THE LIFE OF VASU-BANDHU')

BY

PARAMĀRTHA (A.D. 499-569)

TRANSLATED BY

J. TAKAKUSU, M.A., Ph.D.

Ba-su-ban-du²) (Vasu-bandhu), Master of the Law, was a native of Fu-lu-sha-fu-la³) (Puruṣa-pura), N. Iudia. "Fu-lu-sha" (puruṣa) means "hero" ⁴), and "Fu-la" (pura) "territory" ⁵).

It is said in the "Genealogy of Bi-shu-nu" (Viṣṇu) the lord of heaven 6): "He (Viṣṇu) was a younger brother of Sakra the Lord (Indra) 7). The latter sent him to be born in Jambu-dvīpa 8) as a

¹⁾ Chinese Tripitaka, Japanese edition, vol. XXIV, part 9, pp. 115 v°—118 r°. — Cf. Bunyiu Nanjio, Catalogue, n°. 1463.

²⁾ 婆藪槃豆.

³⁾ 富婁沙富羅.

⁹丈夫.

⁵⁾ 土.

⁶⁾ 毗複紅天王世傳. This seems to mean Visque-purana, but the story does not occur, as a whole, though there are occasional allusions to it throughout the Purana.

⁷⁾帝釋.

⁸⁾ 閻浮堤 i.e. India.

King, in order to subdue Asura 9). He was born in Jambu-dyīpa as a son of the King Ba-su-dai-ba (Vasu-deva) 10). There was an Asura called In-da-la-da-ma-na (Indra-damana) 11). "Indra" is a name of Sakra the Lord, and "damana" means "subduing". This Asura was ever in battle with Sakra the Lord. He had that name signifying that he was able to subdue Sakra. The treatise Bi-ka-la 12) (Vyākaraņa-śāstra) explains the meaning of the word "Asura" as "without virtuous pleasure" 13) - thus the word "Asura" in Chinese must be understood in this sense. All gods ever regard good as their enjoyment, while Asuras consider evil as their pleasure, hence the name. The word (A-sura) also signifies "non-god" 14). The Asura in question had a younger sister Ba-la-ha-ba-ti (prabhāvatī) 15). "Prabha" means "splendour", "vatī" a "lady". The lady was possessed of beauty. The Asura, wishing to kill the god, Visnu, induced his sister to entice him. Through his power of magic he brought darknees upon a part of Jambu-dvīpa. He hid himself in the dark, so as not to let anyone see him, and ordered his sister to be by herself in the light. He further told her: "If a man wish to take you for wife, you are to say: 'If you want to take me, my elder brother is sure to object. He is possessed of great strength. If you are able to fight with my brother I will then give my consent'". Visnu, the god, afterwards saw that woman in the light, and was exceedingly delighted with her. He asked her who she was.

⁹⁾ 阿修羅.

¹⁰⁾ 婆藪提婆.

¹¹⁾ 因陀羅陀摩那.

¹²⁾ 毗伽羅.

¹³⁾ 非善戲.

¹⁴⁾ 非天.

¹⁵⁾ 婆羅頗婆底.

"I am a young woman belonging to an Asura" was the answer. The god said, "Asura women frequently marry gods. I myself have no wife, and you too have no husband. Now I wish to marry you so that we may see each other; will you consent?" She then answered him in the words previously taught by her brother. He said: "You think favourably of me and therefore you say so. As you love me I will not leave you alone. Since I have great strength, I will fight with your brother". She consented at last and they became husband and wife. The Asura then went to the light and asked Visnu, the god, why he had unceremoniously taken his sister as wife". He replied: "If I am not a hero you may object when I take your sister to wife. But I am a hero and had no wife; your sister is a young woman and had no husband. It is but reasonable that I took her as my wife. Why do you wonder at it?" The Asura said: "What qualification have you, on account of which you call yourself a hero? If you are really a hero you will be able to fight with me and win the victory, then I will give you my sister in marriage". The god answered: "If you do not believe me we will put it to the test (by a duel)". Then they seized their weapons and began to strike each other. Visnu is an incarnation of Nārāyana, upon whose body no striking or wounding can take any effect. The god cut the Asura's head off, but instantly the head came back to his body, and so with his hands, arms, and other portions of his frame; they recovered as soon as they were cut. From morning till evening the god continued striking, yet the Asura shewed no sign of death. The strength of the god became gradually exhausted, and he seemed more and more fatigued and embarrassed. When night approached the power of the Asura became all the greater. The Lady of Light (Prabha-vati), being afraid that her husband might not be a match for the Asura, took a flower of Ut-ba-la (Utpala) 16), split it into two pieces, and threw one on one side, the other on the other. She then walked between the two pieces and came back again. The god seeing it understood what she meant. Thereupon he caught hold of the Asura's body and tore it into two pieces, which he threw on either side. He walked between them and back again. Thereupon the Asura expired. Formerly he had gone to a Rsi and asked a blessing, saying, "Pray let my body recover at once whenever I am cut through or wounded". The Rsi gave him the benefit requested, and therefore he did not lose his life afterwards when he was wounded. But the Rsi himself was desirous that the gods might kill him and so he did not give him the benefit of recovery in case of his being split asunder. This was the reason why he afterwards lost his life by his being torn into two pieces. Visnu, the god, showed himself a hero (purusa) in this region, therefore it is called the "Land of the Hero" (Puruşa-pura) 17).

In the country (just named) there was a court priest ¹⁸), a Brāhman of the family of "Kiau-shi-ka" (Kauśika) ¹⁹). He had three sons, all named Ba-su-ban-du (Vasu-bandhu); Vasu means "God" and Bandhu "Kinsman". In Tien-chu (India) ²⁰) this custom obtains in the naming of children. Though they call all by one and the same name, they, nevertheless, give different epithets in order to distinguish one from the other.

¹⁶⁾ 鬱波羅 Yu-po-lo, Jap. Ut-ba-la, Utpala, blue lotus.

¹⁷⁾ All the above is an explanation of the name "Purusa-pura", and has nothing to do with the subject-matter of this work.

¹⁸⁾ En lit. "Teacher of the country", an honorific title in China given to a priest of renown. In want of any better word for it I use here "court priest".

¹⁹⁾ 个裔 尸 迦 Kiao-ssu-chia. Jap. Kiau-shi-kia.

²⁰⁾ 天 些 Tien-chu, originally for Sindhu.

The third son, Vasu-bandhu, became a priest in the Sat-ba-ta ²¹) (Sarvāstivāda) school, and attained the Arhatship. His distinguishing epithet was Bi-lin-ji-bat-sa ²²) (Viriāci-vatsa); Bi-lin-ji (Viriāci) was the name of his mother and Bat-sa (Vatsa) means "son" or "child". The latter word (Bat-sa) applies equally to man and animal, for instance a calf is also called "Vatsa". In this country ²²), however, a calf is called "tu" ²⁴).

The eldest son, Vasu-bandhu, was a man who was endowed with the innate character of a Bodhisattva. He too became a priest in the Sat-ba-ta (Sarvāsti-vāda) school, but afterwards he practised meditation and became free from desire. Though he investigated the doctrine of nothingness, he could not understand it. He was about to commit suicide. Bin-dn-la (Pindola) 25, an Arhat, who was then in Eastern (Pūrva) Videha 26, having perceived this, came to him from that region, and expounded the doctrine of nothingness peculiar to the Hīna-yāna. He arranged his thought according as he was taught, and at once comprehended it. Though he attained the doctrine of nothingness peculiar to the Hīna-yāna he nevertheless did not find comfort in it. Thinking that it would not be right to drop it altogether, he went up to the Tuṣita heaven 27) by the supernatural power peculiar to the Hīna-yāna and enquired of Maitreya, the Bodhi-sattva, who expounded for him the doctrine

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²¹⁾ 薩婆多 Sa p'o-to, Jap. Sat-ba-ta.

²²⁾ 比鄰持跋娑 Pi-lin-tsu-p'o-sha.

^{23) &}quot;This country" here seems to mean "China".

²⁴⁾ 檀.

²⁵⁾ 賓頭羅.

²⁶⁾ 毗提訶.

of nothingness belonging to the Mahā-yāna. When he returned to Jambu-dvīpa he investigated by the methods explained to him, and soon became enlightened. While he was engaged in investigation the earth began to quake (of its own accord) in six ways. Since he understood the doctrine of nothingness he called himself "Asanga" 28), which means "without attachment". He afterwards often went up to the Tusita heaven in order to ask Maitreya the doctrine of the Mahā-yāua sūtras. The Bodhi-sattva expounded it extensively for him. Whenever he acquired anything he used to come back to Jambu-dvīpa to teach it to others. Most of those hearing him did not believe him. Asanga, Teacher of the Law, then prayed saying: "I now intend to make all beings fully believe in the doctrine of the Mahā-yāna. I only pray thee, Oh Great Master, to come down to Jambu-dvīpa and propound the Mahāyana in order that all beings may be fully convinced of it". Maitreya, thereupon, in accordance with his prayer, came down to Jambu-dyīpa at night, flooding it with great rays of light, had a large assembly of those connected with (the law) called in a lecture hall, and began to recite the sūtra of the Sapta-daśa-bhūmis 29). After having recited a passage he would explain its purport. The seventeen Bhumis were finished during the nights of four months. Although all were together in one and the same hall listening to the discourse, it was, nevertheless, only Asanga, Teacher of the Law, who had access to the Bodhisattva Maitreya, while the others could merely hear him from afar. At night, all together heard the religious discourse by Maitreya, while in the day time Asanga, Teacher of the Law, commented once again, for the sake of the others, upon what was taught by the Bodhisattva. In this way all

²⁸⁾ 阿僧伽 A-sang-kia.

²⁹⁾ 十七地 經 see Nanjio's No. 1170.

Maitreya, the Bodhisattva, taught Asanga, Teacher of the Law, to study the "sunlight" samādhi (meditation) 30). As he studied it according as he was taught he subsequently attained to that abstract meditation. After he attained to this abstract meditation, what he could not understand formerly became all intelligible. Whatever he heard or saw was never forgotten, his memory being retentive, whereas he formerly could not fully understand the sūtras of the Mahā-yāna such as the Avatamsaka, previously taught by the Buddha. Maitreya explained for him all these in the Tuṣita heaven, the Teacher of the Law thus became well versed in them and remembered them all. He afterwards in Jambu-dvīpa composed several U-pa-dai-sha (Upadeśa) 31) on the sūtras of the Mahā-yāna, in which he expounded all the teachings of the Mahā-yāna taught by the Buddha.

The second Vasu-bandhu entered the priesthood also in the Sat-ba-ta (Sarvāsti-vāda) 32). His learning was wide, his knowledge many sided; he was well versed in all literature. His intellectual genius, brilliant and transparent, was absolutely unequalled, while his personal discipline, pure and high, could by no means be excelled. As his elder and younger brothers had distinguishing names, this Teacher of the Law (i. e. the second son) was simply called "Vasu-bandhu".

³⁰⁾ 日光三摩提. This is a samādhi called "snrya-prabhā-tejas" (Mahāvyut-patti, § 24.6); otherwise interpreted in Chinese 日光 徽, 日光明. Mr. Wogiwara kindly furnished me with the note.

³¹⁾ 優波提娑. The commentaries so-called. It is translated 論議 "discussion", "discourse", in Chinese.

³²⁾ See above, 21.

In the sixth century ³³) after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa there lived an Arhat called the "son of Ka-shen-yen" (Kātyāyanī-putra) ³⁴). He was named after his mother, her name being Ka-shen-yen (Kātyāyanī). In early years he entered the priesthood in the Satba-ta (Sarvāsti-vāda) school. He was a native of Tien-chu (India) ³⁵). Afterwards he went to Ki-pin (Kaśmīra) ³⁶), which is situated north-west of Tien-chu (India). He with 500 other Arhats and 500 Bodhi-sattvas collected the A-bi-dat-ma (Abhidharma) ³⁷) belonging to the Sat-ba-ta (Sarvāsti-vāda) school and arranged them in eight Ka-lan-ta (Grantha, book) ³⁸), which are called here (in China) "Eight Kan-tu" ³⁹). "Ka-lan-ta" (Grantha) may be interpreted "Joint"

³³⁾ 五百年中 in Chinese means "In the five hundred years" i.e. at a time in 500-599 years A.B., therefore "the sixth century".

³⁴⁾ 迦旃延子.

³⁵⁾ 天竺.

³⁷⁾ The text 撰集 lit. "selected and put together". It may mean "collected" or "compiled". 阿毗達麼 A-p'i-ta-ma, Jap. A-bi-dat-ma.

³⁸⁾ Digith "Ka-lan-ta" is, according to Paramartha, "Grantha", not "Khanda", as Nanjio supposed. The work being a principal text-book of the Sarvāsti-vādins is well preserved in China and Japan. Nanjio's Nos. 1273, 1275.

³⁹⁾ 乾度 or 犍度. It stands for "Grantha" according to Paramartha, or rather represents a Prakrit form "Gantho".

or "Section" 40), "Joint" because the groups of principles are joined together in it, that is to say, are so bound together that they cannot be sundered; "section", because each group of principles has its own definite limits. Again, this compilation is called the "Discourse on the Production of Knowledge" 41). By means of his divine wisdom, and the power born of his vows, the Arhat proclaimed to all, far and near, "If there be any who formerly heard the Abhidharma propounded by the Buddha, let him communicate what he knows whether it be much or little". Thereupon the Devas, Nāgas, Ya-sha (Yaksa) 42), even to the regents of the Akanistha 43) heaven, who had heard formerly the teaching of the Abhidharma by the Buddha, and brought their several contributions, some extensive, some short, even to one sentence or one verse (Gāthā). Kātyāyanīputra, together with the Arhats and Bodhi-sattvas, made a selection from the principles thus collected. When the principles did not contradict the Shu-ta-la (Sūtra) and the Bi-na-ya (Vinaya) 44), they assorted and registered them 45), but rejected all those which conflicted with these authorities 46). The compositions they selected were grouped together according to their principles; those illustrating the principle of wisdom (prajña) were collected in the "Book of Wisdom" (Prajñā-grantha), those expounding the principle of meditation (dhyāna) in the Book of Meditation (Dhyāna-grantha), and

⁴⁰⁾ 結 or 節.

⁴¹⁾ 發 慧 論 or 發 智 論 i.e. "Jana-prasthana (Nanjio's 1275).

⁴²⁾ 夜 叉.

⁴³⁾ 阿迦尼師吒天 "A-ka-ni-shi-ta".

⁴⁴⁾修多羅,毗那耶.

⁴⁵⁾ 撰錄. A text has 撰銘 "selected and engraved", which might have suggested to Hiuen-tsang the story of an engraving on copper plates after the Council.

⁴⁶⁾ This sentence is the old doctrine laid down in the Book of the Great Decease; Digha 2, 124-126.

so with the remaining groups. The eight books (grantha) amounted to 50,000 verses (ślokas) 47).

When they had finished composing the eight books they intended also to compose a Bi-ba-sha (Vibhāṣā) 48), in order to explain the meanings.

The Bodhi-sattva, Ma-ming (Aśva-ghoṣa) 49), who was a native of Sha-ki-ta (Sāketa) 50) of the country of Sha-yei (Śrāvastī) 51), was well versed in the eight divisions of the Bi-ka-la (Vyākaraṇa) 52) treatise, in the four Vedas, and the six treatises on them (Vedāngas), and was conversant with the Tri-piṭakas of all the eighteen (Buddhist) schools. He was the Laureate of Literature, the Treasury of Learning, the Home of every Virtue 53). Kātyāyanī-putra sent an envoy to Sha-yei (Śrāvastī) to invite Ma-ming (Aśva-ghoṣa) in order to embellish for him the literary compositions. When Ma-ming (Aśva-ghoṣa) came to Ki-pin (Kaśmīra), Kātyāyanī-putra expounded the eight books in succession. All the Arhats and the Bodhi-sattvas then thoroughly examined them. When the meaning of the principles had been settled, Ma-ming (Aśva-ghoṣa) put them one by one into literary form. At the end of twelve years the composition of the

⁴⁷⁾ Here the text has 'Ge', Gāthā; but it stands as usual for "Śloka". The collection seems to have been much larger than the original of the Chinese, which is said to have been 15,072 Ślokas in Sanskrit. (See Nanjio's 1273).

⁴⁸⁾ 毗婆娑 "Vibhāṣā" "optional principles", a commentary so-called.

⁴⁹⁾ 馬鳴.

⁵⁰⁾ 姜枳 多. Sāketa was a city adjoining with Ayodhyā (Oude), see Rhys Davids' Buddhist India p. 39 and the Authorities cited there.

⁵¹⁾ 舍衞.

⁵²⁾ 八分毗迦羅論, 32 chapters. See below 88.

⁵³⁾ This passage is by no means easy to translate, the text runs, 文宗學府允儀所歸. For 允 a text has 先 which makes it worse. My rendering is only tentative. I take 三歲 "Tripiṭaka" with 十八部 "18 schools", which had a Tripiṭaka differing from one another. (See my 1-tsing's Record, p. xxiii).

Bi-ba-sha (Vibhāṣā) was finished. It consisted of 1,000,000 verses (Ślokas). "Bi-ba-sha" (Vibhāṣā) is to be interpreted into Chinese "Extensive Analysis" ⁵⁴).

When the literary composition was finished Kātyāyāni-putra set up a stone inscribed with this proclamation: "Those who hereafter learn this Law must not go out of the country of Ki-pin (Kaśmīra). No sentence of the eight books (Aṣṭa-grantha), no sentence of the Bi-ba-sha (Vibhāṣā) must pass out of the land, lest the other schools, or the Mahā-yāna (sic) should corrupt the true Law". The setting up of this proclamation was reported to the King 55), who duly approved it.

The country of Ki-pin (Kaśmīra) had mountains on all sides, like a fortified town. There was only a single gate through which one could go in or out. The sages there, through the power born of their vows, had in subjection all the Ya-sha (Yakṣa) 56) gods, and set them to guard the gate. Anyone desirous of learning the Law could come to Ki-pin (Kaśmīra) and was in no way interrupted.

All the sages moreover made the 500 Ya-sha (Yakṣa) their 'Tan-wet' (patrons, Dāna-pati) 57) through the power born of their vows.

To one who was studying the Law there, no article required for personal use was lacking.

In the country of A-yu-ja (Ayodhyā) 58) there was a teacher of the Law named "Ba-sha-su-ba-da-la" 59), who possessed an unsur-

⁵⁴⁾ 廣解 "Enlarged exposition". In Chinese it has 438,449 characters (Nanjio's 1263).

⁵⁵⁾ This King will be Kanişka, who is said to be a contemporary of Aśva-ghoşa, and under whom the Buddhist Council, alluded to here, is believed to have taken place.

⁵⁶⁾ 夜叉.

⁵⁷⁾ 相 我 Tan-wet i. e. Dana-pati, "benefactor", "patron".

⁵⁸⁾ Cf. above (49).

⁵⁹⁾ Ch. 婆娑須跋羅 "Ba-sha-su-ba-da-la" may be something like vaśa-subhadra but I propose "Vasu-bhadra" the 娑 "Sha" being superfluous. Comp. Nanjio, p. 375 (36).

passed intellect and great knowledge. Anything once heard, he remembered. He intended to learn the meanings of the eight books, and the Bi-ba-sha (Vibhaṣā) in order to promulgate them in the other countries. He assumed the appearance of a madman and went to Ki-pin (Kaśmīra). He was always in the great assembly hearing the Law, but his manner was strange and incongruous, and his speech and laughter were ill-assorted. Now he would discuss in the assembly the principles of the Bi-ba-sha (Vibhāṣā), then he would inquire about the story of the La-ma-yen (Rāmāyaṇa) 60). The people thought lightly of him and, though hearing him talk, disregarded him. During the period of twelve years he learned the Bi-ba-sha (Vibhasa) several times and became conversant with the meanings of the composition. He committed all to his memory, and, with the intention of returning to his native land, came to the gate. The Ya-sha (Yaksa) on guard proclaimed in a loud voice that the great master of the A-bi-dat-ma (Abhidharma) was about to go out of the country. Thereupon they took hold of him and escorted him back to the great assembly. His colleagues examined him, but his speech was disconnected and could not be understood by any. All considered him to be a madman and let him alone. Afterwards he was again passing through the gate. The gods (Yakşas) a second time stopped him and took him back. At last this was reported to the King, who himself examined him in the great assembly. The others re-examined him, but failed to understand him just as before. For a third time he repeated the same action and was brought back. But when he did so a fourth time, although the gods (Yakşas) took him back, nobody would examine him any more, but ordered the Ya-sha (Yakşa) to send him away from the country. When he reached his native land (Ayodhyä) he at once proclaimed, so

⁶⁰⁾ 羅摩延傳.

that all those near and far could hear and know, as follows: "I have learned the Bi-ba-sha (Vibhāṣā) of Ki-pin (Kaśmīra); the meanings of the composition are complete in me. Those who are able to learn may come at once and acquire all". Thereupon the people thronged together from all the four quarters just as clouds gather.

As he was already advanced in age he was afraid that he could not finish the transmission of the Law. He ordered his pupils to acquire it as quickly as possible. It was written out as soon as it was taught, and at last it was completed. The teachers in Ki-pin (Kaśmīra) sighed over the news that the Law was promulgated among the people of another country.

In the tenth century ⁶¹) after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa there was a heretic called the "Bin-ja-ka-ba-sha" (Vindhya-vāsa) ⁶²). "Bin-ja-ka" (Vindhya) is the name of a mountain and "Ba-sha" (Vāsa) means "residing". The heretic was so called because he lived in that mountain. There was a King of the Nāgas named "Bi-li-sha-ka-na" (Vṛṣa-gaṇa, Vāṛṣa-gaṇya) ⁶³) who was living in a lake at the foot of that mountain. The King of the Nāgas was well versed in the "Seng-ch'ia-lun" ⁶⁴) (Sāṃkhya-śāstra). The heretic above named, knowing that the Nāga was well versed (in the doctrine), wished to study under him. The Nāga used to disguise himself and assume

⁶¹⁾ 九百年中 'in 900 years', .e., at a time in 900—999 years A.B., therefore "the 10th century".

⁶³⁾ 毗 梨 沙 伽 那 Ch. "pi-li-sha-chieh-na". Cf. Garbe, S. ph., p 37.

⁶⁴⁾ 僧 住 論 . I have used here the Chinese sounds because they have been used by Wassilieff, Bühler and Garbe The identification of the "Seng-ch'ia-lnn" with Sāmkhya-sāstra was first suggested by Bühler. (See Garbe, s. ph., p. 37). Compare below 78.

the form of a Rsi, living in a hut built of leaves. The heretic visited him there and expressed his desire to learn from him, and at once received permission to do so.

The new pupil gathered a large basketful of flowers, and, putting it on his head, carried it to his teacher. Each time he walked round the teacher he threw a flower as an offering; each time he offered a flower he composed a verse in praise of the Nāga King, who, on hearing it, refuted the meaning of the verse, took the flower offered, and threw it back to the heretic. He, in turn, re-asserted the meaning of the verse, throwing the flower again towards his teacher. This went on until the whole basket of flowers was emptied and thus, refuting and re-asserting, all his verses were successfully set forth.

The Nāga King much admired his intelligence, and expounded for him the "Seng-ch'ia-lun" (Sāmkhya-śāstra) 65). Then he said to his pupil: "When you have finished learning the śāstra, take care not to alter it". He said this because he feared that his pupil might supersede him. But when the latter was revising what he learned from his teacher he found that it was wrongly arranged, or that the wording was clumsy. As to the meaning it required to be changed altogether. The lecture of the Nāga King and the revision of his pupil were concluded at one and the same time.

He presented the result of his work to the Naga King. The latter, on seeing the revised text became enraged and said: "I commanded you not to change my śāstra; how dare you do so? I forbid the promulgation of your treatise". The heretic replied: "Oh Master! you ordered me not to change it when I had finished learning; but you did not prohibit me from changing it while the lecture was still going on. I never violate the command of my master.

⁶⁵⁾ See the last.

Why then do you reproach me so? Pray have mercy on me, Oh Master! While my life survives I pledge myself that this śāstra shall not be destroyed". The master then pardoned him. The pupil having obtained the śāstra became very proud and thought that the doctrine set forth by himself was the greatest, and that nothing could be superior to it. There was, however, the Law of Śākyamuni which at that time was greatly flourishing in the world, and all people regarded it as the great Law. He resolved therefore to refute it.

Accordingly he went to the country of A-yu-ja (Ayodhyā) and beat the drum of dispute 66) with his head and said; "I will dispute (with any Buddhist Sramana). If I am defeated my opponent shall cut my head off; but if, on the contrary, he is beaten, he shall give me his head". The King, Pi-ka-la-ma-a-chi-ta (Vikramāditya) 67), which, being interpreted, means the "Right-effort-sun", being informed of the matter summoned the heretic and asked him about it, whereupon the latter answered: "Thou art, O King, the Lord of the Land, in whose mind there should be no partial love to either Śramanas or Brāhmanas. If there be any doctrines prevailing (in thy country) thou shouldst put them to the test (and see whether) they are right or wrong. Now I intend (to dispute) with a disciple of Sakya-muni to determine which party is the winner or the loser. Each should vow to stake his own head". The King thereupon gave him permission and despatched men to ask all the Buddhist teachers of the country in the following words: "Is there anyone who is able to oppose this heretic? Whosoever thinks himself competent should dispute with him".

⁶⁶⁾ 坚論議故 "It was customary for a king in India" a commentator says, "to keep a drum at the Royal Gate. When a man wants to appeal to the Court or to challenge a dispute, he has to beat it".

⁶⁷⁾ 秘柯羅摩訶秩多, 譯為正勤日. Read 阿 for 詞.

At that time the great Teachers of the Law, Ma-nu-la-ta (Manoratha) ⁶⁸), Ba-su-ban-du (Vasu-bandhu) ⁶⁹), and others were all absent travelling in other countries. Ma-nu-la-ta (Manoratha) means "Mind-desire" ⁷⁰).

There was at home only But-da-mi-ta-la (Buddha-mitra) 71) the teacher of Vasu-bandhu. But-da-mi-ta-la (Buddha-mitra) means the "Friend of the Enlightened". This Teacher of the Law was formerly very learned, but he was now advanced in years and therefore weak in mind and feeble in his speech. He said: "Now the great champions of the Law are all abroad. The heretic is strong and obstinate and must not be let alone any longer. I will now see to it myself". He informed the King, who appointed a day on which he summoned a great assembly to the hall of discussion, where the heretic and the Buddhist teacher were to meet and dispute.

The heretic said: "Will you first set forth your opinion? Or will you refute the opinion first set forth by me?" The priest replied: "I am like a great ocean which swallows up all that comes. You are like a lump of earth which will be submerged if it comes to the ocean. You may do as you like". His opponent said: "Then you had better set forth your own opinion (first). I will refute it".

The Buddhist teacher, thereupon, set forth his doctrine of impermanence (Anitya) and said: "All composite things are in process of destruction every kṣaṇa (moment) 72), why? because they disappear in the end". He further supported this by various arguments. The heretic opponent could repeat all these arguments of the

⁶⁸⁾ 摩 缓 羅 他.

⁶⁹⁾ 婆藪樂豆.

⁷⁰⁾ 心願.

⁷¹⁾ 佛陀密多羅,譯為覺親.

⁷²⁾ 刹 那 "set-na".

Buddhist priest after once hearing them and began to criticise them one by one by processes of reasoning. On being requested to commit to memory and repeat these refutations the priest failed to do so. He could not even re-construct his own arguments, though requested to do so.

Thus the Buddhist priest was completely defeated. The heretic said: "You are a Brāhman by caste and I also am a Brāhman. We are not allowed to kill. I will beat you on the back instead, in order to show that I am the victor". He did so. The King gave him three lacs (lakṣa) 73) of gold as a prize. On receiving the gold he distributed it among the people at large and returned to the Bin-ja-ka (Vindhya) 74) mountain where he entered a rocky cave.

Through his power of magic he invoked a female yasha (yakṣa) named "Chū-lin" (Thick-forest) 75), and prayed for her favour in the following words: "Let me change my body after death and become a stone so as never to be destroyed". The female deity (yakṣī) granted the request. Thereupon he closed the cave with stones and died within; his body becoming a stone. His request to become a stone originated from the vow formerly uttered when he was asking mercy of his teacher, the Nāga King, — the vow that so long as his body survived, the "seng-ch'ia-lun" (sāmkhya-śāstra) 76) compiled by himself should not be destroyed.

Thus it is that this śāstra exists even now.

⁷³⁾ 洛沙 "lak-sha", lac.

⁷⁴⁾ See above 62. Here it is clear that Bin-ja-ka can only be "Vindhya", "ka" representing the "hya" of the original.

⁷⁵⁾ 起 木 Ch. "Chou-lin". It is by no means certain whether this is a transliteration or a translation. If the latter be the case it would be something like "Abhaya-giri", which is "mi-lin" (Thick-forest) in Chinese.

⁷⁶⁾ See above 64 and below 78.

Ba-su-ban-du (Vasu-bandhu) came home afterwards, and on hearing of the incident was vexed and angry.

However, he could not find the enemy, and sent a man to the Bin-ja-ka (Vindhya) mountain in search of the heretic; for he wished to subdue the arrogance of his opponent, and thus wipe off the shame that was on the disgraced teacher (Buddha-mitra). But the heretic had already become a stone. Ba-su-ban-du (Vasubandhu) was all the more enraged and depressed. Thereupon he composed a śastra entitled the "Truth-Seventy" 77), in which he refuted the "Seng-ch'ia-lun" (Sāmkhya-śāstra) 78) composed by that heretic, whose doctrine fell to pieces like the broken tiles, from the beginning to the end, leaving no sentence which could hold together. All the heretics grieved as though it were their own life that was thus destroyed, for although he (Vasu-bandhu) did not encounter his opponent, the latter's sit-tan (doctrine, siddhanta) 79) was so discredited in all its branches that there was nothing left for them to fall back upon. Thus he took full vengeance (on his enemy) and wiped off the disgrace put (upon his teacher).

Everyone was gratified on hearing the news. The King (Vikramāditya) gave him three lacs (lakṣa) 80) of gold as a prize. This amount he divided into three portions with which he built three monasteries in the country of A-yu-ja (Ayodhyā):

1. A monastery for pi-ku-ni (Bhikṣuṇī) 81).

⁷⁷⁾ 七十真實論. It is otherwise called 勝義七十論 or 事一義 諦論, which point to Sanskrit "paramurtha-saptati". This does not exist in China.

⁷⁸⁾ This sāmkhya-śāstra seems to have had 70 verses or topics, and Vasu-bandhu, refuting it, seems also to have composed 70 verses or topics. This sāmkhya-work is in all probability the sāmkhya-kārikā of Īśvara-kṛṣṇa, which is otherwise called "Sāmkhya-saptati". The Chinese translation too is called the "Gold-seventy" (Suvarṇa-saptati or Hiranya-saptati).

⁷⁹⁾ 和 檀 Ch. "si-t'an"; siddhanta, "settled doctrine".

^{80) 3} lacs; see above 73.

⁸¹⁾ 比丘尾 "nuns".

- 2. A monastery for the Sat-ba-ta (Sarvāsti-vāda) school.
- 3. A monastery for the Mahā-yāna school.

The Teacher of the Law (Vasu-bandhu) afterwards successfully re-established the true Law (of the Buddha). He studied, first, the principles of the Bi-ba-sha (Vibhāṣā) ⁸²). When he was well versed in them, he lectured thereupon before the general public. At the close of each day's lecture, he composed a verse in which he summed up his exposition for the day.

Each verse was engraved on a copper plate. This he hung on the head of an intoxicated elephant, and, beating a drum, made the following public declaration: "Is there anyone who can refute the principles set forth in this verse? Let him who is competent to do so come forth".

Thus he gradually composed more than 600 verses in which all the doctrines of the Bi-ba-sha (vibhāṣā) were contained. In the case of each verse he repeated the same process. After all there was no one who could refute them. This is the verse portion of the (Abhidharma) Kośa 83).

When these verses were completed, he sent them together with 50 pounds of gold to Ki-pin (Kaśmīra) to the Bi-ba-sha (Vibhāṣā) masters, who, on seeing them, were all exceedingly pleased, thinking that the true Law held by themselves would now be widely promulgated. The words of the verses, however, were so abstruse in meaning that they could not understand them all. They therefore added 50 pounds of gold to the sum received from Vasu-bandhu, thus raising the amount to 100 pounds altogether, and sent it back to him, requesting him to write a prose ⁸⁴) explanation of the verses. Thereupon he com-

⁸²⁾ See above 48.

⁸³⁾ 俱舍論 Jap. "Ku-sha" (Kośa). See below note 116.

⁸⁴⁾ 長行 "longer lines" always means "prose".

posed the prose portion of the Abhidharma-kośa, which is a commentary upon them. He thus established the tenets of the Sat-ba-ta (Sarvāstivāda) school; but whenever he found a doctrine pushed to an extreme in that school, he refuted it by the principles of the Sautrāntika school. This work was called the A-bi-dat-ma-ku-sha (Abhidharma-kośa 85). When he had completed the work he forwarded it to the Bi-ba-sha (Vibhāṣā) teachers of Ki-pin (Kaśmīra), who, on seeing their own opinions therein refuted, were grieved.

The Crown Prince, the son of the King, Vikramāditya, was named "Ba-la-chi-ti-ya" (Bālāditya) ⁸⁶); Bāla means "new" and Aditya the "sun".

In former days the King (Vikramāditya) sent the Crown Prince to Vasu-bandhu to receive his instruction. The Queen too went forth from her family and became his pupil.

When the Crown Prince succeeded to the throne, he and the Queen-mother invited their teacher to settle in Ayodhyā and accept the Royal support. He accepted the invitation.

The brother-in-law of the King, (Bālāditya), a Brāhman named "Ba-shu-la-ta" (Vasu-rāta) ⁸⁷), was versed in the "Bi-ka-la" treatise (Vyākaraņa) ⁸⁸).

When Vasu-bandhu composed the Kośa 89), this heretic criticised by the principles of the "Bi-ka-la" treatise (Vyākaraṇa) the construction of the words and sentences of that work.

By pointing out the contradictions between Vasu-bandhu's work

⁸⁵⁾ 阿毗達摩俱舍論.

⁸⁶⁾ 婆羅秩底也,新日王可幼日王.

⁸⁷⁾ 婆修羅多 ch. "p'o-shu-lo-to".

⁸⁸⁾ Vyākaraņa is "Grammar" in 8 divisions, 32 chapters, see above 52 and below.

⁸⁹⁾ The Abhidharma-kośa.

and the "Bi-ka-la" (Vyākarana) treatise, the heretic meant to force the author into a controversy in defence of his work, failing which, his work would be destroyed.

The Teacher of the Law (Vasu-bandhu) said: "If I do not understand the Bi-ka-la (Vyākaraņa) treatise, how can I understand the excellent truth (of Buddhism) which is extremely profound? 90)

Thereupon he wrote a treatise and refuted the 32 chapters of the Bi-ka-la (Vyākaraņa) treatise. The head and the tail of this work were broken asunder. Thus the Bi-ka-la (Vyākaraņa) treatise was lost, while this work 91) is still extant.

The King (Bālāditya) gave him a lac (lakşa) of gold and the Queen-mother two lacs (lakşa). He divided the sum he received into three portions and built three temples, one each in the land of the Hero (Purusa-pura, Peshwar), in Ki-pin (Kaśmīra) and in A-yu-ja (Ayodhyā, Oude).

The heretic was angry and ashamed, and, resolving to vanquish the Buddhist teacher, sent a messenger to Tien-chu (Central India) to invite the Buddhist priest, "Sang-ka-ba-da-la" (Sangha-bhadra) 92) to come to Ayodhyā in order to compile a treatise and refute the Kośa. This teacher of the Law came and compiled two śāstras. One, entitled the "Samaya of Light" 93), contained 10,000 verses, which merely explain the doctrines of the "Bi-ba-sha" (Vibhaṣā). "Samaya" means "Groups of meanings" 94). The other bore the name "Conformity to the Truth" 95), and contained 120,000 verses. It refutes

⁹⁰⁾ 豈能解甚深妙義. A various reading is 豈能解其深 as the small Japanese edition has it. I follow the former reading.

⁹¹⁾ i. e. the Abhidharma-kośa.

⁹²⁾ 僧 伽 跋 陀 羅. See Nanjio, p. 378 (48).

⁹³⁾ 光三摩耶論. 94) Something like "concordance"; Ch. 義類.

⁹⁵⁾ 管 篇. Skt. 'Satyānusāra' or 'Nyāyānusāra, see Nanjio, no. 1265 and his remarks there.

the Kośa in favour of the Vibhāṣā. When these treatise were completed, he invited Vasu-bandhu to meet him in person and have a decisive debate.

The latter, knowing that, in spite of his attempted refutation, his opponent had not been able after all to overthrow the doctrine of the Kośa, was not inclined to debate with him in person. He said: "I am now already old. You may do as you please. I formerly composed the śāstra to refute the doctrines of the Vibhāṣā. There is no need to enter further upon a decisive debate with you. You have now composed two śāstras. What is the use of challenging me? Any person endowed with knowledge will himself judge which party is in the right and which is in the wrong? The Teacher of the Law (Vasu-bandhu) was versed in all the principles of the eighteen schools (of Buddhism) and thoroughly understood the Hīna-yāna. It was the Hīna-yāna which he held firmly to be right. He did not believe in the Mahā-yāna thinking that the "Ma-ka-yen" (Mahā-yāna) was not the Buddha's own teaching ⁹⁶).

A-saug-ka (Asanga) 97), teacher of the Law, saw that his younger brother was endowed with an intelligence surpassing that of others, his knowledge being deep and wide, and himself well versed in esoteric and exoteric doctrines. He was afraid that the latter might compose a śāstra and crush the Mahā-yāna. He was living then in the land of the Hero (Puruṣa-pura) and sent a messenger to Vasubandhu in Ayodhyā with the following message: "I am seriously ill at present. You had better attend me quickly". Vasu-bandhu followed the messenger to his native land, saw his brother and inquired what was the cause of his illness. He answered: "I have

[%] 摩訶衍非佛所說.

⁹⁷⁾ 阿僧伽.

now a serious disease of the heart, which arose on account of you". Vasu-bandhu again asked: "Why do you say on occount of me?" He answered: "You do not believe in the Mahā-yāna and are always attacking and discrediting it. For this wickedness you will be sure to sink for ever in a miserable life. I am now grieved and troubled for your sake to such an extent that my life will not long survive. On hearing this Vasu-bandhu was surprised and alarmed and asked his brother to expound the Mahā-yāna for him. He then gave him a concise explanation of the essential principles of the Mahā-yāna. Thereupon the Teacher of the Law (Vasu-bandhu), who was possessed of clear intelligence and especially of deep insight, became at once convinced that the truth of the Mahā-yāna excelled even that of the Hīna-yāna.

He then fully investigated, under his brother, the principles of the Mahā-yāna. Soon after he became as thoroughly acquainted with the whole as his brother was. When its meaning was already clear to him he would meditate on it. From the beginning to the end everything was perfectly in accordance with the truth, there being nothing contradictory to it. For the first time he realized that the Hīnā-yāna was wrong and the Mahā-yāna right. If there were no Mahā-yāna, then (he thought) there would be no path (mārga) and no fruition (phala) of the Tri-yāna ⁹⁸). Since he formerly did harm by speaking ill of the Mahā-yāna, in which he then had no faith, he was now afraid that he might fall into a miserable life on account of that wickedness. He deeply reproached himself and earnestly repented of his previous fault. He approached his brother and confessed his error, saying: "I now desire to make a confession. I do not know by what means I can be pardoned for my former slander" ⁹⁹).

^{98) = 🐺} Bodhi-sattva-yāna, pratyeka-buddha-yāna and śrāvaka-yāna.

⁹⁹⁾ The text has the but it may be a misprint of "slander" or some character of similar form.

He said (further): "I formerly did harm speaking ill (of the truth) by means of my tongue. I will now cut out my tongue in order to atone for my crime". His brother answered: "Even if you cut out your tongue a thousand times, you can not wipe out your crime. If you really want to wipe out your crime, you must find some other means". Thereupon he asked his brother to explain the means of wiping out the offence. The latter said: "Your tongue was able to speak very skilfully and effectively against the Mahā-yāna, and thus discredit it. If you want to wipe out your offence, you must now propound the Mahā-yāna equally skilfully and effectively".

After the death of Asanga, Vasu-bandhu began to write the Mahā-yāna treatises and comment on several Mahā-yāna sūtras. All the treatises on the Mahā-yāna sūtras, such as the Avatamsaka 100), the Ne-pan (Nirvāṇa) 101), the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka 102), the Pau-nya (Prajñā-pāramitā) 103), the Yui-ma (Vimala-kīrti) 104), the Śrī-mālā 105), are the works of our Teacher of the Law. He also wrote the Vijñāna-mātra-siddhi 106) and compiled the commentaries on the Mahāyāna-samparigraha 107), the "Nature of the Ratna-traya" 108), the "Door of the Nectar" 109) and other Mahā-yāna treatises.

¹⁰⁰⁾ 華嚴經. The Ganda-vyuba forms a part of the Avatamsaka, no. 87.

¹⁰¹⁾ 湟槃經. Nanjio's 1206, 1207, 1209.

¹⁰²⁾ 法 華 經 . Nanjio's 1232, 1233.

¹⁰³⁾ 般 若 經. Nanjio's 1168, 1231.

¹⁰⁴⁾ 維摩 經. Vimala-kīrti-nirdeśa; nos. 144-7, 149, 181.

¹⁰⁵⁾ 勝 囂 秤. Śrī-mālā-simha-nāda; nos. 23 (48), 59.

¹⁰⁶⁾ 唯 謊 論. Nanjio's 1238, 1239, 1240, 1215.

¹⁰⁷⁾ 福大乘論. This work is by Asanga, see Nanjio's 1183, 1184, 1247.

¹⁰⁸⁾ 三 暂 性 論. This is probably Nanjio's 1219.

The sense conveyed in his compositions is fine and excellent; there is no one who, on hearing or seeing it, does not believe and pursue it. Therefore all those who study the Mahā-yāna and Hīna-yāna in India and in all the frontier countries use the works of Vasu-bandhu as their text-books.

There are no teachers of any other schools (of Buddhism) or of the heretical sects who, on hearing his name, will not become quite nervous and timid.

He died in A-yu-ja (Ayodhyā) at the age of eighty.

Though he lived an earthly life, his real nature is indeed difficult to be understood.

NOTE ¹¹⁰): "From the beginning as far as here the narrative refers to Vasu-bandhu and his brothers. Hereafter it records the travel of the Ācārya of the Tri-pitaka (i. e. Paramārtha himself) from the capital of Tai-chou ¹¹¹) to the east, and thence to Kwaug-Chou (Canton) ¹¹²), where he re-translated the Mahā-yāna works, and it records also the incidents after his death, in order to hand them down to subsequent ages".

Here ends the Life of Vasu-bandhu.

¹¹⁰⁾ We do not know who wrote this note. It is certain, however, that it is by one who struck out the portion relating to the author, Paramārtha, and made the life purely of Vasu-bandhu. We can see from this note that the original form of the work was different from what we have now, being a sort of memorandum giving biographical notes of Vasu-bandhu and Paramārtha, and incidents connected with these two teachers of the vidyā-mātra (vijāāua-vūdins). This makes it at the same time very likely that Paramārtha is not the translator of an already existing biography of Vasu-bandhu, but a narrator of what he himself remembered or heard of Vasu-bandhu and his time.

^{111) 🛱 🥦 .} This is in Cheh-kiang, Lat. 28° 54', Long. 121° 06'.

¹¹²⁾ 廣州.

N.B. My article on the "Life" will appear in the Journal R. A. S., October, 1904.

Abstracts of the life of Vasu-bandhu.

Paramartha's "Life of Vasu-bandhu" furnishes us with the following facts:

Born at Puruṣa-pura (Peshwar) of the Brāhman family of Kauśika, Vasu-bandhu is the second of the three brothers.

- A. Vasu-bandhu Asanga (Asanga, the eldest).
- B. Vasu-bandhu Viriñci-vatsa (the youngest).
- C. Vasu-bandhu (the second).

A. Asanga, first an adherent of the Sarvāsti-vāda school and of the Hīna-yāna, afterwards a promoter of the Mahā-yāna and an author of the Upadeśas on the Mahā-yāna sūtras.

The works attributed to Asanga:

- 1. The Saptadaśa-bhūmi sūtra 113).
- 2. The Mahā-yāna-sūtra upadeśa 114).
- 3. The Mahā-yāna-samparigraha-śāstra 115).

He converts Vasu-bandhu to the Mahā-yāna and dies before Vasu-bandhu's compilation of the Mahā-yāna works.

- B. Viriñci-vatsa, an adherent of the Sarvāsti-vāda school, an Arhat.
- C. Vasu-bandhu, the second and the greatest of the three brothers, no other distinguishing name: first an adherent of the Sarvāsti-vāda school, but is a free-thinker and never confines himself to the teaching of his own school. His work "Abhidharma-kośā" 116) representing his opinion, which presupposes the philosophy of the Vibhāṣā 117) compiled by Kātyāyanī-putra, and put into literary form by Aśva-ghoṣa. These, in their turn, propound the principles

¹¹³⁾ This is attributed to Maitreya but really a work of Asanga. Comp. Nanjio's 1170.

¹¹⁴⁾ No work called "Upadeśa" is preserved, but several books called śāstra, kārikā or tīka are found in the Chinese Collections. See Nanjio's Catalogue p. 371, 5.

¹¹⁵⁾ Nanjio's nos. 1183, 1184, 1247; compare no. 1171 (2).

¹¹⁶⁾ Nanjio's nos. 1267, 1269, 1270.

¹¹⁷⁾ Nanjio's nos. 1263, 1264, 1279.

set forth in the work Jāāna-prasthāna, otherwise called the Aṣṭa-Grantha 118), also composed by Kātyāyanī-putra in the 6th century after the Buddha's death. As the tendency of his time requires, he writes the "Saptati of Truth" against the Sāmkhya-śāstra (probably Sāmkhya-saptati, i.e. Kārikā) of Vindhya-vāsa, a pupil of Vṛṣa-gaṇa (compare Vārṣa-gaṇya) in the 10th century after the Buddha's death.

King Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā, first the patron of the Sāmkhya school, but afterwards that of Buddhism, its influence being recovered by Vasu-bandhu.

Bālāditya, the Crown Prince and the Queen-mother, both pupils of Vasu-bandhu, invite the latter to Ayodhyā after the death of Vikramāditya. Vasu-bandhu disputes with Vasu-rāta, a Grammarian, and Sangha-bhadra, an authodox Vaibhāṣika.

So far Vasu-bandhu is represented as a Hīnayānist

The Sarvāsti-vāda school.

The Sāmkhya school.

- Kātyāyanī-putra &c.
 The Jñāna-prasthāna-śāstra or
 The Asta-Grantha.
 - Vṛṣa-gaṇa.
 The original Sāmkhya-śāstra.
- Kātyāyanī-putra, Aśva-ghoṣa&c.
 Vindhya-vāsa.
 The Abhidharma-mahā-vibhāṣā.
 The revised Sāmkhya-śāstra or
 The Sāmkhya-saptati.
- 3. Vasu-bandhu.

 The Abhidharma-kośa.

3. Vasu-bandhu. (In opposition)
The Paramartha-saptati.

Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā Patron or Contemporary

Buddha-mitra Vṛṣa-gaṇa Vrṣa-gaṇa Vasu-bandhu Vindhya-vāsa

¹¹⁸⁾ Nanjio's nos. 1273, 1275.

Bālāditya (son of Vikramāditya) Patron or Contemporary

Sangha-bhadra Vasu-bandhu Vasu-rāta

The two works against The work against The work against the Kośa.

the Vyākaraņa. the Kośa.

Asanga invites Vasu-bandhu to Peshwar and converts him to the Mahā-yāna. After the death of Asanga, the latter begins to write the works relating to the Mahā-yāna, and the commentaries on several Mahā-yāna sūtras.

- A. The Mahā-yāna sūtras commented on by Vasu-bandhu
 - 1. The Avatamsaka.
 - 2. The Nirvāņa 119).
 - 3. The Saddharma-pundarīka 120).
 - 4. The Prajñā-pāramitā 121).
 - 5. The Vimala-kīrti.
 - 6. The Śrī-mālā-simhanāda.
- B. The Mahā-yāna śāstras compiled by Vasu-bandhu
 - 1. The Vijñānā-mātra-siddhi 122).
 - 2. The Mahā-yāna-samparigraha-vyākhyā 123).
 - 3. The Nature of the Ratna-Traya.
 - 4. The Gate to the Nectar 124).

Here he is represented as a Mahāyānist, his conversion to the school being told at length. Buddhist students of all India and of Frontier countries use Vasu-bandhu's works as their text-books. All the heretics in fear of him. He dies at Ayodhyā aged 80.

¹¹⁹⁾ Nanjio's nos. 1206, 1207, 1209.

¹²⁰⁾ Nanjio's nos. 1232, 1233.

¹²¹⁾ Nanjio's nos. 1231, 1168.

¹²²⁾ Nanjio's nos. 1215, 1238, 1239, 1240.

¹²³⁾ Nanjio's nos. 1171 (2, 3, 4).

¹²⁴⁾ Nanjio's no. 1205 (?).