

The Buddha's Mission and last Journey:
Buddhacarita, xv to xxviii.

Translated by

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In preparing for the Panjab University Oriental Publications an edition of the Sanskrit text and a translation of the first fourteen cantos of Āśvaghōṣa's *Buddhacarita*, which at the time of writing are passing through the press, I found it advisable to examine in detail the Tibetan and Chinese versions of the second half of that work. The contents of these fourteen cantos seem to me to be of such interest to students of Buddhism and of Sanskrit literature alike that, as Beal's translation from the Chinese gives an entirely inadequate idea of the original and as Dr. Weller's edition and translation of the Tibetan will apparently never go beyond the seventeenth canto, which they reached years ago, I am glad to be allowed space here for a complete translation of them.

The object of my version is not to give a translation of either the Tibetan or the Chinese alone, but to handle the two together critically, so as to arrive as near may be at the meaning of Āśvaghōṣa's original text. The imperfections of the authorities prevent the full realisation of this aim, though another, and more competent scholar, working afresh over the material, might well succeed in solving difficulties that have defeated me. The basis for my work is inevitably the Tibetan translation, which renders the original more or less *verbatim*, but, as we know from a comparison of it for the first fourteen cantos with the Sanskrit text, it is not capable by itself of communicating Āśvaghōṣa's intentions to us with precision. The text itself is full of corruptions and has a number of lacunae; in

places it gives inferior readings or reproduces literally a corrupt original, while occasionally it makes ludicrous mistakes in the construction of the Sanskrit, and finally it is only too often ambiguous. For cantos xv to xvii I have used Dr. Weller's excellent text and have taken full advantage of his translation, on which I hope to have improved in a few passages; for the remainder I have collated the India Office copy with an admirable rotograph of the red Peking edition, kindly supplied to me from Paris. These two versions do not differ from each other as much as two good copies of the same manuscript would, but, when they vary, the Peking edition offers the best text some four times in five. If the Chinese, for which I have depended on the Taisho Issaikyo edition, does not suffer from these imperfections, it is on the other hand only a very free paraphrase, omitting to explain many phrases and difficult words, and often contracting or expanding the original for no obvious reasons. It is, however, fuller and closer to the Sanskrit text in the last seven cantos, and it is an invaluable check on the understanding of the Tibetan by its reproduction of the general sense of the original; in a certain number of cases too it enables corrupt readings in the latter to be corrected. The general method I have followed therefore is to translate the Tibetan in the light of the Chinese, but I have also at times been guided by the form in which the original Sanskrit can be reconstructed; this latter practice is dangerous and can only be followed with the greatest caution, there being few verses or even *pādas* which can be put back into Sanskrit with any degree of certainty. Very occasionally also, when the metre can be identified, I have been influenced by metrical considerations. I would maintain that the translation I have arrived at by these means gives the correct general sense of almost every verse, but is at times defective in detail, especially in the rendering of *kāvya* turns of phrase as well as of the philosophical arguments in xviii and of the references to legends in xxi. It is necessarily literal and clumsy, but not, I hope, ambiguous or untrue to Aśvaghōṣa's ways of thought and expression. For facility of comprehension I have often added in

brackets the Sanskrit words which I believe to have stood in the original. I have not annotated the text as fully as that of the first fourteen cantos, contenting myself as a rule with indicating the more important corrections I would make in the Tibetan and with mentioning the passages of whose translation I am doubtful.¹

Of the contents of these cantos it will be sufficient to remark that the account of the Buddha's mission in cantos xv to xx follows the order of the *Nidānakathā* in the main and is based probably on an earlier version of that work, and that cantos xxii to xxviii reproduce the contents of the *Mahāparinirvānasūtra* in its complete extended form. Canto xxi contains a kind of *digvijaya* of the Buddha, with numerous proper names, some of which I am unable to identify, and the story of Devadatta's attempts on the life of the Buddha. The philosophical passages in cantos xviii and xxvi, about the earliest specimens we possess of dialectics in a modern form, are of great interest for the history of the evolution of Indian thought; but, as in the Buddha's refutation of the Sāṃkhya in canto xii, the real import of the arguments is not always easy to understand.

CANTO XV

Turning the Wheel of the Law.

1. Having fulfilled His task, He was informed with the might of religious tranquillity (*śama*), and proceeded alone, yet as if many accompanied Him. A pious mendicant, seeing Him on the road, folded his hands and thus addressed Him:—

¹ The following abbreviations are used in the notes: C, the Chinese translation, Taisho Issaikyo no. 192: I.O., India Office copy of the Tanjore: P, copy of the Tanjore in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: S., Saundarananda, as edited and translated by me: T, the Tibetan translation: W, Tibetan text and translation by Friedrich Weller in *Das Leben des Buddha von Aśvaghōṣa*, II (1928). Except in *kāvya* passages which the Chinese so abridges as to make the identification of its rendering of different verses difficult, I have marked with an asterisk all verses which are found in the Tibetan but are missing in the Chinese; some of these are undoubtedly interpolations.

2. " Inasmuch as You are devoid of attachment and have tamed the horses of the senses, while (abiding) among beings who are subject to attachment and the horses of whose senses still run wild, Your form (*ākṛti*?), like that of the moon, shows contentment through the sweet-tasting savour (*rasa*) of a new wisdom.

3. Your steadfast face glows here, You have become master of Your senses, and Your eye is that of a mighty bull; certainly You have succeeded in Your aim. Who is Your guru, Reverend Sir, from whom You have learnt this accomplishment? "

4. Thereat He replied, " No teacher have I. There is none for Me to honour, still less none for Me to contemn. I have obtained Nirvāṇa and am not the same as others. Know Me to be the Originator (*Svayaṃbhū*) in respect of the Law.

5. Since I have entirely comprehended that which should be comprehended, but which others have not comprehended, therefore I am a Buddha. And since I have overthrown the sins (*kleśa*) as if they were foes, know Me to be One Whose self is tranquillised (*śamātmaka*).

6. I, good Sir (*saumya*), am now¹ on the way to Varāṇasī to beat there the drum of the deathless Law, not for the bliss of renown, nor out of pride, but for the good of My fellowmen who are harassed by suffering.

7. Of yore, on seeing the world of the living to be in distress, I vowed thus, that, when I had crossed Myself, I would bring the world across, that, when Myself liberated, I would emancipate its inhabitants (*sattva*).

8. Some in this world, gaining wealth, hold it for themselves alone and thereby come to shame; but for the great man (*mahājana*) whose eyes are open, on acquiring pre-eminent objects (*viśeṣa*), that alone is wealth which he distributes.

9. When a man is being carried away by a stream, he who, standing on dry land, does not try to pull him out, is no hero;²

¹ Read *hḍi riñ, adya*, for *hḍi yañ*?

² So C.

and the man who, finding treasure, does not share it with the poor, is no giver.¹

10. It is proper for one in good health to doctor a man overcome by disease with the remedies he has to hand, and it is fitting for a master of the ways (*mārgapati*) to point out the road he should take to one who is on the wrong road.

11. Just as, when a lamp is lit, there is by reason of it no access of darkness,² so when the Buddha makes His knowledge shine, men do not become a prey to passion.

12. Just as fire must abide in the wood, wind in the air, and water in the earth, so the Enlightenment of the Sages (*munī*) must take place at Gaya and their preaching of the Law at Kāśī.”

13. Thereon, expressing his admiration below his breath (*upāṃśu*),³ he quitted the Buddha and went his way according to his desire, but given over to longing and repeatedly looking back at Him with eyes full of wonderment.

14. Then in due course the Sage saw the city of Kāśī, which resembled the interior of a treasure-house, and which the Bhāgīrathī and the Varāṇasī, meeting together, embrace like a woman friend.

15. Resplendent with power and glory, He came shining like the sun to the Deer Park, where dwelt the great seers among trees resounding with cuckoos' calls.

16. Then the five mendicants, he of the Kauṇḍinya *gotra*, Mahānāman, Vāṣpa, Aśvajit and Bhadrājī, seeing Him from afar, spoke these words among themselves:—

17. “Here approaches the mendicant Gautama, who in his fondness for ease has turned away from asceticism. He is certainly not to be met, nor to be saluted; for he who has resiled from his vow merits no reverence.

¹ Read *sprad-po* or *sbyin-po* for W's *spyañ-po*.

² Uncertain. Read with the xylographs *de-yi rgyu-can* in *b*, and for *dmār-por*, which makes no sense, I conjecture *dmun-par*, “darkened”; C may have had some such reading. W's translation gives a sense which does not fit the context.

³ Read *ñe-bar ḥoḍ-las* with the xylographs, as suggested by C; alternatively *ñe-bar hois* is his name, Upaga.

18. Should he however wish to talk with us, by all means enter into conversation with him; for men of gentle blood (*ārya*) should certainly¹ do so, whoever may be the guest who arrives.”

19. The Buddha moved towards the sitting mendicants, who had thus laid their plans; and according as He drew nearer to them, so they broke their agreement.

20. One of them took His mantle, and similarly another with folded hands accepted His begging-bowl. Another gave Him the proper seat, and similarly the other two presented Him with water for His feet.

21. Showing Him many attentions in such wise, they all treated Him as their Guru; but, as they did not cease calling Him by His family name, the Holy One in His compassion said to them:—

22. “O mendicants, do not speak to the venerable Arhat after the former fashion with lack of reverence; for, though I am in truth indifferent to praise and blame, I would turn you away from what has evil consequences (*apunya*).

23. Seeing that a Buddha obtains Enlightenment for the good of the world, He ever acts for the good of all beings; and the Law is cut off for him who maliciously calls his guru by his name, just as in the case of disrespect to parents.²”

24. Thus did the Great Seer, the Best of speakers, preach to them out of the compassion of His heart; but led astray by delusion and lack of ballast (*asāreṇa*), they answered Him with gently smiling faces:—

25. “You did not forsooth, Gautama, come to an understanding of the real truth by those supreme and excellent austerities, and, though the goal is only to be obtained with difficulty (*kr̥cchreṇa?*), you indulge in comfort. What is your ground for saying, ‘I have seen’?”

26. Since the mendicants thus displayed their scepticism regarding the truth about the Tathāgata, then the Knower of the

¹ A double negative, misunderstood by W.

² Read *h̥joms-las* in c and *chod-do* in d.

Path, knowing the path to Enlightenment to be other than that, expounded the path to them:—

27. “The fool who tortures himself and equally he who is attached to the domains of the senses, both these you should regard as in fault, because they have taken paths, which do not lead to deathlessness.

28. The former, with his mind troubled and overcome (*ākrānta?*) by the bodily toils called austerities, becomes unconscious and does not know even the ordinary course (*vyavahāra*) of the world, how much less then the supersensual way of truth?

29. Just as in this world one does not pour out water to obtain a light for the destruction of darkness, so bodily torments are not the prerequisite for the destruction of the darkness of ignorance by the fire of knowledge.¹

30. Just as a man who wants a fire does not obtain it by boring and splitting wood, but does succeed by using the proper means, so deathlessness is obtained by *yoga*, not by torments.

31. Similarly those who are attached to the calamitous lusts have their minds overwhelmed by passion (*rajas*) and ignorance (*tamas*); they do not even attain the ability to understand the doctrines (*śāstra*), still less then the passionless (*virāga*) method of suppression.

32. Just as the individual who is overcome by illness is not cured by eating unwholesome food, so how shall he, who is overcome by the disease of ignorance (*ajñāna*) and is addicted to the lusts, reach religious peace?

33. Just as a fire does not go out, when it has dry grass (*kakṣa?*) for fuel (*āśraya*) and the wind fans it, so the mind does not come to peace, when passion (*rāga*) is its companion and the lusts its support (*āśraya*).

34. Abandoning either extreme, I have won to another, the Middle Path, which brings surcease from sorrow and passes beyond bliss and ecstasy.²

¹ So C understands the verse; W construes differently.

² *Prīti*; read *dgaḥ-ba* for *dge-ba*?

35. The sun of right views illumines it, the chariot of pure right thought fares along it, the rest-houses (*vihāra*) are right words rightly spoken, and it is gay with a hundred groves of good conduct.

36. It enjoys the great prosperity (*subhikṣa*) of noble livelihood, and has the army and retinue of right effort; it is guarded on all sides by the fortifications of right awareness and is provided with the bed and seat of concentrated thought.

37. Such in this world is this most excellent eightfold path, by which comes release from death, old age and disease; by passing along it, all is done that has to be done, and there is no further travelling in this world or the next.

38. 'This is nothing but suffering, this is the cause, this is the suppression and this the path to it (sc. suppression)': thus for salvation's sake I developed eyesight for an unprecedented method of the Law, which had been hitherto unheard of.

39. Birth, old age, disease and eke death, separation from what is desired, union with what is not desired, failure to attain the longed for end, these are the varied sufferings that men undergo.

40. In whatever state a man be existing, whether he is subject to the lusts or has conquered self, whether he has or has not a body, whatever quality (*guṇa*) is lacking to him, know that in short to be suffering.

41. It is My settled doctrine that, just as a fire, when its flames die down, does not lose its inborn nature of being hot, however small it be, so the idea of self, subtle though it may become through quietude and the like, has still the nature of suffering.

42. Recognise that, just as the soil, water, seed and the season are the causes of the shoot (*aṃkura*), so the various sins (*doṣa*), passion (*kāmarāga*) and the like, as well as the deeds that spring from the sins, are the causes of suffering.

43. The cause for the stream of existence, whether in heaven or below, is the group of sins, passion and the like; and the root of the distinction here and there into base, middling and high, is the deeds.

44. From the destruction of the sins the cause of the cycle of existence ceases to be, and from the destruction of the Act that suffering ceases to be; for, since all things come into being from the existence of something else, with the disappearance of that something else they cease to be.

45. Know suppression to be that in which there is not either birth, or old age, or death, or fire, or earth, or water, or space, or wind, which is without beginning or end, noble and not to be taken away (*ahārya*), blissful and immutable.

46. The path is that which is described as eightfold, and outside it there are no means for success (*adhigama*). Because they do not see this path, men ever revolve (*paribhram*) in the various paths.¹

47. Thus I came to the conclusion in this matter, that suffering is to be recognised, the cause to be abandoned, the suppression to be realised and the path to be cultivated.

48. Thus insight (*cakṣus*) developed in me that this suffering has been recognised and the cause abandoned, similarly that the suppression has been realised, similarly that this path has been cultivated.

49. I did not claim to be emancipated in this world and did not see too in Myself the attainment of the goal, so long as I had not seen these four stages of the noble right truth.

50. But when I had mastered the noble Truths, and, having mastered them, had done the task that was to be done, then I claimed to be emancipated in this matter and saw that I had attained the goal.”

51. When the Great Seer, full of compassion, thus preached the Law there in these words, he of the Kauṇḍinya clan and a hundred deities obtained the insight that is pure and free from passion (*rajas*).

52. When he had completed all that was to be done, the Omniscient said to him with a voice loud as a bull's, “Is the

¹ So C; T is evidently corrupt.

knowledge yours?" That great-souled¹ one replied, "Truly (*paramam*); I know Your excellent thought."

53. Then by saying "Truly, I know," Kaundinya (was the first) in the world² to grasp the knowledge of that stage and came into possession of the Law at the head of the mendicants of the holy Guru, the Tathāgata.

54. When the Yakṣas, who lived on the earth, heard that cry, they proclaimed with resounding voices, "Most certainly the Wheel of the Law has been well turned by the Best of those who see, for the deathless tranquillity of all beings.

55. Its spokes are the discipline (*śīla*), its feloes tranquillity (*śama*) and the Rule (*Vinaya*), wide in understanding (*buddhi*?) and firm with awareness (*smṛti*) and wisdom (*mati*),³ its pin is self-respect (*hrī*). By reason of its profundity, of its freedom from falsehood, and of the excellence of its preaching, it is not overturned by other doctrines when taught in the triple world."

56. Hearing the shouts of the mountain Yakṣas, the troops of deities in the sky took up the cry, and so it mounted loudly from heaven to heaven up to the world of Brahmā.

57. Certain self-controlled (*atmavat*) dwellers in the heavens, on hearing from the Great Seer that the triple world is transitory, desisted from attachment to the various objects of sense, and through their perturbation of mind (*saṃvega*) reached a state of tranquillity with respect to the three spheres of existence.

58. At the moment⁴ when the Wheel of the Law was thus turned in heaven and earth for the best tranquillity of the three worlds, a shower of rain, laden with flowers, fell from the cloudless sky, and the inhabitants of the three spheres of existence caused mighty drums to resound.

¹ Read *chen-po* in *c*?

² Read *h̄jig-rt̄en-na*? I supply the two missing syllables as above.

³ According to C the feloes are six in number, and T is probably corrupt.

⁴ Read *tsam-na* for *tsam-nas* in *b*.

CANTO XVI

Many Conversions.¹

1. Then the Omniscient established in the Law of Salvation Aśvajit and the other mendicants who had become well-disposed (*prayata*) in mind.

2. He appeared surrounded by that group of five, who had subdued the group of five (senses), like the moon in the sky conjoined with the five stars of the asterism (Hastā) whose regent is the sun.

3. Now at that time a noble's² son named Yaśas saw certain women carelessly asleep and thereby became perturbed in mind.

4. Uttering the words, "How wretched all this is," he went just as he was, retaining all the glory of his magnificent ornaments, to where the Buddha was.

5. The Tathāgata, Who knew men's dispositions and sins, on seeing him said, "There is no fixed³ time for Nirvāṇa, come hither and obtain the state of blessedness."

6. Hearing these far-famed⁴ words, he came, like one entering a river when afflicted with heat, to extreme contentment of mind.

7. Then by reason of the force of the previous cause, but with his body as it was (i.e. in the householder's garb), he realised Arhatship with body and mind.

8. As the dye is absorbed by a cloth which has been bleached with salted⁵ water, so he, whose mind was white, fully understood the good Law as soon as he heard of it.

9. The Best of speakers, He who had fulfilled His task and knew the good goal, saw him standing there ashamed of his clothes and said:—

¹ Lit. "Having (or, Who has) many disciples."

² *chen-po*; if the original had had *śreṣṭhin*, one would have expected a compound with *legs-pa*.

³ Read *ñid* for *ñer*?

⁴ Or, "of Him, Whose fame was widespread."

⁵ T has *ston-ka*, "autumn," but the context requires *kṣāra* or the like; perhaps *śo-ra* (v. Jaeschke) or *lan-tshva*.

10. "The mendicant's badges (*liṅga*) are not the cause¹ of the Law; he who looks with equal mind on all beings and has restrained his senses by quietude and the Rule, though he wears ornaments, yet walks in the Law.

11. He who leaves his home with his body, but not with his mind, and who is still subject to passion, is to be known as a householder, though he live in the forest.

12. He who goes forth with his mind, but not with his body, and who is selfless, is to be known as a forest-dweller, though he abide in his home.

13. He is said to be emancipated, who has reached this attainment, whether he abide in his home or whether he has become a wandering mendicant.

14. Just as one who would conquer puts on his armour to overcome a hostile army, a man wears the badges to overcome the hostile army² of the sins."

15. Then the Tathāgata said to him, "Come hither, mendicant"; and at these words he appeared³ wearing the mendicant's badges.

16. Then out of attachment to him his friends, to the number of fifty and three and one, gained the Law.

17. As garments, covered with potash (*kṣāra*), quickly become clean on contact with water, so they quickly became pure, in virtue of their acts having been purified in former ages.

18. Then at that time sixty in all was the first company of the disciples, who were also Arhats; and the Arhat, fittingly revered by the Arhats, spoke to them as follows:—

19. "O mendicants, you have passed beyond suffering and fulfilled your great task. It is proper now to help others who are still suffering.

20. Therefore do all of you, each by himself, traverse this earth and impart the Law to mankind out of compassion for their affliction.

¹ Read *rgyu*.

² Read *dgra-sde* for *dgra de* in c, as in a?

³ Read *gsal-to*, *babhau*, for the pointless *grol-to*, "was emancipated."

21. I for my part am proceeding to Gaya, the abode of royal seers, in order to convert the Kāśyapa seers, who through their attainments¹ are possessed of supernatural powers.”

22. Then they, who had seen the real truth, departed on His orders in all directions, while the Great Seer, the Blessed One (*Sugata*), Who was freed from the pairs (*dvandva*),² went to Gaya.

23. Then in due course He arrived there, and, approaching the forest of the Law, saw Kāśyapa, abiding there like Asceticism in person.

24. Although there were dwellings in the mountains and the groves, the Lord of the Ten Powers, desirous of converting him, asked him for a lodging.

25, 26.³

27. Then in order to destroy the Saint (*siddha*),⁴ in his evil disposition (*viṣamastha*) he gave Him a fire-house, (infested) by a great snake . . .

28. At night the snake, whose gaze was poisonous, saw the Great Sage calm and fearless there looking at him, and in his fury he hissed at Him.

29. The fire-house was set alight by his wrath, but the fire, as if afraid, did not touch the Great Seer's body.

30. Just as at the end of the great aeon Brahmā shines sitting when the conflagration dies down, so Gautama remained unperturbed, though the fire-house was all blazing.

31. On the Buddha sitting there, unharmed and moveless, the snake was filled with wonderment and did obeisance to the Best of seers.

32. The folk in the deer-park thought of the Seer sitting there, and deeply distressed(?) were overcome with pity that such a mendicant should have been burnt.

¹ A reference to the *siddhis* of the Yoga?

² The eight *lokadharmas*.

³ There seems to be a lacuna of uncertain length here, C giving a long account of the conversation. The line which W takes as the last of 26, I take to 24, understanding *rab-tu-brten* as *pratīśraya*.

⁴ Or less probably, with W, “to test his saintliness.”

33. On the night passing away, the Teacher (*Vināyaka*) took up the snake quietly in His alms-bowl and showed it to Kāśyapa.

34. On perceiving¹ the might of the Buddha, he was amazed, yet he still believed himself to have no superior in power.

35. Then, as He knew those thoughts of his, the tranquil Sage purified his heart by assuming various shapes suited to the occasion.

36. Thereon, as he deemed the Buddha to be greater than him in magic power, he determined to win His Law.

37. The company of Auruvilva Kāśyapa's five hundred followers, seeing his sudden change of heart, adhered also to the Law.

38. When their brother and his pupils had passed to the further shore (*pāraga*) and cast aside their bark garments, the two who were called Gaya and Nadī (Kāśyapa) arrived there and betook themselves to the path.²

39. On the Gayaśrīṣa mountain the Sage then preached the sermon of salvation³ to the three Kāśyapa brothers with their followers:—

40. "The entire world is helplessly burnt up by the fire of love and hate (*rāgadveṣa*), which is overspread with the smoke of delusion (*moha*) and originates in the thoughts (*vitarka*).

41. Thus scorched by the fire of the sins, without peace or leadership, it is unceasingly consumed again and again by the fires of old age, disease and death.

42. On seeing this world without refuge and burnt up by manifold fires, the wise man is perturbed over his body with its accompaniment of mind and sense-organs.

43. From perturbation he proceeds to passionlessness and from that to liberation; thereon being liberated, he knows that he is liberated in all respects.

¹ T seems to have had *niśāmya*, "hearing," for *niśāmya*, "perceiving."

² There may be a lacuna of one or more verses here between the two hemistiches, as C tells the story at much greater length.

³ *nirvāhaka*? Cp. ix. 38 in my edition and note in translation.

44. Having fully examined¹ the stream of birth, he takes his stand on the ascetic life and completes his task; for him there is no further existence.”

45. When the thousand mendicants heard this sermon of the Holy One, by reason of non-appropriation (*anupādāna*) their minds were immediately released from the infections (*āsrava*).

46. Then the Buddha appeared with the three Kāśyapas, whose wisdom (*prajñā*) was great, like the Law incarnate surrounded by Charity (*dāna*), Discipline and the Rule.

47. The penance grove, deprived of those excellent . . .,² was no longer brilliant, like the life of a sick man (*sattva*), who is without religion (*dharma*), wealth or pleasure.

48. Then remembering His former promise to the Magadha king, the Sage, surrounded by all of them, took His way to Rājagṛha.

49. Then when the king heard of the Tathāgata's arrival at the domain of the Veṇuvana, he went to visit Him, with his ministers in attendance on him.

50. Then the common folk, with their eyes opened wide in wonderment, came out along the mountain road, on foot or in vehicles³ according to their station in life.

51. On seeing the excellent Sage from afar, the Magadha sovereign hastily alighted from his chariot in order to show Him reverence.

52. The king left behind him his yaks' tails, his fans and his retinue, and approached the Sage, as Indra approached Brahmā.

53. He did obeisance to the Great Seer with his head so that his headdress shook, and with His permission sat down on the ground on the soft grass.

¹ So C; perhaps *yois mthoi* (for *mdzad*) *nas* in T.

² T has *bgres* (*vrddha?*), for which W conjectures *bkris* (*maṅgala*). Perhaps *bgros* in the sense of “disputants” or “enquirers.”

³ Keep the xylographs' *bzhon-pas*; I find no support in C for W's *gzhon-pas* and translation.

54. The thought occurred to the people there, "Oh! The might of the Śākya Sage. Has the seer, His Holiness Kāśyapa, become His pupil?"¹

55. Then the Buddha, knowing their minds, said to Kāśyapa, "Kāśyapa, what was the quality you saw that you abandoned fire-worship?"

56. When the Guru thus incited him with a voice like that of a mighty raincloud, he folded his hands and said aloud in the crowded assembly:—

57. "I have given up the fires, because the fruit of worshipping them and of making oblations in them is continuance in the cycle of existence and association with the various mental ills.

58. I have given up the fires, because by muttering prayers, offering oblations and the like out of thirst for the objects of sense the thirst for them merely grows stronger.²

59. I have given up the fires, because by muttered prayers and fire-oblations there is no cessation from birth, and because the suffering of birth is great.

60. I have given up the fires, because the belief that the supreme good comes from rites of worship and from austerities is false.

61. I have given up the fires, because, as I affirm(?), I know the blissful immutable stage, which is delivered from birth and death."

62. On hearing the converted Kāśyapa thus speak words, so productive of faith³ and so full of matter, the Master of the Rule (*Vinaya*) said to him:—

63. "Hail to you, most noble one (*mahābhāga*); this is most certainly the good work that you have done, in that among the various Laws you have attained that which is the best.

¹ T shows no sign of a question here, but verse 71 seems to require this translation.

² So C; read *hphel* (*vardhate*) for *med* in c?

³ Or, "born of faith."

64. Just stir up then the hearts of the assembly¹ by displaying your various magic powers, as one who has great possessions displays his various treasures.”

65. Then Kāśyapa said, “Very well,” and, contracting himself into himself, he flew up like a bird into the path of the wind.²

66. This master of the miraculous powers stood in the sky as on a treestump,³ walked about as on the ground, sat down as on a couch and then lay down.

67. Now he blazed like a fire, now he shed water like a cloud, now he blazed and poured forth water simultaneously.

68. As he took great strides, blazing and shedding water, he appeared like a cloud pouring forth rain and brilliant with flashes of lightning.

69. The people looked up at him in amazement, with their eyes glued to him, and, as they did obeisance to him in reverence, they uttered lion-roars.

70. Then, bringing his magic display to a close, he did obeisance to the Sage with his head and said, “I am the pupil who has done his task; my master is the Holy One.”

71. The inhabitants of Magadha, seeing Kāśyapa do obeisance to the Great Seer in this fashion, concluded that it was the Blessed One Who was Omniscient.

72. Then He, Who abode in the supreme good, knew that the soil was prepared and for his welfare said to Śreṇya, who was desirous of hearing the Law:—

73. “O lord of the earth, O thou who art possessed of great majesty and hast control of the senses, Form (*rūpa*) is born and decays accompanied by the mind and the senses.

74. Their birth and passing away should be known for the furtherance of virtue, and, by knowing these two matters correctly, come to a right understanding of the body.

¹ Keeping the xylographs' *hkor* (*dkor*, W), but not quite certain.

² *rlwī-gi*, for W's *klwī-gi* (*nāgasya*) and the xylographs' *klu-yi*.

³ Reading *sdōn-dum* for the xylographs' *sdod-dum* and W's *sdod-du ham*

75. By knowing the body with the senses to be subject to birth and passing away, there is no appropriation at all, no coming to the idea that it is 'I' or 'mine.'

76. The body and the senses have no objectivity outside the mental conceptions; they are born as suffering, as suffering they pass away.

77. When all this is understood to be neither 'I' nor 'mine,' then the supreme unchangeable Nirvāṇa is reached.

78. Through the sins of assuming the existence of the ego and the like men are bound in the false conception of self (*ātmagrāha*), and when they see that there is no self, they are released from the passions.

79. The false view binds, the right view releases; this world, abiding in the thought that there is a self, does not grasp the truth.

80. If a self did exist, it would be either permanent or impermanent; great defects follow from either alternative.

81. Just suppose it to be impermanent, then there would be no fruit of the act; and, since there would be no rebirth, salvation would come without effort on our part.

82. Or if it were permanent and all-pervading,¹ there would be neither birth nor death;² for space, which is all-pervading and permanent, neither passes away nor is born.

83. If this self were all-pervading in nature, there would be no place where it is not; and when it passed away, there would simultaneously (*ca . . ca*) be salvation for everyone together.

84. As being all-pervading by nature, it would be inactive and there would be no doing of the act; and without the doing of acts, how could there be the union with the fruit of them?

85. If the self did perform deeds, it would cause no suffering to itself; for who, that is his own master, would cause suffering to himself?

¹ Or, reading with the xylographs *khyad* for W's *khyab*, "Or if it possesses the attribute (*viśeṣa*) of permanence."

² C suggests either that one *skye-ba* should be *hchi-ba*, or that *skye-ba med* means "death."

86. The theory of a permanent self leads to the conclusion that it undergoes no change; but, since it experiences pleasure and suffering, we see that it does incur change.

87. Salvation comes from the winning of knowledge and the abandonment of sin; and since the self is inactive and all-pervading, there would be no salvation for it.

88. One should not say this, namely that there is a self, since in reality it has no existence (*asattvabhāvāt tattvena*); moreover, as having no causal efficiency, it is incapable of any action.¹

89. Since then it is not clear what is the work to be done nor by whom it is done, the self cannot be said to exist in such wise (i.e. as either permanent or impermanent), and therefore it has no existence.

90. Listen, best of listeners, to this teaching how the stream of the cycle of existence flows along, bearing away this body, in which there is neither one who acts, nor one who experiences sensations (*vedaka*), nor one who directs.²

91. A sixfold consciousness arises based on the six organs of sense and their six objects; a system of contact develops separately for each group of three, whence awareness, volitions and actions come into activity.

92. Just as, from the conjunction of a burning-glass jewel, fuel and the sun, fire is produced by virtue of the union, even so all actions dependent on the individual take place, based on the consciousness (*buddhi*), the objects of sense and the senses.

93. Just as the shoot is produced from the seed, and yet the shoot is not to be identified with the seed, nor can either of them exist without the other, on such wise is the body and the interaction (*krama?*) of the senses and the consciousness."

94. When the Magadha king heard the sermon of the Best of sages, announcing the highest goal, the supreme beatitude, then the

¹ I am not certain of having correctly rendered the argument of this verse.

² Cp. *S.*, xvii. 20-21.

eye of the Law grew in him, the eye that is without stain, without equal, and devoid of passion (*rajas*).

95. Many men who dwelt in the capital of Magadha and the inhabitants of heaven became pure in mind in that assembly, on hearing¹ the Sage's preaching, and won to the stage where death and change are not.

CANTO XVII

Conversion (*pravrajyā*) of the Great Disciples.

1. Thereon the king presented to the Sage for His abode the glorious garden of Veṇuvana, and with His permission returned to the city, entirely changed in being (*dviṭīya*?) through his comprehension² of the truth.

2. Then holding up for salvation's sake the auspicious lamp that is produced from knowledge, the Buddha dwelt in the Vihāra in company with Brahmā, the gods and saintly beings (*ārya*) of the various spheres of existence (*vihāra*?).

3. Then Aśvajit, who had broken the horses of his senses in, entered Rājagṛha in search of alms, and held the eyes of a great crowd by his beauty, his tranquillity and his demeanour.

4. A mendicant of Kapila's sect, who had many pupils, famed (*praśasta*?) as Śāradvatīputra, saw him coming with his senses tranquillised, and, following him on the road, thus addressed him:—

5. "On seeing your fresh appearance and your tranquillity, my mind is exceedingly amazed. Just tell me therefore if you know the final truth,³ what is the name of your teacher, what he teaches and who he is."

¹ So C, i.e. read *thos* for *thob* in T.

² So C; same expression at xix. 28 and 36 below, apparently *avabodha* (cp. Bacot, Dictionnaire Tibétain-Sanscrit, s. *khon-du chud-pa*).

³ According to C this is part of the question. Alternatively, reading *rigs-pa* for *rig-pa*, "if it is indeed fitting."

6. When the Brahman spoke thus with every mark of respect, Aśvajit also said to him, "My Master was born of the Ikṣvāku race and is omniscient and without peer.

7. As I am ignorant and only recently born into the Law, I am not capable of explaining the teaching to you. Hear (*nibodha?*) however a small portion of the words of the Great Sage, Who is the Best of those who know how to speak.

8. The Holy One has explained the causes of all the elements (*dharma*) which arise from causes. He has explained what is the suppression of them and what the means of their suppression."

9. When the twice-born, whose name was Upatiṣya, heard these words of Aśvajit, straightway his eyes were opened to the Law and became free from passion (*rajas*), blissful and pure.

10. Previously he had held the theory that the field-knower (*kṣetrajña*) is uncaused, inactive, and the originator (*iśvara*); on hearing that all these things take place in dependence on causes, he perceived that there is no self and saw the supreme truth.

11. He held that the Sāṃkhya consider the body to consist of parts and therefore only destroys the group of gross sins, but that under the Buddha's teaching gross and subtle are destroyed alike.

12. When one embraces the idea of the soul (*ātman*) as the origin, there is no abandonment of the ego-principle, and therefore no abandonment of the ego. When a lamp and the sun are both present, what is to be known as a cause of the destruction of light?¹

13, 14. Just as if one cuts off the roots of a lotus, the fine fibres remain entangled with one another, so he deemed the (Sāṃkhya) method of salvation not to lead to finality, while the Buddha's method was like cutting a stone.²

¹ So C and T, but one would have expected, "which of the two is to be known as the cause of the dispelling of darkness (or, diffusion of light)?" As it stands, the ego is the lamp, the soul the sun.

² W takes this, against C and T, as the two halves of two distinct verses, with the other halves missing. In the first line following C, amend *chu-ba* to *rtsva-ba* and take *che* as for *phye*, which is identical in pronunciation. C explains the last sentence by adding that no remains are left.

15. Then the Brahman did reverence to Aśvajit and himself departed in high contentment to his dwelling, while Aśvajit, after completing his alms-round in due order, proceeded soberly and wisely to the Veṇuvana.

16. When he who was born in the Maudgala *gotra* and whose actions corresponded to his learning and knowledge saw Upatiṣya returning thus filled with the highest peace (*prasāda*), he said to him:—

17. “O mendicant, why being the same have you become like another? You have returned steadfast and rejoicing.¹ Have you to-day found the deathless state? Such calm as this is not without a cause.”

18. Then he explained the truth to him, saying “Thus is it done.” Then he said, “Tell me the doctrine.” Thereon he repeated the same words to him, and on hearing them the right eyesight was produced in him too.

19. As their minds had been purified by their actions and dispositions (*āśaya?*), they saw the real truth as it were a lamp held in their hands, and since by reason of their knowing it their feelings towards the Teacher were unswerving, they set off at that instant to see him.

20. The Great Seer, the Holy One, saw from afar these two² coming with their company of disciples and said to the mendicants, “These two, coming here, are my chief disciples, the chiefs, the one of those who have wisdom, the other of those who have magic powers.”

21. Then the tranquil Sage in deep and solemn tones addressed His speech to the pair, “O mendicants, who have come hither for the sake of quietude, receive this Law rightly in proper form.”

22. The Brahmins were bearing the triple staff and twisted locks, but in the very moment that the Tathāgata uttered these

¹ T omits two syllables; C suggests “with the marks of steadfastness and rejoicing.”

² Read *de-gñis* for *de-ñid?*

words to them, they were turned by the Buddha's might into mendicants dressed in ochre-coloured robes.

23. These two, thus habited, with their company of disciples, did obeisance to the Omniscient with their heads. Then, on the Buddha's preaching the Law to them, in due time both reached the final beatitude.

✓ 24. Then a Brahman, the lamp of the Kāśyapa clan, who was possessed of colour, beauty and riches, abandoned his wealth and his beautiful wife, and, taking on himself the ochre-coloured robe, went in search of salvation.

25. He who had given up all his possessions¹ saw by the Bahuputraka Caitya the Omniscient blazing like a sacred flag-pole (or, caitya)² of the finest gold; and, filled with amazement, he folded his hands and approached Him.

26. He did obeisance to the Sage from afar with his head, and, having folded his hands, spoke out loud in fitting manner, "I am the disciple, the Holy One is my Master; O Steadfast One, be my light in the darkness."

27. The Tathāgata, the Appeaser of the mind with the water of His word, recognised that the twice-born had come because desire (for knowledge) had been bred in him, and that he was pure in disposition and desirous of salvation; therefore He said to him, "Welcome."

28. With his weariness relieved, as it were, by these words, he abode there in order to search for the final beatitude. Then, as his nature was pure, the Sage took pity on him and explained the Law to him summarily.

29. Because, when the Sage merely explained the Law briefly, he arrived entirely at its purport, therefore from his penetration (*pratisamvid?*) and great fame³ he was called the Arhat Mahākāśyapa.

¹ Possibly *dhāva* in the sense of "feelings," to contrast with the feeling of amazement.

² Read *mchod-sdon*, and cp. *S.*, iii. 25.

³ So C; T has "great *vayas*," which I find unintelligible.

30. He had held the self (*ātman*) to be both "I" and "mine,"¹ as being other than the body and yet in the body. He now abandoned that view of self and looked on it as perpetual(?)² suffering.

31. He had sought for purity by discipline and vows (*śīlavrata*), finding the cause in that which was not a cause; now he had arrived at the nature of suffering and the path, and held discipline and vows not to be the supreme method.

32. He had wandered on the wrong course and failed to obtain the best; now he saw the stages of the Four Truths and fully cut off doubts and hesitations.

33. Recognising the impurity and unreality of the lusts, about which the world has been deluded, is deluded and will be deluded, he abandoned the objects of sense known as the passions.

34. Thus having attained benevolence (*maitri*?) in thought, he made no distinction between friend and foe, and, compassionating all creatures, he was freed too in mind from internal malevolence (*vyāpāda*).

35. He abandoned the ideas (*saṃjñā*), informed with manifoldness,³ that are based on matter and the reactions (*pratigha*?) to it, and understood the evils that are active in matter; so he overcame attachment to the sphere of matter (*rūpadhātu*).

36. He recognised that the stage of the Arūpa deities, who deem in their delusion that the trances are salvation, is transitory; and becoming tranquil, he achieved the mind that is empty of object (*nimitta*) and gave up attachment to the Arūpa existence.

37. He realised that the restlessness of the mind was a source of disturbance, flowing as it does like the mighty current of a great river (*sindhu*), and abandoning indolence by the help of

¹ T's *b* is one syllable short; C shows *bdag grib zhes* to be for *bdag-gi raḥ* (for *dañ?*) *zhes*.

² *ñi-tsho-ba min*, "not ephemeral"; "in less than a day," W, not supported by C.

³ The exact scope of this phrase is not clear to me; possibly it refers to seeing things as separate entities, not as mere compounds of the five elements.

steadfastness (*dhairya*),¹ he won to quietude and came to a standstill, like a lake that is full.²

38. He saw the states of being (*bhāva*) to be without substance (*sāra*) or self and to be subject to passing away (*vyaya*); and seeing nothing to be inferior, equal or superior,³ he put away false self-esteem (*abhimāna*?) and held that there was no reality (in the states of being).

39. Dispelling the darkness of ignorance (*ajñāna*) with the fire of knowledge (*jñāna*), he saw the transitory and the permanent to be different, and perfecting his science (*vidyā*) by yoga, he duly extirpated delusion (*avidyā*).

40. Conjoined with insight (*darśana*) and contemplation (*bhāvanā*), he was released from this group of ten (*samyojanas*), and, his task completed, his soul at rest, he stood regarding the Buddha, with folded hands.

41. The Blessed One shone with His three disciples, who had the triple knowledge (*traividya*), and who had exhausted the three (*āsravas*), and who were in full possession (*adhigama*?) of the three (*śīla, samādhi, prajñā*?), like the moon when full (lit., in the third *pārvan*) and united at the fifteenth *muhūrta* with the three-starred asterism (Jyeṣṭhā), whose regent is the after-born (*anuja*) god (Indra).⁴

CANTO XVIII

The Instruction of Anāthapiṇḍada.

1. Thereafter at a certain time there came from the north out of the Kośala country a wealthy householder, who was in the habit of giving wealth to the destitute and who was known under the famous name of Sudatta.

¹ So C and T, but one would expect *vīrya*.

² *gañ-ba*; should it not be *dad-pa, prasanna*?

³ So C; T is incomprehensible and probably corrupt.

⁴ This verse is of great difficulty, but I think the solution to be certain.

For Jyeṣṭhā see the description in *Divyāvadāna*, 640, which agrees entirely with this verse. Vajrabāhu, the *anuja* of Dhruva, at ix. 20 is to be understood in my opinion as Indra, the younger brother of Brahmā.

2. He heard that the Sage was abiding there, and having heard he desired to see Him and went to Him at night. He did obeisance to the Blessed One, Who, knowing that he had arrived¹ with his nature purified (*visuddhasattva*), instructed him:—

3. “O wise man, since in your thirst for the law you have given up sleep² and come to see Me at night, let then the lamp of final beatitude be raised here at once for the man who has thus come (*tathāgata*).

4. The display of these great qualities is due to your disposition (*adhyāśaya*), to your steadfastness, to your faith on hearing tell of Me, and to the activity of your mind by virtue of the previous cause.

5. Therefore, knowing that fame in this world and the reward in the hereafter arise from giving the best, you should at the proper time with due honour and devout mind give the treasure that is won through the Law.

6. Regulate your conduct by taking on yourself the discipline (*śīla*); for discipline, when observed and adorned, removes all danger of the evil spheres of existence below and cannot but raise a man to the heavens above.

7. Observing the evil consequences, of search, &c.,³ that are involved in the many attachments to the lusts, and realising the good consequences of the way of renunciation, devote yourself to the truth of quietude which is born of discrimination (*viveka*).

8. Rightly seeing that the world wanders under the affliction of death and the oppression of old age, strive for the quietude that is delivered from birth and that, by not being subject to birth, is devoid of old age and death.

9. Just as you know that by reason of impermanency suffering ever persists among men, so know that there is the same suffering among the gods. There is no permanence at all in the continuance of active being (*pravṛtti*).

¹ *rab-sleb*, I.O., omitted by P, which is two syllables short; but the reading may be corrupt, as not corresponding to C.

² Following C, read *sgom-pas gñid* for *begom-pas ñid*.

³ Cp. *S.*, xv. 7 and 9.

10. Where there is impermanence, there is suffering; where there is no absolute self, there also is suffering. How then can there be an 'I' or a 'mine' in that which is impermanent, suffering and without self?

11. Therefore look on this suffering as the suffering, and the origin of this as the origin, and know the suppression of suffering as the suppression (*vyupāśama*) and the auspicious path as the path.

12. Know this world to be suffering and transitory, and observing mankind to be entirely burnt up with the fire of Time as with a real fire, hold existence and annihilation alike to be undesirable.

13. Know this world to be empty, without 'I' or 'mine,' like an illusion, and considering this body as merely the product of the factors (*samskāra*), think of it as consisting only of the elements.¹

14. Shake your mind free from transitory existence; and observing the various spheres of rebirth (*gati*) in the cycle of existence, educate (*bhāvaya*) your mind, so that it is devoid of thought (*vitarka?*), fixed in quietude and free from passion. Then practise the 'absence of object' (*animitta*)."

15. Then on hearing the Law of the Great Seer, he obtained the first fruit of practice of the Law; and by its attainment only one drop remained over from the great ocean of suffering for him.

16. Though still living in the house, he realised by insight the highest good, the real truth, which is not for him who has no insight, whether in the grove or in heaven, though he dwell in the forest of those who are free from desire or on the peak of incorporeal existence.

17. Since they are not released from the meshes of the various false views and from the sufferings of the cycle of existence, they are lost by not seeing the real truth and arrive at a loftier station (*viśeṣa*) merely by being rid of passion.

18. With the correct view born in him, he shed the wrong views, like an autumnal cloud shedding a shower of stones, and he

¹ C puts verse 14 before verse 13.

did not hold that the world proceeded from a wrong cause, such as a Creator¹ (*īvara*) and the like, or that it was uncaused.

*19. For, if the cause is of a different nature (to the effect), there is no birth (*upapatti*), and (to believe in) the absence of a cause is a great mistake. Seeing these points respectively by his learning and knowledge, he was certainly free from doubt in his view of the real truth.

20. If a Creator produced the world, there would be no ordered process of activity in it, and men would not revolve in the cycle of existence; in whatever state of existence anyone was born, there would he remain.

21. Corporeal beings would not encounter what they did not desire, nor for beings of such a nature would there be any production of what they desire. Whatever good and evil should come for corporeal beings would take place in the Creator for the sake of the Creator himself.²

22. Men would entertain no doubts about the Creator himself and would feel affection for him as for a father. When calamities come on them, they would not speak injuriously of him, nor would the world worship various deities.

23. If there should be a purpose (*bhāva*?) in his creation, then he is not the creator here to-day, as it (sc. the creation) would be the effect of the purpose (not of the Creator); for, if this continued activity of the purpose is asserted, it is that that would be the cause of there being a Creator.³

24. Or if his creation is not actuated by any intention,⁴ his actions are causeless like a child's, and if the Creator has no dominion over himself, what power can he have to create the world?

¹ I translate *īvara* by "Creator," but the latter term covers only a portion of the functions implied by the Sanskrit word.

² Or, "by reason of the fact of his being the Creator."

³ Not certain. In a I read *hdi-yi skyed-la* for *hdi mi-skyed-la*, which is in better accord with C. For the argument here and in 25, see *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*, p. 80.

⁴ C has "without mind," and T *nus-pa cwi-zhig med*, "without any capacity," possibly misreading *śakti* for *sakti*.

25. If he causes beings in the world to feel pleasure and suffering according to his desires, then, since thereby attachment to, or aversion from, the object takes place in him, the dominion does not reside in him¹ (but in the objects).

26. Men would stand under his control without will of their own, and his would be the responsibility for their efforts. There would be nothing done by the corporeal being and no fruit of the act; junction with the act (*karmayoga*) would depend on him.

27. If it is his actions that make him the Creator, then (since his actions are shared in common with men) he would not be the Creator. Or if he is all-pervading (*vibhu*) and without cause, then the Creatorship of the whole world would be established.

28. Or if there is any action other than that of the Creator, by reason of that very fact there would be an efficient Creator other than him, and it is not agreed (*avyavasthita*) that there is any (creator) other than him; therefore there is no creator of the world.

29. He saw the many kinds of contradiction that arise from the conception of Īśvara as the Creator, and therefore also the same defects are inherent in the theory of Nature.²

30. The latter view denies to some extent the principles (*aśraya*) of those who proclaim theories of causality and does not admit the cause to have any efficiency with regard to the effect; but, since one sees various things such as seeds and the like which produce effects, therefore Nature is not the cause.

31. An agent which is single cannot at all be the cause of things which are manifold; therefore as Nature is described as single in essence, it is not the cause of mundane evolution (*pravṛtti*).

¹ So apparently C. It would be more natural to take T, "If beings in the world act according to their own will with respect to pleasure and suffering, then, since their activity proceeds from their own attachment or aversion, the dominion does not reside in him."

² According to C and T, "Nature" might be either *svabhāva* or *prakṛti*; here I take it to be the former as the principle underlying the eightfold *prakṛti* of xii. 18.

32. Since Nature is asserted to be all-pervading, it follows that it can produce no effect; and, since one sees no form of result (of a cause) except effects, therefore Nature is not a cause of production.

33. Since it is all-pervading, it should, by reason of its being the cause, be the universal cause of everything unceasingly; but since we see a limitation in the activity (of a cause) to its (individual) result, therefore Nature is not a cause of production.

34. Since it is established that it is without attribute (*guṇa*), there should be no attribute in its results; but since we see everything in the world to have attributes, therefore Nature is not the cause of mundane evolution.¹

35. Since, as a perpetual cause, it can have no special characteristics (*viśeṣa*), there can never be any specific attribute in its evolutes (*vikāra*); and since specific attributes are found to be present in the evolutes, therefore there is no productivity from Nature.

36. Since Nature is productive in essence, no cause of destruction is established with respect to its results; and, since we observe the destruction of the evolutes, therefore we must hold the cause at work to be something different.

37. Since union subsists with that which has the potentiality (of causing rebirth), nothing is gained by ascetics (*yati*) desirous of absolute salvation (*sunaiṣṭhika mokṣa*); for, since the continuance of activity is the essence of man's nature, how can they be released (from this life) except to pass on (to renewed activity) in the beyond?

38. Since Nature has by hypothesis the characteristic of being productive, its evolutes must equally have the same characteristics, but this is not always the case with regard to the evolutes in this world; therefore Nature is not productive.

¹ Owing to the repetition of *yon-tan*, T telescopes *ḷ* and *c* into one line, omitting seven syllables; C enables the gap to be filled with certainty.

39. The action of Nature, they say, is not perceptible (*avyakta*) to the mind,¹ yet it is said to have perceptible evolutes. Therefore Nature is not a cause of the continuance of activity; for it is established that a result in the world can only proceed from a cause which is equally manifest.

40. An inanimate (*acetana?*) Nature cannot have for its effects animate beings such as horses, oxen or mules; for nothing animate proceeds from inanimate causes.

41. Just as a garland of gold is a special form (*viśeṣa*), so the evolutes of Nature are special forms; and, since the result is a special form, while the cause is not one, therefore Nature has no productive efficiency.²

42. If Time is postulated as the creator of the world, then there is no liberation for seekers. For the cause of the world would be perpetually productive, so that men would have no end.

43. Some see the determining principle as the selfness in the matters (*dravya*),³ which is one and is made manifold by the attributes (*guṇa*); though they take their stand on a single cause, yet it has separate characteristics (*bhinnaviśeṣa*).⁴

*44. The attribute-theorist sees in the variety of attributes the operation of matter, which is born from a certain maturation (*pāka?*).⁵ Since the cause is held to be not different (from the effect),⁶ one must conclude that the matters are ineffective (*śūnya*).

¹ Uncertain. C seems to put this verse after 40.

² T puts this verse wrongly after 46, C here. The argument is that effects show characteristics not to be found in the cause as postulated.

³ Reading *rdzas* for I.O.'s *rdzes* and P's *rjes*, as indicated by C.

⁴ I do not understand this verse. It seems to be taken by T as connected with the three following verses, which are wanting in C and probably interpolated, and which are apparently intended to refute the classical Sāṃkhya, whose main principles were only developed at a substantially later date (see the Introduction to my translation of the *Buddhacarita* for the Sāṃkhya as known to Aśvaghōṣa).

⁵ Uncertain; I omit an unintelligible *sar* ("on earth," or for *sad?*) at the end of *a*.

⁶ Or, "without special characteristics."

*45. Certainly the unmanifested (*avyakta*), from which matter arises, cannot be the subject of a valid inference; for by perception (*pratyakṣataḥ?*) we do not see in fact the development of a result which is manifest from that which is unmanifest.

*46. As for the result which first arises from the unmanifest and comes into activity from the pair of manifests,¹ from it (sc. the unmanifest?) which is postulated arises in this world the great one (*mahat*) which is not postulated, and there ensue the defects of the Nature-hypothesis.

47. If Man (*puruṣa*) were the cause with respect to the effect, everyone would certainly obtain whatever he wanted; yet in this world some desires remain unfulfilled, and against their will (*avaśa*) men get what they do not want.

48. If it were a matter within his own control, man would not let himself be born as an ox, horse, mule or camel; for, since men perform the acts they want and hate suffering, who would bring suffering on himself?

49. If Man were the agent in the world, he would certainly do what is agreeable to himself, not what is disagreeable; yet in the execution of his wishes the undesired is done as well as the desired, and who, if he were the controller of events (*mahésvara*), would carry out the undesired?

*50. Whereas man is afraid of evil (*adharmā*) and strives to attain the good (*dharma*), yet the various sins carry him away against his will; therefore in this matter man falls into bondage to an outside force (*paratantra*).

*51. Man has no dominion over himself but is subject to others; for we see the effects of cold, heat, rain, thunderbolts and lightning to frustrate his efforts. Therefore Man is not master (*iśvara*) over the effects.

52. Inasmuch as corn grows from the seed with the support of soil and water and by union with the right season, and as fire

¹ Incomprehensible; should perhaps be amended to "from the second unmanifest (*puruṣa*)."

originates from the wood and blazes with the addition of ghee, there is no absence of cause such as is called existence without a cause.

53. If the activity of the world proceeded without a cause, there would be no action by men. Everyone would obtain everything, and inevitably there would be universal (*sarvatragāmin?*) accomplishment in this world.¹

*54. Seeing that,² if pleasure and suffering were without a cause, there would be no apportionment of pleasure and suffering to everyone, and pleasure and suffering would not be comprehensible without a cause, therefore this which is called "without a cause" is not a cause.

*55. He knew that these and the like disparate causes do not cause the activity of the world. He saw the world not to be without a cause and he comprehended these defects of causelessness.

56. The various beings too, moving and stationary, come into existence in dependence on various causes; there is nothing in the world without a cause, yet the world does not know the universal cause.

57. Then Sudatta, having been given that good gift, understood the good Law of the Great Seer, Whose Law is noble, and with mind unalterably fixed in faith, addressed these words to Him:—

58. "My dwelling stands in Śrāvastī, a city renowned for virtue and ruled by the scion of Haryaśva's race. There I wish to make a monastery for You; deign to accept that flawless excellent abode.

59. Although, O Sage, I see that You are indifferent to whether You live in a palace or a lonely forest, yet, O Arhat, out of compassion for me You should accept it for a dwelling."

60. Then He knew that he intended to give and that his mind was liberated. So He, Whose mind was free from passion and

¹ Reading *hdiv* for *hdi*.

² Read *gañ-tshe* for *gañ-char*.

Who knew the intentions, uttered His intention with the greatest gentleness (or, calm):—

61. “Your resolution is firm, (though you dwell) among treasures transitory as lightning, and your being is set (*adhimuc*) on giving. It is no wonder then that you should see the truth, rejoicing as you do by nature in the Law and delighting in giving.

62. Whatever goods are taken out of a burning house are not burnt up; similarly when the world is being burnt up with the fire of death (*kāla*), a man gains whatever he gives away.

63. Therefore the liberal-minded know giving to be the real (*samyak*) enjoyment of the objects of sense. But niggardly men, seeing the danger of exhaustion (of their wealth), do not give for fear they may have nothing to enjoy.

64. Giving wealth (*artha*) at the right time to a proper recipient (*pātra*) is like fighting with heroism and pride. The man who is eminent in resolution knows this, but not others, and he alone gives and fights with determination.

65. Because he is a giver, who fares through the world delighting in giving and thereby obtains fame and a good name, good men honour him for his generosity and associate with him.

66. Thus he is at ease in the world and does not fall into sin from lack of longsuffering. Ever contented, because he claims to have done good, in the hour of death he is not affrighted.

67. The fruit¹ of the gift in this world may be some flowers, yet in the hereafter he will obtain the reward of the giver. For there is no friend like unto liberality for man who revolves on the wheel of the cycle of existence.

68. Those who are born in the world of men or in the heavens receive a station superior to their equals by reason of their charity; those too who are born as horses or elephants, will obtain the fruit by becoming chiefs (of horses or elephants).

¹ So T, apparently in the sense of “substance”; “recompense,” C.

69. By means of the gift he will go to heaven, surrounded by enjoyments and protected by his discipline. The man who is tranquillized and conducts himself with knowledge (*jñānapūrvam*) is without support (*āśraya*) and does not go the way of number.¹

70. He practises liberality also in order to obtain deathlessness and delights in thinking (*smṛ*) on giving; his mind by reason of that delight certainly becomes concentrated.

71. With this success (*samudaya*) in concentration of mind gradually he comes to a knowledge of birth and suppression; for by giving to others, the sins that abide in the heart of the giver of the gift are diminished.

72. First, it is said, the giver cuts off attachment to those goods which he gives away, and since he gives with an affectionate mind, he thereby abandons wrath and pride.

73. In the case of the giver who rejoices on seeing the recipients' pleasure and is therefore not niggardly, and who reflects on the fruit of the gift, scepticism (*nāstitva*) and the darkness of ignorance are destroyed.

74. Therefore giving is one of the elements of salvation, since by it are subdued the avarice to which the ignoble resort and the thirst by which the habit of giving is destroyed; for when it is present, there is salvation by destruction of the sins.

75. Just as some like trees for their shade, some for their fruit and some for their flowers, so some employ themselves in giving for the sake of quietude, others for the sake of wealth.

76. Therefore in particular householders do not store up their goods, but give according to their means; and since it is giving which alone bestows value on wealth,² this is the path for the good to follow.

¹ T has two syllables each in excess in *c* and *d*; I omit *kyāñ nī* and *gañ* (or *dañ*) *na*. The translation, guaranteed by C, is mechanical; *āśraya* perhaps "the body with its organs," and "number" recalls *na upeti saṃlcham*, *Suttani-pāṭu*, 209, &c. (see note on xii. 77, in my translation).

² Literally, "Giving is the pith (*sāra*) of wealth which is pithless."

77. The giver of food gives strength, the giver of clothes too beauty, but he who gives an abode for the religious gives everything in the world.

*78. The giver of a vehicle also gives comfort, and the giver of a lamp illumination. Hence he who preaches the Law of ultimate beatitude gives the deathlessness that cannot be taken away.

79. Some give gifts for the sake of the passions, others for riches, others for fame, some for heaven, others in order not to be wretched (*krpāṇa*?); but this gift of yours has no ulterior motive.

80. Therefore bravo to you, who have formed such a desire; and when you have brought your intention to fulfilment, be contented. You, who came here possessed of passion (*rajas*) and the darkness of ignorance (*tamas*), will go away with your mind purified by knowledge."

81. He who had come rightly to the real truth by the path, full of joy and . . .,¹ took the matter of the Vihāra much to heart and set off in due course with Upatisya.

82. Thereon he came to the capital of the Kośala king and wandered about in search of a site for the Vihāra. Then he saw the garden of Jeta, majestic and suitable, with trees entrancing in their beauty.

83. Then in order to buy it he visited Jeta, who was too attached to it to sell it. "Even," he said, "if you were to cover it entirely with money, still I would not let you have the land."

84. Then Sudatta said to him there, "I have need(?) of the garden²," and persisted in his desire for it. Then he covered it with treasure and, looking on it as a business (*vyavahāra*) of the Law, he bought it.

85. When Jeta saw that he was giving the money, he became extremely devoted to the Buddha, and gave up to the Tathāgata the rest of the grove in its entirety.

¹ *gzlung-pa byas-pa*, T; "with intelligence increased by conversion," C.

² *tshal de-la rim byas*, T; C expands and does not explain this phrase.

86. Then with Upatiṣya, the great seer, in charge of the works as Superintendent, Anāthapiṇḍada determined to do it quickly, and with mind liberated and unattached, he started to build a mighty Vihāra, glorious in beauty,

87. And the embodiment of his wealth and power and insight, even like the palace of the Lord of Wealth come down to earth, and like the Fortune of the Northern Kośala capital, and like the stage (*bhūmi*) of Tathāgatahood.

(*To be continued.*)

The Buddha's Mission and last Journey:
Buddhacarita, xv to xxviii.

Translated by
E. H. Johnston, Oxford.

(*Continuation.*)

CANTO XIX

The Meeting of Father and Son.

1. Then the Sage, having overcome by His knowledge all the teachers of the various systems, set forth in due course from the city of the Five Mountains for that inhabited by his royal father.

2. Then the thousand disciples He had just converted went too. He arrived at his father's realm, and then, in order to do him a favour, stayed near His native city.

3. Then the purohita and the wise minister, hearing the joyful news from their trustworthy spies that the Noble One had returned with His aim accomplished,¹ respectfully informed the king.

4. Then the king, learning of His arrival, was filled with joy, and desiring to see Him, set out to meet Him with a cortege of all the citizens, forgetful in his haste of all decorum (*dhairya*).

5. He saw Him in the distance surrounded by His disciples, like Brahmā in the midst of the seers; and out of respect for the Law of the Great Seer,² he alighted from his chariot and approached on foot.

¹ T omits two syllables in c and I complete the translation from C.

² Or possibly, "in accordance with the custom regarding great seers."

6. Hastening into His presence, at the sight of the Sage he uttered no words; for he was as incapable of calling Him "Mendicant" as of calling Him "Son."

*7. Then as he looked at His mendicant's robes and contemplated the various ornaments on his own person, his sighs came fast, and shedding tears he lamented in an undertone:—

8. "Like a traveller overcome by thirst, who approaches the distant pool to find it dried up, my affliction becomes overwhelming on seeing Him sitting close by me calmly and without change of feeling.

9. As I look on that same form of His, as one might look at the pictured representation of a dear one, still remembered in mind, but abiding at the end of the world, I feel no delight just as He feels none.

10. The earth, engirdled by all the mountains, should belong to Him, as it did to Māndhātṛ in the golden age; yet He, Who should not beg even from a king, now lives by begging from others.

11. He dwells here, surpassing Meru in steadfastness, the sun in brightness, the moon in beauty, a great elephant in stride, a bull in voice; yet He eats the food of mendicancy instead of winning the earth."

12. Then the Buddha knew that His father still thought of Him in his mind as his son, and in His compassion for the monarch (*lokādhideva*) He flew up into the sky for his sake.

13. He touched the chariot of the sun with His hand and walked on foot in the path frequented by the wind; He transformed His single body into many and then made the many bodies into one.

14. Without impediment He plunged into the earth as if into water, and walked on the surface of the water as if on dry land; and He calmly (*prasanna?*) penetrated the mountain, passing through it¹ as free from obstruction as if moving through the air.

15. With one half of His body He emitted showers of rain, and with the other He blazed as if with fire. He appeared in the

¹ *thad-kar mdsad-pa*; *thad-ka* = *tiryak* according to Bacot, Dictionnaire Tibétain-Sanscrit. Two syllables missing in *c*.

sky shining gloriously, as brilliant as the bright herbs on the mountain.

16. Thus He produced delight in the mind of the king, who was so fond of Him, and, seated in the sky like a second sun, He expounded the Law to the ruler of men:—

17. “I know, O king, that in your compassionate nature you are overtaken by sorrow at the sight of Me. Give up that delight in having a son, and, becoming calm, accept from Me the Law in place of a son.¹

18. What no son has ever before given to a father, what no father has ever before received from a son, that which is better than a kingdom or than Paradise, know that, O king, to be the most excellent deathlessness.

19. Guardian of the earth, recognize the nature of the act, the birthplace of the act, the vehicle (*āśraya*) of the act and the lot that comes by maturation of the act, and know the world to be under the dominion of the act; therefore practise that act which is advantageous.

20. Consider and ponder on the real truth of the world. The good act is man's friend, the bad one the reverse. You must abandon everything (when you die) and go forth alone, without support (*āśraya*), accompanied only by your acts.

21. The world of the living fares on under the impulse (*āśraya*) of the act, whether in heaven or hell, among animals or in the world of men. The cause of existence is threefold,² threefold the birthplace (*yoni*), and various are the deeds that men commit.

22. Therefore rightly direct yourself to the other alternative (or, the class of two, *dvivarga*) and purify the actions of your body and voice. Strive for quietude of the mind. This is your goal; there is no other.

¹ T is two syllables short in *d*; following C, read something like *mas-su chos-la* for *gar-pa*.

² Probably *rāga*, *dveṣa* and *moha*.

23. Knowing the world to be restless as the waves of the sea and meditating on it, you should take no joy in the spheres of existence, and should practise that act which is virtuous and leads to the highest good, in order to destroy the power of the act.

24. Know that the world ever revolves like the circle of the asterisms; even the gods pass their peak and fall from heaven, how much less then may one rely on the human state?

25. Know the bliss of salvation to be the supreme bliss, and internal (*adhyātma*) delight to be the highest of all delights. What self-controlled (*ātmavat*) man rejoices in the pleasures of splendour, seeing that it is attended by many dangers, like a house infested with snakes?

26. Look therefore on the world as encompassed with great dangers like a house on fire, and seek for that stage which is tranquil and certain, and in which there is neither birth nor death, neither toil nor suffering.

27. Crush the hostile armies of the faults, for which there is no need of wealth or territory or weapons or horses or elephants. Once they are conquered, there is nothing more to conquer.

28. Comprehend suffering, the cause of suffering, the appeasement and the means of appeasement. By thoroughly penetrating these four, the great danger and the evil births (*durgati*) are suppressed."

29. Then, since the Blessed One's display of miraculous power had previously made the king's mind a fit field for instruction, now on receiving His Law by hearing, he was thrilled and folding his hands he uttered these words:—

30. "Wise and fruitful are Your deeds, in that You have released me from great suffering. I, who formerly rejoiced in the calamitous gift of the earth for the increase of grief, now rejoice in the fruit of having a son.

31. Rightly (*sthāne*) You went away, abandoning sovereign glory. Rightly You toiled with great labour, and rightly, beloved as You were, You left Your dear relations and have had compassion on us.

32. For the good of the distressed world You have also obtained this final beatitude, which not even the divine seers or the royal seers arrived at in olden times.

33. If You had become a universal monarch (*cakravartin*), You would not have caused me such joy as I now firmly feel by the sight of these magic powers and of Your Law.

34. If You had remained bound up with life here even in this existence, You would as a Cakravartin have protected mankind, but now as a Sage, having broken down the great suffering of the cycle of existence, You preach the Law for the sake of the world.

35. By displaying these miraculous powers and deep-searching wisdom and by completely overcoming the perils of the cycle of existence, even without sovereignty You have become the Lord (*īśvara*) in the world, but even with sovereignty prospering You would not have become so, if helplessly conjoined with existence."

36. Many such things spoke the Śākya king, who had become fit (to receive)¹ the teaching of the Compassionate One's Law, and, though he stood in the position of king and father, yet he did obeisance to his Son, because he had penetrated the truth.

37. Many persons, who had witnessed the Sage's possession of miraculous power, who had understood the doctrine (*śāstra*) that pierced through to the real truth, and who saw the king His father reverencing Him,² conceived a desire to leave their homes.

38. Then many princes, in possession of the fruit of their deeds,³ adopted that method of religion (*dharmavidhi*), and, regardless of the Vedic Scriptures (*mantra*) and their great means of enjoyment, abandoned their loving weeping families.

39. Ānanda, Nanda, Kṛmīla, Aniruddha, Nanda, Upananda, and also Kuṇṭhadhāna, and Devadatta, the false teacher of the disciples, after instruction by the Sage, left their homes.

¹ T omits two syllables in *a*.

² Or, "saw the king reverencing Him as his Guru."

³ *phalastha*, referring to the fruit of their past deeds and to their present enjoyments.

40. Then the purohita's son, the great-souled Udāyin, went forth on the same path; and Upāli, the son of Atri (or, the Ātreya), seeing their decision, made up his mind to the same course.

41. The king too, seeing his Son's power, entered the stream of the supreme deathlessness, and dead to attachment he handed over the realm to his brother and abode in the palace, behaving as a royal seer.

42. The Buddha, having converted these and other relations, friends and followers, entered the city at the proper time in full control of Himself amid the welcome of the weeping citizens.

43. Hearing the news that the King's Son, Sarvārthasiddha, His task accomplished, was entering the town, the women in the palaces rushed to the doors and windows.

44. When the women saw Him clad in the ochre-coloured robe, yet shining like the sun half-covered by an evening cloud, they shed tears and, folding their lotus-like hands, did obeisance to Him.

45. As the women saw Him proceeding with down-gazing face, illuminated by the Law and the beauty of His person, they manifested pity and devotion, and, their eyes turbid with tears, they thus lamented:—

46. "His beautiful body¹ is transformed by the shaving of His head and the wearing of cast off garments, yet He is enveloped in the colour of gold from His body. So He walks, directing His eyes on the ground.²

*47. He Who was worthy to shelter under the white umbrella, to . . . , to . . .³ and to be a conqueror, now goes along, holding the begging-bowl.

48. He Who ought to ride on a horse under the shelter of an umbrella, white as the face of a beautiful woman, when a *tamāla* leaf has been applied to her cheek, goes on foot, holding the begging-bowl.

¹ Supplied conjecturally from C; two syllables missing in *b*.

² Two syllables missing in *d*; I supply *sa-la*, indicated by C.

³ I can find no plausible translation for *b* and the first half of *c* of this interpolated verse.

49. He Who should be humbling enemy princes and Who, wearing a brilliant headdress, should be gazed at by troops of women and by His attendant retinue, walks along looking at only a yoke's length of ground in front of Him.

50. What is this system (*darśana*) of His, what these mendicant's badges, what goal does He seek, why has pleasure become His enemy, that He should delight in vows, not in children and wives?

51. The king's daughter-in-law, Yaśodharā, was certainly gripped by grief, yet what a difficult thing she did, that, on hearing of this her Lord's conduct, she survived the news and did not pass to destruction.

52. When too the lord of men sees his Son's form shining in accordance with His beauty but no longer adorned (*vivarna*), does he remain fond of his Son, or does he look on Him as a harmful enemy? ¹

53. If, on seeing His son Rāhula bathed in tears, He feels no attachment to him, what is one to think of such resolute vows that turn a man's face away from his affectionate kinsfolk?

54. Neither His lustre, nor the form of His body, nor His stride have been destroyed by the practice of pleasure; and yet, shining with these qualities, He has come to quietude and separated Himself from the objects of sense."

55. Thus the women uttered many laments, grasping at different opinions like the various teachers. The Buddha too with His mind untouched entered His native city and, obtaining alms, returned to the Nyagrodha grove.

56. With mind free from desire the Tathāgata had entered His father's town for alms; and He kept in mind His wishes to liberate the folk, whose means were small from their not having practised good (in the past) and who could give but little alms, to strengthen the brethren (*śramaṇa*), who had not gained control of their minds and who did not find contentment by such proceedings

¹ Translation of second hemistich uncertain; C not literal enough to help.

(i.e. alms-seeking), to be able to answer "Happiness be yours" (?) to the world, and similarly to preach the Scriptures(?).¹

CANTO XX

Acceptance of the Jetavana.

1.² (The Buddha), having had compassion on the great multitude (in Kapilavāstu),³ set forth with a mighty following for the city guarded by the arm of Prasenajit.

2. Then he arrived at the glorious Jetavana, brilliant with the outspread bloom of its *aśoka* trees, resonant with the voices of intoxicated⁴ cuckoos, and having a row of lofty dwellings, white as the snow of Kailāsa.

3. Then taking an ewer of pure water, which was embossed with gold and adorned with a white wreath, Sudatta in due course presented the Jetavana to the Tathāgata.

4. Then king Prasenajit, desiring to see the Sage of the Śākya, set off for the Jetavana. Then on his arrival he reverently did Him obeisance, and sitting down thus addressed Him:—

5. "Your desire, O Sage, to stay in this city will certainly bring good fortune to the Kośala people. For is not the country, which has not the support of such a Knower of the real truth (*tattvadarśin*), ruined or unfortunate?

6. Or rather at the sight of You and at Your acceptance of our obeisance in order to do us a favour, a satisfaction is now ours, such as is not felt by men even on meeting with the good.

7. The wind assumes the nature (i.e. scent) of whatever thing it blows upon; and birds, by gaining contact with Meru, lose their natural selves and are turned to gold.

¹ *yoñis-su bris ñīd*; perhaps for *yoñis-su dris ñīd*, "(to preach) on being questioned."

² Verses 1–19 in T are misplaced, following on verse 38.

³ One line missing in T.

⁴ Read *yañ-dag dmar-por* (*saṃrakta*) for *yan-lag dmar-por* (*raktāṅga*).

8. Therefore it is only by obtaining the residence in it of a saintly Being, Who is Lord of this world and of the hereafter, that my grove is glorious to see, like the palace of Triśaṅku, when it received the great sage, the son of Gādhin (Viśvāmitra).

9. The various gains that are won in the world are transitory and come to an end,¹ but for those countless things which arise from proximity to You there is no destruction.

10. O Saint (*sādhu*), no gain is known outside this, namely the sight of Your doctrine(?). O Lord, I have suffered and been harassed by passion (*rāga*) and the kingly profession (*rāja-dharma*)."

11. The Sage listened graciously to these and other such words from the Indra-like king, and knowing him to be addicted to rapacity and lust, replied thus to stir up his mind:—

12. "O king, it is no great wonder that you should speak thus or act thus towards the saintly . . .²

13. Those who desire to come up from below . . . to the righteous people who desire their benefit . . .

14. Since, O guardian of the earth, such is your state of mind, I desire therefore to say somewhat to you. Do you then comprehend My teaching and so act that it may be fruitful.

15. Lord of men, when Time binds and drags away the king, neither relations nor friends nor sovereignty will follow you; all will depart, afflicted and helpless. Your deeds alone will accompany you like a shadow.

16. Therefore guard your kingdom according to the Law, if you desire Paradise and a good reputation. For there is no kingdom at all in Paradise for the king who in his delusion misapplies (*ākulaya?*) the Law.

17. By guarding his kingdom in this world according to the Law Kṛśāsva gained Heaven, while the lord of men, Nikumbha,

¹ Reading *hḍad-pa-can* for *mḍad-pa-can* ("bound up with *karma*").

² T has telescoped two verses into one, omitting two lines of each; it is not possible to supply the missing part from C, which paraphrases freely here.

resiling from the Law in this world out of delusion, entered the earth in Kāśi.

18. I have given you this example, my friend (*saumya*), of good (*ārya*) and evil deeds. Therefore ever guard your subjects well, and with due reflection strive steadfastly for the right.

19. Thus do not harass human beings, never give free play to your senses; do not consort with the vicious or give way to anger, do not let your mind wander on evil courses,

20. Do not trouble (*muh?*) virtuous people through pride, do not oppress (*han*) ascetics who are to be treated as friends (*mitrasaṃjñā*),¹ do not undertake holy vows under the influence of sin, and do not adhere at all to evil views.

21. Do not resort to the marvellous (?),² be not addicted to evil deeds, be not affected by arrogance (*mada*), do not listen with displeasure or intolerance, do not exhaust (?)³ your fame or fix your mind on falsehood, do not take land revenue in excess of the share allowed by the laws (*śāstra*).

22. Keep your mind level and carry out the Law, consort with the good and . . .;⁴ so act that, having obtained this eminence (as king now), you may arrive again (in the next life) at a noble position.

23. Applying energy (*vīrya*), grasping steadfastness (*dhairya*),⁵ producing learning (*vidyāk*), overcoming the sins (*doṣa*), do the work of a religious man (*ārya*) in constant recollection of death, and winning a great position gain possession of the path.⁶

¹ Two syllables missing, one of which must be the negative; I conjecture, as apparently indicated by C, *dkaḥ-thub-ldan-rnams* for *dkaḥ-thub-rnams* for the other, "ascetics" for "austerities."

² *mtshar-la*; possibly for *mtshan-la*, which could be understood as *nimitta*, "omens."

³ *mi-bzad (kṣi)*; possibly for *mi-bzan*, i.e. "do not fix your mind on falsehood that brings ill fame."

⁴ *ri-mo khod mdzod-cig*.

⁵ Reading *brtan-pa* for *bstan-pa*, a very common corruption.

⁶ *māhātmyalābhād adhigaccha mārgam*.

24. You should, my friend, again do that work which protects¹ this fruit; for the prudent man, who has done this deed (in the past), sows the seed whose fruit he has seen.

25. In this world he who, being in a lofty position, gives way to sin, is in the light, but his mind stands in darkness; but he who is devoted (*pradhana*) to the Law yet is not a chief among men, is in darkness, but his mind stands in the light.²

26. Whoever, being of high degree, practises the way of the Law, his mind becomes extremely white (*śukla*?); and whoever, being of low degree, does sinful acts, his mind becomes extremely dark.

27. Therefore, O king, knowing the existence of these four groups, exert yourself as you will; but if you wish to fare in pleasure, you will find yourself in the three lower classes, not in the first.

28. It is impossible for a man to do good (*kuśala*) for another's account, or, if he does it, it does not accrue to the other. The effect of one's own act is not destroyed, but is experienced by oneself, and the accrual of what is not done is not accepted as a fact.

29. Since what is not done has no efficacy,³ that which is not done does not turn to good (*śreyas*) in the hereafter, and, as thereby there is not even cessation of existence (*viḥava*) in the world, therefore exert yourself in the method of good deeds.

30. The wicked man who commits sin to excess has no enjoyment in himself in the world of the living. Having committed his own sins to his own account, in the hereafter he will certainly experience the fruit himself.

31. Four great mountains, O mighty king, come together and crush the world; what is there to be done except with the support (*āśraya*) of the various deeds done in accordance with the Law to the best of one's capacity (*yathopapattau*)?⁴

¹ *skyon-ba*; but should it not be *skyed-pa*, "produces"?

² Cp. *Samyutta*, I, 93 ff., for this and the next two verses.

³ Reading *rgyu-la* for *brgya-la*.

⁴ Cp. *Samyutta*, I, 100 ff.

32. Similarly when these four, birth,¹ old age, disease and eke death come together, the entire world revolves helplessly, encompassed as it were by four mountains.

33. When then this suffering comes on us against our will, and against it we have neither support nor power of resistance nor protection, there is no resource (*auṣadhi?*) for us to take except the Law, which is unfailing and inexhaustible.

34. Therefore, inasmuch as the world is impermanent and given to sensual pleasures, which are transitory as a flash of lightning, and as it stands on the fingertips of Death, man should not undergo the fruit of not following the Law.

35. Those various kings, who were like Great Indra, fought even in the divine battles and were mighty and proud(?),² yet in course of time suffering was their lot.

36. Even the earth that supports all beings is destroyed, and Meru is burnt up by the cosmic fire; the mighty ocean dries up, how much more then does the world of man, transitory as foam, go to destruction?

37. The wind blows violently and yet dies down, the sun scorches the world and yet goes to its setting, the fire too blazes and yet becomes extinguished; all that is, I ween, is in such case and subject to change.

38. This body, though long guarded with care and cherished with various enjoyments, yet abiding here but a few days . . .³

39. Know that in this state of the world men, fostering pride and arrogance (*mada*), in time lie down to sleep on lofty couches; do not lie down on them, but keep awake for the sake of the highest good.

40. The world mounts the ever-moving swing⁴ of the cycle of existence, and is heedless, though its fall is certain . . .⁵

¹ So C; T has *rgud-pa* (*vipatti*, for *upapatti?*).

² *nes-par zum-pa-rnams*; *nismita* for *vismita?*

³ Last line missing in T; exact sense of it apparently not given by C.

⁴ T omits two syllables; supplied from C.

⁵ Two lines missing in T and the sense not given in C.

41. Do not resort to that which does not have pleasant consequences (*sambandha?*), do not do that which has evil fruit; he is not a friend who is not conjoined with good, that is not knowledge which does not dispel suffering.

42. If you have knowledge, there is no more existence for you, or if there is existence, it is in the bodiless state; for, if you continue incarnated in a body, you are not released from the objects of sense, and the sphere of passion is ephemeral and calamitous.

43. Since even the Arūpa deities, as still subject to the power of the act, are impermanent and under the dominion of Time, therefore set your mind on the cessation of activity (*apavṛtti*); if there is no activity, there is no suffering.

44. Since the body is the root of suffering in view of its dependence on the various actions such as moving, standing and the like, therefore the debt of the body is acquitted by the existence of knowledge which is competent with regard to the bodiless state.

45. Since the world comes to birth by reason of passion and thereby undergoes much great suffering, therefore when a man can detach himself (*vivīc*) from the sphere of passion (*kāmabhava*), he is no longer attached to suffering and ceases to be afflicted.¹

46. Therefore whether among the Arūpa deities or among the Rūpa deities who are still subject to the lusts (*kāma*), the continuance of activity is not stilled because of the liability to transmigration, how much more then is it not so for those in the domain (*pracāra*) of the six lusts?

47. Seeing the three spheres of existence to be thus impermanent, suffering and without self, and to be ever on fire, there is no place of refuge for men to enter, as for birds whose roosting-tree is ablaze.

¹ Two syllables missing in *d* and the translation is accordingly not certain, though the general sense is right.

48. This is the best thing to be known, nothing else is to be known. This is the best wisdom (*mati*), nothing else is wisdom. This is the best task, nothing else is admitted (to be such) . . .¹

49. It is certainly not to be thought that this Law is not for those who dwell in houses. Whether abiding in the forest or in the house, only he really exists who achieves quietude.

50. A man, when scorched with heat, enters the water, and everyone obtains relief from a cloud. He who has a lamp sees in the darkness. Yoga is the means (*pramāṇa*), not age nor family.

51. Some, though they live in the forest in their old age (*vayas*), fail to practise yoga, and, breaking their vows, descend to an evil existence (*durgati*); others, though living in their homes, purify their actions and, taking proper heed, attain to the final beatitude.

52. Among the folk struggling in the ocean of ignorance (*tamas*), whose waves are wrong views and whose water existence, only he who has the boat of mystic wisdom (*prajñā*) with the oars of awareness and energy is rescued therefrom."

53. Thus the king, who was much given to the objects of sense, received this truth (*tattva*) of the Law from the Omniscient, and, with the conviction born in him that evil kingship is impermanent and unstable, returned to Śrāvastī in sober mood like an elephant freed from *must*.

54. The other doctors of learning (*tīrthika*), knowing that the lord of the earth had bowed down to Him, challenged Him of the Ten Forces to a display of magic powers; and, when the guardian of the earth requested Him to do so, the Seer Who had conquered self consented² to exhibit His magic might.

55. Then the Sage shone with an orb diffusing splendour, like the rising sun outshining the stars, and He defeated the teachers

¹ Last line missing in T. C has, "By this one approaches the doctrine, separated from this one is parted from the right."

² Read *sdum-pas* for *sdug-pas*, as indicated by C.

of the various systems by magic powers of many kinds, giving general delight(?).

56. Then after the people of Śrāvastī had honoured and revered Him therefor, He departed with the extremest (*nirut-tara?*) majesty and mounted above the triple universe in order to preach¹ the Law for the benefit of His mother.

57. Then the Sage converted by His knowledge His mother who dwelt in Heaven; and passing the rainy season there and accepting alms in due form from the ruler of the Sky-gods, He descended from the heavenly worlds to Saṃkāśya.

58. The gods, who had acquired tranquillity, stood in their mansions and followed Him with their eyes, as if they were falling to earth,² and the various kings on earth, raising their faces to the sky, received Him with their heads, as they did obeisance to Him.

CANTO XXI

Progress (*srotas*) of the Mission.

1. After converting in Heaven His mother and the heavenly dwellers who were desirous of salvation, the Sage travelled over the earth, converting those who were due for conversion by Him.

2. Then in the city that lies in the midst of the five mountains, the Teacher (*Vināyaka*) converted Jyotiṣka, Jīvaka, Śūra, Śroṇa and Aṅgada.

3. He turned from their former views the king's son, Abhaya, Śrīgupta, Upāli, Nyagrodha and others, who held the (views of the two) ends (permanence and annihilation).

4. He converted the lord of Gāndhāra, Puṣkara by name, who abandoned his royal glory immediately on hearing the Law.

5. Then He, Whose energy (*parākrama*) was extensive (*vipula*), converted on Mount Vipula the Yakṣas Haimavata and Sātāgra.

¹ Read *gsuñ-bar* for *bsruñ-bar*, as indicated by C.

² This is apparently the meaning, but T omits two syllables in the first line and is not clear.

6. The Knower of qualities (*guṇadarśin*) brought to the faith at night in Jivaka's mango-grove the king (Ajātasātru) accompanied by his five hundred¹ queens.

7. Then on Mount Pāsāṇa the Brahman Pārāyaṇa, who was intent on quietude,² started the study of the meanings decided by subtle words.³

8. Then in Veṇukaṅṭhaka He converted the saintly mother of Nanda, who by good awareness (*satsmṛti*) saw (hidden) treasures before her eyes.⁴

9. Then in the village of Sthāṇumatī the excellent Brahman Kūṭadatta, who wished to sacrifice with all sorts of sacrifices, was caused to enter the Law of Salvation.

10. Then on the Videha mountain Pañcaśikha and the Asurīs(?) and gods⁵ entered into firm conviction.

11. Then in the city of Aṅga the Yakṣa Pūrṇabhadra and the great snakes, Śreṣṭha,⁶ Daṇḍa; Śveta(?), Piṅgala(?) and Caṇḍa(?) were converted.

12. In the city of Āpaṇa the Brahmans Kenya and Śela, who were practising austerities (for the sake of being reborn in heaven),⁷ were brought to salvation.

13. Among the Suhmas the Holy One by the might of His magic power converted Aṅgulimāla, a Brahman who was cruel like Saudāsa.⁸

¹ Read *līa-brgya* for *līa-ḥyēd*; the occasion was that of the delivery of the *Śrāmaṇyaphalasūtra*.

² Doubtful; T is apparently corrupt, and I understand an original *sama-parāyaṇaḥ*.

³ Cp. the *Pārāyaṇavagga* of the *Suttanipāta*. C has, "was converted by the subtle meaning of half a *gāthā*."

⁴ C puts this verse after verse 10.

⁵ So T apparently; C names merely "a heavenly spirit of great majesty and virtue named Pañcaśikha."

⁶ "Śroṇa," C; cp. Soṇadaṇḍa, the Brahman of Campā, *Dīgha*, I, 111 ff. C does not give the last three names.

⁷ Supplied from C; T omits a line.

⁸ *Iran-bzaṇe*, T; cp. the *Sutasomajātaka*.

14. In Bhadra the son of a gentleman (*bhadra*), Meṇḍhaka by name, of good livelihood and a generous giver, and like Pūrṇabhadrā in wealth, was caused to take the right views.¹

15. Then in the city of Videha the Best of speakers overcame by His preaching him who was named Brahmāyus, and whose lifetime was as extensive as Brahmā's.

16. He converted the flesh-eating monster (Markaṭa) in the pool at Vaiśālī as well as the Licchavis headed by Siṃha, and Uttara(?) and Satyaka.²

17. Then in the city of Alakāvati He, Whose work was good, brought to the way of the Law the Yakṣa Bhadra, who possessed a good disposition.

18. Then in a very evil forest (*aṭavī*) the Wise One instructed the Yakṣa Āṭavika and the young prince (*kumāra*) Hastaka.³

*19. Then in the city of . . .⁴ He Who saw salvation preached salvation to the Yakṣa Nāgāyana(?),⁵ while the Yakṣa king did obeisance.

20. At Gaya the Seer instructed the Ṭaṃkita(?) sages⁶ and the two Yakṣas, Khara and Śūciloma.

21. Then in the town of Varāṇasī the Possessor of the Ten Forces converted the Brahman Kātyāyana, nephew of Asita the sage.

22. Then He went by His magic powers to the city of Śūrparaka and in due course instructed the merchant Stavakarṇin,

¹ C mentions after this the conversion of two Yakṣas, Bhaddālī and Bhadra, in the same village; perhaps a misunderstanding of the epithets qualifying Meṇḍhaka.

² For the last two C has simply "the Nirgranthaputras."

³ Read *lag-hoṅs* for *legs-hoṅs*. "Very evil" is perhaps the name of the forest.

⁴ *bde-dgaḥ*; first syllable perhaps *śam*.

⁵ *śdig-med*, which stands for *nāga* verse 55 below; cp. *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra*, xv. 41.

⁶ For "Ṭaṃkita sages" C has "the demon Ṭakana," and it describes Khara as sister's son to Śūciloma. *Suttanipāta*, p. 47, gives the Yakṣas' dwelling as Ṭaṃkitamañca, the first member of which Professor Helmer Smith points out to me probably means "chiselled"; a reference perhaps to carved caves such as the Lomas Rishi Cave in the Barabar hills near Gaya.

23. Who, on being instructed, became so faithful that he started to build for the Best of seers a sandalwood Vihāra, which was ever odorous and touched the sky.

24. Then He converted Kapila the ascetic in Mahivati,¹ where the wheel-marks of the Sage's feet were seen on a stone.

25. Then in Varāṇa He instructed the Yakṣa Vārāṇa; similarly in Mathurā the fierce Gardabha was converted.

26. Then in the town of Sthūlakoṣṭhaka the Teacher converted him who was called Rāṣṭrapāla, whose wealth was equal to that of a king.

27. Then in Vairāñjā a great being (or, crowd) like Viriñca² was converted, and similarly in Kalmāśadamyā the learned Bhāradvāja(?).³

28. In Śrāvastī again the Sage dispelled the darkness of Sabhiya, of the Nirgrantha Naptrīputras and of the other doctors (*tīrthika*).⁴

29. Here too the Brahman sacrificers (*yajñaka*?), Puṣkalasādin(?) and Jātiśroṇi(?),⁵ as well as the king of Kośāla, were brought to believe on the Buddha.

30. Then in the forest land of Śetavika⁶ the Best of teachers taught a parrot and a starling (*śārikā*), birds (*dvija*) who were as learned as Brahmans.

¹ T takes *mahī* as *mah*, "brightness"; apparently the same place as that described in Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, 233.

² Perhaps "He Who was like Viriñca converted, &c."

³ The reference must be to the *Māgandīyasutta* of the *Majjhima*, and I take T's *rgya-chen skyes-bu-can* to stand for Bṛhadvājīn, but the last part may represent Māgandika (*Divyāvadāna*, 515 ff.) and *mīhas-pa rgya-chen* may be another name, as C has two, Sa-vi-sa-san and Agniveśya. The latter cannot be reconciled with T or the known legends, unless Agniveśya corresponds to the Aggikabhāradvāja of the *Suttanipāta*.

⁴ The correspondence of C for this and the next verse is not exact and its order may be wrong.

⁵ These seem to be the names indicated by C, T perhaps having Puṣkala-ādi and Jātiśreṇi; the Pali canon associates Pokkharasāti and Jānussoṇi with Śrāvastī and Kośāla.

⁶ Setavya in Pali, between Śrāvastī and Kapilavāstu.

31. Then in the town of . . .¹ the savage Nāgara (?)² and Kālaka and Kumbhīra whose deeds were ferocious were brought to tranquillity.

32. Then among the Bhārgasas (Bhārgas?) He converted the Yakṣa Bheṣaka³ and favoured similarly the aged parents of Nakula.

33. In Kauśāmbī the wealthy Ghoṣila, Kubjottarā and other women, and a multitude beside were converted.

34. Then in the Gāndhāra country the snake Apalāla, with his senses tamed by the Rule, passed beyond evil.

*35. Then the Wise One in due course preached sermons, after converting . . .,⁴ who desired to burn up like Death.

36. By the conversion of these and other beings, whether faring on earth or in the sky, the fame of the Buddha kept on waxing like the ocean at springtide (*parvaṇi*).

37. Devadatta, seeing His greatness (*māhātmya*), became envious and, losing control over the trances, he did many improper things.

38. With his mind sullied he created a schism in the Sage's community, and by reason of the separation, instead of being devoted to Him, he endeavoured to do Him hurt.

39. Then he set a rock rolling with force on Mount Gṛdhrakūṭa; but, though aimed at the Sage, it did not fall on Him but divided into two pieces.

40. On the royal highway he set loose in the direction of the Tathāgata a lord of elephants, whose trumpeting was as the thundering of the black clouds at the dissolution of the world, and whose rushing as the wind in the sky when the moon is obscured.

41. The streets of Rājagṛha became impassable through the corpses, which he had struck with his body or taken up with his trunk or whose entrails were drawn out by his tusks and scattered in heaps.

¹ *hthob-pa*, T; C gives the names of two places, A-śu-ca and Śa-ve-ra. There was a Kālakārāma at Sāketa according to the Pali canon.

² *gron-khyer gtsa*, T; "Śa-ve-ra," C.

³ The Pali canon knows a Bhesakalāvana in the Bhagga country.

⁴ *hbar-zhin hjigs-paḥi las-can*, T.

42. In his thirst for flesh he dug into men's thighs, and when his trunk touched the entrails, he cast twitching wreaths of them, as though they were stones, into the air to free himself while his fearsome head, ears and tongue dripped with blood.

43. The townsfolk were panicstruck and terrified of him, as he wandered in limitless fury, stained with drops of gore and putrescent blood, and imbued with the smell of the ichor that spread over his forehead.¹

44. As they saw the maddened elephant, like the fearsome club of Death (Yama), with his face swollen with insolence, trumpeting and rolling his eyes in wrath, cries of "Woe! Woe!" arose from Rājagrha.

45. Some ran despairingly in all directions, some hid in places where they could not be seen, and others, so frightened as to be afraid of nothing else, entered the houses of others.

46. Some took no account of their lives in their fear that the elephant might hurt the Buddha, and valiantly shouted behind him, uttering roars like a lion about to spring.

47. Similarly others called out to the mahout; some raised their hands to him imploringly, some too threatened him then, and others appealed to his love of money.

48. The young women, looking on from the balconies, flung their arms about and wept; some in terror covered² their eyes with copper-coloured hands, which had golden bracelets.

49. Despite the on-coming(?)³ elephant intent on slaughter, despite the weeping people holding up their arms (in warning), the Blessed One advanced, collected and unmoved, not breaking His step nor giving way to malevolence.

50. Quietly the Sage came on; for not even that great lord of elephants had power to touch Him, since in His benevolence (*maitrī*) He had compassion on all creatures and since the gods followed Him from devotion.

¹ The literal meaning and construction of the last clause is uncertain.

² Read *hgebs-pa-ḥo* for *hgeñs-pa-ḥo*.

³ *yons-su ro-myañ* (*paryāśvadat* for *pratyāśadat?*), T.

51. The disciples who were following the Buddha fled, on seeing the great elephant from afar. Ānanda alone followed the Buddha, just as the inherent nature follows the multiform world.

52. Then, as the enraged elephant drew near, he came to his senses through the Sage's spiritual power (*prabhāva*), and, letting his body down, he placed his head on the ground, like a mountain whose wings¹ have been shattered by a thunderbolt.

53. Just as the sun touches a cloud with its rays, the Sage stroked the lord of elephants on the head with His beautiful hand, soft as a lotus and having well-formed webbed fingers.

54. As the elephant bent low at His feet, like a black raincloud overladen with water, the Sage, seeing his palmleaf-like ears to be moveless, preached to him the religious peace, which is fit for rational beings:—

55. "The slaughter of the Sinless One (*nāga*)² is accompanied by suffering; do no harm, O elephant, to the Sinless One. For, O elephant, the life of him who slays the Sinless does not develop from existence to existence in the eight good births.

56. The three, love, hatred and delusion, are intoxicants hard to conquer; yet the sages are free of the three intoxicants. Free yourself therefore of these fevers and pass beyond sorrow.

57. Therefore in order to abandon this love of darkness, be quit of intoxication and resume your natural self. Do not, O lord of elephants, slip back through excess of passion into the mud of the ocean of transmigration."

58. Then the elephant, hearing these words, was freed from intoxication and returned to right feeling; and he obtained the good internal (*antargata*) pleasure, like one released from illness on drinking the elixir (*amṛta*).

59. On seeing the lord of elephants straightway giving up his intoxication and doing obeisance as a pupil to the Sage, some flung

¹ T read *paśma* for *paśa*.

² *sāg-med*, T; "the great *Nāga*," C.



up arms covered with clothes, others brandishing their arms let the clothes go.

60. Then some folded hands to the Sage,¹ and others surrounded Him. Some praised the great elephant for his nobility (*āryatva*), and others, filled with wonder, stroked him.

61. Of the women in the palaces, some did Him honour with new clothes of great price, and others showered down on Him their various ornaments and fresh garlands of entrancing quality.

62. When that elephant, who was like Death (*kāla*), stood humbled, those who did not believe entered the middle state, those who were already in the middle state reached a special degree of faith, and the believers were mightily strengthened.

63. Then Ajātaśatru, standing in his palace,² saw the lord of elephants tamed by the Sage and was overcome with amazement; joy grew in him, and he believed in the Buddha to the highest degree.

64. Just as, when the evil age passes away and the age of ascent begins, Law and Wealth increase, in such wise waxed the Sage by His fame, His magic powers, and His difficult undertakings.

65. But Devadatta, having in his malice done many evil and sinful deeds, fell to the regions below, execrated by king and people,³ by Brahmans and sages.

CANTO XXII

The Visit to Amrapāli's Grove.

1. Then in course of time, when the Best of speakers had favoured the world and filled the earth with His Law, His mind turned to Nirvāṇa.

2. Then in due time the Saint proceeded from Rājagṛha to Pāṭali-putra, where he stayed in the caitya known by the name of Pāṭali.

¹ Two syllables missing.

² T read *prasāda* for *prāsāda*.

³ Reading *skye-dgu-ba* for *sten rgu-ba*; the translation of the last clause is not quite certain.

3. Now at that time Varṣākāra, the minister of the Magadha king, had made a citadel to keep the Licchavis quiet.

4. The Tathāgata saw the gods bringing their treasures there and prophesied that the city would become pre-eminent in the world.

5. The best of Doers, after being honoured in due form by Varṣākāra, proceeded with his disciples towards the chief wife of Ocean.

6. Then he (Varṣākāra) caused the gate, by which the Holy One, brilliant as the sun, emerged, to be revered as the Gautama Gate.¹

7. He, Who had seen the crossing (of the ocean of transmigration), came to the bank of the Ganges, and, seeing the people with their various boats available,² reflected within Himself:—

8. “As it would be improper for Me to cross the river by effort, therefore I should go Myself without a boat by the force of My magic powers.”

9. Thus unseen by the spectators, He with His disciples then passed to the other side in a moment, exceeding even the pace of the wind.

10. Inasmuch as the Sage knew that it is the boat of knowledge which crosses the ocean of suffering, He crossed the Ganges without again using this (i.e. a material?) boat.

11. The bank, from which the Teacher crossed to the other side of the Ganges, is famous in the world as a place of pilgrimage, known by His family name (Gautama).

*12. Then the faces of the men, who wished to cross, who were crossing and who had crossed, opened wide in wonder, as their eyes fell on Him.

13. Then from the bank of the Ganges the Buddha went on to the village of Kuṭi, and, after preaching the Law there, went on to Nāḍṛka.

¹ T places this verse after 10; C rightly here.

² I am not sure of the exact sense and construction; C expands and, in contradiction with the next verse, makes the Buddha act out of fear of showing partiality by choosing one boat.

14. Many people had died there at that time, and the Sage explained in what world each of them had been reborn and as what.

15. After passing one night there, the Śrīghana moved on to the city of Vaiśālī and abode in a glorious grove in the domain of Amrapālī.

16. The courtesan Amrapālī, hearing the Teacher was there, mounted a modest equipage and went forth with great joy.

17. She wore diaphanous white garments and was without garlands or body-paint, like a woman of good family at the time of worshipping the gods.

*18. In the pride of her beauty,¹ she attracted by her united charms the minds and the wealth of the Licchavi nobles.

19. Self-assured in her loveliness and glory, like a forest goddess in beauty, she descended from her chariot and quickly entered the grove.

20. The Blessed One, seeing that her eyes were flashing and that she was a cause of grief to women of family, commanded His disciples with voice like a drum:—

21. “This is Amrapālī approaching, the mental fever of those whose strength is little; do you take your stand on knowledge, controlling your minds with the elixir of awareness.

22. Better is the neighbourhood of a snake or of an enemy with drawn sword, than that of woman for the man who is devoid of awareness and wisdom.

23. Whether sitting or lying down, whether walking or standing, or even when portrayed in a picture, woman carries away men’s hearts.

24. Even if they be afflicted by disaster (*vyasana*), or fling their arms about weeping, or be burnt with dishevelled hair, yet women are pre-eminent in power.

25. Making use of extraneous things, they deceive by many adventitious (*āhārya*) qualities, and concealing their real qualities they delude fools.

¹ Or this may refer to the Licchavis, not to Amrapālī.

26. By seeing woman as impermanent, suffering, without self and impure, the minds of the adepts are not overcome on looking at her.

27. With minds well accustomed to these temptations (*ālaya*), like cattle to their pastures, how can men be deluded when attacked by the pleasures of the gods?

28. Therefore taking the arrows of mystic wisdom, grasping the bow of energy in your hands and girding on the armour of awareness, think well¹ on the idea of the objects of sense.

29. It is better to sear the eyes with red-hot iron pins than to look on woman's rolling eyes with misdirected awareness.

30. If at the moment of death your mind be subject to passion, it binds you helplessly and takes you to a rebirth among animals or in Hell.

31. Therefore recognize this danger and do not dwell on the external characteristics (*nimitta*); for he sees truly, who sees in the body only Matter (*rūpa*).

32. In the world it is not the sense-organs which bind the objects, nor is it the objects which bind the senses. Whoever feels passion for them (the objects of sense), to them is he bound.

33. The objects and the sense organs are² mutually attached, like two oxen harnessed to the same yoke.

*34. The eye grasps the form and the mind considers it, and from that consideration arise passion with regard to the object and also freedom from passion.

*35. If then great calamity ensues by not properly examining the objects of sense, activity in the domain of the senses is conjoined with all disasters.

36. Therefore not abandoning awareness, faring with the highest heedfulness, and having regard to your own good (*svārtha*), you should meditate (*bhāvaya*) energetically³ with your minds."

¹ *mnos*, T, but "fight," C.

² Reading *yīn* for *mīn*, as apparently C, and understanding "through passion"; otherwise a negative must be inserted.

³ *gdvñ-med*, T, i.e. *atāpin* for *ātāpin*?

37. While He thus instructed the disciples who had not proceeded to the end of the matter, Amrapāli, seeing Him, drew near with folded hands.

38. Seeing the Seer seated with tranquil mind under a tree, she deemed herself highly favoured by His occupation (*paribhoga*) of the grove.

39. Then with great reverence, setting her eyes, restless as they were, in order, she did obeisance to the Sage with her head, which was like a *campaka* flower fully opened.

40. Then when she had seated herself in accordance with the Omniscient's directions, the Sage addressed her with words suited to her understanding:—

41. "This your intention is virtuous and your mind is steadfast by purification; yet desire for the Law is hard to find in a woman who is young and in the bloom of her beauty.¹

42. What cause is there for wonder that the Law should attract men of intelligence (*dhīmat*?) or women who are afflicted by misfortune (*vyasana*) or are self-controlled (*ātmavat*) or ill?

43. But it is extraordinary that in the world solely devoted (*ekarasa*) to the objects of sense a young woman, by nature weak in comprehension and unsteady in mind, should entertain the idea of the Law.

44. Your mind is turned to the Law, that is your real wealth (*artha*); for since the world of the living is transitory, there are no riches outside the Law.

45. Health is borne down by illness, youth cut short by age, and life snatched away by death, but for the Law there is no such calamity (*vipat*).

46. Since in seeking (for pleasure) one obtains only separation from the pleasant and association with the unpleasant, therefore the Law is the best path.

47. Dependence on others is great suffering, self-dependence the highest bliss; yet, when born in the race of Manu, all females are dependent on others.

¹ *phul-gnas-pa*; or "wealthy."

48. Therefore you should come to a proper conclusion, since the suffering of women is excessive by reason equally of their dependence on others and of child-birth."

49. Young in years, but not like the young in disposition, intelligence and gravity, she listened joyfully to these words of the Great Sage.

50. Through the Tathāgata's preaching of the Law,¹ she cast aside the condition of mind that was given up to the lusts, and, despising the state of being a woman and turning aside from the objects of sense, she felt loathing for her means of livelihood.²

*51. Then entirely prostrating her slender body, like a mango-branch laden with blossom, she fixed her eye with devotion on the Great Sage and again stood with purified sight for the Law.

52. The woman, though modest by nature, yet ever spurred on by longing for the Law, joined her hands like a clump of lotuses (*pañkajākara*) and spoke with gently uttered voice:—

53. "O Holy One, You have attained the goal and soothe suffering in the world. Deign in company with Your disciples to make the time of alms-seeking fruitful for me who am ripe for the fruit (? , *phalabhūta*), in order that I may receive a sermon."

54. Then the Blessed One, seeing her to be so devoted, and knowing animate beings to be dependent on food, gave His consent by silence and announced His intention to her with a gesture (*vikāra*).

55. He, Who possessed the supreme Law and an eye that discerned occasions (*kṣaṇakṛtyavat?*), rejoiced exceedingly in the vessel of the Law, . . . knowing that the best gain is by faith, He praised her.³

¹ Two syllables missing.

² *rañ-gi skeye-bohi rten-la*, T; properly *svajanāśraya*.

³ T omits one line, either *b* or *c*, and the exact sense and construction cannot be determined; Amrapāli may be the subject, not the Buddha. C is very brief and no help, but suggests the possibility that the real lacuna is in xxiii. 1, one line of this verse having been turned into two and transferred to that one to make up two missing lines in it.

The Buddha's Mission and last Journey:
Buddhacarita, xv to xxviii.

Translated by

E. H. Johnston, Oxford.

(Continuation.)

CANTO XXIII

Fixing the Factors of Bodily Life.¹

1. Then, understanding the Sage's intention, she did obeisance and returned to the town. The Licchavis, hearing the news, came to see the Buddha.

2. Some had white horses, chariots, umbrellas, garlands, ornaments and clothes; others again had them ruddy gold in hue.

3. Some had everything of beryl-yellow, and others of the colour of peacocks' tails. Thus gloriously apparelled, each to please himself, they came out.

4. With bodies vast as mountains and arms like golden yokes, they appeared like the glorious . . .² in bodily form in heaven.

5. As they stood, about to alight from their chariots, they shone like streaks of lightning across an evening cloud (*samdhyaḥhrapāda*).

6. Inclining their waving headdresses, they gravely saluted the Sage; though full of pride, yet they stood there as if become sober in their desire for the Law.

7. Their passion-free (*rajohīna*?)³ circle shone beside the Buddha like the bow of Indra (?) opposite the cloudless sun.

¹ *Śarīrāyuhṣaṃskārādhiṣṭhāna*.

² *bod-rin*, I.O.; *bon-rin*, P. For *hod-rin*?

³ This epithet should surely apply to the Buddha to make the comparison right.

8. Then Siṃha and the others seated themselves on lion-seats decorated with gold, having the form (*saṃsthāna*?) of lions on the ground, and the Man-lion said to them then:—

9. “This devotion of yours to the Law far exceeds in value your distinctions such as beauty of form, sovereignty and strength.

10. Neither your beauty, nor your magnificent clothes, nor your ornaments or garlands, have the same brilliance as the virtues of discipline and the like have.

11. I hold the Vrijjis to be favoured and fortunate in that they have for lords you who are knowers of the Law and seekers of the Rule (*vinayaśin*).

12. O nobles (*ārya*), protectors who abide in the Law are hard to find in due course for countries not outside the pale (of Āryāvarta)¹ and are not to be found for the unfortunate.

13. This country is favoured even by the Law, in that it is guarded by majestic nobles (*mahābhāga*), who protect the knowledge of the Law.

14. Therefore, just as cattle who want to cross a stream follow the herd-bull, so people flock to the country which is held by kings.

15. This discipline should be ever present in you, so that your riches (*svārtha*?) in this world and the next cannot be snatched away by the passions.

16. Great is the reward of discipline,—a contented mind, honour, gain, renown, trust and delight, and in the hereafter bliss.

17. As the earth is the support of all beings, moving and stationary, so discipline is the best support of all the virtues.

18. Know the man who abandons discipline and yet desires final beatitude to be like one without wings who wishes to fly, or like one without a boat who wishes to cross a river.

19. The man who, having renown and beauty and wealth, resiles from the discipline, resembles a tree loaded with flowers and fruit, yet covered with thorns.

¹ The original probably had the equivalent of Āryāvarta, and T may have misunderstood part of the compound as a vocative.

20. A man may live in a palace and wear gorgeous clothes and ornaments, but, if he have discipline, his way of life¹ is equal to that of a seer.

21. All are to be known as shams, who, though they wear dyed or bark garments and dress their hair in the various ascetic styles, have ruined their discipline.

22. Though he bathe three times a day at a sacred spot (*tīrtha*), though he pour oblations twice in the fire, though he be scorched with fiery heat, if he have not discipline, he is nothing.²

23. Though he deliver his body to beasts of prey, though he cast himself down a mountain, though he leap into fire or water, if he have not discipline, he is nothing.

24. Though he subsist on a modicum of fruit and roots, though he graze the grass like a deer, though he desire to live on air, if he have not discipline, he is not cleansed.

25. The man, whose discipline is vile, is like the birds and beasts; he is not a vessel of the Law, but like a leaky vessel of water.

26. In the present life he reaps fear, ill report, mistrust and discontent, and in the hereafter he will incur (lit., eat) calamity.

27. Therefore discipline, like the guide in the desert, should not be killed; discipline, which is self-dependent and hard to acquire, is the boat that conveys man to Heaven.

28. He whose mind is overcome by the sins loses everything in life. Taking your stand on discipline, destroy the sins and cherish faith.³

29. Therefore he who desires progress (*bubhūṣu?*) should first rid himself of the thought of self; for the thought of self obscures the virtues, as smoke obscures the fire.

30. The virtues, even when really existent, do not shine, if overcome by pride, like the stars, sun and moon when covered by a great mass of cloud.

¹ Possibly *gati*, and, if so, "future birth."

² Here and in 23 *bdag (ātmā) ma-yin (nāsti)*, but in 24 *dag mi-hgyur*, "he does not become pure."

³ Better to amend *dad-pa* to *dam-pa*, "do what is good," having *punya*.

31. Arrogance (*auddhatya*?) destroys self-respect (*hrī*), grief steadfastness, and old age beauty,¹ and the thought of self destroys the roots² of the virtues.

32. Because of envy and pride the Asuras, being defeated by the gods, were cast down to Pātāla, and Tripura was destroyed.

33. That man is not held to be wise, who in ephemeral states of being deems himself to be the best and thinks that he is not vile.

34. What is it but lack of consideration, when a man is proud, thinking 'It is I,' while his very form is inconstant and he is transitory and by nature subject to destruction?

35. Passion (*kāmarāga*) is the violent covert connate adversary, which strikes under the guise of friendship, like an evil-doing enemy.

36. The fire of passion and an ordinary fire are alike in their nature of burning, but when the fire of passion is blazing, the night will indeed be long.

37. But a fire is said not to have the same force as the fire of passion; for a fire is quenched³ by water, but the fire of passion not even by a whole lake.⁴

38. When the forest has been burnt by fire, in time the forest trees will grow again, but when fools are burnt by the fire of passion, there is no birth to the Law.

39. By reason of passion man seeks pleasure and for the sake of pleasure does evil; through doing evil he falls into Hell. There is no enemy equal to passion.

40. From passion arises desire, and from desire attachment to the lusts. From the lusts man comes to suffering. There is no adversary⁵ equal to passion.

41. The fool takes no account of the great illness called passion, and . . .⁶

¹ Reading *brtan rga-bas* for *gtan dgaḥ-bas* with C.

² Read *rtsva-ba-rnams* for *rtsva-ba-nas*.

³ Read *zhi-ste* for *ses-te*.

⁴ *mtshos*. ⁵ Read *gyul* for *yul*.

⁶ Two lines missing. C's version not quite clear.

42. Though a man may rid himself of passion by grasping its impermanence, its impurity, its nature as suffering and its absence of self, yet by reason of his perverted mind he becomes impassioned again.

43. Therefore he who can see a thing (*vastu*) as it really is (*yathābhūtam*), when attachment arises with regard to it, is said to be one who sees reality (*bhūtaadarśin*).

44. Just as when one looks at the virtues (of an object), attachment arises, so, when one considers its demerits, anger is brought on.

45. Therefore he who wishes to suppress anger should not let himself be affected by aversion; for as smoke from fire, anger arises from aversion.¹

46. Anger is as old age to the beautiful, as darkness to those who have eyes, the frustration of Law, Wealth and Pleasure, and the enemy of learning.

47. Anger is the chief darkness of the mind, the chief enemy of friendship, the destroyer of respect, the causer of degradation (*abhībhava?*).

48. Accordingly do not give way to anger, or if you do so, give it up. You should not follow after anger any more than you would after a snake whose nature it is to bite.

49. I deem him to be the true charioteer who steadfastly keeps anger in check with reins as though it were a chariot that had left the road; the other kind merely holds the reins.²

50. Whoever wishes to be angry³ and does not wish to suppress its birth, afterwards when his anger passes away, he is burnt as if by touching fire.

¹ T has this the other way round, which seems nonsense; C is too free to help. C and T agree in reading "anger" in 44, where one would expect "aversion."

² *Dhammapada*, 222; *Udānavarga Sanskrit*, I, p. 258.

³ One could understand "Whatever the angry man wishes," but the postcedent to the relative is *sa* in *c* and excludes this. Cp. *Udānavarga Sanskrit*, I, p. 253, where one should read *yas* for *yan* in *a* and *dahyate* or *tapyate* for *dahati* in *d*; the translation there is wrong.

51. When a man gives birth to anger, his own mind is burnt up first; afterwards, as the anger increases, others may be burnt by it or they may not.

52. What is the good of malevolence towards those of one's enemies who have bodies, seeing that the world (of embodied beings) is oppressed (already) by the calamities of disease, &c.?

53. Therefore knowing the world to be subject to suffering, you should cultivate benevolence and compassion for all beings in order to restrain anger."

54. Thus the Buddha, seeing them at that time to be full of sin, had compassion on them and reproved them with His sermon.

55. Just as, when people are ill, the doctor prescribes medicine for them according to their constitutions, in order to cure the disease,

56. So the Sage, knowing the dispositions of beings who are afflicted by the diseases¹ of passion, old age, &c., gave them the medicine of knowledge of the real truth.

57. The Licchavis were delighted with such a sermon from the Sage and did reverence to Him with their heads, so that their jewelled crests hung down.

58. Then joining the palms of their hands and slightly inclining their bodies, they requested the Buddha to visit them, just as the gods requested Bṛhaspati.

59. The Sage, informing them that Amrapāl's turn came first, explained that those of low degree² should not be deprived of their rights in favour of the nobles.

60. On learning that the woman had forestalled them, they did much reverence to the Tathāgata and returned to their natural frame of mind (i.e. wrathfulness).

61. But on the Omniscient's teaching them, they gained calmness of mind, just as the poison of snakes abates with the well-spoken spells of sages.

¹ Reading *nad* for *nañ*.

² Read *sñan dman* for *sñan mnan*.

62. When the night had passed, Amrapāli entertained Him, and (He went on) to the village of Veṇumatī (to pass the rainy season there).¹

63. After passing the rainy season there, the Great Sage returned to Vaiśālī and sat down on the bank of Markaṭa's pool.

64. He sat down by the root of a tree, and, as He shone there, Māra appeared in the grove and, approaching Him, said:—

65. "Formerly, O Sage, on the bank of the Nairāñjana when I said to You, 'You have fulfilled Your task, enter Nirvāṇa,' You made reply there:—

66. 'I shall not enter Nirvāṇa till I have given security to the afflicted and caused them to abandon the sins.'²

67. Now many have attained salvation, or similarly wish to do so or will do so. Therefore enter Nirvāṇa."

68. Then on hearing these words, the Best of Arhats said to him, "In three months' time I shall enter Nirvāṇa, be not then impatient."

69. Then knowing his desire to have been fulfilled by the promise, he disappeared from there, greatly exulting.

70. Then the Great Seer entered with such force of yoga into concentration of mind that He gave up the bodily life due to Him (*bhūtapūrva*?) and continued to live in an unprecedented way³ by the might of His spiritual power.

71. At the moment that He abandoned His bodily life, the earth staggered like a drunken woman, and great firebrands fell from the quarters, like a line of stones from Meru, when it is coloured⁴ with fire.

72. Similarly Indra's thunderbolts flashed unceasingly on all sides, full of fire (*agnigarbha*) and accompanied by lightning; and flames blazed everywhere, as if wishing to burn up the world at the end of the aeon.

¹ T omits the last line; gap supplied from C.

² Reading *dor-byas* for *don-byas*, as suggested by C.

³ Or perhaps, "He Who had no equal."

⁴ *tshos-pa*; perhaps for *tshig-pa*, "blazing."

73. The mountains lost their peaks and scattered abroad heaps of broken trees, while drums in the sky gave forth discordant (*viṣama*) sounds, like caverns filled with the wind.

74. Then at that moment of universal commotion in the world of men, in heaven and in the sky, the Great Sage emerged from His deep concentration and uttered these words:—

75. “My body with its age released is like a chariot whose axle has been broken, and I continue to carry it on by My own power. Together with My years I am released from the bond of existence, as a bird when hatching breaking the egg.”

CANTO XXIV

Compassion for the Licchavis.

1. Thereon, when Ānanda saw the earthquake, his hair stood on end; and in his perturbation (*āgatāvega*) at what it could be, he trembled and was distressed.

2. He asked the Omniscient, the Knower of causers, what was the cause of it. The Sage then said to him with the voice of a maddened bull¹:—

3. “The reason for this earthquake is that I have cut off My days on earth; My life is fixed (*adhīṣṭhā*) at three months from now.”

4. Ānanda, hearing this, was deeply moved, and his tears flowed, as gum flows from a sandalwood-tree when a mighty elephant breaks it down.

5. He was grieved, because the Buddha was his kinsman and his Guru; and, mourning miserably, he lamented in his wretchedness:—

6. “On hearing my Master’s decision, my body sinks as it were, I have lost my bearings,² and the teaching of the Law that I have heard is confused.

¹ *khyu mehog mos-pa*; perhaps for *khyu-byug mos-pa, mattakokila*.

² Doubtful; *bdag-gi phyogs-rnams spobs-pa-med*, possibly for *tshigs-rnams stobs-pa-med*, equivalent to “My joints are turned to water.”

7. Alas! The Tathāgata, praised of men (*narāśamsa*), is speedily going to Nirvāṇa, like a fire quickly extinguished for men who are perished with cold and whose garments are worn out.¹

8. The guide points out the path to embodied beings lost in the great forest of the sins and disappears all at once.

9. Men travel on a far road, overcome with thirst, and then the pool of cool water on their way suddenly dries up.

10. The Eye of the world, which is limpid and has dark-blue² eyelashes, which sees the past, the present and the future, and which is wide open with knowledge,³ is about to close.

11. Verily, when the crop springs up and is withering for want of water, a cloud gives a shower and at once passes away (*majj*).

12. The lamp that shines on all sides for beings going astray on the road by reason of the darkness of ignorance, is very suddenly extinguished.”

13. Then seeing Ānanda to be thus troubled in mind with grief, the Chief of comforters, the Best of those who know the truth, explained the truth to him:—

14. “Recognise, Ānanda, the real nature of the world and be not grieved. For this world is an aggregation, and therefore impermanent because its state is compound (*samskrta*).

15. I have told you before that you should look on creatures who delight in the pairs (*dvandvārāma*) with compassion entirely devoid of affection.

16. Whatever is born is compound and ephemeral; being dependent on a support, it has no self-dependence.⁴ It is impossible then for anyone to attain the state of permanence.

17. If beings on earth were permanent, the state of active being (*pravṛtti*) would not be subject to change; and what need then of salvation? For the end would be (the same as) the beginning.

¹ Last phrase doubtful.

² Following C, read *śho-nag* for the nonsensical *llo ni*.

³ According to C, “which dispels the darkness by *prajñā*.”

⁴ So C suggests, but better perhaps “it is helplessly dependent on a support.”

18. Or again what is the desire you and other beings have for Me? For you have done without Me that for which effort is made.¹

19. I have steadfastly explained the path to you in its entirety; you, as disciples, should understand that the Buddhas withhold nothing.

20. Whether I remain or whether I pass to peace, there is only the one thing, namely that the Tathāgatas are the Body of the Law (*dharmakāya*); of what use is this mortal body to you?

21. Since at the time of My passing My lamp has been lit with full devotion(?)² through perturbation of mind (*saṃvega*) and heedfulness (*apramāda*), therefore the light of the Law goes on for ever.

22. You should know it as your lamp, devoting steadfast energy to it; and, freed from the pairs, recognise your goal (*svārtha*) and let not your mind be a prey to other things.

23. You should know that the lamp of the Law is the lamp of mystic wisdom (*prajñā*), with which the skilful and learned man dispels ignorance, as a lamp the darkness.

24. For obtaining the highest good, there are four spheres of action (*gocara*), to wit, the body, sensation, the mind, and absence of self.

25. There is no attachment to the body for him who sees the impurity in the body, enveloped as it is with bones, skin, blood, sinews, flesh, hair, &c.

26. The idea³ of pleasure is overcome by him who sees that the sensations are but suffering, each arising from their respective causes.

27. For him who sees with tranquil mind the birth, duration and decay of the (mental) elements (*dharmā*), the grasping of wrong views (*grāha*) is for ever rejected.

28. For him who sees that the components (*skandha*) arise from causes, the thought of self which gives rise to the belief in an ego ceases to be active.

¹ Doubtful; C simply "attained the aim."

² *dad-dam*, T. I am not sure of having hit the exact sense of the verse.

³ T has *śes-rab*, *prajñā*, but C shows the correct reading to be *hdu-śes*, *saṃjñā*.

29. This is the only road to take to annihilate suffering; accordingly remain attentive on the Path with respect to these four.

30. Accordingly, when I pass to the Beyond, those who take their stand on this will obtain the excellent stage that does not pass away, the final beatitude."

31. Thus the Teacher preached to Ānanda; and the Licchavis, hearing the news, came there hurriedly out of devotion to Him.

32. Their minds were carried away by bitterness (*samtāpa*) by reason of their pity and of their devotion to the Seer, and at the news they speedily abandoned¹ alike the affairs on which they were engaged(?) and their usual pomp (*rddhi*).

33. Wishing to speak to the Master, they bowed and stood on one side, and the Master, the Sage, knowing their wish to speak, addressed them thus:—

34. "I know all that has come into your minds regarding Me; you, still the same, yet as if changed by grief, have now become self-confident(?).²

35. Still abiding in the company (*varga*?) of sovereignty, you now have entirely present in you both outward brilliance (*dīpti*?) and knowledge of the Law.

36. If indeed by hearing a little you have acquired knowledge from Me, calm yourselves and be not distressed at My passing.

37. Inasmuch as the states of being are impermanent and compounds, they are ephemeral, subject to change, without substance and not to be relied on; they do not remain stable in the least degree.

38. Vasiṣṭha, Atri and others, and whoever else was ascetic (*ūrdhvaretas*) came under the dominion of Time. Existence here is pernicious.

39. Māndhātṛ, the ruler of the earth, and Vasu, the peer of Vāsava, and Nābhāga, whose lot was noble (*mahābhāga*), became one with the elements.

¹ Reading *dor-rnams-so* for *don-rnams-so*, as suggested by C.

² *spobs-par-gyur, viśārada?*

40. Yayāti too, who walked in the path, Bhagīratha of the magnificent chariot, the Kurus who achieved blame and ill fame, Rāma, Girirajas(?),¹ Aja,

41. These majestic (*mahātman*) royal seers and many others like Great Indra went to destruction; for there is no one who is not subject to destruction.

42. The sun falls from his station, the gods of wealth came to earth, hundreds of Indras have passed away; for no one exists for ever.

43. All the other Sambuddhas, after illuminating the world, entered Nirvāṇa, like lamps whose oil is exhausted.

44. All the great-souled beings, who will become Tathāgatas in the future, will also enter Nirvāṇa like fires whose fuel has been consumed.

45. Therefore I too should go on, like an ascetic in the forest who seeks liberation; for there is no reason why I should drag out a useless corporeal existence (*nāmarūpa*).

46. Since it is My intention to depart from this pleasant (*raமானīya*) Vaiśālī, in which there are some to be converted, do ye never follow another faith (*anyamanas?*).

47. Therefore know the world to be without refuge, helpless and ephemeral; and walking in passionlessness obtain perturbation of mind (*saṃvega*).

48. Thus to put it briefly, in due course when the Tathāgata is no more seen, proceed in the direction of Kubera (i.e. the north), like the sun in the month of Jyēṣṭhā."

49. Thereon the Licchavis followed Him with eyes full of tears; and, with stout arms laden with ornaments, they joined the palms of their hands and lamented:—

50. "Alas! The Master's body, like refined gold and having the thirty-two marks, will break up. The Compassionate One is impermanent too.

¹ *ri-mo rdul*; name untraced, but no other reconstruction fits the metre.

51. The wretched calves, who have not yet attained reason, are thirsty¹ for lack of milk, and the milch-cow of knowledge, Alas!, too quickly deserts them.

52. The Sage is the sun whose light of knowledge has dispelled the darkness of delusion for men without a lamp,² and suddenly this sun will set.

53. While the stream of ignorance flows hither and thither in the world, the far-reaching embankment of the Law is breached too soon.

54. The great compassionate Physician has the medicine of excellent knowledge, yet, abandoning the world which is sick with mental diseases, He will depart.

55. The flag of Indra, garnished with the diamonds of the mind and decorated with the ornaments of mystic wisdom, will fall, while people still thirst for it³ in the feast.

56. Seeing that⁴ for the world, whose lot is suffering and which is bound with the fetters of the cycle of existence, this is the door of release, Death will close it fast."

57. Thus the Licchavis lamented, their eyes turbid with tears; and when they followed after Him, the Sage turned them back again.

58. Then knowing the Sage's decision⁵ they became calm⁶ and in the deepest grief determined to return.

59. As, fair as the golden mountain, they did obeisance to the Sage's feet, they resembled *karnikāra* trees, when their flowers are being shaken by the wind.

60. With hearts attached to Him, their feet too lagged, and like waves moving against the stream, they turned back without moving onward.

¹ Read *sred* for *srid*.

² Read *sgron-ma* for *hgro-na*.

³ This phrase not certain: "on which the world gazes without satiety," C.

⁴ T read *yadi*, which I take as mistaken for *yadā*.

⁵ Uncertain; *thub-pas bcad (chid) ses-nas*, T.

⁶ Reading *brtan-pa* for *lstan-pa*, as indicated by C.

*61. Without joy in that for which they had had reverence, and without reverence for that in which they had rejoiced, their joy in, and reverence for, the Sage were immovable.

*62. Like mighty bulls, when the herd-bull has gone away from the forest, they kept on stopping and gazing repeatedly at the Holder of the Ten Forces.

63. Then with their minds dwelling on the Tathāgata and with their bodies too bereft of brilliance, they went on foot in grief, as if proceeding to the final bath of a funeral ceremony (*apasnāta*).¹

*64. The Licchavis returned to their palaces with their faces working with grief, though they had overcome their foes with bows whose arrows never missed the mark, though they were proud and strong and . . .,² and though they sought sovereignty in the world and had great command over the means of pleasure.

CANTO XXV

The Journey to Nirvāṇa.

1. When the Sage departed for His Nirvāṇa, Vaiśālī, like the sky overspread with darkness on the eclipse of the sun, no longer appeared brilliant.

2. Though beautiful and free from pride, though delightful (*ramaṇīya*) in all parts, it did not shine because of its burning sorrow (*samtāpa*), like a woman whose husband has died,

3. Like beauty without learning, like knowledge without virtue, like intelligence without power of expression, like power of expression without education (*saṅskāra*),

4. Like sovereignty (*śrī*) without good conduct, like affection without faith, like good fortune (*lakṣmī*?) without energy, like action without religion (*dharma*).

¹ T is corrupt apparently, but the sense given is correct; for *mya-ñan ḥdas* we should probably read *mya-ñan ḥoñs*, and for *rjes-su ḥoñs*, "followed," a verb meaning "returned," "went away."

² *Hgugs-ldan*, lit. "having *vikarṣa*," but perhaps a mistake for *gzugs-ldan*, "beautiful."

5. At that time . . .,¹ it was not brilliant because of its grief, like the earth with its dried up rice-crop, when the rain fails in the autumn.

6. There from grief no one cooked or ate his food; they all wept, as they recounted the fame of the famous Sage.

7. With others neither saying, nor doing, nor thinking anything at all, the city was given up to one single business, mourning and weeping.

8. Then the Senāpati Simha, distressed with grief for all his firmness and thinking on the Chief . . .,² uttered these laments:—

9. “He overcame the heretical systems and taught the good path, Himself proceeding on such a path. Now He has gone never to return.

10. The Lord (*nātha*) is abandoning the world which is destroyed by afflictions and is without brilliance, and is turning the people into orphans; so He goes to obtain peace (*śama*).

11. As the strength of the body (*ojas*?) with the lapse of time, so my steadfastness is destroyed, now that the excellent Guru, the Master of Yoga, is on His way to the final peace.

12. As king Nahuṣa³ lost⁴ his magic powers and fell from heaven, so the earth without Him is an object of pity, and I know not what is to be done.

13. To whom now shall people resort for the solution of their doubts, as one resorts to water when distressed by heat, or to a fire, if afflicted with cold?

14. When the Sage, the spiritual Director of the world (*lokācārya*), He Who is the Bellows of the final good, like bellows for blowing up a fire, is lost, the Law will be lost too.

¹ Third line missing in T. Note for the simile that the success of the rice-crop is largely dependent on a good rain early in October.

² *dgaḥ-ḥḍun* (*saṃstava* in Bacot, *op. cit.*), perhaps for *dge-ḥḍun*, “Saṅgha”; but C has “relative,” suggesting *gñen-ḥḍun*.

³ *sgra-nan*, properly Kuru, which does not seem to apply; Nahuṣa is *sgra-med*.

⁴ T has *ldan*, “possessing,” but C shows *bral* to be the correct reading.

15. Who is there like Him to break the mighty revolving wheel of suffering for beings, who are subject by nature to disease and death and are fettered by lack of discipline or wrong discipline?

16. Who else is able by his word to animate men in whom passion is born with mirth, like a cloud at the end of spring animating the dried up *sinduvāra* plants?

17. When the Omniscient Guru, solid as Meru, shall pass away, who in the world will have the wisdom that will make him an object of trust?

18. The world of the living, being deluded,¹ is born but to die, as the condemned criminal is made intoxicated² and then led out to execution.

19. As a tree is cloven by a sharp saw, so this world is cloven by the saw of destruction.

*20. Though the excellent spiritual Director of the world has the strength of knowledge and has entirely burnt up the sins, yet He is going to destruction.

21. He Who with the mighty boat of knowledge rescues men from the ocean of existence, whose billows are desires and whose water ignorance,³ and in which are the creatures of false views and the fish of passion (*rajas*);

22. He Who cuts down with the great weapon of knowledge the tree of existence, whose boughs are old age and whose flowers disease, whose root is death and whose shoots rebirths (*bhava*);

23. The cool water of Whose knowledge puts out the fire of the faults, which is produced from the rubbing-sticks of ignorance with the flames of passion and the fuel of the objects of sense;

24. He Who has taken the path of quietude, Who has abandoned the great darkness (of ignorance), Who, knowing the supreme knowledge of the final beatitude, has lovingly taught it;

¹ T has *sdug*, an ambiguous word in itself and often confused with *stug*, but C shows the original to have had *mūḍha* or the like.

² Read *chañ* for *skyañ*, as shown by C.

³ Reading with C *mun-pa* and *sred-pa* for *ñan-pa* and *srid-pa*.

25. The Omniscient, Who has gone too to the end of all the sins and looks benignly on all, Who works everyone benefit, He is going away to abandon everything.

26. If the Great Sage, Whose voice is soft and clear¹ and Whose arms long, comes to an end, who will be able to avoid coming to an end?

27. Therefore the wise man should quickly resort to the Law, as a caravan-merchant, who is lost in the wilderness, on seeing water, quickly resorts to it.

28. He who is not asleep to the Law, knowing impermanency to be an evil which makes no distinctions for the purpose of destruction, is not asleep, even though lying down."

29. Then Simha, the man-lion, the eater(?) of knowledge, denounced the evils of birth and praised the destruction of existence.

30. Desiring to give up the root of existence, to undertake good vows, and to control his restless mind, he desired to abide in the path of beatitude.

31. Desiring to walk in the path of quietude, to escape from the ocean of existence, and to be ever charitable, he desired to cut off rebirth.

32. At the time when the Sage wished to enter Nirvāṇa, he gave in charity and abandoned pride, he meditated on the Law and reached quietude, and thus he treated the earth as an empty stage.²

33. Then the Sage, turning round with His entire body like a king of elephants and looking at the city, uttered these words:—

34. "O Vaiśālī, I shall not see you again in the period of life that still remains to Me; for I am going to Nirvāṇa."

*35. Then seeing that they were following Him full of faith and desiring the Law, the Sage dismissed them, whose minds still tended to the continuance of activity.³

¹ So C, probably *viśada*; *ṛnam-yaṅs* (*viśāla*), P, *ṛnam-mdas* (or *mīas*, for *mīar*), I. O.

² The last sentence is uncertain.

³ This verse is clearly an interpolation.

36. Then in due course the Teacher proceeded to Bhoganagara, and, staying there, the Omniscient said to His followers:—

37. “After I have passed away to-day, you must fix your best attention on the Law. It is your highest goal; anything else is but toil.

38. Whatever is not entered in the Sūtras or does not appear in the Vinaya is contrary to My principles (*nyāya*?) and should not be accepted by any means.

39. For that is not the Law nor the Vinaya nor My words; though many people say it, it is to be rejected as the saying of darkness.

40. The preaching of the pure is to be accepted, for that is the Law, the Vinaya, My words; and not to abide in it is backsliding.

41. Therefore what is to be believed is stated succinctly in My Sūtras. Who does (i.e. follows?) them is to be trusted, and apart from this there is no authority.

42. Out of delusion there will arise doctrines of the Law, laying down what is not the Law, through uncertainty and ignorance about these subtle views of Mine,

43. Either by views associated with darkness, or from ignorance of the distinctions, just as men are cheated by brass which looks like gold.¹

44. Accordingly that which is not the Law, but merely a counterfeit of the Law, is a deception, arising from lack of mystic wisdom or from failure to grasp the real truth.

45. Therefore you should test it in the proper form (*nyāyatah*) by means of the Vinaya and Sūtras, just as a goldsmith tests gold by filing, cutting and heating it.

46. Those are not wise men who do not know the doctrines (*śāstra*); they determine that as the course to be followed (*nyāya*) which is not the right course and see in the right course the wrong one.

47. Therefore it is to be accepted with the right hearing according to the meaning and the word; for he who grasps the doctrine wrongly hurts himself, as one who grasps a sword wrongly (by the blade) cuts himself.

¹ Still a common form of fraud in India.

48. He who construes the words wrongly finds the meaning with difficulty, as a man at night finds a house with difficulty, if he has not been there before and the way is winding.¹

49. When the meaning is lost, the Law is lost, and when the Law is lost, capacity is lost; therefore he is intelligent whose mind abides unperverted in the meaning."

50. After the Gracious One had uttered these words, He went on in due time to the town of Pāpā, where the Mallas did him all honour.

51. Then the Holy One took His last meal in the house of the excellent Cunda, who was devoted to Him, doing so for his (Cunda's) sake, not for His own support.

52. Then, after the Tathāgata with His company of disciples had eaten, He preached the Law to Cunda and went to Kuśinagara.

53. Thus accompanied by Cunda He crossed the river Irāvati(?)² and betook Himself to a grove of that city, which had a peaceful lotus-pool.

54. He Who shone like gold bathed in the Hirāṇyavatī, and then He thus ordered the mourning Ānanda, the joy of the world (*lokanandana*?):—

55. "Ānanda, prepare a place for Me to lie on between the twin *śāla* trees;³ this day in the latter part of the night the Tathāgata will enter Nirvāṇa."

56. When Ānanda heard these words, a film of tears spread over his eyes; he prepared a place for the Buddha to lie on, and having done so, informed Him of it, lamenting.

57. Then the Best of the two-footed approached His final couch, in order never to wake again and to put an end to all suffering.

¹ Last four words doubtful; *hichyogs mañ-po*, may refer to the ruinous state of the house.

² *nor-ldan*, T, alternative forms of the name being Acirāvati, Ajirāvati, and Airāvati. C has "Kuku," evidently the Pali Kakutthā.

³ T seems to understand "twin wall," *gśiñ-rjeḥi ra-ba*, taking the other meaning of *śāla*; C has "these two trees."

58. In the presence of His disciples He lay down on His right side, pillowing His head on His hand and crossing His legs.

59. Then at that moment there the birds uttered no cries and sat with bodies all relaxed, as if fixed in trance.

60. Then the trees, with their restless leaves unstirred by breezes, shed discoloured flowers, as if weeping.

61. Like travellers coming in sight of their resting-place, when the maker of day stands on the Sunset mountain, so, gazing at the Sage on His couch, they quickly came in sight of the good goal.

62. Then the Omniscient, lying on His last resting-place, said in His compassion to the tear-stained Ānanda:—

63. "Tell the Mallas, Ānanda, of the time of My entering Nirvāṇa; for if they do not witness the Nirvāṇa, afterwards they will deeply regret it."

64. Then Ānanda, swooning with tears, obeyed the order, and told the Mallas that the Sage was lying on His final bed.

65. Then at that time on hearing Ānanda's words, overcome by distress, they issued forth from the town, like bulls from a mountain in fear of a lion, mourning and raining down tears from their eyes.

66. In their lack of joy¹ their clothes were disordered and tumbled, and their headdresses shook with the agitation of their steps. Then they came to that grove, a prey to affliction like the dwellers in heaven when their merit is exhausted.

67. Coming there thus they saw the Sage, and on seeing Him, their faces were covered with tears, as they did obeisance; having paid their reverence, they stood there, their hearts burning within them. As they stood there, the Sage spoke to them:—

68. "It is not proper to grieve in the hour of joy. Despair is out of place, resume your composure. That remote (*atidurlabha*) goal, for which I have longed for many aeons, is now come near to Me.

69. That goal is most excellent, without the elements of earth, water, fire, wind and space, blissful and immutable, beyond the objects

¹ *zhen-pa med-pas*, meaning uncertain; possibly equivalent to *nirāsthātā*.

of sense,¹ peaceful, inviolable (*ahārya*), and in which there is neither birth nor passing away. On hearing of it, there is no room for grief.

70. Formerly at the time of Illumination in Gaya I put away from Me the causes of evil existence as if they were snakes; but this body, this dwelling house of the acts accumulated in the past, has survived till to-day.²

71. Is it proper to sorrow for Me that you weep, when this aggregate, the great storehouse of suffering, is passing away, when the great danger of existence is being extirpated and I am departing from the great suffering?"

72. When they heard the Sage of the Śākya announce with a voice like a cloud that the time had come for Him to enter on peace,³ their mouths opened with the desire to speak, and the oldest of them uttered these words:—

73. "Is sorrow fitting that you all weep? The Sage is like a man who has escaped from a house blazing with fire, and when even the chief of the gods should so look on it, how much more should men do so?"

74. But this causes us grief that the Lord, the Tathāgata, on entering Nirvāṇa, will be no more seen; when in the desert the good guide dies, who will not be sorely afflicted?"

75. Surely men become objects of derision, like those who come away poor from a goldmine, if, having seen the Guru, the Omniscient Great Seer, in person, they do not win to the higher path (*viśeṣa*)."

76. Thus the Mallas spoke much that was to the point, folding heir hands in devotion like sons, and the Best of the high-souled replied to them with words of excellent meaning directed to the highest good and to tranquillity:—

¹ Two syllables missing in *ḁ*.

² So C; but T may have had *adyopagamisyati*, which hardly fits the context.

³ So C; T could mean, "When they heard the Sage speak with a voice like a cloud, though it was a time of calm (*praśānti*)," the last words applying to a raincloud in fine weather and to the Buddha's passing away.

77. "So indeed is it the case that salvation does not come from the mere sight of Me without strenuous practice in the methods of yoga; he who thoroughly considers this My Law is released from the net of suffering, even without the sight of Me.

78. Just as a man does not overcome disease by the mere sight of the physician without resort to medicine, so he who does not study (*bhāvaya*) this My knowledge does not overcome suffering by the mere sight of Me.

79. In this world the self-controlled man who sees my Law may live far away in point of space, yet he sees Me; while he who is not active in concentration (*parāyaṇa*) on the highest good may dwell at My side and yet be far distant.

80. Therefore be ever energetic and control your minds; with diligence practise the deeds that lead to good. For life is like the flame of a lamp in the wind,¹ flickering and subject to much suffering."

81. Thus they were instructed by the Seer, the Best of beings, and with harassed minds and tears pouring down from their eyes, they returned to Kuśinagara reluctantly and helplessly, as if crossing the middle of a river against the stream.

¹ So C, *pravāte*; *prabhāte*, T.

(To be continued.)

The Buddha's Mission and last Journey:
Buddhacarita, xv to xxviii.

Translated by

E. H. Johnston, Oxford.

(Concluded.)

CANTO XXVI

The Mahāparinirvāna.

1. Then Subhadra, a holder of the triple staff, who was properly endowed with good virtue and did no hurt¹ to any being, desired to see the Blessed One in order to obtain salvation as a mendicant. So he said to Ānanda, the causer of universal delight:—

2. "I have heard that the Sage's hour for entering Nirvāna has come, and therefore I desire to see Him; for it is as hard in this world to see One Who has penetrated to the highest Law as it is to see the moon on the day it is new.

3. I desire to see your Teacher, Who is about to proceed to the end of all suffering; let Him not pass away without my seeing Him, like the sun setting in a sky veiled by clouds."

4. Then Ānanda's mind was filled with emotion,² for he thought the wandering ascetic (*parivrājaka*) had come in order to dispute under the pretext of a desire for the Law; and with face covered with tears, he said, "It is not the time."

5. Then He, Who shone like the moon, knowing the dispositions of men, recognized that the ascetic's eye was opening like a petal,

¹ Reading *mi-htshe-ba* for *mi-htshod-pa*; "protecting all beings," C.

² *la-ba*, possibly for *lan-ba*, which might stand for *pariyavasthāna* (something like "anger" here).

and He said, "Do not hinder the twice-born, Ānanda, since I was born for the good of the world."

6. Thereat Subhadra, comforted and highly delighted, approached the Śrīghana, the Doer of the highest good; then, as befitted the occasion, in a quiet way he greeted Him and spoke these words:—

7. "It is said that You have gained a path of Salvation¹ other than that of philosophers (*parīkṣaka*) like myself; therefore explain it to me, for I wish to accept it. My desire to see You arises from affection, not from desire for disputation."

8. Then the Buddha explained the Eightfold Path to the twice-born, who had come to Him; and he listened to it, like a man who has lost his way listens to the correct directions, and he . . .² fully considered it.

9. Then he perceived that the final good was not obtained on the other paths he had previously followed, and winning to a path he had not seen before, he put away those other paths which are accompanied by darkness in the heart.

10. For in those paths, it is said, by obtaining darkness (*tamas*) accompanied by passion (*rajas*) evil (*akuśala*) deeds are heaped up, while by passion associated with goodness (*sattva*) good (*kuśala*) deeds are extended.³

11. With goodness increasing through learning, intelligence and effort, and by reason of the effect of the act being destroyed through the disappearance of darkness and passion, the effect of the act becomes exhausted; and that power of the act they postulate is said to be the product of nature.⁴

¹ Two syllables missing in *b*.

² Four syllables missing in *d*.

³ This passage deals with that form of pre-classical Sāṃkhya, one of the earliest, in which salvation comes by the extension of *sattva* and the extirpation of *rajas* and *tamas*.

⁴ A free translation. For the last words I. O. has *ḥhad-pa-min*, and I understand *ayatnatas tat kīla karma teṣāṃ*, where *ayatnatas* is equivalent to *svabhāvatas*. P reads *ḥhad-pa-min*, perhaps *tat karma teṣāṃ kīla nopapannam*. C is either very free or had a different text.

12. For in the world they attribute darkness and passion, which delude the mind, to Nature.¹ Since Nature is acknowledged to be permanent, those two equally do not cease to exist, being necessarily also permanent.

13. Even if by uniting oneself with goodness those two cease to exist,² they will come into being again under the compulsion of time, just as water, which gradually becomes ice at night, returns to its natural state in the course of time.

14. Since goodness is permanent by nature, therefore learning, wisdom and effort have no power to increase it; and since it does not increase, the other two are not destroyed, and since they are not destroyed, there is no final peace.

15. Previously he had held birth to be by Nature, now he saw that there was no salvation in that doctrine; for since one exists by Nature, how can there be final release any more than a blazing fire can be stopped from giving out light?

16. Seeing the Buddha's path to be the real truth, he held the world to depend on desire;³ if that is destroyed, there is religious peace (*sama*), for with the destruction of the cause the result also is destroyed.

17. Previously he had held with respect to that which is manifested (*vyakta*)⁴ that the "self" is other than the body and is not subject to change; now that he had listened to the Sage's words he knew the world to be without "self" and not to be the effect of "self."

18. Realising that birth depends on the interrelation of many elements (*dharma*) and that nothing is self-dependent,⁵ he saw that the continuance of active being (*pravṛtti*) is suffering and that the cessation thereof (*nivṛtti*) is freedom from suffering.⁶

¹ *svabhāva*, as in xviii the principle underlying the eightfold *prakṛti*.

² Reading *med-par* for the nonsensical *de-bar*, as indicated by C.

³ Reading *sred-pa-las* for *erid-pa-las*, as indicated by C.

⁴ The construction and place in the sentence of this phrase about the *vyakta* is not clear.

⁵ Two syllables missing in T.

⁶ So C understands it; T is corrupt and should presumably read *sdug-bśāḥ med-du* for *sdug-bśāḥ ſīd-du*.

19. Since he considered that the world is a product, he gave up the doctrine of annihilation, and since he knew that the world passes away, he speedily gave up without shrinking (*dhīra*) the view of its permanence.

20. Hearing and accepting the Great Seer's teaching, he thus gave up on the spot his former views; for he had formerly prepared himself (*parikarma kr*), so that he quickly adhered to the good Law.

21. His mind was filled with faith and, obtaining the best, he reached the peaceful immutable stage; and therefore, as he gazed gratefully on the Sage lying there, he formed this resolution.

22. "It is not proper for me to stay and see the venerable excellent Lord enter Nirvāṇa; I shall myself go straight to the final end, before the compassionate Master passes to Nirvāṇa."

23. Then he did obeisance to the Sage, and assuming a moveless posture snakewise, he passed in a moment into the peace of Nirvāṇa, like a cloud dissipated by the wind.¹

24. Thereon the Sage, the Knower of rites, gave orders for the rite of his cremation, saying, "He has gone to the end, the last disciple of the Great Seer Who has noble disciples."²

25. Then when the first part of the night had passed away,³ and the moon had eclipsed the light of the stars, and the groves were without a sound as if asleep, He Whose compassion was great instructed His disciples:—

26. "When I have gone to the Beyond, you should treat the Prātimokṣa as your spiritual director (*ācārya*), as your lamp, as your treasure. That is your teacher, under whose dominion you should be, and you should repeat it just as you did in My lifetime.

27. In order to purify your bodily and vocal actions give up all worldly concerns (*vyavahāra*), and, as from grasping a fire, refrain from accepting lands, living beings, grain, treasure and the rest.

¹ Two syllables missing in *c*; "like rain putting out a little fire," C.

² Two syllables each missing in *b* and *c*.

³ Two syllables missing in *a*.

28. The proper means of livelihood is to abstain from the cutting and felling of what grows on the earth, from digging and ploughing the surface of the ground, and from medicine and astrology.

29. There is neither moderation nor contentment nor life in resorting to the knowledge of go-betweens, in the practice of charms and philtres, in not being open and candid, or in the attainments not forbidden by the Law.¹

30. In this way the Prātimokṣa is the summary of the discipline (*śīla*), the root of liberation;² from it arise the concentrated meditations, all forms of knowledge and the final goals.

31. For this reason he has the Law, in whom is found pure inviolable discipline, neither rent nor destroyed; and without it all these (advantages) are absent, for discipline is the support of good qualities.

32. When discipline abides undestroyed and purified, there is no activity in the spheres of the senses; for, just as cattle are kept from the crops by a stick, so the six senses should be guarded (*saṃvṛta*) with firmness.

33. But the other man who lets the horses of his senses loose among the objects of sense is carried away and obtains no satisfaction(?)³ from them. Like one carried out of the road (*kumārga*) by runaway horses, he incurs disaster for their sake.

34. Some men in this world suffer bitterly by falling into the hands of great enemies, but those, who from delusion fall into the power of the objects of sense, become subject to suffering, whether they will or no (*avaśa*), in their future lives as well as in this.

35. Therefore recourse should no more be had to the senses than to evil (*viṣama*) enemy kings; for after taking one's pleasure of the senses in this world, one sees in the world the executioner of the senses.

¹ C does not explain the exact scope of the last phrase, which perhaps covers the improper use of magic powers &c.

² Two syllables missing in *ū*.

³ Conjectural; T has *de-tsam-ñīd*, *etāvād eva* or *iyattā*, which must be corrupt, perhaps for *re-tsam ñīd*. C omits the phrase.

36. One should not fear tigers or snakes or blazing fires or enemies in the world so much as one's own restless mind, which sees the honey but overlooks the danger (*śaṅkā*).¹

37. The mind wanders in all directions as it wills, like a mad elephant unrestrained by the iron ankus or like a monkey (*śākhāmṛga*) gambolling in the trees; no occasion should be given to it for restlessness.

38. When the mind is a law unto itself, there is no quietude, but when it comes to a stand, the task is done. Therefore strive with all your might that these minds of yours may desist from restlessness.

39. Observe exact measure in eating, as you would for doses of physic, and do not feel repulsion or desire towards it, only taking so much as is necessary for satisfying hunger and for maintaining the body.

40. As in the garden the bees do not destroy the flowers in sipping their juice, so you should practise alms-begging at the proper time without ruining other believers.

41. The rule that a load must always be put on correctly applies equally to an ox and to an alms-giver. The load falls off from being wrongly attached in this world, and the giver is in the same case as the ox.²

42. Pass the entire day and also the first and last watches of the night in the practice of yoga, and lie down in the middle watch, full of awareness so that the time of sleep does not bring on calamity.

43. For when the world here is being burnt up by the fire of Time, is it proper to sleep for the whole night? When the sins, which strike down like enemies, abide in the heart, who would go to sleep?

44. Therefore you should sleep, after exorcizing with knowledge and the repetition of sacred texts the snakes of the sins which reside

¹ So C; T is corrupt and I read *yai-ba* (*Garuḍastotra*, 20) for *yai-dag*, the reference being to the precipice (*S.*, xi. 29).

² So apparently T, but one would expect, as C suggests, the simile of an ox falling under too heavy a load.

in the heart, as one does black snakes in a house by magic and charms; besides it is a question of self-respect (*hrī*).

45. Self-respect is an ornament and the best clothing, the ankus for those who have strayed from the path. Such being the case, you should act with self-respect; for to be devoid of self-respect is to be devoid of the virtues.

46. A man is (honoured)¹ to the extent to which he has self-respect, and he, who is lacking in self-respect and who is devoid of discrimination between what is and what is not his real good, is on a level with the brute beasts.

47. Even should anyone cut off your arms and limbs with a sword, you should not cherish sinful thoughts about him or speak unforgiving (*aśānta*?) words; for such action is an obstruction to you alone.

48. There are no austerities equal to forbearance, and he who has forbearance has strength and fortitude, whereas those who cannot tolerate harsh treatment from others do not follow the way of those who lay down the Law, nor are they saved.

49. Do not allow the slightest opening to anger, which ruins the Law and destroys fame, and which is the enemy of beauty and a fire to the heart; there is no enemy to the virtues like unto it.

50. While anger is contrary to the profession of religion (*pravrajyā*), like the fire of lightning to cold water, it is not contrary to the life of the householder; for the latter are full of passion and have taken no vows about it.

51. If pride arises in your heart, it must be controverted by touching your head shorn of its beautiful locks, by looking on your dyed clothes and your begging bowl, and by reflecting on the conduct and occupations (*karmānta*) of others.

52. If worldly men who are proud² (strive) to overcome pride, how much more should those do so, whose heads are shaven, who

¹ Two syllables missing in *b*; meaning supplied from C.

² Two syllables each missing in *a* and *b*.

have directed themselves to salvation, and who eat the bread of mendicancy and have proved themselves.

53. Since deceitfulness and the practice of the Law are incompatible, do not resort to crooked ways. Deceitfulness and false pretences (*māyā*) are for the sake of cheating, but for those who are given to the Law there is no such thing as cheating.

54. The suffering which comes to him whose desires are great does not come to him whose desires are small.¹ Therefore smallness of desire (*alpecchatā*) should be practised, and especially so by those who seek for the perfection of the virtues.

55. He who does not fear the rich at all is not afraid of the sight of stingy people;² for he obtains salvation, whose desires are small³ and who is not cast down on hearing that there is nothing for him.

56. If you desire salvation, practise contentment; with contentment there is bliss here and it is the Law. The contented sleep peacefully even on the ground, the discontented are burnt up even in Paradise.

57. The discontented man, however rich, is always poor, and the contented man, however poor, is always rich. The discontented man, seeking the beloved objects of sense, creates suffering for himself by toiling to obtain satiety.

58. Those who desire to obtain the highest bliss of peace should not give themselves up to the pleasures in such degree. For even Indra and the other gods envy the man in the world who is solely devoted to tranquillity.

59. Attachment is the roosting-tree (*vāsavṛkṣa*) of suffering; therefore give up attachment, whether to relations or to strangers. He who has many attachments in the world is stuck fast in suffering, like a decrepit elephant in the mud.

¹ The exact construction of T is uncertain, but the general sense is guaranteed by C.

² Uncertain; there may be a corruption in T, and C treats the hemistich as referring to the giver.

³ One syllable missing in *d* (add *ñid* after *ḥdod*), and read *yin* for *min* at the end.

60. A stream, whose waters ever flow, however softly, in time wears away the surface of the rock. Energy finds nothing impossible of attainment. Therefore be strenuous and do not put down your loads.

61. The man who stops repeatedly in drilling with fire-sticks finds it hard to get fire from wood, but by the application of energy it comes easily. Therefore where there is diligence, the task is accomplished.

62. When awareness (*smṛti*) is present, the faults do not enter into activity; there is no friend or protector equal to awareness, and if awareness is lost, all certainly is lost. Therefore do not lose hold of awareness directed towards the body.

63. The firm in mind, putting on the armour of awareness towards the body, conduct themselves in the battlefield of the objects of sense like heroes, who gird on their armour and plunge fearlessly into the ranks of their foes.

64. Therefore, keeping your feelings level and restraining your minds, know the origin and passing away of the world and practise concentration. For no mental ills touch him who has obtained concentration of mind.

65. Just as men diligently make embankments¹ for holding up water that is overflowing, so concentration is declared to be like the embankment for bringing the water of knowledge to a stand.²

66. The wise man (*prāñña*), who abides giving away his possessions and entirely devoted to this Law in his heart, is saved; how much more then should the mendicant, who has no home, be saved?

67. Mystic wisdom is the boat on the great ocean of old age and death, a lamp, as it were, in the darkness of delusion, the medicine that smites all illnesses, the sharp axe that cuts down the trees of the sins.

68. Therefore practise learning, knowledge and meditation (*bhāvanā*) for the increase of mystic wisdom; for he who has the

¹ Lit., "ditches and trenches."

² Should not "knowledge" be "thoughts"? C apparently had this verse after 67, substituting *prāñña* for *samādhi*.

eye that is of the nature of mystic wisdom, though without ocular vision, has indeed sight.

69. Although a man has left his home, yet, if he is engaged in the varied activities¹ of the mind, he is not saved; those who desire to obtain the supreme tranquillity should know this and become free from all activities.

70. Therefore adhere to heedfulness (*apramāda*) as to a guru, and avoid heedlessness as an enemy. By heedfulness Indra obtained sovereignty, by heedlessness the arrogant Asuras came to destruction.

71. I have done all that should be done by a compassionate sympathetic Master, Who aims at others' good; do you apply yourselves (*praṇidhā?*) and bring your minds to tranquillity.

72. Then, wherever you may be, on the mountains or in empty dwellings or in the forest, ever be strenuous in religious practice (*prayoga*) and do not give way to remorse (*paścātparītāpa*).

73. It is for the physician, after full consideration of their constitutions, to explain the proper medicines to his patients, but it is the sick man, not the physician, who is responsible for attending to their administration at the proper time.

74. When the guide has pointed out the magnificent straight level road which is free from danger, and those who hear him do not proceed along it but go to destruction, there is no debt in the way of instruction still due from the guide.

75. Whoever of you has any desire about My teaching of the Four Truths, suffering and the rest, let him confidently speak out to Me at once and cut off doubt (*ativimarśa?*)."

76. When the Great Seer thus spoke aloud, they were free from doubt and said nothing. The saintly (*kṛtin*) Aniruddha, penetrating their minds with his mind, then uttered these words:—

77. "Though the wind cease from movement, the sun become cold and the moon hot, yet it is not possible to prove the four steps (of the Truths) to be false in the world.

¹ *spros-pa*.

78. What is declared to be suffering is not pleasure; there is no other producer of suffering than that which is its cause; liberation inevitably comes from suppression of the cause, and the path thereto is certainly the means.

79. Therefore, O Great-souled One, the disciples have no doubt about the Four Truths; but those who have not accomplished their object suffer, thinking that the Teacher is about to pass away.

80. Even he in this assembly, who from the newness of his vows had not yet seen the goal, sees it to-day in its entirety, as by a flash of lightning, through this Your sermon.

81. But even those, for whom there is nothing remaining to be done and who have crossed to the further shore of the ocean of existence, are anxious in heart on hearing that the perfect (*svalamkṛta*?) Lord is about to pass away."

82. At these words of the noble (*ārya*) Aniruddha, the Buddha, though He knew the matter, again took cognizance of it and addressed them affectionately, in order to strengthen the minds of the faithful:—

83. "Since a being may last for an aeon and yet must come to destruction, there is certainly no such thing as mutual union. Having completed the task both for Myself and for others, there is no gain in My further existence.

84. All those in the heavens and on earth, who were to be converted by Me, have been saved and set in the stream. Hereafter this My Law shall abide among men through the successive generations of mendicants.¹

85. Therefore recognize the true being of the world and be not anxious; for separation must be. Knowing the world to be of this nature,² so strive that it may be thus no more.

86. When the darkness has been illuminated with the lamp of knowledge and the spheres of existence have been seen to be without

¹ Or "mendicants" may be in the vocative.

² Two syllables missing in c; add *rnam-par* before *śes-nas*.

substance, contentment ensues at the suppression of the life-force (*āyulī*), as at the cure of an illness.¹

87. Who is not pleased at the cessation of life, as at the destruction of calamity-causing enemies, when the stream of the ocean of existence called the body, which is to be abandoned with the opposites (*dvandva*), is cut off?

88. Everything, whether moving or stationary, passes away; therefore take ye good heed. The time for My entering Nirvāṇa has arrived. Do not lament; these are My last words."

89. Then the Best of those who know the trances entered the first trance at that moment, and emerging therefrom went on to the second, and so in due order He entered all of them without omitting any (*avikala?*).

90. Thereon having passed through all the trances, the group of nine attainments (*samāpatti*), in the upward order, the Great Seer following the reverse order returned to the first trance again.

91. Emerging therefrom also, He rose in due order again to the fourth trance, and emerging from the practice of the fourth trance, He passed to realization of the eternal peace.

92. Thereon, as the Sage entered Nirvāṇa, the earth quivered like a ship struck by a squall,² and firebrands also fell from the sky, as if cast(?)³ by the elephants of the quarters.

93. A fire, without fuel or smoke and unfanned by the wind, arose burning the quarters, like a forest fire arising in the sky to burn the heavenly garden of Citraratha.

94. Fearsome thunderbolts fell, vomiting fire with hundreds of sparks, as if Indra⁴ was hurling them in his wrath, in order to overcome the Asuras in battle.

¹ T has no pronouns in this verse; C renders, "I have illumined &c., you should all rejoice etc."

² T read *varṣāhatā gaur iva*, evidently for *vātāhatā naur iva*.

³ *spyad-pa*, I.O., *sbyañ-ba*, P; corrupt, perhaps for *span-ba* or *hphyañ-ba*.

⁴ *khro-ba brgya-bas*; for *mchod-sbyin brgya-bas*, Śatakratu?

95. The winds blew violently, splintering the creepers and laden with dust, as if the peaks of the earth-bearing mountains had fallen when struck by raging tempests.¹

96. The moon's light waned, and it shone with feeble colourless beams, like a royal goose, when it is covered with muddy water and its body is surrounded by young reeds.

97. Though the sky was cloudless and the moon was up, unholy darkness spread over the quarters, and at that moment the rivers ran with boiling water as if² overcome by grief.

98. Then the *śāla* trees that grew near by bent down and showered beautiful flowers, growing out of due season, on to the Buddha's body to rest on the golden column(?)³ of His form.

99. In the sky the five-headed Nāgas stood motionless, gazing on the Sage with devotion, their eyes reddened with grief, their hoods closed and their bodies kept in restraint.

*100. In the affliction of their minds⁴ they gave vent to hot sighs, but, reflecting that the world is impermanent by nature, they refrained from grief and despised it.

101. In the divine abode the virtuous assembly of king Vaiśravaṇa, which was engaged in the practice of the Law of final beatitude, did not grieve or shed⁵ tears by reason of their attachment to the Law.

102. The holy (*kṛtīn*) Śuddhādhivāsa deities, though they held the Great Seer in the utmost reverence, were composed and felt no agitation of mind; for they despised the nature of the world.

103. The gods, who rejoice in the good Law, the Gandharva kings, the Nāga kings and the Yakṣas, stood in the sky, mourning and absorbed in uttermost grief as if confounded (*mahākula*).

¹ C treats the second half of the verse as a fact, not a simile.

² Reading *uzhin* for *zhin*.

³ *stegs-bu*, normally equivalent to something like *aṭṭāla* or *vitārda*.

⁴ Two syllables missing in *a*.

⁵ Reading *clud-par* for *chui-bar*, and understanding as in *Gaṇḍīstotra*, 13, something like *kr̥p̥*.

104. But the hosts of Māra, who had obtained his heart's desire, uttered loud laughs in their exultation, and showed their joy by gambols, hissing like snakes, dancing and the beating of tattoos on great drums, *mṛdaṅgas* and *paṭahas*.

105. Then on the Bull of seers passing to the Beyond, the world became like a mountain whose peak has been shattered by a thunderbolt, or a despondent elephant when his *must* has ceased, or a bull whose form is deprived of its hump.

106. From the loss of Him Who destroyed existence, the world became like the sky without the moon, or a pond whose lotuses have been withered by frost, or learning rendered futile by the absence of wealth.

CANTO XXVII

Eulogy of Nirvāṇa.

1. Then a certain mighty inhabitant of heaven, bowing his head a little from out of the palace (*vimāna*) of the . . .¹ god, looked on the Omniscient for a moment and spoke:—

2. "Alas! Since all states of being are impermanent and subject to the law of birth and the law of decay, suffering is the peculiar lot of those who are born. Thus peace comes only from the peace that leaves naught behind.

3. As water puts out fire, so the water of Time had to put out the Tathāgata's fire, whose flames are knowledge, whose smoke renown, and which has burnt up without residue the fuel of existence."

4. Then another seer, resembling the best of seers, and who, though abiding in Paradise, was not drawn to its enjoyments, gazed on the Seer, the Arhat Who had obtained tranquillity; and steadfast as the lord of mountains, he uttered these words:—

5. "There is nothing in the world that does not go to destruction, nothing too that has not gone, nothing that will not go, seeing that

¹ *dañ-po stoñ dañ ldan-paḥi lha*, T; "thousand white palace," C.

the incomparable Master, Who had reached the highest knowledge and knew the supreme goal,¹ has gone to tranquillity.

6. The world of the living, whose eyes are inevitably blinded by delusion, is deprived of this Leader, Whose mystic wisdom was purified and Who possessed the supreme sight; and losing its senses, it abides in the evil path."

7. Then on the Sage's passing to peace Aniruddha, who was not obstructed (*viruddha*) by the world, in whom attachment (*anurodha*) was destroyed, and who had annihilated (*niruddha*) birth, saw the world to be deprived of its light,¹ and spoke thus with calmness of mind:—

8. "The wise man, who is exposed to the action of the factors (*samskāra*), should have no confidence at this time, when the great mountain of the Sage is struck by the fall of the thunderbolt of impermanence.

9. Alas! The world, which is without substance or self and which is subject to the law of destruction, is called the world of the living, the world in which even the unassailable Lion, the Great Sage, after destroying the elephants of the sins, Himself goes to destruction.

10. The world is ever active and involved in passion; whose hand then now will give the great security, seeing that sharing the general lot (*sādhāraṇataḥ*?) even the Tathāgata has fallen(?)² like a golden column?

11. The elephant, the Sage, pulled up this tree of the sins, which has six seeds, one sprout, one offering (*bali*),³ six roots, five fruits, two boughs, three stems (? *rāśi*) and one trunk; yet here He lies.

12. The Sage has gone to peace, after conquering all His foes like a world-monarch, without attachment like a peacock in the dry season, having completed His journey like a steed, freed from birth like fire (without fuel).

¹ Two syllables missing in c.

² *kun-nas chags-par-gyur*, corrupt, possibly reading *samsasafije* for *samsasāda*.

³ "One water that is rained on it," C.

13. The Guru sent forth His teachings, like the satisfying streams which the lord of heaven, the wielder of the thunderbolt, sends forth, when his eye waxes,¹ and wandering over the earth like an ox afflicted by the glare, He pervaded the quarters with His renown; yet here He lies.

14. The Sun of men went out on His road, attended by the host of Vaiśravaṇa, the lord of wealth,² and full of fame and brilliancy, He streamed forth gold like a great river (*sindhu*); yet He has set.

15. To-day when the Sage has entered into peace, the world shines no more, like the quarters invested with banks (*hāra*) of fog, like the sun with its beams intercepted by masses of cloud, or like a fire without ghee, when the oblations are completed.

16. Being without crookedness (*granthi*), He took the (straight) road of truth; and being without ties (*granthi*), He obtained the Law of tranquillity. Now He has abandoned that abode of suffering known as the body, though able by His spiritual power (*rddhi*) to maintain its existence.

17. After overcoming ignorance as the sun dispels the darkness, after allaying passion as a shower lays the dust, the Sage has gone as . . .³ went, never again to return to the revolving wheel of suffering.

18. He was born to destroy the suffering of birth, to Him the world resorted for the sake of tranquillity, He shone with glorious brilliancy, and He illuminated with acute (*viśiṣṭa*) intelligence.⁴

19. He sent the people towards the final good, He overspread the earth with His noble virtues, His dear shining fame waxed, and even when dwelling in the palace, He waxed in renown.⁵

¹ Meaning? Something like *netravrddhau*. C apparently had an entirely different verse here.

² A reference to v. 85.

³ *thub-pa skar-rgyal*, which literally would be Puṣyamuni or Tiṣyamuni.

⁴ From here to verse 27, the verses are relative clauses; the relatives are omitted in the translation. The passage possibly illustrated the different uses of verbs, and is hard to understand.

⁵ I do not understand the exact point of the last two lines.

20. In the extent of His learning¹ He was not downcast at blame, He spoke with pity to men who were in distress, He rejected wrong food and did not consume it, and on meeting with good food He felt no enjoyment.²

21. Keeping the restless senses in peace, He rightly did not abide in the objects of sense by reason of the strength of His faculties, and, obtaining the good path unobtained by others, He tasted renunciation (*naiṣkramya?*), He Who knew the tastes.

22. He gave what had never been given before (by man),³ and His gifts were never prompted by desire for reward; He abandoned sovereignty with mind unmoved(?) and attracted the minds of the good with His virtues.

23. He guarded His restless eye with firmness and was accustomed to guard His mind with firm conduct. He guarded and increased the final good, and He felt no desire for any phenomenon (*dharma*) that arose.

24. He firmly abandoned evil deeds as being evil (*aśubhataḥ?*) and rid Himself of the enemies, the faults, by the highest good. He entirely extirpated the vices by His intelligence, yet He has succumbed to ignoble⁴ impermanence.

25. He rightly followed the Law⁵ and joyfully grasped the best resolutions; yet He, the Lord Who had the treasures of knowledge, is dead (*gatāsu*), like a fire the treasure of whose fuel (*sāra*) is consumed.

¹ Reading *mḥhyen-zhūn* with P for I.O.'s *mḥhyen-zhes*.

² The last two lines evidently contain an antithesis which I cannot solve; the verb in each is *goḥ* and the meaning may be that he did not turn away from bad food or run after good food. C seems to render, "The four profits (for 'foods,' *āhāra*, here?) did not cause Him elation or the four decays grief," but may be referring to the eight *lokadharmas*, one of which, "blame," is mentioned in the first line.

³ Two syllables missing in *a*; supplied from C.

⁴ It is doubtful if this word agrees with "impermanence"; and T may be corrupt, as C suggests something like "He, the good Physician" in its place.

⁵ Two syllables missing in *a*, and I follow the lines indicated by C. T, as it stands, means, "Whom the Law rightly followed."

26. The Guru is lying here, He Who excellently subdued the group of five with regard to the eight, Who saw the three, Who brought the triple conduct to an end, Who had the triple sight, Who guarded the one, Who obtained the one, Who perpended the one, Who abandoned the seven weighty ones (*gurūṇi?*).

27. He illumined the road for the sake of quietude and graciously caused good men to believe, He cut down the . . .¹ trees of the sins and delivered the faithful from the spheres of existence.

28. With the nectar of His words He fully satisfied the world, and subdued anger by His forbearance. He made the assembly of His disciples to delight in the highest good, and introduced those who sought the highest good to subtle investigations.

29. He engendered the seed of the Law in those who were good, and brought them to the Noble Path, whose essence is the cause; though He did not teach outsiders (*anārya*) by the supermundane (*lokottara*) way, He did not set them in any path other than that of the good Law.

30. In Kāśi He turned the Wheel of the Law and by His wisdom brought content to the world; He caused those who were to be converted to practise the way of the Law, and brought bliss to us for our good.

31. Others He caused to see the real truth that they had not yet seen, and He united the followers of the Law with the virtues. By refuting (*nigrah?*) the other systems and by argument He caused men to understand the meaning which is hard to grasp.

32. By teaching everything to be impermanent and without self and by denying the presence of the slightest happiness in the spheres of existence, He raised aloft the banner of His fame and overturned the lofty pillars of pride.

33. Censure never disturbed His mind, and in all matters He had no desire for worldly activities . . .²

¹ *rab-tu chags-pa*, perhaps *prasakta*; possibly it does not agree with "trees."

² Two lines missing; C is too brief to make the sense clear.

34. Himself crossing over, He caused the drowning to cross over too; Himself tranquillized, He brought tranquillity to those who were agitated; Himself liberated, He liberated those who were bound; Himself enlightened, He enlightened the delusion of others.

35. The Sage of sages, Who knew the right course (*nyāya*) and the wrong one, after favouring creation with right instruction, has passed away, as the Law passes away in that age of fear, when beings follow the wrong course and delight in so doing.

36. Overcoming the views¹ of the world, yet attracting the gaze of the world, He fared in His gait like a cloud full of rain, like the forest of the earth-bearing mountain, like an old man in his glory, like a young man in his brilliancy.

37. . . .,² He followed the path of supreme quietude, and the world, which, full of faith, saw Him obtain quietude, is to-day like a loving man without his relative (or, father).

38. Even Māra, accompanied by his hosts and raging mightily to destroy Him, was no match for the Sage; yet to-day Māra, raging mightily to destroy Him, has been able by alliance with Death (*māra*) to lay Him low.

39. All beings, for whom the dangers of the cycle of existence are still unexhausted, are assembled together with the gods and are overwhelmed with suffering; for thus they have not obtained the excellent passage beyond grief.³

40. Illuminating all beings He saw the world as though reflected in a mirror, and His divine hearing perceived all sounds, far and near, even up to the heavens.

41. He mounted to the starry mansions in the sky, He penetrated the earth too without obstruction, He walked on the water also without sinking and produced many transformations with His body.

¹ With the secondary sense of "dazzling the eyes."

² *dban-phyug dam-pa gañ-la ltun-bas me reg cin*, T, which is untranslatable in the context and apparently corrupt, as C has, "After destroying the heterodox views, He obtained the self-dependent (or, *Īśvara*) path."

³ Perhaps a double sense, (1) they grieve, (2) they are not saved.

42. He remembered too His many births, like a traveller the various stopping-places on the road, and with His mind He understood the various mental movements of others, which are beyond the sphere of sensory perception.

43. He behaved alike to everyone and was omniscient, He cut off all the infections and completed all the task, through knowledge He abandoned all the sins and obtained the perfect knowledge (*jñānatattva*), yet here He lies.¹

44. He converted those men whose minds were active (*paṭu*), and gradually stimulated torpid minds to activity. He made them abandon vice by understanding (*vidyā*) of the Law.² Who will now teach the Law for deathlessness?

45. Who will give the offering (*bali*) of the Law for the sake of tranquillity to the world, which is harassed and without hope?³ Who, after completing his own task, will be so compassionate as to cut through the net of sin for others?

46. Who will declare the good knowledge for the tranquillity of the world, which is absorbed (*parāyaṇa*?) in the ocean of the cycle of existence? Who will declare the good knowledge for the happiness of the world, which is absorbed in ignorance (*ajñāna*)?

47. The world without Him Who knew the world is like the day-maker without his light, or a great river deprived of its current, or a king who has lost his sovereignty.

48. The world, deprived of the Best of men, exists and yet is not, like learning (*vidyā*⁴) without intelligence, like investigation without discrimination,⁵ like a king without majesty, like the Law without forbearance.

¹ Verses 40—42 describe the five *abhiñās*, and this verse the special sixth one, the *āśravakṣayajñāna*.

² Reading *chos-kyi rigs-las* for *rigs-las chos-kyi*.

³ Reading *ered* for *stei*, as suggested by C.

⁴ C seems to have read *vaidya*.

⁵ Conjectural; following the indications of C, I read *dben-pas dpyad-pa* for *bde-bas dbyais-pa*.

49. The world, on losing the Blessed One, is like a chariot abandoned by the charioteer, or a boat by the steersman, or an army by the general, or a caravan by the leader, or a sick man by the physician.

50. To-day the affliction of those who desire salvation is like a cloudless sky in autumn without the moon, like the air when there is no breeze, like the suffering of those who would live (but are dying)."

51. Thus though he was an Arhat who had completed the good task, he spoke much about the evils of existence and the virtues of the Master; for he acted out of gratitude to the Guru.

52. Then those who had not put away passion shed tears, and the company of mendicants, losing their steadfastness of mind, gave way to grief; but those who had completed the cycle reflected that it is the nature of the world to pass away and did not depart from self-control.

53. Then in due course the Mallas, hearing the news, came streaming forth quickly under the stress of calamity, and, like cranes overwhelmed by the might of a hawk, cried in their affliction, "Alas! The Saviour!"

54. Because of the great darkness of their minds, when they saw the Sage lying there like the sun without its light, they wept and uttered loud lamentations in their devotion, like cattle when a lion has struck down the herd-bull.

55. Among those whose eyes were overcome by tears and who were mourning according to their faith and disposition, when the Guru of the Law passed to peace, there was a certain excellent majestic man, who delighted in the Law; he then spoke these words:—

56. "He, Who woke up the world of the living when it was asleep, now lies on His last bed. This Banner, incarnating the Law, has fallen, like Indra's banner when the feast is over.

57. The Sun of the Tathāgata, with the brilliancy of Enlightenment, the heat of energy, and the thousand rays of knowledge,

dispelled the darkness of ignorance; now at Its setting It has again brought darkness over the world.

58. Inexorably now the Eye of the world is closed, Which saw the past, the present and the future; inexorably the Embankment has been breached, Which saved us from the rolling billows of the great ocean of suffering."

59. Thus some wailed piteously there, others brooded, bowed down like chariot-horses; some uttered cries, others flung themselves on the ground. Each man behaved in accordance with his nature (*sattva*).

60. Then in due course the weeping Mallas, with arms like the trunks of mighty elephants, placed the Seer on an unused priceless bier of ivory inlaid with gold.

61. Then with ceremonial that befitted the occasion they did Him reverence with entrancing garlands of many kinds and with the most excellent perfumes, and then with affection and devotion they all took hold of the bier.

62. Then tender-bodied maidens, with tinkling anklets and copper-stained hands, held over it a priceless canopy, like a cloud white with flashes of lightning.

63. Similarly some of the men held up umbrellas with white garlands, while others waved white yaks' tails set in gold.

64. Then the Mallas, with eyes reddened like bulls, slowly bore the bier, while musical instruments (*tūrya*), pleasant to the ear, sounded in the sky like clouds in the rains.

65. Divine flowers, lotuses and every kind of bloom, fell from the sky as though shed by the trees of the garden of Citraratha(?), when shaken by the lordly elephants of the quarters.

* 66. The great elephants, born of Indra's elephant, cast down lotuses with jewelled interiors and *mandārava* flowers which scattered drops of water and adhered in falling.¹

* 67. Then the Gandharva queens, whose beautiful bodies were born for the time of pleasure, removed the juice of red sandalwood

¹ Last three words doubtful; *h̄bāb̄ bcas chags-pa-rnams*.

and threw down white clothes which had been perfected without effort.

68. Holding fluttering pennons aloft and scattering all manner of garlands about,¹ they drew the bier (*śivikā*) for the sake of good fortune (*śivāya*) along the sacred (*śiva*) road to the accompaniment of music.

69. The Mallas, full of devotion, bore it along, doing obeisance hundreds of times because of the Sage's spiritual power and bewailing His decease; and so they carried it through the middle of the city.

70. Proceeding outside through the Nāga gate, they crossed the river called Hiranyavati, and at the foot of the caitya known as Mukuṭa they raised a pyre (corresponding to)² His fame.

71. Then they heaped on the pyre sweet-scented barks and leaves, aloewood, sandalwood and cassia (*elagaja*) and placed the Sage's body thereon, sighing with grief all the while like snakes, and with unsteady eyes.

72. Then although they applied a lighted lamp three times to it, the Great Sage's pyre would not take fire at that moment, like the sovereignty of a king of cowardly (*klāba*) nature, whose never-missing bow is in disorder (*vyākula?*).³

73. Kāśyapa was coming along the road, meditating with purified mind, and it was by the power of his wish to see the holy remains of the dead Holy One that the fire did not burn.

74. Then at that moment the disciple came up quickly in order to see the Guru, and when he had done obeisance to the Best of sages, the fire immediately blazed up of itself.

75. The fire burnt up the skin, flesh, hair and limbs of the Sage's body, which the sins had not burnt, but, despite the quantity of ghee and fuel and despite the wind, it was unable to consume the bones.

¹ Two syllables missing in *b*.

² Two syllables missing in *d*; sense supplied conjecturally.

³ Last clause uncertain; *bab-med ldan-pa gzhū nī rnam-par hkhruḡs-pa-yis* (read *yi*); possibly *viklava*, "frightened despite his never-failing bow."

76. Then in due time they purified the bones of the deceased Saint (*mahātman*) with the finest water, and, placing them in golden pitchers¹ in the city of the Mallas, they chanted hymns of praise:—

77. “The jars hold the great relics, full of virtue, like the jewelled ore (*dhātu*) of a great mountain, and the relics (*dhātu*) are unharmed by fire, just as the sphere (*dhātu*) of the chief of the gods (*Brahmā*) in heaven (is unharmed by the fire at the end of the aeon).

78. These bones, informed (*paribhāvita?*) with universal benevolence (*maitrī*), and not liable to burning by the fire of passion, are preserved under the influence of devotion to them (or, to Him), and, even though cold, still warm our hearts.

79. The bones of Him Who overcame desire and was without peer in the world, cannot, by reason of His spiritual power, be borne even by Viṣṇu’s Garuḍa; yet they are borne by us of the human race.

80. Alas! The law of the world has inexorable might, and its power has prevailed even against Him Who had power over the Law, and so these bodily remains of Him, Whose fame overspread the whole of creation, are placed in these jars.

81. His brilliancy was as the brilliancy of another sun, and He illuminated the earth therewith. His body had the hue of gold, yet the fire has left only the bones remaining.

82. The Seer shattered the vast mountains of the sins, and, when suffering came on Him, He did not lose His steadfastness; He suppressed all suffering, yet His body was consumed by the fire.

83. The Mallas are wont to cause tears to their enemies in battle, to wipe away the tears of those who take refuge with them, and to refrain from shedding tears even over a loved one, yet now they mourn,² shedding tears on the road.”

84. Thus they lamented, despite their pride and strength of arm, and entered the city as though it were a wilderness, and after the relics had been adored by the inhabitants in the streets, they made a pavilion glorious for their worship.

¹ Plural; one would expect the singular.

² “Return,” C, suggesting *balog* for *zlos* in T.

CANTO XXVIII

The Division of the Relics.

1. For some days they worshipped the relics in due form with excellent ceremonies; then there came for them to the town one after another (*kramena*) ambassadors from seven neighbouring kings.

2. Then at that time, after hearing them in due course, the Mallas, in their pride and by reason of their devotion to the relics, made up their minds not to surrender them, but preferred to fight instead.

3. Then on learning of their answer, the seven kings, like the seven winds, came up with great violence against the city called after Kuśa, with forces like the current of the Ganges in flood.

4. Then at the sound of the horses of those kings the town-folk hurriedly entered the town from the jungle with terror-stricken faces...¹

5. Then the kings invested the town, tethering their lordly elephants in the foremost groves, and, arrayed in the style that accorded (*anukūla*) with their lineage,² they acted in hostile fashion (*pratikūla*) to the excellent Mallas.

6. Then that town descended into affliction, like a woman who meets with grief, flinging up the arms of its roofs³ and closing the eyes of its gates, with the beautiful long eyelashes of yaks' tails.

7. With the seven kings, united in intent (*ekakārya*), shining in their majesty and flashing with their impetuosity, the earth became as fearsome as the sky, when the seven planets shine together at the same time.

¹ I do not understand the third line, *hkhros-pa-las ni mgo-bo-rnams la bzwi-ba bzhin* (simile or present participle); C gives no help. Literally, "as if holding their heads from anger."

² Uncertain. The last words *rnams-la gsos-so* are unintelligible; perhaps it should be *la-sogs-rnams-so*.

³ Presuming *khyogs* to stand for *thog*.

8. Then the nostrils of the womenfolk even were assailed by the odour of elephants in rut, their eyes by the dust raised by the elephants' trunks, and their ears by the clamour of horses, elephants and drums.

9. Then in all directions there was fighting at the siege, with the gates half invested and surrounded by elephants and troops of horses, and with the preparation of darts and of blazing liquids in the throwing machines.¹

10. Then the citizens abandoned² embarrassment out of fear and courage and collected on the ramparts, with lances, swords and arrows, glaring like hawks on their enemies.

11. Some shouted out in their excitement, so others collecting together blew conchshells. Some flung themselves about violently, similarly others brandished sharp swords.

12. Then the wives of the warriors, seeing the Mallas about to fight for victory and roaring out their names like wrestlers (*malla*), prepared at the same time their minds, medicines, and rewards (for the warriors).

13. The womenfolk of the warriors there, all trembling, bound on the armour of their sons who wished to go in the forefront of battle, and they performed magic rites for their safety (*śāntividya?*), while their faces were despondent and their tears unrestrained.

14. Others, with downcast faces like hinds, in going to their husbands clung to the bow he wanted, and as they looked on the hero whose face was towards the battle, (their steps)³ were checked and they neither went forward nor stood still.

15. When the kings saw the Mallas thus arrayed and coming forth to fight, like snakes which have been confined in a jar, they made up their minds to fight.

¹ The last part is conjectural; I read *gyyogs*, any kind of machine for throwing projectiles, for *skyogs*, and, as suggested by C, *khu-ba hbar-ba* for *khu-ba hbar-pa*, and I understand *mdun-ñu-bdar* as the same as *mdun-dar*.

² Reading *glad-pa* for *glan-ba*; I understand *paurās tataḥ śaktiśarāśihastās trāsena śauryeṇa ca multalajjāḥ*.

³ Two syllables missing; meaning completed conjecturally.

16. The Brahman, Droṇa, saw the chariots, elephants, cavalry and footsoldiers all excited and fully intent on fighting, and out of his learning and lovingkindness he uttered these words:—

17. “You are able on the battlefield to overcome with your arrows the life and fury of your foes, but you cannot do so easily to those who dwell apart in forts, how much less then when your adversaries are all of one mind (*ekakārya*)?”

18. Or if you conquer your enemies by investment, is it right (*dharma*) with determined minds to extirpate them and to besiege and injure the innocent townsfolk?

19. Just as when black snakes, entering a hole, meet together on the way and bite each other,¹ either there will be no complete (*ekānta*) victory from the siege, or else the besieged will obtain the victory.

20. For even men of little worth, taking fire on hearing the news of the siege in the town, will come to great worth, like a small fire heaped high with combustibles.

21. Religious men (*dharmātman*), though besieged in a town, repulsed by their austerities those who came with intent to kill them, and despite their withered arms they conquered Karandhama² in the city of Kuśa by the strength of religion.

22. Those kings, who acquired the whole earth, whether for fame or for obtaining territory (or, the objects of sense), had to leave it and returned to dust, as oxen, after drinking water from the pool, have to return to the pasture ground.

23. Therefore seeing rightly what religion and profit (*artha*) require, you should strive by peaceful means (*sāman*); for those who are conquered by arrows may again blaze (into enmity), but those who are conquered by peaceful means never change in feeling.

¹ Taking *duṣ-su* (*kāle*) to be a corruption for a word meaning “mutually.”

² I cannot pick up the allusion, which may be to Karandhama's son, Avikṣit, or his grandson, Marutta.

24. All this is not within your competence, and your forces are not¹ able to meet the enemy's forces. You should practise forbearance in accordance with the teaching of that very Śākya Sage, Whom it is your intention to honour."

25. Thus, although they were kings, did that good man instruct them with decision and tell them of the real good, with all the plainspeaking and lovingkindness of a Brahman. Then they made reply:—

26. "These words of yours are timely and wise and spoken in friendly fashion for our good;² learn now what is the intention of the kings, (which proceeds) from delight in the Law and reliance on their strength.³

27. Men as a rule undertake affairs for the sake of passion, or out of anger, or for their power, or for death;⁴ but we, inspired by reverence (*sābhimāna*), have taken up our bows simply in order to do honour to the Buddha.

28. Śiśupāla and the Cedis, in taking the sacrificial gifts (*dakṣiṇā*) for the sake of pride, strove with Kṛṣṇa; why should we not risk even our lives in order to perform our adoration to Him Who abandoned pride?

29. The Vṛṣṇi-Andhakas, kings who ruled the earth, came to blows for the sake of a maiden; why should we not risk even our lives to adore Him Who overcame passion?⁵

30. The very wrathful seer, the son of Bhṛgu, took up arms to exterminate the Kṣatriyas; why should we not risk even our lives to adore Him Who overcame wrath?

¹ T omits a syllable in *b*, which I supply with a negative; but the sense of the line is doubtful, as one would expect, as C has it, the statement that it is not proper to fight.

² Two syllables missing in *b*.

³ C seems to take this last clause to Droṇa, not to the kings.

⁴ *hchi-ba*; should it be *hīshe-ba* (*hīna*)?

⁵ According to C, a similar verse is omitted here, taking the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas as an instance.

31. The Daitya, extremely ferocious though he was, went to destruction by embracing (*parigrah*) death in the shape (*abhidhāna*) of Śītā; why should not we risk even our lives to adore Him Who abandoned all possessions (*parigraha*)?

32. Similarly Eli and Paka, with enmity increasing between them, were destroyed, . . .;¹ why should we not risk even our lives to adore Him Who was free from delusion?

33. These and many other contests that arose in the world had their origin in the faults; why should we not fight, when we are bound by devotion to the Supreme Master and it is to our advantage (*sahita*)?

34. Such then is our purpose; do you go quickly as our envoy and strive with all your might (*sarvātmanā*) that this object may be accomplished without fighting.

35. Your words, spoken in accordance with religion, have checked us, though we are ready to fight and have sharp arrows, just as spells check snakes, which drink down the poison spreading within them."

36. The Brahman accepted the kings' instructions with the words, "Thus will I do," and entered the city; in due course he saw the Mallas, and after seeing them he addressed these words to them at the proper time:—

37. "These kings of men, with bows in their hands and with shining armour glorious as the sun,² are at the gates of this city of yours, ready to spring like lions licking their chops.

38. Having regard to the swords set in their scabbards and to their golden-backed bows, they are not afraid of the challenge to battle, but, remembering the Sage's Law, they are afraid of trespassing against the Law.

¹ *rgyal-rigs bye-ba-rnams*, T, which probably is corrupt for some reference to *moha*. The allusion is not traced; C has, "Ali and Paka (or, Baka), two demons in perpetual enmity, only by reason of *moha*, widely harmed all beings," meaning possibly Alāyuddha and Baka.

² Two syllables wanting in *b* (*ñi-ma ji-llar* for *ñi-llar?*).

39. 'You should respect,' they say, 'our intention in that we have come, not for territory or wealth, nor out of pride or enmity, but because of our devotion to the Sage.'

40. The Sage was Guru to you and us alike; hence this trouble. Therefore the company of brethren have assembled and come here with the sole object of adoring the relics of the Guru.

41. Miserliness about wealth is not so great a sin as miserliness in the practice of the Law. It is a sin to decide to speak in miserly fashion, and sin is indeed the enemy of the Law.

42. If your decision is against giving, then come out from the fort and wait upon your guests. Those whose strength is in their gates, not in their arrows, are not born of a Kṣatriya family.'

43. This is the message addressed to you by the lords of men, and it manifests good feeling and courage. I have also considered the matter affectionately within myself, listen then to what I am about to say.

44. Quarrelling with others makes neither for happiness nor for the Law; do not bear ill-will, but follow the way of peace. For the Sage used to preach forbearance, by which the fire of devotion will ever increase.

45. Men betake themselves to contention for one of the two, wealth or passion, but for the man who has become saintly (*ārya*) for the sake of the Law, religious peace and enmity are said to exclude each other mutually.

46. It ill accords with your principles to do hurt, while worshipping the Compassionate One,¹ Who, Himself attaining peace, with benevolent mind preached mercy to all beings.

47. Therefore by the gift of the relics share (*saṃvibhaj?*) with them fame and the body of the Law. Thereby you will be at peace with them, and they too will gain the Law and fame.

48. We, as followers of the Law, should unite to the Law, by effort even, those who have fallen away from the Law. For those who unite others with the Law cause the Law to endure.

¹ Two syllables missing in c.

49. The supreme holy Seer said that the gift of the Law is the most excellent of all gifts; anyone may give wealth, but the giver of the Law is hard to find.¹”

50. Then, when they heard from the Brahman, who was the peer of Droṇa in knowledge, the words of the Law, which are renowned and bring pleasure, they looked at each other much abashed and said to him:—

51. “Ah! Your resolution is that of a good friend and associated with the virtues, as befits a Brahman. We are like bad horses straying down the wrong road, and you have put us on the well-worn track.

52. We should certainly do as you have said, since it is proper to accept the advice of a compassionate friend. For those who neglect the words of a friendly man afterwards fall into suffering and grieve.”

53. Then the Mallas with devotion and virtue (*guṇa*)² divided the relics of Him Who knew the universe (*lokadhātu*) into eight parts, and then keeping one part for themselves, they handed over the remaining seven to the others, one for each of them.

54. The lords of the earth too, thus honourably treated by the Mallas, returned joyfully to their own lands, their goal attained. Then with due ceremony they set up stūpas in their cities for the relics of the Seer.

55. Then Droṇa, wishing to erect a stūpa for the Sage in his own country, took the pitcher for his share, and the people named Pisala³ also, filled with devotion, took the ashes that were left over.

56. Then at first there were eight stūpas, like white hills, which contained the relics. The Brahman's stūpa, holding the pitcher, was the ninth, and the one which housed the ashes became the tenth.

57. The kings with their subjects and the Brahmins with their children adored on earth these various stūpas of the Sage,

¹ So C, involving in T the amendment of *śbyor-bar* to *śbyin-par* in c, and of *ṛnam-par ḍsags-pa* (*vicita*?) to *rñed-par dkaḥ-ba* in d.

² But for *yon-tan-las bgos* read *yañ-dag ṛnam bgos* (*saṃvibhāj*)?

³ The Pippalivanika Mauryas; therefore read Pippala? C has “the men of Kuśinagara.”

which had waving flags and resembled the snowy peaks of Mount Kaiāsa.

58. The various lords of men paid excellent reverence to the stūpas which held the relics of the Saviour (Jina) with the chanting of hymns(?)¹ and the finest perfumes and lovely garlands and the sound of music.

59. Then in course of time the five hundred Arhats assembled in the town marked by the five mountains, and on the side of the mountain collected the Sage's sermons in order properly to establish the Law again.

60. The disciples, deciding that it was Ānanda who had heard all the sections from the Great Seer, asked the Vaideha sage with the agreement of the assembly² (*saṃgha*) to repeat the doctrine (*pravacana*):

61. Then he sat down in the midst of them and repeated the sermons as they had been preached by the Best of speakers, saying "Thus I heard this," and explaining the place, the reference, the time and the person addressed.

62. Thereby in union with (*anubaddha*) the Arhats he established the scriptures (*śāstra*) of the Great Sage's Law, and it is by its full acquisition with effort that men have passed, are passing and will pass beyond sorrow.

63. In course of time king Aśoka was born, who was devoted to the faith; he caused grief to proud enemies and removed the grief of people in suffering, being pleasant to look on as an *aśoka* tree, laden with blossoms and fruit.

64. The noble glory of the Maurya race, he set to work for the good of his subjects to provide the whole earth with stūpas, and so he who had been called Caṇḍāśoka became Aśoka Dharmarāja.

¹ *phreñ-ḍa mñon sbyar-rnams*, lit. *mālābhīyogaiḥ*; the first part is presumably corrupt, as garlands are mentioned later on in the verse. C suggests something like the translation, for which compare Pali *abhiyoga*.

² This seems to imply a distinction between the 500 Arhats and the Saṃgha and to attribute the authority to the latter.

65. The Maurya took the relics of the Seer from the seven stūpas in which they had been deposited, and distributed them in due course in a single day over eighty thousand majestic stūpas, which shone with the brilliancy of autumn clouds.

66. The eighth of the original stūpas, situated in Rāmapura, was guarded at that time by faithful Nāgas, and the king therefore did not obtain the relics from it; but thereby his faith in them was much increased.

67. Therefore, although the king retained the sovereignty, which is fugitive, and though he continued to abide among the enjoyments (*phala*), which are the enemies of the mind, yet, without assuming the ochre-coloured robe, he purified his mind and obtained the first fruit.

68. Thereby whoever anywhere has revered, does revere or will revere the Sage, has obtained, does obtain or will obtain the very highest fruit which is enjoyed by the good.

69. The wise know¹ the virtues of the Buddha to be such that, given equal purity of mind, the same fruit will be won either by reverencing the Seer during His worldly existence or by doing obeisance to His relics after the Parinirvāṇa.

70. Therefore one should ever pay reverence to the lofty-minded compassionate Sage, the best Object of worship, the Knower² of the excellent Law, which is supreme, immutable, never-failing and profitable.

71. Why should it not be right in this world for wise religious men, who know what He did, to present a thank-offering to Him Who for others' good underwent the greatest toil in His compassion and in His supreme knowledge of the dispositions of men?

72. Seeing that on earth there is no danger like that of old age and death, and in heaven like that of the fall therefrom, what good man is to be so worshipped as He Who ever recognized these two dangers of the universe?

¹ Or, "Know, O wise men."

² Reading *mkyen-pa-po* for *mkyen-pa-ko* in *a*.

73. So long as birth exists, unhappiness is produced, and there is no bliss to compare with that of freedom from new existence; what good man therefore is to be so revered as He Who obtained this freedom and gave it to the world?

74. Thus this poem has been composed for the good and happiness of all people in accordance with the Sage's Scriptures, out of reverence for the Bull of sages, and not to display the qualities of learning or skill in poetry.

The work of the venerable mendicant and teacher, Āsvaghoṣa of Śāketa, the son of Suvarṇākṣī, the great poet, eloquent and of universal renown.

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II. Tibetan-Sanskrit Equivalents.

N.B. Names transliterated in Tibetan are omitted, and minor errors in the xylographs have been corrected *sub silentio*.

- kun dgaḥ-bo, Ānanda.
 Kuśa ldan-paḥi groḥ, Kuśinagara.
 klu, Nāga.
 dkar, Śveta(?).
 dkar-min, Asita.
 skal-ldan śiñ-rta, Bhāgrathi, Bhag-
 ratha.
 skal-med min, Nābhāga.

skul-byed, Cunda.
 skyes-bu-can, Māgandika(?).
 kha-spu ldan-pa, Śūciloma.
 khyab-ñjug, Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa.
 khyu-ñjigs (xxiii. 7), Indra(?).
 mkhañ-Idiñ, Garuḍa.
 ñkhyil-ba ñdzin, Kuñṭhadhāna.

 gañ-ldan, Haimavata.
 gañ-ba bzañ-po, Pūrñabhadrā.
 Gayañi rtse-mo, Gayaśirṣa.
 gyad, Malla.
 grags-pa, Yaśas.
 grags ñdzin-ma, Yaśodharā.
 grañs-can, Sāñkhyā.
 gro-bzhin skyes, Śroṇa.
 groñ-khyer gtso, Nāgara(?).
 groñ gsum-pa, Tripura.
 glañ-po, Vāraṇa.
 glañ-po ldan-pa, Varāṇa.
 dgañ-bañi skyed-ma, Nandamātā.
 dgañ-bo, Nanda.
 dgañ-byed groñ, Rāmapura.
 dge-sogs, Puṣkalasādin(?).
 dgra-can, Vairāñjā.
 mgon-med zas-sbyin, Anāthapiñḍada.
 ñgro-mgyogs, Yayāti.
 rgya-chen skyes-bu-can, Bhāradvāja(?).
 rgyan-byed dañ mtshuñs, Alakāvati.
 rgyal poñi khab, Rājagṛha.
 rgyal-ba, Jina.
 rgyal-byed, Jeta.
 rgyal-byed tshal, Jetavana.
 rgyun-śes, Atri.
 sgur mchog, Kubjottarā.
 sgra-ñan, Kuru, Nahuṣa(?).
 sgra-gcan ñdzin, Rāhula.
 brgya-byin, Vāsava.

 ña-la nu, Māñdhātṛ.
 ñan-spoñ, Bhṛgu.
 ñho-ba, Pāṣāṇa.

cod-pan, Mukuṭa.
 beu-phyed rtse-mo, Pañcaśikha.
 beom-rlag, Mathurā.

 chu-kluñ, Nadī (Kāśyapa).
 chu dbyibs, Varṣākāra.
 chu srin klu, Kumbhīra.
 mchog, Śreṣṭha, Uttara(?).
 mchog-dbyañs, Ghoṣila.
 ñchar-ka, Udāyin.

 ñjigs-beas, Sabhiya.
 ñjigs-byed, Bheṣaka.
 ñjigs-med, Abhaya.

 ñe-dgañ-ba, Upananda.
 ñe-bar ñkhor, Upāli.
 ñe-bar hoñs(?), Upaga.
 ñe-rgyal, Upatiṣya.
 ñon-moñs dul-ba, Kalmāśadamyā.
 mñan-yod, Śrāvastī.

 ti-se, Kailāsa.
 gtum-po, Cañḍa(?), Vṛṣṇi.
 gtum-po mya-ñan med-pa, Cañḍāśoka.
 rta-ljañ rta, Haryaśva.
 rta thul, Aśvajit.
 lteñ-rgyas, Auruvilva.
 brtan-ldan, Sthāñumatī.

 thub-pa skar-rgyal (xxvii. 17), ?
 ñthob-pa, Ayodhyā.

 dañ-po stoñ dañ ldan-pa (xxvii. 1), ?
 dus-byed, Kālaka.
 don kun grub-pa, Sarvārthasiddha.
 drag-po, Cedi.
 drag-poñi las-can, Khara.
 dri-za, Gandharva.
 dregs-pa yañs, Ṭamkita(?).
 bdud, Māra.
 bde-dgañ (xxi. 19), ?
 bde-bar pha-rol ñgro, Śurpāraka (Supā-
 raga).

bden-byed, Satyaka.
 sdig-pa, Pāpā.
 sdig-med, Nāgāyana(?).
 sde-rab phams-byed, Prasenajit.

nor-ldan, Irāvati(?).
 gnas-hjog, Vasiṣṭha.
 gnod-sbyin, Yakṣa.
 rnam-rgyas, Vipula.
 rnam-thos sras (or, bu), Vaiśravaṇa.
 sna stod, Stavakarṇin.
 sna-tshogs śin-rta, Citraratha.
 snron, Jyeṣṭhā.

padma, Puṣkara.
 dpal sdug, Śrighana.
 dpal spas, Śrīgupta.
 spoñ-byed-pa, Vṛjji.
 spos ḥdzin, Gāndhāra.
 spre-ḥu, Markaṭa.

pha-rol ḥgro-ba-can, Pārāyana.
 phur-pa gsum-pa, Triśaṅku.
 phur-bu, Bṛhaspati.
 phra-mo, Suhma.

buḥi bu-mos ḥjug bu, Naptrīputra.
 bu-maṅ, Bahuputraka.
 bu-ram-śin, Ikṣvāku.
 boñ-bu, Gardabha.
 bod-riñ, or boñ-riñ (xxiii. 4), ?
 bya-rgod phyuñ-po, Gṛdhrakuṭa.
 byis-pa skyoñ, Śisupāla.
 bran bzañ, Saudāsa.
 bre-bo, Droṇa.
 dbaṅ-po, Indra, Śura.
 dbaṅ-phyugs, Īśvara.
 dbyigs-nor, Vasu.
 dbyug-pa, Daṇḍa.
 ḥbar-zhiñ ḥjigs-paḥi las-can (xxi. 35), ?
 ḥbrog gnas, Ātavika.

ma-skyes, Aja.
 ma-skyes dgra, Ajātaśatru.

ma-ḥgag-pa, Aniruddha.
 mi-skyoñ tā-la, Pātāla.
 miñ-chen, Mahānāman.
 mya-ñan med-pa, Aśoka.
 dmar, Piṅgala(?).

gtsaṅ-mar ḥlag-par gnas-pa, Śuddhādhi-
 vāsa.

rtse-mo rgyas-pa, Sātāgra.
 rtsegs sbyin, Kūṭadatta.

tshaṅs-pa, Brahman, Viriñca.
 tshaṅs-paḥi tshe-ldan, Brahmāyus.
 mtshams bzaṅs, Nirgrantha.
 ḥtsho-byed, Jivaka.

mdzes-dgaḥ, (Sundara) Nanda.

gzugs-kyi kham, Rūpadhātu.
 gzugs-med, Arūpa.
 bzañ rgyal, Bhadrarjit.
 bzañ-po, Bhadra.
 bzañ sbyin, Sudatta.
 bzo sbyaṅs, Śreṇya.

ḥod-ldan, Jyotiṣka.
 ḥod-ma ldan-pa, Veṇumatī.
 ḥod-maḥi tshal, Veṇuvana.
 ḥod-maḥi tsher-ma-can, Veṇukaṭṭaka.
 ḥod-zer ldan-pa, Mahivatī.
 ḥod sruṅs, Kāśyapa.

yaṅs-pa-can, Vaiśālī.
 yan-lag sbyin, Aṅgada.
 yul-ḥkhor skyoñ, Rāṣṭrapāla.

rags-paḥi mdzod-ldan, Sthūlakoṣṭhaka.
 raṅs-byed, Rāma.
 ri-mo rdul, Girirajas(?).
 rigs-med, Nakula.
 rigs gtsaṅ (for gtsar?), Jātiśroṇi (Jāti-
 śreṇi).

riñ-min rta, Kṛśāśva.
 rlaṅs-pa, Vāṣpa.

lag-pa sgra-byed, Karandhama.	sog-ma-med, Apalāla.
lag-hoñs, Hastaga (for Hastaka).	sor-moñi phreñ-ba-can, Aṅgulimāla.
lug, Meṅḍhaka.	srin-po, Daitya.
lus ñan, Kubera.	gser-ldan, Hiranyavatī.
lus ḥphags (or, ḥphags-po), Videha.	
lus ḥphags thub-pa, Vaidehamuni.	lha-min, Asura.
legs-bzañ, Subhadra.	lha-min skyes-ma, Asurī(?).
loñ-byed, Andhaka.	lhas byin, Devadatta.
loñs-spyod groñ, Bhoganagara.	lhun-po, Meru.
señ-ge, Siṃha.	
ser-skyā, Kapila.	amra skyoñ-ma, Amrapālī.

ADDENDA

xxi. 31. Apparently *ḥhoḥ-pa* here stands for *mi-thub-pa* (Ayodhyā), and C should be understood as giving corruptly the names Ayodhyā and Sāketa.

xxi. 41 ff. The representation of this scene at Amaravati (Vogel, Buddhist Art in India, Ceylon and Java, pl. 17) is evidently based on these verses.
