The Jātakanidāna

A Critical Study, Tibetan Edition and Annotated Translation

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Volume I

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Abstract

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

The thesis is divided into the following three parts:

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

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

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

The appendices include the following items:

(i) *Dhammapada* verses occurring in the *Jātakanidāna*, their Tibetan translations, with Sanskrit and Prākrit parallels.

(ii) Miscellaneous Pāli verses in the *Jātakanidāna*, their Tibetan translations together with Sanskrit and Prākrit parallels.

(iii) *Jātakanidāna* verses with no identifiable Pāli canonical source.

(iv) *Jātaka* verses in the *Jātakanidāna* varying from the extant *Jātaka* verses.

The Bibliography consists of primary sources in Tibetan, Pāli and Sanskrit which are cited in the thesis, and secondary sources referred to in the study.
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Method of Transliteration of Tibetan in the Edition, Translation and Study:

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Introduction
The Scope and Purpose of this Study

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Introduction

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

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

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² The principal Tibetan text used for the diplomatic edition is that of the sTog Palace bKa’ ’gyur, sKyes pa rabs kyi glen gzi (Jātakanidāṇa), mDo sde, vol. 87, Chi, no. 290, folios. 7a-104b, see T. Skorupski, A Catalogue of the sTog Palace Kanjur, Tokyo: The International Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1985, p.158.
³ There are at least two names by which this text is known in Pāli, the names Nidānakathā, and Jātakanidāṇa are both used. The second of these has been used throughout this thesis, the main reason for this is that the Tibetan translation of the text name sKyes pa rabs kyi glen gzi, is a literal rendering of the name Jātakanidāṇa.
⁴ Chief among these was E. Conze, who was certain that the group of thirteen texts grouped at the end of the Śer phyin section of the Narthang bKa’ ’gyur were not from Pāli originals, he says: They (the thirteen) are sometimes said to be translated from the Pāli, but they differ too much from the Pāli text, and on closer investigation they turn out to represent Hinayāna Sūtras from the Canon of the Sarvāstivādins and other Hinayāna sects in contact with Tibet. See E. Conze, The Prajñāpāramitā Literature, Tokyo: The Reiyukai, 1978, p. 25.
⁵ From an early period in bKa’ ’gyur studies some scholars have concluded that the Tibetan translation of the thirteen texts in question were made from a Pāli originals, among these are L. Feer, who made a translation of several sections of the Tibetan Jātakanidāṇa, see L. Feer, "Fragments extraits du Kundjouër", Annales du Musée Guimet, 5, Paris, 1883, pp. 322-361; also L. Renou & J. Filliozat, L'Inde classique, vol 2, Paris: EFEO, 1953, pp. 393-394; R. Tokuoka, who notes the thirteen as having corresponding texts in the Pāli canon, see R. Tokuoka, A Catalogue of the Lha-sa Edition of the bKah-hgyur of the Tibetan Tripitaka with Sanskrit Restoration in Detail,
text, there are also some who urged a reassessment of the very criteria for including a text in the Theravādin canon of scripture.\(^1\)

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

The present study seeks to address certain areas of research that need to be defined and specified in the preliminary stages. These are the theories relating to the editing of Tibetan bKa’ ’gyur texts, the historical approaches towards Buddhist legendary, doctrinal, and textual history, and lastly, the various hermeneutical approaches adopted in the study of Buddhist texts. They are not of course dealt with in equal length, because the theories regarding bKa’ ’gyur texts are of importance in the preparation of the Tibetan edition, and are therefore obvious in the edition itself, but not fully apparent in the translation where only the consequences implicit in their application occur. These three primary areas are of course only the most significant components of a complex process that anyone engaged in the editing and explication of Buddhist sacred texts\(^2\) must address. Much work has been carried out in each of these individual fields, to the extent that each one of them has become a specialised field of study in its own right. It is not the intention here to give a full survey of the individual studies carried out by scholars in each of these fields of research, but only to indicate how these distinct disciplines have relevance to the present study of a

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

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

One of the major components contained in this study is the edition of the Tibetan text using certain of the bKa' 'gyur translations of the Pāli Jātakanidāna. This edition of the Tibetan text forms the basis for the English translation also contained in this thesis. Historically there have been a number of editions\(^1\) of the bKa' 'gyur produced at different times, and places, in Tibet. This collection of various texts that were classified as representative of canonical tradition, and included in these various editions of the bKa' 'gyur, began at an early period in Tibetan literary history. So far as Western scholarship is concerned the initial task of tracing the origins and composition of these different bKa' 'gyur traditions was undertaken, and first put on a scientific footing, by Csoma de Koros.\(^2\) It was he who recognised the importance of the historical study and analysis of the bKa' 'gyur texts. Since that time our understanding of the beginning of the translation process in Tibet, and the production of Tibetan translations of original Indian texts, has increased significantly. The relationships between the different Tibetan editions of the bKa' 'gyur has been investigated, and the major lines of transmission distinguished. Any attempt at understanding a bKa' 'gyur text, of whatever type be it sūtra or tantra, must necessarily involve itself to some degree or other with the question of bKa' 'gyur transmission.

Our knowledge of the bKa' 'gyur's formation, stemmatic relationships, and its contents has undergone considerable development since the inception of that branch of Buddhist studies. The last twenty years in particular have seen enormous advances made in our knowledge with regard to the kinds of relationships that exist between the different editions of the Tibetan bKa' 'gyur.\(^3\) There is now a greater understanding of the probable dating of most of these different editions, and of the major lines of textual transmission that they represent. Much of this work is largely due to the labours of two scholars in particular, H. Eimer and P. Harrison\(^4\) who have dedicated much time and energy to tracing the textual relationships of a

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 Among these conflated editions are the Lhasa, Urga and Co ne editions. The choice of editions has become a more challenging task with the availability of as many as thirteen different bKa’ 'gyur now accessible. There is also as yet no universally agreed number of editions to employ in studying one text. Prof. P. Harrison has suggested that just the two editions of Peking and sTog Palace could be used for a rough check of a text which would still provide a balanced view of its transmission. However, the same scholar says that for a more critical study at least six editions should be consulted, and suggests these be the Šel dkar, Tokyo, sTog Palace, Lithang, sNar than and Peking. See P. Harrison, “Meritorious Activity or Waste of Time? Some Remarks on the Editing of Texts in the Tibetan Kanjur”, Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies Narita 1989, vol. 1, Naritasan, 1992, p. 90. Others have different views, J. Schoening says that sNar than, sDe dge, sTog Palace and Peking should be included in any edition of a text. He goes on to say that ideally the Lithang, sNar than, Berlin MSS, Kangxi, Šel dkar, sTog Palace, Phug brag and sDe dge editions should be included in any detailed study. See J. Schoening, The Śālistambha Sūtra and its Indian Commentaries, vol 1, Wien: Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 35 1-2, 1995, p. 185.
3 This is a xylographic copy in the sDe dge bKa’ 'gyur, Skyes pa rabs kyi glei gzi (Jātakanidāṇā), Šes rab sna tshogs, vol. Ka, folios 183a-250a., London: British Library.
4 This is one of the manuscript editions consulted in microfiche form, sTog Palace bKa’ 'gyur, Skyes pa rabs kyi glei gzi (Jātakanidāṇā), mDo sde, vol. 87, Chi, no. 290, folios 7a-104b., London: SOAS Library.

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

The Tibetan classifications of the Jātakanidāna

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

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

1 A photo-copy of this xylographic version of this edition has been used, sNar than bKa’ gyur, sKyes pa rabs kyi gleñ gzi (Jātakanidāna), mDo, vol. A, folios 432a-543a , Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, India.
2 Both photo-copies and microfiche of this manuscript edition have been used, Šel dkar bKa’ gyur, sKyes pa rabs kyi gleñ gzi (Jātakanidāna), mDo, vol. 36, Chi, no. 205, folios. 8a-99b., London:British Library, microfiche reference 3F-198/63, uni: 3766-3782, see, U. Pagel & S. Gaffney, Location List to the Texts in the Microfiche Edition of the Šel dkar (London) Manuscript bKa’ gyur (Or. 6724), London: The British Library, 1996, p. 43.
3 For the contents of this edition of the bKa’ gyur see J. Samten, A Catalogue of the Phug brag Manuscript Kanjur, Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1992.
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The problem is not solved by employing the grouping of bKa’ ’gyur editions into Eastern and Western traditions, for there is also no unanimous agreement among them as to where the texts should be located. In very general terms it can be said that using the classification into regional origin the Western group, Šel dkar, sTog Palace, Ulan Bator MS, sNar than and Lhasa, all place the text in the mDo section, or a sub section of that section. While the Eastern group, sDe dge, Urga, Lithang and Peking, agree in locating it at the end of the Šes rab sna tshogs or Šer phyin section.

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

Criteria for selection of Tibetan editions used in the diplomatic edition

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

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


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

4 The division into Eastern and Western groups is not universally favoured, though it is a useful classification for descriptive purposes. Eimer has made extensive use of this method of classification, see “The Position of the Lithang Edition within the Tradition of the Kanjur”, in H. Eimer, Ein Jahrzehnt Studien zur Überlieferung des tibetischen Kanjur, Wien: Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 28, 1992, pp. 142-3, also pp. xiv, xviii, of his introduction. While P. Skilling prefers the classification of the bKa’’gyur into Tshal pa and Them spangs ma lineages to the Eastern and Western classification, see his “Theravādin Literature in Tibetan Translation”, JPTS,
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spāns ma tradition and the Tshal pa tradition, in reference to the two original manuscripts from which they initially stem. The sNar than, Šel dkar and sTog Palace¹ bKa’ ’gyurs belong to the Eastern, or Them spāns ma line, while the Peking and sDe dge² bKa’ ’gyurs belong to the Western or Tshal pa line. The choice of these five editions makes it possible to provide a broad picture of how the text of the Jātakanidāna was recorded within the Tibetan bKa’ ’gyur traditions as a whole. It is by no means intended to provide a definitive examination or study of all bKa’ ’gyur transmissions and their variations of this text. It must be emphasised that the purpose is not to provide a fully critical edition that makes use of all possible sources. The primary aim in this study is to produce an edited Tibetan text that is both accurate and representative of the two major lines of bKa’ ’gyur tradition. The other purpose implicit in this process of making an edition is to make a thorough and detailed comparison with the Pāli text, in order to ascertain the exact relationship between the two versions of the text.

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

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


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

⁵ The main sense of the term diplomatic edition as used by Schoening is that all variants, including punctuation, are given in an attempt to present the full textual history of the text in question. See J.D. Schoening, The Śālistambha
edition, and an edition produced from a single textual witness. This diplomatic edition is intended to fulfil several different functions. Firstly, it has to produce a text that is grammatically correct, so far as the Tibetan readings allow, and which is a complete representation of the five Tibetan source editions used in this study. Secondly, the text is measured against the datum of the existing Pâli edition, and follows its readings in cases of discrepancies among the Tibetan editions. Finally, the text includes a critical apparatus that records all the variant readings that occur in the Tibetan editions, without excluding any single variants, or different orthographies. However, the only śad punctuations and folio pagination used are those of the sTog Palace edition, without noting the positioning of these punctuation marks or pagination used in the other four Tibetan editions.¹ This critical apparatus has the function of indicating all the possible variants that occur, and also allows it to be seen immediately which of these readings is omitted from, or different to, that reading found in the diplomatic edition of the text.

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

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

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

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


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

General historical, and hermeneutical considerations

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

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

¹ J. Schoening also considers the diplomatic edition to be more scientific than the critical edition, see J.D. Schoening, The Sālistambha Sūtra and its Indian Commentaries, vol 1, Wien: Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 35 1-2, 1995, p. 179.
² The Jinacarita, gāthās 8-18, contains gāthās that are used in the Jātakaniḍāṇa, see for example W.H.D. Rouse, “Jinacarita”, JPTS, 5, 1904-5, pp. 1-2.
Tibetan translations. In the matter of punctuation and folio pagination the sTog Palace edition has been followed exclusively.

The translation made from the Tibetan edition is as literal\(^1\) as possible to the text of that edition. In some cases the Tibetan translation is rendered in what must be taken in Tibetan as short sentences, but which in Pāli are elaborate long sentences.\(^2\) The translation is also presented without any parentheses, or other bracketed insertions. The text has been translated into as accurate an English rendering as possible, with most of the technical terminology also translated.\(^3\) The aim has been to provide a readable, and reliable translation, with any problem of translation consigned to the footnotes. These give both the Tibetan and Pāli version of the problematic term or sentence. These footnotes to the translation also deal with textual matters arising from the comparison of texts, such as differences in wording, or meaning, and doctrinal matters occurring in the text. The edited Tibetan text is then carefully compared with the original Pāli version\(^4\) in order to facilitate a thorough analysis of the exact content of the Tibetan translation, and how this compares with the Pāli source text. This stage of the text-critical study aims to establish that the Tibetan is indeed a translation from a Pāli original. This procedure also unearths any discrepancies between the two versions, and shows the precise relationship between the Pāli and Tibetan versions of the text.

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

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

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

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

\(^4\) For the Pāli version of the Jātakānīḍāṇa two editions have been consulted, Fausboll’s roman edition which is based on three Sinhalese MSS that seem to represent one tradition and Tiwari’s Devanagari edition that is based on four different editions: V. Fausboll, ed. The Jātaka Together with its Commentary, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1877, pp. 1-94; L.N. Tiwari, ed., Paramatthajotikā nāmā Jātakatṭhakathā, Varanasi: Sampurnanand Sanskrit University, 1992.
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translators. There are several historical problems with a bearing on the history of the text, both in its
development in the Pāli language, its overall place within the Pāli canon, and also concerning its subsequent
translation into Tibetan. All such issues are almost entirely concerned with the Pāli literary sources, and
therefore, dependent upon those sources for any conclusion. There are also a number of Buddhist works
in Sanskrit that must also be referred to in order fully to understand the historical and doctrinal context in
which the Jātakanidāna was produced. In this way a more detailed picture of the history of the text itself,
and of the development of the doctrines appearing in it can be gained.

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

Historical survey, and background to the text

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

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

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

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

¹ Some specific studies have focussed on the colophons to bKa’ ’gyur texts, and produced some valuable data. See in particular F.A. Bischoff, Der Kanjur und seine Kolophone, Bloomington: Selbstverlag Press, 1968; and J.W. de Jong “Notes a propos des colophons du Kanjur”, Zentralasiatische Studien, 6, 1972, pp. 504-559.
³ The possibly time ranges for the buddha’s birth vary from 560 BCE, up to 350 BCE depending on which method of dating is adopted. For the most notable modern studies on the subject of the dating of the buddha, see H. Bechert, ed. The Dating of the Historical Buddha, part 2, Gottingen, 1992.
⁴ Conze gives the inescapable historical conclusion concerning the early history of Buddhist literature: “The fact of the matter is that there were eighteen schools in the first period of Buddhist history, that most, if not all, had their own set of Scriptures, and that each of them can equally well claim to represent the teaching of the Buddha. If the Canon of one school only, that of the Theravādins, has reached us intact and in its entirety, this is not due to its greater antiquity or intrinsic merit, but to the accidents of historical transmission.” E. Conze, Thirty Years of Buddhist Studies, Oxford, 1967, pp. 3-4.
or Piṭakas, with each Piṭaka classified according to the type of materials it contained. There is, historically at least, no conception among the Theravādin Buddhist tradition, unlike the Mahāyāna traditions, of an evolving canon which was expanded over generations. The Pāli canon is traditionally seen by the Theravādin school as the authoritative representation of the teachings of the historical Buddha, and furthermore, to have come into existence as a complete corpus at one specific time. The Pāli canon can then be classified as a closed tradition, in that from the traditional viewpoint it has no early or late parts, each section or text is regarded as equally ancient and stemming directly from the historical Buddha himself.

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

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

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

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

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


argues? —

Barlow
Norwich
v. Hulker
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Authorship and sources of the Jātakanidāna

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

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

¹ It is probable that the Mahāyāna tradition was present in Ceylon from as early as the second century CE, so there would have been the opportunity for their texts to become known in the monasteries in Ceylon. See S. Paranavitana, “Mahāyānism in Ceylon”, Présence du Bouddhisme, ed. R. de Berval, Saigon, 16, 1959, p. 515.
² These verses are unfortunately not included in the Tibetan translation, but are given in the Pāli, see V. Fausboll, ed. The Jātaka Together with its Commentary, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1877, p. 1.
³ Given the fact of the existence of Theravādin groups on the Indian mainland, and that many of these famous translators and commentators were of Indian origin, it could well be that the Jātakanidāna was composed in southern India. See B.S. Padma & J.C. Holt, “Buddhism in Andhra and its Influence on Buddhism in Sri Lanka”, The Indian Historical Review, 23, 1997, p. 7.
⁶ That Buddhaghosa was the author of the text is by no means certain, not least because of the introductory verses, see K.R. Norman, Pāli Literature, Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983, p. 128. The authorship by Buddhaghosa has also been questioned on grounds of literary style, the Jātakanidāna and Dhammapada commentary are so different from the other works purportedly written by Buddhaghosa that Burlingame and Rhys Davids are certain that he was not the author. See E.W. Burlingame, Buddhist Legends, vol 1, London: PTS, 1921, rpt. 1979, pp. 59-60. The authorship of the text by Buddhaghosa is also doubted by Renou, see L. Renou & J. Filliozat, L’Inde classique, tome
contemporaries of Buddhaghosa, also working on translating or editing the Sinhalese commentaries, the
authorship of many of them is uncertain. Even to say that the text had an author in the contemporary
sense of the term is misleading, for as has already been mentioned the Jātakaṇidāna is made up of layers
of early canonical materials, particularly gāthās, interspersed with both early and later prose commentary.

Some of the early commentarial material contained in the Jātakaṇidāna has a history almost as old as
the canonical literature itself, being collected together from a very early date in Buddhist history.¹ The
oral traditions preserving the Buddhist canonical teachings were taken to Ceylon by Mahinda in the third
century BCE. At that time, or very soon after,² the oral commentaries on the canonical texts were also
taken to Ceylon. The canonical works in Pāḷi, while the commentaries appear to have been in a north
Indian Prākrit³ that was very closely related to Pāḷi. In Ceylon the canonical works were maintained in an
oral tradition using Pāḷi but the commentaries, with the exception of any canonical gāthās contained in
them, were retained in Prākrit. These commentaries were themselves soon translated into Old Sinhalese
Prākrit, apparently in order to make them more easily accessible to the Sinhalese. So, from a very early
period the canonical material in Ceylon was preserved orally in Pāḷi, with the Indian commentaries being
translated into Old Sinhalese Prākrit. These Old Sinhalese commentaries came to be known collectively
as the Atthakathās, and were considered as authoritative sources for elucidating the topics contained in
the canonical works.

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

¹ One of Buddhaghosa’s Abhidhamma commentaries contains the Dūrenidāna section of the Jātakaṇidāna in its
entirety. So it is possible that this part of the text either was considered as an independent work, or was in fact an
independent work. See E. Müller, ed. Atthasālīni, London: PTS, 1897, rpt. 1979, p. 32.
² See E. Frauwallner, The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature, Rome: Serie Orientale Roma,
1956, p. 18.
³ Though some scholars, such as Childers, consider that the commentaries were in Pāḷi rather than some other
Prākrit dialect. Norman says there is no evidence about which language the commentaries were in at Mahinda’s
time. He speculates that these commentaries: represented a heterogeneous mass of material, in various dialects, and
probably included comments on readings which differed from those in the canon as established in Ceylon. see K.R.
⁴ It is not overstating the case to say that these three persons were the prime figures in the work of translating these
commentaries into Pāḷi. I.B. Horner says: the production of the Commentaries in the form we have them now was
undertaken in the main by Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla and to a lesser extent by Buddhaddatta. The Clarifier of
the interpretation of some of them was uncertain. The second task was to edit the texts, eliminating duplications and spurious texts, and expounding a teaching consistent with that of the Mahāvihāra tradition. Thus, whoever the translator, and composer, of the Jātakanidāna may have been, it is evident that they relied heavily on these Old Sinhalese commentaries for the traditions explaining the canonical gāthās included in that text.

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

The Tibetan translation of the Jātakanidāna and its Tibetan translator

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

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

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

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

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

5 There are the thirteen Pāli texts translated by the Sinhalese monk Ānandāsiri and the Tibetan translator Nī ma rgyal mtshan which are listed in the Peking bKa’ 'gyur. Volume twenty-one: no. 747, Chos kyi 'khor lo rab tu bskyor ba'i mdo (S. 56, 11-12); no. 748, sKyes pa rab kyi gloṅ gzi ('i bṣad pa) (J, 1, 1-94); no. 749, sCaṅ lo can kyi pho brāṅ gi mdo (D. III, no. 32, 194-206); no. 750, 'Dus pa chen po'i mdo (D. II, no. 20, 253-262); no. 751, Byams pa'i
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translation included in the Tibetan bKa' 'gyur. The comparative scarcity of the occurrence of Pāli texts included among the Tibetan translations renders them important, both from the point of view of the history of the Buddhist religion, and from the viewpoint of philological research. The Tibetan text of the Jātakaniḍāṇa, like the Tibetan translations of Sanskrit texts, represents an extremely precise and literal translation of the Pāli version. The translator has been at pains to construe both the technical terminology, and the meaning of the Pāli original into an accurate Tibetan translation. Despite the time and effort that this translation must have taken, and the fact that it had been translated into Tibetan at all, the history and doctrines of the text are sparsely dealt with in the Tibetan historical or commentarial sources.

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

The Pāli texts found translated into Tibetan in the bKa’ 'gyur had to employ a separate and quite distinct system of translation terminology. It is evident that the Tibetan translator of the Jātakaniḍāṇa had a knowledge of Sanskrit, for most Tibetan lo tsā bas ‘translators’ were proficient in this language, but whether he also knew Pāli is uncertain. The colophon to the Tibetan translation of the Jātakaniḍāṇa, the sKyes pa rabs kyi gleñ gzi, names both the Tibetan translator of the text and the pañḍita who had brought the text for translation.

The Pāli texts found translated into Tibetan in the bKa’ 'gyur had volume thirty-eight lists them: no. 955, MDo chen po gzung can sīla ba šes bya ba (cf. Pāli, Vin, I, 22); no. 956, MDo chen po sūta ba sūta ba bya ba (M, no. 121); no. 957, MDo chen po sūta ba sūta ba bya ba (M, no. 122); no. 958, MDo chen po rgyal mtsan nge mchog bya ba (cf. Pāli, S, XI, 3); no. 962, gZon nu dpe’i mdo (S, III, 1); no. 963, Khams ma'ai mdo (cf. Pāli, M, no. 115); no. 966, 'Phags pa dge ba'i sūta bya bsten ba'i mdo (cf. Pāli, S, XLV, 2); volume thirty-nine, no. 981, 'Phags pa dge ba'i sūta bya bsten ba'i mdo (cf. Pāli, S, LVI, 21); no. 997, Zla ba'i mdo (S, I, 9); no 1005, Las maw par 'byed pa (cf. Pāli, M, no. 135); volume forty-two, no. 1031, So sro thar pa'i mdo (cf. Pāli Pātimokkha).

¹ See Bu ston's work, Bu ston chos 'byun gsun rab rin po che'i mdzod, China Tibetology Publishing House, Qinghai, 1988, p. 225: ri'i kun dga' bo'i mdo / klu'i rgyal po dga' bo daññ fìer dga' bo bult ba'i mdo / 'od srun chen po'i mdo / 'i ma'i mdo / bkra shis chen po'i mdo / a'dul pa chen po'i mdo / byams pa'i mdo / byams pa sgo mpa'i mdo / slabs pa lha'i phan yon gyi mdo / chos kyi 'khor lo rab tu bakor ba'i mdo / skyes pa rabs kyi gleñ gzi / leahn lo can gyi pho brañ gi mdo / de mams paññi ta a nanta šri baña ma Ňi ma rgyal mtsan dpal bzaṅ po gser du bsgyur pa yin./

² Bu ston gives the name Ňi ma rgyal mtsan bzaṅ po as one of the later translators in Tibet, Bu ston chos 'byun gsun rab rin po che'i mdzod, China Tibetology Publishing House, Qinghai, 1988, p.210. Like other Tibetan teachers
person was a well known Tibetan teacher and translator who had translated more than thirty-three *sūtra* and *tantra* texts included in the bKa’ *gyur*, and some forty-five translations included in the bsTan *gyur*. He was also a leading figure in the field of Sanskrit grammatical studies in Tibet, and well known for his knowledge of Sanskrit grammar, lexicography and other Indian languages. The dating of this person can be approximately given by referring to the Tibetan tradition regarding the dating of Ni ma rgyal mtshan's own teacher, Śes rab sen ge, and his pupil Bu ston. The * Deb ther ston po* gives the dates, based upon Roerich's reckoning, of Śes rab sen ge as 1251-1315. The probable dating for the life of Bu ston of 1290-1364 is given in his *rNam thar*. It is also mentioned in Bu ston's *Chos 'byun* that Ni ma rgyal mtshan dpal bzañ po had lived in Nepal for a fourteen year period during which he met the *pandita* Anandaśri.

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

The Tibetan historical sources furnish us with a reasonably detailed picture of the Tibetan translator of Ni ma rgyal mtshan was known by a variety of names, such as Thar pa lo tsa ba Ni ma rgyal mtshan, Ni ma rgyal mtshan, Thar lo Ni ma rgyal mtshan; see P.C. Verhagen, *A History of Sanskrit Grammatical Literature in Tibet*, vol. 1., Leiden: Brill, 1994, pp. 94, 324; see also J.L. Panglung, "Zur tibetischen Übersetzung des *Jātakanidāna*", *Festschrift Dieter Schlingloff*, ed. F. Wilhelm, Reinbek, 1996, pp. 209-210.

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


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7 The text seems to suggest that the translation of the thirteen *Pāli* texts took place in Nepal. The text reads: bdag gi bla ma ni ma gyāl mtshan dpal bzañ po bal por lo bceu bzhir sbyaṅs pa mzdad / ri’i kun dga’’rmdo la sogs mdo bceu gsum tsam paññi ta a nanda āri sphyan dranis te bsgyur ro. See See Bu ston's work, *Bu ston chos ’byun gsum rab rin po che’i mzdod*, China Tibetology Publishing House, Qinghai, 1988, p. 206.
cross-reference!
the Jātakaniḍāṇa into Tibetan. Though many details are not included in these sources, they give a basic historical background to the translation process. However, the most intriguing question, as to why this particular group of Pāli texts was translated into Tibetan at all, remains unanswered. There are no indications in the Tibetan sources about Ni ma rgyal mtshan’s motives or reasons\(^1\) for translating these texts, and thus from the point of view of understanding his purpose or intentions in translating these Pāli texts we know nothing. Furthermore, there is absolutely no information whatever in the colophon, or the Tibetan secondary sources, concerning the transmission of the thirteen Pāli texts in Ceylon, or for that matter their transmission in India.

The standard practice in the colophons to bKa’ ’gyur texts is to give the nationality of the pandita, usually Indian, as one of the means of establishing the text’s authenticity. The pandita who was collaborator in the translation of the sKyes pa rabs kyi glen gzi (Jātakaniḍāṇa) is named in the colophon of the sTog Palace\(^2\) edition as pandita Anandaśrī. In this colophon there is no further information given about this pandita concerning his nationality or sectarian affiliations. However, the colophon found in the dDe dge edition of the bKa’ ’gyur which is appended to the last of this group of thirteen Pāli texts translated into Tibetan, the Mahāmāngala-sutta, adds some important additional information about this pandita. This colophon states that pandita Anandaśrī was from Ceylon, a place which is said to be six hundred yojanas to the south of Bodh Gaya. He was born in a brahmin family, became a Buddhist monk, and mastered the Tripitaka\(^3\).

Some of the thirteen colophons refer to Anandaśrī as mahāpandita, while others describe him as a virtuous Sinhalese monk who was a pupil of Dipamkara from Bodh Gaya.\(^4\)

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

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

\(^2\) The translation of the colophon in this study is located at section III 31 of the translation, in the sTog Palace bKa’ ’gyur, the Tibetan colophon to the sKyes pa rabs kyi glen gzi (Jātakaniḍāṇa), is at mDo sde, vol. 87, Chi, no. 290, folios. 104b-105a: pandita ta a nanda šrī’i żal śa na dān / man du thos pa’i lo tsaṭsha ba śākya’i dge slon ī ni ma rgyal mtshan dpal bza pos / skad ghi śma ba brams kyi gdan sa gtsug lag khaṇ chen po dpal thar pa gni dū bṣgyur cih żus te gta la phab pa’o // sa i sten du ī ni zla ltar gyur cīg //

\(^3\) The sDe dge colophon is found in the sDe dge bKa’ ’gyur, bKra šis chen po’i mdo (Mahāmāngala-sutta), Šes rab sna thogs, vol. Ka, folio 284a: de ltar mdo beu gsum po ‘di brams ni ’dzam bu’i gni gni dbus / phags pa’i yul / byan chub kyi sīni po rdo rje’i gdan la dpag tshad brgya tsmam byaṅ šar du bgru’i bod yul / gaṅ sa’i ’khrod / rtsas ni ro tahon ’dus ’gyur mo’i sa cha / phangs pa’an byiṅ ’jig rten dbaṅ phug gi gtsug lag khaṇ gi bdag po / saṅs rgyas bcom ldan ’das kyi bstan par la lhag par moś śiṅ / dpal ’byor daṅ chab srid du ma la dbaṅ phug dam pa’i go ’phan thob pa’i ža la pa sgu żan grags pa rgyal mtshan du dpon ša’i bka’ luṅ gis / byan chub kyi sīni po rdo rje’i gdan la lho phyogs sū dpag tshad drug brgya tsmam bgru’i gnas / śiṅ gha gni pa bram ze’i rigs las legs par rab tu byaṅ žin bṣen par rdozogs pa sde snod gsum la thugs legs par byan pa’i paṇḍ ta a nanda šrī’i żal sda nas. The Tibetan Tripitaka, Taipei Edition, vol. 7, sKyes pa rabs kyi glen gzi (Jātakaniḍāṇa), vol. Ka, no. 43, folio 294a, Taipei: SMC Publishing, 1991, p. 423.

\(^4\) In the sTog Palace edition the Maitri-sutta, Maitribhāvana-sutta, Nandopānphanandāgarjadamanasutta Giriṇānanda-sutta, and Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta all include the suffix chen po - maḥā-. The information about Anandaśrī’s teacher is from the sNar thān edition, quoted by Skilling, p.89-90. P. Skilling has discerned two different colophons, one belonging to the Them spāns ma tradition and one to the Tshal pa tradition, for a full discussion see his “Theravādin Literature in Tibetan Translation”, JPTS, Oxford, 1993, 19, pp.88-90.
Sinhalese historical sources that cover his life or activities. The occurrence of a Sinhalese monk as collaborator in a Tibetan canonical work is unusual, but there are instances of at least one other Sinhalese collaborator appearing in the bKa' 'gyur. There are five texts in the tantra section of the bKa' 'gyur that are ascribed to a Sinhalese yogini named Candramāle. Beyond giving her name the colophons provide no other information.

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

Place of the Jātakanidāna in Pāli literature

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

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

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

On this project, whether easy or not, we should cite Schutz's contribution.
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canonical literature of the Sutta-piṭaka is found in the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta\(^1\) of the Dīgha-nikāya. This text is by no means a full biography, but is only a connected record of the events during the last few months in the life of the Buddha, culminating with his death and parinibbana at the village of Kusināra. The reasons for the relatively late addition to the Pāli canon of a more detailed account of the Buddha’s life and career, such as that found in the Jātakanidāna, have not yet been satisfactorily resolved. Among the various possible reasons for the production of such a biographical text may be the emergence of a cult\(^2\) centred on the personality of the Buddha. Such a cult would require a more complete depiction of the Buddha’s life in order to show his humanity as well as the trials, hardships, and the sheer time span during which he underwent countless rebirths in order to become a buddha. It is of course also possible that other doctrinal influences from the Buddhist schools on the Indian mainland\(^3\) came to have an effect upon the Buddhist tradition in Ceylon where the Jātakanidāna is assumed\(^4\) to have been composed.

Though the early texts of the Pāli tradition contained a collection of Jātaka stories relating to the Buddha’s previous lives, it possessed no continuous or detailed life story of the Buddha Gotama prior to the Jātakanidāna. Nevertheless, the Sutta-piṭaka of the Pāli canon does contain works that are what might be termed emblematic biographies. They establish the notion of buddhas existing prior to Gotama, and give each of them an emblematic biography, a biography that emphasises the similarity of all their lives, and establishes the key religious events common to all buddhas. The Mahāpadāna-sutta\(^5\) of the Dīgha-nikāya\(^5\) mentions six buddhas who preceded Gotama: Vipassi, Sikhi, Vessabhu, Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana, and Kasappa. The accounts of these buddhas is given in an already fairly codified list, where each buddha’s life span is given together with their clan name, names of their two chief disciples, the number of arahats in their assemblies, attendants’ names, parents’ names and their places of birth and the trees they sat under at their enlightenment. In brief, these early Nikāya accounts of previous buddhas provide a stylised and religiously authoritative basis for the concept of a previous lineage of buddhas. These Pāli references to previous buddhas are significant for the reason that they are indicative of an early, if scantily recorded,

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2. It is well known that there were Buddhist centres in southern India, such as Nagājunaṇakonda and Amarāvatī, that had cults practising stūpa worship and Hirakawa suggests that the stūpa cult was instrumental in bringing about a cult of bodhisatta worship. See: A. Hirakawa, “The Rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its Relationship to the Worship of Stūpas”, Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko, 1963, 22, pp. 85-91.
3. There were significant contacts between Ceylon and the Indian mainland, particularly with Buddhist sects in southern India such as the Mahāsākā, Sarvāstivādin, Mahāsāṃghikā and other sects who were also represented in the south. See: S. Paravnātana, “Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in Ceylon”, B.C. Law Volume, Part 2, eds. D.R. Bhandarkar et al., Poona, 1946, pp. 15-18. also his “Mahāyānism in Ceylon”, Présence du Bouddhisme, ed. R. de Berval, 1959, 16, pp. 515-527; H. Bechert, “On the Identification of Buddhist Schools in Early Sri Lanka”, Indology and Law, Studies in Honour of Prof. J.D.M. Derrett, eds. G.D. Sontheimer et al., Wiesbaden, 1982, pp. 60-76.
4. The introductory verses to the Jātakanidānakaihā do not give the name of the author of the text, though the Theravāda traditions of both Śri Lanka and Burma ascribe it to Buddhaghosa. However, many scholars question this, B.C. Law who omits the Jātaka commentary from his list of Buddhaghosa’s works, says: I have great doubt as to the correctness of the theory that Buddhaghosa was the author of the Jātaka commentary. See O. von Hinüber, A Handbook of Pāli Literature, 1996, p. 131; and see also K.R. Norman, Pāli Literature, 1983, p. 128.
Pāli tradition dealing with the conception of buddhas predating Gotama. They also begin to set out the stereotype for the idealised life of a buddha, and the specific life events, which come to be seen later as the defining features of any buddhas’ life.

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

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

This work continues a trend in Buddhist thought and literature that comes to be almost exclusively concerned with the life of the Buddha Gautama. This work also concerns itself with the nature of the bodhisattva, and of the path followed for the achievement of buddhahood. The Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa, who is thought to have belonged to the Bahuṣrutika school, dates to approximately the first century CE.
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This text covers a similar portion of Gautama's life as described in the Lalitavistara, and may owe much to the Lalitavistara as a source of biographical materials.

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

Biographical sources in the Vinayas

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

5 There are in fact nine different Vinaya traditions in all: Pāli, Mahāsāṃghika, Mahāsāṃghika Lokuttaravādin, Mahāsākta, Dharmaguptaka, Kāśyapiya, Saṃmitiya, Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda. Some of these are extant only in partial Chinese translation so for the purposes of this study only the more complete versions that have an extant Skandhaka section are dealt with. See E. Frauwallner, The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature, Rome: Serie Orientale Roma, 1956, pp. 1-2, 46; and also C.S. Prebish, A Survey of Vinaya Literature, Taipei: Jin Luen Publishing House, 1994, p. 46.
6 The Mahāvastu is a work of the Mahāsāṃghika Lokuttaravādin school and though extant in Sanskrit is really only a fragment of their Vinaya collection.
approximately ten months or a year. It is this early, basic material, found in the Vinayas treating of the life of the Buddha, that represents some of the oldest strata of the Buddhist historical and legendary traditions that began to record the life story of the Buddha Gotama.

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

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

History and Role of the Skandhaka

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

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4. The location of the two sections of Saṅghabhādavastu and Kṣudrakavastu at the end of the Mūlasārvastivādin Vinaya is at variance with the Vinayas of other schools. In the Vinayas of the Pāli, Dharmaguptaka and Mahiśāsaka schools all place the sections corresponding to these two Sanskrit sections at the beginning of their Khandhakas. See, E. Frauwallner, The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature, Rome: Serie Orientale Roma, 1956, p. 46.
historicising the character of the historical Buddha, in particular the Buddhistically significant events of his life. It is this common stock of tradition which forms the basis of all of the biographical works that evolved among the different schools. Among the primary canonical source materials for the early Hinayāna biographical works like the *Sanghabhedavastu*, *Lalitavistara*, *Buddhacarita* and *Mahāvastu*, would seem to be a part of the Vinayas that each of the Buddhist schools preserved in their canons. These historical traditions, preserved in the Vinayas of the different schools, are therefore, a focal point in any study of a Buddha biography, since they are among the oldest strata of all the Buddhist literature that has come down to us.

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

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


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

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

6 Regarding the early dating and significance of this Skandhaka/Hinayāna states: “The existence of a structure comprising the whole Khandhaka at the same time means that this is the first successful attempt to compose a really long text in the history of old Indian literature, longer still than the Mahāparinibbānasuttanta”, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*, Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1996, p. 17.
The researches of some scholars into the different Buddhist Vinayas lead them to conclude that the Old Skandhaka text\(^1\) provided the basic raw materials for the stories about the life of the Buddha compiled by the different schools following the period of the schisms. The Old Skandhaka text that is referred to here is really a hypothesised text that no longer exists in its original form, if it ever did exist as envisaged by those scholars. It is in a sense known only by the recurrence of the same basic motifs and details about the life of the Buddha that occur within the extant Vinaya traditions. This Old Skandhaka text has since been elaborated and developed over time in various ways by the different schools, but certain key parts of it can be discerned, to a greater or lesser extent, in the accounts found in the six extant Vinaya traditions.

From a very early period each school seems to have provided itself with a biography of the Buddha that can be seen to stem from this extremely ancient common source. The Chinese recension of the Abhiniskrama-sutra questions what is the name of the text dealing with the life of the Buddha. Providing the answer that the Mahāsāṃghikas call it the Mahāvāstu, the Sarvāstivādins call it the Mahālalita-vistara, the Kāśyapiyas call it the Buddhajītaka-nidāna, the Dharmaguptakas call it the Śākyamuni-buddhacarita, the Mahiśāsakas call it the Vinaya-piṭakamūla.\(^2\) The common significant feature of all these biographies is that they depended on the Old Skandhaka text for their inspiration, for it provided them the canonical authority, and precedent, for their compilation.

The Old Skandhaka text which formed part of the early or proto-Vinaya text, was itself a derived work in that much of the text is devoted to the elaboration of already existing monastic regulations. For the very earliest\(^3\) layer of Vinaya that can be reasonably posited must be the Pātimokkha, or some very similar list of monastic rules. This is due to the fact that the recitation of the Pātimokkha rules is one of the earliest known regular\(^4\) monastic rituals. An indication of its importance for the saṅgha, and we may assume the familiarity that the saṅgha would have had with it, is that the saṅgha was required to perform the recitation\(^5\) of the Pātimokkha every two weeks. The Skandhaka section, as a commentary on the

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

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

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

\(^4\) The recitation of the Pātimokkha rules is among one of the oldest communal rituals of the Buddhist saṅgha, see O. von Hinüber, “Structure and Origin of the Pātimokkhasutta of the Theravādins”, AOH, 51, 1998, p. 261

\(^5\) O. von Hinüber says in support of this: Every single monk has to know them by heart so to join in their recitation
monastic regulations, would then appear to have been compiled somewhat later\(^1\) than the Pātimokkha. This Skandhaka text serves as an early attempt to make known the early events in the life of the Buddha following his enlightenment, and at thus at the same time the early history of the saṅgha. It also provides a commentarial explanation of the monastic regulations. All such matters of monastic regulations and records concerning the beginnings of the saṅgha were of great importance for the identity and functioning of the early Buddhist saṅgha.

**Concluding remarks**

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

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

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

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\(^1\) It is of course entirely possible that the rules and their commentary came into existence very early in the development of the Vīnaya. H. Oldenburg when regarding the relative dating of the component parts of the Vinaya states that: in the Mahāvagga and Cūlavagga the ecclesiastical regulations, and stories given in connexion with these, were composed at one and the same time. *Vinayapitaka*, vol. II, London: PTS, 1880, rpt. 1995, p. xxiv.
an accurate representation of five of the Tibetan translations. The English translation that is made from this edition includes the complete text of the Tibetan edition. Every opportunity is taken in the critical apparatus of the edition, and notes in the translation, to give cross references to the Pāli text. However, the critical study undertaken here is not intended to be a systematic study of the entire text. For the Jātakanidāna is an encyclopedic collection of Buddhist legends, and doctrines, presenting a connected account of the lives of past buddhas and bodhisattas. The all encompassing nature of the text force the aims of the present study to be limited in scope from the beginning. The essential purpose of the critical study is then to focus on a number of textual and historical issues, together with a study of the doctrines specific to the Jātakanidāna.

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

Introduction

The study in the preceding chapter has shown that the historical backgrounds to the Pāli Jatakanidāna, and its Tibetan translation, are to some extent recoverable. Though in the matter of canonicity the Pāli, and Tibetan, traditions regarded the text in entirely different ways. The focus in this chapter is on the text as a literary type, and a vehicle of doctrinal development. In regard to the central theme of the text both Pāli¹ and Tibetan² versions make initial reference to the concept of a buddhavamsa ‘lineage of the buddhas’ or ‘history of the buddhas’. Other than these brief references neither of these two traditions makes any mention of the biographical or historical nature of the text that is implicit in the concept of buddhavamsa. This biographical element of the Jatakanidāna, that is also its single most distinguishing feature, is the unmistakable concern of the text. The only canonical Pāli text to present an attempt at such an overtly biographical approach is the Buddhavamsa. It might be argued that the Jataka is itself a collection of biographical works that already existed in Pāli, but if we take only the gāthās as representing canonical³ tradition then very little of what we could term biography remains. Apart from in the late jātakas⁴ the biographical elements are only introduced into the individual jātakas through the prose commentaries, that are used to contextualise and explain the gāthās. The four commentarial prose sections of the paccuppannavatthu, atitavatthu, veyyākarana, and samodhāna,⁵ are used to contextualise and authenticate the gāthā or gāthās they are connected with. Without these commentaries it would be very difficult to consider many of the gāthās in the jātakas as representing biographies, or biographical

¹ The Pāli reference to this concept of a buddhavamsa does not appear in the text proper of the Jatakanidāna, but in the introductory verses. Here the reason for the composition of the Jatakanidāna is the preservation of the knowledge of the buddhavamsa ‘lineage or history of the buddhas’. See V. Fausboll, ed. The Jataka Together with its Commentary, vol 1, London: PTS, 1877, p. 1.
² The Tibetan has the buddha himself giving the teaching about the sans rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyi rgyud ‘lineage of the bhagavan buddhas’ or ‘lineage of the buddhas and bhagavans’. See sections I 1 of the translation and edition.
³ How the Pāli tradition itself regards the status of the Jātaka prose commentary to the gāthās is unclear. Among scholars the status of the commentary to these gāthās is generally considered to be non-canonical, this is the view of Geiger, Winternitz, Nakamura, Norman, and von Hünüber, see W. Geiger, Pāli Literature and Language, Leipzig, 1916, tr. Ghosh, B., Calcutta, 1978, p. 21, remarks: Only the verses however were regarded as canonical; the prose narrative was left more or less to the discretion of the reciters; M. Winternitz, “Jātaka Gāthās and Jātaka Commentary”, IHQ, 4, 1928, pp. 1-14, who says: p. 2, it has become almost the general opinion of scholars that only the Jātaka-Gāthās can claim canonical authority; Nakamura, Indian Buddhism: A Survey with Bibliographical Notes, Tokyo, 1980, rpt. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1989, p. 48; K.R. Pāli Literature, Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983, p. 77, where he says: With very few exceptions only the verses are regarded as canonical; O. von Hünüber, A Handbook of Pāli Literature, Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1996, p. 55, says: The (prose) story, however, does not enjoy canonical status as do the verses, but is considered a commentary.
⁴ The prose commentary is only absolutely essential to an understanding of the gāthās in the first five hundred jātakas, following these a new type of self explanatory gāthās occur in the remaining stories, see O. von Hünüber, A Handbook of Pāli Literature, Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1996, p. 57.
⁵ The four elements are discussed by Norman, where he also says that the entire Jātaka prose commentary was probably the work of a single author, see K.R. Norman, Pāli Literature, Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983, pp. 77-78.
materials at all.

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

Canonicity and text genre

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

The Pāli commentators have elaborated the scheme of nine aṅgas ‘branches’ of the Pāli canon, consisting of: sūtra, geyya, veyyākarana, gāthā, udāna, itivuttaka, jātaka, abhutto dhamma and vedalla. The ninefold system of classification into aṅgas may in fact be the earliest Buddhist method of dividing the Pāli canon, earlier even than the division into the three pītakas. These nine aṅgas can actually


4 The number of these aṅgas seems to have varied at various times from an original three into the present scheme of nine, see O. von Hinüber, A Handbook of Pāli Literature, Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1996, p. 8.
represent either one of two entirely different things. They may in the first instance refer to a text with a particular content, or secondly, to a text in a particular literary form. This ninefold classification into āṅgas goes beyond the contemporary use of the term genre, and in this respect the āṅga classification often conflates the modern notions of both genre and form. Nevertheless, it is quite useful to think in general terms of the āṅga classification as sometimes approximating a Buddhist notion of genre. This is especially so in regard to the sutta and the jātaka classifications, as these are both representative of texts that must have a particular content, though they may be in more than one form.

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

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

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

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

of this is expanded upon in the Cullavagga section of the Vinaya\(^1\) where the first *sangīti* ‘recital’ of the Buddhist canon is recorded. The Cullavagga account of the events of this First Council says that following Upali’s questioning by the *thera* Mahākassapa on the Vinaya, he then questioned Ānanda on the Dhamma after asking the *sangha* if the time was right for this.\(^2\) Buddhaghosa’s commentary to the Digha-nikāya has the same *thera* Mahākassapa, convenor of this Council, addressing the assembly saying:

> Perhaps we should now recite the Dhamma and the Vinaya. I ought to question Upali on the Vinaya, and question Ānanda on the Dhamma.\(^3\)

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

The question of canonicity can also be viewed, from a purely historical perspective, as a question of the historicity of texts. For, in Buddhism these two issues of canonicity and historicity, are to some degree enmeshed. The conclusion that cannot be avoided here is that there is an intrinsic historical flaw in the traditional Theravādin explanation about the origin of the Pāli canon. Since philological studies over the last century have repeatedly uncovered historical discrepancies in the language of these texts. Hence the Pāli canon, as it now exists, is generally viewed as in all probability the product of the Mahāvihāra\(^4\) school who for historical reasons were the most influential in what must have been its final redaction.

While it may not be possible to know what texts were actually recited at the First Council, that is posited by this canon, it is possible by philological research to ascertain which of the texts represent a historically later strata of that canon. This is not to question directly their traditional claim to canonicity, though that question is referred to, but simply to show that they appear in a certain chronological order.

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

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


\(^4\) In the view of S. Collins the Pāli canon represents the outcome of the process of legitimising the Mahāvihāra scriptures in the early part of the first century CE, see S. Collins, “On the very Idea of the Pāli Canon”, *JPTS*, 15, 1990, p. 89.
view of both buddhas, and bodhisattas, that is unknown to other Pāli texts. This again raises the issue of
the canonicity, or from the point of view of this study the historicity, or chronology, of particular texts.
There can be no mistaking the historical, philological, and doctrinal developments that must have occurred
for such a text as the Buddhavamsa to appear. The two canonical texts comprising the Buddhavamsa and
Cariyāpitaka extend the terminus ante quem for the closure of the Pāli canon to perhaps the second
century BCE. Though in regard to the latest probable date for the closing of this canon some Western
scholars, and some Theravādin scholars, now accept that the final closing was probably a good deal later
than the traditionally asserted date, possibly even as late as the time of Buddhaghosa in the fifth century
CE.\footnote{This view for such a late completion to the Pāli canon is held by such diverse scholars as S. Collins and W.
Rahula, see S. Collins, “On the very Idea of the Pāli Canon”, JPTS, 15, 1990, p. 95-96; and W. Rahula, History of
Buddhism in Ceylon, Colombo: Gunasena, 1956, p. xix.}

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

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

The Khuddakanikāya, and its place in Buddhist literature

The Pāli text of the Jñātakanidāna forms an introduction to the Jātaka collection contained in the Khuddaka-
nikāya. This Nikāya is one of the more anomalous and irregular of the Pāli canon. This is both from the
point of view of the texts it may contain, the doctrines within those texts, and the various ways in which it
was classified in the Pāli commentaries. Even the precise number of texts collected in this Nikāya has
varied widely for the Theravādin tradition at different times in Buddhist history, from as few as nine to as
many as nineteen. The number of texts that have been accepted by the commentarial in Ceylon as constituting this Nikāya, from at least the fifth century CE, are the fifteen now included within that collection in the Pāli tipitaka.\(^1\) That different traditions existed concerning the contents of one of the five Nikāyas of the Sutta-pitaka, all five of which are accepted as canonical by the Theravādin tradition, in no way invalidates the claim for the Khuddaka-nikāya to be considered as an extremely ancient collection of texts.

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

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

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


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


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

The position of the Khuddaka-nikāya in relation to the Pāli commentarial tradition in Ceylon, from at least Buddhaghosa’s time in the fifth century CE, and therefore in all probability from a somewhat earlier period, seems to be unanimous in accepting a canon consisting of five Nikāyas. Three of Buddhaghosa’s commentaries, the Atthasālīni, the Sumangalavilāsini and the Sāmantapāsādika1 give a list of five Nikāyas with the Khuddaka-nikāya as the fifth. What is interesting here is the definition of the Khuddaka-nikāya given in those commentaries. The Khuddaka-nikāya is said to consist of certain short texts, but also said to include the entire Vinaya-piṭaka and Abhidhamma-piṭaka.2 The number of the actual texts in the Khuddaka-nikāya is given as fourteen in the Atthasālīni, while the Sumangalavilāsini gives a figure of fifteen. So, even though a collection known as the Khuddaka-nikāya was recorded within the fairly homogenous Pāli commentarial traditions of Ceylon, the number of texts included within it was anything but firmly established. The inclusion of the Vinaya-piṭaka and Abhidhamma-piṭaka in the Khuddaka-nikāya by these same sources gives an insight into how that Nikāya had come to be used as a convenient place to locate texts that were considered as buddhavacana but had no other place for inclusion within the five Nikāya classification of texts.

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

3 The lack of any evidence of these bhānakas in Ceylon is difficult to account for, some possible solutions are forwarded by Adikaram, see E.W. Adikaram, Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon, 1946, p. 25.
5 But the Milinda-pañha is earlier than Buddhaghosa’s commentaries, and so one would have expected Buddhaghosa to have known of these bhānakas, see E.W. Adikaram, Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon, 1946, p. 25.
the Dhammapada, but there is no record of how the other texts of the Khuddaka-nikāya were to be transmitted, though it must be assumed that there were bhānakas of the other Khuddaka-nikāya texts. It may be that the other texts of the Khuddaka-nikāya were grouped in a different way for the purpose of transmission, perhaps being categorised in groups and recited with other texts, as in the case of the Jātaka-bhānakas having to learn the Dhammapada.

The Sanskrit Kṣudraka-āgama

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

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

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2 See A.C. Banerjee, Sarvāstivāda Literature, 1979, p. 19, and E. Lammote, History of Indian Buddhism, 1988, p. 152. Although the Sarvāstivādins list only four Āgamas in their Sūtrapiṭaka they had and used texts that they refer to as coming from the Kṣudrakāgama.
5 E. Lamotte, History of Indian Buddhism, 1988, p. 159. Sometimes they are assigned to the Kṣudrakāgama or Kṣudraka-piṭaka, and sometimes they are classified as a fourth Piṭaka distinct from the Tripiṭaka. See also E. Lamotte, “Khuddakanikāya and Kṣudrakapiṭaka”, EW, 4, 1957, p.342; E. Lamotte, “Problèmes concernant les textes canoniques ‘mineurs’”, JA, 144, 1956, pp. 254-55.
the texts which constitute the Kṣudraka-āgama of other schools appear in the Chinese canon as individual works, this includes a version of a work entitled the Jātaka-nidāna,¹ though this text does not correspond to the Pāli text of the same name.

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

Pāli concepts of buddhahood prior to the Jātakanidāna

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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1 The call for a saṅgūti ‘recital’ was at the instigation of the therī Mahīkassapa, and the immediate reason for this was the prevention of false teachings taking root in the saṅgha. See H. Oldenberg, H., ed. Vinayapiṭaka, vol. 2, London: PTS, 1880, rpt. 1995, p. 285.

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


4 The Pāli term avyākata ‘undecided, indeterminate’ is often used as a philosophical term that is applied to the various questions regarding the Buddha’s ontological status. The questions vary in number in different suttas from four to fourteen, but the basic fourfold scheme gives the most important of them, ‘hoti tathāgato param maranā iti pi, na hoti tathāgato param maraññā iti pi, n’eva hoti na na hoti tathāgato param maraññā iti pi’, “the tathāgata exists after death, the tathāgata does not exist after death, he neither exists nor does not exist after death”. See, the Cūlamālukya-sutta, p. 426, Trenckner, V., ed. The Majjhima-nikāya, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1888, rpt. 1979. These four are also found in the Potṭhapāda-sutta of the Dīgha-nikāya, see, The Dīgha-nikāya, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1890, rpt. 1975, p. 188.
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interchangeability of the Buddha and his teaching is a common theme in the Pāli canon generally and is made explicit in a quotation from the Samyutta-nikāya, with the Buddha asserting:

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

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

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

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

¹ Yo kho Vikkali dhamaṃ passati so māṃ passati, yo māṃ passati so dhammaṃ passati, see L. Feer, ed. The Samyutta-nikāya, vol 3, London: PTS, 1890, rpt. 1975, p. 120.
² An indication of the importance and the extreme ambiguity of the epithet Tathāgata is seen by the way that the term is defined by the commentaries. The Sunangalavilāsini commentary of Buddhaghosa on the Brahmājāla-sutta of the Digha-nikāya gives eight different definitions of the term, see T.W. Rhys Davids & J.E. Carpenter, eds. The Sunangalavilāsini, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1886, rpt. 1968, pp. 59-67.
³ D. Snellgrove thought that the need for more than aniconic or symbolic representations of the Buddha for the purpose of worship was the prime influence in the origin of the Buddha image. He also says that the development of bhaktic ‘devotional’ cults centered on the person of the Buddha helped to spur the introduction of the Buddha image. See, The Image of the Buddha, D. Snellgrove, London: Serindia, 1978, pp. 47-8.
question of the real nature of the Buddha has been discussed on a commentarial level from very early
times by the Buddhist saṅgha, and has formed the basis of differing views about the Buddha. There is one
canonical work, the Katthavatthu, that addresses this question\(^1\) and though a comparative latecomer to the
Pāli canon the evidence it provides for the existence of debate about divergent views on the nature of the
Buddha is important.

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

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

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

\(^2\) The Buddha tells Ānanda in the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta, that he could extend his life for another kalpa if he so
103-4.
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The Jaina concept of twenty-four Tirthankaras

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

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

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

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

H. Jacobi, Jaina Sūtras Translated from the Pārkhrit, SBE vol. XXII, Oxford, 1884, p. xii.

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

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

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

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

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

Presentation of former buddhas in the Vinaya and early Nikāyas

There are only a few early Pāli canonical texts that preserve some of Gotama’s recollections about former buddhas. The Vinaya has one reference to former buddhas, this is a curious example where three of the former buddhas, Vipassi, Sikhi and Vessabhu, are actually censured by the Buddha Gotama for the early demise of the teachings that they had each established.¹ Their lack of effort in communicating their teachings to their disciples is said to be the direct reason for the decline in their monastic lineages, while the reverse is true of the buddhas, Kakusandha, Konāgamana, and Kassapa. This example from the Vinaya simply uses the conception of former buddhas in order to make a point about monastic matters, there is no expansion in that occurrence of the lives of these former buddhas. The Theragāthā contains two gāthās² that refer to the six buddhas, but only to say that Gotama had followed the same path as these six, again there are no details given of them individually. The Acchariyabbbudhethamama-sutta of the Majjhima-nikāya makes brief mention that the Buddha Gotama could recall the previous buddhas who had preceded him.³ This text makes no further attempt to explain the previous buddhas referred to, but goes on to list the marvellous events surrounding the events of Gotama’s birth. These events are largely taken from the Mahāpadāna-sutta, where they are used in reference to the Buddha Vipassi, but are now applied directly to Gotama.

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

¹ This occurs in the Suttavibhanga section of the Vinaya-pitaka, see H. Oldenberg, ed. Vinayapitaka, vol. 3, London: PTS, 1881, rpt. 1993, pp. 7-9.
There are several instances found in the early strata of the canonical texts, as mentioned above, where reference is made to the appearance of buddhas prior to Gotama. The most elaborate and developed of these is the Mahāpadāna-sutta\(^1\) of the Dīgha-nikāya. Though the Dīgha-nikāya is thought to contain some of the earliest Buddhist literary and doctrinal materials extant, the Mahāpadāna-sutta has been labelled a late text by many scholars. Rhys Davids pointed out the reasons why that *sutta* must represent a fairly advanced stage in the development of a theory of buddhas:

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

The conclusion reached by Rhys Davids that the Mahāpadāna-sutta is a late addition to the Dīgha-nikāya has been followed by a number scholars\(^3\) since then. His conclusion rests to a large extent on doctrinal grounds. The basic doctrinal and conceptual outlook necessary for the presentation of former buddhas, given later in the Mahāpadāna-sutta, are completely absent in the vast majority of the early Nikāya materials.

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

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

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

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

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

3 The Pāli word used in each case is dhammatā ‘a general rule or a regular phenomena.’


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

Presentation of former buddhas in the later Nikāyas

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

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

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

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

3 There is unanimous agreement over its late date, based both on textual and doctrinal grounds, M. Winternitz, says we are: compelled to class the Buddhavamsa among the latest productions of the canonical Pāli literature. Moreover it is replete with that Buddha-worship and Buddha-deification, which is foreign to the early texts of the Tipiṭaka, but at its height in Buddhist Sanskrit literature, especially that of Mahāyāna, see A History of Indian Literature, vol. 2, Calcutta, 1933, p. 162; E.J. Thomas questions the school affiliation of the Buddhavamsa: The developed state of the Bodhisatta doctrine (in the Buddhavamsa), with its entire absence in the earlier literature, makes it appear as if it had been introduced from another school, see The History of Buddhist Thought, London: RKP, 1933, rpt. 1971, p. 172; E. Lamotte considers that it was the deification of the Buddha that occurred in the Mahāyāna which had an influence on certain later works in the Pāli canon, such as the Apadāna, Buddhavamsa and Cariyāpiṭaka, see History of Indian Buddhism, Louvain-Paris, 1988, p. 714; I.B. Horner in her introduction to the text says: Also presented in the Buddhavamsa is therefore a developed Bodhisatta doctrine. It is the only Pāli canonical work to do so on a full scale, see The Minor Anthologies of the Pāli Canon, part III, London: PTS, 1975, p. xiii; K.R. Norman thinks it late on philological and doctrinal grounds: The Buddhavamsa is therefore a developed Bodhisatta doctrine....The whole text is composed in the Śloka metre, which shows no particularly early features, see Pāli Literature, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983, pp. 93-4.
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of this teaching of twenty-four previous buddhas from within the Theravadin tradition itself.\(^1\) There is evidence that there was a cult of former buddhas\(^2\) as early as Asoka’s time, but how widespread or influential this was is not known. The emergence of such a text as the *Buddhavamsa* could of course simply be the Theravadin response to the trend toward elaborated buddha biographies that were developing in other Buddhist schools. As with the idea of previous Jain Tirthankaras, the Buddhist notion of previous buddhas comes down to us as an unprecedented, and novel, element in Buddhist thinking about its own founder and its own religious history.

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

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

**Presentation of former buddhas in the Jātakanidāna**

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

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\(^3\) Though the historical aspects are not as reliable as historians would want, E.J. Thomas says: “The Buddhists were more interested in those events of the Buddha’s life that have a doctrinal significance than those which appeal to the historian”, *The History of Buddhist Thought*, London: RKP, 1933, rpt. 1971, p. 147.
who are said to have preceded Gotama. This section draws heavily on the *Buddhavamsa*, *Cariyāpiṭaka*, and the Jātaka collection, for its canonical source material. While the Dūrenidāna ostensibly serves as a commentary to the *Buddhavamsa*, it actually relies on that text for its own existence. The Dūrenidāna section in particular, is a text in its own right, together with its own unique teachings. The Dūrenidāna section taken as a whole deals with the teaching about the twenty-four former buddhas. All the twenty-four are given in the same order in which they are found in the *Buddhavamsa*. The treatment of each of them also follows the *Buddhavamsa* closely, but the life of the first buddha, Dīpaṃkara, is dealt with in two ways. First, the meeting of Dīpaṃkara and Sumedha is related, where Dīpaṃkara makes the prophesy to Sumedha that he will become the Buddha Gotama, stating his name, lineage and pupils names. The details of Sumedha’s future life are stated in an almost identical pattern to those of the other buddhas whose biographies are given in the *Buddhavamsa*. Moreover, it is also very similar to the *Mahāpadāna-sutta*’s treatment of the life of the Buddha Vipassi. In this instance, the emphasis is on Sumedha as a future buddha, and Dīpaṃkara is the means by which Sumedha’s future is made known. In other words, Dīpaṃkara is only important in this instance as the embodiment of the first historical buddha, and the buddha who predicted the future Buddha Gotama.

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

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1 See the introduction to the Tibetan text where the mahāthera Atthadassi says to the Buddha: “Reverend sir, I wish to learn the teaching concerning the lineage of the buddhas and bhagavans.” The Bhagavan replied: “O, Atthadassi, be attentive and I shall explain it.”; see section I I of the translation and edition; Tibetan edition folio 7a: “btsun pa bdag ni sāna rgyas bcom idan ’das kyi rgyud kyi chos thos par ’shal lo // bka’ stsal pa / don mthon yid la zuñ žig dañ / nas bṣad par bya’o ẓes byun no //”. The Pāli text has no counterpart to this introduction found in the Tibetan, but the *Buddhavamsa* I 79, p. 7, N.A. Jayawickrama, ed., *Buddhavamsa and Cariyāpiṭaka*, London: PTS, 1974, does give the text canonical status by stating that the Buddha initiated the teachings about the former buddhas.

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

3 See sections I 19 of the translation and edition.

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


6 See sections I 1 of the translation and edition: “Moreover, since it is difficult to understand even the explanation, as it is contained in verse, it will be explained clearly using now and then certain words from the verses”; Tibetan sTog Palace edition folio 8a: slar yaṅ tshigs su bcdā pa bcnis te bṣad kyan go dka’ bas / de dañ de’i bar bar du tshigs su bcdā pa’i tshig gis gsal ba dañ bcas pa bṣad par bya’o //.

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

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

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

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

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


3 The gāthā corresponds to Theragāthā 303, see K. R. Norman & , L. Alsdorf eds., The Thera and Therī-gāthā, London: PTS, 1966, p. 35. This gāthā is preserved in other Buddhist traditions in both Prākrit and Buddhist Sanskrit, and is equivalent to the Patā Dharmapāda gāthā 227; Udānavarga gāthā 30.7; Mahāvastu II p. 80-81, to name but a few. For a full list of parallels to this gāthā see section I 35 of the translation and edition.
About 1 oz is what? (x)

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

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

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

The development of the bodhisatta concept in the Jātakanidāna

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

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

¹ See sections III 25 of the translation and edition; Tibetan sTog Palace edition folios 99b-100a; Pāli p. 90.
² For the Sumedhakathā see sections I 2-32 of the translation and edition; Tibetan sTog Palace edition folios 8a-35b; Pāli pp. 2-28.
Chapter Two

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

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

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

Conclusions

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

¹ Sections I 1 of the translation and edition.
A second important issue associated with the group of texts comprising the Jātakāniḍāṇa, Buddhavaṃsa, and Cariyāpiṭaka, is that of the canonical authority or historicity of these texts. The canonical status of these texts is an important question, though it must also be considered by the textual historian in the terms of reference established by the Buddhist tradition. As has been shown, the concept of canonicity may in fact be more open to interpretation than it initially appears, for it becomes apparent that texts unknown to the First Council were in fact included in the canon at later stages in its history. Taken from the purely historical perspective the matter is clear, since any text that was unknown to the traditions recording the events of the First Council is automatically excluded from being canonical. However, the Theravādin tradition does not in fact come to such stark conclusions, it is seemingly content to allow its basic criteria for canonicity to be disregarded by the addition of texts of a demonstrably later date to that original canon. The Khuddaka-nikāya is the chief means through which these later texts come to be included in the canon. Hence the analysis of the historical formation, and composition of that collection. The general conclusion arrived at here is that this Nikāya seems to be used by both Pāli, and Sanskrit, traditions as a location for any anomalous text that was considered to be canonical, but which was not already included within the texts comprising the four Nikāyas. Thus whichever way the issue is addressed the canonicity, or historicity, of some texts in this collection comes under severe pressure. This is so from the perspective of the traditional Pāli criteria, from the historical perspective, or from the perspective of comparative philology.

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

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

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

Canonical forerunners of the bodhisatta concept
That some notion of the concept of bodhisatta existed in the Pāli canon prior to the Jātakanidāna is

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1 See sections I 1 to I 69 of the translation and edition.
2 There are some other examples of later poetical works such as the twelfth century kāvyā work the Jīnālankāra and other works of that kind.
3 The origin of the bodhisatta doctrine is still far from clear, though many scholars maintain that it is not a specifically Mahāyāna teaching but inherent in the jātaka stories common to the Buddhist schools. See A.K. Warder, “Original Buddhism and Mahāyāna”, Publicazioni di Indologica Taurinensia, 16, 1983, p. 9.
4 An early reference to Gotama as a bodhisatta is given in the Suttanipāta, interestingly this gāthā includes the idea that he is born for the benefit of mankind, which is most commonly found as a definition of a bodhisattva in the Mahāyāna traditions, see D. Anderson, & H. Smith eds., Sutta-nipāta, London: PTS, 1913, rpt. 1965, gāthā 683a/b, p. 132:

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

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

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1 The examples of this kind of reference to a bodhisatta are fairly numerous in the Nikāyas, see for example, *Dvedhavitakka-sutta*, M I p. 114, *Ariyapariyesana-sutta*, M I p. 163; *Accharyabbhutadhamma-sutta*, M III p. 119.  
3 The importance of the pāramis in the developing bodhisatta doctrine cannot be overestimated, for they are representative of an entirely new way of practice in Buddhism. The term has been commented on in Jayawardhana’s work on the commentaries. See, S. Jayawardhana, “A Critical Introduction to the Study of Pāli Tikas”, *Sesquicentennial Commemorative Volume of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka 1845-1995*, Colombo, 1995, p. 300.  
4 It has been pointed out by Choong Mun-keat that the term bodhisattva is often omitted in the Sanskrit Āgamas in precisely the place where it occurs in the corresponding Pāli text. In some of these instances Choong claims that the term bodhisattva was in fact added later. See Choong Mun-keat, *The Fundamental Teachings of Early Buddhism: a comparative study based on the Sūtraśāṅgā portion of the Pāli Samyutta-nikāya and the Chinese Samyulūtāgama*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000, p. 179.  
5 This view is shared by Samuels, but he adds that there are references in the Pāli canon to at least one future buddha named Metteyya, see J. Samuels, “The Bodhisattva Ideal in Theravāda Buddhist Theory and Practice: A Re-evaluation of the Bodhisattva-Śrāvaka Opposition”, *PEW*, 47, 1997, p. 403.  
6 In particular Rahula attempts to justify the early equivalence of the bodhisattva ideal of the Mahāyāna with that appearing in the later texts of the Pāli canon. It is difficult to accept his arguments as, has been shown, the concept of the bodhisatta in the Pāli tradition is quite separate from that of the Mahāyāna ideal. For his full argument see W. Rahula, “The Bodhisattva Ideal in Theravāda and Mahāyāna”, *Zen and the Taming of the Bull*, London, 1978, pp. 71-77.
as a key figure in the developing buddhology of that Buddhist tradition. The most significant example of this tendency is the *Jātaka* ādiṇḍāna, nowhere else is there found a text that portrays in such detail the ideal life of the bodhisatta, and the principles laid out that fully elucidate the bodhisatta concept. Despite this elucidation of the concept in the *Jātaka* ādiṇḍāna, there are some elements associated with it that were not introduced or developed to the extent that occurs in the Mahāyāna.

**The bodhisatta in the late canonical and commentarial texts**

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

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

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

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

3 The Mahāyāna *sūtras* also make great use of the concept of punya ‘merit’ that the bodhisattva has to accumulate in order to proceed on the path. This is a notably rare term in the Pāli teachings about the bodhisatta, the *Buddhavamsa* II 56, says the bodhisatta must have performed the necessary adhikāra ‘meritorious act’ to make progress. See N.A. Jayawickrama, ed., *Buddhavamsa and Cariyāpiṭaka*, London: PTS, 1974, p. 12.
which is found in the Mahāyāna. There are also significant correspondences however, and the most marked similarity is in the employment in the Jātakaññidāna of a system of pāramīs ‘perfections’ as an essential ingredient of the bodhisatta’s path. Some of these Pāli pāramīs have their counterparts in the Mahāyāna schemes of the pāramitās, but the Pāli system of ten does not ultimately seem to be derived from the Mahāyāna scheme.

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

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

Incorporation of the bodhisatta ideal in the Jātakanidāna

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

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1 Some of the possible reasons for the manner in which the bodhisatta doctrine omits such features as the bodhisatta vow are discussed by Holt. For his speculations about the different conception of the vow for the Mahāyāna, and how this was interpreted within the Theravāda see, J.C. Holt, "Buddha in the Crown: Avalokiteśvara in the Buddhist Traditions of Sri Lanka", Oxford University Press, 1991, p. 73.
canonical textual tradition. Therefore, within the Theravādin tradition any doctrine being posited as representing canonical Buddhist doctrine must necessarily be proved to ultimately be, whether directly or indirectly, *buddhavacana*. It is one of the dilemmas of any closed, or at least fixed textual tradition, that any new, developing or emerging doctrine, has difficulty in becoming recognised as being a part of the inherited tradition. Any new doctrine can only be admitted into the corpus of canonical doctrines by having some formal connection established with the earlier tradition. This problem occurs for both theistic and non-theistic religions alike, Christianity and Islam have their *Apocrypha* and *Hadith*, Hinduism its *Purānas* while Jainism has its *Trīṣaṅṭisālākāpurusacarita*. All of these works are what might be termed para-canonical, in that they represent attempts to incorporate later rationalisations, about existing or novel doctrines, into the teachings of those religious traditions. The method adopted by the Theravādin tradition to overcome this conundrum was entirely in keeping with their own ideas about textual canonicity.

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

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

¹ In opposition to this Rahula denies the early goal of Pāli Buddhism as being *arahatta*. He attempts to show that Theravādin tradition held the attainment of buddha-hood as one of the goals of that tradition from its very origin. See W. Rahula, "The Bodhisattva Ideal in Theravāda and Mahāyāna", *Zen and the Taming of the Bull*, London, 1978, p. 72. A similar case is made by Werner for the goal of early Buddhism, see K. Werner, "Bodhi and Arahattaphala. From early Buddhism to early Mahāyāna", *JLABS*, 4, 1981, pp. 73, 76.
that appear for the first time within that tradition in this text. There could also be said to be another type, which are the existing doctrines that are found in the Jātakaniḍāṇa in a form more fully developed than hitherto known in the Theravādin tradition. This latter category can usefully be included under the heading of new doctrines, in that they are representative of a new level of thinking, and can therefore be treated as being indicative of a considerable change in doctrinal emphasis.

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

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

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

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

² Tibetan: gal te bdag gi ŋon moṅs pa thams cad gzung par ’dod pa daṅ / dge ’dun mams kyi gzung nur ’gyur bar bya ba daṅ / dga’ ba can gyi groṅ khyaer du ’jug par ’dod do / gzan gyi cha lugs kyis kyan ŋon moṅs pa ’di gzung par byas nas mya ēn las ’das pa thob pa la don med do //. Pāli: Sace āhaṁ iccheyyaṁ sabbakilese jhāpēvā samghanavako hutvā Rammanagaram paviseyyaṁ aṁṇātakavesena pana me kilese jhāpēvā Nibbānapattiya kiccaṁ n’athī. This is an extremely important passage in the development of the doctrine of the bodhisatta in the Jātakaniḍāṇa, the Tibetan and Pāli are slightly ambiguous in their precise intent, though the overall idea of giving assistance to others is evident.

³ See sections 1 18 of the translation and edition.
This is the earliest formulation in Pāli of the rationale behind the bodhisatta doctrine. The early Buddhist goals of the attainment of arahatta, the destruction of the āsavas, the attainment of nibbāna, or the understanding of paticcasaṁuppāda, receive no mention whatever. The goal in this passage is no longer simply the attainment of bodhi or nibbāna, as is the case in the early Nikāya accounts of Gotama’s enlightenment. Here the emphasis is firmly on the altruistic nature of the bodhisatta’s career, and the attitude that must be adopted. The most important element is that of assisting others to gain liberation from samsāra, only after that is it deemed right for the bodhisatta to attain nibbāna. The passage represents the single most significant statement about the bodhisatta’s ultimate goals, and motives, contained in the Jātakamāla. This passage can then be viewed almost as a concise Theravādin reformulation of the Mahāyāna bodhisattva1 ideal.

The inclusion of this kind of narrative in the Jātakamāla emphasises the difference in goal between the early, and later phases of the Theravādin tradition. Certainly, in the Buddhavamsa, the real goal for the bodhisatta is sabbānātta2 ‘omniscience’, and buddhahood. The ideal pattern of behaviour to be followed is that of Dipamkara’s life, so the bodhisatta in emulating this, is only doing the correct thing for a bodhisatta. There is also a qualitative difference depicted here between the early idea of the attainment of arahatta in this life, and the inevitable nibbāna that would entail. This is contrasted with the ideal of the aspiration to become a buddha at some unimaginably distant future time, and so effectively deferring3 the attainment of nibbāna in order to be of service to others. This passages serves to turn attention to the question of what it means to be a bodhisatta, and how this teaching is rationalised within the scheme of the Theravādin tradition’s understanding of the term. The bringing together of these three concepts marks a significant development in the formative phase of the evolution of the bodhisatta doctrine in that tradition.

The concepts of vyākaraṇa, abhinīhāra and adhikāra in the Jātakamāla

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

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

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

3 This point about the deferring of nibbāna has been noted before, a recent work has summed up the position succinctly: Presumably Śākyamuni actually could have attained enlightenment for himself (the state of an arhat) in the presence of that previous Buddha. Why did he undergo the many, many rebirths necessary in order to follow the path to Buddhahood if the eventual goal of Buddhahood is not qualitatively different to -- not in some significant way very much superior to -- the state of an arhat? See P. Williams & A. Tribe, Buddhist Thought: A complete introduction to the Indian tradition, London: Routledge, 2000, p. 137.
both in the philological, and the doctrinal sense. That is to say, these terms appear in an extremely small number of cases within only two texts, the Buddhavamsa, the Jātakanidāna, and in the commentaries to the Buddhavamsa and Cariyāpiṭaka. An example of this development of doctrinal thought can be seen in the Jātakanidāna in connection with these three concepts that are presented as essential stages for the bodhisatta to achieve. These three are the concepts of vyākarana1 ‘prediction’ in foretelling Gotama’s future, abhinīhāra2 ‘aspiration’ representing the bodhisatta’s desire for buddhahood, and the bodhisatta’s adhikāra3 ‘meritorious act, service’ to earlier buddhas. By studying the occurrences of these three terms, it can be demonstrated that they represent significant additions to the array of terms used to describe a bodhisatta. It can also be shown that with the linking of the three terms, the definition of the bodhisatta becomes more formalised, and an important set of elements appear in the emerging bodhisatta doctrine.

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

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4 The initial prediction by Dipākakara in the Buddhavamsa that Sumedha will achieve buddhahood does not actually use the term vyākarana or any of its derived forms. See N. A. Jayawickrama, Buddhavamsa and Cariyāpiṭaka, London: PTS, 1974, II 59-68, pp. 12-13, for the gāthās relating to Sumedha’s vyākarana.
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The compilation of the Jātakarāṇa. It is most often encountered in its primary verbal form of to answer or reply, its use in the sense of prediction is in fact a late usage of the term. It occurs in the sense of prediction in the Buddhavamsa, where it is depicted as an integral stage in any buddha’s life, and also occurs in that text in relation to all but three of the lives of the previous buddhas. The Jātakarāṇa adopts this term, and develops its usage, so that it comes to represent an essential ingredient of the bodhisatta’s life. Through this means it is elevated to the level of a thoroughgoing doctrinal, and technical term. Another term that is closely connected with the concept of vyākaraṇa is that of abhinihāra, which describes the bodhisatta’s ardent aspiration to become a buddha. This term itself is actually used on only two occasions in the entire Buddhavamsa, once in the introduction as a question about Gotama’s past abhinihāra, and the single occurrence relating directly to Sumedha. This concept comes to represent the irrepressible volition that a bodhisatta has towards the ultimate goal. It is another quality that the bodhisatta must develop, but is not solely dependent on the bodhisatta. For it becomes clear in the text that the abhinihāra can only occur successfully under certain essential preconditions, the principal one of which is the prior intercession of a buddha. In this way, these two interrelated concepts evolve into the key innovative elements in the bodhisatta doctrine as recorded in the Jātakarāṇa.

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

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

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

2 There are only two references to the abhinihāra in the entire Buddhavamsa, one in reference to Gotama and the other in a list of the eight things in the Buddhavamsa. The reference in question refers only to abhinihāra as being dependent on eight conditions, but the depiction of a bodhisatta actually making this abhinihāra does not occur anywhere in that text. See N. A. Jayawickrama, Buddhavamsa and Cariyāpiṭaka, London: PTS, 1974, chapter II, verse 58, p. 12.
important aspect of the early phases of the bodhisatta doctrine, for it is quite clear in the text, that no bodhisatta can begin to be defined as such until they have undergone this process.

1. Vyākarana by the Buddha Dīpakāraka

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

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

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

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

2 See sections I 19 of the translation and edition.
bodhisatta. This has distinct parallels in the Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras, and other Mahāyāna sūtras, which also stress the enormous length of time that a bodhisattva must practise.

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

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

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

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


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

5 The term used in the Tibetan verse for the Pāli adhikāra at II 58 of the Buddhavamsa is rigs pa, though in the prose commentary the Tibetan word gzi is used to translate adhikāra. See sections I 18 of the translation and edition.
this section, that may form a later accretion to the text,¹ seeks to give a fully evolved theory to explain the abhinīhāra and provide it with an unquestionable Buddhist rationale. The abhinīhāra, in the light of this exegetis, is the outcome of the conjunction of certain specific conditions that each have their own causes. One of the most important of these causes is the innovative concept of an adhiṅkāra² ‘meritorious act’ towards the buddha, in Sumedha’s case the act of laying himself on the ground for Dipamkara to walk on. Thus, the abhinīhāra is shown in the commentary to depend on these eight conditions, with adhiṅkāra as one of the more important of them:

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

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

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

The vyākarana acts in this instance as the inspiration for the bodhisatta, who is now in some sense predestined, since foretold by the buddha, to become a buddha. This prose commentarial quotation does not use the term abhinīhāra for ‘aspiration’ here, instead patthana⁵ ‘aspiration’ or ‘wish’ is found. This is difficult to account for, as the form abhinīhāra occurs in the cited Buddhavamsa gāthā setting out the eight requirements necessary for a bodhisatta to make the abhinīhāra. It also occurs in other parts of the commentary in the same sense. Since the form patthana occurs throughout the prose commentary in precisely those instances where it would be expected to find abhinīhāra, it must be taken in these contexts as synonymous with that word.⁶ The prose commentary goes on to explain that the abhinīhāra

¹ This section of the Jātakamālam is a prose commentary that may represent a later strata of commentarial tradition, and does not in Fausboll’s view come from the older commentaries used in the compilation of that text.
² The Pāli term is adhiṅkāra and is translated in the Tibetan by gūi. The sense of the term in this context is somewhat ambiguous and could be taken as either ‘resolve’, ‘meritorious act’ or ‘service’ without affecting the overall intention of this passage.
³ See sections 18 of the translation and edition.
⁴ See sections 19 of the translation and edition.
⁵ The Tibetan translation also consistently uses another term than līṅ ston pa in these cases where patthana occurs, the Tibetan word used in these cases is don du grier ba.
⁶ The CPD defines abhinīhāra in several ways, but says it can be used in the sense of ‘earnest wish, aspiration, resolve, determination’ and also says that it can often be used synonymously with paṇidhāna and patthāna, see V.
must take place in the presence of a living buddha for it to be successful. It expressly states that to make the *abhinihāra* before the buddha’s *parinibbāna stūpa*, or even the *bodhi* tree, would render it ineffective. Only the face to face meeting of a bodhisatta and a buddha allow the right conditions for both the *vyākaraṇa*, and the *abhinihāra*, to be made efficaciously.

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

2. *Vyākaraṇa* by the devas

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

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

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

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

⁴ The *devas* occur in numerous *suttas* and are part of the conceptual framework of the Buddhist world view, the section referred to here is the *Devaṭā-saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, see L. Feer, ed. *The Saṃyutta-nikāya*, vol. I, London: PTS, 1884, pp. 1-45.
of the past buddhas, and bodhisattas, into agreement with the Buddhist cosmological view. The *vyākaraṇa* by the *devas* is then a means of emphasising one of their roles in the world, and the bodhisatta’s superiority to them. The *Jātakanidāna* has many such instances of the *devas* becoming involved in the bodhisatta’s quest. Thus the *devas* act of *vyākaraṇa* is one of the ways in which the *Jātakanidāna* uses them to legitimise, and authenticate, not only the teachings and events of that text, but also to show the importance of a buddha, and hence also of bodhisattas, for all classes of beings in *samsāra*.

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

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

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

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

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² Tibetan: *sdug bsnal gyi mtshan ma mthoṅ nas*. Pāli: *pubbanimittāni nāma paññāyanti*. The Tibetan *sdug bsnal* in this sentence appear to be an error for *shon*, for the term *shon gyi mtshan ma* occurs earlier in the text at section I 16 of the edition for the Pāli *pubbanimitta*, and also later in the text for the *pubbanimitta*, see section II 12 of the edition.
⁴ See sections I 20 of the translation and edition.
⁵ See sections I 16 of the translation and edition.
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pubbanimitta ‘prognostic signs’ while the gāthā following1 has only nimitta. The Buddhavamsa commentary simply glosses this term, but makes absolutely no connection to the mahāpurisa-lakkhanas.2 The thirty-two signs referred to are not the mahāpurisa-lakkhana ‘marks of a great man’ that might be expected here. Instead quite a different set of signs appear in the gāthās following this prose that represent an altogether different, or developed, tradition of the thirty-two signs. These thirty-two signs are not listed in the prose commentary of the Jātakanidāna, instead the gāthās3 following it provide examples of the kind of signs that appeared. The different kinds of extraordinary, and miraculous events are that all flowers, trees and plants flowered at once, and rivers reversed their courses. The signs or events mentioned are such that it is only the devas who are capable of realising the full significance of them all. In this instance the devas have the function of acting as the interpreters of these signs, for only they can understand their full implications. The signs are important not just for Sumedha and the world, but for the devas themselves.

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

3. Vyākaraṇa in the Nālaka legend

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

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

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3 See the gāthās in sections I 20 of the translation and edition, the gāthās of this section are extracted from the Buddhavamsa I 70-107, see N. A. Jayawickrama, Buddhavamsa and Cariyāpiṭaka, London: PTS, 1974, pp. 13-16.
5 The Mahāvastu, Lalitavistara, Buddhacarita, and sections of the various Vinayas all include some references to the early events in the life of Gautama.
formal act of recognition can be seen as the Buddhist method of gaining the acknowledgment and approval, which forms a kind of abhiseka, from a spiritually advanced ascetic. An early occurrence of the concept of a vyākaraṇa for the buddha Gotama is found in the Pāli canon in the Suttanipāta of the Khuddaka-nikāya. The reference in the Nālaka-sutta1 contained within that collection furnishes an early use of a form of vyākaraṇa to indicate the possible course of Gotama’s life. The core of the legend in this instance is that the isi ‘sage’ Asita becomes aware of the birth of Gotama, and on visiting him, and seeing his bodily marks, makes the vyākaraṇa2 that he will become a perfectly enlightened buddha, and begin to teach. In this version of the legend Asita makes the prediction about Gotama in these words:

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

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

The use of the concept of vyākaraṇa in the Nālaka-sutta, foretelling Gotama’s future, has the purpose of emphasising the inevitability of his buddhahood. In fact there are really two predictions made in this instance, the first being made by the devas4 to Asita, and the second made by Asita himself. Although the term vyākaraṇa is not employed in the Nālaka-sutta version explicitly, the overall intention of indicating what will happen in the future is nevertheless unmistakable. The legend related in the Jātakanidāna is somewhat more developed than the version contained in the Nālaka-sutta. There is a distinct difference between the two accounts concerning the name of the person making the vyākaraṇa. The Nālaka-sutta refers to the person as the isi ‘sage’ Asita, while the Jātakanidāna names him as tāpasa ‘ascetic’ Kāladevala.5 This latter name is apparently synonymous with Asita, and may well reflect the influence of Buddhist Sanskrit works on the later strata of the Pāli canon.6

2 Though the term vyākaraṇa is not explicitly used in the Nālakasutta the intention of the sage Asita is clearly to foretell or predict Gotama’s future career.
Sambodhiyaggam phusissat’ āyaṃ kumāro
so dharmacakkam paramavisuddhadassī
vatthārik’ assa bhavissati brahmācariyaṃ.
5 Tibetan: dka’ thub pa Nag po lha len.
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There are different variations on the Asita legend, and these are not only to be found in the accounts in the works of different schools. The Theravadin tradition has at least two differing traditions regarding the events of this legend, the Nālaka-sutta version in the Suttanipāta, and the version of it found in the Jātakanidāna. The Jātakanidāna has accounts of two vyākaraṇa being made by Kāladevala to two different characters, one to king Suddhodana, and one to Nālaka. The first of these occurs in a somewhat disingenuous manner, due to the populace of Kapilavatthu rejoicing at the birth of Suddhodana’s son, who they claim will be a buddha. Then Kāladevala hears of this from the devas and goes to see the boy:

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

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

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

‘Will then any of my relatives see him become buddha or not?\(^4\)’, he saw his young nephew named Nālaka.\(^5\) So he went to his sister’s house and said: ‘Where is young Nālaka?’ She said: ‘He is at the lord’s house’, he replied: ‘Summon him!’ When Nālaka arrived before him he said: ‘Nephew, a son has been born in the lineage of the great king Suddhodana. He is one destined to become a buddha, he will become buddha after thirty five years. You will see him, so go forth now!’\(^6\)

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


1 Tibetan: ‘di nas sans rgyas nas bdag gis mthon ŋam mi mthon. Pāli: aham imam Buddhabhūtaṃ daśṭhum labhissāmi nu kho.
3 See sections II 17 of the translation and edition.
4 Tibetan: Nā la ka.
5 See sections II 18 of the translation and edition.

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

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

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

4. *Vyākaraṇa by brāhmaṇas*

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

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

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


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

⁷ For the *gāthā* version see S. Lefman, ed. *Lalitavistara*, vol 1, Halle, 1902, pp. 108-112. See also the re-edited version of these *gāthās* in, C. Regémy, “Encore *propos du Lalitavistara et de l’episode d'Asita*, *Asiatische Studien*, 27, 1973, pp. 1-34.
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The brāhmaṇas said: ‘Do not fear, Great king, a being has entered your wife’s womb. It is not a girl within the womb but a boy. He will be your son and if he resides in the house he will be a cakkavattirāja, but if he abandons the house and goes forth he will be a buddha. Having overcome the world he will not therefore continue living in a house.’

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

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

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

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

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In sections II 11 of the translation and edition.

2 Tibetan: ‘di ni khyim na gnas pa’i rgyu med pas mtha’ geig ñid du khyim na mi gnas par saNs rgya’o. Pāli: etassa agāramajjhe thānakāraṇāṃ n’ athi, ekanten’ eva vivattacchaddo Buddhō bhavissati.

3 Tibetan: ‘di ni snar gyi gzi byas pas phyis mir gyur pa na šes rab dān ldan no. Pāli: Ayam hi katādhikāro pacchimabhuvikasatto paññāya.

4 See sections II 19 of the translation and edition.
rejected by the eighth as being inappropriate to a bodhisatta. The true interpretation of the bodhisatta’s signs allows for only one possible interpretation. Another secondary point of importance to this form of the vyākaraṇa, is the linking of Konḍañña to the bodhisatta. From the narrative point of view this acts as the means of introducing the first historical arahat into the bodhisatta’s biography. On the literary level, it also provides a continuity with the earlier Asita episode, and gives coherence to the narrative as a whole.

5. Vyākaraṇa by natural phenomena

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

Following this the ten thousand fold world shook, trembled and let out a noise at the same time as the bodhisatta entered his mother’s womb. Then the thirty two signs or portents2 appeared.3 This quote is in a sense the initiator within the Jātakaniḍḍha of the notion that a number of supernatural occurrences take place at particular times in a bodhisatta’s life. The Nikāyas give the list of religiously significant events, such as the attainment of enlightenment, and the first teaching, as causes of earthquakes. Only in the Jātakaniḍḍha does the list of these events causing earthquakes extend to the act of a bodhisatta’s conception. Thus, the miraculous occurrences that are only associated with the important life events of the buddha in the Nikāyas, are developed in the Jātakaniḍḍha, and applied to the mundane episodes in the life of the bodhisatta.

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

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

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1 For example the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta contains a description of the occasions in a buddha’s life that cause earthquakes. The Aṅguttara-nikāya also provides a list of the eight events in a buddha’s life that bring about earthquakes., see E. Hardy, ed. Aṅguttaraniṅkāya, vol. 4, London: PTS, 1899, rpt. 1979, p. 307.
3 See sections II 12 of the translation and edition.
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hand saying: ‘If it is possible that I become a buddha today, let this bowl go against the flow of the water. If not let it go with the flow,’ he cast it into the water. Controlling the current of the river it went to the middle of the river, going against the current for just eighty cubits, like a swift horse goes to the spot in the middle. Turning once on the river it sank, going to the dwelling of the nāga king Kāla. Then the large golden bowl, which had held milk enjoyed by three buddhas, made a chinking sound and remained on one side at the lowest point of all.¹

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

Conclusion

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

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

¹ See sections II 55 of the translation and edition.
bodhisatta’s path to buddhahood.

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

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

A Study of the Ten Paramis in the Jātakaṇidāṇa

Introduction

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

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

1 The range of this terminology, defining particular characteristics of the bodhisatta, that is used in the Buddhavamsa is considerable. The terms buddhabijankura and buddhamkuru are only two of this range of terms describing the bodhisatta in a novel way. There are also a number of other terms relating to the buddhas, such as: buddhakicca, buddhaguna, buddhatilā and buddhaviṣaya, that are indicative of the general trend in the Buddhavamsa of presenting a more transcendent definition of the Buddha.

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

3 The term buddhabhava is used here in the sense of ‘state of a Buddha’ and is the goal that is ultimately aimed for by the bodhisatta, not simply arahatta or nibbāna. The word ‘buddhabhava’, given by Rhys Davids as ‘condition of a Buddha, enlightenment’ in PTSD, p. 490, citing J I p. 14, which is equivalent to sections 118 of our translation and edition. The use of the term seems to be restricted almost exclusively to the commentaries, a search for the term on the two CD-ROMs of the Pāli canon produced fourteen occurrences in nine different commentarial works, but apart from the Buddhavamsa references no other canonical occurrences were found. See Chakkha Sangâyana CD-ROM
the bodhisatta in the Jātakaśāstra, and Buddhavamsa, represents in itself a major change in doctrinal thinking and emphasis within the Theravādin tradition. In the earlier Nikāya literature the conception of the attainment of enlightenment, and therefore buddhahood, was only directly connected with Gotama. The concept of buddhahood initially appears to have been considered as an historical event which was unique to the character of Gotama, in that he was the first to have achieved this state. It is only with the appearance of the notion of previous buddhas, first in the Mahāpadāna-sutta, and later in the Buddhavamsa, that the first textual evidence emerges that this necessarily entails the existence of previous bodhisattas.

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

Pāramī as a new concept in the Pāli canon

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

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2 The primary meaning of the term pāramī is that of ‘completeness, perfection’ and it only acquires its specifically soteriological connotations with the advent of the Buddhavamsa and its linking to the causes of buddhahood. See T.W. Rhys Davids, PTSD, p. 454, R.C Childers, A Dictionary of the Pāli Language, London, 1875, rpt. Kyoto: Rinsen, 1987, pp. 334-5.
The ten paramis are first mentioned as individual qualities that are part of the group of ten in the following gāthās of the Buddhavamsa: dāna at II 116a; sīla at II 121a; nekkhamma at II 126a; paññā at II 131a; viriya at II 136a; khanti at II 141a; sacca at II 146a; adhisthāna at II 151a; metta at II 156a; upekkhā at II 161a. See N. A. Jayawickrama, ed., Buddhavamsa and Cariyapitaka, London: PTS, 1974, pp. 16-19. For the corresponding Tibetan verses see sections 122 to 131 of the edition.

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


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

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

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

1 There has been much discussion as to whether the list of six, or the list of ten, is the oldest classification. N. Dutt among others considers six to be the oldest but this is not accepted by Barua, see D.L. Barua, ed. Achariya Dhammapāla's Paramatthadīpanī, London: PTS, 1939, rpt. 1979, pp. xii-xiii.
4 There are only isolated instances of the list of six pāramitās in the Mahāvastu, see Le Mahāvastu, ed. E. Sénart, vol 3, Paris, 1897, p. 226. A list of five, dāna, śīla, ksānti, dhyāna and praṇāda, occurs at Le Mahāvastu, vol 2, Paris, 1890, p. 296, but the systems of five or six pāramitās are not the fixed sets of qualities in the Mahāvastu that they are in the Mahāyāna sūtras, the Buddhavamsa or Jātakaniṇī. The Mahāvastu has many examples of the six individual pāramitās being referred to.
7 That the bhūmi classification came to be accepted within the Prajñāpāramitā tradition can be verified by the Aṣṭadasāsahāsrikā making use of the ten bhūmi scheme for the life of the bodhisattva. See E. Lamotte, "The Teaching of Vimalakīrti", tr. S. Boin, London: PTS, 1976, p. xcvi.
8 Certain Mahāyāna texts do use both classifications, the Daśabhūmi chapter of the Avatamsaka-sūtra uses the scheme of the ten pāramitās and the ten bhūmis, see R. Kimura, A Historical Study of the Terms Hinayāna and
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The use of the concept of *pāramitā* by the Prajñāpāramitā sūtras is evidence of the developing trend towards the enhancement of the personage of the bodhisattva. For, these texts are concerned with giving guidance to the bodhisattva, and with setting out the means for following that path. This trend has always been most apparent in the texts of the Mahāyāna schools, and though not unknown within the Hinayāna schools, it did not develop among them to the same extent. The Prajñāpāramitā sūtras, in particular, are among some of the earliest Mahāyāna texts dedicated to elucidating the path of the bodhisattva within the framework of a series of six *pāramitā*. The existence of the concept of the six *pāramitā* in the Hinayāna texts, and the Prajñāpāramitā sūtras, together with the appearance of the ten *pāramīs* in the Jātakatidāna, is evidence of the tendency to use them as distinctive elements in the doctrine of the bodhisattva.

The concept of *pāramī* in the early Pāli sources

The evidence for the use of the term *pāramitā* as a technical term relating to the essential practices of a bodhisattva is then well attested in the Mahāyāna traditions. The position of the Theravādin tradition towards a conception of *pāramī* as an integral element in the bodhisatta’s career is really twofold. In the early Nikāyas of the Pāli canon there is no reference whatever to a system of practice based on the conception of *pāramīs*. The reasons for this are simply because there was no conception of a bodhisatta as a distinct type of person defined and laid out within the Theravādin tradition, and therefore no bodhisatta doctrine as such. This is not to infer that the conception of a bodhisatta was completely unknown to that tradition. It is only to say that the conception of a bodhisatta, as found in the Mahāyāna in the form of a distinct type of person with a particular graded path to follow, is entirely wanting in the early Nikāya tradition of the Pāli canon. Because the basic term bodhisatta is present in the Nikāyas and Jātaka, does not mean that there was a corresponding bodhisatta doctrine or ideal in those texts. That is to say, beyond the simple conception that Gotama had many previous lives before attaining buddhahood, these texts make no attempt to depict a fully integrated or coherent bodhisatta doctrine. The second, and later,
position of the Theravādin tradition towards the conception of a bodhisatta is not unlike the above mentioned Mahāyāna position. Here in such texts as the Buddhavamsa, Cariyāpiṭaka, and Jātakanidāna, the bodhisatta formally becomes one who is destined to become a buddha in the future, due to certain decisions, or spiritual rites of passage, as well as the training in a specific group of practices. The sources for this view of the bodhisatta are to be found in the Theravādin tradition primarily within the three above Pāli texts, but also in a more developed state in some of the commentaries to those works.

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

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

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

1 The gāthā are nos. 1018 and 1020 of the Suttanipāta, see D. Anderson, & H. Smith eds., Sutta-nipāta, London: PTS, 1913, rpt. 1965, p. 195:
   Ādissa jammanāṁ bruhi, gotaṁ bruhi salakkaṇhaṁ,
   mantuśu pāramiṁ bruhi, kati vāceti brāhmaṇo.
   lakkhaṇe itiḥase ca sanighaṇḍuṣaketubhe,
   paścā satāṁ vāceti, sadhamme pāramiṁ gato.


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

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

**The pāramis in the Buddhavaṃsa**

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


³ S. Jayawardhana discusses the different meanings of the term pārami in the various layers of canonical and commentarial tradition. He also concludes that the term had undergone significant semantic changes in the commentarial explanations of the term. See S. Jayawardhana, “A Critical Introduction to the Study of Pāli Tikas”, *Sesquicentennial Commemorative Volume of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka 1845-1995*, Colombo, 1995, p. 298-301.
There the bodhisatta is defined as one destined to become a Buddha after the completion or fulfilment of these ten. It is evident that both the treatment of the ten pāramīs, and the bodhisatta,¹ that is found in the Buddhavamsa is a unique occurrence within the Pāli canonical texts. No earlier work in that collection addresses the issues raised by the Buddhavamsa, and no other work links the ten pāramīs, the bodhisatta, and buddhahood, inextricably together as it is so explicitly formulated in that text.

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

Usage of the pāramī concept in the Buddhavamsa

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

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

Chapter Four

Of what sort were the giving, morality, renunciation, wisdom and energy?
Of what sort were the patience, truthfulness, resolution, loving kindness and equanimity?

O wise leader of the world, of what sort were your ten perfections?
How were the minor perfections and the ultimate perfections fulfilled?¹

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

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

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

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

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

Dānaṁ sīlaṁ nekkhammaṁ paññāviriyānaṁ kidisāṁ
khanti-sacca-adhiṭṭhānaṁ mett’ upekkhā ca kidisā.
Dasapārami tayā dhīra kidisā lokanāyaka
kathām upapārami puṇṇa param’ athapārami kathāṁ.

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


Yathā ye keci sambuddhā pūrayuṁ dasapārami
tath’ eva tvaṁ mahāvīra pūraya dasapārami.
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The second vamsa of the Buddhavamsa, the Dipankaravamsa, contains the Sumedhakathā section that acts as an ancient historical biography for the life of Gotama during his existence as Sumedha. In narrating this biography, it provides the stereotype for the ideal life of a bodhisatta, in the same way that the Buddhavamsa gives the ideal life of a buddha. This vamsa reflects the overall biographic theme of the Buddhavamsa with its lives of the twenty-four buddhas. The Buddhavamsa depicts the historical setting, and the personal relationship between buddhas and bodhisattas, together with the teaching about the cultivation of the ten pāramīs. The Sumedhakathā section in particular, presents a more detailed system of Buddhology, and bodhisatta doctrine, than is hitherto found in any Pāli canonical text. This section narrates the major life events, career, and defining features, of a single bodhisatta’s life in a systematic fashion that mirrors the stories of the lives of the twenty-four buddhas. Here, the ten pāramīs\(^1\) are shown to have been discovered by Sumedha when he examines the things that culminate in the attainment\(^2\) of buddhahood.

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

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

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

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\(^1\) The ten pāramīs are first mentioned as individual qualities that are discovered by the Bodhisatta Sumedha in the Buddhavamsa in the following gāthās: dāna at II, 116a; sila at II, 121a; nekkhamma at II, 126a; paññā at II, 131a; viriya at II, 136a; khanti at II, 141a; sacca at II, 146a; adhiṭṭhāna at II, 151a; mettā at II, 156a; upekkhā at II, 161a. See N. A. Jayawickrama, ed., Buddhavamsa and Cariyāpiṭakā, London: PTS, 1974, pp. 16-19.


\(^3\) The adhiṭṭhāna ‘determination’ by the bodhisattas to fulfill the ten pāramīs is omitted in two of the vamsas of the Buddhavamsa, III Kondatīṭṭhabuddhavamsa and VII Sabhita-buddhavamsa. The remaining vamsas have this resolution, see the Buddhavamsa, IV, 14b; V, 20b; VI, 14b; VIII, 16b; IX, 15b; X, 17b; XI, 14b; XII, 15b; XIII, 17b; XIV, 14b.
paramis, and to become fully enlightened buddhas. Thus, the Buddhavamsa functions as a text that normalises the conception of buddhahood as a goal, and at the same time incorporates the conception of the bodhisatta, as a fully integrated and doctrinally justified character, into the scheme of Theravadin doctrine. The appearance of the paramis in the Buddhavamsa is an example of a novel form of doctrine emerging from within a tradition that otherwise appears to have had absolutely no precursors to this doctrine, nor any of the ideas, and specific concepts connected with it.

**The paramis in the Jātakaniḍāna**

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

**Definition of parami in the Jātakaniḍāna**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Definition of dānapārami in the Jātakanidāna

The treatment of dāna¹ ‘giving’ in the Jātakanidāna is in marked contrast to the Nikāya definitions and usages of that term. The Pāli canonical tradition of the four Nikāyas has numerous references to dāna as a virtuous quality that should be cultivated as one of the preliminary Buddhist practices. These early Nikāya allusions to dāna are for the most part concerned with the giving of gifts to the saṅgha by the laity,² and dāna is not claimed to be a concern for the saṅgha themselves. In the later strata of the four Nikāyas the quality of dāna is included in a list of six,³ and increased in some texts to ten,⁴ anussati ‘recollections’ that are given as meditative practices. The Visuddhimagga⁵ devotes an entire chapter to an exegesis of the six anussatis, where the more developed ideas concerning the benefits of dāna are discussed. There the concept of dāna is dealt with by reference to its aspect of cāga ‘forsaking’ or ‘liberality’ which is seen as a means to progress in meditative techniques. The account given there is quite explicit that this quality is to be cultivated as, inter alia, a method of producing upacāra-jhāna ‘access absorption’ but nothing higher than that. Therefore, in general the usage of dāna in this strata of commentarial texts can refer to the act of giving as a beneficial activity, and as a meditational practice for acquiring jhāna. What is important for our present purposes is that the concept of dāna in these texts has no usages that are semantically equivalent, or that in any way approaches those usages found in the Buddhavamsa, and Jātakanidāna.

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

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


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

⁵ The seventh chapter of the Visuddhimagga, the Cha-anussati-niddesa, gives the classical Theravādin interpretation of dāna as it had come to be understood by Buddhaghosa’s time, see C.A.F. Rhys Davids, ed., Visuddhimagga, London: PTS, 1920, rpt. 1975, pp. 223-224.
In this case, this is not an argument!

- since the Tibetan hel
  of the JW is a late hel!
Jātakanidāna, defines dāna as one of the things which are discovered by the bodhisatta Sumedha, who then understands it to be one of the ten pāramīs. The Jātakanidāna refers to these ten pāramīs as the buddha-kāraka dharmas 'things causing buddhahood'\(^1\) and dāna as the first of them to be cultivated by Sumedha as he reflects on his path:

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

This commentarial section from the Jātakanidāna brings together several topics that stem from the Buddhavamsa, but which also incorporates additional materials and ideas. The prose commentary that contains this passage is identical to the account given in the Buddhavamśa commentary, the Madhuratthavilāsinī. It is probable that the Buddhavamsa, and the Apādāna commentaries borrowed this interpretation from the Jātakanidāna, since Buddhadatta’s work\(^3\) is considered to be later than the Jātakanidāna. However, the most detailed commentarial exposition of dāna as a pāramī occurs in the Cariyāpiṭaka commentary.\(^4\) This work treats the ten pāramīs in two distinct ways, firstly in a general manner, and then as individual qualities that should be correctly reflected upon by the bodhisatta. This text discusses the faults of covetousness due to contact with possessions and other material things. Then the positive aspects of dāna are listed, and their benefits stated. The most important attitude to be adopted by the bodhisatta in respect of the pāramī of dāna is to be able to practice generosity without any regard to their own apparent loss.

**Definition of sīlapāramī in the Jātakanidāna**

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

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

\(^2\) See sections I 22 of the translation and edition.

\(^3\) It is probable however that the Buddhavamsa and Apādāna commentaries borrowed these materials from the Jātakanidāna. This prose section contained in the Jātakanidāna quotation is also found in the Madhuratthavilāsinī, see I. B. Horner ed., Madhuratthavilāsinī nāma Buddhavamśatthakathā, London: PTS, 1978, pp. 103-104; and in the Apādāna commentary, see C.E. Godakumbura ed., Visuddhajanavilāsinī nāma Apadānatthakathā, London: PTS, 1954, p. 22.

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

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

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

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

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2 See sections I 23 of the translation and edition.


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

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

**Definition of nekkhamapāramī in the Jātakanidāna**

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

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¹ The full text of the *Cariyāpiṭaka* commentary on *sīlapāramī* covers a wide area of the qualities that are dependent on *sīla*, see D.L. Barua, ed., *Achariya Dhammapāla’s Paramatthadhāpāni*, London: PTS, 1939, rpt. 1979, pp. 293-295.
² This is *gāthā* 303 of the *Theragāthā* that occurs in sections I 35 of the translation and edition; see also D.L. Barua, ed., *Achariya Dhammapāla’s Paramatthadhāpāni*, London: PTS, 1939, rpt. 1979, p. 295.
³ This term is translated in the Tibetan *Jātakanidāna* by *nes ’byun*, this concept is absent from the Mahāyāna lists of the six or ten *pāramītās* and is not listed in the *Mahāyānayāpanni*. The form *nes ’byun* is attested in a number of texts representing the Sanskrit forms: *nīṣaraṇa*, *nīṣāra* and *naiskramya*, see L. Chandra, *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, rpt. Kyoto: Rinsen, 1982, p. 611.
When seeking he saw the third, the perfection of renunciation, and this thought occurred to him: 'Wise Sumedha, understanding this, you should also perfect the perfection of renunciation! Just as, the man who after being chained is put in a prison for a long time, but does not wish to be there. Moreover, one does not desire to abide like one whose mind is suffering. In this way you also, taking all existences as if they were a prison, because the mind which suffers in all existences, and which desires to be free from them, must manifest renunciation! By acting in that way you will obtain buddhahood.'

This commentary from the Jātakaṇidāna follows the explanation, and similes, given in the Buddhavamsa gāthās that deal with the concept of nekkhamma, it also agrees with the Buddhavamsa and Apadāna commentaries2 to those gāthās. The definition given in the Jātakaṇidāna makes no reference whatever to the idea that nekkhamma refers to the concept of going forth into the monastic life. It is dealt with only as another of the specific set qualities to be developed by a bodhisatta, and that lead to buddhahood. The definition of nekkhamma found in the Visuddhimagga3 takes nekkhamma not as renunciation or abandonment in any general sense, but specifically defines it as renunciation of the household life. The Visuddhimagga definition is then a formalisation of an aspect of monastic training, in that text nekkhamma is a prerequisite for one entering the saṅgha. The Cariyāpitaka commentary4 on the pāramīs also describes nekkhammapārami as playing an important role in relation to the process of pabbajā ‘going forth’ into the homeless life. This commentarial exegesis of the term functions as a means of rationalising, and normalising, the act of joining the saṅgha.

Definition of paññāpārami in the Jātakaṇidāna

The usage of the term paññā in the Jātakaṇidāna is not connected with any particular attainment of the Buddhist path as it is in the four Nikāyas. In the Jātakaṇidāna it becomes a term that is indicative of a specific stage of progression for a bodhisatta on the path to buddhahood, and within this context it becomes invested with an importance far exceeding the earlier uses of the term. The technical term paññā4 ‘wisdom’ or ‘intuitive understanding’ is a well documented concept in the early Pāli canonical

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1 See sections I 24 of the translation and edition.
3 See C.A.F. Rhys Davids ed., Visuddhimagga, London: PTS, 1920, rpt. 1975, p. 116, where nekkhamma is also stated to be a quality associated with bodhisattas.
4 The comments on nekkhamma are fairly concise in the Cariyāpitaka commentary, see D.L. Barua, ed., Achariya Dhammapāla’s Paramatthadīpani, London: PTS, 1939, rpt. 1979, p. 295.
5 The translation of paññā by ‘wisdom’ is used here for convenience sake, for whatever the disadvantages of this translation, it does have the merit of being a well known and widely used rendering for paññā. This term like many of the key Buddhist technical terms is difficult to translate with a single one word English equivalent. The translations ‘reason, insight, knowledge, understanding, wisdom, intuitive understanding’ have all been forwarded at different times, see PTSD, London: PTS, 1925, rpt. 1979, p. 390; R.C. Childers, A Dictionary of the Pāli Language, London, 1875, rpt. Kyoto: Rinsen, 1987, pp. 329-330; F.L. Woodward et al, Pāli Tipitakam Concordance, vol. 3, Oxford: PTS, 1993, pp. 57-63. The Tibetan version of the Jātakaṇidāna translates paññā by snrab which is the standard Tibetan form for the Sanskrit prajñā, see the Mahāvyutpatti which has this Tibetan form in the list of ten pāramītā, see R. Sasaki, Mahāvyutpatti, Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1916, rpt. 1973, vol. 2, no. 919, p. 71.

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

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

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

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

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6. The definition of *pañña* in this commentary includes many key aspects of the path of the bodhisatta in the Pāli tradition, see D.L. Barua, ed., *Achariya Dhammapāla’s Paramattadīpani*, London: PTS, 1939, rpt. 1979, p. 296-297.
conception of the bodhisattva path, and the concepts occurring on that path, of any Pāli text. This occurs when it refers to paññā as constituting the exercise of upāyakosalā1 ‘skilful means’, that is a quality most frequently encountered in the Mahāyāna texts, but not usually considered an inherent part of the bodhisattva doctrine in the Theravādin tradition. This is how the Theravādin tradition gradually extends the usage of the term paññā into areas that are completely absent in the early sources, and culminates with an entirely new understanding of, and rationale for, the concept of paññā.

Definition of viriyapāramī in the Jātakanidāna

The fifth pāramī listed in the Jātakanidāna viriya2 ‘effort’ or ‘energy’ is a well established term in the early Nikāyas. It has numerous occurrences as an individual quality in its own right, as well as being included as a quality with a specific function in the lists of different categories of dhammas. The quality of viriya occurs in three distinct classifications in the Nikāyas, as a bala, an indriya, and as a bojjhanga ‘limb of enlightenment’. The most extensive treatment of viriya as a bala, in the Nikaya sources, is found in the Samyutta-nikāya3 where it is given as one of the five balas. In that text the balas are defined as those qualities that overcome their opposites, these opposites are named as consisting of the five uddhambhāgīya samyojana ‘higher fetters’. Thus, even in the early Nikāyas, viriya is a key term in the doctrinal and soteriological teaching of Buddhism. The concept of viriya is further defined there as an active constituent that leads to overcoming any obstacles to spiritual advancement. The indriyas are also dealt with at length in the Samyutta-nikāya.4 There the term viriya-indriya is defined as the quality that rejects unwholesome states and acquires wholesome states.5 The third category of dhammas to include viriya is the list of the seven bojjhāgas which is also a topic discussed extensively in the Samyutta-nikāya.6 The functions of viriya given in that text range from its role as a producer of pīti nirāmisā7 ‘pure joy’, to

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


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


7 It is defined thus: Yasmiṃ samaye bhikkhave bhikkhuno āraddhaviriyassa upajjati pīti nirāmisā, see L. Feer, ed., The Samyutta-nikāya, vol 5, London: PTS, 1898, rpt. 1994, p. 68.
one of overcoming both the five nīvarana\(^1\) ‘hindrances’ and five uddhābhāgīya samyojana.\(^2\)

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

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

The Cariyāpiṭaka commentary\(^4\) makes some innovatory comments about viriya as a pāramī. The definition given in this text makes it quite clear that the role of the bodhisatta is dedicated to the relief others’ suffering. The importance of viriya is described by declaring it to be an important quality for anyone wishing to individually escape samsāra, and therefore even more important for one wishing to lead others to liberation. The symbolic language of this section of text has distinct parallels with that of the Mahāyāna, the ideal of individual liberation is readily accepted, but the ideal of actively assisting all beings to attain liberation is that which is stressed. There are even some symbolic and figurative parallels, on a literary and doctrinal level, between this text and some Mahāyāna works in regard to the descriptions of wrong view\(^5\) and samsāra.\(^6\) The commentary even warns the bodhisatta against the miccāvitakka ‘wrong thought’ that it is acceptable to free oneself from samsāra before liberating others. The emphasis on this particular aspect of the bodhisatta path brings the Theravādin scheme closer to that of the Mahāyāna tradition, in that the essential element in this path is the energetic and altruistic help towards other beings in samsāra.

**Definition of khantipāramī in the Jātakamātāna**

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\(^1\) The seven bojjhāgas are described as overcoming the five nīvaranas and as being nibbānasamvattanika ‘conducive to nibbāna’, see L. Feer, ed., *The Samyutta-nikāya*, vol 5, London: PTS, 1898, rpt. 1994, pp. 97-8.

\(^2\) This is given as: Imesam kho bhikkhave pancannam uddhambhāgīyanam samyojanānam abhiññāya pariññāya parikkhāya pahānāya satta bojjhāga bhāvettabbā, see L. Feer, ed., *The Samyutta-nikāya*, vol 5, London: PTS, 1898, rpt. 1994, p. 139.


\(^6\) Both the Cariyāpiṭaka commentary and the Mahāyāna work the Pāramitāsamāsa refer to either being stuck in or escaping from the samsārapāka ‘mud of samsāra’. For the Pāli references see D.L. Barua, ed., *Achariya Dhammapāla’s Paramatthadipani*, London: PTS, 1939, rpt. 1979, p. 297; and for the Sanskrit reference see verse 33, chapter four, C. Meadows, *Ārya-Śūra’s Compendium of the Perfections: Text, translation and analysis of the Pāramitāsamāsa*, Bonn: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 1986, p. 216.
This pārami is one of the truly innovative classes of the group of ten that appears to emerge independently of the Nikāyas, or the Abhidhamma, as a quality associated with Buddhist doctrine. The term khanti\(^1\) ‘patience’ presented as one of the ten pāramis in the Buddhavamsa, and Jātakaniyadāna, has few occurrences in the early Pāli texts. Where it is found in the early Nikāya, Vinaya, or Abhidhamma texts it does not have the specific function, or technical meaning, with which it is imbued in the Jātakaniyadāna. This term is employed in the Vinaya where it is only linked to the explanation of certain monastic rules.\(^2\) The term khanti, though not included in any of the various lists in the Nikāyas, is undoubtedly an ancient word as its use is attested in some of the oldest strata of texts.\(^3\) Its definition as a Buddhist technical term is found in one of the basic Abhidhamma works.\(^4\) There is an isolated instance of khanti in the Digha-nikāya, where the Buddha Vipassi recites a gāthā praising patience as the supreme form of asceticism.\(^5\) This same gāthā is cited verbatim in the Dhammapada,\(^6\) where it is included in the Buddha-vagga. That text also has a reference to khanti as one of the qualities of a true sage.\(^7\) The Jātakaniyadāna treatment of the term stresses the pragmatic role of khanti, and how it ought to be practised.

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

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

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


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

8. See sections I 27 of the translation and edition. This section of the Jātakaniyadāna is equivalent to Buddhavamsa commentary and Apadāna commentary, see I. B. Horner ed., Madhuratthavilāsini nāma Buddhavaṃsatisṭhakathā,
This definition of *khanti* brings it into the range of practices of the bodhisatta. Its basic meaning is that of acceptance, or tolerance, and it receives no further explanation in the *Jātakānibandha*. Only seven of the ten *pāramīs* occur in the *Cariyāpiṭaka* itself, and the term *khanti* appears only once in the entire text.\(^1\) There are, however, references to *khanti* in the *Cariyāpiṭaka* commentary, which contains various definitions of the term. There is a straightforward etymological definition, of a type common in the commentarial texts.\(^2\) Then it is defined in a more general sense as an essential quality for spiritual progress,\(^3\) and also put it into groups of pairs of qualities.\(^4\) The term *khanti* receives its single most exhaustive definition and analysis in this commentary.

**Definition of saccapāramī in the Jātakānibandha**

The basis of the term *sacca*\(^5\) ‘true’ or ‘truthfulness’ can be traced to some of the earliest Pāli texts where it refers to the four *ariyasaṅcetas* ‘noble truths’ that constitute the core of the Buddhist teaching for the Theravādin tradition. These references are only concerned with defining the Buddha’s discovery in terms of readily identifiable sets of doctrinal rubrics.\(^6\) The general trend within the early Theravādin tradition does not deal with the concept of *sacca* as an explicitly defined quality forming a part of the Buddhist path. The use of the term in the *Jātakānibandha* is more concerned with the aspect of truthfulness, or true speech, as opposed to the abstract notion of truth or truthfulness itself. This conception of truthfulness has its counterpart in the Indian religious tradition as represented in the Upaniṣadic texts\(^7\) where truthfulness is depicted as a virtuous form of act that may even form a type of offering. The *Jātakānibandha* allusion to this quality establishes it as the seventh *pāramī*:

> Furthermore, ‘You should see that it is not only this *dhamma* that causes buddhahood.’ When seeking he saw the seventh, the perfection of truthfulness, and this thought occurred to him: ‘Wise ascetic Sumedha,
understanding this should also perfect the perfection of truthfulness! Even if lightning strikes one's head, knowing the strength of desire for the sake of wealth and so on, do not lie. Just as, a star such as the healing star, at all seasons when it leaves its own course does not proceed on another course, it proceeds on its own course. In that way you, holding to the truth do not lie, you will obtain buddhahood.¹

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

Definition of adhitthānapāramī in the Jātakanidāna

The concept of adhitthāna³ ‘resolution, determination’ is another of the ten pāramīs that has no evidence of an early canonical usage in the specific doctrinal sense in which it is used in the Jātakanidāna. The term, as it is found in the four Nikāyas and the Vinaya, is used in at least three ways that are quite distinct from the specific sense allocated to it in the Jātakanidāna. An early use of adhitthāna in the Nidāna-sanīyutta of the Samyutta-nikāya refers, in a metaphorical way, to the primary meaning of this term as place, standpoint⁴ or mental stance. Other Nikāya works divide the concept of adhitthāna as ‘resolution’ into different categories. This occurs in the Sangiti-sutta⁵ of the Digha-nikāya, and in the Dhātuvibhaṅga-sutta


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

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

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

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

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

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


4 The late commentarial definition of adhitthāna occurs in a brief passage of the Cariyāpīṭaka commentary. Here it is defined as the single quality among the other pāramīs that forms the foundation of all of them; and that which brings about the sambhāra ‘requisites’ of enlightenment, see D.L. Barua, ed., Achariya Dhammapāla’s Paramatthadipani, London: PTS, 1939, rpt. 1979, p. 300.
opposites of the sambhāra, and so it is actually viewed as the proximate cause of these sambhāra. Thus the Cariyāpiṭaka commentary introduces the concept of the bodhisambhāra ‘requisites of enlightenment’ as another layer of doctrinal development for the Theravādin tradition. The bodhisambhāra are in fact the ten pāramīs divided into two groups, puṁsasambhāra ‘requisites of merit’, and nānasambhāra2 ‘requisites of knowledge’, which form in this commentary the essential preconditions for enlightenment.

Definition of mettāpārami in the Jātakanidāna

The term mettā3 ‘friendliness’ has a long history of usage in the Pāli canon as one of the qualities that should be cultivated on the Buddhist path. This term is found in its primary sense in the Nikāyas, where many examples of the practical application of it are given. The importance of mettā in the early Buddhist tradition can be seen from the way in which it is viewed in the Bhayabherava-sutta as one of the defining attributes of one living the ascetic life. This Majjhima-nikāya4 text says that mettā is a quality possessed by the ariyas, and that it gives them a greater confidence to live as forest dwelling ascetics. The Metta-sutta5 of the Suttanipāta is perhaps one of the oldest formulations of the applications of mettā as an inherent practice within the context of the Buddhist world view. The Suttanipāta also contains one of the early groupings of mettā together with other qualities that are later systematised in the Dīgha-nikāya, Majjhima-nikāya, and the Abhidhamma commentaries. The term mettā also occurs in the Vinaya6 in a similar usage to that found in the Nikāyas, as simply the quality of friendliness with no other connotations associated with it.

In the Uragavagga7 of the Suttanipāta the four qualities of mettā, upekkhā,8 karunā and muditā are said to be among the practices that a sage should adopt. This same list occurs in the Teviṭṭa-sutta,9 the

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1 The Cariyapiṭaka commentary defines adhiṭṭhāna at several places, but the most commonly occurring explanation of the term is as that which aids and produces the bodhisambhāra ‘requisites of enlightenment’. For references to adhiṭṭhāna in this context, see D.L. Barua, ed., Achariya Dhammapāla’s Paramatthadīpanī, London: PTS, 1939, rpt. 1975, pp. 279-278, 281.

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

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


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

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

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

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

This reference provides a more innovative role for mettā than that encountered in the earlier canonical definitions, and references to the applications of this quality. All of the earlier meanings are inherent in the term, but the emphasis is shifted to a completely new level of doctrinal thinking about the ultimate causes of enlightenment and buddhahood. The Cariyāpīṭaka commentary continues this change in emphasis,
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and provides examples of several innovative ways of analysing and defining mettā. This text explains mettā as an essential quality for the bodhisatta, since in its reasoning mettā is necessary to aid other beings, and that without it a bodhisatta cannot lead other beings to nibbāna. The text also calls mettā the foundation of karunā, which is defined there as the principal one of the buddhakāra dhammas.1 Elsewhere in that text karunā is given as one of the three conditions necessary for developing the ten pāramīs.2 The treatment of mettā in this commentary represents the later stages of theorising about the pāramīs, their causes, and functions, in the Theravādin tradition.

Definition of upakkhāpāramī in the Jātakanidāna

The last of the ten pāramīs listed in the Jātakanidāna is upakkhā3 ‘equanimity’ and is, like the preceding term mettā, also a well attested concept in the Nikāyas and Abhidhamma works. The occurrences found in these texts define upakkhā in two quite distinct ways. Firstly, in the Nikāyas, upakkhā appears as one of the bojjhāngas, where it is a specific quality that leads to the promotion of moral states of mind, and ultimately to liberation. These Nikāya texts also provide examples of upakkhā as one of the brahma-vihāras.

Secondly, in the Abhidhamma texts, upakkhā appears in several different categories, as a vedanā, an indriya, as one of the avyākata-dhammas, and also as one of the brahma-vihāras.

An example of the first method of use is found in the Samyutta-nikāya, where upakkhā is defined as one of the bojjhāngas. In this role it is shown variously as one of the qualities to be developed to overcome the five nivaranas, bring an end to tanhā, and as a means of eliminating the five uddhambhāgiyāna samyojanānas.4 In these instances upakkhā is viewed as a cultivateable quality, that has the power of overcoming spiritual obstacles. The Nikāyas also contain references to upakkhā as one of the brahma-vihāras5 where it functions as part of a system of meditative training. In this training upakkhā, and the other three brahma-vihāras are used as meditative objects that are capable of inducing the jhānas. The above Nikāya formulations of upakkhā define its roles as an active element in suppressing those things inimical to

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1 The Cariyāpiṭaka commentary emphasises the aiding of other beings as the defining purpose of mettā, see D.L. Barua, ed., Achariya Dhammapāla’s Paramatthadipani, London: PTS, 1939, rpt. 1979, p. 300.
4 The Bojjhāgā-samyutta of the Samyutta-nikāya defines upakkhā-bojjhānga in different ways. In some suttas of that text upakkhā is described as one of the seven bojjhāngas that overcome the five nivaranas, pp. 84, pp. 94-98; in another one is the factors that exhaust tanhā at p. 86; in its role as bojjhānga it is also seen as a means of understanding and overcoming the five uddhambhāgiyāna samyojanānas at p. 139, see L. Feer, ed., The Samyutta-nikāya, vol 5, London: PTS, 1898, rpt. 1994.
jhāna, and also in the attainment of the jhānas, where upekkhā is an essential precondition for the forth jhāna. As far as the Nikāya texts are concerned upekkhā is in essence a yogic or meditative quality on the one hand, and on the other also a subject of meditation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mythical dimension of the pāramīs in the Jātakanidāna

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

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2 The claims of some scholars that the ten pāramīs are an integral and ancient part of the Pāli tradition can only be dismissed as an anachronistic and apologist position. As has been shown here the full list of ten pāramīs are found in the Pāli tradition in only two works, the Buddhavamsa, and the Jātakanidāna. The view of the pāramīs are a fundamental part of the Pāli tradition is held by Ratnayaka, see S. Ratnayaka, “The Bodhisattva Ideal of Theravāda”, JIABS, 8, 1985, pp. 89-90. Others recognise that the pāramīs are not part of the early teachings of the Pāli canon. See S. Jayawardhana, “A Critical Introduction to the Study of Pāli Tikas”, Sesquicentennial Commemorative Volume of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka 1845-1995, Colombo, 1995, pp. 298-299; J. Samuels, “The Bodhisattva Ideal in Theravāda Buddhist Theory and Practice: A Re-evaluation of the Bodhisattva-Srāvaka Opposition”, PEW, 47, 1997, p. 402.
paramis as practices that produce certain results. There is only one passage in which reference is made to the supernatural power of the paramis to bring about an event such as an earthquake. The occurrence of earthquakes at crucial times in a buddha’s life is an established phenomenon in Buddhist texts, and serves to emphasise the power that a buddha has over the world system. The four Nikāyas have occurrences of the causes of earthquakes from a Buddhist perspective, the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta has a section in which Gotama gives eight causes of earthquakes. This text says that earthquakes occur due to:1 movement of wind and water; a samanā or devatā acquiring the iddhis and is mastering their own minds; a bodhisatta leaving Tusita and entering the mother’s womb; a bodhisatta’s birth; a Tathāgata’s attainment of supreme enlightenment; a Tathāgata starting to teach; a Tathāgata consciously renouncing life; a Tathāgata attaining parinibbāna. By contrast, the Jātakanidāna account of the causes of earthquakes is an elaborated prose version of the gāthās from the Buddhavamsa.2 These show the people going to Dipāmkara in fear of an earthquake, he tells them not to fear, for the earthquake is really caused by Sumedha’s remembering, and investigating, the ten paramis.3 This is a significant departure from the eight causes in the Dīgha-nikāya, and adds to that list of basic causes. It can be seen as a method of bringing the ten paramis into the mainstream of Buddhist thought. Their inclusion as one of the causes of earthquakes legitimises their existence in the buddhology of the Jātakanidāna, and increases their importance as qualities for a bodhisatta to develop.

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


3 See sections I 32 of the translation and edition.

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

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

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

1 The figure of Māra is present in numerous canonical and commentarial texts as the one who tries to tempt the Buddha. The very etymology of the name Māra is ‘he who causes death’ or in a symbolic way one who obstructs the good. For a discussion of the names of Māra, see J.W. Boyd, Satan and Māra: Christian and Buddhist symbols of evil, Leiden: Brill, 1975, pp. 73-77.
2 See sections II 61 of the translation and edition.
3 See sections II 63 of the translation and edition.
5 See sections III 3 of the translation and edition.
the path Māra, realises that because he has not perfected dāna-pāramī he cannot be like the bodhisatta, and he draws one line on the ground. He then goes through the same process for the remaining nine pāramīs, drawing a line for each of them, until there are ten lines on the ground. These ten lines are a concrete symbol of why the bodhisatta is superior in conduct and power to Māra. Six other lines are drawn by Māra, representing his failure to cultivate and develop the ten which act as the basis for omniscience, his obscured knowledge, his lack of knowledge of miracles, his lack of knowledge of the attainments, and of compassion, and his lack of knowledge of the mental proclivities peculiar to a bodhisatta.¹ The list of sixteen are the very essence of the distinction between Māra and the bodhisatta, and since Māra has not developed them he cannot compete with the bodhisatta on any level. This is a negative statement aimed at focusing on the benefits of the pāramīs, where it is the absence of them that is emphasised, and the consequences of this for Māra.

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

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

¹ See sections III 7 of the translation and edition.
Conclusion

These ten *pāramīs*, and the concepts associated with them in the *Jātakanidāna*, represent a radical departure from the doctrines and teachings of the early Nikāyas on the goal of practice. The doctrines contained in the text constitute the most fully developed system of buddhology that is encountered in the Theravādin tradition. The *Jātakanidāna* is the single most important Pāli source for elaborating all the various ideas and concepts connected with the previous buddhas, and the figure of the bodhisatta. It is with its development of the concept of a bodhisatta, who follows the path of the ten *pāramīs*, that the *Jātakanidāna* produces an innovatory blend of doctrine and myth. The ten *pāramīs* appear together from the first mention of the concept, there is no gradual development or evolution of the group of ten. The origin of the list of ten *pāramīs* is perhaps an independent development to that of the Mahāyāna tradition. That tradition may have arrived at a list of ten *pāramitās* by the addition of *dāna, śīla, kṣānti* and *vīrya*, to their list of six *pāramītās*.1

The detailing of the list of ten *pāramīs*, and the definitions of them that are given in the *Jātakanidāna*, distinguish this text from all other Pāli works prior to it. The developments that occur in this text are indicative of the doctrinal, mythological and buddhological, changes that are introduced to the philosophical, and conceptual world of the Theravādin tradition. From the basic conception present in the Nikāyas, that the pre-enlightenment phase of a buddha’s life is that of a bodhisatta, the text universalises this concept as applying to all buddhas. The *Jātakanidāna* expands and extends this initial Nikāya conception of the bodhisatta as a being who is in the final existence that culminates in enlightenment, and the attainment of buddhahood. In the *Jātakanidāna* the conception of a bodhisatta’s life span includes not only the life in which enlightenment is attained, but is stated to include all the former lives of that person since they have received the *vyākarana* that they will be a buddha. Within the context of the *Jātakanidāna* this period of time can be of a considerable length. The *vyākarana*, received by Sumedha from Dīpaṅkara, takes place many *kappas* before Sumedha’s ultimate attainment of buddhahood. The implication that becomes apparent in the *Jātakanidāna*, is that Sumedha lived many various lives as a bodhisatta, for a period of time during which all the twenty-four buddhas have arisen and passed away. It is within this immense time scale that the bodhisatta is shown to discover, then cultivate and perfect the ten *pāramīs*.

The path of the bodhisatta is shown in the *Jātakanidāna* to consist of more than the individual ten *pāramīs* mentioned thus far. The *Jātakanidāna*, in summing up the section dealing with the *pāramīs*, introduces the conception of a hierarchical scheme for them. This scheme is divided into three distinct groupings, that classify the *pāramīs* into lower or higher categories. The first of these groups is named simply *pārami*2 and is defined as *aṅgaparicca*3 ‘abandonment of the body’ which is a basic or simple *pārami*. The second of the groups is given in the same section of text as that of the *upapārami*4 ‘minor

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1 Lamotte considers the six *pāramitās* to be an elaboration and development of the basic four *pāramitās* practised by the bodhisattva, *dāna, śīla, kṣānti* and *vīrya*, that are depicted in many of the medallion carvings at Bhārhat, see E. Lamotte, History of Indian Buddhism, tr. S. Boin-Webb, Louvain-Paris, 1988, pp. 404-5.

2 Tibetan translation of this term in the *Jātakanidāna* is *pha rol tu phyin pa*.

3 See sections I 32 of the translation and edition, the Tibetan equivalent for this term is *lus yoṅs su gtoṅ ba*, which does not occur as an entry in the Mahāvyutpatti.

4 The Tibetan translation has *śe ba ’i pha rol tu phyin pa*. 

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perfections' which are defined as bāhira-bhanda-pariccāga¹ 'abandonment of external wealth' and are the intermediate category of pāramīs. The last of the three-fold classifications are the paramattha-pāramīs² 'ultimate perfections' which are defined as jīvita-pariccāga³ 'abandonment of life' and are the highest form of the pāramīs. This three-fold scheme is developed into a system of thirty pāramīs by the assertion in the text that the ten pāramīs each have three aspects. These are as ten ordinary pāramīs, as ten upapāramīs and as ten paramattha-pāramīs, thus forming thirty pāramīs in all.

The grading of the pāramīs in this way appears to be a purely commentarial development in the texts associated with the bodhisatta and the pāramīs. These references to three grades of pāramīs are not found in the Buddhavaṃsa, but its commentary has a passage very similar to that of the Jātakaṃdāna. Apart from the omission or addition of an odd word or verb tense, the Buddhavaṃsa commentary passage differs from that in the Jātakaṃdāna only in its ordering of these three groups of pāramīs. In the Buddhavaṃsa commentary they are listed in the order: bāhira-bhanda-pariccāga as pārami, aṅgapariccāga as upapārami, and jīvita-pariccāga as paramattha-pārami.4 The Apadāna commentary also has a corresponding passage that differs from both the Jātakaṃdāna, and Buddhavaṃsa commentary. This list has the same ordering as the Buddhavaṃsa commentary but classifies each of the three grades differently: bāhira-bhanda-pariccāga as dāna-pārami, aṅgapariccāga as dāna-upapārami, and jīvita-pariccāga as dāna-paramattha-pārami.5 These discrepancies in the classification and ordering of the three grades of pāramīs, are perhaps an indication that either there was a faulty transmission, or that there was more than one commentarial tradition recording these grades. Whatever the cause the Jātakaṃdāna list is in marked contrast to the other two in its ordering of the grades of the ten pāramīs.

¹ The Tibetan form phyi′i loṅs spyod yoṅs su gtoṅ ba does not occur in the Mahāvyutpatti.
² The Tibetan translates this by dam pa′i pha rol tu phyin pa.
³ The Tibetan form sroṅ yoṅs su gtoṅ ba does not occur in the Mahāvyutpatti.
Chapter Five
The Portrayal of Gotama as a Bodhisatta in the Jātakanidāna

Introduction

The narrative legends in the Jātakanidāna fulfil a number of functions in the process of Theravādin speculation, mythologising, and theorising about the life of their founder. These legends are concerned with providing an exegesis of the unique character of buddhas and bodhisattas. The first section of the text, the Dūrenidāna, is the means by which the precedents for the attainment of buddhahood, together with the rationale for the concept of the bodhisatta are provided. By far the most important element to appear in this section, from the point of view of the present study, is the conception of a doctrinally coherent scheme for the appearance of buddhas and bodhisattas. Such an event as the appearance of a buddha gains its importance in the Indian cultural, and intellectual, milieu by being shown to be but one occurrence in a lineage that can be clearly demonstrated to have been initiated in ancient times. The provision of a list of such precedents is one of the central themes of the Dūrenidāna, and is of major importance for the Jātakanidāna’s position as being representative of an authoritative tradition. More importantly, the treatment of the buddhas and bodhisattas in the Dūrenidāna allows for the normalisation of the doctrines of the bodhisatta, the development of the pāramīs, and the concept of the attainment of buddhahood, that are the defining events for every buddha. It also has an important role in explaining these concepts as all having existed prior to Gotama. The text allows for a logical progression in the exegesis of the specific practices, the ten pāramīs and the other novel concepts essential to the bodhisatta’s path, that are now said to produce buddhahood. In general terms the text allows for a development and extension of the doctrinal, conceptual, and mythological, basis of the notion of buddhahood. This is achieved through the narration of Gotama’s life prior to enlightenment.

There are several ways in which the Jātakanidāna can be understood as a seminal work for the Theravādin tradition on the lives, nature, function, and characteristics, of buddhas and bodhisattas. The entire text operates on a number of levels, the most important aspects of which are the doctrinal, biographical, and historical. The Dūrenidāna section of the Jātakanidāna seeks to give a valid doctrinal basis to the doctrine of former buddhas. It achieves this by the repeated enumeration of their lives, especially the events that are now claimed to be common to all of them. Then, juxtaposed with these buddhas’ lives are the characters of the bodhisattas, and the description of the path that they must adhere to. This presentation of the two lives concurrently allows for the emergence in the Jātakanidāna, in a doctrinally innovative and thought out manner, of the interrelated doctrines of the occurrence of previous buddhas and bodhisattas. Following this the elaboration of the details of the lives of these former buddhas provides the general scheme, and pattern, for a more complete biography of Gotama than occurs in the early Nikāyas. Finally, in the third instance, there is the historicisation of the former buddhas and bodhisattas, by providing them a definite and structured position in Buddhist history. By means of this historical, or at least chronological, method of dealing with their lives, an historical awareness of the significance of these types of person within the Buddhist world view is achieved. In brief, the historical approach to the lives of former
buddhas adopted in the Dūrenidāna provides the basic precedent, and methodological foundation, for the chronological depiction of the life of Gotama as a bodhisatta. The Sanskrit sources on the biography of the Buddha cover many of the events that are narrated in the Jātakanidāna, these sources are referred to on occasion in order to compare the method of presentation used in the different Buddhist traditions.

The Jātakanidāna’s portrayals of the events at the bodhisatta’s birth
The life of Gotama, both as a bodhisatta and a buddha, is the subject of the two sections of the Jātakanidāna following the Dūrenidāna. These two, the Avidūrenidāna and Santikenidāna sections, broadly follow the same themes and methods that are introduced in the Dūrenidāna section. Together they provide the most wide ranging, and detailed biography of the historical buddha that has been produced in the Theravādin tradition. The two sections are symbolically divided by Gotama’s attainment of enlightenment. Thus, the Avidūrenidāna gives the life of Gotama as a bodhisatta, together with innovatory details about the conditions necessary for the birth of a bodhisatta, and the life events unique to all bodhisattas. One of the crucial purposes of this section is to emphasise that the process of becoming a bodhisatta does not begin with the renunciation of the household life, as it could be construed in the early Nikāya versions of this part of the legend. The entire notion of precisely when an aspirant actually becomes a bodhisatta is moved further back in time. One of the means by which this is achieved is by showing the choice made by the bodhisatta, when in Tusita, to be reborn in the world, in a certain country, a certain family, and to a certain mother.1 The versions of the legend found in the Lalitavistara and Mahāvastu, also provide a similar list of choices, though these Sanskrit sources omit any reference to the mother2 as one of the items chosen.

The Avidūrenidāna account of Gotama’s birth, and the events connected with it, gives an impressively detailed picture of these incidents. It is a notable characteristic of the Avidūrenidāna, as is the case with the Dūrenidāna, that the farther back in time the events that are narrated take place, the more minute are the recorded details of these events. It is evident that the intention of the text goes beyond the simple narration of these events as a pure biography. For, though the text as a whole is largely a biographical work, it is also a work that presents the doctrinal basis, and explanation, for all the buddhistically significant events of Gotama’s life as a bodhisatta. There is little that is random or accidental in this doctrinal scheme. The life events of Gotama are depicted as being in some sense preordained or inevitable. All these significant life events are shown to be either the outcome of a prior decision, or choice of the bodhisatta, or as being brought about by some kind of divine intervention.

The process of elaboration of the doctrinal scheme of Gotama’s life is clearly illustrated in the opening

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1 The preamble to the Avidūrenidāna has a list of five things that a bodhisatta must consider before taking rebirth. These are: time, country, place, family, age of the mother. These conditions are not encountered in other Pāli legends dealing with the birth of a bodhisatta, and appear to be another of the innovations appearing in the Jātakanidāna, see sections II 3-8 of the translation and edition.

2 The list of five is not met in the Sanskrit biographical tradition, there the Lalitavistara version of this gives only four: kāla, dvīpa, deśa and kula, see S. Lefman, ed., Lalitavistara, vol 1, Halle, 1902, pp. 19-20, but this text preserves a list of thirty-two qualities associated with the mother, see pp. 13-14. The Mahāvastu also gives a list of four in a different order to the Lalitavistara: dvīpa, deśa, kāla and kula, see E. Sénart, ed., Le Mahāvastu, vol 1, Paris, 1882, p. 97.
part of the Avidûrenidâna. The text is concerned with justifying the birth from the Buddhist perspective, and with showing the previous causes for the birth. Here the outcome of the imminent birth of Gotama is predicted by the devas in such a way, that the ten pâramîs are now posited as the real underlying doctrinal cause of his future attainment of buddhahood.

Great sage, you have perfected the ten perfections, not for the purpose of Sakka’s attainment, nor for Māra, nor on account of perfecting the wish for Brahma’s sake, nor on account of perfecting the wish for the sake of the attainment of a cakkavatti. Furthermore, you made that perfection in order to transcend the world, and for the sake of the wish for omniscience. Now, great sage, is the time for buddhahood. O Great sage, you will become buddha.¹

This illustrates the method by which the Jātakanidâna brings together the different layers of the Pâli legends concerning Gotama. In this instance the canonical material from the Buddhavamsa, about the bodhisatta and the ten pâramîs, that is also included in the Dûrenidâna, is utilised as the basis for the continuation and development of the legend presented in the Avidûrenidâna. Since the doctrines of the bodhisatta, and the ten pâramîs, were not an inherent part of the early Nikāya tradition, at least prior to the addition of the Buddhavamsa, they have somehow to be introduced into the conceptual world view of that earlier tradition. This quotation treats these doctrines as already established and authoritative facts, and in the process transfers the assumptions implicit in them into the text of the Avidûrenidâna. The connection is a necessary development in the legend, serving on the doctrinal level to demonstrate the important role of the pâramîs as the ultimate basis for buddhahood. While, on the purely literary and philological levels, it is the precise point where the new and old Pâli legends about Gotama converge. The Avidûrenidâna is thus the juncture in the Jātakanidâna at which the early Nikāya traditions about the life of Gotama begin to be utilised as source materials. It is here also that the new doctrines of the bodhisatta, and the pâramîs, are succinctly summarised, then connected with Gotama, and used as a link back to the previous lives of the buddhas and bodhisattas that were narrated in the Dûrenidâna.

The bodhisatta’s mother and the bodhisatta’s conception in the Játakanidâna

The narrative accounts in the Avidûrenidâna about the conditions for the birth of a bodhisatta, and the qualities possessed by his mother, represent a developed stage in the Pâli bodhisatta legend. The Nikāya versions of narratives that relate the miraculous occurrences at the birth of a bodhisatta are only found in a small number of texts. The chief canonical texts that portray these occurrences are the Acchariyabbhutadhamma-sutta,² the Mahâpadâna-sutta,³ and to a lesser extent some suttas of the Aṅguttara-

¹ See sections II 2 of the translation and edition.
All of these texts contain essentially the same limited, but increasingly miraculous and docetic, traditions about the birth story. These suttas are then the primary Nikāya sources for this part of the buddha legend, and they contain some similarities with the Avidūrenidāna account. However, the Majjhima-nikāya account is an isolated text that has no extended biographical intention. As its name suggests, the Acchariyabbhutadhamma-sutta only focuses on those miraculous aspects of Gotama's birth that emphasise his status as being more than a normal mortal. The Aṅguttara-nikāya sutta belongs to this same abbhutadhamma² class of work, and follows the Majjhima sutta in its focus. The Dīgha-nikāya account by comparison is more overtly biographical in scope, but is primarily focused on previous buddhas. The Avidūrenidāna account by contrast, contains the first continuous and detailed narrative record in Pāli literature of the prebirth, and birth episodes of Gotama. This text's version of these episodes is based upon a combination of the canonical precedents referred to, with further detail added from the various stages of the commentarial tradition. It may of course also have influences that were brought about by the developments in the buddha legend that had occurred in other Buddhist schools.

The recording of the birth and death of such a religious figure as the buddha would be a natural concern to the Buddhists.³ The death, or parinibbāna, had already been dealt with at an early stage in Buddhist literary history with the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta's extensive record of the event. The legends dealing with the birth of Gotama are not fully recorded in the Theravādin tradition until the appearance of the Jātakanidāna. The account of the birth in the Avidūrenidāna section also presents a summary of the events immediately preceding it. This has the bodhisatta in Tusita surveying the world for a suitable mother, and seeing Mahāmāyā he thinks:

‘The buddha’s mother is not wanton or a drunkard, and is born after perfecting the perfections for one hundred thousand aeons, and who keeps the five virtues unspoiled. My mother will be such a one as queen Mahāmāyā, and what is the extent of her life?’ He saw it to be ten months and seven days.⁴

There are doctrinal elements in this passage that are brought together here to emphasise the real significance of the birth legend. The first of these is the influence that the bodhisatta has over the choice of mother, and other aspects of the birth. The bodhisatta is shown in Tusita consciously making these choices. Thus, the birth itself assumes a greater significance, for this event is no longer a purely mundane act, but a fully docetic and miraculous event, which has been individually predetermined by the bodhisatta. Much of this concept does have canonical precedent, as referred to in the three Nikāya texts above which also state that

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¹ See the Aṅguttara-nikāya where it also says that the bodhisatta descended from Tusita to be reborn. E. Hardy, ed. Aṅguttaranikāya, vol. 3, London: PTS, 1897, rpt. 1976, p. 130 ff.
² Buddhaghosa classifies all texts dealing with the four wondrous events of a buddha’s life as abbhutadhamma suttas. In fact all three of the Nikāya texts referred to can be classed into this group, see E. Müller, ed., Atthasālīni, London: PTS, 1897, rpt. 1979, p. 26.
³ The development of the buddha legend is a logical outcome for a religion such as Buddhism with its historical founder. The events of particular concern were the beginning and end of the founders life, but also includes many assumptions from the wider Indian cultural background. See M. Hara, “A Note on the Buddha’s Birth Story”, Indianisme et Bouddhisme, Louvain, 1980, pp. 143-157.
⁴ See sections II 8 of the translation and edition.
a bodhisatta leaves Tusita to be reborn. What none of these three texts say, however, is that the bodhisatta takes an active role in the choice, and time of rebirth, nor in the choice of mother. This aspect of the bodhisatta legend is a development of the docetic tendencies found in an embryonic form in some canonical passages. The unique role of the Jātakaniḍāna is to bring together the legends and narrative traditions of the Pāli canon, and the commentarial tradition, using them as a base creates its own distinctive tradition.

The second doctrinal element to be added to the legend of the birth of a bodhisatta in the above quotation concerns the inclusion of the pāramīs. The description of the mother’s virtue is not a well developed part of the earlier Nikāya tradition, but the addition in the Avidūrenidāna of her completion of the ten pāramīs is of course entirely absent in the Nikāyas. The introduction of the pāramīs, as an addition to the qualities associated with the bodhisatta’s mother, serves to endorse the change that had taken place in the legend. The possession of the completed pāramīs is shown in the Dūrenidāna to be a characteristic of all bodhisattas. Therefore, from the doctrinal perspective, even the mother of the bodhisatta could herself be referred to as a bodhisatta.

By the inclusion of these details the Avidūrenidāna expands the role and position of the bodhisatta’s mother until a figure emerges, unknown to the Nikāya versions, who now has an unquestionable spiritual pedigree. In this developed account the portrayal of the mother becomes more detailed, and it is representative of the various aspects of Buddhist doctrine that were developed in the Dūrenidāna. The expected life span of the mother is necessarily made to coincide with the fact that she dies seven days after the birth. But this fact is not mentioned in all of the Sanskrit biographical works of the different schools, the Saṅghabhedavastu and Buddhacarita versions of the legend omit reference to this detail entirely. It is important to note that among all the Pāli and Sanskrit biographical works on the bodhisatta’s life, only the Jātakaniḍāna includes the concept of his mother possessing the pāramīs.

The physical act of the bodhisatta’s conception, as it is recorded in the Avidūrenidāna, is itself shown as a divine, or supernormal, act. In this section Mahāmāya dreams that the four great kings deposit her on mount Manosilatala, before leading her to lake Anotatta where she is bathed and purified. Then, after falling asleep in the dream, she sees the bodhisatta approach.

Then the bodhisatta appeared as a great white elephant, and ascended the nearby mount Suvaṇṇa, descending from there he ascended mount Rajata. Coming from the northern direction the great elephant grasped a white

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1 The mother’s possession of the ten pāramīs is unique to the Jātakaniḍāna, for the other buddha biographies have no reference to this. Not only do the Pāli Nikāyas omit this, the Sanskrit biographies in the Mahāvastu, Lalitavistara, Buddhacarita and Saṅghabhedavastu, all have no references to the mother possessing the ten pāramīs, nor even the six pāramītā.

2 In the Acchariyabhūtadhamma-sutta Ānanda says that he learned from the Buddha that the bodhisatta’s mother died after seven days, see R. Chalmers, ed., The Majjhima-nikāya, vol. 3, 1899, rpt. Oxford: PTS, 1994, p. 122; cf. the Mahāpadāna-sutta, T.W. Rhys Davids, & J.E. Carpenter, eds., The Dīgha-nikāya, vol. 2, London: PTS, 1903, rpt. 1982, p. 14. The notion that a bodhisatta’s mother dies seven days after giving birth is not shared by all the works on buddha’s biography. However the Mahāvastu contains the teaching that all bodhisattvas’ mothers will die seven days after their birth, see E. Sénart, Le Mahāvastu, vol 1, Paris, 1882, p. 199, vol 2, Paris, 1895, p. 3; similarly the Lalitavistara also refers to her death seven days after giving birth, S. Lefman, ed., Lalitavistara, vol 1, Halle, 1902, p. 96.
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lotus with his trunk, that was like a garland of silver, let out a trumpet, and entered the golden palace. Circumambulating his mother’s bed three times he pierced her right side, and entered her stomach.\(^1\)

The presentation of the conception in this example is entirely of the *abbutta-dhamma* variety, serving to convey its miraculous and other-worldly aspects. With this account of the conception a new element is added to the theories centred on the bodhisatta. This part of the conception legend places the bodhisatta firmly outside of the laws of the human realm, and establishes his unique *lokkuttara* ‘transcendental’ character. The conception is depicted in a coherent and detailed form, adding importance to the event that marks the beginning of Gotama’s career. The symbolism of the elephant has an ancient role in the Indian religious tradition, representative in Vedic times as a symbol of royalty. The animal may also, as in this example, represent fertility and new beginnings, and a white elephant was considered an especially potent symbol of this.\(^2\) Its use in this citation is clearly symbolic of the change that the bodhisatta will ultimately bring to the world. The medium of the dream episode is common, in some form or another, to all the developed biographies\(^3\) of the buddha and is one of the important episodes which they all include.

The birth story in the *Avidurenidana* continues to develop the docetic characteristics that are associated with the bodhisatta in its portrayals of the key events in the bodhisatta’s career. The presentation of this part of the buddha legend has no examples in the early Pāli canonical tradition. Even the *Buddhavamsa* account of the life of Gotama omits any reference whatever to the birth story, or any of the events connected with it. That text commences with Gotama already a buddha, but it does later mention Kapilavatthu as his native city, his parents names, and those of his chief disciples.\(^4\) On these grounds the *Buddhavamsa* can, therefore, be excluded as the source from which the *Avidurenidana* incorporated this part of the legend into the biographical scheme of the *Jātakamālā* - the book. The inclusion of the birth legend, and the manner in which it records the events associated with it, marks a significant point in Theravāda buddhology. The birth is shown in the *Avidurenidana* in an entirely docetic manner, with the addition of the episodes depicting the intervention of the *devas*, that elevates the whole legend to a completely new doctrinal level:

\(^1\) See sections II 10 of the translation and edition.

\(^2\) The white elephant in particular was a symbol of clouds in ancient Indian culture, and hence of rain and growth, see H. Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, ed. J. Campbell, Princeton University Press, 1974, pp. 102-109.


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So, although other beings are born by coming out from the mother’s womb, for the bodhisatta it is not like that. Moreover, the bodhisatta descends the stairs, like a religious teacher descending from the teaching seat, like a man standing and stretching both hands and feet, and like one who is fearless and pure. Born from the mother’s womb uncovered by any impurity, he emerges from the mother’s womb emitting rays of light, like a gemstone placed on cloth from the Kāsika region. Then, despite this, two streams of water descended from the sky in order to purify the bodhisatta, and the bodhisatta’s mother, and to cleanse the body of the bodhisatta’s mother.

The treatment of the birth in this passage marks a significant juncture in the Pāli literature dealing with Gotama’s life. The trend that had developed in the Buddhavamsa, and following this in the Dūrenidāna, towards a more docetic representation of buddhas, and bodhisattas, reaches its zenith with this account of Gotama’s birth. Some of the ideas used here are found in the Nikāya sources referred to above, though they are given in a more stunted form in those texts, as general principles rather than as a continuous and coherent narrative. Their novelty in this Avidūrenidāna quotation lies in their arrangement into a continuous introductory sequence, that is now added to the narrative story of Gotama’s life. This version is quite remarkable when the meagre Pāli canonical sources from which it might have been drawn are considered. For example, even on a very basic level, the setting for the birth is a place name that, for all its importance to a biography of the buddha, is not frequently met in the canon. There appear to be only two Pāli canonical texts that make explicit reference to Lumbini as the birthplace of Gotama. These two texts are at opposite ends of the timescale of the canonical works. At one end of this spectrum is the Suttanipāta which contains a reference to Lumbini as the region or district of Gotama’s birth, at the other end is the Kathāvatthu that also makes a similar claim for the location of his birthplace. The significance of this Avidūrenidāna quotation is that it marks the beginning of the trend towards the application of increasingly docetic portrayals of events in the episode of Gotama’s birth. It introduces from the very outset of the life story the notion of the uniqueness, and supramundane character, of the bodhisatta.

The example from the birth episode in the Avidūrenidāna is indicative of the extent to which the legend had developed, as is evident from its inclusion of material giving such exacting detail. With its depiction of a completely docetic birth, the legend centred on Gotama becomes more than the biography of a human teacher who became buddha. The birth narrative sets the literary, and doctrinal, theme for the remainder of Gotama’s biography. This theme consists of increasingly frequent docetic occurrences, often by the intervention of the devas, to explain the real significance of the doctrinally important episodes of Gotama’s life. The docetic tendency is also found, to a greater or lesser extent, in all the Sanskrit works on this subject. They all show the birth as miraculous, with the bodhisattva born from the mother’s side.

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1 See sections II 14 of the translation and edition.
3 The first volume of the Kathāvatthu records that the birthplace of the buddha was Lumbini: Lumbiniyā Bhagavā jāto. See A.C. Taylor, Kathāvatthu, vol 1, London: PTS, 1894, p. 97. This is reiterated in volume two, see Kathāvatthu, vol 2, London: PTS, 1897, p. 559.
4 The birth from the mother’s side is mentioned by the Mahāvastu, Buddhacarita, Sanghabhedavastu and the
unblemished, and fully conscious. In their treatment of the birth, and other events in Gotama’s life, these Sanskrit sources have a number of close correspondences with the Avidūrenidāna version.

Beings born at the same time as Gotama

The Avidūrenidāna narrative continues to expand and develop the scope of the text by including various details of other events that occurred at the time of the bodhisatta’s birth. Some of these individual episodes appear to be unique to the Jātakanidāna, while others occur in the Sanskrit biographies of the buddha. One short episode covers only a few lines in the Avidūrenidāna text, and is not encountered in any of the Nikāya sources. This episode relates that certain other beings, and things, were born, or appeared, at the same time as Gotama. Four other persons are listed, Rāhulamātī, Channa, Kāludāyi, and Kanthaka, together with the bodhi tree, and four pots of treasure. These are referred to as the seven who were born at the same time as Gotama. The four persons are those who later play an important part in Gotama’s life, while the bodhi tree plays its role in the enlightenment, the four pots of treasure must be counted as two, and are probably symbolic of the four ariyasacca.

The Pāli tradition preserves three different lists in all of the seven beings, and things, listed above. These are, the Jātakanidāna list of seven, the list in the Apadāna-āṭṭhakathā that adds Ānanda therā as the second member, and the list in the Buddhavamsa commentary that adds the name Ājāniya in forth place. The only one of the Sanskrit biographies to have any parallel to this episode is the Mahāvastu. In that text only six things are mentioned: Sundarananda, Yaśodhara, Chandaka, Kanṭhaka, Candana, and five hundred chests of treasure. This version of the legend agrees in essence with the Avidūrenidāna account, and is probably based upon some similar source material, but it adds a great deal more embellishment to the account. This small episode indicates the extent to which development had occurred within the birth legend of the Theravadin tradition. It is indicative of the type of matter that was the common

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1 See sections II 16 of the translation and edition.
3 This commentary gives the list: Rāhulamātī devi, Ānando therā, Channo amacco, Kāludāyi amacco, Kanthako assarājā, mahābodhirukkho, catasso nīdhikumbhiko. See C.E. Godakumbura, ed., Visuddhajanavilāsini nāma Apadānāṭṭhakathā, London: PTS, 1954, p. 58.
5 This version adds to the scale of the occasion by stating that each of the six appears with five hundred others, see E. Sénart, ed., Le Mahāvastu, vol 2, Paris, 1895, p. 25: sākyīnām pañcā kumāraśatāni sundaranapramukkhaṇī / pañcā kanyāśatāni yaśodharāpramukkhaṇī / pañcā dāsakaśatāni chandakapramukkhaṇī / pañcā aśvasatāni kaṇṭhakapramukkhaṇī / pañcā hastipotasaśatāni candanahaśtipotakapramukkhaṇī / pañcā nīdhiśatāni pradurbhūtāni.
concern of Buddhist commentators. Moreover, on a purely narrative level, it shows how the people who figure prominently in Gotama’s life story were shown to have an intimate link to the bodhisatta from his very first appearance in the world. This technique, of giving a prehistory to these characters, follows the biographical theme of the Jātakanidāna, and adds to the increasing sense of inevitability present in the entire course of the bodhisatta’s life that the text presents.

**Attainment of the first jhāna beneath the jambu tree**

The overall effect of the Avidūrenidāna’s narration of the conception, birth and early life of the bodhisatta is to increase the portrayal of the sense of rightness, or inevitability, of these events. As well as being seen as marvellous episodes, the text implicitly develops the doctrine of dhammatā\(^1\) in relation to the bodhisatta’s life. So, from conception through to birth, the entire process, and each event during the life, is shown to be not only a naturally occurring event, but as also inevitable and cosmically appropriate. The text goes to great lengths to interpret all the significant occurrences, whether based on some canonical precedent, commentarial exegesis, or borrowing from another tradition, as being dhammatā. In the light of this, the episode of the bodhisatta’s first attainment of jhāna can be seen as a means of symbolising the pre-enlightenment precedent for meditative practice, and ultimately the attainment of enlightenment. As the repetition of the lives of the twenty-four previous buddhas gives precedents for Gotama’s appearance, so in this case the bodhisatta’s attainment of jhāna, while still a youth and before even making the renunciation, is given a precedent within the actual lifetime of the bodhisatta. The jhāna episode in the Avidūrenidāna has a great deal of importance, for it seeks to extend back in time the occasion at which the bodhisatta began his religious practice. This is of course entirely in accord with the overall scope of the Jātakanidāna, in which the buddhology of the Theravādin tradition is presented as a completely self-referential, and self-substantiating system.

The account of the bodhisatta’s attainment of the first jhāna, as it is presented in the Avidūrenidāna, is a fully developed narrative account of this episode. This jambu tree episode does have a canonical basis that is found in the Majjhima-nikāya. The Mahāsaccaka-sutta\(^2\) includes an early version of the legend which provides the core material for the developed narrative version of the Avidūrenidāna. In this sutta account there are three points that are presented as being significant. The first is the occasion for this event, which is placed during a ploughing festival conducted by the bodhisatta’s father. The second point made is that the bodhisatta was sitting under a jambu tree at that time. The third is that the bodhisatta attained the first jhāna there, and realised this was the way to enlightenment. The entire episode is clearly

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\(^1\) The notion of the buddha and certain events in his life being dhammatā ‘natural occurrence’ is attested in the Nikāyas. The Mahāpadāna-sutta already uses the term in reference to each of the list of events connected with the conception, and birth of bodhisattas, see T.W. Rhys Davids & J.E. Carpenter, eds., The Dīgha-nikāya, vol. 2, London: PTS, 1903, rpt. 1982, pp. 12-15. This partially corresponds to the Acchariyabhutadhamma-sutta version, but this has no reference to the events being included under the concept of dhammatā. The notion is hinted at, but not explicitly stated by using the term dhammatā in the Mahāparinibbāṇa-sutta, and in some other canonical texts.

\(^2\) The canonical version of the legend in the Mahāsaccaka-sutta has only a few lines on this episode which is fully expanded in the Avidūrenidāna, see V. Trenckner, ed., The Majjhima-nikāya, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1888, rpt. 1979, pp. 237-251.
a means of symbolising the inherent ability of the bodhisatta to master the meditative practices, and
techniques, that will ultimately lead to his enlightenment. The text also gives the full stock canonical
formula of the conditions necessary for the first *jhāna*. The canonical version has just this basic information,
that is a mere skeleton in comparison with the Avidūrenidāna version of the same episode, which creates
an extended narrative account from these three basic components.

The *jambu* tree episode is dealt with in two parts in the Avidūrenidāna. The first part gives the setting
for the event, which is during the ploughing festival, as in the canonical version. Even this introductory
part of the narrative provides greater detail than is contained in the brief canonical version. Everything
about the festival is depicted in the most elaborate and lavish detail. There are eight hundred oxen, eight
hundred golden and silver ploughs, with eight hundred ministers present. Then, during this festival the
bodhisatta is left alone beneath the *jambu* tree, where he sits watching the rise and fall of his breathing,
that in turn leads him to the attainment of the first *jhāna*. One of the things emphasised in this particular
account is the rank of the bodhisatta's father. He is depicted as a powerful king, surrounded by his
ministers, and at the head of a well ordered kingdom, in which he plays a vital role in the ceremonies and
agricultural rituals. Whereas the canonical version refers to him only as the Śākyan, and refrains from
making any reference to him as a king. In the canonical version the usual stock formula for the attainment
of the first *jhāna* is used, but in the Avidūrenidāna this is not mentioned at all.

The Avidūrenidāna account of the *jambu* episode varies from that given in the *Mahāsaccaka-sutta* in
several noteworthy respects. Firstly, it relates that the first *jhāna* was produced by focusing on breathing.
Secondly, this account introduces the idea that the shadow of the *jambu* tree, beneath which the bodhisatta
sat did not move, while the shadows of nearby trees did. The third variations are that a *dhatu* 'wet-nurse'
finds the bodhisatta in meditation, and the king then pays homage to the bodhisatta after seeing him there
in *jhāna*. Thus, this Avidūrenidāna account can be seen to be an expansion and elaboration of the basic
*sutta* text, with these miraculous and doctrinal elements as additions to emphasise the significance of this
event. It does not use the usual formula for the attainment of the first *jhāna*, as found in the *Mahāsaccaka-sutta*,
but it enhances the narrative on both the levels that depict the bodhisatta's attainments, and the depictions

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1 All these three points are made in just five lines of the *sutta* text, and the conditions for the first *jhāna* are given
as: *vivicca* 'ever living, constant' *dhammekhi savitakkaṃ savicāram vivakṣajāṃ pāthamaṃ jhānaṃ
2 The *vappamangala* 'ploughing festival' has one section devoted to its description in the *Jātakaniṇḍāna*, see
section II 23 of the translation and edition. The *Apadāna* commentary follows the *Jātakaniṇḍāna* almost exactly,
varying in only two words, see C.E. Godakumbura, ed., *Visuddhajavanavilāsī nāma Apadānaṭṭhakathā*, London:
PTS, 1954, p. 62. The account in the *Buddhavamsa* commentary gives only a sketch of this event and mentions not
eight hundred but one thousand ploughs, see I.B. Horner, ed., *Madhuratthavilāsī nāma Buddhavamsasūṣṭhakathā*,
3 For the complete reference to this episode see sections II 24 of the edition and translation, the *Buddhavamsa* and
*Apadāna* commentaries also follow this version closely.
4 There has been various interpretations of this ploughing ritual, von Glasenapp, for example, says that the event
shows that the bodhisatta’s father was merely a village headman, and not a king. See H. von Glasenapp, *Buddhism:
5 The practice of *āṇḍāpīṇa-sati* is not explicitly mentioned in either of the two accounts in question, the Pāli has:
āṇḍāpāṃ parigamhetvā, which the Tibetan renders as: ruññī 'byun ba daññ rub cin buñ nas.
6 The Tibetan translates this term by: nu ma snun pa.
of the circumstances of this event. Taken as a whole, this episode exemplifies how the legendary narrative surrounding the bodhisatta is developed in line with doctrine, meditational techniques and the theory of the jhānas, though the Avidūrenidāna version only explicitly refers to the first jhāna. The unmoving shadow of the tree functions as a symbol of the innate power of the bodhisatta being acknowledged by nature or the cosmos. This episode is an example of the accretion of layers of miraculous events around the life of the character of the bodhisatta that takes place in the text.

The narrative of this jambu episode occurs in four of the extant Sanskrit biographical works. The Mahāvastu has two references to this episode, the first of which has reference to a ploughing scene, but it is not called a festival, nor is it headed by the king. The first of these has then the same basic information as the Avidūrenidāna, namely that the bodhisattva sits beneath the jambu tree in unmoving shade, and attains the first dhyāna but it does not mention the practice of breathing meditation. It does, however, give part of the stock sūtra formula when it says that the first dhyāna arises together with applied thought, and sustained thought. The second Mahāvastu account is closer to the Avidūrenidāna in its narration of this episode. In essence this prose version mirrors the Pāli sequence, with the only major difference being that it is a kañcukīya 'chamberlain' who discovers the bodhisattva in meditation, and not a dhātī 'wet-nurse' as in the Pāli. This second Mahāvastu account also has a gāthā version that varies slightly, the gāthā version, for instance, mentions that the bodhisattva was dhyānayantam 'meditating' but does not refer specifically to the first dhyāna. The Mahāvastu account concludes, like its Pāli counterpart, with the king making homage to the bodhisattva.

The Lalitavistara also records the jambu episode in both prose and gāthā versions. The prose portion of this text is the only one of the three versions that makes any mention of the bodhisattva's age at this time. It relates that the bodhisattva, when vivṛddha 'grown up', went to the pleasure garden, where he became samvignamana 'distressed' and sat under the jambu tree. There he attained the four dhyanas, these are then given in the same form as they are found in the standard sūtra formula. The enumeration of all the four dhyanas is a specific development in the narrative of the jambu episode which is unique to the Lalitavistara. The formula used in that text for the four dhyanas is in a form well known to the Theravādin tradition, that has many occurrences of the formula which agree virtually word for word with the Lalitavistara version. In the Lalitavistara account, as in the Mahāvastu, the bodhisattva is found

1 This account in the Mahāvastu only says that the bodhisattva witnessed some ploughing which caused him disquiet, leading to meditation under the jambu tree, and the attainment of the first dhyāna, see E. Sénart, ed., Le Mahāvastu, vol. 2, Paris, 1895, p. 45.
3 The prose of course is the fuller version followed by the gāthā version containing the main points, see E. Sénart, ed., Le Mahāvastu, vol. 2, Paris, 1895, p. 47.
4 The four dhyānas are each dealt with in detail in the Lalitavistara account that is virtually the same formula as found in the Pāli Nikāyas, see S. Lefman, ed., Lalitavistara, vol 1, Halle, 1902, p. 129; this is also the same format and wording as contained in the Mahāvītpatti list of the dhyānas, see nos. 1478-1481, R. Sasaki, Mahāvītpatti, Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1916, rpt. 1973, pp. 112-114.
5 The four jhānas in the Pāli tradition are a frequently appearing list in the Nikāyas, for a standard example of this tradition, see T.W Rhys Davids & J.E. Carpenter, eds., The Dīgha-nikāya, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1890, rpt. 1975, p. 182-183.
meditating by a courtier or chamberlain.

The Buddhacarita and the Saṅghabhedaṃavastu both contain the jambu episode, but in these texts it takes place at a later stage in the bodhisattva’s life than in all the above three works. The Buddhacarita puts this event after the bodhisattva’s encounters with old age, illness, and death, but prior to the sight of a mendicant. In this respect the Buddhacarita seems to represent an independent tradition of the legend that varies from all other biographical works. The Buddhacarita locates the jambu episode in its fifth canto dealing with the bodhisattva’s abhinisṭhramana ‘going forth’. In this canto the bodhisattva goes to the forest on his horse Kanthaka1 for amusement, and not as in the other versions of the Kanthaka legend, to renounce his home. This account includes mention of the bodhisattva seeing ploughs, dead insects, and labouring ploughmen, that depress him, and which cause him to sit beneath the jambu tree.2 But this version has no reference whatever to a ploughing festival attended by the king. There is also no reference in this version to the unmoving shadow, but the bodhisattva is said to have attained the first dhyāna, described as savitarkavicāra ‘with reasoning and applied thought’, while beneath the tree.3

The Saṅghabhedaṃavastu version of the jambu episode, like that of the Buddhacarita, occurs after the four sights, and while the bodhisattva was visiting a kārṣagrāmakāra4 ‘ploughing village’ where he became depressed. Then he sat beneath the jambu tree, and attained the first dhyāna, which is defined in the stock sūtra manner. In this version the shadow of the tree does not move.5 Both of these versions, contained in the Buddhacarita and the Saṅghabhedaṃavastu, represent a variation on all the other textual sources cited in this study. The main point of difference between these two accounts, and the three other sources referred to, is that they place the jambu episode after the bodhisattva has seen the four sights. In the Buddhacarita after he sees three of them, and in the Saṅghabhedaṃavastu after he has seen all of the four sights.

The fact that all the works cited contain a version of the jambu episode can be taken as evidence of the importance with which it was viewed by the compilers of those biographical works. It seems also that there were variations on the initial canonical occurrence of the episode in the Mahāsaccaka-sutta, and some other additions to the version found in that text that bring it fully into harmony with the evolving doctrinal scheme of Buddhism. The memory of the jambu legend seems to have endured in the locality

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5 The Saṅghabhedaṃavastu version more or less follows the definition of the first dhyāna given in the Lalitavistara with some minor variations: viviktam <kāmair viviktam> pāpakā<śaladharmaṇi> savitarkam savicēraṁ vivekaṇaṁ pritisukhaṁ anāśrasadṛśam prathamaṁ dhyāṇam saṁpāpnaṁ, see R. Gnoli, ed., The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedaṃavastu, vol. XLIX 1, Part I, Rome: Serie Orientale Roma, 1977, pp. 76-77.
where it is purported to have taken place. The account of the travels of the seventh century Chinese
pilgrim Hsüan-tsang, in the Si-yu-ki, says that a stūpa had been built at this site which he visited.1

The jambu narrative in the Avidūrenidāna is representative of a highly developed stage in the transmission
of the bodhisatta legend. The Sanskrit versions contain some variations and elaborations on this account,
but largely agree with the Pālī version. The only real points of disagreement are whether or not it took
place during a ploughing festival in which the king participated, and at what age in the bodhisatta’s life
this event occurred. The basic intention of all of them would appear to be that of furnishing a precedent
for the bodhisatta’s practice of meditation, and his first attainment of jhāna. With this episode another
element of the legend is added to the bodhisatta’s career, and his eventual attainment of bodhi is symbolically
predicted. The bodhisatta is seen in this episode to be in possession of abilities that will ultimately lead to
enlightenment and to buddhahood. All of this is in accordance with the overall purpose of the Jātakanidāna,
which is to provide both a history, and a prehistory, to the events in the lives of the bodhisattas and
buddhas which it portrays.

The bodhisatta’s encounter with the four sights

A series of episodes that all the extant Pālī and Sanskrit biographical works do refer to is that of the
immediate causes of the bodhisatta’s renunciation. This act is attributed, in all of the biographical works,
to the bodhisatta encountering the four sights: old age, sickness, death, and a samana. These four are
depicted as being the catalyst for the bodhisatta understanding the unsatisfactory, impermanent nature of
life, and the ultimate causes of him undertaking the life of an ascetic. Since they represent the initial
impetus for the bodhisatta following the religious quest it might be supposed that there would be substantial
canonical materials dealing with this sequence of events.2 This is not the case, however, and what is
probably the earliest reference to these four events in the Pālī canonical tradition is found in the Majjhima-
nikāya text, the Ariyapariyesana-sutta.3 The description given in this text deals with the four sights as
abstract things, that are not specifically linked to the bodhisatta Gotama. They are only treated as the
generalised causes that may lead one to understand the nature of life, and renounce the household life.
This basic account provides a canonical precedent, and the kernel of the episode that is later found in its
fully elaborated form in the Avidūrenidāna.

There is another canonical text that represents what can be considered to be a transitional stage, if not

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1 The account of Hiuen-tsiang does mention that the bodhisattva entered meditation there, but does not call it the first
dhyāna, and it also repeats the tradition that the shadow of the jambu tree did not move, see S. Beal, tr.,
19-20.

2 The renunciation episode, though a central feature in the history of Buddhism, is something of an anomaly.
Oldenberg remarks on the scanty sources for this episode in the early texts, and regarding the motives for the
renunciation he says: We must forbear asking the question, from what quarter and in what form the germs of those
thoughts entered his soul which drove him to change home for exile and the plenty of his palaces for the poverty of a


4 The text makes no link whatever to the bodhisatta personally, it only refers to an indefinite ekacco ‘someone’
who might see these things, and knowing their real nature, act in the way laid out in the sutta. See V. Trencner, ed.,
in terms of time then in terms of content, between the Majjhima-nikāya and Avidūrenidāna versions of the episode. The text representing this intermediary stage is the Mahāpadāna-sutta\(^1\) of the Digha-nikāya. This text gives a narrative of the four sights that are now said to have been seen by the previous buddha Vipassi before his renunciation. The version of the episode in this text gives an individual story for each of the four sights, in which Vipassi encounters these four things, and their significance is explained to him by his charioteer. The timescale between these four events in this text is on a mythic level, it being said that many thousands of years passed between each of the four episodes. After seeing all four sights Vipassi is shown making the renunciation by shaving his head, putting on yellow robes, and leaving the household life. It is this canonical\(^2\) version of the renunciation episode that seems to act as the basis of the Avidūrenidāna account.

The Avidūrenidāna narrative of these four sights is prefaced\(^3\) by the account of the bodhisatta telling his charioteer to prepare the chariot for a journey. This is the sole occurrence of this sequence of the episode to appear in this version of the legend. The section on the sight of an old man\(^4\) begins with the devas, who are aware of the bodhisatta’s pending enlightenment, deciding to make one of their number into a trembling old man to confront the bodhisatta. Neither the Majjhima-nikāya nor the Digha-nikāya accounts have reference to the creation of the old man by devas, in those texts it can be inferred to be a mundane occurrence, and not a divinely engineered event as it appears in the Avidūrenidāna. The devas role here is one of the devices by which the emphasis of this part of the legend is moved away from the human sphere, and into the cosmical sphere of dhammatā. This instance is one of the examples of the introduction of docetic, and miraculous incidents that are the most noteworthy characteristic of the Jātakaniṇḍāna’s presentation of the legends associated with the bodhisatta. The Avidūrenidāna version of the bodhisatta’s questions, when seeing this old man, are attributed directly to the Mahāpadāna-sutta, but they do not follow the account recorded in that text exactly.\(^5\) The bodhisatta is then shown to be disturbed by this sight and returns home, where his father learning of this doubles his efforts to prevent his son leaving. The episode with the old man is the fullest narrative of all the four sights given in the Avidūrenidāna.

The text brings together the canonical and commentarial traditions on this episode, but refers back to the

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\(^2\) That this legend is a developed form of a basic mythological premise is indisputable, this is a Buddhist legend waiting to be developed for it provides the historical underpinning to Gotama’s renunciation. Thomas remarks on this development: In the case of the four sights we have scriptural evidence for holding that the story of the four visits to the park is only the historicising of a canonical passage which knows nothing of these events. See E.J. Thomas, *The Life of the Buddha*, London: RKP, 1927, rpt. 1975, p. 58.


\(^4\) See sections II 27 of the translation and edition.

Mahāpadāna-sutta for its ultimate canonical authority, and indeed in places for its very wording.

The pattern for the sights is given in this account of the sight of the old man, and it establishes the method of presentation for the narration of the remaining three sights. Therefore, in the Avidūrenidāna the next two narrative episodes, the sight of a sick man and a dead man, also said to be devatāhi nimittam 'created by the devas', are given in a greatly abbreviated form. The dialogues between the bodhisatta and the charioteer are omitted, only the fact that the bodhisatta asked the questions as before is mentioned. These two events are also concluded with the account of the king increasing his guards to protect the bodhisatta from contact with the unpleasantness of life. Thus the most developed Pāli version of the life of Gotama gives no detailed versions of the episodes of the two sights of the old man and the dead man. It may be that the compilers of the text had no received tradition of these narratives that were more complete than the Mahāpadāna-sutta version. Perhaps, as the text itself states, the two episodes were supposed to be taken wholesale from the Mahāpadāna-sutta. Neither of these two possibilities gives a satisfactory explanation, for in other respects the Jātakānīdana accounts are always prolix, and even where an episode is known to the Nikāyas, the Avidūrenidāna provides all manner of hitherto unknown details and information not included in the Nikāya version.

The Avidūrenidāna account of the last of the four sights, that of a pabbajita ‘mendicant’, contains only a basic version of this part of legend. The bodhisatta sees a pabbajita, who is also described as devatāhi nimittam, and questions his charioteer about this person. The charioteer does not know the answer, or even the implications of the question. Then, he miraculously makes a full reply, also devānubhāvena 'by the power of the devas', which has the desired effect on the bodhisatta. It is in this relatively condensed manner that the four sights are narrated in the Avidūrenidāna. At the end of this section the Pāli text states that the Dīghabhāṇakas record that the bodhisatta went forth after seeing all four sights on one day. The Tibetan translation of this refers only to slob dpon kha cig 'some teachers', and adds that their view that he saw all four sights on one day is incorrect. The two significant doctrinal points to emerge from this narrative are the bodhisatta’s witnessing these four sights together with the effect they have upon him, and the fact that all four events are brought about by the intervention of the devas. While the first point can be accepted as representing early canonical and commentarial traditions, the intervention by devas is something that seems solely to represent the later commentarial and exegetical traditions. The active participation of devas in these episodes adds a new importance to them, and further develops the trend in the Jātakānīdana towards its more docetic and transcendentalist interpretation of the life of the bodhisatta.

The four sights in the Sanskrit sources

The episode of the bodhisatta encountering the four sights is a common feature in all the five Pāli and

1 See sections II 28-29 of the translation and edition.
2 See section II 30 of the translation and edition.
3 The Pāli reads: Dīghabhāṇakā paṇāhā: cattāri nimittāni ekadivasan’ eva disvā agamāṣīti. The Tibetan reads: slob dpon kha cig ’di skad zer te / shun gyi mthshan ma bzi pa fi ma gcig riid la mthon no žes zer ro // de ni mi ’thad do. The teachers referred to have sometimes been identified with the teachers from the Abhayagiri-vihāra in Anuruddhapura in Ceylon, who are often equated with the Mahāyāna school, see I.B. Horner, “Keci, “Some,” in a Pāli Commentary”, JIABS, 1, 1978, pp. 52-56.
Sanskrit textual sources cited and compared in this study. Therefore, given the comparative brevity of this sequence, it is relatively convenient to make a comparison of the contents of the Pāli version with that of the four equivalent Sanskrit versions. The four Sanskrit biographies consulted in this study, each have their own specific versions of the narrative accounts of the four sights of the bodhisattva. The Lalitavistara version follows the Avidūrenidāṇa treatment of the episode by having only a single occurrence of the bodhisattva’s order for the chariot to be prepared. The text then varies from the Avidūrenidāṇa version by the addition of a description of the king decorating and preparing the path that the bodhisattva will use, removing any unpleasant sights. This is followed by a lengthy prose narrative that elaborates the first of the four sights, the additions made here consisting of a purely literary development, and embellishment, of the legend.

The account provides an excellent example of how the different Buddhist traditions expanded their received biographical legends with the addition of various, often hyperbolic, additional materials. In this instance, the additions consist largely of extended prose descriptions, that are a reflection of the developed Sanskrit written tradition, as opposed to the simpler Pāli oral tradition contained in the Mahāpadāṇa-sutta. For example, the creators of the old man are specified in the Lalitavistara as the śuddhāvāsa devas,1 and the depiction of his decrepit qualities is given in minute detail. Then, the dialogue between the bodhisattva and his charioteer, on the meaning of this sight, is given in only five gāthās2 with no corresponding prose version to supplement this concise depiction. The episodes of the sick man, and the dead man, are both dealt with briefly, as is the case in the Avidūrenidāṇa account. Unlike that text however, the Lalitavistara versions3 of the sight of a sick man, and a dead man, have no reference to these two being created by the devas. Only in the Lalitavistara version of the forth sight, that of the bhikṣu, does the text again state the sight to be a creation of the devas, agreeing in this instance with the Avidūrenidāṇa version of this episode.

The four sights episode preserved in the Mahāvastu is a more embellished and literary version than is found in either of the corresponding Avidūrenidāṇa or Lalitavistara episodes. This account omits any reference to the bodhisattva ordering the preparation of the chariot in any of the four sight episodes, but like the Lalitavistara, it has a lengthy passage describing the king’s preparation of the path. The creator of the old man in this version of the episode is specifically named as Ghaṭikāra, who is also a śuddhāvāsa deva.4 One area in which the Mahāvastu agrees with the Avidūrenidāṇa is the role of devas in the four sights, though not in regard to the name, or names, of the devas concerned. Both texts explicitly state, in each one of the four episodes, that all the four sights are the creations of the devas. The bodhisattva’s questions in the Mahāvastu on seeing the old man, and the reply of the charioteer, are in prose and in a

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1 These devas are specified by name, and given a role in this episode of the Lalitavistara only in the account of the first sight, see S. Lefman, ed., Lalitavistara, vol 1, Halle, 1902, p. 186.
2 The prose deals only with the background details, all the significant dialogue of the old man episode is presented in the five gāthās, see S. Lefman, ed., Lalitavistara, vol 1, Halle, 1902, pp. 188-189.
3 These two episodes, like the corresponding Avidūrenidāṇa version, are in much abbreviated prose accounts, and have the essential points rendered in gāthā form, see S. Lefman, ed., Lalitavistara, vol 1, Halle, 1902, pp. 189-191.
4 The Mahāvastu version of the four sights is one of the longer of the versions consulted in this study, only the Sanghabhedavastu version is lengthier. For the full Mahāvastu version, see E. Sénart, ed., Le Mahāvastu, vol. 2, Paris, 1895, pp. 150-157.
more elaborated form than the other two texts already referred to. The episodes of the sick man, and the
death, are dealt with in an almost identical manner to the first sight, with no contraction of the prose
narrative being made. The Mahāvastu account of the forth sight, the pravrajita, varies from the other two
versions, in that in this text the bodhisattva personally questions the pravrajita about his reasons for being
a mendicant.

The Sanghabhedavastu\(^1\) record of the four sights has similarities, of one form or another, with all three
versions of the episode referred to above. It is the longest of all the five versions under consideration, and
in this respect is closest to the Mahāvastu in its format and method of narration. The Sanghabhedavastu
however, unlike any of the three texts already cited, includes the bodhisattva’s order to prepare the
chariot\(^2\) within its old man episode, and this exact same account is also given in full in the passages
recording the remaining three sights. The bodhisattva’s questions to the charioteer about the first sight,
and the replies to them, are given in a full narrative form that is repeated almost verbatim in the episodes
of each of the three sights that follow. One of the details in which the text differs from the other sources is
that it refers to the bodhisattva as Śāyamuni bodhisattva,\(^3\) while all the other versions have only bodhisatta
in the Pāli version, or bodhisattva in the Sanskrit versions. Another difference in detail occurs in regard to
the role of the devas in the four sights. In the Sanghabhedavastu the śuddhavāsa devas create only the last
of the four sights, the kāśyavastivraja-pravṛtta ‘yellow clad ascetic’, and are not referred to at all in the
explanation of the first three sights in the narrative episodes.

The first three versions of the four sights episodes in the Sanghabhedavastu are prose accounts with a
single gāthā contained in each uttered by the bodhisattva. These gāthās portray his despair, and are either
summaries of the prose accounts, or the raw material that was used to create the prose accounts. The
version of the sight of the yellow clad ascetic being the only episode not to contain any gāthā. Thus, this
version of the three episodes, excluding the yellow clad ascetic episode, is similar to that of the Lalitavistara
in that it has both prose and gāthā portions. The difference between the two is that the Sanghabhedavastu
account, like the Mahāvastu, gives all the bodhisattva’s questions in lengthy prose sections, with a single
gāthā in each of the depictions of the three sights. While in the Lalitavistara all these events are only
given in gāthā form. In other respects this account given in the Sanghabhedavastu is closer to the
Mahāvastu version, though that text omits any mention of the bodhisattva ordering the preparation of the
chariot, and states that the devas intervened in creating each one four of the sights.

The last parallel Sanskrit account of these four episodes to be considered here is that contained in the
Buddhacarita. This text preserves the mahākāvyā version of these four episodes in a relatively sophisticated
and developed form. The bodhisattva’s order to prepare the chariot does not occur in any of the four

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1 The four episodes appear in the text in the standard way that repetitive texts of this nature present such similar
material, with only the key sentences changed in each new case, see R. Gnoli, ed., The Gilgit Manuscript of the

2 For the individual accounts of this episode see, R. Gnoli, ed., The Gilgit Manuscript of the Sanghabhedavastu,

3 The name Śāyamuni bodhisattva is employed in all four episodes of the four sights occurring in the Sanghabhedavastu,
Roma, 1977, pp. 65, 68, 70, 73.
episodes in the *Buddhacarita*, contrasted with the Avidūrenidāna that has only one reference to this in its episode dealing with the old man. The *Buddhacarita* contains two separate references to the king adorning the path before the bodhisattva goes out,\(^1\) whereas the Avidūrenidāna has no reference to this in any of its narratives on the four episodes. The role of the *devas* in the *Buddhacarita* account of the four sights is largely in accord with the Avidūrenidāna version, but the *Buddhacarita*, like all the Sanskrit versions, names them as the *suddhādhivāsa*\(^2\) *devas*. The text is, however, unique among all the cited versions in its ordering of the four episodes, for the forth is separated from the other three by more than one canto. The episodes of the old man, the sick man and the dead man\(^3\) are all found in the third canto of the *Buddhacarita*, and in the first and third of these episodes the *suddhādhivāsa devas* are the cause of the charioteer explaining the significance of the sights to the bodhisattva. In the fourth episode the *Buddhacarita* version of the sight of the *bhikṣu*,\(^4\) does not follow immediately after the third sight, but appears later in the fifth canto. This separation of the last sight is the single most distinctive feature of the four sights episodes given in the *Buddhacarita*, and is not found in any of the other Pāli or Sanskrit sources referred to here.

*The Sujātā narrative*

The Avidūrenidāna contains a range of narrative episodes that are of great importance for its development of the bodhisatta legend in the Theravādin tradition. These are the episodes that provide a full description of the enlightenment, and the events that occurred immediately before it. The episodes specifically referred to here are those of the last meal offered before enlightenment, the meeting with and defeat of Māra, and the attainment of *bodhi*. It is one of the curious facts of the history of Buddhist literature\(^5\) that these events, so important for the doctrine, history, and mythology of Buddhism, were nowhere recorded in the Pāli canonical, or commentarial, tradition in any continuous and detailed manner prior to the compilation of the *Jātakatīkā*. The story of Sujātā making offerings of food to the bodhisatta is an episode that is only found in the Pāli commentarial sources. There is not one canonical account of the enlightenment that has any reference to this person, nor the role that she played in the enlightenment. The


\(^2\) The *gāthā* 26 in canto three says that these *devas* saw the beautiful city and *nīrmanire* 'created' the old man to disturb the bodhisattva's mind, for full references to the *devas* in the four sights, see canto three, *gāthās* 26, 40, 56, see E.H. Johnston, ed. & tr. *Buddhacarita or Acts of the Buddha*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1935, rpt. 1984, pp. 23, 25, 28 of the edition. The involvement of the *devas* in the sight of the mendicant is not explicitly laid out in the *Buddhacarita* account of this episode which occurs in canto five, *gāthās* 16-17, p. 47 of the edition.


\(^4\) The *Buddhacarita* includes the episode of the *bhikṣu* where the bodhisattva questions him directly without asking his charioteer as in the other three episodes, these are in canto five, *gāthās* 16-17, see E.H. Johnston, ed. & tr. *Buddhacarita or Acts of the Buddha*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1935, rpt. 1984, p. 47 of the edition.

\(^5\) The incompleteness of the early biographical accounts of Gotama's life has been noticed by many scholars who have carried out research on this topic, see for example E. Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism*, tr. S. Boin-Webb, Louvain-Paris, 1988, pp. 15, 644, 651, 653.
Chapter Five

Avidurenidāna episode dealing with the defeat of Māra, does have a certain amount of canonical precedent upon which to draw for its reference. The episodes depicting the attainment of enlightenment by Gotama are more numerous, but do not agree in sequence, or content, with the Avidurenidāna version of events.

The first of these three episodes in the Avidurenidāna relates to the story connected with the last meal of the bodhisattva before attaining bodhi, and becoming a buddha. It appears in that text as a well developed and substantial part of the narrative account of the events preceding the enlightenment. However, when seeking to relate this episode to a canonical work, one is faced with the fact that there is no reference to this episode in any of the Pāli canonical works. Moreover, this episode only occurs within the commentarial tradition in the Jātakanidāna, and also in the commentaries on the Buddhavaṃsa, Apadāna and Dhammapada.¹ The Avidurenidāna version of this episode is a specimen of a commentarial interpolation which is designed to fill the gaping hiatus in the narrative, between the departure of the five ascetics and the enlightenment, that existed in the canonical accounts. The first section of the episode² begins with Sujātā's vow to make an offering to the nigrodha tree shrine if her wish is fulfilled. When this time arrives she prepares a meal of pāyāsa ‘milk-rice’ as the offering. The most striking feature of the description of the preparation of this pāyāsa is the overwhelming concern with, and meticulous record of detail.

It is not sufficient for the commentators that the last meal of the bodhisatta before bodhi consists of ordinary pāyāsa. Therefore, the offering is described as consisting of the milk of one thousand cows, fed to and milked from a number of cows successively, until a milk worthy for offering is obtained. Everything about the depiction of this episode reflects its importance for the commentators. The last eight cows are said to have milked themselves, the fire on which the pāyāsa was cooked produced no smoke, the milk did not boil over, and the devas each added a upakappana-oja ‘nutritious essence’ to the pāyāsa. Then, Sujātā’s servant mistakes the bodhisatta, sitting beneath the nigrodha tree, for the tree deva and informs Sujātā, who offers him the pāyāsa in a golden bowl. The narrative is full of the miraculous incidents connected with all these events, and the text also adds that the devas put this upakappana-oja into the food on the day of enlightenment, and also on the day of the parinibbāna. There is a tendency here to overelaborate the episode, and there is a large element of hyperbole in the descriptions given. In this manner, the episode is expanded with miraculous events that are all intended to legitimise this part of the legend, and to provide a sound basis for the enlightenment episode itself.

¹ All the Pāli commentarial accounts of this episode appear to be derived from the Jātakanidāna, which gives an indication of the importance of this text in developing the buddha legend. Three commentaries contain accounts that are the obviously related to the Avidurenidāna version, though some are extremely concise versions. The Buddhavaṃsa commentary has two versions of this episode, the first is closest to the Avidurenidāna account, although it does omit considerable descriptive portions of the text. The second is a mere summary of the episode in a few lines that contains the essence of the entire Sujātā episode, see I.B. Horner, ed., Madhuratthavilāsini nāma Buddhavaṃsaathakathā, London: PTS, 1978, pp. 7, 286-7. The Apadāna commentary agrees on the whole with the Avidurenidāna version in its length and content, but it omits or replaces some words, see C.E. Godakumbura, ed., Visuddhajanavilāsini nāma Apadānaathakathā, London: PTS, 1954, pp. 76-80. The Dhammapada commentary contains a concise version very close to that of the second Buddhavaṃsa commentary reference, for this version see H.C. Norman, ed., The Commentary on the Dhammapada, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1906, pp. 85-86.

² See sections II 53 of the translation and edition.
Chapter Five

The seat of bodhi and defeat of Mara

The episode in the Aññakutānāṇīya dealing with the bodhisatta’s defeat of Mara does have some canonical precursors. The encounter with Mara at the Neraṅjarā river is referred to in the following canonical works: the Padhāna-sutta of the Suttanipāta, the Udāna, the Māra-samyutta of the Saṃyutta-nikāya, and the Mahāparinibbāṇa-sutta of the Dīgha-nikāya. A commentarial version can be found in the Dhammapada commentary, but in this text the meeting with Mara occurs after the enlightenment. The encounter with Mara in the Padhāna-sutta version of this episode contains the basic materials for a narrative of this series of events. As well as giving the location, and circumstances, it depicts the determination of the bodhisatta to achieve his final aim. The text has Mara’s attempt to dissuade the bodhisatta from this resolve, and also contains an archaic listing of the eight armies of Mara, that are given in other texts as consisting of either nine or three. These armies are presented in a purely symbolic way here, and are not living beings or devas, but qualities or concepts, unlike the anthropomorphic representations given in the Aññakutānāṇīya. The overall intent of this text is to portray the attempt by Mara to prevent the bodhisatta from attaining enlightenment, and the bodhisatta’s rejection of Mara’s temptation.

It is also claimed in this text that Mara followed the bodhisatta for seven years, awaiting the opportunities to hinder his progress. The struggle between the two is presented in just eight gāthās of this sutta, and is given with little expansion of the core details of the episode. The end result is the complete defeat of Mara and his armies by, among other things, the bodhisatta’s practice of sati ‘mindfulness’. Hence, the early canonical version of the Māra episode, contained in the Padhāna-sutta, establishes it as part of the sequence of events in the episode, and as occurring immediately prior to the enlightenment.

Another of the early canonical texts to record the Māra episode is the Udāna. This work contains one sutta, also set at Neraṅjarā, that makes reference to the defeat of Māra. In this version of the episode the encounter takes place on the night of the bodhisatta’s enlightenment, and he utters a gāthā summarising the reasons for the defeat of Māra. There are two more suttras in the Udāna, though these take place after

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1 For the all the seven passages dealing with the meeting with, and conquest of Māra in the Aññakutānāṇīya see sections II 58-64 of the translation and edition.

2 This version actually begins with the bodhisatta’s leaving home, and first meeting Māra who we are told, as in the Padhāna-sutta version, followed the bodhisatta for seven years. Then after the enlightenment Māra attacks and is defeated. See H.C. Norman, ed., The Commentary on the Dhammapada, vol. 3, London: PTS, 1912, pp. 195-197.

3 Not only is the language of these gāthās that of the early strata of the canon, the names of these eight qualities are not those met with in later works. The eight are: kāma ‘desire’, arati ‘aversion’, khuppipāsa ‘hunger and thirst’, tanhā ‘craving’, thīnamiddha ‘sloth and torpor’, bhīrū ‘fear’, vicikicchā ‘doubt’, and makkhathambha ‘hypocrisy and obstinacy’. This list of eight appears in gāthās 436-437 of the Padhāna-sutta, see D. Anderson & H. Smith, eds., Sutta-nipāta, London: PTS, 1913, rpt. 1965, pp. 76.

4 Māra’s armies are described differently in various layers of the Pāli texts, and can be defined in a number of different ways. For some examples from the various Buddhist traditions, see J.W. Boyd, Satan and Māra: Christian and Buddhist symbols of evil, Leiden: Brill, 1975, pp. 117-119.


7 The first of these suttas, like the Padhāna-sutta, is located on the banks of the Neraṅjarā river, and refers to having conquered Māra after listing the qualities necessary for enlightenment. The second takes place at Sāvatthī but also has the overcoming of Māra as the culmination of the process of liberation from saṃsāra. See P. Steinthal, Udāna, London: PTS, 1885, rpt. 1982, p. 33; p. 46.
the enlightenment, that make reference to conquering Māra which emphasise the freedom from Māra’s influence as being a primary feature of the enlightenment. These references in the Udāna are symbolic representations of the final release from those ties, which are personified as Māra, and that constitute the ultimate source of saṃśāric existence. The impression given by all the three Udāna texts is that freedom from Māra-bandhana ‘Māra’s bonds’ was an integral part of the early textual formula for describing the enlightenment episode and enlightenment itself.

This same impression applies to the first two suttas to occur in the Mārasaṃyutta dealing with the Māra episode. The text has three suttas in all, that also take place at the Neraṇjarā river, two1 after enlightenment, and one2 apparently prior to it.3 The first two of these suttas give accounts of Māra attempting to put doubts in the bodhisatta’s mind, and the bodhisatta’s subsequent conquest of Māra. The last sutta in that saṃyutta is a considerably extended narrative that gives a great deal of the detail contained in the Avidūrenidāna version of the episode. The two versions4 given in the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta occur just after the enlightenment, and depict Māra trying to persuade the buddha to end his life, together with the buddha’s rebuke to Māra. All the textual occurrences referred to here are then the primary canonical sources preserving accounts of the meeting with Māra. However, as has been indicated, only two of these versions can be taken as possible sources for the Avidūrenidāna version. For only the Padhāna-sutta and the third sutta of the Mārasaṃyutta referred to above, actually correspond in time and place with the Avidūrenidāna account. Both these texts also contain a sequence of events that can be seen to bear a close similarity to the episode as recorded in the Avidūrenidāna.

The defeat of Māra in the Jātakanidāna

The series of events presented within the Māra episode in the Avidūrenidāna indicates the extent of the development that had taken place in this part of the legend. In summary, this version begins with Māra deciding not to allow the bodhisatta to surpass him, and gathering his armies, goes to the bodhisatta who is on the seat of bodhi. All the devas of the ten thousand-fold world are surrounding the bodhisatta, making salutations and praises to him when Māra appears. All these devas are unable to endure Māra’s presence and are forced to leave, only the bodhisatta is able to remain unmoved by Māra. The attack by Māra’s armies begins, but the bodhisatta uses the ten paramis as his sword and shield to protect himself. Māra then casts a series of nine different rains upon the bodhisatta that fail to touch or affect him, Māra then envelopes him in darkness, which the bodhisatta promptly dispels.

2 This sutta gives a lengthy account of the assault by Māra and his daughters on the night of the enlightenment, see L. Feer, ed., The Saṃyutta-nikīya, vol. 1, London: PTS, 1884, rpt. 1991, pp. 122-127.
3 In this sutta it is also said that Māra had been following the bodhisatta for seven years, in fact it consists of two parts that make the occasion referred to rather ambiguous. The first part could be taken as occurring either before or after the enlightenment, it really depends on how one chooses to view the texts. That is to say, it depends if one takes the parts as two entirely different texts, or as a single text. The second part relates the temptation by Māra’s daughters, an event that takes place during the enlightenment episode in the Avidūrenidāna account.
4 These two post enlightenment accounts are almost identical, and serve to show the different kinds of Māra’s temptations, see T.W. Rhys Davids & J.E. Carpenter, eds., The Dīgha-nikīya, vol. 2, London: PTS, 1903, rpt. 1982, pp. 112-114.
Following this Mara attempts to remove the bodhisatta from the seat, telling him the seat is not suitable for him. The bodhisatta responds by saying that since Mara has not perfected the ten pāramīs, he is the one for whom the seat is unsuitable. Mara again attacks the bodhisatta who, protected by the ten pāramīs, is able to turn all Mara’s missiles into flower petals. The bodhisatta concludes by asking Mara who is the witness of his charity, to which Mara replies that his armies are witness. Then Mara asks who is the witness to the bodhisatta’s acts of charity, to which the bodhisatta answers that the earth is witness to his charity. Furthermore, he adds that the earth was witness to these acts from the time when he was Vessantara up to the present. The earth shakes in acknowledgment of this, and causes all Mara’s armies to flee, at which all the devas of the ten thousand-fold world return, paying homage to the bodhisatta in verse.

The Avidūrenidāna version of the Mara legend is clearly a rewriting and expansion of the episode found in the canonical versions, and presents a full prose narrative of the episode. Those canonical versions give a certain framework of incidents relating the conquest of Mara by the bodhisatta, but not one of them has such a coherent and continuous account as that which is found in the Avidūrenidāna. This account varies from the sutta versions of the episode in four distinct ways: the fleeing of the devas, who are venerating the bodhisatta at the seat of bodhi, when Mara appears; the bodhisatta overcoming Mara by means of the ten pāramīs; Mara attacking the bodhisatta with nine rains; and the earth acting as witness to the bodhisatta’s past charity. These four additional narrative sections provide a greater degree of detail to the basic outline contained in the suttas. The flight of the devas symbolises both the extent of Mara’s power and the bodhisatta’s ability to withstand this. The place of the ten pāramīs in this episode is where the novel doctrinal teaching comes into play, and where their significance is demonstrated, as the decisive elements in the bodhisatta’s attainment of enlightenment. The attack by Mara using the nine types of rain constitutes an embellished version of the assault which is absent from the Pāli canonical counterparts. Finally the act of witness by the earth is perhaps one of the most significant and symbolic adornments in the entire Mara episode.

All the four Avidūrenidāna sections of text mentioned above are notable advances on the Mara legend as it is preserved in the canonical texts. The first and third are expansions on a canonical theme. They are developments of a narrative and legendary nature, that both fill in gaps in the legend, and add materials enhancing the bodhisatta’s standing. Each of these four has its own significance, but they are certainly not all equally important from the doctrinal viewpoint. The most important of the four in this respect is the reference to the ten pāramīs that are treated as the key elements in the conquest of Mara. There are two

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1 This episode appears in the narrative section that clearly represents a new development in the legend connected with Mara, see sections II 60 of the translation and edition.
2 The pāramīs are described here as the relatives or kinsfolk of the bodhisatta, they are thus symbolised as the practices that are now an absolute necessity for the bodhisatta, and as integral components in attaining buddhahood, see sections II 61 of the translation and edition.
3 The assault by Mara has many details and descriptions that do not occur in any of the canonical versions, see sections II 62 of the translation and edition.
4 This completely novel episode is used to validate the practice of the bodhisatta over many lifetimes, and to authenticate the bodhisatta’s spiritual lineage, see sections II 63 of the translation and edition.
separate episodes that refer to the function of the pāramīs in the enlightenment. In the first\(^1\) the pāramīs are described as the things that both ward off Māra's influences, and act as the means for conquering these influences. The second\(^2\) episode defines the pāramīs as the essential qualities that allow the bodhisatta to remain on the seat of enlightenment, and that form a protection from the assaults of Māra's armies. In comparison with the canonical accounts, the inclusion of the pāramīs is the single most important doctrinal development to the Avidūrenidāna's narrative of this episode. For while it may be argued that the narratives, on the attack and defeat of Māra, are merely literary and narrative developments based on existing canonical tradition, and some of these can be very basic\(^3\) indeed. In the Māra narrative of the Avidūrenidāna, the pāramīs are fully incorporated into the Buddhist doctrinal framework. The text establishes them as the primary causes of buddhahood, and gives them a central role in the enlightenment episode.

**Gotama's attainment of bodhi in the Nikāya sources**

For all its immense significance and importance for Buddhism, on a doctrinal as well as a mythological level, the depiction of the scene, and events, of the enlightenment have relatively few canonical occurrences. It is however, even among these limited occurrences, difficult to find an account of this episode that provides a single uniform version. There are quite distinct canonical traditions about the events that actually took place at the enlightenment, and of what enlightenment actually consists of. The canonical sources for the enlightenment fall into two major categories as regard to how the event is described. The first category consists of the texts containing versions of the enlightenment that have no references to the four jhānas, the three vijjās, or the three āsavas. The second category is formed of the texts in which these things are an integral part of the episode. These are the most important categories of distinction in the different versions of this episode, but there are also other matters that are differently recorded in these texts.

In the case of the first category there is the version in the Āriyapariyesana-sutta\(^4\) in which enlightenment appears to consist of simply the understanding of the nature of life, that in turn leads to knowledge, vision, and nibbāna.\(^5\) It does not refer to the jhānas, vijjās or āsavas in any way whatever. The Mahāpadāna-sutta\(^6\) follows this pattern, and also has no reference to the role of the jhānas, vijjās, or āsavas, in the

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\(^1\) The pāramīs are symbolically portrayed as the shield and sword of the bodhisatta in the struggle with Māra, see sections II 61 of the translation and edition.

\(^2\) The purpose of this episode is to show the criteria for becoming a buddha, which is the fulfillment of the ten pāramīs, though it also indicates the protective function of the pāramīs, see section II 63 of the translation and edition.

\(^3\) The Buddhavamsa, on which the Dürenidāna section of the Jātakamānava rely so heavily, has only one reference to the defeat of Māra being a part of the enlightenment process. See chapter XXI, gāthā 2, N.A. Jayawickrama, ed., Buddhavamsa and Cariyāpiṭaka, London: PTS, 1974, p. 80.

\(^4\) The account in the Āriyapariyesana-sutta also has the meeting with the two teachers and the quest for enlightenment, and concludes with Brahmā Sahampati requesting the buddha to teach, see V. Trenckner, ed. The Majhima-nikāya, vol. I, London: PTS, 1888, rpt. 1979, pp. 163-167.

\(^5\) Some scholars regard the Āriyapariyesana-sutta as representative of the earliest tradition about the enlightenment on account of its very brevity, see K.R. Norman, Collected Papers, vol. 4, Oxford: PTS, 1993, pp. 126-127.

\(^6\) The Mahāpadāna-sutta account is referring to the buddha Vipassī's enlightenment, and gives a different version
process of enlightenment. The second category of texts are found in the Majjhima-nikāya and the Vinaya. The Majjhima-nikāya contains five suttas that include the same series of events when describing the enlightenment. The model for four of these accounts similar to this may be the Mahāsaccaka-sutta, this text is, however, the only one of all of the sources to state that the bodhisatta recalled his childhood jhānic experience at the jambu tree, and used this technique in the quest for enlightenment. The Mahāsaccaka-sutta version also contains an account of the bodhisatta’s first two teachers, and states that the bodhisatta attained each of the four jhānas before attaining the three vijñās. These consist of the knowledge of his own former births, knowledge of the arising of other beings, and knowledge of the destruction of the three āsavas. These three knowledges were attained successively during each of the three watches of the night, following which the bodhisatta became enlightened.

The four other Majjhima-nikāya suttas that record the enlightenment include the essential elements found in the version contained in the Mahāsaccaka-sutta. The Bodhirājakumāra-sutta, the Sangārava-sutta, the Bhayabherava-sutta, and the Dvedhāvitakka-sutta all give accounts that follow the Mahāsaccaka-sutta account. They all include the description of the four jhānas, three vijñās, and three āsavas. Not one of these four texts refer to the recollection of the jambu tree episode, and the first two, the Bodhirājakumāra-sutta and the Sangārava-sutta, have a preceding section on the bodhisatta’s first two teachers that is exactly the same as found in the Āriyapariyesana-sutta and Mahāsaccaka-sutta. The episode dealing with the two teachers is not included in the versions given in either the Bhayabherava-sutta or the Dvedhāvitakka-sutta. However, all four suttas, in agreement with the Mahāsaccaka-sutta, have the central episode consisting of the attainment of the four jhānas, the three vijñās, and the destruction of the three āsavas. These events depicting the enlightenment are said by all these suttas to have occurred during the three watches of the night.

The Vinaya account of the enlightenment contained in the Suttavibhanga version omits the sections on the two teachers, and the jambu tree, but follows the above texts in its depiction of the attainment of the
Chapter Five

four jhānas and the three vijjās. This account is, however, at variance with all the above sutta versions, in that it is the only one to refer to four āsāvas instead of three. The Vinaya version in question lists them as, kāmāsava, bhavāsava, diṭṭhāsava and avijjāsava, thus adding diṭṭhāsava to the threefold list of the early suttas. As the conception of four āsāvas is of infrequent occurrence in the early strata of the Nikāyas, and diṭṭhāsava is only found in the list in what are perhaps late passages within certain texts. So, it may be that the Vinaya version has either been added to, or is perhaps genuinely representative of a different line of development in the tradition concerning the āsāvas. The above Nikāya and Vinaya examples provide the most extended and detailed accounts of the enlightenment to be found in the Pāli canon that would have been available to the compiler of the Avidūrenidāna. It is the second category of the sutta texts that contain the most information about the actual process of enlightenment, and which one might expect to have been utilised in any subsequent depiction of this event.

Gotama’s attainment of bodhi in the Jātakanidāna

The narrative episode in the Avidūrenidāna that contains the enlightenment is made up of an account of the enlightenment itself, followed by a much longer description of the miraculous events that followed it. The Jātakanidāna contains many narrative descriptions of events not even alluded to in the canonical works. In the case of the depiction of the enlightenment there are a fairly extensive set of canonical sources acting as precedents for such a narrative. However, what are considered to be the essential features of the enlightenment, for the Nikāya texts, are almost totally ignored in the Jātakanidāna’s treatment of this episode. In the Avidūrenidāna section’s version of the process of enlightenment it is given in an extremely brief passage:

During the first watch of the night he understood by means of knowledge recollecting former births, during the middle watch of the night he obtained knowledge by means of the purified divine eye, and during the last watch of the night he obtained knowledge of dependent origination. Then he called to mind the twelve conditions of dependent origination, remembering them in forward and reverse order, and with the flow and against the flow. Then the ten thousand fold world system shook twelve times as far as the

1 This fourfold Vinaya list is given in exactly the same context as the sutta occurrences referred to, see H. Oldenberg, ed. Vinayapitaka, vol. 3, London: PTS, 1881, rpt. 1993, p. 5.
ocean's edge. At the rising of the sun the Mahāpurisa gave a great roar throughout the ten thousand fold world system as he attained knowledge of omniscience and the entire ten thousand fold world system became adorned.

The most striking feature of this account is that it is almost completely devoid of any of the sequence of events, or details, that are connected with this episode in any of the Nikāya or Vinaya versions of the enlightenment episode. This version seems completely to disregard, apart from reference to the three night watches that occur here, the sutta traditions recording these events. For this text the three essential three features of the episode are, the knowledge of previous births, knowledge through the attainment of clairvoyant vision, and knowledge of paṭiccasamuppāda.

The citation also makes no reference to the commonly encountered list, consisting of the attainment of the four jhānas, the three vijjās, the destruction of the āsavas, nor even to the attainment of nibbāna. These are the key elements in the process of enlightenment that are shown in the early Nikāya texts. With the exception of the understanding of paṭiccasamuppāda, this Avidūrenidāna version of the enlightenment does not refer to a single one of these things. Since the list of attributes associated with the Buddha's enlightenment in the Nikāyas has no reference to sabbaññuta 'omniscience', it is clearly this concept that represents an addition to the early Nikāya tradition. The later Nikāya references to sabbaññuta being a quality associated with the bodhisatta, or a goal of a bodhisatta, occur in the Buddhavamsa and Cariyāpiṭaka. These texts each treat sabbaññuta in two separate ways. In the Buddhavamsa the term sabbaññuta is found in the first instance as a defining characteristic of a buddha. Then it is said to be the quality attained by a bodhisatta that allows him to lead other beings to liberation. After this sabbaññuta is mentioned in three more gāthās, where it is said in each case to be a quality that is 'beloved' priya by the bodhisatta. The Cariyāpiṭaka refers to sabbaññuta in two different ways, in the first and only such example, it is viewed as a motivating force behind the bodhisatta's practice of the pāramis. Next it is given in the same way as it occurs in the Buddhavamsa, that is as a quality which is beloved of bodhisattas.

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1 The Tibetan has the translation, thams cad mkhyen pa'i ye šes, for the Pāli sabbahhutdhdna. This attainment is an integral part of the sequence set out in the introductory section of the Durenidāna where the Pāli sabbahiṇṇa 'omniscience', rendered in Tibetan thams cad mkhyen pa, is said to be what the bodhisatta would attain, not buddhahood or enlightenment, see sections I 1 of the translation and edition.

2 See sections II 65 of the translation and edition.

3 This occurs in chapter II gāthā 54, of the Buddhavamsa, where the bodhisatta says: having attained omniscience, I will be a buddha in the world of devas and men. See N.A. Jayawickrama, ed. Buddhavamsa and Cariyāpiṭaka, London: PTS, 1974, p. 12. This is given in the Tibetan translation of the Jātakanidāna, see sections I 18 of the translation and edition.

4 These two gāthās state that having attained sabbaññuta the bodhisatta will be able to lead many devas and people to cross over from samsāra, see N.A. Jayawickrama, ed. Buddhavamsa and Cariyāpiṭaka, London: PTS, 1974, chapter II, gāthās 55-56, p. 12. These are also found in the Tibetan translation of the Jātakanidāna, see sections I 18 of the translation and edition.

5 These gāthās occur in chapters XII gāthā 13, XXIII gāthā 13, and XXIV gāthā 15, see N.A. Jayawickrama, ed. Buddhavamsa and Cariyāpiṭaka, London: PTS, 1974, pp. 83, 86, 90.


7 There are many references to sabbaññuta in this context in the Cariyāpiṭaka, see gāthās [27, 39, 66, 119, 183, 247, 263, 273, 305], N.A. Jayawickrama, ed. Buddhavamsa and Cariyāpiṭaka, London: PTS, 1974, Cariyāpiṭaka,
There is a usage of the term *sabbaññuta* in these two late texts that clearly introduces the concept as something implicit in the attainment of buddhahood, and as a quality that is actively sought after by bodhisattas. It may well be argued that omniscience was considered to be a part of the definition of a buddha in the early Nikāyas, but there is no evidence for the use of the term *sabbaññuta* in those early texts in any such context. The Majjhima-nikāya does contain instances of the term *sabbannu* ‘all knowing’ in a list of epithets applied to Gotama. But it seems here to be used in an honourific, or respectful form of address, rather than as a general quality of buddhas, and in any event its use here may represent a late example of its usage in the Majjhima-nikāya. The addition of this term *sabbaññuta* in the Buddhavamsa and Cariyāpiṭaka, is indicative of the way in which buddhahood had come to be viewed by that later layer of tradition. It is this same tradition which is taken up in the Jātakamālā, where *sabbaññuta* is given the place of central importance in the enlightenment episode narrated in that text.

The Sanskrit sources used here largely follow the early Pāli accounts of the enlightenment episode, only one of them refers to omniscience forming a part of it. In the Mahāvastu there are two enlightenment episodes, one consists only of attaining the four dhyānas, divyā-cākṣu, and then abhisambodhi. The other has the attaining of the four dhyānas, divyā-cākṣu, understanding the four satyas, the āśravas, and pratītyasamutpāda, but both these Mahāvastu versions make no reference to attaining omniscience. The Saṅghabhedavastu version has a similar account to the early Pāli Nikāyas, where the bodhisattva attains the rddhis, divyā-cākṣu, end of the āśravas, and realisation of the four satyas, culminating in abhisambuddhabodhi. The Lalitavistāra also refers to the four dhyānas, and divyā-cākṣu, but has no reference to omniscience. The version in the Buddhacarita varies from all the other Sanskrit versions of the episode in giving the bodhisattva attaining bodhi after a rather different series of attainments than is found in these other sources. This begins with the understanding the nature of existence, ending the āśravas, realising the working of pratītyasamutpāda, and finally obtaining thams cad mkhyen pa īṇid. In pp. 1, 3, 6, 10, 17, 24, 25, 26, and 29. The gāthās [247, 273, and 305] are contained in the Tibetan translation of the Jātakamālā, see sections I 67 of the edition and translation.


2 There are some who consider the term sabbaññu to be purely a post-canonical epithet, see E.J. Thomas, *The Life of the Buddha*, London: RKP, 1927, rpt. 1975, p. 213.


4 This version represents a fairly expanded record of these events, and in this respect is significantly more detailed than the early Pāli accounts. See R. Gnoli, ed. *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, vol. XLIX 1, Part I, Rome: Serie Orientale Roma, 1977, pp. 116-119.

5 The episode in the Lalitavistāra is quite long, but the essentials occur on a few pages, see for example S. Lefman, *ed. Lalitavistāra*, vol. 1, Halle, 1902, pp. 356-359.

6 The enlightenment episode only survives in the Tibetan translation of the Buddhacarita, the understanding of the nature of existence culminates in canto XIV, verse 56 of this edition, see F. Weller, *Das Leben des Buddha von Aśvaghoṣa*, vol. 1, Leipzig: Verlag von Eduard Pfeiffer, 1926, p. 240.

7 In Tibetan *Buddhacarita* canto XIV, verses 79-87, see F. Weller, *Das Leben des Buddha von Aśvaghoṣa*, vol. 1, Leipzig: Verlag von Eduard Pfeiffer, 1926, pp. 244-246.

8 The Tibetan term in this verse is thams cad mkyen pa īṇid, which is probably representing the Sanskrit sarvajñāta. This is the Sanskrit term given for the Tibetan thams cad mkyen pa īṇid in the Mahāvyutpatti, see R. Sasaki, *Mahāvyutpatti*, Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1916, rpt. 1973, nos. 785, 803, 809-810, 864, pp. 60-63,
this respect the Buddhacarita’s inclusion of omniscience in the list of definitions of the enlightenment has its parallel in the Jātakanidāna account.

Conclusion

In this chapter a general overview of some of the important events in Gotama’s life has revealed that its treatment in the Jātakanidāna is the fullest, most innovative account found in any Pāli work. The method in which the Jātakanidāna narrates the life of Gotama is significant for many reasons. On the most basic level, that of textual cohesion, it is by far the most developed, presenting a continuous and integrated literary work of some length and sophistication. The canonical sources upon which it draws come from both early and late strata of the canonical literature. While the type of commentarial works that it employs cannot be known with any certainty, much less their dates, for the text seems also to preserve layers of commentarial explanations from widely divergent periods. It is also later used as a major source on these biographical events by the commentaries to the Buddhavamsa and Apadāna.

The events in Gotama’s life that the Jātakanidāna contains are based on the episodes that are established parts of the early Nikāyas, but also includes many episodes unknown to those texts. Even where an episode has its basis in the early Nikāyas, the Jātakanidāna treatment is invariably more extended and detailed. This study has attempted to show that even the most significant events in the life of Gotama, such as his birth, the four sights, and the attainment of bodhi, are extremely poorly preserved in the early Nikāya traditions. It may be as has been suggested earlier, that the reason for this is that the early Buddhist community was preoccupied with the codification and arrangement of an authoritative collection of doctrinal teachings and monastic regulations, hence the lack of any overtly biographical work in the early Nikāya texts. Whatever the cause for an absence of a biography of Gotama in these texts, the Jātakanidāna forms what came to be regarded by the Theravādin tradition as their most extensive and authoritative work on this subject. Following the production of this text the Theravādin tradition made no further attempt to create any other biography of Gotama. To this extent the Jātakanidāna marks the high point in the evolution of the biographical genre associated with Gotama in the Theravādin tradition.

From the perspective of Theravādin doctrine this text is the single most diverse and eclectic work to appear in the Pāli commentaries. Its two major themes may be summed up as being the creation of a framework into which the doctrines of the appearance of previous buddhas, and the bodhisatta doctrine, can be simultaneously developed. Taking the Buddhavamsa as its primary source, the text brings out the full implications of the doctrines first encountered, on the canonical level, in that text. However, the Jātakanidāna does not follow the most obvious biographical theme of the Buddhavamsa exclusively, that of depicting the lives of the past buddhas, but develops the biography of the character of the bodhisatta. In its portrayal of the full life story of Gotama the text gives numerous miraculous, and what have been termed here docetic, accounts of events not even hinted at in the early or late Nikāya works. Whether some of the impetus for these episodes emanates from a school other than the Theravādins is extremely difficult to judge. In order to make a general survey of these common episodes several of the Hinayāna

67.
Chapter Five

Sanskrit sources have been referred to, and compared with their Jñātakaniḍāna parallels. While it can be seen that there is certainly a body of traditions that are in broad agreement on the inclusion of certain biographical episodes, the exact detail in those episodes can vary considerably from text to text.

As to the question of possible borrowing between these different textual traditions, there is no conclusive way to establish such a borrowing in the Jñātakaniḍāna. For, unless there is found an exact word for word occurrence of a passage in one of the Sanskrit sources, it would be unsound to ascribe it to that source. Even if such cases occur, it is still not safe to infer that the Jñātakaniḍāna has taken it from that source. The relationship between these different Buddhist traditions is still an area full of unanswered questions. On a mythological level the Jñātakaniḍāna is an important text for the Theravādins, for it becomes the source of all the significant myths and legends relating to the bodhisatta. It provides many examples of central episodes in the life of the bodhisatta that are not referred to in the Nikāyas. Thus the text gives a full rationalisation, and mythological basis to all the doctrinally important episodes in the depiction of this character.

In terms of a more general conclusion to be drawn from this study, the major emphasis here has been to show the various ways in which the Jñātakaniḍāna acts as a text that systematises and validates the bodhisatta doctrine for the Theravādin tradition. There is a real sense in which the text can be referred to as the first work to propound this doctrine in a meaningful fashion for the Theravādins. Having already noted that the Buddhavamsa had introduced the necessary component parts of this doctrine, it is the Jñātakaniḍāna which is responsible for the formulation of the doctrine into a more complete form than encountered hitherto. The text follows some of the episodes found in the Hinayāna Sanskrit sources, but it has its own distinctive doctrinal innovation in the ten pāramīs, and the other concepts referring to the stages in the life of a bodhisatta. Thus the bodhisatta doctrine developed by the Theravādins is quite distinct from that of either the Hīnayāna or Mahāyāna traditions, and while it contains some similarities to both of them it presents a unique combination of elements not found in either of those traditions. The study has attempted to focus on certain of the most significant areas of conceptual, doctrinal, and mythological development presented in this text and the commentaries associated with it.
Jātakanidāna Translation

The Distant Era

I 1.

In the Indian language it is called the Jātakanidāna, in the Tibetan language it is called the sKyes pa rabs kyi gleñ gzi. One should make reverential salutation to the noble triple gem. When the Bhagavan was residing in Anāthapindīka's park, the mahāthera Atthadassi went before the Bhagavan, and having saluted and circumambulated him, sat down to one side. Then, in the Bhagavan's presence, he spoke these words: 'Reverend sir, I wish to learn the teaching concerning the lineage of the Buddhas and Bhagavans.' The Bhagavan replied: 'Atthadassi, be attentive and I shall explain it.' Moreover, here the compiler also explains the significance of the Jātakanidāna belonging to those arhats who have investigative understanding and calmness. (7b) {Pa2} Whoever hears this commentary extolled sees these three eras: the distant era, the middle era and the recent era. In this instance one should first understand the scope of each of those eras. Here at the feet of Dipaṅkara, the Mahāsatta made his resolution, from Vessantara's renunciation of the body up to his birth in the Tusita abode and the path of teaching the doctrine, is called the distant era. The departure from the Tusita abode, up to the attainment of omniscience on the seat of enlightenment and the teaching of the doctrine, is called the middle era. From the dwelling at different places, up to the various attainments is called the recent era.

Here is the section called the distant era.

There, commencing in the beginning more than four incalculable aeons and one hundred thousand aeons ago, there was a city called Amaravati. Therein lived a brahmana named Sumedha. He entered

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3 Tibetan: sKyes pa rabs kyi gleñ gzi'i don g yi bsṅags pa brjod do.
4 The folio numbers from the sTog Palace edition are given thus: (7b), while the Pāli pages numbers referring to the PTS edition of the text are given thus: (Pa2).
5 Pāli begins here.
7 Tibetan: bar pa'i gleñ gzi. Pāli: avidurenidāna.
9 Tibetan omits. Pāli has: tehi samudāgamato paṭṭhāya viññātattā yasmā suṭṭhu viññātā nāma hoti tasmā tarī niṇānāṁ dassetvā vaṇṇayissāma.
11 Tibetan: sems dpa' chen po.
birth of good lineage on both mother's and father's side, up to seven generations of which had no quarrel, argument or dispute with others, and who were quite pure. He was a man who had a beautiful form, pleasing to look at and with the fairest complexion. He learned only the rituals of the brähmanas who did not perform other rituals. (8a) While still a youth both his mother and father died. After that his treasurer brought the account book, and he recited from it at the door of those storerooms full of gold, silver, money and pearls and so forth: 'O Prince, these are the riches of your mother, these are the riches of your father, these are the riches of your grandfather and great grandfather. It is the wealth of seven generations of your family.' This was said in order to preserve those riches. The wise Sumedha thought: 'Having grasped this wealth my father and grandfather, and the others, when going to the other world did not go taking even one gold coin with them. After taking it myself, I too shall know that fate.' After this was related to the king, music resounded in the city, and after the presentation of that gift of his wealth to all beings, he went forth in the going forth of an ascetic. Sumedha then gave a discourse at that place in order to clarify the meaning of this. There he not only related just this, but spoke on the uninterrupted continuity in the Buddhavaṃsa. Moreover, since it is difficult to understand even the explanation, as it is contained in verse, it will be explained clearly using now and then certain words from the verses.

I2.

The story of Sumedha.

From the beginning, four immeasurable aeons and more than one hundred aeons ago, the ten sounds arose uninterruptedly in the city of Amaravati. The explanation of that is found in the Buddhavaṃsa: {Pā3}

Bv II 1-2a

When, more than four immeasurable aeons and one hundred thousand aeons ago
(8b) the city called Amaravati created joy for the beholder,
possessed of food and drink, like the ten uninterrupted sounds.²

I3.

The ten uninterrupted sounds.

In that instance the ten uninterrupted sounds are: the roar of the elephant, the neighing of horses, the rumble of chariots, the sound of music, the sound of mṛdam ga music, the sound of lute music, the sound of singing, the sound of samma music, the sound of cymbals, the sound of laughter and drinking, the sound of feasting, these ten sounds were uninterrupted.³ Those sounds were made at that place.⁴

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17 Tibetan: 'jigs med ldan.
2 The Jinacarita contains a series of verses very similar to these verses, see W.H.D. Rouse, “Jinacarita”, JPTS, 5, 1904-5, pp. 1-2.
3 See MSA pp. xliv-xlvii, and MPS pp.313-355. D.N. 17
4 The Gilgit MS of the Mahāsudarśana-sūtra and its Tibetan translation contains lists of parallel verses to these, with ten or twelve kinds of sounds that are very similar to this grouping in the Jātakānīdāna. See H. Matsumura,
Bv II 2b-c

The roar of elephant and neighing of horses the sound of chariot and conch shell eating and drinking itself, and the sound of eating and drinking.

This is related in the verses of the *Buddhavaṁsa*:

Bv II 3-5

The city had major and minor parts, and all desired to live together.¹

It also had the seven treasures, and was filled with every sort of person.

They lived meritoriously, just like in the city of the gods.

The *brahmaṇa* named Sumedha lived without fear in the city, amassing many treasures and much wealth and grain.

Understanding² the (9a) esoteric *mantras*, and going beyond the three *vedas*,³ attaining mastery in the oral traditions,⁴ and the true doctrine.⁵

I4.

**Sumedha’s reflection.**

Then one day Sumedha sat in solitude, crosslegged and alone, on the roof of the palace and thought: ‘Even the wise suffer when taking repeated existence in many wombs. Accordingly, the body is destroyed in its place of rebirth.⁶ I have the nature of birth, the nature of old age, the nature of illness, and the nature of death. Since this is the case, it is right that I should seek the absence of birth, the absence of old age, the absence of illness, the happiness that is free from suffering and cool, the great freedom from ill that is like ambrosia.⁷ So, the single path that leads to the freedom from suffering is the liberation from inevitable existence.’⁸ On account of this it is said:

Bv II 6-9

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¹ Tibetan: ‘dod pa thams cad ne bar gnas. Pāli: sabbakammamupagatam.


⁵ Tibetan: mtshan ņid i thi ha sa dañ // dam pa’i chos kyi pha rol soñ. Pāli: lakkhaṇe itihāsa ca sadhamme pāramiṁ gato ti.

⁶ Tibetan: de bzin du skye ba skye ba’i gnas su lus ’jig go, Pāli omits.


⁸ Tibetan: nes par srid pa las. Pāli: avassarṇī bhavato.
Abiding alone in solitude, I then reflected thus:
'Repeated existence is suffering, since the body is destroyed.

Now, I have the nature of birth, the nature of old age, and the nature of illness,
I seek freedom from suffering, the joy that is free of birth and death.1

When this impure body, filled with various impurities,
is abandoned as profitless, and unworthy of concern there is progress. (9b) {Pā4}

Suppose a path like that exists, it will not be obtained without endeavour.
I should seek such a path, since it will free me from numerous existences.'

Then he reflected further: 'Just as there is the happiness that is the opposite of the suffering of the world.
So, if there is2 the opposite, there will be freedom from suffering.3 In that way, if there is passion,4 there is
a coolness that allays it. Similarly, there will be freedom from suffering which allays the fire5 of desire
and so forth. Just as there is the good teaching that is free from fault, which is the opposite to evil.6 And if
there exists a birth possessing evil such as that, there will also be that freedom from suffering, that is
renowned to be without birth, and which causes the destruction of all births.' On account of this it is said:

Bv II 10-12
Just as when there is suffering, there is also happiness.
Similarly, when there is desire, there is also the absence of desire.7
Just as if there is heat, there is also coolness.
So, if the three fires exist, there is also freedom from suffering.8
Just as if there is evil, there is also goodness.9
So, if there is birth, there is also the desire for the absence of birth.

Furthermore he reflected: 'Just as (10a) a person who tumbled into a heap of dung and if, from a distance,
he saw a great lake with lotus flowers of five colours,10 thinking: 'By which path should I go', it is
proper11 that he enter into that lake, proceeding by any path. If he does not proceed on that path, it is not
the fault of the great lake. In that way, if one does not wash away the stains of the defilements, and if there is a great lake that is free from suffering and without death, and if one does not enter into it, then it is not the fault of the great lake that is free from suffering and without death. Just as if there is a way of escape for a person surrounded by robbers, if he does not quickly escape it is the fault of that person, not the fault of the path. In that way, if there is a path that is free from suffering, and which pacifies that person who is seized from all around by the passions, if he does not seek that path it is not the fault of the path, it is the fault of that person. Just as if there were a doctor who could cure the illness of that person who was afflicted by illness, if that person does not seek that doctor who can cure the illness, it is not the fault of the doctor, it is the fault of the patient. In that way, if there were a wise man who could pacify the afflictions of that person who is troubled by the illness of afflictions. If that person were not to seek that teacher, it is a fault of that person, it is not the fault of the teacher who subdues the afflictions. On account of which it is said:

Bv II 13-18

Just as a man clothed in filth were to see a brimming lake, if he does not enter that lake, that is not the fault of the lake.

So, there is an ocean of Amata to wash the stains of the afflictions, if one does not enter that ocean, it is not the fault of the ocean of Amata. {Pā5}

Just as for one encircled by robbers, there is a path that leads away, if that person does not make his escape, that is not the fault of the path.

Just as if one is besieged by afflictions, and there is a path that pacifies them, if he does not enter that path, it is not the fault of the path that pacifies them.

Just as for the man who is troubled by illness, there is a doctor, if that man does not act to allay the illness, that is not the fault of the doctor.

So, when there is suffering and trouble due to the illness of the afflictions, if he does not seek a teacher, it is not the fault of the teacher.

Furthermore he reflected: ‘Just as if filth were tied to the neck of a person who is adorned with adornments, after casting it off he would accordingly proceed happily. So I also, abandoning this body

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1 Tibetan: 'chi ba med pa'i mya 'ann las 'da' ba'i mtsho chen po. Pāli: Amatamahānibbānatajāka.
2 Tibetan: mi gtsan gos pa'i mi. Pāli: gūthagato puriso.
3 Tibetan: 'jug par mi byed pa. Pāli: na gavesati.
which is impure, and without paying any regard to it, rightly enter the city that is free from suffering. Furthermore, just as men and women after defecating in the latrine, do not proceed to pour it into a pot and then carry it around. They eject it without regard, and having rejected it with disgust, they proceed. In that way I also, rejecting the body and so forth, that is impure, rightly enter into the city that is free of suffering and without death. Furthermore, (11a) just as those boatmen proceed by rejecting without regard those leaky boats. I also, rejecting this body that oozes from within through those wounds of the nine orifices, rightly enter the city free from suffering that is without regard to such things. Furthermore, just as a person having received great wealth of various kinds, and who associates with robbers. If he proceeds on that path, he is terrified by the fear that his own great wealth will be destroyed, accordingly he abandons those robbers and enters onto the good path. So, as I also have many bodily impurities, if I created a desire for this impure body, which is like a thief who plunders much wealth, I would fear for the destruction of the jewel of the *dhamma* which is the noble path of happiness. Therefore, I reject this body, which is like a thief, and rightly enter the city that is free from suffering. On account of that it is said:

By II 19-26

Just as when something stinking is bound to a man’s neck, he is disgusted, if he proceeds by abandoning that, free from disgust, he proceeds to happiness.

Accordingly, though filled with various bodily impurities, he proceeds by abandoning it as profitless and without regard.

Just as in the latrine, men and women having defecated, proceed by rejecting it without regard as profitless.

In that way, I also should proceed by rejecting my body, (11b) which is filled with various impurities, just like that latrine.

Just as, if there were a leaking boat, water would appear inside,
the boatman\textsuperscript{1} rejects that without regard as profitless. \{Pâ6\}

In that way, if I also proceed by rejecting my body,
as being nine holed and impermanent\textsuperscript{2}, like the boatman who rejects the boat.

Just as, if a man who associates with robbers went carrying his wealth,
seeing the disappearance of that wealth, he goes abandoning it through fear.

Similarly, this body is liken to a great robber,
when one proceeds by abandoning it, he enjoys happiness and is without fear.

I5.

\textbf{Sumedha's going forth.}

Accordingly, the wise Sumedha reflected on the meaning of the benefits\textsuperscript{3} of these various examples. Just
as it is said earlier\textsuperscript{4} that the immeasurable mass of wealth in one's own house is like giving a great gift to
the poor and so on. Abandoning the desire for wealth, and the desire of the afflications,\textsuperscript{5} went out of the
city of Amara.\textsuperscript{6} Alone he resorted to Dhammaka\textsuperscript{7} mountain in Himavant, there\textsuperscript{8} he made a thatched hut
and walkway, and accordingly abandoned the five hindering faults.\textsuperscript{9} As it is said in the text beginning
with\textsuperscript{10} when his mind was concentrated\textsuperscript{11} he obtained the higher knowledge, which has the eight activities,\textsuperscript{12}
and power. There he abandoned the wearing of clothes that have nine faults. He wore clothes of pieces of
tree bark that have twelve good qualities, (12a) going forth in the going forth of a sage. Then, having
gone forth after abandoning that leaf hut possessed of eight faults, he dwelled at the foot of a tree that has
ten good qualities. Abandoning all wealth, he lived eating the best fruit\textsuperscript{13} of the tree. He performed the
asceticism of making a walkway at his abode. Within seven days he obtained the eight attainments,\textsuperscript{14} and

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\textsuperscript{1} Tibetan: gru mkhan. Pali: sâmi.

\textsuperscript{2} Tibetan: bu ga dgu yan ni rtag pas //. Pali: navacchiddâri dhuvassavañ.

\textsuperscript{3} Tibetan: phan yon gyi don. Pali: nekkhammûpasamhitañ attharñ.

\textsuperscript{4} Tibetan: snar ji ltar brjod pa. Pali: hetthâvuttanayena.

\textsuperscript{5} Tibetan: nor gyi 'dod pa dañ âon mons pa'i dod pa. Pali: vatthukâme ca kilesakâme.

\textsuperscript{6} Tibetan: 'Jigs med Idan.

\textsuperscript{7} Tibetan: Chos kyi ri.

\textsuperscript{8} Tibetan omits. Pali has, assamañi katvâ.


\textsuperscript{10} Tibetan: dañ po. Pali: omits, and has: âdinâ nayena vuttehi.

\textsuperscript{11} This refers to a quotation from the Sâmaññaphala-sutta, D I no. 2, p. 76: So evam samâhite citte parisuddhe
pariyodâte anasânge vagatiûakkilese mûddi-bhûte kammaniya ûte ûneijappate ûnâna-dassanâya citte ûbhinnarharet abhininâmì. With variants on pp. 77-83; see also M I no. 4, Bhayabhavarava-sutta, pp. 22-23.

\textsuperscript{12} Tibetan: byed pa brygyad dañ Idan pa. Pali: âtha kârañaguña.

\textsuperscript{13} Tibetan: 'bras bu mehog. Pali: pavattaphala.

\textsuperscript{14} Tibetan: brygyad la sîoms par 'jug pa. Pali: âtha samâpatti. The eight attainments are: 1. attainment of the first
jhânâ, 2. attainment of the second jhânâ, 3. attainment of the third jhânâ, 4. attainment of the fourth jhânâ, 5. attainment of the sphere of boundless space, 6. attainment of the sphere of boundless consciousness, 7. attainment of the sphere of nothingness, 8. attainment of the sphere of neither perception nor non-perception. The eight \textit{samàpattis} are explained in the \textit{Visuddhimagga} nos. 1-4 at Vm IV pp. 139-168, nos. 4-8 at Vm X pp. 327-338
the five kinds of higher knowledge. Similarly, he obtained the power of higher knowledge by striving for it. On account of which it is said:

By II 27-33

In this way I reflected: ‘This wealth of several hundred kotis I will give to those slaves and free men, and then approach Himavant.’

Not far from Himavant on the Dhamma mountain
I lived on the best fruit, in a well made hut of leaves.

I made a walkway there, abandoned the five faults,
and was endowed with eight qualities and power of higher knowledge.

Having rejected those as possessing nine faults,
I wore clothes of bits of tree bark, which have twelve qualities.

Abandoning the hut of leaves with its eight faults,
I lived at the foot of a tree, which had ten qualities.

I abandoned without exception those grains that are sown or planted,
and ate only the best tree fruit that has all qualities. {Pa7}

Performing asceticism there at that hut and walkway, (12b) within seven days I obtained the power of higher knowledge.

I 6.

My well made abode and well constructed leaf hut.

Here the introduction says at this point: ‘the wise Sumedha built with his own hand the walkway and the leaf hut abode.’ The meaning here is this: Sakka, chief of the devas, after seeing the Mahasatta who thought: ‘After coming from the interior of the Himavant region, today I will go to the Dhamma mountain,’ said to Vissakammataputta, ‘The wise Sumedha comes thinking: “I wish to go forth,”’ so
create his abode here!' Hearing his words Vissakammadevaputta created a pleasant abode, consisting of a well made hut of leaves and walkway. The Bhagavan accomplished his own intention, then he related the series of events: ‘O Sāriputta, there on the Dhamma mountain:

Bv II 28b-29a

I made a good abode, with a well made hut of leaves
after abiding and walking there, I abandoned the five faults.’

I7.

Abandoning the five faults.

What are the five faults of the walkway? (1) Hardness and being unlevel; (2) shrubs in the middle and unevenness; (3) dense forest; (4) being too narrow; (5) being too wide. If, when walking, part of the walkway is hard or unlevel, then blisters arise on the feet and one does not abide with mind one-pointed, and his subject of meditation is not established. Due to the surface of the walkway being even and smooth, there is happiness, and (13a) he establishes the subject of meditation.

1. You should know the first fault to be that part of the ground that is thorny and unlevel.
2. When there is a tree in the middle, inside or at the end of the walkway, and if one walks moving carelessly, one strikes one’s forehead and head. The danger of being among trees is the second fault.
3. When walking on a walkway that is on ground thick with forest, grass, creepers and so forth, then during darkness one treads on creatures, such as snakes, and dies or they inflict injury by biting with their fangs. The denseness of the forest is the third fault.
4. When walking on a walkway that is too narrow, either one cubit or half a cubit to the edge, it would while walking within it cut ones nails or fingers. That being too narrow is the forth fault.

2. Tibetan: bcom ldan ‘das kyis yan de’i tshe bdag gis bsams nas goms par byas pa rdzogs pa las / de’i dus su de’i rgyu mtshan gyis. Pāli: Bhagavā pana tadā attano puññabhāvena nipphanaṁ taṁ assamapadaṁ sandhāya.
4. Tibetan omits. Pāli has: Tattha suktato mayhaṁ ti suktato maya, paññassāla sumāpiṁ ti paññacchadasanālāpi me sumāpiṁ ahosi; pañccadosavivajjitan ti.
8. Tibetan: sīn tu dog pa’i ’chag sa’i mchu ru khru geig pa’am / khru phyed pa’i ’chag sa byed na nan du good pa dañ / sen mo ’am sor mo ’chad par ’gyur ba ni. Pāli: atisambadhe cañkhame āyāmato ratanike vā adhāratanike vā cañkhame cañkamantassa pariccheda pakkhatīvā nakhāpi aṅgulīyo pi bhijjanti.
5. When walking on a walkway that is too wide, the mind would be distracted, and one would not obtain the abiding in one pointedness of mind. This being too wide is the fifth fault.

It is proper that the measure of the span of the walkway is two and a half cubits in width and the walkway together with a wide sand border, with a smooth and even earth floor, was sixty cubits in length and only one cubit on both sides. It is proper that you should make it like the walkway of the mahāthera Mahinda, bright like the butter lamps at the Cetiyagiri shrine. On account of which it is said: ‘I made a walkway there and abandoned the five faults.’

I8.

Endowed with eight good qualities.

This has the eight joys of a samana who is endowed with the eight good qualities. (13b)

What is the possession of the eight joys of the samana?4

1. The absence of desire to grasp wealth and grain.
2. The absence of desire through blameless alms gathering.
3. The absence of desire to seek food.
4. Not burdening the wealth and riches of the country, or desiring hardship to the people of the country, as the royal family do not wish harm to the people of the country when taking individual taxes and so forth.
5. Being free from the desire for all requisites.
6. There is no fear of being robbed by thieves.
7. Freedom from the torments of king, regent and minister.5
8. When he proceeds in the four directions he is free of torment.6 {Pā8}

So it is said:7 ‘If one abides in that way, it is possible to experience these eight joys. In that way, he made that hermitage there endowed with the eight qualities.’

I9.

He will obtain the power of higher knowledge.

Then abiding in that hermitage, and having made those preliminary objects8 in order to generate higher knowledge and the attainments. By undertaking insight on impermanence and suffering, he obtains that

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2 Tibetan: dBaṅ chen.
3 Tibetan: mcHod rten gyi rigs.
4 Tibetan: dge sbyon gi bde ba brgyad dañ ldan pa ṝes bya ba ni gañ ṝe na. Pāli: atta’ imāni samānasukhāni nāma.
7 Tibetan omits. Pāli has: idaṁ vuttaṁ hoti.
state\(^1\) after obtaining the power of insight. When he abides like that he is able to obtain that power. In that way, by abiding there for the sake of higher knowledge, an adequate power of insight is created. This is the meaning of making a hut.

I10.

The abandonment of clothes that possess nine faults.

The text says: ‘Therein, the abandonment of clothes that possess nine faults.’ These have been mentioned earlier in this work. Then he should make a secluded abode consisting of a small room, (14a) and a large room with a walkway adorned with flowers, fruit, and so on. With a pleasing variety of trees, pleasing like the thought of water, free from dangerous animals, and free of multitudes of horrible\(^2\) birds. In that way it is correct for anyone to go forth, resting on the seat\(^3\) which is for sitting on, at the middle, and both sides of the adorned walkway. The even ground within the adorned walkway is mixed with golden coloured stones, rings of long hair within the hut of leaves, the religious garb made of pieces of tree bark, and the three pointed staff, and endowed with the requisites of asceticism, such as the flask and so on. The water in the large jug inside the resting place, the water of the religious conch, and in the cup made of dough, and the fire-house, and possessing a cool vessel, and the tree, and so on. So, Vissakammadevaputta,
having created all those things, and written a message on the wall of the leaf hut saying: ‘Whoever desires to go forth, let him go forth after taking these requisites!,’ then went to the \textit{deva} world. The wise Sumedha followed the river\(^4\) on the side of Himavant mountain, looking for a suitable place for his own abode, and saw the pleasant dwelling given by Sakka, and transformed by Vissakamma who had turned back the river. (14b) Going on one side of the length of the walkway without seeing footprints, he thought: ‘Those ascetics are seeking alms from a distant village, when they tire and return, entering the leaf hut they will dwell here. I want to know if they will not return immediately or will not return for a long time.’\(^5\) Entering by the door of the room of the wooden house, he went inside. Looking around he read the message written on the large inner wall, and thought: ‘I should examine all these utensils, and taking them, go forth.’\(^6\) I abandoned both my upper and lower robes. On account of that it is said: ‘I abandoned my clothes there.’ ‘Sāriputta, having entered there I abandoned that leaf hut, together with the clothes that have nine faults.’

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\(^1\) Tibetan: gnas thob par byed do. Pāli: thāmappattaṁ.

\(^2\) Tibetan: gnod par byed pa. Pāli: bhīmasana is the later form of the earlier canonical bhīmsanaka.

\(^3\) Tibetan: rten gyi gzi. Pāli: alambanaphalaka. CPD gives this word as ‘board or slab to lean against or recline on for taking rest during exercises on the \textit{cankama},’ see V. Trenckner, \textit{et al, A Critical Pāli Dictionary}, Copenhagen: Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, II (1960-1990), p. 197.

\(^4\) Tibetan: chu klun. Pāli omits.

\(^5\) Tibetan: de ma thag tu ma slob par dus riṅ por ma slob par so sōr šes sgo so. Pāli: “ativiya cirāyaṁtūtī” jānissāmiṁ”.

\(^6\) Tibetan: ‘di nams thams cad bdag gi yo byad du brtag par bya’o // de nams blaṅs nas rab tu byuṅ no. Pāli: mayhaṁ kappiyaṇaparikkhārā ete, ime gahetvā pabbajissāmiṁ.
111. The nine faults of clothes.
Moreover, I saw the nine faults clearly.1 The nine faults of the clothing of those ascetics who have gone forth are:
1. The fault of being hard to obtain.2
2. The fault of becoming desired by others.3
3. The fault, when using them, of being quickly soiled.4
4. The fault, when using them, of tearing, and the necessity to dye them, and wash them when they become soiled.5
5. The fault, moreover, of being necessary to mend and sew when old, and moreover, difficult to obtain when sought.6
6. The fault of being unsuitable for an ascetic who has gone forth.7
7. The fault that they could be stolen by enemies and so on.8
8. The fault that (15a) in order one’s enemies do not take them it is necessary to guard them, and when worn they become ornaments.9
9. The fault that when going after taking them, they become a great burden to the body.10

112. The clothes of tree bark.
‘Sāriputta, at that time I abandoned clothes after seeing their nine faults. {Pā9} I bound and joined pieces of munja grass11 to the tree bark12 in order to acquire an upper and lower robe of tree bark.’13
These are endowed with twelve good qualities. Tree bark clothes have twelve benefits:

1. The first benefit is their lack of value, beauty, and suitability.
2. The second benefit is that it is possible to make them with one's own hands.
3. The third benefit is that when one uses them although they become soiled, it is possible to wash them quickly.¹
4. The forth benefit is that although they become worn when one uses them it is possible to repair them.
5. The fifth benefit is their ability to cause joy when sought.
6. The sixth benefit is that they are suitable for an ascetic who has gone forth.
7. The seventh benefit is that they are undesirable to robbers.
8. The eighth benefit is that when they are worn they are the adornment of an ascetic.
9. The ninth benefit is that when they are worn they are light.
10. The tenth benefit is that religious robes have little appeal in themselves.²
11. The eleventh benefit is that when there is excitement there is no sin for the practitioner.³
12. The twelfth benefit is that when tree bark clothes are lost it is of little concern.

Abandoning the hut of leaves possessing eight faults.⁴ How did I abandon it? (15b) Changing⁵ my best clothes, and taking the red clothes, that are like the colour of garlands of anoja⁶ flowers, and wearing them as lower⁷ robes, and moreover, wearing tree bark clothes that are yellow on top. Wearing⁸ a covering of leopard skin, together with its paws,⁹ that is liken to a mat of punnāga¹⁰ flowers, I bound the ringlets of hair to my head, inserting a stiff needle in order to strengthen¹¹ the knot of hair on my crown. I inserted a draw cord, that was like a string of pearls, around the coral coloured flask. Taking the stick that was bent in three places, and grasping the carrying-pole with the jug on one end, and the bamboo pole with an iron hook at both ends, and the trident and so on, I

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¹ Tibetan: Loṅs spyod pa na dri ma can du gyur kyi ma myur du bskr bar nus pa. Pāḷi: paribhogaṇa sanikaṁ kilissati dhoviyamāṇe pi papaṇco n’ atthi.
² Tibetan: Chos go so so la ’dod pa chuṅ ba. Pāḷi: cīvaraṇacayye appichabhāvo.
³ Tibetan: sloṅ ba na choś pa la kha na ma tho ba med pa. Pāḷi: vākuppattiyaṁ dhammikaṇavajjabhāvo.
⁴ Tibetan: Skyoṅ brgyad daṅ ldan pa’i lo ma’i khaṅ pa dor. Pāḷi: aṭṭhadosasamākīṃparṇaṁ pajahīṁ paṇṇasālakāṇaṁ.
⁵ Tibetan: Rigs su gyur pa. Pāḷi: omucanto.
⁷ Tibetan: Smad. Pāḷi omits.
carried them. Carrying the load on one shoulder, and grasping the staff in the right hand, I emerged\(^1\) from
the leaf-hut. Walking to and fro on the great walkway of sixty cubits length, and looking at my own
clothes, thought: ‘I have obtained fully my wish. I went forth into splendour, this is the going forth that is
praised and glorified by heroic beings such as the Buddhas and paccekabuddhas. Abandoning the fetter of
the house, I performed the duty of a samana, and renouncing,\(^2\) obtained the highest going forth. I obtained
the fruit of joy,\(^3\) and delight arose.’ I gently\(^4\) put the load on the ground,\(^5\) and (16a) sat like a golden statue
on top of a yellow coloured stone in the middle of the walkway. Spending part of the day there, at
evening time I stayed\(^6\) inside the leaf hut. Sleeping on top of a well arranged wooden couch,\(^7\) rising in the
last watch of the night,\(^8\) clothing the body with cool clothes,\(^9\) and reflected on the meaning of my arrival:
‘I saw the fault\(^10\) of the householder’s state, abandoning enjoyment of ambrosia\(^11\) and endless fame.
Abiding in solitude,\(^12\) I went forth in order to seek renunciation. Then having grasped that\(^13\) I did not
think\(^14\) of practising heedlessness, and abandoned solitude, and going was bitten by the flies of wrong
thought,\(^15\) it is proper that I reject solitude.\(^16\) I, seeing also the attendant confusion\(^17\) of the state of a
householder, went out and made this pleasant leaf hut, laying golden coloured clay on the ground. The
walls were white, like the colour of silver, and the roof had a covering of leaves that was red, like the
colour of a pigeon’s feet. Sleeping on a multi coloured mat on a wooden bed. They see happiness in that
abode, and see\(^18\) it to be like the abundant accomplishment of the householder.’ Looking at the fault\(^19\) of
the leaf hut and seeing its eight faults, when using the leaf hut there are eight faults:\(^20\)

1. (16b) Seeking to build a house there is the necessity of much wealth and much wood, this is the first
fault.\(^21\)

\(^1\) Tibetan: byun ste. Pāli: nikkhamitvā.
\(^2\) Tibetan: nes par byun. Pāli: nekkhamma.
\(^3\) Tibetan: bde ba’i bras bu. Pāli: maggahalasukhāṁ.
\(^4\) Tibetan: dal bus. Pāli omits.
\(^7\) Tibetan: šiṅ khri legs po’i gzhog. Pāli: bidalamaṇacakapasse kaṭṭhattarikāya.
\(^8\) Tibetan: nam gyi cha smad la. Pāli: balavaccceūce.
\(^12\) Tibetan: dgon par gnas te. Pāli: araṇñathī pavisītvā.
\(^13\) Tibetan: de nas bzun nas. Pāli: ito dāṇi paṭṭhāya.
\(^14\) Tibetan: mi rto gs pa. Pāli: na vattati.
\(^15\) Tibetan: log pa’i sбраś mas. Pāli: micchāvitakkaṁakkhaṁ.
\(^16\) Tibetan: bdag gis rabs tu bden pa dor bar rigs so. Pāli: mâyā vivekaṁ anubṛheteṁ vattati.
\(^17\) Tibetan: zaṅ zin daṁ bcas par. Pāli: palibodhato.
\(^18\) Tibetan: mthon. Pāli: paṇṇāyati
\(^19\) Tibetan: skyon. Pāli: dosa.
\(^20\) Tibetan: skyon. Pāli: ādinava.
\(^21\) Tibetan: šiṅ maṅ po la nor maṅ po dgos pa daṅ / bsdbus nas khaṅ pa byed ciṁ tshol ba. Pāli: mahāsamabhāraṇa
dabbasambhāre samodhānetvā karuṇaparīyesanabhūvo.
2. When repeatedly consuming the earth and grass\(^1\) it is necessary to replenish it continually, this is the second fault. \(\text{\{Pā\}10}\)

3. The sleeping place is appropriate for the elders, though it necessitates rising at unseemly times, leading to not abiding in single pointedness of mind, this is the third fault.\(^2\)

4. Putting the body at ease,\(^3\) by suppressing cold and heat, this is the forth fault.

5. Entering into the house, one is able to act sinfully, and avert shame, this is the fifth fault.

6. Protecting it saying: ‘This is mine’, this is the sixth fault.

7. Two living in the house,\(^4\) is the seventh fault.

8. There will be many creatures living there, such as lice, bed bugs, and fleas,\(^5\) this is the eighth fault.

Seeing these eight faults, the Mahāsatta abandoned the leaf hut. On account of this it is said

I15.

**Approaching the root of a tree that is endowed with ten good qualities.**

Abandoning the leaf hut with eight faults,

when dwelling at the foot of a tree, there are ten good qualities.

Abandoning those places of concealment, dwelling at the foot of a tree

has ten good qualities.\(^6\)

Therein the ten good qualities\(^7\) are:

1. It is unnecessary to gather up grass and earth, this is the first good quality.

2. Only abiding there to sleep, one finds it unnecessary to guard it, this is the second good quality.

3. One uses it without having to clean it, and abides happily, without having to hoard things, this is the third (17a) good quality.

4. If one is shameful, there is no concealment there, but there is no concealment there for are no sinful acts there,\(^8\) this is the forth good quality.

5. Since one abides without clothes, one accordingly does not continually restrict the body\(^9\), this is the fifth good quality.

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\(^1\) Tibetan: rtswa daṅ sa. Pāli: tiṇapaṭamattikā.

\(^2\) Tibetan: niṅ ba’i gnas žes bya ba ni chen po la rigs te / dus ma yin par sloṅ dgos pas sems gcig tu mi gnas pa daṅ / 'gro dgos pa.

\(^3\) Tibetan: lus bde bar byed pa. Pāli: kāyassa sukhumālakaraṇa.

\(^4\) Tibetan: khyim pa yod žes pa gnis pa. Pāli: gehassa atthibhāvo nāma sadutiyakavāso.


\(^6\) This does not appear as a verse in the Pāli, and in the Tibetan it is missing one foot of verse.

\(^7\) Tibetan: yon tan bu po. Pāli: dasa gaṇa.

\(^8\) Tibetan: no tsha ba na yib pa med pa ciṅ der sdig pa byed pa med la sbed pa med pa. Pāli: “garahāṁ na paṭicchādeti, tattha hi pāpam karonto lajñati” garahāya apaṭicchāmabhāvo.

6. One does not desire to possess things, this is the sixth good quality.
7. One abandons the desire of a householder, is the seventh good quality.
8. When living like that one does not have to grasp many necessities, nor guard them, so one is free from desire, this is the eighth good quality.
9. When staying there one is without joy, this is the ninth good quality.
10. An abode at the foot of a tree is easily obtained, without any problem, and is without regard, this is the tenth good quality.

The text says: ‘Seeing these ten good qualities, I will abide at the foot of a tree.’ Considering those sort of acts, the Mahāsattva went for alms on the following day and reached the village instantly. Those village people became extremely joyful and gave him alms. He departed at noon and went to his abode, and arriving there sat down thinking: ‘I did not go forth for the sake of obtaining alms. This sweet scented food increases the pride of conceit, and the pride of desirous men, relying on the basis of food there is no end to suffering. I moreover, abandoning grain foods which are produced through sowing and harvesting, will depend on fruit, the best of food.’ He then obtained that, and acting in that way, exerted the (17b) suffering body, and within seven days the eight attainments and five higher knowledges arose. On account of that it is said:

Bv II 32-33
Abandoning absolutely all sown and harvested grains,
living on fruit that has many good qualities.

There in the place of exertion, the assembly hall and walkway,
he obtained the power of higher knowledge within seven days.

I16.
The Bhagavan Dipāṃkara appeared.
Obtaining higher knowledge in that way, the ascetic Sumedha dwelled in the bliss of attainment. At that
time the teacher named Dipāṅkara appeared in the world. On his entering the womb, at his birth, on his enlightenment, and when turning the wheel of the Dhamma the ten thousand realms of the world shook, and trembled, {Pāli} proclaimed a sound, proclaimed a great sound.¹ And thirty-two signs² appeared. Sumedha the ascetic dwelled in the bliss of attainment, and did not hear those sounds, nor see those signs. On account of which it is said:

Bv II 34-35

Relying on one seat I thus acquired attainment,³ while the Jina Dipāṅkara appeared as a guide for the world.

Not seeing the four signs, nor hearing his entry into a womb, birth, enlightenment, or teaching of the Dhamma, (18a) due to the bliss of absorption.⁴

I17.

The coming of the Bhagavan Dipāṅkara to the city of Ramma.

At that time Dasabala Dipāṅkara, together with an assembly of four hundred thousand arhats, walking by stages for the benefit of beings,⁵ arrived at the city named Rammaka,⁶ and stayed⁷ at the great temple named Sudassana.⁸ Those who lived in the city of Rammaka said: ‘Dipāṅkara, lord of samanas, obtained that very supreme perfect enlightenment, and turned the wheel of the good Dhamma. Accordingly, he walked by stages, for the benefit of beings,⁹ and has arrived at the city named Rammaka, where he stays at the great temple of Sudassana.’ Those dwelling there heard this, and holding aloft in their hands butter ghee, and so forth, and medicine, clothes and bedding, and the like,¹⁰ scented garlands, and the like. Prostrating to the place where the Buddha, Dhamma and sangha were and rejoicing therein. Then, with great reverence they entered the teacher’s presence, making salutations with offerings of scents, and so forth. Sitting at one side they listened to the teaching of the Dhamma, and then after making invitation for the midday meal on the following day, went from their seats. They, after doing this, made preparations for tomorrow’s great meal, decorating the city. Adorning the path by which Dasabala (18b) would arrive, sprinkling earth on those parts of the ground that were uneven due to puddles, they made them even, and

¹ Tibetan: g.yos so // rab tu g.yos so // sgra sgrogs so // sgra cher sgrogs so //. Pāli: saṅkampi sampakampi sampavedhi mahāvīrān viravi.
² Tibetan: snon gyi mtshan ma. Pāli: pubbanimitta.
³ Tibetan: stan gcig la ni brten nas su // bdag gis de ltar grub thob. Pāli: Evaṁ me siddhipattassa vasībhūtassa sāsane.
⁵ Tibetan has: sems can la phan pa’i phyir. Pāli omits (*sattānaṁ hitīya)
⁶ Tibetan: dGa’ ba can.
⁸ Tibetan: bTa na sdug.
⁹ Tibetan has: sems can la phan pa’i phyir. Pāli omits (*sattānaṁ hitīya)
¹⁰ Tibetan omits. Pāli has: gāhāpetvā.
decorated it with silver\(^1\) coloured sand. Then, scattering it with garlands\(^2\) of flowers and \(lāja\)^3 flowers, they raised royal standards of multi coloured cloth and pendants, and so forth. After arranging pots filled with banana trees\(^4\) they put them on the path. At that time Sumedha the ascetic rose up in front\(^5\) of his own abode, and going to the sky above those men, saw those men joyous and contented.\(^6\) Descending\(^7\) from the sky and sitting on the ground at one side he asked the men:\(^8\) ‘Sirs,\(^9\) who has decorated this path?’ On account of which it is said:

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\text{Bv II 36-39}
\]

Those in the neighbouring country offered the Tathāgata a meal, joyful and happy beside the path from which he came.\(^10\)

Then at that time I left my own abode,\(^11\) birchbark clothes moved by the wind, I then went into the sky.

Seeing happy, contented men sweeping the path, arriving from the sky I questioned the men at once. \{Pā\(12\)\}

‘The populace is happy, contented, joyful, learned and wise,\(^12\)
when you level the path, for whose sake are you preparing this path?’

The men said this: ‘Sir, does not the ascetic\(^13\) Sumedha know that Dasabala Dipamkara has obtained perfect and complete enlightenment, and turned the wheel of the Dhamma. He is wandering for the sake of benefitting all beings.\(^14\) Having arrived at our village, he resides\(^15\) at the great temple of Sudassana, and we have invited the Bhagavan for a meal. Therefore, the path on which the Buddha the Bhagavan arrives, is being adorned.’ The ascetic Sumedha thought: ‘Even the mere sound of the word Buddha is difficult to

\(^1\) Tibetan: dhül. Pāli: rajatapaṭṭa.
\(^2\) Tibetan: 'phren ba. Pāli omits (*mālā).
\(^3\) Tibetan: sil ma. Pāli: lāja.
\(^5\) Tibetan: steŋ du. Pāli omits.
\(^6\) Tibetan omits. Pāli has: kin nu kho kāraṇan.
\(^7\) Tibetan: sa la. Pāli: oruhyā.
\(^8\) Tibetan: nam mkha’ nas sa la phyogs gcig tu 'khod pa la mi mams kyis dris so. Pāli: ākkāsato oruyha ekamantam ṭhito manusse pucchi.
\(^12\) Tibetan: dga’ daṅ tshim la bde ba yi // mkhas śīn rig pa'i skye bo che. Pāli: Tuṭṭhahaṭṭho pamodito vedajāto mahājāno.
\(^14\) Tibetan: sems can mams la phan pa'i don du. Pāli omits.
\(^15\) Tibetan: bžugs. Pāli: paṭivasati.

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find in this world. How much more the appearance of a Buddha, it is then proper that I work together with
those men to decorate the path by which Dasabala will arrive.' He said to those men: 'If you decorate this
path for the sake of the Buddha, give one place to me! I too will decorate the path together with you.'
After reflecting they said: 'Very well.' Knowing that the ascetic Sumedha possessed psychic powers, and
mutually reflecting on the spot which was damaged by water. They gave the order: 'You decorate that
spot!' Sumedha through joy (19b) in the Buddha thought: 'I am able to adorn this place by psychic
power. Although to adorn it like that gives me no satisfaction, today I will tire my body.' Taking earth he
scattered it in that place. At the place that was not yet decorated, the great ascetic, Dasabala Dipankara,
who was endowed with the six higher knowledges, and accompanied by a retinue of four hundred
thousand arhats, was worshipped by those devas with divine perfumes and garlands of flowers, and they
sang heavenly songs. The men performed worship with human perfumes, and garlands of flowers.
Accordingly the infinite play of the Buddha proclaimed the lion's roar on top of mount Manosilātāla,
and after the decoration of the path, he arrived at the path. Sumedha the ascetic saw with his own eyes
the arrival of Dasabala on the decorated path. Adorned with the thirty-two beautiful characteristics of the
great man, and resplendent with the eighty beautiful minor marks. Surrounded by six foot light rays, the
Buddha's light rays had six colours, and at that time the various rays of lighting in the lower part of the
sky were like the colour of jewels, arising at an unseasonable time and in pairs. Seeing he who had
obtained the highest form I thought: (20a) 'Today it is proper that I renounce life like Dasabala. It is not
right for the Bhagavan to walk on mud. (Pāla) It will be for my happiness and profit for a long time if I
request the Bhagavan, together with the four hundred thousand arhats, to proceed by treading on my
back, as if going by placing the feet on a bridge of jewelled planks.' Loosening my hair, and clothes of
leopard skin and tree bark, I lay on top of the mud like a bridge of jewelled planks on the dark mud. On
account of which it is said:

Bv II 40-52

Questioned by me, they answered: 'The Buddha who transcends the world,
the Jina named Dipanikara, appears as leader of the world.'

1 Tibetan: bsams nas. Pāli: sampatipcatthvā.
3 Tibetan omits. Pāli: tvan.
5 Tibetan: saṁs rgyas kyi rol pa. Pāli: Buddhaliṁha.
7 Tibetan: ri ma no śī la.
10 Tibetan: bzaṅ po. Pāli omits.
I prepared the uneven path and swept that path¹
I heard the word buddha, and joy immediately arose.
Saying: ‘buddha buddha’, happiness and joy arose.
I searched among that assembly, thinking of the arisen happiness and joy,²
‘Planting seeds there, they sprouted for me immediately.’³
If you give me one place⁴ to sweep for the Buddha's sake,
I also will sweep it, and prepare the uneven parts.⁵
Then they gave me one place to sweep on the path,⁶ (20b)
thinking: ‘buddha buddha’, I then prepared the path.

Before my part was finished, the great sage Dipamkara,
the four hundred thousand arhats, possessing like him the six higher knowledges,
who were stainless and free of defilement, arrived on the royal path.

They prepared to meet, and some played music,
those devas and men rejoiced, saying 'It is good.'

The devas saw those men, and the men also saw those devas,
both made salutation, proceeding together to the Tathāgata.

The divine music of devas, and worldly music of men,
both types of music played, proceeding together to the Tathāgata.

Divine mandāra⁷ flowers, lotus, and pāricchattaka⁸ tree,
the devas dwelling in the sky, scattered flowers in all directions and sides.
Campaka, salala, nipā, nāgapunnāga and ketaka¹⁰ trees,

¹ Tibetan: mi sdm lam ni ’chos pa dan // de yi lam ni byi dor byed. Pāli: tassa sodhiyaṭī maggo aṅjasaṅ vaṭumāyaṁ.
² Tibetan: tshim zin dga’ ba skyes pa’i sems // de ru ’khor te nam par bsam. Pāli: Tattha ṭhatvā vincintesin tūṭho saṁvīggaṁasa.
³ Tibetan: ’dir ni sa bon bskrun byas nas // de ma thag tu bdag la skye. Pāli: idha bijāṇi ropissaṁ, khaṇo ve mā upaccagā.
⁴ Tibetan: ma bcos gnas geig bdag la byin. Pāli: ekokāsāṁ dadāthā me.
⁵ Tibetan: bdag kyaṅ byi dor byed pa yin // mi sdm pa ni ’chos pa’o. Pāli: aham pi sodhayissāṁ aṅjasaṅ vaṭumāyaṁ.
⁸ Tibetan: pa ri tsad tra ka. tsam pa kaṃ sā la laṁ ni pāṃ // nā gā punnā gā ke tu kaṃ.
were spread on the ground in all directions and sides by those men on the spot.

There, I loosened my hair, spreading on the mud my tree bark
clothes and leopard skin, I lay face down.¹

'It will be a benefit to me, to request that the Buddha and
assembly of pupils do not step on the mud, but step on me.'

I.18.

The resolution of Sumedha to become a Buddha.

Moreover, (21a) lying on the mud I saw with my own eyes Dasabala Dipankara, and the glory of the Buddha.² I thought thus: 'If, wishing to subdue all my defilements, I were to become a novice in the sangha who desired to enter³ the city of Ramma, even though {Päli} disguised⁴ as one who has subdued these defilements⁵ there would be no purpose in obtaining nibbāna. I should rather act in the same way as Dasabala Dipankara who, after obtaining perfect enlightenment, put many people in a boat⁶ on the great ocean of saṁsāra, and made them cross to the other side. Following that it would be proper that I obtain this nibbāna.' Then, collecting⁷ the eight dhammas together as one, I lay there, seeing in my mind the aspiration for buddhahood.⁸ On account of which it is said:

Bv II 53-57

While lying on the ground, I thought thus:

'Today I desire to subdue my defilements.

I, although in disguise, realised the Dhamma in that place,⁹

after obtaining omniscience, I will be Buddha among the devas.'

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² Tibetan: saṁs rgyas kyi 'byor pa. Päli: Buddhasiriṁ.
⁴ Tibetan: gzhan gyi cha lugs. Päli: aṇḍātakavesaṇa.
⁵ Tibetan: gal te bdag gi ŋon moṅs pa thams cad gzom par 'dod pa daṅ / dge 'dun mams kyi gzon nur 'gyur bar bya ba daṅ / dga' ba can 'gyi gron khyer du 'jug par 'dod do // gzhan gyi cha lugs kys kyaṅ ŋon moṅs pa 'di gzom par byas nas mya ŋan las 'das pa thob pa la don med do //. Päli: Sace śaṁ icchemyāṁ sabbakeṣāya jhāpetvā saṁghanavak huvā Rammanagaram paviseyyaṁ aṇḍātakavesaṇa pana me kilese jhāpetvā Nibbānapatṭiya kiccaṁ n'atthi. This is a central passage in the development of the doctrine of the bodhisatta, both the Tibetan and Päli are both slightly ambiguous as to the precise meaning of this passage.
But why should I, seen as a powerful man, be liberated alone? Having obtained omniscience, I will save those devas and men. (21b)

I, seen as a powerful man due to my meritorious act, obtained omniscience, and saved many people.

I cut the knot of saṁsāra, exhausted the three bhavas, entered the boat of the Dhamma, and saved those devas and men.

Moreover, because whoever aspires to buddhahood,

Bv II 58

With human form, a man, a cause, seeing a teacher, an ascetic, endowed with good qualities, with knowledge and earnest desire, assembling these eight things, the aspiration will prosper.

Abiding in human form, he established the perfect aspiration for buddhahood. Though even nāgas, garudas and devas do not fulfil that aspiration. Being in human form, and since he dwelled with human characteristics, he fulfilled the aspiration. Women, hermaphrodites, those without sexual distinction, and those with both characteristics, do not fulfil it. While in a human form he fully establishes in that body the wish to attain arhathood, while others do not establish it. If he is endowed with these causes, he fulfils the aspiration in the presence of a living Buddha. He does not fulfil the aspiration in front of the Buddha’s parinibbāna shrine, or the bodhi tree. Possessing (22a) the characteristics of one who has gone forth, he fulfils the aspiration in the Buddha's presence, but one possessing the characteristics of a householder does not. One who has gone forth fulfils that aspiration by attaining the five higher knowledges and the eight attainments, but not if he is bereft of these qualities. Whoever is possessed of these qualities, and renounces their own body for the Buddha, fulfils it, but not in any other way. He fulfils it through his meritorious act, and perfects meritorious acts. Not in any other way. Whoever possesses this meritorious act fulfils it by means of a great wish, a great desire, a great exertion, and endeavour, for the sake of the dhammas causing buddhahood, not in any other way. There is in this case a simile for this great desire: ‘If
in this way someone is able to go to the far side within the world's ramparts\(^1\) that are filled with water, swimming by means of his own hands, \(\text{Pā15}\) he will obtain bodhi. Or if the interior of the world's ramparts are filled with many bamboo trees, and moreover someone is able to proceed to the other side by making them into dust by trampling them with his feet, he is able to obtain bodhi. Or, if the inside of the world's ramparts were filled with continuous pointed swords, with the upper points of those swords facing upwards, and someone is able to proceed to the other side by trampling them with his feet, he will obtain buddhahood. Or if having filled the inside of the world's ramparts with burning charcoal, (22b) someone is able to proceed to the other side crushing it with his feet, he will obtain buddhahood.' Those who do not consider the suffering\(^2\) in whichever of these cases thinks: ‘I also shall go to the other side, whether by crossing or proceeding to the other side.'\(^3\) In that way, when he possesses a great desire,\(^4\) joy, zeal, and endeavour,\(^5\) he establishes his aspiration, not in any other way. Furthermore, Sumedha the ascetic lay there, after gathering these eight dhammas, and making the aspiration\(^6\) for buddhahood.

I19.

Sumedha’s prediction to buddhahood by Bhagavan Dipamkara.

Then the Bhagavan Dipamkara also arrived, and stood near the ascetic Sumedha's head. Seeing with his eyes, that had the five pure colours\(^7\) like the entrance to the door of the cage of a jewelled lion house,\(^8\) he saw Sumedha the ascetic lying on the earth, and thought: ‘This ascetic lays here in order to become Buddha. Will he fulfil the aspiration for this or not?’ Reflecting with a knowledge of the future, he thought: ‘There after four immeasurable aeons and more than one hundred thousand aeons, he will be the Buddha named Gotama.’ He made the prediction in the midst of the assembly saying: ‘Do you see the asceticism of this supreme ascetic who lies on the ground?’ They replied: ‘Sir, (23a) indeed we see it.’ The Buddha said: ‘He lies here intending to obtain buddhahood.’ And he asked: ‘Will he fulfil his aspiration?’, then he said: ‘There after four immeasurable aeons and more than one hundred thousand aeons, he will be the Buddha named Gotama. Moreover, he will be born in this city of Kapilavatthu\(^9\). His mother will be the queen named Mahāmāya, his father the king named

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\(^1\) Tibetan: khor yug. Pāli: cakkavāla.


\(^3\) Tibetan: bdag gis ’di mams kyan pha rol tu bsgral ba ’am / ’gro ba ’am / pha rol tu ’gro bar bya’o žes šes so. Pāli: ahaṁ pari taritvā vā gantvā vā pārāhī gaheṣṭhitīti.


\(^5\) Tibetan: spro ba dañ / rtsol ba dañ / ’bad pa mams. Pāli: ussāhena ca vāyāmena ca pariyeṭṭhiyā.


\(^7\) Tibetan: kha dog lna pa rab tu dañs pa dañs lhan pa. Pāli: pañcavaṇṇapāpasādasampāna.

\(^8\) Tibetan: nor bu sen ge’i khān pa’i gzent kyi sgor ’don pa bzin du. Pāli: manisihapaṭṭijaram ughṭṭento viyā.

\(^9\) Tibetan: gron lchyer ser skya’i gnas.

\(^10\) Tibetan: lha mo sgyu ’phrul ma chen mo.
Suddhodana. The foremost of his disciples will be Upatissa therā, and the second Kolita therā. The Buddha’s attendant will be named Ānanda. The foremost of his female disciples will be Khema theri, and the second Uppalavanna therī. After making the great renunciation his understanding will mature, and he will complete this great asceticism. Receiving milk rice at the foot of the nigrodha tree, and eating it on the bank of the river Nerañjara. Then going to the seat of enlightenment, at the foot of the assattha tree, he will become perfectly enlightened.’ On account of which it is said:

Bv II 59-68

Dipāṁkara, knower of the world, arises in the world for the benefit of beings. Standing at my head, the Buddha said these words:

‘See this ascetic, following the most difficult austerity!
He, after the elapse of many aeons, will become Buddha in the world.

{Pā16} Born in the pleasing city of Kapilavatthu the Tathāgata will go forth, abiding in the ascetics’ abode, practising difficult austerities.

The Tathāgata will sit at the foot of the afapāla tree, receiving milk rice there, he will remain on the Nerañjara’s bank.

The Jina will enjoy the milk rice on the bank of the Nerañjara, he will arrive at the root of bodhi tree, by the best path.

He will circumambulate the unsurpassed seat of bodhi,
he will become Buddha greatly renowned, at the foot of the assattha.

The mother who bears him will be called Māya,
his father will be named Suddhodana, he will be called Gotama.

Defilements exhausted and free of passions, mind calm and collected,
Kolita and Upatissa will be the best of his disciples.

His attendant named Ānanda, will serve the Jina,
Khema and Uppalavāna will be the best female disciples.

Defilements exhausted and free of passions, mind calm and collected,
the Bhagavan’s bodhi tree will be called the assattha.

Hearing this, Sumedha the ascetic thought: ‘I will fulfil that aspiration’, and obtained happiness of mind. Many people heard Dasabala Dipamkara’s speech: ‘Sumedha the ascetic (24a) is the sprouting seed of a Buddha.’, and joy and happiness arose. Then this thought occurred to each of them: ‘Just as a man when going to the other side of the river, if he is unable to go to the other side from the steep edge of the bank, then he goes to the other side from the place at the lower part of the edge. Similarly, let me not obtain the fruit of the path during the dispensation of Dasabala Dipamkara, but in the future when you will be Buddha. Then we will understand when you make clear the fruit of the path.’, and they made the aspiration. Dasabala Dipamkara uttered the praises of the Bodhisatta, and offered eight heaps of flowers, and after circumambulating him, departed. Those four hundred thousand arhats who had exhausted the defilements also made offerings of perfumes and flowers to the Bodhisatta, and after circumambulating him, departed. Likewise, those devas and men made offerings and salutations to him and departed.

The appearance of the prognostic signs.

When all those beings had departed the Bodhisatta arose from the place where he lay, and sat crosslegged
on top of a heap of flowers in order to reflect on the perfections. While the Bodhisatta was sitting like that the *devas* of the entire ten thousand fold world systems\(^1\) gave approval, saying: ‘Noble\(^2\) ascetic Sumedha, those former bodhisattas also sat crosslegged reflecting on the perfections. Likewise while sitting at that former time (24b) they saw the prognostic signs of suffering,\(^3\) those characteristics also appear today. We know without doubt you will be Buddha. \(\text{Pāl7}\) Whoever sees\(^4\) these characteristics, he will certainly become a Buddha. There you, seizing your own supreme firm effort,\(^5\) make praises of various kinds to those bodhisattas.’ On account of which it is said:

*Bv II 70-107*

Hearing these words of the unequalled great sage, *devas* and men rejoiced: ‘This is the sprouting seed of a Buddha.’

Sounding a great acclamation, making happiness and laughter and, together with the *devas* of the ten thousand, joining hands and making salutation.

If not obtaining\(^6\) the fruit of this lord of the world’s teaching, then in the distant future they will stand before him.\(^7\)

Just as the man crossing the river goes to the river’s edge,\(^8\) taking the lower edge, he goes to the other side of the great river.

Thus, in that way, if I were to miss this Jina\(^9\) after going to the distant future, I would then stand before him.\(^10\)

Dīparākara, knower of the world, said this will be.\(^11\)

Having cleansed\(^12\) my actions, I raised my right foot.

Whoever were sons of the Jina, all made circumambulation to me.

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\(^1\) Tibetan omits. Pāli has: *sannipatitvā*.


\(^3\) Tibetan: *sdug bshal gyi mtshan ma mthoň nas*. Pāli: *pubbanimittāni nāma paññāyanti*. The Tibetan *sdug bshal* in this sentence is perhaps a mistake for: *snon*, since the term: *snon gyi mtshan ma*, occurs later in the text for the Pāli: *pubbanimitta*, see section II 12 of the edition.


\(^5\) Tibetan: de la khyod bdag ūḏ бr tson ’grus бr tan po mchog бzun nas. Pāli: tvaṁ attano viriyam daśhaṁ katvā paggañhā.

\(^6\) Tibetan: ma toḥ. Pāli: virajjhissāma.

\(^7\) Tibetan: ma ’oṁs pa rnam ’das gyur nas // ’di nī snon du gyur ba’yo/. Pāli: anāgamamhi addhāne hessāma sammukhā imaṁ.

\(^8\) Tibetan: ’gro ba bo yi mu gnas la //. Pāli: paṭṭitthisam virajjhiya.

\(^9\) Tibetan: de ītar ’di ītar bdag giś ni // rgyal ba ’di ni gal te na //, Pāli: Evarn evam mayam sabbe yadi muñcem imaṁ Jīnaṁ.


\(^11\) Tibetan: ’di ītar ’gyur žes gsuṁ pa yin //, Pāli: āhutīnāṁ patiggaho.

\(^12\) Tibetan: bsal byas, Pāli: pakkittetvā.

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Those men, nāgas and gandhabbas, made salutation and (25a) departed.

When I saw the departure of the leader of the world with the sangha, I then rose from my seat with a mind happy and contented.

I am pleased with happiness, and delighted by joy, then I sat crosslegged, and joy arose.

Abiding there cross-legged, I thought in this way: 'I am overpowered by jhāna, that surpasses understanding.'

In the thousand fold world system there is no sage who is equal with me, I am without equal in psychic powers, without obtaining such happiness as this.

Sitting cross-legged I dwelled among the ten thousand, they made a great shout: ‘You will surely be Buddha.

Whichever of those former bodhisattas who sat cross-legged, saw those characteristics that are seen today.

The cold is absent, and heat is allayed, these are seen today, you will surely be Buddha.

The ten thousand fold world systems, are each without fear, these are seen today, you will surely be Buddha. (Pāl8)

Without strong winds, and reversing the flow of rivers these are seen today, you will surely be Buddha.

Those flowers of the plain and water, all are flowering, they are flowering today, (25b) you will surely be Buddha.

Creepers or trees, instantly produced fruit, since they are all fruiting, you will surely be Buddha.

In the air, and on the ground, jewels diffused light, since they diffuse light today, you will surely go to buddhahood.

Those devas and men, they produce the sounds of music, since they produce the sounds today, you will surely be Buddha.

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1 Tibetan: bdag gi bsam gtan dbaṅ du gyur // ye ṣes kyi ni pha rol phyin //. Pāli: abhiññāsu pāramiṁ gato.
3 Tibetan: phan tshun du ni 'jigs med gyur //. Pāli: nissadā hoti nirākula.
4 Tibetan: rlun chen po ni mi ltaṅ žin // chu mams rgyun las ṭog pa daṅ //. Pāli: Mahāvātā na vāyanti, na sandanti savantiyo.
5 Tibetan: than skyes chu skyes me tog rnams // thams cad du ni me tog byed // de rnams de riṅ me tog bye // ṇes par khyod ni saṅs rgyas 'gyur //. Pāli: Thalajā dakajā pupphā sabbe pūpphanti tāvade, te p' ajja pūpphītā sabbe, dhuvaṁ Buddhho bhavissati.
Masses of various flowers, immediately rained down
since they rain down today, you will surely be Buddha.

The great ocean was unmoved,¹ the ten thousand worlds shook,
since they are shaking today, you will surely be Buddha.

Those ten thousand hells were immediately free of burning,
since they are allayed today, you will surely be Buddha.

The sun is clear and all the stars can be seen,
since they are seen today, you will surely be Buddha.

Although rain did not fall the earth was slightly smeared,
since it is on the earth today , you will surely be Buddha.

The host of stars shine, those stars in the heavens of the sky,
as if associating with the moon, you will surely be Buddha.

The pit and cave dwellers, with one mind see the other side,²
since today (26a) they are happy minded, you will surely be Buddha.

Those beings are without unhappiness, they will be immediately happy,
since they are happy today, you will surely be Buddha.

Then those ills were allayed, and there was no illness of desire,³
since they are seen today, you will surely be Buddha.

Then, desire is restrained, faults and defilements are destroyed,⁴
since they are all rejected today, you will surely be Buddha.

Then there is no fear since they are seen today,
knowing it by his marks, you will surely be Buddha.

Above and below dust was averted,⁵ this was seen today,
knowing by all your signs, you will surely be Buddha.

The foul odours went, and the divine odours came,
since there are these odours today, you will surely be Buddha. {Pā19}

Seeing all those devas abandoning formlessness,
since they are all seen today, you will surely be Buddha.

As far as the hells, all of these signs were then seen,
since they see them all today, you will surely be Buddha.

¹ Tibetan: rgya mtsho chen po ma/mi g.yo žiḥ//. Pāli: mahāsumuddo ābhujati.
² Tibetan: sems gcig pas ni pha rol mthoû//. Pāli: nikkhamanti sakāsayā.
³ Tibetan: 'dod pa'l nad ni med pa 'o//. Pāli: jighacchā ca vinassati.
⁴ Tibetan: skyon dan mços pa mam par žig//. Pāli: doso moho pi nassati.
⁵ Tibetan: steň 'og rdul ni go bzlog 'gro//. Pāli: rajo n’ uddharinṣati uddhaṁ.
The passes and mountains are not seen by men, today they are seen as if in the sky, you will surely be Buddha.

Departing from the place of birth is not by just one moment, as they are seen today, you will surely be Buddha.

Making strong endeavour, not reverting to repeated existence, this is well known to us, you will surely be Buddha.

I21.

The Mahāsattā’s resolution.

The Bodhisattā, hearing the words of Dasabala Dipāmkara and the devas of the ten thousand fold world system, produced great mental joy and he became happy, thinking: ‘The Buddhas speak of that which is beneficial, the words of the Buddhas have no other purpose than that. Just as if a stone is thrown into the sky it will fall. From birth there will be death, and the sun will rise in the eastern twilight. The lion rising from his abode will let out a roar and go, after the maturation of pregnancy there will certainly be birth. Surely then, the words of the Buddhas are like that, surely they wish them to be profitable. Surely I will be a Buddha.’ On account of which it is said:

Bv II 108-114

Hearing the Buddha's words throughout the ten thousand fold worlds, they delighted in contentment and rejoicing, I then thought this:

‘The Buddhas do not speak insincerely, the Jinas speak profitably, those Buddhas do not speak otherwise, I will surely be a Buddha.

Just as a stone thrown in the sky surely falls to the ground, accordingly the Buddhas’ words will be true.

Just as all beings will surely die, accordingly the Buddhas' words will be true.

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1 Tibetan: sgo chun dañ ni ri yi rnams // de yi tshe na mi mthon med //. Pāli: kuḍḍā kavaṭṭa selā ca na hont’ āvaranān tadā.
2 Tibetan: rum du gnas dañ ‘thon pa na // skad cig tsam gyis ma yin no //. Pāli: cutī ca upapatti ca khaṇe tasmīn na vijjati.
3 Tibetan: yid bde ba cher skyes te bdag rdzod ’byung ba byung ba // phan ma phan ma //’. Pāli: bhiyosomattāya sañjātussāho huvā.
4 The Jātakamīdana gāthās 110-114 vary from Bv gāthās 110-114, each of the four Jātakamīdana gāthās omit the last line found in the Bv gāthās.
7 Tibetan: sans rgyas. Pāli: Buddhasetṭhānaṁ.
Just as when at dawn the sun will surely rise, accordingly the Buddhas' words will be true.¹

Just as from the lion's den there will surely be the lion's roar, accordingly the Buddhas' words will be true.²

Just as when a pregnancy matures, there will surely be birth from the womb, accordingly the Buddhas' words will be true.³

I22.

1. The perfection of giving.

'So it is, I will surely be Buddha.' In that way he made the resolve,⁴ to seek the dhammas that cause buddhahood. 'Where are the dhammas that cause buddhahood? {Pā20} Are they above or below, or at the cardinal or intermediate points? By gradually striving⁵ in the entire sphere of the Dhamma⁶, even former bodhisattas saw⁷ the perfection⁸ of giving as the first that should be approached and adhered to.⁹ So I advised myself: 'You, wise Sumedha, having understood this,¹⁰ should perfect the perfection of giving! Just as when a water pot is overturned, the water in that pot does not remain in the water pot but pours onto the ground, it does not remain¹¹ in the pot afterwards. So, in this way, without looking for wealth or fame, son or wife, or major and minor limbs,¹² giving to all those who beg for succour whatever they desired without stinting,¹³ (27b) sitting in front of the bodhi tree, you will obtain¹⁴ buddhahood.' After making firm the first perfection of giving, one should make the resolution.¹⁵ On account of which it is said:

By II 115-119

I seek the dhammas causing buddhahood everywhere,
above, below and in the ten directions, up to the _dhammadhatu_.

Then while seeking, seeing the first perfection of giving, the path of former great beings, that proceeds to the other side.¹

You should undertake it making the first one firm!²

If you desire to obtain _bodhi_, practise³ the perfection of giving!

Just as a filled pot if overturned by someone, pours out the water completely, it does not remain in the pot.

In the same way seeing the beggars, who are low, middling and exalted, like the overturned pot, give all to them!

I23.

2. The perfection of morality.

Furthermore, he thought: 'You should see that it is not only this _dhamma_ that causes buddhahood!' When seeking he saw the second, the perfection of morality, and this thought occurred to him: 'Wise Sumedha, understanding this you should perfect the ⁴perfection of morality! Furthermore, for example, a wild yak⁵ guards its own tail without regard for its own life. Similarly, you having understood this, when guarding morality are without concern for life, you will obtain buddhahood.'⁶ Making firm the second perfection of morality (28a) one should make the resolution.⁷ On account of which it is said:

_Bv_ II 120-124

It is not only these _dhammas_ which cause the attainment of buddhahood,
I should also seek any other _dhammas_ that cause its attainment.⁸

When seeking he sees the second perfection of morality,
that the former Mahāsattas approached and relied upon.⁹

Now whoever makes the second firm, will understand.¹⁰

¹ Tibetan: snon gyi skyes bu chen po yi // lam ni pha rol rjes su 'gro. Pāli: pubbakehi Mahesihi anucññam mahāpathaṁ.
⁴ Tibetan omits. Pāli has: dutiyanāṁ.
⁵ Tibetan: rgod g.yag. Pāli: camaramīgo.
⁸ Tibetan: thob byed pa. Pāli: bodhipācanaṁ.
If you desire to obtain enlightenment, practise\(^1\) the perfection of morality!

Just as if someone grasps a wild yak’s tail, rejecting life without regard, the tail is without joy or anger.\(^2\) \{Pā21\}

Accordingly, perfecting morality on these four grounds,\(^3\) always guarding morality, like a wild yak guards its tail.

124.

3. The perfection of renunciation.

Furthermore, he thought: ‘You should see that it is not only these \textit{dhammas} that cause buddhahood.’ When seeking he saw the third, the perfection of renunciation, and this thought occurred to him: ‘Wise Sumedha, understanding\(^4\) this you should also perfect the perfection of renunciation! Just as the man who, after being chained, is put in a prison for a long time, does not wish to be there. Moreover, one does not desire to abide like one who has a suffering mind. In this way you also, taking all existences as if they were a prison, because the mind, which suffers in all existences and which desires to be free from them, (28b) must manifest renunciation!\(^5\) By acting in that way you will obtain buddhahood,\(^6\), and making the\(^7\) perfection of renunciation firm, he made the resolution.\(^8\) On account of which it is said:

Bv II 125-129

\begin{quote}
It is not only these \textit{dhammas} which cause the attainment of buddhahood, I will also seek any other \textit{dhammas} that cause its attainment.\(^9\)
\end{quote}

Then when seeking he saw the third perfection of renunciation, that former Mahāsattas approached and relied upon.\(^10\)

Making the third one firm you should seize it.\(^11\)

If you desire to obtain \textit{bodhi}, practise\(^12\) the perfection of renunciation!

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\(^1\) Tibetan: gyis. Pāli: gaccha.

\(^2\) Tibetan: ltos pa med par srog \textit{dor ro // ria ma la dga} khrö ba med. Pāli: upeti maraṇaṃ tattha na vikopeti vālādhiṃ.

\(^3\) Tibetan: de bzin du ni sa gzi ru // tsul khrims yons su rdzogs pa daṅ. Pāli: Tath’  eva catusa bhūmisu silāni paripūriya.


\(^5\) Tibetan: skye ba thams cad du śin tu sḏug bsnał ba'i sems kyis grol bar 'dod pa'i sems kyis ņes par 'byuṅ ba mnoṅ sum du 'gyur ro. Pāli: sabbabhave ukkaṇṭhito muṇḍitukāmo huvā nekkhammābhimukho va hoti.

\(^6\) Tibetan: de ltar byas nas sans rgyas thob par 'gyur ro. Pāli: evam Buddha bhavissasi.

\(^7\) Tibetan omits. Pāli has: tatiyam.

\(^8\) Tibetan: gnas so. Pāli: adhiṭṭhāsi.

\(^9\) Tibetan: thob byed pa. Pāli: bodhipācaṇā.

\(^10\) Tibetan: bsnał daṅ bsten par byas pas so. Pāli: āśevitanisevitaṃ.


\(^12\) Tibetan: gyis. Pāli: gaccha.
Just as, a person chained in prison, suffers when staying a long time, that place does not create joy, the mind wishes quickly to be free.¹

Accordingly, you should see all existences as a prison, if manifesting renunciation, you will be freed from birth.²

I25.

4. The perfection of wisdom.

Furthermore, he thought: ‘You should see³ that it is not only these dhammas that cause buddhahood.’ When seeking he saw the forth, the perfection of understanding, and this thought occurred to him: ‘Wise ascetic⁴ Sumedha, you should understand from this⁵ that you should perfect the perfection of understanding! You should question those panditas after going to their abode, without any preconception regarding them as low, average or great. Just as when a monk who goes on alms round (29a) goes to the abode of the lowly and so on. Going for alms in succession, without regard⁶ to the divisions of clans, he will quickly obtain his own share of food. In the same way you, going into the presence of those wise ones and asking questions, will obtain buddhahood.’⁷ Relying on the forth perfection of understanding, one should make the resolution.⁸ On account of which it is said:

Bv II 130-134

It is not only these dhammas which cause the attainment of buddhahood, I should also seek any other dhammas which cause its attainment.⁹

Then when seeking he sees the forth perfection of understanding, that former Mahāsattas have approached and adhered to.¹⁰

Now, make the forth one firm and seize it!¹¹

If you desire to obtain bodhi, practise¹² the perfection of understanding! {Pā22}

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¹ Tibetan: de la dga' bar mi byed par // myur du 'grol bar 'dod par sens/. Pāli: na tattha rāgam abhijaneti muttim yeva gavesati.
² Tibetan: skye ba las ni grol bar 'gyur. Pāli: bhavato parimuttiyāti.
³ Tibetan: blta bar bya'o. Pāli: bhavitabbam.
⁴ Tibetan: dka' thub pa. Pāli omits (*tāpasa).
Just as a begging monk does not investigate those families,
as to whether they are low, middling or high, in that way he obtains sustenance.

Similarly, you question all wise persons at all times,
since by going to the perfection of understanding, you will obtain bodhi.2

I26.

5. The perfection of effort.

Furthermore, he thought: ‘You should see that it is not only this dhamma that causes buddhahood.’
When seeking he obtained the fifth, the perfection of effort, and this thought occurred to him: ‘Wise ascetic Sumedha, understanding this you should also perfect the (29b) perfection of effort! Just as the lion, king of beasts, has strong effort at all times, in the same way you also should strengthen the effort in all existences. If you make effort fearlessly you will obtain buddhahood. One should strengthen the fifth perfection of effort and make a resolution! On account of which it is said:

Bv II 135-139

It is not only this dhamma which causes the obtaining of bodhi, I should also seek any others which cause its attainment.10

Then, when seeking he sees the fifth perfection of effort, that former Mahāsattas have approached and adhered to.11

Now, make the fifth one firm and should seize it! I2
If you desire to obtain bodhi, practise the perfection of effort!14

Just as the king of beasts, when standing, going or sitting, due to fearless effort he is always strong minded.15

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1 Tibetan: dpyod par mi byed pa. Pāli: na vivajjento.
3 Tibetan: bita bar bya’o. Pāli: bhavitabbān.
4 Tibetan: thob. Pāli: disvā. All other nine Tibetan sections on the pāramīs have: mthoṅ nas.
6 Tibetan dus thams cad du. Pāli: sabbairyāpathesu.
8 Tibetan: thob par 'gyur. Pāli: bhavissasi.
14 Order of pādas in Tibetan varies with Pāli, and with other Tibetan verses equivalent to this verse.
15 Tibetan: žum pa med pa’i brtson ’grus kyis/. alinaviriyo hoti
Similarly, you also seize it at all times by firm effort! Since it is by going to the perfection of effort that you will obtain bodhi.

6. The perfection of patience.

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

Bv II 140-144

It is not only this dhamma which desires to attain bodhi, I should seek any others dhammas which cause its attainment.

Then when seeking he sees the sixth the perfection of patience, that former Mahāsattas have approached and adhered to.

Now, make the sixth one firm and seize it!

If you are not angry at that, you will obtain perfect bodhi.

Just as if the earth were smeared with pure and impure things, although poured all over, it acts patiently, not with disgust.

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1. Tibetan: gyur nas. Pāli: gantvā. Other equivalent Tibetan verses have, son bas.
10. Tibetan: thob 'dod, the previous four equivalent Tibetan verses have, thob byed. Pāli: bhavissare, here and in four previous equivalent verses
13. Tibetan omits this pada, but it may be reasonably assumed to follow previous equivalent verses, and could then be reconstructed thus: (*fortan por byas ste gzuñ bar bya). Pāli: dalhari katvā samādiyā.
15. Tibetan: thams cad blugs kyañ bzhod par byed // skyug bro ba ni byed pa med/. Pāli: sabbāh sahati nikkhepan na karoti paṭighaṁ dayaṁ.
Similarly you, during all those acts that benefit or harm you, proceed\(^1\) to the perfection of patience, you will obtain perfect bodhi.\(^2\)

I28.

7. The perfection of truthfulness.

Furthermore, he thought: ‘You should see\(^3\) that it is not only this dhamma that causes buddhahood.’ When seeking he saw the seventh, the perfection of truthfulness, and this thought occurred to him: ‘Wise ascetic\(^4\) Sumedha, understanding this,\(^5\) you should also perfect the perfection of truthfulness! Even if lightning strikes one’s head, (30b) knowing the power of desire for the sake of wealth and so on, don’t lie. Just as a star such as the healing star,\(^6\) at all seasons when it leaves its own course does not proceed on another course, it proceeds on its own course. In that way you, holding\(^7\) to the truth, do not lie. You will obtain buddhahood.\(^8\) One should strengthen the seventh perfection of truthfulness and make a resolution!\(^9\)

On account of which it is said:

By II 145-149

It is not only this dhamma which desires\(^10\) to attain bodhi, you should also seek any other dhhammas which cause its attainment.\(^11\)

Then, when he seeking sees the seventh perfection of truthfulness, that former Mahāsattas have approached and adhered to.\(^12\)

Now, make the seventh one firm and should seize it\(^13\)

Since you do not waver, you will obtain perfect bodhi.\(^14\)

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\(^1\) Tibetan: gyur nas, (previous verses have: son ste). Pāli: gantvā.
\(^2\) Tibetan: de bzin khyod kyis thams cad la // phan dan gnod pa byed pa na // bzod pa’i pha rol phyin gyur nas // bya’i chub yan dag thob par ‘gyur //. Pāli: Tath’ eva tvañ pi sabbesam sammānāvamānakkhamo // khantipāramitān gantvā sambodhiṁ pāpuṇissasiṁ.

\(^3\) Tibetan: blta bar bya’o. Pāli: bhavitabbān.


\(^6\) Tibetan: tha skar la sogs pa’i rgyu skar. Pāli: osadhitāraka.

\(^7\) Tibetan: bzuñ nas. Pāli: pahāya.

\(^8\) Tibetan: thob par ‘gyur. Pāli: bhavissasi.


\(^12\) Tibetan: bṣen dan bsten par byas pas so. Pāli: āsevatanīsevitaṁ.

\(^13\) Tibetan: bṛtan par byas nas gnas par gyis. Pāli: dalharṁ katva samādiya.

\(^14\) Tibetan: yan dag bya’i chub thob par gyis. Pāli: sambodhiṁ pāpuṇissasi.
Just as the star, is equal\(^1\) in the world of devas and men, during its yearly cycle\(^2\) it does not go to another course.

You also, according to truth, do not go after grasping the truth\(^3\) proceed\(^4\) to the perfection of truth, you will obtain perfect bodhi.\(^5\)

I29.

8. The perfection of resolution.

Furthermore, he thought: ‘You should see that it is not only this dhamma that causes buddhahood.’ When seeking he saw the eighth, the perfection of resolution,\(^6\) and this thought occurred to him: ‘Wise ascetic\(^7\) Sumedha, understanding this,\(^8\) (31a) you should perfect the perfection of resolution! Whoever makes this determination will be unwavering in resolution. Just as a mountain, although buffeted by winds from all directions, will not be moved or shaken but remains in its own place. In that way, if you do not waver in your resolutions, then you will obtain buddhahood.\(^9\) One should abide\(^10\) having made firm the eighth perfection of resolution!’ On account of which it is said:

Bv II 150-154

It is not only this dhamma which desires\(^11\) attainment of bodhi, you should also seek others which cause its attainment.\(^12\) {Pa24}

Then when he seeking sees the eighth perfection of resolution, that former Mahāsattas have approached and adhered to.\(^13\)

Now, make the eighth one firm and should seize it!\(^14\)

Since you do not waver, you will obtain perfect bodhi.\(^15\)

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\(^1\) Tibetan: mtshuns pa. Pāli: tulābhūtā.
\(^2\) Tibetan: dus kyi lo yi dus su ni. Pāli: samaye utupasse.
\(^3\) Tibetan: bden pa bzun nas mi 'gro ba. Pāli: sacesu mā vokkami viṭhito.
\(^4\) Tibetan: gyur nas,.Pāli: gantvā.
\(^5\) Tibetan: byan chub yan dag thob par 'gyur //. Pāli: sambodhīṁ pāpuṇīssasi.
\(^6\) Tibetan: lhag par gnas pa. Pāli: adhiṭṭhāna.
\(^7\) Tibetan: dka’ thub pa. Pāli omits (*tāpasa*).
\(^8\) Tibetan: ’di nas bzun nas. Pāli: ito paṭṭhāya.
\(^12\) Tibetan: thob byed pa. Pāli: bodhipācanā.
\(^13\) Tibetan: bṣen dan bsten par byas pas so. Pāli: āsevitanisevitaṁ.
\(^14\) Tibetan: brtan par byas ste gnas par gyis. Pāli:daḷḥaṁ katvā samādiya.
\(^15\) Tibetan: yan dag byan chub thob par ’gyur. Pāli: sambodhīṁ pāpuṇīssasi.
Just as the great rock of a mountain, does not move and is well established, without being moved by the great wind, it abides in its own place.

Similarly you do not waver in all resolutions, proceeding to the perfection of resolution, you will obtain perfect bodhi.²

I30.

9. The perfection of friendliness.

Furthermore, he thought: ‘You should see that it is not only this dhamma that causes buddhahood. When seeking he saw the ninth, the perfection of friendliness,³ and this thought occurred to him: ‘Wise ascetic Sumedha, understanding this,⁵ you should also perfect the perfection of friendliness! You should think of profit and loss as the same! Just as water touches⁶ and cools equally a bad man and a good man. In that way you also, being single minded in friendliness for all beings, will obtain buddhahood.’⁷ One should abide making firm the ninth perfection of friendliness! On account of which it is said:

Bv II 155-159

It is not only this dhamma which desires⁸ the attainment of bodhi, you should also seek any other dharmas which cause its attainment.⁹

Then when seeking he sees the ninth perfection of friendliness, approached and relied on by former great men.¹⁰

Now, make the ninth one firm and dwell producing friendliness!¹¹ If desiring to obtain bodhi, there is no equal to friendliness.¹² Just as water touches and will cool equally, beings who are good or evil, and causes dust and dirt to be abandoned.¹³

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¹ Tibetan: gyur pas. Pāli: gantvā.
⁴ Tibetan: dka' thub pa. Pāli omits (*tapasa).
⁷ Tibetan: de ltar na 'di ltar khyod kyi sems can thams cad la byams pa'i sems gcig tu gyur nas saṅs rgyas thob par gyur ro. Pāli: evaṁ evaṁ tvanī sabhasattesa mettacittena ekacitto honta Buddhā bhavissati.
¹⁰ Tibetan: bṣaṅ pañ dan bsten par byas pa'o. Pāli: ajevanīsevatiṁ.
Similarly, you should act with equal friendliness to both the bad and good, proceeding to the perfection of friendliness you will obtain perfect bodhi.

I31.

10. The perfection of equanimity.

Furthermore, he thought: ‘You should see that it is not only this dhamma that causes (32a) buddhahood.’ When seeking he saw the tenth, the perfection of equanimity, and this thought occurred to him: ‘Wise ascetic Sumedha, understanding this, you should perfect the perfection of equanimity! You should abide impartially even to joy and suffering. Just as the earth, although smeared with pure and impure things is impartial. In that way, if you also abide impartially to joy and suffering, you will obtain buddhahood. One should abide making firm the tenth perfection of equanimity! On account of which it is said: {Pa25}

Bv II 160-164

It is not only this dhamma which desires the attainment of bodhi, you should also seek other dhammas which cause its attainment.

Then when seeking he sees the tenth perfection of equanimity, that former Mahāsattas have approached and adhered to.

Now, make the tenth one firm and should seize it! Like a scale that is full, you will obtain perfect bodhi.

Just as the earth, if smeared with pure and impure things, since it is equipoised without partiality, it rejects it without anger.

Just as you are always balanced between joy and suffering, proceeding to the perfection of equanimity, you will obtain perfect bodhi.
Mastery of the perfections.

Then he thought: ‘The bodhisattas in these worlds perfect bodhi and those very dhammas that cause buddhahood. There are no others apart from these ten perfections. These ten perfections are not above in the sky, nor below on the earth, they are also not in the directions such as eastern and so on. They abide within my very heart. So seeing those established in his heart, he should resolve strengthening them all. Remembering again and again in forward and reverse order, he makes them firm. Grasping them from the end, then should reflect up to the beginning. Grasping from the first and reflecting to the end. Grasping from the middle, then should reflect up to the end and the beginning. Grasping from the beginning and the end, then should look as far as the middle. Abandoning the body is called a perfection, abandoning external wealth is called a minor perfection. These are the ten perfections, the ten minor perfections and the ten highest perfections. You should remember it to be like stirring the great ocean, that boils like oil on a fire, within the world system with Mahāmeru. While he remembered the ten perfections, the splendour of the Dhamma like the breaking of bamboo crushed by the foot of a large elephant on the girth of this great earth, that exceeds two hundred and forty thousand yojanas, let out a noise like the great clamour produced from pressing in a sugar-cane mill. It trembled and shook like a potter's wheel, and revolved like an oil mill. On account of which it is said:

Whichever dhammas of this world cause the attainment of bodhi,
this is the highest there is no other, make it firm and fix\(^1\) it in the mind!

Remembering these \textit{dhammas} to have an unwavering nature,
the splendour of the Dhamma shakes the earth and the thousand fold world.

The insentient earth\(^2\) is crushed like a sugar mill,
and so the earth shakes, just as the wheel of an oil mill. \{Pâ26\}

Since this great earth shakes, those men who abide in the city of Rammanagara\(^3\) are unable to stand.\(^4\)
They fall, fainting and senseless,\(^5\) like the great tree of the earth\(^6\) trembles when shaken by the wind at the end of an aeon. Vessels such as jars are broken\(^7\) and due to clashing together, are ground into dust and small pieces. All beings become afraid and go to the teacher's presence. Saying: ‘Bhagavan, what is this, is it a war\(^8\) of the nāgas or creatures or yakkhas or devas, or a war of some others? We (33b) do not know.\(^9\) Moreover, this causes injury\(^10\) to all the people. What is the cause of this, is it due to evil of the world, or to the good? Tell us the cause of this.’ The teacher hearing their story, said: ‘Don’t you fear, don’t you even think about it.\(^11\) You have nothing to fear from these signs.\(^12\) When I predicted today\(^13\) that the wise ascetic\(^14\) Sumedha will be the Buddha named Gotama in the future. He then remembered\(^15\) the perfections, remembering the perfections he investigated them.\(^16\) The ten thousand fold world system instantly shook and let out a noise due to the power of the Dhamma.\(^17\) On account of which it is said:

\textbf{Bv II 168-174}

As long as there are those assemblies in the Buddha's attendance
those assemblies suffer mentally, and fainting, lie on the ground.\(^18\)

Many thousand pots and many hundreds of large vessels,
are ground to powder and dust there, since they are broken by clashing together.

Faint, afraid and fearful, they fall due to a troubled and confused mind,
all the assembled beings went to Dipanikara's presence.

What will happen to these worlds is it good or bad?¹
Torment has arisen in all the world, we ask (34a) you, Clear visioned one.²

Teaching the Dhamma to all of them, the great sage Dipanikara said,
‘Do not fear or be perturbed by the movement of this earth.’³

For whoever I today prophesise: ‘He will be Buddha in those worlds,’
he remembers the Dhamma adhered to by former Jinas.⁴

Since he remembers⁵ those dharmas, the entire buddhabhumi,
the earth, and ten thousand fold world together with its devas, shakes due to that.

Those many people hearing the Tathāgata’s words, were pleased and contented, and taking flowers,
perfumes and unguents, went out from the city of Ramma⁶ going to the Bodhisatta's presence, offering
flowers and so forth, and making salutation and praises, remained⁷ in the city of Ramma.⁸ The Bodhisatta
remembering the ten perfections, and making a strong effort and making the resolution,⁹ he rose from his
seat. On account of which it is said: {Pā27}

**Bv II 175-176**

Hearing the words of the Buddha the mind was instantly fearless,¹⁰
all came into my presence and again made salutations.

Undertaking¹¹ the Buddha’s qualities making the mind firm,¹²
then I, rising from my seat, made salutation to Dipanikara.

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¹ Tibetan: 'jig rten pa rnams ci phyir gyur // dge ba'am yan na sdig gam ci //. Pāli: Kim bhavassati lokassa kalīṭhānaṁ attha pāpakaṁ.
² Tibetan: 'jig rten kun la fier 'tshe byun // spyan ldan legs par gsuṅ du gsol //. Pāli: sabbo upadduto loko, taṁ vinodehi cakkhaṁ.
³ Tibetan: de rnams kun la chos bstan ciñ // thub pa chen po mar me mdzad // 'jigs par ma byed dbugs dbyun gis // 'di yi sa gzi g.yo bas ni //. Pāli: Tesāṁ sadā saṁñāpesi Dīpanikaro Mahāmuni: “vissatthā hotaṁ mā bhāṭa imaṁ puthavikampane.
⁴ Tibetan: de ni chos ni dran par byed // sñon gyi rgyal ba bsten byas śīn //. Pāli: eso sammassati dharmam pubbakam jinasevāṁ.
⁵ Tibetan: dran byed pas. Pāli: sammasato.
⁶ Tibetan: dga’ bā can.
⁸ Tibetan: dga’ bā can.
¹² Tibetan omits pāda. Pāli: dalhariṁ katvāna mānasam.
Then, when the Bodhisatta rose from his seat all the devas of the ten thousand fold world gathered, making offerings with divine flowers and perfumes. Saying: ‘Noble ascetic Sumedha, today at the feet of Dasabala Dipamkara, you made the aspiration in order to procure great benefit. You will accomplish them without hindrance. There, you will be free from fear and faint heartedness. Even a slight illness will not arise in the body, and may you quickly perfect the perfections and accomplish perfect buddhahood! Just as a flower bearing tree, or a fruit bearing tree, ripens its flowers and ripens its fruit in season. Similarly, you also make the resolution at the right time, and quickly perfect the highest. They praised him with praises and blessings and so on. After making praises in that way, each deva went to their own abode. The Bodhisatta, hearing the praises and so forth of the devas, said: ‘After four incalculable aeons and more than one hundred thousand aeons, and after perfecting the ten perfections I will obtain buddhahood.’ Making firm effort, and having made the resolution, he rose into the sky and went to Himavant. On account of which it is said:

By II 177-187

Both devas and men, rising from their seats, spread those divine and human flowers equally.

Both devas and men, being pacified praised him, ‘may you obtain that great wish of yours as you desire.’

Attaining an untimely death, weakened by all those illnesses, let no hindrances arise for you, may you quickly obtain highest bodhi.

Just as at the right season, the tree comes into blossom, similarly you, great hero, blossom with buddha-knowledge.

Just as, any perfect Buddha has perfected the ten perfections, similarly, you great hero, perfect the ten perfections!

Just as, any perfect Buddha becomes enlightened on the seat of bodhi, similarly, you great hero, become enlightened in the Jina’s bodhi!
Just as any perfect Buddha should turn the wheel of Dhamma, similarly, you great hero, turn the wheel of Dhamma!

Just as the full moon due to its purity disperses light, similarly, you who have completed his wish, emit rays in the ten thousand.

(Pā28) Just as, the sun freed from Rāhu discharges hot light rays, similarly, you freeing the world, discharge resplendent light rays.

Just as any river proceeds to the great ocean, so the various worlds of devas and men will follow you.

They praise and extol you, who undertakes the ten dhammas, he perfecting these dhammas, then went to the great forest.

The discourse on wise (35b) Sumedha is completed.

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1 Tibetan: bsam rdzogs pa. Pāli: punṇamano.
2 Tibetan: sGra gcen.
The Twenty-four Buddhas.

I33.

The Bhagavan Dipamkara.

Those who dwelled in the city of Rammana entered the city, giving many gifts to the Buddha and the assembly of monks. The teacher taught the Dhamma to them, and established many people in the going for refuge. He left the city of Rammana, thereafter as long as life remained he performed all the duties of a Buddha, and gradually attained nibbana in the element of nibbana that has no remainder. Since something should be said about this, all of that should be understood as it is explained in the Buddhavamsa. It is said therein:

Bv II 188-206, 212-213, 215-218

Then you people made those offerings to the leader of the world and sangha, and went for refuge to the teacher Dipamkara.

The Tathagata established some in the going for refuge, some with five precepts, others with ten precepts.

Whoever gives to another the four best fruits, whoever gives these unequalled dhammas, he discriminates.

The chief of men gives the eight best attainments to anyone, he infuses the three knowledges, and six higher knowledges to anyone.

In that order, many men were given the great sage’s advice, it is extensive, (36a) it is the teaching of the lord of the world.

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1 Tibetan: dga’ ba can.
2 Tibetan: sans rgyas la sogs pa’i. Pāli buddhapamukhassa.
3 Tibetan: chos bstan ciṅ bstan nas. Pāli: dhammaṃ desetvā
4 Tibetan: lhag par gnas pa ji srid ’tsho’i bar de srid du. Pāli: tato uddham pi yāvatāyukam.
5 Tibetan: sans rgyas kyi ’phrin las. Pāli: Buddhakicca.
6 Tibetan: lhag ma med par yongs su mya ŋan las ’das pa’i dbyin’bs su yongs su mya ŋan las ’das so. Pāli: anupādesāya nibbānadhātu Maya parinibbāyi.
8 Tibetan: gaṅ žig la ni mtshuṅs med chos // so so yaṅ dag rig pa byin. Pāli: kassaci asame dhamme deti so patisambhidā.
The bull shouldered and large jawed one, with the name Dipaṅkara, frees many beings, and liberates those destined for hell.

Seeing beings in need of freedom, in an area of a hundred thousand yojanas, instantly the great sage approached, in order to teach them.

The Buddha’s first attainment awakened a hundred kotis, the second attainment of the lord awakened one hundred thousand kotis.

When the Buddha taught the Dhamma in the abode of devas, the third attainment was ninety thousand kotis. {Pā29}

They were the three assemblies of the teacher Dipaṅkara, the first assembly was a hundred thousand kotis.

Moreover, when the Jina dwelled in solitude on Nārada’s hill, the hundred thousand who were pure, and free of the āsavas, were pacified.

When the great hero stayed on top of Sudassana’s mountain, then the sage was attended by ninety thousand kotis.

Then, I was the supreme austere ascetic, I moved in the sky, as one who has gone beyond the five higher knowledges.

There were ten and twenty thousand who realized the Dhamma, the realization of the ones and twos were innumerable and without measure.

The merchants realised the extensive teaching, then perfected the psychic powers, and the Bhagavan Dipaṅkara's teaching was purified.

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9 Tibetan: de tshê thub pa. Pāli: J I p. 29, tadh Muni; Bv p. 22, mahāmuni.
15 Tibetan: rgya che ded dpon can śes pa // de tshê rdzu ’phrul ldan žiṅ rdzogs // bcom ldan ’das ni mar me mdzad // bstan pa śin tu dag ciṅ mdzès // Pāli: Vitthārīkaṁ bāhujānaṁ iddhāṁ pītaṁ ahū tadā / Dipaṅkarassa Bhagavato sāsanaṁ suvisodhitam. //

195
Those four hundred thousand, were possessed of six knowledges and great powers, that pure\(^1\) retinue always surrounds Dipanīkara, the knower of the world.

Whoever at then renounced the human state, and did not obtain a superior mind,\(^2\) they were censured.

The *arahats*, pure and without *āsavas*, acquire\(^3\) teachings that blossom well, and beautify\(^4\) the worlds of *devas* and men.\(^5\)

The teacher was Dipanīkara, his city was called Rammavati, his father was king Sumedha,\(^6\) his mother\(^7\) was Sumedhā.

Sumangala and Tissa were the foremost disciples, the attendant\(^8\) of the teacher Dipanīkara was named Sāgata.

Nandā and Sunandā were the foremost female disciples, the bhagavan’s *bodhi* tree, was called the pipphali.\(^9\)

The great sage,\(^10\) Dipanīkara, was eighty cubits in height, blossoming like a tree,\(^11\) flowering like the great *sāla*\(^12\) tree.

The life of the great sage\(^13\) was one hundred thousand years, as long as he dwelled there, he freed many people.

Causing the Dhamma to appear\(^14\) that also freed many people, shining like a bonfire, then, together with his disciples, was liberated.\(^15\)

The psychic power, the fame, and the precious jewels on the feet, all were entirely (37a) dissolved, and those conditioned *dhammas*\(^16\) were abandoned.\(^17\)

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After Dipamkara the teacher was named Koṇḍañña, with limitless brilliance, endless fame, boundless and imponderable.

The Bhagavan Koṇḍañña.

Furthermore, after the Bhagavan Dipamkara, following the elapse of one immeasurable aeon, the teacher appeared, who was the leader named Koṇḍañña. He had three assemblies of disciples: the first assembly had one hundred thousand kotis, the second had one thousand kotis, the third had ninety thousand kotis. At that time the Bodhisatta was the world ruling king named Vijitāvi. He gave a great gift to those large congregations of monks, numbering one hundred thousand kotis, in the presence of the Buddha. The teacher having made the prediction to the Bodhisatta, saying: ‘You will be a Buddha’, and taught the Dhamma. After hearing the doctrine of the teacher, he abandoned the kingdom, and went forth. Then after learning the Tipitaka, he produced the eight attainments, and the five higher knowledges, and without leaving jhāna was reborn in the Bramaloka. Moreover, the Buddha Koṇḍañña’s city was Rammavatī; his father was the king Sunanda and his mother queen Sujātā. The foremost of his disciples were the two Bhadda and Subhadda; his attendant was named Anuruddha; the foremost of his female disciples were Tissa (37b) and Upatissā and his bodhi tree the sālakalyāṇī. The length of his body was eighty eight cubits and eight thousand years the span of his life.

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1 Tibetan: Kōṇḍi nya, see edition for variant orthography.
3 Tibetan: bskal pa. Pāli omits.
4 Tibetan: ’dren pa. Pāli omits.
7 Tibetan: rNam par rgyal ba.
8 Tibetan: chen po. Pāli omits.
12 Tibetan: Kōṇḍi nya, see edition for variant orthography.
13 Tibetan: dGa’ ba can.
14 Tibetan: Şin tu dga’ ba.
15 Tibetan: Rigs bzañ lha mo.
16 Tibetan: bZañ po dañ Legs bzañ.
17 Tibetan: Mi ’gal ba.
18 Tibetan: rGyal ma dañ ņe rgyal ma.
19 Tibetan: dge ba šin ni šā lya, see edition for variant orthography.
The Bhagavan Mangala.

After him, following the elapse of one immeasurable aeon, four Buddhas appeared\(^1\) in one aeon: Mangala, Sumana, Revata and Sobhita.\(^2\) The Bhagavan Maṅgala had three assemblies of disciples: in the first of those assemblies there were a hundred thousand \(\text{kotis}^3\) of monks, in the second a thousand \(\text{kotis}^4\) and in the third ninety thousand\(^5\) \(\text{kotis}\). Then a cousin named Ānanda, with a retinue numbering ninety thousand\(^6\) \(\text{kotis}\), came to the teacher's presence in order to hear the Dhamma. The teacher explained his previous teachings to him in a graduated way,\(^7\) then he and his retinue attained analytical knowledge and arahatship.\(^8\) The teacher looked at the previous deeds of those clansmen,\(^9\) and seeing those robes and bowls that arise due to psychic power, stretched out his right hand saying: 'Come, monks?' All of them instantly bore the bowls and robes that arose due to psychic power, and were received like \(\text{theras}\) of sixty years standing who had the requisite things,\(^{10}\) venerating the teacher they surrounded him.\(^{11}\) Just as (38a) for other Buddhas there are light rays from all around the eighty cubit high body; this Bhagavan's bodily light rays are not like that, but remained emanating constantly into the ten thousand fold world system. The trees, the earth, the mountains and the oceans and so forth, even cooking pots and the like, were as if adorned with gold. The extent of his life was ninety thousand years.\(^{12}\) At that time the moon and the sun were unable to shine their own light rays, and the distinction between night and day was unknown. \(\{\text{Pā31}\}\) Those beings, as in the sunshine of the day,\(^{13}\) always go by the radiance of the Buddha. The people knew the night and day by recourse to the closing of flowers at night, and the singing of birds in the morning. They thought: 'Why is it not like this for those other perfect Buddhas?' It is not that they lack this, for if they wished they would be able to emanate light to the ten thousand fold world system or beyond. Moreover, the Bhagavan Maṅgala, due the power acquired in former times, abides pervading the ten thousand fold world system uninterruptedly with his bodily radiance, as others fill a six foot halo.\(^{14}\) In the course of his life as a bodhisatta he dwelled living as Vessantara,\(^{15}\) together with son and wife he lived on

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\(^1\) Tibetan: byon par gyur. Pāli: nibbattiṁsu.

\(^2\) Tibetan: bKra šis bzaṅ po, Thugs bzaṅ po, Nam gru can, mDzes pa can.

\(^3\) Tibetan: phrag dgu bcu. Pāli: navutī.


\(^5\) Tibetan: snon gyi gtam mams go rims bzin du. Pāli: ānupubbilathāṁ.

\(^6\) Tibetan: so so yaṅ dag par rig pa dan dgra bcom pa thob bo/. Pāli: paṭisambhidāhi arahattāṁ pāpuṇi.

\(^7\) Tibetan: rigs kyi bu mams. Pāli: kulaputta.

\(^8\) Tibetan: cho ga phun sun tshogs par gyur nas. Pāli: ākappasampannā hutvā.

\(^9\) Tibetan omits. Pāli has line: Ayam assa tatiyo sāvakasannipāto ahosi.

\(^10\) Tibetan omits. Pāli: vassa.


\(^12\) Tibetan: yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i sāṅs rgyas gzhan mams la ci'i phyir 'di lta bu med pa yin nam. Pāli: Kim pana aññesaṁ Buddhānaṁ ayam ānubhāvo n' athiti.

\(^13\) Tibetan: yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i sāṅs rgyas. Pāli: Buddha.

\(^14\) Tibetan: 'od 'dom gaṅ ba. Pāli: vyāmappabha.

\(^15\) Tibetan: Thams cad sgrol.
a mountain liken to (38b) Vamka mountain. Then the *yakkha*, Kharadāthika, hearing that he had given a great gift to the Mahāpurisa, approached him in the form of a *brahma*, and in front of the Mahāsattā requested his son and wife. The Bodhisattā thought: ‘I will give my son and wife to the *brahma*,’ delighted and content, he made the earth up to the edges of the sea shake. Then the *yakkha* remained crouching on the plank at the end of the walkway, and the Bodhisattā sat looking at him. Giving his son and wife to him, the *yakkha* ate the son and wife as if eating entrails. The *yakkha* looked at the Mahāpurisa, from his open mouth a stream of blood flowed like a glowing fire. Although when seeing his mouth a mere hair’s tip of grief did not arise, and he thought: ‘The gift is well given.’ Moreover, a great joy arose in his body and he thought: ‘In the future, due to the benefits of the merit of giving here, I will strive to emanate light rays which are like those.’ Due to that striving, the bodily radiance from the Buddha emanated outwardly, and he dwelled pervading those areas. Furthermore, due to his former deeds when a bodhisattā, he saw a *stupa* with the relics of a certain Buddha and thought: ‘It is fitting that I offer my life to the relics of this Buddha.’ Putting on a crown of precious wood and wrapping his entire body with other garments, like wood wrapped with cotton, he filled a golden vessel with butter worth one hundred thousand. He placed a hundred thousand wicks in it, lit the lamp and put it on top of his head, making his entire body blaze, then made circumambulation at the relic *stupa*. In that way even just a root of his hair was not heated during his exertions, from nightfall up to the dawn of the morning, it was as if he were placed in a bunch of lotus flowers. If this Dhamma is protected by oneself, the Dhamma will protect him. On account of which it is said:

Th 303
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The Dhamma protects the practitioner of Dhamma,
if led by the Dhamma one accordingly obtains the Dhamma.
If one is properly led, the Dhamma is beneficial,
the practitioner of Dhamma does not go to an evil destiny.

{Pā32} As a result of this deed the Bhagavan’s radiant body remained pervading the ten thousand fold world system. Then, the Bodhisatta appeared to us as the brahmāṇa named Suruci.¹ He went to the teacher’s presence in order to make an invitation to him, and hearing the exposition of the sweet Dhamma, said: ‘Sir,² please come to my noonday meal tomorrow.’ The Bhagavan said: ‘Brahmadev, how many monks do you require?’ He replied: ‘Sir, bring only the group of your retinue.’ Then as the teacher had only one assembly, the Bhagavan said: ‘There are eighty thousand kotis of monks.’ The Brahmadev said: ‘Sir, come for the noon day meal at my house with your entire assembly.’ (39b) and the Bhagavan³ assented. The Brahmadev, having made the invitation⁴ for tomorrow, went to his house, thinking: ‘I am able to give soup, food and clothes to the group, but where will they sit?’ Then the red stone throne of the king of the devas, sitting eighty four thousand yojanas above,⁵ became hot. Sakka⁶ thought: ‘Who is it who desires to eject me from this abode of mine?’ The lord of the devas,¹ looking with his divine eye, saw the Mahāpurisa and thought: ‘So, the brahmāṇa named Suruci has invited the group of monks, with the Buddha at their head⁸, but is thinking about the seating area. It is proper that I, having gone there, partake

¹ Tibetan: &in tu sred pa.
² Tibetan: btsun pa.
³ Tibetan: bcom ldan 'das. Pāli: sattha.
⁶ Tibetan: brGya byin.
⁷ Tibetan: lha'i dban po. Pāli omits.
in a share of the merit.' Transforming into the form of a carpenter, and taking an axe, and an adze, he appeared before the Mahāpurisa' saying: 'Whoever gives me wages, I will do his work.' The Mahāpurisa seeing him said: 'What work are you able to do?', he replied: 'There is no work I do not know, I am able to make a house, or a resting place, or do any little job whatever.' The Bodhisatta said: Then there is my own work,4 I invited, through the noble one,5 a group of a hundred thousand kotis of monks, are you able to make a seating area (40a) for them? The carpenter said: 'If you pay me wages, I will make it.' The Bodhisatta said: 'Son, I am able.' The carpenter said: 'Very well, I will make it.' He went, and looking at one area measuring twelve or thirteen youjanas, made it level, like a kasina mandala.6 He looked at that thinking: 'Let there be produced from below the earth7 a resting place that consists8 of the various seven precious things, up to the boundary of this area!' Then, instantly, breaking through the earth, a resting place was completed. It had a support beam, made of gold on top9 of a capital made10 of silver, on pillars made of gold. There were jewelled pillars decorated with coral, coral pillars decorated with jewels, and pillar capitals made from the seven precious things, on pillars made from the seven precious things. Then, looking at it he thought: 'Let there be a hanging net of bells at intervals on the resting place.' While merely looking at it, the hanging net, which was shaken by the wind, gave out the sweet sound of the five kinds of music, like the divine singing of the devas. Then, thinking: 'Let there be hanging scented garlands, and garlands of flowers at intervals!', there were hanging garlands. Thinking: 'Let seats and stools arise, after breaking through the earth, for that group of monks numbering a hundred thousand kotis.' {PÂ33} Instantly they appeared on top of the earth11, and he thought: 'Let there be large water pots evenly spaced out!', and large water pots appeared. Then having (40b) made all those changes he went to the brâhmana's presence, saying: 'Sir, come here and look at the resting place! It is proper now to give wages to me.' The Mahāpurisa came and looked at the resting place. Instantly Sakka became invisible.12 While merely looking at it, his entire body began to emit five colours, and joy, continuously.13

1 Tibetan: skyes bu chen po. Pâli: Mahâsatta.
2 Tibetan: bsti gnas. Pâli: mañḍapa.
3 Tibetan: byaṅ chub sems dpa’ smras pa. Pâli omits.
4 Pâli has: Kiṅ ayyā ti.
5 Tibetan: ’phags pa las. Pâli omits.
6 Tibetan: zad par sgon po’i dkyil ’khor.
7 Tibetan: sa ’og nas. Pâli omits.
12 Tibetan: de ma thag tu brgya byin mi snaṅ bar gyur to. Pâli omits.
13 Tibetan: kha dog lha daṅ ldan pa dga’ ba rgyun mi ’chad par ’phro bar gyur to. Pâli: paṅcavāṇṇāya pitiyā nirantarāṃ phuṭarām ahosi.
external gift is unable to please those bodhisattas, but those bodhisattas become pleased by renunciation when giving, after cutting off their adorned heads, gouging out their pure eyes, or cutting out the flesh of their hearts. Our bodhisatta, in the Sibi jātaka,1 daily bought five bushels worth of coins, and gave it as a gift in the middle of the city with its four gates. Giving that gift did not satisfy him, and when Sakka, king of the devas, came in the form of a brāhmaṇa and requested his eyes; then when removing his eyes and giving them he became satisfied. Even the mere tip of the hair of suffering did not occur. Accordingly, bodhisattas are not pleased by reason of just giving. Therefore the Mahepurisa thought: ‘It is proper that I give a gift to that group of monks numbering a hundred thousand kotis for a week,’ then, seating them in that resting place, he gave the gift of milk rice2 for a week. The milk rice is made by filling a very large pot with a large quantity of milk, and putting it on top of a large kitchen range,3 cooking by fire makes the milk thicken, then cooking it with a little fruit, honey, powder, and fresh butter, produces the meal of milk soup known as gavapāṇa. Mankind is unable to serve it, but the devas served it alternately. When there was no room for those monks in that area, that extended twelve or thirteen yojanas, those monks seated themselves by their own powers. Washing the bowls of all those monks at the end of seven days, and after filling their bowls with new butter,4 melted butter,5 honey, and the water of boiled raw sugar for use as medicine, he gave these together with three robes. The cotton, which was the material of the robes obtained by the youngest monks of the group, was worth the sum of one hundred thousand. The teacher made his rejoicings, reflecting: ‘This man gives such a great gift as this. What will the gain be?’ Then he saw: ‘In the future, after the elapse of two uncountable periods, and more than one hundred thousand aeons, he will be the Buddha named Gotama.’6 Exclaiming to the Mahāpurisa, he prophesied: ‘You {Pa34} will be the Buddha Gotama after the elapse of this time.’ The Mahāpurisa, hearing the prophesy, thought: ‘I will be a Buddha. Since there is no profit in the household life,7 I will go forth.’ Possessed of such a resolution as this he abandoned the house, as if spitting out a ball of spittle, and went forth in the presence of the teacher. Having gone forth, and learned the teaching of the Buddha, he produced the higher knowledges, and the attainments, at the end of his life was reborn in the Brahma world. Furthermore, the city of the Bhagavan Maṅgala the good8 was called Uttara,9 his father was king Uttara,10 and his mother was Uttara11. The foremost of his disciples were the two: Sudeva and Dhammasena,12 his attendant was named Pālita,13 the foremost of his female disciples were the two: Sivali and Asoka14, his bodhi tree

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1 Tibetan: Si bi'i skyes rabs.
2 Tibetan: dga' ba pā na. Pāli: gavapāṇa.
6 Tibetan: gō ta ma, see edition for variant orthography.
7 Tibetan: khyim pa na gnas pa la don med. Pāli: ko me gharavāsena atho.
9 Tibetan: mchog.
10 Tibetan: mchog.
11 Tibetan: mchog ma.
12 Tibetan: Itah bzan dān Chos kyi sde.
13 Tibetan: bsKyaṅ ba.
was the nāga tree. The height of his body was eighty eight cubits, the span of his life was ninety thousand years. Having lived for (42a) ninety thousand years, he attained nibbāna. Moreover, after the Buddha attained nibbāna all the regions of the ten thousand fold sphere immediately became dark, and the people of all the spheres let out a great lament.

Bv IV 1

After Koṇḍañña, Maṅgala was the leader of the world, clearing the world’s darkness, diffusing the radiance of the light of the Dhamma.

I36.

The Bhagavan Sumara.

Accordingly, at his attainment of nibbāna the ten thousand fold world system was plunged into darkness. After that Bhagavan, the teacher named Sumana appeared. He had three assemblies of disciples: in the first assembly there were a hundred thousand kotis of monks, in the second assembly there were ninety thousand kotis on Kañcana mountain, the third had eighty thousand kotis. At that time the Mahāsatta was the nāga king named Atula, who possessed the force of the psychic powers. Hearing ‘A Buddha has arisen’, he went out, surrounded by friends and family, from that abode of nāgas. Making offering with divine music to the Bhagavan, who was surrounded by a retinue of a hundred thousand kotis of monks, he gave a great gift. Having given to each of those monks a set of divine clothes, he remained in the virtue of going for refuge. The teacher prophesied: ‘In the future you will be Buddha.’ The city of that Bhagavan was called Khema, his father was the king named Sudatta, and his mother was named Sirima. The foremost of his disciples were Sarana and Bhāvitatta, his attendant was Udena, and the
two foremost female disciples were Sona and Upasona. His bodhi tree was the nāga tree, the height of his body was sixty cubits, and the span of his life was ninety thousand years.

Bv V 1

After Maṅgala the good the leader was called Sumana unequalled in all dhammas, the best of all beings.

I37.

The Bhagavan Revata.

{Pā35} After him the teacher named Revata appeared. He had three assemblies, the first was called incalculable, the second had a hundred thousand kotis of monks, and the third also the same number. At that time the Bodhisatta was the brāhmaṇa named Atideva, hearing the teacher’s explanation of the Dhamma, he remained in the virtue of going for refuge. Joining his hands above his head, and speaking in praise of the teacher’s abandonment of the defilements, he offered his upper robe. He also received the prophesy: ‘You will be Buddha.’ Furthermore, the Bhagavan’s city was called Sudhaṃśavati, his father was the king named Vipula, and his mother was named Vipulā. The foremost of his disciples were Varana and Brahmadeva, his attendant was Sambhava, and the foremost of his female disciples were Bhadda and Subhadda. (43a) His bodhi tree was the nāga tree, the height of his body was eighty cubits, and the span of his life was sixty thousand years.

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16 Tibetan: Nes 'gro dañ Goms byed.
17 Tibetan: 'Char byed.
1 Tibetan: gānis. Pāli omits.
2 Tibetan: Ňan pa dañ Ňe bar fían pa.
5 Tibetan: Thugs bzañ.
6 Tibetan: Nam gru can.
8 Tibetan: HHag pa'i lha.
9 Tibetan: tshul khrims. Pāli omits.
10 Tibetan: Nam gru bzañ ldan.
11 Tibetan: Šin tu rgyas pa.
12 Tibetan: Šin tu rgyas ma.
13 Tibetan: Chu lha dañ HHa tshañs pa.
14 Tibetan: Yañ dag 'byuh.
15 Tibetan: bZan mo dañ Legs bzañ mo.
After Sumana the leader was named Revata, incomparable and unequalled, he was the best and unequalled Jina.

I38.

The Bhagavan Sobhita.

After him the teacher named Sobhita appeared. He had three assemblies, the first had a hundred kotis of monks, the second had ninety kotis and the third had eighty kotis. Then the Bodhisatta was the brāhmaṇa named Ajita, hearing the teacher’s explanation of the Dhamma, he remained in the virtue of going for refuge. He gave a great gift to the group of monks with the Buddha at their head. The Bhagavan also prophesied: ‘You will be Buddha.’ Furthermore, that Bhagavan’s city was named Sudhamma, his father was the king Sudhamma, and his mother was named Sudhammā. The foremost of his disciples were Asama and Sunetta, and his attendant was Anoma, the foremost of his female disciples were Nakulā and Sujitā. His bodhi tree was the nāga tree, the height of his body was fifty eight cubits, and the span of his life was ninety thousand years.

After Revata the leader was called Sobhita, collected and calm minded, the unsurpassed unequalled man.

I39.

The Bhagavan Anomadassi.

After him, following the elapse of one (43b) immeasurable aeon, three Buddhas were born within one
Jātakanidāna Translation

aeon: Anomadassi, Paduma and Nārada.¹ The Bhagavan Anomadassi had three assemblies² the first had one³ hundred thousand monks, the second seven hundred thousand, and the third six hundred thousand. At that time the Bodhisatta was a certain yakka,⁴ possessing great powers and great majesty, he was the lord of many {Pa36} hundreds of thousands of kotis of yakkas. Then, hearing ‘The Bhagavan has arrived’, he went there and gave a great gift to the group of monks, with the Buddha at their head,⁵ The teacher also prophesied: ‘You will be a Buddha in the future.’ Furthermore, the city of the Bhagavan Anomadassi was called Caṇḍavatī,⁶ his father was the king Yasava, and his mother was named Yasodhāra.⁷ The foremost of his disciples were Nisabha and Anoma,⁸ and his attendant was Varuṇa,⁹ the foremost of his female disciples were Sundarī and Sumanā.¹⁰ His bodhi tree was the ajjuna¹¹ tree, the height of his body was fifty eight cubits, and the span of his life was a hundred thousand years.

By VIII 1

After Soyhita the perfect Buddha, the chief of men, was the famed,¹² radiant and unsurpassed¹³ Anomadassi.

I40.

The Bhagavan Paduma.

After him the teacher named Paduma¹⁴ appeared. He also had (44a) three assemblies,¹⁵ the first had a hundred thousand kotis of monks, the second had three hundred thousand, and the third had two hundred thousand who dwelled in solitude in the great forest without homes. Then, when the Tathāgata was also dwelling in the great forest, the Bodhisatta was born as a lion, and seeing the teacher dwelling in the attainment of cessation, he saluted and circumambulated him with a pure mind. Then joy and happiness arose, and he thrice let out the lion’s roar. For seven days he did not forsake the joy that was due to the

¹ Tibetan: Thugs ldan mthon ba, Pad ma, Mi sbyin.
⁵ Tibetan: sans rgyas la sogs pa. Pāli: buddhapamukha.
⁶ Tibetan: Ni łącz ba can.
⁷ Tibetan: Grags 'dzin ma.
⁸ Tibetan: Nes bzañ dañ Yid ldan.
⁹ Tibetan: Chu lha.
¹⁰ Tibetan: Legs mdzes dañ Yid bzañ ma.
¹⁴ Tibetan: Pad ma.
Buddha, abandoning life, he departed to the sphere of joy and happiness. After seven days, the teacher, rising from the attainment of cessation, and seeing the lion said: ‘Even those monks of the saṅgha, after purifying the mind, make salutation to the saṅgha.’ He thought: ‘Let the saṅgha of monks come!’, those monks arrived immediately, and the lion purified the minds of the saṅgha. The teacher, examining his mind, prophesied: ‘You will be Buddha in the future.’ Furthermore, the Bhagavan Paduma’s city was named Campaka, his father was the king Paduma, and his mother was named Asamā. The foremost of his disciples were Śāla and Upāsāla, and his attendant was Varuṇa, (44b) the foremost of his female disciples were Rāmā and Uparāmā. His bodhi tree was the sōna tree, the height of his body was fifty eight cubits, and the span of his life was a hundred thousand years.

After Anomadassa, the perfect Buddha, the best of men, was called Paduma, without rival or equal.

I41.

The Bhagavan Nārada

After him the teacher named Nārada appeared. He also had three assemblies, the first had a hundred thousand kotis of monks, the second had ninety thousand kotis, and the third had one hundred and eighty thousand kotis. Then, the Bodhisatta having gone forth, in the going forth of a sage, mastered the five higher knowledges and the eight attainments. He gave a great gift to the group of monks, with the Buddha at their head, and made offering with red sandalwood. He prophesied to him: ‘You will be Buddha in the future!’ Furthermore, the Bhagavan’s city was named Dhaññavati, his father was the king Sumedha, and his mother was named Anoma. The foremost of his disciples were Bhaddasāla and Jinamitta, and his attendant was Vāsetṭha, the foremost of his female disciples were Uttarā and Phaggūni.
His bodhi tree was the mahāsona tree, the height of his body was eighty eight cubits and the span of his life was ninety thousand years. (45a)

Bv X 1

After Paduma, the perfect Buddha, the best of men, was called Nārada, without rival or equal.

I42.

The Bhagavan Padmuttara.

Beginning one hundred thousand aeons after the Buddha Nārada, in the middle of a certain aeon, the Buddha called Padmuttara appeared. He also had three assemblies, the first had a hundred thousand kotis of monks, the second on Vebhara mountain had ninety thousand kotis, and the third had eighty thousand kotis. At that time the Bodhisatta was born as the state official named Jatila. He gave a great gift, consisting of religious robes, to the group of monks, with the Buddha at their head. He also prophesied to him: ‘You will be Buddha in the future!’ Furthermore, there was not even the name heretic during the time of the Bhagavan Padmuttara, and all devas and men went for refuge to the Buddha. His city was named Hamsavati, his father was the king Ananda, and his mother was named Sujātā. The foremost of his disciples were Devala and Sujātā, and his attendant was Sumana, the foremost of his female disciples were Amitā and Asamā. His bodhi tree was the sāla tree, the height of his body was eighty eight cubits, his bodily radiance surrounded him for twelve yojanas, and the span of his life was one hundred thousand years.

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17 Tibetan: gNas mchog.
18 Tibetan: mChog ma dañ ‘Bras bu can ma.
1 Tibetan: sron chen po. Pāli: mahāsona.
2 Tibetan: Pad ma.
3 Tibetan: Pad ma mchog.
4 Tibetan: ’dus pa. Pāli: sāvakasannipāta.
5 Tibetan: Bai bhā ra’i ri.
7 Tibetan: Ral pa can.
9 Tibetan: Tsam pa ka.
11 Tibetan: Legs ma.
12 Tibetan: Lha’i sbyan dañ Legs skyes.
13 Tibetan: Yid bzan.
14 Tibetan: Grolgs med ma dañ mTsun s med ma.
After Närada, the perfect Buddha, the best of men, was called Padmuttara the conqueror, unagitated like the ocean.

I43.

The Bhagavan Sumedha.

After him, following the elapse of three thousand aeons, there were two Buddhas in one aeon, named Sumedha and Sujāta. Sumedha also had three assemblies of disciples, in the first assembly in the city called Sudassana there were one hundred koṭis of arhats. In the second assembly there were ninety koṭis, and in the third assembly there were eighty koṭis. At that time the Bodhisatta was born as the brāhmaṇa boy named Uttara. He, gave a great gift to the group of monks, with the Buddha at their head, by distributing eighty koṭis of buried treasure, and having heard the teaching, he resorted to the duty of going for refuge. Having gone forth, he went to the forest. He also prophesied to him: ‘You will be Buddha in the future!’ The Bhagavan Sumedha’s city was named Sudassana, his father was the king Sudatta, and his mother was named Sudattā. The foremost of his disciples were Sārāṇa and Sabbakāma, and his attendant was Sāgara, the foremost of his female disciples were Rāmā and Surāmā. His bodhi tree was the mahānīpā tree, the height of his body was eighty eight cubits, and the span of his life was ninety thousand years.

After Padmuttara, the leader was called Sumedha, with strong radiance and superior mind, the sage surpassing all the world.
I44.

The Bhagavan Sujāta.

After him the teacher named Sujāta appeared. He also had three assemblies of disciples, in the first assembly there were sixty thousand monks, in the second there were fifty thousand, and in the third there were forty thousand. At that time the Bodhisatta was born as a king who was a cakkavatti. Hearing, ‘the Buddha has arrived’, he went there. Having heard the teaching, he gave a great gift, consisting of the kingdoms of the four continents together with the seven jewels, to the group of monks with the Buddha at their head, and then went up to the teacher. Taking the wealth of the subjects who lived in all the kingdoms, he built monasteries, giving them as a great gift to those monks, with the Buddha at their head. The teacher also prophesied to him: ‘You will be Buddha in the future!’ The Bhagavan’s city was named Sumangala, his father was the king Uggata, and his mother was named Pabhavati. The foremost of his disciples were the two: Sudassana and Deva, his attendant was Nārada, the foremost of his female disciples were Nāgā and Nāgasamālā. His bodhi tree was the mahāvelu tree, which had a lovely trunk with tiny perforations, and the branches at its top had beautiful fans like a peacock’s tail. The height of the Bhagavan’s body was fifty eight cubits, and the span of his life was ninety thousand years.

Bv XIII 1

Then, in that very mandakappi, Sujāta was the leader, chief of the host, with the jaw of a lion, imponderable and unequalled.

I45.

The Bhagavan Piyadassi.

Then after him, starting from the beginning of one hundred and eighteen aeons, in one aeon three Buddhas appeared called Piyadassi, Atthadassi and Dhammadassi. Piyadassi also had three assemblies of

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1 Tibetan: 'khor lo sgyur ba’i rgyal po.
5 Tibetan: bKra bsis bzaṅ po.
6 Tibetan: Drag po.
7 Tibetan: 'Od Idan ma.
8 Tibetan: biTa na sdug daṅ Lha.
9 Tibetan: Mi sbyin.
10 Tibetan: Glu ma daṅ Glu ma’i 'phreṅ ba daṅ bcaś pa.
12 Tibetan: sfin po'i bskal pa.
13 Tibetan: khyu mehog dpun pa seng ge'i 'gram // riṅ la sems žin gyal du med //. Pāli: sīhana’ usabhikkhandho appameyyo durāsado.
14 Tibetan: dGa’ mthoṅ, Don mthoṅ, Chos mthoṅ.
disciples; the first had a hundred thousand _kotis_ of monks, the second had ninety _kotis_, and the third had eighty _kotis_. At that time the Bodhisatta was the brāhmaṇa boy named Kassapa. He had mastered the three _vedas_, and on hearing the teacher explain the teaching, he abandoned wealth worth a hundred thousand _kotis_. (Pā39) Making monasteries for the _sangha_ and going for refuge, he dwelled in the practice of virtue. Then the teacher also prophesied to him: ‘After the elapse of one hundred and eighteen aeons you will be Buddha!’ The city of that Bhagavan was named Anoma. His father was the king Sudinna, and his mother was named Candā. The foremost of his disciples were the two Pālita and Sabbadassi, and his attendant was Sobhita, the foremost of his female disciples were the two: Sujatā and Dhammadinā. (47a) His _bodhi_ tree was the _piyanguru_ tree, the height of his body was eighty cubits, and the span of his life was ninety thousand years.

_Bv XIV 1_

After Sujāta, the self sufficient leader of the world, was the renowned Piyadassi, unequalled and imponderable.

_I46._

**The Bhagavan Atthadassi.**

After him the Bhagavan named Atthadassi appeared. He also had three assemblies of disciples, in the first assembly there were ninety eight thousand monks, in the second there were eighty eight thousand, and the same also in the third. At that time the Bodhisatta was the ascetic named Susima, who had great powers. Taking an umbrella of _mandārava_ flowers from the _deva_ world, he offered it to the teacher. He also made the prediction to him. The Bhagavan’s city was named Sobhita, his father was the king Sāgara, and his mother was named Sudassanā. The foremost of his disciples were Santa and Upasanta.

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2. Tibetan: Yid ldan.
3. Tibetan: Legs sbyin
4. Tibetan: Zla ba ma.
5. Tibetan: bsKyaṇs pa daṅ Kun mthoṅ.
6. Tibetan: mDzes byed.
7. Tibetan: Legs skyes ma daṅ Chos sbyin ma.
10. Tibetan: mTshams bzaṅ.
11. Tibetan: mDzes byed.
12. Tibetan: rGya mtshe.
13. Tibetan: bITa na sduṅ ma.
14. Tibetan: Ži ba daṅ Ńe bar ži ba.
while his attendant was Abhaya, the foremost of his female disciples were Dhamma and Sudhamma. His bodhi tree was the campaka tree. The height of his body was eighty-eight cubits, and he dwelled surrounded by his bodily radiance pervading as far as one yojana at all times, the span of his life was one hundred thousand years.

By XV 1

Then, in that mandakappa, Atthadassi the chief of men, (47b) dispelled the great darkness, and attained the highest enlightenment.

I47.

The Bhagavan Dhammadassi.

After him the teacher named Dhammadassi appeared. He also had three assemblies of disciples, in the first assembly there were a hundred kotis of monks, in the second there were seventy kotis, and in the third eighty kotis. At that time the Bodhisatta was Sakka, king of the devas. He made offerings with divine perfumes, flowers, and divine music. He also had the prediction made to him: 'You will be Buddha in the future.' The Bhagavan's city was named Sarana, his father was the king Sarana, and his mother was named Sunanda. The foremost of his disciples were Paduma and Phussadeva, while his attendant was Sunetta, the foremost of his female disciples were Khema and Sabbanama. His bodhi tree was the bimbijála tree. The height of his body was eighty cubits, the span of his life was one hundred thousand years.

By XVI 1

Then, in the mandakappa, the renowned Dhammadassi, subduing the great darkness, shone equal to the devas.

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1 Tibetan: 'Jigs med.
2 Tibetan: Chos ma dan Chos bza ma.
4 Tibetan: de yān ma 'o'ns oa na sañ sgyas bar luñ bstan to. Pāli: So pi nam vyākāsi.
5 Tibetan: skYabs.
6 Tibetan: skYabs.
7 Tibetan: §in tu dga' ma.
8 Tibetan: Pad ma dañ Lhar gyur pa.
9 Tibetan: Legs spyan.
10 Tibetan: dGe ma dan bDen ma.
11 Tibetan: byañ chub kyi šin ni pim pa dâ la šin no. Pāli: Rattakuravakarukkhē bodhi, bimbijālo ti pi vuccati.
The Bhagavan Siddhattha.

{Pā40} Then after him, starting from the beginning ninety four aeons ago, in one aeon the Buddha named Siddhattha appeared. He also had three assemblies of disciples, the first had a hundred thousand kotis of monks, the second had ninety kotis, and (48a) the third had eighty kotis. At that time the Bodhisatta was the ascetic named Maṅgala, having a powerful brilliance, and possessed of the power of higher knowledge. Taking the fruit of the mahājambu he gave it to the Tathāgata. The teacher, after eating the fruit, prophesied to the Bodhisatta ‘In the future, after ninety four aeons, you will be Buddha.’ That Bhagavan’s city was named Vehbara, his father was the king Jāyasena, and his mother was named Suphassa. The foremost of his disciples were Sambala and Sumitta, and his attendant was Revata, the foremost of his female disciples were Sivali and Surāmā. His bodhi tree was the kaṇikāra tree, the height of his body was sixty cubits, and the span of his life was one hundred thousand years.

After Dhammadassi, Siddhattha the leader of the world, subdued all darkness, like the sun rising in the sky.

The Bhagavan Tissa.

Then after him, starting from the beginning ninety two thousand aeons ago, in one aeon two Buddhas named Tissa and Phussa appeared. They also had three assemblies, the first assembly had a hundred kotis of monks, the second had ninety kotis, and the third had eighty kotis. At that time (48b) the Bodhisatta was born in a royal family and named Sujāta, and was possessed of great wealth and fame.
Having gone forth into the life of an ascetic, he acquired power. Hearing that the Buddha had arrived, he took divine \textit{mandāra}, and lotus flowers, and \textit{paricchattaka} fruits, offering them to the Tathāgata, who had gone into the midst of the four fold assembly, then he spread a canopy of flowers in the sky. The Buddha also prophesied to him: ‘After ninety two aeons, you will be Buddha.’ That Bhagavan’s city was named Khema, his father was Janasandha of royal lineage, and his mother was named Padmumā. The foremost of his disciples were Brahmadeva and Udaya, and his attendant was Sambhava, the foremost of his female disciples were Phussa and Sudattā. His \textit{bodhi} tree was the \textit{asana} tree, the height of his body was sixty cubits, and the span of his life was one hundred thousand years.

By XVIII 1

After Siddhattha, the unequalled peerless person
the supreme Tissa, of endless virtue and renown, was leader of the world.

I50.

The Bhagavan Phussa.

Then after him, the teacher named Phussa appeared. He also had three assemblies, the first assembly had sixty thousand monks, the second had fifty thousand, and the third had thirty-two thousand. At that time the Bodhisatta was born in a royal family and named Vijitāvi. (49a) Abandoning the kingdom’s royal family, he went forth in the presence of the teacher. Learning the three \textit{pitakas} (Pā41) he explained and taught the good teaching to many people, and having completed the perfection of virtue, he accordingly also received the prophesy: ‘You will be Buddha.’ That Bhagavan’s city was named Kāsi, his father

\begin{footnotes}
\item[4] Tibetan: dGe ma.
\item[5] Tibetan: sKye bo dad pa can.
\item[7] Tibetan: Pad ma.
\item[8] Tibetan: Tshaṅs pa’i lha daṅ ‘Char byed.
\item[9] Tibetan: Yaṅ dag mchog.
\item[10] Tibetan: Myur ma daṅ Legs sbyin ma.
\item[13] Tibetan: Legs skyes.
\item[15] Tibetan: gSal ldan.
\end{footnotes}
was the king Jayasena, and his mother was named Sirima. The foremost of his disciples were Surakkhita and Dhammasena, and his attendant was Sabhiya, the foremost of his female disciples were Cālā and Upacālā.

His bodhi tree was the āmalaka tree, the height of his body was fifty-eight cubits, and the span of his life was ninety thousand years.

By XIX 1

Then, in that mandakappa, the unsurpassed teacher Phussa, was the peerless and unequalled leader of the world.

I 51.

The Bhagavan Vipassi.

Then, ninety one aeons after him, the Bhagavan named Vipassi appeared. He also had three assemblies, the first assembly had ninety-eight thousand monks, the second had one hundred thousand, and the third had eighty thousand. At that time the Bodhisatta was the nāga king Atula, powerful, and possessing psychic power. He gave the Bhagavan a large golden sword adorned with seven jewels. He also prophesied to him: ‘After ninety-one aeons you will be Buddha.’ That Bhagavan’s city was named Bhandhumatī, his father was the king Bandhum, and his mother was named Bhandhumatī. The foremost of his disciples were Khaṭḍa and Tissa, and his attendant was Asoka, the foremost of his female disciples were Candā and Candamittā. His bodhi tree was the pāṭali tree, the height of his body was eighty cubits. He dwelled emanating bodily radiance continuously for seven yojanas, and the span of...
his life was eighty thousand years.

By XX I

After Phussa, the perfect Buddha, best of men
named Vipassi, possessing vision, arose in the world.

I52.

The Bhagavan Sikhi.

Then, thirty-two1 aeons after him, two Buddhas appeared named Sikhi and Vessabhu.2 Sikhi also had three assemblies of disciples, the first assembly had one hundred thousand monks, the second had eighty thousand, and the third had ten3 thousand. At that time the Bodhisatta was the king Arindama,4 he gave a great gift, consisting of religious robes, to the saṅgha, with the Buddha at their head.5 Then he gave a great elephant,6 (50a) which was adorned with seven jewels, and gave suitable equipage that was just the right size for the great elephant. He also prophesied to him: ‘After thirty-one aeons you will be Buddha.’ Furthermore, that Bhagavan’s city was named Aruṇavati,7 his father was the king Aruṇa,8 and his mother was named Pabhāvati.9 The foremost of his disciples were Abhibhu and Sambhava,10 and his attendant was Khemāṃkara,11 the foremost of his female disciples were Makhilā and Padumā.12 His bodhi tree was the punḍarika13 tree, {Pā24} the height of his body was thirty-seven cubits. He dwelled emanating bodily radiance for three yojanas, and the span of his life was thirty seven thousand years.

By XXI I

After Vipassi, the perfect Buddha the best of men
was named Sikhi, unequalled conqueror, unsurpassed peerless person.

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1 Pāli: ekatimsa.
2 Tibetan: rNam par gzung dañ Thams cad skyob
3 Pāli: sattati.
4 Tibetan: sGr‘i dban po.
7 Tibetan: sKya reñs.
8 Tibetan: sKya reñs ldan.
9 Tibetan: ’Od ldan ma.
10 Tibetan: mNon ’byun dañ Yañ dag ’byun.
11 Tibetan: dGe bar byed pa.
12 Tibetan: Ma gi la dañ Pnd ma.
153.

**The Bhagavan Vessabhu.**

After him the Buddha named Vessabhu appeared. He also had three assemblies, the first assembly had eighty thousand monks, the second had thirty-seven thousand and, the third had sixty thousand. At that time the Bodhisatta was the king Sudassana, he gave a great gift, consisting of religious robes, to the saṅgha with the Buddha at their head. Going forth in his presence, endowed with right conduct, and good qualities, he venerated the jewel of the Buddha and was happy. Then the Bhagavan also prophesied to him: ‘After thirty-one aeons you will be Buddha.’ Furthermore, that Bhagavan’s city was named Anopama, his father was the king Suppatita, and his mother was named Yasavati. The foremost of his disciples were Soṇa and Uttara, and his attendant was Upasanta, the foremost of his female disciples were Dāma and Samāla. His bodhi tree was the sāla tree, the height of his body was sixty cubits, and the span of his life was sixty thousand years.

Then, in that mandakappa, the unequalled, peerless one named Vessabhu, appeared as conqueror in the world.

154.

**The Bhagavan Kakusandha.**

After him four Buddhas, Kakusandha, Konagamana, Kassapa and our Bhagavan, appeared in one aeon. Moreover, the Bhagavan Kakusandha had one assembly of disciples, which had forty thousand monks. At that time the Bodhisatta was the king Khema, he gave a great gift, consisting of alms bowls and religious robes, eye ointment and medicines, to the saṅgha with the Buddha at their head. Hearing the
teacher’s explanation of the teaching, he went forth. Then the teacher also made the prophesy to him. Furthermore, that Bhagavan Kakusandha’s (51a) city was named Khema,¹ his father was the brāhmaṇa Aggidatta,² and his mother was the brāhmaṇī named Visākhā.³ The foremost of his disciples were Vidhūra and Sañjīva,⁴ and his attendant was Buddhija,⁵ the foremost of his female disciples were Sāmā and Campaka.⁶ His bodhi tree was the mahāsirīṣa⁷ tree, the height of his body was forty cubits, and the span of his life was forty thousand years.

By XXIII 1

After Vessabhū, the perfect Buddha, best of men
was named Kakusandha, incomparable and imponderable.⁸

I55.

The Bhagavan Konāgamana.

{Pa43} After him the teacher named Konāgamana appeared. He also had one assembly of disciples, which had thirty thousand monks. At that time the Bodhisatta was the king Pabbata,⁹ hearing the explanation of the teaching along with a large retinue of ministers. Going to the teacher’s presence, he gave a great gift by providing a treat¹⁰ for that saṅgha of monks, with the Buddha at their head.¹¹ Giving bowls, Chinese silk, cloth from the country of Gron khyer gsal ldan,¹² blankets, fine cloth, and golden silk clothes, and went forth in the teacher’s presence. He also made the prophesy to him: ‘You will be Buddha.’¹³ That Bhagavan’s city was named Sobhavati,¹⁴ his father was the brāhmaṇa Yañnadatta,¹⁵ and his mother (51b) was the brāhmaṇī named Uttarā.¹⁶ The foremost of his disciples were Bhiyyosa and

¹ Tibetan: dGe ba.
² Tibetan: Me sbyin.
³ Tibetan: Grog msa.
⁴ Tibetan: Bi dhu na dañ Yañ dag ’tsho.
⁵ Tibetan: Brag ze blo gros.
⁶ Tibetan: mNam byed dañ Tsam pa ka.
⁹ Tibetan: Ri.
¹² Pāli omits.
¹³ Pāli: So pi naṁ vyākāsi.
¹⁴ Tibetan: mDzes ldan.
¹⁵ Tibetan: gNod byin.
¹⁶ Tibetan: mChog ma.
Uttara, and his attendant was Sotthija, the foremost of his female disciples were Samudda and Uttara. His bodhi tree was the udambara tree, the height of his body was twenty cubits, and the span of his life was thirty thousand years.

By XXIV 1

After Kakusandha the perfect Buddha, best of men was the conqueror named Konāgamana, chief of men, master of the world.

I56.

The Bhagavan Kassapa.

After him the teacher named Kassapa appeared. He also had one assembly, which had twenty thousand monks. At that time the Bodhisatta was the brāhmaṇa boy named Joṭipāla, being learned in the three vedas, he was renowned in all realms and countries, and friend of the potter Ghāṭikāra. The Bodhisatta, together with the potter, went to the teacher’s presence, and hearing the discourse on the teaching went forth. Exerting a tremendous effort he learned the three pitakas, and due to his possession of right conduct, made the Buddha’s teaching radiant. The teacher also made the prophesy to him. The city where that Bhagavan was born was named Bārānāsi, his father was the brāhmaṇa Bramadatta, and his mother was the brāmaṇi named Dhanavati. The foremost of his disciples were Tissa and Bharadvaja, and his attendant was Sabbamitta, the foremost of his female disciples were Anula and Uruvela. His bodhi tree was the nigrodha tree, the height of his body was twenty cubits, and the span of his life was thirty thousand years.

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1 Tibetan: 'Jigs byed daṅ mChog.
2 Tibetan: bKra šis.
3 Tibetan: rGya mtsho ma daṅ mChog ma.
7 Tibetan: 'Od bskyor.
9 Tibetan: byan chud sms dpa’ rdza mkhan daṅ 'groge te ston pa’i drun du ņe bar soṅ ste. Pāli: So tena saddhīm satthāram upasāmkaritvā.
11 Tibetan: Bā ā rā ņa sī, see edition for variant orthographies.
12 Tibetan: Thsangs byin.
13 Tibetan: 'Byor Idan ma.
14 Tibetan: dKar rgyal daṅ Bhā ra dhwa rdza, see edition for variant ortographies.
15 Tibetan: Thams cad bṣes gñen.
16 Tibetan: ņes sū len ma daṅ sToṅ rgyal ma.
17 Tibetan: nya gro dha, see edition for variant orthographies. Pāli: nigrodha, E. Banyan, Bengal fig, Pagoda tree; Ficus benghalensis L., (= F. altissama var. forgusonii King), Moraceae, see J. Liyanaratne,
was twenty thousand years.

Bv XXV 1

After Koṇāgamana, the perfect Buddha, best of men
was the conqueror Kassapa, king of the teaching, maker of light.

I57.

Other subsequent Buddhas.

Furthermore, there were also three other Buddhas in that aeon in which Dipaṅkara appeared. There was no prophesy in their presence for the Bodhisatta, {Pa44} therefore they are not described here. Moreover, this commentary explains the purpose of showing all the Buddhas from the beginning of this aeon.1

I58.

All the Buddhas.

Bv XXVII 1b-c,

Tāpañkara and Medañkara, then it was Saranākara,
the perfect Buddha was Dipaṅkara, the best of men Koṇḍañña.

Bv XXVII 5a, 7a

The sages Maṅgala, Sumana, Revata and Sobhita,
Anomadassi, Paduma, Nārada and Padumuttara.
Bv XXVII 11b2

The widely renowned Sumedha, Sujāta and Piyadassi,
the leaders of the world Atthadassi, Dhammadassi and Siddhattha.

Bv XXVII 18b

The perfect Buddhas Tissa, Phussa, Vipassi, Sikhi and Vessabhū,
the leaders Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana and Kassapa.


1 Tibetan: gzhan yan don gyi gtam 'dis 'di'i bskal pa nas bzuñ nas saṅs rgyas thams cad mthoṅ pa'i don du 'dir bṣad do. Pāli: añṭṭhakathāyam pana tamhā kappā paṭṭhāya sabbe buddhe dasṣetuṁ idam vuttum.

2 Jātakaniḍāna text: Sumedho ca Sujāto ca Piyadassi mahāyasas; Bv XXVII 11b: Sumedho ca Sujāto
These were the perfect Buddhas, steadfast and free from desire, appearing (52b) like a hundred light rays, and conquering the great darkness, burning like a mass of fire, accompanied by disciples free of suffering.

I59.

The attainment of the Bodhisatta’s advantages.

There in that text, our bodhisatta made the resolution, in the presence of twenty-four Buddhas beginning with Dipamkara, appeared after more than four immeasurable aeons and one thousand\(^1\) aeons. Moreover, after the Bhagavan Kassapa, there was no other Buddha than this perfectly enlightened Buddha established. Thus, the Bodhisatta\(^2\) obtained the prediction in the presence of Dipamkara and the other twenty-four Buddhas. Furthermore it was that bodhisatta who.\(^3\)

Accumulating these eight dhammas, and making the resolution at the feet of Dipamkara, there arose an inclination to seek everywhere for those dhammas that cause buddhahood.\(^4\) Seeking them, he saw the first, the perfection of giving.\(^5\) Vessantara himself arrived through perfecting the dhammas, the perfection of giving, and so forth, that cause the attainment of buddhahood. After coming, he explained the benefits to those bodhisattas who had made the resolution.

Accordingly, the certain bodhi of those men possessed (53a) of all limbs, not remaining long in saṃsāra,\(^6\) even just one hundred koṭis of aeons.

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\(^1\) Pāli: kappasatasahassa.

\(^2\) Tibetan omits.

\(^3\) Tibetan: žan yān byaṅ chub sems dpa’ gaṅ des. Pāli: Yena pana tena.

\(^4\) Tibetan: saṅs rgyas su byed pa’i chos. Pāli: buddhakara dhamma.


\(^6\) Tibetan: ’khor ba yun rin gzi med pa. Pāli: saṃsāraṃ dīghaṃ addhānaṃ.
They don’t arise in hell, but in the world,\(^1\)
all their limbs are not consumed or ignited by a passionate hunger and thirst,\(^2\)
since they are not minor beings, they do not arise in evil destinies.

\(\{\text{Pā45}\}\) When born among mankind, they are not born blind,
and also not deaf, and are not mute.\(^3\)

They are not born as women, and are not born in border regions,
nor as hermaphrodites, or eunuchs,\(^4\) those men certain of bodhi.

Freed from continuation in all the pure spheres,
not relying\(^5\) on false views, and seeing the workings of kamma.

Dwelling in heaven, they do not arise without perception,
name and cause do not arise, among those devas of the pure abode.\(^6\)

Superior men think on renunciation, free of attachment to being or non-being,\(^7\)
and who proceed for the profit of the world, perfecting all the perfections.

I 60.

The time of the older pāramis.

He perfected the perfections at the time of the brāhmaṇa Akitti,\(^8\) at the time the brāhmaṇa Saṃkha,\(^9\) at
the time of the king Dhanañjaya,\(^10\) at the time of the king Mahāsudassana,\(^11\) at the time of the king
Mahāgovinda,\(^12\) at the time of the (53b) great king Nimi,\(^13\) at the time of Candakumāra,\(^14\) at the time of
Visayhaseṭṭhi,\(^15\) at the time of the king Sivi,\(^16\) and at the time of Vessantara,\(^17\) it is said that there was no end

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\(^1\) Tibetan: ‘jig rten par. Pāli: lokantasusu.
\(^2\) Tibetan: bkres skom sred dañ ‘bar ba dañ // yan lag thams cad mi ‘chad ‘gyur //. Pāli: nijjhāmataphā
khuppipāsa na houti kālakaṇjakā.
\(^3\) Tibetan: lkugs dañ gzogs phyed na mi ‘gyur. Pāli: na bhavanti mūgapakkhikā.
\(^5\) Tibetan: mi brten no. Pāli: na sevanti.
\(^6\) Tibetan: gtsan ma ris kyi lha mams su // sgyu dañ ni mni skye ba med //. Pāli: suddhāvāsesu devesu
hetu nāma na vijjati.
\(^7\) Tibetan: dhos dañ dhos med ldan pa med. Pāli: visāmyuttā bhavābhave.
\(^8\) Tibetan: Grags pa dañ ldan pa.
\(^9\) Tibetan: Duñ.
\(^10\) Tibetan: Nor rgyal.
\(^11\) Tibetan: bTa na sdug chen po.
\(^12\) Tibetan: Khyab ‘jug chen po.
\(^13\) Tibetan: rGyu mtsshan.
\(^14\) Tibetan: Zla ba gzon nu.
\(^15\) Tibetan: Yul gyi mchog.
\(^16\) Tibetan: Si bi pa.
\(^17\) Tibetan: Thams cad grol.
to his perfection of the perfection of giving. In one place it says in the *jātaka* of the bodhisatta Sasa the wise:¹

*Sasajātaka* no. 316²

When seeing the arrival of the beggar, I gave my own body, there is no equal to me in giving, this was my perfection of giving.

In that way, when undertaking the giving up of his body, which is the perfection of giving, the ultimate perfection arose.

I61.

Silapārami.

Similarly, at the time of the nāga king Silava,³ at the time the nāga king Campeyya,⁴ at the time of the nāga king Bhūridatta,⁵ at the time of the nāga king Chaddanta,⁶ at the time of the king Jayadissa,⁷ and at the time of Alinasattukumāra’s son,⁸ there was no end to the arising of the perfection of the perfection of morality. Moreover, it says in one place in the *jātaka* of Samkhapāla:⁹

*Samkhapālajātaka* no. 524¹⁰

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¹ Tibetan: bya’ chub sems dpa’ mkhas pa’ ri bon. Pāli: Sasapanḍita.
² *Jātakanidāna* p.45; Tibetan *sTog* 53b; *Sasajātaka* no. 316; Cp p.13; Cp-a p.109, p.273; Bv-a p.59; Dhs-a p.32; Ap-a p.49.
³ *Jātakanidāna* p. 45,
   Bhikkhāya upagataṃ disvā sakattānaṃ pariccajīm,
   dānena me samo n’ athi, esa me dānapāramī.
   Tibetan *sTog* 53b, mkhas pa’ ri bon gi sbyes rabs,
   ōn’ sṅo slo ba mthoṅ ba na // raṅ gi lus ni yoṅs su’ btaṅ //
   bdag gi sbyin la māṃ pa’ me’d // ‘di mangs sbyin pa’i pha rol phyin //
⁴ Tibetan: Tshul khrims daṅ ldan pa.
⁵ Tibetan: Tsam po spyi.
⁶ Tibetan: mChe ba drug pa.
⁷ Tibetan: rGyal ba daṅ mtshuṅs pa.
⁸ Tibetan: Zum pa’ med pa’i dgra gzon nu.
⁹ Tibetan: Duṅ skyon.
¹⁰ *Jātakanidāna* p. 45; sTog 53b; *Samkhapālajātaka* no. 524; Cp p. 22; Cp-a p. 273; Ap-a p.50; Bv-a p. 60; Dhs-a p. 32.
   Sulehi pi vijjhayanto koṭṭayante pi sattihī
   Bhojaпутте na kuppāmi, esa me silapāramī.
   Tibetan *sTog* 53b, Duṅ skyon sNyids rabs
   gsal śiṅ giś ni phug nas ni // mtshon cha blaṅs nas brdeg pa daṅ //
   groṅ dpon bu la khro mi byed // tshul khrims phar phyin bdag gi ’di //
Süla\(^1\) endures the beating and cutting by a knife,\(^2\)
not angry at the sons of the village chief,\(^3\) this was my perfection of morality.

Accordingly, when giving up the body, which is the perfection of morality, the ultimate perfection arose.

I62.

Nekkhammapārami.

Similarly, at the time of Somanassakumāra,\(^4\) at the time of Hatthipālakumāra,\(^5\) and at the time of Ayogharapaññita,\(^6\) having abandoned his great kingdom, there was no end to the arising of the perfection of renunciation. (54a) Moreover, it says in one place in the jātaka of Cūlasutasa:\(^7\) {Pa46}

*Cūlasutasa* jātaka no. 525\(^8\)

Taking the great kingdom in hand, and abandoning it like a bubble of spittle,
desireless, abandoning even the kingdom,\(^9\) this was my perfection of renunciation.

Accordingly, after unselfishly abandoning the kingdom,\(^10\) which is the perfection of renunciation, the ultimate perfection arose.

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1. Tibetan: gSal śīn.
2. Tibetan: gSal śīn gis ni phug nas ni // mtshon cha blaṅs nas brde pa dan //. Pāli: Sūlehi pi vijjhanto koṭṭhayante pi sattihi.
3. Tibetan: groṅ dpon bu la. Pāli: bhojaputte
4. Tibetan: Yid bzaṅs gzon nu.
5. Tibetan: Glaṅ chen skyon gzon nu.
6. Tibetan: ICags khyim mchas pa.
7. Tibetan: Bu ži ba chuṅ nu.
8. Jātaka trad. p. 46; sTog 54a; Cūlasutasa jātaka no. 525; Ap-a p. 50; Cp-a p. 273; Bv-a p. 60; Dhs-a p. 32.
9. Jātaka trad. p. 46,

Mahārajaṁ hatthagataṁ kheḷapindam va chaḍḍayiṁ
cajato na hoto laganāṁ, esā me nekkhammapāramiṁ.

Tibetan sTog 54a, Bu ži ba chuṅ nu'i skyes rabs,

rgyal po chen po lag tu thob // mchil ma'i dbu⁸ ba bzin du spāṅs //
rgyal srid spāṅs kyaṅ żen pa med // bdag gi nes 'byun phar phyin 'di //


Tibetan: de bzin du nes par bdag gis rgyal srid spāṅs nas. Pāli: evaṁ nissāṅgatāya rajjāṁ chaḍḍetvā nikkhamantassā.

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I63.

Paññāpārami.

Similarly, at the time of Vidhurapaṇḍita, at the time of Mahāgovinda-panḍita, at the time of Kuddālapanḍita, at the time of Araka-panḍita, at the time of Bodhipariṇāma, and at the time of Mahosadha-panḍita, there was no end to the arising of the perfection of wisdom. Moreover, it says in one place in the jātaka of Sattubhatta, at the time of Senakapaṇḍita:

Sattubhattajātaka no. 402

When seeking the perfection of wisdom, I was freed from a brāhmaṇa's suffering, my wisdom is unequalled, this was my perfection of wisdom.

By my seeing the snake within the sack, which is the perfection of wisdom, the ultimate perfection arose.

I64.

Viriyapārami.

Similarly, there was no end to the arising and perfecting of the perfection of energy. Moreover, in one place in the jātaka of Mahājana-kaṇaka.

Mahājanakajātaka no. 539

Jātakaniṇḍa p. 46; sTog 54a, Sattubhattajätaka no. 402; Ap-a p. 50; Cp-a p. 274.

Pāññāya pavicinanto 'haṃ brāhmaṇapāṇī mocayiṃ dukhā, paññāya me samo n atthi, esā me pāññāpārami tī.

Tibetan sTog 54a, sDe snod kyi skyes rabs bdag gi šes rab tshol ba na // bram ze'i sdug bsal grol pa đa // bdag gi šes rab mtshuns pa med // bdag gi šes rab phar phyin 'di //

Tibetan: pha tshi'i nañ gi sbrul bdag gis bta ba ni. Pāli: antobhastagataṁ sappāṁ dassentassa.


Tibetan: sKyes bo chen po.

Jātakaniṇḍa p. 46; sTog 54a[b]; Mahājanakajātaka no. 539; Ap-a p. 50; Bv-a p. 60; Cp-a p. 274;
In the middle of an ocean with the shore unseen, all mankind will die, with mind free from suffering, this was my perfection of (54b) energy.

While crossing the great ocean the perfection of energy arose.

I 65.

Khantipārami.

In the Khantivāda āvadāna:

Khantivādajātaka no. 313

When I was beaten senseless, with a sharp axe, I was not angry with the king of Kāśi, this was my perfection of patience.

In this way, as if in a state of senselessness, I remained in great pain, which is the perfection of patience, and the ultimate perfection arose.

I 66.

Saccapārami.

Dhs-a p. 32.

Jātakanidāna p. 46

Atiradassī jalamajjhī hatā sabbe va mānusā, cittassa aṇṇathā n'aththi, esa me viriyapārami.

Tibetan sTog 54a-b, sKye bo chen po can gyi skyes rabs
dogs ma mthoṅ ba'i rgya mtsho'i dbus // mi mams thams cad ši bar gyur //
sdug bsaṅal med pa'i sems kyi ni // bdag gi brtson 'grus phar phyin 'di //

Tibetan: sṛṣṭi bhānāl med pa'i sems kyi ni. Pāli: cittaṇṇata n'atthi.

2 Tibetan: rgya mtsho chen po las sgrol bar byed pa'i brtson 'grus kyi pha rol tu phyin pa žes bya ba skyes so. Pāli: evaṃ mahāsamuddaṃ turantassa viriyāparāmi paramatthāparāmi nāma jātā.

3 Tibetan: bZod par smra ba.

4 Jātakanidāna p. 46; Tibetan sTog 54b; Khantivādajātaka no. 313; JIMAL no. 28, Kṣaṇaṅtivādin, ed. no. 28, p. 192; Ap-a p. 50; Bv-a p. 60; Cp-a p. 274; Dha-a p. 32.

Jātakanidāna p. 46,

Acetanam va koṭṭentetighena pharasunā mama
Kāśirāje na kuppāmi, esa me khantipārami.

Tibetan sTog 54b, bZod par smra ba'i skye rabs
sems med pa la good pa bzin // bdag la mo ba'i dgra sta yis //
In the Mahāsutasomaṃjātaka no. 537²

Guarding true speech, I abandoned my life,
made free a hundred kingdoms, this was my perfection of truth.³

In that way, abandoning life and guarding the truth, which is the perfection of truth, the ultimate perfection arose.

I 67.

Adhiṭṭhānapārami.

In the Mūgapakkhaṃjātaka no. 538⁶

Mother and father are unnecessary⁶ to me, wealth and fame are also unnecessary,
pleased at omniscience, I therefore determined on this practice.⁷ {Pā47}
In that way, abandoning the desire for life, and determining on this practice, which is the perfection of resolution, the ultimate perfection arose.

I68.

Mettapārami.

In the jātaka of king Eka:

_Ekarājājātaka_ no. 303

I am not afraid of anyone, I also fear nothing, relying on the power of kindness, I am then happy with the teacher.

(55a) In that way, abandoning life without regard, that generation of kindness, which is the perfection of kindness, the ultimate perfection arose.

I69.

Upekhapārami.

In the jātaka of Lomahamsa:

_Lomahamsajātaka_ no. 94

1 Tibetan: srog gi 'dod pa yoṅs su btan nas. Pāli: jivitam pi cajitvā.
2 Tibetan: gCig.
3 _Jatakanidāna_ p. 47; sTog 54b; _Ekarājājātaka_ no. 303; Cp p. 34; Ap-a p. 51; Bv-a p. 61; Cp-a p. 275; Dhs-a p. 32.
4 Tibetan: de tshe ston pa fiṭid la dga`.
5 Tibetan: srog yoṅs su gtoṅ ba la mi blta ŋiṅ. Pāli: jivitam pi analoketvā.
6 Tibetan: Naṅ pa`i spu.
7 _Jatakanidāna_ p. 47; sTog 55a; _Lomahamsajātaka_ no. 94; Cp p. 35; Cp-a p. 276; Ap-a p. 51; Bv-a p. 61; Dhs-a p. 32.

_Susāne seyyam kappemi chavaṭṭhikam upadhāy` ahām,
gomāṇḍalā upagantvā rūpam dassent` anappakan ti._

Tibetan sTog 55a, _Naṅ pa`i spu`i skyes rabs._
Thinking to dwell in a cemetery, relying on a heap of bones, I arrived at that place, and pondered the body.

In that way, when the youths of the village take stones, and so on, to strike him, or present him with garlands of flowers and incense, although producing happiness and pain, he rejects them with equanimity, which is the perfection of equanimity, the ultimate perfection arose. Those things that are condensed here should be understood from the *Cariyāpiṭaka* where the meaning is amplified. Then, having fulfilled the perfections, he dwelled as Vessantara.

Senseless on the ground, not even knowing happiness or pain, I moved it seven times, through the power of giving.

In that way, making great merit that moved the great earth, and so forth, and dying at the end of life, was born in Tusita. So, from the presence at the feet of Dipāṃkara, until birth in Tusita, should be known as the distant era.

The commentary to the Dūrenidāna is completed.

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1 Tibetan: *dur khrod du ni gnas par sems*. Pāli: *susane seyyaṃ kappemi*.
2 Tibetan: *brten byas nas*. Pāli: *upadhāya*.
3 Tibetan: *bdag gi gnas su fe bar 'oons*. Pāli: *gomandalā upagantvā*.
4 Tibetan: *rdo la sogs pa*. Pāli: *nīṭhubhanādīhi*.
5 Tibetan: *dPyod pa'i sde snod*.
6 Tibetan: Thams cad sgrol gyi bdag.
7 *Jātaka* p. 47; sTog 55a; Cp p. 10; Cp-a p. 101; Ap-a p. 51; Bv-a p. 272; Dhs-a p. 32; Thūp p. 164; Vessantarajātaka no. 547; JMAL ed. no. 9, p. 51.
The Recent Era.\(^1\)

II 1.

The three proclamations.

Furthermore, when the Bodhisatta was dwelling in Tusita,\(^2\) the great proclamation of the Buddha\(^3\) arose.

(55b) In this world three proclamations arise: the proclamation of an aeon, the proclamation of a Buddha, and the proclamation of a cakkavatti.

1. Proclamation of an aeon.

Regarding this, it is said that after one hundred thousand years there will be the end of the aeon.\(^4\) The Lokabyūḥā,\(^5\) the devas of the sensuous sphere, free from the confusion of the hot-headed, and with untied hair, wiped the tears from their eyes and tearful faces with their hands. Dressed in red clothes, they proceeded on the path of those men who are wearers of ragged clothes and said this: ‘Sir,\(^6\) after one hundred thousand years there will be the end of the aeon, there will be the destruction of your worlds, even the great ocean will dry up. {Pa48} The great earth and even Sineru,\(^7\) the king of mountains, will pass away and be destroyed, and the worlds up to the world of Brahma will be destroyed. O Sir,\(^8\) develop kindness, develop compassion, develop joy, develop equanimity, honour your mother and father, honour the heads of the clan!’ This is called the proclamation of an aeon.

2. Proclamation of a Buddha.

After one hundred thousand years it is said the omniscient Buddha will appear\(^9\) in the world. The Devapāla devas roam, proclaiming: ‘Sir,\(^10\) (56a) after one hundred thousand years another\(^11\) Buddha will appear\(^12\) in the world.’ This is called the proclamation of a Buddha.

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1 The Avidūrenidāna: Tibetan sTog folios 55a-85b; Pāli pp. 47-77.
5 Tibetan: 'Jig rten gyi miṅ.
7 Tibetan: Ri rab.

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3. Proclamation of a Cakkavatti.

Furthermore, after the elapse of one hundred years it is said a cakkavattirāja will appear. Those devatās roam, proclaiming: ‘Sir, after the elapse of one hundred years a cakkavattirāja will appear in the world.’ This is called the proclamation of a cakkavattirāja. These are the three proclamations.

II 2.

The request of the devas.

Hearing of the proclamation of a Buddha from them, all the devas of the ten thousand fold world assembled in one place. Knowing that such a bodhisatta as he will be Buddha, they approached him, in order to ask a question. Questioning him they enquired about the arising of the portentous signs. Then, moreover, all those devas of the individual worlds, the Cātummahārāja, Sakka, Suyāma, Santusita, Paranimmitavasavatti, and Mahābrahma devas, assembled with those devas of the world. They went to the presence of the Bodhisatta in the abode of the Tusita devas, asking: ‘Great sage, you have perfected the ten perfections, not for the purpose of Sakka’s attainment, not for Māra, not on account of perfecting the wish for Brahma’s sake, not on account of perfecting the wish for the sake of the attainment of a cakkavatti. Furthermore, you made that perfection in order to transcend the world, and for the sake of the wish for omniscience. Now, great sage, is the time for buddhahood. Great sage, you will become Buddha.’

II 3.

The five great considerations.

The Mahāsatta, without giving assent to the devas, looked for the five great considerations that are no other than: time, country, place, family, mother’s life and the divisions of her life.

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1 Tibetan: byon. Pāli: upajjissati.
5 Tibetan: sgra cher sgrogs pa. Pāli: halāhalasadda.
7 Tibetan: byaṅ chub sems dps'. Pāli: satta.
1. Time.

There he first regarded the time thinking: ‘Is it the time or not?’ Since the span of life increases at that place above one hundred thousand years it is not the time. Why is that? At that time those beings do not reflect\(^1\) on birth, ageing, illness\(^2\) and death. The teaching of the Buddha is not lacking the five\(^3\) characteristics. These are explained as impermanence, suffering and selflessness. Why is it that these people do not hear, have faith in, or consider that explanation? That is not the time,\(^4\) because the teaching is not remembered and is uncertain, so it cannot be the time. It is not the time, even at the time when life lasts less than one hundred years. Why is that? At that time the defilements of beings are greatly increased, and since giving advice to those with greatly increased defilements (57a) is not heeded for long, it ceases quickly, like the marks struck by a stick on water.\(^5\) Therefore, that is also not the time. When the duration of life begins at under one hundred thousand years, and is more than one hundred years, that is the time, then the life span is also one hundred years. Then, the Bodhisatta saw that it was time to be born.

5. Continent.

Then considering the country, and seeing the country surrounded by four islands, he thought: ‘The Buddhas do not appear on those three islands, they appear in Jambudipa\(^5\) itself.’, and he then saw the country.


Then he thought: ‘This Jambudipa is greater than ten thousand yojanas in extent, in which region of the country will the Buddha appear?’, and looking for a place that was free and spacious\(^6\) he saw the Middle country. Regarding the Middle country it is said: ‘In the eastern part the market town\(^7\) is called Kajangala.\(^8\) Beyond that is the great sāla tree, which moreover, is within the border region. In the south eastern direction is the river called Salalavati,\(^9\) which is also within the border region. In the southern direction

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\(^1\) Tibetan: gzigs. Pāli: na paññāyanti.
\(^2\) Tibetan: DP na ba, TLN omit. Pāli omits.
\(^3\) Tibetan: mtshan nid lria. Pāli: tilakkhana.
\(^4\) Tibetan: de ni dus ma yin. Pāli: abhisamayo na hoti.
\(^5\) Tibetan: ‘Dzam bu gliṅ.
\(^6\) Tibetan: yaṅs šiṅ grol ba’i gnas. Pāli: okāsa.
\(^7\) Tibetan: gron rdal. Pāli: nigama.
\(^8\) Tibetan: Ka dzam ga la.
\(^9\) Tibetan: Sā la can.
there is the market town called Setakannika,\(^1\) that moreover, is also within the border region. In the western direction is the brāhmaṇa market town called Thūna,\(^2\) that moreover, is within the border region. In the northern direction is the mountain called Usiraddhaja,\(^3\) and that moreover, is also within the border region.' (57b) It is taught and explained like this in the Vinaya. It is three hundred yojanas in length, two hundred and fifty yojanas in breadth, nine hundred yojanas in circumference. This country is the birthplace of Buddhas, paccekabuddhas, foremost disciples, the eighty great disciples, cakkavattirājas and other great persons of renowned lineage, such as brāhmaṇas and householders who are like the mahāsāla tree. 'It is fitting that I am born in that city named Kapilavatthu',\(^4\) this was his certain intention.

\[\text{II 7.}\]

4. Family.

Then, during the so-called looking for the family, he thought: 'The Buddhas are not born among families of lords, or outcasts, but they are either born among royal families who are esteemed by the world, or among the families of brāhmaṇas. Now I will be born there, in a royal family which is esteemed by the world, my father will be the king named Suddhodana',\(^5\) so he saw the family.

\[\text{II 8.}\]

5. Age of mother.

Then, looking for the mother, he thought: 'The Buddha’s mother is not wanton or a drunkard, and is born after perfecting the perfections for one hundred thousand aeons, and who keeps the five virtues unspoiled. My mother will be such a one as queen Mahāmāyā, and what is the extent of her life?', he saw it to be (58a) ten months and seven days.

\[\text{II 9.}\]

Taking rebirth.

Having seen the five great sights, he said: 'Great sages,\(^6\) it is my time to become a Buddha.' Those devas gave approval,\(^7\) and he told them ‘You go!’ Having dismissed those devas, and surrounded by those

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\(^1\) Tibetan: Sō ta kar ni ka, see edition for variant orthographies.
\(^2\) Tibetan: Ka ba.
\(^3\) Tibetan: U śi ra, see edition for variant orthographies.
\(^4\) Tibetan: Ser skya.
\(^5\) Tibetan: Zas gtsā ma.
\(^6\) Tibetan: draṇ sroṅ chen po. Pāli: mārisā.
\(^7\) Tibetan: Iha mams kyis tshig gnaṅ. Pāli: devatānaṃ saṅgahāṃ karonto paṭṭiṇāṃ datvā.
Tusita devas, he entered the Tusitan forest of Nandana. All the devas in the world were in that forest of Nandana. There the devas of that place said: 'After departing from this world arise in heaven! After departing from this world arise in heaven! He wandered, recollecting the virtuous actions that were performed previously. In that way he wandered there and, surrounded by those devas who recollected virtue, he passed away. After passing away he entered the womb of queen Mahāmaya. There, on account of that good speech, he related the former tale in these stages.

II 10.

The dream of queen Mahāmaya.

Then, when the midsummer festival was proclaimed in Kapilavatthu, many people celebrated the festival. From the seventh day prior to the full moon Mahāmaya, with her abundant flower garlands and perfume, dallied at the festival enjoying it. Then, at the breaking of dawn after seven days, having bathed with sweet scented water, she presented a great gift, bestowing it for the enjoyment of four hundred thousand people. Then, adorned with all ornaments, and eating the best of foods, she resolved on the eight limbed confession, and entered the resplendent palace that was fully decorated. (58b) Lying on the sumptuous bed, she fell asleep and saw a dream like this: the four great kings lifting her, and the bed, proceeded to Himavanta. They placed her on top of the seven yojana high Manosilatala, under a seven yojana high salā tree, and sat at one side. Then the devas approached her, and led queen Mahāmaya to lake Anotatta, bathed her in order to remove her human impurities, clothed her with divine clothes, anointed her with pure perfume, and placed divine flowers on her. Then, not far away was a golden palace on top of mount Rajata. Laying on that divine bed, with her head towards the east, she slept. At that time the Bodhisatta appeared as a great white elephant, and ascended the nearby mount Suvannā, descending from there, he ascended mount Rajata. Coming from the northern direction, the great elephant grasped a white lotus with his trunk, that was like a garland of silver, let out a trumpet and entered the golden palace. Circumambulating

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1 Tibetan: dGa’ ba.
2 Tibetan: 'jig rten gyi lha thams cad dga’ ba’i tshal na yod pa ṃi do. Pāli: Sabbadevalokesu hi Nandanavaranam atti yeva.
3 Tibetan: ‘di nas śi ’phos nas bde ba’i ’gro bar skyes te / ’di nas śi ’phos nas bde ba’i ’gro bar skyes so. Pāli: ito cuto sugatiṃ gacchā.
4 Tibetan: sGyu ’phrul ma chen mo.
5 Tibetan: de la legs par brjod pa’i phyir ’di go rim bžin du sān gyi gtam brjod do. Pāli: Tassāviṃhāvattham āyam anupabbe kathā.
7 Pāli adds: paṭṭhāya vigatasurāpānam.
8 Tibetan: gso sbyon yan lag brgyad pa la gnas so. Pāli: uposathaṅgāni adhiṭṭhāya.
9 Tibetan: Gaṇs can.
10 Tibetan: Ma na śi la’i steṅ du.
11 Tibetan: Ma dros.
12 Tibetan: dNul gyi ri.
13 Tibetan: gSer gyi ri gcig.
his mother’s bed three times, he pierced her right side and entered her stomach. That is how it was, entering the womb during the Uttarасālha festival.

II 11.

Questions on the result of the dream.

Awaking the next morning the queen related the dream to the king. The king summoned sixty-four brahmānas, and revering them with garlands of flowers and so forth, (59a) prepared a large seats on the ground for them. There he filled plates for those brahmānas, which were made of gold and silver, with milk mixed with fresh butter, honey, and sugar. Having covered these, with other plates of gold and silver, he gave them to those brahmānas. Furthermore, giving clothes that were the equal of those worn by the king, and a gold measure and so forth, he satisfied them. Then, having satisfied them with all they desired, he explained the dream to them. ‘What will happen?’ he asked. The brahmānas said: ‘Great king, do not fear, a being has entered your wife’s womb. {Pa51} It is not a girl within the womb but a boy. He will be your son, and if he resides in the house he will be a cakkavattirāja, but if he abandons the house and goes forth, he will be a Buddha. Having overcome the world, he will not therefore, continue living in a house.’

II 12.

The appearance of the thirty-two signs.

Following this the ten thousand fold world shook, trembled and let out a noise, at the same time as the Bodhisatta entered his mother’s womb. Then the thirty-two signs or portents appeared: 1. boundless light remained pervading the limits of the ten thousand fold world, (59b) 2. and that resplendence was such that the blind acquired sight, 3. the deaf heard with their ears, 4. the dumb spoke, 5. the crooked became straight, 6. the lame walked. 7. All beings who were fettered became freed from fetters, 8. the fires of all the hells were extinguished, 9. the thirst and hunger of the preta worlds was allayed. 10. The animals no longer feared one another, 11. the illnesses of all beings were allayed, 12. all beings began to speak

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1 Tibetan: ran gi mal cha. Pāli: mātusayana.
3 Tibetan: slar khyim na gnas nas skye ba med do. Pāli omits.
5 Tibetan: ston phrag bu’i khor yug mams su snañ ba tshad med par khyab ciñ gnas so. Pāli: dasasu cakkavālasahassesu appamāṇo obhāso phari.
6 Tibetan: de yañ de’i dpal bīta ba ’di lta bu ste. Pāli: tassa taṃ sirim datṭhukāmā viya.
7 Tibetan: zi bar gyur to. Pāli: nibbāyi.
8 Tibetan: zi bar gyur to. Pāli: vupasami.
joyfully, 13. horses began to neigh loudly, 14. elephants trumpeted, 15. musical instruments each let out its own sound, 16. without touching each other the adorned hands and feet of the people emitted a noise, 17. all the regions were purified, 18. there were gentle breezes in order to make those beings happy, 19. unseasonable clouds poured rain, 20. water arose from the earth and all the regions were inundated with water, 21. the birds stopped flying in the sky, 22. the rivers remained without flowing, 23. the water of the great ocean became sweet, 24. everywhere the surface of the earth became covered by lotus flowers of five colours, (60a) 25. the flowers that appear on land and water blossomed, 26. the flowers of the lotus stalks on the trunks of the trees and the flowers of the lotus stems on those branches and the flowers of the lotuses on the streamers on the creepers came into blossom, 27. there were seven times seven one above the other, splitting the earth and surface of the rock and issuing out like lotuses, 28. lotuses hung down from the sky, 29. everywhere a rain of lotuses fell, 30. divine music resounded in the sky, 31. the flowers of the ten thousand fold world increased their scent, and 32. their scented water was most beneficial.

II 13.

The nature of the bodhisatta’s mother.

In this way the Bodhisatta entered the womb. In order to prevent the distress of the Bodhisatta, and his mother, the four sons of the devas bore swords aloft in their hands to protect them. The Bodhisatta’s mother had no sensual thoughts regarding men, and obtained the highest gain and reputation. She was at ease, and free from bodily tiredness, even when the Bodhisatta entered her womb, she looked like a pure gemstone covered with red threads. Because although it was said ‘the Bodhisatta has entered the womb’, he was as if in a shrine, so it was impossible for other beings to touch or experience him. Therefore, the Bodhisatta’s mother died seven days after the Bodhisatta’s birth, and was born in Tusita. Just as other women give birth in less than ten months or more, (60b) sitting or lying, the Bodhisatta’s mother is not like that. After protecting the Bodhisatta in her womb for ten months, she gives birth while standing. This is the nature of all the bodhisattas’ mothers.
The birth of the bodhisatta in Lumbini grove.

The queen Mahāmāyā was like a vessel containing corn oil while the Bodhisatta dwelled in her womb for ten months. Then she knew and thought: 'Since the period in the womb is complete I shall go to my family's house.' She said to king Suddhodana: 'O King, I wish to go to Devadahana¹ the city of generations of my family.' The King assented saying: 'Very well.' After levelling the path between the cities of Kapilavatthu and Devadahana, and adorning it with kadali² and punnaghata³ trees, and with royal standards, banners and so forth, he seated the queen in a golden palanquin.⁴ This was raised by one hundred thousand ministers, and sent off with a large retinue. In between both cities there is the grove⁵ of auspicious sāla trees, known as Lumbini⁶ grove, which was a spot for citizens of both cities. At that time all the flowers blossomed, from the roots up to the tips of the branches. In between the branches themselves bees swarmed, and many flocks of various birds sang their sweet songs. The entire Lumbini grove was like the Cittalata⁷ grove, and like the meeting place⁸ prepared by a king who is mighty and powerful. (61a) The devas appeared after seeing this, wishing to play in the grove of sāla trees. The Queen, borne by those ministers, entered the grove of sāla trees. She went to the foot of an auspicious sāla tree wishing to grasp a branch of that sāla tree. That branch of the sāla tree bent down towards the Queen's hand like it was bending from the heat of a fire.⁹ She stretched out her hand, grasping the tip of the branch, and immediately was shaken by the wind of kamma. Then, after preparing a curtain all around her, all the people went away.¹⁰ She gave birth like that, standing and grasping the branch of the sāla tree. Instantly the four pure minded Brahmas arrived, holding a golden net and bearing the Bodhisatta in the golden net, they stood in front of the mother and said: 'O Queen, do not be depressed!¹¹ Your son is born, he is mighty and renowned.'¹² So although other beings are born by coming out from the mother's womb, for the Bodhisatta it is not like that. {Pā53} Furthermore, the Bodhisatta¹³ descends the stairs like a religious teacher descending from the teaching seat, like a man standing and stretching both hands and

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¹ Tibetan: lHa bstan.
³ Tibetan: bum pa gañ ba. Pāli: punṇaghata. This Pāli word has several possible renderings: 'well-filled water pot', 'auspicious brimming jars', and may also denote a box of presents to be given away at feasts. See R. Morris, "Notes and Queries", JPTS, London: PTS, 1884, rpt. Delhi, 1985, pp. 88-89
⁵ Tibetan omits.
⁶ Tibetan: Lumbi ni.
⁷ Tibetan: Šin rta sn a tshogs pa.
⁹ Tibetan: Šin tu legs pa me la sros nas bkug pa. Pāli: suscittavettagga.
¹¹ Tibetan: lha mo sems sdu gnas bstan bar ma byed cig. Pāli: attamanā devi hohi.
¹² Tibetan: dban pīdug dañ grags pa dañ bcas pa. Pāli: mahāsakkho te putto uppanno.
¹³ Tibetan omits: bodhisatta.
feet, (61b) and like one who is fearless and pure. Born from the mother’s womb,\(^1\) uncovered by any impurity, he emerges from the mother’s womb emitting rays of light, like a gemstone placed on cloth from the Kāśika\(^2\) region. Then, despite this, two streams of water descended from the sky in order to purify\(^3\) the Bodhisatva and the Bodhisatva’s mother, and to cleanse the body\(^4\) of the Bodhisatva’s mother.

II 15.

**The seven strides and the lion’s roar.**

Then the four great kings received him, in the same way as before,\(^5\) with a leopard skin from the hands of the Brahmās, who were holding him in the golden net in order to be near his blessings and joy.\(^6\) From their hands mankind received him on top of dukūla\(^7\) cloth, and after being released from the hands of mankind, he stood on the ground. Looking in the eastern direction, he saw up to the many thousands of world systems.\(^8\) The devas and men of those made offerings of flower garlands, perfumes, and so forth, saying: ‘Great man, your like does not exist, there is no other who is superior to you.’ Similarly, he looked in all the ten directions namely: the four directions and the four intermediate directions, below and above, without seeing his equal. He then walked seven steps in the northern direction,\(^9\) with Mahābrahma\(^10\) holding a white parasol and Suyāma\(^11\) waving a fan. The other devas followed holding in their hands all the indispensable paraphernalia\(^12\) for a king. Then, after the seventh step, standing he said: ‘I am unsurpassed in those worlds’\(^13\) (62a) and then spoke blessings, and so forth, and roared the lion’s roar. Then the Bodhisatva made the statement that he had only emerged from the mother’s womb during three lives; during the life of Mahosadha,\(^14\) during the life of Vessantara, and in this life. When he emerged from his mother’s womb during his life as Mahosadhatta,\(^15\) Sakka king of the devas arrived immediately, he

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\(^1\) Tibetan ma’i rum nas. Pāli: mātukucchisambhavena.
\(^2\) Tibetan: ka ši ka.
\(^3\) Tibetan: dag par bya ba’i phyir. Pāli: sakkārattham.
\(^6\) Tibetan: bkra šis pa daḥ / bde ba la reg par gnas par bya ba’i phyir. Pāli: maṅgalaśammatāya sukhāspahassāya.
\(^7\) Tibetan: du gu la’i ras kyi sten du. Pāli: dukūlaśambatakena.
\(^8\) Tibetan: stoṅ phrag du ma’i khor yug nams phan tshun du mthoṅ no. Pāli: Anekāni cakkavālasahassāni ekaṅganāni ahesuṃ.
\(^10\) Tibetan: Tshaṅs pa chen po.
\(^11\) Tibetan: ’Thab bral ba.
\(^12\) Tibetan: ’ge bar mkho ba’i dhos po ma lus po lag tu. Pāli: sesarājakudhabhanḍatāhathāhi.
\(^13\) Tibetan: ’jig rten pa nams las bdag mchog go. Pāli: aggo ’aham asmi lokassa.
\(^14\) Tibetan: sMan chen po.
\(^15\) Tibetan: sMan chen po skyes pa.
arrived grasping the essence of the _candana_1 tree in his hand, then after putting that into the boy's fist, he departed. Then he was questioned by his mother: 'My dear, what are you carrying?' He replied: 'Mother, it is medicine.' Because of his arrival carrying medicine she named him 'medicine boy.' She took the medicine and put it inside a water jug. It was the very medicine to allay all the ills of those blind and deaf people, and others, who came and went. Then they said: 'This medicine is great, this medicine is great,' due to this report which arose he was named Mahosadha. Furthermore, during the life of Vessantara, just after emerging from his mother's womb, he stretched out his right hand saying as he emerged: 'I will present a gift in my mother's house, or obtain a similar cause.'2 Then his mother said: 'Dear son, you are born into a wealthy family,' and putting her son's hand on top of her own hand, {Pa54} she put in it a purse containing one thousand valuable gems,3 also during this life he roared the lion's roar. Similarly, the Bodhisatta, during the third life, uttered that speech just after emerging from his mother's womb. (62b) In that way at the moment of entering the womb, and at the moment of birth, the thirty-two prognostic signs appeared.

II 16.

**Beings born at the same time.**

Furthermore, when our Bodhisatta was born in Lumbini grove, all at once4 the Rāhulamātā5 deva, Channa6 the minister, Kāḷudāyi7 the minister, Kanthaka8 king of horses, the _bodhi_9 tree, and four pots of treasure, were also born. These seven were born there at the same time, one at four earshots distance, one at eight earshots distance, one at twelve earshots distance, and one at sixteen earshots distance.

II 17.

**The ascetic Kāladevala.**

Those people who lived in both villages led the Bodhisatta, proceeding to the very site of the city of Kapilavatthu. On that day they said: 'The son of the great king Suddhodana was born at the site of the city of Kapilavatthu, after sitting at the foot of the _bodhi_10 tree this boy will become Buddha.' Those

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2 Tibetan: rgyu 'dra bdog gam. Pāli omits.
3 Tibetan: nor bu rin po che. Pāli omits.
4 Tibetan: de ma thag tu. Pāli: tasmiṃ yeva samaye.
5 Tibetan: sGra gcen 'dzin gyi ma.
6 Tibetan: 'Dun pa.
7 Tibetan: Nag po 'char ka.
8 Tibetan: bsNags ldan.
Tāvatimsa devas made praises with joy and satisfaction, celebrating by waving their hands in the air. Then the ascetic named Kāladevala, who attained the eight attainments in the chapel of the great king Suddhodana, partook of a meal. Then going to the Tāvatimsa abode, in order to avoid the daytime sun, he sat happily, seeing him, those devas asked: ‘What is the reason for you relaxing here with a joyful mind? Explain to us the reason for this!’ (63a) Those devas added: ‘Great ascetic, it is said that a son is born to the great king Suddhodana, he will become Buddha while sitting under the bodhi tree, and turn the wheel of the teaching. So let us see the endless play of the Buddha, and obtain all the teachings, this is the reason we are delighted.’ The ascetic, hearing their explanation, quickly descended from the divine realm, entered the king’s palace, and sat on the appointed seat, saying: ‘A son, the great king has a son. I would like to see him.’ The king brought in the adorned boy to pay homage to the ascetic. The Bodhisatta circumambulated him, and stood on the ascetic’s hair. Even the Bodhisatta could not make a more fitting salutation than that. But if, even unwittingly, the ascetic were to place his foot on the Bodhisatta’s head, then the ascetic’s head would split into seven pieces. The ascetic said: ‘It is not right to harm me,’ and rising from his seat held up his joined hands to the Bodhisatta. The king, seeing this wonder, saluted his own son. The ascetic remembered this for eighty aeons, forty aeons in the past and forty aeons in the future. Seeing the excellent marks of the Bodhisatta, thinking: ‘Maybe you will be Buddha (63b) or maybe not,’ but knowing: ‘Without doubt he will be Buddha.’ He reflected: ‘This is an extremely wondrous person’ (Pā55) then he smiled. Then considering: ‘Will I or will I not see this Buddha?’ and seeing: ‘I will not see him. For, between my death and rebirth in the formless plane I will be unable to discern the coming of a hundred, or a thousand Buddhas.’ Reflecting on this he lamented: ‘I will be unable to see such a wondrous person as this, my mind is extremely anguished.’ Seeing this those men asked: ‘Some people laugh at our lord and this caused some others to cry, perhaps there will be some hindrance to our lord’s son?’ He said: ‘No hindrance will appear to him, he will certainly become Buddha.’ When asked: ‘Therefore why do you cry.’ He replied: ‘Since I will not see such a person as this become a Buddha, I am extremely grieved. So I weep with sorrow on my own account.’

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1 Tibetan: Sum cu rtsa gsum gyi gnas.
2 Tibetan: Nag po lha len.
5 Tibetan: ŋin mo ŋi ma la mí gnas pa’i phyir. Pāli: divāvihāratthāya.
7 Tibetan: sans rgyas kyi rol mo. Pāli: Buddhaliṣa.
8 Tibetan: chos thams cad thob bo. Pāli: dhammaṇa ca sotum lacchāma.
11 Tibetan: bdag giš sems śīṅ tu sdug bsḥal bar gyur nas. Pāli: mahātī vata me jāni bhavissati.
13 Pāli: bhante. Tibetan omits.
14 Tibetan: dris so. Pāli omits.

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Nālaka’s going forth.

Then reflecting: ‘Will then any of my relatives see him become Buddha or not?’, he saw his young nephew named Nālaka. He went to his sister’s house and said: ‘Where is young Nālaka?’ She said: ‘He is playing in the house,’ he replied: ‘Summon him!’ When Nālaka arrived before him he said: ‘Nephew, a son has been born in the lineage of the great king Suddhodana. He is one destined to become a Buddha, he will become Buddha after thirty-five years. You will see him, so go forth now!’ The boy, who was born in a family with eighty-seven kotis of wealth, thought: ‘This uncle speaks to me senselessly and needlessly.’ Immediately he brought saffron robes, and an earthenware bowl, from the bazaar, and cutting his hair and beard put on the saffron robes thinking: ‘I go forth on account of he who is the unsurpassed person in the world,’ and made salutation in the direction of the Bodhisatta. Then making the five limbed salutation, he placed the bowl in the bag, put it on his shoulder, and went to Himavant, performing the duty of an ascetic. He approached the Tathāgata, who had attained the unsurpassed perfect enlightenment, and hearing the story about the intentions of Nālaka, again went to Himavant and attained arhatship. Understanding the difficulty of the supreme practice he remained living on Suvaṇṇa mountain, passing seven months of his life there, and attained complete nībbaṇa in the element of nībbaṇa that lacks any residue.

The brāhmans interpret the marks.

Bathing the Bodhisatta’s head on the seventh day the king thought: ‘It is proper to assign him a name.’ Anointing the king’s palace with four types of perfume, scattering flowers (64b) of the five precious things, and cooked milk soup that consisted of boiled milk without water. The eight hundred invited

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1 Tibetan: Nā la ka, see edition for variant orthographies.
2 Tibetan: ‘phags pa khaṅ pa na yod do, Pāli: gehe ayya.
3 Pāli omits.
5 Tibetan: žaṅ po 'dis bdag la don med ciṅ dgos pa med do. Pāli: na maṃ mātulo anatthe niyojessati.
6 Tibetan: gaṅ zig 'jig rten pa'i gaṅ zag gi mchog gi mchog la bsams šiṅ bdag rab tu 'byuṅ bar 'gyur ro. Pāli: yo loke uttamapuggalo taṃ uddissa mayham pabbajā.
7 Tibetan: mchog tu rtogs dka’ ba rtogs nas zla ba bdun ŋiṅ kyi naṅ du tshe 'das te gser gyi ri geig la brten nas 'dug ste. Pāli: ukkaṭṭhapatiṣadat paṭipanno satt’ eva māse āyum pāletvā ekaṃ Suvaṇṇapabbatam nissāya thitako.
8 The Tibetan has brgya rtsa brgyad for this number which is quite clear, while the Pāli gives attâtasatam, which is not entirely unambiguous as to which number is meant. The literal meaning of the Pāli is ‘eight hundred’, but this can simply represent ‘many’ but may also mean ‘one hundred and eight’. See T.W. Rhys Davids, & W. Stede, The Pāli Text Society’s Pāli-English Dictionary, London: PTS, 1925, rpt. 1979, p. 15; and M. Cone A Dictionary of Pāli, Part I, a-kh, Oxford: PTS, 2001, p. 53, follows this; the CPD actually gives two separate meanings for the word, ‘108’ and ‘800’, see V. Trenckner, et al, (1924-1997), A Critical Pāli Dictionary, Copenhagen: Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, Vol. I (1924-1948), p. 67.

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brāhmaṇas, who were learned in the three vedas, entered the palace. After enjoying the meal, he made great reverence asking: ‘What are the signs like?’ To which they replied:

Unidentified verse

Rāma, Dhaja, Lakkhaṇa and Manti,
Koṇḍañña, Bhoja, Suyāma and Sudatta,
these then were the eight brāhmaṇas
who explained the six limbed formula.

The eight brāhmaṇas explained these different kinds of sign. They explained the sign of entering the mother’s womb after abiding in Tusita. Seven among those brāhmaṇas raised two fingers, and explained the sense as twofold saying: ‘If one possessed of this sign lives in a house, he will be a cakkavattirāja; if he goes forth, he will be a Buddha.’ Moreover, after explaining all the qualities of a cakkavatti the youngest of those brāhmaṇas, the youth named Koṇḍañña, gave a name to the Bodhisatta, who had the supreme perfected signs saying: ‘Here, on the one hand, there is no reason for abiding in a house, and since he will not dwell in a house, he will be a Buddha,’ and raising one finger he made the prediction in this way. Understanding that, at the time of being born as a man, he had previously performed meritorious acts. He surpassed the other seven brāhmaṇas by saying: (65a) ‘Since he is possessed of these signs that lack even the intimation of abiding in a house, he will doubtless become a Buddha,’ he did not see more than one destiny. Therefore, raising one finger, he made the prediction in this way.

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1 Tibetan: mtshan ŋid ji lta bu. Pali: kin nu kho bhavissati.
2 Jātakanidāna p. 56,
Rāmo Dhajo Lakkhaṇo cāpi Manti
Koṇḍañña ca Bhojo Suyāmo Sudatto,
ete tadā attha ahesuṁ brāhmaṇā,
chaṇāgavā mantāṁ vyākarīmsu ti.
Tibetan sTog 64b, is not in verse.
dGa’ byed dan / rGyal mtshan dan / msThan ŋid dan / Rigs kyi šangs pa dan / Kō ṇdī nya daṇ / Lag pa can daṇ / gSin rje bzaṅ daṇ / Legs byin te / de mams de’i tshe bram ze brgyad yin no // yan lag drug gi šangs brda sprad nas //
4 Tibetan: bram ze brgyad po ’di lta bu ŋid kyi mtshan ŋid so sor brjod nas. Pāli: ime atţh’ eva brāhmaṇā lakkhaṇapaṭṭigāhakā ahesuṁ.
6 Tibetan: ’di ni khyim na gnas pa’i rgyu med pas mtha’ geig ŋid du khyim na mi gnas pas saṁ srya’o. Pāli: etassa āgarāmaṇīhe tiṇākāraṇaṁ n’ atthi, ekanten’ eva vivattacchaddo Buddhī bhavissati.
7 Tibetan: ’di ni sḥar gyi gǐ byas pas phyis mir gyur pa na sĕs rab daṅ ldan no. Pāli: Ayam hi katādhikāro pacchimabhavikasatto paśñāya.
The group of five theras.

Then those brāhmaṇas, going to their own houses, exclaimed to their sons: ‘Sons, we have become old men, when King Suddhodana’s son attains omniscience we don’t know whether we will meet him, or have no prospect of doing so; when his son attains omniscience you should go forth in his teaching!’ Even those seven brāhmaṇas understood that as long as life lasts, it is in accordance with the actions performed, and the brāhmaṇa youth Koṇḍañña lived free from illness. The wise Mahāsatta, being one of great renunciation, departed and went to Uruvela by stages. Then staying there this thought occurred to him: ‘This place, being delightful, is a suitable place for the difficult practices of those clansmen.’ Then hearing that the Mahāsatta had gone forth, he approached the sons of those brāhmaṇas and said: ‘It is said the youth Siddhattha has gone forth, and there is no doubt that he will become a Buddha. If your fathers are free from illness, after leaving today they should go forth. If you desire that I, having come here, will go forth in imitation of that person.’ They were all unable to reach unanimity, four of those persons appointed Koṇḍañña as chief, and the five of them went forth. Those five persons became known as the group of five elders.

Protected by the four signs.

Furthermore, the king then asked: ‘After seeing what will my son go forth?’ they replied: ‘Seeing the four signs.’ He asked: ‘What are they?’ they replied: ‘One who is aged and decrepit, one who is ill, one who is dead, and one who has gone forth.’ The king said: ‘Beginning now, the likes of these will not approach my son, for there is no purpose in my son attaining buddhahood. I will make my son a kingdom, which is the mighty ruler of the four continents that are surrounded by two thousand islands. This is surrounded to a circumference of thirty-six yojanas by a retinue, and others in the sky desirous to see him.’ Saying this, and guarding the youth’s field of vision from these four kinds of persons, he set a guard in the four directions for a distance of one quarter of a yojana.
II 22.

More than eighty thousand family with sons and fathers.

On that day consenting to a hundred sons of each of the eighty thousand families of kinsmen who were assembled at the festival site said: 'Let him be a Buddha or a king! I will allow my son one or the other. If he were to be a Buddha, he would go surrounded on all sides by ascetics of the *khattiya* lineage. If he were to become a king, he would go surrounded on all sides by youths of the *khattiya* lineage.' The king also presented the Bodhisatta a wet nurse, who had a beautiful body, (66a) and was free of all faults. The Bodhisatta, surrounded by an endless retinue, became more majestic and prosperous.

II 23.

The sowing festival.

Then, on the day of the king's rice sowing festival, the entire city was decorated as if it were the palace of the *devas*. The slaves and servants, and so forth, put on good clothes and, decorated with perfumes and garlands of flowers, assembled inside the royal palace. During his work the king was capable of ploughing a thousand fields, furthermore, on that day there was one ploughing oxen short of eight hundred, who each had silver reins and tethers. In addition the ploughman, who ploughed the fields held by the king, was also adorned with gold, and both horns of the oxen were covered with gold, as were their bridles and reins. The king came out with a great retinue, and taking his son, departed. At the site of the ritual there was one *jambu* tree with thick foliage and providing good shade. The boy's large seat was placed beneath it, over this was spread a canopy, with golden stars, and surrounded all around by curtains that were like walls. The king, adorned with all his regalia, went to the site of ploughing with his retinue of ministers. There the king took the golden plough, and the ministers took the silver ploughs that numbered one short of eight hundred. (66b) Those people who were farmers took the remaining ploughs. Having taken the ploughs, they ploughed to and fro, the king however went from here to the other side, and returned hither. {Pa58} Thinking: 'This plot will be perfect.'

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1 *Tibetan*: brgya. Pāli omits.
4 *Tibetan*: rgyal po 'dzin pa'i žin rmo ba'i thon pa slar yañ gser las byas par gyur to. Pāli: Rañño ālambananaṅgale pana rattasuvanṇaparikīkñāni honti.
5 *Tibetan*: 'dzam bu Pāli: jambu.
6 Pāli adds: ārakkham thapetvā.
7 *Tibetan*: de'i gnas phun sum mtshogs par 'gyur ro žes bsam nas. Pāli: etasmīṃ thāne mahāsampattīṃ anubhosi.
II 24.

Attainment of the first jhāna.

The Bodhisatta, who was seated with his retinue, was addressed by his wet nurse: ‘I want to see the king’s ritual.’¹ and she went outside from behind the curtains. The Bodhisatta, looking this way and that saw nobody, quickly sat down crosslegged and having understood the rise and fall of the breath,² the first jhāna arose. The wet nurse, going hither and tither in order to eat the prepared food, was a little delayed but the shadow of that sesa³ tree did not move, furthermore the shadow of that tree remained all around.⁴

The wet nurse said: ‘The noble son is alone,’ and quickly lifting up the curtains entered inside. Seeing the marvel of the Bodhisatta sitting crosslegged on the seat, she went to the king and said: ‘O king, your son is sitting in such a manner. Likewise the shadow of those other trees moves, but the shadow of the jambu⁵ tree remains all around.’ The king coming quickly saw the marvel and said: ‘Dear son, this is a double homage to you,’ then saluted his son.

II 25.

Seeing the art of the jātaka.

Then gradually the Bodhisatta reached the age of sixteen. (67a) The king had three palaces made for the Bodhisatta that were suitable for the three seasons, one nine storied, one seven storied and one five storied. He also appointed forty thousand dancing girls. The Bodhisatta was like a deva, surrounded by women⁶ who were like devas together with many women adorned with ornaments, and surrounded by the sound of unworldly⁷ music, enjoying great luxury, and living in each of those palaces according to the season. Furthermore, the mother of Rāhula⁸ was a noblewoman⁹ of the queen, and so she enjoyed the most excellent things. One day this kind of topic of discussion arose among her family: ‘Siddhattha goes engrossed in amusement without studying even a little art, if a battle were to occur what would he do?’ Then the king¹⁰ addressed the Bodhisatta, saying: ‘Son, your kinsmen say “Siddhattha goes engrossed in amusement without even a little art,” and wonder how you would behave if a battle¹¹ occurred.’ He replied: ‘O King, it is unnecessary for me to study arts. Those village men will sound a bell when

¹ Tibetan: rgyal po’i phun sum tshogs par blta’o. Pāli: rañño sampattiṃ passissāma.
² Tibetan: rlun ’byuḥ ba daṅ rḥub cin bzun nas. Pāli: ānāpāne pariggaheṭvā.
³ Tibetan: śiṅ gzan mams. Pāli: sesa
⁴ Tibetan: gzan yaṅ śiṅ de’i grib ma mams kun nas gnas so. Pāli: tassa pana rukkhassa parimaṇḍalā huvā aṭṭhāsi.
¹⁰ Tibetan: de’i tshe. Pāli: rāja.
¹¹ Tibetan: g.yul byuṅ. Pāli: pattakāla.
there is an intention to display my art. Seven days from now I will show my art to the kinsmen.’ the king acted accordingly. The Bodhisatta assembled archers who shot on command, and who shot at hairs, (67b) and he displayed the twelve arts to those special kinsmen, archers and others, within the populace. These should be known according to the scheme found in the Sarabhanga-jataka, and so he removed the doubt of his kinsmen.

II 26.

The four signs.

One day the Bodhisatta wishing to go to the pleasure gardens addressed his charioteer saying: ‘Prepare the chariot for departure!’ The charioteer hearing this replied: ‘Very well.’ Adorning the fine wheels of the great chariot with various decorations, and yoked the chariot to four splendid horses that were like the colour of red and white lotus leaves. (Pā59) The Bodhisatta said: ‘Let us go!’ The Bodhisatta mounting the chariot that was like the palace of the devas, went in the direction of the pleasure gardens.

II 27.

1. Old age and death.

The devas thought: ‘The time of the youth Siddhattha’s complete enlightenment is close. It is right that we should display those portentous signs.’ Then, making one of the deva’s sons aged, decrepit, with teeth falling out, white haired, with crooked back and broken body, trembling with a staff in hand and a hoarse voice, they displayed him. The Bodhisatta and the charioteer saw him, and the Bodhisatta asked the charioteer: ‘Who is this person, his hair is not like that of others?’ he asked, as it occurs in the Mahapadana-sutta. Hearing this the charioteer replied: (68a) ‘Since birth is impermanent, all people will become old.’ While returning the Bodhisatta was troubled in mind and he went into his own palace. The king asked: ‘What is the cause, what is the reason, for the swift return of my son?’ The charioteer replied: ‘O King, since he saw one who was aged and decrepit, he will go forth.’ The king said: ‘Prepare those dancers for my son quickly! By making him enjoy various pleasures he will not remember to go forth’ and he increased the guards, establishing them at half yojanas distances in all directions.

1 Tibetan: mDa’ joms pa skyes rabs. Pāli: Sarabhaṅgajātaka, Jātaka No. 522.
6 Tibetan: gTso bo chen po’i mdo.
7 Tibetan: skye ba mi rtag ciṅ skyes par gyur pas thams cad rgas par ’gyur ro. Pāli: dhi-r-atthu vata bho jātyā yatra hi nāma jātassa jarā paññāyissanti.
8 Tibetan: lha rgas sīn ’khogs pa’i mi geig mtloṅ bas rab tu ’byun no. Pāli: Jīṇaṃ purisaṃ dīsvā devā ’ti, jīṇaṃ purisaṃ dīsvā pabbajissati.
9 Tibetan: phyogs thams cad du rgyaṅ grags brgyud brgyad du bzag go. Pāli: sabbadisāsu addhayojane
II 28.

2. Illness.

Following this one day the Bodhisatta, when likewise going to the pleasure gardens, saw a sick man who had been created by the devas, and questioned the charioteer as before. Being troubled in mind and returning again he entered his own palace. The king again asked the question, as related above, and again increased the guards, establishing them at a distance of twelve yojanas in all directions.¹

II 29.

3. Death.

Again, one day while going to the pleasure gardens the Bodhisatta saw a dead person, who had been created by the devas, and asked the question as before. Being pained in mind he turned back again and went into the palace. The king made enquiries as before and again increased the guards, establishing them at a distance of one yojana all around.

II 30.

4. Ascetic.

Furthermore, one day while going to the pleasure gardens he saw an ascetic,³ who had been created by the (68b) devas, well clothed with a fine upper robe. He asked the charioteer: ‘Charioteer, what do you call that person?’ Although not knowing the qualities of asceticism or the lack of appearance of a Buddha, through the power of the devas he replied: ‘O Prince, he is called an ascetic’, and explained the qualities of asceticism. The Bodhisatta had a desire for asceticism, and on that day went to the pleasure gardens. Some teachers say this:⁴ ‘He saw the four portentous signs on one day.’⁵ But that is incorrect.⁶

II 31.

The final adornment of the bodhisatta.

Then, having sported during the day, he bathed in the auspicious lake and at sunset sat on an auspicious

¹ Tibetan: thams cad du rgyan grags bcu gñis kyi sa’i char sruñ bar byed pa bžag go. Pāli: samantato tigavutappamāne padese ārkkhaṁ ṭhapesi.
³ Tibetan: rab tu byuṅ ba. Pāli: pabbajīta.
⁴ Tibetan: slob dpon kha cig ’di skad zer te. Pāli: Dīghabhāṇakā paṁhaṁ.
⁵ Tibetan omits. Pāli: agamāsi.
⁶ Tibetan: de ni mi ’thad do. Pāli omits.
stone seat, intending to adorn himself with decorations. Then the male attendants, taking clothes of various colours and various kinds of decorations, garlands of flowers, scents, ointments, and so forth, gathered all around and stood there. In an instant the seat where Sakka sat became hot, and he reflected thus: ‘Whose intention is it that I should abandon my abode and be born?’ and saw the occasion of the decoration of the Bodhisatta and said to Vissakamma: ‘Vissakamma, at midnight tonight the youth Siddhattha will go out on the great renunciation this is his final adornment. Let us adorn the Mahāpurisa with divine ornaments while he is going to the pleasure gardens!’ Vissakamma heard this and replied: ‘So be it.’ Approaching there instantly by means of divine power, and appearing as his servants, they took the cloth from the hand of a servant and wrapped it around the head of the Bodhisatta. The Bodhisatta when touching his head with his hand knew: ‘This is not of mankind, this is from the sons of the devas’. During the wrapping of his head they tied various gems and jewels to the diadem that was wrapped around his head with a thousand layers of cloth. Also during the wrapping, having wound his head ten times with one thousand layers of cloth, they then wrapped it with ten thousand layers of cloth. They did not consider, how do we wrap such a small head with many layers of cloth? Indeed, between the layers there was a large amount of twisting sā ka la flowers, and also a measure of ku ba flowers. The Bodhisatta’s head was like a ki jakkha flower or like the kuyyaka flower. Then, having adorned him with various ornaments, all the musicians each made their own music, and the brahmans were triumphant, making songs of praise with various kinds of blessing such as ‘Be happy!’ Then, adorned with all these decorations, he mounted the splendid chariot.

II 32.

The birth of Rāhula.

At that time the report went out: ‘A son is born to Yaśodhara’ hearing this the king Suddhodana said:

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1 Tibetan: raḥ la rgyan gyis brgyan par sems so. Pāli: attānaṃ alaṃkārāpetukāmo.
2 Tibetan: brGya byin.
4 Tibetan: Las thams cad pa.
5 Tibetan: Las thams cad pa. Pāli: samma Vissakamma.
6 Tibetan: nes par ’byuṅ ba chen pos ’thon no. Pāli: mahābhīninkhamamaṇ naṅkhamissati.
8 Tibetan: rim gro pa. Pāli: kappaka.
10 Tibetan: ki dza la ka.
11 Tibetan: kuyyaka.
'Dispatch a messenger in order to make my son happy.'

The Bodhisatta hearing this message said: 'Since Rāhula has been born a fetter has arisen.' The king asked: 'What response did my son make?' and hearing of his response said: 'Henceforth, let my young grandson be named Rāhula!'

II 33.

The udāna of Kisāgotami.

The Bodhisatta went to the city with great pomp and majesty, and with much glory and joy. On that occasion Kisāgotami, the daughter of the khattiya clan, was on top of her residence, and seeing the resplendent form of the Bodhisatta as he made a circumambulation of the city, joy and happiness arose and she uttered this verse:

Mvu II p.157

The mother of such a one is pacified, the father of such a one is pacified,
The wife of such a one is pacified, so also anyone who has such a lord.

{Pā61} Hearing this the Bodhisatta thought: 'She said this after seeing a bodily form such as this, while the mother’s mind became pacified as was the father’s, Pajāpati’s mind was also pacified. What is the

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1 Tibetan: bdag gi bu dga’ bar bya ba’i phyir pho fia ba btaṅ ŋo. Pāli: “puttassa me tuṭṭhīṃ nivedethā”
2 Tibetan: sGra gcen ’dzin.
3 Pāli adds: rathavaram āruyahā. Tibetan omits.
4 Gō ta mī skem mo, see edition for variant orthographies.
5 Jātakamālasāraka p. 60; sTog 69b; Mvu II p. 157; Bv-a p. 280; Dhp-a I p. 85; Ap-a p. 65; Dhs-a p. 34; Thūp p. 165
meaning of this so-called pacification of mind?1 Then he whose mind was free from the passion of defilements thought: ‘The pacification of the fire of passion is called pacification, the pacification of the fires of hatred and delusion is called pacification, the pacification of all the arisen2 defilements, such as conceit and wrong view, is called pacification. These kind words were spoken to me. Seeking, I will go to search for nībbāna, abandoning living the household life from today as a renunciate, having gone forth it is proper to seek nībbāna. (70a) Let this be my teacher’s fee.3 He said, removing a necklace of pearls, worth one hundred thousand kahāpanas, from his neck he sent them to Kisāgotami. She was elated and thought: ‘The young Siddhattha must be infatuated with passion for me since he has sent me a token.’

II 34.

The arising of grief.

The Bodhisatta after going4 to his own residence, that was resplendent and majestic, lay on a sumptuous bed. Instantly beautiful women, who were like goddesses well trained in singing and dancing, and adorned with all ornaments, took their instruments and surrounded him. They began to make delightful dances, songs, music and so forth. The Bodhisatta was in a despondent state concerning the defilements, being without joy at the dancing and so forth, and fell asleep in a moment. Those women said: ‘What is the point of our dancing and so forth, he has gone to sleep. What is the point now since we are tired?’ Putting down whatever instrument they were using they slept.5 The perfumed oil lamps burned6 and the Bodhisatta awoke. Seated crosslegged on top of the bed he looked and saw those women, who had cast aside their musical instruments, asleep. Some dribbled saliva, some had stained clothes, and saliva on their bodies, (70b) some ground their teeth, some gave out wheezes, some talked in their dreams, some had gaping mouths, some had clothes in disarray,7 and the genitals of several were showing.8 The Bodhisatta saw their state and with a fearful heart became unhappy with sensual desires. The adorned and attended residence being large and spacious was like the palace of Sakka, but he thought of it as a cemetery with bloated corpses with various sorts of stench.9 Speaking the utterance: ‘I am hurt and tormented by this,’ he had a strong desire to go forth.

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1 Tibetan: ci’i phyir sems zi ba’i don gañ. Pāli: kasmim nu kho nibbute hadayañ nibbutañ nāma hoti.
9 Pāli adds: ādittagehasadisa. Tibetan omits.
II 35.

The great departure.

He thought: ‘Today I, with great renunciation, am going forth.’ and rising from the bed and going near to the door said: ‘Who is here?’ {Pā62} There slept Channa who had made a pillow of the threshold he said: ‘Noble Sir, it is I Channa.’ The Bodhisatta said: ‘Today I wish to go forth with great renunciation. Saddle my horse!’ Channa replied: ‘Very well’ and taking the horse’s saddle went to the stable. There he saw Kanthaka the king’s horse standing in a delightful spot beneath a canopy of silk with *sumana* flowers and burning lamps of perfumed oil. Laying the saddle on Kanthaka he thought: ‘It is fitting that I saddle this horse today.’ (71a) The horse knowing he was to be saddled thought: ‘This fastening of the saddle is not like the saddling up for going to the pleasure gardens on other days. My noble lord today desires to go forth with a great renunciation.’ Then with joyful mind he let out repeated neighs, his neighing resounded throughout the entire city, although the *devas* muffled his noise so that it was not heard by anyone.

II 36.

The wish to see Rāhula.

The Bodhisatta, sending Channa to the horse’s stable, thought: ‘I will see my son once.’ Going to Yasodhara’s residence he opened the door and immediately perfumed oil lamps burned within the bed chamber. Yasodhara put her hand on her son’s head, as he lay on the bed on which were scattered some *sumana* and *mallika* flowers, and went to sleep. The Bodhisatta, putting one foot on the threshold, stood looking, and thought: ‘If I remove the princesses hand I think my son will be roused, and if the princess awakes there will be a hindrance to my going forth and becoming Buddha,’ thinking this he descended from the residence. Furthermore, some teachers say: ‘Then the Bodhisatta appeared, as said above, but it was seven days prior to departure.’ Since this is not explained by others in this manner it should therefore be taken in the way just stated.5

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1 Tibetan: Blon po’Dun pa.
2 Tibetan: bsNags ldan.
5 Tibetan: de’i tshe byaṅ chub sems dpa’ gcig pa’i ston rol gyi nī ma bdun gyi goṅ du skyes so žes zer ro // de’i dgra gzan du ma bād pas de’i phyīr ’di kho na gzun bar bya’o //. Pāli: tadā Rāhulakumāro hotīti vuttam taṁ sasaṭṭhakathāsu n’ athī. Tasma idāṁ eva gahetabbāṁ.
In this way the Bodhisatta (71b) descending from the residence, and going to the horse’s stable\(^1\) said this: ‘Kanthaka, you must carry me this very night! Then when, due to your kindness,\(^2\) I become a Buddha I will save the entire world of devas and men.’ Then he mounted Kanthaka’s back. The distance between Kanthaka’s neck and lip was eighteen cubits,\(^3\) with a height in proportion to that, strong, swift and white all over, with a colour like that of polished conch shell. If he should repeatedly neigh or make a noise with his hooves, the entire city would be in uproar, therefore those devas, through their own power, impeded the noise so that it would not be heard by anyone. The devas shielded each hoof step, of fore and hind leg, in the palms of their hands.\(^4\)

The Bodhisatta was seated on the middle of the horse’s back while \(\text{Pā}63\) Channa grasped the horse’s tail,\(^5\) and at midnight they approached close to the main gate. Then once more the king thought in this way: ‘In order that the Bodhisatta would be unable after opening the great gate of the city at any time to go outside,’ he appointed a thousand men who were needed to open each individual door panel. The Bodhisatta possessed great strength, the strength of a herd of elephants even of ten thousand \(\text{kōtis}\(^6\)\) of elephants, the strength of a multitude of men even of one hundred thousand \(\text{kōtis}\(^7\)\) of men. The Bodhisatta thought: ‘If the door does not open (72a) then sitting on Kanthaka’s back with Channa holding the tail, and spurring Kanthaka to jumping the height of the eighteen cubit city wall, I will cross it.’ Channa thought: ‘If the gate does not open then I, carrying\(^8\) the noble son on my shoulder, putting my right arm around the loins and belly of Kanthaka and jumping on the city wall, will cross it.’ Kanthaka thought: ‘If the gate does not open then I, carrying my lord just as he is seated on my back, with Channa standing holding my tail and jumping on the city wall, will cross it.’ If the city gate were not to open then any one of the three intended plans would succeed. However those devas who protected\(^9\) the door opened it.

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\(^1\) Tibetan: ra ba. Pāli: samāpa.


\(^3\) Tibetan: bshags ldan gyi ske nas buzū nas mchu ru khru bco brgyad pa. Pāli: Kanthako givato paṭṭhāya āyāmensa atṭhārasahattho hoti.

\(^4\) Tibetan: khrab khrab ’gro ba’i rkaṅ lag gi rmig pa re re lha’i lag pa’i mthil du ūe bar bžag go. Pāli: akkamanaakkamanaṇḍapadavare hathatalāṇi upanāmesum.

\(^5\) Tibetan: blon po ’dun pa rta’i mjug ma nas zuṅ cieg. Pāli: Chanaṁ assassa vālādhīṁ gāhāpetvā.

\(^6\) Tibetan: bye ba stoṅ phrag bcu. Pāli: kōtisahassa.

\(^7\) Tibetan: mi bye ’bum phrag gcig. Pāli: dasapurisakoṭisahassa.

\(^8\) Tibetan: khyer nas. Pāli: nisīdāpetvā.

Māra.

At that moment Māra thought: ‘I will stop the Bodhisatta’ and went, then seated in the sky said: ‘Great sage¹ do not proceed with this going forth! Seven days hence you will obtain² the wheel jewel, and you will govern the four great continents that are surrounded by two thousand small islands. Turn back great sage!’ The Bodhisatta asked:³ ‘Who are you?’ Māra replied: ‘I am Vassavatti.’⁴ The Bodhisatta said: ‘Mara, I know there will be a wheel jewel for me (72b) but I have no need to govern. Shouting out throughout the ten thousand fold worlds that I will be a Buddha.’ Māra then said: ‘Starting from now I will know when I am thinking a sensuous thought an injurious thought or a harmful thought.’⁵ Separating them, like faults not separated from friends.

The coming of the devas chariot.

The Bodhisatta abandoned the cakkavatti’s kingdom with indifference, like a bubble of saliva, and went outside the city with great festivities. Then on the middle day of the summer month, at the time of the supreme constellation, he went outside the city, returning to the city intending to ask to see it again. As this very thought arose in the mind of the Bodhisatta, the great earth was broken like a potter’s wheel, and whirled around, as if speaking thus: ‘Great man, having turned back, you should not look to your meritorious deeds.’ The Bodhisatta stood before the city looking at it, indicating in one place the site of the shrine for Kanthaka’s turning back. Then, having set Kanthaka {Pā64} on the path of travel, he went with great festivities, majesty, good fortune and purity. Then those devas lit sixty thousand great lamps in front of him, and sixty thousand (73a) great lamps behind him, and also sixty thousand great lamps on his left hand side. Other devas also lit many thousands of innumerable lamps on top of the edge of the world system.⁶ Other devas, nāgas, supannas,⁷ and so forth, proceeded worshipping him with divine perfume⁸, garlands of flowers, aromatic powder,⁹ and incense. Then pāricchattaka¹⁰ and mandāra¹¹ flowers fell in a

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¹ Tibetan: draṅ sroṅ chen po. Pāli: mārisā.
² Tibetan: thob par 'gyur ro. Pāli: pātubhavissati.
³ Tibetan: dris so. Pāli omits.
⁴ Tibetan: 'Jig rten gyi dban po.
⁵ Tibetan: 'dod pa'i mam par rtog pa 'am / gnod sms kyi 'nam par rtog pa 'am / 'nam par 'tshe ba'i 'nam par rtog pa. Pāli: kāmavitakkaṃ vā vyāpādavitakkaṃ vā vihimśāvitakkaṃ.
⁷ Tibetan: 'dab bzaṅs.
⁸ Tibetan: lha'i spos. Pāli omits.
dense shower, like a cloud, and a continuous rain of flowers fell from the sky. There was the resounding of divine melodies, and from all surrounding directions the music of seventy-eight thousand musical instruments,\(^1\) that were like the rumbling of thunder in the midst of the ocean, continuing as at the time of the roaring of the ocean on the sides of Yugandhara\(^2\) mountain.

II 41.

**Arrival at Anoma River.**

The Bodhisatta, possessed of splendour and majesty, on the single night of his going passed\(^3\) three kingdoms, and stood at thirty **yojanas** distance on the bank of the Anoma\(^4\) river. He thought: ‘Why won’t this horse also be able to go beyond this?’ He is not unable, since after going one morning within the ramparts he circled them, and coming immediately in the morning he was able to eat the food presented in my presence. Then once more, the **devas**, nāgas, supāṇnas, and so forth, standing in the sky, rained down perfumes and garlands of flowers. He was unable to leave since the horse’s body was immersed up to (73b) the thighs in perfumes, flower garlands, and so forth, and being so greatly hindered he was unable to cut off his hair, therefore he went only thirty **yojanas** distance.

II 42.

**The going forth of the bodhisatta.**

Then the Bodhisatta, standing on the bank of the river, questioned Channa: ‘What is the name of this river?’ Channa replied: ‘Lord, it is called Anomā,’ the Bodhisatta said: ‘My going forth will also be called Anomā.’ Spurring with his feet he exhorted the horse and the horse leapt, landing on the other bank of the river measuring eighty **usabha**\(^5\) in width. The Bodhisatta, dismounting from the horse’s back, stood on a heap of sand,\(^6\) that was like silver, and spoke to Channa: ‘Leading my ornaments and horse you must go! I will go forth.’ Channa said: ‘I also ask to go forth,’ the Bodhisatta replied: ‘Since you are not allowed to go forth,\(^7\) leave!’ Although he requested this three times, he was not granted permission. The Bodhisatta entrusting Kanthaka and his ornaments to Channa thought: ‘My hair is not suitable for an ascetic, though there is no one else fit to cut my hair, not even another bodhisatta,\(^8\) so I intend to cut my

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\(^1\) Tibetan: lha'i glu dbyaṅs sgros par gyur to // kun nas bskor bar ston phrag drug cu rtsa brgyad kyi rol mo'i sgra sgros so. Pāli: Dibbānī saṅgītāni pavattanti, samantato aṭṭhāturiyāni satṭhituriyānīti aṭṭhasatṭhituriyatasahassāni pavajjayimsa.

\(^2\) Tibetan: ri bo gna' Sin 'dzin.

\(^3\) Tibetan: spans nas. Pāli: atikamma.

\(^4\) Tibetan: Yid ldan.

\(^5\) Tibetan: glaṅ.

\(^6\) Tibetan: ba'nyi phun po'i steñ du. Pāli: vālukāpuline.

\(^7\) Tibetan: khjoy kyis rab tu 'byuñ ba mi 'thob pas. Pāli: na labhā tayā pabbajitum.

\(^8\) Tibetan: byaṅ chub sems dpa' gzan gyis kyaṅ skra breg par ruñ ba gzan med do. Pāli: añño Bodhisatassā kese chinditum yuttañpo n' atthi.
own hair with a sword. Seizing the sword with his right hand, and taking the jewel of the topknot with his left hand, he cut it. The hair of his head, being two fingers long, adhered to his head curling to the right. His hair was just that length for his entire life, (74a) and he was free from growth of beard, it was unnecessary for him to shave his hair and beard again. {Pā65}

II 43.

The setting up of the Culamaṇi shrine.

The Bodhisatta taking the jewel topknot and throwing it in the air thought: 'If I am to become a Buddha let it remain in the air, if not let it fall to the ground!.' His tied jewel topknot went up one yojana and remained in the air. Sakka, king of the devas, was watching with his divine sight, and putting it inside a bejewelled casket one yojana in height, he erected the shrine known as the jewel topknot in the palace of the Thirty-three devas saying:

_Bv-a p.284_¹

The foremost man, accustomed to the finest scents,  
cut his topknot, and cast it into the air.  
The thousand eyed one seized the topknot  
carrying it to the abode of the devas in a golden casket.²

II 44.

The eight requisites of a samana.

Again the Bodhisatta thought: ‘These Kāsi clothes of mine are unsuitable for a monk.’³ Then Ghaṭīkāra,⁴ his friend during the time of Kassapa Buddha, was Mahābrahma and had not met his friend during the time of one Buddha, he thought: ‘There is my friend going out on the great renunciation, taking these

¹ & Jātakamidāna p. 65; sTog 74a; Bv-a p. 284; Thūp p. 165.  
⁴ Tibetan: rDza mkhan.
requisites of a monk\(^1\) I will go there,' saying:

\[\text{Bv-a p.284}^{2}\]

Three robes and bowl, razor, needle and girdle,
along with a water strainer make the eight
necessary kind of things for monks.\(^3\)

Taking these eight requisites (74b) of a monk\(^4\) and he gave them to him.

II 45.

The departure from Channa.

The Bodhisatta dressing in the garb of the venerable\(^5\) and taking the requisites of the unsurpassed going forth said: ‘Channa,\(^6\) repeat my words to my mother and father: Be of good health!’ and sent him off. Channa made salutation to the Bodhisatta circumambulated him and went.

II 46.

Deposit ing the body of Kanthaka.

Moreover, Kanthaka, while he was standing there, heard the Bodhisatta’s conversation with Channa and thought: ‘I will not now meet\(^7\) with my lord again.’ Being unable to endure the sorrow after the Bodhisatta left his view, he died from a broken heart, and was born as a god’s son named Kanthaka in the Tāvatimsa heaven. For Channa being alone was the first sorrow, and secondly he was troubled and grieved due to the death of Kanthaka, because of this he went to the city weeping and wailing.

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\(^1\) Tibetan: dge słoň. Pāli: samāṇa.

\(^2\) Jātakaniḍāna p. 65; sTog 74a; Bv-a p. 284; Dhp-a I p. 206; Thūp p. 166.

\(^3\) Tibetan: dge słoň mams la rigs šin mkho. Pāli: yuttayogassa bhikkhuno ti.


\(^5\) Tibetan: mchod par ’os pa’i rgyal mtshan. Pāli: arahaddhaja.

\(^6\) Tibetan: ’Dun pa. (From here on and not blon po ’dun pa.)

\(^7\) Tibetan: ’phrad pa. Pāli: dassana.
II 47.

Going to Rājagaha.

In the Bodhisatta’s path there was a mango grove named Anfipiya, he spent seven days and nights there, dwelling in the happiness of one who has gone forth. Then, after going on the path by foot for thirty yojanas, he arrived at Rājagaha and went to each successive door for alms. Seeing the Bodhisatta’s body all the inhabitants of the city were in disarray, like when Dhanpālaka entered Rājagaha or when Asurinda entered the city of the devas. (75a) The royal officials went to the king and said: ‘O King, such a kind of being is collecting alms in the city, and we do not know whether he is a deva, human, nāga, supanna or what he is.’ The king, standing on top of the palace, saw the Mahāpurisa and addressed one man: ‘Go and investigate! If he is not a human then after going outside the city he will disappear. If he is a deva he will go into the sky. If he is a nāga he will go beneath the earth. If he is a human he will go and eat the food he has obtained.’ The Mahāpurisa after collecting assorted foods, and knowing: ‘This amount is sufficient for me,’ went out of the city by the door he had entered. Sitting in the shade of mount Pāṇḍava and facing east, he began eating the food. As he did so the fallacious illusion was that he intended pieces to fall from his mouth. Then, seeing this food with his own eyes, and also that it was precious, he therefore reflected on the unpleasantness of various kinds of food and made this exhortation to himself: ‘Siddhattha, you have been born in a place which has various kinds of tasty food, such as many sorts of easily obtained food and drink, and three year old sweet scented rice. Seeing one who is a wearer of rubbish heap clothes thinking: ‘Would I ever eat food were I also to go for alms wearing such clothes, (75b) perhaps it is like this for me now? You then went out. Who would do this now?’ After making exhortation to himself in this way, he ate the food without concern. The king’s man, after seeing his behaviour, went and related it to the king. The king hearing the messenger’s story quickly went out of the city approached the Bodhisatta, became converted to his way of practice, and gave over all his dominions to the Bodhisatta. The Bodhisatta said: ‘Mahārāja, desire for things or the desires of defilements have no meaning for me, since I went forth through a wish for unsurpassed perfect enlightenment.’ The king could not influence his mind even with these kind of gifts, and he said: ‘You will certainly become a Buddha, and having become Buddha make a promise that you will come to my city first.’ This is abridged here, and should be understood by looking at the elaboration in the Pabbajāsutta together

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1 Tibetan: rJes su dga’ ba.
2 Tibetan: rGyal po’i khab.
3 Tibetan: gLaṅ po che nor skyon.
4 Tibetan: rGyal po’i khab.
5 Tibetan: lHa ma yin gyi dban po.
6 Tibetan omits. Pāli adds: nāga.
7 Tibetan: sKya bo.
10 Tibetan: groṅ khroṅ pa. Pāli: vijjitaṁ.
11 Pāli adds: “pabbajjam kittayissāmi yathā pabbaji cakkhuma”
with its *Atthakathā*.

II 48.

**Going to Āḷāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta.**

After the Bodhisatta gave a promise to the king he went off travelling by stages, approaching the abodes of Āḷāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta, then after having produced the attainments he said: ‘This is not the path for attaining buddhahood.’ {Pa67} There was even no joy at the arising of the attainments. (76a) Wishing to exhibit his own strength and energy to the world, together with its *devas*, and intending to undertake the great exertion, he went to Uruvela thinking: ‘This is an extremely pleasant spot.’ Approaching that very spot he performed the great exertion.

II 49.

**The bodhisatta remains close to the five ascetics.**

There Kōṇḍañña and the five other ascetics, avoiding the Bodhisatta’s abode, also wandered for alms in the villages, market towns and the royal town. Then, after he performed the great exertion for six years they said: ‘Now he will be Buddha, now he will be Buddha,’ and gradually approaching him, cleaning his dwelling and so forth, they became his attendants.

II 50.

**Difficult deeds.**

The Bodhisatta thought: ‘I intend to perform this difficult task to the end,’

14 passing the day with only one sesame seed and one grain of rice, and rejecting all other food. Even those *devas* pointed to the light from each of his pores, though without food his body became emaciated, and although his body was a golden colour it became black. Even the thirty-two marks of the great person were not apparent. One day while breathing slowly he developed *jhāna*, a severe pain arose in his body and he fainted, falling on the walkway. Then one god said: ‘The ascetic Gotama has died,’ one other said: ‘When falling he attained arahatship.’ (76b) The one who said: ‘He is dead,’ went and said to the great king Suddhodana: ‘Your son

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12 Tibetan: Rab tu ’byun ba’i mdo.
1 Tibetan: Don dān gtam.
2 Tibetan: Kun nas tshon dān nag po can.
3 Tibetan: ‘Char byed gser dān dga’ byed bu.
4 Tibetan: phyi ma’i mthar thug dka’ ba spyad par bsams so. Pāli: koṭipattam dukkarakārikaṃ karissāmi.
6 Tibetan: dge sbyoṅ gō ta ma, see edition for variant orthographies.
is dead,' the king asked: ‘Did my son die without attaining buddhahood, or did he die after attaining it?’

The reply was: ‘He was unable to attain buddhahood. After falling at his place of retreat he died.’

Hearing this the king rebuffed him saying: ‘I do not believe it. My son would not die without attaining buddhahood,’ the deva said: ‘Why do you not believe it?’ When Kāladevala was paying homage at the foot of the jambu tree he had a miraculous vision of the event. Meanwhile, the Bodhisatta regained consciousness and got up, one god went to the king and said: ‘Mahārāja, your son is free from sickness,’ and the king replied: ‘I knew my son was not sick.’

II 51.

Difficult deeds are not the path to bodhi.

The Mahāsatta while practising asceticism for six years eating but little food, collecting alms by walking to villages and market towns, he had this thought: ‘This so-called asceticism is not the path of enlightenment,’ Then the thirty-two marks of a Mahāpurisa became apparent, and his body became a golden colour.

II 52.

The bodhisatta’s exertions with the five ascetics.

The group of five monks said: ‘Despite his six years of asceticism he has not obtained omniscience. {Pā68} How will he be able to now, after collecting (77a) alms at villages and elsewhere, then taking the food away he eats it, savouring the flavour. He is mistaken in his asceticism, desiring to wash his body, as if it had imaginary spots, by pouring water into each individual hair pore of his body. How can we remain in this place with this imaginary idea of his?’ Taking their own robes and bowls they abandoned the Mahāpurisa, and after going along the path for eighty yojanas, they stayed at Isipatana grove.

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1 Tibetan: bdag gi sras sañs rgyas ma thob par dus las 'das sam // thob nas dus las 'das. Pāli: Mamma putto Buddho hütvä kālakato ahutvä.
2 Tibetan: dka' ba spyod pa'i gnas. Pāli: padhānabhūmi.
4 Tibetan: cho 'phrul mthon ba'i rgyu mtshan ūd kyis so. Pāli: pāṭihāriyanaṃ diṭṭhattā.
7 Tibetan: lus kyi ba spu re re'i sgor chu žugs nas 'dod pa'i thig ler gyur pa daṅ mtshuṅs so. Pāli: ussāvabindutakkanāṃ
8 Tibetan: Draṅ sron lhuṅ ba'i tshal.
Sujata’s gift of milk.

At that time a girl named Sujata, who was born in the landlord’s house within Senani’s village at Uruvela, was in the prime of youth. She made an aspiration at a nigrodha tree: ‘If I go to the house of a caste of equal status, I will have a superior birth. If I obtain a son I will make an annual offering, worth one hundred thousand, to him.’, and she fulfilled her aspiration. When the Mahasatta had completed his asceticism, at the end of six years, she wished to make offering to him in the middle of the last month of spring. Prior to that she milked the milk of a thousand cows, who had fed on licorice in the Latthimadhu grove, and then gave it to five hundred of the cows. Milking those cows she gave it to two hundred and fifty of the cows. Then after milking sixteen of those cows she gave it to eight of the cows. She boiled the milk until it had the thickness, sweetness and pure colour for her desired aspiration. Then on the morning of the day of the middle of the last month of spring she thought: ‘I intend to perform the act of offering,’ so the cowherd rose at dawn and went to milk the eight cows. Though she did not go near the calves teats, but only placed a new bowl under the cows’ teats, and filled the bowl with a stream of milk in her usual way. Seeing this marvel Sujata carried the milk with her own hand, and poured it into the new bowl, making a fire with her own hands she began to cook it. When boiling the milk much froth appeared, and although there was only a single spoon stirring it in a clockwise direction, it did not overflow onto the ground, there was not even a wisp of smoke in the hearth. Then the four Lokapala devas came and guarded the hearth. Mahabrahma bore the parasol, Sakka lit fires as needed. Then the devas gathered that nutritious essence, each through their own power, required by the devas and men of the four great continents, that are surrounded by two thousand islands, and placed it there. Although the men acted likewise the devas later added a nutritious essence with each piece of food. Furthermore, they also put this in the bowl on the day of enlightenment and on the day of the parinibbana. On that day Sujata herself became radiant and seeing these numerous wonders addressed her slave Punna: ‘Punna, our devas are extremely pleased today, I have not seen great wonders such as this for some time. Go quickly and clean the shrine of the devas thoroughly!’ The slave, understanding the words of the noble lady, replied: ‘Very well,’ and quickly went to the foot of the tree. Also on that night the Bodhisatta saw five great dreams and reflected thus: ‘Without doubt I will become a Buddha today,’ strengthening

1 Tibetan: Legs skyes ma.
2 Tibetan: sDe can.
3 Tibetan: ITeŋ rgyas.
4 Tibetan: nya gro ódhär’siṅ gṣig don du gñer to. Pälî: nigrodharukkhe patthanam akāsi.
6 Tibetan: Śiṅ dhar.
9 Tibetan: ’jig rten skyoṅ ba.
12 Tibetan: rDzogs ma.

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his intention. After passing the night there and cleansing his body,¹ at the coming of dawn, he went for
alms. Sitting in front of the *nya gro dha²* tree he caused the entire tree to be illuminated by his own
radiance. Then Puṇṇa³ came and saw the Bodhisatta at the foot of the tree looking to the eastern world
system, and she also saw all the tree a golden colour due to the light coming from the light rays in his
body. She thought: ‘Our god has descended onto this tree today and sits here to take the offering with his
own hand.’ Thinking this she became overjoyed, and going quickly she related these events to Sujātā.
Hearing her tale Sujātā became elated saying: ‘Starting from today remain in the position of my chief
daughter!’ and gave all appropriate adornments to the daughter. Because it is proper to acquire a golden
plate, worth one hundred thousand, on the night of obtaining complete buddhahood she therefore had the
idea of pouring the milk porridge into the large golden bowl. Taking the large golden bowl, worth one
(78b) hundred thousand, and tilting the mouth of it, she poured the boiled milk porridge inside.⁴ All the
milk porridge became as a single drop of water, like the water within the petals of a lotus, and appeared⁵
in the golden bowl. It was just the amount to fill one golden bowl and she covered the golden bowl with
another golden bowl before wrapping it with cloth. Sujātā then decorated her entire body with ornaments,
and put the golden bowl on her head. Then with great majesty she went to the foot of the *nigrodha* tree
and seeing the Bodhisatta became extremely elated. Thinking: ‘Is it the god of the tree?’ she went
bending and stooping in the presence of such a sight. Putting down the golden bowl that was on her head,
she opened it, and after taking perfumed water with a golden gourd bottle she approached the Bodhisatta
and stood there. The clay bowl given by Mahābhṛmha Ghaṭikāra,⁶ although not yet abandoned then by the
Bodhisatta, immediately became invisible. The Bodhisatta, not seeing the bowl, stretched out his right
hand and accepted the water. Sujātā then put the bowl containing the milk porridge into the Mahāpurisa’s
hand and the Mahāpurisa regarded Sujātā. She, recognising his appearance, made salutation saying:
‘Noble one, take my gift and go as you wish,’ she continued: ‘Just as my wish is fulfilled, {Pā70} so let
this intention of yours also (79a) be fulfilled!’ Then without regarding the great golden bowl, worth one
hundred thousand, as if it were an old leaf from a tree, she departed.

II 54.

The bodhisatta’s enjoyment of the milk.

The Bodhisatta rising from his seat, circumambulated the tree, and taking the golden bowl went to the
bank of the Nerāṇjara⁷ river. Many numberless thousands of bodhisattas alighted, on the night of perfect

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² Pali omits.
³ Tibetan: rDzogs ma.
⁴ ‘Tibetan: ’o thug btsos pa’i nañ du kha spub nas blug go. Pāli: tattha pāyāsaṃ pakkhipitukāmā
pakkabhiājanaṃ āvajjesi.
⁵ Tibetan: gser gyi sder du byun no. Pāli: pātiyaṃ patiṭṭhāsi.
⁶ Tibetan: Grogs po rdza mkhan tshaṅs pa chen po.
⁷ Tibetan: Nai ra ōdza na.

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enlightenment, at the bathing place named Suppatitthita\(^1\) ghat. Alighting on the bank, and putting down his bowl, he bathed. Many thousands of Buddhas after putting on the ascetic’s garb\(^2\) and sitting facing the east, making forty nine balls each one of which was equal to the size of one seed of a \(tāla\)\(^3\) tree fruit, ate all the sweet milk porridge that had little water in it. So, when whoever becomes Buddha sits on the seat of enlightenment for forty-nine days, there will be food for forty-nine days. He passed those days and nights there without other food, without bathing, without rinsing the mouth,\(^4\) without bodily activity, with the bliss of absorption, the bliss of the path and the bliss of the fruit.

II 55.

The golden bowl going against the current.

Furthermore, after eating the milk porridge he took the golden bowl in his hand saying: ‘If it is possible that I become a Buddha today, let this bowl go against the flow of the water. If not let it go with the flow!’ he cast it into the water. (79b) Controlling the current of the river it went to the middle of the river, going against the current for just eighty cubits like a swift horse goes to the spot in the middle. Turning once on the river it sank, going to the dwelling of the \(nāga\) king Kāla.\(^5\) Then the large golden bowl, which had held milk enjoyed by three Buddhas, made a chinking\(^6\) sound and remained at one side at the lowest point of all. Kāla king of the \(nāgas\) heard that noise and thinking: ‘Yesterday someone attained buddhahood and today also buddhahood has been attained,’\(^7\) and he made many utterances of praise.\(^8\)

II 56.

The ascent to the seat of bodhi.

The Bodhisatta resided for one day in the grove of \(sāla\) trees on the bank of the river. Then adorned by the \(devas\) in the evening, when the \(ku\ mu\ da\ ka\)\(^9\) flowers bloom, he roared like a lion to create a path measuring eight \(usabha\)\(^10\) in width\(^11\) and departed in the direction of the \(bodhi\) tree. The \(nāgas, yakṣhas,\)

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\(^1\) Tibetan: Legs par rab tu gnas pa’i mu gnas.
\(^5\) Tibetan: Nag po.
\(^7\) Tibetan: kha sañ sañ sas rgyas gcig thob par gyur ciṅ / slar yan de rin sas rgyas ŋid thob par gyur nas. Pāli: hiyyo eko Buddho nibbatti, puna ājja eko nibbatto.
\(^8\) Tibetan omits. Pāli: Tassa pada mahāpāthaṭṭhāviyā ekayojanatigāvutappamāṇaṃ nabhaṃ pūretvā ārohanakālo ājja vā hiyyo vā tī sadiso ahosi.
\(^9\) Pāli omits.
\(^10\) Tibetan: glan gi skad.
\(^11\) Tibetan: žen la glan gi skad brgyad kyis thos pa’i tshad du lam byed pa la sen ge bzin du sgra.
supannas and others made offerings with divine scents, flowers, with divine songs, and so forth. The entire ten thousand fold world system was perfumed, garlanded with flowers and gave approval saying: ‘So be it!’

II 57.

Sotthiya the grass carrier.

On that occasion Sotthiya\(^1\) the grass carrier, having taken some grass, was coming on the path in the opposite direction, he recognised\(^2\) the figure of the Mahāpurisa and gave him eight handfuls of grass. The Bodhisatta having taken it, {Pā71} mounted the seat of enlightenment, that was in the southern region, (80a) and sat facing north. Immediately the southern sphere\(^3\) proceeded to sink,\(^4\) as if it was below the Avīci hell, then the southern sphere\(^5\) proceeded to rise\(^6\) as if it was above the peak of existence. The Bodhisatta thought: ‘This is not the place for attaining perfect enlightenment,’ after making circumambulation he went in the direction of the west, and sat facing the east. Then the western sphere\(^7\) proceeded to sink down low, as if it was below the Avīci hell, then the eastern sphere\(^8\) began to rise, as if it was above the peak of existence. The Bodhisatta, seated in his place of sitting, then stepped on the edge of the rim, and the great earth began to rise and fall\(^9\) like the wheel on the axle of a great chariot. The Bodhisatta thought: ‘This is not the place for the attainment of enlightenment,’ made circumambulation then went in the northern direction and sat facing the south. Then the northern sphere\(^10\) sank into the earth, as if it was below the Avīci\(^11\) hell, then the northern sphere\(^12\) rose upwards as if it was above the peak of existence. The Bodhisatta thought: ‘This is not the place for attaining enlightenment,’ made circumambulation then went in the eastern direction, and sat facing west. Furthermore, all the Buddhas sit crosslegged, in the eastern region, without trembling and without moving. The Bodhisatta thought: ‘This (80b) is the unshakable abode that is not abandoned by all the Buddhas,’ he grasped the tips of that grass and spread it, immediately his seat became forty cubits high. That grass being of such a type did not remain as if it was standing, just like the form painted as a picture by skilled painters, so the Bodhisatta having rested his back on the trunk of the bodhi tree faced east.\(^{13}\) Becoming steadfast in mind he thought:

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1. Tibetan: rTṣwa 'tshoṅ bkra ṣīs.
11. Tibetan: mNar med.
13. Tibetan: de yāṅ de Ita bu'i tshul gyis ji ltar bḍag pa de būṅ du mi gnas so // ji ltar gzugs la mkhas
‘Even should my skin, sinews, bone, blood and flesh dry up I will not move my body from this seat without attaining perfect enlightenment.’

Although a hundred lightning bolts descended they did not split it, and he sat on the seat without being molested by enemies.

II 58.

The defeat of Māra.

At that time Māra, son of the devas, thought: ‘The young Siddhatha now wishes to take my power but I will not give him the ability to surpass me.’ He went towards Māra’s army, proclaimed this matter with the voice of Māra, and leading Māra’s army departed. Then Māra’s army were contained in a space reaching twelve yojanas in front of Māra, and the same distance on his right and left, while behind him they reached as far as the world system, and above him for a height of nine yojanas. The noise of that assembly’s hubbub, {Pā72} being like the bursting of the earth, was heard for a distance of one thousand yojanas.

Then Māra, son of the devas, mounted the great elephant called Girimekhalā, that measured a hundred and fifty yojanas, and created one thousand hands holding various weapons. Furthermore, no two companions of Māra’s assembly held two similar types of weapon and they went, all having different coloured forms and faces, with the purpose of defeating the Mahāsatta.

II 59.

The devas stood uttering praises.

The devas of the ten thousand fold world system stood making praises to the Mahāsatta while Sakka king of the devas stood blowing the conch of supreme victory which was one hundred and twenty cubits long. After blowing it gracefully, and uninterruptedly, for four months he then ceased. Mahākāla king of the nāgas stood making many hundreds of praises and Mahābrahma stood holding a white parasol.

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pa'i ri mo byed pa mams kyis ri mo bris pa bzin du byan 'chub sems dpas byan 'chub sin gi sdon po la sku rgyab brten par byas nas žal šar du mnon du phyogs par mdzad do. Pāli: Tāni pi kho tiṇāni tathārūpena saṃsāra ca yathārūpam sukūsalo pi cītākāro vā pōṭṭhakāro vā ālikhitum pi samattho n’aththi. Bodhisatto bodhipañcaspitthito katvā puratthimābhimaṃkho.

1 Tibetan: bdag gi pags pa dañ / rgyus pa dañ / rūs pa dañ / khrag pa dañ / ša nams bskams par gyur kyañ yan dag par rdzogs pa’i sañs rgyas ma thob bar du ni stan ’di las bskyod par mi bya’o. Pāli: kāmāṃ taco ca naḥāru ca aṭṭhi ca avasussatu, upasussatu sarire māmasohitaṃ, na tv-evā sammāsambodhiṃ appatvā ime mānasampanca bhindissāmi.

2 Tibetan: thog brgya phrag babs kyañ mi phyes ciñ pha rol gyis mi tshugs par stan la skyil kruñ gis bźugs so. Pāli: saṁsattasaṁpātānāpitthānā abhejjarūpam aparājītapallānkanā abhujitvā nisīdi.

3 Tibetan: bDud kyi drmag. Pāli: Mārabala.


5 Tibetan: bDud kyi drmag. Pāli: Mārasena.

6 Tibetan: Rī’i ‘og pag.

7 Tibetan: rNam par rgyal ba bla na med pa’i duñ. Pāli: Vijayuttasamkha.

8 Tibetan: gal te legs par bus na zla ba bźi’i bar bu rgyun mi 'chad ciñ de nas rgyun 'chad do. Pāli: vātas gāhāpetvā dhamanto cūtāro māse saddha karitvā nissaddo hoti.
II 60.

The flight of the devas.

Moreover, when Māra’s army approached the seat of enlightenment those devas were each unable to stand, and they went fleeing to their own dwellings. Kāla, king of the nāgas, plunged into the earth going to the abode of the nāga Mañjerika, which was five hundred yojanas down, then covering his face with both hands he slept. Putting Sakka’s conch of supreme victory on its back he stood on top of the world system. After putting the white parasol on top of the world system, Mahābrahma went to the Brahma world. It was impossible for even a single deva to stand there, but the Mahāpurisa sat as if in solitude.

(81b)

II 61.

The reflection of the pāramis seen by the bodhisatta.

Māra said to his own assembly: ‘My sons, there is no other person like Siddhattha, the son of Suddhodana, due to which I am unable to do battle before him, so I will fight behind him.’ Although the Mahāsatta looked in three directions he saw them to be empty since all the devas had fled. However, looking in the northern direction he saw Māra’s armies coming in order to conquer him and he thought: ‘This multitude of armies are coming to this place with great zeal in order to conquer me alone, since my mother, father, brother or any other relative are not here. However, since I am accustomed to the ten perfections, as if delighting in kinsmen over a long period, I will therefore, make a shield of the ten perfections and striking with the sword of those perfections it is fitting that I conquer those groups of armies with it,’ and he sat reflecting on the ten perfections.

II 62.

The rising of the nine hosts of Māra.

Then Māra, son of the devas, said: ‘Siddhattha will flee immediately,’ and came from a nearby whirlwind. Immediately the whirlwind, which had arisen in the eastern direction came, and reaching the top of the mountain that measured one hundred and fifty yojanas tearing up the thick shrubs there. It was also able to pulverise all the (82a) villages and market towns into dust, dispersing the power of the Mahāpurisa’s radiant merit. Having gone in front of the Bodhisatta it was unable to shake even the edge of his upper robe. Then Māra thought: ‘Having come with water in order to subdue him, and with the

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9 Tibetan: Nag po chen po.
1 Tibetan: sNe ma can.
2 Tibetan: rNam par rgyal ba bla na med pa’i dun. Pāli: Vijayuttarāsānkha.
intention to kill him,' heavy rain fell and remained there. Through its power, gathering many hundreds and thousands of stacked up clouds that rained down torrents, and the earth was riven by the force of the falling rain. The mass of clouds came and rained on the forest grove and trees, but were unable to wet the Mahāsattva even with a single drop of water. Then sending a rain of stones, like a great mass of smoking and burning mountains coming from the sky, which after arriving in front of the Bodhisattva fell as bunches of divine flowers. After that he sent a rain of weapons, single edged, double edged, swords, javelins, knives, and various other weapons, that came from the sky smoking and burning, which after arriving in front of the Bodhisattva became divine flowers. Then sending a rain of charcoal, the colour of red flowers, that came from the sky but which became divine flowers after falling at the feet of the Bodhisattva. After that he sent a rain of ashes, the colour of a white hot fire, that came from the sky but which fell at the feet of the Bodhisattva like a rain of sandalwood dust. Then sending a rain of very fine sand which came from the sky smoking and flaming but which became like divine powder after raining down at the feet of the Bodhisattva. After that he sent a rain of mud that came from the sky smoking and flaming, but which rained down as divine ointment at the feet of the Bodhisattva. Māra then thought: ‘In this way, by making him frightened, I will cause Siddhattha to flee,’ and made him dwell in darkness. That darkness, that had four aspects, arrived in the Bodhisattva’s presence but vanished, like darkness overcome by the rays of the sun.

II 63.

The attainment of a throne.

In that way Māra made these nine rains fall namely: wind, rain, stone, weapons, charcoal, ashes, sand, mud and darkness, but was unable to make the Bodhisattva flee. He, addressing his assemblies, said: ‘I say, why do you remain here? Seize this youth, cast him out and make him flee!’ Riding on the back of Girimekhala, his own great elephant, after taking the wheel weapon he approached the Bodhisattva’s presence and said: ‘Siddhattha, arise from this seat! This is inappropriate for you but is appropriate for me’ The Bodhisattva heard his words and replied: ‘Māra, since you (83a) have not perfected the ten perfections, nor the minor perfections, nor made the five great renunciations, nor practised for the sake of knowledge, nor practised for the sake of the world, and since you have not completed the practice of a

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1 Tibetan: spu gri. Pāli: khurappa.
2 Tibetan: rgya skyegs kyi me tog gi kha dog can. Pāli: kimsukavāṇā aṅgārī.
5 Tibetan: mun pa ŋe bar gnas par bya’o. Pāli: andhakārāṃ samuṭṭhāpesi.
8 Tibetan: Rī’i’i ‘og pag.
Buddha, this seat is not suitable for you, {Pa74} but is only suitable for me.' Māra became angry, unable to endure the power of this anger he threw the wheel weapon at the Mahāpurisa. While he sat reflecting on the ten perfections it was as if a canopy of flower garlands spread over him, and Māra became enraged, throwing another wheel weapon that split thick stone and a thick stone pillar. Furthermore, while he sat covered by a canopy of flowers the remainder of Māra's assemblies thought: 'Now he rises from his seat intending to go,' and they threw a great heap of rocks at him but, while the Mahāpurisa sat reflecting on the ten perfections, they fell on the ground like bunches of flowers. Those devas who stood at the edge of the world system raised their necks and looked, then raised their heads and looking thought: 'What action is the youth Siddhattha, who has attained the highest form, intending or thinking.' Then the Mahāpurisa said: 'The seat which those bodhisattas, who have perfected the perfections, attained on the day of complete enlightenment is fitting for me,' (83b) and while standing he said to Māra: 'Māra, who is the witness of your gift?' Māra replied: 'All these here are my witnesses,' stretching his hand out to his armies. Immediately Māra's assemblies gave out a shout: 'I am witness, and I also am witness,' letting out a shout liken to the rending of the earth. Then Māra said to the Mahāpurisa: 'Siddhattha, who is witness to the event of your presenting a gift?' the Mahāpurisa replied: 'Each one of you is the conscious witness to the event of presenting a gift. Moreover, since there is nobody who is the conscious witness for you in this place, but I have this unconscious, solid great earth as witness to the occurrence of giving of seven hundred and seven great gifts, from my existence in the body of Vessantara up to my giving of gifts at the end of life.' and drawing his right hand from beneath his robes said, while stretching out his hand towards the great earth: 'Are you or are you not witness to the occurrence of my giving seven hundred and seven gifts during my existence as Vessantara? Speak!' The great earth, letting out a roar, with a hundred roars, with a thousand roars, and with one hundred thousand great roars said: 'I was then the witness,' and so overcame the shouting of Māra's army. (84a)

II 64.

The flight of Māra's host.

1 Tibetan: 'jig rten gyi don spyod pa med pa. Pāli: na lokatthacariyā.
1 Pāli adds: khuradhānā.
2 Tibetan: rdo ba 'thug po 'am / rdo ba thug po'i ka ba 'bugs šīn 'gro ba'o. Pāli: ekaghanaṃśāṇe thambe vaṃsakaḷāri viya chindantam gacchati.
4 Tibetan: Don grub gzon nu megho gi sku'i bdag ŋid ŋams sam śīṃ nas ci byed na. Pāli: naśino vata bho Siddhatthakumārassa rūpaggapatto attabhāvo, kin nu kho karissati.
5 Tibetan: bdag ŋid kyis skye ba'i mthar sbīṃ pa btaṅ ba de srid gnaś pa thams cad sgrol gyi lus kyi bdag ŋid la gnaś nas sbīṃ pa chen po bdun bṛgya pa bdun byin pa'i dṇoś po la sems med pa'i sa gūi chen po 'thug po 'di dpaṅ po yin no. Pāli: titṭhatu tāva me avasesattabhāvesu dinnadāṇam, Vessantarattabhāve pana ṭhatvā sattasatakamahādāṇassā tāva dinnabhāve ayaṃ acetanāpi ghanamahāpaṭhavi sakkhi.
Then the Mahāpurisa, while remembering the giving of Vessantara thought: 'Siddhattha, your giving of the great gift is the supreme giving.' and the great elephant Girimekhala, who was one hundred and fifty yojanas tall, touched the earth with his knees then stood there. Māra’s assemblies fled in all directions, no two of them going the same way, abandoning at once their diadems and clothes, they fled each to their own path. Then those groups of devas seeing Māra’s flight thought: (Pā75) ‘Since Māra has been defeated, and the youth Siddhattha is the victor, we should pay homage to the victor.’ The nāga exhorted1 the nāgas, the supaṇṇa to the supaṇṇas, the deva to the devas, and brahma exhorted the brahmas. They took scents and flower garlands in their hands, and approached the Mahāpurisa who was sitting cross legged in front of the bodhi tree. So Māra and his army fled.2

Unidentified verses3

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1 Tibetan: bskul lo. Pāli: pesetvā.
2 Tibetan: de ltar bdud rnams bros nas sōn no. Pāli: Evaṃ gatesu ca pana tesu.
3 Jātakanidīna p. 75; sTog 84a/b; Ap-a p. 80.

“Jayo hi Buddhassa sirimato ayam
Mārassa ca pāpimato parājayo”,
ugghosayuṃ bodhimāṇḍe pamoditā
jayaṃ tadā nāgagaṇā Mahesino.

dpal ldan saṅs rgyas rgyal bar gyur // sdi can bdud ni pham par gyur //
rab dga’ byaṅ chub sniṅ por sgrogs // de tshe draṅ sroṅ klu tshogs rgyal //

“Jayo hi Buddhassa sirimato ayam
Mārassa ca pāpimato parājayo”,
ugghosayuṃ bodhimāṇḍe pamoditā
supaṇṇasaṃghāpi jayaṃ Mahesino.

dpal ldan saṅs rgyas rgyal bar gyur // sdi can bdud ni pham par gyur //
rab dga’ byaṅ chub sniṅ por sgrogs // 'dab bzaṅ tshogs kyi draṅ sroṅ rgyal //

“Jayo hi Buddhassa sirimato ayam
Mārassa ca pāpimato parājayo”,
ugghosayuṃ bodhimāṇḍe pamoditā
jayaṃ tadā devagaṇā Mahesino.

dpal ldan saṅs rgyas rgyal bar gyur // sdi can bdud ni pham par gyur //
rab dga’ byaṅ chub sniṅ por sgrogs // lha tshogs de tshe draṅ sroṅ rgyal //

“Jayo hi Buddhassa sirimato ayam
Mārassa ca pāpimato parājayo”,
ugghosayuṃ bodhimāṇḍe pamoditā
jayaṃ tadā brahmagaṇāpi tādino.

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‘The glorious Buddha became victor and the evil Māra was defeated.’ was the joyful proclamation of the nāgas at the seat of enlightenment when the great sage was victorious.

‘The glorious Buddha became victor and the evil Māra was defeated.’ was the joyful proclamation of the groups of supannas at the seat of enlightenment at the victory of the great sage.

‘The glorious Buddha became victor and the evil Māra (84b) was defeated.’ was the joyful proclamation of the groups of devas at the seat of enlightenment when the great sage was victorious.

‘The glorious Buddha became victor and the evil Māra was defeated.’ was the joyful proclamation the groups of brahmās at the seat of enlightenment, then proclaimed the victory.

The remaining devas of the ten thousand fold world system paid homage to him with scents, balms and so forth, sang praises of various kinds and stood there.

II 65.

The attainment of perfect bodhi.

Then by sunset the Mahāpurisa had conquered Māra’s army,¹ and religious robes, like sprouting leaves, descended onto the bodhi tree as if making homage with red coral.² During the first watch of the night he understood by means of knowledge recollecting former births, during the middle watch of the night he obtained knowledge by means of the purified divine eye, and during the last watch of the night he obtained knowledge of dependent origination. Then he called to mind the twelve conditions of dependent origination, remembering them in forward and reverse, and with the flow and against the flow. Then the ten thousand fold world system shook twelve times as far as the ocean’s edge. At the rising of the sun the Mahāpurisa gave a great roar throughout the ten thousand fold world system as he attained knowledge of omniscience,³ {Pa76} and the entire ten thousand fold world system became adorned. On the top fringes⁴

¹ Tibetan: dBud ma pa. Pāli: Mārabala.
⁴ Tibetan: šar phyogs kyi khor yug gi sten du rgyal mtshan dañ ba dañ btsugs pa’i šam bus. Pāli:
of the eastern world system flags and banners were raised which also appeared on top of the western world system. Similarly, the flags and banners raised on the edge of the western world system also appeared (85a) on top of the eastern world system. The flags and banners raised on top of the northern world system appeared on top of the southern world system, and the flags and banners raised on top of the southern world system appeared on top of the northern world system. The flags and banners which arose from the earth appeared in the Brahmāloka, and the flags and banners which were attached to the Brahmāloka appeared on top of the earth, while the flowers on the flowering trees in the ten thousand world systems blossomed, and there was much fruit on the fruit trees. The flowers of the lotus stalks on the tree trunks blossomed, as did the flowers of the lotus stems on the tree branches, and the flowers of the lotus runners on the tree creepers while lotus flowers hung down from the sky. Boring into the surface of the rock they were seven times seven one above the other, the lotus flowers that were continually produced hung down. The ten thousand world systems were liken to sublime seats of flowers, while for eight thousand yojanas in between the world systems and the worlds even the rays of seven suns were scarce being unable to shine any light there, but those dark areas in between became instantly illuminated. The great ocean, eighty-four thousand yojanas deep, became sweet water and the rivers stopped flowing. The eyes of the blind saw forms, the ears of the deaf heard sounds, walking by the lame (85b) was known, those beings who were fettered became free of fetters. In this way, through limitless splendour the honoured and miraculous Dhamma arose, comprehending the knowledge of omniscience, he uttered the exclamation proclaimed by all the Buddhas.

Dhp 153

All the beings of saṃsāra seek the absence of evil in that without evil.

When seeking homelessness, there is the repeated suffering of rebirth.

Pāciṇacakka-kāvālamukkha-vāṭiyam uṣṣāpitānaṃ dhajānaṃ pāṭākānaṃ ramāsiyo.

1 Tibetan: 'bras bu'i śiṅ la 'bras bu maṅ po gyur to. Pāli: phaluparukkha phalapiṇḍibhārabharitā ahesuṃ.

2 Tibetan: pad ma'i me tog. Pāli: daṇḍakapaduma.

3 The Tibetan verse is not fully equivalent to the Pāli, there has been some kind of mistranslation in the Tibetan text. Jātakanidāna p. 76; sTog 85a; Dhp 153; Uv 31.6; Ap-a p. 81; Dhp-a III p. 127; Bv-a pp. 8, 133, 143, 289; Dhs-a p. 18; Sv I p. 16; Sv II p. 463.

Jātakanidāna p. 76,
aneka jāt-iṣṭ-aṃsāraṃ /
saṃdhāvivasaṃ aṃ-bi-bi-saṃ
gahākāra-kaṃ gavesanto /
dukkha jāti punappunaṃ.

Tibetan sTog 85b.

skye bo'i 'khor ba ma lus par // dug med mam par dug med tshol //
khyim med pa ni tshol ba na // skye ba'i sdug bsial yan yan dañ //

Udānavarga 31. 6.

aneçaṃ jāt-iṣṭ-aṃsāraṃ / saṃdhāvivivā punah punah /
gṛha-kāra-kaśaṃ-aṇaṃ ṭvaṃ / dukkha jātiḥ punah punah //
Jātakanidāna Translation

Dhp 154

Seeing the homeless state there is no building of the house again,
overcoming all those sufferings, destroying the house named as poison.
The mind is void of volitions, craving is exhausted, so there will be no more.

{Pa77} The recent era, beginning from the dwelling in the Tusita palace, up to the place of his attainment of omniscience on the seat of enlightenment, is finished.

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1. Again this verse is somewhat problematic in the Tibetan, as in the case of the previous verse. 
Jātakanidāna p. 76; sTog 85b; Dhp 154; Uv. 31.7; Ap-a p. 81; Dhs-a p. 18; Bv-a pp. 8, 133, 143, 289; Dhp-a III p.128; Khp p. 13; Sv I p. 16; Sv II p. 463.

2. Tibetan: dGa’ ldan.
The Present Era.¹

III 1.

It is said regarding the present era: ‘The Bhagavan stayed in Sāvatthi at Jeta grove, in Anāthapiṇḍika’s park, dwelling at the peaked pavilion² in the great wood of Vesāli.’³ It is also said: ‘He dwelled in this and that place, obtaining this and that state.’ Whatever is said concerning this era should be understood in this way from the outset.

III 2.

The seven weeks.

1. The throne of victory.

While seated the Bhagavan uttered an exclamation, and this thought occurred to him: ‘After the elapse of four immeasurable aeons and more than one hundred thousand aeons, (86a) at these times and for the sake of this seat,⁴ I cut my adorned head from my bejewelled neck⁵ presenting it as a gift, I then gave my good eyes and after cutting the flesh of my heart presented it as a gift to the son, who was like the young Jāli,⁶ and also presented it as a gift to the daughter, who was like the young Kāñhājīna,⁷ and presented it as a gift for the sake of those other wives who were like queen Maddi.⁸ This is my seat it is the seat of victory, the supreme seat. Seated on this I have fulfilled all my intentions,⁹ and I will not rise from this seat for some time.’ He sat there for seven days acquiring many hundreds of thousands of kotis of attainments. Due to which he is called Buddha,¹⁰ ‘Then he sat on one seat for seven days, seated there experiencing the joy of liberation.’

III 3.

2. Looking with unblinking eyes.

Furthermore, some devas had the thought: ‘Siddhattha surely still has duties to perform, since he has not

¹ The Santikenidāna: Tibetan sTog folios 85b-105a; Pāli pp. 77-90.
³ Tibetan: Yans pa can.
⁵ Tibetan: bdag gi mgo rgyan gyis brgyan pa’i mgrin pa nas brtsegs te. Pāli: alaṃkatasīsam gīvāya chinditvā.
⁶ Tibetan: gţon nu Dra ba ’dzin.
⁷ Tibetan: Krīṣṇa dzin na’i gţon nu ma.
⁸ Tibetan: lha mo Ma kri.
given up the desire for this seat.’ The teacher, knowing the thoughts of those devas, displayed the dual miracle rising from his seat into the sky above in order to allay their thought. All the miracles he performed at the seat of enlightenment, at the gathering (86b) of kinsfolk and at the assembly in the Pāṭikasutta, were like the dual miracle performed in front of the gaṇḍamba tree. In this way the teacher, after performing such miracles, allayed the thoughts of those devas and standing by the northeastern side of the seat said: ‘This seat helped me perceive omniscience,’ and he remained for seven days looking without blinking at the seat where he had attained the fruit of fulfilling the perfections during four immeasurable aeons and more than one hundred thousand aeons. That place was called the Anisamsa shrine.

III 4.

3. The jewel walkway.

Then, creating a walkway from the standing place to the seat, and walking between east and west on the jewelled walkway, he stood for seven days. On that spot arose the Ratanacāmkā shrine.

III 5.

4. The jewel house.

Moreover, in the fourth week, the devas created a jewelled house in the area to the northeast of the bodhi tree. He sat there on the seat, where he sat for seven days, reflecting on the endless methods of the entire Abhidhammapiṭaka. The Abhidhammikas say this: the so-called jewel house is a house made of jewels. Furthermore, those compilers also say that it is the (87a) jewel house where he remembered the seven treatises of the Abhidhamma. Because of which both explanations are suitable, therefore either of the two should be understood as correct. So, that spot became known as the Ratanaghara shrine.
III 6.

5. The Ajapāla grove.

Then, during the fifth week, having passed four weeks in the vicinity of the bodhi tree, he went from the bodhi tree to the ajapālanigrodha tree. He sat there reflecting on the Dhamma and perceiving the bliss of liberation.

III 7.

The sixteen lines of Māra.

Then, Māra, son of the devas, thought: ‘During the time following this there have not been any visible faults; I did not see even the slightest fault in the Bodhisatta and he now surpasses my own power,’ and sitting on the great path he became unhappy, and while reflecting on the sixteen matters he drew sixteen lines on the ground. Thinking: ‘Since I have not perfected the perfection of giving I will therefore not become like him,’ and he drew one line. Similarly, he thought: ‘In the same way I have not perfected the perfection of morality, the perfection of renunciation, the perfection of wisdom, the perfection of energy, the perfection of patience, the perfection of truthfulness, the perfection of resolution, the perfection of loving kindness, and the perfection of equanimity. Therefore, I (87b) am not like him,’ and he drew ten lines. He thought: ‘I have not perfected the ten perfections, which act as the basis for understanding the superior knowledge of the higher faculties that are specific to him; therefore, I will not become like him,’ and he drew eleven lines. Then he thought: ‘I have not perfected the ten perfections, which act as the basis of the knowledge of omniscience, nor the knowledge which is unobscured, nor the knowledge of individual miracles, nor the knowledge of the attainments and great compassion, nor the knowledge of the mental proclivities that are specific to him, therefore, I will not become like him,’ and he drew sixteen lines. Reflecting in this way on these matters he sat drawing sixteen lines on the great path.

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1 Tibetan: ra lug skyo ba'i shin nya gro dha. Pāli: ajapālanigrodha.
2 Tibetan: so sor rig par mdzad nas. Pāli: pātisasāvānta.
3 Tibetan: bDud.
4 Tibetan: dus di many kyi phyi ma la grib ma bzin du phyogs ga'n du'nu ma spa'ns so. Pāli: ettakām kālaṁ anubandhanto oṭārāpekkho.
6 Tibetan: bdag di dan mtshuns pa'i thun mo'n ma yin pa'i dva n po mchog gi go'n ma'i ye 'ses so sor rig pa'ie bar gnas par gyur pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa'cu ma rdo'gs pa. Pāli: aham eso viya asādhāraṇassā indriyaparopariyāvaṇāṇassā pativedhāya upāṇissayabhūtā dasa pāramiyo na pūresīṁ.
8 Tibetan: so sor cho 'phrul gyi ye 'ses. Pāli: yamakapāṭihāraṇā.
Māra’s daughters.

At that time Māra’s three daughters, Taṇhā, Aratī and Raga1 thought: ‘Our father is not seen, where is he now?’ Then, while going, they saw him depressed and drawing lines on the ground. They approached2 their father asking: ‘Father, what has made you unhappy and depressed?’ He replied: ‘Daughters, this great ascetic has power surpassing my own, while looking now I am unable to see even the slightest fault, therefore, I have become unhappy and depressed.’ {Pā79} The daughters said: ‘If that is so then do not worry! We three, after overpowering him, will lead him here.’3 (88a) He replied: ‘My daughters, you will not be able to, since nobody is able to overpower him as this man is established in unshakable faith.’ They responded: ‘Father, since we are women we will now bind him with the rope of desire and we will come leading him. Don’t you worry!’ Then, approaching the Bhagavan, those women said: ‘Ascetic, we pay homage at your feet.’ The Bhagavan paid no heed to their words, although opening his eyes he did not look at them.4 So, reflecting on the unsurpassed liberation that destroys the substratum of rebirth, he sat experiencing the joy of seclusion. Furthermore, Māra’s daughters thought: ‘Many people have an intention like this, some are delighted by youth, while some are delighted by the first part of youth, while some are delighted by the middle part, and some are delighted at the later part. We will enrapture him with various kinds of delights.’5 Each one of those daughters transformed their own bodies into the forms of a hundred maidens. Those forms were the forms of maidens, the forms of virgins, the forms of those who had borne one son and one daughter, the forms of middle aged women who were fat6 and who, having approached the Buddha six times, said: ‘Ascetic, we (88b) pay homage at your feet.’ The Bhagavan paid no heed to their words, as he had the unsurpassed liberation from the substratum of rebirth.7 Moreover, some teachers say: ‘Seeing the women coming with transformed8 bodies the Bhagavan determined9 that those with missing teeth and white hair remained with forms like that.’ This explanation should not be considered, since the teacher made no such determination. Furthermore, the Bhagavan said: ‘Whoever sees this should go and make an exertion like this!10 It is proper to act in this way in the presence of those who are not free from passion. The Tathāgata moreover, has abandoned passion,
abandoned hatred, and abandoned delusion.' So, due to abandoning his own passions, he said:

Dhp 179¹

It is impossible to conquer he who is victorious,
one who is like that in this world cannot be conquered.
Without abiding in the endless Buddha sphere of activity
those without a path are unable to have a path.

Dhp 180²

¹ Jātakanidāna p. 79; sTog 88b; Dhp 179; PDhp 276; Mvu III p. 91; Uv 29. 52; Dhp-a III p. 197; Ap-a p. 84.

² Jātakanidāna p. 79, Jdtakanidāna p. 79, yassa jitam nāvajiyati / jitaṃ assa no yāti koci loke, tam buddhāṃ anantagocaram / apadaṃ kena padena nessatha.

Tibetan sTog 88b,
gan gi sred pa'i dra ba de la rgyal mi nus // gaṅ žig ’jig rten ’dir ni rgyal mi ’gyur // mtha’ yas saṅs rgyas spyod yul de mi gnas // rkaṅ med kyi ni rkaṅ yod la mi nus //

Patna Dharmapada 276,
yassa jītāṃ nā ’ppajiyate / jitaṃ assa na upeti antako tam buddham anumanikrāmaṃ / apadaṃ kena padena nehiśi.

Mahāvastu III p. 91,
yasya jītāṃ nātha jīvati jītāṃ asya na jināti antako tam buddhamantagocaram apadaṃ kena padena nesyaṭa.

Udānavarga 29. 52,
yasya jītāṃ nopajiyate jitaṃ anveti na kaṇḍ cid eva loke / tam buddham antagocaram hy apadaṃ kena padena neṣyasi /

² Jātakanidāna p. 79; sTog 88b; Dhp 80; PDhp 227; Mvu III p. 92; Uv 29.53; Dhp-a III p. 197; Ap-a p. 84; S I p. 107.

Jātakanidāna p. 79, yassa jālini visattikā taṇhā n’ atthi kuhinīcī netave tam buddham antagocaram apadaṃ kena padena nessatha.

Tibetan sTog 88b,
 gaṅ gi sred pa’i dra ba bton gyur nas // de la sred pa mams ni cuṅ zad med // mtha’ yas saṅs rgyas spyod yul de ŋid la // rkaṅ med de yis rkaṅ yod la mi nus //

Patna Dharmapada 227,
He who casts the net of craving
for him there is no ending of those cravings.
In that very endless Buddha sphere of activity
those without a path are unable to have a path.

He taught the Dhamma speaking these two verses from the section of the highest teaching of the Buddha. Those daughters said: ‘Father speaks the truth when saying: The Arahant, the Sugata is supreme among men in the world.’ and saying this they approached their father.

III 9.

The Rājāyatana root of Mucalinda.

The Bhagavan remained seven days there, before going to the abode of Mucalinda. Then the king of the nāgas named Mucalinda, who had wrapped his own body seven times around the Bhagavan’s body for seven days in order to ward off the cold and the tempest, raised his hooded head. Then the Bhagavan approached the rājāyatana tree, and sat there for seven days experiencing the joy of liberation that was like dwelling in a large perfumed house, so he remained there experiencing the joy of liberation. Thus, he completed seven weeks in those places. During that time he did not wash his face, nor clean his body, nor eat food, he passed the days and nights in the joy of jhāna, the joy of the path, and the joy of the fruit of

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yassa jālinī visattika / tahnā nāsti kahim ci netaye
tam buddham anantagocaraṃ / apadam kena padena nehisi.
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Mahāvastu III p. 92,
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yasya jālini samūhata tṛṣṇā nāsya kahim pi netrikā /
tam buddhamanantavikramaṃ apadam kena upadena neṣyatha //
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Udānavarga 29.53,
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yasya jālinī visaktika
tṛṣṇā nāsti hi lokanāyini /
tam buddham anantagocaram
y hy apadam kena padena neṣyasi //
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4 Tibetan: bTaṅ zuṅ.
6 Tibetan: so sor rig par byed cit. Pāli: paṭisaṃvediyamāna.
7 Tibetan: dri'i gtsan khan. Pāli: gandhakuti.
8 Tibetan: žal žol ba med pa žan / sku la byi dor byed pa med pa žan / žal zas gсол ba med par gyur to // Pāli: n' eva mukhadhovanaṃ na sarirapatijagganaṃ na āhārakiccaṃ ahosi.

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attainment.

III 10.

Washing the mouth and using medicinal plants.

Then, after seven weeks, he sat there at the end of the forty-ninth day and had the idea of cleaning his face. Sakka, lord of the gods, having brought yellow myrobalan medicine\(^1\) gave it to him, and the teacher made use of that with bodily pleasure. Then Sakka gave him a betel vine tooth-stick\(^2\) and water for washing the face. The teacher, taking the tooth-stick, rubbed his teeth and washed his face with the cool water of the great lake,\(^3\) then sat in front of the rājāyatana tree.

III 11.

Tapassa and Bhalluka.

Then the two merchants named Tapussa\(^4\) and Bhalluka,\(^5\) (89b) who had five hundred carts, were going from the country of Ukkala\(^6\) to the Middle\(^7\) country. Their own previous relatives, who had become devas, bogged down\(^8\) all the chariots with the resolve that they would be unable to proceed, in order to encourage the offering of food to the teacher.\(^9\) Taking balls of pastry mixed with honey, they said: ‘Bhagavan, we ask you to accept this food in order to generate compassion,’ and they sat nearby the teacher. The Bhagavan, due to the disappearance of the alms bowl on that very day of accepting the milk-rice, thought: ‘Do Tathāgatas accept with their hands, or do they collect it with an alms bowl?’\(^10\) Then, knowing this thought, those four Great Kings of the four directions obtained\(^11\) a bowl of indamla\(^12\) gemstone, but the Bhagavan did not accept it. So they presented him with four bowls made of stone the colour of mugga\(^13\) beans, and the Bhagavan accepted the four bowls out of compassion for those four sons of the devas. He placed them, by laying one on the other, while making the determination: ‘Let them become one.’

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\(^1\) Tibetan: a ru ra mchog. Pāli: agadaharītaka.
\(^2\) Tibetan: so rtsi’i so śīṅ niid kyi so śīṅ. Pāli: nāgalatādantakatṭha.
\(^3\) Tibetan: mtsho chen po. Pāli: Anotattadaha.
\(^4\) Tibetan: Ga gon.
\(^5\) Tibetan: bZan po.
\(^6\) Tibetan: lHo phyogs.
\(^7\) Tibetan: Yul dbus. Pāli: Majjhimadesa.
\(^8\) Tibetan: byin nas. Pāli: sannirumhītā.
\(^9\) Tibetan: ‘gro bar mi nus par byin gyis brlabs pas. Pāli omits.
\(^12\) Tibetan: indra ni la, see edition for variant orthographies.
\(^13\) Tibetan: mudga, see edition for variant orthographies.
Though the four had four visible marks on their rims they turned into one medium sized bowl.\(^1\) The Bhagavan accepted the offered handfuls of food in the bowl made of worthless stone, and after eating it he rejoiced. The two merchant brothers went for refuge to the Buddha and the Dhamma, \(\{\text{Pā81}\}\) becoming lay disciples with two refuges.\(^2\) Then they asked: ‘Sir, (90a) give us one thing that is fit to make offering to.’ Rubbing his right hand on his head he gave them a hair relic,\(^3\) and they took it to their own village and made a shrine for it.

III 12.

Brahma Sahampati asks for the teaching of the doctrine.

The perfectly enlightened Buddha then got up, and going to Ajapāla’s\(^4\) nigrodha tree sat down in front of the nigrodha tree. Then, while sitting there reflecting on the profound Dhamma that he had realised\(^5\) by himself, the Buddha thought: ‘I have realised this Dhamma.’ He then reflected that it would be impossible to teach this Dhamma to others, and the thought occurred to him of the aspects of practice.\(^6\) Then Brahmā Sahampati\(^7\) thought: ‘The world will be ruined due to this,’\(^8\) and leading Sakka, Suyāma,\(^9\) Santusita,\(^10\) Sunimmita-vasavatti,\(^11\) and Mahābrahmas,\(^12\) from the ten thousand fold world system they went to the teacher’s presence, saying: ‘Bhagavan, we beseech you to teach the Dhamma, we beseech you to teach the Dhamma by the supreme method.’

III 13.

Turning the wheel of the doctrine.

The teacher gave them his promise thinking: ‘To whom should I first teach the Dhamma?’ and the thought occurred to him: ‘Āḷāra\(^13\) will readily understand this Dhamma. Then, while looking, he knew

\(^1\) Tibetan: bzi po yañ bta ba'i phyir du kha la ri mo bżir gyur te lhun bzed 'briñ po'i tshad geig tu gyut to. Pāli: Cattāro pi mukhavaṭṭiyaṁ paññāyamānekā huvā majjhimeṇa paṇāṇena ekattham upaganiṁsu.
\(^2\) Tibetan: tshig gnis pa'i dge bsñen du gyur to. Pāli: dvevācikaupāsakā ahesuṁ.
\(^3\) Tibetan: skra'i gdun. Pāli: kesadhātu.
\(^4\) Tibetan: Ra lugs kṣyob na.
\(^6\) Tibetan: gzan gyischos ston par mi nus par bsams nas ram tu 'jug pa'i rnam par rtog pa skyes so. Pāli: paresuṁ dharmema adesetukmatākārappavatto vitakko udapāṭi.
\(^7\) Tibetan: Mi mjéd kyi bdag po tshañ na pa.
\(^8\) Tibetan: 'jig rten fums par 'gyur ba'i phyir ro. Pāli: nassati vata bho loko, ninassati vata bho loko.
\(^9\) Tibetan: 'Thab bral bzuñ po.
\(^10\) Tibetan: dGa' Idan.
\(^11\) Tibetan: 'Phrul dga', gZan 'phrul dban phyug.
\(^12\) Tibetan: 'Thab bral bzuñ po, dGa' Idan, 'Phrul dga', gZan 'Phrul dban phyug, Tshañ na chen po.
\(^13\) Tibetan: Kun len.
that seven days had passed since his death, and so considering Uddaka,¹ he knew that he also had (90b) died. Again he thought of the group of five ascetics thinking: ‘The group of five monks paid great respect to me’,² and thinking: ‘Where are they?’ he then knew: ‘They are in the deer park of Bārānasi³ city.’ Then intending that: ‘After going there I will set going the wheel of the Dhamma,’ he remained several days at the seat of enlightenment collecting alms. Then, thinking: ‘I will go to Bārānasi city on the day of the half lunar month,’⁴ and taking bowl and robe⁵ in the early morning at break of day, at the end of the night of the fourteenth day, he went along the path which was eighty yojanas in length. In the middle of the path he saw the ājīvika named Upaka,⁶ and explained his own buddhahood to him, and on the evening of that same day he went to Isipatana.⁷ The five theras⁸ seeing the Tathāgata coming from afar, had the conversation: ‘The ascetic⁹ Gotama¹⁰ who, due to ample meals, has filled out his body, whose faculties are perfect,¹¹ and who is the colour of gold, is coming. We should not pay respect to him, but since he is born into a great family it is only proper to prepare him a seat, therefore, it is right to offer him just a seat.’ The Bhagavan possessed the knowledge that was able to know the thought and conduct of those worlds, together with their devisas, and thought: ‘Just what do they think?’, (91a) and he knew their minds. Then, condensing the thought of loving kindness, that was able to pervade all those devisas and men with its unseen power, the Bhagavan meditated to pervade them with the thought of loving kindness by means of the unseen power.¹² When the Tathāgata approached close to them they were unable to keep their former vow, and they made salutations and observed all the customary niceties.¹³ Furthermore, those monks, because of not knowing that he had attained perfect buddhahood, employed the familiar term friend¹⁴ when addressing him. Then the Bhagavan made known his own attainment¹⁵ of buddhahood saying: ‘Monks, you ought not to employ the familiar term friend in connection with the name of the Bhagavan and the Tathāgata.

¹ Tibetan: ‘Char byed.
³ Tibetan: Wā ra na si, see edition for variant orthographies.
⁵ Tibetan: snam sbyar. Pāli: cīvara.
⁶ Tibetan: Ne bar gnas pa.
⁷ Tibetan: Draṅ sroṅ lhun ba.
⁸ Tibetan: gnas brtan.
¹⁰ Tibetan: Gō ta ma, see edition for variant orthographies.
¹² Tibetan: de nas la daṅ mi thams cad la mthoṅ ba med pa’i dbaṅ gis thams cad du khyab par nus pa’i byams pa’i sems yāṅ gug par bādus nas / ma mthoṅ ba’i dbaṅ gis byams pa’i sems khyis khyab par bcom ldan ’das khyis bsgons nas. Pāli: Aṭha ne sabbadevamanussasā anodissakavasena pharaṇasamanāthānaṃ mettattām samkhiplvā odissakavadāvasa mettattāṃ phari.
¹³ Tibetan: de bzin gshēgs pa ne bar gshēgs śin gshēgs pa na / s相关新闻 names gnas par mi nus pas phiyag phul żiṅ bshri ba daṅ bsnen bkur thams cad byas so. Pāli: Tathāgata upasamkamante upasamkamante sakāya kaṭhāya saṁhāraṁ asaṅkṛtaḥ abhivādinapaccuttoḥānādīni sabbakiccāni akāmṣu.
Monks, I am the Tathāgata, Arahat, the perfectly enlightened Buddha. The Buddha, sat on the illustrious appointed seat, and at the time of the conjunction of the Uttarāsāliha constellation he was surrounded by eighteen thousand kotis of assemblies of Brahmās. Calling the group of five Elders he taught the Dhammacakkappavattanasutta, and among the group the elder, Koṇḍañña who knows all, having followed the teaching of the sutta attained knowledge at the conclusion of the sutta, and also attained the fruit of stream entry along with those eighteen thousand kotis of Brahmās. Then the teacher remained there for the rainy season, and on the second day, seated in the temple, he taught the Dhamma to the elder Vappa while the remaining four went for alms. The elder Vappa attained the fruit of stream entry in the early part of the day. Then by similar means, the elder Bhaddiya on the next day, the elder Mahānāma the next day, and Assaji the day after, all attained the fruit of stream winner. On the fifth day of the half lunar month when the five monks had gathered, he taught the Anantalakkhanasutta, and at the conclusion of the teaching the group of five elders attained the fruit of arhatship.

The going forth of Yasa and the others.

Then the teacher saw that the clansman named Yasa had potential so, leaving the house at dawn with a troubled mind he went out, calling: ‘Yasa, come here!’ In the night he was established in the fruit of stream winner, the next day in the fruit of arhatship. Furthermore, Yasa’s fifty four friends, having become monks went forth and attained arhatship. So it was that there were sixty one arahats in the...
world. The teacher, having stayed for the rains, made an end to the retreat, and sent those sixty monks in different directions. He himself went on the path going to Uruvela, and at Kappāsiya wood, which was at ten yojanas distance, he converted the group of Bhadda youths. After that the lowest of all among them became stream winners, and the highest of them became non returners. All of them became monks after taking the going forth, and sending them in different directions the Buddha went to Uruvela. There displaying his three and a half thousand miracles, he converted the three Kassapa brothers of Uruvela along with their one thousand ascetic followers, and they became monks after taking the going forth. Then the Buddha, seated on mount Gayāsila, made them arahats by teaching the Āditta exposition to them all. Then, assembling those one thousand arahats, he thought: 'I gave my promise to king Pāṇāsī, I will now liberate him.' and went to the Laṭṭhi grove which was close to the city of Rājagaha.

III 15.

The Bhagavan at Rājagaha.

Those guards at the pleasure garden said to the king: 'The teacher is coming,' the king hearing this, assembled twelve myriads of brahmanas and householders, and approached the teacher. After touching their heads to the feet of the Tathāgata, which were emanating light rays in all directions, like a golden canopy, and on the soles of which were numerous wheels, he sat at one side with his assembly. Then the brahmanas and householders had this thought: 'Well now, does the great ascetic follow the practice of the Uruvela Kassapas, or do the Uruvela Kassapas follow the practice of the great ascetic?' The Bhagavan, knowing their thoughts with his mind, spoke these verses to the elder:

Vin I p.36

1 Tibetan: dgag dbye byas te. Pāli: pavāretvā.
2 Tibetan omits. Pāli: caratha bhikkhave cārīkan ti.
3 Tibetan: Iten rgyas.
4 Tibetan: Ras bal can.
6 Tibetan: bZaṅ.
7 Tibetan: dge sloṅ gi gzugs kyi rab tu byuṅ ba bgyis nas. Pāli: ehībhikkhubhāven' eva pabbājētvā.
9 Tibetan: dge sloṅ gi gzugs kyi rab tu byuṅ bar byas nas. Pāli: ehībhikkhubhāven' eva pabbājētvā.
10 Tibetan: Ga ya'irte mo.
12 Tibetan: gZugs can sini po.
13 Tibetan: Šin dūn.
17 Jātakaṇidāna p. 83; sṬog 92b; Mvu III p. 444; Vin I p. 36; Ap-a p. 88; Bv-a p. 20.
Inhabitants of Uruvela, what have you seen,
what do you say are the causes of abandoning fire worship?¹
I asked Kassapa the meaning of this,
saying: Why do you abandon fire worship?²

The elder, knowing the intention of the Bhagavan said:

Vin I p.36³
Practice of the sacrifice brings: forms, sounds,
tastes, smells, and concubines too.⁴

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³ Jātakatīkā p. 83; sTog 92b; Vin I p. 36; Ap-a p. 88; Bv-a p. 20.
⁴ Tibetan: gzugs dañ sgra dañ de bzin ro dañ dri / bud med ’dod pa yañ ni mechod sbyin spyd. Pāli: Ērpe ca sadde ca atho rase ca / kāmiṭṭhiyo cābhīvadanti yaññan.”

Knowing well these impurities,\(^1\)
I have, therefore, abandoned the fire sacrifice.

Having spoken this verse, and in order to clarify his own desire to be a disciple,\(^2\) he touched the top of the Tathāgata’s feet with his head saying: ‘Sir, you are my teacher, I am the Bhagavan’s disciple.’ Rising into the air, one, two, three and as much as seven talla trees height, he descended, and after paying homage to the Tathāgata, he sat at one side. Seeing his miracles the crowd of men, praising the qualities\(^4\) of the teacher, said: ‘Indeed the Buddha has great power, and since he teaches a view like this\(^5\) he is thought to be worthy, and so Kassapa of Uruvela having cut the net of views was converted by the Tathāgata.’ (93a)

The Bhagavan said: ‘Not only have I converted Kassapa of Uruvela here and now, he was also converted by me in the past.’ The meaning of this was previously explained in the Mahānāradakassapa-jātaka\(^6\) that teaches the four truths clearly. At that moment\(^7\) the king of Magadha,\(^8\) along with his retinue numbering eleven nahutas, attained the fruit of stream winner, and one nahuta became\(^9\) lay followers. {Pā84} The king sat near to the teacher, and after hearing the five foundations of training,\(^10\) went for refuge. Then, having made an invitation to a meal on the following day, he rose from his seat, circumambulated the Bhagavan, and departed. Then at dawn the following day the inhabitants of Rājagaha who had seen the Bhagavan, and those who had not seen him, all the people numbering eighteen kotis who desired to see the Tathāgata, went at dawn from Rājagaha to the Latthi grove. They were unable to be contained in an area of twelve leagues,\(^11\) and the entire Latthi grove was continuously thronged.\(^12\) All these people, seeing the state of Dasabala’s body, wished to obtain that sort of excellent form, but they could not be satisfied.\(^13\) The colour of the ground\(^14\) was of such as this. In such a place as this it is appropriate to praise the resplendent bodily form of the Tathāgata, with all its auspicious major and minor\(^15\) marks. (93b) Due to the sight of Dasabala’s body, who had attained such a body as this, the crowd of people was endless. There was no possibility for even one monk to get off the path to the pleasure park.\(^16\) On that day Sakka’s
throne showed signs of heating, and he immediately thought: ‘The Bhagavan may be late for his meal.’ Reflecting thus, and knowing the cause of this, he transformed into the form of a young brahmana who gave the proper praises to the Buddha, Dhamma, and sangha. Then departing to Dasabala’s presence he made him reach the path, by means of his divine power, and said:

Vin I.38

The subdued one, together with his former colleagues who were subdued, and the brahmānas and ascetics who were released. The Bhagavan went out with a lion-like body and entered Rājagaha.

The liberated one, together with his former colleagues who were liberated, and the brahmānas and ascetics who were released. The Bhagavan went out with a lion-like body and entered Rājagaha. He who had escaped, together with his former colleagues who had

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1 Tibetan: dro ba’i rnam par mthoṅ ste. Pāli: uññhākāram dassesi.
2 Tibetan: bcom ldan ’das kyi gḍugs tshod yol ba lta bur gyur to. Pāli: Bhagavā chinnabhatto bhaveyya, taṁ mā ahosi.
3 Tibetan: lha’i mthu lam thob par byas so. Pāli: devānubhāvena okāsaṃ katvā.
4 Jātakatīkā p. 84; sTog 93b; Vin I p. 38; Ap II p. 607; Ap-a p. 89; Khp p. 204; Pv-a p. 22; Thī-a p. 59.

Jātakatīkā p. 84

danto dantehi saha purūṇajātiḥi vippamutteti
sinīnikkhasavaṇṇo Rājagahāṁ pāvisi Bhagavā.

mutto muttehi saha purūṇajātiḥi vippamutto vippamuttehi
sinīnikkhasavaṇṇo Rājagahāṁ pāvisi Bhagavā.

tiṇṇo tiṇṇehi saha purūṇajātīṭhehi vippamutto vippamuttehi
sinīnikkhasavaṇṇo Rājagahāṁ pāvisi Bhagavā.

Tibetan sTog 93b,
’dul žin ’dul ba’i grogs snon bcas // bram ze rnam grol ral pa daṅ //
seṅ ge’i gzugs kyis ’thon nas ni // bcom ldan rgyal po’i khab naṅ byon //

grol žin grol ba’i grogs snon bcas // bram ze rnam grol ral pa daṅ //
seṅ ge’i gzugs kyis ’thon nas ni // bcom ldan rgyal po’i khab naṅ byon //

brgal žin brgal ba’i grogs snon bcas // bram ze rnam grol ral pa daṅ //
seṅ ge’i gzugs kyis ’thon nas ni // rgyal po’i khab naṅ bcom ldan byon //
escaped, and the *brahmaṇas* and ascetics who were released.  
The Bhagavan went out with a lion-like  
body and entered Rājagaha.  

Vin I p.38\(^1\)  
The ten powers of he who is said to have the ten,  
abiding in the ten knowledges and the ten things,  
the Bhagavan entered Rājagaha with a retinue of ten thousand.

Praising the teacher with these verses of praise, those men who went before him, seeing the splendour of  
the form of the *brahmaṇa* youth, thought: ‘This *brahmaṇa* youth has a beautiful body, he was not seen  
before,’ (94a) and they said: ‘Where does this *brahmaṇa* youth live, whose son is he?’\(^2\) Hearing this the *brahmaṇa* youth speaking these verses, said:

Vin I p.38\(^3\)  
He who is the Buddha, subduer of all doctrines,\(^4\) unrivalled person,  
Arahant and Sugata in the world, I am his attendant.  

The teacher, assembling one hundred thousand monks on the path that was opportunely divided by

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\(^1\) *Jātakanidāna* p. 84; sTog 93b; Vin I p. 38; Ap-a p. 89.  
\(^3\) *Jātakanidāna* p. 84; Vin I p. 38; Ap-a p. 89; sTog 94a; Mvu III p. 423.  
\(^4\) Tibetan: gaṅ žig bstan pa thams cad 'dul. Pāli: Yo dhīro sabbadhi danto.
Sakka,\(^1\) (Pā85) entered Rājagaha.

III 16.

The gift of Veluvana.

The king gave a great gift to the saṅgha, with the Buddha at their head,\(^2\) saying: 'Reverend sir, I am unable to live without the three jewels. I want to come to the Bhagavan whether it is the appropriate time or not, and it is a great distance to the Laṭṭhi pleasure park. Whereas our Veḷu grove\(^3\) is very close to come and go to, and since it is a place which is suitable for the Bhagavan, I beg you to accept it!' Then the king, taking a golden jar of water, which was the colour of gems and scented with flowers,\(^4\) poured it on the hands of Dasabala while presenting the Veḷu grove to him. After the acceptance of that park, which is said to be the foundation of the Buddha’s teaching,\(^5\) the great earth shook. Apart from\(^6\) the Veḷu grove there is no other place within Jambudīpa\(^7\) where his acceptance shook the earth.\(^8\) Apart from the Mahāvihāra\(^9\) there is no other place within Tambapannidiipa\(^10\) where his acceptance shook the great earth.\(^11\) The teacher (94b) accepted the gardens of Veḷu grove and delighted the king, then rising from his seat and assembling the saṅgha of monks they proceeded to Veḷu grove.

III 17.

The going forth of Sāriputta and Moggallāna.

At that time the two wanderers\(^12\) Sāriputta\(^13\) and Moggallāna\(^14\) were dwelling close to Rājagaha intent on seeking the deathless state.\(^15\) Sāriputta saw the elder Assaji enter there for alms, and when he gave him food his mind became clear. Then hearing the verse: 'Whatever things arise from a cause,' he attained the fruit of stream winner. He then repeated that very verse to his friend, Moggallāna the wanderer, and he

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\(^1\) Tibetan: brGya byin gyis skabs phye ba’i lam du. Pāli: Sakkena katokāsaṃ maggaṃ paṭipajjitvā.

\(^2\) Tibetan: sans rgyas la sogs pa. Pāli: Buddhapamukha.

\(^3\) Tibetan: ’Od ma’i tshal. Pāli: Veluvana.

\(^4\) Tibetan: me tog gi dris bsgos te. Pāli: pupphagandhavāsita.

\(^5\) Tibetan: sans rgyas kyi bstan pa’i gzi žes brjod ciṅ. Pāli: Buddhāsanassa mūlāni oṭṭhānāni.

\(^6\) Tibetan: spana pa. Pāli: ṭhāpetvā.

\(^7\) Tibetan: ’Dzam bu’i glin pa.

\(^8\) Tibetan: ’dzam bu’i glin gi naṅ nas ’od ma’i tshal spana pa’i sa gzi g.yos pa ’di bzes te / sde gzan ni med do. Pāli: Jambudīpasmiṃ hi ṭhāpetvā Veḷvamathā aññam pathaviṃ ṭhāpetvā gahitasenāsanam nāma n’ athī.

\(^9\) Tibetan: gtsug lag khaṅ chen po.

\(^10\) Tibetan: Siṅ gha glin.


\(^12\) Tibetan: kun tu rgyu. Pāli: paribbājaka.

\(^13\) Tibetan: Śāri pu’i bu, see edition for variant orthographies.

\(^14\) Tibetan: Mōd gal gyi bu, see edition for variant orthographies.

\(^15\) Tibetan: bdud rtsi. Pāli: amata.
too attained the fruit of stream winner. They both looked to Sañjaya, then with their own retinues they went forth in the teacher’s presence. Seven days from that time, the great son of Moggallāna attained arhatship, and after two weeks the elder Sāriputta attained arhatship, the two of them also took the position as the foremost disciples of the teacher. On the day of attaining arhatship Sāriputta created the supreme assembly of the Bhagavan’s disciples.

III 18.

The invitation to Kapilavatthu by Suddhodana.

The Tathāgata was dwelling at the Veḷu grove when king Suddhodana after hearing: ‘Your son, having practised austerities for six years has attained supreme, perfect enlightenment. After turning the wheel of the teaching, he now dwells in Rājagaha’s (95a) Veḷu grove’, and he said to one of the ministers: ‘Come here! Go to Rājagaha leading a retinue of one thousand people, and repeat my words: “Your father, the great king Suddhodana, wishes to see you”, and return leading my son!’ The minister accepted the king’s command with bowed head saying: ‘O King, I will act accordingly’, and leading that retinue of one thousand people, he went quickly along the sixty yojanas of the path. After sitting among Dasabala’s fourfold assembly, he entered the temple at the time the Dhamma was being taught, he thought: ‘I will lay aside the king’s message for a while.’ Seated at the edge of all the assemblies he heard the teacher’s explanation of the Dhamma, seated thus he, together with the one thousand people, {Pā86} attained arhatship and asked for the going forth. The Bhagavan stretching out his hand said: ‘Come, monks!’ All of them, taking the three robes and bowls which appeared by magic power, became like elders of one hundred years standing. Beginning from the time of attaining arhatship each was called noble, and they remained impartial, without telling Dasabala about the king’s message. The king thought: ‘Not even one of those men who were sent has returned, I have not even heard a message,’ then he said: ‘Come here! You must also go!’ sending another (95b) minister as before. Having gone he attained arhatship together with his retinue, as happened previously, and he remained silent. The king sent nine ministers, as before, each with a retinue of one thousand people. All of them, after completing their own purpose, remained silent, and stayed at that very place. The king, not obtaining even the mere gist of the tale, thought: ‘These men did not relate even the mere gist of the tale to me because of being displeased. Who is of a

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1 Tibetan: Raññid ngal ba.
2 Tibetan: Mod gal gyi bu chen po, see edition for variant orthographies.
3 Tibetan: gnas brtan šā ri’i bus dgra bcom pa thob pa’i fiin mo niid bcom Idan ’das kyi fiin thos kyi ’dus pa dān por byas so. Pāli: Sāriputtagtherena arahappattadivase yeva sāvakasnīpātaṃ akāsi.
5 Tibetan: lo brgya lon pa’i gnas brtan Ita bur gyur to. Pāli: vassasatikathera viya ahesum.
6 Tibetan: bar mar gnus par gyur to. Pāli: majjhattā va honti.
7 Tibetan: de Ita bu’i ēes pas. Pāli: ten’ eva niyāmena.
9 Tibetan: rgyal pos spriṅ yig tsam gyi lo rgyus kyan ma thob bo. Pāli: Rājā sāsanamattakahāṃ pi āhārītvā ācikkhantāṃ alabhi tvā.
mind to take my message?" The king, looking at all the men, saw Kāludāyi the royal minister who accomplished all his aims, who was a member of the household, and a great favourite. He was born on the same day as the Tathāgata, and was a friend who played together with him. So the king summoned the minister saying: 'Dear Kāludāyi, wishing to see my son I have sent nine thousand people, and not even one man has returned, nothing of the mere gist of a message has appeared. Perhaps they were all gripped by illness or they are dead. I wish to see my son while I am alive, I must see my son.' Kāludāyi said: 'O King, it is possible that if I go forth it will be possible to see him,' the king replied: 'Friend, whether you go forth or not, let me see my son!' Kāludāyi, taking the king's message, said: 'My king, so be it,' (96a) and went to Rājagaha. Seated at the edge of those assemblies, while the teacher was preaching the Dhamma, he attained the fruit of arhatship together with his retinue, and was established in the state of a monk. In the first year after becoming Buddha, the teacher remained dwelling at Isipatana during the rains. Having ended the seclusion he went to Uruvela and remained there for three months. After converting those ascetic brothers he went to Rājagaha in the middle of the winter month, accompanied by an assembly of one thousand monks, and stayed there for two months. By now five months had gone by since he had come from Bārāṇāsi city, and the winter had ended. Between seven and eight days had gone by since the coming of the elder Udayi, and in the middle of spring he thought: 'Winter has passed and spring has arrived, the grass has become green, and those men are taking corn which is scattered all over the path. The trees and shrubs of the earth, and the forest, are blossoming with an abundance of flowers, so it is time to proceed out on the path. It is time to go out on the path to meet with a relative of Dasabala.' So, after going to the presence of the Bhagavan he said: {Pā87}
O Sir, the trees became green,\(^1\)
and the leaves of the trees drooped down to the ground.
The rays of light were dispersed inbetween them,
when the Great Hero\(^2\) went to his kinsmen’s home.\(^3\)

Ap-a p.91\(^4\)
It is neither too hot nor too cold, (96b)
there is no hunger and no famine,
the trees on the earth have become green,
now is the time, Great Sage\(^5\)

With just these six *padas* he made suitable praises, and praised Dasabala and his going to the city of his kinsmen. The teacher said: ‘Uḍāyi, you make suitable praises when praising this departure with this sweet singing,’\(^6\) Uḍāyi said: ‘Sir, your father the great king Suddhodana, wishes to see you. I beg you to consider your kinsmen,’\(^7\) the teacher replied: ‘Very well, Uḍāyi, I will consider those kinsmen,’ and he said to the *sangha* of monks: ‘Sweep the entire route of travel!’ and after saying: ‘Very well sir,’ the elder departed.\(^8\)

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\(^2\) Tibetan: *dpā* bo chen po. Pāli: **Mahāvīra**.

\(^3\) Tibetan: *btsun pa ljīn khur gyur // śīṃ gi lo ma sa la du dān pa du» // de mams bar nas ‘od zer ‘gyed pa yin // dpā* bo chen po gān gnas ghēgs pa’i dus // Pāli: Aṅgārīno dānī dumā bhadante / phalesino chadānaṁ vipāhāya, / te accimanto va pabhāsayanti, / samayo Mahāvīra bhagī rāsānam.

\(^4\) *Jātakaniḍāṇa* p. 87; sTog 96a-b; Ap-a p. 91; Bv-a p. 24; Mp I p. 303.


\(^6\) Tibetan: ‘Char kas dbyaṅs sīhan pos ghēgs pa’i bsṅags par ‘os pa’i bsṅags pa. Pāli: kin nu kho Udāyi madhurassarena gamanaṇṇāṇaṃ vaṃsai.


\(^8\) Tibetan: *btsun pa legs so ṭes gnas brtan soṇ nas smras so. Pāli: “Śādhu bhante” ti thero ṛcācesi.*
The Bhagavan’s journey to Kapilavatthu.

The Bhagavan set out from the other side of Rājagaha surrounded by ten thousand clansmen from Āṅga₁ and Magadha₂, and ten thousand monks from Kapilavatthu³ who were all free from corruptions. Walking one yojana on each day with the intention to arrive within two months at Kapilavatthu, which was sixty yojanas from Rājagaha,⁴ without dawdling or rushing but going at a moderate pace. The elder while thinking: ‘I should say in front of the king: The Bhagavan has set out,’ rose into the sky and arrived at the king’s abode. The king became happy after seeing the elder, (97a) making him sit on the appointed seat, and after filling a bowl with various food, prepared for his own use, gave it to him. The elder rose up intending to go⁵ but the king said: ‘Friend, sit down and eat!’ The elder replied: ‘Great king, I will eat after going to the teacher’s presence.’ The king said: ‘Well, friend, where is the teacher?’ and the elder replied: ‘He, surrounded by twenty thousand monks, has set out in order to see the great king.’ The king being pleased said: ‘You should eat this until my son has not arrived in this city, after this you should go carrying the food in the bowl!’⁶ and the elder assented⁷ to the king’s request. The king presented the elder’s food after washing the bowl by scouring it with pure scented sand, and filled it with the choicest food, then saying: ‘Present it to the Tathāgata!’, put it into the elder’s hands. All the people saw the elder throw the bowl into the air, and then he too went into the air holding the bowl of food. Having presented the bowl of food into the teacher’s hands the teacher enjoyed that food. In this way the elder presented food to him in the same way every day, and so the teacher enjoyed the king’s meal, even while journeying on the path. Each day, at the completion of the meal, the elder said: ‘Today the Bhagavan has come just this distance, (97b) today the {Pa88} Bhagavan has come just this distance.’ While relating the qualities of the Buddha to all the royal clan, who had not seen the teacher, he created faith towards the teacher in their minds.⁸ For this reason the Bhagavan said regarding the elder: ‘Monks, among my disciples it is Kāludāyi who is the foremost of those who create faith among the clansfolk,’ he is held to be the foremost.

\[\text{\footnotesize 1 Tibetan: Am gha, see edition for variant orthographies.}\
\text{\footnotesize 2 Tibetan: Ma ga dha, see edition for variant orthographies.}\
\text{\footnotesize 3 Tibetan: Ser skya’i gzi.}\
\text{\footnotesize 4 Tibetan: rgyal po’i khab nas dpag tshad drug cu’i gro’n khyer ser skya’i gzhir zla ba gnis kyis slob par dgo’is šin. Pāli: “Rājagahato satthiyojanam Kapilavatthum dvīhi māsēhi pāpuniṣāmiti”.}\
\text{\footnotesize 5 Tibetan: gnas brtan lans nas ’gro bar bsams pa dañ. Pāli: Thero utṭhāya gamanākāraṇaṃ dassesi.}\
\text{\footnotesize 6 Tibetan: khyed ’di gsol la bdag gi aras gro’n khyer ’dir ma byon gyi bar la ’di niid nas lhun bzed du bza’ ba khyer la soh cig. Pāli: tumhe imaṃ pariḥūṣijitvā yāva mama putto imaṃ nagaraṃ pāpuṇāti tāv’ asa ito va pindapātaṃ pariharantaḥ.}\
\text{\footnotesize 7 Tibetan: mñan te. Pāli: adhivāsesi.}\
\text{\footnotesize 8 Tibetan: rgyal rigs thams cad ston pa ma mthoṅ ba niid kyis ston pa’i drun du raṅ niid kyi sems daṅs par mdzad do. Pāli: sakalarājākulaṃ Satthu dassanāṃ vinā yeva Satthari sañjatappasadāṃ akāsi.}\
\]
The Bhagavan at Kapilavatthu.

The Sākiyas1 assembled prior to the Bhagavan’s arrival saying: ‘We should see our eminent kinsman.’ They considered a place for the Bhagavan to stay thinking: ‘The Nigrodha park of the Sākiyas is a lovely place’ and they made it ready. Each of them, holding perfumes and flowers in their hands, prepared2 the entire park, welcoming him by adorning him with all sorts of adornments. At the outset they sent the young boys and girls of the city to the front, in the midst of them were the royal princes and princesses who made offering with perfumes, flowers, and powders. The Bhagavan after taking those offerings went to the Nigrodha park, there the Bhagavan sat on the seat appointed for the Buddha, surrounded by the twenty thousand monks who were free from corruptions. The Sākiya clan are proud and tough minded,3 they thought: ‘Siddhattha (98a) is a youngster together with our youngsters, he is our elder brother,4 our sister’s son, our grandson,’5 and they said to the youths and the king’s son: ‘You pay homage, and we will sit behind of you,’6 When they were so seated the Bhagavan saw their intention and thought: ‘Although these relatives do not wish to pay homage to me, I will now compel them to pay homage,’ then thinking this he entered jhāna7 the basis of higher knowledge and wisdom,7 and rising he went into the sky. Then he performed the miracle that was like the dual miracle in front of the gandamba8 tree, and dust fell from his feet onto their heads.

The subsequent homage by Suddhodana.

The king saw that great wonder and said: ‘Bhagavan, you approached the ascetic Kāladevala9 on the day of your birth making salutation, then on foot approached the head of the brāhmaṇa. Seeing this even I paid homage to you, this was my first salutation. When you were seated on the resplendent seat in the shade of the jambu10 tree on the day of the sowing festival,11 when I saw that the shadow of the jambu tree did not move I made homage at your feet, this was my second salutation. Now, seeing these miracles that have not been seen before, (98b) I made salutation at your feet, this was my third salutation.’

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1 Tibetan: Śākya.
6 Tibetan: khyed kyi phyag gis bdag khyed kyi rgyab tu sdod do. Pāli: tumhe vandatha, mayaṃ tumhākam pitthito nisiddissāma.
8 Tibetan: a mra bsrūṅ ba’i a mra, see edition for variant orthographies. Pāli: gaṇḍambā.
The homage by the Sākiyas and the pile of flowers.

When the king made salutation to the Bhagavan, there was not even one of the Sākiya clan who could not make salutation, all of them made salutation. Then, after the relatives had made salutation to the Bhagavan, he descended and sat down in the middle of the appointed seat. When the Bhagavan was seated the kinsmen assembled, and they all sat down with concentrated minds. Then lotus petals fell from a large cloud, like an undivided river, and copper coloured water fell noisily on the ground. It soaked those who wished to be soaked, and did not soak those not wishing to be soaked, not even a drop fell on them. Seeing this all of them were astonished and surprised, exclaiming: ‘Indeed it is a marvel, indeed it is astonishing.’ The teacher said: ‘It is not only now that the rain of lotus petals, like an undivided river, fell on my gathered kinsfolk, I also made it fall in the past.’ The meaning of this is explained in the Vessantarajātaka. After hearing the teaching of the Dhamma, they made salutation and left. Though not even one of them, king, viceroy or minister, who was departing said: ‘Come to our house for a meal tomorrow!’

Going for alms in Kapilavatthu.

On the second day (99a) the teacher, surrounded by twenty thousand monks, went for alms to the city of Kapilavatthu. Nobody invited him for a meal, took his bowl or came to meet him. The Bhagavan stood on a threshold thinking: ‘How did previous Buddhas collect alms after arriving in the city of their clan? Did each of them go to the house of the headman, or did they collect alms in successive order?’ Then since he did not see even one Buddha who went according to clan he thought: ‘This is also correct for me now. I also should hold to that custom like the lineage of previous Buddhas. My disciples, studying me, will go to collect alms in the same way’, beginning from the first house he collected alms in successive order. After it was said: ‘The noble youth, Siddhattha, goes for alms’, all the people looked, after opening the
second, and third story windows at the top of the houses.

III 24.

The praise of Rāhula's mother.

The queen, Rāhula's mother, said: 'The noble boy rides in a golden palaquin in this very city with the majesty of a great king. Today, after cutting his hair and beard, putting on saffron robes, and taking a bowl in his hand, he goes for alms, is this suitable or not?' Then opening the top window and looking out, she saw his body, (99b) free from all desires, blazing and illuminating the entire skyline of the city. Surrounded by brilliant light rays six feet deep, he was adorned with the eighty major marks, and the thirty-two minor marks of the great man. She saw the resplendent Buddha shining incomparably from the top of his head to the soles of his feet.

Ap-a p. 94

His smooth soft black hair coiled to the right,
his forehead was flawless, like the bottom of the moon,
the size of his nose was in proportion to his body,
the lion of mankind created bright rays of light.

After praising the lion of mankind with this kind of verse, she said to the king: 'Your son is wandering for alms.'

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1 Tibetan: sGra gcan 'dzin gyi yum. Pāli: Rāhulamātara.
3 Tibetan: mdzes sam mi mdzes. Pāli: sobhati nu kho.
4 Tibetan: 'dom gaṅ ba'i 'od kun nas bskor žiṅ rāb tu gsal ba. Pāli: vyāmappabhiṣa-parikkhepa-samupabbiḥāya.
5 Tibetan: gtsug tor nas bzuṅ nas žabs kyi mthil gyi bar de srid do. Pāli omits.
6 Jātakarūpāna p. 89; sTog 99b; Ap-a p. 94.
7 Jātakarūpāna p. 89,
   siniddhanilamudukunčītakeso
   suriyasunimalatalābhinalāṭo
   yuttatunamudukāyatanāso
   ramsijālivitato narasiho ti.
Tibetan sTog 99b,
   dbu skra g.yas 'khyil 'jam nag snum pa daṅ //
   dpral ba dri med ŋi ma'i mthil bzin no //
   sku daṅ 'tsham pa'i śaṁs ni mtho ba daṅ //
   mi yi sen ge 'od zer gsal bar mdzad //
8 Tibetan: skl daṅ 'tsham pai śaṁs ni mtho ba daṅ. Pāli: yuttatunamudukāyatanāso.
III 25.

The lineage of the Buddhas.

The king being mentally grieved, put on his clothes and quickly departed, then standing before the Bhagavan he said: 'Reverend Sir, why do you shame us? What is the point of wandering for alms? Why don’t you intend to relate that I give food to those monks?’ [P90] He replied: ‘This is the custom of the great king’s family.’ The king said: ‘Reverend Sir, our lineage is the lineage of the Śākyas. Among even a single one of their royal families the term ‘going on almsround’ is not found.’ The Buddha said: ‘This lineage of yours is the so-called lineage of great kings. O great king, do not be sad! My lineage is the lineage of the Buddhas (100a) such as Dipamkara, Koṇḍañña and Kassapa. These and many thousands of other Buddhas have made a living by wandering for alms,’ and he remained in the middle of the path.

Dhp 168

Not practising heedlessness,
but performing well the practice of the Dhamma,
when practising the Dhamma,
one lives happily in this world and the next.

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1 Tibetan: gos nas bzun ste. Pāli: hatthena sātakaṁ saṁthapento.
2 Tibetan: dge sloṅ ‘di rnam kyi bza’ ba bdag gis ster mi šes bsams pa yin nam ci lags. Pāli: kim ettakānaṁ bhikkhūnaṁ na sakā bhattaṁ laddhun ti saññaṁ karittha ti.
3 Tibetan: Śākyā’i rigs. Pāli: Mahāsammatathiyavamso.
4 Tibetan: rgyal po mi dgyes pa na mdzad cig. Pāli omits.
5 Jñātakaniṁdaṇa p. 90; sTog 100a; Dhp 168; PDhp 27; Uv 4. 35; GDhp 110.; Dhp-a III p. 164; Ap-a pp. 94, 539.

Jñātakaniṁdaṇa p. 90,
uttīṭhe na-ppamajjeyya / dhammaṁ sucariṁm care,
dhammacārī sukhām seti / asmiṁ loke paramhi ca.

Tibetan sTog 100a.
bag med lhag mar byed pa med // chos la spyod ciṅ legs par spyod //
chos la spyad na bde ba ’byun // ’jig rten ’di daṅ phyi mar bde //

Patna Dharmapada 27,
uttīṭheyā na pramajjeyā / dhammaṁ sucariṁm care
dhammacārī [ ] seti / aśśiṁ loke paramhi ca.

Udānavarga 4.35,
uttīṭhen na pramādyeta / dhammaṁ sucariṁm caret /
dhammacārī sukhāṁ śete / hy asmiṁ loke paratra ca //

Gāndhārī Dharmapada 110,
udīṭha na pramaje’a / dhamu sucariḍa cari
dhama-cari suhū śe’adi / aśri lokī parasa yi.
He explained the teaching with these verses of the Dhamma, and the king attained the fruit of stream enterer at the end of these verses.

Dhp 169

Practising well the practice of the Dhamma, without practising the wrong practice, by practising the Dhamma one lives happily in this world and the next.

Moreover, hearing these verses of the Dhamma he attained the fruit of once returner. Then, hearing the Dhammapāḷajātaka he attained the fruit of non returner. At the time of his death, while sleeping on the royal bed under a white parasol, he attained arhatship. There was no need for the king to practice asceticism by dwelling in a solitary place.

III 26.

The Bhagavan in the chamber of Rāhula’s mother.

Experiencing the fruit of stream enterer, and taking the Bhagavan’s bowl, the king invited the Bhagavan with his retinue into the palace, serving them food and drink which satisfied them. After the meal all the

1 Jātakāniḍāṇā p. 90; sTog 100a; Dhp 169; PDhp 224; Uv 30. 5; GDhp 328; Dhp-a III p. 164; Ap II pp. 590, 596; Ap-a p. 539.

Jātakāniḍāṇā p. 90,

\[ \text{dhammaṁ care sucaritam} / \text{na nāṁ duccaritam care,} \\
\text{dhammacārī sukham seti} / \text{asmāṁ loke paramhi ca.} \]

Tibetan sTog 100a,

\[ \text{chos spyod pa ni legs par spyod // ſes par spyod pa mi bya žin //} \\
\text{chos spyad pa yis bde ba 'byuṭ // 'jig rten 'di daṅ pha rol tu'o //} \]

Pāli Dhammadāpasā 224,

\[ \text{dhammaṁ care sucaritaṁ / na nāṁ duccaritaṁ care} \\
\text{dhammacāri sukham śeti / asmiṁ loke paratram ca.} \]

Udānavarga 30.5,

\[ \text{dhammaṁ care sucaritaṁ / na nāṁ duścaritaṁ care} \\
\text{dhammacāri sukham śeti / hy asmiṁ loke paratra ca.} \]

Gāndhāri Dhammadāpa 328,

\[ \text{dhamu cari sucari /... ducaรี ca ri} \\
\text{jamin suha śedi / asvi loki parasa yi.} \]

2 Tibetan: chos kyi rka pa. Pāli omits.

3 Tibetan: Chos skyon ba'i skyes rabs. Pāli: Mahādhammapāḷajātaka, Jātaka No. 447.

womenfolk came, apart from Rāhula’s mother,¹ and paid homage to the Bhagavan. Then she (100b) said to the attendants: ‘Pay homage to the noble son!’ Then while they were going she said: ‘If I have good qualities within me the noble son himself will come to this spot. When he arrives I will pay homage to him.’² The king, taking the bowl, went to the apartments of the royal women together with the Bhagavan and his two foremost disciples, saying: ‘When the royal daughter herself pays homage according to her wish, do not make even the slightest disapproval,’³ he then sat on the appointed seat. She soon arrived, and grasping his calves, and putting her head on top of his feet, paid homage according to her wish. The king related the royal daughter’s good qualities to the Bhagavan, such as the good quality of great affection,⁴ and so forth, saying: ‘Sir, my daughter hearing that: ‘He has put on yellow robes,’ put on yellow robes (Pā91) herself starting from that day. Hearing that: ‘He is eating one meal a day,’ my daughter also started eating one meal a day. Hearing ‘He has abandoned high beds,’ she slept on a low bed. Hearing: ‘He is without desire for perfumes and flower garlands,’ she became free of desire for perfumes and flower garlands. Her own kinsfolk sent a message saying: ‘I will sustain you’⁶ but she did not look to even a single relative. O Bhagavan, my daughter (101a) possesses such good qualities as these.’ The Bhagavan said: ‘Great king, it is no great surprise that the royal daughter now protected by you did not ripen⁷ her knowledge while protected by herself. Previously, while wandering in the mountains unprotected, she did not complete⁸ her knowledge though she protected herself.’ After relating the Candakinnarajātaka⁹ he rose from his seat and went.

III 27.

The going forth of Nanda.

On the second day while the royal youth Nanda¹⁰ stayed nearby receiving the royal anointment, the entry into the new house and marriage blessings. The Bhagavan went into his house made the youth take the bowl, intending him to go forth, recited the blessing, rose from his seat and left. Janapadakalyāṇi¹¹ seeing him going, looked¹² and said: ‘Noble Son, come back quickly!’ Nanda, though unable to hold the

¹ Tibetan: sgra gcen 'dzin gyi ma ma gregs pa. Pāli: ṭhapetvā Rāhulamātaraṃ.
² Tibetan: gal te kho mo la yon tan yod na 'phugs pa'i bu ra handicap kyi gnas su byon no // byon pa niid na de la phyag byed do. Pāli: sace mayhaṃ guṇo athi sayaṃ eva me santikaṃ ayyaputto āgamissati, āgataṃ eva naṃ vandissāmīti.
³ Tibetan: rgyal po'i bu mo ra handicap ji ltar mos pa'i phyag byed ciñ gzan dañ dgal ba cuñ zad kyan ma byed. Pāli: rajadhitā yathārucin vandamanā na kiñci vattabbā ti.
⁵ Tibetan: thos nas. Pāli: niñvā.
⁸ Tibetan: ye śes yons su ma rdzogs pa. Pāli: aparipakke śaṅce.
⁹ Tibetan: Mi'am ci zla ba'i skyes rabs. Pāli: Candakinnarajātaka, Jātaka No. 485.
¹⁰ Tibetan: dGa' bo.
¹¹ Tibetan: Uons kyi dge ba'i bu mo.
¹² Tibetan: blta'o. Pāli: givaṃ pāsaretvā olokesi.

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Bhagavan’s bowl, went to the temple and although he had no wish for it, the Bhagavan made him go forth. So, the Bhagavan, on the third day after going to the city of Kapila, caused Nanda to go forth.

III 28.

The going forth of Rahula.

On the seventh day Råhula’s mother, after adorning the boy with adornments, sent him to the Bhagavan’s presence, saying: ‘Son, look at this ascetic surrounded by twenty thousand monks! This ascetic with the golden Brahma like body is your father. He has a great treasure, but since he went forth that treasure has not been seen. Go and ask for that wealth saying: ‘I am your son. After I have received the initiation into royalty I will become empowered as a cakkavattirāja. So I ask you to give me this treasure for my benefit, as your wealth is mine!’ After this was said the youth approached the Bhagavan, and became happy in his father’s presence, saying: ‘Ascetic, being in your shadow makes me joyful,’ and after speaking other such utterances, he sat down. The Bhagavan, being satisfied at the end of the meal, rose from his seat and went. The youth followed the Bhagavan saying: ‘Ascetic, give me the treasure, give me the treasure!’ The Bhagavan did not send him back, and thought: ‘Don’t follow me,’ even those followers going with the Bhagavan were unable to send him back, and the youth went into the pleasure garden along with the Bhagavan. Then the Bhagavan thought: ‘This youth wishes for the wealth of his father, this is mundane wealth that is associated with anguish. Now, if I were to give this youth the seven kinds of noble wealth obtained on the seat of enlightenment, I would be a giver of supramundane wealth.’ Then he addressed the venerable Sariputta saying: ‘Now you, Sariputta, make the youth Råhula go forth!’ and he made him go forth. The king became extremely grieved about his son, and being unable to endure it went to the Bhagavan asking for a promise saying: ‘Sir, do not allow a son to go forth without the permission of his noble mother and father.’

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1 Tibetan: dge slon. Pali: sāmaṇa.
3 Tibetan: ‘khor lo sgyur ba la dbaṅ byed par ’gyur ro. Pali: cakkavatti bhavissāmi.
4 Tibetan: dga’ ba skyes so. Pali: sinehm paṭilabhitvā haṭṭhatuṭṭho.
5 Tibetan: sems spro bar gyur to // dge sbyoṅ des khyod kyi grib ma ni de’o. Pali: sukhā te sāmaṇa chāyā.
6 Tibetan: gzan yan raṅ gi rigs pas brjod cin. Pali: aññam pi bahuṃ attano anurūpaṃ vadanto.
7 Tibetan: nor. Pali: dāya[ja].
8 Tibetan: na’i ṛjes su ma ’gro. Pali omits.

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III 29.

The Bhagavan’s visit to Sitavana.

The Bhagavan gave his promise to him, and on the second day after eating the meal\(^1\) at the king’s residence, sat at one side. The king said: ‘Sir, during the time of your ascetic practices a certain deva approached me saying: ‘Your son has died.’ Without belief in his words I replied: ‘My son would not die without attaining enlightenment,’ and I rejected his words.’ The Bhagavan replied: ‘How can you believe this now, previously after seeing his bones when is was said: ‘Your son is dead’ you did not believe it?’ The meaning\(^2\) of this is explained in the Mahàdhammapàla-jàtaka.\(^3\) At the end of the discourse the king was established in the fruit of a non returner. So the Bhagavan’s father was established in the three fruits, then the Bhagavan assembled the sangha of monks,\(^4\) going again to Ràjagaha he dwelled in the (102b) Sìta grove.\(^5\)

III 30.

The Jetavana of Anàthapìndika.

Then the householder Anàthapìndika,\(^6\) taking five hundred carts of treasure,\(^7\) was going to a close friend’s\(^8\) house when he heard: ‘The Buddha the Bhagavan has arrived.’ Early in the morning he approached the teacher through the gate, opened by the power of the devas, heard the Dhamma and attained\(^9\) the fruit of stream enterer. On the second day he gave a great gift to the Buddha and his assembly,\(^10\) and obtained a promise in the teacher’s presence to come to Sàvatthi.\(^11\) He then spent a hundred thousand pieces of treasure on each of the forty-five yojanas along the path, and constructed a temple at each yojana. Then, after buying the Jeta grove\(^12\) with riches\(^13\) worth eighteen thousand kotis, establishing a new practice\(^14\) he built Dasabala’s scented chamber\(^15\) in the middle of it. Surrounding that, he established the dwellings of the eighty great elders, he also built dwelling and resting places of one story, two stories and with high

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\(^1\) Tibetan: gdugs tshod. Pàli: katapàtaràsa.
\(^2\) Tibetan: don ’byun ba. Pàli: aṭṭhupatti.
\(^3\) Tibetan: Chos skyon ba chen po’i skyes rabs. Pàli: Mahàdhammaàalajàtaka, Jàtaka No. 447.
\(^4\) Tibetan: de ltar bcom ldan ’das kyi yab ’bras bu gsum la so sor gnas nas dge slong gi dge ’dun ’khor du byas so. Pàli: Iti Bhagavà pitàram òò phalesu patitthapetvä bhikkhusamghaparivuto.
\(^5\) Tibetan: bsIł ba’i tshal. Pàli: Sìtavana.
\(^6\) Tibetan: mGon med zas sbyin.
\(^7\) Tibetan: nor. Pàli: bhanda.
\(^8\) Tibetan: rañ ñid nga’ ba’i grogs. Pàli: piyasahàyassa setihnò.
\(^9\) Tibetan: thob par gyur to. Pàli: patitthàya.
\(^10\) Tibetan: sanà rgyas la sogs pa’i dge dun la. Pàli: buddhapamukhassa samghassa.
\(^11\) Tibetan: mNan yod.
\(^12\) Tibetan: rGyal byed tshal.
\(^14\) Tibetan: las kha gsar pa byed ciñ. Pàli: navakammà pañthapesi.
\(^15\) Tibetan: stobs beu pa’i dri’i gtsañ khañ. Pàli: Dasabalassa gandhakutìn.
roofs, night and day dwellings with ponds and walkways. He expended wealth worth eighteen thousand kotis building lovely temples on that pleasant site. Then he sent a messenger in order to summon Dasabala, the teacher listened to the messenger’s news and assembled a great sangha of monks. Then, after leaving (103a) Rājagaha, he went by stages to the city of Sāvatthi. The great merchant had also prepared the great temple, and on the day of the Tathāgata’s arrival at the Jeta grove he adorned his son with many decorations, and sent him together with five hundred similarly adorned youths. The son together with that retinue, carrying {Pa93} five hundred banners, made of resplendent cloth of five colours, went ahead of Dasabala. The two daughters, Mahāsubhaddā and Cūlasubhaddā, came behind them together with five hundred maidens carrying jars filled with gold in their hands. Behind them came the merchant’s wife, adorned with all decorations, and accompanied by five hundred women carrying large platters filled with gold. Behind all of them came the merchant himself, clothed in fine garments, and accompanied by five hundred similarly clothed merchants, proceeded to the Bhagavan’s presence.

The Bhagavan, putting this assembly of lay disciples in front, assembled that large sangha of monks. The light rays of his own body were like a mass of gold dust, illuminating up to the edge of the grove, then with the endless play of a Buddha, the resplendent Buddha, incomparable and peerless arrived in Jeta grove. (103b) Then Anāthapiṇḍika asked: ‘Sir, how should I present this temple!’ The Bhagavan replied: ‘Householder, give this temple to those saṅghas of monks of the present, past, and future!’ and Anāthapiṇḍika said: ‘Bhagavan, so be it.’ Then the great merchant, taking a golden bottle, held out water to Dasabala’s hands saying: ‘I thus give this Jeta grove temple as a gift to the Buddha, and the saṅgha of the four directions who are coming and going!’ The teacher accepted it and rejoiced.

Vin II pp.147, 164

1 Tibetan omits. Pāli adds haṁsavatṭaka.  
2 Tibetan: bu mo. Pāli: setṭhidhītara.  
3 Tibetan: Legs bzcān chen mo.  
4 Tibetan: Legs bzcān ma chuā ba.  
5 Tibetan: lag par. Pāli omits.  
9 Tibetan: btsun pa’i gtsug lag khaṅ ’di ji ita bu la dbul bar bgyi. Pāli: kath’ āham bhante imasmim vihāre paṭipajjāmiti.  
12 Jātakaniḍāṇa p. 93; sTog 103b; Vin II pp. 147, 164; Sv I p.304; Ps III p. 26; Spk III p. 51; Ud-a p. 419; Ap-a p. 98.  

Jātakaniḍāṇa p. 93,  
sītāṃ uṣṭhaṃ paṭihanti  
tato vāḷanīgāni ca  
sirīṃsape ca makase ca  
sisire cāpi vutṭhiyo.

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Unharmed by cold and heat, just like wild animals
unharmed by snakes, flies, frost or rain.

Vin II pp.147, 164

Just as clothing on the body protects from wind and heat,
dwelling in a house causes happiness, in a house he has absorption and insight, the supreme Buddha praised he who gave a temple to the sangha.

Vin II pp.147, 164

Therefore, that wise person, for his own sake
constructs a temple with joy, which is the dwelling of the wise.

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Tibetan sTog 103b,
graṅ dan ḍro bas mi ḋams śin // de ltar ri dags la sogs pa’i //
sdīg sbrul ḍaṅ ni sbran ḍu ḍaṅ // ba mo daṅ ni char pas so //

1 Jātakānīdāna p. 93; sTog 103b; Vin II pp. 147, 164; Sv I p. 304; Ps III p. 26; Spk III p. 51; Ud-a p. 419; Ap-a p. 98.

Jātakānīdāna p. 93,
tato vātātāpe ghore
saṇṭāte paṭihaṇṇatī.
Lenatthāṇ ca sukhathāṇ ca
jhāyituṇ ca vipassituṁ
vihāradānāṁ saṁghassā
aggaṇ Buddhena vannitum.

Tibetan sTog 103b,
de ltar rlun dan śin tu ḍro // so sor lus la gos pa ḍaṅ //
kaṅ naṅ gnas nas bde ba skyes // kaṅ par bsam gtan lhag mthon rams //
dge ’dun gtsug lag kaṅ ’bul ba // saṅs rgyas mchog gis bs̱aṅs pa r mozad //

2 Tibetan: de ltar rlun dan śin tu ḍro // so sor lus la gos pa ḍaṅ // kaṅ naṅ gnas nas bde ba skyes // kaṅ par bsam gtan lhag mthon rams // Pāli: Tato vātātāpe ghore / saṇṭāte paṭihaṇṇati / Lenatthāṇ ca sukhathāṇ ca / jhāyituṇ ca vipassituṁ.

3 Jātakānīdāna p. 93; sTog 103b; Vin II pp. 147, 164; Sv I p.304; Ps III pp. 262, 325; S I pp. 56, 70, 102; Spk III, p. 51; Ud-a p. 420; Ap-a p. 98.

Jātakānīdāna p. 93,
tasmā hi paṇḍito poso
sampassamu attham attano
vihāre kāraye ramme
vāsaya ettha bahussute.

Tibetan sTog 103b,
skyes bu mkhas pas de yi phyir // bdag ŋid kyi ni phyir du ni //
dga’ bas gtsug lag kaṅ byed pa // maṅ du thos pa gnas pa yin //
He gives food, drink, clothes, and bedding, with an upright and pure mind.  \(\text{\{P\text{\textbackslash a}94}\}\)

They teach him the Dhamma, in order to pacify all suffering, he who comprehends their Dhamma, unsupported he attains \textit{nibbana}.\(^3\)

In this way he explained the benefits of the temple \(104a\) to them. Starting on the second day, Anathapindika began the presentation of the gift.\(^4\) Visakhā’s\(^5\) palace was completed within four months, but the great temple of Anathapindika was completed within nine months. Eighteen thousand \textit{kotis} went to that great temple, and he also presented fifty-four thousand \textit{kotis} of wealth to this temple. Furthermore, in the past, at the time of Vipassi, Punabbasumitta\(^6\) bought this site with gold pieces the size of a great elephant’s footprint\(^7\) and built a monastery for the \textit{saṅgha}, measuring one \textit{yojana}, on this very spot. During the time of the Bhagavan Sikhī, the merchant’s son Sirivāḍhī\(^8\) bought it with an unbroken covering of gold

\(^1\) \textit{Jātakānīdāna} p. 93; sTog 103b; Vin II pp. 148, 164; Sv I p. 304; Ps III p. 26; S I p. 100; Spk III p. 51; Ud-a p. 420; Ap-a p. 98.

\(^2\) \textit{Jātakānīdāna} p. 94; sTog 103b; Vin, II pp. 148, 164; Sv I p.304; Spk III p. 51; Ud-a p. 20; Ap-a p. 98.

\(^3\) \textit{Jātakānīdāna} p. 94, sTog 103b, Vin II pp. 148, 164; Sv I p.304; Spk III p. 51; Ud-a p. 20; Ap-a p. 98.

\(^4\) \textit{Jātakānīdāna} p. 93, tesam annaṅ ca pāṇaṅ ca vatthasenaṁ ca tadadeyya ujubhutesu vipпасammena cetassā.

\(^5\) Tibetan: de mams kyi ni bza’ dan btuṅ // gos daṅ mal cha stan daṅ ni // de mams sms ni dran pos dbul // rab tu daṅ ba’i sms kyis so //

\(^6\) Tibetan: sa khams.

\(^7\) Tibetan: gser gyi glah po’i rkaṅ pa’i rmig rjes. Pāli: suvannīṭṭhika.

\(^8\) Tibetan: dPal ’phel žes bya ba’i tshoṅ dpon gyi bu. Pāli: Sirivaḍḍho nāma setṭhi.
plates, and built a monastery for the *saṅgha*, measuring the distance of twelve earshots, on this very spot. During the time of the Bhagavan Vessabhū, the merchant named Sotthī bought the site by covering the ground with golden footprints, and built a monastery for the *saṅgha*, measuring half a *yojana*, on this very spot. During the time of the Bhagavan Kakusandhā, the merchant named Accuta bought the site with a continuous wall of gold, and built a monastery for the *saṅgha*, measuring four earshots, on this very spot. During the time of the Bhagavan Koṇāgamana, the merchant named Ugga bought the site with a continuous covering of gold tortoises, and built a monastery for the *saṅgha*, measuring two earshots, on this very spot. During the time of the Bhagavan Kassapa, the merchant named Sumāngala bought the site with a continuous wall of gold, and built a monastery for the *saṅgha*, measuring one earshot, on this very spot. Furthermore, during the time of our Bhagavan, the merchant Anāthapindika bought the site with a continuous covering of manufactured ornaments, such as gold coins, worth eighty thousand *kotiś*, and built a monastery, measuring half an earshot, on this very spot. This spot has not been relinquished by all the Buddhas. In the same way, in whatever place the Bhagavan himself lived, from the attainment of omniscience on the great seat of enlightenment, up to the *parinibbāna* at the end of his life, is called the present era. All the *jātakas* will be explained by this method. The explanation of the *Jātakanidāna* is completed.

III 31.1q

**Colophon**

The *pañḍita* Ānanda śrī with the learned translator, the śākyan monk Ṛṇī ma rgyal mtshan bzaṅ po, translated this at the great monastery of dPal Thar pa glin, the residence of those fluent in the two languages, after consulting with them they revised it. May this work be like the sun and moon above the earth.

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3. bKra śis.
5. Tibetan: Log par dad sel.
9. Tibetan: gSer thub.
List of Sigla used in the Tibetan Edition

S  Stog Palace bKa’ ’gyur, sKyes pa rabs kyi gleñ gzi (Jātakanidāna), mDo
sde, vol. 87, Chi, no. 290, folios 7a-104b. (SOAS Library, London: Microfiche)

D  sDe dge bKa’ ’gyur, sKyes pa rabs kyi gleñ gzi (Jātakanidāna), Šes rab sna tshogs, vol. Ka,
folios 183a-250a. (British Library, London)


L  London Šel dkar bKa’ ’gyur, sKyes pa rabs kyi gleñ gzi (Jātakanidāna), mDo, vol. 36, Chi,
no. 205, folios 8a-99b. (British Library, and Microfiche)

N  sNar than bKa’ ’gyur, sKyes pa rabs kyi gleñ gzi (Jātakanidāna), mDo, vol. A, folios 432a-543a
(Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharamsala, India)
sKyes pa rabs kyi gleñ gżi

Riñ ba’i gleñ gżi

I. (7a) rgya gar skad du | dzâ ta na di dâ nam | bod skad du | | ‘phags pa dkon mchog gsum la gus pas² phyañ 'tshal lo³ bcom ldan ’das rgyal byed⁴ tshal mgon med zas sbyin gyi kun dga’ ra ba na bţugs pa’i tshe | gnas brtan chen po don mthoñ bcom ldan ’das kyi thad du soñ nas | phyañ byas te bskor ba byas nas⁵ phyogs gcig tu ’khod do⁶ bcom ldan ’das kyi thad du ’di skad ces⁷ gsoł to | btsun pa bdag ni sans rgyas bcom ldan ’das kyi⁸ rgyud kyi chos thos par ’tshal lo⁹ bka’ stsäl pa | don mthoñ yid la zuñ zig¹⁰ dañ | nas bśad par bya’o¹¹ ĺes byuñ¹² no || de¹³ yañ ’dir sduñ par byed pa po rab tu rtog pa’i šes rab dañ zi ba’i dgra bcom pa rṇams kyi skyes¹⁴ pa¹⁵ rabs kyi gleñ gżi’i¹⁶ don gyi bsṇags¹⁷ pa brjod do || (7b)¹⁸ {Pa2} rin ba’i gleñ gżi dań¹⁹ | bar pa’i gleñ gżi dañ | ļe ba’i gleñ gżi ste | gleñ gżi gsum po ’di gzigs nas bsṇags pa gañ zig ĺan pa’o || de la dañ po re zig²⁰ de rṇams kyi gleñ gżi yoñs su²¹ bead pa rṇams rig par bya’o || mar me mdzad kyi²² żabs kyi druñ ’dir sems dpa²³ chen pos smon lam btab bo || ji srid thams cad sgrol gyi lus spañs pa’i bar dañ | dga’ ldan gyi gnas su²⁴ ’khruñs pa’i chos kyi

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¹ Tibetan translation of the Durenídāna based on the version contained in the sTog Palace edition, with the folio pagination, and šad punctuation, given from that edition, folios 7a-55a; Pāli text in J I pp. 2-47. The divisions of the text used in this translation is that found in L.N. Tiwari’s Devanāgari edition of the text, see L.N. Tiwari, ed., Paramatthajotikā nāma Jātakāṭṭhakathā, Varanasi: Sampurnanand Sanskrit University, 1992.
² SDQLN pas, N par.
³ N ’tshalo.
⁴ DQLN omit, S kyi.
⁵ SLN omit, DQ nas.
⁶ SLN do, DQ de.
⁷ SLN omit, DQ ces.
⁸ SLN kyi, DQ kyis.
⁹ N ’tshalo.
¹⁰ S zig, DQLN šig.
¹¹ SDQN bya’o, L ba’o.
¹² S byuñ, DQLN ’byuñ.
¹³ DQ de, SLN da.
¹⁴ SDQ skyes, LN skye.
¹⁵ SDQL pa, N omits.
¹⁶ SDQL omit, N dañ.
¹⁷ SDQ bsṇags, LN stags.
¹⁸ The folio numbers from the sTog Palace edition are given thus: (7b), while the Pāli pages numbers referring to the PTS edition of the text are given thus: {Pa2}.
¹⁹ SDQ dañ, LN omit.
²⁰ S zig, N šig.
²¹ N yoñs.
²² S kyi, N kyis.
²³ SQLN dpa’, D pa
²⁴ N gnasu.
Rin ba'i gleh gzi

gtam gyi bar gyi lam ni riñ po'i gleh gzi žes bya'o || ji srid dga' ldan gyi gnas nas 'phos nas bya'ñ club kyi sfiñ por thams cad mkhyen pa thob nas chos kyi gtam gyi bar gyi1 gleh gzi bar pa žes bya ba'o2 || gañ dañ gañ du žugs nas | de dañ de thob pa rnams ni ñe ba'i gleh gzi žes bya ba'o3 | de la 'dir riñ po'i gleh gzi žes bya ba ni | 'di nas bskal pa grañs med pa bži dañ | bskal pa 'bhum phrag gcig4 lha pha nas 'go5 brtsams nas gnosti kyher 'jigs med ldan žes bya ba byuñ no6 || der yañ bram ze blo gros bzañ po žes bya ba gnañ so7 || pha dañ ma gnosti ka'an8 rigs bzañ ba'i mñal du žugs te | rigs bdun rgyud kyi bar du gzan gyi9 rtson pa dañ | spyo10 ba dañ | smod pa med ci'n mam par dag go || gzugs bzañ ba | blta11 na sdug pa rab tu mdzes pa mchog gi kha dog dañ ldan pa'i skyes bu can no12 || de yañ las gzan mi byed par bram ze'i las 'ba' žig slob bo13 || (8a) de yañ kyhe'u gzon nu'i dus su pha dañ ma gnosti ka14 dus las 'das so15 || de nas de'i loñs spyo spel ba'i blon pos nor gyi yi ge blañs te | gser dañ | dñul dañ | nor bu dañ | mu tig la sogas pas gañ ba rnams sgor bton te gzon nu 'di rnams ma'i nor yin no || 'di rnams pha'i nor yin no16 || 'di dag ni mes po dañ yañ mes kyi nor yin no17 || rigs bdun rgyud18 kyi bar gyi19 nor yin no20 žes smras so21 || 'di rnams so sor bskyen22 ba'i phyir smras pa yin no23 || mkhas pa blo gros bzañ pos bsams pa | 'di'i nor rnams bzuñ nas bdag gi24 pha dañ mes po la sogas pas 'jig rten pha rol tu25 'gro ba na gser se ba gcig26 kyañ kyher nas ma soñ gis | bdag ñid kyis kyher nas 'gro bar rig par bya'o žes rgyal po la smras nas | gnosti kyher du rol mo bsgtags te | skye bo thams cad la sbyin

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1 SLN gyi, DQ ni.
2 SDQN bya'ô, L bya'ô.
3 SDQL bya ba'ô, N bya'ô.
4 SDQN gcig, L cig.
5 'go, DQLN mgo.
6 N byuñò.
7 N gnañò.
8 SDQN ka'añ, L ga'añ.
9 SDLN gyis, Q gyi.
10 S spyo, LN spya, DQ dpya.
11 SDLQ bhtà, LN ìta.
12 N cano.
13 LN slobsò.
14 SDQN ka, L ga.
15 LN 'dasò.
16 LN yino.
17 N yino.
18 SDLQ rgyud, N brgyud.
19 SDLQ gyi, LN omit.
20 N yino.
21 N smrasò.
22 SDLQ bskyen, LN skyen.
23 N yino.
24 SDLN gi, Q gis.
25 SDQN tu, L du.
26 SDLQ gcig, LN cig.

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par byin nas | dka' thub pa'i rab tu byuñ ba la rab tu byuñ no1 || 'di'i² yañ don gsal bar bya ba'i phyir
gnas 'dir blo gros bzañ pos gtam byas so³ || de yañ 'di tsam 'ba' zig ma yin te | sañs rgyas kyi rgyur
rgyun mi 'chad par gsuñs la | slar yañ tshigs su⁴ bcad pas bciñs te bšad kyañ go dka' bas | de dañ de'i
bar bar du tshigs su⁵ bcad pa'i tshig gis gsal⁶ ba dañ beas pa bšad par bya'o ||

I2.
bskal pa grañs med⁷ bži dañ | bskal pa 'bum (8b) phrag gcig lhag pa⁸ nas 'go⁹ brtsams nas sgra bcu
rgyun¹⁰ chad med¹¹ par 'jigs med ldan gyi¹² groñ khyer der byuñ ŋo¹³ || de'i sañs rgyas kyi rgyud bšad
do¹⁴ || {Pā3}

Bv II 1-2a

bskal pa grañs med bži dañ ni || 'bum phrag gcig ni lhag pa na ||
groñ khyer 'jigs med ldan žes pa || mthoñ ba yis ni dga' bar¹⁵ byed ||
rgyun mi 'chad pa¹⁶ sgra bcu bžin¹⁷ || bza' dañ btuñ ba yañ dag ldan ||

I3.
de la de¹⁸ sgra¹⁹ bcu rgyun mi 'chad pa ni | glaṅ po che'i sgra dañ | rta'i sgra dañ |
sin rta'i sgra dañ | rol mo'i sgra dañ | rol mo mri dam ga'i sgra dañ | pi wañ²⁰ gi sgra dañ | glu'i sgra
dañ | rol mo²¹ samma'²² sgra dañ | cha laṅ gi sgra dañ | rgod pa dañ 'thun ba dañ | za ba'i sgra ste |
sgra bcu po 'di rrnams ni rgyun mi 'chad pa yin no²³ || sgra de rams phyogs gcig tu²⁴ bya ste |

1 N byuño.
2 SDQ 'di', LN 'di yi.
3 N byaso.
4 LN tshigṣu.
5 N tshigṣu.
6 DQLN gsal, S bsal.
7 SLN omit, DQ pa.
8 DQ pa, SLN omit.
9 S 'go, DQLN mgo.
10 SDQ omit, LN mi.
11 SDQ med, LN omit.
12 SDLN gyi, Q omits.
13 N byuo.
14 L bšado.
15 SDQ bar, LN ba.
16 SDLN pa, Q omits.
17 SDLN bźi, Q bži.
18 S de, DQLN omit.
19 DQLN sgra, S omits.
20 SDLN wañ, Q sbañ.
21 SDLN mo, Q mo'i.
22 SDLN samma'ī, DQ sam ma'ī.
23 N yino.

308
By II 2b-c

glaṅ po'i sgra daṅ rta'i sgra daṅ1 || rol mo duṅ daṅ śiṅ rta'i sgra ||
za daṅ 'thun2 ba de ŋid daṅ || bza' daṅ btun ba'i sgra daṅ ni ||

saṅs rgyas rgyud du tshigs su3 bchod pa 'di gṣun sas |

By II 3-5

groṅ khyer yan lag ŋin4 lag ldan || 'dod pa thams cad ņe bar5 gnas ||
rin chen bdun po yaṅ dag ldan || skye bo sna tshogs yaṅ dag gaṅ ||
lha yi6 groṅ khyer phun tshogs bzin7 bsod nams can ni gnas pa'o ||

'jigs med ldan pa'i groṅ khyer du || bram ze blo bzaṅ8 zes bya bas ||
loṅs spyod pa ni9 du ma bsags || nor daṅ 'bru ni maṅ po yi ||

nan gi gṣun śangs (9a) 'dzin pa daṅ || rig byed gsum gyi pha rol son ||
mṭshan ŋid i thi10 ha sa daṅ || dam pa'i chos kyi pha rol son ||

I 4.
de nas de ŋid ŋi ma gcig la mkhas pa bloṅs gros bzaṅ po de khaṅ bzaṅ mchog gi steṅ
du gcig pur skyil10 mo kruṅ11 bcas nas dben par bzung te bsams pa | mkhas pa skye pa gzan du ma'i
mṅal bzuṅ na sdog bṣnal lo || de bzin du12 13 skye ba'i gnas su14 lus 'jig15 go || bdag skye ba'i chos can
daṅ | rga ba'i chos can daṅ | na ba'i chos can daṅ | 'chi ba'i chos can no || de lta bur16 gyur pas bdag ni
skye ba med pa daṅ | rgas pa med pa daṅ | na ba med pa daṅ | sdog bṣnal med pa'i bde ba daṅ | bṣil ba

24 ṢDQN tu, L du.
1  SLN rta'i sgra daṅ, DQ rta yi sgra.
2  SDQL 'thun, N mṭhuṅ.
3  N tshigsu.
4  SDLN ŋiṅ, Q ŋiṅ.
5  SLN bar, DQ rab.
6  SDQ lha yi, LN lha'i.
7  SQLN bzaṅ, D bzaṅs.
8  S pa ni, DQ bya ba, LN mam pa.
9  SLN thi, DQ ti.
10 ṢDQN skyil, L dkyil.
11  SDQ kruṅ, L dkuṅs, N khruṅs.
12  SDQ du, LN omit.
13  SLN add: skye ba, DQ omit.
14  N gnasu.
15  SDQ 'jig, LN 'jug.
16  DQLN bur, S omits.
dañ | bdud rtsi lta\textsuperscript{1} bu'i mya ñan las 'das pa chen po tshol bar rigs so\textsuperscript{2} || nes par srid pa las grol ba'i mya ñan las 'das par 'gro ba'i lam gcig pu\textsuperscript{3} yin pa lta bu'o || de'i phyir gsuñs pa |

Bv II 6-9

dben par gcig pur gnas nas ni || de tshe bdag gis 'di ltar bsams |
srid par skye ba sdug bsnal žiṁ || lus ni yoons su\textsuperscript{4} žig pa nas\textsuperscript{5} ||
skye ba'i chos dañ rgas pa'i chos || na ba'i chos dañ de tshe bdag ||
skye ba med\textsuperscript{6} dañ 'chi med bde || mya ñan 'das pa yoons su\textsuperscript{7} btsal ||
gan tshe dri\textsuperscript{8} ñan lus 'di ni || sna tshogs mi gtsañ gis gan\textsuperscript{9} žiṁ ||
don med ltos pa med pa yi || dor nas 'gro bar bya ba yin || (9b) {Pā4}

de yi\textsuperscript{10} lam ni yod dam sñam || 'bad pa med par lam mi thob ||
de yi\textsuperscript{11} lam ni btsal\textsuperscript{12} bar bya || srid pa rams las grol 'gyur sñam ||

de nas lhag par yañ bsams pa | ji ltar 'jig rten pa'\textsuperscript{13} sdug bsnal gyi mi mthun\textsuperscript{14} pa'i phyogs su\textsuperscript{15} gyur pa'i bde ba žes bya ba yod do\textsuperscript{16} || de ltar mi mthun\textsuperscript{17} phyogs srid pa yod na mya ñan las 'da' bar 'gyur ro\textsuperscript{18} sñam mo\textsuperscript{19} | de ltar yañ gduñ ba yod na de ži bar byed pa' i bsi\textsuperscript{20} ba yod do || de bzin du 'dod chags la sogs pa'i me ži bar byed pa'i mya ñan las 'das pa yod par 'gyur ro sñam mo\textsuperscript{21} ||
ji ltar yañ sdig pa dañ mi mthun\textsuperscript{22} pa'i phyogs su\textsuperscript{23} gyur pa kha na ma tho ba med pa' i dge ba'i chos yod par 'gyur sñam pa ŋiñ do || de dañ de lta bu ŋid kyis sdig pa can la sogs pa'i skye ba yod na | skye

\textsuperscript{1} SDQL lta, N rta.
\textsuperscript{2} LN rigso.
\textsuperscript{3} S pu, DQLN po.
\textsuperscript{4} N yoonsu.
\textsuperscript{5} SLN nas, DQ na.
\textsuperscript{6} SDLN med, Q myed.
\textsuperscript{7} N yoonsu.
\textsuperscript{8} SDLN dri, Q 'dri.  
\textsuperscript{9} SDQ gis gan, LN gañ gis.
\textsuperscript{10} SDQL de yi, N de'i.  
\textsuperscript{11} SDQ de yi, LN de'i.  
\textsuperscript{12} SDLN btsal, Q btsal.  
\textsuperscript{13} SLN pa'i, DQ pas.  
\textsuperscript{14} SLN mthun, DQ 'thun.  
\textsuperscript{15} N phyogsu.  
\textsuperscript{16} L yodo.  
\textsuperscript{17} SLN mthun, DQ 'thun.  
\textsuperscript{18} LN 'gyuro.  
\textsuperscript{19} SQ mo, DLN omit.  
\textsuperscript{20} SDQN bsil, L gsil.  
\textsuperscript{21} N 'gyuro sñamo.  
\textsuperscript{22} SLN mthun, DQ 'thun.  
\textsuperscript{23} N phyogsu.

310
Rin ba'i gön gāi

ba thams cad zad par byed pa'i skye ba med par grags pa'i mya ñan las 'das pa yañ1 yod par 'gyur sñam pa ñid do || de'i2 phyir gsuns pa |

Bv II 10-12
ji ltar sdug bsñal yod pa na || bde ba žes pa'an3 yod pa yin ||
de ltar sred pa yod pa na || sred4 pa med pa'an yod pa yin ||

ji ltar tsha ba yod gyur na || grañ5 ba yañ ni yod pa yin ||
de ltar me gsum yod gyur na || mya ñan 'das pa'an yod pa yin ||

ji ltar sdig pa yod gyur na || dge ba yañ ni yod pa yin ||
de ltar skye ba yod gyur na || skye ba med pa'an6 yod par 'dod ||

gžan yañ bsams pa | ji ltar (10a) bsñ7 ba'i phuñ por skyes bu 'gyel bar gyur pa žig | thag rin po nas kha dog lna dañ ldan pa'i pad ma8 dañ mtsho chen po mthoñ na lam gañ nas 'gro bar byas nas mtsho der 'jug par rigs so9 || de'i lam du mi 'gro na mtsho chen po'i skyon ma yin no10 || de ltar ŋon moñs pa'i dri ma 'khρud pa na 'chi ba med pa'i mya ñan las 'da' ba'i mtsho chen po yod pa na der mi 'jug na | 'chi ba med pa'i mya ñan las 'da' ba'i mtsho chen po'i skyon ni ma yin no11 || ji ltar yañ chom rkun pas yoñs su12 bskor ba'i skyes bu 'bros pa'i lam yod pa la myur du mi 'bros na lam gyi skyon ma yin te skyes bu'i skyon yin no13 || de ltar ŋon moñs pas yoñs su14 bskor nas bzuñ ba'i skyes bu la ži ba mya ñan las 'da' ba'i lam yod par gyur pa na lam mi tshol ba ni15 lam gyi skyon ma yin te gañ zag gi skyon yin no16 || ji ltar nad kyis gzir ba'i skyes bu la nad gso ba'i sman pa17 yod par gyur na gal te de'i gnas su18 nad gso ba'i sman pa mi tshol na sman pa'i skyon ma yin te nad pa'i skyon yin no || de ltar ŋon moñs pa'i nad kyis gzir ba'i skyes bu la ŋon moñs pa ži bar byed pa'i mchog tu mkhas pa yod par

1 SLN pa yañ, DQ pa 'añ.
2 SDQ de'i, LN de yi.
3 SDQN pa yañ, L pa 'añ.
4 SLN sred, DQ srid.
5 SDLN grañ, Q grañs.
6 SDQN pa'añ, L pa 'añ.
7 SN bsañ, DQL bsad.
8 SLN padma, DQ pad ma.
9 N rigso.
10 N yino.
11 N yino.
12 N yoñs au.
13 N yoñs.
14 N yoñs.
15 SDQL ni, N na.
16 N yino.
17 SDQN pa, L pha.
18 N gnasu.
gyur na | slob dpon tshol bar mi byed na de ni skyes bu'i skyon yin te | ṇon moṅs pa 'joms par byed pa'i slob dpon gyi skyon ni' ma yin no || de'i phyir gsuṅ pa |

By II 13-18

ji ltar mi gtsan gos pa'i mi || gaṅ ba'i mtsho ni mthoṅ bźin (10b) du ||
mtsho der 'jug par mi byed na || de ni mtsho yi skyon min no ||
de ltar ṇon moṅs dri 'khrud pa || bdud rts'i mtsho ni yod pa yi1||
mtsho de la ni mi 'jug na || bdud rtsi mtsho yi skyon min no || {Pā5}

ji ltar chom rkun gyis bkor ba || 'gro ba'i lam ni yod pa la ||
skyes bu 'bros par mi byed na || de ni lam gyi skyon ma yin ||

ji ltar ṇon moṅs kyis bkor na || ži ba'i lam ni yod pa la ||
de yi1lam du mi 'jug na || ži ba'i lam gyi skyon ma yin ||

ji ltar nad kyis4 gzir ba'i mi || gso dpyad5 byed pa yod gyur pa ||
nad ni ži bar mi6 byed na || de ni sman pa'i skyon ma yin ||

de ltar ṇon moṅs pa yi7 nad || gzir cin sädg bṣal gyur pa'i tshe ||
slob dpon tshol bar mi8 byed na || slob dpon gyi ni skyon ma yin ||

gzăn yaṅ bsams pa | ji ltar rgyan gyis brgyan pa'i skyes bu'i mgrin pa la mi gtsan ba bcṆs na de dor9 nas bde bar 'gro ba bźin du | de ltar bdag kyaṅ mi gtsaṅ ba'i lus spāṅs te | lṭos pa med par mya ṇan las 'das pa'i groṅ khyer du 'jug par rigs so10 || gzăn yaṅ ji ltar skyes pa11 daṅ bud med kyis bṣaṅ ba'i gnas su12 bṣaṅ ba dor bar byas nas snod du blugs te khur nas 'gro bar byed13 pa ma yin gyi | lṭos pa med par skyug14 bro bas dor nas 'gro'o || de ltar bdag kyaṅ mi gtsaṅ ba'i lus la15 sogs pa la16 lṭos pa med par dor nas 'chi ba med pa'i mya ṇan las 'das pa'i groṅ khyer du 'jug par rigs so17 || (11a) gzăn yaṅ ji ltar

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1 SDQL ni, N omits.
2 SDLN pa yi, Q pa'i.
3 SDLN de yi, Q de'i.
4 SDQ kyis, L gyi, N kyi.
5 SDL dpyad, QLN spyad.
6 DQLN mi, S ma.
7 SDQ pa yi, LN pa'i.
8 SDLN mi, Q myi.
9 SDLN dor, Q de.
10 LN rigso.
11 SQLN pa, D pha.
12 N gnasu.
13 SDLQ byed, N bed.
14 SDLQ skuyug, Q sgyug.
15 DQLN la, S omits.
16 SDLQ la, N omits.
17 N rigso.

312
Rin ba'i gien gi

gru mkhan mams ni gru rdol ba rnams la ltos¹ pa med par dor nas 'gro ba de bžin du | bdag kyaṅ sgo dgu' rma 'di rnams kyi² naṅ nas 'bab pa'i lus 'di dor nas | ltos pa med par mya ſan las 'das pa'i groṅ khyer du 'jug par rigs so³ || gžan yaṅ ji ltar skyes bu sna tshogs pa'i rin po che blaṅs nas chom rkun pa daṅ 'grogs te | lam du 'gro na raṅ gi rin po che brlag par dogs pa'i 'jigs pas de rnams dor nas lam bzaṅ por 'jug pa bžin no⁴ || de ltar bdag kyaṅ lus mi gtsaṅ ba du ma can rin po che 'phrog pa'i chom rkun bžin du gal te sred pa 'di byed na 'phags pa'i lam gyi dge ba'i chos kyi rin po che bdag gis brlag par² dogs so⁵ || de'i phyir bdag gis chom rkun lta bu'i lus 'di dor nas mya ſan las 'das pa'i groṅ khyer du 'jug par rigs so⁷ || de'i phyir gsuṅs pa |

By II 19-26

ji ltar mi yis⁸ dri ſa na || mgul la bciṅs na skyug bro ste⁹ || de dag spaṅs nas 'gro byed na || skyug mi bro ſiṅ bde bar 'gro ||

de bžin du ni dri na lus || sna tshogs pa yis¹⁰ gaṅ gyur pa || spaṅs nas 'gro bar byed pa ni || don med ltos pa med pa 'o¹¹ ||

ji ltar bšaṅ ba'i gnas su¹² ni || skyes pa bud med kyis bšaṅs nas || dor nas 'gro bar byed pa ni || don med ltos pa med pa yin ||

de ltar bdag gi lus 'di yaṅ || mi gtsaṅ sna tshogs kyis gaṅ ba || dor (11b) nas bdag kyaṅ 'gro bar bya || ji ltar bšaṅ ba'i gnas bžin no ||

ji ltar gru ni rdol gyur na || chu ni maṅ¹³ du 'byuṅ bar 'gyur ||
de ni gru mkhaṅ gyis dor nas || don med ltos pa med pa yin || {Pā6}

de ltar bdag gi¹⁴ lus 'di yaṅ || bu ga dgu yaṅ mi rtag pas ||
dor nas 'gro bar byed pa na || gru mkhan gru ni dor ba bžin ||

ji ltar chom rkun lhan cīg mi || nor ni khyer nas 'gro ba na ||
nor khyer 'jigs pa mthoṅ ba nas¹⁵ || 'jigs nas dor nas 'gro byed bžin ||

de bžin du ni lus 'di ni || chom rkun chen po daṅ mthuṅs ſiṅ || 'dir ni dor nas 'gro ba na || dge ba spyod pa 'jigs med do ||

¹ SDLN ltos, Q ſnos.
² SDLN kyi, Q kyis.
³ N rigso.
⁴ N bžino.
⁵ SDQN par, L pa'i.
⁶ LN dogso.
⁷ LN rigso.
⁸ SDQ yis, LN yi.
⁹ SQLN ste, D te.
¹⁰ SDLN yis, Q pa'i.
¹¹ S pa 'o, DQLN pa'o.
¹² N gnasu.
¹³ SLN maṅ, DQ naṅ.
¹⁴ SDQL gi, N gis.
¹⁵ SLN nas, DQ na.

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Rin 'ba'i gleñ gē

I 5.

de bzin du mchas pa blo gros bzaṅ pos sna tshogs pa'i dpe 'di yis phan yon gyi don la rnam par bsams šin | raṅ gi khyim du dpag tu med pa'i loṅs spyod kyi phuṅ po sāar ji ltar brjod pa bzin du bkren pa la sogs pa rnam la sbyin pa chen po byin te | nor gyi 'dod pa daṅ ūon moṅs' pa'i 'dod pa sphaṅs nas groṅ khyer 'jigs med ldan gyi phyi rol tu' soṅ ste / gcig pur gaṅs' can chos kyi ri ņes bya ba la brten nas | der lo ma'i khaṅ par 'chag par byed ciṅ skyon lha po ma bzlog la ma sphaṅs bzin du de ltar sems mñaṃ par bzag4 pa daṅ po5 daṅ | byed pa brgyad daṅ ldan pa'i mṇon par šes pas smraś6 pa daṅ | stobs len pa daṅ | de ru gnas te skyon dgu daṅ ldan pa gyon pa'i gos sphaṅs nas | yon tan bcu gniṅ daṅ ldan pa'i śin śun gyi dum bu'i gos gyon (12a) nas | draṅ sroṅ gi rab tu byuṅ ba la rab tu byuṅ ste | de ltar rab tu byuṅ nas skyon brgyad daṅ ldan pa'i lo ma'i khaṅ pa de sphaṅs nas yon tan bcu daṅ ldan pa'i śin gi druṅ du ņe bar gnas so7 || 'byor pa thams cad sphaṅs nas śin gi 'bras bu mchog za ŋiṅ 'dug pa'o || gnas su 'chag par byed pa'i dka' thub byed do || žag bdun gyi naṅ de ņid du brgyad la sñoṃs par 'jug ciṅ mṇon par šes pa8 lha po thob par gyur to9 || de bzin du des don du gņer bas mṇon par šes pa'i stobs thob par gyur to10 || de'i phyir gsmas pa

Bv II 27-33

de11 ltar bdag gis bsams gyur pa || sna tshogs bye12 ba brgya yi nor13 || mgon daṅ mgon med rnam la sbyin || gaṅs can la ni ņe bar soṅ ||

gṇas can daṅ14 ni mi riṅ bar || chos kyi ri ņes bya ba la ||
bdag gis de la mchog tu brten15 || lo ma'i khaṅ pa legs byas so16 ||
de ru 'chag17 par byed pa daṅ || skyon ni lha po rnam par sphaṅs ||
Rin ba'i glei gzi

I 6.
'dir yañ glei gzi ni mkhas pa blo gros bzañ pos brten pa'i lo ma'i khañ pa dañ 'chag pa ni rañ gi lag gis byas pa' I lai brjod do || 'dir yañ don ni sems dpa' chen po gañs can gyi nañ nas 'ons pa dañ | de riñ chos kyi ri' yon' ba mthoñ nas lha'i dbañ po brgya byin gyis las sna tshogs pa'i lha'i bu la mkhas pa blo gros bzañ po 'di ni rab tu 'byuñ bar 'dod pas soñ ste | 'di'i gnas rnam sgyis sig | de'i tshig thos nas dga' ba'i gnas phug legs pa'i lo ma'i khañ por 'chag pa'i gnas byas so || bcom ladan 'das kyis yañ de'i tshe bdag gis bsams nas goms par byas pa rdzogs pa las | de'i dus su de'i rgyu mtshan gyis sá ri'i bu der' cho kyí ri der' II 28b-29a
gnas bzañ po ni bdag gis byas || lo ma'i khañ pa bzañ por ldan ||
der ni 'chag ciñ gnas nas ni || skyon lña po ni rnam par spañs ||

I 7.
žes gsun's so' || 'chag pa'i skyon lña po gañ že na | sra žiñ mi sñoms pa dañ | nañ na šiñ rad rod can

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1 SDQ te, LN to.
2 SDQN bskun, L bskun.
3 SDLN par, Q pa'i.
4 N rnam.su.
5 SDQ pos, LN po.
6 SDQ ma'i, LN ma yi.
7 SDQ pa, LN par.
8 SDQN lta, L omits.
9 SQ dpa', DLN pa.
10 SDLN rir, Q riñ.
11 SDQ yon, LN yons.
12 SLN omit, DQ las.
13 S sig, DQLN cìg.
14 SDQ pa'i, LN par.
15 SLN der, DQ de.
16 SQRN der, D dir.
17 N gsun.so.
daṅ | nags¹ thibs po daṅ | śin tu dog pa daṅ | śin tu yaṅs pa’o || sra žin mi sṅioms pa’i sa’i char ’chag ciṅ ’chag pa na | rkan pa la ’brum bu ’byuṅ ba daṅ | sems rtse gcig² tu mi gnas pa daṅ | las byed pa’i gnas mi ’grub la | sa’i³ steṅ mpañ žin ’jam par ’chag pa ni bde (13a) žin | las byed pa’i gnas rdzogs pa de’i phyir tsha ba daṅ m³ sṅioms pa’i sa’i cha ni skyon gcig tu rig par bya’o || ’chag pa’i bar daṅ naṅ daṅ tha mar śin yod pa na bag med par ’oṅ žin ’chag pa na dpral ba daṅ mgo la gnod pa byed pa ni naṅ gi śin gi gnod pa gños pa’o || rtswa⁵ daṅ ’khri śin la sogs pa nags tshal thibs po’i ’chag sar byed pa na mun pa nag po’i dus su sbrul la sogs pa’i srog chags rkan pas brdzis⁶ nas⁷ ’chi⁸ ba ’am | des mche bas rmugs nas gnod pa skyel ba ni nags thibs po’i skyon gsum pa’o || śin tu dog pa’i ’chag⁹ sa’i mchu ru khru gcig pa’am¹¹ | khru phyed pa’i ’chag sa byed na naṅ du gcod pa daṅ | sen mo ’am sor mo ’chad par ’gyur ba ni śin tu dog pa’i skyon bži pa’o || śin tu yaṅs pa’i ’chag¹² sar ’chag pa na sems g.yehs¹³ par gyur pa daṅ | sems rtse gcig tu gnas pa mi thob pa ni śin tu yaṅs pa’i skyon lḥa pa’o || ’chag sa’i mtho tshad kyi stugs su¹⁴ khru phyed daṅ do || nos gños su¹⁵ khru gcig tsam par¹⁶ dkyus su¹⁷ khru drug cu pa sa’i mthi¹⁸ ’jam pa daṅ mtshuṅs žin yaṅs pa bye ma daṅ bcas pa’i ’chag¹⁹ sa ni rigs so²⁰ || mchod rten gyi rigs mar me ltar gsal ba gnas brten²¹ chen po dbaṅ chen gyi ’chag²² sa lta bu bya bar²³ rigs so²⁴ || de’i²⁵ phyir gsys pa | de ru ’chag sa byas la skyon lḥa po spaṅ bar bya’o ||

I 8.
yon tan brgyad daṅ ldan pa’i dge sbyon gi bde ba brgyad daṅ ldan pa’o || (13b) dge sbyon gi bde ba

¹ SDLN nags, Q nag.
² SDQN gcig, L cíg.
³ SDQ sa’i, LN sa yi.
⁴ SQLN mi, D ma.
⁵ SDQ rtswa, LN rtsa.
⁶ SDQ brdzis, L rdzis, N rdzi.
⁷ DQ nas, SLN na.
⁸ SDLN ‘chi, Q ‘cha.
⁹ SLN pa’i, DN sa’i.
¹⁰ SDQ ’chag, LN ’chags.
¹¹ SDQ pa’am, LN pa’am.
¹² SDQN ’chag, L ’chags.
¹³ SLN g.yeh, D g.yehs, Q yeňs.
¹⁴ N stugsu.
¹⁵ N gñosu.
¹⁶ SLN par, DQ omit.
¹⁷ N dkyusu.
¹⁸ SDQL mthil, N ‘thil.
¹⁹ SDQ ’chag, LN ’chags.
²⁰ LN rigso.
²¹ SDQL brten, N brtan.
²² SDQ ’chag, LN ’chags.
²³ S ba’i, DQLN bar.
²⁴ N rigso.
²⁵ SDQ de’i, LN de yi.
Rin pa'i gle'n gi

bgyad dañ ldan pa ḃes bya ba ni gan že na | nor dañ 'bru yoña su1 'dzin pa'i 'dod pa med pa dañ | kha na ma tho ba med pa'i bsod sñoms las 'dod pa med pa dañ | bza2 btsal ba'i 'dod pa med pa dañ | nor gces pa'i yul mi sdug par byed pa 'am | mgo re te'i khrul la sogs pa len na rgyal po'i rigs kyis yul 'khor gyi mi sdug bṣñal ba mi 'dod pa dañ | ñe bar mkho ba thams cad la 'dod pa med pa dañ | chom rkun gyis 'phrog pa'i 'jigs pa med pa dañ | rgyal po dañ | rgyal tshab dañ | blon po chen po'i3 ñe bar 'tshe ba med pa dañ | phyogs bzir 'gro ba na 'tshe ba med pa ste | de ltar der gnas na bde ba bgyad po (Pā8) ñams su4 myön bar nus so5 || de ltar yon tan bgyad dañ ldan pa 'dir gnas par byas nas mñon par śes pa'i stobs thob par 'gyur žiñ |

19.
de nas der gnas te | zad par gyi las rnamgs byas nas mñon par śes pa dañ sñoms par 'jug pa rnamgs bskyed pa'i phyir te | mi rtag pa dañ | sdug bṣñal ba dañ | lhag mthoṅ brtsams nas gnas thob par byed do6 || lhag mthoṅ gi stobs blaṅs nas ji ltar gnas na de'i7 stobs blaṅ bar nus so8 || de ltar der gnas nas de'i mñon par śes pa'i phyir lhag mthoṅ gis9 stobs 'thun par byas pa ni khañ pa byas pa'i don yin no ||

I 10.
der skyon dgu dañ ldan pa'i gos dor ba ni 'dir snar rim pa bžin du brjod pa de rnamgs de'i tshe khañ mig chuṅ ba (14a) dañ | khañ mig che ba dañ | 'chag sa la sogs pa so sor bṛgyan nas me tog dañ | 'bras bu dañ | śiṅ ljon pa'i tshogs yid dga' ba dañ | bsam pa chu ltar yid du 'oṅ ba gdug pa can gyi ri dags10 med pa dañ | gnod par byed11 pa'i bya'i tshogs med pa śin tu dben par gnas par bya'o || 'chag sa bṛgyan pa'i phyogs gñis dañ dbus su12 rgyab kyi13 rten gyi gži la brten nas bžugs pa'i ched du 'chag14 sa'i naṅ du sa gži mñaṃ pa | kha dog ser po rdo dañ bsres pa | lo ma'i khañ pa'i naṅ du ral pa'i khor yug dañ | śiṅ sun gyi dum bu'i chos gos dañ | dbyu gu gsum dañ | bum pa la sogs pa dka' thub pa'i yo byad dañ ldan pa | bsti gnas kyi naṅ du chu dañ bum pa chen por chu dañ | duṅ chos15 kyi chu dañ | kham phor dañ | me khañ dañ | snod sol ba can dañ | śiṅ la sogs pa de ltar gaṅ daṅ gaṅ du rab tu 'byun

1 N yoña.
2 SDQL omit, N dañ.
3 SLN chen po, DQ omit.
4 N ñamsu.
5 N nusò.
6 N byedo.
7 SDQ de'i, LN de yi.
8 N nusò.
9 SLN gis, DQ gi.
10 SDQN dags, L dwags.
11 SDLN byed, Q byes.
12 N dbusu.
13 SDQN kyi, L gyi.
14 SDQ 'chag, LN 'chags.
15 DQLN chos, S tshos.
Ba la rigs so\(^1\) || de thams cad byas nas lo ma’i khaṇ pa’i logs la gahn žig rab tu ‘byun bar ‘dod pa na ‘di’i yo byad rams blais nas rab tu ‘byun\(^2\) bar gyis žig ces yi ger bris nas | las sna tshogs pa’i lha’i bu lha’i ‘jig rten du soṇ no || mkhas pa bro gros bzaň pos gaňs can gyi ri’i ‘gram na chu kluň rjes su\(^3\) ‘braň ba daň bdag śid kyi gnas daň | ‘thun pa’i gnas su blta žiň chu kluň bzlog pa’i las sna tshogs las sprul\(^4\) žiň brgya byin gyis byin pa’i gnas (14b) yid la dga’ ba mthoň no\(^5\) || ‘chag sa’i dkyus kyi phyogs gcig tu ‘gro žiň rkaň pa’i rjes mi mthoň bar rab tu ‘byun\(^6\) ba rams kyi$n thag riň po’i groň nas bsod sñoms btsal basń nal žiň ‘ons nas lo ma’i khaň par žugs nas gna$s so śñam du bsams so || de ma thag tu ma sleb par dus riň por ma sleb par so sor śes dgos so || śiň gi khaň pa’i khaň mig gi sgor\(^7\) žugs te naň du phyin no || de daň de bta$p pas rtsig pa chen po la yi ge bris pa bklags nas ‘di rams thams cad bdag gi\(^8\) yo byad du bntag par bya’o || de rams blais nas\(^9\) rab tu ‘byun\(^10\) no žes bsams so || bdag śiid kyi stod gos daň smad gos zuň dag dor ro || de’i\(^11\) phyir gsu$ pa der gos dor ro || de Ṣtar bžugs nas śá ri’i bu bdag de’i lo ma’i khaň pa daň skyon dgu daň bças pa’i gos dor ro ||

I.11.

de yan skyon dgu gsal bar mthoň ste | dkar thub pa’i rab tu ‘byun ba rams la gos skyon dgu daň ldan pa ni rñed\(^12\) dka’ ba’i skyon daň | gžan ‘dod pa skye ba’i skyon daň | loňs spyod pa na myur du dri ma daň ldan pa’i skyon daň | dri ma can du gyur na ‘khrud pa daň | tshos\(^13\) bya dgos pa daň | loňs spyod pa na ‘dral ba’i skyon daň | rniň\(^14\) na\(^15\) ‘tshem\(^16\) pa daň | lhan pa ‘debs dgos pa daň | slar yan tshol ba na rñed dka’ ba’i skyon daň | dka’ thub pa’i rab tu ‘byun ba la mi rigs pa’i skyon daň | dgra la sogs pas ‘phrog par ‘gyur ba’i skyon daň | ji Ṣtar yan gos ni dgra la sogs pas mi len (15a) pa de’i phyir de bžin du sbed dgos pa daň | gyon pa na rgyan du ‘gyur ba’i skyon daň | khyer nas ‘gro ba na lus kyi khur po chen por ‘gro ba’i skyon no || śiň śun gyi gos žes\(^17\) pa ni |

I.12.

\(^1\) N rigso.
\(^2\) SDQ ‘byun, LN ‘byun.
\(^3\) N rjesu.
\(^4\) SDQ sprul, LN sbral.
\(^5\) N mthoňo.
\(^6\) SDQ ‘byun, LN ‘byun.
\(^7\) SDLN sgor, Q skor.
\(^8\) SDQL gi, N gis.
\(^9\) SLN nas, DQ na.
\(^10\) SLN ‘byun, DQ ‘byun.
\(^11\) SDQ de’i, LN de yi.
\(^12\) SDQN rñed, L brñed.
\(^13\) DL tshos, S tshol, QN chos.
\(^14\) SDQ rniň, LN rniň.
\(^15\) SDLN na, Q nan.
\(^16\) SDQ ‘tshem, LN ‘tshems.
\(^17\) SD žes, QLN ces.
I 13.

yon tan bcu gñis dañ ldan pa žes³ pa ni phon yon bcu gñis dañ ldan pa’i śiṅ sun gyi gos kyi⁴ phan yon
bcu gñis dañ ldan pa’i rin chuṅ ba dañ | bld⁰ na m dzes pa dañ | ruṅ ba dañ | ṭi ṭr nam ni phan yon
gcig dañ | raṅ gi⁶ lag gis bya bar nus pa ni gñis pa dañ | loṅs spyod pa na⁷ dri ma can du gyur kyan
myur du bkru bar nus pa ni gsum pa dañ | loṅs spyod pa na brñiṅs⁸ par gyur kyan btsem⁹ par nus pa¹⁰
ni¹ bži pa dañ | slar yaṅ tshol ba ni¹² bde bar byed nus pa ni lña pa dañ | dka’ thub pa’i rab tu byuṅ¹³
ba la rīgs pa ni drug pa dañ | chom rkun pa la mi mkho ba ni bdun pa dañ | gyon pa na dka’ thub pa’i
gyud du ’gyur pa ni brgyad pa dañ | gyon pa na yaṅ bar ’gyur ba ni dgu pa dañ | chos gos so so la
’rod pa chuṅ ba ni bcu pa dañ | sloṅ ba na chos pa la kha na ma tho ba med pa ni bcu gcig pa dañ | śiṅ
sun gyi gos stor na yaṅ ltos pa med pa ni bcu gñis pa’o ||

I 14.

skyon brgyad dañ ldan pa’i lo ma’i khaṅ pa dor žes pa ni ji ltar dor | (15b) de’i gos mchog gñis kyi
rigs su¹⁴ gyur pa a na’o¹⁵ dza’i me tog gi ’phreṅ¹⁶ ba lṭa bu’i gos dmär po blaṅs nas smad du gyon te | sten du gzān yaṅ kha dog ser¹⁷ po’i śiṅ sun gyi gos gyon nas | pun nā ga’i¹⁸ me tog gi stan daṅ ’dra
ba’i rkaṅ pa daṅ bca pa’i gzig gi phags⁹ pa’i g.yaṅ gzi gyon te | ral pa’i khor yug mgo bo la bciṅs
nas gtsug phud bṛtan par bya ba’i phyr du mḥregs²⁰ pa’i spyi lḥab btsugs sō²¹ || nu mig gi²² dra ba

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¹ D śa ri’i bu, SQLN śa ri bus. Qālī: Śūriputta, cf. Mvy no. 1031 (2) Śāriputra = Śa ri’i bu.
² N phyiro.
³ SDQ žes, LN ces.
⁴ SDQ kyi, LN kyis.
⁵ SD blta, Q bltaś, LN ltā.
⁶ DQLN gi, S gis.
⁷ SDL na, QN ni.
⁸ S brñiṅs, DLN rīṅs, Q rīṅ.
⁹ SDQL btsem, N brtsem.
¹⁰ SDQN pa, L par.
¹¹ SDQN ni, L omits.
¹² SDLN na, Q ni.
¹³ DQ byuṅ, SLN ’byuṅ.
¹⁴ N rigsu.
¹⁵ SDLN na ’o, Q na’o.
¹⁶ S ’phreṅ, DQLN phreṅ.
¹⁷ SDQ ser, LN gser.
¹⁸ DQN pun nā ga’i, SL pun nā gi.
¹⁹ SD phags, QLN lpags.
²⁰ SDLN mḥregs, Q ’khregs.
²¹ N btsugsu.
²² DQ gi, SLN omit.
rin ba'i gle'n gzi

bzin du 'then^2 thag byi^3 ru'i kha dog lta bu'i bum pa nañ du bcug ste^4 gnas gsum gyi kyog po'i sün de blañs nas khur sün de'i phyogs gcig la bum pa dañ | phyogs gnis la ciggs kyu dañ | smyug^5 'khur dañ | dbyug gu gsum pa la soggs pa bzuñ žiñ khyer nas phrag pa'i khur du khyer te lag pa g.yas su^6 'khur^7 ba bzuñ nas lo ma'i khañ pa nas bzuñ ste^8 | khru drug cu pa'ai 'chag sa chen por phan tshun du 'chag par byed ciñ rañ gi cha lugs la bìtas nas | bdag gi^9 'dod pa yōns su^10 rdozogs par thob bo^11 || bdag ñid mdzes par tu byuñ nas sañs rgyas dañ | rañ sañs rgyas la soggs pa'i skyes bu dpa' bos bsñags pa dañ bstod^12 ciñ rab tu byuñ ba žes bya ba 'di ni khyim gyi 'chiñ ba spañs nas | bdag gis nes par byuñ^13 žiñ rab tu byuñ ba mchog bdag gis thob^14 pas dge sbyoñ gi chos bdag gis byas so^15 | bde ba'ai 'bras bu bdag gis thob nas^16 spro ba skyes so^17 || khur dal bus sa la bžag nas 'chag (16a) sa'i dbus su^18 kha dog ser po'i^19 rdo'i^20 steñ du gser gyi gzugs břñan lta bu bcug nas te | ŋin mo'i cha soñ nas srod kyi dus su^21 lo ma'i khañ pa'i nañ du bcug nas | sün khri legs po'i gžog^22 gi steñ du fnal lo^23 || lus la ser bus gos par byed ciñ nam gyi cha smad la lañs te bdag yōns^24 pa'i don la rtog ciñ bdag gis khyim gyi gnas kyi skyon mthon nas bdud rtsi la lobs spyod pa dañ | grags pa mtha' yas pa spañs nas | dgon par gnas po te ńes par 'byuñ ba btsal ba'ai phyir rab tu byuñ no^25 || de^26 nas bzuñ nas bag med pa'ai spyod pa'ai^27 rtoð^28 pa dañ | rab tu dbèn^29 pa spañs nas 'gro ba log pa'i sbrañ mas za bas de^30 ni bdag gi^31 rab tu
Rin ba'i gleñ gži

dben pa dor bar rigs so\(^1\) | bdag gis kyañ khyim pa'i gnas zañ ziñ dañ bcas\(^2\) par\(^3\) mthoñ ste phyin nas lo ma'i khañ pa yid du 'oñ ba 'di yañ kha dog ser pos sa gzi la žal ba legs par byas nas | dnul gyi kha dog | itar dakar ba'i rtsig pa rnams dañ | thog phug ron gyi rkañ pa'i kha dog itar dmar ba'i lo ma'i bла
gab\(^4\) can no || sna tshogs pa'i kha dog can gyi šiñ khri'i stan la žad la dañ | 'dug pa na bde bar ita\(^5\) ba de rnams ni ches cher lhag par khyim pa'i phun sum tshogs pa dañ 'dra bar mthroñ no || lo ma'i khañ pa'i skyon blltas pas skyon brgyad mthoñ ste | lo ma'i khañ pa la lons spyod pa | na skyon brgyad po ni | šiñ mañ po la nor mañ po dgos pa dañ | bsdus\(^6\) nas (16b) khañ pa byed ciñ tshol ba ni skyon gcig pa dañ | rtswa\(^7\) dañ sa 'dzad\(^8\) pa dañ | yañ dañ yañ zad pas\(^9\) na bcos dgos pa rgyun mi 'chad pa ni skyon gniñ pa dañ | {Pa10} žad ba'i gnas žes bya ba ni\(^10\) chen po la rigs te | dus ma yin par sloñ dgos pas sems gcig tu mi gnañ pa dañ | 'gro dgos pa ni skyon gsum pa dañ | grañ\(^11\) ba dañ dro ba dañ\(^12\) 'joms\(^13\) pa dañ | lus bde bar byed pa ni skyon bži pa dañ | khañ pa'n nañ du žugs nas sdig pa byed par nus pa dañ | no tsha ba bzlog pa ni skyon lña pa dañ | bdag gi yin no žes bsrun\(^14\) ba ni skyon drug pa dañ | khyim pa yod žes\(^15\) pa gniñ pa'î\(^16\) skyon bdun pa dañ | šig dañ | 'dre šig dañ\(^17\) khyi šig la sosg pa'i srog chags du ma gnañ par 'gyur ba ni skyon brgyad pa'o | 'di rnams kyi skyon brgyad po rnams mthroñ nas sems dpa\(^18\) chen pos lo ma'i khañ pa spañs\(^19\) so\(^20\) || de'i phyir gsuñs pa | 115.

skyon brgyad dañ ni ldan pa yì || lo ma'i khañ pa spañs žes pa || šiñ gi druñ du gnañ gyur na || yon tan bcu dañ ldan pa yì || yib pa'i gnañ rnams spañs pa dañ || yon tan bcu dañ ldan pa yì || šiñ gi druñ du gnañ pa'o || žes brjod pa ni | de la yon tan bcu po 'di bsag\(^21\) mi dgos pa ni yon tan \(^22\) gcig dañ | žal bar

\(^{38}\) SDLN da, Q de.
\(^{39}\) SDQ gi, N gis.
\(^{40}\) N rigso.
\(^{1}\) SDQ bcas, LN bcad.
\(^{2}\) DQ par, SLN pa.
\(^{3}\) SD gab, QLN khab.
\(^{4}\) SLN lta, DQ bltta.
\(^{5}\) SDQ rtswa, LN rtsa.
\(^{6}\) SDQ 'dzad, LN mdzad.
\(^{7}\) SDQ pas, Q pa.
\(^{8}\) SDQ ni, LN na.
\(^{9}\) SQLN drañ, D grañ.
\(^{10}\) DQ dañ, SLN omit.
\(^{11}\) SQLN 'joms, D 'jam.
\(^{12}\) SDQ barun, LN sruñ.
\(^{13}\) DQLN žes, S ces.
\(^{14}\) DQ pa'i, SLN par.
\(^{15}\) DQLN dañ, S omits.
\(^{16}\) SQLN dpa', D pa.
\(^{17}\) SDLN spañs, Q slañs.
\(^{18}\) N spañso.
\(^{19}\) SQLN bsag, D bscag.
gnas pa tsam gyis bsruṅ mi dgos par rṇed pa ni gḏis pa daṅ | der byi dor byed pa med par loṅs spyod pa daṅ | bde bar gnas pa daṅ | sloṅ ba med pa ni (17a) gsum pa daṅ | ṭo tsha ba na yib pa med pa ciṅ der sdig pa byed pa med la sbed pa med pa ni bzh ba daṅ | bla gab1 med pa'i gnas bžin du lus rtag tu sdod pa med pa ni lña ba2 daṅ | yoṅs su3 'dzin par mi 'dod pa ni drug pa daṅ | khyim gyi 'dod pa spāṅs pa ni bdun pa daṅ | maṅ po dgos pa'i 'dzin pa med pa daṅ | yoṅs su4 bsruṅ ba med pa daṅ | 'gro ba na 'dod pa med pa ni brgyad pa daṅ | sdod pa na dga' ba daṅ bcas pa med pa ni dgu pa daṅ | śiṅ druṅ gi gnas ni soṅ žiṅ soṅ ba na rṇed sla ba daṅ | lṭos pa med pa ni bcu pa'o | yon tan bcu po 'di mthon stē śiṅ gi 'gram du gnas žes brjod pa daṅ | 'di lta bu de nams ni byed par bsams pa'o || sems dpa5 chen po saṅ gi ū ma la bsod sṅioms la gšegs pas de ma thag tu groṅ du sles stē mi nams spro ba chen po skyes nas bsod sṅioms byin no || de'i gdugs tshod thon nas gnas su6 byon te sles ciṅ bžugs nas bsams pa | bdag gis bsod sṅioms thob pa'i phyir rab tu byun ba ni ma yin no7 || zas žim pa8 žes bya ba 'dis na rgyal gyi9 rgyags pa daṅ | skyes bu 'dod pa'i rgyags pa 'phel ba daṅ | bza' ba'i gzi la brten nas sḏug bsna lmta' med do || bdag gis slar yaṅ ttab pa daṅ bsksrun pa las skyes pa'i 'bru'i bza' ba spāṅs nas | 'bras bu mchog gi bza' ba la brten par bya'o || des de nas de blaṅs te | de lta byas nas lus sḏug bsna (17b) du 'bad pa byas pa daṅ | žag bdun gyi10 naṅ du sṅioms par 'jug pa brgyad po nams daṅ | mṛon par šes pa lña skyes11 te | de'i12 phyir gṣun pa |

Bv II 32-33

btab daṅ bsksrun pa'i 'bru nams ni || lḥag ma med par spāṅs pa daṅ ||
yon tan du ma daṅ ldan pa'i || 'bras bu sogs13 la 'jug pa'o ||
der ni dka' thub kyis14 gnas daṅ || sḏod daṅ 'chag pa'i gnaś nams su15 ||
žag bdun gyi ni naṅ fiid du || mṛon par šes pa'i stobs thob bo ||

I 16.
de lta mṛon par šes pa thob nas | blo gros bzaṅ po dka' thub pas bde ba' sṅioms par

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2 SDQ omit, L bcu po 'di bsag mi dgos pa ni yon tan.
1 SD gab, QLN khab.
2 DQ ni lña ba, SLN omit.
3 N yoṅs.u.
4 LN yoṅs.u.
5 SQLN dpa', D pa.
6 L gnasu.
7 N yino.
8 SDQL, pa, N po.
9 SD gyi, QLN gyis.
10 N gyi, SDQL kyi.
11 SDLN skyes, Q skyed.
12 SDQ de'i, LN de yi.
13 SLN sogs, DQ scogs.
14 SDQL kyi, N kyi.
15 L namsu.
'jug pa la gnas so || de’i tshe mar me mdzad ces bya ba’i ston pa 'jig rten du byon par gyur to || de mnal du žugs nas btam pa daṅ | byaṅ chub pa daṅ | chos kyi 'khor lo bskor ba na | ’jig rten gyi khams ston phrag bcu po thams cad g.yos so² || {Pā11} rab tu g.yos so² || sgra sgrøg so³ || sgra che sgrøg so⁴ || ston gyi mtshan mar gyur pa sum cu rtsa gās daṅ | blo gros bzaṅ po dka’ thub pas sñoms par ’jug pa’i bde ba la gnas pas de rnams kyi sgra ma thos pa daṅ | de rnams kyi sñon⁵ gyi mtshan ma mthonū no || de’i phyir gsuṅs pa |

Bv II 34-35
stan gcig la ni brten⁶ nas su² || bdag⁶ gis de ltar grub pa thob ||
rgyal ba mar me mdzad ces pa || ’jig rten ’dren pa byon par gyur ||
mnal du žugs nas skyes gyur pa || saṅs rgyas nas ni chos bstan pa ||
mtshan ma bži po mthonū ma (18a) gyur || bsam gtan bde bas ma thos so⁹ ||

I 17.
de’i tshe stobs bcu ldan pa’i mar me mdzad zag pa zad pa ’bun phrag bzihi ’khor daṅ bcas pa go rims bžin du sems can la phan pa’i phyir ‘chag ciṅ dga’ ba can žes bya ba’i groṅ khyer du byon te | blta na sduṅ ces bya ba’i gtsug lag khaṅ chen por bžugs¹⁰ so || dga’ ba can žes bya ba’i groṅ khyer na gnas pa’i mar me mdzad dge sbyoṅ gi dbaṅ phyug de ņid yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa’i byaṅ chub kyi mchog thob nas mchog gi chos kyi ’khor lo bskor ro¹¹ || de ltar rim¹² gyis¹³ sems can la phan pa’i don du ‘chag ciṅ dga’ ba can gyi groṅ khyer du byon te | blta na sduṅ gi gtsug lag khaṅ chen po¹⁴ bžugs pa de de na gnas pa rnams kyiš thos nas mar gsar daṅ | žun mar la sogs pa¹⁵ daṅ | sman daṅ | gos daṅ | mal cha la sogs pa daṅ | dri’i ’phren¹⁶ ba la sogs pa lag tu thogs te | gaṅ gis saṅs rgyas daṅ | gaṅ gis chos daṅ | gaṅ gis dge ’dun daṅ | de rnams la ’dud ciṅ de la dga’ ba daṅ | de la śin tu gus pa daṅ bcas pas ston pa’i druṅ du soṅ ste | phyug byas nas dri la sogs pa’i mchod pa byas¹⁷ ste¹⁸ | phyogs gcig tu

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¹ N g.yoso.
² N g.yoso.
³ LN sgrøgso.
⁴ LN sgrøgso.
⁵ SDQ sñon, LN sñun.
⁶ S brten, DLN rten, Q sten.
⁷ L nasu.
⁸ SDQL bdag, N de dag.
⁹ LN thosu.
¹⁰ S žugs, DQ bžugs, LN žugsu.
¹¹ L bskoro.
¹² DQ rim, SLN rims.
¹³ DQL gyis, SN kyis.
¹⁴ SDLN por, Q po.
¹⁵ SDQ pa, LN pas.
¹⁶ S ’phren, DQLN phren.
¹⁷ SDLQ byas, N bya.
¹⁸ SDLQ ste, D te.
Rin ba'i gleh gi

'khod ciñ chos bstan pa mšan nas sañ mgron¹ du gñer te rañ gis nas soñ no² || de rnams³ byas nas sañ sbyin pa chen po sta gon bya ste groñ khyer brgyan | stobs bcu pa (18b) byon pa'i lam brgyan te chu yis⁴ sa gzi mi mšam pa'i gnas rnams su⁵ sa blugs⁶ nas sa gzi mšam par byas so⁷ || dnuł gyi⁸ mdog lta bu'i bye mas spras so⁹ || me tog gi 'phren¹⁰ ba ñid dañ | me tog gi¹¹ sil ma dgram¹² par byas so¹³ || kha dog sna tshogs pa'i gos kyi¹⁴ rgyal mtshan dañ | ba dan la sogpa byas so¹⁵ || chu śiñ gi śiñ dañ bum pa gañ ba rnams bsgrigs¹⁶ nas bžag¹⁷ par byas so¹⁸ || de'i tshe blo gros bzañ po dka' thub pas rañ gi gnas nas steñ du 'phags te | mi de rnams kyis¹⁹ steñ gi cha'i mkha' la 'gro ba de la mi rnams dga' žiñ tshim pas nthoñ ste | nam mkha'²⁰ nas sa la phyogs gcig tu 'khod pa la mi rnams kyis dris so²¹ || bsod nams dañ ldan pa rnams lam 'di rnams su²² zig gis brgyan par byas | de'i phyir gsuñs pa |

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yul dañ phyogs kyi mthar gnas pa'i || de bžin gšegs pa mgron²³ du gñer || de ñid byin nas lam 'di ni || sems ni dga' bas lam phyogs gcig ||

bdag ni de tshe de yì²⁴ dus || rañ gi gnas ni byed pa dañ ||

śiñ śun gos ni rluñ gis g.yo || de tshe bdag ni mkha' la 'gro ||

dga' dañ tshim dañ bde ba yis || skye bo lam 'phyag byed pa mthoñ || nam mkha'²⁵ las ni byon nas su²⁶ || de ma thag par mi la dris²⁷ || {Pāl²}

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¹ SD mgron, QLN 'gron.
² SDQ rañ gis nas soñ no, LN rañ gis gnas nas soño.
³ SDQI rnams, N nas.
⁴ SDLN chu yis, Q chu'i.
⁵ LN rnamsu.
⁶ S blug, DQLN blug.
⁷ LN byaso.
⁸ SDLN gyi, Q gyis.
⁹ N apraso.
¹⁰ S 'phren, DQLN phren.
¹¹ SLN gi, DQ omit.
¹² SDLN dgram, Q bkram.
¹³ LN byaso.
¹⁴ SLN kyis, DQ kyi.
¹⁵ LN byaso.
¹⁶ SDQ bsgrigs, LN sgrigs.
¹⁷ SLN bžag, DQ gžag.
¹⁸ LN byaso.
¹⁹ SQ kyis, DLN kyi.
²⁰ LN namkha'.
²¹ LN briso.
²² LN rnamsu.
²³ SDN mgron, QL 'gron.
²⁴ SDLN yi, Q yis.
²⁵ LN namkha'.
²⁶ LN nasu.
²⁷ {Pāl²}
mi rnam khyis smras pa | btsun pa dka’ thub pa blo gros bzaṅ po ŋid khyis mi mkhyen nam | stobs bcu
dan ldan pa’i mar me mzdad khyis yāṅ dag par rdzogs pa’i saṅs rgyas thob nas | chos kyi ‘khor lo bskor
ro || sms ca nams la phan pa’i don du ‘chang ciṅ | bdag cag gi groṅ khyer du byon nas bta na sdug
gi gtsug lag khaṅ chen por bzung la bdag cag gis bcom ldan ‘das de mgon³ du gñer to || de’i phyir
saṁs rgyas bcom ldan ‘das de byon pa’i lam brgyan par bya’o || dka’ thub pa blo gros bzaṅ pos bsams
pa | saṁs rgyas žes bya’i sgra tsam yāṅ ’jig tten du rṇiéd³ par dka’o || de ltar saṁs rgyas byon pa la
bdag mi ’di rnam dan bcas pas stobs bcu pa’i lam brgyan par byed par rigs so⁵ || des mi rnam la
gsuns pa | gal te khyyed⁶ rnam khyis lam ’di rnam saṁs rgyas kyi⁷ ched du brgyan par gyis ŋig⁸ | bdag
la yāṅ gnas geig sbyin par gyis ŋig⁹ | bdag gis khyed rnam daṅ ‘grogs nas lam brgyan par bya’o
|| de rnam khyis legs so žes bsams nas | dka’ thub pa blo gros bzaṅ po¹⁰ rṇi du ’phrul daṅ ldan par šes
nas chu yis gnod par byas pa’i gnas phan tshun du bsams nas | de la gnas brgyan par gyis ŋig¹¹ ces
byin no || blo gros bzaṅ po saṁs rgyas la dga’ (19b) nas bsams so¹² || bdag gis gnas ’dir rṇi du ’phrul
gyis brgyan par nus so¹³ || ji ltar brgyan par byas kyaṅ bdag gi¹⁴ yid tshim pa med do¹⁵ || bdag gis de¹⁶
rīn lus dub par byas so¹⁷ || sa rnam blaṅs nas gnas der blug go || de de’i¹⁸ phyogs de brgyan pa ma
grub par stobs bcu ldan pa’i mar me mzdad thub pa chen po daṅ | mṭon par šes pa drug daṅ ldan pa |
zag pa zad pa ’bum phrag bźi’i ’khor daṅ bcas pa rnam la lha rnam khyis lha’i dri bzaṅ daṅ | me tog
gi ’phren¹⁹ ba la sogs pas mchod par byed ciṅ | lha’i glu dbyaṅs daṅ bcas pa sgrogs so²⁰ || mi rnam
khyis mi’i dri bzaṅ daṅ | me tog gi ’phren²¹ ba la sogs pas mchod par byed ciṅ | mṭha’ yas pa’i saṁs

²⁵ SDQ dris, L dri, N ’dri.
¹ SDQ ’chos, LN ’chis.
² SDQN bzung, L gzugs.
³ SD mgon, QLN ’gon.
⁴ SDQN rṇed, L brṇed.
⁵ LN rigso.
⁶ S khyed, DLN khyod.
⁷ SDLN kyi, Q rgyi.
⁸ SD šig, QLN cig.
⁹ SDLN šig, Q cig.
¹⁰ SDQ po, LN pos.
¹¹ SD šig, QLN cig.
¹² LN bsamso.
¹³ N nuso.
¹⁴ SDLQ gi, N gis.
¹⁵ L medo.
¹⁶ DLN de, SQ di.
¹⁷ LN byaso.
¹⁸ DQ de’i, SL de yi, N de yis.
¹⁹ S ’phren, DQLN phren.
²⁰ LN sgrogs.
²¹ S ’phren, DQLN phren.
rgyas kyi rol pa'i ri ma no si la'i sten du sen ge sgra sgrungs1 pa bzin du lha'i lam brgyan par byas nas lam du byon blo gros bzañ po3 dka' thub pas4 mig gis bltas nas lam brgyan pa la stobs bcu pa5 byon no skyes bu chen po'i mtshan bzañ po sum bcu rtsa gnis kyiis brgyan6 pa dpe byad bzañ po brgyad cus7 de bar gsal ba 'od 'dom gañ gis yoñs su8 bskor ba dañ nor bu'i kha dog lta bu nam mkhat'i9 mthil la sna tshogs pa'i mam pa glog gi 'od lta bu dus dañ dus ma yin par 'byun ba ñid zuñ dañ zuñ du gyur pa dañ kha dog drug dañ ldan pa'i tshogs sañs rgyas kyi 'od zer 'phro žiñ gzugs mchog (20a) thob pa'i bdag ñid bltas nas de riñ bdag gis stobs bcu pa la srog yoñs su10 gton bar rigs so11 bcom ldan 'das 'jim12 pa'i sten13 du 'gro bar mi rigs so14 nor bu'i span leb kyi15 zam pa la žabs gnon ciñ gšegs pa lta bur zag pa zad pa 'bum phrag bži dañ lhan cig bdag gi rgyab gnon ciñ gšegs su16 gsol {Pā13} de ni bdag la yun riñ por phan pa dañ bde bar 'gyur ro17 skra bkrol te gzig gi pags18 pa dañ žin ſun gyi gos dañ 'jim pa nag po'i sten nor bu'i span leb kyi zam pa lta bu'i 'jim pa'i sten du ža19 de'i phyir gsuñs pa

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bdag gis20 de la dri luñ bstan 'jig rten 'das pa'i sañs rgyas ni rgyal ba mar me mdzad ces pa 'jig rten 'dren pa byon pa yi mi mñam lam ni 'chos pa dañ de yi lam ni byi dor byed sañs rgyas žes pa bdag gis thos de ma thag tu dga' ba skyes sañs rgyas21 sañs rgyas žes brjod pa yid bde dga' ba skyes par gyur tshim žin dga' ba skyes pa'i sems de ru 'khor te mam par bsam
Rin ba'i gleñ gzi

dir ni sa bon bskrun byas nas || de ma thag tu bdag la skye ||
gal te sañs rgyas ched byi dor || ma bcos gnas gcig bdag la byin ||

bdag kyan byi dor byed pa yin || mi mñaam pa ni 'chos pa'o ||
de tshe lam ni byi dor bya1 || bdag la ma bcos gnas gcig2 byin || (20b)
sañs rgyas sañs rgyas žes bsam žiñ || de tshe bdag ni lam 'di 'chos ||
bdag gi gcig ni ma grub par || thub pa chen po mar me mdzad ||
mñon śes drug po mtshunś ldan par || 'bum phrag bzi po rnam la ni ||
dri ma med ciñ zang pa zad || rgyal ba lam du byon par gyur ||

bsu ba byed pa po rnam ni || rol mo rnam ni dkrol ba dañ ||

lha dañ ma rnam yi3 rañ byed || legs so žes pa’i tshig byin no ||

lha yis ma rnam mthoñ ba dañ || ma rnam kyis kyan lha rnam mthoñ ||
de gnis kyis ni thal mo sbyor || de bzin gšegs dañ thabs cig4 'gro ||

lha dañ lha yi5 rol mo dañ || mi dañ6 mi yi7 rol mo dañ ||
gnis ka8 yañ ni rol mo dkrol || de bzin gšegs dañ thabs cig 'gro ||

lha’i9 me tog man da ra10 || pad ma11 pa ri tsad tra ka ||

phyogs dañ mtshams su12 me tog 'thor || lha rnam s mkha’ la gnas nas so13 ||

tsam pa kam ša la lam ni pam || nā gā punnā gā ke ta kam ||

steñ14 gi phyogs dañ mtshams su15 'thor || sa steñ16 'gro ba mi rnam so17 ||

der ni bdag gi skra bkrol nas || žiñ šun chos gs gzig18 lpags ni ||

'jim pa’i steñ du btìñ19 nas su20 || kha bub tu21 ni bdag giš fiñal ||

'jim pa’i steñ nas ma gšegs par || bdag ni gnon ciñ sañs rgyas rnam ||

1 SDQ bya, LN byar.
2 SDQN gcig, L cig.
3 SDQ yi, LN yid.
4 SDQ cig, LN gcig.
5 SDLN lha yi, Q lha'i.
6 SDLN dañ, Q nañ.
7 SDLN mi yi, Q mi'i.
8 SDQN ka, L ga.
9 Q lha'i, D lha, SDLN lha mi.
10 S manda ra, DQLN man dā ra.
11 SLN padma, DQ padma.
12 N mtshamsu.
13 N naso.
14 SDQ steñ, LN ston.
15 SD mtshams su, Q 'tshams su, LN 'tshamsu.
16 SDQL steñ, N steñs.
17 L rnamso.
18 SDQN gzig, L gzigs.
19 SDLN bstìñ, Q bstìñ.
20 DQN su, SL ni.
21 SDQL tu, N du.

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slob ma 'khor bcas gslegs su¹ gsol || bdag la phan par 'gyur ba yin ||

I 18.

de 'jim pa'i (21a) steñ du ñal nas slar yañ mig gis bta žin stobs bcu dañ ldan pa'i mar me mdzad sañs rgyas kyi 'byor pa yañ dag par btañas nas de ltar bsams so² || gal te bdag gi³ ñon moñs pa thams cad gzom par 'dod pa dañ | dge 'dun mams kyi gzon nur 'gyur bar⁴ bya ba dañ | dga' ba can gyi groñ khyer du 'jug par 'dod do || {Pāl¹⁴} gzan gyi cha lugs kyis kyah ñon moñs pa 'di gzom par byas nas mya ñan las 'das pa thob pa la don med do || stobs bcu dañ ldan pa'i mar me mdzad bdag gis ji lta ba bžin du bya'o || mechog gi byan chub thob nas skye bo mañ po 'khor ba'i rgya mtsho la grur žugs nas pha rol du bsgral⁵ bar byas⁶ nas | phyis mya ñan las 'das pa thob par bya ba 'di ni bdag gis rigs pa'o || de nas chos brygyad po gcig tu⁷ bdus⁸ ste sañs rgyas 'dod par smon pas sems la bta⁹ žin ñal lo¹⁰ || de'i phyir gsuñs pa |

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sa gzi la ni ñal nas ni || bdag gis de ltar bsams pa na¹¹ ||
bdag ni de¹² riñ 'dod pa yi || bdag gi¹³ ñon moñs gzom pa 'o¹⁴ ||

bdag ni cha lugs gzan gyis kyan || 'dir ni chos 'di mñoñ du bya ||
thams cad mkhyen pa thob gyur nas || lha dañ bcas pa sañs rgyas 'gyur ||
bdag ñid gcig pu grol nas ci || skyes bu mthu ldan mthoñ ba dañ ||
thams cad mkhyen pa thob gyur nas || lha dañ ni mams (21b) yañ dag bsgral ||

bdag gi 'di yi gzi yis ni || mthu dañ ldan pa mthoñ ba dañ ||
thams cad mkhyen pa thob nas ni || skye bo mañ po bdag gi bsgral ||

'khor ba'i mdud pa bcad nas ni || srid gsum po ni zad byas la ||
chos kyi gru yi nañ žugs nas || lha dañ ni mams yañ dag bsgral ||

gan žig slar yañ sañs rgyas don du gñer ba'i phyir ro ||

¹ LN gslegsu.
² LN bsamso.
³ SDQ gi, LN gis.
⁴ SDQL 'gyur bar, N gyur pas.
⁵ SDLN bsgral, Q sgral.
⁶ SDQ byas, LN bya.
⁷ SDQN tu, L du.
⁸ SDQN bsdu, Q bsdus.
⁹ SDQ blta, LN lta.
¹⁰ LN ñalo.
¹¹ SLN na, DQ nas.
¹² DN de, SQL di.
¹³ SDQ gis, LN gi.
¹⁴ S pa 'o, DQLN pa'o.

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Rin ba'i gleṅ gzi

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mi yi lus ni mtshan mar ldan || ston pa'i lta ba'i rgyu dañ ni ||
rab byuñi yon tan ldan pa dañ || rigs pa'i dañ ni 'dun pa dañ ||
chos bgyad po ni bsdus nas su || smon lam mignon par 'phel ba'o ||

mi yi2 lus la gnas śīn saṅs rgyas ǹid don du gñer ba3 phun sum tshogs pa 'grub bo || klu 'am | nam4 mkha' ldiñ nam5 | lha rnam kyis de don du gñer yañ mi 'grub bo || mi yi6 lus su7 gyur ciñ skyes bu'i mtshan gnas pas ni de don du gñer ba 'grub bo || bud med dam | za ma 'am | ma niñ nam | mtshan gnis pas ni 'grub pa ma yin no8 || skyes bur gyur nas de'i lus su9 'dod pa dañ | dgra bcom pa thob par bya ba'i phyir du yoṅs su10 rdaṅgs par 'grub bo || gzan gyis ni ma yin no11 || rgyu12 dañ ldan ziñ gal te 'tsho ba dañ ldan pa'i sans rgyas kyi druṅ du don du13 gñer na don du14 'grub bo || saṅs rgyas yoṅs su15 mya nañ las 'das nas mchod rten gyi druṅ du 'am | byaṅ chub śīn gi druṅ du don du gñer bas ni mi 'grub bo || saṅs rgyas kyi druṅ du don du gñer kyāñ rab tu byuñ ba'i mtshan ma dañ ldan (22a) pas 'grub kyi16 | khyim pa'i mtshan ma dañ ldan pas ni ma yin no17 || rab tu byuñ yañ mignon par ȳes pa lha dañ | sfoṅs ma par 'jug pa18 bgyad thob pas 'dod par19 'grub kyi | yon tan 'di rnam dañ bral bas ni ma yin no20 | yon tan dañ ldan yañ gañ zig 'tsho ba dañ ldan pa'i lus saṅs rgyas la yoṅs su21 btaṅ na 'grub kyi | gzan du ni ma yin no22 || 'd/ei23 gzi 'dis gzi yoṅs su24 rdaṅgs nas 'grub bo25 || gzan gyis ni ma yin

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1 Sibetan: rigs pa; Qāli: adhikāra.
2 SQLN mi yi, D mi'i.
3 SLN omit as does Pali, DQ add: ni don du gñer ba.
4 S nam, DQLN omit.
5 SDLN nam, Q dam.
6 SQLN mi yi, D mi'i.
7 LN lusu.
8 N yino.
9 SDQL de'i lus su, N des lusu.
10 LN yoṅsau.
11 N yino.
12 S rgyu, DQLN sgyu.
13 SQLN don du, DQ omit.
14 DQLN du, S omits.
15 LN yoṅsau.
16 SDLN kyi, Q kyañ.
17 N yino.
18 SDQ pa, LN par.
19 SDQL par, N pa.
20 N yino.
21 LN yoṅsau.
22 LN yino.
23 DQ de'i, SLN de yi.
24 LN yoṅsau.
25 LN 'grubo.
Rin ma'i glen gzi

no1 || gə̀n dañ lan yaŋ gə̀n žig saṅs rgyas kyi chos kyi phyir du 'dun pa chen po dañ | spro ba chen po dañ | rtsol ba chen po dañ | yoṅs su2 'bad pa rnam s kyi3 'grub bo4 || gzan gyis ni ma yin no5 || de la 'dir 'dun pa chen po'i dpe ni | gal te 'di ltar gə̀n žig 'jig rten thams cad kyi khor yug gi nañ chu yis gañ bar gyur pa la b dag gis7 lag pas {Pā15} brkyal8 te pha rol du9 'gro bar nus na des saṅs rgyas thob par 'gyur ro10 || yaṅ na gañ du gañ žig slar yaṅ thams cad kyi khor yug gi nañ du 'od11 ma maṅ pos bkañ stc12 | rkaṅ pas śad ciṅ rdul du byed pas pha rol du13 'gro bar nus na de yis saṅs rgyas thob par nus so14 || yaṅ na gañ žig slar yaṅ thams cad kyi khor yug gi nañ du mtshon cha rnam s kha gyen la bstan pa'i mtshon rtse mo bar med pas yoṅs su15 gañ ba la | rkaṅ pas rdzi16 žin pha rol du17 'gro bar nus na des saṅs rgyas thob par 'gyur ro18 || yaṅ na gañ žig gis slar yaṅ 'jig rten khor yug gi nañ du sol ba 'bar (22b) bas yoṅs su19 gañ bar byas nas | rkaṅ pas rdzi20 žin pha rol du21 'gro bar nus na de yis saṅs rgyas thob par 'gyur ro22 || gañ žig de rnam s las gañ žig la sdug bṣaṅ bar mi sems par b dag gis23 'di rnam s kyaṅ pha rol du24 bṣral ba 'am | 'gro ba 'am | pha rol du25 'gro bar bya'o žes šes so26 || de de ltar 'dun pa chen po dañ | spro ba dañ | rtsol ba dañ | 'bad pa rnam s dañ yaṅ dag par ldan na de'i27 don du gñer pa 'grub bo28 || gzan gyis ni ma yin no || blo gos bzaṅ po dka' thub pa slar yaṅ chos brgyad po 'di rnam s bsdus nas saṅs rgyas 'dod pa'i smon lam btab nas fial lo29 ||
19.
bcom ldan 'das mar me mdzas kyis kyañ byon nas blo gros bzañ po dka' thub pa'i mgo'i gam du
bzugs te | nor bu sen ge'i khān pa'i gzeb kyi sgor bton bān du kha dog lha pa rab tu dañs pa dañ
ldan pa'i spyan gyis gzigs nas 'jim pa'i steñ na nāl pa'i blo gros bzañ po dka' thub pa gzigs so
thub pa 'di sañs rgyas thob pa' phyir du smon lam 'debs śīn nāl lo || 'di i don du gñer ba 'grub bam
mi 'grub siam du dgoñs nas ma 'oñs pa'i ye 'ses kyi strog ciñ dpyo 6 do || 'di nas bskal pa grañs med
pa bāi dañ | 'bum phrag gcig lhag 'das nas gō ta ma7 'ēs bya ba'i sañs rgyas su8 'gyur 'ēs rtoñs nas
'khor gyi nañ du luñ ston pas bka' stsal pa | mchog gi dka' thub kyi dka' thub9 pa 'di 'jim pa'i steñ na
nāl ba khyed mams kyis mthoh nam | gsol pa | btsun pa de (23a) bān du mthoñ nō10 || bka' stsal pa |
'dis sañs rgyas thob par bsams nas nāl to || gsol pa | 'di i don du gñer ba 'grub par 'gyur lags sam |
bsal pa | 'di nas bskal pa grañs med pa bāi dañ | 'bum phrag gcig lhag 'das nas gō ta ma11 'ēs bya ba'i sañs rgyas su 'gyur ro12 || de la slar yañ 'di13 groñ khyer ser skyā'i gns su14 'khruñs par 'gyur ro15 || lha mo sgyu 'phrul ma chen mo 'ēs bya ba ni yüm mo16 | rgyal po zas gtsañ ma 'ēs bya ba ni yab bo17 || βñ thos kyi mchog ni gns brtan ne rgyal dañ | βñ thos gñis pa ni gns brtan pañ nas
skyes so18 | sañs rgyas kyi ne gns ni kun ḏa' bo 'ēs bya ba'o || βñ thos ma'i mchog ni gns brtan
ma dge ma 'ēs bya ba19 | yax ma 'ēs gñis pa ni gns brtan ma utpa la'i20 mdoñ can 'ēs bya ba bar
'gyur ro21 || ye 'ses yons su22 smin par gyur te | 'ses par 'byuñ ba chen po byas nas dka' thub chen po
rdzoñs par bya23 te24 | nga gro dha'i śīn druñ du 'o thug blañs nas chu khuñ nai ra dza ra'i 'gram du

1 SDQ mgo i, LN mgo yi.
2 SLN bton, DQ ston.
3 LN gzigso.
4 N ñālo.
5 DQ 'di i, SLN 'di yi.
6 SDQ dpyo, LN spyod.
7 DLN gō ta ma, S go'u ta ma, Q gō' ta ma. Pāli: Gotama, cf. Mvy no. 78 (78) Gātutama = Gāu ta ma.
8 LN rgyasu.
9 DQ kyi dka' thub, SLN omit.
10 N mthoñ.
11 DLN gō ta ma, S go'u ta ma, Q gō' ta ma.
12 N rgyasu 'gyuro.
13 SLN 'di, DQ omit.
14 L gnsu.
15 L N 'gyuro.
16 N yumo.
17 N yabō.
18 L skyeso.
19 SDQ bya, LN omit.
20 S utpa la'i, DQ ud pa la'i, LN u pa la'i.
21 L 'gyuro.
22 LN yonsu.
23 SLN bya, DQ byas.
24 SDQ te, LN ste.

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gsol lo¹ || byaṅ chub kyi sňň por gšeñ gs tu | a śva tthä² śiň druň du mñoñ par rdzogs par ’gšaṅ rgya bar ’gur ro³ || de’i phyir gsunš pa |

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mar me mdzad pa ’jig rten mkhya ny sems can phyir ’jig rten byuň ||
dag gi mgo’i gan ’dug ste || ’di ltu yi tshig⁴ gsunš so⁵ ||
dka’ thub pa ’di llos ig daň || dka’ ba mchog gi ral pa ’dzin ||
’di ni bskal pa man ’das nas || ’jig rten du ni (23b) saňs rgyas ’gur || {Pā16}

ser skyä dga’ ba’i grön du ’khrûňs || de bžin gšeñ gs pa ñes par ’byuň⁶ ||
dka’ thub gnas su⁷ gnas nas⁸ ni || śin tu dka’ ba’i dka’ thub spyad ||
a tsa pâ la’i⁹ śiň druň du || de bžin gšeñ gs pa bžugs nas su¹⁰ ||
der ni ’o thug blaṅs nas ni || näi ra dza ra’i ’gram gnas nas ||
näi ra dza ra’i ’gram du ni || ’o tug rgyal bas loňs¹¹ spyod do ||
lam gyi mchog gi ched du ni || byaṅ chub gžir¹² ni byoń ’gur ro¹³ ||
bla med byaṅ chub sňň po la || de nas bskor ba byas nas ni ||
a śva tthä yi¹⁴ druň du ni || grags chen žes pa saňs rgyas ’gur ||
’di yi skyä ba’i yum gyur pa || sgyu ma žes par ’gur ba yin ||
yab ni zas gtsaṅ žes bya’o || ’di ni gō ta ma¹⁵ žes par ’gur ||
zag pa zat cin ’dod chags bral || ži ba’i sems daň mtsuňs par ldan ||
pañ nas skyes daň ňe rgyal ni || ňan thos rnambs kyi mchog yin no¹⁶ ||
ũe gnas kun dga’ bo žes pas || rgyal ba de la žabs tog byed ||
dge ma daň ni utpala¹⁷ mdog || ňan thos ma yi¹⁸ mchog yin no¹⁹ ||
Rin ba'i gloṅ gzi

zag pa med ciṅ 'dod chags bral || ži ba'i sems daṅ mtshuṅs par ldan ||
de yī bcom ldan byaṅ chub śiṅ || a śva thā' žes brjod pa'o ||

de thos nas blo gros bzaṅ po dka' thub pa bdag gis don du gñer ba gru² par 'gyur bas yid bde ba thob par gyur to || skye bo maṅ po stobs bcu daṅ ldan pa'i mar me mdzad kyi gau thos nas | blo gros bzaṅ po dka' thub pa saṅs (24a) rgyas kyi sa bon gyi myu gur gyur pas dga' ba daṅ bde ba skyes so³ || de lta bur⁴ gyur pa'i sems kyis | ji ltar skyes bu chu kluṅ gi pha rol tu⁵ 'gro ba na mu 'gram draṅ po nas pha rol tu⁶ 'gro bar mi nus na 'og gi cha'i mu gnas nas pha rol du⁷ 'gro'o || de ltar 'di ltar bdag gis stobs bcu daṅ ldan pa'i mar me mdzad kyi bstan pa la lam gyi 'bras bu ma thob par gyur na gaṅ gi tshe khyod ma 'ons pa na saṅs rgyas⁸ bar 'gyur ro⁹ žes so¹⁰ || de 'i tshe khyod kyis mnoṅ sum du lam 'bras bu mñoṅ du byed pa bdag gis nus so¹¹ || don du gñer bar byas nas stobs bcu daṅ ldan pa'i mar me mdzad kyi bstan byaṅ chub sems dpa'i bsṅags pa brjod ciṅ me tog sūṅ pa brgyad kyi gtor nas bskor ba byas te gšegs so¹² || 'bum phrag bzi po zag pa zad pa de rnams kyis kyaṅ byaṅ chub sems dpa' la dri bzaṅ daṅ | ne tog gis mchod nas bskor ba byas te¹³ gšegs so¹⁴ || lha daṅ mi rnams kyis kyaṅ de bzin du mchod nas phyag btsal te soṅ no ||

I 20.
byaṅ chub sems dpa¹⁵ thams cad soṅ ba'i dus su ūāl ba'i gnas nas laṅs te pha rol tu¹⁶ phyin pa bsams¹⁷ pa'i phyir me tog gi phun po'i steṅ du skyił kruṅ¹⁸ bcas nas bzung so¹⁹ || de ltar byaṅ chub sems dpa' bzung nas 'jig rten gyi khams ston phrag bcu'i khor yug gi lha rnams kyis legs so²⁰ žes bya ba byin no²¹ || 'phags pa blo gros bzaṅ po dka' thub pa snār gyi byaṅ chub sems dpa' rnams kyis kyaṅ

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1 S a śva tthā, Q a śā ttha, DLN a śva tthā.
2 SDQ grub, LN bsgrub.
3 LN skyeso.
4 SDQ bur, LN bu'i.
5 N tu, SDLQ du.
6 N tu, SDLQ du.
7 TN tu, DQL du.
8 SQLN rgyas, D rgya.
9 LN 'gyuro.
10 L žeso.
11 LN nuso.
12 LN gšegso.
13 SDLN byas te, Q bya ste.
14 LN gšegso.
15 LN dpa', SDQ dpas.
16 SLN tu, DQ du.
17 SLN bsams, DQ bsam.
18 SD skyił kruṅ, N bskyil kruṅ, QL dkyil dkruṅ.
19 DQ bzung, S 'dug go, LN 'dugo.
20 LN legso.
21 N byino.

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skyil kruṅ bcas te | pha rol tu² phyin pa sems śiṅ sthon gyi dus na (24b) bzhugs bzin du s Lug bsal gyi mtshon ma mtshon nas | de nams kyi mtshon ma nams kyan de³ riṅ skyes par gyur to || the tsom med par khyod saṅs rgyas su 'gyur ro⁵ 'ges {Pāl7} bsag gis de nams śes so⁶ || gaṅ gis 'di nams kyi mtshon ma mtshon bar gyur pas de ēs par saṅs rgyas su 'gyur ro⁷ || de la khyod bsag niid brtson 'grus brtan po mchog bzuṅ nas | byaṅ chub sems dpā' nams la sna tshogs pa'i bstod pa byas so⁸ || de'i⁹ phyir gsun pa ||

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'di yi tshig ni¹⁰ thos nas ni || mtshuṅs med draṅ sron chen po la ||
 lha daṅ mi nams¹¹ rjes yi¹² raṅ¹³ || saṅs rgyas sa bon myu¹⁴ gu 'di ||

sgra ni chen po sgrogs byed ciṅ || gsal bar bZHad par byed pa daṅ ||
 thal mo sbyar nas phyag byed pa || s to¹⁵ phrag bcu yi lha daṅ bcas ||

bs tan pa 'di la 'bras ma thob || gal te 'jig rten mgon po 'di ||
 ma 'oṅs pa nams 'das gyur nas || 'di ni sthon du 'gyur ba'o ||

ji ltar chu kluṅ pha rol mi || 'gro ba bo yi¹⁶ mu gnas la ||
 'og gi mu nas bzuṅ¹⁷ nas ni || chu kluṅ chen po'i pha rol 'gro ||

de ltar 'di ltar bsag gis ni || rgyal ba 'di ni gal te na ||
 ma 'oṅs pa ni maṅ soṅ nas || 'di ni miṅon sum gyur pa yin ||

mar me mdzad ni 'jig rten mkhyen || 'di ltar 'gyur žes gsun pa yin ||
bsag gi¹⁸ las¹⁹ nams bsal byas nas || rkaṅ pa g.yas²⁰ pa bteg byas so²¹ ||
Riñ ba'i glen gzi

gañ žig de la rgyal sras ni || bdag la kun gyis bskor ba byas ||
mi dañ klu dañ dri za rnam s || phyag byas nas ni (25a) gṣegs par gyur ||
dge 'dun bcas pa 'jig rten 'dren1 || bdag gis gṣegs pa mthoṅ ba na ||
gda' žiṅ tshim pa'i sems kyis ni || de tshe bdag gis stan las laṅs ||
bdag ni bde žiṅ bde bar 'gyur ||2 dga' žiṅ dga' bar gyur pa ste ||
gda' dañ ldan par skye pa dañ || de yi tshe na skyił kruṅ' bcas ||
skyl kruṅ4 la ni gnas nas su5 || de la bdag gis 'di ltar bsams ||
bdag gis6 bsam gtan daṅ du gyur || ye ʃes kyi ni pha rol phyin ||
stoṅ phrag gi ni 'jig rten na || 'na dañ mtsuṅs pa'i draṅ sroṅ med ||
rdu 'phrul chos ni bdag mi mtsuṅs || 'di 'dra ci bde gţan ma thob ||
bdag gis skyił kruṅ7 bcas na8 bdag || stoṅ phrag bcu lhag gnas nas su9 ||
sgra chen po ni sgrøgs par byed || 'nèś par khyod ni s船舶 nga sgyas 'gyur ||
gañ žig byaṅ sems10 sṅon ma rnam s || skyił kruṅ11 du ni bţuṅs nas su12 ||
mtshan ma rnam s ni mthoṅ ba ni || de rnam s de13 riṅ mthoṅ ba yin ||
graṅ ba rnam s ni med par gyur || dro ba rnam s ni 'ñe bar ži ||
de rnam s de14 riṅ so sor mthoṅ || 'nès par khyod ni s船舶 nga sgyas 'gyur ||
stoṅ phrag bcu yi 'jig rten kham s || phan tshun du ni 'jigs med gyur15 ||
de rnam s de16 riṅ so sor mthoṅ || 'nès par khyod ni s船舶 nga sgyas 'gyur || {Pā18}
ruṅ chen po ni mi ldaṅ žiṅ || chu rnam s rgyun las log pa dañ ||
de rnam s de17 riṅ so sor mthoṅ || 'nès par khyod ni s船舶 nga sgyas 'gyur ||
thaṅ skyes chu skyes me tog rnam s || thams cad du ni me tog bye18 ||
de rnam s de19 riṅ me tog (25b) bye20 || 'nès par khyod ni s船舶 nga sgyas 'gyur ||

1 SDQL 'dren, N 'dran.
2 SDLN omit, Q adds line: dga' žiṅ śrin tu bde bar 'gyur.
3 SDN skyił kruṅ, QL dkyiṅ dkrūṅ.
4 SDN skyił kruṅ, QL dkyiṅ dkrūṅ.
5 LN nasu.
6 LN gis, SDQ gi.
7 SDN skyił kruṅ, QL dkyiṅ dkrūṅ.
8 SLN na, DQL nasu.
9 L nasu.
10 DQLN sems, S chub.
11 SDN skyił kruṅ, QL dkyiṅ dkrūṅ.
12 LN nasu.
13 SDLN de, Q di.
14 SDLN de, Q di.
15 SDLQ gyur, N 'gyur.
16 SDLN de, Q di.
17 SDLN de, Q di.
18 DQLN gyur, N 'gyur.
19 TSLN de, Q di.
20 DQ byes, SDLN byes.
'khrī¹ šīṅ yaṅ na² šīṅ gyur pa || de ma thag tu 'bras bur gyur ||
der mams de kun 'bras gyur pa || ńes par khyod ni saṅs rgyas 'gyur ||

nam mkha³ daṅ ni sa gzi la || rin chen de dag 'od 'gyed do ||
der mams de⁶ rīṅ 'od 'gyed pa || ńes par khyod ni saṅs rgyas 'gro ||

lha mams daṅ ni mi mams ni || de dag rol mo'i sgra sgrogs so⁵ ||
der mams de⁶ rīṅ sgra 'byin pa || khyod ni ńes par saṅs rgyas 'gyur ||

me⁷ tog sna tshogs pa yi⁸ tshogs || de ma thag tu char pa 'bebs⁹ ||
der mams de¹⁰ rīṅ char 'bebs pa || ńes par khyod ni saṅs rgyas 'gyur ||

rgya mtshe chen po ma¹¹ g.yo žiṅ || 'jig rten ston phrag bcu po g.yo ||
der mams de¹² rīṅ gyur pa¹³ na || ńes par khyod ni saṅs rgyas 'gyur ||

ston phrag bcu yi dmyal ba mams || de ma thag tu bsreg daṅ bral ||
der mams de¹⁴ rīṅ ži bas na || ńes par khyod ni saṅs rgyas 'gyur ||

fī ma dri ma med pa daṅ || rgyu skar thams cad mthon ba daṅ ||
der mams de¹⁵ rīṅ mthon bas na || ńes par khyod ni saṅs rgyas 'gyur ||

char pa 'bab par ma gyur kyaṅ || sa ni smum bag bcas pa daṅ ||
der mams de¹⁶ rīṅ sa la gyur || ńes par khyod ni saṅs rgyas 'gyur ||

rgyu skar tshogs ni rnam par gsal || nam mkha¹⁷ dbyiṅs su¹⁸ rgyu skar rnam ||
zla ba daṅ ni 'grogs¹⁹ pa bzin || ńes par khyod ni saṅs rgyas 'gyur ||

sa khuṅ ni khuṅ srog chags rnam || sems gcig pas ni pha rol mthon ||
der ²⁰ rīṅ de mams (26a) sems dga' bas || ńes par khyod ni saṅs rgyas 'gyur ||

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¹ SDLN 'khrī, Q khrī.
² SDLN na, Q ni.
³ LN namkha'.
⁴ SDLN de, Q di.
⁵ N sgrogs.
⁶ SDLN de, Q di.
⁷ SQLN me, D ma.
⁸ SDQ pa yi, LN pa'i.
⁹ SDLN 'bebs, Q 'phebs.
¹⁰ SDLN de, Q di.
¹¹ SN mi, DQL ma.
¹² SDLN de, Q di.
¹³ SDQ pas, LN par.
¹⁴ SDLN de, Q di.
¹⁵ SDLN de, Q di.
¹⁶ SDLN de, Q di.
¹⁷ LN namkha'i
¹⁸ N dbyiṅs.
¹⁹ SDLN 'grogs, Q 'grog.
²⁰ SDLN de, Q di.
Rin ba'i gleh gi

sems can rnams ni mi dga' med || de ma thag tu dga' bar 'gyur ||
de1 rin de rnams dga' bas na || 'nes par khyod ni sahs rgyas 'gyur ||
de tshe nad rnams ŋe bar ži || 'dod pa'i nad ni med pa'o ||
de2 rin de rnams mthoṅ bas na || 'nes par khyod ni sahs rgyas 'gyur ||
de tshe chags pa bsbras pa daṅ || skyon daṅ rmoṅs pa rnam par žig ||
de rin de kun dor bas na || 'nes par khyod ni sahs rgyas 'gyur ||
de yi3 tshe na 'jigs pa4 med 5 || de6 rin de rnams mthoṅ bas na ||
bdag gi rtags te7 kun gyis šes || 'nes par khyod ni sahs rgyas 'gyur ||
steṅ 'og rdul ni go bzlog 'gro || de9 rin yaṅ ni de rnams mthoṅ ||
bdag gi rtags te9 kun gyis šes || 'nes par khyod ni sahs rgyas 'gyur ||
dri rnams ŋan pa soṅ ba daṅ || lha yi10 dri ni 'oṅ ba daṅ ||
de11 rin de rnams dri ltaṅ bas || 'nes par khyod ni sahs rgyas 'gyur ||
lha rnams thams cad mthoṅ pa daṅ || gzugs med pa rnams spaṅs pa ni ||
de rin de kun mthoṅ bas na || 'nes par khyod ni sahs rgyas 'gyur ||
dmyal ba rnams ni ji srid pa || de yi tshe na thams cad mthoṅ ||
de rnams de rin kun mthoṅ bas || 'nes par khyod ni sahs rgyas 'gyur ||
sgo chuṅ daṅ ni ri yi12 rnams || de yi tshe na mi mthoṅ med ||
de13 rin nam mkha'14 bzin du mthoṅ || 'nes par khyod ni sahs rgyas 'gyur ||
rum du gnas daṅ 'thon pa na15 || skad cig tsam gyis ma yin no16 ||
de rin de rnams so sor mthoṅ || (26b) 'nes par khyod ni sahs rgyas 'gyur ||
brtson 'grus brtan par byas nas ni || 'nes par 'byuṅ ba ldog mi bya ||
bdag gis 'di rnams legs šes pas || 'nes par khyod ni sahs rgyas 'gyur ||
byaṅ chub sems dpas stobs bceu daṅ ldn pa’i mar me mdzad daṅ | ston phrag bceu’i
khorg yug gi¹ lha mams kyi² gsun thos nas | yid bde ba cher skyes te bdag ŋid spro bar gyur nas bsams
pa³ | saṅs rgyas mams kyi don yod pa’i gsun žes bya ba ni | saṅs rgyas mams kyi⁴ gsun las gzan du mi
‘gyur ba yin no⁵ || ji ltar yan⁶ nam mkha’⁷ la rdo ‘phaṅs nas⁸ lhuṅ bar ’gyur ba daṅ | skyes nas ’chi bar
‘gyur ba daṅ | skya reṅ⁹ sar na fñi ma ’char bar ’gyur ba daṅ | gnas nas səñ ge lams na¹⁰ sgra phyuṅ ste
‘gro ba daṅ | sbum ma yoṅs su¹¹ smin nas skye bar ’gyur bar ňes so¹² || ňes par de bzin du ’di ltar saṅs
rgyas mams kyi gsun ni ňes sīṅ don yod par ’dod do || ňes par bdag ni saṅs rgyas su¹³ ’gyur ro¹⁴ || de’i
phiyr gsunṣ pa ||

Bv II 108-114¹⁵
saṅs rgyas kyi ni gsun thos nas || ston phrag bceu daṅ gnis ka¹⁶ yi ||
tshim žiṅ dgyes la rab tu dga’ || bdag gis¹⁷ de tshe ’di ltar bsams ||
gnis ni mi gsun saṅs rgyas ni || rgyal ba don yod pa yi gsun¹⁸ ||
saṅs rgyas mams ni gzan mi gsun¹⁹ || bdag ni ňes par saṅs rgyas ’gyur ||
ji ltar mkha’ la rdo ’phaṅs pa || ňes par sa la lhuṅ bar ’gyur ||
de bzin du ni saṅs rgyas kyi || gsun ni ňes par ’gyur ba bzin ||
ji ltar sems can thams cad ni || ňes par ’chi bar ’gyur (27a) ba’o ||
de bzin du ni saṅs rgyas kyi || gsun ni ňes par ’gyur ba bzin ||
ji ltar nam ni zad pa na || ňes par fñi ma ’char bar ’gyur ||
de bzin du ni saṅs rgyas kyi || gsun ni ňes par ’gyur ba bzin ||

¹ SDLN gi, Q kyi.
² SDLN kyi, Q kyis.
³ SDQ pa, LN pas.
⁴ SDLN kyi, Q kyis.
⁵ N yino.
⁶ DQLN yaṅ, S omits.
⁷ LN namkha’
⁸ SLN nas, DQ na.
⁹ SDLN reṅ, Q riṅ.
¹⁰ SLN na, DQ nas.
¹¹ S omits: su, LN yoṅsu.
¹² N ňeso.
¹³ N rgyasu.
¹⁴ LN ’gyuro.
¹⁵ The Jātakamidāṇa gāthās 110-114 vary from Buddhavamsa gāthas 110-114, in that each of the four gāthās omit the last line found in the Buddhavamsa gāthās.
¹⁶ SDQN ka, L ga.
¹⁷ DQLN gis, S gi.
¹⁸ DQLN gsun, S gsuns.
¹⁹ SDLN gsun, Q gsuns.

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Riñ ba ’i glen gzi

ji ltar seň ge’i gnas nas’ ni || seň ge’i sgra ni ñes pa’o ||
de bžin du ni saňs rgyas kyi || gsuň ni ñes par ’gyur ba bžin ||

di ltar sbrum ma smin gyur na || mňal nas ñes par skye bar ’gyur ||
de bžin du ni saňs rgyas kyi || gsuň ni ñes par ’gyur ba bžin ||

I 22.

legs so’ bdag ni saňs rgyas su ’gyur ro’ || de’i ltar ñes par byas nas saňs rgyas su’ byed pa’i chos tshol bas saňs rgyas su’ ’gyur ba’i chos gaň žig na yod | gal te sten na yod dam ’og na ’am | {Pâ20} phyogs sam’ mtshams8 rnams9 na’ yod dam ci | go rims bžin du chos kyi dbyiňs thams cad la brtsams nas | sňar gyi byaň chub sems dpas kyaň bsňen pa daň ñes par brten11 par bya ba’i daň por sbyin pa’i pha rol tu phyin pa gzigs so12 || de ltar bdag gis kyaň bdag la gdams pa | mkhas pa blo gros bzaň po khyod kyis kyaň ’di nas bzun13 nas sbyin pa’i pha rol tu phyin pa rdzogs par bya’o || ji ltar na chu’i14 bum pa kha phub na bum par chu rnams mi gnas par sa la bo ba ñid slar yaň bum pa la mi gnas so15 || de ltar ’di ltar nor ram | grags pa ’am | bu daň | chun ma ’am16 | yan lag daň niň lag rnams ëtos pa med par slon ba rnams kyi don du thams cad gaň daň gaň ’dod pa la lhag ma med par byas nas sbyin te (27b) byaň chub kyi śiň druň du bźugs17 nas saňs rgyas thob bo || daň por sbyin pa’i pha rol tu phyin pa brtan par byas nas gnas par18 bya’o || de’i phyir gsuňs pa ||

By II 115-119

bdag gis saňs rgyas byed pa’i chos || gaň daň de ru btsal byas pa ||
sten daň ’og daň phyogs buc daň || chos kyi dbyiňs kyi bar du ’o19 ||

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1 SDQL nas, N na.
2 N legso.
3 N rgyasu ’gyuro.
4 SDLN de, Q da.
5 N rgyasu.
6 N rgyasu.
7 DQLN sam, S omits.
8 SDN mtshams, Q ’tshams, L mtsham.
9 SDQ rnams, LN omit.
10 SDLN na, Q ni.
11 SDQ brten, LN bsten.
12 LN gzigso.
13 SDQ bzun, LN gzuň.
14 DQ chu’i, SLN chu yi.
15 LN gnaso.
16 SDLQ na ’am, N ma’m.
17 SDLQ bźugs, N žugs.
18 SDQ par, LN omit.
19 S du ’o, DQLN du’o.
de tshe btsal pa na ni mthoṅ || daṅ por sbyin pa’i pha rol phyin ||
son gyi skyes bu chen po yi || lam ni pha rol rjes su¹ 'gro ||
‘di ni re žig khyod kyi s kyaṅ || brtan por byas nas gzuṅ bar gyis ||
gal te byaṅ chub thob ’dod na || sbyin pa’i pha rol phyin par gyis ||
ji ltar bum pa gaṅ gyur pa || gaṅ gaṅ² kha ni phub pa na ||
chu ni lhag ma med par ’bo || bum pa’i naṅ du mi gnas so³||
de bţin du ni sloṅ ba mthoṅ || mchog dman ’britṅ po gaṅ yin pa ||
ma lus par ni sbyin par bya || kha phub⁴ bum pa de bţin no ||

I 23.
gţan yaṅ saṅs rgyas su¹ byed pa’i chos ‘di ’ba’ žig ma yin par bţa⁶ bar bya’o || lhag par tshol na⁷ gñis pa tshul khrims kyi pha rol tu phyin pa mthoṅ nas ‘di lta bu’i sems su⁸ gyur to || mkhas pa blo gros bţan po dka’ thub pa khyod kyi ’di nas bzuṅ nas tshul khrims kyi pha rol tu phyin pa rdzogs par bya’o || dper na gţan yaṅ rgod g.yag żes⁹ bya ba srog la mi lta bar raṅ gi mjug ma’i rña¹⁰ ma ’nid bsruṅ ba de bţin du | khyod kyi s kyaṅ ’di nas bzuṅ nas srog la mi lta bar tshul khrims bsruṅs na khyod kyi saṅs rgyas thob par ’gyur ro¹¹ || gñis pa tshul khrims kyi pha rol tu phyin pa brtan par (28a) byas te gnas par bya’o || de’i phyir gsuṅs pa |

Bv II 120-124
‘di tsam ’ba’ žig ma yin gyi || gaṅ žig byaṅ chub thob byed chos ||
gţan la yaṅ ni brtsal bar bya || gaṅ žig chos ni thob byed pa ||
de yi tshe na tshol ba mthoṅ || gñis pa tshul khrims pha rol phyin ||
snon gyi skyes bu chen po yi¹² || bsʰen daṅ bsten¹³ par byas pas so¹⁴||
re žig gñis pa ’di yis ni || brtan por byas nas gzuṅ bar bya¹⁵||
gal te byaṅ chub thob ’dod na¹⁶ || tshul khrims pha rol phyin par gyis ||
ji ltar rgod g.yag rña ma ni || gañ dañ gañ gis bzuñ¹ ba na ||
ltos pa med par srog 'dor ro || rña ma la dga’ khro ba med || {Pâ21}

de bzin du ni sa gzi ru || tshul khrims yoñs su² rdzogs pa dañ ||
rtag tu tshul khrims kun sruñ byed || rgod g.yag rña ma bsruñ³ pa bzin ||

I 24.
gzan yañ sañs rgyas su⁴ byed pa’i chos 'di 'ba’ žig ma yin par bta bar bya’o || lhag par tshol ba na
gsum pa ŋes 'byuñ gi pha rol tu phyin pa mthoñ nas 'di lta bu’i sens su’ gyr to || mkhas pa blo gros
bzañ po dika’ thub pa khyod kyis 'di nas bzuñ⁶ nas ŋes par 'byuñ ba’i pha rol tu phyin pa yañ rdzogs
par bya’o || ji ltar btson rar yun riñ por beiñs nas bžag pa’i mi de la 'dod par mi byed do || gzan yañ žin
tu sduk bsñal ba’i sens de la de bzin du gnas par 'dod pa med do⁷ || de ltar 'di ltar khyod kyis kyañ
skyé ba thams cad du btsön⁸ rar beiñs pa bžin byas nas | skyé ba thams cad du žin tu sduk bsñal ba’i
sens kyis grol bar 'dod pa’i (28b) sens kyis ŋes par 'byuñ ba’i mñoñ sum du 'gyur ro¹⁰ || de ltar byas
nas sañs rgyas thob par 'gyur ro¹¹ || ŋes par 'byuñ ba’i pha rol tu phyin pa la btsän¹² par byas te gnas
so¹³ || de’i phyir gauñs pa |

Bv II 125-129
‘di tsam 'ba’ žig ma yin gyi || gañ žig byañ chub thob¹⁴ byed chos ||
gzan pa yañ ni btsal bar bya || gañ žig chos ni thob byed pa ||
de yi¹⁵ tshe na tshol ba mthoñ || gsum pa ŋes 'byuñ pha rol phyin¹⁶ ||
šñon gyi skyes bu chen po yi¹⁷ || bsñen dañ bsten¹⁸ par byas pas so¹⁹ ||

¹ SDQ bzuñ, LN gzuñ.
² LN yoñs.
³ SDQ bsruñ, LN sruñ.
⁴ N rgyasu.
⁵ N sems.
⁶ SDQ bzuñ, LN gzuñ.
⁷ L medo.
⁸ SDN btson, QL brtson.
⁹ SDQ ba, LN bar.
¹⁰ LN 'gyuro.
¹¹ N 'gyuro.
¹² SDQ btsän, LN rten.
¹³ L gnañso.
¹⁴ SDQ thob, LN 'thob.
¹⁵ SDQL de yi, N de’i.
¹⁶ SDLN pa ŋes 'byuñ pha rol phyin, Q omits.
¹⁷ SQLN yi, D yis.
¹⁸ SLN bsten, DQ brten.
¹⁹ SDQ pa so, LN paso.
rin ba'i gleṭ gāž

re žig gsum pa 'di yis ni || brtan por byas te gzuṅ¹ bar bya ||
gal te byaṅ chub thob 'dod na || ņes 'byun pha rol phyin par gyis² ||
ji ltar skies bu btson³ rar bciṅs || yun riṅ⁴ gnas śiṅ sṛug bsnal ba ||
de la dga' bar mi byed par || myur du 'gro⁵ bar 'dod par sems ||
de bžin khryod ni skye kun tu⁶ || btson⁷ ra bžin du lta⁸ bar gyis ||
ňes par 'byun pa sņon du na⁹ || skye ba las ni grol bar 'gyur ||

I 25.
gzan yān saṅs rgyas su¹⁰ byed pa'i chos 'di 'ba' žig ma yin par bta bar bya'o || lhag par tshol ba na bži pa śes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa mthoṅ nas 'di lta bu'i sems su¹¹ gyur to || mkhas pa blo gros bzaṅ po dka' thub pa khryod kyi 'di nas bzuṅ nas śes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa yān rdoṅs par bya'o || dman pa daṅ | 'briṅ po daṅ | chen po rnas su¹² mi sems par de rams kyi gnas su¹³ soṅ ste mkhas pa rams la dri¹⁴ bar bya'o || ji ltar na bsod sņoms la 'gro ba'i dge sloṅ (29a) dman pa la sogs pa'i gnas su¹⁵ soṅ ste | rigs kyi dbye ba ma saṅs par go rīn¹⁶ bžin du bsod sņams la 'gro ba myur du raṅ gi bza' pa'i tshad thob par 'gyur ro'¹⁷ || de bžin du khryod kyi kyan mkhas pa thams cad kyi druṅ du soṅ ste dri bar byas nas¹⁸ saṅs rgyas thob bo || bži pa śes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa la bsten¹⁹ par byas te²⁰ gnas par²¹ gyis śig²² || de'i phyir gsums pa |

Bv II 130-134

'di tsam 'ba' žig ma yin gyi || gaṅ žig byaṅ chub thob byed chos ||
gzan pa yān ni btsal bar bya || gaṅ žig chos ni thob byed pa ||

¹ SDQ gzuṅ, LN bzuṅ.
² SDLN gyas, Q omits.
³ SDLN bston, Q brtson.
⁴ SDQ riṅ, LN riṅs.
⁵ SDQL 'gro, N grol.
⁶ SLN tu, DQ du.
⁷ SDLN bston, Q brtson.
⁸ SLN lta, DQ bta.
⁹ DQ na, SLN ni.
¹⁰ LN rgyaṅsu.
¹¹ N sems.".
¹² LN ramsu.
¹³ LN gnasu.
¹⁴ SQLN dri, D 'dri.
¹⁵ LN gnasu.
¹⁶ SL rim, DQN rims.
¹⁷ N 'gyuro.
¹⁸ SLN nas, DQ na.
¹⁹ SDLN bsten, Q brtana.
²⁰ S byas te, DQN bya ste, L bya te.
²¹ SDLN par, Q omits.
²² SDQ śig, LN cig.
Rin ba'i gleh gāi

dē yī¹ tshe na tshol ba mthon || bzi pa šes rab pha rol phyin ||
śon gyi skyes bu chen po yī² || bsñen dañ bsten³ par byas pas so⁴ ||
re žig bzi pa 'di yis ni || brtan por bya ste gzun bar bya ||
gal te byaṅ chub thob 'dod na || šes rab pha rol phyin par gyis || {Pā22}

ji ltar dge slon bsod sñoms pa || dman dañ 'brin dañ chen po yī ||
rigs mams dpyod par mi byed par || de ltar bza' ba'i zas thob bo⁵ ||
de bzin khyod kyis dus kun tu⁶ || skye bo mchas la yon{s su⁷ dris ||
šes rab pha rol phyin soṇ bas || byaṅ chub thob par 'gyur ba yin ||

I26.
gzaṅ yaṅ saṅs rgyas su⁸ byed pa'i chos ni 'di 'ba' žig ma yin par blta bar bya'o || lhag par btsal na lña pa brtson 'grus kyi pha rol tu phyin pa thob nas 'di lta bu'i sms{s su⁹ gyur to || mchas pa blo gros bzaṅ po dka' thub pa khyod kyis 'di nas bzuṅ nas brtson 'grus kyi¹⁰ pha rol tu phyin pa yaṅ rdzogs (29b) par bya'o || ji ltar ri dags kyi rgyal po señ ge dus thams cad du brtson 'grus brtan po dañ ldan pa de bzin du khyod kyis kyan skye ba thams cad du brtson 'grus brtan par bya'o || zum pa med pa'i brtson 'grus byas na saṅs rgyas thob par 'gyur ro¹¹ || lña pa brtson 'grus kyi pha rol tu phyin pa brtan par byas nas gnas par gyis sīg¹² | de'i phyir gaus pa |

By II 135-139
'di tsam 'ba' žig ma yin gyi || gaṅ žig byaṅ chub thob byed chos ||
gzaṅ pa yaṅ ni btsal bar bya || gaṅ žig chos ni thob byed pa ||
de yī tshe na tshol ba mthon || lña pa brtson 'grus pha rol phyin ||
śon gyi skyes bu chen po yī¹³ || bsñen dañ bsten¹⁴ par byas pas so¹⁵ ||
re žig lña po 'di yis ni || gal te byaṅ chub mchog 'dod na ||
brtson 'grus pha rol phyin par gyis || brtan por byas te¹⁶ gzun¹⁷ par bya ||

1 SDLN de yī, Q de'i.
2 SQLN yī, D yis.
3 SLN bsten, DQ brten.
4 LN paso.
5 LN thobo.
6 SLN tu, DQ du.
7 LN yon{s.
8 LN rgyasu.
9 LN smsu.
10 SDLN kyi, Q kysis.
11 SDQL ro, N omits.
12 SDQ sīg, LN cig.
13 SDLN yī, D yis.
14 SLN bsten, DQ brten.
15 LN paso.
16 SDLN te, Q ste.
17 SDQ gzun, LN buz{n.

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Rin ba'i gleân gāi

ji ltar ri dags rgyal po ni || sdod dañ 'gro ba'i gnas rnyams su1 ||
žum pa med pa'i brtson 'grus kyis || yid ni rtag tu brtan pa yin ||
de bzin khyod kyis dus kun tu2 || brtson 'grus brtan3 por gyis la zuña ||
brtson 'grus pha rol phyin gyur nas || byañ chub thob par 'gyur pa yin ||

I 27.
gzan yañ sañs rgyas su4 byed pa'i chos 'di 'ba' žig ma yin par bta bar bya'o || lhag par tshol ba na
drug pa bzod pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa mthon nas 'di lta bu'i5 smsu6 gyur to || mkhas pa blo gros
bzan po dka' thub pa khyod kyis 'di nas bzuñ nas bzod pa i pha rol tu phyin pa yañ rdzogs par bya'o ||
bzan po dañ ñan (30a) par byas pa la bzod par bya'o || ji ltar sa'i7 sten du gtsan ba dañ mi gtsan ba gos
par byas nas gži8 kho bar mi byed pa bžin du bzod ciñ bsran9 pa dañ lhag par gnas pa de bžin du'o ||
de ltar 'di ltar khyod kyis kyañ gnod pa dañ phan par byas kyan bzod ciñ bsran10 par byas na sans
rgyas thob par 'gyur ro11 || drug pa bzod pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa brtan par byas nas gnas bar gyis sig12
| de'i13 phyir gsuns pa |

Bv II 140-144

' di tsam 'ba' žig ma yin gyi14 || gañ žig byañ chub thob 'dod chos ||
gzan pa yañ ni btsal bar bya || gañ žig chos ni thob byed pa ||
de yi tshe na tahol ba mthon || drug pa bzod pa'i pha rol phyin || ž
shon gyi skyes bu chen po yi15 || bsñen dañ bsten16 par byas pas so17 ||
re žig drug pa 'di yis ni ||18
de la že sdañ ma byas na || yañ dag byañ chub thob par 'gyur || {Pā23}

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1 LN rnyamsu.
2 SLN tu, DQ du.
3 SDLN bgtan, Q ggtan.
4 LN rgyasu.
5 SDQ bu'i, LN bu yi.
6 LN smsu
7 DQ sa'i, SLN sa yi.
8 SDQ giñ, LN bžin.
9 S bsran, DN sran, Q sren, L sron.
10 S bsran, DN sran, Q sren, L sran.
11 N 'gyuro.
12 SD sig, QLN cig.
13 SDQ de'i, LN de yi.
14 SDLN gyi, Q gyis.
15 SQLN yi, D yis.
16 SLN bsten, DQ brten.
17 N paso.
18 SDQLN omit pada from Pāli: tāva dalhaṃ katvā samādiya.

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ji ltar yāṅ ni sa gzhī la || gtsaṅ daṅ mi gtsaṅ byugs pa na ||
thams cad blugs kyaṅ¹ bzod par byed || skyug bro ba ni byed pa med ||
de bzin khrod kyis thams cad la || phan daṅ gnod pa byed pa na ||
bzod pa’i pha rol phyin gyur nas || byaṅ chub yāṅ dag thob par ’gyur ||

I 28.
gzhan yāṅ saṅs rgyas su² byed pa’i chos ‘di ’ba’ žig ma yin par blta bar bya’o || lhag par tshol ba na³
bdun pa bden pa’i pha rol tu phyin pa mthoṅ nas ‘di lta bu’i⁴ sans su⁵ gyur to || mkhas pa blo gros
bzaṅ po dka’ thub pa khyod kyis ‘di nas bzsūñ nas | bden pa’i pha rol tu phyin pa yāṅ rdzogs par bya’o
|| thog mgo la (30b) lhun bar gyur na yāṅ nor la sogs pa’i phyir du ’dun pa la sogs pa’i dbaṅ gis šes
nas brdzun mi smra’o || ji ltar na tha skar⁶ la sogs pa’i rgyu skar⁷ dus thams cad du raṅ raṅ ’gro ba’i
lam dor nas lam gzhan nas mi ’gro bar raṅ gi lam niṅ nas ’gro ba’o || de ltar ‘di ltar khyod kyis kyaṅ
bden pa bzsūñ nas brdzun mi byed pas ni saṅs rgyas thob par ’gyur ro⁸ || bdun pa bden pa’i pha rol tu
phyin pa brtan par byas nas gnas par gyis šig⁹ | de’i¹⁰ phyir gsuṅs pa |

Bv II 145-149
‘di tsam ’ba’ žig ma yin gyi¹¹ || gaṅ žig byaṅ chub thob ’dod chos ||
gzhan pa yāṅ ni btsal bar bya || gaṅ žig chos ni thob byed pa ||
de yi tse na tshol ba mthoṅ || bdun pa bden pa’i pha rol phyin ||
sṅon gyi skyes bu chen po yi¹² || bsñen daṅ bsten¹³ par byas pas so¹⁴ ||
re žig bdun pa ’di yis ni || brtan par byas nas gnas par gyis ||
de la rdzun¹⁵ ni mi smra bas || yāṅ dag byaṅ chub thob par gyis ||
ji ltar tha skar žes bya ba || lha daṅ mi rnam bshungs pa¹⁶ ni ||
dus kyi lo yi dus su ni || lam gzhan du ni mi ’gro’o ||
khyod kyi kyi na di bzin bden || bden pa bzu nas mi 'gro ba || bden pa i pha rol phyin gyur pas || bya chub ya dag thob par 'gyur ||

I29.
gzan ya sn gsnyas su byed pa i chos 'di 'ba' zig ma yin par blta bar bya'o || lhag par tshol ba na brgyad pa lhag par gnas pa i pha rol tu' phyin pa mthon nas 'di lta bu'i sems su' gyur to || mkha pa blo gros bza po dka' thub pa khyod kyi 'di nas (31a) bzu nas lhag par gnas pa i pha rol tu phyin pa ya dag par' rdzogs par bya'o || ga n zig lhag par gnas par gyis 5 de la lhag par gnas na g.yo ba med par 'gyur ro' || ji ltar na ri bo ni' phyogs thams cad nas ru n gis bskyod kyi a g.yo bar mi 'gyur zi n bskyod par mi 'gyur8 ci n || ran gi gnas zig9 tu gnas so || de ltar 'di ltar khyod kyi a bdag ni d lhag par gnas pa rnam s mi g.yo bar gyur na sa n gsnyas thob par 'gyur ro10 || brgyad pa lhag par gnas pa i pha rol tu phyin pa bta n par byas na gnas par gyis11 | de'i phyir gsuns pa |

Bv II 150-154
'di tsam 'ba' zig ma yin gyi || ga n zig bya chub thob 'dod chos || gzan pa ya n ni btsal12 bar bya || ga n zig chos ni13 thob byed pa || {Pā24}
de yi tshe na tshol ba mthon || brgyad pa lhag gnas pha rol phyin || sbon gyi skyes bu chen po yi14 || bsñen dañ bsten15 par byas pas so16 ||
re zig17 brgyad pa 'di yis ni || bta n par bya ste gnas par gyis || de la khyod ni g.yo med pas || ya dag bya chub thob par 'gyur ||
ji ltar ri bo'i brag chen po || g.yo ba med ci n legs par gnas || ru n chen pos ni g.yo ba med || ran gi gnas su gnas pa fi d ||
de bzin khyod kyi18 lhag gnas par || thams cad du ni mi g.yo bar || lhag gnas pha rol phyin gyur pas || ya dag bya chub thob par 'gyur ||

1 N gsnyas.
2 SDQL tu, N omits.
3 N sems.
4 S dag par, DQLN omit.
5 SLN omit, DQ la.
6 N 'gyuro.
7 SDQL ni, N na.
8 SDQL 'gyur, N gyur.
9 SDQ zig, LN zig.
10 N 'gyuro.
11 SDQ šig, QL cig.
12 SDQN btsal, L btsal.
13 SDQ ni, LN 'di.
14 SQLN yi, D yis.
15 SLN bsten, DQ brten.
16 N paso.
17 SDQN zig, L šig.
18 SDQ kyis, LN kyi.
I 30.

gzn yan saṅs rgyas su¹ byed pa'i chos 'di 'ba' Žig ma yin par (31b) blta bar bya'o || lhag par tshol ba na dgu pa byams pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa mtshoṅ bas de lta bu'i khams su² gyur to || mkhas pa blo gros bzaṅ po dka' thub pa khyod kyis 'di nas bzuṅ nas byams pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa yan rdzogs par bya'o || pham pa daṅ mi phan par gyur kyaṅ sems geig tu bya'o || ji ltar chu ni sdig pa can gyi skye bo daṅ dge ba'i skye bos kyaṅ bsil bar gyur ciṅ geig tu mtshuṅs par byas nas reg go³ || de ltar na 'di ltar khyod kyis kyaṅ sems can thams cad⁴ la byams pa'i sems geig tu gyur nas saṅs rgyas thob par 'gyur ro⁵ || dgu pa byams pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa bṛtan par byas te gnas par gyis šig⁶ || de'i phyir gsuṅs pa |

Bv II 155-159

'ti tsam 'ba' Žig ma yin gyi || gaṅ Žig byaṅ chub thob 'dod chos ||
gzsan pa yaṅ ni btsa'o⁷ bar bya || gaṅ Žig chos ni⁸ thob byed pa ||
de yis⁸ tshe na tshol ba mthon || dgu pa byams pa'i pha rol phyin ||
śnong gyi skyes bu chen po yi⁹ || bṣn'en daṅ bsten¹⁰ par byas pa'o ||
re Žig dgu pa 'ti yis ni || byams par byas te gnas par gyis ||
gal te byaṅ chub thob 'dod na || byams pa mtshuṅs pa med par 'gyur ||
ji ltar chu žes bya ba la || dge 'am sdig pa'i skye bo ni ||
mtshuṅs par bsil bar gyur fa reg || rdul daṅ dri ma spon¹² bar byed¹³ ||
de ltar khyod kyis mi phan daṅ || phan la'aṅ mtshuṅs par byams par bya ||
byams pa'i pha rol phyin gyur nas || yaṅ dag byaṅ chub thob par 'gyur ||

I 31.

gzn yan saṅs rgyas su¹⁴ (32a) byed pa'i chos 'di 'ba' Žig ma yin par blta bar bya'o || lhag par tshol ba na beu pa btaṅ sfioms kyi pha rol tu phyin pa mtshoṅ nas 'di lta bu'i¹⁵ semp su¹⁶ 'gyur¹⁷ to || mkhas pa blo gros bzaṅ po dka' thub pa khyod kyis 'di nas bzuṅ nas btaṅ sfioms kyi pha rol tu phyin pa yaṅ

¹ LN rgyasu.
² LN khamṣu.
³ L rego.
⁴ SDLN thams cad, Q omits.
⁵ LN 'gyuro.
⁶ SD šig, QLN cigm.
⁷ SDQL btsal, N brtsal.
⁸ SDQ ni, LN 'di.
⁹ SDLN de yi, Q de'i.
¹⁰ SQN yis, D yis.
¹¹ SLN bsten, DQ brten.
¹² SDLN spon, Q sbos.
¹³ SDLN byed, Q byad.
¹⁴ LN rgyasu.
¹⁵ SDQ bu'i, LN bu yi.
¹⁶ LN semṣu.
¹⁷ SDQ 'gyur, LN gyur.
Rin ba'i glen gzi

rdzogs par bya'o || bde ba 'am sdug bsñal yañ bar ma la gnas par bya'o || ji ltar sa gzi la gtsañ ba dañ mi gtsañ bas byugs kyan bar mar gnas par 'gyur ro1 || de ltar 'di ltar khyod kyis kyañ bde ba dañ sdug bsñal ba la bar mar gnas par gyur na sañs rgyas thob par 'gyur ro2 || bcu pa btañ sñoms kyi pha rol tu phyin pa brtan par byas la gnas par gyis šig3 | de'i phyir gsañs pa | {Pā25}

Bv II 160-164

'di tsam 'ba' zig ma yin gyi || gañ žig byañ chub thob 'dodchos ||
gžan pa yañ ni btsal bar gyis || gañ žig chos ni thob byed pa ||
de yi tshe na tshol ba mthon || bcu pa btañ sñoms pha rol phyin ||
snon gyi skyes bu chen po yiy4 || bsñen dañ bsten5 par byas pas so6 ||
re žig7 bca pa 'di yis ni || brten8 par byas nas gnas par gyis ||
srañ ni gañ bar 'gyur ba bžin || yañ dag byañ chub thob par 'gyur ||
ji ltar sa gzi žes bya la || gtsañ dañ mi gtsañ byugs9 pa na ||
ltos pa med cin btañ sñoms pas || khrö ba med par spoñ ba yin ||
ji ltar khyod kyis kyañ bde sdug || dus nrams kun tu srañ bžin du ||
btañ sñoms pha rol phyin gyur nas || yañ dag byañ chub thob par 'gyur || (32b)

I 32.

de nas bsams pa | 'jig rten pa 'di nrams byañ chub sens dpa' la byañ chub rdzogs par byed pa dañ sañs rgyas su10 byed pa'i chos de mams ſnid do || pha rol tu phyin pa bcu dor na gžan med do || pha rol tu phyin pa bcu po 'di ni steñ gi nam mkha'11 na yah med do || 'og gi sa gzi la yañ med do12 || šar la sogs pa'i phyogs nrams na yañ med do13 || bdag ſnid kho na'i sñiiñ gi șa'i nañ na gnas so14 || de ltar de'i15 sñiiñ la so sor16 gnas pa mthon nas thams cad brtan par bya ste gnas par bya'o || yañ dañ yañ du dran par bya ste lugs las byuñ ba dañ lugs las zlog17 pa brten18 par byed do19 || tha ma nas bzuñ ste

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1 LN 'gyuro.
2 LN 'gyuro.
3 SD šig, QLN cig.
4 SQLN yi, D yis.
5 SLN bsten, DQ brten.
6 LN paso.
7 SDQN žig, L šig.
8 SDQ brten, LN brtan.
9 SDLN byugs, Q byug.
10 LN rgyasu.
11 LN namkha’
12 L medo.
13 L medo.
14 LN gnaso.
15 DQ de'i, SLN de yi.
16 DQ sor, SLN so.
17 SLN zlog, D bzlog, Q zlag.
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Rin ba'i gleś gzi

thog ma'i bar bsam par bya'o || dañ po nas bzuñ nas tha ma'i bar bsam mo || dbus nas bzuñ nas thog ma dañ' tha ma'i bar bsam par bya'o || thog ma dañ tha ma nas bzuñ nas dbus kyi bar blta' bar bya'ö || lus yoons su³ gton⁴ ba ni pha rol tu phyin pa žes bya ba'ö⁵ || phyi'i⁶ loš spyd yoons su⁷ gton ba ni ųe ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa žes bya ba'ö || srog yoons su⁸ gton ba ni don dam pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa žes bya ba'ö || pha rol tu phyin pa bcu po dañ || ųe ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa bcu po dañ || don dam pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa bcu po dañ || de'i¹⁴ pha rol tu phyin pa bcu dran par byas nas chos kyi gzi's 'bum phrag gnis dañ || ston phrag bži bcu lhag (33a) pa'i sa chen po 'di'i¹⁵ stugs la glaň po che'i¹⁶ rkaň pas gnon cin smyug ma 'chag pa bžin du'ö || bur śin gi 'khrul 'khor bžin du btsir ba dañ sgra chen po sgrogs pa bžin du yañ dag par sgrogs so¹⁷ || rañ dag par rab tu g.yos te rdza mkhan gyi 'khor lo bžin no || 'bru mar gyi 'khrul 'khor bžin du yoons su¹⁹ bskor ro²⁰ || de'i phyir gsuns pa |

Bv II 165-167

'di yi 'jig rten de rnams fiid || gañ žig bya'n chub thob byed chos || 'di ni sten dañ gzan na'añ med || brtan par bya ste sems la żog²¹ || rañ bžin gyi's ni g.yo med par || 'di yi chos ni dran par byed || chos kyi gzi yi sa gži ni || 'jig rten ston phrag rab tu g.yos ||

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18 S brten, DQLN brtan.
19 SDQ byed do, LN bya'o.
1 SDQL dañ, N nas.
2 SDQ bila, LN lta.
3 LN yoonsu.
4 SDQ gton, LN bton.
5 SD bya'ö, QLN bya'o.
6 SDLN phyi'i, Q phyi ma'i.
7 LN yoonsu.
8 LN yoonsu.
9 SDLN bya'ö, Q bya'o.
10 SDQN po'o, L po 'o.
11 DQ me'i, SLN me yi.
12 LN stensu.
13 SDQN kyis, L gyis.
14 DQ de'i, SLN de yi.
15 DQ 'di'ı, SLN 'di yi.
16 SLN che'i, DQ ches.
17 LN sgrogso.
18 L g.yoso.
19 LN yoonsu.
20 N bskoro.
21 SDQ žog, LN žig.
Rin ba 'i glen gzi

sams med pa yi¹ sa gzi ni || bur śīn 'khorul 'khor bžin du btsir ||
'bru mar 'khorul 'khor bžin du 'khor || de ltar sa ni rab tu g.yos || {Pā26}

sa chen po 'di g.yos pas dga' ba can gyi groṅ khyer na gnas pa'i mi rnam ddañ bar ma nus te | bskal pa'i mtha' yi² ruṅ gis bskyod pa'i sa'i śīn chen po g.yos pa bžin brgyal ba dañ bag med pas 'gyel bar gyur to || bum pa la sogs pa'i snod ni 'dzad³ pa dañ | phan tshun du phrad⁴ pa'i sgra dañ phye ma dañ dum⁵ bur gyur to || skye bo thams cad 'jigs par gyur nas ston pa'i druā du⁶ nê bar soṅ no⁷ || bcom ldan 'das ci lags | 'di'i klu 'khrugs pa 'am | 'di'i 'byun po 'am | gnod sbyin nam | lha rnam sam | gžan rnam 'khrugs sam | bdag (33b) cag gis 'tshal bar ma gyur to || gžan yaṅ 'di'i skye bo chen po thams cad la nê bar 'tše bar gyur to || ci'i⁸ rgyu 'di'i 'jig rten gyi sdīg pa las gyur ram⁹ | yaṅ na dge ba las¹⁰ gyur | bdag cag la¹¹ 'di rnam kyi rgyu mtshan rnam gsuṅ du gsol žes žus so¹² || ston pas de rnam kyi gtam thos nas khyed rnam 'jigs par ma byed cig | khyed rnam cuṅ zad kyaṅ ma sams śig¹³ | mtshan ma 'di rnam la khyed rnam la 'jigs pa med do¹⁴ || gaṅ tshe dag gis de¹⁵ riṅ mkhas pa blo gros bzaṅ po dka’ thub pa ma 'oṅs pa na gā tsa ma¹⁶ žes bya ba'i sāṅs rgyas su¹⁷ | gyur ro¹⁸ žes luṅ bstan¹⁹ to || de ni 'dir pha rol tu phyin pa dran par byed do²⁰ || des²¹ pha rol tu phyin pa dran par byed ciṅ dp'yod do || de'i chos kyi gzi brjig kyis²² ston phrag bcu'i 'jig rten gyi kham thams cad skad cig tsam gyis g.yo ba dañ sgra 'byin no žes gsuṅ no²³ || de'i phyir gsuṅs pa |

Bv II 168-174

¹ SDLN pa yi, Q pa'i.
² SDQ yi, LN yis.
³ SDQL 'dzad, N mdzad.
⁴ SDQL phrad, N 'phrad.
⁵ SDQN omit, L bum.
⁶ DQLN du, S omits.
⁷ N soṅo.
⁸ SDQ ci'i, LN ci yi.
⁹ DQLN ram, S tam.
¹⁰ SDLN las, Q la.
¹¹ SDLN gyur bdag cag la, Q omits.
¹² L žuso.
¹³ SD śig, QLN cig.
¹⁴ L medo.
¹⁵ DN de, SQL di.
¹⁶ DLN gō ta ma, S go'u ta ma, Q gō rta ma.
¹⁷ LN rgyasu.
¹⁸ LN 'gyuro.
¹⁹ SDQN bstan, L brtan.
²⁰ L byedo.
²¹ DQLN des, S de.
²² SDLN kyis, Q kyi.
²³ LN gsuṅo.

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Rin ba'i glen gzi

ji srīd 'khor rnam yod pa la || saṅs rgyas kyi¹ ni sbrel bas na ||
de ni de ru sduŋ bshnal sems || brgyal bar gyur nas sa la ņal ||
bum pa ston phrag du ma daň || snod chen² brgya phrag maň po rnam ||
der ni phyte ma ži m mor gyur || phan tshun thug ciṃ³ 'chag⁴ pas so⁵ ||
brgyal daň skrag daň 'jigs pa daň || gnod ciṅ gzir ba'i sems kyiś 'gyel ||
skye bo thams cad gcig tu 'dus || mar me mdzad kyi drun du soň ||
'jig rten pa rnam ci phyir gyur || dge ba'm⁶ yaň na⁷ sdig gam ci ||
'jig rten kun la ſier 'tshe⁸ byuň || spyan (34a) ldan legs par gsuň du gsol ||
der ni chos bstan⁹ ciṅ || thub pa chen po mar me mdzad ||
'jigs par ma byed dbugs dbyuň gis || 'di yi sa gzǐ g.yo bas ni ||
 gan ſīg de¹⁰ rin bdag lun bstan || 'jig rten pa rnam saṅs rgyas 'gyur ||
de ni chos ni dran par byed || sron gyi rgyal ba bsten¹¹ byas śiň ||
skye bo chen po rnam kyiś de bźin gšeṣ pa'i gsuň thos pas dga' ba daň tshim pa skyes nas || me tog daň ||
dri bzaň daň || byug pa rnam blaus te dga' ba can gyi groň khyer nas 'thon¹³ nas || byaň chub
sems dpa'i drun du soň ste me tog la soň pa mchod nas phyag daň bstod pa bya ste¹⁶ dga' ba can gyi
groň khyer ſǐd du gnas so¹⁵ || byaň chub sems dpa kyaň pha rol tu phyin pa bcu dran par byas nas
brtson 'grus brtan par bya ste¹⁶ lhag par gnas nas stan las laňs so¹⁷ || de'i phyir gsuňs pa ||

Bv II 175-176

saṅs rgyas kyi ni gsuň thos nas || de ma thag tu 'jigs med sems ||
thams cad bdag gi drun du 'oňs || slar yaň phyag ni byas nas so¹⁸ ||
Rin ba'i gleñ gzi

saṅs rgyas yon tan sems par byed ||

de tshe bdag gis stan las laṅs || mar me mdzad la phyag byas so²

de nas byaṅ chub sems dpā' stan las laṅs pa na ston phrag bcu'i lha thams cad 'dus nas lha'i me tog
daṅ dri bzaṅ gis mchod pa byas | 'phags pa (34b) blo gros bzaṅ po dka' thub pa de yis de³ riṅ stobs
bcu daṅ ldan pa'i mar me mdzad kyi žabs druṅ du don chen po don du gñer ba'i phyir don du gñer to
|| de yis de mnams la bar good⁴ med ciṅ rdzogs par 'gyur ro⁵ || de la 'jigs pa med pa daṅ | žum pa med
par 'gyur ro⁶ || sku la na cuṅ zad kyaṅ mi 'byuṅ žiṅ myur du pha rol tu phyin pa rdzogs par byas nas
yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i saṅs rgyas grub par gyis sig⁷ | ji ltar me tog can gyi śiṅ nam 'bras bu can gyi
śiṅ dus su me tog smin pa daṅ 'bras bu smin pa ŋid do || de bzin du khyod kyis kyaṅ de'i dus su lhag
par gnas par byed la myur du mchog rdzogs par byed pa la sogṣ pa'i bstod pa daṅ bkra śis pas
bstod do || de bzin du bstod pa byas nas lha mnams raṅ raṅ gi gnas su soṅ no || byaṅ chub sems dpas
kyaṅ lha la sogṣ pa'i bstod pa thos par byas nas | bdag gis pha rol tu phyin pa bceu rdzogs par byas te
bskal pa graṅs med pa bţi daṅ | 'bum phrag gcig lhag pa'i mthar saṅs rgyas thob par 'gyur bas brtson
'grus brtan po lhag par gnas nas nam mkha⁸ la 'phags te gaṅs can gyi gnas ņid la gšegs so⁹ || de'i
phyir gsuṅs pa |

Bv II 177-187

lha daṅ mi yi me tog mnams || lha daṅ mi mnams gñiṣ ka yis ||
stan las laṅs par gyur nas ni || me tog mṭshunṣ par bsdus nas so¹⁰ ||
lha daṅ mi mnams gñiṣ ka¹¹ yaṅ || thams cad ži bar gyur žes¹² bstod ||
khyod kyi chen po don du gñer || ji ltar 'dod pa de thob bo¹³ ||
dus min 'chi (35a) ba riṅ du soṅ || nad mnams thams cad fams par gyur ||
khyod la bar Chad mi 'byuṅ ņo¹⁴ || mchog gi byaṅ chub myur du thob ||

dji ltar dus su sleb pa na || ljon śiṅ me tog bye bar gyur ||
de bzin khyod kyis¹⁵ dpā' chen pos || saṅs rgyas ye ṣes me tog gyur ||

¹ SDQLN omit Pāli pada: daḷham katvāna mānasam.
² N byaso.
³ SDQL de, N da.
⁴ SD good, Q chod, LN bcod.
⁵ LN 'gyuro.
⁶ N 'gyuro.
⁷ SDN śig, QL cig.
⁸ LN namkha’.
⁹ LN gšegsə.
¹⁰ L gnaso.
¹¹ SDQN ka, L ga.
¹² DQLN žes, S ces.
¹³ L thobo.
¹⁴ LN 'byuṅo.
¹⁵ SGLN kyis, D kyi.

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Rin ba'i gle'n gzi

gaṅ žig ji ltar rdzogs saṅs rgyas || pha rol phyin bcu rdzogs par byas ||
de bzin khyod kyi dpa’ chen pos || pha rol phyin bcu rdzogs par gyis ||

ji ltar gaṅ žig rdzogs saṅs rgyas || byaṅ chub sšin po rdzogs par gyur ||
de bzin khyod kyi dpa’ chen pos || rgyal ba’i byaṅ chub rdzogs par gyis ||

gan žig ji ltar rdzogs saṅs rgyas || chos kyi ’khor lo bskor bar gyur ||
de bzin khyod kyi dpa’ chen pos || chos kyi ’khor lo bskor bar gyis ||

ji ltar zla ba ŋa ba bžin || yoṅs su’ dag pas ’od ’gyed pa ||
de bzin khyod kyis3 bsam rdzogs pa’i || ston phrag bcu yi ’od phyun žig3 ||

ni ma sgra gcana las grol ba || tsha žin ’od zer rab tu ’gyed || {Pa28}
de bzin ’jig rten grol byas nas || khyod kyi dpal ldan ’od zer phyun5 ||

gan žig ji ltar chu klun ni || rgya mtsho chen po’i rjes su6 ’gro ||
de ltar lha mi’i ’jig rten tshogs || khyod kyi rjes su7 ’jug par ’gyur ||
de mams khyod la bstod ciṅ bṣaṅs || chos bcu po la gnas byas nas ||
de yi chos mams rdzogs byed ciṅ || de tshe nags tshal chen por phyin ||

mkhas pa bло gros bzaṅ po’i gtam (35b) du bya ba rdzogs so8 ||

I 33.

dga’ ba can gyi groṅ khyer du gnas pa mams groṅ khyer du žugs nas saṅs rgyas la sogs pa’i dge sloṅ gi dge ’dun mams la sbyin pa chen po btan9 ŋo || ston pas de mams la chos bstan ciṅ bstan nas skye bo maṅ po skyabs su10 ’gro ba la gnas par byas te || dga’ ba can gyi groṅ khyer nas ’thon11 te lhag par gnas pa ji srid ’tsho’i12 bar de srid du gnas nas | saṅs rgyas kyi ’phrin13 las thams cad byed ciṅ go rim14 bzin du lhag ma med par yoṅs su15 mya ŋan las ’das pa’i dbyiṅs su16 yoṅs su17 mya ŋan las ’das so18 ||
de la cuñ zad brjod pas de thams cad la sañs rgyas kyi rgyud la brjod pa’i rigs¹ pa de bzin du² rig par bya’o || de la gsuñs pa |

Bv II 188-206, 212-213, 215-218

de tshe khyed³ rnam s mchod ston byed || dge ’dun dañ bcas ’jig rten ’dren ||
de la skyabs su⁴ ’gro ba yin || ston pa mar me ndzad pa la ||
de bzin gség pas ñes gsuñs pa’i || gañ žig skyabs su⁵ ’gro bar gyur ||
gañ žig tshul khrims lña dañ ldan || gžan yañ tshul khrims bcu po yi ||
gañ žig la ni gžan byin⁶ pa || mchog gi ’bras bu bži po dañ ||
gañ žig la ni mtshuñs med chos || so so yañ dag rig pa byin ||

phun tshogs mchog ni gañ žig la || brgyan nas mi yi khyu mchog byin ||
gañ žig la ni rig pa gsum || mhon par šes pa drug la žugs ||
de yis⁷ rig pa skye bo’i tshogs || thub pa chen po’i gðams pa byin ||
de yis rgya chen por ni gyur || (36a) ’jig rten mgon po’i bstan pa⁸ la’o ||

khyu mchog phrag pa⁹ ’gram chen po || mar me mdzad kyi mtshan dañ ldan ||
skye bo mañ po agrol bar byed || ſan ’gro yoñs su¹⁰ grol bar byed ||
grol ba’i phyir du skye bo mthoñ || ston phrag brgya yi dpag tshad du ||
skad cig tsam gyis¹¹ ſe bar soñ || thub pa chen po de mkhyen phyir ||
dañ por ’dus pa’i sañs rgyas kyis || bye ba brgya po rtogs par byas ||
mgon po ’dus pa gñis pa ni || ’bum phrag gcig gis rtogs par byas ||
gañ tshe la yi gnas su¹² ni || sañs rgyas kyis¹³ ni chos bstan 노¹⁴ ||
bye ba ston phrag dgu bcu yi || ’dus pa gsum pa la ni gyur || {PÅ29}
de rnam ’dus pa gsum du gyur || ston pa mar me mdzad kyi ’o¹⁵ ||
bye ba ston phrag brgya yis ni || dañ po¹⁶ yi ni ’dus pa yin ||
slar yāñ nā ra dha yī phur || rgnyal ba gcig pur bzung pa ni ||
zag pa'i dri ma zad pa yī || bye ba brgya ni ži ba dañ ||

dpa' bo chen po jī srid bzung || ri yī steñ na bcta ||
stoñ phrag bya ba dgu bcu yis || de tshe thub pa yī ni 'khor ||

bdag gas de yī dus su ni || sdom brtson dka' thub pa yī mchog ||
bdag ni bar snañ la ni 'gro || mthon sès lha yī pha rol son ||
stoñ phrag bcu dañ ñi śu ni || chos la 'dus par gyur pa'o ||

gcig dañ gnis kyi 'dus pa ni || bgrañ du med chīn grans med doñ ||

rgnya che ded dpun cañ śes pa || de tshe rdzu 'phrul ldan žiñ rdzogs ||
bcom ldan 'das ni mar me mdzad || (36b) bstan pa śin tu dag chīn mdzes ||

'bum phrag bzi po rnam la ni || mthon śes drug dañ rdzu 'phrul ldan ||
mar me mdzad ni 'jig rten mkhyen || rtag tu 'khor rnam syoñ' dag ldan ||

gañ žig de yī dus su ni || mi rnam dzos po gtoñ ba dañ ||
sems kyi lhag ma ma thob pa || de rnam skur pa 'debs par gyur ||
me tog bzañ po'i tshig rñed9 pa || dgra bcom rnam ni de dañ mtshuñs ||
dri ma med chīn zag pa zad || lha dañ mi rnam śe bar mdzes ||

groñ khyer dga' ba cañ žes pa || blo gros bzañ porgyal po'i rigs ||
yum ni blo gros bzañ mo yin || ston pa mar me mdzad yin no10 ||

bkra śis bzañ po śe rgnyal ni || fhan thos rnam kyi mchog yin no ||
legs 'ōns žes pa śe gnas yin || ston pa mar me mdzad pa'o ||

dga' ba śiīd dañ śin tu dga' || fhan thos ma yī11 mchog yin no12 ||
bcom ldan de yī byañ chub śiñ || pim pa la žes bya ba yin ||

mtho tshad khru ni brgyad cu13 pa || thub pa chen po mar me mdzad ||
śiñ bžin rab tu 'bar ba yī || me tog sā la'i14 śiñ rgyas bžin ||

lo ni stoñ phrag brgya ru ni || drañ sron chen po de yī15 tshe ||
de srid du ni gnas pa ste || skye bo mañ po sgrol bar byed ||

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1 SDQL nā ra dha yī, N nā ra dhi ya.
2 SDLN pa yī, Q pa'i.
3 SDQ bta, LN lta.
4 SDLN sdu, Q sdu.
5 SDQ yi, LN yiś.
6 L medo.
7 DQLN yōns, S yōn.
8 SDQN ma, L omits.
9 SDQ rñed, LN sñed.
10 L yino.
11 SD ma yī, QLN ma'i.
12 LN yino.
13 SDLN cu, Q bcu.
14 SD sā la'i, QLN sa la'i.
15 SDLN de yī, Q de'i.
chos kyi snañ bar byas nas ni || skye bo mañ po yañ dag sgrol ||
me yi phuñ po bzin du gsal || de nas ñian thos dañ bcañ 'das ||
de yañ rdzu 'phrul de grags pa || rin chen 'khor lo de žabs la ||
thams cad kun nas (37a) bral dañ || 'dus byaschos mams gtoñ ba 'o' ||

Bv III 1 {Pa30}
mar me mdzad kyi 'og tu ni || 'dren pa kô ñdi nya' žes pa ||
gzi brjid dpag med mtha' yas grags || rin la sems dpa' gžal du med ||

I 34.
slar yañ bcom ldan 'das mar me mdzad kyi3 'og gi char bskal pa grañs med pa gcig 'das nas | ston pa'i 'dren pa kô ñdi nya' žes bya byon no || de'i5 yañ ñian thos 'dus pa gsum du gyur to || 'dus pa dañ po la bye6 ba ston phrag brya'o7 || 'dus pa gñis pa la bye ba ston phrag gcig go8 || 'dus pa gsum pa la ni bye9 ba phrag dgu bcu'o || de'i10 tsbe byañ chub sems dpa' mam par rgyal ba žes bya ba 'khor los11 sgyur ba'i rgyal por gyur to || bye ba ston phrag brya'i12 grañs kyis sañs rgyas la sog pa dge sloñ gi dge 'dun chen po mams la sbyin pa chen po btañ no13 || ston pas byañ chub sems dpa' sañs rgyas su 'gyur ro14 žes lun bstan par byas nas chos bstan no || des ston pa'i chos thos nas rgyal srid spañs nas rab tu byuñ žo15 || des sde snod gsum po bslabs nas sñoms par 'jug pa bryad dañ mñon par sñes pa lña bskyed16 do17 || bsum gtan ma bor tshañs pa'i 'jig rten du skyes so18 || slar yañ sañs rgyas kô ñdi nya19 de'i20 gron khyer dga' ba can yin no || sín tu dga' ba'i rgyal po ni yab bo || riggs bzañ21 lña mo ni

\[\text{1 S ba 'o, DQLN ba'o.}\\ \text{2 D kô ñdi nya, S ko'u di nya, QLN kô di nya. Pâli: Konđaññia, cf. Mvy no. 1031 (1) Ājñāta-kâœññiya = Kun šes kâñ ñdi nya.}\\ \text{3 SDLN kyi, Q kyis.}\\ \text{4 D kô ñdi nya, S ko'u di nya, QLN kô di nya.}\\ \text{5 SDQ de'i, LN de yi.}\\ \text{6 SQLN bye, D bya.}\\ \text{7 SDLN brya'o, Q brgyad do.}\\ \text{8 N gcigo.}\\ \text{9 SDQN bye, L bya.}\\ \text{10 SDQ de'i, LN de yi.}\\ \text{11 DQ los, SLN lo.}\\ \text{12 DQ brgya'i, SLN brgya yi.}\\ \text{13 S btañ no, DQ gtoñ no, LN gtono.}\\ \text{14 LN rgyasu 'gyuro.}\\ \text{15 LN byuño.}\\ \text{16 SQLN bskyed, D bskyod.}\\ \text{17 L bskyedo.}\\ \text{18 LN skyeso.}\\ \text{19 D kô ñdi nya, S ko'u di nya, QLN kô di nya.}\\ \text{20 DQ de'i, SLN de yi.}\\ \text{21 SDQ bzañ, LN bzañs.}\]
Rin pa'i gle gzi

yum mo\(^1\) || bzaṅ po dañ legs bzaṅ gniš ni ŋan thos rnams kyi mchog go\(^2\) || mi 'gal ba\(^3\) žes bya ba ni ŋe gnas so\(^4\) || rgyal (37b) ma dañ ŋe rgyal ma ni ŋan thos ma'i mchog go || byaṅ chub kyi dhe ba'i šin ni śa lya’o\(^5\) || sku'i mtho tshad du khrug brgyad cu rtsa brgyad do\(^6\) || sku tshe’i tshad ni lo stoṅ phrag brgya’o ||

I 35.
de’i ’og gi char bskal pa graṅs med pa gcig 'das nas bskal pa gcig gi naṅ de ŋid du saṅs rgyas bzi byon par gyur to || bkra šis bzaṅ po dañ | thugs bzaṅ po dañ | nam gni can dañ | mdzes\(^7\) pa can no || bcom ldan 'das bka šis bzaṅ po'i ŋan thos kyi ’dus pa gsum du ’gyur\(^8\) te | de’i\(^9\) ’dus pa dañ po ni bye ba stoṅ phrag brgya’i i dge sloṅ no || gniš pa la\(^10\) bye ba\(^11\) stoṅ phrag gcig go || gsum pa la bye ba phrag dgu buc’o || ma’i spun gyi gzon nu kun dga’ bo žes bya ba bye ba phrag dgu buc’i ’khor dañ bcas pa ni chos ŋian pa’i phyir du’o ||ston pa’i ŋe bar gnas pa rnams soṅ no\(^12\) ||ston pa de’i sñon\(^13\) gyi gtam rnams go rims bzin du brjod par bya’o || de ’khor dañ bcas pa so so yaṅ dag par rig pa dañ dgra bcom pa thob bo\(^14\) ||ston pa des rigs kyi bu rnams la sbar gyi spyod pa rnams la bla žiṅ rdzu ’phrul las byuṅ ba’i lhun bzed dañ chos go sams gzigs te | phyag g.yas pa brkyaṅ\(^15\) nas dge sloṅ rnams tshur sōg cīg ces gusṅs pa dañ | thams cad de ma thag ŋid du rdzu ’phrul las byuṅ ba’i lhun bzed dañ chos go bzuṅ\(^16\) nas gnas bhrtan lo drug cu lon pa bzin du gyur te | cho ga\(^17\) phun sum tshogs par gyur nas ston pa la phyag byas te ’khor du gyur to || ji ltar gzan (38a) yaṅ saṅs rgyas gzan rnams la kun nas khrug brgyad cu pa’i\(^18\) sku tshad ŋid kyi ’od du gyur to || bcom ldan ’das de ŋid kyi sku’i ’od de lta bu ŋid ma yin gyi | dus stag tu stoṅ phrag buc’i ’jig rten gyi khams su\(^19\) ’phro žiṅ gnas te | šin dañ | sa dañ | ri dañ | rgya mtsho la sogs pa’i phyogs lhag ma rnams dañ | tshaṅ baṅ la sogs pa gser gyis spras pa bzin no || sku tshe’i tshad ni stoṅ phrag dgu buc’o || de rnams kyi dus\(^20\) la zla ba daṅ ŋi ma la sogs pa la raṅ

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1 LN yumo.
2 L mchogo.
3 SDQ ba, LN omit.
4 LN gnaso.
5 D śa lya’o, S śa lya’o, Q śa la bya’o, LN śa lya’o.
6 L bgryado.
7 S QLN mdzes, D mūnes.
8 SDQ ’gyur, LN gyur.
9 DQ de’i, SLN de yi
10 SDLN omit, Q ni.
11 DQLN bye ba, S omits.
12 L soto.
13 DQ sñon, SLN sūnum.
14 N thobo.
15 SDQ brkyaṅ, LN rkyaṅ.
16 SDQ gzuṅ, LN gzuṅ.
17 SDLN cho ga, Q chog.
18 SDLN cu pa’i, Q buc’i.
19 LN khamsu.
20 SLN dus, DQ lus.
Rin ba'i glen gzi

gi 'od kyi snan ba'i nus pa med do || mtshan mo daṅ 'nin mo'i bye brag mi 'ses so || {Pa31} sems can rnams kyi 'nin mo 'ni ma śar ba bžin du saṅs rgyas kyi 'od kyi rtag tu 'gro bar byed do || mtshan mo me tog zum pa daṅ śna dro'i dus su bya rnams skad 'byin pa la sogs pa la brten pas 'jig rten pas 'ni mtshan śes par byed do || yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i saṅs rgyas gžan rnams la ci'i phyir 'di lta bu med pa yin nam || med pa ni ma yin te | de rnams kyi kyang dgoṅs par gyur na | stoṅ phrag bcu'i 'jig rten gyi khams su'gyur pa 'am de bas lhag par yaṅ 'od 'phro bar byed do || slar yaṅ bcom Idan 'das bkra śis bzaṅ po śar gyi don du gñer ba'i bdaṅ gis te | gžan gyi 'od 'dom gaṅ ba bžin no || sku'i 'od kyi rgyun mi 'chad pa śnid du stoṅ phrag bcu'i 'jig rten gyi khams khyab pa byas nas gnas so || de'i byaṅ chub sems dpa'i spyod pa'i dus na thams cad sgrol bžin du bdag śnid gnas so || de'i bu daṅ bu mor bcas pa ri bo bam ga bžin du ri (38b) la bžugs so || de nas mche ba geig pa gdug pa can gyi gnod sbyin 'zig gis skyes bu chen po sbyin pa gtoṅ 'zes thos nas bram ze'i gzugs kyi fie bar soṅ ste sems dpa'chen po'i drun du bu daṅ17 bu mo sloṅ no || sems dpa'chen pos bram ze la bu daṅ bu mo sbyin no 'zes bsams nas dga' ba daṅ tshim pas chu'i mthar thug pa'i sa rnams g.yos so || de nas gnod sbyin 'chag pa'ī gnas kyi mthar tsog pur rgyab rten la22 'dug ste sems dpa'chen po la lta śiṅ 'dug go || de la des bu daṅ bu mo byin pa daṅ || des la phug za ba bžin du bu daṅ bu mo zos nas || gnod sbyin gyis skyes bu chen po de la blta ste | kha gdaṅs24 nas me 'bar ba bžin du khrag gi rgyun 'bab bo25 || de'i kha mthoṅ nas kyaṅ skra'i rtse mo tsam gyi yid mi bde ba yaṅ ma skyes par 'nas byin pa śin

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1 N medo.
2 LN šeso.
3 L byedo.
4 SDQN 'gro'i, L gro'i.
5 L dusu.
6 SQLN pas, D nas.
7 DQ 'jig rten pas, SLN omit.
8 L byedo.
9 LN kham su.
10 L byedo.
11 DQLN par, S phar.
12 LN gnas o.
13 LN gnas o.
14 SQLN bams ga, D lhag.
15 LN bžugs o.
16 LN pa.
17 DQ bu daṅ, SLN omit.
18 N slono.
19 L sbyino.
20 LN g.yos o.
21 SDLN tsog, Q gtsog.
22 SDLN lā, Q sa.
23 LN 'dugo.
24 SDQ gdaṅs, LN bdaṅs.
25 SDQ bo, LN bāis.

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tug gcig go \( \text{\textcircled{1}} \) \( \text{\textcircled{2}} \) \( \text{\textcircled{3}} \) \( \text{\textcircled{4}} \) \( \text{\textcircled{5}} \) \( \text{\textcircled{6}} \) \( \text{\textcircled{7}} \) \( \text{\textcircled{8}} \) \( \text{\textcircled{9}} \) \( \text{\textcircled{10}} \) \( \text{\textcircled{11}} \) \( \text{\textcircled{12}} \) \( \text{\textcircled{13}} \) \( \text{\textcircled{14}} \) \( \text{\textcircled{15}} \) \( \text{\textcircled{16}} \) \( \text{\textcircled{17}} \) \( \text{\textcircled{18}} \) \( \text{\textcircled{19}} \) \( \text{\textcircled{20}} \) \( \text{\textcircled{21}} \) \( \text{\textcircled{22}} \) \( \text{\textcircled{23}} \) \( \text{\textcircled{24}} \) \( \text{\textcircled{25}} \) 

\text{\textcircled{1}} \text{LN gcigo.} \\
\text{\textcircled{2}} \text{LN semso.} \\
\text{\textcircled{3}} \text{LN skyeso.} \\
\text{\textcircled{4}} \text{L gnero.} \\
\text{\textcircled{5}} \text{DQ du, SLN omit.} \\
\text{\textcircled{6}} \text{LN rgyasu.} \\
\text{\textcircled{7}} \text{LN tu, SDQ du.} \\
\text{\textcircled{8}} \text{LN gnaso.} \\
\text{\textcircled{9}} \text{LN dusu.} \\
\text{\textcircled{10}} \text{DLN gi, SQ gis.} \\
\text{\textcircled{11}} \text{SDQN gdnu, L sdu.} \\
\text{\textcircled{12}} \text{SDQN 'di'i, L 'di.} \\
\text{\textcircled{13}} \text{LN yonu.} \\
\text{\textcircled{14}} \text{SDQ bta, LN gta.} \\
\text{\textcircled{15}} \text{LN rigso.} \\
\text{\textcircled{16}} \text{SDLN gcig, Q eig.} \\
\text{\textcircled{17}} \text{SDQ snod, LN gnod.} \\
\text{\textcircled{18}} \text{SDLQ gis, N gyi.} \\
\text{\textcircled{19}} \text{SDLN 'de, Q 'di ma.} \\
\text{\textcircled{20}} \text{DQN sbar, SL spar.} \\
\text{\textcircled{21}} \text{SLN bar, DQ ba.} \\
\text{\textcircled{22}} \text{SLN padma'i, DQ pad ma'i.} \\
\text{\textcircled{23}} \text{S bsrus, DQLN bsrus.} \\
\text{\textcircled{24}} \text{LN 'gyuro.} \\
\text{\textcircled{25}} \text{Jātakaniṇāṇa p.31; Th 303; sTog 89a; PDhp 227; Uv 30. 7; Mvu II p. 80-1; Dhp-a I, 82; Ja IV no. 448, v.30, p. 54; Ja, IV, no. 510, p. 496; Bv-a p.144; Dhp-a I p. 99, IV p. 105; Th-a II p. 128; Ap-a p. 34; Bv-a p. 144; Ja, IV p. 54, 496; Dhs-a p. 32.} \\
\text{Jātakaniṇāṇa p.31,} \\
\text{dhammo have rakkhati dhammacariṁ,} \\
\text{dhammo sucino sukhaṁ āvahati,} \\
\text{esāṁsasmo dhamme sucino:}
chos bzin bsrnu na chos spyod do || chos kyis bsgral na chos bzin thob ||
legs par bsgral na chos phan yon || chos spyod nan 'gor mi 'gro'o || {På32}

'di'i las kyi' bras bu bcom ldan 'das de'i sku'i 'od kyis ston phrag bceu'i 'jig rten gyi khamz khyab cin gnas so || de'i tshe bdag cag ni byan chub sms dpa' shin tu sred pa 'zes bya ba'i bram zer gyur to ||
des ston pa mgRon6 du gñer ba'i phyir drun du soñ ste chos sñan po'i bñad pa thos nas btsun pa sañ bdag gi gñugs tshod la byon par8 zu 'zes so10 || bram ze dge sloñ 11 du tsam dgos 'zes gsñs pa dañ ||
btsun pa 'khör dañ bca's pa'i dge 'dun du tsam bdog ces 'žus so12 || de'i tshe ston pa'i 'dus pa dañ po nñid tsam yod do || de'i phyir bye ba ston phrag bryga yod ces gsñs so13 || btsun pa 'khör thams cad dañ bca's pa bdag gi khân par gñugs tshod la byon par (39b) zu 'zes 'žus pa dañ || bcom ldan 'das kyis gñan ste bram ces sañ14 don du gñer cîg | khân par 'gro žiñ bsam pa bdag gi dge sloñ 'di rñams la thug pa dañ zan dañ gos la sog pa 'bul bar nus so15 || bžugs pa'i gñas ji lta bu 'zes bsam so16 || dpag tshad bryga'd kñi bzi ston gi steñ na gñas pa'i lha'i rgyal po'i la ba dmar po'i rdo leb la bžugs pa na dro bar gyur te | bryga byin gañ žig bdag gi gñas 'di17 'dot18 ba'i sms su19 žig la yod sñam pa dañ ||

na duggati gnome dhammacārī. Patna Dharmapada 227, Sāraṇa varga.
 dharma'have rakkhati dhammacārī
dhamma' sucinno sukha'ya dahātī
esānu'samo dhamma sucinne
na duggatīm gacchati dhammacārī.

Udana varga 30.7, Sukhavarga.
 dharmo sadā raksati dhammacarīma
 dharmo' sucirna' sukham ādadbhātī
esānu'samo dhamma sucirme
na durgati gacchati dharmacārī.

Mahāvastu II p. 80-81 (b = Udana varga, Sukhavarga 30.6)
 dharmo hi vai raksati dharmacārīma
chatram mañaham yathā vārākāle
eso nuśamso dharmo sucirme
na durgati gacchati dharmacārī.

1 SN spyod do, DQ spyod de, L spyodo.
2 SDLN bsgral, Q bsgral.
3 SDQN kyi, L kyi.
4 SDQ de'i, LN de.
5 N gnaso.
6 SD mgRon, Q 'gRon, LN 'dron.
7 DQ sñan po'i, S mñan pa'i, LN sñan pa'i.
8 DQ par, SLN pa.
9 SLN omit, DQ 'žus.
10 LN šeso.
11 DQL omit, SN da.
12 L 'žuso.
13 SDQ so, LN pa dañ.
14 SDQL sañ, N sam.
15 L nuso.
16 LN bsamso.
17 SDQ 'di, LN 'dir.
phaṅ lha'i mig gis bītas pas skyes bu chen po de mthon nas | 'di ltar śīn tu sred pa'i bram zes sans rgyas la sogs pa dge sloṅ gi dge 'dun mgon' du gñer te | bżugs pa'i gnas kyaṅ bsam² kyi | bdağ kyaṅ der phyin nas bsod nams kyi cha len par rigs so³ śīam nas śīṇ mkhan gyi gzugs su⁴ sprul te⁵ | ste'u daṅ Ḟgra sta blaṅs te skyes bu chen po'i mdun du gnas par gyur nas | gaṅ su ŋīg kho bo la⁶ gla' byin te las ka byed pa yod ces smras so⁸ || skyes bu chen pos gzigs te | gaṅ ŋīg las ka⁹ byed nus ŋes gšuṅ¹⁰ pa daṅ | bdağ gis mi śes pa'i bzo med do | khaṅ pa 'am | bsti gnas sam | gaṅ ŋīg cuṅ zad byed pa'i bzo de bdağ gis byed kyaṅ¹¹ yañ¹² nus so¹³ ŋes zer ro¹⁴ || byān chub sems dpas smras pa | de'i phyir raṅ la las su¹⁵ bya yod do¹⁶ || kho bo saṅ 'phags pa las bye ba phrag brgya ba'i dge sloṅ gi dge 'dun mgon'¹⁷ du gñer to || de 'nams bżugs pa'i gnas (40a) byed pa nus sam | smras pa | bdağ gis bgyi'o || bdağ la gla¹⁸ ster bar nus sam | bu bdağ gis nus so¹⁹ || legs so²⁰ ŋes bya ba legs par byas so²¹ || phyin nas sa phyogs gcig bītas nas dpag tshad bou gñis sam | bou gṣum pa'i tshad kyi sa phyogs gcig²² tu zad par sṇon po'i dkyil 'khor bžin du steṅ mñaṃ par byas so²³ || des 'di 'nams kyi gnas tsam du rin po che sna bdun las byuṅ ba'i bsti gnas sa 'og nas phyuṅ nas bya'o ŋes bsam²⁴ žiṅ bdehyde || de ma tag par sa gzi bṛtöl nas bsti gnas grub bo || de ni gser las byuṅ ba'i ka ba 'nams la dṇul las byuṅ ba'i ka²⁵ žu'i steṅ du gser las byuṅ ba'i gdu'n²⁶ no²⁷ || nor bu'i ka ba la byi²⁸ ru'i raṅ bžin no || byi²⁹ ru'i ka ba la

¹⁸ SDQN 'dor, L 'doṅ.
¹⁹ LN semsu.
¹ SD mgon, Q 'gron, LN 'dron.
² SDLN bsams, Q bsam.
³ LN rigso.
⁴ LN gzugsu.
⁵ SDQ te, LN to.
⁶ DQLN la, S omits.
⁷ SDQ gla, LN bla.
⁸ LN smraso.
⁹ SDLN omit, Q su.
¹⁰ SLN gšuṅs, DQ gšuṅ.
¹¹ DQN kyaṅ, SL omit.
¹² SDQL yañ, N omits.
¹³ N nuso.
¹⁴ N zero.
¹⁵ N lasu.
¹⁶ DQ do, SLN de.
¹⁷ SD mgon, QLN 'gron.
¹⁸ SDQ gla, LN bla.
¹⁹ L nuso.
²⁰ L legso.
²¹ LN byaso.
²² SDN gcig, QL cīg.
²³ LN byaso.
²⁴ SDLN bsam, Q bsams.
²⁵ DQ ba 'nams la dṇul las byuṅ ba'i ka, SLN omit.
²⁶ SDLN gduṅ, Q sbuṅ.
²⁷ L gduṅo.
Rin ba'i gleh gzi

nor bu'i rañ bžin no || rin po che sna bdun las byuñ ba'i ka ba la rin po che sna bdun las byuñ ba'i ka žu ſii dī do || de nas bsti gnas kyi¹ bar bar du g.yer kha'i dra bar 'phyaṅ ba la blta žiṅ de btaŋ tsam ſii na dra ba 'phyaṅ ba² | gañ la rišu gis bskyod³ pa de la yan lag ḥa pa'ī rol mo sgra sṅan sgrugs te | ḥa'i glu dbyaṅs sgrugs pa bžin no || bar bar du spos kyi 'phren⁴ ba daṅ me tog gi 'phren⁵ ba 'phyaṅ ba la sems šiṅ 'phren⁶ ba 'phyaṅ ba la'ō || bye ba ston phrag bṛgya'i dge sloṅ gi dge 'dun gyi grāṅs kyis ston⁷ dañ rgyab rten rnam sā gāźi la bṛtol⁸ nas byuñ bar bsams so⁹ || {Pāṇi} de ma thag tu sa'i steṅ du grub bo¹⁰ || mtshams daṅ mtshams rnam sū¹¹ re rer chu'i snod chen po grub pa bsams so¹² || chu'i snod chen po de rnam sgrub bo¹³ || de dag (40b) thams cad sprul nas bram ze'i druṅ du soṅ nas || 'phags pa 'dir byon la bsti gnas gziṅs mdzod | bṣag la gla¹⁴ sbyin par rigs so¹⁵ žes žus nas skyes bu chen po gṣel te bsti gnas gziṅs nas de ma thag tu bṛgya byin mi snañ bar gyur to || gziṅs pa tsam na lus thams cad kha doṅ ḥa daṅ ldan pa la dga' ba rgyun mi 'chad par 'phro bar gyur to || de nas bsti gnas gziṅs nas 'di ltar yid la bsams so¹⁶ || bsti gnas 'di mir gyur pas bṣgrubs¹⁷ pa ma yin no || slar yaṅ bṣag gi lhag pa'i bsam pa daṅ bṣag gi¹⁸ yon tan rtogs pas nes par bṛgya byin gyi stan dro bar gyur nas bṛgya byin¹⁹ ḥa'i rgyal pos bsti gnas 'di byas par gyur to || de nas slar yaṅ 'di ltu bu'i tshul gyi bsti gnas su²⁰ ū ma geṅ žiṅ la sbyin pa gton ba ni bṣag gi rigs pa ma yin no || ū ma bdun du bṣag gir ster bar bsams so²¹ || phyi rol gyi sbyin pas ji tsam gyis kyang byāṅ²² chub sems dpa'ⁿ rnam dgyes par mi nus so²³ || ryiṅ gyis bṛgya pa'i mgo bo bcad pa daṅ | dri ma med pa'i mig bton pa daṅ | sīṁ gi ša bṛge
pa 'am bcad nas byin pa'i dus su byaṅ club sems dpa' btaṅ ba'i dgyes par 'gyur ro || bdag cag byaṅ club sems dpa' rnam kyi yan si bi'i skyes rabs las fix ma re rer doṅ tse khal lha lha ri ba'i rin gysis ņos nas sgo b dzi daṅ groṅ khuyer gyi dbus su sbyin pa gtoṅ no || de'i sbyin pa de gtoṅ bas yons su tshim pa med do || slar yaṅ gaṅ gi tshe brgya byin lha'i rgyal (41a) po bram ze'i gzugs kyi s 'oṅs nas mig bslans so || de'i12 tshe de'i13 mig bton nas ster ba niid kyi dgyes par 'gyur ro || skra'i rtse mo tsaṃ yan sams la sdug bsnaλ bar mi 'gyur ro || de bzin du sbyin pa'i rgyus byaṅ club sems dpa' la tshim pa med do || de'i phyir16 skyes bu chen po de yaṅ žag bdun du bdag gis bye ba ston phrag brgya'i18 graṅs kyi19 dge sloṅ gi dge 'dun rnam s la sbyin pa gtoṅ bar rigs so20 žes bsams so || de'i22 bsti gnaṣ su bžugs nas žag bdun du dga' ba pā na34 žes bya ba'i sbyin pa byin no || dga' ba can žes25 pa ni ches che ba'i snod26 ſin tu che ba 'o mas bkaṅ nas tshaṅ dbaṅ chen po'i steṅ du bžag28 nas | mes 'o ma šin tu bska bar bskol te 'bras cuṅ zad btab nas btsos te sbraṅ daṅ | dkar ba'i phyre ma daṅ | mar gsar pa rnam btsos pa'i bza' ba'i 'o thug ni dga' ba pā na žes brjod do || mi rnam kyi s 'dren par ma nus na lha rnam kyi kyuṅ bar bar du 'dren no31 || dpag tshad bcu gniś sam bcu gsum pa'i
Rin 'ba'i gleh gți

tshad kyi¹ gnas su² dge sloṅ rnams ma soṅ na | slar yan dge sloṅ de rnams raṅ raṅ gi³ mthugs so⁴ || žag bdun gyi mthar dge sloṅ thams cad kyi⁵ lhuṅ bzed⁶ bkruṣ nas sman gyi phyir du mar gsar pa dan | žun mar daṅ | sbran daṅ | bu ram bskol ba'i chu rnams kyis⁷ lhuṅ bzed bkaṅ⁸ nas chos gos gsum daṅ bcas pa phul lo⁹ || dge 'dun gzung nu rnams kyis¹⁰ dge sloṅ (41b) gis thob pa'i chos gos¹¹ kyi rgyu'i ras 'bum phrag gcig ri ba thob par gyur to ||ston pas¹² rjes su¹³ yi¹⁴ raṅ ba mdzad de¹⁵ || skyes bu 'dis 'di lta bu'i tshul gyis sbyin pa chen po byin no || gaṅ gi¹⁶ don du 'gyur žes rtog par byed do¹⁷ || ma'oṅs pa'i bskal pa 'bum phrag gcig lhag pa'i graṅs med pa gnis 'das pa na gö ta ma¹⁸ žes bya ba'i saṅs rgyas su¹⁹ 'gyur žes gzigs²⁰ te | skyes bu chen po bos nas {Pa34} khyod kyi dus 'di rnams 'das nas gö ta ma²¹ žes bya ba'i saṅs rgyas su 'gyur ro²² žes luṅ bstan no²³ || skyes bu chen pos luṅ bstan pa thos nas bdag ni saṅs rgyas su²⁴ 'gyur bas | bdag khyim na gnas pa la don med kyis rab tu 'byuṅ ho²⁵ sñaṃ du bsams so²⁶ || de de lta bu'i tshul daṅ ldan pas mchil ma dor ba bzin du khyim spaṅs nas ston pa'i drun du rab tu byuṅ žin²⁷ byuṅ na saṅs rgyas kyi gsuṅ rab bslabs nas mnon par šes pa daṅ sños par 'jug pa bskyed de²⁸ | tshe'i mthar tshaṅs pa'i 'jig rten du skyes so²⁹ || gzan yan bcom ldan 'das bkra šis bzaṅ po'i groṅ khyer mchog ces bya bar gyur to || yab ni mchog gi rgyal po'o || yun ni mchog ma žes

¹ SDQ kyi, LN kyis.
² LN gnasu.
³ DQLN gi, S gis.
⁴ LN bzungso.
⁵ SDLN kyi, Q gyi.
⁶ SDQN bzed, L gzed.
⁷ SDLN kyis, Q kyi.
⁸ SD bkana, QLN bskaṅ.
⁹ LN phulo.
¹⁰ SDLN kyis, Q kyi.
¹¹ DQLN gos, S omits.
¹² DQN pas, SL pa.
¹³ N rjesu.
¹⁴ SDLN yi, Q yid.
¹⁵ L mdzado.
¹⁶ DQLN gi, S gis.
¹⁷ L byedo.
¹⁸ DQLN go ta ma, S go'u ta ma.
¹⁹ LN rgyasu.
²⁰ SDQ gzigs, LN gzugs.
²¹ DQLN go ta ma, S go'u ta ma.
²² L rgyasu 'gyuro.
²³ L bstano.
²⁴ LN rgyasu.
²⁵ LN 'byuṅo.
²⁶ LN bsamso.
²⁷ DQLN byuṅ žin, S omits.
²⁸ L bskyede.
²⁹ LN skyeso.
bya ba'o || ltaṅ bzaṅ daṅ | chos kyi sde gñis ni ni thon kyi mchog go || bskyāṅ ba žes bya ba ni ņe gnas so || zi byed len 3 daṅ | mya ŋan med gñis ni ŋan thos ma'i mchog go || byaṅ chub ŋin ni klu śīn no || sku'i mtho tshad du khrū brgyad cu rtsa brgyad pa'o || ston phrag dgu bcu'i lo ni sku tshe'i tshad do || ston phrag (42a) dgu bcu bžugs nas mya ŋan las 'das so || saṅs rgyas mya ŋan las 'das nas sλar yān de ma thag par ston phrag bcu'i khor yug gi phyogs kun mun par gyur to || khor yug thams cad kyi mi rams cho ņes chen po 'debs so ||

By IV 1

kō ņdi nya'og tu ni || 'jig rten 'dren pa bkra śis bzaṅ || 'jig rten naṅ gi mun bsal nas || chos kyi snaṅ ba'i 'od bkye'o ||

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de bzin du ston phrag bcu'i 'jig rten gyi khams mun nag tu byas nas mya ŋan las 'das so || bcom ldan 'das de'i 'og gi char yid bzaṅ' zes bya ba'i ston pa byon no || de'i yaṅ ŋan thos kyi 'dus pa gsum ste | 'dus pa daṅ po la bye ba ston phrag brgya'i dge sloṅ no || 'dus pa gñis pa la gser gyi ri la bye ba ston phrag dgu bcu'o || gsum pa la bye ba ston phrag brgyad cu'o || de'i tshe sems dpa' chen po klu'i rgyal po mjam med ces bya bar gyur to || rdzu 'phrul gyi mthu daṅ ldan ŋin des saṅs rgyas byon pa thos nas gñen gyi ggrogs rnam 'khor du byas te | klu'i gnas nas 'thon te | bye ba ston phrag brgya'i dge sloṅ gi 'khor daṅ bcas pa'i bcom ldan 'das la lha'i rol moś ņe bar mchod nas sbyin pa chen po phul lo || so so la lha'i gos gñis gñis phul bas skyabs su 'gro ba'i tshul khrims la gnas so ||

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1 L mchogo.
2 LN gnaso.
3 SDLN omit, Q pa.
4 L mchogo.
5 LN śiṅo.
6 SDQ cu rtsa brgyad, LN omit.
7 LN 'daso.
8 DQN ņes, SL ņe.
9 LN 'debso.
10 D kō ņdi nya, S ko'u di nya, QLN kō di nya.
11 SDLN bsal, Q gšal.
12 SDLN gyi, Q kyi.
13 SDQN tu, L du.
14 LN 'daso.
15 SLN bzaṅ, DQ bzaṅs.
16 SDQ de'i, LN de yi.
17 SDQN cu'o, L bcu'o.
18 SDQ to, LN te.
19 L phulo.
20 SDLN gos, Q go.
21 LN skyabsu.
22 LN gnaso.

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yaṅ ston pa des ma 'oṅs pa na saṅs rgyas su¹ 'gyur bar luṅ bstan no² || bcom ldan 'das de'i groṅ khyer dge ba can žes bya bar gyur te³ | legs byin žes bya ba'i rgyal po ni (42b) yab bo⁴ || dpal ldan ma žes bya ba ni yum mo⁵ || ŋes 'gro daṅ goms byed ni ŋan thos kyi mchog go⁶ || 'char byed ni ŋe gnas so⁷ || ŋan pa daṅ | ŋe bar ŋan pa gnis ni ŋan thos ma'i mchog go⁸ || byaṅ chub kyi⁹ šiṅ ni klu šiṅ no¹⁰ || sku'i mtho tshad du khrur drug cu'o¹¹ || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo ston phrag dgu bcu'o ||

Bv V 1

bkra šis bzaṅ po'i 'og tu ni || 'dren pa thugs bzaṅ žes bya ba ||
chos rnams kun la mtshun's med pa || sems can kun gyi mchog yin no || {Pā35}

I37.
de'i yaṅ 'og gi char nam gru can gyi ston pa žes bya ba byon no || de'i 'dus pa gsun du 'gyur¹² te | 'dus pa daṅ po la bgra'n¹³ du med pa žes bya ba'o¹⁴ || gnis pa la bye ba ston phrag bgra'ya'i dge slob no || de bzin du gsun pa yaṅ no¹⁵ || de'i tshe byaṅ chub sems dpa' lhag ba'i lha žes bya ba'i bram zer gyur to || ston pa'i chos bsd pa thos nas skyabs su¹⁶ 'gro ba'i tshul khrims la gnas so¹⁷ || mgo'i sten du thal mo sbyar nas ston pa la de'i žon moṅs rnams spon¹⁸ ba'i bshaṅs pa brjod nas bla gos kyis¹⁹ mchod pas de yaṅ saṅs rgyas su²⁰ 'gyur ro žes luṅ bstan to || slar yaṅ de'i bcom ldan 'das kyi groṅ khyer ni nam gru bzaṅ ldan žes bya bar gyur to || yab ni šin tu rgyas pa žes bya ba'i rgyal po'o || yun ni šin tu rgyas ma žes bya ba'o²¹ || chu lha daṅ lha tshaṅs pa ni ŋan thos kyi mchog go²² || yaṅ dag 'byun žes bya ba ni ŋe gnas so²³ || bzaṅ mo daṅ legs bzaṅ mo ni ŋan thos ma'i mchog go²⁴ || (43a) byaṅ chub kyi šiṅ ni

1 LN rgyasu.
2 DQ bstan no, LN bstano, S bstan to.
3 SDQ te, LN to.
4 N yabo.
5 LN yumo.
6 L mchogo.
7 LN gnaṣo.
8 N mchogo.
9 SDQ kyi, LN omit.
10 N śiṅo.
11 SDLN cu'o, Q bcu'o.
12 SDQL 'gyur, N gyur.
13 SDQN bgra'n, L bgraṅs.
14 SDQL bya ba'o, N bya'o.
15 L yarlo.
16 LN skyabsu.
17 LN gnaṣo.
18 SDQ spoṅ, LN spon's.
19 SDQ kyis, LN kyi.
20 LN rgyasu.
21 SD bya ba'o, QLN bya'o.
22 L mchogo.
23 N gnaṣo.
Rin pa'i glen gli

klu šin ño1 | sku’i2 mtho tshad du khru brgyad cu’o || sku tshe’i tsad ni lo ston phrag drug cu’o3 |

Bv VI 1

thugs bzaṅ gi4 ni ’og tu ni || ’dren pa nam gru can žes bya ||
mtshuṅs pa med ciṅ dpe5 med par || rgyal ba mfiam med mchog tu gyur ||

I 38.
de’i ’og gi char mdzes byed ces6 bya ba’i ston pa byon no || de’i ’dus pa gsum du gyur te || ’dus pa daṅ po la bye ba brgya’i dge sloṅ no || gñis pa la bye ba dgu bcu’o || gsum pa la bye ba brgyad cu’o7 || de’i tshe byaṅ chub sens dpa’ mi pham pa žes bya ba’i bram zer gyur to || ston pa’i chos bstan pa thos nas skyabs su8 ’gro ba’i tshul khrims la gnas so9 || saṅs rgyas la sogs pa’i dge sloṅ gi dge ’dun la sbyin pa chen po btaṅ no10 || des yaṅ saṅs rgyas su11 ’gyur bar lun bstan no12 || slar13 yaṅ bcom ldan ’das de’i groṅ khyer chos bzaṅ žes bya bar gyur to || yab ni chos bzaṅ rgyal po’o || yum ni chos bzaṅ ma žes bya ba’o14 || mtshuṅs med daṅ legs spyan ni ŋan thos kyi mchog go15 || yid ldan ni ŋe gnas so16 || rig ma daṅ legs skyes ma ni ŋan thos ma’i mchog go || byaṅ chub kyi šin ni klu šin ŋid do || sku mtho tshad du17 khru lña bcu rtsa brgyad do || sku tshe’i tshad ni lo ston phrag dgu bcu’o ||

Bv VII 1

nam gru can gyi ’og tu ni || ’dren pa mdzes byed ces18 bya ba ||
mfiam par bžag19 ciṅ thugs ni ži || gāṅ zag zla med mtshuṅs med do ||

24 L mchogo.
1 N śīno.
2 S sku’i, DQLN sku.
3 SDLN cu’o, Q bcu’o.
4 SDQN gi, L omits.
5 SDLN dpe, Q dpe’.
6 SDQ ces, LN žes.
7 SDLN cu’o, Q bcu’o.
8 LN skyabṣu.
9 LN gnaṣo.
10 LN btaṅo.
11 LN rgyasu.
12 DQL no, SN to.
13 SQLN slar, D slāṁ
14 SDL bya ba’o, QN bya’o.
15 L mchogo.
16 N gnaṣo.
17 SDQ du, LN omit.
18 SDQ ces, LN žes.
19 DQLN bṣag, S gṣag.

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I 39.
de'i 'og gi char bskal pa graṅs med pa (43b) gcig1 'das nas bskal pa gcig gi naṅ du saṅs rgyas gsum byon no || thugs ldan mthon ba daṅ | padma2 daṅ | mi sbyin no || bcom ldan 'das thugs ldan mthon gi 'dus pa gsum du 'gyur3 te | daṅ po la dge sloṅ 'bum phrag gcig go4 || gñis pa la 'bum phrag bdun no || gsum pa la 'bum phrag 'gyur go || de nas byaṅ chub sems dpa' gnod sbyin gcig tu gyur to || rdzu 'phrul daṅ mthu chen po daṅ ldan pa'i bye ba ston phrag {Pā36} brgya du ma'i gnod sbyin mams kyi bdag por gyur to || des bcom ldan 'das byon pa thos nas 'oṅs te saṅs rgyas la sogs pa'i dge sloṅ gi dge 'dun la sbyin pa chen po btaṅ no5 | ston pas kyaṅ ma 'oṅs pa'i saṅs rgyas su6 'gyur ro7 žes luṅ bstan no || gžan yaṅ bcom ldan 'das thugs ldan mthon gi groṅ khyer ni la ba can žes bya bar 'gyur ro8 || yab ni grags ldan rgyal po'o || yum ni grags 'dzin ma'o || nes bzaṅ daṅ yid ldan ni ŋan thos kyi mchog go9 || chu la10 ni ŋe gnas so11 || legs mdzes daṅ yid bzaṅ ma ni ŋan thos ma'i mchog go12 || byaṅ chub kyi śiṅ ni srid sgrub kyi śiṅ no13 || sk'u' mtho tshad khru lha bu rtsa brgyad do14 || 'bum phrag gcig gi lo ni sÚ tse'ī tshad do ||

Bv VIII 1

mdzes byed kyi ni15 'og tu ni || rkaṅ gñis mchog gi rdzogs saṅs rgyas || thugs bzaṅ mthon daṅ 'chi med grags || gzi brjig ldan žiṅ riṅ mthon no16 ||

I 40.
de'i 'og gi char pad ma17 žes bya ba'ī ston pa byon no18 || de'i yaṅ 'dus (44a) pa gsum du 'gyur19 te | 'dus pa daṅ po la bye ba 'bum phrag gcig gi dge sloṅ no || gñis pa la 'bum phrag gsum mo20 || gsum pa

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1 SDQ gcig, LN cig.
2 SLN padma, DQ pad ma.
3 S 'gyur, DLN gyur.
4 N gcigo.
5 N btaṅo.
6 N rgyasu.
7 LN 'gyuro.
8 DQLN 'gyur ro, S gyur to.
9 N mchogo.
10 SDQN lha, L la.
11 N gnaso.
12 N mchogo.
13 N śiṅo.
14 N brgyado.
15 SDLN ni, Q omits.
16 N mthono.
17 SLN padma, DQ pad ma.
18 L. byono.
19 SDQ 'gyur, LN gyur.
20 LN gsumo.
Rin ba'i gleh gzh

la gron med pa'i dgon par nags¹ tshal chen po na dge sloṅ 'bum phrag gños gnas so² de'i tshe de bzin gségs pa yam de'i nags tshal chen por bzugs pa'i tshe | byan chub sems dpa' sen ger skyes par gyur to || ston pas 'gog pa la sfioms par žugs so³ bzung pa⁴ mthon nas sems rab tu daṅ bas phyag byas nas bskor ba byas te⁵ dga' ba daṅ yid bde ba skyes so⁶ | lan gsum du sen ge'i sgra bsgrags⁷ so || žag bdun du saṅs rgyas kyi phyir du dga' ba ma spangs pas dga' ba daṅ bde ba šid kyi spyod yul du ma phyin par srog yons su⁸ btaṅ no⁹ sfiam ste bta žiṅ 'dug go¹⁰ | ston pa žag bdun nas 'gog pa'i sfioms par 'jug pa las laṅs nas | sen ge la bta žiṅ dge sloṅ gi dge 'dun mams kyis kyaṅ sems daṅ bar byas nas dge 'dun la phyag byed do žes brjod ciṅ dge sloṅ gi dge 'dun šog ces bsams te dge sloṅ mams de ma thag tu byyon¹¹ no | sen ges dge 'dun la sems rab tu daṅ bar byed do | ston pas de'i sems la brtags te ma 'oṅs pa na saṅs rgyas su¹² gyur ro¹³ žes luṅ bstan no || slar yam bcom ldan 'das padma'¹⁴ gron ni tsam pa ka žes bya bar 'gyur to¹⁵ yab ni pad ma'i¹⁶ rgyal po'o || yum ni mtsuṅs med ma žes bya'o || sā la daṅ u pa sā la ni ſiān thos kyi mchog go¹⁷ | chu lha žes (44b) bya ba ni ſe gnas so¹⁸ dga' ma daṅ śin tu dga' ma ni ſiān thos ma'i mchog go¹⁹ | byan chub kyi śiṅ ni sro na'i śiṅ no²⁰ | sku'i mtho tshad du khru lha bcu rtsa bgrayad do | sku tshe'i tshad ni lo ston phrag geγ go ||

Bv IX 1

thugs ldan mthon gi 'og tu ni || rkaṅ gños mchog gi rdzogs saṅs rgyas ||
mtshan ni pad ma²¹ žes bya ba || gaṅ žag zla med mtsuṅs med do²² ||

¹ SQLN nags, D gnas.
² LN gna.so.
³ N žug.so.
⁴ SLN bzung pa, D žugs par, Q žugs pa.
⁵ SDQN ste, L ste.
⁶ LN skyeso.
⁷ S bsgrags, D sgrogs, Q sgrags, LN sgragso.
⁸ L Nyonsu.
⁹ N bta.no.
¹⁰ LN 'dugo.
¹¹ SDQ byon, LN byin.
¹² LN rgyasu.
¹³ LN 'gyuro.
¹⁴ SLN padma'í, DQ pad ma'í.
¹⁵ SQDN gyur to, L 'gyuro.
¹⁶ SLN padma'í, DQ pad ma'í.
¹⁷ LN mchogo.
¹⁸ LN gnaso.
¹⁹ N mchogo.
²⁰ N śiṅo.
²¹ SLN padma, DQ pad ma.
²² L medo.

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I 41.
de ’og tu mi sbyin žes bya ba’i ston pa byon no || de’i yañ ’dus pa gsum du ’gyur te || ’dus pa dañ po la bye ba ston phrag brgya’i dge sloň no || {Pā37} gnis pa la bye ba ’bum phrag dgu bcu’o || gsum pa la bye ba brgyad cu dañ ’bum phrag gcig go || de’i tshe byañ chub sems dpa’ dran sroň gi³ rab tu byuň ba la’ rab tu byuň ste mthon par šes pa la dañ síoms par ’jug pa brgyad po dbañ du gyur te | saňs rgyas la sogs pa’i dge sloň gi dge ’dun la sbyin pa chen po btañ nas | tsan dan dmor pos mchod nas de yañ des ma ’oñas pa na saňs rgyas par ’gyur rož žes luň bstan to || bcom ldan ’das de’i groň khyer ni ’byor ldan žes bya bar ’gyur ro6 || yab ni blo gros bzañ po žes bya ba’i rgyal po’o || yum ni yid ldan ma žes bya ba’o || sā la bzañ po dañ7 | rgyal byed bses gñen ni źan thos kyi mchog go8 || gnas mchog ni źe gnas so || mchog ma dañ ’bras bu can ma ni źan thos ma’i mchog go9 || byañ chub kyi śiň ni sron chen po’o || sku’i mtho tshad du khru brgyad cu¹⁰ rtsa brgyad pa’o || sku tshe’i tshad ni lo ston phrag dgu bcu’o || (45a)

Bv X 1

pad ma¹¹ yi ni ’og tu ni || rkañ gñis mchog gi rdzogs saňs rgyas || mtschan ni mi sbyin žes bya ba || gañ zag zla med mtsunšs med do ||

I 42.
saňs rgyas mi¹² sbyin gyi ’og gi char ’di nas bskal pa ’bum phrag gcig gi¹³ ’go¹⁴ nas brtsams te | bskal pa gcig Žid kyi nañ du saňs rgyas pad ma¹⁵ mchog ces bya ba byon no || de’i yañ ’dus pa gsum du ’gyur te || ’dus pa dañ po la bye ba ston phrag brgya’i dge sloň no¹⁷ || gnis pa la bai bhā ra’i ri¹⁸ la bye ba ston phrag dgu bcu’o || gsum pa la bye ba ston phrag brgyad cu’o¹⁹ || de’i tshe byañ chub sems dpa’ ral pa can žes bya ba’i yul ’khor chen por skyes so || saňs rgyas la sogs pa’i dge ’dun mams la chos

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1 SDQ mi, LN mes.
2 SDQL ’gyur, N gyur.
3 SNL gi, DQ gis.
4 SLN rab tu byuň ba la, DQ omit.
5 SDN ’gyur ro, Q omits, L ’gyuro.
6 S gyur to, DQ ’gyur ro, LN ’gyuro.
7 SDQ sā la bzañ po dañ, LN omit.
8 L mchogo.
9 N mchogo.
10 SDLN cu, Q bcu.
11 SQLN padma, D pad ma.
12 SDQ mi, LN mis.
13 DQ gi, SLN gis.
14 S ’go, DQLN mgo.
15 SQN padma, D pad ma.
16 SDQL ’gyur, N gyur.
17 L. sloňo.
18 SDL bai bhā ra’i ri, Q bai bhā rya’i ri, N bai dû rya’i ri.
19 SDLN cu’o, QL bcu’o.

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gos daṅ bcas pa’i sbyin pa chen po btaṅ no₁ || de yaṅ des ma ’oṅs pa na saṅs rgyas par 'gyur ro² žes luṅ bstan no₃ || gzan yaṅ bcom ldan ’das padma’ mchog gi dus su mu stegs žes bya ba’i miṅ yaṅ med do || lha daṅ mi thams cad saṅs rgyas la skyabs su⁵ ’gro ba’o || de’i⁶ groṅ khyer ni ŋan⁷ ba ldan žes bya bar ’gyur ro’ || yab ni kun dga’ bo žes bya ba’i rgyal po’o || yum ni legs ma žes bya ba’o⁹ || lha’i spyan daṅ legs skyes ni ŋan thos kyi mchog go¹⁰ || yid bzaṅ žes bya ba ni ŋe gnas so¹¹ || grogs med ma daṅ mtshuns med ma ni ŋan thos ma’i mchog go¹² || byaṅ chub kyi śiṅ ni śā la’i¹³ śiṅ ŋid do || sku’i mtho tshad du khru brgyad cu¹⁴ rtsa brgyad do || sku’i ’od kun nas ’khor ba¹⁵ la dpag tshad bcu gnis so¹⁶ || (45b) sku tshe’i tshad ni lo ’bum phrag gcig go ||

Bv XI 1

mi sbyin gyi ni ’og ŋid du || rkaṅ gnis mchog gi rdzogs saṅs rgyas ||
rgyal ba pad ma¹⁷ mchog žes¹⁸ pa || mi ’khrugs rgya mtsho lta bu’o ||

I 43.
dei ’og gi char bskal pa ston phrag gsum ’das nas | blo gros bzaṅ po daṅ | legs skyes žes bya ba ni bskal pa gcig gi¹⁹ naṅ du saṅs rgyas gnis su²⁰ gyur to || blo gros bzaṅ po’i yaṅ ŋan thos kyi ’dus pa gsum du ’gyur te | ’dus pa daṅ po la groṅ khyer bta na sdug ces bya ba na²¹ bye ba bṛgya’i zag pa zad pa’o || ’dus pa gnis pa la yaṅ bye ba dgu bcur ’gyur ro²² || ’dus pa gsum pa la ni bye ba bṛgyad cu’o²³ || dei tshe byaṅ chub sens dpa’ lus mchog ces bya ba bram ze’i khye’ur gyur to || sa’i ’og tu gter du

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¹ N btaṅo.
² LN ’gyuro.
³ L bstano.
⁴ SQLN padma, D pad ma.
⁵ LN skyabsu.
⁶ SDQ dei, LN de yi.
⁷ SQLN naṅ, D daṅ.
⁸ DQ ’gyur ro, S gyur to, LN ’gyuro.
⁹ SDLN bya ba’o, Q bya’o.
¹⁰ N mchogo.
¹¹ LN gnaso.
¹² N mchogo.
¹³ SDQ śā la’i, L śā la’i, N śva la’i.
¹⁴ SDLN cu, Q bcu.
¹⁵ DQLN ba, S omits.
¹⁶ LN gniṅo.
¹⁷ SQLN padma, D pad ma.
¹⁸ DQLN žes, S ces.
¹⁹ SDQ gi, LN omits.
²⁰ L gniṅo.
²¹ SDQL na, N ni.
²² N ’gyuro.
²³ SDLN cu’o, Q bcu’o.
bcug pa ṇiḥu bya brgyad cu’i 1 nor rnamspa san gyas la soṣgspa pa’i dge sloṅ gi dge ’dun la sbyin pa chen po phul te {Pā38} chos mňana nas skyabs su2 ’gro ba’i sdom pa la gnas so3 || rab tu byuṅ nas nags tshal du byon no || de yan ma ’oṅsp na na saṅs gyaṣas4 bar luṅ bstan no || bcom ldan ’das blo gros baṅ po’i groṅ khyer ni bta na sduṅ ces bya bar gyur to || yab ni legs sbyin žes bya ba’i rgyal po’o || yum ni legs sbyin ma žes bya ba’o5 || ņes ’byuṅ daṅ thams cad ’dod ni ņiąn thos kyi mchog go || rgya mtsho žes bya ba ni ņe gnas so6 || dga’ ma daṅ śin tu dga’ ma ni ņian thos ma’i mchog go7 || byaṅ chub kyi śin ni 8 ni pa9 chen po’o || sku mtho tshad du khru brgyad cu10 rtsa brgyad do11 || (46a) sku tshe’i tshad ni lo stoṅ phrag dgu bcu’o ||

By XII 1
pad ma12 mchog gi ’og tu ni || ’dren pa blo baṅ žes bya ba || ’od zer drag ciṅ riṅ la sems || thub pa ’jig rten kun gyi mchog ||

I44.
d’i ’og gi char legs skyes žes13 bya ba’i ston pa byon no || de’i yañ ņian thos kyi ’dus pa gsum du gyur te14 | ’dus pa daṅ po la dge sloṅ ston phrag drug cu’o15 || gniḥ pa la ston phrag lňa bcu’o || gsum pa la ston phrag bži bcu’o || de’i tshe byaṅ chub sems dpa’ ’khor los16 sgyur ba’i rgyal por gyur te | saṅs gyaṣas byon žes thos nas ņe bar soṅ ste | chos thos nas saṅs gyaṣas la soṣgspa pa’i dge ’dun la riṅ po che sna bdun daṅ bças pa’i gliṅ chen po bži’i rgyal srid sbyin par btaṅ nas | ston pa’i druṅ du rab tu byuṅ ņo17 || yul thams cad na gnas pa’i yul du skyes pa’i nor blaṅs nas gtsug lag khāṅ rnamspa rdzogs par bya ste | saṅs gyaṣas la soṣgspa pa’i dge sloṅ rnamspa sbyin pa chen po phul lo18 || de yan ma ’oṅs pa na ston pas saṅs gyaṣas19 par ’gyur ro20 žes luṅ bstan no || bcom ldan ’das de’i groṅ khyer ni bkra śis baṅ po žes

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1 SDN cu’i, QL bcu’i.
2 LN skyabsu.
3 LN gnasu.
4 QLN gyaṣas, SD gyaṣa.
5 SDQ bya’o, LN bya’o.
6 LN gnasu.
7 N mchogo.
8 SDQN omit, L śiṅ.
9 SDQ ni pa, LN ni pa.
10 SDLN cu, Q bcu.
11 L brgyado.
12 SLDN padma, D pad ma.
13 SDQ žes, LN omit.
14 SDL te, QN to.
15 SDLN cu’o, Q bcu’o.
16 DQ los, SLN lo.
17 N byuno.
18 N phulo.
19 DQLN gyaṣas, S gyaṣa.
20 L ’gyuro.
bya bar gyur to || yab ni drag po žes bya ba'i rgyal po'o || yum ni 'od ldan ma žes bya ba'o || blta na sdu gna thos kyi mchog go || mi sbyin ni ņe gnas so' || glu ma dan glu ma'i 'phreng ba dan bcas pa ni ņan thos ma'i mchog go || bya'n chub kyi šiin ni 'od ma chen po'o || de'i na'n bug pa phra mo can no || (46b) sden po ni sdu gna po'o || ste'n na yul ga rma bya'i g thugs ltar mdzes pa'i 'dab ma can no || bcom ldan 'das de'i sku'i mtho tshad du khru'n ha bco'o || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo ston phrag dgu bco'o||

Bv XIII 1

sfiin po'i bskal pa de šiid la || 'dren pa legs skyes žes bya ba || khyu mchog dpu'n pa se'n ge'i 'gram || ri'n la sans žin gzh'al du med ||

I 45.

de'i 'og gi char 'di nas bskal pa brgya' dan bco'6 brgyad kyi 'go'7 nas brtsams nas bskal pa gcig la dga' mtho'n dan | don mtho'n dan | chos mtho'n ste sans rgyas gsum byon no8 || dga' mtho'n gi ya'n ņan thos 'dus pa gsum du 'gyur9 te | 'dus pa dan po la bye ba ston phrag brgya'i dge slo'n no || gnis pa la bye ba dgu bco'o || gsum pa la bye ba brgyad cu'o10 || de'i tshe bya'n chub sans dpa' 'od sru'ns11 žes bya ba'i bram ze'i khye'ur gyur to || rig byed gsum gyi pha rol tu phyin nas ston pa'i cho bstan pa thos te bye ba ston phrag brgya'i nor yo'n su12 bta'n nas | {Pā39} dge 'dun gyi gtsug lag khan byed ci'n skyabs su13 so'n nas tshul khrims la gnas so14 || de nas ston pas15 bskal pa16 brgya dan bco17 brgyad 'das nas sans rgyas su18 'gyur ro19 žes lu'n bstan no20 || bcom ldan 'das de'i21 gro'n khyer ni yid ldan žes bya bar gyur

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1 LN gnaso.
2 S 'phreng, DQLN phreng.
3 SDQ sku'i, LN sku.
4 DQLN žin, S šiin.
5 SDLN brgya, Q brgyad.
6 SN bco, D bcwa, QL bcwo.
7 S 'go, DQLN ngo.
8 L byono.
9 SDQ 'gyur, LN gyur.
10 SDLN cu'o, Q bco'o.
11 S 'od sru'ns, NL 'od bsr'ns, D 'od sru'n, Q 'od bsr'ns. Qāli: Kassapa, cf. Mvy no. 93'(12) Kāśyapa = 'Od sru'ns, and no. 1031 (2) Kāśyapa = 'Od bsr'ns.
12 LN yo'nsu.
13 LN skyabsu.
14 LN gnaso.
15 SDLN pas, Q pa.
16 SDLN pa, Q pas.
17 SLN bco, D bcwa, Q bcwo.
18 LN rgyasu.
19 L 'gyuro.
20 L bstanu.
21 SDQ de'i, LN de yi.
Rin ba'i gleh gäl

Rin ba'i gleh gäl
to || yab ni legs sbyin žes bya ba'i rgyal po'o || yum ni zla ba ma žes bya'ə || bskyāns pa dañ kun mthoṅ gniṣ ni ņan thos kyi mchog go² || mdzes byed ni ņe gnas so³ || legs skies ma dañ chos sbyin ma (47a) gniṣ ni ņan thos ma'i mchog go⁴ || byaṅ chub kyi śiṅ ni pri yaṅ ku'i⁵ śiṅ ņo⁶ || sku'i mtho tshad du khru brgyad cu'o⁷ || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo стоṅ phrag dgu bcu'o ||

Bv XIV 1

legs skies kyi ni 'og tu ni || raṅ byuṅ 'jig rten 'dren pa ņид ||
mthuṅs dañ mi mthuṅs riṅ du sems || dga' mthoṅ grags pa chen po'o ||

I.46.
dei 'og gi char bcom ldan 'das don mthoṅ žes bya ba byon no⁸ || dei yaṅ ņan thos kyi 'dus pa gsum du 'gyur⁹ te || 'dus pa dañ po la 'bum phrag dgu bcu rtsa brgyad kyi dge sloṅ ņo¹⁰ || gniṣ pa la 'bum phrag brgyad cu¹¹ rtsa brgyad do¹² || dei bžin du gsum pa la yaṅ ņo || dei tshe byaṅ chub sems dpa' mthams¹³ bzaṅ žes bya ba rdzu 'phrul dañ ldan pa'i dka' thub par gyur to || lha'i 'jig rten gyi man da ra ba'i¹⁴ me tog gi gdugs blaṅs nas ston pa la mchod do || de yaṅ des luṅ bstan to || bcom ldan 'das de'i groṅ khoṅer ni mdzes byed ces bya bar gyur to || yab ni rgya mtho žes bya ba'i rgyal po'o || yum ni ḇ a na sdu g ma'o || ži ba dañ ņe bar ži ba ni ņan thos kyi mchog go¹⁵ || 'jigs med ni ņe gnas so¹⁶ || chos ma dañ chos bzaṅ ma ni ņan¹⁷ thos ma'i mchog go || byaṅ chub kyi śiṅ ni tsam pa ka'i śiṅ ņo || sku'i¹⁸ mtho tshad du khru brgyad cu¹⁹ rtsa brgyad do || sku'i 'od kun nas 'khor ba la dus thams cad du dpag tshad gcig gi bar du khyaβ ciṅ gnas so²⁰ || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo 'bum phrag gcig go ||

Bv XV 1

1 SLN bya'ə, DQ bya ba'ə.
2 LN mchogo.
3 LN gnasö.
4 N mchogo.
5 SN pri yaṅ ku'i, D pri yam ku'ı, Q pri yam gu'ı, L pri yaṅ ku'ı.
6 N śiṅo.
7 DLN cu'o, Q bcu'o,S cu pa'o.
8 N byono.
9 SDQ 'gyur, LN gyur.
10 N sloṅo.
11 SDLN cu, Q bcu.
12 N brgyadö.
13 SDQ mtshams, LN 'tshams.
14 S manda ra ba'ı, DQ man dā ra ba'ı, LN man da ra ba'ı.
15 N mchogo.
16 N gnasö.
17 SDQL ŋan. N can.
18 SDQ sku'i, LN sku.
19 SDLN cu, Q bcu.
20 N gnasö.

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I 47.
de'i 'og gi char chos mthoṅ žes bya ba’i ston pa byon no || de’i yaṅ ŋan thos kyi’ dus pa gsum du 
’gyur te || ’dus pa daṅ po la bye ba brgya’i dge sloṅ no || gnis pa la bye ba bdun cu’o || gsum pa la 
bye ba brgyad cu’o || de’i tshe byaṅ chub sems dpa’ lha’i rgyal po brgya byin du gyur to || lha’i 
dri bzaṅ dan | me tog daṅ | lha’i rol mo rms és mchöd de | de yaṅ ma ’oṅs pa na saṅs rgyas11 bar 
luṅ bstan to || bcom ldan ’das de’i groṅ khyer ni skyaṅs žes bya bar gyur to || yab ni skyaṅs kyi rgyal 
po žes bya’o || yum ni śin tu dga’ ma žes bya ba’o || padma12 daṅ lhar gyur pa ni ŋan thos kyi mchog 
go13 || legs spyan žes bya ba ni ŋe gnas so || dge ma daṅ bden ma žes bya ba ni ŋan thos ma’i mchog 
go || byaṅ chub kyi šin ni bim pa dzā la’i15 šiṅ no || sku’i mtho tshad du khru brgyad cu’o16 || sku tshe’i 
tshad ni lo ’bum phrag gcig go

Bv XVI 1

sniṅ po’i bskał pa de ŋid la || chos mthoṅ grags pa chen po yis ||
mun pa chen po bcom nas ni || lha daṅ bcas pa snaṅ bar mdzad ||

I 48.
{Pā40} de’i ‘og gi char ’di nas bskał pa dgu bcu rtsa bzi nas ’go17 brtsams nas bskał pa gcig la don 
grub žes18 bya ba’i saṅs rgyas gcig byon no || de’i19 yaṅ ŋan thos kyi ’dus pa gsum du ’gyur19 te || ’dus 
pa daṅ po la bye ba ’bum phrag gcig gi dge sloṅ no15 || gnis pa la bye ba dgu bcu’o || (48a) gsum pa la

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1 SDQ mi yi, LN mi’i.
2 SDQN khyu, L mkhyu.
3 L thobo.
4 S kyi, DQLN omit.
5 SDLN ‘gyur, N gyrur.
6 L slono.
7 SDLN cu’o, Q bcu’o.
8 SDLN cu’o, Q bcu’o.
9 SDQ lha’i, LN lha yi.
10 DQ to, SLN te.
11 LN rgyas, SDQ rgya.
12 S kyi, DQLN omit.
13 SDLN padma, D pad ma.
14 LN mchogo.
15 LN gnaso.
16 S pim pa dzā la’i, DQ bim pa dzā la’i, LN pim ba dzā la’i.
17 SDN bcu’o, QL bcu’o.
18 S ’go, DQLN mgo.
19 SDLN žes, S ces.
20 SDQ de’i, LN de yi.
21 SDQ ’gyur, LN gyur.
22 N slono.
bye ba brgyad cu’o\(^1\) || de’i tshe byaṅ chub sems dpas’ gzi brjig drag po daṅ | mthon par šes pa’i stobs daṅ ldan pa’i dka’ thub pa bkra šis bzaṅ po žes bya bar gyur to || šin’ ’dzam bu chen po’i ’bras bu blaṅs nas de bzin gšegs pa la phul lo\(^2\) || ston pas ’bras bu de gosl nas bskal pa dgu bcu rtsa bzi’i ’og tu byaṅ chub sems dpas’ ma ’oṁs pa na saṅs rgyas su’

\(^3\) gyur ro’ dés luṅ bstan no\(^5\) || bcom ldan ’das de’i groṅ khyer ni bai bhā ra’ dés bya bar gyur to || yab ni rgyal ba’i sde žes bya ba’i rgyal po’o || yum ni legs gyur ma žes bya ba’o || maṅ du ’byun daṅ bšes gšen bzaṅ po’ né ſan thos kyi mchog go \| nam gru can ni rā gnas so\(^6\) || ži byed len ma daṅ legs bstan ma ni ſan thos ma’i mchog go || byaṅ chub kyi šin ni karni ka’i’ ſin no || sku’i mtho tshad ni khru drug cu’o\(^11\) || sku tshe’i tshad ni lo ’bum phrag gcig go \||

**Bv XVII 1**

chos mthoṅ gi ni ’og ſiṅ du || ’jig rten ’dren pa don grub kyis\(^12\) ||
mun pa thams cad bcom nas ni \| nam mkha’\(^13\) ſi ma šar ba bzin ||

\(^1\) SDLN cu’o, Q bcu’o.
\(^2\) N phulo.
\(^3\) N rgyasu.
\(^4\) L. ’gyuro.
\(^5\) LN bstano.
\(^6\) SDLN bai bhā ra, Q be bhā ra.
\(^7\) SDQ po, LN po’i.
\(^8\) SDQ ni, LN omit.
\(^9\) LN gnaso.
\(^10\) SDLN karni ka’i, Q kani ka’i.
\(^11\) SDLN cu’o, Q bcu’o.
\(^12\) SDN kyis, DQ kyi.
\(^13\) S nam mkha’, DQ nam khar, L namkha, N namkha’.
\(^14\) S ’go, DQLN mgo.
\(^15\) DQ ’gyur, SLN gyur.
\(^16\) SDLN cu’o, QL bcu’o.
\(^17\) LN rigsu.
\(^18\) S manda ra ba, DQ man dā ra ba, LN man da ra ba.
\(^19\) SDLN padma, D pad ma.
\(^20\) S pā ri ccha ttra’i, DQLN pā ri ccha ttra’i.
pa'i de bžin gšegs pa la mchod nas | nam mkha'1 me tog gi bla res bres so2 | saňs rgyas des yaň3 'di
nas bskal pa dgu bcu rtsa gñis nas saňs rgya bar4 'gyur ro5 žes luň bstan to6 | bcom ldan 'das de'i
groň khyer ni dge ma žes bya ba'o7 | yab ni skye bo dad pa can žes bya ba'i rgyal po'i rigs so8 | yum ni padma' žes bya ba'o || tshaňs pa'i lha daň 'char byed ni ŋan thos kyi mchog go10 | yaň dag
mchog ni ŋe gnas so11 | myur ma daň legs sbyin ma ni ŋan thos ma'i mchog go12 | byaň chub kyi šin ni
a sa na'i šin ņo || sku'i mtho tshad la khru drug cu'o13 || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo 'bum phrag geig go14 ||

By XVIII 1

don grub kyi ni 'og ŋid du || gaň zag zla md mtšuňs md pa ||
tshul khrims dpag md mtha' yas grags || 'jig rt'en 'dren pa dka15 rgyal mchog ||

I 50.

de'i 'og gi char gyur pa žes bya ba'i ston pa byon no16 | de'i yaň 'dus pa gsum du 'gyur17 te | 'dus pa
daň po la 'bum phrag drug cu'i18 dge sloň ņo19 | gñis pa la 'bum phrag lha bcu'o || gsum pa la 'bum
phrag sum cu20 rtsa gñis so21 | de'i tše byaň chub sems dpa' rnam par (49a) rgyal22 byed žes23 bya
ba'i rgyal rigs su24 gyur te25 || rgyal po chen po'i rgyal rigs spaňs nas ni ston pa'i druň du rab tu byuň
ste | sde snod gsum {Pâ'41} bslabs nas skye bo maň po la dam pa'i chos ston ciň 'chad pa daň | tshul
khrims kyi pha rol tu phyin pa rdzogs par byas nas de yaň de bžin du 'tshaň rgya bar 'gyur ro žes luň

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1 LN namkha'i.
2 N breso.
3 DQLN yaň, S kyaň.
4 S saňs rgya bar, DQLN 'tshaň rgya bar.
5 LN 'gyuro.
6 LN bstanno.
7 SD bya bo', QLN bya'o.
8 LN rigso.
9 SQLN padma, D pad ma.
10 LN mchogo.
11 LN gnasö.
12 N mchogo.
13 SDLN cu'o, Q bcu'o.
14 N geigo.
15 DQL dka', SN dkar.
16 L byono.
17 DQ 'gyur, SLN gyur.
18 SDLN cu'i, QL bcu'i.
19 N sloňo.
20 SDN cu, QL bcu.
21 N gñiso.
22 SDLN rgyal, Q omits.
23 DQL žes, SN ces.
24 N rigsu.
25 DQ te, SLN to.
bs tan to || bcom ldan 'das de'i groñ khyer ni gsal ldan Žes bya bar gyur to || yab ni rgyal ba'i sde Žes bya ba'i rgyal po'o || yum ni dpal ldan ma Žes bya'o' || legs bsruñs' dañ chos kyi sde ni Žian thos kyi mchog go || 'jigs bcas ni Že gnas so² || 'phren³ ba ma dañ Že ba'i 'phren⁴ ba ma ni Žian thos ma'i mchog go || byañ chub kyi Žin ni skyu ru ra'i Žīn Žo || sku'i mtho tshad du khru lña bcu rtsa brgyad do || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo ston phrag dgu bcu'o ||

Bv XIX 1

sīñ po'i bskal pa de Žid la || ston pa bla na med par gyur || mtsahuñs dañ mi mtsahuñs dpe med pa || 'jig rten mchog gi 'dren par gyur ||

I 51.
deki 'og gi char 'di nas bskal pa dgu bcu rtsa gcig la bcom ldan 'das rnam par gzigs Žes bya ba byon no || de'i yañ 'dus pa gsum du gyur te || 'dus pa dañ po la dge sloñ 'bum phrag dgu bcu rtsa brgyad do || gnis pa la 'bum phrag gcig go || gsum pa la ston phrag brgyad cu'o⁵ || de'i tshe byañ chub sems dpa' rdzu 'phrul ldan Žin mthu che bas mtsahuñs pa med pa'i khu'i rgyal por gyur te || rin po che sna bdun gyis brgyan pa'i gser (49b) gyi ba dan chen po bcom ldan 'das la phul lo || des yañ 'di nas bskal pa dgu bcu rtsa gcig nas⁶ sans rgyas⁷ bar 'gyur ro⁸ Žes luñ bstan no || bcom ldan 'das de'i groñ khyer ni blo gros gñen Žes bya bar gyur to || yab ni gñen gyi rgyal po Žes bya ba'o || yum ni blo gros gñen ma Žes bya ba'o || phun po dan dkar rgyal ni Žan thos kyi mchog go⁹ || mya Žan med ni Že gnas so¹⁰ || zla ba ma dañ zla ba'i bšes gñen ma ni Žan thos ma'i mchog go || byañ chub kyi Žīn ni pā ti li¹¹ Žīn Žo || sku'i¹² mtho tshad du khru brgyad cu'o¹³ || sku'i 'od la rtag tu dpag tshad bdun du 'phro Žīn gnas so¹⁴ || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo¹⁵ ston phrag brgyad cu'o¹⁶ ||

Bv XX 1

gyur pa yi ni 'og tu ni || rkañ gnis mchog gi rdzogs sans rgyas || mtsahan ni rnam par gzigs Žes bya || spyan ldan 'jig rten bskyed pa'o ||

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1 SLN bsruñs, D bsrañs, Q bsruñ.
2 N gnasos.
3 S 'phreñ, DQLN phreñ.
4 S 'phreñ, DQLN phreñ.
5 SDLN cu'o, Q bcu'o.
6 DQLN nas, S na.
7 QLN rgyas, SD rgya.
8 L 'gyuro.
9 LN mchogo.
10 L gnasos.
11 SQ pā dī li'i, D pā ti li'i, LN pā dī la'i.
12 SDLN sku'i, N sku.
13 SDLN cu'o, Q bcu'o.
14 N gnasos.
15 SDQN lo, L la.
16 SDLN cu'o, Q bcu'o.
I 52.

de'i 'og gi char 'di nas bskal pa sum cu\(^2\) rtsa gñis nas gtsug tor can dañ | thams cad skyob ces pa'i sañs rgyas gñis\(^2\) byon no || gtsug tor can gyi yañ ñan thos kyi 'dus pa gsum du 'gyur\(^3\) te | 'dus pa dañ po la 'bhum phrag geig gi dge sloop ño || gñis pa la 'bhum phrag brgyad cu'o\(^4\) || gsum pa la 'bhum phrag bcu'o || de'i tshe byañ chub sems dpa' sgra'i dbañ po ñes bya ba'i rgyal por gyur te | sañs rgyas dañ bcas pa'i dge 'dun rnam la chos gos dañ bcas pa'i sbyin pa chen po phul lo\(^5\) || rin po che sna bdun gñis\(^6\) so sor brgyan pa'i (50a) glañ po che phul nas | glañ po che'i tshad tsam ri žin ruñ ba'i yo byad rnam phul lo || des yañ 'di nas bskal pa sum cu\(^7\) rtsa geig nas sañs rgyas su 'gyur ro\(^8\) žes luñ bstan to || gžan yañ bcom ldan 'das de'i grøn khyer ni skya reñs\(^9\) ldan žes bya\(^10\) bar gyur to || yab ni skya reñs ldan žes bya ba'i rgyal po'o || yum ni 'od ldan ma\(^11\) žes bya ba'o\(^12\) || mñon 'byuñ dañ yañ dag 'byuñ\(^13\) ni ñan thos kyi mchog go || dge bar byed pa ni ñe gnas so\(^14\) || ma gi la dañ pad ma\(^15\) ni ñan thos ma'i mchog go || byañ chub kyi šiñ ni puñ da ri ka'i\(^16\) šiñ ño || {Pā42} sku'i mtho tshad du khru sum cu\(^17\) rtsa bdun du 'gyur ro\(^18\) || sku'i 'od dpag tshad gsum du 'phro žiñ gnas so\(^19\) || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo stœn phrag sum cu\(^20\) rtsa bdun no ||

By XXI 1

rnam par gzigs kyi 'og tu ni || rkañ gñis mchog gi rdzogs sañs rgyas || mtshuins med rgyal ba gtsug tor can || gañ zag zla med mtshuins med do ||

I 53.

de'i 'og gi char thams cad skyob ces\(^21\) bya ba'i sañs rgyas byon no\(^22\) || de'i\(^23\) yañ 'dus pa gsum du

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1 SDLN cu, Q bcu.
2 SLN gñis, DQ omit.
3 SDQ 'gyur, LN gyur.
4 SDLN bcu'o, Q bcu'o.
5 N phulo.
6 DQLN gñis, S gñi.
7 SDLN cu, Q bcu.
8 L rgyas u 'gyuro.
9 SDQ reñs, LN reñ.
10 DQ bya, SLN omit.
11 SDQ ma, LN omit.
12 SDLN ba'o, Q bya'o.
13 SDLN 'byuñ, Q byuñ.
14 LN gñaso.
15 SLN padma.
16 SLN puñda ri ka'i, D puñ da ri ka'i, Q puñ da ra ki'i.
17 SDLN cu, Q bcu.
18 L 'gyuro.
19 L gñaso.
20 SDLN cu, QL bcu.
21 SDLN ces, N žes.
22 L byono.
Rin ba 'i glen gdzi

gyur te | dus pa dañ po la 'bum phrag brgyad cu'i dge sloñ no || gnis pa la ' bum phrag sum cu rtsa bdun no || gsum pa la 'bum phrag drug cu'o || de'i tshe byan chub sems dpa' blta na sdug ces bya ba'i rgyal por gyur te | sañs rgyas la sog s pa'i dge 'dun la chos gos dañ bcas pa'i sbyin pa chen po phul nas de'i druñ du rab tu byuñ ste | spyod pa dañ | yon tan dañ ldan pas sañs rgyas dkon mchog (50b) la ri mor byas te dga' bar gyur to5 || de yañ bcom ldan 'das kyiš 'di nas bskal pa sum cu rtsa gcig na sañs rgyas su 'gyur ro' zest luñ bstán to || gzan yañ bcom ldan 'das de'i groñ khyer ni yid ldan zes bya bar gyur to | yab ni legs par gnas zes bya ba'i rgyal po'o || yum ni grags ldan ma zes bya ba'o || ñan pa dañ mchog ni ñan thos kyi mchog go9 || ñe bar ži ba ni ñe gnas so10 || 'phreñ11 ba ma dañ 'phreñ12 ba dañ bcas pa ma ni ñan thos ma'i mchog go13 || byañ chub kyi śin ni sā la'i14 śin no || sku'i mtho tshad ni khru drug cur 'gyur ro15 || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo16 stoñ phrag drug17 cu'o18 ||

By XXII 1
sñin po'i bskal pa de fiid la || gañ zag zla med mtshuñs pa med || mtshan ni thams cad skyob ces pa || rgyal ba de ni 'jig rten bskyed ||

I 54.
de'i yañ 'og gi char bskal pa 'di la19 sañs rgyas bži byon no20 || log par21 dad sel dañ | gser thub dañ | 'od sruñs22 dañ | bdag cag gi bcom ldan 'das so23 || gzan yañ bcom ldan 'das log par24 dad sel gyi ñan

21 SDQ de'i, LN de.
1 DQ 'gyur, SLN gyur.
2 SDLN cu'i, QL bcu'i.
3 SDLN cu, Q bcu.
4 SDLN cu'o, Q bcu'o.
5 SDLN 'gyur to, Q byed to.
6 SDLN cu, Q bcu.
7 LN rgyasu 'gyuro.
8 SQLN žes, D žas.
9 L mchogo.
10 LN gnaso.
11 SQ 'phren. DLN phren.
12 S 'phreñ, DQLN phreñ.
13 N mchogo.
14 SDLN sā la'i, Q sa la'i.
15 L 'gyuro.
16 D lo, SQLN omit.
17 SDQ drug, LN dgu.
18 SDLN cu'o, QLN bcu'o.
19 SDQ la, LN las.
20 L byono.
21 D par, SQLN pa.
22 S 'od sruns, DQLN 'od bsrün.
23 L 'daso.
24 D par, SQLN pa.

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thos kyi 'dus pa ni gcig go | de la stoṅ phrag bţi bcu'i dge sloṅ no | de'i tshe byaṅ chub sems dpa' dge ba žes bya ba'i rgyal por gyur to | saṅs rgyas la sogs pa dge 'dun la lhun bzed chos gos daṅ bcas pa'i syin pa ŋid daṅ | mig sman daṅ | sman la sogs pa phul nas ston pa'i chos bstan pa thos nas rab tu byuṅ no | de yan ston pas luṅ bstan to | gzan yaṅ bcom ldan 'das log par' dad sel (51a) de'i groṅ khyer dge ba žes bya bar 'gyur ro | yab ni me sbyin bram ze žes bya ba'o | yum ni bram ze mo grogs ma'o | bi dhu ra daṅ yan dag 'taho ni ŋan thos kyi mchog go | bram ze blo gros ni ŋe gnas so | mňam byed daṅ tsam pa ka ni ŋan thos ma'i mchog go | byaṅ chub kyi šiṅ ni šiṅ ši ri ša chen po'o | sku mtho tshad la khru bţi beur 'gyur ro | sku tshe'i tshad ni lo stoṅ phrag bţi bcu'o

Bv XXIII 1

thams cad skyob kyi 'og tu ni | rkaṅ gñis mchog gi rdzogs saṅs rgyas |
mťshan ni log par dad sel žes | gžal med riṅ la sems dpa' 'o

I 55.

{Pā43} de'i 'og gi char ston pa gser thub ces bya ba byon no | de'i yaṅ ŋan thos kyi 'dus pa geig ste | de la stoṅ phrag sum cu'i dge sloṅ du 'gyur ro | de'i tshe byaṅ chub sems dpa' ri žes bya ba'i rgyal por gyur to | blon po'i tshogs maṅ po daṅ khor daṅ bcas pa chos bstan pa thos nas | saṅs rgyas la sogs pa'i dge sloṅ gi dge 'dun nrams mgron du gûer nas syin pa chen po phul te ston pa'i druṅ du son ste | lhun bzed daṅ | rgya'i dar daṅ | groṅ khyer gsal ldan gyi yul gyi ras daṅ | la ba daṅ | du

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1. LN geigo.
2. L sloṅo.
3. LN byuno.
4. D par, SLN pa.
5. DQN 'gyur ro, S 'gyur to, L gyuro.
6. DQLN me, S mi.
7. D ze, SLN ze'i.
8. SDLN bi dhu ra, Q bhi dhu ra.
9. L mchogo.
10. L gnaso.
11. L mchogo.
12. SDQN ši ri ša, L ši ri ša.
13. SDQ sku, LN sku'i.
14. SDQ 'gyur ro, LN gyur to.
15. D par, SQLN pa.
16. S dpa 'o, DQLN pa'o.
17. L byono.
18. SDLN cu'i, Q bcu'i.
19. DQ 'gyur ro, S gyur to, LN gyuro.
20. SgLN tshogs, D tshogs.
21. SLN daṅ, DQ omit.
22. SD mgron, QLN 'gron.
23. SDLN rgya'i, Q rgyal.
24. SDLQ dan, N omits.
25. J lhuii bzed daṅ | rgya'i dar daṅ | groṅ khyer gsal ldan gyi yul gyi ras daṅ | la ba daṅ | du
Rin ba'i glen gti

ku la'i\[1\] ras da\[2\] | dar gos gser ma mams phul te | ston pa'i dru\[3\] du rab tu byu\[4\] ņ\[5\]2 || de ya\[6\] aṃ saṅs rgyas su\[7\] 'gyur bar lun bstan no\[8\] || bcom ldan 'das de'i gro\[9\] khyer ni mdzes ldan žes bya bar 'gyur ro\[10\]5 || yab ni gnod sbyin žes bya ba'i bram ze'o || yum ni mchog ma žes bya ba'i bram (51b) ze mo'o6 || 'jigs byed daṃ mchog ni žān thos kyi mchog go'7 || bkra šis žes bya ba ni ņe gnas so8 || rgya mtsho ma daṃ mchog ma ni žān thos ma'i mchog go9 || byaḥ chub kyi šiṅ ni u dum bā ra'i10 šiṅ ho || sku'i mtho tshad la khru ņi šu'o || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo stoṅ phrag sum cu'o11 ||

Bv XXIV 1

log par dad sel 'og tu ni || rkaṅ gnis mchog gi rdzogs saṅs rgyas || mtshan ni rgyal ba gser thub bo12 || mi yi13 khyu mchog 'jig rten gtso ||

I 56.

de'i 'og gi char 'od sruṅ14 žes bya ba'i ston pa byon no || de'i15 yaṅ 'dus pa geig ste | de la dge sloṅ stroṅ phrag ņi šu'o || de'i tshe byaṅ chub sems dpa' 'od bskyor žes bya ba'i bram ze'i khye'ur gyur nas | rig byed gsum16 gyi pha rol tu17 son te18 | sa daṅ bar saṅ19 thams cad la grags so20 || bum pa byed pa'i rdza mkhan gyi grogs por gyur to || byaṅ chub sems dpa' rdza mkhan daṅ 'grogs te ston pa'i druṅ du ņe bar21 soṅ ste | chos kyi gtam thos nas rab tu byuṅ ņo22 || brtson 'grus cher bskyed nas sde snod gsum bslabs te spyod pa daṅ ldan pas23 saṅs rgyas kyi bstan pa mdzes par byed do || de yaṅ ston pas

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25 DQLN yul gyi, S yum gyi.
1 SDLN du ku la'i, Q ru ku la'.
2 L byuṅo.
3 LN rgyasu.
4 L bstano.
5 DQ 'gyur ro, S gyur to, LN gyuro.
6 SDQ mo'o, LN ma'o.
7 LN mchogo.
8 LN gnaso.
9 L mchogo.
10 S u dum wa ra'i, D u dum bā ra'i, Q u dum ba ra'i, LN u dum ba ri.
11 SDLN cu'o, Q bcu'o.
12 L thubo.
13 SD mi yi, QLN mi'i.
14 S 'od sruṅs, DQ 'od sruṅ, LN 'od bsrūṅs.
15 SDQ de'i, LN de.
16 SDQN gsum, L gsu.
17 SQLN tu, D du.
18 DQLN te, S to.
19 SDQ saṅ, LN naṅ.
20 LN gragso.
21 DQLN ņe bar, S omits.
22 L byuṅo.
23 DQLN pas, S pa.


I 57.

gzan yan bskal¹³ pa gaṅ la stobs beu daṅ ladan pa’i mar me mdzad pa de la || gzan yan saṅs rgyas gsum byon par gyur te¹⁴ | de rnamgs kyi drun du byaṅ chub sems dpa’ luṅ ma bstan no¹⁵ || {Pā44} de’i phyir ’dir yaṅ ma bstan te | gzan yan don gyi gtim 'dis¹⁶ ’di’i bskal pa nas bzuṅ¹⁷ nas saṅs rgyas thams cad mthon pa’i don du ’dir bṣad do ||

I 58.

Bv XXVII 1b-c,

sred mdzad daṅ ni blo gros mdzad || de nas skyabs ni mdzad pa yin ||
mar me mdzad ni rdzogs saṅs rgyas || rkaṅ gñis mchog ni kō di nya¹⁸ ||

Bv XXVII 5a, 7a

bkra śis daṅ ni thugs bzaṅ daṅ || thub pa nam gru mdzes byed daṅ ||
thugs ladan mthon daṅ pad ma¹⁹ daṅ || mi sbyin daṅ ni pad ma’i²⁰ mchog²¹ |
Bv XXVII 11b

blo gros bzañ dañ legs skyes dañ|| grags chen b opport na sdug pa dañ||
don mthon dañ ni chos mthon dañ|| 'jig rten 'dren pa don grub dañ||

Bv XXVII 18b

rdzogs sañs rgyas ni dkar³ rgyal gyur|| rnam⁴ gzigs gṣtug thams cad skyob|
log pa⁵ daq⁶ sel dañ⁷ gser thub dañ|| 'dren pa 'od suṅ⁸ žes bya'o||

Bv I 217b; XI 30b; XVIII 26b; XX 34b

yañ dag rdzogs sañs rgyas⁹ de¹⁰ rnam ni|| mña par bžag¹¹ ciṅ 'dod chags bcom||
'od (52b) zer¹² brgya pa bžin du 'khruns|| mun pa chen po rnam par 'joms¹³||
me yi phun po bžin du 'bar|| ŋan thos dañ bças mya ŋan 'das||

I 59.
de la bdag¹⁴ cag gi byañ chub sans dpa' mar me mdzad la sogs pa'i sañs rgyas ŋi šu rtsa bzi'i druñ du smon lam btab nas bskal pa grañs med pa bți dañ 'bum phrag gcïg¹⁵ lhag pa¹⁶ nas byon no|| gzan yañ bcom ldan 'das 'od suṅs¹⁷ de'i 'og gi char gnas te yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i sañs rgyas 'di las sañs rgyas¹⁸ gzan med do žes mar me mdzad la sogs pa'i sañs rgyas ŋi šu rtsa bzi'i druñ du luñ bstan pa thob bo|| gzan yañ byañ chub sans dpa' gañ des|

28 SDLN padma'i, D pad ma'i.
21 SDLN mehog, Q mdog.
¹ Jātakamidāna text: Sumedho ca Ṣujāto ca Piyadassi mahāyaso; Bv XXVII 11b: Sumedho ca Ṣujāto ca oraso Padumuttara. 2 SDLN legs skyes dañ, Q lags bzañ gyis.
3 SDLN dkar, Q dgār.
4 SDQ rnam, LN rnam.
5 S pa, DQLN omit.
6 SDLN dad, Q dañ.
7 SDLN dañ, Q dad.
8 DQLN suñ, S suñs.
9 S rgyas, DQLN omit.
10 DQLN de, S omits.
11 DQLN bžag, S gṣag.
12 SDLN zer, Q gzer.
13 SDQN 'joms, L 'dzoms.
14 DQLN bdag, S dag.
15 SDLN gcïg, Q omits.
16 SDQ pa, LN pas.
17 S 'od suṅs, DQLN 'od suṅ.
18 SDQ 'di las sañs rgyas, LN omit.
Rin ba'i glen gzi

By II 58

mi yi¹ bdag ņid rtags daṅ ladan || sgyu daṅ ston pa'i lta² ba daṅ ||
rab tu byuṅ ņīn yon tan ladan || gzi³ rnam s daṅ ni 'dun pa daṅ ||
chos brgyad po ni tshogs pa daṅ || smon lam rnam s ni yaṅ dag rdzogs ||

chos brgyad po 'di rnam tshogs par byas nas mar me mdzad kyi žabs druṅ du smon lam btab ciṅ saṅs rgyas su⁴ byed pa'i chos 'di rnam gaṅ daṅ gaṅ du tshol ba'i spro ba skyes so⁵ || btsal ba de rnam mthon ba nas⁶ || daṅ po sbyin pa'i pha rol phyin || sbyin pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa la sogs pas saṅs rgyas thob par byed pa'i chos rdzogs par byed pa ņid thams cad sgrol gyi bdag ņid byon no⁷ || byon nas gaṅ de rnam byas pa'ai smon lam byaṅ chub sems dpā' rnam kyi phan yon bsṅags par mdzad do⁸ ||

Unidentified verses

de bzin yan lag thams cad (53a) ladan || mi yi⁹ byaṅ chub ņes pa daṅ ||
'khor ba yun rin¹⁰ gzi med pa || bskal pa bye ba brgya ņid dam ||

mnar med du ni mi skye'o || de bzin du ni 'jig rten par ||
bkres¹¹ skom sred daṅ 'bar ba daṅ || yan lag thams cad mi 'chad 'gyur ||
srog chags phra mor mi 'gyur žīn || ņan 'gro rnam s su skye mi 'gyur || {Pā 45}

mi ru skyes par gyur pa na || de ni dmus¹² løn mi 'gyur žīn ||
'on par yaṅ ni mi 'gyur la || lkugs¹³ daṅ gzhogs¹⁴ phyed na mi 'gyur ||
bud med du ni skye mi 'gyur || za ma ma niṅ mtshan gniš daṅ ||
mtha¹⁵ 'khob tu ni skye mi 'gyur || mi yi byaṅ chub ņes¹⁶ pa yin ||
mtshams med pa las grol ba daṅ || dag pa'i spyod yul thams cad du ||
log pa'i lta ba mi brten¹⁷ no || las kyi bya ba mthon ba daṅ ||

¹ SDQ mi yi, LN mi'i.
² SDQ lta, LN bta.
³ SDLN gzi, Q bzi.
⁴ N rgyasu.
⁵ LN skyeso.
⁶ SLN ba nas, DQ bas na.
⁷ L byono.
⁸ L mdzado.
⁹ DQLN yi, S yis.
¹⁰ SDLN riṅ, Q riṅs.
¹¹ SDLN bkres, Q bskres.
¹² SD dmus, QLN mu.
¹³ SDQ lkugs, LN lkug.
¹⁴ SD gzhogs, QLN gzhog.
¹⁵ SDLN mth', Q 'thab.
¹⁶ DQLN ņes, S des.
¹⁷ SLN sten, DQ brten.

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mtho ris la ni gnas nas su
|| 'du šes med par skye mi 'gyur
|| gtsan ma ris kyi lha rnam ssu\(^2\) || sgyu dañ min ni skye ba med

skyes bu dam pa ŋes 'byuñ sems || dnos dañ dnos med ldan pa med

gan žig 'jig rten don du 'gro || pha rol phyin kun rdzogs par byed

phan yon de rnam lhag par thob pa 'am

I 60.
des pha rol tu phyin pa rdzogs par byed do || grags pa dañ ldan pa'ti bram ze'i dus su dañ | duñ gi bram ze'i dus su dañ | nor rgyal gyi rgyal po'i dus su dañ | blta na sduc chen po'ti rgyal po'i dus su dañ | khyab 'jug chen po'i dus su dañ | rgyu mshan gyi rgyal po'\(^7\) chen po'ti (53b) dus su dañ | zla ba gžon nu'i dus su dañ | yul gyi mchog gi dus su dañ | ši bi pa'ti rgyal po'i dus su dañ | thams cad sgrol gyi dus su ni sbyin pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa rdzogs\(^9\) pa'i bdag niid de tshad med pa žes bya'o || mtha' gcig tu yañ dañ yañ byañ chub sems dpa' mkhas pa'i\(^11\) zi\(^12\) boñ gi skyes rabs las |

*Sasajāṭaka* no. 316\(^{13}\)

ñer\(^{14}\) 'ons słoñ ba mthoñ ba na || rañ gi lus ni yoñs su\(^{15}\) btañ || bdag gi sbyin la mfiñ pa med\(^{16}\) || 'di rnam sbyin pa'i pha rol phyin

de ltar lus yoñs su\(^{17}\) gtoñ bar byed pas sbyin pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa ste | don dam pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa žes bya ba skyes so\(^{18}\) ||

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1 LN nasu.
2 LN mamsu.
3 SLN par, DQ pa'i.
4 N dusu.
5 DQN po'i, SL po.
6 SDQ dañ, LN omit.
7 SN po, DQL po'i.
8 SLN po'i, DQ omit.
9 SL ši pi pa'i, D ši bi pa'i, QN ši bi pi'i.
10 SDLN pa rdzogs, Q omits
11 SLN pa'i, DQ pa.
12 DLN ri, SQ ra.
13 Jātakaniḍāṇā p.45; Tibetan sTog 53b; Sasajāṭaka no. 316; Mvu I p.95; Cp I p.13[]; Cp-a p.109, p.273; Bv-a p.59; Dhs-a p.32; Ap-a p.49.
14 Jātakaniḍāṇā p.45,
   Bhikkhāya upagataṁ disvā sakattānaṁ pariccajim,
   dānena me samo n' atthi, esā me dānapāramiṁ.
15 SDLN ŋer, Q ŋe.
16 LN yoñsu.
17 SDLN med, Q myed.
18 LN yoñsu.
161.
de bzin du tshul khrims dañ ldan pa'i klu'i rgyal po'i dus su dañ | tsam po spyi'i1 klu'i rgyal po'i dus su dañ | sa sbyin klu'i rgyal po'i dus su dañ | mche ba drug pa'i glaṅ po'i rgyal po'i dus su dañ | rgyal ba dañ mtshuṅs pa'i rgyal po'i bu žum pa med pa'i dgra gzön nu'i dus su ni tshul khrims kyi pha rol tu phyin pa rdzogs par skyes pa la tshad med do || mtha' gcig tu gžan yañ | de'i2 duñ skyon skyes rabs las ||

Samkhapālajātaka no. 524³
gsal šin gis ni phug nas ni || mtshon cha blaṅs nas brdeg⁴ pa dañ ||
groṅ dpon bu la kho zhi byed || tshul khrims phar phyin bdag gi 'di ||

de bzin du lus yoṅs su⁵ gton bar byed pa ni | tshul khrims kyi pha rol tu phyin pa ste | don dam pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa žes bya ba skyes so⁶ ||

I 62.
de bzin du yid bzaṅ⁷ gzön nu'i dus su dañ | glaṅ chen nor⁸ skyon gzön nu'i dus su dañ || lcags khyim mkhas pa'i dus su ni rgyal srīsd chen po spaṅs (54a) nas ŋes par 'byuṅ ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa bdag niid la skyes pa ni tshad med do⁹ || gžan yañ mtha' gcig tu de'i bu ži ba chuṅ ṅu'i¹⁰ skyes rabs las | {Pā46}

Cūlasutasomajātaka no. 525¹¹
rgyal po chen po lag tu thob || mchil ma'i dbu¹² ba bzin du spaṅs ||
rgyal srīsd spaṅs kyan žen pa med || bdag gi ŋes 'byuṅ phar phyin 'di ||

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¹ SQN spyi'i, DL spya'i.
² LN de'i, SDQ de yi.
³ Jātakariṇī p. 45; sTog 53b; Samkhapālajātaka no. 524; Cp I [238]; Cp-a p.273; Ap-a p.50; Bv-a p.60; Dhs-a p.32.
⁴ Jātakariṇī p. 45
Sūlehi pi vijjhayanto koṭṭhayante pi sattihi
Bhojapute na kuppāmi, esa me silapāramiti.
⁵ S brdeg, DQLN rdeg.
⁶ N yoṅsu.
⁷ N skyeso.
⁸ SLN bzaṅ, DQ bzaṅs.
⁹ DQ nor, SLN omit.
¹⁰ L medo.
¹¹ SDQL chuṅ ṅu'i, N chuṅu'i.
¹² Jātakariṇī p.46; sTog 54a; Cūlasutasomajātaka no. 525; Ap-a p.50; Cp-a p.273; Bv-a p.60; Dhs-a p.32.
Jatakanidana p.46,
Mahārājam hatthagatam khelapiṇḍam va chaḍḍayīṁ
cajato na hoto laganam, esā me nekkhammapāramiti.
¹³ S lbu, D dbu, QLN sbu.

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de bzin du nes par bdag gis¹ rgyal srid spaṅs nas nes par 'byun ba’i pha rol tu phyin pa ste | don dam pa’i pha rol tu phyin pa žes bya ba skyes so² ||

I 63.
de bzin du mkhas pa bi dhu ra’i dus su daṅ | mkhas pa khyab ‘jug chen po’i dus su daṅ | mkhas pa stog rtse³ ba’i dus su daṅ | mkhas pa a ra’i dus su daṅ | kun du rgyu byaṅ chub kyi dus su daṅ | mkhas pa sman chen po’i dus su ni | šes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa rdzogs par bdag la skyes pa la tshad med do⁴ || gzan yaṅ mtha’ gcig tu de’i sde⁵ snod kyi skyes rabs las | mkhas pa sde can gyi dus su daṅ⁶ |

*Sattubhattajātaka* no. 402⁷

bdag gi⁸ šes rab tshol ba na || bram ze’i sdug bsņal grol pa daṅ ||
bdag gi šes rab mtshuṅs pa med || bdag gi šes rab phar phyin ’di ||

pha tshi’i naṅ gi sbrul bdag gis blta ba ni šes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa ste don dam pa’i pha rol tu phyin pa žes bya ba skyes so⁹ ||

I 64.
de bzin du brtson ’grus kyi pha rol tu phyin pa rdzogs par bdag la skyes pa tshad med do¹⁰ || gzan yaṅ mtha’ gcig tu de’i skye bo chen po can gyi skyes rabs las |

*Mahājanakajātaka* no. 539¹¹
dogs¹² ma mthon ba’i rgya mtsho’i dbus || mi rnams thams cad ši bar gyur ||
sdug bsņal med pa’i sems kyis¹³ ni || bdag gi brtson ’grus (54b) phar phyin ’di ||

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¹ DQLN gi, S gis.
² LN skyeso.
³ SLN stog rtse, D tog tse.
⁴ L medo.
⁵ DQ sde, SLN phyir.
⁶ SLN daṅ, DQ omit.
⁷ *Jātakaniṇḍana* p.46; *Sattubhattajātaka* no. 402; Ap-a p.50; Cp-a p.274.
⁸ *Jātakaniṇḍana* p.46,
Paññāya pavicinanto ’haṃ brāhmaṇam mocayim dukhā, paññāya me samo n’ attthi, esā me paññāpāramiṭi.
⁹ SQLN gi, D gis.
¹⁰ LN skyeso.
¹¹ L medo.
¹² DQN dogs, SL hogs.
¹³ SLN kyis, DQ kyi.
¹⁴ *Jātakaniṇḍana* p.46; *Sattubhattajātaka* no. 539; Ap-a p.50; Bv-a p.60; Cp-a p.274; Dhs-a p.32.
" Atiradassi jalamajjhe hata sabbe va manusa, cittassa aṭṭhaṃ sabbe va manusa, esa me viriyapāramiṭi.
¹² DQN dogs, SL hogs.
¹³ SLN kyis, DQ kyi.
rgya mtsho chen po las sgrol bar byed pa’i brtson ’grus kyi pha rol tu phyin pa žes bya ba skyes so

I 65.

bzod par smra ba’i skye rabs las |

Khantivādajātaka no. 313

sems med pa la gcod pa bžin || bdag la mno ba’i dgra sta yis ||
gsal ldan rgyal po la mi khro || bdag gi bzod pa’i phar phyin ’di ||

de ltar sms med pa’i dnos pos bžin du bdag sdug bsñal chen po la lhag par gnas pa ni bzod pa’i pha rol tu phyin pa ste | don dam pa’i pha rol tu phyin pa žes bya ba skyes so

I 66.

bu ži ba chen po’i skyes rabs las |

Mahāsutasomajātaka no. 537

bden pa’i tshig ni rjes su bsrn || bdag gi srog ni spāns nas su ||
rgyal rigs brgya phrag grol bar byed || bdag gi bden pa’i phar phyin ’di ||

de ltar srog spāns nas bden pa rjes su bsrn ba de ni bden pa’i pha rol tu phyin pa ste | don dam pa’i pha rol tu phyin pa žes bya ba skyes so

I 67.

lkugs pa dān gzhogs phyed na ba’i tshul gyi skyes rabs las |

1 LN skyeso.
2 Jātakānīdāna p. 46; Tibetan sTog 54b; , Khantivādajātaka no. 313; JMAL tr. no. 28, Kṣaāntivādīn, p. 253; ed. no. 28, p.192; Ap-a p.50; Bv-a p.60; Cp-a p.274; Dhs-a p.32.
Jātakānīdāna p. 46,
Acetanam va koṭṭentetinhena pharasunā mama
Kāśirāje na kuppāmi, esā me khantipārami.
3 S pos, DQLN po.
4 LN skyeso.
5 SDQ bu ži ba, LN bu bži pa.
6 Jātakānīdāna p.46; sTog 54b; Mahāsutasomajātaka no. 537; JMAL tr. no. 30, p. 291, ed. no. 31, p. 207; Cp p. 34; Ap-a p.51; Bv-a p.60; Cp-a p.275; Dhs-a p.32.
Jātakānīdāna p.46,
Saccavācaṁ anurakkhanto cajitvā mama jivitaṁ
mocayin ekasataṁ khattiyē, paramatthasaccapārami.
7 L nasu.
8 SLN byed, DQ byas.
9 LN rjesu.
10 LN skyeso.
11 SDQ lkugs, LN lkug.
Mügapakkhañjñataka no. 538

pha ma bdag la mi dgos śin || nor dañ grags pa’añ dgos pa med ||
bdag ni thams cad mkhyen la dga’ || de phyir brtul2 žugs gnas pa’o || {Pā47}

de ltar srog gi ’dod pa yoñs su3 btañ4 nas brtul žugs la lhag par gnas pa ni lhag par gnas pa’i pha rol
tu phyin pa ste | don dam5 pa’i pha rol tu phyin pa žes bya ba skyes so6 ||

I 68.
rgyal po gcig gi7 skyes rabs las |

Ekarajñjñataka no. 303

gañ žig bdag la skrag byed med || bdag gis gañ9 la’añ ’jigs ma byas ||
byams pa’i stobs kyi sten gnas žin10 || de tshe stoñ pa ŋid la dga’ ||

(55a) de ltar srog yoñs su11 gtoñ12 ba la mi blta13 žiñ byams par byed pa de’i byams pa ni pha rol tu
phyin pa ste | don dam pa’i pha rol tu phyin pa žes bya ba skyes so14 ||

I 69.
ñañ15 pa’i spu’i16 skyes rabs las |

\[12\] SDQ gżogs, LN gżog.
\[1\] Jatakanidāna p. 46; Sīr 54b; Mügapakkhañjñataka no. 538; Cp pp. 24, 26, 29; Cp-a p.275; Ap-a p.51.
Jatakanidāna p.46,
Matāpitā na me dessā, na pi me dessaṃ mahāyasasam,
sabbaññutaṃ piyaṃ mayhaṃ, tasmā vataṃ adhiṭṭhaḥin.

\[2\] SDLN brtul, Q btul.
\[3\] LN yoñsu.
\[4\] SDLQ btuñ, N gtañ.
\[5\] SDQN dam, L omits.
\[6\] LN skyeso.
\[7\] SDQ gi, LN gis.
\[8\] Jatakanidāna p.47; Sīr 54b; Ekarajñjñataka no. 303; Cp p. 34; Ap-a p.51; Bv-a p.61; Cp-a p.275; Dhs-a p.32.
Jatakanidāna p.47,
Na mam koci uttasati, na pi ’ham bhāyīmi kassaci,
metṭābalen’ upatṭhaddho ramāmi pavane sadā ti.

\[9\] SDQ gañ, LN omit.
\[10\] SDQ žin, LN žis.
\[11\] N yoñsu.
\[12\] SDLQ gtoñ, N btoñ.
\[13\] SDQ blta, LN lta.
\[14\] LN skyeso.
\[15\] SDLN ŋañ, Q dañ.
\[16\] SDLN spu’i, D spu yi.
Lomahamsajātaka no. 94

dur khröd du ni gnas pa² sems || rus gon³ la ni brten byas nas ||
bdag gi gnas su⁴ ŋe bar 'ońs || gzugs la bta⁵ ba ŋuṅ ba med ||

de ltar gron gi khye'u la rdo la sogs pa blaṅs nas rduṅ ba ṅid dāṅ | me tog 'phren⁶ ba dāṅ | spos kyis ŋe bar spyod pa la sogs pas bde ba dāṅ sduṅ bsnyal bskyed kyaṅ btaṅ sñoss su² 'dor⁸ ba de ni btaṅ sñoss kyi pha rol tu phyin pa ste | don dam pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa žes bya ba skyes so⁹ || de rams 'dir mdor bsduṅ pa'o || rgya cher yaṅ slar 'di'i don¹⁰ dp'yod¹¹ pa'i sde¹² snod las blaṅ¹³ bar bya'o || de ltar pha rol tu phyin pa rdzogs nas thams cad sgrol gyi bdag ŋid du gnas so¹⁴ ||

Cp p. 10¹⁵

sems med pa yi¹⁶ sa gzi yis¹⁷ || bde dāṅ sduṅ bsnyal mi śes kyaṅ ||
bdag gi sbyin pa'i stobs de yis || lān¹⁸ bdun du ni rab tu g.yos ||

de ltar sa gzi chen po g.yo¹⁹ ba la sogs pa bsod nams chen po byed ciṅ tsh'i mthar ši 'phos te dga' ldan du skyes so²⁰ | žes²¹ pa ni²² mar me mdzad kyi žabs druṅ nas bzuṅ ste ji srid dga' ldan du skyes

¹ Jātakānidāṇa p.47; sTog 55a; Lomahamsajātaka no. 94; Cp p. 35; Cp-a p.276; Ap-a p.51; Bv-a p.61; Dhs-a p.32.
Jātakānidāṇa p.47,
Susāne seyyaṃ kappemi chhaṭṭhikaṃ upadhāy' aham,
gomāṇḍalā upagantvā rūpam dassent' anappakān ti.

² DQ par, SLN pas.
³ SDLN goṅ, Q god.
⁴ L gnasu.
⁵ SLN bta, DQ lta.
⁶ S 'phren, DQLN phren.
⁷ N sñossu.
⁸ SDLN 'dor, N 'doṅ.
⁹ LN skyeso.
¹⁰ SDLN don, LN dor.
¹¹ S dp'yod, DQLN spyod.
¹² SDLN sde, Q sdo.
¹³ SDLN blaṅ, Q bslaṅ.
¹⁴ L gnaṣo.
¹⁵ Jātakānidāṇa p.47; sTog 55a; Cp p. 10; Cp-a p.101; Ap-a p.51; Bv-a p.272; Dhs-a p.32; Thūp p.164; Vessantarajātaka no.547; JMAL ed. no. 9, p. 51;
Jātakānidāṇa p.47,
Acetanāyaṃ putthavi aviṇṇāya sukhaṃ dukhaṃ,
sāpi dānabālā mayhaṃ sattakkhatṭuṁ pakampathā ti.

¹⁶ SDQ pa yi, LN pa'i.
¹⁷ D gzi yis, SQ gzi yi, L gzi, N gzi'i.
¹⁸ SLN lan, D lag.
¹⁹ SDLN g.yo, Q g.yos.
²⁰ LN skyeso.
²¹ SDLN žes, LN ces.

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Riñ ba'i gleñ gži

pa de rnam's kyi bar ni riñ po'i gži žes bya bar rig par bya'o ||

22 SLN ni, DQ omit.
II.1.

gzan yan byan chub sms dpa’ dga’ ldan du bzugs⁵ pa śid nas sans rgyas kyi sgra cher sgrogs pa žes bya ba skyes pa na³ (55b) ‘jig rten ‘dir sgra cher sgrogs pa gsum byun sté | bskal pa’i sgra cher sgrogs pa dañ | sans rgyas kyi sgra cher sgrogs pa dañ | ‘khor los⁸ sgyur pa’i sgra cher sgrogs pa’o || de la lo ‘bum phrag gcig gi mṭhar bskal pa ’jig par ‘gyur ro⁵ | žes pa⁶ ‘jig rten gyi miñ du brjod pa ni ’dod pa na spyod pa’i lha mgo g.yogs kyis⁷ ma bsgrigs⁸ pa dañ | skra grol ba dañ | ū ba’i kha can lag pas mig gi mehi ma ‘phyi⁹ ba | gos dmar po gyon pa | lha par gzugs mi sdug pa’i cha byad ’dzin par gyur pa’i mi rnam lam la ’gro žin ’di ltar brjod do || ’jig rten pa ’diā⁸ na11 lo ‘bum phrag gcig¹² ’das nas bskal pa ¹³ ’jig par ‘gyur ro || ‘di yi ’jig rten rnam ’jig par ‘gyur ro¹⁴ || rgya mtsho chen po yan bskams¹⁵ par ‘gyur ro || {Pā48} sa gzi¹⁶ chen po ’di dañ ri’i rgyal po ri rab kyañ thal bar ‘gyur žin¹⁷ ‘jig go || tshaṅs pa’i ’jig rten gyi bar du ’jig rten¹⁸ ’jig par ‘gyur ro¹⁹ žes brjod do || ’jig rten pa rnam byams pa sgoms²⁰ šig || sning rje sgoms²¹ šig | dga’ ba sgoms²² šig | btañ sṅoms sgoms²³ šig | ma la rim gro gyis šig | pha la rim gro gyis šig | rigs kyi gtso bo la rim gro gyis šig ces pa ’di ni bskal pa’i sgra cher sgrogs pa žes bya ba’o²⁴ || lo stön phrag gcig ’das nas slar yan sans rgyas thams cad mkhyen pa ’jig rten du byon no žes brjod pa ’di ’jig rten skyon ba’i lha rams ’di nas ’jig rten pa (56a) rnam lo stön phrag gcig ’das nas²⁵ || gzan yan sans rgyas ’jig rten du byon no žes brjod²⁶ ciṅ sgra cher sgrogs pas

¹ Avidürenidāna/Bar pa’i gleñ gzi, sTog folios 55a-85b; Pāli pp. 47-77.
² SDLN bzugs, Q žug.
³ SDLN na, Q ni.
⁴ DQ los, SLN lo.
⁵ L ’gyuro.
⁶ SDQL pa, N bya.
⁷ DLN kyi, SQ kyi.
⁸ SDQ bsgrigs, LN bsgrīb.
⁹ SDLN ’phyi, Q ’chi.
¹⁰ SDQ ’di, LN ’dis.
¹¹ SDQN nas, L omits.
¹² SDQN gcig, L ϵīg.
¹³ SDQ omit, LN add: ’jig pa.
¹⁴ L ’gyuro.
¹⁵ SDQN bskams, L bskam.
¹⁶ SDLN gzi, Q bži.
¹⁷ S žiṅ, DQLN ciṅ.
¹⁸ LN omit: ’jig rten.
¹⁹ LN omit: ro.
²⁰ SD sgoms, QLN bsgoms.
²¹ SDQ sgoms, LN bsgoms.
²² SD sgoms, QLN bsgoms.
²³ SD sgoms, QLN bsgoms.
²⁴ SDLN ba’o, Q bya’o.
²⁵ DQN nas, SL omit.
²⁶ SDLN bskams, L bskam.
rgyu ba 'di ni sañs rgyas kyi sgra cher sgrogs pa žes bya ba yin no$^2$ || gzan yaṅ lo brgya 'das nas 'khor los$^6$ sgyur' ba'i rgyal po byon no žes brjod$^5$ pa ni lha ņid de | 'jig rten pa rnams lo brgya 'das nas 'khor los$^6$ sgyur' ba'i rgyal po 'jig rten du byon žes sgra cher brjod$^7$ ciṅ rgyu ba 'di ni 'khor$^8$ los$^9$ sgyur' ba'i sgra cher sgrogs pa žes bya ba yin no$^{10}$ || gsum po 'di ni sgra cher sgrogs pa yin no ||

I 2.
de rnams las sañs rgyas kyi sgra cher sgrogs pa thos nas ston phrag bcu'i khor yug gi lha thams cad gnas gcig tu 'dus te | che ge mo žes bya ba'i byaṅ chub sems dpa' sañs rgyas su$^{11}$ 'gyur bar rtogs$^{12}$ nas žu ba'i phyir ņe bar soṅ ste | žus nas kyan snar gyi mtshan ma skyes pa la žus so$^{13}$ || de'i tshe slar yaṅ thams cad kyi re re'i khor yug gi rgyal po chen po bži'i ris daṅ | brgya byin daṅ | 'thah$^{14}$ bral daṅ | dga' ldan daṅ | 'phrul dga' daṅ | gzan 'phrul dbaṅ byed daṅ | tshaṅs pa chen po daṅ bcas pa'i lha daṅ | khor yug gi lha rnams 'dus pa'o || dga' ldan gyi lha$^{15}$ gnas su$^{16}$ byaṅ chub sems dpa'i drun du soṅ ste | draṅ sroṅ chen po khyp kyis pha rol tu$^{17}$ phyin pa bcu rdzogs pa ni brgya byin gyi phun sum tshogs par bya ba'i phyir ma yin | bdud kyi phyir ma yin | tshaṅs pa'i phyir don du gñer ba rdzogs par bya ba'i phyir ma yin | 'khor los$^{18}$ sgyur (56b) ba'i phun sum tshogs pa'i phyir don du gñer ba rdzogs par bya ba'i phyir ma yin no || gzan yaṅ 'jig rten bsgral ba'i phyir daṅ | thams cad mkhyen pa don du gñer ba'i phyir rdzogs par byed do || de rnams ni da Ita'i dus nas draṅ sroṅ chen po sañs rgyas su$^{19}$ 'gyur ba'i dus ni draṅ sroṅ chen po sañs rgyas su$^{20}$ 'gyur žes žus so$^{21}$ ||
II.3.
sems dpa’ chen po lha la gnaṅ1 ba ma byin te | dus daṅ | glin dav | yul daṅ | rigs daṅ | yum daṅ | tshe daṅ | tshe’i bye brag lhag ma las med do || chen po lha po žes bya ba legs par gzigs śin2 gzigs so3 ||

II.4.
de la dus daṅ dus ma yin pa žes bya ba ste | daṅ po dus la gzigs so4 || de la lo ’bum phrag gcig gi thog5 ma nas ’phel ba ni tshe’i dus dañ dus ma yin pa’o || gaṅ gi phyir de’i tshe sems can rnams kyi skye ba dañ | rga ba dañ | na ba dañ6 | ’chi ba rnams la gzigs so7 || sans rgyas rnams kyi8 chos ston pa’i9 mtshan śid lha španś nas gzan pa ni med do || de rnams ni mi rtag pa dañ | sdug bsñal ba dañ | bdag med pa ston ciṅ ’di rnams ci’i phyir ’chad pa śid mi ṣan pa dañ | mi dad pa dañ | mi sems pa’o || de ni dus ma yin no10 || de’i phyir mi sems pa dañ ma ṣes pa’i bstan11 pa yin no12 || de’i phyir de ni dus ma yin pa’o || lo brgya pa dman pas tshe’i dus kyaṅ de’i dus ma yin no || gaṅ gi phyir de’i tshe sems can śion moṅs pa śin tu che ba yin no13 || śion moṅs pa śin tu che bas gdams pa byin no || (57a) gdams pa la mi gnas na chu la dbyug pa brgyab14 pa’i ri mo bžin myur du ’gag go15 || de’i phyir de yaṅ dus ma yin pa’o || {Pâ49} lo ’bum phrag gcig nas bzuṅ16 ba’i ’og tu lo brgya pa’i mgor17 tshe’i dus te dus žes bya ba yin no18 || de’i tshe yaṅ lo brgya pa yin no || de nas sems dpa’ chen po skye bar rigs so19 zes dus la gzigs so20 ||

II.5.
de nas glin la gzigs te | glin bzi ’khor daṅ bcas pa la gzigs nas21 | glin gsum po rnams su22 sans rgyas

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1 SQLN gnaṅ, D gnad.
2 SDQ gzigs śin, LN omit.
3 LN gzigsō.
4 LN gzigsō.
5 SDQN thog, L thogs.
6 DQ na ba daṅ, SLN omit. Pāli omits.
7 LN gzigsō.
8 SDLN kyi, Q gyi.
9 SLN pa’i, DQ pa ni .
10 N yino.
11 DQ bstan, SLN stam.
12 N yino.
13 N yino.
14 S brgyab, DQLN rgyab.
15 LN ’gago.
16 SDQ bzuṅ, LN gzuṅ.
17 DQLN mgor, S ’gor.
18 N yino.
19 LN rigso.
20 N gzigsō.
21 DQLN nas, S na.
22 LN rnamsu.
mi 'byon no || 'dzam bu'ĩ gliṅ ŋid du 'byon no² || gliṅ la gzigs pa'o ||

II 6.
de nas 'dzam bu'ĩ³ gliṅ žes bya ba dpag tshad stoṅ phrag buc'i tshad kyis che ba'o || yul gyi phyogs gaṅ žig tu⁴ saṅs rgyas byon⁵ par 'gyur žes yaṅs śin grol ba'ĩ gnas blta žiṅ yul dbus la gzigs te | yul dbus žes bya ba ni śar gyi phyogs na ka dzam ga la žes bya ba'i groṅ rdal⁶ lo || de'i pha rol na śiṅ sā la chen po'o || de nas gz'an yaṅ bas mtha'i ljoṅs daṅ⁷ ňe ba'ĩ naṅ no || šar lho'i mtshams su⁸ sā la can žes bya ba'i chu klun no⁹ || de nas gz'an yaṅ bas mtha'i ljoṅs daṅ ňe ba'ĩ naṅ no || lho phyogs su¹⁰ sō ta ka rīi ka¹¹ žes bya ba'i groṅ rdal lo || de nas gz'an yaṅ bas mtha'i ljoṅs daṅ ňe ba'ĩ naṅ no || nub phyogs ka ba žes bya ba bram ze'i groṅ rdal lo || de nas gz'an yaṅ bas mtha'i ljoṅs daṅ ňe ba'ĩ naṅ no || byaṅ gi phyogs su¹² u ši ra'i ri'o¹³ || de nas gz'an yaṅ bas mtha'i ljoṅs daṅ ňe ba'ĩ (57b) naṅ no || 'di itar 'dul bar bṣad ciṅ bstan no || dkyus su dpag tshad sum brgya'o || žen du dpag tshad phyed daṅ sum brgya'o || mtha' bskor la dpag tshad dgu brgya'o || yul phyogs de rnams su¹⁴ ni saṅs rgyas daṅ | raṅ saṅs rgyas daṅ | fhan thos mchog rnams daṅ | fhan thos chen po brgyad cu¹⁵ daṅ | 'khor los¹⁶ sgyur ba'ĩ rgyal po daṅ | gz'an yaṅ skyes bu chen por grags pa'i rigs daṅ | bram ze'i rigs daṅ | śiṅ sā la chen po'i¹⁷ lta bu'i khyim bdag rnams 'khrunš¹⁸ pa'i gnas so¹⁹ || de rnams las groṅ khyer ser skya žes bya ba 'di'o || der bdag 'khrun pa rig so²⁰ žes thugs kyis ňes par byas so²¹ ||

II 7.
de nas rig la gzigs pa žes bya ba ni | saṅs rgyas žes bya ba rje'u'i riggs sam | gdol pa'i riggs la mi 'khrun no || slar yaṅ 'jig rten pa mos pa'i rgyal riggs sam | bram ze'i riggs gnis la 'khrun no || da lta ni

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1 DQ bu'i, SLN bu.
2 L 'byono.
3 DQ bu'i, SLN bu.
4 SDQN tu, L du.
5 SQLN byon, D 'byon.
6 SDQ rdal, LN brdal.
7 S daṅ, DQLN omit.
8 N mtshamsu.
9 L kluṅo.
10 N phyogsu.
11 S sō ta ka rīi ka, DQ sō ta kar ni ka, LN sō ta karni ka.
12 DQ omit: su, N phyogsu.
13 SL u śi ri'i ro'o, DQ u śi ra'i ri'o, N u śi ri ri ti'o.
14 LN rnamsu.
15 SDLN cu, Q bucu.
16 DQ los, SLN lo.
17 SLN po'i, DQ po.
18 SLN 'khrun, DQ 'khrunš.
19 N gnaso.
20 LN rigso.
21 LN byaso.
rgyal rigs la 'jig rten pa sens so || de la 'khrun no || bdag gi yab ni zas gtsan ma zhes bya ba'i rgyal po yin te rigs la gzigs so ||

II 8.
de nas yum la gzigs te | 'dod pa dañ chañ la dga' ba ni sans rgyas kyi yum zhes bya ba ma yin no || gzan yañ bskal pa 'bum phrag gcig la pha rol tu phyin pa rdzogs par byas nas 'khrun no ||

9ams pa med pa'i tshul khrims îna po ñid len no || lha mo sgyu 'phrul chen mo zhes bya ba 'di de dañ 'dra ba bdag gi yum yin no || gzan yañ gañ de tsam gyi'6 tshe'o || zla ba bcu'i 'go'7 nas (58a) zang bdun du gzung so8 ||

II 9.
'di ni chen po lña la gzung so9 || gzung nas dran sron chen po bdag gi10 dus de1 sans rgyas su12 'gyur ba'i lha rnams kyis tshig gis gnañ no13 || khed14 rnams gs'ugs par zu zhes lha de rnams btañ15 nas dga'
ldan gyi lha rnams kyis yoñs su16 bskor te | dga' ldan gyi dga' ba'i tshal du zungs so17 || 'jig rten gyi lha thams cad dga' ba'i tshal na yod pa ñid do || de la 'di'i18 lha 'di nas ñi 'phos nas bde ba'i 'gro bar skyes te | 'di nas ñi 'phos nas19 bde ba'i 'gro bar skyes so20 || snar byas pa'i dge ba'i las byas pa rjes su21 dran žin rgyu'o || de de ltar lha rnams kyis dge ba rjes su22 dran pa rnams khor du byas šin der23 rgyu'o || {Pâ50} ñi 'phos nas lha mo 'phrul ma chen mo 'i mñal du žungs so24 || de la legs par brjod pa'i
phyir 'di go' rim² bzin du sñon³ gyi gtam brjod do⁴ ||

II 10.
de'i tse groṅ khyer ser skyar dbyar zla 'brin po'i rgyu skar du brjod par skye bo thams cad rgyu skar⁵ la rtse žin | lha mo sgyu 'phrul chen mo⁶ yañ ūa'i sñun du žag bdun nas me tog gi⁷ 'phren⁸ ba daṅ sphos kyi 'byor pa daṅ ldan pas rgyu skar la rtse žin loṅs spyod do || žag bdun gyi mthar sña dro laṅs nas dri bzan⁹ gi chus khrus byas te | 'bun phrag bźi'i loṅs spyod spel te sbyin pa chen po btaṅ nas rgyan thams cad kyis brgyan | kha bzas bzaṅ po zos te | gso sbyoṅ yan lag brgyad pa la gnas so¹⁰ || rgyan du¹¹ byed pa la rigs pa'i dpal gyi khaṅ pa'i naṅ du (58b) žugs nas | dpal gyi mal cha la ŋal te gñid du¹² soṅ nas 'di lta bu'i rmi lam mthoṅ no¹³ || rgyal po chen po bźi pos mal stan daṅ bcas pa ŋid blaṅs nas gaṅs can gyi naṅ du soṅ no¹⁴ || dpag tshad drug cu¹⁵ pa'i ma na śi la'i¹⁶ sten du daṅ | dpag tshad bdun pa'i śiṅ sā la¹⁷ chen po'i 'og tu bžag nas phyogs gcig tu 'khod do || de nas de'i lha mo 'oṅs nas | lha mo sgyu 'phrul ma chen mo mtsho ma dros¹⁸ par khrid do || mi'i dri ma bsal¹⁹ ba'i phyir khrus byas te | lha'i gos gyon nas dri bzaṅ pos²⁰ byug²¹ ciṅ lha'i me tog 'dogs so²² || de nas mi riṅ bar dṇul gyi ri de'i naṅ na gser gyi gžal yas²³ khaṅ 'dug go²⁴ || de sar du mgo bstan pa'i lha'i mal cha la der ŋol žes zer nas ŋal lo²⁵ || de nas byaṅ chub sms pa' glaṅ po che dkar po gcig²⁶ tu gyur to || de nas

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1 SDLN go, Q ge.
2 SLN rim, DQ rims
3 SQLN sñon, D sdon.
4 L brjodo.
5 SDQN skar, L omits.
6 SLN mo, DQ po.
7 DQLN gi, S omits.
8 S 'phren, DQLN phren.
9 SDQN bzaṅ, L gzaṅ.
10 LN gnaso.
11 SDLQ du, N tu.
12 L gñidu.
13 L mthoṅo.
14 LN soṅo.
15 SDLN cu, Q buṅ.
16 DQ ma na śi la'i, SLN ma ni śa la'i.
17 SDN sā la, QL sa la.
18 SDLN dros, Q 'dros.
19 SDLN bsal, Q gsal.
20 SDLQ pos, N po.
21 SDLQ byug, N 'byug.
22 LN 'dogs,o.
23 DQ yas, SLN med.
24 L 'dugo.
25 LN ŋaṅo.
26 SQLN gcig, D cig.

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mi riṅ bar gser gyi ri gcig1 la der 'dzeg ciṅ | de nas mar babs nas | dñul gyi ri la 'dzeg go2 || byaṅ gi phyogs nas 'oṅs te | dñul gyi 'phren3 ba daṅ mtsuṅs pa'i glaṅ po che'i4 snas5 pad ma6 dkar po 'dzin ciṅ | glaṅ po che'i sgra sgrogs pas gser gyi gžal yas khan du žugs te | raṅ gi mal cha la lan gsum du bskor7 ba byas nas glo g.yas pa phug nas ltor žugs pa bžin du gyur to || de ltar bra'i8 skar ma mchog la lhums su9 žugs so10 ||

II. 11.
fi ma gñis pa la de'i sña dro sad de lha mos rgyal po la rmi lam rnam srmas so11 || rgyal pos bram ze drug cu12 rtsa bži bos nas me tog gi13 'phren14 ba la sogs (59a) pa15 daṅ16 } bkra šis daṅ bsti staṅ byed ciṅ sa la mal stan chen po bšams te17 | de la bžugs18 pa'i bram ze rnam la mar gsar daṅ | sbraṅ rtsi daṅ | ka ra19 rnam daṅ bsres pa'i 'o thug rnam gser daṅ dñul las byas pa'i sder ma bkan20 ste | gser daṅ dñul gyi sder mas so sor bkar nas bram ze rnam la phul lo21 || gžan yaṅ rgyal po gyon pa daṅ mtsuṅs pa'i gos daṅ gser rgya ma la sogs pa byin nas de rnam tshim par byas so22 || de nas de thams cad 'dod pa thams cad kyi23 tshim par24 gur na rmi lam bžad de ci 'dra bar 'gyur žes dris so25 || bram ze rnam kyi srmas pa | rgyal po chen po 'jigs par ma byed cig | khyod kyi lha mo'i lto'i naṅ du sms can žugs26 te | de yaṅ naṅ gi de skyes bu'o || mñał gyi naṅ gi de bu27 mo ni ma yin no || {Pā51}

1 SQLN gcig, D cig.
2 LN 'dzego.
3 S 'phren, DQLN phren.
4 DQ che'i, SLN che yi.
5 DQ snas, SLN gnaś.
6 SQLN padma, D pad ma.
7 SDLN bskor, Q skor.
8 D bra'i, SLN bru'i, Q bri'i.
9 LN lhumsu.
10 LN žugsu.
11 LN srmasu.
12 SDN cu, QL bcu.
13 SLN gi, DQ omit.
14 S 'phren, DQLN phren, N breņ.
15 DQLN pa, S pas.
16 QLN daṅ, SD omit.
17 DQLN te, S omits.
18 SDQ bžugs, LN žugs.
19 S ka ra ba, DQ kar ra, LN dkar pa.
20 SDLN bkan, N mkan.
21 L phulo.
22 LN byaso.
23 SDLN kyi, Q kyi.
24 SDQ par, LN omit.
25 LN driso.
26 SDLN žugs, Q bžugs.
27 SDLN de bu, Q de lia bu.
de khyod⁴ kyi sras po 'gyur ro² || de gal te khyim na gnas na 'khor los³ sgyur⁴ ba'i rgyal por 'gyur ro⁵ || gal te khyim spaṅs nas rab tu byun na saṅs rgyas⁶ bar 'gyur ro⁷ || 'jig rten du bzlog⁸ nas slar khyim na gnas nas skye ba med do⁹ ||

II 12.

gzan yan byaṅ chub sms dpa' yum gyi mpañ du žugs pa de ma thag tu thun gcig¹⁰ ņid la ston phrag bcu'i 'jig rten gyi khams thams cad yan dag par g.yos so¹¹ || yan dag par rab tu g.yos so¹² || yan dag par sgra sgrogs so¹³ || mtshan ma sum cu¹⁴ rtsa gños sthon gyi mtshan mar¹⁵ gyur to || ston phrag bcu'i khor yug nams su¹⁶ snaṅ ba tshad med par khyab ciṅ gnas so¹⁷ || (59b) de yan de'i dpal bta ba 'di lta bu ste | loṅ ba nams kyi s mig thob bo¹⁸ || 'on pa nams kyi s rna bas sgra thos so¹⁹ || lkugs pa nams kyi s smra šes so²⁰ || sgu po nams po²¹ draṅ por gyur to || goṅ po nams kyi s 'gro šes par gyur to || bciṅs pa'i sms can thams cad ni rjes su²² bciṅs pa las grol bar gyur to | dmyal ba thams cad kyi me ži bar gyur to || yi dags kyi yul pa nams bkres pa daṅ | skom pa ži bar gyur to || dud 'gro nams phan tshun 'jigs pa med par gyur to || sms can thams cad kyi m nas ži bar gyur to || sms can thams cad dga' bzin du smra bar 'gyur²³ to || rta nams skad sfiṅ pa'i nams par gyur to || glaṅ po nams ni sgra sgrogs so²⁴ || rol mo nams raṅ byun raṅ byun²⁵ gi sgra sgrogs so²⁶ || mi nams kyi rkaṅ pa daṅ lag pa'i rgyan raṅ

¹ SDQ khyod, LN khyed.
² LN 'gyuro.
³ LN los, SDQ lo.
⁴ SDQ sgyur, LN bsgyur.
⁵ LN 'gyuro.
⁶ Q rgyas, SDN rgya, L has sa suffix erased.
⁷ LN 'gyuro.
⁸ DQ bzlog, SLN zlog.
⁹ L medo.
¹⁰ SDQ gcig, LN cig.
¹¹ LN g.yoso.
¹² LN g.yoso.
¹³ LN sgrogs.
¹⁴ SDLN cu, Q bcu.
¹⁵ SDQL par, N par.
¹⁶ L namsu.
¹⁷ LN gnaso.
¹⁸ N thobo.
¹⁹ LN thoso.
²⁰ LN šeso.
²¹ SDQN raṁs, L omits.
²² LN rjesu.
²³ DQ 'gyur, SLN gyur.
²⁴ LN sgrogs.
²⁵ SD raṅ byun, DLN omit.
²⁶ LN sgrogs.

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Bar pa'i gleñ gzi

rañ ma reg pas¹ so sor 'byin to || phyogs thams cad rab tu dañs par gyur to || sems can mams bde ba bskyed pa'i phyir rlun 'jam po ldañ² bar gyur to || dus ma yin par sprin la char 'bab³ bo || sa la chu byuñ nas phyogs thams cad chur gyur to || bya rams nam mkha⁴ la 'gro ba spoñ ño⁵ || chu klun rams 'gro ba med par gnas so⁶ || rgya mtsho chen po'i chu ni dñar⁷ bar gyur to || gnas thams cad ñiid du kha dog lha pa'⁸ pad maš⁹ sa'i steñ thams cad khyab par gyur to || than dañ chu las skyes ba'ï me tog rams kha bye bar gyur to || ljon siñ rams kyi sdoñ po la¹⁰ sdoñ po'i pad ma'ï¹¹ me (60a) tog go || yal ga¹² rams la yal ga'ï¹³ pad ma'ï¹⁴ me tog go¹⁵ || 'khri¹⁶ siñ rams la 'khri¹⁷ siñ gi pad ma'ï¹⁸ me tog kha bye'o || than dañ rdo'i steñ du brtlol nas steñ nas steñ du bdun bdun du gyur nas | dan dra pad ma¹⁹ ñes bya ba phyuñ ño²⁰ || nam mkha²¹ la thur²² du pad ma²³ 'phyañ ño²⁴ || thams cad du me tog gi char 'bab²⁵ bo || nam mkha²⁶ la lha'i rol mo'i sgra sgrogs so²⁷ || stoñ phrag bcu'i 'jig rten gyi kham thams cad me tog dañ | bdug spos dañ | dri chab mchog tu skal ba bzañ bar gyur to ||

II 13.

'di ltar byañ chub sems dpa' mñal du žugs pa ñiid nas byañ chub sems dpa' dañ | byañ chub sems dpa'i yum gyi ñe bar 'tshe ba bzlog²⁸ pa'ï phyir ral gri lag tu thogs pa'i lha'i bu bžis²⁹ sron³⁰ bar byed

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¹ SLN pas, DQ par.
² SQLN ldañ, D lñañ.
³ DQLN 'bab, S bab.
⁴ SD nam mkha', Q ram nam mkha', LN namkha'.
⁵ N spono.
⁶ LN gnaso.
⁷ DQ dñar, SLN mmar.
⁸ DQ pa'ï, SLN po'ï.
⁹ SQLN padmas, D pad mas.
¹⁰ SDQ sdoñ po la, LN omit.
¹¹ SQLN padma'ï, D pad ma'ï.
¹² SDLN ga, Q kha.
¹³ SD ga'ï, QLN kha'ï.
¹⁴ SQLN padma'ï, D pad ma'ï.
¹⁵ L togo.
¹⁶ SDQ 'khri, LN 'khril.
¹⁷ SD 'khri, QN 'khril, L khrl.
¹⁸ SQLN padma'ï, D padma'ï.
¹⁹ SQLN danda padma, D dan dra pad ma.
²⁰ N phyuño.
²¹ LN namkha'.
²² SDQ thur, LN mthur.
²³ SQLN padma, D pad ma.
²⁴ N 'phyuño.
²⁵ DQLN 'bab, S bab.
²⁶ LN namka'.
²⁷ LN sgrogso.
²⁸ DQ bzlog, SLN zlog.
²⁹ SDLN bžis, Q bžes.
do || byaṅ chub sems dpa’i yum ni skyes pa la ’dod chags mi skye žin | rñed pa daṅ grags pa thob par gyur to || skyid pa sku la dub pa med par byaṅ chub sems dpa’ de yaṅ rum du žugs nas | {Pä52} nor bu rin po che rab tu daṅs pa srad bu dmar po la brgyus¹ pa bžin du mthoṅ no² || gaṅ gi phyir yaṅ byaṅ chub sems dpa’ žugs pa’i rum žes bya ba ni mchod rten gyi naṅ bžin du sems can gžan gyis reg pa daṅ loṅs spyod par mi nus so³ || de’i phyir byaṅ chub sems dpa’i yum byaṅ chub sems dpa’ ’khruṅs nas žag bdun nas dus las ’das nas dga’ ldan du skye bar ’gyur ro⁴ || ji ltar yaṅ bud med gžan zla ba bcu las dman pa ’am | lhag pa ’am | (60b) ’dug pa ’am | ñail nas skye’o || byaṅ chub sems dpa’i yum ni de lta bu ma yin te | de yaṅ byaṅ chub sems dpa’ zla ba bcur rum du⁵ bsrũṅs nas ’greṅ la ba skye’o || ’di ni byaṅ chub sems dpa’i yum thams cad kyis chos ñid do ||

II 14.

lha mo sgyu⁶ ’phrul ma chen mo yaṅ snod kyi naṅ gi ’bru mar bžin du byaṅ chub sems dpa’ zla ba bcur rum du⁷ ’tsho žin | rum⁸ yongs su⁹ rdzogs nas gšen gyi gron du ’gro’o žes rgyal po chen po zas gtsaṅ gi druṅ du smras su¹⁰ || lha rigs kyi rgyud kyi gron khyer chen po lha bstan du bdag ’gro bar ’dod do || rgyal pos legs so¹¹ žes brjod nas gnaṅ no¹² || ser skya’i gži daṅ | gron khyer lha bstan gnis kyi bar gyi lam mthuṅs par byas nas | chu śin daṅ | bum pa gaṅ ba¹³ daṅ | rgyal mthshan daṅ | ba dan la sogs pa’i rgyan ’dzugs su¹⁴ bcug nas lha mo gser gyi do li la bžugs te | blon po ston phrag gcig gis bteg ste | ’khor maṅ po daṅ bcas pa bstan¹⁵ no || gron khyer gnis kyi bar du yaṅ | gnis ka’i gron khyer pa¹⁶ gnas pa’i lumbi ni¹⁷ tshal žes bya ba la bkra śis pa’i śiṅ sā la’i śiṅ yod do || de’i dus su rtsa ba nas rtsé mo’y¹⁸ yal ga’i bar thams cad du bar ma chad par me tog kha bye¹⁹ bar gyur to || yal ga’i bar

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¹ SDQ druṅ, LN bsrũṅ.
² SDQ brgyus, LN rgyus.
³ N mthoṅo.
⁴ LN ′gyuro.
⁵ SDQL du, N omits.
⁶ SDLN sgyu, Q rgyu.
⁷ SDQN du, L omits.
⁸ SDLN rum, Q rud,
⁹ LN yongsu.
¹⁰ LN smraso.
¹¹ LN legso.
¹² N gnaṅo.
¹³ N ’dzugsu.
¹⁴ L mthoṅ, N mthoṅo.
¹⁵ LQ pa, SLN omit.
¹⁶ LQ s’rjum, DQ s’rjum, NQ s’rjum, DQL s’rjum, SLN s’rjum.
¹⁷ LQ mthoṅ, DQ mthoṅ, NQ mthoṅ, DQL mthoṅ, SLN mthoṅ.
¹⁸ SDLN mo’y, D ma’i.
¹⁹ SDLN byo, Q byo.

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ñid dañ | me tog gi bar kha dog sna lha pa’i buñ ba mañ po ldin ba dañ | rnam pa sna tshogs pa’i bya ba’i mañ po’i tshogs ni sñan pa’i sgra dbyañs sgrogs śin spyod do || lumbi ni2 tshal thams cad ni śin rta sna tshogs pa’i tsha1 bžin du mthu dañ dbañ (61a) phyug ni rgyal po’i mdzes par byas pa’i ’dun4 sa lta bu de lha mos gzigs nas śin sā la’i tshal du rtse bar bsams pa skyes so5 || blon po rnam ksis lha mo bteg nas śin sā la’i tshal du bžugs6 so7 || de bkra śis pa’i śin sā la’i rtsa bar gseg8 te | des śin sā la’i yal ga buñ9 par sens par gyur te | des śin sā la’i yal ga śin tu legs pa me la bsros10 nas bkug pa bžin du mdud pa la lha mo’i lag par fie bar ’phyañ ŋo || de’i lag pa brkyañ nas yal ga’i rtse mo buñ ŋo11 || de ma thag tu las kyi rluñ gis bskyod do || de nas de’i phyogs kun tu12 yol ba byas nas skye bo thams cad phyir rīñ du gyur te | śin sā la’i yal ga buñ nas ’dug pa ŋid la de ltar de’i mnal nas btsams par gyur to || de ma thag rnam par dag pa’i13 sens dañ ldan pa’i tshaṅs pa bži pos gser gyi dra ba blaṅs nas sles bo14 || de rams ksis der gser gyi dra bas byañ chub sens dpa’ blans te yum gyi mdun na ’dug go15 || lha mo sens sdup bsṅal bar ma byed cig || khyod16 kyi sras dbañ phyug dañ grags pa dañ bcas pa btsams so17 žes smras so18 || de ltar yañ sens can gצan rnam ma’i rum nas ’thon19 pa na mi gtsañ bas gos śin skyug bro ba can ’thon20 no21 || byañ chub sens dpa’ ni de lta bu ma yin no22 || {Pā53} gצan yañ chos kyi khrī nas chos ’chad pa ’bab pa23 bžin dañ | skas la ’bab pa’i skyes bu bžin du lag pa g北美 dañ rkañ pa gpios brkyañ nas ’dug pa ŋid bžin no24 || ma’i rum nas (61b) mi gtsañ ba cuñ zad kys kyañ ma gos par dag ciñ ’jigs pa med pa bžin no25 || yul26 ka śi ka’i ras kyi nañ du nor bu rin po che bcug pa

1 L ba, SDQN omit.
2 S lumbi ni, D lumbi ni, Q lum bi ni, L lumbi na, N lum bi na.
3 DQ tshal, SLN chos.
4 SDL ’dun, QN mdun.
5 LN skyeso.
6 DQLN bžugs, S žugs.
7 LN bžugso.
8 SQLN omit, D pa.
9 SQLN bzuñ, D gzuñ.
10 D baros, SQLN sros.
11 N bzuño.
12 SQLN tu, D du.
13 SLN dga’ ba’i, DQ dag pa’i.
14 N sleso.
15 N ’dugo.
16 S khyod, DQLN khyed.
17 LN btsamso.
18 LN smraso.
19 SDLN ’thon, Q mthon.
20 SDLN ’thon, Q mthon.
21 LN ’thono.
22 N yino.
23 SDLQ pa, N pa’i.
24 N bžino.
25 N bžino.
26 DQ yul, SLN yum.
bzin du ’od ’gyed ciṅ yum gyi rum nas ’thon’ no² || de ltar gyur pa’i byañ chub sans dpa’ de daṅ || byañ chub sans dpa’i yum de dag par bya’i phyir nam mkha³ nas chu’i rgyun gñis babs pas byañ chub sans dpa’ daṅ yum gyi sku dag par byas so⁴ ||

II 15.
de yaṅ gser gyi dra bas blaṅs nas tshaṅs pa ’dug pa’i lag nas rgyal po chen po bži po⁵ rnas kyis bkra śis pa daṅ | bde ba la reg par gnas par bya’i phyir gzig gi pags⁶ pas sнar gyi bžin du blaṅs so⁷ || de rnas kyi lag nas mi rnas kyis du gu la’i ras kyi sten du blaṅs so⁸ || mi rnas kyi lag tu btaṅ nas sa la gnas so⁹ || šar phyogs la gzig te ston phrag du ma’i khor yug rnas phan tshun du mthaṅ no¹⁰ || de’i lha daṅ mi rnas kyis me tog gi ’phreṅ¹¹ ba daṅ | sposal los gus pas mchod ciṅ skyes bu chen po khyod lta bu ’di na med | khyod kyi goṅ na gzan su yaṅ med do žes smras so¹² || de bžin du phyogs bži daṅ | mthaṅs bži daṅ | ’og daṅ | steṅ ste¹³ phyogs bcu po thams cad legs par gzig gi rnas bāg daṅ mthaṅs pa med par mthaṅ no¹⁰ || de nas byañ gi phyogs su¹⁵ gom pa bdun bgrod¹⁶ do || tshaṅs pa chen po’i¹⁷ gdugs dkar po ’dzin ciṅ | ’thab¹⁸ bral bas mā yab g.yob¹⁹ pa | lha gzan rnas kyis²⁰ rgyal po la fie bar mkho ba’i dhos po ma lus pa lag tu thugs nas rjes su ’gro’o || de nas gom pa bdun pa la gnas pa na ’jig rten pa (62a) rnas las bāg mchod go žes²¹ pa la sosg pa’i šis²² pa brjod pa’i gtam brjod ciṅ | sen ge’i sgra sgrogs so²³ || byañ chub sans dpas²⁴ kyan²⁵ skye ba gsum du yum gyi²⁶ rum nas ’thon²⁷ tsam na²⁸

¹ SDLN ’thon, Q ’don.
² N ’thono.
³ LN namkha’.
⁴ N byaso.
⁵ SDQL po, N omits.
⁶ SDQ pags, LN lpags.
⁷ LN blaṅsō.
⁸ LN blaṅsō.
⁹ N gnaso.
¹⁰ N mthaḥo.
¹¹ S ’phreṅ, DQLN phreṅ.
¹² LN smraso.
¹³ SDQ ste, LN de.
¹⁴ N mthaḥo.
¹⁵ LN phyogṣu.
¹⁶ SD bgrod, QLN sgrod.
¹⁷ SDQL po’i, N po.
¹⁸ SDLN ’thab, Q mthaḥ.
¹⁹ SDLN g.yob, Q g.yog.
²⁰ SDLN kyis, Q kyi.
²¹ SDQL žes, N tsas.
²² SDQ šis, LN šes.
²³ LN sgrogsō.
²⁴ SDQ dpas, LN dpas’.
²⁵ SDQ kyan, LN yañ.
²⁶ Q omits: yum gyi.
²⁷ DQLN p o’i, N po.
²⁸ SDLN ’thab, Q mthaḥ.
²⁹ SDLN g.yob, Q g.yog.
³⁰ SDLN kyis, Q kyi.
³¹ SDQL žes, N tsas.
³² SDQ šis, LN šes.
³³ LN sgrogsō.
³⁴ SDQ dpas, LN dpas’.
³⁵ SDQ kyan, LN yañ.
³⁶ Q omits: yum gyi.
gtam du brjod do || sman chen por skyes pa daň | thams cad sgrol du skyes pa daň | 'dir skyes pa’o ||

sman chen po skyes pa na yum gyi rum nas 'thon ma thag ņid du brgya byin lha’i rgyal po 'ons te

| tsa'm| dan gyi śfiin po lag tu thogs nas soň no° || de de rnam|s ky| k| khu| tshur|
| du | bcug| nas | 'thon no |||
| de | nas | yaň | yum | g| yis | d| ris| pa | bu | ci | khyer | nas | 'ons | ma | sman | yin | no° ||
| 'dis | sman | khyer | nas | 'ons | pa’i | phiyr | sman | g| y| i khye’u | žes | bya | bar | miň | t| bags | so° ||
| des | sman | blaň | s| nas | chu’i | snod | kyi | naň | du | bcug | go° ||
| 'ons | śiň | 'ons | pa’i | loň | ba | daň | 'on | pa | la | sogs | pa’de | rnam|s| de | ņid | kyi | do | nad | thams | cad | fie | bar | ņi | bas | na | sman | par | g| yur | to ||
| de | nas | sman | chen | po | sman | chen | po | žes | brjod | ciň | skyes | pa’i | tshig | gi | rgyus | sman | chen | po | ņid | de’i | mini | du | g| yur | to ||
| g| zan | yaň | thams | cad | sgrol | du | skyes | pa | na | ma’i | rum | nas | skyes | tsam | na | lag | pa | g| yas | pa | brkyaň° | nas | yum | bdag | cag | gi | khyim | na | sbyin | pa | btaň° | rgyu | 'dra | bdog | gam° | žes | brjod | ciň | 'thon | no° ||
| de | nas | de’i | mas | bu | ‘byor | ba | daň | ldan | pa’i | rigs | su° | khyod | skyes | so° ||
| { | Pâ54} | bu’i | lag | pa | raň | gi | lag | pa’i | steň | du | bţag° | ste° | nor | bu | rin | po | che | stot| phrag | ge| gi | snod | bţag | go° ||
| g| zan | yaň | 'di | skyes | pa | na | 'dis | sen | ge’i | sgra | sgrogs | so° ||
| de | bţin | du | byaň | chub | sems | dpa’ | skye | ba | gsum | du | ma’i | rum | nas | skyes | tsam | nas | gtam | brjod | (62b) | do° ||
| ji | ltar | yaň | rum | du | žugs | tsam | daň | bltams | tsam | na | sum | cu° | rtsa | g| ŋis | sňon | g| yi | msth| an | ma | bţin | du | skyes | par | g| yur | to ||

II 16.

g| zan | yaň | gaň | gi | tshe | bdag | cag | g° | byaň | chub | sems | dpa’ | lumbi | ni’i° | tshaľ° | du | bltams | so° ||

\[\text{\text{27 SDQ } 'thon, LN thon.}\]
\[\text{\text{28 SDQ na, LN nas.}}\]
\[\text{\text{1 SDLN beug, Q 'jugs.}}\]
\[\text{\text{6 L bcugo.}}\]
\[\text{\text{7 SDQ pa, LN pa’i.'}}\]
\[\text{\text{8 SLN kyi, DQ kyis.}}\]
\[\text{\text{9 SDQ brkyaň, LN rkyaň.}}\]
\[\text{\text{10 DQ btaň, SLN gtaň.}}\]
\[\text{\text{11 S gam, DQLN ge.}}\]
\[\text{\text{12 LN 'thono.}}\]
\[\text{\text{13 LN rigs.}}\]
\[\text{\text{14 LN skyes.}}\]
\[\text{\text{15 DQLN bţag, S žag.}}\]
\[\text{\text{16 SDQ ste, LN te.}}\]
\[\text{\text{17 LN bţago.}}\]
\[\text{\text{18 LN sgrogs.}}\]
\[\text{\text{19 L brjodo.}}\]
\[\text{\text{20 SDLN cu, Q bcu.}}\]
\[\text{\text{21 SDQL gi, D gi.}}\]
\[\text{\text{22 S lumbi ni’i, D lumbi ni’i, QN lum bi na’i, L lumbi na’i.}}\]
\[\text{\text{23 SDQ tshal, LN 'tshal.}}\]
\[\text{\text{24 LN bltamso.}}\]
Bar pa'i gleñ gzi

thag tu lha mo sgra gcan ’dzin gyi ma dañ | blon po ’dun⁰ pa dañ | blon po nag po ’char ka dañ | rta’i rgyal po bsngs ldan dañ | byaṅ chub kyi śīṅ dañ | gter bzi’i bum pa skyes so² || de la gcig la rgyan³ grags bzi dañ | gcig la rgyan⁴ grags brgyad dañ | gcig la rgyan⁵ grags bcu gniis dañ | gcig la rgyan⁶ grags bcu drug go⁷ || bdun po ’di lhan cig⁸ tu skyes pa yin no⁹ ||

II 17.

groṅ khyer gniis na gnas pa’i mi rnam kyis byaṅ chub sems dpa’ khrid nas groṅ khyer ser skya’i gzi kho nar phyin no || fi ma de ŋid la groṅ khyer ser skya’i gzi la rgyal po chen po zas gtsan gi sras por bltams so¹⁰ || gzon nu ’di byaṅ chub śīṅ gi druṅ du bzung nas saṅs rgyas su¹¹ ’gyur ro¹² žes pa la | sum¹³ cu¹⁴ rtsa gsum gyi gnas kyi lha rnam kyis¹⁵ dga’ ba daṅ tshim pas lag pa gyeṃ du bsnyod¹⁶ nas rtse žiṅ bstod pa byed do¹⁷ || de’i tshe rgyal po chen po zas gtsan gi¹⁸ mchod gnas sñoms¹⁹ par ’jug pa brgyad thob pa’i dka’ thub pa nag po²⁰ lha len žes bya ba kha zas bzaṅ po la losṅ spyod do²¹ || ŋin mo nī ma la mi gnas pa’i phyir sum cu²² rtsa gsum gyi gnas su²³ ’gro žiṅ der bde bar ’dug nas lha de rnam s bla’o || khyed rnam s ci’i phyir ’di ltar dga’ ba’i sems kyis rste²⁴ | bdag kyaṅ ’di rnam kyis ched du bya ba kho bo la ston (63a) cig ces dris so || lha rnam kyis smras pa | draṅ sroṅ chen po rgyal po chen po²⁵ zas gtsan gi sras bltams so²⁶ || des byaṅ chub śīṅ gi druṅ du bzung nas saṅs rgyas su²⁷ gyur

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1 D ’dun, SQLN mdun.
2 LN skyeso.
3 SDLN rgyaṅ, Q brgyaṅ.
4 SDLN rgyaṅ, Q rgyad.
5 SDLN rgyaṅ, Q rgyad.
6 SDLN rgyaṅ, Q rgyad.
7 L drugo.
8 SDLN cig, Q gcig.
9 LN yino.
10 L bltamso.
11 N rgyasu.
12 LN ’gyuro.
13 SDQN sum, L gsum.
14 SDLN cu, Q bcu.
15 SDLN kyis, Q kyi.
16 DQLN omit, S pa.
17 L byedo.
18 SDQ gi, LN gis.
19 SDQN sñoms, L sñom.
20 SDQ po, LN pa.
21 L spyodo.
22 SDLN cu, Q bcu.
23 LN gnasu.
24 SDLN rste, N brtse.
25 SDQL chen po, N omits.
26 LN bltamso.
27 LN rgyasu.

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nas chos kyi 'khor lo bskor ro\textsuperscript{1} || de nas mtha' yas pa'i saṅs rgyas kyi rol mo blta ba dañ | chos thams cad thob bo\textsuperscript{2} sñaṃ pa 'di rnam kyi rgyu mtshan gyis dga' bar gyur to || dka' thub pas de'i tshig thos nas myur du lha'i yul nas babs te | rgyal po'i gnas su\textsuperscript{3} 'oṅs nas | gdan bṣams pa la 'dug ste | bu rnam rgyal po chen po'i sras su\textsuperscript{4} gyur pa de bdag gis blta'o žes smras so\textsuperscript{5} || rgyal pos rgyan dañ ldan pa'ai gźon nu blaṅs nas dka' thub pa la phyag bya ba'i phyir byaṅ chub sems dpa'i žabs kyi bskor nas dka' thub pa'i ral pa'i steñ na 'dug go\textsuperscript{6} || byaṅ chub sems dpas kyaṅ de rnam kyi\textsuperscript{7} lus kyi phyag byed par rig\textsuperscript{8} pa' gźan med do\textsuperscript{10} || gal te mi šes pas byaṅ chub sems dpa'i dbu la dka' thub pa'i rkañ pa bšag na de'i mgo tshal pa bdun du 'gas par 'gyur ro\textsuperscript{11} || dka' thub pas bdag ŋams pa'i phyir du rigs pa ma yin no\textsuperscript{12} || stan las laṅs nas byaṅ chub sems dpa' la thal mo sbyar ro\textsuperscript{13} || rgyal pos ya mtshan che ba gzig s nas raṅ gi sras la phyag byas so\textsuperscript{14} || dka' thub pas 'das pa'i bskal pa bži bcu dañ | ma 'oṅs pa'i bskal pa bži bcu ste | bskal pa brgyad cu\textsuperscript{15} tjes su\textsuperscript{16} dran no\textsuperscript{17} || byaṅ chub sems dpa'i mtshan ŋid phun sum tshogs pa mthon nas saṅs rgyas\textsuperscript{18} bar (63b) 'gyur ram mi 'gyur žes brtags pas the tshom med pas\textsuperscript{19} saṅs rgyas su\textsuperscript{20} 'gyur bar rtogs te | 'di ya mtshan che ba'i skyes bu yin no žes bsams nas bgañ do\textsuperscript{21} || {Pāś} de nas 'di nas saṅs rgyas nas bdag gis mthon ŋam mi mthon žes brtags pas mi mthon no || bar du dus las 'das nas saṅs rgyas brgya 'am | saṅs rgyas ston gšegs nas brtag par mi nus pa'i gzugs med pa'i gnas su skye bar ŋes par mthon no\textsuperscript{22} || 'di lta bu'i tshal gyi\textsuperscript{23} ya mtshan che ba'i skyes bu mthon bar mi nus so sñaṃ ste bdag gi sams śin tu sduṅ bsṅal bar gyur nas ŋus so\textsuperscript{24} || de mi rnam kyi mthon ste | bdag cag gi 'phags pa res\textsuperscript{25} 'ga' ni dgod\textsuperscript{26} | res\textsuperscript{27} 'ga' ni ŋu ba'i rgyu mtshan ci lags | bdag cag gi

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\textsuperscript{1} LN bskoro.
\textsuperscript{2} N thobo.
\textsuperscript{3} LN gnasu.
\textsuperscript{4} LN srasu.
\textsuperscript{5} L smraso.
\textsuperscript{6} LN 'dugo.
\textsuperscript{7} SDQ kyi, LN kyi.
\textsuperscript{8} DQLN rig, S rigs.
\textsuperscript{9} S pa la, Q par, DLN pa.
\textsuperscript{10} LN medo.
\textsuperscript{11} LN 'gyuro.
\textsuperscript{12} LN yino.
\textsuperscript{13} LN sbyaro.
\textsuperscript{14} L byaso.
\textsuperscript{15} SDLN cu, Q bcu.
\textsuperscript{16} LN rjesu.
\textsuperscript{17} L drano.
\textsuperscript{18} QLN rgyas, SD rgya.
\textsuperscript{19} SQLN pas, D par.
\textsuperscript{20} L rgyasu.
\textsuperscript{21} L bgaño.
\textsuperscript{22} N mthono.
\textsuperscript{23} SDQ gyi, LN gya.
\textsuperscript{24} LN tso.
\textsuperscript{25} SDQ res, LN re.
Bar pa'i gleñ gi

II 18.

des na ci'i phyir rañ gi fiæ du mams las 'ga' žig gis 'di sans rgyas su^9 gyur nas mthon par 'gyur ram mi 'gyur žes brtags pas tsha bo^10 nā la ka'i^11 gžon nus^12 mthon no || de srin mo'i khañ par soñ ste | nā la ka gžon nu de gañ na yod | 'phags pa khañ pa na yod do || de bos la soga | de rañ gi gnas su^13 'oñs nas nā la ka la smras so^14 || tsha bo^15 rgyal po chen po zas (64a) gtsañ gi^16 rigs kyi bu 'khruñs so^17 || 'di ni sans rgyas kyi myu gu'o || lo sum cu^18 rtsa lña 'das nas sans rgyas su^19 'gyur žiñ | khyod kyis 'di mthon bar 'gyur bas da lta^20 ņid du rab tu byuñ ba gyis ŋig^21 ces smras so^22 || bye ba brgyad cu^23 rtsa bdun gyi nor gyi rigs la skyes pa'i gžon nus | žaṅ^24 po 'dis bdag la don med ciñ dgos pa med do žes brjod par bsams so^25 || de ma thag tu rañ gi tshoñ gnas su^26 ņur smrig^27 gi gos ŋid dañ sa'i lhun^28 bzed

26 SDLN dgod, Q rgod.
27 SDQ res, LN re.
1 N driso.
2 N rgyasu.
3 LN 'gyuro.
4 LN smraso.
5 LN driso.
6 SDQ gyis, LN gyi.
7 QLN rgyas, SD rgya.
8 LN smraso.
9 N rgyasu.
10 SDQ tsha bo, LN tsha'o.
11 DQLN nā la ka'i, S na la ka'i. Pāli: Nālaka.
12 N gžonus.
13 N gnasu.
14 LN smraso.
15 SDQ tsha bo, LN tsha'o.
16 SDLN gi, Q gis.
17 LN 'khruñso.
18 SDLN cu, Q bcu.
19 N rgyasu.
20 SDQL lta, N ltar.
21 SDQN ŋig, L cig.
22 LN smraso.
23 SDLN cu, Q bcu.
24 SDLN žaṅ, Q žad.
25 N bsamso.
26 N gnasu.
27 SDQN smrig, L smig.
28 SDLQ lhun, L lhu.
blaṅs nas | skra daṅ kha sbu¹ bregs te 'nur smrig² gi gos gyon nas | gaṅ žig 'jig rten pa'ī gaṅ zag gi mchog gi mchog la bsams śiṅ bdag rab tu 'byuṅ bar 'gyur ro³ žes bsams te | byaṅ chub sems dpa'ī phyogs su⁴ thal mo sbyar nas yan lag lhas⁵ phyag byed do⁶ || Iḥuṅ bzed snod du bcug nas phrag pa la gzar⁷ te gaṅs⁸ can du gṣeṅs nas dge sbyoṅ gi chos byed do⁹ || des mchog tu mṇon par rdzogs par saṅs rgyas pa'ī de bźin gṣeṅs pa'ī¹⁰ druṅ du ņe bar soṅ ste | nā la ka'i so so'i rtoṅs pa'ī gtam thos nas slar yaṅ gaṅs can du gṣeṅs te dgra bcom pa thob bo¹¹ | mchog tu rtoṅs dka' ba rtoṅs nas zla ba bdun niid kyi naṅ du tshe 'das te gser gyi ri gcig la brten¹² nas 'dug ste¹³ lhag ma med par yons su¹⁴ mya 'nan las 'das pa'ī dbyiṅs su¹⁵ yons su¹⁶ mya 'nan las 'das so¹⁷ ||

II 19.
byaṅ chub sems dpa' yaṅ žag lḥa nas dbu 'khru¹⁸ bar byed ciṅ miṅ 'dogs par rigs so¹⁹ žes bsams nas rgyal po'ī pho braṅ la dri bźi'i rigs kyis byug²⁰ pa²¹ byas te | rin po (64b) che lḥa'i me tog gcal²² du bkram nas chu med pa'ī 'o ma btsos pa'ī 'o thug 'tshod ciṅ rig byed gsum gyi pha rol tu son pa'ī bram ze brgya²³ rtsa brgyad mgron²⁴ du gñer te rgyal po'ī pho braṅ du bʒugs nas | {Pā56} kha zas bzaṅ po la loṅs spyod ciṅ bskur²⁵ sti chen po byas nas mtshan niid ji lta bu žes dris so || de mams las

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¹ SDQ sbu, LN spu.
² SDQN smrig, L smig.
³ N 'gyuro.
⁴ LN phyogsu.
⁵ SD lḥa, QLN lḥa'i.
⁶ L byedo.
⁷ SN gzar, DQL gzer.
⁸ SDQN gaṅs, L gsaṅ.
⁹ N byedo.
¹⁰ LN omit: de bźin gṣeṅs pa’ī.
¹¹ DQ bo, SLN omit.
¹² SDQN brten, L rten.
¹³ SQ ste, D de, LN te.
¹⁴ LN yoṅsu.
¹⁵ N dbyiṅsu.
¹⁶ N yoṅsu.
¹⁷ N 'daso.
¹⁸ DQLN 'khru, S khru.
¹⁹ N rīgso.
²⁰ SDQ byug, LN phyug.
²¹ SDLQ pa, N par.
²² SDLQ gcāl, N cal.
²³ SDLN bṛgya, Q rgya.
²⁴ SDQ mgron, LN 'gron.
²⁵ DQL bskur, SN bkur.
Unidentified verse

dga’ byed dañ | rgyal mtshan dañ | mtshan ŋiṅ dañ | rigs kyi šnags pa dañ |
kö nöṅ nya² dañ | lag pa can dañ | gśin rje bzaṅ dañ | legs sbyin te |
de rnam de’i tshe bram ze brgyad yin no³
yan lag drug gi šnags⁴ brda sprad⁵ nas

bram ze brgyad po ’di lta bu ŋiṅ kyi mtshan ŋiṅ so sor brIOD⁶ nas dga’ ldan gnas nas ma’i mñal du žugs pa’i mtshan ŋiṅ ’di rnam kyi bṣad do || de rnam las bram ze bdun gyis mdzub⁷ mo gniš bsgréṅs te don gniš lun bstan no⁸ || mtshan ŋiṅ ’di dañ ldan pa’i⁹ khyim na gnas na ’khor los¹⁰ sgyur¹¹ ba’i rgyal por ’gyur ro¹² || rab tu byuṅ na saṅs rgyas¹³ bar ’gyur ro¹⁴ || ’khor los¹⁵ sgyur¹⁶ ba’i phun sum tshogs pa thams cad bṣad pa rdzogs nas | gzan de rnam kyi naṅ nas thams cad kyi gžon šos kyi rigs ni kö nöṅ nya¹⁷ bram ze’i khyeu’o¹⁸ žes bya ba’o¹⁹ || byaṅ chub sems dpa’ de’i min²⁰ tshan²¹ mchog rnam rdzogs par btags so²² || ’di ni khyim na gnas pa’i rgyu med pas mtha’ gcig ŋiṅ du khyim na mi gnas par saṅs rgya’o || mdzub²³ mo gcig bsgréṅs te ’di ltar luṅ bstan no²⁴ || ’di ni sñaṛ gyi gzi

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¹ Jātakanidāna p.56; sTog 64b; Ap-a p.60.
² Jātakanidāna p.56.
³ Rāmo Dhajo Lakkhaṇo cāpi Manti
⁴ Komḍānīn ca Bhojo Suyāmo Sudatto,
ete tāḍa attha ahesum brāhmaṇā,
chaḷaṅgavā mantaṁ vyākarimsu ti.
⁵ D kö nöṅ nya, S ko ḍi nya, Q go ḍi nya, LN kö ḍi nya.
⁶ N yino.
⁷ DQLN šnags, S bsṅags.
⁸ SDQ brda sprad, LN brda’ spyad.
⁹ DQLN brjod, S rjod.
¹⁰ SDL mdzub, QN ’dzub.
¹¹ N bstano.
¹² S pa’i, DQLN pas.
¹³ DQ los, SLN lo.
¹⁴ SDQ sgyur, LN bsgyur.
¹⁵ LN ’gyuro.
¹⁶ Q rgyas, SDLN rgya.
¹⁷ N ’gyuro.
¹⁸ DQ los, SLN lo.
¹⁹ SDQ sgyur, LN bsgyur.
²⁰ D kö nöṅ nya, S ko’u ḍi nya, Q ko ḍi nya, LN kö ḍi nya.
²¹ SN khyeu’o, DQL khye’u ’o.
²² SDLN ba’o, Q bya’o.
²³ SDQ miṅ, LN ma’i.
²⁴ SDLN mtshan, D tshad.
²⁵ LN btags.
²⁶ SDQ mdzub, QLN ’dzub.
²⁷ N bstano.

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byas pas phyis mir gyur pa na šes rab dañ ldan no ḥ| bram ze bdun las lhag par gyur nas (65a) 'di'i₂ mtshan ņid rig³ par ldan nas khyim du gnas pa'i miñ yañ med do⁴ || the tshom⁵ med par sáns rgya bar 'gyur te 'gro ba gcig las gzan ma mthonño⁶ || de'i phyir mdzub⁷ mo gcig bsgréns te 'di ltar luñ bstan no ||

II 20.
de nas bram ze de rnams rañ gi khyim du 'gro žiñ bu rnams bos te || bu bdag cag rnams rgan por gyur pas | rgyal po chen po zas gtsaṅ gi sras thams cad mkhyen pa thob par gyur pa na bdag cag dañ mjal⁸ bar 'gyur ram mi 'gyur cha med kyis | khyod de'i sras kyis thams cad mkhyen pa thob par gyur nas | de'i bstan pa la rab tu byuñ cig⁹ ces smras so¹⁰ || bram ze bdun po rnams kyis kyañ ji srid tshe gnas kyi bar ji ltar byas pa'i las rtoqs so¹¹ || bram ze'i khye'u kō ñdi nya¹² ņid nañ med par gyur nas gnas so¹³ || de'i sems dpa' chen po blo dañ ldan pa nes par 'byuñ ba chen pos mñon par byuñ nas go rims bžin du lteñ¹⁴ rgyas su¹⁵ soñ no || sa phyogs 'di ni ñams dga' bas rigs kyi bu sa phyogs 'di dlka' ba spyod pa'i gnas su¹⁶ rig¹⁷ par sems skyes pas der gnas te | skyes bu chen po rab tu byuñ no žes thos nas bram ze'i bu'i gnas su¹⁸ ñe bar soñ no¹⁹ žes smras so²⁰ || gžon nu don grub rab tu byuñ nas the tshom²¹ med par de sáns rgya bar 'gyur ro²² || gal te khyod rnams kyi pha nad med par gnas na | de riñ phyin nas rab tu byuñ ba byed do²³ || gal te khyod kyañ 'dod na 'dir 'oṅs nas²⁴ bdag gis skyes bu de'i rjes su²⁵ rab tu

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¹ N ldano.
² DQ 'di'i, SLN 'di yi.
³ SDQ rig, LN rigs.
⁴ N medo.
⁵ DLN tshom, SQ tsom.
⁶ N mthono.
⁷ SD mdzub, QLN 'dzub.
⁸ SDLN mjal, Q 'jal.
⁹ DQL cig, SN žig.
¹⁰ LN smraso.
¹¹ LN rtogso.
¹² D kō ñdi nya, S ko'u ñi nya, Q ko'u ni nya, LN kō ñi nya.
¹³ LN gnaso.
¹⁴ SD lteñ, QLN sten.
¹⁵ N rgyasu.
¹⁶ N gnasu.
¹⁷ SDQ rig, LN rigs.
¹⁸ N gnasu.
¹⁹ N soñó.
²⁰ LN smraso.
²¹ DLN tshom, QS tsom.
²² NL 'gyuro.
²³ N byedo.
²⁴ SDQ nas, LN na.
²⁵ N rjesu.
'byuṅ¹ bar bgyi’o || de thams cad ’dun² pa gcig par ma nus par skye bo bzi po (65b) las kō ᅭndi nyas³
gtso bo byas nas skye bo lha po rab tu byuṅ ste | {Pā57} de rnam kyi skye bo lha po ni gnas bront lha
sde žes bya ba’i rigs su⁴ gyur to ||

II 21.
gzan yān de’i tshe rgyal po ’di skad du gaṅ mthoṅ nas bdag gi bu rab tu⁵ ’byuṅ⁶ ḷes ’ dri’o || sāon gyi
mtshan ma bzi mthoṅ bas de gaṅ daṅ rgas śiṅ ’khogs pa daṅ | na ba daṅ | ’chi ba daṅ | rab tu byuṅ pa’o
|| rgyal pos ’di rnam bsuṅ⁷ nas ’di lta bu’i tshul bdag gi⁸ bu daṅ ṇe bar ’oṅ du ma ’jug cig⁹ | bdag gi
sras kyis saṅs rgyas thob kyaṅ don med do¹⁰ || bdag gi sras ston phrag gphis kyi¹¹ gliṅ ’khor daṅ bcas pa’i
gliṅ chen po bzi po rnam kyi dbaṅ phyug gi bdag po’i rgyal po byed ciṅ | dpag tshad sum cu¹² rtsa
drug gi khor yug gi ’khor nam mkha’i dbyiṅs su¹³ gṣegs pa la bpta bar ’dod do || slar yāṅ ’di lta brjod
ciṅ ’di lta¹⁴ bu’i rnam pa bzi’i skyes bu gзон nu’i mig lam du ’oṅ ba bsrūṅ žiṅ phyogs bžir rgyaṅ
grags bži bžir bsrūṅ ba bžag go¹⁵ ||

II 22.
de’i ᅭn ma la yāṅ bkra śis pa’i gnas su¹⁶ ’dus¹⁷ pa’i rigs kyi ᅭe du ston phrag brgyad cu¹⁸ po re
re’i bu brgya yoṅs su¹⁹ ster bar bsams so²⁰ || ’di saṅs rgyas su ’gyur ram | rgyal por ’gyur ram |
bdag gi²¹ bu re re ster ro²² || gal te saṅs rgyas par gyur na rgyal rigs kyi dge sbyon ᅭnid kyis
mdun rgyab thams cad du bskor nas ’gro ba yin no || gal te rgyal por gyur na rgyal rigs kyi

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¹ SDLN ’byuṅ, Q byuṅ.
² SDQ ’dun, LN bdun.
³ D kō ᅭndi nyas, S ko ᅭi nya, Q ko ᅭi nas, LN kō ᅭi nya.
⁴ N rigṣu.
⁵ SDLN rab tu, Q gaṅ.
⁶ SDLN ’byuṅ, Q ’byuṅ ba.
⁷ SDQ bzuṅ, LN gzuṅ.
⁸ SD gi, QLN gis.
⁹ SDLN cig, Q ciṅ.
¹⁰ N medo.
¹¹ SDLN kyi, Q kyis.
¹² SDLN cu, Q bcu.
¹³ LN namkha’i dbyiṅsu.
¹⁴ SDLN lta, L lta’i.
¹⁵ LN bžago.
¹⁶ N gnasu.
¹⁷ SLN ’dus, D ’das, Q ’dug.
¹⁸ SDN cu, QL bcu.
¹⁹ LN yoṅsų.
²⁰ LN bsamso.
²¹ DQLN gi, S gis.
²² N stero.
II 23.

de nas ŋi ma gcig la rgyal po'i 'bras 'debs pa la bkra śis byed do || de'i ŋi ma la groṅ khyer thams cad du lha gṣegs pa bzin du brgyan no || bran daṅ las byed pa la sogš pas gos legs po gyon nas | spos daṅ | me tog gi 'phren ba la sogš pas brgyan par byas nas rgyal po'i pho braṅ gi naṅ du 'dus so || rgyal po'i gžis mams la ziṅ rmo ba ston phrag gcig rigs so || slar yaṅ de'i ŋi ma la gcig gis dman pa'i žiṅ rmo ba brgyad brgya daṅ bcas pa'i glaṅ gi gña' šiṅ gi thag pa dṇul las byas pa daṅ | rgyal po 'dzin pa'i žiṅ rmo ba'i thon pa slar yaṅ gser las byas par gyur to || glaṅ gi rwa gni la gser gis gskus so || kha daṅ ska'i thag pa ni gser la'aṅ byas so || rgyal po'i 'khor chen po daṅ bcas pa byon nas sras blaṅs te gṣegs so || gžis kha'i gnas na śiṅ 'dzam bu gci la lo ma maṅ pos grib ma stug por gyur pa žig yod pa'i 'og tu gžon nu'i mal stan chen po byas nas sten du bla res gser gyi skar ma daṅ mṭṣuṅs pa bres te 'i lcags ri ltar yol bas phyogs kun nas bs[kor te | rgyal po rgyan thams cad kyis brgyan par byas nas blon po 'khor daṅ bcas pa žiṅ rmo ba'i gnas su gṣegs te | der rgyal pos gser gyi thon pa bzuṅ no || gcig gis dman pa'i brgyad brgya' || dṇul gyi thon pa blon pos bzuṅ ste | (66b) so nam
byed pa'i skye bo rnams kyis thoṅ pa lhag ma rnams bslaṅs so¹|| de rnams kyis² thoṅ pa bzun³ nas | de⁴ daṅ der sgal rmo'o || rgyal pos star yān 'di nas phar 'gro žiṅ pha rol nas tshur 'ons so⁵| de'i gnas phun sum mtshogs par 'gyur ro⁶ žes bsam⁷ nas | {Pā58}

II 24.
byaṅ chub sems dpa’¹¹ khor daṅ bcas pa bzung pa’i nu ma snum⁸ pa rnams rgyal po’i phun sum tshogs par blta’o || yol ba’i naṅ nas phyir 'thon no || byaṅ chub sems dpa’ de daṅ der gzigs pas gcig kyaṅ mi snaṅ no⁹ || myur par laṅs nas skyil krun¹⁰ bcas te | tluṅ 'byuṅ ba daṅ rnitub ciṅ bzun bas bsam¹¹ gan daṅ po skyes so¹² || nu ma snum¹³ pa rnams kha das ba’i phyir phan tshun du ’gro žiṅ de ma thag cuṅ zad thogs par gyur to || śiṅ gžan rnams kyi¹⁴ grib ma mi ldog ciṅ | gžan yaṅ śiṅ de’i grib ma rnams kun nas gnas so¹⁵ || nu ma snum¹⁶ pa rnams kyi¹⁷ sras ’phags pa žes gcig tu brjod ciṅ myur du yol ba steṅ du¹⁸ brdzes te naṅ du žugs nas | byaṅ chub sems dpa’ malstan la skyil krun¹⁹ gis bzung pa de’i cho ’phrul mthon nas soṅ ste rgyal po la žus so²⁰ || lha gzhon nu ’di lta bu’i tshul gyis bzung so²¹ || ’di ltar śiṅ gžan rnams grib ma mi bzlog go || śiṅ ’dzam bu’i²² grib ma ni kun nas²³ gnas so²⁴ || rgyal po myur du byon nas cho ’phrul blta²⁵ ste | sras ’di la phyag gños pa ste žes brjod nas sras la phyag btsal lo²⁶ ||

26 SDQL omit, N pa’i.
27 SDQL brgya’i, N omits.
28 SDQL, N omits.
29 LN bslaṅsö.
30 SDL kyis, N kyi.
31 SDQL, N gзуṅ.
32 SQLN de, D da.
33 N ‘oṅso.
34 LN ’gyuro.
35 SDQ bsam, LN bsams.
36 DQLN snum, S bsnun.
37 LN snaṅo.
38 SDN skyil krun, Q dkyil krun, L dkyil dkrun.
39 SDLN bsam, Q bsams.
40 LN skyesö.
41 DQLN snum, S bsnun.
42 SDQN kyi, L gyi.
43 L gnaso.
44 DQLN snum, S bsnun.
45 SDLN kyis, Q kyi.
46 SD sten du, Q sten su, LN stę̃su.
47 SDLN skyil krun, Q dkyil krun, L dkyil dkrun.
48 LN žuso.
49 LN bzungo.
50 SDLN ‘dzam bu’i, L ’dzambu’i.
51 LN naso.
52 SDQ gnas so, LN omit.
53 DQLN blta, S lta.
54 L btsalo.
II 25.

de nas go rims bzin du byan chub sems dpa’ lo bceu drug pa’i na (67a) tshod du gyur to || rgyal pos byan chub sems dpa’ la dus gsum du rjes su’ rigs par khan bzaṅs gsum byas nas geig dgu thog | geig la³ bdun thog | geig la lha thog go⁴ | ston phrag bzi bceu’i gar byed pa’i bud med nams ne bar gnas par byas so⁵ || byan chub sems dpa’ ni lha bzin du lha daň ‘dra ba’i bud med nams ‘khor du byas nas rgyan gyis bryan pa’i bud med du ma daň bcas pa skyes pa med pa’i rol mo sgros pa ‘khor du bya ste | phun sum tshogs pa chen po rjes su⁶ myoṅ bar byed do⁷ || dus kyi res daň | dus kyi res la⁸ de daň de’i khan bzaṅs su⁹ bžugs so¹⁰ || gzan yan sgra gcan¹¹ ‘dzin gi ma de niid btsun mo nams kyi gtsos mor gyur to || de’i de bzin du phun sum tshogs pa chen po rjes su¹² myoṅ bar byed do¹³ || ni ma geig la fie du’o¹⁴ nan du ‘di lta bu’i gtam byuň no¹⁵ || don grub rtsed mos brjed nas gšegs šin bzo cuṅ zad kyaṅ mi slob bo¹⁶ || g.yul so so nas fie bar gyur na ci byed | de’i tshe byan chub sems dpa’ bos nas | bu khyod kyi fie du nams don grub bzo cuṅ zad kyaṅ mi slob ciṅ rtsed mos gšegs nas ‘gro’o žes zer ro || ‘dir g.yul byuň na ji lta byed ces bsams || lha nas bzo bslabs pa la dgos pa med do¹⁷ || groṅ khyer gyi mi nams bdag gi bzo bta¹⁸ ba’i semi s arab na dril¹⁹ sgros šig | ‘di nas žag bdun pa la fie du nams la bzo bstan par bgyi’o || rgyal pos de bzin du byas so²⁰ || byan chub sems dpas²¹ sgra la ‘phen pa daň | spu²² la ‘phen (67b) pa daň | gzu thogs pas²³ | dus par byas nas skye bo maň po’i naň du gzan gzu thogs pa daň thun mon²⁴ ma yan pa fie du nams la bzo²⁵ bceu gšis bstan no²⁶ || de nams mdₐ²⁷ joms

¹ LN rjesu.
² SDQ bzaṅs, LN bzaṅ.
³ SDQN la, L omits.
⁴ L thog.
⁵ LN byaso.
⁶ LN rjesu.
⁷ N byedo.
⁸ SDQ la, LN pa.
⁹ D bzaṅs su, SQLN bzaṅ du.
¹⁰ LN bžugs.
¹¹ SDLN gcan, Q can.
¹² LN rjesu.
¹³ N byedo.
¹⁴ SDQ fie du’o, LN de’i.
¹⁵ N byuño.
¹⁶ N slobo.
¹⁷ LN medo.
¹⁸ DQLN bta, S lta.
¹⁹ SDLN dril, Q gril.
²⁰ LN byaso.
²¹ SDQ dpas, LN dpa’.
²² SLN spu, DQ spun.
²³ S pas, DQLN pa.
²⁴ SDQ moṅ, LN moṅs.
²⁵ SDQL bzo, N bza.
pa'i skyes rabs las 'byun¹ ba'i tshul bzin du rig² par bya'o || de'i fie du mams kyi the tshom³ sel lo⁵

II 26.
gzan yañ byañ chub sems dpa' skyed⁵ mos tshal du gšeqs par bsams nas kha lo sgyur⁶ ba bos te | šin rta chas su' chug cig ces smras so⁵ || des legs so⁹ žes brjod ciñ tshig thos nas | šin rta chen po'i 'khor lo'i mchog la ji ltar rigs pa'i rgyan thams cad kyi brgyuan nas | ku mu da¹¹ 'dab¹¹ ma'i mdog dañ 'dra ba'i bkra śis pa'i rta bžis šin rta khrid nas byañ chub sems dpa' gšeqs so¹² ¹³ žes smras so¹⁴ | {Pa59} byañ chub sems dpa' Iha'i gžal med khañ bzin du šin rta la żon nas skyed¹⁵ mos tshal gyi phyogs su gšeqs so¹⁶ ||

II 27.
lha rnams kyis¹⁷ gžon nu don grub kyi mňon par rdzogs par byañ chub pâ'i dus ni fie bar gyur to || sňar¹⁸ gyi mtshan ma rnams bïta bar rigs so¹⁹ || Iha'i bu gcig²⁰ gšie²¹ rgas pa | 'khogs pa | so byi ba | skra dkar ba²² | sgur²³ ba | rgyab grum pa'i lus can | lag tu 'khar²⁴ ba thogs pa | skad 'dzer ba byed pa bstan no || de byañ chub sems dpa'²⁵ kha lo sgyur²⁶ bas mthoñ no²⁷ || de nas byañ chub sems dpas²⁸ kha lo

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26 N bstano.
27 SDQ mda', LN mña'.
1 SDLN 'byun, Q byuñ.
2 SDLN rig, LN riggs.
3 SDLN tshom, Q tsom.
4 N selo.
5 SDLQN skied, L skyes.
6 SDLQ sgyur, N bgṣgyur.
7 LN chasu.
8 LN smraso.
9 N legso.
10 SDLQ ku mu ta'i, D ku mu da'i.
11 SDLN 'dab, Q mdab.
12 LN gšeqso.
13 SDLN omit, Q byañ chub.
14 LN smraso.
15 SDLQ skyed, L bskyed.
16 LN phyogsu gšeqso.
17 SDLQ kyi, Q kyi.
18 SDLQ sňar, D sľar.
19 LN rigso.
20 SDLQ gcig, DQ cíg.
21 SDLQ gi, D gis.
22 SDLQ ba, LN omit.
23 SDLQ sgur, LN bsgur.
24 SDLQ tu 'khar, L du khar N tu khar.
25 SDLQ omit, DQ dañ.
26 416
sgyar ba la dris so \(1\) \| skyes bu 'di gaṅ 'zig yin \| skra\(3\) yaṅ gzan daṅ mi 'dra ba ji lta bu \| gtso bo chen po'i mdo nas byun ba bzin\(3\) 'dri bar bya'o \| de'i tshig thos nas skye ba (68a) mi rtag ciṅ skyes par gyur pa\(4\) thams cad rgas par 'gyur ro\(5\) 'zes sems sdug bsṅal 'zin de niid du bzlog\(6\) nas \| raṅ gi khan bzaṅs\(7\) 'nid du gsṅgs so\(8\) \| rgyal pos rgyu mtshan ci'i phyir bdag gi sras po myur du ldog pa ci'i phyir dris so\(9\) \| ha rgas 'shī 'khogs pa'i mi gcig mthoṅ bas rab tu 'byun no\(10\) \| myur du bu la gar byed pa nams sta gon gyis 'ṣig\(11\) \| phun sum tshogs pa ūams su\(12\) myoṅ bar byas pas rab tu 'byun ba rjes su\(13\) dran par mi 'gyur ro\(14\) 'zes smras nas srun\(15\) bar byed pa spel te phyogs thams cad du rgyaṅ grags bryγad bryγad du bžag go\(16\) \|  

II 28.

gzan yaṅ ni ma gcig la byaṅ chub sems dpa' de bzin du skyed\(17\) mos tshal du gsṅgs pa na lhas sprul pa'i nad pa 'zig\(18\) mthoṅ nas sṅbar bzin du dris so\(19\) \| sems sdug bsṅal bar 'gyur\(20\) te \| slar yaṅ bzlog nas raṅ gi khan bzaṅs\(21\) su\(22\) gsṅgs so\(23\) \| rgyal pos yaṅ dris pa \| sṅbar\(24\) de bzin du byas nas \| slar yaṅ spel te thams cad du rgyaṅ grags bcu gnis kyi sa'i char srun bar byed pa bžag go\(25\) \|  

II 29.

\(1\) LN bsgyur.  
\(2\) N mthoṅo.  
\(3\) DN dpas, SQL dpa'.  
\(4\) N driso.  
\(5\) D skra, SQLN sgra.  
\(6\) SDQ bzin, L gzin.  
\(7\) DQLN pa, S pas.  
\(8\) LN 'gyuro.  
\(9\) SDQN bzhogs, L bzhogs.  
\(10\) SDLN bzaṅs, Q bzaṅ.  
\(11\) LN gsṅgs.  
\(12\) N driso.  
\(13\) N 'byuṅo.  
\(14\) SDQ 'ṣig, L cig, N 'zig.  
\(15\) LN ūamsu.  
\(16\) N rjesu.  
\(17\) LN 'gyuro.  
\(18\) SDQN bzcig, Q bzcig.  
\(19\) LN bzcā.  
\(20\) N bzcāgo.  
\(21\) SDQN skyed, L skyes.  
\(22\) SQN 'zig, D gcig, L cig.  
\(23\) N driso.  
\(24\) SDQL 'gyur, N gyur.  
\(25\) SDLN bzaṅs, Q bzaṅ.  
\(26\) N bzaṅsu.  
\(27\) LN gsṅgs.  
\(28\) SDQ sṅbar, LN lṅar.  
\(29\) N bzcāgo.
yaṅ ṇi ma gžan la byaṅ chub sms共振 dpa’ de bžin du skyed mos tshal₁ du gšegs pa na lhas sprul pa’i dus la ’das pa žig² mthoṅ nas snar bžin du³ dris te | sms共振 sduṅ bṣnal bar gyur nas | slar yaṅ bzlog ste⁴ khaṅ bzaṅs su⁵ gšegs nas rgyal pos dris pa snaṅ⁶ bžin du byas nas | slar yaṅ bsruṅ ba spel te kun nas bskor bar dpag tshad gcig⁷ gi tshad la bsruṅ ba bžag go⁸ ||

II 30.
slar yaṅ ṇi ma gžan la skyed mos tshal du gšegs pa na de bžin du lhas sprul (68b) pa’i gos bzaṅ po legs pa gyon pa’i rab tu byuṅ ba žig⁹ gšegs nas | ’di’i miṅ ci žes kha lo ba la dris so¹⁰ || gaṅ du yaṅ saṅs rgyas byon par ma gyur ciṅ rab tu byuṅ pa’i yon tan mi šes¹¹ lha’i mthuṅ slar yaṅ lha rab tu byuṅ ba yin žes brjod do¹² | rab tu byuṅ ba’i yon tan la bsṅags pa brjod do¹³ || byaṅ chub sms共振 dpa’ rab tu byuṅ¹⁴ ba la ’duṅ pa skyes nas de’i ṇi mo skyed¹⁵ mos tshal du gšegs so¹⁶ || slob dpun kha cig ’di skad zer te | sṇun gyi mtshan ma bži pa ṇi ma gcig¹⁷ niid la mthoṅ no¹⁸ žes zer ro || de ni mi ’thad do ||

II 31.
de la ṇi mo’i char rtse žin bka’šis pa’i rdziṅ bur khrus byas nas¹⁹ | ṇi ma nub pa na bka’šis pa’i rdo leb kyi stan la bžugs so²⁰ || rāṅ la rgyan gyis brgyan par sms共振 so²¹ || de nas rjes su²² ’braṅ ba’i skyes bu nams kha dog sna tshogs pa’i gos daṅ rgyan rnam pa sna tshogs pas brgyan | me tog gi phren ba daṅ | sposs daṅ | byug pa la sogs pa blaṅs²³ nas phyogs kun tu²⁴ bskor nas ’dug go²⁵ || de ma thag par brgya

₁ SDQN tshal. L ’tshal.
₂ SQN žig, D gcig, L cig.
₃ SDQ du, LN omit.
₄ SDQ ste, LN te.
₅ SQ bzaṅ du, D bzaṅs su, LN bzaṅs du.
₆ SDQ snar, LN slar.
₇ SDQN gcig, L cig.
₈ N bžago.
₉ S žig, DN gcig, QL cig.
₁₀ N drisō.
₁₁ SDLN omit, Q pa.
₁₂ SDQN do, N de.
₁₃ SDQN do, L de.
₁₄ SDLQ byuṅ, N ’byuṅ.
₁₅ SDQ skyed, LN skyes.
₁₆ N gšegsō.
₁₇ SDQ gcig, LN cig.
₁₈ N mthoṅo.
₁₉ DQ nas, SLN omit.
₂₀ LN bžugso.
₂₁ N semso.
₂₂ N rjesu.
₂₃ SD blaṅs, L blaṅ, N blaṅs.
₂₄ SQN tu, DL du.
₂₅ N ’dugo.

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byin sdo pa'i gdan dro bar gyur to || {Pā60} gañ ūg bdag gi gnas 'dor ba'i sms su¹ ūg² la skyes par gyur žes brtags so³ || byañ chub sms dpa'i rgyan byed pa'i dus mthon no⁴ || las thams cad pa bos so || las thams cad pa gžon nu⁵ don grub de⁶ riṅ gi mtshan phyed kyi dus su ņes par 'byun ḫa chen pos 'thon no || 'di de'i phyi ma'i rgyan yin no || skyed mos tshal du sōn la skyes bu chen po lha'i rgyan gyis brgyan par gyis ūg⁷ | des de⁸ thos⁹ nas legs so¹⁰ žes brjod de lha'i mthuš (69a) de ma thag par ūe bar soṅ ste | de'i rim gro pa daṅ mtshuṅs par gyur nas | rim gro pa'i lag tu raś blaṅs¹¹ nas byañ chub sms dpa'i dбу la beṅs so¹² || byañ chub sms dpaš¹³ mgo la lag pas¹⁴ reg pa¹⁵ na¹⁶ 'di mi ma yin te | lha'i bu yin par šes so¹⁷ || beṅs pa tsam na beṅs pa'i dбу'i cod pan nor bu¹⁸ rin po che'i rnam pa la ston phrag gcig gi¹⁹ du gu²⁰ la'i ras kyis beṅs so²¹ || slar yaṅ 'chiṅ ba na du gu²² la'i ras ston phrag gcig²³ gis laṅ bcu dkris nas ston phrag bcus du gu²⁴ la'i ras beṅs so²⁵ || dбу ni chuṅ žiṅ²⁶ du gu²⁷ la'i ras ni maṅ bas ji ltar beṅ²⁸ žes mi bsam mo²⁹ || de rnam thams cad la 'khrī³⁰ žiṅ sā ka la'³¹ me tog gi tshad tsam che ba'o || yaṅ na ku ba'i me tog gi tshad tsam du gyur to || byañ chub sms dpa'i dбу ki

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¹ LN smsu.
² SDN ūg, QL ūg.
³ LN brtagso.
⁴ N mthoṅo.
⁵ N gžonu.
⁶ SD de, QLN di.
⁷ SDN ūg, QL cig.
⁸ SDLN de, Q omits .
⁹ SDQ thos, LN thon.
¹⁰ N legso.
¹¹ SDLN blaṅs, D beḷaṅs.
¹² N beṅsso.
¹³ SDQ dpaš, LN dpa'.
¹⁴ DQ pas, SLN pa.
¹⁵ SDQ pa, LN omit.
¹⁶ SDQ na, LN nas.
¹⁷ N šeso.
¹⁸ SDQ bu, LN bu'i.
¹⁹ DQLN gi, S gis.
²⁰ SDLQ gu, N ku.
²¹ N beṅsso.
²² SDQ gu, LN ku.
²³ SDQN gcig, L cig.
²⁴ SDLQ gu, N ku.
²⁵ N beṅsso.
²⁶ SDQ žiṅ, LN ūg.
²⁷ SDLQ gu, N ku.
²⁸ SDQ beṅ, LN beṅs.
²⁹ LN bsamo.
³⁰ SNL 'khrī, D khrī, Q khro.
³¹ LN sā la'i for sā ka la'i.
dza la ka'i me tog ltar mtshuṅs pa'o || yaṅ na gu¹ spya² ka'i me tog ltar gyur pa'o || de nas rgyan³ thams cad kyis so sor brgyan nas rol mo thams cad ran raṅ gi⁴ sgra 'byin žiṅ bram ze nmams rgyal bar gyur cig | dga' bar gyur cig ces nmam⁵ pa sna tshogs pa'i bkra šis kyis bstod pa'i dbyaṅs byed do || rgyan thams cad kyis brgyan nas mchog gi šiṅ rta la chibs so⁶||

II 32.
dei tse grags 'dzin ma la bu btsas⁷ so || rgyal po zas gtaṅ gis thos nas | bdag gi bu dga' bar bya ba'i phyir pho ūa ba⁸ btaṅ⁹ no¹⁰ || byaṅ chub sems dpas¹¹ de¹² thos nas¹³ sgra gcan 'dzin skyes pas 'ciṅ ba skyes so¹⁴ Žes gsuṅs so¹⁵ || rgyal po bdag gi¹⁶ bu la ci'i phyir (69b) 'dri | dei tshig thos te 'di nas bzuṅ ste¹⁷ bdag gi tsha po¹⁸ gžon nu sgra gcan¹⁹ 'dzin ŋid miṅ du gyur to Žes smras so²⁰ ||

II 33.
byaṅ chub sems dpa²¹ kyaṅ²² grags pa chen pos Žin tu dga' ba daṅ | dpal daṅ | skal ba bzaṅ po daṅ ldan pa'i groṅ khyer du gšegs so²³ || dei tse gō ta mi skem mo²⁴ Žes bya ba rgyal rigs kyi bu mo khaṅ bzaṅs²⁵ kyi²⁶ steṅ du 'dug pas groṅ khyer la bskor ba byed pa'i byaṅ chub sems dpa'i dpal daṅ ldan pa'i gzugs mthoṅ nas | dga' ba daṅ yid bde ba skyes te ched du brjod pa 'di ched du brjod do ||
byañ chub sms dpas thos ns bsams pa | 'di 'di lta bur smras pa | 'di lta bu'i tshul gyi bdag ŋid kyi lus mthon bas ma'i sms zi bar gyur | pha'i sms zi bar gyur skye dgu dañ skye dgu'i bdag mo'i sms zi bar gyur žês smra'o | ci'i phyir sms zi ba žês bya ba'i don gañ | de nas ŋon moñs pa'i chags pa med pa'i sms la de skad brjod do | 'dod chags kyi me ži bar gyur pa ni ži ba'i mi'n du gyur to skyon gyi me dañ gti mug gi me ži bar gyur pa ni ži ba'i mi'n du gyur to | nā rgyal dañ lta ba la sogs pa'i ŋon moñs pa kun skyes pa thams cad ži ba ni ži ba'i mi'n du brjod do | 'di bdag la tshig sñan pa brjod ci'n | bdag ni mya ŋan las 'das pa tshol du 'gro ži'n tshol lo | de ŋi riñ ŋid nas bdag khyim na gnas pa spas Ńa ņes par 'byuñ bas rab tu byuñ nas mya ŋan las 'das pa tshol bar riggs (70a) so | 'di ni bdag gi slob dpob mar gyur to | gō ta mi skem mo la 'bum phrag gcig ri ba'i mu tig gi dra ba mgrün pa nas bkrlo te bskur ro | des don grub gzon nu bdag la chags śiñ žen par gyur pas sms rten bskur ba yin pas | des sms bde ba skyes par gyur to

II 34.
byañ chub sms dpa' ni dpal dañ ldan pa skal ba bzañ po dañ ldan pa'i rañ gi khañ bzañs su gšegs

1 Jātakaṇidāṇa p. 60; sTog 69b; Mvu II p.157; Bv-a p.280; Dhp-a I p.85; Ap-a p.65; Dhs-a p.34; Thūp p.165
Jātakaṇidāṇa p. 60,
Nibbuta niña sà mātā, nibbuto niña so pitā, nibbutta niña sā nārī yassāyaṁ idiso padī.
Mahāvastu II p.157,
nirvṛtā khalu te mātā pitā puna' te nirvṛte nirvṛtā puna' sā nārī yasya bhartā bhavisyasi.
2 SDQL gyur, N 'gyur.
3 SDQ de yi, LN de'i.
4 SDQL yi, N omits.
5 SDQL omit, N de.
6 SQN smras, D smra.
7 SDLN pa, Q omits.
8 SDQ gyur, LN omit.
9 SDQ gyur, LN 'gyur.
10 N tsholo.
11 DLN de, SQ di.
12 N rigso.
13 D gō ta mi skem mo, S go'u ta mi skem mo, Q gō'u ta mi skem mo, LN gō ta mi skem mo.
14 SDQN gcig, L cīg.
15 N bskuro.
16 N gžonu.
17 SLN bzañ du., DQ bzañs su.

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nas dpal gyi mal stan la gzims\textsuperscript{1} so \textit{||} de ma thag tu\textsuperscript{2} rgyan thams cad kyis brgyan pa’i glu dañ gar rnams legs par bslabs pa’i lha’i bu mo dañ ‘dra ba’i gzugs mchog dañ ldan pa’i bud med rnams kyis rnam pa sna tshogs pa’i rol mo bzuñ nas de la yons su\textsuperscript{3} bskor nas | mñoñ par dga’ bar byed ciñ gar dañ | glu dañ | rol mo la sogs pa byed par rtsom mo\textsuperscript{4} \textit{||} byañ chub sems dpa’ fion moñs pa la mi dga’ ba’i sems kyis\textsuperscript{5} gar la sogs pa la mñoñ par dga’ ba med pas yud tsam gyis\textsuperscript{6} nmal du bžud do | bud med de rnams kyañ gañ gi don du ned\textsuperscript{7} rnams kyis gar la sogs pa byed pa la de mnal du gšegs so\textsuperscript{8} \textit{||} da\textsuperscript{9} ni ci’i phyir bdag cag ṅal bar byed | gañ dañ gañ bslabs pa’i rol mo rnams sa\textsuperscript{10} la bžag nas ḋal lo\textsuperscript{11} \textit{||} dri bzań\textsuperscript{12} dañ ldan pa’i ’bru mar gyi mar me dañ ldan pa’i byañ chub sems dpa’ rab tu sad nas mal gyi steñ du skyil kruñ\textsuperscript{13} gis bžugs nas gzigs pas bud med rnams rol mo bžag nas gñìid du soñ ba gzigs so\textsuperscript{14} | kha ciñ mchil ma lug pa dañ | kha ciñ ni lus (70b) la mchil mas hos pa’i dri ma can du gyur pa dañ | kha ciñ ni so cha\textsuperscript{15} ba dañ | kha ciñ ni ṅar ṅar ‘byin pa dañ | kha ciñ ni ṅa ma rmi ’chad pa dañ | kha ciñ ni kha gðañ\textsuperscript{16} pa dañ | kha ciñ ni gos žus\textsuperscript{17} pa dañ | ’ga’ žig gi ni mtshan ma snañ no\textsuperscript{18} \textit{||} byañ chub sems dpas de rnams kyi\textsuperscript{19} rnam ’gyur gzigs nas thugs ’jigs pas ’dod pa la mi dga’ bar gyur to | de’i rgyan du byas pa ni ṅie bar ldan pa brgya byin gyi pho brañ dañ mtshuñs pa’i khañ bzañs\textsuperscript{20} chen po yawns śin | rnam\textsuperscript{21} pa sna tshogs pa’i dri ṅa bas gañ ba’i ro dañ ldan pa’i dur khrod dañ mtshuñs par bsams so\textsuperscript{22} \textit{||} srid pa gsum po\textsuperscript{23} me ’bar ba’i khyim dañ mtshuñs par bsams so\textsuperscript{24} \textit{||} bďag la gnod par byed pa dañ | ’tshe bar byed pa’o žes ched du brjod pa ’chad ciñ śin tu rab tu\textsuperscript{25} byun\textsuperscript{26} bar ’dod par

\textsuperscript{1} SDL gzims, Q gzigs, N gzimso.
\textsuperscript{2} SDQN tu, L du.
\textsuperscript{3} N yonsu.
\textsuperscript{4} N rtsomo.
\textsuperscript{5} SDLN kyis, Q kyi.
\textsuperscript{6} SDQ gyis, LN gyi.
\textsuperscript{7} SDLN ned, Q ded.
\textsuperscript{8} N gšegso.
\textsuperscript{9} SDLN da, Q de.
\textsuperscript{10} D sa, SQLN omit.
\textsuperscript{11} N ḋaño.
\textsuperscript{12} DQL bzañ, SD bzañs.
\textsuperscript{13} SDN skyil kruñ,QL dkyil dkuñs.
\textsuperscript{14} LN gzigs.
\textsuperscript{15} SD ‘cha’, Q ‘tshal, LN ‘cha.
\textsuperscript{16} SDQ gðañs, LN bðañs.
\textsuperscript{17} SDLN žus, Q žugs.
\textsuperscript{18} N snahs.
\textsuperscript{19} SDQ kyi, LN kyis.
\textsuperscript{20} SD bzañs, QLN bzañ.
\textsuperscript{21} SDQN rnam, L rnums.
\textsuperscript{22} LN bsamso.
\textsuperscript{23} SDQ po, LN pa.
\textsuperscript{24} LN bsamso.
\textsuperscript{25} SDLN omit, Q ’tshe bar byed pa dañ.
\textsuperscript{26} SDQN tu, L du.
gyur to ||

II 35.

del bda' gis¹ del² riṅ nin³ nas ñes par 'byuṅ ba chen pos 'thon bar bsam ts | mal nas bžeṅs nas sgo
dan fie bar gsags te 'di na⁴ su yod ces dris so⁵ (Pā62) blon po 'dun⁶ pa them pa la sñas byas nas
ñal lo⁷ | 'phags pa bu bda' blon po 'dun⁸ pa yin no⁹ ñes smras so¹⁰ | da¹¹ ni ñes par 'byuṅ ba chen pos
'thon par 'dod do || bda' gi rta gcig¹² la sga gyis šig¹³ | des lha legs so¹⁴ ñes brjod nas rta'i sga khyer te
ta ral soṅ nas drill bzaṅ po daṅ 'ldan pa'i 'bru mar gyi mar me sbar¹⁵ ba su ma na'i¹⁶ me tog can gyi¹⁷ dar
gyi bla¹⁸ res kyi 'og na śin tu dga' ba'i sa phyogs la sdod pa'i rta'i rgyal po bsñags¹⁹ 'ldan mthon no²⁰ ||
da ni bda' gis 'di niṅ kyi sga²¹ bya bar rig nas bsñags 'ldan la sga sgron no || des (71a) sga sgron par
šes nas 'di sga sgron pa na glo bsēams²² so²³ | ñi ma gpañ la skyed²⁴ mos tshal du rtsed²⁵ mo la 'gro
ba'i dus su sga²⁶ 'di lta' ma byas so²⁷ || bda' gi sras 'phags pa | da²⁸ ni ñes par 'byuṅ ba chen pos 'thon
par 'dod par gyur to sfi'am nas | sems dga' bas rta skad tser tsher 'don pa de'i sgra groṅ khyer thams
cad du grags par byed pa slar yaṅ lha mams kyis de'i sgra bkag nas sus²⁹ kyaṅ mi thos par byas so³⁰ ||

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²⁷ SDLN byuṅ, DQ 'byun.
²¹ SDQN gis, D gi.
²² SDQN na, LN omit.
²³ N driso.
²⁴ D 'dun, SDQN mdun.
²⁵ N fālo.
²⁶ D 'dun, SDLN mdun.
²⁷ N yino.
²⁸ N smraso.
²⁹ SDLN da, Q de.
³⁰ DQ gcig, SDLN cig.
³¹ SDQN šig, L cig.
³² N legso.
³³ D sbar, SDLN spar.
³⁴ SDLN na'i, Q nīñi.
³⁵ DQLN gyi, S gyiṣ.
³⁶ SDQN bla, L rla.
³⁷ SDQ bsñags, LN sñags.
³⁸ N mthono.
³⁹ SDQ sga, LN sgra.
⁴⁰ SDQ bsēams, LN sdams.
⁴¹ N sdamsō.
⁴² SDLN skyed, Q bskyed.
⁴³ SD rtsed, Q tshed, LN brtsed.
⁴⁴ SDQ sga, LN sgra.
⁴⁵ N byasō.
⁴⁶ SDLN da, Q de.
⁴⁷ LN nasus for nas sus.
II 36.
byaṅ chub sems dpas kyaṅ blon po 'dun1 pa rta'i gnas su2 btaṅ3 nas re žig bu la bita bar bsams so4 || grags 'dzin ma'i gnas su5 gšegs te sgo phyre nas de ma thag par žal sa'i nāṅ du dri bzaṅ po daṅ ldan pa1' 'bru mar gyi mar me spar ba6 grags 'dzin ma su ma na'i me tog daṅ | mal li ka1'7 me tog la sogs pa2'i me tog mal gyi steṅ du khal gcig8 isam bkram pa2'i steṅ du | bu2'i mgo2'i steṅ du9 lag pa bžag nas gnīd du soṅ ba la | byaṅ chub sems dpas sgo'i them pa2'i steṅ du žabs ya gcig10 bžag ste11 'khod pas gzigs so12 || gal te bdag gis13 lha mo2'i lag pa nas 'then nas raṅ gi bu14 bslan15 bar bsams te | lha mo gnīd sad na bdag ſiṅ 'gro ba2'i bar good du 'gyur žin san2's rgyas su16 gyur nas bu bita2'o sīam du17 sems te khaṅ bzaṅs nas babs so18 || slar yaṅ slok bdon kha cig 'di ltar smras ste19 | de2'i tshe byaṅ chub sems dpas gšegs pa2'i ston rol gyi ſi ma bdun gyi goṅ du skyes so20 ſes zer ro || de2'i phyir 'di kho na guṇ21 bar bya2'o ||

II 37.
'di ltar byaṅ chub sems dpas' (71b) khaṅ bzaṅs22 nas babs nas rta'i ra23 ba ſiṅ du gšegs te 'di ltar gsuṅs so24 || bu bsnags ldan khyod kyey da ni nub gcig25 bṣgra26 bar gyis ſig27 | bdag khyod kyi drin gyis
Bar pa'i gleh gti

saňs rgyas su¹ gyur nas lha daň beas pa'i 'jig rten thams cad bsgral² bar bya'o || de nas bsňags ldan
gyi rgyab tu³ chibs so⁴ || bsňags ldan gyi ske nas bzuň nas mchu ru⁵ khru bco⁶ brgyad pa | de daň
'thun' pa¹ mtho tshad daň ldan ziň mthu daň mgyogs pa daň ldan la duň phyis pa'i kha dog ltar
thams cad dkar ba daň mtshuňs pa'o || gal te tsher tsher⁸ sgrogs pa 'am | rmig pa'i sgra sgrogs pa'i
sgras groň khyer thams cad grags⁹ par 'gyur ro¹⁰ || de'i¹¹ phyir lha raň gi mthus de sus kyaň mi thos par
de 'di ltar sgra sgrogs pa bkag go¹² || khrab¹³ khrab 'gro ba'i rkaň lag gi rmig pa re e lha'i lag pa'i mthil
du ñe bar bźag¹⁴ go¹⁵ ||

II 38.
byaň chub sems dpas rta'i rgyab kyi dbus su bźugs so¹⁶ || {Pa63} blon po 'dun¹⁷ pa rta'i mjug¹⁸ ma¹⁹ nas
zuň cig²⁰ ces mtshan phyed kyi dus su sgo chen po daň ñe bar phyin to || de'i tshe slar yaň 'di ltar
dgyal po chen pos 'di ltar byaň chub sems dpa' gaň gi dus su yan groň khyer chen po'i sgo phye nas
phyi rol du²¹ 'gro bar mi nus par phyed sgo ma'i sgo glegs²² re re la mi stoň phrag re res dbye dgos
par bskos²³ so²⁴ || byaň chub sems dpa' stobs daň ldan pas glan po che'i graňs bye ba stoň phrag bcu'i
glan po che'i stobs 'dzin no²⁵ || mi'i graňs kyis²⁶ mi bye ba 'bum phrag gcig gi²⁷ mi'i stobs 'dzin no ||

¹ N rgyasu.
² SDQ bsgral, LN sgral.
³ SDQ tu, LN du.
⁴ N chibső.
⁵ DQLN mchu ru, S chur.
⁶ SQLN bco, D bcwa.
⁷ SDQ 'thun, LN mthun.
⁸ SDQ tsher, LN omit.
⁹ SLN grags, DQ grag.
¹⁰ SDQ ro, LN pa'o.
¹¹ SDQL de'i, N deň.
¹² N bkago.
¹³ SDQ khrab, LN khra.
¹⁴ DQLN bźag, S gžag.
¹⁵ LN bźago.
¹⁶ N dbusu bźugső.
¹⁷ D 'dun, SQLN mdun.
¹⁸ SDLN mjug, Q 'jug.
¹⁹ SDQ ma, LN pa.
²⁰ SDLQ cig, N žig.
²¹ SDLQ du, N tu.
²² SDQ glegs, LN gleg.
²³ SDN bskos, QL bkos.
²⁴ N bskoso.
²⁵ N 'dzino.
²⁶ SDLQ kyis, N kyi.
²⁷ DQLN gi, S gis.
byañ chub sems dpas bsam pa | gal te sgo ma phyed na² (72a) da ni bsngs ldan gyi rgyab tu³ bzugs pa ndu⁴ blon po 'dun⁵ pas rña ma nas bzuñ ba dañ lhan cig ndu bsngs⁶ ldan brla' btsir nas khru bco⁸ brgyad pa'i lcags ri'i mtho tshad la mchoṅs te 'da' bar bsams so⁹ || blon po 'dun¹⁰ pas bsams pa | gal te sgo ma phyed na | bdag gis¹¹ 'phags pa sras dpun pa la khyer nas lag pa g.yas pas bsngs¹² ldan givi gsus pa mchan khuñ du bcug nas lcags ri la mchoṅs te 'da' bar bsams so¹³ || bsngs¹⁴ ldan gyis¹⁵ bsams pa | gal te sgo ma phyed na bdag gis raṅ gi¹⁶ bdag po ji ltar rgyab tu¹⁷ bzugs pa de bžin ndu blon po 'dun¹⁸ pas rña ma nas bzuñ nas lhan cig tu gnas pa ndu¹⁹ khur nas lcags ri la mchoṅs te 'da' bar bsams so²⁰ || gal te sgo ma phyed par gyur na²¹ ji ltar bsams²² pa de bžin du gsum po'i nañ nas gañ yañ ruṅ ba²³ gcig ñes par 'gyur ro²⁴ || slar yañ sgo srūn²⁵ ba'i lha rnams kyis sgo phye'o ||

II 39.

de ma thag ndu bdud kyis byañ chub sems dpas²⁶ bslog par bsams²⁷ nas 'oṅs te nam mkha'²⁸ la 'dug nas smras pa | drañ sroṅ chen po ñes par 'byuñ bas ma 'gro zig²⁹ | 'di nas ñi ma bdun pa la khyod³⁰ kyis rin po che'i 'khor lo thob par 'gyur ro³¹ || glin phran stōṅ phrag gñis kyis yoṅs su³² bskor

¹ SDLN gal, Q lag.
² DQLN na, S nas.
³ SDQN tu, L du.
⁴ SQLN du, D ni.
⁵ D 'dun, SLN mdun.
⁶ SDN bsngs, QL bsng.
⁷ SQ brla, LN brla'.
⁸ SLN bco, D bcwa, Q bcu.
⁹ N bsamso.
¹⁰ D 'dun, SQLN mdun.
¹¹ SQ gis, LN gi.
¹² SDLN bsngs, Q bsng.
¹³ LN bsamso.
¹⁴ SDLN bsngs, Q bsng.
¹⁵ SDLN gyis, Q gyi.
¹⁶ DQ gi, SLN omit.
¹⁷ SQDN tu, L du.
¹⁸ D 'dun, SQLN mdun.
¹⁹ DQLN du, S omits.
²⁰ N bsamso.
²¹ SDLN na, Q nas.
²² SDLN bsams, Q bsam.
²³ DQLN ba, LN omit.
²⁴ LN 'gyuro.
²⁵ L gsrūṅ, N bsruṅ.
²⁶ DQLN dpa', LN dpa'i.
²⁷ SDLN bsams, Q bsam.
²⁸ LN namkha'.
²⁹ LN 'zig, D cig, Q cin, L gcig.
³⁰ SDLN khyod, L khyed.

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Bar pa'i gleù gzi

ba'i giṅ chen po bţi'i rgyal srid byed par 'gyur ro || dran sron chen po zlog^1^ cig ces smras so^2^ || khyod su 'zig yin žes dris so^3^ || bdag ni 'jig rten gyi dба'n po yin žes smras so^4^ || bdud rin po che'i 'khor lo bdag la yod^5^ bar (72b) bdag gis śes te bdag la rgyal po'i dgos pa med do^6^ || ston phrag bcu'i 'jig rten gyi khams su^7^ sgra sgrogs śin saṅs rgya ba 'gyur ro^8^ žes brjod do^9^ || bdud kyis smras pa | 'di nas bzuṅ^10^ nas 'dod pa'i rnam par rtog pa 'am | gnod sms kyi rnam mar rtog pa 'am | rnam par 'tshe ba'i rnam mar rtog pa sms la bsams pa'i dus^11^ bu bdag gis śes so^12^ žes smras so^13^ || grogs daṅ ma bral bar grib ma bţiṅ du rjes su^14^ 'brel bar 'gro'o ||

II 40.

byaṅ chub sms dpa' yaṅ 'khor los^15^ sgyur ba'i rgyal srid lag tu^16^ thogs kyaṅ mchil ma'i thal ba bţiṅ du ltos pa med par dor^17^ nas bkur sti chen pos groṅ khyer nas phyir 'thon no || dbyar zla 'briṅ po'i ŋa la mchog gi skar ma bre'i dus su^18^ phyir 'thon nas slar yaṅ groṅ khyer la bzlog nas bţiลำ bar brjod par bsams so^19^ || 'di ltar byaṅ chub sms dpa' thugs la 'khruṅs tsam ŋid na'o || skyes bu chen po khyod kyis log nas bţi la ias kyi bsod nams khyod kyis byas pa med dam žes brjod pa bţiṅ du | sa gţi chen po rdza mkhan gyi 'khor lo bţiṅ du phug nas bzlog go^20^ || byaṅ chub sms dpa' groṅ khyer la sňon du phyogs śin 'khod nas^21^ | groṅ khyer la gzigs te de'i sa phyogs žig tu^22^ bsṅags ldan ldog pa'i mchod rten gyi ghas gcig bston no^23^ || {Pā64} bsṅags ldan 'gro ba'i lam la mňon du phyogs par byas

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^1^ N 'gyuro.
^2^ L yonṣu.
^3^ SDN zlog, QL bzlog.
^4^ N smraso.
^5^ N driso.
^6^ LN smraso.
^7^ SLN yod, D yon, Q yons.
^8^ L medo.
^9^ LN khamṣu.
^10^ N 'gyuro.
^11^ L brjodo.
^12^ SDLN bzuṅ, Q gzuṅ.
^13^ SDL omit, QN su.
^14^ LN śeso.
^15^ N smraso.
^16^ LN rjesu.
^17^ SDLN dor, Q don.
^18^ N dusu.
^19^ LN bsamso.
^20^ Nbzlogo.
^21^ DQ los, SDLN lo.
^22^ SDLN tu, L du.
^23^ SDLN dor, Q don.
^24^ N dusu.
^25^ LN bsamso.
^26^ Nbzlogo.
^27^ SDLN tu, L du.
^28^ SDLN tu, L du.
^29^ L bstano.

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Bar pa'i gleñ g'i

nas byon no\(^1\) || bkur sti chen po dañ | dpal dañ | skal ba bzañ po dañ ldan no || de'i tshe lha rmams kyis de'i ndun du ston phrag drug cu\(^1\) de' mar me chen po sbar ro\(^2\) || rgyab kyi phyogs su\(^4\) yañ mar me chen po ston (73a) phrag drug cu\(^5\) sbar ro || g.yas gyi phyogs su\(^6\) yañ mar me chen po ston phrag drug cu\(^7\) sbar ro || g.yon gyi phyogs su\(^8\) yañ mar me chen po ston phrag drug cu\(^9\) sbar ro\(^10\) || lha g'zan rmams kyis kyañ khor yug gi ri'i steñ du grañs med pa'i mar me ston phrag mañ po sbar ro\(^11\) || lha g'zan rmams dañ | khu dañ | 'dab bzañ\(^12\) la sogs pas lha'i sposs dañ | me tog gi 'phreñ\(^13\) ba dañ | phyem ma dañ | bdug pa la sogs pas mchod ciñ 'gro'o || pā ri tsatsha ttra'i\(^14\) me tog ñid dañ | man dā ra'i\(^15\) me tog sprin ltar mthug pa\(^16\) rgyun du\(^17\) 'bab pa bžin du nām mkha'\(^18\) las\(^19\) rgyun mi 'chad par me tog gi char babs par gyur to || lha'i glu dbyañs sgrogs par gyur to || kun nas bskor bar ston phrag drug cu\(^20\) rtsa brgyad kyi rol mo'i sgra sgrogs par gyur to || kun nas bskor bar ston phrag drug cu\(^20\) rtsa brgyad kyi rol mo'i sgra sgrogs so\(^21\) || rgya mtsho'i dbus su 'brug gi sgra sgrogs pa bžin no || ri bo gña' sin 'dzin gyi 'gram du rgya mtsho'i sgra sgrogs pa'i dus bžin du 'jug go\(^22\) ||

II 41.
'di ni dpal dañ skal\(^23\) ba bzañ po dañ ldan pa'i byañ chub sems dpa' gšegs pa'i mthsan gcig la rgyal srid gsun spañs nas dpag tshad sum cu\(^24\) mthar yid ldan ņes bya ba'i chu klun gi 'gram du bžud do || ci'i phyir yañ rta 'di'i pha rol du\(^25\) yañ 'gro bar mi nus sam | mi nus pa ni\(^26\) ma yin te | de ni khor yug

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\(^1\) N byono.
\(^2\) SDLN cu'i, Q becu'i.
\(^3\) LN sbaro.
\(^4\) N phyogsu.
\(^5\) SDLN cu, Q becu.
\(^6\) LN phyogsu.
\(^7\) SDLN cu, Q becu.
\(^8\) LN phyogsu.
\(^9\) SDLN cu, Q becu.
\(^10\) N sbaro.
\(^11\) N sbaro.
\(^12\) SQ bzañs, LN bzañ.
\(^13\) S 'phreñ, DQLN phreñ.
\(^14\) S pā ratsats/i tra'i, D pā ri tsatsha ttra'i, Q pā ri tsatsha ta'i, LN pā ri tsatsha tra'i.
\(^15\) S manda ra'i, DQ man dā ra'i, LN mandā ra'i.
\(^16\) SQ 'thug pa, D mthug pa, L mthugs, N mthugs pa.
\(^17\) SQ du, LN tu.
\(^18\) LN namkha'.
\(^19\) SQL la, DN las.
\(^20\) SDLN cu, Q becu.
\(^21\) N sgrogs.
\(^22\) LN 'jugo.
\(^23\) SDQL skal, N bskal.
\(^24\) SDLN cu'i, Q becu'i.
\(^25\) DQL du, SN tu.
\(^26\) SDQ ni, LN omit.
gcig gi¹ naṅ du sña dro gcig la sño nas bsḳor te de ma thag tu sña dro ņid du 'oṁs² śiṁ raṅ gi mdun du kha zas byin pa za bar nus so³ || de'i teḥe slar yaṅ lha daṅ | klu daṅ | 'dab bzaṅṣ⁴ la sogṣ pa nam mkha⁵ la 'kḥod nas spos daṅ | me tog gi 'phreṅ⁶ ba la sogṣ pa babs te | jiś rid ṛṭa'i bla'i bar (73b) du lus nub pas 'thon par mi nus pa spos daṅ | me tog gi 'phreṅ⁷ ba la sogṣ pa ni | rai pa ṛṭar gdon⁸ par mi nus par śin tu thogs par gyur to || de'i phyir dpag tshad sum cu⁹ tsam ņid du¹⁰ soṅ ņo¹¹ ||

II 42.

de nas byaṅ chub sems dpa’ chu klun gi 'gram du 'kḥod nas blon po 'dun pa la ḍris pa | chu klun 'di'i miṅ ci | lha yid ldan žes bgyi ba lags so¹² || bdag kyaṅ rab tu 'byuṅ ba la yid daṅ ldan pa žes bya bar gyur to || žabs kyis brgyab ste¹³ rta bsḳul¹⁴ par¹⁵ bya ste¹⁶ | rta yis mchoṅs nas gñaṅ brgyad kyi skad tsam gyis¹⁷ chu klun gi žen¹⁸ 'gram gyi pha rol tu¹⁹ 'kḥod do || byaṅ chub sems dpa’ rta'i rgyab nas babs te dūṅl daṅ mtshuṅs pa'i²⁰ bye mä'i phuṅ po'i śten du 'kḥod do || 'dun²¹ pa bos nas khyod kyis bdag gi rgyan mams daṅ bṣṅags ldan khrid la soṅ žig²² | bdag rab tu 'byuṅ bar 'gyur ro || lha bdag kyaṅ rab tu 'byuṅ du gсол | byaṅ chub sems dpa khyod kyis rab tu 'byuṅ ba mi thob²³ pas soṅ žig²⁴ | ḍan gsum du žus kyaṅ ma gnaṅ no²⁵ || rgyan daṅ bṣṅags ldan lag pas gṭad²⁶ de bsams pa | bdag gi skra 'di dge sloṅ daṅ mi mṭhun²⁷ no²⁸ sñaṃ nas byaṅ chub sems dpa' gžan gyis kyaṅ skra breg par ruṅ ba gžan med

¹ SDQL gi, N gis.
² DQLN 'oṁs, S 'oṅ.
³ N nuso.
⁴ SDQ bzaṅ, LN bzaṅ.
⁵ LN namkha.'
⁶ S 'phren, DQLN phren.
⁷ S 'phren, DQLN phren.
⁸ SDQ gdon, LN bdon.
⁹ SDLN cu, Q bcu.
¹⁰ SLN tsam ņid du, D rtsa gṇis su, Q rtsam ņid du.
¹¹ N soṅo.
¹² LN lagso.
¹³ SDQ ste, LN te.
¹⁴ SDQ bskul, LN bskal.
¹⁵ SLN par, DQ pa.
¹⁶ SLN bya ste, DQ byas te.
¹⁷ SQLN gyis, D gyi.
¹⁸ SDQ žen, LN žes.
¹⁹ SDQN tu, L du.
²⁰ SDQL pa'i, N par.
²¹ DLN 'dun, SQ mdun.
²² S žig, DQLN cig.
²³ SLN thob, DQ 'thob.
²⁴ S žig, DQLN cig.
²⁵ N snano.
²⁶ SDLN gṭad, Q stad.
²⁷ SQLN mṭhun, D 'thun.

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Bar pa'i gleh gzi

II 43.
byaṅ chub sems dpa'10 cod pan daṅ bcas pa'i nor bu bzūṅ nas gal te bdag saṅs rgyas11 bar 'gyur na nam mkha'12 la 'khod cig | ma yin na sa la lhuṅ bar gyur cig ces nam mkha'13 la dor ro || de'i14 gtsug gi nor bu bcis pa dpag tshad gcig15 gi tshad tsam du soṅ nas nam mkha'16 la 'khod do || lha'i rgyal po brgya byin gyi lha'i mig gis bltas pas dpag tshad gcig gi tshad tsam gyi17 rin po che'i za ma tog gi naṅ du bcug nas sun cu18 rtsa gsum gyi pho braṅ du gtsug gi nor bu bzung pa'i mchod rten bjeṅs19 so20 ||

Bv-a p.28421
mchog gi dri yis22 bsgos23 pa'i gtsug phud bcad ||
gaṅ zag mchog gis nam mkha'24 la ni dor25 ||

28 N mthuṅo.
1 L medo.
2 SLN bregs, DQ breg.
3 LN bsamso.
4 SDQ ste, LN de.
5 SDQ bcad, LN bcod.
6 SDQL sor, N soṅ.
7 LN gnaso.
8 S te, DQLN to.
9 SDQ kha, LN khas.
10 S dpa', DQLN dpas.
11 SDQ rgya, LN rgyas.
12 LN namkha'.
13 LN namkha'.
14 SLN de'i, DQ de ni.
15 SDQ gcig, LN cig.
16 LN namkha'.
17 SDLN gyi, Q gyis.
18 SDLN cu, Q bcu.
19 SDLN bžeṅs, Q gžeṅs.
20 LN bžeṅso.
21 Jātakamidāna p.65; sTog 74a; Bv-a p.284; Thūp p.165.
Jātakamidāna p.65,
Chetvāna molim varagandhavāsitam
vehāsayam ukkhipi aggapuggalo,
sahassanetto sīrasā patiggaḥ
suvaṅcācamgotavarena Vāsavo ti.
22 SDQ dri yis, LN gri yi.
23 SDLN bsgos, Q bsgoms.
24 LN namkha'.
II 44.
slar yah byañ chub sems dpas bsams pa | yul ka ši ka'i ras 'di dge sbyoñ bdag gi tshul dañ 'thun pa ma yin no₁ žes bsams so² || de nas saňs rgyas 'od sruñs kyi³ dus su sñoñ gyi grogs po rdza mkhan tshans pa chen por gyur to || saňs rgyas gcig gi bar du grogs po dañ ma phrad do žes bsams te | de ni bdag gi grogs po ņes par 'byuñ ba chen pos 'thon no || dge sbyoñ gi yo byad 'di bzuñ nas 'gro'o žes bsams so⁴ ||

Bv-a p.284⁵
chos gos gsum dañ lhuñ bzed⁶ dañ | spu gri khab dañ ska rags dañ || chu' tshags dañ bcas brgyad yin no⁸ || dge sbyoñ nams la rigs śiñ mkho ||
dge sbyoñ gi mkho ba'i yo byad brgyad po (74b) 'di bslañs nas phul lo⁹ ||

II 45.
byañ chub sems dpas mchod par 'os pa'i rgyal mtshan gyon nas rab tu 'byuñ ba mchog gi cha byad bslañs te | 'dun¹⁰ pa la bdag gi¹¹ tshig gis ma dañ yab la bdag la nad med par gyur to¹² žes smros śig¹³ ces¹⁴ pas btañ ņo¹⁵ || 'dun¹⁶ pas byañ chub sems dpas' la phyag byas bskor ba byas nas soñ ņo¹⁷ ||

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25 SDLN dor, Q don.
1 N yino.
2 LN bsamso.
3 SN 'od sruñs kyi, DQ 'od sruñ gi, L 'od sruñs gi.
4 LN bsamso.
5 Jātakaṇidāna p.65; sTog 74a; Bv-a p.284; Dhp-a I p. 206; Thūp p.166.
Jātakaṇidāna p.65,
Ticivarañ ca patto ca
väśi śuciñ bandhanam
parissāvanena, aṭṭh’ ēte
yuttayogassa bhikkhuno ti.
6 SDQN bzed, L gzed.
7 SDQN chu, L tshu.
8 N yino.
9 LN phulo.
10 SQLN mūn, D 'dun.
11 SDQL gi, N gis.
12 SDQL to, N ro.
13 SDQN gcig, L cig.
14 SDLN ces, Q žes.
15 LN btaño.
16 SQLN mūn, D 'dun.
17 SDLQ ņo, N omits.
II 46.
slar yān bsñags ldan gyis 'dun1 pa dañ byaṅ chub sems dpa’ gsuṅ glei byed cin2 'dug pa thos nas3 | bdag ni jo bo6 dañ da3 'phrad6 par mi ’gyur ’jes bsams so7 || mig lam du spāṅs nas mya ḅan la śīn tu8 gnas pa bsran par ma nus te | sṛṇī ’gas nas dus las ’das te sum cu9 rtsa gsum gyi gnas su bsñags ldan ’jes bya ba’i lhā'i bur skyes so10 || mdun11 pa la dañ po’i mya ḅan du gyur pa gcig12 go || slar yān bsñags ldan dus las ’das pa’i rgyu mtshan gyis mya ḅan gṇīs pas gzir to13 || nu žiṅ smre14 sñags ’don žiṅ groṅ khyer du soṅ no15 ||

II 47.
byaṅ chub sems dpa’ de’i phyogs ŋid du rjes su16 dga’ ba žes bya ba’i a mra’17 tshal yod do || der ŋi ma bdun nas rab tu ’byuṅ ba’i bde bas gnas śīṅ ŋin mtshan ’da’ ’o || {Pā66} ņi ma gcig ŋid la dpag tshad sum cu’18 lam du žabs kyis gṣegs nas rgyal po’i khab tu byon no || byon nas sgo mthar chags su19 bsod sṅoms la gṣegs te | groṅ khyer ba thams cad kyis byaṅ chub sems dpa’i sku mthon nas glaṅ po che nor skyoṅ žugs pa’i rgyal po’i khab bzin daṅl | lhā ma yin gyi20 dbaṅ po žugs pa’i lhā’i groṅ khyer bzin du kun tu ’khrugs par (75a) gyur te | rgyal po’i mi ’ons śīṅ | lhā ’di lta bu’i gzugs kyi sems can gcig groṅ khyer na bsod sṅoms byed do21 || lhā ’am | mi ’am | ’dab bzaṅ22 ste23 ’di gaṅ yin bdag cag gis ma šes so24 žes smras so25 || rgyal po26 khaṅ bzaṅ gi27 steṅ du ’khod nas skyes bu chen po mthon ste ya mtshan
daṅ rmad du byuṅ ba skyes so dziew mi geig bos nas saṅ la rtogs sig gal te mi ma yin par gyur na groṅ khyer nas phyi rol tu son ste mì snaṅ bar 'gyur ro gal te lha yin par gyur na nam mkha' la 'gro'o gal te klu yin na sa'i 'og tu 'gro bar 'gyur ro' gal te mi yin na ji ltar thob pa'i kha zas za'o ḍes bsgo'o skies bu chen pos kyaṅ kha zas 'dres pa nmams bs dus nas bdag la 'di tsam gyis chog par rtogs te | žugs pa'i sgo ņid nas groṅ khyer gyi phyi rol tu' 'thon te | ri skya bo'i grib ma la šar du šun du phyogs pas bzugs nas kha zas la loṅs spyod par brtsams so dziew mi gaṅ gi sgyu ma phyin ci log ste kho nas 'thon pa'i nmam par bsams par gyur to | de nas de'i bdag ņid kyi lus kyis 'di lta bu'i tshul gyi kha zas mig gis mthoṅ ba yaṅ dkon no dziew mi phyir rigs so so'i kha zas la mi dga' bar bsams nas 'di ltar raṅ la raṅ gis gdams so dziew | don grub khyod riṇed sla ba'i bza' ba daṅ btuṅ ba'i rigs lo gsum pa'i 'bras dri žim po'i bza' ba sna tshogs pa'i ro daṅ bcas pa'i bza' ba' i gnas su skies par gyur nas phyag dar khrod pa žig mthoṅ ste | nam du'aṅ bdag ni 'di lta bu'i tshul du gyur nas bsod s kinkyoms (75b) la 'gro žiṅ kha zas loṅs spyod do | de'i dus su bdag la de ltar 'gyur ro žes bsams nas 'thon no | da ni 'di ci byed pa yin žes 'di ltar raṅ la raṅ gis gdams nas rtogs pa med par kha zas la loṅs spyod do | rgyal po'i mis 'di'i 'jug pa mthoṅ nas soṅ ste rgyal po la smras so dziew | rgyal pos pho ņa ba' i gtam thos nas myur bar groṅ khyer gyi phyi rol tu' 'thon nas byaṅ chub sms dpā' daṅ ņe bar soṅ ste spyod lam la dad par gyur to | byaṅ chub sms dpā' la daṅ phug thams cad rdzogs par phul lo | byaṅ chub sms dpas rgyal po chen po bdag la dchos po'i 'dod pa' 'am ņon mons pa'i 'dod pa'i don

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27 SLN bzaṅ gi, DQ bzaṅs kyi.
1 LN skyeso.
2 SDQ geig, LN eig.
3 SN tu, DQL du.
4 LN namkha'.
5 LN 'gyuro.
6 SN tu, DQL du.
7 SQD skya bo'i, LN skya'o yi.
8 SDLN bzugs, Q žugs.
9 LN brtsams.o.
10 SDQ so, LN te.
11 SLN kyi, DQ kyi.
12 LN dkon.o.
13 SLN bsems, DQ bsams.
14 N gdamso.
15 SDLN bza' ba'i, Q bza'i.
16 SD dar, QLN thar.
17 S žig, DQLN geig.
18 SDQN ste, L te.
19 LN smraso.
20 SDQN gtam, L btam.
21 SLN tu, DQ du.
22 SDQ 'thon, LN thon.
23 SDLN to, Q te.
24 SDLN dpas, Q dpa'.
I 48.

byaṅ chub sems dpas kyaṅ rgyal po la dam bca' byin nas go rims bzin du spyod pa la gšegs šin kun nas tshon daṅ | nag po can daṅ | 'char byed gser daṅ | dga’ byed bu’i ne9 gnas su10 ne bar gšegs nas sňoms par ‘jug pa bskyed de | saṅs rgyas thob pa’i lam ni ‘di ma yin no11 | {Pā67} de la sňoms par ‘jug pa skyes kyaṅ dgyes par ma gyur nas (76a) | lha daṅ bcas pa’i ’jig rten pa’i ran gi stobs daṅ brtson ’grus mams la legs par bta bar ’dod pas dka’ ba chen po spyod pa’i bsams pas | lten12 rgyas su13 byon te sa phyogs ‘di ni śin tu dga’ ba yin no sňam nas de ņid du ņe bar gnas par byas te dka’ ba chen po spyod do ||

I 49.

de yaṅ kō śdi nya14 la sogs pa rab tu byuṅ ba lña groṅ daṅ | groṅ rdal daṅ | rgyal po’i pho braṅ mams su15 bsod sňoms la rgyu śin byaṅ chub sems dpa’i gnas der ‘oṅs so16 | de nas lo drug tu dka’ ba chen po spyad do || da ni saṅs rgyas su ’gyur ro17 || da ni saṅs rgyas su18 ’gyur ro19 žes žus pa’i gnas la byi dor la sogs pa byed ciṅ sku la rim gro byed par gyur te | ņe bar gnas par gyur to ||

1 SDQL bas, N bar.
2 LN ‘oṅso.
3 SDQ rgya, LN rgyas.
4 LN ‘gyuro.
5 N rgyasu.
6 LN buzño.
7 SDQ mdo, LN don.
8 SDLN bca’, Q bcas.
9 S ņe, DQLN omit.
10 N gnasu.
11 N yino.
12 SD lten, QLN steṅ.
13 LN rgyasu.
14 D kō śdi nya, S ko’u śdi nya, Q ko śdi nya, LN kō śdi nya.
15 LN mamsu.
16 LN ‘oṅso.
17 LN rgyasu ‘gyuro.
18 N rgyasu.
19 LN ‘gyuro.

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byan chub sems dpa’ yan phyi ma’i mthar thug par dka’ ba spyad par bsams so1 || til gcig dañ ‘bras kyi fiag ma gcig la sogs pa’i ni ma ‘da’ ziṅ thams cad du yan kha zas thams cad spaṅs so2 || lha nams kyi kyan ba spu’i bu ga re re nas mdaṅs ston to || de nas de’i kha zas med par sku rid par gyur te3 | gser gyi kha dog can gyi sku yan nag por gyur te4 | skyes bu chen po’i mtshan sum cu5 rtsa gan gis kyaṅ mi snañ bar gyur to || ni ma gzan la yan rluṅ dal bus bsam gtan byed ciṅ sku la zug gzer6 chen po skyes nas ‘du šes med par gyur te | ‘chag7 pa’i gnas su ‘gyel lo8 || de nas lha gcig gis dge sbyon gō ta ma9 dus las ‘das so10 ‘zes brjod do || gcig gis ‘gyel ba na dgra bcom pa thob bo ‘zes brjod do || (76b) der gau žig gis dus las ‘das so11 ‘zes brjod nas de soṅ ste | rgyal po chen po zas gtsaṅ la smras pa | khyed kyi sras dus las ‘das so12 13 || bdag gi sras saṅs rgyas ma thob par dus las ‘das sam | hob nas dus las ‘das žes dris so14 || saṅs rgyas thob par ma nus so15 || dka’ ba spyod pa’i gnas su16 ‘gyel nas dus las ‘das so17 || ‘di thos nas rgyal po yid ma ches par gyur to || bdag gi sras saṅs rgyas ma thob par dus las ‘da’ ba med do ‘zes bkag go || gau gi phyir slar yan rgyal po yid ma ches nas dka’ thub pa nag po lha len gyis phag byed pa’i dus dañ | ‘dzam bu’i18 śiṅ gi druṅ niid du cho ‘phrul mtshan ba’i rgyu mtshan niid kyi so19 || slar yan byaṅ chub sems dpa’ ‘du20 ‘ses thob nas bzeṅs so21 || lha de soṅ nas rgyal po chen po khyod kyi sras po de22 nad med par gyur to žes smras so23 || rgyal pos sras po min par bdag gis ‘ses so24 ‘zes smras so25 ||
II 51.
sems dpa’ chen po lo drug tu¹ dka’ bar byed ciṅ ’di lta bu’i sems su² gyur te | ’di lta bu’i dka’ thub spyod pa žes bya ba ni byaṅ chub kyi lam ma yin no³ žes bsams las || | kha žas cuṅ zad la loṅs spyod par byed ciṅ grol⁴ rdal rnas su⁵ bsod sṅioms la rgyu bas bsod sṅioms spyod do || de nas skyes bu chen po’i mtshan sum cu'u rtsa gṅis gsal bar gyur to || sku gser gyi kha dog lta bur gyur to ||

II 52.
dge sloṅ lha sde na re | ’dis⁷ lo drug tu⁸ dka’ ba spyad kyaṅ thams cad mkhyen pa’i ye žes thob par ma gyur to || du⁹ ni groṅ la sogs par bsod sṅioms (77a) spyod ciṅ kha žas bslaṅs¹⁰ nas za ste | ro la chags par gyur na ci nus | {Pā68} ’dis dka’ ba spyad pa¹¹ ’khrul lo || lus la khrus byed par ’dod pa lus kyi ba spu re re’i sgor chu žugs nas ’dod pa’i thig ler gyur pa daṅ mtshunṅs so¹² || bdag cag de’i ’dod pa’i nam par rtog¹³ pa yod pa’i gnas su ’dug pas ci žig bya | skyes bu chen po spaus śīṅ rāṅ rāṅ gi chos daṅ lhuṅ bzed thogs nas dpag tshad bco¹⁴ brgyad kyi lam du soṅ¹⁵ ste¹⁶ draṅ sron lhuṅ ba’i tshal du gnas so¹⁷ ||

II 53.
dei tshe dei’i dus su lten¹⁸ rgyas na sde can gyi groṅ rdal¹⁹ žiṅ pa’i khyim du skyes pa’i legs skyes ma žes bya ba’i bu mo na tshod ldan par gyur te | nya gro ddha’i¹²¹ Šin gcig don du gñer to || gal te bdag daṅ mňam par skyes pa’i rigs kyi khyim du²¹ soṅ nas daṅ por mňal chags te | bu rñed na de lā lo so sor ’bum phrag gcig ri ba’i gtor ma’i las bya’o || dei don du gñer ba ’grub bo²² || des sems dpa’ chen po

¹ SDQN tu, L du.
² N semsu.
³ N yino.
⁴ SLN omit, DQ add: daṅ groṅ.
⁵ LN mamsu.
⁶ SDLN cu, Q beu.
⁷ SDQ ’dis, LN ’di’i.
⁸ SDQN tu, L du.
⁹ SDLN da, Q de.
¹⁰ SDLN bslaṅs, Q blaṅs.
¹¹ SLN pa, DQ par.
¹² LN mtshunṅso.
¹³ SDQN rtog, L rtogs.
¹⁴ SN bcw, DQ bewa, L bcwo.
¹⁵ SDQL soṅ, N saṅ.
¹⁶ SDQ ste, LN te.
¹⁷ L gnasob.
¹⁸ SD lten, QLN sten.
¹⁹ SN omit, DQL ba.
²⁰ SLN nya gro dha’i, DQ nya gro ddha’i.
²¹ SDQ du, LN omit.
²² N ’grubo.
lo drug gi mthar dka' ba spyod pa rdzogs par byed do || dpyid zla tha chuñ gi śa la gtor ma’i las byed par sems so1 || de'i s admin ni du stoñ phrag gcig gi ba bzon ma šiñ dñár3 gyi nags su3 šiñ dñár4 za ba de mams5 kyi 'o ma bzos nas bzon6 ma’i ba lha brya la byin no7 || de mams kyi 'o ma bzos nas ba bzon ma phyed dañ sum brya la byin no8 || de bžin du9 bzon ma bcu drug gi 'o ma bzos nas ba bzon ma bryad la byin no10 || de srid kyi 'o ma bska11 mo dañ | dñár12 ba dañ | mdañs dañ | mdog dañ ldan pa don du gñer bar13 'dod ciñ 'o ma skol lo14 || des dpyid zla tha chuñ gi (77b) ña’i ñin mo’i sña dro gtor ma’i las byed par sems śiñ | mtshan mo’i nam lañs kha’i dus su ba 'jo mkhan lañs nas ba bzon ma bryad po 'jo ru sòñ ba | be’u15 ba’i nu ma la ñe bar ma gyur par yan | ba’i nu ma’i gam du snod gsar16 pa ñe bar gnas pa byas pa tsam na rañ gi chos śiñ kyis 'o ma’i rgyun gyis snod gañ bar gyur to || legs skies mas ya mtshan che ba de17 mthon ste | 'o ma rañ gi lag pas khyer nas snod gsar par blugs pa la rañ gi lag gis18 me gan19 btan20 ste 'tshod par brtsams nas | der 'o thug bskol21 ba lbu ba chen po 'thon nas g.yas phyogs su22 'ôkhor žin thu23 ma gcig tsam yan sa la ma lhuñ la | thab na du ba cuñ zad kyan med do || de’i tshe 'jig rten skyoñ ba bži po 'ons nas thab24 srun par byed do || tshañs pa chen pos ni gdugs ’dzin25 no || brya byin gyis ni ji ltar rigs pa’i me gtoñ bar byed do || stoñ phrag giñs kyis yoñs su bskor ba’i glin chen po bži’i lha dañ mi mams kyis ji ltar rigs pa’i mdañs mams lha rañ rañ gi mthus bsdus nas beug go26 || mi mams kyis kyan de bžin du byas nas dus gzan la lha mams zan gyi goñ bu re

1 N semso.
2 SQLN dñár, D mñar.
3 QN nagsu.
4 SQLN dñár, D mñar
5 SDQL mams, N mam.
6 SDQ bzon, LN gñon.
7 N byino.
8 N byino.
9 S du, DQLN ba.
10 N byino.
11 SDLN bska, Q ska.
12 SQLN dar, D mñar
13 SDQL bar, N ba.
14 S skol lo, DQ bskol lo, LN skolo.
15 SQLN be’u, D bi’u.
16 SQLN gñar, D sar.
17 SDQL de, N omits.
18 SDQN gis, L gi.
19 SLN gñan, DQ omit.
20 SD btañ, Q gtañ, LN stañ.
21 SDQ bskol, LN skol.
22 LN phogsu.
23 SD thur, QLN thor.
24 SDQ thab, LN tha ba.
25 SDQL ’dzin, N jin.
26 N bcugo.
res mdaṅs 'jug go\(^1\) || slar yāṅ byaṅ chub pa'i fiṅ mo daṅ | {Pā69} yoṅs su\(^2\) mya ŋan las 'da' ba'i fiṅ mo snod fiid du 'jug par byed do || legs skyes mas fii ma gcig fiid la der raṅ fiid gsal bar gyur nas ya mtshan che ba du ma mthoṅ ste bran mo rdzogs ma žes bya ba bos nas | rdzogs ma di\(^3\) riṅ bdag cag gi\(^4\) lha śin tu\(^5\) dgyes par gyur te | bdag gis de mams kyi dus su 'di (78a) lta bu'i tshul gyi\(^6\) ya mtshan che ba ma mthoṅ bas myur du soṅ là lha'i gnas su byi dor legs par gyaś šig\(^7\) || des legs so\(^8\) žes brjod nas 'phags ma de'i tshig bzuṅ ste myur ba myur bar śiṅ gi druṅ du phyin no || byaṅ chub sems dpas\(^9\) kyaṅ de'i mtshan mo'i cha la rmi lam chen po lña gzigs pa yoṅs su\(^10\) rtog ciṅ the tshom med par bdag de\(^11\) riṅ snās rgyas thob par 'gyur bar bya'o sḥam du thugs brtan por mdzad nas de'i nud mo 'das te sku'i byi dor mdzad nas bsod sṅoms la gṣegs pa'i dus kyi sña dro byon te | śiṅ nya gro dha'i\(^12\) druṅ du bzung\(^13\) nas raṅ gi 'od kyis śiṅ thams cad snaṅ bar mdzad do || de nas yaṅ rdzogs ma de 'oṁs nas byaṅ chub sems dpas' śiṅ gi druṅ na sār phyogs kyi 'jig rten gyi khamṣ la gzigs śiṅ gzigs pa mthoṅ la | sku la 'od zer 'thon pa'i 'od kyis śiṅ thams cad gser gyi kha dog tu mthoṅ ho\(^14\) || des 'di ltar bsams te | di\(^15\) riṅ bdag cag gi lha śiṅ la babs nas raṅ gi lag fiid kyis gtor ma len ciṅ bzung so\(^16\) žes bsams pas sems tshim pa thob nas myur du soṅ ste legs skyes ma la don de mams smras so\(^17\) || legs skyes mas de'i tshig thos nas sems tshim par gyur te | de\(^18\) riṅ nas buzṅ nas bdag gi bu mo chen mo gnas su\(^19\) sド cig ces bu mo la ji ltar rigs pa'i rgyan thams cad byin no || slar yāṅ gaṅ gi phyir sans rgyas kyi yoṅs su\(^20\) rdzogs par thob pa'i fiṅ mo 'bum phrag gcig gi grahs kyi\(^21\) gser gyi sder ma chen po thob par rigs so\(^22\) || de'i phyir gser gyi sder ma chen po'i naṅ du 'o\(^23\) thug ldugs pa'i sems skyes nas 'bum phrag gcig (78b) ri ba'i gser gyi sder ma chen po bsłaṅs te | 'o thug\(^24\) btsos\(^25\) pa'i naṅ du kha spub nas blug go || 'o thug

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\(^1\) L 'jugo.
\(^2\) N yoṅsu.
\(^3\) SQL dī, DN de.
\(^4\) SDLN gi, Q gīs.
\(^5\) SDQN tu, L du.
\(^6\) SDLN gyi, Q gīyis.
\(^7\) SDQN šig, L cig.
\(^8\) N legsō.
\(^9\) SDLN dpas, Q dpa's.
\(^10\) LN yoṅsu.
\(^11\) SDLN de, Q di.
\(^12\) SDQN nya gro dha'i, L nya gro dā'i
\(^13\) SDLN bzung, Q žugs.
\(^14\) N mthoṅo.
\(^15\) SN dī, DQL de.
\(^16\) LN bzungso.
\(^17\) LN smraso.
\(^18\) DLN de, SQ di.
\(^19\) N gnasu.
\(^20\) LN yoṅsu.
\(^21\) SLN kyi, DQ kyaṅ.
\(^22\) LN rigso.
\(^23\) SDQN du 'o, L du'o.
\(^24\) SDLN thug, Q thugs.

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Bar pa'i gleñ gzi

thams cad pad ma¹¹ 'dab ma¹i nan gi chu bzin du mchu¹i thigs pa gcig tu gyur nas gser gyi sder du byun no² || gser gyi sder ma gcig gan ba¹i tshad tsam du gyur to || des gser gyi snod de la gser gyi snod gzan gyis bkab nas goš kyi¹s drik to³ || legs skyes ma rgyan gyis lus thams cad brgyan nas gser gyi sder ma de ra¹n gi mgor bzag ste | mthu chen pos ŋi¹n nya gro dha¹i dru¹n du phyin pa da¹n | bya¹n chub sems dpa¹ mthoṅ nas ŋi¹n tu³ yid bde ba skyes par gyur te⁵ || ŋi¹n gi lha yin nam ŋes bsams nas blta ba¹i gnas su⁶ dud ci¹n dud ci¹n soṅ ste | mgo¹i sten gi gser gyi sder ma phab nas kha phyre te⁷ | gser gyi ril ba spyi thugs kyi³s dri bza¹n pos bsgos pa¹i chu bzu¹n nas bya¹n chub sems dpa¹ dan ne bar soṅ ste 'khod do || grogs po rdza mkhan tshaṅs pa chen por gyur par phul ba¹i sa¹i lha¹n bzed ni de rnams kyi dus su bya¹n chub sems dpa¹⁸ ma spaṅs kyaṅ de de ma thag tu mi sna¹n bar gyur | bya¹n chub sems dpa¹⁹ lha¹n bzed ma gzigs so¹⁰ || phyag g.yas pa brkyan¹¹ nas chu bslaṅ ste¹² || legs skyes mas snod da¹n bcas pa ŋi¹d kyi¹³ 'o thug skyes bu chen po¹i phyag tu phul lo¹⁴ || skyes bu chen pos legs skyes ma la btags pa na || des nam 'gyur šes nas 'phags pa bdag gi yid¹⁵ la yoṅs su¹⁶ phul gyis | bžes la ji ltar bzed pa bzin gṣeṅs par ŋu ŋes phyag byas nas | ji ltar bdag gi 'dod pa yoṅs su¹⁷ rdzogs par gyur to || {Pa70} 'di ltar ŋi¹d kyi³s kyaṅ bsam pa yoṅs su¹⁸ rdzogs (79a) par gyur cig ces smras so¹⁰ || 'bum phrag gcig²⁰ ri ba¹i gser gyi sder ma chen po gcig šiṅ gi lo ma rni¹n²¹ bzin du ltoṅ pa med par soṅ no²² ||

II 54.
bya¹n chub sems dpa¹ bzung pa las bžen³s nas ŋi¹n la bskor to²³ | gser gyi sder ma bslaṅ²⁴ nas chu kluṅ

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²⁵ SDQN btsos, LN gzigs.
¹ SLN padma¹i, DQ pad ma¹i.
² N byuṅo.
³ SLN to, DQ te.
⁴ SDQN tu, L du.
⁵ SLN to, DQ te.
⁶ N gnasu.
⁷ S phyre ste, DQL phyes te, N phyre te.
⁸ S dpa¹, DQLN dpas.
⁹ SDLN dpas, Q dpa¹'s.
¹⁰ LN gzigso.
¹¹ SDLN brkyan, Q brgyad.
¹² S bslaṅ ste, DQ bslaṅs te, LN bslaṅ ste.
¹³ SLN kyi³s, DQ kyi.
¹⁴ N phulo.
¹⁵ SLN yid, DQ ŋi¹d.
¹⁶ N yoṅsu.
¹⁷ N yoṅsu.
¹⁸ N yoṅsu.
¹⁹ LN smraso.
²⁰ SDQN gcig, L cig.
²¹ S brni¹ṅs, DQ rni¹ṅs pa, LN rni¹ṅs.
²² N soṅo.
²³ SDQ bskor te, L skor ste, N bsksor ste.
²⁴ SDLN bslaṅs, L slaṅs, N blaṅs.

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nai ra ŋda na’i1 'gram du gšgs te | byaṅ chub sems dpa’ graṅs med pa 'bum phrag maṅ po rnam s kyis mtshon par byaṅ chub pa’i ŋin mo babs nas khrus byed pa’i gnas su2 legs par rab tu gnas pa’i mu gnas žes bya ba yod do || de’i 'gram du sder’ ma bžag ste babs nas khrus mdzad do || 'bum phrag du ma’i saṅs rgyas rnam s kyis4 na bza’ daṅ mchod par 'os pa gyon nas šar phyogs su5 sron du phyogs pas bžugs nas | ta la’i śiṅ tog gi naṅ gi rus pa ci6 gi tshad tsam daṅ miṅam pa gcig gis dman pa’i7 Ina bcu’i goṅ bū byas nas chu med ciṅ dṅar ba’i 'o thug thams cad gšol lo8 || de 'di ltar gaṅ gis saṅs rgyas su9 gyur nas žag bži bcu že dgu ru10 byaṅ chub kyi sniṅ por bžugs te11 žag bži bcu že dgu’i kha žas su12 gyur to || de rnam s kyi dus su13 kha žas gšan med pa daṅ | khrus byed pa med pa daṅ | žaṅ sŏl ba med pa daṅ | sku lus kyi bya ba byed pa med do14 | bsam gtan gyi bde ba daṅ | lam gyi bde ba daṅ | 'bras bu’i bde ba ŋid kyis ŋin mtshan 'da’ ‘o15 ||

II 55.

gšan yāṅ de’i 'o thug gšol nas gser gyi sder ma phyag tu bžes te | gal te bdag ni de riṅ saṅs rgyas su16 'gyur nus17 na | sder ma ‘di chu’i sten du gyen18 du 'gro bar gyur cig || ma yin na19 thur la 'gro bar gyur cig ces chu la dor ro || des chu’i (79b) rgyun gyi rlabs20 chu klun gi dbus su soṅ nas dbus21 kyi gnas ŋiṅ du rtu mgyogs por22 'gro ba bžin du | khrus brgyad cu’i23 tshad tsam gyi sten du soṅ žin | chu lan cig 'khyil bas byiṅ nas klu’i rgyal po nag po’i gnas su soṅ no24 || de nas saṅs rgyas gsum po rnam s kyis bzos gšol ba’i gser gyi sder ma chen po sīl sīl žes sgra sgros par byed ciṅ phyogs gcig25 tu de rnam

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1 SQ nai ŋdza na’i, D nai ra ŋdza na’i, LN ne ra dza na’i.
2 N gnaṅs.
3 SDQ sder, LN bsder.
4 SLN kyi, DQ kyiṣ.
5 N phyogsu.
6 SQLN cīg, D gcīg.
7 DQLN pa’i, S omits.
8 N gšolο.
9 N rgyaṃs.
10 S dgar, DQLN dgu ru.
11 SDLN ste, Q ste.
12 N zusu.
13 N dusu.
14 L medo.
15 SL 'da’ ‘o, DQN ’da’o.
16 N rgyaṃs.
17 SDQ, nus, LN omit.
18 SDLN gyen, Q gyniṃ.
19 SDLN na, Q omits.
20 SD rlabs, QLN brlabs.
21 SLN omit, DQ add: dbus.
22 SDLN por, Q par.
23 SDLN cu’i, Q bcu’i.
24 N gnaṅs soṅo.
25 SDLN gcīg, Q cīg.
thams cad kyi 'tog tu gyur nas gnas so\(^1\) || klu'i rgyal po nag pos de'i sgra thos nas kha sañ² sañs rgyas gcig³ thob par gyur ciñ | slar yañ de⁴ riñ sañs rgyas ñid thob par gyur nas mañ pos bstod par byed par gyur to ||

II 56.
byañ chub sems dpas⁵ ni chu kluñ gi 'gram śīn sā la'i tshal du ŋin mo bžugs nas srod kyi dus su me
tog ku mu da kha 'byed⁶ pa'i dus la lha rnams kyis brgyan par byas nas | žeñ la glañ gi skad brgyad kyis thos pa'i tshad du lam byed pa la sen ge bžin du sgra bsgrags nas || byañ chub kyi śīn la mñon⁷ par phyogs pas bžud do || klu dañ | gnod sbyin dañ | 'dab bzañ⁸ la sogš pa rnams kyis lha'i spos dañ me tog la sogš pa dañ⁹ | klu'i¹⁰ glu dbyañs la sogš pas mchod do || ston phrag bcu'i 'jig rten gyi kham's rnams dri bzañ por gyur ciñ me tog gi 'phreñ¹¹ bar gyur nas thams cad legs so¹² Žes brjod par gyur to ||

II 57.
de'i tshe rtswa¹³ 'tshoñ bkra śis žes bya bas rtswa¹⁴ blañs nas lam gyi snon du 'oñs te skyes bu chen po'i nam 'gyur rtoğs nas rtswa spar mo brgyad phul lo¹⁵ || byañ chub sems dpas¹⁶ rtswa blañs nas | {Pā71} byañ chub kyi śhiñ po dañ ēe bar gšegs te lho phyogs kyi char žal byañ du (80a) mñon¹⁷ par phyogs pas 'khod do || de ma thag par lho phyogs kyi khor yug gi sa¹⁸ byiñ nas 'gro ba ni 'og mnar¹⁹ med pa'i bar du gyur pa bžin no²⁰ || lho phyogs kyi khor yug steñ du laing nas 'gro ba ni srid pa'i rtse mor gyur pa bžin no²¹ || byañ chub sems dpas 'di yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i sañs rgyas thob pa'i gnas ma

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¹ N gnasó.
² SDQ sañ, LN sañs.
³ SDLN gcig, Q cīg.
⁴ SQ di., DLN de.
⁵ SDLN dpas, Q dpa'.
⁶ S 'byed, DQLN 'bye.
⁷ SLN mñon, D shun, Q snon.
⁸ SD bzañs, QLN bzañ.
⁹ SQLN dañ, D dag.
¹⁰ S klu'i, DQLN lha'i, LN glu'i.
¹¹ S 'phreñ, DQLN phreñ.
¹² LN legso.
¹³ SDQ rtswa, LN rtsa.
¹⁴ SDQ rtswa, LN rtsa.
¹⁵ LN phulo.
¹⁶ SDLN dpas, Q dpa's.
¹⁷ SDLN mñonQ, Q snon.
¹⁸ SLN gi sa, D gis, Q illegible.
¹⁹ SDQ mnar, LN gnar.
²⁰ N bzino.
²¹ N bzino.

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Bar pa'i gleh gzi

yin no' žes dgon's śīn² bskor nas nub kyi phyogs kyi char gṣegs te šar phyogs su³ mnon⁴ du phyogs pas 'khod do || de nas nub phyogs kyi khor yug 'og tu byiṅ nas 'gro ba ni mnaṅ⁵ med pa'i bar du gyur pa bzin no⁶ || śar phyogs kyi khor yug sten du laṅs na's 'gro ba ni srid pa'i rtse mor gyur pa bzin no || byaṅ chub sms dpa'⁷ 'khod cin 'khod pa'i gnas ni mu khyud kyi mthar thug par mnaṅ⁸ śīn so sor gnas pa'i śīn rta'i 'khor lo chen po lta bur sa gzi chen po la byiṅ⁹ śīn byiṅ nas 'gro bar gyur te¹⁰ || byaṅ chub sms dpa' 'di ni byaṅ chub thob pa'i gnas ma yin no žes bskor nas byaṅ phyogs kyi char gṣegs te | lho phyogs su¹¹ śūn du phyogs pas 'khod do || de nas byaṅ gi khor yug sa la byiṅ nas mnaṅ med kyi bar du gyur pa bzin no || lho'¹² 'khor yug gyen du laṅs nas srid pa'i rtse mo'i bar du gyur pa bzin no || byaṅ chub sms dpa' 'di ni byaṅ chub thob pa'i gnas ma yin no žes bsams te bskor nas šar phyogs kyi char gṣegs nas nub phyogs su¹³ śūn du phyogs pas 'khod do || slar yaṅ šar phyogs kyi char saṅs rgyas thams cad kyiś skyil kruñ¹⁴ bcaś pa'i gnas de g.yo bar mi 'gyur žīn mi ideg go || sms dpa' chen pos 'di ni (80b) saṅs rgyas thams cad kyiś¹⁵ ma spanś śīn mi g.yo ba'i gnas | fion mo'n pa'i dra ba thams cad ram par 'joms pa'i gnas su¹⁶ rtogs so¹⁷ || de'i rtswa rams rtse mo nas bzuṅ ste bkram nas de ma thag tu khru buc bźi pa'i tshad tsam gyis¹⁸ gdan du gyur to || de yaṅ de lta bu'i tshul gyis ji ltar bzaṅ pa de bźiṅ du mi gnas so¹⁹ || ji ltar gzugs la mkhu sa pa'i ri mo byed pa rams kyiś ri mo bris pa bźiṅ du byaṅ chub sms dpa' byaṅ chub śīn gi sdoṅ po la sku rgyab brten par byas nas žal šar du mnaṅ²⁰ du phyogs par mdzad do || brtan pa'i sms su gyur nas bdag gi pags²¹ pa đaṅ | rgyus pa đaṅ | rus pa đaṅ | khrag daṅ | ša rams bskams²² par gyur kyaṅ yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i saṅs rgyas ma thob bar du ni stan²³ 'di las lus bskyod par mi bya''o || thog brgya phrag babs kyaṅ mi phyed ciṅ pha rol gyis mi

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¹ N yino.
² S śīn, DQLN śīn.
³ LN phyogsu.
⁴ SDLN mnaṅ, Q śīn.
⁵ SDQ mnaṅ, LN gnar.
⁶ N bźiṅo.
⁷ SDQN dpa', L omits.
⁸ SDLN mnaṅ, Q gnas.
⁹ SDLN byiṅ, Q byin.
¹⁰ SLN te, DQ to.
¹¹ L phyogsu.
¹² SLN lho'ī, DQ byaṅ gi.
¹³ N phyogsu.
¹⁴ SDLN skyil kruñ, QL dkyil dkuñ.
¹⁵ SDLN kyiś, Q kyiś.
¹⁶ N gnasu.
¹⁷ LN rtgos'o.
¹⁸ SDLN gyi, N gya.
¹⁹ N gnaśo.
²⁰ SDLN śūn, D mnaṅ, Q śīn.
²¹ SD pags, QLN lpags.
²² S bskams, DQ skams, LN skam.
²³ SDQ stan, LN bstan.

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II 58.

de'i tse lha'i bu'i bdud kyi gzon nu^4 don grub bdag gi dbañ du byed par 'dod pas da ni bdag las 'da' bar byed du mi ster ro žes bsams nas bdud kyi dmag dañ ſe bar soñ ste | don 'di smras šiň bdud kyi sgra žes pas sgra bsgrags^5 nas bdud kyi dmag khrid de 'thon nas | bdud kyi sde bdud kyi mdun^6 du dpag tshad bcu gnis kyi sar 'gro’o || g.yas phyogs dañ^7 g.yon phyogs rmams su dpag tshad bcu gnis 'gro’o || rgyab phyogs su^8 ji srid khor yug gi^9 mthar thug par byas nas gnas so^10 || steň du dpag tshad ógu’o || {Pi72} 'khor thams cad kyi gtam byed pa’i sgra dpag tshad ston phrag gcig gi bar du sa gzi 'bugs pa tsam gyi sgra thos so^11 || (81a) de nas lha’i bu’i bdud dpag tshad phyed dañ ſis brgya’i ri’i ‘og pag^12 žes bya’i glañ po che’i rgyab tu^13 žon nas lag pa ston phrag gcig sprul nas mtshon cha sna tshogs pa blañs so^14 || gžan yañ bdud kyi ’khor gyi grogs gnis gcig dañ mtshuñs par mtshon cha’i rigs gnis mi len no^15 || kha dog rnam pa sna tshogs pa dañ rnam pa sna tshogs pa’i gdoñ can gens dpa’ chen po gžom par bya ba’i phyir ’oňs so^16 ||

II 59.

ston phrag bcu’i khor^17 yug gi lha rnam slar yañ gens dpa’ chen po la bstod^18 pa byed ciñ gnas so^19 || brgya byin lha’i rgyal pos rnam par rgyal ba bla na med pa’i duñ ’bud ciñ ’khod do || slar yañ duñ de khru brgya ni šur gyur to || gal te legs par bus na zla ba bži’i bar du rgyun mi ’chad ciñ de nas rgyun mi ’chad do^20 || klu’i rgyal po nag po chen pos brgya phrag du ma’i bstod pa byed ciñ gnas so^21 || tshans pa chen po gdugs dkar po buzñ nas gnas so^22 ||

II 60.

1 SDLN tshugs, Q tshuňs.
2 SDLN skyil kruň, Q dkily dkuňs, L dkily dkuňs.
3 N bžugs.
4 N gžonu.
5 SDLN bsgrags, Q sgrags.
6 SDLN mdun, Q bdun.
7 SLN dañ, DQ omit.
8 LN phyogsu.
9 SDQ omit, LN add: gnas.
10 LN gnaso.
11 N thoso.
12 SDQ pag, LN dpag.
13 SDQN tu, L du.
14 LN blañso.
15 N leno.
16 LN ‘oňso.
17 SDQ khor, LN ’khor.
18 DQLN bstod, S stod.
19 N gnaso.
20 S mi ’chad do, DQ ’chad do, LN mi mchad do.

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slar yan bdud kyi dmag byan chub kyi sning por 'ons shin 'ons so|| lha de rams gcig tu 'khod par ma nus pas ra'n gi gnas su^2 bros nas son hno|| klu'i rgyal po nag po sa la^4 byin nas dpag tshad lha brgya'i sne ma can gyi klu'i pho bra'n du son ste | lag pa giis kha la bkab nas faal lo || brgya byin gyi rnam par rgyal ba bla na med pa'ai dun rgyab tu^5 bkal te khor yug gi ste'n du 'khod do || tsha'ns pa chen pos gdugs dkar po khor^6 yug gi ste'n du btsugs nas tsha'ns pa'i 'jig rten du son hno|| lha gcig gis kyan 'khod par ma nus te | skyes bu chen po fiid gcig pu bzugs so^8 || (81b)

II 61.

bdud kyi's | ra'n gi 'khor la smras pa | bu zas gtsa'n gi bu don grub da'n 'dra ba'i skyes bu gzan med pas | bdag gis de'i mdun^9 du g.yul 'gyed par mi nus kyiis | rgyab kyi phyogs su^10 g.yul bgyi'o zes smras so^11 | skyes bu chen pos kyan phyogs gsum la gzigs pas lha thams cad^12 bros pa'i phyir gnas thams cad ston par mtho'n hno^13 || gzan yan byan phyogs su^14 gzigs pas bdud kyi dmag rams bdag gzhom pa'i phyir 'on^15 ba gzigs so^16 || 'di rams kyi dmag gi tshogs bdag gcig^17 pu'i phyir rtsol ba chen pos pha rol gnon par byed cin gnas 'dir 'o'ns te | bdag gi ma 'am | pha 'am | spun nam | su yan ru'n bas^18 gzen las gzan med do^19 || gzan yan gan gi phyir pha rol tu^20 phyin pa bcu po fiid bdag gis dus yun rin por gzen^21 la dga' ba bzin goms pa de'i phyir bdag gis pha rol tu^22 phyin pa fiid kyi^23 mthson thogs te | 'di'i dmag gi tshogs rnam par^25 gzhom par rigs so^26 snam nas pha
Bar pa'i glingen

rol tu phrin pa beu po thugs la bsams² nas bzugs so³

I 62.
de nas lha'i bu'i bdud kyis don grub de ma thag tu 'bros par byed par rigs so⁴ žes smras nas rlun gi
dkyil 'khor ŋe bar gnas nas 'oṅs so⁵ || de ma thag kho na rṣar phyogs la sogs pa'i rlun gi dkyil 'khor
rmams laṅs nas 'oṅs te dpag tshag phyed daṅ | {Pā́73} yaṅ gñis la sogs pa'i tshad kyi ri'i phuṅ po
blaṅs nas nags thibs po daṅ śiṅ la sogs pa sa la bton žiṅ | thams cad du groṅ daṅ groṅ rdal (82a) phyé
ma daṅ mam par phyé mar byed pa'i nus pa ni skyes bu chen po'o'i bsod nams kyi gzi brjed kyi⁶ mthuṣ
gyes te | byan chub sems dpa'i druṅ du 'oṅs nas bla gos kyi grwa tsam yaṅ bsgul bar mi nus so⁷ || de
nas chu yis gzom pa'i phyir 'oṅs nas gsod bar bsams pa na char pa chen po 'bab ciṅ gnas so⁸ || de'i
mthuṣ steṅ nas steṅ du bṛgya phrag du ma brtsegs pa daṅ | stoṅ phrag du ma brtsegs⁹ pa'i sprin chen
po 'dus nas char 'babs so¹⁰ || char pa'i rgyun gyi ŋugs kyis sa gzi 'bugs par gyur to || nags tshal daṅ śiṅ
la sogs pa'i steṅ gi char sprin chen po 'oṅs nas sems dpa' chen po chu thigs¹¹ gcig tsam gyis kyaṅ
sbaṅ bar ma nus so¹² || de nas rdo'i¹³ char bkg nas ches che ba'i ri'i phuṅ po du bar byed ciṅ 'bar bar
byas nas nam mkha'¹⁴ nas 'oṅs te byaṅ chub sems dpa'i druṅ du 'oṅs nas lha'i me tog gi chun po'i¹⁵
gzugs 'bab bo¹⁶ || de nas mtshon cha'i char thams cad bkg nas mtshon so gcig pa daṅ | so¹⁷ gñis pa daṅ
| ral gri daṅ | mduṅ thun daṅ | spu gri la sogs pa'i mtshon cha rams¹⁸ du bar byed ciṅ 'bar bar byas nas
nam mkha'¹⁹ la 'oṅs te | byaṅ chub sems dpa'i druṅ du 'oṅs nas lha'i me tog tu²⁰ gyur to || de nas sol
ba'i char bkg nas rgya skyegs²¹ kyi me tog gi kha dog can gyi sol ba nam mkha'²² nas 'oṅs nas²³ byaṅ
chub sems dpa'i žabs drũ du lha'i me tog tu gyur nas "bab bo|| de nas thal ba'i char pa rnams bkug nas šin tu dro ba me'i kha dog can gyi thal ba nam mkha' nas 'ons (82b) nas byaṅ chub sems dpa'i žabs drũ du tsan dan gyi phyce ma ltar gyur pa'i char "bab bo|| de nas bye ma'i char bkug nas šin tu phra ba'i bye ma rams du bar byed ciṅ 'bar bar byas nas nam mkha' nas 'ons te byaṅ chub sems dpa'i žabs drũ du lha'i phyce ma ltar gyur nas char "bab bo|| de nas 'jim pa'i char pa rams bkug nas 'jim pa rams du bar byed ciṅ 'bar bar byas nas nam mkha' nas 'ons te byaṅ chub sems dpa'i žabs drũ du lha'i byug par gyur nas "bab bo|| de nas 'di žin du 'jigs par byed pas don grub 'bros par bya ba'i phyir mun pa ņe bar gnas par bya'o|| de ni yan lag bzi daṅ ldan pa'i mun nag chen por gyur nas | byaṅ chub sems dpa'i drũ du bsleb nas ņi ma'i 'od kyis mun pa bcom pa bžin du mi snaṅ bar gyur nas | II 63.
'di ltar bdud dgu po 'di rluṅ daṅ | char daṅ | rdo daṅ | mtshon cha daṅ | sol ba daṅ | thal ba daṅ | bye ma daṅ | 'jim pa daṅ | mun pa ste | de rams char du babs nas byaṅ chub sems dpa' 'bros par byed par ma nus so|| cis brjod ciṅ ci'i phyir sdod || gзон nu 'di la zuṅ žig rgyob cig | thon cig ces 'khor rams bos nas raṅ gis kyan ri'i 'og pag glaṅ po che'i rgyab tu žon nas 'khor lo'i mtshon cha bsleb te | byaṅ chub sems dpa'i drũ du ņe bar 'ons nas don grub stan las lons sig | 'di kyis la rig pa ma yin gyi | ned la rig pa yin no žes smras so|| sems dpa' chen pos de'i tshig thos nas 'di ltar

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1 N 'babo.
2 SLN omit, DQ pa rnams.
3 LN namkha'.
4 LN 'babo.
5 SQLN char, D mar.
6 LN namkha'.
7 LN 'babo.
8 LN 'babo.
9 LN 'babo.
10 S bsleb, DQLN sleb.
11 N 'babs.
12 N nusō.
13 S žig, DQLN cig.
14 LN sgyob.
15 SDLN cig, Q gcig.
16 SDQN nas, L omits.
17 SDQ pag, LN dpag.
18 SDQN tu, L du.
19 SLN kha, DQ cha.
20 S sbras, DQLN bsbras.
21 SD las, QLN la.
22 S sig, QLN cig.
23 N yino.
24 LN smraso.
25 SDLN dpa', Q can.
smras so || bdud khyod kyis pha (83a) rol tu¹ phyin pa bcu ma rdzogs pa dañ | ūe ba‘i pha rol tu² phyin pa ma rdzogs pa dañ | don dam pa‘i pha rol tu³ phyin pa ma rdzogs pa dañ | chen po lia yoňs su₄ goň ba med pa dañ | gën gi don du spyod pa med pa dañ | ’jig rten gi don gyi spyod pa med pa dañ | saňs rgyas kyi⁵ spyod pa yoňs su⁶ ma rdzogs pas stan ’di khyod la rigs pa ma yin no || {Pa‘74} stan ’di bdag kho na la rigs pa yin no⁷ || bdud khrus par gyur nas khrus pa‘i ñugs bsran par ma nus⁸ te | skyes bu chen po la mtshon cha‘i ’khor lo ’phaňs so⁹ || de‘i pha rol tu¹₀ phyin pa bcu sms pa byed ciñ bźugs pa na steñ gi char me tog gi ’phren¹¹ ba‘i bla res bres ba bźin du gyur to || de‘i ’khor lo‘i mtshon cha gzan la de śin tu khrus pas ’phans te rdo ba ’thug¹² po ’am | rdo ba ’thug¹³ po‘i ka ba ’bugs śin ’gro ba’o¹⁴ || slar yañ de ni de‘i me tog gi bla res su¹⁵ gyur nas gnas pa na bdud kyi ’khor lhag ma mams de nas stan las¹⁶ laňs te ’gro bar bsams nas ches che¹⁷ ba‘i ri‘i phuň po ’phaňs so¹⁸ || de mams kyan skyes bu chen po‘i pha rol tu¹⁹ phyin pa bcu la sms śin bźugs pa na me tog gi chun por gyur nas sa la lhun no || lha mams khor yug gi mthar ’khod pa mams skē²⁰ btegs nas blta žiň | mgo bo bteg ciñ bteg²¹ nas don grub gзон nu²² mchog gi sku‘i bdag üid ñiams sam śñam nas ci byed na žes bsams śin blta’o || de nas skyes bu chen pos pha rol tu²³ phyin pa rdzogs pa‘i byaň chub sms dpa‘ mams mnøn par rdzogs par byaň chub pa‘i ūñ mo thob pa‘i stan bdag la rigs pa yin no²⁴ (83b) žes bẽad nas | ’khod pa‘i bdud la smras so²⁵ || bdud khyod kyis²⁶ sbyin pa btaň ba‘i dpaň po su yod ces

1. SDLN tu, Q du.
2. SLN tu, DQ du.
3. SLN tu, DQ du.
4. LN yoňs.
5. SDQN kyi, L gïyi.
6. LN yoňs.
7. L yino.
8. SDLN nus, Q gyur.
9. LN ’phaňso.
10. SQLN tu, D du.
11. S ’phрен, DQLN phren.
12. SLN ’thug, D mthug, Q thug.
13. SQLN ’thug, D mthug.
14. S ’gro’o, DQLN ’gro ba’o.
15. LN resu.
16. SDN las, QL la.
17. SDQ che, LN cher.
18. N ’phaňso.
19. SQLN tu, D du.
20. SDQ ske, LN skye.
21. SDQ bteg, LN steg.
22. N gзонu.
23. SLN tu, DQ du.
25. LN smraso.
26. SDLN kyis, Q gyis.
Bar pa'i glen gzi

smras so\(^1\) || bdag 'di rams thams cad bdag gi dpañ po yin no\(^2\) žes bdud kyi dmag rnam s la lag pa brkyan no\(^3\) || de ma thag par bdud kyi\(^4\) 'khor rams na yañ dpañ po yin | na yañ dpañ po yin\(^5\) žes brjod pa'i sgras sa gzi yan rañ ba bzin du brjod pa'i sgrar gyur to || de nas bdud kyi | skyes bu chen po la smras pa | don grub khyod kyi sbyin pa btañ\(^6\) ba'i dños po la dpañ po su yod ces smras so\(^7\) || skyes bu chen po khyod kyi re žig sbyin pa byin pa'i dños po la sms dañ bcas pa rnam dpañ po yin no\(^8\) || slar yañ bdag la gnas 'di na sms dañ bcas pa'i dpañ po su yañ med pas | bdag ŋid kyi skye ba'i mthar sbyin pa btañ\(^9\) bu de srid gnas pa thams cad sgrol gyi lus kyi bdag ŋid la gnas nas sbyin pa chen po bdun brgya pa bdun byin pa'i dños po la sms med pa'i sa gzi chen po 'thug\(^10\) po 'di dpañ po yin no žes chos gos kyi nañ nas phyag g.yas pa bton\(^11\) te | thams cad sgrol gyi bdag ŋid kyi lus su\(^12\) gnas nas bdag gi sbyin pa bdun brgya pa bdun byin pa'i dños po de la khyod kyi dpañ po yin nam ma yin pa smros žig ces sa chen po la mhon du phyogs pas phyag brkyan ba na\(^13\) | sa chen po sa\(^14\) bdag ni de'i tshe dpañ po yin no žes sgra sgros par gyur nas | sgra chen po sgrobs pa\(^15\) brgya dañ | ston phrag gcig dañ | sgra chen po 'bum phrag gcig po rnam kyi bdud kyi\(^16\) dmag gi sgra rnam zil gyis mnan pa bzin du gyur to \((84a)\)

II 64.

de nas skyes bu chen po don grub kyi sbyin pa chen po byin pa ni mchog gi sbyin pa'o žes thams cad sgrol gyi sbyin pa dran par byed ciñ dpag tshad phyed dañ ŋis\(^17\) brgya'i ri'i 'og pag\(^18\) gi glañ po che pus\(^19\) mo sa la btsugs nas 'khod do || bdud kyi 'khor rams phyogs dañ mtshams\(^20\) rams su\(^21\) bros nas ŋis lam gcig la 'gro ba med do \| mgo\(^{22}\) rgyan\(^{23}\) ŋid dañ gyon pa'i gos dañ por dor nas rañ gi phyogs

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\(^1\) LN smraso.
\(^2\) N yino.
\(^3\) L brkyano.
\(^4\) SDLN kyi, Q gyi.
\(^5\) SDQ na yañ dpañ po yin, LN omit.
\(^6\) SDQ btañ, LN gtañ.
\(^7\) LN smraso.
\(^8\) N yino.
\(^9\) SDQ btañ, LN gtañ.
\(^10\) SQLN 'thug, D mthug.
\(^11\) SDLN bton, Q gton.
\(^12\) N lusu.
\(^13\) SLN na, DQ dañ.
\(^14\) SL po sa, DQN pos.
\(^15\) SDLN omit, Q 'gyur ba.
\(^16\) S kyi, DQLN kyi.
\(^17\) SDQN ŋis, L gniis.
\(^18\) SDQ pag, LN dpag.
\(^19\) SDQ pus, LN dpus.
\(^20\) SDQ mtshams, LN 'tshams.
\(^21\) LN ramsu.
\(^22\) SDQ mgo'i, LN mgo yi.
\(^23\) SDLN rgyan, Q brgyan.
phyogs niid du 'bros\(^1\) so\(^2\) || de nas lha'i tshogs rnams kyiis bdud bros nas 'gro ba mthoṅ ste | {Pā75} bjud rnams pham pas don grub gzon nu\(^3\) rgyal bar gyur to žes rgyal ba'i mchod pa byed par sems so\(^4\) || klu ni klu rnams la bskul lo\(^5\) || 'dab bzaṅ\(^6\) ni 'dab bzaṅ\(^7\) rnams la'o || lha ni lha rnams la'o || tshaṅs pas ni tshaṅs pa rnams la bskul lo\(^8\) || spos daṅ me tog gi 'phren\(^9\) ba la sogs pa lag tu thogs nas byañ chub śiṅ gi druṅ du skyil krun\(^10\) gis bzung pa'i skyes bu chen po daṅ ōe bar 'oṅs so\(^11\) || de ltar bdud rnams bros nas soṅ no\(^12\) ||

Unidentified verses\(^13\)

dpal ldan saṅs rgyas rgyal bar gyur || sdiṅ can bdud ni pham par gyur ||
rab dga' byaṅ chub sfin por sgrogs || de tshe draṅ sroṅ klu tshogs rgyal ||
dpal ldan saṅs rgyas rgyal bar gyur || sdiṅ can bdun ni pham par gyur ||
rab dga' byaṅ chub sfin por\(^14\) sgrogs || 'dab bzaṅ\(^15\) tshogs kyi draṅ sroṅ rgyal ||
dpal ldan saṅs rgyas rgyal bar gyur\(^16\) || sdiṅ can bdud ni pham par gyur ||

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\(^1\) SDLN 'bros, Q bros.
\(^2\) N 'broso.
\(^3\) N gzonu.
\(^4\) LN semso.
\(^5\) LN bskulo.
\(^6\) SQLN bzaṅ, D bzaṅs.
\(^7\) SQLN bzaṅ, D bzaṅs.
\(^8\) LN bskulo.
\(^9\) S 'phren, DQLN phren.
\(^10\) SDN skyil krun, QL dkyil dkruii.
\(^11\) N 'oṅso.
\(^12\) N soṅo.
\(^13\) Jātakāniḍāna p. 75; sTog 84a/b; Ap-a p.80.
   "Jayo hi Buddhassa sirīmato ayam
   Mārassa ca pāpjimato parājayo",
   ughghosayum bodhimande pamodita
   jyām tādā nāgaganā Mahesino.

   "Jayo hi Buddhassa sirīmato ayam
   Mārassa ca pāpjimato parājayo",
   ughgosayum bodhimande pamodita
   supraṇasamghāpi jyām Mahesino.

   "Jayo hi Buddhassa sirīmato ayam
   Mārassa ca pāpjimato parājayo",
   ughgosnyum bodhimande pamodita
   jyām tādā devaganā Mahesino.

   "Jayo hi Buddhassa sirīmato ayam
   Mārassa ca pāpjimato parājayo",
   ughghosayum bodhimande pamodita
   jyām tādā brahmaganāpi tādino.

\(^14\) SDQ por, LN po.
\(^15\) SQLN bzaṅ, D bzaṅs.
\(^16\) SDQL gyr, N 'gyur.

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rabs dga’ byaṅ chub sṅīṅ por sgrogs || lhaṅ tshogs de tshe draṅ sroṅ rgyal ||

dpal ldan sans rgyas rgyal bar gyur || sdiṅ can bdud (84b) ni pham par gyur ||
rabs dga’ byaṅ chub sṅīṅ por sgrogs || tshaṅs tshogs de tshe rgyal bar sgrogs ||

mthar ston phrag bcu’i khor yug gi lha Ihrans kyis me tog daṅ | spos daṅ | byug pa rnams kyis mchod
par byed do || rnam pa sna tshogs pa’i bstod pa byed ciṅ 'khod do ||

II 65.

'di ltar skyes bu chen po nī ma 3 nub pa’i tshe bdud rnam par bcom nas chos gos kyis steṅ du byaṅ
chub kyi sīṅ gi ’dab ma myu gu lta bu lhuṅ6 žiṅ byu’5 ru dmar6 pos mchod par byed pa lta bu’o || thun
daṅ po la sṅon gyi gnas rjes su7 dran pa ye sṭes kyis8 rtogs pa daṅ | thun9 bar pa la10 lha’i spyan rnam
par dag pas ye sṭes thob pa daṅ | thun tha ma la rten ciṅ ’brel par ’byuṅ ba’i ye sṭes thob bo || de nas
rten ’brel bcu gnis kyi rkyen gya rnam par ’jug pa daṅ | mi ’jug pa’i lugs las byuṅ ba daṅ | lugs las
bzlog pa dran par byed ciṅ dran par byed do || ston phrag bcu’i11 ’jig rten gyi khambs chu’i12 mthar
thug par byas nas lan13 bcu gnis su14 yaṅ dag par g.yos so15 || slar yaṅ skyes bu chen pos ston phrag
bcu’i ’jig rten gyi khambs su sgra chen po sgruos sīṅ | skyas reṇs16 sba’i dus su thams cad mkhyen pa’i
ye sṭes so sor myon no || {Pāṇ} ston phrag bcu’i ’jig rten gyi khambs thams cad brgyan17 bźin du rigs
par gyur to || sṭar phyogs kyi khor yug gi steṅ du rgyal mtshan daṅ ba dan btsugs pa’i šam bus nib kyi
khor yug gi steṅ du chags so18 || de bźin du nib kyi19 phyogs kyi khor yug gi mthā’i steṅ du rgyal
mtshan daṅ ba dan btsugs pa’i šam bus šar gya khor yug gi steṅ (85a) du chags so20 || byaṅ gi phyogs

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1 SLN sna, DQ lha.
2 SDLN pa’i, Q pa.
3 SD omit, QLN add: ma.
4 SDQN lhuṅ, L ltuṅ.
5 S byu, DQLN byi.
6 SDLN dmar, Q ‘damar.
7 N rjesu.
8 SLN kyi, DQ kyi.
9 SDLN thun, Q mthun.
10 SDQ pa la, LN omit.
11 SLN bcu, DQ bcu’i.
12 SDLN chu’i, Q cha’i.
13 SDQL lan, N len.
14 N gniṣu.
15 N g.yoso.
16 SD reṇs, QLN reṇ.
17 SDLN brgyan, Q rgyan.
18 LN chagso.
19 SDLN kyi, L gyo.
20 N chagso.
kyi khor yug gi steñ du rgyal mtshan dañ ba dan btsugs pa’i šam bus¹ lho’i khor yug gi steñ du chags so² || lho’i phyogs kyi¹³ khor yug gi steñ du rgyal mtshan dañ ba dan btsugs pa’i šam bus byaṅ gi khor yug gi steñ du chags so⁴ || sa gzi las lañs pa’i rgyal mtshan dañ ba dan tshaṅs pa’i gnas su⁵ chags so⁶ || tshaṅs pa’i ’jig rten gyi gnas su⁷ bcīns pa’i rgyal mtshan dañ ba dan sa gzi’i steñ du chags so⁸ || stoñ phrag bcu’i khor yug la me tog gi śīṅ la me tog kha bye’o || ’bras bu’i śīṅ la ’bras bu mañ por gyur to || sdon po rnams la sdon po’i pad ma’²⁹ me tog⁰ kha bye’o || yal ga rnams la yal ga’i pad ma’i¹¹ me tog go || ’khrī¹² śīṅ mams la ’khrī¹³ śīṅ gi pad ma’i¹⁴ me tog go || nam mkha’¹⁵ nas thur¹⁶ du pad ma’i¹⁷ me tog ’phyāṅ¹⁸ no || tham dañ ḍdo’i steñ du ḍrīṅ las steñ nas¹⁹ steñ du bsdun bsdun du gyur te rgyun chags pa’i pad ma’²¹ me tog ces²¹ bya ba phyuṅ no || stoñ phrag bcu’i ’jig rten gyi khams khyad par du ’phags pa’i me tog gi gdan bźin du gyur to || khor yug gi bar dpag tshad stoñ phrag bryad kyi ’jig rten gyi bar gyi dmyal ba ŋi ma bsdun gyi ’od kyis kyaṅ snaṅ bar byed pa med pas na dkon no || de dañ mtshunś²² pa’i ’jig rten gyi bar gyi dmyal ba ŋi²³ de ma thag tu snaṅ bar gyur to || dpag tshad bryad khri bźi stoñ tsam gyis zab pa’i rgya mtsho chen po’i chur²⁴ dŚar por gyur to || chu kluṅ mams ni ’gro ba²⁵ gnas so²⁶ || dmus lōṅ mams kyis mig gis gzugs mthön no²⁷ || ’on pa rnams kyi ma bas sgra thos so || goṅ po (85b) rnams kyis ’gro śes par gyur to || bcīṅs pa’i sems can rnams ni rjes su²⁸

¹ SDN bus, QL bu.
² N chagso.
³ SDLN kyi, Q gyi.
⁴ LN chagso.
⁵ N gnasu.
⁶ LN chagso.
⁷ N gnasu.
⁸ LN chagso.
⁹ SLN padma’i, DQ pad ma’i.
¹⁰ DQLN tog, S to.
¹¹ SLN padma’i, DQ pad ma’i.
¹² SD ’khrī, QLN ’khrīl.
¹³ SD ’khrī, QLN ’khrīl.
¹⁴ SLN padma’i, DQ pad ma’i.
¹⁵ LN namkha’.
¹⁶ SDLN thur, Q mthur.
¹⁷ SLN padma’i, DQ pad ma’i.
¹⁸ SDQ ’phyāṅ, LN ’chaṅ.
¹⁹ SDLN steñ nas, Q omits.
²⁰ SLN padma’i, DQ pad ma’i.
²¹ SDQL ces, N žes.
²² SDLN mtshunś, Q tshuṅs.
²³ SLN pa, DQ omit.
²⁴ SDLN chu, Q chum.
²⁵ SLN ba, DQ bar.
²⁶ N gnaso.
²⁷ N mthoṅo.
²⁸ N rjesu.
Bar pa'i gle'n gzi

bcīns pa las grol bar gyur to || 'di ltar tshad med pa'i dpal du gyur nas mchod pa daṅ ya mtshan pa'i chos rab tu skyes so1 || thams cad mkhyen pa'i ye šes so sor rig go || saṅs rgyas thams cad kyis2 bṣad pa ched du brjod pa ched du brjod do ||

Dhp 1533

skye bo'4 'khor ba ma lus par5 || dug med mam par dug med tshol ||
khym med pa ni tshol ba na || skye ba'i sdug bṣaṅ yaṅ yaṅ daṅ

Dhp 1546

khym med pa ni mthoṅ bar gyur || slar yaṅ khyim ni byed pa med ||
de yi sdug bṣaṅ thams cad bcom || dug gi miṅ can khyim gyi7 phuṅ ||
sems ni 'du byed pa las grol || sred pa zad nas med par gyur || {Pā77}

ces8 pa 'di ni dga' ldan gyi phyo braṅ du gnas pa nas bzuṅ ste ji srid byaṅ chub sṅiṅ po 'dir thams cad mkhyen pa thob pa de mams kyi gnas ni gle'n gzi bar ma žes bya ba yin no9 ||

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1 LN skyeso.
2 SLN kyis, DQ kyi.
3 Jātakānidāna p.76; STo 85a; Dhp 153; Uv 31.6; Ap-a p.81; Dhp-a III p.127; Bv-a pp. 8, 133, 143, 289; Dhs-a p 18; Sv I p 16; Sv II p.463.
4 Jātakānidāna p.76,
anekajātisamsāram /
sandhāvissam anibbisam
ghahakārakaṃ gavesanto /
dukkhā jāti punappunam.
5 Udānavarga 31. 6,
anekāṃ jātisamsāram / samdhāvitvā puna' puna' /
ghahakārakaśāmanas tvaṃ / du'kā jāti' puna' puna' //
6 S par, DQLN pa.
7 Jātakānidāna p. 76; STo 85b; Dhp 154; Uv. 31.7; Ap-a p.81; Dhs-a p.18; Bv-a pp. 8, 133, 143, 289; Dhp-a III p.128; Khp p.13; Sv II p.463; Sv I p.16.
8 Jātakānidāna p. 76,
ghahakāraka dītho si
puna gehaṃ na kāhasi,
sabhā te phāsukā bhaggā
gahakūtaṃ visamkhitaṃ,
visamkharagataṃ cittaṃ
taññhānaṃ khayaṃ ajihaṅgā ti.
9 Udānavarga 31. 7,
grahakāraka dṛṣṭo 'si / na punar gehaṃ karisyasi /
sarve te pāraśukā bhagnā / grhakūtaṃ visamkṛtāṃ /
visamkharagata citte / ihaiva kṣayaṃ adhyāgā //
10 SDQ gyi, LN gyis.
11 SLN ces, DQ žes.
12 N yino.

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III 1.

gžan yaṅ ñe ba’i gleñ gzi ni | bcom ldan ’das mñana yod rgyal byed 2 tshal mgon med zas sbyin gyi kun dga’ ra ba’i gnas su3 bûgs pa daṅ | yaṅ pa can gyi nags tshal chen po khaṅ pa brtsegs pa’i gnas su bûgs so4 || de ltar de daṅ de’i gnas rnams su5 bûgs śiṅ de daṅ de’i gnas śiṅ thob ces brjod do || gân ci yaṅ ’di ltar brjod pa de nas yaṅ de daṅ po nas bzûn nas ’di ltar rig par bya’o ||

III 2.

bcom ldan ’das bûgs nas ched du brjod cin ched du brjod pa de lta bu’i semp skyes so || bdag gis bskal pa graṅs med pa bži daṅ ’bum phrag gcig lhag pa nas (86a) skyil kruṅ6 bcas pa ’di’i ched du dus ’di rnams la bdag gi mgo rgyan gyis brgyan pa’i mgrin pa nas bregs te sbyin par btaṅ ba daṅ | spyan bzaṅ po btaṅ ba daṅ | sīṅ gi śa bregs nas btaṅ ba daṅ | gžon nu dra ba ’dzin daṅ ’dra ba’i bu sbyin par btaṅ ba daṅ | kriṣṇa dzi na’i7 gžon nu8 ma daṅ mtshuṅs pa’i bu mo sbyin par btaṅ ba daṅ | lha mo ma kri9 daṅ mtshuṅs pa’i chuṅ ma rnams gžan gyi bran gyi phyir sbyin par btaṅ no10 || ’di ni bdag gi ’dug staṅs yin no11 || rgyal ba’i ’dug staṅs yin no || mchog gi ’dug staṅs yin no12 || ’di lā bdag bûgs nas bsams13 pa thams cad yoṅs su14 rdzogs so15 || re žig gdan16 ’di las bdag mi ldaṅ no17 sīam du bsams nas | bye ba ’bum phrag du ma la sīoms par žugs nas mña’am par gnas te žag bdun du de śiṅ du bûgs so18 || ’di phyir sāṅs rgyas žes brjod do || de nas yaṅ bcom ldan ’das kyis žag bdun du ’dug staṅs gcig gis bûgs so19 || rnam par grol ba daṅ bde ba so sør rig cin bûgs so20 ||

1 Santikenidāna/ Ñe ba’i gleñ gzi, Tog folios 85b-105a; Pāli pp. 77-94.
2 SLN omit, DQ kyi.
3 N gnasu.
4 N bûgsu.
5 N rnamsu.
6 SDN skyil kruṅ, QL dkyil dkrūṅ.
7 SDLN kriṣṇa dzi na’i, Q kri śiṅi dzi na’i
8 N gžonu.
9 SLN tri, DQ kri.
10 N btaṅo.
11 N yino.
12 N yino.
13 SLN bsams, DQ bsam.
14 N yoṅsu.
15 LN rdzogso.
16 SLN gdan, DQ stan.
17 N ldato.
18 LN bûgso.
19 N bûgso.
20 N bûgso.
III 3.

ḻan yaṅ lha gaṅ daṅ gaṅ źig da duṅ yaṅ ṅes\(^{1}\) par don grub la bya ba yod dam | 'dug staṅs 'di la žen pa ma spaṅs\(^{3}\) ba daṅ | rnam par rtog pa yoṅs su\(^{3}\) bskyed do žes bsams nas | ston pas lha rnam s kyi\(^{4}\) rnam par rtog pa mkhyen nas | de rnam s kyi rnam par rtog pa ſe bar ži bar bya ba' di phyir | steṅ gi nam mkha'\(^{5}\) la 'dug nas so sor cho 'phrul bstan to\(^{6}\) || byaṅ chub kyi sñiṅ por mdzad pa'i cho 'phrul daṅ | ſe du daṅ 'dus pa'i dus su mdzad pa'i (86b) cho 'phrul daṅ | klog pa'i mdo daṅ 'dus par mdzad pa'i cho 'phrul thams cad' a mra srun pa\(^{8}\) daṅ | a mra'\(^{9}\) sīṅ gi druṅ du mdzad pa'i so so'\(^{10}\) cho 'phrul daṅ mtshuṅs par gyur to || 'di itar ston pas 'di ita bu'i cho 'phrul mdzad nas lha rnam s kyi rnam par rtog pa\(^{11}\) ſe bar ſz bar mdzad do\(^{12}\) || 'dug staṅs kyis byaṅ ſar gyi char 'khod de | 'di'i 'dug staṅs kyis thams cad mkhyen pa'i ye ſes so sor rtogs\(^{13}\) par byed do || bskal pa graṅs med pa bżi daṅ 'bum phrag gcig gis pha rol tu\(^{14}\) phyin pa yoṅs su\(^{15}\) rdzogs pa'i 'bras bu lhag par rtogs pa'i 'dug staṅs kyis mig mi 'dzums\(^{16}\) par lta ſiṅ žag bdun du 'khod do || de'i gnas su mig mi 'dzums\(^{17}\) pa'i mchod rten žes bya ba byuṅ no\(^{18}\) || (Pa\(^{78}\)}

III 4.

de nas 'dug staṅs la 'khod pa'i gnas kyi bar du 'chag\(^{19}\) par byas nas ſar daṅ nub tu\(^{20}\) rin po che la 'chag cin\(^{21}\) 'chag pas\(^{22}\) žag bdun du 'khod do || gnas der rin po che la 'chag pa'i mchod rten žes bya ba

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\(^{1}\) SDQL ſes, N des.
\(^{2}\) SLN spaṅs, DQ spaṅ.
\(^{3}\) LN yoṅsu.
\(^{4}\) S kyis, DQLN kyi.
\(^{5}\) LN namkha'.
\(^{6}\) SL bstano, DQ bstano, N bstano.
\(^{7}\) SDQL thams cad, N thamd.
\(^{8}\) S a mra srün pa, LN a smra srün pa, D a mra srün pa, Q omits.
\(^{9}\) SDN a mra'\(^{i}\), QL a smra'\(^{i}\).
\(^{10}\) SDLN so'\(^{i}\), Q sor.
\(^{11}\) SDQN pa, L sa.
\(^{12}\) L mdzado.
\(^{13}\) SQLN rtogs, D rtog.
\(^{14}\) SQLN tu, D du.
\(^{15}\) N yoṅsu.
\(^{16}\) SD 'dzums, QLN 'jum.
\(^{17}\) SD 'dzums, QLN 'jum.
\(^{18}\) N byuṅo.
\(^{19}\) SDLN 'chag, Q 'chags.
\(^{20}\) SD tu, LN du, Q tu kyaṅ.
\(^{21}\) SLN 'chag cin, DQ omit.
\(^{22}\) DQLN pas, S omits.
byun ṇo

III 5.
gzan yaṅ žag bdun pa bži pa la byaṅ chub śiṅ gi byaṅ šar gyi char lha rnam kyis rin po che'i khaṅ pa sprul lo || der 'dug staṅs kyis2 bžugs naṅchos mṅon pa'i sde snod ma lus par 'di rnam mtha' yas pa'i tshul gyis kun gnas par sems śiṅ žag bdun bžugs so || chos mṅon pa3 slar yaṅ 'di skad smra'o || rin po che'i khaṅ pa žes bya ba rin po che las byuṅ ba'i khaṅ pa yin no žes zer ro || sduṅ4 par byed pa po rnam slar yaṅ 'di skad gsuṅ ste | rab tu byed pa bdun gyi chos mṅon par5 rjes su6 dran par byed pa'i rin (87a) po che'i khaṅ pa yin žes gsuṅ ṇo7 || gaṅ gi phyir slar yaṅ 'dir tshig gniś ka'ān8 'thad9 do || de'i phyir 'di gniś ka'ān10 gzuṅ bar bya'o || de nas slar yaṅ gnas de rin po che'i khaṅ pa'i mchod rten žes bya ba byuṅ ṇo11 |

III 6.
'di ltar byaṅ chub śiṅ daṅ ņe ba ņid du žag bdun pa bži pa soṅ nas žag bdun pa lha pa la byaṅ chub śiṅ gi druṅ nas ra lug skyoṅ ba'i śiṅ nya gro dha12 daṅ ņe bar gšegs nas der yaṅ chos la rnam par sems pa ņid kyis rnam par grol ba daṅ | bde bas so sor rig par mzhad nas bžugs so13 |

III 7.
de'i tshe lha'i bu'i bdud dus 'di rnam kyis phyi ma la grib ma bžin du phyogs gaṅ du'aṅ ma spāṅs so14 || byaṅ chub sems dpa' la skyoṅ cuṅ zad kyaṅ ma mthoṅ ṇo15 || da ni ņa'i dbaṅ du bya ba las 'das pas yid mi bde ba thob par gyur ciṅ lam chen por gnas nas rnam pa bcu drug gi rgyu mtshan la sems śiṅ sa la ri mo bcu drug 'dri'o16 || bdag gis 'di bžin du sbyin pa'i pha rol tu17 phyin pa ma rdzogs pa

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1 N byuṅo.
2 SDLN kyis, Q kyi.
3 SLN omit, DQ pa.
4 SDQ sduṅ, LN bsdud.
5 SLN par, DQ pa.
6 N rjesu.
7 N gsuṅo.
8 S ka'ān, DQ ka yaṅ, LN gaṅ.
9 SDLN 'thad, Q 'chad.
10 S ka'ān, DQ ka yaṅ, LN gaṅ.
11 N byuṅo.
12 SDQ nya gro dha, LN nya gro dha'i.
13 N bžugs.
14 LN spāṅs.
15 N mthoṅo.
16 SDQ 'dri'o, LN 'bri'o.
17 SLN tu, DQ du.

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de'i phyir bdag 'di daň 'dra bar ma gyur to šes ri mo gcig bris so² || de bžin du bdag 'di daň mtshuṅs par tshul khrims kyi pha rol tu³ phyin pa daň | ŋes 'byun gi pha rol tu⁴ phyin pa daň | šes rab kyi pha rol tu⁵ phyin pa daň | brtson 'grus kyi pha rol tu⁶ phyin pa daň | bzod pa'i pha rol tu⁷ phyin pa daň | bden pa'i pha rol tu⁸ phyin pa daň | lhag par gnas pa'i pha rol tu⁹ phyin pa daň | byams pa'i pha rol tu¹⁰ phyin pa daň | btaṅ sćioms kyi¹¹ pha rol tu¹² phyin pa nams ma rdzogs so¹³ || de'i phyir bdag 'di daň (87b) mtshuṅs par ma gyur to sćiams nas ri mo bou bris so¹⁴ || bdag 'di daň mtshuṅs pa'i thun moň ma yin pa'i dба'n po mchod gi goň ma'i ye šes so sor rig pa fie¹⁵ bar gnas par gyur pa'i pha rol tu¹⁶ phyin pa bou ma rdzogs pa de'i phyir bdag 'di daň mtshuṅs par ma gyur to sćiams¹⁷ nas ri mo bou drug bris so¹⁸ || de bžin du bdag 'di daň mtshuṅs pa'i thun¹⁹ moň ma yin pa'i bsam²⁰ pa'i bag la ŋal daň | ye šes kyi thugs rje chen po daň | sćioms par 'jug pa'i ye šes daň | so sor cho 'phrul gyi ye šes daň | sgrib pa med pa'i ye šes daň | thams cad mkhyen pa'i ye šes so sor²¹ gnas par gyur pa'i pha rol tu²² phyin pa bou ma rdzogs pa²³ de'i phyir bdag 'di daň mtshuṅs par ma gyur to sćiams nas ri mo bou drug bris so²⁴ || 'di ltar 'di'i rgyu mtshan sens śiṅ lam chen por ri mo bou drug bris nas gnas so²⁵ ||

¹ SDQL de'i, N da'i.
² N briso.
³ SLN tu, DQ du.
⁴ SQLN tu, D du.
⁵ SLN tu, DQ du.
⁶ SLN tu, DQ du.
⁷ SQLN tu, D du.
⁸ SLN tu, DQ du.
⁹ SLN tu, DQ du.
¹⁰ SQLN tu, D du.
¹¹ SQLN tu, D du.
¹² SQLN tu, DQ du.
¹³ N rdzogs.
¹⁴ N briso.
¹⁵ SDQL Ŧe, N Ŧa.
¹⁶ SLN tu, DQ du.
¹⁷ DQLN sćiams, S sćiams.
¹⁸ N briso.
¹⁹ SDQN thun, L mthun.
²⁰ SD bsam, QLN bsams.
²¹ S omits, DQLN gnas pa Ŧe bar.
²² SLN tu, DQ du.
²³ SLN pa, DQ pa'i.
²⁴ N briso.
²⁵ N briso.
III 8.

de'i tshe sred ma dañ | kun du dga’ ma dañ | dga’ ma sde1 gsum po ni bdud kyi bu mo | bdag cag gi2 pha ni ma mthoñ bar gyur pas de ma thag par ga na yod dam žes blta žin rgyu ba na de yid mi bde ba thob par gyur te | sa la ri mo byed pa mthoñ nas pha dañ ņe bar son ste | pha gañ gi phyir sdrug bsñal žin yid mi bde bar byed ces dris so3 || bu mo dge sbyon chen po 'di bdag gi dbañ du byed pa las 'das so žes 'di rnam kyi dus su bltas4 pas skyon cun zad kyañ ma mthoñ no5 || de'i phyir bdag sdrug bsñal žin yid mi bde ba skyes so6 || (Pī79) 'di ltar gyur na de ltar ma bsam7 zig8 | bdag cag gsum gyis9 de dbañ du byas nas khrid la 'oñ ņo10 || (88a) smras pa || bu mos ni nus te sus kyañ dbañ du bya bar mi nus pas skyes bu 'di ni mi g.yo ba’i dad pa la gnas so11 || smras pa || pha bdag cag bud med yin pas da lta ŋid du de la 'dod chags kyi žags pas bcins te khrid la 'oñ ņo12 || khyed ma sems ŋig13 | de nas bud med de rnam bcom ldan 'das dañ ņe bar soñ ste | dge sbyon khyed14 kyi žabs la bsñen bkur15 bdag cag gis bgyi’o žes smras so16 || bcom ldan 'das ņid kyis de rnam kyi tshig la thugs ma gtad17 do || spyan rnam par grol ba ya’n18 ma gzigs so19 || ji ltar de bla na med pa’i ņe bar skye ba zad pa rnam par grol ba’i bsam pas dben pa’i bde ba ŋid la ŋams su20 myon bar mdzad cin bžugs so21 || gzan yañ bdud kyi bu22 mo bsam pa mañ žin skyes bu dañ mtshuñs pa’i sems so23 || gañ dañ gañ gzon nu24 la dga’ bar

|25| LN gnaso.
|1| S ste, DQLN sde.
|2| SDLN gi, Q gis.
|3| N driso.
|4| SDLN bltas, Q bstes.
|5| N mthoño.
|6| LN skyeso.
|7| SDLN bsam, D bsams.
|8| S zig, D ŋig, Q cig, LN gcig.
|9| SDLQ gyis, N gyi.
|10| N ’oño.
|11| N gnaso.
|12| N ’oño.
|13| SDLQ ŋig, LN cig.
|14| DQLN khyed, S khyod.
|15| SDLN bkur, Q bskur.
|16| N smraso.
|17| SDLQ gtad, L btad.
|18| S ba’añ, DQLN ba yañ.
|19| LN gzigso.
|20| N ŋamsu.
|21| N bžugso.
|22| SDLQ bu, N bus.
|23| N semso.
|24| N gzonu.
'gyur ro || gan dan gan zig na tshod dan por gyur pa la dga' ba dan | gan dan gan zig na tshod bar mar gyur pa la dga’ ba da | gan dan gan zig na tshod phyi mar gyur pa la dga’ ba’o || bdag gis de lta bu’i rnam pa sna tshogs pa’i ‘od la chags par bgyi’o ’zes smras nas | bu mo re res gzon nu ma’i gzugs la sogs pa’i brgya phrag gis bdag iid kyi lus sprul lo || gzon nu ma’i gzugs dan | la’n tsho ma’i gzugs dan | da’n po bu dan bu mo lan cig’ skyes pa’i gzugs dan | bar ma’i bud med kyi gzugs dan | lus rags mor gyur nas lan drug tu’ bcom ldam ‘das da’n fe bar so’n nas | dge sbyon khyod kyi ’zabs la bdag (88b) cag gis bs’en bur kyi’o ’zes smras so’ || bcom ldam ’das kyi’s de rnam kyi tshig la ya’n thugs ma gtad do || ji itar de bla na med pa’i fe bar skye ba rnam par grol lo || gzan ya’n slob dpon gan zig ’di skad smra’o || de rdu’ zhrul da’n ldam pas bud med ’o’ns pa la blta’ zi’n bcom ldam ’das ’di lta bu’i gzugs kyi’s ’di rnam s so byi ba da’n | skra dkar por gyur par byin gyis brlabs’ so ’zes zer ro || de’i tshig guzn bar mi bya’o || ston pas ’di lta bu’i gzugs su byin gyis brlabs par ma mdzad do || gzan ya’n bcom ldam ’das kyi’s ci mthon ’di lta bu’i ’bad pa byed pa da so’n zig || ’di lta bu’i tshul gyis ’dod chags da’n ma bral ba la sogs pa’i mdun du bya bar rigs so || de bzin gsegs pas slar ya’n ’dod chags spangs shin fies pa spangs pa da’n | gti mug spangs pas ra’n gi ’dod chags spangs pa’i phyir ro’ ||

Dhp 179

1 SL ’gyur ro, DQ gyur ba da’n, N ’gyuro.
2 SDQ mar, LN ma.
3 SDQ nu, LN nu’i.
4 S omits, DQLN brgya phrag.
5 N sprulo.
6 SDQ tsbo, LN ’tsho.
7 SDQN cig, L gcig.
8 SDLN tu, Q du.
9 N smraso.
10 SDLN kyi’s, Q kyi.
11 S la’a’n, DQLN la ya’n.
12 N grolo.
13 SDQ blda, LN lta.
14 SDLN brlbas, Q slabs.
15 LN brlbaso.
16 SDQ bu’i, LN bu.
17 LN gzugsu.
18 SDLN gyis, L gyi.
19 DQ brlabs par ma mdzad do, S brlabs pa la ma mdzad do, LN brlabs pa mdzad do.
20 S zig, DQ cig, LN gcig.
21 LN rigso.
22 N phyiro.
23 Jātakaniḍāna p. 79; sTog 88b; Dhp 179; PDhp 276; Mvu III p.91; Uv 29. 52; Dhp-a III p. 197; Ap-a p. 84. Jātakaniḍāna p.79,
yassa jitaṃ nāvajiyati /
gaṅ žig rgyal ba de la rgyal mi nus || gaṅ žig ’jig rten ’dir ni rgyal mi ’gyur ||
mtha’ yas saṅs rgyas spyod yul de mi gnas || rkaṅ med kyis ni rkaṅ yod la mi nus ||

Dhp 180

gaṅ gi sred² pa’i dra ba bton gyur nas || de la sred pa rnam ni cuṅ zad med ||
mtha’ yas saṅs rgyas spyod yul de ŋid la || rkaṅ med de yis rkaṅ yod la mi nus ||

’dir³ ni saṅs rgyas kyi chos mchog gi sde las tshigs su⁴ bcad pa gñis gsuṅs nas chos bstan⁵ to || bu mo
rnam la pha zer ba yan⁶ bden pa yin no⁷ || dgra bcom pa bde bar gšegs pa ’jig rten na⁸ mi’i mchog yin
(89a) no⁹ {Pā80} žes smras nas lha daṅ fe bar soṅ no¹⁰ ||

\[
\text{jitaṃ assa no yāti koci loke,} \\
\text{tam buddhāṁ anantagocaram /} \\
\text{apadaṁ kena padena nessatha.}
\]

Patna Dharmapada 276,

yassa jitaṁ na⁹ ppajjyati / jitaṁ assā na upeti antako

tam buddham anomanikramam / apadam kena padena nehisi.

Mahāvastu III p.91,
yasya jitaṁ nātha jivati jitaṁ asya na jināti antako
tam buddhamantagocaraṁ apadam kena padena neṣyatha.

Udānavarga 29. 52,
yasya jitaṁ nopajiyate
jitaṁ anveta na kam cid eva loke /
tam buddham anantagocaraṁ
hy apadam kena padena neṣyasi /

¹ Jātakānīdāna p.79; sTog 88b; Dhp 80; PDhp 227; Mvu III p.92; Uv 29.53; Dhp-a III p.197; Ap-a p.84; S I p.107.
Jātakānīdāna p.79,
yassa jālini visattikā
taṅhā n’ aththi kuhīñci netave
tam buddham anantagocaraṁ
apadam kena padena nessatha.

Patna Dharmapada 227,
yassa jālini visattikā / taṅhā nāsti kahīm ci netave
tam buddham anantagocaraṁ / apadam kena padena nehisi.

Mahāvastu III p. 92,
yasya jālini samūhata ṭṛṣuṅ nāsyā kahīṁ ci netrikā /
tam buddhamanantavikramaṁ apadam kena upadena neṣyatha //

Udānavarga 29.53,
yasya jālini visaktikā
ṭṛṣuṅ nāsti hi lokanāyini /
tam buddham anantagocaraṁ
hy apadam kena padena neṣyasi //

² SLN sred, DQ srid.
³ SLN ’dir, DQ ’di.
⁴ LN tshigsu.
⁵ SD bstan, Q ston, LN stan.
⁶ S ba’an, DQLN ba yan.
⁷ N yino.
⁸ SLN na, DQ omit.
⁹ N yino.
III 9.

bcom ldan 'das kyis¹ kyaṅ 'dir žag bdun bžugs nas btaṅ² zuṅ³ gi gnas su⁴ gšems so⁵ || der žag bdun du sku la yul ņan daṅ graṅ ba ži bar bya ba’i phyir klu’i rgyal po btaṅ zuṅ⁵ žes bya bas lus kyis⁷ lan bdun du dkar’i nas gden⁸ ka⁹ byas so¹⁰ || dri’i gtsan khaṅ šin tu yaṅs par bžugs pa bzin rnam par grol ba daṅ | bde ba so sor rig¹¹ par byed ciṅ žag bdun du bžugs¹² nas šin rā dza ya ta na daṅ ņe bar gšems so¹³ || der yaṅ rnam par grol ba daṅ | bde ba so sor rig¹⁴ par byed pa ņid kyis bžugs so¹⁵ || de rnam kyis re žig žag bdun phrag bdun yoṅs su rdzogs so¹⁶ || de rnam kyis phag du žal šol ba med pa daṅ | sku la byi dor byed pa med pa daṅ | žal žas gsol ba med par gur to || bsam gtan gyi bde ba daṅ | lam gyi bde ba daṅ | 'bras bu’i bde ba ņid kyis ņin mtshan ’da’o¹⁷ ||

III 10.

di nas de’i bdun phrag bdun gyi mthar gcig gis dman pa’i lha buc’i mtha’i ņi ma la der¹⁸ bžugs nas žal šol ba’i thugs skyes so¹⁹ || lha’i dbaṅ po brgya byin gyaś a ru ra mchog blaṅs nas phul lo || ston pas de gsal bas sku daṅs par gur to || de nas brgya byin ņid kyis so rtsi’i so šiṅ ņid kyis so šiṅ daṅ | žal šol ba’i chu phul lo²⁰ || ston pas so šiṅ blaṅs nas so²¹ brad de²² mtsho chen po ma dros pa’i chus žal bšal lo²³ || de ņid du šiṅ rā dza ya ta na’i drun du bžugs so²⁴ ||

¹⁹ N soṇo.
¹ SDLN kyis, Q kyi.
² SDQN btaṅ, L gtan.
³ SQLN zuṅ, D bzuṅ.
⁴ LN gnasu.
⁵ LN gšems.
⁶ SQLN zuṅ, D bzuṅ.
⁷ Sdq kyis, LN kyi.
⁸ DQ gden, SLN gden.
⁹ SdqN ka, L ga.
¹⁰ LN byaso.
¹¹ SDQ rig, LN rigs.
¹² SDLN bžugs, Q žugs.
¹³ LN gšegso.
¹⁴ Sdq rig, LN rigs.
¹⁵ LN bžugso.
¹⁶ LN yonsu rdzogso.
¹⁷ S ’da’ o, DQLN ’da’o.
¹⁸ SDQL der, N dar.
¹⁹ LN skyesu.
²⁰ N phulo.
²¹ L naso.
²² L brude.
²³ N bšalo.
²⁴ N phulo.
III 11.
de'i tse ga gon dañ | bzañ po žes bya ba’i (89b) tshoñ dpon gñis šiñ rta lña brgya dañ bcas pa lho phyogs kyi ljöñs nas yul dbus su¹ ’gro ba na rañ ŋiñ kyi šñar gyi gñien² | lhar³ gyur pas šiñ rta thams cad byin nas ’gro bar mi nus par byin gyis brlabs pas ston pa la kha zas ster ba’i phyir spro ba skyes so⁴ || sbrañ srubs⁵ pa’i ’khor⁶ ba’i gioñ bu blañs nas | btsun pa bcom Idan ’das⁷ bza’ ba ’di thugs rje chen po bskyed⁸ la so sor bžes par ŋu žes ston pa’i druñ du ŋe bar ’khod do || bcom Idan ’das ’o thug bžes pa’i ŋin mo ŋiñ lhuñ bzed mi snañ ba’i phyir | de bžin gšegs pa nams kyi yañ phyag gis len nam | ’o na kyañ lhuñ bzed kyis bslañ⁹ žes bsam so¹⁰ || de nas sems kyis šes nas phyogs bži’i rgyal po chen po bži po nams kyis nor bu indra ni la’i¹¹ lhuñ bzed blañs pa bcom Idan ’das kyis ma gnañ ŋo || slar yañ sran ma mudga’i¹² kha dog can gyi rdo las byuñ ba’i lhuñ bzed bži phul lo¹³ || bcom Idan ’das kyis¹⁴ lha’i bu bži po nams la rjes su¹⁵ brtse bas lhuñ bzed bži po bžes te¹⁶ | steñ nas steñ du brtseg⁹ nas bžag ste¹⁷ gcig tu ’gyur bar byin gyis brlabs so¹⁸ || bži po yan¹⁹ blta²⁰ ba’i phyir du kha la ri mo bžir gyur te lhuñ bzed ’bruñ po’i tshad gcig²¹ tu gyur to || bcom Idan ’das la de’i so sor phul ba rin thañ med pa’i rdo las byuñ ba’i lhuñ bzed du bza’ ba’i phyir du bžes nas yoñs su²² loñs spyad nas rjes su²³

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24 LN bžugso.
1 N dbusu.
2 SDQ gñien, LN gñer.
3 SDQ lhär, LN ltar.
4 LN skyeso.
5 S srubs, DQLN bsrubs.
6 S ’khor, DQ khur, LN ’khor.
7 SDQL ’das, N ’dis.
8 S bskeyed, DQLN skyed.
9 S bslañ, DQ blañ, LN slañ.
10 LN bsamso.
11 S indra ni la’i, DQ in dra ni la’i, LN indra ni la’i.
12 SLN mudga’i, DQ mud ga’i.
13 LN phulo.
14 SDQ kyis, LN kyi.
15 LN rjesu.
16 SDQN te, L ste.
17 SDQ ste, LN te.
18 LN brlabsø.
19 S po’añ, DQLN po yan.
20 SDQ blta, LN lta.
21 SDQ gcig, LN cig.
22 LN yoñsu.
23 N rjesu.
III 12.

yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa’i saṅs rgyas kyāṅ de nas bžeṅs nas slar yaṅ ra lug skyoṅ ba’i śiṅ nya gro dha ēd du gzegs nas śiṅ n yaṃ dha’i druṅ du bṣugs so’̀ 10 || de nas de ēd du bṣugs tsam ēd na raṅ gis lhag par rtogs pa’i zab mo’i chos so sor bsam śiṅ saṅs rgyas nams kyis lhag par rtogs pa ’di ni chos so’̀ 11 || gzan gyis chos ston par mi nus par bsams nas rab tu ’jug pa’i nram pa’i nram par rtog pa ’skyes so’̀ 12 || de nas mi mjed13 kyi bdag po tshaṅs pa ’jig rten ŋams par ’gyur ba’i phyir ro’̀ 14 ŋes bsams nas ston phrag bcu’i khor yug gi bṛgya byin daṅ | ’thab15 bral bzaṅ po daṅ | dga’ ldan daṅ | ’phrul dga’ daṅ | gzan ’phrul dbaṅ phyug16 daṅ | tshaṅs pa chen po nams khrig nas ston pa’i druṅ du phyin nas | bṣun pa bcom ldan ’das chos bstan17 du18 gsol | daṅ po’i tshul gyis chos bstan19 du gsol žes žus so’̀ 20 ||

III 13.

ston pas de nams la gnaṅ ba byin no21 || gaṅ žig la bdag gis daṅ por chos bstan par bya’o žes dgoṅs

1 LN skyabsu.
2 SN tshig, DQL tshigs.
3 SLN pas, DQ pa.
4 SLN par, DQ pa.
5 S gis, DQ omit, LN gi.
6 LN žuso.
7 SDQ khyer, LN byed.
8 LN bžeṅso.
9 SLN śiṅ, DQ omit.
10 LN bṣugs.
11 N choso.
12 N skyeso.
13 SDQ mjed, LN ’byed.
14 N phyiro.
15 SDQ ’thab, LN mtba’.
16 SDQ phyug, LN byed.
17 SDQ bstan, LN stan.
18 SDQN du, L tu.
19 SDQ bstan, LN stan.
20 N žuso.
21 N byino.
སིན་མཁས་པ་ཀུན་ལེན་འདེ་འཇིི‍གས་པ་ "དེ་མི་ཕྱིར་དེ་སེས་པར་"གྱུར་བ་"ཞིག་བཤེས་པས་སོ། || སྙན་ཡག་གཞི་གཉེན་ཏེ་མེད་པ་དེ་དུས་ལས་འཛིན་ཁོ་ལོན་པར་རེགས་སོ། || "དབྱངས་འབྱིན་པ་སེར་སྥུགས་པའི་ཁྲིམས་བུད་། 90b དེ་དཔག་མཁྱེན་ནོ་། དངོས་ལྟོས་ལྷ་སྐྱེས་བདག་ལ་བསྒྲིད་མཁས་པ་ཕྱིར་བསམ་དུས་སོ་། || སྲིལ་ཡོངས་གཞི་སྐྱེས་ཅིག་དུད་སེའི་། དུས་ལས་5 དེ་དཔག་མཁྱེན་ནོ་། དངོས་ལྟོས་ལོ་ཁྲིམས་བུད་།
'os so1 \(\parallel\) de'i phyir gdan tsam rigs so2 žes gtam byed do3 \(\parallel\) bcom ldan 'das la lha dañ bcas pa'i 'jig rten mams kyi sms dañ spyod pa šes par nus pa'ai ye šes yod do4 \(\parallel\) de'aň5 'di nams ji ltar sms (91a) pa yin žes bsams nas sms šes pa yin no6 \(\parallel\) {Pā82} de nas lha dañ mi thams cad la mthoň ba med pa'i dbaň gis thams cad du khyab7 par nus pa'ai byams pa'i sms yañ dag par bs dus nas | ma mthoň ba'i dbaň gis byams pa'i sms kyis khyab par bcom ldan 'das kyis-bsgom s ne de bžin gšegs pa fie bar gšegs šin gšegs pa na | snar gyi bca' khrims mams gnas par mi nus pas phyag phul Žin bsruñ ba dañ bsñen blkur thams cad byas so8 \(\parallel\) gžan yañ dge9 sloň de mams yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i saňs rgyas grub pa mi šes pa'i phyir min brjod pa na tshe dañ ldan pa žes smra ba tha mal10 pa'i tshig gis11 rjod12 par byed do \(\parallel\) de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis dge sloň dag bcom ldan 'das dañ de bžin gšegs pa'i miň dañ13 tshe dañ ldan pa žes tha mal pa'i tshig brjod par mi ruň no \(\parallel\) dge sloň dag na14 ni de bžin gšegs pa ďgra bcom pa yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i saňs rgyas so15 žes bdag Šid saňs rgyas grub16 par byed pa dañ | gdan bsams pa mchog la saňs rgyas bžugs te | rgyu skar bre mchog gsum 'dzom pa la bye ba phrag bco17 brgyad kyi tshaňs pa'i 'khor gyis bskor nas gnas brtan lña sde bos te chos kyi 'khor lo bskor ba'i mdo'i18 mthar bšad do19 \(\parallel\) de nams la gnas brtan kun šes kō di nyas20 bšad pa'i rjes su21 'braňs nas ye šes thob pa mdo'i mthar bye ba phrag bco22 brgyad kyi tshaňs pa mams kyi rgyun du23 žugs pa'i (91b)

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1 N 'oso.
2 N rigso.
3 N byedo.
4 N yodo.
5 S de'aň, DQLN de yan.
6 N yino.
7 SDQ khyab, LN khyad.
8 LN byaso.
9 SQLN dge, D dgi.
10 DQLN tha mal, S thams cad.
11 SLN omit, DQ gis.
12 SDQ rjod, LN brjod.
13 DQLN daň, S omits.
14 SDQ na, LN da.
15 N rgyaso.
16 SLN grub, DQ sgrub.
17 SLN bco, D bawa, Q bcwo.
19 N bšado.
21 N rjesu.
22 SN bco, DQ bco, L bcwo.
23 SDQ du, LN tu.

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"bras bu thob bo" || ston pas de ŋid du dbyar bzung so || slar yañ ŋi ma gnis pa la gnas brratn brralns pa la chos sblyn no3 Ḇes gtsug lag khañ du bzung4 so5 || lhag ma bżi po bsod sŉoms la soñ no6 || gnas brratn brralns pas ŋi ma phyed kyi nañ du rgyun du7 žugs pa8 'bras bu thob bo8 || 'di lta bu9 i thabs ŋid kyis slar yañ ŋi ma phyi ma la gnas brratn bzañ ldan dañ || slar yañ ŋi ma phyi ma la gnas brratn miñ can dañ || slar yañ ŋi ma phyi ma la gnas brratn rta thul mams || de thams cad kyis rgyun du9 žugs10 pa8 'bras bu thob par byas nas tshes ŋi su la dge sloñ ḇa po11 'dus pa la bdag med pa8 i mtshan ŋid kyi mdo12 sde rnams bṣad do || bṣad pa8 i mthar gnas brratn ḇa sdes dgral bcom pa8 'bras bu thob bo ||

III 14.
de nas ston pas rigs kyist13 bu grags pa ñe bar mi rten par gzigs nas || de8 i mtshan mo8 i char sdug bṣal14 sems kyis15 khyim spāñs nas 'thon pa la grags pa 'dir šog ces bos nas mtshan mo de ŋid kyi cha la rgyun du16 žugs pa8 'bras bu dañ || slar yañ ŋi ma gnis pa la dgral bcom pa8 'bras bu grub par byed do17 || g zaman yañ slar de8 i17 grogs po lña buc rtsa bziš rab tu byuñ žiñ dge sloñ du gyur nas dgral bcom pa18 byed do || 'di ltar 'jig rten du dgral bcom pa drug cu19 rtsa geig tu gyur to || ston pas dbyar bzung nas dgag dbyae byas te dge sloñ drug cu20 po rnams phyogs phyogs su21 btan22 nas | rañ ŋid lteñ23 rgya su24
III 15.

skyed mos tshal skyoṅ ba nams kyi ston pa byon no žes rgyal po la smras so || rgyal pos thos te | khri phrag buc gniś kyi bram ze daṅ khyim bdag 'khor du byas nas ston pa daṅ ņe bar son stel | 'khor lo sna tshogs pa'i steṅ du gser gyi bla res daṅ 'dra ba'i 'od zer phyogs phyogs su 'phro žin bzugs pa'i de bzin gsregs pa'i žabs la mgo bos phyag legs par byas nas 'khor daṅ bcas pa phyogs geig tu 'khod do || de nas yaṅ bram ze nrams daṅ khyim bdag la sog pa 'di lta bu'i sems su gyur te | 'on kyaṅ dge skyoṅ chen pos lten rgyas 'od sruṇs kyi (92b) rjes su tshaṅs par spyod pa spyad dam |
yan na lteṅ rgyas ’od srūṇā kyis² dge sbyoṅ chen po’i rjes su³ tshaṅs par spyod pa spyad ces bsams so⁴ bcom ldan ’das kyis de nrams kyi sems kyis⁵ rtog pa thugs kyis mkhyen nas | gnas brtan la tshigs su⁶ bcad pa gsuṅs so⁷

Vin I p.36⁸

lten⁹ rgyas gnas su¹⁰ gnas nas ci žig mthon¹¹
sbyin sreg¹² ’dor ba’i rgyu mthsan ci žig smra
’od srūṇa¹³ ’di yi don ni dri bar bya
khyod kyis¹⁴ ji ltar sbyin sreg¹⁵ spoṅ ba yin

gnas brtan gyis kyaṅ bcom ldan ’das kyis¹⁶ dgoṅs pa śes nas |

Vin I p.36¹⁷

27 S kyis, DQLN gi.
24 LN rjesu.
25 SDQ par, LN pa.
1 S lteṅ rgyas ’od srūṇa, D lteṅ rgyas ’od srūṇ, QLN sten rgyas ’od srūṇ.
2 S kyis, DQLN gis.
3 LN rjesu.
4 L bsam mo, N bsamo.
5 Q omits: sems kyis.
6 LN tshigsu.
7 N gsuṅso.
8 Jātakanidāna p.83; sTog 92b; Mvu III p. 444; Vin I p.36; Ap-a p.88; Bv-a p.20.
9 Jātakanidāna p.83,
kim eva disvā Uruvelavāsi
pahāśi aggūṃ kisako vadāno,
puchchāmi tam Kassapa etāṃ atthaṃ:
kathāṃ pahīṇāṃ tava agghuttan ti.

Mahāvastu III p.444,
kimeva drṣṭvā Uruvilvavāsi
prahāya agnīṃ krṣako /
prcchāmi te Kāśyapa etamarthāṃ
kathāṃ prahīṇāṃ tava agnihotram //
10 Jātakanidāna p.83; sTog 92b; Mvu III p. 444; Vin I p.36; Ap-a p.88; Bv-a p.20.
11 L mthono.
12 SDLN sreg, Q bsreg.
14 SDLN kyis, D kyis
15 SDLN sreg, QL bsreg.
16 SDL kyis, QN kyis.
17 Jātakanidāna p.83; sTog 92b; Vin I p. 36; Ap-a p.88; Bv-a p.20.
Jātakanidāna p.83,
gzugs dañ sgra dañ de bžin ro dañ dri ||
bud med 'dod pa yañ ni mchod' sbyin spyod ||
'di rnams dri ma legs par rtogs byas nas ||
de phyir me yi sbyin sreg2 'di sphañ so3 ||

tshigs su4 bcad pa 'di brjod nas rañ ñid ñan thos kyi 'dod pa gsal5 bar bya ba'i phyir de bžin gšegs pa'i žabs kyi bol du mgo bos reg nas | bdag ston pa6 btsun pa bcom ldan 'das kyi ñan thos yin no ñes smyas so7 || šiñ tā8 la gcig dañ | šiñ tā9 la gñis dañ | šiñ tā10 la gsum dañ | ji srid du šiñ tā11 la bdun gyi tshad12 tsaṃ du nam mkha13 la 'phags nas babs te | de bžin gšegs pa la phyag byas nas phyoṅs gcig tu 'khod de || de'i cho14 'phrul bta15 ŋiñ mi mañ po mams kyiṣ e ma ho sañs rgyas kyi16 mthu chen po17 'di lta bu'i bta18 ba bstan pas dgra bcom pa ıes bya ba la sems šiñ | liteṅ rgyas 'od sruñs19 kyi20 bta21 ba'i dra ba bcad de22 de bžin gšegs pas bta23 nas ston pa'i yon tan ñid brjod do24 || bcom ldan (93a) 'das kyiṣ kho bos 'di25 da26 itar27 kho na ma yin par liteṅ rgyas 'od sruñs28 bta29 lo || 'das pa ñid du'tañ 'di ıas bta
lo' žes brjod nas don 'di 'das pa na mi sbyin chen po 'od sruñs kyi3 skyes rabs su4 bšad pa'i bden pa bži po gsal bar bstan no5 || de'i mod la yul ma ga dha'i rgyal po 'khor khri phrag bcu gcig đan bcas pas rgyun du6 žugs pa'i 'bras bu thob bo7 || khri phrag gcig dge bšiën8 du gyur to || {Pāñā} rgyal po ston pa đan ñe ba fiid du 'dug ste9 bsla'b pa'i gzì lña so sor rab tu thos nas skyabs su10 soñ ste sañ gi gdugs tshod la mgron11 du gñer nas | stan las lañs te bcom ldan 'das la bskor ba byas nas soñ no12 || slar yāñ sañ gi sña dro fiid bcom ldan 'das mthoñ ba đan ma mthoñ ba rgyal po'i khab na gnas pa rnambs kyis bye ba phrag bco13 brgyad kyi grañs kyi mi rnambs de žiñ gšegs pa blta14 bar 'dod pas sña dro fiid rgyal po'i khab nas šiñ dñar gyi tshal du soñ te rgyañ graqs bcu gñis su15 mi soñ bar šiñ dñar gyi tshal thams cad rgyun mi 'chad6 par gyur17 to || mi thams cad kyis stobs bcu pa'i gžugs mchog thob par 'dod pa bdag fiid kyi sku la blta bas tshim18 par ma nus so19 || 'di lta bu'i sa gži'i kha dog yin no20 || 'di lta bu'i gžugs kyi gnas su21 de žiñ gšegs pa'i mtshan đan dpe byad bzañ po la sogds pa'i rab tu byed pa thams cad kyañ gžugs kyi sku dpal gyu22 bsñags par bya bar 'os so23 || 'di lta gžugs mchog

26 SDLN da, Q dc.
27 SQL ltar, DN lta.
28 S lten rgyas 'od sruñs, D lten rgyas 'od sruñ, Q steñ rgyas 'od sruñ, N steñ rgyas 'od sruñ, L steñ rgyas 'od bsrun.
29 SDQ btul, L brtul, N brtul lo.
1 SDQ btul lo, L brtul, N brtul lo.
2 S 'od sruñs, DQN 'od sruñ, L 'od bsrun.
3 S kyi, DQLN gi.
4 LN rabsu.
5 N bstano.
6 SDL da, QN tu.
7 N thobo.
8 SDLN bšiën, Q šiën.
9 SDLN ste, Q te.
10 LN skyabsu.
11 SD mgron, QLN 'gron.
12 N soñó.
13 SN bco, D bewo, L bewo.
14 SDLN blta, Q lta.
15 LN gñišu.
16 SDQN 'chad, L mchad.
17 SDLN gyur, Q 'gyur.
18 SDQN tshim, L tshims.
19 LN nuso.
20 S yino.
21 LN gnasu.
22 SLN gyi, DQ gyis.
23 LN 'oso.
thob pa'i stobs bcu pa'isku blta1  ba'i (93b) phyir mi mañ po rgyun mi 'chad do2 || skyled mos tsha31  
dan lamedu dge sloñ gcig gis kyan phyir ru 'thon pa'i skabs4 med 5  | ni ma de'i dus na bcom ldan 'das 
kyi gdugs tshod yot6 ba lta bur gyur to || de ma thag par brgya byin sdom pa'i stan dro ba'i rnam par 
mthong ste | des rnam par brtags so7  || de'i rgyu mthshan šes nas bram ze'i khye'u'i gzugs su8 mnon par 
spur tel | sans rgyas dan | chos dan | dge 'dun so so la ji ltar rigs pa'i bstod pa rjod9 par byed do || 
stobs bcu pa'i snun10 du chas nas lha'i mthus11 lam thob par byas so12  ||

Vin I p.3813
'dul žin 'dul ba'i grogs sñon bcas || bram ze rnam grol ral pa dañ ||
señ ge'i gugs kyis 'thon nas ni || bcom ldan rgyal po'i khab nañ byon ||

grol žin grol ba'i grogs sñon bcas || bram ze rnam grol ral pa dañ ||
señ ge'i gugs kyis14 'thon nas ni || bcom ldan rgyal po'i khab nañ byon ||

brgal žin brgal15 ba'i grogs sñon bcas || bram ze rnam grol ral pa dañ ||
señ ge'i gugs kyis 'thon nas ni || rgyal po'i khab nañ bcom ldan byon ||
Vin I p.3816

1 SDQ blta, LN lta.
2 SDQ 'chad do, L mchado, N 'chado.
3 SDQN tsha, L 'tsha.
4 SDQ skabs, LN skyabs.
5 SLNomit, DQ do.
6 SDQ yol, LN yod.
7 LN rtagso.
8 L gugsu.
9 SDQ rjod, LN brjod.
10 SDLN sñun, Q sñon.
11 S mthus, DQ mthu yis, LN mthus yis.
12 LN byasor.
13 Jā†akaniṇḍāna p. 84; sTog 93b; Vin I p. 38; Ap II p. 607; Ap-a p. 89; Khp p. 204; Pva p. 22; Thi-a p. 59.
Jā†akaniṇḍāna p. 84,
danto dantehi saha purāñajātiñcīhi vippamuttehi 
singinikkhasavañco Rājagahaṁ pavisi Bhagavā. 

mutto muttehi saha purāñajātiñcīhi vippamutto vippamuttehi 
singinikkhasavāñco Rājagahaṁ pavisi Bhagavā. 

tipno tinnehi saha purāñajātiñcīhi vippamutto vippamuttehi 
singinikkhasavañco Rājagahaṁ pavisi Bhagavā. 

14 SDLN kyi, Q kyi.
15 SL brgal žin brgal, DQN grol žin grol.
16 Jā†akaniṇḍāna p. 84; sTog 93b; Vin I p.38; Ap-a p.89.
Jā†akaniṇḍāna p. 84,
dasañcāso Dasabalo dasadhammavidū dasahi c' upeto

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bcu po gsum ba’i stobs bcu pa || chos bcu la mkhas bcu la gnas ||
stoṅ phrag bcu yi1 ’khor daṅ ldan || bcom ldan rgyal po’i khab naṅ byon ||

tshigs su² bcad pa ’dis ni ston pa la bsñags pas bstod ciṅ sñun du ’gro ba’i mi rnam kyis bram ze’i khye’u’i gzugs kyi dpal mthon nas bram ze’i khye’u’i di śin tu gzugs bzaṅ ba’o || slar yaṅ sñar mthon ba med do’žes (94a) bsams nas bram ze’i khye’u’i di gaṅ na gnas pa yin || gaṅ žig gi yin žes smras so⁴ || de thos nas bram ze’i khye’us⁵ smras pa |

Vin I p.38⁶
gan žig bstan pa thams cad ’dul || gaṅ zag zla’ med saṅs rgyas te ||
dgra bcom bde gšegs ’jig rten du || de ni bdag gi⁸ ſe⁹ bar gnas ||

tshigs su¹⁰ bcad pa brjod de | ston pas brgya byin gyis phye ba’i lam¹¹ du dge sloṅ ston phrag geṅg ’khor du byas nas rgyal po’i khab kyi¹² naṅ du gšegs so¹³ ||

III 16.
{Pā85} rgyal pos saṅs rgyas la sogs pa’i dge ’dun la sbyin pa chen po phul lo¹⁴ || btsun pa bdag dkon mehog gsum spāṅs nas sdod par mi nus so¹⁵ || dus daṅ dus ma yin par bcom ldan ’das daṅ ſe bar ’oṅ bar ’dod do || śin dṅar can gyi skyed mos tshal śin tu thag riṅ no || slar yaṅ bdag cag gi ’od ma’i tshal

so dasasataparivāro Rājagahaṃ pāviṣi Bhagavā ti.

1 SD bcu yi, QLN bcu’i.
2 LN tshigsu.
3 LN medo.
4 LN smraso.
5 SDLN khye’us, Q khye’u.
6 Jātakāniḍāṇa p.84; sTog 94a; Mvu III p.423-4; Vin I p. 38; Conc I, p. 196; Ap-a, p. 89; Ap-a p.84.
Jātakāniḍāṇa p.84,
yo dhīro sabbadhi danto Buddhō appatipuggalo arahāṁ sugato loke tassāḥam paricārako ti.
Mahāvastu III p.423,
yo viro dhīrtisampanno dhyāyo apratipudgalo //
arhanto sugato loke tasyāḥam paricārako //
7 SDQ zla, LN bzla.
8 DQLN gi, S ni.
9 SDQ ſe, LN ſid.
10 LN tshigsu.
11 SDQ lam, LN las.
12 SDQ kyi, L gyi.
13 LN gšegso.
14 LN phulo.
15 LN nuso.
fife ba 'i glen gzi
zes bya ba 'di śīn tu ņe bas saṁs rgyas la 'os pa'i gnas lags¹ pas bžes par žu | des gser gyi ril ba spyi blugs la me tog gi dris bsgos² te | nor bu’i kha dog can gyi chu blaṅs nas³ | 'od ma’i tshal yoṅs su⁴ gtoṅ žiṅ stobs bcu pa’i phyag tu⁵ chu bsgreñs⁶ nas der kun dga’ ra ba bžes nas | saṅs rgyas kyi⁷ bstan pa’i gzi žes brjod cin sa gzi chen po g.yos so⁸ || ’dzam bu’i⁹ gliṅ gi naṅ nas ‘od ma’i tshal spana’i sa gzi g.yos pa ‘di bžes te | sde¹⁰ gzan ni med do¹¹ || ši¹² gha gliṅ gtsug lag khān chen po saṅs nas sa gzi chen po¹³ g.yos pa ‘di bžes te | sde gzan ni med do¹⁴ || ston (94b) pas ‘od ma’i tshal gyi kun dga’ ra ba bžes nas rgyal po la rjes su¹⁵ yi raṅ bar mdzad cin stan las¹⁶ bžes te | dge sloṅ gi dge ‘dun ‘khor du byas bas ‘od ma’i tshal du byon no¹⁷ ||

III 17.
de’i tshe de’i dus na śā ri’i bu¹⁸ daṅ | mōd gal gyi bu¹⁹ kun tu²⁰ rgyu gñis po rgyal po’i khab la brten²¹ nas gnas śīn bdud rtsi tshol bar sems so || de’i naṅ nas śā ri’i bus gnas brtan rta thul bsod sṅoms la žugs pa mthoṅ bas sems rab tu daṅs par gyur te | bza’ ba byin nas chos rnam gaṅ dag rgyu las byuṅ ba daṅ žes pa’i tshigs bcad thos pas | rgyun du²² žugs pa’i ’bras bu thob par gyur to || raṅ gi grogs po kun tu²³ rgyu mōd gal²⁴ la’ar²⁵ tshigs su bcad pa de niṅ smras so²⁶ || des kyaṅ rgyun du²⁷ žugs pa’i ’bras

¹ SDLN lags, Q legs.
² SDQL bsgos, N bsgas.
³ SLN omit, DQ nas.
⁴ LN yoṅsu.
⁵ SDQN tu, L du.
⁶ SQL bsgreñs, D sgren, N bsgraṁs.
⁷ SDLQ kyi, N kyis.
⁸ N g.yoso.
⁹ DQ bu’i, SLN bu.
¹⁰ SDLN sde, Q omits.
¹¹ SDQN do, L de.
¹² SLN sīṅ, DQ si.
¹³ SLN omit, DQ chen po.
¹⁴ L medo.
¹⁵ LN rjesu.
¹⁶ SDQ las, LN la.
¹⁷ L byono.
¹⁸ SDLN śā ri’i bu, Q śa ri’i bu.
²⁰ SN tu, DQL du.
²¹ SDQN brten, L rten.
²² SDQL du, N tu.
²³ SLN tu, DQ du.
²⁴ D mōd gal, S mo’u ’gal, Q me’u gal, LN mōdgal.

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bu thob bo || de gnis kyis kyan rñ ñid rgyal ba la bitas nas rñ gi 'khor dañ bcas pa ston pa'i druñ du rab tu byuñ no || de rnam la smod gal gyi bu chen po zãg bdun nas dgra bcom pa thob bo || gnas brtan sã ri'i bus zla ba phyed nas dgra bcom pa thob pa ste | de gnis po'an ston pa'i ñan thos kyi mehog tu gnas par gzun || gnas brtan sã ri'i bus dgra bcom pa thob pa'i ñin mo ñid bcom ldan 'das kyi ñan thos kyi 'dus pa dañ por byas so ||

III 18.
slar yan de bzin gšegs pas'od ma'i tshal de ñid du bžugs so || de'i tshe rgyal po chen po zas gtsañ gis bdag gi sras lo drug tu dka' ba spyad nas mehog gi yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i byañ chub ste | chos kyi 'khor lo bskor nas rgyal (95a) po'i khab kyi 'od ma'i tshal du bžugs so žes pa thos nas | blon po phan tshun mams bos te 'dir šog cig | skyes bu ston phrag gcig gi 'khor khrid de | rgyal po'i khab tu'ñง la'ñi tshig gis khyed kyi18 yab rgyal po chen po zas gtsañ khyed bta bar 'dod ces brjod pas bdag gi sras khrid la šog ces smras so || blon pos kyañ lha de bzin du bgyi'o žes rgyal po'i gsañ spyi bos blañs nas skyes bu ston phrag gcig gi 'khor de khrid de myur ba ñid du dpag tshad drug cu'ì

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21 S la'añ, DQLN la yañ.
26 LN smraso.
27 SDQL du, N tu.
1 LN byuño.
2 D m öld gal gyi bu, S mo'u 'gal gyi bu, Q mod'u gal gyi bu, LN mõdgal gyi bu.
3 N thobo.
4 SLN pa, DQ omit.
5 S po'añ, DQLN po yañ.
6 SDN kyi. QL gyi.
7 SQLN gzun, D bzuñ.
8 LN gzuño.
9 LN byaso.
10 S pa'i, DQLN pas
11 LN bzugso.
12 SD spyad, Q dpad, LN bcd.
13 SDLN bskor, Q skor.
14 SDLN bžugs, Q žugs.
15 N bžugso.
13 SD spyad, Q dpad, LN bcd.
13 SDLN bskor, Q skor.
14 SDLN bžugs, Q žugs.
15 N bžugso.
16 SLN gi, DQ gis.
17 SDQ tu, LN du.
18 SDLN kyi, Q kyis.
19 SLN chen po, DQ omit.
20 LN smraso.
21 SDQN bgyi'o, L bgya'o.
22 SDLN cu'i, Q beu'i.
Ne ba’i gni gzi
lam du san nas | stobs bcu¹ pa ’khor bzi’i nañ du bzugs nas chos ston pa’i dus su gtsug lag khañ du žugs so² || de rgyal pos btañ ba’i don re žig bžag nas ’khor thams cad kyi mthar ’khod de ston pa’i chos bstan pa thos nas | {Pā86} ji ltar ’khod pa ŋñi bži’n du skyes bu ston phrag gcig dañ lhan cig tu dgra bcom pa thob nas rab tu ’byuñ bar žugs so³ || bcom ldan ’das kyis btsun pa nmams ’dir šog cig⁴ ces phyag brkyāñ ŋo⁵ || thams cad de ŋñi rdzu ’phrul las byuñ ba’i lhun bzed dañ chos gsum bzuñ nas | lo brgya lon pa’i gnas btañ lta bur gyur to || dgra bcom pa thob pa’i dus nas bzuñ ste | slar yañ ’phags pa žes bya ba re žig bar mar gnas par gyur to⁶ || rgyal pos btañ ba’i spriñ⁷ yig stobs bcu pa la ma⁸ brjod do || rgyal pos btañ ba’i mi nmams las gcig kyan ma byuñ žiñ | spriñ yig kyan ma thos so || ’dir šog la khyed soñ żig⁹ dañ de lta bu’i nes pas blon po gzan gcig (95b) btañ no¹⁰ || des soñ nas yañ s-navbar bži’n du ’khor dañ bcas pa dgra bcom pa thob nas cañ mi gsuñ¹¹ bar gnas so¹² || rgyal pos de lta bur nes pas skyes bu ston phrag re re’i ’khor dañ bcas pa’i blon po dgu btañ no¹³ || thams cad rañ gi don rdzogs par byas nas cañ mi smra bar gyur te de ŋñi du gnas so¹⁴ || rgyal pos spriñ yig tsam gyi lo rgyus kyan ma thob bo žes bsams nas | mi ’di nmams na la mi dga’ ba’i rgyu mtshan gyis spriñ yig tsam gyi lo rgyus kyan mi brjod do¹⁵ || su žig na’i tshig bži’n byed par sams | rgyal pos mi thams cad la btags pas nag po ’char ka mthon no¹⁶ || de yañ rgyal po’i don thams cad sgrub par byed pa’i blon po yin no¹⁷ || nañ mi yin no¹⁸ || ši’n tu thugs ches po yin no¹⁹ || de bži’n gšegs pa dañ lhan cig la ŋin gcig tu²⁰ skyes pa yin no²¹ || de dañ lhan cig tu rtse²² ba’i gregs po yin no²³ || de nas blon po rgyal pos bos te

¹ SDLN bcu, Q omits.
² S bzugs so, DQ žugs so, LN bžugso.
³ LN žuso.
⁴ SLN omit, DQ cig.
⁵ LN brkyāñ.
⁶ SLN te, DQ to.
⁷ SDQL spriñ, N sprid.
⁸ L brjodo.
⁹ SD žig, QLN cig.
¹⁰ LN btañ.
¹¹ SDLN gsuñ, Q smra.
¹² LN gnaso.
¹³ LN btañ.
¹⁴ LN gnaso.
¹⁵ L brjodo.
¹⁶ LN mthono.
¹⁷ N yino.
¹⁸ LN yino.
¹⁹ N yino.
²⁰ SDQN tu, L du.
²¹ LN yino.
²² SLN rtse, DQ brtse.
²³ LN yino.

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| bu nag po 'char ka bdag gi sras blta bar 'dod pas skyes bu ston phrag dgu btañ ste¹ mi gcig kyan ma² 'oṅs nas spriṅ yig tsam gyi lo³ rgyus ci⁴ an ma byun | slar yaṅ thams cad nad kyis⁵ thebs pa yin nam | tsho¹ 'i bar chad du gyur pa yin nam | bdag 'tsho ba ŋid kyi bar du sras po bta bar 'dod de | bdag gi bu bta⁶ bar nus sam | žes smras so⁷ || lha nus lags so⁸ || gai te rab tu phyuṅ yaṅ bta bar nus so⁹ || bu khyod rab tu byun ba 'am ma byun yaṅ | ŋa sras po bta'o žes smras so¹⁰ || des lha legs so¹¹ žes rgyal po'i gṣun blaṅs nas (96a) rgyal po'i khab tu¹² soñ ste | ston pa chos ston pa'i dus su 'khor rnam kyi mthar 'khod de chos thos nas 'khor daṅ bcas pa dgra bcom pa'i 'bras bu thob par gyur te dge słoṅ gi dḥos por so sor gnas so¹³ || ston pa saṅs rgyas su¹⁴ gyur nas daṅ po'i lo la dраṅ sroṅ lhun bā'i gnaś su¹⁵ dbyar bzung te¹⁶ | dag dbye byas nas lten¹⁷ rgyas su¹⁸ gṣegs śīṅ der zla ba gsum bzung¹⁹ te | ral pa can spun rams btul²⁰ nas dge słoṅ ston phrag gcig gi 'khor daṅ bcas pa dgun zla 'briṅ po'i ŋa la rgyal po'i khab tu²¹ gṣegs nas zla ba gṇīs bzung so²² || de rnam kyi grön khyer bā rā ṇa sī²³ nas yoṅs²⁴ pa'i bar te²⁵ | zla ba lha soṅ žiṅ dgun gyi dus thams cad 'das so²⁶ || gnaś brtan 'char ka 'oṅs nas žag bdun daṅ brgyad soṅ no²⁷ || des dpuyid zla ra bā'i ŋa la bsams pa | dgun gyi dus 'das nas dpuyid ka'i²⁸ dus su

¹ SDQN ste, L te.
² SD ma, QLN omit.
³ SDQ lo, LN lor.
⁴ S ci⁵ an DQLNci yāṅ.
⁵ SDQN kyis, L kyi.
⁶ SLD bta, QN lta.
⁷ LN smraso.
⁸ LN lagso.
⁹ LN nuso.
¹⁰ LN smraso.
¹¹ LN legso.
¹² SDQ tu, LN du.
¹³ LN gnasu.
¹⁴ LN rgyasu.
¹⁵ LN gnasu.
¹⁶ SDQN te, L ste.
¹⁷ DS lteñ, QLN steñ.
¹⁸ LN rgyasu.
¹⁹ SDQN bzung, L gzung.
²⁰ SD btul, QLN brtul.
²¹ SDQ tu, LN du.
²² LN bzungso.
²³ D bā rā ṇa sī, S wā rā ṇa sī, Q bā ra na sī, LN bā ra na se.
²⁴ SLN yoṅs, DQ 'oṅs.
²⁵ SDQL te, N ste.
²⁶ LN 'daso.
²⁷ LN soṇo.

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Ne ba'i gni gzi

sleb¹ pa daṅ | mi mams kyis 'bru mams blaṅs te | phyogs phyogs nas lam du byun bas rtswa² mams ljahn khur³ gyur to || sa gzi daṅ nags tshal gyi šiṅ la sogs pa me tog šin tu maṅ ba kha bye ba ni lam du 'gro ba'i dus so⁴ || stobs bcu pa'i ņe du daṅ phrad par byed pa'i lam du 'gro ba'i dus yin no⁵ || de nas bcom ldan 'das kyi⁶ druṅ du ņe bar soṅ nas | {Pā87}

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btsun pa ljon šiṅ de ni ljahn khur⁸ gyur || šiṅ gi lo ma sa la dud pa⁹ daṅ ||
de mams bar nas 'od zer 'gyed pa yin || dpa' bo chen po gāen gnas gsês pa'i dus ||

Ap-a p. 91¹⁰

ha can mi dro mi graṅ¹¹ ņiṅ || mu ge daṅ ni bkres (96b) pa med ||
sa steṅ šiṅ mams ljahn khur¹² gyur || thub pa chen po dus 'dir gyur ||

tshigs su¹³ bcad pa drug cu¹⁴ tsam gyis stobs bcu pa la rigs kyi groṅ khyer du gsês pa'i phyir bsñags par 'os¹⁵ pa'i bsñags pa brjod¹⁶ pa'o || de nas ston pa la 'char kas dbyaṅs sḏan pos gsês pa'i bsñags par 'os pa'i bsñags pa gsun s so¹⁷ || btsun pa khyed¹⁸ kyi yab rgyal po chen po zas gsan bta bar 'dod pas

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¹ SD ka'i, QLN kha'i.
² SDQN sleb, L slab.
³ SDQ rtswa, LN rtsa.
⁴ S khur, DQLN gur.
⁵ L duso.
⁶ LN yino.
⁷ SDLN kyi, Q kyis.
⁸ Jātakaniḍāṇa p.87; sTog 96a; Th 527; Ap-a p.91, 359, 533; Bv-a p.23.
⁹ Jātakaniḍāṇa p.87,
    angeśino dani dumā bhadante
    phalesino chadanam vipāhāya,
    te accimanto va pabhāsavyati,

¹⁰ S khur, DQLN gur.
¹¹ SDQ omit, LN la ba.
¹² Jātakaniḍāṇa p.87; sTog 96a-b; Ap-a p.91; Bv-a p.24; Mp I p.303.
¹³ Jātakaniḍāṇa p.87,
    natītisaṁ nātiṁhan nātiḍubbhikkhācākam,
    saddalā haritā bhūmi, esa kālo Mahāmuniti.

¹⁴ SDQ graṅ, LN draṅ.
¹⁵ S khur, DQLN gur.
¹⁶ LN tshigsu.
¹⁷ SDLN cu, Q bcu.
¹⁸ SDLN 'os, Q bos.
¹⁹ DQLN brjod, S rjod.
²⁰ LN gsunśo.
²¹ DQLN khyed, S khyod.
III 19.  

bcom ldan 'das kyis yul am gha\(^1\) na gnas pa'i rigs kyi bu rnam stoñ phrag bcu dañ bcas pa groñ khyer ser skya'i gži na\(^2\) gnas pa'i stoñ phrag bcu po thams cad zag pa zad pa'i dge sloñ 'khor du byas nas rgyal po'i khab nas phyi rol tu\(^3\) 'thon te | nī ma re re la dpag tshad re re bgrod cīn rgyal po'i khāb nas dpag tshad drug cu'\(^4\) groñ khyer ser skya'i gžir zla ba ĝūis kyis slob par dgoñs śiṅ bul ba'ān\(^5\) ma yin | myur ba'ān\(^6\) ma yin par 'bruṅ por gṣegs so'\(^7\) | gnas bṛtan gyis kyān bcom ldan 'das byon no śes rgyal po'i drūñ du sṃra'o śes bsams nas nam mka'\(^8\) la soñ ste rgyal po'i gnas su'\(^9\) bslēb\(^{20}\) par gyur to || rgyal pos gnas bṛtan gźigs nas thugs tshim par gyur (97a) te\(^{21}\) | gdān bsams pa la bzhugs su bcug go'\(^2\) || rāñ la byed pa bžin bcos nas ro sna tshogs pa'i bza' bas lhuṅ bzed bka'n nas 23 phul lo'\(^2\) || gnas bṛtan laṅs nas 'gro bar bsams pa dañ | bu bzhugs la gṣol cig | rgyal po chen po ston pa dañ śie bar soñ ste bza’o'\(^{25}\) || slar yaṅ bu ston pa ga na yod | ston phrag ni śu’i dge sloñ 'khor du byas

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1. LN rjesu.
2. LN legsu.
3. LN rjesu.
4. SDN gzun, QL bzuñ.
5. SD śig, QLN cig.
7. SDLN bṛtan, Q gṛtan.
8. LN naso.
9. SDQ smras so, LN omit.
10. SD am gha, Q 'om gha, LN a gha.
11. SL ma ga dha, D ma ga dhā, QN ma gadha.
12. SDQ gži na, LN omit.
13. SDQ tu, DL du.
14. SDLN cu‘i, Q bcu‘i.
15. S ba’ān, DQLN ba yaṅ.
16. S ba’ān, DQLN ba yaṅ.
17. LN gzegsō.
18. LN namkha’.
19. LN gṇasu.
20. S bslēb, DQLN slob.
21. SDLQ te, N to.
22. LN bzhugsu bcugo.
23. SDQ omit, LN phul nas.
24. LN phulo.
25. DQLN bza’o, S bza’ ‘o.
nas rgyal po chen po niid bta ba'i phyir byon no || rgyal po thugs tshim par gyur nas smras pa | khyod¹ 'di gsol la bdag gi sras groṅ khyer 'dir ma byon gyi bar la 'di niid nas luṅ bzed du bza' ba khyer la son cig ces smras so² || gnas brtan gyis rgyal po'i gsun mān te | rgyal pos gnas brtan gyi bza' ba gsol zin pa daṅ luṅ bzed bkrus nas dri bzan po'i phyre mas byugs te | bza' ba mchog gis gaṅ bar byas nas de bzin gsregs pa la phul cig žes smras nas gnas brtan gyi lag par³ byin no⁴ || gnas brtan mi thams cad kyi mthoṅ ba daṅ luṅ bzed nam mkha' la 'phags so⁵ raṅ niid kyaṅ nam mkha'⁶ la gšeds nas bza' ba'i luṅ bzed bzaṅ ste | ston pa'i phyag tu phul nas ston pas kyaṅ der bza' ba la lons spyod do || gnas brtan thabs 'dis⁷ fi ma re re bzin du bza' ba phul lo⁸ || ston pas kyaṅ lam gyi bar du rgyal po niid kyi⁹ gdugs tshod la lons spyod do¹⁰ || gnas brtan gyis kyaṅ gdugs tshod la lons spyod pa'i mthar fi ma re re bzin du de¹¹ rin 'di tsam nas bcom ldan 'das (97b) byon no || {Pā88} de¹² rin 'di tsam du bcom ldan 'das byon žes pa daṅ | san's rgyas kyi yon tan yaṅ dag par ldan pa niid brjod ciṅ rgyal rigs¹³ thams cad ston pa ma mthoṅ ba niid kyi'stong pa'i drun du raṅ niid kyi¹⁴ sems daṅs par mdzad do¹⁵ || de'i rgyu mthshan gyis gnas brtan la bcom ldan 'das kyi's dge sloṅ dag bdag gi ŋan thos kyi naṅ nas rigzad par byed pa nams kyi mchog gaṅ¹⁶ yin¹⁷ na¹⁸ 'di ni 'char ka žes¹⁹ pa'o' ||

III 20.
'di mchog tu bzuṅ bas šākya pa rnams kyi's kyaṅ bcom ldan 'das rjes sū²⁰ byon pa'i śun la bdag cag

¹ SLN khyod, DQ khyed.
² L smraso.
³ SDLN par, Q pas.
⁴ LN byino.
⁵ S 'phags so, DQ 'phaṅs so, LN 'phagso.
⁶ LN namkha'.
⁷ SLN 'dis, DQ 'di'i.
⁸ N phulo.
⁹ SDL kyi, QN kyiis.
¹⁰ N spyodo.
¹¹ DN de, SQL di.
¹² DN de, SQL di.
¹³ SN rigs, DQL ris.
¹⁴ DQLN kyi, S gyi.
¹⁵ L mdzado.
¹⁶ SDLN gaṅ, Q omits.
¹⁷ SDLN omit, Q gaṅ.
¹⁸ SDQ na, LN omit.
¹⁹ SDQN žes, L ces.
²⁰ LN rjesu.
No ba'i glen gi

gi  fie du'i gtso bo blta'o žes 'dus nas | bcom ldan 'das bžugs pa'i gnas rtog² ciṁ śākya nya³ gro dha'i kun dga’ ra ba yid du 'oṅ ba sta gon byas so⁴ || der thams cad fēr bsdogs byas nas spos daṅ me tog⁵ so so lag tu thogs te | bsu ba byed ciṁ rgyan thams cad kyis so sor brgyan nas | gẑon nu⁶ daṅ gẑon nu⁷ ma⁸ groṅ khyer gyi khye’u daṅ bu mo snar daṅ por btaṅ ba rnams daṅ | de nas rgyal po’i gẑon nu daṅ gẑon nu ma dag de rnams kyi bar raṅ raṅ gis spos daṅ | me tog daṅ | phye ma la sos mchod pa byed ciṁ | bcom ldan 'das kyis bžes nas nya gro dha’i kun dga’ ra ba fiid du byon no || der bcom ldan 'das kyis ston phrag ni śu’i zag pa zad pa’i dge sloṅ 'khor du byas nas gدان bsams pa mchod la saṁs rgyas bžugs so⁹ || śākya’i rīgs ni na rgyal daṅ ldan pa yin | sems rtsub pa yin pas 'di ni don grub gẑon (98a) nu śed¹⁰ daṅ lhan ciṁ gẑon nu yin no¹¹ || śed ni phu bo¹² yin no¹³ || 'di ni sriṅ mo’i bu yin no¹⁴ || 'di ni tsha bo yin no¹⁵ žes bsams nas khye’u daṅ rgyal po’i gẑon nu žes smras te | khyed kyi phyag gis¹⁶ bdag khyed kyi rgyab tu¹⁷ sdo²¹ do žes bsams so¹⁹ || de rnams de bžin du gnas nas | bcom ldan 'das kyis de rnams kyi bsam pa gzigs nas | gñen rnams bdag la phyag mi byed par 'dod kyaṅ da lta phyag byed du gţug²⁰ dgos te | mňon par šes pa’i gţi daṅ | ye šes daṅ | bsam gtan daṅ ldan²¹ par ’jug pa bskyped dgos so²² śňam ste | bţeňš²³ nas nam mkha’²⁴ la gţegš²⁵ so²⁶ || de rnams kyi mgo la žabs kyi rdul

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1 SDLN gi, Q omits.
2 SDQ rtog, LN rtogs.
3 SDQL nga, N mya.
4 LN bya'so.
5 SDLN nga, Q. rtogs.
6 LN gẑonu.
7 LN gẑonu.
8 SDLQ ma, N ni.
9 LN bţu'so.
10 DQLN śed, S ded.
11 LN yino.
12 S phuⁿ po, DQ phu bo, LN phu po (both look like emendations from phuⁿ po, L has ha graph erased, N has 3 tsegs).
13 L yino.
14 N yino.
15 SDQ no, LN omit.
16 SDQ gi, LN gi.
17 SDQN tu, L du.
18 SDQ sdo, LN bsdo.
19 LN bsams.
20 SDLN gţu, Q bţu's.
21 SLN ldan, DQ sňoms.
22 DQ so, SLN omit.
23 SDQ bţeňš, LN gţeňš.
24 LN namka’.
25 SDLN gţegš, Q šes.

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lhun¹ ba bžin du a mra bsruṅ² ba¹i a mra¹³ šiṅ gi druṅ du so so¹i cho 'phrul daṅ mtshuṅs par cho 'phrul mdzad do ||

III 21.
rgyal pos de¹i¹ ya mtshan che ba mthoṅ no⁵ žes smras so⁶ || bcom ldan 'das khyod⁷ 'khruṅs pa¹i ŋin mo dka’ thub pa nag po lha len⁸ gyis phyag byed ciṅ ņe bar gnas pas khyod⁹ kyis žabs bskyod pa bram ze¹i spyi po la ņe bar gnas so¹⁰ || de mthoṅ nas bdag gis kyaṅ khyod¹¹ la phyag byas so¹² || 'di ni bdag gi phyag daṅ po žes¹³ yin no¹⁴ || bkra sī pa¹i 'bru 'debs pa¹i ŋin mo 'dzam bu¹¹⁵ ŋiṅ gi grib ma¹i dpal gi mal stan la khyod¹⁶ bžugs pa na ŋiṅ 'dzam bu¹¹⁷ grib mas ma btaṅ¹⁸ bar mthoṅ ba¹i tshe yaṅ¹⁹ žabs la phyag byas so¹²⁰ || 'di ni bdag gi²¹ phyag gnis pa yin no²² || da lta ni bdag gis sḥar ma mthoṅ ba¹i cho 'phrul yaṅ mthoṅ bas khyped kiṣ žabs la (98b) phyag bgyid do || 'di ni bdag gi phyag gsum pa yin no ||

III 22.
slar yaṅ rgyal pos bcom ldan 'das la phyag byed ciṅ | phyag byed par mi nus pa¹i šākya¹i rigs gcig kyaṅ med do || thams cad kyis kyaṅ phyag byed pa ŋid do || de nas bcom ldan 'das la ŋe du rnams kyis

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26 LN gzungso.
1 SDQ lhun, LN omit.
2 SN a mra bsruṅ, D a mra srun, Q a smra bsruṅ, L a smra bsun.
3 SDLN a mra¹i, Q a smra¹i.
4 SDQ de¹i, LN de.
5 N mthoṅo.
6 LN smraso.
7 S khyod, DQLN khyed.
8 SDQ len, LN lan.
9 S khyod, DQLN khyed.
10 LN gnaso.
11 S khyod, DQLN khyed.
12 LN byaso.
13 SDQ žes, LN omit.
14 LN yino.
15 SDQ 'dzam bu¹i, LN 'dzambu¹i.
16 S khyod DQLN khyed.
17 SDQ 'dzam bu¹i, LN 'dzambu¹i.
18 SDLN btaṅ, Q btad.
19 S tshe¹aṅ, DQLN tshe yaṅ.
20 LN byaso.
21 SDQ gi, LN gis.
22 LN yino.

480
phyag byed ciṅ nam mkha'¹ las babs nas gdan bṣams pa'i mehog gi guṅ la bzung so² || bcom ldan 'das bzung nas fie du rnam's dan³ 'dus par gyur pa la⁴ thams cad sems gcig tu gnas so⁵ || de nas sprin chen po las pad ma'i⁶ 'dab⁷ ma la chu mi chags⁸ pa lta bu'i char 'bebs so⁹ || chu zaṅs kyi mdoṅ can sa la sgra sgrigs sīṅ 'baṅ bo || 'baṅ bar 'dod pa rnam's 'baṅ no¹⁰ || 'baṅ bar mi 'dod pa rnam's mi 'baṅ no¹¹ || thigs pa tsam yāṅ mi ltun¹² no || de mthoṅ nas thams cad du yā mthshan pa daṅ rmad du byuṅ ba skyes so¹³ || {Pāś} e ma ho no mtshar che | e ma ho rmad du byuṅ no¹⁴ ḳes rjod¹⁵ par byed do || ston pas 'di kho na ma yin gyi | bdag gi fie du daṅ phrad pa na pad ma'i¹⁶ 'dab¹⁷ ma¹⁸ chu mi chags¹⁹ pa lta bu'i char 'bebs²⁰ sīṅ 'das pa'i dus su 'aṅ nas phab bo²¹ || 'di'i don byuṅ ba ni thams cad sgrol gyi skye²² rabs su²³ bṣad do²⁴ || chos btan²⁵ pa thos nas²⁶ thams cad laṅs te phyag byas nas sorn no²⁷ || gcig giś kyaṅ rgyal po daṅ | rgyal tshab daṅ | blon po rnam's saṅ bdag gi gnas su²⁸ bsod sños khyer 'oṅ no²⁹

¹ LN namkha'.
² LN bzungso.
³ SDLN daṅ, Q omits.
⁴ SDQ la, LN omit.
⁵ LN gnaso.
⁶ SLN padma'i, DQ pad ma'i.
⁷ SDLN 'dab, Q mdab.
⁸ S chags, DQLN 'chags.
⁹ LN 'bebs.
¹⁰ N 'baṅo.
¹¹ N 'baṅo.
¹² SDLN ltun, Q lton.
¹³ LN skyeso.
¹⁴ LN byuṅo.
¹⁵ SD rjod, QLN brjod.
¹⁶ SLN padma'i, DQ pad ma'i.
¹⁷ SDLN 'dab, Q mdab.
¹⁸ SLN omit, DQ la.
¹⁹ S chags, DQLN 'chags.
²⁰ SDQ 'bebs, LN 'babs.
²¹ N phabo.
²² SD skyes, QLN skye.
²³ N rabsu.
²⁴ N bṣado.
²⁵ SDQ bstan, LN stan.
²⁶ SDQ nas, LN omit.
²⁷ N soṅo.
²⁸ N gnasu.
²⁹ N 'oṅo.
III 23.
ston\(^3\) pas slar ښi ma gi\(\tilde{n}\)s pa (99a) la ston phrag ښi su\(\tilde{u}\)’i dge sloň ’khor du byas nas groň khyer ser
skya’\(\tilde{\i}\)\(^4\) gzi\(\tilde{r}\) bsod s\(\tilde{\i}\)oms la b\(\tilde{\i}\)ud do\(^5\) || gaň zig mgro\(\tilde{n}\)\(^6\) du g\(\tilde{\i}\)er ba daň | lhuň bzed khyer bsu’aň\(^7\) med do
|| bcom idaň ’das so\(\tilde{\i}\) druň du ’khod de rnam par brtags pas ji ltar s\(\tilde{\i}\)un\(^8\) gyi saňs rgyas rnam s kyi rigs
khyer du byon nas\(^9\) bsod s\(\tilde{\i}\)oms mdzad pa b\(\tilde{\i}\)ün du gaň gi\(^10\) ji ltar rigs par mi chen po’i khyim
du ’gro žiň yaň na go rims b\(\tilde{\i}\)ün du bsod s\(\tilde{\i}\)oms spyod do || de nas saňs rgyas gcig gis kyaň ji ltar rigs
par g\(\tilde{\i}\)egs pa ma mthoň bas bdag gis kyaň da ni ’di’i rigs so\(^11\) || ’di’\(^12\) s\(\tilde{\i}\)on gyi saňs rgyas kyi rigs b\(\tilde{\i}\)ün
du bdag gis kyaň rigs par gzun\(^13\) bar bya’o || bdag gi ñaň thos kyaň bdag ñiď b\(\tilde{\i}\)ün rjes su\(^14\) slob cinh
bsod s\(\tilde{\i}\)oms la rdzogs par byon no\(^15\) || ’khod pa’i khyim nas bzuň\(^16\) nas go rims b\(\tilde{\i}\)ün du bsod s\(\tilde{\i}\)oms la
spyod do || ’phags pa g\(\tilde{\i}\)on nu don grub bsod s\(\tilde{\i}\)oms la g\(\tilde{\i}\)egs so\(^17\) žes brjod do || ñis thog daň sum thog
la sogs pa’i khán bzaňs\(^18\) rnam s\(^19\) steň gi sgo chuň phye nas mi thams cad blta bar gyur tej

III 24.
la ma sgra gc\(\tilde{n}\) ’dzin gyi yum yaň ’phags pa’i bu groň khyer ’di ñiď du rgyal po chen po’i mthu
sger gyi do li la sogs pa la žon te | de riň nas skra daň kha spu\(^20\) bregs śiň ňur smrig gi gos gyon nas
snod lag tu khyer te | bsod s\(\tilde{\i}\)oms la ’gro ba mdzes sam mi mdzes žes steň gi sgo chuň phye nas
blta’o|| sna tshogs pa’i ’dod chags daň bral ba yaň dag par ’bar žiň sku lus (99b) kyi ’od kyis\(^21\) groň

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\(^1\) SDLN smra, Q smras.
\(^2\) LN byuňo.
\(^3\) SDQ ston, LN slon.
\(^4\) SDQN skya’i, L kya’i.
\(^5\) N b\(\tilde{\i}\)udo.
\(^6\) SD mgro\(\tilde{n}\), QLN ’gron.
\(^7\) S b\(\tilde{\i}\)us\(\tilde{\i}\)aň, DQLN b\(\tilde{\i}\)u yaň.
\(^8\) S śiň, DQLN śiňon.
\(^9\) SDQ nas, LN omit.
\(^10\) SDQ gi, LN omit.
\(^11\) LN rigso.
\(^12\) SDQ ’di, LN ’di’i.
\(^13\) SDQ gzun, LN bzuň.
\(^14\) L brdzes, N rjesu.
\(^15\) N byono.
\(^16\) SDLN bzuň, Q gzun.
\(^17\) N gšegso.
\(^18\) SD bzaňs, QLN bzaň.
\(^19\) LN mamsu.
\(^20\) SDQN spu, L bu.
\(^21\) SDQ kyis, LN kyi.
khyer gyi sten thams cad snaṅ bar mdzad de1 | 'dom gaṅ ba'i 'od kun nas bskor2 ŋin rab tu gsal ba | dpe byad bzaṅ po brgyad cu3 daṅ ldan pa | skyes bu chen po'i mtshan sum cu4 rtsa gānis kyis brgyan pa5 | saṅs rgyas kyi dpal dpe med par rnam par gsal ba mthoṅ no6 || gtsug7 tor nas bzuṅ nas žabs kyī8 mthil gyi bar de srid do ||

Ap-a p.949

| Ap-a p.949 | dbu skra g.yas 'khyil10 | 'jam nag11 snum pa daṅ ||
| dpral ba dri med ŋi ma'i mthil bžin no12 ||
| sku daṅ 'tsham13 pa'i šaṅs ni mtho ba daṅ ||
| mi yi seṅ ge 'od zer gsal bar mdzad ||

'di lta bu la sogs pa'i mi'i seṅ ge la tshigs su14 bcad pas mnoon par bstod do15 || khyed kyi sras po bsod sṅoms la spyod do Žes rgyal po la smras so16 ||

III 25.
rgyal po'i sems sdug bsṅal bas gos nas bzuṅ ste myur ŋin myur bar phyir 'thon te17 | bcom ldan 'das kyi drun du 'khod nas smras pa | ci btsun pa bdag cag ŋo tsha bas ci'i don du bsod sṅoms mdzad | {Pā90} dge sloṅ 'di rnam kyi bza' ba bdag gis ster bar mi sēs bsams pa18 yin nam ci lags | rgyal po

1 SDLN de, Q do.
2 SDQN bskor, L skor.
3 SDLN cu, Q buc.
4 SDN cu, QL buc.
5 SDQ brgyan pa, LN rgyan pas.
6 N mthoṅo.
7 SDQN gtsug, L btsug.
8 SDQ kyi, LN kyis.
9 Jātakañādā p.89; sTog 99b; Ap-a p.94.
10 Jātakañādā p.89,
   siniddhanilamudukūncitakeso
   suriyasunimmalatalabhinalato
   yuttatungamudukāyatanāso
   ramsijālivatato narāšho ti.
11 SDLQ 'khyil, LN mkhyil.
12 SLN nag, DQ gnag.
13 N bžino.
14 SDLQ 'tsham13, LN 'tshams.
15 N tshigsu.
16 N bstodo.
17 LN smraso.
18 SDLQ te, LN ste.
19 SDLQ omit, LN yaṅ dag.

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chen po'i rigs kyi spyod pa yin no¹ || btsun pa bdag cag śākyā'ī rigs žes bya ba'i rigs so² || de la rgyal rigs gcig kyan bsod sñioms byed pa'i min³ tsam yaṅ med do || rgyal po chen po'i rigs žes bya ba ni khyod kyi rigs 'di yin no⁴ || bka' stsal pa | rgyal po chen po mi dgyes pa ma mdzad cig | slar yaṅ bdag cag gi⁵ mar me⁶ mdzad daṅ | kō di nya⁷ daṅ | 'od sruṅs⁸ žes bya ba (100a) 'di sans rgyas kyi rigs yin no⁹ || 'di rnamz daṅ gžan sans rgyas ston phrag du mas kyan bsod sñioms spyod cīn 'tsho bar mdzad la | sran gi dbus su¹⁰ 'khod pa ñiid do ||

Dhp 168¹¹

bag med lhag mar byed pa med || chos la spyod cīn legs par spyod ||
chos la spyad na bde ba 'byuṅ || 'jig rten 'di daṅ phyi mar bde ||

chos kyi rkaṅ pa'i tshigs su¹² bcad pa 'di bstan cīn bṣad do¹³ || tshigs su¹⁴ bcad pa'i mthar rgyal pos rgyun du¹⁵ žugs pa'i 'bras bu thob bo¹⁶ ||

Dhp 169¹⁷

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¹ N yino.
² LN rigso.
³ DQLN miṅ, S mi.
⁴ N yino.
⁵ SD gi, QLN gis.
⁶ SDLN me, Q med.
⁷ DQ kō di nya, SN ko'u di nya, L ko di nya.
⁸ S 'od sruṅs, DQ 'od sruṅ, LN 'od sbruṅ.
⁹ N yino.
¹⁰ L dbusu.
¹¹ Jātakamidāna p.90; sTog 100a; Dhp 168; PDhp 27; Uv 4. 35; GĐhp 110.; Dhp-a III p.164; Ap-a pp. 94, 539.
¹² Jātakamidāna p.90,
   uttiṭhe na-ppamajjeyya / dhammam sucaritam care,
   dammacārī sukham seti / asmiṁ loke paramhi ca.
Patna Dharmapada 27,
   uttiṭeyā na pramajjeyā / dammacārīm care,
   dammacārī [ ] seti / asmiṁ loke paramhi ca.
Uddānavarga 4.35,
   uttiṣṭhen na pramāḍyeta / dammacārīm care\et / dammacārī sukham \hate / by asmiṁ loke paratra ca/ //
Gāndhāri Dharmapada 110,
   uḍīṭha na pramāḍa' \hata / dhamu sucarida cari
   dhama-carib suhu śe'adi / asvi loki parasa yi.
¹³ LN tshigsu.
¹⁴ N bsādo.
¹⁵ LN tshigsu.
¹⁶ SDQ du, LN tu.
¹⁷ N thobö.
¹⁸ Jātakamidāna p. 90; sTog 100a; Dhp 169; PDhp 224; Uv 30. 5; GĐhp 328; Dhp-a III p. 164; Ap II pp. 590, 596; Ap-a p. 539.

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chos spyod pa ni legs par spyod || ŋes par spyod pa mi bya žiṅ ||
chos spyad pa yis bde ba 'byuṅ || 'jig rten 'di daña pha rol tu'o' ||

slar yaṅ chos kyi rkaṅ pa'i tshigs su² bcad pa 'di thos nas lan cig phyir 'oṅ bā'i³ 'bras bu thob par gyur
to || chos skyoṅ ba'i skyes rabs thob⁴ nas phyir mi 'oṅ bā'i 'bras bu thob par gyur⁵ to || 'chi bā'i dus su⁶ gdugs dkar po'i 'og tu dpal gyi mal stan gyi sten du gzims pa fiid na dgra bcom pa thob par gyur⁷
to || dgon par gnas nas dka' thub spyod pa rgyal po la dgos pa med do ||

III.26.
rgyun du⁸ žugs pa'i 'bras bu m štoon du byas nas | slar yaṅ bcom ldan 'das kyī lhun bzed bzuṅ ste⁹ |
'khor daṅ bcas pa khaṅ bzaṅs¹⁰ chen po'i sten du spyan draṅs nas gya nom pa'i bza' ba daṅ bca¹¹ ba
rmams draṅs so¹² || gdugs tshod¹³ zin pa'i mthar sgra gcan 'dzin gyi ma ma gtogs pa'i btsun mo 'khor
daṅ bcas pa thams cad 'ons nas bcom ldan 'das la phyag byas so¹⁴ || gzan yaṅ des (100b) 'khor gyi mi
rmams la 'phags pa'i bu la phyag gyis¹⁵ žes¹⁶ brjod nas | gal te kho mo la yon tan yod na 'phags pa'i bu
raṅ niid kyī¹⁷ gnas su 'byon ne¹⁸ || byon pa niid na de la phyag byed do¹⁹ žes brjod nas ma 'ons so²⁰ || rgyal

Jātakaṇidāṇa p. 90,
dhammaṁ caru caṣārumā / na ṇa mu caṣārumā caru,
dhammačāri suṣkhaṁ seti / asvi loke paṭaṁhi ca.

Patna Dharmapada 224,
dhammaṁ caru caṣārumā / na ṇa mu caṣārumā caru
dhammačāri suṣkhaṁ seti / asvi loke paṭaṁhi ca.

Udānāvarga 30.5,
dhammaṁ caret caṣārumā / nainā mu caṣārumā caret
dhammačāri suṣkhaṁ sete / hy asvi loke paṭaṁhi ca.

Gāndhāri Dharmapada 328,
dhamu care caṣāra / ... druṣcarida care
dhamayari suha śedī / asvi lokī paraṣa yi.

¹ DQ du'o.
² N tshigsu.
³ SLN ba'i, DQ gi.
⁴ SLN thob, DQ thos.
⁵ SDLN gyur, Q 'gyur.
⁶ N dusu.
⁷ SDLN gyur, Q 'gyur.
⁸ SDQL du, N tu.
⁹ SDLN ste, Q te.
¹⁰ SDLN bzais, Q bzaṅ.
¹¹ SDQ bca', LN bcas.
¹² LN draṅso.
¹³ SDLN tshod, Q chod.
¹⁴ LN byasos.
¹⁵ DQLN gyis, S bgyses.
¹⁶ SDLN žes, Q ŋes.
¹⁷ SDLN kyi, Q la.
pos lhuṅ bzed bzuṅ nas bcom ldan 'das ŋan thos mchog gőis daṅ bcas pa rgyal po'ī bu mo'i khaṅ bzaṅs su'1 gšegs te | rgyal po'ī bu mo raṅ ŋid ji ltar mos pa'i phyag byed cīn gzan daṅ dga'2 ba cuṅ zad kyaṅ ma byed ces nas | gdan bšams pa mchog gi guṅ la bžugs so3 || de myur du 'oṅs nas byin pa bzuṅ ste | žabs kyi sten du mgo bo bžag nas ji ltar 'dod pa'i phyag byas so4 || rgyal po daṅ rgyal po'ī bu mos bcom ldan 'das la dga' ba maṅ pos yon tan la sogs pas yon tan daṅ ldan par bṛjod nas | btsun pa bdag gi bu mos ŋid kyi gos nur smrıg gyon pa thos nas | {Pa91} de nas bzuṅ ste den gi bar du gosů nur smrıg5 gyon no6 || ŋid kyi gduṅs tshod lan cig gsoł ba thos nas bu mos kyaṅ bza' ba lan cig zos so7 || ŋid kysi8 mal stan chen po spaṅs pa thos nas | ŋal khri chuṅ ba la ŋal lo9 || ŋid kyi me tog gi 'phren10 ba daṅ spos la sogs pa la sred pa med par11 thos nas | me tog gi 'phren12 ba daṅ spos la sogs pa la chags pa13 med pa skyes so14 || raṅ gi ŋic du mams bdag gis gso'o žes 'phrin bskur nas | gņen gcig15 la'ṅ16 ltā17 ba mi 'dug go18 || bcom ldan 'das 'di lta bu'ī yon tan daṅ ldan pa ni bdag gi (101a) bu mo yin no19 žes gsoł to || rgyal po cen po ya mtshan20 mi che'o21 || 'di da lta khyed srun22 bar byed pa'i rgyal po'ī bu mo ye ŋes yōṅs su23 ma smin pa24 raṅ gis bsrūṅ no25 || snar bsrūṅs26 pa med ciṅ ri la sogs

18 N gnaṣu byono.
19 N byedo.
20 LN 'oṅso.
1 LN bzaṅsu.
2 S dga', DQLN 'gal.
3 LN bzuṅso.
4 LN byaso.
5 SDQN smrıg, L rmrıg.
6 N gyoṅo.
7 LN zoso.
8 SDQL kyis, N gyis.
9 LN ŋiāo.
10 S 'phren, DQLN phreṅ.
11 S par, DQLN pa.
12 S 'phren, DQLN phreṅ.
13 DOLN pa, S omits.
14 LN skyesο.
15 SDLN gcig, Q cιg.
16 S la'āṅ, DQLN la yaṅ.
17 SLN lta, DQ blta.
18 LN 'dugo.
19 N yino.
20 SDQN ya mtshan, L yaṅ tshan.
21 DQLN che'o, S che 'o.
22 SDQ srun, LN bsrūṅ.
23 LN yoṅso.
24 SDQ pa, LN par.

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pa la 'gro ba na | ye šes yoṅs su¹ ma rdzogs pa² raṅ gis sruṅs³ so⁴ žes gsuṅs⁵ nas | mi 'am ci zla ba‘i skyes rabs gsuṅs te | gdan⁶ las bžeṅs nas gšegs so⁷ ||

III 27.

ifi ma gños pa la rgyal bu gzon nu⁸ dga’ bo rgyal por dbaṅ bs kur ba daṅ | khan pa gsar pa‘i naṅ du žugs te bkra śis pa‘i bag ma blaṅs nas ūe bar gnas so⁹ || de’i khyim du gšega nas gzon nu lhuṅ bzed zuṅ žig¹⁰ ces rab tu dbyun bar dgoṅs nas bkra śis brjod do¹¹ || gdan la bžeṅs nas gšegs so¹² || ljoṅs kyi dge ba‘i bu mos ’gro ba mthon no¹³ || 'phags pa‘i bu myur du śog ces brjod nas blta’o || des kyaṅ bcom ldan ’das kyi¹⁴ lhuṅ bzed de¹⁵ bzuṅ¹⁶ bar ma nus nas gtsug lag khan ūid du gšegs so¹⁷ || bcom ldan ’das¹⁸ de la ’dod pa med pa ūid kyis¹⁹ rab tu ’byuṅ ba byed do²⁰ || ’di ltar bcom ldan ’das groṅ khyer ser skyar gšegs śin²¹ ifi ma gsum pa la dga’ bo rab tu byuṅ bar byas so²² ||

III 28.

ifi ma bdun pa la sgra gcan²³ ’dzin gyi mas | gzon nu²⁴ rgyan gyis brgyan nas | bcom ldan ’das kyi²⁵

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23 LN bsruṅo.
26 SLN bsruṅs, DQ bsruṅ.
1 LN yoṅs.
2 SDQ pa, LN par.
3 S sruṅs, DLN bsruṅs, Q bsruṅ.
4 LN bsruṅso.
5 SDQ gsuṅs, LN bsuṅs.
6 SLN gdan, D stan, Q gtan.
7 LN gšegsø.
8 N gžonu.
9 L gnaso.
10 SN žig, D śig, QL cig.
11 SLN do, DQ de.
12 LN gšegsø.
13 N mthono.
14 SDQ kyi, LN kyis.
15 SLN de, DQ omit.
16 SQLN bzuṅ, D gzuṅ.
17 LN gšegsø.
18 SDQN bcom ldan ’das, L bcos.
19 SDQ kyis, LN kyaṅ.
20 L byedo.
21 SDQ śin, LN šes.
22 LN byaso.
23 SDQ gcan, LN can.
druṅ du btaṅ no¹ || bu ston phrag fī  śu’ī dge sloṅ ’khor daṅ bcas pa’ ’di rnam s Ltos | gser gyi kha dog can gyi tshaṅs pa’i gzugs kyi mdoṅ can | (101b) dge sbyoṅ ’di ni khyed kyi yab bo² || ’di la gter chen po yod cīn de ’thon pa nas bzuṅ³ nas gter mthoṅ ba med do || soṅ la nor sloṅs śig⁴ | bdag khyed kyi bu gzon nu⁵ yin no⁶ || rgyal por dgaṅ bskur ba thob nas ’khor los⁷ sgyur ba la dgaṅ byed par ’gyur ro⁸ || bdag la nor gyi don du nor stsal du gsol | yab kyi nor bu bdag yin no⁹ žes gsol cig ces smras pa daṅ | gzon nu¹⁰ bcom ldan ’das daṅ ŉe bar soṅ ste | yab kyi druṅ du dga’ ba skyes so¹¹ || sems spro bar gyur to || dge sbyoṅ des¹² khyod¹³ kyi grib ma ni de’o žes brjod nas | gzan yaṅ raṅ gi rigs pas brjod cīn ’khod do || bcom ldan ’das gdugs tshod kyi mthar rjes su¹⁴ yi raṅ ba mdzad nas gdan las bzeńs te¹⁵ gseg sο¹⁶ || gzon nus bdag la dge sloṅ nor stsal du gsol | bdag la dge sloṅ nor stsal du gsol | bcom ldan ’das kyi¹⁷ rjes su¹⁸ ’braṅs¹⁹ nas | bcom ldan ’das kyi gzon nu phyir log la | na’i rjes su²⁰ ma ’gro žes pa daṅ | rjes su²¹ braṅ ba rnam s kyaṅ bcom ldan ’das daṅ ’grogs nas byon te | ldog par ma nus nas | gzon nu²² bcom ldan ’das daṅ lhan cig kun dga’ ra ba śid du phyin no²³ || de nas bcom ldan ’das kyi bsams pa | ’di yab kyi nor ’dod cīn ’jig rten pa’i nor ni ’tshe ba daṅ bcas pa yin | da ni gzon nu la byaṅ chub sīṅ po des thob pa’i ’phags pa’i nor rnam pa bdun byin na²⁴ | {Pā92} ’jig rten las ’das pa’i nor

²⁴ N gizonu.
²⁵ SDQL kyi, N kyis.
¹ LN btaṅo.
² L yabo.
³ SDLN bzuṅ, Q gzuṅ.
⁴ SDQN sīg, L cig.
⁵ N gizonu.
⁶ LN yino.
⁷ DQ los, SLN lo.
⁸ N ’gyuro.
⁹ N yino.
¹⁰ N gizonu.
¹¹ LN skyeso.
¹² DQ des, SLN de.
¹³ S khyod, DQLN khyed.
¹⁴ LN rjesu.
¹⁵ SDQN te, L ste.
¹⁶ LN gsegso.
¹⁷ SDLN kyi, Q kyis.
¹⁸ LN rjesu.
¹⁹ SDQ ’braṅs, LN ’braṅ.
²⁰ LN rjesu.
²¹ LN rjesu.
²² L gizonu.
²³ N phyino.
²⁴ SDQ byin na, LN byino.
gyi bdag po byed par 'gyur bar dgoṅs (102a) nas | tshe daṅ ldan pa šā ri'i bu¹ bos te | de'i phyir na šā ri'i bu² khyod kyis gžon nu³ sgra gcen 'dzin rab tu phyuṅ žes brjod nas rab tu byuṅ bar byas so⁴ || slar yan rgyal po gžon nu'i⁵ sdug bsnal cher skyes te brsan ma nus nas | bcom ldan 'das kyi gnas su⁶ phyin te | btsun pa 'phags pa ma daṅ pha yis rjes su⁷ ma gnaṅ ba'i bu rab tu 'byuṅ bar byed pa ma legs so⁸ žes dam pa bslaṅs so⁹ ||

III 29.

bcom ldan 'das kyi de la dam pa byin no || slar yan ŋi¹⁰ ma gños pa la rgyal po'i gnas su¹¹ gdugs tshod gsol nas phyogs gcig tu 'khod do¹² || rgyal pos btsun pa ŋid dka'¹³ ba spyod pa'i dus su lha gcig¹⁴ bdag gi druṅ du né bar 'oṅs nas khyed kyi bu dus las 'das so¹⁵ žes smras so¹⁶ || de'i tshig la yid ches pa med ciṅ | bdag gi sras byaṅ chub ma thob bar du dus las 'da' bar mi byed do¹⁷ || de'i tshig¹⁸ bdag gi bkag go¹⁹ žes brjod do || bcom ldan 'das kyi bka'²⁰ stsal pa | da lta ji ltar khyod yid ches par byed | snaṅ²¹ rus pa mthoṅ nas khyed kyi bu śi'o žes zer ba la yid ches par ma byas so²² || 'di'i don 'byuṅ ba ni chos skyoṅ ba chen po'i skyes²³ rabs su bṣad do²⁴ || gtam gyi mthar rgyal pos phyir mi 'on ba'i 'bras bu la gnas so²⁵ || de ltar bcom ldan 'das kyi yab 'bras bu gsum la so sor gnas nas dge sloṅ gi

¹ SDLN šā ri'i bu, Q ša ri'i bu.
² SDLN šā ri'i bu, Q ša ri'i bu.
³ N gžonu.
⁴ L byaso.
⁵ N gžonu'i.
⁶ LN gnasu.
⁷ LN rjesu.
⁸ LN legso.
⁹ LN bslaṅso.
¹⁰ SDQ ŋi, L ŋin, N ŋid.
¹¹ LN gnasu.
¹² LN 'khodo.
¹³ SDLN dka', Q bka'.
¹⁴ SQLN gcig, D cig.
¹⁵ LN 'daso.
¹⁶ LN smraso.
¹⁷ LN byedo.
¹⁸ SDLN tshig, Q tshe.
¹⁹ N bkago.
²⁰ SDLN bka', Q 'ka'.
²¹ SQLN snaṅ, D slar.
²² LN byaso.
²³ SLN skyes, D skyis, Q skye.
²⁴ LN rabsu bṣado.
²⁵ LN gnaso.

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III 30.

de'i tshe khyim bdag mgon med zas sbyin gyis śīṅ rta lha brgya'i nor khyer nas rgyal po'i khab tu⁴ raṅ ṇid dga' ba'i grogs kyi khan par soṅ ste | des sans rgyas bcom ldan 'das byon no⁵ ās pa thos nas śīṅ tu⁶ śaṅ bar lha'i mthuṣ sgo phye ste | ston pa'i drun du ņe bar soṅ nas chos thos te | rgyun du' ņugs pa'i 'bras bu thob par gyur⁸ to || ṇi ma gṇis pa la sāṇa rgyas la sogs pa'i dge 'dun la sbyin pa chen po phuṅ lo⁹ || mīan¹⁰ yod du gṣogs pa'i pʰiyir du ston pa'i drun du dam bca¹¹ bslangs¹² nas bar gyi lam dpag tshad bźi bceu rtsa lha'i gṇas su¹³ 'bum phrag re re'i nor byin nas dpag tshad re re'i gtsug lag khaṅ byas so¹⁴ || rgyal byed tshal bye ba phrag¹⁵ bco¹⁶ brgyad kyi dbyig¹⁷ gis ņos nas kha gsar pa byed ciṅ dbus su¹⁸ stobs bceu pa'i dri'i¹⁹ gtsan²⁰ khaṅ byed do²¹ || de la bskor ba mams la gṇas bṛtan chen po bṛgyad cu'i bźugs gṇas so²² || chig thog daṅ | ņiis thog daṅ khaṅ pa riṅ po daṅ | bsti gṇas la sogs pa'i bźugs gṇas daṅ | rḍzin²³ bu daṅ | 'chag sa daṅ | mtsan mo'i bźugs gṇas daṅ | ņiṅ mo'i bźugs gṇas so²⁴ || bye ba phrag bco²⁵ bṛgyad kyi²⁶ nor spel te²⁷ | yid du 'oṅ ba'i sa phyogs yid la 'thad²⁸ pa'i gtsug lag

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1 LN byaso.
2 SDQ tu, LN du.
3 LN bźugsō.
4 SDQ tu, LN du.
5 L byono.
6 L śīṅu for śīṅ tu.
7 SDQL du, N tu.
8 SDLN gyur, Q 'gyur.
9 LN phulo.
10 SDQ mīan, LN gḥan.
11 SDQ bca', LN bchas.
12 SLN bslangs, DQ blaṅs.
13 LN gṇasu.
14 N byaso.
15 SDLN omit, Q bṛgya.
16 SLN bco, DQ bcaa.
17 SDQN dbyig, L dbyigs.
18 L dbusu.
19 SDLN dri'i, Q dri.
20 SDQ gtsaṅ, LN rtsiṅ.
21 LN byedo.
22 LN gṇaso.
23 SDQN rḍzin, L rjīṅ.
24 LN gṇaso.
25 SLN bco, DQ bcaa.
kaṅ byed do'|| stobs bceu pa byon pa'i phyir du pho ṇia ba btaṅ ste^2 | ston pas pho ṇia ba'i 'phrin gsan nas dge sloṅ gi dge 'dun chen po'^3 'khor du byas te | rgyal (103a) po'i khab nas phyir byon te go rims bzin du groṅ khyer mpañ^4 yod du byon no || gtsö bo chen po'añ^5 gtsug lag kaṅ chen po sta^6 gön byas nas de bzin gseg pa rgyal byed tshal du byon pa'i ṇin mo bu rgyan thams cd kyis brgyan no || slar yan brgyan pa ṇi ni kyi gzhon nu^7 lña brgya daṅ bcas pa btaṅ no^8 || {Pa93} de 'khor daṅ bcas pa kha dog lña'i goṣ yaṅ dag par 'bar ba'i rgyal mtshan lña brgya thogs nas stobs bceu pa'i mdun du soṅ bar gyur to || de rnam kyi phyi ma la legs bzaṅ^9 chen mo daṅ | legs bzaṅ^10 ma chuṅ ba de^11 bu mo gñis | gзон nu^12 ma lña brgya daṅ bcas pa gser gyis gaṅ ba'i sder ma chen po thogs nas phyir 'thon to || thams cd phyin nas tshoṅ dpon raṅ ṇiṅ gos bzaṅ po gyon no^15 || de bzin du gos bzaṅ po gyon pa'i tshoṅ dpon lña brgya daṅ bcas pa bcom ldan 'das kyi^16 druṅ du soṅ no || bcom ldan 'das kyi 'khor dge bsñen 'di rnam mdun du byas nas | dge sloṅ gi dge 'dun chen po rnam 'khor^17 du byas te | raṅ ṇiṅ kyi sku lus kyi 'od kyis gser gyi bcdn kyi goṅ bu lta bu daṅ mtshuns pa daṅ | nags tshal gyi bar du snaṅ bar mdzad ciṅ mtha' yas pa'i saṅs rgyas kyi rol pa saṅs rgyas kyi dpal zla med ciṅ mtshuns pa med pa rgyal byed tshal gyi naṅ du byon (103b) no^18 || de rnam gñon med zas sbyin gyis žus pa | btsun pa gtsug lag kaṅ 'di ji lta bu la dbul bar bgyi | khyim bdag gtsug lag kaṅ 'di 'oṅ ba daṅ 'gro ba'i dge sloṅ gi dge 'dun rnam la phul cig | legs so^19

26 DQLN kyi, S kyis.
27 SDQ te, LN ste.
28 SDQ 'thad, LN mthad.
1 L byedo.
2 SLN ste, DQ ņo.
3 SLN po, DQ po'i.
4 SDQ mpañ, LN gñan.
5 S po'añ, DQ po, LN po yaṅ.
6 SDLN sta, Q lta.
7 N gžonu.
8 LN btaṅo.
9 SLN bzaṅ, DQ bzaṅs.
10 SLN bzaṅ, DQ bzaṅs.
11 SLN de, DQ ste.
12 N gžonu.
13 N 'thono.
14 SDQN bud, L bus.
15 LN gyono.
16 SDLN kyi, Q kyis.
17 S 'khod, DQLN 'khor.
18 N byono.
19 LN legsø.
bcom ldan ’das Žes tshon dpon chen pos gser gyi ril ba spyi blugs blaṅs¹ nas stobs bcu pa’i phyag tu chu bsgrēn² te³ | rgyal byed tshal gyi gtsug lag khaṇ ’di⁴ ’gro ba dañ ’ohn⁵ ba’i phyogs bzi’i saṅs rgyas la sogs pa’i dge ’dun la sbyin Žes phul lo⁶ || ston pas gtsug lag khaṇ bzes nas rjes su⁷ yi raṅ ba mdzad do⁸ ||

Vin II pp.147, 164⁹
grañ dañ dro bas mi Žams Žiṅ || de ltar ri dags¹⁰ la sogs pa’i ||
sdiṅ sbrul dañ ni sbraṅ bu dañ || ba mo dañ ni char pas so¹¹ ||

Vin II pp.147, 164¹²
de ltar rluṅ dañ Žiṅ tu¹³ dro || so sor lus la gos pa dañ ||
khāṅ naṅ gnas nas bde ba skyes || khāṅ par bsam gtan lhag mthon rnas ||
dge ’dun gtsug lag khaṇ ’bul ba || saṅs rgyas mchog gis¹⁴ bsṅags par mdzad ||

Vin II pp.147, 164¹⁵

¹ SDLN blaṅs, Q blaṅs.
² SLN bsgrēnś, D sbug, Q bsgrēṅ.
³ SQLN te, D ste.
⁴ SDQ ’di, LN ’di’i.
⁵ SDQ ’on, LN ’onš.
⁶ LN phulo.
⁷ LN rjesu.
⁸ N mdzado.
⁹ Jātakaniḍāṇā p.93; sTog 103b; Vin II pp. 147, 164; Sv I p.304; Ps III p.26; Spk III p.51; Ud-a p.419; Ap-a p.98.
Ｊātakaniḍāṇā p.93,
sīlam Žunhaṃ paṭiḥantiago
tato vāḷapamīgaṇi ca
sirinspaṃ ca makase ca
sisre cāpi vutṭhiyo.
¹⁰ SDQN dags, L dwags.
¹¹ LN paso.
¹² Jātakaniḍāṇā p.93; sTog 103b; Vin II pp. 147, 164; Sv I p. 304; Ps III p. 26; Spk III p. 51; Ud-a p. 419; Ap-a p. 98.
Ｊātakaniḍāṇā p.93,
tato vāṭañape ghoṛe
saḷjāte paṭiḥaññati.
Lenatthaṃ ca sukhatthaṃ ca
jhayitūñ ca vipassitum
vihāradānam saṃghassa
aggam Buddhena vannitam.
¹³ SDQN tu, L du.
¹⁴ SDLN giś, Q gi.
¹⁵ Jātakaniḍāṇā p.93; sTog 103b; Vin II pp.147, 164; Sv I p.304; Ps III p.262, 325; S I pp. 56, 70, 102; Spk III, p.51; Ud-a p. 420; Ap-a p. 98.

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Ne ba'i gleñ gäi

skyes bu mkhas pas de yi phiyir || bdag ŋid kyi ni phiyir du ni ||
da’ bas gtsug lag khañ byed pa || mañ du thos pa gnas pa yin ||

Vin II pp.148, 164

de rams kyi ni bza’ dañ btuñ || gos dañ mal cha stan dañ ni ||
de rams sems ni dran pos³ dbut¹ || rab tu dañ ba’i sems kyis so⁴ || {Pä94}

Vin II pp.148, 164⁶

des ni de la chos bstan to || sduñ bsñal thams cad fier ži’i phiyir ||
 gañ de’i chos ni rtogs pa dañ || rten med mya ŋi h’das pa byed ||

ces bya ba’i gtsug lag khañ gi phan yon (104a) bṣad do⁷ || mgon med zas sbyin gyis ŋi ma gni’s pa nas
bṣun nas sbyin pa gtoñ ba’i ’go² brtams so⁹ || sa khams byas pa’i khañ bzañs¹⁰ ni zla ba bžis grub bo¹¹
|| slar yan mgon med zas sbyin gyi gtsug lag khañ chen po zla ba dgus grub bo || gtsug lag khañ chen
po la’añ¹² bye ba ston phrag bco¹³ brgyad ŋid soñ no || ’di la gtsug lag khañ chen po ’di ŋid la bye ba
phrag lha bcu rtsa bži’i nor yonis su btañ no¹⁴ || slar yan ’das pa’i bcom ldan ’das rnam par gzigs kyi

Jātakaṇidāṇa p.93,
tasmā hi pandito poso
samppasaṃ atthaṃ attano
vihāre kāraye ramme
vāśay’ etha bahussute.
¹ SDLN de yi, Q de’i.
² Jātakaṇidāṇa p. 93; sTog 103b; Vin II pp. 148, 164; Sv I p.304; Ps III p 26; S I p.100; Spk III p.51; Ud-a p.420; Ap-a p.98.
³ Jātakaṇidāṇa p. 93,
tesaṃ annañ ca pānañ ca
vatthasenañanñi ca
dadeyya ujubhutesu
⁴ SDLN pos, Q por.
⁵ SLN dbul, DQ ’bul.
⁶ LN kyi’so.
⁷ Jātakaṇidāṇa p. 94; sTog 103b; Vin, II pp. 148, 164; Sv I p 304; pk III p.51; 43; Ud-a p. 20; Ap-a p.98.
⁸ Jātakaṇidāṇa p. 94,
te tassa dhamaṃ desenti
sabbadukkhāpanūdanañ, yañ yo dhamaṃ idh’ aññāya
parinibbatā anāsavati.
⁹ L bsado.
¹⁰ S ’go, DQLN mgo.
¹¹ LN brtamsmo.
¹² Jātakaṇidāṇa p. 94; sTog 103b; Vin, II pp. 148, 164; Sv I p 304; pk III p.51; 43; Ud-a p.20; Ap-a p.98.
¹³ SLN bco, D bcwa, Q bco.
¹⁴ LN yoñsu btato.
Ne ba'i glen gi

dus su | tshoṅ dpon kun gyi grogs žes bya bas gser gyi glaṅ po'i rkaṅ pa'i rmig rjes lta bu'i sa gzi ņos nas gnas 'di ņid du dpag tshad gcig gi dge 'dun gyi kun dga' ra ba byas so | bcom ldan 'das gtsug tor can gyi dus su | dpal 'phel žes bya ba'i tshoṅ dpon gyi bus gser gyi sder ma rgyun mi 'chod pas ņos pa'i sa gzi'i gnas de ņid du ņid du dpag tshad phyed gyi dge 'dun gyi kun dga' ra ba byas so | bcom ldan 'das thams cad skyob kyi dus su | tshoṅ dpon bkra śis žes bya bas gser gyi sa gzi gser gyi rkaṅ pa'i rjes lta bu'i sa gzi ņos nas gnas de ņid du dpag tshad phyed kyi dge 'dun gyi kun dga' ra ba byas so | bcom ldan 'das log par dad sel gyi dus su | tshoṅ dpon 'pho ba med pa žes bya bas gser gyi pha gu lta bu rgyun mi 'chod pa'i sa gzi ņos nas gnas de ņid du rgyaṅ grags bcu gniṅs kyi tshad tsam gyi dge 'dun gyi4 kun dga' ra ba byas so | bcom ldan 'das thams cad skyob kyi dus su | tshoṅ dpon drag po žes bya bas gser gyi pha gu lta bu rgyun mi 'chod pa'lta bu'i sa gzi ņos nas gnas de ņid du rgyaṅ grags gniṅs kyi tshad kyi kun dga' ra ba byas so | bcom ldan 'das thams cad skyob kyi dus su | tshoṅ dpon drup po žes bya bas gser gyi pha gu lta bu rgyun mi 'chod pa'lta bu'i sa gzi ņos nas gnas de ņid du rgyaṅ grags gcig gi tshad kyi kun dga' ra ba byas so | bcom ldan 'das thams cad skyob kyi dus su | tshoṅ dpon bkra śis bzaṅ po žes bya bas gser gyi pha gu lta bu rgyun mi 'chod pa'lta bus sa gzi ņos nas gnas de ņid du rgyaṅ grags gcig gi tshad kyi kun dga' ra ba byas so | bcom ldan 'das thams cad skyob kyi dus su | tshoṅ dpon mgon med zas sbyin gyiis bye ba phrag bco brgyad kyi dbyig gis gser gyi 'dra men du byas pa rgyun mi 'chod pa lta bus sa gzi ņos nas gnas de ņid du rgyaṅ grags phyed kyi kun dga' ra ba byas so | gnas 'di saṅs rgyas thams cad kyiis ma spangs pa'i gnas yin no | 'di ltar

1 LN byaso.
2 L dusu.
3 L ņidu.
4 SDLN gyi, Q gysi.
5 LN byaso.
6 N dusu.
7 LN byaso.
8 SDQ par, LN pa.
9 L dusu.
10 SLN de, DQ omit.
11 LN byaso.
12 N dusu.
13 SDLN bya bas, Q byas.
14 LN byaso.
15 S 'od sruñs, DQ 'od sruñ, LN 'od bsruñ.
16 S kyi, DQLN gi.
17 L dusu.
18 SQLN gu, D su.
19 SDLN bus, Q bu'i.
20 SDQN ra, L omits.
21 LN byaso.
22 N dusu.
23 SLN bco, DQ bcwa.
24 LN byaso.

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III 31.

paṇḍi ta ā nanda ērī žal sña nas daṅ | maṅ du thos pa’i lo tsatsha ba šākya'i dge sloṅ ņi ma rgyal mtshan dpal bzaṅ pos | skad gñis smra ba mams kyi gdan sa gtsug lag khaṅ chen po dpal (105a) thar pa gliṅ du bsgyur ciṅ žus te9 gtan la phab pa’o || sa’i sten du ņi zla ltar gyur cig ||

25 N yino.
1 SDQN ye šes, L yes.
2 SDQ pa’i, LN pa.
3 LN yoṅsu.
4 SDQ thugs, LN thugs.
5 S gis, DQLN gi.
6 LN gnasu.
7 SDLN bdag, Q omits.
8 SDLN bya ba’o, Q bya’o.
9 L mdzado.
10 SLN gzi, DQ gzi’i.
11 SQ rdzogs so, D rdzogs sho, L rdzogshyo, L rdzogso.
12 SDQN te, L ste.
Appendix I

Dhammapada verses occurring in the Jatakanidāna, their Tibetan translations, with Sanskrit and Prakrit parallels.

Dhp, *Jarāvagga* v. 153 p. 43; J I p. 76.; Bv-a pp. 8, 133, 143, 289; Ap-a p. 81; Dhp-a III p. 127; Dhs-a p. 18; Sv I p. 16; Sv II p. 463; Sp I p. 17; Khp-a p. 12; sTog 85a; Uv 31.6.

1. anekajātisāmāraṃ | sandhāvissām anibbisām
   gahakārakaṃ gavesanto | dukkha jāti punappunāṃ.

   sTog 85b.
   skye bo’i ’khor ba ma lus par || dug med rnam par dug med tshol ||
   khyim med pa ni tshol ba na || skye ba’i s dug bsñal yaŋ yaŋ dañ ||

   Udānavarga 31. 6.
   anekam jātisāmāraṃ | sandhāvityā punah punah |
   grhakārakaśamānas tvāṃ | duḥkhā jātiḥ punah punah ||

Dhp, *Lokavagga* v. 154 p. 44; J I p. 76; ; Bv-a pp. 8, 133, 143, 289; Ap-a p. 81; Dhs-a p. 18; Dhp-a III p. 128; Sv I p. 16; Sv II p. 463; Sp I p. 17; Khp p. 13; sTog 85b; Uv 31.7.

2. gahakāraka diṭṭho si | puna gehaṃ na kāhasi,
   sabbā te phāsukā bhagga | gahakūtaṃ visāṃkhitam,
   visāṃkharagataṃ cittaṃ | taṇhānaṃ khayaṃ ajjhagā ti.

   sTog 85b.
   khyim med pa ni mthoṅ bar gyur || slar yaṅ khyim ni byed pa med ||
   de yi s dug bsñal thams ced bcom || dug gi mṅ can khyim gyi phuṅ ||
   sems ni ’du byed pa las grol || sred pa zad nas med par gyur ||

   Udānavarga 31. 7.
   grhakāraka dṛṣṭo ’si | na punar gehaṃ kariṣyasi |
   sarve te pārśukā bhagnā | grhakūtaṃ visāṃskṛtam |
   visāṃskāragate citte | ihaiva kṣayaṃ adhyāgāḥ ||

Dhp, *Buddhavagga* v. 179, p. 51; J I p. 79; Ap-a p. 84; Dhp-a III p. 197; sTog 88b; PDhp 276; Mvu. III p. 91; Uv 29. 52.

3. yassa jītāṃ navajiyati | jītāṃ assa no yāti koci loke,
   tam buddhāṃ anantagocarāṃ | apadaṃ kena padena nessatha.

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sTog 88b.

\[\text{gan gi sred pa'i dra ba bton gyur nas} \parallel \text{de la sred pa rnam ni cu'n zad med} \parallel \text{mtaha' yas sa'ns rgyas spyod yul de mi gnas} \parallel \text{rka'n med kyis ni rka'n yod la mi nus}\]

Patna Dharmapada, Ásara varga 276.

\[\text{yassa jita'na 'ppajjiiyati} \parallel \text{jita'na assa na upeti antako} \parallel \text{ta'm buddham anomanikrama'na} \parallel \text{apada'm kena padena nehiisi.}\]

Mahāvastu III p. 91.

\[\text{yasya jita'na n'atha jivati jita'na asya na jin'ati antako} \parallel \text{ta'm buddhamantagocara'na} \parallel \text{apada'm kena padena nesiatha.}\]

Udānavarga 29. 52.

\[\text{yasya jita'n nopajiyyate} \parallel \text{jita'na anveta na ka'm cid eva loke} \parallel \text{ta'm buddham anantagocarana} \parallel \text{hy apada'm kena padena nesiysi.}\]

Dhp, *Buddhavagga* v. 180, p. 51; J I p. 79; S I p. 107; Ap-a p. 84; Dhp-a III p. 197; sTog 88b; PDhp 227; Mvu III p. 92; Uv 29.53.

4. \[\text{yassa j'alin visattikaa} \parallel \text{tahha' n' athhi kuhini ci netave} \parallel \text{ta'm buddham anantagocarana} \parallel \text{apada'm kena padena nessatha.}\]

sTog 88b.

\[\text{gan gi sred pa'i dra ba bton gyur nas} \parallel \text{de la sred pa rnam ni cu'n zad med} \parallel \text{mtaha' yas sa'ns rgyas spyod yul de fiid la} \parallel \text{rka'n med de yis rka'n yod la mi nus}\]

Patna Dharmapada, Śara'na varga 227.

\[\text{yassa jalin visattikaa} \parallel \text{ta'hna nasti kahim ci netaye} \parallel \text{ta'm buddham anantagocarana} \parallel \text{apada'm kena padena nehiisi.}\]

Mahāvastu III p. 92.

\[\text{yasya jalin samuhata tr'rsa' nya sa kahim ci netrikaa} \parallel \text{ta'm buddhamanantavikrama'na} \parallel \text{apada'm kena upadena nesiatha}\]

Udānavarga 29.53.

\[\text{yasya jalin visaktikaa} \parallel \text{tr'rsa' nasti hi lokanayini} \parallel \text{ta'm buddham anantagocarana} \parallel \text{hy apada'm kena padena nesiysi}\]
Appendix I

Dhp, *Lokavagga* v. 168, p. 48; J I p. 90; Ap-a pp. 94, 539; Dhp-a III p. 163; sTog 100a; PDhp 27; Uv 4. 35; GDhp 110.

5. uttithe na-ppamajjeyya | dhammaṃ sucaritam care,
   dhammacārī sukham seti | asmiṃ loke paramhi ca.

sTog 100a.
   bag med lhag mar byed pa med || chos la spyod ciṅ legs par spyod ||
   chos la spyad na bde ba 'byun || 'jig rten 'di daṅ phyi mar bde ||

Patna Dharmapada, Apramāda varga v. 27.
   utṭṭheya na pramajjeyā | dhammaṃ sucaritam care
   dhammacārī [ ] seti | asśiṃ loke paramhi ca.

Udānavarga 4.35.
   utṭṭiṣṭhe na trimādyeta | dhammaṃ sucaritam caret |
   dhammacārī sukham sete | hy asmiṃ loke paratra ca ||

Gāndhārī Dharmapada, Apramadu varga v. 110.
   udiṭṭha na prameṭṭa | dhamu sucarida cari
   dhama-cari suhu śeʿadi | asvi loki parasa yi.

Dhp, *Lokavagga* v. 169, p. 48; J I p. 90; Ap II pp. 590, 596; Ap-a pp. 94, 539; Dhp-a III p. 164; sTog 100a; PDhp 224; Uv 30. 5; GDhp 328.

6. dhammaṃ care sucaritam | na naṃ duccaritam care,
   dhammacārī sukham seti | asmiṃ loke paramhi ca.

sTog 100a.
   chos spyod pa ni legs par spyod || fies par spyod pa mi bya ʿziṅ ||
   chos spyad pa yis bde ba 'byun || 'jig rten 'di daṅ pha rol tu'o ||

Patna Dharmapada, Śaraṇa varga 224.
   dhammaṃ care sucaritam | na naṃ duccaritam care
   dhammacārī sukham sete | asmiṃ loke paramhi ca.

Udānavarga 30.5 Sukhavarga.
   dharmaṃ care sucaritam | nainam duścaritam caret
   dhammacārī sukham sete | hy asmiṃ loke paratra ca.
Gāndhārī Dharmapada, Śīla varga 328.

dhamu cari sucarida | ... drucarida cari
dhamayari suha śedi | asvi loki parasa yi.
Appendix II

Miscellaneous Pali verses in the Jatakanidāna and their Tibetan translations, with Sanskrit and Prakrit parallels.

J I p. 31; Th p. 35; Th-a II p. 128; Bv-a p. 144; Ap-a p. 34; Cp-a p. 295; Dhp-a I p. 99, IV p. 105; Itv-a I p. 38; sTog 89a; PDhp 227; Uv 30. 7; Mvu II p. 80-1.

7. dhammo have rakkhati dhammacāriṁ, 
dhammo sucīṇo sukham āvahati, 
esānisaṁso dhamme sucinñe: 
na duggatiṁ gacchati dhammacārīti.

sTog 39a.

chos bzin bsruñ na chos spyod do || chos kyis bsgral na chos bzin thob ||
legs par bsgral na chos phan yon || chos spyod ńan 'gror mi 'gro’o ||

Patna Dharmapada, Śaraṇa varga v. 227.

dhammo have rakkhati dhammacāri
dhammo sucinno sukhāya dahāti 
esānuśaṁso dhamme sucinne 
na doggatiṁ gacchati dhammacārī.

Udānavarga 30.7 Sukhavarga.

dharmaḥ sadā rakṣati dharmacārinam 
dharmaḥ sucirṇaḥ sukham ādadhāti 
esānuśaṁso dharme sucirne 
na durgatiṁ gacchati dharmacāri.

Mahāvastu II p. 80-81.

dharmo hi vai rakṣati dharmacārim 
chatraṁ mahantaṁ yatha varṣakāle 
eso nusaṁso dharme sucirne 
na durgatiṁ gacchati dharmacāri.
Appendix II

Kisā Gotami’s verse in the Jātakanidāna and its Sanskrit parallels:

J I p. 60; Bv-a p. 280; Ap-a p. 65; Dhp-a I p. 85; Dhs-a p. 34; Thūp p. 165, gāthā by khattiya kaññā
Kisā Gotami; sTog 69b; Mvu II p. 157.

8. Nibbutā nūna sā mātā,
nibbuto nūna so pitā,
nibbutā nūna sā nāri
yassāyāṃ idiso paṭīti.

sTog 69b.

dey i ma ni ziv bar gyur || de yi pha ni ŋes pa ri zii ||
dey i bud med ŋes zir gyur || de yi yañ ni de bdag mtuñas ||

Mahāvastu II p. 157, gāthā by Śākyan Mrgī.

nirvṛtā khālu te mātā pitā puna’ te nirvṛte
nirvṛtā puna’ sā nāri yasya bhartā bhavisyasi.

Buddhacarita canto 5. v. 24, Sanskrit ed. p. 48, gāthā by a rājakanyā.
sukhitā bata nirvṛtā ca sā strau patiraudrakṣa ihāyatākṣa yasyāḥ |
iti tāṁ samudraukṣya rājakanyā praviśantāṃ pathi sājjalirjagāda ||

Buddhacarita canto 5. v. 24, Tibetan ed. p. 69, gāthā by śā kya’i bu mo.
den i yañ dag mthon nas sā kya’i bu mo zig |
rab žugs lam na thal mo sbyar ba dañ bcas śīn |
kye ma spyan yañs gañ gi bdag po ’di ’dra ’dir |
mo de bde ma myañ ŋan ’das ma žes smras so |

Saṅghabhедavastu, I p. 78, gāthā by Śākyan Mrgaja.
sukhitā bata sā mātā sukhi cāsya pitā hy asau |
nirvṛtā bata sā nāri yasyā bhartā bhaviṣyati ||
nirvāṇaśabdam śrutvā tu dhyāyī sa puruṣottamaḥ |
nirvāṇe sānantāṁ jñātvā tasmāṁ cittam arocyat ||
9. kim eva disvā Uruvelavasi
   pahāsi aṅgīṃ kisako vādano,
   pucchāmi taṃ Kassapa etam aṭṭham:
   kathāṃ pahināṃ tava agghuttan ti.

sTog 92b.

lten rgyas gnas su gnas nas ci žig mthon ||
sbīn sreg ’dor ba’i rgyu mthan ci žig smra ||
’od srūn ’di yi don ni dri bar bya ||
khyod kyi ji ītar sbīn sreg spoṅ ba yin ||

Mahāvastu III p. 444.

kimeva dṛṣṭvā Uruvilvāsī
prahāya agnim kṛśako |
prcchāmi ti Kāśyapa etamarthām
kathāṃ prahināṃ tava agnihotram ||

J I p. 83; Vin I p. 36; Bv-a p. 20; Ap-a p. 88; sTog 92b.

10. rūpe ca sadde ca atho rase ca
    kāmithīyo cābhivadanti yaṁnaṁ,
    etam malan ti upadhīsu ńatvā
tasmā na yiṭhe na hute araṁjin ti.

sTog 92b.

gzugs daṅ sgra daṅ de bžin ro daṅ dri ||
bud med ’dod pa yaṅ ni mchod sbīn spyod ||
’di mams dri ma legs par rtogs byas nas ||
de phyir me yi sbīn sreg ’di spaṅs so ||

J I p. 84; Vin I p. 38; Ap II p. 607; Ap-a p. 89; Khp p. 204; Pv-a p. 22; Thī-a p. 59; sTog 93b.

11. danto dantehi saha purāṇajātiiehi vippamutto
    sīṅginikkhasavaṇṇo Rājagahāṃ pāvīsi Bhagavā.

11a mutto muttehi saha purāṇajātiiehi vippamutto vippamutto
    sīṅginikkhasavaṇṇo Rājagahāṃ pāvīsi Bhagavā.
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11b tīṇno tīṇnehi saha purāṇajātiiehi vippamutto vippamuttehi
śīṅgīnīkkhasaṇāno Rājagahaṁ pāvisi Bhagavā.

Sātukā 93b.

‘dul žīṅ ’dul ba’i grogs sṭon bcas || bram ze rnam grol ral pa daṅ ||
seṅ ge’i gzugs kyis ’thon nas ni || bcom ldan rgyal po’i khab naṅ byon ||

grol žīṅ grol ba’i grogs sṭon bcas || bram ze rnam grol ral pa daṅ ||
seṅ ge’i gzugs kyis ’thon nas ni || bcom ldan rgyal po’i khab naṅ byon ||

Sātukā 93b.

bgrał žīṅ bgrał ba’i grogs sṭon bcas || bram ze rnam grol ral pa daṅ ||
seṅ ge’i gzugs kyis ’thon nas ni || rgyal po’i khab naṅ bcom ldan byon ||

12. dasāvāso Dasabalo dasadhammaṇīdū dasehi c’ upeto
so dasasataparivaṇo Rājagaham pāvisi Bhagavā ti.

Sātukā 93b.

bcu po gsun ba’i stobs bcu pa || chos bcu la mkhas bcu la gnas ||
stoṅ phrag bcu yi ’khor daṅ ldan || bcom ldan rgyal po’i khab naṅ byon ||

13. yo dhīro sabbadhī danto Buddhā appatipuggalo
arahāṁ sugato loke tassāḥaṁ paricāråko ti.

Sātukā 94a.

gaṅ žig bstan pa thams cad ’dul || gaṅ zag zla med saṅs rgyas te ||
dgra bcom bde gśeṅs ’jig rten du || de ni bdag gi fē bar gnas ||

Mahāvastū III p. 423.

yo viro dhṛtisampanno dhṝyāyo apratipudgalo ||
arhanto sugato loke tasyāhaṁ paricāråko ||

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14. अंगारिनो दानि दुमा भदांते
    फालेसिनो चहानं विपपाह्या,
    ते अस्सिंम्तो वा पाभासयांति,
    समायो महाविरा भगि रसानाम
sTog 96a.

   ब्तसु न ल्जों सिन दे नि ल्जां क्हुर ग्युर || सिन गि लो मा सा ला दुड़ पा दान ||
   दे न्यांम बर्न नास 'ो दे ग्येद पा यिन || द्पा' बो चेन पो ग्येन ग्नास ग्सेग्स पा' इ दुस ||

15. नातिसितम् नातिउःभांम् नातिडुब्बिखक्षाताकाम,
    साददलां हरिताभुमि, एसा कालो महामुनिः
sTog 96a-96b.

   हा चन मि द्रो मि ग्रान जिन || मु गे दान नि ब्क्रेस पा मेद ||
   सा स्तन सिन न्यांम ल्जां क्हुर ग्युर || थुब पा चेन पो दुस 'दिर ग्युर ||

16. सिनिद्धनलमुदुक्षितकेसो
    सुरियासुनिम्मलातलाभिनालातो
    युत्ततुंगमुदुक्षितनासो
    राम्सिजालविततो नराशिहो ति.
sTog 99b.

   डब्स्क्रा ग्या्यस 'क्ह्यिल 'जम नाग स्नुम पा दान ||
   ड्प्राल बा द्री मेद नि माँ इ मथिल ब्जिन नो ||
   स्कु दान 'त्शाम पा' इ सांस नि मथो बा दान ||
   मि यि सेन गे 'ो दे ग्साल बर म्द्जाद ||

17. सितम् उःभांम पाठिहांति
    तातो वालमिगानि का
    सिरिङ्सापे का मकासे का
    सिसी ताप वुःथियो.

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sTog 103b.
"gran dan bas mi nam si || de la dags sogs pa'i ||
"sdi sbrul daն ni sbran bu daŋ || ba mo daŋ ni char pas so ||

J I p. 93; Vin II pp. 147, 164; Ap-a p. 98; Sv I p. 304; Ps III p. 26; Spk III p. 51; Ud-a p. 419; sTog 103b.

18. tato vātātape ghere
sañjāte paṭihaññatī.
Lenatthaṇ ca sukhatthaṇ ca
jhāyituṇ ca vipassitum
vihāradānaṃ saṃghassā
aggaṃ Buddhena vanṇitaṃ.

sTog 103b.
"de la ruṇ daŋ śiś tu dro || so sor lus la gos pa daŋ ||
"khaṇ naṇ gnaś nas bde ba skyes || khaṇ par bsam gtan lhag mthoṅ rnams ||
dge 'dun gtsug lag khaṇ 'bul ba || saṅś rgyas mchog gis bṣiṅgs par mdzad ||

J I p. 93; Vin II pp. 147, 164; Ap-a p. 98; Sv I p. 304; Ps III pp. 262, 325; Spk III p. 51; Ud-a p. 420; sTog 103b.

19. tasmā hi paṇḍito poso
sampassanam attham attaṇo
vihāre kāraye ramme
vāsay' etha bahussute.

sTog 103b.
skyes bu mtha pa de yi phyir || bdag śid kyi ni phyir du ni ||
dga' bas gtsug lag khaṇ byed pa || maṇ du thos pa gnas pa yin ||

J I p. 93; Vin II pp. 148, 164; Ap-a p. 98; Sv I p. 304; Ps III p. 26; Spk III p. 51; Ud-a p. 420; sTog 103b.

20. tesam annan ca panaṇ ca
vatthasenasanani ca
dadeyya ujubhutesu
vippasannena cetasa.
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sTog 103b.

\[
\begin{align*}
de \text{nams kyi } & \text{n}i \text{ bza' da}ñ \text{ btuñ } || \text{gos da}ñ \text{ mal cha stan da}ñ \text{ ni } || \\
de \text{nams sems } & \text{n}i \text{ dra}ñ \text{ pos dbul } || \text{rab tu da}ñ \text{ ba'i sems kyis so } ||
\end{align*}
\]

J I p. 94; Vin II pp. 148, 164; A III pp. 42, 43; Ap-a p. 98; Sv I p. 304; Spk III p. 51; Mp III pp. 41, 43; Ud-a p. 420; sTog 103b.

21. te tassa dhammam desenti

\[\begin{align*}
sabdu\text{ukkh\text{äpanudana}m}, \\
yam yo dhammam \text{idh' a}ññ\text{äya} \\
\text{parinibbäti a}ñ\text{äsavo ti.}
\end{align*}\]

sTog 103b.

\[
\begin{align*}
des \text{n}i \text{ de la chos bstan to } || \text{sdug bshal thams cad } & \text{ñer } \text{zi'i phyir } || \\
gan \text{de'i chos ni rtogs pa da}ñ & \text{|| rten med mya } \text{ñan 'das par byed } ||
\end{align*}
\]

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Jatakanidana verses with no identifiable Pāli canonical source

J I p. 56; Ap-a p. 60; sTog 64b.

22. Rāmo Dhajo Lakkhañō cāpi Manti
Konṇḍaññō ca Bhojo Suyāmo Sudatto,
ete tadā aṭṭha ahesum brāhmanā,
chalāṅgavā mantam vyākarimsu ti.

sTog 64b.

dga’ byed dañ | rgyal mtshan dañ | mtshan ūid dañ | rigs kyi snags pa dañ |
kö ndi nya dañ | lag pa can dañ | gšin rje bzaṅ dañ | legs sbyin te |
de nmans de’i tshe bram ze brgyad yin no || yan lag drug gi snags brda sprad nas ||

J I p. 65; Bv-a p. 284; Thūp p. 165; sTog 74a.

23. Chetvāna molim varagandhvāsitām
vehāsayaṁ ukkhipi aggapuggalo¹,
sahassanetto sirasā paṭīgghāḥi
svuṇṇacāntoṭavareṇa Vāsavo ti.

sTog 74a.

mchog gi dri yis bsgos pa'i gtsug phud bcad ||
gaṅ zaṅ mchog gis nam mkha’ la ni dor ||
mig ston pa yis dbu skra mgo sten bzuṅ ||
gser gyi za ma tog tu lha gnas khyer ||

J I p. 65; Bv-a p. 284; Dhp-a I p. 206; Thūp p. 166; sTog 74a.

24. Ticiovaraṇa ca patto ca
vāsi sūciṁ bandhanam
parissāvanena, aṭṭh’ ete
yuttayogassā bhikkhuno ti.

sTog 74a.

chos gos gsum dañ lhuṅ bzed dañ | spu gri khab dañ ska rags dañ ||
chu tshags dañ bcas brgyad yin no || dge sbyoṅ nmams la rigs śiṅ mkho ||

¹ Thūp, p. 165, Sakyapuṅgavo for aggapuggalo.
25. “Jayo hi Buddhassa sirimato ayaṃ
Mārassa ca pāpimato parājayo”,
ugghosayum bodhimaṇḍe pamoditā
jayam tadā nāgaganā Mahesino.

26. “Jayo hi Buddhassa sirimato ayaṃ
Mārassa ca pāpimato parājayo”,
ugghosayum bodhimaṇḍe pamoditā
supaṇṇasamghāpi jayam Mahesino.

27. “Jayo hi Buddhassa sirimato ayaṃ
Mārassa ca pāpimato parājayo”,
ugghosayum bodhimaṇḍe pamoditā
jayam tadā devaganā Mahesino.

28. “Jayo hi Buddhassa sirimato ayaṃ
Mārassa ca pāpimato parājayo”,
ugghosayum bodhimaṇḍe pamoditā
jayam tadā brahmaganāpi tādino.
sTog 84a/b.

dpal ldan saṅs rgyas rgyal bar gyur  ||  sdig can bdud ni pham par gyur  ||
rab dga’ byan chub sfiṅ por sgrogs  ||  tshaṅs tshogs de ṭshe rgyal bar sgrogs  ||
Appendix IV

Jataka verses in the Jatakanidāna varying from the extant Pali Jataka verses.


29. Bhikkhāya upagatam disvā sakattānam pariccajim,
   dānena me samo n’ atthi, esa me dānapāramiti.

Tog 53b: *mKhas pa’i ri boñ gi skyes rabs*
   ñer ‘ōns sloñ ba mthoñ ba na || rañ gi lus ni yoñs su btañ ||
   bdag gi sbyin la mñam pa med || ‘di rams sbyin pa’i pha rol phyin ||

J I p. 45, *Samkhapālajātaka, sīla*; Cp II 10 p. 22 v.7; Cp-a p. 273; Bv-a p. 60; Ap-a p. 50; Tibetan sTog 53b.

30. Sūlehi pi vijhayanto koṭṭayante pi sattihi
   Bhojaputte na kuppāmi, esa me silapāramiti.

sTog 53b: *Duñ skyoñ skyes rabs*
   gsai šiñ gis ni phug nas ni || mtshon cha blañs nas brdeg pa dañ ||
   groñ dpon bu la khro mi byed || tshul khrims phar phyin bdag gi ‘di ||

J I p. 46, *Cūlasutasomajātaka, nekkhama*; Bv-a p. 60; Ap-a p. 50; Cp-a p. 273; sTog 54a.

31. Mahārajjam hatthagatam khelapiṇḍam va chaḍdayim
   cajato na hoto laganaṃ, esā me nekkhammapāramiti.

sTog 54a: *Bu ži ba chuñ nu’i skyes rabs*
   rgyal po chen po lag tu thob || mchil ma’i dbu ba bzin du spāns ||
   rgyal srid spāns kyan žen pa med || bdag gi ŋes ’byuñ phar phyin ’di ||


32. Paññāya pavicinanto ’ham brāhmaṇam mocayim dukhā,
   paññāya me samo n’ atthi, esā me paññāpāramiti.

sTog 54a: *sDe snod kyi skyes rabs*
   bdag gi ŋes rab tshol ba na || bram ze’i sdug bṣaṅal grol pa dañ ||
   bdag gi ŋes rab mtshunis pa med || bdag gi ŋes rab phar phyin ’di ||
Appendix IV

J I p. 46, *Mahājanakajātaka, viriya*; Bv-a p. 60; Ap-a p. 50; Cp-a p. 274; sTog 54a.

33. Atiradassi jalamajhe hatā sabbe va mānasā, citassa aññathā n’ atthi, esā me viriyapārami.

sTog 54a-b: *sKye bo chen po can gyi skyes rabs*

dogs ma mthon ba’i rgya mtsho’i dbus || mi rams thams cad ši bar gyur ||
sdug bsñal med pa’i sems kyis ni || bðag gi brtson ’grus phar phyin ’di ||

J I p. 46, *Khativādajātaka, khanti*; Bv-a p. 60; Ap-a p. 50; Cp-a p. 274; sTog 54b.

34. Acetanaṃ va koṭṭentetiṅhena pharasunā mama
Kāsirāje na kuppāmi, esā me khatipārami.

sTog 54b: *bZod par smra ba’i skyes rabs*

sems med pa la gcod pa bzin || bðag la rno ba’i dgra sta yis ||
gsal ldan rgyal po la mi khro || bðag gi bzo’ pa’i phar phyin ’di ||

J I p. 46, *Mahāsutasomajātaka, sacca*; Bv-a p. 60; Ap-a p. 51; Cp-a p. 275; sTog 54b.

35. Saccavācaṃ anurakkhanto cajitvā mama jīvitaṃ
mocayim ekasatam khattiyā, paramatthasaccapārami.

sTog 54b: *Bu ži ba chen po’i skyes rabs*

bden pa’i tshig ni rjes su bsruñ || bðag gi sroŋ ni sphaṃ nas su ||
rgyal rigs brgya phrag groi bar byed || bðag gi bden pa’i phar phyin ’di ||

J I p. 46, *Mūgapakkhajātaka, adhitthāna*; Cp III 6 v. 18, p. 29; Cp-a p. 275; Ap-a p. 51; sTog 54b.

36. Mātāpītā na me dessā, na pi me dessām mahāyasasaṃ, sabbaññutam piyam mayham, tasmā vataṃ adhiṭṭhahin.

sTog 54b: *IKugs pa daṅ gzog phyed na ba’i tshul gyi skyes rabs*

pha ma bðag la mi dgos sīh || nor daṅ grags pa’ān dgos pa med ||
bðag ni thams cad mkhyen la dga’ || de phyir brtul žugs gnas pa’o ||

Mātā pītā na me dessā attā me na ca dessiya sabbaññutam piyam mayham tasmā rajjam pariccañi-ti.

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37. Na maṇḍ koci uttasaṭi, na pi 'ham bhāyāmi kassaci,
mettābalen' upatthaddho ramāmi pavane sada ti.

sTog 54b: ṛGyal po gcig gi skyes rabs
   gaṅ Ḿīḥ ṛdag la skrag byed med || ṛdag gis gaṅ la’aṅ ‘jigs ma byas ||
   byams pa’i stobs kyi steṅ gnas ṽiṅ || de ṛtse ston pa fiid la ṛdga’ ||

Cp Svāvanṇasāmacariyam (Mettāparami) III 13 v. 3 p. 34; Cp-a p. 275.
Na maṇḍ koci uttasaṭi na pi 'ham bhāyāmi kassaci
mettābalen’ upatthaddho ramāmi pavane tadā ‘ti.

38. Susāne seyyam kappemi chavaṭṭhikaṁ upadhāy’ aham,
gomāṇḍalā upagantvā rūpam dassent’ anappakan ti.

sTog 55a: Ṛṇa pa’i spu’i skyes rabs
   dur ṛkrod du ni gnas par sems || ṛus goṅ la ni brten byas nas ||
   ṛdag gi gnas su ūne bar ‘oṅs || gzugs la blta ba ūnba med ||

39. Acetanāyaṁ puthavi aviṁśāya sukhaṁ dukhaṁ,
sāpi dānabalā mayhaṁ sattakkhattuṁ pakampathā ti.

sTog 55a: Untitled in Tibetan.
   sems med pa yi sa gzi yis || bde dān sdbus bṣñal mi śes kyaṅ ||
   ṛdag gi sbyin pa’i stobs de yis || lan bdun du ni rab tu g.yos ||
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