THE AŚOKĀVADĀNA
THE

AŚOKĀVADĀNA

SANSKRIT TEXT
COMPARSED WITH CHINESE VERSIONS

19566

EDITED ANNOTATED AND PARTLY TRANSLATED

BY

SUJITKUMAR MUKHOPADHYAYA
Cheena-Bhavana, Visva-Bharati

SAHITYA AKADEMI
NEW DELHI
रबीन्द्रनाथ को

न दृश्यते रूपमतो न विद्यते नाशं गतोसाधिति किं विकल्पसे।
न पश्यसि प्राणमये हृ चक्षुशा सत्ता कथं तस्य तथापि ते मता।
कथं नरः प्राणिति केन चारिति पोषास्तनोरेव स किं नू जीविति।
पुष्टेपि देहे मनसो रसं विना कथं नू जीवनमतिमान् स मानवः।
काव्यस्य नाटिक्छ सर्वेच्छ गीतकौजीवाश्रितोहृजीविततुं य ईहते।
आ जन्मनो यस्य शालान्नमागतं तस्मै मया हृत्यात्परमपितमू।
'State power, like a hungry fire, greedily sets its flaming and covetous tongue to home after home, to village after village, to country after country. King Asoka harnessed this all-devouring power to the service of welfare. He forswore the satisfaction of an indulgence which is insatiable and gave himself to tireless service.'

Rabindranath Tagore
FOREWORD

The original Sanskrit text of the *Āsokāvadāna* was edited by E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil and published for the first time in 1886 (*cf.* The *Divyāvadāna*). Unfortunately it was full of corrupt readings.

Nearly for a century there was practically no attempt by any scholar, either from the East or from the West, to revise and re-edit this important ancient text.

The text of the *Āsokāvadāna* was translated into Chinese by different translators in different times. The oldest translation was made by Parthian Fa-ch’in circa 300 A.D. (*cf.* A- yü-wang-chuan, Nanjio No. 1459). The work became rapidly popular in China. Even as late as 512 A.D., it was re-translated by Saṅghabhara or Saṅghavarman (*cf.* A-yü-wang-ching, Nanjio, No. 1343).

That the Sanskrit text is very old may be evidenced from the earliest Chinese translation of the work. It must have been written in the second century A.D.

I am glad to note that Prof. Sujitkumar Mukhopadhyaya who has already edited several old Sanskrit texts, comparing them with their Chinese and Tibetan translations has edited the Sanskrit text of the *Āsokāvadāna* critically comparing it with its oldest Chinese version.

In this connexion, I should mention here that J. Przyluski translated the above mentioned oldest Chinese version into French and published it from Paris in 1923. Prof. Mukhopadhyaya, the present editor of the *Āsokāvadāna*, has utilized this translation along with the original.

Mainly with the help of this Chinese translation and occasionally with others, Prof. Mukhopadhyaya presents before the Scholars a correct edition of the *Āsokāvadāna*.

The edition is enriched with a scholarly Introduction in English and various useful appendices and notes. The variant readings of the MSS. and the Chinese versions are faithfully recorded in the footnote.

The Introduction contains:

(i) A synopsis of all the chapters.
(ii) English translation of the select pieces.
(iii) Textual criticism.
(iv) A discussion on the life of Aśoka, historic and legendary.
(v) A discussion on the Sanskrit MSS.
(vi) A discussion on the Chinese Translations.
(vii) A discussion on the date and author.
(viii) A discussion on the meaning and significance of the word avadāna.
(ix) A discussion on the striking resemblance between the composition of three stories of the Sūtrālāṅkāra (the original of which is lost; the Chinese translation and a French translation from the Chinese are available) and those of the Aśokāvadāna.

The Appendixes contain:
(i) Life of Aśoka based on epigraphic records.
(ii) A chronological scheme of Aśoka’s reign.
(iii) A chronology from the legends.
(iv) A few important Aśoka Inscriptions.
(v) Explanation of difficult technical terms, and peculiar words, references etc.

From the above list of topics it will be clear that this scholarly edition will create interest even among the lay public. For scholars, it is important as one of the oldest, post-Vedic prose compositions, and as a collection of old legends some of which are enriched with noble ideas, high ideals and beautiful composition.

Tan Yun-Shan
Principal
Cheena-Bhavana, Visva-Bharati

Santiniketan
May 8, 1962
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DESCRIPTION OF MANUSCRIPTS

ABCDE Copies of the same manuscript. The original is written on paper; and the writing is of the fine and small kind described at page xxxii of Bendall’s Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. The MS. is assigned to the 17th century A.D. It measures 13”×3” and has 265 leaves, with nine or ten lines on each page.

A Add. 865: in the University Library, Cambridge; 258 leaves, 14-15 lines, dated 1873. Fairly written in the ordinary Nepalese character, but not very correct.

B Copy procured for E.B. Cowell and R.A. Neil by Daniel Wright, while he was at the British Residency at Kathmandu. 283 leaves, 12-13 lines, very incorrect.

C Copy procured for Cowell and Neil by Wright; 274 leaves, 14-15 lines, correct.

D The MS. given in 1837 by B. H. Hodgson to the Asiatic Society at Paris; 337 leaves, 9 lines. This is a very correct copy. It is written in the ordinary Nāgari character.


INTRODUCTION

In 1886, E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil published the Divyāvadāna from Cambridge. It contained among others the old text of the Aśokavadāna. This text, like others of its kind, is written in Sanskrit. It consists of four chapters or sections, each of which is also named Avadāna in the MSS., viz. (i) Pāṃśupradānāvadāna, (ii) Vītasokāvadāna, (iii) Kunālavadāna and the (iv) Aśokāvadāna.

The first one contains several legends: one of Upagupta, the spiritual teacher of king Aśoka, one of Śāṇakavāsin, the teacher of Upagupta, another of Vāsavadattā the courtesan, the first convert of Upagupta. Still another, and a very interesting one, is the story of the conversion of Māra by Upagupta. The last is the legend of Aśoka, the cruel one (Caṇḍāśoka) and his conversion.

The Pāṃśupradānāvadāna or the ‘Avadāna of the Gift of Dust’ is named so because Aśoka, in his former existence, while he was a child once offered with great respect a handful of dust to Buddha innocently assuming it to be saktu (powdered barley). The great merit which the boy acquired by this ‘gift of dust’ made him in his subsequent existence the emperor of vast Jambudvīpa. Aśoka is described as a very cruel person in his youth who killed men and even women whenever he found fault with them. So for his dreadful deeds he was called the Caṇḍāśoka. He was gradually changed by the influence of the Buddhist Śramaṇas. One of them, named Samudra in his lay life (the name he bore in his monastic life is not given), was the first to influence the young emperor. Ultimately, because, of his manifold meritorious deeds, Caṇḍāśoka was given the epithet of Dharmāśoka.

The second, the Vītasokāvadāna, is the legend of Vītasoka, the younger brother of king Aśoka who was at first devoted to the heretics. He used to taunt the Buddhist Śramaṇas and pity Aśoka because of his devotion towards them. Later on, however, he embraced Buddhism and renounced the world. The tragic death of this beloved brother, caused involuntarily and indirectly by Aśoka, moved him so that he changed thoroughly.

B
The third, the Kunālavadāna too consists of several legends. It begins with the interesting story of how Aśoka humbled his minister Yaśas. After this it relates the story of the great meeting of Upagupta and Aśoka. The teacher Upagupta led the disciple Aśoka to the sacred places where the prince Gautama was born and brought up, practised austerities and attained Enlightenment; where he turned the ‘Wheel of the Law’; where he breathed his last; where the great disciples Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, Kāśyapa, Ānanda and others left their last remains—the relics. Then the legend of the queen Tiṣyarakṣitā who in envy attempted to destroy the Bodhi-tree is told and the story of the meeting of Aśoka and Piṇḍola Bharadvāja, a direct disciple of Buddha. After this, it relates the story of Kunāla which is one of the most pathetic stories ever written. The queen Tiṣyarakṣitā, like queen Kaikeyī of the Rāmāyaṇa was granted a boon by the emperor. In virtue of this boon, "Tiśya" became the queen empress of vast Jambudvīpa for a week. As soon as she came to the throne, she commanded the eyes of the prince Kunāla (her step-son) to be plucked out. This order was duly sealed and despatched to Takṣaśilā (Taxila) where the prince was staying. The lovely eyes, blue like the rare blue lotus, were plucked out. King Aśoka did not know of it. Later, when he met his blind son he was furious and wished to punish the queen with death. But the compassionate prince repeatedly implored him to forgive her. She was however not forgiven.

The Aśokavadāna, the fourth chapter, describes how the great emperor spent the last days of his life. He was practically interned in his bed-chamber. It is a great tragedy that the emperor of a continent, a man who once used to distribute gold coins worth millions in charity had not a penny at his own disposal. He who had always been served in gold plates had them taken away, lest he might send them as gifts to the monastery. He had to take his meals in the earthen pots.

This chapter, embellished with poems that are jewel-like may be considered one of the most compositions of ancient literature.

The Aśokavadāna is a very important text for its antiquity as well as for its literary value. It was composed before the third century A.D. Some portions of the text are exquisite and they may be ranked as classics. A free rendering of some of the remarkable pieces is given below:
THE SAINT AND THE COURTESAN

Not long before His passing away, while Lord Buddha was in Mathurā, He said to Ānanda, “Ānanda, a hundred years hence when I shall be no more in this world, there shall be a merchant named Gupta in this town of Mathurā. His son Upagupta shall spread the Good Law in this world like unto a second Buddha.

“Ānanda, do you see that dark blue line on the horizon there, far, far away? It is the range of mountains called Urumūṇḍa. A monk named Śāṇakavāsin shall found a monastery there a hundred years from now. He shall ordain Upagupta.”

The hundred years passed. Upagupta was born in Mathurā as the youngest child of an incense-merchant named Gupta. The child was remarkably handsome and extraordinary in his movements. He attracted the attention of Śāṇakavāsin, the High Priest. He came to see the boy frequently. Upagupta spent his childhood as well as his youth under the guidance of the High Priest who helped him to build up his character.

When Upagupta grew up, he followed the profession of his father. He was very honest and polite in dealing with his customers.

At that time, there lived in Mathurā a very beautiful young courtesan named Vāsavadattā. She was greatly attracted to the merchant Upagupta. One day, she sent her attendant to ask him to come to her. But Upagupta refused the invitation and replied politely, “Sister, it is not yet time for you to see me.” Vāsavadattā thought that perhaps the merchant was hesitating because of her high fee of five hundred gold coins. She sent the attendant again with the following message: “Friend, I do not want money from you; come, I love you.” But Upagupta refused again with the same reply, “Sister, it is not yet time for you to see me.”

Time rolled on. Vāsavadattā enjoyed her life of luxury as usual. Princes and sons of millionaires were her guests. One day a young merchant from a foreign country came to Mathurā. He came to know that Vāsavadattā was the most beautiful courtesan of the town. He took with him the usual fee of five hundred gold coins and many precious gifts as well and waited at the gate of her house. The courtesan was in company of a young merchant of the town. When she was told of this rich new
client, she had the young man killed out of greed for the gifts and hid the body in a dustbin. Then she received her new client and entertained him.

In the meantime the friends of the young merchant began a search for him and discovered his dead body in the dustbin. They brought the crime to the notice of the king. He commanded the courtesan to be disfigured and thrown out of the town.

Vāsavadattā, the most beautiful girl in the kingdom, every limb of whose body was full of charm, lay disfigured in the crematorium of the town. She who had before attracted all who caught a glimpse of her, now attracted only vultures and such-like. Of her innumerable attendants only one maid remained with her.

Upagupta heard this. He reflected: "Once she invited me to go to her. Now is the time for me to accept that invitation."

In sympathy and compassion, he proceeded to the outskirts of the town. The attendant of the courtesan saw him and said to her mistress, "Upagupta, the incense-merchant, whom you once invited to come to you is coming. Surely he wants enjoyment."

With a deep sigh Vāsavadattā replied:

"Stained with blood are my mangled limbs!
My beautiful face is defaced;
This mutilated body now frightens all
Except vultures and cannibals."

In great anxiety she bade her maid, "Friend, bandage my limbs quickly!" The maid obeyed.

Upagupta approached and stood before Vāsavadattā. With tears in her eyes, the courtesan said:

"When this body of mine was like a lotus in full bloom
Graced with a hundred tender petals,
While its beauty enchanted even the gods,
You did not come, my friend!

"These graceful limbs are now scarred
And stained with blood,
The lovely face defaced.
How can a damaged body that attracts none,
Attract you, my friend?"
Upagupta replied:

"Refrain from such profane speech, my sister,
Speak of this no more!
I have no attraction for the flesh;
Lust have I none.
Alas! Even the most lustful shall give up lust
When he sees the end which is its fate.

"On this dreadful day, think of Him,
The merciful Lord, whose mercy rains in showers on you
His forlorn child who is plunged in misery.
Who is there to take you across this ocean of affliction
Except Him who is the fountain-spring of compassion.
Take refuge in Him with all your heart,
The Lord of the lowliest and the lost."

He sat beside her and nursed her with the utmost care until she died. Inspired by the holy company of the selfless saint Upagupta, Vāsavadattā overcame her lust and attained the 'Divine Eye' before her death.

After this incident Upagupta renounced the world. Śānaka-vāsin, the High Priest ordained him.

A fine piece of classical composition, this story is found also in Kṣemendra's Avadāna-Kalpalatā (vide 72 Pallava). Here the Buddhist attitude towards womenfolk can be observed. In Pali, women are called mātugāma (Sans. mātgrāma) i.e., the mother-folk. Women are neither hated nor neglected but respected as mothers by the adherents of the religion. Their company is avoided lest their physical beauty may tempt the religious. But whenever any affliction or calamity befalls women, as here, the Buddhist saints hurry to serve them even at the risk of their own lives.

This story with artistic modifications here and there, is immortalized in a beautiful poem by the Poet Rabindranath Tagore.

CONVERSION OF MĀRA

It was announced in the town of Mathurā that Upagupta, a Buddha without the auspicious marks on his body, would
preach the Law. Hundreds of persons assembled together to listen to the preaching of the great saint.

After his introductory speech, Upagupta was about to explain the Four-fold Noble Truth, when there was a shower of strings of pearls. The mind of the audience was agitated and no one could give Upagupta undivided attention.

Upagupta considered who had created disturbance? And he saw that it was Māra, the tempter incarnate.

On the second day, a greater number of people assembled, because they had come to know that when Upagupta preached, strings of pearls fell out of space. And when Upagupta began to explain the Truth, as on the previous day, there was a shower of gold. Upagupta’s preaching had no effect at all.

On the third day, thousands of people thronged the place. When Upagupta began to preach, Māra who was not far away, began a dance-drama. Divine instruments were played, and celestial girls danced. Even the holy men who had subdued their passions felt attracted by the heavenly beauties and the divine music. Māra was very pleased. He took a garland, went to Upagupta, and put it round his neck. Upagupta wondered why Māra had not been converted by Buddha. And he saw (with his divine vision) that Māra was to be converted by him.

So he took three skeletons, one of a snake, the other of a dog, another of a man. He transformed them into flower-garlands by his psychic powers and went up to Māra. Māra was transported with joy, ‘O! I have attracted even Upagupta, a Buddha without the sacred marks,’ he thought, and bent his head to receive the garlands. Upagupta put the garlands round his neck and said:

“Monks are against wearing garlands.
And men with passions detest skeletons.
So what thou hast offered me,
The same I present in return to thee.”

Māra tried to take the skeletons off. But he was like an ant trying to remove a mountain; he could not do it. He flew up into the sky and said:

“I may fail to remove these skeletons
But there are other gods in heaven
Whose might exceeds both mine and thine.”
The Venerable Upagupta said:

"Run to heaven and entreat the gods!
Be they Brahmā, Indra, or Upendra!
Enter into the hell’s fire,
Or plunge deep into the depth of the sea.
No one can burn, dissolve, or break
These dreadful strings of bones
That hang around thy neck."

Māra went to Indra, to Upendra, to Kubera, to Varuṇa and to other gods; but when none of them could help him; he went to the Great Brahmā who said:

"Not that I possess no strength.
Mighty though I am,
Yet fire’s heat cannot vie with
That of the great sun."

Māra said, "Tell me, whom shall I resort to?" Brahmā said:

"Be quick! Take shelter in him
Who bereft you of your fame and bliss.
For, he that falls upon the ground,
Takes its support to raise himself up."

Māra was extremely surprised at this answer. He thought:

"How powerful must the Blessed One be!
Even His disciple surpasses the Great Brahmā!
Indeed the forgiveness of the Compassionate One
Has saved me from great peril!

"I have molested Him repeatedly
Until He met His Great End.
Yet the Mighty One had spoken
Not a single word to pain me!"

He was sincerely repentant for his maltreatment of Buddha. He fell at the feet of Upagupta and confessing his sins implored him to undo the chains around his neck. Upagupta said, "I shall do it only on certain conditions."

Māra asked, "What are the conditions?"
"From today onwards, you must stop molesting the Bhikṣus," replied Upagupta. "I will," promised Māra.
"And you have to do something else for me also," continued Upagupta.

Māra was pleased to hear this. He said, "Tell me, O Venerable, what is your command?"

Upagupta replied, "You know I have left the world and become a monk, a hundred years after the passing away of the Blessed One. It was not possible for me to see Him in His mortal body. It would be a great favour to me, if you could show me the body of flesh of the Blessed One."

Māra said, "I will show you the same, on certain conditions."

"What are the conditions?" asked Upagupta.

Māra replied, "You must not bow down before me; for:

"With a heart so full of devotion to Buddha
If you show me even the slightest respect,
It will burn me to ashes.
The tender sprouts of the eranda cannot bear
Even a touch of the elephant's trunk."

The Venerable One said, "I will not bow to thee."

Māra said, "Kindly wait then. Let me enter the forest to take upon myself the likeness of Buddha."

Like an actor clad in a beautiful costume, Māra emerged from the forest in the garb of Buddha:

The marvellous body of the Blessed One
Adorned with its marks and sub-marks,
Pleased the eyes like ambrosia.
Like a precious painted portrait of Buddha, a masterpiece
It was fresh with colours and glorified the forest.

Māra, assuming the graceful figure of Buddha shone with a nimbus. He was accompanied by Śāriputra on his right, Mahāmaudgalyāyana on his left, Ānanda behind and 1250 Bhikṣus standing around in a semi-circle, like a crescent moon.

The Master approached Upagupta. Upagupta was transported with joy. He got up from his seat and gazed at the Blessed One, exclaiming:

"Fie upon the merciless impermanence
That destroys beauty such as this!
So full of grace was the Great Sage
And he was destroyed by the Great Instability."
Absorbed in his thoughts he seemed to see the real Buddha. He said:

"In sweetness, His face surpasses the lotus.
His eyes surpass the blue lily.
His loveliness exceeds the beauty of flowers.
The bull envies His glance.
The lion vies in vain with His majestic gait.
His appearance enchants us more than the full-moon,
Than the ocean, than the great radiant Meru.

"How powerful are the good actions!
How marvellous is their result!
Beauty like this is created by one's own deeds,
And not by any god at his sweet will.

"This beauty is created by the Blessed One
Through myriads of millions of aeons;
By His good actions—Charity, Tolerance,
Forbearance and the like.

"This spotless beauty soothes the eyes
Of all who behold it.
Even an enemy forgets his enmity,
Delighted by the charm of His beauty."

Thus plunged in the contemplation of Buddha, he prostrated himself at full length, at the feet of Māra. In great excitement Māra cried out,

"You should not forget your promise!"
Upagupta asked, "What was the promise?"
"The Venerable One promised that he would not bow to me," replied Māra.

Upagupta got up and said:

"Not that I do not know that
The Blessed One is no more living.
Like fire extinguished by water,
He has entered into the Great Bliss.
But this graceful figure is the same as His
As it appeared to my sight.
I paid my homage to Him
And not to you, indeed!"
Māra was astonished. He said, “When I saw with my own
eyes that you bowed to me, how do you say that it was not me
to whom you paid homage!”

The Venerable One replied:

“When a man bows to the clay-image of a god,
He bows not to the image but to the god.
Thus, when I bowed to thee
Who transformed thyself into the image of the Lord
I showed respect to the Lord and not to thee, indeed!”

Then Māra caused the image of Buddha to vanish, made an
obeisance to Upagupta and disappeared.

And on the fourth day after, Māra announced by sound of
bells: “You who pray for the supreme bliss, go to Upagupta
and hear the Law from him:

“Do you want to shake off poverty,
The source of all ills?
Do you aspire celestial thrones
Or the Bliss of Liberation?
Approach Upagupta and listen to him.
Do not regret that you could not see
Buddha, the Great Compassionate One.
He has come down to you
In the form of Upagupta, the Divine Light
That illuminates the three states of existence.”

This is a poetical composition pregnant with dramatic
elements. The Buddhist ideal of not destroying evil but convert-
ing it to good is expressed here in a magnificent way. Māra,
the god of temptation, is neither destroyed nor conquered by
force, as a king conquers his enemy. He is converted to the
Good Law. No more does he tempt people to the evil way.
Instead he persuades them to the Noble Path.

The latter part of this episode is most interesting where Māra
is asked by Upagupta to show him Buddha in His mortal
body. Māra acts in such a way that Buddha with His retinue of
1250 Arahants comes down as if from heaven and stands before

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2 (i) Sensual existence, (ii) devo-corporeal existence, and (iii) formless
existence.
the saint in broad daylight. The scene is so vivid that the saint Upagupta forgets that it is only make-believe and not real. He falls down at the feet of Māra, taking him to be Buddha.

This reminds us of a well-known incident which occurred in a theatre of Bengal. There a famous actor played the part of a rogue so vividly, that one of the elite audience, the celebrated Iswar Chandra Vidyāsāgara hurled his slipper at the actor’s head. The actor was thrilled with joy. He picked up the slipper and placed it respectfully on his head himself.

Here too, we see a great drama being acted by an expert actor. He plays his part so wonderfully that even the most elite audience, the saint Upagupta, takes it to be real.

The credit is due to Aśvaghosa, the celebrated author of the Sūrālāṅkāra, from which this is reproduced. Vide É. Huber, Sūrālāṅkāra, pp. 263-273.

AŚOKA, THE EMPEROR BEFORE HIS CONVERSION TO BUDDHISM

Aśoka, the son of Bindusāra, had just come to the throne of Pāṭaliputra. The young king soon became notorious for his cruelty. One day he beheaded his five hundred ministers. On another occasion, he burnt alive his five hundred queens, with his own hand, whereupon his friend, the minister Rādhagupta said, “Sire, it does not look well for an emperor to kill the culprits himself. Why does not Your Majesty engage an executioner?”

At this, the emperor said, “Find me one.”

At that time, there lived in a village at the foot of a hill, a weaver who had a son named Girika. From his very infancy, he had been extremely cruel. As a baby he used to kill ants and flies. When he was only a boy of tender age he killed birds, mice, and the like. He was as rude to his elders as he was cruel to his juniors. And because of his cruelty he was known throughout the country as Caṇḍa(Cruel)-Girika.

The officers of the king met him and asked him, “Will you be able to act as an executioner under the king?” “Why not?” he replied, “I am able to kill everybody who lives in this vast Jambudvīpa.”
This was reported to the king. He wanted to see him. The officers again went to this cruel young man and asked him to accompany them. Girika said, "Let me bid farewell to my parents."

As it was some time before Girika came back, the officers enquired the cause of his delay. Girika replied, "My parents did not like this job and they argued with me! However, I have silenced their voice, with the help of the sword. Come! Let us be quick!"

The emperor appointed him the head executioner.

Caṇḍa-Girika was so fond of killing that he made the following curious proposal to the king:

"Sire, build a big palace. Make it so beautiful that all who look at it will be attracted; then allow me to kill everybody who enters!"

The emperor agreed to his proposal.

This palace was the most beautiful building in the capital and in it the most horrible acts of torture went on. How many innocent persons lost their lives in this hell! But it looked like heaven from outside!

Once a Śramaṇa came to the town of Pāṭaliputra. He was the son of a merchant who used to sail always with his family. This son was born while on the sea and so was named Samudra (sea). For twelve years the son practically knew no land. Pirates attacked the boat of this merchant and killed everyone on it except the boy who managed to escape. This orphaned boy was given shelter in the Monastic Order of Lord Buddha.

While begging in the streets of Pāṭaliputra, the Śramaṇa was attracted to the palace of Carnage. When he entered he was surprised to find that the house which was so beautiful outside was so dreadful within. As he was coming out, Caṇḍa-Girika stopped him at the gate and shouted, "Where do you go? Death awaits you here in this hell!"

The Śramaṇa began to weep. Caṇḍa-Girika cried in anger, "Why do you cry like a child?" The Śramaṇa replied:

"Not that I dread death, as common people do! Death is a hindrance to this holy life of mine
That I have just begun.
After death, shall I be resurrected in human flesh?"
“Alas! It is difficult to obtain this blessed existence!
It is difficult also to obtain the bliss of renunciation,
In the Law of love and compassion of the Enlightened One.
Fortunate I was to attain them
And sad I am to part with them.”

The Śramaṇa prayed for a month’s time, but Caṇḍa-Girika granted him only a week.
For seven days, day and night constantly reflecting on death,
the Śramaṇa purified his mind and prepared it for Enlightenment.
When he was in this state of mind, there was an incident in the royal family. A prince fell in love with one of the queens. The emperor sent both of them to the prison-house of Caṇḍa-Girika. They were pounded to death with an iron rammer in an iron vessel.
Seeing these two beautiful persons, murdered in such a horrible way, the Śramaṇa cried in compassion:

“The charm of youth, sweetness and tenderness incarnate!
O physical beauty which is the greatest attraction
to the people of the world;
What end it meets?
Is it a dream? Is it an illusion?
Where have those beautiful beings disappeared
in the twinkling of an eye!
Is this world a creation of magic, a kingdom of mirage,
A pyramid of bubbles?”

Having seen this dreadful scene with his own eyes, his mind detached itself completely from the physical world. Reflecting on this the whole night, he became free from all worldly bonds. Thus he attained Arahantship and sang in ecstasy:

“Here in this dreadful den of the devil,
In this hell of carnage,
How could I attain the Divine vision?
Wonderful indeed is the compassion
of the Compassionate One!
Blessed is this prison-house where I crossed
The boundless ocean of births and deaths.”

On the seventh day, when the night was over, Caṇḍa-Girika
called him, “Śramaṇa! The night is gone! The sun is rising!”

The Śramaṇa said, “Yes, my friend, the night is gone!

“The dense darkness of delusion
That covers the human soul has disappeared.
The night has passed, the sun arisen!
The pilgrim has reached his goal.

“The destitute has found an inexhaustible
store of treasure!
Today he can give whatever is asked of him.
Do you wish to take this life?
Do accept it as a humble gift, my friend.”

Caṇḍa-Girika caught hold of the saint and threw him into
the large iron pan, filled with blood and bones and marrow and
water. Lighting the fire in the oven under it he tried to heat it.

But when the water would not boil even though he piled
faggots high, he was very much surprised. He looked inside the
pan and found to his utter astonishment that the saint was seated
cross-legged in the centre, absorbed in ecstasy. He reported this
to the king. Overcome with a great curiosity, the king came
to the prison-house.

When he saw the extraordinary scene, the king was spell-
bound. With folded hands he prayed to the saint, “What
service can I do, Your Holiness?”

The saint replied, “King, the Lord said: ‘When a hundred
years will have passed after the passing away of the Blessed One,
an emperor named Aśoka shall rule at Pāṭaliputra. He shall
propagate the doctrine of love as taught by Buddha throughout
the world!’

“O king, what the Blessed One said will come to pass. Give
up these evil ways. Your mission is not to kill but to protect.

“Therefore, O king, give an assurance of safety to all sentient
beings! Let those two strong arms of yours shield the world!”

The emperor replied, “Let it be so.”

The saint disappeared.

And when the king was about to come out of the prison-house,
Caṇḍa-Girika stood in front of him and said with folded hands,
“Sire, you promised me that I may slay whoever enters into this
house.”
The king exclaimed: "What! You want to kill even me?"
Cāṇḍa-Girika replied, "Yes, Sire."
The king asked, "Just between us, tell me who was the first to enter?"
He replied, "It was I."
So Cāṇḍa-Girika was beheaded and the dreadful den of the devil demolished.

This is an interesting episode from the Pāṁśupradānāvadāna. If anyone be tempted to search for history in this, he will be misled. History tells us that Aśoka was a cruel king, in his early days. But should he be painted like this?
That Aśoka was a cruel king while he was young is confessed by himself in one of his rock edicts. There he says: "The country of Kaliṅga was conquered when king Priyadarśin, the Beloved of the gods, had been anointed eight years: one hundred and fifty thousand were captured from there. One hundred thousand were killed and many times as many died (as the consequence of burning and sacking)...
"Even one hundredth or one thousandth part of those who were slain or were captured in Kaliṅga is today considered regrettable by the Beloved of the gods. Nay, if any one does him wrong, the Beloved of the gods must bear all that can be borne."¹
Aśoka was so repenatent for this cruelty that he inscribed on rocks "Separate Kaliṅga Edicts" where he repeatedly says: "By the command of the Beloved of the gods, the Mahāmātras of Tosali (or Samāpa) who are the city Judiciaries should be addressed thus: You have indeed been set over may thousand of lives in order that you may certainly gain the affection of men. All men are my offspring. Just as for my offspring I desire that they be united with all welfare and happiness of this world and the next, precisely I desire for all men..."

This story must be read as a story and not as history. One thing is to be noticed; it is the tone of religious propaganda. Even the most cruel man in the world can be changed into a great compassionate one by the influence of Buddhism, with this idea in mind, some orthodox missionary might have composed the story.

¹ Rock Edict XIII. It is found in Kalsi (in the Dehradun district, U.P.).
VĪTAŚOKA, THE BROTHER OF AŚOKA THE GREAT

The Emperor Aśoka had been converted to Buddhism. By his unique devotion and enterprise, the whole of India became attracted to the Good Law. But his own brother Vītaśoka was still devoted to the heretics. He had been preaching: "There is no Liberation for the Buddhist monks because they live in luxury."

One day, the emperor went out a-hunting accompanied by his brother Vītaśoka; while wandering in the forest, Vītaśoka met an ascetic who was practising austerities in the midst of five sacred fires. Being attracted to this ascetic he bowed to him and asked, "Blessed One, how long have you been here?" The ascetic replied, "For twelve years!" "What food do you take?" "Fruits and roots," "What are your garments?" "Clothes made of grass." "What is your bed?" "A heap of dry grass." "Do you feel any pain at any time?" The ascetic replied, "My heart burns with lust when the deer and its mate make love."

Vītaśoka reflected: "If in the mind of this stern ascetic, lust can find a place, is it possible for the luxurious Buddhist monk to control his senses?"

He exclaimed:

"He lives in solitude, far away from the people; He lives on air, water and roots and sleeps on grass; Still his heart burns with lust! The Śramaṇa who lives on kingly dishes Śālī rice with fish and abundant meat. With milk, curd and butter flowing Can such a one control his senses? The Vindhya mountain then can float in the sea!"

"Alas! The king is deluded by these Buddhist monks for whom he has so much respect!"

The king overheard what Vītaśoka said. He thought out a plan to correct the wrong notions of his brother. The ministers were summoned. The king commanded them, "When I enter the palace to take my bath, you must persuade my brother by some means or other to put on my royal dress, crown and sit upon the throne."
When the king put off his dress and went to take bath, the ministers approached Vitasoka and said, "Prince! you are to become king when your royal brother is no more. We are eager to see how you will look when you will sit on the throne wearing the royal dress and crown."

Vitasoka assented and seated himself on the throne dressed and crowned like the king. After some time, Asoka entered. When he saw this scene he pretended to be furious. He roared: "I am not yet dead! How do you dare to sit on my throne? Who is there? Where are the executioners?"

Several executioners entered. The king commanded, "Take him!" Immediately Vitasoka was surrounded by those people.

The ministers fell at the feet of the king and begged for mercy, "Be kind, O Lord! He is your brother!" The king said, "Well, as he is my brother, let him enjoy the kingdom for a week! He can be beheaded afterwards!"

No sooner had the king given this command than a sweet music on various kinds of musical instruments was heard, accompanying the harmonious voices of beautiful damsels. Vitasoka was surrounded by hundreds of handsome attendants, both men and women.

All kinds of pleasure and articles of luxury fit for the emperor of a continent were at his disposal.

The executioners dressed in dark-blue uniforms, however, stood at every door.

When a day had passed, they cried, "King Vitasoka, one day is already gone; six remain!" Thus they reminded Vitasoka that his days were numbered.

At the end of the seventh day, Vitasoka was brought before king Asoka. Asoka demanded, "How did you enjoy the music and dance?" Vitasoka replied:

"Who listened to the melodies,
Who watched the dances,
Who enjoyed the luxuries,
Let him answer thy questions!"

The king exclaimed in astonishment, "You have been king for a week! It is you who enjoyed the songs, and dances of the beautiful girls! How can you say that you have not watched them!"
Vitaśoka said:
"I saw no dances of damsels.  
I heard not their music.  
I did not even feel their tender limbs  
Adorned with gold clinging to me!  
Dance, music, riches, things of luxury,  
The earth filled with gems, beauty and youth,  
All were empty to me, they yielded me no pleasure.

"Reposing on the most comfortable couch of the world  
I passed my nights without any sleep;  
When I saw at every door, the executioners  
With their dark blue garments on, like the jaws of death!"

The king said, "My dear brother, when the fear of death constantly possesses the mind of a man, no luxury in the world can attract him; this you have experienced well!

"Do you know, that the mind of a Śramaṇa is always possessed with the fear of death,—not only with the fear of death that is coming but with the thought of innumerable future deaths? When such is the case, how can his mind be attracted to objects of luxury or sensual pleasure?

"Amidst various pleasures, detached remains his mind,  
Like the drop of water on the leaf of a lotus!"

Vitaśoka was then attracted to the Good Law. He prayed:

"I take refuge in Him  
Whose eyes are like the full-bloomed lotus!  
I accept the Dharma and the Saṅgha  
Preached and founded by Him!"

Hearing this, the king embraced his brother and said,
"I did not wish to kill you, my brother. It was done only to attract your mind to the Good Law!"

Vitaśoka devoted his heart and soul to the Good Law. Every day he worshipped the caitya (monument of Buddha), served the Saṅgha, and listened to the Good Law.

One day, he went to the Kukkuṭārāma. There he found the High Priest Yaśas who had attained Arahantship. When he had examined Vitaśoka he came to know that Arahantship was awaiting the prince. He preached the merit of renunciation.
Vitaśoka was much impressed. He prayed for his initiation into the Monastic Order. The Sthavira said, "You must have the consent of the king."

Vitaśoka came back to the palace, approached the king and said:

"Like a mad elephant without a driver
I was running amuck to peril!
When by thy grace I attained
The Good Law and bliss of mind.

"Today I beg a boon, be kind and permit me to renounce the world!"

At this the king embraced his brother and with tears in his eyes he said, "Brother, give up this desire for renunciation. It is very difficult. You are a prince, brought up in luxury. How can you beg from door to door? How can you sleep on the hard ground under a tree? How can you wear the simple garb of a monk?"

Though his elder brother requested him repeatedly, with tears flowing from his eyes, Vitaśoka did not change his mind. He said:

"The swing of births and deaths
Moves constantly to and fro!
He who swings with it is sure to fall!
Separation is destined of all from all!

"Brother, when you know so well that this is the way of the world, why do you object to my renunciation?"

So Aśoka came to know that Vitaśoka was determined. Then he said, "Brother, first practise begging here in the palace." Vitaśoka agreed. The ladies of the palace gave him the best of food when he begged of them. The king, noticing it, told them to give simple food, food fit for a monk. But when Vitaśoka sat down to eat the simple food he was given, Aśoka wept and prevented him. As he could not bear to see such a pathetic sight, he at last permitted his brother to renounce the world, only asking him to return after he had attained to perfection.

Vitaśoka thought he should leave his native place and go to a foreign country. He would renounce the world there and live by begging.
Within a few years of his renunciation Vītasoka attained to Arahantship. And as he rejoiced in the perfect Bliss, he remembered the request of the king. He came back to Pātaliputra. When he reached the palace the man at the gate informed the king that the prince had come back. With heart filled with joy the king ordered, “Bring him in at once!”

When Vītasoka came and stood before him, the king fainted and fell down. After he regained consciousness he examined every limb of the Arahant. Then he wept and said:

“When there is no flow of emotion
Even in meeting his dearest kin, after years;
He has plunged into the state
Of the greatest Bliss indeed!”

The minister Rādhagupta who had been an intimate friend of Aśoka from his boyhood days, was watching Vītasoka keenly. He saw the dirty garments, the earthen bowl and the poor food in it. He said to the king:

“Whose mind is free from attachment
Whose body free from disease;
He enjoys festivals everyday
Everywhere he lives in peace!”

The king embraced the Arahant and seated him on a high seat. With his own hand, the king offered him the best food. When Vītasoka had taken his meal, he was requested to preach the Good Law. He did so. Then the Arahant said to the king:

“O king! Govern your kingdom with vigilance!
Respect the Good Law and serve the Saṅgha.
Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha
These three are the most precious Jewels
Indeed they are difficult to obtain.”

Vītasoka, the Arahant, left the town of Pātaliputra. The emperor Aśoka followed him to see him on his way, accompanied by five hundred ministers and a crowd of thousands of citizens.

The Arahant went to the frontier of the kingdom where he lived. There he fell seriously ill. When the king came to know of his illness he sent physicians and nurses. Vītasoka was cured; but due to this illness he lost his hair.
Henceforth, he lived mainly on milk and therefore dwelt in a village of milkmen. He begged his food. At that time, an incident occurred which greatly enraged the king. A follower of the Nirgrantha (Mahâvira) painted a picture, showing Buddha prostrating Himself at the feet of the Nirgrantha. Asoka ordered all the Ājīvikas of Puṇḍravardhana (North Bengal) to be killed. In one day, eighteen thousand Ājīvikas lost their lives.

A similar kind of incident took place in the town of Pātaliputra. A man who painted such a picture was burnt alive with his family. It was announced that whoever would bring the king the head of a Nirgrantha would be rewarded with a dināra (a gold coin). As a result of this, thousands of Nirgranthas lost their lives.

One night, Vītāśoka was sleeping in the house of a milkman. Noticing that his head was almost devoid of hair, his clothes dirty and nails long, the milk-woman mistook him for a Nirgrantha. She whispered to her husband, “Why don’t you kill this man and earn a dināra from the king?”

The milkman, tempted by the reward of a dināra, drew his sword and approached the Arahant. Vītāśoka saw him. He meditated and came to know he was to die in this way as the consequence of an evil deed done by him in his former life. He calmly faced his death.

When the head of Vītāśoka was brought before the king, he fell to the ground in a faint.

The royal family was overwhelmed with grief. The whole city lamented this tragic end of the Saint prince. The kingdom was plunged in gloom.

When the king’s grief was abated somewhat, the ministers said, “Henceforth, O Lord! Be kind and offer an assurance of safety to all sentient beings!”

With a heavy heart the emperor replied, “Let it be so!”

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1 The author of this Avadāna seems to have confused the Nirgranthas (Jains) with the Ājīvikas. They were two different sects founded by Mahâvira and (Maskariputra) Gōṣāla respectively, who are considered to be the last Tirthāṅkaras of these two sects.

Mahâvira and Gōṣāla practised austerities together for some time. It is said that Gōṣāla attained to jñānahood first and he had great influence in the development of Mahâvira’s doctrine. Afterwards, when differences arose, they parted from each other.

The Ājīvika sect existed until the 14th century A.D. Finally they lost their identity and merged with the Digambara Jains, Śivaites and others.
This is one of the best chapters of the text. The subject, the style, the composition, everything here is remarkable. In every śloka there is a poetic touch. One important thing in particular is to be marked. That is the tragic ending of the story. Sanskrit dramas, poems or stories, as a rule, have happy endings. Here is an exception.

But the great defect is also to be noticed. Here too Aśoka is described as dreadfully cruel. If the central figure of this story were not a historic personage as great and well-known as Aśoka, we would have nothing to say. To say that Aśoka, whose devotion to all religious sects is unique in the history of humanity (as is well-known through his edicts) persecuted the Jains or the Ājivikas is simply absurd. And why speak of Aśoka alone? There was no Buddhist king anywhere in India who persecuted the Jains or the Ājivikas or any other sect. In order to show the greatness of Buddhism, the orthodox author degraded it by painting the greatest Buddhist of the world as a dreadful religious fanatic.

**HOW AŚOKA HUMBLED HIS MINISTER**

Aśoka, the emperor had just been converted to Buddhism. He had great reverence for the Monastic Order of the Lord. Whenever he met a monk he bowed at his feet.

Some of the ministers did not like that the emperor should thus touch the feet of monks many of whom had formerly belonged to the Vaiśyas and Śūdras. One day the minister Yaśas bowed to the king and said, "Sire, it is not proper for the emperor of a Kṣatriya family to bow his head down to the feet of all monks, irrespective of their castes."

At this, the king became grave. He gave no reply to this remark. A few days later the emperor summoned his ministers and said, "I would like to have the heads of a few hundred different animals, including that of man. Bring them at once. They are urgently required."

The ministers, long accustomed to the strange orders of the capricious emperor, brought the heads.

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1 Vide the edicts in the Appendix—B
The king distributed the heads among the ministers and commanded, "Sell them in the market."
All the ministers sold the heads allotted to them in the market except the minister Yaśas who had been given a human head.
With fear in his heart Yaśas approached the king and reported that he could not sell the human head.
The emperor said, "If people do not want to pay for it, give it as a gift."
Yaśas, the minister, sent the human head again to the market but there was none to take it even as a gift. He went to the king and said:

"With a high price they bought the heads
Of cattle, sheep, deer and donkey
And even those of birds.
The human head,
Though offered without a price
Was accepted by none!"

The king asked, "Why has it not been accepted?"
Yaśas replied, "Because it is repulsive."
"Is this particular head repulsive, or are all human heads repulsive?" the king asked.
"All human heads are repulsive," was the reply.
"My head too, is it repulsive?" the emperor asked.
The minister was silent.
When the king pressed him, Yaśas with folded hands, faltered,
"Sire, I dare not answer such a question."
The emperor encouraged him and said, "Speak out the truth.
I assure your safety."
Still trembling in fear the minister replied, "Your Majesty, even the emperor's head is repulsive."
Aśoka exclaimed:

"Though it is graciously offered
Without charging any price
Still there is none to accept it!
Such an useless detested thing!
If by bowing it one can win
invaluable merit,
Why dost thou hesitate my friend?"
"Dost thou seek virtues of the holy men
Who are saviours of the world
Or dost seek their origin?
Doomed thou art in thy delusion!
High caste is a dream!
Thou must not delude me.

"Castes may have a claim in marriage.
In religion to make a claim for it is absurd!
The Law stands on virtue.
Do virtues seek the origin of the man
Before they enter his heart?

"My friend, it is not meet for a minister to hold the king
back from the Right Path."

The minister Yaśas had a good lesson.
From then on, he bowed his head at the feet of all holy persons
irrespective of their castes.

This story is to be found in the Sūtrālaṅkāra, pp. 90-96.

THE LEGEND OF KUNĀLA

On the day the construction of eighty-four thousand monu-
ments over the relics of Buddha was completed by Aśoka, his
queen Padmāvati gave birth to a son. The child was beautiful,
it's eyes being specially attractive. The king remarked:

"Indeed I am happy today!
My heart is full to the brim.
I have served the Law and gained a son!
May the Law be served by him."

When the ministers heard this remark, they named the prince
Dharma-vardhana or the 'Promoter-of-the-Law'. The baby
prince was brought to the king. He said:

"His eyes are like the blue lotus in full-bloom,
They adorn a face as lovely as the full-moon."

"Have you ever seen such eyes anywhere?" asked the king.
The ministers replied, "Never have we seen such eyes among
the children of men, but there is a kind of bird called Kunāla that lives in the Himalayas which has eyes like this."

"I want to see the bird," said the king. Immediately the bird was brought. After carefully comparing both, the king could not find any difference between the eyes of the baby prince and those of the bird; so he called his son Kunāla.

When the prince grew up, he was initiated into all the sixty-four arts. Soon he became proficient in many of them, especially in music. When he attained youth, he was married to a lovely princess named Kāñcanamālā.

One day Aśoka visited the monastery Kukkuṭārāma and took Kunāla with him. The High Priest there, known as Yaśas, had attained psychic powers. He came to know that those charming eyes of the prince were soon to be destroyed.

When the prince bowed at his feet, he recited:

"O prince, the source of all suffering are the eyes!
Watch them constantly with the utmost care.
Fickle by nature, friends they are not indeed.
But foes in friends' disguise.
Of this, the vulgar are not aware.
Hence they follow the eyes and fall into sin's snare."

Devoted to the Good Law by his very nature, Kunāla listened to this lesson with due respect. From then on, he used to meditate on the unreliable nature of the eyes and on the horrible crimes which the vulgar commit through their attachment to beauty of form.

One day while he was thus meditating in a secluded part of the inner apartments, Tiṣyarakṣitā, the chief queen, attracted by the beautiful dark blue eyes of the young prince, came there, embraced him and said:

"When on your lovely face I gaze,
So charmingly adorned with bright blue eyes,
The pangs of love in my bosom rise
In my heart, flames of passion blaze!"

When Kunāla heard this he closed his ears at once with his hands and exclaimed:

"Mother! Pray stop this sinful speech!
Forget not that I am your son!"
Leave this ignoble path, I do beseech
That to the dark dungeon of hell doth reach !’’

Thus refused, Tiṣyarakṣitā was furious:

“Passionately enamoured I came to thee,
And thou refusest me!
Insolent youth! But soon
Thou shalt meet thy doom!”

Kunāla replied, “I fear not to meet death, but I must meet it treading on the Right Path.”

Since then Tiṣyarakṣitā began to seek for an opportunity to take revenge on the prince.

At that time, in Northern India, the people of Taxila revolted.

The emperor himself was about to start for Taxila at the head of his army, when the ministers said, “Your Majesty might send the prince on this expedition.” The emperor liked the idea and sent for the prince.

When Aśoka learnt that the prince was willing to go and was quite competent for such an undertaking, he gladly agreed.

The capital city of Pāṭaliputra, with all its streets and lanes, was beautifully decorated. The old, the sick and other miserable creatures were removed from the public roads. The king accompanied the prince up to the gates of the town. There he embraced the prince and gazed at his eyes. With tears the king remarked:

“Blessed are they! Their eyes are full of grace!
Who will always see this lovely lotus-face!”

When the people of Taxila heard that the prince was coming, they decorated all the houses, streets and lanes; and placed pots of water (gāṭas) and other auspicious emblems at the gates of the town. Then they set out to welcome the prince. When they met him, they said, “We are not opposed to the prince or the king. The wicked ministers insulted us and so we revolted.” They received the prince with great pomp and honour.

Meanwhile king Aśoka was suddenly attacked by a serious illness. He vomited constantly and his whole body exuded foul secretions. Treatments were of no avail. The king said, “Send for the prince! I wish to crown him before I die.”

Tiṣyarakṣitā, the chief queen, heard this. ‘If Kunāla becomes
the king,' she reflected, 'I shall be put to death. I must see that he does not succeed to the throne.' She approached the king and said, "I shall cure Your Majesty of this disease. But the physicians must not be allowed to come to the palace." Then she called the physicians to her own chamber and said, "If a similar patient is found anywhere, let him be brought to me."

An Ābhīra suffering from the same disease was brought to the physicians. They sent him to the queen. The queen had him slain secretly and examined his stomach. A big worm was found in his intestines.

The queen put powdered chillies on it, but it was not destroyed. Similarly she used pepper and ginger with no effect. At last she poured on it the juice of onions, and the worm was killed.

She went to the king and said, "Your Majesty should eat onions." The king remarked, "I am a Kṣatriya, how can I eat onions?" The queen replied, "They may be taken as a medicine to save life."

So the king ate onions, the worm was purged and he was completely cured. The king was very pleased. He wished to grant the queen a boon. Tiṣyarakṣitā folded her hands and said, "May Your Majesty be graciously pleased to make over your kingdom to me for a week." The king agreed. Tiṣyarakṣitā was put in charge of the whole empire for a week.

She said to herself, "Now is the time for me to take my revenge on Kunāla." Immediately she drafted this command:

"The Sovereign of this vast Jambudvīpa,
Aśoka, the mighty one, gives this order:
Kunāla, the prince is a disgrace to my name,
His eyes must be plucked out without delay!"

Urgent orders of the emperor Aśoka were always sealed with a seal shaped like a denture. In order to obtain the seal the queen entered the bed-chamber of the emperor. He was sleeping. Suddenly he woke alarmed. The queen asked, "What has happened to Your Majesty?" "I had an unlucky dream," the king replied, "As if two vultures were about to pluck out the eyes of Kunāla!" The queen said, "May it be auspicious for the prince!" Thus twice the king woke up alarmed. The second time when the queen again asked him, the king replied, "I saw the prince Kunāla with long unkempt hair
and beard, dressed in dirty clothes, entering the capital." The queen consoled him saying, "May it be auspicious for the prince!"

When the emperor was asleep once more, Tisyarakṣitā sealed the command and sent it to Taxila. The emperor was dreaming that his teeth were being broken.

Early in the morning, Aśoka sent for the astrologers and asked them, "What does this dream mean?" They quoted this:

"He who dreams his teeth are broken,  
His son loses eyes by that token."

Frightened, the king stood up, and with folded hands began to pray:

"The gods who once adored the Lord,  
Still grace His Law and the Assembly of monks;  
The sages who are honoured by the whole world,  
May shield from harm my virtuous son."

When the order for Kunāla's punishment reached Taxila, the people there were greatly surprised. They all loved the prince so much that, at first they were reluctant to inform him. But afterwards they reflected that the king who was so ruthless as not to pardon even his own son, would never pardon others who dared to disobey his orders. So they showed the order to the prince. The prince read it and calmly said, "Do your duty without any hesitation."

The executioners were called, but they refused to perform the heinous deed. They said:

"Only fools would rob the beauty of the moon and its grace,  
And pluck the eyes from this lovely moon-like face!"

Hearing this, the prince offered his crown and said,  
"He who plucks out my eyes shall have it."  
Alas! What armour is there against fate? A horrible ugly creature marked with eighteen evil signs, advanced from the crowd and said, "I will pluck out his eyes!"

The man was taken to Kunāla. Just at that moment the saying of the sage Yaśas began to ring in his ears:

"O prince, the source of all suffering are the eyes.  
Watch them constantly with the utmost care!"
Inconsistent by nature, friends they are not indeed,
But foes in friends’ disguise!
Of this, the vulgar are not aware.
Hence they follow the eyes and fall into sin’s snare!”

Absorbed in this thought the prince commanded:
“First, pluck out one eye and give it to me.”
When the cruel wretch was about to pluck out the eye, the crowd gathered there cried out in grief:

“Alas! The lovely lotus is plucked from its beautiful bed,
From the crystal azure the moon’s stainless lustre is shed.”

Whilst they lamented thus, the brute plucked out one of his eyes and gave it to the prince. The prince calmly took it and said:

“Where is thy power fled!
Why dost thou no beauty perceive?
Alas! Those who call thee their own thou dost deceive!
Of this, the vulgar are not aware.
Hence they follow the eyes
And fall into sin’s snare!”

With this thought was his mind then occupied,
While men and women in their thousands cried.
Illusion’s veil was suddenly rent in two,
And the first touch of bliss divine he knew!

“Pluck out the second eye,” the prince ordered, and as the beast in human form obeyed, Kunāla cried out in ecstasy:

“The eyes! The finest of created things are gone!
And yet I feel no pain!
For though the eyes of flesh are lost,
The Divine eyes I gain!
The forlorn son of the sovereign of the world
Has been adopted as His child
By the Lord of the Law.
Deprived of material wealth, the source of all suffering,
I have gained wealth eternal, free from the pangs of sorrow
And stings of remorse!”

When Kunāla came to know that the order was not from his
father, but from the queen Tiṣyarakṣitā, he prayed for her:

"May Her Majesty live a long life, hale and healthy; 
By whose good grace I have attained my goal!"

Like a bolt from the blue came the news to the princess Kāṃcanamālā, the wife of Kunāla. She ran through the crowd, and fell senseless at her husband's feet. When she regained consciousness, she lamented:

"Where are they gone, those lustrous eyes? 
Ever they dwelt on me and showered love 
And thrilled my heart! Where are they now? 
Gone, gone for ever, darkening that bright face, 
His eyes; nay my life itself has left my flesh!"

Kunāla consoled her:

"Our life is guided by our former deeds. 
Pleasure and pain result from them alone. 
Dost thou not see, dear, that the world entire 
Suffers the pangs of sorrow and separation?"

Kunāla and his wife were driven out from Taxila. The forlorn prince and princess used to sing and beg from door to door. Thus they came, after a long time, to the Capital. They were not allowed to enter the palace as the sentries took them for ordinary beggars. Helpless and unrecognised they took shelter in the king's coach-house.

In the early dawn, playing on his vīṇā, Kunāla began to sing:

"Examine the senses with the light of wisdom. 
Swim across the waves of births and deaths! 
Liberate yourself from lingering agonies, 
Plunge deep into the depth of Bliss!"

The king was asleep. He got up startled and said:

"I hear in my dream the sweet melody 
That is so familiar to me! 
Is it Kunāla, my darling prince who sings? 
I know not why my whole body trembles! 
Is my spirit about to fly in quest of my loved son?"

He ordered a servant to bring in the prince at once. The servant searched here and there but nowhere could the prince
be found. At last he came across the beggar and his wife who were still singing in the coach-house. He reported to the king that it was not the prince singing but a beggar and his wife.

The king in great haste ordered:
"Let him be a beggar! Be quick! Bring him at once! The anxiety for my son that fills my heart is choking me!"

The beggar with his wife was brought before the king. The broken-down blind man in rags and tatters was not fully recognised as the prince, even by his father! With an anxious heart the king questioned, "Are you Kunāla?" Hearing the reply, the emperor fell to the ground.

When he looked at his son's face,
Pale as the waning moon,
Bereft of the sparkling glance, sorrow broke his heart.
The sovereign of the world fell senseless on the earth.
When he regained consciousness, the king embraced his son.
Tears brimmed in his eyes.
Tenderly he caressed him and wiped his face.
In mournful tones he said:
"Thy eyes were beautiful like those of the kunāla;
Hence that name was given you.
When I see no more those lovely eyes,
How can I call thee Kunāla, my darling?"

The mournful tones of the king mingling with the loud laments of the queens echoed through the palace:

"Lovely as the lotus, they charmed the world!
Who plucked those sparkling eyes?
Like the sky bereft of its moon and stars,
Thy face is robbed of its lustre!"

When Aśoka came to know that the queen Tisyaraksitā had committed this heinous crime in his name, his grief and fury knew no bounds. But Kunāla calmly consoled his father:

"Restrain thy rage, O father!
Knowest thou not, our sufferings
Result from our own past deeds?
With our own toil, each of us
Has created a world of his own,
Filled with sorrow as well as bliss!"
Whom shall I blame? Whom wilt thou punish?
It is my own fault—the fountain of my tears!
I know not when in my former birth
I planted the poison-tree whose fruit I now taste!"

But the father could find no consolation. The mighty emperor grew more and more furious:

"Shall I pluck out her eyes with iron tongs?
Shall I hack her body limb from limb?
Fix her on the stake? Cut out her tongue with a knife?
Poison her? O tell me, how shall I kill
This cruel shameless wicked woman!"

Kunāla affectionately embraced his father; with a calm and compassionate heart he sang:

"Mother has committed a sinful deed.
Would you too do the same, my father?
Forgive her! It is neither hatred nor violence,
But love, compassion and tolerance,
That calm the troubled mind.
My heart is devoid of hatred, free from all anger.
My mind is without any stain of sorrow or regret.
The filth of ill-will that might have soiled my heart,
Is washed away by the flow of compassion
of the Compassionate One.
If what I say is true, my lost eyesight will be restored."

As soon as the prince had finished speaking, Lo! His lotus-like eyes bloomed again!

In the Pāṃśupradāna° and Kunāla° several stories are jumbled up. They are not at all well connected. Originally they were several stories separately written which were afterwards joined clumsily. Our theory is supported by the Chinese (and Tibetan) translations of the text. There they are kept as separate stories, with different names. We have adopted the same names in the text. The general headings as found in the MSS. are also retained.

The story of Kunāla separated from the jumble as we have given above, is a masterpiece. In translation, the beauty of the original is lost to a great extent. The ślokas are written in different metres which cannot be reproduced in translation.
The legend of Kunāla may be named as the “legend of the lovely eyes”. The eye has become the subject-matter of this story. It is remarkable how beautifully the metaphysical ideas and ethics of the Buddhists are transformed into a wonderful creation of art. The lovely eye which is a thing of beauty and which inspired a thrill of joy in all who glanced at it brought disaster to its possessor. To what great height of perfection a human soul may rise and also to what depth of degradation it may fall, are shown in the sublime personality of Kunāla and in the wicked nature of the queen Tiṣya⁶ respectively. This woman was highly intelligent, wonderfully clever and extraordinarily wicked as well as cruel. Without the least hesitation she could order an Abhira patient to be killed in order to examine his stomach so that she might find the remedy for the disease which had attacked the king. In the same way, she could easily order the eyes of her step-son to be plucked out.

This story of Kunāla is given in verse¹ in the Avadānakapālpatā of Kṣemendra (1100 A.D.). The last verse² of the Kunālāvadāna is reproduced in the Avadānakapālpatā:

राजन् न मे हुः कङ्ग्रोधिति कस्तद्र तीत्रापकारेषिपि न मनुष्याः।
मनः प्रसांन यदि स जनयां येनोढ्तते च स्वकरेण नेवेः।
तत्तेन सर्वेण ममस्तु तावनेह्रह धृतात्मेव सचः।
LIX. 160-61.

THE LAST DAYS OF THE EMPEROR AŚOKA

Not long before his death, Aśoka asked the Śramaṇas, “Who has given the largest donation to the Monastic Order?” The Śramaṇa replied, “Anāthapiṇḍada, the householder.” “How much did he give?” questioned the emperor. “A thousand millions,” the Śramaṇa replied.

¹ Only the forged order for plucking out the eyes of Kunāla is given in prose which runs thus:

svasti śīpājasipatīrād asamasamarasāhasaramasāditasamastasindhināmāsāsamucchālad avirālavimalayasahkālāpakalitahavahaldakulāvahāvahādūhāvadattabhogasauhāvyagasvarohavīrtipularipupratapāha lopā ivārditaramanīñālañām pranātipratinibhītān
antasaṁvataukrālapatraikapārīrīśtvāmaṃlamanipāpāṣadipīihat saṅgatikālamāvśa
sārahāraḥ spālākaṣhārayamāyamahāvāyavanapamānapānanāha śrimad aśokadevas takṣaśilā
dhipāṃ śrikuṭiharacakapām saṃbodhayati. yathā: esa me nirataprapāha kucarilamaitri
parisāvacarairah ... samutāpātalocamanin nirvasano nirvāṇatām ... ihy asmad
abhayarathaprañah.

² Kunālāvadāna: me nayane svayān hi.
Aśoka reflected: "How wonderful! Anāthapiṇḍada was only a householder. He gave a donation of a thousand millions. Even the emperor cannot give so much!"

He said to the monks, "I also will give you a thousand millions."

After that the emperor began to spend hundreds of gold coins for the uplift of the masses, for education, for the establishment of monasteries, for building monuments and rest-houses in sacred places. He gave in all nine hundred ninety-six crores to the Monastic Order. Still he could not fulfil his promise. He fell ill and was confined to bed.

"I may die before I keep my promise," this thought made the emperor restless.

The minister Rādhagupta who had been a very intimate friend of the emperor from his boyhood noticed how Aśoka was plunged in despair. He asked:

"The majestic and lustrous countenance
That of old shone like the mid-day sun
Was difficult for even gallant enemy
generals to look upon.
The face that kissed the lovely lotus-faces of the fair
Is clouded with gloom. Why so my lord?"

The emperor replied calmly, "My friend, it is not for the fear of parting with my kingdom or my life that I feel gloomy. I feel sad when I think that I shall have to part with these saints so devoted to the service of humanity:

"No more shall I serve the Assembly of the Śramaṇas
The embodiment of all good qualities.
No more shall I live in their sacred company.
When I think of this, my heart is grieved
And tears flow from my eyes.

"Besides this, the other thought that pains me extremely, my friend, is this: 'Death will snatch me away before I fulfil my promise to give a thousand millions to the Monastic Order.'"

'I shall fail to keep my promise' this thought made the emperor restless, and in great haste, he began to send gold, gems and other valuables to the monastery called Kukkuṭārāma.

At this the crown-prince ordered the treasurer to stop all charities.
The emperor could no longer make any gift. In despair he sent to the monastery the gold plates in which his meals were served. When this was reported to the prince, meals were no longer served to the emperor in gold plates. Silver ones were used instead. Those too, the emperor sent to the monastery.

When the crown-prince came to know this, he ordered that no valuable plates should be used by the emperor. The result was that the emperor had to take his meals in earthen dishes.

He was practically interned in his chamber. Servants watched him, so that he could not send anything outside the palace. Only such things as were absolutely necessary for the maintenance of an old man were sent to him. Those too were only for his own use; he could not send them away.

When such was the plight of the emperor, he summoned his ministers and asked, "Who is now the sovereign of the world?"

With folded hands Rādhagupta replied, "Your Majesty."

Aśoka sighed and said:

"Speak not untruth, in sympathy for me, my friend. Where is my royal influence? I am bereft of all my grace! The sovereign of the world is now plunged in the depths of dreadful penury.

Today he is worse off than a beggar; he possesses nothing Except this withered piece of an āmalaka fruit.

"Truly the Blessed One said: 'Wealth and riches are the cause of calamity.' How could His saying be otherwise? My commands are obeyed no more. They are cast away like a stream striking a great rock:

"He suppressed the affray and tumult,
Uprooted proud rivals and enemies,
Ruled as the only sovereign of the world,
Served miserable and suffering humanity!
Now he himself is miserable and suffering.
King Aśoka, deprived of his kingdom,
Resembles the aśoka tree that withers
Bereft of its twigs, leaves and flowers."

Aśoka then called a man who was standing near by and said, "Friend, keeping in mind that Aśoka once did good to
you, will you kindly take this āmalaka fruit to Kukkuṭārāma? Will you be so good as to give it to the Elder there and convey this message: 'Āsoka, the emperor of Jambudvīpa, sends his last gift to the Monastic Order. The only treasure that he possesses now is this broken piece of āmalaka. With all humility he presents this. Will Your Holiness find out some means to serve it to all the monks of the monastery?""

"As Your Majesty commands," said the man and immediately went to the monastery, bearing the last gift of the emperor. There he gave it to the Elder and said:

"The sovereign of the world, who, in glory,
Once shone like the mid-day sun,
Is deprived of his kingdom.
Today he shines no more, like the setting sun.

"With all humility he bows to you and humbly presents this gift which bears the stamp of fickleness—the mark characteristic of all the riches of the world. He says:

"This is my last gift
My kingdom and riches have all come to their original state of void.
He for whom the physicians with their thousand and one remedies have given up all hope,
Takes refuge in you, the last shelter of the shelterless."

The Elder accepted the gift and said to the monks, "Brethren, here is a golden opportunity for you to show aversion for all worldly desires. The Blessed One said: 'When a person sees others' calamities, he should reflect on them and thus cultivate indifference to worldly objects.'

"Who will not feel an aversion for worldly desires on hearing the lamentable condition of the emperor, if his heart is tender?

"The sovereign of the world is now but a captive!
He has to obey the orders of his servants!
Alas! The penniless monarch sends us
A withered āmalaka as his last gift."

The Elder ground it into powder, mixed it in their soup and distributed it among all the monks of the monastery.

After this event, the emperor summoned his minister Rādha-
INTRODUCTION

gupta and asked, “Who is now the sovereign of the world?”
Rādhagupta replied with folded hands, “Your Majesty.”
Aśoka with a great effort lifted himself a little from the bed and looked around. He bowed to the Good Law and said:

“I present the beautiful earth to you—
Adorned with the charming blue robes of the oceans,
Decorated with corals, pearls and gems.
O Assembly of monks!
May it serve you—the saviours
Of the lowliest and the lost.
As a result of this charity,
I crave not to be born in heaven
Nor in the sacred world of Brahmā.
I hanker no more for the kingdom of this world.
That is as unstable as rushing water in a flooded stream.
May the merit accruing from this gift of a kingdom
So endowed with devotion,
Make me the supreme lord of the mind.
Grant me the treasure of the realm of spirit
That is neither wasted nor robbed.”

Then the emperor, with the help of his minister Rādhagupta, executed a document for this gift and set his seal to it.

Thus having made a gift of the whole empire to the Monastic Order, Aśoka breathed his last.

After the funeral of the king when the ministers were about to crown the prince, Rādhagupta disclosed that the kingdom had been given away as a gift.

In great surprise the ministers asked, “Why was the kingdom given away as a gift?”

Rādhagupta replied, “King Aśoka promised to give a thousand millions to the Monastic Order. When nine hundred sixty millions were given, the treasury was closed to him. For the remaining sum he gave away the kingdom.”

At once the sum of forty millions was sent to the Monastic Order and the kingdom redeemed. Prince Sampadī, the grandson of Aśoka, came to the throne.

This is the best of all the literary pieces included in the text of the Aśokāvadāna. Here the hero, the great Aśoka, shines in the glory of a character as bright as the sun. The saint-king gave
away all he possessed before he breathed his last. And in return, he prayed for what?

“As a result of this charity
I crave not to be born in heaven
Nor in the sacred world of Brahmā.
I hanker no more for the kingdom of this world
That is as unstable as rushing water in a flooded stream.
May the merit accruing from this gift of a kingdom,
So endowed with devotion,
Make me the supreme lord of the mind.
Grant me the treasure of the realm of spirit
That is neither wasted nor robbed.”

A prayer so great and sublime cannot be uttered by any but a king of men. And indeed he was a king, a king of kings, the noblest king who ever reigned in this world.

A prayer like this had never before been found anywhere in ancient literature.

So the last chapter, the least in size, is the best in all respects, of all the chapters of the Aśokāvadāna. The composition is simple and lucid. The verses, so full of human feelings, are like fresh and beautiful and fragrant flowers.

Let us quote a few of the original verses:

The old king fell seriously ill before he could fulfil his promise; and so he was grieved. Tears rolled from his eyes. Minister Rādhagupta, the intimate friend of the king asked why he wept:

यच्छदुःखात: प्रबले: समेते नोदीविष्णु चण्डिविकारामः।
पद्यानन्दीविन्सति सत्यमातू सबाबः तव देव वचनः।। cf. p. lii.

When the king was practically interned in his room and had not even a farthing at his disposal, he asked his ministers, “Who is the king of the world?” Rādhagupta replied, “Your Majesty indeed is the king.” Aśoka exclaimed:

दाशिर्ष्यादनुतं हि कि कथवत्र भर्ताविराज्य वचं
शेषं त्वामलकर्मभिभवसितं यत्र प्रभुत्व मम ।
ऐश्वर्य धिमपरपूर्वनस्तितियोपवेशोपमः
मयेनामय ममापि यत् प्रतिभयः दरिद्रमप्यागतं।। cf. p. liii.

1 Again I request my readers to remember that it is only a story and not history. It may be taken as a portrait of Aśoka drawn by a master artist which does not resemble Aśoka as a photograph but expresses his character.
INTRODUCTION

This episode also is reproduced from the *Śūtrakārī* of Aśvaghoṣa.

In the *Avadānakalpalatā*, we find this story in brief, in a few verses which are quoted in the Appendix.

**AŚOKA, THE HISTORIC AND THE LEGENDARY**

The legends of Aśoka found here (and elsewhere) have no historical foundation. They should all be taken as stories and not as history. In all of them except the last one there is the tone of missionary propaganda of the Buddhists of ancient times. In order to demonstrate before the naïve common people that even the most cruel man in the world may be changed into the most compassionate and the noblest of men, by the influence of Buddhist teachings, Aśoka is represented as the *Caṇḍāśoka* or *Kālaśoka* in his youth.

When we study these legends, we must efface from our mind first of all the historic Aśoka and then attempt to estimate their legendary and literary value.

As legends, they are attractive and interesting. As literature the work is valuable as among the first post-Vedic Sanskrit prose compositions. Even today some portions from them may be chosen as good literary compositions and a few may even be ranked as classics.

The historic Aśoka is great and perhaps the greatest of all the followers of Buddha. He is second to none but Buddha. In his youth he aspired to be great; first as a great emperor, a

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1 *Vide* Appendix; where a short sketch of his life based on epigraphical evidence is given together with his life that is legendary.
victorious king. But after the victory he achieved through bloodshed in Kalinga he began to change. Whether he had Upagupta or Tissa as his spiritual guide, it is very difficult to say, as there is no historical (epigraphic) evidence, only the traditions.

The great moral influence of that glorious age exerted by the holy persons, monks and nuns, their devotion and selfless service to suffering humanity roused in the heart of the emperor the dormant ‘Universal love’ (maitri) for all living beings. This love was expressed in his compassion for the miserable, in his sympathy for the sick, in his charity to the poor and destitute, in his giving assurance of safety to helpless and shelterless humanity. His voice is still ringing in our ears: “All men are my offspring. Just as for my own offspring, I desire welfare and happiness, so do I desire for all men.”

In his heart of hearts he was a king emperor, a victorious emperor. So when he gave up the idea of the conquest of kingdoms by the might of his soldiers, he dreamt of and realised a virtuous victory over kingdoms with the help of his spiritual followers, his comrades in the realm of spirit (Dharma-mahā-mātrās). This glorious conquest, flavoured by love and inspired by Universal compassion (karunā) for all sentient beings, was declared by him, in his edicts, the best of all conquests1.

THE MSS. COLLATED IN THE PRESENT EDITION

Our text is based mainly on the MSS. readings recorded in the Divyāvadāna. Besides these, we received microfilms of two MSS., viz. MS. No. G 9982A and the MS. No. A. 8 of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In the former, only the chapter Pāṇiṣupradāna (and that too incomplete) is found, while in the latter, only two chapters, the Vitaśoka0 and the Āśoka0 are found. None of them contains the chapter Kunāla0.

The MS. No. G 9982A is found only in fragments. It is now in a very miserable condition. As it may not last for long, we made a microfilm of the whole of it and got it printed in an enlarged form.

All the MSS. collated by Cowell and Neil in the Divya0 are

1 “The chiefest conquest is the conquest of Right and not of Might.” Rock Edict XIII
copies of a single original which belonged to Pandit Indrânand of Patan, Nepal. He was the son of Guṇânand, the old Pandit then attached to the British Residency. Bendall, while he was in Nepal, borrowed this original MS. from Pandit Indrânand, the material of which is paper. Bendall assigned it to the 17th century A.D.

The editors of the *Divya*° made the following remarks about this MS. in their Preface (p. vii):

"Our MS. authorities therefore go back immediately to only one source, and our various readings are simply the result of the greater or less care of the respective transcribers; we can only at best reproduce the inaccessible Nepalese original; and where that is imperfect or corrupt, our MSS. give us no further help.

"This original is no doubt unusually correct for a Nepalese MS.; but it is corrupt in many places; and if we may judge by the passage in p. 21 which we have endeavoured to explain by the corresponding passage in the Pali *Mahāvagga*, some of the corruptions are very deep-seated and hopelessly beyond any mere verbal emendation. The old fragments of Nepalese MSS. which we have collated for App. B, shew that many of the errors in our present text are of very long standing. We have tried to give an intelligible text as far as it was possible; but where our original was hopeless, 'et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem', we have not attempted to force a meaning but have left it in its obscurity."

So we cannot expect any remarkable difference in the MS. readings of the *Divya*°. There is rarely any distinctive difference between our MSS. or between them and those of the *Divya*°. Still, our MSS. helped me in some places. But none of them could throw light on most of the obscure readings. There the Chinese translations helped me to a great extent.

**CHINESE TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXT**

The *Aśokāvadāna* went to China by two different routes and in two remote periods. It was Fa-ch’in of Parthia who translated it first into Chinese at about 300 A.D. Afterwards in 512 A.D., a Śramaṇa of Funan who was named Seng-ch’ieh-p’o-lo (Saṅgha-bhara ?) translated a different recension. The work became
rapidly popular in China, because in the year 516 A.D., the compilers of the Ching-liu-i-siang inserted numerous portions of it in their work.

We know almost nothing of the life of Fa-ch’in of Parthia. From the catalogues of the Chinese Tripitaka, we come to know only this, that he translated five Buddhist works at Lo-yang between 281 and 306 A.D., of which three had already been lost in 730 A.D.

Saṅghabhara or Saṅghavarman was a polyglot monk originally of Funan. Knowing that the Ch’i dynasty (479-501) favoured Buddhism, he went to China and settled in the Cheng-kuan monastery at Nanking. From 506 A.D. onwards, for seventeen years the emperor Wu of the Liang engaged him in translation of Buddhist works, along with other scholars. Thus he translated into Chinese eleven works in 48 chapters, one of which is the A-yü-wang-ching. It is said that the emperor Wu himself went to write down the holy texts dictated by him.

The two translations of the Aśoka can be identified with certainty. All the catalogues agree in assigning the A-yü-wang-chuan in 7 chapters to Fa-ch’in of Parthia. This version was translated completely into French by J. Przyluski and published from Paris in 1923. I am grateful to him for this valuable translation of which I have taken full advantage in the text I have edited.

The title and the division of chapters of this work are not always the same. It is divided sometimes into seven and sometimes into five chapters and by turn it is named A-yü-wang-ching and A-yü-wang-chuan. Przyluski has always retained the latter title and I have followed him.

When the different catalogues are examined, the other translation that comes to notice is the A-yü-wang-ching in 10 chapters, the work of Saṅghabhara. This is the traditional title which is retained by Przyluski in his French translation of the Aṣoka.

The contents of the Aṣoka found in these two translations are probably complete. Besides these, long pieces have been incorporated in the Sanskrit text of the Divya as well as in the Tsa-a-han-ching (Nanjio, 544; Taisho, No.99) which is the Chinese translation of the Saṃyuktāgama. The original of this work is lost. It was translated between 435 and 468 A.D. by Śramaṇa Guṇabhadra of Central India.
This Sansyuktāgama which is similar to a great extent to the Pali San̄jūutta-Nikāya contains all the chapters of the Aśoka except the Vītasoka. They correspond remarkably to the Sanskrit text of the Aśoka.

The Pāṃśu and the Kunāla are found in chapter 23 while the Aśoka is at the end of chapter 25.

This last one is separated from the former two by topics entirely different from them.

The pieces preserved in the Divya which were known to scholars in the West through the French translation by Burnouf are very near to the corresponding chapters of the A-yū-wang-ching. On the contrary, the A-yū-wang-chuan is remarkably different from all the recensions. It contains important readings which are not found elsewhere and so they are recorded at full length in the Aṣokāvadāna edited by me.

It is to be noted here that I utilized the French translation of the Chinese by Przyluski which is a very faithful translation. Hence, the comparison of the Sanskrit text with its Chinese versions was not so difficult for me.

The Aṣokāvadāna, except the story of Kunāla, has no Tibetan translation. The story of Kunāla was translated into Tibetan¹ by the Indian Pandit Padmākaravarman and the Tibetan Lochaba Ratnabhadra (Rin. chen. bzaṅ. po) in the middle of the eleventh century A.D. It is called Kunālāvadāna in Tibetan. But the other legends that precede the legend of Kunāla in the Sanskrit text are not found in it. The legend of Kunāla in Tibetan agrees with the Sanskrit text, though there are additions of passages here and there. For example, when Kunāla was born and when he was married, there are additional passages describing the pomp of the celebration.

In Tibetan, the story of Kunāla begins thus: “Obeciance to all Buddhas and Boddhisattvas. Aśoka had then approached the third part of his life. In the first part of his life, he was called the ambitious Aśoka (Kāmāśoka). In the second part, he was called the impetuous Aśoka (Kālāśoka or Çaṇḍāśoka). In the third, he was known as Aśoka, the Just (Dharmāśoka)”. After this, it reads: ṣaṃsīn eva divasā, i.e. the same as the Sanskrit text.

THE DATE AND THE AUTHOR OF THE
AŚOKAVADĀNA

We know nothing about the author or the compiler of the Aśokāvadāna. His name is not mentioned either in the Sanskrit text or in the Chinese (or Tibetan) versions.

About the date of its composition, we can with certainty fix a period, with upper and lower limits. A version of the text was composed between the second and the third century A.D. The following materials will lead any one to this conclusion:
(i) In three of the four chapters of the Aśokāvadāna, passages are reproduced from the Sūtrālaṅkāra of Aśvaghoṣa¹ which was composed between 50 B.C. and 50 A.D. (ii) In one of its chapters there is mention of king Puṣyamitra (c. 187-151 B.C.) who is described as the persecutor of Buddhism. (iii) In two of its chapters there is mention of the Roman coin denarius (dīnāra) which came to India during the first century A.D. (iv) The text was translated for the first time into Chinese in 281-306 A.D.

Considering the fact that a certain period must necessarily elapse after the composition of a work before a compiler takes extracts from it or a translator translates it into a foreign language, we may approximately fix the date of the Aśokāvadāna as the 2nd century A.D.

WHERE WAS IT COMPOSED?

Przyluski thinks that the Aśokāvadāna was composed in the region of Mathurā. He states the following in support of his theory:

"The legend of Buddha had already become fixed in its essential features. One could not dream of removing towards the West the place of the principal scenes of his life. It was necessary to imagine new episodes in order to prove the sanctity of the places recently converted.

"It was pretended that Buddha, a little before his end, had

¹ Those who doubt the authorship of Aśvaghoṣa are requested to read the following articles of Sylvain Lévi:
visited the region of the Northwest where he performed miracles and predicted the advent of Madhyāntika and Upagupta. This voyage is recorded in a certain number of writings, notably in the *Asokavadāna* and in the Vinaya of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādin.

“In the *Asokavadāna*, Upagupta is converted by the Bhikṣu Śaṇavāsa, the Apostle of Mathurā, while in the Vinaya of the Mūla° by Madhyāntika, the Apostle of Kashmir°.

“In the Vinaya of the Mūla°, Buddha travelled with Vajrapāni. He arrived first in the high Indus valley; while in the *Aśoka*, Buddha travelled with Ānanda. He arrived first at Mathurā and then went to Kashmir.

“In the Vinaya of the Mūla°, Buddha made a prediction of the Bhikṣu Madhyāntika and that king Kaniṣka would build a stūpa.

“In the *Asokavadāna* Buddha prophesied the coming of Upagupta of Mathurā. The author of the Vinaya of the Mūla° wanted to glorify Kashmir and its neighbouring regions, while the author of the *Aśoka*° had to glorify Mathurā first.”

Stating this, Przyluski remarks: “The *Aśoka*° and the Vinaya of the Mūla° must have been composed in the occidental regions; the first in Mathurā and the second in the further North.”

THE MEANING AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE WORD AVADĀNA

Scholars have discussed at great length the meaning and the significance of the word *avadāna*. We note the substance here in brief:

Max Müller in his translation of the *Dhammapada* writes that the word *avadāna* is derived from *ava dai*, a legend, originally a pure and virtuous act, afterwards a sacred story, and possibly a story, the hearing of which purifies the mind.

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1 That Upagupta was born in Mathurā and was converted by the Bhikṣu Śaṇavāsa is confirmed even by the Vinaya of the Mūla° which in one place makes the following (self-contradictory) statement: “Āyuṣmān Ānanda said to the Bhikṣu Śaṇika (Śaṇavāsa), ‘In the kingdom of Mathurā, there will be a Gandhika named Gupta...his son Upagupta...you will convert him and make him leave the world.’” *Le nord-ouest de l’Inde*, p. 519. Cf. *JA.*, 1914, II, pp. 495-522 & 538-40.

2 *ava+ dai* (to cleanse).
Feer, in his French translation of the *Avadānasataka*, remarks that *avadāna* is an instruction which shows by facts the link which exists between an act and its inevitable consequence (p. xiv).

Winternitz in his *History of Indian Literature* observes that the word was used in the following senses: (i) a deed (*karman*) (ii) a deed accomplished in the past (*karma vṛttam, aitṛttam*) (iii) heroic deed (*parākrama*) pure deed (*śuddham karman*) (iv) occurrence, history (*itiḥita*).

T. W. Rhys Davids writes that the word *apadāna* means ‘pure action’, ‘heroic action’; the book is a Buddhist *Vitae Sanctorum*. When the Buddhists, in the first century of the Christian era began to write in Sanskrit, these stories lost none of their popularity. The name was Sanskritized into *avadāna*.

J. S. Speyer says in his preface (p. ii) to the *Avadānasataka*: “Outside the Buddhist world the Sanskrit word *avadāna* is used to denote illustrious actions and feats. So Kālidāsa (*Raghuvaṁśa*, 11, 21) relating that Rāma obtained a supernatural weapon from Viśvāmitra who was pleased with the *heroic conduct* of his pupil, says that he got it *मुळे: ...अवदानोऽविशिष्टता;* and in a similar manner the word occurs in *Kumāra* 7.48. Similarly Daṇḍin employs it in the 2nd *ucchvāsa* of the *Uttarakhaṇḍa* of *Dāśakumāra*. Pandit Tārānāth Tarkavācaspati who provided his edition of that romance (Calcutta, 3āñīv. 1929) with a sober *ṭīkā*, explains in note 2 on page 84 *पुत्रिवदनानेम: of his text by पूर्वस्म यात्रान्यत्ययः*. In another text, composed by a fervent Buddhist, *avadāna* is twice used with that meaning of ‘glorious performance,’ see, *Jātaṇamālā*, iii. st. 23 and iv. 2. It must originally, however, have had a larger sense. Amarasiṁha who was a Buddhist and who mentions in his Dictionary *अवदान* amid terms of the most common employment in Buddhist sacred texts, explains it by कमः *सूत्रम्*, that is ‘history’ or *सूतुपुःः चारित्रम्*, as it is glossed in the *ṭīkā* (iii. 2, 2).”

After the above discussion Speyer observes: “An *avadāna* (*apadāna*) is in proper sense ‘something cut off'; something selected’. In the language of liturgy this term was applied to the portions of the *havis* offered to the deities. In common speech this word indicative of something ‘selected, taken apart’ went to signify ‘notorious facts’ *facinora*; especially

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1 Vol. II. p. 158 ff.  
2 *apadānam ity api pāthah.—Amarakosa*
when taken in *bonam partem*, 'illustrious—, glorious achievements'. Yet in Buddhism, a more general sense is often applicable to the contents of the stories bearing that name; for even bad actions and the consequences of gathering demerit make up the main plot of some stories, e.g. those of the 5th decad and No.94 of *Avadānaśataka*.

Kungu Takahata in his Introduction to the *Ratnamālā-vadāna* elaborately deals with the different explanations of the word *avadāna*. He discusses there also the meaning of the word as found in the Chinese translations.

After putting forward the explanations of the Western scholars he remarks (p. xxii):

"These are the main theories put forward; though one cannot reach any rapid conclusion about the original meaning of *avadāna*, yet it seems beyond doubt that the central idea underlying *Avadāna* literature is, in North and South alike, the purification of mind... Again, if one takes into account the technical expression of *vyavādāna* (purification) and *saṃkleśa* (defilement) which is so important in Buddhism, it seems both possible and appropriate to assume that the original meaning of *avadāna*, at least as a Buddhist term, lies in the root *dai*. Further, since as is shown by the above quotation from Winternitz, the words *avadāna* and *itiyuttaka* can be taken as having the same meaning, it is possible for the two to be confused."

In conclusion, he observes that the interpretation of *avadāna* as *karman* or *kathā* may be permissible as later derivations but it is difficult to accept this as the original sense of the word (p. xxv).

The *Avadānas* are similar to the *Jātakas* in many respects. Both of them contain stories which are composed or compiled from the ancient literature both Buddhist and Brāhmaṇic, to build up the moral conduct of the common people. They may be compared with the medieval Christian homilies.

Both the *Jātakas* and the *Avadānas* show the great and infalli-

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1 After discussing the various interpretations of the word *avadāna* and *itiyuttaka*, he remarks: "In those days there were two opinions about *avadāna*, one that it meant parable and one that it referred to the karmic development of the holy disciples." In most of the *Avadānas* of the *Avadānasātaka* we find the following *śloka* : na praṇaśyaṁ karmāṇi kalpaṇoñātāśair api. sānagriṁ prāṣṭa kālaṁ ca phalantis khalu dehinām.

2 and Amarakoṣa.
ble power of *karma* which decides the destinies of creatures in their countless existences.

The difference between the two may be roughly stated thus: A *Jātaka* must have the Bodhisattva as the hero (or one of the *dramatis personae*) while an *Avadāna* may have any illustrious person as its hero. He may not be a Bodhisattva.

The *Jātakas* and the *Avadānas* or stories of this type are numerous. Not only are they found in Pali and Sanskrit but they are found also in Chinese and other languages. Most of them have lost their originals.

They were used for the uplift of the masses, and also for religious propaganda. The older *Avadānas* in Sanskrit were composed in prose interspersed with verse while the later ones are in simple verse (mostly in *anuśṭubh* metre) like the *Purāṇas*. The older *Avadānas*, such as the *Śārdulakarnaśavadāna*, the *Avadānasātaka*, the *Āsokāvadāna* (the present text) and some of the *Avadānas* included in the *Divya*⁰, were composed between the 1st and the 3rd century A.D., while the later *Avadānas* such as the *Kalpadrumāvadānamālā*, the *Ratnamālāvadāna*, the *Āsokāvadānamālā*, the *Dvātripātaśatyavadānamālā* were composed between 400 and 1000 A.D. The *Avadānakalpaśatā* of *Kṣemendra* and the *Bhadrapalīvadānamālā* were composed as late as in the 11th century A.D¹.

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1 Somendra, the son of *Kṣemendra*, says in his introduction to his father's work:  

"There is a series of birth stories of the Victorious One (Jina) by Ācāraya Gopadatta and others, who having collected (the tales) composed them in clumsy prose and verse. The usual order of the *Avadāna* was discarded in those compositions. They all followed the same way (style). They are very obtuse and hard to understand. Lengthy descriptions are abundant in them."

"The usual order of the *Avadāna* was discarded." What does he mean by this? What was the usual order of the *Avadāna*? Does he refer here to the Pali *Apadānas* all of which were composed in verse like that of *Kṣemendra*? We do not find any old Sanskrit *Avadāna* composed only in verse.

We think the usual order of the *Avadāna* lay in the simplicity of its composition, because it was meant for the common people. The original *Avadānas* were simple in style. They were written in simple prose interspersed with a few poems. Lengthy descriptions and heavy compounds were not found in them.

By comparing the oldest Chinese translation of the *Āsokāvadāna*, I come to this conclusion. Lengthy descriptions, sentences with long compounds (cf. *Pāṇini* p. 1, para. 1; p. 28, the last two paragraphs) and a great number of *ślokas* of the *Āsokāvadāna* are not found in its oldest Chinese translation. That is, these were added later on. Such a practice was quite prevalent among scholars in India.
Most of the above later works *viz.*, *Kalpadruma* etc. claim to preserve the discourses between Aśoka and his spiritual guide Upagupta.

**STRIKING RESEMBLANCE IN COMPOSITION OF STORIES OF SŪTRĀLAṆKĀRA AND AŚOKĀVADĀNA**

As we have already pointed out, three of the stories in our text are reproduced from the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* of Aśvaghosa. The original of this work is lost. It is preserved in Chinese. Édouard Huber translated it into French in 1908.

Even in the translation of the translated version, we can see the striking resemblance between the composition of the two works. There is no doubt that these three stories were reproduced from the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, almost in their original forms. A little alteration here and there (somewhere a little enlarged and somewhere a little abridged) is all. For comparison, we quote a few verses:

श्रीमति तभेन श्रवण ब्रज यं समेत्य भ्रण्टस्तवमुद्रिविभवाद गदासः सुखात्ति।
भ्रष्टो हि यः चित्तितले भवतीह जन्तुशस्तिष्ठति चिन्तितासावलम्भच भूयः।

Indra and Brahmā\(^1\)

Whether you enter into the flaring fire,
or into the ocean;
They will neither be consumed nor will rot.
These corpses that hang upon you
will neither dry up nor decompose.

Go quickly to him.
Implore his compassion and take refuge in him.
You have completely lost your supernatural power,
your happiness, your glory.
Act like one who having slipped and fallen (on the earth)
Supports himself on the earth to rise again.

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\(^1\) In order to avoid further alteration, I give here a literal translation of the French.

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If, reflecting respectfully on Buddha, you adore me you will burn me.
I shall not have the strength to endure the token of respect of one who has abandoned desire.
Just as a sprout of varanda pressed by the trunk of an elephant cannot bear it, and perishes
So will be my fate, if I receive your respect.

By his countenance he surpasses the blooming lotus.
Like the petals of a blue lotus are his eyes.
By his figure he surpasses a forest of flowers.
By his loveliness he surpasses the moon.
By his profundity he resembles the ocean.
He is unshakable like the (mount) Sumeru.
By his majesty he surpasses the sun.
By his gait he surpasses the king of lions.
By his glance he is comparable to the king of bulls.
By his complexion he surpasses pure gold.

—Māra and Upagupta, pp. 264-71.

Heads of bulls, donkeys, horses, elephants (dvipa for dvija) pigs, sheep and those of all animals one could sell.
All bargained for them and bought them.
All the collected heads found purchasers.
Only the human head was considered abhorrent.
There was none who could use it.
Even gratuitously no one liked to take it.
I was injured; there was dearth of purchasers.

When from the milk, one has skimmed the cream;
And when from it (cream) one has taken the butter;
The vessel of milk has [not] in vain been broken.
One does not grieve much for it,
It is the same with our body.
When one has taken away from it that which is durable,
true and good;
When the end of his life comes he will die without regret.

But, if a man has not practised Good, if he has been
careless and idle;
When death hastens to him, to break the vessel of
the body,
He will have a heart full of violent regrets, as if it had
been burnt by fire.

The kleśas are similar to fire, the vessel of milk is similar
to the body.—King Asoka and his minister Yaśas, pp. 92-5.

You call me a great king!
You say that my orders are obeyed!
It is to flatter me you speak thus!
That which you come to say is but a lie.
My authority is dead.
And no more can I dispose of anything.
There is nothing more than this half of an āmala [ka]
Which I may dispose of.

1 Huber has wrongly translated it as ānra or mango. The Chinese transliteration is an mo lè which is found in other places as a trans. of āmalaka.
From (being) rich I have become poor.
Alas! How much am I to be blamed!
Like a torrent from the summit of a mountain,
Which falls without pausing for an instant;
Poverty has come upon me
who in vain, is to be the sovereign over men;
Poverty which all the world dreads.

When I had authority,
None dared oppose me.
None ever showed himself disloyal.
And rebellions were suppressed (cut off).
On the face of the great earth none could resist me.
Men or women, great or humble, none dared to disobey me.
And if anyone resisted my orders, I was in a position to bend him.
All who suffered I recomforted them and brought them to safety.
The sick and the poor, I saved them all.
But, now my merits are exhausted. All on a sudden poverty has afflicted me.
And I am in misery to this degree!
If I am the king Aśoka (‘without grief’)
Why am I fallen thus in grief?
I am like an aśoka tree of which one has cut off the root (mūla for mlāna).
Its flowers, its foliages and branches all dry up:
That is what I resemble.

By my good karman neither I wish to obtain
The rank of Indra nor the fruit of Brahmā.
Nor indeed the kingdom of Jambudvīpa.
By the fruit of alms-giving, by my devotion full of respect,
I desire only to attain domination over my mind.
Of which none will be able to deprive me.

—King Aśoka reduced to poverty, pp 139-42.

All the stories in the Sūtrālaṅkāra begin with a precept. The story of Māra and Upagupta begins with: “Buddha has foreseen the future. One should have faith and should not act in a hurry”.

The story of the minister Yaśas begins with: “The body is not durable. Therefore the wise one should, discriminating well, pay homage to them who deserve respect. This is called ‘exchanging an unstable state for a stable one’.”

The last story begins with: “When you are attacked with a serious illness, no one carries out your orders. Do quickly what you have to do while you still have your power”.

Of these three stories the story of ‘king Aśoka reduced to poverty’ is a little different in form, from that of the Aśokāvadāna. It begins with: “Thus I have heard said: Aśoka, the king of Law [Dharmarāja] fell seriously ill. As he had given all his riches to the monks, he compelled his officials to procure treasures for him. But his officials did not wish to give him anymore. He could not procure anything but the half of an āmalaka. He assembled his officials;” etc.

Before sending the half of an āmalaka, his last gift to the Saṅgha, “Aśoka shaved his hair, and dressed himself in a coarse garment. He appeared upset. He was emaciated. He trembled. His respiration became painful. He turned towards the place where Buddha attained Nirvāṇa, joined his hands with effort and evoked in his spirit the virtue of Buddha. As his tears flowed, he uttered these sentences: . . . . ‘I do not wish to obtain the rank of Indra’;” etc.

After this speech, he sent the gift of the āmalaka to the monks. The passages here are similar to those which we find in the Aśoka.

The end is: “Then the Sthāvira said to the monks, ‘Reduce it to powder and put it in the soup for the monks’, and he added, ‘This is the last gift of the great dānapati, the king Aśoka.”
"Why have we received it? (In order to show that) riches do not last. That is why Buddha Bhagavān has said: "Exchange perishable riches for durable ones. Exchange the perishable body for the durable body". May the dánapatis rejoice. Their perishable riches follow them to the other world. May one make charities always, without discontinuation."

The gift of the kingdom to the Saṅgha and the colophon in which a chronicle of the descendants of Ašoka is given is not found in the Sūtra.

A reference to "the gift of dust (pāṃśupradāna)" by Ašoka in his previous existence is found thus in two stories of the Sūtra:

"The king Ašoka too, with a pure intention, has given dust as alms." Vide ch. iv. p. 122.

"He who, with a heart full of respect and faith, places (even) dust in the alms-bowl of Buddha, will not remain without recompense." Vide ch. vi. p. 193.

ARRANGEMENTS OF THE CHAPTERS (OF THE AVADĀNAS) IN THE TEXT

In all the MSS. of the Divyāvadānamālā, the arrangement of the Avadānas is as follows:

(i) Pāṃśupradānadāna
(ii) Kunālāvadāna
(iii) Vītaśokāvadāna
(iv) Aśokāvadāna

In Chinese translations, the Vītaśokā is placed or rather inserted between the two parts of the Kunālā, that is, between "pratiśthāpitam iti" and "yasmīn eva divase rājñaśokena catur aṣṭīdhamarājikāsahasram" (just before the proper Kunālāvadāna). We have placed the Vītaśokā before the Kunālā for this and the following reasons:

The incident mentioned in the life of Vītaśoka happened before Kunāla was born. We find there that the ministers remark: "You will be the king after the death of king Ašoka (rājño śokasyā’tyayāt tvam rājā bhaviṣya·)." This shows that up to that time Ašoka had no children, for a brother of a king has a right to the kingdom only when the king has no children.
INTRODUCTION

The contents of the Pāṃśupradāna° is found in three Avadānas of the oldest Chinese version. They are (i) The Upaguptāvadāna (ii) The Śānavaṣy ava° and (iii) The Pāṃśupradāna°. It is clear from this that originally there were three separate Avadānas which later on were combined into one. The person who combined them into one, had to omit some portions while doing it.

The contents of the Kunālāvadāna are found also in three Avadānas, viz.: (i) The Avadāna of the recompense given by king Aśoka; (ii) The Rājāsokāvadāna; (iii) The Kunālā°.

We have kept the headings of these two chapters of our edition the same as found in the Sanskrit MSS.; but we have divided them into parts with (sub-)headings, according to the Chinese version.

The Vītaśoka° is called 'The Avadāna of the younger brother of king Aśoka' while the Aśoka° is called 'The Ardhamalakāvadāna' in Chinese.

In the appendix we have given Aśoka's life based on epigraphic records and produced a few edicts of Aśoka and added notes on technical terms, rare or peculiar words and on sentences difficult to understand. We have added also references to some passages and a few parallel passages here and there.

I offer my sincere thanks to the authorities of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, who were very kind to provide me with microfilms of their MSS.

I express my deep obligations to the late Mr. J. Przyluski whose scholarly work on the Aśokāvadāna was used by me while comparing the Chinese translations of the text.

I express my gratitude to the Late Professors E. B. Cowell and R, A. Neil whose edition of the Diyā° was a constant companion to me, while I prepared the present edition of the text.

I know not how to express my love and respect for Dr. P. C. Bagchi, our late Director of Research studies, as well as Vice-Chancellor of the Visva-Bharati University, whose sudden death was a bolt from the blue to his numerous friends and admirers here in India and abroad. The sympathetic attitude, the valuable guidance and the facilities which the Research Scholars here received from him will be remembered for long.

Cheena-Bhavana, Visva-Bharati. SUJITKUMAR Mukhopadhyaya Santiniketan, Vaisākha 25, 1368 b.s.
Who affords shelter and does good to all creatures,
Who protects all religions—stainless and pure,
Who is peaceful and compassionate
Who preserves all in the world of sentient beings,
May he bestow on us sweet mutual amity.

“All men are my children. Just as, in regard to my own
children, I desire that they may be provided with all kinds of
welfare and happiness in this world and in the next, the same
I desire also in regard to all men.”—Aśoka’s Edicts Nos: xv-xvi.
अशोकावबानं
पांशुप्रद्रानावदानं

योज्य स्वमांसतनुभियजनानि कुत्वा-
तप्यच चिरं करणया जगतो हिताय।
तस्य श्रमस्य सफलीकरणाय सन्तः
"सावर्जितं श्रुणुत सांप्रद्रान्तायभ्यामां।"

एवं मया श्रुतमेकस्मिन् समये भगवान् श्रावत्त्यं विहरति।
इति सूत्रं वकत्वय। अतः तात्वक 3भगवत्तथायमिन्दानांमोघवर-
विवरस्तुपुल्लकवचनसूक्षिलाग्वाग्नानामश्वमीतरग्रहेशमोहिनंदन-
मायाशाठचप्पुष्ठलाना शब्दन्यायानित्त्वाशायाधितकोबोकोपन्त्वान्त्विज्ञाना-
प्रदीप्प्रोत्सारितकुदाष्ठदशर्नान्धकराणां संसारमूष्णात्यदिदिभवसर्वदभेशमे-पयः पानशौष्प्दानां गुरुणां सनिधी सर्वावादकोणें श्रवण्ये-शानयमवर्णकुवेरवा[व]सवसोमातित्वादिनिभिमरप्रतिहासत्वाः कन्दर्प-महात्मामवुं अतिमहृदिकं स्थविरोपपुप्तमार्ग्य
का�▣्यन्य विविधजननम् प्रसादिकरं धम्यं कथं समनुस्मरिष्याम्।
तत्त्व तात्वका गुरुमिरवहित्योपौरैमैविवींतः।

1MA omits this śloka. Div. tāvac ciraṁ. 2Div. sammārjitaṁ.
3Div. bhavantathā. 4MA & Div. 5kāḥ śreṣṭhāḥ. 5MA atra.
उपगुप्तोपाख्यानं

एवमनुभूयते। यदा भगवान् परिनिर्वाणकालसमये पुगालनागं
विनिय कुम्भकारी चण्डालीं गोपालीं च तेषां मधुरामनुप्राप्तः। तत्र
भगवान् आयुष्मनं मनन्तमानं निर्विन्त्ये तस्मात्। अस्यामानन्द
मधुरायां सम वर्षशतपरिनिर्वृत्तस्य गुप्तो नाम गान्धिकों भविष्यति। तस्य
पुत्रो भविष्यति उपगुप्तमानं लक्षणो बुद्धो यों सम वर्षशत-
परिनिर्वृत्तस्य "बुद्धवाक्यं करिष्यति"। तस्यावबादेन बहनो भिक्षाः
"सर्वक्षेत्रस्वरूपाणां" अहंकरं साक्षात्करिष्यति। तेस्त्यावबादश्चालमाक्षा-
मेन ब्राह्मणां विस्तारे "चतुर्दशमात्रायम्: शालाकामिर्" गुहां
पूर्वकान्तिः। एषोऽरूपं एव आनन्द भावनां भविष्यति अववाद-
कानाः यदुं उपगुप्तो भिक्षुः।

पर्यसि त्वमानन्द दृश्यन्ते एव नीलनीलाम्बरराजिः। एवं भद्राः।
एष आनन्द उस्मुण्डो नाम परवति। अत्र वर्षशतपरिनिर्वृत्तस्य तथा-
गतस्य आनन्दवाक्यं नाम भिक्षुभविष्यति। सोऽव उस्मुण्डपवर्ते
विहारं प्रतिष्ठापिष्यति। उपगुप्तं च प्रग्राजिष्यति।

मधुरायामानन्द नदो भद्राः दौ भ्राताः "श्रेष्ठिनो!" भविष्यति।
तौ उस्मुण्डपवर्ते विहारं प्रतिष्ठापिष्यति। तस्य" नटमस्तिकेति

1MA "klim. Div. AB kumbhakārin, MA "kārī. 2MA āmantrayata. Ch1 "In the kingdom of Mathurā, Buddha said to Ānanda..." It omits the above passage. Ch2 begins: yadā bhagavān parinir-
vānakāla-samaye aparamānā garājau vintya gopālaṁ cāndālitāṁ nāgarājau ca mathurārāyau anuprāptaḥ. 3Div. madhu. 4Ch1 gṛhapātir. 5Ch1 adds: "who will teach the Law of dhyāna. He will be the best of all the disciples.” 6Ch1 adds: "who will make conversions like myself.” 7 Div. "ddhīṁ kāryaṁ bhavī. 8Ch1 "innumerable living beings". 9-8Ch1 omits. 10Ch1 "36 feet in length and 24 feet in breadth”. 11-12Div. & MA śanākābhīḥ (MA indistinct) pājāyasy. 13Div. & grā me. 14Ch1 sarveśaṁ. 15Ch1 “Buddha again said to Ānanda, ‘Now do you see this green forest ?’”. 16Div. & MA ruru. 17Ch1 Sānavāsā. 18Ch1 kulaputru. 19MA omits.
संज्ञा भविष्यति। एतद्वर्ग में आनन्द भविष्यति शामिलमुक्तानां श्यामानं यद्विनं नरभक्तिकारणयति।

अथायुधगा आनन्दो भागकर्तमिदमवोच्च। "आश्रयं भदत्त यदृ ईदृशः युधिष्ठिराणस्" उपगुप्तो बहुजनहितं करुः। "भगवान् आह। नानन्द एताः, यथातीसेव्यधव्यं तेन विनिपत्तिसारीरेणाय स्यायः बहुजनहितं करुः।"

"उत्तममुक्तनीयं त्रयः पार्श्वं।" एकत्र प्रेमन पन्च प्रत्येक-बुद्धशतानिन प्रतिवसलित। द्वितीये पञ्चचर्चिताति। तृतीये पञ्चमक्षेत्र-वाताति। तस्य योगोऽपि पञ्चानां मक्षेत्रसातानं योगपिति: स तस्मिन योगम-पहायं। यत्र पार्श्वं पन्च प्रत्येकबुद्धशतानि प्रतिवसलित तत्र गति:।

tतस्य तानुः प्रत्येकबुद्धानुः दृष्टेऽपि प्रसादो जाति:। स तेषां प्रत्येक-बुद्धानां शीर्षयणा: मूल-कलाति चोपनामयति, यद्य च ते पर्यायेऽ-पविष्ठा।" भविष्यति। स "वृद्धाधे प्रणामं कृत्वा यावनं नवतानं गतवाः" अर्थादिगुणविशिष्ट।

यावत् ते प्रत्येकबुद्ध: परिनिर्वृत्त:। स तेषां शीर्षयणानि: मूल-कलाति चोपनामयति। ते न प्रतिगृहृत्ति:। स" तेषां वैविद-कर्णिकानि आकर्षयति। पादि गृहाति। यावत् ते मक्षेत्रस्यस्तत्वति।

नियतमेति कारुणगता भविष्यति। तत्: स मक्षेत: शोधित्वा परिदेवित्वा च। द्वितीयं पार्श्वं गतो तत्र पञ्चचर्चिष्ठताति प्रतिवसलित।

1 Ch1: "There in solitude and sanctity, one will be able to live and meditate. Cell and couch there will be all that is necessary." 2-3 Ch1 bhagavan. 4 MA erased from thātite to śarīre. 5-6 Div. omits. MA omits eva bahu. It is adopted from the Chinese. Ch1 reads this sentence thus: "Not only by the numerous conversions of the time referred to, but also in the past, during innumerable kalpas he has done much good." 7 Ch1 adds: "If you want to know it, listen with attention. I am going to tell you the story." 8 Ch1 omits. MA 8rāv. 9 Ch1 puspāni. 10 Ch1 dhīyānamagnāsa ca. 11-12 Ch1 tān anusaran antasthitat krtājaliḥ. 13-14 Ch1 "Thereupon, the monkey pulled them, pushed them, catching them by their clothes; but they did not move. The monkey understood that they had entered Nirvāṇa and he was aggrieved. atha sa." 15 Ch1 brāhmaṇa."
ते च ऋषयः केचित् ‘कण्टकपापश्या: केचिदं भस्मापापश्या:’
केचिदूर्वभस्मात्। केचित् पन्नलातपारवस्यः। स तेषां तेषां
ईर्याधानु विकोपयितुमार्गः।। ये कण्टकपापश्यास्ते वः कण्ट-
कान् उद्दरिति। भस्मापापश्याणं भस्म विचुनोति। उद्दरिति
हस्तं पातयिति। पन्नलातपारवस्यानां मलस्म अवकिरिति। यदा
च तैरीयपथे विकोपितो भवति तदा स तेषांग्रस्तः पर्यंतः विनासः।

यावत् तैत्रिषिशराचर्याः निवेदितं। नेतापि चोकां।
पर्यंत्रेण तावन् निषिद्धं। यावत्तानि पन्नलातपारिणि पर्यंत्रे-नोप-
विनिर्दितां। तेषांचार्याः अनुपदेशा। सप्तवध्वंद् बोधिप्रसादं
धर्मानुमृत्तकः प्रयत्येकः बोधिः साधारणतः।।

अथ् तेषां प्रत्येकुदानामेतदभवद्। यत्सैं किंविष्णस्मावि:
श्रेयोवतः। ततू सर्विम पर्कतं आगमव।। तैत्तिरि स पर्कतः: फल-
मूलः। परिपालितः।। कालगतस्तः च तथचीररें गर्भकाष्ठ्यमृत्तिध्यां।

ततुः किं मन्यसे। आनन्द योजसी पन्नलारि सर्कट्टशतां
गृहपति।। स एव उपद्युः।। “तदापि तेन विनिपतितवर्णीरेणयः
वैवैदमूडःस्वते बहुजनहितं कृतं। अनागारःप्रस्थवति वृद्धस्तपरि-
निर्युतस्सं मन्मात्रेवैमूडःस्वते बहुजनहितं करियति। तत्त्व यथैव
तथोपद्वैशिष्याम्।।”

1Div. kaṇṭha. 2MA omits. Chl adds: kecid ārdhavapadāḥ. 3Chl adds: kecid adhomukhāḥ. 4Chl omits this sentence. 5MA omits
tāsāṇā. 6MA adhokastānāṁ pātayiṣyati. Chl adds: adhomukhaṁ bandhanarajjanāṁ chetī ārdhavapadānāṁ pādaṁ pātayati. 7–8Chl
10–11Chl reads: “Look! The monkey is astonished at what we do. Let us imitate what he does!” 12Chl adds: “They reflected and
held their thoughts strongly restrained.” 13Chl svayam upadistāḥ.
14Chl ya chaṣmad: pāpyeka bāhirvarjasa saujya maratṭe prajñayatvātvāma. 15Div. 9nyāt. 16Chl puspair arcitaḥ. 17Chl adds: “and offered
him offerings.” Div. dhūpātāḥ. 18MA omits. 18–19Chl omits.
20–21Chl marukaṭāḥ. 22–23Chl reads: “Formerly, when he was a
monkey, he did good to the five hundred Rṣis and made them
attain and attest the Way.”
शाणकवास्यपाल्यां

'यदा स्थविरेन शाणकवासिना उर्मुण्डे परंते बिहारः प्रतिष्ठा-
पितः, समन्वाहरित। किमसौ गाथिकः उत्पन्नः। अधायापि
नोत्पद्धत इति। पश्यतुपययः। स यावत् 'समन्वाहरित। योसौ तस्य
पुत्र उपयुक्तो नामनालक्षणो यो मम वर्षास्तपरि-
निन्दृत्तस्य बुद्धकार्य कारिष्यतीति, किमसावुत्पन्नः। अधायापि नोत्पद्धत
इति। पश्यत्यापि नोत्पद्धते।'

तेन बाबुपायने गुप्तो गाथिकोऽभगवन्तासनेनभिप्रसादितः।
'स यदायमसास्तदा स्थविरः संहुलेलिभूमिः सार्धंकदिवसं तस्य
गृहं प्रविष्टः। अपरस्मिसीहि, आलम्बितीयः। अन्यस्मिसीहि,
एकांकै। यावदु गुप्तो गाथिकः स्थविरं शाणकवासिनेमकायिनं
दृढ़ता कथयति। न खल्वार्यस्य कारिष्टं पश्चाय्यमणः। स्थविर
उवाच। 'जरायर्मणां कुतोदस्तां पश्चाय्यमणों भवति।' यदि केवि-

1 Ch1 reads before this: “Begging his food, he arrived at the threshold of the grhapati Naṭa and Bhaṭa. He said to the grhapati: ‘Give me money, I wish to establish now an arānya (hermitage) on the mount Urumunḍa.’ The master of the house (grhapati) said: ‘Why shall we give you money?’ He replied: ‘Buddha has made this prediction: “After my Nirvāṇa, in the kingdom of Mathurā, there shall be two brothers (sons) of the chief of a family, one of them named Naṭa and the other named Bhaṭa. On the mount Urumunḍa, they will establish an arānya. The place where they will establish it, will be called naṭabhāṭiya.”’ The grhapati said: ‘Is it the prediction of Buddha?’ He answered: ‘This is the prediction of Buddha.’ Then the grhapati gave money, and on that mountain a dèmeure for the Saṅgha was made, which was named the naṭabhāṭiya hermitage.” 2 Ch1 Gupta. 3-4 Ch1 “He contemplated again asking himself if the son of Gupta was born. (He saw) that (Gupta) still had no child.” 5 Ch1 “Little by little, he instructed, converted Gupta and...”. 6-7 Ch1 reads: “When the Venerable Sāṇāvāsa was engaged in his (Gupta’s) conversion, he was accompanied by numerous Bhikṣus who were led to his (Gupta’s) house. Gradually, the number of those who accompanied him became less and less, so that one day he came there alone.” 8 Ch1 “We have none to escort or to serve us.”
अशोकावाचनः

च्छुद्दापुरोगण प्रग्रजन्तिः, तेजस्माकं पवचाच्छमणः भवन्ति। गुरुते
गाणिधिक उवाच। आयोऽहूँ तावदु गृहवसे परस्पराः विषयाभिरतस्त।
न मया शक्यं प्रग्रज्ञितुं। अधि तु योज्यादां पुत्रो भवति तं वयमायिस्य
Pवचाच्छमणः दास्यमः। स्थविर उवाच। वत्स एवमस्तु। अधि तु
दृढःप्रतिज्ञा स्मरेत्यास्तवमिति।

याववदु गुप्तस्य गाणिधिकस्य पुत्रो जातः। तस्याश्वगुप्तः इति
नामथे यें कृतं।

स यदा महानां संवृत्तस्तदा स्थविरशाणकवासी गुरुं गाणिधिक-
मंगम्योवाच। वत्स ल्यो ग्रातिः योज्यां पुत्रो भविष्यति तं
वयमायिस्य पवचाच्छमणः दास्यमः। अर्थं च पुत्रो जातः। अनुजानी-
हि प्रग्राजपियमाति। गाणिधिक उवाच। आयर्य अयस्माकमेके-
पुत्रं। मर्षयान्यो योज्यां कृतं ब्रह्मातीं: पुत्रो भविष्यति, तं वयमायिस्य
Pवचाच्छमणः दास्यमः।

याववदु स्थविरशाणकवासी समन्तवाहरति। किमं स उपर-
गुप्तं। "पश्यति नेति। तेन स्थविरणाभिन्ित एवमस्तवतिः।" तस्य
याववदु ब्रह्मातीं: पुत्रो जातः। तस्य धनगुप्तं इति नाम कृतं। सोपि
यथावद महानां संवृत्तस्तदा स्थविरशाणकवासी गुरुं गाणिधिकमुवाच।
वत्स ल्यो ग्रातिः योज्यां पुत्रो भविष्यति तं वयमायिस्य पवचाच्छ-
मणः दास्यमः। "अर्थं च ते पुत्रो जातः। अनुजानीहि प्रग्राज-
पियमाति। गाणिधिक उवाच। आयर्य मर्षयं" एकोज्यां बहिः
ब्रह्मं संचःपियमाति। द्वितीयोन्न्तराः परिपालनं करिष्यतीति। अधि
तु योज्यां सृढः पुत्रो भविष्यति सं आयर्यस्य द्वतः।

¹Ch1 “I am attached to things profane.” ²Ch1 adds: tava
pāsāc-cakraṇo vā bhavatū. ³Ch2 Apagupta. ⁴Ch1 “Little by
little, he grew up.” ⁵Ch1 omits. ⁶Div. omits this sentence.
⁷Div. prauragh. ⁸Ch1 omits this sentence. ⁹⁰⁰MA erased. ⁹⁰ⁱCh1
omits these sentences. ¹¹Ch1 “The Venerable approved.” ¹²Ch1
Dhanigupta (?). Ch2 Dhanā. ¹⁰⁰-¹⁸MA erased. ¹⁴-¹⁷MA erased.
¹⁶Ch1 omits. ¹⁶Div. samśayi. ¹⁸MA omits it. 
‘याबू यथिर्वशानकवासी समान्धाहरूति। किमयं स उपगुप्तः।’
पत्यिति नीति। तत् स्विविर उवाच। एवमस्तिै। याबू गुप्तस्य
गालिकस्य तृतीय: युगो जातः। ‘अभिस्थितो दशशनीयः’ प्रासादि–
कोशित्रान्तो मानुषर्वयमसंप्रात्त्वं दिव्यबर्णं। तस्य विस्तरणं जातौ
जातिमहे कुल्वा उपगुप्त इति नाम कुल्वं। सोऽसि यदा महान्
संवृत्तो याबू स्विरिवशानकवासी गुप्तं गालिकमसभिष्म्योवाच।
वस तव्या अतिजातं योस्माकं तृतीयं। युगो भविष्यति तं
बयमार्गस्य दास्यांम् ‘पदचार्यमणार्थं।’ अर्थं ते तृतीयं। पुज्र उत्पच।
अनुजनानिह प्रतिज्ञिधियोमीति। गुप्तो गालिकं उवाच। ‘आर्यं
समयं।’ यदासङ्गोहोजुन्येष्ठो भविष्यतीति ‘तदाज्जुग्याम्यामि।’

यदा तेन समयं कुतस्तवद मारेण सर्विवती मथुरा गणवाविष्टा।11
tे। (मथुरावासिन:) सवं उपगुप्तसकाश्च गणानु क्रीणति। स
प्रभुनानु ददाहि।12

याबू यथिर्वशानकवासी उपगुप्तसकाशं गति। ‘उपगुप्तस्य
गणायणं स्थितं। स धर्मं व्यवहारं करोति। गणानु विक्रियोते।
स यथिर्वशानकवासिनामिन्नितं। वस कोदूरास्ते चित्तवैसिकां
प्रवर्त्ते। क्लुष्टा वादक्लुष्टा वेति।13 उपगुप्त उवाच। आर्यं

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1-2 Ch1 omits. 3-4 Ch1 omits. 5-6 Ch1 omits. 7 Ch1 “Gradually he
grew up. He was engaged in selling perfumes. He proved to be
strictly honest. So his trade procured for him large profits. The
Sthavira contemplated whether Gupta had given birth to a
son. He saw that he had (already) given birth to a son. He
went to the house of Gupta and said…” 8 Ch1 omits. 
9 Div. A tathā. 11 MA tad ājñā. 9-11 Ch1 reads: “If that does
not stop my profits, I shall give him to you. O Venerable One,
that you may save him and make him forsake the world.”
10 Div. 6 tāh. 13 MA & Div. prabhūtāni dāyati. 11-18 Ch1 “At that
moment, Māra, the king (of demons) invited all, to the
kingdom of Mathurā and led them to the house of Gupta for
purchasing (perfumes). Because of the invitation of Māra,
there was a multitude of purchasers and Gupta realized very
high profits.” 14-16 Ch1 “He was selling perfumes in the market.
Seeing him, the Venerable said: ‘My son, have you pure or
impure thoughts, in your business?”
नैव जानामि कीद्वा: किल्लष्टाशिच्चत्चैतसिक: कीद्वा अकिल्पत
इति। स्थविरसाणकवासी उदाच। \(तस्यस्त्रः\) क्रियाकपिट्ट्रिका दत्ता
पाण्डुरिका च। \(यदि किल्ल्\) चित्तमुपयते क्रियाका पट्टिका स्थापय।
अधाकिल्ल् चित्तमुत्पयते पाण्डुरां पट्टिका स्थापय। अशुमां
मनसि कुरु। बुधनामुयृति च भावयस्वेिति। तेनास्य व्यपदिष्टः।

tasya यावदरथा अकिल्पशिच्चत्चैतसिकः प्रवेतिुः। \(स स्त्रो\)
भागी क्रियाकां स्थापययति। एकं पाण्डुरिकां। यावदरथः
क्रियाकां स्थापययति। अर्थे पाण्डुरिकां। यावदो स्त्रो भागी पाण्डु-
रिकां स्थापययति। एकं क्रियाकाः।

tasyā यावदन् तौ तर्वार्ये मुक्लयुर्विच्चत्तात्मुख्यते। स पाण्डु-
रिकांशक्तेष पट्टिका स्थापययति। धर्मेण व्यवहारं करोति।

मधुरायां वासवदत्ता नाम गणिका। तस्या दासी उपगुप्त-
सकारं गत्वा गन्धानां कीयानाः। सा वासवदत्ता चोच्यते। वारिके
मुख्यते स गामिकस्वयं, बृहा गन्धानां आनयस्यीति। दारिकोवाच।

आर्यकुलह उपगुप्तो । गामिककारको । रूपसप्मस्वचारुपमाधुर्यं।

\(4\) Ch1 adds: “Feelings of lust, passion and anger for one another are called ‘impure thoughts’. When (people’s) intercourses are free from these, they are (called) ‘pure thoughts’.”
\(8\) Div. adds \(na\) here which is not found either in MA or in Ch.
\(1-4\) Ch1 puts this in the following way: “O my son! Being thus capable of knowing the origin of your thoughts, if (you see that) the source of your thoughts is bad, put on the left a black pebble. If your thought is good, put on the right, a white pebble.”

\(3\) MA & Div. \(tasyā\).
\(6\) Div. \(sūhām\). MA indistinct. It seems to be \(asū\).

\(5-6\) Ch1 “He taught [Upa-]Gupta the meditation on Buddha (\(buddhānumśrī\)) and the contemplation on impurities (\(asubhabhāvanā\)).” \(7\) Div. \(kāpa\). Ch1 omits this sentence.

\(8\) Ch1 adds: “On the first day.”

\(9\) Ch1 adds: “On the second day.”

\(10\) Ch1 omits this sentence.

\(12\) Div. & MA \(pūrve\). \(13\) Ch1 adds: \(nā\) क्रियाकाः। अविलक्ष्या
\(14\) Ch1 reads: “You went to steal! Where did you procure such large quantities of these excellent perfumes?”

\(17\) Ch1 adds: “Certainly, I have not stolen.”

\(18\) Ch1 \(guptadāraka\). \(19-20\) Ch1 “a good and honest man.”
सम्पन्नदृध धर्मण व्यवहारं करोतिः। श्रुता च वासवदत्ताया उपगुप्त- सकाशि सानुराणों चित्तमृत्युष्णं। तत्या यावदृ दाति उपगुप्तसकशां प्रेषिता। रत्नकाशः माणमिणियामि। इत्यामि त्या सार्थि रातिमनु- भवितुं। यावदृ दास्या उपगुप्तस्य निबेदितं। उपगुप्त उवाच। अकालस्ते भविनि महर्षिनायेति।

वासवदत्ता पञ्चभिः पुराणासः परिवारहैः। तस्या बुद्धि-हल्लमाः। नियतं पञ्चपुराणशास्तानि नोत्सहते दातुः। तत्या यावदृ दासी उपगुप्तसकशां प्रेषिता॥ न ममायुप्तसकशात् कार्यगीतेनानि प्रमोजनः। **कृत्वमायुपुरीणेन सह राजिमनुभवेयं। दास्या तथा निबेदितं।** उपगुप्त उवाच। अकालस्ते भविनि महर्षिनायेति।

यावदन्यतः भेदिः-**पुरो वासवदत्ताया।** सकाशं प्रविष्टं। अन्यतरस्तं सार्थवाहः। उत्तारपश्चात् **पञ्चशतसमस्वप्पणं** गृहितवा। मथुरामनुप्राप्तं। तेनामिति। कतरा वेष्या सार्थप्रथाना, तेन श्रुतं वासवदत्ततिः। स पञ्चपुराणशास्तानि गृहितवा बहूतूः। च प्राभृतान् वासवदत्ताया। सकाशमिलितः।

ततो वासवदत्तः या लोभाङ्क्ष्यताः। तस्मिन प्राप्तातिवर्त- ज्ञसकरे। प्रक्षप्य सार्थवाहेह सह रातिमनुभूता। यावदृ स भेदिः।

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1-2 Ch 1 "to tell Upagupta: 'My mistress has no need (of presents) but she likes to have an interview with you.'" 3-4 Ch 1 akālo'yeṃ asmākāṃ darsā. 5 Ch 1 "Till that time it was the rule that Vāsavadatta, the courtesan, received five hundred pieces of gold to pass a night with a man." 6-7 MA erased. Ch 1 omits these two sentences. 8 Ch 1 "sent again to tell". 9 Ch 1 "even a farthing". It omits ərya-putra. 10-11 Ch 1 "Come alone for a few moments so that I may have an interview with you." 11 MA omits this sentence. 11-12 Ch 1 omits. 13 Ch 1 "son of a high family to pass a night". 14-15 MA erased. 15-16 Ch 1 "with large baggages and precious things". 17 MA dāttām. Ch 1 adds: "She receives five hundred pieces of gold to pass a single night with a man." 18 Ch 1 "He took five hundred pieces of gold, put on beautiful clothing and a necklace and reached the house of..." 19-21 MA erased. 20 MA & Div. əkrṣtena. 22 MA & Div. ratim. Ch 1 reads: "Then that courtesan as she coveted those five hundred pieces
of gold of that merchant, killed the son of the high family and buried him in the house."

1-2 MA erased. 2 Div. 3 tam. tato. Chh "The friends of the kula puta searched up to the house of the courtesan and digging the earth found (the dead body). So they reported to the king thus: ‘The courtesan Väsavadattā has put to death a kula puta.’" 3 Chh adds: ‘Väsavadattā be arrested.’ 4 Chh ‘... be thrown on the cremation ground.’ Div. hastapāda karṇanāsaṁ. MA 5 nāsaṁ. 6 Div. 6 datyāṁ. 6 Div. 6 pāda. 7 Div. 7 nāsan. MA nāsaṁ. 8 MA & Div. 8 pāda. 9 MA nāsa. Div. 9 nāsan. 10-11 MA erased. 12 Div. 12 pādakarṇanāsaṁ, MA 12 pāda ... san. 5-18 Chh "Upagupta having heard those things, uttered these words: ‘Formerly, in the glory of her beauty, this girl called me as she wished pleasure ... Now when her ears and nose are chopped off and the hands and feet are cut off, when lust has left her, this is the good time (to go to her).’" 14-15 MA erased. 16 Chh reads: ‘In the beginning, when she was adorned with her dresses and ornaments, she breathed lust and passion. At that time, it was not proper to go to her. Now, when she is free from lust and passion, it is necessary to go there.’" 17 Chh omits. 18-19 Chh omits.
पाञ्जुमधानवानं

'आर्युप्रहित्वर्ष्य तथ्यावहुः सकारां पुनः पुनर्मुप्रेषिता अयं सं उषपुष्टो-स्म्यागतः। 'नियतमेष कामरागाते आगतो भविष्यति। श्रुतवा च वासवदत्त कथयति।

प्रणवयोगमा दुःखार्थ भूमी संचिरणिस्यज्ञाय।
मां दुःख्या कष्टेमतस्य कामरागो भविष्यति।

ततः: प्रेषिकामुप्राय। सो हृस्तपादी कर्णनासे च मच्छरीराद्
विकारितः तौ शेष्येत। 'तवा यावच्छ छलेष्यवतः' पट्ट्वेन प्रच्छा-
दिता।' उपगुप्तशास्त्रगत्वा वासवदत्ताय अत्रान्त: स्थितः।

ततो वासवदत्ता उपगुप्तमाणतः: स्थितं दृष्टः कथयति।
आर्युत्र, यदा मच्छरीरं स्वस्थमूर्तं विषयरत्ननुकूलः तदा मया
आर्युप्रहित्वर्ष्य पुनः पुनरूः दूही विसंजिता। आर्युप्रहितिं।
अकालसे भिनि मम दर्शनायेति। इदानीं 'मम हृस्तपादी कर्ण-
नासे' च विकारिता। स्वरविकर्दं एवासिता। इदानीं किमा-
गगतिदिः। आह च।

इदं यदा पञ्जुजगर्मकोमलं महाहवस्त्राभरणैविशिष्टं।
भूमृृव गात्रं मम दर्शनक्षमं तदा न दृष्टोदिस मयार्थ्याया।
एतहि कि दृष्टुमिहागतिदिः में'॥ यदा शरीरं मम दर्शनाक्षमं।
निवृत्तंलीलातिह्यविविषयं मयावहूः शोणितपञ्चलेवन॥

उपगुप्त उवाच।

नाहं भिनि कामार्गं: संिनिधावायान्तस्वः।
कामानामशुभानां तु स्ववाय इद्र्युमाणत।

प्रच्छादिता वस्तविभूषणाच्याविलोक्त्विनिदित्रंदनानुकूले:।
"निरीक्ष्यमाणापि हि यत्तौवंद्रवायूत्त दृष्टाः।असि भवेद्यथा च"॥

1-2 Chh omits. 3MA "nāsā. Div. "nāsān. 4 Chh prachādaya. 5 Div.
bhihitah. 6 MA adds: hi. 7MA & Div. nāsau. 8-9 Chh reads: "Today,
when I am in misfortune, when my body is mutilated, why do
you come to see me?" 9MA mamaü. 10MA & Div. omit me.
8-11 Chh omits. 12 Chh "in view of the things of passion". 13Chh
omits asubha. 14 Div. nirikšā. 15MA yatnabdhbhūr nā drṣṭi. 16
MA tu. Chh reads this and the following śloka as: "Those
who are blinded by covetousness and desire, do not see your
इदं तु रूपं तव दृश्यमेतत् स्थितं स्वभावे रचनादी वियुक्तं।
तेजप्रभुदतास्ते च विगाह्गीया ये प्राह्लेदस्मिन् कुणपे रमन्ते॥
तवचा वन्दे शिवरावस्तं चर्मशृङ्खले मांसंधनावलिते।
शिवासहृदैभृष्ट सूते समन्तात् को नाम रज्येत कुतः शरीरे॥
अपि च भगविनः।
बहिर्मदाणि सूपाणि दृष्ट्या बालोमिरज्यते।
अम्यन्तरविब्रुष्टानि झाला धीरो विरज्यते॥
अवकृष्टवज्रस्वर्यं कुणपस्य हमेघ्यता।
मेघ्या: कामोपसंहारा: कामिन: शुभसंजिनः॥

"इह हि।
दौर्गव्यं प्रतिवायते बहुविशेष्येन्वेस्मेघ्याकरः:
बैक्ष्ते बहिराधिश्यत विविधवेष्टरादिभिमूर्णेः।
स्वेदकेतेदमलादयोपमायूषरचस्तान् निहंतत्तम्भासा
येनामेघ्यकरुक्षेत्रस्तुटवर्धमें कामायमिगिम: सेव्याते॥
संबुद्धस्य तु ते वच: सुखच्छ: सुप्रवलति कुरवत्त्वरूपि
ते कामात् श्रंभोकु:खजननात् सिद्धः सदा गाहितानुः।
त्वक्ष्वा कामासुनित्तमुक्तमनस: शान्ते वने निरंतता:
पारं वास्ति स्वारंगवस्तं महत् संश्चित्य मार्गंप्लवः॥

true nature. Formerly, with your beauty, you seduced the world.
Now you have returned to your true and original nature.”

1Chl “A thin epidermis covers you; the blood wets the
filth of the flesh; thousand nerves twist round each other;
thousand tubes penetrate into the fat.” 2Chl omits. 3Chl
reads: “If the outside is seen, it seems beautiful. In
inside it (the body) is full of impure things.” 4Div. 3dhyā. Chl
omits this śloka. 5-6Chl “On the outside, borrowed perfumes
cover it with a mist. In the inside, it is full of impurities and
fetid emanations, such as the sweat, tears, the fetid liquids by
which it (the body) is made wet and wrapped.” 7-8MA erased.
8Div. kāmāt śraya6. 9Div. AB tām, CD tān. 10Chl reads this śloka
as: “So you can listen to the speeches of Buddha: Desire begets
fear, sadness, anger. Ills originate by hundreds and thousands
from lust and covetousness. Longings are censured by the Sage.
If the impurities of desire are averted, Liberation is attained.
He who follows the correct way with eight sections (=aṣṭāṅgika mārga) attains to Nirvāṇa.”

The true nature (of things) is such as you say and it complies with the Law proclaimed by the Sage; have pity on me and explain (the Law) to me.” 6MA ānu. 7Chl reads: “Then Upagupta explained to her, the Four Truths (which turn) the wheel of the Law; (i) the dogma of Suffering (duḥkha) which resemble the red hot iron, (ii) the dogma of Accumulation (of suffering=saṃudāya) which is like a poison tree, (iii) the dogma of Extinction (of suffering=nirodha) in suppressing the Obtuseness (moha) and the attachments, (iv) the Sacred Way (mārga) with Eight (sections) he explained to her in short. Besides (he showed to her) the ills resembling poison, ulcer, and abscess (which are): the ill of birth, the ill of old age, the ill of disease, the ill of death, the ill of separation from that one loves, the ill of union with that one dislikes, the ill of asking (for something) without getting (it), the ill of five abundant calamities, the ill of austerities, the ill of corruption. In summary, (he made her see) that whoever are born in the three worlds are all of them equally unhappy.” 8Chl adds: “contemplated on the courtesan.” 9–10Chl omits. 11MA adds: prāptāṁ. 12–13MA erased. 12–18Chl “Vāsavadatta, having heard the Law, saw the (four) Truth. Having obtained the sight of the Truth, she extolled Upagupta in these words: ‘That’s right indeed. You have closed to me the Three Evil Ways. You have opened to me the pleasing door which gives access to the Way to Nirvāṇa.’” 14Div. suva."
अशोकावली

अधि: । एषा तं 'भगवन्तं तथागतम् अहंतं सम्प्रक्षः-संबुधं शरण
ganāram । धर्मं च भिज्जस्वलं चेत्याह ।

एष व्रजामि शरणं विस्फुनबिबयिमन्नवल्लमेन ।
तमस्वमद्रुव्यचतः जनम विरागं सल्लं चेति'।

यावद उपमुन्तो बासवदत्तां धर्मं यो कथयं संदर्शं प्रक्षान्तः।
अचिरप्रकारसं चोपमुन्तो बासवदत्ता कालगतः ।
देशपूपस्य देवेशेषस्य भृज्वा
मधुरयामारोचितः।
बासवदत्तां उपमुन्तसकाराद् धर्मेशेषस्य भृज्वा
"आर्यसम्वासिः प्रश्नानि।" सा
कालगतः ।
भृज्वा
च मधुरावासत्वेन जनकायेन बासवदत्तायः: "शरीरे पुजा कुता" ।

यावतु स्थिरस्वराणकवासिः गुप्तं गान्धिकम् ।
अनुजानीहि उपमुन्तं प्रव्राजविष्णुभीमिति।
गुप्तो गान्धिकम् उवाच।
आर्यं एष समयः।
यदा न लाभो न छेदो भविष्यति तदानुजास्यामीति।

यावतु स्विनिस्वराणकवासिः ऋद्ध्या तथार्थविष्ठि यथा
न
लाभो न छेदः।
ततो गुप्तो गान्धिको गणयति तुलयति मापयति।
पश्यति न लाभो न छेदः।

तत्: स्विनिस्वराणकवासी गुप्तं गान्धिकम्
उवाच।
अथ हि
भगवता बुद्धेन निदिष्टः।
सम वर्षिन्तति परिवृद्धि बुद्धकार्य
करिष्यतीति।
अनुजानीहि प्रव्राजविष्णुभीमिति।

यावद गुप्तेन गान्धिकेन अस्मुः नातः।
तत्: स्थिरवेण शानकेन।
वासिना। उपगुप्तो नत्रमकार्त्यायायं नीतं। उपसंपादित्वं ऋतिचतुर्यं च कर्म व्यवसितं। उपगुप्तेन च सर्वकलेशाध्यायान्तु अहृतं साक्षात्कर्तं।

ततः स्वविरेण शास्त्रकवासिनायांस्विदितत। वलः उपगुप्त सं भगवता निद्रिष्टो वर्ष्णशतपरिनिवृत्तस्य मम उपगुप्तो नाम मिल्पुर्मविष्णवितो, अक्षाणको बुद्ध। यो मम वर्ष्णशतपरिनिवृत्तस्य बुद्धकार्य करिष्णवतीति। एषोजौ में आन्त्र श्रावकामामवादकानां यथुत्तोपगुप्तो मिल्पुर्म। इवती वलः शास्त्रानस्विदितं कुरुष्णवति। उपगुप्त उत्वाच। एवमस्त्वितम्।

ततः “स धर्मश्चरणेः द्वीपस्। मधुरायां च शब्दो विसृतैं। उपगुप्तो नामावस्त्राक्षणको बुद्धोऽवां धर्म देवशिष्यतीति। श्रुत्वा धर्मावेकशं प्राणिष्णात्सहस्राणि निर्मातानि।”

यावदृ स्वविरोपगुप्तः समाप्ताववलोकयति। कर्मं तथागतस्य परिष्डन्त। निष्णुः। पश्यति चार्धवचर्क्रियालकर्तारेण पर्यवेक्षिता। यावदृ अवलोकयति कर्मं तथागतेन धर्मवेशणा क्रुद्ध। पश्यति ॥ पूर्वकार्लकर्णयां कर्माणि कृत्वा सत्यसंक्रान्ताना कृत्वा। सोप्चै पूर्वकार्लकर्णीयां कर्माणि कृत्वा सत्यसंक्रान्ताना कृत्वा तामाराधवः।

मारेणौ च १० तस्यां पर्यदिदृ मुक्तोऽहारवर्ष्णमुल्लुष्टुः। वैलेयाभार मनांसि व्याकुलकृततानि। एकेनापि सत्यदशींन न कृतः।

¹Chl omits. ²Chl “who teaches to sit in dhyāna,” for avanādaka. ³Chl buddhakāryāni. ⁴MA sarva. ⁵MA śravaṇe dhi. (Div. adhiṣṭa). ⁶⁷Chl “Upagupta wished to preach the Law extensively in the kingdom of Mathurā.” ⁷⁸Chl omits. ⁹Chl adds: “And they assembled like a host.” ¹⁰Div. १०वेण। ¹¹MA १८dhā kartūn। ¹¹²Chl “(And he saw) that previously Buddha explained the śāstra of dāna, the śāstra of Defences and the śāstra of the birth among the devas. (He showed) that desire produces impurities and that pravrajyā is essential. And following the permanent rule of Buddhas, he showed the Four Holy Truths. Upagupta too, like Buddhas who had successively preached the Law, wished to show the Four Truths.” ¹²MA omits. ¹³Chl “showered genuine pearls and other precious things.” ¹⁵Div. १५kṛtā.


यावत् स्थविरोपगुतो व्यवलोकयति। केनायं व्याकेयः क्रृतः। पश्यति मारेन।

यावत् द्वितीये दिवसे बहुतरको जनकायो निग्रंतः। उपगुप्तो धर्मं देशयति। मुक्ताधारं च वर्षोपवर्षितमिति। यावद् द्वितीयेपि दिवसे स्थविरोपगुतोनेन पूर्वकालकरणां कथा कृत्वा सत्यसंप्रकाशे नायामारङ्गायां मारेन वास्ते पर्षदि सुवर्णवर्षेवद्वृत्ते। वेनयानं मनानसं संकोभितानि। एकनापि सत्यदर्शनं नः क्रृतः।

यावत् स्थविरोपगुतो व्यवलोकयति, केनायं व्याकेयः क्रृतः। पश्यति मारेन पापीयसेति।

यावत् तृतीये दिवसे बहुतरको जनकायो निग्रंतः। उपगुप्तो धर्मं देशयति। मुक्ताधारं सुवर्णवर्षं च पत्तीति। यावत् तृतीयेपि दिवसे स्थविरोपगुतो पूर्वकालकरणां कथा कृत्वा सत्यानि आर्थ: संप्रकाशविदितुं। मारेन च नातिदृशे नातकमारावः। "दिव्यानि च वाद्यानि संप्रवादविदितानि। दिव्यास्त्वाः। रसो नातियुं प्रवृत्ता। यावद् वैतरागो जनकायो।" दिव्यानि रूपाणि वृष्टा। दिव्यावंश शब्दवर्त्त्वा श्रुतवा मारेनाक्रुष्ट।

अतो मारेनापगुप्तस्य पर्षद्य आकृष्टा। प्रीतमनसा मारेन।

\[1-2\] Chl “On the following day, without being invited, numerous people who came to know that while Upagupta preached the Law, there were showers of genuine pearls and precious things, wished to come to rake them. For this reason the crowd became great.” \[3\] MA reads: \textit{muktiḥārā ca varṣā ca varṣoṣā}. \[4-5\] Chl “When (Upagupta) preached the Law, gold and precious things were showered again.” \[6\] Div. cāṣyām. \[7\] MA omits. \[8\] Chl adds: “having entered into ecstacy”. \[9\] MA yenaṃ. \[10-13\] MA erased. \[14\] Chl “On the third day the people of the kingdom of Mathurā all came and assembled like a host to hear Upagupta preach the Law.” \[15\] Chl “At first, genuine pearls were showered; the second time, gold and precious things.” \[16-18\] MA nātīyaṃ. \[17\] Div. bāho dīvyāmī. \[18\] MA erased. \[19\] Chl reads: “Māra the king caused to appear the celestial girls (apsaras) who with their exquisitely skilful music seduced and agitated the minds of the people. Those who till then had not attained the Way were all
स्थविरोपण्युपत्य शिरसि माला बढ़ा। यावत् स्थविरोपणुपतः
समन्वाहिरतुमारवः। कोज्यं। पश्यति मारः। तस्य बुद्धिस्तुपाः।
अर्य मारो भगवज्जसने महान्तं व्याशेः करोति। किमिर्मायं
भगवता न विनोत। पश्यति ममायं विनेयः। तस्य च विनावात्
सत्त्वानुप्राहादं भगवता अल्लक्षणको बुढो निदिष्टः।

यावत् स्थविरोपणुपतः। समन्वाहिरत। किमिर्मायं विनेयकाल
उपस्थित आह्रोस्विनु नेति। पश्यति विनेयकाल उपस्थितः। ततः
स्थविरोपणुपतेन त्रयः कुणपा गृहीता। अहिकुषणं कुकुरकुषणं
मनुष्यकुषणं च। ऋढवा च पुपसागामिनिमाय मारस्काळकाख्रिस्मितः।
बुढः च मारस्य प्रतिशत्पता। ‘उपस्पूलोपि मयास-
कुष्ट इति’ ॥

ततो मारेन स्वशरीरसमुपनामित। स्थविरोपणुपतः। स्वयमेव
बच्चाति। ततः: स्थविरेणोपणुपतेन। अहिकुषणं मारस्य शिरसि
बुढं ॥। ‘कुकुरकुषणं श्रीवायं कर्मिवसकं मनुष्यकुषणं च।
‘ततः: समालेयोभावः ॥
भिक्षुजनप्रतिकूला माला बढ़ा॥ यथैव में भवता॥
कामिजनं-प्रतिकूलं तव कुणपमिदं मया बढ़॥

seduced by that celestial music; so much so that none attained the Way.”

1Chl atīva prītanamāsā māreṇa uktaḥ: “I can reduce to nothing the prediction regarding Upagupta.” 2Chl adds: urkṣa-
mūle āsinah. 3Chl adds: “By whom was it done? Then Māra made a garland with the flowers of mandāra and put it around the neck of Upagupta. The Venerable contemplated.”

4−5Chl “Māra repeatedly disturbed and hindered my prediction (i.e. prediction of Buddha regarding me).” 4−5MA erased. 7Chl reads this sentence as: “and for this reason Buddha had not subdued him.” 9−10Chl “He said, ‘Upagupta does not consider himself master before me.’” 8−11MA omits. 10−12Chl “Māra bent his head and received the flower-garland. Upagupta bound the three dead bodies (kunapa) around Māra’s neck.”

13−14Chl reads: “Seeing the three corpses around his neck, Māra said: ‘How is it possible that these corpses are bound around my neck?’ The Venerable said…” 14MA illegible. 15MA omits. 16MA bhagavatā. 17Chl omits. 18Chl “these corpses”.

2
यत् ते बलं भवति तत् प्रतिदंशेऽव
बुधातमजेन हि सहायः समागतोऽसि।
उदरांतपनिनिलमितानं द्विवकः।
"व्याकरणेन मलयुक्तिष्ठु सागारम्।"
अथ मारस्तन्तु कणौपरेतुमारख्यः। "परमपि च स्वयमनुप्रविष्टः
पिपिलिक्र इव अदिराजसपनेतुं न शाशकः। सामसा। वैहायसभुतत्य
उवाच।
यदि मोक्तुं न शक्यामि कण्ठात् सत्वकृपस्त स्वयं।
अन्ये देवा हि मोक्त्यन्ते मतोपज्ञि धिप्पेज्ञस:।।
स्थविर उवाच।
ब्रह्माण्ड ब्रजः शरणं भक्तकृः वा
दीपं वा प्रविष्टं हुतासमवेत्वा वा।
न कश्चेद न च विशेषणं न मेवेद
कण्ठस्य कृपपर्मि नु यास्मिनित्वः।।
स महेन्द्रस्त्रोपेज्ज्वादिवेष्वर्यमवेशनकृवेवसववादीनाः। देवाना-
महिमाय अक्रुतार्थ एव ब्रह्माण्डमभिगतः।।
तेन जोक्तः।।

1MA sama। 2Chl omits this line. 3Chl adds yathā. 4Chl tathā. 5–6Chl omits. 7Div. 8Chl aicchat. 9Div. asamartho . . uttpadya. MA sāmartho. Ch reading is adopted here. 10Chl omits. 11MA & Div. api. Chl reads this line as: "My gods have enough strength to remove this." 12Div. & MA omit. 13Chl reads: "You turn towards Brahmā or towards Śakra devānām indraḥ, or deva Vaiśrava-

manḍa or Mahēśvara or deva Varuṇa; even entering into a big fire, you will not be able to consume it, even entering the ocean, you will not be able to dissolve it. If these devas and the rest want to loose your bonds, they will not succeed." 14MA & Div.

vāsāvā। 15Chl reads this as: "Thereupon, Māra, the king, without taking into consideration the words of the Venerable, appeared immediately before these gods to entreat them to loose his bonds; but these devas as well as the rest all told him, 'We cannot.' And so on. So that he arrived before Brahmā, joined his hands and said: 'Remove it in my favour.'" 16MA & Div. 21ktaḥ.
मर्यम वर्त्मानं
शिश्येण दशवर्षस्य स्वयमृद्धा कृतातत्तमयिणा।
कस्तां भेतुं शाखो वेला स्वरुपास्यथे।
अपि पञ्चनासुरास्मृद्धवा हिमवतंस्मृद्धवेत कहित्ति।
न तु तव कहातस्करं स्वकुर्णापिमिकस्मृद्धरेवमहं।
कां ममांपि महत्वस्य वलं तथापि नाः तथागतस्वतयस्य बलेन तुल्यः।
तेजसिवानां न खलु न ज्वलनेनस्ति किंतु नासो धृतिहितंवहे रघुमण्डले या॥
मारोज्जवीतु॥ किंमिदानीमाज्ञापयसि॥ कं शारणं व्रजामीति॥
ब्रह्माज्जवीतु॥
श्रीछः तमेव शारणं ब्रजं यं समेयः अण्टस्वमृद्धिविभवादू यशसि: सुखान्ति।
अण्टो हि युः किल्लितले भवतीह जन्तुरुत्तिष्ठिति किल्लिममासवश्लम्भू॥
अथ मारस्तथागतशिष्यसामथ्यं मुपलभ्य चिन्तयामास॥
ब्रह्मणां पूजयते यस्य शिष्याणामपि शासनं।
तस्य बुद्धस्य सामथ्यं प्रमातं को नु शक्तुमात।
करुणामोक्षविष्णुत् कां सिष्टिष्टि क्षमो न सुक्त॥
यों नाज्जरिज्ञता क्षण्या तु तेनाहस्तुरक्षितः॥
किं बहुना।
अध्वाचिन्मुनेन्हयकरणं तस्याक्षितमेवात्मनः
सर्वोपद्रविभ्रमुक्तमनस्तनामाकराचिद्वृत्तू॥

¹Div. & MA vatsā. ²Div. kaścit. ¹-²Chl reads these ślokas as follows: “That which the disciple of Bhagavān daśakāla has done, I myself whose power is very little can never undo. This is like the velā (Ch lit. p’i-lan); a violent wind cannot blow it away. Rather hang the Sumeru with a fibre of lotus than wish to untie this tie.” ³Chl omits this śloka. ⁴-⁴Chl “Māra said to Brahmā, the king (of gods): ‘if you cannot liberate me...’” ⁵Chl reads this śloka as: “Quickly resort to Upagupta; then only you will be able to attain deliverance. If the earth made you fall, resort to the earth to raise you again. If you do not take him as your support, he will destroy all your pleasures which you taste in heaven. He will destroy all your great and noted delights.” ⁶Div. reads: A samanumāswara⁶, D samam anusuprat⁶. MA sa māma su⁶. ⁷Div. yannākārṣyānāksāntyānu (Gṅkārṣyat, D... ⁷tu).
मोहान्येन हि तत्र तत्र स मया तैस्तैनेयः खेदितः।
तेनां च तथापि नाम बलिना नैवाप्रियं श्रावितः।
अथ कामधार्वबिपतिम्यो नास्त्यवा गतिः अन्यत्र उपयुक्तकारं
देवेति ज्ञातवा सर्वमुल्लुक्यं स्थिविरोपृपुंसं प्रीतपुपेयं "पादवरोनिपत्यो-
वाच"। भद्वत्स किंवविद्विश्रेत्वं भद्वत्स्य यथा बोधिमूलमुपादायं
मया भगवतो विप्रयश्वाताति क्रमानि। कृतः।
शालायां ब्रह्मणस्माते मामासाच स गौतमः।
भक्तच्छेदमपि प्रायः नाकार्णिन् मस विप्रियं।
गौरूपीवा सप्रेक्तं सिद्धः ज्ञातवा। शाकटिकावृति।
स मयाज्ञासितो नायो न चाहुं तेन हििितः।

1Chl continues: "Māra, having seen that a disciple of Tathāgata is more powerful than Brahmā, the king of devas, expressed his respect in the following terms: ‘Who could measure the power of Buddha? If He wanted to vent His anger on me, what could He not do? It was His pity that the Great Compassionate One did not vent His anger on me. It is only today that I know Tathāgata, the Great, Perfect, Compassionate One, the Great Fulfilled Benevolent One, who has attained the true deliverance. The ignorance blinded me. In all the places, I molested Him. Nevertheless, the Benevolent Buddha, the Compassionate and the Righteous One, never addressed me harsh words.’"

2Chl reads: "Having received the advice of Brahmā, the king (Māra) was soon freed from evil and proudful thoughts." 2Chl "touched the ground with five parts of his body. Having prostrated himself with the two knees, he joined the hands and said to the Venerable..." 4Chl "from the time he was under the Bodhi tree till the time of his Nirvāṇa?" 5Chl adds: "The Venerable asked: ‘What did you do? He replied..." 6Chl omits sāla. Ch2 reads: "in the kingdom of so lo". 7Chl reads: "Formerly, when Buddha was begging food in the village of Brāhmaṇas, I blinded the spirit of the multitude and he got nothing to eat; and so he recited this gāthā: ‘Those who rejoice without resources have the body peaceable, light and alert. If with regard to food and drink one is capable of conceiving no covetous thought then the spirit does not cease to be joyful, like the ābhāsvaṇa devas (gods).’" Ch2 omits this gāthā. 8MA omits it. Chl reads this sloka as: "Moreover in the Gydhraṅṭa mountain, I took the form of a big bull which destroyed the pātras (bowls) of five hundred Bhikṣus; only the pātra of Buddha had flown to
the sky. Besides, at another time, I took the form of a dragon (nāga, sarpa) and for seven days and nights, I enclosed in my coils the body of Buddha. When Buddha lay down (before) Nirvāṇa, I made appear five hundred carts which troubled and polluted the water of the river in such a way, that Buddha could not drink it. In brief, I went so far as to molest him in hundred ways. The Tathāgata extended his benevolence and compassion so far as not to show even (a sign of) contempt or hurt me even with a harsh word.”

1MA & Div. omit. Chl reads this line as: “You an Arhat have neither pity nor patience as...”. 2MA & Div. raviṁ maṇḍa. Chl “lustre of the sun and moon”. 3Chl “with a drop of water”. 4Chl reads this line as: “The Śrāvakas have not got a share of the great mercy of Tathāgata. Buddha is the great Merciful One, and that is why he did not punish you. The Śrāvakas are inferior to Buddha; that is why I punish you.” 5MA & Div. omit hi. Chl omits this śloka. 6–7MA & Div. erased. 8Div. maitreyena. Chl reads: “In return of vexation that I caused him when he was the Rṣi kṣanti-vādin up to the time when he became Buddha, why is it that he always showed me mercy without causing me any injuries?”
स्थविर उवाच। शृणु सौम्य तवं हि भगवत्यसक्तिसक्तव-स्वलित। न च बुद्धारोपितानामकुक्षालानां धर्माणांमन्यतु प्रकाशान-मन्यत्र तथागतप्रसादादेव।

तदेवतु कारागं तेन पश्यता दीर्घदाशिना।

तवं नायसियतमहं प्रोक्तः प्रियाण्येव तु लम्बितः।

"चयेनानेन भक्तस्तव हृदि जनिता तेनायत्निना स्वत्तपि छत्र भक्तविभवति मतिमति निर्विभावः।

संशोधयू यत् कर्तं तेजोनमिः सुमेरविहर्मनसा

सर्वम् प्रकाशितं तत् तवहृदयायते: श्रद्धामुखविर:।

अथ मार: कदम्बगुण्ववद् आहुष्टरोमकूपः सर्वाणि प्रणप-त्योवाच।

स्वामे मया बुधिविं परिलेदितोऽसौ

प्राक्ष सिद्ध्वत्व भुवि सिद्धमनोर्थे।

सर्वं च मर्याद्मृतप्रवर्तकेन तेन

पुनापराध इव सानुनयेनप्तिका।

1Div. & MA omit it. 2MA omits it. 3-4MA erased. 1-4Chl reads: "On account of your wickedness, you have grown evil intentions towards Buddha. Though the crimes were heaped up, Buddha did not cause you any harm. Why? Because He wished to allow me to subdue you, so that you may obtain the feelings of faith and respect towards Buddha; and on account of these feelings, you may not fall into the hell, or among famished animals, or (be born ?) among domestic animals. These are the reasons for which, at the outset, he did not address you wordings and for that he had unceasingly nourished for you the feelings of compassion."

5-6MA erased. 7Div. AD vyjimam and B vyjamam. 7Div. 6daye6. Chl reads this sthokas as: "In brief, if you experience a little faith in Buddha, then by this sentiment of faith, you shall be purified from innumerable crimes of molesting Buddha of which from the ancient time to the present (you are guilty). All these crimes shall be extinct."

8Chl reads according to the text. 9Chl reads: "When Māra heard these words, he was agitated both in body and spirit. Resembling a flowered kadamba tree, which (thrills) from the roots and trunk to the branches, Māra, the king (of demons) rejoiced and on his whole body, he had the hair erect; he said ..." 9-10MA erased. 10Chl translates these two sthokas in accordance with the text, though
Sā budḍhasaśadāpāyāhitamana: suṣṭhīm buddhaṇaṇaṇusmṛtya śvācīrśty paṇḍyoṣṇipūtyacāt.

Anuṣṭhāho mṛṣya pāra: kṛṣṭavat nivēṣitān yann: mṛṣya buddhāroṣhān.

Eśā tu kṣaṭvavabhiṣmī mṛṣya mahābhikṣākāmukyaṃ vimsajñāyā.


Kāṇḍaṇāpārātivāstānā sa ṭṝṇyo rūpāṇyo mahāno māna vā. "

Tadāṇaṃpan mahāṇaḥ prati śvācīṛḥ viṣṭhāṇā būttavārṇeḥ. prasītāyayaṃ mahābhikṣaṃ hī naśitaḥ te dāsabhūtuḥkalūhāḥ hānaḥ. "

Māra uvāca. teṇ hī saṃkāpi saṃmac: bhūyaḥ.

Sahaya śvācīṛḥdīḥāṣya būttanīṣṭhāyārāṇaḥ.

Na pranāmśvāya kaṃyaḥ: "sahyaḥ saṃkāpiḥ gaurīvaḥ."

—not literally.

3Chīl “Māra, the king, experienced a feeling of joy regarding Buddha and the Dharma. He got up, joined his hands and said to the Venerable . . .” 3MA omits dya. Chīl reads this śloka as: “You have been able to make me experience a feeling of joy (regarding Buddha and the Dharma). This is a great kindness of yours. Now you ought to rid me of these three corpuses.” 3-5MA erased. 4-6Chīl omits. 7Chīl omits this sentence. 8Chīl “from today till the extinction of the Law”. 9Div. kam”. Chīl omits this sentence. 10Chīl omits this sentence. 11Div. adds tato. 12Div. svayam eva eva. 13Chīl omits. 14Chīl “I have not seen the marvellously beautiful body of Tathāgata.” 15Div. & MA tad anadyam anugrahām pratiḥ. Chīl reads this śloka as: “Let the beautiful body of Buddha appear before me, in a way that I experience a feeling of love and respect. If you can make it, for this, your fame will be extremely great.” 16Chīl omits.
'बुद्धानुप्रस्यन्तप्रवृतिसंविद्यमानो यदि त्व मयाध्यायम् योगिः
स्वप्नायुपदश्य्यस्य निपोति दश्यो भविष्यायम्॥
कर शक्तिभूमि वीराविविहितां सोऽह म् प्रणामक्रिया
हस्तात समिवेष्टं न गजस्य वैराणांकृष्णां॥
स्थविरोपयाह। एवमतु। न भवतं प्रणामिष्यायिति।
मारोज्ज्वलित। तेन हि महार्त्मागममत्व भावादेह वनंगहनमनुष्ठिविश्व
शूरं जन्मित्वम् पुरा व्यवसितेनोत्तप्तहेमसमं
बोधूं रूपमित्वयुद्धविविभवास्तवासीमया यत्कल्त।
कृतवा रूपमहं तदेव नयनप्रहाविकं देहिना
'एवस्मर्कमुखजालमदनं भाृमण्डलेनान्तिपि॥
अथ स्थविर एवमतु इत्युक्तवा तं कुणपपपनीयत्व तथागतहृप-
दार्शीनोत्सुकोज्ञातिशत:। मारुच वनंगहनमनुष्ठिविश्व बुद्धरूपं कृतवा
नत इव सहितिर्निध्वस्तस्माद्विग्नगनादारभो विषाक्षितम्। वक्षये हि।
ताथागतं वपुर्योतमलक्षणाद्विदध्यसूर्यनिःशाष्नितकरं नराणं।
प्रत्यगर्ज्ञातिमिव चिन्त्रकर्मण भानमेषुद्धात्यत् वनसमी तदेवत्तकार।॥
'अथ व्यास्मभामण्डलभद्दमण्डतुस्तकसचनकदर्शनं भगवतो रूप-
मस्मिनिमय दक्षिणे पात्रेऽस्थविरसारस्तरस्तुतुर्तिें वामपाश्चेऽस्थविर-
महामानि ग्याययं पृष्टस्यतः यम्मनान्तु बुद्धात्त्वर्गस्तस्तते स्थविर-

1Chl omits. 2Chl reads this śloka as: "Why? Because I would resemble the erānda (plant) which trampled by big elephants while sprouting is destroyed." Ch2 reads: "Like the sprouts of erānda, though the hand may not be allowed to touch them, are (however) carried away by the tusks of the elephants." 3-4MA erased. 4-5Chl reads: "In former times, I have already mystified the householder (grāhāpati) Śūra by assuming the appearance of Buddha. That which I have done at that time, I am going to do for you." 5Div. AB esāpya⁰,⁰; CD esām apya⁰. 6-7Chl "Then the Venerable Upagupta took away the three corpses from him. The Venerable conceived the idea of Buddha. Māra entered the forest and took on by metamorphosis the form of Buddha. He produced the body of Buddha with His (32 auspicious) marks, as one paints Him with various colours, on the fine stuff of new cotton." 7MA kakāra is erased. 8-9Chl "One would not have got tired of looking at Him." MA erased.
Surrounded and escorted by 1250 great Arhats.”

MA erased. 8 Chl omits this sentence. 4 Chl reads: “At that moment the Venerable got up, joined his hands, entered into contemplation and pronounced this gāthā:” 5–8 MA erased.

Div. 9 mbanatāya. 9–10 MA erased. 11–10 MA erased. 8–12 Chl “Extremely moved in body and spirit, he joined his hands and recited these gāthās.” It reads “aha bhāva” before “vaktrenābhi”.

13 Chl “brilliant jewel”. 14 Div. ghanam. MA omits. Chl reads this line as: “He is more perfect than the sun and the moon. He is more amiable than the flowered forest.” 15–17 MA erased.

16 Chl “He lives in peace like the Sumeru.” 18 Div. ABD hrdayā.

18–10 Chl omits this sentence. 18–20 MA erased. 20–21 Chl “This is not the supreme God (īśvara) who has made it. Neither without cause has it been made (nēśvareṇa na yadṛcchāyā).”
मार उवाच। कथमिहां नारितों भवामि यदेवं मा प्रणसीति ।

स्थविरोजब्रीति। शूरवता यथा त्वा नैव मयायाम्यचितो भवसि न च मया समयालिकम्। छूट इति।

1MA omits it. 1-2 Chl reads: “During hundreds and thousands of incommensurable kalpas he has purified and perfected his actions, his speech and his thoughts.” 2Div. B sosti. 3 Chl “marvellous and sublime”. 4-5MA erased. yad drśvā ripūra? 6Chl pūrvaṃ pratijñān vi. 7-8 Chl omits. 8 Div. mulañkṛnta. 9 Chl “with five parts of his body”. 9-10 Chl “He prostrated and adored.” 11 Chl omits it. 12 Chl adds: “Now why do you prostrate yourself touching the ground, with five parts of your body?” 13-14, 15 Chl omits. 16 Chl anuttaro bhagavān. Div. yasya vādi. 16-18 Chl omits. 17-18 MA erased. 19 Chl “(but) to see this figure is just to see Buddha.” 20-21 MA erased. 20-22 Chl “My eyes have seen you prostrate yourself before me. Why do you deny it?” 23 Chl omits it.
मृत्युसुर हरि प्रतिकृतित्वमराणों यथा जनः।
मृत्यु सुर हरि प्रतिकृतित्वमराणों यथा जनः।
तथासुं त्वामहतोहविश्व लोकनाथवपुर्वः।
तथासुं त्वामहतोहविश्व लोकनाथवपुर्वः।
मारसंहमनादृत्व नतः। सुगंगासंहमनादृत्व नतः।
अथ मारो बुधवेशमतत्प्रथितवा स्वारोगिनग्रुपतमघायच
प्रकातः। यावच् चतुस्तस दिवसे मारः स्वात्मेव मदुरायां धप्यावर
घोषित्वमारः। यो युभामाः स्वारोगिनग्रुपतमघायच
प्रकातः। यावच् युभामिन्द्रसायां न द्वृष्टस्तैः स्वारोगिन
प्रकातः। यावच् युभामिन्द्रसायां न द्वृष्टस्तैः स्वारोगिन
प्रकातः।
उत्सुंज्य दारिद्रमनविन्वतः। यः स्वीतावभं विधिमिच्छतिह।
उत्सुंज्य दारिद्रमनविन्वतः। यः स्वीतावभं विधिमिच्छतिह।
स्वगीयपत्तो च यस्य सथ्य च श्रद्धा ग्यवर्धमः। गृहोतुः।
दृष्टो न यैवः हिदिप्रधानः। शास्त्रा महाकारणित:। स्वयंभूः।
दृष्टो न यैवः हिदिप्रधानः। शास्त्रा महाकारणित:। स्वयंभूः।
दृष्टो न यैवः हिदिप्रधानः। शास्त्रा महाकारणित:। स्वयंभूः।
दृष्टो न यैवः हिदिप्रधानः। शास्त्रा महाकारणित:। स्वयंभूः।
ते शास्त्रृत्विन्यासों स्वारोगिनग्रुपत्म पश्यन्तु भार्यवत् त्रिभवग्रहीतः।
ते शास्त्रृत्विन्यासों स्वारोगिनग्रुपत्म पश्यन्तु भार्यवत् त्रिभवग्रहीतः।
यावच् मदुरायां श्रवाधे। विसृतः स्वारोगिनग्रुपत्म मारो विनीत
इति। शुचवा च यदुर्यसा। मदुरावास्तवयो जनकायः।
इति। शुचवा च यदुर्यसा। मदुरावास्तवयो जनकायः।
श्रवाधे। विसृतः श्रवाधे। विसृतः।
मां प्रति न तेनाः। शक्यं सिद्धान्तमविद्वया समस्तिरोहुः।
मां प्रति न तेनाः। शक्यं सिद्धान्तमविद्वया समस्तिरोहुः।
मां प्रति न तेनाः। शक्यं सिद्धान्तमविद्वया समस्तिरोहुः।
यद्र [तु] सिद्धान्तस्यो मृगदु सं हि वाति सस्त्वोऽहुः।

1 MA erased. Chl mṛkāśṭha°. MA °mayiśu. 2 Chl adds: buddhasya ca.
3 Chl mṛkāśṭha°. 4 Chl marabuddhahaktyā. 4–5 Chl “So I have not
been able to restrain the joy of my heart on seeing Buddha and
that is why I got up and ...” 6 Div. ABD rataḥ. 7 Chl “returned
to heaven.” 8–9 MA erased. Chl “Remembering the favours with
which the Venerable himself had loaded him, descended from
heaven (and made this proclamation).” 10 Chl adds: dāridram
utsṛṣṭum iĉhati. 11 Chl guptaṁ saranaṁ gacchatu. 12–13 Chl tathāgatān
mahākārṇikād dharmo na śrutas te'[pi upaguptaṁ saranaṁ gacchantu.
13–14 Chl omits. 15 MA reads upto svargā and then it ends abruptly.
Pages are missing. 15–17 Chl omits these ślokas. 18 Chl “news”.
19–20 Chl “A multitude of elders and that of plebeians came in
thousands and in myriads to the Venerable. Seeing the crowd,
the Venerable assembled them and then ...”. 20 Div. omits h.
21 Chl omits the ślokas. 22 Div. te. 23 Div. °vam.
सिंह इव यस्तु निर्मीनिनदिति परबादिदर्पनाशार्थ।
सिंहसनसमिग्रंतो दस कथिरकस्तो भनित योग्यः। ॥

"यावतु स्थविरोपगुप्तेन पूर्वकालकरणियाः कथा कुत्वा सत्यानि संप्रकाशितानि। श्रुतवा चानकेः प्रणिष्ठतसःखेतृः मोक्षभागीयानि कुशलमूलाक्यायापिनानि। कैदिचनागामिफलं प्राप्तं। कैदिचित् सङ्कोचागामिफलं। कैदिचित् छोटापतिफलं। यावद्दशादशसहस्राणि प्रश्रजितानि। सर्वेच स्युज्यमानियांवदहेत्वं प्राप्ताः।

तन चोसुण्डपर्वते गुहाब्यवानकहस्ताः। दीर्घांक तदादशस्ता।

यदा ते कुत्तकरणियः संग्रृहास्तदा स्थविरोपगुप्तेनामि-हिंतं। यो मथीयनाब्रवादेन सर्वबलेश्वराणाम्। अहंसचं सन्तकालसिद्धि

tेन चुरुिं जलान्तः श्रणका गुहायां प्रश्रेणव्या।

यावदेकसिमाः दिवसोऽपि दादशाविभिरहत्वाः। श्रणका: प्रक्रिया:।

टस्य यावदासुमुद्रायां श्रव्वे विस्तुतः। मथुरायामुग्धस्तनामा। अव- वादाकालामोऽनिर्यवेऽभजत तंत्राः। तथाः। तताः।

विनिर्कामाधादीस्वरेण हि दिग्लीशास्त्रपले महत्तमि ठवरोप- 

गुप्तेषु मुरमनुमस्तो वरागसुरगुँद्यक्षेत्रस्तविधारविशुर्द्धारितांपदयुः सति।

पूर्ववृषृऽवरेपररेपि तुश्च्चलवेशजस्तितीनाम्। अनेकेषां सत्वशतोभस्यानम्। सर्वमेन्तत्तवर्षरितानिपाताः। मोक्षां जहुं रानं अम्बवर्यस्भुः सुमुण्डे श्रेी।

कार्यनुरोधात् प्रणतसकालसामात्तचूडप्रभुविषयं सात्तवान् अखतुसमर्पणां। इत्यवर्तम- 

श्रुयोः।

¹Div. "bhînînadati. ²Ch. omits, ³⁴Ch. "preached in all the ways, the excellent Law, so that...". ⁵⁶Ch. omits. ⁷Ch. adds pâptaṁ.
⁸Ch. omits this word. ⁹Ch2 agrees with the text. ¹Ch. gives the measurement as before: "36 feet long and 24 feet broad". ¹¹Ch. omits. ¹²Ch. māśe. Div. dasabhī for āstādāsa. ¹³Ch. evaṁ tasya jambudvīpe yaśo. ¹⁴Ch translates aavādaka as "one who teaches how to sit in meditation (dhyāna)." ¹⁵Ch. omits. Div. bhagavatōs tad. ¹⁶A sammitānām, B saṃtīnām, C saṅgītānām, D sañtānām, E samītānām. ¹⁶Div. "nīpālēna... abhiyorō. Ch. omits this para and the following one.
पांशुप्रवास नाम प्रकरणं

"भगवान् राजगृहे विहरति वेणुवने ८कलन्दकविवापे। अथ भगवान् पूवान्ते निवासस्य पात्रचारुरमादाय" भिक्षुगणपरिबृतो भिक्षु- सद्यपुस्तको राजगृहेन प्रिणाय प्राचेष्टां। वक्त्यति च।

कनकाचलसमस्तभाषादेशोऽ हिरदेन्द्रप्रतिमः सलोलगमी।

परिपूणशालाकसौम्यवक्तो ८भगवान् भिक्षुगणद्वृतो जगाम।

याबद्ध भगवता सामसृंस्कारं नगरधारं पादं प्रतिष्ठापितं।

थर्मणा" खलु यस्मिन समये बुद्ध भवतः सामसृंस्कारं नगरधारामिन्द्रकैलं पादी यथस्थापयति। तदा चित्रवाणि अवलुकानि प्राप्तुभर्ति। अन्धासुंदरेऽपि प्रतिधर्मन्ते। बिधिरः श्रोतरहुसमकथा भवति।

पढ्यो गमनसमस्ती भवति। "हृदिनगडचारकाकवधानां सत्त्वाना वन्धनानि शिष्यिश्वभवति। जन्मजन्मबृत्तानुबत्तरामान्यसत्त्वास्तदनरं मैत्रंजीतां लभते। वतसा दामानि छित्रवा मातृभि: सारथ समागच्छन्। हृत्सन: क्रोशनि। अश्व लहेरते। ऋषभा गजनि।

शुक्षारिकोकिलजीवजीवकबहुभिणि मधुरानृ निकुूजनि। पेडगाताधुंद्रा मधुरसबंद निस्वाययति। अपराह्तानि च वादित्रभाषानि मधुरं शब्दं निस्वाययति। उत्ततोत्तता पृथिविप्रदेशाृ ११ अवनमति। अवनताचोद्मन्मतिृ। अपगतपाणिशारकरकपालाश्चवित्तिलन्ते३१।

इयं च तस्मिन समये पृथिवी पद्धिकारं१५ प्रकरण्ये। "तद्यथूः। पूवानं दिब्यतां उत्तमम्। परिच्छौज्यनमति। अन्तोज्यनमति। मध्य

¹Ch1 adds: sarvaññam bhagavantañ saranañ gacchami. ²Div. kalindaka°. Ch1 kalanda. It omits nivâpa; “in the bamboo-wood of squirrels”. ³Ch1 omits cîvara. ⁴Ch1 “He is immovable like a golden mountain.” ⁵Ch1 “His appearance is pleasant like the king of elephants.” ⁶Ch1 pûrṇa-vaktro (“a full face”) for saumya°. ⁷Ch1 “He went to the big city of Rajagrha. His demeanour was highly dignified.” ⁸Ch1 omits. ⁹Ch1 adds: indrakile (threshold, cf. Pali indakhila) ¹⁰-¹⁴Ch1 omits. ¹¹Div. ABC hattri (DE haḍi) ABCDE "nigata°. ¹²ABC "pravesā. ¹³Div. reads avanamataś co°. ¹⁴Ch1 “six times”. ¹⁶Ch1 omits this para.
उन्माति। चलित: प्रचलितो वेधित: प्रबेधित इतीमे चाह्ये चादुःधु- 
धर्मी: प्रानुभवति। भगवतो नगरप्रवेशे वक्षयति।

लत्वणजलिनिसिनी ततो वा नगरनिमस्मित्वता सर्विल।
मुनिचरणप्रसीदिता च भूमीः पवनव लहुहु हि यानपात्र्।

अथ बुद्धप्रवेशकालिनयते: प्रतिहर्यारविजिता: स्नीमनुष्यसः,
तत्तगरम् अतिवलचिलितचिन्तविविचितरस्मुभितमिव महासमुद्रं
विमुक्तोत्तनांद बमूव। न हि बुद्धप्रवेशस्य नाम जगत्युवुस्तप- 
कम्यते। पुरुषप्रवेशसन्ये हि भगवते। विद्यायुद्धाति दृष्यन्ते।

वक्षयति हि।

नित्या चोरिनमाते नतावनमाते बुद्धाभिवान् मही
स्थ्याणा"शकरक्रांक्षक्रपाता निर्दौपता याति च।
अन्धा मूकज्ञदेविणाच पुरुषा व्यक्तेन्द्रियास्तत्वाः
संवाधायनीष्टत्रितात्र नगरे नान्दित तुर्यस्वना:।

सर्वां च तत्तगरां सूर्यसहस्ताविरेकया कनकमरीचिविरया बुद्ध- 
प्रभया स्पूतं बभूव। आह च।

सूर्यप्रभयं संवङ्गभक्तस्य हि तत्य भाषिर्
व्यापतं जगत् सकलेऽव सकाननस्य।

1 Chl omits. 1-2 Chl reads: "(the earth) which has the oceans as its ornaments, as well as the mountains and towns..." 3-4 Chl "The whole earth, on all sides, moved and fell in, when the muni with his feet trod the threshold of the door." 4-8 Chl "When he thus enters into the town, the men and women acquire the pure faith." 4 Div. "balabhikhatwya yāa". 6-7 Chl "All render a harmonious sound, a parallel to which had never happened in the world." 7-8 Chl omits. 9-10 Chl omits. 11 Div. "sthānula." 10-12 Chl "Hilllocks get levelled. There are no more any sands or rubbish; thorns and the filth all disappear from the earth. The blind sees, the deaf hears, the dumb speaks, the lame gets cured, the fool becomes sensible, the poor becomes rich, the ill is made whole. All the musical instruments resound without being played or beaten by anybody. The precious instruments knock against each other and bring forth all kinds of sounds." 13 Chl "vastujjatam antar bahis ca." 14 Div. "prabhām ava."
BP 31

संप्राप्त "च प्रवर्धर्मक्षाधिकारामो
लोकं सुरासुरनरं हि समुक्तभावं।।

याब्दृ भगवानं राजमार्ग प्रतिपन्:। तत्र द्वी वास्तवारको।
एकोपकुलकुलुधो द्वितीय: कुलिकुलुधो। "पांडवागार: क्रीडतः।"।
एकाय जयो नाम द्वितीयस्य विजय:। ताथ्याय भगवानु दृष्टो द्वारिक-
शमहापुरुषलक्षणाल्पृः रत्नररीरः स्वेतनकर्षिणनस्य।।

याब्जु जयेन दार्शेन शवकुं दाश्यामिति। पांडवस्तुलिभंगतः
पात्रे प्रक्षिपत्:। विजयेन च कङ्कातङ्किताभ्यामुग्योपितं। वक्षयति च।
दृष्ट्रा महाकाशमेव स्वयमभुवं व्याप्तमार्मोद्धोतिसर्वसंगर्ग:।
वीरेन वक्षेत्यु चतुर्प्रसादः। पाणु ददृश्। जातिजरातकाय।।
सं भगवते प्रतिपादित्या प्रणिधानं कर्तमार्य:। अनेनाहं
कुशलमुमेलनं एकाच्छाया पृथिव्याय राजा स्वामा। अत्रैव। च बुधे
भगवति कारां कृयामिति।

ततो मुनिस्मयिन निशामय भावं बालस्य समव्य प्रणिधि च बुधवा।
दृष्ट्रा फलं चक्रेत्रवेशेन दृष्ट्रा जग्राह दृष्ट्रा कर्णायमान:।।

1Div. "प्रयाता. Chl reads this स्लोकाः: "The splendour diffused from Buddha eclipsed the sun and the moon. Enlightening the creatures, they (the rays of Buddha) refreshed them and made them rejoice extremely. Like the feverish ointed with sandal-paste there was none who was not appeased." 2Chl adds: अनंदेना सहा। 3Chl amplifies this: "Kneading the earth, they were amusing themselves by making a town of earth. In that town they made houses and granaries. With the earth they made grains which they put in the granaries." 4-5Chl amplifies: "The golden splendour which he emitted illuminated the town within and abroad in such a way, that all the things were of golden colour and there was nothing which was not glittering. Having seen him, they rejoiced. Then Jaya, taking from the granary, the earth which he had given the name of grain . . .". These amplifications are not found in Ch2 which simply indicates by allusion that the earth offered to Buddha symbolised the grain. 6Chl adds: श्रद्धायाः। 7Chl "Then Jaya pronounced this गाथा of praise:"
8Chl namami tvām kāraṇikām: 9Chl lit. "the firm air which inspires faith and respect". 10Chl dāde (ahām). 11-12Chl omits. 13Chl "reciting गाथां". 14Ch kṣatra".
तेन यावद् राज्यवैपायक्यं कुश्लमाशिपतं। ततो भगवता
सिमतं विद्विदितं।

धर्मता खलु यसिन् समये बुद्धा भगवतं सिमतं विद्विदितं।
तसिन् समये नील्पीतोष्ठितवैदमानिज्ञास्फिकवर्जवर्णासिन्वि
मुखान् निष्टचर्चित। केरिदूतंतो गच्छिन्ति केरिधध्यतमादुगच्छिन्ति।
थे घो गच्छित्वे ते सुभजीवं कार्लसूत्रं संघातं रूरवं महारावं तपनं
प्रतापमेवैविचयित्वेन गतवा ये शीतनरकावते ३४ शून्यीभूत्वा निपातित।
ये उण्णनरकावतेः शीतीसूत्वा निपतति।

तेन तेषां सत्वनां कारणविशेषः प्रतिप्रकाश्यते। तेषामेव सिमता।
कि नु भगवतं वयस्मितस्युता आहोत्सवद्विवर्णाप्पणा इति।
थेनासामां कारणविशेषः प्रतिप्रकाश्य। तेषां भगवान्
प्रसादारंजननाथयं निमित्तं विसर्जितं। तेषामेव सिमता।
न वर्ण च्युता नाश्यत्वाप्पण। अधि तु अयमपूर्ववर्णायुभावयेना
सामां कारणविशेषः प्रतिप्रकाश्य इति। ते निमित्ते विचार्यानि
प्रसादादितवा नरकवेदनायिनाणि कर्माणि अष्टितवा ३५ देवमनुष्येः प्रति
सिन्तं गच्छिन्ति। यत्र सत्वनां भाजनसूता सिमता। ये ऋयवेतो
गच्छित्वे तें चतुर्महाराजिकानु देवस्तवयस्तित्रं यामस्तुपितानु
निम्नोपरात्तिनु ३६ परनिमित्ववर्जवर्जिनो ब्रह्माकाविकानु ब्रह्मपृथिवितानु
महाब्रह्मानु परिताभानु। आमास्त्रान आमास्त्रानु अप्रमाणाभानु
अप्रमाणाभानु शुभकालस्त्राभानु अप्रत्यक्षाभानु पूण्यप्रस्वानु बुधकालानु
अभानु अतिकाल सुदृशानु सुदर्शानु अनकनित्तयत्वेन देवेः गतवा
अनित्यं दृढः शून्यम् अनकर्त्ते उद्वेष्यित। गाथाद्वयं च
भाग्यते।

'आरस्म्भवं निपास्तं युग्य्यथं बुद्धशासने।
धुनीत मृत्युः सैणं नाधारामिव कुत्त्वरः।'

1Div. ॐ ते उष्म। 2Div. kāraṇaḥ ... pratipraśraḥ。 3Div. kṣepa。 4Div.
ratayaḥ。 5Div. pariśa。 6Div. apramāṇābhāsya。 7Div. bhaṣaṭe。 Chl
omits this paragraph and the preceding。 Ch2 reads。 8Chl
omits。 Ch2 reads。
यो हस्मिन् धर्मविनये अभ्रमतसत्चरिष्णति।
प्रहाय जातिसंसारं दुःखस्यान्तं कार्यण्ति॥

अथ ता अचिलस्त्रिसाहस्माहसाहसं लोकधातुस्त्वाहिण्डयं
भगवतमेवावुगवाहसति। यदि भगवानीति कम् याकुर्किमो भवति
पृथ्थ्वीज्ञानीयं नागात् याकुर्किमो भवति पुरुस्त्वा
नरकोपपति याकुर्किमो भवति पादलेज्ञानीयं। तिघुगुप-
पति याकुर्किमो भवति पाण्याम्नाल्यानीयं। प्रेतपपति याकुर्कि-
मो भवति पादांगुणेज्ञानीयं। मनुष्यपपति याकुर्किमो
भवति जाननोऽर्ज्ञानीयं। बलचक्षुरतिराज्ञं याकुर्किमो
भवति वामे करतलेज्ञानीयं। चक्रवर्तिराज्ञं याकुर्किमो
भवति दक्षीणे करतलेज्ञानीयं। देवोपपति याकुर्किमो
भवति नाम्मायम्नाल्यानीयं। धारकोपपति याकुर्किमो
भवति आस्येज्ञानीयं। प्रत्येका बोधे याकुर्किमो भवति
ऊणोम्बरानीयं। अनुतरं सम्यक्संबोधं याकुर्किमो भवति
उणोम्बरानीयं।

अथ ता अचिलो भगवतं त्रिप्रदक्षिणोकृतं भगवतो वामे
करतलेज्ञानीयं।

अथायुष्मानू आन्नां जटाच्छलिं पुटो गाराः गापते। नाहेत्-
प्रत्ययं।

‘पतोद्वा दैन्यमदर्शीणां बुद्धा जगत्युतमहेऊनूता।’
ताकारण शब्दमृणालोर स्मितं विद्वेणीति जिना। जितारायं।
तत्कालं स्थविमुग्धस् वीर बुद्धवा श्रोतुणां भ्रमण जिनेन्द्र कांक्षितानाः
धीरार्थिमृणृस्वति वास्तिस्माभिविष्टम् व्यपन्य संशयं शुभाभि।
मेचस्तितनिन्द्राणाः गोवृष्णद्रिनिस्मेक्षणं।

फलं पांशुप्रदानस्य याकुरुख्व नरोत्तमं।

\(^{1-2}\text{Chl omits. Ch2 reads. antardhiyante = antardadhate.} \(^{3}\text{Chl adds} \text{praṇamya.} \(^{4-5}\text{Chl bhagavantam wāca : bhagavan nāhetuapratyayam tathā-
gataḥ, smitan pradarśayanti; kasmād bhagavatā, smitaṁ pradarśitam.}
\text{atha ānando gāthāṁ bhāṣate.} \(^{6}\text{Div. vigato.} \(^{7}\text{Chl “Buddha who}
\text{is the best in the world.” Div. jagaduttam.} \(^{8}\text{Chl “shows his}
\text{teeth.” Div. sayanti.} \(^{9}\text{Chl omits.} \(^{10}\text{Chl omits this śloka. It is}
\text{found in Ch2.} \(^{11}\text{Div. māḥ.} \(^{12}\text{Div. mah. Chl reads this pāda:}\)
भगवानाहृ। एतदानान्द एवंमेतद् आनन्द नाहेत्वद्रत्यं । तथागताः अहंतः सम्प्रसङ्गुब्धः। सिमात्मपुद्दश्येष्यति । "अपि तु सहेनु यस्यन्ति तथागताः अहंतः सम्प्रसङ्गुब्धः। सिमात्मपुद्दश्येष्यति ।"

पश्यसि त्वामान्द दराः ॥ येन ॥ तथागतस्य पार्थे पांव्यजलिः प्रक्षिप्तः ।। एवं भद्रः। अयमान्द दराः ॥ येन ॥ कुशलमूलेन वर्षेष्वतिरिपुर्वुत्स्य स्त्यागतस्य “पाटलिपुर्वे नगरे श्रोको नाम्मा राजा भविष्यति। चतुर्भुजश्वरवृत्ति ॥ धार्मिको धर्मराजा।” यो मे शारीर-बालो भैस्तारिकानु करिष्यति। चतुर्वेशीति “सर्वराजसहस्रं प्रतिपाद्यतिष्ठति। बहुजनहितलय प्रतिपत्ति ।। इति। आहू च। अस्तंगेऽदै भविष्यति संकेतराजाः।।

योसी हृदयो इति नाम विशालकृति।।

"मद्वातुगम्परिमिश्रितजम्बुशण्डम्
एतत् करिष्यति नरमर्युजितं नु।” ॥

अयमस्य देवनां यत्तु तथागतस्य पांव्यजलिः पार्थे प्रक्षिप्तः।।

यावद् भगवता तेषा सवं आयुष्मत आनन्दाय दत्ता।। गोमयेन् ॥

सिभृजितवा ॥ यत्र चंकमे तथागतसंक्रमे तत्र गोमयकारणे ॥

प्रयण्डेरि।॥ यावदावर्षानात्मने तेषा सगोमयेन मिश्रितवा यत्र

चंकमति भगवानु तत्र गोमयकारणी दत्ता।।

तेन खलु पुनः समयेन राजमृते नगरे विभिन्नारो राजा राज्यं

कारिष्यति।। राजो "विभिन्नसरस्वत अजातसनु: पुनः। अजातशत्रोह-"

smitasya kāraṇāmi brūhi.
11Div. reads: nāheturāpī. 2-3Chl buddhāḥ. 4-5Chl omissions.
6Chl dārakau. 7Div. D "nto’yama”, rest bhavanto’ya”. 8Chl kusumapurī (i.e. pājali-). 9Chl “Who makes the wheel turn, master of one of the four continents.” 10=ṛājḥ. 11BC “tīh, AD “tir. 12=ekarājo. 13-14Chl “He will adorn my relics; with them he will fill the Jambudvīpa. Men as well as gods will bring offerings to them.” 14Div. -puṭijānam. 15Chl “Such will be the great recompense for giving a little of dust.” This line too is included in the gāthā. 16Chl omissions but Ch2 reads.
17Div. “yacchāti. 17-18Chl “On that occasion, he pronounced these words: O, Ānanda . . .” The story seems to be discontinued here. 18Chl omissions this sentence. 20Chl Bimbāsāra”.

\[\text{**Note:**}

The document contains a section from the *Mahabharata*, specifically from the *Karna Parva* or the *Book of Karna*. The text describes the relationship between Karna and his chariot, emphasizing Karna's importance as a warrior and his role in the epic. The text also alludes to the great reward Karna would receive for his service and the blessings he would bring to the Jambudvīpa, which seems to be a reference to the entire world. The narrative highlights Karna's devotion to his chariot and the divine blessings associated with it.
दायिँ। उदायिसस्त्रस्य मुण्डः। मुण्डस्य काकवर्णी। 
काकवर्णिनः 
साहली। तुलकुकेर्महामण्डलः। महामण्डलस्य प्रसेनजितः।
प्रसेनजितो नन्दः। नन्दस्य बिन्दुसारः।
पाटलिपुत्रे नगरे बिन्दुसारो नाम राजा राज्यं कार्यति। बिन्दु-
सारस्य राजः: पुत्रो जातः। तस्य सुसीम इति नामवेचयं कुलं।
तेन च समयेन चम्पायं। नगयसमयस्ततो ब्राह्मणः। तस्य
दुहिता जाता। अभिरुच दस्तीनीया प्रासादिका जनपदकाल्याणी।
सा 
नैस्मित्तिकौयक्तः। अस्या दारिकाया राजा मतः भविष्यति। द्वे
पुष्पर्ये जनपिश्यति। एकलोक्तभूशङ्कर्वः 
भविष्यति। द्वितीयः 
प्रजनितो चिंडङ्गातोः। भविष्यति। भुत्वा च ब्राह्मणस्य 
रोमणर्यो 
जातः। सम्प्रतिकामो लोकः। ततो दुहितरं ग्रहयो पाटलिपुत्रं गतः।
तेन च सबीवश्वारे 
विमुषीष्यतवा राजो बिन्दुसारस्य भायोर्थमनुस्तदतः।
"इयः हि देवक्या 
चन्तया प्रशस्ता 
वेलिः। यावदवास बिन्दुसारेणान्तः पुरं प्रवेशिता।
"अन्तः 
रुमस्वादा 
बुधुखतपसा। इयमिन्द्रया प्रासादिका जनपदकाल्याणी। यदि 
राजास-
नया सार्थ परिचारिपिष्यति अस्मां भूयस्वप्नः संप्रेक्षणां मि 
न करि-

1) D ujāyi. Chl udānabhadaḥ. 2) Chl ॉkarnī. 3) D sahāli. Chl 
sa phalāḥ, saphalasya. 4) C bhulekuc, bhulekueh. 5) Chl sahama”.
Ch2 does not give this long list. It simply says: “In 
the city of Pātaliputra there was a king named 
Campāla.” The name of Candragupta is omitted both in 
Div. and Chl. 6) Chl “In the kingdom of 
Pātaliputra.” 7–8 Chl “to 
whom was born a jewel of a girl.” 9) Chl adds: “She will 
be the favourite of the king.” 10) Chl arhatvanā prāpsya 
11) Chl omits this sentence. 12–13 Chl omits. 14) Chl reads: “In 
the palace, the queens were all jealous. They thought: 
"The king will certainly love her and hate all of us. 
Let us teach her a low profession, so that the king may 
dislike her." They taught her with success to cut and dress 
the hair and the beard. Waiting till the king was asleep they made 
hershe shave 
the beard of the king. The king got up and said: ‘I have to
श्याम। तांबी: सा नायपितकम् शिक्षापिता। सा राज्य: केशशम्भुः प्रसाधयति। यावत् सुभिक्षिता संबृंता। यद्धारभते राज्य: केशशम्भुः प्रसाधयितं तदा राजा शोटे। यावद्राजा प्रीतेन वरण प्रवरिता। । किं त्वं वरिमिच्छिति। त्यारमिहित। देवेन मे सह समागमः स्यात्। राजाह। त्वं नापिनी। अहं राजाैण्यो मूर्धिभिधितः। कथं मया सारं समाग्मो भविष्यति। सा कथयति। देव नाहं नापिनी। अध्यो श्रावणस्याः दुहिता। तेन देवस्य पत्या झं दत्ता॥। राजा कथयति। केन त्वं नायपितकम् शिक्षापिता। सा कथयति। अन्तःपुरिकामः। राजाः। न भूयस्त्वया नायपितकः करत्वं। यावद्राजाप्रमिहितैः स्थापिता। त्या सारं कीडित रमते परिचारयति। सा आपसस्तवा संबृंता। यावदश्यामः नवानां मासानामत्ययाः प्रसूता॥। तस्या: पुशो जात।।

"तस्य विस्तरेण जातिमहं कुलवः [पृथ्वित] किं कुमारस्य भवतु नाम"। सा कथयति। "अत्य दारकस्य जातस्य" अशोका-दसम संबृंत। "तस्याशोकः इति नाम कुलम्।। यावदुः स्वतः: पुशो जात।। विगते" शोके जातसुः ।। तस्य वीतशोकः इति नाम बुतं।।

अशोको दुःस्पर्षगातः। राजो बिन्दुसारस्यानित्यप्रेतः।

"अथ राजा बिन्दुसारः" कुमारं परीक्षितुकामः। पिख्चितवत्सा- जीवं परिश्राजकामलत्यते। उपाध्याय कुमारांस्तावत्तु परीश्यामः।।

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' She said that it was done. Then the king looked into the mirror and seeing that the beard was shaved, said..’

1Div. "Smaśraḥ. 1-2 Chl omits. 3Chl "You are of low status." 4Chl omits. 5Chl "I am not of low status." 6Chl adds: "The concubines through jealousy have taught me a low profession." 7-7 Chl omits. 8Chl "this profession." 9-10 Chl "They loved and lived in pleasure." 11-13 Chl omits. 13Chl adds: atah. 14Chl adds: "Aśoka signifies 'without grief'." 15Chl adds: "Bindusāra had besides numerous sons from his other wives. He gathered together the diviners to cast horoscopes of his sons. There was one diviner named pi liṅga vatsa (Ch2 Piṅgalavatsa).” 16Chl parikṣasva. Div. "kṣāmaḥ."
कः शक्यते समात्यादृ राज्यं कार्यितुः। पिङ्खुलवत्साजीवः परिश्राजकः। कथ्यति। तेन हि देव कुमारानादाय सुवर्णमण्डपमुद्धानं निर्गच्छ, परिक्षयामः। याबद्राजः कुमारानादाय सुवर्णमण्डपमुद्धानं निर्गच्छः।

याबदशोकः कुमारो मात्रा 'चोच्यते। वत्स राजा कुमारान् परीक्षितुकामः सुवर्णमण्डपमुद्धानं गतः। तथमपि तत्र गच्छेद्यति। अशोकः। कथ्यति। राज्योहमनमिन्यं दर्शनेनापि। किमहूः तत्र गमिष्यामि। सा कथ्यति। तथापि गच्छेद्यति। अशोकं उवाच। आहारं प्रेषये।

याबदशोकः पाटलिपुत्रांश्रिास्यं गच्छति। राज्यगुरुनं चारामात्यपुण्डरीकम्। अशोकः। कथ्यति। राजाः सुवर्णमण्डपं उद्वाहे कुमारान् परीक्षयामि। तत्र राजो महत्त्वको हस्तिनागस्तिस्तिष्ठति। याबदशोकस्तत्रिान् महत्त्वकोजिन्न्यं सुवर्णमण्डपमुद्धानं गतवा कुमारानां मध्येता पृथिव्यं प्रस्तीयं निप्साद।

यावः। कुमारानामाहारं उपनामितः। अशोकस्यापि मात्रा शाल्योदनं द्विश्चितमिष्ठं मृदुजाने प्रेषितं। ततो राजा बिन्दुसारेण पिङ्खुलवत्साजीवः परिश्राजकोमिन्यं।। उपाध्याय परीक्षवं कुमारान। कः शक्यते समात्यादृ राज्यं कल्युमिति। फल्यति पिङ्खुलवत्साजीवः परिश्राजकः।। चित्त्यति च। अशोको राजा भविष्यति। अर्य राजो नाभिमित्रतः। यदै कथिष्यामि अशोको राजा भविष्य्यतीति, नासित मे जीवितं। स कथ्यति। देवाभेदेन

1Ch1 "park of golden earth". Ch2 "golden palace". Div. parikṣāmah. 2Ch1 adds: "Then he took leave and went away." 3Ch1 ekatra āhwayati; adhunā aham api tatra gantum ichāmi. 3–4Ch1 “Then (Rādha)-Gupta who mounted on an old elephant said to Aśoka: ‘mount on this elephant.’” 5Ch1 omits. 6–7Ch1 “The princes ate all the dishes of all sorts. Aśoka ate boiled rice contained in an earthen pot. He mixed it with fermented milk (dadhī). He quenched his thirst with water.” 5Div. kumārāṇām āhāram. 8Div. parikṣa. See below.
"""I cannot tell his name but I can describe his nature: He who avails himself of the best things will be the king."

Div. 6. 6Chl "Among the sons of the king, everyone believed himself to be the chosen one: one because of his mounting the best mount, the other because of his sitting on the best seat, another because of his eating the best food, still another because of his being served with the best vessel, yet another because of his drinking the best drink."

6-8Chl asokaścinayati. 7Chl simply hasti. 8Chl adds: uttaman. 9Chl odanam. 10Div. omits it. 11Chl adds: "For these reasons, I am going to be the king. When the diviner proclaimed the oracle, the king sent back his son to the town."

11-12Chl "The diviner said to the mother of Asoka: 'Asoka will certainly be the king.'" 13-14Chl "Mind, you don't repeat it."
गच्छ तथा प्रत्यत्त समाध्यः। यदा भूगोष्टि अशोको राजा संवृतस्त- 
दाजगण्तयः। यावत् प्रत्यत्तेषु जनपदेषु संशितः।

अथ राजो बिन्दुसारस्य तक्षशिला नाम नगरं विरूढः। तत्र 
राजा बिन्दुसारेण अशोको विसंजितः। गच्छ कुमार तक्षशिला- 
नगरं सनाह्यः। चतुर्दशबलकायं दत्तं। यानं प्रहरणं च प्रति�भिः।

यावदशोकः कुमारः पाटलिपुत्रानिगर्गच्छः  
भूमिविज्ञातः। कुमार नैवास्माकं सैन्यप्रहरणं केन वयं कं योधयामः। 
ततोशोकेननामिन्तः।

यदि मम राज्यवैपायक्यं कुशलमिति सैन्यप्रहरणं ग्राहुसंवर्तु। 
एवमुक्ते कुमारे पृष्ठियामवकासो दतो देवताभिः। सैन्यप्रहरणानि 
चोपनीतानि। यावतु कुमारश्चतुर्दशं बलकायेन तक्षशिलां गतः।

“गुजूवा तक्षशिलानि विवासिनः। पौरा अर्थुतुवियानि योजनानि 
मागं शोभा कुलता पूर्णघटमाद्य प्रत्युद्गतः। प्रत्युद्गम्य च 
कथवण्ति।” न वयं कुमारस्य विवधा नापि राजो बिन्दुसारस्य। 
अष्ट तु हुदामात्या अत्स्माकं परिघं कुर्बन्ति। महत्ता च सत्कारेण 
तक्षशिलां प्रवेशितः।

1Chl adds: svajīvitaraksārtham. 2Chl omits this sentence. 3-4Chl 
“to subdue that kingdom”. 5Chl omits it. 6Chl simply prahara- 
ṇāṃ. 7Chl “How can we vie with the rebels?” Div. yodhyāmah. 
8Div. sainyaḥ praharaṇam ca. Chl “I am to be the king by 
virtue of my merits. The arms which we need will come of 
themselves.” 9Chl omits sainya. 10-11Chl “The inhabitants of 
the kingdom knowing the advent of Aśoka yielded at once. 
They decorated the precincts of the town and the ditches, 
and levelled the routes. Carrying all that which is a sign of 
submission: vessels stored with articles and covered over 
with flowers which are called the vessels of auspicious signs 
(pūrṇa-ghaśa or maṅgala6), they came to meet him at a distance 
of half a yojana and said to him...” 12Chl reads this sentence as: 
“We have revolted only against the wicked ministers who are 
close to the king.” 13-18Chl “They followed Aśoka, giving 
him offerings and expressing their profound respect; and 
entered the town. The inhabitants being subdued, he returned 
to his country.”
एवं विस्तरण अशोकः “कश्वराज्यं प्रबैशितः। तस्य दौर्महानगनी संचिति। तेन तौ कृत्या संविभक्ति। तस्यायग्रतः परवतान् संचित्ततो संप्रत्यथि। देवतामिन्द्रचोकं अशोकस्तुभविष्णुर्चक्षुर्तिः। भविष्यति। न केनाचिद् विरोधितव्यवमिति। विस्तरण यावदासमुद्रा पृथ्वी अजाजिपति।

यावत् सुसीमः कुमारं उद्घातः पाटलपुर्णं प्रविशित। राजो बिन्दुसारस्याभासमायः खल्वाटकं। पाटलिपुत्राङ्गमेद्धुशति। तस्य सुसीमेन कुमारेण क्रीडामिष्टायत्ता खट्टका मूलिन पातिता। यावदमात्यशिचन्तत्यति। “इवानी खट्टकाँ निपातयति। यदा राजा भविष्यति तदा शस्त्रं पातियति। तथा करिष्यामि यथा राजेऽव न भविष्यति। तेन पश्चामात्यशिचन्तानि भिन्नानि। अशोकस्तुभविष्णुर्चक्षुर्तिः

यावदाराजः सुसीमः कुमारस्तक्षिप्तामनुष्मितः। न च शायते संनामयितु। बिन्दुसारस्च राजा स्वामीभूतः।

1Div. tvasa. 2Chl “The king again charged Asoka to chastise the kingdom of Khaśa. The inhabitants of that kingdom came to meet him and yielded in the same way as before. Having subdued them, Asoka returned to his country.” 3Chl mallau. 4Chl “Asoka gave them fief of towns.” 4-5Chl “At that time, the gods and the yakṣas protected the territory of the kingdom.” 6Chl adds: yaksaiś ca. 7Chl adds: “saint-king”. 8Chl reads this sentence as: “He will gradually increase his conquests and all who are within the four oceans will be subdued by him.” 9Chl “elder brother of Asoka”. 10Div. khala. 11-12Chl “This prince has not yet succeeded to the throne and already he uses his power to strike me on the head. If he succeeds to the throne he will undoubtedly behead me with a sword.’ Then he related to the five hundred ministers this fault of Susima and told them, ‘He is not worthy to be the king.’” 13Chl adds: “saint-king”. 14Div. eavim. 15Div. omits it. Chl “Afterwards, the kingdom of Taḵsaśilā revolted again under the influence of the wicked advisers.” 16Chl “King Bindusāra, knowing that he could not subdue this kingdom, fell ill.”
सुसीमं कुमारमानयतः। राज्ये प्रतिष्ठापिष्यामिति। अशोकं
tकस्मिनं प्रवेशायत॥

यावदमात्येरशोकं: कुमारो हृदिया प्रलिप्तः। 'लक्षां च
लोहपात्रं क्वाथ्यित्वा कविधितेन रसेन लोहपात्राणि प्रक्षयित्वा
छोरयन्ति। अशोकं: कुमारो गानीभूत इति॥ यदा बिन्दुसारं:
स्वत्भक्षोष्यस्मान: संबृक्तस्तदामात्येरशोकं: कुमारं: सर्वातः
भूषितं राजों बिन्दुसारस्यघ्नीतः॥ । इमं तावदु राज्ये
प्रतिष्ठापय॥ यदा सुसीमं आगतो भविष्यति तदा 'तं राज्ये
प्रतिष्ठापिष्याम॥

ततो राजा रूपितः॥। अशोकेन चाभिमित्वा॥। यदि सम
धम्मे राज्यं भवितं देवता सम पट्टं वधन्तु॥। यावदु
देवताभि: पट्टो बद्धः।। तं दृढ्या 'बिन्दुसारस्य राजं उष्णं
शोषितं मुखादागं। यावतु कालगतः।

यदाशोको राज्ये प्रतिष्ठितस्मु 'तस्योधरं योजनं यक्ता: [आदेवं]
श्रृण्डित। अघो योजनं नागा॥। तेन राजगुप्तोऽज्ञातम्यः
स्थापितः।

सुसीमेनापि श्रुतं बिन्दुसारो राजा कालगतोऽशोको राज्ये
प्रतिष्ठितः। इति श्रुवच च रूपितम्यगतः॥। त्वरितं च तस्माद्
देसाद् आगतः॥।

\[1\] Div. 6yåtha. After this paragraph, Chl adds: “Then the ministers played a trick in favour of Aśoka.”

\[2\]–4 Chl “After having filled his wash-hand basin, with water reddened with the juice of lac (låkṣā), they left it exposed to sight. They falsely declared that Aśoka suffered from spitting of blood and was not capable of departing for the expedition. At that time, the illness of king Bindusāra increased.”

\[3\] Div. AC måkṣayitvā. 5–6 Chl “said to the king, ‘We pray to you.’” 7 Chl adds: “to direct the affairs of the kingdom”.

\[8\]–9 Chl “We shall remove him (Aśoka).” 10 Chl omits this sentence.


\[16\]–17 Chl “came back to Pāṭaliputra.”
अशोकाचार्यने पाटलिपुट्यें नगरे एकसिम् द्वारे एको नाम: । ।

स्थापित: । द्वारिये द्वितीयस्तूलीये। राजनुजः पूर्वीद्वारे स्वयंबेव
राजाश्रोकोज्वस्थित:।

"राजनुजनच च पूर्वासिम् द्वारे" यदनमयो हृदी स्थापित:।

तस्योपरः अशोकस्य च प्रतिमा निर्मिता।। परित्वच विशिः
सन्यित्वा खदिरा ज्ञारेश्च पूर्वित्वा कूणेनाच्छादः [सा] पाशुनाकीर्ण।
'सुसीमश्चामिषिनो यदि शक्यसेज्ञोकं धातितुः राजेति।" ।

स यावत् पूर्वीद्वार गत:। "अशोको सह होत्सामीति।
अज्ञापूर्णिया परिखावे पति:। तत्रैव चायनेन व्यसनसापशः।" ।

गदा च सुसीमः प्रथात्तितसु हस्तापि महानारो। भद्रायुधो नामनादः-नेकसहस्परिवारः। स । भगवच्छासने प्रभावितोहिनु संबृतः।

"यदाशोके राज्जी प्रतिष्ठित: स तौरमात्यर्वजनावृत्ते।
तेनामात्यानां शासनार्थमिषिनो।" । भवन्तः: पुष्पवृक्षानु फलवृक्षाश्च छित्तवा कन्तकवृक्षानु परिपलयन्तु।

अमात्या आहः। । देवने कुन्त दृष्टे। अपि तु कन्तकवृक्षानु छित्तवा पुष्पवृक्षा: फलवृक्षाश्च परि-
पलयितवतः।" । तैयरीवत् तिरिपि राजः आज्ञा प्रतिकलिता। ततो

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1 Chl adds: "Asoka having been informed of the return of Susima, was on his guard." 2 Chl "athlet (mallā)". 3 Chl tritia rādhaguptaś ca. 4-8 Chl tatra ca. 6 Chl reads: tasyopari. Div. omits. 7 Div. pratimāṁ, it omits the next two words which are found in Ch. 8 Chl omits khadira. 9 Div. dikāja. 9-10 Chl "Susima had gone to the third gate, Rādhagupta said to him: 'Now Asoka stands at the eastern gate, enter by that. If you succeed I shall be your servant. If you cannot subdue Asoka, you cannot enter by this gate.'" 11-12 Chl "He rushed straight towards the elephant to seize Asoka, but carelessly fell into the brazier and perished." 12-18 Chl omits. 14 Chl "a giant". 15 Chl "‘wise-brave’ by name". Ch2 agrees with the text. 15-16 Chl "with myriads of soldiers over whom he commanded". 17-18 Chl "As the ministers disregarded Asoka, he made a plan to chastise them. He said..." 18 Div. amātyānām abhihitām. 19-20 Chl lit. "with them make enclosure for the...". 20 Div. "yatha. 21-22 Chl "Till the present time we have heard people speak of enclosing the orchards with the thorny trees, but not of enclosing the thornbush with the fruit-trees." 22 Div. puspavyāksan phala vyāksāṁśe... vyā.
राजा सुखितेन 'असि निष्कोषं कुत्वा पञ्चानाममात्यिनां शिरांसि छिन्नानि'।

यावदु राजास्योक्तरेण समवेतस्तः पुर्वरिष्टौ वसन्तकाले समये 'पुष्पिफललिणेः पादपेषु पर्बनयस्य' उधाने गतः। तत्र च परिभ्रममात्स्योक्तृकः 'सुपुष्पितो दृष्टि। ततो राज्यि ममां शहन्नामा इत्युत्तयो जातः। स च राजास्योक्तो दुःस्पर्शं गतः। तात् युवत्यस्तं नेप्छान्ति स्पष्टः। यावदु राजा शितंस्तत्स्यान्तः 'पुर्णेण रोपेण' तस्माद-शोकश्वास्तं पुष्पाणि शाखास्यं छिन्ना।

यावदु राजा वितबुद्धेन सोज्योक्वक्षो दृष्टि। पृष्टास्य तत्स्या। केन स छिन्नः। ते कथयित्ति देवान्तः 'पुरिकाभिमिति। श्रुति च राज्यास्यत्जतेन पञ्चवस्त्रीशालानि। कितिके: संवेष्टव द्रमानि।

तत्स्येवानि। अशुभानि आलोक्य चंडो राजा चंडास्योक्त इति व्यवस्थापितः।

यावदु राजधपुत्तेनाग्रामात्येनाभिमिति। देव न सदृश स्वयमेवेदृशमकायं करुः। अष्टि तु देवस्य वध्याधातकः पुरुषः स्थापयितव्या ये देवस्य वध्यकरणम् शोषयित्ति। यावद्राजा राजपुरुषः। प्रत्युक्ता वध्याधातं मे मार्गवस्थितिः।

1-2 Chl "The five hundred ministers were put to death."
3-4 Chl omits. 6 Div. vrkṣa. 6-7 Chl "The concubines felt for him neither love nor respect. They disliked his close contact. Waiting upon him as long as he was awake, they went for a walk in the park. They saw the Asoka-tree. tatas lābhis."
8 Div. 9 stās ca. 9 Div. omits. 10 Div. tac chināni. 11 Chl adds: dhrātāni. 11-12 Chl "They were disposed around the tree and were burnt alive." 13 Div. tasya (or tasya-)mā. Chl "The inhabitants of the whole kingdom proclaimed him cruel and called him, ‘the cruel Asoka (caṇḍāsoka)’." 14 Div. karāṇyānti. 15 Div. mārgadvēti. Chl reads this and the preceding sentence as: ‘You should select now a cruel person so that he may execute criminals.’ The king approved these words. Then he charged an envoy to search for a cruel person.”
ਆਸੋਕ ਕਵਾਣਾ

ਯਾਵਤੁ ਤਤਾ ਨਾਲਿਦੂਰੇ ਪਰਵਤਪਾਦਮੂਲੇ ਕਰਵਕੰ। ਤਤਾ ਤਤਾ-ਬਾਹੁ: ਪ੍ਰਤਿਆਹਤੀ। 'ਤਸਤਾ ਪ੍ਰਣੂ ਜਾਤ:। ਗਰਿਕ ਇਸਤਾ ਨਾਮਧੇਂ ਕਰਤਾ।
ਚੜਨੋ ਦੁਸਤਰਤਮ ਮਾਤਰ ਪੀਤਰ ਚ ਪਰਸ਼ਮਾਤੋ।
‘ਦਾਰਕਦਾਰਕਾਚੇ ਤਾਦਾਤਤ। ਪ੍ਰੋਤਿਤਕਾਤਵੋ ਤਸਤਾਤਵੋ ਮੁਣਕਾਤਵੋ
ਮਤ੍ਰਾਣੰਚ ਜਾਲੇਣ ਬੱਡੇਸ਼ਨ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਤਤਤ। ਚੜਨੋ ਦਾਰਕਦਾਰਸਤ ਚੜਨ-
ਗਰਿਕ ਇਸਤਾ ਨਾਮਧੇਂ ਕਰਤਾ।
ਯਾਵਤੁ ਰਾਜਪਰਸ਼ਬੀਤੀ: ਪਾਪ ਕਰ੍ਮੀ ਪ੍ਰਕੁਤੀ। ਸ ਤੈਰਰੱਖੀਤੀ।
ਸਕਵਸੇ ਰਾਜਾਸ਼ੋਕਸਤਵ ਵੈਧਕਗਾਣੀਚ ਕਰਤੀ। ਸ ਆਖ। ’ਕੁਟ੍ਰਆਸਤ
ਜਮਿਦੋਲਪਸਤ ਵੈਧਕਗਾਣੀਚ ਸਾਧਿਆਲਿਤਤੀ।
ਯਾਵਤੁ ਰਾਜਾ ਨਿਵੇਦਿਤਤ। ਰਾਜਾਵੱਲੀਤਮੀਤਤੀ ਤਾਮਿਤੀ। 'ਸ ਚ
ਰਾਜਪਰਸ਼ਬੀਤੀ। ਆਗਚਤ ਰਾਜਾ ਤਕਾਕਾਤਤੀਤੀ। ਤੇਨਾ-
ਬੱਖੀਤਮ। ਆਗਕੁਤਤ। ਯਾਵਤੁ ਮਾਤਾਪਿਤਰਾ ਬਾਲਕਾਯੰਮੀਤੀ।
ਯਾਵਤੁ ਮਾਤਾਪਿਤਰਾ ਬਹੁਵਾਚ। ਅਮਨ, ਤਾਤਾਨਜ਼ਾਨੀਚੋ ਯਾਤਸਖੋਹਾ
ਰਾਜਾਸਤਵ ਵੈਧਕਗਾਣੀਚ ਸਾਧਿਆਲਿਤੂ। ਤਾਮਾਂ ਚ ਸ ਨਿਵਾਰਿਤਤ।
ਤੇਨ ਤੋ ਜੀਤੀਤਾ ਵੱਕਰੋਤੀਤ। ਏਵੇ ਯਾਵਤੁ ਰਾਜਪਰਸ਼ਬੀਤੀ।
ਕਿਮਨੀ ਚਿਰਿਤਾਸਮਾਟਿਤੀਤ। ਤੇਨਤੁ ਚੈਨਤੁ ਪ੍ਰਕੁਤ ਵੰਸਰਾਤਰੋਤੀਤ।
ਸ ਤੈਰਰੱਖੀਤ ਰਾਜਾਸਤਵਸਤਾਨਾ ਤਾਮਿਤੀ। ਤੇਨ ਰਾਜਾਵੱਲੀਤਮੀਤੀ।

1Chl “in the frontier of the kingdom”. 2Chl omits. 3-4Chl “He gave birth and brought up a son named Giri.” Ch2 reads: “Girika”. 5-6Chl “With the hands he spread nets. With the feet he placed traps. He smeared with poison the herbs and the leaves and the animals who touched them all died. The inhabitants had all proclaimed him the most violent man. In the country he was called ‘the cruel Girika (canda-girika)’. The envoy of the king went to him and said…” 5Div. 6kāmv ca. 7-8Chl “If it were necessary to chastise the wicked people of the whole world, I would have succeeded even in that. Then could I not do this on account of Asoka alone.” 5Div. 6sodha. 9-11Chl “The latter, knowing that the envoy came back in search of him, took leave of his parents.” 10Div. 6māhūya. 11Div. 6karaniyāṁ sā. 12-13Chl “Girika said: ‘My father and my mother refused (to give) their consent. I have killed them. Therefore, I have been late in coming (back).’ Thereafter, he followed the envoy, saw the king and said to him…”
ममार्याय गृहं कार्यस्वति। यावद् राजा गृहं कारापितः। परमदार्शनं द्वारामात्रमणीयं। तत्त्व रमणीयं वन्धनमिति संज्ञा व्यक्त्वतापिता। स आह। देव वरं मे प्रयंचच। यत्त्रत्र प्रिविशेषत् तत्त्वन भूयो निर्गमं इति। यावद् राजामिहित्। एवमस्तिवति।

तत्: स चण्डगरिकः कुकुटारामं गतः। भिहितुच्च बाल-पण्डितपूवत्रं पठति। तत्त्वं नरकेवूप्पत्ता:। यावनु नरकपाला गृहीतवायोगयां भूमावादीप्तायां संप्रज्वलितायामु एकज्वालीमूत्यायाम् उच्चालकानु प्रतिष्ठायन अयोमयेन विकक्षम्यन मुख्दारं विक्षक्षम्य। अयोपुष्यानु आद्यानु प्रिद्विप्तनु संप्रज्वलितानु एकज्वालीमूत्यानु आस्ये प्रिश्यति। ये तेषां सत्त्वानाम् ओषधाविपि दसिति जिङ्गामपिकण्ठमपि कष्टनादपिकुष्यमपि हृदयमपि हृदयसामान्तमपि अन्त्राणी अन्त्र-गुणानपि दम्भवा अध: प्रगर्तति। इत्युद्यां हि भिक्षवो नरका:।

सत्त्वा नरकेवूप्पत्ता:। यावनु नरकपाला गृहीतवायोगयां भूमावादीप्तायां प्रिद्विप्तायां संप्रज्वलितायामु एकज्वालीमूत्यायाम् उच्चालकानु प्रतिष्ठायन अयोमयेन विकक्षम्यन मुख्दारं विक्षक्षम्य कविष्टतं तार्कमु आस्ये प्रिश्यति। यतू तेषां सत्त्वानाम् ओषधाविपि असिति जिङ्गामपि तालु अपि कष्ठमपि कष्टनादमपि अन्त्राणी अन्त्र-गुणानपि दम्भवा अध: प्रगर्तति। इत्युद्यां हि भिक्षवो नरका:।

सत्त्वा नरकेवूप्पत्ता:। यावनु नरकपाला गृहीतवायो-मयां भूमावादीप्तायां संप्रज्वलितायामेकज्वालीमूत्यायाम् बाबाकुलान्त प्रतिष्ठायायोमयेन सृष्टेन आद्यापेन संप्रज्वलितेन “एकज्वालीमूतेन आसफांतु। अयोमयेन कुठारेन आद्यापेन संप्रज्वलितेन संप्रज्वलितेन एकज्वालीमूतेन तक्ष्युविन्ति संतक्ष्युविन्ति संतक्ष्युविन्ति अष्टावांसिपि षड्यंसिपि चतुरसिपि वृत्तिमपि मण्डलमपि उत्तममपि अवतंतमपि शाश्त्रपिविशाल्मतमपि तक्ष्युविन्ति। इत्युद्यां हि भिक्षवो नरका:।

1Chl “prison”. 2–3Chl omits. 4Div. 6sobhanāṁ. 5Div. 6panditaḥ. Chl “the sūtra of the cruel boy (bāla) and stupid (apandita)”. Chl2 “the sūtra of the five divine messengers (deva-dūla)”. 6–11Chl “Where it is said: (See Notes)” 7BCDE “dvārām. 8Div. iyādu. 9Div. “nnāṁ. 10Div. “tena naika”.
'सन्ति सत्वा नरकेशूपपत्रः। यान्न नरकपाला गृहीतवा अयो-
मयं भूमावदीपताय प्रदीपताय संप्रज्वलितायामेकज्वालीमूतायाम-
बाङ मुखान प्रतिष्ठाप्यायोमेयं पूर्णानादीप्तेन प्रदीप्तेन संप्रज्वलितेनेक-
ज्वालीमूतेनास्फालात्मायोमयं भूमावादीपताय प्रदीपताय संप्रज्वलि-
तायां नैकज्वालीमूतायां तथ्युविन्त संत्त्युविन्त संपरित्युविन्ति
अष्टांशमिन पत्त्रसमिति चतुरसमिति मण्डलमिति उष्णतमिति अभनतमिति
शान्तमिति विशान्तमिति तथ्युविन्ति। इहुँ खाँ हि भिक्षोति नरकः।

सन्ति सत्वा नरकेशूपपत्रः। यान्न नरकपाला गृहीतवायोमयं
भूमावदीपताय प्रदीपताय संप्रज्वलितायामेकज्वालीमूतायामुतानकान्
प्रतिष्ठाय पञ्चविंध्वजनकारणां कारविन्ति। उमेयोऽहृतो-
रायसि कोलिकृष्णिति। उमयोऽऽ पाद्योरायसि कोलोऽऽ कामिति।
मध्ये हृदयस्यारं कोलिकृष्णिति। मुदुःखा हि भिक्षेषो नरकः।

एव पञ्च बेदना इति सोपिति (चण्डगिरिकितः) कुस्ते। ततो-
सदृशाश्च कारणः सत्वानामारथः कारवितु [सोपिति चत्वारके]।

याक्तत्वायुमयस्तमः सार्थवाहः पत्त्वा सह महासमुद्रमव-
तीः। तस्य सा पली महासमुद्रे प्रसूता। दारको जातस्य समुद्र
इति नामेयं कुस्ते।

याज्यद्वितलीण द्राश्विःस्यहाशानमुद्रातुलीः। स च सार्थवाहः
पञ्चचिंतुःतत्तमृणितः। सार्थवाहः स प्राप्तितः। स च
समुद्रः सार्थवाहुः। भगवन्नास्ये प्रभुतिः। स जनपदचारिकां
चर्च मात्तिःमुद्रामुप्राप्तः।

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8Chl “Having heard these speeches Girika said to himself:
‘In my prison, I too must do thus.”’ 9Div. reads: iyandu.
9Div. paña-ca-visa (A ‘ta’) bandhanām. 4Div. se kile.
ō-bandhanaḥ. Div. paña ca deva iti. 6Div. omits sopī. A iti
kuruṣadṛṣṭās cākāraṇāh, C iti kurute sadṛṣṭās cākāraṇāh, D iti
kuru tatsadṛṣṭās cākāraṇāh, E itikara tatsadṛṣṭa cākāraṇāh (but
corrected to titkatara), B iti katarat sadṛṣṭācā- kāraṇāh. 7Div.
bdāḥ, 9Chl “the chief of a family”, 10Chl adds: “in search
of precious things”. 11Chl omits. 12Chl “consequently his son
Samudra’.”
"स गूढ़ैहे निवास्य पात्रचीर्वरसादाय पातलिपुत्रं पिण्डाय प्रविष्टः.। सोनभिज्ञया च रमणीयं भवनं प्रविष्टः। तत्च द्वारमात्रमणीयमस्यतरं नरकभवनस्तृतां प्रतिभयं हृद्धरा च पुनःनिर्गतुकामस्तंभंदिरिक्रेणावलोकितः।। गृहीत्वा चोकहः। इह ते निधनमूपसंगतस्वमिति। ’विस्तारण कार्य’।

ततो भिषुः शोकातो वाणिकण्डः। संवृत्तः। ततोच्छेते। किमिदं बालदारक इव रहसीति।। स भिषुः प्राहः। न शरीरविनायं हि भद्रः शोचांचम सर्वं।

'मोक्षधम्मविरायं' तु शोचांचम भूसमात्मनः।।

दुर्लभं प्राप्य मानुषिप्रत्रथ्यं च सुखोदयाः।

शाक्यसिंहं च शास्तारं पुनस्त्यस्यांभि दुर्मितिः।।

ततोच्छेते। द्वारोऽहुं नूर्वितिना। धीरो भव। नास्ति ते मोक्ष इति। तत: सक्रृविचवचनेत्तं भिषुः। क्रमं याचति हृद्धर॥ मासं यावत्। सप्तरात्रमनुजातः॥

"स खलु मरणमयोभिद्रुभद्रयः सप्तरात्रेण से न भविष्यमिति व्यायत्तमिति: संवृत्तः।।

�थ सत्तमे दिवसे। अशोकस्य राजस्तुः। पुरिकः कुमारेण सहसंरक्तां निरिक्षयमाणा संलप्यति। च हृद्धर। "सहद्वानावदेव" हसितेन

1-8 Chh omits. 3 Chh adds: nagarasya. 4 Chh “prison”. 6 Chh reads: “and pronounced these words: dvāramātra”. 6-7 Chh “Then he wished to get out, but Girika did not allow him to do so.” 8-9 Chh “You must no more dream of going out.” 10 Div. 11nta-sam. 11 rodišiti. 12 Div. omits. 13-14 Chh “This is for the fear of losing the benefit of my good actions; for, I left the world and have not yet witnessed the Law and the Way. A human body is difficult to attain. The Law of Buddha is difficult to meet with. It is for this I shed tears.' Girika said: 'Formerly, the king authorised me to nevermore allow (anybody) to get out of this and put to death anybody who enters into this enclosure.' The Bhikṣu said: 'Allow me to live for seven days; after that if you like to kill me, I shall consent.' Girika granted this.” 15-17 Chh omits. 16 Div. 17mati sam. 18 Div. 19kā. 19 ABCE ksam. Chh omits it.
राजा तौ डावपि तं विचारकमनुप्रेषितां। तत्र मूलयौद्धोद्योग्यो-समस्त्यक्षोषी कृति। ततो भिक्षुस्तै दृष्ट्वा संविग्नः प्राह।

अहो कार्यतां: लांत्व सम्पगान्त महामुनिः।
पेनपिण्डोपमं रूपसारमानववस्थते।
क्व तद्द: वदनकावित्तव गातशोभा कव सा गता।
विगस्त्वण्यायसंसारं रमते तथा बालिका।
'इदमालम्बनं प्राप्तं चारके वसता मया।
यदाश्रित्य तरिक्षामिन पारसः भवोद्धे।'।
तेन तां रजनीं कुस्नां यूज्यतां बुद्धासते।
सर्वज्ञोजनं छिछत्वा प्राप्तमहेत्वमुत्तमं।।

तत्त्तवतिनः रजनिक्षये। स स्विशुस्तण्डगिरिकेनोते।
‘भिक्षो निर्गता राजिरं उदित आदित्यः’ कारणाकलास्वच्छत। ततो
भिक्षुराह। दीर्घायुधमानापि निर्गता राजिरं उदित आदित्य: परानु-त्रहुकाल इति।
यथेतं वर्ततामिति।

'चण्डगिरिक: प्राह। नाबन्धामिन विस्तीर्यतां वचनमेत: दिति।। ततो भिक्षुराह।

1Chl adds: ramaṇiyakāni. 2-3Chl "Girika pounded them immediately, striking with a rammer, in such a way that the eye-balls burst out. At such a sight, the Bhikṣu was seized with horror and he said to himself..."
4Chl adds: ‘If (rūpa) festers quickly, without allowing us (even) the time for breathing...’ 5BCDE ‘nayaṁ saṁsāro (E ‘ore), A dhig astu ayaṁ saṁsāro. Chl aho saṁsāre’smin bāliśā ramante. 6-7Chl ‘The Holy Law is not there (in saṁsāra). I have been able to discriminate it in this sojourn. I will not sink in the ocean of ‘being (bhava)’.’ 7Div. yam āśṛitya tarisyāmi. 8Div. kṛṣṇā yu-. 8-9Chl “passed in contemplation”. 9-10Chl “He broked all the bonds so that he could realise the Fruit of srotāpatti and constantly through his efforts towards perfection. . . . he attained to Arhathood.” 11Chl “seven days having passsed” . 12-13Chl “Seven days have passsed. The eighth day is going to dawn.” 14Chl omits it. 15Chl lit. ‘Force me to die, if you wish.’ 16-17Chl “Girika asked, ‘What do you mean by that: My night is past, my Sun has arisen, the hour of the supreme success is come.’”
"भमानि हृदयाद्द घोरा निर्गता मोहशर्विरी।
पञ्चावरणसंच्छेडः क्लेशत्सकरसेविता।
उदितो ज्ञानसूयश्च मनोभंजि मे शुभः।
प्रभया यस्य पश्यामि वैलोक्यसिद्हिः तत्स्वतः।
परामुखाकाले मे बासस्वेष्टान्तिविनः।
इदं शरीरं दीर्घर्म्भेष्ट नियतामितिः।"

ततस्तेन निर्पृष्णे दार्शनहृदयेन परतोकलिन्तके श्रेण रोषाबविष्टे।
बहुदकायं स्थालयं नररविरवसापूर्वत्त्वैवसंकुलायं महालोकाः
प्रख्यातः। प्रभुक्तेन्धैर्चारिनः प्रज्वलितः। स च बहुनापीत्वनक्ष्येण
न संस्कृते। ततः तु पुनः प्रज्वलायितुं चेष्टते। यदा तस्यापि न
प्रज्वलितं ततो च चार्यं तां लोहीं शयिनि। तं भिष्मुं पक्षस्योपरि
पर्यंक्षोपविष्टं दर्शतु च ततों राजे निवेदयामस। अथ राजनि
समागते। प्राणिसहस्रेण सारणिपतितेषु स भिष्मके नेष्काल्मवेक्ष्माणः।

1-2 Chh. "I was in the dark night of ignorance. I have completely destroyed for ever, the rebels which were bonds (साम्योज्या). That is what signifies 'my night is past.' My spirit cleansed by wisdom (प्राज्ञता) sees the three worlds clearly. That is what signifies 'my sun has arisen.' Behold, I have completely realized that which Buddha has done. That is what signifies 'the hour of supreme success is come.' May you live long and chastise me as you like." 2 Div. idam sariradigrhyayur. 3-5 Chh. lit. "Girika, by his cruelty, tortured the innocents. As he did not believe in the life beyond death, his anger became double." 3 Div. pekṣanaroṣa. 5 Div. omits. 6 CD. lītā. 4-7 Chh. "Thereafter, Girika was angry with those who had lighted the fire and struck them with a stick. He lighted the fire again with his own hand. The fuels without heating further were entirely consumed. Besides, he put fire to the pieces of wood-work, the thatch (?) and the woolen stuff in abundance; he burnt them entirely, but the water remained cold as before. He asked himself in astonishment, why it was so, and looked into the vessel." 8 Chh. adds: sahasradala. 9 Chh. adds: bhūtabhūto. 10 Chh. adds: "The king came and in order to enter inside got the wall demolished. All the inhabitants followed the king; and they gazed at the Bhikṣu, by thousand, by koṭi, by myriads." 10-11 Chh. omits.
"The Bhikṣu went out of the vessel without a stain on his dress. In the immense crowd there was none who did not see him. He soared into the sky and . . .". 8 Div. prāṇihā. 4 Chāl pūrvārדהha gātvra. 6 Chāl uttarā. 6-7 Chāl omits. 8 Chāl "like a great glittering mountain". 9-10 Chāl "He spoke these words." 11 Chāl aṣya bhikṣoḥ. 12 Div. oḥāvāḥ. 12-13 Chāl reads these three lines: "He has soared into the sky and manifested a great supernatural power! I have not yet understood, but I aspire after the good prediction. Could I know the holy things which you share; I would make efforts for those according to my strength and capacity." 14 Div. oṣṭāṁ kari. 16Div. oḥāvāyanam. 13-16 Chāl "At that moment the Bhikṣu recognised that king Aśoka was a great dānapati, who shall certainly have the power of distributing the relics of Buddha for the benefit of gods and human beings. (The Bhikṣu spoke thus) Buddha has said: ‘I am the great compassionate one who breaks bonds. Those who are the sons of Buddha according to the Law, in the three categories of existence, obtain deliverance.’"
दान्तों दान्तः पुरष्यभेनः शान्ति गतेनापि शामः प्रणितः।
मुक्तेन संसारसहभयेष्यो निमोरकितोऽहः भववचनेष्यः।
अपि च महाराज तं भगवता व्याकृतः। वर्णवातिनिरहृतस्यः
मम पार्तिपुर्वे नगरेशोको नाम राजा भविष्यति। चतुर्भागचक्रवती
धर्मराजो यो मे शायरशातानूः वैस्तारिकानू करिष्यति। चतुरशीति-
धर्मराजाकाशहसं प्रतिष्ठापिष्यति। इदं च देवेन नरस्त्रां स्थान-
मेव स्थापितं तथा प्राणिसहास्ताणि निपात्यते। तदहि देव सवेसरेवयो-
उसयप्रदानं दातं भगवत्तसः मनोरथं परिपूर्वित्यमु। आहं च।
तस्मात नरेन्द्र अभयं प्रवच्छा सत्चेषु कारायणपुरोजवेषु।
नाथसय संपूर्ण मनोरथं च बैस्तारिकानू धर्मधरानू कुरुह्व।
अथ स राजा बुद्धं समुपजातप्रसादं कलकरसंपुर्गतं भिक्षुं
क्षमयंश्वाच।

dशलसुल्म जन्तुमहीसिम्। कुक्तिमिदं च तवाद देश्यामि।
शरणमृतस्मूहि तं च बुद्धं गणवरमायनिनविद्तं च धरभं।
अपि च।
करोमि चैष व्यवसायमद्य। तद्गौरवतृ तत्त्वविप्रसादादृत।
गां मण्डिथ्यामि जितेन्द्रचैत्येकीहृसांशश्चेदनुबलबलकल्पः।
यावत् स भिक्षुस्तदेव॥ कुरुब्ध्याभ्यक्तः। अथ राजासः निष्कामा-
मितू॥ तत्त्वनाधिपिरिकः कुताच्छलिर्॥ उवाच। देव रथवरोगोऽर्कन नौकर
विनिर्गम इति। राजाह। मा॥ तावन्॥ "भामपीछसिस धातिमितु॥

1Chl reads: dāntās te dāntena. 2Chl prānītāḥ. 3Chl reads this line as: muktena nirmokṣitāḥ. 4Div. 5vrītaṣya. 6Div. 7tiṃ vaistārikāṃ. 8Div. 9tiṃ dharmarājikāṃ sa. 7Chl "You should also realise thoroughly the intentions of Buddha." 7-8Chl "Security (abhaya) is to be given, compassion is to be produced, relics are to be distributed, true relief is to be poured out, among human beings and Śakra-devendra." 8Div. 9kām dharmadhāraṁ ku. 9-10Chl "He held in reverence the daśabalaśyata and pronounced these words: 'My past actions are extremely sinful.'" 11-12Chl "I must begin to live a pious life and adorn the earth (with relics)."
12Div. 13Div. madya taṁ taṁ gaura. 13Div. haṁsāṁśa-taṁkhandu. 14Div. deva. Chl "At that moment the Bhikṣu went away by the air-way."
15Chl omits it. 16Div. mamāpi."
स उवाच। एवमेव।
राजाः प्रथमं प्रथमं प्रविष्टः।
चण्डगिरिक उवाच। अहं।
ततो राजामहिं। कोऽकोऽकित।
यावऽ वध्यात्मांगुहीतः। गृहीतवा च यतथामूहः प्रवेशितः।
प्रवेशायत्वा दशः। तत्च रमणीयं कथननिमति।
सर्वंस्त्र्येकं म्यश्चाभ्यप्रवन्नमण्युद्रद्रः।

tato raja "भगवन्च्छरीरखातु विस्तरिष्पामीति चतुर्भुजः बला-
कायैनु" गतवार्जातश्चुपृवस्वा कातितयात् द्रोणस्तूपमूत्वापायैं शरीरखातुं
गृहीतवान्। यत् "उद्धारणं च विस्तरैं कुलवा धातुसत्त्वं दत्तवा
स्तूपं प्रस्त्वापयत्। एवं द्वितीयं "स्तूपं विस्तरैं। भक्तिमन्तो
यावऽ सत्त्रेणाः प्रहाय सूरपांच च प्रतिष्ठाप्याः।" रामायणम् गतः।

tato raja nāgauṇिगमवन्नतताति। विज्ञापितः।
वयस्य [शरीरखातों] अत्रैव पूजां करिष्याम् हि। यावऽ राजा-
म्युद्राः।

tato nāgarajena" पुनरिप नागाववादुताति। वक्तः हि।
रामायणेष्यस्ति। तत्त्यस्म स्तूपमयः
नागास्तकालं भक्तिमन्तो रर्कूः।

tato nāgarajena no pūraṇaṇa gāmāhātātātāt
"धातुद्वस्तचामु नोपयेन स राजा
अद्वैः" राजा वस्तवस्तवं जगाः।।

1-8 Chl reads: "‘As you have entered first, you must undergo (submit to) punishment.’ Then the king ordered his people to arrest Girika and lead him to the ‘torture-hall’ (‘hall of glue’; Ch2 ‘house of lac’) to burn him alive.” 3-4 Chl simply rājagṛham. 5-6 Chl “four sheng (litre or pint)”. 6 Div. pātyā. 7-8 Chl “a big”. 9 Div. pratiṣṭhāpya. 10-11 Chl dviyiṣṭā triiyād vistarena yāvat saṅmatāt sarvān (sarira-dhātum) grhitavān. 12 Chl adds: “the abode of Nāgarāja Sāgara, with an intention to take the relics.” 14 AC vihiṣṭaḥ ca. 15 Div. rājā. 16 Div. omits it. 17 Div. dhātiṇye. 18 Div. bhū. Div. adds: cintayati after rājā. 19 ABD yastvam taktiṣṭā, C yastvataκtya. 13-18 Chl reads: “Then the Nāgarāja appeared and invited the king to enter into his palace. The king descended from his boat and entered into the palace of the Nāgarāja. The
Nāga said to the king, ‘Allow me to make offerings to these (relics), and do not take them away from me.’ The king having seen that the Nāgarāja presented them (relics) offerings two times more weighty than those of human beings, abstained from taking the relics and left them behind.” Ch2 reads: “The king having made a plan to construct the stūpas of Buddha, in grand style, assembled the caturaṅga army and went to the stūpa named Drona erected by king Ajatasatru. Having reached there he demolished the stūpa with the help of his men and took the relics of Buddha. Similarly, he demolished (other) stūpas, successively (one by one) up to the seventh. He took all the relics. Then he went to the village called Rāma. In that village he found a stūpa which was erected before all the others. This too the king wished to destroy and take the relics. But there was a Nāgarāja who made Aśoka enter his palace of Nāga and said to him, ‘This is the stūpa to which I bring my offerings; may the king allow it to stand.’ The king consented and the Nāgarāja guided the king to the village of Rāma. Then the king said to himself: ‘This stūpa is (erected) the first of all, and so the Nāgarāja redoubles his zeal to guard it. I will not obtain relics from this stūpa.’ Thinking thus, he returned to his kingdom.”

Ch1 reads: “Returning to his palace, the king made 84 thousand precious caskets. He decorated them with gold, silver, and vaidūrya (cat’s-eye gem). In each precious casket, he enclosed one relic. Besides, he made 84 thousand pitchers (kumbha) and 84 thousand silken bands (paṭṭa) of various colours to cover them. He gave each relic to a yakṣa for the full extent of Jambudvīpa, to construct a stūpa in each country inhabited by a population of one crore. Thereupon the spirits carried all the relics and departed towards the four directions, to construct the stūpas. A yakṣa who had received one relic arrived at the kingdom of Takṣaśilā where he wished to erect a stūpa.

“The inhabitants of the kingdom said, ‘The population of our kingdom is 36 crores in total. . . You must give us 36 caskets.’ Then the yakṣa and the spirits went back to inform the king of what had happened. The king said to himself: ‘The people are greatly numerous. If we proceed in this way, the relics will not be sufficient for all Jambudvīpa. I must find out a means to discontinue the distribution.’

“Then he ordered the yakṣa to go back to tell the people: ‘35 crores of people in your kingdom are going to be annihilated. Only one crore of them will remain to whom we shall give one relic.’
"The inhabitants of the kingdom said, "We shall prefer to dispense with the 36 caskets. One alone will give us satisfaction. Do not put us to death." Then it was done as they desired. They were given only one casket."

Ch2 reads: "(The king) said: 'There are three kinds of kingdoms: the small, the middle and the big. If a kingdom pour out one crore ounces of gold, a royal stūpa is to be erected there.' Now, the kingdom of Takṣaśīlā poured out 36 crore ounces of gold. The inhabitants of that kingdom said to king Aśoka, 'O king, you must give us thirty-six boxes.' Hearing this the king reflected thus: 'I wish that the stūpas of Buddha be erected everywhere in a magnificent way. Is it proper that this kingdom should heap up stūpas in such a great number?'

"Then the king had recourse to a simple procedure. He said to the people, 'We are going to confiscate 35 crore ounces of gold from you.' And he added: 'Henceforth, that a kingdom may have much of stūpas or it may have less, I order, in no case one should offer me gold (in order to obtain them in greater number).'"

1 Div. reads: ैकम्. २ Div. ०व्याम्. ३ Div. reads: राजा. ४ Div. bhūna. ५ Ch read the above passage. ६ Chl adds: "having uttered these words". ७ Chl adds: kṛtāṅjalir. ८ Chl reads: "'I wish to construct now 84 thousand precious stūpas in Jambudvīpa.' The Sthāvira replied, 'That's good, that's good. O king, if you wish to have power to construct (all) the stūpas, at the same time....'" ९ Chl adds: "Let the order be given all over the king-
dom, that when I shall cover the sun with my hand, at the same moment all be engaged with the construction of the stūpas.”

1-2 Chh “afterwards”. 8 Chh jambudvīpe ekasmin samaye. 5 ABC oryaṁ. 6 Div. śāradabhra. 7 Div. 6 śīti sāsad ahnā sahasram. 8 = rājāḥ. 9 Div. ārya. 10 Div. 6 tsaṁ. 11 Div. reads: stūpāṇ kārayāmāsa lokaś. 4-12 Chh reads: “When they were constructed entirely, the whole population gave the king the name of Dharmāśoka (Asoka of the Right Law). He could spread over the world peace and prosperity. He erected stūpas and temples all over the territories of the kingdom. The good could prosper. His name as ‘cruel (Caṇḍāśoka)’ disappeared and the whole world called him ‘the king of the Right Law (Dharmāśoka)’.” 13 D adds iti śrīdivyāvadāne. 14 D omits. AB 6 timaḥ. C śaṭṭrimśatimaḥ.
बीतशोककावदानं

यदा राजासोकेन भगवन्च्छासने रूद्धा प्रतिलभ्या तेन चतुर्वीतिधर्मेषराजिकासहसं प्रतिष्ठाति । पञ्चवर्षिकं च कुलं । श्रीगुरु शत-सहस्राणि भिद्यूषणं भजितानि । यत्रैकम् अहेतुं हेरै शैक्षणां पृथग्नजनकालानं च । आसमुद्राया पृथिव्यां जनकाया यद्दृश्यसा भगवन्च्छासनेविभ्रस्तम् ॥

तस्यं भ्राता बीतशोकोऽन्नाम गौरवविभ्रस्तम् । स तीव्रेष्विन्द्राधितः ॥ नासिता भ्रमणशाखायुद्ग्रीयाणां मोक्ष इतिं । एते हि मुखाभिरतः परिखेदमीरवस्चेति । यावद्वारासोकेनोष्ट्वे । बीतशोक मा त्वं हीनायतं प्रसादमु-त्यादय । अपि नु बुद्धवर्षस्वो प्रसादमुत्त्यादय । एष आयतनात् प्रसाद इति ।

अथ राजासोकेन प्ररेण समयेः ॥८ मृगवार्य निर्गतं । सत च "बीतशोकेनादारणं " भूपिष्कृष्टं । पञ्चवर्षेनावस्थितं । स च कस्त-तपारसंजी । "तेनातिविभ्रममणादामिश्रितर्मेन तृट्वसु स रोपः पृष्टः । भगवन् किं फिड्विरं च इहारणं प्रति-वस्तृतं " ॥ स उवाच । द्रादव-वर्षणीति । बीतशोकः कठयति । कस्तवाहारः । भूपिष्कृष्टं । फल-मूलानि । कि प्रावरणं । दर्शात्वाराणि । का श्रावण । तुम्बासंसतः ॥२ बीतशोक उवाच । भगवन्न कि दुःख बाधते ॥ भूपिष्कृष्टच । इमे

1M8 "kārha", Div. "ko'rho". 2M8 & Div. read: dvau. 3M8 & Div. omit ā. 4Chl omits this paragraph. 5Chl "the younger brother of king Aśoka". 6M8 & Div. "konāma". Chl reads the name as: hsiū tā to. Sudatta? Ch2 vita”. 7Chl adds: “and mocked at the Law of Buddha. He uttered these words.” 8Chl adds: "King Aśoka spoke to Sudatta, 'What do you know of them?' Suddatta replied, 'Because...'". 9Div. tvam anā”. 10Chl adds: sudattena saha. 11Chl tābhyāṃ. 12Chl "Brāhmaṇa”. 13Chl adds: "Sudatta expressed a sentiment of faith and respect." 14Chl lit. tapasyalah. 15M8 & Div. "ram". 16Chl “What is the most painful (act) of all that you do now?”
मुगा क्षतुकाले संवसन्ति। यदा मृगाणं संवासो दृष्टो भवति तत्समन्
समये रागेण परिद्वाराम।

वीतशोक उवाच। अस्य कष्टेन तपसा [वर्तमानस्य] रागो-
श्वापि वास्तेन प्रागेव। श्रमण: शाक्यपुरुषीया: स्वास्तीष्यासानस्यानोप-
सेविनः। कुत एवं रागप्रहाणं भविष्यति। आहु चः।
कष्टेनिर्मो विजोऽन वने निवससता: वाधवः बुमुलाशिना
रागो नैव जितो यदीहृ ऋषिणा कालप्रकृष्णः हि।
भुक्तवान्न सयूतं प्रभुतप्रचितं द्वध्युतमालङ्करं
शाक्येष्विनवन्यहनित्रहो यदि भवेदु विन्यः ल्येवेत् सागरे।

सवभ्या विज्ञातो राजाश्रोको यच्चमणुषू शाक्यपुरुषीये
कारां करोति।

एतच्च वचनम् भूतवा राजा उपाय्योऽमात्यानू उवाच। अयं
वीतशोकस्तीय्यामिनिप्रस्तः। उपयोगेन भगवच्चासनेन्
भिप्रसादवित्तायः।

अमात्या आहु:। देव किमाज्ञापयिसस। राजाः। यदा:॥

राजालंकारां मौलिकपट्टं चापनयितवा स्नानशाला॥
प्रविष्टो भवामि,
तदा यूँ वीतशोकस्य उपयोगेन मौलिकपट्टं च बद्धवा [एनं] सिद्धाने
निषादविधथ। एवमसत्वतिः॥

यावः राजा राजालंकारां मौलिकपट्टं चापनयितवा॥
स्नान-
शालायां प्रविष्टः। ततोमात्यवीतशोक उच्यते। राजाश्रोक्यात्यायार्

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1M8 & Div. read: bādhyate (A ोधाते). Chl omits this sentence.
2-8Chl omits.
3M8 & Div. tāṁ. 4M8 & Div. nām. 5Chl reads: “You cover your body with wretched garments; you nourish yourself with poor nourishment and still you have lust! The Sākyaputra Sramanās who cover the body with beautiful dresses and nourish it with good food, how can they be free from lust?”
6Chl omits. 7Chl omits this sentence. 8Chl adds: mokṣāś ca prāpayatavyah. 9Chl “We shall do what the king orders.” 10M8 & Div. yathā. 11Div. līṁ. 12Div. AB śānasānāśa. 13M8 & Div. līṁ. 9-14Chl omits. 15Chl adds: “He redressed himself with a bath-costume.” 16Chl adds: “and bathed.”
त्वं राजा भविष्यसि। इमं तावद्राजाल्लक्ष्म्यं ैववर्मोलिष्पूर्वे च ब्रजवा
[त्वा] सिखास्य निपार्थक्ष्यामः। कि शोभसे न वेजिति।
[स] तैस्त्वाभारणं मोलिष्पूर्वे च ब्रजवा सिखास्य निषादिति।
राजश्च निकेदितं॥

ततो राजाश्च वीकदोकं राजाल्लक्ष्म्यमोलिष्पूर्वं च
सिखासनोपविचं दृष्टा कथयति। अवापि जीवामि, तवं राजा
संवृत्तं। ततो राजाभिहितं। कोष्ठ॥

ततो॥ याबद् बध्यधाताका नीलम्बरवासिनं। प्रलम्बकेशा
घण्टाबिद्धपणयो राजः पाद्योनिनियोक्तः॥।
देव किमाजालयसिः। राजाः॥

वीतश्चोक मया परियक्तैः इति॥

याबद् वीतश्चोक उच्चयते। "सशस्त्रेववध्यात्मकरस्माभिः परिबृतो-
स्मित। ततोमात्या राजः॥।
पाद्योनिनियतः रुचः। देव॥।
मर्त्य
वीतश्चोकं। देवस्य भ्राता॥।

ततो राजाभिहितं। सप्तालै शुष्कमयामिः॥।
भ्राता चौथ सम।
भ्रातुः सन्तासयं सप्ताहं राज्यं प्रयोग्यामिः॥।
याबद् तूर्यशतानि संप्रवादितानि॥।
प्राणिरूस्तदेवेश्चाज्ञसिः कृतः॥।
स्नावात्सैष परिकृतः।}

1 Chl omits <name>⁴⁰. 2 Div. <name>⁴¹. 3 Chl <name>⁴². 4 M8 & Div. <name>⁴³. 5 Chl omits. 6 M8 & Div. <name>⁴⁴. 7 Chl “Sudatta followed their advice and being thus decorated, he sat on the royal throne.” Chl adds: “The king came out of the bath-room.” 8 M8 <name>⁴⁵. 9 Chl omits this compound. 10-12 Chl “Then there appeared the Cândaras holding swords in one hand and bells in the other. They approached the king and asked....” 11 M8 <name>⁴⁶. 12 Div. <name>⁴⁷. 13 Chl adds: “I give him to you to punish.” M8 <name>⁴⁸. 14 M8 omits sa. Chl omits this and the preceding sentence. 15-16 Chl omits. 17-18 Chl “Sudatta is king’s own brother. Be pleased to allow him to repent and correct his faults.” 18 Chl “I comply with your opinions.” 19-20 Chl omits. 21 M8 <name>⁴⁹. 22 Div. C <name>⁵⁰. 23 Chl adds: “Then he will be put to death.” 24-25 Chl “During these seven days, he was entertained with a hundred thousand tunes of music. A hundred thousand Brāhmaṇas praised him with folded hands.” After this it reads: <name>⁵¹.
वीतशोकावदानम्

"वध्यधातकाश्च द्वारि तिष्ठन्ति। दिवसे गते वीतशोकस्याग्रतः
स्थित्वा आरोचयति।" निर्गते वीतशोक एके दिवसं। षड्हायन्यस्य-
किष्टान्ति। एवं द्वितीये दिवसे। विस्तरण यावत्। सप्ताहिं दिवसे।
वीतशोको राजार्जुनवंशीतो राज्योक्षस्य समीप्पुमनीति।

ततो राजाज्ञेकोनाभिविहितं। वीतशोक कच्चित् सुन्तं छुन्तं
सुवादितमिति। वीतशोक उवाच। न में दृष्टं वा स्थाय्यं तं वेति।
आहं च।

येन श्रुतं भवेद् गीतं नूतं चापि निरीक्षितः।
रसाध्वासविदिता येन स दूरात् तं च निरीक्षियं।

"राजाज्ञेषु। वीतशोक इदं मया राज्यं समाहर तव वसं।
तयं शालस्य संत्वादितानि। जयशब्दीवातान्तिनि। अव्यक्तिस्थानि
प्रगृहीतानि। स्वीकर्षतैशा परिश्रीं। कथं तवं कथयसि नैव में
दृष्टं न श्रुतमिति।" वीतशोक उवाच।

न में दृष्टं नूतं न च नूप श्रुतो गीततिनन्दः।
न में गण्यं ग्राहता न च नूप खलु रसा मेघं विदिता।।

नृपेः स्पृष्टं। स्पष्टः कनकमणिहराजज्ञेनि।
समृद्धी नारीगाम भवनवनानायासनविधि।
सिद्धो नूतं गीतं भवनयनानायसनविधि।

निरालन्दा शूर्या समं तुः वररुखी गतसुखान्
स्थितान् दृष्टा द्वारे वधकपुष्पानु नीलवसनान्।।

1-2 Chl "Four Candrašas, with hands stained with blood, with
an appearance expressing a will to kill anybody, stood at the
threshold of the four doors and shouted..." 8 Chl adds: "We
shall tear your body, separate your limbs, cut off your life. Your
end is approaching." 4 M8 & Div. eke. 5 Chl "They did so on
the first day and then up to the seventh day they cried thus."
6 Chl "When the seventh day passed." 7 Chl omits. 8 Chl
"During these seven days, had you not been extremely happy?"
8-10 Chl omits. 9 Div. AC yena. BD me na. M8 yena. 11-14 Chl
omits. 12 M8 omits. 13 M8 naivam eva. 15 M8 & Div. ninadh.
16 M8 & Div. omit it. 17 M8 nipa. 18-19 Chl reads: "Why?
श्रुता घप्तारब घोरे नीलाम्बरधरस्य हि।
भयं मे मरणाज्जातं पात्थवेन्द्र सुदारिण।
मृत्युसत्यपरार्तोऽहृतान्तः गीतमुतमं ।
नानावं नूपते नृत्यं न च मोक्षं मनःसृष्टा।
मृत्युज्वरेद्धीत्यस्य न मे स्वप्नोपिनि विचते।
क्रत्सना मे रजनी यातां नृत्यमेवबानुकिलतं ॥

राजाैः वीतशोकम् मा तावत। तवैकाकोकरिकाक्षय मरण-
भयात् तव राजस्यिन धार्मिक हर्वो नोतप्यः। तिं पुष्पाकोशो येने जामशतं-
मरणमयः भिदता: सर्वाण्यपपपप्तात्मनानिनं दुःखायुमुदातिन पथ्यन्ति।
नरके तावथरीरसातिदृकत्मान्तमिदावहुः खं च विकीक्ष्यन्त्यन्त्यस्यमार्थासुः खं, चतुष्ट्यं धृतवस्तुः ।
पर्य्विंससुदाचारुः खं मनुष्येशु।
चयनपत्तनमहस्वदुः खं देवेशु। एभं: पल्चभंसुः खं वैस्तेलिकव्यमुपकतवतः।
शारीरमानसदेहाः वेदित्वदितिताच बचकभूतान स्वधानाः पथ्यन्ति।
शून्य-श्रामभूतात्मायतनानिन, प्रारम्भात्मिनि विषयाणि क्रत्सनं च वैधातु कमिति-
लयाधिनिना प्रदीप्ति पथ्यन्ति।
तेषां राग: क्रममुपवते। आहं च।

"तावदेवकाकमकास्य मरणभयात्त्व न जात्वे हर्वः।
मनसि विषयमैनोऽजः सतां खलु पच्यात्मास्य।
किं पुनर्जन्मशातानं मरणभयमनागतं विचिन्त्यतां।
मनसि भविष्यति हर्वं भिक्षुणं भोजनाधिकृषः।"
वीतशोकाक्यावान्

तेषां न¹ वस्त्रशयनासनभोजनादि² मोक्षेश्वरविपुक्तमनसां जनयेत³ स्थङ्गः।

पश्यन्ति ये वधकशुनुरिष्मे शरीरारादीपूवेशसदृशांश्च भवानिनिवान्⁴।

कथं च तेषां न भवेद्व विपक्षो मोक्षाधिनां⁵ जनमपराभुवानां।

येषां मनः सर्वामुखार्थवेयु व्यावहरेत्ते च पददलादिवाम्⁶।।

यदा वीतशोको राजाश्चोकोनोपादेन भगवन्यासनेनोपसाधितः⁷।

स कृतकर्पुष्ट उच्च। देव⁸ एषोहुँ तं भगवतं तथागतमहस्तं सम्यकः-

संबुद्ध शरण गच्छा। धर्मं च भिक्षुस्तुः चेति। आहू च⁹।

एष ब्रजामश शरणं विबुद्धनवकमलविमलंसनेत्रं।

बुधविबुधमन्वत्स्मिहलं जितं विरागंⁱ⁰ सज्जः चेति।

अथ राजाश्चोको वीतशोकं कष्टे परिश्वयोवाच। न¹¹ लं तवा परित्यक्तः।

अथ तु¹² बुधशासनामि¹³प्रसादां तव मया एष उपायः प्रदर्शितः¹⁴।

ततो वीतशोको गच्छपुष्पाण्यादिवाचिद्र्तरसुमुद्रेन¹⁵ 'भरावतस्येन- त्यानचेत्यितः।

सद्वर्मां च श्रुणिति। सम्वः च कारां कुष्टे।

स 'कुकुटाराम गतः¹¹। तत्र यशो नाम स्वरं अहंसूः¹⁶

बधिम्मः¹⁶। स तस्य पुर्त्तो निष्णो धर्मश्रवणाय। स्विरनाल कस्य- 

लोकविविधार्रः¹⁹।

'स पद्यति वीतशोकमुपचित्तेन चररंभिकं तेनवाणेर्येनाः-

हृदं¹³ प्राणतवं। तेन तस्य त्रिज्ञया वर्णो भाषितः। तस्य श्रुतवा

¹M8 reads *nu. Div. tu. ²M8 & Div. AC *nādyā. ³Div. AB *yeva, C *ye ca; D *ye. M8 *yet. ⁴Chl omits this sloka. ⁵Chl bhoga-vimukkhā- nāṁ. M8 kathāṁ ca teṣāṁ ca bhaved⁶. ⁶Chl "The mind of the Sramaṇa is not polluted by the objects of pleasure, just as water does not get attached to lotus flower [leaf?]." ⁷Chl "King Aśoka instructed Sudatta in every way." ⁸Chl reads simply: "Great king, now I take refuge in the triratna (the Three Jewels)." ⁹Div. & M8 jina. ¹⁰Div. & M8 add : ca. ¹¹—¹²Chl omits. ¹³M8 & Div. ABC *sanād abhi⁰. ¹⁴Chl adds: "Certainly I will not put you to death." ¹⁵Chl gandha-puspāhyāṁ. ¹⁶Div. ārca². ¹⁷M8 & Div. kurku¹. ¹⁸Chl omits. ¹⁹Chl omits this sentence. ²⁰Chl adds: "Then Yaśāḥ contemplated on the former existences of Sudatta." ²¹Chl nirvāṇaṁ.
स्पृहा

1) जाता। प्रज्ञे भगवच्छासः। तत उत्थाय क्रुद्धजलिः। स्थविरसुवाच। लभेयहम् 2) स्वास्त्याते धर्मचिन्ये। प्रज्ञयामुपसंदे। मिक्षुभावं चरेयमहं भवतोल्लके ब्रह्मचर्य। स्थविर उवाच। वतस। राजानमेशोकमनुजापयंस्वेति।

ततो बीतशोको थेन राजासोकस्तेनोपसंक्षम्य क्रुद्धजलिः। स्वाच। देव अनुजानीहि मां॥ प्रज्ञयामि स्वास्त्याते धर्मचिन्ये। सम्यगेव अवः याभागरादनागरिकां। आह चौ॥

उद्वृतोत्सरस्मि निरंकुषो गज इव व्यासतितो। विभ्रमादू। त्वद्वृद्धप्रभवानुकेशो विधिवद्ध बुद्धोदेशैः॥ अह।

एकं। त्वां लोकभिस्ते मे वरं प्रवर्तनं। तवं पार्थिवाना पते। तोकालोकवस्य शासनकर्ते चिन्तं शुभं धार्ये॥

श्रुत्वा च राजा साधुकप्ती। बीतशोकान। कण्ठे। परिश्वय्योवाच। बीतशोक। अभ्यन्ते मृदास्यान। प्रज्ञया खलु वैवर्णिकास्मुपगतां। वास। पार्शुकुः।

प्रावरण। परिज्ञोगहितम्। आहारो मैक्षं परकुः॥ । श्रयपतिः बृक्षमूले तृणसंस्तर: परिसंस्तर:। व्याकारे खलवपि। भोजयमॉ। बुक्षमूलं। भुलभं। त्वां च भोजनं। देव।

बीतशोक उवाच। देव॥

1Ch 1 reads: “transported with joy”। 2Div. & M8 labheyāham। 3M8 bhagavato। 4-5 Ch 1 “Then Sudatta went to tell the king, ‘Great king, permit me to leave the world.’” 6Ch 1 “I have been made submissive and docile.” 7Ch omits it। 8Div. ekam (Devar) tvam। M8 ekatvam। 9Div. & M8 pradarśitum। 10M8 & Div. dhārayet। 8-10Ch 1 “Condescend to express your great compassion by permitting me to embrace the religious life where the Great light (ālokavāra) is glittering.” 11M8 kañche। 12M8 omits। 13Ch 1 “to live in the same manner as the people of low rank”। 14Ch 1 omits। 14-15Ch 1 “For nourishment, one has to beg for the remains of food (eaten by somebody).” 16M8 yayat (indistinct)। Div. cchānāsānam। 17-18Ch 1 “to take care of oneself with repulsive medicine”। 18M8 & Div. dhāti।
बीतशोकावानं

नेवाहं तम जाने नं विषयतृप्तितो नायासविहतः
प्रवल्यां प्राप्तकामों न रिपुहृत्तवलों तैवार्थकुपणः।
दु:खात्त मृतयुमेंट व्यसनपरिगतं वृष्ट्यं जगदिं
पन्थानं जन्मभोर: शिवभयमहं भानुवयवसितः।।

श्रुत्वा राजाशोकः सत्रादं धनोदितमारथः। अथ बीतशोको
राजानमतुनयशुचाच। देवः।
संसारदोलामभिरह्य लोकं यदा निपातो निवत: प्रजानं।
किमस्यागच्छति विचित्रया ते सर्वं सर्वस्य यदा वियोगः।।
राजाशः। बीतशोकः। भैरो तावदस्यास: क्रियतां। राजकुले
वृक्षवाटिकाया तत्त्व तृणसंस्तरं संस्तृतं।। भोजनं चास्य दलं
सोज्ज्वः पर्यथ्यतिं महां चाहारं चलमेतः।

'ततो राजाशः पुरुराकाभिहितः। प्रजाजितसाहस्यकाह质量问题
प्रयच्छति। तेन यावदभिबृहिताः पूतिकामाः लब्धा:।।' तांशच

1MB reads: naivāham jāne tam nūnam. Div. A naiva hi jāne tam anunām,
B naivāha jāneta manunām, C omits naiva, it reads hi jāne tam
nunam, D hi jāne tam anūnam. ²Div. AB hatabalo. ³M8 & Div.
gantum. Chl “Now I aspire to leave this world. This is not be-
cause I am disgusted with royal dignity, nor because I disdain
the fortune that one enjoys among the devas, nor because one
is afflicted by the multitude of ills till the state of Non-being
(niḥsattva), nor because I contempt the riches and the treasure,
nor because I am afraid of passions which are our rebellious ene-
mies. It is because I dread the ills of birth, old age, disease and
death that I aspire to leave this world. It is to attain Nirvāṇa
that I aspire to leave this world!” ⁴M8 & Div. satvarām. The
Chinese reading is adopted here. ⁵Chl “Sudatta said, ‘You should
not grieve.’” ⁶Chl “The wheel of transmigration revolves
without stop.” ⁷Chl daṇḍah pātram cā. ⁸M8 & Div. add na which
is not found in Chinese. ⁹-¹¹Chl “The king accused the con-
cubines, saying, ‘Why do you give him this excellent nourish-
ment? Give him gross and wretched food, so that he may
be accustomed to it.’ They obeyed and gave him gross and
wretched food.” ¹⁰M8 yāvad dūṣita. Div. BC pūtikulamāṣā.
D dhūti. A vūti. ¹¹Div. labdha tāṁ ca. M8 too reads the same.
परिमोक्तमार्थः। दृष्टा राजाश्रोकेन निवारितः। अनुभावः च 
श्रन्तं, किंतु प्रभाविता उपदान्वित्यस्य।

स यावदू कुकुटारामे गतः। तस्य बुद्धिस्पष्टः। यदि इह 
प्रभावित्यामार्थां आकारों भविष्यामि। ततो विद्वेषेऽऽजनपदेशु गत्वा 
प्रभावितः।

तत्स्थेन सुध्याते याववहेऽऽप्राप्तं।

अथायुभमतो वीतशोकस्य अर्हत्वं प्राप्तस्य विमुक्तिप्रीतिसुखसंबंधिते एतदमल। "अतिसि खलु मे [दृष्टकामो प्राप्ता। तत: 
पातलिपुत्राय प्रसिद्धः।] पूर्वः" राजाश्रोकस्य गृहद्वारमलप्राप्तः। ततो 
दौवारिकमुवाच। गच्छा "राजाश्रोकस्य निवेदय" वीतशोको द्वारिः 
तिष्ठति" देवं दृष्टकाम इति।

ततो दौवारिको राजानमोकस्यभिमय्योवाच। देव, दिष्टचा ।
वृद्धित्वादीत्वोकोम्यागतो द्वारि तिष्ठति देवं दृष्टकामः। ततो 
राजाश्रोबिहिं। गच्छा बीयम प्रवेशयेति।

यावदू वीतशोको राजकुल्य प्रविष्टः। दृष्टा च राजाशोक: 
सिंहासनावत्स्रघम्य मूर्विनक्तः। इव हुमः सर्वशारीरेण [भूमि निपततः।
तत्: स] आयुभमतो वीतशोको निरिक्षामाव:। दृष्टकामुवाच।

भूमिेतुं संसारगतेऽऽत्यं दृष्टापि मा नैति यथा विकारं।

विवेकवेगाविशिष्टस्य शंकौ प्रजारस्यातिरिस्तस्य तृप्तः।"

1 Chl reads: “Then he ate them without any change in his 
manners.” 2 Chl omits this word. 3 M8 "वरा". 4 M8 & Div. kurku. 
5 Chl translated Videha for videsa (la fang). Ch2 same as the 
text. 6 Chl adds: “and learned the Way.” 7 Chl “and having prac-
tised with perfect attention”. 8-9 Chl omits. 10-11 Chl “Formerly, 
king Asoka made the following request: ‘When you will leave 
the world, you must come to see me (pravarajitoa upadarṣayygast)’. 
Now, I must go and see him.’ Then, before midday, he 
got up, took his bowl and went to the town of Paṭaliputra. 
Gradually, begging his food...” 12-13 Chl omits. 14 M8 & Div. 
dṛṣṭa. 14-15 Chl omits. 16 M8 & Div. dāhi ni. 16 M8 & Div. 
nikrta. 16-17 Chl reads: “With five parts of his body, he touched 
the ground and prostrated himself before Sud (Suda). When 
he got up, he joined his hands and looked at Sudatta.” 17 Div. 
ksya. 18 Chl “Reunion is a joy to all kinds of living creatures. 
Now, I look at your eyes and do not find there any expression of
थे राजाः शोकस्य राधगुप्तो नामास्मात्। सं पत्थत्यायुपमो वृक्षाभस्मस्य पांशुकूलं च चीवरं मृत्युः पात्रं शाबदामाश्च शृङ्गारं। दृष्टः च राजः पादयोनिष्ठः कुटिलाः जलिवाच। देवः यथायमल्येचः सन्तुष्टस्वच्छः तिमयकं तृतकर्णो भविष्यति।

प्रीतिसहित्येचेत्। कुः।

मैथासमोजनं यस्य पांशुकूलं च चीवरं।
निवासो वृक्षाभस्मं च तस्य हृदयतं कथं।।
निरासवं यस्य मनो विशारं निरास्यं चोपचितं शरीरं।
स्वर्प्पवद्वतो जीवितसाधनं च नित्योत्सवं तस्य मनुष्यलोके।।

श्रुतवा ततो राजा प्रीतमानो उवाच।
अपहाय मौर्यवंशं मनानुरं सर्वरत्निचयं च।
दृष्टः वंशविंद्रः [तृ] महोकमण्डवानोहसारंस्म।।
अयुद्धत्वमिव मन्ये यस्तं पूतं पुरुस्म पेलं।।
प्रतिपद्यतां त्वया [बै] दशबलवर्षासनमुदारं।।
अय राजाः शोक: सर्वाङ्गः परिमृः प्रज्ञतं एवासं।।
निषादयामास। प्रीतीनं चाहरेन स्नेहस्तं सत्त्वपंति। मुक्तवताः।।

tenderness. There is no doubt that you have obtained the Supreme Fruit; the ambrosia fills your heart.”

1-2 Chh reads: “Rādhagupta”. 3-4 Chh “Calmly, he begged his food and received all that is excellent as well as wretched. He (Rādha) went towards the king and recited this gāthā: “Everyone who sees Sudatta is filled with joy.”” 5-6 Chh “And that is why he can rejoice.” 6 M8 & Div. utpādayata. 7 M8 & Div. tasyāni. 8 M8 “ndo (dā) fī”. 6-8 Chh omits. 10 M8 “hanāṁ”. 11 M8 & Div. “hanī sā”. 12 Div. A mehāṁ, rest & M8 mahāṁ. 13 M8 & Div. udāre. Chh reads: “He has renounced the royal succession, the city of Pātaliputra, riches and treasures as well as fortune and glory, as one allows to drop a drop of tear or a spittle. He has trampled with his feet his saintly race. Detached for ever from all riches, he has consecrated the royal lineage and made it attain a great glory.” 14-15 Chh omits. 16 Chh sīhmāsane. 17 Chh “When the meal was taken, pure water was served. He (Asoka) took a low seat and sat before him (Sudatta), and asked him to preach the Law. Then Sudatta recited for him (the king) the following gāthā:”

5
विदितवा धौत्रघ्नमपनित्यात्रमायुष्मतो बीतशोकस्य पुरातो निष्कणो
धर्ममच्छ्याय ।

अथायुपमानू बीतशोको राजानमसोक्य धन्याया कथया संदर्शणांनुवाचः ।

अप्रमादेने सम्पादय राज्यश्वर्य प्रवत्तताेः ।

दुलभ्भ्रीणि रत्नानि नववे पूजय पाथिव ॥

स याब्दु हर्म्याया कथया स्त्राघ्नांनुपितवा स्त्राघ्नििश्वः ॥

अथ राजाध्वश: कृतकरपुट: पञ्चभिमरामाधवाः परिवृतोऽनकेश: पौर-जनसंहाः: परिवृत: पुरस्कृत आयुपमानू बीतशोकमनुम्ब्रजितमारव: ।
वक्ष्यति ॥ हि ।

भारता ज्येष्ठेन राजा तु गौरवेनागम्यते ।

प्रञ्ज्याया: खलु श्लाघ्यं संदृष्टिकमिदं फलं ॥

तत्तः आयुपमानू बीतशोक: स्त्राघ्नांनुपितव: प्रशस्त: स्ववज्ञ-कायस्य ऋषियो वैहिह्वसमपत्य प्रशकाः ।

अथ राजाध्वश: कृतकर-पुट: श्राग्निष्टसहाः: परिवृत: पुरस्कृतो गनात्तणवसक्तदृष्टिरायुष्मानू बीतशोकं निरीक्षक्षाणे उवाच ॥

स्वज्ञस्नेहिनि सुष्मो विवृद्ध इव गच्छसि ।

श्रीरामगृहैबैतानस्मात् प्रत्याविष्करिना ॥

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1M8 & Div. read: "niya. 1-2 Chh: cf. above. 3M8 & BCD apramādyena, A apramodyena. M8 saṁvādyā. 3-4 Chh "The royal dignity is noble and venerable. Do not neglect (the duty)."
5Div. & M8 dūrābhā. 6Div. & M8 saṁharā. 7Chh "Having recited this gāthā, he got up from the throne." 8Div. "janahūdā." 9M8 nubhātra. 10Chh omits this. 10-12 Chh "So glorified for having realized the Fruit of Śramaṇa, Sudatta reflected thus: 'Formerly, my elder brother converted me by various means and made me enter into the Law of Buddha. Now, I must see that his faith and respect be increased.'" 11Div. & M8 ślāghyasamā. 12-15 Chh "Then he soared into the sky and worked all sorts of marvels. King Aśoka with the multitude of his ministers, raised his hands and recited these gāthās.'" 14M8 & Div. "kṣya." 16M8 adds: aha ca. 16Chh reads this line and the following as: "I am bound
बीलोकावराणं

आत्मायत्वस्य शान्तस्य मनः संकेतत्वारिष्टः।
भ्यात्स्य फलमेषतःचर रागाण्वैरण्यं न दृष्टयते॥

"अपि च।"

"ह्वद्याचा खल्वभर्सिताः" परमया ध्रुगबिताते वयं
बुद्धाचा खल्वपि नामिता: शिरसिता:। प्रजाविमानीयाः।।
प्राप्तारेष फलान्तुंभुदिनमसः संबेजितास्य वयं
संकोपेन सबाप्पुदिनमुखः स्थाने विमुक्ता वयं॥।

तत्रायुज्ञानं बीलोक: प्रत्यतिलक्ष्यं जनपदेषु शध्यायानायं
निर्गतं। "तस्य च महाशयविविष्ठम्।" श्रुतवः च राजारोकैने
भैरयमुपस्थायिकासः विसर्जिताः।। तस्य तेन व्याहिता स्पृष्टस्य
शिर: बुक्तमभवत्॥। यदा च व्याहितिनिमेतस्य विक्षादानि शिरसि
रोमाणिः।। तेन वैद्योपास्याकारः विसर्जिताः।। "तस्य च गोरसः"
प्राय आहारोनुसेवये। स घोषं गतवा मैत्रं पर्यत्तति॥॥

तस्मांस समये पुष्पवर्धनन्तरे निर्माणोपासके बुद्धतिमां
निमेत्वस्य पाद्योपिनिष्ठा विनिर्णिपतिता। उपासकेनाशोकस्य राजो
निवेदितं॥॥ श्रुतवः च राजाभिषेकः शीघ्रमानीयाः॥॥

by bonds of royal dignity. I extend my influence and affection
over the things of this world. By disregard and by contempt for
his ego, he is liberated by his own power. He has tasted the
Fruit as he has achieved mastery over himself.”

1 Ch1 omits. 2 M8 & Div. read: "bhatsīh. 3 M8 & Div. "sitā pro."
4-5M8 & Div. "dayam. 6 M8 savaṇī. 6 Ch1 reads: “Here by ṣddhi
(lit. by taking your flight) you have destroyed my pride. Although
my wisdom and power be weak, manage it so that I may attain
detachment.” 6 Div. "mesu. 9 M8 "sanān. Div. AB sayyasaṇā, CD
sayyasaṇā. Ch1 omits this. 10 Ch1 adds: “and having arrived at a
foreign kingdom”. 11 Div. mahān vyādhi“. Ch1 adds: “and the hair
of his head fell.” 12 Div & M8 upasthāyi. Ch1 “one doctor”. 13 Ch1
adds: “who carried (with him) medicines, went to his place and
attended him (Sudatta).” 14 Div. A khasām. Ch1 omits this
sentence. 15-16 Ch1 reads: “His hair shot out again as before.”
17 Ch1 omits upa. 18 Ch1 adds: “Henceforth”. 19 Ch1 “fermented
milk”. M8 & Div. "rasāḥ . . rānumeva. 20 Ch1 “in order to
procure it (milk) easily, he went to the jungle and lived near
by the shepherds.” 21 Div. ABC citāpā. 22-33 Ch1 reads: “The
disciples of the heretic Nirgrantha have etc. etc.”
Ch1 continues: “Hearing this news, the king got angry and sent off the ṣaktas to the distance of forty lī (i.e. one yojana) in the air and the nāgas to the distance of forty lī beneath the earth. They put to death ... in the town of Pāṭaliputra(?) (for Puṃḍavardhana).” Ch2 reads: “Puṇḍa”.

Then the upāsakas informed this to the king.” 3M8 & Div. ABC ajñāptai. 4Ch1 “pieces of gold”. Ch2 “a piece of gold”.

5Div. & M8 “trim vāsa”. Ch1 “Sudatta received hospitality in the house of a Nirgrantha.” Ch6 omits. Div. “nakha-smāsṛtuḥ.”

7–8Ch1 omits these sentences. 8–9Ch1 reads: “His appearance was similar to that of a nirgrantha-putra. One demon holding a sword ...”. 10–11Ch1 “Sudatta said to himself: ‘For having passed the night here, I must be put to death by this demon.’ Then the demon, believing that he was a nirgrantha-putra, cut off also his head.” Ch2 reads in accordance with the text. 10Div. & M8 pūrvante jñānam.
Drṣṭaḥ cha rajābrahmacānena nā pariṣṭātān. 1Vivarānya chaṣṭyayā nirākṣā
dharmāṇāṁ nā śavyakṣamagacchhanti. 2Tato varya upeṣṭhāya hāno ānaṁ.
Keteṣṭaṁ bhāmhitāṁ. 3Devaḥ bīrashākoṣṭhīṁ śiṁś.: 4Sruṣṭvā rajāṁ
mūlaḥcātō mūṣāṁ pātītān. 5Yāvajju jātsākeṁ dṛṣṭvā śthāpyitaḥ. 6Amaṁyā-
śvāmhitāṁ. 7Devaḥ bīrītāraṇaṁāmāṁ atyaṁ pīḍā jātaḥ. 8Dīyaṁ
dharmāṇaṁbhāparyāṇām.
Yāvajjaṁbhāparyāṇāṁ dṛṣṭaṁ, nā mūṣā: kastiḥūḥ prāṇaptiśvāntvāt. 9Tato
dhikvāṁ saṁjñāya: dharmāṇaṁyāsēṣṭhāram. 10Ayaṁmāṁmūn-
gūntaḥ pūrcchhanti. Kī kame vaṁkāmāyanāmaḥ bīrashākoṣte yasya kameṇa
dhāmaṁkāmāyeṁ dhāmaṁvāpaṅkāmāyaḥ dharmāṇaṁ prāṇaptītāṁ. 11śyavāṁ
drṣṭvā mahāṁ: kareṇa kālaṁ pārvabāksaḥ jāhitā. 12ṣruṣṭvāṇā:
Mūlaṁbhāvāntaṁ śayāntaṁ jīvaṁ kālaṁ. 13Phalāyaḥ bhikṣāvyājbhāvāntaṁ
avyātmakāṁ luhvāḥ mūgaṁ: 14Prāṇapti-
śvāntaṁ jīvaṁ kālaṁ. 15Antyāyamūdāpanān. S tū tu luhvāḥ gata
pāyānaṁ yuṣṭaḥ śvāntvā mūgaṁ prāṇaptiśvāntvā. 16Aṣ Contracts
buddhāmaṇāmādē pratyekabuddha lokaṁ uṣṭhastā: 17bhāstā.
Anvāntaḥ: pratyekabuddhāṇaṁ tāthismādāpanāṁ ahaṁkārākāryaṁ
durātīyān. 18vruṣkṣmāḥ pāṛṣkṣaṁ niśāṣanā. 19Tasya gandrveṇ mūgaṁ
tāthismādāpanānē

1Chl, Div. & M8 2kena pāriṇāmaṁ. 1Chl omits this word. 2B 3yikā. 4Chl adds: “He learnt further from one of his ministers that the (supposed, so-called) Śramaṇa heretics were put to death in multitude; while in fact, they (the heretics) were only a few. The king was deeply aggrieved.” 4-6Chl “with heaped up sorrows”. 6Chl adds: muktāḥ. 7Chl “After a long time, he regained consciousness.” 8-10Chl “‘Actually numerous are the Śramaṇās who are put to death in error. O king, grant safety to the Śramaṇās.’ Then the king proclaimed an edict in the following terms: ‘Henceforth, not any more Śramaṇa will be allowed to be put to death.’” 8M8 abhayadānapaṁ. 11Chl omits this word. 12Chl “Why was Sudatta put to death by a demon?” 12Chl “If you want to know, listen with attention.” M8 bhātā-
pūrvam a[ti]te. 14-15Chl udayānasamāṁ pāsāṁ śhāpyati. 16-18Chl omits. 17-18Chl pīṇḍāya caritāḥ pāsasamāpaṁ. 19Chl omits this word. M8 2nka(k)e. 20Chl “The hunter could not catch any deer. He said to himself: ‘Why these deer which are so numerous
नास्यागता। स लुध्ध आग्यय पश्यति तैव मृगा उद्धानस्मायागता।
पदातुसारेण च तं प्रत्येकवृद्धीमिति। दृढः चायस बुद्धिस्त्पथमा।
अनेनेप आदीनव उपपदितः। तेनासिः निष्कोषं कुत्वा स प्रत्येकवृद्धः
प्रावदितः।

कं मन्यः आयुःमन्तः। योसी लुध्धः स एष वीतशोकः।
यवःनेन गृगः प्राधातितासू तस्य कर्मणो विपाकन महान्
ब्याधिहस्तः॥

प्रत्येकवृद्धः शस्त्रेण प्राधातितस्तस्य कर्मणो विपाकन बृहति,
वर्षसहस्त्राणि नरकेषु कुःकम्सु भुयःभजनमातटाणि मनुष्येऽपभवः।
शस्त्रेण प्राधातितः। तत्कर्मविवेशणेतर्ति हि अहृत्वप्राप्तोऽधिपि
शस्त्रेण प्राधातितः॥

कं कर्म कृतं येन उच्चकुलेऽ उपपदः॥ अहृतः च प्राप्तः।
स्थविर उवचः। कार्ये सम्यक्समुद्रेऽ प्रावदितः॥ अभूतः
प्रदानश्च। तेन दायकदानस्तयः समुस्मकः कारापितः। तर्पणानि
यवागूप्तानि निमत्त्रकाणि च [कारापिताः] स्नूपेः च छ्वायत्
रोपिताः॥ व्यजपताकागधमालयुष्णवार्तिसमुदवेणे पुजा: कः।
तस्य कर्मणो विपाकन:ोऽबुद्धु: उपपदः॥ यवः दशवर्षसहस्त्राणि
ब्रह्मचर्य चरितवः समयक्य प्रणिदानं कृतं॥ तस्य कर्मणो विपाके-
नाहृतं प्राप्तमिति।

इति श्रीविवादवाने॥ वीतशोकावदनमोंदलविषातितम॥

do not come to my nets?” Then he looked in all directions and
saw the Pratyeka Buddha seated under a tree near the nets.”
1Chl: cf. above. 2-3Chl omits. 4Chl reads: kalpañkōtiṣo. 5-6Chl “at
last he found the Way”. 7Chl adds: “by this demon (yakṣena)”.
7-8Chl omits. 9M8 & Div. arhatprātiño. 9-10Chl omits. 11Chl reads
saṅge for pravra”. M8 abhūt prādā. 12Div. & M8 bhaktāṁ. 13Div.
mantrakāti. M8 yavāgyāpā nīno. 14Div. & M8 chatrāvaropitāni
dhārajāḥ patākā. 15-16Chl omits these sentences. 16Chl adds: tadā
cā sa śraddhayā pravrajitāḥ. 17-18Chl acarat. 19Div. ABC omit.
M8 dānamālāyāṁ. 20Div. 21imam. D 22maḥ. M8 ekoṇaviṁśati.
कृपालविद्यानां

यशोभामायोपाख्यानां

'स्य इदानीमिचिरजातप्रसादो बुद्धशासने यत्र शाक्यपुत्रीयान् ददश्य, आकीणं रहिसि वा तत्र शिरसा पाद्योर्निपत्य स्ववते सम।
तस्य च यशोः नामामात्यः परस्मार्द्धि भगवति। स तं राजान्मुवाच।

देव नाहिः सर्वेण्यप्रत्रिजितां प्रणिपातं कदूः। सति हि शाक्यश्रामणेरकाश्चतुम्यों वर्णमयः प्रत्रिजिता इति। तस्य राजा न किचिद्वौचद्।

अथ स राजा केनचित् कालान्तरेण सर्वसचिवान् उवाच।
विविधानां प्रणिनां शिरोमिः कार्यः। तत्तथमूकस्य प्रणिनः शीर्षमानयः त्वमूकस्येति। यशोभामायः पुनरार्ज्ज्वतस्तवं मानुषं पुष्पमान्येवति।
समानीतेषु च शिरस्वमिहिता।। गण्धर्मोऽमानि शिरांसि मूल्येन विक्रीणोवविभिदि।

अथ सर्विरासि विक्रीतानि। तदेव मानुषं शिरों न कश्चिः

1-3 Chh reads: "Formerly, when king Asoka saw monks, he prostrated himself before all without any distinction of rank. Dignitaries with perverse views were astonished at what he was doing. They said: 'If an aged person with great merits is seen, one honours him by prostrating oneself. But why should a man take the trouble of honouring a young man without merit, by prostrating himself before him? The king reigns over vast Jambudvipa. His name is holy and held in reverence. He should respect his own personality himself. Why does he humiliate his own self by prostrating himself?' This remark having been circulated came to the ear of the king. When he came to know it, he assembled all his ministers. Without being authorised to kill a living creature, each was obliged to order his men to procure a head of a particular species, be it the head of a horse or bull or of any quadrupeds (lit. of the hundred quadrupeds)."

2 CD yaśā. 4 Chh "the great minister Yasāḥ". MSS. yaśā. 5 Chh adds: "self-murderer". 6-7 Chh "Everyone of them must get these heads sold in the market."
जग्राहः। ततो राजादिभिहतः। ‘विनापि मूल्येन कस्मैच्छद् एतच्छद्रो देहतीत।

न चास्य कशिचतृ प्रतिग्रहाक्रो बभूव। ततो वशोमात्यस्तस्य शिरसः प्रतिग्रहाक्षमानासां सत्रीडो राजानमुपेतेयदशम्मुचाच।

‘शोगद्मोस्मगुड्बङ्गाणां मू्येन्गीहताति शिरासिङ्गकुम्भ।’

विरस्तिन्द्र मानुषमण्डस्तं न गृह्यते मूल्यमृतेष्टपि राजन।

अथ स राजा तममात्यमुचाच। किमिदमिति। इदं मानुषशिरो

न कशिचस्त गृह्या।

अमात्य उवच। जुगुप्सितत्वादिति। राजाज्वीतु। किमे-

तदेव शिरो जुगुप्सितमाहोस्वति श्रंभवानामाशिरावःति। अमात्य उवच।

श्रंभवानामाशिरावःति।

राजाज्वीतु। ‘किमििंद मदग्राहामनि शिरो जुगुप्सितमिति।’ स च

भवात्रेत्वति तस्माद मूतार्थमभिनातु। स राजाज्यशिहितः।’ अमात्य

सत्यमुप्यात्तिमिति। स उवच। एवमिति।

ततः स राजा तममात्य प्रतिज्ञायं प्रतिष्ठाप्य प्रत्याविदायणिममण्डस्तः

मुचाच। ह्य भो उपेश्वर्ज्ञनितमदिविसित गुणत्विंदं भवत।। यस्मात्वं

मिस्कृतश्रण्णग्रामं मां विच्छद्वद्वितिमिच्छद्धस।

विनापि मूल्येन्ज्ञुगुप्सितत्वातु प्रतिग्रहाहता भुवि यस्य नासित।

श्रंभस्थदासां समेह पुष्यं यथासिं कं विपरीतमंत्र’।

¹Chl adds: “All the men (of the ministers) said, ‘The heads taken for sale have all been sold, except the head of the human being.’” ²–³Chl “‘Why is it not sold? Among all the creatures which one is the greatest?’ The ministers replied, ‘Certainly, man is the greatest.’ The king said, ‘If man is the greatest of all, he must have great value. Why then, it remains unsold?’” ⁴–⁵Chl “The ministers replied, ‘Though honoured during his life, is there anything more contemptible than a man when he is dead? The head of a (dead) man is a thing which none likes any more to look at. So there was none to buy it.’” ⁶–⁷Chl “If all human heads are contemptible, is not mine also?” ⁸MSS. ⁹tam. ⁹Chl adds: “As Your Majesty has said, really there is no difference.” ⁹–¹⁰Chl omits.
कुनालवांने

जाति भवानु पश्यति शाक्यभिक्षुभवत्तरगतांस्ते पुणः त्रैलये।
अतो भवानु जातिमदाक्षेपादासामनमन्यांश्च हृतम् सोहात्।
आवाहात्कालेव विवाहाकाले जाते: परीक्षा न न थर्मकाले।
थर्मक्रियाया हि गुणा निमित्ता गुणादश जाति न विचारयन्ति।
यथाचकुलीमनता दोषा गात्रोऽप्रयाण्ति कोकेन्द्रिति।
कथमिव नीचजनगता गुणा न सतकारस्हैव।
चित्रवेशोऽनि पुंसा कठेरविन्द्रते सत्क्रियः।
शाक्यरमणसनात्सि च शुद्धावयंवच्चयतः। शाक्यान्तः।
यदि गुणपरिवर्जितो हि जाति: पतित इति प्रथितोपि यात्वतः।
ननु नित्यकुलीमोदगताः यज्ञाम: शुभगुणयुक्त इति प्रणम्पूर्वः।
अपि क।

किं ते कारणकस्य शाक्यवृषभस्ततद्व चेतो न श्रुतं
प्राज्ञ: सारसारकिष्म्य इह यत्रेष्वो ग्रहीतुं क्षम!।
तस्यान्ध्रवर्तीनि यदि च तामािं चिकिर्षाम्यहः
व्याहत्तु च भवान् यदि प्रयत्ते नैतात्व मुहुलक्षण!।
दक्षुनदिवद् उविक्षितो भौति यदा कायो मम स्वस्थति
प्रायुक्तनन्मस्कृताः आपेक्षायकियस्यक्षम:।
कायेनाह्सनेन किन्तुः कुशलं शक्यामि करुः तदा
तस्मानः त्वहेमसः। इश्वाननिवनात् सारं ग्रहीतुं मया।।

1MSS. vaeti. 2MSS. rgyāny atah. 3MSS. na tu. 4All the MSS. read yantri" except D which reads yan bhṛtyo. 5MSS. rgya. 6-7Chl reads this passage as: "The king said, 'If my head is not different from that one, why do you prevent me from prostrating myself? If you are a sincere friend of mine, you must exhort me to prostrate myself. Why do you laugh at me while I prostrate myself? Now when my head has some value I should prostrate myself and exchange it (head) while it is still valuable; for, afterwards it will be worth nothing. What better use could I make of it than by exchanging it for a head of higher value? Henceforth, my virtuous and intimate friends must exhort me to fall prostrate while my head still holds all its value, so that in future, I may obtain the divine body (deva-deha) and the sublime head of sages.'" 6MSS. kintu. 7MSS. tasmān nārya. 
भवनादिव प्रदीप्तानू निम्नज्ञानादिवाप्सु रत्निनवे:।
कायाद् विधानिनद्नाद् ये सारं नाधिगच्छति॥
ते सारमपश्यतं: सारासारेष्वकोविदाद्राजा:।
ते मरणकरवदनप्रवेशसमये विषीदलित॥
दधिखृतनवननितकोपयोगाद्
वरमपह्वतसारो मणडकुम्भोवभन:।
न भवति बहुश्रोच्यं यद्देवं शरीरं
सुचरितह्वतसारं नैति: शोकोज्ञत्वकाले॥
सुचरिविमुखानं गवितानं यदा तु
प्रसमिनह हि मृत्युः कायकुम्भं भिनति॥
दहति हुद्येशपानं शोकविनिद्वस्तवानी
दधिघट इव भम्ने सर्वशोषोपायतसारे॥
कर्तवं विध्यमतो न मेडह्वति भवान् कायप्रणामं प्रति
श्रेष्ठोपस्मित्वपरीक्षको हि गणयत्: मोहान्वकाराभूत:।
कायं यस्तु परीक्षते दशवल्ल्वाहारादेवद्वृंधः
नासु पाधिवभूत्योऽविश्व[ः]मतं कायस्य संपन्न्यति॥
लविमासंस्तिविराजयकुलभूतयो भावा हि तुल्या नृणां
"आह्वांस्तु वित्वृष्णेतोर्भितका कायस्य निष्पाद्वते।"
एतत् सारसमेच्छनस्ते तु यद्विं लिङित्य कायाः
प्रत्युत्थाननमरस्तै: कुशां प्राशः: समुत्थाप्त्वः॥ इति।

राजासोकोपाध्यायानं

अध्यात्माको राजा हि श्रोदक्सिकतापिण्डोऽण्डकावतेश्वरोपि
असारारं कायस्यावेल्य, प्रणामादिभ्य: समुद्रस्य फलस्य बहुकप्यसः
स्थापितं सुसेवतं, महापृथिवीम्भः सारारस्तामवेक्ष्यं भगवतः।

¹MSS. "vidāḥ pra". ²MSS. "sāre. ³ABC ahā. ⁴ABC nispiḍyate rest nispiḍyate. Chh omits this passage. ⁵MSS. hirodaka⁶, himodaka⁷?
स्तूपवन्दनायाम् गतवा तत्र वृज्ज्वलि स्तिथति। कुताक्षरोऽवाच ॥

अस्ति कर्थिच्चिदन्योऽष्टि निर्दिष्टः। सर्वदेशिना ॥

यथासं तेन निर्दिष्टं पांशुवानेन धीमता ॥

तत्र यशो नामः, सहस्म्यविर उवाच। अस्ति महाराज। यदा ॥

समावरणकालसमयज्ञतदाम्पत्याऽन्तरे नागं दमयित्वा कुम्भकारिनं ॥
चण्डाली गोपालीं च नागं च मधुरामुत्प्राप्तः ॥

तत्र भग्वानायुष्मात्तमानं आमात्यकः। अथामानानदः ॥

मधुरायां वर्षेषस्तपरिनिर्वृत्तस्य तथागात्स्य गुरुऽन्तरे नामाय गार्भिकोऽभविष्यति ॥

तस्य पुरो भविष्यपुश्पगुरुऽन्तरे नामाय अववादकानामः।
अलुक्षणको बुद्धो यो मम वर्षेषस्तपरिनिर्वृत्तस्य बुद्धकार्यः करिष्यति ॥

"पश्चासः तमानदः दुर्गो" एवं नीलोधाम्बरराजिः। एवं

भद्रः। एष आनन्दः उक्षुमुङ्गः, नाम पर्वतोऽवर् ।
"वर्षेषस्तपरिनिर्वृत्तस्य तथागात्स्य" नामार्थायत्तं भविष्यति ॥

1 Chh begins: "When king Asoka had completed the construction of the stūpas, he was overcome with joy." 2 Chh omits it. 3 Chh adds here: "in Jambudvipa among the numerous persons". 4 MSS. add dvītyaḥ. CD sarvadārśino. 5 Chh omits.

6 MSS. "ye ta". 7 MSS. "kālāṁ caṇḍāli-go". 8–9 Chh "Formerly, when Buddha reached the kingdom of Uḍḍiyana, he subdued the dragon Apapo (Chh2 Apalāla). In the kingdom of Kashmir, he converted the Brāhmaṇa (lit. the master Brāhmaṇa). In the kingdom of Gandhāra, he converted Caṇḍāla. In the kingdom of Gandhāra he subdued the bull (go) and the Nāga. Thereupon, he proceeded again to the kingdom of Mathurā." Chh2 reads the names as: Apalāla Nāgarāja, Kumbhakāra, Caṇḍāla, Nāga(rāja); it omits Gopali. 10 AB āyuṣmam ā. C "man ā". D "mān ā". 11 MSS. "te." 12 Chh grhapatir. 13–14 Chh "Although he may not have the exterior marks (on his body), he will make conversion like Buddha (buddha-kāryam). Without entering into ecstasy he will have the power to read the thoughts of all living beings, within the distance of a yojana. He will be the best of all, in giving instructions in the courses of dhyāna (avvādakānām agrāḥ ?)." 15 Chh adds: "And once more Buddha said to Ānanda..."

16 Chh idānāṁ. 17 Chh "lāranyāṁ." 18–19 Chh omits. 20 Chh "For the (construction of) buildings and for their disposition, this place
चानन्द भविष्यति समथानुकूलानां सशयासनानां यदुत्त न्यायतिका नामार्थयायतनम्। आहृ च।  
अववादकानां प्रवर उपसुल्तो महायचा।  
व्याकृतो लोकनाथेश्व बुधकाय करिष्यति।।  
राजास्त्र 1।  
कि पुत्रं स शुद्धरत्व उपसना। अयावापि नोत्यदत्त इति।  
स्वाहिर उवाच। उत्तमं स महात्मा उक्सुके पर्वते जितनकैयो- 
ङ्गुङ्गणे।" परिवृत्तिः सिद्धिः "लोकानुकम्पार्थी। अपि च देव।  
सर्वाजलीयो हि स शुद्धसत्वो धर्मं प्रणीतं वदते गणारे।  
देवाः पुरुषोत्तमानुकम्पार्थे सहस्रकारों मोक्षपुरं प्रणोदिता।।  
तेनं खलु समयेनायुक्तमालवस्तुः ज्ञातासिम्बरहें तस्ये। परिवृत्तः 
न्यायरिकारणयायतने प्रतिवर्गित। श्रुत्वा च राजामात्यगणानं आहृ।  
करिष्यति।  
सनाह्यताः हृतिरथास्वकार्था। शोभं प्रयास्यत्त्रुसुमुखेश्वरल।  
इश्वाम्मी सर्वाधविन्मुक्तां साक्षादहेंत् हुप्पुग्रत्तमार्थ।  
लतोमात्यरिमितिः। देव॥ वृत्त: प्रेषित्यियो विषयनिवासों स 
देवस्य स्वयमावगमिति। राजास्त्र। "नासावस्माकमहेंत्यविदग्नलु।  
कित्तु वधमेवाहीमस्तस्यवामितलु। अपि च॥।

will be the best of all. People will be able to practise dhyāna. These are the (two) predictions made by Buddha (regarding you). The king having heard these words said to the Sthavira..."
possibly humiliate this man who is similar to Buddha.”
1 Ch1: cf. above. 2 Ch1 reads: niveditum. 3 MSS. add na. 4 Ch1 adds: jījñāsāyai ca. 5-8 Ch1 “If I allow the king to come to this state which has a small territory, there will be a multitude of ills.” 7-8 Ch1 “The Venerable having then gathered the boats made a big raft, twelve yojanas wide.” 9-11 Ch1 “The king was informed that the Venerable [Upa]-Gupta had arrived personally for the benefit and service of the king and that he had the ‘Great Prosperity’ as the pilot of his big boat (or raft).” The passage is obscure. The reading should have been: “the (Great) Law as the pilot” instead of “the Great Prosperity as the pilot”. cf. sāsana-kaṇḍa-dhāra. Ch2 reads: “The Law of Buddha is similar to a boat. O king, it is by doing good that one can cross the sea of the three worlds positively and reach the shore of ‘Non-being’.” 10 MSS. dṛṣṭ. 11 MSS. samābhyaṅgata. 12 Ch1 “a necklace that is worth a hundred thousand (śata-sahasra) ounces of gold”. 13-16 Ch1 “He ordered his followers to proclaim the following edict with the beating of drums.” 14 MSS. ghāṅṭāṁ. 15 Ch1 omits.
Those who wish to be born among the devas, wish to be liberated and (wish to) see Tathāgata, come together to make offering to Upagupta.' And he recited the following gāthā:"

1Chl omits.  2-8Chl "'Those who wish to be born among the devas, wish to be liberated and (wish to) see Tathāgata, come together to make offering to Upagupta.' And he recited the following gāthā:'"  4Wrong reading for yaiḥ. Vedic & Pali influence. Chl "Creatures who wish to see the most venerable among the bipeds, the great compassionate one, the Hero, one who rose without master (swayambhū?) whose teaching, similar to that of Buddha, illuminates the three worlds, may all assemble here and go to meet him.'"

6Chl adds: "The king having recited the gāthā".  6Chl omits.  7Chl adds: mārgaśobhāṁ.  8Chl adds: kusumapurāṇa nirgatyā.  9Chl ardhaṇīyamana.  10Chl āgacchantanā.  11Chl lit. parivṛttaṁ.  12-13Chl omits.  14-15Chl omits.  16=sthāpayitvā.  17-19Chl "The king received the Venerable Upagupta graciously. He prostrated himself humbly. He lay down on the earth with the five parts of his body,'"  18MSS.  nikṛnta.  20-21Chl omits.  22Chl adds: śraddhayā.  23Chl idāniṁ.  24Chl adds: jambudvīpāṁ jitaṁ.  25Chl adds: sapaṭṭanā dhanānvitā.  26Chl pūrvam.  27Chl adds: svacaksusā.
कुनालावधानं

त्वदर्शनानं से हिमगुणप्रसादः संज्ञातोविसिसनं वरशासनाम्।
त्वदर्शनाच्च चतर्पो बुद्धि दृष्टि मयाय अप्रतिमः। स्वयम्भूः।
अपि च।
शार्वर्तिनंते कारणं जिनेन्द्रे त्वं बुद्धकार्य कुरुषे चित्रके।
नष्टे जयंगोमोहनमीलितासे त्वमक्षणु ज्ञानवभासकत्ता।
त्वं शास्त्रवक्त्वे जगदेकचक्षुस्ववादकानां प्रवरं शरणं।
विभोः ममाजां वद वीधमहं कर्तिसं वाक्यं तत्र दृष्टस्वतः।
अथ स्वच्छरोपणपुपो दक्षिणेन पाणिना राजां विश्वस विर-मार्ज्या।
अप्रामादेऽ संपावः हां राजस्वयं प्रवर्तता।
दुर्भवसंहि रत्नाणि नित्यं पूजय वार्तिभ।
अपि च महाराजः। तेन भगवता। तथागततेनात्ता। सम्मक-सम्मुद्रेऽ सम्म मम शासनमुपयस्तं सत्तवार्थविवरणं। गणमध्यं परीतं संपालं यत्तोस्मामि।। राजाः। स्वच्छर यथार्थ निर्धिष्टो भगवता तदवन्तुस्ती। कुरः।

1-2 Chh omits. 3-4 Chh reads: yatas tvaddarsañanaiva buddho. 4MSS. pare'pi sūdhya. 5 Chh omits. 6 Chh “Moved by the faith and respect for the ‘Three Jewels,’ he recited the following gāthā:” 7 Chh omits it. 8 C naste. MSS. jaganmohanima. 8-9 Chh “When ‘the sun of wisdom’ is set, O Venerable, you perpetuate the great Light.” 10 Chh omits this line. 11 Chh omits this word. 12 Chh omits. MSS. pravartitām. 13 Chh adds: “The royal dignity and riches are difficult to preserve. Everyone must take refuge in Nirvāṇa. In this world none lives continually. (These two sentences are omitted in Chh2)” MSS. bhañi tri. 14 MSS. rājā. 15 Chh omits. 16 Chh “The king pronounced these gāthās:” 17 Chh adds: “temples”. 18 Chh “like a forest of the mountain”. 19-20 Chh “in order to decorate and purify (samsādhitum) the vast earth to the highest degree”. 21 Chh adds: jambudvīpe.
अपि च।

आत्मा पुणों गृहं दारा: पृथिवी कोशमेव च।

न कितन्ददपरित्यक्तं धर्मेऽराजस्य शासने॥

स्थविरोपगुप्त आह। साधु साधु महाराज। एतदेवानुथिते॥

कुतः॥

ये “धर्मसुपपजीवित्वता काययृ” भोगेश्च जीविते॥

गते काले न शोकति इष्टे यान्ति सुरालय॥

यावदृ राजा महतृ॥ श्रीसमुदयेन॥ स्थविरोपगुप्तं राजकुले

प्रवेशित्वा सवीणे नानुपरिगृह्या प्रज्ञ एवासने निषादयामास।

स्थविरोपगुप्तस्य शरीरं मूढं सुमुढं॥

तथथा तुल्लपिशुवा “कपसिपि-सुयृ॥

अथ राजा “स्थविरोपगुप्तस्य शरीरसंपर्शेऽमवग्म्” कुला-

उज्जव्लः॥

मृड़ुनि तेष्यानि उदारसतव तूलोपमाः काशिकोपमं च॥

हृद्द्विघ्न ल्यः त्यक्तवाचः निःस्थर्याचारः पश्चात्श्रयस्य॥

स्थविर उबाच॥

दानं मनां मुः प्रणीतं दत्तं मथा ह्यप्रतिपद्धलस्य।

न पांशुदानं हिं मथा प्रदत्तं यथा ल्यावाद्य तथागतत्स्॥

राजाह॥ स्थविर।

वालभावावहं पूवं क्षेत्रम् प्राप्यं ह्यनुतरं॥

पांशुन् सोपिववासत्त्र फलं यस्येदृश्यं मम॥

1MSS. ²trām. ²MSS. ²rān. Chl adds: prajāḥ. ³Chl reads: sarvam etat parityakṣye triratnam pariṣṭitrūm. ⁴MSS. sāra². ⁵MSS. yād. ⁶BCD ⁷tām, rest ⁸kām. We have corrected the text in accordance with the Chinese reading which is lit.: “At the cost of one’s body, life, and all good things, it is meet to confirm the Law.” ⁹Chl ityukte. ⁸Chl omits. ¹⁰MSS. mṛḍuḥ sumṛḍuḥ. ¹⁰-¹¹Chl omits. ¹²MSS. kūlapamahī kāsīsamoṣpaṁ ca. Chl omits kāsī². ¹³Chl “Formerly, when I made offerings, I always made those of pure and incomparable things. I never availed myself of earth for making an offering.” ¹⁴AC kṣatram. ¹⁴-¹⁵Chl buddhāṁ prāpya kṣetraṁ (“the field of merit”).
अथ स्वारीरो राजान्तः संहर्ष्यश्लुधाचः। महाराजः। पश्य क्षेत्रस्य माहृत्यम् पांशुश्रवणे विरुऽहाते।
राजकृष्णेन ते प्राप्ता आधिपत्यमनूतरं।।
शुद्धवा च राजा विश्वमोक्शमुक्ते। अमात्यानाहृथ्योवाच।
बलचक्कवत्तिराज्यं प्राप्तं से पांशुदानमात्रेण।
"केन भगवानुः स्कन्तो नार्चिष्ठत्वः प्रवलनः।।
अथ राजा स्वारीरोपगुप्तस्य पांश्योनिंपत्योवाच। स्वारीरोऽयं
मे मनोरथोऽयं भगवता बुद्धेन प्रदेशा अप्युष्टितास्तातः। अर्हं।।
চিহ্নিতি
চुकुरी। पश्चिमस्य जनतायामनुष्ठायां।।
स्वारीर उवाच। साधु महाराज ॥१०॥ शोभनस्ते चित्तोत्तपादः॥
अहं॥ प्रदाश्चिन्धियामविचुः।
"बुद्धेनायुषिता देशस्तातनु मस्ये कृतानि जलः॥
गत्वा चिह्निति लेखवेत करिष्ठाम न संशयं॥॥
अथ राजा चुनुर्चञ्चलकार्यं सनातना गन्धमाल्यपुष्पमादाय॥
स्वारीरोपगुप्तसहायाः॥ संस्कृतः।। अथ स्वारीरोपगुप्तो राजानस्योऽकं
सर्वग्रहणेन लुभिनीविने प्रवेशादित्वा दक्षिण हृतमध्यमसार्योवाच।
असिमनः महाराज प्रदेशे भगवानु जातः। आह। च।
इदं हि प्रथमं चैत्यं बुद्धयोज्यमचक्रुषः।
जातमात्रेन स मुनि: प्रकान्तः सप्तपद्व सुवि।॥

1-2 Chh "with a courteous countenance said". 2-3 Chh "He whose field of merit (kṣetra) is incomparable can manage so that for a gift of dust the retribution be so great and precious." 4 Chh "experienced joy that he never experienced before." 5 Chh "That is why one must, with a zealous heart, make offerings to the Three Jewels (triratna)." 6-7 Chh teṣu sarveṣu stūpān pratiṣṭhāpayāmi. 8 Chh janatāyāṁ śraddhāṁ prasādaṁ ca utpādayantu. MSS. add here: āha ca. ye buddhena bhagavatā pradesā adhyuṣītās tāt ācayam aham gatva cīrighā caiva kuryām pāsāmān janatāṁ anukampārtham. This is not found in the Chinese translations. 9 Chh "The Venerable praised him with these words:"
चतुर्दिष्टमवलोकयूँ वाचवं भाषितवानूँ पुराः।
इत्य एव पश्चिमा जातिगभीवासास्त पश्चिमः।
अथ राजा सर्वकारीणेन ततो "पादयोरूः नियत्योत्ताय।"
कुतायन्त्रित: प्रसादस्वामाः।
धन्यास्ते कुत्पुष्पास्त्र यैत्रुष्टः स महामृतन्।
प्रजातः" संभूता त्यैत्र वाचस्तत्स्त्व मनोरमा:।
"अथ स्वचिरो राजः प्रसादवृक्षस्वामवाचः। महाराज किं
क्रयति स्तां देवताः।

यया तु दृष्टः प्रजायन् स बनेस्मिन् वदतां वरः।
कम्ममाण: पदान् सत्य श्रुता वाचो यया सुने:।
राजाः। परं स्वचिर दृष्टामाः। अथ स्वचिरोपगुप्तो यस्य
वृक्षस्य शाखामवलम्ब्य देवी महामाया:। प्रसूता लेनः
दक्षिणहस्त-मध्यप्रसारिः उवाच।

नैवासिका: या इहासोककुक्रे सम्बूदवस्तिनी "थया देवकथय।
साक्षासौ दर्शयतु स्वदेहं राजो हायोकस्य "प्रसादबृक्षः।।
यावत् सा तद् देवता स्वरूपेण" स्वचिरोपगुप्तस्तिमपेः स्वतवा
कुतायन्त्रितवाच। स्वचिर किमाज्जाप्यसति। अथ स्वचिरो राजा-
नशोकमुबाचव। महाराज इस्य सा तद् देवता यया दृष्टो भगवान्
जायमानः। अथ राजा कुतायन्त्रितस्त तद् देवतामुबाचः।

इदुष्टस्तव्या लक्षणसृष्टितां:। प्रजायमान: कम्बायतास्तः।
श्रुतास्तव्या तस्य नर्षभमस्या वाचो मनोजः प्रथमा:।

1 Chl adds: karaṁ pragṛṣya. 2-3 Chl śraddhayā prāṇipatya. 4 Chl rūdan gāthām uvāca. 5 Chl "Besides, who have seen Buddha in the place of his birth." 6 MSS. rāmā. 7-8 Chl reads: mayā cākṛtapunyena bhagavān nāvalokitaḥ, na drṣṭo navajātōśay vacas tasya śrutāṁ na ca. 9-10 Chl omits. 11 Chl "indicated the place where...". 12 Chl māyā. 13 Chl omits it. 14 Chl adds: “spoke to the spirit of the mango-
tree.” 15-16 Chl omits. 17 MSS. yā na. 18 MSS. add: manāḥ. 19 Chl vyāsa-de. 20-21 Chl varūpaṁ darśayamāśa. 22 Chl “recited this gāthā:” 23 Chl lit. “The decorated one and one whose body is adorned
with the auspicious marks and submarks.” 24 Chl lit. ṭṣabha-
rājasya. 25 Chl omits.
देवता प्राहः

मया हि दृष्टः कन्कावदातः प्रजायमानोऽद्विपदप्रधानः।
पादानि सत्य धर्ममाण एव श्रुतात्मव वाचा ३ अपि तस्य शास्त्रः।

राजाधव। कथयः देवते कीवदासी भगवतो जायमानस्य
श्रीरंभूवेति। देवता ४ प्राह। न शक्यं मया वारिष्ठं संप्रकाश्यितमभि
तु संस्कृतः श्रुतः।

विनिमिताभा कन्कावदाता सैद्धे चिलोके नयनाभिमारोः।
ससागाराण्यं च महर्षि सशेषदा महारणवस्था हव नौऽचनस्याऽऽः।

यावव्रजा जात्यं शतसुखं वतं। चैत्यं च प्रतिष्ठाय राजा
प्रकाशः। अथ स्थिरोरपुरसु राजायं कपिलवस्तु निबोधयितवा दक्षिण-
हस्तमिहितस्याऽयावाच। अथस्मू प्रदेशस्महराज बोधिसत्त्वो राजा:
षुगदोनञ्चोपनामि। तं द्वारिष्ठमहापुष्पलक्षणालं तस्यारस्यमसेच-
नकदर्शां च दृश्या राजा सवभारीवेण बोधिसत्त्वस्य पाद्योपनिपितः।५

इदं महराज शाक्यवर्गं नाम देवकुलम्।।

अथ बोधिसत्त्वो जातामात्र उपनितो देवमर्ममणिशति।

dेववेदवता ६ च बोधिसत्त्वस्य

पाद्योपनिपितः। ततो राजा षुगदोनन बोधिसत्त्वो देवतासाम्प्रयं

dेव इति तेन बोधिसत्त्वस्य देवातिदेवि ७ इति नामधेयं कुतः।

अथस्मू प्रदेशस्महराज बोधिसत्त्वो ब्राह्मणानाः

नैमित्तिकानाः ८ विपश्चिकानाम्

उपदाधिः।।

अथस्मू प्रदेशेऽस्तितेन ऋषिणा निर्देष्टो बुद्धो लोके

भविष्यति।।

1 Chh adds: “this gāthā”. 2 Chh omits it. 3 Chh lit. “voice”. MSS. śrutā ca vācam api. 4–5 Chh “What happened at the moment of birth of the Adorned One?” 6 Chh vṛkṣa-de. 7 Chh adds: “Then she recited this gāthā:” 8 Chh omits. 9–10 Chh “Human beings and gods were delighted at the sight of him.” 11 MSS. nau cacāla. 12 Chh “in that place”. 13 Chh lit. “a hundred thousand ounces of gold”. 14 MSS. dvātrīṁśatā ma. 14–15 Chh omits. 15–16 Chh “Then he showed the place where people sacrificed to the gods of the Śākyas.” 17 Chh “But the images of gods made of wood and clay came to venerate him and...”. 18 Chh “god among gods”. Chh2 “god of gods”. 19 Chh omits. 20 MSS. 20 Chh omits. 21 MSS. tam.
अशोकावलिन्

- असिन्न प्रदेशे महाराज 'ययाप्रजापत्या संवर्धितः। असिन्न प्रदेशे लिपिज्ञान विशार्दितः। असिन्न प्रदेशे हस्तग्रीवायामस्तुत्थः रघु शालभन्युः तोमरप्रहेदकुकुशः कुलानुपासु विद्यासु' पार्शवः संबृगः। इय बोधिसत्वस्य 'भद्रायामशाला अम्बूव। असिन्न प्रदेशे महाराज बोधिसत्वो 'देवताशालसहस्तः परिवृतः' पश्चिमः स्त्रीसहस्तः अर्थात् रतिमन्वृतवान्।

असिन्न प्रदेशे बोधिसत्वो जीवनःनुसृतमस्तंबनवृत्तिः वनं संप्रिष्ठः। असिन्न प्रदेशे जम्बुच्छायायां निषेध विविष्ठं पापकरपुनोत्तरीक्षेयमेँ: सजितक सञ्चारः विवेकः प्रीतिसुयमन्यवसदृढः स्थायत्वः समापतः। अथ परिणते मथायोऽनुभितकाते सक्तकालसमे-न्येषां पूज्यां श्रावः प्राचीनजनमाक्रमेत्यहो सर्वत्रिषुरूपणा प्राचीनाल्पभारा जम्बुच्छायां बोधिरत्वस्य कार्यं न जनावः। १३दृष्टा च पुनः राजा शुद्धिन्द्रः१४ सर्वचारीरेण बोधिसत्वस्य पाद्योऽन्तितः। अनेन द्वारे बोधिसत्वो देवताशालसहस्तः परिवृत्तोऽवरा चैपिपिलसुनो निर्गतः।

असिन्न प्रदेशे बोधिसत्वेन छन्दक्यास्यमाहसरणानि च वद्वा प्रतिनिधित्वः। "आह च।

छन्दक्षभरणान्यस्यवृत्तिः असिन्न प्रतिनिधित्वः।१६ निरपस्याको चौर: प्रविष्टेक्कोष्ठोवान्।११

\[1\] Chh omits mahā. 
\[2\] MSS. sarodhanugrahe to. 
\[3\] Chh omits. 
\[4\] Chh viśrāma-)jātā ("vesma"). 
\[5\] Chh omits. 
\[6\] Chh adds jāta. 
\[7\] Chh omits. 
\[8\] It adds here: "Then he led the king to the jambu tree, and raising his hand he showed the king by saying...". 
\[9\] Chh reads "By reflection, being detached from desire, from malice and sins (pāpakair aku), he had the intuition (insight), and entered into contemplation; he renounced (re-)birth, was satisfied and joyful (pritisukham) and attained to the first stage of dhāyāna."
\[10\] After jambucchāyāvain nisadaya, Chh inserts "He went to the forest" which should have been found above (Vide fn. no. 8). 
\[11\] CD atha parinait. 
\[12\] CD o'chāyā. 
\[13\] १०-१२ Chh "The tree having changed the direction of its shade, the latter did not turn aside (from the Bodhisattva)."
\[14\] १३-१४ Chh atha. 
\[15\] Chh omits it. Chh reads always: "with the five parts of his body (pañcaṅga-pranāma)" for sarva-śarīrena. 
\[16\] Chh omits ardhā-rā. 
\[17\] MSS. rātreh. 
\[18\] MSS. chandabhara-ṇānī avamī ca asmi. 
\[19\] १६-१८ Chh omits. 
\[20\] Chh vanain for tapo."
"असिन् प्रदेशे बोधिसत्त्वो लुधकसकासात् कालिकैत्वः।
कापायणि वस्त्राणि ग्रहऽ्ये प्रग्रजितः। ।
असिन् प्रदेशे मागवेणाया श्रमेशोपपिनिनिलितः।
असिन् प्रदेशे बोधिसत्त्वो राशा विष्णसारे
णार्यराज्येनोपपिनिलितः। असिन् प्रदेशे "आरादोनकमभिगतः।
आह च।

उद्यकारासका नाम ऋषयोपसिन् तपोवने।
अभिगतायसल्लेन पुरुषोदर्ण तापिता:।
असिन् प्रदेशे बोधिसत्त्वो पड़रापि दुक्कर मीणी। आह च।
पड़रापि हिः कटुकं तपस्तप्तं महामुनि:।
नायं मागो ह्यमिज्या इति ज्ञत्वा समर्थजस्तः।।
असिन् प्रदेशे बोधिसत्त्वनन्दनाय नन्दनदलायाय व्रामिक
दुहि:। सकाशात् शोवसणूणितं मघपायसं परिमुक्तः।

"आह च।
असिन् प्रदेशे नन्दनाय मुक्ता च मधुपायसं॥
बोधिसत्त्व महावीरोऽजगम चवतं वर:॥
असिन् प्रदेशे बोधिसत्त्: कालिके्न पाराजेन बोधिमूल
मविच्छलसं संस्तुतः। ।

1 Chhl adds: "Then he (Upagupta) showed the place where the Bodhisattva, having cut his hair with a knife, threw it in the air and where Śakra-devendra received it respectfully." 2 Chhl "with precious garments". 3 Chhl "exchanged". 3-4 Chhl omits. 5 Chhl reads: śrāḍgkalā[mam]udra[ka]rāmaṃ abhi. MSS. arātro. Chh2 omits the first name and reads the second as: "Udra[ka]Rāmaputra". 6-8 Chhl omits. 7 MSS. gātacārya. 8 MSS. tā. 9 MSS. cūṇah. Chhl adds: gāthā. 10 MSS. omit hi. 9-11 Chhl "For six years, the Bodhisattva devoted himself to austerities, by lying on ashes and on thorns (kaṭukamp tapah). Having recognised that it was wrong to conduct himself thus and that it was not the true way, he renounced asceticism, and practised the true Law." 11 MSS. read this pāda: "ya iti jñātā samutsyeta. 12 Chhl omits it. D dhuhitryāh. 13-14 Chhl "received a pulp of rice-milk with hundred savour." Chh2 "received sixteen times a pap of rice-milk." ABC prāyasam. 15 Chhl omits it. 16-17 Chhl "Bodhisattva". 18 Chhl adds: "The king built stūpas in all the places which the Venerable indicated." 19 Chhl "Kāla". Chh2 "Kāli [ka]". 20-31 Chhl omits.
आहं च।
कालिकमुज्जेिनं संस्तुतो वदत्वं चरः।
प्रयातोिनं मार्गं बोधिमण्डलमूर्तवाचः।
अथ राजा स्थिवरस्य पादयोिपत्य कुटाम्ज्जेिस्वा्ष।
अपि पर्येम नागेिनं येन दृष्टस्तथायअ।
व्रजानोिनं मार्गं मतताग्नेिन्द्रविक्रमं।
अथ कालिको नागराजः स्थिवरसमस्येि स्थितः कुटाम्ज्जेिस्वाच।
स्थिवर किमानयस्तीति। अथ स्थिवोरो राजानुमुिवाच। अथ
स महाराज कालिको नागराजः येन सर्वान् अनेन्मार्गं बोधिमूलं
निषेध्यं संस्तुतः। अथ राजा कुटाम्ज्जेिलः कालिकः नागराजामुिवाच।
दृष्टस्तथाया ज्वलितकालेनतुल्यवर्णः।
शास्त्रा ममाज्जेितमः शारदेनुवन्वकः।
आलयः मे दशाबलस्य गुणोक्षेणं
तत्कौशली वद हि श्रीःः सुगतःः तदानीः।
कालिकः उवाच। न शक्यं वारिः संप्रकाशयितुमपि तु
संकेशं श्रुणु।
चरणतुष्परािकः सम्बैलो
ह्वनितलःः प्रचािल प्रद्विकारं।
रविक्षिणििवभािधिकाॽ नूळोके
सुगतशशीखुिरक्षाः मनोजः।

1–2 Chl omits. 1 MSS. kālikena bhū. 2 MSS. ṛthinaḥ. 3–4 Chl "Now I wish to question Kāla, the Nāgarāja, on the circumstances under which he had seen Buddha." Then the Venerable said to the Nāgarāja: 'Quickly appear! Quickly appear! The king wishes to question you on that which took place when you saw Buddha.'" 5 Chl omits it. 6 Chl "Kāla." 7–8 Chl gāthayā (lit. reciting one gāthā). 9–10 Chl gāthām uvāca. 11 MSS. vada bhavan. 12 MSS. vada bhavan. The Chinese reading is adopted here. 13 Chl "When he advanced towards the Bodhi-tree (gate bodhimalam?)." 14 Chl nāgarāja. 15 Chl na śakyā sā śriḥ. 16 Chl talahatā sasindhusailā. 17 Chl oṁ bhṛṣam. MSS. oṁ saśaśā avanis tada. 18 MSS. oṁkārapra. 19 MSS. oṁ śa śaśā avanis tada. 18–30 Chl raviśākiranādhikaiḥ [triloke] sugata- tanukirāṇair diśā babhāse.
यावद राजा चैत्रं प्रतिष्ठाय्य प्रकाशत्। अथ स्थविरोपगुप्तो राजानं बोधिमूलमुपनाममिल्ला दक्षिणा करसमिस्रायंवाच। असिन् प्रदेशे महाराज बोधिनिह्वेन महामेघवीह्वेन सकलं मारबलं जिल्वास्नूतरा सम्यककुसम्मोधिरविसम्बुधा। 'आहूं च।

इन्हं मुनिवृक्षेण बोधिमूले नमुचिन्नं विक्रं मिरस्तमायु।
इदममृतमखरमणगच्छं बोधिमूलं छाहं गवस्यमेवनेन तेन।

यावद राजा बोधीं शतसहस्तं दतं। चैत्रं च प्रतिष्ठाय्यं राजा प्रकाशत्। अथ स्थविरोपगुप्तो राजानं महोकवाच। असिन् प्रदेशे भगवानं चुरल्ल शत्सानानं सकाशाचुं चतवारि शेल्मयानिनं पात्राणि प्रह्यां 'एकपात्रमधियुतं। असिन् प्रदेशे चुपुष्यस्लक्योर्विविज्जोरिपि पिण्डपात्रं प्रतिष्ठाहीतं। असिन् प्रदेशे भगवानं 'वाराणसीमतिगच्छन्तुं उपगयानाजीविकेन संस्तुतं। यावतु स्थविरो राजानम् ज्ञातितमं उपनियं वशिष्यं हस्तमभिसायायोवाच। असिन् प्रदेशे महाराज भगवता तिपरितं यादशाकारं यम्मं धर्मं चक्रं प्रववितं।

"आहूं च।"

शुभं सर्वमं सर्वं संसारसारविनिवर्तयः।
असिन् प्रदेशे नाथेन प्रववितमनुत्तरं।
असिन् प्रदेशे जटिलसहस्तं प्रखरजितं। असिन् प्रदेशे राज्यो विम्बसारस्य धर्मं देवितं। राजा च विम्बसारेन सर्वायनं दृष्टानि।

1—2 Ch1 omits. 3 Ch1 lit. "a hundred thousand ounces of gold". 4 Ch1 ‘sthāpitam. 4—5 Ch1 omits. 6 Ch1 "god-king of gods". Ch2 "king of gods (for mahārāja)". 7 Ch omit. 8—9 Ch1 "striking them with the hand, changed them into only one pot." Ch2 "received four pots and united them into a single one." 9 MSS. "muktam. 9—10 Ch1 "Then he showed the place where five hundred merchants fed (him)." 10 MSS. 'piṇḍapātraḥ hitah. 11—12 Ch1 "arrived at the house of the woman of Banaras. Then he showed the place where a Brāhmaṇa praised Buddha. The king erected stūpas in all the places." 13 MSS. upagenañjivikena. 14 Ch1 "the wood of the old Rśi". MSS. "vadanam. 14—15 Ch1 omits. 16—17 Ch1 "In that place the king erected a stūpa and gave a hundred thousand ounces of gold." 18—19 Ch1 omits. 20—21 Ch1 "Tathāgata liberated a thousand Brāhmaṇas."
"चतुर्वीशीतिभिष्क देवतासहस्रेष्ठः" अनेकैश्च माराधकैश्च ब्राह्मणगृहपतिः सत्तुः।। असि नु प्रदेशो भगवता शक्त्य देवन्द्रस्य धर्मः देवितः।।
शक्ते घ सत्यानि दुःखानि चतुर्वीशीतिभिष्क देवतासहस्रेष्ठः।। असि नु प्रदेशो महाप्रतिहार्य विदैरं तत्।। असि नु प्रदेशो भगवानः देवेषु
चर्चितशेषो वर्षी उषिता । मातुर्जननियम्य धर्मः देवसितवा देवगण-परिवृतः।। अवतीर्णः।। विस्तरे घ यावत्, स्तविरोरो राजानमशोकं
कुसौंशिस्सरीमुपातमधितवा दक्षिणं कर्ताषमभिःप्रसाधारेः।। असि नु
प्रदेशो महाराज भगवानः" सकलं जुद्दकार्यः कुत्ता निरुपधिते।। निवारण-
वाती प्ररिनिबृतः।। "आहु च।
लोकं सदेवमुनुञ्जसुस्वकञ्चनमन्नमस्यधम्मविविधे मतिमानु विनीय।
बैनेयसांतविरहादु। प्रशालत्रुसुमः शारितं गत: परमकारणको महूषि।।
श्रुतवा च राजा गृहितः।। पतितः।। यावजु जलपरिकेषं कुत्तो-
त्यापितः।। अथ राजा कथयित्वं संज्ञामुपुलम्य वग्रनिरविणि शतसहस्रं दक्षिणः
चैतं प्रतिष्ठायं पादयोनिपतिवोच च।। स्तविरो अयं में मनोरोक्षो ये च
भगवता आवकाम अग्रतायं निरिण्द्वास्ते शरीरपूजायं करिधामिति।
स्तविर उवाच। साधु साधु महाराजः।। शोभनस्ते चिन्तोत्तपादः।।
स्तविरो राजानमशोकं जेतवनं प्रवेशसायित्वा दक्षिणं कर्तानमभिः
प्रसाधारेः।। अयं महाराज स्तविरसारिपुलस्य स्तूपः। स्तविरमस्यार्थान्निवितति।
राजाः के तस्य गुणा वैमूहुः। स्तविर उवाच। "स्य हि द्वितीयशास्त्राः
धर्मेनाथिपिरतिधर्मेनचक्रघ्रतेः" प्रज्ञातामश्रो निविष्टो भगवता।।

1MSS. omit catur. 2-3 Chh. "Removing impurities and averting
defilement, 84000 kings of gods obtained the eye of the Law
in its purity (dharmaṣeṣu viṣuḍdhaṁ)." 3MSS. omits it. 4Chh.
adds: srotāpattī labdha. 5-6Chh omits. 7-8Chh devānāṁ
trayastriṃ-
śānāṁ svaṁge. 9Chh omits it. 10Chh adds: "The king constructed
precious stūpas in all the places indicated previously." 11MSS.
bhagavan. 11-12Chh "after having completed the conversions
(buddhakāryaṁ?) he had to do". 13-15Chh omits. 14MSS. virahān upa. 15Chh sokābhitatā mūrcitaṁ. 17Chh adds:
krīḍajalit. 18MSS. "vīrō-
yaṁ. 19Chh lit. stūpa-pijāna. 20-21Chh lit. "You are entitled to
experience these profound sentiments of faith and respect." 22-23Chh
"He was the best of all the great masters of the Law of Bhagavat."
सर्वंलोकस्य या प्रजा स्थापित्वा तथागतं ।
शारिरुपस्य प्रजाया: कलां नाहृति षोडशi।

'अाह च।' ' ॥
सद्धमचक्रपलुं यज् जिनेन प्रवतितं ।
अनुवृत्तं हि तत्रैः तेन शारिरपुणेण शीमिता। ॥
कस्तस्य साधु बुद्धाद्यः ॥ पुष्पः शारदतस्येह ।
शारदवाः गुणगणनिधि बलं शक्तिः निरञ्चोपात् ॥
ततो राजा प्रीतमना: स्थविरशारदतिपुणेषु शतसहस्तं द्वा
कुताल्यलिगवाच ॥
शारदतिपुणेषु मक्तथा वन्दे ॥ विमुक्तवभवस्यः ॥
लोकप्रकाशकरितं ॥ ज्ञाततामुतमसम्बोरः ॥

यावत् स्थविरोपगुतः स्थविरः महामौद्र्गत्यायनस्य स्तूपमुप-
दर्शयनुवाच। अवः महाराज स्थविरः महामौद्र्गत्यायनस्य स्तूपः। ॥
कियतामस्याचर्चनमिति। राजायः। केतस्य गुणा वमूर्चितम्। स्थविर
उवाच। स हि कुलिमस्तमश्रो निर्दिष्टो भगवता येन दक्षिणेन पादा-
द्गुणेनः शक्तस्य देवेन्द्रस्य वेजयन्तः। प्रासाद: प्रकम्पितो नन्दोपनेन
नागराजानी।। विनती। 'अाह च।

शक्तस्य येन भवनं पादाद्गुणेन कम्पितं।
पूजनीयः प्रयत्नेन कोलित: स हिमतोरमः ॥
भृजोद्वरी प्रतिभयो वानी येनातिदुर्बद्रोः ॥
कस्तस्य शुद्धबुद्र: ॥ पारे गच्छेदु गुणापिवस्य ॥

यावद राजा महामौद्र्गत्यायनस्य स्तूपे शतसहस्तं द्वा कुताल-
्यलिगवाच ॥

1-8 Chh omits. 2MSS. 'tan. 4MSS. buddhānyaḥ. 4-6Chh samkṣepād vinā. 8Chh "Adoring Śāriputra he recited this gāthā:"
7-8Chh omits. 9Chh saṅgaḥ saḥ. 10Chh pārṇakīrtir. 11Chh ottamo viraḥ.
12Chh omits mahā. 13MSS. idaṁ. 14MSS. pāṁ. 15Chh pādena. 16Chh omits. 17 = rājau. 18-19Chh "I said it briefly." 18MSS. add tau
after dāntau. 20Chh vai vacobbhiḥ. 21Chh gāthāṁ babhāse.
श्वरिताम्रग्रहो यो जनमज्ञराजारोकुःऽनिन्वृक्तः।
मौदिवाल्यांनबद्दे सूङ्चारी प्रणिपतये विस्थायताः।
यावत् स्थविरोपगुप्त: स्थविरमहाकाशपस्य स्तूपस् 'उपदर्शः-
यसुवधः। अयं महाराज स्थविरमहाकाशपस्य स्तूपः'। त्रियता-
मस्यार्धनमिति। राजाशह। के तस्य गुणा बभूलः। स्थविरोवधः।
स 'हि महात्मालविधार्यानाः सत्तुष्टानां धूतगुणाविनायमाः' निर्दिष्टो
भगवता, अर्थानेनोपनिमस्त्रितं: 'ब्लेतीवर्णेणाच्छादितो दीनावुर-
ग्राहक: शासनसंधारकस्मचेति। 'आह च।
पुष्पक्षेरां मुदारं दीनावुरग्राहको निरारायः।
सर्वश्रीवर्यः शासनसंधारको मतिमान्।।
कस्तस्य 'गुरोमन्मूङ्जो' 11 वक्तू शक्तो गुणान् निरवशेषान्।
आसनवरस्य 13 सुमतिवरस्य जिनो दत्ववान्धः।।
ततो राजाश्चोकः स्थविरमहाकाशपस्य स्तूपे शतसहस्रं दत्वा
क्रृतायज्जिलिभवः।
पवंतगुणालिलयंभगः 14 बैरपरातमुखं प्रक्षमयक्षं।
सत्तुष्टिपुणविवृढः बवदे खलु काश्यं पविरर्ष ।।
यावत् स्थविरोपगुप्त: स्थविरबलकुलस्य 15 स्तूपं दंशियसुवधः।
अयं 16 महाराज स्थविरबलकुलस्य 15 स्तूपः।। त्रियतामस्यार्धनमिति।
राजाशह। के तस्य गुणा बभूलारितः।

1Ch2 and three editions of Chl have the reading ‘mrtyu’ in place of ‘jarā’. Only the Korian edition of Chl reads ‘jarā’. 2Chl omits.
3Chl omits mahā. 4-5MSS. omit. 6Chl “echo’ìpatuśto. 7Chl “first of those who practised the dhūtas”. Ch2 ‘(best of those who prac-
tised) the painful practice of the dhūtas”’. 8Chl svacitavrena”. 9-10 Chl
“Now I speak to you briefly.” 11Chl tapaso. 12-13Chl omits.
14Chl “seated in the caves of hills”. 15Chl “Alien to all anger, he
practised constantly dhyāna and ecstacy” for praśama”. 16MSS.
santoṣānītt gu”. 16-11Chl “He had only a little desire and he knew
how to be content with a little. His merit was incomparable.
Now I honour him (by bowing) the head. I prostrate myself
before him, with my whole heart.” 18Ch “Bakkula” or “Bakula”.
18MSS. idam. 20MSS. "pam.”
स्थविर उवाच। स महात्मायापवाधानामु अग्रोऽ निदिष्टो भगवता। अधि च न तेन कस्यचिद् द्विदिका गाथा आचिता। राजाः। दीयतामत्र काकणीः। यावदमात्यर्मितिः। देव किमेव तुष्येषवस्थतेषव्व नाम काकणी दीयते इति। राजाः। अभ्यतामन्त्र-भिन्नत्रायो मम।

आज्ञाप्रदीप्तेन मनोगृहस्य हुतं ततो यद्दलि तेन कृत्तं।
"अल्पेच्छःभावास्त कृतं हि तेन यथा कृतं सत्तवीतं तद्यथः।"
सा प्रत्याहता तस्येव राज: पादमूले निपतिता। यावद् अमाया विसमता। ओऽु। अहो तस्य महाराजमात्र्येच्छः। बम्बूवानायणयथी।
यावदैः स्थविरोपण्युः न स्थविरान्नदः स्तूपमुमुपदश्र्वः।
अयः स्थविरान्नदः स्तूपः। किंयतामस्याच्छन्नमिति। राजाः। के तस्य गुणा बम्बूवरिति। स्थविर उवाच। "सं हि भगवत उपस्थायको बम्बू। बहुरात्मानाम्रायो ग्रन्थचन्द्राहकस्मेवति। आहुः च।"

मुनिपात्रक्रणः। "स्मृतिधृतिमतिनिदिन्नितम:। श्रुतसम्ब्रुक्तः।"
विस्फूरतः मधुरवचनः। सुनरमस्मित्वं शदनं।
सम्बुद्धचित्तकुकुशः। सर्वथा। विचिक्र्योऽ गुणकरणः।
जिनसंस्तुतो जिततरः। सुनरसमहित:। शदनं।

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1Chl bādhāhānānām alpecchānānām cāgro ("best of those who are free from failings and who have only a little desire"). 2Chl "Never did he instruct people a gāthā of a quarter pāda (ekapādikā gāthā)."
Ch2 "Never did he speak to people one or two pādas of the Law (ekapādo dvipādō vā dharmo bhāsitaḥ)." 3Chl reads: "a piece of gold". 4-6Chl "Because he has liberated himself (alone) and not others. And hence I give him only a single piece (of gold)." 5A ahanyebhāān. 6-7Chl "The spirit in the stūpa refused (it) and returned (the piece) to the king." 7CD ētāḥ. 8Chl omits it. 9MSS. imān. 10MSS. stūpaṁ. 11-12Chl "Tathāgata has designated him as the best of those who preserved (Dharma) in its totality." 13Chl "dharma". 14-15Chl "The strength of his mind (lit. thought), his wisdom and the extent of his knowledge (śruti, bahusruti) were comparable to the ocean." 16Chl "marvellous". 17Chl omits. 18Chl "He was perfectly good and full of merits." 18-19Chl "He was the casket confining the multitude of dharmas."
'यावद् राजा तस्य स्तुपे कोटित्वता। यावद् अमाल्यैरभिन्नतः।
किम्यथमयं देव सर्वोऽसाताशाश्यकमेते पूज्यते।

राजाजै। शृवङ्गतामभिप्रायः।
यतःऽक्रीरं वदतः। वरस्यं धर्मितमो धर्ममयं विशुद्धं।
तद्धारितं तेनं विशीकरणमा तस्माद् विशेषण स पूजनीयं।।।
धर्मप्रदीपो ज्वलितं प्रजासु कठेशालेध्वरान्तकरं यदौ।
तद्ध कत्मभावात् "मुगलेन्द्रशुनोवस्तर्माद् विशेषण स पूजनीयं।।।
यथा सामुद्रं सहिष्ठं समुद्रेष्ठस्य कल्चिन्द्रं न हि गोष्ठदेन।
नाबेन तद्वर्मवक्ष्य भावू सुग्नात्कोैष्यं व्यविरोधिभिषिक्तं।।।
�थ राजा स्थविराणां स्तुपार्चनं कुला स्थविरोपमुपतश्च
पाद्योनिपत्या प्रितिमाना उवाच।

मानुष्यं सफळक्रिकतं कल्पसौतैरिष्टेन यत्। अवस्थिते
राज्येष्यवर्गुपातः स्वच्छज्ञ विभवे। सारं भूखितं परं।
लोकं चतुरशीर्षरूपे तिमिदं स्वेतामृकूपमें।
�स्याचार्यसिद्धमस्य शासनक्रिकतं किं नोतं क्लयं दुःपरं।। इति।।

\(^1\) Chh adds: "The king having heard these words was at the pitch of his joy." \(^2\) Chh lit. "Why do you offer here the richest of all the offerings?" \(^3\) Chh omits this sentence. \(^4\) Chh omits. \(^5\) Chh ca āpadhān (for visuddham). \(^6\) MSS. "tas tena vi". \(^7\) Chh omits. \(^8\) Chh nirvāpito saubhavam yadā. \(^9\) 10-11 Chh omits. \(^10\) MSS. yadā samudraṃ. \(^11\) MSS. samudre kurvita kaścin. The reading is corrected in accordance with the Chinese. \(^12\) Chh reads this line as: "(In a similar way) Ānanda could contain the ocean of wisdom of Buddha; and that is why I make here the most weighty offering of all." \(^13\) Chh prātanādhi kṛtāṇjaliḥ sādārām gāthā babhāye. \(^14\) MSS. saṁprā. \(^15\) MSS. saśānam itān. \(^16\) MSS. saṁprā. \(^17\) MSS. saśānam idān. Chh reads this śloka as: "By making a hundred thousand offerings, I have obtained the human existence. It was not in vain that I received this body. I have met with an excellent field (kṣetra) of merit. I have fully realised that which is the Fruit (benefit) for a man. By means of unstable and dangerous riches, I have accomplished and affirmed the Law. The stūpas that I have erected adorn Jambudvipa, as the white clouds adorn the sky. I have met with the Law of Buddha which is perfectly pure."
यावद राजा स्थविरोपपुत्तस्य प्रणामं कृत्वा प्रकान्तः।

यावद राजाः कोणेन जाती बोधी धर्मचक्रे परिनिर्वापिणे एकाक-शतसहस्रं दत्तं। तस्य बोधी विशेषतः प्रसादो जातं इह भगवतान् जन्तुरा सम्यक्सम्बोधितबिभासमथुद्देति। स यानि विशेषयुक्तानि रत्नानि तानि बोधि प्रेषयति।

अथ राजोशोकस्य तिथिधरकिता नामात्रधिपियो। तस्या वृद्ध-सहस्रा। "अयं राजा मया सार्थं रतितष्णुभवति। विशेषयुक्तानि च रत्नानि बोधि प्रेषयति।" तथा भानाति व्याहरिता। स्वयंति ॥

दं बोधि मम सप्तो ग्रहात्तितु॥।

यावद मातज्ञा बोधीवृक्षस्य मनः: परिज्ञातः ॥३ युवेनूं च बद्धं ॥

यावद बोधीवृक्ष: "शोष्टमार्गः। ततो राजपुरयः राजे निबेदिति। देव बोधीवृक्ष: शुभ्यं" हि। आहः च।

यत्रोपविष्टेन तथागतेन कृत्सं जगद्विद्विदं यथावद् ॥३

वर्षजना चालिकाता नरेन्द्र बोधिमृगेऽ निधनं प्रयाति।

श्रुत्वा च राजा मूःग्नाति भूमि पतितः। यावजः जलसेनं दत्तवा ॥

उत्थापितः। अथ राजा कथाचित्तु संजानुपलस्य प्रहस्तीवनाच।

दृष्ट्रा न्याः तं दुर्मराजमूलं जानापि दृष्टोद्धरं मया स्वयम्भूः।

नाथदुमे चैव गते प्रणासं प्राणाः। प्रभास्यति समापि नाशं।

1Chl yāvad rājā tā gāthā bhāṣītvā daṇḍavat. 2According to Ch2, here begins another Avadāna called: “Offerings to the Bodhi-tree (bodhi-vyākṣārca naṁ nāma'vadānaṁ).” 3Chl ekaikasya stūpe satasahasram kāśīpanam (“a hundred thousand pieces of gold”). 4MSS. prasāda- jāta. Chl “He respected more the stūpa of the Bodhi-tree.” 5-8Chl omits. 7MSS “yuktānaḥ ca. Chl “the beautiful jewels”. 8Chl adds: mahyām na dadāti. 9Chl candāla(li)mātaṅga(gi). Chl 2: “a Candāla woman (candāli).” 10AB śekyasi. 10-11Chl “Can you do her harm, by spell, for my sake?” 11MSS. ghatitum. 12Chl adds: “She promised to give her kāraṇa. The Mātaṅga(gi) did not disclose her intentions.” 13Chl yōke mantrāḥ pariṇāptah. 14Chl adds: “with an intention to destroy it, by incantations”. 15MSS. śūkṣitum. 16A śūsita. 17Chl “And he attained to the Way of Bodhi.” 18Chl adds: “after a long time”. MSS. jala-ṣekām da. 9.
अथ तिष्यरक्षिता 'राजानं शोकात्मवेक्षयोवाच। देव, यदि
बोधि न भविष्यतं देवस्य रतिमुदायुष्णामि। राजाः। न, सा
स्त्री अपि तु बोधिवृक्षः। स यत् महावतानुष्ठत्तम सम्यक्स्मोदिष्ट्मि-
गता। तिष्यरक्षिता' मात्राःकाश्यां। शक्यसि तत् बोधिवृक्षां यथा-
पौराणमवस्थापितु। मात्राः आह। यदि तावत् ताराण्युकम-
बश्याः। भविष्यति, यथापौराणमवस्थापिताज्याः।

विस्तरणं यावतूं तथा । सूरं मुक्त्वा वृक्षं सामन्तेन खिनिता
विद्वेयं' क्रृतकस्महस्तेन पायवद्यति'। यावदपौर्हरोमियंथापि राजाः।
संबृतः। ततो राजपुर्श्य राजे निवेदितं। देव, दिष्टजा'। वर्धस्व।
यथापौराण: संबृतः।। श्रुतवा च प्रीतिमना बोधिवृक्षन्त निरीक्षणमाण
उवाच।

विनिवेच्छार्थस्मृतिः पारिष्वेद्न्रै हुतिन्धरे।।

न कृतं तत् करिष्यामि सत्काराद्वमुतम।।

बोधि च स्नापिष्यामिः कुम्भर्मैन्धोदकाकुले।।

संस्वरूः।। करिष्यामि सत्कारं पन्वचावाणिः।।

अथ राजा सौवर्णस्यप्रेभैवृवंशस्तिकमयानां कुम्भान्तां सहस्रं
गन्धोदकेन पुरायितवा भ्रमुः' चाक्षापां समुदायानं रत्नमालायुष्णसृष्टिः
कुलवा। स्नातवास्त्वतानि वायासी नवासीं। दीर्घदशानि प्रावृत्तयाष्ट्राः
समन्वयमुपवर्तरस्म्योष्ण धूपं कठान्तुकमादाय।। शरणततलमनभिभूष्ण।

¹-² Ch lh rājānam uvāca. ³MSS. tatra. ⁴Ch lh adds: "Hearing these words
tīṣya" was moved with respect and regret." ⁵MSS. "sthāpitum.
⁶Ch lh adds: na sāmāyōnam sūṣkām. ⁷MSS. prāṇāntikā’vāsiṣṭa. ⁸It is
corrected according to the Ch. ⁹Ch lh adds: mantra-baddham. ¹⁰MSS.
vṛksa-sāman. ¹⁰-¹⁰ Ch lh "with perseverance". ¹¹MSS. pāpayati.
¹²MSS. dṛṣṭā. ¹³Ch lh "The royal guards kept in charge of the tree
came to inform the king: "The tree is revived. It is as before,
without any natural force."" ¹⁴Ch lh omits it. ¹⁵Ch lh "with one thousand
precious vases full of...". ¹⁶MSS. add: ārya. ¹⁶-¹⁷Ch lh lit. "I shall
hold an immense assembly of the pañca-varṣa (five years)." ¹⁸-¹⁹Ch lh
"He sprinkled over the Bodhi-tree. At the same time he decorat-
ed it with garlands of flowers, with perfumes in powder and
ointment." ²⁰MSS. dhṛghadāśātī. It is omitted in Chinese. ²¹-²²Ch lh
omits.
चतुर्दशमायाचित्रमारणि। ये भगवतो बुद्धस्य श्रावकाते ममानु- प्रहायाणाछछल्लं।

अपि च।

सम्यक्तवां ये सुगतस्य शिष्या: "शान्तेत्रियाः निर्जितकामदोषा।" सम्माननाही नर्देवपूजिताः आयान्तु तेदमुञ्जनक्षम्याः मम। ॥

"प्रथमदमरत विमुक्तसंज्ञा: प्रवरस्युता: सुगतस्य धर्मराजः। असुरसुरनराचिताः वृत्तास्तिं ह मदनुपहणात् समस्येऽยुः॥।

वसति कार्मिकपुरे सुरम्येः ये चापि धीरास्तमसोबोनेऽस्मिन्।

महानवे रेवतके यः आयर्याः अनुग्रहः मम तेदमुञ्जयः।

अनवतसद्यहः नवसति ये गिरिदीपु च पर्वतंकन्दरे॥।

जिज्ञुता: खलु ध्यानरता: सदा "समुद्यतस्तिं ह तेद्व ज्ञायते।

वैरीषके ये प्रवरे विमाने वसति पुत्रा वदतां वरस्य।

अनुग्रहः मम ते विशेषः हृ ह्यायांतु कारण्यनिविष्टमानवः।

गन्धमात्रानेले च ये वसति महौजसः॥।

इहायान्तुः हि कारण्यनुमायायोपनिषिद्धिते॥।

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1-2 Chh. "diśam ālokaśītum āraśāhaḥ. āha ca. 3 Chh. "drśo ("You who practise the right view or samyag-drśti").
4 Chh. [kuśala-] mūlaś ca dhyānair jītakāma" ("by your 'roots' and meditation...").
5 Chh. nara-deva-dānava. 7ACD "ācīrāya", B "ārītārya". 6-8 Chh. "You all who have taken delight in dhyāna and ecstasy (dhyāna- samādhīhṛtāḥ), and have attained to wisdom, members of the Saṅgha who have (attained to) deliverance, true and incomparable sons who have got a new life in the Law of Sugata, accept my invitation in compassion (for me)."
एवमुक्ते च राजः । श्रीणि शतसहस्राणि भिक्षूणां संपर्वितिानि ।
तत्रैंक शतसहस्रमहतां दै श्रीकाराणिः पूण्यगुजनकल्याणपालाः च।
न कसिद्धत् वृद्धासनमार्ग्याय सम् । राजाः । किमर्थं वृद्धासनं तन्
नाक्षरते तत्र यस्यो नामस्य बुद्धः सधविष्णूः । स उवाच ।
महाराज वृद्धस्य तदसनमिति । राजाः अस्ति स्थविर त्वतसकाशादियो
वृद्धतर्ग इति । स्थविर उवाच । अस्ति महाराज । वदति ।
वषिणाः निदिष्टः सिद्धान्तदिनामग्राहः । पिण्डोलभर्दाजस्येद्युः
अग्रासनं नुभृते ।
अथ राजा कसिद्धत् बुद्धस्यै मिश्रितः । अस्ति
कसिद्ध बुद्धस्यै मिश्रितः । इति ।
स्थविर उवाच । अस्ति महाराज पिण्डोलभर्दाजः नामस्य
बुद्धस्यै तिष्ठत इति ।
राजा कथयति । स्थविर, शक्यः सोजसामिष्रिवशुमिति । स्थविर
उवाच । "महाराज इति ज्ञयः । अथ तस्य आभमतकाल इति।
अथ राजा श्रीतिमन उवाच ।
लाभः परः स्वयं अतुलोऽ ममेष्ठ महासुखश्च व् मनुष्यभूतं
पश्चायम् धनुः वदन्तिदशतं साधनम् भर्दाजसपोषिताः।
ततो राजा क्लस्ने गमनस्तवस्मकादृष्टिविकथितः । अथ"
स्थविरपिण्डोलभर्दाजः वनरूप सत्त्वले रथचारकारोपगुरोऽ राजसः

\[1\] Chh adds: "from four regions".
\[2\] MSS. read: शतसहस्राणि अरहते अशक्षा।
\[3\] Chh “one lakh of monks were Arhat; two

lakhs of srotāpanna, sakṛdāgāmin and anāgāmin. There were even
common people with pure habits (chaste manners). All had been
just seated.”
\[4\] Chh omits it.
\[5\] Chh buddhena.
\[6-7\] Chh वद्यानां सत्त्वले रथचारकारोपगुरोऽ राजसः

लाभः परः स्वयं अतुलोऽ ममेष्ठ महासुखश्च व् मनुष्यभूतं
पश्चायम् धनुः वदन्तिदशतं साधनम् भर्दाजसपोषिताः।
ततो राजा क्लस्ने गमनस्तवस्मकादृष्टिविकथितः । अथ"
स्थविरपिण्डोलभर्दाजः वनरूप सत्त्वले रथचारकारोपगुरोऽ राजसः

\[8\] Chh wrongly translates it as: "The

piles of his dress stood erect like a kadamba tree in flowers.”
Chh2 translates it in accordance with the text. 8-9 Chh “Further,
he asked: ‘Those who have seen Tathāgata, are they nu-

umerous?’”
\[10\] Chh omits bhara and adds arhat (pīṇḍolol’rdah buddhā).
\[11-12\] Chh “Certainly he is coming to the presence of the king.”
\[13\] Chh “If now as the benefit of his compassion for

me I can see Pīṇḍola first.”
\[14\] A gṛyāyaṃ, B āyo yam, CID gṛyāyam for

mahāsukhaḥ ca।
\[15\] W.r. for gotranāmām।
\[16\] Chh “He saw Pīṇḍola
इव गणतःदवत्तिः बृद्धान्ते निषादः। स्त्रिविरपिन्धोलमहद्राजः
दृष्ट्रा तान्यनेकानि सिद्धशतसहस्राणि प्रत्युपस्थितानि।

अत्राचीपृज्ज राजा पिन्धोलमहाराजः स्वेतपलितशिरसं प्रङ्गवभूतः
ललाटे निम्बुदलितारकं प्रत्येकबुद्धाध्ययः। दृष्ट्रा च राजा मूलवैक्षेण
इव हुमै। 4 सर्वात्तीरण स्त्रिविरपिन्धोलमहाराजः पादयोः पतितः।
मुखुण्डकेन च पादावनुपरिमाण्योत्तथाय तौ जातुमण्डलो पृथिवीतत्ले
प्रतिवा तृष्ण्यायः क्रांताज्जति: स्त्रिविरपिन्धोलमहाराजः निरोक्षमाणः
प्रसूनावाच।

वदा मया श्रानुगणान् निहत्य प्राप्ता समृद्धार्णना सशैला।
एकातपत्रृ पृथिवी तदा मे प्रीति सा या स्त्रिवर्न निरोक्ष्यः।

त्वहर्षानादृष्ट्रा भवति दृष्टोत्तर तथागतः। केकणालामातु त्वहर्षाना
च दिगुणप्रसादो ममोत्त्पत्तः। अपि च स्त्रिवर्दृष्टस्ते वैलोक्यनाथायोः
पुरां भगवानु बुद्ध इति। तत: स्त्रिविरपिन्धोलमहाराज उभाम्यां
पाणिभया "भूवमुन्नाम राजानमशीकं निरोक्षमाण उवाच।

दृष्ट्रा मया ह्यासक्रांतिमो महर्षि:।
सन्त्पात्तकान्हनसमोपमुत्त्येजः।
हर्विशावल्लखनर: सरर्ददुवक्रातः।
ब्रह्मस्वराधिकारणो हर्वाविवाहरीः।

similar to a demilune and to the king of cranes accompanied by several thousands of myriads of Arhat descended. He came to take his seat, in front of the Sthaviras. The assistants numbering three lakhs all got up and paid homage to him.”

1 Chlr: cf. above. 2 AB “parita”. 3 Chlr reads: “eye-brows thick”. 4-5 Chlr “whose body showed (auspicious) marks and submarks of a Pratyeka.” 5 MSS. “nikrnta.” 5-6 Chlr omits. 7-8 Chlr “He knelled down after the manner of the hu.” 8-10 Chlr “Then he recited this gāthā: ‘Although Tathāgata has entered into Nirvāṇa, you fill his office (santuṁ gate tathāgata tvam buddhakāryam kuruse). You are living, O Venerable, in compassion for me; give me your instruction which I shall follow (lit. I shall conform my conduct).’” 9 MSS. me; cf. p. 78. last line. 11-12 Chlr “Having recited this gāthā, the king asked the Venerable:” 13-14 Chlr “tathāgatāh.” 15 MSS. “bhūva”. 14-16 Chlr sa uvāca. drṣṭo mayā sau. “Chlkāścanastāpato bhagavatāvargh. 18 MSS. “trimsāllakṣa”. 19 Chlr sakalendu”. 19-20 Chlr “His voice
राजासः। श्वरिव कृते ते भगवान्न दृष्टः: 'कथं चैतिः'। श्वरिव उवच। यदा महाराज भगवान्न विजितमार्शिवरा:॥ पञ्चभिर्महं-म्यते: सार्थः प्रथमतो राजमूहे वर्ष्मुखिषोष्ठं तत्कालं तत्ववासम्।

मया। स दक्षिणी: समयां दृष्टं इति। आहू च।।

वितरागी: परितृतो वितरागो महामुनि:।

यदा राजमूहे वर्षं उवितत स तथागत:॥

तत्कालमस्तं ततां सुवुदस्य तदन्ति।

यथा प्रव्रतिस्मां भाषा दक्षिणें दृष्टं मया मुनि:॥।

यदापि महाराज भगवता श्रावस्यं तीर्थ्यां विजयार्थः

महामुनितहिः कुते बुद्धवत्सलसंक यावदकनिष्ठतमवनं निमित्तं महत्तु तत्कालं तत्ववाहामस्तं॥।

मया तदु बुद्धविक्रीयितं दृष्टंमिति।

आहू च।।

तीर्थ्यां॥१० यदा भगवता कुपथप्रयाता

अञ्जलि॥११ प्रभावविठिया खंडा निमित्तिः:।

विक्रीयितं दशवलस्य तदा हुयारं

दृष्टं मया तु नूप हर्षकरं प्रयोगां।।

यदापि महाराज भगवता देवेणु नयस्त्रेष्यं वर्षां॥१३ उवित्ता॥

मातुङ्गिनविथ्या धर्मं देयायित्वा देवगणप्रवृत्तं: सांकाये॥

नगरेवतिः-पौरं तत्कालं तत्ववासम॥॥

मया सा देवमनुष्यसंपवा दृष्टा उत्पलवर्ण्या

च निमित्ता चक्रवर्तिसंपवा इति।

(similar to that of) Brahmā was profound and marvellous. The great Compassionate One had a cave for his dwelling.”

1Chl omits. 2MSS. varṣām upagato. Chl lit. “While he was in his estival residence.” 3MSS. oवासन mayā. 3-4Chl “I saw the field of merit prosper (kṣetrasya vipāko mayā ċṛṣṭaḥ).” 5AC oमासन। 4-6Chl omits. 7ABC obhagavanam. 8MSS. oमासन। 6-8Chl “In the kingdom of Śrāvasti, when he showed the great supernatural transformations to subdue the heretics: (when) by charm, he made Buddhas appear who were magnificently adorned and who formed a series that rose up to the heaven of Akanistha, then again, I was there.” 10Chl omits this śloka. 11ABC riddhō. 13Chl omits. 13MSS. sankāye. 14MSS. oवासन mayā. Chl : cf. p. 99.
When the Bhikṣuṇī Utpalā (Chl “lotus-flower,” Ch2 “Utpalavarnikā”) transformed herself magically into a Cakravartin king (cakravarti-sampadā nirmītā) and when her (his) thousand sons all prostrated themselves at the feet of Buddha, I was also there.” 2 Chl omits anātha, and adds: pūrṇavardhane buddha. 3 Chl “Everyone showing supernatural transformations arrived at the town of Pūrṇavara (‘full riches’).” 4-4 Chl “On that occasion, I transformed myself magically, so as to be seated in a grotto of jewels of a jewel-mountain.” 5 MSS. tanmiritām ca ye. 6 MSS. sālaṁ. 5-8 Chl omits. 7 MSS. kārṇikāra. 8 ABC nīrvṛtti. MSS. ṛābhya. 10 Chl omits. 11 Chl adds: krāṇjalinā. 12-16 Chl simply reads: “At the moment when Buddha made a prophecy about you, I could see him as well.” 18: rājo. 14 MSS. kāṁ. 18 MSS. vāsīt. 18 MSS. bhūvan.
राजाज्। स्थविर। कुशेदानीमुख्यत इति। स्थविर उवाच।
उत्तरे 1 सरराजस्य 2 पर्यंते गन्धमादने।
वसामि नूपते 3 तत्र सार्थ सब्रह्माचारिमि।
राजाज्। कित्वतः स्थविरस्य परिवारा। स्थविर उवाच।
षष्टच्छहृतः सहस्राणि परिवारो नूणां वर।
वसामि। येहां सार्थ निष्पृहैवजंतकल्यमै।
अर्था। च महाराज किमेनेन सन्धेहन कुलेन। परिविष्यंताः
विषुसाह्वः। \textsuperscript{1}भुक्ततवतो विषुसाह्वः प्रतिसंमोडः करिष्यामि।
राजाज्। एवमस्तु यथा स्थविर आजापयति। किन्तु \textsuperscript{2}बुद्धपत्रीप्रतिपत्तिः
वोपिनिनः \textsuperscript{3}बोधिस्थापनेन तावत् करिष्यामि।
समन्तरेण च मनापेन 4 चाहरेण विषुसाह्वः प्रस्थायामीति।
अर्था। राजा सर्वस्यन्त्रम् \textsuperscript{5}उद्घोषकमान्यतिः। अहमु आर्ये-
सब्रह्माणात्मकतासिद्धायति। कुम्भसहस्रेण 6 च बोधिव स्नायुधिब्धामिः
मम नामना ध्रुवाति पञ्चवर्षिकस्मिति।
तत्काले 7 च कुनारस्य नयनदयमिवप्रवभामासि। सि 8 राजो
दक्षिणेण पास्वेण सिवत:। तेनामुग्धित्रवयमुलकस्तं न तु वागु 
भाषितं। तद्व्र प्रवायमीत्वाकारयति। पाणिः वर्धितमानेन च कुनारेन
सब्रह्माणकायेन हस्यमुखं।
ततो राजा हस्यं मुक्तवता कथयति। अहो राजगुप्त केनेतदेः
वर्धितमिति।
राजगुप्तः कथयति। \textsuperscript{9}देव वहवः पुण्याभिनः प्राणिनो यः
पुण्यार्थी तेन वर्धितमिति।

\textsuperscript{1}Chh omits.  \textsuperscript{2}–\textsuperscript{3} Chh omits.  \textsuperscript{4}–\textsuperscript{5} Chh omits the whole line.  \textsuperscript{6}–\textsuperscript{7} Chh alam tāsau mahāraja kim etaiḥ prāśnaiḥ.  \textsuperscript{8}–\textsuperscript{9} Chh “After repast,
I shall complete my narrative for the sake of the king.”  \textsuperscript{10} Chh “Having produced in me the thought of meditation
on Buddha”.  \textsuperscript{11} Chh omits.  \textsuperscript{12} Chh wei-na.  \textsuperscript{13} Chh “with a thousand
precious vases full of perfumed fluid”.  \textsuperscript{14}–\textsuperscript{15} Chh rājñaiḥ putraḥ
kunalo.  \textsuperscript{16}MSS. pāṇinā.  \textsuperscript{17}–\textsuperscript{18} Chh “Among the multitude of
human beings, numerous are they who are eager for (achieving)
merit.”
राजाः। शतसहस्रृंग दास्यामीदायर्यस्यस्य। कुमभसहस्रे कः बोधिं स्तपिघ्यामि। 'मम नामना पुस्यतां पञ्चवाचिकरिति'।

यावत् कुनालेन चतलोऽदगुलुः उज्ज्वलता। ततो राजा रूपितो राधगुल्तमुचय। अहो राधगुल्त कौज्यमस्माभिः सार्थं प्रतिक्ष्ण्यति अलोकः।

रुपितम् च राजानमवेक्ष्यो राधगुल्तो राजः। पद्योरिषयोवचः।

देव कस्य शक्तिरेविश्रे सार्थं विरपितमु भवेत्। 'कुनालो गुणवाणी पिता सार्थं विकुटस्।' अथ राजा दक्षिणेन परिवृत् कुनालमवलोक्यो वच। स्थविर अहं कोष्ठ स्वार्थयत्वा। 'राज्यमतः पुरस्मात्वगण-मातमानं च कुनालं 'चार्यस्य निर्यात्यामिः'। सुवर्णप्रस्फटिक-वैद्यम्यः।' पञ्चकुमभसहस्यै 'नानागत्थ्यूँ।' क्षीरचन्दनकुमकपुर-वासिम्मस्याबोधिं स्तपिघ्यामि। पुष्पशतसहारणि च बोधिस्रोतस्य चायं-सहः ददामि।'।

मम नामना पुस्यतां पञ्चवाचिकरिति। 'आह च।

राज्यं समुद्रं हि संस्थाय्य कोशममं 'पुरामात्वगणं च सर्वं।

ददामि साहिः गुणपत्तमो आत्माकुनालं च गुणोपपसं।।

ततो राजा पिडोलभरदाज्यप्रमुखे भिक्षुसहः निर्यात्यित्वा।

बोधिबृक्षस्य च चतुर्दशं वारं बद्वा स्वयंस्वं च वारसमितिः चतुर्गी।

कुमभसहस्यै 'बोधिस्रोतस्य कुत्वात्।' 'कुत्माचे च बोधिस्रोते बोधिवश्च यथापौराणं संवृतं। वषयति' हि।

1-2 Chl omits. 2 MSS. "varṣi". 3 Chl tataḥ punah. 4 Chl omits. 5 Chl omits. 6-7 Chl "having knelted down replied." 8-9 Chl "Kunāla is a child. It is a little boy who plays with his father." 6 MSS "kurva". 10 Chl "I shall use up my treasure;" it omits rājiyam.

Ch2 agrees with the text which reads: "the king reserves his treasure." MSS. sthaviroṇam kośanm sthāpa. 11 Chl adds: "and others." 11-12 MSS. omitt. 13 MSS. "mayānām." 14 MSS. "hasrānī nānā." 15 MSS. "pūrṇānī. 16-18 Chl omits. 17 MSS. "varṣikam iti." 18 MSS. omit it. 17-20 Chl omits. 19 MSS. "sam antahpurāṇi ca amā." 20 = "ātmakunā" or "ātmānān ku." 20-21 Chl "When the donation was made, when the monks had expressed their desires and when the desires (thus) expressed were approved, the king..." 22 Chl "with four thousand precious vases filled with a perfumed fluid". 23-24 Chl omits. 24 A caksyati. B vakṣyati."
अथ राजा बोधिसत्पत्तम कुल्कं भिक्षुस्मयं परिवेष्टितारः।
तत्र यशो नामना स्थविरः। तेनासिद्धति। महाराज महानयं परम-
दक्षिणीय आर्थसृष्टः सनिपतितः। तथा ते परिवेष्टित्वम् यथा तेन
क्षतिं ५ स्थादितिः।

ततो राजा स्वहस्तेन परिवेष्यतन् यावनु नवकालम् गतः।
तत्र दृश्यार्थारो संरङ्गजनियं धर्मं समादय वर्तनतः।
एकेनापि सकतवोऽ
दला द्वितीयेनापि सकतवः।
एकेन खाद्यकां द्वितीयेनापि खाद्यकां
एव। एकेन मोदकां द्वितीयेनापि मोदकः।
तो वृष्ट्द्वारा राजा
हसिंतः। इस्मी आर्थारो बालकृद्या क्रीडः।

यावदु राजा भिक्षुस्मयं परिवेष्य वृद्धान्त्रमातृः।
स्थविरेन
चानुष्कुतः। "मा देवेन कुञ्जरचिदु अप्रसाद उत्पादित इति।"

राजाः। नेति। अपि तु अस्ति दृश्यार्थारो बालकृद्या
क्रीडः। यथा
वालदराकः वालस्मारारः क्रीडः
शास्त्रारः क्रीडः।

स्थविर उवाच। अर्थम महाराजः। उभम हि तौ उभय्यतो
भागाविमुक्तं अहि।

1. A haritayatādyam. B haritayatādhyam. 2. MSS. jagāma. 3. BD 
"nairgamaḥ. Chl omits this sloka. 4. MSS. "saṅgha. A pariveśṭam. B 
"veṣṭram. 4–6 Chl "wished to give food to the monks. The Sthavira 
Yāsakā said: 'O king, you have met with a superior field of merit. Do 
not care for the differences of rank.'" 5. MSS. "ti na. 7 Chl śrāmaṇeraṁ. 
MSS. "veṣaṇam pāvan navaḥ. 8 Chl "the Law of concord and respect". 
9 Chl "broiled barley". 10 Chl "pancake (broad thin cake)". 
11 Chl "titbits". MSS. modakā. 12 MSS. "krīḍitāḥ. 13–14 Chl "O king, 
when you have seen something shabby, can’t you feel contempt 
for it? (=Have you seen anything shabby for which it may be 
impossible for you not to feel contempt?)" 14 MSS. aprasādam 
"upādi". 15–16 Chl omits. 17 Chl "O great king, don’t be contempt-
tuous." 18 Chl "have attained Liberation."
श्रुतवा च राजः प्रतितमसो बुद्धिःस्थपत्पा। तोः प्रामणे-रावानगम्यः भिक्षुभें पतेनाच्छ्यादिविष्यामि।
ततस्ऽै त्राम्भोरो राजस्यभ्रमणवमगम्यः भृयोभ्येेश्वसामि: स्वपुर्ण उद्धववित्वया
इति ॥ [चिन्तितो]। तयोरेकेन कटाह्रका उपवासपिता द्वितीयेन राजः:
समुद्रवानीतः।

राजस पृष्टीः प्रामणेको। किमिदार्थाऽः। तयोरविखितः।
देवोऽस्माकमागम्यः भिक्षुभें पतेनाच्छ्यादितुकामः। ॥ तान् पतान्
रण्यविष्यामः।

श्रुतवा च राजो बुद्धिःस्थपत्पा। मया ॥ केवलं चिन्तितं न तु वाचाः
निष्ठारिता। परचितविविदवे तो महामायेः। ॥ तत: सर्वशरीरेण
पाद्योन्निपत्य कुतावजनलिखाच।

मोये ॥ समुद्रः सजनः सपौरः
मुखवलामायेंसुगोष्टयाः।
यस्येवुः साधुजनःप्रसादः
काले तथोत्साहिः करोति दानः।

यावदुः राजाविखितः। युष्माकमागम्य "त्रिवीरणे मिद्धुस्स्त्र-माच्छादिविष्यामिति।
ततो राजासोक: पञ्चवासिकेः पञ्चवसिते
सम्भिकूलय "त्रिवीरणाच्छ्याच" चत्वारी शतसहस्सारि "सक्ष्या-

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1-2 Chl omits. 3 Chl adds here: pratyekam ekena sūksmena. Ch2 reads: "I have made offering to the Saṅgha. Further, I am going to have good dresses and offer them to these two śrāmaṇeras." 4 Chl abhigamy. 4-5 Chl "reflected thus: 'Now we are going to do so that the king may redouble his faith and respect:'" 6 MSS. drṣṭau. 7 Chl lit. "What do you wish to do?" 8 MSS. st̄makam avagamyaya. 8-9 Chl "Because of us the king wishes to offer a piece of fine cloth to every member of the Saṅgha." 10 A (kevala) ciñcitaṁ, B citam. 10-11 Chl "These śrāmaṇeras have divined my thought; the king rejoiced highly." 12-14 Chl "My relations, friends and servants have obtained very great benefit. They have acquired a field of superior merit. Now with all my power I shall give alms." 15 MSS. jame. 14 MSS. kṛtām ca dānām, ABD omit ca. 15 MSS. lṛṣṭ. 16 MSS. "vārṣi". 17-18 Chl omits. 19 Chl omits.
च्छादनानि दर्शवा पृथिवीमन्तः पुरस्मात्यगणमात्मानं च कुनां च निविद्वान्। भूयसा भगवच्छासने श्रद्धा प्रतित्व। चतुरशीति -
धर्मराजायकासहस्रं प्रतिष्ठापितम्। इति।

1Chl omits. MSS. ोऽनि दात्वं। २-३ Chl "and others; having given all to the Saṅgha, he returned to his palace." Ch2 "He gave four lakhs of kārṣāpanas. Besides, with innumerable kārṣāpanas and silver (riches) he bought back the vast earth (mahāpṛthivī) . . . . etc."  ३-५ Chl "When king Asoka conceived faith and respect and when he had constructed 84000 stūpas completely and held the Pañcavārṣika, the inhabitants of all parts of Jambudvīpa had faith in Buddha and Dharma."  ४MSS. 

svāṇi.
कुनालोपाध्यायान

'परस्मिन्देव दिवसे राजास्तोकेन चतुर्दशीर्षिर्माणिकायलसुः
प्रतिष्ठापितं तस्मिन्देव दिवसे' राजास्तोकस्य पञ्चावती नामना देवी
प्रसूता। पुत्रो जात: अभिहृतों दर्शनीयः प्रासादिको नवनामिः नायास्य
पररोभनामः।

यावदृ राजास्तोक्स्यन निवेदितं। देव विद्वदवस्य
पुत्रो जात:। भूतवा राजा आतमनः। कथयति।

प्रीति:। पर मे विपुला ह्यावाता। 'मौर्येऽस्य वंशस्य परा विभूतिः।
भर्मेण राज्यं मम कृशातो हि जात: सुतो भर्मेववर्धनोस्तु।

tasya भर्मेववर्धन इति नाम कृतः।

यावत् कुमारो राजास्तोक्स्योपनामिति। अथ राजा कुमारं
निरीक्ष्य प्रीतमनः। कथयति।

सुतस्य मे नेत्रवरा। सुपुष्या सुजातनीलोलप्सानिकाया।
अल्लक्षुतं शोभति यस्य वक्तं सम्पूर्णन्त्रां प्रतिमं विभाति।

यावदृ राजास्मात्यान् उवाच। दृष्टानि भविष्य:। कथयेद्वाशानि
नन्यानाः। अमाय्या ऊँच:। देव मनुष्यभूतस्य न हृद्यानि। अयतुः
देव, अस्ति: हिन्नवति पर्वतराजं। कुनालो नाम पक्षी प्रतिवसित।

tasya सदृशानाः। नन्यानाः। आहूः च।

1–3 Ch1 omiss., Ch2 reads. 2 MSS. अhasra. 4–5 Ch1 reads: dharmavivardhano nāma. 6 Ch1 reads: skena amātyena. 7 MSS. dṛṣṭvā vṛddhī
de. 8 Ch1 reads this sentence: "O king, you should rejoice because a son is born to you. The features of his face are uniform and his
eyes are incomparable." 9 ACD माना. B āmanā. 10–12 Ch1 reads:
"The lineage of the kings who have preceded me is extremely
glorious. And now I have been able to give to the Law a prosperity
still greater. Lo! A son is born to me." 11 MSS. saurya. 13–14 Ch1
lit. "felt a tender affection and recited this gāthā:." 15 Ch1 netrātual.
16 Ch1 navotpālanaḥ. 17 Ch1 reads this line as: "His face is gracious,
and just like the full-moon; those who look at it become delight-
ed." 18 Ch1 adds: manusyaśān or manusyabhūtasya. 19 Ch1 adds: na
ea śrutāni. 20 Ch1 śrutamātraṁ. 21 Ch1 parvate. 22 Ch1 su. 23 Ch1 omiss.
Ch2 reads.
हिमेन्द्रराजेः गिरिशॉलम्ब्रजे� प्रबालपुषपप्रसवे जलाये।
कुनालनाम्यति निवसे् पक्षी नेत्राणि तेनास्य समान्‌लाभि।
ततो राजार्मिहिः। कुनालः पक्षी आनीयतामिति।
तस्योध्वतो योजनं यक्षा: सृणेन्। अयो योजनं नागः।
ततो यत्रस्त्रक्षणं कुनालः पक्षी आनीति। अथ राजा्ं कुनालस्य
नेत्राणि मुचिंचं निरोक्यं न किंचिद्‌ बिशोणेशं पस्यति।
ततो राजार्मिहिः। कुमारस्य कुनालस्वदृशापि नयनाविनि।
भवतु कुमारस्य कुनालः इति नाम। वद्यवित्‌ हि।
नेत्राणुराणेन स पारिवेष्‌: सुमरं कुनालेति तदा बंभाशे।
तस्यास्य नाम प्रत्रित्त भौतिक्यं तस्यायस्तर्भस्य नृपातमजस्य।
विस्तारं यावतू। कुमारो महान्‌ संबृतः। तस्य काँचनमाला
नामः दारिका पत्यथः आनीता।
यावद् राजासोकः कुनालेन सह। नृकुट्यारामं गतः। तत्र
यसोः। नाम्या सहस्यविरः। अहा्ं। गोविभजः। स पस्यति कुनालस्य
न विराण्‌ नयनविनाशो भविष्यति।
तेन राजार्मिहिः। किमर्फ्‌ कुनालः स्वकर्मणि। न नियुष्यते।
ततो॥ राजार्मिहिः। कुनाल सहस्यविरो यवापायथति तत्‌ परिपाल-
विनाश्च। तत्‌। कुनालः स्थविरस्य॥ पाद्योपिंपत॥ कथयति।
स्थविर॥ संक्षेपायसि। स्थविर उवाच॥। वच्छु: कुनाल: अनित्यमिति
कुरु। आह॥

1MSS. स्र्न्स्। 2MSS. वासपा। 3-8 Chh omits. 8-9 Chh “Then the
king ordered the yakṣas: ‘Catch quickly a Kunāla-bird from
the snowy mountains.’ A yakṣa obeyed the order of the king
immediately. In an instant he caught the bird and brought it to
the king. The king gazed at the bird (and said): ‘Its little eyes are
beautiful, they differ from the eyes of this infant in nothing.’”
4MSS. राज्याः। 6-8 Chh “‘May the name be spread and all on all
sides know it.’ So he was called Kunāla.” 7MSS. सताः। 8MSS.
माः। 9MSS. कुकुर्। 11 Chh omits the name; Chh2 reads. 12 Chh omits.
13 Chh niyam धर्मास्वरावे (“to hear the Law regularly”). 14-15 Chh
“Then the king ordered his son: ‘Now you must comply with
the instructions of the Sthavira.’” 16-17 Chh sthaviram upasṛया kṛtāḥकाल्य. 18
Chh yad आह्। 19 Chh adds: परिपालयमि। 20-21 Chh “gave this
कुमारः चक्षुः सततं परीक्ष्येत चलातस्यः दुःखसहस्रयुक्तं।
यथानुरक्ता बह्यः पृथ्वज्ञानः। कुवान्ति कार्मिकशिवाहानि॥
स च तथास्मातः करोति मनसिकाप्रयुक्तः। एकामिरामः
प्रशमारमाश्च संवृतः॥। स राजकुले विविक्षे स्थानेवविविक्षे "चक्षुरामार
दीन्यायतनानि अनित्यायदिबहिर् आकारः परीक्ष्ये॥
तिथ्यरक्षिता च नामनाशोक्ष्याप्रमर्महिषी तं प्रदेशमिभिता।
सा तं कुनालेकान्तिः कृष्ट्र्व नयनानुरागेन मात्रेषु परिष्वज्य
कथयति।

चृष्ट्र्व तबेंद्र नयनामिरामः श्रीमद् वपुर्णवर्णः च कालं।
ददहस्ते मे हृदयं समन्तादृ दावातिनः प्रजनवते च कक्षः॥।
श्रुतवा कुनालः उभास्यं पाणिम्बयं कणौं पिधाय कथयति॥

वाक्यं न युक्तं तव वक्तुमेतत्
सुनोः पुरस्ताजः जननी ममसि।
अधर्मामारः परिवर्ज्यस्व
अपायामांग्यस्त स एव हेतुः॥।

tतत् तिथ्यरक्षिता तत्कालकालभमानाः कृष्ट्र्व कथयति।

अभिकामामिभितां यत्रं नेच्छसि मामिठः॥

न चिरादेव दुबुल्ले सवशा न भविष्यसि॥।

advice: ‘The eye is perishable. One must not set one’s hopes on it. Train yourself with zeal to the practice of meditation and sapience.’”

1MSS. caksuḥ ku. 2MSS. nās ca. 3–4Chl omits. 3–4Chl “There-
upon he received the doctrine.” 5Chl adds: dhyāyati. 6MSS.
kyate. 5–6Chl caksur duḥkhah śānyam anityam ātmā ca atayam
iti parikṣate. 7MSS. sa. 8–9Chl “Just as a violent fire flares up
and consumes the forest of a mountain, so the passion tortures
me. We must now give ourselves up to the pleasures of love.”
9MSS. “te va kaksam.” 10Chl “recited the following gāthā:”
10–11Chl “I close my ears, for I do not wish to hear these
intemperate evil speeches. You being a mother, how could you
have a feeling of lust towards your son! The criminal desire,
if not suppressed, is a door to the evil ways.” 11MSS. hi esa.
12Chl omits. 13–14Chl “as you refuse”. 15Chl omits. MSS. ddha.
16Chl “certainly”.
कुनाल उवाच ।

समं भवतु मरणं मात्रं स्थितस्य धर्मं विशुद्धभावस्यं ।
न तु जीवितेन कार्यं सज्जनजननिधिक्रयेत् । यथौं ।
‘स्वच्छैं धर्मलोपो यतो भवति जीवितेन किं तेन ।
समं मरणं हुनाना वै बुधपरिशुपेन विक्रयेत् ।
यावतु तिष्ठरकृता कुनालस्य छिद्रावेष्ठिनी अवस्थिता ।

राजोज्योक्षयोत्तरापनं तक्षशिला नगरं विरं । श्रुत्वा च राजा ।
स्वयंमवाचमिरस्थितं । ततोमात्येवरमिहितं । देवं कुमारं ॥
प्रेष्यातं ।

अथ राजा कुनालमहू ॥ कश्चितं । वतस कुनाल गमिष्यसि ॥
तक्षशिलानगरं सनानमिष्यतु ॥

कुनाल उवाच । परं देव गमिष्यामि ॥
ततो नृपस्तत्स्य निशाचं भावं ‘शुचिभाषानस्य मनोरथस्य ।
स्त्रेष्ठां योग्यं मनसा च बुध । आजानयामास विहारयात्रां ॥
अथ राजाशक्ते कपालवें मार्गशोभा च कल्वा जीवान्तुर- ॥
क्रुपान्त्रं मार्गदिवनी एकधंशूदिनं विभिन्नं कुमापि सदा पारिशृंखल ॥
निरंगतं । अनुप्रजित्वा निवर्त्तमानं कुनालं कथं परिष्क्रमणं ॥
निरीक्षयातं । प्रस्वब्वाच ॥

1Chl reads: “Kunāla replied by reciting the following gāthā:”
2MSS. mā tu. 3Chl ’bhāve. 4Chl kāmavaśibhūtena. 5ABD add: mama. 
5–6Chl “He who destroys the Way of the human beings and gods is blamed by the sages. (svargaśya martaśya ca dharma-lopo yato bhavati jīvitena kim buddhaśikhyeta)” 7Chl adds: 
gandhārāryāyī. 8Chl adds: tasya śāsanāya. 9Chl tum iechati. 
10–11Chl deva svayam na gantavyaṁ, kumāreṣu kaścit. 12Chl kumāraṁ 
kunālaṁ. 13Chl śākyasi. 14Chl ’rājyaṁ. 15Chl lit. “to chastise”. 
16Chl śākyam ("I can chastise them"). 17–18Chl “rejoiced and; 
 wished that he should go.” 18MSS. vihāya ya. 19Chl “in the 
 territories of the kingdom”. 20Chl adds: śaśāhīḥ ca bhikṣu-kāṁśa 
 ca. 21Chl describes that the chariot was “decorated with a big 
 fan of feathers.” 22MSS. kunālakanthe ... nirikṣyamāṇaḥ. 22–23Chl 
prārodit. sutas ca nirikṣamāṇa uṣāca.
धन्यानि तत्स्यः चक्षुषिः चक्षुषःमन्तस्य ते जनताः।
सतलं ये कुमारस्य द्रष्यति मुखपिक्ष्याँ॥
याबन् नैमित्तिको ब्राह्मणः पश्चातः कुमारस्य न चिरानू नयनेन
विनाशो भविष्यति। स च राजाः राजरक्तस्य नयनर्मर्गस्यमन्नतकः॥

हृष्टा च कथयति॥

नृपातस्य स्यं नयने विलुक्ते महीपतिश्चायुमृतवस्य।
थिर्या विलुक्ते हि गुलानुकूले पर्यायम् नेत्रेषु विन्यथामने॥
इदं पुरं स्वयं हि प्रहुतं कुमारसंदर्शनजातस्य॥
पुरं विलुक्ते नयने तु तस्य भविष्यते शोकपरीतेन॥
अनुपुष्टे तस्येषु नयनः अर्ध-त्रिकापिः। श्रुत्वा च तक्षशिलापौरा अर्ध-
त्रिकापिः। योजनाति॥ मार्गारोऽनं नगरस्यां च कृतवा पूर्णकूमः।
प्रत्युद्गता॥ च च।

श्रुत्वा तक्षशिलापौरो रतनपूर्णघटाविकान्॥

गृहं प्रत्युज्जागामालु बृहामयाः॥८ नृपातस्य॥
प्रत्युद्गम्य क्रस्ताः जलिस्वच। न विसं कुमारस्य विरुर्या न
राज्यश्रोक्तस्य। अपि तु दुर्भागमानोऽस्मात्या आग्राह्यामान्तामानं
कुर्वैन्तिः॥। यावद् कुतालो महत्ता सर्वानां॥ तक्षशिलायु प्रवृजिति।

1Chl teṣu? tāni? 2-3Chl dhanyās te janā ye te caikṣuṣi draksyaṇti (lit. dṛṣṭum saksyaṇi). 2-3Chl "Now there was a Brāhmaṇa who
drew a horoscope and said..." 3MSS. omit it. 4MSS. "manuṣaktā dṛṣṭaṃ." 4-6Chl reads: "The king likes the eyes of his son, but
they will certainly be destroyed before long." 5MSS. "pātmakasya.
7Chl omits it. MSS. "rgam iva. 6Chl kumārānanantarāṇaṃ. 9MSS. bhavisyati... cetāh. Chl reads this śloka lit. thus: "At
present there is none who does not rejoice in seeing the eyes of
this young man. Later on, if they are destroyed, that would be
a universal grief." 10MSS. "pṛāpte. 11Chl omits. 12Chl "carrying
vessels of perfumes (gandhaghātāḥ) as a sign of submission".
13Chl adds: "They came to meet him to a distance of half a
yojana." 14MSS. "rā. 15MSS. o jā. 16MSS. "mānya. The śloka
is not found in Ch. 17Chl "We are rebellious only to the wicked
ministers who are close to the king." 18Chl prabhūtāprabhyātārpitāḥ.
19MSS. sanmā."
राजस्वाशोकस्य महान्य व्याधिरूपः। तस्य मुखादुच्चारोऽनिर्गितुमार्गः। सवैरेकृप्यमथस्वास्तृचिरिध च बहावते चिकित्सितु। ततो राजास्मिहित। कुनालमानयत राज्ये प्रतियाप-पिष्यामिति। फक ममेदृशयेन जीवितेन प्रयोजन।

श्रुत्वा च तिष्यपरिषितां चित्तयति। यदि कुनालं राज्ये प्रतिष्ठा-पिष्यापि नाति मम जीवितं। तयास्मिहितं। अहं तवं तस्यं करिष्यामि कि तु वैद्यानं प्रवेशः प्रतिष्याध्यातं। यावदृ राजा वैद्यानं प्रवेशः प्रतिष्याध्यातं। ततरस्तिष्यरकितया वैद्यानामस्मिहितं। यदि कश्चिद्दृश्येन व्याधिना स्पृष्टं। स्रीं वा पुरुषं वाजगच्छति मम "दर्शिष्यताः।"

अन्यतमस्वाभिरस्तादृशनेन व्याधिना स्पृष्टं। तस्य पत्या वैद्याय "व्याधिनीमनेदिति। वैधेनामस्मिहितं। "स एवागम्भरत्वातुरो व्याधिः हृद्या भौषणमुपदेशक्यामिः। यावदार्जीरोऽवैधसकाशक्यामिः।" बैठेन च तिष्यपरिषितां। समीपनमुपन्नत:। ततरस्तिष्यरकितया प्रतिष्याध्यातं। प्रवेशोऽजीवितादृ व्यपरोपित:। जीवितादृ व्यपरोपयु कुसिं पातिल्वता पायति च तस्य पक्वावस्थायः। अन्तायां 10 कुमिर्म्हात्य ग्रुःं तावदस्मिहित। स यदृःस्व गच्छति तेनावशुचि" प्रधारति। अथावो गच्छततः प्रधारति। यावदु तत्र मरिचान् पेषितवता दत्तोऽ न च [स] स्म्रिते। एवं पिपली। 11 सुझवेरे च। विस्तरोण याधतु पलाण्डु दत्तः। स्पृष्टिष्य

1ABC "cāraṁ. D "cāra. 2Cf. Pali asucika (n.). 3Chl "The king ordered the high dignitaries." 4Chl adds: "I shall die before long." 5Chl adds: "rañño' gramahīśi. 6Chl adds: "and this is the means which she employed." MSS. pratiṣṭhāyati nāsti... 7MSS. te. 8Chl lit. "Mind you do not cure him (or her); in any case, bring him (or her) to me." 9Chl omits ābhīra. Ch2 "a man of ābhīra-rājya". 10Chl "said, 'my husband has this disease.'" 11MSS. "kītāḥ sa. 11-12Chl "Go and fetch him, I shall cure him." 13Chl āturo. 14Chl "sakāsām tayānītaḥ. 15Chl omits. 16MSS. "ne. 17W.r. for antra or āntra(n.). 18Chl adds: "urāhām (lit. "by that side")". MSS. asucim. 19Ch2 adds: "When (the worm) went to the right or left, an impure liquid flowed through all the pores of the skin (sarvaromakūpebhyah.)." 20MSS. pīṣayitvā dattāṁ. 21MSS. "lit. Chl reads:
"She used all kinds of pungent things and gave them to the worm but it was not killed."

1 Chh “by the inferior ways”. 2–3 Chh, “For that reason, the queen advised the king to eat onion.” 4 AB devim. 5–6 Chh “Tisya° said to the king for the second time, ‘You must eat it, in order to be cured.’” 7–8 Chh reads: “He said to Tisya”. 9–10 Chh omits. 11 Chh reads: “Tisya° having obtained his consent said to herself…” 12 Chh omits kāpīta. It reads: iṭṭhaṁ. MSS. niryātitavyam. tayā. 13–14 Chh omits. 15 Chh reads this śloka as: “Pluck out the eyes of Kunāla, for he has committed a great crime. Promptly pluck out his eyes. King Aśoka is very strict. Don’t delay; that will be disobeying the king.” 16–17 Chh “In order to have successful results, it was necessary to seal the writing with the teeth of the king, in the time of sealing it up. Tisya° waited till the king was asleep and wished to seal the edict.” Then it reads: rājā ca sahasā bhītaḥ°. 16 D bhadra°.
दंवी कथयति। किमिदर्मिनः। राजा कथयति। देवि स्वप्नं मेंशोभानं
दृष्टं। पश्यामि दृषि गुह्यमं कुनालस्य नयनमृदुपाटियतुमिन्च्छतः।
दंवी कथयति। स्वास्थ्यं कुमारस्येवितः। एवं द्विप्रथिर राजा भोवः।
प्रतिवृद्धं कथयति। देवि स्वप्नो में न शोभों दृष्टं इति।
तिथियरक्तिता कथयति। कीृष्ण: स्वप्न इति। राजासह। पश्यामि
कुनालं दीर्घेकंशणकलस्मृतं। पौरं प्रविष्टं। देववाह। स्वास्थ्यं कुमार-
स्येवितः।

याबूः तिथियरक्तितया राजा: शायतस्य स लेखो दन्तमुँह्या
युद्धितवा तक्षशिलां प्रेषितः। याबू राजा शायतेन स्वनं दृष्टं दन्ता
विशीर्णाः। १०।

ततो राजा तस्या एव राज्यरत्ये नैमितिकानां आहूः कथयति।
कीृष्ण एवं स्वप्नानां विपाक इति। नैमितिकाः: कथयति। देव य
ईदृश्वस्वप्नानं पस्यति ॥"तस्य पुनःस्त चक्षुपादेऽभवति॥ ११। आह च।
दन्ता यस्य महिषीयःते स्वप्नानं दृष्टं प्रगतिः।
चक्षुपादेऽ पुनःस्त च भूतानं स प्रस्वपित।
राृत्वा च राजास्वस्तं ॥"तवरितत्मुःप्रायासनात्॥ कृताज्ञजलिनी-
स्वस्तुदिशं देवताः॥ याचितियमारजः। आह च।

या देवता शास्त्रिज्ञमहानः धर्मं च सङ्क्षेपः च गणप्रथायाः।
येः" चापि लोकम् क्षयस्य वरिष्टत" रक्षन्तु तेऽस्मत्तनं कुनालं।

\[1\] Chh katham sahasa pratibuddho si. \[2\] Chh adds: sutasya me. \[3\] 4-Chh "uttering these words he was asleep." \[4\] MSS. svastham kuma. \[5\] Chh sahasa. \[6\] MSS. 7-sru. \[7\] MSS. 8-stah. \[8\] Chh dirgha-smaśrum bhūmāv āśinam. \[9\] Chh "Sleep peacefully; who will do harm to the prince?" MSS. svastham kuma. \[9\] 10-Chh "The king was asleep. The queen sealed the edict with the teeth of the king (See Notes). She ordered a messenger to carry the edict which prescribed to the people of Takṣāśīlā to pluck out the eyes of Kunāla. The king had a dream again. He dreamt that his teeth fell off." \[10\] MSS. vistirnāḥ. \[11\] 11-12 MSS. omit. \[12\] We have adopted it from the Chh which reads: "The diviners made this prediction: 'Such a dream certainly presages that the son of the king will lose his eyes.'" \[13\] 12-15 Chh omits. \[14\] 14-15 Chh omits. \[16\] 16-17 Chh yā devatā buddhadharmanā yakṣanti tāḥ pūjaya. \[18\] 18-19 Chh omits.
स च लेखोजनपूर्वेण तक्षशिलामुपनीत:। 'अथ तक्षशिला: पौर-जानपद लेखदर्शनात् कुनालस्य गुणविस्तरत्मण्डा नोसहल्ला तदप्रयं निवेदितु। विचरिङ विचारविवाहा चण्डो राजा दु:शील: स्वपुत्रस्य न मर्यादित प्राणोवास्मां [किन्] मर्यादित। आह च।

मृत्युवशस्य शाश्वस्य ॥ सर्वभूतिहितागमिः ॥

'यस्य द्वेषः कुमारस्य कस्य नास्य भविष्यति'॥

तैयारितु कुनालस्य निवेदितं। लेखश्चोपनीत्य। तत: कुनालो वाचगृहि कथयति। विश्रवं यथाश्रयोर्जेन विषयस्यामिति। यावच् चण्डाला रजस्तिः। कुनालस्य नयानम् उपायत्वते।।

ते च कुताज्जिलां-पुरा ऊचुः। नोखस्यामः।। कुवः।

यो हि चत्रस्म: कार्यो सोहदस्युन्दरो नरः।

स चत्रस्माशा: सक्षात् तत्व नेत्रेन समुद्रस्युः।।

तत: कुमारेन मकुट दत्तम। अनाया दक्षिणयोत्पत्तयत। इति। तस्य तु कर्मणाहस्य विपश्चतः०। पुष्करो हि विद्वत-
"to beg to pluck out the eyes. Seeing him...". Chl adds: oaksuso'ntyatāvācakaṃ. MSS. tāṃ. "and he made this reflection: 'He has seen indeed that I am to lose my eyes in retribution of my (past) actions. That is why he uttered these words. He is indeed a beneficent friend (kalyānamitra) of mine. It is in compassion for me that he deigned to give me his advice, wishing that on the day when I receive the retribution, my mind may not be afraid. Besides, the Śiva, formerly gave me these instructions: '(all the) three kinds of creatures are impermanent. They are unstable and changing like the empty illusions. I have since long distinguished (on you) the sign of blindness. You must establish yourself on the Law.'" MSS. otyataḥ. Chl omits this śloka. MSS. ātpāe. Chl adds: viṅkta-rūpaṃ. "Then the deformed man at once approached Kunāla with an intention of plucking out his eyes. He plucked out (one eye) and put it on Kunāla's palm. All the persons present there cried loudly in horror and said...."
एष्ठ हि निर्मल्योत्सनो गगनात पत्ते शारी ।
पुण्डरीकवनाचार्यापि श्रीमान्तपात्यं उम्बुजः।।
तेषु प्राणिशद्धेषु हुदसु कुनालस्येव नयनमुत्पात्य हुस्ते
दत्तः। ततः कुनालस्त्रयय गुह्योवाच॥
रूपाणि कस्मात्र निरौक्षते त्वं यथा पुरा प्राङ्खस्मांसपिण्डः।।
ते विविचारं ते विग्रहणीया आत्मेति येन त्वामुबुधा: श्रयस्ते॥
सामग्रामकं बुद्धदस्थिकाणां सुहुल्लभं निविष्यास्थन्तनं॥
एवं श्रविषेद्यति सदासमस्ता येः। त्यां न ते दुंखमनुहार्यति॥
एवं "विश्वस्य तेन "सर्वभावेष्वनिव्यातां "
स्थोतापित्तिकं" प्राप्तः "जनकायस्य पश्यतः।॥
ततः कुनालो "हि श्रूः पुष्यस्य च पुरुषोच्याच॥
इदानीं द्वितीयं विश्वन्त नयनमुत्पात्यां॥
यावतेत् पुरुषेण कुनालस्य द्वितीयं नयनमुत्पात्या
हुस्ते दत्तः। अथ कुनालो मांसचक्षुषि उद्धृते "प्रजाचक्षुषि च विशुध्देच कथयति।
उद्धृतं मांसचक्षां म यावतेत्तु सुहुल्लभं॥
प्रजाचक्षुषि"विशुध्देच में प्रतिलिख्यम् अनिल्वति॥

1MSS. 9jayā. Chl sahasā. 2MSS. 9lā. 3MSS. 9tsnā. 2–3 Chl reads lit. "pure and luminous". 4 Chl omits this pāda. 5 Chl lit. vinaśyati. MSS. śrimann utpāyate|mbyaṁ. 6–7 Chl "All the myriads and kojās of people wept; and they could not overcome their grief. Thereupon, Kunāla contemplated on the eye which was in his hand and made this reflection: dhig idān nayanān. rūpaṁ kathaṁ naksasi? ramyaṁ āśiṁ purā dhunā prākṣata-
māṁsapindaḥ." 6 Chl reads this line: abudhaḥ mohiṁs tvayā. MSS. tām abudhāṁ śrayante, sāmagram. Chl adds: "It was said that for the cause of that which is within you (eye) I excited an unruly passion. In fact, you are but the delusive product of the multitude of causes. To speak the truth, the eye exists by no means. You resemble a bubble on the surface of the water (budbudasannikāśāṁ)." 6–10 Chl omits. 10MSS. nirvīsaṁ a. 11MSS. 9vīpa. 12–13 Chl "They are liberated from life and death."
14MSS. anuvicā. 15 Chl omits this pāda. 16MSS. śrotāphalam. 17–18 Chl "He could see the (four-fold noble) Truth." 19 Chl vikṣe-
rūpaṁ. 20 Chl adds: "Kunāla contemplated on that eye again and attained the state of sakṛdāgāmin." 21 Chl lit. dharmacaksus ('eye of the Law'). 22 Chl omits this pāda. 23 Chl omits it.
परित्यक्तोऽनुपतिना यवंतं पुज्जयायां।
धर्मराजस्य पुज्जमुपतोतोस्सम महात्मनः॥
ऐश्वर्याद  यवंतं भ्रम्त  शोकुःक्षिवननाद् ॥
धर्मश्वरेश्वरकालं मे दु:खशोकविनाशानि॥

यावधु कुनालेन श्रुतां नायं तात्स्याशोकस्य आदेशः॥। अपि
तु तिथ्यरक्षिताया अयं प्रयोगः हि। श्रुतवा च कुनालः कथयति।
चिरं सुङ्ग । 'तिथ्युत' तिथ्यनाम्नी आयुर्वेदः पाल्यतां च देवी।
'संप्रेषितोथप हि यवा प्रयोगो यस्यानुभावेन कुत: स्वकारयः॥।
ततः काष्ठनमाल्याय श्रुतां कुनाल्स्य नयनानि उत्पादितानीति।
श्रुतवा च भर्तृत्याः कुनालस्यमपपञ्जकम् "पर्वदमवगाहाः
कुनालमुदुङ्कर्त्यां युधिरावसितस्यागत्र दृष्टाः" मूच्छितात सुभोऽपतिता।
यावधु जलसेकं कृत्वा उत्स्थापिता।

ततः कथिचत संज्ञामुपछल्म सर्वस्य प्रश्वती उवाच।
"नेत्रायण कान्ताति मनोहराणि ये मां निरीक्षया" जनयन्ति तुषिं।
ते मे" विपश्या ह्यनिरीक्षणीया" स्त्यजनति मे प्राणसमाः शारीरं॥।
ततः कुनालो "भायम्मनुनन्तयुवाच। अर्जेन शूद्रितेन। नाहिः
वोकमाश्रीलिङ्। स्वरंकामानमेव कर्मणां फलमुपस्थितां। आहूः च।
कर्मात्मकं लोकमिदं चिदित्वा दुःखास्मकं चापि जन धि मत्वा॥
मत्वा च लोकं प्रयियविषयां करः॥ द्विन् प्रये नाहिः स्वाष्मोऽसे॥।

1MSS. "tyakto'thum. 1-2 Chh reads this: "forsaken by him who was my father in the series of transmigration". 5Chh omits this pāda. 4MSS. karma. 5Chh "forgery". 6MSS. caiva sā. Chh adds: nirudvegān. 7Chh omits balaṃ. MSS. pālayate. 8-9Chh "Because she has been the instrument which has destroyed the causes (of transmigration) for my sake and has made me obtain the benefit of the Law,". 10Chh omits. 11Chh adds: "She uttered a cry of anguish and was at the height of despair." 12MSS. prarudani uvāca. 12-16Chh "Those eyes which were guiltless and marvellously beautiful are destroyed and reduced to this state!" 13MSS. "riksaṁ jana". 14ABD tam me. C ta me. 15MSS. "niyaḥ. 16MSS. prānasamā sā": 17-18Chh "replied to her by reciting this gāthā": 19-20Chh omits. 20-22Chh param hi śokaṁ. 22-23Chh lit. "Get rid of your affliction. What is the good of weeping?"
तत: कुनालो भाययाः सहृ तक्षशिलाया निष्कासितः। स
गर्मार्गामुपास्य परमसुकुमारवर्षीरः। न किमिष्ठ उत्सहे सरसा
कर्म भूरः। केवलं बीणां वादयति। गायति च। ततोः हेतुः लभते
कुनालो: पत्या सहः भुक्ते।।

तत: कान्तितमालयेन मार्गेण पालिक्षुपादवादानीता तमेव मार्गे
मनुसरती भर्तृहि तीया पालिक्षुपाण्यः गता।। यावदशोकस्य गुहमार्बकः
प्रवेष्ठेत। द्वारपालेन च निवारिताः। यावदुः राज्योशकस्य यानालयाः
यामवसिष्ठाः।

तत: कुनालो राज्यः प्रत्यूषसमये बीणां वादयितमारावः।
यथा: नयानामुपातितानि सत्यदर्शीनं च कुर्ते तदनुरूपं हितं च गीतं
प्रारंभं। आहुः च।

चक्षुरादानीन यः प्रातः: पश्यतायातनानि च।
श्वानिदीपेन शुक्लेन स संसारादू विमुच्यते।।
यदि तद् सदुःखपीडिता भवति च ॥ ॥ दोषविनिष्टता मति:।
सुलभमिह च यदीच्छसि धृवं लबितस्मिहायायतनानि संत्याः।॥

1Chl tau dmpati ajanma. MSS. garbhadānam u°. 2Chl “lived
happily. They had not the strength to apply themselves
to toilsome occupations, such as, either to carry loads
or to labour.” 3Chl adds: jivikāyai (“to earn livelihood”).
D bhaisajyān. 4-5Chl omits. 6-7Chl “After a good many changes
of direction they approached the town of Pātaliputra. Arriving
at the gate of the royal palace...”. 8-9Chl “Kunāla passed
the night in the stable of elephants attached to the gate (of
the palace).” 9MSS. sayana-sālā. 10-12Chl “He related, in
accompaniment of the viṇā, his grandeur as well as his mis-
fortune and how he had found the Way, on account of his
eyes being plucked out. Those who were near the gate, listened
to him. They concentrated themselves on themselves (and saw
in them) the union of attributes (skandha). All of them obtained
escape (liberation) from the misfortune of transmigration. The
king having heard the familiar voice and the sound of the
viṇā said: ‘The sound of this viṇā resembles the sound
of the instrument of Kunāla. This song relates the good
fortune as well as the misfortune. This is as well a song of
someone who has built up his own greatness.’” 11MSS. omit it.
12MSS. add sva.
तत्त्व गीतशब्दो राजाश्चोकेन श्रुतः। श्रुत्वा च प्रीतमना उवाच।

गीतं कुनालेन मयि प्रसकतं वीणास्वरस्वैैः श्रुतिश्चिरेण।

अम्मागतोपी॥ गृहं नु कलिम् न चेच्छ्यति देवस्यां कुमारः॥

अथ राजाश्चोकेन नृप्षमाहुर्योवाच। पुरुष लक्ष्यते॥

न खलेवं कि गीतस्य कुनालसुदृशः स्वनिः॥

cर्मण्यधेरयं चैव सूर्यव्रिहः लक्ष्यते॥

tदनेनासिम साध्वेन धैयादाकपितो मुखः॥

cर्मस्येव नष्टस्य न्रनष्टकलमः। करी॥

भच्छू कुनालमन्यस्वेति। यावत् पुरुषो यानशालां गतः॥

पश्चाति कुनालम् उद्धनन्यः वातातपपरिद्ध्वागात्रस्त्रवंविभाजय च।

राजानमश्चोकेन अभिमयोवाच। देव नै होष कुनालः॥।

अन्धक एष वनीपकः॥ पत्या सह देवस्य यानशालायाम्॥ अवस्थितः।

श्रुत्वा च राजा संविभन्नित्त्यामास॥ यथा मयम् स्वप्नात्मयशोस्मनानिन दृष्टानि॥

नियतं कुनालस्य नयनानि विनष्ट्यानि भविष्यति॥।

आहं च।

स्वप्नान्तरे निमित्तानि यथा दृष्टानि से पुरा॥

नि:संशयं कुनालस्य नेत्रे ये निधनं गते॥

ततो राजा प्रश्यद्युवाच॥

शीघ्रमानीयतामेष मतस्मीपति॥ वनीपकः॥

न हि मे शाम्यते॥ चेतः सुनष्ट्यानन्त्याया॥॥

यावत् पुरुषो यानशालां गतवा कुनालमुवाच॥ कस्य तवं पुजः॥

cकि च नाम। कुनालः। प्राह।

अशोको नाम राजासो मौर्याणाँ कुलवर्धनः।
कृत्स्नेयं पृथिवी यस्य वशे वर्तिति किरकरः।
तस्य राजस्वर्ह पुत्रः कुनाल इति विश्रुतः।
धार्मिकसः तु पुत्रोऽहु बुधस्य आदित्यवाचवः।

tat: कुनालः १ पत्या सह राजोजीकस्य समीपमानीतः। अय राजाश्रोकः: [पत्यति] कुनालमुद्रेतनयं वातात्तपरिवर्गताः "रथ्या-" 
चोकसंघाटत्रत्ववरेण वाससा रथालक्ष्यविचार्यतां)कोपींः। स तम-प्रत्यभिलाया आक्षतिमात्रकं दृष्टा कथयति। तथं कुनाल इति।
कुनालः प्राहुः एवं देव कुनालोम्यति। श्रुत्वा सुनिष्टोऽथ मृणं पतितः। "वक्ष्यति ति हि।

ततः कुनालस्य मुखं निरोक्ष्यं नेत्रोद्वः" शोकपरीततः।
राजा ह्यश्रोकः पतितत्व घरण्याः हा पुत्र शोकेन हि दशमानः।
यावजु जलपरिशेषः कुलवा "राजामुद्रापितवासुने निष- 
दितः।" अय राजा "कथयन्तित संज्ञामुद्रलयम्" कुनालमुद्रोऽथ स्थापयात- 
मास। "वक्ष्यति हि।

ततो मुखं नूप आश्वसितवा कण्ठे परिभ्रम्य रसाश्रुकुषः।
मुहुः कुनालस्य मुखं प्रमृज्यं भूलि राजा विभास तत्र।
नेत्रे कुनालप्रतिमे विशोक्यं मुतं कुनालति पुरा बभासे।
तद्न्ते नेत्रे निधनं गते ते पुत्रं "कुनालति कथं च वक्ष्ये।"
आहं च।

कथयं कथयं साधुपुष्यं तावदुः
वदनमिदं तव केन चारुतेऽः।

¹-² Chh jambudvipasya śāsakaḥ. ³ Mss. ⁴ karā. ⁵ Chh dharmarājasya ca. ⁶ Chh omits ādi. ⁷ Chh andhāḥ. ⁸ Mss. rathyāṁ codaka (D codaka) samhāta. ⁹ Chh adds: "a man with a miserable aspect". ACID pīnah, B kāpinaḥ. Mss. sa tam a; is it for santam a? ⁷-⁸ Chh reads: "skinny; the dresses in tatters". ¹⁰-¹² Chh omits. ¹³ Mss. ¹⁴ Chh samāśvāsitaḥ. ¹⁵-¹⁶ Chh pariśvajya. ¹⁷ Mss. putra. ¹⁸-¹⁹ Chh lit. "What name is to be given to you?" ¹⁹ Chh omits. ²⁰ Mss. omit it.
गणनामिव विपश्चन्द्रतारं

व्यपगतशोभम् अनीक्षकं क्रतं ते।।

अकर्षणहुदयेन तेन तात

मुनिसस्दश्यम् न साधु साधुबुद्रे।।

नरवनरयनेष्वैलेवरैं

प्रक्ततमिवं मम भूरिसोकमूलं।।

वद सुवदन क्षिप्रभेदवं

ब्रजजि शरीरमिदं पुरा विनाशं।।

तव नवनिवानाशोकदक्षं

वनमिव नागविमुक्तवच्यद्वं।।

तत्: कुनालः पितरं प्रणिपत्यं उवाच।।

राजस्वतीं खलु नैव शोच्चर्यं

किं न शुद्वं ते मुनिवाक्यम् एतत्।।

यत्कर्मिनस्तेजैपि जना न मुक्ता:

प्रयेकबुद्रा: “सुश्रुद्धस्तथैव।।

‘वज्रांकुमलश्च पृथग्रजनाश्च ये’ं

कुलामि कर्मण्यमृतानि” देहिनां।।

स्वयं कुलामिमहि कर्मणं फलं

कथं तु वश्यामि परैरिरं क्रतं।।

1MSS. 2tāra. 3Chl omits. 4–6Chl “Who, with a pitiless heart, has destroyed your eyes? Who has made your eyes a source of misfortune for the rest of my days? Kunāla, my son, who wished that your eyes be reduced to this state? Be quick! Tell me who he is. Seeing you with a feeble and languid body, grief consumes my body and soul and destroys them entirely, as if they had been struck by a thunder-bolt.” 4MSS. 5ddhe. 6AB prajati. 7Chl onkaṇyasam tathaiva. 8–12Chl “as well as the common people must receive the retribution of their actions without which none of them can escape. Good or evil actions are never destroyed (kṛtāṁ karmāṁ amṛtāṁ dehinām). I must not do harm to others for the actions which I have committed myself.” 10MSS. omit ye. 11MSS. ony asubhā.”
‘अहमो भद्रारत्रक्तृताप्राध्य च चाप्राध्य च। विनिवर्तायामि
योक्त्र विनयामि विपत्ति जननानि।
न शस्त्रविग्रहिविवाणि पञ्चगा:
कुञ्जन्न गीडाँ रमसापकारिनः।
शरीरेऽन्त्रे हि घृते हि पार्थिब
पतति हुः खायविवाणि देहिनाः॥
अथ राजा शोकालिनासंतापितहूदय उवाच।
प्रभृत्वादतानि नवनानि सुतस्य महां
को जीवितं मुमुषुर्त्यजितुं व्यवस्त:।
शोकालोऽरिपतितो हुदये प्रचण्डः
आच्छन्न पुंज लघु कस्य हुरामि दण्ड॥
यावद् राजाःशोकेन श्रुतं तिष्यरक्षिताया अयं प्रयोग इति।
श्रुतवाः राजा तिष्यरक्षितामाहृत्योवाच।

¹Chl omits this. ²MSS. nabhaso'vikārinah. The MSS. reading is modified with the help of the Chinese reading (“hostile and cruel”). ³MSS. kuvepa. ⁴MSS. athtama. ⁵-⁸Chl reads: “These are not the ills caused by plagues that come to afflict my body. These are my past actions, the retribution of which I receive now. To make others suffer (on account of this) will be a great injustice. Every creature who has a body resembles a target which receives a multitude of arrows.” ⁶-⁸Chl “Who is the creature devoid of love that has taken away from you the eyes while you are living!” Kunāla said, ‘That is you, my father who have ordered to pluck them out.’ The king said, ‘If I have ordered anybody to pluck out your eyes, I shall cut off my tongue.’ Kunāla said, ‘My father, the edict was sealed with your teeth.’ The king said, ‘If I have sealed it with my teeth I shall pluck out my teeth. If my eyes have seen it, I shall pluck out my eyes.’ Tiṣyarakṣītā having called the queen Padmāvatī, said to her: ‘Pluck out my eyes now. I go to beg together with my son to earn my livelihood.’ These words had reached the ears of the king; he reflected thus: ‘Tiṣyarakṣītā has certainly caused to pluck out the eyes of my son.’” This paragraph which relates how Asoka came to know the culprit, is not found in Ch2. ⁷MSS. ⁸nale.
कथं हुःथ्ये न निमस्मजसे शितो
छेतात्सिस शीर्षे परशुप्रहारितं।
त्वज्ञायं त्वामतिपापकारिणोऽव
अधर्मंयुक्तं वियमात्मवानिव। ॥
ततो राजा कोयविनना प्रज्वलितसित्यरक्षितां निरीक्षयोवाच।
"उत्पाटच नेवेपे परिपात्यामि
गात्रं किमस्या नलने: सुन्तीकणे।
जीवलिसुलामसं कारयामि
छेतात्सिस नासं। ऋकचेन वास्या। ॥
क्षुण्य जिह्वामथे कर्त्यामि।
विषेण पूर्णामथे धाटिभ्ये।
स एवमित्यादिवधग्रह्यो
वहुप्रकारं ह्यवदन्तयेन। ॥
शुच्चा कुनालं। "कक्षणात्मकस्तु
विज्ञाप्यामास गुरः महात्मां।
अन्यायकर्मं यद्व तिष्यरक्षिता
व्यायामकर्मं।" भव मा वधव॥
"फलं हि मैथ्या सदृशं न निवद्वे
प्रभो।" तितिक्षा सुगंगो वणिता।"।

1MSS. hi dhanye. Chl adds here: nṛthaṁse. 2MSS. chinnāmi. 3MSS. prahāraḥ. 2–4Chl reads: "You creature, who destroy the Law! Really I hate you. You who showed a feigned affection to my kith and kins!" 5–6Chl "You have destroyed the eyes of my son, I am going to tear to pieces the skin of your body." 7Chl gātram. ABC ātākacena. D aticena. 8Chl adds: "With a big blunt axe, I shall break your bones. I shall throw your body into the furnace!" MSS. ksareṇa jīhvām ath. . . . pūrṇāmy ath . . . 9MSS. iṣyevo mādi. 10MSS. sakāru. 11Chl lit. "Tiṣya" has taken as her principle, recourse to the evil ways and so (she has acted) thus. You must now, O king, be guided by the Holy Law." 12MSS. vadha. 13–15Chl omits. 14MSS. bhos."
पुनः प्रणव्यः पितरं कुमारः
कृत्वा जनवः सूर्यवागः जगादः।
राजस्म में दुःखलोच्चित्त कष्टिवात् तीव्रायकारोदिकि न मन्युतः॥
मनः प्रसां यदि में जनवां योद्धादेव में नयनं स्वयं हि।
तत्तेन सत्येन ममास्तु तावां नेत्रद्व्र्यं प्राक्तनमेव सचः॥
इत्युक्तमाथी पूर्वाधिक्रमाविभित्ते नेत्रयुगमे प्रायुक्ते॥१। यवद्
राजाप्रोक्तेन तिष्याधिक्षितासर्वपिष्टेन "जतुगृहं प्रवेश्यत्वा दवधा।
तक्षशिलांस्य पौरा: प्रगातिता:॥।

भिक्षवः संशयाजातः "सर्वसंशयंछत्तारमायुमन्तं" स्थविरोप-
gुतां पृथुतिर। "किं कुनारेन कर्म करं यस्य कर्मणो विपक्षेन"
नयनाय्युपाटितानि।

स्थविर उवाच। तेन ह्यायुमन्तः अख्यताः॥
भूमपव्यमतीतेष्विनि वाराणस्यामन्यतमो लुभ्यक।। स"" हिमवत्
गता मुगान्त प्रवालयति। सोपरेण समयेन हिमवते गतः।। तत्र
चालनिपतितानि\ परमसुगुमसाति एकस्य गुहायां प्रविधान्याया-
साधितानि॥। तेन वागुरया वर्ष गृहिताः॥॥। तत्स्य बुद्धिर्प्रच्छ। यदि

¹AB Oṇaśyā. D ०namyā. ोśca natvā ? ²A duḥkhalostī. B ०khamvāṣṭī. C ०khanostī. D duḥkha—vostī. ¹—८Chl reads: "It is not proper to get angry with the children or with low and unreasonable persons." The miracle of getting the eyes back is neither found in Chl nor in Ch2. ⁴MSS. jantu. ³—६Chl "But the king did not listen to him. A torture-hall (lit. a hall of glue, of...) was made and (the queen) was burnt alive. The inhabitants of the town of Takṣaśīlā were equally destroyed by fire." ⁶Chl adds: etat sarvam jñātavyā. ⁷—८Chl omits. ⁹—१०Chl lit. kasmāt kāraṇād adhumā kumālasya. ¹¹Chl adds: "I am going to relate it to you." ¹²—१३Chl "In summer, he lived among the people. In winter, he went to hunt in the mountain. Having approached the snowy mountains (himavat) he was caught by a sudden shower of hail-storm." ¹³C ca šeni pañitāni. MSS. omit pañcamargāśatāni. ¹⁴Chl omits āśāditāni. ¹⁴—१६Chl omits.
प्रदानतिथियामि 'मांसः क्लेशमुप्यायस्यति'। तेन पञ्चानां मूःशतानामः-
मक्षीणुपायांति। ते उद्घृतनाया न क्षित्तिक पलायन्ति। एवं-
वहृन्तां मूःशतानां नयनाचन्युपायांति।

कि मन्यत्वमायुपमतः। यौजसी लुभकः स एष कुतारः।
'पलायनेन बहृन्तां मूःशतानां नयनाचन्युपायांति तस्य कर्मणो विपाकेन
बहृतिन वर्षशतसहस्राणि नरकेषु दुःखमुन्युपि ततः कर्मविशेषे।
पञ्चानां जन्मशतानां तस्य नयनाचन्युपायांति।

'कि कर्मं क्लतं यस्य कर्मणो विपाकेनोच्चे कुले' उपपन्नः।
प्रासादिकवच संबृः। तयदश्रेः च क्लतं।

'तेन ह्यायुपमतं: श्रूर्ताः।
मूत्तौर्बैशोमनकवचच्चत्वारिश्चध्रप्रसहस्रायुष्म प्रजायामः ककृच्छ्यो
नाम सम्ध्यकसम्बुद्रोऽलोक उदपादि।

सदा ककृच्छ्योः सम्ध्यकसम्बुद्रः सकर्षु बुद्धकार्यः क्लत्वा
निपूर्णिषोपेन निर्माणाधातु परिनिर्भूतः।
तस्य धारणेण च राजः चतुर्वतन
मयं शूपुः कारित: । सदा राजायोः
कालगतोश्रावः राजः
राजे प्रतिपालित:। ताति रत्नान्यद्रतादिकैः
ताति। पांसुकावः
वाक्सिष्टे। तत्र जनकायो गतवा
विविषों दृष्टा शोकितु-
मार्गः इति।

¹ Chl adds here: "all at a time". ² Chl adds: "I am going to pluck out their eyes and I shall eat a deer every day." ³⁻⁴ Chl "Now he has his eyes plucked out due to that (evil) act." ⁵⁻⁶ Chl "since that time till the present day". ⁷ Chl adds sarvadā. ⁸⁻⁹ Chl punas te prochān kathāṁ rājakule. ¹⁰⁻¹¹ Chl reads: "(Upagupta) replied:"
¹² Chl "a Buddha". ¹³⁻¹⁴ Chl lit. "having completed the conversions which he had to do". ¹⁵⁻¹⁶ Chl "In that time, there was a king named Gracious (Ch2 "Sobha"), who, in honour of this Buddha, erected a saptaratnamaya-stūpa (a stūpa of stone decorated with seven precious substances) the site of which was a square of forty li obliquely." ¹⁷ Mss. ¹⁸ Mss. ¹⁹ Chl "Gracious", Ch2 "Sobha". ²⁰ Chl takes it as a proper name ("a king named Āśraḍdhā"). Ch2 agrees with the text: ²¹ Mss. rājyaṁ. ²² Chl ratnāṁ tena ह्रिता।. ²³ Mss. cātra. ²⁴ Chl "wept, expressed regret and anger."
तस्मांसच समयेज्ञतमस्च श्रेष्ठिपुत्रः।
तेनोक्तः। किमथे
र्ष्टवत इति।
तैरमिहिषं क्रुण्प्चर्वदस्य सम्यक्सम्बुद्धस्य लूपपश्चात्तरतमयं
आसीत्। स इदानी विशीर्षणां इति।
तस्तस्तेन याः
तत्र क्रुण्प्चर्वदस्य सम्यक्सम्बुद्धस्य कायप्रभाविका
प्रतिमा बमुव विशीर्षण सामिसंस्कृताः।
सम्यक्ष्रणिधानं च कृतं।
यादृशः। क्रुण्प्चर्वः
शास्त्रेऽकुमेत शास्त्रार्मारागयेऽ।
मा विरागयेयेन्मिति।

cँ मन्य्यदव्यायुष्मातः।
योऽसी श्रेष्ठिपुत्रः स एस कुनालः।
प्रात्याते क्रुण्प्चर्वदस्य
स्तूपोडिसमिसंस्कृतस्तस्य कर्मणो विपाकेऽनेचः
कुले पुपपतः। यतू
प्रतिमामिसंस्कृतः
तस्य कर्मणो विपाकेऽनेन कुनालः
प्रासादिकः संवृत्तः।
यतू
प्रणिधानं कृतं
तस्य कर्मणो विपाकेऽनेन
कुनालेन [यादृशः]
शास्त्रयमुनि: सम्यक्सम्बुद्धस्तादृश्य
एव शास्त्रा
समारागितो न विरागितः।
सत्यदर्शनं च कृतं।

इति 
श्रीदिव्यावदाने
कुनालावदानं
सप्तविश्वतिमेः
समाप्तं ॥

\[1\] Chh reads: kulaputrah (“a son of a good family”). 2 Chh saptaratnamaya.
MSS. stūpaṁ catū... mayam ā. 3–6 Chh “Now it has been destroyed by persons
who have stolen the seven precious substances and have left nothing but
earth and wood (pañāu-kāśṭha); and that is why we weep.” Then the kulaputra
replaced the saptaratna, repaired the stūpa and decorated it as before. Besides,
he made a big statue which resembled exactly the figure of
Krakūḍo Buddha.” 4 MSS. ca. 6–7 Chh “May I, in future, resemble
this Buddha, obtain the supreme deliverance and the excel-
 lent Fruit of Purity.” 8 Chh adds: mahārghaḥ. MSS. stūpaṁ abhi...
tam tasya. 9 Chh adds: prabale kule. 10 Chh adds: buddha.
11 Chh nirmītā. MSS. skṛtā tena. 12 MSS. nāle. 12–14 Chh “He has
obtained the beauty at present. For having made a correct vow
(samyak prajñāhāna) in the past, he has obtained, at present, the
अशोकावदानं

यदा राजाःशोकेनं भगवं चतुर्वैतिषिकम् राजाधिकारिण् प्रतिपादाय स्मित्स्म्रुतं। 1 केनं भगवं चतुर्वैतिषिकम् प्रभूतं दानं दत्तं । भिस्मवं ऊँचः । 2 अनाय-पिण्डदेनं गृहुपतिना । राजाः। 3 किंयतेनं भगवं चतुर्वैतिषिकम् प्रभूतं दानं दत्तं । भिस्मवं ऊँचः । 4 कोटिशंतं तेनं भगवं चतुर्वैतिषिकम् प्रभूतं दानं दत्तं । श्रुत्वा च राजाःशोकं किंयतेनं भगवं चतुर्वैतिषिकम् प्रभूतं दानं दत्तं। तेनामिहलं। 5 अहंगं कोटिशंतं भगवं चतुर्वैतिषिकम् प्रभूतं दानं दास्यामि।

तेन यावचं चतुर्वैतिषिकम् राजाधिकारिण्यं प्रतिपादितं। 6 सर्वं च शतसहस्त्राणि दत्तानि । जातीं बोधीं धर्मं चतुर्वैतिषिकम् परिनिबधीं च सर्वं शतसहस्त्राणि दत्तं। 7 पञ्चवार्षिकं क्रमं । तन्न च चत्वारिः शतसहस्त्राणि दत्तानि। 8 तीसं शतसहस्त्राणि स्मित्स्म्रुतं भोजितानि। 9 यत्रैंमहं ते शाक्ताणि" पूर्णगुजनकल्याणकानां च। कोंस्य स्थापितवा 10 महापृथिवी-मन्तः पुरात्तमाणां मात्रानां कुनालं चार्यस्वलं निर्यात्यितवा। 11 चत्वारिः शतसहस्त्राणि दत्तवेश्वरिनित्वान्। 12 षण्वतिकोटिचो भगवं चतुर्वैतिषिकम् प्रभूतं दानं दत्तं। 13 स यवद्दन्ति-प्रञान्मूल:। 14 अथ राजा इदानीं न भविष्यामीति विकल्पीमूलं।

तस्य राजसुप्रत्यो नामामात्यो 15 केन सहं पाण्डुलिपीं दत्तं। 16 तदा स राजांममशेखरं विकल्पीमूलं स्मरणवेश्वरं पाद्यों 17 निपद्यः। 18 कुतां जलविवाच।

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1. M8 & Div. add: ardhāmalakadānena which Ch omit.
2. Ch1 reads: upaguptam.
3. Ch1 adds: “When Buddha was in this world.”
4. Ch1 “Upagupta replied”: Ch1 reads “Sudatta”, Ch2 “Anātha-piṇḍada”.
5. Ch1 upagupta u. 6. Ch1 uvāca. 7. Ch1 adds: nunāṃ yuktam eva mayā jambudvīpādhipatīnā tāvad dātum. Ch1 omits this sentence and the preceding one. Here Ch1 reads: mahāyṛthi- vim anātyaṁ... niryātitavān. After this tena yāvas catur asiti”.
8. Ch1 adds: “as well as the sūrēs of the śrāvakas. He watered the Bodhi-tree.”
1-2 Ch 1 reads: “Only 84000 concubines could look at your face. Now, when you are sick, you resemble the sun that is going to set. All the three worlds undergo changes and transformations. The sentient beings are bound to suffer and die. Let Your Majesty meditate on impermanence. What is the use of getting afflicted?” Div. A padmānana... samprayogam. 3 M8 & Div. yuksyāmi. 4 M8 & Div. stam. 5 Ch 1 omits this sloka. 6 Ch 1 “I could give 96 crores; four crores are still wanting and so I grieve.” Rādhagupta said, “Your treasures are numerous. The total sum must be given.”” 7 M8 & Div. catvāraḥ kotyāḥ. 7-8 Ch 1 omits. 9 M8 & Div. (except D) kur. 10 M8 bṛdhā. 11 Chinese translations transliterate the name in different ways. Vide Notes. Div. A sampadi. 12 Ch 1 “the wicked ministers with perverse views (mithyā-dṛṣṭi).” 13 Ch 1 reads these sentences with more details: “King Aśoka approaches the end of his life. He squanders away his treasures; having given away all, he is about to be ruined. You will be the king. The treasures and the precious things are the resources of a king. That they may not be completely squandered away, you must now put a stop to it.” Eul-
mo-ri (Sampadi) in accordance with the ministers took advantage of the illness and took away all that belonged to the king. He was given only one gold plate and one silver plate in which the royal repast was served.3

1Div. AB & M8 kurku°. 2Div. kurku°. 3Chl omits this sentence. M8 & Div. add: yāval lohabhājana āhāram upanāmyate. tāny api rājā sokah kurkutārāmam presayati. 4Div. D omits ardha. A kalātaragatam, BD kalabbhagatam. Chl “Finally the king was given the half of an āmalaka fruit. Having received the fruit...” 5Chl omits. M8 mātyam. 6M8 & Div. tya. 6–7Chl simply amātya ṭuṣṭa. 7M8 & Div. wāca. 8–9Chl omits. 10Chl “You are in error when you say that I am the master.” M8 yata. 11–12Chl “Oh! The riches are utterly contemptible!” 13Chl adds after this: “‘I possess nothing but the half of an āmalaka fruit. (I am) like a violent stream which stops when it strikes a rock.’ Then he recited the following gāthās:’"
अथवा को भगवतो वायुमन्यथा करिष्यति। सम्पत्तियो हि सर्वं विपत्तिनिवादना

प्रवृत्तिः यदविविधवादिना गोतमेन न हि तद् विसंवर्णति। प्रतिशिश्तेऽस्मश्चर्चिरास्म मम यावलिथा

मनसा साज्ज्य महाद्रिशिलाते विहलावन् नदी प्रतिनिवृत्ता।

आचार्य व्याधूतदिम्बदरामृ एकातप्र्या महीं

उत्पादक प्रतिगारितानिरीतिगार्थानु आश्वास्य दीनादुरान्।

अस्ताःस्थायतनो न भागत ऊपरणः सप्तत्रयोहों नमुन्त्रुपः

श्वेतभासेङि: पापानुरुपकुसुमः शुष्क्येशाङों यशा।

ततो” राजास्कृतः समवेतत तुहमाहृयोवाच। “भद्रमुखुः

पूर्वमुग्नानुरागिः अन्तेष्ठत्वस्यापि मम इमं तावदः अपशिष्यं व्यापारं

कुरुः। इदं ममार्ज्जलं ग्रहाय खुकुकुरारसं गतवा सम्भं नियालय।

मद्रज्जनाच लते महलक्षिणा न मानेववदन्तं कुत्वा चक्तवत्।

जम्बुदीपीतश्वस्य राज्ज एषां साम्रातं विश्व इति। इदं” ताबदः

अपशिष्यं दानं तथा परिमोक्तव्यं यथा म सम्भुगता दक्षिणा विस्तीर्णं

स्थापित। आहू च।

\[1\] Div. & M8 ५द्हानं। २M8 omits na। ३Div. & M8 यावती यथाः। Div. BD मनसा साय दय। M8 ६द्या। Div. A मनसा दय। Div. BD शिलालम। A ५ताल। Div. vihita। M8 vihivanna। ४Ch1 “The speeches of Buddha are veridical. In his speeches there is nothing which is not correct. He said: ‘Those who love have the pangs of separation.’ Formerly I gave orders and none could obstruct them. Today I am like a (spring of) rushing water that strikes a rock and stops flowing. Actually, in the same way, my orders are disobeyed.” Div. ६मिरेः। ६Ch1 omits this adjective। Div. AB ६वावद्वितः। ६M8 & Div. ६शाचाया। ६–७Ch1 “Today my power is gone. I am like a broken chariot which itself has no longer any planks for support.” ८Div. ८चिन्ना। ८Ch1 adds: “I have lost all supports. My edict is a dead letter.” १०Div. तातो ।।। samāpām gataṁ। ११Ch2 has mistaken this for a proper name। १०–११Ch1 “Having recited these gāthās he called a dignitary attending him, gave him the āmalaka and the following order:” ११–१२Ch1 omits। १३M8 & Div. kuru (D kuku)। १४Ch1 reads this sentence simply: “You shall speak to the Sthavira.” १५–१६Ch1 omits.
इद्ध प्रदानं चर्मं ममभाय।
राज्यं च तत्चावधः गतं स्वभायं।
'आरोग्यवेद्वीपोष्टिविज्ञातयः
शान् न मेज्ज्यार्घणाद् बिहिष्ठ।'।
तत्तथा भुज्यतां येन प्रदानं मम पश्चिमं।
यथा सज्ज्यश्च मेज्ज्य विस्तीर्णिः दक्षिणा भवेत।।
एवं देवतिः स पुश्चो राजोऽज्जोकस्य प्रतिर्शुक्य तदर्मिन्यः गृह्या
कुक्षुटारमसं गतवा वृद्धां तेन स्थित्वा क्रतान्त्तिष्टदर्मिन्यः सत्त्रे
लिङ्गानितेयस्वः।
एकण्ठसमुच्चयाः वस्तुतामात्मायाय यः पुरा
'लोकं ताप्यति सम मध्यदिवसप्राप्तो दिवा भास्करः।।
भाम्भचिरममवेश्य सोश्च नृपति। स्वः कर्मभिभौतितः
सन्ध्यं दिवसप्रमो रविवर्त भ्रष्टप्रभावः स्थितः।।
भक्त्यावन्तेन शिरंसा प्रणम्य सज्ज्याय तेन बलु दस्तमदमालं
कस्यार्थं रुक्मीचापलयचिह्नं। ततः सज्ज्यविवरो भिष्मुन्वाच।
'भद्दंति भविष्यः शक्यमिदं नृपं संवेगुक्तायति। कुतः। एवं हुक्तं
भगवता—परविपत्ति। संवेजनिः स्थानमिति। कस्येदानी सहृदयस्य
संवेजे नोत्पाते। कुतः।'

1M8 & Div. tam. M8 omits rajiya. 2-8Ch1 reads: 'May the Saṅgha receive with compassion the last alms of the unfortunate one, as I am, so that I may acquire merits.' Thereupon the Sthavira Yaśas addressed the Saṅgha, the following: 'You have all seen king Aśoka enjoying good fortune and pleasures.''. 4-8Ch1 "Today he is governed by the throng of his subjects. They have robbed him of his royal wealth in such a way that he has none of them at his disposal. There is nothing else than this half of an āmalaka fruit which he can dispose of, at his will. With a grave and aggrieved mind, he comes to offer this to the religious ones." 5-8Ch1 omits. 7M8 & Div. BD lakṣmyā cāpāly", Div. A "kṣyāpālīyā". 8Div. & M8 bhavantaḥ for bhavādehiḥ. 9-10Ch1 puts this passage after yuṣe prakṣipyasa saṅgha cāritan and reads it as follows: 'It suits now for this reason to express a bitter distaste and a profound aversion for transmigration! Treasures and
त्यागशूरी नरेन्द्रोजसौ अशोको मोहयुक्तः।
जम्बुदीपेशवरो मूल्या जातोर्गलकोशवरः।
भूत्वेः स भूमिपतिरच हृताधिकारो
दानं प्रयच्छिति किलामलकार्धेमेतत्।
श्रीभोगविस्तरमैत्रैरतििविनानां
प्रत्यादिशशिव मनासि पृथगुजनानां।
यावद् तद्वर्मिंशकं चूर्णित्वा यूषे प्रक्षिप्यं सङ्क्षे चारितं।
‘ततो राजाश्रोंको राजगुप्तमुवाच। कथय राजगुप्त कः साम्पते
पृथिव्यामीसवः।
‘अथ राजगुप्तोश्चक्यः पादयोनिपत्य कुतामध्यलिङ्गः। उवाच।
देवः पृथिव्यामीसवः।
‘अथ राजाश्रोकः कथंचिदुत्थाय चतुर्विदमवलकोक्यं सख्याया-
म्जः कुत्वोवाच।
एष इदाभी महतू कोशं स्थापित्वा इस्म समुदवर्ग्न्तां महा-
पृथिवीम् भगवंछाकसङ्क्षेपे निर्यात्यामि।
आह च।
इस्मा समुद्रोत्तमनीलकम्भुका-
मनेरकलत्नकरभूषितानां।
दद्म्यहं भूत्त्वरांसम्मद्वरां
सध्याय तस्मै ज्ञापभृज्यतां फलं।।

pleasures vanish quickly! Power and sovereignty are soon lost.
Fie! The transmigration well deserves aversion and disgust.”
1Ch1 omits. 2Ch1 “Then the Sthavira gave order to the
man-in-charge to grate (the fruit) in the soup, so that all
the monks may participate in the offering.” M8 & Div. ABD
yūthe. A prakṣipta. “Before this, Ch1 adds an obscure passage
(See Notes) which is neither found in the M8 nor Div. nor in
Ch2. 3-4Ch1 “When king Asoka approached the end of his
life, he asked Rādha...” 5-6Ch1 omits. 7M8 & Div. AB
avasākyā. 8Div. A satadharāṁ, D südharāṁ, M8 bhūdharāṁ. 9Div.
& M8 tasminn upabhujyate. Ch1 omits this śloka.
अभि च।

दानेनाहमनेन नेन्द्रभवनं न ब्रह्मालोके फलं कालक्षमं दृतवारिष्टेवचपलं श्राबेन राजसिंहं।

danasyas tva tu bhaktimahitaṃ yametiṃ tenaapnūyām
chitravivarāpropamānāhītāṃ naiva yatd víkriyāṃ।।

यावत् पत्तामिलितं हल्लथ दत्तमुद्रया मुरीतं। ततो राजा महापृथिवीं सस्त्रे दत्तवा कालगतः। यावदमायैवील्पीताभि: सिविका-sivika-

शिरिमहिन्हिर्त्वा ्श्रीरोपुजां हल्लथा ध्यापयित्वा। राजानं प्रतिष्ठापथिष्ठाष्याम इति [उक्तमु]।।

यावद् राधापुलेनाभिहितं। राजासऽ-śokam महापृथिवीं सस्त्रे निर्षपिता इति। ततोधमायैर्रिति

किमर्थमिति।

राधगुप्त उवाच। एष राजासोकसमावसेथः बभूवं कोटिदं भगवन्च्छासे दानं वायस्माणि। तेन एष्यवतिकोटिचो ्दत्ता।। यावद्

आज्जा प्रतिष्ठातः। तदवभायेन राजा महापृथिवीं सस्त्रे दत्ता।

यावदमायैवचतसः कोटीर् ्भगवन्च्छासे दत्तवा पृथिवीं

निष्क्रीय सपद्री राजेय प्रतिष्ठापितः।।

3Div. & M8. "mahato. Ch1 reads this sloka as follows: “But I wish that in future, wherever I may be born, I attain the sovereignty over my own self, and realize promptly the Holy Fruit.” 2M8 omits ārya. 3M8 ēya. 4M8 & Div. dattaṁ mauc. Ch1 “sealed it with his teeth.” Ch1 adds: “and gave it to minister Rādhagupta.” According to Ch2, the document was written on a palm-leaf (to lo=tāla). 5Div. AB only ratvā.

6M8 & Div. omit it. 7Ch1 reads this passage as: “The ministers in accordance with the established law of the Cakravartin king, decorated him with all sorts of decorations, paid him homage and cremated him. Sāmpadī was crowned king.” Ch2 reads: “Having decorated a litter with multi-coloured silk they paid homage to the body of the king.” Div. A tāvadāduhum-rastenaḥbhītam (for yaḥad rādhāṅ), B —nābhi. 8Ch1 adds: “like the householder Sudatta”. 9Div. A ṣaṇnaū, B ṣaṇṇuṇyanā. 10M8 & Div. rājāḥ prati. Ch1 reads this and the following sentence thus: “The desire of the deceased king should be fulfilled by redeeming Jambudvīpa with four crores.” 11M8 & Div. ṣtyā. 12
संपदिनो बृहस्पति:। पुजो बृहस्पतेषुर्षेनोऽृष्णसेनस्यः पुष्यधमः।
पुष्यधर्मः। सोमान्तयानायामन्वयते। क उपायः स्वादू यदस्मांक नाम चिरं तिष्ठेदू।

tैरामिष्ठिनः। देवस्य च वर्षादृः अशोको नाम्ना राजा भमूवेति।
तेन चतुरस्तिनिधर्मराजाकास्यं प्रतिष्ठापिते। याबदृः भगवच्छासनं
प्राप्यते तावत् तस्य यशः स्वास्यति। देवोपपिचतुः चतुरस्तिनिधर्मराजकास्यं
प्रतिष्ठापयू।

राजास्य। महेशास्यो राजाऽशोको बभूवः। अन्यः करिचुदुपाय
इति। तस्य ब्राह्मणपुरोहितः पृथग्नमोऽश्राबः।। तेनामिष्ठिनः। देव,
द्राम्याः कारणाम्याः नाम चिरं स्वास्यति। ‘राजाशोकेन चतुरस्तिनि-
धर्मराजकास्यं स्वापितमतस्तस्य नाम चिरं तिष्ठि।। भवांशेते
तानि नाशयदेशेति भवतो नाम चिरतरं स्वास्यती।’

याबदृ राजा पुष्यधमः।"चतुरज्ञबलकायं सनाहृःयत्वा भगवच्छ।"।
ज्ञासं विनाशायस्यामीति हुकुकुटार्मम निर्गतः।। द्वारे च सिंहनादो
मुक्तः। याबदृ स राजा भीतः: पादलस्य स्निष्टः।। एवं दिरिपा
विरिपा।। याबदु विष्कृष्ण सन्ध्यायहृ कथयति। भगवच्छासनं नाश-
विष्यामीति। किमृ इच्छयं स्तूपं सन्ध्यारामान् वा।। स्नूपा: भिषुभि:

\footnote{Div. sampader vr\textsuperscript{1}. M8 pade vr\textsuperscript{2}. Ch1 reads: “Grha(pati).” Ch2: “Vrha.”\textsuperscript{3} M8 omits vr\textsuperscript{4}asen. Ch1 omits. Ch2 reads: “Vr\textsuperscript{5}s\textsuperscript{6}a.”\textsuperscript{4} Ch1 “Pusya(var)man.” Ch1 “One of them replied.” Ch1 adds: “and gave donation of one hundred crores of gold.” Ch1 adds: “and your name will last in this world for a long time.” Ch1 “My predecessor was quite powerful for realizing such things. But how can I perform similar deeds?” Ch1 “There was one adviser with perverse views (mithyā-
drṣṭi).” M8 tasya brāhmaṇoḥ purohitad. \textsuperscript{9–10} These sentences are wanting in Sanskrit. They are adopted from Ch. \textsuperscript{11} Div. D & M8 mitra ca
tu. \textsuperscript{12–13} Ch1 omits. M8 kur\textsuperscript{14}ku. \textsuperscript{14} Ch1 adds: “to burst open the doors of the monastery.” Ch1 “He did not
dare to enter into the monastery and returned.” Ch1 “Thrice he reappeared, thus but could not enter.” Ch1 adds: rak\textsuperscript{15}situm. M8 rāmāṁ vā. \textsuperscript{18} Adopted from Chinese. M8 & Div. omit.}
परिग्रहीता:। यावतु पुष्यमित्रो यावतु सज्जारामं [नावायन्] भिक्षुस्वचः प्रवाताद्वन् प्रस्थितः।

स यावकु छाकलमनुसाप्तः। तेनाभिषितं। थो में श्रमण-शिरो दास्यति तत्तथां दीनारात् दास्यामि। [तत्र एकः] धर्मराजी-कावायस्य १६० श्रद्धाला शिरो दातुमाराचः।। श्रुत्वा च राजासहिन्तं प्रवातिधितुमाराचः। स च निरोधं समाप्तः। तस्य परोपकमो न कृमते।। स तं समुदसृज्य यावतु कोष्ठकं गतः।।

इद्य भगवच्छासनं विनविति। अहूं च शिस्यो धारायमि। न मवा शक्यं कस्यचिद्रिन्यं करुः।। तस्य दुहिता क्रिमिशेन यशेन याय्यते। न चानुप्रयच्छितं तथा पापकर्मे-कारीति। यावतु सा दुहिता लेन क्रिमिस्य दत्ता। भगवच्छासन-परिव्राणाचः परिप्रम्पराप्रालाखर च।।

"पुष्यमित्रस्य राजो: पुष्यतो यथो महामायोज्वुव्वः।। तस्वस्य-भावातु स राजा न प्रतिहन्दनवः।। यावद् दंडात्मिवासी यस्तं पुष्य्।"

\[1^{\text{Div. D}} & M8 bhikṣuṣ ca. 2^{\text{Ch1 reads: "And applying these measures progressively upto the kingdom of Sakala, he proclaimed the following edict:"}}\]

\[3^{\text{Ch1 "a piece of gold (dīnärā"}}\]

\[4^{\text{M8 & Div. omit yā. Ch1 "In that country, in a big stūpa (i.e. dharmaṇījikā) lived an Arhat."}}\]

\[5^{\text{Ch2 "An Arhat who lived in the monastery of the king of the Law (dharmaṇīja)."}}\]

\[6^{\text{M8 & Div. read: vyṛddhyā. 7^{\text{Div. AB 'bdham. Ch1 "By magic, he created many myriads of heads of Śramaṇa and told the inhabitants to take them to the king."}}}}\]

\[7^{\text{M8 & Div. arhat. 8^{\text{Ch1 "It was impossible to kill him."}}}\] 8^{\text{M8 sa tat [sa]mutsṛya. Div. D 'tan mutsṛ\"}}}\]

\[9^{\text{Div. AB yatnam uṣṭy. 10^{\text{Ch1 adds: "with an intention to destroy the Law of Buddha."}}}\]

\[10^{\text{Ch1 "There was a demon (Ch2 yakṣa) who protected the Law (Ch2 "a tooth") of Buddha."}}\]

\[11^{\text{Ch1 adds: "How can I protect and maintain the Law of Buddha?"}}\]


\[15^{\text{Div. D & M8 mahān pramāṇe yūyam. Ch2 "An extremely robust yakṣa protected king Puṣyamitra constantly."}}\]
भिन्नतुबद्धः यक्षः प्रहाय पर्वतचर्येऽचरत् । यावदः दक्षिणं महासमुद्रं गतः। कुमिल्ले च यक्षेण महानं पर्वतमानंयित्वा पुष्पमित्रो राजा सबलवाहोज्वमुर्दशः । तस्य सुविदितं इति संज्ञा व्यवस्थापितं ।
यदा पुष्पमित्रो राजा प्रगतिलस्य दा मौर्यवंशःः समुचित्रः।
इति श्रीदिव्यवदानेऽशोकावदानं समाप्तः ॥

¹Div. & M8 o\textit{bandha}, D grahāye. ²–³Ch2 omits these. It agrees fully with this paragraph of the text. ¹–³Ch1 reads: “Then the demons and the spirits of Bodhi seduced the guards of the king and carried them away to…” ³Div. \textit{dakṣinā}, M8 o\textit{nām}. ⁴Ch2 \textit{kiliś}, Div. D & M8 \textit{krmiṣena}. ⁵M8 & Div. munihata. Ch “deeply hidden”. ⁶M8 & Div. D o\textit{taḥ}. ⁷Ch1 magadhara\textit{javamsaḥ}. Ch2 agrees. ⁸Div. D o\textit{trimśati} samāṁptaḥ. M8 o\textit{dānāmalayām} aśokāvadānam nāmādhyāyaḥ.
APPENDIX A

THE LIFE OF AŚOKA
BASED ON EPIGRAPHIC RECORDS

Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, their majesties and graciousnesses and serenities and royal highnesses and the like, the name of Aśoka shines, and shines almost alone, a star. From the Volga to Japan his name is still honoured. China, Tibet, and even India, though it has left his doctrine, preserve the tradition of his greatness. More living men cherish his memory today than have ever heard the names of Constantine or Charlemagne.

H. G. Wells: The Outline of History, p. 247
Asoka was the grandson of Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty. He was coronated in 270 B.C. Following the custom of the kings of ancient India, Asoka held an epithet as devanāḥ priyāḥ priyadarśi rāja1.

He was the son of Bindusāra. He had several brothers and sisters2, some of whom were residing with their families in the capital of Pāñjāliputra and others in the mufassil towns, during his reign. He had his averodhana or closed female apartments both in the capital and in the provinces. He had more than one queen; one of them was named Cārvuvaṇī who had a son named Tivara3. Asoka had at least four sons who were Viceroy’s of Taxila, Ujjayini, Suvarṇagiri and Tosali4.

Before he became a devoted Buddhist, Asoka like other ancient kings had the habit of entertaining his subjects with feasts and amusements. He used to hold samājas for public entertainment. The samāja was of two kinds. In one, people were entertained with dainty dishes abounding in meat. In the other, they were entertained with music, dancing, wrestling and the like. The samājas were intended to gratify the senses, the palate, the eye, and the ear of the people.

Both the kinds of samājas were celebrated by Asoka until he began to preach the Dharma. Afterwards he prohibited those where animals were slaughtered to serve meat.

Asoka himself confessed that slaughter of hundreds of thousand of animals (prāṇa-lata-sahasrāṇi) was going on every day in the royal kitchen (cf. Rock Edict I). This practice of doling out food consisting of meat to the subjects was very old and was going on till recently in the native states. This was a diplomatic policy of the kings to gain popularity among their subjects.

In the eighth year of his reign, circa 262 B.C., Asoka conquered Kaliṅga (which roughly corresponds to the tract of land on the coast of the Bay of Bengal between the Vaitaraṇī and Languliya rivers). He has himself described the horrors and sufferings of the war. Even in such a small province as Kaliṅga, “one hundred and fifty thousand persons were deported, one hundred thousand were killed, and many times that number died.” (cf. Rock Edict XIII).

About a year after this war, Asoka embraced Buddhism. The thought of this war overwhelmed him with deep and sincere repentance.

When a territory is conquered, it remains for some time in an unsettled condition. The officers in charge of administration and maintenance of peace often go beyond the limits of justice and mercy. Such acts of injustice and ruthlessness were actually witnessed in Kaliṅga. It is known from one of the inscriptions, how severely Asoka chastised his officials and what steps he took to prevent such excesses in future.

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1 This is the full appellation or epithet found in Asoka’s inscriptions, which is sometimes shortened into: devanāḥ priyāḥ, or priyadarśi rāja (or rāja priyadarśi) or simply priyadarśi. The Gujara version, of the minor Rock Edict calls him: devanāḥ priyāḥ priyadarśi rāja˘lokāh, while the Maski version of the same edict calls him: devanāḥ priyošokaḥ.

2 Once he is called: priyadarśi rāja˘māgaḍha (Bairat Buddhist Text Edict); cf. Asoka’s Edicts, by Dr. A. C. Sen, 1956.

3 In Rock Edict 5, we find the following statement of Asoka: “In the female apartments of my brothers and sisters, here and in all the towns in the provinces....” This denotes he had several brothers who were residing with their families in the capital and other towns of the empire. Prejudiced by the fables that are found both in Pali and Sanskrit, some scholars argue that because there is mention of (Asoka’s) brothers’ families and not of brothers, Asoka must have killed his brothers before he came to the throne.

4 Allahabad Pillar Queen’s Gifts Edict.

4 Separate Kaliṅga Rock Edicts
For some time after his conversion to Buddhism he remained indifferent. Afterwards he exerted himself with his whole heart for the diffusion of Dharma. The idea of a Cakravarti Dharmikā Dharmarāja, the supreme ruler of the earth, not by conquest but by righteousness, possessed his mind. This ideal inspired him to promote the material and spiritual well-being, not only of his own subjects, but also those of his neighbouring independent kings. These acts of welfare were not restricted within the sphere of human life. They were for all sentient beings.

How did he put this ideal into practice? What means and methods did he adopt to achieve his vision? It is described by Aśoka himself:

“This occurred to me: In times past, kings had wished that men should grow with a befitting growth of Dhamma. But men did not grow with a befitting growth of Dhamma (Dharma)... How may men grow with a befitting growth of Dhamma?... The same (object) being in view Dhamma proclamations were caused to be announced by me (and) manifold Dhamma instructions were ordered, so that (my) officers too, who are occupied among many people, would advocate and explain them in detail.

The Rajjukas⁴ too are occupied among many hundred thousands of people. They too were ordered by me (thus)—‘In such and such manner, exhort ye the people, being (yourselves) devoted to the Dhamma.’

Having this very (object) in view, I set up Dhamma Pillars, appointed the Dhamma-Mahāmattas (Dharma-Mahāmātras) (and) announced Dhamma proclamations.

On the roads I have planted banyan trees. They will offer shade to men and beast. I have grown mango orchards. I have caused wells to be dug at every eight kotas and I have had resthouses built. I have made many watering sheds at different places for enjoyment of man and beast. This (provision) of enjoyment is indeed a trifle, because mankind has been blessed with many (such) blessings by the previous kings as well as by me. But I have done this with the intent that men may follow the practices of Dhamma.”—Pillar Edict VII.

The Dharma-Mahāmātras had the duty to look after the spiritual as well as the material welfare of the people. One of the most important duties of these officers was to see that all sects live peacefully without any conflict among themselves for their different views. They were to direct the attention of the various sects to what was essential in the Dhamma.

Aśoka wished all sects, the Brāhmaṇas, the Buddhists, the Ājīvikas, the Nirgranthas, etc. to flourish in his empire. He bestowed charities on all of them.

There was another duty assigned to these Dharma-Mahāmātras. It was the distribution of charities. Aśoka said:

“These (Dharma) and many other head officials are employed in the distribution of bounties, both my own and those of the queens, and all my gynaecceum... And I have arranged that they shall be occupied with the distribution of the bounties of my sons and other sons of the queens...” Cf. Pillar Edict VII.

Another method that Aśoka adopted for the propagation of the Dhamma is that he commanded all the mufassil officials of the highest grade to go out on circuit tours to give instruction on the Dharma to the people, besides the discharge of their official duties. So we see that his District Officers of the superior grade were officers as well as teachers. It was a novel idea, and doubtless it was Aśoka who was the first king to find out the most successful way for the propagation of the Dharma.

Now what instructions on the Dharma were they to give to the people? These were the ethical practices, the common ground of all sects that were to be caused to be heard by the people. (dhamma-sāvāna). Cf. Pillar Edicts II, III, VII; Rock Edicts III-IV, IX, XI.

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¹ Cf. D. i. 88; A. i. 109-10, iii. 149-51.
⁴ The Rajjukas were probably the governors of districts. Cf. Dr. D. C. Sirkar.
As we have seen, Aśoka strove not only for the spiritual well-being, but also for the material welfare of all creatures. For this, first of all, he banned wanton destruction of life. He attempted to check and ultimately stopped altogether the old custom of doling out meat daily to his subjects and saved the lives of innumerable helpless mute creatures.

So, the first step was to protect life and the second to promote the physical welfare of all creatures. This was achieved by his charities. Aśoka made curative arrangements (hospitals) both for human beings and for animals (260-58 B.C.). He said: "Where medical herbs, wholesome for man and wholesome for animal are not found, they have everywhere been imported and planted."

(cf. Rock Edict II.

This he did, not only in his own empire but also in the neighbouring and distant states.

The department of the Dharma under Aśoka sent out officers or religious ambassadors to foreign states both in the North and South, to the neighbouring and distant states of Antiochus II, Theos (261-246 B.C.) of Syria or Greek king of Western Asia as well as the four kings, Ptolemy II, (285-247 B.C.) Philadelphus of Egypt, Antigonus, Gonatas (277-239 B.C.) of Macedonia, Magas (282-258 B.C. or 300-250 B.C.) of Cyrene in North Africa, Alexander of Epirus (272-255 B.C.) or of Corinth (252-244 B.C.) and lower down in the South the Colas (or Coças) and the Pâṇḍyas, as far as the Tâmrarpuri (Ceylon). (cf. Rock Edict XIII.

Aśoka was not satisfied by inscribing messages on rocks or pillars or sending missionaries; he personally moved among his people preaching to them, discussing with them and holding religious conferences. This he called his religious tour (dharmayātra). He substituted this for the ancient pleasure trip (vihārâyātra) of the kings. This he prohibited.

Aśoka began his pilgrimages in 260 B.C., when he went to the place of Enlightenment (sambodhī) of Buddha. It was followed by many of its kind.

In the twentieth year of his reign (coronation), Aśoka visited the birthplace of Buddha. To pay his respect to the Blessed One, he exempted the village of Lumpini from all religious cess. The village was to pay only one-eighth of its produce as land revenue.

Aśoka reigned at least for twenty-eight years, for the seventh Pillar Edict was published in 245-42 B.C. in the 28th year of his reign. According to the concurrent statements of the Brāhmaṇa and the Buddhist writers, he reigned for thirty-seven years. If this is accepted as a fact, then the close of his reign or death took place in about 232 B.C.

Aśoka had an empire extending from Afghanistan to Mysore. In the East it included Eastern, Western and Northern Bengal. Territories that are now outside India and Pakistan were parts of the Indian empire which he inherited from his grandfather Chandragupta and father Bindusāra. He annexed Kaliṅga to this. The extent of his empire may be known from the geographical distribution of his Rock and Pillar Edicts. The former are found in the following places: (1) Shāhābāzgarhi, near Peshawar; (2) Mānsehrā in the Hazara district, W. Pakistan; (3) Kālsī, near Dehra Dun; (4) Sopāra, in Thānā district, near Bombay; (5) Gīrñār, near Junāgah in Kathiawar; (6) Dhauli, in Puri district, near Bhuvaneshwar; (7) Jaugadā, on the Rākṣukya river in Gānjam district of Orissa; (8) Yerrāgudi in Kurnool district, Andhra State; (9) Chittalroog in Mysore, where Minor Rock Edicts appear in the hills on the Chiṅnā Haggari river at three different localities; (10) Rūṇāthā, near Jubbulpur where appears only the Minor Rock Edict I; (11) Sahāsrām in Bihār with Minor Rock Edict I only; (12) Bairāt near Jaipur, Rajasthan.

The Dharma were appointed to spread the Dha, mitigate the wrongs or rigours of justice, administer the charities of the king and the royal family, supervise the morals of their harems and superintend the affairs conducted by the committees or councils (Parīṣads) governing different sects, Buddhist, Jains, Ājivikas and others. Vide Aśoka, by Radhakumud Mookerji, 2nd rev. edn., 1955, pp. 31-32.
showing only M.R.E. I; (13) Bhābru, with its special Edict which originally appeared on a second hill at Bairāt; (13) Maski, showing M.R.E. I only, in the Hyderabad State; (14) Gavimāth as also; (15) Pālkīgūndu, in Kopbal Taluk (about 4 miles from Gavimath), Hyderabad state; (16) Yerrāgudi (8 miles from Gooty Ry. Station, S. India) where appears also one M.R.E.; (17) Laghman in Jalalabad district of Afghanistan where is an inscription in Aramaic script; (18) Taxila where also is found an Aramaic inscription: the Pillars bearing the Edicts stood at (1) Toprā, near Ambala; (2) Meerut, both of which were taken to Delhi by Sultan Firoz Toghlaq (1351-88 A.D.); (3) Kausāmī, removed to Allahabad where are Pillar Edicts (I-VI), the Queen's Edict and Kausāmbī Edict; (4) Lauriṇya Ararāj (Rādhia); (5) Lauriṇya-Nandangarh (Mathia); (6) Rāmpūrvā all three in Champaran district; (7) Sānci, near Bhopal (M.P.E.); (8) Sāmāth (M.P.E.); (9) Rummindel in Nepal; (10) Nīglīva, in Nepalese Tarai.

Vide Asoka, by R. K. Mookerji & D. R. Bhandarkar.

A CHRONOLOGICAL SCHEME OF ASOKA'S REIGN

270 B.C. Coronation
262 B.C. Conquest of Kaliṅga
261-60 B.C. Conversion to Buddhism
260 B.C. Issue of Minor Rock Edict I, and first “pious tour” to Bodh Gaya. (R. E. VIII)
259 B.C. Issue of the two Kaliṅga (Separate) Edicts
258-57 B.C. Issue of the Fourteen Rock Edicts in one corpus; grant of cave-dwellings in the Barabār Hills to the Ājīvikas
257 B.C. Institution of officers called Dharma-Mahāmātrās (R.E. V)
256 B.C. Double enlargement of the Stūpa of Buddha Kon(g)āgamana
250 B.C. Pilgrimage to Lumbini Garden, the birth-place of Buddha; visit to the Stūpa of Buddha Konāgamana and erection of commemorative pillars at both places
243-2 B.C. Issue of Pillar Edicts
232 B.C. Death of Asoka

The fourteen Rock Edicts show that the following measures were passed before the date of the Edicts, and so they date between 260-258 B.C.:

1. Abolition of
   (a) Sacrificial slaughter of animals in the capital
   (b) Samājjas (merry-making of a kind, accompanied by animal fights, feasting with consumption of meat etc.)
   (c) Slaughter of animals for the royal table, except two peacocks and one antelope (R.E.I)
   (d) “Tours of pleasure” accompanied by “hunting and other similar amusements” (R.E. VIII)
   (e) War (R.E. IV) and conquest (R.E. XIII)

2. Provision of public works of utility, viz:
   (a) Hospitals for man and beast
   (b) Botanical gardens for the culture of medicinal plants, indigenous and foreign (obtained by import), including “herbs, roots and fruits”
   (c) Wells and trees on the roads for the comforts of travellers and animals (R.E. II)

3. Supply of medical aid and facilities for both man and beast in foreign countries (those of Antiochus and even of his neighbours) and in countries on the borders (R.E. II)

4. Organisation of Missionary work in foreign countries, which were
objects not of his political or military but religious conquests (dharma-vijaya) achieved by his missionaries (dūlas) (R. E. XIII)

5. Institution of Quinquennial Circuits of Officers for missionary, as well as administrative work (R. E. III), which afterwards leads to:

6. Creation of a new and separate department of Missionary Service under officers styled Dharma-Mahāmātrās—Ministers of Religion or Morals, for propagation of piety among his subjects (including royal relations, male and female), as also among foreign peoples (R. E. V)

7. Institution of a new and separate set of officers called the Strī-Adhyakṣa-Mahāmātras (Ministers in charge of (the superintendents of?) women) for the purpose of supervising female morals (R. E. XII)

8. Institution of the king's own 'Pious tours' among his people, accompanied by royal gifts for ascetics, Brahmanas, men disabled by age; and the holding of religious conferences for preaching and discussing the moral law (R. E. VIII)

9. Organization of religious shows and processions (R. E. IV)

A CHRONOLOGY FROM THE LEGENDS

304 b. c. Birth of Aśoka

286 b. c. Aśoka sent by his father as his Viceroy from Pātaliputra to Ujjayinī at the age of eighteen (Mahāvamsa, xiii. 8-11)

286 b. c. Aśoka's marriage with Devī of Vedisā (Besāgar, Bhilsa, Ibid.)

284 b. c. Birth of Aśoka's eldest son Mahendra (Ibid. xiii. 10)

282 b. c. Birth of his eldest daughter Saṅghamitrā (Ibid. xiii. 11)

274 b. c.

(i) War of succession

(ii) Death of the crown-prince Sumana

(iii) Aśoka's accession to the throne

(iv) Birth of Sumana's posthumous son, Nigrodha (Ibid. v. 40-3)

270 b. c. Aśoka's Coronation (Ibid. v. 22.)

270-66 b. c. Aśoka's younger brother Tissa, as his Vice-Regent (uparāja) (Ibid. v. 33)

270-40 b. c. Asandhimitrā as Aśoka's agramahisī (Ibid. v. 85; xx. 2)

268 b. c. Saṅghamitrā married to Agnibrahmā (Ibid. v. 169)

267 b. c. Birth of Aśoka's grandson Sumana, son of Saṅgha (Ibid. v. 170)

266 n. c.

(i) Conversion of Aśoka to Buddhism by Nigrodha who was then only seven years old (Ibid. v. 44-58)

(ii) Aśoka converts his brother Tissa, his Vice-Regent, to Buddhism (Ibid. v. 160)

(iii) Tissa ordained by Mahādhammarakkhita (Ibid. v. 167)

(iv) Agnibrahmā, nephew and son-in-law of Aśoka ordained (Ibid. v. 169)

(v) Appointment of Mahendra at the age of eighteen as Vice-Regent in place of Tissa (Ibid. v. 202)

266-63 b. c. Building of Vihāras and Cāityas by Aśoka (Ibid. v. 173-5; Aśokāvadāna, pp. 55, 56, 79, 83, 87, 105, 126.)

264 b. c.

(i) Ordination of Mahendra by the Thera Mahādeva, with Majjhantika as President of the Chapter performing the Kammavācaṃ: second ordination of Mahendra by Moggaliputta Tissa as his upādhyāya

(ii) Ordination of Saṅgha by her ācāryā Āyupālā and upādhyāya Dhammapālā (Mahāvamsa, v. 204-9)

(iii) Promotion of Aśoka from the status of paccayadhyāya to that of a sāsanadhyāya (Ibid. v. 197)
263 b. c. Birth of Kunāla, son of Padmāvatī (Āsoka\textsuperscript{2}, p. 105)
262 b. c. Death of the monks, Tissa and Sumitta, followed by increase in the number of undesirable members in the Saṅgha and the consequent retirement of Moggaliputta Tissa (Mahāvā. v. 226-33)
262-254 b. c. The Saṅgha under the leadership of Mahendra: recall by Āsoka of Moggaliputta Tissa who taught him the doctrine of the Sambuddha; meeting of the Saṅgha under him and expulsion of heretical monks by Āsoka. (Ibid., v. 232-74; cf. Sānchi and Sārnāth Pillar Edicts)
260-50 b. c. Possible period of Āsoka’s pilgrimage to Buddhist holy places which followed his completion of the dharmarājikās according to Āsokāvadāna, pp. 81-87 which states that Āsoka was taken by his preceptor Upagupta first to Lumbini Vana and afterwards to Bodhimala. R. E. VIII refers to Āsoka’s visit to Sambodhi in 260 b. c. and the Rummindei Pillar Edict to his visit to Lumbini in 250 b. c.
253 b. c. Meeting of the third Buddhist council under Moggaliputta Tissa and despatch by him of missionaries to different countries (Mahāvā. xii. 1-8)
252 b. c. Mahendra on way to Ceylon visits his mother Devī at Vedisā (Ibid., xiii. 8-11) when he had been twelve years a monk
240 b. c. Death of Asandhimitrā, “the dear consort of Āsoka and faithful believer in the Sambuddha” (Ibid., xx. 2)
236 b. c. Tisyarakṣitā raised to the rank of chief queen (Ibid., xx. 3; also Āsoka\textsuperscript{2}, p. 107 where she is mentioned as Āsoka’s agramahiṣṭi)
235 b. c. Kunāla sent out as Viceroys to Taxila, then in revolt (Āsokāvadāna p. 109)
233 b. c. Tisyā\textsuperscript{2}’s jealousy against the Bodhi-tree which she tries to destroy (Mahāvā. xx. 4-6; Āsoka\textsuperscript{2}, p. 93)
232 b. c. Death of Āsoka in the 38th year of his reign (Mahāvā. xx. 6). Vide Āsoka, by R. K. Mookerji, pp. 37-46
The records of Aśoka are remarkable for their homely diction in prose. It follows a law of rhythms and cadence of its own and combines sincerity of purpose with dignity of expression. It is enlivened throughout by the noblest sentiment of a well-meaning heart, and vivid with the grandest vision of a righteous world of ceaseless activity promoting the cause of piety and promising the attainment of the desired object here and of a grand heaven hereafter. It conveys the lofty message of an enlightened seer of eternal good and happiness, and serves as a fitting vehicle of sparkling thoughts of a highly sensitive and practical mind. Its pathos is well-suited to its theme, and its appeal goes direct into the heart. The epigraphs read as so many autobiographical sketches of Aśoka. In going through them one is apt to feel that they were written either to his dictation or, at any rate, under his direction. Thus they are intended to reproduce and preserve the very words of the Maurya emperor.

B. M. Barua: Aśoka And His Inscriptions, part II. p. 62
PILLAR EDICT VII

The Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin, spoke thus:
The kings who were in times past, desired thus, (viz.),(that the people might progress by the promotion of Dharma.
But the people did not progress by the adequate promotion of Dharma.
On this, the Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin spoke thus:
This occurred to me—
In times past kings also desired thus, (viz.) that the people might progress by the adequate promotion of Dharma.
But the people did not progress by the adequate promotion of Dharma.
Now, by what means could the people (be induced to) follow (Dharma),
by what means could the people (be made to) progress by the adequate promotion of Dharma, (and) by what means could I elevate them by the promotion of Dharma?
On this, the Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin, spoke thus:
This occurred to me—
I shall cause Dharma proclamations to be announced, (and) shall order Dharma instructions (to be issued).
Hearing these, the people will follow (Dharma), will elevate themselves,
and will progress considerably by the promotion of Dharma.
For this purpose, Dharma proclamations were announced by me, (and)
manifold Dharma instructions were ordered, in order that (my) officers too,
who are occupied among many people, should advocate as well explain
them in detail.
The Rajjukas too are occupied among many hundred thousands of people.
They too were ordered by me (thus)—"in such and such manner exhort
ye the people, being (yourselves) devoted to Dharma."
The Beloved of the gods, Priyadarśin, spoke thus:
Having this very (object) in view, I set up Dharma pillars, appointed
Dharma-Mahāmātras, (and) announced Dharma proclamations.
The Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin spoke thus:
Banyan trees were caused to be planted by me on the roadside (in order
that) they should provide shade for animals and men (and) mango-groves were
causėd to be planted also.
At interval of eight kraṣas, wells were caused to be dug by me and
rest-houses were caused to be built, (and) numerous drinking-places were
causėd to be constructed by me at various places for the use of animals and
men.
But of little avail are these utilities.
With various comforts indeed the people were made happy by former kings
as well as by me.
'Let them follow these Dharma practices'—for this purpose were these
done by me.
The Beloved of the gods, Priyadarśin spoke thus:
They, my Dharma-Mahāmātras too are occupied with various kinds of
beneficent objects, and they are also occupied among all the sects of ascetics
as well as among householders.
Concerning the affairs of the Saṅgha too, (this) has been ordered by me—
'They (the Dharma-Mahāmātras) shall be occupied.'
Likewise concerning the Brāhmaṇas (and) the Ajivikas too, (this) has been
ordered by me—'They shall be occupied.'
Concerning the Nigranthas too, (this) has been ordered by me—'They
shall be occupied.'
Concerning various (other) sects too, (this) has been ordered by me—'They
shall be occupied—different Mahāmātras for the particular affairs of different
sects.'
And my Dharma-Mahāmātras are occupied with these (sects) as well as
with all the other sects.
The Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin, spoke thus:

These as well as many other principal (officers) are occupied with the distribution of gifts, mine as well as the queens'.

And in all my female apartments, they organise in manifold ways various charitable activities, here as well as in the provinces.

In respect of (the distribution of gifts by my) sons and by the sons of other queens too, (this) has been ordered by me—"They shall be occupied with the distribution of (their) gifts.'

[The Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin spoke thus:]

For the purpose of (promoting) noble deeds of Dharma and for the practice of Dharma, [Dharma-proclamations and Dharma-rescripts were ordered by me].

These indeed are the noble deeds of Dharma and the practice of Dharma, viz.—"Thus will increase (the practice) by the people of these (virtues) viz.,—compassion, charity, truthfulness, purity, gentleness and goodness.'

The Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin spoke thus:

Whatever good deeds have been performed by me, those the people accept (and) those they also practise.

Thereby has been promoted and will be promoted that which is respectfully towards mother and father, that which is respectfully towards elders, that which is deference towards the aged, (and) that which is proper behaviour towards Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, towards the poor and the unfortunate, (and) even towards slaves and servants.

The Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin spoke thus:

And this progress of men in Dharma has been promoted by both of these (two) means, (viz.) by Dharma regulations as well as by persuasion.

But of these (two means), of little avail (have been) the Dharma regulations, (whereas) by persuasion indeed (has been effected) much more.

Now, these are the Dharma regulations, (viz.) as it has been ordered by me—These various (animals) are inviolable.'

And many too (are the) other Dharma regulations that have been ordered by me.

But it is by persuasion indeed that men’s progress in Dharma has been promoted to a much greater extent in respect of non-injury to living beings (and) in respect of the non-killing of animals.

Concerning this, the Beloved of the gods said:

Wherever there are either stone-pillars or stone-slabs, there on this Dharma-rescript is to be engraved, so that it may long endure.

Now, for this purpose has this been engraved that it may last as long as (my) sons and great-grandsons (shall live and) as long as the moon and the sun (shall shine), and that men may practise (it) as instructed.

By practising (it) thus, (happiness) in this and in the next (world) is indeed attained.

This Dharma-rescript has been caused to be written by me (when) crowned twenty-seven years.

ROCK EDICT XII

The Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin, honours (men of) all sects, ascetics and householders and honours (them) with gifts and manifold honour. But the Beloved of the gods does not think so much of gifts and honour as—what?

—As that there should be a growth of the essential among (men of) all sects. The growth of the essential, however, is of various kinds. But the root of it is restraint of speech,—how?—Namely, there should not be any honour to one's own sect or condemnation of another's sect without any occasion; or it may be a little on this and that occasion. On the contrary, others' sects should be honoured on this and that occasion. By doing so one promotes one's own sect and benefits another's sect. By doing otherwise one injures one's own sect and also harms another's sect. For one who honours one's own sect and condemns
another's sect, all through attachment to one's own sect.—Why?—In order that one may illuminate one's own sect. In reality by so doing one injures, more assuredly, one's own sect. Concourse is therefore commendable,—why?—In order that they may hear and desire to hear (further) one another's Dharma. For this is the desire of the Beloved of the gods,—What?—That all sects shall be well informed and conducive of good. And those who are favourably disposed towards this or that sect should be informed: "The Beloved of the gods does not so much think of gifts or honour as—What?—As that there may be a growth of the essential among all sects and also mutual appreciation". For this end are engaged the Dharma-Mahāmātras, Superintendents of women, the Vrajabhūmikas and other bodies (of officials). And this is its fruit—the exaltation of one's own sect and the illumination of Dharma.

BARĀBAR HILL CAVE INSCRIPTIONS

A—This Banyan cave was given to the Ājīvikas by King Priyadārsin when he had been anointed twelve years.

B—This cave in the Khalatika Hill was given to the Ājīvikas, when he had been anointed twelve years.

C—When the king Priyadārsin was anointed nineteen years, this cave in the very pleasant Khalatika hill was given by me to the Ājīvikas, for the sake of (shelter from) the approach of roar of waters (i.e. rain-water).

SEPARATE KALINGA ROCK EDICT I

(No. XV)

The Mahāmātras of Tosali who are the judicial officers of the city, are addressed in the following words of the Beloved of the gods.

As regards whatever good I notice, I desire that I may carry it out by deeds and accomplish it by proper means. And I consider the following to be the principal means to this end, viz. to impart instructions to you. For you are placed by me over many thousands of beings with the object that we may gain the affection of all men.

All men are my children. Just as, in regard to my own children, I desire that they may be provided with all kinds of welfare and happiness in this world and in the next, the same I desire also in regard to all men. But you do not understand how far my intention goes in this respect. A few amongst you perchance understand it: but even such of you understand it partly and not fully. Howsoever well-placed you may be, you have to pay attention to this matter.

In the administration of justice, it sometimes happens that some persons suffer imprisonment or harsh treatment. In such cases, a person may accidentally obtain an order cancelling his imprisonment, while many other persons in the same condition continue to suffer for a long time. In such a circumstance, you should desire to deal with all of them impartially. But an officer fails to act impartially owing to the following dispositions, viz. jealousy, anger, cruelty, hastiness, want of perseverance, laziness and fatigue. Therefore you should desire that these dispositions may not be yours.

1 These three inscriptions are found in different caves of the Barābar hill in Bihār, 15 miles north of Gaya and 8 miles from Bela station on the Patna-Gaya rail-line.

2 The third was possibly caused to be engraved not by Asoka himself but by an anonymous donor. The real donor might probably have been Asoka's mother, or one of his queens or one of his sons or grandsons.
And the root of the complete success of an officer lies in the absence of anger and avoidance of hastiness. In the matter of the administration of justice, an officer does not get up for work if he is fatigued; but he has to move, to walk and to advance. Whoever amongst you pays attention to this, should tell other officers: 'Pay attention to nothing except the duties assigned to you by the king. Such and such are the instructions of the Beloved of the gods.' The observance of this duty will produce great results for you; non-observance will produce great harm . . .

SEPARATE KALIŃGA ROCK EDICT II

(No. XVI)

Thus saith the Beloved of the gods.
The following royal order must be addressed to the Mahāmātras stationed at Samāpā.

As regards whatever good I notice, I desire that I may carry it out . . .

All men are my children. Just as, in regard to my own children, I desire that they may be provided by me with all kinds of welfare and happiness in this world and in the next, the same I desire in respect of all men.

The following question may occur to the people of the unconquered territories lying beyond the borders of my dominions: 'What is the king’s desire in respect of us?' The following alone is my wish. It should be realized by the peoples living on the borders, viz. that the king desires that they should be unworried on his account, that they should have confidence in him, and that they should expect from him only happiness and no misery. The following also should be realized by them, viz. that the king will forgive them in respect of any offence that is pardonable. My desire is that they should practise the duties associated with Dharma for my sake and that they should attain happiness in this world as well as in the next.

Now, I instruct you for the following purpose, viz. that I may free myself from the debt I owe to the people inhabiting the lands beyond the borders of my dominions by having instructed you and informed you of my will as well as my unshakable resolution and vow.

Therefore, acting accordingly, you should perform your duties. You should also inspire the people of the bordering lands with confidence in me, so that they might realize that the king is to them even as their father, that he sympathizes with them even as he sympathizes with his own self, and that they are to the king even as his own children . . .

Having instructed you and informed you of my will as well as my unshakable resolution and vow, I feel that my appeal to you in this respect will be known to the people of the whole country. Indeed you are capable of inspiring them with confidence in me and securing their welfare and happiness in this world and in the next. And, by so doing, you will attain heaven and discharge the debt you owe to me.

So this record has been written here on stone for the following purpose, viz. that the Mahāmātras should strive to do their duty at all times in order to inspire the people living on the borders of my dominions with confidence in me and to induce them to practise the duties associated with Dharma . . .

ROCK EDICT XIII

". . . And the conquest considered to be the chiefest by the Beloved of the gods, is the conquest through Dharma. And that again has been achieved by the Beloved of the gods here and in the bordering dominions, even as far as six hundred θανασ, where (dwell) the Yona king called Amatiyoga (Antiochus II) and, beyond this Amatiyoga, the four kings called
APPENDIX

Turamaya, Aimtekin, Maga, and Alikasu(m)dara, —(likewise) down below, where are the Codas, the Pandyas, as far as the Tamraparni, —likewise here in the king's dominions among the Yavanas and Kambojas, the Nabhakas and the Nabhaparnis, the hereditary Bhoja rulers, Anduras and Paimdras, everywhere they follow the teachings of the Beloved of the gods in respect of Dhamma. Even where the envoys of the Beloved of the gods do not go, they, bearing the message of Dhamma, the ordinances, and the instructions in Dhamma by the Beloved of the gods, practise Dhamma and will so practise. And the conquest which is thereby achieved, everywhere becomes a conquest flavoured with love. That love has been attained (by me) in the conquest through Dhamma. A petty thing however, is that love. That which concerns the next world, the Beloved of the gods esteems, as alone bearing great fruit. And this edict of Dhamma is engraved for this purpose—Why?—In order that whosoever may be, my sons and great grandsons, may not think of new conquest as worth achieving, that in regard to a conquest, possible only through the use of arrows, they may prefer forbearance and lightness of punishment, and that they may regard that to be the (real) conquest which is a conquest through Dhamma. That is good for here and hereafter...

ROCK EDICT I

This Dharma-rescript has been caused to be written by the Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin.

Here (in my dominion) no living beings are to be killed and offered in sacrifice.

And no festive gatherings (sañjāth) are to be held. The Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin sees much evil in festive gatherings. But there are festive gatherings of some kinds too which are approved by the Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin.

Formerly in the kitchen of the Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin, many hundred thousands of animals were killed every day for the sake of curry. But now when this Dharma-rescript is written, only three animals are being killed (everyday) for the sake of curry, (viz.) two peacocks (and) one deer, (and) the deer again, not always. Even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

ROCK EDICT II

Everywhere in the dominion of the Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin and likewise among (his) Borderers, such as the Codas, the Pandyas, Satiyapatra, Kerala-patra, up to Tamraparni, the Yona king Antiyoka, and also those kings who are the neighbours of that Antiyoka—everywhere (provision) has been made by the Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin, (for) two (kinds of) medical treatment, (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for animals.

1 Antiyoka is Antiochus II Theos (261-246 B.C.), king of Syria and Turamaya, Ptolemy II, Philadelphus of Egypt (285-247). Antekina or Antikini corresponds to the Greek Antigenus rather than Antigenus. But as no king named Antigenus is known, Antekina has been identified with Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia (276-239). Maga is Magas of Cyrene (c. 300-c. 250). There is some doubt about Alikasumudara who, according to some, was Alexander of Epirus (272-c. 255) and according to others, Alexander of Corinth (232-c. 244). In Rock Edict II, Antiochus alone is mentioned and the other princes referred to as his samantas or bordering kings. There is no doubt that of these Greek princes Antiochus alone had his dominions conterminous with those of Aśoka. We also know that there had been friendly relations and dispatch of embassies between the Seleukid and Mauryan dynastias since the time of Chandragupta.
And wherever there are no (medicinal) herbs that are suitable for men and suitable for animals, everywhere (such) have been caused to be brought and caused to be planted.

And wherever there are no (medicinal) roots and fruits, everywhere (such) have been caused to be brought and caused to be planted.

And on the roads, wells have been caused to be dug and trees have been caused to be planted, for the use of animals and men.

NIGLIVĀ (NIGALISAGAR) PILLAR INSCRIPTION

The beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin, (when) crowned fourteen years, enlarged the stūpa of Buddha Kanakamuni (Konāgamana)\(^1\) to double (its former size) And (when) crowned (twenty) years, himself came (here) worshipped (and a stone-pillar) was erected.

ROCK EDICT VI

... At all times (whether) I am eating (or I am) in the female apartments (or) in the bed-chamber or in the chariot or in the palanquin or in the parks, everywhere Reporters have been posted (with the instructions)—'Report to me the affairs of the people,' and everywhere I dispose of the affairs of the people ...

I am never content with exerting (myself) or with the dispatch of business. The welfare of all the people is considered by me as (my) duty indeed. And the root of that again (in) this (viz.) exertion and dispatch of business.

There is indeed no better work than the welfare of all the people. And whatever efforts I am making are in order that I may discharge (my) debts to (all) beings, that I may make them happy here (in this life) and that they may attain heaven in the next (life).

PILLAR EDICT II

(The Dharma that Priyadarśin preached)

... But what constitutes Dharma ?
(These constitute Dharma, viz.—little sin, many good deeds, mercifulness, charity, truthfulness (and) purity ...

PILLAR EDICT III

... These are called the ways to sin, viz.—fierceness, cruelty, anger, pride (and) envy ...

ROCK EDICT III

... Everywhere in my dominion, the Yuktas, the Rajjukas and the Prādeśikas shall go out on tour every five years for this special purpose (viz.) for these Dharma instructions—as also for other business—

Commendable is respectfulness towards mother and father; gifts to friends, acquaintances, relatives, (and) to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas are commendable; non-killing of animals is commendable; moderation in spending (and) moderation in (owning) possessions are commendable ...
ROCK EDICT IV

... The non-killing of animals, non-injury to living beings, proper behaviour towards relatives, proper behaviour towards Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, respectfulness towards mother (and) father (and) respectfulness towards the aged.

These and many other kinds of Dharma practices have increased, and the Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin, will ever (continue to) promote this practice of Dharma... 

ROCK EDICT IX

... Women perform manifold and various kinds of petty and meaningless auspicious ceremonies.

Now, auspicious ceremonies should certainly be performed, but of little fruit indeed are auspicious ceremonies such as these.

But of great fruit is this auspicious ceremony, viz. the auspicious ceremony of Dharma. In it these (are contained)—proper behaviour towards slaves and servants; commendable deference towards elders; commendable gentleness towards animals; commendable gifts to the Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas—these and similar other (virtues) are called the auspicious ceremonies of Dharma...

ROCK EDICT XI

... There is no gift like the gift of Dharma, or acquaintance through Dharma, or the distribution of Dharma, or kinship through Dharma.

Therein these take place—proper behaviour towards slaves and servants; commendable respectfulness towards mother (and) father; commendable gifts to friends, acquaintances, relatives, (and) to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas; commendable non-killing of animals...

ROCK EDICT VII

(Asoka’s impartiality towards all religious sects)

The Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin desires that all sects should reside everywhere (for) all of them wish (to acquire) self-control and purity of mind.

But men are of various temperaments and of various preferences (and) they will perform the whole, or they will perform (only) a part (of their duties).

But in spite of (receiving) large gifts, those who have no self-control, or purity of mind, or gratitude and firm devotion, are mean indeed.

PILLAR EDICT VI

... To the welfare and happiness of people, I direct (my) attention.

As (I do) this regarding (my) relatives, likewise (I do) regarding those who are near (and) likewise regarding those who are far away (thinking) "How can I bring them happiness," and I act accordingly.

In the same manner, I direct my attention to all classes (of the people).

All the (religious) sects too have been honoured by me with various (kinds of) honours...

See also Pillar Edict VII, Rock Edict XII and Barābar Hill Cave Inscriptions quoted above.
BAIRĀṬ BUDDHIST TEXT EDICT

King Priyadarśin, the Māgadha, having saluted the Saṅgha said:
(I wish you) good health and happy living:
It is known to you, Sirs, how great are my reverence for and faith in Buddha, Dharma (and) the Saṅgha.
Whatever, Sirs, has been spoken by the Blessed Buddha, all that is well-spoken indeed.
And, Sirs, what would appear to me as ‘Thus will the true Dharma be of long duration’—that I may be permitted to speak of.
These Dharma texts, Sirs, (viz.)—the Vinaya-samukkaṇa, the Ārya-vāsa, the Anāgata-bhayas, the Muni-gāthā, the Mānava-sūtra, the Upatiṣya-praṇa and the Rāhulavāda—which was spoken by the Blessed Buddha concerning false speech—these Dharma texts, Sirs, I desire that most (of the) monks and nuns may constantly listen to and remember.
Likewise lay men and lay women too.
For this (purpose), Sirs, I am causing this to be written, that the Venerable Ones may know my intention.

THE GREEK VERSION OF THE KANDAHAR BILINGUAL INSCRIPTION OF AŚOKA

An inscription of exceptional documentary interest, discovered in the surroundings of the ancient site of Kandahar, East of Persia and Bactria, has been recently published by the Italian Institute for the Middle and Far East: G. Pugliese Carratelli has edited the Greek part and G. Levi Della Vida the Aramaic text intermingled with Iranianisms. It is a proclamation addressed to all mankind, which in a general way can be compared to the other Indian decrees of Asoka, the Maurya king called Piadasi (“the friendly-looking”), who was contemporary to Antiochus II, Antiochus Gonata, Alexander II of Epirus, Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt.

The first news of the discovery was given by U. Scerrato in “East & West” (11). Shortly after the same review the IsMEO published a paper by Fr. Altheim and Ruth Stiehl.

11 Vol. 9, Nos. 1-2, 1958, pp. 4-6.
12 The Aramaic version of the Kandahar bilingual inscription of Aśoka, ibid., pp. 192-8.
Quite independently of the Italian works, a full commentary on this inscription was made by another group of eminent scholars for the "Société Asiatique" of Paris: D. Schlumberger, L. Robert, A. Dupont-Sommer, E. Benveniste. Such a great amount of interesting study shows how important this discovery is because of the information supplied by it and the problems which arise from it. The enthusiastic eagerness of the scholars has rapidly led to a thorough explanation of the document from the topographical, linguistic, epigraphical and especially historical point of view. Interesting deductions can be made for what concerns the Hellenization of this farthest part of Arachosia, following the times of Alexander the Great, and the ethnographic and linguistic conditions of the Indian Empire in this Western outpost, stretching into the Iranian area, after the treaty signed by Seleucus I and Sandrakotton (Candragupta), the founder of the Maurya dynasty and the grandfather of Asoka, in 305 B.C., twenty-five years after the Macedonian conquest.

The proclamation belongs to the tenth year of Asoka's reign, i.e., 259-8 according to Eggemont's chronology. From the interpretation of the first sentence it will be seen more clearly that the edict published in this border region was drawn up in the tenth year after consecration of the King, and therefore in the same period of the "Buddhistic" demonstration of Asoka, as an expression of the dhamma, his rule of mercy and truth. In this period the King made a pilgrimage to Bodh Gaya, the place where Buddha obtained the perfect enlightenment. The "departure towards enlightenment", as mentioned in Edict VIII, probably marked a revival in favour of the social standards imposed by Asoka after the slaughterous war for the conquest of Kaliinga (Edict XIII, in the eighth year after the consecration).

The two versions of the Alexandropolis brief correspond very closely. The Greek version is divided into three short paragraphs, characterised by a certain rhythmical style: the proclamation of the dhamma is found in the first paragraph, some particular rules in the second section, the promise of awards in the third one. Therefore the Greek text can be divided and translated in the following way:

"After ten full years King Piodasse had the text of Mercy published to men and from this moment he made men merciful and everything prospers all over the earth.

And the King abstains from (eating) living creatures, and so also do other men; and those who are hunters and fishers of the King cease from hunting; and if there are people who are incontinent they cease from incontinence by exerting every effort, and they obey their fathers, mothers and elders too.

In present life and in future time they will find themselves in better and preferable conditions from every point of view, if they behave in that way".

English Translation of The Greek Inscription:

At the end of the tenth year (of his reign or from his consecration) King Piodasses (Piyadasii) made known unto men the (doctrine of) mercy and from this moment made men more merciful, and everything prospers over the whole earth; and the king forbears from (killing) living beings, and other men and whoever "is" the king's hunter or fisherman have forborne from hunting; and if some "were" intemperate, they have curbed their intemperance as far as was within their power; and, obedient to their father and mother and to their elders, as compared with the past, also in the future more pleasantly and better (= better and more pleasantly than in the past) shall they live, having thus informed their whole behaviour.

2 The Chron. of the reign of Asoka Moriya, Leiden 1956.
English Translation of The Aramaic Inscription:
In the year 10, justice\(^1\) (or: conversion) was made of Our Lord, the King Priyadars, according to well-directed righteousness. Since a short time, he has abolished evil for all men and all living beings(\(?)\), and over the whole earth, and also everywhere(\(?)\)\(^2\). And also those who are in charge(\(?)\) of (providing) food for our Lord the King are killing little; this (happens) in order that all the men (who are) hunters and fishers may see those men proclaiming thus: ‘those who are evil-minded(\(?)\), they kill; he who is pious and obedient to his mother and father and the elder people, as they have warned him, will greatly add to the good luck and unimpeachability of everybody for everybody, with enhancement and addition.’

Vide Un Editto Bilingue Greco-Aramaico Di Aṣoka, Roma, 1958, pp. 33-34.

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\(^1\) Words of Iranian origin are printed in italics.

\(^2\) Or: ‘...he benefits all men and all living beings(\(?)\) with happiness, and over the whole earth, and with joy’. Or else: ‘...he sets righteousness right (or: makes truth true)...for everybody's knowledge and has abolished all evils, and over the whole earth, and has also founded(\(?)\)’.
Upagupta, a Buddha-without-the-auspicious marks is identified with: Moggaliputta Tissa Thera*. He was the President of the third council. In his penultimate birth, he was a Brahmā, called Tissa. He consented to be born in the world of men at the urgent request of the Arahat who held the second council, in order to prevent the downfall of Buddha's Law. He was born in the family of the Brāhmaṇa Moggali of Pāṭaliputta. Siggava and Cṇḍavajjī had been entrusted with the task of converting him. For seven years after he was born, Siggava went daily to the house of Moggali, but not even a word of welcome did he receive. In the eighth year, some one said to him, "Go further on." As he went out he met Moggali, and being asked whether he had received anything from his house, he said he had. Moggali inquired at home and the next day charged Siggava with lying. But hearing Siggava's explanation, he was greatly pleased and thereafter, constantly offered Siggava hospitality in his house. One day, young Tissa who was thoroughly proficient in the Vedas, was much annoyed when he saw Siggava occupying his seat. He spoke to him harshly. But Siggava began to speak and asked him a question from the Cittayamaka. Tissa could not answer it. In order to learn the teachings of Buddha, he entered the Order under Siggava and became a Sotāpanna soon after. Siggava instructed him in the Vinaya while Cṇḍavajjī in the Sutta and the Abhidhamma Piṭakas. In due course he attained Arahatship and became the acknowledged leader of the monks at Pāṭaliputta. At the festival of the dedication of the Asokārāma and the other Vihāras built by Asoka, Moggaliputta Tissa told Asoka, in answer to a question, that one becomes a kinsman of Buddha's Law only by allowing one's son or daughter to enter the Order. Acting according to this suggestion, Asoka had both his son and daughter ordained. Moggaliputta acted as Mahinda's upajjhāya. Later on, because of the great gains which accrued to the monks through Asoka's patronage of Buddha's Law, the Order became corrupt. Moggaliputta put the monks in charge of Mahinda and for seven years lived in solitary retreat on the Ahogangā-pabbata. Asoka sent for him to solve his doubts as to what measure of sin belonged to him owing to the murder of the monks by his minister. But Moggaliputta would not come until he was convinced that his services were needed for the sake of the Law. He travelled by boat to Pāṭaliputta and was received at the landing place by the king who helped him to land, by supporting him on his arm. The king having led him to the Rativāḍdhana park, requested him to perform a miracle. The Thera agreed and made the earth quake in a single region. To convince the king that the murder of the monks involved no guilt for the king, the Thera preached to him the Tittīra Jātaka. Within a week, with the help of two yakkhas, the king had all the monks gathered together and held an assembly at the Asokārāma. In the presence of Moggaliputta, Asoka questioned the monks on their different doctrines and all those holding heretical views were expelled from the Order. Moggaliputta declared that the Vībhajñāvāda alone contained the teaching of Buddha. Later on, with one thousand Arhants, Moggaliputta held the third council at Asokārāma with himself as president, and compiled the Kathāvatthupakkaraṇa in refutation of the false views. This was in the seventeenth


1 Mbh. v. 95 ff., 131ff., Dhp. v. 55ff., Sp. i.35-41.

2 Mbh. v. 191ff., Sp. i. 59ff.

3 According to Sp. i. 58, the king had a dream in the preceding night which the soothsayers interpreted to mean that a great ascetic (samaṇaṅgā) would touch his right hand. When the Thera touched the king's hand the attendants were about to kill him, for to do this was a crime punishable by death. The king, however, restrained them. The Thera took the king's hand as a sign that he accepted him as his pupil.
year of Aśoka’s reign, and Moggaliputta was then seventy-two years old. At the closing of the council which continued for nine months, Moggaliputta made arrangements, in the month of Kattika, for monks to go to the countries adjacent to India for the propagation of the Law. Afterwards when the request came from Ceylon for a branch of the Bodhi-tree, Aśoka consulted the Elder as to how this could be carried out. Moggaliputta then told him of the five resolves made by Buddha in his death-bed.

The Dipavamsa says that Moggaliputta Tissa’s ordination was in the second year of Candagutta’s (Chandragupta’s) reign, when Siggava was sixty-four years old. Candagutta reigned for twenty-four years, and was followed by Bindusāra who reigned for thirty-seven years and he was succeeded by Aśoka. In the sixth year of Aśoka’s reign, Moggaliputta was sixty-six years old and it was then that he ordained Mahinda. He was eighty years old at the time of his death and had been the leader of the Order for sixty-eight years. He died in the twenty-sixth year of Aśoka’s reign. Vide G. P. Malalasekera, Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names, vol. II, pp. 664-6.

PĀMŚUPRADĀNĀVADĀNA

Page 1 atapyaṭ: As there is no final verb in this sentence, I have adopted atapyaṭ in place of tāvat. The root tāp, cl. 4, is used in tāmanāpada, but forms in parasmanāpada, such as, tāpyati, tāpyeti, atapyaṭ etc. are found in the Epics and Kalpaśāristāgara (x. 4.). samārjīta: As this word does not fit in here, I have adopted sāvarjītan, i.e. devotedly, or with an inclined mind. The metre of this sūkha is Vasantatilaka. avavādaka a spiritual instructor or adviser; cf. Pali: ovādaka. vāsava: It seems to be vasaḥ (cf. vasu). The word is taken in its plural form, such as viśavadevaḥ etc. dharmya in accordance with the Dharma; cf. Pali: dharmiyā, dhamika.

Page 2 upaguptopākyānam: Names of chapters of this Avadāna are given by me in accordance with the Chinese translations. Apalālanāga: A naga king converted by Buddha. It is not found in the canonical works. In the Samanatāpādikā (iv. 742) the story of conversion of Apalā is given. In the Śūrūnakūra and other Mahāyāna works, we find that during Kaśyapa Buddha’s time Apalā had been a powerful man called Gaṇgi. By means of his magic, he subdued the dragons that attacked the country and the people in gratitude agreed to give him tribute. Later on, some of them forgot their promise and Apalā in wrath, became a dragon after his death. Buddha saw him and preached to him. He was converted. Cf. Sanskrit Buddhism, by Narikātan, pp. 194-247. Kumbhabāri, Candāli: Conversion of these two is not found in Pali works. Candāli: Vide Śūradālakarnavādānam where Prakrti, the Candāla girl was converted by Buddha. Gopāli, Gopikā (Gopi): She led a virtuous life; and according to the teaching of Buddha he had cultivated the thoughts of a man. After death, she was born as a deva-putta (son of a god). D. ii. 271-5. gopāla-nāgadamanam: Vide the 56th avadāna, Bodhisatvaravatānakalpatalā. vi-ni train, educate, guide, convert. alakṣaṇa-buddha a Buddha without the (32) marks on his body. klesa rāga, doṣa (doṣa), moha, attachment or lust, anger or ill-will, and delusion or wildcard. śalākā a ticket consisting of slips used in voting and distributing food; vote, lot. śrāvaka a hearer, disciple (never an Arhat who has attained the Summum Bonus). Urumunḍa: In the MSS. we find also Rumunḍa. Ch read Ur; so also Bodhisatvaravatānam. Vide T3 Avadāna, verse 26. Śāhasa-vīśas, Śaṇa-vīśas: In Pali literature we find a Thera called Sambhūta Thera. He joined the Order under Ananda after Buddha’s death. He was called Śaṇa-vāst because of his yearning a hempen (saṇa) robe. Vin., ii. 298 f., 303 ff. Mhv. iv. 18, 57; Sp. i. 34ff. In the Chinse

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1 Mhv. v. 231-81. Dpv. viii. 16ff., 39ff., Sp. i. 57 ff.
2 For a list of these, see Mhv. xii. 1ff., Dpv. viii. 1ff., Sp. i. 63 ff.
3 Mhv. xviii. 21ff.
4 Dpv. v. 68ff. 82, 94, 96, 100ff. 107ff. also vii. 23ff.
translations the Thera is called Śaṇa-vāsa. In the Ratnamālāvadāna and Bodhinattuvādāna, he is called Śaṇa-vāsin and described as the Guru of Upagupta. Vide p. 145; and Awadāna 71, respectively.

Page 3. śamatha: quietude of heart; meditation characterized by the one-pointedness of the mind; Vide Bodhīcaryavatāra-pañjīkā (viii). aranyāyatana: a forest haunt (place of frequent resort). etarha now, at present; cf. Pali; cf. also Vedics texts, TS, SB, AB, TB. 3.1.2.19; also Class. Kirā, 1.32. vinipatita-sarīra: “the fallen body” or “one whose body is fallen”; sarīra “with the fallen body” or “with his fallen body” i.e., in former existence or with the body of his former existence. pārśva: It is rarely used in masculine gender. Pratyeka-Buddha, Bodhi: Buddha who (without the help of a teacher, anādāraka) has attained to the Supreme wisdom (Bodhi) and perfect insight but dies without proclaiming the Truth to the world is a Pratyeka-Buddha. The Enlightenment (Bodhi) of such a Buddha is called Pratyekā Bodhi: cf. Pali: Pañcaka; vṛddhānta, navānta vṛddhāntika, navāntika (to the novice) cf. Pali: odakāntika etc. parinirvāna, vṛta “complete Nirvāna” in two meanings: 1. Complete extinction of skandha-life; that is, all possibility of such life and its re-birth, final release from (the misery of) rebirth and transmigration; death (after the last life-span of an Arhat). 2. Release from cravings and attachment to life, emancipation (in this life) with the assurance of final death; freedom of spirit, calm, perfect well-being or peace of soul. cīvara-kārṇika: the lappet of a monk’s robe; cf. Pali: cīvara-kārṇa. maṅgāsā cintayati niyamata kālāgatā bhavisyanti = abhavan or bhaveyuh. Here is a peculiar use of future tense. paridevītā = paridevya: Such grammatically incorrect forms of gerund are frequently found in the text. Such wrong use of gerund is seen in old works: uposatva, Mahābhārata, 13.136.11; niyamāyitvā, Iīb, 14, 52.57.

Page 4. kaṇṭakāpāsraya: cf. Pali: āpāsaya; a bed made of an out-stretched skin under which are placed thorns or iron spikes; to lie or stand on such a bed is a practice of certain naked ascetics. āpāsakīya: “bed-of-thorns-man.” pañcātāpavasthita, pañca-tapas: ‘tapa sitting between five sacred fires: (i) anuvāhāryapacana, or daksīṇa, (ii) gurhapatya (iii) dhamaniya (iv) sabhya and (v) avasathyā; maintaining the five sacred fires or one fire towards each of the four quarters and the sun overhead; cf. also: pañcāgni, pañcātāpā, f. Kālikā-Purāṇa. See also Mānt-Sahihītā, vi. 23. īrīyā-patha Pali: īrīyā-patha way of deportment, mode of movement, good behaviour. There are four īrīya or postures, īvī, walking, standing, sitting, lying down. vikopay to shake up, upset, spoil, do harm, destroy. bodhipakṣa-dharma qualities or items consisting or contributing to Bodhi; usually they are thirty-seven but they are also increased to forty-three. āmukhiy to make visible. āgamyā owing to, relating to, by means of, thanks to; cf. Pali.

Page 5. samanvāhī to concentrate the mind, to reflect: cf. Pali: sammānāharati. upaśyena by artifice or means of a trick; Pali. abhiprasādīta one whose faith is established; cf. Pali: abhippasādeti to establish one’s faith in. abhiprasama having faith in. paścācharamaṇa a junior Bhikṣu who follows a senior; the Śramaṇa who accompanies, as Ānanda accompanied Buddha. jāraḥdharma subject to growing old; cf. Pali; old.

Page 7. abhirūpa, darsaṇiya, prāśadika handsome, fair to behold, amiable; Pali phrase. See Kunālavadāna, p. 105. jātimaha birthday-festival. alābhno-nucceda “no profit no loss”; neither profit nor loss. sarvāvati saru; cf. Pali: sabbāvanti. cittacitāsīka Pali & Div. ceta mind and all that belongs to it, mind and mental properties. kliṣṭa impure, unclean, lustful, bad.

Page 8. yadi kevalam cittaṁ parijñātum śakyasya pratipakṣaṁ mocayutum: “If you can (could) cast off the obstacles and understand the mind thoroughly.” kevalam entirely, thoroughly; Pali. asubha (bhāvanā) contemplation on the impurities (of the body; such as: contemplation on a dead body, skeleton, etc.). buddhānusmyti mindfulness of Buddha, reflection or meditation on Buddha.

Page 9. pūrṇa a particular (gold or silver) coin; karaṇa. prabhṛta present, gift, offering (esp. to a deity or a sovereign) cf. prabhṛti, f. bringing forward,
offering (of a sacrifice or praise) RV. AV.; prabhṛtha, m. offering, oblation; praḥṛtaka, n. present, gift, Mālavikāginitra, Act v.; (below verse 14). Pali: pābhāti, n. present, bribe, price, money. avaskara refuse; slop-basin, ash-bin; cf. Pali: avakkāra.

Page 10. chora to abandon, leave, reject, throw away: cf. Pali: chaḍḍeti. yadā preṣṭhāmbarasamvṛtāṇi: The second pāda of this Upajñā is in Vānāṣṭhā metre. svabhāva-niyata dependent on its nature, bound in its nature (of instability). upasthāyaka a nurse, attendant.

Page 11. kāma-rāga sensual passion, lust; cf. Pali. paṭṭaka a bandage. idam yadā pañkapajgarbhakomalaṃ: Vānāṣṭhā is the metre. etarhi kim draṣṭum ihagato’si me: A combination of Vānāṣṭhā and Indra-vāṃśa. prachādita vastra bhūṣanāyaḥ: This sloka is in Upajñā metre. bhavet yathā ca: yathā ca (te) svabhāvo bhave tathā tuvam na drśṭā’si ity arthaḥ.

Page 12. kunāpa a dead body; also a living body. Vīde yasṛ ātmabhūti kunoṣe tridhātuṣe”; cf. Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, 10.84.13. avavṛṣṭavāvṛṣasya: “The body which is inferior to the inferiors is impure. Pure is the act of withdrawing (oneself) from sensual pleasures; (but) the pure person considers it (body) as beautiful.” Or “pure is the act of withdrawing the sensual person who considers the body as beautiful, from sensual pleasures.” śūba-sajjīn in anītya nitya-sajjīnaḥ, duḥkha adukkha-sajjīnaḥ, asubha śūba-sajjīnaḥ; etc. Mālakadhyamaka-kārikā-śṛṇi, xvi. p. 300; “considering as beautiful or pure” or cf. Pali: asubha-sajjin, “having an idea of or realizing the impurity (of the body).” daurganḍhyāna pratīviryate: This and the following sloka are in Sāḍūlavikṛtiḥ. mārga, mārga-plava,= dharma, dharma-nāsa; “boat of Dharma (Good Law).”

Page 13. anuṣāvīkā kathā a gradual instruction, graduated sermon, regulated exposition of the ever higher values of four subjects (dīnakathā ‘charity’, śilakathā ‘righteousness’, svarga ‘the heavens’, mārga ‘the Path’. Cf. Pali: anu-pubhi, ānū. satya the four Noble Truths: (i) duhkha (suffering), (ii) samudaya (the origin of suffering), (iii) nirodha (cessation of suffering), (iv) mārga (the Way to the cessation of suffering). kāma-dhātu 1. sensual pleasures, desires. 2. elements of desire i.e., the world of desire, that sphere of existence in which sentient beings are still in the bonds of sensuality. satya-abhisamaya realization (abhisamaya) of the four Noble Truths. anugāmin a never-returner, never returning to rebirth as a man; he will be born in one of the higher heavens and obtain Arhathood there. srotāpatti entering upon the stream (of the Noble Eightfold Path); conversion. saṃriyagayanti drīga-gayanti, cf. Pali: ārādhiti to please, propitiate; hence saṃriyagayanti means propitiating. tāvānuḥbhāvat pithaḥ sugho: cf. Aavadānāsataka, 27th Aavadāna. apāya a transient state of loss and woe after death. Four such states are specified (i) purgatory (ii) rebirth as animal (iii) as ghost (iv) as titan (asura). Nirvāṇa, Nirṛti: Nirvāṇa literally means “Extinction (of fire).” The Extinction (of fire) of Lust, Anger and Ill-Will and Delusion or Stupidity (rāga, dosa, moha) is termed as Nirvāṇa or Nibbāna (Pali). Vide Sāhyavat-Nikāya, iv. 251, 261. That the idea of extinction of fire was originally there when the word Nirvāṇa was used for Liberation is evidenced from the following expressions: “The Wise Ones attain Nibbāna (Extinction or Liberation) just as this lamp goes out (for want of fuel), nibbanti dhrā yathā’yaḥ padipo.” Sutta-Nipātā, 235. “Cooled am I in being Liberated (lit. being extinct). Cooled for want of fuel, sitihūto smi nibbuto. sitihūto nirūpadhi.” Vinaya”, i. 8; ii. 156; Aṅguttara”, i. 138. “A fire has gone out for want of fuel (lit. food) aggi... anāhāro nibbuto.” Majjhima”, ii. 487. “As a fire would go out for want of fuel (lit. food) if, its supply being consumed, no further supply is forthcoming, aggikhandho purimassa ca upādānassa pariyādāna añhassa ca anupāhāra anāhāro nibbāyeyya.” Sāhyuttas, ii. 85. For similar passages see Sutta-Nipātā, 1094; Sāhyuttas, i. 236. “Then having known perfectly that which is to be known (i.e., having attained the Bodhi, the Supreme wisdom), He stood before the world as Buddha. He then realized the highest tranquillity, like a fire without fuel (i.e., He realized Nirvāṇa).” Buddhacarita of Asvaghosa (circa, 50 B.C. and 50 A.D.), xiv. That
Nirvāṇa is not a negative thing but something positive is shown by the following descriptions: "Nirvāṇa is the greatest bliss," Dhammapada, verses 203, 204: Majjhima, i. 508-10; Aṅguttara, iv. 414. "Nirvāṇa is a deathless state (amīta, amīta-pada)." Majjhima, i. 167; Dhammapada, verses 114, 374. "It is devoid of decay, death and sorrow." Therigāthā, 512. "It is a fearless condition, a secure state (where there is no fear from any quarter, akutobhaya)." Sānīyutta, i. 192; Itivuttaka, 112. "It is tranquil, decayless and deathless. It is the highest state." Buddhacarita, xii. 106; "It is a fixed or permanent state (dhruva)." Ibīd, xiv.

"It is the most auspicious, happy or fortunate state (jīva)." Śūlta-Nīpāta, 478; Mādhyaśāktī (of Candrakīrti) v. p. 135.

Page 14. dharmāyah kathā fit utterance, discourses in accordance with the Dharma, samādhi to teach, instruct, cf. Pali: saṁdassati. acitraprakānte 'shortly after he has gone', an expression frequently found in Pali scriptures: acirapatkakante, acirapatpinibbute, etc. ārocay announce, relate, tell, address, cf. Pali: āroceti, -rociya. upapāna born. mathurā-vāstavya inhabitant of Mathurā. jana-kāya a multitude of people. cheda loss, cf. Pali.

Page 15. upagupto... aranyāyataanāṁ nītaḥ: "gaṇe karnaṇaḥ dhūkyedī pradhāne prabhāsyāwnāḥ"—according to this rule, we have here "ptō...tanaṁ nītaṁ, cf. ajā grāmānāṁ nītā. upasampādita ordained, cf. Pali: upasampādā ordination. jñāpticaturthakāma announcement, declaration, especially as three times a motion or resolution put at a kammavāca (proceedings of a meeting of the chapter). The usual formula is: saṅhāti sadhāriṣṭa ca bhante saṅgho 'this is the motion the assembly of monks listen to me.' This resolution is also called a ṣatikakamma (Vinaya, ii. 89). Two kinds are distinguished, viz., that at which the voting follows directly upon the motion, i.e., ṣatī-dutiya-kamma and that at which the motion is put three times and is then followed (as the fourth item) by the decision, i.e., ṣatī-catuṭṭha-kamma. Both kinds are discussed in Vinaya, i. 56, 317 ff. sāsana-hita dharma-hita. dharmasāravāna hearing the preaching of Dharma, going to church. adhyēśañā solicitation, asking for instruction. adhishṭa solicited, asked for instruction (as a teacher). samāpadya having entered upon, by attaining (trance). vāneya, vīneya to be instructed, accessible to instruction, ready to receive the teaching (of Buddha), cf. Pali.

Page 17. ahikunapānā mārasya śīrasi baddhāṁ: It is frequently found in the Pali scriptures: ahikunapāna va kukkurakunapāna va manussakunapāna va kanhā ṣaṭitaṇa—. A. iv. 376-7, M. i. 119, etc. ukṣiti mālayājana babandhāya sāvatrayaṁ, mastaḥ sarjakunapānā karpe ca svamanyayoḥ. Bodhisattavadānākatalpalatā, 72 Avadāna, sūkha, 48. kupaṇa is both masculine and neuter.

Page 18. yat te balaṁ bhavati: Vasantatilaka is the metre. brahmāṇam vraja śarāpaṁ: Prahasṇi is the metre.

Page 19. kāmah mamāpi mahād asti: This and the following sūkha are in Vasantatilaka. kartukāmo'bhaiviṣyat kāṁ śiṣṭāṁ an example of the use of ṣrṛ (a technical term used by Pāṇini to denote the conditional mood or its terminations). adyaivāmi muter: Sārdūla is the metre.


Page 21. daśabala i.e., Buddha. 'one who has ten kinds of power': The knowledge of: (i) correct and faulty conclusion, (ii) the consequence of all actions, (iii) the diversity of elements or of the different worlds, (iv) the diversity of disposition, (v) the higher or lower powers of different creatures, (vi) the way that leads everywhere, (vii) the defilement, purification and origination of all the forms of musing, deliverance, contemplation and ecstatic attainment, (viii) all previous existences, (ix) births and deaths, (x) destroying sensuality, rebirth (just for life), speculation and ignorance. kīṁ sarṣapena samatāṁ mayasiha: Vasantatilaka is the metre. brūhi brūhi śrīmataḥ tasya: Śaṅkī is the metre.

Page 22. nyāyendrane bhaktis tava: Suvaṇḍana is the metre. sthāne mayā: This is in Vasantatilaka and the following (p. 23) in Vīṇāśaṭṭha.

Page 23. viheṭhaya to oppress, to bring into difficulties, to vex, annoy, plague, hurt, cf. Pali viheṭheiti. tad anupamam anugrahaṁ: This is Apara-
vaktra and the next after the following is Sārđūlavikriṭita. anvuyya unutterable, "āga, Pāṭini, iii-1-101 (commentary). Readings such as anvuyya (suggested by Cowell) and anvuyya found in the MSS. are to be rejected for the sake of metre. tad anvupamam anugrahah prati 'on account of incomparable kindness.'

Page 24. āga to wait; cf. Pali āgāneti. Sūraṃ vañcayitum purā: Sārđūlavikriṭita is the metre. Sūra Ambaṭṭha was born in a banker's family in Srāvasti. One day when Buddha went to his door for alms, Sūra invited him in and entertained him with a meal. After the meal, when Buddha gave him thanks he became a srotāpanna. Sometime after when Buddha had left, Māra disguised as Buddha visited Sūra and in reply to Sūra's inquiry said that he had returned to contradict a wrong statement which he had made before. Sūra recognised Māra and drove him away. A. i. 26; iii. 451. Sātrālankāra, pp. 230-36. tāṭhāgataṃ vapurathottamam: Vasantatiłaka is the metre. vyāma-prabhā a halo extending for a fathom around Buddha. ascepana unadulterated, unimpaired properties, sublime, lovely; cf. Pali: M. i. 114, A. iii. pp. 237 ff., S. i. 212, v. 321. Mūlinda°, 405. Sanskrit texts refer the same, and āsce°; Vide Amarakoṣa, Viśesyanigkhavarga: tad a(ā)ascenakah ṭṛṭer nāstayo yaśa daranāti.

Page 25. dhīg astu tāṃ nickarunā: This is Varisastha and the following is Sārdū. vyaktam upāgata pratyakaṃ upāgata. vyāpi pervading.

Page 26. yat tat refers to karman. the metre is Sārđūlavikriṭita. dāna-ksanti-samādhi-niyama may be taken as dāna-pāramitā, ksanti-āra, dhīyina-āra, prajñā-āra°, śīla-āra°. yan dṛṣṭvā ripur apy° yan buddhān dṛṣṭā ity arthaḥ. jalavihaśa ivāni: cf. dagdhendhānanālava, Śīkharā Veda, i. 1. 11. Mālini is the metre.

Page 27. mṛnmayiṣu pratikṛti: Here is a parallel passage: kṛttimesu api bimbēṣu vandya bhagavatas tanuv. na sa mṛtikṣaḥadhūtanām prajñāmah kriyate buddhaḥ. Bodhisattavādāna°; 72 Aveadāna. Verse 68. svayambhū master of himself, self-independent; an epithet of Bu°. cf. Pali. tīrthabhāva-prādipa a lamp in the three classes of existence (bhava); i. sensual existence (kāma°), ii. deva-corporeal existence (rūpa°) and iii. formless existence (arūpa°). sabda voice. yad bhūyasā the greatest part, almost all, mostly; cf. Pali: yebhuyyena.

Page 28. kāthika relating, speaking, conversing about, expounding; preacher, speaker, expounder, cf. Pali. "sinha, the lion among the speakers. mokṣa-bhāṣīya connected with, conducive to, procuring mokṣa; cf. Pali: bhāṣīya. kuśala-mūla root of good: aloha, adosa, amoha i.e., absence of greed, anger or ill-will and delusion are considered to be the root of all good actions. ākṣipta caused, produced. sakṣyadhāga's returning once, one who attained the second grade of saving wisdom. yujyamaṇa "being united (with the Truth)" "advancing through trances. kṣta-karanāṭhich arhatvam prāptaḥ; cf. kṣina me jātis uṣṭhaḥ brahmacaryam, kṣína karmanāḥ nāpram asma bhavān prajñāni. kāmadhātu world of desire. buddha-kṣetra field or region of (or the existence of) Buddha. kāryānumodhāt with reference to a religious performance.

Page 29. kalandaka-nivāpa a place where obligations were made to the squirrels (name of a locality in veṣuweva near Rājagṛha). nivāpa food thrown (for feeding), fodder, bait, gift, portion, ration. pīṇḍa alms. kanyākacala-sannibhāgradeho: Vasantamālikā is the metre. sābhisaṃskāra with working of supernatural power. dharmacīti 'conformity with dharmamāya'; a general rule; it is proper, one should expect; cf. Pali: dhammatā. indrakīla 'Indra's post', the post, stage or column of Indra at or before the city-gate; also a large slab or stone let into the ground at the entrance of a house; threshold. hādi wooden fetters. jīva-jīvaka name of a bird, a sort of peasant which utters a note sounding like jīva; cf. Pali jīvamjīvaka. pṛṣa a large basket; cf. Pali (and Bengali). saḍ-vikāra ind. in six uncommon ways.

Page 30. vedhita, pravedhita shaken, trembling (with regard to earth etc.), cf. Pali. yāna-pātra "vessel for going", a ship, a boat. The sūka is in the metre called Parimitavijaya. prāthārya miracle, psychic power. nimā connamate natāvanamate: Sārđūlavikriṭita is the metre. saṇvā-
dyanti san-vaśya used as nāmadhātu here: vaśya i.e. ācarati. samyag vaśya i.e. ācarati; cf. sarvapraśita-padikēbhyaḥ kvib pā vaktavyaḥ. sūryaprabhāṃ: Vasanta-tilaka is the metre. sakānanaṣṭham = sakānanaṣṭhalaṃ. stha for sthala (a dry land, opp. to damp low land).

Page 31. kulika belonging to a (high) family. agra° coming from a very good family. dpśtvā mahākārūnikāṃ svayambhuvaṃ: The first pāda is in Indravānśa, the rest is in Indravajrā. pranidhāna, pranidhi aspiration, prayer, longing, request, resolve; cf. Pali. kāra pāja, kṣetra the soil of merit, the deposit of good deeds which like a fertile field bears fruit to the advantage of the ‘giver’ of gifts or the “doer” of good works.

Page 32. rāja-vaipaśya-kuśalaṃ akṣiptam a merit is produced which is to result in (the achievement of) kingdom. dharmatā khalu yasmin samaye buddhābhagavantaḥ smitāṃ vidarśayanti: This passage including the ṭlokas ending in dhūrabhir muniyāṣa vāgbhir utpannaṃ āvayaṃ sāmāyana śubhābhikā, is found in various chapters of the Avadānasataka, vide Avadānas, 1-10, 17, 20, 22, 23; the ṭloka: ārabhadhvān niṣkramata is found also in the 88th Ava°. arcis is found in all the three genders in Sanskrit literature. saṇjiva... avici names of different grades of hell. kāraṇa a deed, action, esp. an act imposed or inflicted upon somebody as an ordeal, a scot or punishment; cf. Pali. prati-pra-srāh to subside, to be eased, calmed, to pass away; cf. Pali prati-paśaddhi. nirmita created (by supernatural power; by rdhi). pratisans-dhi reunion (of vital principles with a body), re-incarnation, metempsychosis. caturmahārājikā: cāturmahārājikā four kings inhabiting the lowest of the six deva-lokas. Their names are: Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūdhaka, Virūpākṣa and Vaśravana. yāmā yāmā deus, those who belong to Yama, the ruler of the under-world, subjects of Yama. tuṣitā etc. names of different classes of gods; Vide Dīgha-Nikāya, ii, 253, iii, 194. tuṣitāḥ, sāta the inhabitants of ṭuṣita, the fourth of the six devalokas. It is said that the Bodhisattvas are to be born in ṭuṣita in their penultimate birth. nirmanaratī: nirmānaratī devas inhabiting the fifth of the six deva-lokas. They are named thus as they delight in their own creation. They can create any form in any colour. paranimmita-vasavatti° (ttin) a class of devas who live in the highest stage of the sensuous universe (kāmaloka). They are named thus as their power is under control (of the creation) of others. The commentary says that the other gods who know their own weakness create the objects of their desire, like a cook who knows what dishes are favourite to the king and prepares the same. brahma-kāyikā inhabitants of the brahma-loka, the highest of the celestial worlds. It consists of 20 heavens, 16 being the worlds of forms and four being the worlds of incorporeal gods. It is to be noted that the devas of the brahma° are free from sensual desires (kāma). brahma-purohitā ministers or priests of mahā-brahmā. Inhabitants of brahma°. mahā-brahmā Tudu, Nārada, Gāñśikāra, Baka, Sāna-kumāra and Sahampati are described as mahā-brahmā. parittābhā, appamānābhā a class of gods who are included among the abhā gods (a generic name for devas distinguished as such for their brilliance) who belong to the plane of the second dihyāna. ābhassārā inhabitants of the brahma-loka whose persons emit lustre like the lightening. They belong to the rūpa-loka, in the plane of the second dihyāna. paritta-subhā a class of gods belonging to the subhā i.e., a group of brahmās which includes paritta°, appamānā° and subha-kīmā. appamānā-subhā a class of brahmās of the rūpa-loka. subha-kīmā, kīmā a class of brahmās who inhabit the ninth rūpa-loka. aviha, atappā, sudassā, sudāssī and akenīṭṭhā belong to the siddhāvāsa which is the name for this group of brahma-lokas. The five highest rūpa-lokas and their inhabitants are called by these names. There the anāgāmins are born and attain to Arhathood. It is to be noted that the Bodhisattvas are never born in these five worlds. mṛtyunaḥ cf. Pali maćcina. The Pali form is Sanskritized.

Page 33. anvahind cf. Pali: annahiṃdati, to wander to (accus). antar-dīhyante is used here in active voice; cf. Pali 'dhiyanti. Is it Pali influence? Was the form originally antar-dhīvant? balacakra-vartin “one with the wheel of power of sovereignty”, a powerful king. ūrṇā a circle of hair between the eye-brows. hetupratyaya Pali
uddhava, the moral causal relation. uddhava joy, pleasure; cf. Pali: uddha ca
over-balancing, agitation, excitement, distraction. In this sense the word uddhava
is used here. smitarī vidarśaṇayanti: The verb vi-darśay offends the
metre. For the sake of metre, it may be read vidarśenti. Most probably the
form was originally vidarśenti (cf. Pali dasseti and Buddhist Sanskrit: kalpeti,
deteti, varneti, našeti, sāmprakāṣeti, sāmāropetani etc. Lāṅkāvatārasūtra, p. 321,
verse 444; p. 343, verse 629; p. 361, v. 779; p. 331, v. 532; p. 334, v. 558;
p. 156 etc.) and later on, it was corrected. The last pāda is in accordance with
the Vāmāśṭha metre. tat kālam svayam adhīgamya: The metre is Prahar-
śini. govṛṣa a bull; kiniśā govrṣa yānam anāhāra ca veśma ca. Manu?, ix. 150.
Page 34. caturbhaṅga-cakravartin ruling over one of the four continents of
the world. śarira-dhātu relics. dharmarājikā relating to Dharmarāja
(Buddha) i.e. stūpa, a monument on his relics. astaṁgate mayi bhavi?:
The metre is Vasanta. jambuśaṅga rose-apple grove =Jambudvīpa, cf. Pali:
deyadhāma "the duty of giving," charity. canīkrama the place where one
walks, especially a terraced walk, cloister, cf. Pali: canikama. sugomayena
sugomayena? sugomayena saha. gomayakārṣi a piece of (dried) cow-dung,
cow-dung cake. canīkrama (ti) yān-laganto yān prayogā.
Page 35. grahāya gṛhitā, cf. Pali. gahiḍa. caksuḥsāṇinparampana cak-
suḥsāṇinparampana? cf. Pali. 1 samphassas, contact with the sense of vision.
Page 36. sīkṣāpi = sīkṣita Pali influence cf. Pali sikkhaḍepeti, nāpi lai:
Pali nāhāmin ("pin?"). paricārāy to amuse oneself, to gratify one's senses, cf.
Pali paricāreti. jātimaḥa jātmakovā a festival on account of a child's birth.
duḥṣpāsā-gātra one with a rough body which is unpleasant to the touch;
 cf. Pali duṣphassa: of bad touch, bad to the touch, i.e. rough, unpleasant. Pīṅgā-
lavatāsājiva: He seems to belong to the Ajīvika sect. Some scholars relying on
these stories think that Aśoka had great favour for the Ajīvika sect because of
the Prediction of Pīṅgalavatsa. And therefore, he (and his queen-mother)
gave special gifts of Caves to the Ajīvikas (Vidā Barābār Hill Cave Inscriptions).
parikkāmā, pariḷa paraik (except najanta) is always used in ātmaneṇa-pada;
but some forms of parasmai, such as paraiksat (present participle) paraikṣat
are found in epics and older literature.
Page 37. mahallaka old, venerable, cf. Pali. hastināga a strong stately
elephant (as a symbol of strength and endurance) cf. Pali hatthināga. pra-
str to stretch, to spread; cf. Pali: 'pāda with spreading feet. abhedena
without disclosing, by hints.
Page 40. Khaṣā: Khaṣas are described in one place of the Māraṇḍeya-
Parāṇa (Iviii, 56) as 'parottāṣṭraya' 'dwelling along the mountains' and in another
place as located in the middle of the tortoise along with the Śāivas, Nipas,
Śakas, Śūra-senas etc. (Iviii, 6). The Mahābhārata brands them as a rude half-
civilized tribe along with the Śakas, Daradas, etc. (Sāhāsa, ii, 1859) while Harivamsa
says that the people were once defeated and degraded by king
Sagara (xiv, 784) and were hence regarded as Mlecchas (xcv, 6440-1). Manu
also says that they were originally Kṣatriyas but were later on degraded by the
lapse of sacred rites and the absence of Brāhmaṇas in their midst (x, 43-4).
The Subhāpuren of the Maha' places the people near the river Śailoda between
the Meru and Mandāra mountains (li, 1858-9). If the river Śailoda is same as
Śailodaka of the Māraṇḍe-Paṇa (xx, 19-23), then the Khaṣas seem to have
originally settled somewhere in Tibet or further Northwest. Much later, in
historical times, the Khaṣas are mentioned with some other tribes in the
inscriptions of the Pālas and Senas of Bengal in such a way as to suggest that
Khaṣas (Khaśis of Assam?) enlisted themselves as mercenary troops in the
army of the kings of those dynasties. Cf. B.C. Law: Tribes in Ancient India,
p. 400. mahānagna an athlete. khalvāṣa bald-headed. khaṭaka a slap.
Page 41. rupitam abhyāgata became angry.
Page 42. anayena vyāsaṇam āpa' by misfortune — he perished; cf. Pali
anaya (misfor) usually combined with vyāsana (destruction). pratikūlāta
(last line) obstructed; prati-ka, to obstruct.
Page 43. anunaya friendliness, Pali. kiṭika a screen. sōdhay = sōdhay : Pali
influence. In Pali sādheti is mixed up with sōdheti.
Page 44. pari-bhāṣa to abuse, scold, censure, defame; cf. Pali.
Page 45. kārāpita = kārita cf. Pali kārāpita, kārāpita. ramaṇiyaka bandhana a beautiful building or prison. bāla-panḍita-sūtra: Both in the bāla-panḍita-sutta and the deva-dūta-sutta there are similar descriptions of torture of sinners in hell. Vide M. vol. iii. pp. 163-87; A. vol. i. pp. 138-42. Chl reads only the following for the whole passage: "Those who like the potful broth will be pounded with a rammer. Those who like what are heaped up in the mortar will be cooked in the saucepan. Those who are in hell (have to) swallow big balls of iron; boiled copper is poured into their mouths."
viśkambhaṇa = viśkambha a prop, support. viś-śīkambh to prop, support, fix. ayoguda iron ball; cf. Pali. ādipta set on fire, blazing, burning; cf. Pali adītī = padīta, jātī. antragna the intestinal tract, cf. Pali pra-ghar cf. Pali pāghanarati, pa+gharati which stands for kṣarati to ooze, flow out or forth.
Page 46. ā-sphāṣṭay = ā+spāṭ + pić to split open, to tear; to expand, to make to gape. paṇcavidhahandhanakārana the fivefold ordeal in hell. It consists of the piercing of a red-hot iron stake through both hands, both feet and the chest. It is a sort of crucifixion. T.W. Rhys Davids says: "We may conjecture that this "bandhana" is a corruption of vaddhana (cf. vyadh or viddhana?) and the expression originally was: paṇcavidhahandhanakārana." kāraṇā or kārana a deed, action, performance. Especially an act imposed or inflicted by a higher authority (by the king or karmān) as an ordeal, a feat or punishment. krama (anṣṭ) used here in the causative sense, to cause to go through, penetrate. janapada-cārikā tramping the country; cf. Pali.
Page 47. pūrvāṇe nivāṣya pātraṇivaram ādāya cf. Pali: ābhantasa-mayam nivāṣetā prātacāram ādāya. pratibhyaya exciting fear, formidable, terrible, dangerous. vistaraṇa kāryam in detail, in extenso (it is to be done). rudasi cf. Vedic forms. Pali both rudati & rodati. sukhodaya having a happy result; cf. Pali sukha udheya (udheya). krama reprove, suspense, or delay in execution. vyāyata-mati one with a struggling mind; vi-vā-yam to struggle.
Page 48. samāvigna agitated, moved by fear or awe, excited, stirred; cf. Pali saṁavigna, ālambana cf. Pali ārammaṇa a basis for the working of the mind and intellect, i.e., sense-object, object of thought or consciousness, object of meditation. yujyata being engaged in (loc.), exerting oneself, endeavouring. saṁyojana bond, fetters; especially the fetters that bind man to the wheel of transmigration (samsāra). karaṇā-kāla time for ordeal or punishment, time for killing.
Page 49. paṇcāvarana five obstructions or hindrances. Pali nivāraṇa: (i) kāmacchanda, sensuality, (ii) (abhiṭhā-) vyāpāda, ill-will, (iii) hita-middha, torpor of mind, or body, (iv) uddhaca-kukkuca, worry, (v) viśvikāya, wavering. vaṁcyakāla proper time for receiving instructions.
Page 50. prasravāṇaḥ iva: After elision of the visarga again the sandhi (which is prohibited) is made. Cases of such prohibited sandhi are often found in the Adivāṇas. ud-bhavya to speak of, explain, mention. āśraṇa Pali āsava that which flows (out or into), outflow & influx. The four āsavas are: (i) kāma, sensuality, (ii) bhava, rebirth (lust for life), (iii) diśṭhi, speculation, (iv) avijñā, ignorance. These intoxicate the mind so that it cannot rise to higher things. Freedom from āśravas constitutes Arhathood.
Page 51. kāruṇya-purojana: purojava, an attendant, cf. Div. pp. 211, 214, 379. kāruṇya-purojava lit. 'attendant of mercy', waiting upon mercy; miserable. dharmadharana one who knows the Dharma by heart, a missionary (?). But the word is not used in this sense here. dharmacchāra—relics-holder i.e. the stūpa. Vide the following utterances of the king. Vide also Kunāla-vadāna; p. 79: vaistārikā dhātuḥdharāḥ kṛṣṇa ca. dasabalaṣṭā kṣantu: The letter kṣa should be read as kha, as in Pali. This is Pali influence. The writer appears to be more well-versed in Pali. The metre is Puspitāgā. pravāṇa generous (Lexico-graphers). hamśaṁsāsūkṣhendubalaikaśala as white (lit. swan-rayed, swan-coloured) as the conch-shell, moon and crane. mā tāvāt=maivam (not so).
Page 52. yantragṛha a torcher-chamber. droṇa-stūpa name of a stūpa said to contain a droṇa holding relics of Buddha. bhaktim ato yavat saptā-
dronāḍa a part from this and so up to the seventh droma-stūpa. Rāmagrāma: A Kolan (a republican clan) village on the bank of the Ganges. Its inhabitants obtained a share of the relics of Buddha over which they erected stūpa. Later on, floods destroyed the stūpa and the urn containing the relics was carried away into the sea. Mahākāla, the king of nāgas received the urn and took it to the abode of nāgas. There the relics were preserved with great respect.

rāmagrāmasēti tv aṣṭamāṁ : Vaiśāvādevi is the metre.

Page 53. karaṇḍa a basket or covered box of bamboo.

Page 54. śodhayātavya (a sum of thirty-five coves is) to be recovered or collected; cf. Pali sodhethi & sādhethi. This sense is supported by Gh2. Or, it may mean 35 coves of karaṇḍas are to be removed or cleaned away. pāñjīna sūryamāṇḍalam pratiś: Avadānakalpa reads: ekakṣaṇapratishāsu pṛthivyāṁ sthaviras tadā. kham utpatty āryam āśādyā chaśāsāṁjñāṁ akalpayat. 69th Aavadāna, verse 8. Compare the act of Concealing the Sun by Śrīkṛṣṇa in the Kurukṣetra War; Mahābhārata, Droṇa-parvan.

Page 55. tābhyaḥ satābhyaḥ pūrvikābhyaḥ : This and the following śloka are in the Vaiśāvādevi metre.

VĪṬĀŚOKĀVĀDANA

Page 56. śaikṣa cf. Pali sekhā, belonging to training, one who has still to learn, a student. pṛthagjanakāyānaka an ordinary man striving after his spiritual good; cf. Pali. yaddhyāsā see p. 27. tīrtha, tīrthika an adherent of another sect, a heretic; cf. Pali: tīthiya, tīthika. vigrāhita taken hold of, prejudiced against, seduced by; cf. Pali: vighagita. anāyatana that which is not resting place or an alter. hināyatana inferior abode, inferior sanctuary. pañcātapa, pañcatapa (*tapas) the five fires (to which the ascetic exposes himself): one fire towards each of the four quarters and the sun overhead; cf. griśme pañcatapās tu svād varṣāsū abhrāvākāṣāk. ārdrawāsā tu hemante kramaśo vardhrayāṁ tapaḥ. Manu', vi. 23. kaṣṭapābhārasaṁjñāṁ one perceiving the value of severe austerities.

Page 57. kaṣṭa’smin vijane vane : Śardūla° is the metre. kārā worship, homage.

Page 59. ārocyay to relate, tell, announce. na me dṛṣṭam nṛtyay : This and the following śloka are in Śikharīti.

Page 60. upatatti birth, rebirth. āyatana sphere of perception, or, senses in general, object of thought, sense-organ. upatattāyatana sphere of perception in rebirth. paryēṣṭi Pali paryēṣṭi search for. samudācāra behaviour, practice, habit, familiarity. skandha constituent element, factor, substantiality; pl. the elements or substrata of sensory existence, sensorial aggregates which condition the appearance of life in any form. trādhaṭukā the (world of the) threefold composition of elements; trimūla.

Page 61. bhava “becoming” (form of) rebirth, (state of) existence, a “life”. saḍbhājña endowed with the six apperceptions. The following are the six (i) ṛddhi (levitation), (ii) āviharātra (the heavily ear=clair audience) (iii) paracitaṁjñāna (knowledge of others’ thoughts or thought-reading), (iv) jātimaśrajñāna (recollection of one’s previous births), (v) knowledge of other people’s rebirth, (vi) certainty of emancipation already attained. upacita-hetuka one who has his birth as the last one, i.e. who is not going to be born again; cf. Pali carima-bhava “the last rebirth”. āśraya the body. pravravajyā várna the syllables or words (passage) which deals with renunciation.

Page 62. svākhyaśā-dharmavīnaya well-preached (svākhyaśā) “teaching of Buddha in its completeness”, upasampad higher ordination, admission to the privileges of recognised Bhikṣus. udhānto’emi niraṅkuso : Śardūla° is the metre. vaivarsikā having no caste, outcaste. *abhyupāgata, accepted by the outcastes. pāṇīśu-kūla dust-heaps, collection of rugs from dust-heaps; cf. Pali pānusūkikāla “one who wears clothes made of rags taken from a dustheap.” vyābādha disease, illness. pūtī-mukta ‘strong-smelling urine’, usually urine of cattle used as medicine by the monks.
Page 63. *naivāharī tan na jāne*: Suvadanā is the metre. *na viṣaya-
ṛṣita* not for the thirst of enjoyments (in heaven). *pūtika-māsa* rotten or
stinking beans (*māsa* in later times came to mean a kind of pulse having
seeds marked with black and grey spots).

Page 64. *ākīra* crowded. *videha*: This is the correct reading.

Page 65. *līha-prañīta* plentiful of wretched (alms). *līha(rūka)*, poor, bad,
wretched, coarse; *Pali: līkha*. *ktarakaṇiya* “He has done what was ought
to be done”, i.e., he has become an Arhat; *vide kṣīna me jāthih... kṛtāṁ
karaṇyaṁ*. *tasya hy aniyatam kathāṁ*=tasya arhattvam aniyataṁ kathaṁ.
It refers to the preceding sentence: *niyataṁ ayaṁ kṛtakaraṇyaṁ (=Arhat)
bhavasyati (=bhavet)*. *nirāsrava* detached from the outflow and influx of (*i*)
sensoriality, (ii) rebirth, (iii) speculation and (iv) ignorance. *apāhāya mauryavah-
śām*: mauryavahśām magadhakuruṁ sarvaratnaṁgaṇaṁ cāpaśāya *gataṁ*
praśīṇa-madamāsāmāryaṁ (anger, *Pali* vanśāniyahaṁ [vanśādhamāṁ] dṛṣṭāṁ
puram aty uddhāraṁ tra yaśā śāmītaṁ tra mahāṁ (great) ca manye. udāraṁ tasya
dakshabala-
dharaśāsaṁ prāśūḍyaṭām. *prajñāpata* ‘appointed’ ‘ordained’, *cāsaṇa*, appointed
or ordained chair (or seat). *prañīta* ‘excellent’ (*āhāra*), heaped up, plentiful,
abundant; cf. *Pali*: *pañīta*.

Page 66. *dharma-yāya kathāya saṁdārśayan* instructing with speeches
that are in accordance with the Dharma. *saṁdṛṣṭika* visible, belonging to
this life. *Pali* saṁdṛṣṭika. *janaśāya* a body or group of people.

Page 67. *ṛddhyā khalv avabhārtītā*: Sārdūla is the metre. *śrīṣāta*=
śrīṣinā, ‘one with a white head (grey hair)’. *upasthāya*ka a nurse, attendant.
*khusta* bald; origin un traced. *Nirgrantha* ‘free from all ties or hindrances’,
‘without possession’, Jina, a Jain. *upāsaka* a lay devotee.

Page 68. *Ājīvika* or *Ājīvaka*: The doctrine of the Ājīvikas are older than
Jainism or Buddhism. It began to develop in the 7th or 8th century B.C.,
somewhere near the Gangetic valley. Makkhaliputta (*Maskariṇītta* Gosi(ā)la
elevated this doctrine into a philosophy of life. He was the central figure,
the last Tirtharikara of the Ājīvikas, as Mahāvīra to the Jains. They two practised
austerities together for some time. It is said that Gosāla attained to Jīnāhood
first and he had great influence in the development of Mahāvīra’s doctrine.
Gosāla introduced the philosophy of natural transformation (*Paripānadhāta*)
which he formulated from the generalization of the periodical reanimations of
plant life. The basic idea of this philosophy implies a process of natural and
spiritual evolution through ceaseless rounds of births and deaths (*samsāravuddhi*).
This philosophy of *samsāravuddhi* inspires us with a great message of hope that
even the puniest thing of the creation, that even a dew-drop is destined to
attain, in course of natural evolution, the highest state of perfection in humanity.
The Ājīvika sect consisted of monks and householders, both male and female.
It spread all over India and existed among rival sects till the 14th century
A.D. Some inscriptions (Hultzsch’s *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. i, pp. 88, 89,
92, 108) dated the 13th century A.D. are found in Madras which record that
a kind of poll-tax was imposed on the Ājīvikas and that probably checked the
further progress of this religious sect. The Ājīvikas finally lost their identity
and merged into the Digambara Jain, the Śīvata and others. Cf. B. Barua,
*Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, vol. ii. *pūrvānta-
āśā* the knowledge of the past (life), *kṣiptata* produced.

Page 69. Pratvaka-Buddha: One who has attained to the Supreme
wisdom and perfect insight, but dies without proclaiming the truth to the
world (a silent Buddha).

ṇaka*—*nimantarana*, invitation. *prañidhāna* aspiration, longing, prayer, resolve.

KUNĀLĀVADĀNA

Page 71. *yaśo-mātyopākhyānam*: Name of this chapter is given by us.
In Chinese translations this story does not form a part of *Kunala*. This is found
in Chl in an *Avadāna* named as: “The recompense given by king Aśoka.”
Śākyaputriya or Śākyaputra a follower of Buddha, a Buddhist.
Page 72. *vicchandaneyita* is interrupt, to prevent; cf. Pali *vicchindati*.

Page 73. *yadi gunapari* is Puṣpitāgrā and the next two are Sārḍūla. *ikṣu-kšoda* ‘the refuse of sugarcane’, the crushed or squeezed sugarcane which is thrown away after taking the juice from it; cf. *kšoda* pounded substance, ground or pulverized substance. *ikṣu-kšodavād* : Sārḍūla is the metrē.

Page 74. *bhavanād iva pradīptān nīmaṁjāmnād iva* : “Those who do not take essential substance from this body which is destined to be destroyed are like those who do not take treasure from a house ablaze, or from a store (or receptacle) of treasure that is sinking into water.” *dadhīghṭanavanīta* : This and the following are Mālāni. *maṇḍakumbha* a jar of cream, a pitcher full of cream. *kaṛūṇa vighnam ato na* : This and the following are in Sārḍūla. *daśābalavāhārādīpā* the speeches or utterances of Buddha which act like a lamp. *daśābala* : *Vide Pāṇiḥṣpradāna*, p. 21.

Page 75. *sārākārya* duties of a Buddha. Chinese translates it as “conversion.”

Page 76. *jītākṣaṇa* kīṣa = rāga, doṣa, moha, sensuality, lust and bewilderment, or lust, anger or ill-will and delusion. Pali *kīṣaṇa* , soil, stain, impurity (fig. affliction) depravity, lust. *sārānāḥyatāḥ hasītrathāśvīkṣitāḥ* : The last *pāda* of this *śloka* is defective (sākṣāt arhantam ubgypta)

Page 77. *sāṅkrama* a passage, a bridge. *naṅ-sāṅkrama* a bridge or dam of boats.

Page 78. *yebhīḥ* Pali and Vedic influence; cf. *RV*. 8.49.8, 10.54.4, 10.92.5; *KS*. 37.9; *TB*. 2.7.15.2; *AV*. 10.8.35; *JUB*. 1.34.6; *JB*. 2.51 (52). etc. etc.

Page 79. *nāsaṇe jagamohanamālīkṣe* : *jagamohanam = candra* : “when he who carries the world has closed his eyes and disappeared.” *taṇṭa śastra-kalpo jagadekacakra avanacakṣur* : The second *pāda* of this *śloka* is defective; the Pali form of *avastā* is *avādaka*. Was it originally *avādakānāḥ* ?


Page 81. *cittotpāda* rising of a thought, i.e. intention, desire.

Page 82. *naivāsīka ya āhāsaka* : The *śloka* offends the metre in every *pāda* except in the third. To put the metre in order the *śloka* may be read thus: *naivāsīka yaṁ mānaṇāśo (or yaitaʿ aso)* sambuddhasamādhīśktāvai. rājō hy gokṣaya manāḥ prasādyā.


Page 84. *śīkṣāpāta = śīkṣaṇa* : Pali *sikkhāpāta* to teach, to train. *saṅghīṭhī* *strīhasahsraḥ sārđham* : The Buddhist attempts to show that Buddha surpassed Śrīkṣaṇa in every respect, even in possession of wives; Śrīkṣaṇa had only sixteen thousand (or a few more) wives. In the previous chapter it is shown that an ordinary (disciple’s) disciple of Buddha could perform the miraculous deed of concealing the sun which Śrīkṣaṇa had performed.

Page 85. *prathama-dhyāna* : There are nine successive stages of meditation (naṃputtobhavanā) which culminate in trance. Of these nine, the first four are the stages that are attained in the realm of form, with the help of ‘form’ or ‘matter’ as the object of meditation. The next four are those which are attained in the realm of formless, with the help of the ‘formless’ or ‘non-matter’ as the object of meditation. The ninth is the last stage where only sensations or consciousness but also all the mental properties or “mental” (cātāsikā dhāraṇā) are suppressed with the mind itself. In this stage of trance, there is but a slight
difference between the person who is in trance and a dead man.\(^1\) The first four stages are named the first trance (prāthama dhyāna), the second trance (dviṭṭa dhyāna), the third trance (trīṭya dhyāna), and the fourth trance (caturtha dhyāna). In the Dīgha-Nikāya (vol. iii. p. 78) and Aṅguttara\(^2\) (iv., p. 410), the first trance or prāthama dhyāna is thus described: It is free from demerit (sviṭkaṇhā pañcakara ahuśāla) free from the attachment of the five senses (anāsrayevin). It is accompanied by thoughts and reflections (suviraṁkha sauciśāla) and by bliss produced from right judgement (sivēka-a-priyāsukham). prācina-nimna inclined towards East, pravaṇā sloping Eastward, prābhāra bending and inclining Eastward. These three compounds express the same sense. chandaḥ + ābharaṇaṇa . . . praviṣṭah + ekaḥ: As it is frequently found, the prohibited sandhi is made in both these cases. nirupasthāyaka without any attendant.

Page 85. grāhāya ghūtva; cf. Pali gahāya. Ārāḍa or Ārāḍa Kālāma: One of the two famous spiritual teachers of Gautama or Siddhārtha from whom the latter learned the seven of the nine stages of trance (dhyāna). Čudraka Rāmaputra: The other teacher who taught Gautama how to attain to the eighth stage of the dhyāna. Vide Majjhima\(^3\), vol. i. pp. 163-66, 240; vol. ii. pp. 93, 212. Dīgha\(^4\), ii. p. 130. Aṅguttara\(^5\), ii. p. 180. Vinaya\(^6\) (Oldenberg) i. 7. Lalitavistara, (Lefmann) pp. 238, 243-43 (ch. xvii). Buddhacarita, xii. 1-88. Jātaka (Fauböll) i. pp. 66, 81. Mahāvastu (Senart) ii. 118-20. tāpita roused, converted. nāyukā mārga bhū abhiśāya: This line may be read thus: bhū abhiśāya tī jhāvā samayāya. Nandā, Nandabalā: Vide Buddhacarita, xii. 109. sōḍaṁ-guṇita sixteen times. Kālika Nāgarājā= Mahākāla Nāgarāja: His palace was under the river Nīrañjana. When Buddha attained to Enlightenment, the Nāgarāja with his Nāga maidens went to Buddha and sang in praise of the Enlightened One. Jātaka, i. 70, 72. Mahāvastu, ii. 265, 302, 304; comp. the episode of Kālīyadāmana by Kṛṣṇa.

Page 86. bodhi-maṇḍa (for maṇḍala) the ground under the Bodhi-tree, hence the spot where Buddha was seated at the time of attaining Bodhi. drṣṭas tvayā jvalita\(^7\): This śloka is in Vasantatilaka and the following is in Puspitāgāra.

Page 87. iha munivṛṣabhena: Puspitāgāra is the metre. namuci-bala māra-balā, the army of Māra. Trapuṣa-Bhaliṣa: Pali Tapussa, Tapassu, Bhalluka, Bhāllika, Bhalliya; Tapassu. A merchant of Ukkala. He and his friend Bhalluka, while on their way to Rājagaha, saw Buddha at the foot of the Rājāyatana tree, in the eighth week after the Enlightenment. Urged by a dyer who had been their relation, they offered rukhiṇa rice-cakes and honey in a bowl provided by the Four Regent gods (catur mahārāja). They became the first lay disciples of Buddha and their 'formula of Refuge' contains no reference to the Saṅgha (Vin. i. 36; A. i. 26; J. i. 80; Mv. iii. 303).

According to the Thera-gāthā commentary (i. 48f.), Tapussu and Bhalluka were brothers; they were sons of a caravan leader of Pokkharavatī. Some-time later they visited Buddha at Rājagaha where he preached to them. Tapassu thereupon became a srotāpanna, while Bhalluka entered the Order and became an Arhat.

Upaṇa Aṭṭikā: Pali Upaka Aṭṭikā: An Aṭṭiya whom Buddha met on his way between Gaya and the Bodhi-tree, when he set out for Isipatana to preach the first Sermon. Upaka questioned Buddha on his attainments and when Buddha told him what he had accomplished he asked Buddha if he were 'Anantajina'. When Buddha acknowledged it, Upaka shook his head saying, 'It may be so friend' and went along by another road (J. i. 81; Vin. i. 8; M. i. 170-1. The reading should be Upaṇa Aṭṭivā).

Afterwards, being constantly mocked and teased by his wife, Upaka left home and went to Buddha who was then at Śrāvasti. Upaka was admitted to the order. As the result of his meditation he became an ānāgāmin and was

\(^1\) The only difference between death and this state is that in the latter the heat of the body is not lost, the life does not cease to be and the sense-organs are not destroyed, while in the former, all these are destroyed; cf. Visuddhi-magga (P.T.S.) p. 558.
reborn in the Avihā heaven (ThigA. 220ff; MA. i. 388f. Upaka's story is given in SnA. i. 238ff., with variations). triparivarta turning thrice.

Page 88. lokam saddevamanujāsura*: Vasantatilaka is the metre. dharma-vinaya the teaching of Buddha in its completeness.

Page 89. sthāpay (itvā) = varjyay (itvā) cf. Pali ṣhapetvā leaving out, setting aside, excepting. devendraṣṭā vajrayanta prāśāda: Vide (Gālata-nāśākṣayata Sutta, Mi.1.251ff.). Nandopananda Nāgarājā: In the jātakas (v.126) and in the commentary of the Theragāthā (ii. 188f.) Nando* is not two but only one Nāgarājā who was subdued by Mahāmoggallāna. The story runs thus: One day Buddha accompanied by 500 monks travelled over the Nāga king's abode while he was having his meal. The Nāga, in anger coiled round one of the disciples (viz. Sineru) and covered the road to the Tāvatimsa heaven where the party was to go. It is said, among the five hundred monks only Mahā* had the power to defeat the Nāga which he did with the permission of Buddha. The Nāga, after his defeat, was converted.

Page 90. dūttagunavādin : The word is rare. In one constantly repeated passage, it is used as an adjective opposed to lazy, remiss (kosajjā) and means either scrupulous or punctilious. dūta-dhamma means a scrupulous way of life. dūtaguna may mean the same. Thus dūtagunavādin means 'he who preaches the scrupulous way of life'. āvetacivaranācchāditaḥ: Once Mahākāśyā spread his outer robe for Buddha to sit. As Bu* praised its softness, Mahā* requested him to accept it; when Bu* asked him, what he would put on, Mahā* begged one worn out robe of Bu* the colour of which was faded (looked white). arana "without fighting"; Pali: peaceful, living in solitude. Bāṭikula: Pali Bākkula, Bākula, Vakkula Thera. He was born in a councillor's family at Kauśambi. After enjoying a rich and prosperous life, at the age of 80, he heard Buddha's speech and left the world. It is said only for seven days he remained unenlightened and on the dawn of the eighth day he became an Arhat. Later on, Buddha declared him as the foremost one of those who are in good health.

Page 91. alpa-bāḍha: bāḍha niśvaraṇa, (i) excitement of sensual pleasure, (ii) greed and ill-will (iii) the inactivity of body and mind, (iv) flurdy or worry, (v) doubts. kākāṇi, ni, kākāṇi, ni a small coin, may be guessed at as being of a kārṣiṇa; cf. Pali kākana, nīkā.

Page 92. sūtraṇa Pali suttantika; versed in the suttanta (a chapter of the scriptures, a text, a discourse, a sutta), māṇusyaṁ saphalikartām: Sārīula,* is the metre. lokani caitya*: loka which is always found in masculine gender is used in neuter, see also p. 116; last verse.

Page 94. dirgha-daśāni having long fringes; cf. Pali: dīgha-dasa. aṣṭāṅgasamanaṅgata upavāsa "the fast-day with its eight constituents" i.e., observance of the first eight of the commandments of the 'fast-day'. dhūpa-kaṭtacchuka a small spoon with frankincense.

Page 95. samyak gata ye sugatasāya: The third and the fourth pādas are in Indravānśā while the rest is in Indravajrā, praśamadamaratā: Pupipātgrā is the metre. Mahāvāna: A forest on the outskirts of Uruvelakappa where Buddha retired for his noonday rest after his meal at Uruvela* (cf. Malalasekera). There was a natural forest called Mahāvāna in the neighbourhood of Vesāli (Sumanatavasāsinī, i. 309). The Uruvelakappa was yet another Malla town. In the neighbourhood stood Mahāvāna which was an extensive forest (S. iv. p. 327; v. p. 228; A. iv. p. 438). Vide India as Described pp. 53-4. Anavatapa brāda is identified with the Māṇasa-Sarowara by B.C. Law, cf. India as Described*, p.104. jinasutāṁ khalu dhyānārātāḥ: Here the metre is offended. It may be rectified thus: khalu dharmaratāḥ: Drutavilambita is the metre. Śārisakā cf. Pali sriśaka, name of a hall; D. ii. 356 sq. Vpi. 844, FoA. 351, 351; cf. serisa-maha,festival in honour of the Seriska Vimāna; Vb. 844, 48. There was also a desert country called Śārisaka in the West of India (Sindhu-Sauvira). But here Śārisaka may not be taken as a country, as it is associated with (pravara) vimāna. This vimāna is said to be in the Caturmahārājika world (cf. Notes, Pāṇiṣṭhāradnā)*. The vimāna was called Śārisaka because there was at its entrance, a large sirīṣa tree.
Page 96. **Piṇḍola-Bharadvāja** : Pali, "Bhāradvāja: He was a son of a chaplain of king Udayana of Kauśāmbī. He belonged to the Bharadvāja gotra. He was well-versed in the Vedas and was a successful teacher. Later on, he disliked his profession and went to Rājagṛha. There he saw heaps of gifts bestowed on Buddha’s disciples. He was very greedy and so joined the Order. Afterwards, following Buddha’s advice, he conquered his greed and became an Arhat.

He was called Piṇḍola because he entered the Order for greed of food (piṇḍam utamāno pariṣesamāno pabbajito ti). A. i. 23; Vin. ii. 110f.; J. iv. 375ff.

Page 97. **pratyeka-buddhāśraya** one who has taken the form or body (āśraya) of Pratyeka Buddha’. *aranā-vihārin* one who is living in solitude.

Or a-raṇa ‘not fighting’ = aṁtinā non-violence, maitrī friendliness; thus aranā-vihārin means maitri-vihārin; cf. Pali. Vasantatilaka is the metre.

Page 98. **buddhāvatārīṃsaka** a garland of Buddhas. By miracles or psychic power, innumerable Buddhas were shown who looked like a garland of Buddhas and covered the space between the earth and the heaven of the akaniṣṭha gods (said to be the highest point of the universe). *tirthya* (tirthika) a heretic. Vasantatilaka is the metre. Sāṅkhāśya a city 30 leagues from Śrāvasti.

upalavaṇṇayā ca nirmāṇa cakravarti-sampada (for sampad) According to the Dhammapada commentary (iii. 211) the miracle which Upalavaṇṇā volunteered to perform (but Buddha did not allow, Thīg. 190, 195) was the metamorphosis of a cakkavatīn, with a retinue extending for thirty-six leagues, paying homage to Buddha.

Page 99. **Anātha-piṇḍada-dukhita Sumagadhā** : According to the Pali scriptures, she was called Cūla-Subhaddā (or Mahā-Subhaddā: there is confusion in the stories of these two sisters). Vide DhA. iii. 465ff.; AA. ii. 482ff.; AA. i. 146, 148f. and Vsm. 390. *sumagadhāyāh + upamantra = sumagadhāyā upa*: After this the sandhi which is prohibited is made.

yadda jagamārdibhalaṇa : Varṇāstha is the metre.


Page 101. vi-kṛ to contend, compete. vikkhiśita, Pali; sporting, amusement, pastime. niryātay to give, present; cf. Pali nityāteti (*leiti*), nityāteti. rājyaṁ samṛddham : The first line of this sloka is defective, while the second line is in perfect Upājī ti metre. Hence it is clear that the sloka was originally in Upajīti. With the least possible alteration I have adjusted the first line. Only in one place in the first pāda the metre remains defective. It may be corrected thus: sannāthāyāv kātan hi samṛddha-rājyaṁ or kātan hi sannāthāyāv samṛddhātva. Thus it may also avoid the defect which is called saṁkīrtanavāt (confused order of words) in Rhetoric.

Page 102. naigama a citizen, townsman. navakānta = navānta near the novices. anta=antika: cf. Pali. samāraṇājaniya dharma state of conciliation, fraternal living; cf. Pali sārāṇīya. khādyaka name of a particular food; Pali khajjaka eatable i.e. solid food. A kind of sweet (?) cf. khājā (Hindi and Bengali).

mā devena kutracid aprasāda utpādita mā used for the simple negative na. ubhayato bhāga-vimukta “free in both ways” i.e. free both by insight and by intellectual discipline of the eight stages of Deliverance.

Page 103. āgamy a on account of, for the sake of, owing to, with reference to, cf. Pali āgama. nisičārita uttered, cf. Pali niscaññeti to make out come from, to let go forth, emit, utter, give out. tricivara the three robes of a monk, consisting of: diguṇa saṁghāti the two-fold lower garment, ekacīya uttarāsāṅga a single upper garment, ekacīya antara-vāsaka one inner or intermediate garment; cf. Vin. i. 289, 296; ii. 302.

Page 105. The chapter is named by us. According to the Chinese translation, here begins the Kunālavadāna. abhirūpa of perfect form, very handsome, beautiful, lovely. *darsāṇyā* fair to behold, beautiful, good looking. prāsādika pleasing, pleasant, lovely amiable; cf. the Pali phrase: abhirūpa, dassāṇyā pāśādika paramāya vaṃsa-pokkharātīya (lotus-ness, lotus-likeness, flower-likeness, with lotus-like complexion; with beauty of complexion) samannāgata, “lovely, good-looking, pleasing and adorned with the lotus-like beauty of complexion.”
ātta-manas “having an upraised mind”, delighted, pleased, enraptured, cf. Pali ātta-mana (ātta-manatā “transport of mind”), upanāmyay to approach, bring near; to offer, present, hand over, cf. Pali ‘nāmiti. sutasya me netravārā netra is neuter but it is sometimes used in feminine gender in fine compositi and at the end of a compound. āsti used here as a mere particle. kunālakaśin = citra-kokila.

Page 106. ārya-sattva a noble soul.

Page 107. prthagajana the vulgar, a common worldling, a man of the people, an ordinary man; cf. Pali puthujjana. The third pāda of this sloka accords with Indravāṁśa metre. manasikāra attention, pondering, fixed thought; cf. Pali. anītyādī: anītyam, duḥkham, śūnyam. Pali aniccam, dukkhān, anatā (anātman).

Page 108. sannāmay to subdue; īt. to bend, to cause to bow. vihāra-yātā “a pleasure walk”, a pleasant trip, expedition.

Page 109. naimitīka astrologer, fortune-teller, sooth-sayer; cf. nemītaka, etika. grhyā for prā, such uses are not rare in Āsoka, see p. 130, vika epics: cf. Rāmāyaṇa, yuddha, 33.39-40; 34.13; 53.43-44, etc. MSS. read sannāma for sammāna; sammāna means ‘respect or esteem for the good’, but here it is used as a wrong reading for sammāna. It is interesting to note that young students in villages of Bengal still pronounce the word as: sammāna.

Page 110. pra-ghar to ooze (out), to flow forth, flow out; cf. Pali paggharatī. asuci n. impurity, excrement; cf. Pali asucika. n.

Page 111. (vairan) nirvātay to repay, revenge. dantamudrā tooth-shape seal, a denture, or seal made of tooth (i.e. tusk of elephant or the like)?

Page 112. paurā = pura.

Page 113. makuṭa = mukuta.

Page 114. daurvārnika bad mark. kalyāna-mitra (i) a good companion, a virtuous or honest friend, a pure friend, (ii) a spiritual guide, spiritual adviser; Buddha is the spiritual friend par excellence, but any Arhat can act as a spiritual friend or adviser. vitaklesa without impurity or affliction; without raṣa, doṣa, moha. anītyādī-aśraya(aih) (by) means of anītya etc. (anītya, anātman, śūnya; meditation on the instability of all things).


Page 116. bharmtā = patiarta. netrāni kāntāni: netra meaning ‘eye’ is neuter. The word is masculine in a different sense. Ignoring such difference of meaning, it is used here in both the genders.

Page 117. garbhādhānam upādāya from his very appearance or existence in the womb, from the very beginning. yadi tava bhava: The metre is Aparavaktra.

Page 118. gitaṁ kunālena mayi: The second pāda is defective. It may be corrected as: ciran śruto me. vanīpaka a way-farer, beggar; cf. Pali vaṇībāka, bāni.

Page 119. rathā-cōḍaka street-rags, the worn out dresses that are thrown in the street. kathaya kathaya: This and the following two slokas (p. 120) are in Puspitāgrā metre.

Page 120. avairavairā n. enmity or hostility towards a peaceful, peacable or friendly person. labdhā phalasthā: This sloka, except the first pāda is in Vāṇāsā metre. The first pāda was in Indravārā. To keep uniformity I have added ye. Thus the first pāda is converted into Indravāṁśa.

Page 121. na sastravajrāṇi: This is a combination of Vāṇāśthā and Indravāṁśa. kenhṛtāni nayanāni sutasya: Vasantālīka is the metre.

Page 122. kathā hy adhanye: a combination of Vāṇāśthā and Indra-vāṁśa. nakhara a tool of claw-like form (or function). jivanti-sūlā to impale a woman alive. Pali jīva-sūla ‘life-pale’, a stake for execution. ghārayise = śyāmi to hurt, injure; cf. Pali ghāṣṭeti, to strike, beat, knock against. anāryakarmā yadi tiṣyarakṣitā: Vāṇāśthā is the metre.

Page 123. punaḥ prāṇamyā: This pāda is defective. Better read it: punaḥ ca natvā pitaram. rājan na me: The second line of this sloka should be read as:
APPENDIX

Page 126. Anāthapiṇḍada, Anāthapiṇḍika (Pali): A banker of Śravasti whose original name was Sudatta. After his conversion, for his charities to the poor, he was given the epithet of Anāthapiṇḍada (one who feeds the destitute). In Rājagṛha where he went in connection with his business, he met Buddha. At the very meeting he was converted. He invited Buddha to pass the rainy season at Śravasti. Buddha accepted the invitation with the remark: "The Tathāgata takes delight in solitude." Having finished his business at Rājagṛha, the banker set out for Śravasti, giving orders on the way to his friends and acquaintances to make dwellings, parks and rest-houses and arrange for gifts all along the way to Śravasti, in preparation for Buddha’s visit. Sudatta looked out for a quiet place near Śravasti where Buddha and the monks might dwell. The park of Jetakumāra attracted him. He bought the park with an exorbitant price and erected there the famous Jetavana-Vihāra. As a result of this and of his other numerous charities, Anātha was recognised as the chief of all almsgivers. It is said he spent 18 crores to purchase the Jetavana and about the same sum in construction of the Vihāra. While dedicating the park to Buddha, he spent another sum of 18 crores in festival. He used to feed one hundred monks daily, in addition to meals provided for guests, villagers, invalids, etc. Five hundred seats were always reserved in his house for guests. Pañca-vārṣika ("maha"): A festival in honour of the Bhikṣus which recurred every five-year. During the festival, the Bhiksus were served with food and clothes. The first pañca-vārṣika was celebrated at Rājagṛha in honour of Buddha by Śakra-devendra and Ajātaśatrū. Vide pañca-vārṣika, the 16th Aṣadāna of the Aṣadānastakakā. Pāṇiśu-dāna: "presentation of dust". Asoka in his former birth while he was a boy of tender age gave alms to Buddha, with a handful of dust which he fancied to be the saktu (ground barley-meal). Cf. Pāṇiśrupradāna.

Page 127. Āśraya-viyoga: separation from the body (āśraya), death. Nāham punaḥ sarvaśuropopannam: The second pada of this āśraya is in Indra-vaniṣṭha while the rest is in Indravārāj. With the least possible change, this pada may be rectified thus: śāṅgham samakṣam naraduṣṭīdyam. Kukkuṭārāma: Most of the MSS. read it as Kurkutasāma. In Pali and Chinese it is Kukku. It was a residence of monks from the very ancient time. The Sānjugata (v. 15f., 171f.) records several discussions which took place there between Ananda and Bhadda. Huen-tsang says that the Kukkuṭa was situated in the Southeast direction of the old city of Pāṭaliputra. According to him it was built by Asoka. When Huen-tsang visited Pāṭaliputra, he saw only the remains of the foundation of the building. Most probably the accounts of Huen-tsang refer to the Asokārāma which Asoka built. Pali literature in its records of Asoka’s deeds makes no mention of Kukkuṭa existing in his time. On the other hand, Sanskrit texts such as the Divyavādāna frequently refer to it. We may conclude from the above records that Asoka constructed the Asokārāma on the site of the old monastery Kukkuṭa, and the former was known by both the names in the time of Asoka. Kukkuṭārāma was built by Kukkuṭa, a Banker of Kausāmbi. Āhāra n. It should be masculine. Dākṣīṇyād anārta: Sārdula is the metre of this and the following āśraya.

Page 129. Pratiṣṭhyate’sman nacirajñā: No longer my command is obeyed. Today my command as manieth as I have in my mind is like a stream that is turned back when struck at the rock of the great mountain. Mama yavatitha manasā sā (ajñā) "that (command) as manieth as (yavatitha) in my mind." Silatāte vihatavan nadi: The affix vat or vati is wrongly added here to the adjective. It should be "vihata nadivat. Bhrāṣṭhāsthāyatanā "one who has lost confidence and position (āyatana). Bhadrāmukha "one whose face brings blessings", a complimentary address.
like 'my noble & friend'; cf. Pali bhaddo. Apatśimāṇa = Paśimāṇa the last, nāsti paśimāṇa yasya "that which is followed by nothing else" i.e. the last.

Page 130. Gataśa svabhāvaśa śūnyatāṁ gataṁ. śūnyavabhāvottāṁ gataṁ. Tat tathā bhujyatiṁ yena yena sāṅghena mama tat paśimāṇa prādānāṁ tathā bhujya-
tathā yatathā... ekacchhatrasamūḥ; Śārdūla is the metre. Saṁvega agitation, fear, anxiety: religious emotion (caused by contemplation of miseries of the world).

Page 131. Bhṛtyaiḥ sa: Vasantatilaka is the metre. Before the paragraph marked with number 3, Chā adds this obscure passage: "Tradition teaches us that among the kings of the following generation who were powerful by their riches, none equalled king Āsoka, (although) his ministers had prevented him (from being ruined).

"When we are in power, and while we have not yet fallen into misfortune, we must with all our efforts acquire merits."

The sense of this passage seems to be: "Inspite of the endeavour of the ministers to prevent king Āsoka from squandering away his patrimony, his less generous inheritors were less rich and less powerful as well". The above obscure passage which is not found either in Sanskrit or in Chà appears to be an addition. The 2nd portion of this addition is very similar to the precept of the Sūtrāvkāra with which this story begins there. Vide Intro, p. lxix. Imāṁ samudra: It is in Vāmāksthā except the last pāda which is in Īndranāśā.

Page 132. Dānenaḥam: Śārdūla is the metre. Dantamudrā: We could not find anywhere what exactly this danta-mudrā means. Chinese translated "dantamudrayā mudritam as: 'sealed with his (king's) teeth'. Nirharitvā Pali niharati to take out, throw out, drive out.


Page 134. Dīnāra, dīnā: denarius, gold denarius: a gold coin or a certain weight of gold (variously stated as 2 kāṣṭhā, 'one pala of 32 ratī' or 'the large pala of 108 svarṇa'). Denarius (a) Roman coin, originally (268 B.C.) of silver, weighing 5/16 Roman pound, and the equivalent of ten bronze asses. From c. 241 B.C. to the reign of Nero, the weight was 5/8 pound. Nero reduced the weight to 5/16 pound. (b) A gold coin of the same weight as the silver denarius, a half aureus—called gold denarius. It came to India during the first century A.D. Nirodha suppression, cessation (of senses, consciousness, feeling and being, in general). Śikṣā precept, discipline.

Page 135. Parvata-carya (caryā) roaming about a hill; visiting a hill; cf. Pali cārīka a wandering, journey. Carya carye carat he took a trip to the hill, made a journey to the hill.

Kṣemendra describes the last days of Āsoka in the following slokas:

हेमकोटिश्यत दातू सिंहरोपभूद ग्राम निरचयः ।
सत्सेव सिंहरत: कोश: कुशलयालिनाः ।
सामार्गेः सूर्यविख: प्रदेशां: स वस्तराः ।
हेमथ: यन्त्रवत: कोटिज देवी सहस्या यूज्य: ।
तत: कङ्कन नृत्यविभाषना ग्यामिनायाः ।
शिखारणी सुब्रजयेव न शरीराणि देहिन्ति ।
तत्तमसमपस्यात्ता नितिनमुत्पुष्पिपति: ।
सिम्बर्ध: कुंकुमतरमेव प्रविष्ट: दातुमुखः ।
तत्सूत्र: सम्बधि नाम हृदानिवस्यामहत: ।
दानपुण्यचूस्तस्य कोशायःन्यायरावस्य ।
दाने नितिद्वे पौत्रेण सहस्य पृष्ठानीपति: ।
भेड्यामलक्ष्याय देवी सहस्यात्ता गात: ॥
The Pali Chronicles and Samanta-pāsādikā do not carry the Maurya history beyond Āsoka. They create rather the impression that the whole glory of the dynasty vanished with him. His uterine brother Tisya-Vitaśoka, son and daughter Mahendra and Saṅghamitrā, son-in-law Agnibrahmā and daughter's son Sumana joined the Buddhist Order.

The Matisya-Purāṇa gives the following list of Āsoka's successors: (i) Daśaratha (ii) Sampati (iii) Śatadhanvan (iv) Bhadratha.

The Viśnu-Purāṇa list of six successors: (i) Suyaśā (ii) Daśaratha (iii) Saṅgata (iv) Śāliśūka (v) Somaśarman (vi) Śatadhanvan (vii) Bhadratha.

It is difficult to evolve correct history out of these divergent details. The Purāṇas and Buddhist works agree as to Kunāla, together with the Jain writers Hemachandra and Jina-prabhasūri.

(As Kunāla was blind) Sampati (son of Kunāla) is described by Jain and Buddhist writers as the immediate successor of Āsoka. Kunāla's son was Bandhu-pālita according to the Viśnu-Purāṇa, Sampadi (Sampadin) according to the Asokāvadāna and the Pātaliputra-kalpa of Jina-prabhasūri and Vigataoka according to Tārānātha. Either these princes were identical or they were brothers.8 There is mention of Āsoka's sons and grandsons in the following Edicts:

(i) The Queen's Edict issued in the 19th-21st year of Āsoka's Abhiśeka, mentions Tivara (9) as his young son by his second queen Kāluvāki (Kāru or Cāruvāki).

(ii) In P.E. VII engraved in the 27th year of Abhiśeka, Āsoka speaks of the charities of his sons.

(iii) M. R. E (Mysore copies), engraved probably in the 26th year of Abhiśeka, speaks of Aryaputra Viceroy of Suvarnapāgiri.

(iv) S. R. E. I., engraved probably in the 32nd year of Abhiśeka, speaks of three Kumāra-viceroy stations at Tosali, Ujeni (Ujjayini) and Takasilā (Takṣasañi) respectively.

(v) The Nāgarjunī Hill-cave inscriptions record the three cave-dedications made by Daśaratha to the Ājīvikas immediately after his consecration (anāntalikayān abhisētām).

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1 Mentioned also in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, Raychaudhuri: Political History, p. 290.

2 Asokāvadāna (Sansk.) reads the name as: Sampadi and ed (both) Ch2 transliterates (and also translates) it the same (e or ed). The Taisho edition of Ch3 reads it as: Órhl (meaning: two, double) mo-t'. If Órhl is a substitute for Ó (Órh, meaning two) and again, if Ó (Órh) is mistaken for Ó (san), then it may be Sampadi, or ed.

3 In three Chinese editions of Chl, the prince is named as: Shih-mo-lou. Shi-mo there, may be taken for Sampa, but lou in place of t' makes confusion. It should be noted here that in other Chinese works, in some āgamas, and in a work named: "A Chronology of the Śakyas" (Taisho, no: 2040), Āsoka's grandson is named Sampadi, or ed.

4 Ibid. p. 290f.
That Daśaratha was not a son of Asoka but a grandson or great grandson may be known from the following:

The form of Brahmī letters employed in Daśaratha's inscriptions indicates certain changes to account for which one must allow an interval of time, however short, between Asoka and Daśaratha.

The Purāṇas agree as to Bhadratha being the last of the Maurya dynasty. His historicity is confirmed by the statement of Bāṇa in the Harṣacarita to the effect that he was assassinated by his general Puṣyamitra. With Bhadratha ended the famous Maurya dynasty, about 187 B.C., after reigning for 137 years.

The progressive disintegration of the Maurya empire during the half century that followed Asoka's death is marked by several facts. According to Rājatarājaśīri, Asoka's son Jalauka set himself up as an independent ruler in Kashmir and conquered the country up to Kanaūj. He is said to have 'crushed the invading Mleccha horde,' which probably refers to an invasion by the Bactrian Greeks. According to Tārānātha, another successor of Asoka, Vīrāśena by name, set up at Gandhāra. Vidarbha also seems to have asserted its independence according to the Mālavikāgupta of Kālidāsa. The Greek writer Polybius, writing about 206 B.C., refers to an independent Indian king on the northwestern frontiers, Sophagasenus (Subhāgasena) by name. He, or one of his predecessors was probably a Viceroy of a Maurya Emperor, and later declared himself an independent king.

The disintegration of the Maurya empire was further speeded up by the Yavana invasions referred to in Sanskrit texts such as the Yuga-Purāṇa section of the Gārgī-Sanhitā and the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali. The final blow was struck at the empire by the revolt of Puṣyamitra, the Commander-in-Chief of Bhadratha who killed his master, while reviewing the army, and ascended the throne.

Vide The History and Culture, Vol. II. pp. 89-90; Barua: Asoka, part 1, pp. 54-7.

\(^1\) Rāja°, I, 115-7.
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**ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA**

**Addenda**

Page 1: The reading *sammārjitaḥ* in the last line of the first *śloka* does not convey any sense. So I have suggested *sāvarjitaḥ*, making the least possible change in the MSS. reading. However, I am not quite satisfied with this reading. Readings like *sudvarjitaḥ* or *āvarjitaḥ* may also be suggested. It is to be noted here that the words *āvarjita* and *āvarjana* are used several times in the Div. Cf. p. 171, l.4 (*āvarjita*<sup>2</sup>); pp. 133, l.9; 192, l.8; 313, l.15 (*āvarjana*<sup>2</sup>).

Pp. 139-42: Scholars differ about the time of Aśoka’s conversion to Buddhism.

Barua thinks: “...Conversion to Buddh. faith did not take place before but some time after the conclusion of the Kaliṅga War.... Pilgrimage to Sambodhi (260 B.C.)... may be construed as an immediate result of his conversion.”

Bhandarkar writes: “Aśoka was converted to Buddh., in the 8th year of his reign (262 B.C.). But this was also the year when Kaliṅga country was subjugated by him. And scholars have thought that the Kaliṅga War was the cause of it.”

Moookerji takes a quite different view: “Aśoka was converted to Buddh., before the conquest of Kaliṅga.”

**Corrigenda**

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*These are typographical errors. There are more, but I have corrected only those which may create difficulties in understanding the meaning.*
Avadanas — Mahayana Buddha Mahayana Buddhism — Avadana.