doctrine for the Theravādin tradition. In this quotation they consist of a bodhisatta capable of the initial *abhinīhāra* for buddhahood, a buddha who can judge this, and his act of *vyākaraṇa* among an assembly of monks. The prose portion of the text cited is an elaborated, and developed, rendering of the *gāthās* that immediately follow it. This intermixture of prose and *gāthās* which say substantially the same thing is a feature of certain Buddhist texts of the early period. Though in the case of the *Jātakanidāna*, the prose often adds considerable detail, and doctrinal emphasis, to the basic ideas found in the *gāthās* being commented upon. The timescale indicated can also be taken as one of the important features of the *vyākaraṇa*, it is a way of showing the unimaginably lengthy path of the

¹ The specific act of *vyākaraṇa* initially occurs at *Buddhavaṃsa* II 60, but the entire process is given in *gāthās* II 59-69, see N. A. Jayawickrama, *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka*, London: PTS, 1974, p. 13.

² See sections I 19 of the translation and edition.

bodhisatta. This has distinct parallels in the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras*, and other Mahāyāna *sūtras*, which also stress the enormous length of time that a bodhisattva must practise.

A point of particular interest in the above citation is that the *gāthā* section of the *Jātakanidāna*, that is taken from the *Buddhavaṃsa*, does not employ the term *vyākaraṇa* in its prediction of Sumedha's future buddhahood. The *vyākaraṇa* in the *gāthā* is made by stating only that he will become a buddha¹ at some future time, without recourse to either of the terms *vyākaraṇa* or *vyākāsi*. The commentary to the *Buddhavaṃsa*, the *Madhuratthavilāsini*,² also makes no mention of the concept of *vyākaraṇa* as it occurs in this *gāthā*. However the prose commentarial section of the *Jātakanidāna* text introduces the term for prediction, in its verbal form of *vyākāsi*,³ when relating Dipaṃkara's *vyākaraṇa* of Sumedha's future lot.

The very idea of an initiatory act is something that has deep roots in the Indian religious traditions. In this respect the *vyākaraṇa* is really only a preparatory ritual, that has similarities with the ancient Indian concept of *abhiṣeka*, in that it is both the recognition of potential, and the symbolic empowerment, forming the basis for further progress. The *vyākaraṇa* by a buddha is the incontrovertible proof of the bodhisatta's spiritual lineage, and serves to validate the bodhisatta's *abhinīhāra*. The exegesis, found in this prose commentary, begins to define the indispensable conditions necessary for the act of *vyākaraṇa*. There are, in these instances from the commentary, clear examples of the evolution, and development of the doctrine of the *vyākaraṇa* of one future buddha by the buddha of the current era.

The *Jātakanidāna* shows that the *abhinīhāra* of Sumedha is not a random or spontaneous act of religious sentiment, rather that it is the outcome a set of eight preliminary preconditions. The *gāthās* of the *Buddhavaṃsa* cited give the list of eight preconditions for one making the *abhinīhāra* which are: being a human, a male, seeing a teacher, a cause,⁴ a monk, being possessed of good qualities, meritorious acts,⁵ and an ardent desire. These eight preconditions for the *abhinīhāra* are a significant development in the qualities that a bodhisatta must possess. The crucial act of the bodhisatta in deciding to become a buddha is then not as spontaneous, or accidental, as it might initially appear. The prose commentary to

¹ The *Buddhavaṃsa gāthā* employs the future tense to convey the notion of prediction, II 60, *aparimeyye ito kappe buddho loke bhavissati*, "After incalculable aeons, he will be a Buddha in the world"; the Tibetan has: 'di ni bskal pa mañ 'das nas // 'jig rten du ni sañs rgyas 'gyur, see sections I 19 of the translation and edition; for the Pāli versions see, *The Jātaka Together with its Commentary*, vol 1, London: PTS, 1877, V. Fausbøll, *gāthā* 71, p. 13; N. A. Jayawickrama, *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka*, London: PTS, 1974, II 60, p. 13

² The commentary only gives a gloss on two other terms which occur in this *gāthā*, but is silent on the concept of *vyākaraṇa* that is implicit in the *gāthā*, it also gives almost the same prose commentary as in the *Jātakanidāna*, see I. B. Horner ed. *Madhuratthavilāsini nāma Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, PTS, London, 1978, p. 94, see also C.E. Godakumbura, ed. *Visuddhajanavilāsini nāma Apadānaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1954, pp. 18-19, which has slight variations from both the *Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā* and the *Jātakanidāna*.

³ The *Jātakanidāna*'s Tibetan translation of this Pāli term *vyākaroṭi* is *luñ ston pa*. The Mvy no. 6463, gives *luñ ston pa* as the Tibetan translation term for Sanskrit *vyākaraṇa*, see R. Sasaki, *Mahāvvyutpatti*, Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1916, rpt. 1973, vol 2, p. 417. Edgerton says that this prediction "comes to be regarded as a regular, perhaps necessary, preliminary to Buddhahood in Mahāyāna" see F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, vol 2, New Haven: 1953, rpt. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1985, p. 517.

⁴ The Pāli word is *hetu*, and the Tibetan *rgyu*. This is not elaborated on in the *Jātakanidāna* but the *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary defines *hetu* as the necessity for the aspirant to be a man, and to have the 'cause' for attaining the state of an *arahat*, see I. B. Horner ed. *Madhuratthavilāsini nāma Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, PTS, London, 1978, p. 91.

⁵ The term used in the Tibetan verse for the Pāli *adhikāra* at II 58 of the *Buddhavaṃsa* is *rigs pa*, though in the prose commentary the Tibetan word *gzi* is used to translate *adhikāra*. See sections I 18 of the translation and edition.

this section, that may form a later accretion to the text,¹ seeks to give a fully evolved theory to explain the *abhinīhāra* and provide it with an unquestionable Buddhist rationale. The *abhinīhāra*, in the light of this exegesis, is the outcome of the conjunction of certain specific conditions that each have their own causes. One of the most important of these causes is the innovative concept of an *adhikāra*² ‘meritorious act’ towards the buddha, in Sumedha’s case the act of laying himself on the ground for Dīpaṃkara to walk on. Thus, the *abhinīhāra* is shown in the commentary to depend on these eight conditions, with *adhikāra* as one of the more important of them :

He fulfils it through his meritorious act, and perfects meritorious acts. Not in any other way. Whoever possesses this meritorious act, fulfils it by means of a great wish, a great desire, a great exertion, and endeavour, for the sake of the *dhammas* causing buddhahood, not in any other way.³

The eight preconditions being met allow the next stage in the bodhisatta’s career to occur, the act of *vyākaraṇa* from a living buddha. This act is then shown to have an effect on Sumedha, who hears it from Dīpaṃkara, and who then realises that he could actually become a buddha himself. The *vyākaraṇa* inspires the bodhisatta to consciously begin to undertake the path to buddhahood. So, from the very introduction of the concept of *vyākaraṇa*, it is shown as being significant in two respects, it informs the world of a coming buddha, and it acts as a spiritual prompt to the bodhisatta. The *vyākaraṇa* is the prime factor, outside of the eight conditions, in inducing the *abhinīhāra* from the bodhisatta, it acts as the catalyst that activates all the potentialities within the bodhisatta.

Hearing this, Sumedha the ascetic thought: ‘ I will fulfil that aspiration’, and obtained happiness of mind. Many people heard Dasabala Dīpaṃkara’s speech and said: ‘Sumedha the ascetic is the sprouting seed of a buddha.’, and were joyful and delighted.⁴

The *vyākaraṇa* acts in this instance as the inspiration for the bodhisatta, who is now in some sense predestined, since foretold by the buddha, to become a buddha. This prose commentarial quotation does not use the term *abhinīhāra* for ‘aspiration’ here, instead *patthanā*⁵ ‘aspiration’ or ‘wish’ is found. This is difficult to account for, as the form *abhinīhāra* occurs in the cited *Buddhavaṃsa gāthā* setting out the eight requirements necessary for a bodhisatta to make the *abhinīhāra*. It also occurs in other parts of the commentary in the same sense. Since the form *patthanā* occurs throughout the prose commentary in precisely those instances where it would be expected to find *abhinīhāra*, it must be taken in these contexts as synonymous with that word.⁶ The prose commentary goes on to explain that the *abhinīhāra*

¹ This section of the *Jātakanidāna* is a prose commentary that may represent a later strata of commentarial tradition, and does not in Fausbøll’s view come from the older commentaries used in the compilation of that text.

² The Pāli term is *adhikāra* and is translated in the Tibetan by *gzi*. The sense of the term in this context is somewhat ambiguous and could be taken as either ‘resolve’, ‘meritorious act’ or ‘service’ without affecting the overall intention of this passage.

³ See sections I 18 of the translation and edition.

⁴ See sections I 19 of the translation and edition.

⁵ The Tibetan translation also consistently uses another term than *luñ ston pa* in these cases where *patthanā* occurs, the Tibetan word used in these cases is *don du gñer ba*.

⁶ The CPD defines *abhinīhāra* in several ways, but says it can be used in the sense of ‘earnest wish, aspiration, resolve, determination’ and also says that it can often be used synonymously with *pañidhāna* and *patthāna*, see V.

must take place in the presence of a living buddha for it to be successful. It expressly states that to make the *abhinīhāra* before the buddha's *parinibbāna stūpa*, or even the *bodhi* tree, would render it ineffective.¹ Only the face to face meeting of a bodhisatta and a buddha allow the right conditions for both the *vyākaraṇa*, and the *abhinīhāra*, to be made efficaciously.

Quite apart from the information that it provides on the *abhinīhāra*, this quotation is also significant in introducing the term *buddhabījankura*² 'sprouting seed of a buddha' when referring to a bodhisatta. This curious term is introduced to describe the state of latent potentiality within the bodhisatta to become a buddha. This concept, along with the *vyākaraṇa*, and *abhinīhāra*, is concerned with defining the bodhisatta as one with an almost predestined path to follow. The conception of the bodhisatta as a latent buddha, who undergoes a *vyākaraṇa*, and then makes an *abhinīhāra*, is a gargantuan, leap in doctrinal terms, from the conception of the bodhisatta presented in the early canonical texts.³ It is indicative of an entirely new way of thinking about the nature of bodhisattas, and buddhas, and the inherent state of buddhahood existing within one who receives the *vyākaraṇa*. This term is also intimately connected with the act of *vyākaraṇa*. For it is only a buddha who can see the nascent or inherent buddhahood, the state of *buddhabījankura*, in a bodhisatta, and so make the *vyākaraṇa* to them.

2. *Vyākaraṇa* by the devas

The second form of *vyākaraṇa* encountered in the *Jātakanidāna* is that made by the *devas*. The *devas* already have a significant role in the Nikāyas, the Saṃyutta-nikāya has an entire *saṃyutta* devoted to them.⁴ The inclusion of the proclamation of future buddhahood by the *devas* is in keeping with the development of the legendary, and mythological, aspects of the bodhisatta's life that are portrayed in the *Jātakanidāna*. This form of myth making is very much an undeclared aim of that text, bringing the lives

Trenckner, et al, *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Copenhagen: Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, Vol. I (1924-1948), p. 361.

¹ See sections I 18 of the translation and edition, this coincides almost exactly with the *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Apadāna* commentarial accounts, see I. B. Horner ed. *Madhurattahavilāsini nāma Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, PTS, London, 1978, p. 91-2, see also C.E. Godakumbura, ed. *Visuddhajanavilāsini nāma Apadānaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1954, pp. 16-17, which has slight variations from both the *Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā* and the *Jātakanidāna*.

² The Tibetan translation for this term is *saṅs rgyas kyi sa bon gyi myu gu*, the Pāli is *buddhabīja buddhamkura*, or *buddhabījankura*. The *Mahāvīyūtpatti* and other Tibetan dictionaries record neither the Tibetan nor the Sanskrit equivalent of these terms, so it is a reasonable assumption that they are Tibetan translation terms unique to this text. The Pāli-English dictionaries give examples of these terms only from the *Buddhavaṃsa*, *Jātakanidāna*, *Jātaka* and *Dhammapada* commentary. The term occurs only three times in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, see II 70, p. 13; III 17, p. 27; XXV 26, p. 93, and it appears these are the only canonical occurrences of this term, see N. A. Jayawickrama, *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpīṭaka*, London: PTS, 1974. A search of the Pāli CD-Rom for these terms in their various grammatical forms showed that they only occur in commentarial works. See *Chatṭha Saṅgāyana CD-ROM from Dhammagiri (Version 3)*, Vipassanā Research Institute, Dharmagiri, Igatpuri, India, 1999.

³ The *Cariyāpīṭaka* commentary provides much additional information on exactly how the concept of *abhinīhāra* was defined in the that commentarial tradition. There the *abhinīhāra* and its four conditions and four causes are given, these show a marked development in the definition of that concept. Furthermore the three qualities of *abhinīhāra*, *mahākaruṇā* and *upāyakosalla*, the last two of which are more normally associated with the Mahāyāna, are said to be the necessary conditions for the development of the ten *pāramīs*. See D.L. Barua, ed. *Achāriya Dhammapāla's Paramatthadīpanī*, London: PTS, 1939, rpt. 1979, pp. 284-286, 289.

⁴ The *devas* occur in numerous *suttas* and are part of the conceptual framework of the Buddhist world view, the section referred to here is the *Devatā-saṃyutta* of the Saṃyutta-nikāya, see L. Feer, ed. *The Saṃyutta-nikāya*, vol 1, London: PTS, 1884, pp. 1-45.

of the past buddhas, and bodhisattas, into agreement with the Buddhist cosmological view. The *vyākaraṇa* by the *devas* is then a means of emphasising one of their roles in the world, and the bodhisatta's superiority to them. The *Jātakanidāna* has many such instances of the *devas* becoming involved in the bodhisatta's quest. Thus the *devas* act of *vyākaraṇa* is one of the ways in which the *Jātakanidāna* uses them to legitimise, and authenticate, not only the teachings and events of that text, but also to show the importance of a buddha, and hence also of bodhisattas, for all classes of beings in *samsāra*.

There are numerous references to the *devas* having conversations with the buddha in the Nikāyas. These cases are always distinguished by the subservient role that the *devas* have in relationship to Gotama. In most examples, they come to seek advice from him, make offerings to him, or ask questions. The distinction between the Buddhist and brāhmaṇic conception of divine beings is that in Buddhism their status as *devas* does not entitle them to eternal life or happiness.¹ The *devas* in Buddhism are subject to impermanence like all other *samsāric* beings. In spite of this, they have a prominent role in the Nikāyas, and appear on all manner of occasions. In making the *vyākaraṇa* to Sumedha they act in the role of a divine chorus that give notice of his pending buddhahood:

While the bodhisatta was sitting like that the *devas* of the entire ten thousand fold world systems gave approval, saying: 'Noble ascetic Sumedha, those former bodhisattas also sat crosslegged reflecting on the perfections. Likewise, while sitting at that former time they saw the prognostic signs,² those signs also appear today. We know without doubt you will be buddha. Whoever sees³ these signs, he will certainly become a buddha.⁴

This form of the *vyākaraṇa* is the Buddhist method of indicating how the *devas* of the entire cosmos have the bodhisatta brought to their attention by these signs. They are reacting to the inherent power of the bodhisatta, who has brought these signs to prominence, and thus to their notice. So, although it is the *devas* who make the actual *vyākaraṇa*, it is the bodhisatta who has really caused this by his practice of the *pāramīs*. The role of the *devas* is, therefore, still one of subservience, where they are dependent on the bodhisatta, and merely serve as the harbingers of his enlightenment. This quote also refers to the various physical phenomena that accompany one soon to become a buddha. These visible phenomena, or thirty-two signs that foretell Sumedha's buddhahood, form an addition in the *Jātakanidāna*, to the set of events that occur before a buddha's enlightenment found in the early Nikāyas.

These thirty-two signs are also said to have occurred at the conception, birth, enlightenment, and the beginning of the teaching career of the buddha Dīpaṃkara.⁵ The prose commentary refers to them as

¹ See M.M.J. Marasinghe, *Gods in Early Buddhism*, Vidyalankara Campus: Sri Lanka, 1974, p. 83.

² Tibetan: *sdug bsñal gyi mtshan ma mthoñ nas*. Pāli: *pubbanimittāni nāma paññāyanti*. The Tibetan *sdug bsñal* in this sentence appear to be an error for *sñon*, for the term *sñon gyi mtshan ma* occurs earlier in the text at section I 16 of the edition for the Pāli *pubbanimitta*, and also later in the text for the *pubbanimitta*, see section II 12 of the edition.

³ Tibetan: *mthoñ bar gyur*. Pāli: *paññāyanti*.

⁴ See sections I 20 of the translation and edition.

⁵ See sections I 16 of the translation and edition.

pubbanimitta ‘prognostic signs’ while the *gāthā* following¹ has only *nimitta*. The *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary simply glosses this term, but makes absolutely no connection to the *mahāpurisa-lakkhaṇas*.² The thirty-two signs referred to are not the *mahāpurisa-lakkhaṇa* ‘marks of a great man’ that might be expected here. Instead quite a different set of signs appear in the *gāthās* following this prose that represent an altogether different, or developed, tradition of the thirty-two signs. These thirty-two signs are not listed in the prose commentary of the *Jātakanidāna*, instead the *gāthās*³ following it provide examples of the kind of signs that appeared. The different kinds of extraordinary, and miraculous events are that all flowers, trees and plants flowered at once, and rivers reversed their courses. The signs or events mentioned are such that it is only the *devas* who are capable of realising the full significance of them all. In this instance the *devas* have the function of acting as the interpreters of these signs, for only they can understand their full implications. The signs are important not just for Sumedha and the world, but for the *devas* themselves.

It is a notable feature of Buddhist cosmological thinking, that it is the *devas* who benefit from contact with a buddha, or his teaching, and therefore welcome the appearance of a buddha.⁴ The act of *vyākaraṇa* by the *devas* has the purpose of indicating the scope of their knowledge, and more importantly, the power inherent in a bodhisatta to bring about these distinctive signs. The *devas* simply act as the divine intermediaries who relate the importance of the signs to the world. In accordance with the Buddhist view of *devas* they are passive observers who have no influence or control over the events other than to interpret their meaning. This form of the *vyākaraṇa*, though not recorded in the early Nikāyas, is another of the means employed in the *Jātakanidāna* to reinforce the inevitability, and cosmic approval, of Sumedha’s pending enlightenment and buddhahood.

3. *Vyākaraṇa* in the *Nālaka* legend

There are several legends and doctrines that have been associated with the birth and life of the buddha Gotama from the earliest periods⁵ of Buddhist textual history. These legends and doctrines are not confined to the Theravādin tradition, but are also found in various differing forms in the scriptures of other Buddhist schools. The Pāli Vinaya account of the buddha’s life provides only the key events from the Buddhist viewpoint. This account contains no reference to the concept of a bodhisatta, to the life of the buddha prior to enlightenment, nor to the path he followed in order to attain buddhahood. All of these things are, however, laid out in detail in the *Jātakanidāna*, where the idea of *vyākaraṇa* comes to form an important factor in a buddha’s life, and actually becomes a part of Buddhist doctrinal tradition concerning the purpose and function of buddhas and bodhisattas.

The notion of a formal act of *vyākaraṇa* to announce the coming buddhahood of Gotama is undoubtedly very old, and is associated with the interpretation of physical signs on a bodhisatta’s body. This type of

¹ See *gāthā* II 82, N. A. Jayawickrama, *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka*, London: PTS, 1974, p. 14.

² See I. B. Horner ed. *Madhuratthavilāsini nāma Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, PTS, London, 1978, p. 99.

³ See the *gāthās* in sections I 20 of the translation and edition, the *gāthās* of this section are extracted from the *Buddhavaṃsa* II 70-107, see N. A. Jayawickrama, *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka*, London: PTS, 1974, pp. 13-16.

⁴ See M.M.J. Marasinghe, *Gods in Early Buddhism*, Vidyalandara Campus: Sri Lanka, 1974, p. 86.

⁵ The *Mahāvastu*, *Lalitavistara*, *Buddhacarita*, and sections of the various Vinayas all include some references to the early events in the life of Gautama.

formal act of recognition can be seen as the Buddhist method of gaining the acknowledgment and approval, which forms a kind of *abhiṣeka*, from a spiritually advanced ascetic. An early occurrence of the concept of a *vyākaraṇa* for the buddha Gotama is found in the Pāli canon in the *Suttanipāta* of the Khuddaka-nikāya. The reference in the *Nālaka-sutta*¹ contained within that collection furnishes an early use of a form of *vyākaraṇa* to indicate the possible course of Gotama's life. The core of the legend in this instance is that the *isi* 'sage' Asita becomes aware of the birth of Gotama, and on visiting him, and seeing his bodily marks, makes the *vyākaraṇa*² that he will become a perfectly enlightened buddha, and begin to teach. In this version of the legend Asita makes the prediction about Gotama in these words:

This prince will reach the highest peak of enlightenment.

He of supremely pure vision, will set going the wheel of the doctrine for the benefit of many people. His religious practice will be renowned widely.³

This form of the *vyākaraṇa* represents the prototype found in the early Nikāyas for the foretelling of Gotama's future attainment of buddhahood. The essential criteria for the *vyākaraṇa* are established, namely that the one making it has some kind of spiritual power or authority, and that they recognise the bodhisatta as a potential buddha by his bodily marks. It is this spiritual power or authority that is one of the elements that gives the *vyākaraṇa* its force, it must be the opinion of a spiritually adept person to have any degree of importance. Despite this, as in the case of the *vyākaraṇa* by the *devas*, the ultimate agent behind the act is the bodhisatta. For by manifesting the bodily marks he allows them to be visible to Asita, who then interprets them to the world.

The use of the concept of *vyākaraṇa* in the *Nālaka-sutta*, foretelling Gotama's future, has the purpose of emphasising the inevitability of his buddhahood. In fact there are really two predictions made in this instance, the first being made by the *devas*⁴ to Asita, and the second made by Asita himself. Although the term *vyākaraṇa* is not employed in the *Nālaka-sutta* version explicitly, the overall intention of indicating what will happen in the future is nevertheless unshakeable. The legend related in the *Jātakanidāna* is somewhat more developed than the version contained in the *Nālaka-sutta*. There is a distinct difference between the two accounts concerning the name of the person making the *vyākaraṇa*. The *Nālaka-sutta* refers to the person as the *isi* 'sage' Asita, while the *Jātakanidāna* names him as *tāpasa* 'ascetic' Kāḷadevala.⁵ This latter name is apparently synonymous with Asita, and may well reflect the influence of Buddhist Sanskrit works on the later strata of the Pāli canon.⁶

¹ The *Nālakasutta* located in the *Sutta-nipāta*, London: PTS, 1913, rpt. 1965, D. Anderson, & H. Smith eds., pp. 131-139.

² Though the term *vyākaraṇa* is not explicitly used in the *Nālakasutta* the intention of the sage Asita is clearly to foretell or predict Gotama's future career.

³ See D. Anderson & H. Smith eds., *Sutta-nipāta*, London: PTS, 1913, rpt. 1965, *gāthā* 693, p. 134:

Sambodhiyaggam phusissat' āyaṃ kumāro
so dhammacakkaṃ paramavisuddhadassī
vatthārik' assa bhavissati brahmacariyaṃ.

⁴ See *gāthās* 684-685 of the *Nālakasutta*, *Sutta-nipāta*, London: PTS, 1913, rpt. 1965, D. Anderson, & H. Smith eds., pp. 132-133.

⁵ Tibetan: dka' thub pa Nag po lha len.

⁶ The two names are taken to refer to the same person within the Pāli tradition, see G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, London, 1937, rpt. Delhi: Oriental Reprint, 1983, vol 1, pp. 208-209; vol 2, pp. 55-56. See

There are different variations on the Asita legend, and these are not only to be found in the accounts in the works of different schools. The Theravādin tradition has at least two differing traditions regarding the events of this legend, the *Nālaka-sutta* version in the *Suttanipāta*, and the version of it found in the *Jātakanidāna*. The *Jātakanidāna* has accounts of two *vyākaraṇa* being made by Kāḷadevala to two different characters, one to king Suddhodana, and one to Nālaka. The first of these occurs in a somewhat disingenuous manner, due to the populace of Kapilavatthu rejoicing at the birth of Suddhodana's son, who they claim will be a buddha. Then Kāḷadevala hears of this from the *devas* and goes to see the boy:

Seeing the excellent marks of the bodhisatta, and thinking: 'Maybe you will be buddha or maybe not', but knowing: 'Without doubt he will be buddha.' Reflecting: 'This is an extremely wondrous person' he smiled. Then considering: 'Will I or will I not see this buddha?'¹ and seeing: 'I will not see him. For, between my death and rebirth in the formless plane,² I will be unable to discern the coming of a hundred or a thousand buddhas.'³

This is the version of the *vyākaraṇa* contained in the *Jātakanidāna* as related to King Suddhodana. The two most basic elements of this type of *vyākaraṇa* are present here, a sage, and the marks on the bodhisatta's body.

Following the above version of the legend the second account of Asita's *vyākaraṇa* in the *Jātakanidāna* contains its own specific peculiarities. This account provides the narrative linking of one of the *brāhmaṇas*, who made the initial *vyākaraṇa*, with the later episodes of Gotama's life. Its function seems to be to provide continuity between the otherwise shadowy character of Asita, and his nephew, who encounters Gotama after his attainment of buddhahood, Asita says:

'Will then any of my relatives see him become buddha or not?', he saw his young nephew named Nālaka.⁴ So he went to his sister's house and said: 'Where is young Nālaka?' She said: 'He is at the lord's house', he replied: 'Summon him!' When Nālaka arrived before him he said: 'Nephew, a son has been born in the lineage of the great king Suddhodana. He is one destined to become a buddha, he will become buddha after thirty five years. You will see him, so go forth now!'⁵

In this version there are some differences with that of the account contained in the *Nālaka-sutta*. The legend of the *vyākaraṇa* being made by a *brāhmaṇ* sage is common to many of the ancient Indian Buddhist traditions, the names of the person vary but the essential core of the legend remains largely unchanged. The version of this legend that is found in the Sanskrit work the *Sanḥabhedavastu*, from the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, has some variations with the Pāli version of the same legend. The

also E. Sénart, *Le Mahāvastu*, Paris, 1883, vol 2, pp. 37-38. J.J. Jones, *The Mahāvastu*, London: PTS, 1952, rpt. 1976, vol 2, pp. 27. n. 2; 35. n. 1.

¹ Tibetan: 'di nas saṅs rgyas nas bdag gis mthoñ ṅam mi mthoñ. Pāli: ahaṃ imaṃ Buddhahūtaṃ daṭṭhuṃ labhissāmi nu kho.

² Tibetan: gzugs med pa'i gnas. Pāli: Arūpabhava.

³ See sections II 17 of the translation and edition.

⁴ Tibetan: Nā la ka.

⁵ See sections II 18 of the translation and edition.

legend related in the *Saṅghabhedavastu* differs in some important details from the account of the *Nālaka-sutta*. In the Sanskrit version, Asita is informed of Gautama's birth not by the *devas*, but by Nālada as he is called in that text. In the *Saṅghabhedavastu* account Asita¹ declares that the prince has two possible destinies, either to become a *cakravartin* or a perfectly enlightened buddha.

The account of the Mahāsāṃghika school of the tradition concerning this legend of Asita's *vyākaraṇa* is contained in the *Mahāvastu*. This work represents the tradition of that school² relating to this legend. This text has two different versions of the Asita legend. In the first version Asita, prompted by earthquakes and other signs from the *devas*, goes with his pupil Nālaka to see the king's son. There he sees that the boy has the thirty-two *lakṣaṇas* 'marks' of a great man. He then makes the *vyākaraṇa* that the boy will be a buddha.³ In the second version Nālaka is Asita's student, and is told by the master that a buddha has appeared in the world and that Nālaka should seek him out.⁴ The *Buddhacarita*⁵ also records the *vyākaraṇa* by Asita, and refers to his nephew who is named Kātyāyana in that text.

The legend of Asita's *vyākaraṇa* in the Sarvāstivādin *Lalitavistara*, has two versions. One of these is in prose⁶ while the other is in *gāthā*⁷ as is usual in most sections of that text. In the *Lalitavistara* version of this legend Asita sees the boy's birth and his *lakṣaṇas* by means of his *divya cakṣu* 'divine eye'. He then goes on to give two possibilities for the boy's future, that he will be a mighty *cakravartin* or a buddha. The most basic features that are shared by the *Nālaka-sutta*, and all the other versions of this legend mentioned up to the *Jātakanidāna*, are the recognition of bodily marks by a sage who then makes the *vyākaraṇa*. These are the essential themes that can be traced to all these versions of the Asita legend.

4. *Vyākaraṇa by brāhmaṇas*

The category of *vyākaraṇa* mentioned in the *Nālaka-sutta* is a good example of the canonical approach to the question of prediction. The same thematic approach is continued in the *Jātakanidāna*, but in that text it is expanded to include two different possibilities. The fourth type of *vyākaraṇa* to be discussed here has a certain relationship to the above third category, since it follows essentially the same basic conception that only ascetics or *brāhmaṇas* are capable of interpreting the signs of future buddhahood. The first example of this type of *vyākaraṇa* occurs even before the bodhisatta is born.

¹ In this text the two main characters are named Asita and Nālada, see *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, vol. XLIX, 1 Part I Rome: Serie Orientale Roma, 1978, R. Gnoli, pp. 52-57.

² While it is generally thought to be a Mahāsāṃghika work there is a degree of uncertainty among scholars over the precise school affiliation of the *Mahāvastu*, E. Lamotte and S. Bagchi both express uncertainty concerning the school to which it belongs, see E. Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism*, Louvain-Paris, 1988, p. 135, also S. Bagchi, ed., *Mahāvastu-avadāna*, vol 1, Darbhanga: Mithila Institute, 1970, pp. 1-2.

³ See E. Sénart, ed. *Le Mahāvastu*, vol 2, Paris, 1895, pp. 32-33.

⁴ See E. Sénart, ed. *Le Mahāvastu*, vol 3, Paris, 1897, p. 383.

⁵ In the Sanskrit text of the *Buddhacarita* these seven *gāthās* occur in canto 1, E.H. Johnston, ed. & tr. *Buddhacarita or Acts of the Buddha*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1935, rpt. 1984, pp.8-9. For the Tibetan translation see F. Weller, *Das Leben des Buddha von Aśvaghōṣa*, vol. 1, Leipzig: Verlag von Eduard Pfeiffer, 1926, pp. 16-17.

⁶ For the prose version see S. Lefman, ed. *Lalitavistara*, vol 1, Halle, 1902, pp. 101-108.

⁷ For the *gāthā* version see S. Lefman, ed. *Lalitavistara*, vol 1, Halle, 1902, pp. 108-112. See also the re-edited version of these *gāthās* in, C. Regemey, "Encore à propos du Lalitavistara et de l'épisode d'Asita", *Asiatische Studien*, 27, 1973, pp. 1-34.

The *brāhmaṇas* said: ‘Do not fear, Great king, a being has entered your wife’s womb. It is not a girl within the womb but a boy. He will be your son and if he resides in the house he will be a *cakkavattirāja*, but if he abandons the house and goes forth he will be a buddha. Having overcome the world he will not therefore continue living in a house.’¹

The inclusion of the two possible outcomes to Gotama’s life is a novel feature for the Pāli legendary traditions. As has been noted, the earlier canonical versions of this episode make absolutely no reference to the two possible outcomes, they simply state that he will become a buddha. This version of the *vyākaraṇa* episode can then be seen to have distinct similarities to the *Lalitavistara* account. Though whether it can be inferred from this equivalence that the *Jātakanidāna* version is derived from the *Lalitavistara* is far from clear. The notion that the signs exist, and are capable of interpretation, is an element that is taken from the cultural background of the Indian tradition in general. However much the later Buddhist tradition seeks to distance itself from the brāhmaṇic tradition, it is obliged in the depiction of its early history to present a traditional basis for the *vyākaraṇa*. This type of *vyākaraṇa* might be treated as a synthetic narrative account, that relies on the old Indian tradition to make the importance of the birth more meaningful from the Indian perspective.

As in the case of the performance of the *abhiṣeka* for a king, so in this instance the emphasis is firmly upon the spiritual authority of the *brāhmaṇas* who can make an accurate interpretation. This *vyākaraṇa* has a dual purpose in the overall scheme of the *Jātakanidāna*. The primary purpose is that of making an authoritative declaration about the king’s son. This is carried out as a part of the public ritual of assigning a name to the bodhisatta.

The eight *brāhmaṇas* explained these different kinds of sign. They explained the sign of entering the mother’s womb after abiding in Tusita. Seven among those *brāhmaṇas* raised two fingers and explained the sense as twofold saying: ‘If one possessed of this sign lives in a house, he will be a *cakkavattirāja*; if he goes forth, he will be a buddha.’ Moreover after explaining all the qualities of a *cakkavatti* the youngest of those *brāhmaṇas*, the youth named Koṇḍañña, gave a name to the bodhisatta, who possessed the supreme perfected signs, saying: ‘Here on the one hand there is no reason to abide in a house, and since he will not dwell in a house, he will be a buddha’² and raising one finger he made the prediction in this way. Understanding that at the time of being born as a man he had previously performed meritorious acts.³ He surpassed the other seven *brāhmaṇas* by saying: ‘Since he is possessed of these signs that lack even the intimation of abiding in a house, he will doubtless become a buddha’, he did not see more than one destiny.⁴

In this extract the two possibilities are set out by the majority of the *brāhmaṇas*, and then promptly

¹ See sections II 11 of the translation and edition.

² Tibetan: ‘di ni khyim na gnas pa’i rgyu med pas mtha’ gcig ñid du khyim na mi gnas par sañs rgya’o. Pāli: etassa agāramajjhe thānakāraṇaṃ n’ atthi, ekanten’ eva vivattacchaddo Buddho bhavissati.

³ Tibetan: ‘di ni sñar gyi gzi byas pas physis mir gyur pa na śes rab dan ldan no. Pāli: Ayaṃ hi katādhikāro pacchimabhavikasatto paññāya.

⁴ See sections II 19 of the translation and edition.

rejected by the eighth as being inappropriate to a bodhisatta. The true interpretation of the bodhisatta's signs allows for only one possible interpretation. Another secondary point of importance to this form of the *vyākaraṇa*, is the linking of Koṇḍañña to the bodhisatta. From the narrative point of view this acts as the means of introducing the first historical *arahat* into the bodhisatta's biography. On the literary level, it also provides a continuity with the earlier Asita episode, and gives coherence to the narrative as a whole.

5. *Vyākaraṇa by natural phenomena*

The final type of *vyākaraṇa* to be discussed is that which is dependent upon natural or inanimate phenomena. Two instances illustrating this method have been selected from the *Jātakanidāna* as examples of how the Buddhist tradition extended the range of this concept of *vyākaraṇa* into the phenomenal world. The Nikāya tradition has of course preserved elements of this kind of natural acknowledgment of a buddha, in particular with reference to the occurrence of unusual events at certain key stages of a buddha's life.¹ This class of *vyākaraṇa* is perhaps not as significant, from the doctrinal stance, as that made by a buddha, but it is indicative of the development of the depiction of the miraculous aspects of a bodhisatta's life. The first quotation attempts to link these natural events with the physical act of the bodhisatta's conception, something that is not dealt with in the Nikāyas, where no reference occurs to this event.

Following this the ten thousand fold world shook, trembled and let out a noise at the same time as the bodhisatta entered his mother's womb. Then the thirty two signs or portents² appeared.³

This quote is in a sense the initiator within the *Jātakanidāna* of the notion that a number of supernatural occurrences take place at particular times in a bodhisatta's life. The Nikāyas give the list of religiously significant events, such as the attainment of enlightenment, and the first teaching, as causes of earthquakes. Only in the *Jātakanidāna* does the list of these events causing earthquakes extend to the act of a bodhisatta's conception. Thus, the miraculous occurrences that are only associated with the important life events of the buddha in the Nikāyas, are developed in the *Jātakanidāna*, and applied to the mundane episodes in the life of the bodhisatta.

Finally, there is one other narrative episode that reveals the extent of the development that had taken place in the *Jātakanidāna* in respect of this tendency towards a more naturalistic portrayal of *vyākaraṇa*. In particular, the episode where the bodhisatta's pending enlightenment is foretold. This episode is specific to the *Jātakanidāna*, with no other Nikāya source as precursor to it. This episode takes place after the meal, offered by Sujātā to the bodhisatta, which is the last meal before the enlightenment, and so is given great significance in the text.

Furthermore after eating the milk porridge he took the golden bowl in his

¹ For example the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* contains a description of the occasions in a buddha's life that cause earthquakes. The *Āṅguttara-nikāya* also provides a list of the eight events in a buddha's life that bring about earthquakes., see E. Hardy, ed. *Āṅguttaranikāya*, vol. 4, London: PTS, 1899, rpt. 1979, p. 307.

² Tibetan: sñon gyi mtshan ma. Pāli: pubbanimitta.

³ See sections II 12 of the translation and edition.

hand saying: 'If it is possible that I become a buddha today, let this bowl go against the flow of the water. If not let it go with the flow!', he cast it into the water. Controlling the current of the river it went to the middle of the river, going against the current for just eighty cubits, like a swift horse goes to the spot in the middle. Turning once on the river it sank, going to the dwelling of the *nāga* king Kāla. Then the large golden bowl, which had held milk enjoyed by three buddhas, made a chinking sound and remained on one side at the lowest point of all.¹

This quotation is the most abstract form of all the *vyākaraṇa* contained in the *Jātakanidāna*. It is an entirely unprecedented instance of nature recognising the immanent fruition of the bodhisatta's path. The main purpose of this passage is centred on validating the bodhisatta's quest, in that its successful outcome is foretold. This symbolic, or naturalistic, presentation is the culmination of the different methods of *vyākaraṇa* discussed in this chapter. These various types of *vyākaraṇa* are among the means by which the bodhisatta doctrine comes to be formulated and systematised for the Theravādin tradition.

Conclusion

The presentation of the bodhisatta, and the array of technical terminology that comes to be associated with this concept, reaches its most significant juncture in the *Jātakanidāna*. Before the appearance of this text the bodhisatta doctrine, as such, can barely be said to have existed for the Theravādin tradition. Only with the detailed and systematic approach taken in that text can we begin to refer to any kind of a thought out bodhisatta doctrine within that tradition. It is important to note that while the various elements that have come to be most closely connected with the bodhisatta doctrine, were present in some form or other in texts prior to the *Jātakanidāna*, their presentation and definitions in the *Jātakanidāna* raise them to a completely different doctrinal level. There is a definite distinction that must be drawn in respect of the study of the bodhisatta doctrine within the Theravādin tradition. This distinction is based upon the difference between the early Nikāyas, and later canonical treatment of this concept. This distinction, when viewed from a strictly academic perspective, becomes a problem of the dating of textual and doctrinal history. Without a historical, or historico-philological, approach to this problem there can be no resolution of the problem of the relative dating of the texts in question.

The *Jātakanidāna* presents a vivid contrast to the early Nikāya, Vinaya, and Jātaka accounts of the bodhisatta's life. The text provides a continuously connected, and doctrinally innovative version of these events. It incorporates some of the existing legendary materials from the Vinaya, and Sutta-piṭaka, as well as the early doctrinal positions found in those collections. Where the *Jātakanidāna* differs from those collections is in the manner in which it presents the legendary material, and its introduction of a totally new conceptual framework to the doctrines found in the Theravādin tradition, and also in the implications that can be inferred from them. The *Jātakanidāna* represents the culmination in the development of the theories found in the Pāli canon on the nature of buddhas and bodhisattas. The most important purpose of the text is to present a rationale for the buddhas preceding Gotama, and to elucidate the intricacies of the

¹ See sections II 55 of the translation and edition.

bodhisatta's path to buddhahood.

That some concept of a bodhisatta existed in the Theravādin tradition prior to the appearance of the *Buddhavaṃsa* is indisputable. But to assume that the concept of a bodhisatta, as it existed in the pre-*Buddhavaṃsa* literature, is the same as it occurs in the post-*Buddhavaṃsa* literature is a grave fundamental error. This error is based on anachronistic and unhistorical reasoning, for there is no trace in the early Nikāya texts of the concept of a bodhisatta, with all the attendant doctrines that are only found in the later texts such as the *Buddhavaṃsa*, *Cariyāpiṭaka*, and *Jātakanidāna*. That there is a rudimentary notion of such a concept as the bodhisatta in the early Nikāyas is evident. But the definition of the concept, and the precise role that it fulfils for Buddhism is not present in any coherent form in the early Nikāya texts. It may be argued that the role and function of the bodhisatta is implicit in the very appearance of the word bodhisatta, and its connection with the historical Buddha in the *jātakas*. However, this would be to suggest that the definition of this bodhisatta concept can somehow be projected back into early textual, and doctrinal, history from the level of some later texts. For, the bodhisatta concept in the early texts and the concept as contained in the later texts are entirely different things. There is almost no common ground between the two views, since the *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Jātakanidāna* treatment of the bodhisatta includes all the distinct terminology that mark them out as representative of a late phase in the depiction and delineation of the bodhisatta concept.

There is then a strong body of philological, and historical, evidence for the view that the *Buddhavaṃsa*, and *Jātakanidāna*, represent a later stage in the development of the bodhisatta concept within the Theravādin tradition. The most important component of this evidence is based on the results of the philological research carried out in this study. This research has identified the technical, and doctrinal, terms specific to these texts, and which are referred to in this chapter as only occurring in these late texts and their commentaries. Thus all the specific terminology that assist in the creation of the bodhisatta doctrine for the Theravādin tradition are unattested in the early Nikāyas, it is only in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, and *Jātakanidāna*, that they appear as integral events and stages in the life of a bodhisatta. The examples cited show the uses of these terms that are explored in this study, and seek to indicate how they are presented in order to integrate the bodhisatta doctrine into the Theravādin world view.

Chapter Four

A Study of the Ten Pāramis in the Jātakanidāna

Introduction

In its description of the path of the bodhisatta the *Jātakanidāna* makes use of a group of concepts that are first employed in the Pāli canon by the *Buddhavaṃsa*, and to a lesser extent by the *Cariyāpiṭaka*. This group of concepts act to define bodhisattas in a particular doctrinal way that distinguishes them, as buddhas are also distinguished, from all other beings in *samsāra*. These concepts establish a new emphasis in the doctrinal sphere of the Theravāda, by putting a greater stress on the nature of bodhisattas, and what it is exactly that defines them within the world view of the Theravādin tradition. The group of concepts in question is comprised of two main categories of terms. First are the terms relating to bodhisattas that distinguish them from other beings. These include the terms *buddhabījaṅkura* ‘sprouting seed of a buddha’, *buddhaṅkuru* ‘sprout of a buddha’, and others¹ that are used to portray, among other things, the innate or latent state of buddhahood that exists for every bodhisatta. This group of terms begin to define and delineate the bodhisatta in a way that is unprecedented for the Pāli canon. The second group of terms relate to the specific practices that the bodhisatta has to fulfil. This group consists of terms such as *pāramī* ‘perfection’, *buddhakkara-dhammā* ‘things causing buddhahood’, *dhammā bodhipācanā* ‘things that ripen *bodhi*’, and finally *buddhadhammā* ‘buddha things.’ This group of terms relate to the emerging soteriological path that the Sumedhakathā section of the *Jātakanidāna* incorporates from the *Buddhavaṃsa*, and which emphasise the ten *pāramīs* as the ultimate source of buddhahood. Both groups of terms play an important role in the history of Pāli Buddhist thought regarding the bodhisatta, and the development of that conception which takes place in the *Jātakanidāna*.

The ten *pāramīs* belong to the second group of terms mentioned above. They are all referred to in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, though the *Cariyāpiṭaka* does not mention all of the ten *pāramīs*.² These ten *pāramīs* are depicted in both these texts as the essential elements in the path of the bodhisatta. The practice and fulfilment of each of the ten being asserted to be an absolute prerequisite for any bodhisatta wishing to attain the state of buddhahood. The establishment of *buddhabhāva* ‘buddhahood’³ as an explicit goal for

¹ The range of this terminology, defining particular characteristics of the bodhisatta, that is used in the *Buddhavaṃsa* is considerable. The terms *buddhabījaṅkura* and *buddhaṅkuru* are only two of this range of terms describing the bodhisatta in a novel way. There are also a number of other terms relating to the buddhas, such as : *buddhakicca*, *buddhagūṇa*, *buddhalīlha* and *buddhavisaya*, that are indicative of the general trend in the *Buddhavaṃsa* of presenting a more transcendent definition of the Buddha.

² The *Cariyāpiṭaka* only has seven of the *pāramīs* as text divisions, these are: *dāna*, *sīla*, *nekkhamma*, *adhiṭṭhāna*, *sacca*, *mettā* and *upekkhā*. Of the remaining three: *virīya*, *khanti* and *paññā*, the first two are mentioned in individual *gāthās* but *paññā* does not occur.

³ The term *buddhabhāva* is used here in the sense of ‘state of a Buddha’ and is the goal that is ultimately aimed for by the bodhisatta, not simply *arahatta* or *nibbāna*. The word ‘*buddhabhāva*’, given by Rhys Davids as ‘condition of a Buddha, enlightenment’ in PTSD, p. 490, citing J I p. 14, which is equivalent to sections I18 of our translation and edition. The use of the term seems to be restricted almost exclusively to the commentaries, a search for the term on the two CD-ROMS of the Pāli canon produced fourteen occurrences in nine different commentarial works, but apart from the *Buddhavaṃsa* references no other canonical occurrences were found. See *Chatṭha Saṅgāyana CD-ROM*

the bodhisatta in the *Jātakanidāna*, and *Buddhavaṃsa*, represents in itself a major change in doctrinal thinking and emphasis within the Theravādin tradition. In the earlier Nikāya literature the conception of the attainment of enlightenment, and therefore buddhahood, was only directly connected with Gotama. The concept of buddhahood initially appears to be considered as an historical event which was unique to the character of Gotama, in that he was the first to have achieved this state. It is only with the appearance of the notion of previous buddhas, first in the *Mahāpadāna-sutta*, and later in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, that the first textual evidence emerges that this necessarily entails the existence of previous bodhisattas.

It is within this context, as part of the tradition that develops and defines the concept of the bodhisatta, that the *Jātakanidāna*'s canonical and commentarial explanations of Sumedha's life appear. In the *Jātakanidāna*'s exegetical sections the place of the ten *pāramīs*, as a unique part of the bodhisatta's practice, are fully established for the Theravādin tradition. Prior to this the appearance and treatment of the ten *pāramīs* in the *Buddhavaṃsa* is illustrative of the kind of developments, or additions, that must have occurred within the existing canonical tradition. This provides an example of the means by which an apparently novel doctrine, such as the emerging bodhisatta doctrine in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, may be developed or included, in a sense retrospectively, within the doctrinal and conceptual framework of the Pāli canon. Much the same can be said of the teachings and terms that are exclusively centred on the bodhisatta. The emergence of this systematised, and sophisticated, bodhisatta path to full buddhahood is indicative of the immense revolution, certainly if the preceding canonical material is considered, in thinking that the *Jātakanidāna* represents within the Theravādin tradition.

Pāramī as a new concept in the Pāli canon

Within the group of texts consisting of the *Buddhavaṃsa*, and *Cariyāpiṭaka*, the concept of the *pāramīs* holds a vital innovatory position.¹ Here they introduce the term *pāramī*, and describe its relationship to the bodhisatta. The two texts begin setting out in detail the various strands of development in the traditions about the nature, and function, of the bodhisatta, together ~~what~~ ^{with} what it is that is unique to them. The usage of the term *pāramī* is also the most distinctive, and innovative of the ways in which the conception of the path to buddhahood is developed in the *Jātakanidāna*. The very derivation of the word *pāramī*² is not entirely certain in the history of Pāli philology, with extremely few occurrences prior to its use in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, and *Cariyāpiṭaka*. Where the term does occur in the early canonical works it does not have the technical, nor semantic, range with which it is invested in those two later texts. The ten *pāramīs*

from *Dhammagiri (Version 1.1)*, Vipassanā Research Institute, Dhammagiri, Igatpuri, India, 1997 and *Chatṭha Saṅgāyana CD-ROM from Dhammagiri (Version 3)*, Vipassanā Research Institute, Dhammagiri, Igatpuri, India, 1999.

¹ The introduction of this term into Pāli tradition marks a significant development in the conceptual position of that tradition connected with the bodhisatta, see S. Jayawardhana, "A Critical Introduction to the Study of Pāli Tikas", *Sesquicentennial Commemorative Volume of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka 1845-1995*, Colombo, 1995, p. 298.

² The primary meaning of the term *pāramī* is that of 'completeness, perfection' and it only acquires its specifically soteriological connotations with the advent of the *Buddhavaṃsa* and its linking to the causes of buddhahood. See T.W. Rhys Davids, PTSD, p. 454, R.C Childers, *A Dictionary of the Pāli Language*, London, 1875, rpt. Kyoto: Rinsen, 1987, pp. 334-5.

listed¹ in the *Buddhavaṃsa* are: *dāna* ‘giving’, *sīla* ‘morality’, *nekkhamma* ‘renunciation’, *paññā* ‘wisdom’, *virīya* ‘energy’, *khanti* ‘patience’, *sacca* ‘truthfulness’, *adhiṭṭhāna* ‘resolution’, *mettā* ‘loving-kindness’ and *upekkhā* ‘equanimity’.

The earliest attested usages of the term *pāramī* have little in common with its usage in those two later texts, where the term becomes elevated to represent the ten key phases in the bodhisatta’s career. It is only with the compilation of the *Buddhavaṃsa*, and *Cariyāpiṭaka*, that the term *pāramī* comes to be employed in a highly technical sense² as a central part of the scheme laid out to depict in detail the stages and practices of a bodhisatta’s life. Within this context the concept of a *pāramī* represents two related things. First it embodies each one of the ten individual qualities that are explained as forming the basis for progress to buddhahood, and secondly, it also represents the completion of the development of each of those ten qualities. Therefore, with the appearance of the *Buddhavaṃsa*, and *Cariyāpiṭaka*, the teachings and doctrines concerning the path of the bodhisatta, along with the ten *pāramīs*, become a part of the Pāli canonical tradition.

Early Māhāyāna occurrences of pāramitā

The equivalent concept to the Pāli term *pāramī* for the Sanskrit tradition is that of *pāramitā*. This word is also found in Pāli but in this form³ it occurs only at the end of compounds. The use of the term within the early *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras* is well attested, taking as it does a core role in the evolution of the bodhisattva career for the Mahāyāna tradition. In the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, which is the oldest of that group of Mahāyāna *sūtras*, a list of six *pāramitā* are given, five of which have Pāli counterparts while the remaining one, *dhyāna*, is not found in the Pāli list of the ten *pāramīs*. Other early Mahāyāna *sūtras*, such as the *Kāśyapaparivarta*,⁴ and the other texts of the *Bodhisattvapīṭaka*,⁵ also use this sixfold classification of the *pāramitās*. There are, however, some early Mahāyāna *sūtras*, notably the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra*, that use both a sixfold and a tenfold⁶ scheme of the *pāramitās*. Thus, from an early period there was a

¹ The ten *pāramīs* are first mentioned as individual qualities that are part of the group of ten in the following *gāthās* of the *Buddhavaṃsa*: *dāna* at II 116a; *sīla* at II 121a; *nekkhamma* at II 126a; *paññā* at II 131a; *virīya* at II 136a; *khanti* at II 141a; *sacca* at II 146a; *adhiṭṭhāna* at II 151a; *mettā* at II 156a; *upekkhā* at II 161a. See N. A. Jayawickrama, ed., *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka*, London: PTS, 1974, pp. 16-19. For the corresponding Tibetan verses see sections I 22 to I 31 of the edition.

² The emergence of the doctrine of the *pāramīs* is difficult to explain on the basis of the Pāli canon alone, and some scholars have questioned its origin. Geiger says: In the first four nikāyas the doctrine of the *pāramīs* is still unknown. See W. Geiger, *Pāli Literature and Language*, tr. Ghosh, B., Calcutta, 1978, p. 22, also see M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, vol 2, Calcutta, 1933, p. 152.

³ See F.L. Woodward et al, *Pāli Tipiṭakam Concordance*, vol. 3, Oxford: PTS, 1993, p. 265, and R.C. Childers, *A Dictionary of the Pāli Language*, London, 1875, rpt. Kyoto: Rinsen, 1987, p. 334.

⁴ The list of six *pāramitā* is given in the *Kāśyapaparivarta*, see A. von Stael-Holstein, *The Kāśyapaparivarta: A Mahāyāna sūtra of the Ratnakūṭa class*, Shanghai, 1926, p. 13.

⁵ The history and composition of the collection of texts known as the *Bodhisattvapīṭaka* has been described by Pagel in his work on this collection, see U. Pagel, *The Bodhisattvapīṭaka: Its Doctrines, Practices and their Position in Mahāyāna Literature*, Tring: Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1995, see especially pp. 7-9.

⁶ The four additional *pāramitā* mentioned in the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* are: *upāyakauśalya* ‘skillful means’, *prañidhāna* ‘resolution’, *bala* ‘power’ and *jñāna* ‘knowledge’. See ‘Phags pa dri ma med par grags pas bstan pa shes bya ba theg pa chen po’i mdo, see D.T. Suzuki, ed., *The Tibetan Tripitaka*, Tokyo: Suzuki Research Foundation, 1956, no. 843, vol 34, 74-3-3/4, for the list of ten.

discrepancy, or at least some difference of interpretation, over the precise number of these qualities.¹ The *Mahāvvyutpatti* preserves a record of a list of ten *pāramitās* but the list of the six² is not given as an independent classification, though the six are included in the list of ten given in that text. The scheme of the six *pāramitā* was established by the Mahāyāna traditions as a way of amassing all their teachings that were centred on the bodhisattva, that most crucial of figures for those schools, within a single group of concepts.

The Mahāyāna notion that there was a certain method of practice for the bodhisattva led to the emergence of the concept of a graded and defined path, consisting of these six,³ or ten, *pāramitās*. There is evidence that this concept was also present in the Hīnayāna schools, in particular among the Sarvāstivādins, as is attested by the appearance of the conception of the *pāramitās* in early Hīnayāna texts. For example, the *Mahāvastu* in one of its sections dealing with former buddhas, refers to the six *pāramitā* they had completed as: *dāna*, *śīla*, *kṣānti*, *virya*, *dhyāna* and *prajñā*.⁴ Though in the *Mahāvastu* the *pāramitās* are much less prominent and systematised than is the case in the Mahāyāna texts. Another distinction in that text is that they are not overly emphasised or stated to be a universal part of the bodhisattva's training. The *Mahāvastu* does, however, present what is perhaps one of the earliest conceptions of a bodhisattva career in ten stages, where it gives a list of the ten *bhūmis* 'stages' that represent the stages⁵ of the bodhisattva's career. That text devotes a considerable amount of space to the ten *bhūmis* but there is no connection or linking of them with the *pāramitās*. This division into ten *bhūmis*, to be found in both the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna traditions, may be very old.⁶ Though neither the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, nor the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* make any mention⁷ of the *bhūmis* as an inherent part of the Mahāyāna path, it is only in the later⁸ Mahāyāna *sūtras* that they are they introduced.

¹ There has been much discussion as to whether the list of six, or the list of ten, is the oldest classification. N. Dutt among others considers six to be the oldest but this is not accepted by Barua, see D.L Barua, ed. *Acharya Dhammapāla's Paramatthadīpanī*, London: PTS, 1939, rpt. 1979, pp. xii-xiii.

² The *Mahāvvyutpatti* gives a list of the ten *pāramitās* that is different to the Pāli list, nos. 914-923: *dāna*, *śīla*, *kṣānti*, *virya*, *dhyāna*, *prajñā*, *upāya*, *prañidhāna*, *bala* and *jñāna*, see R. Sasaki, *Mahāvvyutpatti*, Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1916, rpt. 1973, vol. 2, p. 71.

³ The sixfold system of the *pāramitās* is the most frequently used listing in the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras*, see N. Dutt, ed. *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, London: Calcutta Oriental Series, 28, 1934, pp. 17-18, and P. Ghōṣa, ed. *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, Calcutta: Bibliotheca Indica, 115, 1914, pp. 55-56.

⁴ There are only isolated instances of the list of six *pāramitās* in the *Mahāvastu*, see *Le Mahāvastu*, ed. E. Sénart, vol 3, Paris, 1897, p. 226. A list of five, *dāna*, *śīla*, *kṣānti*, *dhyāna* and *prajñā*, occurs at *Le Mahāvastu*, vol 2, Paris, 1890, p. 296, but the systems of five or six *pāramitās* are not the fixed sets of qualities in the *Mahāvastu* that they are in the *Mahāyāna sūtras*, the *Buddhavaṃsa* or *Jātakanidāna*. The *Mahāvastu* has many examples of the six individual *pāramitās* being referred to.

⁵ For the treatment of the ten *bhūmis* in the *Mahāvastu* see, E. Sénart, *Le Mahāvastu*, vol. 1, Paris, 1882, pp. 63-193, see also E.J. Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought*, London: RKP, 1933, rpt. 1971, pp. 201-203; A. Hiwakawa, *A History of Indian Buddhism from Śākyamuni to Early Mahāyāna*, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1990, p. 305; Sangharakshita, *A Survey of Buddhism*, London: Tharpa Publications, 1957, rpt. 1987, 438.

⁶ See T. Rahula, *A Critical Study of the Mahāvastu*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1978, pp. 62-3, and P. Williams, *Mahāyāna Buddhism: The doctrinal foundations*, London: Routledge, 1989, p. 204.

⁷ That the *bhūmi* classification came to be accepted within the *Prajñāpāramitā* tradition can be verified by the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* making use of the ten *bhūmi* scheme for the life of the bodhisattva. See E. Lamotte, "The Teaching of *Vimalakīrti*", tr. S. Boin, London: PTS, 1976, p. xcvi.

⁸ Certain Mahāyāna texts do use both classifications, the *Daśabhūmi* chapter of the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* uses the scheme of the ten *pāramitās* and the ten *bhūmis*, see R. Kimura, *A Historical Study of the Terms Hīnayāna and*

The use of the concept of *pāramitā* by the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras* is evidence of the developing trend towards the enhancement of the personage of the bodhisattva. For, these texts are concerned with giving guidance to the bodhisattva, and with setting out the means for following that path. This trend has always been most apparent in the texts of the Mahāyāna schools, and though not unknown within the Hīnayāna schools, it did not develop among them to the same extent. The *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras*, in particular, are among some of the earliest Mahāyāna texts dedicated to elucidating the path of the bodhisattva within the framework of a series of six *pāramitā*. The existence of the concept of the six *pāramitā* in the Hīnayāna texts, and the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras*, together with the appearance of the ten *pāramīs* in the *Jātakanidāna*, is evidence of the tendency to use them as distinctive elements in the doctrine of the bodhisattva.

The concept of pāramī in the early Pāli sources

The evidence for the use of the term *pāramitā* as a technical term relating to the essential practices of a bodhisattva is then well attested in the Mahāyāna traditions. The position of the Theravādin tradition towards a conception of *pāramī* as an integral element in the bodhisatta's career is really twofold. In the early Nikāyas of the Pāli canon there is no reference whatever to a system of practice based on the conception of *pāramīs*. The reasons for this are simply because there was no conception of a bodhisatta as a distinct type of person¹ defined and laid out within the Theravādin tradition, and therefore no bodhisatta doctrine as such. This is not to infer that the conception of a bodhisatta was completely unknown to that tradition. It is only to say that the conception of a bodhisatta, as found in the Mahāyāna in the form of a distinct type of person with a particular graded path to follow, is entirely wanting in the early Nikāya tradition of the Pāli canon.² Because the basic term bodhisatta is present in the Nikāyas and Jātaka, does not mean that there was a corresponding bodhisatta doctrine or ideal in those texts.³ That is to say, beyond the simple conception that Gotama had many previous lives before attaining buddhahood, these texts make no attempt to depict a fully integrated or coherent bodhisatta doctrine. The second, and later,

Mahāyāna and the Origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism, Calcutta, 1927, rpt. Delhi: Indological Book Corporation, 1978, pp. 135-6.

¹ The *Puggala-paññatti* refers to the eight types of person on the *ariyan* path and the four types of *puthujana*, but does not contain in any of its lists the category of bodhisatta. See C.A.F. Rhys-Davids & G. Landsberg eds. *Puggala-paññatti-atthakathā*, *JPTS*, 7, 1914, pp. 251-253.

² The difference between the Theravādin and the Mahāyāna conception of bodhsatta/bodhisattva is considerable, and has often been ignored. Though Basham has drawn attention to the intrinsic differences between the concept for the two traditions. See A.L. Basham, "The Evolution of the Concept of the Bodhisattva", in *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhism*, ed. L.S. Kawamura, L., Ontario: Wilfred Lairier Press, 1978, pp. 19-21. On the other hand there are some scholars who seem to disregard the textual and historical evidence, and attempt to suggest that the bodhisatta doctrine was always present within the teachings of the Pāli canon, Rahula conflates the concept of bodhisatta by ignoring the basic differences between the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna schools. See, W. Rahula, "The Bodhisattva Ideal in Theravāda and Mahāyāna", in *Zen and the Taming of the Bull*, London, 1978, pp. 73-74. The same basic historical error is made by Ratnyaka, where it is argued that the Pāli texts dealing with the bodhisatta are of equal equivalent age to the rest of the Pāli canon, see S. Ratnyaka, "The Bodhisattva Ideal of Theravāda", *JIAS*, 8, 1985, pp. 87-89.

³ The origins of the bodhisatta concept may well be linked to the Jātaka collection, and the methods of exegesis that built up around these Jātaka *gāthās*. It could be that these oral traditions provided much of the basis for the later evolution of the bodhisatta doctrine in the Theravāda school. See A.L. Basham, "The Evolution of the Concept of the Bodhisattva", in *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhism*, ed. L.S. Kawamura, L., Ontario: Wilfred Lairier Press, 1978, pp. 23-24.

position of the Theravādin tradition towards the conception of a bodhisatta is not unlike the above mentioned Mahāyāna position. Here in such texts as the *Buddhavaṃsa*, *Cariyāpiṭaka*, and *Jātakanidāna*, the bodhisatta formally becomes one who is destined to become a buddha in the future, due to certain decisions, or spiritual rites of passage, as well as the training in a specific group of practices. The sources for this view of the bodhisatta are to be found in the Theravādin tradition primarily within the three above Pāli texts, but also in a more developed state in some of the commentaries to those works.

The early occurrences of the term *pāramī* in the Pāli canon are not in any way technical or philosophical usages of the term. The usage in the early Nikāyas is confined to the simple idea of ‘completion’ or ‘perfection’ of an act or skill. The *Suttanipāta* contains two¹ references to the term that fall into this category of usage. The two *gāthā* cited here make use of the term in an identical way. The first of these *gāthās* has the request: ‘Tell me his perfection in the *mantras*!’ with the term ‘perfection’ here relating solely to the mastery, skill or deep comprehension of something, in this case the *mantras*. The response to this question: ‘he has attained perfection in his own teaching’, can be taken in the same sense as the first *gāthā*, that is in the sense of mastering or thoroughly comprehending something, in this case their own doctrinal teachings.

The term *pāramī* also occurs in the Majjhima-nikāya in a similar context to that mentioned above. The *Anupada-sutta* gives a list of a series of achievements that could be attained within the Buddha’s teaching. The text says that a person who has acquired these achievements could be referred to in the following way:² ‘He is one who has attained mastery, he is one who has attained perfection in the virtues of the *ariyans*.’ The term *pāramī* is again used here to describe the state of ‘completion’ or ‘perfection’ of something. In this example the qualities that are ‘perfected’ or more naturally ‘fully developed’ are those of virtue, concentration, perception and freedom. These references employing the term *pāramī* make no mention of its connection with the bodhisatta nor to it being a distinct component of the path followed by the bodhisatta.

Another similar usage of the term *pāramī* is to be found in the commentarial work the *Milindapañha*, though the Burmese³ tradition regard this text as a canonical work and located it within the Khuddaka-nikāya. The hypotheses regarding the date of this text place it between the ranges of the second century BCE, up to the fifth century CE⁴ though a more exact dating is impossible. This text contains two references to the

¹ The *gāthā* are nos. 1018 and 1020 of the *Suttanipāta*, see D. Anderson, & H. Smith eds., *Sutta-nipāta*, London: PTS, 1913, rpt. 1965, p. 195:

Ādissa jammanam brūhi, gottam brūhi salakkhaṇam,
mantesu pāramim brūhi, kati vāceti brāhmaṇo.
lakkhaṇe itihāse ca sanighaṇḍusakeṭubhe,
pañca satāni vāceti, sadhamme pāramim gato.

² See R. Chalmers, ed. *The Majjhima-nikāya*, vol. 3, 1899, Oxford: PTS, rpt. 1994, pp. 28-29: “Vasiputto pāramipatto ariyasmiṃ silasmiṃ”.

³ See K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature*, Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983, p. 31.

⁴ For the various discussions of the possible dates for the composition of the *Milindapañha* see K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature*, Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983, p.110-111. Also see O. von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*, Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1996, pp.85-86; L. Renou & J. Filliozat, *L’Inde classique*, tome II, Paris: EFEO, 1953, pp.

term *pāramī*, and both of them are within the semantic ranges already noted, and are similar in purport to the examples from the *Suttanipāta* and *Majjhima-nikāya*. The first of these relates to the accomplishment of learning the Buddhist scriptures. The *Milindapañha* describes the abilities of the main interlocutor of the text, Nāgasena, thus:¹ ‘He has completed the learning by heart of the teacher’s dispensation that is in nine sections.’ In this case the learning of the scriptures is the thing that is ‘accomplished’ or ‘completed’ by the teacher Nāgasena. The second example from the *Milindapañha* refers to the accomplishment of the four *paṭisambhidā* of Buddhist teaching. The text refers to him thus:² ‘He has attained mastery in the analytic knowledges of meaning, *dhamma*, language, and ready wit.’ These examples of the early usage of the term *pāramī* give absolutely no indication of the important position the term would come to hold within the later canonical texts that came to be added to the Pāli canon.

The use of the term *pāramī* in the examples given here cannot be classified as technical usages relating specifically to a bodhisatta. The import of the term in the cited cases conveys nothing beyond the general notion of the development of a skill or a particular quality. There is no idea in these texts that the term *pāramī* constitutes any important or integral part of the Buddhist path that it later comes to form, nor is there any notion of them consisting of a group of ten qualities that are vital to the bodhisatta. The conclusion that can be drawn from the evidence presented thus far, is that within the early Pāli canonical texts, and specifically in the early strata of commentarial works, there is absolutely no conceptual basis for the conception of the doctrine of the bodhisatta as it later comes to be established. Nor is there any evidence within those texts for a systematised doctrine of the *pāramīs*.³ Therefore, both of these concepts, that come to form an integral part of the bodhisatta doctrine in later Pāli works, are treated in this thesis as novel or emerging doctrines, in that they can be shown to have no real precursors in the early texts of the four Nikāyas.

The pāramīs in the Buddhavaṃsa

The first occurrence in the Pāli canon of the term *pāramī* being used as a distinct element in Buddhist thinking about the path to liberation is encountered in the *Buddhavaṃsa*. The appearance of the concept of *pāramī* institutes an entirely new trend in Theravādin soteriology. The *Buddhavaṃsa* introduces the teaching that elaborates the ten *pāramīs*, these ten being shown to be the essential elements in the life of any future buddha. The *pāramīs*, as they are portrayed in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, have the function of being the root causes of buddhahood. For, at the same time as the *Buddhavaṃsa* propounds the teachings of past buddhas, and the ten *pāramīs*, it also initiates the development of the concept of the bodhisatta.

352; W. Geiger, *Pāli Literature and Language*, tr. Ghosh, B., Calcutta, 1978, p.26-27; T.W. Rhys Davids, *The History and Literature of Buddhism*, 1896, rpt. Varanasi: Bhartiya Publishing House, 1975, p. 141.

¹ See V. Trenckner, ed. *The Milindapañha*, PTS: London, 1880, rpt. 1986, p. 21: navaṅgasatthusāsana-pariyattidharo pāramipatto.

² See V. Trenckner, ed. *The Milindapañha*, PTS: London, 1880, rpt. 1986, p. 22: attha-dhamma-nirutti-paṭibhāna-paṭisambhidāsu pāramippatto.

³ S. Jayawardhana discusses the different meanings of the term *pāramī* in the various layers of canonical and commentarial tradition. He also concludes that the term had undergone significant semantic changes in the commentarial explanations of the term. See S. Jayawardhana, “A Critical Introduction to the Study of Pāli Tikas”, *Sesquicentennial Commemorative Volume of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka 1845-1995*, Colombo, 1995, p. 298-301.

There the bodhisatta is defined as one destined to become a buddha after the completion or fulfilment of these ten. It is evident that both the treatment of the ten *pāramīs*, and the bodhisatta,¹ that is found in the *Buddhavaṃsa* is a unique occurrence within the Pāli canonical texts. No earlier work in that collection addresses the issues raised by the *Buddhavaṃsa*, and no other work links the ten *pāramīs*, the bodhisatta, and buddhahood, inextricably together as it is so explicitly formulated in that text.

The *Buddhavaṃsa*, and the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, are both acknowledged among scholars to be late² additions to the Pāli canon. Though these texts are considered as late works by scholars, they are clearly representative of important traditions. In particular the traditions about the previous buddhas, the bodhisatta, and the ten *pāramīs*. Though however late they may be shown to be, they continue to be generally accepted as canonical works within the Theravādin tradition. As canonical texts they are taken as authentic *buddhavacana*, and any doctrines they contain can be considered as equally authentic. What occurs within the *Buddhavaṃsa*, and *Cariyāpiṭaka*, is nothing less than the evolution, or even perhaps the introduction, of entirely novel doctrines into the Theravādin tradition. The two interrelated doctrines, of the ten *pāramīs*, and the bodhisatta, are brought together, given doctrinal validity and rationale, and then integrated into the conceptual and doctrinal framework of the existing Theravādin tradition.

Usage of the pāramī concept in the Buddhavaṃsa

The text of the *Buddhavaṃsa*, and to a lesser extent the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, represents the first instances of the use in the Pāli canon of the term *pāramī* in a strictly technical and doctrinal sense. The term is employed in those texts specifically referring to the practices of the former buddhas. The usage of the concept of *pāramī* here is quite distinctive, and is demonstrably different from the earlier usages of the term. Prior to the *Buddhavaṃsa* there had been no references to the *pāramīs*, either singly or as a group of ten, as being essential practices within the Theravādin tradition. The *Buddhavaṃsa* introduces the ten *pāramīs* as a group of interdependent practices, and qualities, that are stated to be the distinctive practices that every buddha has undertaken during their innumerable lives as bodhisattas. The introductory section of the *Buddhavaṃsa* begins the analysis of what it requires to become a buddha when it has Sāriputta question the Buddha Gotama about the practices that led to his attainment of buddhahood:

¹ Even the *jātakas* have no overt references that the aim of the bodhisatta is buddhahood, the Nikāyas are also silent on this matter. T.W. Rhys Davids remarks: The old Buddhist tradition rarely states that the bodhisatta was consciously pursuing the aim of becoming a Buddha. See *The History and Literature of Buddhism*, 1896, rpt. Varanasi: Bhartiya Publishing House, 1975. p. 135. *Lauher?*

² The Pāli commentators themselves were uncertain about how to classify the *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Cariyāpiṭaka*, as can be seen by the divergent views in the *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*. The Majjhima-bhāṅakas accepted them as canonical while the Dīgha-bhāṅakas rejected them, see T.W. Rhys-Davids and J.E. Carpenter eds., *The Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1968, p.15. There is universal agreement among scholars about the late date of these texts, see L.Renou & J. Filliozat, *L'Inde classique*, tome II, Paris: EFEO, 1953, p. 345; A.K.Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, Delhi: Motilal Barnarsidass, 1980, p. 208; R. Gombrich, "The Significance of Former Buddhas in the Theravādin Tradition", *Buddhist Studies in Honour of Walpola Rahula*, eds., Somaratna Balasoorya et al, London, 1980, p. 68; M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. 2, Calcutta, 1933, p.162; E.J. Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought*, London: RKP, 1933, rpt. 1971, p.172; E. Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism*, Louvain-Paris, 1988, p. 714; I.B. Horner, *The Minor Anthologies of the Pāli Canon*, part III, London: PTS, 1975, p. xiii; K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature*, Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983, pp. 93-4.

Of what sort were the giving, morality, renunciation, wisdom and energy?

Of what sort were the patience, truthfulness, resolution, loving kindness and equanimity?

O wise leader of the world, of what sort were your ten perfections?

How were the minor perfections and the ultimate perfections fulfilled?¹

This quotation represents the earliest reference to the conception of the scheme of ten *pāramīs* found in the Pāli canonical tradition. The presentation of the set of ten *pāramīs* by Sāriputta can be viewed as a method of normalising this novel doctrinal development. For, in many texts Sāriputta, as one of the foremost of Gotama's followers, is portrayed as possessing an understanding of the teaching equal to that of the Buddha. This character is quite often the instigator of teachings² found in the *suttas* of the Nikāyas, and in those instances his utterances are regarded as *buddhavacana*.

The second *vaṃsa* 'chapter' of the *Buddhavaṃsa*, the *Dīpaṅkarabuddhavaṃsa*, contains all the elements necessary for the evolution of the doctrine of the bodhisatta's path consisting of the ten *pāramīs*. This chapter relates the story of Dīpaṅkara, the first of the twenty-four buddhas preceding Gotama, and the beginning of the path to buddhahood undertaken by Gotama. It is within this, the longest chapter of the *Buddhavaṃsa*, that all the concepts novel to that text occur. The chapter consists of the recollections of the Buddha Gotama about his existence as Sumedha, and in particular about his initial decision to follow the path to buddhahood. The buddha of that era, Dīpaṅkara, makes the prediction to Sumedha of his future attainment of buddhahood, and the ten *pāramīs* are each related in turn as being the basis of the bodhisatta's practice. The point which is constantly reiterated in this chapter is that all buddhas, during their lives as bodhisattas, have had to undertake and fulfil these ten *pāramīs* in order to become fully enlightened buddhas:

Just as, whoever were perfect buddhas, they perfected the ten perfections,
so you also, Great hero, should perfect the ten perfections.³

Thus, the *pāramīs* are brought to the very forefront of Buddhist doctrinal thinking about the nature of buddhas and bodhisattas. They are also represented to be the practices that are at the heart of the path undertaken by all past buddhas. They are defined as those practices that are the common characteristic of all buddhas, and which, therefore, every bodhisatta has had to fulfil in order to attain buddhahood.

¹ See N. A. Jayawickrama, ed., *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpīṭaka*, London: PTS, 1974, chapter I, *gāthā* 76-77, p. 6:

Dānaṃ silaṅca nekhammaṃ paññāviriyaṅca kīdisaṃ
khanti-sacca-adhiṭṭhānaṃ mett' upekhā ca kīdisā.

Dasapāramī tayā dhīra kīdisā lokanāyaka
kathaṃ upapāramī punṇā paraṃ' atthapāramī kathaṃ.

² There are many examples of Sāriputta as the one who teaches a *sutta*, see, *Saṅgīti-sutta*, *Dīgha-nikāya*, no. 33; *Mahāvedalla-sutta*, *Majjhima-nikāya* no. 44; *Dhānañjāni-sutta*, *Majjhima-nikāya* no. 97; *Sevitabbāsevitabba-sutta*, *Majjhima-nikāya* no. 114. There are also other occurrences of Sāriputta teaching *suttas*.

³ See N. A. Jayawickrama, ed., *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpīṭaka*, London: PTS, 1974, chapter II, *gāthā* 181, p. 21:

Yathā ye keci sumbuddhā pūrayuṃ dasapāramī
tath' eva tvaṃ mahāvīra pūraya dasapāramī.

The second *vaṃsa* of the *Buddhavaṃsa*, the Dīpaṅkaravaṃsa, contains the Sumedhakathā section that acts as an ancient historical biography for the life of Gotama during his existence as Sumedha. In narrating this biography, it provides the stereotype for the ideal life of a bodhisatta, in the same way that the *Buddhavaṃsa* gives the ideal life of a buddha. This *vaṃsa* reflects the overall biographic theme of the *Buddhavaṃsa* with its lives of the twenty-four buddhas. The *Buddhavaṃsa* depicts the historical setting, and the personal relationship between buddhas and bodhisattas, together with the teaching about the cultivation of the ten *pāramīs*. The Sumedhakathā section in particular, presents a more detailed system of Buddhism, and bodhisatta doctrine, than is hitherto found in any Pāli canonical text. This section narrates the major life events, career, and defining features, of a single bodhisatta's life in a systematic fashion that mirrors the stories of the lives of the twenty-four buddhas. Here, the ten *pāramīs*¹ are shown to have been discovered by Sumedha when he examines the things that culminate in the attainment² of buddhahood.

The concept of pāramī in the Buddhavaṃsa in relation to previous bodhisattas

The *Buddhavaṃsa* is then the primary canonical Pāli text to present the teaching about the bodhisatta concept in anything approximating a coherent and systematic manner. It is here that all the concepts peculiar to the developed bodhisatta doctrine appear. In fact, it can quite legitimately be said to be the only Pāli canonical text to describe this path to buddhahood in all its extended detail. It is a contention of this thesis that the idea of a bodhisatta doctrine, as a formally recognised or established part of Pāli canonical teaching, does not occur in the early Nikāyas. The early Nikāya texts have no reference to a bodhisatta doctrine, nor to the ten *pāramīs*, without which there can be no bodhisatta doctrine. Thus, the *Buddhavaṃsa* is a uniquely important work in this respect for the Theravādin tradition. It is in its presentation and definition of the bodhisatta, the ten *pāramīs*, and their role in the path to buddhahood, that the *Buddhavaṃsa* makes its most important contributions to the evolution, and development, of the bodhisatta doctrine for the Theravādin tradition.

The *Buddhavaṃsa* is not only concerned with the elaboration of the life, and path, of the bodhisatta Sumedha. The text forms the most extensive and detailed record within the Pāli canonical tradition of the previous lives of Gotama. In that text Gotama is shown as the bodhisatta who performed these ten *pāramīs*, over an immense period of time, prior to becoming buddha. Following the second *vaṃsa*, each of the remaining *vaṃsas* give the life story of each one of the previous buddhas. Contained within these individual accounts, there is an embedded history of the bodhisatta of each of those periods. The name and status of each bodhisatta are given, together with their *adhīṭṭhāna*³ 'determination' to fulfil the ten

¹ The ten *pāramīs* are first mentioned as individual qualities that are discovered by the Bodhisatta Sumedha in the *Buddhavaṃsa* in the following *gāthās*: *dāna* at II, 116a; *sīla* at II, 121a; *nekkhamma* at II, 126a; *paññā* at II, 131a; *virīya* at II, 136a; *khanti* at II, 141a; *sacca* at II, 146a; *adhīṭṭhāna* at II, 151a; *mettā* at II, 156a; *upekkhā* at II, 161a. See N. A. Jayawickrama, ed., *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka*, London: PTS, 1974, pp. 16-19.

² See N. A. Jayawickrama, ed., *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka*, London: PTS, 1974, chapter II, *gāthā* 115a. p. 16: Handa buddhakare dhamme vicināmi ito c' ito.

³ The *adhīṭṭhāna* 'determination' by the bodhisattas to fulfil the ten *pāramīs* is omitted in two of the *vaṃsas* of the *Buddhavaṃsa*, III *Koṇḍaññabuddhavaṃsa* and VII *Sobhitabuddhavaṃsa*. The remaining *vaṃsas* have this resolution, see the *Buddhavaṃsa*, IV, 14b; V, 20b; VI, 14b; VIII, 16b; IX, 15b; X, 17b; XI, 14b; XII, 15b; XIII, 17b; XIV, 14b;

pāramīs, and to become fully enlightened buddhas. Thus, the *Buddhavaṃsa* functions as a text that normalises the conception of buddhahood as a goal, and at the same time incorporates the conception of the bodhisatta, as a fully integrated and doctrinally justified character, into the scheme of Theravādin doctrine. The appearance of the *pāramīs* in the *Buddhavaṃsa* is an example of a novel form of doctrine emerging from within a tradition that otherwise appears to have had absolutely no precursors to this doctrine, nor any of the ideas, and specific concepts connected with it.

The pāramīs in the Jātakanidāna

The *Buddhavaṃsa* is the canonical text that initiates a functional bodhisatta doctrine, but it is the *Jātakanidāna* that contextualises and develops it. Even the commentary to the *Buddhavaṃsa*, the *Madhuratthavilāsini*, does not attempt to elaborate and define this doctrine to such a degree as is found in the *Jātakanidāna*. The *Jātakanidāna* is really the instigator of the developed doctrine of the ten *pāramīs* for the Theravādin tradition. Prior to the exegesis of the ten *pāramīs* made in that text, there was no integrated doctrine of ten *pāramīs* as such, only the grouping of the ten as found in the *Buddhavaṃsa*. The treatment of the *pāramīs* in the *Jātakanidāna* establishes them as the quintessential practices of all past bodhisattas, and by extension, of all past buddhas. In the *Jātakanidāna* each of the ten *pāramīs* is illustrated by citing from two canonical sources. Firstly, in the Sumedhakathā, the *gāthās* that relate to the ten *pāramīs*, as found in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, are given together with a commentarial exegesis to elaborate and expand upon the *gāthā* text. Secondly, in the section on the twenty-four buddhas, *gāthās* from the *Cariyāpīṭaka* and *Jātaka* texts are extracted, and given as examples of how the bodhisatta fulfilled the ten *pāramīs* at different times during past eras.

Definition of pāramī in the Jātakanidāna

The *pāramīs* are treated in the *Jātakanidāna* as a collection of qualities, and practices, that are the unique cause of the attainment of buddhahood. This is a significant departure from the view of the four Nikāyas, where the *pāramīs* do not occur as elements in Gotama's strivings for the attainment of enlightenment. The early Nikāya, and Vinaya accounts of the enlightenment, and its proximate causes, provide a scheme of mental development through a series of meditational practices. This predominantly intellectual, or mentalistic, stance is a characteristic feature of early Buddhism that owes much to the religious, cultural, and political,¹ outlook of the time. In this respect the Buddhism of the early Nikāyas produces a yogic

XV, 13b; XVI, 12b; XVII, 12b; XVIII, 15b; XIX, 11b; XX, 22b; XXI, 14b; XXII, 17b; XXIII, 12b; XXIV, 14b.

¹ The reason for the extreme intellectualistic or mentalistic character of Buddhism has been the subject for a great deal of debate. Some scholars favour the social and political factors at work during the time of the Buddha, see J. W. de Jong, "The Background of Early Buddhism", *IBK*, 13, 1964, pp. 425-6, also J. Przyluski, *Le Concile de Rājagrha: Introduction à l'histoire des canons et des sectes bouddhiques*, Paris: Paul Geuther, 1926, pp. 369-70. Poussin stresses the individualistic and ascetic stance of early Buddhism, see L. de la Vallee Poussin, *The Way to Nirvāṇa: Six lectures on ancient Buddhism as a discipline of salvation*, Cambridge, 1917, rpt. Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1982, pp. 3-5. Conze sees the yogic nature of Buddhism, with its laid out path, as being significantly influenced by other Indian traditions, see E. Conze, *Buddhist Thought in India*, London: Allen & Unwin, 1967, rpt. Michigan: Ann Arbor, 1982, pp. 18-19.

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too ...

path to enlightenment that is based upon a system of mental training, and meditation. The basic scheme¹ of this training is the practice of the *jhānas* ‘mental absorptions’ that lead on to knowledge of past lives, knowledge of the destruction of the *āsavas* ‘taints’, the realisation of the four truths, and knowledge that *vimutti* ‘liberation’ has been attained. The role of *paṭṭiccasamuppāda* ‘dependent origination’ in the attainment of enlightenment also figure prominently in the early Nikāya sources.² This chain of twelve links is intimately connected with the attainment of enlightenment, and the *Mahānidāna-sutta* emphasises the importance of this teaching as the proximate cause of *bodhi*.

The *Jātakanidāna*, in contrast to the mentalist and yogic trends found in the four Nikāyas, presents the ten *pāramīs* as the principal means of attaining the goal of buddhahood. It does not, of course, preclude those other mentalistic and yogic³ trends, but emphasises that the ten *pāramīs* become another layer of practice to be undertaken by for the bodhisatta. They are the things that must be undertaken and completed by the bodhisatta during many lives before the birth in which they attain buddhahood. The elucidation of these ten *pāramīs* as a path to buddhahood has a number of differences to the early Nikāya teachings on Buddhist practice. The *pāramīs* are indicative of a new development in Theravādin Buddhism that forms the basis for the nascent, and previously unexplained, doctrine of the bodhisatta. The earlier systems of Buddhist practices were essentially mentalistic, ascetic based and, therefore, concerned with and centred on the individual to an extreme degree. What occurs in the *Jātakanidāna* is the introduction of the ten *pāramīs* as a set of practices that provide both for the bodhisatta’s development, but which at the same time are explicitly shown to be of benefit and assistance to others in *saṃsāra*. It is the proactive nature of the *pāramīs*, with their beneficial results effecting others, that forms one of the characteristics distinguishing them from the earlier teachings of the Pāli canon.

The significance of the doctrine of the *pāramīs*, as it is presented in the *Jātakanidāna*, is that it shows a fully systematised, and universal, route to buddhahood. It is not universal in the sense that it is open to all beings, it is universal only in the sense that it has been followed by all past buddhas, and will also be followed by future ones.⁴ This of course means that the Buddha Gotama was only following an established path, the very same route that his predecessors had followed. The teaching of the *pāramīs* provides the materials for the doctrinal prehistory to the twenty-four buddhas that correlates to the depiction of their

¹ Variations of this scheme occur in the texts of the four Nikāyas, with greater or lesser amounts of detail given. The account given here follows that found in the *Bhayabheravasutta*, Majjhima-nikāya I no. 4, and *Mahāsaccakasutta*, Majjhima-nikāya I no. 36, see V. Trenckner, ed. *The Majjhima-nikāya*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1888, rpt. 1979, pp. 22-23, and pp. 247-249.

² The enlightenment is episode appears in two different forms in the Nikāyas and Vinaya. One form refers to the attainment of the four *jhānas*, three *vijjās*, and three or four *āsavas*. The other form refers to these things and also mentions the reflection on *paṭṭiccasamuppāda*. See *Āriyapariyesana-sutta* M I p. 167, *Mahāsaccaka-sutta* M I p. 247; *Bodhirājakumāra-sutta* M II p. 93, *Sangārava-sutta* M II p. 212; Vin I p. 1-2.

³ The translation of the *Jātakanidāna* contains large amounts of material about asceticism and Sumedha’s practice of it. See sections I 5-15 of the translation and edition where a wide range of ascetic practices are described.

⁴ There are nevertheless some who argue that there is no difference between the Theravādin and Mahāyāna conceptions of the bodhisatta and buddhahood. In particular Rahula, Ratnayaka, and Samuels give what amounts to a Theravādin justification for the existence of the goal of buddhahood open to all. See W. Rahula, “The Bodhisattva Ideal in Theravāda and Mahāyāna”, *Zen and the Taming of the Bull*, London, 1978, pp. 74; and S. Ratnayaka, “The Bodhisattva Ideal of Theravāda”, *JIAS*, 8, 1985, pp. 101-102; J. Samuels, “The Bodhisattva Ideal in Theravāda Buddhist Theory and Practice: A Re-evaluation of the Bodhisattva-Śrāvaka Opposition”, *PEW*, 47, 1997, p. 404.

temporal prehistory. The *pāramīs* can also be seen as a continuation of the theme begun in the *Buddhavaṃsa* of going beyond what was known to the early Nikāyas, and establish a new form of teaching and practice. As that text delves into the prehistory of the Buddha, it also begins the speculative trend that leads to the identification of the causes that actually produce buddhahood. The *pāramīs* appear in the *Jātakanidāna* as a unifying factor, in that they are common to all buddhas, and represent what had come to be considered as the essential factors underlying buddhahood.

The *Jātakanidāna* continues and develops this theme in the Sumedhakathā by setting out a fully developed prehistory of the bodhisatta Sumedha¹ who was to become the Buddha Gotama. The most important implication to emerge from this method of creating history by projecting buddhas back to an evermore remote past, is the formalisation of the concept of a long pre-enlightenment training for the bodhisatta, spanning incalculable periods. Thus, while the early Nikāya sources saw enlightenment having its proximate cause in a series of mental trainings, and realisations, the *Jātakanidāna* takes the proximate cause of enlightenment, or buddhahood as it now terms it, to be the ten *pāramīs*. The *Jātakanidāna* does not, however, envisage enlightenment as the ultimate goal of the *pāramīs*, though their fulfilment would entail enlightenment, the goal is now categorically stated to be buddhahood. The *pāramīs* are postulated as the real causes of the attainment of buddhahood, and therefore become vital to the life story of the bodhisatta. With the appearance of this new outlook the emphasis on what is most important for attaining enlightenment undergoes radical changes. The completion of the mental development, put forward in the early Nikāyas as the cause of enlightenment, is superseded in the *Jātakanidāna* by the ten *pāramīs*. These are now taken as the most important proximate causes of enlightenment, or more correctly buddhahood, as the new goal is defined in the new terminology of the *Jātakanidāna*.

The central theme of the *Jātakanidāna* can be said to consist of a detailed exposition of the path to buddhahood. In the Sumedhakathā the process of commenting on the canonical texts from which it cites produces a fully developed treatise on Buddhology. This section of the text includes the important and innovative doctrinal foundations for the Theravādin bodhisatta doctrine. All the existing canonical elements of the bodhisatta doctrine are transferred to the Sumedhakathā section of the *Jātakanidāna* by its inclusion of many *Buddhavaṃsa gāthās*. All the elements of the bodhisatta doctrine found in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, the resolution to become a buddha, prediction by a buddha, and the performance of the ten *pāramīs*, are taken up and employed by the *Jātakanidāna* as the basis for a historical and doctrinal excursus on both the nature of buddhas, and bodhisattas. Despite this, the bodhisatta doctrine encountered here has definite differences to that found in the Mahāyāna sources.² From its very inception the Mahāyāna tradition envisages a bodhisattva path that is open to all, whereas the path in the *Jātakanidāna* is only shown to apply to past bodhisattas who actually became buddhas themselves. The *Jātakanidāna* path to buddhahood is most certainly not a universal path open to all, as it is in the Mahāyāna traditions.

¹ The life story of Sumedha in the *Jātakanidāna* contains a variety of canonical and commentarial materials, and is the most developed of the Pāli versions of this kind of legend, see sections I 1-32 of the translation and edition.

² The intrinsic idea of the bodhisattva doctrine is thought by some scholars to be traceable to the very earliest layers of Buddhist tradition. See U. Pagel, *The Bodhisattvapiṭaka: Its Doctrines, Practices and their Position in Mahāyāna Literature*, Tring: Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1995, pp. 89-90, n. 39.

Definition of dānapāramī in the Jātakanidāna

The treatment of *dāna*¹ ‘giving’ in the *Jātakanidāna* is in marked contrast to the Nikāya definitions and usages of that term. The Pāli canonical tradition of the four Nikāyas has numerous references to *dāna* as a virtuous quality that should be cultivated as one of the preliminary Buddhist practices. These early Nikāya allusions to *dāna* are for the most part concerned with the giving of gifts to the *saṅgha* by the laity,² and *dāna* is not claimed to be a concern for the *saṅgha* themselves. In the later strata of the four Nikāyas the quality of *dāna* is included in a list of six,³ and increased in some texts to ten,⁴ *anussati* ‘recollections’ that are given as meditative practices. The *Visuddhimagga*⁵ devotes an entire chapter to an exegesis of the six *anussatis*, where the more developed ideas concerning the benefits of *dāna* are discussed. There the concept of *dāna* is dealt with by reference to its aspect of *cāga* ‘forsaking’ or ‘liberality’ which is seen as a means to progress in meditative techniques. The account given there is quite explicit that this quality is to be cultivated as, *inter alia*, a method of producing *upacāra-jhāna* ‘access absorption’ but nothing higher than that. Therefore, in general the usage of *dāna* in this strata of commentarial texts can refer to the act of giving as a beneficial activity, and as a meditational practice for acquiring *jhāna*. What is important for our present purposes is that the concept of *dāna* in these texts has no usages that are semantically equivalent, or that in any way approaches those usages found in the *Buddhavamsa*, and *Jātakanidāna*.

In the *Buddhavamsa*, and the *Jātakanidāna*, *dāna* is not merely something for acquiring merit, or the means of attaining *upacāra-jhāna*. There are two quite specific ways that *dāna* is dealt with in these two texts that have no precedent in other Pāli texts. Namely, that *dāna* is an essential practice for the bodhisatta, and that the perfection of the practice of *dāna* has the potentiality to bring about buddhahood. In these two texts the role of *dāna* is transformed, and is now said to comprise one of the immediate and indispensable causes of buddhahood. The obvious changes in the usage of the term *dāna* could not be more striking. The entire conceptual world view has shifted, with the *pāramīs* as the path of the bodhisatta, and the goal now being the attainment of buddhahood. The commentarial tradition, preserved in the

¹ For the various translations of the term *dāna* see T.W. Rhys Davids & W. Stede, *The Pāli Text Society's Pāli-English Dictionary*, London: PTS, 1925, rpt. 1979, p. 318; R.C. Childers, *A Dictionary of the Pāli Language*, London, 1875, rpt. Kyoto: Rinsen, 1987, p. 111; F.L. Woodward *et al*, *Pāli Tipiṭakam Concordance*, vol. 2, Oxford: PTS, 1993, pp. 297-299. The translation of this term in the Tibetan version of the *Jātakanidāna* is *sbyin pa*, the *Mahāvvyutpatti* includes this in the list of ten *pāramitā*, see R. Sasaki, *Mahāvvyutpatti*, Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1916, rpt. 1973, vol. 2, no. 914, p. 71.

² For an example from the Nikāyas of how *dāna* should be carried out by the laity see the *Pāyāsi-sutta*, T.W. Rhys Davids & J.E. Carpenter, eds. *The Dīgha-nikāya*, vol. 2, London: PTS, 1903, rpt. 1982, p. 357. See also E. Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism*, tr. S. Boin-Webb, Louvain-Paris, 1988, pp. 73-74.

³ The list of six *anussatis*, *buddha-anussati*, *dhamma-anussati*, *saṅgha-anussati*, *sīla-anussati*, *cāga-anussati* and *deva-anussati*, occurs in the *Āṅguttara-nikāya* and the *Dīgha-nikāya*. See E. Hardy, ed. *Āṅguttaranikāya*, vol. 3, London: PTS, 1897, rpt. 1976, p. 312, and J.E. Carpenter, ed. *Dīghanikāya*, vol. 3, London: PTS, 1910, rpt. 1992, p. 250.

⁴ The additional four *anussatis*, *ānāpāna-anussati*, *marāṇa-anussati*, *kāya-anussati* and *upasama-anussati*, are added to the sixfold list in some texts, see R. Morris, ed. *Āṅguttaranikāya*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1885, rpt. 1961, p. 42.

⁵ The seventh chapter of the *Visuddhimagga*, the *Cha-anussati-niddesa*, gives the classical Theravādin interpretation of *dāna* as it had come to be understood by Buddhaghosa's time, see C.A.F. Rhys Davids, ed., *Visuddhimagga*, London: PTS, 1920, rpt. 1975, pp. 223-224.

In this case, this is not an argument!

- since the Tibetan text
of the JN is a late text!

Jātakanidāna, defines *dāna* as one of the things which are discovered by the bodhisatta Sumedha, who then understands it to be one of the ten *pāramīs*. The *Jātakanidāna* refers to these ten *pāramīs* as the *buddha-kāraka dhammas* ‘things causing buddhahood’¹ and *dāna* as the first of them to be cultivated by Sumedha as he reflects on his path:

In that way he made the resolve, to seek the *dhammas* that cause buddhahood. ‘Where are the *dhammas* that cause buddhahood? Are they above or below, or at the cardinal or intermediate points?’ By gradually striving in the entire sphere of the Dhamma, even former bodhisattas saw the perfection of giving as the first that should be approached and adhered to. So I advised myself: ‘You, wise Sumedha, having understood this, should perfect the perfection of giving! Just as, when a water pot is overturned, the water in that pot does not remain in the water pot but pours onto the ground, it does not remain in the pot afterwards. So, in this way, without looking for wealth or fame, son or wife, or major and minor limbs, giving to all those who beg for succour whatever they desired without stint, sitting in front of the *bodhi* tree, you will obtain buddhahood.’²

This commentarial section from the *Jātakanidāna* brings together several topics that stem from the *Buddhavaṃsa*, but which also incorporates additional materials and ideas. The prose commentary that contains this passage is identical to the account given in the *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary, the *Madhuratthavilāsini*. It is probable that the *Buddhavaṃsa*, and the *Apadāna* commentaries borrowed this interpretation from the *Jātakanidāna*, since Buddhadatta’s work³ is considered to be later than the *Jātakanidāna*. However, the most detailed commentarial exposition of *dāna* as a *pāramī* occurs in the *Cariyāpiṭaka* commentary.⁴ This work treats the ten *pāramīs* in two distinct ways, firstly in a general manner, and then as individual qualities that should be correctly reflected upon by the bodhisatta. This text discusses the faults of covetousness due to contact with possessions and other material things. Then the positive aspects of *dāna* are listed, and their benefits stated. The most important attitude to be adopted by the bodhisatta in respect of the *pāramī* of *dāna* is to be able to practice generosity without any regard to their own apparent loss.

Definition of silapāramī in the Jātakanidāna

The practice of *sīla* is another of the ten *pāramīs* that lead to buddhahood, and which every past buddha

¹ This term is a continuation of the ideas contained in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, where at chapter two *gāthā* 115 the term ‘*Buddhakara dhammas*’ is used to describe the *pāramīs*. The Tibetan translation of this term is *saṅs rgyas su byed pa’i chos*, the extreme rarity of this concept in the Tibetan tradition is attested to by the fact that this term is not listed in any of the major Tibetan lexical works, the *Mahāvīyutpatī*, the *Tshig mdzod chen mo*, and L. Chandra’s *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary* have no record of the term whatever.

² See sections I 22 of the translation and edition.

³ It is probable however that the *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Apadāna* commentaries borrowed these materials from the *Jātakanidāna*. This prose section contained in the *Jātakanidāna* quotation is also found in the *Madhuratthavilāsini*, see I. B. Horner ed., *Madhuratthavilāsini nāma Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1978, pp. 103-104; and in the *Apadāna* commentary, see C.E. Godakumbura ed., *Visuddhajanavilāsini nāma Apadānaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1954, p. 22.

⁴ For the *Cariyāpiṭaka* commentary on *dānapāramī* see D.L. Barua, ed., *Acharya Dhammapāla’s Paramatthadīpanī*, London: PTS, 1939, rpt. 1979, pp. 291-293.

has necessarily cultivated. The Buddhist concept of *sīla*¹ ‘morality’, ‘virtue’, is one of the most overtly ethical terms encountered in Buddhist thought and doctrine. Its inclusion among the essential practices of a bodhisatta is then in the nature of a re-emphasis of this quality within the new framework of the ten *pāramīs*. The distinctive feature of *sīla* in the *Jātakanidāna* definition is that it represents another of the things that are the unique causes of buddhahood:

Furthermore, you should see that it is not only this *dhamma* that causes buddhahood! When seeking he saw the second, the perfection of morality, and this thought occurred to him: ‘O wise Sumedha, understanding this you should perfect the perfection of morality! Furthermore, for example, a wild yak guards its own tail without regard for its own life. Similarly, you having understood this, when guarding morality are without concern for life, you will obtain buddhahood.’²

The definition of *sīla* in this commentarial section of the *Jātakanidāna* is based exclusively on the description given in the five³ *Buddhavaṃsa gāthās* that occur in the Sumedhakathā. This method of description has parallels with the approach of the Buddhist Sanskrit texts, but in those texts the *gāthās* usually precede the prose commentaries that elucidate them, whereas in the *Jātakanidāna* the prose commentary precedes the *gāthās* extracted from the *Buddhavaṃsa* that discuss *sīla*. The *Jātakanidāna* treatment of *sīla* takes for granted the general importance of this concept for Buddhism, and is really only concerned with including it within the ten *pāramī* scheme.

This commentarial section from the *Jātakanidāna* agrees exactly with the *Buddhavaṃsa*, and *Apadāna* commentaries⁴ and include the *gāthās* of the *Buddhavaṃsa* devoted to *sīla*. It is the practice and nurturing of *sīla*, in its various forms, that is the basis for all spiritual development in Buddhist doctrine. The importance of the term *sīla* for Buddhism can be traced in the commentarial⁵ interpretations defining it according to various criteria. The *Visuddhimagga*⁶ classifies *sīla* in five ways as: restraint of the Pātimokkha, restraint of mindfulness, restraint of knowledge, restraint of patience, and the restraint of energy. The term is also classified as forming one of the threefold divisions of the *aṭṭhangika-magga* ‘eightfold path’.

¹ The term *sīla* has many nuances depending on the context in which it occurs. The primary sense of the term in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, *Cariyāpiṭaka*, and *Jātakanidāna* is that of ‘moral practice’, ‘morality’ and is a key element in Buddhist thinking about ethics from the earliest textual sources. See R.C. Childers, *A Dictionary of the Pāli Language*, London, 1875, rpt. Kyoto: Rinsen, 1987, p. 476, and T.W. Rhys Davids & W. Stede, *The Pāli Text Society’s Pāli-English Dictionary*, London: PTS, 1925, rpt. 1979, pp. 712-713. The Tibetan rendering of the term in the *Jātakanidāna* is *tshul khriṃs*, and the *Mahāvīyūtpatti* has this form in its list of ten *pāramitā*, see R. Sasaki, *Mahāvīyūtpatti*, Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1916, rpt. 1973, vol 2, no. 915, p. 71.

² See sections I 23 of the translation and edition.

³ See N. A. Jayawickrama, ed., *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka*, London: PTS, 1974, chapter II, *gāthās* 120-124, p. 17.

⁴ See I. B. Horner ed., *Madhuratthavilāsini nāma Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1978, p.105; and C.E. Godakumbura ed., *Visuddhajanavilāsini nāma Apadānaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1954, p. 23.

⁵ The *Visuddhimagga* gives the definitive classical commentarial excursus on the meanings and types of *sīla* in its first chapter, the *Sīla-niddesa*, see C.A.F. Rhys Davids ed., *Visuddhimagga*, London: PTS, 1920, rpt. 1975, pp. 6-58. For some of the *Atthasālinī* ideas on *sīla*, see E. Müller, ed. *Atthasālinī*, London: PTS, 1897, rpt. 1979, pp. 77, 355.

⁶ The concept of *sīla* is defined in the *Visuddhimagga* as: Saṃvaro silan ti ettha pañcavidhena saṃvaro veditabbo: Pātimokkhasaṃvaro, satisaṃvaro, ñāṇasaṃvaro, khantisāṃvaro, viriyasaṃvaro, see C.A.F. Rhys Davids ed., *Visuddhimagga*, London: PTS, 1920, rpt. 1975, p. 7.

In that classification *sīla* is said to be comprised of the three members of *sammā-vācā* ‘right speech, *sammā-kammanta* ‘right action’ and *sammā-ājīva* ‘right livelihood’. The concept of *sīla* is thus intimately connected with *cetanā* ‘volition’, this urge or motivation to perform an action is what gives speech, action, and livelihood, its moral or immoral content.

The quality of *sīla* as a *pāramī* is defined at some length in the *Cariyāpiṭaka* commentary¹ where the various aspects of *sīla* are given. This text stresses the purifying characteristic of *sīla*, and the fact that it is a basic quality of any system of morality. Much of this exposition is centred on the inherent power of *sīla* to bring success in the endeavours of those possessing it. Another aspect of *sīla* that is brought to light by this commentary is the function of it in relation to the arising of *pīṭisomanassa* ‘joy and delight’ that are traditionally referred to as the forerunners to *jhāna*. The quality of *sīla* is also described here, as in the *Jātakanidāna*, as being like one’s kinsfolk because of bringing about great benefit for oneself. This commentary also includes the same *gāthā*² from the *Theragāthā* that is cited in the *Jātakanidāna* in its treatment of *sīla*.

Definition of nekkhamapāramī in the Jātakanidāna

The concept of *nekkhamma*³ ‘renunciation’ is representative of one of the central themes in the Buddhist philosophical outlook. However, it does not occur in the early Nikāyas as an independent quality which is a specifically defined aspect of Buddhism. Nevertheless, the notion of renunciation, of the household life, or of abandoning that which is a hindrance to spiritual development, is an inherent trait within early Buddhism. The word *nekkhamma* certainly appears in the early Nikāyas, often in compounds referring to the abandonment of something, or the development of thought⁴ free of attachment. Even though this concept is relatively undeveloped in the early sources, it is implicit in much of the Buddhist teachings found there. From the philological perspective the term is something of an anomaly in the Pāli language, with the consensus of opinion viewing it as a word directly derived from a Sanskrit form.⁵ The *Jātakanidāna* treats *nekkhamma* as an existing doctrinal quality, and gives no detailed definition of the term, but only treats it in the same way as the foregoing *pāramīs*:

¹ The full text of the *Cariyāpiṭaka* commentary on *sīlapāramī* covers a wide area of the qualities that are dependent on *sīla*, see D.L. Barua, ed., *Achāriya Dhammapāla's Paramatthadīpanī*, London: PTS, 1939, rpt. 1979, pp. 293-295.

² This is *gāthā* 303 of the *Theragāthā* that occurs in sections I 35 of the translation and edition; see also D.L. Barua, ed., *Achāriya Dhammapāla's Paramatthadīpanī*, London: PTS, 1939, rpt. 1979, p. 295.

³ This term is translated in the Tibetan *Jātakanidāna* by *nes 'byuñ*, this concept is absent from the Mahāyāna lists of the six or ten *pāramitās* and is not listed in the *Mahāvvyūtpatti*. The form *nes 'byuñ* is attested in a number of texts representing the Sanskrit forms: *niḥsaraṇa*, *niḥsāra* and *naiṣkrāmya*, see L. Chandra, *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, rpt. Kyoto: Rinsen, 1982, p. 611.

⁴ The compound *nekkhammavitaṅka* ‘thought of renunciation’ occurs in the *Dvedhavitakka-sutta*, see V. Trenckner ed. *The Majjhima-nikāya*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1888, rpt. 1979, p. 116. This compound is also found in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* commentary, see E. Müller, *Atthasālinī*, London: PTS, 1897, rpt. 1979, p. 181.

⁵ The precise etymology of the term is discussed in both the existing Pāli-English dictionaries, these derive the Pāli *nekkhamma* from the Sanskrit word *naiṣkrāmya*, see R. C. Childers, *A Dictionary of the Pāli Language*, London, 1875, rpt. Kyoto: Rinsen, 1987, pp. 263-264; and T. W. Rhys Davids & W. Stede, *The Pāli Text Society's Pāli-English Dictionary*, London: PTS, 1925, rpt. 1979, p. 377. The conclusion that this term is derived from the Sanskrit form *naiṣkrāmya* is also arrived at by G.H. Sasaki, see his *Linguistic Approach to Buddhist Thought*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1986, pp. 1-5.

When seeking he saw the third, the perfection of renunciation, and this thought occurred to him: 'Wise Sumedha, understanding this, you should also perfect the perfection of renunciation! Just as, the man who after being chained is put in a prison for a long time, but does not wish to be there. Moreover, one does not desire to abide like one whose mind is suffering. In this way you also, taking all existences as if they were a prison, because the mind which suffers in all existences, and which desires to be free from them, must manifest renunciation! By acting in that way you will obtain buddhahood.'¹

This commentary from the *Jātakanidāna* follows the explanation, and similes, given in the *Buddhavaṃsa gāthās* that deal with the concept of *nekkhamma*, it also agrees with the *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Apadāna* commentaries² to those *gāthās*. The definition given in the *Jātakanidāna* makes no reference whatever to the idea that *nekkhamma* refers to the concept of going forth into the monastic life. It is dealt with only as another of the specific set qualities to be developed by a bodhisatta, and that lead to buddhahood. The definition of *nekkhamma* found in the *Visuddhimagga*³ takes *nekkhamma* not as renunciation or abandonment in any general sense, but specifically defines it as renunciation of the household life. The *Visuddhimagga* definition is then a formalisation of an aspect of monastic training, in that text *nekkhamma* is a prerequisite for one entering the *saṅgha*. The *Cariyāpiṭaka* commentary⁴ on the *pāramīs* also describes *nekkhammapāramī* as playing an important role in relation to the process of *pabbajā* 'going forth' into the homeless life. This commentarial exegesis of the term functions as a means of rationalising, and normalising, the act of joining the *saṅgha*.

Definition of paññāpāramī in the Jātakanidāna

The usage of the term *paññā* in the *Jātakanidāna* is not connected with any particular attainment of the Buddhist path as it is in the four Nikāyas. In the *Jātakanidāna* it becomes a term that is indicative of a specific stage of progression for a bodhisatta on the path to buddhahood, and within this context it becomes invested with an importance far exceeding the earlier uses of the term. The technical term *paññā*⁵ 'wisdom' or 'intuitive understanding' is a well documented concept in the early Pāli canonical

¹ See sections I 24 of the translation and edition.

² See I. B. Horner ed., *Madhurathavilāsini nāma Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1978, p. 106; and C.E. Godakumbura ed., *Visuddhajanavilāsini nāma Apadānaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1954, p. 23.

³ See C.A.F. Rhys Davids ed., *Visuddhimagga*, London: PTS, 1920, rpt. 1975, p. 116, where *nekkhamma* is also stated to be a quality associated with bodhisattas.

⁴ The comments on *nekkhamma* are fairly concise in the *Cariyāpiṭaka* commentary, see D.L. Barua, ed., *Achariya Dhammapāla's Paramatthadīpanī*, London: PTS, 1939, rpt. 1979, p. 295.

⁵ The translation of *paññā* by 'wisdom' is used here for convenience sake, for whatever the disadvantages of this translation, it does have the merit of being a well known and widely used rendering for *paññā*. This term like many of the key Buddhist technical terms is difficult to translate with a single one word English equivalent. The translations 'reason, insight, knowledge, understanding, wisdom, intuitive understanding' have all been forwarded at different times, see PTSD, London: PTS, 1925, rpt. 1979, p. 390; R.C. Childers, *A Dictionary of the Pāli Language*, London, 1875, rpt. Kyoto: Rinsen, 1987, pp. 329-330; F.L. Woodward et al, *Pāli Tipiṭakam Concordance*, vol. 3, Oxford: PTS, 1993, pp. 57-63. The Tibetan version of the *Jātakanidāna* translates *paññā* by *śes rab* which is the standard Tibetan form for the Sanskrit *prajñā*, see the *Mahāvvyutpatti* which has this Tibetan form in the list of ten *pāramitā*, see R. Sasaki, *Mahāvvyutpatti*, Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1916, rpt. 1973, vol. 2, no. 919, p. 71.

tradition. This concept occurs not only in the Vinaya, and the early and late Nikāyas, but also in the Abhidhamma works and their commentaries. The term is used in a variety of ways according to the type of list in which it is included. It is, however, always a positive quality associated with the realisation or understanding of the Buddhist teaching, and defined at different places as both a *bala*¹ ‘power’ and as an *indriya*² ‘faculty.’ It is found in its roles as a *bala*, and as an *indriya*, in one of the earliest summaries of the elements of the path to enlightenment where it has these two roles. Here it functions as two of the thirty-seven *bodhipakkhiya-dhamma* ‘factors associated with enlightenment’. The *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*³ has this list of thirty-seven, though not the appellation *bodhipakkhiya-dhamma*, as a concise summary of the essential practices of Buddhism.

The *Jātakanidāna* reference to *paññā* has no recourse to the definitions or lists containing it that are found in the early Nikāyas. That text uses the *Buddhavaṃsa* as its source for the definition, and function, of *paññā* as one of the *pāramīs*.

‘You should see that it is not only these *dhammas* that cause buddhahood.’ When seeking he saw the forth, the perfection of understanding, and this thought occurred to him: ‘Wise ascetic Sumedha, understand from this that you should perfect the perfection of understanding! You should question those *paṇḍitas* after going to their abode, without any preconception regarding them as low, average or great. Just as, when a monk who goes on alms round goes in turn even to the abode of the lowly. Going thus for alms in succession, without regard to the divisions of clans, he will quickly obtain his own share of food. In the same way you, after going into the presence of those wise ones, and asking questions, will obtain buddhahood.’⁴

The prose portion cited here also has its parallels in the *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Apadāna*⁵ commentaries. The *Cariyāpiṭaka* commentary⁶ provides a developed definition of the place of *paññā* as one of the *pāramīs*. In this commentary *paññā* is viewed as the basis for the complete purification of all the other *pāramīs*. It is explicitly stated to be an active quality, in that it is the most important cause in the development of the *pāramīs*. This Pāli commentary takes what is probably the most significant move towards the Mahāyāna

¹ The *Bala-saṃyutta* of the Saṃyutta-nikāya defines *paññā-bala* as one of the five *balas* that overcome the *uddhaṃbhāgiya saṃyojana* ‘higher fetters’, see L. Feer, ed., *The Saṃyutta-nikāya*, vol 5, London: PTS, 1898, rpt. 1994, p. 251. The *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* defines *paññā-bala* in exactly the same way as *paññā-indriya*, see *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, ed. E. Müller, London: PTS, 1885, rpt. 1978, pp. 13, 11; see also *Atthasālinī*, ed. E. Müller, London: PTS, 1897, rpt. 1979, p. 124.

² The Saṃyutta-nikāya contains a chapter devoted to the *indriyas*, the *Indriya-saṃyutta*, see L. Feer, ed., *The Saṃyutta-nikāya*, vol 5, London: PTS, 1898, rpt. 1994, pp. 193-243, in this chapter *paññā-indriya* is defined as *sammādukkha-khayagāminiyā* ‘leading to the destruction of all suffering’, p. 197. The *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* defines *paññā-indriya* as the ability to comprehend or understand, see *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, ed. E. Müller, London: PTS, 1885, rpt. 1978, p. 11; see also *Atthasālinī*, ed. E. Müller, London: PTS, 1897, rpt. 1979, pp. 147-149.

³ See DN no. 16, *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, T.W. Rhys Davids & J.E. Carpenter eds., *The Dīgha-nikāya*, vol. 2, London: PTS, 1903, rpt. 1982, pp. 119-120.

⁴ See sections I 25 of the translation and edition.

⁵ See I. B. Horner ed., *Madhuratthavilāsini nāma Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1978, pp. 107-108; and C.E. Godakumbura ed., *Visuddhajānavilāsini nāma Apadānaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1954, p. 24.

⁶ The definition of *paññā* in this commentary includes many key aspects of the path of the bodhisatta in the Pāli tradition, see D.L. Barua, ed., *Achariya Dhammapāla's Paramatthadīpanī*, London: PTS, 1939, rpt. 1979, p. 296-297.

conception of the bodhisattva path, and the concepts occurring on that path, of any Pāli text. This occurs when it refers to *paññā* as constituting the exercise of *upāyakosalla*¹ ‘skilful means’, that is a quality most frequently encountered in the Mahāyāna texts, but not usually considered an inherent a part of the bodhisatta doctrine in the Theravādin tradition. This is how the Theravādin tradition gradually extends the usage of the term *paññā* into areas that are completely absent in the early sources, and culminates with an entirely new understanding of, and rationale for, the concept of *paññā*.

Definition of viriyapāramī in the Jātakanidāna

The fifth *pāramī* listed in the *Jātakanidāna viriya*² ‘effort’ or ‘energy’ is a well established term in the early Nikāyas. It has numerous occurrences as an individual quality in its own right, as well as being included as a quality with a specific function in the lists of different categories of *dhammas*. The quality of *viriya* occurs in three distinct classifications in the Nikāyas, as a *bala*, an *indriya*, and as a *bojjhaṅga* ‘limb of enlightenment’. The most extensive treatment of *viriya* as a *bala*, in the Nikaya sources, is found in the Saṃyutta-nikāya³ where it is given as one of the five *balas*. In that text the *balas* are defined as those qualities that overcome their opposites, these opposites are named as consisting of the five *uddhambhāgiya saṃyojana* ‘higher fetters’. Thus, even in the early Nikāyas, *viriya* is a key term in the doctrinal and soteriological teaching of Buddhism. The concept of *viriya* is further defined there as an active constituent that leads to overcoming any obstacles to spiritual advancement. The *indriyas* are also dealt with at length in the Saṃyutta-nikāya.⁴ There the term *viriya-indriya* is defined as the quality that rejects unwholesome states and acquires wholesome states.⁵ The third category of *dhammas* to include *viriya* is the list of the seven *bojjhaṅgas* which is also a topic discussed extensively in the Saṃyutta-nikāya.⁶ The functions of *viriya* given in that text range from its role as a producer of *pīti nirāmisā*⁷ ‘pure joy’, to

¹ The concept of *upāya-kauśalya* as it is encountered in the Mahāyāna *sūtras* is almost entirely absent in the Pāli canon, with only a few cases of the term occurring and then not with the same doctrinal connotation as in the Mahāyāna scheme. The occurrence of the Pāli equivalent *upāya-kosalla* in the *Cariyāpiṭaka* commentary may well be one of the first of only very few occurrences in the commentarial literature that is conceptually comparable with the Mahāyāna usage of the term. For the term in the *Cariyāpiṭaka* commentary see D.L. Barua, ed., *Acharya Dhammapāla's Paramatthadīpanī*, London: PTS, 1939, rpt. 1979, p. 296; see also also CPD where only two canonical references are given for the term, V. Trenckner, et al., *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Copenhagen: Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, Vol. II (1960-1990), p. 498.

² See PTSD, London: PTS, 1925, rpt. 1979, p. 634, where *viriya* is translated as ‘vigour, energy, effort, exertion’, and Childers who translates it as ‘strength, vigour, energy, fortitude, effort, exertion; dignity, influence’, see R.C. Childers, *A Dictionary of the Pāli Language*, London, 1875, rpt. Kyoto: Rinsen, 1987, p. 582. The Tibetan translation of the term in the *Jātakanidāna* is *brtson 'grus*, this is the same as found in the list of ten *pāramitā* in the *Mahāvvyutpatti*, see R. Sasaki, *Mahāvvyutpatti*, Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1916, rpt. 1973, vol. 2, no. 917, p. 71.

³ This is contained in the *Bala-saṃyutta*, see L. Feer, ed., *The Saṃyutta-nikāya*, vol 5, London: PTS, 1898, rpt. 1994, pp. 249-253.

⁴ The *Indriya-saṃyutta*, see L. Feer, ed., *The Saṃyutta-nikāya*, vol 5, London: PTS, 1898, rpt. 1994, pp. 193-243.

⁵ This text reads: *akusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ pahānāya kusalānaṃ dhammaṃ upasampadāya*, see L. Feer, ed., *The Saṃyutta-nikāya*, vol 5, London: PTS, 1898, rpt. 1994, p.197.

⁶ See the *Bojjhaṅga-saṃyutta*, L. Feer, ed., *The Saṃyutta-nikāya*, vol 5, London: PTS, 1898, rpt. 1994, pp. 63-140.

⁷ It is defined thus: *Yasmiṃ samaye bhikkhave bhikkhuno āradhaviyiyassa uppajjati pīti nirāmisā*, see L. Feer, ed., *The Saṃyutta-nikāya*, vol 5, London: PTS, 1898, rpt. 1994, p. 68.

one of overcoming both the five *nīvaraṇa*¹ ‘hindrances’ and five *uddhambhāgiya saṃyojana*.²

The *Jātakanidāna*’s explanation of *virīya* has no parallel to the definitions mentioned above. The text makes no allusion whatever to these references that show *virīya* as a *bala*, *indriya*, or *bojjhaṅga*. The definition of *virīya* is again focused only on the role it performs for the bodhisatta:

Furthermore, ‘You should see that it is not only this *dhamma* that causes buddhahood.’ When seeking he saw the fifth, the perfection of effort, and this thought occurred to him: ‘Wise ascetic Sumedha, understanding this you should also perfect the perfection of effort! Just as the lion, king of beasts, has strong effort at all times, in the same way you also should strengthen effort in all existences. If you make effort fearlessly you will obtain buddhahood.’³

The *Cariyāpiṭaka* commentary⁴ makes some innovatory comments about *virīya* as a *pāramī*. The definition given in this text makes it quite clear that the role of the bodhisatta is dedicated to the relief others’ suffering. The importance of *virīya* is described by declaring it to be an important quality for anyone wishing to individually escape *samsāra*, and therefore even more important for one wishing to lead others to liberation. The symbolic language of this section of text has distinct parallels with that of the Mahāyāna, the ideal of individual liberation is readily accepted, but the ideal of actively assisting all beings to attain liberation is that which is stressed. There are even some symbolic and figurative parallels, on a literary and doctrinal level, between this text and some Mahāyāna works in regard to the descriptions of wrong view⁵ and *samsāra*.⁶ The commentary even warns the bodhisatta against the *miccāvitakka* ‘wrong thought’ that it is acceptable to free oneself from *samsāra* before liberating others. The emphasis on this particular aspect of the bodhisatta path brings the Theravādin scheme closer to that of the Mahāyāna tradition, in that the essential element in this path is the energetic and altruistic help towards other beings in *samsāra*.

Definition of khantipāramī in the Jātakanidāna

¹ The seven *bojjhaṅgas* are described as overcoming the five *nīvaraṇas* and as being *nibbānasamvattanika* ‘conducive to *nibbāna*’, see L. Feer, ed., *The Saṃyutta-nikāya*, vol 5, London: PTS, 1898, rpt. 1994, pp. 97-8.

² This is given as: *Imesaṃ kho bhikkhave pañcannaṃ uddhambhāgiyānaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ abhiññāya pariññāya parikkhayāya pahānāya satta bojjhaṅgā bhāvettabbā*, see L. Feer, ed., *The Saṃyutta-nikāya*, vol 5, London: PTS, 1898, rpt. 1994, p. 139.

³ See sections I 26 of the translation and edition. The text of the *Jātakanidāna* matches those of the *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary and *Apadāna* commentary, see I. B. Horner ed., *Madhuratthavilāsini nāma Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1978, p. 108, and C.E. Godakumbura ed., *Visuddhajanavilāsini nāma Apadānaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1954, p. 24.

⁴ The treatment of *virīya* as one of the ten *pāramīs* occurs in D.L. Barua, ed., *Achariya Dhammapāla's Paramatthadīpanī*, London: PTS, 1939, rpt. 1979, p. 297.

⁵ For the parallels about wrong view, see D.L. Barua, ed., *Achariya Dhammapāla's Paramatthadīpanī*, London: PTS, 1939, rpt. 1979, p. 297, and verse 18, chapter three of the *Pāramitāsamāsa*, by C. Meadows, *Ārya-Śūra's Compendium of the Perfections: Text, translation and analysis of the Pāramitāsamāsa*, Bonn: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 1986, p. 199.

⁶ Both the *Cariyāpiṭaka* commentary and the Mahāyāna work the *Pāramitāsamāsa* refer to either being stuck in or escaping from the *samsārapaṅka* ‘mud of *samsāra*’. For the Pāli references see D.L. Barua, ed., *Achariya Dhammapāla's Paramatthadīpanī*, London: PTS, 1939, rpt. 1979, p. 297; and for the Sanskrit reference see verse 33, chapter four, C. Meadows, *Ārya-Śūra's Compendium of the Perfections: Text, translation and analysis of the Pāramitāsamāsa*, Bonn: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 1986, p. 216.

This *pāramī* is one of the truly innovative classes of the group of ten that appears to emerge independently of the Nikāyas, or the Abhidhamma, as a quality associated with Buddhist doctrine. The term *khanti*¹ ‘patience’ presented as one of the ten *pāramīs* in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, and *Jātakanidāna*, has few occurrences in the early Pāli texts. Where it is found in the early Nikāya, Vinaya, or Abhidhamma texts it does not have the specific function, or technical meaning, with which it is imbued in the *Jātakanidāna*. This term is employed in the Vinaya where it is only linked to the explanation of certain monastic rules.² The term *khanti*, though not included in any of the various lists in the Nikāyas, is undoubtedly an ancient word as its use is attested in some of the oldest strata of texts.³ Its definition as a Buddhist technical term is found in one of the basic Abhidhamma works.⁴ There is an isolated instance of *khanti* in the Dīgha-nikāya, where the Buddha Vipassi recites a *gāthā* praising patience as the supreme form of asceticism.⁵ This same *gāthā* is cited verbatim in the *Dhammapada*,⁶ where it is included in the Buddha-vagga. That text also has a reference to *khanti* as one of the qualities of a true sage.⁷ The *Jātakanidāna* treatment of the term stresses the pragmatic role of *khanti*, and how it ought to be practised.

Furthermore, ‘You should see that it is not only this *dhamma* that causes buddhahood.’ When seeking he saw the sixth, the perfection of patience, and this thought occurred to him: ‘Wise ascetic Sumedha, understanding this you should perfect the perfection of patience! You should be patient to those acting well or badly. Just as, when putting pure and impure things on the earth, it does not accordingly make the earth angry, but it is patient, endures and consents. In that way you also, being patient and enduring, even when harmed or benefited, will obtain buddhahood.’⁸

¹ The term *khanti* has been rendered by ‘patience, forbearance, forgiveness’, see PTSD, London: PTS, 1925, rpt. 1979, p. 232; and as ‘patience, longsuffering, forbearance, endurance’ in R.C. Childers, *A Dictionary of the Pāli Language*, London, 1875, rpt. Kyoto: Rinsen, 1987, p. 199; F.L. Woodward *et al*, *Pāli Tipiṭakam Concordance*, vol. 2, Oxford: PTS, 1993, gives it as ‘patience, indulgence’ pp. 75-6. The DOP has two primary meanings of the term, that of ‘patience, forbearance; endurance’ and receptivity, predilection; preference, preferred view’ see M. Cone *A Dictionary of Pāli, Part I, a-kh*, Oxford: Pāli Text Society, 2001, pp. 749-750. The Tibetan translation of the term in the *Jātakanidāna* is *bzod pa*, which is the same as found in the list of ten *pāramitā* in the *Mahāvīyūtpatti*, see R. Sasaki, *Mahāvīyūtpatti*, Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1916, rpt. 1973, vol. 2, no. 916, p. 71.

² In this context the term always seems to occur as part of a list, consisting of *diṭṭhi*, *khanti*, and *ruci*, though there are sometimes additional terms added to the list. In these cases *khanti* has the meaning of ‘preference’. For examples of this type of occurrence see H. Oldenberg, ed. *Vinayaṭīkā*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1879, rpt. 1997, p. 70, 71; vol. 2, London: PTS, 1880, rpt. 1995, p. 206; vol. 3, London: PTS, 1881, rpt. 1993, pp. 93, 97; vol. 4, London: PTS, 1882, rpt. 1993, pp. 2-4; vol. 5, London: PTS, 1883, rpt. 1982, p. 203.

³ An early use of the quality of *khanti* is found in the *Suttanipāta*, one of the ancient texts of the Pāli canon, see D. Anderson & H. Smith eds. *Sutta-nipāta*, London: PTS, 1913, rpt. 1965, *gāthā* 623, p. 120.

⁴ In the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* *khanti* is defined, apart from ‘patience’, as ‘endurance’ and ‘absence of hatred’ without any reference at all to it being a *pāramī*. For the Abhidhamma definition of *khanti* see *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, ed. E. Müller, London: PTS, 1885, rpt. 1978, p. 230.

⁵ The text reads: *khanti paramaṃ tapo titikkhā*. See Rhys Davids, T.W., & Carpenter, J.E., eds. *The Dīgha-nikāya*, vol. 2, London: PTS, 1903, rpt. 1982, p. 49.

⁶ See *gāthā* 184 of the *Dhammapada*, O. von Hinüber & K. R. Norman, eds. *Dhammapada*, Oxford: PTS, 1994, p. 52.

⁷ This occurs in the *Brāhmaṇa-vagga* dealing with the characteristics of a real *brāhmaṇa* in the Buddhist sense of the term, see *gāthā* 399 of the *Dhammapada*, O. von Hinüber & K. R. Norman, eds., *Dhammapada*, Oxford: PTS, 1994, p. 112.

⁸ See sections I 27 of the translation and edition. This section of the *Jātakanidāna* is equivalent to *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary and *Apadāna* commentary, see I. B. Horner ed., *Madhuratthavilāsini nāma Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*,

This definition of *khanti* brings it into the range of practices of the bodhisatta. Its basic meaning is that of acceptance, or tolerance, and it receives no further explanation in the *Jātakanidāna*. Only seven of the ten *pāramīs* occur in the *Cariyāpīṭaka* itself, and the term *khanti* appears only once in the entire text.¹ There are, however, references to *khanti* in the *Cariyāpīṭaka* commentary, which contains various definitions of the term. There is a straightforward etymological definition, of a type common in the commentarial texts.² Then it is defined in a more general sense as an essential quality for spiritual progress,³ and also put it into groups of pairs of qualities.⁴ The term *khanti* receives its single most exhaustive definition and analysis in this commentary.

Definition of saccapāramī in the Jātakanidāna

The basis of the term *sacca*⁵ ‘true’ or ‘truthfulness’ can be traced to some of the earliest Pāli texts where it refers to the four *ariyasaccas* ‘noble truths’ that constitute the core of the Buddhist teaching for the Theravādin tradition. These references are only concerned with defining the Buddha’s discovery in terms of readily identifiable sets of doctrinal rubrics.⁶ The general trend within the early Theravādin tradition does not deal with the concept of *sacca* as an explicitly defined quality forming a part of the Buddhist path. The use of the term in the *Jātakanidāna* is more concerned with the aspect of truthfulness, or true speech, as opposed to the abstract notion of truth or truthfulness itself. This conception of truthfulness has its counterpart in the Indian religious tradition as represented in the Upaniṣadic texts⁷ where truthfulness is depicted as a virtuous form of act that may even form a type of offering. The *Jātakanidāna* allusion to this quality establishes it as the seventh *pāramī*:

Furthermore, ‘You should see that it is not only this *dhamma* that causes buddhahood.’ When seeking he saw the seventh, the perfection of truthfulness, and this thought occurred to him: ‘Wise ascetic Sumedha,

London: PTS, 1978, p. 109, and C.E. Godakumbura ed., *Visuddhajanavilāsini nāma Apadānaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1954, p. 25.

¹ The *Cariyāpīṭaka* has a single reference to *khanti* as one of the *pāramīs*, see N.A. Jayawickrama, ed. *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpīṭaka*, London: PTS, 1974, p. 36.

² This is a definition of the phrase: *khantiyā pāramiṃ gantvā*. Which is said to mean ‘having attained the perfection of patience’. See D.L. Barua, ed., *Achariya Dhammapāla’s Paramatthadīpanī*, London: PTS, 1939, rpt. 1979, p. 274.

³ In this case *khanti* is discussed at length, with many different examples given illustrating the function of *khanti*. It is described as, among other things: a weapon, adornment, pacifier of ills, antidote to anger. See D.L. Barua, ed., *Achariya Dhammapāla’s Paramatthadīpanī*, London: PTS, 1939, rpt. 1979, pp. 298-299.

⁴ In this section of the commentary six of the *pāramīs* are given in fifteen sets of pairs, *khanti* is given in the pairs: *dānakhanti*, *sīlakhanti*, *khantiviriya*, *khantijhāna*, *khantiṭṭhāna*. See D.L. Barua, ed., *Achariya Dhammapāla’s Paramatthadīpanī*, London: PTS, 1939, rpt. 1979, p. 321-322.

⁵ The term *sacca* is given in the PTSD as ‘true, real’ and only in its noun form as ‘truth, see PTSD, London: PTS, 1925, rpt. 1979, p. 668; see also R.C. Childers, *A Dictionary of the Pāli Language*, London, 1875, rpt. Kyoto: Rinsen, 1987, p. 409. The Tibetan translation of the term in the *Jātakanidāna* is *bden pa*, this term does not appear in the list of ten *pāramitās* in the *Mahāvvyūtpatti*.

⁶ The four *ariyasaccas* are perhaps the earliest formulations of the Buddhist teachings into a codified system based on numerical lists, see H. Oldenberg, ed., *Vinayapīṭaka*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1879, rpt. 1997, pp. 10-11 and L. Feer, ed., *The Saṃyutta-nikāya*, vol 5, London: PTS, 1898, rpt. 1994, p. 420-424.

⁷ ‘atha yat tapo dānam ājavanam ahimsā satya-vacanam iti, tā asya dakṣiṇaḥ’ *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* III, 17, 4, see S. Radhakrishnan, *The Principal Upaniṣads*, London: Unwin Hyman, 1953, rpt. 1989, p. 396.

understanding this should also perfect the perfection of truthfulness! Even if lightning strikes one's head, knowing the strength of desire for the sake of wealth and so on, do not lie. Just as, a star such as the healing star, at all seasons when it leaves its own course does not proceed on another course, it proceeds on its own course. In that way you, holding to the truth do not lie, you will obtain buddhahood.¹

The various commentaries associated with the *Jātakanidāna*, and the texts it cites, add little to the exegesis of this term. The *Cariyāpiṭaka* commentary² defines *sacca* as the most basic of all the ten *pāramīs*, and the foundation of the bodhisatta's path. In this commentary *sacca* is called the basis of *sīla*, and other virtues that are themselves important elements in the commentarial depiction of the path of the bodhisatta.

Definition of adhiṭṭhānapāramī in the Jātakanidāna

The concept of *adhiṭṭhāna*³ 'resolution, determination' is another of the ten *pāramīs* that has no evidence of an early canonical usage in the specific doctrinal sense in which it is used in the *Jātakanidāna*. The term, as it is found in the four Nikāyas and the Vinaya, is used in at least three ways that are quite distinct from the specific sense allocated to it in the *Jātakanidāna*. An early use of *adhiṭṭhāna* in the *Nidāna-samyutta* of the Saṃyutta-nikāya refers, in a metaphorical way, to the primary meaning of this term as place, standpoint⁴ or mental stance. Other Nikāya works divide the concept of *adhiṭṭhāna* as 'resolution' into different categories. This occurs in the *Saṅgīti-sutta*⁵ of the Dīgha-nikāya, and in the *Dhātuvibhaṅga-sutta*

¹ See sections I 28 of the translation and edition. This section of the *Jātakanidāna* corresponds to the passages of the *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary and the *Apadāna* commentary, see I. B. Horner ed., *Madhurattavilāsini nāma Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1978, p. 110, and C.E. Godakumbura ed., *Visuddhajanavilāsini nāma Apadānaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1954, p. 25, which has several variations from the *Jātakanidāna* text.

² For the commentary on *sacca*, see D.L. Barua, ed., *Achariya Dhammapāla's Paramatthadīpanī*, London: PTS, 1939, rpt. 1979, p. 299-300.

³ The essential meaning of *adhiṭṭhāna* is given in the PTSD as 'decision, resolution, self-determination, will' see PTSD, London: PTS, 1925, rpt. 1979, p. 28; see also R.C. Childers, *A Dictionary of the Pāli Language*, London, 1875, rpt. Kyoto: Rinsen, 1987, p. 13. The CPD also notes the meanings of 'abode, basis, substratum; stay, support, standpoint', see V. Trenckner, et al., *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Copenhagen: Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, Vol. I (1924-1948), pp. 132-133. The Tibetan translation of the term in the *Jātakanidāna* is *lhag par gnas pa*, this term does not appear in the *Mahāvvyutpatti* either as an individual entry nor in the list of ten *pāramitās*. The equivalent term found in the ten *pāramitās* in that text is *praṇidhāna* which is rendered in the Tibetan by *smon lam*, see R. Sasaki, *Mahāvvyutpatti*, Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1916, rpt. 1973, vol. 2, no. 921, p. 71. The Sanskrit equivalent of the Pāli *adhiṭṭhāna* is *adhiṣṭhāna*, and the Tibetan term used in the *Mahāvvyutpatti* to translate this is *byin gyis brlabs*. See R. Sasaki, *Mahāvvyutpatti*, Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1916, rpt. 1973, vol. 2, no. 4264, p. 287.

⁴ See L. Feer, ed. *The Saṃyutta-nikāya*, vol 2, London: PTS, 1888, rpt. 1970, p. 17, where *adhiṭṭhāna* is taken to be the foundation, basis, or mental position of wrong views regarding the self. See also Bhikkhu Bodhi's remarks and notes on the nuances and commentarial explanations of this term in his work *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha*, Boston: Wisdom, 2000, vol. 1, p. 736, n. 32.

⁵ Though the Dīgha-nikāya is largely considered to have been composed of early materials, the *Saṅgīti-sutta* is regarded as a being one of the additions or commentarial style texts added to that Nikāya. See K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature*, Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983, p. 43, O. von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*, Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1996, p. 32, L. Renou, & J. Filliozat, *L'Inde classique*, tome II, Paris: EFEO, 1953, p. 337, and G.C. Pande, *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism*, Allahabad, 1957, rpt. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1974, pp. 113-114.

My Aunt
Isabel
with
Shirley's
Merry!

of the Majjhima-nikāya. These texts both give the same list of four¹ *adhiṭṭhānas* that consist of: *paññā-adhiṭṭhāna*, *sacca-adhiṭṭhāna*, *cāga-adhiṭṭhāna*, and *upasama-adhiṭṭhāna*. These references are simply referring to the resolution, or determination, to attain each of the four qualities of wisdom, truth, forsaking, and calm. These *sutta* occurrences of *adhiṭṭhāna* already show some degree of development, in that they appear almost as commentarial works within their respective Nikāyas. References to the word *adhiṭṭhāna* do appear in the Vinaya, where it is only employed as a Vinaya specific² term relating to monastic rules, and not in a strictly doctrinal sense.

The usage of *adhiṭṭhāna* in the *Jātakanidāna* is, then, of an entirely different order to its treatment in the Nikāya and Vinaya references. In the *Jātakanidāna* the term is defined as an integral member of the group of ten *pāramīs* that form the basis of buddhahood. That text does, however, use *adhiṭṭhāna* in two distinct ways. Firstly, it is defined as one of the qualities producing buddhahood, its new role in the *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Jātakanidāna*. Secondly, it is employed in a sense that reflects the very basic and primary semantic meaning of the term as a place or abode:

Furthermore, 'You should see that it is not only this *dhamma* that causes buddhahood.' When seeking he saw the eighth, the perfection of resolution, and this thought occurred to him: 'Wise ascetic Sumedha, understanding this you should perfect the perfection of resolution! Whoever makes this determination will be unwavering in resolution. Just as, a mountain, although buffeted by winds from all directions, will not be moved or shaken but remains in its own place. In that way, if you do not waver in your resolutions, then you will obtain buddhahood.'³

This passage reflects the usage of the term *adhiṭṭhāna* at both ends of its spectrum of meaning, as both a *pāramī*, and a place, abode or location. This example of one of the *pāramīs* is the most inclusive in terms of its coverage of the possible range of meaning of the term in Theravādin thought. The *Cariyāpīṭaka* commentary⁴ gives a definition of *adhiṭṭhāna* that brings it fully into the Buddhist view as an integral part of the ten *pāramīs*. In this reference the full role of *adhiṭṭhāna* as the single most important factor in bringing to fruition the *sambhāra* 'requisites' of enlightenment, which are said in that text to consist of the other *pāramīs*. Also in this text *adhiṭṭhāna* is specifically defined as the ability to overcome the

¹ For the *Saṅgīti-sutta* see J.E. Carpenter, ed. *Dīghanikāya*, vol. 3, London: PTS, 1910, rpt. 1992, p. 229, and *Dhātuvibhaṅga-sutta* reference R. Chalmers, ed., *The Majjhima-nikāya*, vol. 3, 1899, rpt. Oxford: PTS, 1994, p. 241.

² In the Vinaya the term has a considerable semantic range, from that of 'resolving' to 'abode' or 'dwelling place'. The Parivāra section of the Vinaya has *adhiṭṭhāna* employed in a range of technical connotations used in explaining rules, for some examples see, H. Oldenberg, ed., *Vinayapīṭaka*, vol. 5, London: PTS, 1883, rpt. 1982, pp. 117-118, where it is used in connection with the use of almsbowls; p. 138 where it is given in a list of good and bad qualities; see also p. 173.

³ See sections I 29 of the translation and edition. This *Jātakanidāna* passage corresponds to those of the *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary and *Apadāna* commentary see I. B. Horner ed., *Madhuratthavilāsini nāma Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1978, p. 111, and C.E. Godakumbura ed., *Visuddhajanavilāsini nāma Apadānaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1954, p. 26.

⁴ The late commentarial definition of *adhiṭṭhāna* occurs in a brief passage of the *Cariyāpīṭaka* commentary. Here it is defined as the single quality among the other *pāramīs* that forms the foundation of all of them, and that which brings about the *sambhāra* 'requisites' of enlightenment, see D.L. Barua, ed., *Achariya Dhammapāla's Paramatthadīpanī*, London: PTS, 1939, rpt. 1979, p. 300.

opposites of the *sambhāra*, and so it is actually viewed as the proximate cause of these *sambhāra*.¹ Thus the *Cariyāpiṭaka* commentary introduces the concept of the *bodhisambhāra* ‘requisites of enlightenment’ as another layer of doctrinal development for the Theravādin tradition. The *bodhisambhāra* are in fact the ten *pāramīs* divided into two groups, *puññasambhāra* ‘requisites of merit’, and *ñāṇasambhāra*² ‘requisites of knowledge’, which form in this commentary the essential preconditions for enlightenment.

Definition of mettāpāramī in the Jātakanidāna

The term *mettā*³ ‘friendliness’ has a long history of usage in the Pāli canon as one of the qualities that should be cultivated on the Buddhist path. This term is found in its primary sense in the Nikāyas, where many examples of the practical application of it are given. The importance of *mettā* in the early Buddhist tradition can be seen from the way in which it is viewed in the *Bhayabherava-sutta* as one of the defining attributes of one living the ascetic life. This Majjhima-nikāya⁴ text says that *mettā* is a quality possessed by the *ariyas*, and that it gives them a greater confidence to live as forest dwelling ascetics. The *Metta-sutta*⁵ of the *Suttanipāta* is perhaps one of the oldest formulations of the applications of *mettā* as an inherent practice within the context of the Buddhist world view. The *Suttanipāta* also contains one of the early groupings of *mettā* together with other qualities that are later systematised in the Dīgha-nikāya, Majjhima-nikāya, and the Abhidhamma commentaries. The term *mettā* also occurs in the Vinaya⁶ in a similar usage to that found in the Nikāyas, as simply the quality of friendliness with no other connotations associated with it.

In the *Uragavagga*⁷ of the *Suttanipāta* the four qualities of *mettā*, *upekkhā*,⁸ *karuṇā* and *muditā* are said to be among the practices that a sage should adopt. This same list occurs in the *Tevijja-sutta*,⁹ the

¹ The *Cariyāpiṭaka* commentary defines *adhiṭṭhāna* at several places, but the most commonly occurring explanation of the term is as that which aids and produces the *bodhisambhāra* ‘requisites of enlightenment’. For references to *adhiṭṭhāna* in this context, see D.L. Barua, ed., *Achariya Dhammapāla's Paramatthadīpanī*, London: PTS, 1939, rpt. 1979, pp. 279-278, 281.

² These two concepts, common to the Mahāyāna bodhisattva ideal, only appear in this commentary to the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, where they are defined as the profitable qualities that must be practised by any bodhisatta. For their treatment in this context, see, D.L. Barua, ed., *Achariya Dhammapāla's Paramatthadīpanī*, London: PTS, 1939, rpt. 1979, pp. 317, 332.

³ The term *mettā* is given a wide range of meanings in the Pāli-English dictionaries, the PTSD gives the meanings ‘love, amity, sympathy, friendliness, active interest in others’, see PTSD, London: PTS, 1925, rpt. 1979, p. 540-541; see also R.C. Childers, *A Dictionary of the Pāli Language*, London, 1875, rpt. Kyoto: Rinsen, 1987, p. 246, where it is given as ‘friendliness, friendly feeling, good will, kindness, love, charity’. The Tibetan translation of the *Jātakanidāna* translates this by *byams pa*, which is given in the *Mahāvvyūtpatti* as the equivalent of the Sanskrit form *maitrī*. *Mettā* does not appear in the *Mahāvvyūtpatti* in the list of the ten *pāramitās*, see R. Sasaki, *Mahāvvyūtpatti*, Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1916, rpt. 1973, vol. 2, no. 1504, p. 116, for *maitrī/byams pa*.

⁴ See V. Trenckner, ed. *The Majjhima-nikāya*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1888, rpt. 1979, p. 18.

⁵ See D. Anderson & H. Smith, eds. *Sutta-nipāta*, London: PTS, 1913, rpt. 1965, pp. 25-26.

⁶ See H. Oldenberg, ed. *Vinayapīṭaka*, vol. 2, London: PTS, 1880, rpt. 1995, pp. 252, 304, 308.

⁷ See D. Anderson & H. Smith, eds. *Sutta-nipāta*, London: PTS, 1913, rpt. 1965, p. 12.

⁸ There are two attested methods of spelling this word, it may be spelt either as *upekkhā*, or as *upekkhā*.

⁹ See T.W. Rhys Davids & J.E. Carpenter, eds. *The Dīgha-nikāya*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1890, rpt. 1975, pp. 250-251.

Mahāśudassana-sutta,¹ and the *Mahāgovinda-sutta*² of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, also in the *Makhādeva-sutta*³ of the *Majjhima-nikāya*. In all four texts it forms part of a real or hypothesised yogic mental exercise to suffuse the world with thoughts of *mettā*, and the other three qualities. The four are collectively called the *brahma-vihāras* ‘divine abodes’ in the *Mahāśudassana-sutta* and the *Makhādeva-sutta*.⁴ It is in this formulation that the *brahma-vihāras* are recorded in the Abhidhamma works. The *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*⁵ records them as being factors which are present in one who has attained the four *jhānas*. The quality of *metta* is shown in this definition as an inherent part of each *jhāna*, and the three following *brahma-vihāras* are described in exactly the same way as *mettā*. This group of four *brahma-vihāras* found in the *Nikāyas*, and Abhidhamma texts, are probably a relatively late development, and have been shown to have a close similarity with the Yoga⁶ tradition of India.

The usage of the concept of *mettā* in the *Jātakanidāna* is again treated differently from the canonical citations referred to. The meaning of *mettā*, as it is defined in the *Nikāyas* and Abhidhamma, is superseded in the *Jātakanidāna* by the addition of its role in the path allotted to the bodhisatta. The emphasis in the *Jātakanidāna* is again on the function of *mettā* as one of the immediate causes of buddhahood:

Furthermore, ‘You should see that it is not only this *dhamma* that causes buddhahood.’ When seeking he saw the ninth, the perfection of friendliness, and this thought occurred to him: ‘Wise ascetic Sumedha, understanding this you should also perfect the perfection of friendliness! You should think of profit and loss as the same! Just as water touches and cools equally a bad man and a good man. In that way you also, being single minded in friendliness for all beings, will obtain buddhahood.’⁷

This reference provides a more innovative role for *mettā* than that encountered in the earlier canonical definitions, and references to the applications of this quality. All of the earlier meanings are inherent in the term, but the emphasis is shifted to a completely new level of doctrinal thinking about the ultimate causes of enlightenment and buddhahood. The *Cariyāpiṭaka* commentary continues this change in emphasis,

¹ See T.W. Rhys Davids & J.E. Carpenter, eds. *The Dīgha-nikāya*, vol. 2, London: PTS, 1903, rpt. 1982, p. 186.

² See T.W. Rhys Davids & J.E. Carpenter, eds. *The Dīgha-nikāya*, vol. 2, London: PTS, 1903, rpt. 1982, p. 250.

³ See R.C. Chalmers, ed. *The Majjhima-nikāya*, vol. 2, 1896, rpt. Oxford: PTS, 1993, p. 76.

⁴ See T.W. Rhys Davids & J.E. Carpenter, eds. *The Dīgha-nikāya*, vol. 2, London: PTS, 1903, rpt. 1982, p. 196; and R.C. Chalmers, ed. *The Majjhima-nikāya*, vol. 2, 1896, rpt. Oxford: PTS, 1993, p. 76. They are also listed in the *Vatthūpama-sutta* and elsewhere but are not called *brahma-vihāras*, see V. Trenckner, ed. *The Majjhima-nikāya*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1888, rpt. 1979, p. 38.

⁵ For the treatment of the *brahma-vihāras* and their sixteen combinations, see E. Müller, ed. *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, London: PTS, 1885, rpt. 1978, pp. 53-55. The commentary to this text, the *Atthasālinī*, has a section describing the *brahma-vihāras* in which it defines each of them and the benefits of each, see E. Müller, ed. *Atthasālinī*, London: PTS, 1897, rpt. 1979, pp. 192-197. The *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* has the four in two groupings with differing names, in one they are the *appamaññas* ‘illimitables’ and the second *brahma-vihāras*, see T.W. Rhys Davids, ed. *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, *JPTS*, 1, 1884, p. 41, and also H. Saddhatissa, ed. *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha & Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī-ṭīkā*, Oxford: PTS, 1989, p. 198.

⁶ E.J. Thomas points out that the *brahma-vihāras* have their parallels in the *Yoga-sūtras*, see his *The History of Buddhist Thought*, London: RKP, 1933, rpt. 1971, pp. 50, 81.

⁷ See sections I 30 of the translation and edition. This *Jātakanidāna* passage corresponds to those of the *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary and *Apadāna* commentary, see I. B. Horner ed., *Madhurattavilāsini nāma Buddhavaṃsatṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1978, pp. 111-112, and C.E. Godakumbura ed., *Visuddhajanavilāsini nāma Apadānatṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1954, pp. 26-27.

and provides examples of several innovative ways of analysing and defining *mettā*. This text explains *mettā* as an essential quality for the bodhisatta, since in its reasoning *mettā* is necessary to aid other beings, and that without it a bodhisatta cannot lead other beings to *nibbāna*. The text also calls *mettā* the foundation of *karuṇā*, which is defined there as the principal one of the *buddhakāra dhammas*.¹ Elsewhere in that text *karuṇā* is given as one of the three conditions necessary for developing the ten *pāramīs*.² The treatment of *mettā* in this commentary represents the later stages of theorising about the *pāramīs*, their causes, and functions, in the Theravādin tradition.

Definition of upekkhāpāramī in the Jātakanidāna

The last of the ten *pāramīs* listed in the *Jātakanidāna* is *upekkhā*³ ‘equanimity’ and is, like the preceding term *mettā*, also a well attested concept in the Nikāyas and Abhidhamma works. The occurrences found in these texts define *upekkhā* in two quite distinct ways. Firstly, in the Nikāyas, *upekkhā* appears as one of the *bojjhaṅgas*, where it is a specific quality that leads to the promotion of moral states of mind, and ultimately to liberation. These Nikāya texts also provide examples of *upekkhā* as one of the *brahma-vihāras*. Secondly, in the Abhidhamma texts, *upekkhā* appears in several different categories, as a *vedanā*, an *indriya*, as one of the *avyākata-dhammas*, and also as one of the *brahma-vihāras*.

An example of the first method of use is found in the Saṃyutta-nikāya, where *upekkhā* is defined as one of the *bojjhaṅgas*. In this role it is shown variously as one of the qualities to be developed to overcome the five *nīvaraṇa*, bring an end to *taṇhā*, and as a means of eliminating the five *uddhambhāgiyāna saṃyojanānas*.⁴ In these instances *upekkhā* is viewed as a cultivateable quality, that has the power of overcoming spiritual obstacles. The Nikāyas also contain references to *upekkhā* as one of the *brahma-vihāras*⁵ where it functions as part of a system of meditative training. In this training *upekkhā*, and the other three *brahma-vihāras* are used as meditative objects that are capable of inducing the *jhānas*. The above Nikāya formulations of *upekkhā* define its roles as an active element in suppressing those things inimical to

¹ The *Cariyāpīṭaka* commentary emphasises the aiding of other beings as the defining purpose of *mettā*, see D.L. Barua, ed., *Achariya Dhammapāla's Paramatthadīpanī*, London: PTS, 1939, rpt. 1979, p. 300.

² The three conditions for the *pāramīs* are listed as: *abhinīhāra*, *mahākaruṇa* and *upāyakoṣalla*, D.L. Barua, ed., *Achariya Dhammapāla's Paramatthadīpanī*, London: PTS, 1939, rpt. 1979, p. 289.

³ This term is also spelt *upekkhā* in some texts, see PTSD, London: PTS, 1925, rpt. 1979, p. 150; see also R.C. Childers, *A Dictionary of the Pāli Language*, London, 1875, rpt. Kyoto: Rinsen, 1987, p. 534; see also V. Trenckner, et al., *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Copenhagen, Vol. I (1924-1948), pp. 506-507. The translation of *upekkhā* in the Tibetan version of the *Jātakanidāna* is *btañ sñoms* and this term is given in the *Mahāvvyutpatti* as the equivalent of the Sanskrit form *upekṣā*. The *Mahāvvyutpatti* list of ten *pāramitās* omits *btañ sñoms*. For the term *btañ sñoms* see R. Sasaki, *Mahāvvyutpatti*, Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1916, rpt. 1973, vol. 2, no. 1507, p. 116.

⁴ The *Bojjhaṅga-saṃyutta* of the Saṃyutta-nikāya defines *upekkhā-bojjhaṅga* in different ways. In some *suttas* of that text *upekkhā* is described as one of the seven *bojjhaṅgas* that overcome the five *nīvaraṇas*, pp. 84, pp. 94-98; in another is one of the factors that exhaust *taṇhā* at p. 86; in its role as *bojjhaṅga* it is also seen as a means of understanding and overcoming the five *uddhambhāgiyāna saṃyojanānas* at p. 139, see L. Feer, ed., *The Saṃyutta-nikāya*, vol 5, London: PTS, 1898, rpt. 1994.

⁵ The four *brahma-vihāras* are also given in the *Dīgha*, *Majjhima*, and *Aṅguttara-nikāyas* at T.W. Rhys Davids & J.E. Carpenter, eds. *The Dīgha-nikāya*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1890, rpt. 1975, pp. 250-251; T.W. Rhys Davids & J.E. Carpenter, eds. *The Dīgha-nikāya*, vol. 2, London: PTS, 1903, rpt. 1982, pp. 186, 250; R.C. Chalmers, ed. *The Majjhima-nikāya*, vol. 2, 1896, rpt. Oxford: PTS, 1993, p. 76; E. Hardy, ed. *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, vol. 3, London: PTS, 1897, rpt. 1976, p. 291.

jhāna, and also in the attainment of the *jhānas*, where *upekkhā* is an essential precondition for the forth *jhāna*. As far as the Nikāya texts are concerned *upekkhā* is in essence a yogic or meditative quality on the one hand, and on the other also a subject of meditation.

The methods for the classification of *upekkhā* in the Abhidhamma are quite distinct from the Nikāya mode of exposition. The *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* includes *upekkhā* as a specific abhidhammic category of *vedanā* ‘feeling’ where it is defined as one of the classes of *vedanā* that is *adukkhamasukha* ‘neither painful nor pleasant,’ ‘neutral’ and also as an *indriya*.¹ This, however, is not the category of *upekkhā* mentioned in either the Nikāyas, or the *Jātakanidāna*, which both record an entirely different usages of the term. In the Abhidhamma classification the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* enumerates the mental states that contain *upekkhā*, and among other things, notes its presence in *akusala-cittas*,² in the *avyākata* mental states,³ and as one of the four *brahma-vihāras*.

The method of approach to *upekkhā* in the *Jātakanidāna* follows the same pattern as is used for the other nine *pāramīs*. Again, the primary significance of the term for the *Jātakanidāna* is that it is one of the causes of buddhahood and, therefore, a part of the bodhisatta’s path. It has some similarities with the Nikāya use of the term, to the extent that it is a factor in bringing about enlightenment, but the *Jātakanidāna* definition of its function as a *pāramī* takes it to a higher doctrinal level. Its occurrence in the *Jātakanidāna* is in a commentarial section explaining the meaning of the *Buddhavaṃsa gāthās* that deal with *upekkhā*:

Furthermore, ‘You should see that it is not only this *dhamma* that causes buddhahood.’ When seeking he saw the tenth, the perfection of equanimity, and this thought occurred to him: ‘Wise ascetic Sumedha, understanding this you should perfect the perfection of equanimity! You should abide impartially even to joy and suffering! Just as the earth, although smeared with pure and impure things, is impartial. In that way, if you also abide impartially to joy and suffering, you will obtain buddhahood.’⁴

While the principal aim of this passage is to set *upekkhā* apart as both one of the causes of buddhahood, and as a *pāramī*. It is also clear that *upekkhā*, in the context given here, is a mental attitude or meditative state, and not a class of *vedanā* as defined in the Abhidhamma classification of the term. The way the term is portrayed in the *Jātakanidāna* passage seems to be best described as a kind of stoic attitude, or

¹ For these definitions see the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, entry no. 153 defines *upekkhā* as a class of *vedanā* that is *adukkhamasukha* and no. 154 defines *upekkhā* as an *indriya* in almost the same terms, and no. 455 refers to *upekkhā* in three ways: as accompaniment to *kusala-cittas*, as a factor connected with attainment of *jhāna*, and as an *indriya*, ed. E. Müller, London: PTS, 1885, rpt. 1978, pp. 28, 91; see also *Atthasālinī*, ed. E. Müller, London: PTS, 1897, rpt. 1979, p. 133. The Nikāyas generally recognise only three classes of *vedanā*: *sukha*, *dukkha* and *adukkhamasukha*, see for example the *Cūḷavedalla-sutta*, V. Trenckner, ed. *The Majjhima-nikāya*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1888, rpt. 1979, pp. 302-303.

² See the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* entries nos. 1278, 1389, 1582, for the states accompanied by *upekkhā*; no. 410, no. 427, for examples of *upekkhā* as an element in *akusala-cittas*, ed. E. Müller, London: PTS, 1885, rpt. 1978, pp. 223, 237, 262; 82, 86.

³ See the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* entries no. 431, and no. 455, no. 484 and no. 574 for *upekkhā* as an *avyākata* state, ed. E. Müller, London: PTS, 1885, rpt. 1978, pp. 87, 91, 94-95, 122.

⁴ See sections I 31 of the translation and edition. This *Jātakanidāna* passage corresponds to those of the *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary and *Apadāna* commentary, see I. B. Horner ed., *Madhuratthavilāsini nāma Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1978, pp. 112-113, and C.E. Godakumbura ed., *Visuddhajanavilāsini nāma Apadānaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1954, p. 27.

unconcernedness, that is unaffected by worldly transactions. To this extent the *Jātakanidāna* usage of *upekkhā* reflects the essentially yogic origins of the concept, and in keeping with this, it is shown as part of a set of principles that must be practised to be efficacious. Though *upekkhā* has this linking with the early Nikāya and yogic traditions, their usage of the concept has fundamental differences with that occurring in the *Jātakanidāna*. In that text the concept of *upekkhā* differs from the Nikāya definition in two important ways. It is treated there, along with the other *pāramīs*, as one of the *bodhipācana-dhammas*, that are a new category of *dhammas* aiding the attainment of enlightenment. Secondly, it is described as one of the *buddha-kāraka dhammas* that are essential to the creation of a buddha. The *Cariyāpiṭaka* commentary¹ defines *upekkhā* as that which prevents the mind from becoming disturbed. Since mental distraction leads on to an inability to put into practice, or to purify, the *sambhāra* ‘requisites’ of enlightenment.

This survey of the ten *pāramīs* in the *Jātakanidāna* gives some indication of the occurrences, and uses of the ten terms within the Theravādin tradition. The findings of the survey can be summarised briefly by indicating the terms that are known to the earlier Nikāya, Vinaya, and Abhidhamma texts, and those that do not occur in those sources.² The seven terms: *dāna*, *sīla*, *nekkhama*, *paññā*, *virīya*, *mettā*, and *upekkhā* all have some degree of doctrinal importance outside of the *pāramī* system of classification. These seven terms are all used in earlier groups of lists and qualities that have an important role in early Buddhist teaching. Their inclusion among the list of ten *pāramīs* is then not a complete innovation for the Theravādin tradition. Of course their very inclusion as *pāramīs* is in itself an innovation, but the individual qualities themselves are not. The remaining three: *khanti*, *sacca*, and *adhiṭṭhāna*, do not form part of the earlier doctrinal, or soteriological, outlook. Of these three *adhiṭṭhāna* has one of the most important roles of the ten *pāramīs*. This quality is a novel and distinctive aspect of the bodhisatta doctrine as it appears in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, and *Jātakanidāna*. The *Cariyāpiṭaka* commentary makes the greatest contribution to the exegesis of *adhiṭṭhāna* and its role, purpose, and function for the bodhisatta. Stated in basic terms, without the ten *pāramīs*, that only occur in the few texts referred to here, there is no bodhisatta doctrine as such in the Theravādin tradition. It can only be said that there is a general notion that Gotama, in his existences before attaining buddhahood, was a bodhisatta, but that the concept of bodhisatta remains otherwise undefined. Thus, the importance of the ten *pāramīs* as providing the essence of the Theravādin bodhisatta doctrine cannot be overstated.

Mythical dimension of the pāramīs in the Jātakanidāna

The majority of references in the Sumedhakathā section of the *Jātakanidāna* are concerned with the

¹ See D.L. Barua, ed., *Acharya Dhammapāla's Paramatthadīpanī*, London: PTS, 1939, rpt. 1979, p. 300-301.

² The claims of some scholars that the ten *pāramīs* are an integral and ancient part of the Pāli tradition can only be dismissed as an anachronistic and apologist position. As has been shown here the full list of ten *pāramīs* are found in the Pāli tradition in only two works, the *Buddhavaṃsa*, and the *Jātakanidāna*. The view of the *pāramīs* are a fundamental part of the Pāli tradition is held by Ratnayaka, see S. Ratnayaka, “The Bodhisattva Ideal of Theravāda”, *JLABS*, 8, 1985, pp. 89-90. Others recognise that the *pāramīs* are not part of the early teachings of the Pāli canon. See S. Jayawardhana, “A Critical Introduction to the Study of Pāli Tikas”, *Sesquicentennial Commemorative Volume of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka 1845-1995*, Colombo, 1995, pp. 298-299; J. Samuels, “The Bodhisattva Ideal in Theravāda Buddhist Theory and Practice: A Re-evaluation of the Bodhisattva-Śrāvaka Opposition”, *PEW*, 47, 1997, p. 402.

pāramīs as practices that produce certain results. There is only one passage in which reference is made to the supernatural power of the *pāramīs* to bring about an event such as an earthquake. The occurrence of earthquakes at crucial times in a buddha's life is an established phenomenon in Buddhist texts, and serves to emphasise the power that a buddha has over the world system. The four Nikāyas have occurrences of the causes of earthquakes from a Buddhist perspective, the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* has a section in which Gotama gives eight causes of earthquakes. This text says that earthquakes occur due to:¹ movement of wind and water; a *samaṇa* or *devatā* acquiring the *iddhis* and is mastering their own minds; a bodhisatta leaving Tusita and entering the mother's womb; a bodhisatta's birth; a Tathāgata's attainment of supreme enlightenment; a Tathāgata starting to teach; a Tathāgata consciously renouncing life; a Tathāgata attaining *parinibbāna*. By contrast, the *Jātakanidāna* account of the causes of earthquakes is an elaborated prose version of the *gāthās* from the *Buddhavaṃsa*.² These show the people going to Dīpaṃkara in fear of an earthquake, he tells them not to fear, for the earthquake is really caused by Sumedha's remembering, and investigating, the ten *pāramīs*.³ This is a significant departure from the eight causes in the Dīgha-nikāya, and adds to that list of basic causes. It can be seen as a method of bringing the ten *pāramīs* into the mainstream of Buddhist thought. Their inclusion as one of the causes of earthquakes legitimises their existence in the buddhology of the *Jātakanidāna*, and increases their importance as qualities for a bodhisatta to develop.

The Avidūrenidāna section of the *Jātakanidāna* has a different emphasis when discussing the *pāramīs*, and introduces another level of viewing them. The references here are more symbolic, and detail the outcome of the *pāramīs* rather than defining them individually. In this section the ten are said to have been perfected by the bodhisatta's mother for one hundred thousand aeons, in order that she had the requisite purity necessary to be a bodhisatta's mother.⁴ This clearly represents an extension of the idea of perfecting these qualities by someone who is not a bodhisatta, but who only develops them to assist in the birth of a bodhisatta. In this instance the perfecting of the *pāramīs* is merely indicating the preconditions that must be met for a bodhisatta's birth. It is a highly symbolic way of weaving the doctrine of the *pāramīs* into the basic fabric of the bodhisatta myth. For, not only are the *pāramīs* the things that a bodhisatta must perfect, and from which the bodhisatta emerges into buddhahood; but they are also the material causes of a bodhisatta's birth, to the extent that his mother could not appear had she not herself perfected them. In this eclectic and symbolic representation the *pāramīs* can be seen to be incorporated into the Buddhist world view, and given an important symbolic role in the bodhisatta's birth.

¹ See T.W. Rhys Davids & J.E. Carpenter, eds. *The Dīgha-nikāya*, vol. 2, London: PTS, 1903, rpt. 1982, pp. 107-108; see also E. Hardy, ed. *Aṅguttaranikāya*, vol. 4, London: PTS, 1899, rpt. 1979, pp. 312-313, which has the same list as the Dīgha; and Saṃyutta-nikāya where only the Tathāgata renouncing life is given, L. Feer, ed. *The Saṃyutta-nikāya*, vol. 5, London: PTS, 1898, rpt. 1994, p. 262.

² See N.A. Jayawickrama, ed. *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka*, London: PTS, 1974, II 166-174, p. 20. The commentary says that the earth shook because of Sumedha's radiant knowledge when investigating the *pāramīs*: Sumedhapaṇḍite pāramiyo vicinante tassa nīṇatejena *dasasahassī* pakampitthā ti attho, see I. B. Horner ed., *Madhurattavilāsini nāma Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1978, p. 114.

³ See sections I 32 of the translation and edition.

⁴ See sections II 8 of the translation and edition, this section on the five observations also occurs in the *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Apadāna* commentaries, see I. B. Horner ed., *Madhurattavilāsini nāma Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1978, p. 273, and C.E. Godakumbura ed., *Visuddhajanavilāsini nāma Apadānaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1954, p. 54.

at the same
grade or less
10 ≡ pp. 1

The symbolic role of the *pāramīs* is developed further in the later sections of the Avidūrenidāna where they are portrayed in various guises. In the bodhisatta's struggle with Māra¹ they are the means by which the bodhisatta fights Māra. The bodhisatta, during the assault of Māra's armies on him, rejoices in the ten *pāramīs* as being like well known kinsmen, and determines to make them his shield and sword in the battle² with Māra. They are also presented as a symbol of authentication of status, and what might be termed ritual purity, in that they are the preliminary requisite for sitting on the seat of enlightenment. When the bodhisatta is seated there, Māra attempts to dislodge him, telling him that the seat is not appropriate for him. The bodhisatta responds by saying that since Māra has not perfected the ten *pāramīs*, nor the *upapāramīs*, he is the one who is not a suitable person to take the seat.³ Then, when Māra's armies threw rocks at the bodhisatta, as he sat reflecting on the *pāramīs*, the ten acted as his defence, turning the rocks to flowers. These references to the *pāramīs* give them a greater significance in the mythical sphere than the doctrinal sphere. The significance of them in these contexts is in the supernatural protective power they are shown to have, and also in the symbolism of their power to overcome, and subvert, the greatest mythic representation of evil in Buddhism.

There are two other references in the Santikenidāna section of the *Jātakanidāna* that provide further evidence of figurative or symbolic references to the *pāramīs*. Following his enlightenment Gotama performed the dual miracle⁴ of rising into the air in order to show the *devas* that he had achieved his goal. Then, he stood looking without blinking for seven days at the seat of enlightenment, where he had realised the fruit of perfecting the ten *pāramīs* over a period of four incalculable aeons, and more than one hundred thousand aeons.⁵ In this instance the *pāramīs* provide the background to the process of enlightenment. They are the conditions necessary for attaining the seat in the first place, and for making use of it to achieve enlightenment. This reference also inverts the sequential ordering of the process of enlightenment by stating that it is the fruit of fulfilling the ten *pāramīs*. That is to say, it is not that the *pāramīs* lead to enlightenment, which they certainly do, but that enlightenment is produced by them. In this way the *pāramīs* are almost portrayed as being more important than enlightenment itself.

The final occurrence of a reference to the *pāramīs*, in an oblique and negative manner, occurs in the Santikenidāna section of the *Jātakanidāna*. Again the *pāramīs* are dealt with as representing the highest qualities for producing power, and for purifying one who cultivates them. Māra reflects on the bodhisatta's faultlessness and sees that his own power is inferior to that of the bodhisatta. Then, sitting dejectedly on

¹ The figure of Māra is present in numerous canonical and commentarial texts as the one who tries to tempt the buddha. The very etymology of the name Māra is 'he who causes death' or in a symbolic way one who obstructs the good. For a discussion of the names of Māra, see J.W. Boyd, *Satan and Māra: Christian and Buddhist symbols of evil*, Leiden: Brill, 1975, pp. 73-77.

² See sections II 61 of the translation and edition.

³ See sections II 63 of the translation and edition.

⁴ The *yamaka-pāṭihāriya* 'dual miracle' is one of the miracles performed by Gotama on several occasions to show his powers. The texts containing references to this are all commentarial works, there seems to be no reference in the canonical texts to these phenomena. See H.C. Norman, ed. *The Commentary on the Dhammapada*, vol. 3, London: PTS, 1912, p. 204; T.W. Rhys Davids & J.E. Carpenter, eds. *The Sumāṅgala-vilāsini*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1886, rpt. 1968, p. 57; E.B. Cowell & R.A. Neil, eds. *The Divyāvadāna*, Cambridge, 1886, rpt. Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1970, pp. 144-163.

⁵ See sections III 3 of the translation and edition.

the path Māra, realises that because he has not perfected *dāna-pāramī* he cannot be like the bodhisatta, and he draws one line on the ground. He then goes through the same process for the remaining nine *pāramīs*, drawing a line for each of them, until there are ten lines on the ground. These ten lines are a concrete symbol of why the bodhisatta is superior in conduct and power to Māra. Six other lines are drawn by Māra, representing his failure to cultivate and develop the ten which act as the basis for omniscience, his obscured knowledge, his lack of knowledge of miracles, his lack of knowledge of the attainments, and of compassion, and his lack of knowledge of the mental proclivities peculiar to a bodhisatta.¹ The list of sixteen are the very essence of the distinction between Māra and the bodhisatta, and since Māra has not developed them he cannot compete with the bodhisatta on any level. This is a negative statement aimed at focusing on the benefits of the *pāramīs*, where it is the absence of them that is emphasised, and the consequences of this for Māra.

These later references to the *pāramīs* in the Avidūrenidāna, and Santikenidāna, operate on a different level to those of the Sumedhakathā section. The references in question belong to that level of commentarial exegesis preserved only in the *Jātakanidāna* and related commentarial traditions. They are a part of the commentarial process of incorporating the *pāramīs* into the mythological sphere of Buddhism. The defining features of the *pāramīs* in these passages is not related to the practice of them, nor to the necessity of a bodhisatta undertaking them. The statement that a bodhisatta's mother must have practised the ten over long periods of time is an example of the use of the *pāramīs* as a symbol of purification, and an authentication of the mother's suitability to bear a bodhisatta. They are defined in this context not as the prerequisites of enlightenment, but as the prerequisites of the supreme stage of ritual purity. These references still regard the *pāramīs* as important qualities that lead to enlightenment, though they are defined more in terms that relate them to the Buddhist world view than exclusively to the path of the bodhisatta.

In this new mythological guise the *pāramīs* appear as the qualities that can defeat Māra, and nullify all evil influences emanating from Māra. In these instances they symbolise what can only be called a kind of magical power, that is demonstrated to be without equal. The *pāramīs* in this context are the basis of the supreme power in the Buddhist universe, and shown as the single most efficient cause of allaying evil personified. The last of these references lays bare the differences between good and evil by citing the absence of the development of the *pāramīs* as the reason for Māra's inability to overcome the bodhisatta. The absence of the *pāramīs* for Māra symbolises the distinction between good and evil, and that they are the source of all good. All of these symbolic or mythological references to the *pāramīs* have the common characteristic of defining them in terms different to the definition in the Sumedhakathā section. There they are presented as the very causes of enlightenment, and the ultimate bodhisatta practices. In these later two sections of the *Jātakanidāna* the *pāramīs* begin to be assimilated into the overall world view of Buddhism.

¹ See sections III 7 of the translation and edition.

Conclusion

These ten *pāramīs*, and the concepts associated with them in the *Jātakanidāna*, represent a radical departure from the doctrines and teachings of the early Nikāyas on the goal of practice. The doctrines contained in the text constitute the most fully developed system of buddhology that is encountered in the Theravādin tradition. The *Jātakanidāna* is the single most important Pāli source for elaborating all the various ideas and concepts connected with the previous buddhas, and the figure of the bodhisatta. It is with its development of the concept of a bodhisatta, who follows the path of the ten *pāramīs*, that the *Jātakanidāna* produces an innovatory blend of doctrine and myth. The ten *pāramīs* appear together from the first mention of the concept, there is no gradual development or evolution of the group of ten. The origin of the list of ten *pāramīs* is perhaps an independent development to that of the Mahāyāna tradition. That tradition may have arrived at a list of ten *pāramitās* by the addition of *dāna*, *śīla*, *kṣānti* and *vīrya*, to their list of six *pāramitās*.¹

The detailing of the list of ten *pāramīs*, and the definitions of them that are given in the *Jātakanidāna*, distinguish this text from all other Pāli works prior to it. The developments that occur in this text are indicative of the doctrinal, mythological and buddhological, changes that are introduced to the philosophical, and conceptual world of the Theravādin tradition. From the basic conception present in the Nikāyas, that the pre-enlightenment phase of a buddha's life is that of a bodhisatta, the text universalises this concept as applying to all buddhas. The *Jātakanidāna* expands and extends this initial Nikāya conception of the bodhisatta as a being who is in the final existence that culminates in enlightenment, and the attainment of buddhahood. In the *Jātakanidāna* the conception of a bodhisatta's life span includes not only the life in which enlightenment is attained, but is stated to include all the former lives of that person since they have received the *vyākaraṇa* that they will be a buddha. Within the context of the *Jātakanidāna* this period of time can be of a considerable length. The *vyākaraṇa*, received by Sumedha from Dīpaṃkara, takes place many *kappas* before Sumedha's ultimate attainment of buddhahood. The implication that becomes apparent in the *Jātakanidāna*, is that Sumedha lived many various lives as a bodhisatta, for a period of time during which all the twenty-four buddhas have arisen and passed away. It is within this immense time scale that the bodhisatta is shown to discover, then cultivate and perfect the ten *pāramīs*.

The path of the bodhisatta is shown in the *Jātakanidāna* to consist of more than the individual ten *pāramīs* mentioned thus far. The *Jātakanidāna*, in summing up the section dealing with the *pāramīs*, introduces the conception of a hierarchical scheme for them. This scheme is divided into three distinct groupings, that classify the *pāramīs* into lower or higher categories. The first of these groups is named simply *pāramī*² and is defined as *aṅgapariccāga*³ 'abandonment of the body' which is a basic or simple *pāramī*. The second of the groups is given in the same section of text as that of the *upapāramīs*⁴ 'minor

¹ Lamotte considers the six *pāramitās* to be an elaboration and development of the basic four *pāramitās* practised by the bodhisattva, *dāna*, *śīla*, *kṣānti* and *vīrya*, that are depicted in many of the medallion carvings at Bhārhut, see E. Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism*, tr. S. Boin-Webb, Louvain-Paris, 1988, pp. 404-5.

² Tibetan translation of this term in the *Jātakanidāna* is *pha rol tu phyin pa*.

³ See sections I 32 of the translation and edition, the Tibetan equivalent for this term is *lus yoṅs su gtoṅ ba*, which does not occur as an entry in the *Mahāvīyutpatti*.

⁴ The Tibetan translation has *ñe ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa*.

perfections' which are defined as *bāhira-bhaṇḍa-pariccāga*¹ 'abandonment of external wealth' and are the intermediate category of *pāramīs*. The last of the three-fold classifications are the *paramattha-pāramīs*² 'ultimate perfections' which are defined as *jīvita-pariccāga*³ 'abandonment of life' and are the highest form of the *pāramīs*. This three-fold scheme is developed into a system of thirty *pāramīs* by the assertion in the text that the ten *pāramīs* each have three aspects. These are as ten ordinary *pāramīs*, as ten *upapāramīs* and as ten *paramattha-pāramīs*, thus forming thirty *pāramīs* in all.

The grading of the *pāramīs* in this way appears to be a purely commentarial development in the texts associated with the bodhisatta and the *pāramīs*. These references to three grades of *pāramīs* are not found in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, but its commentary has a passage very similar to that of the *Jātakanidāna*. Apart from the omission or addition of an odd word or verb tense, the *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary passage differs from that in the *Jātakanidāna* only in its ordering of these three groups of *pāramīs*. In the *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary they are listed in the order: *bāhira-bhaṇḍa-pariccāga* as *pāramī*, *aṅgapariccāga* as *upapāramī*, and *jīvita-pariccāga* as *paramattha-pāramī*.⁴ The *Apadāna* commentary also has a corresponding passage that differs from both the *Jātakanidāna*, and *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary. This list has the same ordering as the *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary but classifies each of the three grades differently: *bāhira-bhaṇḍa-pariccāga* as *dāna-pāramī*, *aṅgapariccāga* as *dāna-upapāramī*, and *jīvita-pariccāga* as *dāna-paramattha-pāramī*.⁵ These discrepancies in the classification and ordering of the three grades of *pāramīs*, are perhaps an indication that either there was a faulty transmission, or that there was more than one commentarial tradition recording these grades. Whatever the cause the *Jātakanidāna* list is in marked contrast to the other two in its ordering of the grades of the ten *pāramīs*.

¹ The Tibetan form *phyi'i loṅs spyod yoṅs su gtoṅ ba* does not occur in the *Mahāvvyutpatti*.

² The Tibetan translates this by *dam pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa*.

³ The Tibetan form *srog yoṅs su gtoṅ ba* does not occur in the *Mahāvvyutpatti*.

⁴ See I. B. Horner ed., *Madhuratthavilāsini nāma Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1978, p. 113. Compare this with sections I 32 of the translation and edition, and the *Jātaka* vol. I p. 25.

⁵ See C.E. Godakumbura ed., *Visuddhajanavilāsini nāma Apadānaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1954, p. 28. Compare this with sections I 32 of the translation and edition, and J I p. 25.

Chapter Five

The Portrayal of Gotama as a Bodhisatta in the *Jātakanidāna*

Introduction

The narrative legends in the *Jātakanidāna* fulfil a number of functions in the process of Theravādin speculation, mythologising, and theorising about the life of their founder. These legends are concerned with providing an exegesis of the unique character of buddhas and bodhisattas. The first section of the text, the *Dūrenidāna*, is the means by which the precedents for the attainment of buddhahood, together with the rationale for the concept of the bodhisatta are provided. By far the most important element to appear in this section, from the point of view of the present study, is the conception of a doctrinally coherent scheme for the appearance of buddhas and bodhisattas. Such an event as the appearance of a buddha gains its importance in the Indian cultural, and intellectual, milieu by being shown to be but one occurrence in a lineage that can be clearly demonstrated to have been initiated in ancient times. The provision of a list of such precedents is one of the central themes of the *Dūrenidāna*, and is of major importance for the *Jātakanidāna*'s position as being representative of an authoritative tradition. More importantly, the treatment of the buddhas and bodhisattas in the *Dūrenidāna* allows for the normalisation of the doctrines of the bodhisatta, the development of the *pāramīs*, and the concept of the attainment of buddhahood, that are the defining events for every buddha. It also has an important role in explaining these concepts as all having existed prior to Gotama. The text allows for a logical progression in the exegesis of the specific practices, the ten *pāramīs* and the other novel concepts essential to the bodhisatta's path, that are now said to produce buddhahood. In general terms the text allows for a development and extension of the doctrinal, conceptual, and mythological, basis of the notion of buddhahood. This is achieved through the narration of Gotama's life prior to enlightenment.

There are several ways in which the *Jātakanidāna* can be understood as a seminal work for the Theravādin tradition on the lives, nature, function, and characteristics, of buddhas and bodhisattas. The entire text operates on a number of levels, the most important aspects of which are the doctrinal, biographical, and historical. The *Dūrenidāna* section of the *Jātakanidāna* seeks to give a valid doctrinal basis to the doctrine of former buddhas. It achieves this by the repeated enumeration of their lives, especially the events that are now claimed to be common to all of them. Then, juxtaposed with these buddhas' lives are the characters of the bodhisattas, and the description of the path that they must adhere to. This presentation of the two lives concurrently allows for the emergence in the *Jātakanidāna*, in a doctrinally innovative and thought out manner, of the interrelated doctrines of the occurrence of previous buddhas and bodhisattas. Following this the elaboration of the details of the lives of these former buddhas provides the general scheme, and pattern, for a more complete biography of Gotama than occurs in the early Nikāyas. Finally, in the third instance, there is the historicisation of the former buddhas and bodhisattas, by providing them a definite and structured position in Buddhist history. By means of this historical, or at least chronological, method of dealing with their lives, an historical awareness of the significance of these types of person within the Buddhist world view is achieved. In brief, the historical approach to the lives of former

buddhas adopted in the Dūrenidāna provides the basic precedent, and methodological foundation, for the chronological depiction of the life of Gotama as a bodhisatta. The Sanskrit sources on the biography of the Buddha cover many of the events that are narrated in the *Jātakanidāna*, these sources are referred to on occasion in order to compare the method of presentation used in the different Buddhist traditions.

The Jātakanidāna's portrayals of the events at the bodhisatta's birth

The life of Gotama, both as a bodhisatta and a buddha, is the subject of the two sections of the *Jātakanidāna* following the Dūrenidāna. These two, the Avidūrenidāna and Santikenidāna sections, broadly follow the same themes and methods that are introduced in the Dūrenidāna section. Together they provide the most wide ranging, and detailed biography of the historical buddha that has been produced in the Theravādin tradition. The two sections are symbolically divided by Gotama's attainment of enlightenment. Thus, the Avidūrenidāna gives the life of Gotama as a bodhisatta, together with innovatory details about the conditions necessary for the birth of a bodhisatta, and the life events unique to all bodhisattas. One of the crucial purposes of this section is to emphasise that the process of becoming a bodhisatta does not begin with the renunciation of the household life, as it could be construed in the early Nikāya versions of this part of the legend. The entire notion of precisely when an aspirant actually becomes a bodhisatta is moved further back in time. One of the means by which this is achieved is by showing the choice made by the bodhisatta, when in Tusita, to be reborn in the world, in a certain country, a certain family, and to a certain mother.¹ The versions of the legend found in the *Lalitavistara* and *Mahāvastu*, also provide a similar list of choices, though these Sanskrit sources omit any reference to the mother² as one of the items chosen.

The Avidūrenidāna account of Gotama's birth, and the events connected with it, gives an impressively detailed picture of these incidents. It is a notable characteristic of the Avidūrenidāna, as is the case with the Dūrenidāna, that the farther back in time the events that are narrated take place, the more minute are the recorded details of these events. It is evident that the intention of the text goes beyond the simple narration of these events as a pure biography. For, though the text as a whole is largely a biographical work, it is also a work that presents the doctrinal basis, and explanation, for all the buddhistically significant events of Gotama's life as a bodhisatta. There is little that is random or accidental in this doctrinal scheme. The life events of Gotama are depicted as being in some sense preordained or inevitable. All these significant life events are shown to be either the outcome of a prior decision, or choice of the bodhisatta, or as being brought about by some kind of divine intervention.

The process of elaboration of the doctrinal scheme of Gotama's life is clearly illustrated in the opening

¹ The preamble to the Avidūrenidāna has a list of five things that a bodhisatta must consider before taking rebirth. These are: time, country, place, family, age of the mother. These conditions are not encountered in other Pāli legends dealing with the birth of a bodhisatta, and appear to be another of the innovations appearing in the *Jātakanidāna*, see sections II 3-8 of the translation and edition.

² The list of five is not met in the Sanskrit biographical tradition, there the *Lalitavistara* version of this gives only four: *kāla*, *dvīpa*, *deśa* and *kula*, see S. Lefman, ed., *Lalitavistara*, vol 1, Halle, 1902, pp. 19-20, but this text preserves a list of thirty-two qualities associated with the mother, see pp. 13-14. The *Mahāvastu* also gives a list of four in a different order to the *Lalitavistara*: *dvīpa*, *deśa*, *kāla* and *kula*, see E. Sénart, ed., *Le Mahāvastu*, vol 1, Paris, 1882, p. 97.

part of the Avidūrenidāna. The text is concerned with justifying the birth from the Buddhist perspective, and with showing the previous causes for the birth. Here the outcome of the imminent birth of Gotama is predicted by the *devas* in such a way, that the ten *pāramīs* are now posited as the real underlying doctrinal cause of his future attainment of buddhahood.

Great sage, you have perfected the ten perfections, not for the purpose of Sakka's attainment, nor for Māra, nor on account of perfecting the wish for Brahma's sake, nor on account of perfecting the wish for the sake of the attainment of a *cakkavatti*. Furthermore, you made that perfection in order to transcend the world, and for the sake of the wish for omniscience. Now, great sage, is the time for buddhahood. O Great sage, you will become buddha.¹

This illustrates the method by which the *Jātakanidāna* brings together the different layers of the Pāli legends concerning Gotama. In this instance the canonical material from the *Buddhavaṃsa*, about the bodhisatta and the ten *pāramīs*, that is also included in the Dūrenidāna, is utilised as the basis for the continuation and development of the legend presented in the Avidūrenidāna. Since the doctrines of the bodhisatta, and the ten *pāramīs*, were not an inherent part of the early Nikāya tradition, at least prior to the addition of the *Buddhavaṃsa*, they have somehow to be introduced into the conceptual world view of that earlier tradition. This quotation treats these doctrines as already established and authoritative facts, and in the process transfers the assumptions implicit in them into the text of the Avidūrenidāna. The connection is a necessary development in the legend, serving on the doctrinal level to demonstrate the important role of the *pāramīs* as the ultimate basis for buddhahood. While, on the purely literary and philological levels, it is the precise point where the new and old Pāli legends about Gotama converge. The Avidūrenidāna is thus the juncture in the *Jātakanidāna* at which the early Nikāya traditions about the life of Gotama begin to be utilised as source materials. It is here also that the new doctrines of the bodhisatta, and the *pāramīs*, are succinctly summarised, then connected with Gotama, and used as a link back to the previous lives of the buddhas and bodhisattas that were narrated in the Dūrenidāna.

The bodhisatta's mother and the bodhisatta's conception in the Jātakanidāna

The narrative accounts in the Avidūrenidāna about the conditions for the birth of a bodhisatta, and the qualities possessed by his mother, represent a developed stage in the Pāli bodhisatta legend. The Nikāya versions of narratives that relate the miraculous occurrences at the birth of a bodhisatta are only found in a small number of texts. The chief canonical texts that portray these occurrences are the *Acchariyabbhutadhamma-sutta*,² the *Mahāpadāna-sutta*,³ and to a lesser extent some *suttas* of the Aṅguttara-

¹ See sections II 2 of the translation and edition.

² The account in the *Acchariyabbhutadhamma-sutta* is related by Ānanda, at the Buddha's instigation, who gives the tradition concerning the miraculous events surrounding the birth of Gotama. Some of these are found in the Avidūrenidāna version, notably p. 121-2 on the nature of the bodhisatta's mother, and p. 123 where streams of hot and cold water pour over the bodhisatta. See R. Chalmers, ed., *The Majjhima-nikāya*, vol. 3, 1899, rpt. Oxford: PTS, 1994, pp. 118-124; cf. sections II 9-15 of the translation and edition for the corresponding passages.

³ See the *Mahāpadāna-sutta*, where the miraculous occurrences at a bodhisatta's birth are given. T.W. Rhys Davids & J.E. Carpenter, eds., *The Dīgha-nikāya*, vol. 2, London: PTS, 1903, rpt. 1982, pp. 14-15.

nikāya.¹ All of these texts contain essentially the same limited, but increasingly miraculous and docetic, traditions about the birth story. These *suttas* are then the primary Nikāya sources for this part of the buddha legend, and they contain some similarities with the Avidūrenidāna account. However, the Majjhima-nikāya account is an isolated text that has no extended biographical intention. As its name suggests, the *Acchariyabbhutadhamma-sutta* only focuses on those miraculous aspects of Gotama's birth that emphasise his status as being more than a normal mortal. The Aṅguttara-nikāya *sutta* belongs to this same *abbhuta-dhammā*² class of work, and follows the Majjhima *sutta* in its focus. The Dīgha-nikāya account by comparison is more overtly biographical in scope, but is primarily focused on previous buddhas. The Avidūrenidāna account by contrast, contains the first continuous and detailed narrative record in Pāli literature of the prebirth, and birth episodes of Gotama. This text's version of these episodes is based upon a combination of the canonical precedents referred to, with further detail added from the various stages of the commentarial tradition. It may of course also have influences that were brought about by the developments in the buddha legend that had occurred in other Buddhist schools.

The recording of the birth and death of such a religious figure as the buddha would be a natural concern to the Buddhists.³ The death, or *parinibbāna*, had already been dealt with at an early stage in Buddhist literary history with the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*'s extensive record of the event. The legends dealing with the birth of Gotama are not fully recorded in the Theravādin tradition until the appearance of the *Jātakanidāna*. The account of the birth in the Avidūrenidāna section also presents a summary of the events immediately preceding it. This has the bodhisatta in Tusita surveying the world for a suitable mother, and seeing Mahāmāyā he thinks:

‘The buddha's mother is not wanton or a drunkard, and is born after perfecting the perfections for one hundred thousand aeons, and who keeps the five virtues unspoiled. My mother will be such a one as queen Mahāmāyā, and what is the extent of her life?’ He saw it to be ten months and seven days.⁴

There are doctrinal elements in this passage that are brought together here to emphasise the real significance of the birth legend. The first of these is the influence that the bodhisatta has over the choice of mother, and other aspects of the birth. The bodhisatta is shown in Tusita consciously making these choices. Thus, the birth itself assumes a greater significance, for this event is no longer a purely mundane act, but a fully docetic and miraculous event, which has been individually predetermined by the bodhisatta. Much of this concept does have canonical precedent, as referred to in the three Nikāya texts above which also state that

¹ See the Aṅguttara-nikāya where it also says that the bodhisatta descended from Tusita to be reborn. E. Hardy, ed. *Aṅguttaranikāya*, vol. 3, London: PTS, 1897, rpt. 1976, p. 130 ff.

² Buddhaghosa classifies all texts dealing with the four wondrous events of a buddha's life as *abbhutadhamma suttas*. In fact all three of the Nikāya texts referred to can be classed into this group, see E. Müller, ed., *Atthasālinī*, London: PTS, 1897, rpt. 1979, p. 26.

³ The development of the buddha legend is a logical outcome for a religion such as Buddhism with its historical founder. The events of particular concern were the beginning and end of the founders life, but also includes many assumptions from the wider Indian cultural background. See M. Hara, “A Note on the Buddha's Birth Story”, *Indianisme et Bouddhisme*, Louvain, 1980, pp. 143-157.

⁴ See sections II 8 of the translation and edition.

a bodhisatta leaves Tusita to be reborn. What none of these three texts say, however, is that the bodhisatta takes an active role in the choice, and time of rebirth, nor in the choice of mother. This aspect of the bodhisatta legend is a development of the docetic tendencies found in an embryonic form in some canonical passages. The unique role of the *Jātakanidāna* is to bring together the legends and narrative traditions of the Pāli canon, and the commentarial tradition, using them as a base creates its own distinctive tradition.

The second doctrinal element to be added to the legend of the birth of a bodhisatta in the above quotation concerns the inclusion of the *pāramīs*. The description of the mother's virtue is not a well developed part of the earlier Nikāya tradition, but the addition in the Avidūrenidāna of her completion of the ten *pāramīs* is of course entirely absent in the Nikāyas.¹ The introduction of the *pāramīs*, as an addition to the qualities associated with the bodhisatta's mother, serves to endorse the change that had taken place in the legend. The possession of the completed *pāramīs* is shown in the Dūrenidāna to be a characteristic of all bodhisattas. Therefore, from the doctrinal perspective, even the mother of the bodhisatta could herself be referred to as a bodhisatta.

By the inclusion of these details the Avidūrenidāna expands the role and position of the bodhisatta's mother until a figure emerges, unknown to the Nikāya versions, who now has an unquestionable spiritual pedigree. In this developed account the portrayal of the mother becomes more detailed, and it is representative of the various aspects of Buddhist doctrine that were developed in the Dūrenidāna. The expected life span of the mother is necessarily made to coincide with the fact that she dies seven days after the birth.² But this fact is not mentioned in all of the Sanskrit biographical works of the different schools, the *Saṅghabhedavastu* and *Buddhacarita* versions of the legend omit reference to this detail entirely. It is important to note that among all the Pāli and Sanskrit biographical works on the bodhisatta's life, only the *Jātakanidāna* includes the concept of his mother possessing the *pāramīs*.

The physical act of the bodhisatta's conception, as it is recorded in the Avidūrenidāna, is itself shown as a divine, or supernormal, act. In this section Mahāmāyā dreams that the four great kings deposit her on mount Manosilātala, before leading her to lake Anotatta where she is bathed and purified. Then, after falling asleep in the dream, she sees the bodhisatta approach.

Then the bodhisatta appeared as a great white elephant, and ascended the nearby mount Suvanṇa, descending from there he ascended mount Rajata. Coming from the northern direction the great elephant grasped a white

¹ The mother's possession of the ten *pāramīs* is unique to the *Jātakanidāna*, for the other buddha biographies have no reference to this. Not only do the Pāli Nikāyas omit this, the Sanskrit biographies in the *Mahāvastu*, *Lalitavistara*, *Buddhacarita* and *Saṅghabhedavastu*, all have no references to the mother possessing the ten *pāramīs*, nor even the six *pāramitā*.

² In the *Acchariyabbhutadhamma-sutta* Ānanda says that he learned from the Buddha that the bodhisatta's mother died after seven days, see R. Chalmers, ed., *The Majjhima-nikāya*, vol. 3, 1899, rpt. Oxford: PTS, 1994, p. 122; cf. the *Mahāpadāna-sutta*, T.W. Rhys Davids, & J.E. Carpenter, eds., *The Dīgha-nikāya*, vol. 2, London: PTS, 1903, rpt. 1982, p. 14. The notion that a bodhisatta's mother dies seven days after giving birth is not shared by all the works on buddha's biography. However the *Mahāvastu* contains the teaching that all bodhisattvas' mothers will die seven days after their birth, see E. Sénart, *Le Mahāvastu*, vol 1, Paris, 1882, p. 199, vol 2, Paris, 1895, p. 3; similarly the *Lalitavistara* also refers to her death seven days after giving birth, S. Lefman, ed., *Lalitavistara*, vol 1, Halle, 1902, p. 96.

lotus with his trunk, that was like a garland of silver, let out a trumpet, and entered the golden palace. Circumambulating his mother's bed three times he pierced her right side, and entered her stomach.¹

The presentation of the conception in this example is entirely of the *abbutta-dhamma* variety, serving to convey its miraculous and other-worldly aspects. With this account of the conception a new element is added to the theories centred on the bodhisatta. This part of the conception legend places the bodhisatta firmly outside of the laws of the human realm, and establishes his unique *lokuttara* 'transcendental' character. The conception is depicted in a coherent and detailed form, adding importance to the event that marks the beginning of Gotama's career. The symbolism of the elephant has an ancient role in the Indian religious tradition, representative in Vedic times as a symbol of royalty. The animal may also, as in this example, represent fertility and new beginnings, and a white elephant was considered an especially potent symbol of this.² Its use in this citation is clearly symbolic of the change that the bodhisatta will ultimately bring to the world. The medium of the dream episode is common, in some form or another, to all the developed biographies³ of the buddha and is one of the important episodes which they all include.

The birth story in the *Avidūrenidāna* continues to develop the docetic characteristics that are associated with the bodhisatta in its portrayals of the key events in the bodhisatta's career. The presentation of this part of the buddha legend has no examples in the early Pāli canonical tradition. Even the *Buddhavaṃsa* account of the life of Gotama omits any reference whatever to the birth story, or any of the events connected with it. That text commences with Gotama already a buddha, but it does later mention Kapilavatthu as his native city, his parents names, and those of his chief disciples.⁴ On these grounds the *Buddhavaṃsa* can, therefore, be excluded as the source from which the *Avidūrenidāna* incorporated this part of the legend into the biographical scheme of the *Jātakanidāna*. The inclusion of the birth legend, and the manner in which it records the events associated with it, marks a significant point in Theravādin buddhology. The birth is shown in the *Avidūrenidāna* in an entirely docetic manner, with the addition of the episodes depicting the intervention of the *devas*, that elevates the whole legend to a completely new doctrinal level:

¹ See sections II 10 of the translation and edition.

² The white elephant in particular was a symbol of clouds in ancient Indian culture, and hence of rain and growth, see H. Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, ed. J. Campbell, Princeton University Press, 1974, pp. 102-109.

³ The depiction of the bodhisatta as a white elephant is a common feature of the buddha biographies, and occurs in the following Sanskrit works. The *Mahāvastu* has at least two versions of this, see E. Sénart, *Le Mahāvastu*, Paris, vol 1, 1882, p. 98, 199 and vol 2, 1895, p. 12. The *Lalitavistara* account which talks of the bodhisattva as a six tusked white elephant, see S. Lefman, ed., *Lalitavistara*, vol 1, Halle, 1902, p. 39. The *Buddhacarita* account in canto one *gāthā* 20 of Cowell's Sanskrit edition which is based on a dubious Nepalese manuscript, see E.B. Cowell, ed. & tr., *The Buddha-carita or Life of the Buddha*, 1894, rpt. New Delhi: Cosmo, 1977, p. 3, of the edition; but the Tibetan translation of this text contains the white elephant episode in canto 1, *gāthā* 4, see F. Weller, *Das Leben des Buddha von Āsvaghoṣa*, Leipzig: Verlag von Eduard Pfeiffer, 1926, p. 4. For the *Sanḥabhedavastu* version see R. Gnoli, ed., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, vol. XLIX 1, Part I, Rome: Serie Orientale Roma, 1977, p. 40.

⁴ For the information on Gotama's life in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, see chapter XXVI, *gāthās* 13-20, N. A. Jayawickrama, ed., *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka*, London: PTS, 1974, pp. 97-98.

So, although other beings are born by coming out from the mother's womb, for the bodhisatta it is not like that. Moreover, the bodhisatta descends the stairs, like a religious teacher descending from the teaching seat, like a man standing and stretching both hands and feet, and like one who is fearless and pure. Born from the mother's womb uncovered by any impurity, he emerges from the mother's womb emitting rays of light, like a gemstone placed on cloth from the Kāsika region. Then, despite this, two streams of water descended from the sky in order to purify the bodhisatta, and the bodhisatta's mother, and to cleanse the body of the bodhisatta's mother.¹

The treatment of the birth in this passage marks a significant juncture in the Pāli literature dealing with Gotama's life. The trend that had developed in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, and following this in the *Dūrenidāna*, towards a more docetic representation of buddhas, and bodhisattas, reaches its zenith with this account of Gotama's birth. Some of the ideas used here are found in the Nikāya sources referred to above, though they are given in a more stunted form in those texts, as general principles rather than as a continuous and coherent narrative. Their novelty in this *Avidūrenidāna* quotation lies in their arrangement into a continuous introductory sequence, that is now added to the narrative story of Gotama's life. This version is quite remarkable when the meagre Pāli canonical sources from which it might have been drawn are considered. For example, even on a very basic level, the setting for the birth is a place name that, for all its importance to a biography of the buddha, is not frequently met in the canon. There appear to be only two Pāli canonical texts that make explicit reference to Lumbinī as the birthplace of Gotama. These two texts are at opposite ends of the timescale of the canonical works. At one end of this spectrum is the *Suttanipāta* which contains a reference to Lumbinī as the region or district² of Gotama's birth, at the other end is the *Kathāvatthu* that also makes a similar claim for the location of his birthplace.³ The significance of this *Avidūrenidāna* quotation is that it marks the beginning of the trend towards the application of increasingly docetic portrayals of events in the episode of Gotama's birth. It introduces from the very outset of the life story the notion of the uniqueness, and supramundane character, of the bodhisatta.

The example from the birth episode in the *Avidūrenidāna* is indicative of the extent to which the legend had developed, as is evident from its inclusion of material giving such exacting detail. With its depiction of an completely docetic birth, the legend centred on Gotama becomes more than the biography of a human teacher who became buddha. The birth narrative sets the literary, and doctrinal, theme for the remainder of Gotama's biography. This theme consists of increasingly frequent docetic occurrences, often by the intervention of the *devas*, to explain the real significance of the doctrinally important episodes of Gotama's life. The docetic tendency is also found, to a greater or lesser extent, in all the Sanskrit works on this subject. They all show the birth as miraculous, with the bodhisattva born from the mother's side,⁴

¹ See sections II 14 of the translation and edition.

² The text says the bodhisatta was born in the Sakyan village in the Lumbinī country: Sakyānaṃ gāme janapade Lumbineyye. See D. Anderson & H. Smith, eds., *Sutta-nipāta*, London: PTS, 1913, rpt. 1965, *gāthā* 683, p. 132.

³ The first volume of the *Kathāvatthu* records that the birthplace of the buddha was Lumbini: Lumbiniyā Bhagavā jāto. See A.C. Taylor, *Kathāvatthu*, vol 1, London: PTS, 1894, p. 97. This is reiterated in volume two, see *Kathāvatthu*, vol 2, London: PTS, 1897, p. 559.

⁴ The birth from the mother's side is mentioned by the *Mahāvastu*, *Buddhacarita*, *San̄ghabhedavastu* and the

unblemished, and fully conscious. In their treatment of the birth, and other events in Gotama's life, these Sanskrit sources have a number of close correspondences with the Avidūrenidāna version.

Beings born at the same time as Gotama

The Avidūrenidāna narrative continues to expand and develop the scope of the text by including various details of other events that occurred at the time of the bodhisatta's birth. Some of these individual episodes appear to be unique to the *Jātakanidāna*, while others occur in the Sanskrit biographies of the buddha. One short episode covers only a few lines in the Avidūrenidāna text, and is not encountered in any of the Nikāya sources. This episode relates that certain other beings, and things, were born, or appeared, at the same time as Gotama. Four other persons are listed, Rāhulamātā, Channa, Kāḷudāyi, and Kanthaka, together with the *bodhi* tree, and four pots of treasure.¹ These are referred to as the seven who were born at the same time as Gotama.² The four persons are those who later play an important part in Gotama's life, while the *bodhi* tree plays its role in the enlightenment, the four pots of treasure must be counted as two, and are probably symbolic of the four *ariyasacca*.

The Pāli tradition preserves three different lists in all of the seven beings, and things, listed above. These are, the *Jātakanidāna* list of seven, the list in the *Apadāna-aṭṭhakathā*³ that adds Ānanda *thera* as the second member, and the list in the *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary⁴ that adds the name Ājāniya in fourth place. The only one of the Sanskrit biographies to have any parallel to this episode is the *Mahāvastu*. In that text only six things are mentioned: Sundarananda, Yaśodharā, Chandaka, Kaṇṭhaka, Candana, and five hundred chests of treasure.⁵ This version of the legend agrees in essence with the Avidūrenidāna account, and is probably based upon some similar source material, but it adds a great deal more embellishment to the account. This small episode indicates the extent to which development had occurred within the birth legend of the Theravādin tradition. It is indicative of the type of matter that was the common

Lalitavistara. See E. Sénart, ed., *Le Mahāvastu*, Paris, vol 1, 1882, p. 150; vol 2, 1895, p. 25. The *Buddhacarita* account in Tibetan in, F. Weller, *Das Leben des Buddha von Āsvaghoṣa*, Leipzig: Verlag von Eduard Pfeiffer, 1926, *gāthā* 11, p. 5.; R. Gnoli, ed., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, vol. XLIX 1, Part I, Rome: Serie Orientale Roma, 1977, p. 45; S. Lefman, ed., *Lalitavistara*, vol 1, Halle, 1902, p. 83.

¹ See sections II 16 of the translation and edition.

² The Tibetan text at II 16 of the edition reads: bdun po 'di lhan cig tu skyes pa yin no. The Pāli text of the *Jātakanidāna* reads: ime satta sahājatā nāma, the *Apadāna-aṭṭhakathā* follows this reading, but the *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary reads: ime satta sahājatā nāma honti. See V. Fausbøll, ed., *The Jātaka Together with its Commentary*, vol 1, London: PTS, 1877, p. 54; C.E. Godakumbura, ed., *Visuddhajanavilāsini nāma Apadānaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1954, p. 58, and I.B. Horner, ed., *Madhuratthavilāsini nāma Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1978, p. 276.

³ This commentary gives the list: Rāhulamātā devī, Ānando *thera*, Channo amacco, Kāḷudāyi amacco, Kanthako assarājā, mahābodhirukkho, catasso nidhikumbhiyo. See C.E. Godakumbura, ed., *Visuddhajanavilāsini nāma Apadānaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1954, p. 58.

⁴ The *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary reads: Rāhulamātā devī Channo Kāḷudāyi amacco Ājāniyo hattharājā Kanthako assarājā mahābodhirukkho catasso nidhikumbhiyo. See I.B. Horner, ed., *Madhuratthavilāsini nāma Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1978, p. 276.

⁵ This version adds to the scale of the occasion by stating that each of the six appears with five hundred others, see E. Sénart, ed., *Le Mahāvastu*, vol 2, Paris, 1895, p. 25: sākyānāṃ pañca kumārasātāni sundaranandapramukhāni / pañca kanyāsātāni yaśodharāpramukhāni / pañca dāsakaśātāni chandakapramukhāni / pañca aśvasātāni kaṇṭhakapramukhāni / pañca hastipotaśātāni candanahastipotakapramukhāni / pañca nidhiśātāni pradurbhūtāni.

concern of Buddhist commentators. Moreover, on a purely narrative level, it shows how the people who figure prominently in Gotama's life story were shown to have an intimate link to the bodhisatta from his very first appearance in the world. This technique, of giving a prehistory to these characters, follows the biographical theme of the *Jātakanidāna*, and adds to the increasing sense of inevitability present in the entire course of the bodhisatta's life that the text presents.

Attainment of the first jhāna beneath the jambu tree

The overall effect of the Avidūrenidāna's narration of the conception, birth and early life of the bodhisatta is to increase the portrayal of the sense of rightness, or inevitability, of these events. As well as being seen as marvellous episodes, the text implicitly develops the doctrine of *dhammatā*¹ in relation to the bodhisatta's life. So, from conception through to birth, the entire process, and each event during the life, is shown to be not only a naturally occurring event, but as also inevitable and cosmically appropriate. The text goes to great lengths to interpret all the significant occurrences, whether based on some canonical precedent, commentarial exegesis, or borrowing from another tradition, as being *dhammatā*. In the light of this, the episode of the bodhisatta's first attainment of *jhāna* can be seen as a means of symbolising the pre-enlightenment precedent for meditative practice, and ultimately the attainment of enlightenment. As the repetition of the lives of the twenty-four previous buddhas gives precedents for Gotama's appearance, so in this case the bodhisatta's attainment of *jhāna*, while still a youth and before even making the renunciation, is given a precedent within the actual lifetime of the bodhisatta. The *jhāna* episode in the Avidūrenidāna has a great deal of importance, for it seeks to extend back in time the occasion at which the bodhisatta began his religious practice. This is of course entirely in accord with the overall scope of the *Jātakanidāna*, in which the buddhology of the Theravādin tradition is presented as a completely self-referential, and self-substantiating system.

The account of the bodhisatta's attainment of the first *jhāna*, as it is presented in the Avidūrenidāna, is a fully developed narrative account of this episode. This *jambu* tree episode does have a canonical basis that is found in the Majjhima-nikāya. The *Mahāsaccaka-sutta*² includes an early version of the legend which provides the core material for the developed narrative version of the Avidūrenidāna. In this *sutta* account there are three points that are presented as being significant. The first is the occasion for this event, which is placed during a ploughing festival conducted by the bodhisatta's father. The second point made is that the bodhisatta was sitting under a *jambu* tree at that time. The third is that the bodhisatta attained the first *jhāna* there, and realised this was the way to enlightenment. The entire episode is clearly

¹ The notion of the buddha and certain events in his life being *dhammatā* 'natural occurrence' is attested in the Nikāyas. The *Mahāpadāna-sutta* already uses the term in reference to each of the list of events connected with the conception, and birth of bodhisattas, see T.W. Rhys Davids & J.E. Carpenter, eds., *The Dīgha-nikāya*, vol. 2, London: PTS, 1903, rpt. 1982, pp. 12-15. This partially corresponds to the *Acchariyabhutadhamma-sutta* version, but that text has no reference to the events being included under the concept of *dhammatā*. The notion is hinted at, but not explicitly stated by using the term *dhammatā* in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, and in some other canonical texts.

² The canonical version of the legend in the *Mahāsaccaka-sutta* has only a few lines on this episode which is fully expanded in the Avidūrenidāna, see V. Trenckner, ed., *The Majjhima-nikāya*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1888, rpt. 1979, pp. 237-251.

a means of symbolising the inherent ability of the bodhisatta to master the meditative practices, and techniques, that will ultimately lead to his enlightenment. The text also gives the full stock canonical formula of the conditions necessary for the first *jhāna*.¹ The canonical version has just this basic information, that is a mere skeleton in comparison with the Avidūrenidāna version of the same episode, which creates an extended narrative account from these three basic components.

The *jambu* tree episode is dealt with in two parts in the Avidūrenidāna. The first part² gives the setting for the event, which is during the ploughing festival, as in the canonical version. Even this introductory part of the narrative provides greater detail than is contained in the brief canonical version. Everything about the festival is depicted in the most elaborate and lavish detail. There are eight hundred oxen, eight hundred golden and silver ploughs, with eight hundred ministers present. Then, during this festival the bodhisatta is left alone beneath the *jambu* tree, where he sits watching the rise and fall of his breathing, that in turn leads him to the attainment of the first *jhāna*.³ One of the things emphasised in this particular account is the rank of the bodhisatta's father. He is depicted as a powerful king, surrounded by his ministers, and at the head of a well ordered kingdom, in which he plays a vital role in the ceremonies and agricultural rituals.⁴ Whereas the canonical version refers to him only as the Sākyan, and refrains from making any reference to him as a king. In the canonical version the usual stock formula for the attainment of the first *jhāna* is used, but in the Avidūrenidāna this is not mentioned at all.

The Avidūrenidāna account of the *jambu* episode varies from that given in the *Mahāsaccaka-sutta* in several noteworthy respects. Firstly, it relates that the first *jhāna* was produced by focusing on breathing.⁵ Secondly, this account introduces the idea that the shadow of the *jambu* tree, beneath which the bodhisatta sat did not move, while the shadows of nearby trees did. The third variations are that a *dhātī* 'wet-nurse'⁶ finds the bodhisatta in meditation, and the king then pays homage to the bodhisatta after seeing him there in *jhāna*. Thus, this Avidūrenidāna account can be seen to be an expansion and elaboration of the basic *sutta* text, with these miraculous and doctrinal elements as additions to emphasise the significance of this event. It does not use the usual formula for the attainment of the first *jhāna*, as found in the *Mahāsaccaka-sutta*, but it enhances the narrative on both the levels that depict the bodhisatta's attainments, and the depictions

¹ All these three points are made in just five lines of the *sutta* text, and the conditions for the first *jhāna* are given as: vivicc' eva kāmehi vivicca akusalehi dhammehi savitakkam savicāram vivekajam pītisukham paṭhamam jhānam upasapajja vihāritā, see V. Trenckner, ed., *The Majjhima-nikāya*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1888, rpt. 1979, p. 246.

² The *vappamaṅgala* 'ploughing festival' has one section devoted to its description in the *Jātakanidāna*, see section II 23 of the translation and edition. The *Apadāna* commentary follows the *Jātakanidāna* almost exactly, varying in only two words, see C.E. Godakumbura, ed., *Visuddhajanavilāsini nāma Apadānaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1954, p. 62. The account in the *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary gives only a sketch of this event and mentions not eight hundred but one thousand ploughs, see I.B. Horner, ed., *Madhuratthavilāsini nāma Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1978, p. 277-278.

³ For the complete reference to this episode see sections II 24 of the edition and translation, the *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Apadāna* commentaries also follow this version closely.

⁴ There has been various interpretations of this ploughing ritual, von Glasenapp, for example, says that the event shows that the bodhisatta's father was merely a village headman, and not a king. See H. von Glasenapp, *Buddhism: A non-theistic religion*, London: Allen & Unwin, 1970, pp. 10-11.

⁵ The practice of *ānāpāna-sati* is not explicitly mentioned in either of the two accounts in question, the Pāli has: ānāpāne pariggahetvā, which the Tibetan renders as: rluñ 'byuñ ba dañ rñub ciñ bzuñ nas.

⁶ The Tibetan translates this term by: nu ma snun pa.

of the circumstances of this event. Taken as a whole, this episode exemplifies how the legendary narrative surrounding the bodhisatta is developed in line with doctrine, meditational techniques and the theory of the *jhānas*, though the Avidūrenidāna version only explicitly refers to the first *jhāna*. The unmoving shadow of the tree functions as a symbol of the innate power of the bodhisatta being acknowledged by nature or the cosmos. This episode is an example of the accretion of layers of miraculous events around the life of the character of the bodhisatta that takes place in the text.

The narrative of this *jambu* episode occurs in four of the extant Sanskrit biographical works. The *Mahāvastu* has two references to this episode, the first of which has reference to a ploughing scene, but it is not called a festival, nor is it headed by the king. The first of these has then the same basic information as the Avidūrenidāna, namely that the bodhisattva sits beneath the *jambu* tree in unmoving shade, and attains the first *dhyāna*¹ but it does not mention the practice of breathing meditation. It does, however, give part of the stock *sūtra* formula when it says that the first *dhyāna* arises together with applied thought, and sustained thought.² The second *Mahāvastu* account is closer to the Avidūrenidāna in its narration of this episode. In essence this prose version mirrors the Pāli sequence, with the only major difference being that it is a *kañcukīya* ‘chamberlain’ who discovers the bodhisattva in meditation, and not a *dhātī* ‘wet-nurse’ as in the Pāli. This second *Mahāvastu* account also has a *gāthā* version that varies slightly, the *gāthā* version, for instance, mentions that the bodhisattva was *dhyānayantam* ‘meditating’ but does not refer specifically to the first *dhyāna*.³ The *Mahāvastu* account concludes, like its Pāli counterpart, with the king making homage to the bodhisattva.

The *Lalitavistara* also records the *jambu* episode in both prose and *gāthā* versions. The prose portion of this text is the only one of the three versions that makes any mention of the bodhisattva’s age at this time. It relates that the bodhisattva, when *vivṛddha* ‘grown up’, went to the pleasure garden, where he became *saṃvignamana* ‘distressed’ and sat under the *jambu* tree. There he attained the four *dhyānas*, these are then given in the same form as they are found in the standard *sūtra* formula.⁴ The enumeration of all the four *dhyānas* is a specific development in the narrative of the *jambu* episode which is unique to the *Lalitavistara*. The formula used in that text for the four *dhyānas* is in a form well known to the Theravādin tradition, that has many occurrences of the formula which agree virtually word for word with the *Lalitavistara* version.⁵ In the *Lalitavistara* account, as in the *Mahāvastu*, the bodhisattva is found

¹ This account in the *Mahāvastu* only says that the bodhisattva witnessed some ploughing which caused him disquiet, leading to meditation under the *jambu* tree, and the attainment of the first *dhyāna*, see E. Sénart, ed., *Le Mahāvastu*, vol. 2, Paris, 1895, p. 45.

² Only the first two of the five dhyānic factors, *vitarka* and *vicāra*, are contained in the first *Mahāvastu* reference: *savitarkam savicāram prathamam dhyānamupasampadya viharati*. See E. Sénart, ed., *Le Mahāvastu*, vol. 2, Paris, 1895, p. 45.

³ The prose of course is the fuller version followed by the *gāthā* version containing the main points, see E. Sénart, ed., *Le Mahāvastu*, vol. 2, Paris, 1895, p. 47.

⁴ The four *dhyānas* are each dealt with in detail in the *Lalitavistara* account that is virtually the same formula as found in the Pāli Nikāyas, see S. Lefman, ed., *Lalitavistara*, vol 1, Halle, 1902, p. 129; this is also the same format and wording as contained in the *Mahāvvyūtpatti* list of the *dhyānas*, see nos. 1478-1481, R. Sasaki, *Mahāvvyūtpatti*, Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1916, rpt. 1973, pp. 112-114.

⁵ The four *jhānas* in the Pali tradition are a frequently appearing list in the Nikāyas, for a standard example of this tradition, see T.W Rhys Davids & J.E. Carpenter, eds., *The Dīgha-nikāya*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1890, rpt. 1975, p. 182-183.

meditating by a courtier or chamberlain.

The *Buddhacarita* and the *Saṅghabhedavastu* both contain the *jambu* episode, but it in these texts it takes place at a later stage in the bodhisattva's life than in all the above three works. The *Buddhacarita* puts this event after the bodhisattva's encounters with old age, illness, and death, but prior to the sight of a mendicant. In this respect the *Buddhacarita* seems to represent an independent tradition of the legend that varies from all other biographical works. The *Buddhacarita* locates the *jambu* episode in its fifth canto dealing with the bodhisattva's *abhiniṣkramaṇa* 'going forth'. In this canto the bodhisattva goes to the forest on his horse Kanthaka¹ for amusement, and not as in the other versions of the Kanthaka legend, to renounce his home. This account includes mention of the bodhisattva seeing ploughs, dead insects, and labouring ploughmen, that depress him, and which cause him to sit beneath the *jambu* tree.² But this version has no reference whatever to a ploughing festival attended by the king. There is also no reference in this version to the unmoving shadow, but the bodhisattva is said to have attained the first *dhyāna*, described as *savitarkavicāra* 'with reasoning and applied thought', while beneath the tree.³

The *Saṅghabhedavastu* version of the *jambu* episode, like that of the *Buddhacarita*, occurs after the four sights, and while the bodhisattva was visiting a *kārṣagrāmaka*⁴ 'ploughing village' where he became depressed. Then he sat beneath the *jambu* tree, and attained the first *dhyāna*, which is defined in the stock *sūtra* manner. In this version the shadow of the tree does not move.⁵ Both of these versions, contained in the *Buddhacarita* and the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, represent a variation on all the other textual sources cited in this study. The main point of difference between these two accounts, and the three other sources referred to, is that they place the *jambu* episode after the bodhisattva has seen the four sights. In the *Buddhacarita* after he sees three of them, and in the *Saṅghabhedavastu* after he has seen all of the four sights.

The fact that all the works cited contain a version of the *jambu* episode can be taken as evidence of the importance with which it was viewed by the compilers of those biographical works. It seems also that there were variations on the initial canonical occurrence of the episode in the *Mahāsaccaka-sutta*, and some other additions to the version found in that text that bring it fully into harmony with the evolving doctrinal scheme of Buddhism. The memory of the *jambu* legend seems to have endured in the locality

¹ The addition in the *Buddhacarita* of this going to the forest on the horse Kanthaka prior to seeing the forth sight may be a confusion of the tradition, or another record of that tradition entirely, see canto five, *gāthā* 3, E.H. Johnston, ed. & tr. *Buddhacarita or Acts of the Buddha*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1935, rpt. 1984, p. 45 of the edition; for the Tibetan translation see F. Weller, *Das Leben des Buddha von Aśvaghōṣa*, Leipzig: Verlag von Eduard Pfeiffer, 1926, p. 65.

² These events appear in canto 5, *gāthās* 5-8, see E.H. Johnston, ed. & tr. *Buddhacarita or Acts of the Buddha*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1935, rpt. 1984, p. 46 of the edition; for the Tibetan translation see F. Weller, *Das Leben des Buddha von Aśvaghōṣa*, Leipzig: Verlag von Eduard Pfeiffer, 1926, pp. 65-66.

³ The *prathama dhyāna* is explicitly referred to and given the stock definition, this occurs in *gāthā* 10, see E.H. Johnston, ed. & tr. *Buddhacarita or Acts of the Buddha*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1935, rpt. 1984, p. 46 of the edition; for the Tibetan translation see F. Weller, *Das Leben des Buddha von Aśvaghōṣa*, Leipzig: Verlag von Eduard Pfeiffer, 1926, p. 66.

⁴ See R. Gnoli, ed., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, vol. XLIX 1, Part I, Rome: Serie Orientale Roma, 1977, pp. 75-76.

⁵ The *Saṅghabhedavastu* version more or less follows the definition of the first *dhyāna* given in the *Lalitavistara* with some minor variations: *viviktaṃ <kāmair viviktaṃ> pāpakai<r aku>śaladharmaiḥ savitarkaṃ savicāraṃ vivekajaṃ prītisukhaṃ anāśravasadr̥ṣaṃ prathamam dhyānaṃ samāpannaḥ*, see R. Gnoli, ed., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, vol. XLIX 1, Part I, Rome: Serie Orientale Roma, 1977, pp. 76-77.

where it is purported to have taken place. The account of the travels of the seventh century Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang, in the *Si-yu-ki*, says that a *stūpa* had been built at this site which he visited.¹

The *jambu* narrative in the Avidūrenidāna is representative of a highly developed stage in the transmission of the bodhisatta legend. The Sanskrit versions contain some variations and elaborations on this account, but largely agree with the Pāli version. The only real points of disagreement are whether or not it took place during a ploughing festival in which the king participated, and at what age in the bodhisatta's life this event occurred. The basic intention of all of them would appear to be that of furnishing a precedent for the bodhisatta's practice of meditation, and his first attainment of *jhāna*. With this episode another element of the legend is added to the bodhisatta's career, and his eventual attainment of *bodhi* is symbolically predicted. The bodhisatta is seen in this episode to be in possession of abilities that will ultimately lead to enlightenment and to buddhahood. All of this is in accordance with the overall purpose of the *Jātakanidāna*, which is to provide both a history, and a prehistory, to the events in the lives of the bodhisattas and buddhas which it portrays.

The bodhisatta's encounter with the four sights

A series of episodes that all the extant Pāli and Sanskrit biographical works do refer to is that of the immediate causes of the bodhisatta's renunciation. This act is attributed, in all of the biographical works, to the bodhisatta encountering the four sights: old age, sickness, death, and a *samaṇa*. These four are depicted as being the catalyst for the bodhisatta understanding the unsatisfactory, impermanent nature of life, and the ultimate causes of him undertaking the life of an ascetic. Since they represent the initial impetus for the bodhisatta following the religious quest it might be supposed that there would be substantial canonical materials dealing with this sequence of events.² This is not the case, however, and what is probably the earliest reference to these four events in the Pāli canonical tradition is found in the Majjhima-nikāya text, the *Ariyapariyesana-sutta*.³ The description given in this text deals with the four sights as abstract things, that are not specifically linked to the bodhisatta Gotama. They are only treated as the generalised causes that may lead one⁴ to understand the nature of life, and renounce the household life. This basic account provides a canonical precedent, and the kernel of the episode that is later found in its fully elaborated form in the Avidūrenidāna.

There is another canonical text that represents what can be considered to be a transitional stage, if not

¹ The account of Hiuen-tsiang does mention that the bodhisattva entered meditation there, but does not call it the first *dhyāna*, and it also repeats the tradition that the shadow of the *jambu* tree did not move, see S. Beal, tr., *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London: 1884, rpt. vol 2, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1981, pp. 19-20.

² The renunciation episode, though a central feature in the history of Buddhism, is something of an anomaly. Oldenberg remarks on the scanty sources for this episode in the early texts, and regarding the motives for the renunciation he says: We must forbear asking the question, from what quarter and in what form the germs of those thoughts entered his soul which drove him to change home for exile and the plenty of his palaces for the poverty of a mendicant. See H. Oldenberg, *Buddha: His life, his Doctrine, his Order*, tr. W. Hoey, London, 1882, p. 101.

³ See V. Trenckner, ed., *The Majjhima-nikāya*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1888, rpt. 1979, pp. 160-175.

⁴ The text makes no link whatever to the bodhisatta personally, it only refers to an indefinite *ekacco* 'someone' who might see these things, and knowing their real nature, act in the way laid out in the *sutta*. See V. Trenckner, ed., *The Majjhima-nikāya*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1888, rpt. 1979, pp. 161-162.

in terms of time then in terms of content, between the Majjhima-nikāya and Avidūrenidāna versions of the episode. The text representing this intermediary stage is the *Mahāpadāna-sutta*¹ of the Dīgha-nikāya. This text gives a narrative of the four sights that are now said to have been seen by the previous buddha Vipassī before his renunciation. The version of the episode in this text gives an individual story for each of the four sights, in which Vipassī encounters these four things, and their significance is explained to him by his charioteer. The timescale between these four events in this text is on a mythic level, it being said that many thousands of years passed between each of the four episodes. After seeing all four sights Vipassī is shown making the renunciation by shaving his head, putting on yellow robes, and leaving the household life. It is this canonical² version of the renunciation episode that seems to act as the basis of the Avidūrenidāna account.

The Avidūrenidāna narrative of these four sights is prefaced³ by the account of the bodhisatta telling his charioteer to prepare the chariot for a journey. This is the sole occurrence of this sequence of the episode to appear in this version of the legend. The section on the sight of an old man⁴ begins with the *devas*, who are aware of the bodhisatta's pending enlightenment, deciding to make one of their number into a trembling old man to confront the bodhisatta. Neither the Majjhima-nikāya nor the Dīgha-nikāya accounts have reference to the creation of the old man by *devas*, in those texts it can be inferred to be a mundane occurrence, and not a divinely engineered event as it appears in the Avidūrenidāna. The *devas* role here is one of the devices by which the emphasis of this part of the legend is moved away from the human sphere, and into the cosmical sphere of *dharmatā*. This instance is one of the examples of the introduction of docetic, and miraculous incidents that are the most noteworthy characteristic of the *Jātakanidāna*'s presentation of the legends associated with the bodhisatta. The Avidūrenidāna version of the bodhisatta's questions, when seeing this old man, are attributed directly to the *Mahāpadāna-sutta*, but they do not follow the account recorded in that text exactly.⁵ The bodhisatta is then shown to be disturbed by this sight and returns home, where his father learning of this doubles his efforts to prevent his son leaving. The episode with the old man is the fullest narrative of all the four sights given in the Avidūrenidāna. The text brings together the canonical and commentarial traditions on this episode, but refers back to the

¹ See T.W. Rhys Davids & J.E. Carpenter, eds., *The Dīgha-nikāya*, vol. 2, London: PTS, 1903, rpt. 1982, pp. 1-54.

² That this legend is a developed form of a basic mythological premise is indisputable, this is a Buddhist legend waiting to be developed for it provides the historical underpinning to Gotama's renunciation. Thomas remarks on this development: In the case of the four sights we have scriptural evidence for holding that the story of the four visits to the park is only the historicising of a canonical passage which knows nothing of these events. See E.J. Thomas, *The Life of the Buddha*, London: RKP, 1927, rpt. 1975, p. 58.

³ See sections II 26 of the translation and edition. The complete Pāli text of the four sights episode is also contained in the *Apadāna* and *Buddhavaṃsa* commentaries in almost the same wording as the episodes as recorded in the *Jātakanidāna*, see C.E. Godakumbura, ed., *Visuddhajanavilāsini nāma Apadānaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1954, pp. 63-64, and I.B. Horner, ed., *Madhuratthavilāsini nāma Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1978, pp. 279-280.

⁴ See sections II 27 of the translation and edition.

⁵ The Avidūrenidāna version of the bodhisatta's questions do not agree exactly with the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* wording. The *sutta* version has: Ayaṃ pana samma sārathi puriso kiṃ kato, kesā pi 'ssa na yathā aññesaṃ, kāyo pi 'ssa na yathā aññesaṃ ti. The Avidūrenidāna version reads: samma, ko nāṃ esa puriso, kesāpi 'ssa na yathā aññesaṃ ti. See T.W. Rhys Davids & J.E. Carpenter, eds., *The Dīgha-nikāya*, vol. 2, London: PTS, 1903, rpt. 1982, p. 22, and V. Fausbøll, ed., *The Jātaka Together with its Commentary*, vol 1, London: PTS, 1877, p. 59. For the Tibetan translation see section II 27 of the edition.

Mahāpadāna-sutta for its ultimate canonical authority, and indeed in places for its very wording.

The pattern for the sights is given in this account of the sight of the old man, and it establishes the method of presentation for the narration of the remaining three sights. Therefore, in the *Avidūrenidāna* the next two narrative episodes, the sight of a sick man and a dead man, also said to be *devatāhi nimmitaṃ* ‘created by the *devas*’, are given in a greatly abbreviated form.¹ The dialogues between the bodhisatta and the charioteer are omitted, only the fact that the bodhisatta asked the questions as before is mentioned. These two events are also concluded with the account of the king increasing his guards to protect the bodhisatta from contact with the unpleasantness of life. Thus the most developed Pāli version of the life of Gotama gives no detailed versions of the episodes of the two sights of the old man and the dead man. It may be that the compilers of the text had no received tradition of these narratives that were more complete than the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* version. Perhaps, as the text itself states, the two episodes were supposed to be taken wholesale from the *Mahāpadāna-sutta*. Neither of these two possibilities gives a satisfactory explanation, for in other respects the *Jātakanidāna* accounts are always prolix, and even where an episode is known to the Nikāyas, the *Avidūrenidāna* provides all manner of hitherto unknown details and information not included in the Nikāya version.

The *Avidūrenidāna* account of the last of the four sights, that of a *pabbajita* ‘mendicant’, contains only a basic version of this part of legend.² The bodhisatta sees a *pabbajita*, who is also described as *devatāhi nimittaṃ*, and questions his charioteer about this person. The charioteer does not know the answer, or even the implications of the question. Then, he miraculously makes a full reply, also *devānubhāvena* ‘by the power of the *devas*’, which has the desired effect on the bodhisatta. It is in this relatively condensed manner that the four sights are narrated in the *Avidūrenidāna*. At the end of this section the Pāli text states that the *Dīgha-bhāṇakas* record that the bodhisatta went forth after seeing all four sights on one day. The Tibetan translation of this refers only to *slob dpon kha cig* ‘some teachers’, and adds that their view that he saw all four sights on one day is incorrect.³ The two significant doctrinal points to emerge from this narrative are the bodhisatta’s witnessing these four sights together with the effect they have upon him, and the fact that all four events are brought about by the intervention of the *devas*. While the first point can be accepted as representing early canonical and commentarial traditions, the intervention by *devas* is something that seems solely to represent the later commentarial and exegetical traditions. The active participation of *devas* in these episodes adds a new importance to them, and further develops the trend in the *Jātakanidāna* towards its more docetic and transcendentalist interpretation of the life of the bodhisatta.

The four sights in the Sanskrit sources

The episode of the bodhisattva encountering the four sights is a common feature in all the five Pāli and

¹ See sections II 28-29 of the translation and edition.

² See section II 30 of the translation and edition.

³ The Pāli reads: *Dīghabhāṇakā panāhu: cattāri nimittāni ekadivāsen’ eva disvā agamāsīti*. The Tibetan reads: *slob dpon kha cig ’di skad zer te / snun gyi mtshan ma bzi pa ŋi ma gcig ŋid la mthoñ ŋo zes zer ro // de ni mi ’thad do*. The teachers referred to have sometimes been identified with the teachers from the Abhayagiri-vihāra in Anuradhapura in Ceylon, who are often equated with the Mahāyāna school, see I.B. Horner, “*Keci*, “Some,” in a Pāli Commentary”, *JIAS*, 1, 1978, pp. 52-56.

Sanskrit textual sources cited and compared in this study. Therefore, given the comparative brevity of this sequence, it is relatively convenient to make a comparison of the contents of the Pāli version with that of the four equivalent Sanskrit versions. The four Sanskrit biographies consulted in this study, each have their own specific versions of the narrative accounts of the four sights of the bodhisattva. The *Lalitavistara* version follows the Avidūrenidāna treatment of the episode by having only a single occurrence of the bodhisattva's order for the chariot to be prepared. The text then varies from the Avidūrenidāna version by the addition of a description of the king decorating and preparing the path that the bodhisattva will use, removing any unpleasant sights. This is followed by a lengthy prose narrative that elaborates the first of the four sights, the additions made here consisting of a purely literary development, and embellishment, of the legend.

The account provides an excellent example of how the different Buddhist traditions expanded their received biographical legends with the addition of various, often hyperbolic, additional materials. In this instance, the additions consist largely of extended prose descriptions, that are a reflection of the developed Sanskrit written tradition, as opposed to the simpler Pāli oral tradition contained in the *Mahāpadāna-sutta*. For example, the creators of the old man are specified in the *Lalitavistara* as the *śuddhāvāsa devas*,¹ and the depiction of his decrepit qualities is given in minute detail. Then, the dialogue between the bodhisattva and his charioteer, on the meaning of this sight, is given in only five *gāthās*² with no corresponding prose version to supplement this concise depiction. The episodes of the sick man, and the dead man, are both dealt with briefly, as is the case in the Avidūrenidāna account. Unlike that text however, the *Lalitavistara* versions³ of the sight of a sick man, and a dead man, have no reference to these two being created by the *devas*. Only in the *Lalitavistara* version of the forth sight, that of the *bhikṣu*, does the text again state the sight to be a creation of the *devas*, agreeing in this instance with the Avidūrenidāna version of this episode.

The four sights episode preserved in the *Mahāvastu* is a more embellished and literary version than is found in either of the corresponding Avidūrenidāna or *Lalitavistara* episodes. This account omits any reference to the bodhisattva ordering the preparation of the chariot in any of the four sight episodes, but like the *Lalitavistara*, it has a lengthy passage describing the king's preparation of the path. The creator of the old man in this version of the episode is specifically named as Ghaṭikāra, who is also a *śuddhāvāsa deva*.⁴ One area in which the *Mahāvastu* agrees with the Avidūrenidāna is the role of *devas* in the four sights, though not in regard to the name, or names, of the *devas* concerned. Both texts explicitly state, in each one of the four episodes, that all the four sights are the creations of the *devas*. The bodhisattva's questions in the *Mahāvastu* on seeing the old man, and the reply of the charioteer, are in prose and in a

¹ These *devas* are specified by name, and given a role in this episode of the *Lalitavistara* only in the account of the first sight, see S. Lefman, ed., *Lalitavistara*, vol 1, Halle, 1902, p. 186.

² The prose deals only with the background details, all the significant dialogue of the old man episode is presented in the five *gāthās*, see S. Lefman, ed., *Lalitavistara*, vol 1, Halle, 1902, pp. 188-189.

³ These two episodes, like the corresponding Avidūrenidāna version, are in much abbreviated prose accounts, and have the essential points rendered in *gāthā* form, see S. Lefman, ed., *Lalitavistara*, vol 1, Halle, 1902, pp. 189-191.

⁴ The *Mahāvastu* version of the four sights is one of the longer of the versions consulted in this study, only the *Saṅghabhedavastu* version is lengthier. For the full *Mahāvastu* version, see E. Sénart, ed., *Le Mahāvastu*, vol. 2, Paris, 1895, pp. 150-157.

more elaborated form than the other two texts already referred to. The episodes of the sick man, and the dead man, are dealt with in an almost identical manner to the first sight, with no contraction of the prose narrative being made. The *Mahāvastu* account of the forth sight, the *pravrajita*, varies from the other two versions, in that in this text the bodhisattva personally questions the *pravrajita* about his reasons for being a mendicant.

The *Saṅghabhedavastu*¹ record of the four sights has similarities, of one form or another, with all three versions of the episode referred to above. It is the longest of all the five versions under consideration, and in this respect is closest to the *Mahāvastu* in its format and method of narration. The *Saṅghabhedavastu* however, unlike any of the three texts already cited, includes the bodhisattva's order to prepare the chariot² within its old man episode, and this exact same account is also given in full in the passages recording the remaining three sights. The bodhisattva's questions to the charioteer about the first sight, and the replies to them, are given in a full narrative form that is repeated almost verbatim in the episodes of each of the three sights that follow. One of the details in which the text differs from the other sources is that it refers to the bodhisattva as Śāyamuni bodhisattva,³ while all the other versions have only bodhisatta in the Pāli version, or bodhisattva in the Sanskrit versions. Another difference in detail occurs in regard to the role of the *devas* in the four sights. In the *Saṅghabhedavastu* the *śuddhavāsa devas* create only the last of the four sights, the *kāśyavastraprāvṛta* 'yellow clad ascetic', and are not referred to at all in the explanation of the first three sights in the narrative episodes.

The first three versions of the four sights episodes in the *Saṅghabhedavastu* are prose accounts with a single *gāthā* contained in each uttered by the bodhisattva. These *gāthās* portray his despair, and are either summaries of the prose accounts, or the raw material that was used to create the prose accounts. The version of the sight of the yellow clad ascetic being the only episode not to contain any *gāthā*. Thus, this version of the three episodes, excluding the yellow clad ascetic episode, is similar to that of the *Lalitavistara* in that it has both prose and *gāthā* portions. The difference between the two is that the *Saṅghabhedavastu* account, like the *Mahāvastu*, gives all the bodhisattva's questions in lengthy prose sections, with a single *gāthā* in each of the depictions of the three sights. While in the *Lalitavistara* all these events are only given in *gāthā* form. In other respects this account given in the *Saṅghabhedavastu* is closer to the *Mahāvastu* version, though that text omits any mention of the bodhisattva ordering the preparation of the chariot, and states that the *devas* intervened in creating each one four of the sights.

The last parallel Sanskrit account of these four episodes to be considered here is that contained in the *Buddhacarita*. This text preserves the *mahākāvya* version of these four episodes in a relatively sophisticated and developed form. The bodhisattva's order to prepare the chariot does not occur in any of the four

¹ The four episodes appear in the text in the standard way that repetitive texts of this nature present such similar material, with only the key sentences changed in each new case, see R. Gnoli, ed., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, vol. XLIX 1, Part I, Rome: Serie Orientale Roma, 1977, pp. 65-75.

² For the individual accounts of this episode see, R. Gnoli, ed., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, vol. XLIX 1, Part I, Rome: Serie Orientale Roma, 1977, pp. 65, 67-8, 70, and 73.

³ The name Śāyamuni bodhisattva is employed in all four episodes of the four sights occurring in the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, see R. Gnoli, ed., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, vol. XLIX 1, Part I, Rome: Serie Orientale Roma, 1977, pp. 65, 68, 70, 73.

episodes in the *Buddhacarita*, contrasted with the Avidūrenidāna that has only one reference to this in its episode dealing with the old man. The *Buddhacarita* contains two separate references to the king adorning the path before the bodhisattva goes out,¹ whereas the Avidūrenidāna has no reference to this in any of its narratives on the four episodes. The role of the *devas* in the *Buddhacarita* account of the four sights is largely in accord with the Avidūrenidāna version, but the *Buddhacarita*, like all the Sanskrit versions, names them as the *śuddhādhivāsa*² *devas*. The text is, however, unique among all the cited versions in its ordering of the four episodes, for the fourth is separated from the other three by more than one canto. The episodes of the old man, the sick man and the dead man³ are all found in the third canto of the *Buddhacarita*, and in the first and third of these episodes the *śuddhādhivāsa devas* are the cause of the charioteer explaining the significance of the sights to the bodhisattva. In the fourth episode the *Buddhacarita* version of the sight of the *bhikṣu*,⁴ does not follow immediately after the third sight, but appears later in the fifth canto. This separation of the last sight is the single most distinctive feature of the four sights episodes given in the *Buddhacarita*, and is not found in any of the other Pāli or Sanskrit sources referred to here.

The Sujātā narrative

The Avidūrenidāna contains a range of narrative episodes that are of great importance for its development of the bodhisattva legend in the Theravādin tradition. These are the episodes that provide a full description of the enlightenment, and the events that occurred immediately before it. The episodes specifically referred to here are those of the last meal offered before enlightenment, the meeting with and defeat of Māra, and the attainment of *bodhi*. It is one of the curious facts of the history of Buddhist literature⁵ that these events, so important for the doctrine, history, and mythology of Buddhism, were nowhere recorded in the Pāli canonical, or commentarial, tradition in any continuous and detailed manner prior to the compilation of the *Jātakanidāna*. The story of Sujātā making offerings of food to the bodhisattva is an episode that is only found in the Pāli commentarial sources. There is not one canonical account of the enlightenment that has any reference to this person, nor the role that she played in the enlightenment. The

¹ These references occur in the third canto prior to and during the four sights, canto three, *gāthās* 4-5, and 53, see E.H. Johnston, ed. & tr. *Buddhacarita or Acts of the Buddha*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1935, rpt. 1984, pp. 20, 27 of the edition.

² The *gāthā* 26 in canto three says that these *devas* saw the beautiful city and *nirmamire* 'created' the old man to disturb the bodhisattva's mind, for full references to the *devas* in the four sights, see canto three, *gāthās* 26, 40, 56, see E.H. Johnston, ed. & tr. *Buddhacarita or Acts of the Buddha*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1935, rpt. 1984, pp. 23, 25, 28 of the edition. The involvement of the *devas* in the sight of the mendicant is not explicitly laid out in the *Buddhacarita* account of this episode which occurs in canto five, *gāthās* 16-17, p. 47 of the edition.

³ These three episodes are in some detail and occupy almost half of the third canto. The old man occurs in *gāthās* 26-38, the sick man in *gāthās* 39-48, and the dead man in *gāthās* 54-62, see E.H. Johnston, ed. & tr. *Buddhacarita or Acts of the Buddha*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1935, rpt. 1984, pp. 23-29 of the edition.

⁴ The *Buddhacarita* includes the episode of the *bhikṣu* where the bodhisattva questions him directly without asking his charioteer as in the other three episodes, these are in canto five, *gāthās* 16-17, see E.H. Johnston, ed. & tr. *Buddhacarita or Acts of the Buddha*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1935, rpt. 1984, p. 47 of the edition.

⁵ The incompleteness of the early biographical accounts of Gotama's life has been noticed by many scholars who have carried out research on this topic, see for example E. Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism*, tr. S. Boin-Webb, Louvain-Paris, 1988, pp. 15, 644, 651, 653.

Avidūrenidāna episode dealing with the defeat of Māra, does have a certain amount of canonical precedent upon which to draw for its reference. The episodes depicting the attainment of enlightenment by Gotama are more numerous, but do not agree in sequence, or content, with the Avidūrenidāna version of events.

The first of these three episodes in the Avidūrenidāna relates to the story connected with the last meal of the bodhisatta before attaining *bodhi*, and becoming a buddha. It appears in that text as a well developed and substantial part of the narrative account of the events preceding the enlightenment. However, when seeking to relate this episode to a canonical work, one is faced with the fact that there is no reference to this episode in any of the Pāli canonical works. Moreover, this episode only occurs within the commentarial tradition in the *Jātakanidāna*, and also in the commentaries on the *Buddhavaṃsa*, *Apadāna* and *Dhammapada*.¹ The Avidūrenidāna version of this episode is a specimen of a commentarial interpolation which is designed to fill the gaping hiatus in the narrative, between the departure of the five ascetics and the enlightenment, that existed in the canonical accounts. The first section of the episode² begins with Sujātā's vow to make an offering to the *nigrodha* tree shrine if her wish is fulfilled. When this time arrives she prepares a meal of *pāyāsa* 'milk-rice' as the offering. The most striking feature of the description of the preparation of this *pāyāsa* is the overwhelming concern with, and meticulous record of detail.

It is not sufficient for the commentators that the last meal of the bodhisatta before *bodhi* consists of ordinary *pāyāsa*. Therefore, the offering is described as consisting of the milk of one thousand cows, fed to and milked from a number of cows successively, until a milk worthy for offering is obtained. Everything about the depiction of this episode reflects its importance for the commentators. The last eight cows are said to have milked themselves, the fire on which the *pāyāsa* was cooked produced no smoke, the milk did not boil over, and the *devas* each added a *upakappana-oja* 'nutritious essence' to the *pāyāsa*. Then, Sujātā's servant mistakes the bodhisatta, sitting beneath the *nigrodha* tree, for the tree *deva* and informs Sujātā, who offers him the *pāyāsa* in a golden bowl. The narrative is full of the miraculous incidents connected with all these events, and the text also adds that the *devas* put this *upakappana-oja* into the food on the day of enlightenment, and also on the day of the *parinibbāna*. There is a tendency here to overelaborate the episode, and there is a large element of hyperbole in the descriptions given. In this manner, the episode is expanded with miraculous events that are all intended to legitimise this part of the legend, and to provide a sound basis for the enlightenment episode itself.

¹ All the Pāli commentarial accounts of this episode appear to be derived from the *Jātakanidāna*, which gives an indication of the importance of this text in developing the buddha legend. Three commentaries contain accounts that are the obviously related to the Avidūrenidāna version, though some are extremely concise versions. The *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary has two versions of this episode, the first is closest to the Avidūrenidāna account, although it does omit considerable descriptive portions of the text. The second is a mere summary of the episode in a few lines that contains the essence of the entire Sujātā episode, see I.B. Horner, ed., *Madhuratthavilāsini nāma Buddhavaṃsatṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1978, pp. 7, 286-7. The *Apadāna* commentary agrees on the whole with the Avidūrenidāna version in its length and content, but it omits or replaces some words, see C.E. Godakumbura, ed., *Visuddhajanavilāsini nāma Apadānatṭhakathā*, London: PTS, 1954, pp. 76-80. The *Dhammapada* commentary contains a concise version very close to that of the second *Buddhavaṃsa* commentary reference, for this version see H.C. Norman, ed., *The Commentary on the Dhammapada*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1906, pp. 85-86.

² See sections II 53 of the translation and edition.

The seat of bodhi and defeat of Māra

The episode in the Avidūrenidāna dealing with the bodhisatta's defeat of Māra¹ does have some canonical precursors. The encounter with Māra at the Nerañjarā river is referred to in the following canonical works: the *Padhāna-sutta* of the *Suttanipāta*, the *Udāna*, the *Māra-saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, and the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya*. A commentarial version can be found in the *Dhammapada* commentary,² but in this text the meeting with Māra occurs after the enlightenment. The encounter with Māra in the *Padhāna-sutta* version of this episode contains the basic materials for a narrative of this series of events. As well as giving the location, and circumstances, it depicts the determination of the bodhisatta to achieve his final aim. The text has Māra's attempt to dissuade the bodhisatta from this resolve, and also contains an archaic listing of the eight armies of Māra,³ that are given in other texts as consisting of either nine or three. These armies⁴ are presented in a purely symbolic way here, and are not living beings or *devas*, but qualities or concepts, unlike the anthropomorphic representations given in the Avidūrenidāna. The overall intent of this text is to portray the attempt by Māra to prevent the bodhisatta from attaining enlightenment, and the bodhisatta's rejection of Māra's temptation.

It is also claimed in this text that Māra followed the bodhisatta for seven years, awaiting the opportunities to hinder his progress. The struggle between the two is presented in just eight *gāthās* of this *sutta*,⁵ and is given with little expansion of the core details of the episode. The end result is the complete defeat of Māra and his armies by, among other things, the bodhisatta's practice of *sati* 'mindfulness'. Hence, the early canonical version of the Māra episode, contained in the *Padhāna-sutta*, establishes it as part of the sequence of events in the episode, and as occurring immediately prior to the enlightenment.

Another of the early canonical texts to record the Māra episode is the *Udāna*. This work contains one *sutta*, also set at Nerañjarā, that makes reference to the defeat of Māra. In this version of the episode the encounter takes place on the night of the bodhisatta's enlightenment, and he utters a *gāthā*⁶ summarising the reasons for the defeat of Māra. There are two more *suttas*⁷ in the *Udāna*, though these take place after

¹ For all the seven passages dealing with the meeting with, and conquest of Māra in the Avidūrenidāna see sections II 58-64 of the translation and edition.

² This version actually begins with the bodhisatta's leaving home, and first meeting Māra who we are told, as in the *Padhāna-sutta* version, followed the bodhisatta for seven years. Then after the enlightenment Māra attacks and is defeated. See H.C. Norman, ed., *The Commentary on the Dhammapada*, vol. 3, London: PTS, 1912, pp. 195-197.

³ Not only is the language of these *gāthās* that of the early strata of the canon, the names of these eight qualities are not those met with in later works. The eight are: *kāma* 'desire', *arati* 'aversion', *khuppipāsa* 'hunger and thirst', *taṅhā* 'craving', *thīnamiddha* 'sloth and torpor', *bhīru* 'fear', *vicikicchā* 'doubt', and *maḅkkhathambha* 'hypocrisy and obstinacy'. This list of eight appears in *gāthās* 436-437 of the *Padhāna-sutta*, see D. Anderson & H. Smith, eds., *Sutta-nipāta*, London: PTS, 1913, rpt. 1965, p. 76.

⁴ Māra's armies are described differently in various layers of the Pāli texts, and can be defined in a number of different ways. For some examples from the various Buddhist traditions, see J.W. Boyd, *Satan and Māra: Christian and Buddhist symbols of evil*, Leiden: Brill, 1975, pp. 117-119.

⁵ The eight *gāthās* in question consist of *gāthās* 442-449, see D. Anderson & H. Smith, eds., *Sutta-nipāta*, London: PTS, 1913, rpt. 1965, pp. 76-78.

⁶ See P. Steinthal, *Udāna*, London: PTS, 1885, rpt. 1982, pp. 2-3.

⁷ The first of these *suttas*, like the *Padhāna-sutta*, is located on the banks of the Nerañjarā river, and refers to having conquered Māra after listing the qualities necessary for enlightenment. The second takes place at Sāvatti but also has the overcoming of Māra as the culmination of the process of liberation from *samsāra*. See P. Steinthal, *Udāna*, London: PTS, 1885, rpt. 1982, p. 33; p. 46.

the enlightenment, that make reference to conquering Māra which emphasise the freedom from Māra's influence as being a primary feature of the enlightenment. These references in the *Udāna* are symbolic representations of the final release from those ties, which are personified as Māra, and that constitute the ultimate source of saṃsāric existence. The impression given by all the three *Udāna* texts is that freedom from Māra-bandhana 'Māra's bonds' was an integral part of the early textual formula for describing the enlightenment episode and enlightenment itself.

This same impression applies to the first two *suttas* to occur in the *Mārasaṃyutta* dealing with the Māra episode. The text has three *suttas* in all, that also take place at the Nerañjarā river, two¹ after enlightenment, and one² apparently prior to it.³ The first two of these *suttas* give accounts of Māra attempting to put doubts in the bodhisatta's mind, and the bodhisatta's subsequent conquest of Māra. The last *sutta* in that *saṃyutta* is a considerably extended narrative that gives a great deal of the detail contained in the Avidūrenidāna version of the episode. The two versions⁴ given in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* occur just after the enlightenment, and depict Māra trying to persuade the buddha to end his life, together with the buddha's rebuke to Māra. All the textual occurrences referred to here are then the primary canonical sources preserving accounts of the meeting with Māra. However, as has been indicated, only two of these versions can be taken as possible sources for the Avidūrenidāna version. For only the *Padhāna-sutta* and the third *sutta* of the *Mārasaṃyutta* referred to above, actually correspond in time and place with the Avidūrenidāna account. Both these texts also contain a sequence of events that can be seen to bear a close similarity to the episode as recorded in the Avidūrenidāna.

The defeat of Māra in the Jātakanidāna

The series of events presented within the Māra episode in the Avidūrenidāna indicates the extent of the development that had taken place in this part of the legend. In summary, this version begins with Māra deciding not to allow the bodhisatta to surpass him, and gathering his armies, goes to the bodhisatta who is on the seat of *bodhi*. All the *devas* of the ten thousand-fold world are surrounding the bodhisatta, making salutations and praises to him when Māra appears. All these *devas* are unable to endure Māra's presence and are forced to leave, only the bodhisatta is able to remain unmoved by Māra. The attack by Māra's armies begins, but the bodhisatta uses the ten *pāramīs* as his sword and shield to protect himself. Māra then casts a series of nine different rains upon the bodhisatta that fail to touch or affect him, Māra then envelopes him in darkness, which the bodhisatta promptly dispels.

¹ These two depict Māra trying to cause doubt in the buddha, and cause him to be fearful. See L. Feer, ed., *The Saṃyutta-nikāya*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1884, rpt. 1991, pp. 103-104.

² This *sutta* gives a lengthy account of the assault by Māra and his daughters on the night of the enlightenment, see L. Feer, ed., *The Saṃyutta-nikāya*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1884, rpt. 1991, pp. 122-127.

³ In this *sutta* it is also said that Māra had been following the bodhisatta for seven years, in fact it consists of two parts that make the occasion referred to rather ambiguous. The first part could be taken as occurring either before or after the enlightenment, it really depends on how one chooses to view the texts. That is to say, it depends if one takes the parts as two entirely different texts, or as a single text. The second part relates the temptation by Māra's daughters, an event that takes place during the enlightenment episode in the Avidūrenidāna account.

⁴ These two post enlightenment accounts are almost identical, and serve to show the different kinds of Māra's temptations, see T.W. Rhys Davids & J.E. Carpenter, eds., *The Dīgha-nikāya*, vol. 2, London: PTS, 1903, rpt. 1982, pp. 112-114.

Following this Māra attempts to remove the bodhisatta from the seat, telling him the seat is not suitable for him. The bodhisatta responds by saying that since Māra has not perfected the ten *pāramīs*, he is the one for whom the seat is unsuitable. Māra again attacks the bodhisatta who, protected by the ten *pāramīs*, is able to turn all Māra's missiles into flower petals. The bodhisatta concludes by asking Māra who is the witness of his charity, to which Māra replies that his armies are witness. Then Māra asks who is the witness to the bodhisatta's acts of charity, to which the bodhisatta answers that the earth is witness to his charity. Furthermore, he adds that the earth was witness to these acts from the time when he was Vessantara up to the present. The earth shakes in acknowledgment of this, and causes all Māra's armies to flee, at which all the *devas* of the ten thousand-fold world return, paying homage to the bodhisatta in verse.

The Avidūrenidāna version of the Māra legend is clearly a rewriting and expansion of the episode found in the canonical versions, and presents a full prose narrative of the episode. Those canonical versions give a certain framework of incidents relating the conquest of Māra by the bodhisatta, but not one of them has such a coherent and continuous account as that which is found in the Avidūrenidāna. This account varies from the *sutta* versions of the episode in four distinct ways: the fleeing of the *devas*, who are venerating the bodhisatta at the seat of *bodhi*, when Māra appears; the bodhisatta overcoming Māra by means of the ten *pāramīs*; Māra attacking the bodhisatta with nine rains; and the earth acting as witness to the bodhisatta's past charity. These four additional narrative sections provide a greater degree of detail to the basic outline contained in the *suttas*. The flight¹ of the *devas* symbolises both the extent of Māra's power and the bodhisatta's ability to withstand this. The place of the ten *pāramīs* in this episode² is where the novel doctrinal teaching comes into play, and where their significance is demonstrated, as the decisive elements in the bodhisatta's attainment of enlightenment. The attack by Māra using the nine³ types of rain constitutes an embellished version of the assault which is absent from the Pāli canonical counterparts. Finally the act of witness⁴ by the earth is perhaps one of the most significant and symbolic adornments in the entire Māra episode.

All the four Avidūrenidāna sections of text mentioned above are notable advances on the Māra legend as it is preserved in the canonical texts. The first and third are expansions on a canonical theme. They are developments of a narrative and legendary nature, that both fill in gaps in the legend, and add materials enhancing the bodhisatta's standing. Each of these four has its own significance, but they are certainly not all equally important from the doctrinal viewpoint. The most important of the four in this respect is the reference to the ten *pāramīs* that are treated as the key elements in the conquest of Māra. There are two

¹ This episode appears in the narrative section that clearly represents a new development in the legend connected with Māra, see sections II 60 of the translation and edition.

² The *pāramīs* are described here as the relatives or kinsfolk of the bodhisatta, they are thus symbolised as the practices that are now an absolute necessity for the bodhisatta, and as integral components in attaining buddhahood, see sections II 61 of the translation and edition.

³ The assault by Māra has many details and descriptions that do not occur in any of the canonical versions, see sections II 62 of the translation and edition.

⁴ This completely novel episode is used to validate the practice of the bodhisatta over many lifetimes, and to authenticate the bodhisatta's spiritual lineage, see sections II 63 of the translation and edition.

separate episodes that refer to the function of the *pāramīs* in the enlightenment. In the first¹ the *pāramīs* are described as the things that both ward off Māra's influences, and act as the means for conquering these influences. The second² episode defines the *pāramīs* as the essential qualities that allow the bodhisatta to remain on the seat of enlightenment, and that form a protection from the assaults of Māra's armies. In comparison with the canonical accounts, the inclusion of the *pāramīs* is the single most important doctrinal development to the Avidūrenidāna's narrative of this episode. For while it may be argued that the narratives, on the attack and defeat of Māra, are merely literary and narrative developments based on existing canonical tradition, and some of these can be very basic³ indeed. In the Māra narrative of the Avidūrenidāna, the *pāramīs* are fully incorporated into the Buddhist doctrinal framework. The text establishes them as the primary causes of buddhahood, and gives them a central role in the enlightenment episode.

Gotama's attainment of bodhi in the Nikāya sources

For all its immense significance and importance for Buddhism, on a doctrinal as well as a mythological level, the depiction of the scene, and events, of the enlightenment have relatively few canonical occurrences. It is however, even among these limited occurrences, difficult to find an account of this episode that provides a single uniform version. There are quite distinct canonical traditions about the events that actually took place at the enlightenment, and of what enlightenment actually consists of. The canonical sources for the enlightenment fall into two major categories as regard to how the event is described. The first category consists of the texts containing versions of the enlightenment that have no references to the four *jhānas*, the three *vijjās*, or the three *āsavas*. The second category is formed of the texts in which these things are an integral part of the episode. These are the most important categories of distinction in the different versions of this episode, but there are also other matters that are differently recorded in these texts.

In the case of the first category there is the version in the *Āriyapariyesana-sutta*⁴ in which enlightenment appears to consist of simply the understanding of the nature of life, that in turn leads to knowledge, vision, and *nibbāna*.⁵ It does not refer to the *jhānas*, *vijjās* or *āsavas* in any way whatever. The *Mahāpadāna-sutta*⁶ follows this pattern, and also has no reference to the role of the *jhānas*, *vijjās*, or *āsavas*, in the

¹ The *pāramīs* are symbolically portrayed as the shield and sword of the bodhisatta in the struggle with Māra, see sections II 61 of the translation and edition.

² The purpose of this episode is to show the criteria for becoming a buddha, which is the fulfillment of the ten *pāramīs*, though it also indicates the protective function of the *pāramīs*, see section II 63 of the translation and edition.

³ The *Buddhavaṃsa*, on which the Dūrenidāna section of the *Jātakanidāna* relies so heavily, has only one reference to the defeat of Māra being a part of the enlightenment process. See chapter XXI, *gāthā* 2, N.A. Jayawickrama, ed., *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka*, London: PTS, 1974, p. 80.

⁴ The account in the *Āriyapariyesana-sutta* also has the meeting with the two teachers and the quest for enlightenment, and concludes with Brahmā Sahampati requesting the buddha to teach, see V. Trenckner, ed. *The Majjhima-nikāya*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1888, rpt. 1979, pp. 163-167.

⁵ Some scholars regard the *Āriyapariyesana-sutta* as representative of the earliest tradition about the enlightenment on account of its very brevity, see K.R. Norman, *Collected Papers*, vol. 4, Oxford: PTS, 1993, pp. 126-127.

⁶ The *Mahāpadāna-sutta* account is referring to the buddha Vipassi's enlightenment, and gives a different version

process of enlightenment. The second category of texts are found in the Majjhima-nikāya and the Vinaya. The Majjhima-nikāya contains five *suttas* that include the same series of events when describing the enlightenment. The model for four of these accounts similar to this may be the *Mahāsaccaka-sutta*, this text is, however, the only one of all of the sources to state that the bodhisatta recalled his childhood jhānic experience at the *jambu* tree, and used this technique in the quest for enlightenment. The *Mahāsaccaka-sutta*¹ version also contains an account of the bodhisatta's first two teachers, and states that the bodhisatta attained each of the four *jhānas* before attaining the three *vijjās*. These consist of the knowledge of his own former births, knowledge of the arising of other beings, and knowledge of the destruction of the three *āsavas*. These three knowledges were attained successively during each of the three watches of the night, following which the bodhisatta became enlightened.

The four other Majjhima-nikāya *suttas* that record the enlightenment include the essential elements found in the version contained in the *Mahāsaccaka-sutta*. The *Bodhirājakumāra-sutta*,² the *Saṅgārava-sutta*,³ the *Bhayabherava-sutta*,⁴ and the *Dvedhāvitakka-sutta*⁵ all give accounts that follow the *Mahāsaccaka-sutta* account. They all include the description of the four *jhānas*, three *vijjās*, and three *āsavas*. Not one of these four texts refer to the recollection of the *jambu* tree episode, and the first two, the *Bodhirājakumāra-sutta* and the *Saṅgārava-sutta*, have a preceding section on the bodhisatta's first two teachers⁶ that is exactly the same as found in the *Āriyapariyesana-sutta* and *Mahāsaccaka-sutta*. The episode dealing with the two teachers is not included in the versions given in either the *Bhayabherava-sutta* or the *Dvedhāvitakka-sutta*. However, all four *suttas*, in agreement with the *Mahāsaccaka-sutta*, have the central episode consisting of the attainment of the four *jhānas*, the three *vijjās*, and the destruction of the three *āsavas*. These events depicting the enlightenment are said by all these *suttas* to have occurred during the three watches of the night.

The Vinaya account of the enlightenment contained in the Suttavibhaṅga⁷ version omits the sections on the two teachers, and the *jambu* tree, but follows the above texts in its depiction of the attainment of the

to that of the *Āriyapariyesana-sutta*, see T.W. Rhys Davids & J.E. Carpenter, eds. *The Dīgha-nikāya*, vol. 2, London: PTS, 1903, rpt. 1982, pp. 31-36.

¹ The account contained here is perhaps the most developed of all the five Majjhima-nikāya versions of the episode mentioned, with its inclusion of the bodhisatta's recollection of the *jambu* experience providing the clear link with the past legends, see V. Trenckner, ed. *The Majjhima-nikāya*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1888, rpt. 1979, pp. 247-249.

² For the *Bodhirājakumāra-sutta* section dealing with this version of the enlightenment, see, R. Chalmers, ed. *The Majjhima-nikāya*, vol. 2, 1896, rpt. Oxford: PTS, 1993, p. 93.

³ For the *Saṅgārava-sutta* account of the enlightenment, see, R. Chalmers, ed. *The Majjhima-nikāya*, vol. 2, 1896, rpt. Oxford: PTS, 1993, p. 212.

⁴ For the *Bhayabherava-sutta* account of the enlightenment, see, V. Trenckner, ed. *The Majjhima-nikāya*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1888, rpt. 1979, p. 21-23.

⁵ For the *Dvedhāvitakka-sutta* account of the enlightenment, see, V. Trenckner, ed. *The Majjhima-nikāya*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1888, rpt. 1979, p. 117.

⁶ The *Avidūrenidāna* contains an episode describing these two teachers, but it comes considerably earlier in the narrative than in the Nikāya versions where it immediately precedes the enlightenment. See section II 48 of the translation and edition.

⁷ This version is a full description given by Gotama to a *brāhmaṇa* about just how, and what he had attained during the night of enlightenment. It contains reference to the enlightenment consisting of the attainment of knowledge concerning the four *jhānas*, three *vijjās*, four *saccas*, and four *āsavas*, see H. Oldenberg, ed. *Vinayaṭīkā*, vol. 3, London: PTS, 1881, rpt. 1993, pp. 3-6.

four *jhānas* and the three *vijjās*. This account is, however, at variance with all the above *sutta* versions, in that it is the only one to refer to four *āsavas* instead of three. The Vinaya version in question lists them as, *kāmāsava*, *bhavāsava*, *diṭṭhāsava* and *avijjāsava*,¹ thus adding *diṭṭhāsava* to the threefold list of the early *suttas*. As the conception of four *āsavas* is of infrequent occurrence in the early strata of the Nikāyas, and *diṭṭhāsava*² is only found in the list in what are perhaps late passages within certain texts. So, it may be that the Vinaya version has either been added to, or is perhaps genuinely representative of a different line of development in the tradition concerning the *āsavas*. The above Nikāya and Vinaya examples provide the most extended and detailed accounts of the enlightenment to be found in the Pāli canon that would have been available to the compiler of the Avidūrenidāna. It is the second category of the *sutta* texts that contain the most information about the actual process of enlightenment, and which one might expect to have been utilised in any subsequent depiction of this event.

Gotama's attainment of bodhi in the Jātakanidāna

The narrative episode in the Avidūrenidāna that contains the enlightenment is made up of an account of the enlightenment itself, followed by a much longer description of the miraculous events that followed it. The *Jātakanidāna* contains many narrative descriptions of events not even alluded to in the canonical works. In the case of the depiction of the enlightenment there are a fairly extensive set of canonical sources acting as precedents for such a narrative. However, what are considered to be the essential features of the enlightenment, for the Nikāya texts, are almost totally ignored in the *Jātakanidāna's* treatment of this episode. In the Avidūrenidāna section's version of the process of enlightenment it is given in an extremely brief passage:

During the first watch of the night he understood by means of knowledge recollecting former births, during the middle watch of the night he obtained knowledge by means of the purified divine eye, and during the last watch of the night he obtained knowledge of dependent origination. Then he called to mind the twelve conditions of dependent origination, remembering them in forward and reverse order, and with the flow and against the flow. Then the ten thousand fold world system shook twelve times as far as the

¹ This fourfold Vinaya list is given in exactly the same context as the *sutta* occurrences referred to, see H. Oldenberg, ed. *Vinayapīṭaka*, vol. 3, London: PTS, 1881, rpt. 1993, p. 5.

² The list of three *āsavas* appears to represent the early tradition, with occurrences of the threefold list appearing in many Nikāya texts. See for example in the Majjhima-nikāya the *Sabbāsava-sutta*, and the *Sammādiṭṭhi-sutta*, V. Trenckner, ed. *The Majjhima-nikāya*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1888, rpt. 1979, pp. 6-12; 55. For the threefold list in the Dīgha-nikāya see the *Saṅgīti-sutta*, J.E. Carpenter, ed. *Dīghanikāya*, vol. 3, London: PTS, 1910, rpt. 1992, p. 216. The fourfold list including *diṭṭhāsava* occurs in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* on many occasions where their absence, as in the case of the listing of three, is due to the emergence of *paññā*, see T.W. Rhys Davids & J.E. Carpenter, eds. *The Dīgha-nikāya*, vol. 2, London: PTS, 1903, rpt. 1982, pp. 81, 84, 91, 94, 98, 123, 126. Interestingly the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, that presumably represents an early tradition, also gives this same list of four *āsavas*, see E. Müller, ed. *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, London: PTS, 1885, rpt. 1978, pp. 195-196. The relative dating of the fourfold classification as being of late origin has been commented on by a number of scholars, see G.C. Pande, *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism*, Allahabad, 1957, rpt. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1974, p. 38; E.J. Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought*, London: RKP, 1933, rpt. 1971, p. 48; A.K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1980, p. 48; also K.R. Norman, *Collected Papers*, vol 4, Oxford: PTS, 1993, p. 132, and elsewhere he points out that the four are identified with the four *oghas* in his, *Collected Papers*, vol 3, Oxford: PTS, 1992, p. 71, and *A Philological Approach to Buddhism*, London: The Buddhist Forum, vol. 5, 1997, p. 34.

ocean's edge. At the rising of the sun the Mahāpurisa gave a great roar throughout the ten thousand fold world system as he attained knowledge of omniscience¹ and the entire ten thousand fold world system became adorned.²

The most striking feature of this account is that it is almost completely devoid of any of the sequence of events, or details, that are connected with this episode in any of the Nikāya or Vinaya versions of the enlightenment episode. This version seems completely to disregard, apart from reference to the three night watches that occur here, the *sutta* traditions recording these events. For this text the three essential features of the episode are, the knowledge of previous births, knowledge through the attainment of clairvoyant vision, and knowledge of *paṭiccasamuppāda*.

The citation also makes no reference to the commonly encountered list, consisting of the attainment of the four *jhānas*, the three *vijjās*, the destruction of the *āsavas*, nor even to the attainment of *nibbāna*. These are the key elements in the process of enlightenment that are shown in the early Nikāya texts. With the exception of the understanding of *paṭiccasamuppāda*, this Avidūrenidāna version of the enlightenment does not refer to a single one of these things. Since the list of attributes associated with the Buddha's enlightenment in the Nikāyas has no reference to *sabbaññuta* 'omniscience', it is clearly this concept that represents an addition to the early Nikāya tradition. The later Nikāya references to *sabbaññuta* being a quality associated with the bodhisatta, or a goal of a bodhisatta, occur in the *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Cariyāpiṭaka*. These texts each treat *sabbaññuta* in two separate ways. In the *Buddhavaṃsa* the term *sabbaññuta*³ is found in the first instance as a defining characteristic of a buddha. Then it is said to be the quality attained by a bodhisatta that allows him to lead other beings to liberation.⁴ After this *sabbaññuta* is mentioned in three⁵ more *gāthās*, where it is said in each case to be a quality that is 'beloved' *priya* by the bodhisatta. The *Cariyāpiṭaka* refers to *sabbaññuta* in two different ways, in the first and only such example, it is viewed as a motivating force⁶ behind the bodhisatta's practice of the *pāramīs*. Next it is given in the same way as it occurs in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, that is as a quality which is beloved of bodhisattas.⁷

¹ The Tibetan has the translation, *thams cad mkhyen pa'i ye ses*, for the Pāli *sabbaññūtāñāna*. This attainment is an integral part of the sequence set out in the introductory section of the Dūrenidāna where the Pāli *sabbaññu* 'omniscience', rendered in Tibetan *thams cad mkhyen pa*, is said to be what the bodhisatta would attain, not buddhahood or enlightenment, see sections I 1 of the translation and edition.

² See sections II 65 of the translation and edition.

³ This occurs in chapter II *gāthā* 54, of the *Buddhavaṃsa*, where the bodhisatta says: having attained omniscience, I will be a buddha in the world of *devas* and men. See N.A. Jayawickrama, ed. *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka*, London: PTS, 1974, p. 12. This is given in the Tibetan translation of the *Jātakanidāna*, see sections I 18 of the translation and edition.

⁴ These two *gāthās* state that having attained *sabbaññuta* the bodhisatta will be able to lead many *devas* and people to cross over from *saṃsāra*, see N.A. Jayawickrama, ed. *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka*, London: PTS, 1974, chapter II, *gāthās* 55-56, p. 12. These are also found in the Tibetan translation of the *Jātakanidāna*, see sections I 18 of the translation and edition.

⁵ These *gāthās* occur in chapters XII *gāthā* 13, XXIII *gāthā* 13, and XXIV *gāthā* 15, see N.A. Jayawickrama, ed. *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka*, London: PTS, 1974, pp. 83, 86, 90.

⁶ The text reads: *sabbaññutaṃ patthayāno tāni kammāni ācarin-ti*. See *gāthā* [10], N.A. Jayawickrama, ed. *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka*, London: PTS, 1974, *Cariyāpiṭaka*, p. 1.

⁷ There are many references to *sabbaññuta* in this context in the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, see *gāthās* [27, 39, 66, 119, 183, 247, 263, 273, 305], N.A. Jayawickrama, ed. *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka*, London: PTS, 1974, *Cariyāpiṭaka*,

There is a usage of the term *sabbaññuta* in these two late texts that clearly introduces the concept as something implicit in the attainment of buddhahood, and as a quality that is actively sought after by bodhisattas. It may well be argued that omniscience was considered to be a part of the definition of a buddha in the early Nikāyas, but there is no evidence for the use of the term *sabbaññuta* in those early texts in any such context. The Majjhima-nikāya does contain instances of the term *sabbaññu* 'all knowing' in a list of epithets applied to Gotama.¹ But it seems here to be used in an honourific, or respectful form of address, rather than as a general quality of buddhas, and in any event its use here may represent a late example of its usage in the Majjhima-nikāya.² The addition of this term *sabbaññuta* in the *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Cariyāpīṭaka*, is indicative of the way in which buddhahood had come to be viewed by that later layer of tradition. It is this same tradition which is taken up in the *Jātakanidāna*, where *sabbaññuta* is given the place of central importance in the enlightenment episode narrated in that text.

The Sanskrit sources used here largely follow the early Pāli accounts of the enlightenment episode, only one of them refers to omniscience forming a part of it. In the *Mahāvastu* there are two enlightenment episodes, one consists only of attaining the four *dhyānas*, *divya-caḥṣu*, and then *abhisambodhi*. The other has the attaining of the four *dhyānas*, *divya-caḥṣu*, understanding the four *satyas*, the *āśravas*, and *pratītyasamutpāda*, but both these *Mahāvastu* versions make no reference to attaining omniscience.³ The *Saṅghabhedavastu* version has a similar account to the early Pāli Nikāyas, where the bodhisattva attains the *ṛddhis*, *divya-caḥṣu*, end of the *āśravas*, and realisation of the four *satyas*, culminating in *abhisambuddhabodhi*.⁴ The *Lalitavistara* also refers to the four *dhyānas*, and *divya-caḥṣu*, but has no reference to omniscience.⁵ The version in the *Buddhacarita* varies from all the other Sanskrit versions of the episode in giving the bodhisattva attaining *bodhi* after a rather different series of attainments than is found in these other sources. This begins with the understanding⁶ the nature of existence, ending the *āśravas*, realising the working of *pratītyasamutpāda*,⁷ and finally obtaining *thams cad mkhyen pa ñid*.⁸ In

pp. 1, 3, 6, 10, 17, 24, 25, 26, and 29. The gāthās [247, 273, and 305] are contained in the Tibetan translation of the *Jātakanidāna*, see sections I 67 of the edition and translation.

¹ There are a few specific references to *sabbaññu* 'all knowing' purely as an epithet of Gotama in the early Nikāyas, for examples of this kind of usage see V. Trenckner, ed. *The Majjhima-nikāya*, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1888, rpt. 1979, p. 482; R. Chalmers, ed. *The Majjhima-nikāya*, vol. 2, 1896, rpt. Oxford: PTS, 1993, pp. 31, 126.

² There are some who consider the term *sabbaññu* to be purely a post-canonical epithet, see E.J. Thomas, *The Life of the Buddha*, London: RKP, 1927, rpt. 1975, p. 213.

³ For the two versions of this episode in the *Mahāvastu* see, E. Sénart, ed., *Le Mahāvastu*, vol. II, Paris, 1882-1897, pp. 131, 283.

⁴ This version represents a fairly expanded record of these events, and in this respect is significantly more detailed than the early Pāli accounts. See R. Gnoli, ed. *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, vol. XLIX 1, Part I, Rome: Serie Orientale Roma, 1977, pp. 116-119.

⁵ The episode in the *Lalitavistara* is quite long, but the essentials occur on a few pages, see for example S. Lefman, ed. *Lalitavistara*, vol. 1, Halle, 1902, pp. 356-359.

⁶ The enlightenment episode only survives in the Tibetan translation of the *Buddhacarita*, the understanding of the nature of existence culminates in canto XIV, verse 56 of this edition, see F. Weller, *Das Leben des Buddha von Āśvaghōṣa*, vol. 1, Leipzig: Verlag von Eduard Pfeiffer, 1926, p. 240.

⁷ In Tibetan *Buddhacarita* canto XIV, verses 79-87, see F. Weller, *Das Leben des Buddha von Āśvaghōṣa*, vol. 1, Leipzig: Verlag von Eduard Pfeiffer, 1926, pp. 244-246.

⁸ The Tibetan term in this verse is *thams cad mkhyen pa ñid*, which is probably representing the Sanskrit *sarvajñāta*. This is the Sanskrit term given for the Tibetan *thams cad mkhyen pa ñid* in the *Mahāvvyūtpatti*, see R. Sasaki, *Mahāvvyūtpatti*, Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1916, rpt. 1973, nos. 785, 803, 809-810, 864, pp. 60-63,

this respect the *Buddhacarita*'s inclusion of omniscience in the list of definitions of the enlightenment has its parallel in the *Jātakanidāna* account.

Conclusion

In this chapter a general overview of some of the important events in Gotama's life has revealed that its treatment in the *Jātakanidāna* is the fullest, most innovative account found in any Pāli work. The method in which the *Jātakanidāna* narrates the life of Gotama is significant for many reasons. On the most basic level, that of textual cohesion, it is by far the most developed, presenting a continuous and integrated literary work of some length and sophistication. The canonical sources upon which it draws come from both early and late strata of the canonical literature. While the type of commentarial works that it employs cannot be known with any certainty, much less their dates, for the text seems also to preserve layers of commentarial explanations from widely divergent periods. It is also later used as a major source on these biographical events by the commentaries to the *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Apadāna*.

The events in Gotama's life that the *Jātakanidāna* contains are based on the episodes that are established parts of the early Nikāyas, but also includes many episodes unknown to those texts. Even where an episode has its basis in the early Nikāyas, the *Jātakanidāna* treatment is invariably more extended and detailed. This study has attempted to show that even the most significant events in the life of Gotama, such as his birth, the four sights, and the attainment of *bodhi*, are extremely poorly preserved in the early Nikāya traditions. It may be as has been suggested earlier, that the reason for this is that the early Buddhist community was preoccupied with the codification and arrangement of an authoritative collection of doctrinal teachings and monastic regulations, hence the lack of any overtly biographical work in the early Nikāyas. Whatever the cause for an absence of a biography of Gotama in these texts, the *Jātakanidāna* forms what came to be regarded by the Theravādin tradition as their most extensive and authoritative work on this subject. Following the production of this text the Theravādin tradition made no further attempt to create any other biography of Gotama. To this extent the *Jātakanidāna* marks the high point in the evolution of the biographical genre associated with Gotama in the Theravādin tradition.

From the perspective of Theravādin doctrine this text is the single most diverse and eclectic work to appear in the Pāli commentaries. Its two major themes may be summed up as being the creation of a framework into which the doctrines of the appearance of previous buddhas, and the bodhisatta doctrine, can be simultaneously developed. Taking the *Buddhavaṃsa* as its primary source, the text brings out the full implications of the doctrines first encountered, on the canonical level, in that text. However, the *Jātakanidāna* does not follow the most obvious biographical theme of the *Buddhavaṃsa* exclusively, that of depicting the lives of the past buddhas, but develops the biography of the character of the bodhisatta. In its portrayal of the full life story of Gotama the text gives numerous miraculous, and what have been termed here docetic, accounts of events not even hinted at in the early or late Nikāya works. Whether some of the impetus for these episodes emanates from a school other than the Theravādins is extremely difficult to judge. In order to make a general survey of these common episodes several of the Hīnayāna

Sanskrit sources have been referred to, and compared with their *Jātakanidāna* parallels. While it can be seen that there is certainly a body of traditions that are in broad agreement on the inclusion of certain biographical episodes, the exact detail in those episodes can vary considerably from text to text.

As to the question of possible borrowing between these different textual traditions, there is no conclusive way to establish such a borrowing in the *Jātakanidāna*. For, unless there is found an exact word for word occurrence of a passage in one of the Sanskrit sources, it would be unsound to ascribe it to that source. Even if such cases occur, it is still not safe to infer that the *Jātakanidāna* has taken it from that source. The relationship between these different Buddhist traditions is still an area full of unanswered questions. On a mythological level the *Jātakanidāna* is an important text for the Theravādins, for it becomes the source of all the significant myths and legends relating to the bodhisatta. It provides many examples of central episodes in the life of the bodhisatta that are not referred to in the Nikāyas. Thus the text gives a full rationalist, and mythological basis to all the doctrinally important episodes in the depiction of this character.

In terms of a more general conclusion to be drawn from this study, the major emphasis here has been to show the various ways in which the *Jātakanidāna* acts as a text that systematises and validates the bodhisatta doctrine for the Theravādin tradition. There is a real sense in which the text can be referred to as the first work to propound this doctrine in a meaningful fashion for the Theravādins. Having already noted that the *Buddhavaṃsa* had introduced the necessary component parts of this doctrine, it is the *Jātakanidāna* which is responsible for the formulation of the doctrine into a more complete form than encountered hitherto. The text follows some of the episodes found in the Hīnayāna Sanskrit sources, but it has its own distinctive doctrinal innovation in the ten *pāramīs*, and the other concepts referring to the stages in the life of a bodhisatta. Thus the bodhisatta doctrine developed by the Theravādins is quite distinct from that of either the Hīnayāna or Mahāyāna traditions, and while it contains some similarities to both of them it presents a unique combination of elements not found in either of those traditions. The study has attempted to focus on certain of the most significant areas of conceptual, doctrinal, and mythological development presented in this text and the commentaries associated with it.

Jātakanidāna Translation

The Distant Era¹

I 1.

In the Indian language it is called the *Jātakanidāna*, in the Tibetan language it is called the *sKyes pa rabs kyi gleṅ gzi*. One should make reverential salutation to the noble triple gem. When the Bhagavan was residing in Anāthapiṇḍika's park, the *mahāthera* Atthadassi went before the Bhagavan, and having saluted and circumambulated him, sat down to one side. Then, in the Bhagavan's presence, he spoke these words: 'Reverend sir,² I wish to learn the teaching concerning the lineage of the Buddhas and Bhagavans.' The Bhagavan replied: 'Atthadassi, be attentive and I shall explain it.' Moreover, here the compiler also explains the significance³ of the *Jātakanidāna* belonging to those *arhats* who have investigative understanding and calmness. (7b)⁴ {Pā2} ⁵Whoever hears this commentary extolled sees these three eras: the distant⁶ era, the middle⁷ era and the recent⁸ era.⁹ In this instance one should first understand the scope¹⁰ of each of those eras. Here at the feet of Dīpaṅkara, the Mahāsatta¹¹ made his resolution, from Vessantara's renunciation of the body¹² up to his birth in the Tusita abode and the path of teaching the doctrine,¹³ is called the distant era. The departure from the Tusita abode, up to the attainment of omniscience¹⁴ on the seat of enlightenment and the teaching of the doctrine,¹⁵ is called the middle era. From the dwelling at different places, up to the various attainments is called the recent era.

Here is the section called the distant era.

There, commencing in the beginning more than four incalculable aeons and one hundred thousand aeons ago, there was¹⁶ a city called Amaravati.¹⁷ Therein lived a *brāhmaṇa* named Sumedha. He entered the

¹ Tibetan: Riñ ba'i gleṅ gzi. Pāli: Dūrenidāna. sTog Palace edition, folios 7a-55a; Pāli text in J I pp. 2-47. The divisions of the text used in this translation is that found in L.N. Tiwari's Devanāgarī edition of the text, see L.N. Tiwari, ed., *Paramatthajotikā nāma Jātakāṭṭhakathā*, Varanasi: Sampurnanand Sanskrit University, 1992.

² Tibetan: btsun pa. Pāli: bhante.

³ Tibetan: sKyes pa rabs kyi gleṅ gzi'i don gyi bsnags pa brjod do.

⁴ The folio numbers from the sTog Palace edition are given thus: (7b), while the Pāli pages numbers referring to the PTS edition of the text are given thus: {Pā2}.

⁵ Pāli begins here.

⁶ Tibetan: riñ ba'i gleṅ gzi. Pāli: dūrenidāna.

⁷ Tibetan: bar pa'i gleṅ gzi. Pāli: avidūrenidāna.

⁸ Tibetan: ñe ba'i gleṅ gzi. Pāli: santikenidāna.

⁹ Tibetan omits. Pāli has: tehi samudāgamato paṭṭhāya viññātattā yasmā suṭṭhu viññātā nāma hoti tasmā tañ nidānāni dassetvā vaṇṇayissāma.

¹⁰ Tibetan: yoñs su bead pa rnams. Pāli: pariccheda.

¹¹ Tibetan: sems dpa' chen po.

¹² Tibetan: lus spañs pa. Pāli: cavitvā.

¹³ Tibetan: chos kyi gtaṃ gyi bar gyi lam. Pāli: pavatto kathāmaggo.

¹⁴ Tibetan: thams cad mkhyen pa. Pāli: sabbaññū.

¹⁵ Tibetan: chos kyi gtaṃ gyi bar. Pāli: pavatto kathāmaggo.

¹⁶ Tibetan: byuñ. Pāli: ahosi.

birth of good lineage on both mother's and father's side, up to seven generations of which had no quarrel, argument or dispute with others, and who were quite pure. He was a man who had a beautiful form, pleasing to look at and with the fairest complexion. He learned only the rituals of the *brāhmaṇas* who did not perform other rituals. (8a) While still a youth both his mother and father died. After that his treasurer brought the account book, and he recited from it at the door of those storerooms full of gold, silver, money and pearls and so forth: 'O Prince,¹ these are the riches of your mother, these are the riches of your father, these are the riches of your grandfather and great grandfather. It is the wealth of seven generations of your family.' This was said in order to preserve those riches. The wise Sumedha thought: 'Having grasped this wealth my father and grandfather, and the others, when going to the other world did not go taking even one gold coin with them. After taking it myself, I too shall know that fate.' After this was related to the king, music resounded in the city, and after the presentation of that gift of his wealth to all beings, he went forth in the going forth of an ascetic. Sumedha then gave a discourse at that place in order to clarify the meaning of this. There he not only related just this, but spoke on the uninterrupted continuity in the *Buddhavamsa*. Moreover, since it is difficult to understand even the explanation, as it is contained in verse, it will be explained clearly using now and then certain words from the verses.

I2.

The story of Sumedha.

From the beginning, four immeasurable aeons and more than one hundred aeons ago, the ten sounds arose uninterruptedly in the city of Amaravati. The explanation of that is found in the *Buddhavamsa*: {Pā3}

Bv II 1-2a

When, more than four immeasurable aeons and one hundred thousand aeons ago
(8b) the city called Amaravati created joy for the beholder,
possessed of food and drink, like the ten uninterrupted sounds.²

I3.

The ten uninterrupted sounds.

In that instance the ten uninterrupted sounds are: the roar of the elephant, the neighing of horses, the rumble of chariots, the sound of music, the sound of *mri dam ga* music, the sound of lute music, the sound of singing, the sound of *samma* music, the sound of cymbals, the sound of laughter and drinking, the sound of feasting, these ten sounds were uninterrupted.³ Those sounds were made at that place.⁴

¹⁷ Tibetan: 'jigs med ldan.

¹ Tibetan: g'zon nu. Pāli: kumāra.

² The *Jinacarita* contains a series of verses very similar to these verses, see W.H.D. Rouse, "Jinacarita", *JPTS*, 5, 1904-5, pp. 1-2.

³ See MSA pp. xlv-xlvii, and MPS pp.313-355. D.N. 17

⁴ The Gilgit MS of the *Mahāsudarśana-sūtra* and its Tibetan translation contains lists of parallel verses to these, with ten or twelve kinds of sounds that are very similar to this grouping in the *Jātakanidāna*. See H. Matsumura,

Bv II 2b-c

The roar of elephant and neighing of horses the sound of chariot and conch shell eating and drinking itself, and the sound of eating and drinking.

This is related in the verses of the *Buddhavaṃsa*:

Bv II 3-5

The city had major and minor parts, and all desired to live together.¹
It also had the seven treasures, and was filled with every sort of person.
They lived meritoriously, just like in the city of the gods.

The *brahmaṇa* named Sumedha lived without fear in the city,
amassing many treasures and much wealth and grain.

Understanding² the (9a) esoteric *mantras*, and going beyond the three *vedas*,³
attaining mastery in the oral traditions,⁴ and the true doctrine.⁵

I4.

Sumedha's reflection.

Then one day Sumedha sat in solitude, crosslegged and alone, on the roof of the palace and thought: 'Even the wise suffer when taking repeated existence in many wombs. Accordingly, the body is destroyed in its place of rebirth.⁶ I have the nature of birth, the nature of old age, the nature of illness, and the nature of death. Since this is the case, it is right that I should seek the absence of birth, the absence of old age, the absence of illness, the happiness that is free from suffering and cool, the great freedom from ill that is like ambrosia.⁷ So, the single path that leads to the freedom from suffering is the liberation from inevitable existence.'⁸ On account of this it is said:

Bv II 6-9

The Mahāsudarśanāvadāna and the Mahāsudarśanasūtra, Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1988, pp. xlv-xlvii.

¹ Tibetan: 'dod pa thams cad ñe bar gnas. Pāli: sabbakammamupāgatam.

² Tibetan: 'dzin pa. Pāli: ajjhāyaka. For the different uses of this Pāli word, see R. Morris, "Notes and Queries", *JPTS*, London: PTS, 1886, rpt. Delhi, 1985, p. 102.

³ Tibetan: pha rol soñ. Pāli: pāragū.

⁴ Tibetan: i thi ha sá. Pāli: itihāsa. See R. Morris, "Notes and Queries", *JPTS*, London: PTS, 1887, rpt. Delhi, 1985, p. 110.

⁵ Tibetan: mtshan ñid i thi ha sa dañ // dam pa'i chos kyi pha rol soñ // . Pāli: lakkhāṇe itihāse ca sadhamme pāramiṃ gato ti.

⁶ Tibetan: de bzin du skye ba skye ba'i gnas su lus 'jig go, Pāli omits.

⁷ Tibetan: bdud rtsi. Pāli: amata.

⁸ Tibetan: ñes par srid pa las. Pāli: avassariṃ bhavato.

Abiding alone in solitude, I then reflected thus:

‘Repeated existence is suffering, since the body is destroyed.

Now, I have the nature of birth, the nature of old age, and the nature of illness,
I seek freedom from suffering, the joy that is free of birth and death.¹

When this impure body, filled with various impurities,
is abandoned as profitless, and unworthy of concern there is progress. (9b) {Pā4}

Suppose a path like that exists, it will not be obtained without endeavour.

I should seek such a path, since it will free me from numerous existences.’

Then he reflected further: ‘Just as there is the happiness that is the opposite of the suffering of the world. So, if there is² the opposite, there will be freedom from suffering.³ In that way, if there is passion,⁴ there is a coolness that allays it. Similarly, there will be freedom from suffering which allays the fire⁵ of desire and so forth. Just as there is the good teaching that is free from fault, which is the opposite to evil.⁶ And if there exists a birth possessing evil such as that, there will also be that freedom from suffering, that is renowned to be without birth, and which causes the destruction of all births.’ On account of this it is said:

Bv II 10-12

Just as when there is suffering, there is also happiness.

Similarly, when there is desire, there is also the absence of desire.⁷

Just as if there is heat, there is also coolness.

So, if the three fires exist, there is also freedom from suffering.⁸

Just as if there is evil, there is also goodness.⁹

So, if there is birth, there is also the desire for the absence of birth.

Furthermore he reflected: ‘Just as (10a) a person who tumbled into a heap of dung and if, from a distance, he saw a great lake with lotus flowers of five colours,¹⁰ thinking: ‘By which path should I go’, it is proper¹¹ that he enter into that lake, proceeding by any path. If he does not proceed on that path, it is not

¹ Tibetan: skye ba’i med dan ’chi med bde // mya ãn ’das pa yoñs su btsal //. Pāli: ajarañ amarañ khemañ pariyesissāmi nibbutiñ.

² Tibetan: de ltar. Pāli: evañ bhava sati.

³ Tibetan: mya ñan las ’da’ bar. Pāli: vibhava.

⁴ Tibetan: gduñ. Pāli: uñha.

⁵ Tibetan: me. Pāli: omits.

⁶ Tibetan: sdig pa. Pāli: pāpakassa lāmakassa dhammassa.

⁷ Tibetan: sred pa med pa’an yod pa yin. Pāli: vibhavo pi icchitabbako.

⁸ Tibetan: mya ñan ’das pa’an yod pa yin. Pāli: nibbānañ icchitabbakañ.

⁹ Tibetan: dge ba. Pāli: kalyāṇa.

¹⁰ Tibetan: kha dog lña dan ldan pa’i pad ma. Pāli: pañcavaṇṇapadumasañchannañ.

¹¹ Tibetan: ’jug par rigs so. Pāli: gavesituñ.

the fault of the great lake. In that way, if one does not wash away the stains of the defilements, and if there is a great lake that is free from suffering and without death,¹ and if one does not enter into it, then it is not the fault of the great lake that is free from suffering and without birth. Just as if there is a way of escape for a person surrounded by robbers, if he does not quickly escape it is the fault of that person, not the fault of the path. In that way, if there is a path that is free from suffering, and which pacifies that person who is seized from all around by the passions, if he does not seek that path it is not the fault of the path, it is the fault of that person. Just as if there were a doctor who could cure the illness of that person who was afflicted by illness, if that person does not seek that doctor who can cure the illness, it is not the fault of the doctor, it is the fault of the patient. In that way, if there were a wise man who could pacify the afflictions of that person who is troubled by the illness of afflictions. If that person were not to seek that teacher, it is a fault of that person, it is not the fault of the teacher who subdues the afflictions. On account of which it is said:

Bv II 13-18

Just as a man clothed in filth,² were to see a brimming lake, (10b)
if he does not enter³ that lake, that is not the fault of the lake.

So, there is an ocean of Amata to wash the stains of the afflictions,
if one does not enter⁴ that ocean, it is not the fault of the ocean of Amata. {Pā5}

Just as for one encircled by robbers, there is a path that leads away,
if that person does not make his escape, that is not the fault of the path.

Just as if one is besieged by afflictions, and there is a path that pacifies them,
if he does not enter⁵ that path, it is not the fault of the path that pacifies them.

Just as for the man who is troubled by illness, there is a doctor,⁶
if that man does not act to allay the illness, that is not the fault of the doctor.

So, when there is suffering and trouble due to the illness of the afflictions,
if he does not seek⁷ a teacher, it is not the fault of the teacher.

Furthermore he reflected: 'Just as if filth⁸ were tied to the neck of a person who is adorned with adornments, after casting it off⁹ he would accordingly proceed happily. So I also, abandoning¹⁰ this body

¹ Tibetan: 'chi ba med pa'i mya ñan las 'da' ba'i mtsho chen po. Pāli: Amatamahānibbānataḷāka.

² Tibetan: mi gtsaṅ gos pa'i mi. Pāli: gūthagato puriso.

³ Tibetan: 'jug par mi byed pa. Pāli: na gavesati.

⁴ Tibetan: mi 'jug na. Pāli: na gavesati.

⁵ Tibetan: mi 'jug na. Pāli: na gavesati.

⁶ Tibetan: gso dpyad byed pa. Pāli: tikicchaka.

⁷ Tibetan: tshol bar mi byed na. Pāli: na gavesati.

⁸ Tibetan: mi gtsaṅ. Pāli: kuṇapa.

⁹ Tibetan: dor nas. Pāli: chaḍḍetvā.

which is impure, and without paying any regard to it, rightly enter the city that is free from suffering.¹ Furthermore, just as men and women after defecating² in the latrine, do not proceed to pour it into a pot³ and then carry it around. They eject it without regard, and having rejected it with disgust, they proceed. In that way I also, rejecting the body and so forth, that is impure, rightly enter into the city that is free of suffering and without death.⁴ Furthermore, (11a) just as those boatmen proceed by rejecting without regard those leaky boats. I also, rejecting this body that oozes from within through those wounds of the nine orifices, rightly enter the city free from suffering that is without regard to such things. Furthermore, just as a person having received great wealth of various kinds, and who associates with robbers. If he proceeds on that path, he is terrified by the fear that his own great wealth will be destroyed, accordingly he abandons those robbers and enters⁵ onto the good path. So, as I also have many bodily impurities,⁶ if I created a desire for this impure body, which is like a thief who plunders much wealth, I would fear for the destruction of the jewel of the *dhamma* which is the noble path of happiness. Therefore, I reject this body, which is like a thief, and rightly enter the city that is free from suffering.⁷ On account of that it is said:

Bv II 19-26

Just as when something stinking⁸ is bound to a man's neck, he is disgusted,
if he proceeds by abandoning that, free from disgust, he proceeds to happiness.⁹

Accordingly, though filled with various bodily impurities,
he proceeds¹⁰ by abandoning it as profitless and without regard.

Just as in the latrine, men and women having defecated,
proceed¹¹ by rejecting it without regard as profitless.

In that way, I also should proceed by rejecting my body,
(11b) which is filled with various impurities, just like that latrine.

Just as, if there were a leaking boat, water would appear inside,

¹⁰ Tibetan: spañs te. Pāli: chaḍḍetvā.

¹ Tibetan: mya nan las 'das pa'i groñ khyer du 'jug par rigs so. Pāli: Nibbānanagaram pāvisitabbam.

² Tibetan: bśaṅ ba dor bar byas nas. Pāli: uccārapassāvam katvā.

³ Tibetan: snod. Pāli: ucchaṅga.

⁴ Tibetan: 'chi ba med pa'i mya nan las 'das pa'i groñ khyer du 'jug par rigs so. Pāli: Amatam Nibbānanagaram pavisitum.

⁵ Tibetan: 'jug pa. Pāli: gaṇhāti.

⁶ Tibetan: lus mi gtsaṅ ba du ma. Pāli: karajakāya.

⁷ Tibetan: mya nan las 'das pa'i groñ khyer du 'jug par rigs so. Pāli: Nibbānanagaram pavisitum vaṭṭati.

⁸ Tibetan: dri űa ba. Pāli: kuṅapa.

⁹ Tibetan: skyug mi bro źiñ bde bar 'gro. Pāli: sukhī serī sayamvasī.

¹⁰ Tibetan: 'gro bar byed pa. Pāli: gaccheyyam.

¹¹ Tibetan: 'gro bar byed pa. Pāli: gacchanti.

the boatman¹ rejects that without regard as profitless. {Pā6}

In that way, if I also proceed by rejecting my body,
as being nine holed and impermanent², like the boatman who rejects the boat.

Just as, if a man who associates with robbers went carrying his wealth,
seeing the disappearance of that wealth, he goes abandoning it through fear.

Similarly, this body is likened to a great robber,
when one proceeds by abandoning it, he enjoys happiness and is without fear.

I5.

Sumedha's going forth.

Accordingly, the wise Sumedha reflected on the meaning of the benefits³ of these various examples. Just as it is said earlier⁴ that the immeasurable mass of wealth in one's own house is like giving a great gift to the poor and so on. Abandoning the desire for wealth, and the desire of the afflictions,⁵ went out of the city of Amara.⁶ Alone he resorted to Dhammaka⁷ mountain in Himavant, there⁸ he made a thatched hut and walkway, and accordingly abandoned the five hindering faults.⁹ As it is said in the text beginning with¹⁰ 'when his mind was concentrated'¹¹ he obtained the higher knowledge, which has the eight activities,¹² and power. There he abandoned the wearing of clothes that have nine faults. He wore clothes of pieces of tree bark that have twelve good qualities, (12a) going forth in the going forth of a sage. Then, having gone forth after abandoning that leaf hut possessed of eight faults, he dwelled at the foot of a tree that has ten good qualities. Abandoning all wealth, he lived eating the best fruit¹³ of the tree. He performed the asceticism of making a walkway at his abode. Within seven days he obtained the eight attainments,¹⁴ and

¹ Tibetan: gru mkhan. Pāli: sāmī.

² Tibetan: bu ga dgu yañ mi rtag pas //. Pāli: navacchiddaṃ dhuvaṣṣavaṃ.

³ Tibetan: phan yon gyi don. Pāli: nekkhammūpasamhitaṃ atthaṃ.

⁴ Tibetan: sñar ji ltar brjod pa. Pāli: heṭṭhāvuttanayena.

⁵ Tibetan: nor gyi 'dod pa dañ ñon moñs pa'i dod pa. Pāli: vatthukāme ca kilesakāme.

⁶ Tibetan: 'Jigs med ldan.

⁷ Tibetan: Chos kyi ri.

⁸ Tibetan omits. Pāli has, assamaṃ katvā.

⁹ Tibetan: skyon lña po ma bzlog la ma spañs. Pāli: pañcahi nīvaraṇadosehi vivajjitaṃ.

¹⁰ Tibetan: dañ po. Pāli: omits, and has: ādinā nayena vuttehi.

¹¹ This refers to a quotation from the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta*, D I no. 2, p. 76: So evaṃ samāhite citte parisuddhe pariyodāte anaṅgaṇe vigatūpakilese mūdū-bhūte kammaniye t̥hite ānejjappatte ñāṇa-dassanāya cittaṃ abhinīharati abhinīmeti. With variants on pp. 77-83; see also M I no. 4, *Bhayabherava-sutta*, pp. 22-23.

¹² Tibetan: byed pa brgyad dañ ldan pa. Pāli: aṭṭha kāraṇaguṇa.

¹³ Tibetan: 'bras bu mchog. Pāli: pavattaphala.

¹⁴ Tibetan: brgyad la sñoms par 'jug pa. Pāli: aṭṭha samāpatti. The eight attainments are: 1. attainment of the first *jhāna*, 2. attainment of the second *jhāna*, 3. attainment of the third *jhāna*, 4. attainment of the fourth *jhāna*, 5. attainment of the sphere of boundless space, 6. attainment of the sphere of boundless consciousness, 7. attainment of the sphere of nothingness, 8. attainment of the sphere of neither perception nor non-perception. The eight *samāpattis* are explained in the *Visuddhimagga* nos. 1-4 at Vm IV pp. 139-168, nos. 4-8 at Vm X pp. 327-338

the five kinds of higher knowledge.¹ Similarly, he obtained the power of higher knowledge by striving for it. On account of which it is said:

Bv II 27-33

In this way I reflected: ‘This wealth of several hundred *koṭis*
I will give to those slaves and free men, and then approach Himavant.’

Not far from Himavant on the Dhamma mountain
I lived on the best fruit, in a well made hut of leaves.²

I made a walkway there, abandoned the five faults,
and was endowed with eight qualities and power of higher knowledge.

Having rejected those³ as possessing nine faults,
I wore clothes of bits of tree bark, which have twelve qualities.

Abandoning the hut of leaves with its eight faults,
I lived at the foot of a tree, which had ten qualities.

I abandoned without exception those grains that are sown or planted,
and ate only the best tree fruit that has all qualities. {Pā7}

Performing asceticism there at that hut and walkway,⁴
(12b) within seven days I obtained the power of higher knowledge.

I 6.

My well made abode and well constructed leaf hut.

Here the introduction says at this point: ‘the wise Sumedha built with his own hand the walkway and the leaf hut abode.’⁵ The meaning here is this: Sakka, chief of the *devas*⁶, after seeing the Mahāsatta who thought: ‘After coming from the interior⁷ of the Himavant region, today I will go to the Dhamma mountain,’ said⁸ to Vissakammadevaputta,⁹ ‘The wise Sumedha comes thinking: “I wish to go forth,”¹⁰ so

¹ Tibetan: mñon par śes pa lña po. Pāli: pañca abhiññā. There are lists of five and six *abhiññā*, the list of six occur at D III p.281: 1. *iddhividhā* (psychic power), 2. *dibbasota* (divine ear), 3. *ceto-pariya-ñāna* (knowledge of others’ minds), 4. *dibbacakkhu* (divine eye), 5. *pubbe-nivāsānussati* (recollecting previous births), 6. *āsavakkhaya* (destruction of the *āsavas*). The *Visuddhimagga* explains the five lokiya (mundane) *abhiññā*, 1-5 of above list, Vm XII-XIII pp. 372-435.

² Tibetan: bdag gis de la mchog tu brten // lo ma’i khañ pa legs byas so. Pāli: assamo sukato mayhañ paññasālā sumāpitā.

³ Tibetan: de ñid. Pāli: sāṭaka.

⁴ Tibetan: ’dug dañ ’chag pa’i gnas rnam su. Pāli: nipajjattḥānacariṅkame.

⁵ Tibetan: brten. Pāli: assama.

⁶ Tibetan: lha’i dbaṅ po. Pāli: omits.

⁷ Tibetan: nañ nas ’oñs pa. Pāli: ajjhogahetvā.

⁸ Tibetan omits. Pāli: āmantetvā.

⁹ Tibetan: las sna tshogs pa’i lha’i bu.

create his abode here!’ Hearing his words¹ Vissakammadevaputta created a pleasant abode, consisting of a well made hut of leaves and walkway. The Bhagavan accomplished his own intention, then he related the series of events:² ‘O Sāriputta, there on the Dhamma mountain:

Bv II 28b-29a

I made a good abode, with a well made hut of leaves
after abiding and walking there,³ I abandoned the five faults.’

I 7.

Abandoning the five faults.

⁴What are the five faults of the walkway? (1) Hardness and being unlevel; (2) shrubs in the middle and unevenness; (3) dense forest; (4) being too narrow; (5) being too wide. If, when walking, part of the walkway is hard or unlevel, then blisters arise on the feet and one does not abide with mind one-pointed, and his subject of meditation⁵ is not established.⁶ Due to⁷ the surface of the walkway being even and smooth, there is happiness, and (13a) he establishes the subject of meditation.

1. You should know the first fault to be that part of the ground that is thorny and unlevel.
2. When there is a tree in the middle, inside or at the end of the walkway, and if one walks moving carelessly, one strikes one’s forehead and head. The danger of being among trees is the second fault.
3. When walking on a walkway that is on ground thick with forest, grass, creepers and so forth, then during darkness one treads on creatures, such as snakes, and dies or they inflict injury by biting with their fangs. The denseness of the forest is the third fault.
4. When walking on a walkway that is too narrow, either one cubit or half a cubit to the edge, it would while walking within it cut ones nails or fingers.⁸ That being too narrow is the forth fault.

¹⁰ Tibetan: rab tu byuñ bar ’dod pas. Pāli: pabbjissāmi.

¹ Tibetan: de’i tshig thos nas. Pāli: so tassa vacanañ sampaticchivā.

² Tibetan: bcom ldan ’das kyis yañ de’i tshe bdag gis bsams nas goms par byas pa rdzogs pa las / de’i dus su de’i rgyu mtshan gyis. Pāli: Bhagavā pana tadā attano puññābhāvena nippanaṃ tañ assamapadañ sandhāya.

³ Tibetan: der ni ’chag ciñ gnas nas ni. Pāli: caṅkamañ tattha māpesiñ.

⁴ Tibetan omits. Pāli has: Tattha sukato mayhañ ti sukato mayā, pañnasālā sumāpitā ti pañnacchadanasālāpi me sumāpitā ahosi; pañcadosavivajjitañ ti.

⁵ Tibetan: las byed pa’i gnas. Pāli: kammaṭṭhāna. CPD defines this term as a post-canonical usage, with the meanings: ‘a subject or cause of meditation; the 40 meditation subjects’, see V. Trenckner, *et al., A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Copenhagen: Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, Vol. III, 1-5 (1992-1997), pp. 229-233. The *Visuddhimagga* gives extensive comments on the traditional forty meditation subjects *kammaṭṭhāna*, see Vm III-XI pp. 84-372.

⁶ Tibetan: mi ’grub la. Pāli: vipajjati.

⁷ Tibetan omits. Pāli: āgamma.

⁸ Tibetan: śin tu dog pa’i ’chag sa’i mchu ru khru gcig pa’am / khru phyed pa’i ’chag sa byed na nañ du gcod pa dañ / sen mo ’am sor mo ’chad par ’gyur ba ni. Pāli: atisambādhe caṅkame āyāmato ratanike vā aḍḍharatanike vā caṅkame caṅkamantassa pariccheda pakkhalitvā nakhāpi aṅguliyo pi bhijjanti.

5. When walking on a walkway that is too wide, the mind would be distracted,¹ and one would not obtain the abiding in one pointedness of mind. This being too wide is the fifth fault.

It is proper that the measure of the span of the walkway is two and a half cubits in width and the walkway together with a wide sand border, with a smooth and even earth floor, was sixty cubits in length and only one cubit on both sides. It is proper that you should make it like the walkway of the *mahāthera* Mahinda,² bright like the butter lamps at the Cetiyaḡiri³ shrine. On account of which it is said: 'I made a walkway there and abandoned the five faults.'

I 8.

Endowed with eight good qualities.

This has the eight joys of a *samaṇa* who is endowed with the eight good qualities. (13b)

What is the possession of the eight joys of the *samaṇa*?⁴

1. The absence of desire to grasp wealth and grain.
2. The absence of desire through blameless alms gathering.
3. The absence of desire to seek food.
4. Not burdening the wealth and riches of the country, or desiring hardship to the people of the country, as the royal family do not wish harm to the people of the country when taking individual taxes and so forth.
5. Being free from the desire for all requisites.
6. There is no fear of being robbed by thieves.
7. Freedom from the torments of king, regent and minister.⁵
8. When he proceeds in the four directions he is free of torment.⁶ {Pā8}

So it is said:⁷ 'If one abides in that way, it is possible to experience these eight joys. In that way, he made that hermitage there endowed with the eight qualities.'

I 9.

He will obtain the power of higher knowledge.

Then abiding in that hermitage, and having made those preliminary objects⁸ in order to generate higher knowledge and the attainments. By undertaking insight on impermanence and suffering, he obtains that

¹ Tibetan: sems g.yeṅs par gyur pa. Pāli: cittaṃ vidhāvati. The Pāli *vidhāvati* can have the metaphorical sense of 'running' or 'wandering'. See R. Morris, "Notes and Queries", *JPTS*, London: PTS, 1884, rpt. Delhi, 1985, pp. 104-105.

² Tibetan: dBaṅ chen.

³ Tibetan: mChod rten gyi rigs.

⁴ Tibetan: dge sbyoṅ gi bde ba brgyad daṅ ldan pa zes bya ba ni gaṅ ze na. Pāli: atth' imāni samaṇasukhāni nāma.

⁵ Tibetan: rgyal po daṅ / rgyal tshab daṅ / blon po chen po'i űe bar 'tshes ba med pa daṅ. Pāli: rājarājamahāmattehi asaṅsaṅṅhabhāvo.

⁶ Tibetan: phyogs bzir 'gro ba na 'tshes ba med pa ste. Pāli: catusu disāsu appaṅṅhatabhāvo.

⁷ Tibetan omits. Pāli has: idaṃ vuttaṃ hoti.

⁸ Tibetan: zad par gyi las. Pāli: kasiṅaparikkammaṅ.

state¹ after obtaining the power of insight. When he abides like that he is able to obtain that power. In that way, by abiding there for the sake of higher knowledge, an adequate power of insight is created. This is the meaning of making a hut.

I 10.

The abandonment of clothes that possess nine faults.

The text says: 'Therein, the abandonment of clothes that possess nine faults.' These have been mentioned earlier in this work. Then he should make a secluded abode consisting of a small room, (14a) and a large room with a walkway adorned with flowers, fruit, and so on. With a pleasing variety of trees, pleasing like the thought of water, free from dangerous animals, and free of multitudes of horrible² birds. In that way it is correct for anyone to go forth, resting on the seat³ which is for sitting on, at the middle, and both sides of the adorned walkway. The even ground within the adorned walkway is mixed with golden coloured stones, rings of long hair within the hut of leaves, the religious garb made of pieces of tree bark, and the three pointed staff, and endowed with the requisites of asceticism, such as the flask and so on. The water in the large jug inside the resting place, the water of the religious conch, and in the cup made of dough, and the fire-house, and possessing a cool vessel, and the tree, and so on. So, Vissakammadevappa, having created all those things, and written a message on the wall of the leaf hut saying: 'Whoever desires to go forth, let him go forth after taking these requisites!', then went to the *deva* world. The wise Sumedha followed the river⁴ on the side of Himavant mountain, looking for a suitable place for his own abode, and saw the pleasant dwelling given by Sakka, and transformed by Vissakamma who had turned back the river. (14b) Going on one side of the length of the walkway without seeing footprints, he thought: 'Those ascetics are seeking alms from a distant village, when they tire and return, entering the leaf hut they will dwell here. I want to know if they will not return immediately or will not return for a long time.'⁵ Entering by the door of the room of the wooden house, he went inside. Looking around he read the message written on the large inner wall, and thought: 'I should examine all these utensils, and taking them, go forth.'⁶ I abandoned both my upper and lower robes. On account of that it is said: 'I abandoned my clothes there.' 'Sāriputta, having entered there I abandoned that leaf hut, together with the clothes that have nine faults.'

¹ Tibetan: gnas thob par byed do. Pāli: thāmapattam.

² Tibetan: gnod par byed pa. Pāli: bhīmasana is the later form of the earlier canonical bhīmsanaka.

³ Tibetan: rten gyi gzi. Pāli: ālambanaphalaka. CPD gives this word as 'board or slab to lean against or recline on for taking rest during exercises on the *caṅkama*', see V. Trenckner, *et al*, *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Copenhagen: Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, II (1960-1990), p. 197.

⁴ Tibetan: chu kluñ. Pāli omits.

⁵ Tibetan: de ma thag tu ma slob par dus riñ por ma slob par so sor śes sgos so. Pāli: "ativiya cirāyantīti' jānissāmīti".

⁶ Tibetan: 'di rnam thams cad bdag gi yo byad du brtag par bya'o // de rnam blañs nas rab tu byuñ ño. Pāli: mayham kappiyaparikkhārā ete, ime gahetvā pabbajissāmīti.

I 11.

The nine faults of clothes.

Moreover, I saw the nine faults clearly.¹ The nine faults of the clothing of those ascetics who have gone forth are :

1. The fault of being hard to obtain.²
2. The fault of becoming desired by others.³
3. The fault, when using them, of being quickly soiled.⁴
4. The fault, when using them, of tearing, and the necessity to dye them, and wash them when they become soiled.⁵
5. The fault, moreover, of being necessary to mend and sew when old, and moreover, difficult to obtain when sought.⁶
6. The fault of being unsuitable for an ascetic who has gone forth.⁷
7. The fault that they could be stolen by enemies and so on.⁸
8. The fault that (15a) in order one's enemies do not take them it is necessary to guard them, and when worn they become ornaments.⁹
9. The fault that when going after taking them, they become a great burden to the body.¹⁰

I 12.

The clothes of tree bark.

‘Sāriputta, at that time I abandoned clothes after seeing their nine faults. {Pā9} I bound and joined pieces of *muñja* grass¹¹ to the tree bark¹² in order to acquire an upper and lower robe of tree bark.’¹³

¹ Tibetan: de yañ skyon dgu gsal bar mthoñ ste. Pāli: sātakaṃ pajahanto nava dose disvā pajahim ti dīpeti.

² Tibetan: rñed dka' ba. Pāli: mahagghabhāvo.

³ Tibetan: gzan 'dod pa skye ba. Pāli: parapaṭibaddhatāya uppajjanabhāvo.

⁴ Tibetan: loñs spyod pa na myur du dri ma dañ ldan pa. Pāli: paribhogena lahuṃ kilissanabhāvo.

⁵ Tibetan: dri ma can du gyur na 'khrud pa dañ / tshol bya dgos pa dañ / loñs spyod pa na 'dral ba. Pāli: kiliṭṭho ca dhovitaḅbo ca rajitaḅbo ca hoti, paribhogena jiraṇabhāvo.

⁶ Tibetan: rñiñs na 'tshem pa dañ / lhan pa 'debs dgos pa dañ / slar yañ tshol ba na rñed dka' ba. Pāli: jinṇassa hi tunnaṃ vā aggaladānaṃ vā kātabbaṃ hoti, puna pariyesanāya durabhisambhavabhāvo.

⁷ Tibetan: dka' thub pa 'i rab tu byuñ ba la mi rigs pa. Pāli: tāpasapabbajjāya asāruppabhāvo.

⁸ Tibetan: dgra la sogs pas 'phrog par 'gyur ba. Pāli: paccatthikānaṃ sādharmaṇabhāvo.

⁹ Tibetan: ji ltar yañ gos ni dgra la sogs pas mi len pa de'i phyir de bzin du sbed dgos pa dañ / gyon pa na rgyan du 'gyur ba. Pāli: yathā hi naṃ paccatthikā na gaṇhanti tathā gopetaḅbaṃ hoti, paribhuñjantassa vibhūsanatṭhānabhāvo.

¹⁰ Tibetan: khyer nas 'gro ba na lus kyi khur po chen por 'gro ba. Pāli: gahetvā carantassa khandhabhāramahicchabhāvo.

¹¹ Tibetan: rtswa mun dza dum bu dum bur byas nas. Pāli: muñjatiṇaṃ hīrahīraṃ katvā. The Pāli phrase is given by Morris as: ‘making (three) strips or strings out of (the fibre of) muñja grass’ as a girdle for an ascetic’. See R. Morris, “Notes and Queries”, *JPTS*, London: PTS, 1884, rpt. Delhi, 1985, pp. 102-103.

¹² Tibetan: śiñ śuñ. Pāli: vākacīraṃ nivāsesiṃ.

¹³ Tibetan: sgrog ni śiñ śuñ, Pāli: kataṃ vākacīraṃ.

I 13.

These are endowed with twelve good qualities.

Tree bark clothes have twelve benefits:

1. The first benefit is their lack of value, beauty, and suitability.
2. The second benefit is that it is possible to make them with one's own hands.
3. The third benefit is that when one uses them although they become soiled, it is possible to wash them quickly.¹
4. The fourth benefit is that although they become worn when one uses them it is possible to repair them.
5. The fifth benefit is their ability to cause joy when sought.
6. The sixth benefit is that they are suitable for an ascetic who has gone forth.
7. The seventh benefit is that they are undesirable to robbers.
8. The eighth benefit is that when they are worn they are the adornment of an ascetic.
9. The ninth benefit is that when they are worn they are light.
10. The tenth benefit is that religious robes have little appeal in themselves.²
11. The eleventh benefit is that when there is excitement there is no sin for the practitioner.³
12. The twelfth benefit is that when tree bark clothes are lost it is of little concern.

I 14.

Abandoning the hut of leaves possessing eight faults.⁴

How did I abandon it? (15b) Changing⁵ my best clothes, and taking the red clothes, that are like the colour of garlands of *anoja*⁶ flowers, and wearing them as lower⁷ robes, and moreover, wearing tree bark clothes that are yellow on top. Wearing⁸ a covering of leopard skin, together with its paws,⁹ that is liken to a mat of *punnāga*¹⁰ flowers, I bound the ringlets of hair to my head, inserting a stiff needle in order to strengthen¹¹ the knot of hair on my crown. I inserted a draw cord, that was like a string of pearls, around the coral coloured flask. Taking the stick that was bent in three places, and grasping the carrying-pole with the jug on one end, and the bamboo pole with an iron hook at both ends, and the trident and so on, I

¹ Tibetan: loṅs spyod pa na dri ma can du gyur kyaṅ myur du bkru bar nus pa. Pāli: paribhogena sanikaṃ kilissati dhoviyamāne pi papañco n' atthi.

² Tibetan: chos gos so so la 'dod pa chuṅ ba. Pāli: cīvarapaccaye appichabhāvo.

³ Tibetan: sloṅ ba na chos pa la kha na ma tho ba med pa. Pāli: vākuppattiyā dhammikaanavajjabhāvo.

⁴ Tibetan: skyon brgyad daṅ ldan pa'i lo ma'i khaṅ pa dor. Pāli: aṭṭhdosasaṃākiṅṅaṃ pajahiraṃ paṇṇasālakaraṃ.

⁵ Tibetan: rigs su gyur pa. Pāli: omuñcanto.

⁶ Tibetan: a ṅa 'o dza. Pāli: anojā.

⁷ Tibetan: smad. Pāli omits.

⁸ Tibetan: gyon te. Pāli: ekaṃsaṃ katvā.

⁹ Tibetan: rkaṅ pa daṅ bcas pa'i gzig gi phabs pa'i gyaṅ gzi. Pāli: sakhuraṃ ajinacammaṃ.

¹⁰ Tibetan: pun nā ga. Pāli: punnāga. E. Alexandrian laurel; *Calophyllum inophyllum* L; Clusiaceae, see J. Liyanaratne, "South Asian Flora as reflected in the Twelfth-Century Pāli Lexicon Abhidhānappadīpikā", *JPTS*, 20, 1994, p. 91.

¹¹ Tibetan: brtan par bya phyir. Pāli: niccalabhāvakaraṇatthaṃ.

carried them. Carrying the load on one shoulder, and grasping the staff in the right hand, I emerged¹ from the leaf-hut. Walking to and fro on the great walkway of sixty cubits length, and looking at my own clothes, thought: 'I have obtained fully my wish. I went forth into splendour, this is the going forth that is praised and glorified by heroic beings such as the Buddhas and *paccekabuddhas*. Abandoning the fetter of the house, I performed the duty of a *samana*, and renouncing,² obtained the highest going forth. I obtained the fruit of joy,³ and delight arose.' I gently⁴ put the load on the ground,⁵ and (16a) sat like a golden statue on top of a yellow coloured stone in the middle of the walkway. Spending part of the day there, at evening time I stayed⁶ inside the leaf hut. Sleeping on top of a well arranged wooden couch,⁷ rising in the last watch of the night,⁸ clothing the body with cool clothes,⁹ and reflected on the meaning of my arrival: 'I saw the fault¹⁰ of the householder's state, abandoning enjoyment of ambrosia¹¹ and endless fame. Abiding in solitude,¹² I went forth in order to seek renunciation. Then having grasped that¹³ I did not think¹⁴ of practising heedlessness, and abandoned solitude, and going was bitten by the flies of wrong thought,¹⁵ it is proper that I reject solitude.¹⁶ I, seeing also the attendant confusion¹⁷ of the state of a householder, went out and made this pleasant leaf hut, laying golden coloured clay on the ground. The walls were white, like the colour of silver, and the roof had a covering of leaves that was red, like the colour of a pigeon's feet. Sleeping on a multi coloured mat on a wooden bed. They see happiness in that abode, and see¹⁸ it to be like the abundant accomplishment of the householder.' Looking at the fault¹⁹ of the leaf hut and seeing its eight faults, when using the leaf hut there are eight faults:²⁰

1. (16b) Seeking to build a house there is the necessity of much wealth and much wood, this is the first fault.²¹

¹ Tibetan: byuñ ste. Pāli: nikkhamitvā.

² Tibetan: ñes par byuñ. Pāli: nekkhamma.

³ Tibetan: bde ba'i bras bu. Pāli: maggaphalasukhañ.

⁴ Tibetan: dal bus. Pāli omits.

⁵ Tibetan: khur dal bus sa la b'zag nas. Pāli: ussāhajāto khārikājañ otāretvā.

⁶ Tibetan: b'zugs nas. Pāli: pavisitvā.

⁷ Tibetan: śiñ khri legs po'i g'zog. Pāli: bīdalamañcakapasse kaṭṭhattarikāya.

⁸ Tibetan: nam gyi cha smad la. Pāli: balavapaccūse.

⁹ Tibetan: lus la ser bus gos par byed ciñ. Pāli: sarīrañ utuñ gāhāpetvā.

¹⁰ Tibetan: skyon. Pāli: ādīnava.

¹¹ Tibetan: bdud rtsi la loñs spyod. Pāli: amitabhoga.

¹² Tibetan: dgon par gnas te. Pāli: araññiñ pavisitvā.

¹³ Tibetan: de nas bzuñ nas. Pāli: ito dāni paṭṭhāya.

¹⁴ Tibetan: mi rtogs pa. Pāli: na vaṭṭati.

¹⁵ Tibetan: log pa'i sbrañ mas. Pāli: micchāvitakkamakkhikā.

¹⁶ Tibetan: bdag gis rab tu bden pa dor bar rigs so. Pāli: mayā vivekañ anubrūhetuñ vaṭṭati.

¹⁷ Tibetan: zañ ziñ dañ bcas par. Pāli: palibodhato.

¹⁸ Tibetan: mthoñ. Pāli: paññāyati

¹⁹ Tibetan: skyon. Pāli: dosa.

²⁰ Tibetan: skyon. Pāli: ādīnava.

²¹ Tibetan: śiñ mañ po la nor mañ po dgos pa dañ / bsdus nas khañ pa byed ciñ tshol ba. Pāli: mahāsambhārena dabbasambhāre samodhānetvā karaṇapariyesanabhāvo.

2. When repeatedly consuming the earth and grass¹ it is necessary to replenish it continually, this is the second fault. {Pā10}
 3. The sleeping place is appropriate for the elders, though it necessitates rising at unseemly times, leading to not abiding in single pointedness of mind, this is the third fault.²
 4. Putting the body at ease,³ by suppressing cold and heat, this is the fourth fault.
 5. Entering into the house, one is able to act sinfully, and avert shame, this is the fifth fault.
 6. Protecting it saying: ‘This is mine’, this is the sixth fault.
 7. Two living in the house,⁴ is the seventh fault.
 8. There will be many creatures living there, such as lice, bed bugs, and fleas,⁵ this is the eighth fault.
- Seeing these eight faults, the Mahāsatta abandoned the leaf hut. On account of this it is said

I 15.

Approaching the root of a tree that is endowed with ten good qualities.

Abandoning the leaf hut with eight faults,
when dwelling at the foot of a tree, there are ten good qualities.

Abandoning those places of concealment, dwelling at the foot of a tree
has ten good qualities.⁶

Therein the ten good qualities⁷ are:

1. It is unnecessary to gather up grass and earth, this is the first good quality.
2. Only abiding there to sleep, one finds it unnecessary to guard it, this is the second good quality.
3. One uses it without having to clean it, and abides happily, without having to hoard things, this is the third (17a) good quality.
4. If one is shameful, there is no concealment there, but there is no concealment there for are no sinful acts there,⁸ this is the fourth good quality.
5. Since one abides without clothes, one accordingly does not continually restrict the body⁹, this is the fifth good quality.

¹ Tibetan: rtswa dañ sa. Pāli: tiṇapaṇṇamattikā.

² Tibetan: ñal ba’i gnas zes bya ba ni chen po la rigs te / dus ma yin par sloñ dgos pas sems gcig tu mi gnas pa dañ / ’gro dgos pa.

³ Tibetan: lus bde bar byed pa. Pāli: kāyassa sukhumālakaraṇa.

⁴ Tibetan: khyim pa yod zes pa gñis pa. Pāli: gehassa atthibhāvo nāma sadutiyakavāso.

⁵ Tibetan: śig dañ / ’dre śig dañ khyi śig la sogs pa. Pāli: ūkamaṅkuṇaḥaragoḷikādīnaṃ.

⁶ This does not appear as a verse in the Pāli, and in the Tibetan it is missing one foot of verse.

⁷ Tibetan: yon tan bcu po. Pāli: dasa guṇa.

⁸ Tibetan: ño tsha ba na yib pa med pa ciñ der sdiḡ pa byed pa med la sbed pa med pa. Pāli: “garamṃ na paṭicchādeti, tattha hi pāpaṃ karonto lajjatīti” garahāya apaṭicchannabhāvo.

⁹ Tibetan: bla gab med pa’i gnas bzin du lus rtag tu sdod pa med pa. Pāli: “abbhokāsavāso viya kāyaṃ na santhambhetīti” kāyassa asanthambhanabhāvo.

6. One does not desire to possess things, this is the sixth good quality.
7. One abandons the desire of a householder,¹ is the seventh good quality.
8. When living like that one does not have to grasp many necessities, nor guard them, so one is free from desire,² this is the eighth good quality.
9. When staying there one is without joy,³ this is the ninth good quality.
10. An abode at the foot of a tree is easily obtained, without any problem, and is without regard,⁴ this is the tenth good quality.

The text says: 'Seeing these ten good qualities, I will abide at the foot of a tree.' Considering⁵ those sort of acts, the Mahāsatta went for alms on the following day and reached the village instantly. Those village people became extremely joyful and gave him alms. He departed at noon and went to his abode, and arriving there sat down thinking: 'I did not go forth for the sake of obtaining alms. This sweet scented food increases the pride of conceit, and the pride of desirous men, relying on the basis of food there is no end to suffering. I moreover, abandoning grain foods which are produced through sowing and harvesting, will depend on fruit, the best of food.' He then obtained that, and acting in that way, exerted the (17b) suffering body,⁶ and within seven days the eight attainments and five higher knowledges arose. On account of that it is said:

Bv II 32-33

Abandoning absolutely all sown and harvested grains,
living on fruit that has many good qualities.⁷

There in the place of exertion, the assembly hall and walkway,⁸
he obtained the power of higher knowledge within seven days.

I 16.

The Bhagavan Dipaṅkara appeared.

Obtaining higher knowledge⁹ in that way, the ascetic Sumedha dwelled in the bliss of attainment. At that

¹ Tibetan: khyim gyi 'dod pa spaṅs pa. Pāli: gehālayapaṭikkhepo.

² Tibetan: maṅ po dgos pa'i 'dzin pa med pa daṅ / yoṅs su bsruṅ ba med pa daṅ / 'gro ba na 'dod pa med pa. Pāli: bahusādāraṇagehe viya "paṭijjagissāmi naṅ nikkhamathā" ti nīharaṇakābhāvo.

³ Tibetan: sdod pa na dga' ba daṅ bcas pa med pa. Pāli: vasantassa sappitīkabhāvo.

⁴ Tibetan: śiṅ druṅ gi gnas ni soṅ žiṅ soṅ ba na rñed sla ba daṅ / ltos pa med pa. Pāli: rukkhamaṅgāsenāsanassa gatagataṭṭhāne sulabhatāya anapekkhabhāvo.

⁵ Tibetan: bsams pa'o. Pāli: sallakkhetvā.

⁶ Tibetan: des de nas de blaṅs te / de ltar byas nas lus sdug bsṅal du 'bad pa byas pa daṅ. Pāli: so tato paṭṭhāya tathā katvā ghaṭanto vāyamanto.

⁷ Tibetan: yon tan du ma daṅ ldan pa'i // 'bras bu sogs la 'jug pa'o//. Pāli: anekaguṇasampannaṅ pavattaphalaṅ ādiyim.

⁸ Tibetan: der ni dka' thub kyis gnas daṅ // sdod daṅ 'chag pa'i gnas rnam su //. Pāli: Tattha-ppadhānaṅ padahiṅ nisajjattṭhānacariṅkame.

⁹ Tibetan: mṅon par śes pa. Pāli: abhiññābalaṅ.

time the teacher named Dīpaṅkara appeared in the world. On his entering the womb, at his birth, on his enlightenment, and when turning the wheel of the Dhamma the ten thousand realms of the world shook, and trembled, {Pā11} proclaimed a sound, proclaimed a great sound.¹ And thirty–two signs² appeared. Sumedha the ascetic dwelled in the bliss of attainment, and did not hear those sounds, nor see those signs. On account of which it is said:

Bv II 34-35

Relying on one seat I thus acquired attainment,³
while the Jina Dīpaṅkara appeared as a guide for the world.

Not seeing the four signs, nor hearing his entry into a womb, birth,
enlightenment, or teaching of the Dhamma, (18a) due to the bliss of absorption.⁴

I 17.

The coming of the Bhagavan Dīpaṅkara to the city of Ramma.

At that time Dasabala Dīpaṅkara, together with an assembly of four hundred thousand *arhats*, walking by stages for the benefit of beings,⁵ arrived at the city named Rammaka,⁶ and stayed⁷ at the great temple named Sudassana.⁸ Those who lived in the city of Rammaka said: ‘Dīpaṅkara, lord of *samanas*, obtained that very supreme perfect enlightenment, and turned the wheel of the good Dhamma. Accordingly, he walked by stages, for the benefit of beings,⁹ and has arrived at the city named Rammaka, where he stays at the great temple of Sudassana.’ Those dwelling there heard this, and holding aloft in their hands butter ghee, and so forth, and medicine, clothes and bedding, and the like,¹⁰ scented garlands, and the like. Prostrating to the place where the Buddha, Dhamma and *saṅgha* were and rejoicing therein. Then, with great reverence they entered the teacher's presence, making salutations with offerings of scents, and so forth. Sitting at one side they listened to the teaching of the Dhamma, and then after making invitation for the midday meal on the following day, went from their seats. They, after doing this, made preparations for tomorrow's great meal, decorating the city. Adorning the path by which Dasabala (18b) would arrive, sprinkling earth on those parts of the ground that were uneven due to puddles, they made them even, and

¹ Tibetan: g.yos so // rab tu g.yos so // sgra sgrogs so // sgra cher sgrogs so //. Pāli: saṅkampi sampakampi sampavedhī mahāviraṃ viravī.

² Tibetan: sñon gyi mtshan ma. Pāli: pubbanimitta.

³ Tibetan: stan gcig la ni brten nas su // bdag gis de ltar grub thob. Pāli: Evaṃ me siddhipattassa vasībhūtaṃ sāsane.

⁴ Tibetan: bsam gtan bde bas. Pāli: jhānaratisamappito.

⁵ Tibetan has: sems can la phan pa'i phyir. Pāli omits (*sattānaṃ hitāya)

⁶ Tibetan: dGa' ba can.

⁷ Tibetan: bžugs. Pāli: paṭivasati.

⁸ Tibetan: blTa na sdug.

⁹ Tibetan has: sems can la phan pa'i phyir. Pāli omits (*sattānaṃ hitāya)

¹⁰ Tibetan omits. Pāli has: gāhāpetvā.

decorated it with silver¹ coloured sand. Then, scattering it with garlands² of flowers and *lāja*³ flowers, they raised royal standards of multi coloured cloth and pendants, and so forth. After arranging pots filled with banana trees⁴ they put them on the path. At that time Sumedha the ascetic rose up in front⁵ of his own abode, and going to the sky above those men, saw those men joyous and contented.⁶ Descending⁷ from the sky and sitting on the ground at one side he asked the men:⁸ ‘Sirs,⁹ who has decorated this path?’ On account of which it is said:

Bv II 36-39

Those in the neighbouring country offered the Tathāgata a meal,
joyful and happy beside the path from which he came.¹⁰

Then at that time I left my own abode,¹¹
birchbark clothes moved by the wind, I then went into the sky.

Seeing happy, contented men sweeping the path,
arriving from the sky I questioned the men at once. {Pā12}

‘The populace is happy, contented, joyful, learned and wise,¹²
when you level the path, for whose sake are you (19a) preparing this path?’

The men said this: ‘Sir, does not the ascetic¹³ Sumedha know that Dasabala Dīpaṃkara has obtained perfect and complete enlightenment, and turned the wheel of the Dhamma. He is wandering for the sake of benefiting all beings.¹⁴ Having arrived at our village, he resides¹⁵ at the great temple of Sudassana, and we have invited the Bhagavan for a meal. Therefore, the path on which the Buddha the Bhagavan arrives, is being adorned.’ The ascetic Sumedha thought: ‘Even the mere sound of the word Buddha is difficult to

¹ Tibetan: dñul. Pāli: rajatapaṭṭa.

² Tibetan: ’phreñ ba. Pāli omits (*mālā).

³ Tibetan: sil ma. Pāli: lāja.

⁴ Tibetan: chu śiñ gi śiñ. Pāli: kadali.

⁵ Tibetan: steñ du. Pāli omits.

⁶ Tibetan omits. Pāli has: kin nu kho kāraṇan.

⁷ Tibetan: sa la. Pāli: oruhya.

⁸ Tibetan: nam mkha’ nas sa la phyogs gcig tu ’khod pa la mi rnam kyis dris so. Pāli: ākāśato oruhya ekamantaṃ ṭhito manusse pucchi.

⁹ Tibetan: bsod nams dañ ldan pa rnam. Pāli: hambho.

¹⁰ Tibetan: de ñid byin nas lam ’di ni // sems ni dga’ bas lam phyogs gcig. Pāli: tassa āgamanammaggaṃ sodhenti tuṭṭhamānasā.

¹¹ Tibetan: rañ gi gnas ni byed pa dañ. Pāli: nikkhamitvā sakassamā.

¹² Tibetan: dga’ dañ tshim la bde ba yi // mkhas śiñ rig pa’i skye bo che. Pāli: Tuṭṭhahaṭṭho pamodito vedajāto mahājano.

¹³ Tibetan: dka’ thub pa. Pāli omits (*tāpasa).

¹⁴ Tibetan: sems can rnam la phan pa’i don du. Pāli omits.

¹⁵ Tibetan: bźugs. Pāli: paṭivasati.

find in this world. How much more the appearance of a Buddha, it is then proper that I work together with those men to decorate the path by which Dasabala will arrive.' He said to those men: 'If you decorate this path for the sake of the Buddha, give one place to me! I too will decorate the path together with you.' After reflecting¹ they said: 'Very well.' Knowing that the ascetic Sumedha possessed psychic powers, and mutually reflecting² on the spot which was damaged by water. They gave the order: 'You³ decorate that spot!' Sumedha through joy (19b) in the Buddha thought: 'I am able to adorn this place by psychic power. Although to adorn it like that gives me no satisfaction, today I will tire my body.'⁴ Taking earth he scattered it in that place. At the place that was not yet decorated, the great ascetic, Dasabala Dīpaṅkara, who was endowed with the six higher knowledges, and accompanied by a retinue of four hundred thousand *arhats*, was worshipped by those *devas* with divine perfumes and garlands of flowers, and they sang heavenly songs. The men performed worship with human perfumes, and garlands of flowers. Accordingly the infinite play of the Buddha⁵ proclaimed⁶ the lion's roar on top of mount Manosilātala,⁷ and after the decoration of the path, he arrived at the path.⁸ Sumedha the ascetic saw with his own eyes the arrival of Dasabala on the decorated path. Adorned with the thirty-two beautiful⁹ characteristics of the great man, and resplendent with the eighty beautiful¹⁰ minor marks. Surrounded by six foot light rays, the Buddha's light rays had six colours, and at that time the various rays of lightning in the lower part of the sky were like the colour of jewels, arising at an unseasonable time¹¹ and in pairs. Seeing he who had obtained the highest form I thought: (20a) 'Today it is proper that I renounce life like Dasabala. It is not right for the Bhagavan to walk on mud. {Pā13} It will be for my happiness and profit for a long time if I request the Bhagavan, together with the four hundred thousand *arhats*, to proceed by treading on my back, as if going by placing the feet on a bridge of jewelled planks.' Loosening my hair, and clothes of leopard skin and tree bark,¹² I lay on top of the mud like a bridge of jewelled planks on the dark mud. On account of which it is said:

Bv II 40-52

Questioned by me, they answered : 'The Buddha who transcends the world,
the Jina named Dīpaṅkara, appears as leader of the world.'

¹ Tibetan: bsams nas. Pāli: sampañcchitvā.

² Tibetan: bsams nas. Pāli: sallakkhetvā.

³ Tibetan omits. Pāli: tvaṃ.

⁴ Tibetan: bdag gis de riñ lus dub par byas so. Pāli: ajja mayā kāyaveyyāvaccarāṃ kātum vaṭṭati.

⁵ Tibetan: saṅs rgyas kyi rol pa. Pāli: Buddhaliṅha.

⁶ Tibetan: sgra sgrogs pa. Pāli: vijambhamāno.

⁷ Tibetan: ri ma no śi la.

⁸ Tibetan: byon. Pāli: paṭipajji.

⁹ Tibetan: bzañ po. Pāli omits.

¹⁰ Tibetan: bzañ po. Pāli omits.

¹¹ Tibetan: dus ma yin par 'byuñ ba ñid. Pāli: āvaḷāveḷabhūta.

¹² Tibetan: gzig gi pags pa dañ / śiñ śuñ gyi gos dañ. Pāli: ajinajaṭāvākacirāni.

I prepared the uneven path and swept that path¹

I heard the word buddha, and joy immediately arose.

Saying: 'buddha buddha', happiness and joy arose.

I searched among that assembly, thinking of the arisen happiness and joy,²

'Planting seeds there, they sprouted for me immediately.³

If you give me one place⁴ to sweep for the Buddha's sake,

I also will sweep it, and prepare the uneven parts.⁵

Then they gave me one place to sweep on the path,⁶ (20b)

thinking: 'buddha buddha', I then prepared the path.

Before my part was finished, the great sage Dīpamkara,
the four hundred thousand *arhats*, possessing like him the six higher knowledges,
who were stainless and free of defilement, arrived on the royal path.

They prepared to meet, and some played music,
those *devas* and men rejoiced, saying 'It is good.'

The *devas* saw those men, and the men also saw those *devas*,
both made salutation, proceeding together to the Tathāgata.

The divine music of *devas*, and worldly music of men,
both types of music played, proceeding together to the Tathāgata.

Divine *mandāra*⁷ flowers, lotus, and *pāricchattaka*⁸ tree,
the *devas* dwelling in the sky, scattered flowers in all directions and sides.

Campaka, *salala*, *nīpa*,⁹ *nāgapunnāga* and *ketaka*¹⁰ trees,

¹ Tibetan: mi mñam lam ni 'chos pa dañ // de yi lam ni byi dor byed. Pāli: tassa sodhīyatī maggo añjasam vaṭumāyanam.

² Tibetan: tshim źiñ dga' ba skyes pa'i sems // de ru 'khor te mnam par bsam. Pāli: Tattha ṭhatvā vincintesiṃ tuṭṭho samviggamānaso.

³ Tibetan: 'dir ni sa bon bskrun byas nas // de ma thag tu bdag la skye. Pāli: idha bījāni ropissam, khaṇo ve mā upaccagā.

⁴ Tibetan: ma bcos gnas gcig bdag la byin. Pāli: ekoḷāsam dadātha me.

⁵ Tibetan: bdag kyañ byi dor byed pa yin // mi mñam pa ni 'chos pa'o. Pāli: aham pi sodhayissāmi añjasam vaṭumāyanam.

⁶ Tibetan: de tshe lam ni byi dor bya // bdag la ma bcos gnas gcig byin. Pāli: Adamsu te mam' okāsam sodhetum añjasam tadā.

⁷ Tibetan: man dā ra, (S: manda ra, DQLN : man dā ra). Pāli: mandāra, E. Apple of Sodom, Mudar; *Calotropis procera* (Aiton) R. Br., Asclepiadaceae, see J. Liyanaratne, "South Asian Flora as reflected in the Twelfth-Century Pāli Lexicon Abhidhānappadīpikā", *JPTS*, 20, 1994, p. 55.

⁸ Tibetan: pa ri tsad tra ka. tsam pa kañ śā la lam ni pañ // nā gā punnā gā ke ta kañ.

⁹ Tibetan: ni pañ Pāli: nīpa, E. Indian oak; *Barringtonia racemosa* (L.) Spreng., Lecythidaceae, see J. Liyanaratne, "South Asian Flora as reflected in the Twelfth-Century Pāli Lexicon Abhidhānappadīpikā", *JPTS*, 20, 1994, p. 86.

¹⁰ Tibetan: ke ta kañ. Pāli: ketaka, E. Screw pine; *Pandanus odoratissimus* L.f., *P. zeylanicus* Solms (IFPC) (= *P. fascicularis* Lam, *P. tectorius* auct. non Sol. ex Parkinson), Pandanaceae, see J. Liyanaratne, "South Asian Flora

were spread on the ground in all directions and sides by those men on the spot.

There, I loosened my hair, spreading on the mud my tree bark clothes and leopard skin, I lay face down.¹

‘It will be a benefit to me, to request that the Buddha and assembly of pupils do not step on the mud, but step on me.’

I 18.

The resolution of Sumedha to become a Buddha.

Moreover, (21a) lying on the mud I saw with my own eyes Dasabala Dīpaṅkara, and the glory of the Buddha.² I thought thus: ‘If, wishing to subdue all my defilements, I were to become a novice in the *saṅgha* who desired to enter³ the city of Ramma, even though {Pā14} disguised⁴ as one who has subdued these defilements⁵ there would be no purpose in obtaining *nibbāna*. I should rather act in the same way as Dasabala Dīpaṅkara who, after obtaining perfect enlightenment, put many people in a boat⁶ on the great ocean of *samsāra*, and made them cross to the other side. Following that it would be proper that I obtain this *nibbāna*.’ Then, collecting⁷ the eight *dharmas* together as one, I lay there, seeing in my mind the aspiration for buddhahood.⁸ On account of which it is said:

Bv II 53-57

While lying on the ground, I thought thus:

‘Today I desire to subdue my defilements.

I, although in disguise, realised the Dhamma in that place,⁹
after obtaining omniscience, I will be Buddha among the *devas*.

as reflected in the Twelfth-Century Pāli Lexicon *Abhidhānappadīpikā*”, *JPTS*, 20, 1994, p. 71.

¹ Tibetan: kha bub tu. Pāli: avakujja. See R. Morris, “Notes and Queries”, *JPTS*, London: PTS, 1886, rpt. Delhi, 1985, pp. 148-149.

² Tibetan: saṅs rgyas kyi ’byor pa. Pāli: Buddhasirim.

³ Tibetan: ’jug par ’dod do. Pāli: paviseyyaṃ.

⁴ Tibetan: gzan gyi cha lugs. Pāli: aññātakavesena.

⁵ Tibetan: gal te bdag gi ñon moṅs pa thams cad g’zom par ’dod pa daṅ / dge ’dun mams kyi g’zom nur ’gyur bar bya ba daṅ / dga’ ba can gyi groṅ khyer du ’jug par ’dod do // gzan gyi cha lugs kyis kyaṅ ñon moṅs pa ’di g’zom par byas nas mya ṅan las ’das pa thob pa la don med do //. Pāli: Sace ahaṃ iccheyyaṃ sabbakilese jhāpetvā saṅghanavako hutvā Raṃmanagaraṃ paviseyyaṃ aññātakavesena pana me kilese jhāpetvā Nibbānapattiyā kiccaṃ n’atthi. This is a central passage in the development of the doctrine of the bodhisatta, both the Tibetan and Pāli are both slightly ambiguous as to the precise meaning of this passage.

⁶ Tibetan: grur. Pāli: dhammanāvāṃ.

⁷ Tibetan: bsdu ste. Pāli: samodhānetvā.

⁸ Tibetan: de nas chos bryad po gcig tu bsdu ste saṅs rgyas ’dod par smon pas sems la blta zin ñal lo. Pāli: Tato aṭṭha dhamme samodhānetvā. Buddhabhāvāya abhinīhāraṃ katvā.

⁹ Tibetan: bdag ni cha lugs gzan gyis kyaṅ // ’dir ni chos ’di mñon du bya. Pāli: Kim me aññātaveseṇa dhammasacchikaten’ idha.

But why should I, seen as a powerful man,¹ be liberated alone?
Having obtained omniscience, I will save those *devas* and men. (21b)

I, seen as a powerful man² due to my meritorious act,
obtained omniscience, and saved many people.

I cut the knot of *samsāra*,³ exhausted the three *bhavas*,
entered the boat of the Dhamma, and saved those *devas* and men.⁷

Moreover, because whoever aspires to buddhahood,

Bv II 58

With human form, a man, a cause, seeing a teacher,
an ascetic, endowed with good qualities, with knowledge⁴ and earnest desire,
assembling these eight things, the aspiration will prosper.

Abiding in human form, he established the perfect aspiration⁵ for buddhahood. Though even *nāgas*, *garudas* and *devas* do not fulfil that aspiration. Being in human form, and since he dwelled with human characteristics, he fulfilled the aspiration. Women, hermaphrodites, those without sexual distinction, and those with both characteristics,⁶ do not fulfil it. While in a human form he fully establishes in that body the wish to attain arhathood, while others do not establish it. If he is endowed with these causes, he fulfils the aspiration in the presence of a living Buddha. He does not fulfil the aspiration in front of the Buddha's *parinibbāna* shrine, or the *bodhi* tree. Possessing (22a) the characteristics of one who has gone forth, he fulfils the aspiration in the Buddha's presence, but one possessing the characteristics of a householder does not. One who has gone forth fulfils that aspiration by attaining the five higher knowledges and the eight attainments, but not if he is bereft of these qualities. Whoever is possessed of these qualities, and renounces their own body for the Buddha, fulfils it, but not in any other way.⁷ He fulfils it through his meritorious act,⁸ and perfects meritorious acts. Not in any other way. Whoever possesses this meritorious act fulfils it by means of a great wish, a great desire, a great exertion, and endeavour,⁹ for the sake of the *dhammas* causing buddhahood, not in any other way. There is in this case a simile for this great desire: 'If

¹ Tibetan: mthu ldan mthoñ ba dañ. Pāli: thāmadassinā.

² Tibetan: mthu dañ ldan pa mthoñ ba dañ. Pāli: thāmadassinā.

³ Tibetan: 'khor ba'i mdud pa. Pāli: saṃsārasotaṃ.

⁴ Tibetan: rigs pa; Pāli: hetu.

⁵ Tibetan: don du gñer ba. Pāli: patthanā.

⁶ Tibetan: za ma 'am / ma niñ nam / mtshan gñis pa. Pāli: paṇḍakanapunsakaubhatobyañjanakānaṃ.

⁷ Tibetan: gzan du ni ma yin no. Pāli omits.

⁸ Tibetan: gzi. Pāli: adhikāra.

⁹ Tibetan omits. Pāli has: pariyetṭhi.

in this way someone is able to go to the far side within the world's ramparts¹ that are filled with water, swimming by means of his own hands, {Pā15} he will obtain buddhahood. Or if the interior of the world's ramparts are filled with many bamboo trees, and moreover someone is able to proceed to the other side by making them into dust by trampling them with his feet, he is able to obtain buddhahood. Or, if the inside of the world's ramparts were filled with continuous pointed swords, with the upper points of those swords facing upwards, and someone is able to proceed to the other side by trampling them with his feet, he will obtain buddhahood. Or if having filled the inside of the world's ramparts with burning charcoal, (22b) someone is able to proceed to the other side crushing it with his feet, he will obtain buddhahood.' Those who do not consider the suffering² in whichever of these cases thinks: 'I also shall go to the other side, whether by crossing or proceeding to the other side.'³ In that way, when he possesses a great desire,⁴ joy, zeal, and endeavour,⁵ he establishes his aspiration, not in any other way. Furthermore, Sumedha the ascetic lay there, after gathering these eight *dharmas*, and making the aspiration⁶ for buddhahood.

I 19.

Sumedha's prediction to buddhahood by Bhagavan Dīpaṅkara.

Then the Bhagavan Dīpaṅkara also arrived, and stood near the ascetic Sumedha's head. Seeing with his eyes, that had the five pure colours⁷ like the entrance to the door of the cage of a jewelled lion house,⁸ he saw Sumedha the ascetic lying on the earth, and thought: 'This ascetic lays here after making the aspiration in order to become Buddha. Will he fulfil the aspiration for this or not?' Reflecting with a knowledge of the future, he thought: 'There after four immeasurable aeons and more than one hundred thousand aeons, he will be the Buddha named Gotama.' He made the prediction in the midst of the assembly saying: 'Do you see the asceticism of this supreme ascetic who lies on the ground?' They replied: 'Sir, (23a) indeed we see it.' The Buddha said: 'He lies here intending to obtain buddhahood.' And he asked: 'Will he fulfil his aspiration?', then he said: 'There after four immeasurable aeons and more than one hundred thousand aeons, he will be the Buddha named Gotama. Moreover, he will be born in this city of Kapilavatthu⁹. His mother will be the queen named Mahāmāya,¹⁰ his father the king named

¹ Tibetan: khor yug. Pāli: cakkavāla.

² Tibetan: sdug bśhal bar. Pāli: dukkarāṇi.

³ Tibetan: bdag gis 'di rnam kyañ pha rol tu bsgal ba 'am / 'gro ba 'am / pha rol tu 'gro bar bya'o źes źes so. Pāli: ahaṇ pi taritvā vā gantvā vā pāraṇi gahessāmīti.

⁴ Tibetan: 'dun. Pāli: chanda.

⁵ Tibetan: spro ba dañ / rtsol ba dañ / 'bad pa rnam. Pāli: ussāhena ca vāyāmena ca pariyetthiyā.

⁶ Tibetan: smon lam btab nas. Pāli: abhinīhāraṇ katvā.

⁷ Tibetan: kha dog lña pa rab tu dañs pa dañ ldan pa. Pāli: pañcavaṇṇapasādasampanna.

⁸ Tibetan: nor bu señ ge'i khañ pa'i gzeb kyi sgor 'don pa bźin du. Pāli: mañisihapañjaraṇi ugghātentō viya.

⁹ Tibetan: groñ khyer ser skya'i gnas.

¹⁰ Tibetan: lha mo sgyu 'phrul ma chen mo.

Suddhodana.¹ The foremost of his disciples will be Upatissa *thera*,² and the second Kolita *thera*.³ The Buddha's attendant will be named Ānanda.⁴ The foremost of his female disciples will be Khema *therī*,⁵ and the second Uppalavaṇṇa *therī*.⁶ After making the great renunciation his understanding will mature, and he will complete this great asceticism. Receiving milk rice at the foot of the *nigrodha*⁷ tree, and eating it on the bank of the river Nerañjara.⁸ Then going to the seat of enlightenment, at the foot of the *assattha*⁹ tree, he will become perfectly enlightened.⁹ On account of which it is said:

Bv II 59-68

Dīpaṅkara, knower of the world, arises in the world for the benefit of beings.¹⁰
Standing at my head,¹¹ the Buddha said these words:

'See this ascetic, following the most difficult austerity !
He, after the elapse of many¹² aeons, will become (23b) Buddha in the world.

{Pā16} Born in the pleasing city of Kapilavhaya the Tathāgata will go forth,
abiding in the ascetics' abode, practising difficult austerities.¹³

The Tathāgata will sit at the foot of the *ajapāla*¹⁴ tree,
receiving milk rice there, he will remain on the Nerañjara's bank.¹⁵

The Jina will enjoy the milk rice on the bank of the Nerañjara,
he will arrive at the root of *bodhi* tree, by¹⁶ the best path.

He will circumambulate the unsurpassed seat of *bodhi*,

¹ Tibetan: zas gtsaṅ ma.

² Tibetan: gnas brtan ñe rgyal.

³ Tibetan: gnas brtan paṅ nas skyes.

⁴ Tibetan: kun dga' bo.

⁵ Tibetan: gnas brtan ma dge ma.

⁶ Tibetan: gnas brtan ma ud pa la'i mdog can.

⁷ Tibetan: ñya gro dha. Pāli: nigrodha, E. Banyan, Bengal fig, Pagoda tree; *Ficus benghalensis* L., (= *F. altissima* var. *forgusonii* King), Moraceae, see J. Liyanaratne, "South Asian Flora as reflected in the Twelfth-Century Pāli Lexicon *Abhidhānappadīpikā*", *JPTS*, 20, 1994, p. 85.

⁸ Tibetan: nai ra dza ra.

⁹ Tibetan: a śva ttha. Pāli: assattha, E. Bo tree, Sacred fig tree; *Ficus religiosa* L., Moraceae, see J. Liyanaratne, "South Asian Flora as reflected in the Twelfth-Century Pāli Lexicon *Abhidhānappadīpikā*", *JPTS*, 20, 1994, p. 60.

¹⁰ Tibetan: sems can phan phyir 'jig rten byuṅ. Pāli: āhutīnaṃ paṭiggaho.

¹¹ Tibetan: mgo bo. Pāli: ussisa.

¹² Tibetan: maṅ. Pāli: aparimeyye.

¹³ Tibetan: ser skya dga' ba'i groṅ du 'khrunṅ // de bzin gśegs pa ñes par 'byuṅ // dka' thub gnas su gnas ni // śin tu dka' ba'i dka' thub spyad //. Pāli: Aho Kapilavhayaṃ rammā nikkhamitvā Tathāgato padhānaṃ padahitvāna katvā dukkarakāriyaṃ.

¹⁴ Tibetan: a tsa pā la.

¹⁵ Tibetan: nai ra dza ra'i 'gram gnas nas. Pāli: Nerañjaraṃ upehiti.

¹⁶ Tibetan: ched du. Pāli: paṭiyatta.

he will become Buddha¹ greatly renowned, at the foot of the *assattha*.²

The mother who bears him will be called Māya,³
his father will be named Suddhodana,⁴ he will be called Gotama.⁵

Defilements exhausted and free of passions, mind calm and collected,
Kolita and Upatissa will be⁶ the best of his disciples.

His attendant named Ānanda, will serve⁷ the Jina,
Khema and Uppalavaṇṇa will be⁸ the best female disciples.

Defilements exhausted and free of passions, mind calm and collected,
the Bhagavan's *bodhi* tree will be called the *assattha*.⁹

Hearing this,¹⁰ Sumedha the ascetic thought: 'I will fulfil that aspiration', and obtained happiness of mind. Many people heard Dasabala Dīpaṅkara's speech: 'Sumedha the ascetic (24a) is the sprouting seed of a Buddha.'¹¹ and joy and happiness arose. Then this thought occurred to each of them: 'Just as a man when going to the other side of the river, if he is unable to go to the other side from the steep edge of the bank, then he goes to the other side from the place at the lower part of the edge. Similarly, let me¹² not obtain the fruit of the path during the dispensation of Dasabala Dīpaṅkara, but in the future when you will be Buddha. Then we will understand when you make clear the fruit of the path.', and they made the aspiration. Dasabala Dīpaṅkara uttered the praises of the Bodhisatta, and offered eight heaps of flowers, and after circumambulating him, departed. Those four hundred thousand *arhats* who had exhausted the defilements also made offerings of perfumes and flowers to the Bodhisatta, and after circumambulating him, departed. Likewise, those *devas* and men made offerings and salutations to him and departed.

I20.

The appearance of the prognostic signs.

When all those beings had departed the Bodhisatta arose from the place where he lay, and sat crosslegged

¹ Tibetan: saṅs rgyas 'gyur. Pāli: bujjhissati.

² Tibetan: a śva ttha. Pāli: assattha, E. Bo tree, Sacred fig tree; *Ficus religiosa* L., Moraceae, see J. Liyanaratne, "South Asian Flora as reflected in the Twelfth-Century Pāli Lexicon *Abhidhānappadīpikā*", *JPTS*, 20, 1994, p. 60.

³ Tibetan: sgyu ma.

⁴ Tibetan: zas gtsaṅ.

⁵ Tibetan: gō ta ma.

⁶ Tibetan: yin no. Pāli: hessanti.

⁷ Tibetan: źabs tog byed. Pāli: upatṭhissati.

⁸ Tibetan: yin no. Pāli: hessanti.

⁹ Tibetan: a śva ttha.

¹⁰ Tibetan: de thos nas. Pāli omits.

¹¹ Tibetan: saṅs rgyas kyī sa bon gyī myu gu. Pāli: Buddhabijaṃ Buddhamaṅkura.

¹² Tibetan: bdag gis. Pāli: mayaṃ.

on top of a heap of flowers in order to reflect on the perfections. While the Bodhisatta was sitting like that the *devas* of the entire ten thousand fold world systems¹ gave approval, saying: ‘Noble² ascetic Sumedha, those former bodhisattas also sat crosslegged reflecting on the perfections. Likewise while sitting at that former time (24b) they saw the prognostic signs of suffering,³ those characteristics also appear today. We know without doubt you will be Buddha. {Pā17} Whoever sees⁴ these characteristics, he will certainly become a Buddha. There you, seizing your own supreme firm effort,⁵ make praises of various kinds to those bodhisattas.’ On account of which it is said:

Bv II 70-107

Hearing these words of the unequalled great sage,
devas and men rejoiced: ‘This is the sprouting seed of a Buddha.’

Sounding a great acclamation, making happiness and laughter and,
together with the *devas* of the ten thousand, joining hands and making salutation.

If not obtaining⁶ the fruit of this lord of the world’s teaching,
then in the distant future they will stand before him.⁷

Just as the man crossing the river goes to the river's edge,⁸
taking the lower edge, he goes to the other side of the great river.

Thus, in that way, if I were to miss this Jina⁹
after going to the distant future, I would then stand before him.¹⁰

Dīpaṅkara, knower of the world, said this will be.¹¹
Having cleansed¹² my actions, I raised my right foot.

Whoever were sons of the Jina, all made circumambulation to me.

¹ Tibetan omits. Pāli has: sannipatitvā.

² Tibetan: 'phags pa. Pāli: ayya.

³ Tibetan: sdug bsñal gyi mtshan ma mthoñ nas. Pāli: pubbanimittāni nāma paññāyanti. The Tibetan *sdug bsñal* in this sentence is perhaps a mistake for: *sñon*, since the term: *sñon gyi mtshan ma*, occurs later in the text for the Pāli: pubbanimitta, see section II 12 of the edition.

⁴ Tibetan: mthoñ bar gyur. Pāli: paññāyanti.

⁵ Tibetan: de la khyod bdag ñid brtson 'grus brtan po mchog bzuñ nas. Pāli: tvaṃ attano viriyaṃ dalhaṃ katvā paggaṇhā.

⁶ Tibetan: ma thob. Pāli: virajjhissāma.

⁷ Tibetan: ma 'oñs pa rñams 'das gyur nas // 'di ni sñon du gyur ba'o//. Pāli: anāgatamhi addhāne hessāma sammukhā imañ.

⁸ Tibetan: 'gro ba bo yi mu gnas la //. Pāli: paṭitthaṃ virajjhiya.

⁹ Tibetan: de ltar 'di ltar bdag gis ni // rgyal ba 'di ni gal te na //, Pāli: Evaṃ evaṃ mayaṃ sabbe yadi muñcem imaṃ Jinaṃ.

¹⁰ Tibetan: ma 'oñs pa ni mañ soñ nas // 'di ni mñon sum gyur pa yin //. Pāli: anāgatamhi addhāne hessāma sammukhā imañ.

¹¹ Tibetan: 'di ltar 'gyur zes gsuñs pa yin//. Pāli: āhutinaṃ paṭiggaho.

¹² Tibetan: bsal byas, Pāli: pakittetvā.

Those men, *nāgas* and *gandhabbas*, made salutation and (25a) departed.

When I saw the departure of the leader of the world with the *saṅgha*,
I then rose from my seat with a mind happy and contented.

I am pleased with happiness, and delighted by joy,
then I sat crosslegged, and joy arose.

Abiding there cross-legged, I thought in this way:
'I am overpowered by *jhāna*, that surpasses understanding.¹

In the thousand fold world system there is no sage who is equal with me,
I am without equal in psychic powers, without obtaining² such happiness as this.

Sitting cross-legged I dwelled among the ten thousand,
they made a great shout: 'You will surely be Buddha.

Whichever of those former bodhisattas who sat cross-legged,
saw those characteristics that are seen today.

The cold is absent, and heat is allayed,
these are seen today, you will surely be Buddha.

The ten thousand fold world systems, are each without fear,³
these are seen today, you will surely be Buddha. {Pā18}

Without strong winds, and reversing the flow of rivers⁴
these are seen today, you will surely be Buddha.

Those flowers of the plain and water, all are flowering,
they are flowering today, (25b) you will surely be Buddha.⁵

Creepers or trees, instantly produced fruit,
since they are all fruiting, you will surely be Buddha.

In the air, and on the ground, jewels diffused light,
since they diffuse light today, you will surely go⁶ to buddhahood.

Those *devas* and men, they produce the sounds of music,
since they produce the sounds today, you will surely be Buddha.

¹ Tibetan: bdag gi bsam gtan dbaṅ du gyur // ye śes kyi ni pha rol phyin // . Pāli: abhiññāsu pāramiṃ gato.

² Tibetan: ma thob. Pāli: alabhiṃ.

³ Tibetan: phan tshun du ni 'jigs med gyur // . Pāli: nissadā hoti nirākulā.

⁴ Tibetan: rluṅ chen po ni mi ldañ žiñ // chu rnam rgyun las log pa dañ // . Pāli: Mahāvātā na vāyanti, na sandanti savantiyo.

⁵ Tibetan: than skyes chu skyes me tog rnam // thams cad du ni me tog byed // de rnam de riñ me tog bye // ñes par khyod ni saṅs rgyas 'gyur // . Pāli: Thalajā dakajā pupphā sabbe pupphanti tāvade, te p' ajja pupphitā sabbe, dhuvaṃ Buddho bhavissati.

⁶ Tibetan: 'gro. Pāli: bhavissasi.

Masses of various flowers, immediately rained down
since they rain down today, you will surely be Buddha.

The great ocean was unmoved,¹ the ten thousand worlds shook,
since they are shaking today, you will surely be Buddha.

Those ten thousand hells were immediately free of burning,
since they are allayed today, you will surely be Buddha.

The sun is clear and all the stars can be seen,
since they are seen today, you will surely be Buddha.

Although rain did not fall the earth was slightly smeared,
since it is on the earth today, you will surely be Buddha.

The host of stars shine, those stars in the heavens of the sky,
as if associating with the moon, you will surely be Buddha.

The pit and cave dwellers, with one mind see the other side,²
since today (26a) they are happy minded, you will surely be Buddha.

Those beings are without unhappiness, they will be immediately happy,
since they are happy today, you will surely be Buddha.

Then those ills were allayed, and there was no illness of desire,³
since they are seen today, you will surely be Buddha.

Then, desire is restrained, faults and defilements are destroyed,⁴
since they are all rejected today, you will surely be Buddha.

Then there is no fear since they are seen today,
knowing it by his marks, you will surely be Buddha.

Above and below dust was averted,⁵ this was seen today,
knowing by all your signs, you will surely be Buddha.

The foul odours went, and the divine odours came,
since there are these odours today, you will surely be Buddha. {Pā19}

Seeing all those *devas* abandoning formlessness,
since they are all seen today, you will surely be Buddha.

As far as the hells, all of these signs were then seen,
since they see them all today, you will surely be Buddha.

¹ Tibetan: rgya mtsho chen po ma/mi g.yo zin//. Pāli: mahāsummuḍḍo ābhujati.

² Tibetan: sems gcig pas ni pha rol mthoñ//. Pāli: nikkhamanti sakāsaya.

³ Tibetan: 'dod pa'i nad ni med pa'o//. Pāli: jighacchā ca vinassati.

⁴ Tibetan: skyon dañ rmoñs pa rnam par zig//. Pāli: doso moho pi nassati.

⁵ Tibetan: steñ 'og rdul ni go bzlog 'gro//. Pāli: rajo n' uddharāṁsati uddharāṁ.

The passes and mountains are not seen by men,¹
today they are seen as if in the sky, you will surely be Buddha.

Departing from the place of birth is not by just one moment,²
as they are seen today, (26b) you will surely be Buddha.

Making strong endeavour, not reverting to repeated existence,
this is well known to us, you will surely be Buddha.'

I 21.

The Mahāsatta's resolution.

The Bodhisatta, hearing the words of Dasabala Dipaṅkara and the *devas* of the ten thousand fold world system, produced great mental joy and he became happy,³ thinking: 'The Buddhas speak of that which is beneficial, the words of the Buddhas have no other purpose than that. Just as if a stone is thrown into the sky it will fall. From birth there will be death, and the sun will rise in the eastern twilight. The lion rising from his abode will let out a roar and go, after the maturation of pregnancy there will certainly be birth. Surely then, the words of the Buddhas are like that, surely they wish them to be profitable. Surely I will be a Buddha.' On account of which it is said:

Bv II 108-114⁴

Hearing the Buddha's words throughout the ten thousand fold worlds,
they delighted in contentment and rejoicing, I then thought this:

'The Buddhas do not speak insincerely,⁵ the Jinas speak profitably,⁶
those Buddhas do not speak otherwise, I will surely be a Buddha.

Just as a stone thrown in the sky surely falls to the ground,
accordingly the Buddhas⁷ words will be true.⁸

Just as all beings will surely die, (27a)
accordingly the Buddhas' words will be true.⁹

¹ Tibetan: sgo chuñ dañ ni ri yi rnam // de yi tshe na mi mthoñ med //. Pāli: kuḍḍā kavaṭṭā selā ca na hont' āvaraṇaṇa tadā.

² Tibetan: rum du gnas dañ 'thon pa na // skad cig tsam gyis ma yin no //. Pāli: cuti ca upapattī ca khaṇe tasmim na vijjati.

³ Tibetan: yid bde ba cher skyes te bdag ñid spro bar gyur nas. Pāli: bhīyyosomattāya sañjātussāho hutvā.

⁴ The *Jātakanidāna gāthās* 110-114 vary from Bv *gāthās* 110-114, each of the four *Jātakanidāna gāthās* omit the last line found in the Bv *gāthās*.

⁵ Tibetan: gñiis ni mi gsuñ. Pāli: advejjhavadanā.

⁶ Tibetan: don yod. Pāli: amogha.

⁷ Tibetan: sañs rgyas. Pāli: Buddhaseṭṭhānaṃ.

⁸ Tibetan: gsuñ ni nes par 'gyur ba bzin. Pāli: vacanaṃ dhūvasassataṃ.

⁹ Tibetan: gsuñ ni nes par 'gyur ba bzin. Pāli: vacanaṃ dhūvasassataṃ.

Just as when at dawn the sun will surely rise,
accordingly the Buddhas' words will be true.¹

Just as from the lion's den there will surely be the lion's roar,
accordingly the Buddhas' words will be true.²

Just as when a pregnancy matures, there will surely be birth from the womb,
accordingly the Buddhas' words will be true.³

I 22.

1. The perfection of giving.

‘So it is, I will surely be Buddha.’ In that way he made the resolve,⁴ to seek the *dharmas* that cause buddhahood. ‘Where are the *dharmas* that cause buddhahood? {Pā20} Are they above or below, or at the cardinal or intermediate points? By gradually striving⁵ in the entire sphere of the Dhamma⁶, even former bodhisattas saw⁷ the perfection⁸ of giving as the first that should be approached and adhered to.⁹ So I advised myself: ‘You, wise Sumedha, having understood this,¹⁰ should perfect the perfection of giving! Just as when a water pot is overturned, the water in that pot does not remain in the water pot but pours onto the ground, it does not remain¹¹ in the pot afterwards. So, in this way, without looking for wealth or fame, son or wife, or major and minor limbs,¹² giving to all those who beg for succour whatever they desired without stinting,¹³ (27b) sitting in front of the *bodhi* tree, you will obtain¹⁴ buddhahood.’ After making firm the first perfection of giving, one should make the resolution.¹⁵ On account of which it is said:

Bv II 115-119

I seek the *dharmas* causing buddhahood everywhere,

¹ Tibetan: gsuñ ni ñes par 'gyur ba b'zin. Pāli: vacanañ dhuvasassatañ.

² Tibetan: gsuñ ni ñes par 'gyur ba b'zin. Pāli: vacanañ dhuvasassatañ.

³ Tibetan: gsuñ ni ñes par 'gyur ba b'zin. Pāli: vacanañ dhuvasassatañ.

⁴ Tibetan: ñes par byas nas. Pāli: katasanniṭṭhāna.

⁵ Tibetan: brtsams. Pāli: vicinanto.

⁶ Tibetan: chos kyi dbyiñs. Pāli: dhammadhātu.

⁷ Tibetan: gzigs. Pāli: disvā.

⁸ Tibetan: pha rol tu phyin pa. Pāli: pāramī.

⁹ Tibetan: bsñen pa dañ ñes par brten par. Pāli: āsevitānisevitāñ.

¹⁰ Tibetan: khyod kyis kyañ 'di nas bzuñ nas. Pāli: tvañ ito paṭṭhāya.

¹¹ Tibetan: mi gnas. Pāli: na paccāharatī.

¹² Tibetan: yan lag dañ ñiñ lag. Pāli: aṅgapaccaṅga.

¹³ Tibetan: sloñ ba mams kyi don du thams cad gañ dañ gañ 'dod pa la lhag ma med par byas sbyin te. Pāli: sampattayācakānañ sabbañ icchicchitañ nissesañ katvā dadamāno.

¹⁴ Tibetan: thob. Pāli: bhavissasi.

¹⁵ Tibetan: gnas par bya. Pāli: adhiṭṭhāsi.

above, below and in the ten directions, up to the *dharmadhātu*.

Then while seeking, seeing the first perfection of giving,
the path of former great beings, that proceeds to the other side.¹

You should undertake it making the first one firm!²
If you desire to obtain *bodhi*, practise³ the perfection of giving!

Just as a filled pot if overturned by someone,
pours out the water completely, it does not remain in the pot.

In the same way seeing the beggars, who are low, middling and exalted,
like the overturned pot, give all to them!

I 23.

2. The perfection of morality.

Furthermore, he thought: 'You should see that it is not only this *dhamma* that causes buddhahood!' When seeking he saw the second, the perfection of morality, and this thought occurred to him: 'Wise Sumedha, understanding this you should perfect the ⁴perfection of morality! Furthermore, for example, a wild yak⁵ guards its own tail without regard for its own life. Similarly, you having understood this, when guarding morality are without concern for life, you will obtain buddhahood.'⁶ Making firm the second perfection of morality (28a) one should make the resolution.⁷ On account of which it is said:

Bv II 120-124

It is not only these *dharmmas* which cause the attainment of buddhahood,
I should also seek any other *dharmmas* that cause its attainment.⁸

When seeking he sees the second perfection of morality,
that the former Mahāsattas approached and relied upon.⁹

Now whoever makes the second firm, will understand.¹⁰

¹ Tibetan: sñon gyi skyes bu chen po yi // lam ni pha rol rjes su 'gro. Pāli: pubbakehi Mahesihi anucṇṇaṃ mahāpathaṃ.

² Tibetan: gzuñ bar gyis. Pāli: samādiya.

³ Tibetan: gyis. Pāli: gaccha.

⁴ Tibetan omits. Pāli has: dutiyaṃ.

⁵ Tibetan: rgod g.yag. Pāli: camaramigo

⁶ Tibetan: thob par 'gyur. Pāli: Buddho bhavissasi.

⁷ Tibetan: gnas par bya. Pāli: adhiṭṭhāsi.

⁸ Tibetan: thob byed pa. Pāli: bodhipācanā.

⁹ Tibetan: bsñen dañ bsten par byas pas so. Pāli: āsevitānisevitāṃ.

¹⁰ Tibetan: gzuñ bar bya. Pāli: samādiya.

If you desire to obtain enlightenment, practise¹ the perfection of morality!

Just as if someone grasps a wild yak's tail,
rejecting life without regard, the tail is without joy or anger.² {Pā21}

Accordingly, perfecting morality on these four grounds,³
always guarding morality, like a wild yak guards its tail.

I24.

3. The perfection of renunciation.

Furthermore, he thought: 'You should see that it is not only these *dhammas* that cause buddhahood.' When seeking he saw the third, the perfection of renunciation, and this thought occurred to him: 'Wise Sumedha, understanding⁴ this you should also perfect the perfection of renunciation! Just as the man who, after being chained, is put in a prison for a long time, does not wish to be there. Moreover, one does not desire to abide like one who has a suffering mind. In this way you also, taking all existences as if they were a prison, because the mind, which suffers in all existences and which desires to be free from them, (28b) must manifest renunciation!⁵ By acting in that way you will obtain buddhahood.'⁶ and making the⁷ perfection of renunciation firm, he made the resolution.⁸ On account of which it is said:

Bv II 125-129

It is not only these *dhammas* which cause the attainment of buddhahood,
I will also seek any other *dhammas* that cause its attainment.⁹

Then when seeking he saw the third perfection of renunciation,
that former Mahāsattas approached and relied upon.¹⁰

Making the third one firm you should seize it.¹¹

If you desire to obtain *bodhi*, practise¹² the perfection of renunciation!

¹ Tibetan: gyis. Pāli: gaccha.

² Tibetan: ltoṣ pa med par srog 'dor ro // rna ma la dga' khro ba med. Pāli: upeti maraṇaṃ tattha na vikopeti vāladhiṃ.

³ Tibetan: de bzin du ni sa gzi ru // tsul khrims yoṅs su rdzogs pa dañ. Pāli: Tath' eva catusu bhūmisu silāni paripūriya.

⁴ Tibetan: 'di nas bzuñ nas. Pāli: ito paṭṭhāya.

⁵ Tibetan: skye ba thams cad du śin tu sdug bśnal ba'i sems kyis grol bar 'dod pa'i sems kyis nes par 'byuñ ba mñon sum du 'gyur ro. Pāli: sabbabhavā ukkaṅṭhito muñcitukāmo hutvā nekkhammābhimukho va hohi.

⁶ Tibetan: de ltar byas nas saṅs rgyas thob par 'gyur ro. Pāli: evaṃ Buddho bhavissasi.

⁷ Tibetan omits. Pāli has: tatiyaṃ.

⁸ Tibetan: gnas so. Pāli: adhiṭṭhāsi.

⁹ Tibetan: thob byed pa. Pāli: bodhipācanā.

¹⁰ Tibetan: bśñen dañ bsten par byas pas so. Pāli: āsevitānisevitāṃ.

¹¹ Tibetan: gzuñ bar bya. Pāli: samādiya.

¹² Tibetan: gyis. Pāli: gaccha.

Just as, a person chained in prison, suffers when staying a long time,
that place does not create joy, the mind wishes quickly to be free.¹

Accordingly, you should see all existences as a prison,
if manifesting renunciation, you will be freed from birth.²

I25.

4. The perfection of wisdom.

Furthermore, he thought: 'You should see³ that it is not only these *dhammas* that cause buddhahood.' When seeking he saw the forth, the perfection of understanding, and this thought occurred to him: 'Wise ascetic⁴ Sumedha, you should understand from this⁵ that you should perfect the perfection of understanding! You should question those *paṇḍitas* after going to their abode, without any preconception regarding them as low, average or great. Just as when a monk who goes on alms round (29a) goes to the abode of the lowly and so on. Going for alms in succession, without regard⁶ to the divisions of clans, he will quickly obtain his own share of food. In the same way you, going into the presence of those wise ones and asking questions, will obtain buddhahood.'⁷ Relying on the forth perfection of understanding, one should make the resolution.⁸ On account of which it is said:

Bv II 130-134

It is not only these *dhammas* which cause the attainment of buddhahood,
I should also seek any other *dhammas* which cause its attainment.⁹

Then when seeking he sees the forth perfection of understanding,
that former Mahāsattas have approached and adhered to.¹⁰

Now, make the forth one firm and seize it!¹¹

If you desire to obtain *bodhi*, practise¹² the perfection of understanding! {Pā22}

¹ Tibetan: de la dga' bar mi byed par // myur du 'grol bar 'dod par sems//. Pāli: na tattha rāgaṃ abhijaneti muttiṃ yeva gavesati.

² Tibetan: skye ba las ni grol bar 'gyur. Pāli: bhavato parimuttīyāti.

³ Tibetan: blta bar bya'o. Pāli: bhavitabbaṃ.

⁴ Tibetan: dka' thub pa. Pāli: omits (*tāpasa).

⁵ Tibetan: 'di nas bzuñ nas. Pāli: ito paṭṭhāya.

⁶ Tibetan: ma spañs par. Pāli: kiñci avajjetvā.

⁷ Tibetan: thob. Pāli: bhavissasi.

⁸ Tibetan: gnas par gyis śig. Pāli: adhiṭṭhāsi.

⁹ Tibetan: thob byed pa. Pāli: bodhipācanā.

¹⁰ Tibetan: bsñen dañ bsten par byas pas so. Pāli: āsevitānisevitāṃ.

¹¹ Tibetan: gzuñ bar bya. Pāli: samādiya.

¹² Tibetan: gyis. Pāli: gaccha.

Just as a begging monk does not investigate¹ those families,
as to whether they are low, middling or high, in that way he obtains sustenance.

Similarly, you question all wise persons at all times,
since by going to the perfection of understanding, you will obtain *bodhi*.²

I26.

5. The perfection of effort.

Furthermore, he thought: ‘You should see³ that it is not only this *dhamma* that causes buddhahood.’
When seeking he obtained⁴ the fifth, the perfection of effort, and this thought occurred to him: ‘Wise
ascetic⁵ Sumedha, understanding this you should also perfect the (29b) perfection of effort! Just as the
lion, king of beasts, has strong effort at all times,⁶ in the same way you also should strengthen the effort in
all existences. If you make⁷ effort fearlessly you will obtain buddhahood.’⁸ One should strengthen the
fifth perfection of effort and make a resolution!⁹ On account of which it is said:

Bv II 135-139

It is not only this *dhamma* which causes the obtaining of *bodhi*,
I should also seek any others which cause its attainment.¹⁰

Then, when seeking he sees the fifth perfection of effort,
that former Mahāsattas have approached and adhered to.¹¹

Now, make the fifth one firm and should seize it!¹²
If you desire to obtain *bodhi*, practise¹³ the perfection of effort!¹⁴

Just as the king of beasts, when standing, going or sitting,
due to fearless effort he is always strong minded.¹⁵

¹ Tibetan: dpyod par mi byed pa. Pāli: na vivajjento.

² Tibetan: byañ chub. Pāli: sambodhiṃ.

³ Tibetan: blta bar bya’o. Pāli: bhavitabbaṃ.

⁴ Tibetan: thob. Pāli: disvā. All other nine Tibetan sections on the *pāramīs* have: mthoñ nas.

⁵ Tibetan: dka’ thub pa. Pāli: omits (*tāpasa).

⁶ Tibetan: dus thams cad du. Pāli: sabbairiyāpathesu.

⁷ Tibetan: byas na. Pāli: samāno.

⁸ Tibetan: thob par ’gyur. Pāli: bhavissasi.

⁹ Tibetan: gnas par gyis śig. Pāli: adhiṭṭhāsi.

¹⁰ Tibetan: thob byed pa. Pāli: bodhipācanā.

¹¹ Tibetan: bsñen dañ bsten par byas pas so. Pāli: āsevitānisevitāṃ.

¹² Tibetan: gzuñ bar bya. Pāli: samādiya.

¹³ Tibetan: gyis. Pāli: gaccha.

¹⁴ Order of *pādas* in Tibetan varies with Pāli, and with other Tibetan verses equivalent to this verse.

¹⁵ Tibetan: ’zum pa med pa’i brtson ’grus kyis//. alīnaviriyo hoti

Similarly, you also seize it at all times by firm effort!.

Since it is by going¹ to the perfection of effort that you will obtain *bodhi*.²

I27.

6. The perfection of patience.

Furthermore, he thought: ‘You should see³ that it is not only this *dhamma* that causes buddhahood.’ When seeking he saw the sixth, the perfection of patience, and this thought occurred to him: ‘Wise ascetic⁴ Sumedha, understanding⁵ this you should perfect the perfection of patience! You should be patient to those acting well or badly.⁶ Just as having put pure (30a) and impure things on the earth, it does not accordingly make the earth angry, but it is patient, endures and consents. In that way you also, being patient and enduring, even when harmed or benefited,⁷ will obtain buddhahood.’⁸ One should strengthen the sixth perfection of patience and make a resolution!⁹ On account of which it is said:

Bv II 140-144

It is not only this *dhamma* which desires¹⁰ to attain *bodhi*,
I should seek any others *dhammas* which cause its attainment.¹¹

Then when seeking he sees the sixth the perfection of patience,
that former Mahāsattas have approached and adhered to.¹²

Now, make the sixth one firm and seize it!¹³
If you are not angry at that, you will obtain perfect *bodhi*.¹⁴ {Pā23}

Just as if the earth were smeared with pure and impure things,
although poured all over, it acts patiently, not with disgust.¹⁵

¹ Tibetan: gyur nas. Pāli: gantvā. Other equivalent Tibetan verses have, soñ bas.

² Tibetan: byañ chub. Pāli: sambodhiṃ.

³ Tibetan: blta bar bya’o. Pāli: bhavitabbaṃ.

⁴ Tibetan: dka’ thub pa. Pāli omits (*tāpasa).

⁵ Tibetan: ’dī nas bzuñ nas. Pāli: ito paṭṭhāya.

⁶ Tibetan: bzañ po dañ ñan pa. Pāli: sammānane avamānane.

⁷ Tibetan: gnod pa dañ phan par byas. Pāli: sammānanāvamānanesu.

⁸ Tibetan: thob par ’gyur. Pāli: bhavissasi.

⁹ Tibetan: gnas par gyis śig. Pāli: adhiṭṭhāsi.

¹⁰ Tibetan: thob ’dod, the previous four equivalent Tibetan verses have, thob byed. Pāli: bhavissare, here and in four previous equivalent verses

¹¹ Tibetan: thob byed pa. Pāli: bodhipācanā.

¹² Tibetan: bsñen dañ bsten par byas pas so. Pāli: āsevitānisevitāṃ.

¹³ Tibetan omits this pāda, but it may be reasonably assumed to follow previous equivalent verses, and could then be reconstructed thus: (*brtan por byas ste gzuñ bar bya). Pāli: daḷhaṃ katvā samādiya.

¹⁴ Tibetan: yañ dag byañ chub. Pāli: sambodhiṃ.

¹⁵ Tibetan: thams cad blugs kyañ bzod par byed // skyug bro ba ni byed pa med//. Pāli: sabbaṃ sahati nikkhepaṃ na karoti paṭighaṃ dayāṃ.

Similarly you, during all those acts that benefit or harm you,
proceed¹ to the perfection of patience, you will obtain perfect *bodhi*.²

I28.

7. The perfection of truthfulness.

Furthermore, he thought: ‘You should see³ that it is not only this *dhamma* that causes buddhahood.’
When seeking he saw the seventh, the perfection of truthfulness, and this thought occurred to him: ‘Wise
ascetic⁴ Sumedha, understanding this,⁵ you should also perfect the perfection of truthfulness! Even if
lightning strikes one's head, (30b) knowing the power of desire for the sake of wealth and so on, don't lie.
Just as a star such as the healing star,⁶ at all seasons when it leaves its own course does not proceed on
another course, it proceeds on its own course. In that way you, holding⁷ to the truth, do not lie. You will
obtain buddhahood.’⁸ One should strengthen the seventh perfection of truthfulness and make a resolution!’⁹
On account of which it is said:

Bv II 145-149

It is not only this *dhamma* which desires¹⁰ to attain *bodhi*,
you should also seek any other *dhammas* which cause its attainment.¹¹

Then, when he seeking sees the seventh perfection of truthfulness,
that former Mahāsattas have approached and adhered to.¹²

Now, make the seventh one firm and should seize it!¹³
Since you do not waver, you will obtain perfect *bodhi*.¹⁴

¹ Tibetan: gyur nas, (previous verses have: soñ ste). Pāli: gantvā.

² Tibetan: de bzin khyod kyis thams cad la // phan dan gnod pa byed pa na // bzod pa'i pha rol phyin gyur nas //
byañ chub yañ dag thob par 'gyur //. Pāli: Tath' eva tvaṃ pi sabbesaṃ sammānāvamaṇakkhāmo // khantipāramitaṃ
gantvā sambodhiṃ pāpuṇissasīti.

³ Tibetan: blta bar bya'o. Pāli: bhavitabbaṃ.

⁴ Tibetan: dka' thub pa. Pāli omits (*tāpasa).

⁵ Tibetan: 'di nas bzuñ nas. Pāli: ito paṭṭhāya.

⁶ Tibetan: tha skar la sogs pa'i rgyu skar. Pāli: osadhitāraka.

⁷ Tibetan: bzuñ nas. Pāli: pahāya.

⁸ Tibetan: thob par 'gyur. Pāli: bhavissasi.

⁹ Tibetan: gnas par gyis śig. Pāli: adhiṭṭhāsi.

¹⁰ Tibetan: thob 'dod. Pāli: bhavissare.

¹¹ Tibetan: thob byed pa. Pāli: bodhipācanā.

¹² Tibetan: bsñen dan bsten par byas pas so. Pāli: āsevitanisevitāṃ.

¹³ Tibetan: brtan par byas nas gnas par gyis.. Pāli: dalharṃ katvā samādiya.

¹⁴ Tibetan: yañ dag byañ chub thob par gyis. Pāli: sambodhiṃ pāpuṇissasi.

Just as the star, is equal¹ in the world of *devas* and men,
during its yearly cycle² it does not go to another course.

You also, according to truth, do not go after grasping the truth³
proceed⁴ to the perfection of truth, you will obtain perfect *bodhi*.⁵

I 29.

8. The perfection of resolution.

Furthermore, he thought: 'You should see that it is not only this *dhamma* that causes buddhahood.' When seeking he saw the eighth, the perfection of resolution,⁶ and this thought occurred to him: 'Wise ascetic⁷ Sumedha, understanding this,⁸ (31a) you should perfect the perfection of resolution! Whoever makes this determination will be unwavering in resolution. Just as a mountain, although buffeted by winds from all directions, will not be moved or shaken but remains in its own place. In that way, if you do not waver in your resolutions, then you will obtain buddhahood.'⁹ One should abide¹⁰ having made firm the eighth perfection of resolution!' On account of which it is said:

Bv II 150-154

It is not only this *dhamma* which desires¹¹ attainment of *bodhi*,
you should also seek others which cause its attainment.¹² {Pā24}

Then when he seeking sees the eighth perfection of resolution,
that former Mahāsattas have approached and adhered to.¹³

Now, make the eighth one firm and should seize it!¹⁴

Since you do not waver, you will obtain perfect *bodhi*.¹⁵

¹ Tibetan: mtshuñs pa. Pāli: tulābhūtā.

² Tibetan: dus kyi lo yi dus su ni. Pāli: samaye utupasse.

³ Tibetan: bden pa bzuñ nas mi 'gro ba. Pāli: saccesu mā vakkami vīthito.

⁴ Tibetan: gyur nas. Pāli: gaṇṭvā.

⁵ Tibetan: byañ chub yañ dag thob par 'gyur //. Pāli: sambodhiṃ pāpuñissasi.

⁶ Tibetan: lhag par gnas pa. Pāli: adhiṭṭhāna.

⁷ Tibetan: dka' thub pa. Pāli: omits (*tāpasa).

⁸ Tibetan: 'di nas bzuñ nas. Pāli: ito paṭṭhāya.

⁹ Tibetan: thob par 'gyur. Pāli: bhavissasi.

¹⁰ Tibetan: gnas par gyis śig. Pāli: adhiṭṭhāsi.

¹¹ Tibetan: thob 'dod. Pāli: bhavissare.

¹² Tibetan: thob byed pa. Pāli: bodhipācanā.

¹³ Tibetan: bsñen dañ bsten par byas pas so. Pāli: āsevitānisevitāṃ.

¹⁴ Tibetan: brtan par byas ste gnas par gyis. Pāli: dalhaṃ katvā samādiya.

¹⁵ Tibetan: yañ dag byañ chub thob par 'gyur. Pāli: sambodhiṃ pāpuñissasi.

Just as the great rock of a mountain, does not move and is well established,
without being moved by the great wind, it abides in its own place.

Similarly you do not waver in all resolutions,
proceeding¹ to the perfection of resolution, you will obtain perfect *bodhi*.²

I 30.

9. The perfection of friendliness.

Furthermore, he thought: ‘You should see that it is not (31b) only this *dhamma* that causes buddhahood. When seeking he saw the ninth, the perfection of friendliness,³ and this thought occurred to him: ‘Wise ascetic⁴ Sumedha, understanding this,⁵ you should also perfect the perfection of friendliness! You should think of profit and loss as the same! Just as water touches⁶ and cools equally a bad man and a good man. In that way you also, being single minded in friendliness for all beings, will obtain buddhahood.’⁷ One should abide making firm the ninth perfection of friendliness! On account of which it is said:

Bv II 155-159

It is not only this *dhamma* which desires⁸ the attainment of *bodhi*,
you should also seek any other *dhammas* which cause its attainment.⁹

Then when seeking he sees the ninth perfection of friendliness,
approached and relied on by former great men.¹⁰

Now, make the ninth one firm and dwell producing friendliness!¹¹
If desiring to obtain *bodhi*, there is no equal to friendliness.¹²

Just as water touches and will cool equally,
beings who are good or evil, and causes dust and dirt to be abandoned.¹³

¹ Tibetan: gyur pas. Pāli: gantvā.

² Tibetan: yañ dag byañ chub thob par 'gyur. Pāli: sambodhiṃ pāpuṇassasi.

³ Tibetan: byams pa. Pāli: mettā.

⁴ Tibetan: dka' thub pa. Pāli omits (*tāpasa).

⁵ Tibetan: 'di nas bzuñ nas. Pāli: ito paṭṭhāya.

⁶ Tibetan: reg. Pāli: pharati.

⁷ Tibetan: de ltar na 'di ltar khyod kyis kyañ sems can thams cad la byams pa'i sems gcig tu gyur nas sañs rgyas thob par gyur ro. Pāli: evaṃ evaṃ tvaṃ sabbasattesu mettacittena ekacitto honta Buddhō bhavissasīti.

⁸ Tibetan: thob 'dod. Pāli: bhavissare.

⁹ Tibetan: thob byed pa. Pāli: bodhipācanā.

¹⁰ Tibetan: bsñen dañ bsten par byas pa'o. Pāli: āsevitānisevitāṃ.

¹¹ Tibetan: byams par byas te gnas par gyis. Pāli: daḥhaṃ katvā samādiya.

¹² Tibetan: byams pa mtshuñs pa med par 'gyur. Pāli: mettāya asamo hohi.

¹³ Tibetan: spoñ bar byed. Pāli: pavāheti.

Similarly, you should act with equal friendliness to both the bad and good,¹
proceeding² to the perfection of friendliness you will obtain perfect *bodhi*.³

I 31.

10. The perfection of equanimity.

Furthermore, he thought: ‘You should see that it is not only this *dhamma* that causes (32a) buddhahood.’
When seeking he saw the tenth, the perfection of equanimity, and this thought occurred to him: ‘Wise
ascetic⁴ Sumedha, understanding this,⁵ you should perfect the perfection of equanimity! You should abide
impartially even to joy and suffering. Just as the earth, although smeared with pure and impure things is
impartial. In that way, if you also abide impartially to joy and suffering, you will obtain buddhahood.’⁶
One should abide making firm the tenth perfection of equanimity!⁷ On account of which it is said: {Pā25}

Bv II 160-164

It is not only this *dhamma* which desires⁸ the attainment of *bodhi*,
you should also seek other *dhammas* which cause its attainment.⁹

Then when seeking he sees the tenth perfection of equanimity,
that former Mahāsattas have approached and adhered to.¹⁰

Now, make the tenth one firm and should seize it!¹¹
Like a scale that is full, you will obtain perfect *bodhi*.¹²

Just as the earth, if smeared with pure and impure things,
since it is equipoised without partiality, it rejects it without anger.¹³

Just as you are always balanced between joy and suffering,
proceeding¹⁴ to the perfection of equanimity, you will obtain perfect *bodhi*.¹⁵

¹ Tibetan: mi phan dan phan la’ñ. Pāli: pi ahitahite.

² Tibetan: gyur nas. Pāli: gantvā.

³ Tibetan: yañ dag byañ chub thob par ’gyur. Pāli: sambodhiṃ pāpuṇassasi.

⁴ Tibetan: dka’ thub pa. Pāli omits (*tāpasa).

⁵ Tibetan: ’di nas bzuñ nas. Pāli: ito patṭhāya.

⁶ Tibetan: thob par ’gyur. Pāli: bhavissasi.

⁷ Tibetan: gnas par gyis śig. Pāli: adhiṭṭhāsi.

⁸ Tibetan: thob ’dod. Pāli: bhavissare.

⁹ Tibetan: thob byed pa. Pāli: bodhipācānā.

¹⁰ Tibetan: bsñen dan bsten par byas pas so. Pāli: āsevitānisevitān.

¹¹ Tibetan: brtan par byas nas gnas par gyis. Pāli: daḷhaṃ katvā samādiya.

¹² Tibetan: yañ dag byañ chub thob par ’gyur. Pāli: sambodhiṃ pāpuṇassasi.

¹³ Tibetan: ltos pa med ciñ btañ sñoms pas // khro ba med par spoñ ba yin //. Pāli: upekkhati ubho p’ ete kopānunayavajjitā.

¹⁴ Tibetan: gyur nas. Pāli: gantvā.

I 32.

Mastery of the perfections.

(32b) Then he thought: ‘The bodhisattas in these worlds perfect *bodhi*¹ and those very *dhammas* that cause buddhahood. There are no others apart from² these ten perfections. These ten perfections are not above in the sky, nor below on the earth, they are also not in the directions such as eastern and so on. They abide within my very heart. So seeing those established in his heart, he should resolve³ strengthening them all. Remembering again and again in forward and reverse order, he makes them firm. Grasping them from the end, then should reflect up to the beginning. Grasping from the first and reflecting to the end. Grasping from the middle, then should reflect up to the end and the beginning. Grasping from the beginning and the end, then should look as far as the middle. Abandoning the body is called a perfection,⁴ abandoning external wealth is called a minor perfection.⁵ Abandoning life is called the highest perfection⁶ These are the ten perfections, the ten minor perfections and the ten highest perfections. You should remember it to be like stirring the great ocean, that boils like oil on a fire, within the world system with Mahāmeru.⁷ While he remembered the ten perfections, the splendour⁸ of the Dhamma like the breaking of bamboo crushed by the foot of a large elephant on the girth of this great earth, that (33a) exceeds two hundred and forty thousand *yojanas*,⁹ let out a noise like the great clamour produced from pressing in a sugar-cane mill. It trembled and shook like a potter's wheel, and revolved like an oil mill.¹⁰ On account of which it is said:

Bv II 165-167

Whichever *dhammas* of this world cause the attainment of *bodhi*,¹¹

¹⁵ Tibetan: yañ dag byañ chub thob par 'gyur. Pāli: sambodhiṃ pāpuṇassasi.

¹ Tibetan: byañ chub rdzogs par byed pa. Pāli: bodhiparipācanā.

² Tibetan: dor na. Pāli: ṭhapetvā.

³ Tibetan: gnas par bya'o. Pāli: adhiṭṭhāya

⁴ Tibetan: pha rol tu phyin pa. Pāli: pāramī.

⁵ Tibetan: ñe ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa. Pāli: upapāramī.

⁶ Tibetan: don dam pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa. Pāli: paramatthapāramī.

⁷ Tibetan: me'i steṅs su 'bru mar bskol ba bzin du khor yug gi nañ du rgya mtsho chen po ri bo mchog rab kyis bsrub pa bzin du dran par bya ste. Pāli: viya Mahāmeruṃ manthaṃ katvā cakkavālamahāsamuddaṃ āluṅento viya ca sammasi.

⁸ Tibetan: chos kyi gziṅ. Pāli: dhammatejēna.

⁹ Tibetan omits. Pāli: yojana.

¹⁰ Tibetan: de'i pha rol tu phyin pa bcu dran par byas nas chos kyi gziṅ 'bum phrag gñis dañ / stoñ phrag bzi bcu lhag pa'i sa chen po 'di'i stugs la glañ po ches rkañ pas gnōn ciñ smyug ma 'chag pa bzin du'o // bur śiñ gi 'khrul 'khor bzin du bstir ba dañ sgra chen po sgrogs pa bzin du yañ dag par sgrogs so // rab tu g.yos so // yañ dag par rab tu g.yos te rdza mkhan gyi 'khor lo bzin no // 'bru mar gyi 'khrul 'khor bzin du yoṅs su bskor ro //. Pāli: Tassa dasa pāramiyo sammasantassa sammasantassa dhammatejēna catunahutādhikāni dve yojanasatasahassāni bahalā ayaṃ mahāpaṭṭhavi hatthinā akkantaṇaḷakalāpo viya piḷiyamānaṃ ucchuyantaṃ viya mahāviraṃ viravamānā saṅkampi saṃpakampi saṃpavedhi, kulālacakkaṃ viya telayantacakkaṃ viya ca paribbhami.

¹¹ Tibetan: byañ chub thob byed. Pāli: bobhipācanā.

this is the highest there is no other, make it firm and fix¹ it in the mind!

Remembering these *dhammas* to have an unwavering nature,
the splendour of the Dhamma shakes the earth and the thousand fold world.

The insentient earth² is crushed like a sugar mill,
and so the earth shakes, just as the wheel of an oil mill. {Pā26}

Since this great earth shakes, those men who abide in the city of Rammanagara³ are unable to stand.⁴ They fall, fainting and senseless,⁵ like the great tree of the earth⁶ trembles when shaken by the wind at the end of an aeon. Vessels such as jars are broken⁷ and due to clashing together, are ground into dust and small pieces. All beings become afraid and go to the teacher's presence. Saying: 'Bhagavan, what is this, is it a war⁸ of the *nāgas* or creatures or *yakkhas* or *devas*, or a war of some others? We (33b) do not know.⁹ Moreover, this causes injury¹⁰ to all the people. What is the cause of this, is it due to evil of the world, or to the good? Tell us the cause of this.' The teacher hearing their story, said: 'Don't you fear, don't you even think about it.¹¹ You have nothing to fear from these signs.¹² When I predicted today¹³ that the wise ascetic¹⁴ Sumedha will be the Buddha named Gotama in the future. He then remembered¹⁵ the perfections, remembering the perfections he investigated them.¹⁶ The ten thousand fold world system instantly shook and let out a noise due to the power of the Dhamma.'¹⁷ On account of which it is said:

Bv II 168-174

As long as there are those assemblies in the Buddha's attendance
those assemblies suffer mentally, and fainting, lie on the ground.¹⁸

Many thousand pots and many hundreds of large vessels,

¹ Tibetan: zog. Pāli: patitṭhaha.

² Tibetan: sems med pa yi sa gzi ni. Pāli: calatī ravatī puthavī.

³ Tibetan: dga' ba can gyi groñ khyer.

⁴ Tibetan: ldañ bar. Pāli: sañṭhātum.

⁵ Tibetan: brgyal ba dañ bag med pas. Pāli: mucchitamucchitā.

⁶ Tibetan: sa'i śiñ chen po. Pāli: mahāsāla.

⁷ Tibetan: 'dzad pa. Pāli: pavaṭṭantāni.

⁸ Tibetan: klu 'khrugs pa. Pāli: nāgāvatto.

⁹ Tibetan: 'tshal ba. Pāli: jānāma.

¹⁰ Tibetan: ñe bar 'tshe bar gyur. Pāli: upadduto.

¹¹ Tibetan: ma sems śig. Pāli: mā cintayittha.

¹² Tibetan: mtshan ma 'di rñams. Pāli: itonidānañ.

¹³ Tibetan: gañ tshe dag gis de riñ. Pāli: yo so mayā ajja.

¹⁴ Tibetan: dka' thub pa. Pāli: omits (*tāpasa).

¹⁵ Tibetan: dran par byed do. Pāli: sammasati.

¹⁶ Tibetan: des pha rol tu phyin pa dran par byed cin dpyod do. Pāli: tassa pāramiyo sammasantassa viloḥentassa.

¹⁷ Tibetan: chos kyi gzi brjid kyis. Pāli: dhammatejena.

¹⁸ Tibetan: de ni de ru sdug bsñal sems // brgyal bar gyur nas sa la ñal //. Pāli: pavedhamānā sā tattha mucchitā seti bhūmiyā.

are ground to powder and dust there, since they are broken by clashing together.

Faint, afraid and fearful, they fall due to a troubled and confused mind,
all the assembled beings went to Dīpaṅkara's presence.

What will happen to these worlds is it good or bad?¹

Torment has arisen in all the world, we ask (34a) you, Clear visioned one.²

Teaching the Dhamma to all of them, the great sage Dīpaṅkara said,
'Do not fear or be perturbed by the movement of this earth.'³

For whoever I today prophesise: 'He will be Buddha in those worlds,'
he remembers the Dhamma adhered to by former Jinās.⁴

Since he remembers⁵ those *dhammas*, the entire *buddhabhūmi*,
the earth, and ten thousand fold world together with its *devas*, shakes due to that.

Those many people hearing the Tathāgata's words, were pleased and contented, and taking flowers, perfumes and unguents, went out from the city of Ramma⁶ going to the Bodhisatta's presence, offering flowers and so forth, and making salutation and praises, remained⁷ in the city of Ramma.⁸ The Bodhisatta remembering the ten perfections, and making a strong effort and making the resolution,⁹ he rose from his seat. On account of which it is said: {Pā27}

Bv II 175-176

Hearing the words of the Buddha the mind was instantly fearless,¹⁰
all came into my presence and again made salutations.

Undertaking¹¹ the Buddha's qualities making the mind firm,¹²
then I, rising from my seat, made salutation to Dīpaṅkara.

¹ Tibetan: 'jig rten pa rnams ci phyir gyur // dge ba'am yañ na sdig gam ci //. Pāli: Kiṃ bhavassati lokassa kalyāṇaṃ atha pāpakam.

² Tibetan: 'jig rten kun la ñer 'tshe byuñ // spyān ldan legs par gsuñ du gsol //. Pāli: sabbo upadduto loko, taṃ vinodehi cakkhumā.

³ Tibetan: de rnams kun la chos bstan ciñ // thub pa chen po mar me mdzad // 'jigs par ma byed dbugs dbyuñ gis // 'di yi sa gzi g.yo bas ni //. Pāli: Tesam sadā saññāpesi Dīpaṅkaro Mahāmuni: "vissatthā hotha mā bhātha imasmim puthavikampāne.

⁴ Tibetan: de ni chos ni dran par byed // sñon gyi rgyal ba bsten byas śiñ //. Pāli: eso sammāsati dhammāṃ pubbakam jinasevitam.

⁵ Tibetan: dran byed pas. Pāli: sammāsato.

⁶ Tibetan: dga' ba can.

⁷ Tibetan: gnas so. Pāli: pāvīsi.

⁸ Tibetan: dga' ba can.

⁹ Tibetan: lhag par gnas nas. Pāli: adhiṭṭhāya.

¹⁰ Tibetan: 'jigs med sems. Pāli: mano nibbāyi.

¹¹ Tibetan: sems par byed. Pāli: samādhiyivā.

¹² Tibetan omits pāda. Pāli: dalham katvāna mānasam.

Then, when the Bodhisatta rose from his seat all the *devas* of the ten thousand fold world gathered,¹ making offerings with divine flowers and perfumes. Saying: ‘Noble (34b) ascetic Sumedha, today at the feet of Dasabala Dīpaṅkara, you made the aspiration in order to procure great benefit.² You will accomplish them without hindrance.³ There, you will be free from fear and faint heartedness.⁴ Even a slight illness will not arise in the body, and may you quickly perfect the perfections and accomplish perfect buddhahood!⁵ Just as a flower bearing tree, or a fruit bearing tree, ripens its flowers and ripens its fruit in season. Similarly, you also make the resolution at the right time, and quickly perfect the highest.’⁶ They praised him with praises and blessings and so on. After making praises in that way, each *deva* went to their own abode. The Bodhisatta, hearing the praises and so forth of the *devas*,⁷ said: ‘After four incalculable aeons and more than one hundred thousand aeons, and after perfecting the ten perfections I will obtain buddhahood.’ Making⁸ firm effort, and having made the resolution, he rose into the sky and went to Himavant. On account of which it is said:

Bv II 177-187

Both *devas* and men, rising from their seats,
spread those divine and human flowers equally.

Both *devas* and men, being pacified praised him,⁹
‘may you obtain that great wish of yours as you desire.’

Attaining an (35a) untimely death,¹⁰ weakened by all those illnesses,
let no hindrances arise for you, may you quickly obtain highest *bodhi*.

Just as at the right season, the tree comes into blossom,
similarly you, great hero,¹¹ blossom with buddha-knowledge.

Just as, any perfect Buddha has perfected the ten perfections,
similarly, you great hero, perfect the ten perfections!

Just as, any perfect Buddha becomes enlightened on the seat of *bodhi*,
similarly, you great hero, become enlightened in the Jina’s *bodhi*!

¹ Tibetan: stoñ phrag bcu’i lha thams cad ’dus nas. Pāli: sakaladasasahassacakkavāle devatā sannipatitvā.

² Tibetan: don chen po don du gñer ba’i phyir don du gñer to //. Pāli: mahatī patthanā patthitā.

³ Tibetan: de yis de rnam la bar gcod med ciñ rdzogs par ’gyur ro. Pāli: sā te anantarāyena samijjhatu.

⁴ Tibetan: zum par med par. Pāli: (mā) chambhitattam.

⁵ Tibetan: yañ dag par rdzogs pa’i sañs rgyas grub par gyis śig. Pāli: sammāsambodhiṃ paṭivijjha.

⁶ Tibetan: myur du mchog rdzogs par byed pa. Pāli: khippaṃ bodhiṃ uttamaṃ phusassu.

⁷ Tibetan: byañ chub sems dpaṃ kyañ lha la sogs pa’i bstod pa thos par byas nas. Pāli: Bodhisatto pi devatāhi abhitthuto.

⁸ Tibetan omits. Pāli: katvā.

⁹ Tibetan: lha dañ mi rnam gñis ka yañ // thams cad źi bar gyur źes bstod //. Pāli: Vedayanti ca te sotthiṃ davā mānussakā ubho.

¹⁰ Tibetan: dus min ’chi ba riñ du soñ. Pāli: Sabbītiyo vivajjantu.

¹¹ Tibetan: dpa’ chen po. Pāli: mahāvira.

Just as, any perfect Buddha should turn the wheel of Dhamma,
similarly, you great hero, turn the wheel of Dhamma!

Just as, the full moon due to its purity disperses light, {Pā28}
similarly, you who have completed his wish¹, emit rays in the ten thousand.

(Pā28) Just as, the sun freed from Rāhu² discharges hot light rays,
similarly, you freeing the world, discharge resplendent light rays.

Just as any river proceeds to the great ocean,
so the various worlds of devas and men will follow you.

They praise and extol you, who undertakes³ the ten *dhammas*,
he perfecting these *dhammas*, then went to the great forest.

The discourse on wise⁴ (35b) Sumedha is completed.

¹ Tibetan: bsam rdzogs pa. Pāli: puṇṇamano.

² Tibetan: sGra gcan.

³ Tibetan: gnas byas nas. Pāli: samādiya.

⁴ Tibetan: mkhas pa. Pāli omits (*paṇḍita).

The Twenty-four Buddhas.

I 33.

The Bhagavan Dīpaṃkara.

Those who dwelled in the city of Rammana¹ entered the city, giving many gifts to the Buddha² and the assembly of monks. The teacher taught the Dhamma³ to them, and established many people in the going for refuge. He left the city of Rammana, thereafter as long as life remained⁴ he performed all the duties of a Buddha,⁵ and gradually attained *nibbāna* in the element of *nibbāna* that has no remainder.⁶ Since something should be said about this, all of that should be understood as it is explained in the *Buddhavaṃsa*. It is said therein:

Bv II 188-206, 212-213, 215-218

Then you people made those offerings to the leader of the world and *saṅgha*,
and went for refuge to the teacher Dīpaṃkara.

The Tathāgata established⁷ some in the going for refuge,
some with five precepts, others with ten precepts.

Whoever gives to another the four best fruits,
whoever gives these unequalled *dhammas*, he discriminates.⁸

The chief of men gives the eight best attainments to anyone,
he infuses⁹ the three knowledges, and six higher knowledges to anyone.¹⁰

In that order,¹¹ many men were given the great sage's advice,
it is extensive, (36a) it is the teaching of the lord of the world.

¹ Tibetan: dga' ba can.

² Tibetan: saṅs rgyas la sog pa'i. Pāli: buddhapamukhassa.

³ Tibetan: chos bstan ciṅ bstan nas. Pāli: dhammaṃ desetvā

⁴ Tibetan: lhag par gnas pa ji srid 'tsho'i bar de srid du. Pāli: tato uddham pi yāvatāyukaṃ.

⁵ Tibetan: saṅs rgyas kyi 'phrin las. Pāli: Buddhakicca.

⁶ Tibetan: lhag ma med par yoṅs su mya ṅan las 'das pa'i dbyiṅs su yoṅs su mya ṅan las 'das so. Pāli: anupādisesāya nibbānadhātuyā parinibbāyī.

⁷ Tibetan: ṅes gsuṅs pa. Pāli: nivesesi.

⁸ Tibetan: gaṅ žig la ni mtshuṅs med chos // so so yaṅ dag rig pa byin. Pāli: kassaci asame dhamme deti so paṭisambhidā.

⁹ Tibetan: žugs. Pāli: pavecchati.

¹⁰ Tibetan: gaṅ žig la ni rig pa gsum // mṅon par žes pa drug la žugs. Pāli: tisso kassaci vijjāyo chaḷabhiñṇā pavecchati.

¹¹ Tibetan: de yis rig pa. Pāli: tena yogena.

The bull shouldered and large jawed one,¹ with the name Dīpaṅkara,
frees many beings, and liberates those destined for hell.

Seeing beings in need of freedom, in an area of a hundred thousand *yojanas*,
instantly the great sage approached, in order to teach them.

The Buddha's first attainment² awakened³ a hundred *koṭis*,
the second attainment of the lord awakened one hundred thousand⁴ *koṭis*.

When the Buddha taught the Dhamma in the abode of *devas*,
the third attainment was ninety thousand *koṭis*. {Pā29}

They were the three assemblies⁵ of the teacher Dīpaṅkara,
the first assembly was a hundred thousand *koṭis*.

Moreover, when the Jina dwelled in solitude on Nārada's hill,⁶
the hundred thousand who were pure, and free of the *āsavas*, were pacified.⁷

When the great hero stayed⁸ on top of Sudassana's mountain,
then the sage⁹ was attended¹⁰ by ninety thousand *koṭis*.

Then, I was the supreme¹¹ austere ascetic,¹²
I moved in the sky, as one who has gone beyond the five higher knowledges.

There were ten and twenty thousand who realized¹³ the Dhamma,
the realization of the ones and twos were innumerable and without measure.

The merchants realised the extensive teaching, then perfected the psychic powers,¹⁴
and the Bhagavan Dīpaṅkara's (36b) teaching was purified.¹⁵

¹ Tibetan: 'gram chen po. Pāli: mahānu.

² Tibetan: 'dus pa. Pāli: abhisamaya.

³ Tibetan: rtogs par byas. Pāli: abodhhayi.

⁴ Tibetan: 'bum phrag gcig. Pāli: J I p. 28, sataśaḥsaṃ; Bv p. 22, navutikoṭim.

⁵ Tibetan: 'dus pa. Pāli: sannipāta.

⁶ Tibetan: nā ra dha yi phur. Pāli: Nāradhakūṭamhi.

⁷ Tibetan: zi ba. Pāli: samim̐su.

⁸ Tibetan: ji srid b'zugs. Pāli: J. I p. 29, yadā vasī; Bv p. 22, yamhi kāle.

⁹ Tibetan: de tshe thub pa. Pāli: J I p. 29, tadā Muni; Bv p. 22, mahāmuni.

¹⁰ Tibetan: 'khor. Pāli: pavāresi.

¹¹ Tibetan: mchog. Pāli: omits.

¹² Tibetan: sdom brtson gka' thub pa. Pāli: jaṭilo uggatāpano.

¹³ Tibetan: 'dus par. Pāli: abhisamayo.

¹⁴ Tibetan: rdzu 'phrul ldan zin. Pāli: J I p. 29, iddham̐ pītaṃ; Bv p. 22, iddham̐ pītaṃ.

¹⁵ Tibetan: rgya che ded dpon cañ śes pa // de tshe rdzu 'phrul ldan zin rdzogs // bcom ldan 'das ni mar me mdzad // bstan pa śin tu dag ciñ mdzes //. Pāli: Vitthārikam̐ bāhujaññam̐ iddham̐ pītaṃ ahū tadā / Dīpaṅkarassa Bhagavato sāsanam̐ suvisodhitam̐. //

Those four hundred thousand, were possessed of six knowledges and great powers,
that pure¹ retinue always surrounds Dīpaṅkara, the knower of the world.

Whoever at then renounced the human state,
and did not obtain a superior mind,² they were censured.

The *arahats*, pure and without *āsavas*, acquire³ teachings that blossom well,
and beautify⁴ the worlds of *devas* and men.⁵

The teacher was Dīpaṅkara, his city was called Rammavati,
his father was king Sumedha,⁶ his mother⁷ was Sumedhā.

Sumaṅgala and Tissa were the foremost disciples,
the attendant⁸ of the teacher Dīpaṅkara was named Sāgata.

Nandā and Sunandā were the foremost female disciples,
the bhagavan's *bodhi* tree, was called the pipphalī.⁹

The great sage,¹⁰ Dīpaṅkara, was eighty cubits in height,
blossoming like a tree,¹¹ flowering like the great *sāla*¹² tree.

The life of the great sage¹³ was one hundred thousand years,
as long as he dwelled there, he freed many people.

Causing the Dhamma to appear¹⁴ that also freed many people,
shining like a bonfire, then, together with his disciples, was liberated.¹⁵

The psychic power, the fame, and the precious jewels on the feet,
all were entirely (37a) dissolved, and those conditioned *dhammas*¹⁶ were abandoned.¹⁷

¹ Tibetan: yoṅs dag ldan. Pāli omits.

² Tibetan: sems kyi lhag ma. Pāli: mānasā sekhā.

³ Tibetan: rñed pa. Pāli omits.

⁴ Tibetan: ñe bar mdzes. Pāli: upasobhati.

⁵ Tibetan: lha dañ mi rnams. Pāli: J I p. 29, sadevake; Bv p. 22, sabbadā.

⁶ Tibetan: blo gros bzañ po. Pāli: J I p. 29, Sumedho; Bv p. 22, Sudevo.

⁷ Tibetan: yum. Pāli: J I p. 29, janiyā; Bv. p. 22, janikā.

⁸ Tibetan: ñe gnas. Pāli: upaṭṭhāka.

⁹ Tibetan: pim pa la. Pāli: pipphalī, E. Patana bō, Yellow-barked fig; *Ficus arnottiana* (Miq.) Miq., *Ficus lacor* Buch.-Ham. (GIMP, GVDB), Moraceae, see J. Liyanaratne, "South Asian Flora as reflected in the Twelfth-Century Pāli Lexicon Abhidhānappadīpikā", *JPTS*, 20, 1994, p. 90.

¹⁰ Tibetan: thub pa chen po. Pāli: Mahāmuni.

¹¹ Tibetan: śiñ. Pāli: diparukkha.

¹² Tibetan: śā la. Pāli: sāla, S. sal; E. Sal tree; *Shorea robusta* C.F. Gaertn., Dipterocarpaceae, see J. Liyanaratne, "South Asian Flora as reflected in the Twelfth-Century Pāli Lexicon Abhidhānappadīpikā", *JPTS*, 20, 1994, p. 108.

¹³ Tibetan: drañ sroñ chen po. Pāli: Mahesino.

¹⁴ Tibetan: snañ bar byas nas. Pāli: jotayitvāna.

¹⁵ Tibetan: 'das. Pāli: nibbuta.

¹⁶ Tibetan: 'dus byas chos. Pāli: sabbasaṃskhara

¹⁷ Tibetan: gtoñ ba: Pāli: ritta.

Bv III 1

{Pā30} After Dīpaṅkara the teacher was named Koṇḍañña,¹
with limitless brilliance, endless fame, boundless and imponderable.²

I34.

The Bhagavan Koṇḍañña.

Furthermore, after the Bhagavan Dīpaṅkara, following the elapse of one immeasurable aeon,³ the teacher appeared, who was the leader⁴ named Koṇḍañña. He had three assemblies of disciples: the first assembly had one hundred thousand *koṭis*, the second had one thousand *koṭis*, the third had ninety thousand⁵ *koṭis*. At that time the Bodhisatta was the world ruling king⁶ named Vijitāvī.⁷ He gave a great gift to those large⁸ congregations of monks, numbering one hundred thousand *koṭis*, in the presence of⁹ the Buddha. The teacher having made the prediction to the Bodhisatta, saying: ‘You will be a Buddha’, and taught the Dhamma. After hearing the doctrine¹⁰ of the teacher, he abandoned the kingdom, and went forth. Then after learning the Tipiṭaka, he produced the eight attainments, and the five higher knowledges, and without leaving *jhāna*¹¹ was reborn in the Bramaloka. Moreover, the Buddha Koṇḍañña’s¹² city was Rammavati;¹³ his father was the king Sunanda¹⁴ and his mother queen Sujātā.¹⁵ The foremost of his disciples were the two Bhadda and Subhadda;¹⁶ his attendant was named Anuruddha;¹⁷ the foremost of his female disciples were Tissā (37b) and Upatissā¹⁸ and his *bodhi* tree the *sālakalyāṇi*.¹⁹ The length of his body was eighty eight cubits and eight thousand years the span of his life.

¹ Tibetan: Kō ṅḍi nya, see edition for variant orthography.

² Tibetan: riñ la sems dpa’ g’zal du med. Pāli: appameyyo durāsado.

³ Tibetan: bskal pa. Pāli omits.

⁴ Tibetan: ’dren pa. Pāli omits.

⁵ Tibetan: phrag dgu bcu. Pāli: navuti.

⁶ Tibetan: rgyal po. Pāli: omits.

⁷ Tibetan: rNam par rgyal ba.

⁸ Tibetan: chen po. Pāli omits.

⁹ Tibetan: la sogs pa. Pāli: pamukha.

¹⁰ Tibetan: chos. Pāli: dhammakathā.

¹¹ Tibetan: bsam gtan ma bor. Pāli: aparihīnajjhaāna.

¹² Tibetan: Kō ṅḍi nya, see edition for variant orthography.

¹³ Tibetan: dGa’ ba can.

¹⁴ Tibetan: Śin tu dga’ ba.

¹⁵ Tibetan: Rigs bzañ lha mo.

¹⁶ Tibetan: bZaṅ po dañ Legs bzañ.

¹⁷ Tibetan: Mi ’gal ba.

¹⁸ Tibetan: rGyal ma dañ Ñe rgyal ma.

¹⁹ Tibetan: dge ba śiñ ni sālā, see edition for variant orthography.

I35.

The Bhagavan Maṅgala.

After him, following the elapse of one immeasurable aeon, four Buddhas appeared¹ in one aeon: Maṅgala, Sumana, Revata and Sobhita.² The Bhagavan Maṅgala had three assemblies of disciples: in the first of those assemblies there were a hundred thousand *koṭis* of monks, in the second a thousand *koṭis* and in the third ninety thousand³ *koṭis*. Then a cousin named Ānanda, with a retinue numbering ninety thousand⁴ *koṭis*, came to the teacher's presence in order to hear the Dhamma. The teacher explained his previous teachings to him in a graduated way;⁵ then he and his retinue attained analytical knowledge and arahatship.⁶ The teacher looked at the previous deeds of those clansmen,⁷ and seeing those robes and bowls that arise due to psychic power, stretched out his right hand saying: 'Come, monks?' All of them instantly bore the bowls and robes that arose due to psychic power, and were received like *theras* of sixty years standing who had the requisite things,⁸ venerating the teacher they surrounded him.⁹ Just as (38a) for other Buddhas there are light rays from all around the eighty cubit high body; this Bhagavan's bodily light rays are not like that, but remained emanating constantly into the ten thousand fold world system. The trees, the earth, the mountains and the oceans and so forth, even cooking pots and the like, were as if adorned with gold. The extent of his life was ninety thousand years.¹⁰ At that time the moon and the sun were unable to shine their own light rays, and the distinction between night and day was unknown. {Pā31} Those beings, as in the sunshine of the day,¹¹ always go by the radiance of the Buddha. The people knew the night and day by recourse to the closing of flowers at night, and the singing of birds in the morning. They thought: ¹²'Why is it not like this for those other perfect¹³ Buddhas?' It is not that they lack this, for if they wished they would be able to emanate light to the ten thousand fold world system or beyond. Moreover, the Bhagavan Maṅgala, due the power acquired in former times, abides pervading the ten thousand fold world system uninterruptedly with his bodily radiance, as others fill a six foot halo.¹⁴ In the course of his life as a bodhisatta he dwelled living as Vessantara,¹⁵ together with son and wife he lived on

¹ Tibetan: byon par gyur. Pāli: nibbattiṃsu.

² Tibetan: bKra śis bzañ po, Thugs bzañ po, Nam gru can, mDzes pa can.

³ Tibetan: phrag dgu bcu. Pāli: navutī.

⁴ Tibetan: phrag dgu bcu. Pāli: navutī.

⁵ Tibetan: sñon gyi gtam nmams go rims bzin du. Pāli: ānupubbilatharā.

⁶ Tibetan: so so yañ dag par rig pa dañ dgra bcom pa thob bo//. Pāli: paṭisambhidāhi arahattarā pāpuṇi.

⁷ Tibetan: rigs kyi bu nmams. Pāli: kulaputta.

⁸ Tibetan: cho ga phun sun tshogs par gyur nas. Pāli: ākappasampannā hutvā.

⁹ Tibetan omits. Pāli has line: Ayam assa tatiyo sāvakasannipāto ahosi.

¹⁰ Tibetan omits. Pāli: vassa.

¹¹ Tibetan: ñin mo ñi ma śar ba bzin du. Pāli: divā suriyālokena viya.

¹² Tibetan: yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i sañs rgyas gzan nmams la ci'i phyir 'di lta bu med pa yin nam. Pāli: Kim pana aññesarā Buddhānarā ayam ānubhāvo n' atthīti.

¹³ Tibetan: yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i sañs rgyas. Pāli: Buddha.

¹⁴ Tibetan: 'od 'dom gañ ba. Pāli: vyāmapabbhā.

¹⁵ Tibetan: Thams cad sgrol.

a mountain liken to (38b) Vamka mountain¹. Then the *yakkha*, Kharadāṭhika,² hearing that he had given a great gift to the Mahāpurisa,³ approached him in the form of a *brāhmaṇa*, and in front of⁴ the Mahāsatta⁵ requested his son and wife. The Bodhisatta⁶ thought:⁷ ‘I will give my son and wife to the *brāhmaṇa*’, delighted and content, he made the earth up to the edges of the sea shake.⁸ Then the *yakkha* remained crouching on the plank at the end of the walkway, and the Bodhisatta sat looking at him. Giving his son and wife to him,⁹ the *yakkha* ate the son and wife as if eating entrails. The *yakkha* looked at the Mahāpurisa,¹⁰ from his open mouth a stream of blood flowed like a glowing fire. Although when seeing his mouth a mere hair’s tip of grief did not arise, and he thought: ‘The gift is well given.’ Moreover, a great joy¹¹ arose in his body and he thought: ‘In the future, due to the benefits of the merit of giving¹² here, I will strive to emanate light rays which are like those.’ Due to that striving, the bodily radiance from the Buddha emanated outwardly, and he dwelled pervading those areas. Furthermore, due to his former deeds when a bodhisatta, he saw a *stūpa* with the relics of a certain Buddha and thought: ‘It is fitting that I offer my life to the relics of this Buddha.’ Putting on a crown of precious wood and wrapping his entire body with other (39a) garments, like wood wrapped with cotton, he filled a golden vessel with butter worth one hundred thousand. He placed a hundred thousand wicks in it, lit the lamp and put it on top of his head, making his entire body blaze, then made circumambulation at the relic *stūpa*. In that way even just a root of his hair was not heated during his exertions, from nightfall up to the dawn of the morning, it was as if he were placed in a bunch of lotus flowers. If this Dhamma is protected by oneself, the Dhamma will protect him. On account of which it is said:

Th 303¹³

¹ Tibetan: ri bo bam ga.

² Tibetan: mChe ba gcig pa gdug pa can.

³ Tibetan: skyes bu chen po.

⁴ Pāli omits, *santika.

⁵ Tibetan: sems dpa’ chen po.

⁶ Pāli: Mahāsatta.

⁷ Tibetan: bsams nas. Pāli omits.

⁸ Tibetan: omits. Pāli has line: dve pi dārake adāsi.

⁹ Tibetan: de la bu dañ bu mo byin pa dañ. Pāli omits.

¹⁰ Tibetan: gnod byin gyis skyes bu chen po de la blta ste. Pāli: Mahāpurisassa yakkharāṃ oloketvā.

¹¹ Tibetan: mchog tu dga’ ba chen po. Pāli: mahantaṃ pītisomanassaṃ.

¹² Tibetan: ’di la byin pa’i bsod nams kyi phan yon gyis. Pāli: imassa me nissandena.

¹³ *Jātakanidāna* p. 31; Th 303; sTog 89a; PDhp 227; Uv 30. 7; Mvu II p. 80-1; Dhp-a I 82; J IV no. 448, v.30, p. 54; J IV no. 510, p. 496; Bv-a p. 144; Dhp-a I p. 99, IV p. 105; Th-a II p. 128; Ap-a p. 34; Bv-a p. 144; J IV p. 54, 496; Dhs-a p. 32.

Jātakanidāna p.31,

dhammo have rakkhati dhammacāriṃ,

dhammo suciṇṇo sukhaṃ āvahāti,

esānisamaṃso dhamme suciṇṇe:

na duggatiṃ gacchati dhammacāriṃti.

Tibetan sTog 39a.

The Dhamma protects the practitioner of Dhamma,
if led by the Dhamma one accordingly obtains the Dhamma.
If one is properly led, the Dhamma is beneficial,
the practitioner of Dhamma does not go to an evil destiny.

{Pā32} As a result of this deed the Bhagavan's radiant body remained pervading the ten thousand fold world system. Then, the Bodhisatta appeared to us as the *brāhmaṇa* named Suruci.¹ He went to the teacher's presence in order to make an invitation to him, and hearing the exposition of the sweet Dhamma, said: 'Sir,² please come to my noonday meal tomorrow.' The Bhagavan said: 'Brāhmaṇa, how many monks do you require?' He replied: 'Sir, bring only the group of your retinue.' Then as the teacher had only one assembly, the Bhagavan said: 'There are eighty thousand *koṭis* of monks.' The Brāhmaṇa said: 'Sir, come for the noon day meal at my house with your entire assembly.' (39b) and the Bhagavan³ assented. The Brāhmaṇa, having made the invitation⁴ for tomorrow, went to his house, thinking: 'I am able to give soup, food and clothes to the group, but where will they sit?' Then the red stone throne of the king of the *devas*, sitting eighty four thousand *yojanas* above,⁵ became hot. Sakka⁶ thought: 'Who is it who desires to eject me from this abode of mine?' The lord of the *devas*,⁷ looking with his divine eye, saw the Mahāpurisa and thought: 'So, the *brāhmaṇa* named Suruci has invited the group of monks, with the Buddha at their head⁸, but is thinking about the seating area. It is proper that I, having gone there, partake

chos bzin bsrñ na chos spyod do // chos kyis bsgral na chos bzin thob //
legs par bsgral na chos phan yon // chos spyod ñan 'gror mi 'gro'o //

Patna *Dharmapada* 227, Śaraṇa varga.

dhammo have rakkhati dhammacārī
dhammo sucinno sukhāya dahāti
esānuśaṃso dhamme sucinne
na doggaṭiṃ gacchati dhammacārī.

Udānavarga 30.7, Sukhavarga.

dharmah sadā rakṣati dharmacāriṇaṃ
dharmah sucirṇaḥ sukham ādadhāti
eṣānuśaṃso dharme sucirṇe
na durgatiṃ gacchati dharmacārī.

Mahāvastu II p. 80-81 (b = *Udānavarga*, Sukhavarga 30.6)

dharmo hi vai rakṣati dharmacāriṃ
chatraṃ mahantaṃ yatha varṣakāle
eṣo nuśaṃso dharme sucirṇe
na durgatiṃ gacchati dharmacārī.

¹ Tibetan: Śin tu sred pa.

² Tibetan: btsun pa.

³ Tibetan: bcom ldan 'das. Pāli: satthā.

⁴ Tibetan: don du gñer cig. Pāli: nimantetvā.

⁵ Tibetan: steñ na. Pāli: matthake.

⁶ Tibetan: brGya byin.

⁷ Tibetan: lha'i dbañ po. Pāli: omits.

⁸ Tibetan: sañs rgyas la sogs pa. Pāli: buddhapamukhaṃ.

in a share of the merit.’ Transforming into the form of a carpenter, and taking an axe, and an adze, he appeared before the Mahāpurisa¹ saying: ‘Whoever gives me wages, I will do his work.’ The Mahāpurisa seeing him said: ‘What work are you able to do?’, he replied: ‘There is no work I do not know, I am able to make a house, or a resting place,² or do any little job whatever.’ The Bodhisatta said:³ ‘Then there is my own work,⁴ I invited, through the noble one,⁵ a group of a hundred thousand *koṭis* of monks, are you able to make a seating area (40a) for them?’ The carpenter said: ‘If you pay me wages, I will make it.’ The Bodhisatta said: ‘Son, I am able.’ The carpenter said: ‘Very well, I will make it.’ He went, and looking at one area measuring twelve or thirteen *yojanas*, made it level, like a *kaṣiṇa maṇḍala*.⁶ He looked at that thinking: ‘Let there be produced from below the earth⁷ a resting place that consists⁸ of the various seven precious things, up to the boundary of this area!’ Then, instantly, breaking through the earth, a resting place was completed. It had a support beam, made of gold on top⁹ of a capital made¹⁰ of silver, on pillars made of gold. There were jewelled pillars decorated with coral, coral pillars decorated with jewels, and pillar capitals made from the seven precious things, on pillars made from the seven precious things. Then, looking at it he thought: ‘Let there be a hanging net of bells at intervals on the resting place.’ While merely looking at it, the hanging net, which was shaken by the wind, gave out the sweet sound of the five kinds of music, like the divine singing of the *devas*. Then, thinking: ‘Let there be hanging scented garlands, and garlands of flowers at intervals!’, there were hanging garlands. Thinking: ‘Let seats and stools arise, after breaking through the earth, for that group of monks numbering a hundred thousand *koṭis*!’ {Pā33} Instantly they appeared on top of the earth¹¹, and he thought: ‘Let there be large water pots evenly spaced out!’, and large water pots appeared. Then having (40b) made all those changes he went to the *brāhmaṇa*’s presence, saying: ‘Sir, come here and look at the resting place! It is proper now to give wages to me.’ The Mahāpurisa came and looked at the resting place. Instantly Sakka became invisible.¹² While merely looking at it, his entire body began to emit five colours, and joy, continuously.¹³ Then, looking at the resting place, this thought occurred: ‘This resting place is not the work of mankind. Surely the seat of Sakka has become hot, due to knowing¹⁴ my intention and my good qualities; for this resting place was made by Sakka king of the *devas*. Furthermore, it is improper for me to give hospitality in a resting place such as this for only one day, so I will give it over a seven day period.’ Even though an

¹ Tibetan: skyes bu chen po. Pāli: Mahāsatta.

² Tibetan: bsti gnas. Pāli: maṇḍapa.

³ Tibetan: byañ chub sems dpa’ smras pa. Pāli omits.

⁴ Pāli has: Kim ayyā ti.

⁵ Tibetan: ’phags pa las. Pāli omits.

⁶ Tibetan: zad par sñon po’i dkyil ’khor.

⁷ Tibetan: sa ’og nas. Pāli omits.

⁸ Tibetan: byuñ ba. Pāli: maya.

⁹ Tibetan: steñ du. Pāli omits.

¹⁰ Tibetan: byuñ ba. Pāli: maya.

¹¹ Tibetan: sa’i steñ du. Pāli omits.

¹² Tibetan: de ma thag tu brgya byin mi snañ bar gyur to. Pāli omits.

¹³ Tibetan: kha dog lña dañ ldan pa dga’ ba rgyun mi ’chad par ’phro bar gyur to. Pāli: pañcavaṇṇāya pītiyā nirantaram phutañ ahoṣi.

¹⁴ Tibetan: rtogs pas. Pāli: āgamma.

external gift is unable to please those bodhisattas, but those bodhisattas become pleased by renunciation when giving, after cutting off their adorned heads, gouging out their pure eyes, or cutting out the flesh of their hearts. Our bodhisatta, in the Sibi *jātaka*,¹ daily bought five bushels worth of coins, and gave it as a gift in the middle of the city with its four gates. Giving that gift did not satisfy him, and when Sakka, king of the *devas*, came in the form of a *brāhmaṇa* and requested his eyes; then when removing his eyes and giving them he became satisfied. Even the mere tip of the hair of suffering did not occur. Accordingly, bodhisattas are not pleased by reason of just giving. Therefore the Mahāpurisa thought: 'It is proper that I give a gift to that group of monks numbering a hundred thousand *koṭis* for a week,' then, seating them in that resting place, he gave the gift of milk rice² for a week. The milk rice is made by filling a very large pot with a large quantity of milk, and putting it on top of a large kitchen range,³ cooking by fire makes the milk thicken, then cooking it with a little fruit, honey, powder, and fresh butter, produces the meal of milk soup known as *gavapāna*. Mankind is unable to serve it, but the *devas* served it alternately. When there was no room for those monks in that area, that extended twelve or thirteen *yojanas*, those monks seated themselves by their own powers. Washing the bowls of all those monks at the end of seven days, and after filling their bowls with new butter,⁴ melted butter,⁵ honey, and the water of boiled raw sugar for use as medicine, he gave these together with three robes. The cotton, which was the material of the robes obtained by the youngest monks of the group, was worth the sum of one hundred thousand. The teacher made his rejoicings, reflecting: 'This man gives such a great gift as this. What will the gain be?' Then he saw: 'In the future, after the elapse of two uncountable periods, and more than one hundred thousand aeons, he will be the Buddha named Gotama.'⁶ Exclaiming to the Mahāpurisa, he prophesied: 'You {Pā34} will be the Buddha Gotama after the elapse of this time.' The Mahāpurisa, hearing the prophesy, thought: 'I will be a Buddha. Since there is no profit in the household life,⁷ I will go forth.' Possessed of such a resolution as this he abandoned the house, as if spitting out a ball of spittle, and went forth in the presence of the teacher. Having gone forth, and learned the teaching of the Buddha, he produced the higher knowledges, and the attainments, at the end of his life was reborn in the Brahma world. Furthermore, the city of the Bhagavan Maṅgala the good⁸ was called Uttara,⁹ his father was king Uttara,¹⁰ and his mother was Uttarā¹¹. The foremost of his disciples were the two: Sudeva and Dhammasena,¹² his attendant was named Pālita,¹³ the foremost of his female disciples were the two: Sīvalī and Asokā¹⁴, his *bodhi* tree

¹ Tibetan: Si bi'i skyes rabs.

² Tibetan: dga' ba pā na. Pāli: gavapāna.

³ Tibetan: tshañ dbañ chen po. Pāli: uddhana.

⁴ Tibetan: mar gsar pa. Pāli: sappi.

⁵ Tibetan: žun mar. Pāli: navanīta.

⁶ Tibetan: gō ta ma, see edition for variant orthography.

⁷ Tibetan: khyim pa na gnas pa la don med. Pāli: ko me gharāvāsena attho.

⁸ Tibetan: bKra śis bzañ po. Pāli: Maṅgala.

⁹ Tibetan: mchog.

¹⁰ Tibetan: mchog.

¹¹ Tibetan: mchog ma.

¹² Tibetan: lTañ bzañ dañ Chos kyi sde.

¹³ Tibetan: bsKyañ ba.

was the *nāga*¹ tree. The height of his body was eighty eight cubits, the span of his life was ninety thousand years.² Having lived for (42a) ninety thousand years, he attained *nibbāna*. Moreover, after the Buddha attained *nibbāna*³ all the regions of the ten thousand fold sphere⁴ immediately became dark, and the people of all the spheres let out a great lament.

Bv IV 1

After Koṇḍañña, Maṅgala was the leader of the world,⁵
clearing the world's darkness, diffusing the radiance of the light of the Dhamma.

I36.

The Bhagavan Sumara.

Accordingly, at his attainment of *nibbāna* the ten thousand fold world system was plunged into darkness. After that Bhagavan, the teacher named Sumana⁶ appeared. He had three assemblies of disciples: in the first assembly there were a hundred thousand *koṭis* of monks, in the second assembly⁷ there were ninety thousand *koṭis* on Kañcana mountain,⁸ the third had eighty thousand *koṭis*. At that time the Mahāsatta⁹ was the *nāga* king named Atula,¹⁰ who possessed the force of the psychic powers. Hearing 'A Buddha has arisen', he went out, surrounded by friends and family, from that abode of *nāgas*. Making offering with divine music to the Bhagavan, who was surrounded by a retinue of a hundred thousand *koṭis* of monks, he gave a great gift. Having given to each of those monks a set of divine clothes,¹¹ he remained in the virtue¹² of going for refuge. The teacher prophesied: 'In the future you will be Buddha.' The city of that Bhagavan was called Khema,¹³ his father (42b) was the king named Sudatta,¹⁴ and his mother was named Sirimā,¹⁵ The foremost of his disciples were Saraṇa and Bhāvitatta,¹⁶ his attendant was Udena,¹⁷ and the

¹⁴ Tibetan: Ṣi byed len dañ Mya ṇan med.

¹ Tibetan: klu śiñ. Pāli: nāgarukkha, E. Ironwood tree, Rose chesnut; *Mesua ferrea* L., Guttiferae, see J. Liyanaratne, "South Asian Flora as reflected in the Twelfth-Century Pāli Lexicon *Abhidhānappadīpikā*", *JPTS*, 20, 1994, p. 84.

² Tibetan: stoñ phrag dgu bcu'i lo ni sku tshē'i tshad do. Pāli omits.

³ Tibetan: sañs rgyas mya ṇan las 'das nas. Pāli: tasmim.

⁴ Tibetan: stoñ phrag bcu'i khor yug gi phyogs. Pāli: dasacakkavāḷasahassa.

⁵ Tibetan: 'jig rten. Pāli omits.

⁶ Tibetan: Yid bzañ.

⁷ Tibetan: 'dus pa. Pāli omits.

⁸ Tibetan: gSer gyi ri.

⁹ Tibetan: sems dpa' chen po.

¹⁰ Tibetan: mÑam med.

¹¹ Tibetan: lha'i gos gñis. Pāli: dussayuga.

¹² Tibetan: tshul khirms. Pāli omits.

¹³ Tibetan: dGe ba can.

¹⁴ Tibetan: Legs byin.

¹⁵ Tibetan: dPal Idan ma.

two¹ foremost female disciples were Soṇā and Upasoṇā.² His *bodhi* tree was the *nāga*³ tree, the height of his body was sixty cubits, and the span of his life was ninety thousand years.

Bv V 1

After Maṅgala the good⁴ the leader was called Sumana⁵
unequaled in all *dhammas*, the best of all beings.

I37.

The Bhagavan Revata.

{Pā35} After him the teacher named Revata⁶ appeared. He had three assemblies,⁷ the first was called incalculable, the second had a hundred thousand *koṭis* of monks, and the third also the same number. At that time the Bodhisatta was the *brāhmaṇa* named Atideva,⁸ hearing the teacher's explanation of the Dhamma, he remained in the virtue⁹ of going for refuge. Joining his hands above his head, and speaking in praise of the teacher's abandonment of the defilements, he offered his upper robe. He also received the prophesy: 'You will be Buddha.' Furthermore, the Bhagavan's city was called Sudhaññavatī,¹⁰ his father was the king named Vipula,¹¹ and his mother was named Vipulā.¹² The foremost of his disciples were Varuṇa and Brahmadeva,¹³ his attendant was Sambhava,¹⁴ and the foremost of his female disciples were Bhaddā and Subhaddā.¹⁵ (43a) His *bodhi* tree was the *nāga*¹⁶ tree, the height of his body was eighty cubits, and the span of his life was sixty thousand years.

¹⁶ Tibetan: Ñes 'gro dañ Goms byed.

¹⁷ Tibetan: 'Char byed.

¹ Tibetan: gñis. Pāli omits.

² Tibetan: Ñan pa dañ Ñe bar ñan pa.

³ Tibetan: klu śiñ. Pāli: nāgarukkha, E. Ironwood tree, Rose chesnut; *Mesua ferrea* L., Guttiferae, see J. Liyanaratne, *JPTS*, 20, 1994, p. 84.

⁴ Tibetan: bKra śis bzañ po. Pāli: Maṅgala.

⁵ Tibetan: Thugs bzañ.

⁶ Tibetan: Nam gru can.

⁷ Tibetan: 'dus pa. Pāli: sāvakasannipāta.

⁸ Tibetan: lHag pa'i lha.

⁹ Tibetan: tshul khriṃs. Pāli omits.

¹⁰ Tibetan: Nam gru bzañ ldan.

¹¹ Tibetan: Śin tu rgyas pa.

¹² Tibetan: Śin tu rgyas ma.

¹³ Tibetan: Chu lha dañ lHa tshañs pa.

¹⁴ Tibetan: Yañ dag 'byuñ.

¹⁵ Tibetan: bZañ mo dañ Legs bzañ mo.

¹⁶ Tibetan: klu śiñ. Pāli: nāgarukkha, E. Ironwood tree, Rose chesnut; *Mesua ferrea* L., Guttiferae, see J. Liyanaratne, "South Asian Flora as reflected in the Twelfth-Century Pāli Lexicon *Abhidhānappadīpikā*", *JPTS*, 20, 1994, p. 84.

Bv VI 1

After Sumana the leader was named Revata,
incomparable and unequalled, he was the best and unequalled Jina.

I38.

The Bhagavan Sobhita.

After him the teacher named Sobhita¹ appeared. He had three assemblies,² the first had a hundred *koṭis* of monks, the second had ninety *koṭis* and the third had eighty *koṭis*. Then the Bodhisatta was the *brāhmaṇa* named Ajita,³ hearing the teacher's explanation of the Dhamma, he remained in the virtue⁴ of going for refuge. He gave a great gift to the group of monks with the Buddha at their head.⁵ The Bhagavan also prophesied: 'You will be Buddha.' Furthermore, that Bhagavan's city was named Sudhamma,⁶ his father was the king Sudhamma, and his mother was named Sudhammā.⁷ The foremost of his disciples were Asama and Sunetta,⁸ and his attendant was Anoma,⁹ the foremost of his female disciples were Nakulā and Sujātā.¹⁰ His *bodhi* tree was the *nāga*¹¹ tree, the height of his body was fifty eight cubits, and the span of his life was ninety thousand years.

Bv VII 1

After Revata the leader was called Sobhita,
collected and calm minded, the unsurpassed unequalled man.

I39.

The Bhagavan Anomadassi.

After him, following the elapse of one (43b) immeasurable aeon, three Buddhas were born within one

¹ Tibetan: mDzes byed.

² Tibetan: 'dus pa. Pāli: sāvakasannipāta.

³ Tibetan: Mi pham pa.

⁴ Tibetan: tshul khrims. Pāli omits.

⁵ Tibetan: saṅs rgyas la sogs pa. Pāli: buddhapamukha.

⁶ Tibetan: Chos bzañ.

⁷ Tibetan: Chos bzañ ma.

⁸ Tibetan: mTshuñs med dañ Legs spyān.

⁹ Tibetan: Yid ldan.

¹⁰ Tibetan: Rig ma dañ Legs skyes ma.

¹¹ Tibetan: klu śiñ. Pāli: nāgarukkha, E. Ironwood tree, Rose chesnut; *Mesua ferrea* L., Guttiferae, see J. Liyanaratne, "South Asian Flora as reflected in the Twelfth-Century Pāli Lexicon *Abhidhānappadīpikā*", *JPTS*, 20, 1994, p. 84.

aeon: Anomadassi, Paduma and Nārada.¹ The Bhagavan Anomadassi had three assemblies² the first had one³ hundred thousand monks, the second seven hundred thousand, and the third six hundred thousand. At that time the Bodhisatta was a certain *yakkha*,⁴ possessing great powers and great majesty, he was the lord of many {Pā36} hundreds of thousands of *koṭis* of *yakkhas*. Then, hearing ‘The Bhagavan has arrived’, he went there and gave a great gift to the group of monks, with the Buddha at their head,⁵ The teacher also prophesied: ‘You will be a Buddha in the future.’ Furthermore, the city of the Bhagavan Anomadassi was called Caṇḍavati,⁶ his father was the king Yasava, and his mother was named Yasodharā.⁷ The foremost of his disciples were Nisabha and Anoma,⁸ and his attendant was Varuṇa,⁹ the foremost of his female disciples were Sundarī and Sumanā.¹⁰ His *bodhi* tree was the *ajjuna*¹¹ tree, the height of his body was fifty eight cubits, and the span of his life was a hundred thousand years.

Bv VIII 1

After Sobhita the perfect Buddha, the chief of men,
was the famed,¹² radiant and unsurpassed¹³ Anomadassi.

I40.

The Bhagavan Paduma.

After him the teacher named Paduma¹⁴ appeared. He also had (44a) three assemblies,¹⁵ the first had a hundred thousand *koṭis* of monks, the second had three hundred thousand, and the third had two hundred thousand who dwelled in solitude in the great forest without homes. Then, when the Tathāgata was also dwelling in the great forest, the Bodhisatta was born as a lion, and seeing the teacher dwelling in the attainment of cessation, he saluted and circumambulated him with a pure mind. Then joy and happiness arose, and he thrice let out the lion’s roar. For seven days he did not forsake the joy that was due to the

¹ Tibetan: Thugs ldan mthoñ ba, Pad ma, Mi sbyin.

² Tibetan: ’dus pa. Pāli: sāvakasannipāta.

³ Tibetan: gcig. Pāli: aṭṭha.

⁴ Tibetan: gnod sbyin. Pāli: yakkhasenāpati.

⁵ Tibetan: sañs rgyas la sogs pa. Pāli: buddhapamukha.

⁶ Tibetan: Ni la ba can.

⁷ Tibetan: Grags ’dzin ma.

⁸ Tibetan: Nes bzañ dañ Yid ldan.

⁹ Tibetan: Chu lha.

¹⁰ Tibetan: Legs mdzes dañ Yid bzañ ma.

¹¹ Tibetan: srid sgrub. Pāli: ajjuna, E. Arjuna myrobalan; *Terminalia arjuna* (Roxb. ex DC.) Wight et Arn., Combretaceae, see J. Liyanaratne, “South Asian Flora as reflected in the Twelfth-Century Pāli Lexicon Abhidhānappadīpikā”, *JPTS*, 20, 1994, p. 56.

¹² Tibetan: ’chi med grags. Pāli: amitayasa.

¹³ Tibetan: riñ mthoñ. Pāli: duratikkama.

¹⁴ Tibetan: Pad ma.

¹⁵ Tibetan: ’dus pa. Pāli: sāvakasannipāta.

Buddha, abandoning life, he departed to the sphere of joy and happiness. After seven days, the teacher, rising from the attainment of cessation, and seeing the lion said: ‘Even those monks of the *saṅgha*, after purifying the mind, make salutation to the *saṅgha*.’ He thought: ‘Let the *saṅgha* of monks come!’ those monks arrived immediately, and the lion purified the minds of the *saṅgha*. The teacher, examining his mind, prophesied: ‘You will be Buddha in the future.’ Furthermore, the Bhagavan Paduma’s city was named Campaka,¹ his father was the king Paduma, and his mother was named Asamā.² The foremost of his disciples were Sāla and Upasāla,³ and his attendant was Varuṇa,⁴ (44b) the foremost of his female disciples were Rāmā and Uparāmā.⁵ His *bodhi* tree was the *soṇa*⁶ tree, the height of his body was fifty eight cubits, and the span of his life was a hundred thousand years.

Bv IX 1

After Anomadassa, the perfect Buddha, the best of men,
was called Paduma,⁷ without rival or equal.

I41.

The Bhagavan Nārada

After him the teacher named Nārada⁸ appeared. He also had three assemblies,⁹ the first had a hundred thousand *koṭis* of monks, {Pā37} the second had ninety thousand *koṭis*, and the third had one hundred and eighty thousand *koṭis*. Then, the Bodhisatta having gone forth, in the going forth of a sage, mastered¹⁰ the five higher knowledges and the eight attainments. He gave a great gift to the group of monks, with the Buddha at their head,¹¹ and made offering with red sandalwood.¹² He prophesied to him: ‘You will be Buddha in the future!’ Furthermore, the Bhagavan’s city was named Dhafñāvatī,¹³ his father was the king¹⁴ Sumedha, and his mother was named Anomā.¹⁵ The foremost of his disciples were Bhaddasāla and Jinamitta,¹⁶ and his attendant was Vāsetṭha,¹⁷ the foremost of his female disciples were Uttarā and Phagguṇī.¹⁸

¹ Tibetan: Tsam pa ka.

² Tibetan: mTsuñs med ma.

³ Tibetan: Sā la dañ U pa sā la.

⁴ Tibetan: Chu lha.

⁵ Tibetan: dGa’ ma dañ Śin tu dga’ ma.

⁶ Tibetan: sro na. Pāli: soṇa.

⁷ Tibetan: Pad ma.

⁸ Tibetan: Mi sbyin.

⁹ Tibetan: ’dus pa. Pāli: sāvakasannipāta.

¹⁰ Tibetan: dbaṅ du gyur te. Pāli: vasī hutvā.

¹¹ Tibetan: sañs rgyas la sogs pa. Pāli: buddhapamukha.

¹² Tibetan: tsan dan dmar po.

¹³ Tibetan: Tsam pa ka.

¹⁴ Tibetan: rgyal po. Pāli: khattiya.

¹⁵ Tibetan: Yid ldan ma.

¹⁶ Tibetan: Sā la bzañ po dañ rGyal byed bśes gñen.

His *bodhi* tree was the *mahāsoṇa*¹ tree, the height of his body was eighty eight cubits and the span of his life was ninety thousand years. (45a)

Bv X 1

After Paduma,² the perfect Buddha, the best of men,
was called Nārada, without rival or equal.

I42.

The Bhagavan Padmuttara.

Beginning one hundred thousand aeons after the Buddha Nārada, in the middle of a certain aeon, the Buddha called Padmuttara³ appeared. He also had three assemblies,⁴ the first had a hundred thousand *koṭis* of monks, the second on Vebhāra mountain⁵ had ninety thousand *koṭis*, and the third had eighty thousand *koṭis*. At that time the Bodhisatta was born as the state official⁶ named Jaṭila.⁷ He gave a great gift, consisting of religious robes, to the group of monks, with the Buddha at their head.⁸ He also prophesied to him: ‘You will be Buddha in the future!’ Furthermore, there was not even the name heretic during the time of the Bhagavan Padmuttara, and all *devas* and men went for refuge to the Buddha. His city was named Haṃsavatī,⁹ his father was the king¹⁰ Ānanda, and his mother was named Sujātā.¹¹ The foremost of his disciples were Devala and Sujāta,¹² and his attendant was Sumana,¹³ the foremost of his female disciples were Amitā and Asamā.¹⁴ His *bodhi* tree was the *sāla*¹⁵ tree, the height of his body was eighty eight cubits, his bodily radiance surrounded him for twelve *yojanas*, (45b) and the span of his life was one hundred thousand years.

¹⁷ Tibetan: gNas mchog.

¹⁸ Tibetan: mChog ma dañ ‘Bras bu can ma.

¹ Tibetan: sron chen po. Pāli: mahāsoṇa.

² Tibetan: Pad ma.

³ Tibetan: Pad ma mchog.

⁴ Tibetan: ’dus pa. Pāli: sāvakaśannipāta.

⁵ Tibetan: Bai bhā ra’i ri.

⁶ Tibetan: yul ’khor chen po. Pāli: Mahāraṭṭhiya.

⁷ Tibetan: Ral pa can.

⁸ Tibetan: sañs rgyas la sogs pa. Pāli: buddhapamukha.

⁹ Tibetan: Tsam pa ka.

¹⁰ Tibetan: rgyal po. Pāli: khattiya.

¹¹ Tibetan: Legs ma.

¹² Tibetan: Lha’i sbyan dañ Legs skyes.

¹³ Tibetan: Yid bzañ.

¹⁴ Tibetan: Grog med ma dañ mTsuñs med ma.

¹⁵ Tibetan: śā la. Pāli: sāla, S. sal; E. Sal tree; Shorea robusta C.F. Gaertn., Dipterocarpaceae, see J. Liyanaratne, “South Asian Flora as reflected in the Twelfth-Century Pāli Lexicon Abhidhānappadīpikā”, *JPTS*, 20, 1994, p. 108.

Bv XI 1

After Nārada, the perfect Buddha, the best of men,
was called Padmuttara the conqueror, unagitated like the ocean.

I43.

The Bhagavan Sumedha.

After him, following the elapse of three¹ thousand aeons, there were two Buddhas in one aeon, named Sumedha and Sujāta.² Sumedha also had three assemblies of disciples, in the first assembly in the city called Sudassana³ there were one hundred *koṭis* of *arhats*. In the second assembly there were ninety *koṭis*, and in the third assembly there were eighty *koṭis*. At that time the Bodhisatta was born as the *brāhmaṇa* boy⁴ named Uttara.⁵ He, gave a great gift to the group of monks, {Pā38} with the Buddha at their head,⁶ by distributing eighty *koṭis* of buried treasure, and having heard the teaching, he resorted to the duty of going for refuge. Having gone forth, he went to the forest.⁷ He also prophesied to him: ‘You will be Buddha in the future!’ The Bhagavan Sumedha’s city was named Sudassana, his father was the king Sudatta,⁸ and his mother was named Sudattā.⁹ The foremost of his disciples were Saraṇa and Sabbakāma,¹⁰ and his attendant was Sāgara,¹¹ the foremost of his female disciples were Rāmā and Surāmā.¹² His *bodhi* tree was the *mahānīpa*¹³ tree, the height of his body was eighty eight cubits, (46a) and the span of his life was ninety thousand years.

Bv XII 1

After Padmuttara, the leader was called Sumedha,
with strong radiance and superior mind,¹⁴ the sage surpassing all the world.

¹ Tibetan: bskal pa stoñ phrag gsum. Pāli: timsakappasahassa.

² Tibetan: Blos gros bzañ po dañ Legs skyes.

³ Tibetan: blTa na sdug.

⁴ Tibetan: bram ze'i khye'ur. Pāli: māṇava.

⁵ Tibetan: Lus mchog.

⁶ Tibetan: sañs rgyas la sogs pa. Pāli: buddhapamukha.

⁷ Tibetan: nags tshal du byon no. Pali omits.

⁸ Tibetan: Legs sbyin.

⁹ Tibetan: Legs sbyin ma.

¹⁰ Tibetan: Nes 'byuñ dañ Thams cad 'dod.

¹¹ Tibetan: rGya mtsho.

¹² Tibetan: dGa' ma dañ Śin tu dga' ma.

¹³ Tibetan: nī pa chen po. Pāli: mahānīpa.

¹⁴ Tibetan: 'od zer drag ciñ riñ la sems. Pāli: durāsado uggatejo.

I44.

The Bhagavan Sujāta.

After him the teacher named Sujāta appeared. He also had three assemblies of disciples, in the first assembly there were sixty thousand monks, in the second there were fifty thousand, and in the third there were forty thousand. At that time the Bodhisatta was born as a king who was a *cakkavatti*.¹ Hearing, ‘the Buddha has arrived’, he went there. Having heard the teaching, he gave a great gift, consisting of the kingdoms of the four continents together with the seven jewels, to the group of monks with the Buddha at their head,² and then went up to the teacher. Taking the wealth of the subjects who lived in all the kingdoms, he built monasteries, giving them as a great gift³ to those monks, with the Buddha at their head.⁴ The teacher also prophesied to him: ‘You will be Buddha in the future!’ The Bhagavan’s city was named Sumaṅgala,⁵ his father was the king Uggata,⁶ and his mother was named Pabhāvati.⁷ The foremost of his disciples were the two: Sudassana and Deva,⁸ his attendant was Nārada,⁹ the foremost of his female disciples were Nāgā and Nāgasamālā.¹⁰ His *bodhi* tree was the *mahāveḷu*¹¹ tree, which had a lovely trunk (46b) with tiny perforations, and the branches at its top had beautiful fans like a peacock’s tail. The height of the Bhagavan’s body was fifty eight cubits, and the span of his life was ninety thousand years.

Bv XIII 1

Then, in that very *maṇḍakappa*,¹² Sujāta was the leader,
chief of the host, with the jaw of a lion, imponderable and unequalled.¹³

I45.

The Bhagavan Piyadassi.

Then after him, starting from the beginning of one hundred and eighteen aeons, in one aeon three Buddhas appeared called Piyadassi, Atthadassi and Dhammadassi.¹⁴ Piyadassi also had three assemblies of

¹ Tibetan: 'khor lo sgyur ba'i rgyal po.

² Tibetan: saṅs rgyas la sogs pa. Pāli: buddhapamukha.

³ Tibetan: sbyin pa chen po phul lo. Pāli: niccaṃ mahādānaṃ adamsu.

⁴ Tibetan: saṅs rgyas la sogs pa. Pāli: buddhapamukha.

⁵ Tibetan: bKra śis bzañ po.

⁶ Tibetan: Drag po.

⁷ Tibetan: 'Od ldan ma.

⁸ Tibetan: biTa na sdug dañ Lha.

⁹ Tibetan: Mi sbyin.

¹⁰ Tibetan: Glu ma dañ Glu ma'i 'phreñ ba dañ bcas pa.

¹¹ Tibetan: 'od ma chen po. Pāli: mahāveḷu.

¹² Tibetan: sñiñ po'i bskal pa.

¹³ Tibetan: khyu mchog dpuñ pa señ ge'i 'gram // riñ la sems žiñ g'zal du med //. Pāli: sīhana' usabhakkhandho appameyyo durāsado.

¹⁴ Tibetan: dGa' mthoñ, Don mthoñ, Chos mthoñ.

disciples, the first had a hundred thousand *koṭis* of monks, the second had ninety *koṭis*, and the third had eighty *koṭis*. At that time the Bodhisatta was the *brāhmaṇa* boy named Kassapa.¹ He had mastered the three *vedas*, and on hearing the teacher explain the teaching, he abandoned wealth worth a hundred thousand *koṭis*. {Pā39} Making monasteries for the *saṅgha* and going for refuge, he dwelled in the practice of virtue. Then the teacher also prophesied to him: ‘After the elapse of one hundred and eighteen aeons you will be Buddha!’ The city of that Bhagavan was named Anoma.² His father was the king Sudinna,³ and his mother was named Candā.⁴ The foremost of his disciples were the two Pālita and Sabbadassi,⁵ and his attendant was Sobhita,⁶ the foremost of his female disciples were the two: Sujātā and Dhammadinnā.⁷ (47a) His *bodhi* tree was the *piyaṅguru*⁸ tree, the height of his body was eighty cubits, and the span of his life was ninety thousand years.

Bv XIV 1

After Sujātā, the self sufficient leader of the world,
was the renowned Piyadassi, unequalled and imponderable.

I46.

The Bhagavan Atthadassi.

After him the Bhagavan⁹ named Atthadassi appeared. He also had three assemblies of disciples, in the first assembly there were ninety eight thousand monks, in the second there were eighty eight thousand, and the same also in the third. At that time the Bodhisatta was the ascetic named Susīma,¹⁰ who had great powers. Taking an umbrella of *mandārava* flowers from the *deva* world, he offered it to the teacher. He also made the prediction to him. The Bhagavan’s city was named Sobhita,¹¹ his father was the king Sāgara¹² and his mother was named Sudassanā.¹³ The foremost of his disciples were Santa and Upasanta,¹⁴

¹ Tibetan: ‘Od sruñs.

² Tibetan: Yid ldan.

³ Tibetan: Legs sbyin

⁴ Tibetan: Zla ba ma.

⁵ Tibetan: bsKyañs pa dañ Kun mthoñ.

⁶ Tibetan: mDzes byed.

⁷ Tibetan: Legs skyes ma dañ Chos sbyin ma.

⁸ Tibetan: pri yañ ku. Pāli: *piyaṅguru*, E. Perfumed cherry; *Aglaia elaeagnoides* (Juss.) Benth. var. *beddomei* {Gamble} K.K.N. Nair, (= *A. roxburghiana* (Wight et Arn.) Miq.), Meliaceae, see J. Liyanaratne, “South Asian Flora as reflected in the Twelfth-Century Pāli Lexicon *Abhidhānappadipikā*”, *JPTS*, 20, 1994, p. 108.

⁹ Pāli: sathā.

¹⁰ Tibetan: mTshams bzañ.

¹¹ Tibetan: mDzes byed.

¹² Tibetan: rGya mtsho.

¹³ Tibetan: blTa na sdug ma.

¹⁴ Tibetan: Ži ba dañ Ñe bar ži ba.

while his attendant was Abhaya,¹ the foremost of his female disciples were Dhammā and Sudhammā.² His *bodhi* tree was the *campaka*³ tree. The height of his body was eighty-eight cubits, and he dwelled surrounded by his bodily radiance pervading as far as one *yojana* at all times, the span of his life was one hundred thousand years.

Bv XV 1

Then, in that *maṇḍakappa*, Atthadassi the chief of men, (47b)
dispelled the great darkness, and attained the highest enlightenment.

I47.

The Bhagavan Dhammadassi.

After him the teacher named Dhammadassi appeared. He also had three assemblies of disciples, in the first assembly there were a hundred *koṭṭis* of monks, in the second there were seventy *koṭṭis*, and in the third eighty *koṭṭis*. At that time the Bodhisatta was Sakka, king of the *devas*. He made offerings with divine perfumes, flowers, and divine music. He also had the prediction made to him: ‘You will be Buddha in the future’⁴. The Bhagavan’s city was named Saraṇa,⁵ his father was the king Saraṇa,⁶ and his mother was named Sunandā.⁷ The foremost of his disciples were Paduma and Phussadeva,⁸ while his attendant was Sunetta,⁹ the foremost of his female disciples were Khemā and Sabbanāmā.¹⁰ His *bodhi* tree was the *bimbijāla*¹¹ tree. The height of his body was eighty cubits, the span of his life was one hundred thousand years.

Bv XVI 1

Then, in the *maṇḍakappa*, the renowned Dhammadassi,
subduing the great darkness, shone equal to the *devas*.¹²

¹ Tibetan: ’jigs med.

² Tibetan: Chos ma dañ Chos bzañ ma.

³ Tibetan: tsam pa ka. Pāli: campaka, S. sapu; E. Golden champa; *Michelia champaca* L., Magnoliaceae, see J. Liyanaratne, “South Asian Flora as reflected in the Twelfth-Century Pāli Lexicon *Abhidhānappadīpikā*”, *JPTS*, 20, 1994, p. 76.

⁴ Tibetan: de yañ ma ’oñs oa na sañs rgyas bar luñ bstan to. Pāli: So pi naṃ vyākāsi.

⁵ Tibetan: sKyabs.

⁶ Tibetan: sKyabs.

⁷ Tibetan: Śin tu dga’ ma.

⁸ Tibetan: Pad ma dañ Lhar gyur pa.

⁹ Tibetan: Legs spyān.

¹⁰ Tibetan: dGe ma dañ bDen ma.

¹¹ Tibetan: byañ chub kyi śiñ ni pim pa dzā la śiñ ño. Pāli: Rattakuravakarukkho bodhi, bimbijālo ti pi vuccatī.

¹² Tibetan: lha dañ bcas pa snañ bar mdzad. Pāli: atirocati sadevake.

I48.

The Bhagavan Siddhattha.

{Pā40} Then after him, starting from the beginning ninety four aeons ago, in one aeon the Buddha named Siddhattha¹ appeared. He also had three assemblies of disciples, the first had a hundred thousand *koṭis* of monks, the second had ninety *koṭis*, and (48a) the third had eighty *koṭis*. At that time the Bodhisatta was the ascetic named Maṅgala,² having a powerful brilliance, and possessed of the power of higher knowledge. Taking the fruit of the *mahājambu*³ he gave it to the Tathāgata. The teacher, after eating the fruit, prophesied to the Bodhisatta ‘In the future, after ninety four aeons, you will be Buddha.’ That Bhagavan’s city was named Vebhāra⁴, his father was the king Jāyasena,⁵ and his mother was named Suphassā.⁶ The foremost of his disciples were Sambala and Sumitta,⁷ and his attendant was Revata,⁸ the foremost of his female disciples were Sīvalī and Surāmā.⁹ His *bodhi* tree was the *kaṇikāra*¹⁰ tree, the height of his body was sixty cubits, and the span of his life was one hundred thousand years.

Bv XVII 1

After Dhammadassi, Siddhattha the leader of the world,
subdued all darkness, like the sun rising in the sky.

I49.

The Bhagavan Tissa.

Then after him, starting from the beginning ninety two thousand aeons ago, in one aeon two Buddhas named Tissa and Phussa¹¹ appeared. They also had three assemblies,¹² the first assembly had a hundred *koṭis* of monks, the second had ninety *koṭis*, and the third had eighty *koṭis*. At that time (48b) the Bodhisatta was born in a royal family and named Sujāta,¹³ and was possessed of great wealth and fame.

¹ Tibetan: Don grub.

² bKra śis bzañ po.

³ Tibetan: Śiñ ’dzam bu.

⁴ Tibetan: Bai bhā ra.

⁵ Tibetan: rGyal ba’i sde.

⁶ Tibetan: Legs gyur ma.

⁷ Tibetan: Mañ du ’byuñ dañ bŚes gñen bzañ po.

⁸ Tibetan: Nam gru.

⁹ Tibetan: Źi byed len ma dañ Legs brtan ma.

¹⁰ Tibetan: karni ka. Pāli: kaṇikāra, E. Golden silk cotton, Torchwood, Yellow silk cotton; *Cochlospermum religiosum* (L.) Alston, Cochlospermaceae, *Pterospermum acerifolium* (L.) Willd., Sterculiaceae, see J. Liyanaratne, “South Asian Flora as reflected in the Twelfth-Century Pāli Lexicon *Abhidhānappadīpikā*”, *JPTS*, 20, 1994, p. 64.

¹¹ Tibetan: dKar rgyal dañ Gyur pa.

¹² Tibetan: ’dus pa. Pāli: sāvakasannipāta.

¹³ Tibetan: Legs skyes.

Having gone forth into the life of an ascetic, he acquired power.¹ Hearing that the Buddha had arrived, he took divine *mandāra*,² and lotus flowers, and *paricchattaka*³ fruits, offering them to the Tathāgata, who had gone into the midst of the four fold assembly, then he spread a canopy of flowers in the sky. The Buddha also prophesied to him: ‘After ninety two aeons, you will be Buddha.’ That Bhagavan’s city was named Khema,⁴ his father was Janasandha⁵ of royal lineage,⁶ and his mother was named Padmumā.⁷ The foremost of his disciples were Brahmadeva and Udaya,⁸ and his attendant was Sambhava,⁹ the foremost of his female disciples were Phussā and Sudattā.¹⁰ His *bodhi* tree was the *asana*¹¹ tree, the height of his body was sixty cubits, and the span of his life was one hundred thousand years.

Bv XVIII 1

After Siddhattha, the unequalled peerless person
the supreme Tissa, of endless virtue and renown, was leader of the world.

I 50.

The Bhagavan Phussa.

Then after him, the teacher named Phussa appeared. He also had three assemblies,¹² the first assembly had sixty thousand monks, the second had fifty thousand, and the third had thirty-two thousand. At that time the Bodhisatta was born in a royal family and named Vijitāvi.¹³ (49a) Abandoning the kingdom’s royal family, he went forth in the presence of the teacher. Learning the three *piṭakas* {Pā41} he explained and taught the good teaching to many people, and having completed the perfection of virtue, he accordingly also received the prophesy: ‘You will be Buddha.’¹⁴ That Bhagavan’s city was named Kāsi,¹⁵ his father

¹ Tibetan: rdzu 'phrul dañ ldan par gyur te. Pāli: mahiddhikabhāvaṃ patvā.

² Tibetan: man dā ra ba. Pāli: mandāra, E. Apple of Sodom, Mudar; *Calotropis procera* (Aiton) R. Br., Asclepiadaceae, see J. Liyanaratne, “South Asian Flora as reflected in the Twelfth-Century Pāli Lexicon Abhidhānappadīpikā”, *JPTS*, 20, 1994, p. 55.

³ Tibetan: pā ri ccha ttra. Pāli: paricchattaka.

⁴ Tibetan: dGe ma.

⁵ Tibetan: sKye bo dad pa can.

⁶ Tibetan: rgyal po'i rigs. Pāli: khattiya.

⁷ Tibetan: Pad ma.

⁸ Tibetan: Tshañs pa'i lha dañ 'Char byed.

⁹ Tibetan: Yañ dag mchog.

¹⁰ Tibetan: Myur ma dañ Legs sbyin ma.

¹¹ Tibetan: a sa na. Pāli: asana, E. Amboyna kino tree, Bastard teak, Gum kino tree; *Pterocarpus marsupium* Roxb., Papilionaseae, see J. Liyanaratne, “South Asian Flora as reflected in the Twelfth-Century Pāli Lexicon Abhidhānappadīpikā”, *JPTS*, 20, 1994, p. 90.

¹² Tibetan: 'dus pa. Pāli: sāvakasannipāta.

¹³ Tibetan: Legs skyes.

¹⁴ Tibetan: de yañ de bzin du 'tshañ rgya bar gyur to. Pāli: So pi naṃ Buddho tath' eva vyākāsi.

¹⁵ Tibetan: gSal ldan.

was the king Jayasena,¹ and his mother was named Sirimā.² The foremost of his disciples were Surakkhita and Dhammasena,³ and his attendant was Sabhiya,⁴ the foremost of his female disciples were Cālā and Upacālā.⁵ His *bodhi* tree was the *āmalaka*⁶ tree, the height of his body was fifty-eight cubits, and the span of his life was ninety thousand years.

Bv XIX 1

Then, in that *maṇḍakappa*, the unsurpassed teacher
Phussa, was the peerless and unequalled leader of the world.

I 51.

The Bhagavan Vipassi.

Then, ninety one aeons after him, the Bhagavan named Vipassi⁷ appeared. He also had three assemblies,⁸ the first assembly had ninety-eight thousand monks, the second had one hundred thousand, and the third had eighty thousand. At that time the Bodhisatta was the *nāga* king Atula,⁹ powerful, and possessing psychic power. He gave the Bhagavan a large golden (49b) sword¹⁰ adorned with seven jewels. He also prophesied to him: 'After ninety-one aeons you will be Buddha.' That Bhagavan's city was named Bhandhumatī,¹¹ his father was the king Bandhuma,¹² and his mother was named Bhandhumatī.¹³ The foremost of his disciples were Khaṇḍa and Tissa,¹⁴ and his attendant was Asoka,¹⁵ the foremost of his female disciples were Candā and Candamittā.¹⁶ His *bodhi* tree was the *pāṭali*¹⁷ tree, the height of his body was eighty cubits. He dwelled emanating bodily radiance continuously for seven *yojanas*, and the span of

¹ Tibetan: rGyal ba'i sde.

² Tibetan: dPal ldan ma.

³ Tibetan: Legs bsruṅs dañ Chos kyi sde.

⁴ Tibetan: 'Jigs bcas.

⁵ Tibetan: 'Phreñ ba ma dañ Ñe ba'i 'phreñ ba ma.

⁶ Tibetan: skyu ru ra. Pāli: āmalaka, E. myrobalan, Indian gooseberry; *Phyllanthus emblica* L. (= *Embllica officinalis* Gaertn.), Euphorbiaceae, see J. Liyanaratne, "South Asian Flora as reflected in the Twelfth-Century Pāli Lexicon *Abhidhānappadīpikā*", *JPTS*, 20, 1994, p. 57-8.

⁷ Tibetan: rNam par gzigs.

⁸ Tibetan: 'dus pa. Pāli: sāvakasannipāta.

⁹ Tibetan: mTshuṅs pa med pa.

¹⁰ Tibetan: ba dan. Pāli: piṭha.

¹¹ Tibetan: Blo gros gñen.

¹² Tibetan: gÑen gyi rgyal po.

¹³ Tibetan: Blo gros gñen ma.

¹⁴ Tibetan: Phuñ po dañ dKar rgyal.

¹⁵ Tibetan: Mya ñan med.

¹⁶ Tibetan: Zla ba ma dañ Zla ba'i bśes gñen ma.

¹⁷ Tibetan: pā ṭi li (TDP: pā ḍi li; L: pā ḍi la). Pāli: pāṭali, E. Muccaady tree, Weaver's beam tree; *Schrebera swietenoides* Roxb., Oleaceae, see J. Liyanaratne, "South Asian Flora as reflected in the Twelfth-Century Pāli Lexicon *Abhidhānappadīpikā*", *JPTS*, 20, 1994, p. 75.

his life was eighty thousand years.

Bv XX 1

After Phussa, the perfect Buddha, best of men
named Vipassi, possessing vision, arose in the world.

I 52.

The Bhagavan Sikhi.

Then, thirty-two¹ aeons after him, two Buddhas appeared named Sikhi and Vessabhu.² Sikhi also had three assemblies of disciples, the first assembly had one hundred thousand monks, the second had eighty thousand, and the third had ten³ thousand. At that time the Bodhisatta was the king Arindama,⁴ he gave a great gift, consisting of religious robes, to the *saṅgha*, with the Buddha at their head.⁵ Then he gave a great elephant,⁶ (50a) which was adorned with seven jewels, and gave suitable equipage that was just the right size for the great elephant. He also prophesied to him: ‘After thirty-one aeons you will be Buddha.’ Furthermore, that Bhagavan’s city was named Aruṇavatī,⁷ his father was the king Aruṇa,⁸ and his mother was named Pabhāvatī.⁹ The foremost of his disciples were Abhibhu and Sambhava,¹⁰ and his attendant was Khemaṃkara,¹¹ the foremost of his female disciples were Makhilā and Padumā.¹² His *bodhi* tree was the *punḍarīka*¹³ tree, {Pā42} the height of his body was thirty-seven cubits. He dwelled emanating bodily radiance for three *yojanas*, and the span of his life was thirty seven thousand years.

Bv XXI 1

After Vipassi, the perfect Buddha the best of men
was named Sikhi, unequalled conqueror, unsurpassed peerless person.

¹ Pāli: ekatiṃsa.

² Tibetan: rNam par gzigs dañ Thams cad skyob

³ Pāli: sattati.

⁴ Tibetan: sGra’i dbaṅ po.

⁵ Tibetan: saṅs rgyas la sogs pa. Pāli: buddhapamukha.

⁶ Tibetan: glaṅ po che. Pāli: hatthiratana.

⁷ Tibetan: sKya reṅs.

⁸ Tibetan: sKya reṅs ldan.

⁹ Tibetan: ’Od ldan ma.

¹⁰ Tibetan: mNon ’byuñ dañ Yañ dag ’byuñ.

¹¹ Tibetan: dGe bar byed pa.

¹² Tibetan: Ma gi la dañ Pad ma.

¹³ Tibetan: puṅ ḍa ri ka, see edition for variant orthographies. Pāli: *punḍarīka*, E. White mango; *Mangifera zeylanica* Hook., (RHFC, IFPC), *M. indica* L., Anacardiaceae (ENUM), see J. Liyanaratne, “South Asian Flora as reflected in the Twelfth-Century Pāli Lexicon Abhidhānappadīpikā”, *JPTS*, 20, 1994, p. 90.

I 53.

The Bhagavan Vessabhu.

After him the Buddha¹ named Vessabhu appeared. He also had three assemblies,² the first assembly had eighty thousand monks, the second had thirty-seven³ thousand and, the third had sixty thousand. At that time the Bodhisatta was the king Sudassana,⁴ he gave a great gift, consisting of religious robes, to the *saṅgha* with the Buddha at their head.⁵ Going forth in his presence, endowed with right conduct, and good qualities, he venerated the jewel of the Buddha (50b) and was happy. Then the Bhagavan also prophesied to him: ‘After thirty-one aeons you will be Buddha.’ Furthermore, that Bhagavan’s city was named Anopama,⁶ his father was the king Suppatīta,⁷ and his mother was named Yasavati.⁸ The foremost of his disciples were Soṇa and Uttara,⁹ and his attendant was Upasanta,¹⁰ the foremost of his female disciples were Dāmā and Samālā.¹¹ His *bodhi* tree was the *sāla*¹² tree, the height of his body was sixty cubits, and the span of his life was sixty thousand years.

Bv XXII 1

Then, in that *maṇḍakappa*, the unequalled, peerless one named Vessabhu, appeared as conqueror in the world.

I 54.

The Bhagavan Kakusandha.

After him four Buddhas, Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana, Kassapa¹³ and our Bhagavan, appeared in one aeon. Moreover, the Bhagavan Kakusandha had one assembly of disciples,¹⁴ which had forty thousand monks. At that time the Bodhisatta was the king Khema,¹⁵ he gave a great gift, consisting of alms bowls and religious robes, eye ointment and medicines, to the *saṅgha* with the Buddha at their head.¹⁶ Hearing the

¹ Pāli: satthā.

² Tibetan: ’dus pa. Pāli: sāvakasannipāta.

³ Pāli: sattati.

⁴ Tibetan: blTa na sdug.

⁵ Tibetan: saṅs rgyas la sogs pa. Pāli: buddhapamukha.

⁶ Tibetan: Yid ldan.

⁷ Tibetan: Legs par gnas.

⁸ Tibetan: Grags ldan ma.

⁹ Tibetan: ṅan pa daṅ mChog.

¹⁰ Tibetan: ṅe bar zi ba.

¹¹ Tibetan: hPhreṅ ba ma daṅ ’Phreṅ ba daṅ bcas pa ma.

¹² Tibetan: Sā la, see edition for variant orthographies.

¹³ Tibetan: Log par dad sel, gSer thub, ’Od sruṅ.

¹⁴ Tibetan: ṅan thos kyī ’dus pa. Pāli: sannipāta, omits sāvaka.

¹⁵ Tibetan: dGe ba.

¹⁶ Tibetan: saṅs rgyas la sogs pa. Pāli: buddhapamukha.

teacher's explanation of the teaching, he went forth. Then the teacher also made the prophesy to him. Furthermore, that Bhagavan Kakusandha's (51a) city was named Khema,¹ his father was the *brāhmaṇa* Aggidatta,² and his mother was the *brāhmaṇī* named Visākḥā.³ The foremost of his disciples were Vidhūra and Sañjīva,⁴ and his attendant was Buddhija,⁵ the foremost of his female disciples were Sāmā and Campakā.⁶ His *bodhi* tree was the *mahāsirīsa*⁷ tree, the height of his body was forty cubits, and the span of his life was forty thousand years.

Bv XXIII 1

After Vessabhu, the perfect Buddha, best of men
was named Kakusandha, incomparable and imponderable.⁸

I 55.

The Bhagavan Koṇāgamana.

{Pā43} After him the teacher named Koṇāgamana appeared. He also had one assembly of disciples, which had thirty thousand monks. At that time the Bodhisatta was the king Pabbata,⁹ hearing the explanation of the teaching along with a large retinue of ministers. Going to the teacher's presence, he gave a great gift by providing a treat¹⁰ for that *saṅgha* of monks, with the Buddha at their head.¹¹ Giving bowls, Chinese silk, cloth from the country of Groñ khyer gsal ldan,¹² blankets, fine cloth, and golden silk clothes, and went forth in the teacher's presence. He also made the prophesy to him: 'You will be Buddha.'¹³ That Bhagavan's city was named Sobhavatī,¹⁴ his father was the *brāhmaṇa* Yaññadatta,¹⁵ and his mother (51b) was the *brāhmaṇī* named Uttarā.¹⁶ The foremost of his disciples were Bhiyyosa and

¹ Tibetan: dGe ba.

² Tibetan: Me sbyin.

³ Tibetan: Groggs ma.

⁴ Tibetan: Bi dhu ra dañ Yañ dag 'tsho.

⁵ Tibetan: Bram ze blo gros.

⁶ Tibetan: mÑam byed dañ Tsam pa ka.

⁷ Tibetan: śi ri ṣa chen po, see edition for variant orthographies. Pāli: mahāsirīsa, sirīsa = E. Egyptian acacia, Kokko, Lebbeck, Siris tree, Woman's tongue tree; *Albizia lebbeck* (L.) Willd., Mimosaceae, see J. Liyanaratne, "South Asian Flora as reflected in the Twelfth-Century Pāli Lexicon *Abhidhānappadīpikā*", *JPTS*, 20, 1994, p. 109.

⁸ Tibetan: riñ la sems dpa'. Pāli: durāsada.

⁹ Tibetan: Ri.

¹⁰ Tibetan: mgron du gñer nas. Pāli: nimantetvā.

¹¹ Tibetan: sañs rgyas la sogs pa. Pāli: buddhapamukha.

¹² Pāli omits.

¹³ Pāli: So pi naṃ vyākāsi.

¹⁴ Tibetan: mDzes ldan.

¹⁵ Tibetan: gNod byin.

¹⁶ Tibetan: mChog ma.

Uttara,¹ and his attendant was Sothhija,² the foremost of his female disciples were Samuddā and Uttarā.³ His *bodhi* tree was the *udambara*⁴ tree, the height of his body was twenty cubits, and the span of his life was thirty thousand years.

Bv XXIV 1

After Kakusandha the perfect Buddha, best of men
was the conqueror named Koṇāgamana, chief of men, master of the world.

I 56.

The Bhagavan Kassapa.

After him the teacher named Kassapa appeared. He also had one assembly,⁵ which had twenty thousand monks. At that time the Bodhisatta was the *brāhmaṇa* boy⁶ named Joṭipāla,⁷ being learned in the three *vedas*, he was renowned in all realms and countries,⁸ and friend of the potter Ghāṭikāra. The Bodhisatta, together with the potter, went to the teacher's presence,⁹ and hearing the discourse on the teaching went forth. Exerting a tremendous effort he learned the three *piṭakas*, and due to his possession of right conduct,¹⁰ made the Buddha's teaching radiant. The teacher also made the prophesy to him. The city where that Bhagavan was born was named Bārāṇāsī,¹¹ his father was the *brāhmaṇa* Bramadatta,¹² and his mother was the *brāhmaṇī* named Dhanavati.¹³ The foremost of his disciples were Tissa and Bhāradvāja,¹⁴ and his attendant was Sabbamitta,¹⁵ the foremost of his female disciples (52a) were Anuḷā and Uruveḷā.¹⁶ His *bodhi* tree was the *nigrodha*¹⁷ tree, the height of his body was twenty cubits, and the span of his life

¹ Tibetan: 'Jigs byed dañ mChog.

² Tibetan: bKra śis.

³ Tibetan: rGya mtsho ma dañ mChog ma.

⁴ Tibetan: u dum bā ra, see edition for variant orthographies. Pāli: *udambara*, E. Cluster fig; *Ficus racemosa* L., (= F. *glomerata* Roxb.), Moraceae, see J. Liyanaratne, "South Asian Flora as reflected in the Twelfth-Century Pāli Lexicon *Abhidhānappadīpikā*", *JPTS*, 20, 1994, p. 98.

⁵ Tibetan: 'dus pa. Pāli: *sāvaka-sannipāta*.

⁶ Tibetan: bram ze'i khye'ur. Pāli: *māṇava*.

⁷ Tibetan: 'Od bskyor.

⁸ Tibetan: sa dañ bar snañ. Pāli: *bhūmiyañ ca antalikkhe*.

⁹ Tibetan: byañ chud sems dpa' rdza mkhan dañ 'groge te ston pa'i druñ du ñe bar soñ ste. Pāli: *So tena saddhim sathhāraṃ upasaṃkamitvā*.

¹⁰ Tibetan: spyod pa dañ ldan pas. Pāli: *vattāvatta-sampattiyā*.

¹¹ Tibetan: Bā rā ṅā sī, see edition for variant orthographies.

¹² Tibetan: Tshañs byin.

¹³ Tibetan: 'Byor ldan ma.

¹⁴ Tibetan: dKār rgyal dañ Bhā ra dhwa rdza, see edition for variant orthographies.

¹⁵ Tibetan: Thams cad bśes gñen.

¹⁶ Tibetan: rJes su len ma dañ sToñ rgyal ma.

¹⁷ Tibetan: nya gro dha, see edition for variant orthographies. Pāli: *nigrodha*, E. Banyan, Bengal fig, Pagoda tree; *Ficus benghalensis* L., (= F. *altissima* var. *forgusonii* King), Moraceae, see J. Liyanaratne,

was twenty thousand years.

Bv XXV 1

After Koṇāgamana, the perfect Buddha, best of men
was the conqueror Kassapa, king of the teaching, maker of light.

I57.

Other subsequent Buddhas.

Furthermore, there were also three other Buddhas in that aeon in which Dīpaṅkara appeared. There was no prophesy in their presence for the Bodhisatta, {Pā44} therefore they are not described here. Moreover, this commentary explains the purpose of showing all the Buddhas from the beginning of this aeon.¹

I58.

All the Buddhas.

Bv XXVII 1b-c,

Taṅhaṅkara and Medhaṅkara, then it was Saraṅakara,
the perfect Buddha was Dīpaṅkara, the best of men Koṇḍañña.

Bv XXVII 5a, 7a

The sages Maṅgala, Sumana, Revata and Sobhita,
Anomadassi, Paduma, Nārada and Padumuttara.

Bv XXVII 11b²

The widely renowned Sumedha, Sujāta and Piyadassi,
the leaders of the world Atthadassi, Dhammadassi and Siddhattha.

Bv XXVII 18b

The perfect Buddhas Tissa, Phussa, Vipassi, Sikhi and Vessabhu,
the leaders Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana and Kassapa.

“South Asian Flora as reflected in the Twelfth-Century Pāli Lexicon *Abhidhānappadīpikā*”, *JPTS*, 20, 1994, p. 85.

¹ Tibetan: gzan yañ don gyi gdam 'dis 'di'i bskal pa nas bzuñ nas sañs rgyas thams cad mthoñ pa'i don du 'dir bśad do. Pāli: aṭṭhakathāyam pana tamhā kappā paṭṭhāya sabbe buddhe dassetuṃ idaṃ vuttaṃ.

² *Jātakanidāna* text: Sumedho ca Sujāto ca Piyadassī mahāyaso; Bv XXVII 11b: Sumedho ca Sujāto

Bv I 217b; XI 30b; XVIII 26b; XX 34b

These were the perfect Buddhas, steadfast and free from desire,
appearing (52b) like a hundred light rays, and conquering the great darkness,
burning like a mass of fire, accompanied by disciples free of suffering.

I 59.

The attainment of the Bodhisatta's advantages.

There in that text, our bodhisatta made the resolution, in the presence of twenty-four Buddhas beginning with Dīpaṅkara, appeared after more than four immeasurable aeons and one thousand¹ aeons. Moreover, after the Bhagavan Kassapa, there was no other Buddha than this perfectly enlightened Buddha established. Thus, the Bodhisatta² obtained the prediction in the presence of Dīpaṅkara and the other twenty-four Buddhas. Furthermore it was that bodhisatta who:³

Bv II 58

The teacher, seeing the cause of having human characteristics,
going forth possessed of the good qualities of resolution and intention,
fulfilled those aspirations and accumulated the eight *dhammas*.

Accumulating these eight *dhammas*, and making the resolution at the feet of Dīpaṅkara, there arose an inclination to seek everywhere for those *dhammas* that cause buddhahood.⁴ Seeking them, he saw the first, the perfection of giving.⁵ Vessantara himself arrived through perfecting the *dhammas*, the perfection of giving, and so forth, that cause the attainment of buddhahood. After coming, he explained the benefits to those bodhisattas who had made the resolution.

Unidentified verses

Accordingly, the certain *bodhi* of those men possessed (53a) of all limbs,
not remaining long in *samsāra*,⁶ even just one hundred *koṭis* of aeons.

ca oraso Padumuttarā.

¹ Pāli: kappasatasahassa.

² Tibetan omits.

³ Tibetan: g'zan yañ byañ chub sems dpa' gañ des. Pāli: Yena pana tena.

⁴ Tibetan: sañs rgyas su byed pa'i chos. Pāli: buddhakara dhamma.

⁵ Tibetan: sbyin pa'i pha rol phyin. Pāli: dānapāramī.

⁶ Tibetan: 'khor ba yun riñ g'zi med pa. Pāli: samsāraṃ dīghaṃ addhānaṃ.

They don't arise in hell, but in the world,¹
all their limbs are not consumed or ignited by a passionate hunger and thirst,²
since they are not minor beings, they do not arise in evil destinies.

{Pā45} When born among mankind, they are not born blind,
and also not deaf, and are not mute.³

They are not born as women, and are not born in border regions,
nor as hermaphrodites, or eunuchs,⁴ those men certain of *bodhi*.

Freed from continuation in all the pure spheres,
not relying⁵ on false views, and seeing the workings of *kamma*.

Dwelling in heaven, they do not arise without perception,
name and cause do not arise, among those *devas* of the pure abode.⁶

Superior men think on renunciation, free of attachment to being or non being,⁷
and who proceed for the profit of the world, perfecting all the perfections.

I 60.

The time of the older pāramīs.

He perfected the perfections at the time of the *brāhmaṇa* Akitti,⁸ at the time the *brāhmaṇa* Saṃkha,⁹ at the time of the king Dhanañjaya,¹⁰ at the time of the king Mahāsudassana,¹¹ at the time of the king Mahāgovinda,¹² at the time of the (53b) great king Nimi,¹³ at the time of Candakumāra,¹⁴ at the time of Visayhaseṭṭhi,¹⁵ at the time of the king Sivi,¹⁶ and at the time of Vessantara,¹⁷ it is said that there was no end

¹ Tibetan: 'jig rten par. Pāli: lokantaresu.

² Tibetan: bkres skom sred dañ 'bar ba dañ // yan lag thams cad mi 'chad 'gyur //. Pāli: nijjhāmatanḥā khuppipāsa na honti kālakañjakā.

³ Tibetan: lkugs dañ g'zogs phyed na mi 'gyur. Pāli: na bhavanti mūgapakkhikā.

⁴ Tibetan: za ma ma niñ mtsshan bñis dañ. Pāli: ubhatovyañjanapaṇḍakā.

⁵ Tibetan: mi brten no. Pāli: na sevanti.

⁶ Tibetan: gtsaṅ ma ris kyi lha rñams su // sgyu dañ miñ ni skye ba med //. Pāli: suddhāvāsesu devesu hetu nāma na vijjati.

⁷ Tibetan: dños dañ dños med ldan pa med. Pāli: visamyuttā bhavābhavē.

⁸ Tibetan: Grags pa dañ ldan pa.

⁹ Tibetan: Duñ.

¹⁰ Tibetan: Nor rgyal.

¹¹ Tibetan: blTa na sdug chen po.

¹² Tibetan: Khyab 'jug chen po.

¹³ Tibetan: rGyu mtshan.

¹⁴ Tibetan: Zla ba g'zon nu.

¹⁵ Tibetan: Yul gyi mchog.

¹⁶ Tibetan: Śi bi pa.

¹⁷ Tibetan: Thams cad grol.

to his perfection of the perfection of giving. In one place it says in the *jātaka* of the bodhisatta Sasa the wise:¹

Sasajātaka no. 316²

When seeing the arrival of the beggar, I gave my own body,
there is no equal to me in giving, this was my perfection of giving.

In that way, when undertaking the giving up of his body, which is the perfection of giving, the ultimate perfection arose.

I 61.

Silapāramī.

Similarly, at the time of the *nāga* king Silava,³ at the time the *nāga* king Campeyya,⁴ at the time of the *nāga* king Bhūridatta,⁵ at the time of the *nāga* king Chaddanta,⁶ at the time of the king Jayadissa,⁷ and at the time of Alīnasattukumāra's son,⁸ there was no end to the arising of the perfection of the perfection of morality. Moreover, it says in one place in the *jātaka* of Saṃkhapāla:⁹

Saṃkhapārajātaka no. 524¹⁰

¹ Tibetan: byañ chub sems dpa' mkhas pa ri bon. Pāli: Sasapaṇḍita.

² *Jātakanidāna* p.45; Tibetan sTog 53b; *Sasajātaka* no. 316; Cp p.13; Cp-a p.109, p.273; Bv-a p.59; Dhs-a p.32; Ap-a p.49.

Jātakanidāna p. 45,

Bhikkhāya upagataṃ disvā sakattānaṃ pariccajīṃ,
dānena me samo n' atthi, esā me dānapāramīti.

Tibetan sTog 53b, *mKhas pa'i ri bon gi skyes rabs*,

ñier² 'oñs sloñ ba mthoñ ba na // rañ gi lus ni yoñs su² btañ //

bdag gi sbyin la mñam pa med² // 'di rnams sbyin pa'i pha rol phyin //

³ Tibetan: Tshul khriṃs dañ ldan pa.

⁴ Tibetan: Tsam po spyi.

⁵ Tibetan: Sa byin.

⁶ Tibetan: mChe ba drug pa.

⁷ Tibetan: rGyal ba dañ mtshuñs pa.

⁸ Tibetan: Zum pa med pa'i dgra g'zon nu.

⁹ Tibetan: Duñ skyon.

¹⁰ *Jātakanidāna* p. 45; sTog 53b; *Saṃkhapārajātaka* no. 524; Cp p. 22; Cp-a p. 273; Ap-a p.50; Bv-a p. 60; Dhs-a p. 32.

Jātakanidāna p. 45

Sūlehi pi vijjhayanto koṭṭayante pi sattihī
Bhojaputte na kuppāmi, esa me silapāramīti.

Tibetan sTog 53b, *Duñ skyoñ skyes rabs*

gsal śiñ gis ni phug nas ni // mtshon cha blañs nas brdeg pa dañ //

groñ dpon bu la khro mi byed // tshul khriṃs phar phyin bdag gi 'di //

Sūla¹ endures the beating and cutting by a knife,²
not angry at the sons of the village chief,³ this was my perfection of morality.

Accordingly, when giving up the body, which is the perfection of morality, the ultimate perfection arose.

I 62.

Nekkhammapāramī.

Similarly, at the time of Somanassakumāra,⁴ at the time of Hatthipālakumāra,⁵ and at the time of Ayogharapaṇḍita,⁶ having abandoned his great kingdom, there was no end to the arising of the perfection of renunciation. (54a) Moreover, it says in one place in the *jātaka* of Cūlasutasoma:⁷ {Pā46}

Cūlasutasomajātaka no. 525⁸

Taking the great kingdom in hand, and abandoning it like a bubble of spittle,
desireless, abandoning even the kingdom,⁹ this was my perfection of renunciation.

Accordingly, after unselfishly abandoning the kingdom,¹⁰ which is the perfection of renunciation, the ultimate perfection arose.

¹ Tibetan: gSal śiñ.

² Tibetan: gSal śiñ gis ni phug nas ni // mtshon cha blañs nas brdeg pa dañ // Pāli: Sūlehi pi vijjhayanto koṭṭayante pi sattihi.

³ Tibetan: groñ dpon bu la. Pāli: bhojaputte

⁴ Tibetan: Yid bzañs g'zon nu.

⁵ Tibetan: Glañ chen skyon g'zon nu.

⁶ Tibetan: lCags khyim mkhas pa.

⁷ Tibetan: Bu źi ba chuñ ñu.

⁸ *Jātakanidāna* p. 46; sTog 54a; *Cūlasutasomajātaka* no. 525; Ap-a p. 50; Cp-a p. 273; Bv-a p. 60; Dhs-a p. 32.

Jātakanidāna p. 46,

Mahārajjaṃ hatthagataṃ kheḷapiṇḍaṃ va chaḍḍayiṃ
cajato na hoto laganam, esā me nekkhammapāramīti.

Tibetan sTog 54a, *Bu źi ba chuñ ñu 'i skeyes rabs,*

rgyal po chen po lag tu thob // mchil ma'i dbu⁸ ba b'zin du spañs //
rgyal srid spañs kyañ žen pa med // bdag gi ñes 'byuñ phar phyin 'di //

⁹ Tibetan: rgyal srid spañs kyañ žen pa med. Pāli: cajato na hoti laganam.

¹⁰ Tibetan: de b'zin du ñes par bdag gis rgyal srid spañs nas. Pāli: evaṃ nissaṅgatāya rajjaṃ chaḍḍetvā nikkhamantassa.

I 63.

Paññāpāramī.

Similarly, at the time of Vidhuraṇḍita,¹ at the time of Mahāgovindaṇḍita,² at the time of Kuddālaṇḍita,³ at the time of Arakaṇḍita,⁴ at the time of Bodhiparibbājaka,⁵ and at the time of Mahosadhapaṇḍita,⁶ there was no end to the arising of the perfection of wisdom. Moreover, it says in one place in the *jātaka* of Sattubhatta,⁷ at the time of Senakaṇḍita.⁸

Sattubhattajātaka no. 402⁹

When seeking the perfection of wisdom, I was freed from a *brāhmaṇa*'s suffering,
my wisdom is unequalled, this was my perfection of wisdom.

By my seeing the snake within the sack,¹⁰ which is the perfection of wisdom, the ultimate perfection arose.

I 64.

Viriyaṇḍita.

Similarly, there was no end to the arising and perfecting of the perfection of energy.¹¹ Moreover, in one place in the *jātaka* of Mahājanaka.¹²

Mahājanakajātaka no. 539¹³

¹ Tibetan: mkhas pa Bi dhu ra.

² Tibetan: mkhas pa Khyab 'jug chen po.

³ Tibetan: mkhas pa sTog rtse ba.

⁴ Tibetan: mkhas pa A ra.

⁵ Tibetan: Kun du rgyu byañ chub.

⁶ Tibetan: mkhas pa sMan chen po.

⁷ Tibetan: sDe snod.

⁸ Tibetan: mkhas pa sDe can.

⁹ *Jātakanidāna* p. 46; sTog 54a; *Sattubhattajātaka* no. 402; Ap-a p. 50; Cp-a p. 274.

Jātakanidāna p. 46,

Paññāya pavicinanto 'haṃ brāhmaṇaṃ mocayim dukhā,
paññāya me samo n' atthi, esā me paññāpāramīti.

Tibetan sTog 54a, *sDe snod kyi sKyes rabs*

bdag gi śes rab tshol ba na // bram ze'i sdug bsñal grol pa dan //

bdag gi śes rab mtshuṅs pa med // bdag gi śes rab phar phyin 'di //

¹⁰ Tibetan: pha tshi'i nañ gi sbrul bdag gis blta ba ni. Pāli: antobhastagataṃ sappamaṃ dassentassa.

¹¹ Tibetan: brtson 'grus kyi pha rol tu phyin pa. Pāli: viriyaṇḍitaṃ.

¹² Tibetan: sKyes bo chen po.

¹³ *Jātakanidāna* p. 46; sTog 54a|b; *Mahājanakajātaka* no. 539; Ap-a p. 50; Bv-a p. 60; Cp-a p. 274;

In the middle of an ocean with the shore unseen, all mankind will die,
with mind free from suffering,¹ this was my perfection of (54b) energy.

While crossing the great ocean the perfection of energy arose.²

I 65.

Khantipāramī.

In the Khantivāda³ *jātaka*:

Khantivādajātaka no. 313⁴

When I was beaten senseless, with a sharp axe,
I was not angry with the king of Kāsi,⁵ this was my perfection of patience.

In this way, as if in a state of senselessness, I remained⁶ in great pain, which is the perfection of patience,
and the ultimate perfection arose.

I 66.

Saccapāramī.

Dhs-a p. 32.

Jātakanidāna p. 46

Atīradassī jalamajjhe hatā sabbe va mānūsā,
cittassa aññathā n' atthi, esā me viriyapāramīti.

Tibetan sTog 54a-b, *sKye bo chen po can gyi skyes rabs*

dogs ma mthoñ ba'i rgya mtsho'i dbus // mi rnams thams cad śi bar gyur //
sdug bsñal med pa'i sems kyis ni // bdag gi brtson 'grus phar phyin 'di //

¹ Tibetan: sdug bsñal med pa'i sems kyis ni. Pāli: cittassa aññathā n'atthi.

² Tibetan: rgya mtsho chen po las srol bar byed pa'i brtson 'grus kyi pha rol tu phyin pa zes bya ba skyes so. Pāli: evaṃ mahāsamuddaṃ tarantassa viriyapāramī paramatthapāramī nāma jātā.

³ Tibetan: bZod par smra ba.

⁴ *Jātakanidāna* p. 46; Tibetan sTog 54b; , *Khantivādajātaka* no. 313; JMAL no. 28, Kṣaāntivādin, ed. no. 28, p. 192; Ap-a p. 50; Bv-a p. 60; Cp-a p. 274; Dhs-a p. 32.

Jātakanidāna p. 46,

Acetanāṃ va koṭṭentetiṅhena pharasunā mama
Kāsirāje na kuppāmi, esā me khantipāramīti.

Tibetan sTog 54b, *bZod par smra ba'i skyes rabs*

sems med pa la gcod pa bzin // bdag la rno ba'i dgra sta yis //

In the Mahāsutasoma¹ jātika:

Mahāsutasomajātaka no. 537²

Guarding true speech, I abandoned my life,
made free a hundred kingdoms, this was my perfection of truth.³

In that way, abandoning life and guarding the truth, which is the perfection of truth, the ultimate perfection arose.

I 67.

Adhiṭṭhānapāramī.

In the Mūgapakkha⁴ jātika:

Mūgapakkhajātaka no. 538⁵

Mother and father are unnecessary⁶ to me, wealth and fame are also unnecessary,
pleased at omniscience, I therefore determined on this practice.⁷ {Pā47}

gsal ldan rgyal po la mi khro // bdag gi bzod pa'i phar phyin 'di //

⁵ Tibetan: gSal ldan rgyal po.

⁶ Tibetan: lhag par gnas pa. Pāli: adhvāsenta.

¹ Tibetan: Bu źi ba chen po.

² *Jātakanidāna* p. 46; sTog 54b; *Mahāsutasomajātaka* no. 537; JMAL ed. no. 31, p. 207; Cp p. 34; Ap-a p. 51; Bv-a p. 60; Cp-a p. 275; Dhs-a p. 32.

Jātakanidāna p. 46,

Saccavācaṃ anurakkhanto cajitvā mama jīvitam
mocayim ekasatam khattiye, paramatthasaccapāramīti.

Tibetan sTog 54b, *Bu źi ba chen po'i skyes rabs*

bden pa'i tshig ni rjes su bsruñ // bdag gi srog ni spañs nas su //
rgyal rigs brgya phrag grol bar byed // bdag gi bden pa'i phar phyin 'di //

³ Tibetan: bdag gi bden pa'i phar pyin 'di. Pāli: paramatthasaccapāramīti.

⁴ Tibetan: lKugs pa dañ gźogs phyed na ba'i tshul.

⁵ *Jātakanidāna* p. 46; sTog 54b; *Mūgapakkhajātaka* no. 538; Cp pp. 24, 26, 29; Cp-a p. 275; Ap-a p. 51.

Jātakanidāna p. 46,

Mātāpitā na me dessā, na pi me dessaṃ mahāyasaṃ,
sabbaññutam piyaṃ mayhaṃ, tasmā vataṃ adhiṭṭhahin.

Tibetan sTog 54b, *lKugs pa dañ gźogs phyed na ba'i tshul gyi skyes rabs*

pha ma bdag la mi dgos śiñ // nor dañ grags pa'añ dgos pa med //
bdag ni thams cad mkhyen la dga' // de phyir brtul⁵ źugs gnas pa'o //

⁶ Tibetan: mi dgos śiñ. Pāli: na dessa.

⁷ Tibetan: de phyir brtul źugs gnas pa'o. Pāli: tasmā vataṃ adhiṭṭhahin ti.

In that way, abandoning the desire for life,¹ and determining on this practice, which is the perfection of resolution, the ultimate perfection arose.

I 68.

Mettāpāramī.

In the *jātaka* of king Eka:²

Ekarājajātaka no. 303³

I am not afraid of anyone, I also fear nothing,
relying on the power of kindness, I am then happy with the teacher.⁴

(55a) In that way, abandoning life without regard,⁵ that generation of kindness, which is the perfection of kindness, the ultimate perfection arose.

I 69.

Upekḥapāramī.

In the *jātaka* of Lomaḥṃsa:⁶

Lomaḥṃsajātaka no. 94⁷

¹ Tibetan: srog gi 'dod pa yoṅs su btan nas. Pāli: jīvitam pi cajitvā.

² Tibetan: gCig.

³ *Jātakanidāna* p. 47; sTog 54b; *Ekarājajātaka* no. 303; Cp p. 34; Ap-a p. 51; Bv-a p. 61; Cp-a p. 275; Dhs-a p. 32.

Jātakanidāna p. 47,

Na maṃ koci uttasati, na pi 'haṃ bhāyāmi kassaci,
mettābalen' upatthaddho ramāmi pavane sadā ti.

Tibetan sTog 54b, *rGyal po gcig gi skyes rabs*,

gañ žig bdag la skrag byed med // bdag gis gañ la 'aṅ 'jigs ma byas //
byams pa'i stobs kyi steñ gnas žiñ // de tshe stoñ pa ñid la dga'//

⁴ Tibetan: de tshe ston pa ñid la dga'. Pāli: ramāmi pavane sadā ti.

⁵ Tibetan: srog yoṅs su gtoñ ba la mi blta žiñ. Pāli: jīvitam pi analoketvā.

⁶ Tibetan: Ñaṅ pa'i spu.

⁷ *Jātakanidāna* p. 47; sTog 55a; *Lomaḥṃsajātaka* no. 94; Cp p. 35; Cp-a p. 276; Ap-a p. 51; Bv-a p. 61; Dhs-a p. 32.

Jātakanidāna p. 47,

Susāne seyyaṃ kappemi chavaṭṭhikaṃ upadhāy' ahaṃ,
gomaṇḍalā upagantvā rūpam dassent' anappakan ti.

Tibetan sTog 55a, *Ñaṅ pa'i spu'i skyes rabs*,

Thinking to dwell in a cemetery,¹ relying² on a heap of bones,
I arrived at that place,³ and pondered the body.

In that way, when the youths of the village take stones,⁴ and so on, to strike him, or present him with garlands of flowers and incense, although producing happiness and pain, he rejects them with equanimity, which is the perfection of equanimity, the ultimate perfection arose. Those things that are condensed here should be understood from the *Cariyāpiṭaka*⁵ where the meaning is amplified. Then, having fulfilled the perfections, he dwelled as Vessantara.⁶

Cp p. 10⁷

Senseless on the ground, not even knowing happiness or pain,
I moved it seven times, through the power of giving.

In that way, making great merit that moved the great earth, and so forth, and dying at the end of life, was born in Tusita.⁸ So, from the presence at the feet of Dīpaṃkara, until birth in Tusita,⁹ should be known as the distant era.

The commentary to the Dūrenidāna is completed.

dur khrod du ni gnas par sems // rus goñ la ni brten byas nas //
bdag gi gnas su ñe bar 'oñs // gzugs la blta ba ñuñ ba med //

¹ Tibetan: dur khrod du ni gnas par sems. Pāli: susāne seyyaṃ kappemi.

² Tibetan: brten byas nas. Pāli: upadhāya.

³ Tibetan: bdag gi gnas su ñe bar 'oñs. Pāli: gomaṇḍalā upagantvā.

⁴ Tibetan: rdo la sogs pa. Pāli: niṭṭhubhanādihi.

⁵ Tibetan: dPyod pa'i sde snod.

⁶ Tibetan: Thams cad sgrol gyi bdag.

⁷ *Jātakanidāna* p. 47; sTog 55a; Cp p. 10; Cp-a p. 101; Ap-a p. 51; Bv-a p. 272; Dhs-a p. 32; Thūp p. 164; Vessantarajātaka no.547; JMAL ed. no. 9, p. 51.

Jātakanidāna p. 47,

Acetanāyaṃ puthavī aviññāya sukhaṃ dukhaṃ,
sāpi dānabalā mayhaṃ sattakkhattuṃ pakampathā ti.

Tibetan sTog 55a, No Tibetan title

sems med pa yi sa gzi yis // bde dañ sdug bsñal mi šes kyañ //
bdag gi sbyin pa'i stobs de yis // lan bdun du ni rab tu g.yos //

⁸ Tibetan: dGa' ldan. Pāli: Tusitabhavana.

⁹ Tibetan: dGa' ldan. Pāli: Tusitapura.

The Recent Era.¹

II 1.

The three proclamations.

Furthermore, when the Bodhisatta was dwelling in Tusita,² the great proclamation of the Buddha³ arose. (55b) In this world three proclamations arise: the proclamation of an aeon, the proclamation of a Buddha, and the proclamation of a *cakkavatti*.

1. Proclamation of an aeon.

Regarding this, it is said that after one hundred thousand years there will be the end of the aeon.⁴ The Lokabyūhā,⁵ the *devas* of the sensuous sphere, free from the confusion of the hot-headed, and with untied hair, wiped the tears from their eyes and tearful faces with their hands. Dressed in red clothes, they proceeded on the path of those men who are wearers of ragged clothes and said this: ‘Sir,⁶ after one hundred thousand years there will be the end of the aeon, there will be the destruction of your worlds, even the great ocean will dry up. {Pā48} The great earth and even Sineru,⁷ the king of mountains, will pass away and be destroyed, and the worlds up to the world of Brahma will be destroyed. O Sir,⁸ develop kindness, develop compassion, develop joy, develop equanimity, honour your mother and father, honour the heads of the clan!’ This is called the proclamation of an aeon.

2. Proclamation of a Buddha.

After one hundred thousand years it is said the omniscient Buddha will appear⁹ in the world. The Devapāla *devas* roam, proclaiming: ‘Sir,¹⁰ (56a) after one hundred thousand years another¹¹ Buddha will appear¹² in the world.’ This is called the proclamation of a Buddha.

¹ The Avidūrenidāna: Tibetan sTog folios 55a-85b; Pāli pp. 47-77.

² Tibetan: dGa’ ldan. Pāli: Tusitapura.

³ Tibetan: sañs rgyas kyi sgra cher sgrogs pa. Pāli: Buddhahalāhala.

⁴ Tibetan: bskal pa ’jig pa. Pāli: kappuṭṭhāṇa.

⁵ Tibetan: ’Jig rten gyi miñ.

⁶ Tibetan: ’jig rten pa. Pāli: mārisā.

⁷ Tibetan: Ri rab.

⁸ Tibetan: ’jig rten pa. Pāli: mārisā.

⁹ Tibetan: byon. Pāli: uppajjissati.

¹⁰ Tibetan: ’jig rten pa. Pāli: mārisā.

¹¹ Tibetan: gzan yañ. Pāli omits.

¹² Tibetan: byon. Pāli: uppajjissati.

3. Proclamation of a Cakkavatti.

Furthermore, after the elapse of one hundred years it is said a *cakkavattirāja* will appear.¹ Those *devatās* roam, proclaiming: ‘Sir,² after the elapse of one hundred years a *cakkavattirāja* will appear³ in the world.’ This is called the proclamation of a *cakkavattirāja*. These are the three proclamations.⁴

II 2.

The request of the devas.

Hearing of the proclamation⁵ of a Buddha from them, all the *devas* of the ten thousand fold world⁶ assembled in one place. Knowing that such a bodhisatta⁷ as he will be Buddha, they approached him, in order to ask a question. Questioning him they enquired about the arising of the portentous signs.⁸ Then, moreover, all those *devas* of the individual worlds, the Cātummahārāja, Sakka, Suyāma, Santusita, Paranimmitavasavatti, and Mahābrahma⁹ devas, assembled with those *devas* of the world. They went to the presence of the Bodhisatta in the abode of the Tusita *devas*, asking: ‘Great sage,¹⁰ you have perfected the ten perfections, not for the purpose of Sakka’s attainment, not for Māra, not on account of perfecting the wish for Brahma’s sake, not on account of perfecting the wish for the sake of the attainment of (56b) a *cakkavatti*. Furthermore, you made that perfection in order to transcend the world, and for the sake of the wish for omniscience. Now, great sage,¹¹ is the time for buddhahood. Great sage, you will become Buddha.’

II 3.

The five great considerations.

The Mahāsatta, without giving assent to the *devas*, looked for the five great considerations¹² that are no other than: time, country, place, family, mother’s life and the divisions of her life.

¹ Tibetan: byon. Pāli: uppajjissati.

² Tibetan: ’jig rten pa. Pāli: mārisā.

³ Tibetan: byon. Pāli: uppajjissati.

⁴ Tibetan: sgra cher sgrogs pa. Pāli: halāhalāni mahantāni.

⁵ Tibetan: sgra cher sgrogs pa. Pāli: halāhalasadda.

⁶ Tibetan: ston phrag bcu’i khor yug. Pāli: dasasahassacakkavāla.

⁷ Tibetan: byaṅ chub sems dps’. Pāli: satta.

⁸ Tibetan: sṅar gyi mtshan ma. Pāli: pubbanimitta.

⁹ Tibetan: rGyal po chen po bzi’i ris, br’Gya byin, ’Thab bral, dGa ldan, ’Phrul dga’, g’Zan ’phrul dbaṅ byed, Tshaṅs pa chen po. Tibetan adds a seventh: ’Phrul dga’. Pāli omits.

¹⁰ Tibetan: draṅ sroṅ chen po. Pāli: mārisā.

¹¹ Tibetan: draṅ sroṅ chen po. Pāli: mārisā.

¹² Tibetan: legs par g’zigs śiṅ. Pāli: vilokana.

II 4.

1. Time.

There he first regarded the time thinking: ‘Is it the time or not?’ Since the span of life increases at that place above one hundred thousand years it is not the time. Why is that? At that time those beings do not reflect¹ on birth, ageing, illness² and death. The teaching of the Buddha is not lacking the five³ characteristics. These are explained as impermanence, suffering and selflessness. Why is it that these people do not hear, have faith in, or consider that explanation? That is not the time,⁴ because the teaching is not remembered and is uncertain, so it cannot be the time. It is not the time, even at the time when life lasts less than one hundred years. Why is that? At that time the defilements of beings are greatly increased, and since giving advice to those with greatly increased defilements (57a) is not heeded for long, it ceases quickly, like the marks struck by a stick on water. {Pā49} Therefore, that is also not the time. When the duration of life begins at under one hundred thousand years, and is more than one hundred years, that is the time, then the life span is also one hundred years. Then, the Bodhisatta saw that it was time to be born.

II 5.

2. Continent.

Then considering the country, and seeing the country surrounded by four islands, he thought: ‘The Buddhas do not appear on those three islands, they appear in Jambudīpa⁵ itself.’, and he then saw the country.

II 6.

3. Country.

Then he thought: ‘This Jambudīpa is greater than ten thousand *yojanas* in extent, in which region of the country will the Buddha appear?’, and looking for a place that was free and spacious⁶ he saw the Middle country. Regarding the Middle country it is said: ‘In the eastern part the market town⁷ is called Kajaṅgala.⁸ Beyond that is the great *sāla* tree, which moreover, is within the border region. In the south eastern direction is the river called Salalavati,⁹ which is also within the border region. In the southern direction

¹ Tibetan: gzigs. Pāli: na paññāyanti.

² Tibetan: DP na ba, TLN omit. Pāli omits.

³ Tibetan: mtshan ñid lña. Pāli: tilakkhaṇa.

⁴ Tibetan: de ni dus ma yin. Pāli: abhisamayo na hoti.

⁵ Tibetan: 'Dzam bu gliñ.

⁶ Tibetan: yañs śiñ grol ba'i gnas. Pāli: okāsa.

⁷ Tibetan: groñ rdal. Pāli: nigama.

⁸ Tibetan: Ka dzam ga la.

⁹ Tibetan: Sā la can.

there is the market town called Setakaṇṇika,¹ that moreover, is also within the border region. In the western direction is the *brāhmaṇa* market town called Thūṇa,² that moreover, is within the border region. In the northern direction is the mountain called Usīraddhaja,³ and that moreover, is also within the border region.’ (57b) It is taught and explained like this in the Vinaya. It is three hundred *yojanas* in length, two hundred and fifty *yojanas* in breadth, nine hundred *yojanas* in circumference. This country is the birth place of Buddhas, *paccekabuddhas*, foremost disciples, the eighty great disciples, *cakkavattirājas* and other great persons of renowned lineage, such as *brāhmaṇas* and householders who are like the *mahāsāla* tree. ‘It is fitting that I am born in that city named Kapilavatthu’,⁴ this was his certain intention.

II 7.

4. Family.

Then, during the so-called looking for the family, he thought: ‘The Buddhas are not born among families of lords, or outcasts, but they are either born among royal families who are esteemed by the world, or among the families of *brāhmaṇas*. Now I will be born there, in a royal family which is esteemed by the world, my father will be the king named Suddhodana’,⁵ so he saw the family.

II 8.

5. Age of mother.

Then, looking for the mother, he thought: ‘The Buddha’s mother is not wanton or a drunkard, and is born after perfecting the perfections for one hundred thousand aeons, and who keeps the five virtues unspoiled. My mother will be such a one as queen Mahāmāyā, and what is the extent of her life?’, he saw it to be (58a) ten months and seven days.

II 9.

Taking rebirth.

Having seen the five great sights, he said: ‘Great sages,⁶ it is my time to become a Buddha.’ Those *devas* gave approval,⁷ and he told them ‘You go!’ Having dismissed those *devas*, and surrounded by those

¹ Tibetan: Sō ta kar ṇi ka, see edition for variant orthographies.

² Tibetan: Ka ba.

³ Tibetan: U śi ra, see edition for variant orthographies.

⁴ Tibetan: Ser skya.

⁵ Tibetan: Zas gtsaṅ ma.

⁶ Tibetan: draṅ sroṅ chen po. Pāli: mārisā.

⁷ Tibetan: lha rnam kyis tshig gis gnaṅ. Pāli: devatānaṃ saṅgahaṃ karonto paṭiññaṃ datvā.

Tusita *devas*, he entered the Tusitan forest of Nandana.¹ All the *devas* in the world were in that forest of Nandana.² There the *devas* of that place said: ‘After departing from this world arise in heaven! After departing from this world arise in heaven!’³ He wandered, recollecting the virtuous actions that were performed previously. {Pā50} In that way he wandered there and, surrounded by those *devas* who recollected virtue, he passed away. After passing away he entered the womb of queen Mahāmāya.⁴ There, on account of that good speech, he related the former tale in these stages.⁵

II 10.

The dream of queen Mahāmāya.

Then, when the midsummer festival⁶ was proclaimed in Kapilavatthu, many people celebrated the festival. From the seventh day prior to the full moon Mahāmāya, with her abundant⁷ flower garlands and perfume, dallied at the festival enjoying it. Then, at the breaking of dawn after seven days, having bathed with sweet scented water, she presented a great gift, bestowing it for the enjoyment of four hundred thousand people. Then, adorned with all ornaments, and eating the best of foods, she resolved on the eight limbed confession,⁸ and entered the resplendent palace that was fully decorated. (58b) Lying on the sumptuous bed, she fell asleep and saw a dream like this: the four great kings lifting her, and the bed, proceeded to Himavanta.⁹ They placed her on top of the seven *yojana* high Manosilātala,¹⁰ under a seven *yojana* high *sāla* tree, and sat at one side. Then the *devas* approached her, and led queen Mahāmāya to lake Anotatta,¹¹ bathed her in order to remove her human impurities, clothed her with divine clothes, anointed her with pure perfume, and placed divine flowers on her. Then, not far away was a golden palace on top of mount Rajata.¹² Laying on that divine bed, with her head towards the east, she slept. At that time the Bodhisatta appeared as a great white elephant, and ascended the nearby mount Suvanṇa,¹³ descending from there, he ascended mount Rajata. Coming from the northern direction, the great elephant grasped a white lotus with his trunk, that was like a garland of silver, let out a trumpet and entered the golden palace. Circumambulating

¹ Tibetan: dGa’ ba.

² Tibetan: ’jig rten gyi lha thams cad dga’ ba’i tshal na yod pa ñid do. Pāli: Sabbadevalokesu hi Nandanavanam atthi yeva.

³ Tibetan: ’di nas śi ’phos nas bde ba’i ’gro bar skyes te / ’di nas śi ’phos nas bde ba’i ’gro bar skyes so. Pāli: ito cuto sugatiṃ gacchā.

⁴ Tibetan: sGyu ’phrul ma chen mo.

⁵ Tibetan: de la legs par brjod pa’i phyir ’di go rim bzin du sñon gyi gdam brjod do. Pāli: Tassāvibhāvattham ayaṃ anupubbakathā.

⁶ Tibetan: dbyar zla ’brin po’i rgyu skar. Pāli: āsāḥinakkhatta.

⁷ Pāli adds: paṭṭhāya vigatasurāpānam.

⁸ Tibetan: gso sbyon yan lag brgyad pa la gnas so. Pāli: uposathaṅgāni adhiṭṭhāya.

⁹ Tibetan: Gañs can.

¹⁰ Tibetan: Ma na śi la’i steñ du.

¹¹ Tibetan: Ma dros.

¹² Tibetan: dÑul gyi ri.

¹³ Tibetan: gSer gyi ri gcig.

his mother's bed¹ three times, he pierced her right side and entered her stomach. That is how it was, entering the womb during the Uttarasāḷha festival.²

II 11.

Questions on the result of the dream.

Awaking the next morning the queen related the dream to the king. The king summoned sixty-four *brāhmaṇas*, and revering them with garlands of flowers and so forth, (59a) prepared a large seats on the ground for them. There he filled plates for those *brāhmaṇas*, which were made of gold and silver, with milk mixed with fresh butter, honey, and sugar. Having covered these, with other plates of gold and silver, he gave them to those *brāhmaṇas*. Furthermore, giving clothes that were the equal of those worn by the king, and a gold measure and so forth, he satisfied them. Then, having satisfied them with all they desired, he explained the dream to them. 'What will happen?' he asked. The *brāhmaṇas* said: 'Great king, do not fear, a being has entered your wife's womb. {Pā51} It is not a girl within the womb but a boy. He will be your son, and if he resides in the house he will be a *cakkavattirāja*, but if he abandons the house and goes forth, he will be a Buddha. Having overcome the world, he will not therefore, continue living in a house.'³

II 12.

The appearance of the thirty-two signs.

Following this the ten thousand fold world shook, trembled and let out a noise, at the same time as the Bodhisatta entered his mother's womb. Then the thirty-two signs or portents⁴ appeared: 1. boundless light remained pervading the limits of the ten thousand fold world,⁵ (59b) 2. and that resplendence was such that⁶ the blind acquired sight, 3. the deaf heard with their ears, 4. the dumb spoke, 5. the crooked became straight, 6. the lame walked. 7. All beings who were fettered became freed from fetters, 8. the fires of all the hells were extinguished,⁷ 9. the thirst and hunger of the *preta* worlds was allayed.⁸ 10. The animals no longer feared one another,⁹ 11. the illnesses of all beings were allayed,¹⁰ 12. all beings began to speak

¹ Tibetan: rañ gi mal cha. Pāli: mātusayana.

² Tibetan: bra'i skar ma. Pāli: sāḷhanakkhatta.

³ Tibetan: slar khyim na gnas nas skye ba med do. Pāli omits.

⁴ Tibetan: sñon gyi mtshan ma. Pāli: pubbanimitta.

⁵ Tibetan: stoñ phrag bcu'i khor yug rnams su snañ ba tshad med par khyab ciñ gnas so. Pāli: dasasu cakkavālasahassesu appamāṇo obhāso phari.

⁶ Tibetan: de yañ de'i dpal blta ba 'di lta bu ste. Pāli: tassa taṃ siriṃ datṭhukāmā viya.

⁷ Tibetan: źi bar gyur to. Pāli: nibbāyi.

⁸ Tibetan: źi bar gyur to. Pāli: vūpasami.

⁹ Tibetan: phan tshun. Pāli: omits.

¹⁰ Tibetan: źi bar gyur to. Pāli: vūpasami.

joyfully, 13. horses began to neigh loudly,¹ 14. elephants trumpeted, 15. musical instruments each let out its own sound,² 16. without touching each other³ the adorned hands and feet of the people emitted a noise, 17. all the regions were purified, 18. there were gentle⁴ breezes in order to make those beings happy, 19. unseasonable clouds poured rain, 20. water arose from the earth and all the regions were inundated with water,⁵ 21. the birds stopped flying in the sky, 22. the rivers remained without flowing, 23. the water of the great ocean became sweet, 24. everywhere the surface of the earth became covered by lotus flowers of five colours, (60a) 25. the flowers that appear on land and water blossomed, 26. the flowers of the lotus stalks on the trunks of the trees and the flowers of the lotus stems on those branches and the flowers of the lotuses on the streamers on the creepers came into blossom, 27. there were seven times seven one above the other, splitting the earth and surface of the rock and issuing out like lotuses, 28. lotuses hung down from the sky, 29. everywhere a rain of lotuses fell, 30. divine music resounded in the sky, 31. the flowers of the ten thousand fold world⁶ increased their scent, and 32. their scented water was most beneficial.

II 13.

The nature of the bodhisatta's mother.

In this way the Bodhisatta entered the womb.⁷ In order to prevent the distress of the Bodhisatta, and his mother, the four sons of the *devas* bore swords aloft⁸ in their hands to protect them. The Bodhisatta's mother had no sensual thoughts regarding men, and obtained the highest gain and reputation. She was at ease, and free from bodily tiredness, even when the Bodhisatta {Pā52} entered her womb, she looked like a pure gemstone covered with red threads. Because although it was said 'the Bodhisatta has entered the womb', he was as if in a shrine, so it was impossible for other beings to touch or experience him. Therefore, the Bodhisatta's mother died seven days after the Bodhisatta's birth, and was born in Tusita. Just as other women give birth in less than ten months or more, (60b) sitting or lying, the Bodhisatta's mother is not like that. After protecting the Bodhisatta in her womb for ten months, she gives birth while standing. This is the nature of all the bodhisattas' mothers.⁹

¹ Tibetan: rta rnam skad sñan pa'i rnam par gyur. Pāli: madhurenākārena assā hasiṃsu.

² Pāli adds: muñciṃsu aghaṭṭitāni.

³ Tibetan: rañ rañ ma reg pas. Pāli: omits.

⁴ Pāli adds: sītala.

⁵ Tibetan: phyogs thams cad chur gyur to. Pāli omits.

⁶ Pāli adds: lokadhātu vaṭṭetvā viṣṣaṭṭhamālāguḷaṃ viya uppīletvā baddhamālākālāpo viya alaṃkatapaṭiyattaṃ mālāsanāṃ viya ca ekamālāmālinī vipphurantavālavijānī.

⁷ Tibetan: 'di ltar byañ chub sems dpa' mñal du žugs pa ñid nas. Pāli: evaṃ gahitapaṭisandhikassa bodhisattassa paṭisandhito paṭṭhāya.

⁸ Tibetan: thogs pa. Pāli omits.

⁹ Tibetan: 'di ni byañ chub sems dpa'i yum thams cad kyī chos ñid do. Pāli: ayaṃ Bodhisattamātu dhammatā.

II 14.

The birth of the bodhisatta in Lumbini grove.

The queen Mahāmāya was like a vessel containing corn oil while the Bodhisatta dwelled in her womb for ten months. Then she knew and thought: ‘Since the period in the womb is complete I shall go to my family’s house.’ She said to king Suddhodana: ‘O King, I wish to go to Devadahana¹ the city of generations of my family.’ The King assented saying: ‘Very well.’ After levelling the path between the cities of Kapilavatthu and Devadahana, and adorning it with *kadali*² and *punṇaghata*³ trees, and with royal standards, banners and so forth, he seated the queen in a golden palanquin.⁴ This was raised by one hundred thousand ministers, and sent off with a large retinue. In between both cities there is the grove⁵ of auspicious *sāla* trees, known as Lumbini⁶ grove, which was a spot for citizens of both cities. At that time all the flowers blossomed, from the roots up to the tips of the branches. In between the branches themselves bees swarmed, and many flocks of various birds sang their sweet songs. The entire Lumbini grove was like the Cittalatā⁷ grove, and like the meeting place⁸ prepared by a king who is mighty and powerful. (61a) The *devas* appeared after seeing this, wishing to play in the grove of *sāla* trees. The Queen, borne by those ministers, entered the grove of *sāla* trees. She went to the foot of an auspicious *sāla* tree wishing to grasp a branch of that *sāla* tree. That branch of the *sāla* tree bent down towards the Queen’s hand like it was bending from the heat of a fire.⁹ She stretched out her hand, grasping the tip of the branch, and immediately was shaken by the wind of *kamma*. Then, after preparing a curtain all around her, all the people went away.¹⁰ She gave birth like that, standing and grasping the branch of the *sāla* tree. Instantly the four pure minded Brahmas arrived, holding a golden net and bearing the Bodhisatta in the golden net, they stood in front of the mother and said: ‘O Queen, do not be depressed!¹¹ Your son is born, he is mighty and renowned.’¹² So although other beings are born by coming out from the mother’s womb, for the Bodhisatta it is not like that. {Pā53} Furthermore, the Bodhisatta¹³ descends the stairs like a religious teacher descending from the teaching seat, like a man standing and stretching both hands and

¹ Tibetan: lHa bstan.

² Tibetan: chu śiñ. Pāli: kadali, E. Adam's fig, Banana, Plantain; *Musa acuminata* Colla (IFPC), *M. balbisiana* Colla, *M. paradisiaca* L. (GIMP, GVDB), Musaceae, see J. Liyanaratne, “South Asian Flora as reflected in the Twelfth-Century Pāli Lexicon Abhidhānappadīpikā”, *JPTS*, 20, 1994, p. 99.

³ Tibetan: bum pa gañ ba. Pāli: punṇaghata. This Pāli word has several possible renderings: ‘well-filled water pot’, ‘auspicious brimming jars’, and may also denote a box of presents to be given away at feasts. See R. Morris, “Notes and Queries”, *JPTS*, London: PTS, 1884, rpt. Delhi, 1985, pp. 88-89

⁴ Tibetan: do li. Pāli: sivika.

⁵ Tibetan omits.

⁶ Tibetan: Lumbi ni.

⁷ Tibetan: Śiñ rta sna tshogs pa.

⁸ Tibetan: mdzes par byas pa’i ’dun sa. Pāli: susajjitaāpānamaṇḍala.

⁹ Tibetan: śiñ tu legs pa me la sros nas bkug pa. Pāli: suseditavettaḅga.

¹⁰ Tibetan: riñ du gyur te. Pāli: paṭikkami.

¹¹ Tibetan: lha mo sems sdug bśñal bar ma byed cig. Pāli: attamanā devi hohi.

¹² Tibetan: dbañ phyug dañ grags pa dañ bcas pa. Pāli: mahesakkho te putto uppanno.

¹³ Tibetan omits: bodhisatta.

feet, (61b) and like one who is fearless and pure. Born from the mother's womb,¹ uncovered by any impurity, he emerges from the mother's womb emitting rays of light, like a gemstone placed on cloth from the Kāsika² region. Then, despite this, two streams of water descended from the sky in order to purify³ the Bodhisatta and the Bodhisatta's mother, and to cleanse the body⁴ of the Bodhisatta's mother.

II 15.

The seven strides and the lion's roar.

Then the four great kings received him, in the same way as before,⁵ with a leopard skin from the hands of the Brahmas, who were holding him in the golden net in order to be near his blessings and joy.⁶ From their hands mankind received him on top of *dukūla*⁷ cloth, and after being released from the hands of mankind, he stood on the ground. Looking in the eastern direction, he saw up to the many thousands of world systems.⁸ The *devas* and men of those made offerings of flower garlands, perfumes, and so forth, saying: 'Great man, your like does not exist, there is no other who is superior to you.' Similarly, he looked in all the ten directions namely: the four directions and the four intermediate directions, below and above, without seeing his equal. He then walked seven steps in the northern direction,⁹ with Mahābrahma¹⁰ holding a white parasol and Suyāma¹¹ waving a fan. The other *devas* followed holding in their hands all the indispensable paraphernalia¹² for a king. Then, after the seventh step, standing he said: 'I am unsurpassed in those worlds'¹³ (62a) and then spoke blessings, and so forth, and roared the lion's roar. Then the Bodhisatta made the statement that he had only emerged from the mother's womb during three lives; during the life of Mahosadha,¹⁴ during the life of Vessantara, and in this life. When he emerged from his mother's womb during his life as Mahosadhatta,¹⁵ Sakka king of the *devas* arrived immediately, he

¹ Tibetan: ma'i rum nas. Pāli: mātukucchisambhavana.

² Tibetan: ka śi ka.

³ Tibetan: dag par bya ba'i phyir. Pāli: sakkārattham.

⁴ Tibetan: sarīre utuṃ gāhāpesuṃ. The Pāli phrase can mean 'to warm the body', or 'to make comfortable', see R. Morris, "Notes and Queries", *JPTS*, London: PTS, 1884, rpt. Delhi, 1985, p. 73.

⁵ Tibetan: snar gyi bzin du. Pāli: omits.

⁶ Tibetan: bkra śis pa dañ / bde ba la reg par gnas par bya ba'i phyir. Pāli: maṅgalasammatāya sukhasaphassāya.

⁷ Tibetan: du gu la'i ras kyī steñ du. Pāli: dukūlacumbaṭakena.

⁸ Tibetan: stoñ phrag du ma'i khor yug rnam phan tshun du mthoñ ño. Pāli: Anekāni cakkavālasahassāni ekaṅgaṅāni ahesuṃ.

⁹ Tibetan: de nas byaṅ gi phyogs su gom pa bdun bgrod do. Pāli: "ayaṃ uttarā disā: ti sattapadavīṭhārena agamāsi.

¹⁰ Tibetan: Tshañs pa chen po.

¹¹ Tibetan: 'Thab bral ba.

¹² Tibetan: ñe bar mkho ba'i dños po ma lus pa lag tu. Pāli: sesarājakakudhabhaṅḍahatthāhi.

¹³ Tibetan: 'jig rten pa rnam las bdag mchog go. Pāli: aggo 'aham asmi lokassa.

¹⁴ Tibetan: sMan chen po.

¹⁵ Tibetan: sMan chen po skyes pa.

arrived grasping the essence of the *candana*¹ tree in his hand, then after putting that into the boy's fist, he departed. Then he was questioned by his mother: 'My dear, what are you carrying?' He replied: 'Mother, it is medicine.' Because of his arrival carrying medicine she named him 'medicine boy.' She took the medicine and put it inside a water jug. It was the very medicine to allay all the ills of those blind and deaf people, and others, who came and went. Then they said: 'This medicine is great, this medicine is great,' due to this report which arose he was named Mahosadha. Furthermore, during the life of Vessantara, just after emerging from his mother's womb, he stretched out his right hand saying as he emerged: 'I will present a gift in my mother's house, or obtain a similar cause.'² Then his mother said: 'Dear son, you are born into a wealthy family,' and putting her son's hand on top of her own hand, {Pā54} she put in it a purse containing one thousand valuable gems,³ also during this life he roared the lion's roar. Similarly, the Bodhisatta, during the third life, uttered that speech just after emerging from his mother's womb. (62b) In that way at the moment of entering the womb, and at the moment of birth, the thirty-two prognostic signs appeared.

II 16.

Beings born at the same time.

Furthermore, when our Bodhisatta was born in Lumbini grove, all at once⁴ the Rāhulamāta⁵ *deva*, Channa⁶ the minister, Kāḷudāyi⁷ the minister, Kanthaka⁸ king of horses, the *bodhi*⁹ tree, and four pots of treasure, were also born. These seven were born there at the same time, one at four earshots distance, one at eight earshots distance, one at twelve earshots distance, and one at sixteen earshots distance.

II 17.

The ascetic Kāḷadevala.

Those people who lived in both villages led the Bodhisatta, proceeding to the very site of the city of Kapilavatthu. On that day they said: 'The son of the great king Suddhodana was born at the site of the city of Kapilavatthu, after sitting at the foot of the *bodhi* tree¹⁰ this boy will become Buddha.' Those

¹ Tibetan: tsam dan. Pāli: candana.

² Tibetan: rgyu 'dra bdog gam. Pāli omits.

³ Tibetan: nor bu rin po che. Pāli omits.

⁴ Tibetan: de ma thag tu. Pāli: tasmim̐ yeva samaye.

⁵ Tibetan: sGra gcan 'dzin gyi ma.

⁶ Tibetan: 'Dun pa.

⁷ Tibetan: Nag po 'char ka.

⁸ Tibetan: bsNags ldan.

⁹ Tibetan: byañ chub kyi śiñ. Pāli: Mahābodhi rukkho.

¹⁰ Tibetan: byañ chub śiñ. Pāli: bodhitala.

Tāvatiṃsa¹ *devas* made praises with joy and satisfaction, celebrating by waving their hands in the air. Then the ascetic named Kāḷadevala,² who attained the eight attainments in the chapel³ of the great king Suddhodana, partook of a meal.⁴ Then going to the Tāvatiṃsa abode, in order to avoid the day time sun,⁵ he sat happily, seeing him, those *devas* asked: ‘What is the reason for you relaxing here with a joyful mind? Explain to us the reason for this!’ (63a) Those *devas* added: ‘Great ascetic,⁶ it is said that a son is born to the great king Suddhodana, he will become Buddha while sitting under the *bodhi* tree, and turn the wheel of the teaching. So let us see the endless play of the Buddha,⁷ and obtain⁸ all the teachings, this is the reason we are delighted.’ The ascetic, hearing their explanation, quickly descended from the divine realm, entered the king’s palace, and sat on the appointed seat, saying: ‘A son, the great king has a son. I would like to see him.’ The king brought in the adorned boy to pay homage to the ascetic. The Bodhisatta circumambulated him, and stood on the ascetic’s hair. Even the Bodhisatta could not make a more fitting salutation than that. But if, even unwittingly, the ascetic were to place his foot on the Bodhisatta’s head, then the ascetic’s head would split into seven pieces. The ascetic said: ‘It is not right to harm me,’ and rising from his seat held up his joined hands to the Bodhisatta. The king, seeing this wonder, saluted his own son. The ascetic remembered this for eighty aeons, forty aeons in the past and forty aeons in the future. Seeing the excellent marks of the Bodhisatta, thinking: ‘Maybe you will be Buddha (63b) or maybe not,’ but knowing: ‘Without doubt he will be Buddha.’ He reflected: ‘This is an extremely wondrous person’ {Pā55} then he smiled. Then considering: ‘Will I or will I not see this Buddha?’⁹ and seeing: ‘I will not see him. For, between my death and rebirth in the formless plane¹⁰ I will be unable to discern the coming of a hundred, or a thousand Buddhas.’ Reflecting on this he lamented: ‘I will be unable to see such a wondrous person as this, my mind is extremely anguished.’¹¹ Seeing this those men asked: ‘Some people laugh at our lord¹² and this caused some others to cry, perhaps¹³ there will be some hindrance to our lord’s son?’ He said: ‘No hindrance will appear to him, he will certainly become Buddha.’ When asked:¹⁴ ‘Therefore why do you cry.’ He replied: ‘Since I will not see such a person as this become a Buddha, I am extremely grieved. So I weep with sorrow on my own account.’

¹ Tibetan: Sum cu rtsa gsum gyi gnas.

² Tibetan: Nag po lha len.

³ Tibetan: mchod gnas. Pāli: kulūpa.

⁴ Tibetan: kha zas bzañ po. Pāli: bhattakicca.

⁵ Tibetan: ñin mo ñi ma la mi gnas pa’i phyir. Pāli: divāvihāratthāya.

⁶ Tibetan: drañ sroñ chen po. Pāli: mārisā.

⁷ Tibetan: sañs rgyas kyi rol mo. Pāli: Buddhaliḥha.

⁸ Tibetan: chos thams cad thob bo. Pāli: dhammañ ca sotuṃ lacchāma.

⁹ Tibetan: ’di nas sañs rgyas nas bdag gis mthoñ nam mi mthoñ. Pāli: ahaṃ imaṃ Buddhabhūtaṃ daṭṭhuṃ labhissāmi nu kho.

¹⁰ Tibetan: gzugs med pa’i gnas su. Pāli: Arūpabhavā.

¹¹ Tibetan: bdag gi sems śiñ tu sdug bsñal bar gyur nas. Pāli: mahatī vata me jāni bhavissati.

¹² Tibetan: bdag cag gi ’phags pa res ’ga’ ni dgod. Pāli: amhākaṃ ayyo idān’ eva hasitvā.

¹³ Pāli: bhante. Tibetan omits.

¹⁴ Tibetan: dris so. Pāli omits.

II 18.

Nālaka's going forth.

Then reflecting: 'Will then any of my relatives see him become Buddha or not?', he saw his young nephew named Nālaka.¹ He went to his sister's house and said: 'Where is young Nālaka?' She said: 'He is playing in the house,'² he replied: 'Summon him!.' When Nālaka³ arrived before him he said: 'Nephew, a son has been born in the lineage of the great king Suddhodana. He is one destined to become a Buddha,⁴ he will become Buddha after thirty-five years. You will see him, so go forth now!' The boy, who was born in a family with eighty-seven *koṭis* of wealth, thought: 'This uncle speaks to me senselessly and needlessly.'⁵ Immediately he brought saffron robes, and an earthenware bowl, from the bazaar, and cutting his hair and beard put on the saffron robes thinking: 'I go forth on account of he who is the unsurpassed person in the world,'⁶ and made salutation in the direction of the Bodhisatta. Then making the five limbed salutation, he placed the bowl in the bag, put it on his shoulder, and went to Himavant, performing the duty of an ascetic. He approached the Tathāgata, who had attained the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment, and hearing the story about the intentions of Nālaka, again went to Himavant and attained arhatship. Understanding the difficulty of the supreme practice he remained living on Suvanṇa mountain, passing seven months of his life there,⁷ and attained complete *nibbāna* in the element of *nibbāna* that lacks any residue.

II 19.

The brāhmans interpret the marks.

Bathing the Bodhisatta's head on the seventh day the king thought: 'It is proper to assign him a name.' Anointing the king's palace with four types of perfume, scattering flowers (64b) of the five precious things, and cooked milk soup that consisted of boiled milk without water. The eight hundred⁸ invited

¹ Tibetan: Nā la ka, see edition for variant orthographies.

² Tibetan: 'phags pa khañ pa na yod do, Pāli: gehe ayya.

³ Pāli omits.

⁴ Tibetan: sañs rgyas myu gu. Pāli: Buddhaṃkura.

⁵ Tibetan: žañ po 'dis bdag la don med ciñ dgos pa med do. Pāli: na maṃ mātulo anathe niyojessati.

⁶ Tibetan: gañ zig 'jig rten pa'i gañ zag gi mchog gi mchog la bsams śiñ bdag rab tu 'byuñ bar 'gyur ro. Pāli: yo loke uttamapuggalo taṃ uddissa mayhaṃ pabbajjā.

⁷ Tibetan: mchog tu rtogs dka' ba rtogs nas zla ba bdun ñid kyi nañ du tshe 'das te gser gyi ri gcig la brten nas 'dug ste. Pāli: ukkaṭṭhapaṭipadaṃ paṭipanno satt' eva māse āyuaṃ pāletvā ekaṃ Suvanṇapabbataṃ nissāya ṭhitako.

⁸ The Tibetan has *brgya rtsa brgyad* for this number which is quite clear, while the Pāli gives *aṭṭhasatam*, which is not entirely unambiguous as to which number is meant. The literal meaning of the Pāli is 'eight hundred', but this can simply represent 'many' but may also mean 'one hundred and eight'. See T.W. Rhys Davids, & W. Stede, *The Pāli Text Society's Pāli-English Dictionary*, London: PTS, 1925, rpt. 1979, p. 15; and M. Cone *A Dictionary of Pāli, Part I, a-kh*, Oxford: PTS, 2001, p. 53, follows this; the CPD actually gives two separate meanings for the word, '108' and '800', see V. Trenckner, *et al*, (1924-1997), *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Copenhagen: Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, Vol. I (1924-1948), p. 67.

brāhmaṇas, who were learned in the three *vedas*, entered the palace. After enjoying the meal, he made great reverence asking: ‘What are the signs like?’¹ To which they replied:

Unidentified verse²

Rāma, Dhaja, Lakkhaṇa and Manti,
Koṇḍañña, Bhoja, Suyāma and Sudatta,
these then were the eight *brāhmaṇas*
who explained the six limbed formula.³

The eight *brāhmaṇas* explained these different kinds of sign.⁴ They explained the sign of entering the mother’s womb after abiding in Tusita.⁵ Seven among those *brāhmaṇas* raised two fingers, and explained the sense as twofold saying: ‘If one possessed of this sign lives in a house, he will be a *cakkavattirāja*; if he goes forth, he will be a Buddha.’ Moreover, after explaining all the qualities of a *cakkavatti* the youngest of those *brāhmaṇas*, the youth named Koṇḍañña, gave a name to the Bodhisatta, who had the supreme perfected signs saying: ‘Here, on the one hand, there is no reason for abiding in a house, and since he will not dwell in a house, he will be a Buddha,’⁶ and raising one finger he made the prediction in this way. Understanding that, at the time of being born as a man, he had previously performed meritorious acts.⁷ He surpassed the other seven *brāhmaṇas* by saying: (65a) ‘Since he is possessed of these signs that lack even the intimation of abiding in a house, he will doubtless become a Buddha,’ he did not see more than one destiny. Therefore, raising one finger, he made the prediction in this way.

¹ Tibetan: mtshan ſiīd ji lta bu. Pali: kin nu kho bhavissati.

² *Jātakanidāna* p. 56,

Rāmo Dhajo Lakkhaṇo cāpi Mantī
Koṇḍañño ca Bhojo Suyāmo Sudatto,
ete tadā aṭṭha ahesuṃ brāhmaṇā,
chaḷaṅgavā mantam vyākariṃsu ti.

Tibetan sTog 64b, is not in verse.

dGa’ byed daṅ / rGyal mtshan daṅ / msThan ſiīd daṅ / Rigs kyi sṅags pa daṅ / Kō ṅdi nya daṅ / Lag pa can daṅ / gŚin rje bzaṅ daṅ / Legs byin te / de mams de’i tshe bram ze brgyad yin no // yan lag drug gi sṅags brda sprad nas //

³ Tibetan: yan lag drug gi sṅags brda sprad nas. Pāli: chaḷaṅgavā mantam vyākariṃsu.

⁴ Tibetan: bram ze brgyad po ’di lta bu ſiīd kyi mtshan ſiīd so sor brjod nas. Pāli: ime aṭṭh’ eva brāhmaṇā lakkhaṇapaṭiggāhākā ahesuṃ.

⁵ Tibetan: dga’ ldan gnas nas ma’i mṅal du zugs pa’i ’di mams kysis bśad do. Pāli: Paṭisandhigahaṇadivase supino pi eteh’ eva paṭiggahīto.

⁶ Tibetan: ’di ni khyim na gnas pa’i rgyu med pas mtha’ gcig ſiīd du khyim na mi gnas par saṅs rgya’o. Pāli: etassa agāramajjhe ṭhānakāraṇam n’ atthi, ekanten’ eva vivattacchaddo Buddhho bhavissati.

⁷ Tibetan: ’di ni sṅar gyi gzi byas pas physis mir gyur pa na śes rab daṅ ldan no. Pāli: Ayam hi katādhikāro pacchimabhavikasatto paññāya.

II 20.

The group of five theras.

Then those *brāhmaṇas*, going to their own houses, exclaimed to their sons: ‘Sons, we have become old men, when king Suddhodana’s son attains omniscience we don’t know whether we will meet him, or have no prospect of doing so; when his son attains omniscience you should go forth in his teaching!’ Even those seven *brāhmaṇas*¹ understood that as long as life lasts, it is in accordance with the actions performed,² and the *brāhmaṇa* youth Koṇḍañña lived free from illness. The wise Mahāsatta, being one of great renunciation, departed and went to Uruveḷa³ by stages. Then staying there this thought occurred to him: ‘This place, being delightful, is a suitable place for the difficult practices of those clansmen.’ Then hearing that the Mahāsatta had gone forth, he approached the sons of those *brāhmaṇas* and said: ‘It is said the youth Siddhattha has gone forth, and there is no doubt that he will become a Buddha. If your fathers are free from illness, after leaving today they should go forth. If you desire that I, having come here,⁴ will go forth in imitation of that person.’ They were all unable to reach unanimity, {Pā57} four of those persons appointed (65b) Koṇḍañña as chief, and the five of them went forth. Those five persons became known as the group of five elders.⁵

II 21.

Protected by the four signs.

Furthermore, the king then asked: ‘After seeing what will my son go forth?’ they replied: ‘Seeing the four signs.’ He asked: ‘What are they?’ they replied: ‘One who is aged and decrepit, one who is ill, one who is dead, and one who has gone forth.’ The king said: ‘Beginning now, the likes of these will not approach my son, for there is no purpose in my son attaining buddhahood. I will make my son a kingdom, which is the mighty ruler of the four continents that are surrounded by two thousand islands. This is surrounded to a circumference of thirty-six *yojanas* by a retinue, and others in the sky desirous to see him.’ Saying this, and guarding the youth’s field of vision from these four kinds of persons, he set a guard in the four directions for a distance of one quarter of a *yojana*.⁶

¹ Pāli: janā.

² Tibetan: bram ze bdun po rnam kyis kyañ ji srid tshe gnas kyi bar ji ltar byas pa’i las rtogs so. Pāli: Te satta pi janā yāvatāyukaṃ tathā yathākammaṃ gatā.

³ Tibetan: lTeñ rgyas.

⁴ Tibetan: ’oñs nas. Pāli omits.

⁵ Tibetan: de thams cad ’dun pa gcig par ma nus par skye bo bži po las kō ṇḍi nyas gtso bo byas nas skye bo lña po rab tu byuñ ste / de rnam kyi skye bo lña po ni gnas brtan lña sde zes bya ba’i rigs su gyur to. Pāli: Te sabbe ekacchandā bhavituṃ nāsakkhiṃsu. Tāyo janā na pabbajimsu. Koṇḍaññabrāhmaṇaṃ jeṭṭhakaṃ katvā itare cattāro pabbajimsu.

⁶ Tibetan: rgyaṅ grags bži bžir. Pāli: gāvute gāvute.

II 22.

More than eighty thousand family with sons and fathers.

On that day consenting to a hundred¹ sons of each of the eighty thousand families of kinsmen who were assembled at the festival site said: ‘Let him be a Buddha or a king! I will allow my son one or the other. If he were to be a Buddha, he would go surrounded on all sides by ascetics of the *khattiya* lineage. If he were to become a king, he would go surrounded on all sides by youths of the *khattiya* lineage.’ The king also presented the Bodhisatta a wet nurse, who had a beautiful body, (66a) and was free of all faults. The Bodhisatta, surrounded by an endless retinue, became more majestic and prosperous.

II 23.

The sowing festival.

Then, on the day of the king’s rice sowing festival,² the entire city was decorated as if it were the palace of the *devas*.³ The slaves and servants, and so forth, put on good clothes and, decorated with perfumes and garlands of flowers, assembled inside the royal palace. During his work the king was capable of ploughing a thousand fields, furthermore, on that day there was one ploughing oxen short of eight hundred, who each had silver reins and tetherings. In addition the ploughman, who ploughed the fields held by the king, was also adorned with gold,⁴ and both horns of the oxen were covered with gold, as were their bridles and reins. The king came out with a great retinue, and taking his son, departed. At the site of the ritual there was one *jambu*⁵ tree with thick foliage and providing good shade. The boy’s large seat was placed beneath it, over this was spread a canopy, with golden stars, and surrounded all around by curtains that were like walls.⁶ The king, adorned with all his regalia, went to the site of ploughing with his retinue of ministers. There the king took the golden plough, and the ministers took the silver ploughs that numbered one short of eight hundred. (66b) Those people who were farmers took the remaining ploughs. Having taken the ploughs, they ploughed to and fro, the king however went from here to the other side, and returned hither. {Pā58} Thinking: ‘This plot will be perfect.’⁷

¹ Tibetan: brgya. Pāli omits.

² Tibetan: ’bras ’debs pa la bkra śis. Pāli: vappamaṅgala.

³ Tibetan: lha gśegs pa. Pāli: devavimāna.

⁴ Tibetan: rgyal po ’dzin pa’i zin rmo ba’i thoñ pa slar yañ gser las byas par gyur to. Pāli: Rañño ālambanaṅgale pana rattasuvanṇaparikkhatāni honti.

⁵ Tibetan: ’dzam bu Pāli: jambu.

⁶ Pāli adds: ārakkhaṃ ṭhapetvā.

⁷ Tibetan: de’i gnas phun sum mtshogs par ’gyur ro zes bsam nas. Pāli: etasmiṃ ṭhāne mahāsampattim anubhosi.

II 24.

Attainment of the first jhāna.

The Bodhisatta, who was seated with his retinue, was addressed by his wet nurse: ‘I want to see the king’s ritual.’¹ and she went outside from behind the curtains. The Bodhisatta, looking this way and that saw nobody, quickly sat down crosslegged and having understood the rise and fall of the breath,² the first *jhāna* arose. The wet nurse, going hither and thither in order to eat the prepared food, was a little delayed but the shadow of that *sesa*³ tree did not move, furthermore the shadow of that tree remained all around.⁴ The wet nurse said: ‘The noble son is alone,’ and quickly lifting up the curtains entered inside. Seeing the marvel of the Bodhisatta sitting crosslegged on the seat, she went to the king and said: ‘O king, your son is sitting in such a manner. Likewise the shadow of those other trees moves, but the shadow of the *jambu*⁵ tree remains all around.’ The king coming quickly saw the marvel and said: ‘Dear son, this is a double homage to you,’ then saluted his son.

II 25.

Seeing the art of the jātaka.

Then gradually the Bodhisatta reached the age of sixteen. (67a) The king had three palaces made for the Bodhisatta that were suitable for the three seasons, one nine storied, one seven storied and one five storied. He also appointed forty thousand dancing girls. The Bodhisatta was like a *deva*, surrounded by women⁶ who were like *devas* together with many women adorned with ornaments, and surrounded by the sound of unworldly⁷ music, enjoying great luxury, and living in each of those palaces according to the season. Furthermore, the mother of Rāhula⁸ was a noblewoman⁹ of the queen, and so she enjoyed the most excellent things. One day this kind of topic of discussion arose among her family: ‘Siddhattha goes engrossed in amusement without studying even a little art, if a battle were to occur what would he do?’ Then the king¹⁰ addressed the Bodhisatta, saying: ‘Son, your kinsmen say “Siddhattha goes engrossed in amusement without studying even a little art,” and wonder how you would behave if a battle¹¹ occurred.’ He replied: ‘O King, it is unnecessary for me to study arts. Those village men will sound a bell when

¹ Tibetan: rgyal po’i phun sum tshogs par blta’o. Pāli: rañño sampattiṃ passissāma.

² Tibetan: rluñ ’byuñ ba dañ riub ciñ bzuñ nas. Pāli: ānāpāne pariggahetvā.

³ Tibetan: śiñ gzan rnams. Pāli: sesa

⁴ Tibetan: gzan yañ śiñ de’i grib ma rnams kun nas gnas so. Pāli: tassa pana rukkhassa parimaṇḍalā hutvā aṭṭhāsi.

⁵ Tibetan: ’dzam bu. Pāli: jambu.

⁶ Tibetan: lha dañ ’dra ba’i bud med rnams. Pāli: accharā.

⁷ Tibetan: skyes pa med pa’i rol mo. Pāli: nippurisehi turiyehi.

⁸ Tibetan: sGra gcan ’dzin (Mvy. 1070 Yaśodharā). Pāli: Rāhulamātā.

⁹ Tibetan: gtso mo. Pāli: aggamahesī.

¹⁰ Tibetan: de’i tshe. Pāli: rāja.

¹¹ Tibetan: g.yul byuñ. Pāli: pattakāla.

there is an intention to display my art. Seven days from now I will show my art to the kinsmen.’ the king acted accordingly. The Bodhisatta assembled archers who shot on command, and who shot at hairs, (67b) and he displayed the twelve arts to those special kinsmen, archers and others, within the populace. These should be known according to the scheme found in the *Sarabhaṅgajātaka*,¹ and so he removed the doubt of his kinsmen.

II 26.

The four signs.

One day² the Bodhisatta wishing to go to the pleasure gardens addressed his charioteer saying: ‘Prepare the chariot for departure!’³ The charioteer hearing this replied: ‘Very well.’ Adorning the fine wheels of the great chariot with various decorations, and yoked⁴ the chariot to four splendid⁵ horses that were like the colour of red and white lotus leaves. {Pā59} The Bodhisatta said: ‘Let us go!’ The Bodhisatta mounting the chariot that was like the palace of the *devas*, went in the direction of the pleasure gardens.

II 27.

1. Old age and death.

The *devas* thought: ‘The time of the youth Siddhattha’s complete enlightenment is close. It is right that we should display those portentous signs.’ Then, making one of the *deva*’s sons aged, decrepit, with teeth falling out, white haired, with crooked back and broken body, trembling with a staff in hand and a hoarse voice, they displayed him. The Bodhisatta and the charioteer saw him, and the Bodhisatta asked the charioteer: ‘Who is this person, his hair is not like that of others?’ he asked, as it occurs in the *Mahāpadānasutta*.⁶ Hearing this the charioteer replied: (68a) ‘Since birth is impermanent, all people will become old.’⁷ While returning the Bodhisatta was troubled in mind and he went into his own palace. The king asked: ‘What is the cause, what is the reason, for the swift return of my son?’ The charioteer replied: ‘O King, since he saw one who was aged and decrepit, he will go forth.’⁸ The king said: ‘Prepare those dancers for my son quickly! By making him enjoy various pleasures he will not remember to go forth’ and he increased the guards, establishing them at half *yojanas* distances in all directions.⁹

¹ Tibetan: mDa’ ’joms pa skyes rabs. Pāli: Sarabhaṅgajātaka, Jātaka No. 522.

² Tibetan: gzan yañ. Pāli: Ath’ ekadivasa.

³ Tibetan: śiñ rta chas su chug cig. Pāli: rathaṃ yojehi.

⁴ Tibetan: khrid nas. Pāli: yojetvā.

⁵ Tibetan: bkra śis pa’i rta. Pāli: maṅgalasindhava.

⁶ Tibetan: gTso bo chen po’i mdo.

⁷ Tibetan: skye ba mi rtag ciñ skyes par gyur pas thams cad rgas par ’gyur ro. Pāli: dhi-r-atthu vata bho jātiyā yatra hi nāma jātassa jarā paññāyissanti.

⁸ Tibetan: lha rgas śiñ ’khogs pa’i mi gcig mthoñ bas rab tu ’byuñ ño. Pāli: Jīṇṇaṃ purisaṃ disvā devā ’ti, jīṇṇaṃ purisaṃ disvā pabbajissati.

⁹ Tibetan: phyogs thams cad du rgyaṅ grags brgyad brgyad du b’zag go. Pāli: sabbadisāsu addhayaṇe

II 28.

2. Illness.

Following this one day the Bodhisatta, when likewise going to the pleasure gardens, saw a sick man who had been created by the *devas*, and questioned the charioteer as before. Being troubled in mind and returning again he entered his own palace. The king again asked the question, as related above, and again increased the guards, establishing them at a distance of twelve *yojanas* in all directions.¹

II 29.

3. Death.

Again, one day while going to the pleasure gardens the Bodhisatta saw a dead person, who had been created by the *devas*, and asked the question as before. Being pained in mind he turned back again and went² into the palace. The king made enquiries as before and again increased the guards, establishing them at a distance of one *yojana* all around.

II 30.

4. Ascetic.

Furthermore, one day while going to the pleasure gardens he saw an ascetic,³ who had been created by the (68b) *devas*, well clothed with a fine upper robe. He asked the charioteer: ‘Charioteer, what do you call that person?’ Although not knowing the qualities of asceticism or the lack of appearance of a Buddha, through the power of the *devas* he replied: ‘O Prince, he is called an ascetic’, and explained the qualities of asceticism. The Bodhisatta had a desire for asceticism, and on that day went to the pleasure gardens. Some teachers say this:⁴ ‘He saw the four portentous signs on one day.’⁵ But that is incorrect.⁶

II 31.

The final adornment of the bodhisatta.

Then, having sported during the day, he bathed in the auspicious⁷ lake and at sunset sat on an auspicious

addhayojane ṭhapesi.

¹ Tibetan: thams cad du rgyaṅ grags bcu gñis kyi sa’i char sruṅ bar byed pa b’zag go. Pāli: samantato tigāvutappamāṇe padese ārakkhaṃ ṭhapesi.

² Tibetan: gśegs nas. Pāli: abhirūhi.

³ Tibetan: rab tu byuṅ ba. Pāli: pabbajita.

⁴ Tibetan: slob dpon kha cig ’di skad zer te. Pāli: Diḡhabhāṅakā panāhu.

⁵ Tibetan omits. Pāli: agamāsi.

⁶ Tibetan: de ni mi ’thad do. Pāli omits.

⁷ Tibetan: bkra śis. Pāli: maṅgala.

stone seat, intending to adorn himself with decorations.¹ Then the male attendants, taking clothes of various colours and various kinds of decorations, garlands of flowers, scents, ointments, and so forth, gathered all around and stood there. In an instant the seat where Sakka² sat became hot, {Pā60} and he reflected thus: ‘Whose intention is it that I should abandon my abode and be born?’³ and saw the occasion of the decoration of the Bodhisatta and said to Vissakamma:⁴ ‘Vissakamma,⁵ at midnight tonight the youth Siddhattha will go out on the great renunciation⁶ this is his final adornment. Let us adorn the Mahāpurisa with divine ornaments while he is going to the pleasure gardens!’ Vissakamma heard⁷ this and replied: ‘So be it.’ Approaching there instantly by means of divine power, (69a) and appearing as his servants,⁸ they took the cloth from the hand of a servant and wrapped it around the head of the Bodhisatta. The Bodhisatta when touching his head with his hand knew: ‘This is not of mankind, this is from the sons of the *devas*’. During the wrapping of his head they tied various gems and jewels to the diadem that was wrapped⁹ around his head with a thousand layers of cloth. Also during the wrapping, having wound his head ten times with one thousand layers of cloth, they then wrapped it with ten thousand layers of cloth. They did not consider, how do we wrap such a small head with many layers of cloth? Indeed, between the layers there was a large amount of twisting *sā ka la* flowers, and also a measure of *ku ba* flowers. The Bodhisatta’s head was like a *kiñjakkha*¹⁰ flower or like the *kuyyaka*¹¹ flower. Then, having adorned him with various ornaments, all the musicians each made their own music, and the *brāhmaṇas* were triumphant, making songs of praise with various kinds of blessing¹² such as ‘Be happy!’¹³ Then, adorned with all these decorations, he mounted the splendid chariot.

II 32.

The birth of Rāhula.

At that time the report went out: ‘A son is born to Yaśodharā’¹⁴ hearing this the king Suddhodana said:

¹ Tibetan: rañ la rgyan gyis brgyan par sems so. Pāli: attānaṃ alaṃkārapetukāmo.

² Tibetan: brGya byin.

³ Tibetan: gañ žig bdag gi gnas ’dor ba’i sems su žig la skyes par gyur. Pāli: ko nu kho maṃ imamhā ṭhānā cāvetukāmo.

⁴ Tibetan: Las thams cad pa.

⁵ Tibetan: Las thams cad pa. Pāli: samma Vissakamma.

⁶ Tibetan: nes par ’byuñ ba chen pos ’thon no. Pāli: mahābhikkhamanaṃ nikkhamissati.

⁷ Tibetan: thos nas. Pāli: paṭisunivā.

⁸ Tibetan: rim gro pa. Pāli: kappaka.

⁹ Tibetan: bcīns. Pāli: abbhuggañchi.

¹⁰ Tibetan: ki dza la ka.

¹¹ Tibetan: kuyyaka.

¹² Tibetan: bkra śis. Pāli: maṅgala.

¹³ Tibetan: dga’ bar gyur cig ces rnam pa sna tshogs pa’i bkra śis kyis bstod pa’i dbyanīs byed do. Pāli: jaya-nandā-ti-ādi-vacanehi sūtamāghatandhakādisu nānappakārehi maṅgalavacanathutighosehi sambhavantesu.

¹⁴ Tibetan: Grags ’dzin ma (Mvy. 1070 Yaśodharā). Pāli: Rāhulamātā.

‘Dispatch a messenger in order to make my son happy.’¹ The Bodhisatta hearing this message said: ‘Since Rāhula² has been born a fetter has arisen.’ The king asked: ‘What response did my son make?’ and hearing of his response said: ‘Henceforth, let my young grandson be named Rāhula!’

II 33.

The udāna of Kisāgotamī.

The Bodhisatta³ went to the city with great pomp and majesty, and with much glory and joy. On that occasion Kisāgotamī,⁴ the daughter of the *khattiya* clan, was on top of her residence, and seeing the resplendent form of the Bodhisatta as he made a circumambulation of the city, joy and happiness arose and she uttered this verse:

Mvu II p.157⁵

The mother of such a one is pacified⁶, the father of such a one is pacified,⁷
The wife of such a one is pacified,⁸ so also anyone who has such a lord.

{Pā61} Hearing this the Bodhisatta thought: ‘She said this after seeing a bodily form such as this, while the mother’s mind became pacified as was the father’s, Pajāpati’s⁹ mind was also pacified. What is the

¹ Tibetan: bdag gi bu dga’ bar bya ba’i phyir pho ſia ba btañ no. Pāli: “puttassa me tuṭṭhiṃ nivedethā” ‘ti sāsaṇaṃ pahini.

² Tibetan: sGra gcan ’dzin.

³ Pāli adds: rathavaraṃ āruya. Tibetan omits.

⁴ Gō ta mī skem mo, see edition for variant orthographies.

⁵ Jātakanidāna p. 60; sTog 69b; Mvu II p. 157; Bv-a p. 280; Dhp-a I p. 85; Ap-a p. 65; Dhs-a p. 34 ; Thūp p. 165

Jātakanidāna p. 60,

Nibbutā nūna sā mātā,
nibbuto nūna so pitā,
nibbutā nūna sā nāri
yassāyaṃ īdiso patīti.

Tibetan sTog 69b,

de yi ma ni ſi bar gyur // de yi pha ni ſes par ſi //
de yi bud med ſes ſir gyur // de yi yañ ni de bdag mtshuñs //

Mahāvastu II p. 157,

nirvṛtā khalu te mātā pitā punaḥ te nirvṛte
nirvṛtā punaḥ sā nāri yasya bhartā bhaviṣyasi.

⁶ Tibetan: ſi bar gyur. Pāli: nibbuta.

⁷ Tibetan: ſes par ſi. Pāli: nibbuta.

⁸ Tibetan: ſes ſir gyur. Pāli: nibbuta.

⁹ Tibetan: sKye dgu dañ skye dgu’i bdag mo. Pāli: pajāpati.

meaning of this so-called pacification of mind?’¹ Then he whose mind was free from the passion of defilements thought: ‘The pacification of the fire of passion is called pacification, the pacification of the fires of hatred and delusion is called pacification, the pacification of all the arisen² defilements, such as conceit and wrong view, is called pacification. These kind words were spoken to me. Seeking, I will go to search for *nibbāna*, abandoning living the household life from today as a renunciate, having gone forth it is proper to seek *nibbāna*. (70a) Let this be my teacher’s fee.’³ He said, removing a necklace of pearls, worth one hundred thousand *kaḥāpanas*, from his neck he sent them to Kisāgotamī. She was elated and thought: ‘The young Siddhattha must be infatuated with passion for me since he has sent me a token.’

II 34.

The arising of grief.

The Bodhisatta after going⁴ to his own residence, that was resplendent and majestic, lay on a sumptuous bed. Instantly beautiful women, who were like goddesses well trained in singing and dancing, and adorned with all ornaments, took their instruments and surrounded him. They began to make delightful dances, songs, music and so forth. The Bodhisatta was in a despondent state concerning the defilements, being without joy at the dancing and so forth, and fell asleep in a moment. Those women said: ‘What is the point of our dancing and so forth, he has gone to sleep. What is the point now since we are tired?’ Putting down whatever instrument they were using they slept.⁵ The perfumed oil lamps burned⁶ and the Bodhisatta awoke. Seated crosslegged on top of the bed he looked and saw those women, who had cast aside their musical instruments, asleep. Some dribbled saliva, some had stained clothes, and saliva on their bodies, (70b) some ground their teeth, some gave out wheezes, some talked in their dreams, some had gaping mouths, some had clothes in disarray,⁷ and the genitals of several were showing.⁸ The Bodhisatta saw their state and with a fearful heart became unhappy with sensual desires. The adorned and attended residence being large and spacious was like the palace of Sakka, but he thought of it as a cemetery with bloated corpses with various sorts of stench.⁹ Speaking the utterance: ‘I am hurt and tormented by this,’ he had a strong desire to go forth.

¹ Tibetan: ci’i phyir sems ŷi ba ŷes bya ba’i don gañ. Pāli: kasmim nu kho nibbute hadayaṃ nibbutaṃ nāma hotīti.

² Tibetan: kun skyes pa. Pāli: daratha.

³ Tibetan: ’di ni bdag gi slob dpon mar gyur to. Pāli: ayaṃ imassā ācariyabhāgo hotu.

⁴ Tibetan: gśegs nas. Pāli: abhiruhitvā.

⁵ Tibetan: gañ dañ gañ bsalabs pa’i rol mo rnam la bźag nas ñal lo. Pāli: gahitagahitāni turiyāni ajjhottharivā nipajjimsu.

⁶ Pāli: jhāyanti. Tibetan omits.

⁷ Tibetan: kha cig ni gos ŷugs pa. Pāli: ekaccā apagatavatthā.

⁸ Tibetan: ’ga’ ŷig gi ni ntshan ma snañ ño. Pāli: pākaṭabhībhacchasambādhaṭṭhānā. The Pāli word *sambādhaṭṭhāna* has the meaning ‘private parts’ according to R. Morris, “Notes and Queries”, *JPTS*, London: PTS, 1884, rpt. Delhi, 1985, pp. 102-103.

⁹ Pāli adds: ādittagehasadisā. Tibetan omits.

II 35.

The great departure.

He thought: ‘Today I, with great renunciation, am going forth.’ and rising from the bed and going near to the door said: ‘Who is here?’ {Pā62} There slept Channa¹ who had made a pillow of the threshold he said: ‘Noble Sir, it is I Channa.’ The Bodhisatta said: ‘Today I wish to go forth with great renunciation. Saddle my horse!’ Channa replied: ‘Very well’ and taking the horse’s saddle went to the stable. There he saw Kanthaka² the king’s horse standing in a delightful spot beneath a canopy of silk with *sumana* flowers and burning lamps of perfumed oil. Laying the saddle on Kanthaka he thought: ‘It is fitting that I saddle this horse today.’ (71a) The horse knowing he was to be saddled thought: ‘This fastening of the saddle is not like the saddling up for going to the pleasure gardens on other days. My noble lord today desires to go forth with a great renunciation.’ Then with joyful mind he let out repeated neighs, his neighing resounded throughout the entire city, although the *devas* muffled his noise so that it was not heard by anyone.

II 36.

The wish to see Rāhula.

The Bodhisatta, sending Channa to the horse’s stable, thought: ‘I will see my son once.’ Going to Yasodharā’s³ residence he opened the door and immediately perfumed oil lamps burned within the bed chamber. Yasodharā put her hand on her son’s head, as he lay on the bed on which were scattered some *sumana* and *mallika* flowers, and went to sleep. The Bodhisatta, putting one foot on the threshold, stood looking, and thought: ‘If I remove the princesses hand I think my son will be roused, and if the princess awakes there will be a hindrance to my going forth and becoming Buddha,’ thinking this he descended from the residence. Furthermore, some teachers say:⁴ ‘Then the Bodhisatta appeared, as said above, but it was seven days prior to departure.’ Since this is not explained by others in this manner it should therefore be taken in the way just stated.⁵

¹ Tibetan: Blon po’Dun pa.

² Tibetan: bsNags ldan.

³ Tibetan: Grags ’dzin ma (Mvy. 1070 Yaśodharā). Pāli: Rāhulamātā.

⁴ Tibetan: slob dpon kha cig ’di ltar smras ste. Pāli: Jātaṅṅakathāya.

⁵ Tibetan: de’i tshe byañ chub sems dpa’ g’zags pa’i sñon rol gyi ñi ma bdun gyi goñ du skyes so zes zer ro // de ’dra g’zan du ma bśad pas de’i phyir ’di kho na gzuñ bar bya’o //. Pāli: tadā Rāhulakumāro hotīti vuttaṃ taṃ sesaṅṅakathāsu n’ atthi. Tasmā idaṃ eva gahetabbam.

II 37.

Kanthaka.

In this way the Bodhisatta (71b) descending from the residence, and going to the horse's stable¹ said this: 'Kanthaka, you must carry me this very night! Then when, due to your kindness,² I become a Buddha I will save the entire world of *devas* and men.' Then he mounted Kanthaka's back. The distance between Kanthaka's neck and lip was eighteen cubits,³ with a height in proportion to that, strong, swift and white all over, with a colour like that of polished conch shell. If he should repeatedly neigh or make a noise with his hooves, the entire city would be in uproar, therefore those *devas*, through their own power, impeded the noise so that it would not be heard by anyone. The *devas* shielded each hoof step, of fore and hind leg, in the palms of their hands.⁴

II 38.

The opening of the city gate.

The Bodhisatta was seated on the middle of the horse's back while {Pā63} Channa grasped the horse's tail,⁵ and at midnight they approached close to the main gate. Then once more the king thought in this way: 'In order that the Bodhisatta would be unable after opening the great gate of the city at any time to go outside,' he appointed a thousand men who were needed to open each individual door panel. The Bodhisatta possessed great strength, the strength of a herd of elephants even of ten thousand *koṭis*⁶ of elephants, the strength of a multitude of men even of one hundred thousand *koṭis*⁷ of men. The Bodhisatta thought: 'If the door does not open (72a) then sitting on Kanthaka's back with Channa holding the tail, and spurring Kanthaka to jumping the height of the eighteen cubit city wall, I will cross it.' Channa thought: 'If the gate does not open then I, carrying⁸ the noble son on my shoulder, putting my right arm around the loins and belly of Kanthaka and jumping on the city wall, will cross it.' Kanthaka thought: 'If the gate does not open then I, carrying my lord just as he is seated on my back, with Channa standing holding my tail and jumping on the city wall, will cross it.' If the city gate were not to open then any one of the three intended plans would succeed. However those *devas* who protected⁹ the door opened it.

¹ Tibetan: ra ba. Pāli: samīpa.

² Tibetan: khyod kyi drin gyis. Pāli: ahaṃ taṃ nissāya.

³ Tibetan: bsnags ldan gyi ske nas bzuñ nas mchu ru khru bco brgyad pa. Pāli: Kanthako gīvato paṭṭhāya āyāmena atṭhārasahattho hoti.

⁴ Tibetan: khrab khrab 'gro ba'i rkañ lag gi rmig pa re re lha'i lag pa'i mthil du ñe bar b'zag go. Pāli: akkamaṇaakkamaṇapadavāre hatthatalāni upanāmesuṃ.

⁵ Tibetan: blon po 'dun pa rta'i mjug ma nas zuñ cig. Pāli: Channaṃ assassa vāladhiṃ gāhāpetvā.

⁶ Tibetan: bye ba stoñ phrag bcu. Pāli: koṭisahassa.

⁷ Tibetan: mi bye 'bum phrag gcig. Pāli: dasapurisakoṭisahassa.

⁸ Tibetan: khyer nas. Pāli: nisīdāpetvā.

⁹ Tibetan: sruñ ba. Pāli: adhivattha.

II 39.

Māra.

At that moment Māra thought: ‘I will stop the Bodhisatta’ and went, then seated in the sky said: ‘Great sage¹ do not proceed with this going forth! Seven days hence you will obtain² the wheel jewel, and you will govern the four great continents that are surrounded by two thousand small islands. Turn back great sage!’ The Bodhisatta asked:³ ‘Who are you?’ Māra replied: ‘I am Vassavatti.’⁴ The Bodhisatta said: ‘Mara, I know there will be a wheel jewel for me (72b) but I have no need to govern. Shouting out throughout the ten thousand fold worlds that I will be a Buddha.’ Māra then said: ‘Starting from now I will know when I am thinking a sensuous thought an injurious thought or a harmful thought.’⁵ Separating them, like faults not separated from friends.

II 40.

The coming of the *devas* chariot.

The Bodhisatta abandoned the *cakkavatti*’s kingdom with indifference, like a bubble of saliva, and went outside the city with great festivities. Then on the middle day of the summer month, at the time of the supreme constellation, he went outside the city, returning to the city intending to ask to see it again. As this very thought arose in the mind of the Bodhisatta, the great earth was broken like a potter’s wheel, and whirled around, as if speaking thus: ‘Great man, having turned back, you should not look to your meritorious deeds.’ The Bodhisatta stood before the city looking at it, indicating in one place the site of the shrine for Kanthaka’s turning back. Then, having set Kanthaka {Pā64} on the path of travel, he went with great festivities, majesty, good fortune and purity. Then those *devas* lit sixty thousand great lamps in front of him, and sixty thousand (73a) great lamps behind him, and also sixty thousand great lamps on his left hand side. Other *devas* also lit many thousands of innumerable lamps on top of the edge of the world system.⁶ Other *devas*, *nāgas*, *supaṇṇas*,⁷ and so forth, proceeded worshipping him with divine perfume⁸, garlands of flowers, aromatic powder,⁹ and incense. Then *pāricchattaka*¹⁰ and *mandāra*¹¹ flowers fell in a

¹ Tibetan: drañ sroñ chen po. Pāli: mārisā.

² Tibetan: thob par ’gyur ro. Pāli: pātubhavissati.

³ Tibetan: dris so. Pāli omits.

⁴ Tibetan: ’Jig rten gyi dbaṅ po.

⁵ Tibetan: ’dod pa’i rnam par rtog pa ’am / gnod sems kyi rnam par rtog pa ’am / rnam par ’tshe ba’i rnam par rtog pa. Pāli: kāmavitakkaṃ vā vyāpādatakkaṃ vā vihiṃsāvitaṃkaṃ.

⁶ Tibetan: khor yug. Pāli: cakkavāla.

⁷ Tibetan: ’dab bzañs.

⁸ Tibetan: lha’i spos. Pāli omits.

⁹ Tibetan: phye ma. Pāli: cuṇṇa.

¹⁰ Tibetan: pā ri tsatsha ttra, see edition for variant orthographies. See PTSD, the coral tree, *Erythmia Indica*, a tree in Indra’s heaven, p. 454. Also E. Apple of Sodom, Mudar; *Calotropis procera* (Aiton) R. Br., Asclepiadaceae, see J. Liyanaratne, “South Asian Flora as reflected in the Twelfth-Century Pāli Lexicon *Abhidhānappadipikā*”, *JPTS*, 20, 1994, p.55.

¹¹ Tibetan: man dā ra. Pāli omits.

dense shower, like a cloud, and a continuous rain of flowers fell from the sky. There was the resounding of divine melodies, and from all surrounding directions the music of seventy-eight thousand musical instruments,¹ that were like the rumbling of thunder in the midst of the ocean, continuing as at the time of the roaring of the ocean on the sides of Yugandhara² mountain.

II 41.

Arrival at Anomā River.

The Bodhisatta, possessed of splendour and majesty, on the single night of his going passed³ three kingdoms, and stood at thirty *yojanas* distance on the bank of the Anomā⁴ river. He thought: ‘Why won’t this horse also be able to go beyond this?’ He is not unable, since after going one morning within the ramparts he circled them, and coming immediately in the morning he was able to eat the food presented in my presence. Then once more, the *devas*, *nāgas*, *supaṇṇas*, and so forth, standing in the sky, rained down perfumes and garlands of flowers. He was unable to leave since the horse’s body was immersed up to (73b) the thighs in perfumes, flower garlands, and so forth, and being so greatly hindered he was unable to cut off his hair, therefore he went only thirty *yojanas* distance.

II 42.

The going forth of the bodhisatta.

Then the Bodhisatta, standing on the bank of the river, questioned Channa: ‘What is the name of this river?’ Channa replied: ‘Lord, it is called Anomā,’ the Bodhisatta said: ‘My going forth will also be called Anomā.’ Spurring with his feet he exhorted the horse and the horse leapt, landing on the other bank of the river measuring eighty *usabha*⁵ in width. The Bodhisatta, dismounting from the horse’s back, stood on a heap of sand,⁶ that was like silver, and spoke to Channa: ‘Leading my ornaments and horse you must go! I will go forth.’ Channa said: ‘I also ask to go forth,’ the Bodhisatta replied: ‘Since you are not allowed to go forth,⁷ leave!’ Although he requested this three times, he was not granted permission. The Bodhisatta entrusting Kanthaka and his ornaments to Channa thought: ‘My hair is not suitable for an ascetic, though there is no one else fit to cut my hair, not even another bodhisatta,⁸ so I intend to cut my

¹ Tibetan: lha’i glu dbyaṅs sgrogs par gyur to // kun nas bskor bar stoṅ phrag drug cu rtsa brgyad kyi rol mo’i sgra sgrogs so. Pāli: Dibbāni saṅgītāni pavattanti, samantato aṭṭhaturiyāni satṭhituriyānīti aṭṭhasaṭṭhituriyasatasahassāni pavajjayimsu.

² Tibetan: ri bo gña’ śiṅ ’dzin.

³ Tibetan: spaṅs nas. Pāli: atikamma.

⁴ Tibetan: Yid ldan.

⁵ Tibetan: glaṅ.

⁶ Tibetan: bye ma’i phuṅ po’i steṅ du. Pāli: vālukāpulīne.

⁷ Tibetan: khyod kyis rab tu ’byuṅ ba mi ’thob pas. Pāli: na labbhā tayā pabbajitūṃ.

⁸ Tibetan: byaṅ chub sems dpa’ gzan gyis kyaṅ skra breg par ruṅ ba gzan med do. Pāli: añño Bodhisatassa kese chinditūṃ yuttarūpo n’ atthi.

own hair with a sword.’ Seizing the sword with his right hand, and taking the jewel of the topknot with his left hand, he cut it. The hair of his head, being two fingers long, adhered to his head curling to the right. His hair was just that length for his entire life, (74a) and he was free from growth of beard, it was unnecessary for him to shave his hair and beard again. {Pā65}

II 43.

The setting up of the Cūlāmaṇi shrine.

The Bodhisatta taking the jewel topknot and throwing it in the air thought: ‘If I am to become a Buddha let it remain in the air, if not let it fall to the ground!.’ His tied jewel topknot went up one *yojana* and remained in the air. Sakka, king of the *devas*, was watching with his divine sight, and putting it inside a bejewelled casket one *yojana* in height, he erected the shrine known as the jewel topknot in the palace of the Thirty-three *devas* saying:

Bv-a p.284¹

The foremost man, accustomed to the finest scents,
cut his topknot, and cast it into the air.
The thousand eyed one seized the topknot
carrying it to the abode of the *devas* in a golden casket.²

II 44.

The eight requisites of a samaṇa.

Again the Bodhisatta thought: ‘These Kāsi clothes of mine are unsuitable for a monk.’³ Then Ghaṭikāra,⁴ his friend during the time of Kassapa Buddha, was Mahābrahma and had not met his friend during the time of one Buddha, he thought: ‘There is my friend going out on the great renunciation, taking these

¹ *Jātakanidāna* p. 65; sTog 74a; Bv-a p. 284; Thūp p. 165.

Jātakanidāna p. 65,

Chetvāna molim varagandhavāsitaṃ
vehāsayaṃ ukkhipi aggapuggalo,
sahassanetto sirasā paṭiggahī
suvaṇṇacaṃḡoṭavarena Vāsavo ti.

Tibetan sTog 74a,

mchog gi dri yis bsgos pa'i gtsug phud bcaḡ //
gaṅ zag mchog gis nam mkha' la ni dor //
mig stoṅ pa yis dbu skra mgo steṅ bzuṅ //
gser gyi za ma tog tu lha gnas khyer //

² Tibetan: gser gyi za ma tog tu lha gnas khyer. Pāli: suvaṇṇacaṃḡoṭavarena Vāsava.

³ Tibetan: dge sloṅ. Pāli: samaṇa.

⁴ Tibetan: rDza mkhan.

requisites of a monk¹ I will go there,' saying:

Bv-a p.284²

Three robes and bowl, razor, needle and girdle,
along with a water strainer make the eight
necessary kind of things for monks.³

Taking these eight requisites (74b) of a monk⁴ and he gave them to him.

II 45.

The departure from Channa.

The Bodhisatta dressing in the garb of the venerable⁵ and taking the requisites of the unsurpassed going forth said: 'Channa,⁶ repeat my words to my mother and father: Be of good health!' and sent him off. Channa made salutation to the Bodhisatta circumambulated him and went.

II 46.

Depositing the body of Kanthaka.

Moreover, Kanthaka, while he was standing there, heard the Bodhisatta's conversation with Channa and thought: 'I will not now meet⁷ with my lord again.' Being unable to endure the sorrow after the Bodhisatta left his view, he died from a broken heart, and was born as a god's son named Kanthaka in the Tāvātimsa heaven. For Channa being alone was the first sorrow, and secondly he was troubled and grieved due to the death of Kanthaka, because of this he went to the city weeping and wailing.

¹ Tibetan: dge sloṅ. Pāli: samaṇa.

² *Jātakanidāna* p. 65; sTog 74a; Bv-a p. 284; Dhp-a I p. 206; Thūp p. 166.

Jātakanidāna p. 65,

Ticīvaraṇī ca patto ca
vāsi sūciṇī bandhanaṃ
parissāvanena, aṭṭh' ete
yuttayogassa bhikkhuno ti.

Tibetan sTog 74a.

chos gos gsum dañ lhuñ bzed dañ / spu gri khab dañ ska rags dañ //
chu tshags dañ bcas brgyad yin no // dge sbyoñ rnam la rigs śiñ mkho //

³ Tibetan: dge sloṅ rnam la rigs śiñ mkho. Pāli: yuttayogassa bhikkhuno.

⁴ Tibetan: dge sloṅ. Pāli: samaṇa.

⁵ Tibetan: mchod par 'os pa'i rgyal mtshan. Pāli: arahaddhaja.

⁶ Tibetan: 'Dun pa. (From here on and not blon po 'dun pa.)

⁷ Tibetan: 'phrad pa. Pāli: dassana.

II 47.

Going to Rājagaha.

In the Bodhisatta's path there was a mango grove named Anūpiya,¹ he spent seven days and nights there, dwelling in the happiness of one who has gone forth. {Pā66} Then, after going on the path by foot for thirty *yojanas*, he arrived at Rājagaha² and went to each successive door for alms. Seeing the Bodhisatta's body all the inhabitants of the city were in disarray, like when Dhanpālaka³ entered Rājagaha⁴ or when Asurinda⁵ entered the city of the *devas*. (75a) The royal officials went to the king and said: 'O King, such a kind of being is collecting alms in the city, and we do not know whether he is a *deva*, human, *nāga*,⁶ *supaṇṇa* or what he is.' The king, standing on top of the palace, saw the Mahāpurisa and addressed one man: 'Go and investigate! If he is not a human then after going outside the city he will disappear. If he is a *deva* he will go into the sky. If he is a *nāga* he will go beneath the earth. If he is a human he will go and eat the food he has obtained.' The Mahāpurisa after collecting assorted foods, and knowing: 'This amount is sufficient for me,' went out of the city by the door he had entered. Sitting in the shade of mount Paṇḍava⁷ and facing east, he began eating the food. As he did so the fallacious illusion was that he intended pieces to fall from his mouth.⁸ Then, seeing this food with his own eyes, and also that it was precious, he therefore reflected on the unpleasantness of various kinds of food and made this exhortation to himself: 'Siddhattha, you have been born in a place which has various kinds of tasty food, such as many sorts of easily obtained food and drink, and three year old sweet scented rice. Seeing one who is a wearer of rubbish heap clothes⁹ thinking: 'Would I ever eat food were I also to go for alms wearing such clothes, (75b) perhaps it is like this for me now? You then went out. Who would do this now?' After making exhortation to himself in this way, he ate the food without concern. The king's man, after seeing his behaviour, went and related it to the king. The king hearing the messenger's story quickly went out of the city approached the Bodhisatta, became converted to his way of practice, and gave over all his dominions to the Bodhisatta. The Bodhisatta said: 'Mahārāja, desire for things or the desires of defilements have no meaning for me, since I went forth through a wish for unsurpassed perfect enlightenment.' The king could not influence his mind even with these kind of gifts, and he said: 'You will certainly become a Buddha, and having become Buddha make a promise that you will come to my city¹⁰ first.' This is abridged here,¹¹ and should be understood by looking at the elaboration in the *Pabbajāsutta*¹² together

¹ Tibetan: rJes su dga' ba.

² Tibetan: rGyal po'i khab.

³ Tibetan: gLañ po che nor skyon.

⁴ Tibetan: rGyal po'i khab.

⁵ Tibetan: lHa ma yin gyi dbaṅ po.

⁶ Tibetan omits. Pāli adds: *nāga*.

⁷ Tibetan: sKya bo.

⁸ Tibetan: gañ gi sgyu ma phyin ci log ste kha nas 'thon pa'i rnam par bsams par gyur to. Pāli: assa antāni parivattitvā mukhena nikkhamanākārappattāni ahesuṃ.

⁹ Tibetan: phyag dar khrod pa. Pāli: paṃsukūlika.

¹⁰ Tibetan: groñ khyer. Pāli: vijitāṃ.

¹¹ Pāli adds: "pabbajjaṃ kittayissāmi yathā pabbaji cakkhuma"

with its *Aṭṭhakathā*.¹

II 48.

Going to Ālāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta.

After the Bodhisatta gave a promise to the king he went off travelling by stages, approaching the abodes of Ālāra Kālāma² and Uddaka Rāmaputta,³ then after having produced the attainments he said: ‘This is not the path for attaining buddhahood.’ {Pā67} There was even no joy at the arising of the attainments. (76a) Wishing to exhibit his own strength and energy to the world, together with its *devas*, and intending to undertake the great exertion, he went to Uruvela thinking: ‘This is an extremely pleasant spot.’ Approaching that very spot he performed the great exertion.

II 49.

The bodhisatta remains close to the five ascetics.

There Koṇḍañña and the five other ascetics, avoiding the Bodhisatta’s abode, also wandered for alms in the villages, market towns and the royal town. Then, after he performed the great exertion for six years they said: ‘Now he will be Buddha, now he will be Buddha,’ and gradually approaching him, cleaning his dwelling and so forth, they became his attendants.

II 50.

Difficult deeds.

The Bodhisatta thought: ‘I intend to perform this difficult task to the end,’⁴ passing the day with only one sesame seed and one grain of rice, and rejecting all other food. Even those *devas* pointed to the light from each of his pores, though without food his body became emaciated, and although his body was a golden colour it became black. Even the thirty-two marks of the great person were not apparent. One day while breathing slowly he developed *jhāna*, a severe pain arose⁵ in his body and he fainted, falling on the walkway. Then one god said: ‘The ascetic Gotama⁶ has died,’ one other said: ‘When falling he attained arahatship.’ (76b) The one who said: ‘He is dead,’ went and said to the great king Suddhodana: ‘Your son

¹² Tibetan: Rab tu ’byuñ ba’i mdo.

¹ Tibetan: Don dañ gdam.

² Tibetan: Kun nas tshon dañ nag po can.

³ Tibetan: ‘Char byed gser dañ dga’ byed bu.

⁴ Tibetan: phyi ma’i mthar thug dka’ ba spyad par bsams so. Pāli: koṭipattaṃ dukkarakārikaṃ karissāmi.

⁵ Tibetan: skyes nas. Pāli: abhitunna.

⁶ Tibetan: dge sbyoñ gō ta ma, see edition for variant orthographies.

is dead,' the king asked: 'Did my son die without attaining buddhahood, or did he die after attaining it?'¹ The reply was: 'He was unable to attain buddhahood. After falling at his place of retreat² he died.' Hearing this the king rebuffed him saying: 'I do not believe it. My son would not die without attaining buddhahood,' the *deva* said: 'Why do you not believe it?' When Kāladevala was paying homage at the foot of the *jambu*³ tree he had a miraculous vision of the event.⁴ Meanwhile, the Bodhisatta regained consciousness and got up, one god went to the king and said: 'Mahārāja, your son is free from sickness,' and the king replied: 'I knew my son was not sick.'

II 51.

Difficult deeds are not the path to bodhi.

The Mahāsatta while practising asceticism for six years eating but little food, collecting alms by walking to villages and market towns, he had this thought: 'This so-called asceticism⁵ is not the path of enlightenment,' Then the thirty-two marks of a Mahāpurisa became apparent, and his body became a golden colour.

II 52.

The bodhisatta's exertions with the five ascetics.

The group of five monks said: 'Despite his six years of asceticism he has not obtained omniscience. {Pā68} How will he be able to now, after collecting (77a) alms at villages and elsewhere, then taking the food away he eats it, savouring the flavour. He is mistaken in his asceticism, desiring to wash his body,⁶ as if it had imaginary spots, by pouring water into each individual hair pore of his body.⁷ How can we remain in this place with this imaginary idea of his?' Taking their own robes and bowls they abandoned the Mahāpurisa, and after going along the path for eighty *yojanas*, they stayed at Isipatana⁸ grove.

¹ Tibetan: bdag gi sras sañs rgyas ma thob par dus las 'das sam // thob nas dus las 'das. Pāli: Mamma putto Buddhō hutvā kālakato ahutvā.

² Tibetan: dka' ba spyod pa'i gnas. Pāli: padhānabhūmi.

³ Tibetan: 'dzam bu. Pāli: jambu.

⁴ Tibetan: cho 'phrul mthoñ ba'i rgyu mtshan ñid kyis so. Pāli: pāṭihāriyānaṃ diṭṭhattā.

⁵ Tibetan: dka' thub spyod pa. Pāli: dukkarakāriya.

⁶ Tibetan: lus. Pāli: sīsa.

⁷ Tibetan: lus kyi ba spu re re'i sgor chu źugs nas 'dod pa'i thig ler gyur pa dañ mtshuñs so. Pāli: ussāvabindutakkaṇaṃ

⁸ Tibetan: Drañ sroñ lhuñ ba'i tshal.

II 53.

Sujātā's gift of milk.

At that time a girl named Sujātā,¹ who was born in the landlord's house within Senāni's² village at Uruvela,³ was in the prime of youth. She made an aspiration at a *nigrodha* tree:⁴ 'If I go to the house of a caste of equal status, I will have a superior birth. If I obtain a son I will make an annual offering, worth one hundred thousand, to him.', and she fulfilled her aspiration. When the Mahāsatta had completed his asceticism, at the end of six years, she wished to make offering to him in the middle of the last month of spring.⁵ Prior to that she milked the milk of a thousand cows, who had fed on licorice in the Latṭhimadhu⁶ grove, and then gave it to five hundred of the cows. Milking those cows she gave it to two hundred and fifty of the cows. Then after milking sixteen of those cows she gave it to eight of the cows. She boiled the milk until it had the thickness, sweetness and pure colour for her desired aspiration. Then on the morning of the day of the middle of the last month of spring she thought: 'I intend to perform the act of offering,' so the cowherd⁷ rose at dawn and went to milk the eight cows. Though she did not go near the calves teats, but only placed a new bowl under the cows' teats, and filled the bowl with a stream of milk in her usual way.⁸ Seeing this marvel Sujātā carried the milk with her own hand, and poured it into the new bowl, making a fire with her own hands she began to cook it. When boiling the milk much froth appeared, and although there was only a single spoon stirring it in a clockwise direction, it did not overflow onto the ground, there was not even a wisp of smoke in the hearth. Then the four Lokapāla⁹ *devas* came and guarded the hearth. Mahābrahma bore the parasol, Sakka lit fires as needed. Then the *devas* gathered that nutritious essence,¹⁰ each through their own power, required by the *devas* and men of the four great continents, that are surrounded by two thousand islands, and placed it there. Although the men acted likewise the *devas* later added a nutritious essence¹¹ with each piece of food. Furthermore, they also put this in the bowl on the day of enlightenment and on the day of the *parinibbāna*. On that day {Pā69} Sujātā herself became radiant and seeing these numerous wonders addressed her slave Puṇṇā¹²: 'Puṇṇā, our *devas* are extremely pleased today, (78a) I have not seen great wonders such as this for some time. Go quickly and clean the shrine of the *devas* thoroughly!' The slave, understanding the words of the noble lady, replied: 'Very well,' and quickly went to the foot of the tree. Also on that night the Bodhisatta saw five great dreams and reflected thus: 'Without doubt I will become a Buddha today,' strengthening

¹ Tibetan: Legs skyes ma.

² Tibetan: sDe can.

³ Tibetan: lTeñ rgyas.

⁴ Tibetan: nya gro ddha'i śiñ gcig don du gñer to. Pāli: nigrodharukkhe patthanaṃ akāsi.

⁵ Tibetan: dpyid zla tha chuñ gi ña. Pāli: Visākhapuṇṇamā.

⁶ Tibetan: Śiñ dñar.

⁷ Tibetan: ba 'jo mkhan. Pāli: tā.

⁸ Tibetan: rañ gi chos ñid. Pāli: attano dhammatāya.

⁹ Tibetan: 'jig rten skyoñ ba.

¹⁰ Tibetan: ji ltar rigs pa'i mdañs rñams. Pāli: upakappanaojam.

¹¹ Tibetan: mdañs. Pāli: oja.

¹² Tibetan: rDzogs ma.

his intention. After passing the night there and cleansing his body,¹ at the coming of dawn, he went for alms. Sitting in front of the *nya gro dha*² tree he caused the entire tree to be illuminated by his own radiance. Then Puṇṇā³ came and saw the Bodhisatta at the foot of the tree looking to the eastern world system, and she also saw all the tree a golden colour due to the light coming from the light rays in his body. She thought: ‘Our god has descended onto this tree today and sits here to take the offering with his own hand.’ Thinking this she became overjoyed, and going quickly she related these events to Sujātā. Hearing her tale Sujātā became elated saying: ‘Starting from today remain in the position of my chief daughter!’ and gave all appropriate adornments to the daughter. Because it is proper to acquire a golden plate, worth one hundred thousand, on the night of obtaining complete buddhahood she therefore had the idea of pouring the milk porridge into the large golden bowl. Taking the large golden bowl, worth one (78b) hundred thousand, and tilting the mouth of it, she poured the boiled milk porridge inside.⁴ All the milk porridge became as a single drop of water, like the water within the petals of a lotus, and appeared⁵ in the golden bowl. It was just the amount to fill one golden bowl and she covered the golden bowl with another golden bowl before wrapping it with cloth. Sujātā then decorated her entire body with ornaments, and put the golden bowl on her head. Then with great majesty she went to the foot of the *nigrodha* tree and seeing the Bodhisatta became extremely elated. Thinking: ‘Is it the god of the tree?’ she went bending and stooping in the presence of such a sight. Putting down the golden bowl that was on her head, she opened it, and after taking perfumed water with a golden gourd bottle she approached the Bodhisatta and stood there. The clay bowl given by Mahābrahma Ghaṭikāra,⁶ although not yet abandoned then by the Bodhisatta, immediately became invisible. The Bodhisatta, not seeing the bowl, stretched out his right hand and accepted the water. Sujātā then put the bowl containing the milk porridge into the Mahāpurisa’s hand and the Mahāpurisa regarded Sujātā. She, recognising his appearance, made salutation saying: ‘Noble one, take my gift and go as you wish,’ she continued: ‘Just as my wish is fulfilled, {Pā70} so let this intention of yours also (79a) be fulfilled!’ Then without regarding the great golden bowl, worth one hundred thousand, as if it were an old leaf from a tree, she departed.

II 54.

The bodhisatta’s enjoyment of the milk.

The Bodhisatta rising from his seat, circumambulated the tree, and taking the golden bowl went to the bank of the Nerañjara⁷ river. Many numberless thousands of bodhisattas alighted, on the night of perfect

¹ Tibetan: sku’i byi dor mdzad nas. Pāli: katasarīrapaṭijaggana.

² Pali omits.

³ Tibetan: rDzogs ma.

⁴ Tibetan: ’o thug btsos pa’i nañ du kha spub nas blug go. Pāli: tattha pāyasaṃ pakkhipitukāmā pakkabhājanam āvajjesi.

⁵ Tibetan: gser gyi sder du byuñ ño. Pāli: pātiyaṃ patitṭhāsi.

⁶ Tibetan: Groggs po rdza mkhan tshañs pa chen po.

⁷ Tibetan: Nai ra ñdza na.

enlightenment, at the bathing place named Suppatiṭṭhita¹ ghat. Alighting on the bank, and putting down his bowl, he bathed. Many thousands of Buddhas after putting on the ascetic's garb² and sitting facing the east, making forty nine balls each one of which was equal to the size of one seed of a tāla³ tree fruit, ate all the sweet milk porridge that had little water in it. So, when whoever becomes Buddha sits on the seat of enlightenment for forty-nine days, there will be food for forty-nine days. He passed those days and nights there without other food, without bathing, without rinsing the mouth,⁴ without bodily activity, with the bliss of absorption, the bliss of the path and the bliss of the fruit.

II 55.

The golden bowl going against the current.

Furthermore, after eating the milk porridge he took the golden bowl in his hand saying: 'If it is possible that I become a Buddha today, let this bowl go against the flow of the water. If not let it go with the flow!' he cast it into the water. (79b) Controlling the current of the river it went to the middle of the river, going against the current for just eighty cubits like a swift horse goes to the spot in the middle. Turning once on the river it sank, going to the dwelling of the *nāga* king Kāla.⁵ Then the large golden bowl, which had held milk enjoyed by three Buddhas, made a chinking⁶ sound and remained at one side at the lowest point of all. Kāla king of the *nāgas* heard that noise and thinking: 'Yesterday someone attained buddhahood and today also buddhahood has been attained,⁷ and he made many utterances of praise.⁸

II 56.

The ascent to the seat of bodhi.

The Bodhisatta resided for one day in the grove of *sāla* trees on the bank of the river. Then adorned by the *devas* in the evening, when the *ku mu da ka*⁹ flowers bloom, he roared like a lion to create a path measuring eight *usabha*¹⁰ in width¹¹ and departed in the direction of the *bodhi* tree. The *nāgas*, *yakkhas*,

¹ Tibetan: Legs par rab tu gnas pa'i mu gnas.

² Tibetan: na bza' dañ mchod par 'os pa gyon nas. Pāli: nivāsanam arahaddhajaṃ nivāsetvā.

³ Tibetan: ta la. Pāli: tāla, E. Palmyra palm; *Borassus flabellifer* L., Palmae, see J. Liyanaratne, "South Asian Flora as reflected in the Twelfth-Century Pāli Lexicon Abhidhānappadīpikā", *JPTS*, 20, 1994, pp. 79-81.

⁴ Tibetan: žal sol ba med pa. Pāli: na mukhadhovanam.

⁵ Tibetan: Nag po.

⁶ Tibetan: sil sil. Pāli: kili kili.

⁷ Tibetan: kha sañ sañs rgyas gcig thob par gyur ciñ / slar yañ de riñ sañs rgyas ñid thob par gyur nas. Pāli: hiyyo eko Buddho nibbatti, puna ajja eko nibbatta.

⁸ Tibetan omits. Pāli: Tassa pana mahāpaṭhaviyā ekayojanatigāvutappamāṇam nabham pūretvā ārohanakālo ajja vā hiyyo vā ti sadiso ahosi.

⁹ Pāli omits.

¹⁰ Tibetan: glañ gi skad.

¹¹ Tibetan: žen la glañ gi skad brgyad kyis thos pa'i tshad du lam byed pa la señ ge bzin du sgra

supaṇṇas and others made offerings with divine scents, flowers, with divine songs, and so forth. The entire ten thousand fold world system was perfumed, garlanded with flowers and gave approval saying: ‘So be it!’

II 57.

Sotthiya the grass carrier.

On that occasion Sotthiya¹ the grass carrier, having taken some grass, was coming on the path in the opposite direction, he recognised² the figure of the Mahāpurisa and gave him eight handfuls of grass. The Bodhisatta having taken it, {Pā71} mounted the seat of enlightenment, that was in the southern region, (80a) and sat facing north. Immediately the southern sphere³ proceeded to sink,⁴ as if it was below the Avīci hell, then the southern sphere⁵ proceeded to rise⁶ as if it was above the peak of existence. The Bodhisatta thought: ‘This is not the place for attaining perfect enlightenment,’ after making circumambulation he went in the direction of the west, and sat facing the east. Then the western sphere⁷ proceeded to sink down low, as if it was below the Avīci hell, then the eastern sphere⁸ began to rise, as if it was above the peak of existence. The Bodhisatta, seated in his place of sitting, then stepped on the edge of the rim, and the great earth began to rise and fall⁹ like the wheel on the axle of a great chariot. The Bodhisatta thought: ‘This is not the place for the attainment of enlightenment,’ made circumambulation then went in the northern direction and sat facing the south. Then the northern sphere¹⁰ sank into the earth, as if it was below the Avīci¹¹ hell, then the northern sphere¹² rose upwards as if it was above the peak of existence. The Bodhisatta thought: ‘This is not the place for attaining enlightenment,’ made circumambulation then went in the eastern direction, and sat facing west. Furthermore, all the Buddhas sit crosslegged, in the eastern region, without trembling and without moving. The Bodhisatta thought: ‘This (80b) is the unshakable abode that is not abandoned by all the Buddhas,’ he grasped the tips of that grass and spread it, immediately his seat became forty cubits high. That grass being of such a type did not remain as if it was standing, just like the form painted as a picture by skilled painters, so the Bodhisatta having rested his back on the trunk of the *bodhi* tree faced east.¹³ Becoming steadfast in mind he thought:

bsgrags nas. Pāli: aṭṭhūsabhavitthārena maggena sīho va vijambhamāno.

¹ Tibetan: rTswa ’tshoñ bkra śis.

² Tibetan: rtogs nas. Pāli: ñatvā.

³ Tibetan: khor yug. Pāli: cakkavāla.

⁴ Tibetan: byiñ na ’gro ba. Pāli: osīditvā.

⁵ Tibetan: khor yug. Pāli: cakkavāla.

⁶ Tibetan: lañs nas ’gro ba. Pāli: ullamghitvā.

⁷ Tibetan: khor yug. Pāli: cakkavāla.

⁸ Tibetan: khor yug. Pāli: cakkavāla.

⁹ Tibetan: byiñ žiñ byiñ nas ’gro bar gyur te. Pāli: onatunnatā ahoṣi.

¹⁰ Tibetan: khor yug. Pāli: cakkavāla.

¹¹ Tibetan: mNar med.

¹² Tibetan: khor yug. Pāli: cakkavāla.

¹³ Tibetan: de yañ de lta bu’i tshul gyis ji ltar bžag pa de bžin du mi gnas so // ji ltar gzugs la mkhas

‘Even should my skin, sinews, bone, blood and flesh dry up I will not move my body from this seat without attaining perfect enlightenment.’¹ Although a hundred lightning bolts descended they did not split it, and he sat on the seat without being molested by enemies.²

II 58.

The defeat of Māra.

At that time Māra, son of the *devas*, thought: ‘The young Siddhatha now wishes to take my power but I will not give him the ability to surpass me.’ He went towards Māra’s army,³ proclaimed this matter with the voice of Māra, and leading⁴ Māra’s army departed. Then Māra’s army⁵ were contained in a space reaching twelve *yojanas* in front of Māra, and the same distance on his right and left, while behind him they reached as far as the world system, and above him for a height of nine *yojanas*. The noise of that assembly’s hubbub, {Pā72} being like the bursting of the earth, was heard for a distance of one thousand *yojanas*. (81a) Then Māra, son of the *devas*, mounted the great elephant called Girimekhala,⁶ that measured a hundred and fifty *yojanas*, and created one thousand hands holding various weapons. Furthermore, no two companions of Māra’s assembly held two similar types of weapon and they went, all having different coloured forms and faces, with the purpose of defeating the Mahāsatta.

II 59.

The devas stood uttering praises.

The *devas* of the ten thousand fold world system stood making praises to the Mahāsatta while Sakka king of the *devas* stood blowing the conch of supreme victory⁷ which was one hundred and twenty cubits long. After blowing it gracefully, and uninterruptedly, for four months he then ceased.⁸ Mahākāla⁹ king of the *nāgas* stood making many hundreds of praises and Mahābrahma stood holding a white parasol.

pa'i ri mo byed pa nams kyis ri mo bris pa bzin du byañ chub sems dpas byañ chub śiñ gi sdoñ po la sku rgyab brten par byas nas źal śar du mñon du phyogs par mdzad do. Pāli: Tāni pi kho tiñāni tathārūpena saññānena saññahiṃsu yathārūpaṃ sukusalo pi cittakāro vā poṭṭhakāro vā ālikhituṃ pi samattho n' atthi. Bodhisatto bodhikhandhaṃ piṭṭhito katvā purathimābhimukho.

¹ Tibetan: bdag gi pags pa dañ / rgyus pa dañ / rus pa dañ / khrag pa dañ / śa nams bskams par gyur kyañ yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i sañs rgyas ma thob bar du ni stan 'di las lus bskyod par mi bya'o. Pāli: kāmaṃ taco ca nahāru ca aṭṭhi ca avasussatu, upasussatu sarīre maṃsalohitaṃ, na tv-eva sammāsambodhiṃ appatvā imaṃ pallaṃkaṃ bhindissāmi.

² Tibetan: thog brgya phrag babs kyañ mi phyed ciñ pha rol gyis mi tshugs par stan la skyil kruñ gis bźugs so. Pāli: asanisatasannipātanāpi abhejjarūpaṃ aparājitapallaṃkaṃ ābhujitvā nisīdi.

³ Tibetan: bDud kyi dmag. Pāli: Mārabala.

⁴ Tibetan: khrid de. Pāli: ādāya.

⁵ Tibetan: bDud kyi dmag. Pāli: Mārasenā.

⁶ Tibetan: Ri'i 'og pag.

⁷ Tibetan: rNam par rgyal ba bla na med pa'i duñ. Pāli: Vijayuttarasamkha.

⁸ Tibetan: gal te legs par bus na zla ba bzi'i bar bu rgyun mi 'chad ciñ de nas rgyun 'chad do. Pāli: vātaṃ gāhāpetvā dhamanto cattāro māse saddaṃ karitvā nissaddo hoti.

II 60.

The flight of the *devas*.

Moreover, when Māra's army approached the seat of enlightenment those *devas* were each unable to stand, and they went fleeing to their own dwellings. Kāla, king of the *nāgas*, plunged into the earth going to the abode of the *nāga* Mañjerika,¹ which was five hundred *yojanas* down, then covering his face with both hands he slept. Putting Sakka's conch of supreme victory² on its back he stood on top of the world system.³ After putting the white parasol on top of the world system, Mahābrahma went to the Brahma world. It was impossible for even a single *deva* to stand there, but the Mahāpurisa sat as if in solitude. (81b)

II 61.

The reflection of the *pāramīs* seen by the bodhisatta.

Māra said to his own assembly: 'My sons, there is no other person like Siddhattha, the son of Suddhodana, due to which I am unable to do battle before him, so I will fight behind him.' Although the Mahāsatta looked in three directions he saw them to be empty since all the *devas* had fled. However, looking in the northern direction he saw Māra's armies coming in order to conquer him and he thought: 'This multitude of armies are coming to this place with great zeal in order to conquer me alone, since my mother, father, brother or any other relative are not here. However, since I am accustomed to the ten perfections, as if delighting in kinsmen over a long period, I will therefore, make a shield of the ten perfections and striking with the sword of those perfections it is fitting that I conquer those groups of armies with it,' and he sat reflecting on the ten perfections.

II 62.

The rising of the nine hosts of Māra.

Then Māra, son of the *devas*, said: 'Siddhattha will flee immediately,' and came from a nearby whirlwind. Immediately the whirlwind, which had arisen in the eastern direction came, and reaching the top of the mountain that measured one hundred and fifty *yojanas*,⁴ {Pā73} tearing up the thick shrubs there. It was also able to pulverise all the (82a) villages and market towns into dust, dispersing the power of the Mahāpurisa's radiant merit. Having gone in front of the Bodhisatta it was unable to shake even the edge of his upper robe. Then Māra thought: 'Having come with water in order to subdue him, and with the

⁹ Tibetan: Nag po chen po.

¹ Tibetan: sÑe ma can.

² Tibetan: rNam par rgyal ba bla na med pa'i duñ. Pāli: Vijayuttarasamkha.

³ Tibetan: khor yug gi steñ du. Pāli: cakkavālamukhavatṭiyam.

intention to kill him,' heavy rain fell and remained there. Through its power, gathering many hundreds and thousands of stacked up clouds that rained down torrents, and the earth was riven by the force of the falling rain. The mass of clouds came and rained on the forest grove and trees, but were unable to wet the Mahāsatta even with a single drop of water. Then sending a rain of stones, like a great mass of smoking and burning mountains coming from the sky, which after arriving in front of the Bodhisatta fell as bunches of divine flowers. After that he sent a rain of weapons, single edged, double edged, swords, javelins, knives,¹ and various other weapons, that came from the sky smoking and burning, which after arriving in front of the Bodhisatta became divine flowers. Then sending a rain of charcoal, the colour of red flowers², that came from the sky but which became divine flowers after falling at the feet of the Bodhisatta. After that he sent a rain of ashes, the colour of a white hot fire, that came from the sky (82b) but which fell at the feet of the Bodhisatta like a rain of sandalwood³ dust. Then sending a rain of very fine sand which came from the sky smoking and flaming but which became like divine powder⁴ after raining down at the feet of the Bodhisatta. After that he sent a rain of mud that came from the sky smoking and flaming, but which rained down as divine ointment at the feet of the Bodhisatta. Māra then thought: 'In this way, by making him frightened, I will cause Siddhattha to flee,' and made him dwell in darkness.⁵ That darkness, that had four aspects,⁶ arrived in the Bodhisatta's presence but vanished, like darkness overcome by the rays of the sun.

II 63.

The attainment of a throne.

In that way Māra made these nine rains fall namely: wind, rain, stone, weapons, charcoal, ashes, sand, mud and darkness, but was unable to make the Bodhisatta flee. He, addressing his assemblies, said: 'I say,⁷ why do you remain here? Seize this youth, cast him out and make him flee!' Riding on the back of Girimekhala,⁸ his own great elephant, after taking the wheel weapon he approached the Bodhisatta's presence and said: 'Siddhattha, arise from this seat! This is inappropriate for you but is appropriate for me' The Bodhisatta heard his words and replied: 'Māra, since you (83a) have not perfected the ten perfections, nor the minor perfections,⁹ nor made the five great renunciations, nor practised for the sake of knowledge,¹⁰ nor practised for the sake of the world,¹¹ and since you have not completed the practice of a

⁴ Tibetan: dpag tshad phyed dan / yañ gñis la sogs pa. Pāli: aḍḍhayanadvijoyanatiyojanappamāṇa.

¹ Tibetan: spu gri. Pāli: khurappa.

² Tibetan: rgya skyegs kyi me tog gi kha dog can. Pāli: kiṃsukavaṇṇā aṅgārā.

³ Tibetan: tsan dan. Pāli: candana.

⁴ Tibetan: phye ma. Pāli: puppha.

⁵ Tibetan: mun pa ñe bar gnas par bya'o. Pāli: andhakāraṃ samuṭṭhāpesi.

⁶ Tibetan: yan lag bzi dan ldan pa. Pāli: caturaṅgasamannāgata.

⁷ Tibetan: brjod ciñ. Pāli: bhaye.

⁸ Tibetan: Ri'i 'og pag.

⁹ Tibetan: ñe ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa. Pāli: upapārami.

¹⁰ Tibetan: gñen gyi don du spyod pa med pa. Pāli: na ñāṇattha cari.

Buddha, this seat is not suitable for you, {Pā74} but is only suitable for me.’ Māra became angry, unable to endure the power of this anger he threw the wheel weapon at the Mahāpurisa. While he sat reflecting on the ten perfections it was as if a canopy of flower garlands spread over him, and Māra became enraged, throwing another ¹wheel weapon that split thick stone and a thick stone pillar². Furthermore, while he sat covered by a canopy of flowers the remainder of Māra’s assemblies thought: ‘Now he rises from his seat intending to go,’³ and they threw a great heap of rocks at him but, while the Mahāpurisa sat reflecting on the ten perfections, they fell on the ground like bunches of flowers. Those *devas* who stood at the edge of the world system raised their necks and looked, then raised their heads and looking thought: ‘What action is the youth Siddhattha, who has attained the highest form, intending or thinking.’⁴ Then the Mahāpurisa said: ‘The seat which those bodhisattas, who have perfected the perfections, attained on the day of complete enlightenment is fitting for me,’ (83b) and while standing he said to Māra: ‘Māra, who is the witness of your gift?’ Māra replied: ‘All these here are my witnesses,’ stretching his hand out to his armies. Immediately Māra’s assemblies gave out a shout: ‘I am witness ,and I also am witness,’ letting out a shout liken to the rending of the earth. Then Māra said to the Mahāpurisa: ‘Siddhattha, who is witness to the event of your presenting a gift?’ the Mahāpurisa replied: ‘Each one of you is the conscious witness to the event of presenting a gift. Moreover, since there is nobody who is the conscious witness for you in this place, but I have this unconscious, solid great earth as witness to the occurrence of giving of seven hundred and seven great gifts, from my existence in the body of Vessantara up to my giving of gifts at the end of life.’⁵ and drawing his right hand from beneath his robes said, while stretching out his hand towards the great earth.: ‘Are you or are you not witness to the occurrence of my giving seven hundred and seven⁶ gifts during my existence as Vessantara? Speak!’ The great earth, letting out a roar, with a hundred roars, with a thousand roars, and with one hundred thousand great roars said: ‘I was then the witness,’ and so overcame the shouting of Māra’s army. (84a)

II 64.

The flight of Māra’s host.

¹¹ Tibetan: ’jig rten gyi don spyod pa med pa. Pāli: na lokatthacariyā.

¹ Pāli adds: khuradhāra.

² Tibetan: rdo ba ’thug po ’am / rdo ba thug po’i ka ba ’bugs śiñ ’gro ba’o. Pāli: ekaghanapāsāṇe thambe vaṃsakalire viya chindantaṃ gacchati.

³ Tibetan: ’gro bar bsams nas. Pāli: palāyissati.

⁴ Tibetan: Don grub g’zon nu mchog gi sku’i bdag ñid ñams sam sñam nas ci byed na. Pāli: nāñiho vata bho Siddhatthakumārassa rūpaggapatto attabhāvo, kin nu kho karissati.

⁵ Tibetan: bdag ñid kyis skye ba’i mthar sbyin pa btañ ba de srid gnas pa thams cad sgrol gyi lus kyī bdag ñid la gnas nas sbyin pa chen po bdun brya pa bdun byin pa’i dños po la sems med pa’i sa g’zi chen po ’thug po ’di dpañ po yin no. Pāli: tiṭṭhatu tāva me avasesattabhāvesu dinnadānaṃ, Vessantarattabhāve pana ṭhatvā sattasatakamahādānassa tāva dinnabhāve ayaṃ acetanāpi ghanamahāpaṭhavī sakkhī.

Then the Mahāpurisa, while remembering the giving of Vessantara thought: ‘Siddhattha, your giving of the great gift is the supreme giving.’ and the great elephant Girimekhala, who was one hundred and fifty *yojanas* tall, touched the earth with his knees then stood there. Māra’s assemblies fled in all directions, no two of them going the same way, abandoning at once their diadems and clothes, they fled each to their own path. Then those groups of *devas* seeing Māra’s flight thought: {Pā75} ‘Since Māra has been defeated, and the youth Siddhattha is the victor, we should pay homage to the victor.’ The *nāga* exhorted¹ the *nāgas*, the *supaṇṇa* to the *supaṇṇas*, the *deva* to the *devas*, and *brahma* exhorted the *brahmas*. They took scents and flower garlands in their hands, and approached the Mahāpurisa who was sitting cross legged in front of the *bodhi* tree. So Māra and his army fled.²

Unidentified verses³

⁶ Tibetan: bdun brgya pa bdun. Pāli: sattasataka.

¹ Tibetan: bskul lo. Pāli: pesetvā.

² Tibetan: de ltar bdud rnam bro nas soñ ño. Pāli: Evaṃ gatesu ca pana tesu.

³ *Jātakanidāna* p. 75; sTog 84a/b; Ap-a p. 80.

“Jayo hi Buddhassa sirimato ayaṃ
Mārassa ca pāpimato parājayo”,
ugghosayum bodhimaṇḍe pamoditā
jayaṃ tadā nāgagaṇā Mahesino.

dpal ldan sañs rgyas rgyal bar gyur // sdig can bdud ni pham par gyur //
rab dga’ byañ chub sñiñ por sgrogs // de tshe drañ sroñ klu tshogs rgyal //

“Jayo hi Buddhassa sirimato ayaṃ
Mārassa ca pāpimato parājayo”,
ugghosayum bodhimaṇḍe pamoditā
supaṇṇasamghāpi jayaṃ Mahesino.

dpal ldan sañs rgyas rgyal bar gyur // sdig can bdud ni pham par gyur //
rab dga’ byañ chub sñiñ por sgrogs // ’dab bzañ tshogs kyi drañ sroñ rgyal //

“Jayo hi Buddhassa sirimato ayaṃ
Mārassa ca pāpimato parājayo”,
ugghosayum bodhimaṇḍe pamoditā
jayaṃ tadā devagaṇā Mahesino.

dpal ldan sañs rgyas rgyal bar gyur // sdig can bdud ni pham par gyur //
rab dga’ byañ chub sñiñ por sgrogs // lha tshogs de tshe drañ sroñ rgyal //

“Jayo hi Buddhassa sirimato ayaṃ
Mārassa ca pāpimato parājayo”,
ugghosayum bodhimaṇḍe pamoditā
jayaṃ tadā brahmagaṇāpi tādino.

‘The glorious Buddha became victor
and the evil Māra was defeated.’
was the joyful proclamation of the *nāgas* at the seat of enlightenment
when the great sage was victorious.

‘The glorious Buddha became victor
and the evil Māra was defeated.’
was the joyful proclamation of the groups of *supaṇṇas* at the seat of enlightenment
at the victory of the great sage.

‘The glorious Buddha became victor
and the evil Māra (84b) was defeated.’
was the joyful proclamation of the groups of *devas* at the seat of enlightenment
when the great sage was victorious.

‘The glorious Buddha became victor
and the evil Māra was defeated.’
was the joyful proclamation the groups of *brahmas* at the seat of enlightenment,
then proclaimed the victory.

The remaining *devas* of the ten thousand fold world system paid homage to him with scents, balms and so forth, sang praises of various kinds and stood there.

II 65.

The attainment of perfect bodhi.

Then by sunset the Mahāpurisa had conquered Māra’s army,¹ and religious robes, like sprouting leaves, descended onto the *bodhi* tree as if making homage with red coral.² During the first watch of the night he understood by means of knowledge recollecting former births, during the middle watch of the night he obtained knowledge by means of the purified divine eye, and during the last watch of the night he obtained knowledge of dependent origination. Then he called to mind the twelve conditions of dependent origination, remembering them in forward and reverse, and with the flow and against the flow. Then the ten thousand fold world system shook twelve times as far as the ocean’s edge. At the rising of the sun the Mahāpurisa gave a great roar throughout the ten thousand fold world system as he attained knowledge of omniscience,³ {Pā76} and the entire ten thousand fold world system became adorned. On the top fringes⁴

dpal ldan sañs rgyas rgyal bar gyur // sdiḡ can bdud ni pham par gyur //
rab dga’ byañ chub sñiñ por sgrogs // tshañs tshogs de tshe rgyal bar sgrogs //

¹ Tibetan: dBud mam pa. Pāli: Mārabala.

² Tibetan: byu ru dmar pos. Pāli: rattapavāḷadalehi.

³ Tibetan: thams cad mkhyen pa’i ye śes. Pāli: sabbaññūtāñāṇa.

⁴ Tibetan: śar phyogs kyi khor yug gi steñ du rgyal mtshan dañ ba dañ btsugs pa’i śam bus. Pāli:

of the eastern world system flags and banners were raised which also appeared on top of the western world system. Similarly, the flags and banners raised on the edge of the western world system also appeared (85a) on top of the eastern world system. The flags and banners raised on top of the northern world system appeared on top of the southern world system, and the flags and banners raised on top of the southern world system appeared on top of the northern world system. The flags and banners which arose from the earth appeared in the Brahmaloaka, and the flags and banners which were attached to the Brahmaloaka appeared on top of the earth, while the flowers on the flowering trees in the ten thousand world systems blossomed, and there was much fruit on the fruit trees.¹ The flowers of the lotus stalks on the tree trunks blossomed, as did the flowers of the lotus stems on the tree branches, and the flowers of the lotus runners on the tree creepers while lotus flowers hung down from the sky. Boring into the surface of the rock they were seven times seven one above the other, the lotus flowers² that were continually produced hung down. The ten thousand world systems were likened to sublime seats of flowers, while for eight thousand *yojanas* in between the world systems and the worlds even the rays of seven suns were scarce being unable to shine any light there, but those dark areas in between became instantly illuminated. The great ocean, eighty-four thousand *yojanas* deep, became sweet water and the rivers stopped flowing. The eyes of the blind saw forms, the ears of the deaf heard sounds, walking by the lame (85b) was known, those beings who were fettered became free of fetters. In this way, through limitless splendour the honoured and miraculous Dhamma arose, comprehending the knowledge of omniscience, he uttered the exclamation proclaimed by all the Buddhas.

Dhp 153³

All the beings of *samsāra* seek the absence of evil in that without evil.
When seeking homelessness, there is the repeated suffering of rebirth.

Pācīnacakkavālamukkhavaṭṭiyaṃ ussāpitānaṃ dhajānaṃ paṭākānaṃ ramsiyo.

¹ Tibetan: 'bras bu'i śiñ la 'bras bu mañ por gyur to. Pāli: phalūparukkhā phalapiṇḍibhārabharitā ahesuṃ.

² Tibetan: pad ma'i me tog. Pāli: daṇḍakapaduma.

³ The Tibetan verse is not fully equivalent to the Pāli, there has been some kind of mistranslation in the Tibetan text. *Jātakanidāna* p. 76; sTog 85a; Dhp 153; Uv 31.6; Ap-a p. 81; Dhp-a III p. 127; Bv-a pp. 8, 133, 143, 289; Dhs-a p. 18; Sv I p. 16; Sv II p. 463.

Jātakanidāna p. 76,

anekajātisamsāraṃ /
sandhāvissaṃ anibbisam
gahakāraṃ gavesanto /
dukkhā jāti punappunam.

Tibetan sTog 85b.

skye bo'i 'khor ba ma lus par // dug med rnam par dug med tshol //
khyim med pa ni tshol ba na // skye ba'i sdug bsñal yañ yañ dañ //

Udānavarga 31. 6.

anekaṃ jātisamsāraṃ / sandhāvitvā punaḥ punaḥ /
gṛhakāraikaṣamāṇas tvam / duḥkhā jātiḥ punaḥ punaḥ //

Dhp 154¹

Seeing the homeless state there is no building of the house again,
overcoming all those sufferings, destroying the house named as poison.
The mind is void of volitions, craving is exhausted, so there will be no more.

{Pā77} The recent era, beginning from the dwelling in the Tusita² palace, up to the place of his attainment of omniscience on the seat of enlightenment, is finished.

¹ Again this verse is somewhat problematic in the Tibetan, as in the case of the previous verse. *Jātakanidāna* p. 76; sTog 85b; Dhp 154; Uv. 31.7; Ap-a p. 81; Dhs-a p. 18; Bv-a pp. 8, 133, 143, 289; Dhp-a III p.128; Khp p. 13; Sv I p. 16; Sv II p. 463.

Jātakanidāna p. 76,

gahakāraka diṭṭho si
puna gehaṃ na kāhasi,
sabbā te phāsukā bhaggā
gahakūṭaṃ viṣaṃkhitaṃ,
viṣaṃkhāragataṃ cittaṃ
taṇhānaṃ khayam ajjhaṅgā ti.

Tibetan sTog 85b,

khyim med pa ni mthoñ bar gyur // slar yañ khyim ni byed pa med //
de yi sdug bsñal thams cad bcom // dug gi miñ can khyim gyi phuñ //
sems ni 'du byed pa las grol // sred pa zad nas med par gyur //

Udānavarga 31. 7,

gṛhakāraka dṛṣṭo 'si / na punar gehaṃ kariṣyasi /
sarve te pārśukā bhagnā / gṛhakuṭaṃ viṣaṃskṛtaṃ /
viṣaṃskāragate citte / ihaiva kṣayaṃ adhyagāḥ //

² Tibetan: dGa' ldan.

The Present Era.¹

III 1.

It is said regarding the present era: ‘The Bhagavan stayed in Sāvatti at Jeta grove, in Anāthapiṇḍika’s park, dwelling at the peaked pavilion² in the great wood of Vesāli.’³ It is also said: ‘He dwelled in this and that place, obtaining this and that state.’ Whatever is said concerning this era should be understood in this way from the outset.

III 2.

The seven weeks.

1. The throne of victory.

While seated the Bhagavan uttered an exclamation, and this thought occurred to him: ‘After the elapse of four immeasurable aeons and more than one hundred thousand aeons, (86a) at these times and for the sake of this seat,⁴ I cut my adorned head from my bejewelled neck⁵ presenting it as a gift, I then gave my good eyes and after cutting the flesh of my heart presented it as a gift to the son, who was like the young Jāli,⁶ and also presented it as a gift to the daughter, who was like the young Kaṇhājina,⁷ and presented it as a gift for the sake of those other wives who were like queen Maddi.⁸ This is my seat it is the seat of victory, the supreme seat. Seated on this I have fulfilled all my intentions,⁹ and I will not rise from this seat for some time.’ He sat there for seven days acquiring many hundreds of thousands of *koṭis* of attainments. Due to which he is called Buddha,¹⁰ ‘Then he sat on one seat for seven days, seated there experiencing the joy of liberation.’

III 3.

2. Looking with unblinking eyes.

Furthermore, some *devas* had the thought: ‘Siddhattha surely still has duties to perform, since he has not

¹ The Santikenidāna: Tibetan sTog folios 85b-105a; Pāli pp. 77-90.

² Tibetan: khañ pa brtsegs pa. Pāli: kūṭāgārasālā.

³ Tibetan: Yañs pa can.

⁴ Tibetan: skyil kruñ bcas pa ’d’i ched du dus ’di rnams la. Pāli: imassa pallaṅkassa kāraṇā sandhaviṃ.

⁵ Tibetan: bdag gi mgo rgyan gyis brgyan pa’i mgrin pa nas brgegs te. Pāli: alaṅkatasisaṃ gīvāya chinditvā.

⁶ Tibetan: g’zon nu Dra ba ’dzin.

⁷ Tibetan: Kriṣṇa dzi na’i g’zon nu ma.

⁸ Tibetan: lha mo Ma kri.

⁹ Tibetan: bsams thams cad. Pāli: saṅkappā.

¹⁰ Tibetan: de’i phyir sañs rgyas zes brjod do. Pāli: yaṃ sandhāya.

given up the desire for this seat.’ The teacher, knowing the thoughts of those *devas*, displayed the dual miracle rising from his seat into the sky above in order to allay their thought.¹ All the miracles he performed at the seat of enlightenment, at the gathering (86b) of kinsfolk and at the assembly in the *Pāṭikasutta*,² were like the dual miracle performed in front of the *gaṇḍamba*³ tree. In this way the teacher, after performing such miracles, allayed the thoughts of those *devas* and standing by the northeastern side of the seat said: ‘This seat helped me perceive omniscience,’ and he remained for seven days looking without blinking at the seat where he had attained the fruit of fulfilling the perfections during four immeasurable aeons and more than one hundred thousand aeons. That place was called the Anisamsa⁴ shrine.

III 4.

3. The jewel walkway.

Then, creating⁵ a walkway from the standing place to the seat, and walking between east and west on the {Pā78} jewelled walkway, he stood for seven days. On that spot arose the Ratanacaṃkama⁶ shrine.

III 5.

4. The jewel house.

Moreover, in the fourth week, the *devas* created⁷ a jewelled house in the area to the northeast of the *bodhi* tree. He sat there on the seat, where he sat for seven days, reflecting on the endless methods of the entire Abhidhammapiṭaka.⁸ The Abhidhammikas say this: the so-called jewel house is a house made of jewels. Furthermore, those compilers also say that it is the (87a) jewel house where he remembered⁹ the seven treatises of the Abhidhamma. Because of which both explanations are suitable, therefore either of the two should be understood as correct. So, that spot became known as the Ratanaghara¹⁰ shrine.

¹ Tibetan: de rnams kyi rnam par rtog pa ñe bar zi bar bya ba’i phyir / steñ gi nam mkha’ la ‘dug nas so sor cho ‘phrul bstan to. Pāli: tāsam vitakkam vūpasamanattham vehāsam abbhuggantvā yamakapāṭihāriyam dassesi.

² Tibetan: Klog pa’i mdo. Pāli: Pāṭikaputta, (Pāṭikasutta, D III no. 24.

³ Tibetan: a mra srūn pa dañ / a mra’i śiñ. Pāli: gaṇḍamba.

⁴ Tibetan: Mig mi ’dzuma pa.

⁵ Tibetan: byas nas. Pāli: māpetvā.

⁶ Tibetan: Rin po che la ’chag pa.

⁷ Tibetan: sprul. Pāli: māpayiṃsu.

⁸ Tibetan: chos mñon pa’i sde snod ma lus par ’di rnams mtha’ yas pa’i tshul gyis kun gnas par sems śiñ. Pāli: Abhidhammapiṭakam visesato c’ ettha anantanayanam samantapaṭṭhānam vicinanto.

⁹ Tibetan: rjes su dran par byed pa. Pāli: sammasitaṭṭhāna.

¹⁰ Tibetan: Rin po che’i khañ pa.

III 6.

5. The Ajapāla grove.

Then, during the fifth week, having passed four weeks in the vicinity of the *bodhi* tree, he went from the *bodhi* tree to the *ajapālanigrodha*¹ tree. He sat there reflecting on the Dhamma and perceiving² the bliss of liberation.

III 7.

The sixteen lines of Māra.

Then, Māra,³ son of the *devas*, thought: ‘During the time following this there have not been any visible faults,⁴ I did not see even the slightest fault in the Bodhisatta and he now surpasses my own power,’ and sitting⁵ on the great path he became unhappy, and while reflecting on the sixteen matters he drew sixteen lines on the ground. Thinking: ‘Since I have not perfected the perfection of giving I will therefore not become like him,’ and he drew one line. Similarly, he thought: ‘In the same way I have not perfected the perfection of morality, the perfection of renunciation, the perfection of wisdom, the perfection of energy, the perfection of patience, the perfection of truthfulness, the perfection of resolution, the perfection of loving kindness, and the perfection of equanimity. Therefore, I (87b) am not like him,’ and he drew ten lines. He thought: ‘I have not perfected the ten perfections, which act as the basis for understanding the superior knowledge of the higher faculties that are specific to him,⁶ therefore, I will not become like him,’ and he drew eleven⁷ lines. Then he thought: ‘I have not perfected the ten perfections, which act as the basis of the knowledge of omniscience, nor the knowledge which is unobscured, nor the knowledge of individual miracles,⁸ nor the knowledge of the attainments and great compassion, nor the knowledge of the mental proclivities that are specific to him, therefore, I will not become like him,’ and he drew sixteen lines. Reflecting in this way on these matters he sat drawing sixteen lines on the great path.

¹ Tibetan: ra lug skyoñ ba’i śiñ nya gro dha. Pāli: ajapālanigrodha.

² Tibetan: so sor rig par mdzad nas. Pāli: paṭisaṃvedanta.

³ Tibetan: bDud.

⁴ Tibetan: dus ’di mams kyi phyi ma la grib ma bzin du phyogs gañ du’ñ ma spañs so. Pāli: ettakaṃ kālaṃ anubandhanto otāraṭṭhako.

⁵ Tibetan: gnas nas. Pāli: nisīditvā.

⁶ Tibetan: bdag ’di dañ mtshuñs pa’i thun moñ ma yin pa’i dbaṅ po mchog gi goñ ma’i ye śes so sor rig pa ñe bar gnas par gyur pa’i pha rol tu phyin pa bcu ma rdzogs pa. Pāli: ahaṃ eso viya asādhāraṇassa indriyaparopariyañāṇassa paṭivedhāya upanissayabhūtā dasa pāramiyo na pūresim.

⁷ Tibetan: bcu drug. Pāli: ekādasama.

⁸ Tibetan: so sor cho ’phrul gyi ye śes. Pāli: yamakapāṭihirañāṇa.

III 8.

Māra's daughters.

At that time Māra's three daughters, Taṇhā, Aratī and Ragā¹ thought: 'Our father is not seen, where is he now?' Then, while going, they saw him depressed and drawing lines on the ground. They approached² their father asking: 'Father, what has made you unhappy and depressed?' He replied: 'Daughters, this great ascetic has power surpassing my own, while looking now I am unable to see even the slightest fault, therefore, I have become unhappy and depressed.' {Pā79} The daughters said: 'If that is so then do not worry! We three, after overpowering him, will lead him here.'³ (88a) He replied: 'My daughters, you will not be able to, since nobody is able to overpower him as this man is established in unshakable faith.' They responded: 'Father, since we are women we will now bind him with the rope of desire and we will come leading him. Don't you worry!' Then, approaching the Bhagavan, those women said: 'Ascetic, we pay homage at your feet.' The Bhagavan paid no heed to their words, although opening his eyes he did not look at them.⁴ So, reflecting on the unsurpassed liberation that destroys the substratum of rebirth, he sat experiencing the joy of seclusion. Furthermore, Māra's daughters thought: 'Many people have an intention like this, some are delighted by youth, while some are delighted by the first part of youth, while some are delighted by the middle part, and some are delighted at the later part. We will enrapture him with various kinds of delights.'⁵ Each one of those daughters transformed their own bodies into the forms of a hundred maidens. Those forms were the forms of maidens, the forms of virgins, the forms of those who had borne one son and one daughter, the forms of middle aged women who were fat⁶ and who, having approached the Buddha six times, said: 'Ascetic, we (88b) pay homage at your feet.' The Bhagavan paid no heed to their words, as he had the unsurpassed liberation from the substratum of rebirth.⁷ Moreover, some teachers say: 'Seeing the women coming with transformed⁸ bodies the Bhagavan determined⁹ that those with missing teeth and white hair remained with forms like that.' This explanation should not be considered, since the teacher made no such determination. Furthermore, the Bhagavan said: 'Whoever sees this should go and make an exertion like this!¹⁰ It is proper to act in this way in the presence of those who are not free from passion. The Tathāgata moreover, has abandoned passion,

¹ Tibetan: Sred ma, Kun du dga' ma, dGa' ma.

² Tibetan: ñe bar soṅ ste. Pāli: santikaṃ gantvā.

³ Tibetan: 'di ltaṅ gyur na de ltaṅ ma bsaṃ žig / bdag cag gsum gyis de dbaṅ du byas nas khrid la 'oṅ ño. Pāli: Yađi evaṃ mā cintayittha, mayaṃ etaṃ attano vase katvā ādāya āgamiṣṣāma.

⁴ Tibetan: spyān nmaṃ par grol ba yaṅ ma gzigs so. Pāli: akāsi na akkhīni ummīletvā olokesi.

⁵ Tibetan: bdag gis de lta bu'i nmaṃ pa sna tshogs pa'i 'od la chags par bgyi'o. Pāli: yaṅ nūna mayaṃ nānappakārehi palobheyyāma.

⁶ Tibetan: gžon nu ma'i gzugs daṅ / laṅ tsho ma'i gzugs daṅ / daṅ po bu daṅ bu mo lan cig skyes pa'i gzugs daṅ / bar ma'i bud med kyī gzugs daṅ / lus rags mor gyur nas. Pāli: kumāriyo avijātā sakīṃ vijātā duvijātā majjhimitthiyo ca hutvā.

⁷ Tibetan: ñe bar skye ba. Pāli: upadhisamkhaya.

⁸ Tibetan: rdzu 'phrul daṅ ldan pas. Pāli: mahitthibhāvena.

⁹ Tibetan: byin gyis brlabs so. Pāli: adhiṭṭhāsi.

¹⁰ Tibetan: ci mthoṅ 'di lta bu'i 'bad pa byed pa da soṅ žig. Pāli: apetha, tumhe kiṃ disvā evaṃ vāyamatha.

abandoned hatred, and abandoned delusion.’ So, due to abandoning his own passions, he said:

Dhp 179¹

It is impossible to conquer he who is victorious,
one who is like that in this world cannot be conquered.
Without abiding in the endless Buddha sphere of activity
those without a path are unable to have a path.

Dhp 180²

¹ *Jātakanidāna* p. 79; sTog 88b; Dhp 179; PDhp 276; Mvu III p. 91; Uv 29. 52; Dhp-a III p. 197; Ap-a p. 84.

Jātakanidāna p. 79,

yassa jitaṃ nāvajiyati /
jitaṃ assa no yāti koci loke,
taṃ buddhaṃ anantagocaraṃ /
apadaṃ kena padena nessatha.

Tibetan sTog 88b,

gañ žig rgyal ba de la rgyal mi nus // gañ žig ’jig rten ’dir ni rgyal mi ’gyur //
mtha’ yas sañs rgyas spyod yul de mi gnas // rkañ med kyis ni rkañ yod la mi nus //

Patna *Dharmapada* 276,

yassa jitaṃ nā ’ppajjiyati / jitaṃ assā na upeti antako
taṃ buddhaṃ anomanikramaṃ / apadaṃ kena padena nehisi.

Mahāvastu III p. 91,

yasya jitaṃ nātha jīvati jitaṃ asya na jināti antako
taṃ buddhamantagocaraṃ apadam kena padena neṣyatha.

Udānavarga 29. 52,

yasya jitaṃ nopajiyate
jitaṃ anveti na kaṃ cid eva loke /
taṃ buddham anantagocaraṃ
hy apadaṃ kena padena neṣyasi /

² *Jātakanidāna* p. 79; sTog 88b; Dhp 80; PDhp 227; Mvu III p. 92; Uv 29.53; Dhp-a III p. 197; Ap-a p. 84; S I p. 107.

Jātakanidāna p. 79,

yassa jālini visattikā
tañhā n’ atthi kuhiñci netave
taṃ buddham anantagocaraṃ
apadaṃ kena padena nessatha.

Tibetan sTog 88b,

gañ gi sred pa’i dra ba bton gyur nas // de la sred pa rnam ni cuñ zad med //
mtha’ yas sañs rgyas spyod yul de ñid la // rkañ med de yis rkañ yod la mi nus //

Patna *Dharmapada* 227,

He who casts the net of craving
for him there is no ending of those cravings.
In that very endless Buddha sphere of activity
those without a path are unable to have a path.

He taught the Dhamma speaking these two verses from the section of the highest teaching of the Buddha.¹ Those daughters said: ‘Father speaks the truth when saying: The Arahant, the Sugata is supreme among men in (89a) the world.’² {Pā80} and saying this they approached their father.³

III 9.

The Rājāyatana root of Mucalinda.

The Bhagavan remained seven days there, before going to the abode of Mucalinda.⁴ Then the king of the *nāgas* named Mucalinda, who had wrapped his own body seven times around the Bhagavan’s body for seven days in order to ward off the cold and the tempest, raised his hooded head. Then the Bhagavan approached the *rājāyatana*⁵ tree, and sat there for seven days experiencing⁶ the joy of liberation that was like dwelling in a large perfumed house,⁷ so he remained there experiencing the joy of liberation. Thus, he completed seven weeks in those places. During that time he did not wash his face, nor clean his body, nor eat food,⁸ he passed the days and nights in the joy of *jhāna*, the joy of the path, and the joy of the fruit of

yassa jālinī visattikā / tahnā nāsti kaḥiṃ ci netaye
taṃ buddham anantagocaraṃ / apadaṃ kena padena nehisi.

Mahāvastu III p. 92,

yasya jālinī samūhata tṛṣṇā nāsya kaḥiṃ pi netrikā /
taṃ buddhamanantavikramaṃ apadaṃ kena upadena neṣyatha //

Udānavarga 29.53,

yasya jālinī viṣaktikā
tṛṣṇā nāsti hi lokanāyini /
taṃ buddham anantagocaraṃ
hy apadaṃ kena padena neṣyasi //

¹ Tibetan: sañs rgyas kyi chos mchog gi sde. Pāli: Dhammapade Buddhavagge. Mvy. 3502, chos mchog = dharmottara.

² Tibetan: pha zer ba yañ bden pa yin no // dgra bcom pa bde bar gśegs pa ’jig rten na mi’i mchog yin no. Pāli: saccaṃ kira no pitā avoca: ‘Arahaṃ Sugato loke na rāgena suvānayo.

³ Tibetan: lha. Pāli: pitu.

⁴ Tibetan: bTañ zuñ.

⁵ Tibetan: śiñ rā dza ya ta na. Pāli: rājāyatana, E. Indian ape-flower tree; *Buchanania axillaris* (Desr.) Ramam., (= *B. angustifolia* Roxb.), Anacardiaceae, see J. Liyanaratne, “South Asian Flora as reflected in the Twelfth-Century Pāli Lexicon Abhidhānappadipikā”, *JPTS*, 20, 1994, pp. 72-3.

⁶ Tibetan: so sor rig par byed ciñ. Pāli: paṭisaṃvediyamāna.

⁷ Tibetan: dri’i gtsañ khañ. Pāli: gandhakuṭi.

⁸ Tibetan: źal śol ba med pa dañ / sku la byi dor byed pa med pa dañ / źal zas gsol ba med par gyur to // . Pāli: n’ eva mukhadhovaṇaṃ na sarīrapaṭijagganaṃ na āhārakiccaṃ ahoṣi.

attainment.

III 10.

Washing the mouth and using medicinal plants.

Then, after seven weeks, he sat there at the end of the forty-ninth day and had the idea of cleaning his face. Sakka, lord of the gods, having brought yellow myrobalan medicine¹ gave it to him, and the teacher made use of that with bodily pleasure. Then Sakka gave him a betel vine tooth-stick² and water for washing the face. The teacher, taking the tooth-stick, rubbed his teeth and washed his face with the cool water of the great lake,³ then sat in front of the *rājāyatana* tree.

III 11.

Tapassa and Bhalluka.

Then the two merchants named Tapussa⁴ and Bhalluka,⁵ (89b) who had five hundred carts, were going from the country of Ukkala⁶ to the Middle⁷ country. Their own previous relatives, who had become *devas*, bogged down⁸ all the chariots with the resolve that they would be unable to proceed, in order to encourage the offering of food to the teacher.⁹ Taking balls of pastry mixed with honey, they said: ‘Bhagavan, we ask you to accept this food in order to generate compassion,’ and they sat nearby the teacher. The Bhagavan, due to the disappearance of the alms bowl on that very day of accepting the milk-rice, thought: ‘Do Tathāgatas accept with their hands, or do they collect it with an alms bowl?’¹⁰ Then, knowing this thought, those four Great Kings of the four directions obtained¹¹ a bowl of *indanīla*¹² gemstone, but the Bhagavan did not accept it. So they presented him with four bowls made of stone the colour of *mugga*¹³ beans, and the Bhagavan accepted the four bowls out of compassion for those four sons of the *devas*. He placed them, by laying one on the other, while making the determination: ‘Let them become one.’

¹ Tibetan: a ru ra mchog. Pāli: agadaharīṭaka.

² Tibetan: so rtsi'i so śiñ ñid kyi so śiñ. Pāli: nāgalatādantakatṭha.

³ Tibetan: mtsho chen po. Pāli: Anotattadaha.

⁴ Tibetan: Ga gon.

⁵ Tibetan: bZaṅ po.

⁶ Tibetan: lHo phyogs.

⁷ Tibetan: Yul dbus. Pāli: Majjhimadesa.

⁸ Tibetan: byiñ nas. Pāli: sannirumhitvā.

⁹ Tibetan: 'gro bar mi nus par byin gyis brlabs pas. Pāli omits.

¹⁰ Tibetan: de b'zin g'legs pa rnam kyi yañ phyag gis len nam / 'o na kyañ lhuñ bzed kyiṣ blañ. Pāli: na kho Tathāgatā hatthesu patigaṇhanti, kimhi nu kho ahaṃ patigaṇheyyaṃ.

¹¹ Tibetan: blañs pa. Pāli: upanāmesuṃ.

¹² Tibetan: indra nī la, see edition for variant orthographies.

¹³ Tibetan: mudga, see edition for variant orthographies.

Though the four had four visible marks on their rims they turned into one medium sized bowl.¹ The Bhagavan accepted the offered handfuls of food in the bowl made of worthless stone, and after eating it he rejoiced. The two merchant brothers went for refuge to the Buddha and the Dhamma, {Pā81} becoming lay disciples with two refuges.² Then they asked: ‘Sir, (90a) give us one thing that is fit to make offering to.’ Rubbing his right hand on his head he gave them a hair relic,³ and they took it to their own village and made a shrine for it.

III 12.

Brahma Sahampati asks for the teaching of the doctrine.

The perfectly enlightened Buddha then got up, and going to Ajapāla’s⁴ *nigrodha* tree sat down in front of the *nigrodha* tree. Then, while sitting there reflecting on the profound Dhamma that he had realised⁵ by himself, the Buddha thought: ‘I have realised this Dhamma.’ He then reflected that it would be impossible to teach this Dhamma to others, and the thought occurred to him of the aspects of practice.⁶ Then Brahmā Sahampati⁷ thought: ‘The world will be ruined due to this,’⁸ and leading Sakka, Suyāma,⁹ Santusita,¹⁰ Sunimmita-vasavatti,¹¹ and Mahābrahmas,¹² from the ten thousand fold world system they went to the teacher’s presence, saying: ‘Bhagavan, we beseech you to teach the Dhamma, we beseech you to teach the Dhamma by the supreme method.’

III 13.

Turning the wheel of the doctrine.

The teacher gave them his promise thinking: ‘To whom should I first teach the Dhamma?’ and the thought occurred to him: ‘Ālāra¹³ will readily understand this Dhamma. Then, while looking, he knew

¹ Tibetan: bzi po yañ blta ba’i phyir du kha la ri mo bzir gyur te lhuñ bzed ’briñ po’i tshad gcig tu gyut to. Pāli: Cattāro pi mukhavatṭiyam paññāyamānalekhā hutvā majjhimena pamāṇena ekattaṃ upagamimsu.

² Tibetan: tshig gñis pa’i dge bsñen du gyur to. Pāli: dvevācikaupāsakā ahesuṃ.

³ Tibetan: skra’i gduñ. Pāli: kesadhātu.

⁴ Tibetan: Ra lug skyoñ ba.

⁵ Tibetan: lhag par rtogs pa. Pāli: adhigata.

⁶ Tibetan: gžan gyis chos ston par mi nus par bsams nas rab tu ’jug pa’i rnam par rtog pa skyes so. Pāli: paresaṃ dhammaṃ adeseṭukammaṭākārappavatto vitakko udapādi.

⁷ Tibetan: Mi mjed kyi bdag po tshañs pa.

⁸ Tibetan: ’jig rten ñams par ’gyur ba’i phyir ro. Pāli: nassati vata bho loko, ninassati vata bho loko.

⁹ Tibetan: ’Thab bral bzañ po.

¹⁰ Tibetan: dGa’ ldan.

¹¹ Tibetan: ’Phrul dga’, gžan ’phrul dbañ phyug.

¹² Tibetan: ’Thab bral bzañ po, dGa’ ldan, ’Phrul dga’, gžan ’Phrul dbañ phyug, Tshañs pa chen po.

¹³ Tibetan: Kun len.

that seven days had passed since his death, and so considering Uddaka,¹ he knew that he also had (90b) died. Again he thought of the group of five ascetics thinking: ‘The group of five monks paid great respect to me’,² and thinking: ‘Where are they?’ he then knew: ‘They are in the deer park of Bārāṇasi³ city.’ Then intending that: ‘After going there I will set going the wheel of the Dhamma,’ he remained several days at the seat of enlightenment collecting alms. Then, thinking: ‘I will go to Bārāṇasi city on the day of the half lunar month,’⁴ and taking bowl and robe⁵ in the early morning at break of day, at the end of the night of the fourteenth day, he went along the path which was eighty *yojanas* in length. In the middle of the path he saw the *ājīvika* named Upaka,⁶ and explained his own buddhahood to him, and on the evening of that same day he went to Isipatana.⁷ The five *theras*⁸ seeing the Tathāgata coming from afar, had the conversation: ‘The ascetic⁹ Gotama¹⁰ who, due to ample meals, has filled out his body, whose faculties are perfect,¹¹ and who is the colour of gold, is coming. We should not pay respect to him, but since he is born into a great family it is only proper to prepare him a seat, therefore, it is right to offer him just a seat.’ The Bhagavan possessed the knowledge that was able to know the thought and conduct of those worlds, together with their *devas*, and thought: ‘Just what do they think?’, (91a) and he knew their minds. Then, condensing the thought of loving kindness, that was able to pervade all those *devas* and men with its unseen power, the Bhagavan meditated to pervade them with the thought of loving kindness by means of the unseen power.¹² When the Tathāgata approached close to them they were unable to keep their former vow, and they made salutations and observed all the customary niceties.¹³ Furthermore, those monks, because of not knowing that he had attained perfect buddhahood, employed the familiar term friend¹⁴ when addressing him. Then the Bhagavan made known his own attainment¹⁵ of buddhahood saying: ‘Monks, you ought not to employ the familiar term friend in connection with the name of the Bhagavan and the Tathāgata.

¹ Tibetan: ‘Char byed.

² Tibetan: dge sloñ lña sdes bdag la bsñen bkur mañ po byas pas lña sde’i ched du bsams nas. Pāli: bahūpakārā kho Pañcavaggiyā bhikkhū ti Pañcavaggiye ārabba mansikāraṃ katvā.

³ Tibetan: Wā rā ṇa si, see edition for variant orthographies.

⁴ Tibetan: dbyar zla ‘brin po. Pāli: Asāhipuṇṇamāsa.

⁵ Tibetan: snam sbyar. Pāli: cīvara.

⁶ Tibetan: Ñe bar gnas pa.

⁷ Tibetan: Drañ sroñ lhuñ ba.

⁸ Tibetan: gnas brtan.

⁹ Tibetan: dge sbyoñ. Pāli: samaṇa.

¹⁰ Tibetan: Gō ta ma, see edition for variant orthographies.

¹¹ Tibetan: ‘di bza’ ba mañ po’i phyir lus yoñs su rdzogs par gyur / dbaṅ po yoñs su rdzogs par gyur. Pāli: paccayabāhullāya āvattitvā paripuṇṇakāyo phītindriyo.

¹² Tibetan: de nas lha dañ mi thams cad la mthoñ ba med pa’i dbaṅ gis thams cad du khyab par nus pa’i byams pa’i sems yañ gag par bsdus nas / ma mthoñ ba’i dbaṅ gis byams pa’i sems kyis khyab par bcom ldan ‘das kyis bsgoms nas. Pāli: Atha ne sabbadevamanussesu anodissakavasena pharaṇasamatthaṃ mettacittaṃ saṃkhipitvā odissakavasena mettacittaṃ phari.

¹³ Tibetan: de bžin gśegs pa ñe bar gśegs śin gśegs pa na / śnar gyi bca’ khirms rnams gnas par mi nus pas phyag phul žin bsruñ ba dañ bsñen bkur thams cad byas so. Pāli: Tathāgate upasaṃkamante upasaṃkamante sakāya katikāya saṅhātuṃ asakkontā abhivādanapaccuṭṭhānādini sabbakiccāni akaṃsu.

¹⁴ Tibetan: tshe dañ ldan pa. Pāli: āvuso.

¹⁵ Tibetan: sañs rgyas grub par. Pāli: Buddhabhāva.

Monks, I am the Tathāgata, Arahat,¹ the perfectly enlightened Buddha.’ The Buddha, sat on the illustrious appointed seat, and at the time of the conjunction of the Uttarasālha² constellation he was surrounded by eighteen thousand *koṭis* of assemblies³ of Brahmas. Calling the group of five Elders⁴ he taught the *Dhammacakkappavattanasutta*,⁵ and among the group the elder, Koṇḍañña who knows all, having followed the teaching of the *sutta* attained⁶ knowledge at the conclusion of the *sutta*, and also attained the (91b) fruit of stream entry⁷ along with those eighteen thousand *koṭis* of Brahmas. Then the teacher remained there for the rainy season, and on the second day, seated in the temple, he taught the Dhamma to the elder Vappa⁸ while the remaining four went for alms. The elder Vappa attained the fruit of stream entry in the early part of the day.⁹ Then by similar means, the elder Bhaddiya¹⁰ on the next day, the elder Mahānāma¹¹ the next day, and Assaji¹² the day after, all attained the fruit of stream winner. On the fifth day of the half lunar month¹³ when the five monks¹⁴ had gathered, he taught the *Anantalakkhaṇasutta*,¹⁵ and at the conclusion of the teaching the group of five elders attained the fruit of arhatship.¹⁶

III 14.

The going forth of Yasa and the others.

Then the teacher saw that the clansman named Yasa¹⁷ had potential¹⁸ so, leaving the house at dawn with a troubled mind¹⁹ he went out, calling: ‘Yasa, come here!’ In the night he was established²⁰ in the fruit of stream winner, the next day in the fruit of arhatship. Furthermore, Yasa’s fifty four friends, having become monks,²¹ went forth and attained arhatship. So it was that there were sixty one *arahats* in the

¹ Tibetan: dgra bcom pa. Pāli omits.

² Tibetan: rGyu skar bre mchog gsum.

³ Tibetan: ’khor. Pāli omits.

⁴ Tibetan: gnas brtan la sde. Pāli: Pañcavaggiye there.

⁵ Tibetan: Chos kyi ’khor lo bskor ba’i mdo mthar.

⁶ Tibetan: thob pa. Pāli: pesento.

⁷ Tibetan: rgyun du žugs pa’i ’bras bu. Pāli: sotāpattiḥala.

⁸ Tibetan: brLañs pa.

⁹ Tibetan: ñi ma phyi ma la. Pāli: pubbaṅhe.

¹⁰ Tibetan: bZaṅ ldan.

¹¹ Tibetan: Miñ can.

¹² Tibetan: rTa thul.

¹³ Tibetan: tshes ñi šu la. Pāli: pañcamiaṃ pakkhassa.

¹⁴ Tibetan: dge sloñ. Pāli: jana.

¹⁵ Tibetan: bDag med pa’i mtshan ñid kyi mdo sde.

¹⁶ Tibetan: dgra bcom pa’i ’bras bu. Pāli: Arahattaphala.

¹⁷ Tibetan: Grags pa.

¹⁸ Tibetan: ñe bar mi rten par. Pāli: upanissayaṃ.

¹⁹ Tibetan: sdug bsñal ba’i sems kyis. Pāli: nibbijjivā.

²⁰ Tibetan: grub par byed do. Pāli: patitṭhāpetvā.

²¹ Tibetan: dge sloñ du gyur nas. Pāli: ehibhikkhupabbajjāya.

world. The teacher, having stayed for the rains, made an end to the retreat,¹ and² sent those sixty monks in different directions. He himself went on the path going to Uruvela,³ (92a) and at Kappāsiya⁴ wood, which was at ten *yojanas*⁵ distance, he converted the group of Bhadda⁶ youths. After that the lowest of all among them became stream winners, and the highest of them became non returners. All of them became monks after taking the going forth,⁷ and sending them in different directions the Buddha went to Uruvela. There displaying⁸ his three and a half thousand miracles, he converted the three Kassapa brothers of Uruvela along with their one thousand ascetic followers, and they became monks after taking the going forth.⁹ Then the Buddha, seated on mount Gayāsisa,¹⁰ made them *arahats* by teaching the Āditta exposition¹¹ to them all. Then, assembling those one thousand *arahats*, he thought: ‘I gave my promise to king {Pā83} Bimbisāra,¹² I will now liberate him.’ and went to the Laṭṭhi¹³ grove which was close to the city of Rājagaha.

III 15.

The Bhagavan at Rājagaha.

Those guards at the pleasure garden said to the king: ‘The teacher is coming,’ the king hearing this, assembled twelve myriads¹⁴ of *brāhmaṇas* and householders, and approached the teacher. After touching their heads to the feet of the Tathāgata, which were emanating light rays in all directions, like a golden canopy, and on the soles¹⁵ of which were numerous wheels, he sat at one side with his assembly. Then the *brāhmaṇas* and householders had this thought: ‘Well now, does the great ascetic follow the practice¹⁶ of the Uruvela Kassapas, (92b) or do the Uruvela Kassapas follow the practice of the great ascetic?’ The Bhagavan, knowing their thoughts with his mind, spoke these verses to the elder:

Vin I p.36¹⁷

¹ Tibetan: dgag dbye byas te. Pāli: pavāretvā.

² Tibetan omits. Pāli: caratha bhikkhave cārikan ti.

³ Tibetan: lTeñ rgyas.

⁴ Tibetan: Ras bal can.

⁵ Tibetan: dpag tshad bcu pa’o. Pāli: tiṃsa jane.

⁶ Tibetan: bZaṅ.

⁷ Tibetan: dge sloṅ gi gzugs kyis rab tu byuñ ba bgyis nas. Pāli: ehibhikkhubhāven’ eva pabbājetvā.

⁸ Tibetan: Ita źiñ. Pāli: dassetvā.

⁹ Tibetan: dge sloṅ gi gzugs kyis rab tu byuñ bar byas nas. Pāli: ehibhikkhubhāven’ eva pabbājetvā.

¹⁰ Tibetan: Ga ya’i rtse mo.

¹¹ Tibetan: Ņi ma’i nnam grañs kyī mdo sde. Pāli: Ādittapariyāya, Vin I, 34-35; S IV, 19.

¹² Tibetan: gZugs can sñiñ po.

¹³ Tibetan: Śiñ dñar.

¹⁴ Tibetan: khri phrag bcu gñis. Pāli: dvādasanahuta.

¹⁵ Tibetan: steñ du. Pāli: talesu.

¹⁶ Tibetan: rjes su tshañs par spyod pa spyad. Pāli: brahmacariyaṃ carati.

¹⁷ Jātakanidāna p. 83; sTog 92b; Mvu III p. 444; Vin I p. 36; Ap-a p. 88; Bv-a p. 20.

Inhabitants of Uruvela, what have you seen,
what do you say are the causes of abandoning fire worship?¹
I asked Kassapa the meaning of this,
saying: Why do you abandon fire worship?²

The elder, knowing the intention of the Bhagavan said:

Vin I p.36³

Practice of the sacrifice brings: forms, sounds,
tastes, smells, and concubines too.⁴

Jātakanidāna p. 83,

kiṃ eva disvā Uruvelavāsi
pahāsi aggiṃ kisako vadāno,
pucchāmi taṃ Kassapa etaṃ atthaṃ:
kathaṃ pahīnaṃ tava agghuttan ti.

Tibetan sTog 92b,

lten rgyas gnas su gnas nas ci zig mthon //
sbyin sreg 'dor ba'i rgyu mtshan ci zig smra //
'od sruñ 'di yi don ni dri bar bya //
khyod kyi ji ltar sbyin sreg spoñ ba yin //

Mahāvastu III p. 444,

kimeva dṛṣṭvā Uruvilvavāsi
prahāya agniṃ kṛśako /
pṛcchāmi te Kāśyapa etamarthaṃ
kathaṃ prahīnaṃ tava agnihotraṃ //

¹ Tibetan: sbyin sreg. Pāli: aggi.

² Tibetan: sbyin sreg. Pāli: agghutta.

³ *Jātakanidāna* p. 83; sTog 92b; Vin I p. 36; Ap-a p. 88; Bv-a p. 20.

Jātakanidāna p. 83,

rūpe ca sadde ca atho rase ca
kāmitthiyo cābhivadanti yaññaṃ,
etaṃ malan ti upadhīsu ñatvā
tasmā na yiṭṭhe na hute araṃjin ti.

Tibetan sTog 92b,

gzugs dañ sgra dañ de bzin ro dañ dri //
bud med 'dod pa yañ ni mchod³ sbyin spyod //
'di rnams dri ma legs par rtogs byas nas //
de phyir me yi sbyin sreg 'di spañs so //

⁴ Tibetan: gzugs dañ sgra dañ de bzin ro dañ dri / bud med 'dod pa yañ ni mchod sbyin spyod. Pāli: Rūpe ca sadde ca atho rase ca / kāmitthiyo cābhivadanti yaññaṃ.

Knowing well these impurities,¹

I have, therefore, abandoned the fire sacrifice.

Having spoken this verse, and in order to clarify his own desire to be a disciple,² he touched the top of the Tathāgata's feet with his head saying: 'Sir, you are my teacher, I am the Bhagavan's disciple.' Rising into the³ air, one, two, three and as much as seven *tāla* trees height, he descended, and after paying homage to the Tathāgata, he sat at one side. Seeing his miracles the crowd of men, praising the qualities⁴ of the teacher, said: 'Indeed the Buddha has great power, and since he teaches a view like this⁵ he is thought to be worthy, and so Kassapa of Uruvela having cut the net of views was converted by the Tathāgata.' (93a) The Bhagavan said: 'Not only have I converted Kassapa of Uruvela here and now, he was also converted by me in the past.' The meaning of this was previously explained in the *Mahānārada-kassapa-jātaka*⁶ that teaches the four truths clearly. At that moment⁷ the king of Magadha,⁸ along with his retinue numbering eleven *nahutas*, attained the fruit of stream winner, and one *nahuta* became⁹ lay followers. {Pā84} The king sat near to the teacher, and after hearing the five foundations of training,¹⁰ went for refuge. Then, having made an invitation to a meal on the following day, he rose from his seat, circumambulated the Bhagavan, and departed. Then at dawn the following day the inhabitants of Rājagaha who had seen the Bhagavan, and those who had not seen him, all the people numbering eighteen *koṭis* who desired to see the Tathāgata, went at dawn from Rājagaha to the Laṭṭhi grove. They were unable to be contained in an area of twelve leagues,¹¹ and the entire Laṭṭhi grove was continuously thronged.¹² All these people, seeing the state of Dasabala's body, wished to obtain that sort of excellent form, but they could not be satisfied.¹³ The colour of the ground¹⁴ was of such as this. In such a place as this it is appropriate to praise the resplendent bodily form of the Tathāgata, with all its auspicious major and minor¹⁵ marks. (93b) Due to the sight of Dasabala's body, who had attained such a body as this, the crowd of people was endless. There was no possibility for even one monk to get off the path to the pleasure park.¹⁶ On that day Sakka's

¹ Tibetan: 'di rnams dri ma legs par rtogs byas nas. Pāli: etaṃ malan ti upadhīsu ñatvā.

² Tibetan: rañ ñid ñan thos kyi 'dod pa gsal bar bya ba'i phyir. Pāli: attano sāvaka bhāvappakāsanatthaṃ.

³ Tibetan omits. Pāli: sattakkhattuṃ.

⁴ Tibetan: yon tan ñid. Pāli: guṇakatha.

⁵ Tibetan: 'di lta bu'i blta ba bstan pas. Pāli: thāmagatadiṭṭhiko.

⁶ Tibetan: Mi sbyin chen po 'od sruñ gi skyes rabs. Jātaka no. 544.

⁷ Tibetan: de'i mod la. Pāli omits.

⁸ Tibetan: Ma ga dha.

⁹ Tibetan: gyur to. Pāli: paṭivedesi.

¹⁰ Tibetan: bslab pa'i gzi. Pāli: assāsaka.

¹¹ Tibetan: rgyaṅ grags bcu gñis su mi soñ ba. Pāli: tigāvutamaggo na-ppahosi.

¹² Tibetan: śiñ dñar gyi tshal thams cad rgyun mi 'chad par gyur to. Pāli: Sakalaṭṭhivanuyyānaṃ niraṅtaraṃ puṭaṃ ahoṣi.

¹³ Tibetan: tshim par ma nus so. Pāli: tittim kātum nāsakkhi.

¹⁴ Tibetan: sa gzi'i kha dog. Pāli: vaṇṇabhū, PTSD. p. 597. 'place of praise'.

¹⁵ Tibetan: mtshan dañ dpe byad bzañ po. Pāli: lakkañānuvyañjana.

¹⁶ Tibetan: skyed mos tshal dañ lam du dge sloñ gcig gis kyañ phyi ru 'thon pa'i skabs med. Pāli: puṭe uyyāne ca magge ca ekabhikkhussāpi nikkhamanokāso nāhoṣi.

throne showed signs of heating,¹ and he immediately thought: 'The Bhagavan may be late for his meal.'² Reflecting thus, and knowing the cause of this, he transformed into the form of a young *brāhmaṇa* who gave the proper praises to the Buddha, Dhamma, and *saṅgha*. Then departing to Dasabala's presence he made him reach the path, by means of his divine power,³ and said:

Vin I p.38⁴

The subdued one, together with his former colleagues who were subdued, and the *brāhmaṇas* and ascetics who were released.
The Bhagavan went out with a lion-like
body and entered Rājagaha.

The liberated one, together with his former colleagues who were liberated, and the *brāhmaṇas* and ascetics who were released.
The Bhagavan went out with a lion-like
body and entered Rājagaha.

He who had escaped, together with his former colleagues who had

¹ Tibetan: dro ba'i rnam par mthoñ ste. Pāli: uñhākāraṃ dassesi.

² Tibetan: bcom ldan 'das kyī gdugs tshod yol ba lta bur gyur to. Pāli: Bhagavā chinnabhatto bhaveyya, taṃ mā ahoṣi.

³ Tibetan: lha'i mthus lam thob par byas so. Pāli: devānubhāvena okāsaṃ katvā.

⁴ *Jātakanidāna* p. 84; sTog 93b; Vin I p. 38; Ap II p. 607; Ap-a p. 89; Khp p. 204; Pv-a p. 22; Thī-a p. 59.

Jātakanidāna p. 84,

danto dantehi saha purāṇajaṭīlehi vippamuttehi
siṅgīnikkhasavaṇṇo Rājagahaṃ pāvīsi Bhagavā.

mutto muttehi saha purāṇajaṭīlehi vippamutto vippamuttehi
siṅgīnikkhasavaṇṇo Rājagahaṃ pāvīsi Bhagavā.

tiṇṇo tiṇṇehi saha purāṇajaṭīlehi vippamutto vippamuttehi
siṅgīnikkhasavaṇṇo Rājagahaṃ pāvīsi Bhagavā.

Tibetan sTog 93b,

'dul zīñ 'dul ba'i grogs sñon bcas // bram ze rnam grol ral pa dañ //
señ ge'i gzugs kyis 'thon nas ni // bcom ldan rgyal po'i khab nañ byon //

grol zīñ grol ba'i grogs sñon bcas // bram ze rnam grol ral pa dañ //
señ ge'i gzugs kyis 'thon nas ni // bcom ldan rgyal po'i khab nañ byon //

brgal zīñ brgal ba'i grogs sñon bcas // bram ze rnam grol ral pa dañ //
señ ge'i gzugs kyis 'thon nas ni // rgyal po'i khab nañ bcom ldan byon //

escaped, and the *brāhmaṇas* and ascetics who were released.
The Bhagavan went out with a lion-like
body and entered Rājagaha.

Vin I p.38¹

The ten powers of he who is said to have the ten,
abiding in the ten knowledges and the ten things,
the Bhagavan entered Rājagaha with a retinue of ten thousand.

Praising the teacher with these verses of praise, those men who went before him, seeing the splendour of the form of the *brāhmaṇa* youth, thought: 'This *brāhmaṇa* youth has a beautiful body, he was not seen before,' (94a) and they said: 'Where does this *brāhmaṇa* youth live, whose son is he?'² Hearing this the *brāhmaṇa* youth speaking these verses, said:

Vin I p.38³

He who is the Buddha, subduer of all doctrines,⁴ unrivalled person,
Arahant and Sugata in the world, I am his attendant.

The teacher, assembling one hundred thousand monks on the path that was opportunely divided by

¹ *Jātakanidāna* p. 84; sTog 93b; Vin I p. 38; Ap-a p. 89.

Jātakanidāna p. 84,

dasāvāso Dasabalo dasadhammavidū dasehi c' upeto
so dasasataparivāro Rājagahaṃ pāvisi Bhagavā ti.

Tibetan sTog 93b,

bcu po gsuñ ba'i stobs bcu pa // chos bcu la mkhas bcu la gnas //
ston phrag bcu yi 'khor dan ldan // bcom ldan rgyal po'i khab nañ byon //

² Tibetan: gañ gi yin. Pāli: kassa vā ayan.

³ *Jātakanidāna* p. 84; Vin I p. 38; Ap-a p. 89; sTog 94a; Mvu III p. 423.

Jātakanidāna p. 84,

yo dhīro sabbadhī danto Buddho appaṭipuggalo
arahaṃ sugato loke tassāhaṃ paricārako ti.

Tibetan sTog 94a,

gañ žig bstan pa thams cad 'dul // gañ zag zla med sañs rgyas te //
dgra bcom bde gśegs 'jig rten du // de ni bdag gi ñe bar gnas //

Mahāvastu III p. 423,

yo viro dhṛtisampanno dhyāyo apratipudgalo //
arhanto sugato loke tasyāhaṃ paricārako //

⁴ Tibetan: gañ žig bstan pa thams cad 'dul. Pāli: Yo dhīro sabbadhī danto.

Sakka,¹ {Pā85} entered Rājagaha.

III 16.

The gift of Veluvana.

The king gave a great gift to the *saṅgha*, with the Buddha at their head,² saying: ‘Reverend sir, I am unable to live without the three jewels. I want to come to the Bhagavan whether it is the appropriate time or not, and it is a great distance to the Laṭṭhi pleasure park. Whereas our Veḷu grove³ is very close to come and go to, and since it is a place which is suitable for the Bhagavan, I beg you to accept it!’ Then the king, taking a golden jar of water, which was the colour of gems and scented with flowers,⁴ poured it on the hands of Dasabala while presenting the Veḷu grove to him. After the acceptance of that park, which is said to be the foundation of the Buddha’s teaching,⁵ the great earth shook. Apart from⁶ the Veḷu grove there is no other place within Jambudīpa⁷ where his acceptance shook the earth.⁸ Apart from the Mahāvihāra⁹ there is no other place within Tambapaṇṇidīpa¹⁰ where his acceptance shook the great earth.¹¹ The teacher (94b) accepted the gardens of Veḷu grove and delighted the king, then rising from his seat and assembling the *saṅgha* of monks they proceeded to Veḷu grove.

III 17.

The going forth of Sāriputta and Moggallāna.

At that time the two wanderers¹² Sāriputta¹³ and Moggallāna¹⁴ were dwelling close to Rājagaha intent on seeking the deathless state.¹⁵ Sāriputta saw the elder Assaji enter there for alms, and when he gave him food his mind became clear. Then hearing the verse: ‘Whatever things arise from a cause,’ he attained the fruit of stream winner. He then repeated that very verse to his friend, Moggallāna the wanderer, and he

¹ Tibetan: brGya byin gyis skabs phye ba’i lam du. Pāli: Sakkena katokāsaṃ maggaṃ paṭipajjitvā.

² Tibetan: saṅs rgyas la sogs pa. Pāli: Buddhapamukha.

³ Tibetan: ’Od ma’i tshal. Pāli: Veḷuvana.

⁴ Tibetan: me tog gi dris bsgos te. Pāli: pupphagandhavāsita.

⁵ Tibetan: saṅs rgyas kyi bstan pa’i gzi zes brjod ciñ. Pāli: Buddhasāsanassa mūlāni otiṇṇānīti.

⁶ Tibetan: spaṅs pa. Pāli: ṭhapetvā.

⁷ Tibetan: ’Dzam bu’i gliñ pa.

⁸ Tibetan: ’dzam bu’i gliñ gi nañ nas ’od ma’i tshal spaṅs pa’i sa gzi g.yos pa ’di bzes te / sde gzan ni med do. Pāli: Jambudīpasmim hi ṭhapetvā Veḷvanam aññaṃ paṭhaviṃ kampetvā gahitasenāsanam nāma n’ atthi.

⁹ Tibetan: gtsug lag khañ chen po.

¹⁰ Tibetan: Siñ gha gliñ.

¹¹ Tibetan: sa gzi chen po. Pāli: paṭhavi.

¹² Tibetan: kun tu rgyu. Pāli: paribbājaka.

¹³ Tibetan: Śā ri’i bu, see edition for variant orthographies.

¹⁴ Tibetan: Mōd gal gyi bu, see edition for variant orthographies.

¹⁵ Tibetan: bdud rtsi. Pāli: amata.

too attained the fruit of stream winner. They both looked to Sañjaya,¹ then with their own retinues they went forth in the teacher's presence. Seven days from that time, the great son of Moggallāna² attained arhatship, and after two weeks the elder Sāriputta attained arhatship, the two of them also took the position as the foremost disciples of the teacher. On the day of attaining arhatship Sāriputta created the supreme assembly of the Bhagavan's disciples.³

III 18.

The invitation to Kapilavatthu by Suddhodana.

The Tathāgata was dwelling at the Veḷu grove when king Suddhodana after hearing: 'Your son, having practised austerities for six years has attained supreme, perfect enlightenment. After turning the wheel of the teaching, he now dwells in Rājagaha's (95a) Veḷu grove', and he said to one of the ministers:⁴ 'Come here! Go to Rājagaha leading a retinue of one thousand people, and repeat my words: "Your father, the great king Suddhodana, wishes to see you', and return leading my son!" The minister accepted the king's command with bowed head saying: 'O King, I will act accordingly', and leading that retinue of one thousand people, he went quickly along the sixty *yojanas* of the path. After sitting among Dasabala's fourfold assembly, he entered the temple at the time the Dhamma was being taught, he thought: 'I will lay aside the king's message for a while.' Seated at the edge of all the assemblies he heard the teacher's explanation of the Dhamma, seated thus he, together with the one thousand people, {Pā86} attained arhatship and asked for the going forth. The Bhagavan stretching out his hand said: 'Come, monks!' All of them, taking the three robes and bowls which appeared by magic power, became like elders of one hundred years standing.⁵ Beginning from the time of attaining arhatship each was called noble, and they remained impartial,⁶ without telling Dasabala about the king's message. The king thought: 'Not even one of those men who were sent has returned, I have not even heard a message,' then he said: 'Come here! You must also go!' sending another (95b) minister as before.⁷ Having gone he attained arhatship together with his retinue, as happened previously,⁸ and he remained silent. The king sent nine ministers, as before, each with a retinue of one thousand people. All of them, after completing their own purpose, remained silent, and stayed at that very place. The king, not obtaining even the mere gist of the tale,⁹ thought: 'These men did not relate even the mere gist of the tale to me because of being displeased. Who is of a

¹ Tibetan: Rañ ñid rgyal ba.

² Tibetan: Mōd gal gyi bu chen po, see edition for variant orthographies.

³ Tibetan: gnas brtan sã ri'i bus dgra bcom pa thob pa'i ñin mo ñid bcom ldan 'das kyi ñan thos kyi 'dus pa ðaṅ por byas so. Pāli: Sāriputtattherena arahattapattadivase yeva sāvakasannipātaṃ akāsi.

⁴ Tibetan: blon po phan tshun rnam bos te. Pāli: aññataraṃ amaccaṃ āmantesi.

⁵ Tibetan: lo brgya lon pa'i gnas brtan lta bur gyur to. Pāli: vassasatikatherā viya ahesuṃ.

⁶ Tibetan: bar mar gnas par gyur to. Pāli: majjhataṃ va honti.

⁷ Tibetan: de lta bu'i ñes pas. Pāli: ten' eva niyāmena.

⁸ Tibetan: sñar bzin du. Pāli: purimanayena.

⁹ Tibetan: rgyal pos sprin yig tsam gyi lo rgyus kyañ ma thob bo. Pāli: Rājā sāsanaṃ mattakaṃ pi āharitvā ācikkhantaṃ alabhitvā.

mind to take my message?’¹ The king, looking at all the men, saw Kāḷudāyi² the royal minister who accomplished all his aims, who was a member of the household, and a great favourite.³ He was born on the same day as the Tathāgata,⁴ and was a friend who played together with him. So the king summoned the minister saying: ‘Dear Kāḷudāyi, wishing to see my son I have sent nine thousand people, and not even one man has returned, nothing of the mere gist of a message has appeared. Perhaps they were all gripped by illness or they are dead. I wish to see my son while I am alive, I must see my son.’ Kāḷudāyi said: ‘O King, it is possible that if I go forth it will be possible to see him,’⁵ the king replied: ‘Friend, whether you go forth or not, let me see my son!’ Kāḷudāyi, taking the king’s message, said: ‘My king, so be it,’ (96a) and went to Rājagaha. Seated at the edge of those assemblies, while the teacher was preaching the Dhamma, he attained the fruit of arhatship together with his retinue, and was established in the state of a monk.⁶ In the first year after becoming Buddha, the teacher remained dwelling at Isipatana during the rains. Having ended the seclusion⁷ he went to Uruvela and remained there for three months. After converting those ascetic brothers⁸ he went to Rājagaha in the middle of the winter month, accompanied by an assembly of one thousand monks, and stayed there for two months. By now five months had gone by since he had come from Bārāṇasi city, and the winter had ended. Between seven and eight days had gone by since the coming of the elder Udāyi,⁹ and in the middle of spring he thought: ‘Winter has passed and spring has arrived, the grass has become green, and those men are taking corn which is scattered all over the path. The trees and shrubs of the earth, and the forest, are blossoming with an abundance of flowers, so it is time to proceed out on the path. It is time to go out on the path to meet with a relative of Dasabala.’ So, after going to the presence of the Bhagavan he said: {Pā87}

Th 527¹⁰

¹ Tibetan: mi ’di rnamś na la mi dga’ ba’i rgyu mtshan gyis sprin yig tsaṃ gyi lo rgyus kyañ mi brjod do // su ’zig na’i tshig bzin byed par sems. Pāli: ettakā janā mayi sinehabhāvena sāsanamattaṃ pi na paccāharim̐su, ko nu kho me vacanaṃ karissati.

² Tibetan: Nag po ’char ka.

³ Tibetan: nañ mi yin no // śin tu thugs ches pa yin no. Pāli: abbhantariko ativissāsiko.

⁴ Tibetan: de bzin gśegs pa. Pāli: Bodhisatta.

⁵ Tibetan: lha nus lags so // gal te rab phyuñ yañ blta bar nus so. Pāli: Sakkhissāmi deva sace pabbajitūṃ labhissāmi.

⁶ Tibetan: dge sloñ gi dños por so sor gnas so. Pāli: ehibhikkhubhāve patitṭhāsī.

⁷ Tibetan: dgag dbye byas nas. Pāli: pavāretvā.

⁸ Tibetan: ral pa can spun rnamś. Pāli: tebhātikajaṭṭile.

⁹ Tibetan: ’Char ka.

¹⁰ *Jātakanidāna* p. 87; sTog 96a; Th 527; Ap-a pp. 91, 359, 533; Bv-a p. 23.

Jātakanidāna p. 87,

aṅgārino dāni dumā bhadante
phalesino chadanaṃ vipphāya,
te accimanto va pabhāsayantī,
samayo Mahāvīra bhagī rasānaṃ

Tibetan sTog 96a,

btsun pa ljon śiñ de ni ljañ khur gyur // śiñ gi lo ma sa la dud pa dañ //

O Sir, the trees became green,¹
and the leaves of the trees drooped down to the ground.
The rays of light were dispersed inbetween them,
when the Great Hero² went to his kinsmen's home.³

Ap-a p.91⁴

It is neither too hot nor too cold, (96b)
there is no hunger and no famine,
the trees on the earth have become green,
now is the time, Great Sage!⁵

With just these six *padas* he made suitable praises, and praised Dasabala and his going to the city of his kinsmen. The teacher said: 'Udāyi, you make suitable praises when praising this departure with this sweet singing,'⁶ Udāyi said: 'Sir, your father the great king Suddhodana, wishes to see you. I beg you to consider your kinsmen,'⁷ the teacher replied: 'Very well, Udāyi, I will consider those kinsmen,' and he said to the *saṅgha* of monks: 'Sweep the entire route of travel!' and after saying: 'Very well sir,' the elder departed.⁸

de rnams bar nas 'od zer 'gyed pa yin // dpa' bo chen po gñen gnas gśegs pa'i dus //

¹ Tibetan: ljañ khu. Pāli: aṅgārin. The Pāli word means 'bright', 'red', see R. Morris, "Notes and Queries", *JPTS*, London: PTS, 1886, rpt. Delhi, 1985, p. 100.

² Tibetan: dPa' bo chen po. Pāli: Mahāvira.

³ Tibetan: btsun pa ljoñ khur gyur // śiñ gi lo ma sa la dud pa dañ // de rnams bar nas 'od zer 'gyed pa yin // dpa' bo chen po gñen gnas gśegs pa'i dus //. Pāli: Aṅgārino dāni dumā bhadante / phalesino chadanam vippahāya, / te accimanto va pabhāsayanti, / samayo Mahāvira bhagī rasānam.

⁴ *Jātakanidāna* p. 87; sTog 96a-b; Ap-a p. 91; Bv-a p. 24; Mp I p. 303.

Jātakanidāna p. 87,

nāṭisitam nātiunham nātidubbhikkhachātakam,
saddalā`haritā bhūmi, esa kālo Mahāmuniṭi.

Tibetan sTog 96a-96b,

ha cañ mi dro mi grañ žiñ // mu ge dañ ni bkres pa med //
sa steñ śiñ rnams ljañ khur gyur // thub pa chen po dus 'dir gyur //

⁵ Tibetan: Thub pa chen po. Pāli: Mahāmuni.

⁶ Tibetan: 'Char kas dbyaṅs sñan pos gśegs pa'i bśnags par 'os pa'i bśnags pa. Pāli: kin nu kho Udāyi madhurassarena gamanavaṇṇam vaṇṇesi.

⁷ Tibetan: ñe du rnams rjes su 'dzin par zu. Pāli: karoṭha ñāṭikānam saṅgaham.

⁸ Tibetan: btsun pa legs so žes gnas brtan soñ nas smras so. Pāli: "Sādhu bhante" ti thero ārocesi.

III 19.

The Bhagavan's journey to Kapilavatthu.

The Bhagavan set out from the other side of Rājagaha surrounded by ten thousand clansmen from Aṅga¹ and Magadha,² and ten thousand monks from Kapilavatthu³ who were all free from corruptions. Walking one *yojana* on each day with the intention to arrive within two months at Kapilavatthu, which was sixty *yojanas* from Rājagaha,⁴ without dawdling or rushing but going at a moderate pace. The elder while thinking: 'I should say in front of the king: The Bhagavan has set out,' rose into the sky and arrived at the king's abode. The king became happy after seeing the elder, (97a) making him sit on the appointed seat, and after filling a bowl with various food, prepared for his own use, gave it to him. The elder rose up intending to go⁵ but the king said: 'Friend, sit down and eat!' The elder replied: 'Great king, I will eat after going to the teacher's presence.' The king said: 'Well, friend, where is the teacher?' and the elder replied: 'He, surrounded by twenty thousand monks, has set out in order to see the great king.' The king being pleased said: 'You should eat this until my son has not arrived in this city, after this you should go carrying the food in the bowl!'⁶ and the elder assented⁷ to the king's request. The king presented the elder's food after washing the bowl by scouring it with pure scented sand, and filled it with the choicest food, then saying: 'Present it to the Tathāgata!', put it into the elder's hands. All the people saw the elder throw the bowl into the air, and then he too went into the air holding the bowl of food. Having presented the bowl of food into the teacher's hands the teacher enjoyed that food. In this way the elder presented food to him in the same way every day, and so the teacher enjoyed the king's meal, even while journeying on the path. Each day, at the completion of the meal, the elder said: 'Today the Bhagavan has come just this distance, (97b) today the {Pā88} Bhagavan has come just this distance.' While relating the qualities of the Buddha to all the royal clan, who had not seen the teacher, he created faith towards the teacher in their minds.⁸ For this reason the Bhagavan said regarding the elder: 'Monks, among my disciples it is Kāḷudāyi who is the foremost of those who create faith among the clansfolk,' he is held to be the foremost.

¹ Tibetan: Am gha, see edition for variant orthographies.

² Tibetan: Ma ga dha, see edition for variant orthographies.

³ Tibetan: Ser skya'i gzi.

⁴ Tibetan: rgyal po'i khab nas dpag tshad drug cu'i groñ khyer ser skya'i gzir zla ba gñis kyis sleb par dgoñs śiñ. Pāli: "Rājagahato saṭṭhiyojanaṃ Kapilavatthum dvihi māsehi pāpuñissāmiti".

⁵ Tibetan: gnas brtan lañs nas 'gro bar bsams pa dañ. Pāli: Thero uṭṭhāya gamanākāraṃ dassesi.

⁶ Tibetan: khyed 'di gsol la bdag gi sras groñ khyer 'dir ma byon gyi bar la 'di ñid nas lhuñ bzed du bza' ba khyer la soñ cig. Pāli: tumhe imaṃ paribhuñjitvā yāva mama putto imaṃ nagaraṃ pāpuñāti tāv' assa ito va piṇḍapātaṃ pariharantha.

⁷ Tibetan: mñan te. Pāli: adhivāsesi.

⁸ Tibetan: rgyal rigs thams cad ston pa ma mñon ba ñid kyis ston pa'i druñ du rañ ñid kyi sems dañ par mdzad do. Pāli: sakalarājakulaṃ Satthu dassanaṃ vinā yeva Satthari sañjatappasādaṃ akāsi.

III 20.

The Bhagavan at Kapilavatthu.

The Sākiyas¹ assembled prior to the Bhagavan's arrival saying: 'We should see our eminent kinsman.' They considered a place for the Bhagavan to stay thinking: 'The Nigrodha park of the Sākiyas is a lovely place' and they made it ready. Each of them, holding perfumes and flowers in their hands, prepared² the entire park, welcoming him by adorning him with all sorts of adornments. At the outset they sent the young boys and girls of the city to the front, in the midst of them were the royal princes and princesses who made offering with perfumes, flowers, and powders. The Bhagavan after taking those offerings went to the Nigrodha park, there the Bhagavan sat on the seat appointed for the Buddha, surrounded by the twenty thousand monks who were free from corruptions. The Sākiya clan are proud and tough minded,³ they thought: 'Siddhattha (98a) is a youngster together with our youngsters, he is our elder brother,⁴ our sister's son, our grandson,'⁵ and they said to the youths and the king's son: 'You pay homage, and we will sit behind of you',⁶ When they were so seated the Bhagavan saw their intention and thought: 'Although these relatives do not wish to pay homage to me, I will now compel them to pay homage,' then thinking this he entered *jhāna* the basis of higher knowledge and wisdom,⁷ and rising he went into the sky. Then he performed the miracle that was like the dual miracle in front of the *gaṇḍamba*⁸ tree, and dust fell from his feet onto their heads.

III 21.

The subsequent homage by Suddhodana.

The king saw that great wonder and said: 'Bhagavan, you approached the ascetic Kāḷadevala⁹ on the day of your birth making salutation, then on foot approached the head of the *brāhmaṇa*. Seeing this even I paid homage to you, this was my first salutation. When you were seated on the resplendent seat in the shade of the *jambu*¹⁰ tree on the day of the sowing festival,¹¹ when I saw that the shadow of the *jambu* tree did not move I made homage at your feet, this was my second salutation. Now, seeing these miracles that have not been seen before, (98b) I made salutation at your feet, this was my third salutation.'

¹ Tibetan: Śākya.

² Tibetan: ñer bsdogs byas. Pāli: paṭijagganavidhiṃ kāretvā.

³ Tibetan: ña rgyal dan ldan pa yin / sems rtsub pa yin pas. Pāli: mānajatikā mānaṭṭhaddhā.

⁴ Tibetan: phu bo. Pāli: kaniṭṭha.

⁵ Tibetan: tsha bo. Pāli: nattā.

⁶ Tibetan: khyed kyi phyag gis bdag khyed kyi rgyab tu sdod do. Pāli: tumhe vandatha, mayam tumhākaṃ piṭṭhito nisidissāma.

⁷ Tibetan: mñon par śes pa'i gzi dan / ye śes dan / bsam gtan dan ldan par 'jug pa bskyed dgos sñam te. Pāli: abhiññāpādakajjhānaṃ samāpajjitvā.

⁸ Tibetan: a mra bsrūn ba'i a mra, see edition for variant orthographies. Pāli: gaṇḍamba.

⁹ Tibetan: dka' thub pa Nag po lha. Pāli: Kāḷadevala.

¹⁰ Tibetan: 'dzam bu. Pāli: jambu.

¹¹ Tibetan: bkra śis 'bru 'debs pa. Pāli: vappamaṅgala.

III 22.

The homage by the Sākiyas and the pile of flowers.

When the king made salutation to the Bhagavan, there was not even one of the Sākiya clan who could not make salutation,¹ all of them made salutation. Then, after the relatives had made salutation to the Bhagavan, he descended and sat down in the middle of the appointed seat.² When the Bhagavan was seated the kinsmen assembled,³ and they all sat down with concentrated minds. Then lotus petals fell from a large cloud, like an undivided river, and copper coloured water fell noisily on the ground. It soaked those who wished to be soaked, and did not soak those not wishing to be soaked, not even a drop fell on them.⁴ Seeing this all of them were astonished and surprised, exclaiming:⁵ ‘Indeed it is a marvel, indeed it is astonishing.’ The teacher said: {Pā89} ‘It is not only now that the rain of lotus petals, like an undivided river, fell on my gathered kinsfolk, I also made it fall in the past.’ The meaning of this⁶ is explained in the *Vessantarajātaka*.⁷ After hearing the teaching of the Dhamma, they made salutation and left. Though not even one of them, king, viceroy or minister, who was departing said: ‘Come to our house for a meal tomorrow!’

III 23.

Going for alms in Kapilavatthu.

On the second day⁸ (99a) the teacher, surrounded by twenty thousand monks, went for alms to the city of Kapilavatthu. Nobody invited him for a meal, took his bowl or came to meet him. The Bhagavan stood on a threshold thinking:⁹ ‘How did previous Buddhas collect alms after arriving in the city of their clan? Did each of them go to the house of the headman, or did they collect alms in successive order?’¹⁰ Then since he did not see even one Buddha who went according to clan he thought: ‘This is also correct for me now. I also should hold to that custom like the lineage of previous Buddhas. My disciples, studying me, will go to collect alms in the same way’, beginning from the first house he collected alms in successive order. After it was said: ‘The noble youth, Siddhattha, goes for alms’, all the people looked, after opening the

¹ Tibetan: phyag byed par mi nus pa'i śākya'i rigs gcig kyañ med do. Pāli: avanditvā ṭhātuṃ samattho nāma eko Sākiyo pi nāhosi.

² Tibetan: gdan bśams pa'i mchog gi guñ la bźugs so. Pāli: paññatte āsane nisīdi.

³ Tibetan: ñe du rnams dañ 'dus par gyur pa la. Pāli: sikhāppatto ñāṭisamāgamo ahoṣi.

⁴ Tibetan: thigs pa tsam yañ mi ltuñ ño. Pāli: sarīre udabindhumatto pi na patati.

⁵ Tibetan: brjod par byed do. Pāli: kathaṃ samuṭṭhāpesuṃ.

⁶ Tibetan: 'di'i don byuñ ba. Pāli: imissā aṭṭhuppattiyā.

⁷ Tibetan: Thams cad sgrol gyi skye rabs. Pāli: Vessantarajātaka, Jātaka No. 547.

⁸ Tibetan: ñi ma gñis pa la. Pāli: punadivase.

⁹ Tibetan: rnam par brtags pas. Pāli: āvajjesi.

¹⁰ Tibetan: ji ltar sñon gyi sañs rgyas rnams kyi rigs kyi groñ khyer du byon nas bsod sñoms mdzad pa bźin du gañ gi ji ltar rigs par mi chen po'i khyim du 'gro źin yañ na go rims bźin du bsod sñoms spyod do. Pāli: kathan nu kho pubbabuddhā kulanaḡare piñḡāya carimsu, kiṃ uppaṭipāṭiyā issarajanānaṃ gharāni aḡamaṃsu udāhu sapadānacārikaṃ carimsu.

second, and third story windows at the top of the houses.

III 24.

The praise of Rāhula's mother.

The queen, Rāhula's mother,¹ said: 'The noble boy rides in a golden palaquin in this very city with the majesty of a great king. Today, after cutting his hair and beard, putting on saffron robes, and taking a bowl² in his hand, he goes for alms, is this suitable or not?'³ Then opening the top window and looking out, she saw his body, (99b) free from all desires, blazing and illuminating the entire skyline of the city. Surrounded by brilliant light rays six feet deep,⁴ he was adorned with the eighty major marks, and the thirty-two minor marks of the great man. She saw the resplendent Buddha shining incomparably from the top of his head to the soles of his feet.⁵

Ap-a p. 94⁶

His smooth soft black hair coiled to the right,
his forehead was flawless, like the bottom of the moon,
the size of his nose was in proportion to his body,⁷
the lion of mankind created bright rays of light.⁸

After praising the lion of mankind with this kind of verse,⁹ she said to the king: 'Your son is wandering for alms.'

¹ Tibetan: sGra gcan 'dzin gyi yum. Pāli: Rāhulamātara.

² Tibetan: snod lag. Pāli: kapālahattha.

³ Tibetan: mdzes sam mi mdzes. Pāli: sobhati nu kho.

⁴ Tibetan: 'dom gañ ba'i 'od kun nas bskor žiñ rab tu gsal ba. Pāli: vyāmapabhā-parikkhepa-samupabbūhāya.

⁵ Tibetan: gtsug tor nas bzuñ nas žabs kyi mthil gyi bar de srid do. Pāli omits.

⁶ Jātakanidāna p. 89; sTog 99b; Ap-a p. 94.

Jātakanidāna p. 89,

siniddhanīlamudukuñcitakeso
suriyasunimmalatalābhinalāṭo
yuttatuṅgamudukāyatanāso
raṃsijālavitato narasiho ti.

Tibetan sTog 99b,

dbu skra g.yas 'khyil 'jam nag snum pa dañ //
dpral ba dri med ñi ma'i mthil bžin no //
sku dañ 'tsham pa'i šaṅs ni mtho ba dañ //
mi yi señ ge 'od zer gsal bar mdzad //

⁷ Tibetan: sku dañ 'tsham pai šaṅs ni mtho ba dañ. Pāli: yuttatuṅgamudukāyatanāso.

⁸ Tibetan: mi yi señ ge'i 'od zer gsal bar mdzad. Pāli: raṃsijālavivatato naraīho ti.

⁹ Tibetan omits. Pāli: aṭṭhahi, Ap.A. dasahi.

III 25.

The lineage of the Buddhas.

The king being mentally grieved, put on his clothes¹ and quickly departed, then standing before the Bhagavan he said: ‘Reverend Sir, why do you shame us? What is the point of wandering for alms? Why don’t you intend to relate that I give food to those monks?’² {Pā90} He replied: ‘This is the custom of the great king’s family.’ The king said: ‘Reverend Sir, our lineage is the lineage of the Śākya.’³ Among even a single one of their royal families the term ‘going on almsround’ is not found.’ The Buddha said: ‘This lineage of yours is the so-called lineage of great kings. O great king, do not be sad!’⁴ My lineage is the lineage of the Buddhas (100a) such as Dipaṃkara, Koṇḍañña and Kassapa. These and many thousands of other Buddhas have made a living by wandering for alms,’ and he remained in the middle of the path.

Dhp 168⁵

Not practising heedlessness,
but performing well the practice of the Dhamma,
when practising the Dhamma,
one lives happily in this world and the next.

¹ Tibetan: gos nas bzuñ ste. Pāli: hatthena sātakaṃ saṅṭhapento.

² Tibetan: dge sloñ ’di rnam kyī bza’ ba bdag gis ster mi śes bsams pa yin nam ci lags. Pāli: kiṃ ettakānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ na sakkā bhataṃ laddhun ti saññaṃ karitthā ti.

³ Tibetan: Śākya’i rigs. Pāli: Mahāsammatakhattiyavaṃso.

⁴ Tibetan: rgyal po mi dgyes pa ma mdzad cig. Pāli omits.

⁵ *Jātakanidāna* p. 90; sTog 100a; Dhp 168; PDhp 27; Uv 4. 35; GDhp 110.; Dhp-a III p. 164; Ap-a pp. 94, 539.

Jātakanidāna p. 90,

uttiṭṭhe na-ppamajjeyya / dhammaṃ sucaritaṃ care,
dhammacārī sukhaṃ seti / asmiṃ loke paramhi ca.

Tibetan sTog 100a.

bag med lhag mar byed pa med // chos la spyod ciñ legs par spyod //
chos la spyad na bde ba ’byuñ // ’jig rten ’di dañ phyi mar bde //

Patna *Dharmapada* 27,

uṭṭheyā na pramajjeyā / dhammaṃ sucaritaṃ care
dhammacārī [] seti / aśsiṃ loke paramhi ca.

Udānavarga 4.35,

uṭṭiṣṭhen na pramādyeta / dharmmaṃ sucaritaṃ caret /
dharmmacārī sukhaṃ śete / hy asmiṃ loke paratra ca //

Gāndhārī *Dharmapada* 110,

udiṭṭha na pramaje’a / dhamu sucarida cari
dhama-cari suhu śe’adi / asvi loki parasa yi.

He explained the teaching with these verses of the Dhamma, and the king attained the fruit of stream enterer at the end of these verses.

Dhp 169¹

Practising well the practice of the Dhamma,
without practising the wrong practice,
by practising the Dhamma
one lives happily in this world and the next.

Moreover, hearing these verses of the Dhamma² he attained the fruit of once returner. Then, hearing the *Dhammapāḷajātaka*,³ he attained the fruit of non returner. At the time of his death, while sleeping on the royal bed under a white parasol, he attained arhatship. There was no need for the king to practice asceticism by dwelling in a solitary place.

III 26.

The Bhagavan in the chamber of Rāhula's mother.

Experiencing the fruit of stream enterer, and taking the Bhagavan's bowl, the king invited⁴ the Bhagavan with his retinue into the palace, serving them food and drink which satisfied them. After the meal all the

¹ *Jātakanidāna* p. 90; sTog 100a; Dhp 169; PDhp 224; Uv 30. 5; GDhp 328; Dhp-a III p. 164; Ap II pp. 590, 596; Ap-a p. 539.

Jātakanidāna p. 90,

dhammaṃ care sucaritaṃ / na naṃ ducaritaṃ care,
dhammacārī sukhaṃ seti / asmiṃ loke paramhi ca.

Tibetan sTog 100a,

chos spyod pa ni legs par spyod // ñes par spyod pa mi bya zñ //
chos spyad pa yis bde ba 'byuñ // 'jig rten 'di dañ pha rol tu'o //

Patna *Dharmapada* 224,

dhammaṃ care sucaritaṃ / na naṃ ducaritaṃ care
dhammacārī sukhaṃ śeti / assim loke paramhi ca.

Udānavarga 30.5,

dharmam caret sucaritam / nainam dušcaritam caret
dharmacārī sukham śete / hy asmiṃ loke paratra ca.

Gāndhārī *Dharmapada* 328,

dhamu cari sucarida /... drucarida cari
dhamayari suha śedi / asvi loki parasa yi.

² Tibetan: chos kyi rkañ pa. Pāli omits.

³ Tibetan: Chos skyon ba'i skyes rabs. Pāli: Mahādhammapāḷajātaka, Jātaka No. 447.

⁴ Tibetan: spyān drañs nas. Pāli: āropetvā.

womenfolk came, apart from Rāhula's mother,¹ and paid homage to the Bhagavan. Then she (100b) said to the attendants: 'Pay homage to the noble son!' Then while they were going she said: 'If I have good qualities within me the noble son himself will come to this spot. When he arrives I will pay homage to him.'² The king, taking the bowl, went to the apartments of the royal women together with the Bhagavan and his two foremost disciples, saying: 'When the royal daughter herself pays homage according to her wish, do not make even the slightest disapproval,³ he then sat on the appointed seat. She soon arrived, and grasping his calves, and putting her head on top of his feet, paid homage according to her wish. The king related the royal daughter's good qualities to the Bhagavan, such as the good quality of great affection,⁴ and so forth, saying: 'Sir, my daughter hearing that: 'He has put on yellow robes,' put on yellow robes {Pā91} herself starting from that day. Hearing that: 'He is eating one meal a day,' my daughter also started eating one meal a day. Hearing⁵ 'He has abandoned high beds,' she slept on a low bed. Hearing: 'He is without desire for perfumes and flower garlands,' she became free of desire for perfumes and flower garlands. Her own kinsfolk sent a message saying: 'I will sustain you'⁶ but she did not look to even a single relative. O Bhagavan, my daughter (101a) possesses such good qualities as these.' The Bhagavan said: 'Great king, it is no great surprise that the royal daughter now protected by you did not ripen⁷ her knowledge while protected by herself. Previously, while wandering in the mountains unprotected, she did not complete⁸ her knowledge though she protected herself.' After relating the *Candakinnarajātaka*⁹ he rose from his seat and went.

III 27.

The going forth of Nanda.

འཇམ་མཁའ་ལོ་ལོ་

On the second day while the royal youth Nanda¹⁰ stayed nearby receiving the royal anointment, the entry into the new house and marriage blessings. The Bhagavan went into his house made the youth take the bowl, intending him to go forth, recited the blessing, rose from his seat and left. Janapadakalyāṇī¹¹ seeing him going, looked¹² and said: 'Noble Son, come back quickly!' Nanda, though unable to hold the

¹ Tibetan: sgra gcan 'dzin gyi ma ma gtogs pa. Pāli: ṭhapetvā Rāhulamātaraṃ.

² Tibetan: gal te kho mo la yon tan yod na 'phags pa'i bu rañ ñid kyi gnas su byon no // byon pa ñid na de la phyag byed do. Pāli: sace mayhaṃ guṇo atthi sayhaṃ eva me santikaṃ ayyaputto āgamissati, āgataṃ eva naṃ vandissāmīti.

³ Tibetan: rgyal po'i bu mo rañ ñid ji ltar mos pa'i phyag byed ciñ gzan dañ dgal ba cuñ zad kyañ ma byed. Pāli: rājadhitā yathāruciṃ vandamānā na kiñci vattabbā ti.

⁴ Tibetan: dga' ba mañ po. Pāli: sinehabahumāna.

⁵ Tibetan: thos nas. Pāli: ñatvā.

⁶ Tibetan: bdag gis gso'o zes. Pāli: mayhaṃ paṭijaggissāmā ti.

⁷ Tibetan: ye śes yoñs su ma smin pa. Pāli: paripakke ñaṇe.

⁸ Tibetan: ye śes yoñs su ma rdzogs pa. Pāli: aparipakke ñaṇe.

⁹ Tibetan: Mi'am ci zla ba'i skyes rabs. Pāli: Candakinnarajātaka, Jātaka No. 485.

¹⁰ Tibetan: dGa' bo.

¹¹ Tibetan: lJoñs kyi dge ba'i bu mo.

¹² Tibetan: blta'o. Pāli: gīvaṃ pāsaretvā olokesi.

Bhagavan's bowl, went to the temple and although he had no wish for it, the Bhagavan made him go forth. So, the Bhagavan, on the third day after going to the city of Kapila, caused Nanda to go forth.

III 28.

The going forth of Rāhula.

read, showing

On the seventh day Rāhula's mother, after adorning the boy with adornments, sent him to the Bhagavan's presence, saying: 'Son, look at this ascetic surrounded by twenty thousand monks!¹ This ascetic (101b) with the golden Brahma like body is your father. He has a great treasure, but since he went forth that treasure has not been seen. Go and ask for that wealth² saying: 'I am your son. After I have received the initiation into royalty I will become empowered³ as a *cakkavattirāja*. So I ask you to give me this treasure for my benefit, as your wealth is mine!' After this was said the youth approached the Bhagavan, and became happy⁴ in his father's presence, saying: 'Ascetic, being in your shadow makes me joyful,⁵ and after speaking other such utterances,⁶ he sat down. The Bhagavan, being satisfied at the end of the meal, rose from his seat and went. The youth followed the Bhagavan saying: 'Ascetic, give me the treasure,⁷ give me the treasure!' The Bhagavan did not send him back, and thought: 'Don't follow me,⁸ even those followers going with the Bhagavan were unable to send him back, and the youth went into the pleasure garden along with the Bhagavan. Then the Bhagavan thought: 'This youth wishes for the wealth of his father, this is mundane wealth that is associated with anguish.⁹ Now, if I were to give this youth the seven kinds of noble wealth obtained on the seat of enlightenment, I would be a giver of supramundane wealth.'¹⁰ (102a) Then he addressed the venerable Sāriputta saying: 'Now you, {Pā92} Sāriputta, make the youth Rāhula go forth!', and he made him go forth. The king became extremely grieved about his son,¹¹ and being unable to endure it went¹² to the Bhagavan asking for a promise saying: 'Sir, do not allow a son to go forth without the permission of his noble mother and father.'

¹ Tibetan: dge sloñ. Pāli: samaṇa.

² Tibetan: soñ la nor sloñs śig. Pāli: gaccha naṃ dāyajjaṃ yāca.

³ Tibetan: 'khor lo sgyur ba la dbaṅ byed par 'gyur ro. Pāli: cakkavattī bhavissāmi.

⁴ Tibetan: dga' ba skyes so. Pāli: sinehaṃ paṭilabhivā haṭṭhatuṭṭho.

⁵ Tibetan: sems spro bar gyur to // dge sbyoñ des khyod kyī grib ma ni de'o. Pāli: sukhā te samaṇa chāyā.

⁶ Tibetan: g'zan yañ rañ gi rigs pas brjod ciñ. Pāli: aññaṃ pi bahuṃ attano anurūpaṃ vadanto.

⁷ Tibetan: nor. Pāli: dāyajja.

⁸ Tibetan: ña'i rjes su ma 'gro. Pāli omits.

⁹ Tibetan: 'tshe ba dañ bcas pa yin. Pāli: vaṭṭānugataṃ savighātaṃ.

¹⁰ Tibetan: 'jig rten las 'das pa'i nor gyi bdag po byed par 'gyur bar. Pāli: lokuttaradāyajjassa naṃ sāmikaṃ karomi.

¹¹ Tibetan: slar yañ rgyal po g'zon nu'i sdug bsñal cher skyes te. Pāli: Pabbajite pana kumāre rañño adhimattadukkhaṃ uppajji.

¹² Tibetan: phyin te. Pāli: nivedetvā.

III 29.

The Bhagavan's visit to Sītavana.

The Bhagavan gave his promise to him, and on the second day after eating the meal¹ at the king's residence, sat at one side. The king said: 'Sir, during the time of your ascetic practices a certain *deva* approached me saying: 'Your son has died.' Without belief in his words I replied: 'My son would not die without attaining enlightenment,' and I rejected his words.' The Bhagavan replied: 'How can you believe this now, previously after seeing his bones when he was said: 'Your son is dead' you did not believe it?' The meaning² of this is explained in the *Mahādhammapāla-jātaka*.³ At the end of the discourse the king was established in the fruit of a non returner. So the Bhagavan's father was established in the three fruits, then the Bhagavan assembled the *saṅgha* of monks,⁴ going again to Rājagaha he dwelled in the (102b) Sīta grove.⁵

III 30.

The Jetavana of Anāthapiṇḍika.

Then the householder Anāthapiṇḍika,⁶ taking five hundred carts of treasure,⁷ was going to a close friend's⁸ house when he heard: 'The Buddha the Bhagavan has arrived.' Early in the morning he approached the teacher through the gate, opened by the power of the *devas*, heard the Dhamma and attained⁹ the fruit of stream enterer. On the second day he gave a great gift to the Buddha and his assembly,¹⁰ and obtained a promise in the teacher's presence to come to Sāvatti.¹¹ He then spent a hundred thousand pieces of treasure on each of the forty-five *yojanas* along the path, and constructed a temple at each *yojana*. Then, after buying the Jeta grove¹² with riches¹³ worth eighteen thousand *koṭis*, establishing a new practice¹⁴ he built Dasabala's scented chamber¹⁵ in the middle of it. Surrounding that, he established the dwellings of the eighty great elders, he also built dwelling and resting places of one story, two stories and with high

¹ Tibetan: gdugs tshod. Pāli: katapātārāsa.

² Tibetan: don 'byuñ ba. Pāli: aṭṭhuppatti.

³ Tibetan: Chos skyoñ ba chen po'i skyes rabs. Pāli: Mahādhammājalājātaka, Jātaka No. 447.

⁴ Tibetan: de ltar bcom ldan 'das kyi yab 'bras bu gsum la so sor gnas nas dge slong gi dge 'dun 'khor du byas so. Pāli: Iti Bhagavā pitaraṃ tisu phalesu patiṭṭhāpetvā bhikkhusaṃghaparivuto.

⁵ Tibetan: bSil ba'i tshal. Pāli: Sītavana.

⁶ Tibetan: mGon med zas sbyin.

⁷ Tibetan: nor. Pāli: bhaṇḍa.

⁸ Tibetan: rañ ñid dga' ba'i grogs. Pāli: piyasaḥāyassa setṭhino.

⁹ Tibetan: thob par gyur to. Pāli: patiṭṭhāya.

¹⁰ Tibetan: sañs rgyas la sogs pa'i dge dun la. Pāli: buddhapamukhassa saṃghassa.

¹¹ Tibetan: mÑan yod.

¹² Tibetan: rGyal byed tshal.

¹³ Tibetan: dbyig. Pāli: hirañña.

¹⁴ Tibetan: las kha gsar pa byed ciñ. Pāli: navakammaṃ paṭṭhapesi.

¹⁵ Tibetan: stobs bcu pa'i dri'i gtsañ khañ. Pāli: Dasabalassa gandhakuṭiṃ.

roofs,¹ night and day dwellings with ponds and walkways. He expended wealth worth eighteen thousand *koṭis* building lovely temples on that pleasant site. Then he sent a messenger in order to summon Dasabala, the teacher listened to the messenger's news and assembled a great *saṅgha* of monks. Then, after leaving (103a) Rājagaha, he went by stages to the city of Sāvatti. The great merchant had also prepared the great temple, and on the day of the Tathāgata's arrival at the Jeta grove he adorned his son with many decorations, and sent him together with five hundred similarly adorned youths. The son together with that retinue, carrying {Pā93} five hundred banners, made of resplendent cloth of five colours, went ahead of Dasabala. The two daughters,² Mahāsubhaddā³ and Cūlasubhaddā,⁴ came behind them together with five hundred maidens carrying jars filled with gold in their hands.⁵ Behind them came the merchant's wife, adorned with all decorations, and accompanied by five hundred women⁶ carrying large platters filled with gold. Behind all of them came the merchant himself, clothed in fine garments, and accompanied by five hundred similarly clothed merchants, proceeded to the Bhagavan's presence. The Bhagavan, putting this assembly of lay disciples in front, assembled that large *saṅgha* of monks. The light rays of his own body were like a mass of gold dust,⁷ illuminating up to the edge of the grove, then with the endless play of a Buddha,⁸ the resplendent Buddha, incomparable and peerless arrived in Jeta grove. (103b) Then Anāthapiṇḍika asked: 'Sir, how should I present this temple!'⁹ The Bhagavan replied: 'Householder, give this temple to those *saṅghas* of monks of the present, past,¹⁰ and future!' and Anāthapiṇḍika said: 'Bhagavan,¹¹ so be it.' Then the great merchant, taking a golden bottle, held out water to Dasabala's hands saying: 'I thus give this Jeta grove temple as a gift to the Buddha, and the *saṅgha* of the four directions who are coming and going!' The teacher accepted it and rejoiced.

Vin II pp.147, 164¹²

¹ Tibetan omits. Pāli adds haṃsavattaka.

² Tibetan: bu mo. Pāli: setṭhidhītara.

³ Tibetan: Legs bzañ chen mo.

⁴ Tibetan: Legs bzañ ma chuñ ba.

⁵ Tibetan: lag par. Pāli omits.

⁶ Tibetan: bud med. Pāli: mātuḡāma.

⁷ Tibetan: gser gyi bcud kyi goñ bu. Pāli: suvṇṇarasasekapiñjara.

⁸ Tibetan: mtha' yas pa'i sañs rgyas kyi rol pa. Pāli: anantaāya Buddhalīhāya.

⁹ Tibetan: btsun pa gtsug lag khañ 'di ji lta bu la dbul bar bgyi. Pāli: kath' āham bhante imasmim vihāre paṭipajjāmīti.

¹⁰ Tibetan: 'oñ ba dañ 'gro ba. Pāli: āgatānāgata.

¹¹ Tibetan: bcom ldan 'das. Pāli: bhante.

¹² *Jātakanidāna* p. 93; sTog 103b; Vin II pp. 147, 164; Sv I p.304; Ps III p. 26; Spk III p. 51; Ud-a p. 419; Ap-a p. 98.

Jātakanidāna p. 93,

sītaṃ uñhaṃ paṭihanti
tato vālamigāni ca
sirimsape ca makase ca
sisire cāpi vuṭṭhiyo.

Unharméd by cold and heat, just like wild animals
unharméd by snakes, flies, frost or rain.

Vin II pp.147, 164¹

Just as clothing on the body protects from wind and heat,
dwelling in a house causes happiness, in a house he has absorption and insight,²
the supreme Buddha praised he who gave a temple to the *saṅgha*.

Vin II pp.147, 164³

Therefore, that wise person, for his own sake
constructs a temple with joy, which is the dwelling of the wise.

Tibetan sTog 103b,

graṅ daṅ dro bas mi űiams śin // de ltar ri dags la sogs pa'i //
sdig sbrul daṅ ni sbraṅ bu daṅ // ba mo daṅ ni char pas so //

¹ *Jātakanidāna* p. 93; sTog 103b; Vin II pp. 147, 164; Sv I p. 304; Ps III p. 26; Spk III p. 51; Ud-a p. 419; Ap-a p. 98.

Jātakanidāna p. 93,

tato vātātape ghore
sañjāte paṭihaññati.
Leṅatthañ ca sukhatthañ ca
jhāyituñ ca vipassitum
vihāradānaṃ saṃghassa
aggam Buddhena vaṇṇitaṃ.

Tibetan sTog 103b,

de ltar rluṅ daṅ śin tu dro // so sor lus la gos pa daṅ //
khañ nañ gnas nas bde ba skyes // khañ par bsam gtan lhag mthoñ rnam //
dge 'dun gtsug lag khañ 'bul ba // sañs rgyas mchog gis bsñags par mdzad //

² Tibetan: de ltar rluṅ daṅ śin tu dro // so sor lus la gos pa daṅ // khañ nañ gnas nas bde ba skyes // khañ par bsam gtan lhag mthoñ rnam //. Pāli: Tato vātātape ghore / sañjāte paṭihaññati / Leṅatthañ ca sukhatthañ ca / jhāyituñ ca vipassitum.

³ *Jātakanidāna* p. 93; sTog 103b; Vin II pp. 147, 164; Sv I p.304; Ps III pp. 262, 325; S I pp. 56, 70, 102; Spk III, p. 51; Ud-a p. 420; Ap-a p. 98.

Jātakanidāna p. 93,

tasmā hi paṇḍito poso
sampaṣaṃ atthaṃ attano
vihāre kāraye ramme
vāsaya' ettha bahussute.

Tibetan sTog 103b,

skyes bu mkhas pas de yi phyir // bdag űid kyi ni phyir du ni //
dga' bas gtsug lag khañ byed pa // mañ du thos pa gnas pa yin //

Vin II pp.148, 164¹

He gives food, drink, clothes, and bedding,
with an upright and pure mind. {Pā94}

Vin II pp.148, 164²

They teach him the Dhamma, in order to pacify all suffering,
he who comprehends their Dhamma, unsupported he attains *nibbāna*.³

In this way he explained the benefits of the temple (104a) to them. Starting on the second day, Anāthapiṇḍika began the presentation of the gift.⁴ Visākhā's⁵ palace was completed within four months, but the great temple of Anāthapiṇḍika was completed within nine months. Eighteen thousand *koṭis* went to that great temple, and he also presented fifty-four thousand *koṭis* of wealth to this temple. Furthermore, in the past, at the time of Vipassi, Punabbasumitta⁶ bought this site with gold pieces the size of a great elephant's footprint,⁷ and built a monastery for the *saṅgha*, measuring one *yojana*, on this very spot. During the time of the Bhagavan Sikhi, the merchant's son Sirivaḍḍha⁸ bought it with an unbroken covering of gold

¹ *Jātakanidāna* p. 93; sTog 103b; Vin II pp. 148, 164; Sv I p. 304; Ps III p. 26; S I p. 100; Spk III p. 51; Ud-a p. 420; Ap-a p. 98.

Jātakanidāna p. 93,

tesaṃ annañ ca pānañ ca
vatthasenāsanāni ca
dadeyya ujubhūtesu
vippasannena cetasā.

Tibetan sTog 103b,

de rnams kyi ni bza' dañ btuñ // gos dañ mal cha stan dañ ni //
de rnams sems ni drañ pos dbul // rab tu dañ ba'i sems kyis so //

² *Jātakanidāna* p. 94; sTog 103b; Vin, II pp. 148, 164; Sv I p.304; Spk III p. 51; Ud-a p. 20; Ap-a p. 98.

Jātakanidāna p. 94,

te tassa dhammaṃ desenti
sabbadukkhāpanūdanam,
yaṃ yo dhammaṃ idh' aññāya
parinibbāti anāsavo ti.

Tibetan sTog 103b,

des ni de la chos bstan to // sdug bsñal thams cad ñer 'zi'i phyir //
gañ de'i chos ni rtogs pa dañ // rten med mya ñan 'das par byed //

³ Tibetan: rten med mya ñan 'das par byed. Pāli: parinibbāti anāsavo ti.

⁴ Tibetan: sbyin pa gtoñ ba. Pāli: vihāramaha.

⁵ Tibetan: Sa kham.

⁶ Tibetan: Tshoñ dpon kun gyi grogs.

⁷ Tibetan: gser gyi glañ po'i rkañ pa'i rmig rjes. Pāli: suvaṇṇiṭṭhika.

⁸ Tibetan: dPal 'phel zes bya ba'i tshoñ dpon gyi bu. Pāli: Sirivaḍḍho nāma setṭhi.

plates,¹ and built a monastery for the *saṅgha*, measuring the distance of twelve earshots,² on this very spot. During the time of the Bhagavan Vessabhu, the merchant named Sotthi³ bought the site by covering the ground with golden footprints,⁴ and built a monastery for the *saṅgha*, measuring half a *yojana*, on this very spot. During the time of the Bhagavan Kakusandha,⁵ the merchant named Accuta⁶ bought the site with a continuous wall of gold,⁷ and built a monastery for the *saṅgha*, measuring four earshots,⁸ (104b) on this very spot. During the time of the Bhagavan Koṇāgamaṇa,⁹ the merchant named Ugga¹⁰ bought the site with a continuous covering of gold tortoises, and built a monastery for the *saṅgha*, measuring two earshots,¹¹ on this very spot. During the time of the Bhagavan Kassapa, the merchant named Sumaṅgala bought the site with a continuous wall of gold,¹² and built a monastery for the *saṅgha*, measuring one earshot,¹³ on this very spot. Furthermore, during the time of our Bhagavan, the merchant Anāthapiṇḍika bought the site with a continuous covering of manufactured ornaments, such as gold coins, worth eighty thousand *koṭis*,¹⁴ and built a monastery, measuring half an earshot,¹⁵ on this very spot. This spot has not been relinquished by all the Buddhas. In the same way, in whatever place the Bhagavan himself lived, from the attainment of omniscience on the great seat of enlightenment, up to the *parinibbāna* at the end of his life, is called the present era. All the *jātakas* will be explained by this method. The explanation of the *Jātakanidāna* is completed.¹⁶

III 31.1q

Colophon

The *paṇḍita* Ānanda śrī with the learned translator, the śākya monk Ñi ma rgyal mtshan bzañ po, translated this at the great monastery of dPal Thar pa gliñ, the residence of those fluent in the two languages, after consulting with them they revised it. May this work be like the sun and moon above the earth.

¹ Tibetan: gser gyi sder ma rgyun mi 'chad pas. Pāli: suvaṇṇaphālasanthārena.

² Tibetan: rgyaṅ grags bcu gñis. Pāli: tigāvuta.

³ bKra śis.

⁴ Tibetan: gser gyi rkañ pa'i rjes. Pāli: suvaṇṇahatthipada.

⁵ Tibetan: Log par dad sel.

⁶ Tibetan: 'Pho ba med.

⁷ Tibetan: gser gyi pha gu lta bu rgyun mi 'chad pa. Pāli: suvaṇṇiṭṭhikasanthārena.

⁸ Tibetan: rgyaṅ grags bzi. Pāli: gāvuta.

⁹ Tibetan: gSer thub.

¹⁰ Tibetan: Drag po.

¹¹ Tibetan: rgyaṅ grags gñis. Pāli: aḍḍhagāvuta.

¹² Tibetan: gser gyi pha gu rgyun mi 'chad pa lta bus. Pāli: suvaṇṇiṭṭhikasanthārena.

¹³ Tibetan: rgyaṅ grags gcig. Pāli: soḷasakarīsa.

¹⁴ Tibetan: bye ba phrag bco brgyad kyi dbyig gis gser gyi 'dra men du byas pa rgyun mi 'chad pa lta bus. Pāli: kahāpanakotīsanthārena.

¹⁵ Tibetan: rgyaṅ grags phyed. Pāli: aṭṭhakarīsa.

¹⁶ Tibetan: skyes pa rabs kyi gleñ gzi'i bśad pa rdzogs so. Pāli: Nidānakathā niṭṭhitā.



The Jātakanidāna

A Critical Study, Tibetan Edition and Annotated Translation

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Volume II

Tibetan Edition

Appendices

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sKyes pa rabs kyi gleñ gži

Riñ ba'i gleñ gži¹

I 1.

(7a) rgya gar skad du | dzā ta ka ni dā nañ | bod skad du || 'phags pa dkon mchog gsum la gus pas²
phyag 'tshal lo³ || bcom ldan 'das rgyal byed⁴ tshal mgon med zas sbyin gyi kun dga' ra ba na bžugs
pa'i tshē | gnas brtan chen po don mthoñ bcom ldan 'das kyi thad du soñ nas | phyag byas te bskor ba
byas nas⁵ phyogs gcig tu 'khod do⁶ || bcom ldan 'das kyi thad du 'di skad ces⁷ gsol to | btsun pa bdag
ni sañs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyi⁸ rgyud kyi chos thos par 'tshal lo⁹ || bka' stsal pa | don mthoñ yid la
zuñ žig¹⁰ dañ | ñas bśad par bya'o¹¹ žes byuñ¹² ño || de¹³ yañ 'dir sdud par byed pa po rab tu rtog pa'i
śes rab dañ ži ba'i dgra bcom pa rnams kyi skeyes¹⁴ pa¹⁵ rabs kyi gleñ gži'i¹⁶ don gyi bśnags¹⁷ pa brjod
do || (7b)¹⁸ {Pā2} riñ ba'i gleñ gži dañ¹⁹ | bar pa'i gleñ gži dañ | ñe ba'i gleñ gži ste | gleñ gži gsum po
'di gzigs nas bśnags pa gañ žig ñan pa'o || de la dañ po re žig²⁰ de rnams kyi gleñ gži yoñs su²¹ bcad
pa rnams rig par bya'o || mar me mdzad kyi²² žabs kyi druñ 'dir sems dpa'²³ chen pos smon lam btab
bo || ji srid thams cad sgrol gyi lus spañs pa'i bar dañ | dga' ldan gyi gnas su²⁴ 'khruñs pa'i chos kyi

¹ Tibetan translation of the Dūrenidāna based on the version contained in the sTog Palace edition, with the folio pagination, and śad punctuation, given from that edition, folios 7a-55a; Pāli text in J I pp. 2-47. The divisions of the text used in this translation is that found in L.N. Tiwari's Devanāgarī edition of the text, see L.N. Tiwari, ed., *Paramatthajotikā nāma Jātakāṭṭhakathā*, Varanasi: Sampurnanand Sanskrit University, 1992.

² SDQL pas, N par.

³ N 'tshalo.

⁴ DQLN omit, S kyi.

⁵ SLN omit, DQ nas.

⁶ SLN do, DQ de.

⁷ SLN omit, DQ ces.

⁸ SLN kyi, DQ kyis.

⁹ N 'tshalo.

¹⁰ S žig, DQLN śig.

¹¹ SDQN bya'o, L ba'o.

¹² S byuñ, DQLN 'byuñ.

¹³ DQ de, SLN da.

¹⁴ SDQ skeyes, LN skye.

¹⁵ SDQL pa, N omits.

¹⁶ SDQL omit, N dañ.

¹⁷ SDQ bśnags, LN śnags.

¹⁸ The folio numbers from the sTog Palace edition are given thus: (7b), while the Pāli pages numbers referring to the PTS edition of the text are given thus: {Pā2}.

¹⁹ SDQ dañ, LN omit.

²⁰ S žig, N śig.

²¹ N yoñsu.

²² S kyi, N kyis.

²³ SQLN dpa', D pa

²⁴ N gnasu.

gtam gyi bar gyi lam ni riñ po'i gleñ gži žes bya'o || ji srid dga' ldan gyi gnas nas 'phos nas byañ chub
 kyi sñiñ por thams cad mkhyen pa thob nas chos kyi gtam gyi bar gyi¹ gleñ gži bar pa žes bya ba'o² ||
 gañ dañ gañ du žugs nas | de dañ de thob pa rnams ni ñe ba'i gleñ gži žes bya ba'o³ || de la 'dir riñ po'i
 gleñ gži žes bya ba ni | 'di nas bskal pa grañs med pa bži dañ | bskal pa 'bum phrag gcig⁴ lhag pa nas
 'go⁵ brtsams nas groñ khyer 'jigs med ldan žes bya ba byuñ no⁶ || der yañ bram ze blo gros bzañ po
 žes bya ba gnas so⁷ || pha dañ ma gñis ka'añ⁸ rigs bzañ ba'i mñal du žugs te | rigs bdun rgyud kyi bar
 du gžan gyis⁹ rtsod pa dañ | spyo¹⁰ ba dañ | smod pa med ciñ rnam par dag go || gzugs bzañ ba | blta¹¹
 na sdug pa rab tu mdzes pa mchog gi kha dog dañ ldan pa'i skyes bu can no¹² || de yañ las gžan mi
 byed par bram ze'i las 'ba' žig slob bo¹³ || (8a) de yañ khye'u gžon nu'i dus su pha dañ ma gñis ka¹⁴
 dus las 'das so¹⁵ || de nas de'i loñs spyod spel ba'i blon pos nor gyi yi ge blañs te | gser dañ | dñul dañ |
 nor bu dañ | mu tig la sogs pas gañ ba rnams sgor bton te gžon nu 'di rnams ma'i nor yin no || 'di
 rnams pha'i nor yin no¹⁶ || 'di dag ni mes po dañ yañ mes kyi nor yin no¹⁷ || rigs bdun rgyud¹⁸ kyi bar
 gyi¹⁹ nor yin no²⁰ žes smras so²¹ || 'di rnams so sor bskañ²² ba'i phyr smras pa yin no²³ || mkhas pa
 blo gros bzañ pos bsams pa | 'di'i nor rnams bzuñ nas bdag gi²⁴ pha dañ mes po la sogs pas 'jig rten
 pha rol tu²⁵ 'gro ba na gser se ba gcig²⁶ kyañ khyer nas ma soñ gis | bdag ñid kyis khyer nas 'gro bar
 rig par bya'o žes rgyal po la smras nas | groñ khyer du rol mo bsgrags te | skye bo thams cad la sbyin

¹ SLN gyi, DQ ni.

² SDQN bya ba'o, L bya'o.

³ SDQL bya ba'o, N bya'o.

⁴ SDQN gcig, L cig.

⁵ S 'go, DQLN mgo.

⁶ N byuñ.

⁷ N gnaso.

⁸ SDQN ka'añ, L ga'añ.

⁹ SDLN gyis, Q gyi.

¹⁰ S spyo, LN spyo, DQ dpya.

¹¹ SDQ blta, LN lta.

¹² N cano.

¹³ LN slobso.

¹⁴ SDQN ka, L ga.

¹⁵ LN 'daso.

¹⁶ LN yino.

¹⁷ N yino.

¹⁸ SDQL rgyud, N brgyud.

¹⁹ SDQ gyi, LN omit.

²⁰ N yino.

²¹ N smraso.

²² SDQ bskañ, LN skyañ.

²³ N yino.

²⁴ SDLN gi, Q gis.

²⁵ SDQN tu, L du.

²⁶ SDQ gcig, LN cig.

par byin nas | dka' thub pa'i rab tu byuñ ba la rab tu byuñ ño¹ || 'di'² yañ don gsal bar bya ba'i phyir gnas 'dir blo gros bzañ pos gtam byas so³ || de yañ 'di tsam 'ba' žig ma yin te | sañs rgyas kyi rgyur rgyun mi 'chad par gsuñs la | slar yañ tshigs su⁴ bcad pas bciñs te bśad kyañ go dka' bas | de dañ de'i bar bar du tshigs su⁵ bcad pa'i tshig gis gsal⁶ ba dañ bcas pa bśad par bya'o ||

I2.

bskal pa grañs med⁷ bži dañ | bskal pa 'bum (8b) phrag gcig lhag pa⁸ nas 'go⁹ brtsams nas sgra bcu rgyun¹⁰ chad med¹¹ par 'jigs med ldan gyi¹² groñ khyer der byuñ ño¹³ || de'i sañs rgyas kyi rgyud bśad do¹⁴ || {Pā3}

Bv II 1-2a

bskal pa grañs med bži dañ ni || 'bum phrag gcig ni lhag pa na ||
groñ khyer 'jigs med ldan žes pa || mthoñ ba yis ni dga' bar¹⁵ byed ||
rgyun mi 'chad pa¹⁶ sgra bcu bžin¹⁷ || bza' dañ btuñ ba yañ dag ldan ||

I3.

de la de¹⁸ sgra¹⁹ bcu rgyun mi 'chad pa ni | glañ po che'i sgra dañ | rta'i sgra dañ |
šiñ rta'i sgra dañ | rol mo'i sgra dañ | rol mo mri dam ga'i sgra dañ | pi wañ²⁰ gi sgra dañ | glu'i sgra dañ | rol mo²¹ samma'i²² sgra dañ | cha lañ gi sgra dañ | rgod pa dañ 'thuñ ba dañ | za ba'i sgra ste |
sgra bcu po 'di rñams ni rgyun mi 'chad pa yin no²³ || sgra de rñams phyogs gcig tu²⁴ bya ste |

¹ N byuño.

² SDQ 'di', LN 'di yi.

³ N byaso.

⁴ LN tshigsu.

⁵ N tshigsu.

⁶ DQLN gsal, S bsal.

⁷ SLN omit, DQ pa.

⁸ DQ pa, SLN omit.

⁹ S 'go, DQLN mgo.

¹⁰ SDQ omit, LN mi.

¹¹ SDQ med, LN omit.

¹² SDLN gyi, Q omits.

¹³ N byuño.

¹⁴ L bśado.

¹⁵ SDQ bar, LN ba.

¹⁶ SDLN pa, Q omits.

¹⁷ SDLN bžin, Q bži.

¹⁸ S de, DQLN omit.

¹⁹ DQLN sgra, S omits.

²⁰ SDLN wañ, Q sbañ.

²¹ SDLN mo, Q mo'i.

²² SLN samma'i, DQ sam ma'i.

²³ N yino.

Bv II 2b-c

glañ po'i sgra dañ rta'i sgra dañ¹ || rol mo duñ dañ śiñ rta'i sgra ||
za dañ 'thun² ba de ñid dañ || bza' dañ btuñ ba'i sgra dañ ni ||

sañs rgyas rgyud du tshigs su³ bchad pa 'di gsuñs nas |

Bv II 3-5

groñ khyer yan lag ñiñ⁴ lag ldan || 'dod pa thams cad ñe bar⁵ gnas ||
rin chen bdun po yañ dag ldan || skye bo sna tshogs yañ dag gañ ||
lha yi⁶ groñ khyer phun tshogs bzin || bsod nams can ni gnas pa'o ||

'jigs med ldan pa'i groñ khyer du || bram ze blo bzañ⁷ zes bya bas ||
loñs spyod pa ni⁸ du ma bsags || nor dañ 'bru ni mañ po yi ||

nañ gi gsañ śnags (9a) 'dzin pa dañ || rig byed gsum gyi pha rol son ||
mtshan ñid i thi⁹ ha sa dañ || dam pa'i chos kyi pha rol son ||

I 4.

de nas de ñid ñi ma gcig la mkhas pa blos gros bzañ po de khañ bzañ mchog gi steñ
du gcig pur skyil¹⁰ mo kruñ¹¹ bcas nas dben par bžugs te bsams pa | mkhas pa skye pa gzan du ma'i
mñal bzuñ na sdug bsñal lo || de bzin du¹² ¹³ skye ba'i gnas su¹⁴ lus 'jig¹⁵ go || bdag skye ba'i chos can
dañ | rga ba'i chos can dañ | na ba'i chos can dañ | 'chi ba'i chos can no || de lta bur¹⁶ gyur pas bdag ni
skye ba med pa dañ | rgas pa med pa dañ | na ba med pa dañ | sdug bsñal med pa'i bde ba dañ | bsil ba

²⁴ SDQN tu, L du.

¹ SLN rta'i sgra dañ, DQ rta yi sgra.

² SDQL 'thun, N mthuñ.

³ N tshigsu.

⁴ SDLN ñiñ, Q ñin.

⁵ SLN bar, DQ rab.

⁶ SDQ lha yi, LN lha'i.

⁷ SQLN bzañ, D bzañs.

⁸ S pa ni, DQ bya ba, LN rnam pa.

⁹ SLN thi, DQ ti.

¹⁰ SDQN skyil, L dkyil.

¹¹ SDQ kruñ, L dkruñs, N khruñs.

¹² SDQ du, LN omit.

¹³ SLN add: skye ba, DQ omit.

¹⁴ N gnasu.

¹⁵ SDQ 'jig, LN 'jug.

¹⁶ DQLN bur, S omits.

dañ | bdud rtsi lta¹ bu'i mya ñan las 'das pa chen po tshol bar rigs so² || ñes par srid pa las grol ba'i
mya ñan las 'das par 'gro ba'i lam gcig pu³ yin pa lta bu'o || de'i phyir gsuñs pa |

Bv II 6-9

dben par gcig pur gnas nas ni || de tshe bdag gis 'di ltar bsams |
srid par skye ba sdug bsñal zin || lus ni yoñs su⁴ zig pa nas⁵ ||

skye ba'i chos dañ rgas pa'i chos || na ba'i chos dañ de tshe bdag ||
skye ba med⁶ dañ 'chi med bde || mya ñan 'das pa yoñs su⁷ btsal ||

gañ tshe dri⁸ ñan lus 'di ni || sna tshogs mi gtsañ gis gañ⁹ zin ||
don med ltos pa med pa yi || dor nas 'gro bar bya ba yin || (9b) {Pā4}

de yi¹⁰ lam ni yod dam sñam || 'bad pa med par lam mi thob ||
de yi¹¹ lam ni btsal¹² bar bya || srid pa mams las grol 'gyur sñam ||

de nas lhag par yañ bsams pa | ji ltar 'jig rten pa'i¹³ sdug bsñal gyi mi mthun¹⁴ pa'i
phyogs su¹⁵ gyur pa'i bde ba zes bya ba yod do¹⁶ || de ltar mi mthun¹⁷ phyogs srid pa yod na mya ñan
las 'da' bar 'gyur ro¹⁸ sñam mo¹⁹ | de ltar yañ gduñ ba yod na de zi bar byed pa'i bsil²⁰ ba yod do || de
bzin du 'dod chags la sogs pa'i me zi bar byed pa'i mya ñan las 'das pa yod par 'gyur ro sñam mo²¹ ||
ji ltar yañ sdig pa dañ mi mthun²² pa'i phyogs su²³ gyur pa kha na ma tho ba med pa'i dge ba'i chos
yod par 'gyur sñam pa ñid do || de dañ de lta bu ñid kyis sdig pa can la sogs pa'i skye ba yod na | skye

¹ SDQL lta, N rta.

² LN rigso.

³ S pu, DQLN po.

⁴ N yoñsu.

⁵ SLN nas, DQ na.

⁶ SDLN med, Q myed.

⁷ N yoñsu.

⁸ SDLN dri, Q 'dri.

⁹ SDQ gis gañ, LN gañ gis.

¹⁰ SDQL de yi, N de'i.

¹¹ SDQ de yi, LN de'i.

¹² SDLN btsal, Q brtsal.

¹³ SLN pa'i, DQ pas.

¹⁴ SLN mthun, DQ 'thun.

¹⁵ N phyogsu.

¹⁶ L yodo.

¹⁷ SLN mthun, DQ 'thun.

¹⁸ LN 'gyuro.

¹⁹ SQ mo, DLN omit.

²⁰ SDQN bsil, L gsil.

²¹ N 'gyuro sñamo.

²² SLN mthun, DQ 'thun.

²³ N phyogsu.

ba thams cad zad par byed pa'i skye ba med par grags pa'i mya ñan las 'das pa yañ¹ yod par 'gyur sñam pa ñid do || de'² phyir gsuñs pa |

Bv II 10-12

ji ltar sdug bsñal yod pa na || bde ba zes pa'añ³ yod pa yin ||
de ltar sred pa yod pa na || sred⁴ pa med pa'añ yod pa yin ||

ji ltar tsha ba yod gyur na || grañ⁵ ba yañ ni yod pa yin ||
de ltar me gsum yod gyur na || mya ñan 'das pa'añ yod pa yin ||

ji ltar sdig pa yod gyur na || dge ba yañ ni yod pa yin ||
de ltar skye ba yod gyur na || skye ba med pa'añ⁶ yod par 'dod ||

gžan yañ bsams pa | ji ltar (10a) bśañ⁷ ba'i phuñ por skyes bu 'gyel bar gyur pa žig | thag riñ po nas kha dog lña dañ ldan pa'i pad ma⁸ dañ mtsho chen po mthoñ na lam gañ nas 'gro bar byas nas mtsho der 'jug par rigs so⁹ || de'i lam du mi 'gro na mtsho chen po'i skyon ma yin no¹⁰ || de ltar ñon moñs pa'i dri ma 'khrud pa na 'chi ba med pa'i mya ñan las 'da' ba'i mtsho chen po yod pa na der mi 'jug na | 'chi ba med pa'i mya ñan las 'da' ba'i mtsho chen po'i skyon ni ma yin no¹¹ || ji ltar yañ chom rkun pas yoñs su¹² bskor ba'i skyes bu 'bros pa'i lam yod pa la myur du mi 'bros na lam gyi skyon ma yin te skyes bu'i skyon yin no¹³ || de ltar ñon moñs pas yoñs su¹⁴ bskor nas bzuñ ba'i skyes bu la ži ba mya ñan las 'da' ba'i lam yod par gyur pa na lam mi tshol ba ni¹⁵ lam gyi skyon ma yin te gañ zag gi skyon yin no¹⁶ || ji ltar nad kyis gzir ba'i skyes bu la nad gso ba'i sman pa¹⁷ yod par gyur na gal te de'i gnas su¹⁸ nad gso ba'i sman pa mi tshol na sman pa'i skyon ma yin te nad pa'i skyon yin no || de ltar ñon moñs pa'i nad kyis gzir ba'i skyes bu la ñon moñs pa ži bar byed pa'i mchog tu mkhas pa yod par

¹ SLN pa yañ, DQ pa 'añ.

² SDQ de'i, LN de yi.

³ SDQN pa yañ, L pa 'añ.

⁴ SLN sred, DQ srid.

⁵ SDLN grañ, Q grañs.

⁶ SDQN pa'añ, L pa 'añ.

⁷ SN bśañ, DQL bśad.

⁸ SLN padma, DQ pad ma.

⁹ N rigso.

¹⁰ N yino.

¹¹ N yino.

¹² N yoñsu.

¹³ N yino.

¹⁴ N yoñsu.

¹⁵ SDQL ni, N na.

¹⁶ N yino.

¹⁷ SDQN pa, L pha.

¹⁸ N gnasu.

gyur na | slob dpon tshol bar mi byed na de ni skyes bu'i skyon yin te | ñon moñs pa 'joms par byed pa'i slob dpon gyi skyon ni¹ ma yin no || de'i phyir gsuñs pa |

Bv II 13-18

ji ltar mi gtsañ gos pa'i mi || gañ ba'i mtsho ni mthoñ bzin (10b) du ||
mtsho der 'jug par mi byed na || de ni mtsho yi skyon min no ||

de ltar ñon moñs dri 'khrud pa || bdud rtsi'i mtsho ni yod pa yi² ||
mtsho de la ni mi 'jug na || bdud rtsi mtsho yi skyon min no || {Pā5}

ji ltar chom rkun gyis bskor ba || 'gro ba'i lam ni yod pa la ||
skyes bu 'bros par mi byed na || de ni lam gyi skyon ma yin ||

ji ltar ñon moñs kyis bskor na || ži ba'i lam ni yod pa la ||
de yi³ lam du mi 'jug na || ži ba'i lam gyi skyon ma yin ||

ji ltar nad kyis⁴ gzir ba'i mi || gso dpyad⁵ byed pa yod gyur pa ||
nad ni ži bar mi⁶ byed na || de ni sman pa'i skyon ma yin ||

de ltar ñon moñs pa yi⁷ nad || gzir ciñ sdug bsñal gyur pa'i tshe ||
slob dpon tshol bar mi⁸ byed na || slob dpon gyi ni skyon ma yin ||

gžan yañ bsams pa | ji ltar rgyan gyis brgyan pa'i skyes bu'i mgrin pa la mi gtsañ ba bciñs na de dor⁹
nas bde bar 'gro ba bzin du | de ltar bdag kyañ mi gtsañ ba'i lus spañs te | ltos pa med par mya ñan las
'das pa'i groñ khyer du 'jug par rigs so¹⁰ || gžan yañ ji ltar skyes pa¹¹ dañ bud med kyis bsañ ba'i gnas
su¹² bsañ ba dor bar byas nas snod du blugs te khur nas 'gro bar byed¹³ pa ma yin gyi | ltos pa med par
skyug¹⁴ bro bas dor nas 'gro'o || de ltar bdag kyañ mi gtsañ ba'i lus la¹⁵ sogs pa la¹⁶ ltos pa med par
dor nas 'chi ba med pa'i mya ñan las 'das pa'i groñ khyer du 'jug par rigs so¹⁷ || (11a) gžan yañ ji ltar

¹ SDQL ni, N omits.

² SDLN pa yi, Q pa'i.

³ SDLN de yi, Q de'i.

⁴ SDQ kyis, L gyi, N kyi.

⁵ SDL dpyad, QLN spyad.

⁶ DQLN mi, S ma.

⁷ SDQ pa yi, LN pa'i.

⁸ SDLN mi, Q myi.

⁹ SDLN dor, Q de.

¹⁰ LN rigso.

¹¹ SQLN pa, D pha.

¹² N gnasu.

¹³ SDQL byed, N bed.

¹⁴ SDLN skyug, Q sgyug.

¹⁵ DQLN la, S omits.

¹⁶ SDQL la, N omits.

¹⁷ N rigso.

gru mkhan rnams ni gru rdol ba rnams la ltos¹ pa med par dor nas 'gro ba de bzin du | bdag kyañ sgo dgu'i rma 'di rnams kyi² nañ nas 'bab pa'i lus 'di dor nas | ltos pa med par mya ñan las 'das pa'i groñ khyer du 'jug par rigs so³ || gžan yañ ji ltar skyes bu sna tshogs pa'i rin po che blañs nas chom rkun pa dañ 'grogs te | lam du 'gro na rañ gi rin po che brlag par dogs pa'i 'jigs pas de rnams dor nas lam bzañ por 'jug pa bzin no⁴ || de ltar bdag kyañ lus mi gtsañ ba du ma can rin po che 'phrog pa'i chom rkun bzin du gal te sred pa 'di byed na 'phags pa'i lam gyi dge ba'i chos kyi rin po che bdag gis brlag par⁵ dogs so⁶ || de'i phyir bdag gis chom rkun lta bu'i lus 'di dor nas mya ñan las 'das pa'i groñ khyer du 'jug par rigs so⁷ || de'i phyir gsuñs pa |

Bv II 19-26

ji ltar mi yis⁸ dri ña ba || mgul la bciñs na skyug bro ste⁹ ||
de dag spañs nas 'gro byed na || skyug mi bro žiñ bde bar 'gro ||
de bzin du ni dri ña lus || sna tshogs pa yis¹⁰ gañ gyur pa ||
spañs nas 'gro bar byed pa ni || don med ltos pa med pa 'o¹¹ ||
ji ltar bsañ ba'i gnas su¹² ni || skyes pa bud med kyis bsañs nas ||
dor nas 'gro bar byed pa ni || don med ltos pa med pa yin ||
de ltar bdag gi lus 'di yañ || mi gtsañ sna tshogs kyis gañ ba ||
dor (11b) nas bdag kyañ 'gro bar bya || ji ltar bsañ ba'i gnas bzin no ||
ji ltar gru ni rdol gyur na || chu ni mañ¹³ du 'byuñ bar 'gyur ||
de ni gru mkhan gyis dor nas || don med ltos pa med pa yin || {Pā6}
de ltar bdag gi¹⁴ lus 'di yañ || bu ga dgu yañ mi rtag pas ||
dor nas 'gro bar byed pa na || gru mkhan gru ni dor ba bzin ||
ji ltar chom rkun lhan cig mi || nor ni khyer nas 'gro ba na ||
nor khyer 'jigs pa mthoñ ba nas¹⁵ || 'jigs nas dor nas 'gro byed bzin ||
de bzin du ni lus 'di ni || chom rkun chen po dañ mtshuñs žiñ ||
'dir ni dor nas 'gro ba na || dge ba spyod pa 'jigs med do ||

¹ SDLN ltos, Q lños.

² SDLN kyi, Q kyis.

³ N rigso.

⁴ N bžino.

⁵ SDQN par, L pa'i.

⁶ LN dogso.

⁷ LN rigso.

⁸ SDQ yis, LN yi.

⁹ SQLN ste, D te.

¹⁰ SDLN yis, Q pa'i.

¹¹ S pa 'o, DQLN pa'o.

¹² N gnasu.

¹³ SLN mañ, DQ nañ.

¹⁴ SDQL gi, N gis.

¹⁵ SLN nas, DQ na.

I 5.

de bzin du mkhas pa blo gros bzañ pos sna tshogs pa'i dpe 'di yis phan yon gyi don la rnam par bsams śiñ | rañ gi khyim du dpag tu med pa'i loñs spyod kyi phuñ po sñar ji ltar brjod pa bzin du bkren pa la sogs pa rnams la sbyin pa chen po byin te | nor gyi 'dod pa dañ ñon moñs¹ pa'i 'dod pa spañs nas groñ khyer 'jigs med ldan gyi phyi rol tu² soñ ste | gcig pur gañs³ can chos kyi ri zes bya ba la brten nas | der lo ma'i khañ par 'chag par byed ciñ skyon lña po ma bzlog la ma spañs bzin du de ltar sems mñam par bzag⁴ pa dañ por⁵ dañ | byed pa brgyad dañ ldan pa'i mñon par śes pas smras⁶ pa dañ | stobs len pa dañ | de ru gnas te skyon dgu dañ ldan pa gyon pa'i gos spañs nas | yon tan bcu gñis dañ ldan pa'i śiñ śun gyi dum bu'i gos gyon (12a) nas | drañ sroñ gi rab tu byuñ ba la rab tu byuñ ste | de ltar rab tu byuñ nas skyon brgyad dañ ldan pa'i lo ma'i khañ pa de spañs nas yon tan bcu dañ ldan pa'i śiñ gi druñ du ñe bar gnas so⁷ || 'byor pa thams cad spañs nas śiñ gi 'bras bu mchog za žiñ 'dug pa'o || gnas su 'chag par byed pa'i dka' thub byed do || žag bdun gyi nañ de ñid du brgyad la sñoms par 'jug ciñ mñon par śes pa⁸ lña po thob par gyur to⁹ || de bzin du des don du gñer bas mñon par śes pa'i stobs thob par gyur to¹⁰ || de'i phyr gsuñs pa

Bv II 27-33

de¹¹ ltar bdag gis bsams gyur pa || sna tshogs bye¹² ba brgya yi nor¹³ ||
 mgon dañ mgon med rnams la sbyin || gañs can la ni ñe bar soñ ||
 gañs can dañ¹⁴ ni mi riñ bar || chos kyi ri zes bya ba la ||
 bdag gis de la mchog tu brten¹⁵ || lo ma'i khañ pa legs byas so¹⁶ ||
 de ru 'chag¹⁷ par byed pa dañ || skyon ni lña po rnam par spañs ||

¹ SQLN moñs, D mañs.² SQLN tu, D du.³ SDQ gañs, LN grañs.⁴ DQLN bžag, S gžag.⁵ SLN por, DQ po.⁶ DQLN smras, S smra.⁷ N gnaso.⁸ DQ pa, SLN omit.⁹ SL to, DQN te.¹⁰ SDQ to, LN te.¹¹ SQLN de, D ji.¹² DQ bye, SLN byed.¹³ SDQ yi nor, L yin no, N yino.¹⁴ SDLN dañ, Q nañ.¹⁵ DQ brten, SLN rten.¹⁶ N byaso.¹⁷ SDQ 'chag, LN 'chags.

yon tan brgyad dañ yañ dag ldan || mñon par śes pa'i stobs ldan no ||

skyon dgu dañ ni ldan pa yi || der ni de ñid dor gyur nas ||
 śiñ śun dum bu'i gos gyon te¹ || yon tan bcu gñis ldan pa'o ||

skyon ni brgyad dañ ldan pa yi || lo ma'i khañ pa spañs gyur nas ||
 śiñ gi druñ du ñe bar 'dug || yon tan bcu dañ ldan pa yi ||

rmos dañ bskrun² pa'i 'bru rnams ni || lhag ma med par³ dor byas nas ||
 yon tan ma lus ldan pa yi || śiñ tog mchog ni dañ por zos || {Pā7}

de ru dka' thub (12b) byas nas ni || 'dug dañ 'chag pa'i gnas rnams su⁴ ||
 žag bdun gyi ni nañ ñid du || mñon par śes pa'i stobs thob bo ||

I 6.

'dir yañ gleñ gži ni mkhas pa blo gros bzañ pos⁵ brten pa'i lo ma'i⁶ khañ pa dañ 'chag pa ni rañ gi lag
 gis byas pa⁷ ltar⁸ brjod do || 'dir yañ don ni sems dpa'⁹ chen po gañs can gyi nañ nas 'oñs pa dañ | de
 riñ chos kyi rir¹⁰ yoñ¹¹ ba mthoñ nas lha'i dbañ po brgya byin gyis las¹² sna tshogs pa'i lha'i bu la
 mkhas pa blo gros bzañ po 'di ni rab tu 'byuñ bar 'dod pas soñ ste | 'di'i gnas rnams gyis śig¹³ | de'i
 tshig thos nas dga' ba'i gnas phug legs pa'i¹⁴ lo ma'i khañ par 'chag pa'i gnas byas so || bcom ldan
 'das kyis yañ de'i tshe bdag gis bsams nas goms par byas pa rdzogs pa las | de'i dus su de'i rgyu
 mtshan gyis śā ri'i bu der¹⁵ chos kyi ri der¹⁶ |

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gnas bzañ po ni bdag gis byas || lo ma'i khañ pa bzañ por ldan ||
 der ni 'chag ciñ gnas nas ni || skyon lña po ni rnam par spañs ||

I 7.

žes gsuñs so¹⁷ || 'chag pa'i skyon lña po gañ že na | sra žiñ mi sñoms pa dañ | nañ na śiñ rad rod can

¹ SDQ te, LN to.

² SDQN bskrun, L bskun.

³ SDLN par, Q pa'i.

⁴ N rnamsu.

⁵ SDQ pos, LN po.

⁶ SDQ ma'i, LN ma yi.

⁷ SDQ pa, LN par.

⁸ SDQN ltar, L omits.

⁹ SQ dpa', DLN pa.

¹⁰ SDLN rir, Q riñ.

¹¹ SDQ yoñ, LN yoñs.

¹² SLN omit, DQ las.

¹³ S śig, DQLN cig.

¹⁴ SDQ pa'i, LN par.

¹⁵ SLN der, DQ de.

¹⁶ SQLN der, D dir.

¹⁷ N gsuñso.

dañ | nags¹ thibs po dañ | śin tu dog pa dañ | śin tu yañs pa'o || sra žiñ mi sñoms pa'i sa'i char 'chag ciñ
 'chag pa na | rkañ pa la 'brum bu 'byuñ ba dañ | sems rtse gcig² tu mi gnas pa dañ | las byed pa'i gnas
 mi 'grub la | sa'i³ steñ mñam žiñ 'jam par 'chag pa ni bde (13a) žiñ | las byed pa'i gnas rdzogs pa de'i
 phyir tsha ba dañ mi⁴ sñoms pa'i sa'i cha ni skyon gcig tu rig par bya'o || 'chag pa'i bar dañ nañ dañ
 tha mar śiñ yod pa na bag med par 'oñ žiñ 'chag pa na dpral ba dañ mgo la gnod pa byed pa ni nañ gi
 śiñ gi gnod pa gñis pa'o || rtswa⁵ dañ 'khri śiñ la sogs pa nags tshal thibs po'i 'chag sar byed pa na
 mun pa nag po'i dus su sbrul la sogs pa'i srog chags rkañ pas brdzis⁶ nas⁷ 'chi⁸ ba 'am | des mche bas
 rmugs nas gnod pa skyel ba ni nags thibs po'i skyon gsum pa'o || śin tu dog pa'i⁹ 'chag¹⁰ sa'i mchu ru
 khru gcig pa'am¹¹ | khru phyed pa'i 'chag sa byed na nañ du gcod pa dañ | sen mo 'am sor mo 'chad
 par 'gyur ba ni śin tu dog pa'i skyon bži pa'o || śin tu yañs pa'i 'chag¹² sar 'chag pa na sems g.yeñs¹³
 par gyur pa dañ | sems rtse gcig tu gnas pa mi thob pa ni śin tu yañs pa'i skyon lña pa'o || 'chag sa'i
 mtho tshad kyi stugs su¹⁴ khru phyed dañ do || ños gñis su¹⁵ khru gcig tsam par¹⁶ dkyus su¹⁷ khru drug
 cu pa sa'i mthil¹⁸ 'jam pa dañ mtshuñs žiñ yañs pa bye ma dañ bcas pa'i 'chag¹⁹ sa ni rigs so²⁰ ||
 mchod rten gyi rigs mar me ltar gsal ba gnas brten²¹ chen po dbaň chen gyi 'chag²² sa lta bu bya bar²³
 rigs so²⁴ || de'i²⁵ phyir gsuñs pa | de ru 'chag sa byas la skyon lña po spaň bar bya'o ||

I 8.

yon tan brgyad dañ ldan pa'i dge sbyoň gi bde ba brgyad dañ ldan pa'o || (13b) dge sbyoň gi bde ba

¹ SDLN nags, Q nag.

² SDQN gcig, L cig.

³ SDQ sa'i, LN sa yi.

⁴ SQLN mi, D ma.

⁵ SDQ rtswa, LN rtswa.

⁶ SDQ brdzis, L rdzis, N rdzi.

⁷ DQ nas, SLN na.

⁸ SDLN 'chi, Q 'cha.

⁹ SLN pa'i, DN sa'i.

¹⁰ SDQ 'chag, LN 'chags.

¹¹ SDQ pa 'am, LN pa 'am.

¹² SDQN 'chag, L 'chags.

¹³ SLN g.yeñ, D g.yeñs, Q yeñs.

¹⁴ N stugsu.

¹⁵ N gñisu.

¹⁶ SLN par, DQ omit.

¹⁷ N dkyusu.

¹⁸ SDQL mthil, N 'thil.

¹⁹ SDQ 'chag, LN 'chags.

²⁰ LN rigso.

²¹ SDQL brten, N brtan.

²² SDQ 'chag, LN 'chags.

²³ S ba'i, DQLN bar.

²⁴ N rigso.

²⁵ SDQ de'i, LN de yi.

brgyad dañ ldan pa zes bya ba ni gañ ze na | nor dañ 'bru yoñs su¹ 'dzin pa'i 'dod pa med pa dañ | kha na ma tho ba med pa'i bsod sñoms las 'dod pa med pa dañ | bza' ba² btsal ba'i 'dod pa med pa dañ | nor gces pa'i yul mi sdug par byed pa 'am | mgo re re'i khral la sogs pa len na rgyal po'i rigs kyis yul 'khor gyi mi sdug bsñal ba mi 'dod pa dañ | ñe bar mkho ba thams cad la 'dod pa med pa dañ | chom rkun gyis 'phrog pa'i 'jigs pa med pa dañ | rgyal po dañ | rgyal tshab dañ | blon po chen po'i³ ñe bar 'tshe ba med pa dañ | phyogs bzir 'gro ba na 'tshe ba med pa ste | de ltar der gnas na bde ba brgyad po {Pā8} ñams su⁴ myoñ bar nus so⁵ || de ltar yon tan brgyad dañ ldan pa 'dir gnas par byas nas mñon par šes pa'i stobs thob par 'gyur žiñ |

I 9.

de nas der gnas te | zad par gyi las rnams byas nas mñon par šes pa dañ sñoms par 'jug pa rnams bskyed pa'i phyir te | mi rtag pa dañ | sdug bsñal ba dañ | lhag mthoñ brtsams nas gnas thob par byed do⁶ || lhag mthoñ gi stobs blañs nas ji ltar gnas na de'i⁷ stobs blañ bar nus so⁸ || de ltar der gnas nas de'i mñon par šes pa'i phyir lhag mthoñ gis⁹ stobs 'thun par byas pa ni khañ pa byas pa'i don yin no ||

I 10.

der skyon dgu dañ ldan pa'i gos dor ba ni 'dir sñar rim pa bzin du brjod pa de rnams de'i tshe khañ mig chuñ ba (14a) dañ | khañ mig che ba dañ | 'chag sa la sogs pa so sor brgyan nas me tog dañ | 'bras bu dañ | śiñ ljon pa'i tshogs yid dga' ba dañ | bsam pa chu ltar yid du 'oñ ba gdug pa can gyi ri dags¹⁰ med pa dañ | gnod par byed¹¹ pa'i bya'i tshogs med pa śin tu dben par gnas par bya'o || 'chag sa brgyan pa'i phyogs gñis dañ dbus su¹² rgyab kyi¹³ rten gyi gzi la brten nas bžugs pa'i ched du 'chag¹⁴ sa'i nañ du sa gzi mñam pa | kha dog ser po rdo dañ bsres pa | lo ma'i khañ pa'i nañ du ral pa'i khor yug dañ | śiñ śun gyi dum bu'i chos gos dañ | dbyu gu gsum dañ | bum pa la sogs pa dka' thub pa'i yo byad dañ ldan pa | bsti gnas kyi nañ du chu dañ bum pa chen por chu dañ | duñ chos¹⁵ kyi chu dañ | kham phor dañ | me khañ dañ | snod sol ba can dañ | śiñ la sogs pa de ltar gañ dañ gañ du rab tu 'byuñ

¹ N yoñsu.

² SDQL omit, N dañ.

³ SLN chen po, DQ omit.

⁴ N ñamsu.

⁵ N nuso.

⁶ N byedo.

⁷ SDQ de'i, LN de yi.

⁸ N nuso.

⁹ SLN gis, DQ gi.

¹⁰ SDQN dags, L dwags.

¹¹ SDLN byed, Q byes.

¹² N dbusu.

¹³ SDQN kyi, L gyi.

¹⁴ SDQ 'chag, LN 'chags.

¹⁵ DQLN chos, S tshos.

ba la rigs so¹ || de thams cad byas nas lo ma'i khañ pa'i logs la gañ žig rab tu 'byuñ bar 'dod pa na 'di'i yo byad rnams blañs nas rab tu byuñ² bar gyis šig ces yi ger bris nas | las sna tshogs pa'i lha'i bu lha'i 'jig rten du soñ ño || mkhas pa blo gros bzañ pos gañs can gyi ri'i 'gram na chu kluñ rjes su³ 'brañ ba dañ bdag ñid kyi gnas dañ | 'thun pa'i gnas su blta žiñ chu kluñ bzlog pa'i las sna tshogs las sprul⁴ žiñ brgya byin gyis byin pa'i gnas (14b) yid la dga' ba mthoñ ño⁵ || 'chag sa'i dkyus kyi phyogs gcig tu 'gro žiñ rkañ pa'i rjes mi mthoñ bar rab tu byuñ⁶ ba rnams kyis thag riñ po'i groñ nas bsod sñoms btsal bas ñal žiñ 'oñs nas lo ma'i khañ par žugs nas gnas so sñam du bsams so || de ma thag tu ma sleb par dus riñ por ma sleb par so sor šes dgos so || šiñ gi khañ pa'i khañ mig gi sgor⁷ žugs te nañ du phyin no || de dañ de bltas pas rtsig pa chen po la yi ge bris pa bklags nas 'di rnams thams cad bdag gi⁸ yo byad du brtag par bya'o || de rnams blañs nas⁹ rab tu byuñ¹⁰ ño žes bsams so || bdag ñid kyi stod gos dañ smad gos zuñ dag dor ro || de'i¹¹ phyir gsuñs pa der gos dor ro || de ltar bžugs nas šā ri'i bu bdag de'i lo ma'i khañ pa dañ skyon dgu dañ bcas pa'i gos dor ro ||

I 11.

de yañ skyon dgu gsal bar mthoñ ste | dkar thub pa'i rab tu byuñ ba rnams la gos skyon dgu dañ ldan pa ni rñed¹² dka' ba'i skyon dañ | gžan 'dod pa skye ba'i skyon dañ | loñs spyod pa na myur du dri ma dañ ldan pa'i skyon dañ | dri ma can du gyur na 'khrud pa dañ | tshos¹³ bya dgos pa dañ | loñs spyod pa na 'dral ba'i skyon dañ | rñiñs¹⁴ na¹⁵ 'tshem¹⁶ pa dañ | lhan pa 'debs dgos pa dañ | slar yañ tshol ba na rñed dka' ba'i skyon dañ | dka' thub pa'i rab tu byuñ ba la mi rigs pa'i skyon dañ | dgra la sogs pas 'phrog par 'gyur ba'i skyon dañ | ji ltar yañ gos ni dgra la sogs pas mi len (15a) pa de'i phyir de bžin du sbed dgos pa dañ | gyon pa na rgyan du 'gyur ba'i skyon dañ | khyer nas 'gro ba na lus kyi khur po chen por 'gro ba'i skyon no || šiñ šun gyi gos žes¹⁷ pa ni |

I 12.

¹ N rigso.

² SDQ byuñ, LN 'byuñ.

³ N rjesu.

⁴ SDQ sprul, LN sbral.

⁵ N mthoño.

⁶ SDQ byuñ, LN 'byuñ.

⁷ SDLN sgor, Q skor.

⁸ SDQL gi, N gis.

⁹ SLN nas, DQ na.

¹⁰ SLN byuñ, DQ 'byuñ.

¹¹ SDQ de'i, LN de yi.

¹² SDQN rñed, L brñed.

¹³ DL tshos, S tshol, QN chos.

¹⁴ SDQ rñiñs, LN rñiñ.

¹⁵ SDLN na, Q nañ.

¹⁶ SDQ 'tshem, LN 'tshems.

¹⁷ SD žes, QLN ces.

de'i tshe śā ri'i bu¹ bdag 'di'i skyon dgu mthoñ nas gos dor ro || śiñ śun la rtswa mun dza dum bu dum bur byas nas {Pā9} sbyor žiñ sgrog pa ni śiñ śun la smad gos dañ stod gos don du gñer ba'i phyir ro² ||

I 13.

yon tan bcu gñis dañ ldan pa žes³ pa ni phan yon bcu gñis dañ ldan pa'i śiñ śun gyi gos kyi⁴ phan yon bcu gñis dañ ldan pa'i rin chuñ ba dañ | blta⁵ na mdzes pa dañ | ruñ ba dañ | 'di rnams ni phan yon gcig dañ | rañ gi⁶ lag gis bya bar nus pa ni gñis pa dañ | loñs spyod pa na⁷ dri ma can du gyur kyañ myur du bkru bar nus pa ni gsum pa dañ | loñs spyod pa na brñiñs⁸ par gyur kyañ btsem⁹ par nus pa¹⁰ ni¹¹ bzi pa dañ | slar yañ tshol ba na¹² bde bar byed nus pa ni lña pa dañ | dka' thub pa'i rab tu byuñ¹³ ba la rigs pa ni drug pa dañ | chom rkun pa la mi mkho ba ni bdun pa dañ | gyon pa na dka' thub pa'i rgyan du 'gyur pa ni brgyad pa dañ | gyon pa na yañ bar 'gyur ba ni dgu pa dañ | chos gos so so la 'dod pa chuñ ba ni bcu pa dañ | sloñ ba na chos pa la kha na ma tho ba med pa ni bcu gcig pa dañ | śiñ śun gyi gos stor na yañ ltos pa med pa ni bcu gñis pa'o ||

I 14.

skyon brgyad dañ ldan pa'i lo ma'i khañ pa dor žes pa ni ji ltar dor | (15b) de'i gos mchog gñis kyi rigs su¹⁴ gyur pa a ña'o¹⁵ dza'i me tog gi 'phreñ¹⁶ ba lta bu'i gos dmar po blañs nas smad du gyon te | steñ du gžan yañ kha dog ser¹⁷ po'i śiñ śun gyi gos gyon nas | pun nā ga'i¹⁸ me tog gi stan dañ 'dra ba'i rkañ pa dañ bcas pa'i gzig gi phags¹⁹ pa'i g.yañ gzi gyon te | ral pa'i khor yug mgo bo la bciñs nas gtsug phud brtan par bya ba'i phyir du mkhregs²⁰ pa'i spyi khab btsugs so²¹ || mu tig gi²² dra ba

¹ D śā ri'i bu, SQLN śā ri bus. Qāli: Śāriputta, cf. Mvy no. 1031 (2) Śāriputra = Śā ri'i bu.

² N phyiro.

³ SDQ žes, LN ces.

⁴ SDQ kyi, LN kyis.

⁵ SD blta, Q bltas, LN lta.

⁶ DQLN gi, S gis.

⁷ SDL na, QN ni.

⁸ S brñiñs, DLN rñiñs, Q rñiñ.

⁹ SDQL btsem, N brtsem.

¹⁰ SDQN pa, L par.

¹¹ SDQN ni, L omits.

¹² SDLN na, Q ni.

¹³ DQ byuñ, SLN 'byuñ.

¹⁴ N rigsu.

¹⁵ SDLN ña 'o, Q ña'o.

¹⁶ S 'phreñ, DQLN phreñ.

¹⁷ SDQ ser, LN gser.

¹⁸ DQN pun nā ga'i, SL pun nā gi.

¹⁹ SD phags, QLN lpags.

²⁰ SDLN mkhregs, Q 'khregs.

²¹ N btsugso.

²² DQ gi, SLN omit.

bzin du¹ 'then² thag byi³ ru'i kha dog lta bu'i bum pa nañ du bcug ste⁴ gnas gsum gyi kyog po'i šiñ de blañs nas khur šiñ de'i phyogs gcig la bum pa dañ | phyogs gñis la lcags kyu dañ | smyug⁵ 'khur dañ | dbyug gu gsum pa la sogs pa bzuñ žiñ khyer nas phrag pa'i khur du khyer te lag pa g.yas su⁶ 'khar⁷ ba bzuñ nas lo ma'i khañ pa nas byuñ ste⁸ | khru drug cu pa'i 'chag sa chen por phan tshun du 'chag par byed ciñ rañ gi cha lugs la bltas nas | bdag gi⁹ 'dod pa yoñs su¹⁰ rdzogs par thob bo¹¹ || bdag ñid mdzes par rab tu byuñ nas sañs rgyas dañ | rañ sañs rgyas la sogs pa'i skyes bu dpa' bos bsñags pa dañ bstod¹² ciñ rab tu byuñ ba žes bya ba 'di ni khyim gyi 'chiñ ba spañs nas | bdag gis ñes par byuñ¹³ žiñ rab tu byuñ ba mchog bdag gis thob¹⁴ pas dge sbyoñ gi chos bdag gis byas so¹⁵ | bde ba'i 'bras bu bdag gis thob nas¹⁶ spro ba skyes so¹⁷ || khur dal bus sa la bžag nas 'chag (16a) sa'i dbus su¹⁸ kha dog ser po'i¹⁹ rdo'i²⁰ steñ du gser gyi gzugs brñan lta bu bžugs te | ñin mo'i cha soñ nas srod kyi dus su²¹ lo ma'i khañ pa'i nañ du bžugs nas | šiñ khri legs po'i gžog²² gi steñ du ñal lo²³ || lus la ser bus gos par byed ciñ nam gyi cha smad la lañs te bdag yoñs²⁴ pa'i don la rtog ciñ bdag gis khyim gyi gnas kyi skyon mthoñ nas bdud rtsi la loñs spyod pa dañ | grags pa mtha' yas pa spañs nas | dgon par gnas te ñes par 'byuñ ba btsal ba'i phyir rab tu byuñ ño²⁵ || de²⁶ nas bzuñ nas bag med pa'i spyod pa'i²⁷ rtogs²⁸ pa dañ | rab tu dben²⁹ pa spañs nas 'gro ba log pa'i sbrañ mas za bas de³⁰ ni bdag gi³¹ rab tu

¹ SDQN du, L tu.

² SDQ 'then, LN mthen.

³ DQLN byi, S byu.

⁴ SDQ ste, LN te.

⁵ SDQN smyug, L myug.

⁶ N g.yasu

⁷ SDLN 'khar, Q mkhar.

⁸ SDQ ste, LN te.

⁹ SDQL gi, N gis.

¹⁰ N yoñsu.

¹¹ N thobo.

¹² SDQL bstod, N stod.

¹³ SDQ byuñ, LN 'byuñ.

¹⁴ SLN thob, DQ thos.

¹⁵ LN byaso.

¹⁶ SDLN nas, Q mas.

¹⁷ N skyeso.

¹⁸ N dbusu.

¹⁹ SLN ba'i, DQ po'i.

²⁰ SDQ rdo'i, LN rdo yis.

²¹ N dusu.

²² SLN bžog, DQ gžog.

²³ N ñalo.

²⁴ SQLN yoñs, D yod.

²⁵ N byuño.

²⁶ SLN da, DQ de.

²⁷ SLN mi, DQ omit.

²⁸ SDQ rtogs, LN rtog.

²⁹ SDQN dben, L dbyen.

dben pa dor bar rigs so¹ || bdag gis kyañ khyim pa'i gnas zañ ziñ dañ bcas² par³ mthoñ ste phyin nas lo ma'i khañ pa yid du 'oñ ba 'di yañ kha dog ser pos sa gzi la žal ba legs par byas nas | dñul gyi kha dog ltar dkar ba'i rtsig pa rnams dañ | thog phug ron gyi rkañ pa'i kha dog ltar dmar ba'i lo ma'i bla gab⁴ can no || sna tshogs pa'i kha dog can gyi šiñ khri'i stan la ñal ba dañ | 'dug pa na bde bar lta⁵ ba de rnams ni ches cher lhag par khyim pa'i phun sum tshogs pa dañ 'dra bar mthoñ ño || lo ma'i khañ pa'i skyon bltas pas skyon brgyad mthoñ ste | lo ma'i khañ pa la loñs spyod pa na skyon brgyad po ni | šiñ mañ po la nor mañ po dgos pa dañ | bsdus⁶ nas (16b) khañ pa byed ciñ tshol ba ni skyon gcig pa dañ | rtswa⁷ dañ sa 'dzad⁸ pa dañ | yañ dañ yañ zad pas⁹ na bcos dgos pa rgyun mi 'chad pa ni skyon gñis pa dañ | {Pā10} ñal ba'i gnas zes bya ba ni¹⁰ chen po la rigs te | dus ma yin par sloñ dgos pas sems gcig tu mi gnas pa dañ | 'gro dgos pa ni skyon gsum pa dañ | grañ¹¹ ba dañ dro ba dañ¹² 'joms¹³ pa dañ | lus bde bar byed pa ni skyon bzi pa dañ | khañ pa'i nañ du žugs nas sdig pa byed par nus pa dañ | ño tsha ba bzlog pa ni skyon lña pa dañ | bdag gi yin no zes bsruñ¹⁴ ba ni skyon drug pa dañ | khyim pa yod zes¹⁵ pa gñis pa'i¹⁶ skyon bdun pa dañ | sig dañ | 'dre sig dañ¹⁷ khyi sig la sogs pa'i srog chags du ma gnas par 'gyur ba ni skyon brgyad pa'o || 'di rnams kyī skyon brgyad po rnams mthoñ nas sems dpa'¹⁸ chen pos lo ma'i khañ pa spañs¹⁹ so²⁰ || de'i phyir gsuñs pa |

I 15.

skyon brgyad dañ ni ldan pa yi || lo ma'i khañ pa spañs zes pa || šiñ gi druñ du gnas gyur na || yon tan bcu dañ ldan pa yin || yib pa'i gnas rnams spañs pa dañ || yon tan bcu dañ ldan pa yi || šiñ gi druñ du gnas pa'o || zes brjod pa ni | de la yon tan bcu po 'di bsag²¹ mi dgos pa ni yon tan²² gcig dañ | ñal bar

³⁰ SDLN da, Q de.

³¹ SDQL gi, N gis.

¹ N rigso.

² SDQ bcas, LN bcad.

³ DQ par, SLN pa.

⁴ SD gab, QLN khab.

⁵ SLN lta, DQ blta.

⁶ SD bsdus, QLN sdus.

⁷ SDQ rtswa, LN rtsa.

⁸ SDQ 'dzad, LN mdzad.

⁹ SDLN pas, Q pa.

¹⁰ SDQ ni, LN na.

¹¹ SQLN drañ, D grañ.

¹² DQ dañ, SLN omit.

¹³ SQLN 'joms, D 'jam.

¹⁴ SDQ bsruñ, LN sruñ.

¹⁵ DQLN zes, S ces.

¹⁶ DQ pa'i, SLN par.

¹⁷ DQLN dañ, S omits.

¹⁸ SQLN dpa', D pa.

¹⁹ SDLN spañs, Q slañs.

²⁰ N spañso.

²¹ SQLN bsag, D bscag.

gnas pa tsam gyis bsruiñ mi dgos par rñed pa ni gñis pa dañ | der byi dor byed pa med par loñs spyod pa dañ | bde bar gnas pa dañ | sloñ ba med pa ni (17a) gsum pa dañ | ño tsha ba na yib pa med pa ciñ der sdig pa byed pa med la sbed pa med pa ni bzi ba dañ | bla gab¹ med pa'i gnas bzin du lus rtag tu sdod pa med pa ni lña ba² dañ | yoñs su³ 'dzin par mi 'dod pa ni drug pa dañ | khyim gyi 'dod pa spañs pa ni bdun pa dañ | mañ po dgos pa'i 'dzin pa med pa dañ | yoñs su⁴ bsruiñ ba med pa dañ | 'gro ba na 'dod pa med pa ni brgyad pa dañ | sdod pa na dga' ba dañ bcas pa med pa ni dgu pa dañ | šiñ druñ gi gnas ni soñ žiñ soñ ba na rñed sla ba dañ | ltos pa med pa ni bcu pa'o || yon tan bcu po 'di mthoñ ste šiñ gi 'gram du gnas žes brjod pa dañ | 'di lta bu de rnams ni byed par bsams pa'o || sems dpa'⁵ chen po sañ gi fiñ ma la bsod sñoms la gšegs pas de ma thag tu groñ du sleb ste mi rnams spro ba chen po skyes nas bsod sñoms byin no || de'i gdugs tshod thon nas gnas su⁶ byon te sleb ciñ bžugs nas bsams pa | bdag gis bsod sñoms thob pa'i phyir rab tu byuñ ba ni ma yin no⁷ || zas žim pa⁸ žes bya ba 'dis ña rgyal gyi⁹ rgyags pa dañ | skyes bu 'dod pa'i rgyags pa 'phel ba dañ | bza' ba'i gži la brten nas sdug bsñal mtha' med do || bdag gis slar yañ btab pa dañ bskrun pa las skyes pa'i 'bru'i bza' ba spañs nas | 'bras bu mchog gi bza' ba la brten par bya'o || des de nas de blañs te | de ltar byas nas lus sdug bsñal (17b) du 'bad pa byas pa dañ | žag bdun gyi¹⁰ nañ du sñoms par 'jug pa brgyad po rnams dañ | mñon par šes pa lña skyes¹¹ te | de'i¹² phyir gsuñs pa |

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btab dañ bskrun pa'i 'bru rnams ni || lhag ma med par spañs pa dañ ||
yon tan du ma dañ ldan pa'i || 'bras bu sogs¹³ la 'jug pa'o ||

der ni dka' thub kyis¹⁴ gnas dañ || sdod dañ 'chag pa'i gnas rnams su¹⁵ ||
žag bdun gyi ni nañ fiñ du || mñon par šes pa'i stobs thob bo ||

I 16.

de ltar mñon par šes pa thob nas | blo gros bzañ po dka' thub pas bde ba' sñoms par

²² SDQN omit, L bcu po 'di bsag mi dgos pa ni yon tan.

¹ SD gab, QLN khab.

² DQ ni lña ba, SLN omit.

³ N yoñsu.

⁴ LN yoñsu.

⁵ SQLN dpa', D pa.

⁶ L gnasu.

⁷ N yino.

⁸ SDQL, pa, N po.

⁹ SD gyi, QLN gyis.

¹⁰ N gyi, SDQL kyi.

¹¹ SDLN skyes, Q skyed.

¹² SDQ de'i, LN de yi.

¹³ SLN sogs, DQ scogs.

¹⁴ SDQL kyis, N kyi.

¹⁵ L rnamsu.

'jug pa la gnas so || de'i tshe mar me mdzad ces bya ba'i ston pa 'jig rten du byon par gyur to || de mñal du žugs nas bltam pa dañ | byañ chub pa dañ | chos kyi 'khor lo bskor ba na | 'jig rten gyi khams ston phrag bcu po thams cad g.yos so¹ || {Pā11} rab tu g.yos so² || sgra sgrogs so³ || sgra cher sgrogs so⁴ || sñon gyi mtshan mar gyur pa sum cu rtsa gñis dañ | blo gros bzañ po dka' thub pas sñoms par 'jug pa'i bde ba la gnas pas de rnams kyi sgra ma thos pa dañ | de rnams kyi sñon⁵ gyi mtshan ma mthoñ no || de'i phyir gsuñs pa |

Bv II 34-35

stan gcig la ni brten⁶ nas su⁷ || bdag⁸ gis de ltar grub pa thob || rgyal ba mar me mdzad ces pa || 'jig rten 'dren pa byon par gyur ||

mñal du žugs nas skyes gyur pa || sañs rgyas nas ni chos bstan pa || mtshan ma bži po mthoñ ma (18a) gyur || bsam gtan bde bas ma thos so⁹ ||

I 17.

de'i tshe stobs bcu ldan pa'i mar me mdzad zag pa zad pa 'bum phrag bžihi 'khor dañ bcas pa go rims bžin du sems can la phan pa'i phyir 'chag ciñ dga' ba can žes bya ba'i groñ khyer du byon te | blta na sdug ces bya ba'i gtsug lag khañ chen por bžugs¹⁰ so || dga' ba can žes bya ba'i groñ khyer na gnas pa'i mar me mdzad dge sbyoñ gi dbañ phyug de ñid yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i byañ chub kyi mchog thob nas mchog gi chos kyi 'khor lo bskor ro¹¹ || de ltar rim¹² gyis¹³ sems can la phan pa'i don du 'chag ciñ dga' ba can gyi groñ khyer du byon te | blta na sdug gi gtsug lag khañ chen por¹⁴ bžugs pa de de na gnas pa rnams kyis thos nas mar gsar dañ | žun mar la sogs pa¹⁵ dañ | sman dañ | gos dañ | mal cha la sogs pa dañ | dri'i 'phreñ¹⁶ ba la sogs pa lag tu thogs te | gañ gis sañs rgyas dañ | gañ gis chos dañ | gañ gis dge 'dun dañ | de rnams la 'dud ciñ de la dga' ba dañ | de la śin tu gus pa dañ bcas pas ston pa'i druñ du soñ ste | phyag byas nas dri la sogs pa'i mchod pa byas¹⁷ ste¹⁸ | phyogs gcig tu

¹ N g.yoso.

² N g.yoso.

³ LN sgrogso.

⁴ LN sgrogso.

⁵ SDQ sñon, LN sñun.

⁶ S brten, DLN rten, Q sten.

⁷ L nasu.

⁸ SDQL bdag, N de dag.

⁹ LN thoso.

¹⁰ S žugs, DQ bžugs, LN žugso.

¹¹ L bskoro.

¹² DQ rim, SLN rims.

¹³ DQL gyis, SN kyis.

¹⁴ SDLN por, Q po.

¹⁵ SDQ pa, LN pas.

¹⁶ S 'phreñ, DQLN phreñ.

¹⁷ SDQL byas, N bya.

¹⁸ SQLN ste, D te.

'khod ciñ chos bstan pa mñan nas sañ mgron¹ du gñer te rañ gis nas soñ ño² || de rnams³ byas nas sañ sbyin pa chen po sta gon bya ste groñ khyer brgyan | stobs bcu pa (18b) byon pa'i lam brgyan te chu yis⁴ sa gzi mi mñam pa'i gnas rnams su⁵ sa blugs⁶ nas sa gzi mñam par byas so⁷ || dñul gyi⁸ mdog lta bu'i bye mas spras so⁹ || me tog gi 'phreñ¹⁰ ba ñid dañ | me tog gi¹¹ sil ma dgram¹² par byas so¹³ || kha dog sna tshogs pa'i gos kyis¹⁴ rgyal mtshan dañ | ba dan la sogs pa bsgrēñ bar byas so¹⁵ || chu śiñ gi śiñ dañ bum pa gañ ba rnams bsgrigs¹⁶ nas bžag¹⁷ par byas so¹⁸ || de'i tshe blo gros bzañ po dka' thub pas rañ gi gnas nas steñ du 'phags te | mi de rnams kyis¹⁹ steñ gi cha'i mkha' la 'gro ba de la mi rnams dga' žiñ tshim pas mthoñ ste | nam mkha'²⁰ nas sa la phyogs gcig tu 'khod pa la mi rnams kyis dris so²¹ || bsod nams dañ ldan pa rnams lam 'di rnams su²² žig gis brgyan par byas | de'i phyir gsuñs pa |

Bv II 36-39

yul dañ phyogs kyi mthar gnas pa'i || de bžin gśegs pa mgron²³ du gñer ||
de ñid byin nas lam 'di ni || sems ni dga' bas lam phyogs gcig ||

bdag ni de tshe de yi²⁴ dus || rañ gi gnas ni byed pa dañ ||
śiñ śun gos ni rluñ gis g.yo || de tshe bdag ni mkha' la 'gro ||

dga' dañ tshim dañ bde ba yis || skye bo lam 'phyag byed pa mthoñ ||
nam mkha'²⁵ las ni byon nas su²⁶ || de ma thag par mi la dris²⁷ || {Pā12}

¹ SD mgron, QLN 'gron.

² SDQ rañ gis nas soñ ño, LN rañ gis gnas nas soño.

³ SDQL rnams, N nas.

⁴ SDLN chu yis, Q chu'i.

⁵ LN rnamsu.

⁶ S blug, DQLN blug.

⁷ LN byaso.

⁸ SDLN gyi, Q gyis.

⁹ N spraso.

¹⁰ S 'phreñ, DQLN phreñ.

¹¹ SLN gi, DQ omit.

¹² SDLN dgram, Q bkram.

¹³ LN byaso.

¹⁴ SLN kyis, DQ kyi.

¹⁵ LN byaso.

¹⁶ SDQ bsgrigs, LN sgrigs.

¹⁷ SLN bžag, DQ gžag.

¹⁸ LN byaso.

¹⁹ SQ kyis, DLN kyi.

²⁰ LN namkha'

²¹ LN briso.

²² LN rnamsu.

²³ SDN mgron, QL 'gron.

²⁴ SDLN yi, Q yis.

²⁵ LN namkha'.

²⁶ Lnasu.

dga' dañ tshim la bde ba yi || mkhas śiñ rig pa'i skye bo che ||
lam ni sñoms bar byed pa na || su zig (19a) phyr du lam 'di 'chos¹ ||

mi rnam kyis smras pa | btsun pa dka' thub pa blo gros bzañ po ñid kyis mi mkhyen nam | stobs bcu dañ ldan pa'i mar me mdzad kyis yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i sañs rgyas thob nas | chos kyis 'khor lo bskor ro || sems can rnam la phan pa'i don du 'chag ciñ | bdag cag gi groñ khyer du byon nas blta na sdug gi gtsug lag khañ chen por bžugs² la bdag cag gis bcom ldan 'das de mgron³ du gñer to || de'i phyr sañs rgyas bcom ldan 'das de byon pa'i lam brgyan par bya'o || dka' thub pa blo gros bzañ pos bsams pa | sañs rgyas žes bya ba'i sgra tsam yañ 'jig rten du rñed⁴ par dka'o || de ltar sañs rgyas byon pa la bdag mi 'di rnam dañ bcas pas stobs bcu pa'i lam brgyan par byed par rigs so⁵ || des mi rnam la gsuñs pa | gal te khyed⁶ rnam kyis lam 'di rnam sañs rgyas kyis⁷ ched du brgyan par gyis śig⁸ | bdag la yañ gnas gcig sbyin par gyis śig⁹ | bdag gis kyañ khyed rnam dañ 'grogs nas lam brgyan par bya'o || de rnam kyis legs so žes bsams nas | dka' thub pa blo gros bzañ po¹⁰ rdzu 'phrul dañ ldan par śes nas chu yis gnod par byas pa'i gnas phan tshun du bsams nas | de la gnas brgyan par gyis śig¹¹ ces byin no || blo gros bzañ po sañs rgyas la dga' (19b) nas bsams so¹² || bdag gis gnas 'dir rdzu 'phrul gyis brgyan par nus so¹³ || ji ltar brgyan par byas kyañ bdag gi¹⁴ yid tshim pa med do¹⁵ || bdag gis de¹⁶ riñ lus dub par byas so¹⁷ || sa rnam blañs nas gnas der blug go || de de'i¹⁸ phyogs de brgyan pa ma grub par stobs bcu ldan pa'i mar me mdzad thub pa chen po dañ | mñon par śes pa drug dañ ldan pa | zag pa zad pa 'bum phrag bži'i 'khor dañ bcas pa rnam la lha rnam kyis lha'i dri bzañ dañ | me tog gi 'phreñ¹⁹ ba la sogs pas mchod par byed ciñ | lha'i glu dbyañs dañ bcas pa sgrogs so²⁰ || mi rnam kyis mi'i dri bzañ dañ | me tog gi 'phreñ²¹ ba la sogs pas mchod par byed ciñ | mtha' yas pa'i sañs

²⁷ SDQ dris, L dri, N 'dri.

¹ SDQ 'chos, LN 'chis.

² SDQN bžugs, L gžugs.

³ SD mgron, QLN 'gron.

⁴ SDQN rñed, L brñed.

⁵ LN rigso.

⁶ S khyed, DLN khyod.

⁷ SDLN kyis, Q rgyis.

⁸ SD śig, QLN cig

⁹ SDLN śig, Q cig.

¹⁰ SDQ po, LN pos.

¹¹ SD śig, QLN cig.

¹² LN bsamso.

¹³ N nuso.

¹⁴ SDQL gi, N gis.

¹⁵ L medo.

¹⁶ DLN de, SQ di.

¹⁷ LN byaso.

¹⁸ DQ de'i, SL de yi, N de yis.

¹⁹ S 'phreñ, DQLN phreñ.

²⁰ LN sgrogso.

²¹ S 'phreñ, DQLN phreñ.

rgyas kyi rol pa'i ri ma no ši la'i steñ du señ ge sgra sgrogs¹ pa bzin du | lha'i² lam brgyan par byas nas lam du byon | blo gros bzañ po³ dka' thub pas⁴ mig gis bltas nas lam brgyan pa la stobs bcu pa⁵ byon no || skyes bu chen po'i mtshan bzañ po sum bcu rtsa gñis kyis brgyan⁶ pa | dpe byad bzañ po brgyad cus⁷ ñe bar gsal ba | 'od 'dom gañ gis yoñs su⁸ bskor ba dañ | nor bu'i kha dog lta bu nam mkha'i⁹ mthil la sna tshogs pa'i rnam pa glog gi 'od lta bu dus dañ | dus ma yin par 'byuñ ba ñid zuñ dañ zuñ du gyur pa dañ | kha dog drug dañ ldan pa'i tshogs sañs rgyas kyi 'od zer 'phro žiñ | gzugs mchog (20a) thob pa'i bdag ñid bltas nas de riñ bdag gis stobs bcu pa la srog yoñs su¹⁰ gtoñ bar rigs so¹¹ || bcom ldan 'das 'jim¹² pa'i steñ¹³ du 'gro bar mi rigs so¹⁴ || nor bu'i spañ leb kyi¹⁵ zam pa la žabs gnon ciñ gšegs pa lta bur zag pa zad pa 'bum phrag bži dañ lhan cig bdag gi rgyab gnon ciñ gšegs su¹⁶ gsol | {Pā13} de ni bdag la yun riñ por phan pa dañ bde bar 'gyur ro¹⁷ || skra bkrol te gzig gi pags¹⁸ pa dañ | šiñ šun gyi gos dañ | 'jim pa nag po'i steñ nor bu'i spañ leb kyi zam pa lta bu'i 'jim pa'i steñ du ñal lo¹⁹ ||

de'i phyir gsuñs pa |

Bv II 40-52

bdag gis²⁰ de la dri luñ bstan || 'jig rten 'das pa'i sañs rgyas ni ||
rgyal ba mar me mdzad ces pa || 'jig rten 'dren pa byon pa yi ||

mi mñam lam ni 'chos pa dañ || de yi lam ni byi dor byed ||
sañs rgyas žes pa bdag gis thos || de ma thag tu dga' ba skyes ||

sañs rgyas²¹ sañs rgyas žes brjod pa || yid bde dga' ba skyes par gyur ||
tshim žiñ dga' ba skyes pa'i sems || de ru 'khor te rnam par bsam ||

¹ SDQ sgrogs, LN bsgrogs.

² SLN de'i, DQ lha'i.

³ SDLN po, Q pos.

⁴ SDQ pas, LN pa.

⁵ SDLN pa, Q omits.

⁶ SDLN brgyan, Q rgyan.

⁷ SDLN cus, Q bcus.

⁸ LN yoñsu.

⁹ LN namka'i.

¹⁰ LN yoñsu.

¹¹ N rigso.

¹² DQLN 'jim, S 'jam.

¹³ DQLN steñ, S stan.

¹⁴ LN rigso.

¹⁵ SDQL kyi, L gyi.

¹⁶ N gšegsu.

¹⁷ LN 'gyuro.

¹⁸ SD pags, QLN lpags.

¹⁹ N ñalo.

²⁰ SLN gis, DQ gi.

²¹ SDQN sañs rgyas, L omits.

'dir ni sa bon bskrun byas nas || de ma thag tu bdag la skye ||
gal te sañs rgyas ched byi dor || ma bcos gnas gcig bdag la byin ||
bdag kyañ byi dor byed pa yin || mi mñam pa ni 'chos pa'o ||
de tshe lam ni byi dor bya¹ || bdag la ma bcos gnas gcig² byin || (20b)
sañs rgyas sañs rgyas zes bsam žiñ || de tshe bdag ni lam 'di 'chos ||
bdag gi gnas ni ma grub par || thub pa chen po mar me mdzad ||
mñon ses drug po mtshuñs ldan par || 'bum phrag bži po rnams la ni ||
dri ma med ciñ zag pa zad || rgyal ba lam du byon par gyur ||
bsu ba byed pa po rnams ni || roñ mo rnams ni dkrol ba dañ ||
lha dañ mi rnams yi³ rañ byed || legs so zes pa'i tshig byin no ||
lha yis mi rnams mthoñ ba dañ || mi rnams kyis kyañ lha rnams mthoñ ||
de gñis kyis ni thal mo sbyor || de bžin gšegs dañ thabs cig⁴ 'gro ||
lha dañ lha yi⁵ rol mo dañ || mi dañ⁶ mi yi⁷ rol mo dañ ||
gñis ka⁸ yañ ni rol mo dkrol || de bžin gšegs dañ thabs cig 'gro ||
lha'i⁹ me tog man dā ra¹⁰ || pad ma¹¹ pa ri tsad tra ka ||
phyogs dañ mtshams su¹² me tog 'thor || lha rnams mkha' la gnas nas so¹³ ||
tsam pa kañ sā la lam ni pañ || nā gā punnā gā ke ta kañ ||
steñ¹⁴ gi phyogs dañ mtshams su¹⁵ 'thor || sa steñ¹⁶ 'gro ba mi rnams so¹⁷ ||
der ni bdag gi skra bkrol nas || śiñ śun chos gos gzig¹⁸ lpags ni ||
'jim pa'i steñ du btiñ¹⁹ nas su²⁰ || kha bub tu²¹ ni bdag gis ñal ||
'jim pa'i steñ nas mi gšegs par || bdag ni gnon ciñ sañs rgyas rnams ||

¹ SDQ bya, LN byar.

² SDQN gcig, L cig.

³ SDQ yi, LN yid.

⁴ SDQ cig, LN gcig.

⁵ SDLN lha yi, Q lha'i.

⁶ SDLN dañ, Q nañ.

⁷ SDLN mi yi, Q mi'i.

⁸ SDQN ka, L ga.

⁹ Q lha'i, D lha, SLN lha mi.

¹⁰ S manda ra, DQLN man dā ra.

¹¹ SLN padma, DQ padma.

¹² N mtshamsu.

¹³ N naso.

¹⁴ SDQ steñ, LN stoñ.

¹⁵ SD mtshams su, Q 'tshams su, LN 'tshamsu.

¹⁶ SDQL steñ, N steñs.

¹⁷ L mamso.

¹⁸ SDQN gzig, L gzigs.

¹⁹ SDLN bstiñ, Q bstiñ.

²⁰ DQN su, SL ni.

²¹ SDQL tu, N du.

slob ma 'khor bcas gsegs su¹ gsol || bdag la phan par 'gyur ba yin ||

I 18.

de 'jim pa'i (21a) steñ du ñal nas slar yañ mig gis blta žiñ stobs bcu dañ ldan pa'i mar me mdzad sañs rgyas kyi 'byor pa yañ dag par bltas nas de ltar bsams so² || gal te bdag gi³ ñon moñs pa thams cad gžom par 'dod pa dañ | dge 'dun rnams kyi gžon nur 'gyur bar⁴ bya ba dañ | dga' ba can gyi groñ khyer du 'jug par 'dod do || {Pā14} gžan gyi cha lugs kyi kyañ ñon moñs pa 'di gžom par byas nas mya ñan las 'das pa thob pa la don med do || stobs bcu dañ ldan pa'i mar me mdzad bdag gis ji lta ba bžin du bya'o || mchog gi byañ chub thob nas skye bo mañ po 'khor ba'i rgya mtsho la grur žugs nas pha rol du bsgral⁵ bar byas⁶ nas | phyis mya ñan las 'das pa thob par bya ba 'di ni bdag gis rigs pa'o || de nas chos brgyad po gcig tu⁷ bsdu⁸ ste sañs rgyas 'dod par smon pas sems la blta⁹ žiñ ñal lo¹⁰ || de'i phyir gsuñs pa |

Bv II 53-57

sa gzi la ni ñal nas ni || bdag gis de ltar bsams pa na¹¹ ||
bdag ni de¹² riñ 'dod pa yi || bdag gis¹³ ñon moñs gžom pa 'o¹⁴ ||

bdag ni cha lugs gžan gyis kyañ || 'dir ni chos 'di mñon du bya ||
thams cad mkhyen pa thob gyur nas || lha dañ bcas pa sañs rgyas 'gyur ||

bdag ñid gcig pu grol nas ci || skyes bu mthu ldan mthoñ ba dañ ||
thams cad mkhyen pa thob gyur nas || lha dañ mi rnams (21b) yañ dag bsgral ||

bdag gi 'di yi gzi yis ni || mthu dañ ldan pa mthoñ ba dañ ||
thams cad mkhyen pa thob nas ni || skye bo mañ po bdag gis bsgral ||

'khor ba'i mdud pa bcaad nas ni || srid gsum po ni zad byas la ||
chos kyi gru yi nañ žugs nas || lha dañ mi rnams yañ dag bsgral ||

gañ žig slar yañ sañs rgyas don du gñer ba'i phyir ro ||

¹ LN gsegsu.

² LN bsamso.

³ SDQ gi, LN gis.

⁴ SDQL 'gyur bar, N gyur pas.

⁵ SDLN bsgral, Q sgral.

⁶ SDQ byas, LN bya.

⁷ SDQN tu, L du.

⁸ SDQN bsdu, Q bsdus.

⁹ SDQ blta, LN lta.

¹⁰ LN ñalo.

¹¹ SLN na, DQ nas.

¹² DN de, SQL di.

¹³ SDQ gis, LN gi.

¹⁴ S pa 'o, DQLN pa'o.

Bv II 58

mi yi lus ni mtshan mar ldan || ston pa'i lta ba'i rgyu dañ ni ||
 rab byuñ yon tan ldan pa dañ || rigs pa¹ dañ ni 'dun pa dañ ||
 chos brgyad po ni bsdus nas su || smon lam mñon par 'phel ba'o ||

mi yi² lus la gnas śiñ sañs rgyas ñid don du gñer ba³ phun sum tshogs pa 'grub bo || klu 'am | nam⁴
 mkha' ldiñ ñam⁵ | lha rnams kyis de don du gñer yañ mi 'grub bo || mi yi⁶ lus su⁷ gyur ciñ skyes bu'i
 mtshan gnas pas ni de don du gñer ba 'grub bo || bud med dam | za ma 'am | ma niñ ñam | mtshan gñis
 pas ni 'grub pa ma yin no⁸ || skyes bur gyur nas de'i lus su⁹ 'dod pa dañ | dgra bcom pa thob par bya
 ba'i phyir du yoñs su¹⁰ rdzogs par 'grub bo || gžan gyis ni ma yin no¹¹ || rgyu¹² dañ ldan žiñ gal te
 'tsho ba dañ ldan pa'i sañs rgyas kyi druñ du don du¹³ gñer na don du¹⁴ 'grub bo || sañs rgyas yoñs
 su¹⁵ mya nañ las 'das nas mchod rten gyi druñ du 'am | byañ chub śiñ gi druñ du don du gñer bas ni
 mi 'grub bo || sañs rgyas kyi druñ du don du gñer kyañ rab tu byuñ ba'i mtshan ma dañ ldan (22a) pas
 'grub ky¹⁶ | khyim pa'i mtshan ma dañ ldan pas ni ma yin no¹⁷ || rab tu byuñ yañ mñon par śes pa lña
 dañ | sñoms par 'jug pa¹⁸ brgyad thob pas 'dod par¹⁹ 'grub kyi | yon tan 'di rnams dañ bral bas ni ma
 yin no²⁰ | yon tan dañ ldan yañ gañ žig 'tsho ba dañ ldan pa'i lus sañs rgyas la yoñs su²¹ btañ na 'grub
 kyi | gžan du ni ma yin no²² || de'i²³ gzi 'dis gzi yoñs su²⁴ rdzogs nas 'grub bo²⁵ || gžan gyis ni ma yin

¹ Sibetan: rigs pa; Qāli: adhikāra.

² SQLN mi yi, D mi'i.

³ SLN omit as does Pāli, DQ add: ni don du gñer ba.

⁴ S nam, DQLN omit.

⁵ SDLN ñam, Q dam.

⁶ SQLN mi yi, D mi'i.

⁷ LN lusu.

⁸ N yino.

⁹ SDQL de'i lus su, N des lusu.

¹⁰ LN yoñsu.

¹¹ N yino.

¹² S rgyu, DQLN sgyu.

¹³ SQLN don du, DQ omit.

¹⁴ DQLN du, S omits.

¹⁵ LN yoñsu.

¹⁶ SDLN ky¹⁶, Q kyañ.

¹⁷ N yino.

¹⁸ SDQ pa, LN par.

¹⁹ SDQL par, N pa.

²⁰ N yino.

²¹ LN yoñsu.

²² LN yino.

²³ DQ de'i, SLN de yi.

²⁴ LN yoñsu.

²⁵ LN 'grubo.

no¹ || gzi dañ ldan yañ gañ žig sañs rgyas kyi chos kyi phyr du 'dun pa chen po dañ | spro ba chen po dañ | rtsol ba chen po dañ | yoñs su² 'bad pa rnams kyis³ 'grub bo⁴ || gzan gyis ni ma yin no⁵ || de la 'dir 'dun pa chen po'i dpe ni | gal te 'di ltar gañ⁶ žig 'jig rten thams cad kyi khor yug gi nañ chu yis gañ bar gyur pa la bdag gis⁷ lag pas {Pā15} brkyal⁸ te pha rol du⁹ 'gro bar nus na des sañs rgyas thob par 'gyur ro¹⁰ || yañ na gañ du gañ žig slar yañ thams cad kyi khor yug gi nañ du 'od¹¹ ma mañ pos bkañ ste¹² | rkañ pas ñed ciñ rdul du byed pas pha rol du¹³ 'gro bar nus na de yis sañs rgyas thob par nus so¹⁴ || yañ na gañ žig slar yañ thams cad kyi khor yug gi nañ du mtshon cha rnams kha gyen la bstan pa'i mtshon rtse mo bar med pas yoñs su¹⁵ gañ ba la | rkañ pas rdzi¹⁶ žiñ pha rol du¹⁷ 'gro bar nus na des sañs rgyas thob par 'gyur ro¹⁸ | yañ na gañ žig gis slar yañ 'jig rten khor yug gi nañ du sol ba 'bar (22b) bas yoñs su¹⁹ gañ bar byas nas | rkañ pas rdzi²⁰ žiñ pha rol du²¹ 'gro bar nus na de yis sañs rgyas thob par 'gyur ro²² || gañ žig de rnams las gañ žig la sdug bsñal bar mi sems par bdag gis²³ 'di rnams kyañ pha rol du²⁴ bsgral ba 'am | 'gro ba 'am | pha rol du²⁵ 'gro bar bya'o žes šes so²⁶ || de de ltar 'dun pa chen po dañ | spro ba dañ | rtsol ba dañ | 'bad pa rnams dañ yañ dag par ldan na de'i²⁷ don du gñer pa 'grub bo²⁸ || gzan gyis ni ma yin no || blo gros bzañ po dka' thub pa slar yañ chos brgyad po 'di rnams bsdus nas sañs rgyas 'dod pa'i smon lam btab nas ñal lo²⁹ ||

¹ LN yino.

² LN yoñsu.

³ SDLN kyis, Q kyi.

⁴ L 'grubo.

⁵ N yino.

⁶ SDQL gañ, N gad.

⁷ SLN gis, DQ gi.

⁸ DQLN rkyal, S rkyal.

⁹ SDQL du, N tu.

¹⁰ L 'gyuro.

¹¹ SDQL 'od, N 'o.

¹² SDQ ste, LN te.

¹³ SDQL du, N tu.

¹⁴ L nuso, N nus.

¹⁵ LN yoñsu.

¹⁶ DQLN rdzi, S brdzi.

¹⁷ SDQL du, N tu.

¹⁸ LN 'gyuro.

¹⁹ LN yoñsu.

²⁰ DQLN rdzi, S brdzi.

²¹ SDQL du, N tu.

²² LN 'gyuro.

²³ SD gis, QLN gi.

²⁴ DQL du, SN tu.

²⁵ DL du, QSN tu.

²⁶ LN šeso.

²⁷ DQ de'i, SLN de yi.

²⁸ LN 'grubo.

²⁹ N ñalo.

I 19.

bcom ldan 'das mar me mdzad kyis kyañ byon nas blo gros bzañ po dka' thub pa'i mgo'i¹ gam du bžugs te | nor bu señ ge'i khañ pa'i gzeb kyī sgor bton² pa bžin du kha dog lña pa rab tu dañs pa dañ ldan pa'i spyān gyis gzigs nas 'jim pa'i steñ na ñal pa'i blo gros bzañ po dka' thub pa gzigs so³ || dka' thub pa 'di sañs rgyas thob pa'i phyir du smon lam 'debs śiñ ñal lo⁴ || 'di'i⁵ don du gñer ba 'grub bam mi 'grub sñam du dgoñs nas ma 'oñs pa'i ye śes kyis rtog ciñ dpyod⁶ do || 'di nas bskal pa grañs med pa bži dañ | 'bum phrag gcig lhag 'das nas gō ta ma⁷ žes bya ba'i sañs rgyas su⁸ 'gyur žes rtogs nas 'khor gyi nañ du luñ ston pas bka' stsal pa | mchog gi dka' thub kyī dka' thub⁹ pa 'di 'jim pa'i steñ na ñal ba khyed rnams kyis mthoñ ñam | gsol pa | btsun pa de (23a) bžin du mthoñ ño¹⁰ || bka' stsal pa | 'dis sañs rgyas thob par bsams nas ñal to || gsol pa | 'di'i don du gñer ba 'grub par 'gyur lags sam | bka' stsal pa | 'di nas bskal pa grañs med pa bži dañ | 'bum phrag gcig lhag 'das nas gō ta ma¹¹ žes bya ba'i sañs rgyas su 'gyur ro¹² || de la slar yañ 'di¹³ groñ khyer ser skya'i gnas su¹⁴ 'khruñs par 'gyur ro¹⁵ || lha mo sgyu 'phrul ma chen mo žes bya ba ni yum mo¹⁶ || rgyal po zas gtsañ ma žes bya ba ni yab bo¹⁷ || ñan thos kyī mchog ni gnas brtan ñe rgyal dañ | ñan thos gñis pa ni gnas brtan pañ nas skyes so¹⁸ || sañs rgyas kyī ñe gnas ni kun dga' bo žes bya ba'o || ñan thos ma'i mchog ni gnas brtan ma dge ma žes bya¹⁹ ba dañ | ñan thos ma gñis pa ni gnas brtan ma utpa la'i²⁰ mdog can žes bya bar 'gyur ro²¹ || ye śes yoñs su²² smin par gyur te | ñes par 'byuñ ba chen po byas nas dka' thub chen po rdzogs par bya²³ te²⁴ | nya gro dha'i śiñ druñ du 'o thug blañs nas chu kluñ nai ra dza ra'i 'gram du

¹ SDQ mgo'i, LN mgo yi.² SLN bton, DQ ston.³ LN gzigso.⁴ N ñalo.⁵ DQ 'di'i, SLN 'di yi.⁶ SDQ dpyod, LN spyod.⁷ DLN gō ta ma, S go'u ta ma, Q gō' ta ma. Pāli: Gotama, cf. Mvy no. 78 (78) Gāutama = Gāu ta ma.⁸ LN rgyasu.⁹ DQ kyī dka' thub, SLN omit.¹⁰ N mthoño.¹¹ DLN gō ta ma, S go'u ta ma, Q gō' ta ma.¹² N rgyasu 'gyuro.¹³ SLN 'di, DQ omit.¹⁴ L gnasu.¹⁵ L N 'gyuro.¹⁶ N yumu.¹⁷ N yabo.¹⁸ L skyeso.¹⁹ SDQ bya, LN omit.²⁰ S utpa la'i, DQ ud pa la'i, LN u pa la'i.²¹ L 'gyuro.²² LN yoñsu.²³ SLN bya, DQ byas.²⁴ SDQ te, LN ste.

gsol lo¹ || byañ chub kyi sñiñ por gśegs te | a śva ttha'i² śiñ druñ du mñon par rdzogs par 'tshañ rgya
bar 'gyur ro³ || de'i phyir gsuñs pa |

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mar me mdzad pa 'jig rten mkhyen || sems can phan phyir 'jig rten byuñ ||
bdag gi mgo bo'i gam 'dug ste || 'di lta bu yi tshig⁴ gsuñs so⁵ ||

dka' thub pa 'di ltos sig dañ || dka' ba mchog gi ral pa 'dzin ||
'di ni bskal pa mañ 'das nas || 'jig rten du ni (23b) sañs rgyas 'gyur || {Pā16}

ser skya dga' ba'i groñ du 'khruñs || de bzin gśegs pa ñes par 'byuñ⁶ ||
dka' thub gnas su⁷ gnas nas⁸ ni || śin tu dka' ba'i dka' thub spyad ||

a tsa pā la'i⁹ śiñ druñ du || de bzin gśegs pa bžugs nas su¹⁰ ||
der ni 'o thug blañs nas ni || nai ra dza ra'i 'gram gnas nas ||

nai ra dza ra'i 'gram du ni || 'o tug rgyal bas loñs¹¹ spyod do ||
lam gyi mchog gi ched du ni || byañ chub gžir¹² ni byon 'gyur ro¹³ ||

bla med byañ chub sñiñ po la || de nas bskor ba byas nas ni ||
a śva ttha yi¹⁴ druñ du ni || grags chen žes pa sañs rgyas 'gyur ||

'di yi skye ba'i yum gyur pa || sgyu ma žes par 'gyur ba yin ||
yab ni zas gtsañ žes bya'o || 'di ni gō ta ma¹⁵ žes par 'gyur ||

zag pa zad ciñ 'dod chags bral || ži ba'i sems dañ mtshuñs par ldan ||
pañ nas skyes dañ ñe rgyal ni || ñan thos rnam kyi mchog yin no¹⁶ ||

ñe gnas kun dga' bo žes pas || rgyal ba de la žabs tog byed ||
dge ma dañ ni utpala¹⁷ mdog || ñan thos ma yi¹⁸ mchog yin no¹⁹ ||

¹ N gsolo.

² SDLN a śva tthā'i, Q a śā ttha'i.

³ L 'gyuro.

⁴ SDQ tshig, LN tshigs.

⁵ LN gsuñso.

⁶ DQLN 'byuñ, S byuñ.

⁷ L gnasu.

⁸ SDQ nas, LN na.

⁹ DQ a tsa pā la'i, SLN a tsa pa la'i.

¹⁰ L gnasu.

¹¹ SDLN loñs, Q loñ.

¹² SQLN gžir, D bžir.

¹³ LN 'gyuro.

¹⁴ D a śva ttha yi, S a śva tthā yi, Q a śā ttha yi, LN a śva ttha'i.

¹⁵ DQLN gō ta ma, S go'u ta ma.

¹⁶ N yino.

¹⁷ S utpala, DQLN ud pa la.

¹⁸ SD ma yi, QLN ma'i.

¹⁹ N yino.

zag pa med ciñ 'dod chags bral || ži ba'i sems dañ mtshuñs par ldan ||
de yi bcom ldan byañ chub šiñ || a šva ttha¹ žes brjod pa'o ||

de thos nas blo gros bzañ po dka' thub pa bdag gis don du gñer ba grub² par 'gyur bas yid bde ba thob par gyur to || skye bo mañ pos stobs bcu dañ ldan pa'i mar me mdzad kyi gsuñ thos nas | blo gros bzañ po dka' thub pa sañs (24a) rgyas kyi sa bon gyi myu gur gyur pas dga' ba dañ bde ba skyes so³ || de lta bur⁴ gyur pa'i sems kyi | ji ltar skyes bu chu kluñ gi pha rol tu⁵ 'gro ba na mu 'gram drañ po nas pha rol tu⁶ 'gro bar mi nus na 'og gi cha'i mu gnas nas pha rol du⁷ 'gro'o || de ltar 'di ltar bdag gis stobs bcu dañ ldan pa'i mar me mdzad kyi bstan pa la lam gyi 'bras bu ma thob par gyur na gañ gi tshe khyod ma 'oñs pa na sañs rgyas⁸ bar 'gyur ro⁹ žes so¹⁰ || de'i tshe khyod kyi mñon sum du lam 'bras bu mñon du byed pa bdag gis nus so¹¹ || don du gñer bar byas nas stobs bcu dañ ldan pa'i mar me mdzad kyi kyañ byañ chub sems dpa'i bñags pa brjod ciñ me tog sñim pa brgyad kyi gtor nas bskor ba byas te gšegs so¹² || 'bum phrag bži po zag pa zad pa de rnams kyi kyañ byañ chub sems dpa' la dri bzañ dañ | me tog gis mchod nas bskor ba byas te¹³ gšegs so¹⁴ || lha dañ mi rnams kyi kyañ de bžin du mchod nas phyag btsal te soñ no ||

I 20.

byañ chub sems dpa'¹⁵ thams cad soñ ba'i dus su ñal ba'i gnas nas lañs te pha rol tu¹⁶ phyin pa bsams¹⁷ pa'i phyir me tog gi phuñ po'i steñ du skyil kruñ¹⁸ bcas nas bžugs so¹⁹ || de ltar byañ chub sems dpa' bžugs nas 'jig rten gyi khams stoñ phrag bcu'i khor yug gi lha rnams kyi legs so²⁰ žes bya ba byin no²¹ || 'phags pa blo gros bzañ po dka' thub pa sñar gyi byañ chub sems dpa' rnams kyi kyañ

¹ S a šva tthā, Q a šā ttha, DLN a šva ttha.

² SDQ grub, LN bsgrub.

³ LN skyeso.

⁴ SDQ bur, LN bu'i.

⁵ N tu, SDQL du.

⁶ N tu, SDQL du.

⁷ SN tu, DQL du.

⁸ SQLN rgyas, D rgya.

⁹ LN 'gyuro.

¹⁰ L žeso.

¹¹ LN nuso.

¹² LN gšegso.

¹³ SDLN byas te, Q bya ste.

¹⁴ LN gšegso.

¹⁵ LN dpa', SDQ dpas.

¹⁶ SLN tu, DQ du.

¹⁷ SLN bsams, DQ bsam.

¹⁸ SD skyil kruñ, N bskyil kruñ, QL dkyil dkruñ.

¹⁹ DQ bžugs, S 'dug go, LN 'dugo.

²⁰ LN legso.

²¹ N byino.

skiyil kruñ¹ bcas te | pha rol tu² phyin pa sems šiñ sñon gyi dus na (24b) bžugs bžin du sdug bsñal gyi mtshan ma mthoñ nas | de rnams kyi mtshan ma rnams kyañ de³ riñ skyes par gyur to || the tsom med par khyod sañs rgyas su⁴ 'gyur ro⁵ žes {Pā17} bdag gis de rnams šes so⁶ || gañ gis 'di rnams kyi mtshan ma mthoñ bar gyur pas de ñes par sañs rgyas su 'gyur ro⁷ || de la khyod bdag fiid brtson 'grus brtan po mchog bzuñ nas | byañ chub sems dpa' rnams la sna tshogs pa'i bstod pa byas so⁸ || de'i⁹ phyir gsuñs pa ||

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'di yi tshig ni¹⁰ thos nas ni || mtshuñs med drañ sroñ chen po la ||
 lha dañ mi rnams¹¹ rjes yi¹² rañ¹³ || sañs rgyas sa bon myu¹⁴ gu 'di ||
 sgra ni chen po sgrogs byed ciñ || gsal bar bžad par byed pa dañ ||
 thal mo sbyar nas phyag byed pa || stoñ¹⁵ phrag bcu yi lha dañ bcas ||
 bstan pa 'di la 'bras ma thob || gal te 'jig rten mgon po 'di ||
 ma 'oñs pa rnams 'das gyur nas || 'di ni sñon du 'gyur ba'o ||
 ji ltar chu kluñ pha rol mi || 'gro ba bo yi¹⁶ mu gnas la ||
 'og gi mu nas bzuñ¹⁷ nas ni || chu kluñ chen po'i pha rol 'gro ||
 de ltar 'di ltar bdag gis ni || rgyal ba 'di ni gal te na ||
 ma 'oñs pa ni mañ soñ nas || 'di ni mñon sum gyur pa yin ||
 mar me mdzad ni 'jig rten mkhyen || 'di ltar 'gyur žes gsuñs pa yin ||
 bdag gi¹⁸ las¹⁹ rnams bsal byas nas || rkañ pa g.yas²⁰ pa bteg byas so²¹ ||

¹ SDN skyil kruñ, QL dkyil dkruñ.

² SLN tu, DQ du.

³ DLN de, SQ di.

⁴ N rgyasu.

⁵ LN 'gyuro.

⁶ LN šeso.

⁷ LN rgyasu 'gyuro.

⁸ LN byaso.

⁹ SDQ de'i, LN de yi.

¹⁰ SDQ ni, LN 'di.

¹¹ SLN rnams, DQ ni.

¹² SDQL yi, N yin.

¹³ SQLN rañ, D rañs.

¹⁴ SDLN myu, Q myug.

¹⁵ SQLN stoñ, D stod.

¹⁶ SDLN bo yi, Q bo'i.

¹⁷ SDQN bzuñ, L gzuñ.

¹⁸ DQ gi, SLN gis.

¹⁹ SDQN las, L lam.

²⁰ SDLN g.yas, Q yas.

²¹ LN byaso.

gañ žig de la rgyal sras ni || bdag la kun gyis bskor ba byas ||
mi dañ klu dañ dri za rnams || phyag byas nas ni (25a) gśegs par gyur ||

dge 'dun bcas pa 'jig rten 'dren¹ || bdag gis gśegs pa mthoñ ba na ||
dga' žiñ tshim pa'i sems kyis ni || de tshe bdag gis stan las lañs ||

bdag ni bde žiñ bde bar 'gyur || ²dga' žiñ dga' bar gyur pa ste ||
dga' dañ ldan par skye pa dañ || de yi tshe na skyil kruñ³ bcas ||

skyil kruñ⁴ la ni gnas nas su⁵ || de la bdag gis 'di ltar bsams ||
bdag gis⁶ bsam gtan dbaň du gyur || ye śes kyī ni pha rol phyin ||

stoñ phrag gi ni 'jig rten na || ña dañ mtshuñs pa'i drañ sroñ med ||
rdzu 'phrul chos ni bdag mi mtshuñs || 'di 'dra ci bde gżan ma thob ||

bdag gis skyil kruñ⁷ bcas na⁸ bdag || stoñ phrag bcu lhag gnas nas su⁹ ||
sgra chen po ni sgrogs par byed || ñes par khyod ni sañs rgyas 'gyur ||

gañ žig byañ sems¹⁰ sñon ma rnams || skyil kruñ¹¹ du ni bżugs nas su¹² ||
mtshan ma rnams ni mthoñ ba ni || de rnams de¹³ riñ mthoñ ba yin ||

grañ ba rnams ni med par gyur || dro ba rnams ni ñe bar ži ||
de rnams de¹⁴ riñ so sor mthoñ || ñes par khyod ni sañs rgyas 'gyur ||

stoñ phrag bcu yi 'jig rten khams || phan tshun du ni 'jigs med gyur¹⁵ ||
de rnams de¹⁶ riñ so sor mthoñ || ñes par khyod ni sañs rgyas 'gyur || {Pā18}

rļuñ chen po ni mi ldañ žiñ || chu rnams rgyun las log pa dañ ||
de rnams de¹⁷ riñ so sor mthoñ || ñes par khyod ni sañs rgyas 'gyur ||

thañ skyes chu skyes me tog rnams || thams cad du ni me tog bye¹⁸ ||
de rnams de¹⁹ riñ me tog (25b) bye²⁰ || ñes par khyod ni sañs rgyas 'gyur ||

¹ SDQL'dren, N'dran.

² SDLN omit, Q adds line: dga' žiñ śin tu bde bar 'gyur.

³ SDN skyil kruñ, QL dkyil dkruñ.

⁴ SDN skyil kruñ, QL dkyil dkruñ.

⁵ LN nasu.

⁶ LN gis, SDQ gi.

⁷ SDN skyil kruñ, QL dkyil dkruñ.

⁸ SLN na, DQ nas.

⁹ L nasu.

¹⁰ DQLN sems, S chub.

¹¹ SDN skyil kruñ, QL dkyil dkruñ.

¹² LN nasu.

¹³ SDLN de, Q di.

¹⁴ SDLN de, Q di.

¹⁵ SDQL gyur, N'gyur.

¹⁶ SDLN de, Q di.

¹⁷ SDLN de, Q di.

¹⁸ DQN bye, SL byed.

¹⁹ SDLN de, Q di.

²⁰ DQ bye, SLN byes.

'khri¹ šiñ yañ na² šiñ gyur pa || de ma thag tu 'bras bur gyur ||
 de rnams de kun 'bras gyur pas || ñes par khyod ni sañs rgyas 'gyur ||

nam mkha³ dañ ni sa gzi la || rin chen de dag 'od 'gyed do ||
 de rnams de⁴ riñ 'od 'gyed pas || ñes par khyod ni sañs rgyas 'gro ||

lha rnams dañ ni mi rnams ni || de dag rol mo'i sgra sgrogs so⁵ ||
 de rnams de⁶ riñ sgra 'byin pas || khyod ni ñes par sañs rgyas 'gyur ||

me⁷ tog sna tshogs pa yi⁸ tshogs || de ma thag tu char pa 'bebs⁹ ||
 de rnams de¹⁰ riñ char 'bebs pas || ñes par khyod ni sañs rgyas 'gyur ||

rgya mtsho chen po ma¹¹ g.yo žiñ || 'jig rten stoñ phrag bcu po g.yo ||
 de rnams de¹² riñ gyur pas¹³ na || ñes par khyod ni sañs rgyas 'gyur ||

stoñ phrag bcu yi dmyal ba rnams || de ma thag tu bsreg dañ bral ||
 de rnams de¹⁴ riñ ži bas na || ñes par khyod ni sañs rgyas 'gyur ||

ñi ma dri ma med pa dañ || rgyu skar thams cad mthoñ ba dañ ||
 de rnams de¹⁵ riñ mthoñ bas na || ñes par khyod ni sañs rgyas 'gyur ||

char pa 'bab par ma gyur kyañ || sa ni snum bag bcas pa dañ ||
 de rnams de¹⁶ riñ sa la gyur || ñes par khyod ni sañs rgyas 'gyur ||

rgyu skar tshogs ni rnam par gsal || nam mkha'i¹⁷ dbyiñs su¹⁸ rgyu skar rnams ||
 zla ba dañ ni 'grogs¹⁹ pa bžin || ñes par khyod ni sañs rgyas 'gyur ||

sa khuñ ri khuñ srog chags rnams || sems geig pas ni pha rol mthoñ ||
 de²⁰ riñ de rnams (26a) sems dga' bas || ñes par khyod ni sañs rgyas 'gyur ||

¹ SDLN 'khri, Q khri.

² SDLN na, Q ni.

³ LN namkha'.

⁴ SDLN de, Q di.

⁵ N sgrogso.

⁶ SDLN de, Q di.

⁷ SQLN me, D ma.

⁸ SDQ pa yi, LN pa'i.

⁹ SDLN 'bebs, Q 'phebs.

¹⁰ SDLN de, Q di.

¹¹ SN mi, DQL ma.

¹² SDLN de, Q di.

¹³ SDQ pas, LN par.

¹⁴ SDLN de, Q di.

¹⁵ SDLN de, Q di.

¹⁶ SDLN de, Q di.

¹⁷ LN namkha'i

¹⁸ N dbyiñsu.

¹⁹ SDLN 'grogs, Q 'grog.

²⁰ SDLN de, Q di.

sems can rnams ni mi dga' med || de ma thag tu dga' bar 'gyur ||
de¹ riñ de rnams dga' bas na || ñes par khyod ni sañs rgyas 'gyur ||

de tshe nad rnams ñe bar zi || 'dod pa'i nad ni med pa'o ||
de² riñ de rnams mthoñ bas na || ñes par khyod ni sañs rgyas 'gyur ||

de tshe chags pa bsrabs pa dañ || skyon dañ rmoñs pa rnam par zig ||
de riñ de kun dor bas na || ñes par khyod ni sañs rgyas 'gyur ||

de yi³ tshe na 'jigs pa⁴ med ⁵ || de⁶ riñ de rnams mthoñ bas na ||
bdag gi rtags te⁷ kun gyis ses || ñes par khyod ni sañs rgyas 'gyur ||

steñ 'og rdul ni go bzlog 'gro || de⁸ riñ yañ ni de rnams mthoñ ||
bdag gi rtags te⁹ kun gyis ses || ñes par khyod ni sañs rgyas 'gyur ||

dri rnams ñan pa soñ ba dañ || lha yi¹⁰ dri ni 'oñ ba dañ ||
de¹¹ riñ de rnams dri ldañ bas || ñes par khyod ni sañs rgyas 'gyur || {Pā19}

lha rnams thams cad mthoñ pa dañ || gzugs med pa rnams spañs pa ni ||
de riñ de kun mthoñ bas na || ñes par khyod ni sañs rgyas 'gyur ||

dmyal ba rnams ni ji srid pa || de yi tshe na thams cad mthoñ ||
de rnams de riñ kun mthoñ bas || ñes par khyod ni sañs rgyas 'gyur ||

sgo chuñ dañ ni ri yi¹² rnams || de yi tshe na mi mthoñ med ||
de¹³ riñ nam mkha'¹⁴ bzin du mthoñ || ñes par khyod ni sañs rgyas 'gyur ||

rum du gnas dañ 'thon pa na¹⁵ || skad cig tsam gyis ma yin no¹⁶ ||
de riñ de rnams so sor mthoñ || (26b) ñes par khyod ni sañs rgyas 'gyur ||

brtson 'grus brtan par byas nas ni || ñes par 'byuñ ba ldog mi bya ||
bdag gis 'di rnams legs ses pas || ñes par khyod ni sañs rgyas 'gyur ||

¹ SDLN de, Q di.

² SDLN de, Q di.

³ SDLN de yi, Q de'i.

⁴ SLN pa, DQ omit.

⁵ SLN omit, DQ pa.

⁶ SDLN de, Q di.

⁷ SQLN te, D de.

⁸ SDLN de, Q di.

⁹ SQLN te, D de.

¹⁰ SDLN lha yi, Q lha'i.

¹¹ SDLN de, Q di.

¹² SDN ri yi, QL ri'i.

¹³ SDLN de, Q di.

¹⁴ LN namkha'.

¹⁵ SLN na, DQ ni.

¹⁶ N yino.

I 21.

byañ chub sems dpaś stobs bcu dañ ldan pa'i mar me mdzad dañ | stoñ phrag bcu'i
 khor yug gi¹ lha rnams kyi² gsuñ thos nas | yid bde ba cher skyes te bdag fiid spro bar gyur nas bsams
 pa³ | sañs rgyas rnams kyi don yod pa'i gsuñ žes bya ba ni | sañs rgyas rnams kyi⁴ gsuñ las gžan du mi
 'gyur ba yin no⁵ || ji ltar yan⁶ nam mkha'⁷ la rdo 'phañs nas⁸ lhuñ bar 'gyur ba dañ | skyes nas 'chi bar
 'gyur ba dañ | skya reñs⁹ śar na fi ma 'char bar 'gyur ba dañ | gnas nas señ ge lañs na¹⁰ sgra phyuñ ste
 'gro ba dañ | sbrum ma yoñs su¹¹ smin nas skye bar 'gyur bar ñes so¹² || ñes par de bžin du 'di ltar sañs
 rgyas rnams kyi gsuñ ni ñes śiñ don yod par 'dod do || ñes par bdag ni sañs rgyas su¹³ 'gyur ro¹⁴ || de'i
 phyir gsuñs pa ||

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sañs rgyas kyi ni gsuñ thos nas || stoñ phrag bcu dañ gñis ka¹⁶ yi ||
 tshim žiñ dgyes la rab tu dga' || bdag gis¹⁷ de tshe 'di ltar bsams ||

gñis ni mi gsuñ sañs rgyas ni || rgyal ba don yod pa yi gsuñ¹⁸ ||
 sañs rgyas rnams ni gžan mi gsuñ¹⁹ || bdag ni ñes par sañs rgyas 'gyur ||

ji ltar mkha' la rdo 'phañs pa || ñes par sa la lhuñ bar 'gyur ||
 de bžin du ni sañs rgyas kyi || gsuñ ni ñes par 'gyur ba bžin ||

ji ltar sems can thams cad ni || ñes par 'chi bar 'gyur (27a) ba'o ||
 de bžin du ni sañs rgyas kyi || gsuñ ni ñes par 'gyur ba bžin ||

ji ltar nam ni zad pa na || ñes par fi ma 'char bar 'gyur ||
 de bžin du ni sañs rgyas kyi || gsuñ ni ñes par 'gyur ba bžin ||

¹ SDLN gi, Q kyi.² SDLN kyi, Q kyis.³ SDQ pa, LN pas.⁴ SDLN kyi, Q kyis.⁵ N yino.⁶ DQLN yañ, S omits.⁷ LN namkha'⁸ SLN nas, DQ na.⁹ SDLN reñs, Q riñ.¹⁰ SLN na, DQ nas.¹¹ S omits: su, LN yoñsu.¹² N ñeso.¹³ N rgyasu.¹⁴ LN 'gyuro.¹⁵ The *Jātakanidāna gāthās* 110-114 vary from *Buddhavaṃsa gāthās* 110-114, in that each of the four *gāthās* omit the last line found in the *Buddhavaṃsa gāthās*.¹⁶ SDQN ka, L ga.¹⁷ DQLN gis, S gi.¹⁸ DQLN gsuñ, S gsuñs.¹⁹ SDLN gsuñ, Q gsuñs.

ji ltar señ ge'i gnas nas¹ ni || señ ge'i sgra ni ñes pa'o ||
de bzin du ni sañs rgyas kyi || gsuñ ni ñes par 'gyur ba bzin ||

ji ltar sbrum ma smin gyur na || mñal nas ñes par skye bar 'gyur ||
de bzin du ni sañs rgyas kyi || gsuñ ni ñes par 'gyur ba bzin ||

I 22.

legs so² bdag ni sañs rgyas su 'gyur ro³ || de⁴ ltar ñes par byas nas sañs rgyas su⁵ byed pa'i chos tshol
bas sañs rgyas su⁶ 'gyur ba'i chos gañ žig na yod | gal te steñ na yod dam 'og na 'am | {Pā20} phyogs
sam⁷ mtshams⁸ rnams⁹ na¹⁰ yod dam ci | go rims bzin du chos kyi dbyiñs thams cad la brtsams nas |
sñar gyi byañ chub sems dpas kyañ bsñen pa dañ ñes par brten¹¹ par bya ba'i dañ por sbyin pa'i pha
rol tu phyin pa gzigs so¹² || de ltar bdag gis kyañ bdag la gdams pa | mkhas pa blo gros bzañ po khyod
kyis kyañ 'di nas bzuñ¹³ nas sbyin pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa rdzogs par bya'o || ji ltar na chu'i¹⁴ bum pa
kha phub na bum par chu rnams mi gnas par sa la bo ba ñid slar yañ bum pa la mi gnas so¹⁵ || de ltar
'di ltar nor ram | grags pa 'am | bu dañ | chuñ ma 'am¹⁶ | yan lag dañ ñiñ lag rnams ltos pa med par
sloñ ba rnams kyi don du thams cad gañ dañ gañ 'dod pa la lhag ma med par byas nas sbyin te (27b)
byañ chub kyi śiñ druñ du bžugs¹⁷ nas sañs rgyas thob bo || dañ por sbyin pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa
brtan par byas nas gnas par¹⁸ bya'o || de'i phyir gsuñs pa ||

Bv II 115-119

bdag gis sañs rgyas byed pa'i chos || gañ dañ de ru btsal byas pa ||
steñ dañ 'og dañ phyogs bcu dañ || chos kyi dbyiñs kyi bar du 'o¹⁹ ||

¹ SDQL nas, N na.

² N legso.

³ N rgyasu 'gyuro.

⁴ SDLN de, Q da.

⁵ N rgyasu.

⁶ N rgyasu.

⁷ DQLN sam, S omits.

⁸ SDN mtshams, Q 'tshams, L mtsham.

⁹ SDQ rnams, LN omit.

¹⁰ SDLN na, Q ni.

¹¹ SDQ brten, LN bsten.

¹² LN gzigso.

¹³ SDQ bzuñ, LN gzuñ.

¹⁴ DQ chu'i, SLN chu yi.

¹⁵ LN gnaso.

¹⁶ SDQL na 'am, N ma'm.

¹⁷ SDQL bžugs, N žugs.

¹⁸ SDQ par, LN omit.

¹⁹ S du 'o, DQLN du'o.

de tshe btsal pa na ni mthoñ || dañ por sbyin pa'i pha rol phyin ||
sñon gyi skyes bu chen po yi || lam ni pha rol rjes su¹ 'gro ||

'di ni re žig khyod kyis kyañ || brtan por byas nas gzuñ bar gyis ||
gal te byañ chub thob 'dod na || sbyin pa'i pha rol phyin par gyis ||

ji ltar bum pa gañ gyur pa || gañ gañ² kha ni phub pa na ||
chu ni lhag ma med par 'bo || bum pa'i nañ du mi gnas so³ ||

de bžin du ni sloñ ba mthoñ || mchog dman 'briñ po gañ yin pa ||
ma lus par ni sbyin par bya || kha phub⁴ bum pa de bžin no ||

I 23.

gžan yañ sañs rgyas su⁵ byed pa'i chos 'di 'ba' žig ma yin par blta⁶ bar bya'o || lhag par tshol na⁷ gñis
pa tshul khirms kyis pha rol tu phyin pa mthoñ nas 'di lta bu'i sems su⁸ gyur to || mkhas pa blo gros
bzañ po dka' thub pa khyod kyis 'di nas bzuñ nas tshul khirms kyis pha rol tu phyin pa rdzogs par
bya'o || dper na gžan yañ rgod g.yag žes⁹ bya ba srog la mi lta bar rañ gi mjug ma'i rña¹⁰ ma ñid bsruñ
ba de bžin du | khyod kyis kyañ 'di nas bzuñ nas srog la mi lta bar tshul khirms bsruñs na khyod kyis
sañs rgyas thob par 'gyur ro¹¹ || gñis pa tshul khirms kyis pha rol tu phyin pa brtan par (28a) byas te
gnas par bya'o || de'i phyir gsuñs pa |

Bv II 120-124

'di tsam 'ba' žig ma yin gyi || gañ žig byañ chub thob byed chos ||
gžan la yañ ni brtsal bar bya || gañ žig chos ni thob byed pa ||

de yi tshe na tshol ba mthoñ || gñis pa tshul khirms pha rol phyin ||
sñon gyi skyes bu chen po yi¹² || bsñen dañ bsten¹³ par byas pas so¹⁴ ||

re žig gñis pa 'di yis ni || brtan por byas nas gzuñ bar bya¹⁵ ||
gal te byañ chub thob 'dod na¹⁶ || tshul khirms pha rol phyin par gyis ||

¹ N rjesu.

² SDNL gañ, Q yañ.

³ N gnaso.

⁴ DLN phub, SQ bub.

⁵ N rgyasu.

⁶ SDQ blta, LN lta.

⁷ SQLN na, D ni.

⁸ N semsu.

⁹ DQLN žes, S ces.

¹⁰ SDLN rña, Q sña.

¹¹ N 'gyuro.

¹² SQLN yi, D yis.

¹³ SLN bsten, D bten, Q brten.

¹⁴ LN paso.

¹⁵ SDLN bya, Q byas.

¹⁶ SDQ na, LN pa.

ji ltar rgod g.yag rna ma ni || gañ dañ gañ gis bzuñ¹ ba na ||
ltos pa med par srog 'dor ro || rna ma la dga' khro ba med || {Pā21}

de bzin du ni sa gzi ru || tshul khrimis yoñs su² rdzogs pa dañ ||
rtag tu tshul khrimis kun sruñ byed || rgod g.yag rna ma bsruñ³ pa bzin ||

I24.

gzan yañ sañs rgyas su⁴ byed pa'i chos 'di 'ba' žig ma yin par blta bar bya'o || lhag par tshol ba na
gsum pa nes 'byuñ gi pha rol tu phyin pa mthoñ nas 'di lta bu'i sems su⁵ gyur to || mkhas pa blo gros
bzañ po dka' thub pa khyod kyis 'di nas bzuñ⁶ nas nes par 'byuñ ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa yañ rdzogs
par bya'o || ji ltar btson rar yun riñ por bcñs nas bžag pa'i mi de la 'dod par mi byed do || gzan yañ šin
tu sdug bsñal ba'i sems de la de bzin du gnas par 'dod pa med do⁷ || de ltar 'di ltar khyod kyis kyañ
skye ba thams cad du btson⁸ rar bcñs pa bzin byas nas | skye ba thams cad du šin tu sdug bsñal ba'i
sems kyis grol bar 'dod pa'i (28b) sems kyis nes par 'byuñ ba⁹ mñon sum du 'gyur ro¹⁰ || de ltar byas
nas sañs rgyas thob par 'gyur ro¹¹ || nes par 'byuñ ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa la brtan¹² par byas te gnas
so¹³ || de'i phyir gsuñs pa |

Bv II 125-129

'di tsam 'ba' žig ma yin gyi || gañ žig byañ chub thob¹⁴ byed chos ||
gzan pa yañ ni btsal bar bya || gañ žig chos ni thob byed pa ||

de yi¹⁵ tshe na tshol ba mthoñ || gsum pa nes 'byuñ pha rol phyin¹⁶ ||
sñon gyi skyes bu chen po yi¹⁷ || bsñen dañ bsten¹⁸ par byas pas so¹⁹ ||

¹ SDQ bzuñ, LN gzuñ.

² LN yoñsu.

³ SDQ bsruñ, LN sruñ.

⁴ N rgyasu.

⁵ N semsu.

⁶ SDQ bzuñ, LN gzuñ.

⁷ L medo.

⁸ SDN btson, QL brtson.

⁹ SDQ ba, LN bar.

¹⁰ LN 'gyuro.

¹¹ N 'gyuro.

¹² SDQ brtan, LN rten.

¹³ L gnaso.

¹⁴ SDQ thob, LN 'thob.

¹⁵ SDQL de yi, N de'i.

¹⁶ SDLN pa nes 'byuñ pha rol phyin, Q omits.

¹⁷ SQLN yi, D yis.

¹⁸ SLN bsten, DQ brten.

¹⁹ SDQ pa so, LN paso.

re žig gsum pa 'di yis ni || brtan por byas te gzuñ¹ bar bya ||
gal te byañ chub thob 'dod na || ñes 'byuñ pha rol phyin par gyis² ||

ji ltar skyes bu btson³ rar bciñs || yun riñ⁴ gnas śiñ sdug bśnal ba ||
de la dga' bar mi byed par || myur du 'grol⁵ bar 'dod par sems ||

de bzin khyod ni skye kun tu⁶ || btson⁷ ra bzin du lta⁸ bar gyis ||
ñes par 'byuñ pa sñon du na⁹ || skye ba las ni grol bar 'gyur ||

I 25.

gžan yañ sañs rgyas su¹⁰ byed pa'i chos 'di 'ba' žig ma yin par blta bar bya'o || lhag par tshol ba na
bzi pa śes rab kyis pha rol tu phyin pa mthoñ nas 'di lta bu'i sems su¹¹ gyur to || mkhas pa blo gros
bzañ po dka' thub pa khyod kyis 'di nas bzuñ nas śes rab kyis pha rol tu phyin pa yañ rdzogs par bya'o
|| dman pa dañ | 'briñ po dañ | chen po rnams su¹² mi sems par de rnams kyis gnas su¹³ soñ ste mkhas
pa rnams la dri¹⁴ bar bya'o || ji ltar na bsod sñoms la 'gro ba'i dge sloñ (29a) dman pa la sogs pa'i
gnas su¹⁵ soñ ste | rigs kyis dbye ba ma spañs par go rim¹⁶ bzin du bsod sñams la 'gro ba myur du rañ
gi bza' pa'i tshad thob par 'gyur ro¹⁷ || de bzin du khyod kyis kyañ mkhas pa thams cad kyis druñ du
soñ ste dri bar byas nas¹⁸ sañs rgyas thob bo || bzi pa śes rab kyis pha rol tu phyin pa la bsten¹⁹ par byas
te²⁰ gnas par²¹ gyis śig²² | de'i phyir gsuñs pa |

Bv II 130-134

'di tsam 'ba' žig ma yin gyi || gañ žig byañ chub thob byed chos ||
gžan pa yañ ni btsal bar bya || gañ žig chos ni thob byed pa ||

¹ SDQ gzuñ, LN bzuñ.

² SDLN gyis, Q omits.

³ SDLN btson, Q brtson.

⁴ SDQ riñ, LN riñs.

⁵ SDQL 'grol, N grol.

⁶ SLN tu, DQ du.

⁷ SDLN btson, Q brtson.

⁸ SLN lta, DQ blta.

⁹ DQ na, SLN ni.

¹⁰ LN rgyasu.

¹¹ N semsu.

¹² LN rnamsu.

¹³ LN gnasu.

¹⁴ SQLN dri, D 'dri.

¹⁵ LN gnasu.

¹⁶ SL rim, DQN rims.

¹⁷ N 'gyuro.

¹⁸ SLN nas, DQ na.

¹⁹ SDLN bsten, Q brtan.

²⁰ S byas te, DQN bya ste, L bya te.

²¹ SDLN par, Q omits.

²² SDQ śig, LN cig.

de yi¹ tshe na tshol ba mthoñ || bzi pa šes rab pha rol phyin ||
 sñon gyi skyes bu chen po yi² || bsñen dañ bsten³ par byas pas so⁴ ||

re žig bzi pa 'di yis ni || brtan por bya ste gzuñ bar bya ||
 gal te byañ chub thob 'dod na || šes rab pha rol phyin par gyis || {Pā22}

ji ltar dge sloñ bsod sñoms pa || dman dañ 'brin dañ chen po yi ||
 rigs nmams dpyod par mi byed par || de ltar bza' ba'i zas thob bo⁵ ||

de bzin khyod kyis dus kun tu⁶ || skye bo mkhas la yoñs su⁷ dris ||
 šes rab pha rol phyin soñ bas || byañ chub thob par 'gyur ba yin ||

I26.

gžan yañ sañs rgyas su⁸ byed pa'i chos ni 'di 'ba' žig ma yin par blta bar bya'o || lhag par btsal na lña
 pa brtson 'grus kyi pha rol tu phyin pa thob nas 'di lta bu'i sems su⁹ gyur to || mkhas pa blo gros bzañ
 po dka' thub pa khyod kyis 'di nas bzuñ nas brtson 'grus kyi¹⁰ pha rol tu phyin pa yañ rdzogs (29b)
 par bya'o || ji ltar ri dags kyis rgyal po señ ge dus thams cad du brtson 'grus brtan po dañ ldan pa de
 bzin du khyod kyis kyañ skye ba thams cad du brtson 'grus brtan par bya'o || žum pa med pa'i brtson
 'grus byas na sañs rgyas thob par 'gyur ro¹¹ || lña pa brtson 'grus kyi pha rol tu phyin pa brtan par
 byas nas gnas par gyis šig¹² | de'i phyir gsuñs pa |

Bv II 135-139

'di tsam 'ba' žig ma yin gyi || gañ žig byañ chub thob byed chos ||
 gžan pa yañ ni btsal bar bya || gañ žig chos ni thob byed pa ||

de yi tshe na tshol ba mthoñ || lña pa brtson 'grus pha rol phyin ||
 sñon gyi skyes bu chen po yi¹³ || bsñen dañ bsten¹⁴ par byas pas so¹⁵ ||

re žig lña po 'di yis ni || gal te byañ chub mchog 'dod na ||
 brtson 'grus pha rol phyin par gyis || brtan por byas te¹⁶ gzuñ¹⁷ par bya ||

¹ SDLN de yi, Q de'i.

² SQLN yi, D yis.

³ SLN bsten, DQ brten.

⁴ LN paso.

⁵ LN thobo.

⁶ SLN tu, DQ du.

⁷ LN yoñsu.

⁸ LN rgyasu.

⁹ LN semsu.

¹⁰ SDLN kyis, Q kyis.

¹¹ SDQL ro, N omits.

¹² SDQ šig, LN cig.

¹³ SDLN yi, D yis.

¹⁴ SLN bsten, DQ brten.

¹⁵ LN paso.

¹⁶ SDLN te, Q ste.

¹⁷ SDQ gzuñ, LN bzuñ.

ji ltar ri dags rgyal po ni || sdod dañ 'gro ba'i gnas rnams su¹ ||
 žum pa med pa'i brtson 'grus kyis || yid ni rtag tu brtan pa yin ||
 de bžin khyod kyis dus kun tu² || brtson 'grus brtan³ por gyis la zuñ ||
 brtson 'grus pha rol phyin gyur nas || byañ chub thob par 'gyur pa yin ||

I27.

gžan yañ sañs rgyas su⁴ byed pa'i chos 'di 'ba' žig ma yin par blta bar bya'o || lhag par tshol ba na
 drug pa bzod pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa mthoñ nas 'di lta bu'i⁵ sems su⁶ gyur to || mkhas pa blo gros
 bzañ po dka' thub pa khyod kyis 'di nas bzuñ nas bzod pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa yañ rdzogs par bya'o ||
 bzañ po dañ ñan (30a) par byas pa la bzod par bya'o || ji ltar sa'i⁷ steñ du gtsañ ba dañ mi gtsañ ba gos
 par byas nas gži⁸ khro bar mi byed pa bžin du bzod ciñ bsrān⁹ pa dañ lhag par gnas pa de bžin du'o ||
 de ltar 'di ltar khyod kyis kyañ gnod pa dañ phan par byas kyañ bzod ciñ bsrān¹⁰ par byas na sañs
 rgyas thob par 'gyur ro¹¹ || drug pa bzod pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa brtan par byas nas gnas bar gyis śig¹²
 | de'i¹³ phyir gsuñs pa |

Bv II 140-144

'di tsam 'ba' žig ma yin gyi¹⁴ || gañ žig byañ chub thob 'dod chos ||
 gžan pa yañ ni btsal bar bya || gañ žig chos ni thob byed pa ||
 de yi tshe na tshol ba mthoñ || drug pa bzod pa'i pha rol phyin ||ž
 sñon gyi skyes bu chen po yi¹⁵ || bsñen dañ bsten¹⁶ par byas pas so¹⁷ ||
 re žig drug pa 'di yis ni ||¹⁸
 de la že sdañ ma byas na || yañ dag byañ chub thob par 'gyur || {Pā23}

¹ LN rnamsu.

² SLN tu, DQ du.

³ SDLN brtan, Q grtan.

⁴ LN rgyasu.

⁵ SDQ bu'i, LN bu yi.

⁶ LN semsu

⁷ DQ sa'i, SLN sa yi.

⁸ SDQ gži, LN bžin.

⁹ S bsrān, DN sran, Q sren, L sron.

¹⁰ S bsrān, DN sran, Q sren, L sran.

¹¹ N 'gyuro.

¹² SD śig, QLN cig.

¹³ SDQ de'i, LN de yi.

¹⁴ SDLN gyi, Q gyis.

¹⁵ SQLN yi, D yis.

¹⁶ SLN bsten, DQ brten.

¹⁷ N paso.

¹⁸ SDQLN omit pada from Pāli: tāva daḷhaṃ katvā samādiya.

ji ltar yañ ni sa gži la || gtsañ dañ mi gtsañ byugs pa na ||
 thams cad blugs kyañ¹ bzod par byed || skyug bro ba ni byed pa med ||
 de bžin khyod kyis thams cad la || phan dañ gnod pa byed pa na ||
 bzod pa'i pha rol phyin gyur nas || byañ chub yañ dag thob par 'gyur ||

I28.

gžan yañ sañs rgyas su² byed pa'i chos 'di 'ba' žig ma yin par blta bar bya'o || lhag par tshol ba na³
 bdun pa bden pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa mthoñ nas 'di lta bu'i⁴ sems su⁵ gyur to || mkhas pa blo gros
 bzañ po dka' thub pa khyod kyis 'di nas bzuñ nas | bden pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa yañ rdzogs par bya'o
 || thog mgo la (30b) lhuñ bar gyur na yañ nor la sogs pa'i phyr du 'dun pa la sogs pa'i dbañ gis šes
 nas brdzun mi smra'o || ji ltar na tha skar⁶ la sogs pa'i rgyu skar⁷ dus thams cad du rañ rañ 'gro ba'i
 lam dor nas lam gžan nas mi 'gro bar rañ gi lam ñid nas 'gro ba'o || de ltar 'di ltar khyod kyis kyañ
 bden pa bzuñ nas brdzun mi byed pas ni sañs rgyas thob par 'gyur ro⁸ || bdun pa bden pa'i pha rol tu
 phyin pa brtan par byas nas gnas par gyis šig⁹ | de'i¹⁰ phyr gsuñs pa |

Bv II 145-149

'di tsam 'ba' žig ma yin gyi¹¹ || gañ žig byañ chub thob 'dod chos ||
 gžan pa yañ ni btsal bar bya || gañ žig chos ni thob byed pa ||
 de yi tshe na tshol ba mthoñ || bdun pa bden pa'i pha rol phyin ||
 sñon gyi skyes bu chen po yi¹² || bsñen dañ bsten¹³ par byas pas so¹⁴ ||
 re žig bdun pa 'di yis ni || brtan par byas nas gnas par gyis ||
 de la rdzun¹⁵ ni mi smra bas || yañ dag byañ chub thob par gyis ||
 ji ltar tha skar žes bya ba || lha dañ mi rnams mtshuñs pa¹⁶ ni ||
 dus kyi lo yi dus su ni || lam gžan du ni mi 'gro'o ||

¹ SDLN kyañ, Q kyi.

² N rgyasu.

³ DQLN na, S omits.

⁴ SDQ bu'i, LN bu yi.

⁵ LN semsu.

⁶ SDQL skar, N skad.

⁷ SDQ la sogs pa'i rgyu skar, LN omit.

⁸ LN 'gyuro.

⁹ SDLN šig, Q cig.

¹⁰ SDQ de'i, LN de yi.

¹¹ SDLN gyi, Q gyis.

¹² SQLN yi, D yis.

¹³ SLN bsten, DQ brten.

¹⁴ N paso.

¹⁵ SLN rdzun, DQ brdzun.

¹⁶ SLN pa, DQ par.

khyod kyis kyañ ni de bzin bden || bden pa bzuñ nas mi 'gro ba ||
bden pa'i pha rol phyin gyur pas || byañ chub yañ dag thob par 'gyur ||

I29.

gžan yañ sañs rgyas su¹ byed pa'i chos 'di 'ba' žig ma yin par blta bar bya'o || lhag par tshol ba na
brgyad pa lhag par gnas pa'i pha rol tu² phyin pa mthoñ nas 'di lta bu'i sems su³ gyur to || mkhas pa
blo gros bzañ po dka' thub pa khyod kyis 'di nas (31a) bzuñ nas lhag par gnas pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa
yañ dag par⁴ rdzogs par bya'o || gañ žig lhag par gnas par gyis⁵ de la lhag par gnas na g.yo ba med par
'gyur ro⁶ || ji ltar na ri bo ni⁷ phyogs thams cad nas rluñ gis bskyod kyañ g.yo bar mi 'gyur žiñ bskyod
par mi 'gyur⁸ ciñ || rañ gi gnas žig⁹ tu gnas so || de ltar 'di ltar khyod kyis kyañ bdag ñid lhag par gnas
pa rnams mi g.yo bar gyur na sañs rgyas thob par 'gyur ro¹⁰ || brgyad pa lhag par gnas pa'i pha rol tu
phyin pa brtan par byas nas gnas par gyis śig¹¹ | de'i phyr gsuñs pa |

Bv II 150-154

'di tsam 'ba' žig ma yin gyi || gañ žig byañ chub thob 'dod chos ||
gžan pa yañ ni btsal¹² bar bya || gañ žig chos ni¹³ thob byed pa || {Pā24}
de yi tshe na tshol ba mthoñ || brgyad pa lhag gnas pha rol phyin ||
sñon gyi skyes bu chen po yi¹⁴ || bsñen dañ bsten¹⁵ par byas pas so¹⁶ ||
re žig¹⁷ brgyad pa 'di yis ni || brtan par bya ste gnas par gyis ||
de la khyod ni g.yo med pas || yañ dag byañ chub thob par 'gyur ||
ji ltar ri bo'i brag chen po || g.yo ba med ciñ legs par gnas ||
rluñ chen pos ni g.yo ba med || rañ gi gnas su gnas pa ñid ||
de bzin khyod kyis¹⁸ lhag gnas par || thams cad du ni mi g.yo bar ||
lhag gnas pha rol phyin gyur pas || yañ dag byañ chub thob par 'gyur ||

¹ N rgyasu.

² SDQL tu, N omits.

³ N semsu.

⁴ S dag par, DQLN omit.

⁵ SLN omit, DQ la.

⁶ N 'gyuro.

⁷ SDQL ni, N na.

⁸ SDQL 'gyur, N gyur.

⁹ SDQ žig, LN žag.

¹⁰ N 'gyuro.

¹¹ SDQ śig, QL cig.

¹² SDQN btsal, L brtsal.

¹³ SDQ ni, LN 'di.

¹⁴ SQLN yi, D yis.

¹⁵ SLN bsten, DQ brten.

¹⁶ N paso.

¹⁷ SDQN žig, L śig.

¹⁸ SDQ kyis, LN kyi.

I 30.

gžan yañ sañs rgyas su¹ byed pa'i chos 'di 'ba' žig ma yin par (31b) blta bar bya'o || lhag par tshol ba na dgu pa byams pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa mthoñ bas de lta bu'i kham su² gyur to || mkhas pa blo gros bzañ po dka' thub pa khyod kyis 'di nas bzuñ nas byams pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa yañ rdzogs par bya'o || phan pa dañ mi phan par gyur kyañ sems gcig tu bya'o || ji ltar chu ni sdig pa can gyi skye bo dañ dge ba'i skye bos kyañ bsil bar gyur ciñ gcig tu mtshuñs par byas nas reg go³ || de ltar na 'di ltar khyod kyis kyañ sems can thams cad⁴ la byams pa'i sems gcig tu gyur nas sañs rgyas thob par 'gyur ro⁵ || dgu pa byams pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa brtan par byas te gnas par gyis śig⁶ || de'i phyr gsuñs pa |

Bv II 155-159

'di tsam 'ba' žig ma yin gyi || gañ žig byañ chub thob 'dod chos ||
gžan pa yañ ni btsal⁷ bar bya || gañ žig chos ni⁸ thob byed pa ||

de yi⁹ tshe na tshol ba mthoñ || dgu pa byams pa'i pha rol phyin ||
sñon gyi skyes bu chen po yi¹⁰ || bsñen dañ bsten¹¹ par byas pa'o ||

re žig dgu pa 'di yis ni || byams par byas te gnas par gyis ||
gal te byañ chub thob 'dod na || byams pa mtshuñs pa med par 'gyur ||

ji ltar chu žes bya ba la || dge 'am sdig pa'i skye bo ni ||
mtshuñs par bsil bar gyur la reg || rdul dañ dri ma spoñ¹² bar byed¹³ ||

de ltar khyod kyis mi phan dañ || phan la'añ mtshuñs par byams par bya ||
byams pa'i pha rol phyin gyur nas || yañ dag byañ chub thob par 'gyur ||

I 31.

gžan yañ sañs rgyas su¹⁴ (32a) byed pa'i chos 'di 'ba' žig ma yin par blta bar bya'o || lhag par tshol ba na bcu pa btañ sñoms kyi pha rol tu phyin pa mthoñ nas 'di lta bu'i¹⁵ sems su¹⁶ 'gyur¹⁷ to || mkhas pa blo gros bzañ po dka' thub pa khyod kyis 'di nas bzuñ nas btañ sñoms kyi pha rol tu phyin pa yañ

¹ LN rgyasu.² LN kham su.³ L rego.⁴ SDLN thams cad, Q omits.⁵ LN 'gyuro.⁶ SD śig, QLN cig.⁷ SDQL btsal, N brtsal.⁸ SDQ ni, LN 'di.⁹ SDLN de yi, Q de'i.¹⁰ SQLN yi, D yis.¹¹ SLN bsten, DQ brten.¹² SDLN spoñ, Q sbos.¹³ SDLN byed, Q byad.¹⁴ LN rgyasu.¹⁵ SDQ bu'i, LN bu yi.¹⁶ LN semsu.¹⁷ SDQ 'gyur, LN gyur.

rdzogs par bya'o || bde ba 'am sdug bsñal yañ bar ma la gnas par bya'o || ji ltar sa gzi la gtsañ ba dañ
mi gtsañ bas byugs kyañ bar mar gnas par 'gyur ro¹ || de ltar 'di ltar khyod kyis kyañ bde ba dañ sdug
bsñal ba la bar mar gnas par gyur na sañs rgyas thob par 'gyur ro² || bcu pa btañ sñoms kyi pha rol tu
phyin pa brtan par byas la gnas par gyis śig³ | de'i phyir gsuñs pa | {Pā25}

Bv II 160-164

'di tsam 'ba' žig ma yin gyi || gañ žig byañ chub thob 'dod chos ||
gžan pa yañ ni btsal bar gyis || gañ žig chos ni thob byed pa ||

de yi tshe na tshol ba mthoñ || bcu pa btañ sñoms pha rol phyin ||
sñon gyi skyes bu chen po yi⁴ || bsñen dañ bsten⁵ par byas pas so⁶ ||

re žig⁷ bcu pa 'di yis ni || brten⁸ par byas nas gnas par gyis ||
srañ ni gañ bar 'gyur ba bžin || yañ dag byañ chub thob par 'gyur ||

ji ltar sa gzi žes bya la || gtsañ dañ mi gtsañ byugs⁹ pa na ||
ltos pa med ciñ btañ sñoms pas || khro ba med par spoñ ba yin ||

ji ltar khyod kyis kyañ bde sdug || dus rnams kun tu srañ bžin du ||
btañ sñoms pha rol phyin gyur nas || yañ dag byañ chub thob par 'gyur || (32b)

I 32.

de nas bsams pa | 'jig rten pa 'di rnams byañ chub sems dpa' la byañ chub rdzogs par byed pa dañ
sañs rgyas su¹⁰ byed pa'i chos de rnams ñid do || pha rol tu phyin pa bcu dor na gžan med do || pha rol
tu phyin pa bcu po 'di ni steñ gi nam mkha'¹¹ na yañ med do || 'og gi sa gzi la yañ med do¹² || śar la
sogs pa'i phyogs rnams na yañ med do¹³ || bdag ñid kho na'i sñiñ gi śa'i nañ na gnas so¹⁴ || de ltar
de'i¹⁵ sñiñ la so sor¹⁶ gnas pa mthoñ nas thams cad brtan par bya ste gnas par bya'o || yañ dañ yañ du
dran par bya ste lugs las byuñ ba dañ lugs las zlog¹⁷ pa brten¹⁸ par byed do¹⁹ || tha ma nas bzuñ ste

¹ LN 'gyuro.

² LN 'gyuro.

³ SD śig, QLN cig.

⁴ SQLN yi, D yis.

⁵ SLN bsten, DQ brten.

⁶ LN paso.

⁷ SDQN žig, L śig.

⁸ SDQ brten, LN brtan.

⁹ SDLN byugs, Q byug.

¹⁰ LN rgyasu.

¹¹ LN namkha'

¹² L medo.

¹³ L medo.

¹⁴ LN gnaso.

¹⁵ DQ de'i, SLN de yi.

¹⁶ DQ sor, SLN so.

¹⁷ SLN zlog, D bzlog, Q zlag.

thog ma'i bar bsam par bya'o || dañ po nas bzuñ nas tha ma'i bar bsam mo || dbus nas bzuñ nas thog
 ma dañ¹ tha ma'i bar bsam par bya'o || thog ma dañ tha ma nas bzuñ nas dbus kyi bar blta² bar bya'o ||
 lus yoñs su³ gtoñ⁴ ba ni pha rol tu phyin pa zes bya ba'o⁵ || phyi'i⁶ loñs spyod yoñs su⁷ gtoñ ba ni ñe
 ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa zes bya ba'o || srog yoñs su⁸ gtoñ ba ni don dam pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa zes
 bya ba'o⁹ || pha rol tu phyin pa bcu po dañ || ñe ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa bcu po dañ || don dam pa'i pha
 rol tu phyin pa bcu po'o¹⁰ || me'i¹¹ steñs su¹² 'bru mar bskol ba bzin du khor yug gi nañ du rgya mtsho
 chen po ri bo mchog rab kyis¹³ bsrub pa bzin du dran par bya ste || de'i¹⁴ pha rol tu phyin pa bcu dran
 par byas nas chos kyi gzis 'bum phrag gñis dañ | stoñ phrag bzi bcu lhag (33a) pa'i sa chen po 'di'i¹⁵
 stugs la glañ po che'i¹⁶ rkañ pas gnon ciñ smyug ma 'chag pa bzin du'o || bur śiñ gi 'khrul 'khor bzin
 du btsir ba dañ sgra chen po sgrog pa bzin du yañ dag par sgrog so¹⁷ || rab tu g.yos so¹⁸ || yañ dag par
 rab tu g.yos te rdza mkhan gyi 'khor lo bzin no || 'bru mar gyi 'khrul 'khor bzin du yoñs su¹⁹ bskor
 ro²⁰ || de'i phyir gsuñs pa {

Bv II 165-167

'di yi 'jig rten de rnams ñid || gañ žig byañ chub thob byed chos ||
 'di ni steñ dañ gzan na'añ med || brtan par bya ste sems la žog²¹ ||
 rañ bzin gyis ni g.yo med par || 'di yi chos ni dran par byed ||
 chos kyi gzi yi sa gzi ni || 'jig rten stoñ phrag rab tu g.yos ||

¹⁸ S brten, DQLN brtan.

¹⁹ SDQ byed do, LN bya'o.

¹ SDQL dañ, N nas.

² SDQ blta, LN lta.

³ LN yoñsu.

⁴ SDQ gtoñ, LN btoñ.

⁵ SD bya ba'o, QLN bya'o.

⁶ SDLN phyi'i, Q phyi ma'i.

⁷ LN yoñsu.

⁸ LN yoñsu.

⁹ SDLN bya ba'o, Q bya'o.

¹⁰ SDQN po'o, L po 'o.

¹¹ DQ me'i, SLN me yi.

¹² LN steñsu.

¹³ SDQN kyis, L gyis.

¹⁴ DQ de'i, SLN de yi.

¹⁵ DQ 'di'i, SLN 'di yi.

¹⁶ SLN che'i, DQ ches.

¹⁷ LN sgrogso.

¹⁸ L g.yoso.

¹⁹ LN yoñsu.

²⁰ N bskoro.

²¹ SDQ žog, LN žig.



sems med pa yi¹ sa gzi ni || bur śiñ 'khrul 'khor bzin du btsir ||
 'bru mar 'khrul 'khor bzin du 'khor || de ltar sa ni rab tu g.yos || {Pā26}

sa chen po 'di g.yos pas dga' ba can gyi groñ khyer na gnas pa'i mi rnams ldan bar ma nus te | bskal
 pa'i mtha' yi² rluñ gis bskyod pa'i sa'i śiñ chen po g.yos pa bzin brgyal ba dañ bag med pas 'gyel bar
 gyur to || bum pa la sogs pa'i snod ni 'dzad³ pa dañ | phan tshun du phrad⁴ pa'i sgra dañ phye ma dañ
 dum⁵ bur gyur to || skye bo thams cad 'jigs par gyur nas ston pa'i druñ du⁶ ñe bar soñ ño⁷ || bcom ldan
 'das ci lags | 'di'i klu 'khrugs pa 'am | 'di'i 'byuñ po 'am | gnod sbyin nam | lha rnams sam | gzan
 rnams 'khrugs sam | bdag (33b) cag gis 'tshal bar ma gyur to || gzan yañ 'di'i skye bo chen po thams
 cad la ñe bar 'tshe bar gyur to || ci'i⁸ rgyu 'di'i 'jig rten gyi sdig pa las gyur ram⁹ | yañ na dge ba las¹⁰
 gyur | bdag cag la¹¹ 'di rnams kyi rgyu mtshan rnams gsuñ du gsol zes zus so¹² || ston pas de rnams kyi
 gtam thos nas khyed rnams 'jigs par ma byed cig | khyed rnams cuñ zad kyañ ma sems śig¹³ | mtshan
 ma 'di rnams la khyed rnams la 'jigs pa med do¹⁴ || gañ tshe dag gis de¹⁵ riñ mkhas pa blo gros bzañ
 po dka' thub pa ma 'oñs pa na gō ta ma¹⁶ zes bya ba'i sañs rgyas su¹⁷ 'gyur ro¹⁸ zes luñ bstan¹⁹ to || de
 ni 'dir pha rol tu phyin pa dran par byed do²⁰ || des²¹ pha rol tu phyin pa dran par byed ciñ dpyod do ||
 de'i chos kyi gzi brjid kyis²² stoñ phrag bcu'i 'jig rten gyi khams thams cad skad cig tsam gyis g.yo ba
 dañ sgra 'byin no zes gsuñ ño²³ || de'i phyir gsuñs pa |

Bv II 168-174

¹ SDLN pa yi, Q pa'i.

² SDQ yi, LN yis.

³ SDQL 'dzad, N mdzad.

⁴ SDQL phrad, N 'phrad.

⁵ SDQN omit, L bum.

⁶ DQLN du, S omits.

⁷ N soño.

⁸ SDQ ci'i, LN ci yi.

⁹ DQLN ram, S tam.

¹⁰ SDLN las, Q la.

¹¹ SDLN gyur bdag cag la, Q omits.

¹² L źuso.

¹³ SD śig, QLN cig.

¹⁴ L medo.

¹⁵ DN de, SQL di.

¹⁶ DLN gō ta ma, S go'u ta ma, Q gō rta ma.

¹⁷ LN rgyasu.

¹⁸ LN 'gyuro.

¹⁹ SDQN bstan, L brtan.

²⁰ L byedo.

²¹ DQLN des, S de.

²² SDLN kyis, Q kyi.

²³ LN gsuño.

ji srid 'khor rnams yod pa la || sañs rgyas kyi¹ ni sbrel bas na ||
de ni de ru sdug bsñal sems || brgyal bar gyur nas sa la ñal ||

bum pa stoñ phrag du ma dañ || snod chen² brgya phrag mañ po rnams ||
der ni phye ma žib mor gyur || phan tshun thug ciñ³ 'chag⁴ pas so⁵ ||

brgyal dañ skrag dañ 'jigs pa dañ || gnod ciñ gzir ba'i sems kyis 'gyel ||
skye bo thams cad gcig tu 'dus || mar me mdzad kyi druñ du soñ ||

'jig rten pa rnams ci phyir gyur || dge ba'm⁶ yañ na⁷ sdig gam ci ||
'jig rten kun la ñer 'tshē⁸ byuñ || spyān (34a) ldan legs par gsuñ du gsol ||

de rnams kun la chos bstan⁹ ciñ || thub pa chen po mar me mdzad ||
'jigs par ma byed dbugs dbyuñ gis || 'di yi sa gzi g.yo bas ni ||

gañ žig de¹⁰ riñ bdag luñ bstan || 'jig rten pa rnams sañs rgyas 'gyur ||
de ni chos ni dran par byed || sñon gyi rgyal ba bsten¹¹ byas śiñ ||

de yi chos rnams dran byed pas || sañs rgyas sa ni ma lus pa ||
des na 'di yi¹² sa rnams g.yos || lha dañ bcas pa stoñ phrag bcu ||

skye bo chen po rnams kyis de bžin gśegs pa'i gsuñ thos pas dga' ba dañ tshim pa skyes nas | me tog
dañ | dri bzañ dañ | byug pa rnams blañs te dga' ba can gyi groñ khyer nas 'thon¹³ nas | byañ chub
sams dpa'i druñ du soñ ste me tog la sogs pas mchod nas phyag dañ bstod pa bya ste¹⁴ dga' ba can gyi
groñ khyer ñid du gnas so¹⁵ || byañ chub sems dpas kyañ pha rol tu phyin pa bcu dran par byas nas
brtson 'grus brtan par bya ste¹⁶ lhag par gnas nas stan las lañs so¹⁷ || de'i phyir gsuñs pa | {Pā27}

Bv II 175-176

sañs rgyas kyi ni gsuñ thos nas || de ma thag tu 'jigs med sems ||
thams cad bdag gi druñ du 'oñs || slar yañ phyag ni byas nas so¹⁸ ||

¹ SDQ kyi, LN kyis.

² SDQ chen, LN byed.

³ DQLN ciñ, S cig.

⁴ SDQ 'chag, LN chag.

⁵ N paso.

⁶ SDQ ba'am, LN a'm.

⁷ DQ na, SLN ni.

⁸ SDL 'tshē, QN 'tsho.

⁹ SDLN bstan, Q brtan.

¹⁰ DLN de, SQ di.

¹¹ SDLN bsten, Q brten.

¹² SDQ 'di yi, LN yis.

¹³ SDLN 'thon, Q mthon.

¹⁴ SLN bya ste, DQ byas te.

¹⁵ LN gnaso.

¹⁶ SDQ ste, LN te.

¹⁷ LN lañso.

¹⁸ LN naso.

sañs rgyas yon tan sems par byed ||¹
de tshe bdag gis stan las lañs || mar me mdzad la phyag byas so² ||

de nas byañ chub sems dpa' stan las lañs pa na stoñ phrag bcu'i lha thams cad 'dus nas lha'i me tog
dañ dri bzañ gis mchod pa byas | 'phags pa (34b) blo gros bzañ po dka' thub pa de yis de³ riñ stobs
bcu dañ ldan pa'i mar me mdzad kyi žabs druñ du don chen po don du gñer ba'i phyir don du gñer to
|| de yis de rnams la bar gcod⁴ med ciñ rdzogs par 'gyur ro⁵ || de la 'jigs pa med pa dañ | žum pa med
par 'gyur ro⁶ || sku la nad cuñ zad kyañ mi 'byuñ žiñ myur du pha rol tu phyin pa rdzogs par byas nas
yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i sañs rgyas grub par gyis śig⁷ | ji ltar me tog can gyi śiñ ñam 'bras bu can gyi
śiñ dus su me tog smin pa dañ 'bras bu smin pa ñid do || de bžin du khyod kyis kyañ de'i dus su lhag
par gnas par byed pa la myur du mchog rdzogs par byed pa la sogs pa'i bstod pa dañ bkra śis pas
bstod do || de bžin du bstod pa byas nas lha rnams rañ rañ gi gnas su soñ ño || byañ chub sems dpas
kyañ lha la sogs pa'i bstod pa thos par byas nas | bdag gis pha rol tu phyin pa bcu rdzogs par byas te
bskal pa grañs med pa bži dañ | 'bum phrag gcig lhag pa'i mthar sañs rgyas thob par 'gyur bas brtson
'grus brtan po lhag par gnas nas nam mkha'⁸ la 'phags te gañs can gyi gnas ñid la gśegs so⁹ || de'i
phyir gsuñs pa |

Bv II 177-187

lha dañ mi yi me tog rnams || lha dañ mi rnams gñis ka yis ||
stan las lañs par gyur nas ni || me tog mtshuñs par bsdus nas so¹⁰ ||

lha dañ mi rnams gñis ka¹¹ yañ || thams cad ži bar gyur žes¹² bstod ||
khyod kyi chen po don du gñer || ji ltar 'dod pa de thob bo¹³ ||

dus min 'chi (35a) ba riñ du soñ || nad rnams thams cad ñams par gyur ||
khyod la bar chad mi 'byuñ ño¹⁴ || mchog gi byañ chub myur du thob ||

ji ltar dus su sleb pa na || ljon śiñ me tog bye bar gyur ||
de bžin khyod kyis¹⁵ dpa' chen pos || sañs rgyas ye śes me tog gyur ||

¹ SDQLN omit Pāli *pada*: dalhaṃ katvāna mānasam.

² N byaso.

³ SDQL de, N da.

⁴ SD gcod, Q chod, LN bcod.

⁵ LN 'gyuro.

⁶ N 'gyuro.

⁷ SDN śig, QL cig.

⁸ LN namkha'.

⁹ LN gśegso.

¹⁰ L gnaso.

¹¹ SDQN ka, L ga.

¹² DQLN žes, S ces.

¹³ L thobo.

¹⁴ LN 'byuño.

¹⁵ SQLN kyis, D kyi.

gañ žig ji ltar rdzogs sañs rgyas || pha rol phyin bcu rdzogs par byas ||
de bžin khyod kyi dpa' chen pos || pha rol phyin bcu rdzogs par gyis ||

ji ltar gañ žig rdzogs sañs rgyas || byañ chub sñiñ po rdzogs par gyur ||
de bžin khyod kyi dpa' chen pos || rgyal ba'i byañ chub rdzogs par gyis ||

gañ žig ji ltar rdzogs sañs rgyas || chos kyi 'khor lo bskor bar gyur ||
de bžin khyod kyi dpa' chen pos || chos kyi 'khor lo bskor bar gyis ||

ji ltar zla ba ña ba bžin || yoñs su¹ dag pas 'od 'gyed pa ||
de bžin khyod kyis² bsam rdzogs pa'i || stoñ phrag bcu yi 'od phyuñ žig³ ||

ñi ma sgra gcan⁴ las grol ba || tsha žiñ 'od zer rab tu 'gyed || {Pā28}
de bžin 'jig rten grol byas nas || khyod kyi dpal ldan 'od zer phyuñ⁵ ||

gañ žig ji ltar chu kluñ ni || rgya mtsho chen po'i rjes su⁶ 'gro ||
de ltar lha mi'i 'jig rten tshogs || khyod kyi rjes su⁷ 'jug par 'gyur ||

de mams khyod la bstod ciñ bsñags || chos bcu po la gnas byas nas ||
de yi chos mams rdzogs byed ciñ || de tshe nags tshal chen por phyin ||

mkhas pa blo gros bzañ po'i gтам (35b) du bya ba rdzogs so⁸ || ||

I 33.

dga' ba can gyi groñ khyer du gnas pa mams groñ khyer du žugs nas sañs rgyas la sogs pa'i dge sloñ
gi dge 'dun mams la sbyin pa chen po btañ⁹ ño || ston pas de mams la chos bstan ciñ bstan nas skye bo
mañ po skyabs su¹⁰ 'gro ba la gnas par byas te || dga' ba can gyi groñ khyer nas 'thon¹¹ te lhag par
gnas pa ji srid 'tsho'i¹² bar de srid du gnas nas | sañs rgyas kyi 'phrin¹³ las thams cad byed ciñ go rim¹⁴
bžin du lhag ma med par yoñs su¹⁵ mya ñan las 'das pa'i dbyiñs su¹⁶ yoñs su¹⁷ mya ñan las 'das so¹⁸ ||

¹ LN yoñsu.

² SDQ kyis, LN kyi.

³ S žig, DQLN cig.

⁴ S sgra gcan, Q dgra can, LN sgra can. Pāli: Rāhu, cf. Mvy no. 3392, Rāhu = sGra gcan,

⁵ SDQ phyuñ, LN byuñ.

⁶ LN rjesu.

⁷ N rjesu.

⁸ SDQ rdzogs so, L rdzogs shyo, N rdzogso.

⁹ S btañ, DQ gtañ, L gtoñ, N gtoño.

¹⁰ LN skyabsu.

¹¹ SDQ 'thon, LN thon.

¹² SD 'tsho'i, QLN 'tsho yi.

¹³ SDQ 'phrin, LN phrin.

¹⁴ SLN rim, DQ rims.

¹⁵ LN yoñsu.

¹⁶ N dbyiñsu.

¹⁷ LN yoñsu.

¹⁸ LN 'daso.

de la cuñ zad brjod pas de thams cad la sañs rgyas kyi rgyud la brjod pa'i rigs¹ pa de bzin du² rig par
bya'o || de la gsuñs pa |

Bv II 188-206, 212-213, 215-218

de tshe khyed³ mams mchod ston byed || dge 'dun dañ bcas 'jig rten 'dren ||
de la skyabs su⁴ 'gro ba yin || ston pa mar me mdzad pa la ||

de bzin gsegs pas ñes gsuñs pa'i || gañ žig skyabs su⁵ 'gro bar gyur ||
gañ žig tshul khirms lña dañ ldan || gžan yañ tshul khirms bcu po yi ||

gañ žig la ni gžan byin⁶ pa || mchog gi 'bras bu bži po dañ ||
gañ žig la ni mtshuñs med chos || so so yañ dag rig pa byin ||

phun tshogs mchog ni gañ žig la || brgyan nas mi yi khyu mchog byin ||
gañ žig la ni rig pa gsum || mñon par šes pa drug la žugs ||

de yis⁷ rig pa skye bo'i tshogs || thub pa chen po'i gdams pa byin ||
de yis rgya chen por ni gyur || (36a) 'jig rten mgon po'i bstan pa⁸ la'o ||

khyu mchog phrag pa⁹ 'gram chen po || mar me mdzad kyi mtshan dañ ldan ||
skye bo mañ po sgrol bar byed || ñan 'gro yoñs su¹⁰ grol bar byed ||

grol ba'i phyir du skye bo mthoñ || stoñ phrag brgya yi dpag tshad du ||
skad cig tsam gyis¹¹ ñe bar soñ || thub pa chen po de mkhyen phyir ||

dañ por 'dus pa'i sañs rgyas kyi || bye ba brgya po rtogs par byas ||
mgon po 'dus pa gñis pa ni || 'bum phrag gcig gis rtogs par byas ||

gañ tshe lha yi gnas su¹² ni || sañs rgyas kyi¹³ ni chos bstan no¹⁴ ||
bye ba stoñ phrag dgu bcu yi || 'dus pa gsum pa la ni gyur || {Pā29}

de rnams 'dus pa gsum du gyur || ston pa mar me mdzad kyi 'o¹⁵ ||
bye ba stoñ phrag brgya yis ni || dañ po¹⁶ yi ni 'dus pa yin ||

¹ SDQ rigs, LN rig.

² SLN du, DQ omit.

³ SLN khyed, DQ khyod.

⁴ LN skyabsu.

⁵ LN skyabsu.

⁶ SQLN byin, D phyin.

⁷ SDQ yis, NL yi.

⁸ S pa, DQLN omit.

⁹ SDQL pa, N bla.

¹⁰ LN yoñsu.

¹¹ LN gyis, SDQ gyi.

¹² L gnasu.

¹³ SDQ kyi, LN kyi.

¹⁴ N bstano.

¹⁵ S kyi 'o, DQLN kyi'o.

¹⁶ SDQ po, LN por.

slar yañ nā ra dha yi¹ phur || rgyal ba gcig pur bžugs pa ni ||
zag pa'i dri ma zad pa yi² || bye ba brgya ni ži ba dañ ||

dpa' bo chen po ji srid bžugs || ri yi steñ na blta³ na sdug⁴ ||
stoñ phrag bye ba dgu bcu yis || de tshe thub pa yi ni 'khor ||

bdag gis de yi⁵ dus su ni || sdom brtson dka' thub pa yi mchog ||
bdag ni bar snañ la ni 'gro || mñon šes lña yi pha rol son ||

stoñ phrag bcu dañ ñi šu ni || chos la 'dus par gyur pa'o ||
gcig dañ gñis kyi 'dus pa ni || bgrañ du med ciñ grañs med do⁶ ||

rgya che ded dpon cañ šes pa || de tshe rdzu 'phrul ldan žiñ rdzogs ||
bcom ldan 'das ni mar me mdzad || (36b) bstan pa šin tu dag ciñ mdzes ||

'bum phrag bži po rnams la ni || mñon šes drug dañ rdzu 'phrul ldan ||
mar me mdzad ni 'jig rten mkhyen || rtag tu 'khor rnams yoñs⁷ dag ldan ||

gañ žig de yi dus su ni || mi rnams dños po gtoñ ba dañ ||
sems kyi lhag ma ma⁸ thob pa || de rnams skur pa 'debs par gyur ||

me tog bzañ po'i tshig rñed⁹ pa || dgra bcom rnams ni de dañ mtshuñs ||
dri ma med ciñ zag pa zad || lha dañ mi rnams ñe bar mdzes ||

groñ khyer dga' ba can žes pa || blo gros bzañ po rgyal po'i rigs ||
yum ni blo gros bzañ mo yin || ston pa mar me mdzad yin no¹⁰ ||

bkra šis bzañ po ñe rgyal ni || ñian thos rnams kyi mchog yin no ||
legs 'oñs žes pa ñe gnas yin || ston pa mar me mdzad pa'o ||

dga' ba ñid dañ šin tu dga' || ñian thos ma yi¹¹ mchog yin no¹² ||
bcom ldan de yi byañ chub šin || pim pa la žes bya ba yin ||

mtho tshad khru ni brgyad cu¹³ pa || thub pa chen po mar me mdzad ||
šin bžin rab tu 'bar ba yi || me tog sã la'i¹⁴ šin rgyas bžin ||

lo ni stoñ phrag brgya ru ni || drañ sroñ chen po de yi¹⁵ tshe ||
de srid du ni gnas pa ste || skye bo mañ po sgrol bar byed ||

¹ SDQL nā ra dha yi, N nā ra dhi ya.

² SDLN pa yi, Q pa'i.

³ SDQ blta, LN lta.

⁴ SDLN sdug, Q bsdug.

⁵ SDQ yi, LN yis.

⁶ L medo.

⁷ DQLN yoñs, S yoñ.

⁸ SDQN ma, L omits.

⁹ SDQ rñed, LN sñed.

¹⁰ L yino.

¹¹ SD ma yi, QLN ma'i.

¹² LN yino.

¹³ SDLN cu, Q bcu.

¹⁴ SD sã la'i, QLN sa la'i.

¹⁵ SDLN de yi, Q de'i.

chos kyi snañ bar byas nas ni || skye bo mañ po yañ dag sgrol ||
me yi phuñ po bzin du gsal || de nas ñan thos dañ bcas 'das ||

de yañ rdzu 'phrul de grags pa || rin chen 'khor lo de žabs la ||
thams cad kun nas (37a) bral ba dañ || 'dus byas chos rnams gtoñ ba 'o¹ ||

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mar me mdzad kyi 'og tu ni || 'dren pa kō ñdi nya² žes pa ||
gzi brjid dpag med mtha' yas grags || riñ la sems dpa' gžal du med ||

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slar yañ bcom ldan 'das mar me mdzad kyi³ 'og gi char bskal pa grañs med pa gcig 'das nas | ston pa'i
'dren pa kō ñdi nya⁴ žes bya ba byon no || de'i⁵ yañ ñan thos 'dus pa gsum du gyur to || 'dus pa dañ po
la bye⁶ ba stoñ phrag brgya'o⁷ || 'dus pa gñis pa la bye ba stoñ phrag gcig go⁸ || 'dus pa gsum pa la ni
bye⁹ ba phrag dgu bcu'o || de'i¹⁰ tshe byañ chub sems dpa' rnam par rgyal ba žes bya ba 'khor los¹¹
sgyur ba'i rgyal por gyur to || bye ba stoñ phrag brgya'i¹² grañs kyis sañs rgyas la sogs pa dge sloñ gi
dge 'dun chen po rnams la sbyin pa chen po btañ ño¹³ || ston pas byañ chub sems dpa' sañs rgyas su
'gyur ro¹⁴ žes luñ bstan par byas nas chos bstan no || des ston pa'i chos thos nas rgyal srid spañs nas
rab tu byuñ ño¹⁵ || des sde snod gsum po bsalabs nas sñoms par 'jug pa brgyad dañ mñon par šes pa lña
bskyed¹⁶ do¹⁷ || bsam gtan ma bor bar tshañs pa'i 'jig rten du skyes so¹⁸ || slar yañ sañs rgyas kō ñdi
nya¹⁹ de'i²⁰ groñ khyer dga' ba can yin no || šin tu dga' ba'i rgyal po ni yab bo || rigs bzañ²¹ lha mo ni

¹ S ba 'o, DQLN ba'o.

² D kō ñdi nya, S ko'u ñi nya, QLN kō ñi nya. Pāli: Koṇḍañña, cf. Mvy no. 1031 (1) Ājñāta-kāuṇḍinya = Kun šes kāu ñdi nya.

³ SDLN kyi, Q kyis.

⁴ D kō ñdi nya, S ko'u ñi nya, QLN kō ñi nya.

⁵ SDQ de'i, LN de yi.

⁶ SQLN bye, D bya.

⁷ SDLN brgya'o, Q brgyad do.

⁸ N gcigo.

⁹ SDQN bye, L bya.

¹⁰ SDQ de'i, LN de yi.

¹¹ DQ los, SLN lo.

¹² DQ brgya'i, SLN brgya yi.

¹³ S btañ ño, DQ gtoñ ño, LN gtoño.

¹⁴ LN rgyasu 'gyuro.

¹⁵ LN byuño.

¹⁶ SQLN bskyed, D bskyod.

¹⁷ L bskyedo.

¹⁸ LN skyeso.

¹⁹ D kō ñdi nya, S ko'u ñi nya, QLN kō ñi nya.

²⁰ DQ de'i, SLN de yi.

²¹ SDQ bzañ, LN bzañs.

yum mo¹ || bzañ po dañ legs bzañ gñis ni ñan thos rnams kyi mchog go² || mi 'gal ba³ zes bya ba ni ñe gnas so⁴ || rgyal (37b) ma dañ ñe rgyal ma ni ñan thos ma'i mchog go || byañ chub kyi dge ba'i śiñ ni śā lya'o⁵ || sku'i mtho tshad du khru brgyad cu rtsa brgyad do⁶ || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo stoñ phrag brgya'o ||

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de'i 'og gi char bskal pa grañs med pa gcig 'das nas bskal pa gcig gi nañ de ñid du sañs rgyas bži byon par gyur to || bkra śis bzañ po dañ | thugs bzañ po dañ | nam gru can dañ | mdzes⁷ pa can no || bcom ldan 'das bkra śis bzañ po'i ñan thos kyi 'dus pa gsum du 'gyur⁸ te | de'i⁹ 'dus pa dañ po ni bye ba stoñ phrag brgya'i dge sloñ ño || gñis pa la¹⁰ bye ba¹¹ stoñ phrag gcig go || gsum pa la bye ba phrag dgu bcu'o || ma'i spun gyi gžon nu kun dga' bo zes bya ba bye ba phrag dgu bcu'i 'khor dañ bcas pa ni chos ñan pa'i phyir du'o || ston pa'i ñe bar gnas pa rnams soñ ño¹² || ston pa de'i sñon¹³ gyi gtam rnams go rims bžin du brjod par bya'o || de 'khor dañ bcas pa so so yañ dag par rig pa dañ dgra bcom pa thob bo¹⁴ || ston pa des rigs kyi bu rnams la sñar gyi spyod pa rnams la blta žiñ rdzu 'phrul las byuñ ba'i lhuñ bzed dañ chos gos rnams gzigs te | phyag g.yas pa brkyañ¹⁵ nas dge sloñ rnams tshur śog cig ces gsuñs pa dañ | thams cad de ma thag ñid du rdzu 'phrul las byuñ ba'i lhuñ bzed dañ chos gos bzun¹⁶ nas gnas brtan lo drug cu lon pa bžin du gyur te | cho ga¹⁷ phun sum tshogs par gyur nas ston pa la phyag byas te 'khor du gyur to || ji ltar gžan (38a) yañ sañs rgyas gžan rnams la kun nas khru brgyad cu pa'i¹⁸ sku tshad ñid kyi 'od du gyur to || bcom ldan 'das de ñid kyi sku'i 'od de lta bu ñid ma yin gyi | dus rtag tu stoñ phrag bcu'i 'jig rten gyi khams su¹⁹ 'phro žiñ gnas te | śiñ dañ | sa dañ | ri dañ | rgya mtsho la sogs pa'i phyogs lhag ma rnams dañ | tshañ bañ la sogs pa gser gyis spras pa bžin no || sku tshe'i tshad ni stoñ phrag dgu bcu'o || de rnams kyi dus²⁰ la zla ba dañ ñi ma la sogs pa la rañ

¹ LN yumo.

² L mchogo.

³ SDQ ba, LN omit.

⁴ LN gnaso.

⁵ D śā lya'o, S śa lya 'o, Q śa la bya'o, LN śa lya'o.

⁶ L brgyado.

⁷ SQLN mdzes, D mñes.

⁸ SDQ 'gyur, LN gyur.

⁹ DQ de'i, SLN de yi

¹⁰ SDLN omit, Q ni.

¹¹ DQLN bye ba, S omits.

¹² L soño.

¹³ DQ sñon, SLN sñun.

¹⁴ N thobo.

¹⁵ SDQ brkyañ, LN rkyañ.

¹⁶ SDQ gzuñ, LN gzuñ.

¹⁷ SDLN cho ga, Q chog.

¹⁸ SDLN cu pa'i, Q bcu'i.

¹⁹ LN khamsu.

²⁰ SLN dus, DQ lus.

gi 'od kyi snañ ba'i nus pa med do¹ || mtshan mo dañ ñin mo'i bye brag mi šes so² || {Pā31} sems can rnam̄s kyi ñin mo ñi ma šar ba bzin du sañs rgyas kyi 'od kyis rtag tu 'gro bar byed do³ || mtshan mo me tog zum pa dañ sna dro'i⁴ dus su⁵ bya rnam̄s skad 'byin pa la sogs pa la brten pas⁶ 'jig rten pas⁷ ñin mtshan šes par byed do⁸ || yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i sañs rgyas gzan rnam̄s la ci'i phyir 'di lta bu med pa yin nam | med pa ni ma yin te | de rnam̄s kyis kyañ dgoñs par gyur na | stoñ phrag bcu'i 'jig rten gyi khams su⁹ gyur pa 'am de bas lhag par yañ 'od 'phro bar byed do¹⁰ || slar yañ bcom ldan 'das bkra šis bzañ po snar gyi don du gñer ba'i dbañ gis te | gzan gyi 'od 'dom gañ ba bzin no || sku'i 'od kyis rgyun mi 'chad pa ñid du stoñ phrag bcu'i 'jig rten gyi khams khyab par¹¹ byas nas gnas so¹² || de'i byañ chub sems dpa'i spyod pa'i dus na thams cad srol bzin du bdag ñid gnas so¹³ || de'i bu dañ bu mor bcas pa ri bo bam ga¹⁴ bzin du ri (38b) la bzugs so¹⁵ || de nas mche ba gcig pa gdug pa can gyi gnod sbyin žig gis skyes bu chen po sbyin pa gtoñ žes thos nas bram ze'i gzugs kyis ñe bar soñ ste sems dpa'¹⁶ chen po'i druñ du bu dañ¹⁷ bu mo sloñ ño¹⁸ || sems dpa' chen pos bram ze la bu dañ bu mo sbyin no¹⁹ žes bsams nas dga' ba dañ tshim pas chu'i mthar thug pa'i sa rnam̄s g.yos so²⁰ || de nas gnod sbyin 'chag pa'i gnas kyi mthar tsog²¹ pur rgyab rten la²² 'dug ste sems dpa' chen po la lta žin 'dug go²³ | de la des bu dañ bu mo byin pa dañ | des la phug za ba bzin du bu dañ bu mo zos nas | gnod sbyin gyis skyes bu chen po de la blta ste | kha gdañs²⁴ nas me 'bar ba bzin du khrag gi rgyun 'bab bo²⁵ || de'i kha mthoñ nas kyañ skra'i rtse mo tsam gyi yid mi bde ba yañ ma skyes par ñas byin pa šin

¹ N medo.

² LN šeso.

³ L byedo.

⁴ SDQN 'gro'i, L gro'i.

⁵ L dusu.

⁶ SQLN pas, D nas.

⁷ DQ 'jig rten pas, SLN omit.

⁸ L byedo.

⁹ LN khamsu.

¹⁰ L byedo.

¹¹ DQLN par, S phar.

¹² LN gnaso.

¹³ L gnaso.

¹⁴ SQLN bam ga, D lhag.

¹⁵ LN bzugsso.

¹⁶ LN pa.

¹⁷ DQ bu dañ, SLN omit.

¹⁸ N sloño.

¹⁹ L sbyino.

²⁰ LN g.yoso.

²¹ SDLN tsog, Q gtsog.

²² SDLN la, Q sa.

²³ LN 'dugo.

²⁴ SDQ gdañs, LN bdañs.

²⁵ SDQ bo, LN po.

tu legs pa gcig go¹ zes sems so² || slar yañ lus la mchog tu dga' ba chen po skyes so³ || de dag 'di la byin pa'i bsod nams kyi phan yon gyis ma 'oñs pa na 'di lta bu'i rim pa'i 'od zer 'phro bar don du gñer ro⁴ || de la don du⁵ gñer ba'i rgyu mtshan gyis sañs rgyas su⁶ gyur nas sku'i 'od de phyi rol tu⁷ 'phro žiñ de rnams la khyab par gnas so⁸ || gžan yañ 'di'i sñar gyi mdzad pa yod pas de byañ chub sems dpa'i dus su⁹ sañs rgyas gcig gi¹⁰ sku gduñ¹¹ gi mchod rten mthoñ nas | sañs rgyas 'di'i¹² sku gduñ la bdag gis 'tsho ba yoñs su¹³ btañ¹⁴ na rigs so¹⁵ sñam nas śiñ ras kyis dkris pa bžin du | lus thams cad gos (39a) gžan gyis dkris śiñ rin po che'i cod pan gyon nas 'bum phrag gcig¹⁶ ri ba'i gser gyi snod¹⁷ du mar gyis¹⁸ bkañ ste | der ras 'de¹⁹ stoñ phrag brgya btsugs nas mar me sbar²⁰ te mgo'i steñ du bžag ciñ lus thams cad kyañ 'bar bar byas nas sku gduñ gi mchod rten la bskor bar²¹ byed do || de ltar mtshan thog thag sña dro'i skya reñs śar gyi bar du 'bad pa byed pa ñid kyi ba spu'i khuñ bu tsam yañ dro bar ma gyur te | pad ma'i²² tshal du bžugs pa bžin no || chos zes bya ba 'di rañ ñid bsruñs²³ na chos bsruñs par 'gyur ro²⁴ || de'i phyir gsuñs pa |

Th 303²⁵

¹ LN gcigo.

² LN semso.

³ LN skyeso.

⁴ L gñero.

⁵ DQ du, SLN omit.

⁶ LN rgyasu.

⁷ LN tu, SDQ du.

⁸ LN gnaso.

⁹ LN dusu.

¹⁰ DLN gi, SQ gis.

¹¹ SDQN gduñ, L sduñ.

¹² SDQN 'di'i, L 'di.

¹³ LN yoñsu.

¹⁴ SDQ btañ, LN gtañ.

¹⁵ LN rigso.

¹⁶ SDLN gcig, Q cig.

¹⁷ SDQ snod, LN gnod.

¹⁸ SDQL gyis, N gyi.

¹⁹ SDLN 'de, Q 'di ma.

²⁰ DQN sbar, SL spar.

²¹ SLN bar, DQ ba.

²² SLN padma'i, DQ pad ma'i.

²³ S bsruñs, DQLN bsruñ.

²⁴ LN 'gyuro.

²⁵ *Jātakanidāna* p.31; Th 303; sTog 89a; PDhp 227; Uv 30. 7; Mvu II p. 80-1; Dhp-a I, 82; Ja IV no. 448, v.30, p. 54; Ja, IV, no. 510, p. 496; Bv-a p.144; Dhp-a I p. 99, IV p. 105; Th-a II p. 128; Ap-a p. 34; Bv-a p. 144; Ja, IV p. 54, 496; Dhs-a p. 32.

Jātakanidāna p.31,

dhammo have rakkhati dhammacāriṃ,

dhammo suciṇṇo sukhaṃ āvahāti,

eśānisamso dhamme suciṇṇe:

chos bzin bsruñ na chos spyod do¹ || chos kyis bsgral² na chos bzin thob ||
 legs par bsgral na chos phan yon || chos spyod ñan 'gror mi 'gro'o || {Pā32}

'di'i las ky³ 'bras bu bcom ldan 'das de'i⁴ sku'i 'od kyis stoñ phrag bcu'i 'jig rten gyi khams khyab
 ciñ gnas so⁵ || de'i tshe bdag cag ni byañ chub sems dpa' šin tu sred pa zes bya ba'i bram zer gyur to ||
 des ston pa mgron⁶ du gñer ba'i phyir druñ du soñ ste chos sñan po'i⁷ bśad pa thos nas btsun pa sañ
 bdag gi gdugs tshod la byon par⁸ žu zes⁹ so¹⁰ || bram ze dge sloñ¹¹ du tsam dgos zes gsuñs pa dañ |
 btsun pa 'khor dañ bcas pa'i dge 'dun du tsam bdog ces žus so¹² || de'i tshe ston pa'i 'dus pa dañ po
 ñid tsam yod do || de'i phyir bye ba stoñ phrag brgya yod ces gsuñs so¹³ || btsun pa 'khor thams cad
 dañ bcas pa bdag gi khañ par gdugs tshod la byon par (39b) žu zes žus pa dañ | bcom ldan 'das kyis
 gnañ ste bram zes sañ¹⁴ don du gñer cig | khañ par 'gro žiñ bsams pa bdag gis dge sloñ 'di rnam la
 thug pa dañ zan dañ gos la sogs pa 'bul bar nus so¹⁵ || bžugs pa'i gnas ji lta bu zes bsams so¹⁶ || dpag
 tshad brgyad khri bzi stoñ gi steñ na gnas pa'i lha'i rgyal po'i la ba dmar po'i rdo leb la bžugs pa na
 dro bar gyur te | brgya byin gañ žig bdag gi gnas 'di¹⁷ 'dor¹⁸ ba'i sems su¹⁹ žig la yod sñam pa dañ |

na duggatiṃ gacchati dhammacārīti.

Patna *Dharmapada* 227, Śaraṇa varga.

dhammo have rakkhati dhammacārī
 dhammo sucinno sukhāya dahāti
 eśānuśaṃso dhamme sucinne
 na duggatiṃ gacchati dhammacārī.

Udānavarga 30.7, Sukhavarga.

dharma' sadā rakṣati dharmacāriṇaṃ
 dharma' sucirṇa' sukhāya ādadhāti
 eśānuśaṃso dharme sucirṇe
 na durgatiṃ gacchati dharmacārī.

Mahāvastu II p. 80-81 (b = *Udānavarga*, Sukhavarga 30.6)

dharmo hi vai rakṣati dharmacāriṃ
 chatraṃ mahantaṃ yatha varṣakāle
 eṣo nuśaṃso dharme sucirṇe
 na durgatiṃ gacchati dharmacārī.

¹ SN spyod do, DQ spyod de, L spyodo.

² SDLN bsgral, Q bgral.

³ SDQN kyī, L kyis.

⁴ SDQ de'i, LN de.

⁵ N gnaso.

⁶ SD mgron, Q 'gron, LN 'dron.

⁷ DQ sñan po'i, S mñan pa'i, LN sñan pa'i.

⁸ DQ par, SLN pa.

⁹ SLN omit, DQ žus.

¹⁰ LN šeso.

¹¹ DQL omit, SN da.

¹² L žuso.

¹³ SDQ so, LN pa dañ.

¹⁴ SDQL sañ, N sam.

¹⁵ L nuso.

¹⁶ LN bsamso.

¹⁷ SDQ 'di, LN 'dir.

lha'i dbañ pos lha'i mig gis bltas pas skyes bu chen po de mthoñ nas | 'di ltar śin tu sred pa'i bram zes sañs rgyas la sogs pa dge sloñ gi dge 'dun mgron¹ du gñer te | bžugs pa'i gnas kyañ bsams² kyi | bdag kyañ der phyin nas bsod nams kyi cha len par rigs so³ sñam nas śiñ mkhan gyi gzugs su⁴ sprul te⁵ | ste'u dañ dgra sta blañs te skyes bu chen po'i mdun du gnas par gyur nas | gañ su žig kho bo la⁶ gla⁷ byin te las ka byed pa yod ces smras so⁸ || skyes bu chen pos gzigs te | gañ žig las ka⁹ byed nus zes gsuñs¹⁰ pa dañ | bdag gis mi śes pa'i bzo med do | khañ pa 'am | bsti gnas sam | gañ žig cuñ zad byed pa'i bzo de bdag gis byed kyañ¹¹ yañ¹² nus so¹³ žes zer ro¹⁴ || byañ chub sems dpas smras pa | de'i phyir rañ la las su¹⁵ bya ba yod do¹⁶ || kho bos sañ 'phags pa las bye ba phrag brgya ba'i dge sloñ gi dge 'dun mgron¹⁷ du gñer to || de rnams bžugs pa'i gnas (40a) byed par nus sam | smras pa | bdag gis bgyi'o || bdag la gla¹⁸ ster bar nus sam | bu bdag gis nus so¹⁹ || legs so²⁰ žes bya ba legs par byas so²¹ || phyin nas sa phyogs gcig bltas nas dpag tshad bcu gñis sam | bcu gsum pa'i tshad kyi sa phyogs gcig²² tu zad par sñon po'i dkyil 'khor bžin du steñ mñam par byas so²³ || des 'di rnams kyi gnas tsam du rin po che sna bdun las byuñ ba'i bsti gnas sa 'og nas phyuñ nas bya'o žes bsam²⁴ žiñ blta'o || de ma tag par sa gzi brtol nas bsti gnas grub bo || de ni gser las byuñ ba'i ka ba rnams la dñul las byuñ ba'i ka²⁵ žu'i steñ du gser las byuñ ba'i gduñ²⁶ ño²⁷ || nor bu'i ka ba la byi²⁸ ru'i rañ bžin no || byi²⁹ ru'i ka ba la

¹⁸ SDQN 'dor, L 'doñ.

¹⁹ LN semsu.

¹ SD mgron, Q 'gron, LN 'dron.

² SDLN bsams, Q bsam.

³ LN rigso.

⁴ LN gzugsu.

⁵ SDQ te, LN to.

⁶ DQLN la, S omits.

⁷ SDQ gla, LN bla.

⁸ LN smraso.

⁹ SDLN omit, Q su.

¹⁰ SLN gsuñs, DQ gsuñ.

¹¹ DQN kyañ, SL omit.

¹² SDQL yañ, N omits.

¹³ N nuso.

¹⁴ N zero.

¹⁵ N lasu.

¹⁶ DQ do, SLN de.

¹⁷ SD mgron, QLN 'gron.

¹⁸ SDQ gla, LN bla.

¹⁹ L nuso.

²⁰ L legso.

²¹ LN byaso.

²² SDN gcig, QL cig.

²³ LN byaso.

²⁴ SDLN bsam, Q bsams.

²⁵ DQ ba rnams la dñul las byuñ ba'i ka, SLN omit

²⁶ SDLN gduñ, Q sbuñ.

²⁷ L gduño.

nor bu'i rañ bzin no || rin po che sna bdun las byuñ ba'i ka ba la rin po che sna bdun las byuñ ba'i ka
 zu ñid do || de nas bsti gnas kyi¹ bar bar du g.yer kha'i dra ba 'phyañ ba la blta žiñ de bltas tsam ñid
 na dra ba 'phyañ ba² | gañ la rluñ gis bskyod³ pa de la yan lag lña pa'i rol mo sgra sñan sgrogs te |
 lha'i glu dbyañs sgrogs pa bzin no || bar bar du spos kyi 'phreñ⁴ ba dañ me tog gi 'phreñ⁵ ba 'phyañ ba
 la sems šiñ 'phreñ⁶ ba 'phyañ ba la'o || bye ba stoñ phrag brgya'i dge sloñ gi dge 'dun gyi grañs kyis
 stan⁷ dañ rgyab rten rnams sa gzi la brtol⁸ nas byuñ bar bsams so⁹ || {Pā33} de ma thag tu sa'i steñ du
 grub bo¹⁰ || mtshams dañ mtshams rnams su¹¹ re rer chu'i snod chen po grub pa bsams so¹² || chu'i snod
 chen po de rnams grub bo¹³ || de dag (40b) thams cad sprul nas bram ze'i druñ du soñ nas | 'phags pa
 'dir byon la bsti gnas gzigs mdzod | bdag la gla¹⁴ sbyin par rigs so¹⁵ žes žus nas skyes bu chen po
 gšegs te bsti gnas gzigs nas de ma thag tu brgya byin mi snañ bar gyur to || gzigs pa tsam na lus thams
 cad kha dog lña dañ ldan pa la dga' ba rgyun mi 'chad par 'phro bar gyur to || de nas bsti gnas gzigs
 nas 'di ltar yid la bsams so¹⁶ || bsti gnas 'di mir gyur pas bsgrubs¹⁷ pa ma yin no || slar yañ bdag gi
 lhag pa'i bsam pa dañ bdag gi¹⁸ yon tan rtogs pas nes par brgya byin gyi stan dro bar gyur nas brgya
 byin¹⁹ lha'i rgyal pos bsti gnas 'di byas par gyur to || de nas slar yañ 'di lta bu'i tshul gyi bsti gnas su²⁰
 ñi ma gcig ñid la sbyin pa gtoñ ba ni bdag gi rigs pa ma yin no || ñi ma bdun du bdag gis ster bar
 bsams so²¹ || phyi rol gyi sbyin pas ji tsam gyis kyañ byañ²² chub sems dpa' rnams dgyes par mi nus
 so²³ || rgyan gyis brgyan pa'i mgo bo bcad pa dañ | dri ma med pa'i mig bton pa dañ | sñiñ gi ša bregs

²⁸ DQLN byi, S byu.

²⁹ DQLN byi, S byu.

¹ SDQN kyi, L gyi.

² DQ pa, SLN omit.

³ SDQ bskyod, LN skyod.

⁴ S 'phreñ, DQLN phreñ.

⁵ S 'phreñ, DQLN phreñ.

⁶ S 'phreñ, DQLN phreñ.

⁷ SDLN stan, Q steñ.

⁸ SLN brtol, DQ brten.

⁹ LN bsamso.

¹⁰ N grubo.

¹¹ LN rnamsu.

¹² LN bsamso.

¹³ N grubo.

¹⁴ SDQ gla, LN bla.

¹⁵ LN rigso.

¹⁶ L bsamso.

¹⁷ SDQ bsgrubs, LN sgrubs.

¹⁸ SDQL gi, N gis.

¹⁹ SDQ gyi stan dro bar gyur nas brgya byin, LN omit.

²⁰ L gnasu.

²¹ LN bsamso.

²² SDQN byañ, L omits.

²³ LN nuso.

pa 'am bcañ nas byin pa'i dus su byañ chub sems dpa' btañ ba'i dgyes par 'gyur ro¹ || bdag cag byañ chub sems dpa' rnamz kyi yañ si bi'i² skyes rabs³ las ñi ma re rer doñ tse khal lña lña ri⁴ ba'i rin gyis ños⁵ nas sgo bzi dañ groñ khyer gyi dbus su⁶ sbyin pa gtoñ no || de'i sbyin pa de gtoñ bas yoñs su⁷ tshim pa med do⁸ || slar yañ gañ gi⁹ tshhe brgya byin lha'i¹⁰ rgyal (41a) po bram ze'i gzugs kyis 'oñs nas mig bsłañs so¹¹ || de'i¹² tshhe de'i¹³ mig bton nas ster ba ñid kyis dgyes par 'gyur ro¹⁴ || skra'i rtse mo tsam yañ sems la sdug bsñal bar mi 'gyur ro¹⁵ || de bzin du sbyin pa'i rgyus byañ chub sems dpa' la tshim pa med do || de'i phyir¹⁶ skyes bu chen po de yañ žag bdun du¹⁷ bdag gis bye ba stoñ phrag brgya'i¹⁸ grañs kyi¹⁹ dge sloñ gi dge 'dun rnamz la sbyin pa gtoñ bar rigs so²⁰ žes bsams so²¹ || de'i²² bsti gnas su²³ bžugs nas žag bdun du dga' ba pā na²⁴ žes bya ba'i sbyin pa byin no || dga' ba can žes²⁵ pa ni ches che ba'i snod²⁶ śin tu che ba 'o mas bkañ nas tshañ dbañ²⁷ chen po'i steñ du bžag²⁸ nas | mes 'o ma śin tu²⁹ bska bar bskol te 'bras cuñ zad btab nas btsos te sbrañ dañ | dkar ba'i phye ma dañ | mar gsar pa rnamz btsos pa'i bza' ba'i 'o thug ni dga' ba pā na³⁰ žes brjod do || mi rnamz kyis 'dren par ma nus na lha rnamz kyis kyañ bar bar du 'dren no³¹ || dpag tshad bcu gñis sam bcu gsum pa'i

¹ LN 'gyuro.

² SL si ba'i, D śa s'i bi'i, Q sbyin pa'i, N si bi'i.

³ SDLN rabs, Q rab.

⁴ SDLN ri, Q re.

⁵ SDLN ños, Q myoñ.

⁶ N dbusu.

⁷ DQ yoñs su, S omits, LN yoñsu.

⁸ L medo.

⁹ SDLN gi, Q omits.

¹⁰ SDQ lha'i, LN lha yi.

¹¹ SDQ bsłañs so, LN blañso.

¹² SDQ de'i, LN de yi.

¹³ SDQ de'i, LN de yi.

¹⁴ LN 'gyuro.

¹⁵ L 'gyuro.

¹⁶ DQ de'i phyir, SLN de yi ster ba.

¹⁷ SDQ du, LN omit.

¹⁸ SDLN brgya'i, Q brgyad.

¹⁹ DQ kyi, SLN kyis.

²⁰ LN rigso.

²¹ LN bsamso.

²² DQ de'i, SLN de yi.

²³ LN gnasu.

²⁴ SD pā na, Q can, LN pa na.

²⁵ SDQ žes, LN ces.

²⁶ SDQ snod, LN gnod.

²⁷ SLN dbañ, DQ bañ.

²⁸ SDQN bžag, L gžag.

²⁹ SDQN tu, L du.

³⁰ SDLN pā na, Q can.

³¹ L 'dreño.

tshad kyi¹ gnas su² dge sloñ rnam ma soñ na | slar yañ dge sloñ de rnam rañ rañ gi³ mthus bžugs so⁴ || žag bdun gyi mthar dge sloñ thams cad kyi⁵ lhuñ bzed⁶ bkrus nas sman gyi phyir du mar gсар pa dañ | žun mar dañ | sbrañ dañ | bu ram bskol ba'i chu rnam kyis⁷ lhuñ bzed bkañ⁸ nas chos gos gsum dañ bcas pa phul lo⁹ || dge 'dun gžon nu rnam kyis¹⁰ dge sloñ (41b) gis thob pa'i chos gos¹¹ kyi rgyu'i ras 'bum phrag gcig ri ba thob par gyur to || ston pas¹² rjes su¹³ yi¹⁴ rañ ba mdzad do¹⁵ || skyes bu 'dis 'di lta bu'i tshul gyis sbyin pa chen po byin no || gañ gi¹⁶ don du 'gyur žes rtog par byed do¹⁷ || ma 'oñs pa'i bskal pa 'bum phrag gcig lhag pa'i grañs med pa gñis 'das pa na gō ta ma¹⁸ žes bya ba'i sañs rgyas su¹⁹ 'gyur žes gzigs²⁰ te | skyes bu chen po bos nas {Pā34} khyod kyi dus 'di rnam 'das nas gō ta ma²¹ žes bya ba'i sañs rgyas su 'gyur ro²² žes luñ bstan no²³ || skyes bu chen pos luñ bstan pa thos nas bdag ni sañs rgyas su²⁴ 'gyur bas | bdag khyim na gnas pa la don med kyis rab tu 'byuñ ño²⁵ sñam du bsams so²⁶ || de de lta bu'i tshul dañ ldan pas mchil ma dor ba bžin du khyim spañs nas ston pa'i druñ du rab tu byuñ žiñ²⁷ byuñ nas sañs rgyas kyi gsuñ rab bslabs nas mñon par šes pa dañ sñoms par 'jug pa bskyed de²⁸ | tshe'i mthar tshañs pa'i 'jig rten du skyes so²⁹ || gžan yañ bcom ldan 'das bkra šis bzañ po'i groñ khyer mchog ces bya bar gyur to || yab ni mchog gi rgyal po'o || yum ni mchog ma žes

¹ SDQ kyi, LN kyis.

² LN gnasu.

³ DQLN gi, S gis.

⁴ LN bžugso.

⁵ SDLN kyi, Q gyi.

⁶ SDQN bžed, L gzed.

⁷ SDLN kyis, Q kyi.

⁸ SD bkañ, QLN bskañ.

⁹ LN phulo.

¹⁰ SDLN kyis, Q kyi.

¹¹ DQLN gos, S omits.

¹² DQN pas, SL pa.

¹³ N rjesu.

¹⁴ SDLN yi, Q yid.

¹⁵ L mdzado.

¹⁶ DQLN gi, S gis.

¹⁷ L byedo.

¹⁸ DQLN gō ta ma, S go'u ta ma.

¹⁹ LN rgyasu.

²⁰ SDQ gzigs, LN gžugs.

²¹ DQLN gō ta ma, S go'u ta ma.

²² LN rgyasu 'gyuro.

²³ L bstan.

²⁴ LN rgyasu.

²⁵ LN 'byuño.

²⁶ LN bsamso.

²⁷ DQLN byuñ žiñ, S omits.

²⁸ L bskyede.

²⁹ LN skyeso.

bya ba'o || ltañ bzañ dañ | chos kyi sde gñis ni ñan thos kyi mchog go¹ || bskyañ ba zes bya ba ni ñe gnas so² || ži byed len³ dañ | mya ñan med gñis ni ñan thos ma'i mchog go⁴ || byañ chub śiñ ni klu śiñ no⁵ || sku'i mtho tshad du khru brgyad cu rtsa brgyad⁶ pa'o || stoñ phrag dgu bcu'i lo ni sku tshe'i tshad do || stoñ phrag (42a) dgu bcu bžugs nas mya ñan las 'das so⁷ || sañs rgyas mya ñan las 'das nas slar yañ de ma thag par stoñ phrag bcu'i khor yug gi phyogs kun mun par gyur to || khor yug thams cad kyi mi rnams cho ñes⁸ chen po 'debs so⁹ ||

Bv IV 1

kō ṇḍi nya¹⁰ 'og tu ni || 'jig rten 'dren pa bkra śis bzañ ||
'jig rten nañ gi mun bsal¹¹ nas || chos kyi snañ ba'i 'od bkye'o ||

I 36.

de bžin du stoñ phrag bcu'i 'jig rten gyi¹² khams mun nag tu¹³ byas nas mya ñan las 'das so¹⁴ || bcom ldan 'das de'i 'og gi char yid bzañ¹⁵ zes bya ba'i ston pa byon no || de'i¹⁶ yañ ñan thos kyi 'dus pa gsum ste | 'dus pa dañ po la bye ba stoñ phrag brgya'i dge sloñ no || 'dus pa gñis pa la gser gyi ri la bye ba stoñ phrag dgu bcu'o || gsum pa la bye ba stoñ phrag brgyad cu'o¹⁷ || de'i tshe sems dpa' chen po klu'i rgyal po mñam med ces bya bar gyur to¹⁸ || rdzu 'phrul gyi mthu dañ ldan žiñ des sañs rgyas byon pa thos nas gñen gyi grogs rnams 'khor du byas te | klu'i gnas nas 'thon te | bye ba stoñ phrag brgya'i dge sloñ gi 'khor dañ bcas pa'i bcom ldan 'das la lha'i rol mos ñe bar mchod nas sbyin pa chen po phul lo¹⁹ || so so la lha'i gos²⁰ gñis gñis phul bas skyabs su²¹ 'gro ba'i tshul khirms la gnas so²² || de

¹ L mchogo.

² LN gnaso.

³ SDLN omit, Q pa.

⁴ L mchogo.

⁵ LN śiño.

⁶ SDQ cu rtsa brgyad, LN omit.

⁷ LN 'daso.

⁸ DQN ñes, SL ñe.

⁹ LN 'debso.

¹⁰ D kō ṇḍi nya, S ko'u ḍi nya, QLN kō ḍi nya.

¹¹ SDLN bsal, Q gsal.

¹² SDLN gyi, Q kyi.

¹³ SDQN tu, L du.

¹⁴ LN 'daso.

¹⁵ SLN bzañ, DQ bzañs.

¹⁶ SDQ de'i, LN de yi.

¹⁷ SDQN cu'o, L bcu'o.

¹⁸ SDQ to, LN te.

¹⁹ L phulo.

²⁰ SDLN gos, Q go.

²¹ LN skyabsu.

²² LN gnaso.

yañ ston pa des ma 'oñs pa na sañs rgyas su¹ 'gyur bar luñ bstan no² || bcom ldan 'das de'i groñ
 khyer dge ba can zes bya bar gyur te³ | legs byin zes bya ba'i rgyal po ni (42b) yab bo⁴ || dpal ldan
 ma zes bya ba ni yum mo⁵ || ñes 'gro dañ goms byed ni ñan thos kyi mchog go⁶ || 'char byed ni ñe
 gnas so⁷ || ñan pa dañ | ñe bar ñan pa gñis ni ñan thos ma'i mchog go⁸ || byañ chub kyi⁹ śin ni klu śin
 ño¹⁰ || sku'i mtho tshad du khru drug cu'o¹¹ || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo stoñ phrag dgu bcu'o ||

Bv V 1

bkra śis bzañ po'i 'og tu ni || 'dren pa thugs bzañ zes bya ba ||
 chos rnam kun la mtshuñs med pa || sems can kun gyi mchog yin no || {Pā35}

I 37.

de'i yañ 'og gi char nam gru can gyi ston pa zes bya ba byon no || de'i 'dus pa gsum du 'gyur¹² te |
 'dus pa dañ po la bgrañ¹³ du med pa zes bya ba'o¹⁴ || gñis pa la bye ba stoñ phrag brgya'i dge sloñ ño ||
 de bzin du gsum pa yañ ño¹⁵ || de'i tshe byañ chub sems dpa' lhag ba'i lha zes bya ba'i bram zer gyur
 to || ston pa'i chos bsad pa thos nas skyabs su¹⁶ 'gro ba'i tshul khirms la gnas so¹⁷ || mgo'i steñ du thal
 mo sbyar nas ston pa la de'i ñon moñs rnam spoñ¹⁸ ba'i bsñags pa brjod nas bla gos kyis¹⁹ mchod pas
 de yañ sañs rgyas su²⁰ 'gyur ro zes luñ bstan to || slar yañ de'i bcom ldan 'das kyi groñ khyer ni nam
 gru bzañ ldan zes bya bar gyur to || yab ni śin tu rgyas pa zes bya ba'i rgyal po'o || yum ni śin tu rgyas
 ma zes bya ba'o²¹ || chu lha dañ lha tshañs pa ni ñan thos kyi mchog go²² || yañ dag 'byuñ zes bya ba
 ni ñe gnas so²³ || bzañ mo dañ legs bzañ mo ni ñan thos ma'i mchog go²⁴ || (43a) byañ chub kyi śin ni

¹ LN rgyasu.

² DQ bstan no, LN bstano, S bstan to.

³ SDQ te, LN to.

⁴ N yabo.

⁵ LN yummo.

⁶ L mchogo.

⁷ LN gnaso.

⁸ N mchogo.

⁹ SDQ kyi, LN omit.

¹⁰ N śiño.

¹¹ SDLN cu'o, Q bcu'o.

¹² SDQL 'gyur, N gyur.

¹³ SDQN bgrañ, L bgrañs.

¹⁴ SDQL bya ba'o, N bya'o.

¹⁵ L yaño.

¹⁶ LN skyabsu.

¹⁷ LN gnaso.

¹⁸ SDQ spoñ, LN spoñs.

¹⁹ SDQ kyis, LN kyi.

²⁰ LN rgyasu.

²¹ SD bya ba'o, QLN bya'o.

²² L mchogo.

²³ N gnaso.

klu šin no¹ || sku'i² mtho tshad du khru brgyad cu'o || sku tshe'i tsad ni lo stoñ phrag drug cu'o³ ||

Bv VI 1

thugs bzañ gi⁴ ni 'og tu ni || 'dren pa nam gru can zes bya ||
mtshuñs pa med ciñ dpe⁵ med par || rgyal ba mñam med mchog tu gyur ||

I 38.

de'i 'og gi char mdzes byed ces⁶ bya ba'i ston pa byon no || de'i 'dus pa gsum du gyur te | 'dus pa dañ
po la bye ba brgya'i dge sloñ no || gñis pa la bye ba dgu bcu'o || gsum pa la bye ba brgyad cu'o⁷ || de'i
tshe byañ chub sems dpa' mi pham pa zes bya ba'i bram zer gyur to || ston pa'i chos bstan pa thos nas
skyabs su⁸ 'gro ba'i tshul khirms la gnas so⁹ || sañs rgyas la sogs pa'i dge sloñ gi dge 'dun la sbyin pa
chen po btañ no¹⁰ || des yañ sañs rgyas su¹¹ 'gyur bar luñ bstan no¹² || slar¹³ yañ bcom ldan 'das de'i groñ
khyer chos bzañ zes bya bar gyur to || yab ni chos bzañ rgyal po'o || yum ni chos bzañ ma zes bya
ba'o¹⁴ || mtshuñs med dañ legs spyen ni ñan thos kyi mchog go¹⁵ || yid ldan ni ñe gnas so¹⁶ || rig ma dañ
legs skyes ma ni ñan thos ma'i mchog go || byañ chub kyi šin ni klu šin ñid do || sku mtho tshad du¹⁷
khru lña bcu rtsa brgyad do || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo stoñ phrag dgu bcu'o ||

Bv VII 1

nam gru can gyi 'og tu ni || 'dren pa mdzes byed ces¹⁸ bya ba ||
mñam par bžag¹⁹ ciñ thugs ni ži || gañ zag zla med mtshuñs med do ||

²⁴ L mchogo.

¹ N šin.

² S sku'i, DQLN sku.

³ SDLN cu'o, Q bcu'o.

⁴ SDQN gi, L omits.

⁵ SDLN dpe, Q dpe'.

⁶ SDQ ces, LN zes.

⁷ SDLN cu'o, Q bcu'o.

⁸ LN skyabsu.

⁹ LN gnaso.

¹⁰ LN btañ.

¹¹ LN rgyasu.

¹² DQL no, SN to.

¹³ SQLN slar, D slarñ

¹⁴ SDL bya ba'o, QN bya'o.

¹⁵ L mchogo.

¹⁶ N gnaso.

¹⁷ SDQ du, LN omit.

¹⁸ SDQ ces, LN zes.

¹⁹ DQLN bžag, S gžag.

I 39.

de'i 'og gi char bskal pa grañs med pa (43b) gcig¹ 'das nas bskal pa gcig gi nañ du sañs rgyas gsum byon no || thugs ldan mthoñ ba dañ | padma² dañ | mi sbyin no || bcom ldan 'das thugs ldan mthoñ gi 'dus pa gsum du 'gyur³ te | dañ po la dge sloñ 'bum phrag gcig go⁴ || gñis pa la 'bum phrag bdun no || gsum pa la 'bum phrag drug go || de nas byañ chub sems dpa' gnod sbyin gcig tu gyur to || rdzu 'phrul dañ mthu chen po dañ ldan pa'i bye ba stoñ phrag {Pā36} brgya du ma'i gnod sbyin rnams kyi bdag por gyur to || des bcom ldan 'das byon pa thos nas 'oñs te sañs rgyas la sogs pa'i dge sloñ gi dge 'dun la sbyin pa chen po btañ ño⁵ || ston pas kyañ ma 'oñs pa'i sañs rgyas su⁶ 'gyur ro⁷ zes luñ bstan no || gzan yañ bcom ldan 'das thugs ldan mthoñ gi groñ khyer ni la ba can zes bya bar 'gyur ro⁸ || yab ni grags ldan rgyal po'o || yum ni grags 'dzin ma'o || ñes bzañ dañ yid ldan ni ñan thos kyi mchog go⁹ || chu lha¹⁰ ni ñe gnas so¹¹ || legs mdzes dañ yid bzañ ma ni ñan thos ma'i mchog go¹² || byañ chub kyi šiñ ni srid sgrub kyi šiñ ño¹³ || sku'i mtho tshad khru lña bcu rtsa brgyad do¹⁴ || 'bum phrag gcig gi lo ni sku tshe'i tshad do ||

Bv VIII 1

mdzes byed kyi ni¹⁵ 'og tu ni || rkañ gñis mchog gi rdzogs sañs rgyas ||
thugs bzañ mthoñ dañ 'chi med grags || gzi brjid ldan žiñ riñ mthoñ ño¹⁶ ||

I 40.

de'i 'og gi char pad ma¹⁷ zes bya ba'i ston pa byon no¹⁸ || de'i yañ 'dus (44a) pa gsum du 'gyur¹⁹ te | 'dus pa dañ po la bye ba 'bum phrag gcig gi dge sloñ ño || gñis pa la 'bum phrag gsum mo²⁰ || gsum pa

¹ SDQ gcig, LN cig.

² SLN padma, DQ pad ma.

³ S 'gyur, DLN gyur.

⁴ N gcigo.

⁵ N btaño.

⁶ N rgyasu.

⁷ LN 'gyuro.

⁸ DQLN 'gyur ro, S gyur to.

⁹ N mchogo.

¹⁰ SDQN lha, L la.

¹¹ N gnaso.

¹² N mchogo.

¹³ N šiño.

¹⁴ N brgyado.

¹⁵ SDLN ni, Q omits.

¹⁶ N mthoño.

¹⁷ SLN padma, DQ pad ma.

¹⁸ L byono.

¹⁹ SDQ 'gyur, LN gyur.

²⁰ LN gsumo.

la groñ med pa'i dgon par nags¹ tshal chen po na dge sloñ 'bum phrag gñis gnas so² || de'i tshe de bžin gšegs pa yañ de'i nags tshal chen por bžugs pa'i tshe | byañ chub sems dpa' señ ger skyes par gyur to || ston pas 'gog pa la sñoms par žugs so³ || bžugs pa⁴ mthoñ nas sems rab tu dañ bas phyag byas nas bskor ba byas te⁵ | dga' ba dañ yid bde ba skyes so⁶ || lan gsum du señ ge'i sgra bsgrags⁷ so || žag bdun du sañs rgyas kyi phyir du dga' ba ma spañs pas dga' ba dañ bde ba ñid kyi spyod yul du ma phyin par srog yoñs su⁸ btañ no⁹ sñam ste blta žiñ 'dug go¹⁰ || ston pa žag bdun nas 'gog pa'i sñoms par 'jug pa las lañs nas | señ ge la blta žiñ dge sloñ gi dge 'dun rnam kyi kyañ sems dañ bar byas nas dge 'dun la phyag byed do žes brjod ciñ dge sloñ gi dge 'dun šog ces bsams te dge sloñ rnam de ma thag tu byon¹¹ no || señ ges dge 'dun la sems rab tu dañ bar byed do || ston pas de'i sems la brtags te ma 'oñs pa na sañs rgyas su¹² 'gyur ro¹³ žes luñ bstan no || slar yañ bcom ldan 'das padma'i¹⁴ groñ ni tsam pa ka žes bya bar 'gyur to¹⁵ || yab ni pad ma'i¹⁶ rgyal po'o || yum ni mtshuñs med ma žes bya'o || sã la dañ u pa sã la ni ñan thos kyi mchog go¹⁷ || chu lha žes (44b) bya ba ni ñe gnas so¹⁸ || dga' ma dañ šin tu dga' ma ni ñan thos ma'i mchog go¹⁹ || byañ chub kyi šin ni sro na'i šin no²⁰ || sku'i mtho tshad du khru lña bcu rtsa brgyad do || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo stoñ phrag gcig go ||

Bv IX 1

thugs ldan mthoñ gi 'og tu ni || rkañ gñis mchog gi rdzogs sañs rgyas ||
mtshan ni pad ma²¹ žes bya ba || gañ zag zla med mtshuñs med do²² ||

¹ SQLN nags, D gnas.

² LN gnaso.

³ N žugso.

⁴ SLN bžugs pa, D žugs par, Q žugs pa.

⁵ SDQN ste, L ste.

⁶ LN skyeso.

⁷ S bsgrags, D sgrogs, Q sgrags, LN sgragso.

⁸ L Nyoñsu.

⁹ N btaño.

¹⁰ LN 'dugo.

¹¹ SDQ byon, LN byin.

¹² N rgyasu.

¹³ LN 'gyuro.

¹⁴ SLN padma'i, DQ pad ma'i.

¹⁵ SQDN gyur to, L 'gyuro.

¹⁶ SLN padma'i, DQ pad ma'i.

¹⁷ LN mchogo.

¹⁸ LN gnaso.

¹⁹ N mchogo.

²⁰ N šino.

²¹ SLN padma, DQ pad ma.

²² L medo.

I 41.

de'i 'og tu mi¹ sbyin zes bya ba'i ston pa byon no || de'i yañ 'dus pa gsum du 'gyur² te | 'dus pa dañ po la bye ba stoñ phrag brgya'i dge sloñ ño || {Pā37} gñis pa la bye ba 'bum phrag dgu bcu'o || gsum pa la bye ba brgyad cu dañ 'bum phrag gcig go || de'i tshe byañ chub sems dpa' drañ sroñ gi³ rab tu byuñ ba la⁴ rab tu byuñ ste mñon par ses pa lña dañ sñoms par 'jug pa brgyad po dbañ du gyur te | sañs rgyas la sogs pa'i dge sloñ gi dge 'dun la sbyin pa chen po btañ nas | tsan dan dmar pos mchod nas de yañ des ma 'oñs pa na sañs rgyas par 'gyur ro⁵ zes luñ bstan to || bcom ldan 'das de'i groñ khyer ni 'byor ldan zes bya bar 'gyur ro⁶ || yab ni blo gros bzañ po zes bya ba'i rgyal po'o || yum ni yid ldan ma zes bya ba'o || sā la bzañ po dañ⁷ | rgyal byed bses gñen ni ñan thos kyi mchog go⁸ || gnas mchog ni ñe gnas so || mchog ma dañ 'bras bu can ma ni ñan thos ma'i mchog go⁹ || byañ chub kyi śiñ ni sron chen po'o || sku'i mtho tshad du khru brgyad cu¹⁰ rtsa brgyad pa'o || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo stoñ phrag dgu bcu'o || (45a)

Bv X 1

pad ma¹¹ yi ni 'og tu ni || rkañ gñis mchog gi rdzogs sañs rgyas ||
mtshan ni mi sbyin zes bya ba || gañ zag zla med mtshuñs med do ||

I 42.

sañs rgyas mi¹² sbyin gyi 'og gi char 'di nas bskal pa 'bum phrag gcig gi¹³ 'go¹⁴ nas brtsams te | bskal pa gcig ñid kyi nañ du sañs rgyas pad ma¹⁵ mchog ces bya ba byon no || de'i yañ 'dus pa gsum du 'gyur¹⁶ te | 'dus pa dañ po la bye ba stoñ phrag brgya'i dge sloñ ño¹⁷ || gñis pa la bai bhā ra'i ri¹⁸ la bye ba stoñ phrag dgu bcu'o || gsum pa la bye ba stoñ phrag brgyad cu'o¹⁹ || de'i tshe byañ chub sems dpa' ral pa can zes bya ba'i yul 'khor chen por skyes so || sañs rgyas la sogs pa'i dge 'dun rnam la chos

¹ SDQ mi, LN mes.² SDQL 'gyur, N gyur.³ SNL gi, DQ gis.⁴ SLN rab tu byuñ ba la, DQ omit.⁵ SDN 'gyur ro, Q omits, L 'gyuro.⁶ S gyur to, DQ 'gyur ro, LN 'gyuro.⁷ SDQ sā la bzañ po dañ, LN omit.⁸ L mchogo.⁹ N mchogo.¹⁰ SDLN cu, Q bcu.¹¹ SQLN padma, D pad ma.¹² SDQ mi, LN mis.¹³ DQ gi, SLN gis.¹⁴ S 'go, DQLN mgo.¹⁵ SQLN padma, D pad ma.¹⁶ SDQL 'gyur, N gyur.¹⁷ L sloño.¹⁸ SDL bai bhā ra'i ri, Q bai bhā rya'i ri, N bai dū rya'i ri.¹⁹ SDN cu'o, QL bcu'o.

gos dañ bcas pa'i sbyin pa chen po btañ no¹ || de yañ des ma 'oñs pa na sañs rgyas par 'gyur ro² zes
luñ bstan no³ || gžan yañ bcom ldan 'das padma⁴ mchog gi dus su mu stegs zes bya ba'i miñ yañ med
do || lha dañ mi thams cad sañs rgyas la skyabs su⁵ 'gro ba'o || de'i⁶ groñ khyer ni ñañ⁷ ba ldan zes
bya bar 'gyur ro⁸ || yab ni kun dga' bo zes bya ba'i rgyal po'o || yum ni legs ma zes bya ba'o⁹ || lha'i
spyan dañ legs skyes ni ñan thos kyi mchog go¹⁰ || yid bzañ zes bya ba ni ñe gnas so¹¹ || grogs med ma
dañ mtshuñs med ma ni ñan thos ma'i mchog go¹² || byañ chub kyi śiñ ni śā la'i¹³ śiñ ñid do || sku'i
mtho tshad du khru brgyad cu¹⁴ rtsa brgyad do || sku'i 'od kun nas 'khor ba¹⁵ la dpag tshad bcu gñis so¹⁶
|| (45b) sku tshe'i tshad ni lo 'bum phrag gcig go ||

Bv XI 1

mi sbyin gyi ni 'og ñid du || rkañ gñis mchog gi rdzogs sañs rgyas ||
rgyal ba pad ma¹⁷ mchog zes¹⁸ pa || mi 'khrugs rgya mtsho lta bu'o ||

I 43.

de'i 'og gi char bskal pa stoñ phrag gsum 'das nas | blo gros bzañ po dañ | legs skyes zes bya ba ni
bskal pa gcig gi¹⁹ nañ du sañs rgyas gñis su²⁰ gyur to || blo gros bzañ po'i yañ ñan thos kyi 'dus pa
gsum du 'gyur te | 'dus pa dañ po la groñ khyer blta na sdug ces bya ba na²¹ bye ba brgya'i zag pa zad
pa'o || 'dus pa gñis pa la yañ bye ba dgu bcur 'gyur ro²² || 'dus pa gsum pa la ni bye ba brgyad cu'o²³ ||
de'i tshe byañ chub sems dpa' lus mchog ces bya ba bram ze'i khye'ur gyur to || sa'i 'og tu gter du

¹ N btaño.

² LN 'gyuro.

³ L bstano.

⁴ SQLN padma, D pad ma.

⁵ LN skyabsu.

⁶ SDQ de'i, LN de yi.

⁷ SQLN ñañ, D dañ.

⁸ DQ 'gyur ro, S gyur to, LN 'gyuro.

⁹ SDLN bya ba'o, Q bya'o.

¹⁰ N mchogo.

¹¹ LN gnaso.

¹² N mchogo.

¹³ SDQ śā la'i, L śa la'i, N śva la'i.

¹⁴ SDLN cu, Q bcu.

¹⁵ DQLN ba, S omits.

¹⁶ LN gñiso.

¹⁷ SQLN padma, D pad ma.

¹⁸ DQLN zes, S ces.

¹⁹ SDQ gi, LN omit.

²⁰ L gñisu.

²¹ SDQL na, N ni.

²² N 'gyuro.

²³ SDLN cu'o, Q bcu'o.

bcug pa ñid bye ba bryad cu'¹ nor rnams spel nas sañs rgyas la sogs pa'i dge sloñ gi dge 'dun la sbyin pa chen po phul te {Pā38} chos mñan nas skyabs su'² gro ba'i sdom pa la gnas so'³ || rab tu byuñ nas nags tshal du byon no || de yañ ma 'oñs pa na sañs rgyas⁴ bar luñ bstan no || bcom ldan 'das blo gros bzañ po'i groñ khyer ni blta na sdug ces bya bar gyur to || yab ni legs sbyin zes bya ba'i rgyal po'o || yum ni legs sbyin ma zes bya ba'o⁵ || ñes 'byuñ dañ thams cad 'dod ni ñan thos kyi mchog go || rgya mtsho zes bya ba ni ñe gnas so'⁶ || dga' ma dañ śin tu dga' ma ni ñan thos ma'i mchog go⁷ || byañ chub kyi śiñ ni⁸ nī pa⁹ chen po'o || sku mtho tshad du khru bryad cu'¹⁰ rtsa bryad do¹¹ || (46a) sku tshe'i tshad ni lo stoñ phrag dgu bcu'o ||

Bv XII 1

pad ma¹² mchog gi 'og tu ni || 'dren pa blo bzañ zes bya ba ||
'od zer drag ciñ riñ la sems || thub pa 'jig rten kun gyi mchog ||

I 44.

de'i 'og gi char legs skyas zes¹³ bya ba'i ston pa byon no || de'i yañ ñan thos kyi 'dus pa gsum du gyur te¹⁴ | 'dus pa dañ po la dge sloñ stoñ phrag drug cu'o¹⁵ || gñis pa la stoñ phrag lña bcu'o || gsum pa la stoñ phrag bži bcu'o || de'i tshe byañ chub sems dpa' 'khor los¹⁶ sgyur ba'i rgyal por gyur te | sañs rgyas byon zes thos nas ñe bar soñ ste | chos thos nas sañs rgyas la sogs pa'i dge 'dun la rin po che sna bdun dañ bcas pa'i gliñ chen po bži'i rgyal srid sbyin par btañ nas | ston pa'i druñ du rab tu byuñ ño¹⁷ || yul thams cad na gnas pa'i yul du skyas pa'i nor blañs nas gtsug lag khañ rnams rdzogs par bya ste | sañs rgyas la sogs pa'i dge sloñ rnams la sbyin pa chen po phul lo¹⁸ || de yañ ma 'oñs pa na ston pas sañs rgyas¹⁹ par 'gyur ro²⁰ zes luñ bstan no || bcom ldan 'das de'i groñ khyer ni bkra śis bzañ po zes

¹ SDN cu'i, QL bcu'i.

² LN skyabsu.

³ LN gnaso.

⁴ QLN rgyas, SD rgya.

⁵ SDQ bya ba'o, LN bya'o.

⁶ LN gnaso.

⁷ N mchogo.

⁸ SDQN omit, L śiñ.

⁹ SDQ nī pa, LN ni pa.

¹⁰ SDLN cu, Q bcu.

¹¹ L bryado.

¹² SQLN padma, D pad ma.

¹³ SDQ zes, LN omit.

¹⁴ SDL te, QN to.

¹⁵ SDLN cu'o, Q bcu'o.

¹⁶ DQ los, SLN lo.

¹⁷ N byuño.

¹⁸ N phulo.

¹⁹ DQLN rgyas, S rgya.

²⁰ L 'gyuro.

bya bar gyur to || yab ni drag po zes bya ba'i rgyal po'o || yum ni 'od ldan ma zes bya ba'o || blta na sdug dañ lha gñis ni ñan thos kyi mchog go || mi sbyin ni ñe gnas so¹ || glu ma dañ glu ma'i 'phreñ² ba dañ bcas pa ni ñan thos ma'i mchog go || byañ chub kyi śiñ ni 'od ma chen po'o || de'i nañ bug pa phra mo can no || (46b) sdoñ po ni sdug po'o || steñ na yul ga rma bya'i gdugs ltar mdzes pa'i 'dab ma can no || bcom ldan 'das de'i sku'i³ mtho tshad du khru lña bcu'o || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo stoñ phrag dgu bcu'o||

Bv XIII 1

sñiñ po'i bskal pa de ñid la || 'dren pa legs skyes zes bya ba ||
khyu mchog dpuñ pa señ ge'i 'gram || riñ la sems žiñ⁴ gžal du med ||

I 45.

de'i 'og gi char 'di nas bskal pa brgya⁵ dañ bco⁶ brgyad kyi 'go⁷ nas brtsams nas bskal pa gcig la dga' mthoñ dañ | don mthoñ dañ | chos mthoñ ste sañs rgyas gsum byon no⁸ || dga' mthoñ gi yañ ñan thos 'dus pa gsum du 'gyur⁹ te | 'dus pa dañ po la bye ba stoñ phrag brgya'i dge sloñ ño || gñis pa la bye ba dgu bcu'o || gsum pa la bye ba brgyad cu'o¹⁰ || de'i tshe byañ chub sems dpa' 'od sruñs¹¹ zes bya ba'i bram ze'i khye'ur gyur to || rig byed gsum gyi pha rol tu phyin nas ston pa'i chos bstan pa thos te bye ba stoñ phrag brgya'i nor yoñs su¹² btañ nas | {Pā39} dge 'dun gyi gtsug lag khañ byed ciñ skyabs su¹³ soñ nas tshul khrims la gnas so¹⁴ || de nas ston pas¹⁵ bskal pa¹⁶ brgya dañ bco¹⁷ brgyad 'das nas sañs rgyas su¹⁸ 'gyur ro¹⁹ zes luñ bstan no²⁰ || bcom ldan 'das de'i²¹ groñ khyer ni yid ldan zes bya bar gyur

¹ LN gnaso.

² S 'phreñ, DQLN phreñ.

³ SDQ sku'i, LN sku.

⁴ DQLN žiñ, S śiñ.

⁵ SDLN brgya, Q brgyad.

⁶ SN bco, D bcwa, QL bcwo.

⁷ S 'go, DQLN mgo.

⁸ L byono.

⁹ SDQ 'gyur, LN gyur.

¹⁰ SDLN cu'o, Q bcu'o.

¹¹ S 'od sruñs, NL 'od bsruñs, D 'od sruñ, Q 'od bsruñ. Qāli: Kassapa, cf. Mvy no. 93*(12) Kāśyapa = 'Od sruñs, and no. 1031 (2) Kāśyapa = 'Od bsruñ.

¹² LN yoñsu.

¹³ LN skyabsu.

¹⁴ LN gnaso.

¹⁵ SDLN pas, Q pa.

¹⁶ SDLN pa, Q pas.

¹⁷ SLN bco, D bcwa, Q bcwo.

¹⁸ LN rgyasu.

¹⁹ L 'gyuro.

²⁰ L bstano.

²¹ SDQ de'i, LN de yi.

to || yab ni legs sbyin zes bya ba'i rgyal po'o || yum ni zla ba ma zes bya'o¹ || bskyañs pa dañ kun mthoñ gñis ni ñan thos kyi mchog go² || mdzes byed ni ñe gnas so³ || legs skyes ma dañ chos sbyin ma (47a) gñis ni ñan thos ma'i mchog go⁴ || byañ chub kyi śiñ ni pri yañ ku'i⁵ śiñ ño⁶ || sku'i mtho tshad du khru brgyad cu'o⁷ || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo stoñ phrag dgu bcu'o ||

Bv XIV 1

legs skyes kyi ni 'og tu ni || rañ byuñ 'jig rten 'dren pa ñid ||
mtshuñs dañ mi mtshuñs riñ du sems || dga' mthoñ grags pa chen po'o ||

I46.

de'i 'og gi char bcom ldan 'das don mthoñ zes bya ba byon no⁸ || de'i yañ ñan thos kyi 'dus pa gsum du 'gyur⁹ te | 'dus pa dañ po la 'bum phrag dgu bcu rtsa brgyad kyi dge sloñ ño¹⁰ || gñis pa la 'bum phrag brgyad cu¹¹ rtsa brgyad do¹² || de bzin du gsum pa la yañ ño || de'i tshe byañ chub sems dpa' mtshams¹³ bzañ zes bya ba rdzu 'phrul dañ ldan pa'i dka' thub par gyur to || lha'i 'jig rten gyi man dā ra ba'i¹⁴ me tog gi gdugs blañs nas ston pa la mchod do || de yañ des luñ bstan to || bcom ldan 'das de'i groñ khyer ni mdzes byed ces bya bar gyur to || yab ni rgya mtsho zes bya ba'i rgyal po'o || yum ni blta na sdug ma'o || ži ba dañ ñe bar ži ba ni ñan thos kyi mchog go¹⁵ || 'jigs med ni ñe gnas so¹⁶ || chos ma dañ chos bzañ ma ni ñan¹⁷ thos ma'i mchog go || byañ chub kyi śiñ ni tsam pa ka'i śiñ ño || sku'i¹⁸ mtho tshad du khru brgyad cu¹⁹ rtsa brgyad do || sku'i 'od kun nas 'khor ba la dus thams cad du dpag tshad gcig gi bar du khyab ciñ gnas so²⁰ || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo 'bum phrag gcig go ||

Bv XV 1

¹ SLN bya'o, DQ bya ba'o.

² LN mchogo.

³ LN gnaso.

⁴ N mchogo.

⁵ SN pri yañ ku'i, D pri yam ku'i, Q pri yam gu'i, L pri yañ klu'i.

⁶ N śiño.

⁷ DLN cu'o, Q bcu'o, S cu pa'o.

⁸ N byono.

⁹ SDQ 'gyur, LN gyur.

¹⁰ N sloño.

¹¹ SDLN cu, Q bcu.

¹² N brgyado.

¹³ SDQ mtshams, LN 'tshams.

¹⁴ S manda ra ba'i, DQ man dā ra ba'i, LN man da ra ba'i.

¹⁵ N mchogo.

¹⁶ N gnaso.

¹⁷ SDQL ñan. N can.

¹⁸ SDQ sku'i, LN sku.

¹⁹ SDLN cu, Q bcu.

²⁰ N gnaso.

sñiñ po'i bskal pa de ñid la || don mthoñ mi yi¹ khyu² mchog (47b) ni ||
mun pa chen po bsal nas ni || yañ dag byañ chub mchog thob bo³ ||

I 47.

de'i 'og gi char chos mthoñ zes bya ba'i ston pa byon no || de'i yañ ñan thos kyi⁴ 'dus pa gsum du
'gyur⁵ te | 'dus pa dañ po la bye ba brgya'i dge sloñ ño⁶ || gñis pa la bye ba bdun cu'o⁷ || gsum pa la
bye ba brgyad cu'o⁸ || de'i tshe byañ chub sems dpa' lha'i⁹ rgyal po brgya byin du gyur to¹⁰ | lha'i
dri bzañ dañ | me tog dañ | lha'i rol mo mams kyis mchod de | de yañ ma 'oñs pa na sañs rgyas¹¹ bar
luñ bstan to || bcom ldan 'das de'i groñ khyer ni skyabs zes bya bar gyur to || yab ni skyabs kyi rgyal
po zes bya'o || yum ni śin tu dga' ma zes bya ba'o || padma¹² dañ lhar gyur pa ni ñan thos kyi mchog
go¹³ || legs spyān zes bya ba ni ñe gnas so¹⁴ || dge ma dañ bden ma zes bya ba ni ñan thos ma'i mchog
go || byañ chub kyi śiñ ni bim pa dzā la'i¹⁵ śiñ ño || sku'i mtho tshad du khru brgyad cu'o¹⁶ || sku tshe'i
tshad ni lo 'bum phrag gcig go ||

Bv XVI 1

sñiñ po'i bskal pa de ñid la || chos mthoñ grags pa chen po yis ||
mun pa chen po bcom nas ni || lha dañ bcas pa snañ bar mdzad ||

I 48.

{Pā40} de'i 'og gi char 'di nas bskal pa dgu bcu rtsa bzi nas 'go¹⁷ brtsams nas bskal pa gcig la don
grub zes¹⁸ bya ba'i sañs rgyas gcig byon no || de'i¹⁹ yañ ñan thos kyi 'dus pa gsum du 'gyur²⁰ te || 'dus
pa dañ po la bye ba 'bum phrag gcig gi dge sloñ ño²¹ || gñis pa la bye ba dgu bcu'o || (48a) gsum pa la

¹ SDQ mi yi, LN mi'i.

² SDQN khyu, L mkhyu.

³ L thobo.

⁴ S kyi, DQLN omit.

⁵ SDQL 'gyur, N gyur.

⁶ L sloño.

⁷ SDLN cu'o, Q bcu'o.

⁸ SDLN cu'o, Q bcu'o.

⁹ SDQ lha'i, LN lha yi.

¹⁰ DQ to, SLN te.

¹¹ LN rgyas, SDQ rgya.

¹² SQLN padma, D pad ma.

¹³ LN mchogo.

¹⁴ N gnaso.

¹⁵ S pim pa dzā la'i, DQ bim pa dzā la'i, LN pim ba dzā la'i.

¹⁶ SDN bcu'o, QL bcu'o.

¹⁷ S 'go, DQLN mgo.

¹⁸ DQLN zes, S ces.

¹⁹ SDQ de'i, LN de yi.

²⁰ SDQ 'gyur, LN gyur.

²¹ N sloño.

bye ba bryad cu'o¹ || de'i tshe byañ chub sems dpa' gzi brjid drag po dañ | mñon par šes pa'i stobs
 dañ ldan pa'i dka' thub pa bkra šis bzañ po žes bya bar gyur to || šin 'dzam bu chen po'i 'bras bu blañs
 nas de bžin gšegs pa la phul lo² || ston pas 'bras bu de gsol nas bskal pa dgu bcu rtsa bži'i 'og tu byañ
 chub sems dpa' ma 'oñs pa na sañs rgyas su³ 'gyur ro⁴ žes luñ bstan no⁵ || bcom ldan 'das de'i groñ
 khyer ni bai bhā ra⁶ žes bya bar gyur to || yab ni rgyal ba'i sde žes bya ba'i rgyal po'o || yum ni legs
 gyur ma žes bya ba'o || mañ du 'byuñ dañ bšes gñen bzañ po⁷ ni⁸ ñan thos kyi mchog go || nam gru
 can ni ñe gnas so⁹ || ži byed len ma dañ legs brtan ma ni ñan thos ma'i mchog go || byañ chub kyi šin
 ni karni ka'i¹⁰ šin ño || sku'i mtho tshad ni khru drug cu'o¹¹ || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo 'bum phrag gcig go ||

Bv XVII 1

chos mthoñ gi ni 'og ñid du || 'jig rten 'dren pa don grub kyis¹² ||
 mun pa thams cad bcom nas ni || nam mkha'¹³ ñi ma šar ba bžin ||

I 49.

de'i 'og gi char 'di nas bskal pa 'bum phrag dgu bcu rtsa gñis nas 'go¹⁴ brtsams nas bskal pa gcig la
 dkar rgyal dañ | gyur pa žes bya ba'i sañs rgyas gñis byon no || bcom ldan 'das dkar rgyal de'i yañ
 'dus pa gsum du 'gyur¹⁵ te | 'dus pa dañ po la bye ba brya'i dge sloñ ño || gñis pa la bye ba dgu bcu'o
 || gsum pa la bye ba bryad cu'o¹⁶ || de'i tshe (48b) byañ chub sems dpa' loñs spyod chen po dañ |
 grags pa chen po dañ ldan pa'i legs skyes žes bya ba'i rgyal rigs su¹⁷ gyur pa | dka' thub pa'i rab tu
 byuñ ba la rab tu byuñ nas rdzu 'phrul dañ ldan par gyur te | sañs rgyas byon pa thos nas lha'i me tog
 man dā ra ba¹⁸ dañ | padma¹⁹ dañ | pā ri ccha ttra'i²⁰ me tog rnam blañs nas 'khor bži'i nañ du gšegs

¹ SDLN cu'o, Q bcu'o.

² N phulo.

³ N rgyasu.

⁴ L 'gyuro.

⁵ LN bstano.

⁶ SDLN bai bhā ra, Q be bhā ra.

⁷ SDQ po, LN po'i.

⁸ SDQ ni, LN omit.

⁹ LN gnaso.

¹⁰ SDLN karni ka'i, Q kani ka'i.

¹¹ SDLN cu'o, Q bcu'o.

¹² SLN kyis, DQ kyi.

¹³ S nam mkha', DQ nam khar, L namkha, N namkha'.

¹⁴ S 'go, DQLN mgo.

¹⁵ DQ 'gyur, SLN gyur.

¹⁶ SDN cu'o, QL bcu'o.

¹⁷ LN rigsu.

¹⁸ S manda ra ba, DQ man dā ra ba, LN man da ra ba.

¹⁹ SQLN padma, D pad ma.

²⁰ S pā ri ccha ttri'i, DQLN pā ri ccha ttra'i.

pa'i de bzin gsegs pa la mchod nas | nam mkha'¹ me tog gi bla res bres so² || sañs rgyas des yañ³ 'di nas bskal pa dgu bcu rtsa gñis nas sañs rgya bar⁴ 'gyur ro⁵ zes luñ bstan to⁶ || bcom ldan 'das de'i groñ khyer ni dge ma zes bya ba'o⁷ || yab ni skye bo dad pa can zes bya ba'i rgyal po'i rigs so⁸ || yum ni padma⁹ zes bya ba'o || tshañs pa'i lha dañ 'char byed ni ñan thos kyi mchog go¹⁰ || yañ dag mchog ni ñe gnas so¹¹ || myur ma dañ legs sbyin ma ni ñan thos ma'i mchog go¹² || byañ chub kyi śiñ ni a sa na'i śiñ ño || sku'i mtho tshad la khru drug cu'o¹³ || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo 'bum phrag gcig go¹⁴ ||

Bv XVIII 1

don grub kyi ni 'og ñid du || gañ zag zla med mtshuñs med pa ||
tshul khirms dpag med mtha' yas grags || 'jig rten 'dren pa dka'¹⁵ rgyal mchog ||

I 50.

de'i 'og gi char gyur pa zes bya ba'i ston pa byon no¹⁶ || de'i yañ 'dus pa gsum du 'gyur¹⁷ te | 'dus pa dañ po la 'bum phrag drug cu'i¹⁸ dge sloñ ño¹⁹ || gñis pa la 'bum phrag lña bcu'o || gsum pa la 'bum phrag sum cu'²⁰ rtsa gñis so²¹ || de'i tshe byañ chub sems dpa' rnam par (49a) rgyal²² byed zes²³ bya ba'i rgyal rigs su²⁴ gyur te²⁵ || rgyal po chen po'i rgyal rigs spañs nas ni ston pa'i druñ du rab tu byuñ ste | sde snod gsum {Pā41} bslibs nas skye bo mañ po la dam pa'i chos ston ciñ 'chad pa dañ | tshul khirms kyi pha rol tu phyin pa rdzogs par byas nas de yañ de bzin du 'tshañ rgya bar 'gyur ro zes luñ

¹ LN namkha'i.

² N breso.

³ DQLN yañ, S kyañ.

⁴ S sañs rgya bar, DQLN 'tshañ rgya bar.

⁵ LN 'gyuro.

⁶ LN bstanno.

⁷ SD bya ba'o, QLN bya'o.

⁸ LN rigso.

⁹ SQLN padma, D pad ma.

¹⁰ LN mchogo.

¹¹ LN gnaso.

¹² N mchogo.

¹³ SDLN cu'o, Q bcu'o.

¹⁴ N gcigo.

¹⁵ DQL dka', SN dkar.

¹⁶ L byono.

¹⁷ DQ 'gyur, SLN gyur.

¹⁸ SDN cu'i, QL bcu'i.

¹⁹ N sloño.

²⁰ SDN cu, QL bcu.

²¹ N gñiso.

²² SDLN rgyal, Q omits.

²³ DQL zes, SN ces.

²⁴ N rigsu.

²⁵ DQ te, SLN to.

bstan to || bcom ldan 'das de'i groñ khyer ni gsal ldan zes bya bar gyur to || yab ni rgyal ba'i sde zes bya ba'i rgyal po'o || yum ni dpal ldan ma zes bya'o || legs bsruñs¹ dañ chos kyi sde ni ñan thos kyi mchog go || 'jigs bcas ni ñe gnas so² || 'phreñ³ ba ma dañ ñe ba'i 'phreñ⁴ ba ma ni ñan thos ma'i mchog go || byañ chub kyi śiñ ni skyu ru ra'i śiñ ño || sku'i mtho tshad du khru lña bcu rtsa brgyad do || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo stoñ phrag dgu bcu'o ||

Bv XIX 1

sñiñ po'i bskal pa de ñid la || ston pa bla na med par gyur ||
mtshuñs dañ mi mtshuñs dpe med pa || 'jig rten mchog gi 'dren par gyur ||

I 51.

de'i 'og gi char 'di nas bskal pa dgu bcu rtsa gcig la bcom ldan 'das rnam par gzigs zes bya ba byon no || de'i yañ 'dus pa gsum du gyur te | 'dus pa dañ po la dge sloñ 'bum phrag dgu bcu rtsa brgyad do || gñis pa la 'bum phrag gcig go || gsum pa la stoñ phrag brgyad cu'o⁵ || de'i tshe byañ chub sems dpa' rdzu 'phrul ldan žiñ mthu che bas mtshuñs pa med pa'i klu'i rgyal por gyur te | rin po che sna bdun gyis brgyan pa'i gser (49b) gyi ba dan chen po bcom ldan 'das la phul lo || des yañ 'di nas bskal pa dgu bcu rtsa gcig nas⁶ sañs rgyas⁷ bar 'gyur ro⁸ zes luñ bstan no || bcom ldan 'das de'i groñ khyer ni blo gros gñen zes bya bar gyur to || yab ni gñen gyi rgyal po zes bya ba'o || yum ni blo gros gñen ma zes bya ba'o || phuñ po dañ dkar rgyal ni ñan thos kyi mchog go⁹ || mya ñan med ni ñe gnas so¹⁰ || zla ba ma dañ zla ba'i bśes gñen ma ni ñan thos ma'i mchog go || byañ chub kyi śiñ ni pā ṭi li'i¹¹ śiñ ño || sku'i¹² mtho tshad du khru brgyad cu'o¹³ || sku'i 'od la rtag tu dpag tshad bdun du 'phro žiñ gnas so¹⁴ || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo¹⁵ stoñ phrag brgyad cu'o¹⁶ ||

Bv XX 1

gyur pa yi ni 'og tu ni || rkañ gñis mchog gi rdzogs sañs rgyas ||
mtshan ni rnam par gzigs zes bya || spyān ldan 'jig rten bskyed pa'o ||

¹ SLN bsruñs, D bsrañs, Q bsruñ.

² N gnaso.

³ S 'phreñ, DQLN phreñ.

⁴ S 'phreñ, DQLN phreñ.

⁵ SDLN cu'o, Q bcu'o.

⁶ DQLN nas, S na.

⁷ QLN rgyas, SD rgya.

⁸ L 'gyuro.

⁹ LN mchogo.

¹⁰ L gnaso.

¹¹ SQ pā ḍi li'i, D pā ṭi li'i, LN pā ḍi la'i.

¹² SDQL sku'i, N sku.

¹³ SDLN cu'o, Q bcu'o.

¹⁴ N gnaso.

¹⁵ SDQN lo, L la.

¹⁶ SDLN cu'o, Q bcu'o

I 52.

de'i 'og gi char 'di nas bskal pa sum cu¹ rtsa gñis nas gtsug tor can dañ | thams cad skyob ces pa'i sañs rgyas gñis² byon no || gtsug tor can gyi yañ ñan thos kyi 'dus pa gsum du 'gyur³ te | 'dus pa dañ po la 'bum phrag gcig gi dge sloñ ño || gñis pa la 'bum phrag brgyad cu'o⁴ || gsum pa la 'bum phrag bcu'o || de'i tshe byañ chub sems dpa' sgra'i dbañ po zes bya ba'i rgyal por gyur te | sañs rgyas dañ bcas pa'i dge 'dun rnams la chos gos dañ bcas pa'i sbyin pa chen po phul lo⁵ || rin po che sna bdun gyis⁶ so sor brgyan pa'i (50a) glañ po che phul nas | glañ po che'i tshad tsam ri žiñ ruñ ba'i yo byad rnams phul lo || des yañ 'di nas bskal pa sum cu⁷ rtsa gcig nas sañs rgyas su 'gyur ro⁸ zes luñ bstan to || gžan yañ bcom ldan 'das de'i groñ khyer ni skya reñs⁹ ldan zes bya¹⁰ bar gyur to || yab ni skya reñs ldan zes bya ba'i rgyal po'o || yum ni 'od ldan ma¹¹ zes bya ba'o¹² || mñon 'byuñ dañ yañ dag 'byuñ¹³ ni ñan thos kyi mchog go || dge bar byed pa ni ñe gnas so¹⁴ || ma gi la dañ pad ma¹⁵ ni ñan thos ma'i mchog go || byañ chub kyi śiñ ni puñ ḍa rī ka'i¹⁶ śiñ ño || {Pā42} sku'i mtho tshad du khru sum cu¹⁷ rtsa bdun du 'gyur ro¹⁸ || sku'i 'od dpag tshad gsum du 'phro žiñ gnas so¹⁹ || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo stoñ phrag sum cu²⁰ rtsa bdun no ||

Bv XXI 1

rnam par gzigs kyi 'og tu ni || rkañ gñis mchog gi rdzogs sañs rgyas ||
mtshuñs med rgyal ba gtsug tor can || gañ zag zla med mtshuñs med do ||

I 53.

de'i 'og gi char thams cad skyob ces²¹ bya ba'i sañs rgyas byon no²² || de'i²³ yañ 'dus pa gsum du

¹ SDLN cu, Q bcu.² SLN gñis, DQ omit.³ SDQ 'gyur, LN gyur.⁴ SDLN bcu'o, Q bcu'o.⁵ N phulo.⁶ DQLN gyis, S gyi.⁷ SDLN cu, Q bcu.⁸ L rgyasu 'gyuro.⁹ SDQ reñs, LN reñ.¹⁰ DQ bya, SLN omit.¹¹ SDQ ma, LN omit.¹² SDLN ba'o, Q bya'o.¹³ SDLN 'byuñ, Q byuñ.¹⁴ LN gnaso.¹⁵ SLN padma.¹⁶ SLN puñḍa ri ka'i, D puñ ḍa rī ka'i, Q puñ ḍa ra ki'i.¹⁷ SDLN cu, Q bcu.¹⁸ L 'gyuro.¹⁹ L gnaso.²⁰ SDN cu, QL bcu.²¹ SDQL ces, N zes.²² L byono.

'gyur¹ te | 'dus pa dañ po la 'bum phrag brgyad cu'i² dge sloñ ño || gñis pa la 'bum phrag sum cu³ rtsa bdun no || gsum pa la 'bum phrag drug cu'o⁴ || de'i tshe byañ chub sems dpa' blta na sdug ces bya ba'i rgyal por gyur te | sañs rgyas la sogs pa'i dge 'dun la chos gos dañ bcas pa'i sbyin pa chen po phul nas de'i druñ du rab tu byuñ ste | spyod pa dañ | yon tan dañ ldan pas sañs rgyas dkon mchog (50b) la ri mor byas te dga' bar gyur to⁵ || de yañ bcom ldan 'das kyis 'di nas bskal pa sum cu⁶ rtsa gcig nas sañs rgyas su 'gyur ro⁷ zes⁸ luñ bstan to || gzan yañ bcom ldan 'das de'i groñ khyer ni yid ldan zes bya bar gyur to || yab ni legs par gnas zes bya ba'i rgyal po'o || yum ni grags ldan ma zes bya ba'o || ñan pa dañ mchog ni ñan thos kyi mchog go⁹ || ñe bar zi ba ni ñe gnas so¹⁰ || 'phreñ¹¹ ba ma dañ 'phreñ¹² ba dañ bcas pa ma ni ñan thos ma'i mchog go¹³ || byañ chub kyi śiñ ni sā la'i¹⁴ śiñ ño || sku'i mtho tshad ni khru drug cur 'gyur ro¹⁵ || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo¹⁶ stoñ phrag drug¹⁷ cu'o¹⁸ ||

Bv XXII 1

sñiñ po'i bskal pa de ñid la || gañ zag zla med mtshuñs pa med ||
mtshan ni thams cad skyob ces pa || rgyal ba de ni 'jig rten bskyed ||

I 54.

de'i yañ 'og gi char bskal pa 'di la¹⁹ sañs rgyas bzi byon no²⁰ || log par²¹ dad sel dañ | gser thub dañ | 'od sruñs²² dañ | bdag cag gi bcom ldan 'das so²³ || gzan yañ bcom ldan 'das log par²⁴ dad sel gyi ñan

²³ SDQ de'i, LN de.

¹ DQ 'gyur, SLN gyur.

² SDN cu'i, QL bcu'i.

³ SDLN cu, Q bcu.

⁴ SDLN cu'o, Q bcu'o.

⁵ SDLN 'gyur to, Q byed to.

⁶ SDLN cu, Q bcu.

⁷ LN rgyasu 'gyuro.

⁸ SQLN zes, D zas.

⁹ L mchogo.

¹⁰ LN gnaso.

¹¹ SQ 'phreñ. DLN phreñ.

¹² S 'phreñ, DQLN phreñ.

¹³ N mchogo.

¹⁴ SDLN sā la'i, Q sa la'i.

¹⁵ L 'gyuro.

¹⁶ D lo, SQLN omit.

¹⁷ SDQ drug, LN dgu.

¹⁸ SD cu'o, QLN bcu'o.

¹⁹ SDQ la, LN las.

²⁰ L byono.

²¹ D par, SQLN pa.

²² S 'od sruñs, DQLN 'od bsruñ.

²³ L 'daso.

²⁴ D par, SQLN pa.

thos kyi 'dus pa ni gcig go¹ || de la stoñ phrag bži bcu'i dge sloñ no² || de'i tshe byañ chub sems dpa'
dge ba zes bya ba'i rgyal por gyur to || sañs rgyas la sogs pa dge 'dun la lhuñ bzed chos gos dañ bcas
pa'i sbyin pa ñid dañ | mig sman dañ | sman la sogs pa phul nas ston pa'i chos bstan pa thos nas rab tu
byuñ no³ || de yañ ston pas luñ bstan to || gžan yañ bcom ldan 'das log par⁴ dad sel (51a) de'i groñ
khyer dge ba zes bya bar 'gyur ro⁵ || yab ni me⁶ sbyin bram ze⁷ zes bya ba'o || yum ni bram ze mo
grog ma'o || bi dhu ra⁸ dañ yañ dag 'tsho ni ñan thos kyi mchog go⁹ || bram ze blo gros ni ñe gnas
so¹⁰ || mñam byed dañ tsam pa ka ni ñan thos ma'i mchog go¹¹ || byañ chub kyi śiñ ni śiñ śi ri śa¹² chen
po'o || sku¹³ mtho tshad la khru bži bcur 'gyur ro¹⁴ || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo stoñ phrag bži bcu'o ||

Bv XXIII 1

thams cad skyob kyi 'og tu ni || rkañ gñis mchog gi rdzogs sañs rgyas ||
mtshan ni log par¹⁵ dad sel zes || gžal med riñ la sems dpa' 'o¹⁶ ||

I 55. .

{Pā43} de'i 'og gi char ston pa gser thub ces bya ba byon no¹⁷ || de'i yañ ñan thos kyi 'dus pa gcig ste |
de la stoñ phrag sum cu'i¹⁸ dge sloñ du 'gyur ro¹⁹ || de'i tshe byañ chub sems dpa' ri zes bya ba'i rgyal
por gyur to || blon po'i tshogs²⁰ mañ po dañ²¹ 'khor dañ bcas pa chos bstan pa thos nas | sañs rgyas la
sogs pa'i dge sloñ gi dge 'dun rnams mgron²² du gñer nas sbyin pa chen po phul te ston pa'i druñ du
soñ ste | lhuñ bzed dañ | rgya'i²³ dar dañ²⁴ | groñ khyer gsal ldan gyi yul gyi²⁵ ras dañ | la ba dañ | du

¹ LN gcigo.

² L sloño.

³ LN byuño.

⁴ D par, SLN pa.

⁵ DQN 'gyur ro, S 'gyur to, L gyuro.

⁶ DQLN me, S mi.

⁷ D ze, SLN ze'i.

⁸ SDLN bi dhu ra, Q bhi dhu ra.

⁹ L mchogo.

¹⁰ L gnaso.

¹¹ L mchogo.

¹² SDQN śi ri śa, L śi ri śa.

¹³ SDQ sku, LN sku'i.

¹⁴ SDQ 'gyur ro, LN gyur to.

¹⁵ D par, SQLN pa.

¹⁶ S dpa' 'o, DQLN pa'o.

¹⁷ L byono.

¹⁸ SDLN cu'i, Q bcu'i.

¹⁹ DQ 'gyur ro, S gyur to, LN gyuro.

²⁰ SQLN tshogs, D tshegs.

²¹ SLN dañ, DQ omit.

²² SD mgron, QLN 'gron.

²³ SDLN rgya'i, Q rgyal.

²⁴ SDQL dañ, N omits.

ku la'i¹ ras dañ | dar gos gser ma rnam phul te | ston pa'i druñ du rab tu byuñ ño² || de yañ sañs rgyas su³ 'gyur bar luñ bstan no⁴ || bcom ldan 'das de'i groñ khyer ni mdzes ldan zes bya bar 'gyur ro⁵ || yab ni gnod sbyin zes bya ba'i bram ze'o || yum ni mchog ma zes bya ba'i bram (51b) ze mo'o⁶ || 'jigs byed dañ mchog ni ñan thos kyi mchog go⁷ || bkra śis zes bya ba ni ñe gnas so⁸ || rgya mtsho ma dañ mchog ma ni ñan thos ma'i mchog go⁹ || byañ chub kyi śiñ ni u dum bā ra'i¹⁰ śiñ ño || sku'i mtho tshad la khru ñi śu'o || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo stoñ phrag sum cu'o¹¹ ||

Bv XXIV 1

log par dad sel 'og tu ni || rkañ gñis mchog gi rdzogs sañs rgyas ||
mtshan ni rgyal ba gser thub bo¹² || mi yi¹³ khyu mchog 'jig rten gtso ||

I 56.

de'i 'og gi char 'od sruñs¹⁴ zes bya ba'i ston pa byon no || de'i¹⁵ yañ 'dus pa gcig ste | de la dge sloñ stoñ phrag ñi śu'o || de'i tshe byañ chub sems dpa' 'od bskyor zes bya ba'i bram ze'i khye'ur gyur nas | rig byed gsum¹⁶ gyi pha rol tu¹⁷ son te¹⁸ | sa dañ bar snañ¹⁹ thams cad la grags so²⁰ || bum pa byed pa'i rdza mkhan gyi grogs por gyur to || byañ chub sems dpa' rdza mkhan dañ 'grogs te ston pa'i druñ du ñe bar²¹ soñ ste | chos kyi gtam thos nas rab tu byuñ ño²² || brtson 'grus cher bskyed nas sde snod gsum bslabs te spyod pa dañ ldan pas²³ sañs rgyas kyi bstan pa mdzes par byed do || de yañ ston pas

²⁵ DQLN yul gyi, S yum gyi.

¹ SDLN du ku la'i, Q ru ku la'.

² L byuño.

³ LN rgyasu.

⁴ L bstano.

⁵ DQ 'gyur ro, S gyur to, LN gyuro.

⁶ SDQ mo'o, LN ma'o.

⁷ LN mchogo.

⁸ LN gnaso.

⁹ L mchogo.

¹⁰ S u dum wa ra'i, D u dum bā ra'i, Q u dum ba ra'i, LN u dum ba ri.

¹¹ SDLN cu'o, Q bcu'o.

¹² L thubo.

¹³ SD mi yi, QLN mi'i.

¹⁴ S 'od sruñs, DQ 'od sruñ, LN 'od bsruñs.

¹⁵ SDQ de'i, LN de.

¹⁶ SDQN gsum, L gsu.

¹⁷ SQLN tu, D du.

¹⁸ DQLN te, S to.

¹⁹ SDQ snañ, LN nañ.

²⁰ LN gragso.

²¹ DQLN ñe bar, S omits.

²² L byuño.

²³ DQLN pas, S pa.

luñ bstan no || bcom ldan 'das de'i bltam pa'i bar¹ groñ khyer ni bā rā ña si² zes bya ba'o³ || yab ni tshañs byin zes bya ba'i bram ze'o || yum ni 'byor ldan ma zes bya ba'i bram ze mo'o || dkar rgyal dañ bhā ra dhā dza⁴ ni ñan thos kyi mchog go⁵ || thams cad bses gñen ni ñe gnas so⁶ || rjes su⁷ len ma dañ stoñ rgyal⁸ ma ni ñan (52a) thos ma'i mchog go⁹ || byañ chub kyi śiñ ni nya gro dha'i¹⁰ śiñ ño || sku'i mtho tshad du khru ñi śu par gyur to || sku tshe'i tshad ni¹¹ lo stoñ phrag ñi śu'o ||

Bv XXV 1

gser thub kyi ni 'og tu ni || rkañ gñis mchog gi rdzogs sañs rgyas ||
mtshan ni rgyal ba 'od sruñ ño || chos kyi rgyal po¹² 'od mdzad do ||

I 57.

gžan yañ bska¹³ pa gañ la stobs bcu dañ ldan pa'i mar me mdzad pa de la || gžan yañ sañs rgyas gsum byon par gyur te¹⁴ | de mams kyi druñ du byañ chub sems dpa' luñ ma bstan no¹⁵ || {Pā44} de'i phyir 'dir yañ ma bstan te | gžan yañ don gyi gtam 'dis¹⁶ 'di'i bska pa nas bzun¹⁷ nas sañs rgyas thams cad mthoñ pa'i don du 'dir bśad do ||

I 58.

Bv XXVII 1b-c,

sred mdzad dañ ni blo gros mdzad || de nas skyabs ni mdzad pa yin ||
mar me mdzad ni rdzogs sañs rgyas || rkañ gñis mchog ni kō ñi nya¹⁸ ||

Bv XXVII 5a, 7a

bkra śis dañ ni thugs bzañ dañ || thub pa nam gru mdzes byed dañ ||
thugs ldan mthoñ dañ pad ma¹⁹ dañ || mi sbyin dañ ni pad ma'i²⁰ mchog²¹ |

¹ SLN bar, DQ omit.

² DQ bā rā ña si, S wā rā ña si, LN bā ra na si. Pāli: Bārāṇasī, cf. Mvy no. 4104 (2) Bārāṇasī = Vā rā ña si.

³ SDLN ba'o, Q bya'o.

⁴ SN bhā ra dhā dza, D bhā ra dhwa rdza, QL bhā ra dhō rdza.

⁵ L mchogo.

⁶ LN gnaso.

⁷ N rjesu.

⁸ N rgyas.

⁹ L mchogo.

¹⁰ S nya gro dha'i, DQ nya gro ta'i, LN nya dro ta'i.

¹¹ DQLN ni, S omits.

¹² DQ po, SLN ba.

¹³ SQN bska, L skal.

¹⁴ SDQ te, LN to.

¹⁵ N bstano.

¹⁶ SLN 'dis, DQ omit.

¹⁷ SDL bzun, Q gsuñ, N gzuñ.

¹⁸ DLN kō ñi nya, S ko'u ñi nya, Q kō ñi ña.

¹⁹ SQLN padma, D pad ma.

Bv XXVII 11b¹

blo gros bzañ dañ legs skyes dañ² || grags chen blta na sdug pa dañ ||
don mthoñ dañ ni chos mthoñ dañ || 'jig rten 'dren pa don grub dañ ||

Bv XXVII 18b

rdzogs sañs rgyas ni dkar³ rgyal gyur || rnam⁴ gzigs gstug tor thams cad skyob |
log pa⁵ dad⁶ sel dañ⁷ gser thub dañ || 'dren pa 'od sruñ⁸ zes bya'o ||

Bv I 217b; XI 30b; XVIII 26b; XX 34b

yañ dag rdzogs sañs rgyas⁹ de¹⁰ rnams ni || mñam par b'zag¹¹ ciñ 'dod chags bcom ||
'od (52b) zer¹² brgya pa b'zin du 'khuñs || mun pa chen po rnam par 'joms¹³ ||
me yi phuñ po b'zin du 'bar || ñan thos dañ bcas mya ñan 'das ||

I 59.

de la bdag¹⁴ cag gi byañ chub sems dpa' mar me mdzad la sogs pa'i sañs rgyas ñi šu rtsa b'zi'i druñ du
smon lam btab nas bskal pa grañs med pa b'zi dañ 'bum phrag gcig¹⁵ lhag pa¹⁶ nas byon no || g'zan yañ
bcom ldan 'das 'od sruñs¹⁷ de'i 'og gi char gnas te yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i sañs rgyas 'di las sañs
rgyas¹⁸ g'zan med do zes mar me mdzad la sogs pa'i sañs rgyas ñi šu rtsa b'zi'i druñ du luñ bstan pa
thob bo || g'zan yañ byañ chub sems dpa' gañ des |

²⁰ SQLN padma'i, D pad ma'i.

²¹ SDLN mchog, Q mdog.

¹ *Jātakanidāna* text: Sumedho ca Sujāto ca Piyadassi mahāyaso; Bv XXVII 11b: Sumedho ca Sujāto ca oraso Padumuttarā.

² SDLN legs skyes dañ, Q lags bzañ gyis.

³ SDLN dkar, Q dgar.

⁴ SDQ rnam, LN rnams.

⁵ S pa, DQLN omit.

⁶ SDLN dad, Q dañ.

⁷ SDLN dañ, Q dad.

⁸ DQLN sru, S sruñs.

⁹ S rgyas, DQLN omit.

¹⁰ DQLN de, S omits.

¹¹ DQLN b'zag, S g'zag.

¹² SDLN zer, Q gzer.

¹³ SDQN 'joms, L 'dzoms.

¹⁴ DQLN bdag, S dag.

¹⁵ SDLN gcig, Q omits.

¹⁶ SDQ pa, LN pas.

¹⁷ S 'od sruñs, DQLN 'od sruñ.

¹⁸ SDQ 'di las sañs rgyas, LN omit.

Bv II 58

mi yi¹ bdag ñid rtags dañ ldan || sgyu dañ ston pa'i lta² ba dañ ||
 rab tu byuñ žiñ yon tan ldan || gži³ rnams dañ ni 'dun pa dañ ||
 chos brgyad po ni tshogs pa dañ || smon lam rnams ni yañ dag rdzogs ||

chos brgyad po 'di rnams tshogs par byas nas mar me mdzad kyi žabs druñ du smon lam btab ciñ sañs
 rgyas su⁴ byed pa'i chos 'di rnams gañ dañ gañ du tshol ba'i spro ba skyes so⁵ || btsal ba de rnams
 mthoñ ba nas⁶ || dañ po sbyin pa'i pha rol phyin || sbyin pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa la sogs pas sañs rgyas
 thob par byed pa'i chos rdzogs par byed pa ñid thams cad sgrol gyi bdag ñid byon no⁷ || byon nas gañ
 de rnams byas pa'i smon lam byañ chub sems dpa' rnams kyis phan yon bñags par mdzad do⁸ ||

Unidentified verses

de bžin yan lag thams cad (53a) ldan || mi yi⁹ byañ chub ñes pa dañ ||
 'khor ba yun riñ¹⁰ gži med pa || bskal pa bye ba brgya ñid dam ||

mnar med du ni mi skye'o || de bžin du ni 'jig rten par ||
 bkres¹¹ skom sred dañ 'bar ba dañ || yan lag thams cad mi 'chad 'gyur ||
 srog chags phra mor mi 'gyur žiñ || ñan 'gro rnams su skye mi 'gyur || {Pā 45}

mi ru skyes par gyur pa na || de ni dmus¹² loñ mi 'gyur žiñ ||
 'on par yañ ni mi 'gyur la || lkugs¹³ dañ gžogs¹⁴ phyed na mi 'gyur ||

bud med du ni skye mi 'gyur || za ma ma niñ mtshan gñis dañ ||
 mtha¹⁵ 'khor tu ni skye mi 'gyur || mi yi byañ chub ñes¹⁶ pa yin ||

mtshams med pa las grol ba dañ || dag pa'i spyod yul thams cad du ||
 log pa'i lta ba mi brten¹⁷ no || las kyi bya ba mthoñ ba dañ ||

¹ SDQ mi yi, LN mi'i.

² SDQ Ita, LN blta.

³ SDLN gži, Q bži.

⁴ N rgyasu.

⁵ LN skyeso.

⁶ SLN ba nas, DQ bas na.

⁷ L byono.

⁸ L mdzado.

⁹ DQLN yi, S yis.

¹⁰ SDLN riñ, Q riñs.

¹¹ SDLN bkres, Q bskres.

¹² SD dmus, QLN mu.

¹³ SDQ lkugs, LN lkug.

¹⁴ SD gžogs, QLN gžog.

¹⁵ SDLN mth', Q 'thab.

¹⁶ DQLN ñes, S des.

¹⁷ SLN sten, DQ brten.

mtho ris la ni gnas nas su¹ || 'du śes med par skye mi 'gyur ||
gtsaṅ ma ris kyi lha rnam su² || sgyu daṅ miñ ni skye ba med ||

skyes bu dam pa ñes 'byuñ sems || dños daṅ dños med ldan pa med ||
gañ žig 'jig rten don du 'gro || pha rol phyin kun rdzogs par byed ||

phan yon de rnam lhaḡ par thob pa 'am ||

I 60.

des pha rol tu phyin pa rdzogs par byed do || grags pa daṅ ldan pa'i³ bram ze'i dus su daṅ | duñ gi
bram ze'i dus su daṅ | nor rgyal gyi rgyal po'i dus su⁴ daṅ | blta na sdug chen po'i⁵ rgyal po'i dus su
daṅ | khyab 'jug chen po'i dus su daṅ⁶ | rgyu mtshan gyi rgyal po'⁷ chen po'i⁸ (53b) dus su daṅ | zla ba
gžon nu'i dus su daṅ | yul gyi mchog gi dus su daṅ | śi bi pa'i⁹ rgyal po'i dus su daṅ | thams cad sgrol
gyi dus su ni sbyin pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa rdzogs¹⁰ pa'i bdag ñid de tshad med pa žes bya'o || mtha'
goig tu yañ dañ yañ byañ chub sems dpa' mkhas pa'i¹¹ ri¹² boñ gi skyes rabs las |

Sasajātaka no. 316¹³

ñer¹⁴ 'oñs sloñ ba mthoñ ba na || rañ gi lus ni yoñs su¹⁵ btañ ||
bdag gi sbyin la mñam pa med¹⁶ || 'di rnam sbyin pa'i pha rol phyin ||

de ltar lus yoñs su¹⁷ gtoñ bar byed pas sbyin pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa ste | don dam pa'i pha rol
tu phyin pa žes bya ba skyes so¹⁸ ||

¹ LN nasu.

² LN rnam su.

³ SLN par, DQ pa'i.

⁴ N dusu.

⁵ DQN po'i, SL po.

⁶ SDQ dañ, LN omit.

⁷ SN po, DQL po'i.

⁸ SLN po'i, DQ omit.

⁹ SL śi pi pa'i, D śi bi pa'i, QN śi bi pi'i.

¹⁰ SDLN pa rdzogs, Q omits

¹¹ SLN pa'i, DQ pa.

¹² DLN ri, SQ ra.

¹³ *Jātakanidāna* p.45; Tibetan sTog 53b; *Sasajātaka* no. 316; Mvu I p.95; Cp I p.13[]; Cp-a p.109, p.273; Bv-a p.59; Dhs-a p.32; Ap-a p.49.

Jātakanidāna p. 45,

Bhikkhāya upagataṃ disvā sakattānaṃ pariccajīm,
dānena me samo n' atthi, esā me dānapāramitī.

¹⁴ SDLN ñer, Q ñe.

¹⁵ LN yoñsu.

¹⁶ SDLN med, Q myed.

¹⁷ LN yoñsu.

¹⁸ LN skyeso.

I 61.

de bzin du tshul khirms dañ ldan pa'i klu'i rgyal po'i dus su dañ | tsam po spyi'¹ klu'i rgyal po'i dus su dañ | sa sbyin klu'i rgyal po'i dus su dañ | mche ba drug pa'i glañ po'i rgyal po'i dus su dañ | rgyal ba dañ mtshuñs pa'i rgyal po'i bu zum pa med pa'i dgra gzon nu'i dus su ni tshul khirms kyi pha rol tu phyin pa rdzogs par skyes pa la tshad med do || mtha' gcig tu gzan yañ | de'² duñ skyoñ skyes rabs las ||

Samkhopārajātaka no. 524³

gsal śiñ gis ni phug nas ni || mtshon cha blañs nas brdeg⁴ pa dañ ||
gron dpon bu la khro mi byed || tshul khirms phar phyin bdag gi 'di ||

de bzin du lus yoñs su⁵ gtoñ bar byed pa ni | tshul khirms kyi pha rol tu phyin pa ste | don dam pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa zes bya ba skyes so⁶ ||

I 62.

de bzin du yid bzañ⁷ gzon nu'i dus su dañ | glañ chen nor⁸ skyoñ gzon nu'i dus su dañ || lcags khyim mkhas pa'i dus su ni rgyal srid chen po spañs (54a) nas nes par 'byuñ ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa bdag ñid la skyes pa ni tshad med do⁹ || gzan yañ mtha' gcig tu de'i bu zi ba chuñ nu'i¹⁰ skyes rabs las | {Pā46}

Cūlasutasomajātaka no. 525¹¹

rgyal po chen po lag tu thob || mchil ma'i dbu¹² ba bzin du spañs ||
rgyal srid spañs kyañ zen pa med || bdag gi nes 'byuñ phar phyin 'di ||

¹ SQN spyi'i, DL spy'a'i.

² LN de'i, SDQ de yi.

³ *Jātakanidāna* p. 45; sTog 53b; *Samkhopārajātaka* no. 524; Cp I [238]; Cp-a p.273; Ap-a p.50; Bv-a p.60; Dhs-a p.32.

Jātakanidāna p. 45

Sūlehi pi vijjhayanto koṭṭayante pi sattihi
Bhojaputte na kuppāmi, esa me silapāramīti.

⁴ S brdeg, DQLN rdeg.

⁵ N yoñsu.

⁶ N skyeso.

⁷ SLN bzañ, DQ bzañs.

⁸ DQ nor, SLN omit.

⁹ L medo.

¹⁰ SDQL chuñ nu'i, N chuñu'i.

¹¹ *Jātakanidāna* p.46; sTog 54a; *Cūlasutasomajātaka* no. 525; Ap-a p.50; Cp-a p.273; Bv-a p.60; Dhs-a p.32.

Jātakanidāna p.46,

Mahārajjaṃ hatthagataṃ khelaṇḍaṃ va chaddayim
cajato na hoto laganam, esā me nekkhammapāramīti.

¹² S lbsu, D dbu, QLN sbu.

de bzin du nes par bdag gis¹ rgyal srid spañs nas nes par 'byuñ ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa ste | don dam pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa zes bya ba skyes so² ||

I 63.

de bzin du mkhas pa bi dhu ra'i dus su dañ | mkhas pa khyab 'jug chen po'i dus su dañ | mkhas pa stog rtse³ ba'i dus su dañ | mkhas pa a ra'i dus su dañ | kun du rgyu byañ chub kyī dus su dañ | mkhas pa sman chen po'i dus su ni | šes rab kyī pha rol tu phyin pa rdzogs par bdag la skyes pa la tshad med do⁴ || gzan yañ mtha' gcig tu de'i sde⁵ snod kyī skyes rabs las | mkhas pa sde can gyi dus su dañ⁶ |

Sattubhattajātaka no. 402⁷

bdag gi⁸ šes rab tshol ba na || bram ze'i sdug bsñal grol pa dañ ||
bdag gi šes rab mtshuñs pa med || bdag gi šes rab phar phyin 'di ||

pha tshi'i nañ gi sbrul bdag gis blta ba ni šes rab kyī pha rol tu phyin pa ste don dam pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa zes bya ba skyes so⁹ ||

I 64.

de bzin du brtson 'grus kyī pha rol tu phyin pa rdzogs par bdag la skyes pa tshad med do¹⁰ || gzan yañ mtha' gcig tu de'i skye bo chen po can gyi skyes rabs las |

Mahājanakajātaka no. 539¹¹

dogs¹² ma mthoñ ba'i rgya mtsho'i dbus || mi rnams thams cad ši bar gyur ||
sdug bsñal med pa'i sems kyis¹³ ni || bdag gi brtson 'grus (54b) phar phyin 'di ||

¹ DQLN gi, S gis.

² LN skyeso.

³ SLN stog rtse, D tog tse.

⁴ L medo.

⁵ DQ sde, SLN phyir.

⁶ SLN dañ, DQ omit.

⁷ *Jātakanidāna* p.46; sTog 54a; *Sattubhattajātaka* no. 402; Ap-a p.50; Cp-a p.274.

Jātakanidāna p.46,

Paññāya pavicinanto 'ham brāhmaṇaṃ mocayim dukhā,
paññāya me samo n' atthi, esā me paññāpāramīti.

⁸ SQLN gi, D gis.

⁹ LN skyeso.

¹⁰ L medo.

¹¹ *Jātakanidāna* p.46; sTog 54a/b; *Mahājanakajātaka* no. 539; Ap-a p.50; Bv-a p.60; Cp-a p.274; Dhs-a p.32.

Jātakanidāna p.46

Atīradassī jalamajjhe hatā sabbe va mānusā,
cittassa aññathā n' atthi, esā me viriyapāramīti.

¹² DQN dogs, SL ñogs.

¹³ SLN kyis, DQ kyī.

rgya mtsho chen po las sgröl bar byed pa'i brtson 'grus kyī pha rol tu phyin pa zes bya ba skyes so¹ ||

I 65.

bzod par smra ba'i skye rabs las |

Khantivādajātaka no. 313²

sems med pa la gcod pa bzin || bdag la mo ba'i dgra sta yis ||
gsal ldan rgyal po la mi khro || bdag gi bzod pa'i phar phyin 'di ||

de ltar sems med pa'i dños pos³ bzin du bdag sdug bsñal chen po la lhag par gnas pa ni bzod pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa ste | don dam pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa zes bya ba skyes so⁴ ||

I 66.

bu ži ba⁵ chen po'i skyes rabs las |

Mahāsutasomajātaka no. 537⁶

bden pa'i tshig ni rjes su bsruñ || bdag gi srog ni spañs nas su⁷ ||
rgyal rigs brgya phrag grol bar byed⁸ || bdag gi bden pa'i phar phyin 'di ||

de ltar srog spañs nas bden pa rjes su⁹ bsruñ ba de ni bden pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa ste | don dam pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa zes bya ba skyes so¹⁰ ||

I 67.

lkugs¹¹ pa dañ gžogs¹² phyed na ba'i tshul gyi skyes rabs las |

¹ LN skyeso.

² *Jātakanidāna* p. 46; Tibetan sTog 54b; , *Khantivādajātaka* no. 313; JMAL tr. no. 28, Kṣāntivādin, p. 253; ed. no. 28, p.192; Ap-a p.50; Bv-a p.60; Cp-a p.274; Dhs-a p.32.

Jātakanidāna p. 46,

Acetanam va koṭṭentetiṇhena pharasunā mama
Kāsirāje na kuppāmi, esā me khantipāramīti.

³ S pos, DQLN po.

⁴ LN skyeso.

⁵ SDQ bu ži ba, LN bu bži pa.

⁶ *Jātakanidāna* p.46; sTog 54b; *Mahāsutasomajātaka* no. 537; JMAL tr. no. 30, p. 291, ed. no. 31, p. 207; Cp p. 34; Ap-a p.51; Bv-a p.60; Cp-a p.275; Dhs-a p.32.

Jātakanidāna p.46,

Saccavācam anurakkhanto cajitvā mama jīvitam
mocayim ekasatam khattiye, paramatthasaccapāramīti.

⁷ L nasu.

⁸ SLN byed, DQ byas.

⁹ LN rjesu.

¹⁰ LN skyeso.

¹¹ SDQ lkugs, LN lkug.

Mūgapakkhajātaka no. 538¹

pha ma bdag la mi dgos śiñ || nor dañ grags pa'añ dgos pa med ||
bdag ni thams cad mkhyen la dga' || de phyir brtul² žugs gnas pa'o || {Pā47}

de ltar srog gi 'dod pa yoñs su³ btañ⁴ nas brtul žugs la lhag par gnas pa ni lhag par gnas pa'i pha rol
tu phyin pa ste | don dam⁵ pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa žes bya ba skyes so⁶ ||

I 68.

rgyal po gcig gi⁷ skyes rabs las |

Ekarājajātaka no. 303⁸

gañ žig bdag la skrag byed med || bdag gis gañ⁹ la'añ 'jigs ma byas ||
byams pa'i stobs kyi steñ gnas žiñ¹⁰ || de tshe stoñ pa fiid la dga' ||

(55a) de ltar srog yoñs su¹¹ gtoñ¹² ba la mi blta¹³ žiñ byams par byed pa de'i byams pa ni pha rol tu
phyin pa ste | don dam pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa žes bya ba skyes so¹⁴ ||

I 69.

ñañ¹⁵ pa'i spu'i¹⁶ skyes rabs las |

¹² SDQ gžogs, LN gžog.

¹ *Jātakanidāna* p. 46; sTog 54b; *Mūgapakkhajātaka* no. 538; Cp pp. 24, 26, 29; Cp-a p.275; Ap-a p.51.

Jātakanidāna p.46,

Mātāpitā na me dessā, na pi me dessaṃ mahāyasaṃ,
sabbaññūtaṃ piyaṃ mayhaṃ, tasmā vataṃ adhiṭṭhahin.

² SDLN brtul, Q btul.

³ LN yoñsu.

⁴ SDQL btañ, N gtañ.

⁵ SDQN dam, L omits.

⁶ LN skyeso.

⁷ SDQ gi, LN gis.

⁸ *Jātakanidāna* p.47; sTog 54b; *Ekarājajātaka* no. 303; Cp p. 34; Ap-a p.51; Bv-a p.61; Cp-a p.275; Dhs-a p.32.

Jātakanidāna p.47,

Na maṃ koci uttasati, na pi 'haṃ bhāyāmi kassaci,
mettābalen' upatthaddho ramāmi pavane sadā ti.

⁹ SDQ gañ, LN omit.

¹⁰ SDQ žiñ, LN žis.

¹¹ N yoñsu.

¹² SDQL gtoñ, N btoñ.

¹³ SDQ blta, LN lta.

¹⁴ LN skyeso.

¹⁵ SDLN ñañ, Q dañ.

¹⁶ SQLN spu'i, D spu yi.

Lomahaṃsajātaka no. 94¹

dur khrod du ni gnas par² sems || rus goñ³ la ni brten byas nas ||
bdag gi gnas su⁴ ñe bar 'oñs || gzugs la blta⁵ ba ñuñ ba med ||

de ltar goñ gi khye'u la rdo la sogs pa blañs nas rduñ ba ñid dañ | me tog 'phreñ⁶ ba dañ | spos kyis
ñe bar spyod pa la sogs pas bde ba dañ sdug bsñal bskyed kyañ btañ sñoms su⁷ 'dor⁸ ba de ni btañ
sñoms kyi pha rol tu phyin pa ste | don dam pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa zes bya ba skyes so⁹ || de nmams
'dir mdor bsdus pa'o || rgya cher yañ slar 'di'i don¹⁰ dpyod¹¹ pa'i sde¹² snod las blañ¹³ bar bya'o || de ltar
pha rol tu phyin pa rdzogs nas thams cad sgrol gyi bdag ñid du gnas so¹⁴ ||

Cp p. 10¹⁵

sems med pa yi¹⁶ sa gzi yis¹⁷ || bde dañ sdug bsñal mi šes kyañ ||
bdag gi sbyin pa'i stobs de yis || lan¹⁸ bdun du ni rab tu g.yos ||

de ltar sa gzi chen po g.yo¹⁹ ba la sogs pa bsod nams chen po byed ciñ tshe'i mthar ši 'phos te dga'
ldan du skyes so²⁰ | zes²¹ pa ni²² mar me mdzad kyis žabs druñ nas bzuñ ste ji srid dga' ldan du skyes

¹ *Jātakanidāna* p.47; sTog 55a; *Lomahaṃsajātaka* no. 94; Cp p. 35; Cp-a p.276; Ap-a p.51; Bv-a p.61; Dhs-a p.32.

Jātakanidāna p.47,

Susāne seyyaṃ kappemi chavaṭṭhikaṃ upadhāy' ahaṃ,
gomaṇḍalā upagantvā rūpam dassent' anappakan ti.

² DQ par, SLN pas.

³ SDLN goñ, Q god.

⁴ L gnasu.

⁵ SLN blta, DQ lta.

⁶ S 'phreñ, DQLN phreñ.

⁷ N sñomsu.

⁸ SDQL 'dor, N 'doñ.

⁹ LN skyeso.

¹⁰ SDQ don, LN dor.

¹¹ S dpyod, DQLN spyod.

¹² SDLN sde, Q sdo.

¹³ SDLN blañ, Q bsłañ.

¹⁴ L gnaso.

¹⁵ *Jātakanidāna* p.47; sTog 55a; Cp p. 10; Cp-a p.101; Ap-a p.51; Bv-a p.272; Dhs-a p.32; Thūp p.164; Vessantarajātaka no.547; JMAL ed. no. 9, p. 51;

Jātakanidāna p.47,

Acetanāyaṃ puthavi aviññāya sukhaṃ dukhaṃ,
sāpi dānabalā mayhaṃ sattakkhattuṃ pakampathā ti.

¹⁶ SDQ pa yi, LN pa'i.

¹⁷ D gzi yis, SQ gzi yi, L gzi, N gzi'i.

¹⁸ SLN lan, D lag.

¹⁹ SDLN g.yo, Q g.yos.

²⁰ LN skyeso.

²¹ SDQ zes, LN ces.

pa de rnams kyi bar ni riñ po'i gži zes bya bar rig par bya'o ||

²² SLN ni, DQ omit.

Bar pa'i gleñ gži¹

II 1.

gžan yañ byañ chub sems dpa' dga' ldan du bžugs² pa ñid nas sañs rgyas kyi sgra cher sgrogs pa žes bya ba skyes pa na³ (55b) 'jig rten 'dir sgra cher sgrogs pa gsum byuñ ste | bskal pa'i sgra cher sgrogs pa dañ | sañs rgyas kyi sgra cher sgrogs pa dañ | 'khor los⁴ sgyur pa'i sgra cher sgrogs pa'o || de la lo 'bum phrag gcig gi mthar bskal pa 'jig par 'gyur ro⁵ | žes pa⁶ 'jig rten gyi miñ du brjod pa ni 'dod pa na spyod pa'i lha mgo g.yogs kyis⁷ ma bsgribs⁸ pa dañ | skra grol ba dañ | ñu ba'i kha can lag pas mig gi mchi ma 'phyi⁹ ba | gos dmar po gyon pa | lhag par gzugs mi sdug pa'i cha byad 'dzin par gyur pa'i mi rnams lam la 'gro žiñ 'di ltar brjod do || 'jig rten pa 'di¹⁰ nas¹¹ lo 'bum phrag gcig¹² 'das nas bskal pa¹³ 'jig par 'gyur ro || 'di yi 'jig rten rnams 'jig par 'gyur ro¹⁴ || rgya mtsho chen po yañ bskams¹⁵ par 'gyur ro || {Pā48} sa gži¹⁶ chen po 'di dañ ri'i rgyal po ri rab kyañ thal bar 'gyur žiñ¹⁷ 'jig go || tshañs pa'i 'jig rten gyi bar du 'jig rten¹⁸ 'jig par 'gyur ro¹⁹ žes brjod do || 'jig rten pa rnams byams pa sgoms²⁰ śig || sñiñ rje sgoms²¹ śig | dga' ba sgoms²² śig | btañ sñoms sgoms²³ śig | ma la rim gro gyis śig | pha la rim gro gyis śig | rigs kyi gtso bo la rim gro gyis śig ces pa 'di ni bskal pa'i sgra cher sgrogs pa žes bya ba'o²⁴ || lo stoñ phrag gcig 'das nas slar yañ sañs rgyas thams cad mkhyen pa 'jig rten du byon no žes brjod pa 'di 'jig rten skyoñ ba'i lha rnams 'di nas 'jig rten pa (56a) rnams lo stoñ phrag gcig 'das nas²⁵ | gžan yañ sañs rgyas 'jig rten du byon no žes brjod²⁶ ciñ sgra cher sgrogs pas

¹ Avidürenidāna/Bar pa'i gleñ gži, sTog folios 55a-85b; Pāli pp. 47-77.

² SDLN bžugs, Q žug.

³ SDLN na, Q ni.

⁴ DQ los, SLN lo.

⁵ L 'gyuro.

⁶ SDQL pa, N bya.

⁷ DLN kyis, SQ kyi.

⁸ SDQ bsgribs, LN bsgrib.

⁹ SDLN 'phyi, Q 'chi.

¹⁰ SDQ 'di, LN 'dis.

¹¹ SDQN nas, L omits.

¹² SDQN gcig, L cig.

¹³ SDQ omit, LN add: 'jig pa.

¹⁴ L 'gyuro.

¹⁵ SDQN bskams, L bskam.

¹⁶ SDLN gži, Q bži.

¹⁷ S žiñ, DQLN ciñ.

¹⁸ LN omit: 'jig rten.

¹⁹ LN omit: ro.

²⁰ SD sgoms, QLN bsgoms.

²¹ SDQ sgoms, LN bsgoms.

²² SD sgoms, QLN bsgoms.

²³ SD sgoms, QLN bsgoms.

²⁴ SDLN ba'o, Q bya'o.

²⁵ DQN nas, SL omit.

rgyu ba 'di¹ ni sañs rgyas kyi sgra cher sgrogs pa zes bya ba yin no² || gžan yañ lo brgya 'das nas 'khor los³ sgyur⁴ ba'i rgyal po byon no zes brjod⁵ pa ni lha fiid de | 'jig rten pa rnams lo brgya 'das nas 'khor los⁶ sgyur ba'i rgyal po 'jig rten du byon zes sgra cher brjod⁷ ciñ rgyu ba 'di ni 'khor⁸ los⁹ sgyur ba'i sgra cher sgrogs pa zes bya ba yin no¹⁰ || gsum po 'di ni sgra cher sgrogs pa yin no ||

II 2.

de rnams las sañs rgyas kyi sgra cher sgrogs pa thos nas stoñ phrag bcu'i khor yug gi lha thams cad gnas gcig tu 'dus te | che ge mo zes bya ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' sañs rgyas su¹¹ 'gyur bar rtogs¹² nas zu ba'i phyir ñe bar soñ ste | žus nas kyañ sñar gyi mtshan ma skyes pa la žus so¹³ || de'i tshe slar yañ thams cad kyi re re'i khor yug gi rgyal po chen po bži'i ris dañ | brgya byin dañ | 'thab¹⁴ bral dañ | dga' ldan dañ | 'phrul dga' dañ | gžan 'phrul dbañ byed dañ | tshañs pa chen po dañ bcas pa'i lha dañ | khor yug gi lha rnams 'dus pa'o || dga' ldan gyi lha¹⁵ gnas su¹⁶ byañ chub sems dpa'i druñ du soñ ste | drañ sroñ chen po khyod kyis pha rol tu¹⁷ phyin pa bcu rdzogs pa ni brgya byin gyi phun sum tshogs par bya ba'i phyir ma yin | bdud kyi phyir ma yin | tshañs pa'i phyir don du gñer ba rdzogs par bya ba'i phyir ma yin | 'khor los¹⁸ sgyur (56b) ba'i phun sum tshogs pa'i phyir don du gñer ba rdzogs par bya ba'i phyir ma yin no || gžan yañ 'jig rten bsgral ba'i phyir dañ | thams cad mkhyen pa don du gñer ba'i phyir rdzogs par byed do || de rnams ni da lta'i dus nas drañ sroñ chen po sañs rgyas su¹⁹ 'gyur ba'i dus ni drañ sroñ chen po sañs rgyas su²⁰ 'gyur zes žus so²¹ ||

²⁶ SLN brjod, DQ rjod.

¹ SDQ 'di, LN omit.

² N yino.

³ DQ los, SLN lo.

⁴ SDQ sgyur, LN bsgyur.

⁵ SDLN brjod, Q rjod.

⁶ DQ los, SLN lo.

⁷ SLN brjod, DQ rjod.

⁸ SQLN 'khor, D 'lor.

⁹ DQ los, SLN lo.

¹⁰ N yino.

¹¹ LN rgyasu.

¹² SDQN rtogs, L rtog.

¹³ N žuso.

¹⁴ SDLN 'thab, Q mthab.

¹⁵ SLN lha, DQ omit.

¹⁶ N gnasu.

¹⁷ SLN tu, DQ du.

¹⁸ DQ los, SLN lo.

¹⁹ LN rgyasu.

²⁰ LN rgyasu.

²¹ N žuso.

II 3.

sems dpa' chen po lha la gnañ¹ ba ma byin te | dus dañ | gliñ dañ | yul dañ | rigs dañ | yum dañ | tshe
 dañ | tshe'i bye brag lhaq ma las med do || chen po lña po zes bya ba legs par gzigs śin² gzigs so³ ||

II 4.

de la dus dañ dus ma yin pa zes bya ba ste | dañ po dus la gzigs so⁴ || de la lo 'bum phrag gcig gi thog⁵
 ma nas 'phel ba ni tshe'i dus dañ dus ma yin pa'o || gañ gi phyir de'i tshe sems can rnams kyi skye ba
 dañ | rga ba dañ | na ba dañ⁶ | 'chi ba rnams la gzigs so⁷ || sañs rgyas rnams kyi⁸ chos ston pa'i⁹ mtshan
 ñid lña spañs nas gzan pa ni med do || de rnams ni mi rtag pa dañ | sdug bsñal ba dañ | bdag med pa
 ston ciñ 'di rnams ci'i phyir 'chad pa ñid mi ñan pa dañ | mi dad pa dañ | mi sems pa'o || de ni dus ma
 yin no¹⁰ || de'i phyir mi sems pa dañ ma nes pa'i bstan¹¹ pa yin no¹² || de'i phyir de ni dus ma yin pa'o
 || lo brgya pa dman pas tshe'i dus kyañ de'i dus ma yin no || gañ gi phyir de'i tshe sems can ñon moñs
 pa śin tu che ba yin no¹³ || ñon moñs pa śin tu che bas gdams pa byin no || (57a) gdams pa la mi gnas
 na chu la dbyug pa brgyab¹⁴ pa'i ri mo bzin myur du 'gag go¹⁵ || de'i phyir de yañ dus ma yin pa'o ||
 {Pā49} lo 'bum phrag gcig nas bzuñ¹⁶ ba'i 'og tu lo brgya pa'i mgor¹⁷ tshe'i dus te dus zes bya ba yin
 no¹⁸ || de'i tshe yañ lo brgya pa yin no || de nas sems dpa' chen po skye bar rigs so¹⁹ zes dus la gzigs
 so²⁰ ||

II 5.

de nas gliñ la gzigs te | gliñ bzi 'khor dañ bcas pa la gzigs nas²¹ | gliñ gsum po rnams su²² sañs rgyas

¹ SQLN gnañ, D gnad.

² SDQ gzigs śin, LN omit.

³ LN gzigso.

⁴ LN gzigso.

⁵ SDQN thog, L thogs.

⁶ DQ na ba dañ, SLN omit. Pāli omits.

⁷ LN gzigso.

⁸ SDLN kyi, Q gyi.

⁹ SLN pa'i, DQ pa ni .

¹⁰ N yino.

¹¹ DQ bstan, SLN stan.

¹² N yino.

¹³ N yino.

¹⁴ S brgyab, DQLN rgyab.

¹⁵ LN 'gago.

¹⁶ SDQ bzuñ, LN gzuñ.

¹⁷ DQLN mgor, S 'gor.

¹⁸ N yino.

¹⁹ LN rigso.

²⁰ N gzigso.

²¹ DQLN nas, S na.

²² LN rnamsu.

mi 'byon no || 'dzam bu'i¹ gliñ ñid du 'byon no² || gliñ la gzigs pa'o ||

II 6.

de nas 'dzam bu'i³ gliñ zes bya ba dpag tshad ston phrag bcu'i tshad kyis che ba'o || yul gyi phyogs gañ zig tu⁴ sañs rgyas byon⁵ par 'gyur zes yañs śiñ grol ba'i gnas blta žiñ yul dbus la gzigs te | yul dbus zes bya ba ni śar gyi phyogs na ka dzam ga la zes bya ba'i groñ rdal⁶ lo || de'i pha rol na śiñ sã la chen po'o || de nas gžan yañ bas mtha'i ljoñs dañ⁷ ñe ba'i nañ ño || śar lho'i mtshams su⁸ sã la can zes bya ba'i chu kluñ ño⁹ || de nas gžan yañ bas mtha'i ljoñs dañ ñe ba'i nañ ño || lho phyogs su¹⁰ sō ta ka rñi ka¹¹ zes bya ba'i groñ rdal lo || de nas gžan yañ bas mtha'i ljoñs dañ ñe ba'i nañ ño || nub phyogs ka ba zes bya ba bram ze'i groñ rdal lo || de nas gžan yañ bas mtha'i ljoñs dañ ñe ba'i nañ ño || byañ gi phyogs su¹² u śi ra'i ri'o¹³ || de nas gžan yañ bas mtha'i ljoñs dañ ñe ba'i (57b) nañ ño || 'di ltar 'dul bar bśad ciñ bstan no || dkyus su dpag tshad sum brgya'o || zeñ du dpag tshad phyed dañ sum brgya'o || mtha' bskor la dpag tshad dgu brgya'o || yul phyogs de rnams su¹⁴ ni sañs rgyas dañ | rañ sañs rgyas dañ | ñan thos mchog rnams dañ | ñan thos chen po brgyad cu¹⁵ dañ | 'khor los¹⁶ sgyur ba'i rgyal po dañ | gžan yañ skyes bu chen por grags pa'i rigs dañ | bram ze'i rigs dañ | śiñ sã la chen po'i¹⁷ lta bu'i khyim bdag rnams 'khruñ¹⁸ pa'i gnas so¹⁹ || de rnams las groñ khyer ser skya zes bya ba 'di'o || der bdag 'khruñ par rigs so²⁰ zes thugs kyis ñes par byas so²¹ ||

II 7.

de nas rigs la gzigs pa zes bya ba ni | sañs rgyas zes bya ba rje'u'i rigs sam | gdol pa'i rigs la mi 'khruñ ño || slar yañ 'jig rten pa mos pa'i rgyal rigs sam | bram ze'i rigs gñis la 'khruñ ño || da lta ni

¹ DQ bu'i, SLN bu.

² L 'byono.

³ DQ bu'i, SLN bu.

⁴ SDQN tu, L du.

⁵ SQLN byon, D 'byon.

⁶ SDQ rdal, LN brdal.

⁷ S dañ, DQLN omit.

⁸ N mtshamsu.

⁹ L kluño.

¹⁰ N phyogsu.

¹¹ S sō ta ka rñi ka, DQ sō ta kar ñi ka, LN sō ta karñi ka.

¹² DQ omit: su, N phyogsu.

¹³ SL u śi ri'i ro'o, DQ u śi ra'i ri'o, N u śi ri ri ri'o.

¹⁴ LN rnamsu.

¹⁵ SDLN cu, Q bcu.

¹⁶ DQ los, SLN lo.

¹⁷ SLN po'i, DQ po.

¹⁸ SLN 'khruñ, DQ 'khruñs.

¹⁹ N gnaso.

²⁰ LN rigso.

²¹ LN byaso.

rgyal rigs la 'jig rten pa sems so¹ || de la 'khrun no || bdag gi² yab ni zas gtsaṅ ma zes bya ba'i rgyal po yin te rigs la gzigs so³ ||

II 8.

de nas yum la gzigs te | 'dod pa daṅ⁴ chaṅ la dga' ba ni saṅs rgyas kyi yum zes bya ba ma yin no || gzan yaṅ bskal pa 'bum phrag gcig la pha rol tu phyin pa rdzogs par byas nas 'khrun no || ṅams pa med pa'i tshul khirms lña po ṅid len no⁵ || lha mo sgyu 'phrul chen mo zes bya ba 'di de daṅ 'dra ba bdag gi yum yin no || gzan yaṅ gaṅ de tsam gyi⁶ tshe'o || zla ba bcu'i 'go⁷ nas (58a) žag bdun du gzigs so⁸ ||

II 9.

'di ni chen po lña la gzigs so⁹ || gzigs nas draṅ sroṅ chen po bdag gi¹⁰ dus de¹¹ saṅs rgyas su¹² 'gyur ba'i lha rnam kyis tshig gis gnaṅ no¹³ || khyed¹⁴ mams gsegs par žu zes lha de rnam btaṅ¹⁵ nas dga' ldan gyi lha rnam kyis yoṅs su¹⁶ bskor te | dga' ldan gyi dga' ba'i tshal du žugs so¹⁷ || 'jig rten gyi lha thams cad dga' ba'i tshal na yod pa ṅid do || de la 'di'i¹⁸ lha 'di nas śi 'phos nas bde ba'i 'gro bar skyes te | 'di nas śi 'phos nas¹⁹ bde ba'i 'gro bar skyes so²⁰ || śnar byas pa'i dge ba'i las byas pa rjes su²¹ dran žiṅ rgyu'o || de de ltar lha rnam kyis dge ba rjes su²² dran pa rnam 'khor du byas śiṅ der²³ rgyu'o || {Pā50} śi 'phos nas lha mo 'phrul ma chen mo'i mñal du žugs so²⁴ || de la legs par brjod pa'i

¹ N semso.

² SDQ gi, LN gis.

³ N gzigso.

⁴ DQLN daṅ, S omits.

⁵ N leno.

⁶ DQN gyi, SL gyis.

⁷ S 'go, DQLN mgo.

⁸ LN gzigso.

⁹ N gzigso.

¹⁰ SDQL gi, N gis.

¹¹ SLN de, DQ te.

¹² LN rgyasu.

¹³ N gnaṅo.

¹⁴ SDQ khyed, LN khyod.

¹⁵ SDQL btaṅ, N gtaṅ.

¹⁶ N yoṅsu.

¹⁷ LN žugso.

¹⁸ DQ 'di'i, SLN 'di yi.

¹⁹ SDQN nas, L na.

²⁰ LN skyeso.

²¹ N rjesu.

²² N rjesu.

²³ SDLN der, Q de ltar.

²⁴ LN žugso.

phyir 'di go¹ rim² bzin du sñon³ gyi gtam brjod do⁴ ||

II 10.

de'i tshe groñ khyer ser skyar dbyar zla 'briñ po'i rgyu skar du brjod par skye bo thams cad rgyu skar⁵ la rtse žiñ | lha mo sgyu 'phrul chen mo⁶ yañ ña'i sñun du žag bdun nas me tog gi⁷ 'phreñ⁸ ba dañ sphos kyi 'byor pa dañ ldan pas rgyu skar la rtse žiñ loñs spyod do || žag bdun gyi mthar sña dro lañs nas dri bzañ⁹ gi chus khru byas te | 'bum phrag bzi'i loñs spyod spel te sbyin pa chen po btañ nas rgyan thams cad kyis brgyan | kha bzas bzañ po zos te | gso sbyoñ yan lag brgyad pa la gnas so¹⁰ || rgyan du¹¹ byed pa la rigs pa'i dpal gyi khañ pa'i nañ du (58b) žugs nas | dpal gyi mal cha la ñal te gñid du¹² soñ nas 'di lta bu'i rmi lam mthoñ ño¹³ || rgyal po chen po bzi pos mal stan dañ bcas pa ñid blañs nas gañs can gyi nañ du soñ ño¹⁴ || dpag tshad drug cu¹⁵ pa'i ma na ši la'i¹⁶ steñ du dañ | dpag tshad bdun pa'i šiñ sā la¹⁷ chen po'i 'og tu bžag nas phyogs gcig tu 'khod do || de nas de'i lha mo 'oñs nas | lha mo sgyu 'phrul ma chen mo mtsho ma dros¹⁸ par khrid do || mi'i dri ma bsal¹⁹ ba'i phyir khru byas te | lha'i gos gyon nas dri bzañ pos²⁰ byug²¹ ciñ lha'i me tog 'dogs so²² || de nas mi riñ bar dñul gyi ri de'i nañ na gser gyi gžal yas²³ khañ 'dug go²⁴ || der šar du mgo bstan pa'i lha'i mal cha la der ñol žes zer nas ñal lo²⁵ || de nas byañ chub sems dpa' glañ po che dkar po gcig²⁶ tu gyur to || de nas

¹ SDLN go, Q ge.

² SLN rim, DQ rims

³ SQLN sñon, D sdon.

⁴ L brjodo.

⁵ SDQN skar, L omits.

⁶ SLN mo, DQ po.

⁷ DQLN gi, S omits.

⁸ S 'phreñ, DQLN phreñ.

⁹ SDQN bzañ, L gzañ.

¹⁰ LN gnaso.

¹¹ SDQL du, N tu.

¹² L gñidu.

¹³ L mthoño.

¹⁴ LN soño.

¹⁵ SDLN cu, Q bcu.

¹⁶ DQ ma na ši la'i, SLN ma ni ša la'i.

¹⁷ SDN sā la, QL sa la.

¹⁸ SDLN dros, Q 'dros.

¹⁹ SDLN bsal, Q gsal.

²⁰ SDQL pos, N po.

²¹ SDQL byug, N 'byug.

²² LN 'dogso.

²³ DQ yas, SLN med.

²⁴ L 'dugo.

²⁵ LN ñalo.

²⁶ SQLN gcig, D cig.

mi riñ bar gser gyi ri gcig¹ la der 'dzeg ciñ | de nas mar babs nas | dñul gyi ri la 'dzeg go² || byañ gi phyogs nas 'oñs te | dñul gyi 'phreñ³ ba dañ mtshuñs pa'i glañ po che'i⁴ snas⁵ pad ma⁶ dkar po 'dzin ciñ | glañ po che'i sgra sgrogs pas gser gyi gžal yas khañ du žugs te | rañ gi mal cha la lan gsum du bskor⁷ ba byas nas glo g.yas pa phug nas ltor žugs pa bžin du gyur to || de ltar bra'i⁸ skar ma mchog la lhums su⁹ žugs so¹⁰ ||

II 11.

ñi ma gñis pa la de'i sña dro sad de lha mos rgyal po la rmi lam rnams smras so¹¹ || rgyal pos bram ze drug cu¹² rtsa bži bos nas me tog gi¹³ 'phreñ¹⁴ ba la sogs (59a) pa¹⁵ dañ¹⁶ | bkra śis dañ bsti stañ byed ciñ sa la mal stan chen po bšams te¹⁷ | de la bžugs¹⁸ pa'i bram ze rnams la mar gsar dañ | sbrañ rtsi dañ | ka ra¹⁹ rnams dañ bsres pa'i 'o thug rnams gser dañ dñul las byas pa'i sder ma bkañ²⁰ ste | gser dañ dñul gyi sder mas so sor bkab nas bram ze rnams la phul lo²¹ || gžan yañ rgyal po gyon pa dañ mtshuñs pa'i gos dañ gser rgya ma la sogs pa byin nas de rnams tshim par byas so²² || de nas de thams cad 'dod pa thams cad kyis²³ tshim par²⁴ gyur nas rmi lam bžad de ci 'dra bar 'gyur žes dris so²⁵ || bram ze rnams kyis smras pa | rgyal po chen po 'jigs par ma byed cig | khyod kyī lha mo'i lto'i nañ du sems can žugs²⁶ te | de yañ nañ gi de skyes bu'o || mñal gyi nañ gi de bu²⁷ mo ni ma yin no || {Pā51}

¹ SQLN gcig, D cig.

² LN 'dzego.

³ S 'phreñ, DQLN phreñ.

⁴ DQ che'i, SLN che yi.

⁵ DQ snas, SLN gnas.

⁶ SQLN padma, D pad ma.

⁷ SDLN bskor, Q skor.

⁸ D bra'i, SLN bre'i, Q bri'i.

⁹ LN lhumsu.

¹⁰ LN žugso.

¹¹ LN smraso.

¹² SDN cu, QL bcu.

¹³ SLN gi, DQ omit.

¹⁴ S 'phreñ, DQL phreñ, N breñ.

¹⁵ DQLN pa, S pas.

¹⁶ QLN dañ, SD omit.

¹⁷ DQLN te, S omits.

¹⁸ SDQ bžugs, LN žugs.

¹⁹ S ka ra ba, DQ kar ra, LN dkar pa.

²⁰ SDQL bkañ, N mkañ.

²¹ L phulo.

²² LN byaso.

²³ SDLN kyis, Q kyī.

²⁴ SDQ par, LN omit.

²⁵ LN driso.

²⁶ SDLN žugs, Q bžugs.

²⁷ SDLN de bu, Q de lta bu.

de khyod¹ kyi sras por 'gyur ro² || de gal te khyim na gnas na 'khor los³ sgyur⁴ ba'i rgyal por 'gyur ro⁵ || gal te khyim spañs nas rab tu byuñ na sañs rgyas⁶ bar 'gyur ro⁷ || 'jig rten du bzlog⁸ nas slar khyim na gnas nas skye ba med do⁹ ||

II 12.

gžan yañ byañ chub sems dpa' yum gyi mñal du žugs pa de ma thag tu thun gcig¹⁰ ñid la stoñ phrag bcu'i 'jig rten gyi khams thams cad yañ dag par g.yos so¹¹ || yañ dag par rab tu g.yos so¹² || yañ dag par sgra sgrogso¹³ || mtshan ma sum cu¹⁴ rtsa gñis sñon gyi mtshan mar¹⁵ gyur to || stoñ phrag bcu'i khor yug rñams su¹⁶ snañ ba tshad med par khyab ciñ gnas so¹⁷ || (59b) de yañ de'i dpal blta ba 'di lta bu ste | loñ ba rñams kyis mig thob bo¹⁸ || 'on pa rñams kyis rna bas sgra thos so¹⁹ || lkugs pa rñams kyis smra šes so²⁰ || sgur po rñams²¹ drañ por gyur to || goñ po rñams kyis 'gro šes par gyur to || bciñs pa'i sems can thams cad ni rjes su²² bciñs pa las grol bar gyur to | dmyal ba thams cad kyi me ži bar gyur to || yi dags kyi yul pa rñams bkres pa dañ | skom pa ži bar gyur to || dud 'gro rñams phan tshun 'jigs pa med par gyur to || sems can thams cad kyi nad ži bar gyur to || sems can thams cad dga' bžin du smra bar 'gyur²³ to || rta rñams skad sñan pa'i rnam par gyur to || glañ po rñams ni sgra sgrogso²⁴ || rol mo rñams rañ byuñ rañ byuñ²⁵ gi sgra sgrogso²⁶ || mi rñams kyi rkañ pa dañ lag pa'i rgyan rañ

¹ SDQ khyod, LN khyed.

² LN 'gyuro.

³ LN los, SDQ lo.

⁴ SDQ sgyur, LN bsgyur.

⁵ LN 'gyuro.

⁶ Q rgyas, SDN rgya, L has *sa* suffix erased.

⁷ LN 'gyuro.

⁸ DQ bzlog, SLN zlog.

⁹ L medo.

¹⁰ SDQ gcig, LN cig.

¹¹ LN g.yoso.

¹² LN g.yoso.

¹³ LN sgrogso.

¹⁴ SDLN cu, Q bcu.

¹⁵ SDQL par, N par.

¹⁶ L rñamsu.

¹⁷ LN gnaso.

¹⁸ N thobo.

¹⁹ LN thoso.

²⁰ LN šeso.

²¹ SDQN rñams, L omits.

²² LN rjesu.

²³ DQ 'gyur, SLN gyur.

²⁴ LN sgrogso.

²⁵ SD rañ byuñ, DLN omit.

²⁶ LN sgrogso.

rañ ma reg pas¹ so sor 'byin to || phyogs thams cad rab tu dañs par gyur to || sems can rnam bde ba bskyed pa'i phyir rluñ 'jam po ldañ² bar gyur to || dus ma yin par sprin la char 'bab³ bo || sa la chu byuñ nas phyogs thams cad chur gyur to || bya rnam nam mkha'⁴ la 'gro ba spoñ ño⁵ || chu klun rnam 'gro ba med par gnas so⁶ || rgya mtsho chen po'i chu ni dñar⁷ bar gyur to || gnas thams cad ñid du kha dog lña pa'i⁸ pad mas⁹ sa'i steñ thams cad khyab par gyur to || thañ dañ chu las skyes ba'i me tog rnam kha bye bar gyur to || ljon śiñ rnam kyi sdoñ po la¹⁰ sdoñ po'i pad ma'i¹¹ me (60a) tog go || yal ga¹² rnam la yal ga'i¹³ pad ma'i¹⁴ me tog go¹⁵ || 'khri¹⁶ śiñ rnam la 'khri¹⁷ śiñ gi pad ma'i¹⁸ me tog kha bye'o || thañ dañ rdo'i steñ du brtol nas steñ nas steñ du bdun bdun du gyur nas | dan dra pad ma'¹⁹ zes bya ba phyuñ ño²⁰ || nam mkha'²¹ nas thur²² du pad ma'²³ 'phyañ ño²⁴ || thams cad du me tog gi char 'bab²⁵ bo || nam mkha'²⁶ la lha'i rol mo'i sgra sgrogs so²⁷ || stoñ phrag bcu'i 'jig rten gyi khams thams cad me tog dañ | bdug spos dañ | dri chab mchog tu skal ba bzañ bar gyur to ||

II 13.

'di ltar byañ chub sems dpa' mñal du žugs pa ñid nas byañ chub sems dpa' dañ | byañ chub sems dpa'i yum gyi ñe bar 'tshe ba bzlog²⁸ pa'i phyir ral gri lag tu thogs pa'i lha'i bu bžis²⁹ sruñ³⁰ bar byed

¹ SLN pas, DQ par.

² SQLN ldañ, D lñañ.

³ DQLN 'bab, S bab.

⁴ SD nam mkha', Q rnam mkha', LN namkha'.

⁵ N spoño.

⁶ LN gnaso.

⁷ DQ dñar, SLN mñar.

⁸ DQ pa'i, SLN po'i.

⁹ SQLN padmas, D pad mas.

¹⁰ SDQ sdoñ po la, LN omit.

¹¹ SQLN padma'i, D pad ma'i.

¹² SDLN ga, Q kha.

¹³ SD ga'i, QLN kha'i.

¹⁴ SQLN padma'i, D pad ma'i.

¹⁵ L togo.

¹⁶ SDQ 'khri, LN 'khril.

¹⁷ SD 'khri, QN 'khril, L khril.

¹⁸ SQLN padma'i, D padma'i.

¹⁹ SQLN dandra padma, D dan dra pad ma.

²⁰ N phyuño.

²¹ LN namkha'.

²² SDQ thur, LN mthur.

²³ SQLN padma, D pad ma.

²⁴ N 'phyuño.

²⁵ DQLN 'bab, S bab.

²⁶ LN namkha'.

²⁷ LN sgrogso.

²⁸ DQ bzlog, SLN zlog.

²⁹ SDLN bžis, Q bžes.

do || byañ chub sems dpa'i yum ni skyes pa la 'dod chags mi skye žiñ | rñed pa dañ grags pa thob par gyur to || skyid pa sku la dub pa med par byañ chub sems dpa' de yañ rum du žugs nas | {Pā52} nor bu rin po che rab tu dañs pa srad bu dmar po la brgyus¹ pa bžin du mthoñ no² || gañ gi phyir yañ byañ chub sems dpa' žugs pa'i rum žes bya ba ni mchod rten gyi nañ bžin du sems can gžan gyis reg pa dañ loñs spyod par mi nus so³ || de'i phyir byañ chub sems dpa'i yum byañ chub sems dpa' 'khruñs nas žag bdun nas dus las 'das nas dga' Idan du skye bar 'gyur ro⁴ || ji ltar yañ bud med gžan zla ba bcu las dman pa 'am | lhag pa 'am | (60b) 'dug pa 'am | ñal nas skye'o || byañ chub sems dpa'i yum ni de lta bu ma yin te | de yañ byañ chub sems dpa' zla ba bcur rum du⁵ bsruñs nas 'greñ ba la skye'o || 'di ni byañ chub sems dpa'i yum thams cad kyi chos ñid do ||

II 14.

lha mo sgyu⁶ 'phrul ma chen mo yañ snod kyi nañ gi 'bru mar bžin du byañ chub sems dpa' zla ba bcur rum du⁷ 'tsho žiñ | rum⁸ yoñs su⁹ rdzogs nas gñen gyi groñ du 'gro'o žes rgyal po chen po zas gtsañ gi druñ du smras so¹⁰ || lha rigs kyi rgyud kyi groñ khyer chen po lha bstan du bdag 'gro bar 'dod do || rgyal pos legs so¹¹ žes brjod nas gñañ no¹² || ser skya'i gzi dañ | groñ khyer lha bstan gñis kyi bar gyi lam mtshuñs par byas nas | chu šin dañ | bum pa gañ ba¹³ dañ | rgyal mtshan dañ | ba dan la sogs pa'i rgyan 'dzugs su¹⁴ bcug nas lha mo gser gyi do li la bžugs te | blon po stoñ phrag gcig gis bteg ste | 'khor mañ po dañ bcas pa btañ¹⁵ no || groñ khyer gñis kyi bar du yañ | gñis ka'i groñ khyer pa¹⁶ gnas pa'i lumbi ni'i¹⁷ tshal žes bya ba la bkra sis pa'i šin sā la'i šin yod do || de'i dus su rtsa ba nas rtse mo'i¹⁸ yal ga'i bar thams cad du bar ma chad par me tog kha bye¹⁹ bar gyur to || yal ga'i bar

³⁰ SDQ sruñ, LN bsruñ.

¹ SDQ brgyus, LN rgyus.

² N mthoñ.

³ N nuso.

⁴ LN 'gyuro.

⁵ SDQL du, N omits.

⁶ SDLN sgyu, Q rgyu.

⁷ SDQN du, L omits.

⁸ SDLN rum, Q rud,

⁹ LN yoñsu.

¹⁰ LN smraso.

¹¹ LN legso.

¹² N gñañ.

¹³ The Pāli word *punnaghaṭṭa* translated by the Tibetan *bum pa gañ ba* has several possible renderings beyond its literal sense, and can represent a box of presents to be given away at feasts. See R. Morris, "Notes and Queries", *JPTS*, London: PTS, 1884, rpt. Delhi, 1985, pp. 88-89

¹⁴ N 'dzugsu.

¹⁵ L mthoñ, N mthoñ.

¹⁶ DQ pa, SLN omit.

¹⁷ S lumbi ni'i, D lumbi ni'i, Q lum bi ni'i, LN lum bi na'i. Pāli: Lumbinī, cf. Mvy no. 4123 (20) Lumbinī = Lum bi ni.

¹⁸ SQLN mo'i, D ma'i.

¹⁹ SDLN bye, Q byo.

ñid dañ | me tog gi bar kha dog sna lha pa'i buñ ba mañ po ldiñ ba dañ | rnam pa sna tshogs pa'i bya
 ba¹ mañ po'i tshogs ni sñan pa'i sgra dbyaṅs sgrogs śiñ spyod do || lumbi ni'i² tshal thams cad ni śiñ
 rta sna tshogs pa'i tshal³ bzin du mthu dañ dbañ (61a) phyug ni rgyal po'i mdzes par byas pa'i 'dun⁴
 sa lta bu de lha mos gzigs nas śiñ sā la'i tshal du rtse bar bsams pa skyes so⁵ || blon po rnams kyis lha
 mo bteg nas śiñ sā la'i tshal du bžugs⁶ so⁷ || de bkra śis pa'i śiñ sā la'i rtsa bar gśegs⁸ te | des śiñ sā la'i
 yal ga bzuñ⁹ par sems par gyur te | des śiñ sā la'i yal ga śin tu legs pa me la bsros¹⁰ nas bkug pa bzin du
 mdud pa la lha mo'i lag par ñe bar 'phyañ ño || de'i lag pa brkyañ nas yal ga'i rtse mo bzuñ ño¹¹ || de
 ma thag tu las kyi rluñ gis bskyod do || de nas de'i phyogs kun tu¹² yol ba byas nas skye bo thams cad
 phyrir riñ du gyur te | śiñ sā la'i yal ga bzuñ nas 'dug pa ñid la de ltar de'i mñal nas bltams par gyur to
 || de ma thag rnam par dag pa'i¹³ sems dañ ldan pa'i tshañs pa bzi pos gser gyi dra ba blañs nas sleb
 bo¹⁴ || de rnams kyis der gser gyi dra bas byañ chub sems dpa' blañs te yum gyi mdun na 'dug go¹⁵ ||
 lha mo sems sdug bsñal bar ma byed cig || khyod¹⁶ kyi sras dbañ phyug dañ grags pa dañ bcas pa
 bltams so¹⁷ žes smras so¹⁸ || de ltar yañ sems can gžan rnams ma'i rum nas 'thon¹⁹ pa na mi gtsañ bas
 gos śiñ skyug bro ba can 'thon²⁰ no²¹ || byañ chub sems dpa' ni de lta bu ma yin no²² || {Pā53} gžan
 yañ chos kyi khri nas chos 'chad pa 'bab pa²³ bzin dañ | skas la 'bab pa'i skyes bu bzin du lag pa gñis
 dañ rkañ pa gñis brkyañ nas 'dug pa ñid bzin no²⁴ || ma'i rum nas (61b) mi gtsañ ba cuñ zad kyis kyañ
 ma gos par dag ciñ 'jigs pa med pa bzin no²⁵ || yul²⁶ ka śi ka'i ras kyi nañ du nor bu rin po che bcug pa

¹ L ba, SDQN omit.

² S lumbi ni'i, D lumbi ni'i, Q lum bi ni'i, L lumbi na'i, N lum bi na'i.

³ DQ tshal, SLN chos.

⁴ SDL 'dun, QN mdun.

⁵ LN skyeso.

⁶ DQLN bžugs, S žugs.

⁷ LN bžugso.

⁸ SQLN omit, D pa.

⁹ SQLN bzuñ, D gzuñ.

¹⁰ D bsros, SQLN sros.

¹¹ N bzuño.

¹² SQLN tu, D du.

¹³ SLN dga' ba'i, DQ dag pa'i.

¹⁴ N slebo.

¹⁵ N 'dugo.

¹⁶ S khyod, DQLN khyed.

¹⁷ LN bltamso.

¹⁸ LN smraso.

¹⁹ SDLN 'thon, Q mthon.

²⁰ SDLN 'thon, Q mthon.

²¹ LN 'thono.

²² N yino.

²³ SDQL pa, N pa'i.

²⁴ N bžino.

²⁵ N bžino.

²⁶ DQ yul, SLN yum.

bzin du 'od 'gyed ciñ yum gyi rum nas 'thon¹ no² || de ltar gyur pa'i byañ chub sems dpa' de dañ | byañ chub sems dpa'i yum de dag par bya ba'i phyir nam mkha'³ nas chu'i rgyun gñis babs pas byañ chub sems dpa' dañ yum gyi sku dag par byas so⁴ ||

II 15.

de yañ gser gyi dra bas blañs nas tshañs pa 'dug pa'i lag nas rgyal po chen po bzi po⁵ rnams kyis bkra śis pa dañ | bde ba la reg par gnas par bya ba'i phyir gzig gi pags⁶ pas snar gyi bzin du blañs so⁷ || de rnams kyis lag nas mi rnams kyis du gu la'i ras kyis steñ du blañs so⁸ || mi rnams kyis lag tu btañ nas sa la gnas so⁹ || śar phyogs la gzigs te stoñ phrag du ma'i khor yug rnams phan tshun du mthoñ ño¹⁰ || de'i lha dañ mi rnams kyis me tog gi 'phreñ¹¹ ba dañ | spos la sogs pas mchod ciñ skyes bu chen po khyod lta bu 'di na med | khyod kyis goñ na gžan su yañ med do zes smras so¹² || de bzin du phyogs bzi dañ | mtshams bzi dañ | 'og dañ | steñ ste¹³ phyogs bcu po thams cad legs par gzigs nas bdag dañ mtshuñs pa med par mthoñ ño¹⁴ || de nas byañ gi phyogs su¹⁵ gom pa bdun bgrod¹⁶ do || tshañs pa chen po'i¹⁷ gdugs dkar po 'dzin ciñ | 'thab¹⁸ brañ bas rña yab g.yob¹⁹ pa | lha gžan rnams kyis²⁰ rgyal po la ñe bar mkho ba'i dños po ma lus pa lag tu thogs nas rjes su 'gro'o || de nas gom pa bdun pa la gnas pa na 'jig rten pa (62a) rnams las bdag mchog go zes²¹ pa la sogs pa'i śis²² pa brjod pa'i gtam brjod ciñ | señ ge'i sgra sgrogso²³ || byañ chub sems dpas²⁴ kyañ²⁵ skye ba gsum du yum gyi²⁶ rum nas 'thon²⁷ tsam na²⁸

¹ SDLN 'thon, Q 'don.

² N 'thono.

³ LN namkha'.

⁴ N byaso.

⁵ SDQL po, N omits.

⁶ SDQ pags, LN lpags.

⁷ LN blañso.

⁸ LN blañso.

⁹ N gnaso.

¹⁰ N mthoño.

¹¹ S 'phreñ, DQLN phreñ.

¹² LN smraso.

¹³ SDQ ste, LN de.

¹⁴ N mthoño.

¹⁵ LN phyogsu.

¹⁶ SD bgrod, QLN sgrod.

¹⁷ SDQL po'i, N po.

¹⁸ SDLN 'thab, Q mthab.

¹⁹ SDLN g.yob, Q g.yog.

²⁰ SDLN kyis, Q kyis.

²¹ SDQL zes, N tsas.

²² SDQ śis, LN śes.

²³ LN sgrogso.

²⁴ SDQ dpas, LN dpa'.

²⁵ SDQ kyañ, LN yañ.

²⁶ DQ omit: yum gyi.

gtam du brjod do || sman chen por skyes pa dañ | thams cad sgrol du skyes pa dañ | 'dir skyes pa'o || sman chen po skyes pa na yum gyi rum nas 'thon ma thag ñid du brgya byin lha'i rgyal po 'oñs te tsam¹ dan gyi sñiñ po lag tu thogs nas soñ ño² || de de rnams kyi khu tshur du bcug nas 'thon no || de nas yañ yum gyis dris pa | bu ci khyer nas 'oñs | ma sman yin no³ || 'dis sman khyer nas 'oñs pa'i phyir sman gyi khye'u zes bya bar miñ btags so⁴ || des sman blañs nas chu'i snod kyi nañ du bcug⁵ go⁶ || 'oñs śiñ 'oñs pa'i loñ ba dañ | 'on pa la sogs pa⁷ de rnams de ñid kyi⁸ nad thams cad ñe bar ži bas na sman par gyur to || de nas sman chen po sman chen po zes brjod ciñ skyes pa'i tshig gi rgyus sman chen po ñid de'i miñ du gyur to || gžan yañ thams cad sgrol du skyes pa na ma'i rum nas skyes tsam na lag pa g.yas pa brkyañ⁹ nas yum bdag cag gi khyim na sbyin pa btañ¹⁰ rgyu 'dra bdog gam¹¹ zes brjod ciñ 'thon no¹² || de nas de'i mas bu 'byor ba dañ ldan pa'i rigs su¹³ khyod skyes so¹⁴ || {Pā54} bu'i lag pa rañ gi lag pa'i steñ du bžag¹⁵ ste¹⁶ nor bu rin po che stoñ phrag gcig gi snod bžag go¹⁷ || gžan yañ 'di skyes pa na 'dis señ ge'i sgra sgrogso¹⁸ || de bžin du byañ chub sems dpa' skye ba gsum du ma'i rum nas skyes tsam nas gtam brjod (62b) do¹⁹ || ji ltar yañ rum du žugs tsam dañ bltams tsam na sum cu²⁰ rtsa gñis sñon gyi msthan ma bžin du skyes par gyur to ||

II 16.

gžan yañ gañ gi tshe bdag cag gi²¹ byañ chub sems dpa' lumbi ni'i²² tshal²³ du bltams so²⁴ || de ma

²⁷ SDQ 'thon, LN thon.

²⁸ SDQ na, LN nas.

¹ SDL tsam, QN can.

² LN soño.

³ L yino.

⁴ LN btagso.

⁵ SDLN bcug, Q 'jug.

⁶ L bcugo.

⁷ SDQ pa, LN pa'i.

⁸ SLN kyi, DQ kyis.

⁹ SDQ brkyañ, LN rkyañ.

¹⁰ DQ btañ, SLN gtañ.

¹¹ S gam, DQLN ge.

¹² LN 'thono.

¹³ LN rigsu.

¹⁴ LN skyeso.

¹⁵ DQLN bžag, S žag.

¹⁶ SDQ ste, LN te.

¹⁷ LN bžago.

¹⁸ LN sgrogso.

¹⁹ L brjodo.

²⁰ SDLN cu, Q bcu.

²¹ SDQL gi, N gis.

²² S lumbi ni'i, D lumbi ni'i, QN lum bi na'i, L lumbi na'i.

²³ SDQ tshal, LN 'tshal.

²⁴ LN bltamso.

thag tu lha mo sgra gcan 'dzin gyi ma dañ | blon po 'dun¹ pa dañ | blon po nag po 'char ka dañ | rta'i rgyal po bsnags ldan dañ | byañ chub kyis šiñ dañ | gter bži'i bum pa skyes so² || de la gcig la rgyañ³ grags bži dañ | gcig la rgyañ⁴ grags brgyad dañ | gcig la rgyañ⁵ grags bcu gñis dañ | gcig la rgyañ⁶ grags bcu drug go⁷ || bdun po 'di lhan cig⁸ tu skyes pa yin no⁹ ||

II 17.

groñ khyer gñis na gnas pa'i mi rnams kyis byañ chub sems dpa' khrid nas groñ khyer ser skya'i gzi kho nar phyin no || ñi ma de ñid la groñ khyer ser skya'i gzi la rgyal po chen po zas gtsañ gi sras por bltams so¹⁰ || gzon nu 'di byañ chub šiñ gi druñ du bžugs nas sañs rgyas su¹¹ 'gyur ro¹² zes pa la | sum¹³ cu¹⁴ rtsa gsum gyi gnas kyis lha rnams kyis¹⁵ dga' ba dañ tshim pas lag pa gyen du bskyod¹⁶ nas rtse žiñ bstod pa byed do¹⁷ || de'i tshe rgyal po chen po zas gtsañ gi¹⁸ mchod gnas sñoms¹⁹ par 'jug pa brgyad thob pa'i dka' thub pa nag po²⁰ lha len zes bya ba kha zas bzañ po la loñs spyod do²¹ || ñin mo ñi ma la mi gnas pa'i phyr sum cu²² rtsa gsum gyi gnas su²³ 'gro žiñ der bde bar 'dug nas lha de rnams blta'o || khyed rnams ci'i phyr 'di ltar dga' ba'i sems kyis rste²⁴ | bdag kyañ 'di rnams kyis ched du bya ba kho bo la ston (63a) cig ces dris so || lha rnams kyis smras pa | drañ sroñ chen po rgyal po chen po²⁵ zas gtsañ gi sras bltams so²⁶ || des byañ chub šiñ gi druñ du bžugs nas sañs rgyas su²⁷ gyur

¹ D 'dun, SQLN mdun.

² LN skyeso.

³ SDLN rgyañ, Q brgyañ.

⁴ SDLN rgyañ, Q rgyad.

⁵ SDLN rgyañ, Q rgyad.

⁶ SDLN rgyañ, Q rgyad.

⁷ L drugo.

⁸ SDLN cig, Q gcig.

⁹ LN yino.

¹⁰ L bltamso.

¹¹ N rgyasu.

¹² LN 'gyuro.

¹³ SDQN sum, L gsum.

¹⁴ SDLN cu, Q bcu.

¹⁵ SDLN kyis, Q kyis.

¹⁶ DQLN omit, S pa.

¹⁷ L byedo.

¹⁸ SDQ gi, LN gis.

¹⁹ SDQN sñoms, L sñom.

²⁰ SDQ po, LN pa.

²¹ L spyodo.

²² SDLN cu, Q bcu.

²³ LN gnasu.

²⁴ SDLN rste, N brtse.

²⁵ SDQL chen po, N omits.

²⁶ LN bltamso.

²⁷ LN rgyasu.

nas chos kyi 'khor lo bskor ro¹ || de nas mtha' yas pa'i sañs rgyas kyi rol mo blta ba dañ | chos thams cad thob bo² sñam pa 'di rnams kyi rgyu mtshan gyis dga' bar gyur to || dka' thub pas de'i tshig thos nas myur du lha'i yul nas babs te | rgyal po'i gnas su³ 'oñs nas | gdan bśams pa la 'dug ste | bu rnams rgyal po chen po'i sras su⁴ gyur pa de bdag gis blta'o žes smras so⁵ || rgyal pos rgyan dañ ldan pa'i gžon nu blañs nas dka' thub pa la phyag bya ba'i phyir byañ chub sems dpa'i žabs kyis bskor nas dka' thub pa'i ral pa'i steñ na 'dug go⁶ || byañ chub sems dpas kyañ de rnams kyi⁷ lus kyis phyag byed par rig⁸ pa⁹ gžan med do¹⁰ || gal te mi šes pas byañ chub sems dpa'i dbu la dka' thub pa'i rkañ pa bžag na de'i mgo tshal pa bdun du 'gas par 'gyur ro¹¹ || dka' thub pas bdag ñams pa'i phyir du rigs pa ma yin no¹² || stan las lañs nas byañ chub sems dpa' la thal mo sbyar ro¹³ || rgyal pos ya mtshan che ba gzig nas rañ gi sras la phyag byas so¹⁴ || dka' thub pas 'das pa'i bskal pa bži bcu dañ | ma 'oñs pa'i bskal pa bži bcu ste | bskal pa brgyad cu¹⁵ rjes su¹⁶ dran no¹⁷ || byañ chub sems dpa'i mtshan ñid phun sum tshogs pa mthoñ nas sañs rgyas¹⁸ bar (63b) 'gyur ram mi 'gyur žes brtags pas the tshom med pas¹⁹ sañs rgyas su²⁰ 'gyur bar rtogs te | 'di ya mtshan che ba'i skyes bu yin no žes bsams nas bgad do²¹ || {Pā55} de nas 'di nas sañs rgyas nas bdag gis mthoñ ñam mi mthoñ žes brtags pas mi mthoñ ño || bar du dus las 'das nas sañs rgyas brgya 'am | sañs rgyas stoñ gšegs nas brtag par mi nus pa'i gzugs med pa'i gnas su skye bar ñes par mthoñ ño²² || 'di lta bu'i tshal gyi²³ ya mtshan che ba'i skyes bu mthoñ bar mi nus so sñam ste bdag gi sems śin tu sdug bsñal bar gyur nas ñus so²⁴ || de mi rnams kyis mthoñ ste | bdag cag gi 'phags pa res²⁵ 'ga' ni dgod²⁶ | res²⁷ 'ga' ni ñu ba'i rgyu mtshan ci lags | bdag cag gi

¹ LN bskoro.

² N thobo.

³ LN gnasu.

⁴ LN srasu.

⁵ L smraso.

⁶ LN 'dugo.

⁷ SDQ kyi, LN kyis.

⁸ DQLN rig, S rigs.

⁹ S pa la, Q par, DLN pa.

¹⁰ LN medo.

¹¹ LN 'gyuro.

¹² LN yino.

¹³ LN sbyaro.

¹⁴ L byaso.

¹⁵ SDLN cu, Q bcu.

¹⁶ LN rjesu.

¹⁷ L drano.

¹⁸ QLN rgyas, SD rgya.

¹⁹ SQLN pas, D par.

²⁰ L rgyasu.

²¹ L bgado.

²² N mthoño.

²³ SDQ gyi, LN gyis.

²⁴ LN ñuso.

²⁵ SDQ res, LN re.

sras 'phags pa la bar du gcod pa 'on nam zes dris so¹ || 'di la bar du gcod pa mi 'byun zin the tshom med par sañs rgyas su² 'gyur ro³ zes smras so⁴ || 'o na gañ gi phyir du zes dris so⁵ || 'di lta bu'i tshul gyis⁶ skyes bu sañs rgyas⁷ bar 'gyur ba bdag gis mthoñ bar mi 'gyur bas bdag sin tu nes par sdug bsñal lo || de'i phyir rañ gi ched du mya nan gyis nu'o zes smras so⁸ ||

II 18.

des na ci'i phyir rañ gi ñe du rnams las 'ga' zig gis 'di sañs rgyas su⁹ gyur nas mthoñ par 'gyur ram mi 'gyur zes brtags pas tsha bo¹⁰ nā la ka'i¹¹ gzon nus¹² mthoñ ño || de sriñ mo'i khañ par soñ ste | nā la ka gzon nu de gañ na yod | 'phags pa khañ pa na yod do || de bos la sog | de rañ gi gnas su¹³ 'oñs nas nā la ka la smras so¹⁴ || tsha bo¹⁵ rgyal po chen po zas (64a) gtsañ gi¹⁶ rigs kyi bu 'khruñs so¹⁷ || 'di ni sañs rgyas kyi myu gu'o || lo sum cu¹⁸ rtsa lña 'das nas sañs rgyas su¹⁹ 'gyur zin | khyod kyis 'di mthoñ bar 'gyur bas da lta²⁰ ñid du rab tu byun ba gyis sig²¹ ces smras so²² || bye ba brgyad cu²³ rtsa bdun gyi nor gyi rigs la skyes pa'i gzon nus | zañ²⁴ po 'dis bdag la don med ciñ dgos pa med do zes brjod par bsams so²⁵ || de ma thag tu rañ gi tshoñ gnas su²⁶ ñur smrig²⁷ gi gos ñid dañ sa'i lhuñ²⁸ bzed

²⁶ SDLN dgod, Q rgod.

²⁷ SDQ res, LN re.

¹ N driso.

² N rgyasu.

³ LN 'gyuro.

⁴ LN smraso.

⁵ LN driso.

⁶ SDQ gyis, LN gyi.

⁷ QLN rgyas, SD rgya.

⁸ LN smraso.

⁹ N rgyasu.

¹⁰ SDQ tsha bo, LN tsha'o.

¹¹ DQLN nā la ka'i, S na la ka'i. Pāli: Nālaka.

¹² N gzonus.

¹³ N gnasu.

¹⁴ LN smraso.

¹⁵ SDQ tsha bo, LN tsha'o.

¹⁶ SDLN gi, Q gis.

¹⁷ LN 'khruñso.

¹⁸ SDLN cu, Q bcu.

¹⁹ N rgyasu.

²⁰ SDQL lta, N ltar.

²¹ SDQN sig, L cig.

²² LN smraso.

²³ SDLN cu, Q bcu.

²⁴ SDLN zañ, Q žad.

²⁵ N bsamsso.

²⁶ N gnasu.

²⁷ SDQN smrig, L smig.

²⁸ SDQN lhuñ, L lhu.

blañs nas | skra dañ kha sbu¹ bregs te ñur smrig² gi gos gyon nas | gañ žig 'jig rten pa'i gañ zag gi mchog gi mchog la bsams śiñ bdag rab tu 'byuñ bar 'gyur ro³ žes bsams te | byañ chub sems dpa'i phyogs su⁴ thal mo sbyar nas yan lag lñas⁵ phyag byed do⁶ || lhuñ bzed snod du bcug nas phrag pa la gzar⁷ te gañs⁸ can du gśegs nas dge sbyoñ gi chos byed do⁹ || des mchog tu mñon par rdzogs par sañs rgyas pa'i de bžin gśegs pa'i¹⁰ druñ du ñe bar soñ ste | nā la ka'i so so'i rtogs pa'i gтам thos nas slar yañ gañs can du gśegs te dgra bcom pa thob bo¹¹ | mchog tu rtogs dka' ba rtogs nas zla ba bdun ñid kyi nañ du tshe 'das te gser gyi ri gcig la brten¹² nas 'dug ste¹³ lhag ma med par yoñs su¹⁴ mya ñan las 'das pa'i dbyiñs su¹⁵ yoñs su¹⁶ mya ñan las 'das so¹⁷ ||

II 19.

byañ chub sems dpa' yañ žag lña nas dbu 'khru¹⁸ bar byed ciñ miñ 'dogs par rigs so¹⁹ žes bsams nas rgyal po'i pho brañ la dri bži'i rigs kyis byug²⁰ pa²¹ byas te | rin po (64b) che lña'i me tog gcal²² du bkram nas chu med pa'i 'o ma btsos pa'i 'o thug 'tshod ciñ rig byed gsum gyi pha rol tu son pa'i bram ze brgya²³ rtsa brgyad mgron²⁴ du gñer te rgyal po'i pho brañ du bžugs nas | {Pā56} kha zas bzañ po la loñs spyod ciñ bskur²⁵ sti chen po byas nas mtshan ñid ji lta bu žes dris so || de rnams las

¹ SDQ sbu, LN spu.

² SDQN smrig, L smig.

³ N 'gyuro.

⁴ LN phyogsu.

⁵ SD lñas, QLN lña'i.

⁶ L byedo.

⁷ SN gzar, DQL gzer.

⁸ SDQN gañs, L gsañ.

⁹ N byedo.

¹⁰ LN omit: de bžin gśegs pa'i.

¹¹ DQ bo, SLN omit.

¹² SDQN brten, L rten.

¹³ SQ ste, D de, LN te.

¹⁴ LN yoñsu.

¹⁵ N dbyiñsu.

¹⁶ N yoñsu.

¹⁷ N 'daso.

¹⁸ DQLN 'khru, S khru.

¹⁹ N rigso.

²⁰ SDQ byug, LN phyug.

²¹ SDQL pa, N par.

²² SDQL gcal, N cal.

²³ SDLN brgya, Q rgya.

²⁴ SDQ mgron, LN 'gron.

²⁵ DQL bskur, SN bkur.

Unidentified verse¹

dga' byed dañ | rgyal mtshan dañ | mtshan ñid dañ | rigs kyi sñags pa dañ |
 kō ñdi nya² dañ | lag pa can dañ | gśin rje bzañ dañ | legs sbyin te |
 de rnams de'i tshe bram ze brgyad yin no³ ||
 yan lag drug gi sñags⁴ brda sprad⁵ nas

bram ze brgyad po 'di lta bu ñid kyi mtshan ñid so sor brjod⁶ nas dga' ldan gnas nas ma'i mñal du
 zugs pa'i mtshan ñid 'di rnams kyiś bśad do || de rnams las bram ze bdun gyis mdzub⁷ mo gñis
 bsgreñs te don gñis luñ bstan no⁸ || mtshan ñid 'di dañ ldan pa'i⁹ khyim na gnas na 'khor los¹⁰ sgyur¹¹
 ba'i rgyal por 'gyur ro¹² || rab tu byuñ na sañs rgyas¹³ bar 'gyur ro¹⁴ || 'khor los¹⁵ sgyur¹⁶ ba'i phun
 sum tshogs pa thams cad bśad pa rdzogs nas | gźan de rnams kyi nañ nas thams cad kyi gźon śos kyi
 rigs ni kō ñdi nya¹⁷ bram ze'i khyeu'o¹⁸ źes bya ba'o¹⁹ || byañ chub sems dpa' de'i miñ²⁰ tshan²¹
 mchog rnams rdzogs par btags so²² || 'di ni khyim na gnas pa'i rgyu med pas mtha' gcig ñid du khyim
 na mi gnas par sañs rgya'o || mdzub²³ mo gcig bsgreñs te 'di ltar luñ bstan no²⁴ || 'di ni śnar gyi gzi

¹ *Jātakanidāna* p.56; sTog 64b; Ap-a p.60.

Jātakanidāna p.56,

Rāmo Dhajo Lakkhaṇo cāpi Mantī
 Koṇḍañño ca Bhojo Suyāmo Sudatto,
 ete tadā aṭṭha ahesuṃ brāhmaṇā,
 chaḷaṅgavā mantam vyākariṃsu ti.

² D kō ñdi nya, S ko ñi nya, Q go ñi nya, LN kō ñi nya.

³ N yino.

⁴ DQLN sñags, S bsñags.

⁵ SDQ brda sprad, LN brda' spyad.

⁶ DQLN brjod, S rjod.

⁷ SDL mdzub, QN 'dzub.

⁸ N bstano.

⁹ S pa'i, DQLN pas.

¹⁰ DQ los, SLN lo.

¹¹ SDQ sgyur, LN bsgyur.

¹² LN 'gyuro.

¹³ Q rgyas, SDLN rgya.

¹⁴ N 'gyuro.

¹⁵ DQ los, SLN lo.

¹⁶ SDQ sgyur, LN bsgyur.

¹⁷ D kō ñdi nya, S ko'u ñi nya, Q ko ñi nya, LN kō ñi nya.

¹⁸ SN khyeu'o, DQL khye'u'o.

¹⁹ SDLN ba'o, Q bya'o.

²⁰ SDQ miñ, LN ma'i.

²¹ SQLN mtshan, D tshad.

²² LN btagso.

²³ SD mdzub, QLN 'dzub.

²⁴ N bstano.

byas pas phyis mir gyur pa na śes rab dañ ldan no¹ || bram ze bdun las lhag par gyur nas (65a) 'di'i²
mtshan ñid rig³ par ldan nas khyim du gnas pa'i miñ yañ med do⁴ || the tshom⁵ med par sañs rgya bar
'gyur te 'gro ba gcig las gžan ma mthoñ no⁶ || de'i phyir mdzub⁷ mo gcig bsgreñs te 'di ltar luñ bstan
no ||

II 20.

de nas bram ze de rnams rañ gi khyim du 'gro žiñ bu rnams bos te || bu bdag cag rnams rgan por gyur
pas | rgyal po chen po zas gtsañ gi sras thams cad mkhyen pa thob par gyur pa na bdag cag dañ mjal⁸
bar 'gyur ram mi 'gyur cha med kyis | khyod de'i sras kyis thams cad mkhyen pa thob par gyur nas |
de'i bstan pa la rab tu byuñ cig⁹ ces smras so¹⁰ || bram ze bdun po rnams kyis kyañ ji srid tshe gnas kyi
bar ji ltar byas pa'i las rtogs so¹¹ || bram ze'i khye'u kō ṇḍi nya¹² ñid nad med par gyur nas gnas so¹³ ||
de'i sems dpa' chen po blo dañ ldan pa nes par 'byuñ ba chen pos mñon par byuñ nas go rims bžin du
lteñ¹⁴ rgyas su¹⁵ soñ no || sa phyogs 'di ni ñams dga' bas rigs kyi bu sa phyogs 'di dka' ba spyod pa'i
gnas su¹⁶ rig¹⁷ par sems skyes pas der gnas te | skyes bu chen po rab tu byuñ no žes thos nas bram ze'i
bu'i gnas su¹⁸ ñe bar soñ no¹⁹ žes smras so²⁰ || gžon nu don grub rab tu byuñ nas the tshom²¹ med par
de sañs rgya bar 'gyur ro²² || gal te khyed rnams kyi pha nad med par gnas na | de riñ phyin nas rab tu
byuñ ba byed do²³ || gal te khyod kyañ 'dod na 'dir 'oñs nas²⁴ bdag gis skyes bu de'i rjes su²⁵ rab tu

¹ N Idano.

² DQ 'di'i, SLN 'di yi.

³ SDQ rig, LN rigs.

⁴ N medo.

⁵ DLN tshom, SQ tsom.

⁶ N mthoño.

⁷ SD mdzub, QLN 'dzub.

⁸ SDLN mjal, Q 'jal.

⁹ DQL cig, SN žig.

¹⁰ LN smraso.

¹¹ LN rtogso.

¹² D kō ṇḍi nya, S ko'u ḍi nya, Q ko'u ni nya, LN kō ḍi nya.

¹³ LN gnaso.

¹⁴ SD lteñ, QLN steñ.

¹⁵ N rgyasu.

¹⁶ N gnasu.

¹⁷ SDQ rig, LN rigs.

¹⁸ N gnasu.

¹⁹ N soño.

²⁰ LN smraso.

²¹ DLN tshom, QS tsom.

²² NL 'gyuro.

²³ N byedo.

²⁴ SDQ nas, LN na.

²⁵ N rjesu.

'byuñ¹ bar bgyi'o || de thams cad 'dun² pa gcig par ma nus par skye bo bzi po (65b) las kō ṅḍi nyas³
gtso bo byas nas skye bo lña po rab tu byuñ ste | {Pā57} de rnams kyi skye bo lña po ni gnas brtan lña
sde zes bya ba'i rigs su⁴ gyur to ||

II 21.

gžan yañ de'i tshe rgyal po 'di skad du gañ mthoñ nas bdag gi bu rab tu⁵ 'byuñ⁶ zes 'dri'o || sñon gyi
mtshan ma bzi mthoñ bas de gañ dañ rgas śiñ 'khogs pa dañ | na ba dañ | 'chi ba dañ | rab tu byuñ pa'o
|| rgyal pos 'di rnams bzuñ⁷ nas 'di lta bu'i tshul bdag gi⁸ bu dañ ñe bar 'oñ du ma 'jug cig⁹ | bdag gi
sras kyis sañs rgyas thob kyañ don med do¹⁰ || bdag gi sras stoñ phrag gñis kyi¹¹ gliñ 'khor dañ bcas pa'i
gliñ chen po bzi po rnams kyi dbañ phyug gi bdag po'i rgyal po byed ciñ | dpag tshad sum cu¹² rtsa
drug gi khor yug gi 'khor nam mkha'i dbyiñs su¹³ gšegs pa la blta bar 'dod do || slar yañ 'di ltar brjod
ciñ 'di lta¹⁴ bu'i rnam pa bzi'i skyes bu gžon nu'i mig lam du 'oñ ba bsruiñ žiñ phyogs bžir rgyañ
grags bzi bžir bsruiñ ba bžag go¹⁵ ||

II 22.

de'i ñi ma la yañ bkra śis pa'i gnas su¹⁶ 'dus¹⁷ pa'i rigs kyi ñe du stoñ phrag brgyad cu¹⁸ po re
re'i bu brgya yoñs su¹⁹ ster bar bsams so²⁰ || 'di sañs rgyas su 'gyur ram | rgyal por 'gyur ram |
bdag gi²¹ bu re re ster ro²² || gal te sañs rgyas par gyur na rgyal rigs kyi dge sbyoñ ñid kyis
mdun rgyab thams cad du bskor nas 'gro ba yin no || gal te rgyal por gyur na rgyal rigs kyi

¹ SDLN 'byuñ, Q byuñ.

² SDQ 'dun, LN bdun.

³ D kō ṅḍi nyas, S ko ḍi nya, Q ko ḍi nas, LN kō ḍi nya.

⁴ N rigsu.

⁵ SDLN rab tu, Q gañ.

⁶ SDLN 'byuñ, Q 'byuñ ba.

⁷ SDQ bzuñ, LN gzuñ.

⁸ SD gi, QLN gis.

⁹ SDLN cig, Q ciñ.

¹⁰ N medo.

¹¹ SDLN kyi, Q kyis.

¹² SDLN cu, Q bcu.

¹³ LN namkha'i dbyiñsu.

¹⁴ SDLN lta, L lta'i.

¹⁵ LN bžago.

¹⁶ N gnasu.

¹⁷ SLN 'dus, D 'das, Q 'dug.

¹⁸ SDN cu, QL bcu.

¹⁹ LN yoñsu.

²⁰ LN bsamso.

²¹ DQLN gi, S gis.

²² N stero.

gzon nu ñid kyis mdun rgyab kun nas bskor nas 'gro'o¹ zes smra zin 'bul lo² || rgyal pos kyañ
 byañ chub sems dpa' la gzugs mchog dañ ldan pa (66a) skyon thams cad spañs pa'i nu ma
 snun³ pa ñid gnas⁴ pa byin no || byañ chub sems dpa' 'khor mtha' yas pa dpal dañ skal ba⁵
 'phel ba dañ ldan no ||

II 23.

de nas ñi ma gcig⁶ la rgyal po'i 'bras 'debs pa la bkra sis byed do || de'i ñi ma la gron khyer thams cad
 du lha gsegs pa bzin du brgyan no⁷ || bran dañ las byed pa la sogs pas gos legs po gyon nas | spos dañ |
 me tog gi 'phreñ⁸ ba la sogs pas brgyan par byas nas rgyal po'i pho brañ gi nañ du 'dus so⁹ || rgyal
 po'i gzis rnams la zin rmo ba stoñ phrag gcig rigs so¹⁰ || slar yañ de'i ñi ma la gcig gis¹¹ dman pa'i zin
 rmo ba brgyad brgya dañ bcas pa'i glañ gi gña' šin gi thag pa dnul las byas pa dañ | rgyal po 'dzin pa'i
 zin rmo ba'i thoñ¹² pa slar yañ gser las¹³ byas par gyur to || glañ gi rwa¹⁴ gñis la gser gyis bskus so¹⁵ ||
 kha dañ ska'i thag pa ni gser la'añ byas so¹⁶ || rgyal po'i 'khor chen po dañ bcas pa byon nas sras
 blañs te gsegs so¹⁷ || gzis kha'i gnas na šin 'dzam bu¹⁸ gcig la lo ma mañ pos grib ma stug por gyur pa
 žig yod pa'i 'og tu gzon nu'i mal stan chen po byas nas steñ du bla¹⁹ res gser gyi skar ma dañ mtshuñs
 pa bres te | lcags ri ltar yol bas phyogs kun nas bskor te²⁰ | rgyal po rgyan²¹ thams cad kyis brgyan par
 byas nas blon po 'khor dañ bcas pa zin rmo ba'i gnas su²² gsegs te | der²³ rgyal pos gser gyi thoñ²⁴ pa
 bzuñ ño²⁵ || gcig gis dman pa'i brgyad²⁶ brgya'i²⁷ dnul gyi thoñ pa blon pos bzuñ ste | (66b) so nam²⁸

¹ SDN 'gro'o, Q 'gro, L 'gro bo.

² N 'bulo.

³ DQLN snun, S bsun.

⁴ SDLN gnas, Q gñis.

⁵ SDN ba, Q bar, L pa.

⁶ SDQN gcig, L cig.

⁷ LN brgyano.

⁸ S 'phreñ, DQLN phreñ.

⁹ SDQ 'dus so, LN 'dug go.

¹⁰ LN rigso.

¹¹ SD gis, QLN gi.

¹² SDQL thoñ, N mthoñ.

¹³ SDQL las, N la.

¹⁴ SDQN rwa, L rā.

¹⁵ LN skuso.

¹⁶ L byaso.

¹⁷ L gsegso.

¹⁸ DQN 'dzam bu, SL 'dzambu.

¹⁹ SQLN bla, D gla.

²⁰ SLN te, DQ to.

²¹ SDQ rgyan, LN brgyan.

²² LN gnasu.

²³ SDQ der, LN de ltar.

²⁴ SDQL thoñ, N mthoñ.

²⁵ N bzuño.

byed pa'i skye bo rnams kyis thoñ pa lhag ma rnams bsłañs so¹ || de rnams kyis² thoñ pa bzuñ³ nas | de⁴ dañ der sgal rmo'o || rgyal pos slar yañ 'di nas phar 'gro žiñ pha rol nas tshur 'oñs so⁵ | de'i gnas phun sum mtshogs par 'gyur ro⁶ žes bsam⁷ nas | {Pā58}

II 24.

byañ chub sems dpa' 'khor dañ bcas pa bžugs pa'i nu ma snun⁸ pa rnams rgyal po'i phun sum tshogs par blta'o || yol ba'i nañ nas phyr 'thon no || byañ chub sems dpa' de dañ der gzigs pas gcig kyañ mi snañ ño⁹ || myur par lañs nas skyil kruñ¹⁰ bcas te | rluñ 'byuñ ba dañ rñub ciñ bzuñ bas bsam¹¹ gtan dañ po skyes so¹² || nu ma snun¹³ pa rnams kha zas za ba'i phyr phan tshun du 'gro žiñ de ma thag cuñ zad thogs par gyur to || śiñ gžan rnams kyi¹⁴ grib ma mi ldog ciñ | gžan yañ śiñ de'i grib ma rnams kun nas gnas so¹⁵ || nu ma snun¹⁶ pa rnams kyis¹⁷ sras 'phags pa žes gcig tu brjod ciñ myur du yol ba steñ du¹⁸ brdzes te nañ du žugs nas | byañ chub sems dpa' mal stan la skyil kruñ¹⁹ gis bžugs pa de'i cho 'phrul mthoñ nas soñ ste rgyal po la žus so²⁰ || lha gžon nu 'di lta bu'i tshul gyis bžugs so²¹ || 'di ltar śiñ gžan rnams grib ma mi bzlog go || śiñ 'dzam bu'i²² grib ma ni kun nas²³ gnas so²⁴ || rgyal po myur du byon nas cho 'phrul blta²⁵ ste | sras 'di la phyag gñis pa ste žes brjod nas sras la phyag btsal lo²⁶ ||

²⁶ SDQL omit, N pa'i.

²⁷ SDQL brgya'i, N omits.

²⁸ SDQ nam, LN nams.

¹ LN bsłañso.

² SDQL kyis, N kyi.

³ SDQL bzuñ, N gzuñ.

⁴ SQLN de, D da.

⁵ N 'oñso.

⁶ LN 'gyuro.

⁷ SDQ bsam, LN bsams.

⁸ DQLN snun, S bsnun.

⁹ LN snaño.

¹⁰ SDN skyil kruñ, Q dkyil kruñ, L dkyil dkruñ.

¹¹ SDLN bsam, Q bsams.

¹² LN skyeso.

¹³ DQLN snun, S bsnun.

¹⁴ SDQN kyi, L gyi.

¹⁵ L gnaso.

¹⁶ DQLN snun, S bsnun.

¹⁷ SDLN kyis, Q kyi.

¹⁸ SD steñ du, Q steñs su, LN steñsu.

¹⁹ SDN skyil kruñ, Q dkyil kruñ, L dkyil dkruñ.

²⁰ LN žuso.

²¹ LN bžugso.

²² SDQN 'dzam bu'i, L 'dzambu'i.

²³ LN naso.

²⁴ SDQ gnas so, LN omit.

²⁵ DQLN blta, S lta.

²⁶ L btsalo.

II 25.

de nas go rims bzin du byañ chub sems dpa' lo bcu drug pa'i na (67a) tshod du gyur to || rgyal pos byañ chub sems dpa' la dus gsum du rjes su¹ rigs par khañ bzañs² gsum byas nas gcig dgu thog | gcig la³ bdun thog | gcig la lña thog go⁴ || stoñ phrag bzi bcu'i gar byed pa'i bud med rnams ñe bar gnas par byas so⁵ || byañ chub sems dpa' ni lha bzin du lha dañ 'dra ba'i bud med rnams 'khor du byas nas rgyan gyis brgyan pa'i bud med du ma dañ bcas pa skyes pa med pa'i rol mo sgrogs pa 'khor du bya ste | phun sum tshogs pa chen po rjes su⁶ myoñ bar byed do⁷ || dus kyi res dañ | dus kyi res la⁸ de dañ de'i khañ bzañs su⁹ bžugs so¹⁰ || gžan yañ sgra gcan¹¹ 'dzin gyi ma de ñid btsun mo rnams kyi gtso mor gyur to || de'i de bzin du phun sum tshogs pa chen po rjes su¹² myoñ bar byed do¹³ || ñi ma gcig la ñe du'o¹⁴ nañ du 'di lta bu'i gtam byuñ ño¹⁵ || don grub rtsed mos brjed nas gšegs śiñ bzo cuñ zad kyañ mi slob bo¹⁶ || g.yul so so nas ñe bar gyur na ci byed | de'i tshe byañ chub sems dpa' bos nas | bu khyod kyi ñe du rnams don grub bzo cuñ zad kyañ mi slob ciñ rtsed mos gšegs nas 'gro'o žes zer ro || 'dir g.yul byuñ na ji ltar byed ces bsams || lha ñas bzo bslabs pa la dgos pa med do¹⁷ || groñ khyer gyi mi rnams bdag gi bzo blta¹⁸ ba'i sems yod na dril¹⁹ sgrogs śig | 'di nas žag bdun pa la ñe du rnams la bzo bstan par bgyi'o || rgyal pos de bzin du byas so²⁰ || byañ chub sems dpas²¹ sgra la 'phen pa dañ | spu²² la 'phen (67b) pa dañ | gžu thogs pas²³ 'dus par byas nas skye bo mañ po'i nañ du gžan gžu thogs pa dañ thun moñ²⁴ ma yin pa ñe du rnams la bzo²⁵ bcu gñis bstan no²⁶ || de rnams mda'²⁷ 'joms

¹ LN rjesu.² SDQ bzañs, LN bzañ.³ SDQN la, L omits.⁴ L thogo.⁵ LN byaso.⁶ LN rjesu.⁷ N byedo.⁸ SDQ la, LN pa.⁹ D bzañs su, SQLN bzañ du.¹⁰ LN bžugso.¹¹ SDLN gcan, Q can.¹² LN rjesu.¹³ N byedo.¹⁴ SDQ ñe du'o, LN de'i.¹⁵ N byuño.¹⁶ N slobo.¹⁷ LN medo.¹⁸ DQLN blta, S lta.¹⁹ SDLN dril, Q gril.²⁰ LN byaso.²¹ SDQ dpas, LN dpa'.²² SLN spu, DQ spun.²³ S pas, DQLN pa.²⁴ SDQ moñ, LN moñs.²⁵ SDQL bzo, N bza.

pa'i skyes rabs las 'byuñ¹ ba'i tshul bzin du rig² par bya'o || de'i ñe du rnams kyi the tshom³ sel lo⁴||

II 26.

gžan yañ byañ chub sems dpa' skyed⁵ mos tshal du gšegs par bsams nas kha lo sgyur⁶ ba bos te | śiñ rta chas su⁷ chug cig ces smras so⁸ || des legs so⁹ žes brjod cin tshig thos nas | śiñ rta chen po'i 'khor lo'i mchog la ji ltar rigs pa'i rgyan thams cad kyis brgyan nas | ku mu da'i¹⁰ 'dab¹¹ ma'i mdog dañ 'dra ba'i bkra śis pa'i rta bžis śiñ rta khrid nas byañ chub sems dpa' gšegs so¹² ¹³ žes smras so¹⁴ | {Pā59} byañ chub sems dpa' lha'i gžal med khañ bzin du śiñ rta la žon nas skyed¹⁵ mos tshal gyi phyogs su gšegs so¹⁶ ||

II 27.

lha rnams kyis¹⁷ gžon nu don grub kyi mñon par rdzogs par byañ chub pa'i dus ni ñe bar gyur to || śnar¹⁸ gyi mtshan ma rnams blta bar rigs so¹⁹ || lha'i bu gcig²⁰ gi²¹ rgas pa | 'khogs pa | so byi ba | skra dkar ba²² | sgur²³ ba | rgyab grum pa'i lus can | lag tu 'khar²⁴ ba thogs pa | skad 'dzer bar byed pa bstan no || de byañ chub sems dpa' ²⁵ kha lo sgyur²⁶ bas mthoñ ño²⁷ || de nas byañ chub sems dpas²⁸ kha lo

²⁶ N bstano.

²⁷ SDQ mda', LN mña'.

¹ SDLN 'byuñ, Q byuñ.

² SDQ rig, LN rigs.

³ SDLN tshom, Q tsom.

⁴ N selo.

⁵ SDQN skyed, L skyes.

⁶ SDQL sgyur, N bsgyur.

⁷ LN chasu.

⁸ LN smraso.

⁹ N legso.

¹⁰ SQLN ku mu ta'i, D ku mu da'i.

¹¹ SDLN 'dab, Q mdab.

¹² LN gšegso.

¹³ SDLN omit, Q byañ chub.

¹⁴ LN smraso.

¹⁵ SDQN skyed, L bskyed.

¹⁶ LN phyogsu gšegso.

¹⁷ SDLN kyis, Q kyi.

¹⁸ SQLN śnar, D slar.

¹⁹ LN rigso.

²⁰ SLN gcig, DQ cig.

²¹ SQLN gi, D gis.

²² SDQ ba, LN omit.

²³ SDQ sgur, LN bsgur.

²⁴ SDQ tu 'khar, L du khar N tu khar.

²⁵ SLN omit, DQ dañ.

sgyur ba la dris so¹ || skyes bu 'di gañ žig yin | skra² yañ gžan dañ mi 'dra ba ji lta bu | gtso bo chen po'i mdo nas byuñ ba bžin³ 'dri bar bya'o || de'i tshig thos nas skye ba (68a) mi rtag ciñ skyes par gyur pa⁴ thams cad rgas par 'gyur ro⁵ žes sems sdug bsñal žiñ de ñid du bzlog⁶ nas | rañ gi khañ bzañs⁷ ñid du gšegs so⁸ || rgyal pos rgyu mtshan ci'i phyir bdag gi sras po myur du ldog pa ci'i phyir dris so⁹ || lha rgas śiñ 'khogs pa'i mi gcig mthoñ bas rab tu 'byuñ ño¹⁰ || myur du bu la gar byed pa rnams sta gon gyis śig¹¹ | phun sum tshogs pa ñams su¹² myoñ bar byas pas rab tu 'byuñ ba rjes su¹³ dran par mi 'gyur ro¹⁴ žes smras nas sruñ¹⁵ bar byed pa spel te phyogs thams cad du rgyaň grags brgyad brgyad du bžag go¹⁶ ||

II 28.

gžan yañ ñi ma gcig la byaň chub sems dpa' de bžin du skyed¹⁷ mos tshal du gšegs pa na lhas sprul pa'i nad pa žig¹⁸ mthoñ nas sñar bžin du dris so¹⁹ || sems sdug bsñal bar 'gyur²⁰ te | slar yaň bzlog nas rañ gi khañ bzañs²¹ su²² gšegs so²³ || rgyal pos yaň dris pa | sñar²⁴ de bžin du byas nas | slar yaň spel te thams cad du rgyaň grags bcu gñis kyi sa'i char sruñ bar byed pa bžag go²⁵ ||

II 29.

²⁶ LN bsgyur.

²⁷ N mthoño.

²⁸ DN dpas, SQL dpa'.

¹ N driso.

² D skra, SQLN sgra.

³ SDQN bžin, L gžin.

⁴ DQLN pa, S pas.

⁵ LN 'gyuro.

⁶ SDQN bzlog, L bzlogs.

⁷ SDLN bzañs, Q bzañ.

⁸ LN gšegso.

⁹ N driso.

¹⁰ N 'byuño.

¹¹ SDQ śig, L cig, N žig.

¹² LN ñamsu.

¹³ N rjesu.

¹⁴ LN 'gyuro.

¹⁵ SDLN sruñ, Q bsruñ.

¹⁶ N bžago.

¹⁷ SDQN skyed, L skyes.

¹⁸ SQN žig, D gcig, L cig.

¹⁹ N driso.

²⁰ SDQL 'gyur, N gyur.

²¹ SDLN bzañs, Q bzañ.

²² N bzañsu.

²³ LN gšegso.

²⁴ SDQ sñar, LN lñar.

²⁵ N bžago.

yañ ñi ma gžan la byañ chub sems dpa' de bžin du skyed mos tshal¹ du gšegs pa na lhas sprul pa'i dus la 'das pa žig² mthoñ nas sñar bžin du³ dris te | sems sdug bsñal bar gyur nas | slar yañ bzlog ste⁴ khañ bzañs su⁵ gšegs nas rgyal pos dris pa sñar⁶ bžin du byas nas | slar yañ bsruñ ba spel te kun nas bskor bar dpag tshad gcig⁷ gi tshad la bsruñ ba bžag go⁸ ||

II 30.

slar yañ ñi ma gžan la skyed mos tshal du gšegs pa na de bžin du lhas sprul (68b) pa'i gos bzañ po legs pa gyon pa'i rab tu byuñ ba žig⁹ gzigs nas | 'di'i miñ ci žes kha lo ba la dris so¹⁰ || gañ du yañ sañs rgyas byon par ma gyur ciñ rab tu byuñ pa'i yon tan mi šes¹¹ lha'i mthus slar yañ lha rab tu byuñ ba yin žes brjod do¹² | rab tu byuñ ba'i yon tan la bsñags pa brjod do¹³ || byañ chub sems dpa' rab tu byuñ¹⁴ ba la 'dun pa skyes nas de'i ñin mo skyed¹⁵ mos tshal du gšegs so¹⁶ || slob dpon kha cig 'di skad zer te | snun gyi mtshan ma bži pa ñi ma gcig¹⁷ ñid la mthoñ ño¹⁸ žes zer ro || de ni mi 'thad do ||

II 31.

de la ñin mo'i char rtse žiñ bkra šis pa'i rdziñ bur khru byas nas¹⁹ | ñi ma nub pa na bkra šis pa'i rdo leb kyi stan la bžugs so²⁰ || rañ la rgyan gyis brgyan par sems so²¹ || de nas rjes su²² 'brañ ba'i skyes bu rnams kha dog sna tshogs pa'i gos dañ rgyan rnam pa sna tshogs pas brgyan | me tog gi phreñ ba dañ | spos dañ | byug pa la sogs pa blañs²³ nas phyogs kun tu²⁴ bskor nas 'dug go²⁵ || de ma thag par brgya

¹ SDQN tshal. L 'tshal.

² SQN žig, D gcig, L cig.

³ SDQ du, LN omit.

⁴ SDQ ste, LN te.

⁵ SQ bzañ du, D bzañs su, LN bzañs du.

⁶ SDQ sñar, LN slar.

⁷ SDQN gcig, L cig.

⁸ N bžago.

⁹ S žig, DN gcig, QL cig.

¹⁰ N driso.

¹¹ SDLN omit, Q pa.

¹² SDQN do, N de.

¹³ SDQN do, L de.

¹⁴ SDQL byuñ, N 'byuñ.

¹⁵ SDQ skyed, LN skyes.

¹⁶ N gšegso.

¹⁷ SDQ gcig, LN cig.

¹⁸ N mthoño.

¹⁹ DQ nas, SLN omit.

²⁰ LN bžugso.

²¹ N semso.

²² N rjesu.

²³ SD blañs, L blañ, N blañs.

²⁴ SQN tu, DL du.

²⁵ N 'dugo.

byin sdod pa'i gdan dro bar gyur to || {Pā60} gañ žig bdag gi gnas 'dor ba'i sems su¹ žig² la skyes par gyur žes brtags so³ || byañ chub sems dpa'i rgyan byed pa'i dus mthoñ no⁴ || las thams cad pa bos so || las thams cad pa gžon nu⁵ don grub de⁶ riñ gi mtshan phyed kyi dus su ñes par 'byuñ ba chen pos 'thon no || 'di de'i phyi ma'i rgyan yin no || skyed mos tshal du soñ la skyes bu chen po lha'i rgyan gyis brgyan par gyis śig⁷ | des de⁸ thos⁹ nas legs so¹⁰ žes brjod de lha'i mthus (69a) de ma thag par ñe bar soñ ste | de'i rim gro pa dañ mtshuñs par gyur nas | rim gro pa'i lag tu ras blañs¹¹ nas byañ chub sems dpa'i dbu la bciñs so¹² || byañ chub sems dpas¹³ mgo la lag pas¹⁴ reg pa¹⁵ na¹⁶ 'di mi ma yin te | lha'i bu yin par śes so¹⁷ || bciñs pa tsam na bciñs pa'i dbu'i cod pan nor bu¹⁸ rin po che'i rnam pa la stoñ phrag gcig gi¹⁹ du gu²⁰ la'i ras kyis bciñs so²¹ || slar yañ 'chiñ ba na du gu²² la'i ras stoñ phrag gcig²³ gis lan bcu dkris nas stoñ phrag bcus du gu²⁴ la'i ras bciñs so²⁵ || dbu ni chuñ žiñ²⁶ du gu²⁷ la'i ras ni mañ bas ji ltar bciñ²⁸ žes mi bsam mo²⁹ || de rnam thams cad la 'khri³⁰ žiñ sã ka la'i³¹ me tog gi tshad tsam che ba'o || yañ na ku ba'i me tog gi tshad tsam du gyur to || byañ chub sems dpa'i dbu ki

¹ LN semsu.

² SDN žig, QL śig.

³ LN brtagso.

⁴ N mthoño.

⁵ N gžonu.

⁶ SD de, QLN di.

⁷ SDN śig, QL cig.

⁸ SDLN de, Q omits .

⁹ SDQ thos, LN thoñ.

¹⁰ N legso.

¹¹ SQLN blañs, D bsłañs.

¹² N bciñso.

¹³ SDQ dpas, LN dpa'.

¹⁴ DQ pas, SLN pa.

¹⁵ SDQ pa, LN omit.

¹⁶ SDQ na, LN nas.

¹⁷ N śeso.

¹⁸ SDQ bu, LN bu'i.

¹⁹ DQLN gi, S gis.

²⁰ SDQL gu, N ku.

²¹ N bciñso.

²² SDQ gu, LN ku.

²³ SDQN gcig, L cig.

²⁴ SDQL gu, N ku.

²⁵ N bciñso.

²⁶ SDQ žiñ, LN žig.

²⁷ SDQL gu, N ku.

²⁸ SDQ bciñ, LN bciñs.

²⁹ LN bsamo.

³⁰ SNL 'khri, D khri, Q khro.

³¹ LN sã la'i for sã ka la'i.

dza la ka'i me tog ltar mtshuñs pa'o || yañ na gu¹ spyā² ka'i me tog ltar gyur pa'o || de nas rgyan³ thams cad kyis so sor brgyan nas rol mo thams cad rañ rañ gi⁴ sgra 'byin žiñ bram ze rnams rgyal bar gyur cig | dga' bar gyur cig ces rnam⁵ pa sna tshogs pa'i bkra śis kyis bstod pa'i dbyañs byed do || rgyan thams cad kyis brgyan nas mchog gi śiñ rta la chibs so⁶ ||

II 32.

de'i tshe grags 'dzin ma la bu btsas⁷ so || rgyal po zas gtsañ gis thos nas | bdag gi bu dga' bar bya ba'i phyir pho ña ba⁸ btañ⁹ ño¹⁰ || byañ chub sems dpas¹¹ de¹² thos nas¹³ sgra gcan 'dzin skyes pas 'ciñ ba skyes so¹⁴ žes gsuñs so¹⁵ || rgyal po bdag gi¹⁶ bu la ci'i phyir (69b) 'dri | de'i tshig thos te 'di nas bzuñ ste¹⁷ bdag gi tsha po¹⁸ gžon nu sgra gcan¹⁹ 'dzin ñid miñ du gyur to žes smras so²⁰ ||

II 33.

byañ chub sems dpa'²¹ kyañ²² grags pa chen pos śin tu dga' ba dañ | dpal dañ | skal ba bzañ po dañ ldan pa'i groñ khyer du gśegs so²³ || de'i tshe gō ta mi skem mo²⁴ žes bya ba rgyal rigs kyi bu mo khañ bzañs²⁵ kyī²⁶ steñ du 'dug pas groñ khyer la bskor ba byed pa'i byañ chub sems dpa'i dpal dañ ldan pa'i gzugs mthoñ nas | dga' ba dañ yid bde ba skyes te ched du brjod pa 'di ched du brjod do ||

¹ SDQ gu, LN ku.

² SQLN spyā, D sphya.

³ SDQ rgyan, LN omit.

⁴ SDQL gi, N omits.

⁵ SDQN rnam, L rnams.

⁶ LN chibso.

⁷ SD btsas, Q bcas, LN bcaso.

⁸ SDQ ba, LN omit.

⁹ SDLN btañ, Q gtañ.

¹⁰ LN btaño.

¹¹ DQLN dpas, S dpa'

¹² SDQ de, LN des.

¹³ SDLN nas, N omits.

¹⁴ N skyeso.

¹⁵ LN gsuñso.

¹⁶ SDQN gi, L gis.

¹⁷ SDQ bzuñ ste, L bzuñs te, N gzuñs te.

¹⁸ SD tsha po, Q cha'o, LN tsha'o.

¹⁹ SDQL gcan, N can.

²⁰ N smraso.

²¹ S dpa', DQLN dpas.

²² DQLN kyañ, S yañ.

²³ LN gśegso.

²⁴ D gō ta mi skem mo, S go'u ta mi skyem mo, Q go ta mi skem mo, L gō ta mi skem mo, N gō ta mi skemo.

²⁵ D bzañs, SQLN bzañ.

²⁶ D kyī, SQLN gi.

Mvu II p.157¹

de yi ma ni ži bar gyur² | de yi³ pha ni nes par ži ||
de yi bud med nes žir gyur || de yi⁴ yañ⁵ ni de bdag mtshuñs || {Pā61}

byañ chub sems dpa's thos nas bsams pa | 'di 'di lta bur smras⁶ pa⁷ | 'di lta bu'i tshul gyi bdag ñid kyi
lus mthoñ bas ma'i sems ži bar gyur⁸ | pha'i sems ži bar gyur⁹ | skye dgu dañ skye dgu'i bdag mo'i
sems ži bar gyur žes smra'o || ci'i phyir sems ži ba žes bya ba'i don gañ | de nas ñion moñs pa'i chags
pa med pa'i sems la de skad brjod do || 'dod chags kyi me ži bar gyur pa ni ži ba'i miñ du gyur to ||
skyon gyi me dañ gti mug gi me ži bar gyur pa ni ži ba'i miñ du gyur to || ña rgyal dañ lta ba la sogs
pa'i ñion moñs pa kun skyes pa thams cad ži ba ni ži ba'i miñ du brjod do || 'di bdag la tshig sñan pa
brjod ciñ | bdag ni mya ñan las 'das pa tshol du 'gro žiñ tshol lo¹⁰ || de¹¹ riñ ñid nas bdag khyim na gnas
pa spañs nas nes par 'byuñ bas rab tu byuñ nas mya ñan las 'das pa tshol bar rigs (70a) so¹² || 'di ni
bdag gi slob dpon mar gyur to || gō ta mī skem mo¹³ la 'bum phrag gcig¹⁴ ri ba'i mu tig gi dra ba
mgrin pa nas bkrol te bskur ro¹⁵ || des don grub gžon nu¹⁶ bdag la chags śiñ žen par gyur pas sems rten
bskur ba yin pas | des sems bde ba skyes par gyur to ||

II 34.

byañ chub sems dpa' ni dpal dañ ldan pa skal ba bzañ po dañ ldan pa'i rañ gi khañ bzañs su¹⁷ gśegs

¹ *Jātakanidāna* p. 60; sTog 69b; Mvu II p.157; Bv-a p.280; Dhp-a I p.85; Ap-a p.65; Dhs-a p.34 ; Thūp p.165

Jātakanidāna p. 60,

Ñibbutā nūna sā mātā,
ñibbuto nūna so pitā,
ñibbutā nūna sā nāri
yassāyaṃ idiso patīti.

Mahāvastu II p.157,

nirvṛtā khalu te mātā pitā puna' te nirvṛte
nirvṛtā puna' sā nāri yasya bhartā bhaviṣyasi.

² SDQL gyur, N 'gyur.

³ SDQ de yi, LN de'i.

⁴ SDQL yi, N omits.

⁵ SDQL omit, N de.

⁶ SQLN smras, D smra.

⁷ SDLN pa, Q omits.

⁸ SDQ gyur, LN omit.

⁹ SDQ gyur, LN 'gyur.

¹⁰ N tsholo.

¹¹ DLN de, SQ di.

¹² N rigso.

¹³ D gō ta mī skem mo, S go'u ta mi skem mo, Q gō'u ta mi skem mo, LN gō ta mi skem mo.

¹⁴ SDQN gcig, L cig.

¹⁵ N bskuro.

¹⁶ N gžonu.

¹⁷ SLN bzañ du., DQ bzañs su.

nas dpal gyi mal stan la gzims¹ so || de ma thag tu² rgyan thams cad kyis brgyan pa'i glu dañ gar rnam legs par bslabs pa'i lha'i bu mo dañ 'dra ba'i gzugs mchog dañ ldan pa'i bud med rnam kyis rnam pa sna tshogs pa'i rol mo bzuñ nas de la yoñs su³ bskor nas | mñon par dga' bar byed ciñ gar dañ | glu dañ | rol mo la sogs pa byed par rtsom mo⁴ || byañ chub sems dpa' ñion moñs pa la mi dga' ba'i sems kyis⁵ gar la sogs pa la mñon par dga' ba med pas yud tsam gyis⁶ mnal du bžud do || bud med de rnam kyañ gañ gi don du ñed⁷ rnam kyis gar la sogs pa byed pa la de mnal du gšegs so⁸ || da⁹ ni ci'i phyir bdag cag ñal bar byed | gañ dañ gañ bslabs pa'i rol mo rnam sa¹⁰ la bžag nas ñal lo¹¹ || dri bzañ¹² dañ ldan pa'i 'bru mar gyi mar me dañ ldan pa'i byañ chub sems dpa' rab tu sad nas mal gyi steñ du skyil kruñ¹³ gis bžugs nas gzigs pas bud med rnam rol mo bžag nas gñid du soñ ba gzigs so¹⁴ || kha cig mchil ma lug pa dañ | kha cig ni lus (70b) la mchil mas gos pa'i dri ma can du gyur pa dañ | kha cig ni so 'cha'¹⁵ ba dañ | kha cig ni ñar ñar 'byin pa dañ | kha cig ni rña ma rmi 'chad pa dañ | kha cig ni kha gdañs¹⁶ pa dañ | kha cig ni gos žus¹⁷ pa dañ | 'ga' žig gi ni mtshan ma snañ ño¹⁸ || byañ chub sems dpas de rnam kyi¹⁹ rnam 'gyur gzigs nas thugs 'jigs pas 'dod pa la mi dga' bar gyur to || de'i rgyan du byas pa ni ñe bar ldan pa brgya byin gyi pho brañ dañ mtshuñs pa'i khañ bzañs²⁰ chen po yañs śin | rnam²¹ pa sna tshogs pa'i dri ña bas gañ ba'i ro dañ ldan pa'i dur khrod dañ mtshuñs par bsams so²² || strid pa gsum po²³ me 'bar ba'i khyim dañ mtshuñs par bsams so²⁴ || bdag la gnod par byed pa dañ |²⁵ 'tshe bar byed pa'o žes ched du brjod pa 'chad ciñ śin tu rab tu²⁶ byuñ²⁷ bar 'dod par

¹ SDL gzims, Q gzigs, N gzimso.

² SDQN tu, L du.

³ N yoñsu.

⁴ N rtsomo.

⁵ SDLN kyis, Q kyi.

⁶ SDQ gyis, LN gyi.

⁷ SDLN ñed, Q ded.

⁸ N gšegso.

⁹ SDLN da, Q de.

¹⁰ D sa, SQLN omit.

¹¹ N ñalo.

¹² DQL bzañ, SD bzañs.

¹³ SDN skyil kruñ, QL dkyil dkrũs.

¹⁴ LN gzigso.

¹⁵ SD 'cha', Q 'tshal, LN 'cha.

¹⁶ SDQ gdañs, LN bdañs.

¹⁷ SDLN žus, Q žugs.

¹⁸ N snaño.

¹⁹ SDQ kyi, LN kyis.

²⁰ SD bzañs, QLN bzañ.

²¹ SDQN rnam, L rnam.

²² LN bsamso.

²³ SDQ po, LN pa.

²⁴ LN bsamso.

²⁵ SDLN omit, Q 'tshe bar byed pa dañ.

²⁶ SDQN tu, L du.

gyur to ||

II 35.

de bdag gis¹ de² riñ ñid³ nas ñes par 'byuñ ba chen pos 'thon bar bsams te | mal nas bzeñs nas sgo
 dañ ñe bar gsegs te 'di na⁴ su yod ces dris so⁵ || {Pā62} blon po 'dun⁶ pa them pa la sñas byas nas
 ñal lo⁷ || 'phags pa bu bdag blon po 'dun⁸ pa yin no⁹ zes smras so¹⁰ || da¹¹ ni ñes par 'byuñ ba chen pos
 'thon par 'dod do || bdag gi rta gcig¹² la sga gyis śig¹³ | des lha legs so¹⁴ zes brjod nas rta'i sga khyer te
 rta rar soñ nas dri bzañ po dañ ldan pa'i 'bru mar gyi mar me sbar¹⁵ ba su ma na'i¹⁶ me tog can gyi¹⁷ dar
 gyi bla¹⁸ res kyi 'og na śin tu dga' ba'i sa phyogs la sdod pa'i rta'i rgyal po bsñags¹⁹ ldan mthoñ ño²⁰ ||
 da ni bdag gis 'di ñid kyi sga²¹ bya bar rig nas bsñags ldan la sga sgron no || des (71a) sga sgron par
 śes nas 'di sga sgron pa na glo bsdams²² so²³ || ñi ma gžan la skyed²⁴ mos tshal du rtshed²⁵ mo la 'gro
 ba'i dus su sga²⁶ 'di ltar ma byas so²⁷ || bdag gi sras 'phags pa | da²⁸ ni ñes par 'byuñ ba chen pos 'thon
 par 'dod par gyur to sñam nas | sems dga' bas rta skad tsher tsher 'don pa de'i sgra groñ khyer thams
 cad du grags par byed pa slar yañ lha rnam kyis de'i sgra bkag nas sus²⁹ kyañ mi thos par byas so³⁰ ||

²⁷ SLN byuñ, DQ 'byuñ.¹ SQLN gis, D gi.² D de, SQLN di.³ SLN ñid, DQ omit.⁴ SDQ na, LN omit.⁵ N driso.⁶ D 'dun, SQLN mdun.⁷ N ñalo.⁸ D 'dun, SQLN mdun.⁹ N yino.¹⁰ N smraso.¹¹ SDLN da, Q de.¹² DQ gcig, SLN cig.¹³ SDQN śig, L cig.¹⁴ N legso.¹⁵ D sbar, SQLN spar.¹⁶ SDLN na'i, Q ñiñi.¹⁷ DQLN gyi, S gyis.¹⁸ SDQN bla, L rla.¹⁹ SDQ bsñags, LN sñags.²⁰ N mthoñ.²¹ SDQ sga, LN sgra.²² SDQ bsdams, LN sdams.²³ N sdamso.²⁴ SDLN skyed, Q bskyed.²⁵ SD rtshed, Q tshed, LN brtsed.²⁶ SDQ sga, LN sgra.²⁷ N byaso.²⁸ SDLN da, Q de.²⁹ LN nasus for nas sus.

II 36.

byañ chub sems dpas kyañ blon po 'dun¹ pa rta'i gnas su² btañ³ nas re žig bu la blta bar bsams so⁴
 || grags 'dzin ma'i gnas su⁵ gšegs te sgo phye nas de ma thag par ñal sa'i nañ du dri bzañ po dañ ldan
 pa'i 'bru mar gyi mar me spar ba⁶ grags 'dzin ma su ma na'i me tog dañ | mal li ka'i⁷ me tog la sogs
 pa'i me tog mal gyi steñ du khal gcig⁸ tsam bkram pa'i steñ du | bu'i mgo'i steñ du⁹ lag pa bžag nas
 gñid du soñ ba la | byañ chub sems dpas sgo'i them pa'i steñ du žabs ya gcig¹⁰ bžag ste¹¹ 'khod pas
 gzigs so¹² || gal te bdag gis¹³ lha mo'i lag pa nas 'then nas rañ gi bu¹⁴ bsłañ¹⁵ bar bsams te | lha mo gñid
 sad na bdag ñid 'gro ba'i bar gcod du 'gyur žiñ sañs rgyas su¹⁶ gyur nas bu blta'o sñam du¹⁷ sems te
 khañ bzañs nas babs so¹⁸ || slar yañ slób dpon kha cig 'di ltar smras ste¹⁹ | de'i tshe byañ chub sems
 dpa' gšegs pa'i sñon rol gyi ñi ma bdun gyi goñ du skyes so²⁰ žes zer ro || de 'dra gžan du ma bśad pas
 de'i phyir 'di kho na gzuñ²¹ bar bya'o ||

II 37.

'di ltar byañ chub sems dpa' (71b) khañ bzañs²² nas babs nas rta'i ra²³ ba ñid du gšegs te 'di ltar gsuñs
 so²⁴ || bu bsñags ldan khyod kyis da ni nub gcig²⁵ bsgral²⁶ bar gyis šig²⁷ | bdag khyod kyis drin gyis

³⁰ LN byaso.

¹ D 'dun, SQLN mdun.

² LN gnasu.

³ SD btañ, QLN gtañ.

⁴ LN bsamsso.

⁵ N gnasu.

⁶ SDQL pa, N omits.

⁷ SL ma la la ki'i, DQ mal li ka'i, N ma la la ka'i.

⁸ SDQ gcig, LN cig.

⁹ SDQ bu'i mgo'i steñ du, LN omit.

¹⁰ SDQ gcig, LN cig.

¹¹ SDQ ste, LN te.

¹² LN gzigso.

¹³ SDQL gis, N gi.

¹⁴ SDQ bu, LN omit.

¹⁵ SDQ bsłañ, LN blañs.

¹⁶ LN rgyasu.

¹⁷ DQ sñam du, SLN omit.

¹⁸ LN babso.

¹⁹ DQ ste, SLN te.

²⁰ LN skyeso.

²¹ SDLN gzuñ, Q bzuñ.

²² SDQ bzañs, LN bzañ.

²³ SDLN ra, Q ri.

²⁴ LN gsuñso.

²⁵ SDQ gcig, LN cig.

²⁶ SDQ bsgral, LN sgral.

²⁷ SDQ šig, L cig, N žig.

sañs rgyas su¹ gyur nas lha dañ bcas pa'i 'jig rten thams cad bsgral² bar bya'o || de nas bsñags ldan gyi rgyab tu³ chibs so⁴ || bsñags ldan gyi ske nas bzun nas mchu ru⁵ khru bco⁶ brgyad pa | de dañ 'thun⁷ pa'i mtho tshad dañ ldan zin mthu dañ mgyogs pa dañ ldan la duñ phyis pa'i kha dog ltar thams cad dkar ba dañ mtshuñs pa'o || gal te tsher tsher⁸ sgrogs pa 'am | rmig pa'i sgra sgrogs pa'i sgras groñ khyer thams cad grags⁹ par 'gyur ro¹⁰ || de'i¹¹ phyir lha rañ gi mthus de sus kyañ mi thos par de 'di ltar sgra sgrogs pa bkag go¹² || khrab¹³ khrab 'gro ba'i rkañ lag gi rmig pa re re lha'i lag pa'i mthil du ñe bar bžag¹⁴ go¹⁵ ||

II 38.

byañ chub sems dpas rta'i rgyab kyī dbus su bžugs so¹⁶ || {Pā63} blon po 'dun¹⁷ pa rta'i mjug¹⁸ ma¹⁹ nas zuñ cig²⁰ ces mtshan phyed kyī dus su sgo chen po dañ ñe bar phyin to || de'i tshe slar yañ 'di ltar rgyal po chen pos 'di ltar byañ chub sems dpa' gañ gi dus su yañ groñ khyer chen po'i sgo phye nas phyi rol du²¹ 'gro bar mi nus par phyed sgo ma'i sgo glegs²² re re la mi stoñ phrag re res dbye dgos par bskos²³ so²⁴ || byañ chub sems dpa' stobs dañ ldan pas glañ po che'i grañs bye ba stoñ phrag bcu'i glañ po che'i stobs 'dzin no²⁵ || mi'i grañs kyis²⁶ mi bye ba 'bum phrag gcig gi²⁷ mi'i stobs 'dzin no ||

¹ N rgyasu.

² SDQ bsgral, LN sgral.

³ SDQ tu, LN du.

⁴ N chibso.

⁵ DQLN mchu ru, S chur.

⁶ SQLN bco, D bcwa.

⁷ SDQ 'thun, LN mthun.

⁸ SDQ tsher, LN omit.

⁹ SLN grags, DQ grag.

¹⁰ SDQ ro, LN pa'o.

¹¹ SDQL de'i, N deñ.

¹² N bkago.

¹³ SDQ khrab, LN khra.

¹⁴ DQLN bžag, S gžag.

¹⁵ LN bžago.

¹⁶ N dbusu bžugso.

¹⁷ D 'dun, SQLN mdun.

¹⁸ SDLN mjug, Q 'jug.

¹⁹ SDQ ma, LN pa.

²⁰ SDQL cig, N žig.

²¹ SDQL du, N tu.

²² SDQ glegs, LN gleg.

²³ SDN bskos, QL bkos.

²⁴ N bskoso.

²⁵ N 'dzino.

²⁶ SDQL kyis, N kyī.

²⁷ DQLN gi, S gis.

byañ chub sems dpas bsams pa | gal¹ te sgo ma phyed na² (72a) da ni bsñags ldan gyi rgyab tu³
 bžugs pa ñid du⁴ blon po 'dun⁵ pas rña ma nas bzuñ ba dañ lhan cig ñid du bsñags⁶ ldan brla⁷ btsir
 nas khru bco⁸ brgyad pa'i lcags ri'i mtho tshad la mchoñs te 'da' bar bsams so⁹ || blon po 'dun¹⁰ pas
 bsams pa | gal te sgo ma phyed na | bdag gis¹¹ 'phags pa sras dpuñ pa la khyer nas lag pa g.yas pas
 bsñags¹² ldan gyi gsus pa mchan khuñ du bcug nas lcags ri la mchoñs te 'da' bar bsams so¹³ || bsñags¹⁴
 ldan gyis¹⁵ bsams pa | gal te sgo ma phyed na bdag gis rañ gi¹⁶ bdag po ji ltar rgyab tu¹⁷ bžugs pa de bžin
 ñid du blon po 'dun¹⁸ pas rña ma nas bzuñ nas lhan cig tu gnas pa ñid du¹⁹ khur nas lcags ri la mchoñs
 te 'da' bar bsams so²⁰ || gal te sgo ma phyed par gyur na²¹ ji ltar bsams²² pa de bžin du gsum po'i nañ
 nas gañ yañ ruñ ba²³ gcig ñes par 'gyur ro²⁴ || slar yañ sgo sruñ²⁵ ba'i lha rnams kyis sgo phye'o ||

II 39.

de ma thag ñid du bdud kyis byañ chub sems dpa'²⁶ bzlog par bsams²⁷ nas 'oñs te nam mkha'²⁸ la
 'dug nas smras pa | drañ sroñ chen po ñes par 'byuñ bas ma 'gro žig²⁹ | 'di nas ñi ma bdun pa la
 khyod³⁰ kyis rin po che'i 'khor lo thob par 'gyur ro³¹ || gliñ phran stoñ phrag gñis kyis yoñs su³² bskor

¹ SDLN gal, Q lag.

² DQLN na, S nas.

³ SDQN tu, L du.

⁴ SQLN du, D ni.

⁵ D 'dun, SLN mdun.

⁶ SDN bsñags, QL bsñag.

⁷ SDQ brla, LN brla'.

⁸ SLN bco, D bcwa, Q bcu.

⁹ N bsamsso.

¹⁰ D 'dun, SQLN mdun.

¹¹ SDQ gis, LN gi.

¹² SDLN bsñags, Q bsñag.

¹³ LN bsamsso.

¹⁴ SDLN bsñags, Q bsñag.

¹⁵ SDLN gyis, Q gyi.

¹⁶ DQ gi, SLN omit.

¹⁷ SQDN tu, L du.

¹⁸ D 'dun, SQLN mdun.

¹⁹ DQLN du, S omits.

²⁰ N bsamsso.

²¹ SDLN na, Q nas.

²² SDLN bsams, Q bsam.

²³ SDQ ba, LN omit.

²⁴ LN 'gyuro.

²⁵ L gsruñ, N bsruñ.

²⁶ SDQ dpa', LN dpa'i.

²⁷ SDLN bsams, Q bsam.

²⁸ LN namkha'.

²⁹ SN žig, D cig, Q ciñ, L gcig.

³⁰ SDQN khyod, L khyed.

ba'i gliñ chen po bzi'i rgyal srid byed par 'gyur ro || drañ sroñ chen po zlog¹ cig ces smras so² ||
 khyod su žig yin žes dris so³ || bdag ni 'jig rten gyi dbaň po yin žes smras so⁴ || bdud rin po che'i
 'khor lo bdag la yod⁵ bar (72b) bdag gis šes te bdag la rgyal po'i dgos pa med do⁶ || stoñ phrag bcu'i
 'jig rten gyi khams su⁷ sgra sgrogs šiň saňs rgya bar 'gyur ro⁸ žes brjod do⁹ || bdud kyis smras pa |
 'di nas bzuň¹⁰ nas 'dod pa'i rnam par rtog pa 'am | gnod sems kyis rnam par rtog pa 'am | rnam par
 'tshe ba'i rnam par rtog pa sems la bsams pa'i dus¹¹ bu bdag gis šes so¹² žes smras so¹³ || grogs daň ma
 bral bar grib ma bzin du rjes su¹⁴ 'brel bar 'gro'o ||

II 40.

byañ chub sems dpa' yaň 'khor los¹⁵ sgyur ba'i rgyal srid lag tu¹⁶ thogs kyaň mchil ma'i thal ba bzin du
 ltos pa med par dor¹⁷ nas bkur sti chen pos groñ khyer nas phyir 'thon no || dbyar zla 'briñ po'i ña la
 mchog gi skar ma bre'i dus su¹⁸ phyir 'thon nas slar yaň groñ khyer la bzlog nas blta bar brjod par
 bsams so¹⁹ || 'di ltar byañ chub sems dpa'i thugs la 'khuñs tsam ñid na'o || skyes bu chen po khyod
 kyis log nas blta ba'i las kyis bsod nams khyod kyis byas pa med dam žes brjod pa bzin du | sa gzi
 chen po rdza mkhan gyi 'khor lo bzin du phug nas bzlog go²⁰ || byañ chub sems dpa' groñ khyer la
 šiñ du phyogs šiň 'khod nas²¹ | groñ khyer la gzigs te de'i sa phyogs žig tu²² bsnags ldan ldog pa'i
 mchod rten gyi gnas gcig bstan no²³ || {Pā64} bsnags ldan 'gro ba'i lam la mñon du phyogs par byas

³¹ N 'gyuro.

³² L yoñsu.

¹ SDN zlog, QL bzlog.

² N smraso.

³ N driso.

⁴ LN smraso.

⁵ SLN yod, D yoñ, Q yoñs.

⁶ L medo.

⁷ LN khamsu.

⁸ N 'gyuro.

⁹ L brjodo.

¹⁰ SDLN bzuň, Q gzuň.

¹¹ SDL omit, QN su.

¹² LN šeso.

¹³ N smraso.

¹⁴ LN rjesu.

¹⁵ DQ los, SLN lo.

¹⁶ SDQN tu, L du.

¹⁷ SDLN dor, Q don.

¹⁸ N dusu.

¹⁹ LN bsamso.

²⁰ N bzlogo.

²¹ DQ nas, SLN omit.

²² SDQN tu, L du.

²³ L bstano.

nas byon no¹ || bkur sti chen po dañ | dpal dañ | skal ba bzañ po dañ ldan no || de'i tshe lha rnam kyis de'i mdun du stoñ phrag drug cu'² mar me chen po sbar ro³ || rgyab kyi phyogs su⁴ yañ mar me chen po stoñ (73a) phrag drug cu'⁵ sbar ro || g.yas gyi phyogs su⁶ yañ mar me chen po stoñ phrag drug cu'⁷ sbar ro || g.yon gyi phyogs su⁸ yañ mar me chen po stoñ phrag drug cu'⁹ sbar ro¹⁰ || lha gžan rnam kyis kyañ khor yug gi ri'i steñ du grañs med pa'i mar me stoñ phrag mañ po sbar ro¹¹ || lha gžan rnam dañ | klu dañ | 'dab bzañs¹² la sogs pas lha'i spos dañ | me tog gi 'phreñ¹³ ba dañ | phye ma dañ | bdrug pa la sogs pas mchod ciñ 'gro'o || pā ri tsatsha ttra'i¹⁴ me tog ñid dañ | man dā ra'i¹⁵ me tog sprin ltar mthug pa¹⁶ rgyun du¹⁷ 'bab pa bžin du nam mkha'¹⁸ las¹⁹ rgyun mi 'chad par me tog gi char babs par gyur to || lha'i glu dbyañs sgrogs par gyur to || kun nas bskor bar stoñ phrag drug cu'²⁰ rtsa bryad kyi rol mo'i sgra sgrogs so²¹ || rgya mtsho'i dbus su 'brug gi sgra sgrogs pa bžin no || ri bo gña' šin 'dzin gyi 'gram du rgya mtsho'i sgra sgrogs pa'i dus bžin du 'jug go²² ||

II 41.

'di ni dpal dañ skal²³ ba bzañ po dañ ldan pa'i byañ chub sems dpa' gšegs pa'i mtshan gcig la rgyal srid gsum spañs nas dpag tshad sum cu'²⁴ mthar yid ldan žes bya ba'i chu kluñ gi 'gram du bžud do || ci'i phyir yañ rta 'di'i pha rol du²⁵ yañ 'gro bar mi nus sam | mi nus pa ni²⁶ ma yin te | de ni khor yug

¹ N byono.

² SDLN cu'i, Q bcu'i.

³ LN sbaro.

⁴ N phyogsu.

⁵ SDLN cu, Q bcu.

⁶ LN phyogsu.

⁷ SDLN cu, Q bcu.

⁸ LN phyogsu.

⁹ SDLN cu, Q bcu.

¹⁰ N sbaro.

¹¹ N sbaro.

¹² SDQ bzañs, LN bzañ.

¹³ S 'phreñ, DQLN phreñ.

¹⁴ S pā ratsatshi tra'i, D pā ri tsatsha ttra'i, Q pā ri tsatsha ta'i, LN pā ri tsatsha tra'i.

¹⁵ S manda ra'i, DQ man dā ra'i, LN mandā ra'i.

¹⁶ SQ 'thug pa, D mthug pa, L mthugs, N mthugs pa.

¹⁷ SDQ du, LN tu.

¹⁸ LN namkha'.

¹⁹ SQL la, DN las.

²⁰ SDLN cu, Q bcu.

²¹ N sgrogso.

²² LN 'jugo.

²³ SDQL skal, N bskal.

²⁴ SDLN cu'i, Q bcu'i.

²⁵ DQL du, SN tu.

²⁶ SDQ ni, LN omit.

gcig gi¹ nañ du sña dro gcig la soñ nas bskor te de ma thag tu sña dro ñid du 'oñs² śiñ rañ gi mdun du kha zas byin pa za bar nus so³ || de'i tshe slar yañ lha dañ | klu dañ | 'dab bzañs⁴ la sogs pa nam mkha'⁵ la 'khod nas spos dañ | me tog gi 'phreñ⁶ ba la sogs pa babs te | ji srid rta'i brla'i bar (73b) du lus nub pas 'thon par mi nus pa spos dañ | me tog gi 'phreñ⁷ ba la sogs pa ni | ral pa ltar gdon⁸ par mi nus par śin tu thogs par gyur to || de'i phyir dpag tshad sum cu⁹ tsam ñid du¹⁰ soñ ño¹¹ ||

II 42.

de nas byañ chub sems dpa' chu kluñ gi 'gram du 'khod nas blon po 'dun pa la dris pa | chu kluñ 'di'i miñ ci | lha yid ldan zes bgyi ba lags so¹² || bdag kyañ rab tu 'byuñ ba la yid dañ ldan pa zes bya bar gyur to || žabs kyis brgyab ste¹³ rta bskul¹⁴ par¹⁵ bya ste¹⁶ | rta yis mchoñs nas glañ brgyad kyis skad tsam gyis¹⁷ chu kluñ gi žeñ¹⁸ 'gram gyi pha rol tu¹⁹ 'khod do || byañ chub sems dpa' rta'i rgyab nas babs te dñul dañ mtshuñs pa'i²⁰ bye ma'i phuñ po'i steñ du 'khod do || 'dun²¹ pa bos nas khyod kyis bdag gi rgyan rnams dañ bśnags ldan khrid la soñ žig²² | bdag rab tu 'byuñ bar 'gyur ro || lha bdag kyañ rab tu 'byuñ du gsol | byañ chub sems dpas khyod kyis rab tu 'byuñ ba mi thob²³ pas soñ žig²⁴ | lan gsum du žus kyañ ma gñañ ño²⁵ || rgyan dañ bśnags ldan lag pas gtad²⁶ de bsams pa | bdag gi skra 'di dge sloñ dañ mi mthun²⁷ no²⁸ sñam nas byañ chub sems dpa' gžan gyis kyañ skra breg par ruñ ba gžan med

¹ SDQL gi, N gis.

² DQLN 'oñs, S 'oñ.

³ N nuso.

⁴ SDQ bzañs, LN bzañ.

⁵ LN namkha'.

⁶ S 'phreñ, DQLN phreñ.

⁷ S 'phreñ, DQLN phreñ.

⁸ SDQ gdon, LN bdon.

⁹ SDLN cu, Q bcu.

¹⁰ SLN tsam ñid du, D rtsa gñis su, Q rtsam ñid du.

¹¹ N soño.

¹² LN lagso.

¹³ SDQ ste, LN te.

¹⁴ SDQ bskul, LN bskal.

¹⁵ SLN par, DQ pa.

¹⁶ SLN bya ste, DQ byas te.

¹⁷ SQLN gyis, D gyi.

¹⁸ SDQ žeñ, LN zes.

¹⁹ SDQN tu, L du.

²⁰ SDQL pa'i, N par.

²¹ DLN 'dun, SQ mdun.

²² S žig, DQLN cig.

²³ SLN thob, DQ 'thob.

²⁴ S žig, DQLN cig.

²⁵ N snaño.

²⁶ SDLN gtad, Q stad.

²⁷ SQLN mthun, D 'thun.

do¹ || de nas bdag ñid kyi ral gris bregs² par bsams so³ || phyag g.yas pas ral gri bzuñ nas | phyag g.yon pas cod pan dañ bcas pa'i nor bu bzuñ ste⁴ bcad⁵ do || dbu skra ni sor⁶ gñis par gyur ciñ | g.yas phyogs nas 'khyil bas dbu la gnas so⁷ || de rnam ji srid 'tsho'i bar de ñid kyi tshad du gyur to⁸ || kha spu (74a) yañ med par gyur to || slar dbu skra dañ kha⁹ spu bzar mi dgos par gyur to || {Pā65}

II 43.

byañ chub sems dpa'¹⁰ cod pan dañ bcas pa'i nor bu bzuñ nas gal te bdag sañs rgyas¹¹ bar 'gyur na nam mkha'¹² la 'khod cig | ma yin na sa la lhuñ bar gyur cig ces nam mkha'¹³ la dor ro || de'i¹⁴ gtsug gi nor bu bciñs pa dpag tshad gcig¹⁵ gi tshad tsam du soñ nas nam mkha'¹⁶ la 'khod do || lha'i rgyal po brgya byin gyi lha'i mig gis bltas pas dpag tshad gcig gi tshad tsam gyi¹⁷ rin po che'i za ma tog gi nañ du bcug nas sum cu¹⁸ rtsa gsum gyi pho brañ du gtsug gi nor bu bzugs pa'i mchod rten bzeñs¹⁹ so²⁰ ||

Bv-a p.284²¹

mchog gi dri yis²² bsgos²³ pa'i gtsug phud bcad ||
gañ zag mchog gis nam mkha'²⁴ la ni dor²⁵ ||

²⁸ N mthuño.

¹ L medo.

² SLN bregs, DQ breg.

³ LN bsamso.

⁴ SDQ ste, LN de.

⁵ SDQ bcad, LN bcod.

⁶ SDQL sor, N soñ.

⁷ LN gnaso.

⁸ S te, DQLN to.

⁹ SDQ kha, LN khas.

¹⁰ S dpa', DQLN dpas.

¹¹ SDQ rgya, LN rgyas.

¹² LN namkha'.

¹³ LN namkha'.

¹⁴ SLN de'i, DQ de ni.

¹⁵ SDQ gcig, LN cig.

¹⁶ LN namkha'.

¹⁷ SDLN gyi, Q gyis.

¹⁸ SDLN cu, Q bcu.

¹⁹ SDLN bzeñs, Q gzeñs.

²⁰ LN bzeñso.

²¹ *Jātakanidāna* p.65; sTog 74a; Bv-a p.284; Thūp p.165.

Jātakanidāna p.65,

Chetvāna molim varagandhavāsitaṃ
vehāsayaṃ ukkhipi aggapuggalo,
sahassanetto sirasā paṭiggahī
suvanṇacamgoṭavarena Vāsavo ti.

²² SDQ dri yis, LN gri yi.

²³ SDLN bsgos, Q bsgoms.

²⁴ LN namkha'.

mig stoñ pa yis dbu skra mgo steñ bzuñ ||
gser gyi za ma tog tu lha gnas khyer ||

II 44.

slar yañ byañ chub sems dpas bsams pa | yul ka śi ka'i ras 'di dge sbyoñ bdag gi tshul dañ 'thun pa
ma yin no¹ zes bsams so² || de nas sañs rgyas 'od sruñs kyi³ dus su sñon gyi grogs po rdza mkhan
tshañs pa chen por gyur to || sañs rgyas gcig gi bar du grogs po dañ ma phrad do zes bsams te | de ni
bdag gi grogs po nes par 'byuñ ba chen pos 'thon no || dge sbyoñ gi yo byad 'di bzuñ nas 'gro'o zes
bsams so⁴ ||

Bv-a p.284⁵

chos gos gsum dañ lhuñ bzed⁶ dañ | spu gri khab dañ ska rags dañ ||
chu⁷ tshags dañ bcas brgyad yin no⁸ || dge sbyoñ rnams la rigs śiñ mkho ||

dge sbyoñ gi mkho ba'i yo byad brgyad po (74b) 'di bslañs nas phul lo⁹ ||

II 45.

byañ chub sems dpas mchod par 'os pa'i rgyal mtshan gyon nas rab tu 'byuñ ba mchog gi cha byad
bslañs te | 'dun¹⁰ pa la bdag gi¹¹ tshig gis ma dañ yab la bdag la nad med par gyur to¹² zes smros śig¹³ ces¹⁴
pas btañ no¹⁵ || 'dun¹⁶ pas byañ chub sems dpa' la phyag byas bskor ba byas nas soñ no¹⁷ ||

²⁵ SDLN dor, Q don.

¹ N yino.

² LN bsamso.

³ SN 'od sruñs kyi, DQ 'od sruñ gi, L 'od sruñs gi.

⁴ LN bsamso.

⁵ *Jātakanidāna* p.65; sTog 74a; Bv-a p.284; Dhp-a I p. 206; Thūp p.166.

Jātakanidāna p.65,

Ticivarañ ca patto ca
vāsi sūciñ bandhanam
parissāvanena, atṭh' ete
yuttayogassa bhikkhuno ti.

⁶ SDQN bzed, L gzed.

⁷ SDQN chu, L tshu.

⁸ N yino.

⁹ LN phulo.

¹⁰ SQLN mdun, D 'dun.

¹¹ SDQL gi, N gis.

¹² SDQL to, N ro.

¹³ SDQN gcig, L cig.

¹⁴ SDLN ces, Q zes.

¹⁵ LN btaño.

¹⁶ SQLN mdun, D 'dun.

¹⁷ SDQL no, N omits.

II 46.

slar yañ bśnags ldan gyis 'dun¹ pa dañ byañ chub sems dpa' gsuñ gleñ byed ciñ² 'dug pa thos nas³ | bdag ni jo bo⁴ dañ da⁵ 'phrad⁶ par mi 'gyur zes bsams so⁷ || mig lam du spañs nas mya ñan la śin tu⁸ gnas pa bśran par ma nus te | sñiñ gas nas dus las 'das te sum cu⁹ rtsa gsum gyi gnas su bśnags ldan zes bya ba'i lha'i bur skyes so¹⁰ || mdun¹¹ pa la dañ po'i mya ñan du gyur pa gcig¹² go || slar yañ bśnags ldan dus las 'das pa'i rgyu mtshan gyis mya ñan gñis pas gzir to¹³ || ñu žiñ smre¹⁴ śnags 'don žiñ groñ khyer du soñ ño¹⁵ ||

II 47.

byañ chub sems dpa' de'i phyogs ñid du rjes su¹⁶ dga' ba zes bya ba'i a mra'i¹⁷ tshal yod do || der ñi ma bdun nas rab tu 'byuñ ba'i bde bas gnas śiñ ñin mtshan 'da' 'o || {Pā66} ñi ma gcig ñid la dpag tshad sum cu'i¹⁸ lam du žabs kyis gśegs nas rgyal po'i khab tu byon no || byon nas sgo mthar chags su¹⁹ bsod sñoms la gśegs te | groñ khyer ba thams cad kyis byañ chub sems dpa'i sku mthoñ nas glañ po che nor skyoñ žugs pa'i rgyal po'i khab bžin dañ | lha ma yin gyi²⁰ dbañ po žugs pa'i lha'i groñ khyer bžin du kun tu 'khrugs par (75a) gyur te | rgyal po'i mi 'oñs śiñ | lha 'di lta bu'i gzugs kyis sems can gcig groñ khyer na bsod sñoms byed do²¹ || lha 'am | mi 'am | 'dab bzañ²² ste²³ 'di gañ yin bdag cag gis ma śes so²⁴ zes smras so²⁵ || rgyal po²⁶ khañ bzañ gi²⁷ steñ du 'khod nas skyes bu chen po mthoñ ste ya mtshan

¹ SQLN mdun., D 'dun

² S byas śiñ, DQ byed ciñ, LN byas ciñ.

³ SLN nas, DQ na.

⁴ SDLN jo bo, Q jo'o.

⁵ SLN da, DQ omit.

⁶ SLN 'phrad, DQ phrad.

⁷ LN bsamso.

⁸ SDQN tu, L du.

⁹ SDLN cu, Q bcu.

¹⁰ LN skyeso.

¹¹ SQLN mdun., D 'dun

¹² SDQN gcig, L cig.

¹³ SLN to, DQ te.

¹⁴ SDLN smre, Q smres.

¹⁵ N soño.

¹⁶ LN rjesu.

¹⁷ SDLN mra'i, Q smra'i.

¹⁸ SDLN cu'i, Q bcu'i.

¹⁹ LN chagsu.

²⁰ SDLN gyi, Q gyis.

²¹ SQLN do, D de.

²² SQLN bzañ, D bzañs.

²³ S steñ, D te, QLN ste.

²⁴ N śeso.

²⁵ LN smraso.

²⁶ SDQ po, LN po'i.

dañ rmad du byuñ ba skyes so¹ || mi gcig² bos nas | soñ la rtogs sig || gal te mi ma yin par gyur na
 groñ khyer nas phyi rol tu³ soñ ste mi snañ bar 'gyur ro || gal te lha yin par gyur na nam mkha'⁴ la
 'gro'o || gal te klu yin na sa'i 'og tu 'gro bar 'gyur ro⁵ || gal te mi yin na ji ltar thob pa'i kha zas za'o
 zes bsgo'o || skyes bu chen pos kyañ kha zas 'dres pa rnams bsdus nas bdag la 'di tsam gyis chog par
 rtogs te | žugs pa'i sgo ñid nas groñ khyer gyi phyi rol tu⁶ 'thon te | ri skya bo'i⁷ grib ma la śar du
 sñun du phyogs pas bžugs⁸ nas kha zas la loñs spyod par brtsams so⁹ || de nas gañ gi sgyu ma phyin
 ci log ste¹⁰ kha nas 'thon pa'i rnam par bsams par gyur to || de nas de'i bdag ñid kyi lus kyis¹¹ 'di lta
 bu'i tshul gyi kha zas mig gis mthoñ ba yañ dkon no¹² || de'i phyir rigs so so'i kha zas la mi dga' bar
 bsams¹³ nas | 'di ltar rañ la rañ gis gdams so¹⁴ || don grub khyod rñied sla ba'i bza' ba dañ btuñ ba'i rigs
 lo gsum pa'i 'bras dri žim po'i bza' ba sna tshogs pa'i ro dañ bcas pa'i bza' ba'i¹⁵ gnas su skyes par
 gyur nas | phyag dar¹⁶ khrod pa žig¹⁷ mthoñ ste | nam du'añ bdag ni 'di lta bu'i tshul du gyur nas bsod
 sñoms (75b) la 'gro žiñ kha zas loñs spyod do || de'i dus su bdag la de ltar 'gyur ro zes bsams nas
 'thon no || da ni 'di ci byed pa yin zes 'di ltar rañ la rañ gis gdams nas rtogs pa med par kha zas la loñs
 spyod do || rgyal po'i mis 'di'i 'jug pa mthoñ nas soñ ste¹⁸ rgyal po la smras so¹⁹ || rgyal pos pho ña ba'i
 gtam²⁰ thos nas myur bar groñ khyer gyi phyi rol tu²¹ 'thon²² nas byañ chub sems dpa' dañ ñe bar soñ
 ste spyod lam la dad par gyur to²³ || byañ chub sems dpa' la dbañ phyug thams cad rdzogs par phul lo
 || byañ chub sems dpas²⁴ rgyal po chen po bdag la dños po'i 'dod pa 'am ñon moñs pa'i 'dod pa'i don

²⁷ SLN bzañ gi, DQ bzañs kyi.

¹ LN skyeso.

² SDQ gcig, LN cig.

³ SN tu, DQL du.

⁴ LN namkha'.

⁵ LN 'gyuro.

⁶ SN tu, DQL du.

⁷ SQD skya bo'i, LN skya'o yi.

⁸ SDLN bžugs, Q žugs.

⁹ LN brtsamso.

¹⁰ SDQ so, LN te.

¹¹ SLN kyis, DQ kyi.

¹² LN dkono.

¹³ SLN bsems, DQ bsams.

¹⁴ N gdams.

¹⁵ SDLN bza' ba'i, Q bza'i.

¹⁶ SD dar, QLN thar.

¹⁷ S žig, DQLN gcig.

¹⁸ SDQN ste, L te.

¹⁹ LN smraso.

²⁰ SDQN gtam, L btam.

²¹ SLN tu, DQ du.

²² SDQ 'thon, LN thon.

²³ SDLN to, Q te.

²⁴ SDLN dpas, Q dpa'.

med do || bdag ni mchog gi mñon par rdzogs par byañ chub pa don du gñer bas¹ 'oñs so² || rgyal pos rnam pa sna tshogs pa'i sbyin pa byin yañ de'i thugs la mi 'phrod do | ñes par khyod sañs rgyas³ bar 'gyur ro⁴ || sañs rgyas su⁵ gyur nas slar yañ dañ por bdag gi groñ khyer du byon par zu žes dam bca' bzuñ ño⁶ || 'di ni 'dir mdor bsdu pa ste | rgyas par ni slar yañ 'di rab tu 'byuñ ba'i mdo⁷ dañ bcas par don dañ gtam 'di ni blta žiñ rig par bya'o ||

II 48.

byañ chub sems dpas kyañ rgyal po la dam bca'⁸ byin nas go rims bžin du spyod pa la gšegs šiñ kun nas tshon dañ | nag po can dañ | 'char byed gser dañ | dga' byed bu'i ñe⁹ gnas su¹⁰ ñe bar gšegs nas sñoms par 'jug pa bskyed de | sañs rgyas thob pa'i lam ni 'di ma yin no¹¹ || {Pā67} de la sñoms par 'jug pa skyes kyañ dgyes par ma gyur nas (76a) | lha dañ bcas pa'i 'jig rten pa'i rañ gi stobs dañ brtson 'grus rnam la legs par blta bar 'dod pas dka' ba chen po spyod pa'i bsams pas | lteñ¹² rgyas su¹³ byon te sa phyogs 'di ni šiñ tu dga' ba yin no sñam nas de fiid du ñe bar gnas par byas te dka' ba chen po spyod do ||

II 49.

de yañ kō ñdi nya¹⁴ la sogs pa rab tu byuñ ba lña groñ dañ | groñ rdal dañ | rgyal po'i pho brañ rnam su¹⁵ bsod sñoms la rgyu žiñ byañ chub sems dpa'i gnas der 'oñs so¹⁶ || de nas lo drug tu dka' ba chen po spyad do || da ni sañs rgyas su 'gyur ro¹⁷ || da ni sañs rgyas su¹⁸ 'gyur ro¹⁹ žes žus pa'i gnas la byi dor la sogs pa byed ciñ sku la rim gro byed par gyur te | ñe bar gnas par gyur to ||

¹ SDQL bas, N bar.

² LN 'oñso.

³ SDQ rgya, LN rgyas.

⁴ LN 'gyuro.

⁵ N rgyasu.

⁶ LN bzuño.

⁷ SDQ mdo, LN don.

⁸ SDLN bca', Q bcas.

⁹ S ñe, DQLN omit.

¹⁰ N gnasu.

¹¹ N yino.

¹² SD lteñ, QLN steñ.

¹³ LN rgyasu.

¹⁴ D kō ñdi nya, S ko'u ñi nya, Q ko ñi nya, LN kō ñi nya.

¹⁵ LN rnam su.

¹⁶ LN 'oñso.

¹⁷ LN rgyasu 'gyuro.

¹⁸ N rgyasu.

¹⁹ LN 'gyuro.

byañ chub sems dpa' yañ phyi ma'i mthar thug par dka' ba spyad par bsams so¹ || til gcig dañ 'bras
 kyī ñag ma gcig la sogs pa'i ñi ma 'da' žiñ thams cad du yañ kha zas thams cad spañs so² || lha rñams
 kyis kyañ ba spu'i bu ga re re nas mdañs ston to || de nas de'i kha zas med par sku rid par gyur te³ |
 gser gyi kha dog can gyi sku yañ nag por gyur te⁴ | skyes bu chen po'i mtshan sum cu⁵ rtsa gñis kyañ
 mi snañ bar gyur to || ñi ma gžan la yañ rluñ dal bus bsam gtan byed ciñ sku la zug gzer⁶ chen po
 skyes nas 'du šes med par gyur te | 'chag⁷ pa'i gnas su 'gyel lo⁸ || de nas lha gcig gis dge sbyoñ gō ta
 ma⁹ dus las 'das so¹⁰ žes brjod do || gcig gis 'gyel ba na dgra bcom pa thob bo žes brjod do || (76b)
 der gañ žig gis dus las 'das so¹¹ žes brjod nas de soñ ste | rgyal po chen po zas gtsañ la smras pa |
 khyed kyī sras dus las 'das so^{12 13} || bdag gi sras sañs rgyas ma thob par dus las 'das sam | hob nas dus
 las 'das žes dris so¹⁴ || sañs rgyas thob par ma nus so¹⁵ || dka' ba spyod pa'i gnas su¹⁶ 'gyel nas dus las
 'das so¹⁷ || 'di thos nas rgyal po yid ma ches par gyur to || bdag gi sras sañs rgyas ma thob par dus las
 'da' ba med do žes bkag go || gañ gi phyir slar yañ rgyal po yid ma ches nas dka' thub pa nag po lha
 len gyis phyag byed pa'i dus dañ | 'dzam bu'i¹⁸ šin gi druñ ñid du cho 'phrul mthoñ ba'i rgyu mtshan
 ñid kyis so¹⁹ || slar yañ byañ chub sems dpas 'du²⁰ šes thob nas bžeñs so²¹ || lha de soñ nas rgyal po chen
 po khyod kyī sras po de²² nad med par gyur to žes smras so²³ || rgyal pos sras po min par bdag gis šes
 so²⁴ žes smras so²⁵ ||

¹ LN bsamsō.

² LN spañso.

³ SDLN te, Q to.

⁴ S te, DQLN to

⁵ SDLN cu, Q bcu.

⁶ SDQL gzer, N zer.

⁷ SDQ 'chag, LN 'chags.

⁸ N gnasu 'gyelo.

⁹ DQLN gō ta ma, S go'u ta ma.

¹⁰ LN 'daso.

¹¹ N 'daso.

¹² LN 'daso.

¹³ SDLN omit, Q žes.

¹⁴ N driso.

¹⁵ LN nuso.

¹⁶ LN gnasu.

¹⁷ N 'daso.

¹⁸ SDQN 'dzam bu'i, L 'dzambu'i.

¹⁹ N kyiso.

²⁰ SDLN 'du, Q 'dus.

²¹ LN bžeñso.

²² SLN omit, DQ de.

²³ LN smraso.

²⁴ L šeso.

²⁵ N smraso.

II 51.

sems dpa' chen po lo drug tu¹ dka' bar byed ciñ 'di lta bu'i sems su² gyur te | 'di lta bu'i dka' thub spyod pa zes bya ba ni byañ chub kyi lam ma yin no³ zes bsams nas | kha zas cuñ zad la loñs spyod par byed ciñ groñ⁴ rdal rnam su⁵ bsod sñoms la rgyu bas bsod sñoms spyod do || de nas skyes bu chen po'i mtshan sum cu⁶ rtsa gñis gsal bar gyur to || sku gser gyi kha dog lta bur gyur to ||

II 52.

dge sloñ lña sde na re | 'dis⁷ lo drug tu⁸ dka' ba spyad kyañ thams cad mkhyen pa'i ye šes thob par ma gyur to || da⁹ ni groñ la sogs par bsod sñoms (77a) spyod ciñ kha zas bsłañs¹⁰ nas za ste | ro la chags par gyur na ci nus | {Pā68} 'dis dka' ba spyad pa¹¹ 'khrul lo || lus la khrus byed par 'dod pas lus kyi ba spu re re'i sgor chu žugs nas 'dod pa'i thig ler gyur pa dañ mtshuñs so¹² || bdag cag de'i 'dod pa'i rnam par rtog¹³ pa yod pa'i gnas su 'dug pas ci žig bya | skyes bu chen po spañs šin rañ rañ gi chos gos dañ lhuñ bzed thogs nas dpag tshad bco¹⁴ brgyad kyi lam du soñ¹⁵ ste¹⁶ drañ sroñ lhuñ ba'i tshal du gnas so¹⁷ ||

II 53.

de'i tshe de'i dus su lteñ¹⁸ rgyas na sde can gyi groñ rdal¹⁹ žin pa'i khyim du skyes pa'i legs skyes ma zes bya ba'i bu mo na tshod ldan par gyur te | nya gro ddha'i²⁰ šin gcig don du gñer to || gal te bdag dañ mñam par skyes pa'i rigs kyi khyim du²¹ soñ nas dañ por mñal chags te | bu rñed na de la lo so sor 'bum phrag gcig ri ba'i gtor ma'i las bya'o || de'i don du gñer ba 'grub bo²² || des sems dpa' chen po

¹ SDQN tu, L du.

² N semsu.

³ N yino.

⁴ SLN omit, DQ add: dañ groñ.

⁵ LN rnam su.

⁶ SDLN cu, Q bcu.

⁷ SDQ 'dis, LN 'di'i.

⁸ SDQN tu, L du.

⁹ SDLN da, Q de.

¹⁰ SDLN bsłañs, Q blañs.

¹¹ SLN pa, DQ par.

¹² LN mtshuñso.

¹³ SDQN rtog, L rtogs.

¹⁴ SN bco, DQ bcwa, L bcwo.

¹⁵ SDQL soñ, N sañ.

¹⁶ SDQ ste, LN te.

¹⁷ L gnaso.

¹⁸ SD lteñ, QLN steñ.

¹⁹ SN omit, DQL ba.

²⁰ SLN nya gro dha'i, DQ nya gro ddha'i.

²¹ SDQ du, LN omit.

²² N 'grubo.

lo drug gi mthar dka' ba spyod pa rdzogs par byed do || dpyid zla tha chuñ gi ña la gtor ma'i las byed par sems so¹ || de'i snun ñid du stoñ phrag gcig gi ba bzon ma ñin dñar² gyi nags su³ ñin dñar⁴ za ba de rnams⁵ kyi 'o ma bzos nas bzon⁶ ma'i ba lña brgya la byin no⁷ || de rnams kyi 'o ma bzos nas ba bzon ma phyed dañ sum brgya la byin no⁸ || de bzin du⁹ bzon ma bcu drug gi 'o ma bzos nas ba bzon ma brgyad la byin no¹⁰ || de srid kyi 'o ma bska¹¹ mo dañ | dñar¹² ba dañ | mdañs dañ | mdog dañ ldan pa don du gñer bar¹³ 'dod ciñ 'o ma skol lo¹⁴ || des dpyid zla tha chuñ gi (77b) ña'i ñin mo'i sña dro gtor ma'i las byed par sems ñin | mtshan mo'i nam lañs kha'i dus su ba 'jo mkhan lañs nas ba bzon ma brgyad po 'jo ru soñ ba | be'u¹⁵ ba'i nu ma la ñe bar ma gyur par yañ | ba'i nu ma'i gam du snod gsar¹⁶ pa ñe bar gnas pa byas pa tsam na rañ gi chos ñid kyi 'o ma'i rgyun gyis snod gañ bar gyur to || legs skyes mas ya mtshan che ba de¹⁷ mthoñ ste | 'o ma rañ gi lag pas khyer nas snod gsar par blugs pa la rañ gi lag gis¹⁸ me gañ¹⁹ btañ²⁰ ste 'tshod par brtsams nas | der 'o thug bskol²¹ bas lbu ba chen po 'thon nas g.yas phyogs su²² 'khor zin thur²³ ma gcig tsam yañ sa la ma lhuñ la | thab na du ba cuñ zad kyañ med do || de'i tshe 'jig rten skyoñ ba bzi po 'oñs nas thab²⁴ srun par byed do || tshañs pa chen pos ni gdugs 'dzin²⁵ no || brgya byin gyis ni ji ltar rigs pa'i me gtoñ bar byed do || stoñ phrag gñis kyi yoñs su bskor ba'i gliñ chen po bzi'i lha dañ mi rnams kyi ji ltar rigs pa'i mdañs rnams lha rañ rañ gi mthus bsdu nas bcug go²⁶ || mi rnams kyi kyañ de bzin du byas nas dus gzan la lha rnams zan gyi goñ bu re

¹ N semso.

² SQLN dñar, D mñar.

³ QN nagsu.

⁴ SQLN dñar, D mñar

⁵ SDQL rnams, N rnam.

⁶ SDQ bzon, LN gzon.

⁷ N byino.

⁸ N byino.

⁹ S du, DQLN ba.

¹⁰ N byino.

¹¹ SDLN bska, Q ska.

¹² SQLN dar, D mñar

¹³ SDQL bar, N ba.

¹⁴ S skol lo, DQ bskol lo, LN skolo.

¹⁵ SQLN be'u, D bi'u.

¹⁶ SQLN gsar, D sar.

¹⁷ SDQL de, N omits.

¹⁸ SDQN gis, L gi.

¹⁹ SLN gañ, DQ omit.

²⁰ SD btañ, Q gtañ, LN stañ.

²¹ SDQ bskol, LN skol.

²² LN phyogsu.

²³ SD thur, QLN thor.

²⁴ SDQ thab, LN tha ba.

²⁵ SDQL 'dzin, N 'jin.

²⁶ N bcugo.

res mdañs 'jug go¹ || slar yañ byañ chub pa'i ñin mo dañ | {Pā69} yoñs su² mya ñan las 'da' ba'i ñin mo snod ñid du 'jug par byed do || legs skyes mas ñi ma gcig ñid la der rañ ñid gsal bar gyur nas ya mtshan che ba du ma mthoñ ste bran mo rdzogs ma zes bya ba bos nas | rdzogs ma di³ riñ bdag cag gi⁴ lha śin tu⁵ dgyes par gyur te | bdag gis de rnams kyi dus su 'di (78a) lta bu'i tshul gyi⁶ ya mtshan che ba ma mthoñ bas myur du soñ la lha'i gnas su byi dor legs par gyis śig⁷ || des legs so⁸ zes brjod nas 'phags ma de'i tshig bzuñ ste myur ba myur bar śin gi druñ du phyin no || byañ chub sems dpas⁹ kyañ de'i mtshan mo'i cha la rmi lam chen po lha gzigs pa yoñs su¹⁰ rtog ciñ the tshom med par bdag de¹¹ riñ sañs rgyas thob par 'gyur bar bya'o sñam du thugs brtan por mdzad nas de'i nub mo 'das te sku'i byi dor mdzad nas bsod sñoms la gśegs pa'i dus kyi śna dro byon te | śin nya gro dha'i¹² druñ du bźugs¹³ nas rañ gi 'od kyiś śin thams cad snañ bar mdzad do || de nas yañ rdzogs ma de 'oñs nas byañ chub sems dpa' śin gi druñ na śar phyogs kyi 'jig rten gyi khams la gzigs śin gzigs pa mthoñ la | sku la 'od zer 'thon pa'i 'od kyiś śin thams cad gser gyi kha dog tu mthoñ no¹⁴ || des 'di ltar bsams te | di¹⁵ riñ bdag cag gi lha śin la babs nas rañ gi lag ñid kyiś gtor ma len ciñ bźugs so¹⁶ zes bsams pas sems tshim pa thob nas myur du soñ ste legs skyes ma la don de rnams smras so¹⁷ || legs skyes mas de'i tshig thos nas sems tshim par gyur te | de¹⁸ riñ nas bzuñ nas bdag gi bu mo chen mo gnas su¹⁹ sdod cig ces bu mo la ji ltar rigs pa'i rgyan thams cad byin no || slar yañ gañ gi phyir sañs rgyas kyi yoñs su²⁰ rdzogs par thob pa'i ñin mo 'bum phrag gcig gi grañs kyi²¹ gser gyi sder ma chen po thob par rigs so²² || de'i phyir gser gyi sder ma chen po'i nañ du 'o²³ thug ldugs pa'i sems skyes nas 'bum phrag gcig (78b) ri ba'i gser gyi sder ma chen po bsalañs te | 'o thug²⁴ btsos²⁵ pa'i nañ du kha spub nas blug go || 'o thug

¹ L 'jugo.

² N yoñsu.

³ SQL di, DN de.

⁴ SDLN gi, Q gis.

⁵ SDQN tu, L du.

⁶ SDLN gyi, Q gyis.

⁷ SDQN śig, L cig.

⁸ N legso.

⁹ SDLN dpas, Q dpa's.

¹⁰ LN yoñsu.

¹¹ SDLN de, Q di.

¹² SDQN nya gro dha'i, L nya gro da'i

¹³ SDLN bźugs, Q źugs.

¹⁴ N mthoño.

¹⁵ SN di, DQL de.

¹⁶ LN bźugso.

¹⁷ LN smraso.

¹⁸ DLN de, SQ di.

¹⁹ N gnasu.

²⁰ LN yoñsu.

²¹ SLN kyi, DQ kyañ.

²² LN rigso.

²³ SDQN du 'o, L du'o.

²⁴ SDLN thug, Q thugs.

thams cad pad ma'i¹ 'dab ma'i nañ gi chu bzin du mchu'i thigs pa gcig tu gyur nas gser gyi sder du byuñ no² || gser gyi sder ma gcig gañ ba'i tshad tsam du gyur to || des gser gyi snod de la gser gyi snod gzan gyis bkab nas gos kyis dril to³ || legs skyes ma rgyan gyis lus thams cad brgyan nas gser gyi sder ma de rañ gi mgor bzag ste | mthu chen pos sin nya gro dha'i druñ du phyin pa dañ | byañ chub sems dpa' mthoñ nas sin tu⁴ yid bde ba skyes par gyur te⁵ || sin gi lha yin nam zes bsams nas blta ba'i gnas su⁶ dud ciñ dud ciñ soñ ste | mgo'i steñ gi gser gyi sder ma phab nas kha phye te⁷ | gser gyi ril ba spyi blugs kyis dri bzañ pos bsgos pa'i chu bzuñ nas byañ chub sems dpa' dañ ñe bar soñ ste 'khod do || grogs po rdza mkhan tshañs pa chen por gyur pas phul ba'i sa'i lhuñ bzed ni de rnams kyid dus su byañ chub sems dpa'⁸ ma spañs kyañ de de ma thag tu mi snañ bar gyur | byañ chub sems dpas⁹ lhuñ bzed ma gzigs so¹⁰ || phyag g.yas pa brkyañ¹¹ nas chu bsłañ ste¹² | legs skyes mas snod dañ bcas pa ñid kyis¹³ 'o thug skyes bu chen po'i phyag tu phul lo¹⁴ || skyes bu chen pos legs skyes ma la brtags pa na | des mam 'gyur ses nas 'phags pa bdag gis yid¹⁵ la yoñs su¹⁶ phul gyis | bzes la ji ltar bzed pa bzin gsegs par zu zes phyag byas nas | ji ltar bdag gi 'dod pa yoñs su¹⁷ rdzogs par gyur to || {Pā70} 'di ltar ñid kyis kyañ bsam pa yoñs su¹⁸ rdzogs (79a) par gyur cig ces smras so¹⁹ || 'bum phrag gcig²⁰ ri ba'i gser gyi sder ma chen po gcig sin gi lo ma rñiñs²¹ bzin du ltos pa med par soñ no²² ||

II 54.

byañ chub sems dpa' bzugs pa las bzeñs nas sin la bskor te²³ | gser gyi sder ma bsłañs²⁴ nas chu kluñ

²⁵ SDQ btsos, LN gtsos.

¹ SLN padma'i, DQ pad ma'i.

² N byuño.

³ SLN to, DQ te.

⁴ SDQN tu, L du.

⁵ SLN to, DQ te.

⁶ N gnasu.

⁷ S phye ste, DQL phytes te, N phye te.

⁸ S dpa', DQLN dpas.

⁹ SDLN dpas, Q dpa's.

¹⁰ LN gzigso.

¹¹ SDLN brkyañ, Q brgyad.

¹² S bsłañ ste, DQ bsłañs te, LN bsłañ ste.

¹³ SLN kyis, DQ kyid.

¹⁴ N phulo.

¹⁵ SLN yid, DQ ñid.

¹⁶ N yoñsu.

¹⁷ N yoñsu.

¹⁸ N yoñsu.

¹⁹ LN smraso.

²⁰ SDQN gcig, L cig.

²¹ S brñiñs, DQ rñiñs pa, LN rñiñs.

²² N soño.

²³ SDQ bskor te, L skor ste, N bskor ste.

²⁴ SDQ bsłañs, L słañs, N blañs.

nai ra řidza na'i¹ 'gram du gšegs te | byañ chub sems dpa' grañs med pa 'bum phrag mañ po rnams kyis mñon par byañ chub pa'i ñin mo babs nas khru byed pa'i gnas su² legs par rab tu gnas pa'i mu gnas žes bya ba yod do || de'i 'gram du sder³ ma bžag ste babs nas khru mdzad do || 'bum phrag du ma'i sañs rgyas rnams kyis⁴ na bza' dañ mchod par 'os pa gyon nas šar phyogs su⁵ sñon du phyogs pas bžugs nas | ta la'i šin tog gi nañ gi rus pa cig⁶ gi tšhad tsam dañ mñam pa gcig gis dman pa'i⁷ lña bcu'i goñ bu byas nas chu med ciñ dñar ba'i 'o thug thams cad gsol lo⁸ || de 'di ltar gañ gis sañs rgyas su⁹ gyur nas žag bži bcu že dgu ru¹⁰ byañ chub kyi sñin por bžugs te¹¹ žag bži bcu že dgu'i kha zas su¹² gyur to || de rnams kyi dus su¹³ kha zas gžan med pa dañ | khru byed pa med pa dañ | žal šol ba med pa dañ | sku lus kyi bya ba byed pa med do¹⁴ | bsam gtan gyi bde ba dañ | lam gyi bde ba dañ | 'bras bu'i bde ba řid kyis ñin mtshan 'da' 'o¹⁵ ||

II 55.

gžan yañ de'i 'o thug gsol nas gser gyi sder ma phyag tu bžes te | gal te bdag ni de riñ sañs rgyas su¹⁶ 'gyur nus¹⁷ na | sder ma 'di chu'i steñ du gyen¹⁸ du 'gro bar gyur cig || ma yin na¹⁹ thur la 'gro bar gyur cig ces chu la dor ro || des chu'i (79b) rgyun gyi rlabs²⁰ chu kluñ gi dbus su soñ nas dbus²¹ kyi gnas řid du rta mgyogs por²² 'gro ba bžin du | khru brgyad cu'i²³ tšhad tsam gyi steñ du soñ žin | chu lan cig 'khyil bas byin nas klu'i rgyal po nag po'i gnas su soñ ño²⁴ || de nas sañs rgyas gsum po rnams kyis bžos gsol ba'i gser gyi sder ma chen po sil sil žes sgra sgrogs par byed ciñ phyogs gcig²⁵ tu de rnams

¹ SQ nai řidza na'i, D nai ra řidza na'i, LN ne ra dza na'i.

² N gnasu.

³ SDQ sder, LN bsder.

⁴ SLN kyi, DQ kyis.

⁵ N phyogsu.

⁶ SQLN cig, D gcig.

⁷ DQLN pa'i, S omits.

⁸ N gsolo.

⁹ N rgyasu.

¹⁰ S dgar, DQLN dgu ru.

¹¹ SDLN ste, Q ste.

¹² N zasu.

¹³ N dusu.

¹⁴ L medo.

¹⁵ SL 'da' 'o, DQN 'da'o.

¹⁶ N rgyasu.

¹⁷ SDQ, nus, LN omit.

¹⁸ SDLN gyen, Q gyin.

¹⁹ SDLN na, Q omits.

²⁰ SD rlabs, QLN brlabs.

²¹ SLN omit, DQ add: dbus.

²² SDLN por, Q par.

²³ SDLN cu'i, Q bcu'i.

²⁴ N gnasu soño.

²⁵ SDLN gcig, Q cig.

thams cad kyi 'og tu gyur nas gnas so¹ || klu'i rgyal po nag pos de'i sgra thos nas kha sañ² sañs rgyas gcig³ thob par gyur ciñ | slar yañ de⁴ riñ sañs rgyas ñid thob par gyur nas mañ pos bstod par byed par gyur to ||

II 56.

byañ chub sems dpas⁵ ni chu kluñ gi 'gram śiñ sā la'i tshal du ñin mo bžugs nas srod kyi dus su me tog ku mu da kha 'byed⁶ pa'i dus la lha rnam kyis brgyan par byas nas | žeñ la glañ gi skad brgyad kyis thos pa'i tshad du lam byed pa la señ ge bžin du sgra bsgrags nas | byañ chub kyi śiñ la mñon⁷ par phyogs pas bžud do || klu dañ | gnod sbyin dañ | 'dab bzañs⁸ la sogs pa rnam kyis lha'i spos dañ me tog la sogs pa dañ⁹ | klu'i¹⁰ glu dbyañs la sogs pas mchod do || stoñ phrag bcu'i 'jig rten gyi khams rnam dri bzañ por gyur ciñ me tog gi 'phreñ¹¹ bar gyur nas thams cad legs so¹² žes brjod par gyur to ||

II 57.

de'i tshe rtswa¹³ 'tshoñ bkra śis žes bya bas rtswa¹⁴ blañs nas lam gyi sñon du 'oñs te skyes bu chen po'i rnam 'gyur rtogs nas rtswa spar mo brgyad phul lo¹⁵ || byañ chub sems dpas¹⁶ rtswa blañs nas | {Pā71} byañ chub kyi sñiñ po dañ ñe bar gšegs te lho phyogs kyi char žal byañ du (80a) mñon¹⁷ par phyogs pas 'khod do || de ma thag par lho phyogs kyi khor yug gi sa¹⁸ byiñ nas 'gro ba ni 'og mnar¹⁹ med pa'i bar du gyur pa bžin no²⁰ || lho phyogs kyi khor yug steñ du lañs nas 'gro ba ni srid pa'i rtse mor gyur pa bžin no²¹ || byañ chub sems dpas 'di yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i sañs rgyas thob pa'i gnas ma

¹ N gnaso.

² SDQ sañ, LN sañs.

³ SDLN gcig, Q cig.

⁴ SQ di., DLN de.

⁵ SDLN dpas, Q dpa'.

⁶ S 'byed, DQLN 'bye.

⁷ SLN mñon, D sñun, Q sñon.

⁸ SD bzañs, QLN bzañ.

⁹ SQLN dañ, D dag.

¹⁰ S klu'i, DQ lha'i, LN glu'i.

¹¹ S 'phreñ, DQLN phreñ.

¹² LN legso.

¹³ SDQ rtswa, LN rtsa.

¹⁴ SDQ rtswa, LN rtsa.

¹⁵ LN phulo.

¹⁶ SDLN dpas, Q dpa's.

¹⁷ SDLN mñonQ, Q sñon.

¹⁸ SLN gi sa, D gis, Q illegible.

¹⁹ SDQ mnar, LN gnar.

²⁰ N bžino.

²¹ N bžino.

yin no¹ zes dgoñs śiñ² bskor nas nub kyi phyogs kyi char gśegs te śar phyogs su³ mñon⁴ du phyogs pas 'khod do || de nas nub phyogs kyi khor yug 'og tu byiñ nas 'gro ba ni mnar⁵ med pa'i bar du gyur pa bzin no⁶ || śar phyogs kyi khor yug steñ du lañs nas 'gro ba ni srid pa'i rtse mor gyur pa bzin no || byañ chub sems dpa'⁷ 'khod ciñ 'khod pa'i gnas ni mu khyud kyi mthar thug par mnan⁸ žiñ so sor gnas pa'i śiñ rta'i 'khor lo chen po lta bur sa gzi chen po la byiñ⁹ žiñ byiñ nas 'gro bar gyur te¹⁰ | byañ chub sems dpas 'di ni byañ chub thob pa'i gnas ma yin no zes bskor nas byañ phyogs kyi char gśegs te | lho phyogs su¹¹ sñun du phyogs pas 'khod do || de nas byañ gi khor yug sa la byiñ nas mnar med kyi bar du gyur pa bzin no || lho'i¹² khor yug gyen du lañs nas srid pa'i rtse mo'i bar du gyur pa bzin no || byañ chub sems dpas 'di ni byañ chub thob pa'i gnas ma yin no zes bsams te bskor nas śar phyogs kyi char gśegs nas nub phyogs su¹³ sñun du phyogs pas 'khod do || slar yañ śar phyogs kyi char sañs rgyas thams cad kyis skyil kruñ¹⁴ bcas pa'i gnas de g.yo bar mi 'gyur žiñ mi ldeg go || sems dpa' chen pos 'di ni (80b) sañs rgyas thams cad kyis¹⁵ ma spañs śiñ mi g.yo ba'i gnas | ñion moñs pa'i dra ba thams cad rnam par 'joms pa'i gnas su¹⁶ rtogs so¹⁷ || de'i rtswa rnams rtse mo nas bzuñ ste bkram nas de ma thag tu khru bcu bži pa'i tshad tsam gyi¹⁸ gdan du gyur to || de yañ de lta bu'i tshul gyis ji ltar bžag pa de bzin du mi gnas so¹⁹ || ji ltar gzugs la mkhas pa'i ri mo byed pa rnams kyis ri mo bris pa bzin du byañ chub sems dpas byañ chub śiñ gi sdoñ po la sku rgyab brten par byas nas žal śar du mñon²⁰ du phyogs par mdzad do || brtan pa'i sems su gyur nas bdag gi pags²¹ pa dañ | rgyus pa dañ | rus pa dañ | khrag dañ | śa rnams bskams²² par gyur kyañ yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i sañs rgyas ma thob bar du ni stan²³ 'di las lus bskyod par mi bya'o || thog brgya phrag babs kyañ mi phyed ciñ pha rol gyis mi

¹ N yino.

² S śiñ, DQLN žiñ.

³ LN phyogsu.

⁴ SDLN mñon, Q sñon.

⁵ SDQ mnar, LN gnar.

⁶ N bžino.

⁷ SDQN dpa', L omits.

⁸ SDLN mnan, Q gnas.

⁹ SDLN byiñ, Q byin.

¹⁰ SLN te, DQ to.

¹¹ L phyogsu.

¹² SLN lho'i, DQ byañ gi.

¹³ N phyogsu.

¹⁴ SDN skyil kruñ, QL dkyil dkruñ.

¹⁵ SDLN kyis, Q kyi.

¹⁶ N gnasu.

¹⁷ LN rtogso.

¹⁸ SDQL gyi, N gya.

¹⁹ N gnaso.

²⁰ SLN sñun, D mñon, Q sñon.

²¹ SD pags, QLN lpags.

²² S bskams, DQ skams, LN skam.

²³ SDQ stan, LN bstan.

tshugs¹ par stan la skyil kruñ² gis bžugs so³ ||

II 58.

de'i tshe lha'i bu'i bdud kyis gžon nu⁴ don grub bdag gi dbaň du byed par 'dod pas da ni bdag las 'da' bar byed du mi ster ro žes bsams nas bdud kyi dmag daň ñe bar soň ste | don 'di smras śiň bdud kyi sgra žes pas sgra bsgrags⁵ nas bdud kyi dmag khrid de 'thon nas | bdud kyi sde bdud kyi mdun⁶ du dpag tshad bcu gñis kyi sar 'gro'o || g.yas phyogs daň⁷ g.yon phyogs rnams su dpag tshad bcu gñis 'gro'o || rgyab phyogs su⁸ ji srid khor yug gi⁹ mthar thug par byas nas gnas so¹⁰ || steň du dpag tshad dgu'o || {Pā72} 'khor thams cad kyi gtam byed pa'i sgra dpag tshad stoň phrag gcig gi bar du sa gzi 'bugs pa tsam gyi sgra thos so¹¹ || (81a) de nas lha'i bu'i bdud dpag tshad phyed daň ñis brgya'i ri'i 'og pag¹² žes bya ba'i glaň po che'i rgyab tu¹³ žon nas lag pa stoň phrag gcig sprul nas mtshon cha sna tshogs pa blaňso so¹⁴ || gžan yaň bdud kyi 'khor gyi grogs gñis gcig daň mtshuň par mtshon cha'i rigs gñis mi len no¹⁵ || kha dog rnam pa sna tshogs pa daň rnam pa sna tshogs pa'i gdoň can sems dpa' chen po gžom par bya ba'i phyr 'oňso so¹⁶ ||

II 59.

stoň phrag bcu'i khor¹⁷ yug gi lha rnams slar yaň sems dpa' chen po la bstod¹⁸ pa byed ciň gnas so¹⁹ || brgya byin lha'i rgyal pos rnam par rgyal ba bla na med pa'i duň 'bud ciň 'khod do || slar yaň duň de khru brgya ñi śur gyur to || gal te legs par bus na zla ba bzi'i bar du rgyun mi 'chad ciň de nas rgyun mi 'chad do²⁰ || klu'i rgyal po nag po chen pos brgya phrag du ma'i bstod pa byed ciň gnas so²¹ || tshaň pa chen po gdugs dkar po bzuň nas gnas so²² ||

II 60.

¹ SDLN tshugs, Q tshuňs.

² SDN skyil kruň, Q dkyil dkruň, L dkyil dkruň.

³ N bžugso.

⁴ N gžonu.

⁵ SDLN bsgrags, Q sgrags.

⁶ SDLN mdun, Q bdun.

⁷ SLN daň, DQ omit.

⁸ LN phyogsu.

⁹ SDQ omit, LN add: gnas.

¹⁰ LN gnaso.

¹¹ N thoso.

¹² SDQ pag, LN dpag.

¹³ SDQN tu, L du.

¹⁴ LN blaňso.

¹⁵ N leno.

¹⁶ LN 'oňso.

¹⁷ SDQ khor, LN 'khor.

¹⁸ DQLN bstod, S stod.

¹⁹ N gnaso.

²⁰ S mi 'chad do, DQ 'chad do, LN mi mchad do.

slar yañ bdud kyi dmag byañ chub kyi sñiñ por 'oñs śiñ 'oñs so¹ || lha de rnams gcig tu 'khod par ma nus pas rañ gi gnas su² broś nas soñ ño³ || klu'i rgyal po nag po sa la⁴ byiñ nas dpag tshad lña brgya'i sñe ma can gyi klu'i pho brañ du soñ ste | lag pa gñis kha la bkab nas ñal lo || brgya byin gyi nam par rgyal ba bla na med pa'i duñ rgyab tu⁵ bkal te khor yug gi steñ du 'khod do || tshañs pa chen pos gdugs dkar po khor⁶ yug gi steñ du btsugs nas tshañs pa'i 'jig rten du soñ ño⁷ || lha gcig gis kyañ 'khod par ma nus te | skyes bu chen po ñid gcig pu bźugs so⁸ || (81b)

II 61.

bdud kyis | rañ gi 'khor la smras pa | bu zas gtsañ gi bu don grub dañ 'dra ba'i skyes bu gźan med pas | bdag gis de'i mdun⁹ du g.yul 'gyed par mi nus kyis | rgyab kyi phyogs su¹⁰ g.yul bgyi'o źes smras so¹¹ || skyes bu chen pos kyañ phyogs gsum la gzigś pas lha thams cad¹² broś pa'i phyir gnas thams cad stoñ par mthoñ ño¹³ || gźan yañ byañ phyogs su¹⁴ gzigś pas bdud kyi dmag rnams bdag gźom pa'i phyir 'oñ¹⁵ ba gzigś so¹⁶ || 'di rnams kyi dmag gi tshogs bdag gcig¹⁷ pu'i phyir rtsol ba chen pos pha rol gnon par byed ciñ gnas 'dir 'oñs te | bdag gi ma 'am | pha 'am | spun nam | su yañ ruñ bas¹⁸ gñen las gźan med do¹⁹ || gźan yañ gañ gi phyir pha rol tu²⁰ phyin pa bcu po ñid bdag gis dus yun riñ por gñen²¹ la dga' ba bzin goms pa de'i phyir bdag gis pha rol tu²² phyin pa ñid kyis phub byas nas | pha rol tu²³ phyin pa ñid kyi²⁴ mtshon thogs te | 'di'i dmag gi tshogs nam par²⁵ gźom par rigs so²⁶ sñam nas pha

²¹ N gnaso.

²² L gnaso.

¹ LN 'oñso.

² LN gnasu.

³ N soño.

⁴ SDQ la, LN omit.

⁵ SDQN tu, L du.

⁶ SDQ khor, LN 'khor.

⁷ N soño.

⁸ LN bźugso.

⁹ SDQ mdun, L bdun, N 'dun.

¹⁰ LN phyogsu.

¹¹ N smraso.

¹² SDQN thams cad, L thad.

¹³ N mthoño.

¹⁴ LN phyogsu.

¹⁵ SDQ 'oñ, LN 'oñs.

¹⁶ N gzigso.

¹⁷ SDQ gcig, LN cig.

¹⁸ SLN bas, DQ ba'i.

¹⁹ L medo.

²⁰ SLN tu, DQ du.

²¹ SLN gñen, DQ gñer.

²² SLN tu, DQ du.

²³ SLN tu, DQ du.

²⁴ SDQ kyi, LN kyis.

rol tu¹ phyin pa bcu po thugs la bsams² nas bžugs so³ ||

II 62.

de nas lha'i bu'i bdud kyis don grub de ma thag tu 'bros par byed par rigs so⁴ zes smras nas rluñ gi dkyil 'khor ñe bar gnas nas 'oñs so⁵ || de ma thag kho nar śar phyogs la sogs pa'i rluñ gi dkyil 'khor rnam lañs nas 'oñs te dpag tshad phyed dañ | {Pā73} yañ gñis la sogs pa'i tshad kyi ri'i phuñ po blañs nas nags thibs po dañ śiñ la sogs pa sa la bton žiñ | thams cad du groñ dañ groñ rdal (82a) phye ma dañ rnam par phye mar byed pa'i nus pa ni skyes bu chen po'i bsod nams kyi gzi brjid kyi⁶ mthus gyes te | byañ chub sems dpa'i druñ du 'oñs nas bla gos kyi grwa tsam yañ bsgul bar mi nus so⁷ || de nas chu yis gžom pa'i phyir 'oñs nas gsod bar bsams pa na char pa chen po 'bab ciñ gnas so⁸ || de'i mthus steñ nas steñ du brgya phrag du ma brtsegs pa dañ | stoñ phrag du ma brtsegs⁹ pa'i sprin chen po 'dus nas char 'babs so¹⁰ || char pa'i rgyun gyi šugs kyis sa gži 'bugs par gyur to || nags tshal dañ śiñ la sogs pa'i steñ gi char sprin chen po 'oñs nas sems dpa' chen po chu thigs¹¹ gcig tsam gyis kyañ sbañ bar ma nus so¹² || de nas rdo'i¹³ char bkug nas ches che ba'i ri'i phuñ po du bar byed ciñ 'bar bar byas nas nam mkha'¹⁴ nas 'oñs te byañ chub sems dpa'i druñ du 'oñs nas lha'i me tog gi chun po'i¹⁵ gžugs 'bab bo¹⁶ || de nas mtshon cha'i char thams cad bkug nas mtshon so gcig pa dañ | so¹⁷ gñis pa dañ | ral gri dañ | mduñ thuñ dañ | spu gri la sogs pa'i mtshon cha rnam¹⁸ du bar byed ciñ 'bar bar byas nas nam mkha'¹⁹ la 'oñs te | byañ chub sems dpa'i druñ du 'oñs nas lha'i me tog tu²⁰ gyur to || de nas sol ba'i char bkug nas rgya skyegs²¹ kyi me tog gi kha dog can gyi sol ba nam mkha'²² nas 'oñs nas²³ byañ

²⁵ SLN rnam par, DQ rnam.

²⁶ LN rigso.

¹ SLN du, DQ du.

² SDLN bsans, Q bsam.

³ LN bžugso.

⁴ LN rigso.

⁵ LN 'oñso.

⁶ SDQ kyi, LN kyis.

⁷ LN nuso.

⁸ LN gnaso.

⁹ SDQ brtsegs, LN btsegs.

¹⁰ LN 'babso.

¹¹ SDLN thigs, Q thig.

¹² LN nuso.

¹³ SDQ rdo'i, LN rdo yi.

¹⁴ LN namkha'.

¹⁵ SN po'i, DQL bu'i.

¹⁶ N 'babo.

¹⁷ SDLN so, Q sor.

¹⁸ SDQN rnam, L rnam.

¹⁹ LN namkha'.

²⁰ SDQ tu, LN du.

²¹ SDLN skyegs, Q stegs.

²² LN namkha'.

²³ SDQ 'oñs nas, LN omit.

chub sems dpa'i žabs druñ du lha'i me tog tu gyur nas 'bab bo¹ || de nas thal ba'i char pa rnam²
 bkug nas śin tu dro ba me'i kha dog can gyi thal ba nam mkha'³ nas 'oñs (82b) nas byañ chub sems
 dpa'i žabs druñ du tsan dan gyi phye ma ltar gyur pa'i char 'bab bo⁴ || de nas bye ma'i char⁵ bkug
 nas śin tu phra ba'i bye ma rnam du bar byed ciñ 'bar bar byas nas nam mkha'⁶ nas 'oñs te byañ
 chub sems dpa'i žabs druñ du lha'i phye ma ltar gyur nas char 'bab bo⁷ || de nas 'jim pa'i char pa
 rnam bkug nas 'jim pa rnam du bar byed ciñ 'bar bar byas nas nam mkha'⁸ nas 'oñs te byañ chub
 sems dpa'i žabs druñ du lha'i byug par gyur nas 'bab bo⁹ || de nas 'di bžin du 'jigs par byed pas don
 grub 'bros par bya ba'i phyir mun pa ñe bar gnas par bya'o || de ni yan lag bži dañ ldan pa'i mun nag
 chen por gyur nas | byañ chub sems dpa'i druñ du bsleb¹⁰ nas ñi ma'i 'od kyis mun pa bcom pa bžin
 du mi snañ bar gyur nas |

II 63.

'di ltar bdud dgu po 'di rluñ dañ | char dañ | rdo dañ | mtshon cha dañ | sol ba dañ | thal ba dañ | bye
 ma dañ | 'jim pa dañ | mun pa ste | de rnam char du babs¹¹ nas byañ chub sems dpa' 'bros par byed
 par ma nus so¹² || cis brjod ciñ ci'i phyir sdod || gžon nu 'di la zuñ žig¹³ | rgyob¹⁴ cig | thon cig¹⁵ ces
 'khor rnam bos nas¹⁶ rañ gis kyañ ri'i 'og pag¹⁷ glañ po che'i rgyab tu¹⁸ žon nas 'khor lo'i mtshon cha¹⁹
 bslañs²⁰ te | byañ chub sems dpa'i druñ du ñe bar 'oñs nas don grub stan las²¹ loñs śig²² | 'di khyod la rigs
 pa ma yin gyi | ñed la rigs pa yin no²³ žes smras so²⁴ || sems dpa'²⁵ chen pos de'i tshig thos nas 'di ltar

¹ N 'babo.² SLN omit, DQ pa rnam.³ LN namkha'.⁴ LN 'babo.⁵ SQLN char, D mar.⁶ LN namkha'.⁷ LN 'babo.⁸ L namkha'.⁹ LN 'babo.¹⁰ S bsleb, DQLN sleb.¹¹ N 'babs.¹² N nuso.¹³ S žig, DQLN cig.¹⁴ LN sgyob.¹⁵ SDLN cig, Q gcig.¹⁶ SDQN nas, L omits.¹⁷ SDQ pag, LN dpag.¹⁸ SDQN tu, L du.¹⁹ SLN kha, DQ cha.²⁰ S slañs, DQLN bsłañs.²¹ SD las, QLN la.²² SD śig, QLN cig.²³ N yino.²⁴ LN smraso.²⁵ SDLN dpa', Q can.

smras so || bdud khyod kyis pha (83a) rol tu¹ phyin pa bcu ma rdzogs pa dañ | ñe ba'i pha rol tu² phyin pa ma rdzogs pa dañ | don dam pa'i pha rol tu³ phyin pa ma rdzogs pa dañ | chen po lña yoñs su⁴ gtoñ ba med pa dañ | gñen gyi don du spyod pa med pa dañ | 'jig rten gyi don gyi spyod pa med pa dañ | sañs rgyas kyis⁵ spyod pa yoñs su⁶ ma rdzogs pas stan 'di khyod la rigs pa ma yin no || {Pā74} stan 'di bdag kho na la rigs pa yin no⁷ || bdud khros par gyur nas khros pa'i sugs bsrān par ma nus⁸ te | skyes bu chen po la mtshon cha'i 'khor lo 'phañs so⁹ || de'i pha rol tu¹⁰ phyin pa bcu sems par byed ciñ bžugs pa na steñ gi char me tog gi 'phreñ¹¹ ba'i bla res bres ba bžin du gyur to || de'i 'khor lo'i mtshon cha gžan la de śin tu khros pas 'phañs te rdo ba 'thug¹² po 'am | rdo ba 'thug¹³ po'i ka ba 'bugs śiñ 'gro ba'o¹⁴ || slar yañ de ni de'i me tog gi bla res su¹⁵ gyur nas gnas pa na bdud kyis 'khor lhag ma mams de nas stan las¹⁶ lañs te 'gro bar bsams nas ches che¹⁷ ba'i ri'i phuñ po 'phañs so¹⁸ || de mams kyañ skyes bu chen po'i pha rol tu¹⁹ phyin pa bcu la sems śiñ bžugs pa na me tog gi chun por gyur nas sa la lhuñ ño || lha mams khor yug gi mthar 'khod pa mams ske²⁰ btegs nas blta žiñ | mgo bo bteg ciñ bteg²¹ nas don grub gžon nu²² mchog gi sku'i bdag ñid ñams sam sñam nas ci byed na žes bsams śiñ blta'o || de nas skyes bu chen pos pha rol tu²³ phyin pa rdzogs pa'i byañ chub sems dpa' mams mñon par rdzogs par byañ chub pa'i ñin mo thob pa'i stan bdag la rigs pa yin no²⁴ (83b) žes bśad nas | 'khod pa'i bdud la smras so²⁵ || bdud khyod kyis²⁶ sbyin pa btañ ba'i dpañ po su yod ces

¹ SDLN tu, Q du.

² SLN tu, DQ du.

³ SLN tu, DQ du.

⁴ LN yoñsu.

⁵ SDQN kyis, L gyi.

⁶ LN yoñsu.

⁷ L yino.

⁸ SDLN nus, Q gyur.

⁹ LN 'phañso.

¹⁰ SQLN tu, D du.

¹¹ S 'phreñ, DQLN phreñ.

¹² SLN 'thug, D mthug, Q thug.

¹³ SQLN 'thug, D mthug.

¹⁴ S 'gro'o, DQLN 'gro ba'o.

¹⁵ LN resu.

¹⁶ SDN las, QL la.

¹⁷ SDQ che, LN cher.

¹⁸ N 'phañso.

¹⁹ SQLN tu, D du.

²⁰ SDQ ske, LN skye.

²¹ SDQ bteg, LN steg.

²² N gžonu.

²³ SLN tu, DQ du.

²⁴ N yino.

²⁵ LN smraso.

²⁶ SDLN kyis, Q gyis.

smras so¹ || bdud 'di rnams thams cad bdag gi dpañ po yin no² zes bdud kyi dmag rnams la lag pa
 brkyañ ño³ || de ma thag par bdud kyi⁴ 'khor rnams ña yañ dpañ po yin | ña yañ dpañ po yin⁵ zes
 brjod pa'i sgras sa gži yañ ral ba bzin du brjod pa'i sgrar gyur to || de nas bdud kyis | skyes bu chen po
 la smras pa | don grub khyod kyis sbyin pa btañ⁶ ba'i dños po la dpañ po su yod ces smras so⁷ ||
 skyes bu chen po khyod kyis re žig sbyin pa byin pa'i dños po la sems dañ bcas pa rnams dpañ po yin
 no⁸ || slar yañ bdag la gnas 'di na sems dañ bcas pa'i dpañ po su yañ med pas | bdag ñid kyis skye
 ba'i mthar sbyin pa btañ⁹ ba de srid gnas pa thams cad sgrol gyi lus kyi bdag ñid la gnas nas sbyin pa
 chen po bdun brgya pa bdun byin pa'i dños po la sems med pa'i sa gži chen po 'thug¹⁰ po 'di dpañ po
 yin no zes chos gos kyi nañ nas phyag g.yas pa bton¹¹ te | thams cad sgrol gyi bdag ñid kyi lus su¹²
 gnas nas bdag gis sbyin pa bdun brgya pa bdun byin pa'i dños po de la khyod kyis dpañ po yin nam
 ma yin pa smros śig ces sa chen po la mñon du phyogs pas phyag brkyañ ba na¹³ | sa chen po sa¹⁴
 bdag ni de'i tshe dpañ po yin no zes sgra sgrogs par gyur nas | sgra chen po sgrogs pa¹⁵ brgya dañ |
 stoñ phrag gcig dañ | sgra chen po 'bum phrag gcig po rnams kyis bdud kyi¹⁶ dmag gi sgra rnams zil
 gyis mnan pa bzin du gyur to || (84a)

II 64.

de nas skyes bu chen po don grub kyi sbyin pa chen po byin pa ni mchog gi sbyin pa'o zes thams cad
 sgrol gyi sbyin pa dran par byed ciñ dpag tshad phyed dañ ñis¹⁷ brgya'i ri'i 'og pag¹⁸ gi glañ po che pus¹⁹
 mo sa la btsugs nas 'khod do || bdud kyi 'khor rnams phyogs dañ mtshams²⁰ mams su²¹ bros nas gñis
 lam gcig la 'gro ba med do || mgo'i²² rgyan²³ ñid dañ gyon pa'i gos dañ por dor nas rañ gi phyogs

¹ LN smraso.

² N yino.

³ L brkyaño.

⁴ SDLN kyi, Q gyi.

⁵ SDQ ña yañ dpañ po yin, LN omit.

⁶ SDQ btañ, LN gtañ.

⁷ LN smraso.

⁸ N yino.

⁹ SDQ btañ, LN gtañ.

¹⁰ SQLN 'thug, D mthug.

¹¹ SDLN bton, Q gton.

¹² N lusu.

¹³ SLN na, DQ dañ.

¹⁴ SL po sa, DQN pos.

¹⁵ SDLN omit, Q 'gyur ba.

¹⁶ S kyis, DQLN kyi.

¹⁷ SDQN ñis, L gñis.

¹⁸ SDQ pag, LN dpag.

¹⁹ SDQ pus, LN dpus.

²⁰ SDQ mtshams, LN 'tshams.

²¹ LN rnamsu.

²² SDQ mgo'i, LN mgo yi.

²³ SDLN rgyan, Q brgyan.

phyogs ñid du 'bros¹ so² || de nas lha'i tshogs rnams kyis bdud bros nas 'gro ba mthoñ ste | {Pā75}
 bdud rnams pham pas don grub gzon nu³ rgyal bar gyur to zes rgyal ba'i mchod pa byed par sems
 so⁴ || klu ni klu rnams la bskul lo⁵ || 'dab bzañ⁶ ni 'dab bzañ⁷ rnams la'o || lha ni lha rnams la'o ||
 tshañs pas ni tshañs pa rnams la bskul lo⁸ || spos dañ me tog gi 'phreñ⁹ ba la sogs pa lag tu thogs nas
 byañ chub śiñ gi druñ du skyil kruñ¹⁰ gis bzugs pa'i skyes bu chen po dañ ñe bar 'oñs so¹¹ || de ltar
 bdud rnams bros nas soñ¹² ||

Unidentified verses¹³

dpal ldan sañs rgyas rgyal bar gyur || sdig can bdud ni pham par gyur ||
 rab dga' byañ chub sñiñ por sgroggs || de tshe drañ sroñ klu tshogs rgyal ||

dpal ldan sañs rgyas rgyal bar gyur || sdig can bdun ni pham par gyur ||
 rab dga' byañ chub sñiñ por¹⁴ sgroggs || 'dab bzañ¹⁵ tshogs kyi drañ sroñ rgyal ||

dpal ldan sañs rgyas rgyal bar gyur¹⁶ || sdig can bdud ni pham par gyur ||

¹ SDLN 'bros, Q bros.

² N 'broso.

³ N gzonu.

⁴ LN semso.

⁵ LN bskulo.

⁶ SQLN bzañ, D bzañs.

⁷ SQLN bzañ, D bzañs.

⁸ LN bskulo.

⁹ S 'phreñ, DQLN phreñ.

¹⁰ SDN skyil kruñ, QL dkyil dkruñ.

¹¹ N 'oñso.

¹² N soño.

¹³ *Jātakanidāna* p. 75; sTog 84a/b; Ap-a p.80.

“Jayo hi Buddhassa sirimato ayam
 Mārassa ca pāpimato parājayo”,
 ugghosayum bodhimaṇḍe pamoditā
 jayam tadā nāgagaṇā Mahesino.

“Jayo hi Buddhassa sirimato ayam
 Mārassa ca pāpimato parājayo”,
 ugghosayum bodhimaṇḍe pamoditā
 supaṇṇasaṃghāpi jayam Mahesino.

“Jayo hi Buddhassa sirimato ayam
 Mārassa ca pāpimato parājayo”,
 ugghosayum bodhimaṇḍe pamoditā
 jayam tadā devagaṇā Mahesino.

“Jayo hi Buddhassa sirimato ayam
 Mārassa ca pāpimato parājayo”,
 ugghosayum bodhimaṇḍe pamoditā
 jayam tadā brahmagaṇāpi tādino.

¹⁴ SDQ por, LN po.

¹⁵ SQLN bzañ, D bzañs.

¹⁶ SDQL gyur, N 'gyur.

rab dga' byañ chub sñiñ por sgrogs || lha¹ tshogs de tshe drañ sroñ rgyal ||

dpal ldan sañs rgyas rgyal bar gyur || sdig can bdud (84b) ni pham par gyur ||
rab dga' byañ chub sñiñ por sgrogs || tshañs tshogs de tshe rgyal bar sgrogs ||

mthar stoñ phrag bcu'i khor yug gi lha rnam kyis me tog dañ | spos dañ | byug pa rnam kyis mchod
par byed do || rnam pa sna tshogs pa'i² bstod pa byed ciñ 'khod do ||

II 65.

'di ltar skyes bu chen po ñi ma³ nub pa'i tshe bdud rnam par bcom nas chos gos kyis steñ du byañ
chub kyis śiñ gi 'dab ma myu gu lta bu lhuñ⁴ žiñ byu⁵ ru dmar⁶ pos mchod par byed pa lta bu'o || thun
dañ po la sñon gyi gnas rjes su⁷ dran pa ye śes kyis⁸ rtogs pa dañ | thun⁹ bar pa la¹⁰ lha'i spyen rnam
par dag pas ye śes thob pa dañ | thun tha ma la rten ciñ 'brel par 'byuñ ba'i ye śes thob bo || de nas
rten 'brel bcu gñis kyis rkyen gyis rnam par 'jug pa dañ | mi 'jug pa'i lugs las byuñ ba dañ | lugs las
bzlog pa dran par byed ciñ dran par byed do || stoñ phrag bcu'i¹¹ 'jig rten gyi khams chu'i¹² mthar
thug par byas nas lan¹³ bcu gñis su¹⁴ yañ dag par g.yos so¹⁵ || slar yañ skyes bu chen pos stoñ phrag
bcu'i 'jig rten gyi khams su sgra chen po sgrogs śiñ | skya reñs¹⁶ śar ba'i dus su thams cad mkhyen pa'i
ye śes so sor myoñ ño || {Pā76} stoñ phrag bcu'i 'jig rten gyi khams thams cad brgyan¹⁷ bžin du rigs
par gyur to || śar phyogs kyis khor yug gi steñ du rgyal mtshan dañ ba dan btsugs pa'i śam bus nub kyis
khor yug gi steñ du chags so¹⁸ || de bžin du nub kyis¹⁹ phyogs kyis khor yug gi mtha'i steñ du rgyal
mtshan dañ ba dan btsugs pa'i śam bus śar gyi khor yug gi steñ (85a) du chags so²⁰ || byañ gi phyogs

¹ SLN sna, DQ lha.
² SDLN pa'i, Q pa.
³ SD omit, QLN add: ma.
⁴ SDQN lhuñ, L ltuñ.
⁵ S byu, DQLN byi.
⁶ SDLN dmar, Q 'dmar.
⁷ N rjesu.
⁸ SLN kyis, DQ kyis.
⁹ SDLN thun, Q mthun.
¹⁰ SDQ pa la, LN omit.
¹¹ SLN bcus, DQ bcu'i.
¹² SDLN chu'i, Q cha'i.
¹³ SDQL lan, N len.
¹⁴ N gñisu.
¹⁵ N g.yoso.
¹⁶ SD reñs, QLN reñ.
¹⁷ SDLN brgyan, Q rgyan.
¹⁸ LN chagso.
¹⁹ SDQN kyis, L gyis.
²⁰ N chagso.

kyi khor yug gi steñ du rgyal mtshan dañ ba dan btsugs pa'i śam bus¹ lho'i khor yug gi steñ du chags so² || lho'i phyogs kyi³ khor yug gi steñ du rgyal mtshan dañ ba dan btsugs pa'i śam bus byañ gi khor yug gi steñ du chags so⁴ || sa gzi las lañs pa'i rgyal mtshan dañ ba dan tshañs pa'i gnas su⁵ chags so⁶ || tshañs pa'i 'jig rten gyi gnas su⁷ bcins pa'i rgyal mtshan dañ ba dan sa gzi'i steñ du chags so⁸ || stoñ phrag bcu'i khor yug la me tog gi śiñ la me tog kha bye'o || 'bras bu'i śiñ la 'bras bu mañ por gyur to || sdoñ po nmams la sdoñ po'i pad ma'⁹ me tog¹⁰ kha bye'o || yal ga nmams la yal ga'i pad ma'¹¹ me tog go || 'khri¹² śiñ nmams la 'khri¹³ śiñ gi pad ma'¹⁴ me tog go || nam mkha'¹⁵ nas thur¹⁶ du pad ma'¹⁷ me tog 'phyañ¹⁸ ño || thañ dañ rdo'i steñ du brtol nas steñ nas¹⁹ steñ du bdun bdun du gyur te rgyun chags pa'i pad ma'²⁰ me tog ces²¹ bya ba phyuñ ño || stoñ phrag bcu'i 'jig rten gyi khams khyad par du 'phags pa'i me tog gi gdan bzin du gyur to || khor yug gi bar dpag tshad stoñ phrag brgyad kyi 'jig rten gyi bar gyi dmyal ba ñi ma bdun gyi 'od kyis kyañ snañ bar byed pa med pas na dkon no || de dañ mtshuñs²² pa'i 'jig rten gyi bar gyi dmyal ba pa²³ de ma thag tu snañ bar gyur to || dpag tshad brgyad khri bzi stoñ tsam gyis zab pa'i rgya mtsho chen po'i chu²⁴ dñar por gyur to || chu kluñ nmams ni 'gro ba²⁵ gnas so²⁶ || dmus loñ nmams kyi mig gis gzugs mthoñ ño²⁷ || 'on pa nmams kyi rna bas sgra thos so || goñ po (85b) nmams kyis 'gro śes par gyur to || bcins pa'i sems can nmams ni rjes su²⁸

¹ SDN bus, QL bu.

² N chagso.

³ SDLN kyi, Q gyi.

⁴ LN chagso.

⁵ N gnasu.

⁶ LN chagso.

⁷ N gnasu.

⁸ LN chagso.

⁹ SLN padma'i, DQ pad ma'i.

¹⁰ DQLN tog, S to.

¹¹ SLN padma'i, DQ pad ma'i.

¹² SD 'khri, QLN 'khril.

¹³ SD 'khri, QLN 'khril.

¹⁴ SLN padma'i, DQ pad ma'i.

¹⁵ LN namkha'.

¹⁶ SDLN thur, Q mthur.

¹⁷ SLN padma'i, DQ pad ma'i.

¹⁸ SDQ 'phyañ, LN 'chañ.

¹⁹ SDLN steñ nas, Q omits.

²⁰ SLN padma'i, DQ pad ma'i.

²¹ SDQL ces, N zes.

²² SDLN mtshuñs, Q tshuñs.

²³ SLN pa, DQ omit.

²⁴ SDLN chu, Q chum.

²⁵ SLN ba, DQ bar.

²⁶ N gnaso.

²⁷ N mthoñ.

²⁸ N rjesu.

bciñs pa las grol bar gyur to || 'di ltar tshad med pa'i dpal du gyur nas mchod pa dañ ya mtshan pa'i
chos rab tu skyes so¹ || thams cad mkhyen pa'i ye śes so sor rig go || sañs rgyas thams cad kyis² bśad
pa ched du brjod pa ched du brjod do ||

Dhp 153³

skye bo'i⁴ 'khor ba ma lus par⁵ || dug med rnam par dug med tshol ||
khyim med pa ni tshol ba na || skye ba'i sdug bśhal yañ yañ dañ ||

Dhp 154⁶

khyim med pa ni mthoñ bar gyur || slar yañ khyim ni byed pa med ||
de yi sdug bśhal thams cad bcom || dug gi miñ can khyim gyi⁷ phuñ ||
sems ni 'du byed pa las grol || sred pa zad nas med par gyur || {Pā77}

ces⁸ pa 'di ni dga' ldan gyi pho brañ du gnas pa nas bzuñ ste ji srid byañ chub sñiñ po 'dir thams cad
mkhyen pa thob pa de rnams kyī gnas ni gleñ gži bar ma źes bya ba yin no⁹ ||

¹ LN skyeso.

² SLN kyis, DQ kyī.

³ *Jātakanidāna* p.76; sTog 85a; Dhp 153; Uv 31.6; Ap-a p.81; Dhp-a III p.127; Bv-a pp. 8, 133, 143, 289; Dhs-a p 18; Sv I p 16; Sv II p.463.

Jātakanidāna p.76,
anekajātiṣaṃsāraṃ /
sandhāvissaṃ anibbisam
gahakāraṃ gavesanto /
dukkhā jāti punappunam.

Udānavarga 31. 6.
anekaṃ jātiṣaṃsāraṃ / sandhāvitvā puna' puna' /
grhakarakaṣamāṇas tvaṃ / du'khā jāti' puna' puna' //

⁴ SLN bo'i, DQ ba'i.

⁵ S par, DQLN pa.

⁶ *Jātakanidāna* p. 76; sTog 85b; Dhp 154; Uv. 31.7; Ap-a p.81; Dhs-a p.18; Bv-a pp. 8, 133, 143, 289; Dhp-a III p.128; Khp p.13; Sv II p.463; Sv I p.16.

Jātakanidāna p. 76,
gahakāraṃ dīṭṭho si
puna gehaṃ na kāhasi,
sabbā te phāsukā bhaggā
gahakūṭaṃ viṣaṃkhitam,
viṣaṃkhāragataṃ cittaṃ
taṇhānaṃ khayam ajjhagā ti.

Udānavarga 31. 7,
grhakaraka dīṣṭo 'si / na punar gehaṃ kariṣyasi /
sarve te pārśukā bhagnā / grhakuṭaṃ viṣaṃskṛtam /
viṣaṃskāragate citte / ihaiva kṣayaṃ adhyagā' //

⁷ SDQ gyī, LN gyis.

⁸ SLN ces, DQ źes.

⁹ N yino.

Ñe ba'i gleñ gzi¹

III 1.

gžan yañ ñe ba'i gleñ gzi ni | bcom ldan 'das mñan yod rgyal byed² tshal mgon med zas sbyin gyi kun dga' ra ba'i gnas su³ bžugs pa dañ | yañs pa can gyi nags tshal chen po khañ pa brtsegs pa'i gnas su bžugs so⁴ || de ltar de dañ de'i gnas rnam su⁵ bžugs šiñ de dañ de'i gnas ñid thob ces brjod do || gañ ci yañ 'di ltar brjod pa de nas yañ de dañ po nas bzuñ nas 'di ltar rig par bya'o ||

III 2.

bcom ldan 'das bžugs nas ched du brjod ciñ ched du brjod pa de lta bu'i sems skyes so || bdag gis bskal pa grañs med pa bži dañ 'bum phrag gcig lhag pa nas (86a) skyil kruñ⁶ bcas pa 'di'i ched du dus 'di rnam la bdag gi mgo rgyan gyis brgyan pa'i mgrin pa nas bregs te sbyin par btañ ba dañ | spyān bzañ po btañ ba dañ | sñiñ gi śa bregs nas btañ ba dañ | gžon nu dra ba 'dzin dañ 'dra ba'i bu sbyin par btañ ba dañ | kriṣṇa dzi na'i⁷ gžon nu⁸ ma dañ mtshuñs pa'i bu mo sbyin par btañ ba dañ | lha mo ma kri⁹ dañ mtshuñs pa'i chuñ ma rnam gžan gyi bran gyi phyir sbyin par btañ no¹⁰ || 'di ni bdag gi 'dug stañs yin no¹¹ || rgyal ba'i 'dug stañs yin no || mchog gi 'dug stañs yin no¹² || 'di la bdag bžugs nas bsams¹³ pa thams cad yoñs su¹⁴ rdzogs so¹⁵ || re žig gdan¹⁶ 'di las bdag mi ldañ no¹⁷ sñam du bsams nas | bye ba 'bum phrag du ma la sñoms par žugs nas mñam par gnas te žag bdun du de ñid du bžugs so¹⁸ || de'i phyir sañs rgyas žes brjod do || de nas yañ bcom ldan 'das kyis žag bdun du 'dug stañs gcig gis bžugs so¹⁹ || rnam par grol ba dañ bde ba so sor rig ciñ bžugs so²⁰ ||

¹ Santikēnidāna/ Ñe ba'i gleñ gzi, Tog folios 85b-105a; Pāli pp. 77-94.

² SLN omit, DQ kyi.

³ N gnasu.

⁴ N bžugso.

⁵ N rnam su.

⁶ SDN skyil kruñ, QL dkyil dkruñ.

⁷ SDLN kriṣṇa dzi na'i, Q kri ṣṇi dzi na'i

⁸ N gžonu.

⁹ SLN tri, DQ kri.

¹⁰ N btaño.

¹¹ N yino.

¹² N yino.

¹³ SLN bsams, DQ bsam.

¹⁴ N yoñsu.

¹⁵ LN rdzogso.

¹⁶ SLN gdan, DQ stan.

¹⁷ N ldaño.

¹⁸ LN bžugso.

¹⁹ N bžugso.

²⁰ N bžugso.

III 3.

gžan yañ lha gañ dañ gañ žig da duñ yañ ñes¹ par don grub la bya ba yod dam | 'dug stañs 'di la žen pa ma spañs² ba dañ | rnam par rtog pa yoñs su³ bskyed do žes bsams nas | ston pas lha rnams kyi⁴ rnam par rtog pa mkhyen nas | de rnams kyi rnam par rtog pa ñe bar ži bar bya ba'i phyir | steñ gi nam mkha'⁵ la 'dug nas so sor cho 'phrul bstan to⁶ || byañ chub kyi sñiñ por mdzad pa'i cho 'phrul dañ | ñe du dañ 'dus pa'i dus su mdzad pa'i (86b) cho 'phrul dañ | klog pa'i mdo dañ 'dus par mdzad pa'i cho 'phrul thams cad⁷ a mra srun pa⁸ dañ | a mra'i⁹ šin gi druñ du mdzad pa'i so so'i¹⁰ cho 'phrul dañ mtshuñs par gyur to || 'di ltar ston pas 'di lta bu'i cho 'phrul mdzad nas lha rnams kyi rnam par rtog pa¹¹ ñe bar ži bar mdzad do¹² || 'dug stañs kyis byañ šar gyi char 'khod de | 'di'i 'dug stañs kyis thams cad mkhyen pa'i ye šes so sor rtogs¹³ par byed do || bskañ pa grañs med pa bži dañ 'bum phrag gcig gis pha rol tu¹⁴ phyin pa yoñs su¹⁵ rdzogs pa'i 'bras bu lhag par rtogs pa'i 'dug stañs kyis mig mi 'dzums¹⁶ par lta žiñ žag bdun du 'khod do || de'i gnas su mig mi 'dzums¹⁷ pa'i mchod rten žes bya ba byuñ ño¹⁸ || {Pā78}

III 4.

de nas 'dug stañs la 'khod pa'i gnas kyis bar du 'chag¹⁹ par byas nas šar dañ nub tu²⁰ rin po che la 'chag ciñ²¹ 'chag pas²² žag bdun du 'khod do || gnas der rin po che la 'chag pa'i mchod rten žes bya ba

¹ SDQL ñes, N des.

² SLN spañs, DQ spañ.

³ LN yoñsu.

⁴ S kyis, DQLN kyis.

⁵ LN namkha'.

⁶ SL bstan no, DQ bstan to, N bstano.

⁷ SDQL thams cad, N thamd.

⁸ S a mra srun pa, LN a smra srun pa, D a mra sruñ pa, Q omits.

⁹ SDN a mra'i, QL a smra'i.

¹⁰ SDLN so'i, Q sor.

¹¹ SDQN pa, L sa.

¹² L mdzado.

¹³ SQLN rtogs, D rtog.

¹⁴ SQLN tu, D du.

¹⁵ N yoñsu.

¹⁶ SD 'dzums, QLN 'jum.

¹⁷ SD 'dzums, QLN 'jum.

¹⁸ N byuñ.

¹⁹ SDLN 'chag, Q 'chags.

²⁰ SD tu, LN du, Q tu kyañ.

²¹ SLN 'chag ciñ, DQ omit.

²² DQLN pas, S omits.

byuñ ño¹ ||

III 5.

gžan yañ žag bdun pa bži pa la byañ chub śiñ gi byañ śar gyi char lha rnam kyis rin po che'i khañ pa sprul lo || der 'dug stañs kyis² bžugs naś chos mñon pa'i sde snod ma lus par 'di rnam mtha' yas pa'i tshul gyis kun gnas par sems śiñ žag bdun bžugs so || chos mñon pa³ slar yañ 'di skad smra'o || rin po che'i khañ pa žes bya ba rin po che las byuñ ba'i khañ pa yin no žes zer ro || sdud⁴ par byed pa po rnam slar yañ 'di skad gsuñ ste | rab tu byed pa bdun gyi chos mñon par⁵ rjes su⁶ dran par byed pa'i rin (87a) po che'i khañ pa yin žes gsuñ ño⁷ || gañ gi phyir slar yañ 'dir tshig gñis ka'añ⁸ 'thad⁹ do || de'i phyir 'di gñis ka'añ¹⁰ gzuñ bar bya'o || de nas slar yañ gnas de rin po che'i khañ pa'i mchod rten žes bya ba byuñ ño¹¹ ||

III 6.

'di ltar byañ chub śiñ dañ ñe ba ñid du žag bdun pa bži pa soñ nas žag bdun pa lña pa la byañ chub śiñ gi druñ nas ra lug skyoñ ba'i śiñ nya gro dha¹² dañ ñe bar gśegs nas der yañ chos la rnam par sems pa ñid kyis rnam par grol ba dañ | bde bas so sor rig par mdzad nas bžugs so¹³ ||

III 7.

de'i tshe lha'i bu'i bdud dus 'di rnam kyi phyi ma la grib ma bžin du phyogs gañ du'añ ma spañs so¹⁴ || byañ chub sems dpa' la skyon cuñ zad kyañ ma mthoñ ño¹⁵ || da ni ña'i dbañ du bya ba las 'das pas yid mi bde ba thob par gyur ciñ lam chen por gnas nas rnam pa bcu drug gi rgyu mtshan la sems śiñ sa la ri mo bcu drug 'dri'o¹⁶ || bdag gis 'di bžin du sbyin pa'i pha rol tu¹⁷ phyin pa ma rdzogs pa

¹ N byuño.

² SDLN kyis, Q kyi.

³ SLN omit, DQ pa.

⁴ SDQ sdud, LN bsdud.

⁵ SLN par, DQ pa.

⁶ N rjesu.

⁷ N gsuño.

⁸ S ka'añ, DQ ka yañ, LN gañ.

⁹ SDLN 'thad, Q 'chad.

¹⁰ S ka'añ, DQ ka yañ, LN gañ.

¹¹ N byuño.

¹² SDQ nya gro dha, LN nya gro dha'i.

¹³ N bžugso.

¹⁴ LN spañso.

¹⁵ N mthoño.

¹⁶ SDQ 'dri'o, LN 'bri'o.

¹⁷ SLN tu, DQ du.

de'i¹ phyir bdag 'di dañ 'dra bar ma gyur to zes ri mo gcig bris so² || de bzin du bdag 'di dañ mtshuñs par tshul khriims kyi pha rol tu³ phyin pa dañ | nes 'byuñ gi pha rol tu⁴ phyin pa dañ | ses rab kyi pha rol tu⁵ phyin pa dañ | brtson 'grus kyi pha rol tu⁶ phyin pa dañ | bzod pa'i pha rol tu⁷ phyin pa dañ | bden pa'i pha rol tu⁸ phyin pa dañ | lhag par gnas pa'i pha rol tu⁹ phyin pa dañ | byams pa'i pha rol tu¹⁰ phyin pa dañ | btañ sñoms kyi¹¹ pha rol tu¹² phyin pa rnam ma rdzogs so¹³ || de'i phyir bdag 'di dañ (87b) mtshuñs par ma gyur to sñam nas ri mo bcu bris so¹⁴ || bdag 'di dañ mtshuñs pa'i thun moñ ma yin pa'i dbañ po mchog gi goñ ma'i ye ses so sor rig pa ñe¹⁵ bar gnas par gyur pa'i pha rol tu¹⁶ phyin pa bcu ma rdzogs pa de'i phyir bdag 'di dañ mtshuñs par ma gyur to sñam¹⁷ nas ri mo bcu drug bris so¹⁸ || de bzin du bdag 'di dañ mtshuñs pa'i thun¹⁹ moñ ma yin pa'i bsam²⁰ pa'i bag la ñal dañ | ye ses kyi thugs rje chen po dañ | sñoms par 'jug pa'i ye ses dañ | so sor cho 'phrul gyi ye ses dañ | sgrib pa med pa'i ye ses dañ | thams cad mkhyen pa'i ye ses so sor²¹ gnas par gyur pa'i pha rol tu²² phyin pa bcu ma rdzogs pa²³ de'i phyir bdag 'di dañ mtshuñs par ma gyur to sñam nas ri mo bcu drug bris so²⁴ || 'di ltar 'di'i rgyu mtshan sems śiñ lam chen por ri mo bcu drug bris nas gnas so²⁵ ||

¹ SDQL de'i, N da'i.

² N briso.

³ SLN tu, DQ du.

⁴ SQLN tu, D du.

⁵ SLN tu, DQ du.

⁶ SLN tu, DQ du.

⁷ SQLN tu, D du.

⁸ SLN tu, DQ du.

⁹ SLN tu, DQ du.

¹⁰ SQLN tu, D du.

¹¹ SDQL kyi, N gyi.

¹² SLN tu, DQ du.

¹³ N rdzogso.

¹⁴ N briso.

¹⁵ SDQL ñe, N ña.

¹⁶ SLN tu, DQ du.

¹⁷ DQLN sñam, S sñams.

¹⁸ N briso.

¹⁹ SDQN thun, L mthun.

²⁰ SD bsam, QLN bsams.

²¹ S omits, DQLN gnas pa ñe bar.

²² SLN tu, DQ du.

²³ SLN pa, DQ pa'i.

²⁴ N briso.

III 8.

de'i tshe sred ma dañ | kun du dga' ma dañ | dga' ma sde¹ gsum po ni bdud kyi bu mo | bdag cag gi²
 pha ni ma mthoñ bar gyur pas de ma thag par ga na yod dam zes blta žiñ rgyu ba na de yid mi bde ba
 thob par gyur te | sa la ri mo byed pa mthoñ nas pha dañ ñe bar soñ ste | pha gañ gi phyr sdug bsñal
 žiñ yid mi bde bar byed ces dris so³ || bu mo dge sbyoñ chen po 'di bdag gi dbañ du byed pa las 'das
 so zes 'di rnams kyi dus su bltas⁴ pas skyon cuñ zad kyañ ma mthoñ no⁵ || de'i phyr bdag sdug bsñal
 žiñ yid mi bde ba skyes so⁶ || {Pā79} 'di ltar gyur na de ltar ma bsam⁷ žig⁸ | bdag cag gsum gyis⁹ de
 dbañ du byas nas khrid la 'oñ no¹⁰ || (88a) smras pa | bu mos mi nus te sus kyañ dbañ du bya bar mi
 nus pas skyes bu 'di ni mi g.yo ba'i dad pa la gnas so¹¹ || smras pa || pha bdag cag bud med yin pas da
 lta ñid du de la 'dod chags kyi žags pas bciñs te khrid la 'oñ no¹² || khyed ma sems žig¹³ | de nas bud
 med de rnams bcom ldan 'das dañ ñe bar soñ ste | dge sbyoñ khyed¹⁴ kyi žabs la bsñen bkur¹⁵ bdag
 cag gis bgyi'o zes smras so¹⁶ || bcom ldan 'das ñid kyis de rnams kyi tshig la thugs ma gtad¹⁷ do ||
 spyany rnam par grol ba yañ¹⁸ ma gzigs so¹⁹ || ji ltar de bla na med pa'i ñe bar skye ba zad pa rnam par
 grol ba'i bsam pas dben pa'i bde ba ñid la ñams su²⁰ myoñ bar mdzad ciñ bžugs so²¹ || gžan yañ bdud
 kyi bu²² mo bsam pa mañ žiñ skyes bu dañ mtshuñs pa'i sems so²³ || gañ dañ gañ gžon nu²⁴ la dga' bar

²⁵ LN gnaso.

¹ S ste, DQLN sde.

² SDLN gi, Q gis.

³ N driso.

⁴ SDLN bltas, Q bstes.

⁵ N mthoño.

⁶ LN skyeso.

⁷ SQLN bsam, D bsams.

⁸ S žig, D žig, Q cig, LN gcig.

⁹ SDQL gyis, N gyi.

¹⁰ N 'oño.

¹¹ N gnaso.

¹² N 'oño.

¹³ SDQ žig, LN cig.

¹⁴ DQLN khyed, S khyod.

¹⁵ SDLN bkur, Q bskur.

¹⁶ N smraso.

¹⁷ SDQN gtad, L btad.

¹⁸ S ba'añ, DQLN ba yañ.

¹⁹ LN gzigso.

²⁰ N ñamsu.

²¹ N bžugso.

²² SDQL bu, N bus.

²³ N semso.

²⁴ N gžonu.

'gyur ro¹ || gañ dañ gañ žig na tshod dañ por gyur pa la dga' ba dañ | gañ dañ gañ žig na tshod bar mar² gyur pa la dga' ba dañ | gañ dañ gañ žig na tshod phyi mar gyur pa la dga' ba'o || bdag gis de lta bu'i rnam pa sna tshogs pa'i 'od la chags par bgyi'o žes smras nas | bu mo re res gžon nu³ ma'i gzugs la sogs pa'i⁴ brgya phrag gis bdag ñid kyi lus sprul lo⁵ || gžon nu ma'i gzugs dañ | lañ tsho⁶ ma'i gzugs dañ | dañ po bu dañ bu mo lan cig⁷ skeyes pa'i gzugs dañ | bar ma'i bud med kyi gzugs dañ | lus rags mor gyur nas lan drug tu⁸ bcom ldan 'das dañ ñe bar soñ nas | dge sbyoñ khyod kyi žabs la bdag (88b) cag gis bsñen bkur bgyi'o žes smras so⁹ || bcom ldan 'das kyis¹⁰ de rnams kyi tshig la yañ¹¹ thugs ma gtad do || ji ltar de bla na med pa'i ñe bar skye ba rnam par grol lo¹² || gžan yañ slob dpon gañ žig 'di skad smra'o || de rdzu 'phrul dañ ldan pas bud med 'oñs pa la blta¹³ žiñ bcom ldan 'das 'di lta bu'i gzugs kyis 'di rnams so byi ba dañ | skra dkar por gyur par byin gyis brlabs¹⁴ so¹⁵ žes zer ro || de'i tshig gzuñ bar mi bya'o || ston pas 'di lta bu'i¹⁶ gzugs su¹⁷ byin gyis¹⁸ brlabs par ma mdzad do¹⁹ || gžan yañ bcom ldan 'das kyis ci mthoñ 'di lta bu'i 'bad pa byed pa da soñ žig²⁰ | 'di lta bu'i tshul gyis 'dod chags dañ ma bral ba la sogs pa'i mdun du bya bar rigs so²¹ || de bžin gšegs pas slar yañ 'dod chags spañs šin ñes pa spañs pa dañ | gti mug spañs pas rañ gi 'dod chags spañs pa'i phyir ro²² ||

Dhp 179²³

¹ SL 'gyur ro, DQ gyur ba dañ, N 'gyuro.

² SDQ mar, LN ma.

³ SDQ nu, LN nu'i.

⁴ S omits, DQLN brgya phrag.

⁵ N sprulo.

⁶ SDQ tsho, LN 'tsho.

⁷ SDQN cig, L gcig.

⁸ SDLN tu, Q du.

⁹ N smraso.

¹⁰ SDLN kyis, Q kyi.

¹¹ S la'añ, DQLN la yañ.

¹² N grolo.

¹³ SDQ blta, LN lta.

¹⁴ SDLN brlabs, Q slabs.

¹⁵ LN brlabso.

¹⁶ SDQ bu'i, LN bu.

¹⁷ LN gzugsu.

¹⁸ SDQN gyis, L gyi.

¹⁹ DQ brlabs par ma mdzad do, S brlabs pa la ma mdzad do, LN brlabs pa mdzad do.

²⁰ S žig, DQ cig, LN gcig.

²¹ LN rigso.

²² N phyiro.

²³ *Jātakanidāna* p. 79; sTog 88b; Dhp 179; PDhp 276; Mvu III p.91; Uv 29. 52; Dhp-a III p. 197; Ap-a p. 84.

Jātakanidāna p.79,
yassa jitaṃ nāvajiyati /

gañ žig rgyal ba de la rgyal mi nus || gañ žig 'jig rten 'dir ni rgyal mi 'gyur ||
mtha' yas sañs rgyas spyod yul de mi gnas || rkañ med kyis ni rkañ yod la mi nus ||

Dhp 180¹

gañ gi sred² pa'i dra ba bton gyur nas || de la sred pa rnam ni cuñ zad med ||
mtha' yas sañs rgyas spyod yul de fiid la || rkañ med de yis rkañ yod la mi nus ||

'dir³ ni sañs rgyas kyis chos mchog gi sde las tshigs su⁴ bcađ pa gñis gsuñs nas chos bstan⁵ to || bu mo
rnam la pha zer ba yañ⁶ bden pa yin no⁷ || dgra bcom pa bde bar gśeğs pa 'jig rten na⁸ mi'i mchog yin
(89a) no⁹ {Pā80} žes smras nas lha dañ ñe bar soñ no¹⁰ ||

jitaṃ assa no yāti koci loke,
taṃ buddhaṃ anantaḡocaraṃ /
apadaṃ kena padena nessatha.

Patna *Dharmapada* 276,

yassa jitaṃ nā 'ppajjiyati / jitaṃ assā na upeti antako
taṃ buddhaṃ anomanikramaṃ / apadaṃ kena padena nehisi.

Mahāvastu III p.91,

yasya jitaṃ nātha jīvati jitaṃ asya na jināti antako
taṃ buddhamantaḡocaraṃ apadaṃ kena padena neṣyatha.

Udānavarga 29. 52,

yasya jitaṃ nopajiyate
jitaṃ anveti na kaṃ cid eva loke /
taṃ buddhaṃ anantaḡocaraṃ
hy apadaṃ kena padena neṣyasi /

¹ *Jātakanidāna* p.79; sTog 88b; Dhp 80; PDhp 227; Mvū III p.92; Uv 29.53; Dhp-a III p.197; Ap-a p.84; S I p.107.

Jātakanidāna p.79,

yassa jālini visattikā
taṃhā n' atthi kuhiñci netave
taṃ buddhaṃ anantaḡocaraṃ
apadaṃ kena padena nessatha.

Patna *Dharmapada* 227,

yassa jālini visattikā / tahnā nāsti kaṃ ci netaye
taṃ buddhaṃ anantaḡocaraṃ / apadaṃ kena padena nehisi.

Mahāvastu III p. 92,

yasya jālini samūhata tṛṣṇā nāsyā kaṃ pi netrikā /
taṃ buddhamanantavikramaṃ apadaṃ kena upadena neṣyatha //

Udānavarga 29.53,

yasya jālini viṣattikā
tṛṣṇā nāsti hi lokanāyini /
taṃ buddhaṃ anantaḡocaraṃ
hy apadaṃ kena padena neṣyasi //

² SLN sred, DQ srid.

³ SLN 'dir, DQ 'di.

⁴ LN tshigsu.

⁵ SD bstan, Q ston, LN stan.

⁶ S ba'añ, DQLN ba yañ.

⁷ N yino.

⁸ SLN na, DQ omit.

⁹ N yino.

III 9.

bcom ldan 'das kyis¹ kyañ 'dir žag bdun bžugs nas btañ² zuñ³ gi gnas su⁴ gšegs so⁵ || der žag bdun du sku la yul ñan dañ grañ ba ži bar bya ba'i phyir klu'i rgyal po btañ zuñ⁶ žes bya bas lus kyis⁷ lan bdun du dkris nas gdeñs⁸ ka⁹ byas so¹⁰ || dri'i gtsañ khañ šin tu yañs par bžugs pa bžin rnam par grol ba dañ | bde ba so sor rig¹¹ par byed ciñ žag bdun du bžugs¹² nas šin rā dza ya ta na dañ ñe bar gšegs so¹³ || der yañ rnam par grol ba dañ | bde ba so sor rig¹⁴ par byed pa ñid kyis bžugs so¹⁵ || de rnam kyis re žig žag bdun phrag bdun yoñs su rdzogs so¹⁶ || de rnam kyi bar du žal šol ba med pa dañ | sku la byi dor byed pa med pa dañ | žal zas gsol ba med par gyur to || bsam gtan gyi bde ba dañ | lam gyi bde ba dañ | 'bras bu'i bde ba ñid kyis ñin mtshan 'da'o¹⁷ ||

III 10.

de nas de'i bdun phrag bdun gyi mthar gcig gis dman pa'i lña bcu'i mtha'i ñi ma la der¹⁸ bžugs nas žal šol ba'i thugs skyes so¹⁹ || lha'i dbañ po brgya byin gyis a ru ra mchog blañs nas phul lo || ston pas de gsol bas sku dañs par gyur to || de nas brgya byin ñid kyis so rtsi'i so šin ñid kyi so šin dañ | žal šol ba'i chu phul lo²⁰ || ston pas so šin blañs nas so²¹ brud de²² mtsho chen po ma dros pa'i chus žal bšal lo²³ || de ñid du šin rā dza ya ta na'i druñ du bžugs so²⁴ ||

¹⁰ N soño.

¹ SDLN kyis, Q kyi.

² SDQN btañ, L gtañ.

³ SQLN zuñ, D bzuñ.

⁴ LN gnasu.

⁵ LN gšegso.

⁶ SQLN zuñ, D bzuñ.

⁷ SDQ kyis, LN kyi.

⁸ DQ gdeñs, SLN gdeñ.

⁹ SDQN ka, L ga.

¹⁰ LN byaso.

¹¹ SDQ rig, LN rigs.

¹² SDLN bžugs, Q žugs.

¹³ LN gšegso.

¹⁴ SDQ rig, LN rigs.

¹⁵ LN bžugso.

¹⁶ LN yoñsu rdzogso.

¹⁷ S 'da' 'o, DQLN 'da'o.

¹⁸ SDQL der, N dar.

¹⁹ LN skyeso.

²⁰ N phulo.

²¹ L naso.

²² L brude.

²³ N bšalo.

III 11.

de'i tshe ga gon dañ | bzañ po zes bya ba'i (89b) tshoñ dpon gñis śiñ rta lña brgya dañ bcas pa lho phyogs kyi ljoñs nas yul dbus su¹ 'gro ba na rañ ñid kyi śnar gyi gñen² | lhar³ gyur pas śiñ rta thams cad byiñ nas 'gro bar mi nus par byin gyis brlabs pas ston pa la kha zas ster ba'i phyir spro ba skyes so⁴ || sbrañ srubs⁵ pa'i 'khur⁶ ba'i goñ bu blañs nas | btsun pa bcom ldan 'das⁷ bza' ba 'di thugs rje chen po bskyed⁸ la so sor bzes par źu zes ston pa'i druñ du ñe bar 'khod do || bcom ldan 'das 'o thug bzes pa'i ñin mo ñid lhuñ bzed mi snañ ba'i phyir | de bzin gśegs pa rnams kyi yañ phyag gis len nam | 'o na kyañ lhuñ bzed kyis bsłañ⁹ zes bsams so¹⁰ || de nas sems kyis śes nas phyogs bži'i rgyal po chen po bži po rnams kyis nor bu indra nī la'i¹¹ lhuñ bzed blañs pa bcom ldan 'das kyis ma gñañ ño || slar yañ sran ma mudga'i¹² kha dog can gyi rdo las byuñ ba'i lhuñ bzed bži phul lo¹³ || bcom ldan 'das kyis¹⁴ lha'i bu bži po rnams la rjes su¹⁵ brtse bas lhuñ bzed bži po bzes te¹⁶ | steñ nas steñ du brtsegs nas bzag ste¹⁷ gcig tu 'gyur bar byin gyis brlabs so¹⁸ || bži po yañ¹⁹ blta²⁰ ba'i phyir du kha la ri mo bžir gyur te lhuñ bzed 'briñ po'i tshad gcig²¹ tu gyur to || bcom ldan 'das la de'i so sor phul ba rin than med pa'i rdo las byuñ ba'i lhuñ bzed du bza' ba'i phyir du bzes nas yoñs su²² loñs spyad nas rjes su²³

²⁴ LN bžugso.

¹ N dbusu.

² SDQ gñen, LN gñer.

³ SDQ lhar, LN ltar.

⁴ LN skyeso.

⁵ S srubs, DQLN bsrubs.

⁶ S 'khur, DQ khur, LN 'khor.

⁷ SDQL 'das, N 'dis.

⁸ S bskyed, DQLN skyed.

⁹ S bsłañ, DQ blañ, LN slañ..

¹⁰ LN bsamso.

¹¹ S indra nī la'i, DQ in dra nī la'i, LN indra nī la'i.

¹² SLN mudga'i, DQ mud ga'i.

¹³ LN phulo.

¹⁴ SDQ kyis, LN kyi.

¹⁵ LN rjesu.

¹⁶ SDQN te, L ste.

¹⁷ SDQ ste, LN te.

¹⁸ LN brlabso.

¹⁹ S po'añ, DQLN po yañ.

²⁰ SDQ blta, LN lta.

²¹ SDQ gcig, LN cig.

²² LN yoñsu.

²³ N rjesu.

yi rañ bar mdzad do || tshoñ dpon spun gñis sañs rgyas dañ chos la skyabs su¹ 'gro žiñ tshig² gñis pa'i dge bsñen du gyur to || {Pā81} de nas de rnams kyis btsun (90a) pas³ mchod par⁴ bya bar rigs pa'i dños po gcig gis⁵ bsłañ žes žus so⁶ || de nas phyag g.yas pa rañ gi mgo la byugs nas skra'i gduñ gnañ ño || de dag gis rañ gi groñ khyer du khyer⁷ soñ nas mchod rten bžeñs so⁸ ||

III 12.

yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i sañs rgyas kyis kyañ de nas bžeñs nas slar yañ ra lug skyoñ ba'i šin nya gro dha ñid du gžegs nas šin⁹ nya gro dha'i druñ du bžugs so¹⁰ || de nas de ñid du bžugs tsam ñid na rañ gis lhag par rtogs pa'i zab mo'i chos so sor bsam žiñ sañs rgyas rnams kyis lhag par rtogs pa 'di ni chos so¹¹ || gžan gyis chos ston par mi nus par bsams nas rab tu 'jug pa'i rnam pa'i rnam par rtog pa skyes so¹² || de nas mi mjed¹³ kyi bdag po tshañs pa 'jig rten ñams par 'gyur ba'i phyir ro¹⁴ žes bsams nas stoñ phrag bcu'i khor yug gi brgya byin dañ | 'thab¹⁵ bral bzañ po dañ | dga' ldan dañ | 'phrul dga' dañ | gžan 'phrul dbañ phyug¹⁶ dañ | tshañs pa chen po rnams khrid nas ston pa'i druñ du phyin nas | btsun pa bcom ldan 'das chos bstan¹⁷ du¹⁸ gsol | dañ po'i tshul gyis chos bstan¹⁹ du gsol žes žus so²⁰ ||

III 13.

ston pas de rnams la gnañ ba byin no²¹ || gañ žig la bdag gis dañ por chos bstan par bya'o žes dgoñs

¹ LN skyabsu.

² SN tshig, DQL tshigs.

³ SLN pas, DQ pa.

⁴ SLN par, DQ pa.

⁵ S gis, DQ omit, LN gi.

⁶ LN žuso.

⁷ SDQ khyer, LN byed.

⁸ LN bžeñso.

⁹ SLN šin, DQ omit.

¹⁰ LN bžugso.

¹¹ N choso.

¹² N skyeso.

¹³ SDQ mjed, LN 'byed.

¹⁴ N phyiro.

¹⁵ SDQ 'thab, LN mtha'.

¹⁶ SDQ phyug, LN byed.

¹⁷ SDQ bstan, LN stan.

¹⁸ SDQN du, L tu.

¹⁹ SDQ bstan, LN stan.

²⁰ N žuso.

²¹ N byino.

śiñ mkhas pa kun len de'i chos 'di myur du śes par 'gyur ba'i thugs skyes so¹ || slar yañ gzigs te de
dus las 'das nas žag bdun lon par rtogs so² || 'char byed la brtags pas³ | de'añ⁴ dus las⁵ (90b) 'das par
mkhyen no⁶ || dge sloñ lña sdes bdag la bsñen bkur mañ po byas pas lña sde'i ched du bsams nas | de
rnams gañ na gnas pa yin žes brtags so⁷ || groñ khyer bā rā ña sī'i,⁸ ri dags rgyu ba'i nags tshal na yod
par mkhyen no⁹ || der gśegs nas chos kyi 'khor lo bskor ro žes dgoñs nas žag 'ga' žig tu¹⁰ byañ chub
kyi sñiñ po kun tu¹¹ ñe ba ñid du bsod sñoms mdzad ciñ bžugs nas | dbyar zla 'briñ po'i ña¹² la groñ
khyer bā rā ña sīr¹³ gśegs par dgoñs nas tshes bcu bži'i mtshan gyi mthar nam lañs pa na śin tu sña ba
ñid du lhuñ bzer dañ | snam sbyar bsams nas dpag tshad bco¹⁴ brgyad yod pa'i lam la gśegs śiñ | lam
gyi bar du ñe bar gnas pa žes bya ba'i 'tsho byed gcig gzigs so¹⁵ || de la rañ gi sañs rgyas su¹⁶ gyur pa
bśad do¹⁷ || ñi ma de ñid la srod kyi¹⁸ dus su¹⁹ drañ sroñ lhuñ ba'i gnas su gśegs so²⁰ || gnas brtan lña
sdes de bžin gśegs pa byon pa riñ po ñid nas mthoñ ste²¹ | dge sbyoñ gō ta ma²² 'di bza' ba mañ po'i
phyir lus yoñs su²³ rdzogs par gyur²⁴ | dbañ po yoñs su²⁵ rdzogs par gyur²⁶ | gser gyi kñia dog tu gyur
nas 'oñ gis²⁷ | 'di la phyag la sogs pa mi bya'o || 'di rigs chen por skyes pa yin pas gdan śom pa tsam

¹ LN skyeso.

² LN rtogso.

³ SDQL pas, N pa.

⁴ S de'añ, DQLN de yañ

⁵ SDQN las, L la.

⁶ LN mkhyeno.

⁷ Ln brtagso.

⁸ D bā rā ña sī'i, S wā rā ña sī'i, Q ba ra ña sī'i, LN wā ra ña sī'i.

⁹ N mkhyeno.

¹⁰ SDQN tu, L du.

¹¹ SLN tu, DQ du.

¹² SQLN ña, D ñe.

¹³ D bā rā ña sīr, S wā rā ña sīr, Q bā rā ña sīr, L wā ra ña sīr, N wā ra na sīr.

¹⁴ SN bco, DQ bcwa, L bcwo.

¹⁵ LN gzigso.

¹⁶ N rgyasu.

¹⁷ N bśado.

¹⁸ SDLN kyi, Q kyis.

¹⁹ N dusu.

²⁰ N gnasu gśegso.

²¹ SDQN ste, L te.

²² DN gō ta ma, SQL go'u ta ma.

²³ LN yoñsu.

²⁴ SDLN gyur, Q 'gyur.

²⁵ N yoñsu.

²⁶ SDLN gyur, Q 'gyur.

²⁷ SLN 'oñ gis, DQ 'oñs kyis.

'os so¹ || de'i phyir gdan tsam rigs so² zes gdam byed do³ || bcom ldan 'das la lha dan bcas pa'i 'jig rten rnam kyis sems dan spyod pa ses par nus pa'i ye ses yod do⁴ || de'añ⁵ 'di rnam ji ltar sems (91a) pa yin zes bsams nas sems ses pa yin no⁶ || {Pā82} de nas lha dan mi thams cad la mthoñ ba med pa'i dbaň gis thams cad du khyab⁷ par nus pa'i byams pa'i sems yaň dag par bsdus nas | ma mthoñ ba'i dbaň gis byams pa'i sems kyis khyab par bcom ldan 'das kyis bsgoms nas de bzin gsegs pa ñe bar gsegs siň gsegs pa na | sňar gyi bca' khirms rnam gnas par mi nus pas phyag phul žiň bsruň ba dan bsñen bkur thams cad byas so⁸ || gzan yaň dge⁹ sloň de rnam yaň dag par rdzogs pa'i saňs rgyas grub pa mi ses pa'i phyir miň brjod pa na tshe dan ldan pa zes smra ba tha mal¹⁰ pa'i tshig gis¹¹ rjod¹² par byed do || de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis dge sloň dag bcom ldan 'das dan de bzin gsegs pa'i miň dan¹³ tshe dan ldan pa zes tha mal pa'i tshig brjod par mi ruň ño || dge sloň dag ña¹⁴ ni de bzin gsegs pa dgra bcom pa yaň dag par rdzogs pa'i saňs rgyas so¹⁵ zes bdag ñid saňs rgyas grub¹⁶ par byed pa dan | gdan bsams pa mchog la saňs rgyas bžugs te | rgyu skar bre mchog gsum 'dzom pa la bye ba phrag bco¹⁷ brgyad kyis tshaňs pa'i 'khor gyis bskor nas gnas brtan lña sde bos te chos kyis 'khor lo bskor ba'i mdo'i¹⁸ mthar bsad do¹⁹ || de rnam la gnas brtan kun ses kō ñi nyas²⁰ bsad pa'i rjes su²¹ 'braňs nas ye ses thob pa mdo'i mthar bye ba phrag bco²² brgyad kyis tshaňs pa rnam kyis rgyun du²³ žugs pa'i (91b)

¹ N 'oso.

² N rigso.

³ N byedo.

⁴ N yodo.

⁵ S de'añ, DQLN de yaň.

⁶ N yino.

⁷ SDQ khyab, LN khyad.

⁸ LN byaso.

⁹ SQLN dge, D dgi.

¹⁰ DQLN tha mal, S thams cad.

¹¹ SLN omit, DQ gis.

¹² SDQ rjod, LN brjod.

¹³ DQLN dan, S omits.

¹⁴ SDQ ña, LN da.

¹⁵ N rgyaso.

¹⁶ SLN grub, DQ sgrub.

¹⁷ SLN bco, D bcwa, Q bcwo.

¹⁸ Chos kyis 'khor lo bskor ba'i mdo, Pāli: *Dhammacakkappavattanasutta*, cf. *Samyuttanikāya*, vol V, pp. 420-424.

¹⁹ N bsado.

²⁰ D kun ses kō ñi nyas, S kun ses ko'u ñi nya, Q kun ses ko ñi nyas, LN kun ses kō ñi nya. Pāli: *Aññakoṇḍañña*, cf. Mvy no. 1030 (1) *Ājñāta-kāuṇḍinya* = Kun ses kō ñi nya.

²¹ N rjesu.

²² SN bco, DQ bcwa, L bcwo.

²³ SDQ du, LN tu.

'bras bu thob bo¹ || ston pas de ñid du dbyar bžugs so² || slar yañ ñi ma gñis pa la gnas brtan brlañs pa la chos sbyin no³ žes gtsug lag khañ du bžugs⁴ so⁵ || lhag ma bzi po bsod sñoms la soñ no⁶ || gnas brtan brlañs pas ñi ma phyed kyis nañ du rgyun du⁷ žugs pa'i 'bras bu thob bo⁸ || 'di lta bu'i thabs ñid kyis slar yañ ñi ma phyi ma la gnas brtan bzañ ldan dañ | slar yañ ñi ma phyi ma la gnas brtan miñ can dañ | slar yañ ñi ma phyi ma la gnas brtan rta thul rnam | de thams cad kyis rgyun du⁹ žugs¹⁰ pa'i 'bras bu thob par byas nas tshes ñi su la dge sloñ lña po¹¹ 'dus pa la bdag med pa'i mtshan ñid kyis mdo¹² sde rnam bśad do || bśad pa'i mthar gnas brtan lña sdes dgra bcom pa'i 'bras bu thob bo ||

III 14.

de nas ston pas rigs kyis¹³ bu grags pa ñe bar mi rten par gzigs nas | de'i mtshan mo'i char sdug bsñal¹⁴ sems kyis¹⁵ khyim spañs nas 'thon pa la grags pa 'dir śog ces bos nas mtshan mo de ñid kyis cha la rgyun du¹⁶ žugs pa'i 'bras bu dañ | slar yañ ñi ma gñis pa la dgra bcom pa'i 'bras bu grub par byed do || gžan yañ slar de'i¹⁷ grogs po lña bcu rtsa bžis rab tu byuñ žiñ dge sloñ du gyur nas dgra bcom par¹⁸ byed do || 'di ltar 'jig rten du dgra bcom pa drug cu¹⁹ rtsa gcig tu gyur to || ston pas dbyar bžugs nas dgag dbye byas te dge sloñ drug cu²⁰ po rnam phyogs phyogs su²¹ btañ²² nas | rañ ñid lteñ²³ rgyas su²⁴

¹ N thobo.

² LN bžugso.

³ N byino.

⁴ SDLN bžugs, Q žugs.

⁵ N bžugso.

⁶ N soño.

⁷ SDQL du, N tu.

⁸ N thobo.

⁹ SDQ du, LN tu.

¹⁰ SDLN žugs, Q bžugs.

¹¹ SDQL po, N mo.

¹² *bdag med pa'i mtshan ñid kyis mdo*, Pāli: reads *Anantalakkhaṇasutta* for *Anattālakkaṇasutta*, cf. Vin I pp. 13-14, S III pp. 66-67.

¹³ SDLN kyis, Q kyis.

¹⁴ SLN omit, DQ ba'i.

¹⁵ SDQ kyis, LN kyis.

¹⁶ SDQL du, N tu.

¹⁷ SDQ de'i, LN yañ.

¹⁸ SLN par, DQ pa.

¹⁹ SDN cu, QL bcu.

²⁰ SDLN cu, Q bcu.

²¹ LN phyogsu.

²² SDQ btañ, LN gtañ.

²³ SD lteñ,QLN steñ.

²⁴ N rgyasu.

gšegs pa'i bar gyi lam na (92a) ras bal can gyi tshal ni dpag tshad pa'o || gžon nu¹ bzañ sde btul² lo || de rnams las thams cad kyi mtha'i phyi ma rgyun du³ žugs par gyur⁴ la⁵ | thog ma ni phyir mi 'oñ du gyur to || de rnams kyañ dge sloñ gi gzugs kyis rab tu byuñ ba bgyis nas phyogs phyogs su⁶ btañ ste⁷ | lteñ⁸ rgyas su⁹ gšegs so¹⁰ || stoñ phrag phyed dañ gsum gyi cho 'phrul lta žiñ lteñ rgyas 'od sruñs¹¹ la sogs pa'i spun gsum po dañ | ral pa can stoñ phrag gcig btul¹² ba dge sloñ gi gzugs kyis rab tu byuñ bar byas nas ri bo ga ya'i rtse mo na sdod pa rnams la ñi ma'i rnam grañs kyi mdo sde bstan nas dgra bcom par byas te | des dgra bcom pa stoñ phrag rnams 'khor du byas nas rgyal po gzugs can sñiñ po la khas blañs byin pa dgrol {Pā83} bar bya ba'i dgoñs pas rgyal po'i khab kyi groñ khyer dañ ñe ba'i šin dñar gyi tshal du byon no¹³ ||

III 15.

skyed¹⁴ mos tshal skyoñ ba rnams kyis ston pa byon no žes rgyal po la smras so¹⁵ || rgyal pos thos te | khri phrag¹⁶ bcu gñis kyi bram ze dañ khyim bdag 'khor du byas nas ston pa dañ ñe bar soñ ste | 'khor lo sna tshogs pa'i steñ du gser gyi bla res¹⁷ dañ 'dra ba'i 'od zer phyogs phyogs su¹⁸ 'phro žiñ bžugs pa'i de bžin gšegs pa'i žabs la mgo bos phyag legs par byas nas 'khor dañ bcas pa phyogs gcig tu 'khod do¹⁹ || de nas yañ bram ze rnams dañ khyim bdag la sogs pa 'di lta bu'i sems su²⁰ gyur te | 'on kyañ dge sbyoñ chen pos lteñ²¹ rgyas 'od sruñs²² kyi²³ (92b) rjes su²⁴ tshañs par²⁵ spyod pa spyad dam |

¹ N gžonu.

² SD btul, QLN brtul.

³ SDQL du, N tu.

⁴ SDLN gyur, Q 'gyur.

⁵ SDQL la, N pa.

⁶ LN phyogsu.

⁷ SDQN ste, L te.

⁸ SD lteñ, QLN steñ.

⁹ L rgyasu.

¹⁰ LN gšegso.

¹¹ S lteñ rgyas 'od sruñs, D lteñ rgyas 'od sruñ, QLN steñ rgyas 'od sruñ. Pāli: Uruvelakassapa, cf. Mvy no. 1049, Uruvilvā-kāśyapa = lteñ rgyas 'od sruñ.

¹² SD btul, QLN brtul.

¹³ N byono.

¹⁴ SDLN skyed, Q skyes.

¹⁵ LN smraso.

¹⁶ SDQ phrag, LN khrag.

¹⁷ SLN res, DQ re.

¹⁸ LN phyogsu.

¹⁹ L 'khodo.

²⁰ N semsu.

²¹ SD lteñ, QLN steñ.

²² S lteñ rgyas 'od sruñs, DQLN lteñ rgyas 'od sruñ.

yañ na lteñ rgyas 'od sruñs¹ kyis² dge sbyoñ chen po'i rjes su³ tshañs par spyod pa spyad ces bsams so⁴ || bcom ldan 'das kyis de rnams kyis sems kyis⁵ rtog pa thugs kyis mkhyen nas | gnas brtan la tshigs su⁶ bcad pa gsuñs so⁷ ||

Vin I p.36⁸

lteñ⁹ rgyas gnas su¹⁰ gnas nas ci žig mthoñ¹¹ ||
sbyin sreg¹² 'dor ba'i rgyu mtshan ci žig smra ||
'od sruñs¹³ 'di yi don ni dri bar bya ||
khyod kyis¹⁴ ji ltar sbyin sreg¹⁵ spoñ ba yin ||

gnas brtan gyis kyañ bcom ldan 'das kyis¹⁶ dgoñs pa šes nas |

Vin I p.36¹⁷

²³ S kyis, DQLN gi.

²⁴ LN rjesu.

²⁵ SDQ par, LN pa.

¹ S lteñ rgyas 'od sruñs, D lteñ rgyas 'od sruñ, QLN steñ rgyas 'od sruñ.

² S kyis, DQLN gis.

³ LN rjesu.

⁴ L bsam mo, N bsamo.

⁵ Q omits: sems kyis.

⁶ LN tshigsu.

⁷ N gsuñso.

⁸ *Jātakanidāna* p.83; sTog 92b; Mvu III p. 444; Vin I p.36; Ap-a p.88; Bv-a p.20.

Jātakanidāna p.83,

kiṃ eva disvā Uruvelavāsi
pahāsi aggiṃ kisako vadāno,
pucchāmi taṃ Kassapa etaṃ aṭṭham:
kathaṃ pahīnaṃ tava aggihuttaṃ ti.

Mahāvastu III p.444,

kimeva drṣṭvā Uruvilvavāsi
prahāya agniṃ kṛśako /
pucchāmi te Kāśyapa etamarthaṃ
kathaṃ prahīnaṃ tava agnihotraṃ //

⁹ SD lteñ, QLN steñ.

¹⁰ LN gnasu.

¹¹ L mthoño.

¹² SDLN sreg, Q bsreg.

¹³ S 'od sruñs, DQN 'od sruñ, L'od bsruñ. Pāli: Kassapa, cf. Mvy no. 93 Kāśyapa = 'Od sruñs.

¹⁴ SQLN kyis, D kyis

¹⁵ SDN sreg, QL bsreg.

¹⁶ SDL kyis, QN kyis.

¹⁷ *Jātakanidāna* p.83; sTog 92b; Vin I p. 36; Ap-a p.88; Bv-a p.20.

Jātakanidāna p.83,

gzugs dañ sgra dañ de bzin ro dañ dri ||
bud med 'dod pa yañ ni mchod¹ sbyin spyod ||
'di rnams dri ma legs par rtogs byas nas ||
de phyir me yi sbyin sreg² 'di spañs so³ ||

tshigs su⁴ bcad pa 'di brjod nas rañ ñid ñan thos kyi 'dod pa gsal⁵ bar bya ba'i phyir de bzin gśegs pa'i
žabs kyi bol du mgo bos reg nas | bdag ston pa⁶ btsun pa bcom ldan 'das kyi ñan thos yin no žes smras
so⁷ || śiñ tā⁸ la gcig dañ | śiñ tā⁹ la gñis dañ | śiñ tā¹⁰ la gsum dañ | ji srid du śiñ tā¹¹ la bdun gyi tshad¹²
tsam du nam mkha'¹³ la 'phags nas babs te | de bzin gśegs pa la phyag byas nas phyogs gcig tu 'khod
do || de'i cho¹⁴ 'phrul blta¹⁵ žiñ mi mañ po rnams kyis e ma ho sañs rgyas kyi¹⁶ mthu chen po¹⁷ 'di lta
bu'i blta¹⁸ ba bstan pas dgra bcom pa žes bya ba la sems śiñ | lteñ rgyas 'od sruñs¹⁹ kyi²⁰ blta²¹ ba'i dra
ba bcad de²² de bzin gśegs pas btul²³ nas ston pa'i yon tan ñid brjod do²⁴ || bcom ldan (93a) 'das kyis
kho bos 'di²⁵ da²⁶ lta²⁷ kho na ma yin par lteñ rgyas 'od sruñs²⁸ btul²⁹ lo || 'das pa ñid du'añ 'di ñas btul

rūpe ca sadde ca atho rase ca
kāmitthiyo cābhivadanti yaññam,
etañ malan ti upadhisu ñatvā
tasmā na yiñthe na hute arañjin ti.

¹ DQLN mchod, S mchog.

² SDN sreg, QL bsreg.

³ LN spañso.

⁴ LN tshigsu.

⁵ SQNL gsal, D bsal.

⁶ SDQL pa, N par.

⁷ L smraso.

⁸ S ta, DQN tā, L twa.

⁹ S ta, DQN tā, L twa.

¹⁰ S ta, DQN tā, L twa.

¹¹ S ta, DQN tā, L twa.

¹² SLN gyi tshad, DQ omit.

¹³ LN namkha'.

¹⁴ SDLN cho, Q chos.

¹⁵ SLN blta, DQ lta.

¹⁶ SDLN kyi, Q kyis.

¹⁷ SDQ po, LN pos.

¹⁸ SLN blta, DQ lta.

¹⁹ S lteñ rgyas 'od sruñs, DN lteñ rgyas 'od sruñ, Q steñ rgyas 'od sruñ, L lteñ rgyas 'od bsruñ.

²⁰ S kyi, DQLN gi.

²¹ SNL blta, DQ lta.

²² SDQ de, LN omit.

²³ SD btul, QLN brtul.

²⁴ L brjodo.

²⁵ SQLN 'di, D kyañ.

lo¹ zes brjod nas don 'di 'das pa na mi sbyin chen po 'od sruñs² kyi³ skyes rabs su⁴ bśad pa'i bden pa bži po gsal bar bstan no⁵ || de'i mod la yul ma ga dha'i rgyal po 'khor khri phrag bcu gcig dañ bcas pas rgyun du⁶ žugs pa'i 'bras bu thob bo⁷ || khri phrag gcig dge bsñen⁸ du gyur to || {Pā84} rgyal po ston pa dañ ñe ba ñid du 'dug ste⁹ bslab pa'i gži lña so sor rab tu thos nas skyabs su¹⁰ soñ ste sañ gi gdugs tshod la mgron¹¹ du gñer nas | stan las lañs te bcom ldan 'das la bskor ba byas nas soñ ño¹² || slar yañ sañ gi sña dro ñid bcom ldan 'das mthoñ ba dañ ma mthoñ ba rgyal po'i khab na gnas pa rnams kyis bye ba phrag bco¹³ brgyad kyi grañs kyi mi rnams de bžin gśegs pa blta¹⁴ bar 'dod pas sña dro ñid rgyal po'i khab nas śiñ dñar gyi tshal du soñ ste rgyañ grags bcu gñis su¹⁵ mi soñ bar śiñ dñar gyi tshal thams cad rgyun mi 'chad¹⁶ par gyur¹⁷ to || mi thams cad kyis stobs bcu pa'i gzugs mchog thob par 'dod pa bdag ñid kyi sku la blta bas tshim¹⁸ par ma nus so¹⁹ || 'di lta bu'i sa gži'i kha dog yin no²⁰ || 'di lta bu'i gzugs kyi gnas su²¹ de bžin gśegs pa'i mtshan dañ dpe byad bzañ po la sogs pa'i rab tu byed pa thams cad kyañ gzugs kyi sku dpal gyi²² bśnags par bya bar 'os so²³ || 'di ltar gzugs mchog

²⁶ SDLN da, Q de.

²⁷ SQL ltar, DN lta.

²⁸ S lteñ rgyas 'od sruñs, D lteñ rgyas 'od sruñ, Q steñ rgyas 'od sruñ, N steñ rgyas 'od sruñ, L steñ rgyas 'od bsruñ.

²⁹ SDQ btul, L brtulo, N brtul lo.

¹ SDQ btul lo, L brtulo, N brtul lo.

² S 'od sruñs, DQN 'od sruñ, L 'od bsruñ.

³ S kyi, DQLN gi.

⁴ LN rabsu.

⁵ N bstano.

⁶ SDL du, QN tu.

⁷ N thobo.

⁸ SDLN bsñen, Q sñen.

⁹ SDLN ste, Q te.

¹⁰ LN skyabsu.

¹¹ SD mgron, QLN 'gron.

¹² N soño.

¹³ SN bco, D bcwa, L bcwo.

¹⁴ SDLN blta, Q lta.

¹⁵ LN gñisu.

¹⁶ SDQN 'chad, L mchad.

¹⁷ SDLN gyur, Q 'gyur.

¹⁸ SDQN tshim, L tshims.

¹⁹ LN nuso.

²⁰ N yino.

²¹ LN gnasu.

²² SLN gyi, DQ gyis.

²³ LN 'oso.

thob pa'i stobs bcu pa'i sku blta¹ ba'i (93b) phyir mi mañ po rgyun mi 'chad do² || skyed mos tshal³ dañ lam du dge sloñ gcig gis kyañ phyi ru 'thon pa'i skabs⁴ med⁵ | ñi ma de'i dus na bcom ldan 'das kyi gdugs tshod yol⁶ ba lta bur gyur to || de ma thag par brgya byin sdod pa'i stan dro ba'i rnam par mthoñ ste | des rnam par brtags so⁷ || de'i rgyu mtshan šes nas bram ze'i khye'u'i gzugs su⁸ mñon par sprul te | sañs rgyas dañ | chos dañ | dge 'dun so so la ji ltar rigs pa'i bstod pa rjod⁹ par byed do || stobs bcu pa'i sñun¹⁰ du chas nas lha'i mthus¹¹ lam thob par byas so¹² ||

Vin I p.38¹³

'dul žiñ 'dul ba'i grogs sñon bcas || bram ze rnam grol ral pa dañ ||
señ ge'i gzugs kyis 'thon nas ni || bcom ldan rgyal po'i khab nañ byon ||

grol žiñ grol ba'i grogs sñon bcas || bram ze rnam grol ral pa dañ ||
señ ge'i gzugs kyis¹⁴ 'thon nas ni || bcom ldan rgyal po'i khab nañ byon ||

brgal žiñ brgal¹⁵ ba'i grogs sñon bcas || bram ze rnam grol ral pa dañ ||
señ ge'i gzugs kyis 'thon nas ni || rgyal po'i khab nañ bcom ldan byon ||

Vin I p.38¹⁶

¹ SDQ blta, LN lta.

² SDQ 'chad do, L mchado, N 'chado.

³ SDQN tshal, L 'tshal.

⁴ SDQ skabs, LN skyabs.

⁵ SLN omit, DQ do.

⁶ SDQ yol, LN yod.

⁷ LN rtagso.

⁸ L gzugsu.

⁹ SDQ rjod, LN brjod.

¹⁰ SDLN sñun, Q sñon.

¹¹ S mthus, DQ mthu yis, LN mthus yis.

¹² LN byaso.

¹³ *Jātakanidāna* p. 84; sTog 93b; Vin I p. 38; Ap II p. 607; Ap-a p.89; Khp p. 204; Pv-a p.22; Thī-a p.59.

Jātakanidāna p. 84,

danto dantehi saha purāṇajatiñehi vippamuttehi
siṅgīnikkhasavaṇṇo Rājagahaṃ pāvīsi Bhagavā.

mutto muttehi saha purāṇajatiñehi vippamutto vippamuttehi
siṅgīnikkhasavaṇṇo Rājagahaṃ pāvīsi Bhagavā.

tiṇṇo tiṇṇehi saha purāṇajatiñehi vippamutto vippamuttehi
siṅgīnikkhasavaṇṇo Rājagahaṃ pāvīsi Bhagavā.

¹⁴ SDLN kyis, Q kyī.

¹⁵ SL brgal žiñ brgal, DQN grol žiñ grol.

¹⁶ *Jātakanidāna* p. 84; sTog 93b; Vin I p.38; Ap-a p.89.

Jātakanidāna p. 84,

dasāvāso Dasabalo dasadhammavidū dasehi c' upeto

bcu po gsuñ ba'i stobs bcu pa || chos bcu la mkhas bcu la gnas ||
stoñ phrag bcu yi¹ 'khor dañ ldan || bcom ldan rgyal po'i khab nañ byon ||

tshigs su² bcaḍ pa 'dis ni ston pa la bsñags pas bstod ciñ sñun du 'gro ba'i mi rnams kyis bram ze'i
khye'u'i gzugs kyi dpal mthoñ nas bram ze'i khye'u 'di śin tu gzugs bzañ ba'o || slar yañ sñar mthoñ
ba med do³ zes (94a) bsams nas bram ze'i khye'u 'di gañ na gnas pa yin || gañ žig gi yin zes smras so⁴
|| de thos nas bram ze'i khye'us⁵ smras pa |

Vin I p.38⁶

gañ žig bstan pa thams caḍ 'dul || gañ zag zla⁷ med sañs rgyas te ||
dgra bcom bde gśegs 'jig rten du || de ni bdag gi⁸ ñe⁹ bar gnas ||

tshigs su¹⁰ bcaḍ pa brjod de | ston pas brgya byin gyis skabs phye ba'i lam¹¹ du dge sloñ stoñ phrag
gcig 'khor du byas nas rgyal po'i khab kyi¹² nañ du gśegs so¹³ ||

III 16.

{Pā85} rgyal pos sañs rgyas la sogs pa'i dge 'ḍun la sbyin pa chen po phul lo¹⁴ || btsun pa bdag dkon
mchog gsum spañs nas sdod par mi nus so¹⁵ || dus dañ dus ma yin par bcom ldan 'das dañ ñe bar 'oñ
bar 'dod do || śin dñar can gyi skyed mos tshal śin tu thag riñ ño || slar yañ bdag cag gi 'od ma'i tshal

so dasasataparivāro Rājagahaṃ pāvīsi Bhagavā ti.

¹ SD bcu yi, QLN bcu'i.

² LN tshigsu.

³ LN medo.

⁴ LN smraso.

⁵ SDLN khye'us, Q khye'u.

⁶ *Jātakanidāna* p.84; sTog 94a; Mvu III p.423-4; Vin I p. 38; Conc I, p. 196; Ap-a, p. 89; Ap-a p.84.

Jātakanidāna p.84,

yo dhīro sabbadhī danto Buddhō appaṭipuggalo
arahaṃ sugato loka tassāhaṃ paricāraḥko ti.

Mahāvastu III p.423,

yo vīro dhṛṭisampanno dhyāyo apratipudgalo //
arhanto sugato loka tasyāhaṃ paricāraḥko //

⁷ SDQ zla, LN bzla.

⁸ DQLN gi, S ni.

⁹ SDQ ñe, LN ñid.

¹⁰ LN tshigsu.

¹¹ SDQ lam, LN las.

¹² SDQN kyi, L gyi.

¹³ LN gśegso.

¹⁴ LN phulo.

¹⁵ LN nuso.

zes bya ba 'di sin tu ñe bas gsegs pa dañ | 'oñ ba sin tu ñe bas sañs rgyas la 'os pa'i gnas lags¹ pas
 bzes par zu | des gser gyi ril ba spyi blugs la me tog gi dris bsgos² te | nor bu'i kha dog can gyi chu
 blañs nas³ | 'od ma'i tshal yoñs su⁴ gtoñ žiñ stobs bcu pa'i phyag tu⁵ chu bsgreñs⁶ nas der kun dga' ra
 ba bzes nas | sañs rgyas kyī⁷ bstan pa'i gzi zes brjod ciñ sa gzi chen po g.yos so⁸ || 'dzam bu'i⁹ gliñ gi
 nañ nas 'od ma'i tshal spañs pa'i sa gzi g.yos pa 'di bzes te | sde¹⁰ gžan ni med do¹¹ || siñ¹² gha gliñ
 gtsug lag khañ chen po spañs nas sa gzi chen po¹³ g.yos pa 'di bzes te | sde gžan ni med do¹⁴ || ston
 (94b) pas 'od ma'i tshal gyi kun dga' ra ba bzes nas rgyal po la rjes su¹⁵ yi rañ bar mdzad ciñ stan
 las¹⁶ bžeñs te | dge sloñ gi dge 'dun 'khor du byas bas 'od ma'i tshal du byon no¹⁷ ||

III 17.

de'i tshe de'i dus na šā ri'i bu¹⁸ dañ | mōd gal gyi bu¹⁹ kun tu²⁰ rgyu gñis po rgyal po'i khab la brten²¹
 nas gnas šin bdud rtsi tshol bar sems so || de'i nañ nas šā ri'i bus gnas brtan rta thul bsod sñoms la
 žugs pa mthoñ bas sems rab tu dañs par gyur te | bza' ba byin nas chos rñams gañ dag rgyu las byuñ
 ba dañ zes pa'i tshigs bcad thos pas | rgyun du²² žugs pa'i 'bras bu thob par gyur to || rañ gi grogs po
 kun tu²³ rgyu mōd gal²⁴ la'añ²⁵ tshigs su bcad pa de ñid smras so²⁶ || des kyañ rgyun du²⁷ žugs pa'i 'bras

¹ SDLN lags, Q legs.

² SDQL bsgos, N bsgas.

³ SLN omit, DQ nas.

⁴ LN yoñsu.

⁵ SDQN tu, L du.

⁶ SQL bsgreñs, D sgreñ, N bsgrañs.

⁷ SDQL kyī, N kyis.

⁸ N g.yoso.

⁹ DQ bu'i, SLN bu.

¹⁰ SDLN sde, Q omits.

¹¹ SDQN do, L de.

¹² SLN siñ, DQ si.

¹³ SLN omit, DQ chen po.

¹⁴ L medo.

¹⁵ LN rjesu.

¹⁶ SDQ las, LN la.

¹⁷ L byono.

¹⁸ SDLN šā ri'i bu, Q ša ri'i bu.

¹⁹ D mōd gal gyi bu S mo'u 'gal gyi bu, Q mod'u gal gyi bu, LN mōdgal gyi bu. Pāli: Moggallāna, cf. Mvy no. 1033 (4) Māudgalyāyana = Mo 'u dga la gyi bu.

²⁰ SN tu, DQL du.

²¹ SDQN brten, L rten.

²² SDQL du, N tu.

²³ SLN tu, DQ du.

²⁴ D mōd gal, S mo'u 'gal, Q me''u gal, LN mōdgal.

bu thob bo || de gñis kyis kyañ rañ ñid rgyal ba la bltas nas rañ gi 'khor dañ bcas pa ston pa'i druñ du rab tu byuñ ño¹ || de rñams las mōd gal gyi bu² chen po žag bdun nas dgra bcom pa thob bo³ || gnas brtan šā ri'i bus zla ba phyed nas dgra bcom pa thob pa⁴ ste | de gñis po'añ⁵ ston pa'i ñan thos kyī⁶ mchog tu gnas par gzuñ⁷ ño⁸ || gnas brtan šā ri'i bus dgra bcom pa thob pa'i ñin mo ñid bcom ldan 'das kyī ñan thos kyī 'dus pa dañ por byas so⁹ ||

III 18.

slar yañ de bžin gšegs pas¹⁰ 'od ma'i tshal de ñid du bžugs so¹¹ || de'i tshe rgyal po chen po zas gtsaň gis bdag gi sras lo drug tu dka' ba spyad¹² nas mchog gi yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i byaň chub ste | chos kyī 'khor lo bskor¹³ nas rgyal (95a) po'i khab kyī 'od ma'i tshal du bžugs¹⁴ so¹⁵ žes pa thos nas | blon po phan tshun rñams bos te 'dir šog cig | skyes bu stoň phrag gcig gi¹⁶ 'khor khrid de | rgyal po'i khab tu¹⁷ soň la ña'i tshig gis khyed kyī¹⁸ yab rgyal po chen po¹⁹ zas gtsaň khyed blta bar 'dod ces brjod pas bdag gi sras khrid la šog ces smras so²⁰ || blon pos kyaň lha de bžin du bgyi'o²¹ žes rgyal po'i gsuñ spyi bos blaňs nas skyes bu stoň phrag gcig gi 'khor de khrid de myur ba ñid du dpag tshad drug cu'i²²

²⁵ S la'aň, DQLN la yaň.

²⁶ LN smraso.

²⁷ SDQL du, N tu.

¹ LN byuño.

² D mōd gal gyi bu, S mo'u 'gal gyi bu, Q mod'u gal gyi bu, LN mōdgal gyi bu.

³ N thobo.

⁴ SLN pa, DQ omit.

⁵ S po'aň, DQLN po yaň.

⁶ SDN kyī. QL gyi.

⁷ SQLN gzuň, D bzuň.

⁸ LN gzuño.

⁹ LN byaso.

¹⁰ S pa'i, DQLN pas

¹¹ LN bžugso.

¹² SD spyad, Q dpyad, LN bcad.

¹³ SDLN bskor, Q skor.

¹⁴ SDLN bžugs, Q žugs.

¹⁵ N bžugso.

¹⁶ SLN gi, DQ gis.

¹⁷ SDQ tu, LN du.

¹⁸ SDLN kyī, Q kyis.

¹⁹ SLN chen po, DQ omit.

²⁰ LN smraso.

²¹ SDQN bgyi'o, L bgya'o.

²² SDLN cu'i, Q bcu'i.

lam du soñ nas | stobs bcu¹ pa 'khor bži'i nañ du bžugs nas chos ston pa'i dus su gtsug lag khañ du žugs so² || de rgyal pos btañ ba'i don re žig bžag nas 'khor thams cad kyi mthar 'khod de ston pa'i chos bstan pa thos nas | {Pā86} ji ltar 'khod pa ñid bžin du skyes bu stoñ phrag gcig dañ lhan cig tu dgra bcom pa thob nas rab tu 'byuñ bar žugs so³ || bcom ldan 'das kysis btsun pa rnams 'dir šog cig⁴ ces phyag brkyañ ño⁵ || thams cad de ñid rdzu 'phrul las byuñ ba'i lhuñ bzed dañ chos gos gsum bzuñ nas | lo brgya lon pa'i gnas brtan lta bur gyur to || dgra bcom pa thob pa'i dus nas bzuñ ste | slar yañ 'phags pa žes bya ba re žig bar mar gnas par gyur to⁶ || rgyal pos btañ ba'i sprin⁷ yig stobs bcu pa la ma⁸ brjod do || rgyal pos btañ ba'i mi rnams las gcig kyañ ma byuñ žin | sprin yig kyañ ma thos so || 'dir šog la khyed soñ žig⁹ dañ de lta bu'i nes pas blon po gžan gcig (95b) btañ ño¹⁰ || des soñ nas yañ sñar bžin du 'khor dañ bcas pa dgra bcom pa thob nas cañ mi gsuñ¹¹ bar gnas so¹² || rgyal pos de lta bur nes pas skyes bu stoñ phrag re re'i 'khor dañ bcas pa'i blon po dgu btañ ño¹³ || thams cad rañ gi don rdzogs par byas nas cañ mi smra bar gyur te de ñid du gnas so¹⁴ || rgyal pos sprin yig tsam gyi lo rgyus kyañ ma thob bo žes bsams nas | mi 'di rnams ña la mi dga' ba'i rgyu mtshan gyis sprin yig tsam gyi lo rgyus kyañ mi brjod do¹⁵ || su žig ña'i tshig bžin byed par sems | rgyal pos mi thams cad la brtags pas nag po 'char ka mthoñ ño¹⁶ || de yañ rgyal po'i don thams cad sgrub par byed pa'i blon po yin no¹⁷ || nañ mi yin no¹⁸ || šin tu thugs ches pa yin no¹⁹ || de bžin gšegs pa dañ lhan cig la ñin gcig tu²⁰ skyes pa yin no²¹ || de dañ lhan cig tu rtse²² ba'i grogs po yin no²³ || de nas blon po rgyal pos bos te

¹ SDLN bcu, Q omits.

² S bžugs so, DQ žugs so, LN bžugso.

³ LN žuso.

⁴ SLN omit, DQ cig.

⁵ LN brkyaño.

⁶ SLN te, DQ to.

⁷ SDQL sprin, N sprid.

⁸ L brjodo.

⁹ SD žig, QLN cig.

¹⁰ LN btaño.

¹¹ SDLN gsuñ, Q smra.

¹² LN gnaso.

¹³ LN btaño.

¹⁴ LN gnaso.

¹⁵ L brjodo.

¹⁶ LN mthoño.

¹⁷ N yino.

¹⁸ LN yino.

¹⁹ N yino.

²⁰ SDQN tu, L du.

²¹ LN yino.

²² SLN rtse, DQ brtse.

²³ LN yino.

| bu nag po 'char ka bdag gi sras blta bar 'dod pas skyes bu stoñ phrag dgu btañ ste¹ mi gcig kyañ ma²
 'oñs nas sprin yig tsam gyi lo³ rgyus ci'añ⁴ ma byuñ | slar yañ thams cad nad kyis⁵ thebs pa yin nam |
 tshe'i bar chad du gyur pa yin nam | bdag 'tsho ba ñid kyī bar du sras po blta bar 'dod de | bdag gi bu
 blta⁶ bar nus sam | zes smras so⁷ || lha nus lags so⁸ || gal te rab tu phyuñ yañ blta bar nus so⁹ || bu
 khyod rab tu byuñ ba 'am ma byuñ yañ | ña sras po blta'o zes smras so¹⁰ || des lha legs so¹¹ zes rgyal
 po'i gsuñ blañs nas (96a) rgyal po'i khab tu¹² soñ ste | ston pa chos ston pa'i dus su 'khor rnam kyī
 mthar 'khod de chos thos nas 'khor dañ bcas pa dgara bcom pa'i 'bras bu thob par gyur te dge sloñ gi
 dños por so sor gnas so¹³ || ston pa sañs rgyas su¹⁴ gyur nas dañ po'i lo la drañ sroñ lhuñ ba'i gnas su¹⁵
 dbyar bžugs te¹⁶ | dgag dbye byas nas lteñ¹⁷ rgyas su¹⁸ gšegs šin der zla ba gsum bžugs¹⁹ te | ral pa can
 spun rnam btul²⁰ nas dge sloñ stoñ phrag gcig gi 'khor dañ bcas pa dgun zla 'briñ po'i ña la rgyal
 po'i khab tu²¹ gšegs nas zla ba gñis bžugs so²² || de rnam ni groñ khyer bā rā ña si²³ nas yoñs²⁴ pa'i
 bar te²⁵ | zla ba lña soñ žin dgun gyi dus thams cad 'das so²⁶ || gnas brtan 'char ka 'oñs nas žag bdun
 dañ brgyad soñ ño²⁷ || des dpyid zla ra ba'i ña la bsams pa | dgun gyi dus 'das nas dpyid ka'i²⁸ dus su

¹ SDQN ste, L te.

² SD ma, QLN omit.

³ SDQ lo, LN lor.

⁴ S ci'añ DQLN ci yañ.

⁵ SDQN kyis, L kyī.

⁶ SLD blta, QN lta.

⁷ LN smraso.

⁸ LN lagso.

⁹ LN nuso.

¹⁰ LN smraso.

¹¹ LN legso.

¹² SDQ tu, LN du.

¹³ LN gnaso.

¹⁴ LN rgyasu.

¹⁵ LN gnasu.

¹⁶ SDQN te, L ste.

¹⁷ DS lteñ, QLN steñ.

¹⁸ LN rgyasu.

¹⁹ SDQN bžugs, L gžugs.

²⁰ SD btul, QLN brtul.

²¹ SDQ tu, LN du.

²² LN bžugso.

²³ D bā rā ña si, S wā rā ña si, Q bā ra na si, LN bā ra na se.

²⁴ SLN yoñs, DQ 'oñs.

²⁵ SDQL te, N ste.

²⁶ LN 'daso.

²⁷ LN soño.

sleb¹ pa dañ | mi rnams kyis 'bru rnams blañs te | phyogs phyogs nas lam du byuñ bas rtswa² rnams
ljañ khur³ gyur to || sa gzi dañ nags tshal gyi śiñ la sogs pa me tog śiñ tu mañ ba kha bye ba ni lam du
'gro ba'i dus so⁴ || stobs bcu pa'i ñe du dañ phrad par byed pa'i lam du 'gro ba'i dus yin no⁵ || de nas
bcom ldan 'das kyi⁶ druñ du ñe bar soñ nas | {Pā87}

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btsun pa ljon śiñ de ni ljañ khur⁸ gyur || śiñ gi lo ma sa la dud pa⁹ dañ ||
de rnams bar nas 'od zer 'gyed pa yin || dpa' bo chen po gñen gnas gśegs pa'i dus ||

Ap-a p. 91¹⁰

ha cañ mi dro mi grañ¹¹ žiñ || mu ge dañ ni bkres (96b) pa med ||
sa steñ śiñ rnams ljañ khur¹² gyur || thub pa chen po dus 'dir gyur ||

tshigs su¹³ bcañ pa drug cu¹⁴ tsam gyis stobs bcu pa la rigs kyi groñ khyer du gśegs pa'i phyir bśnags
par 'os¹⁵ pa'i bśnags pa brjod¹⁶ pa'o || de nas ston pa la 'char kas dbyañs sñan pos gśegs pa'i bśnags
par 'os pa'i bśnags pa gsuñs so¹⁷ || btsun pa khyed¹⁸ kyi yab rgyal po chen po zas gtsañ blta bar 'dod pas

²⁸ SD ka'i, QLN kha'i.

¹ SDQN sleb, L slab.

² SDQ rtswa, LN rtsa.

³ S khur, DQLN gur.

⁴ L duso.

⁵ LN yino.

⁶ SDLN kyi, Q kyis.

⁷ *Jātakanidāna* p.87; sTog 96a; Th 527; Ap-a p.91, 359, 533; Bv-a p.23.

Jātakanidāna p.87,

aṅgārino dāni dumā bhadante
phalesino chadanaṃ vippahāya,
te accimanto va pabhāsayanti,

⁸ S khur, DQLN gur.

⁹ SDQ omit, LN la ba.

¹⁰ *Jātakanidāna* p.87; sTog 96a-b; Ap-a p.91; Bv-a p.24; Mṃ I p.303.

Jātakanidāna p.87,

nāṭisītaṃ nātiuṇhaṃ nātidubbhikkhachātaṃ,
saddalā`haritā bhūmi, esa kālo Mahāmunīti.

¹¹ SDQ grañ, LN drañ.

¹² S khur, DQLN gur.

¹³ LN tshigsu.

¹⁴ SDLN cu, Q bcu.

¹⁵ SDLN 'os, Q bos.

¹⁶ DQLN brjod, S rjod.

¹⁷ LN gsuñso.

¹⁸ DQLN khyed, S khyod.

ñe du rnams rjes su¹ 'dzin par zu | legs so² 'char ka | ñe du rnams rjes su³ gzuñ⁴ bar bgyi'o zes dge sloñ
gi dge 'dun la smros śig⁵ || gśegs pa'i gnas thams cad la byi dor gyis śig ces smros śig || btsun pa legs
so⁶ zes gnas brtan⁷ soñ nas⁸ smras so⁹ ||

III 19.

bcom ldan 'das kyis yul am gha¹⁰ dañ ma ga dha¹¹ na gnas pa'i rigs kyi bu rnams stoñ phrag bcu dañ
bcas pa groñ khyer ser skya'i gzi na¹² gnas pa'i stoñ phrag bcu po thams cad zag pa zad pa'i dge sloñ
'khor du byas nas rgyal po'i khab nas phyi rol tu¹³ 'thon te | ñi ma re re la dpag tshad re re bgrod ciñ
rgyal po'i khab nas dpag tshad drug cu'i¹⁴ groñ khyer ser skya'i gzir zla ba gñis kyis sleb par dgoñs
śiñ bul ba'añ¹⁵ ma yin | myur ba'añ¹⁶ ma yin par 'briñ por gśegs so¹⁷ || gnas brtan gyis kyañ bcom ldan
'das byon no zes rgyal po'i druñ du smra'o zes bsams nas nam mkha'¹⁸ la soñ ste rgyal po'i gnas su¹⁹
bsleb²⁰ par gyur to || rgyal pos gnas brtan gzigs nas thugs tshim par gyur (97a) te²¹ | gdan bśams pa la
bźugs su bcug go²² || rañ la byed pa bzin bcos nas ro sna tshogs pa'i bza' bas lhuñ bzed bkañ nas²³
phul lo²⁴ || gnas brtan lañs nas 'gro bar bsams pa dañ | bu bźugs la gsol cig | rgyal po chen po ston pa
dañ ñe bar soñ ste bza'o²⁵ || slar yañ bu ston pa ga na yod | stoñ phrag ñi śu'i dge sloñ 'khor du byas

¹ LN rjesu.

² LN legso.

³ LN rjesu.

⁴ SDN gzuñ, QL bzuñ.

⁵ SD śig, QLN cig.

⁶ N legso.

⁷ SDLN brtan, Q grtan.

⁸ LN naso.

⁹ SDQ smras so, LN omit.

¹⁰ SD am gha, Q 'om gha, LN a gha.

¹¹ SL ma ga dha, D ma ga dhā, QN ma gadha.

¹² SDQ gzi na, LN omit.

¹³ SDQ tu, DL du.

¹⁴ SDLN cu'i, Q bcu'i.

¹⁵ S ba'añ, DQLN ba yañ.

¹⁶ S ba'añ, DQLN ba yañ.

¹⁷ LN gźegso.

¹⁸ LN namkha'.

¹⁹ LN gnasu.

²⁰ S bsleb, DQLN sleb.

²¹ SDQL te, N to.

²² LN bźugsu bcugo.

²³ SDQ omit, LN phul nas.

²⁴ LN phulo.

²⁵ DQLN bza'o, S bza' 'o.

nas rgyal po chen po ñid blta ba'i phyir byon no || rgyal po thugs tshim par gyur nas smras pa | khyod¹
 'di gsol la bdag gi sras groñ khyer 'dir ma byon gyi bar la 'di ñid nas lhuñ bzed du bza' ba khyer la
 soñ cig ces smras so² || gnas brtan gyis rgyal po'i gsuñ mñan te | rgyal pos gnas brtan gyi bza' ba gsol
 zin pa dañ lhuñ bzed bkru nas dri bzañ po'i phye mas byugs te | bza' ba mchog gis gañ bar byas nas
 de bzin gśegs pa la phul cig źes smras nas gnas brtan gyi lag par³ byin no⁴ || gnas brtan mi thams cad
 kyis mthoñ ba dañ lhuñ bzed nam mkha' la 'phags so⁵ || rañ ñid kyañ nam mkha'⁶ la gśegs nas bza'
 ba'i lhuñ bzed bzuñ ste | ston pa'i phyag tu phul nas ston pas kyañ der bza' ba la loñs spyod do || gnas
 brtan thabs 'dis⁷ ñi ma re re bzin du bza' ba phul lo⁸ || ston pas kyañ lam gyi bar du rgyal po ñid kyi⁹
 gdugs tshod la loñs spyod do¹⁰ || gnas brtan gyis kyañ gdugs tshod la loñs spyod pa'i mthar ñi ma re re
 bzin du de¹¹ riñ 'di tsam nas bcom ldan 'das (97b) byon no || {Pā88} de¹² riñ 'di tsam du bcom ldan
 'das byon źes pa dañ | sañs rgyas kyi yon tan yañ dag par ldan pa ñid brjod ciñ rgyal rigs¹³ thams cad
 ston pa ma mthoñ ba ñid kyis ston pa'i druñ du rañ ñid kyi¹⁴ sems dañs par mdzad do¹⁵ || de'i rgyu
 mtshan gyis gnas brtan la bcom ldan 'das kyis dge sloñ dag bdag gi ñan thos kyi nañ nas rigs dad par
 byed pa rñams kyi mchog gañ¹⁶ yin¹⁷ na¹⁸ 'di ni 'char ka źes¹⁹ pa'o ||

III 20.

'di mchog tu bzuñ bas śākya pa rñams kyis kyañ bcom ldan 'das rjes su²⁰ byon pa'i sñun la bdag cag

¹ SLN khyod, DQ khyed.

² L smraso.

³ SDLN par, Q pas.

⁴ LN byino.

⁵ S 'phags so, DQ 'phañs so, LN 'phagso.

⁶ LN namkha'.

⁷ SLN 'dis, DQ 'di'i.

⁸ N phulo.

⁹ SDL kyi, QN kyis.

¹⁰ N spyodo.

¹¹ DN de, SQL di.

¹² DN de, SQL di.

¹³ SN rigs, DQL ris.

¹⁴ DQLN kyi, S gyi.

¹⁵ L mdzado.

¹⁶ SDLN gañ, Q omits.

¹⁷ SDLN omit, Q gañ.

¹⁸ SDQ na, LN omit.

¹⁹ SDQN źes, L ces.

²⁰ LN rjesu.

gi¹ fie du'i gtso bo blta'o zes 'dus nas | bcom ldan 'das bžugs pa'i gnas rtog² ciñ šākya nya³ gro dha'i kun dga' ra ba yid du 'oñ ba sta gon byas so⁴ || der thams cad ñer bsdogs byas nas spos dañ me tog⁵ so so lag tu thogs te | bsu ba byed ciñ rgyan thams cad kyis so sor brgyan nas | gžon nu⁶ dañ gžon nu⁷ ma⁸ groñ khyer gyi khye'u dañ bu mo sñar dañ por btañ ba rnams dañ | de nas rgyal po'i gžon nu dañ gžon nu ma dag de rnams kyi bar rañ rañ gis spos dañ | me tog dañ | phye ma la sog pas mchod pa byed ciñ | bcom ldan 'das kyis bžes nas nya gro dha'i kun dga' ra ba ñid du byon no || der bcom ldan 'das kyis stoñ phrag ñi šu'i zag pa zad pa'i dge sloñ 'khor du byas nas gdan bšams pa mchog la sañs rgyas bžugs so⁹ || šākya'i rigs ni ña rgyal dañ ldan pa yin | sems rtsub pa yin pas 'di ni don grub gžon (98a) nu ñed¹⁰ dañ lhan cig gžon nu yin no¹¹ || ñed ni phu bo¹² yin no¹³ || 'di ni sriñ mo'i bu yin no¹⁴ || 'di ni tsha bo yin no¹⁵ zes bsams nas khye'u dañ rgyal po'i gžon nu zes smras te | khyed kyi phyag gis¹⁶ bdag khyed kyi rgyab tu¹⁷ sdod¹⁸ do zes bsams so¹⁹ || de rnams de bžin du gnas nas | bcom ldan 'das kyis de rnams kyi bsam pa gzigs nas | gñen rnams bdag la phyag mi byed par 'dod kyañ da lta phyag byed du gžug²⁰ dgos te | mñon par šes pa'i gzi dañ | ye šes dañ | bsam gtan dañ ldan²¹ par 'jug pa bskyed dgos so²² sñam ste | bžeñs²³ nas nam mkha'²⁴ la gžegs²⁵ so²⁶ || de rnams kyi mgo la žabs kyid rdul

¹ SDLN gi, Q omits.

² SDQ rtog, LN rtogs.

³ SDQL nya, N mya.

⁴ LN byaso.

⁵ SDLN tog, Q rtog.

⁶ N gžonu.

⁷ N gžonu.

⁸ SDQL ma, N ni.

⁹ LN bžugso.

¹⁰ DQLN ñed, S ded.

¹¹ LN yino.

¹² S phuñ po, DQ phu bo, LN phu po (both look like emmendations from *phuñ po*, L has *ña* graph erased, N has 3 *tsegs*).

¹³ L yino.

¹⁴ N yino.

¹⁵ SDQ no, LN omit.

¹⁶ SDQ gis, LN gi.

¹⁷ SDQN tu, L du.

¹⁸ SDQ sdod, LN bsdod.

¹⁹ LN bsamso.

²⁰ SDLN gžug, Q bžugs.

²¹ SLN ldan, DQ sñoms.

²² DQ so, SLN omit.

²³ SDQ bžeñs, LN gžeñs.

²⁴ LN namkha'.

²⁵ SDLN gžegs, Q šes.

lhuñ¹ ba bzin du a mra bsruñ² ba'i a mra'i³ śiñ gi druñ du so so'i cho 'phrul dañ mtshuñs par cho 'phrul mdzad do ||

III 21.

rgyal pos de'i⁴ ya mtshan che ba mthoñ no⁵ zes smras so⁶ || bcom ldan 'das khyod⁷ 'khruñs pa'i ñin mo dka' thub pa nag po lha len⁸ gyis phyag byed ciñ ñe bar gnas pas khyod⁹ kyis žabs bskyod pa bram ze'i spyi po la ñe bar gnas so¹⁰ || de mthoñ nas bdag gis kyañ khyod¹¹ la phyag byas so¹² || 'di ni bdag gi phyag dañ po zes¹³ yin no¹⁴ || bkra śis pa'i 'bru 'debs pa'i ñin mo 'dzam bu'i¹⁵ śiñ gi grib ma'i dpal gyi mal stan la khyod¹⁶ bžugs pa na śiñ 'dzam bu'i¹⁷ grib mas ma btañ¹⁸ bar mthoñ ba'i tshe yañ¹⁹ žabs la phyag byas so²⁰ || 'di ni bdag gi²¹ phyag gñis pa yin no²² || da lta ni bdag gis śnar ma mthoñ ba'i cho 'phrul yañ mthoñ bas khyed kyis žabs la (98b) phyag bgyid do || 'di ni bdag gi phyag gsum pa yin no ||

III 22.

slar yañ rgyal pos bcom ldan 'das la phyag byed ciñ | phyag byed par mi nus pa'i śākya'i rigs gcig kyañ med do || thams cad kyis kyañ phyag byed pa ñid do || de nas bcom ldan 'das la ñe du rnam kyis

²⁶ LN gžegso.

¹ SDQ lhuñ, LN omit.

² SN a mra bsruñ, D a mra sruñ, Q a smra bsruñ, L a smra bsuñ.

³ SDLN a mra'i, Q a smra'i.

⁴ SDQ de'i, LN de.

⁵ N mthoño.

⁶ LN smraso.

⁷ S khyod, DQLN khyed.

⁸ SDQ len, LN lan.

⁹ S khyod, DQLN khyed.

¹⁰ LN gnaso.

¹¹ S khyod, DQLN khyed.

¹² LN byaso.

¹³ SDQ zes, LN omit.

¹⁴ LN yino.

¹⁵ SDQ 'dzam bu'i, LN 'dzambu'i.

¹⁶ S khyod DQLN khyed.

¹⁷ SDQ 'dzam bu'i, LN 'dzambu'i.

¹⁸ SDLN btañ, Q btad.

¹⁹ S tshe'añ, DQLN tshe yañ.

²⁰ LN byaso.

²¹ SDQ gi, LN gis.

²² LN yino.

phyag byed ciñ nam mkha'¹ las babs nas gdan bśams pa'i mchog gi guñ la bźugs so² || bcom ldan 'das bźugs nas ñe du rnams dañ³ 'dus par gyur pa la⁴ thams cad sems gcig tu gnas so⁵ || de nas sprin chen po las pad ma'i⁶ 'dab⁷ ma la chu mi chags⁸ pa lta bu'i char 'bebs so⁹ || chu zañs kyi mdog can sa la sgra sgrogs śiñ 'bab bo || 'bañ bar 'dod pa rnams 'bañ ño¹⁰ || 'bañ bar mi 'dod pa rnams mi 'bañ ño¹¹ || thigs pa tsam yañ mi ltuñ¹² ño || de mthoñ nas thams cad du ya mtshan pa dañ rmad du byuñ ba skyes so¹³ || {Pā89} e ma ho ño mtshar che | e ma ho rmad du byuñ ño¹⁴ źes rjod¹⁵ par byed do || ston pas 'di kho na ma yin gyi | bdag gi ñe du dañ phrad pa na pad ma'i¹⁶ 'dab¹⁷ ma¹⁸ chu mi chags¹⁹ pa lta bu'i char 'bebs²⁰ śiñ 'das pa'i dus su 'añ ñas phab bo²¹ || 'di'i don byuñ ba ni thams cad sgröl gyi skye²² rabs su²³ bśad do²⁴ || chos bstan²⁵ pa thos nas²⁶ thams cad lañs te phyag byas nas soñ ño²⁷ || gcig gis kyañ rgyal po dañ | rgyal tshab dañ | blon po rnams sañ bdag gi gnas su²⁸ bsod sñoms khyer 'oñ ño²⁹

¹ LN namkha'.

² LN bźugso.

³ SDLN dañ, Q omits.

⁴ SDQ la, LN omit.

⁵ LN gnaso.

⁶ SLN padma'i, DQ pad ma'i.

⁷ SDLN 'dab, Q mdab.

⁸ S chags, DQLN 'chags.

⁹ LN 'bebso.

¹⁰ N 'baño.

¹¹ N 'baño.

¹² SDLN ltuñ, Q ltoñ.

¹³ LN skyeso.

¹⁴ LN byuño.

¹⁵ SD rjod, QLN brjod.

¹⁶ SLN padma'i, DQ pad ma'i.

¹⁷ SDLN 'dab, Q mdab.

¹⁸ SLN omit, DQ la.

¹⁹ S chags, DQLN 'chags.

²⁰ SDQ 'bebs, LN 'babs.

²¹ N phabo.

²² SD skyes, QLN skye.

²³ N rabsu.

²⁴ N bśado.

²⁵ SDQ bstan, LN stan.

²⁶ SDQ nas, LN omit.

²⁷ N soño.

²⁸ N gnasu.

²⁹ N 'oño.

žes smra¹ ba soñ ba de rnams las gcig kyañ ma byuñ no² ||

III 23.

ston³ pas slar ñi ma gñis pa (99a) la stoñ phrag ñi šu'i dge sloñ 'khor du byas nas groñ khyer ser skya'i⁴ gžir bsod sñoms la bžud do⁵ || gañ žig mgron⁶ du gñer ba dañ | lhuñ bzed khyer bsu'añ⁷ med do || bcom ldan 'das sgo druñ du 'khod de rnam par brtags pas ji ltar sñun⁸ gyi sañs rgyas rnams kyi rigs kyi groñ khyer du byon nas⁹ bsod sñoms mdzad pa bžin du gañ gi¹⁰ ji ltar rigs par mi chen po'i khyim du 'gro žiñ yañ na go rims bžin du bsod sñoms spyod do || de nas sañs rgyas gcig gis kyañ ji ltar rigs par gšegs pa ma mthoñ bas bdag gis kyañ da ni 'di'i rigs so¹¹ || 'di¹² sñon gyi sañs rgyas kyi rigs bžin du bdag gis kyañ rigs par gzuñ¹³ bar bya'o || bdag gi ñan thos kyañ bdag ñid bžin rjes su¹⁴ slob ciñ bsod sñoms la rdzogs par byon no¹⁵ || 'khod pa'i khyim nas bzuñ¹⁶ nas go rims bžin du bsod sñoms la spyod do || 'phags pa gžon nu don grub bsod sñoms la gšegs so¹⁷ žes brjod do || ñis thog dañ sum thog la sogs pa'i khañ bzañs¹⁸ rnams su¹⁹ steñ gi sgo chuñ phye nas mi thams cad blta bar gyur te|

III 24.

lha mo sgra gcan 'dzin gyi yum yañ 'phags pa'i bu groñ khyer 'di ñid du rgyal po chen po'i mthus gser gyi do li la sogs pa la žon te | de riñ nas skra dañ kha spu²⁰ bregs šin ñur smrig gi gos gyon nas snod lag tu khyer te | bsod sñoms la 'gro ba mdzes sam mi mdzes žes steñ gi sgo chuñ phye nas blta'o|| sna tshogs pa'i 'dod chags dañ bral ba yañ dag par 'bar žiñ sku lus (99b) kyi 'od kyis²¹ groñ

¹ SDLN smra, Q smras.

² LN byuño.

³ SDQ ston, LN slon.

⁴ SDQN skya'i, L kya'i.

⁵ N bžudo.

⁶ SD mgron, QLN 'gron.

⁷ S bsu'añ, DQLN bsu yañ.

⁸ S sñun, DQLN sñon.

⁹ SDQ nas, LN omit.

¹⁰ SDQ gi, LN omit.

¹¹ LN rigso.

¹² SDQ 'di, LN 'di'i.

¹³ SDQ gzuñ, LN bzuñ.

¹⁴ L brdzes, N rjesu.

¹⁵ N byono.

¹⁶ SDLN bzuñ, Q gzuñ.

¹⁷ N gšegso.

¹⁸ SD bzañs, QLN bzañ.

¹⁹ LN rnamsu.

²⁰ SDQN spu, L bu.

²¹ SDQ kyis, LN kyi.

khyer gyi steñ thams cad snañ bar mdzad de¹ | 'dom gañ ba'i 'od kun nas bskor² žiñ rab tu gsal ba |
dpe byad bzañ po brgyad cu³ dañ ldan pa | skyes bu chen po'i mtshan sum cu⁴ rtsa gñis kyis brgyan
pa⁵ | sañs rgyas kyī dpal dpe med par rnam par gsal ba mthoñ no⁶ || gtsug⁷ tor nas bzuñ nas žabs kyī⁸
mthil gyi bar de srid do ||

Ap-a p.94⁹

dbu skra g.yas 'khyil¹⁰ 'jam nag¹¹ snum pa dañ ||
dpral ba dri med ñi ma'i mthil bžin no¹² ||
sku dañ 'tsham¹³ pa'i šañs ni mtho ba dañ ||
mi yi señ ge 'od zer gsal bar mdzad ||

'di lta bu la sogs pa'i mi'i señ ge la tshigs su¹⁴ bcad pas mñon par bstod do¹⁵ || khyed kyī sras po bsod
sñoms la spyod do žes rgyal po la smras so¹⁶ ||

III 25.

rgyal po'i sems sdug bsñal bas gos nas bzuñ ste myur žiñ myur bar phyir 'thon te¹⁷ | bcom ldan 'das
kyī druñ du 'khod nas smras pa | ci btsun pa bdag cag ño tsha bas ci'i don du bsod sñoms mdzad |
{Pā90} dge sloñ 'di mams kyī bza' ba bdag gis ster bar mi šes bsams pa¹⁸ yin nam ci lags | rgyal po

¹ SDLN de, Q do.

² SDQN bskor, L skor.

³ SDLN cu, Q bcu.

⁴ SDN cu, QL bcu.

⁵ SDQ brgyan pa, LN rgyan pas.

⁶ N mthoño.

⁷ SDQN gtsug, L btsug.

⁸ SDQ kyī, LN kyis.

⁹ *Jātakanidāna* p.89; sTog 99b; Ap-a p.94.

Jātakanidāna p.89,

siniddhanīlamudukuñcitakeso
suriyasunimmalatalābhinalāto
yuttatuñgamudukāyatanāso
raṃsijālavitato narasiho ti.

¹⁰ SDQ 'khyil, LN mkhyil.

¹¹ SLN nag, DQ gnag.

¹² N bžino.

¹³ SDQ 'tsham¹³, LN 'tshams.

¹⁴ N tshigsu.

¹⁵ N bstodo.

¹⁶ LN smraso.

¹⁷ SDQ te, LN ste.

¹⁸ SDQ omit, LN yañ dag.

chen po'i rigs kyi spyod pa yin no¹ || btsun pa bdag cag śākya'i rigs zes bya ba'i rigs so² || de la rgyal rigs gcig kyañ bsod sñoms byed pa'i miñ³ tsam yañ med do || rgyal po chen po'i rigs zes bya ba ni khyod kyi rigs 'di yin no⁴ || bka' stsal pa | rgyal po chen po mi dgyes pa ma mdzad cig | slar yañ bdag cag gi⁵ mar me⁶ mdzad dañ | kō ñi nya⁷ dañ | 'od sruñs⁸ zes bya ba (100a) 'di sañs rgyas kyi rigs yin no⁹ || 'di rñams dañ gžan sañs rgyas stoñ phrag du mas kyañ bsod sñoms spyod ciñ 'tsho bar mdzad la | srañ gi dbus su¹⁰ 'khod pa ñid do ||

Dhp 168¹¹

bag med lhag mar byed pa med || chos la spyod ciñ legs par spyod ||
chos la spyad na bde ba 'byuñ || 'jig rten 'di dañ phyi mar bde ||

chos kyi rkañ pa'i tshigs su¹² bcad pa 'di bstan ciñ bsad do¹³ || tshigs su¹⁴ bcad pa'i mthar rgyal pos rgyun du¹⁵ žugs pa'i 'bras bu thob bo¹⁶ ||

Dhp 169¹⁷

¹ N yino.

² LN rigso.

³ DQLN miñ, S mi.

⁴ N yino.

⁵ SD gi, QLN gis.

⁶ SDLN me, Q med.

⁷ DQ kō ñi nya, SN ko'u ñi nya, L ko ñi nya.

⁸ S 'od sruñs, DQ 'od sruñ, LN 'od bsruñ.

⁹ N yino.

¹⁰ L dbusu.

¹¹ *Jātakanidāna* p.90; sTog 100a; Dhp 168; PDhp 27; Uv 4. 35; GDhp 110.; Dhp-a III p.164; Ap-a pp. 94, 539.

Jātakanidāna p.90,

uttīṭṭhe na-ppamajjeyya / dhammaṃ sucaritaṃ care,
dhammacārī sukhaṃ seti / asmiṃ loke paramhi ca.

Patna *Dharmapada* 27,

utṭheyā na pramajjeyā / dhammaṃ sucaritaṃ care
dhammacārī [] seti / aśsiṃ loke paramhi ca.

Udānavarga 4.35,

utṭiṣṭhen na pramādyeta / dharmmaṃ sucaritaṃ caret /
dharmacārī sukhaṃ śete / hy asmiṃ loke paratra ca //

Gāndhārī *Dharmapada* 110,

udīṭṭha na pramaje'a / dhamu sucarida cari
dhama-cari suhu śe'adi / asvi loki parasa yi.

¹² LN tshigsu.

¹³ N bsado.

¹⁴ LN tshigsu.

¹⁵ SDQ du, LN tu.

¹⁶ N thobo.

¹⁷ *Jātakanidāna* p. 90; sTog 100a; Dhp 169; PDhp 224; Uv 30. 5; GDhp 328; Dhp-a III p. 164; Ap II pp. 590, 596; Ap-a p. 539.

chos spyod pa ni legs par spyod || ñes par spyod pa mi bya žiñ ||
chos spyad pa yis bde ba 'byuñ || 'jig rten 'di dañ pha rol tu'o¹ ||

slar yañ chos kyi rkañ pa'i tshigs su² bcađ pa 'di thos nas lan cig phyir 'oñ ba'i³ 'bras bu thob par gyur
to || chos skyoñ ba'i skyes rabs thob⁴ nas phyir mi 'oñ ba'i 'bras bu thob par gyur⁵ to || 'chi ba'i duš
su⁶ gdugs dkar po'i 'og tu dpal gyi mal stan gyi steñ du gzims pa fiid na dgra bcom pa thob par gyur⁷
to || dgon par gnas nas dka' thub spyod pa rgyal po la dgos pa med do ||

III 26.

rgyun du⁸ žugs pa'i 'bras bu mñon du byas nas | slar yañ bcom ldan 'das kyi lhuñ bzed bzuñ ste⁹ |
'khor dañ bcas pa khañ bzañs¹⁰ chen po'i steñ du spyan drañs nas gya nom pa'i bza' ba dañ bca'¹¹ ba
rnams drañs so¹² || gdugs tshod¹³ zin pa'i mthar sgra gcan 'dzin gyi ma ma gtogs pa'i btsun mo 'khor
dañ bcas pa thams cad 'oñs nas bcom ldan 'das la phyag byas so¹⁴ || gžan yañ des (100b) 'khor gyi mi
rnams la 'phags pa'i bu la phyag gyis¹⁵ žes¹⁶ brjod nas | gal te kho mo la yon tan yod na 'phags pa'i bu
rañ fiid kyi¹⁷ gnas su 'byon no¹⁸ || byon pa fiid na de la phyag byed do¹⁹ žes brjod nas ma 'oñs so²⁰ || rgyal

Jātakanidāna p. 90,

dhammaṃ care sucaritaṃ / na naṃ duccharitaṃ care,
dhammacāri sukhaṃ seti / asmiṃ loke paramhi ca.

Patna *Dharmapada* 224,

dhammaṃ care sucaritaṃ / na naṃ duccharitaṃ care
dhammacāri sukhaṃ seti / assim loke paramhi ca.

Udānavarga 30.5,

dhammaṃ caret sucaritaṃ / nainaṃ dušcaritaṃ caret
dhammacāri sukhaṃ sete / hy asmiṃ loke paratra ca.

Gāndhāri *Dharmapada* 328,

dhamu cari sucarida / ... drucarida cari
dhamayari suha śedi / asvi loki parasa yi.

¹ DQ du'o.

² N tshigsu.

³ SLN ba'i, DQ gi.

⁴ SLN thob, DQ thos.

⁵ SDLN gyur, Q 'gyur.

⁶ N dusu.

⁷ SDLN gyur, Q 'gyur.

⁸ SDQL du, N tu.

⁹ SDLN ste, Q te.

¹⁰ SDLN bzañs, Q bzañ.

¹¹ SDQ bca', LN bcas.

¹² LN drañso.

¹³ SDLN tshod, Q chod.

¹⁴ LN byaso.

¹⁵ DQLN gyis, S bgyis.

¹⁶ SDLN žes, Q šes.

¹⁷ SDLN kyi, Q la.

pos lhuñ bzed bzuñ nas bcom ldan 'das ñan thos mchog gñis dañ bcas pa rgyal po'i bu mo'i khañ
 bzañs su¹ gšegs te | rgyal po'i bu mo rañ ñid ji ltar mos pa'i phyag byed ciñ gžan dañ dga'² ba cuñ zad
 kyañ ma byed ces nas | gdan bšams pa mchog gi guñ la bžugs so³ || de myur du 'oñs nas byin pa bzuñ
 ste | žabs kyi steñ du mgo bo bžag nas ji ltar 'dod pa'i phyag byas so⁴ || rgyal po dañ rgyal po'i bu mos
 bcom ldan 'das la dga' ba mañ pos yon tan la sogs pas yon tan dañ ldan par brjod nas | btsun pa bdag
 gi bu mos ñid kyis gos ñur smrig gyon pa thos nas | {Pā91} de nas bzuñ ste deñ gi bar du gos ñur
 smrig⁵ gyon no⁶ || ñid kyis gdugs tshod lan cig gsol ba thos nas bu mos kyañ bza' ba lan cig zos so⁷ ||
 ñid kyis⁸ mal stan chen po spañs pa thos nas | ñal khri chuñ ba la ñal lo⁹ || ñid kyis me tog gi 'phreñ¹⁰
 ba dañ spos la sogs pa la sred pa med par¹¹ thos nas | me tog gi 'phreñ¹² ba dañ spos la sogs pa la
 chags pa¹³ med pa skyes so¹⁴ || rañ gi ñe du rnams bdag gis gso'o žes 'phrin bskur nas | gñen gcig¹⁵
 la'añ¹⁶ Ita¹⁷ ba mi 'dug go¹⁸ || bcom ldan 'das 'di lta bu'i yon tan dañ ldan pa ni bdag gi (101a) bu mo
 yin no¹⁹ žes gsol to || rgyal po chen po ya mtshan²⁰ mi che'o²¹ || 'di da lta khyed sruñ²² bar byed pa'i
 rgyal po'i bu mo ye šes yoñs su²³ ma smin pa²⁴ rañ gis bsruñ ño²⁵ || sñar bsruñs²⁶ pa med ciñ ri la sogs

¹⁸ N gnasu byono.

¹⁹ N byedo.

²⁰ LN 'oñso.

¹ LN bzañsu.

² S dga', DQLN 'gal.

³ LN bžugso.

⁴ LN byaso.

⁵ SDQN smrig, L rrrig.

⁶ N gyono.

⁷ LN zoso.

⁸ SDQL kyis, N gyis.

⁹ LN ñalo.

¹⁰ S 'phreñ, DQLN phreñ.

¹¹ S par, DQLN pa.

¹² S 'phreñ, DQLN phreñ.

¹³ DOLN pa, S omits.

¹⁴ LN skyeso.

¹⁵ SDLN gcig, Q cig.

¹⁶ S la'añ, DQLN la yañ.

¹⁷ SLN lta, DQ blta.

¹⁸ LN 'dugo.

¹⁹ N yino.

²⁰ SDQN ya mtshan, L yañ tshan.

²¹ DQLN che'o, S che 'o.

²² SDQ sruñ, LN bsruñ.

²³ LN yoñsu.

²⁴ SDQ pa, LN par.

pa la 'gro ba na | ye šes yoñs su¹ ma rdzogs pa² rañ gis sruñs³ so⁴ žes gsuñs⁵ nas | mi 'am ci zla ba'i skyes rabs gsuñs te | gdan⁶ las bžeñs nas gšegs so⁷ ||

III 27.

ñi ma gñis pa la rgyal bu gžon nu⁸ dga' bo rgyal por dbaň bskur ba daň | khaň pa gsar pa'i naň du žugs te bkra šis pa'i bag ma blañs nas ñe bar gnas so⁹ || de'i khyim du gšegs nas gžon nu lhuň bzed zuň žig¹⁰ ces rab tu dbyuň bar dgoñs nas bkra šis brjod do¹¹ || gdan la bžeñs nas gšegs so¹² || ljoñs kyi dge ba'i bu mos 'gro ba mthoň ño¹³ || 'phags pa'i bu myur du šog ces brjod nas blta'o || des kyaň bcom ldan 'das kyi¹⁴ lhuň bzed de¹⁵ bzuň¹⁶ bar ma nus nas gtsug lag khaň ñid du gšegs so¹⁷ || bcom ldan 'das¹⁸ de la 'dod pa med pa ñid kyis¹⁹ rab tu 'byuň ba byed do²⁰ || 'di ltar bcom ldan 'das gron khyer ser skyar gšegs šin²¹ ñi ma gsum pa la dga' bo rab tu byuň bar byas so²² ||

III 28.

ñi ma bdun pa la sgra gcan²³ 'dzin gyi mas | gžon nu²⁴ rgyan gyis brgyan nas | bcom ldan 'das kyi²⁵

²⁵ LN bsruño.

²⁶ SLN bsruñs, DQ bsruň.

¹ LN yoñsu.

² SDQ pa, LN par.

³ S sruñs, DLN bsruñs, Q bsruň.

⁴ LN bsruñso.

⁵ SDQ gsuñs, LN bsuñs.

⁶ SLN gdan, D stan, Q gtan.

⁷ LN gšegso.

⁸ N gžonu.

⁹ L gnaso.

¹⁰ SN žig, D šig, QL cig.

¹¹ SLN do, DQ de.

¹² LN gšegso.

¹³ N mthoño.

¹⁴ SDQ kyi, LN kyis.

¹⁵ SLN de, DQ omit.

¹⁶ SQLN bzuň, D gzuň.

¹⁷ LN gšegso.

¹⁸ SDQN bcom ldan 'das, L bcos.

¹⁹ SDQ kyis, LN kyaň.

²⁰ L byedo.

²¹ SDQ šin, LN šes.

²² LN byaso.

²³ SDQ gcan, LN can.

druñ du btañ ño¹ || bu stoñ phrag ñi šu'i dge sloñ 'khor dañ bcas pa 'di rnams ltos | gser gyi kha dog can gyi tshañs pa'i gzugs kyi mdog can | (101b) dge sbyoñ 'di ni khyed kyi yab bo² || 'di la gter chen po yod ciñ de 'thon pa nas bzuñ³ nas gter mthoñ ba med do || soñ la nor sloñs śig⁴ | bdag khyed kyi bu gžon nu⁵ yin no⁶ || rgyal por dbaň bskur ba thob nas 'khor los⁷ sgyur ba la dbaň byed par 'gyur ro⁸ || bdag la nor gyi don du nor stsal du gsol | yab kyi nor bu bdag yin no⁹ žes gsol cig ces smras pa dañ | gžon nu¹⁰ bcom ldan 'das dañ ñe bar soñ ste | yab kyi druñ du dga' ba skyes so¹¹ || sems spro bar gyur to || dge sbyoñ des¹² khyod¹³ kyi grib ma ni de'o žes brjod nas | gžan yaň raň gi rigs pas brjod ciñ 'khod do || bcom ldan 'das gdugs tshod kyi mthar rjes su¹⁴ yi raň ba mdzad nas gdan las bžeñs te¹⁵ gšegs so¹⁶ || gžon nus bdag la dge sloñ nor stsal du gsol | bdag la dge sloñ nor stsal du gsol | bcom ldan 'das kyi¹⁷ rjes su¹⁸ 'brañs¹⁹ nas | bcom ldan 'das kyis gžon nu phyir log la | ña'i rjes su²⁰ ma 'gro žes pa dañ | rjes su²¹ 'braň ba rnams kyaň bcom ldan 'das dañ 'grog nas byon te | ldog par ma nus nas | gžon nu²² bcom ldan 'das dañ lhan cig kun dga' ra ba ñid du phyin no²³ || de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis bsams pa | 'di yab kyi nor 'dod ciñ 'jig rten pa'i nor ni 'tshe ba dañ bcas pa yin | da ni gžon nu la byaň chub sñiñ po des thob pa'i 'phags pa'i nor rnam pa bdun byin na²⁴ | {Pā92} 'jig rten las 'das pa'i nor

²⁴ N gžonu.

²⁵ SDQL kyi, N kyis.

¹ LN btaño.

² L yabo.

³ SDLN bzuñ, Q gzuñ.

⁴ SDQN śig, L cig.

⁵ N gžonu.

⁶ LN yino.

⁷ DQ los, SLN lo.

⁸ N 'gyuro.

⁹ N yino.

¹⁰ N gžonu.

¹¹ LN skyeso.

¹² DQ des, SLN de.

¹³ S khyod, DQLN khyed.

¹⁴ LN rjesu.

¹⁵ SDQN te, L ste.

¹⁶ LN gšegso.

¹⁷ SDLN kyi, Q kyis.

¹⁸ LN rjesu.

¹⁹ SDQ 'brañs, LN 'braň.

²⁰ LN rjesu.

²¹ LN rjesu.

²² L gžonu.

²³ N phyino.

²⁴ SDQ byin na, LN byino.

gyi bdag po byed par 'gyur bar dgoñs (102a) nas | tshe dañ ldan pa śā ri'i bu¹ bos te | de'i phyir na śā ri'i bu² khyod kyis gžon nu³ sgra gcan 'dzin rab tu phyuñ žes brjod nas rab tu byuñ bar byas so⁴ || slar yañ rgyal po gžon nu'i⁵ sdug bsñal cher skyes te bsrān par ma nus nas | bcom ldan 'das kyis gnas su⁶ phyin te | btsun pa 'phags pa ma dañ pha yis rjes su⁷ ma gñañ ba'i bu rab tu 'byuñ bar byed pa ma legs so⁸ žes dam pa bsłañs so⁹ ||

III 29.

bcom ldan 'das kyis de la dam pa byin no || slar yañ ñi¹⁰ ma gñis pa la rgyal po'i gnas su¹¹ gdugs tshod gsol nas phyogs gcig tu 'khod do¹² || rgyal pos btsun pa ñid dka'¹³ ba spyod pa'i dus su lha gcig¹⁴ bdag gi druñ du ñe bar 'oñs nas khyed kyis bu dus las 'das so¹⁵ žes smras so¹⁶ || de'i tshig la yid ches pa med ciñ | bdag gi sras byañ chub ma thob bar du dus las 'da' bar mi byed do¹⁷ || de'i tshig¹⁸ bdag gis bkag go¹⁹ žes brjod do || bcom ldan 'das kyis bka'²⁰ stsal pa | da lta ji ltar khyod yid ches par byed | sñar²¹ rus pa mthoñ nas khyed kyis bu śi'o žes zer ba la yid ches par ma byas so²² || 'di'i don 'byuñ ba ni chos skyoñ ba chen po'i skyes²³ rabs su bśad do²⁴ || gtam gyi mthar rgyal pos phyir mi 'oñ ba'i 'bras bu la gnas so²⁵ || de ltar bcom ldan 'das kyis yab 'bras bu gsum la so sor gnas nas dge sloñ gi

¹ SDLN śā ri'i bu, Q śa ri'i bu.

² SDLN śā ri'i bu, Q śa ri'i bu.

³ N gžonu.

⁴ L byaso.

⁵ N gžonu'i.

⁶ LN gnasu.

⁷ LN rjesu.

⁸ LN legso.

⁹ LN bsłañso.

¹⁰ SDQ ñi, L ñin, N ñid.

¹¹ LN gnasu.

¹² LN 'khodo.

¹³ SDLN dka', Q bka'.

¹⁴ SQLN gcig, D cig.

¹⁵ LN 'daso.

¹⁶ LN smraso.

¹⁷ LN byedo.

¹⁸ SDLN tshig, Q tshe.

¹⁹ N bkago.

²⁰ SDLN bka', Q 'ka'.

²¹ SQLN sñar, D slar.

²² LN byaso.

²³ SLN skyes, D skyis, Q skye.

²⁴ LN rabsu bśado.

²⁵ LN gnaso.

dge 'dun 'khor du byas so¹ || slar yañ rgyal po'i khab tu² gšegs nas bsil (102b) ba'i tshal du bžugs so³
||

III 30.

de'i tshe khyim bdag mgon med zas sbyin gyis śin rta lña brgya'i nor khyer nas rgyal po'i khab tu⁴
rañ ñid dga' ba'i grogs kyi khañ par soñ ste | des sañs rgyas bcom ldan 'das byon no⁵ zes pa thos nas
śin tu⁶ śña bar lha'i mthus sgo phye ste | ston pa'i druñ du ñe bar soñ nas chos thos te | rgyun du⁷ žugs
pa'i 'bras bu thob par gyur⁸ to || ñi ma gñis pa la sañs rgyas la sogs pa'i dge 'dun la sbyin pa chen po
phul lo⁹ || mñan¹⁰ yod du gšegs pa'i phyir du ston pa'i druñ du dam bca'¹¹ bsłañs¹² nas bar gyi lam dpag
tshad bži bcu rtsa lña'i gnas su¹³ 'bum phrag re re'i nor byin nas dpag tshad re re'i gtsug lag khañ
byas so¹⁴ || rgyal byed tshal bye ba phrag¹⁵ bco¹⁶ brgyad kyi dbyig¹⁷ gis ños nas las kha gsar pa byed
ciñ dbus su¹⁸ stobs bcu pa'i dri'i¹⁹ gtsañ²⁰ khañ byed do²¹ || de la bskor ba mams la gnas brtan chen po
brgyad cu'i bžugs gnas so²² || chig thog dañ | ñis thog dañ khañ pa riñ po dañ | bsti gnas la sogs pa'i
bžugs gnas dañ | rdziñ²³ bu dañ | 'chag sa dañ | mtshan mo'i bžugs gnas dañ | ñin mo'i bžugs gnas so²⁴
|| bye ba phrag bco²⁵ brgyad kyi²⁶ nor spel te²⁷ | yid du 'oñ ba'i sa phyogs yid la 'thad²⁸ pa'i gtsug lag

¹ LN byaso.

² SDQ tu, LN du.

³ LN bžugso.

⁴ SDQ tu, LN du.

⁵ L byono.

⁶ L śinu for śin tu.

⁷ SDQL du, N tu.

⁸ SDLN gyur, Q 'gyur.

⁹ LN phulo.

¹⁰ SDQ mñan, LN gñan.

¹¹ SDQ bca', LN bcas.

¹² SLN bsłañs, DQ blañs.

¹³ LN gnasu.

¹⁴ N byaso.

¹⁵ SDLN omit, Q brgya.

¹⁶ SLN bco, DQ bcwa.

¹⁷ SDQN dbyig, L dbyigs.

¹⁸ L dbusu.

¹⁹ SDLN dri'i, Q dri.

²⁰ SDQ gtsañ, LN rtsiñ.

²¹ LN byedo.

²² LN gnaso.

²³ SDQN rdziñ, L tjiñ.

²⁴ LN gnaso.

²⁵ SLN bco, DQ bcwa.

khañ byed do¹ || stobs bcu pa byon pa'i phyir du pho ña ba btañ ste² | ston pas pho ña ba'i 'phrin gsan nas dge sloñ gi dge 'dun chen po'i³ 'khor du byas te | rgyal (103a) po'i khab nas phyir byon te go rims bzin du groñ khyer mñan⁴ yod du byon no || gtso bo chen po'añ⁵ gtsug lag khañ chen po sta⁶ gon byas nas de bzin gsegs pa rgyal byed tshal du byon pa'i ñin mo bu rgyan thams cad kyis brgyan no || slar yañ brgyan pa ñid kyī gzon nu⁷ lña brgya dañ bcas pa btañ ño⁸ || {Pā93} de 'khor dañ bcas pa kha dog lña'i gos yañ dag par 'bar ba'i rgyal mtshan lña brgya thogs nas stobs bcu pa'i mdun du soñ bar gyur to || de rnams kyī phyi ma la legs bzañ⁹ chen mo dañ | legs bzañ¹⁰ ma chuñ ba de¹¹ bu mo gñis | gzon nu¹² ma lña brgya dañ bcas pa gser gyis gañ ba'i bum pa lag par thogs nas phyir 'thon no¹³ || de'i phyi ma la tshoñ dpon gyi chuñ ma rgyan thams cad kyis brgyan nas bud¹⁴ med lña brgya dañ bcas pa gser gyis gañ ba'i sder ma chen po thogs nas phyir 'thon to || thams cad phyin nas tshoñ dpon rañ ñid gos bzañ po gyon no¹⁵ || de bzin du gos bzañ po gyon pa'i tshoñ dpon lña brgya dañ bcas pa bcom ldan 'das kyī¹⁶ druñ du soñ ño || bcom ldan 'das kyī 'khor dge bsñen 'di rnams mdun du byas nas | dge sloñ gi dge 'dun chen po rnams 'khor¹⁷ du byas te | rañ ñid kyī sku lus kyī 'od kyis gser gyi bcud kyī goñ bu lta bu dañ mtshuñs pa dañ | nags tshal gyi bar du snañ bar mdzad ciñ mtha' yas pa'i sañs rgyas kyī rol pa sañs rgyas kyī dpal zla med ciñ mtshuñs pa med pa rgyal byed tshal gyi nañ du byon (103b) no¹⁸ || de rnams mgon med zas sbyin gyis zus pa | btsun pa gtsug lag khañ 'di ji lta bu la dbul bar bgyi | khyim bdag gtsug lag khañ 'di 'oñ ba dañ 'gro ba'i dge sloñ gi dge 'dun rnams la phul cig | legs so¹⁹

²⁶ DQLN kyī, S kyis.

²⁷ SDQ te, LN ste.

²⁸ SDQ 'thad, LN mthad.

¹ L byedo.

² SLN ste, DQ ño.

³ SLN po, DQ po'i.

⁴ SDQ mñan, LN gñan.

⁵ S po'añ, DQ po, LN po yañ.

⁶ SDLN sta, Q lta.

⁷ N gzonu.

⁸ LN btaño.

⁹ SLN bzañ, DQ bzañs.

¹⁰ SLN bzañ, DQ bzañs.

¹¹ SLN de, DQ ste.

¹² N gzonu.

¹³ N 'thono.

¹⁴ SDQN bud, L bus.

¹⁵ LN gyono.

¹⁶ SDLN kyī, Q kyis.

¹⁷ S 'khod, DQLN 'khor.

¹⁸ N byono.

¹⁹ LN legso.

bcom ldan 'das zes tshoñ dpon chen pos gser gyi ril ba spyi blugs blañs¹ nas stobs bcu pa'i phyag tu chu bsgreñs² te³ | rgyal byed tshal gyi gtsug lag khañ 'di⁴ 'gro ba dañ 'oñ⁵ ba'i phyogs bzi'i sañs rgyas la sogs pa'i dge 'dun la sbyin zes phul lo⁶ || ston pas gtsug lag khañ bzes nas rjes su⁷ yi rañ ba mdzad do⁸ ||

Vin II pp.147, 164⁹

grañ dañ dro bas mi ñams śiñ || de ltar ri dags¹⁰ la sogs pa'i ||
sdig sbrul dañ ni sbrañ bu dañ || ba mo dañ ni char pas so¹¹ ||

Vin II pp.147, 164¹²

de ltar rluñ dañ śin tu¹³ dro || so sor lus la gos pa dañ ||
khañ nañ gnas nas bde ba skyes || khañ par bsam gtan lhag mthoñ rñams ||
dge 'dun gtsug lag khañ 'bul ba || sañs rgyas mchog gis¹⁴ bsñags par mdzad ||

Vin II pp.147, 164¹⁵

¹ SDLN blañs, Q bsñas.

² SLN bsgreñs, D sbreñ, Q bsgreñ.

³ SQLN te, D ste.

⁴ SDQ 'di, LN 'di'i.

⁵ SDQ 'oñ, LN 'oñs.

⁶ LN phulo.

⁷ LN rjesu.

⁸ N mdzado.

⁹ *Jātakanidāna* p.93; sTog 103b; Vin II pp. 147, 164; Sv I p.304; Ps III p.26; Spk III p.51; Ud-a p.419; Ap-a p.98.

Jātakanidāna p.93,
sitaṃ uṇhaṃ paṭihanti
tato vālamigāni ca
sirimsape ca makase ca
sisire cāpi vuṭṭhiyo.

¹⁰ SDQN dags, L dwags.

¹¹ LN paso.

¹² *Jātakanidāna* p.93; sTog 103b; Vin II pp. 147, 164; Sv I p. 304; Ps III p. 26; Spk III p. 51; Ud-a p. 419; Ap-a p. 98.

Jātakanidāna p.93,
tato vātāpe ghore
sañjāte paṭihaññati.
Leṇatthañ ca sukhatthañ ca
jhāyituñ ca vipassitaṃ
vihāradānaṃ saṅghassa
aggaṃ Buddhena vaṇṇitaṃ.

¹³ SDQN tu, L du.

¹⁴ SDLN gis, Q gi.

¹⁵ *Jātakanidāna* p.93; sTog 103b; Vin II pp.147, 164; Sv I p.304; Ps III p.262, 325; S I pp. 56, 70, 102; Spk III, p.51; Ud-a p. 420; Ap-a p. 98.

skyes bu mkhas pas de yi¹ phyir || bdag ñid kyi ni phyir du ni ||
dga' bas gtsug lag khañ byed pa || mañ du thos pa gnas pa yin ||

Vin II pp.148, 164²

de rnam kyi ni bza' dañ btuñ || gos dañ mal cha stan dañ ni ||
de rnam sems ni drañ pos³ dbul⁴ || rab tu dañ ba'i sems kyis so⁵ || {Pā94}

Vin II pp.148, 164⁶

des ni de la chos bstan to || sdug bñal thams cad ñer źi'i phyir ||
gañ de'i chos ni rtogs pa dañ || rten med mya ñan 'das par byed ||

ces bya ba'i gtsug lag khañ gi phan yon (104a) bśad do⁷ || mgon med zas sbyin gyis ñi ma gñis pa nas
bzuñ nas sbyin pa gtoñ ba'i 'go⁸ brtsams so⁹ || sa khams byas pa'i khañ bzañs¹⁰ ni zla ba bźis grub bo¹¹
|| slar yañ mgon med zas sbyin gyi gtsug lag khañ chen po zla ba dgus grub bo || gtsug lag khañ chen
po la'añ¹² bye ba stoñ phrag bco¹³ brgyad ñid soñ ño || 'di la gtsug lag khañ chen po 'di ñid la bye ba
phrag lña bcu rtsa bźi'i nor yoñs su btañ ño¹⁴ || slar yañ 'das pa'i bcom ldan 'das rnam par gzigs kyi

Jātakanidāna p.93,
tasmā hi pañdito poso
samppasaṃ atthaṃ attano
vihāre kāraye ramme
vāsaya' ettha bahussute.

¹ SDLN de yi, Q de'i.

² *Jātakanidāna* p. 93; sTog 103b; Vin II pp. 148, 164; Sv I p.304; Ps III p 26; S I p.100; Spk III p.51; Ud-a p.420; Ap-a p.98.

Jātakanidāna p. 93,
tesaṃ annañ ca pānañ ca
vatthasenaśanāni ca
dadeyya ujubhūtesu

³ SDLN pos, Q por.

⁴ SLN dbul, DQ 'bul.

⁵ LN kyiso.

⁶ *Jātakanidāna* p. 94; sTog 103b; Vin, II pp. 148, 164; Sv I p.304; pk III p.51; 43; Ud-a p. 20; Ap-a p.98.

Jātakanidāna p. 94,
te tassa dhammaṃ desenti
sabbadukkhāpanūdanaṃ,
yaṃ yo dhammaṃ idh' aññāya
parinibbāti anāsavo ti.

⁷ L bśado.

⁸ S 'go, DQLN mgo.

⁹ LN brtsamso.

¹⁰ SD bzañs, QLN bzañ.

¹¹ L grubo.

¹² S la'añ, DQLN la yañ.

¹³ SLN bco, D bcwa, Q bcu.

¹⁴ LN yoñsu btaño.

dus su | tshoñ dpon kun gyi grogs žes bya bas gser gyi glañ po'i rkañ pa'i rmig rjes lta bu'i sa gži ños nas gnas 'di ñid du dpag tshad gcig gi dge 'dun gyi kun dga' ra ba byas so¹ || bcom ldan 'das gtsug tor can gyi dus su² | dpal 'phel žes bya ba'i tshoñ dpon gyi bus gser gyi sder ma rgyun mi 'chad pas ños pa'i sa gži'i gnas de ñid du³ rgyaň grags bcu gñis kyi tshad tsam gyi dge 'dun gyi⁴ kun dga' ra ba byas so⁵ || bcom ldan 'das thams cad skyob kyi dus su⁶ | tshoñ dpon bkra šis žes bya bas gser gyi sa gži gser gyi rkañ pa'i rjes lta bu'i sa gži ños nas gnas de ñid du dpag tshad phyed kyi dge 'dun gyi kun dga' ra ba byas so⁷ || bcom ldan 'das log par⁸ dad sel gyi dus su⁹ | tshoñ dpon 'pho ba med pa žes bya bas gser gyi pha gu lta bu rgyun mi 'chad pa'i sa gži ños nas gnas de¹⁰ ñid du rgyaň grags bži'i tshad kyi dge 'dun gyi kun dga' ra ba (104b) byas so¹¹ || bcom ldan 'das gser thub kyi dus su¹² | tshoñ dpon drag po žes bya bas¹³ gser gyi rus sbal rgyun mi 'chad pa lta bu'i sa gži ños nas gnas de ñid du rgyaň grags gñis kyi tshad kyi kun dga' ra ba byas so¹⁴ || bcom ldan 'das 'od sruñs¹⁵ kyi¹⁶ dus su¹⁷ | tshoñ dpon bkra šis bzañ po žes bya bas gser gyi pha gu¹⁸ rgyun mi 'chad pa lta bus¹⁹ sa gži ños nas gnas de ñid du rgyaň grags gcig gi tshad kyi kun dga' ra²⁰ ba byas so²¹ || slar yaň bdag cag gi bcom ldan 'das kyi dus su²² | tshoñ dpon mgon med zas sbyin gyis bye ba phrag bco²³ brgyad kyi dbyig gis gser gyi 'dra men du byas pa rgyun mi 'chad pa lta bus sa gži ños nas gnas de ñid du rgyaň grags phyed kyi kun dga' ra ba byas so²⁴ || gnas 'di sañs rgyas thams cad kyis ma spañs pa'i gnas yin no²⁵ || 'di ltar

¹ LN byaso.

² L dusu.

³ L ñidu.

⁴ SDLN gyi, Q gyis.

⁵ LN byaso.

⁶ N dusu.

⁷ LN byaso.

⁸ SDQ par, LN pa.

⁹ L dusu.

¹⁰ SLN de, DQ omit.

¹¹ LN byaso.

¹² N dusu.

¹³ SDLN bya bas, Q byas.

¹⁴ LN byaso.

¹⁵ S 'od sruñs, DQ 'od sruñ, LN 'od bsruñ.

¹⁶ S kyi, DQLN gi.

¹⁷ L dusu.

¹⁸ SQLN gu, D su.

¹⁹ SDLN bus, Q bu'i.

²⁰ SDQN ra, L omits.

²¹ LN byaso.

²² N dusu.

²³ SLN bco, DQ bcwa.

²⁴ LN byaso.

byañ chub chen po'i sñiñ po'i druñ du thams cad mkhyen pa'i ye śes¹ thob pa'i² ji srid pa nas | yoñs
su³ mya ñan las 'das pa'i mthar thug⁴ pa de srid du gañ dañ gañ gis⁵ gnas su⁶ bcom ldan 'das bdag⁷
bžugs pa 'di ni ñe ba'i gleñ gzi žes bya ba'o⁸ || de'i lugs kyis skyes rabs thams cad du bñags par
mdzad do⁹ || skyes pa rabs kyi gleñ gzi¹⁰ bśad pa rdzogs so¹¹ || ||

III 31.

pañdi ta ā nanda śrī'i žal śna nas dañ | mañ du thos pa'i lo tsatsha ba śākya'i dge sloñ ñi ma rgyal
mtshan dpal bzañ pos | skad gñis smra ba rnams kyi gdan sa gtsug lag khañ chen po dpal (105a) thar
pa gliñ du bsgyur ciñ žus te¹² gtan la phab pa'o || sa'i steñ du ñi zla ltar gyur cig ||

²⁵ N yino.

¹ SDQN ye śes, L yes.

² SDQ pa'i, LN pa.

³ LN yoñsu.

⁴ SDQ thug, LN thugs.

⁵ S gis, DQLN gi.

⁶ LN gnasu.

⁷ SDLN bdag, Q omits.

⁸ SDLN bya ba'o, Q bya'o.

⁹ L mdzado.

¹⁰ SLN gzi, DQ gzi'i.

¹¹ SQ rdzogs so, D rdzogs sho, L rdzogshyo, L rdzogso.

¹² SDQN te, L ste.

Appendix I

Dhammapada verses occurring in the Jātakanidāna, their Tibetan translations, with Sanskrit and Prakrit parallels.

Dhp, *Jarāvagga* v. 153 p. 43; J I p. 76.; Bv-a pp. 8, 133, 143, 289; Ap-a p. 81; Dhp-a III p. 127; Dhs-a p. 18; Sv I p. 16; Sv II p. 463; Sp I p. 17; Khp-a p. 12; sTog 85a; Uv 31.6.

1. anekajātisamsāraṃ | sandhāvissaṃ anibbisam
gahakāraṃ gavesanto | dukkhā jāti punappunaṃ.

sTog 85b.

skye bo'i 'khor ba ma lus par || dug med rnam par dug med tshol ||
khyim med pa ni tshol ba na || skye ba'i sdug bsñal yañ yañ dañ ||

Udānavarga 31. 6.

anekaṃ jātisamsāraṃ | saṃdhāvitvā punaḥ punaḥ |
gṛhakāraṃ kaisamāṇas tvam | duḥkhā jātiḥ punaḥ punaḥ ||

Dhp, *Lokavagga* v. 154 p. 44; J I p. 76.; ; Bv-a pp. 8, 133, 143, 289; Ap-a p. 81; Dhs-a p. 18; Dhp-a III p. 128; Sv I p. 16; Sv II p. 463; Sp I p. 17; Khp p. 13; sTog 85b; Uv 31.7.

2. gahakāraṃ diṭṭho si | puna geḥaṃ na kāhasi,
sabbā te phāsukā bhaggā | gahakūṭaṃ viṣaṃkhitam,
viṣaṃkhāragataṃ cittam | taṇhānaṃ khayam ajjhagā ti.

sTog 85b.

khyim med pa ni mthoñ bar gyur || slar yañ khyim ni byed pa med ||
de yi sdug bsñal thams cad bcom || dug gi miñ can khyim gyi phuñ ||
sems ni 'du byed pa las grol || sred pa zad nas med par gyur ||

Udānavarga 31. 7.

gṛhakāraṃ dṛṣṭo 'si | na punar geḥaṃ kariṣyasi |
sarve te pārśukā bhagnā | gṛhakuṭaṃ viṣaṃskṛtam |
viṣaṃskāragate citte | ihaiva kṣayaṃ adhyagāḥ ||

Dhp, *Buddhavagga* v. 179, p. 51; J I p. 79; Ap-a p. 84; Dhp-a III p. 197; sTog 88b; PDhp 276; Mvu. III p. 91; Uv 29. 52.

3. yassa jitaṃ nāvajiyati | jitaṃ assa no yāti koci loke,
tam buddhaṃ anantagocaraṃ | apadaṃ kena padena nessatha.

sTog 88b.

gañ žig rgyal ba de la rgyal mi nus || gañ žig 'jig rten 'dir ni rgyal mi 'gyur ||
mtha' yas sañs rgyas spyod yul de mi gnas || rkañ med kyis ni rkañ yod la mi nus ||

Patna Dharmapada, Āsara varga 276.

yassa jitaṃ nā 'ppajjīyati | jitaṃ assā na upeti antako
taṃ buddhaṃ anomanikramaṃ | apadaṃ kena padena nehisi.

Mahāvastu III p. 91.

yasya jitaṃ nātha jīvati jitaṃ asya na jināti antako
taṃ buddhamantagocaraṃ apadaṃ kena padena neṣyatha.

Udānavarga 29. 52.

yasya jitaṃ nopajjīyate
jitaṃ anveti na kaṃ cid eva loke |
taṃ buddhaṃ anantagocaraṃ
hy apadaṃ kena padena neṣyasi ||

Dhp, *Buddhavagga* v. 180, p. 51; J I p. 79; S I p. 107; Ap-a p. 84; Dhp-a III p. 197; sTog 88b; PDhp 227; Mvu III p. 92; Uv 29.53.

4. yassa jālinī visattikā | tañhā n' atthi kuhiñci netave
taṃ buddhaṃ anantagocaraṃ | apadaṃ kena padena nessatha.

sTog 88b.

gañ gi sred pa'i dra ba bton gyur nas || de la sred pa rnamś ni cuñ zad med ||
mtha' yas sañs rgyas spyod yul de ñid la || rkañ med de yis rkañ yod la mi nus ||

Patna Dharmapada, Śaraṇa varga 227.

yassa jālinī visattikā | tahnā nāsti kaḥiṃ ci netaye
taṃ buddhaṃ anantagocaraṃ | apadaṃ kena padena nehisi.

Mahāvastu III p. 92.

yasya jālinī samūhata tṛṣṇā nāśya kaḥiṃ pi netrikā |
taṃ buddhamanantavikramaṃ apadaṃ kena upadena neṣyatha ||

Udānavarga 29.53.

yasya jālinī viṣattikā
tṛṣṇā nāsti hi lokanāyini |
taṃ buddhaṃ anantagocaraṃ
hy apadaṃ kena padena neṣyasi ||

Dhp, *Lokavagga* v. 168, p. 48; J I p. 90; ; Ap-a pp. 94, 539; Dhp-a III p. 163; sTog 100a; PDhp 27; Uv 4. 35; GDhp 110.

5. uttiṭṭhe na-ppamajjeyya | dhammaṃ sucaritaṃ care,
dhammacārī sukhaṃ seti | asmiṃ loke paramhi ca.

sTog 100a.

bag med lhag mar byed pa med || chos la spyod ciñ legs par spyod ||
chos la spyad na bde ba 'byuñ || 'jig rten 'di dañ phyi mar bde ||

Patna Dharmapada, Apramāda varga v. 27.

uṭṭheyā na pramajjeyā | dhammaṃ sucaritaṃ care
dhammacārī [] seti | aśsiṃ loke paramhi ca.

Udānavarga 4.35.

uṭṭiṣṭhen na pramādyeta | dharmmaṃ sucaritaṃ caret |
dharmacārī sukhaṃ śete | hy asmiṃ loke paratra ca ||

Gāndhārī Dharmapada, Apramadu varga v. 110.

udiṭṭha na pramaje'a | dhamu sucarida cari
dhama-cari suhu śe'adi | asvi loki parasa yi.

Dhp, *Lokavagga* v. 169, p. 48; J I p. 90; Ap II pp. 590, 596; Ap-a pp. 94, 539; Dhp-a III p. 164; sTog 100a; PDhp 224; Uv 30. 5; GDhp 328.

6. dhammaṃ care sucaritaṃ | na naṃ duccharitaṃ care,
dhammacārī sukhaṃ seti | asmiṃ loke paramhi ca.

sTog 100a.

chos spyod pa ni legs par spyod || ñes par spyod pa mi bya žiñ ||
chos spyad pa yis bde ba 'byuñ || 'jig rten 'di dañ pha rol tu'o ||

Patna Dharmapada, Śaraṇa varga 224.

dhammaṃ care sucaritaṃ | na naṃ duccharitaṃ care
dhammacārī sukhaṃ śeti | assiṃ loke paramhi ca.

Udānavarga 30.5 Sukhavarga.

dharmmaṃ caret sucaritaṃ | nainaṃ duścaritaṃ caret
dharmacārī sukhaṃ śete | hy asmiṃ loke paratra ca.

Gāndhārī Dharmapada, Śīla varga 328.

dhamu cari sucarida | ... drucarida cari
dhamayari suha sédi | asvi loki parasa yi.

Appendix II

Miscellaneous Pāli verses in the Jātakanidāna and their Tibetan translations, with Sanskrit and Prākṛit parallels.

J I p. 31; Th p. 35; Th-a II p. 128; Bv-a p. 144; Ap-a p. 34; Cp-a p. 295; Dhp-a I p. 99, IV p. 105; Itv-a I p. 38; sTog 89a; PDhp 227; Uv 30. 7; Mvu II p. 80-1.

7. dhammo have rakkhati dhammacāriṃ,
dhammo suciṇṇo sukhaṃ āvahāti,
esānisaṃso dhamme suciṇṇe:
na duggatiṃ gacchati dhammacārīti.

sTog 39a.

chos bzin bsruṅ na chos spyod do || chos kyis bsgral na chos bzin thob ||
legs par bsgral na chos phan yon || chos spyod nan 'gror mi 'gro'o ||

Paṭṭa Dharmapada, Śaraṇa varga v. 227.

dhammo have rakkhati dhammacārī
dhammo sucinno sukhāya dahāti
esānuśaṃso dhamme sucinne
na doggatiṃ gacchati dhammacārī.

Udānavarga 30.7 Sukhavarga.

dharmah sadā rakṣati dharmacāriṇaṃ
dharmah sucirṇaḥ sukham ādadhāti
eṣānuśaṃso dharme sucirṇe
na durgatiṃ gacchati dharmacārī.

Mahāvastu II p. 80-81.

dharmo hi vai rakṣati dharmacāriṃ
chatraṃ mahantaṃ yatha varṣakāle
eṣo nuśaṃso dharme sucirṇe
na durgatiṃ gacchati dharmacārī.

Kisā Gotamī's verse in the *Jātakanidāna* and its Sanskrit parallels:

J I p. 60; Bv-a p. 280; Ap-a p. 65; Dhp-a I p. 85; Dhs-a p. 34; Thūp p. 165, *gāthā* by *khattiyakaññā*
Kisā Gotamī; sTog 69b; Mvu II p. 157.

8. Nibbutā nūna sā mātā,
nibbuto nūna so pitā,
nibbutā nūna sā nārī
yassāyaṃ idiso patīti.

sTog 69b.

de yi ma ni źi bar gyur || de yi pha ni nes par źi ||
de yi bud med nes źir gyur || de yi yañ ni de bdag mtshuñs ||

Mahāvastu II p. 157, *gāthā* by Śākyan Mṛgī.

nirvṛtā khalu te mātā pitā puna' te nirvṛte
nirvṛtā puna' sā nārī yasya bhartā bhaviṣyasi.

Buddhacarita canto 5. v. 24, Sanskrit ed. p. 48, *gāthā* by a *rājakanyā*.

sukhitā bata nirvṛtā ca sā strau patiraudṛakṣa ihāyatākṣa yasyāḥ |
iti taṃ samudrauṣya rājakanyā praviśantaṃ pathi sājjalirjagāda ||

Buddhacarita canto 5. v. 24, Tibetan ed. p. 69, *gāthā* by *sā kya'i bu mo*.

de ni yañ dag mthoñ nas śā kya'i bu mo źig |
rab źugs lam na thal mo sbyar ba dañ bcas śiñ |
kye ma spyān yañs gañ gi bdag po 'di 'dra 'dir |
mo de bde ma myañ ñan 'das ma źes smras so |

Saṅghabhedavastu, I p. 78, *gāthā* by Śākyan Mṛgajā.

sukhitā bata sā mātā sukhī cāsya pitā hy asau |
nirvṛtā bata sā nārī yasyā bhartā bhaviṣyati ||
nirvāṇaśabdaṃ śrutvā tu dhyāyī sa puruṣottamaḥ |
nirvāṇe śāntatāṃ jñātvā tasmimś cittaṃ arocayat ||

J I p. 83; Vin I p. 36; Bv-a p. 20; Ap-a p. 88; sTog 92b; Mvu III p. 444.

9. kiṃ eva dīsvā Uruvelavāsi
pahāsi aggiṃ kisako vadāno,
pucchāmi taṃ Kassapa etaṃ aṭṭhaṃ:
kathaṃ pahīnaṃ tava agghuttaṃ ti.

sTog 92b.

lten rgyas gnas su gnas nas ci žig mthoñ ||
sbyin sreg 'dor ba'i rgyu mtshan ci žig smra ||
'od sruñ 'di yi don ni dri bar bya ||
khyod kyi ji ltar sbyin sreg spoñ ba yin ||

Mahāvastu III p. 444.

kimeva dr̥ṣṭvā Uruvilvavāsi
prahāya agniṃ kṛśako |
pṛcchāmi te Kāśyapa etamarthaṃ
kathaṃ prahīnaṃ tava agnihotraṃ ||

J I p. 83; Vin I p. 36; Bv-a p. 20; Ap-a p. 88; sTog 92b.

10. rūpe ca sadde ca atho rase ca
kāmitthiyo cābhivadanti yaññaṃ,
etaṃ malan ti upadhīsu ñatvā
tasmā na yiṭṭhe na hute araṃjin ti.

sTog 92b.

gzugs dañ sgra dañ de bžin ro dañ dri ||
bud med 'dod pa yañ ni mchod sbyin spyod ||
'di rnams dri ma legs par rtogs byas nas ||
de phyir me yi sbyin sreg 'di spañs so ||

J I p. 84; Vin I p. 38; Ap II p. 607; Ap-a p. 89; Khp p. 204; Pv-a p. 22; Thī-a p. 59; sTog 93b.

11. danto dantehi saha purāṇajaṭiḥi vippamuttehi
siṅgīnikkhasavaṇṇo Rājagahaṃ pāvīsi Bhagavā.
11a mutto muttehi saha purāṇajaṭiḥi vippamutto vippamuttehi
siṅgīnikkhasavaṇṇo Rājagahaṃ pāvīsi Bhagavā.

11b tiṇṇo tiṇṇehi saha purāṇajāṭiiehi vippamutto vippamuttehi
siṅgīnikkhasavaṇṇo Rājagahaṃ pāvīsi Bhagavā.

sTog 93b.

'dul žiñ 'dul ba'i grogs sñon bcas || bram ze nmam grol ral pa dañ ||
señ ge'i gzugs kyis 'thon nas ni || bcom ldan rgyal po'i khab nañ byon ||

grol žiñ grol ba'i grogs sñon bcas || bram ze nmam grol ral pa dañ ||
señ ge'i gzugs kyis 'thon nas ni || bcom ldan rgyal po'i khab nañ byon ||

brgal žiñ brgal ba'i grogs sñon bcas || bram ze nmam grol ral pa dañ ||
señ ge'i gzugs kyis 'thon nas ni || rgyal po'i khab nañ bcom ldan byon ||

J I p. 84; Vin I p. 38; Ap-a p. 89; sTog 93b.

12. dasāvāso Dasabalo dasadhammavidū dasehi c' upeto
so dasataparivāro Rājagahaṃ pāvīsi Bhagavā ti.

sTog 93b.

bcu po gsuñ ba'i stobs bcu pa || chos bcu la mkhas bcu la gnas ||
ston phrag bcu yi 'khor dañ ldan || bcom ldan rgyal po'i khab nañ byon ||

J I p. 84; Vin I p. 38; Ap-a p. 89; sTog 94a; Mvu III p. 423.

13. yo dhīro sabbadhī danto Buddho appaṭipuggalo
arahaṃ sugato loka tassāhaṃ paricārako ti.

sTog 94a.

gañ žig bstan pa thams cad 'dul || gañ zag zla med sañs rgyas te ||
dgra bcom bde gśegs 'jig rten du || de ni bdag gi ñe bar gnas ||

Mahāvastu III p. 423.

yo vīro dhṛtisampanno dhyāyo apratipudgalo ||
arhanto sugato loka tasyāhaṃ paricārako ||

J I p. 87; Th v. 527 p. 56; Bv-a p. 23; Ap-a pp. 91, 359, 533; sTog 96a.

14. aṅgārino dāni dumā bhadante
phalesino chadanaṃ vipphāyā,
te accimanto va pabhāsayanti,
samayo Mahāvīra bhagī rasānaṃ

sTog 96a.

btsun pa ljon śiñ de ni ljañ khur gyur || śiñ gi lo ma sa la dud pa dañ ||
de rnam bar nas 'od zer 'gyed pa yin || dpa' bo chen po gñen gnas gśegs pa'i dus ||

J I p. 87; Bv-a p. 24; Ap-a p. 91; Mp I p. 303; sTog 96a-b.

15. nātisītaṃ nātiuṇhaṃ nātidubbhikkhachātakaṃ,
saddalā'haritā bhūmi, esa kālo Mahāmuni.

sTog 96a-96b.

ha cañ mi dro mi grañ zīñ || mu ge dañ ni bkres pa med ||
sa steñ śiñ rnam ljañ khur gyur || thub pa chen po dus 'dir gyur ||

J I p. 89; Ap-a p. 94; sTog 99b.

16. siniddhanīlamudukuñcitakeso
suriyasunimmalatalābhinalāṭo
yuttatuṅgamudukāyatanāso
raṃsijālavitato naraśīho ti.

sTog 99b.

dbu skra g.yas 'khyil 'jam nag snum pa dañ ||
dpral ba dri med ñi ma'i mthil bzin no ||
sku dañ 'tsham pa'i śaṅs ni mtho ba dañ ||
mi yi señ ge 'od zer gsal bar mdzad ||

J I p. 93; Vin II pp. 147, 164; Ap-a p. 98; Sv I p. 304; Ps III p. 26; Spk III p. 51; Ud-a p. 419; sTog 103b.

17. sītaṃ uṇhaṃ paṭihanti
tato vālamigāni ca
sirīmsape ca makase ca
sisire cāpi vuṭṭhiyo.

sTog 103b.

grañ dañ dro bas mi ñams śiñ || de ltar ri dags la soggs pa'i ||
sdig sbrul dañ ni sbrañ bu dañ || ba mo dañ ni char pas so ||

J I p. 93; Vin II pp. 147, 164; Ap-a p. 98; Sv I p. 304; Ps III p. 26; Spk III p. 51; Ud-a p. 419; sTog 103b.

18. tato vātātape ghore
sañjāte paṭihaññati.
Leṇatthañ ca sukhatthañ ca
jhāyituñ ca vipassituṃ
vihāradānaṃ saṃghassa
aggamaṃ Buddhena vaṇṇitaṃ.

sTog 103b.

de ltar rluñ dañ śin tu dro || so sor lus la gos pa dañ ||
khañ nañ gnas nas bde ba skyes || khañ par bsam gtan lhag mthoñ rnamś ||
dge 'dun gtsug lag khañ 'bul ba || sañs rgyas mchog gis bśnags par mdzad ||

J I p. 93; Vin II pp. 147, 164; Ap-a p. 98; Sv I p. 304; Ps III pp. 262, 325; Spk III p. 51; Ud-a p. 420; sTog 103b.

19. tasmā hi paṇḍito poso
sampaśamaṃ atthaṃ attano
vihāre kāraye ramme
vāsay' ettha bahussute.

sTog 103b.

skyes bu mkhas pas de yi phyir || bdag ñid kyi ni phyir du ni ||
dga' bas gtsug lag khañ byed pa || mañ du thos pa gnas pa yin ||

J I p. 93; Vin II pp. 148, 164; Ap-a p. 98; Sv I p. 304; Ps III p. 26; Spk III p. 51; Ud-a p. 420; sTog 103b.

20. tesamaṃ annañ ca pānañ ca
vatthasenañānāni ca
dadeyya ujubhūtesu
vippasannena cetasā.

sTog 103b.

de rnams kyi ni bza' dañ btuñ || gos dañ mal cha stan dañ ni ||
de rnams sems ni drañ pos dbul || rab tu dañ ba'i sems kyis so ||

J I p. 94; Vin II pp. 148, 164; A III pp. 42, 43; Ap-a p. 98; Sv I p. 304; Spk III p. 51; Mp III pp. 41, 43; Ud-a p. 420; sTog 103b.

21. te tassa dhammaṃ desenti
sabbadukkhāpanūdanam,
yaṃ yo dhammaṃ idh' aññāya
parinibbāti anāsavo ti.

sTog 103b.

des ni de la chos bstan to || sdug bsñal thams cad fier źi'i phyir ||
gañ de'i chos ni rtogs pa dañ || rten med mya ñan 'das par byed ||

Appendix III

Jātakanidāna verses with no identifiable Pāli canonical source

J I p. 56; Ap-a p. 60; sTog 64b.

22. Rāmo Dhajo Lakkhaṇo cāpi Mantī
Koṇḍañño ca Bhojo Suyāmo Sudatto,
ete tadā aṭṭha ahesuṃ brāhmaṇā,
chalaṅgavā mantaṃ vyākariṃsu ti.

sTog 64b.

dga' byed dañ | rgyal mtshan dañ | mtshan űid dañ | rigs kyi sñags pa dañ |
kō ṇḍi nya dañ | lag pa can dañ | gśin rje bzañ dañ | legs sbyin te |
de rnams de'i tshe bram ze brgyad yin no || yan lag drug gi sñags brda sprad nas ||

J I p. 65; Bv-a p. 284; Thūp p. 165; sTog 74a.

23. Chetvāna molim varagandhavāsitaṃ
vehāsayam ukkhipi aggapuggalo¹,
sahassanetto sirasā paṭiggahī
suvanṇacamaṅgotavarena Vāsavo ti.

sTog 74a.

mchog gi dri yis bsgos pa'i gtsug phud bcad ||
gañ zag mchog gis nam mkha' la ni dor ||
mig stoñ pa yis dbu skra mgo steñ bzuñ ||
gser gyi za ma tog tu lha gnas khyer ||

J I p. 65; Bv-a p. 284; Dhp-a I p. 206; Thūp p. 166; sTog 74a.

24. Ticīvarañ ca patto ca
vāsi sūciñ bandhanaṃ
parissāvanena, aṭṭh' ete
yuttayogassa bhikkhuno ti.

sTog 74a.

chos gos gsum dañ lhuñ bzed dañ | spu gri khab dañ ska rags dañ ||
chu tshags dañ bcas brgyad yin no || dge sbyoñ rnams la rigs śiñ mkho ||

¹ Thūp, p. 165, Sakyapuṅgavo for aggapuggalo.

J I p. 75; Ap-a p. 80; sTog 84a.

25. “Jayo hi Buddhassa sirīmato ayaṃ
Mārassa ca pāpimato parājayo”,
ugghosayum bodhimaṇḍe pamoditā
jayaṃ tadā nāgagaṇā Mahesino.

sTog 84a

dpal ldan saṅs rgyas rgyal bar gyur || sdig can bdud ni pham par gyur ||
rab dga' byañ chub sñiñ por sgrogs || de tshe drañ sroñ klu tshogs rgyal ||

J I p. 75; Ap-a p. 80; sTog 84a.

26. “Jayo hi Buddhassa sirīmato ayaṃ
Mārassa ca pāpimato parājayo”,
ugghosayum bodhimaṇḍe pamoditā
supaṇṇasaṃghāpi jayaṃ Mahesino.

sTog 84a.

dpal ldan saṅs rgyas rgyal bar gyur || sdig can bdun ni pham par gyur ||
rab dga' byañ chub sñiñ por sgrogs || 'dab bzañ tshogs kyi drañ sroñ rgyal ||

J I p. 75; Ap-a p. 80; sTog 84a.

27. “Jayo hi Buddhassa sirīmato ayaṃ
Mārassa ca pāpimato parājayo”,
ugghosayum bodhimaṇḍe pamoditā
jayaṃ tadā devagaṇā Mahesino.

sTog 84a.

dpal ldan saṅs rgyas rgyal bar gyur || sdig can bdud ni pham par gyur ||
rab dga' byañ chub sñiñ por sgrogs || lha tshogs de tshe drañ sroñ rgyal ||

J I p. 75; Ap-a p. 80; sTog 84a/b.

28. “Jayo hi Buddhassa sirīmato ayaṃ
Mārassa ca pāpimato parājayo”,
ugghosayum bodhimaṇḍe pamoditā
jayaṃ tadā brahmagaṇāpi tādino.

sTog 84a/b.

dpal ldan sañs rgyas rgyal bar gyur || sdig can bdud ni pham par gyur ||
rab dga' byañ chub sñiñ por sgrogs || tshañs tshogs de tshe rgyal bar sgrogs ||

Appendix IV

Jātaka verses in the Jātakanidāna varying from the extant Pāli Jātaka verses.

J I p. 45, *Sasapaṇḍitajātaka*, *dāna*; Cp I p. 13; Cp-a pp. 109, 273; Bv-a p. 59; Ap-a p. 49; sTog 53b.

29. Bhikkhāya upagataṃ disvā sakattānaṃ pariccajīṃ,
dānena me samo n' atthi, esā me dānapāramīti.

Tog 53b: *mKhas pa'i ri boñ gi skyes rabs*

ñier 'oñs sloñ ba mthoñ ba na || rañ gi lus ni yoñs su btañ ||
bdag gi sbyin la mñam pa med || 'di rnams sbyin pa'i pha rol phyin ||

J I p. 45, *Samkhapārajātaka*, *sīla*; Cp II 10 p. 22 v.7; Cp-a p. 273; Bv-a p. 60; Ap-a p. 50; Tibetan sTog 53b.

30. Sūlehi pi vijjhayanto koṭṭayante pi sattihī
Bhojaputte na kuppāmi, esa me silapāramīti.

sTog 53b: *Duñ skyoñ skyes rabs*

gsal śiñ gis ni phug nas ni || mtshon cha blañs nas brdeg pa dañ ||
groñ dpon bu la khro mi byed || tshul khriṃs phar phyin bdag gi 'di ||

J I p. 46, *Cūlasutasomajātaka*, *nekkhama*; Bv-a p. 60; Ap-a p. 50; Cp-a p. 273; sTog 54a.

31. Mahārajjaṃ hatthagataṃ kheḷapiṇḍaṃ va chaḍḍayiṃ
cajato na hoto laganam, esā me nekkhammapāramīti.

sTog 54a: *Bu źi ba chuñ nu'i skyes rabs*

rgyal po chen po lag tu thob || mchil ma'i dbu ba bźin du spañs ||
rgyal srid spañs kyañ źen pa med || bdag gi ñes 'byuñ phar phyin 'di ||

J I p. 46, *Sattubhattajātaka*, *paññā*; Ap-a p. 50; Cp-a p. 274; sTog 54a.

32. Paññāya pavicinanto 'haṃ brāhmaṇaṃ mocayiṃ dukhā,
paññāya me samo n' atthi, esā me paññāpāramīti.

sTog 54a: *sDe snod kyī skyes rabs*

bdag gi śes rab tshol ba na || bram ze'i sdug bśhal grol pa dañ ||
bdag gi śes rab mtshuñs pa med || bdag gi śes rab phar phyin 'di ||

J I p. 46, *Mahājanakajātaka*, *virīya*; Bv-a p. 60; Ap-a p. 50; Cp-a p. 274; sTog 54a.

33. Atīradassī jalamajjhe hatā sabbe va mānūsā,
cittassa aññāthā n' atthi, esā me viriyapāramīti.

sTog 54a-b: *sKye bo chen po can gyi skyes rabs*

dogs ma mthoñ ba'i rgya mtsho'i dbus || mi rnams thams cad śi bar gyur ||
sdug bsñal med pa'i sems kysis ni || bdag gi brtson 'grus phar phyin 'di ||

J I p. 46, *Khantivādajātaka*, *khanti*; Bv-a p. 60; Ap-a p. 50; Cp-a p. 274; sTog 54b.

34. Acetanam va koṭṭentetiṇhena pharasunā mama
Kāsīrāje na kuppāmi, esā me khantipāramīti.

sTog 54b: *bZod par smra ba'i skye rabs*

sems med pa la gcod pa bzin || bdag la rno ba'i dgra sta yis ||
gsal ldan rgyal po la mi khro || bdag gi bzod pa'i phar phyin 'di ||

J I p. 46, *Mahāsutasomajātaka*, *sacca*; Bv-a p. 60; Ap-a p. 51; Cp-a p. 275; sTog 54b.

35. Saccavācam anurakkhanto cajitvā mama jīvitam
mocayim ekasatam khattiye, paramatthasaccapāramīti.

sTog 54b: *Bu zi ba chen po'i skyes rabs*

bden pa'i tshig ni rjes su bsruñ || bdag gi srog ni spañs nas su ||
rgyal rigs brgya phrag grol bar byed || bdag gi bden pa'i phar phyin 'di ||

J I p. 46, *Mūgapakkhajātaka*, *adhiṭṭhāna*; Cp III 6 v. 18, p. 29; Cp-a p. 275; Ap-a p. 51; sTog 54b.

36. Mātāpitā na me dessā, na pi me dexam mahāyasaṃ,
sabbaññutam piyaṃ mayhaṃ, tasmā vataṃ adhiṭṭhahin.

sTog 54b: *lKugs pa dañ gžogs phyed na ba'i tshul gyi skyes rabs*

pha ma bdag la mi dgos śiñ || nor dañ grags pa'añ dgos pa med ||
bdag ni thams cad mkhyen la dga' || de phyir brtul žugs gnas pa'o ||

Cp *Temiyapañḍitacariyaṃ* (Adhiṭṭhānapāramitā) III 1 v. 6 p. 24, III 3 v. 10, p. 26.

Mātā pitā na me dessā attā me na ca dessiyo
sabbaññutam piyaṃ mayhaṃ tasmā rajjam pariccain-ti.

J I p. 47, *Ekarājajātaka*, *mettā*; Bv-a p. 61; Ap-a p. 51; sTog 54b. Compare Cp III 13 v. 3 p. 34; Cp-a p. 275.

37. Na maṃ koci uttasati, na pi 'haṃ bhāyāmi kassaci,
mettābalen' upatthaddho ramāmi pavane sadā ti.

sTog 54b: *rGyal po gcig gi skyes rabs*

gañ žig bdag la skrag byed med || bdag gis gañ la'añ 'jigs ma byas ||
byams pa'i stobs kyi steñ gnas žiñ || de tshe stoñ pa fiid la dga' ||

Cp *Suvaṇṇasāmacariyaṃ* (Mettāpāramitā) III 13 v. 3 p. 34; Cp-a p. 275.

Na maṃ koci uttasati na pi 'haṃ bhāyāmi kassaci
mettābalen' upatthaddho ramāmi pavane tadā 'ti.

J I p. 47, *Lomahaṃsajātaka*, *upekhā*; Cp III 15 v.1 p. 35; Cp-a p. 276; Bv-a p. 61; Ap-a p. 51; Dhs-a p. 32; sTog 55a.

38. Susāne seyyaṃ kappemi chavaṭṭhikaṃ upadhāy' ahaṃ,
gomaṇḍalā upagantvā rūpam dassent' anappakan ti.

sTog 55a: *Ñañ pa'i spu'i skyes rabs*

dur khrod du ni gnas par sems || rus goñ la ni brten byas nas ||
bdag gi gnas su ñe bar 'oñs || gzugs la blta ba fiuñ ba med ||

J I p. 46, *Vessantarajātaka*, *dāna*; Cp I 9 v. 58 p. 10; Cp-a pp. 101; Bv-a p. 272; Ap-a p. 51; Thūp p. 164. Dhs-a p. 32; sTog 55a.

39. Acetanāyaṃ puthavi aviññāya sukhaṃ dukhaṃ,
sāpi dānabalā mayhaṃ sattakkhattuṃ pakampathā ti.

sTog 55a: Untitled in Tibetan.

sems med pa yi sa gži yis || bde dañ sdug bsñal mi šes kyañ ||
bdag gi sbyin pa'i stobs de yis || lan bdun du ni rab tu g.yos ||

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