

**'The Trials of Yaśodharā': The Legend of the Buddha's Wife
in the *Bhadrakalpāvadāna*¹
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From the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries the Newar Buddhists of the Nepal Valley produced an extensive religious narrative literature in Sanskrit. For many centuries prior to this period, that is, prior to the disappearance of Buddhism as a vital cultural force in the land of its birth, Newar Buddhist tradition had greatly depended upon religious practices and religious literature composed in and transmitted from India².

The Newars did not by any means abandon the rich scriptural tradition they had inherited from India. Indeed, the majority of Sanskrit Buddhist texts on which modern scholars base their studies are in fact manuscripts preserved and copied by generations of Newar scholars and scribes. Nevertheless, the destruction of Buddhism as a living cultural force in North India and Kashmir, a process which was complete by the end of the fifteenth century³, had a profound impact on Buddhism in Nepal. No longer could Newar students be sent to India for their education; no longer could Indian scholars and teachers come to Nepal to teach doctrine and ritual; no longer could Newar scholars copy texts from the rich libraries of the Gangetic Plain. Other factors, such as increasing pressure to conform exerted

¹ More detailed discussion of the issues which are only touched upon in this brief introduction can be found in my thesis, *The Trials of Yaśodharā: A Critical Edition, Annotated Translation, and Study of Bhadrakalpāvadāna II-V* (D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1997), Part II, pp. vi-lxvii.

² Although primarily an anthropological and not a historical study, an excellent introduction to Newar Buddhism is David N. Gellner, *Monk, Householder, and Tantric Priest: Newar Buddhism and Its Hierarchy of Ritual* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1992). Among others which are recommended are: Mary S. Slusser, *Nepal Mandala: A Cultural Study of the Kathmandu Valley* (2 vols., Princeton: The University Press, 1982) and S. Lienhard, "Problèmes du syncrétisme religieux au Népal," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 65, 1978, pp. 239-270.

³ See the summary in A.K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism* (2nd ed., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1980), pp. 506-516.

by successive Newar Hindu kings⁴, devastating famines which severely depopulated the Valley and at least one extremely destructive Muslim raid which appears to have destroyed thousands of precious manuscripts, forced Newar Buddhists back upon their own devices⁵.

What took shape during this period was a synthesis of traditions inherited from mediaeval India and indigenous, Newar traditions which likely had been evolving for centuries. An expression of what one scholar has characterized as this 'renaissance' of Newar Buddhism was the unprecedented literary production to which I have alluded above.

By and large, although these texts were among the first Buddhist manuscripts received in European libraries⁶, Western scholars have taken little notice of them. Although the situation is beginning to change, the fact remains that most of this extensive body of literature remains unpublished and almost none of it has been translated⁷.

The Buddhists of Nepal sought to anchor their literary innovations firmly in the bedrock of the Indian textual tradition they had so carefully preserved. For a variety of reasons which I shall not ad-

⁴ On Newar Buddhist traditions of Hindu persecution, see D. Wright, ed., *History of Nepal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1877), pp. 118-120; L. Petech, *Mediaeval History of Nepal* (2nd rev. ed., Serie Orientale Roma LIV, Roma, 1984), pp. 202-206; Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, pp. 21-22, 86-87; J. Locke, *Karuṇāmaya* (Kathmandu: Sahayogi Press, 1980), p. 339. Cf. MJM III.68-73, which describes followers of the Tantric Śaivite goddess Bhairavī both corrupting Buddhist Vajrācāryas and competing with them for the allegiance of householders.

⁵ On these and other catastrophes, see D.R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal* (3 vols., Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1965-66), Pt. I, pp. 312-320; Petech, *Mediaeval History of Nepal*, pp. 124-127.

⁶ To cite only one example, a (now lost) manuscript of the BKA was received in Paris by the Société Asiatique as early as 1837 (*Journal Asiatique*, troisième série, tome IV, 1837, p. 297). Another BKA MS. was received at the British College of Fort William in Calcutta in 1832.

⁷ In addition to the published Newar Buddhist Sanskrit works which will be cited below, two others should be noted: Mamiko Okada, ed., *Dvāvimśatyavadānakathā: Ein Mittelalterlicher Buddhistischer Text zur Spendenfrömmigkeit* (Indica et Tibetica 24, Bonn, 1993); Leo Both, ed., tr., *Das Kapīśāvadāna und Seine Parallelversion im Piṇḍapātrāvadāna* (Monographien zur Indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie Band 10, Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1995).

dress here, the Newars of the fifteenth century and later maintained relatively little interest in the philosophical literature of Indian Buddhism. For them, what remained central was religious practice and the mythological and legendary narrative traditions which explained and enshrined such practice.

Hence we find that these anonymous authors and compilers did not simply compose new works. Instead, they retold the traditional narratives in an idiom and in a literary form suited to the tastes and priorities of their own time and place. Influenced in part by the literary style of the late Hindu Purāṇas and also by the eleventh century *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* (BAKL)⁸, itself verse retellings of 108 traditional Buddhist stories (*jātakas* and *avadānas*), Newar authors began to compose verse adaptations of a wide range of the narrative literature inherited from Buddhist India.

Perhaps the most fundamental of these texts is the *Svayambhūcaityabhāṭṭārakoddeśa* or 'Teaching Concerning the Holy Shrine of the Self-Created One', a mythological and legendary account – or rather group of related accounts – of the origins of the Nepal Valley and the Newar people and of the successive stages of their adoption of Buddhist culture and traditions. At least five recensions of this text are extant, ranging from 280 to 4600 verses. To date, however, only the most recent of these recensions, the *Bṛhat-svayambhūpurāṇa* (BSvP), has been published⁹.

⁸ S.C. Dās & H.M. Vidyābhūṣana, ed., *Avadāna Kalpalatā*, (2 vols., Calcutta: Bibliotheca Indica, 1888-1918). Includes Sanskrit and Tibetan texts. Sanskrit text only reprinted by P.L. Vaidya, *Avadānakalpalatā*, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts 22-23 (Darbhanga: Mithila Institute, 1959). See also J.W. de Jong, *Textcritical Remarks on the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* (*Pallavas* 42-108), *Studia Philologica Buddhica*, Monograph Series II (Tokyo: The Reiyukai Library, 1979).

⁹ The sole published recension is an extremely defective edition of the *Bṛhat-svayambhūpurāṇa*, ed. H.P. Sāstri, Bibliotheca Indica 112 (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1894-1900). For a brief discussion of the entire *Svayambhūpurāṇa* textual tradition – and a promise that other recensions will soon be published – see Horst Brinkhaus, "The Textual History of the Different Versions of the 'Svayambhūpurāṇa'," ed. G. Toffin, *Nepal Past and Present* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 1993), pp. 63-71. On related Newārī-language material, see Todd T. Lewis, "Contributions to the History of

Among Newar Buddhists even today one of the most important members of their pantheon is Avalokiteśvara, the Bodhisattva of Compassion. The *Kāraṇḍavyūha Sūtra* (Kv)¹⁰, an Indian scripture of the fifth or sixth century, preserves many traditions concerning this Bodhisattva which later became central to Newar tradition. In the fifteenth or sixteenth century an unknown Newar author retold this earlier prose version in verse, with many additions and interpolations to bring it 'up to date'. This text, usually called the *Guṇa-kāraṇḍavyūha* (GKV) remains unpublished¹¹. Similarly, with many additions from other sources, the Newar *Mahājātakamālā* (MJM)¹² recasts in verse another Mahāyāna scripture, the *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka Sūtra*¹³.

Buddhist Ritualism: A Mahāyāna Avadāna on Caitya Veneration from the Kathmandu Valley," *Journal of Asian History* 28, no. 1, 1994, pp. 1-38; *idem*, "The Power of Mantra: A Story of the Five Protectors", ed. Donald S. Lopez, *Religions of India in Practice* (Princeton: The University Press, 1994), pp. 227-234.

¹⁰ *Avalokiteśvaragūṇakāraṇḍavyūha*, ed. P.L. Vaidya, in *Mahāyānasūtra-saṃgraha* I (Buddhist Sanskrit Texts 17, Darbhanga: The Mithila Institute, 1961), pp. 258-308. This *sūtra* has not been translated, but a useful summary may be found in J.C. Holt, *Buddha in the Crown: Avalokiteśvara in the Buddhist Traditions of Sri Lanka* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), chapter 2. For a discussion of the linguistic and textual issues which have impeded the publication of a critical edition of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, see C. Régamey, "Randbemerkungen zur Sprache und Textüberlieferung des *Kāraṇḍavyūha*", *Asiatica: Festschrift Friedrich Weller* (Leipzig, 1954), pp. 514-527.

¹¹ On the GKV, see E. Burnouf, *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien* (2nd ed., Paris: Maisonneuve, 1876), pp. 196-203; G. Tucci, "La redazione poetica del *Kāraṇḍavyūha*," *Atti della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* 58, 1923, pp. 605-630 and P.C. Majumdar, "The *Kāraṇḍavyūha*: Its Metrical Version," *Indian Historical Quarterly* 24, no. 4, 1948, pp. 293-299.

¹² Michael Hahn, ed., *Der Grosse Legendenkranz (Mahājātakamālā): Eine mittelalterliche buddhistische Legendensammlung aus Nepal* (Asiatische Forschungen Band 88, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1985).

¹³ I. Yamada, ed., tr., *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka*, 2 vols. (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1968).

In the early centuries of the Common Era, Indian Buddhists produced an extensive hagiographical literature.¹⁴ Among the texts which the Newars preserved are the *Avadānaśataka* (Avś)¹⁵, *Mahāvastu Avadāna* (Mv)¹⁶ and *Divyāvadāna* (Divy)¹⁷. Many of the legends found in the last of these works as well as others are also found in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*¹⁸. A whole series of *avadānamālās*, 'Garlands of [Tales of] Glorious Deeds' retell these earlier Indian works. Again, most remain unpublished¹⁹.

One such work is the *Bhadrakalpāvadāna* (BKA), or 'Glorious History of this Auspicious Era', from which the following selec-

¹⁴ The single most comprehensive bibliographical survey of Buddhist narrative literature, including Newar compositions, remains that in Hahn, *Der Grosse Legendenkranz*, 'Einleitung', pp. 10-22

¹⁵ Ed. J.S. Speyer, *Avadānaśataka*, 2 vols. (Bibliotheca Buddhica 3, St. Petersburg, 1902-1909); tr. Léon Feer, *Avadānaśataka: cent légendes bouddhiques* (Annales du Musée Guimet 18, Paris, 1891).

¹⁶ Ed. Émile Senart, *Le Mahāvastu*, 3 vols. (Paris: Société Asiatique, 1882-1897); tr. J.J. Jones, *The Mahāvastu*, 3 vols. (London: Pali Text Society, 1949-1956). See also Akira Yuyama, "A Bibliography of the *Mahāvastu-Avadāna*", *Indo-Iranian Journal* 11, 1968, pp. 11-23.

¹⁷ Ed. E.B. Cowell and R.A. Neil, *The Divyāvadāna* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1886); also ed. P.L. Vaidya, *Divyāvadānam* (Buddhist Sanskrit Texts 20, Darbhanga: Mithila Institute, 1959). Valuable textcritical study by H.R.S. Bailey, "Notes on the *Divyāvadāna*," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, new series LXXXII, 1950, pp. 166-184 and LXXXIII, 1951, pp. 82-102. The *Āśokāvadāna* (*Divyāvadāna* chs. 26-29), has been critically edited by Sujitkumar Mukhopadhyaya (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1963) and translated, with an extensive study, by John S. Strong: *The Legend of King Āśoka* (Princeton: The University Press, 1983). My own translation and study of *Divyāvadāna* II, *The Glorious Deeds of Pūrṇa*, is forthcoming in the 'Critical Studies in Buddhism' series from Curzon Press.

¹⁸ See S. Lévi, "Éléments de formation du *Divyāvadāna*," *T'oung pao* 8, 1907, pp. 105-122; E. Huber, "Les sources du *Divyāvadāna*," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 6, 1906, pp. 1-43, 335-340; J. Przyluski, "Fables in the *Vinaya-Piṭaka* of the *Sarvāstivādin* School", *Indian Historical Quarterly* 5, no. 1, 1929, pp. 1-5.

¹⁹ See Speyer, *Avadānaśataka* II, pp. xiv-xc; K. Takahata, ed., *Ratnamālā-vadāna* (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 1954); Hahn, *Der Grosse Legendenkranz*, 'Einleitung', pp. 10 ff.

tion is translated²⁰. An enormous narrative of some ten thousand verses, it was composed/compiled by an unknown Newar author (or authors), probably in the sixteenth or early seventeenth century, and probably in the Nepalese city of Lalitpur. In the broad lineaments of its narrative, it retells, in a style reminiscent of the late Hindu Purāṇas, and with many modifications and interpolations, the story of the Buddha's visit to Kapilavastu, his natal city, as presented in the earlier Indian *Mahāvastu*, which itself was compiled around the beginning of the Common Era from still earlier traditions.

My research has been particularly concerned with Chapters 2-9, a discrete sub-narrative within the *Bhadrakalpāvadāna* which recounts the trials and tribulations of Yaśodharā²¹, the pregnant wife whom Siddhārtha abandoned when he left home to realize his des-

²⁰ In his monograph, *Buddiyskiye legendy: Chast' pervaya [Buddhist Legends: Part I]* (Saint Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1894), S. Oldenburg includes summaries of all 38 chapters. Possibly because this study is available only in Russian, it has attracted little scholarly attention. Much more recently, *Bhadrakalpāvadāna* XXXII and XIV have been published: Ratna Handurukande, *Supriyasārthavāhajātaka* (Indica et Tibetica 15, Bonn, 1988) and T.R. Chopra, "BHS triyantara and Hindi temtara: Notes on a Folk-Belief in the *Mahāvastu* and Some Other Buddhist Sanskrit Texts", ed. H. Eimer, *Frank-Richard Hamm Memorial Volume* (Indica et Tibetica 21, Bonn, 1990), pp. 28-46.

²¹ On the figure of Yaśodharā/Gopā in Buddhist literature, see N. Péri, "Les femmes de Śākyamuni," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 18, no. 2, 1918, pp. 1-37; André Bareau, "Un personnage bien mystérieux: l'épouse du Buddha," ed. L.A. Hercus et al, *Indological and Buddhist Studies: Volume in Honour of Prof. J.W. de Jong* (Canberra: Faculty of Asian Studies, Australian National University, 1982), pp. 31-59; John S. Strong, "A Family Quest: The Buddha, Yaśodharā and Rāhula in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*," ed. Juliane Schober, *Sacred Biography in the Buddhist Traditions of South and Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), pp. 113-128. At least two modern literary works have been inspired by the legend of Yaśodharā: K. Gjellerup, *Das Weib des Vollen-deten: Ein Legendendrama* (Frankfurt am Main: Literarische Anstalt Rütten & Loening, 1907); W.E. Barrett, *Lady of the Lotus: The Untold Love Story of the Buddha and his Wife* (Los Angeles: J.P. Tarcher, 1975). Another work, of little scholarly or literary value, but perhaps a useful resource for researching the author's biography or historical milieu, is: Sunity Devee [1864-1932], *The Life of the Princess Yashodhara, Wife and Disciple of the Lord Buddha* (Jammu Tawi [India]: Jay Kay Book House, 1989).

tiny of becoming a Buddha, an Awakened One²². These chapters portray Yaśodharā's anguish at her abandonment and chronicle her karmically-prolonged, six-year pregnancy, the efforts of the Buddha's evil cousin Devadatta first to seduce and then put Yaśodharā to death on trumped-up charges of adultery and witchcraft, her elevation to semi-divine status almost on a par to that of her husband, and the birth of her hideously deformed son. Extensive as it is, this drama is further developed in Chapters 25-27 and only brought to a resolution in Chapters 35-38. In the intervening chapters, Yaśodharā does not appear at all. Chapters 10-24, which remain much closer to the *Mahāvastu* narrative than those which concern Yaśodharā, recount the Buddha's activities on his journey back to Kapilavastu; Chapters 28-34 are *jātakas*, stories of the Buddha's previous births, a number of them taken, sometimes *verbatim*, from the works of such classical poets as Āryaśūra, Gopadatta²³ and Kṣemendra.

In making Yaśodharā the protagonist and spiritual heroine of her own independent narrative, the *Bhadrakalpāvadāna* extends and elaborates trends which were already well under way in such earlier texts as the *Mahāvastu*, the **Śākyamunibuddhacarita* (ŚBc)²⁴ and the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*²⁵. At the same time, much more ex-

²² For a detailed synopsis of these chapters, with numerous quotations from the manuscripts, see my article, "The Trials of Yaśodharā and the Birth of Rāhula", *Buddhist Studies Review* 15, no.2, 1998, pp. 1-40.

²³ On Gopadatta and Haribhaṭṭa, two 'successors' of the better-known Āryaśūra, see M. Hahn, *Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta: Two Authors in the Succession of Āryaśūra on the Rediscovery of Parts of the their Jātakamālās*, 2nd rev. ed., *Studia Philologica Buddhica Occasional Paper Series I* (Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1992). Includes the Sanskrit texts of five stories.

²⁴ Extant only as the Chinese *Fo pên hsing chi ching* (T 190); abridged translation by Samuel Beal, *The Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha* (London: Trübner, 1875; repr. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1985).

²⁵ The complete text of this Vinaya is only available in Tibetan. There is also a slightly abridged Chinese translation. On these, see Charles Prebish, *A Survey of Vinaya Literature* (Taipei: Jin Luen Publishing House, 1994), pp. 84-95. However, significant portions of the Sanskrit text are also available. See N. Dutt, ed., *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, Parts 1-4 (Srinagar and Calcutta, 1942-50); R. Gnoli, ed., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikaraṇavastu* (Serie Orientale Roma L, Roma, 1978);

plicity than in these earlier Indian works, our author articulates one of the great themes of epic literature: the beautiful and virtuous princess pines for her absent husband²⁶. He, the prince, is far off in a distant land on a dangerous and important heroic quest. While he is away 'saving the world', the princess undergoes her own series of trials. These typically include the testing of her personal loyalty and sexual fidelity. Through all trials and despite all odds, the princess remains steadfast and the hero triumphs. The hero then returns home to vindicate his mate and to usher in a new golden age. Thus in Homer's *Odyssey* we have Penelope and Odysseus; in Virgil's *Aeneid*, Dido and Aeneas; in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* and Tulsidas's *Rāmacaritamānasa*, Sītā and Rāma.

While worthy of investigation in their own right, these, in the present discussion, are peripheral issues. A principal project of the 'Glorious History' is to validate Yaśodharā as the Buddha's female counterpart and true consort, not only prior to his Awakening, but after it as well. The portrait developed of Yaśodharā is that of a Newar Buddhist version of the ideal Indian wife. Much more so than in earlier biographies of the Buddha like the *Buddhacarita* (Bc), *Mahāvastu*, and *Lalitavistara* (LV), in our story Yaśodharā is at all times utterly subservient to her husband. Though in later chapters she is likened – and rather passionately – to the Supreme Goddess (*paramēśvarī*), it is also clear that she derives her spiritual power from her husband, in particular from her devotion to him and from

R. Gnoli, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu* (Serie Orientale Roma XLIX, 1 & 2, Roma, 1977-78). For translations (from Tibetan), see W.W. Rockville, *The Life of Buddha and the Early History of his Order* (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench & Trübner, 1884); A. von Schiefner & W.R.S. Ralston, *Tibetan Tales Derived from Indian Sources* (London, 1905, repr. Gurgaon, India: Vintage Books, 1991); M. Hofinger, *Le Congrès du lac Anavatapta (Vies de saints bouddhiques)*, 2 vols. (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut Orientaliste, 1982, 1990). For a detailed survey of the narrative portions of the entire Vinaya, see J.L. Panglung, *Die Erzählstoffe des Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*, *Studia Philologica Buddhica*, Monograph Series III (Tokyo: Reiyukai Library, 1981).

²⁶ On the epic hero defining himself by 'leaving a woman behind', see L. Lipking, *Abandoned Women and Poetic Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. xvi.

the religious Observance (*[u]poṣadhavrata*, *aṣṭamīvrata*) the practice of which he enjoins upon her prior to his departure²⁷. The *Bhadrakalpāvadāna* may be unique in Buddhist literature in the prominence, the narrative space, it accords Yaśodharā, but it most definitely does not make of her a truly independent heroine. Indeed, it can hardly be accidental that her character and actions conform to the standards set forth as normative for women in traditional Hindu legal literature (*dharmaśāstra*)²⁸.

There is anecdotal evidence that a Newārī version of the BKA continues to be recited in certain liturgical contexts²⁹. At least one version of the Newar Buddhist Dialogue mentions Yaśodharā's marriage to Siddhārtha as paradigmatic for all Buddhists. Whether there exists other textual or anthropological evidence to support this remains to be seen. This in turn raises the whole question of whether Yaśodharā was held out as the feminine ideal to Newar Buddhist women as, for example, Sītā has been to Hindu women.

In all this, however, we are getting rather ahead of ourselves. In the first instance these initial chapters of the 'Trials of Yaśodharā' are best read as a story, as a late mediaeval Newar revisioning of earlier Indian narrative traditions concerning the Buddha's wife. On-

²⁷ This observance, much as described in the BKA (IV.1-12) and in other Newar Buddhist texts (e.g., *Aśokāvadānamālā* XXIV.101-114, ed. Y. Iwamoto, *Bukkyō setsuwa kenkyū josetsu*, Tokyo, 1978, p. 226) remains to this day the most popular optional religious observance among Newar Buddhists, particularly among women. See J. Locke, *Karuṇāmaya*, pp. 183-204; "The Upoṣadha Vrata of Amoghapaśa Lokeśvara in Nepal," *L'Ethnographie* 83 (100-1), pp. 159-189; Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, pp. 220-224. For a discussion of a range of religious observances in contemporary Newar Buddhism, see Todd T. Lewis, "Mahāyāna Vratas in Newar Buddhism," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 12, no. 1, 1989, pp. 109-138.

²⁸ On this topic, see I. Julia Leslie, *The Perfect Wife: The Orthodox Hindu Woman according to the Strīdharmapaddhati of Tryambakayajvan* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989).

²⁹ Personal communication of Dr. Gregory Sharkey, S.J., who taught in Nepal for several years during the 1980s and 1990s. On the Newārī version of the BKA, see K.P. Malla, *Classical Newārī Literature* (Kathmandu: Educational Enterprises, 1982), p. 56.

ly when all the relevant material has been published can the work of interpretation proceed apace.

A NOTE ON THE EDITION OF THE SANSKRIT TEXT

The present translation is based on my critical edition of *Bhadrakalpāvadāna*, Chapters 1.1-22 and 2-3, copies of which may be ordered from the *Buddhist Literature* Editorial Office. The edition is based on a study of the ten extant BKA manuscripts. All of these are Nepalese (Newar) paper manuscripts; eight are in Newārī script, two in ordinary Nāgarī. Four of the ten are dated: the oldest was copied in Nepal Samvat 910 (1790 C.E.), the most recent in N.S. 1025 (1905 C.E.). Detailed descriptions of the manuscripts and their stemmatic relationships are included with the critical edition. The thesis from which both editions and translations were adopted also includes editions and translations of Chapters 4 and 5. These, I hope, will eventually be published, together with the other eleven chapters (6-9, 25-27, 35-38) which constitute the 'legend of the Buddha's wife in the *Bhadrakalpāvadāna*'.

A NOTE ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE *Bhadrakalpāvadāna*

The BKA is composed in a particular variety or dialect of Sanskrit, but not, it must be emphasized, in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, the 'Sanskritized Prakrit' familiar from the *Mahāvastu* or the verse portions of such Mahāyāna *sūtras* as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* or *Samādhirāja*. Without attempting to be exhaustive, I list below the principal departures from 'classical' or 'standard' Sanskrit found in the 1200 verses (Chs. 2-5) of which I have made a close study. Readers familiar with the peculiarities of Buddhist Sanskrit and of other varieties of non-standard Sanskrit will find few surprises here.

(1) hiatus between and within *ślokapādas*; (2) second and third syllables of *ślokapāda* both short; (3) syncopation in the last six syllables of even *ślokapādas*; (4) resolution of two short syllables into one long and vice versa; (5) hypermetrical and hypometrical *pādas*; (6) short vowels scanned as long and vice versa; (7) double *saṃdhi*;

(8) use of *saṃdhi*-consonants or 'hiatus-bridgers'; (9) application of *saṃdhi* after a vocative or vocative particle; (10) pleonastic strengthening of internal vowels (*svārthikavṛddhi*), often *metri causa*; (11) changes of gender in noun declension; (12) stem-form of noun for nominative or accusative, usually *metri causa*; (13) enclitic form of pronoun used for instrumental case; (14) thematisation of consonant-stem nouns and athematic verbal stems; (15) *parasmaipada* for *ātmanepada* and vice versa; (16) causatives used in the sense of the simple verb (*svārthe ṇic*) and, less often, vice versa; (17) passive participle of a transitive root used in the sense of the active verb; (18) formation of present-system verbs from the root *drś* and gerundives from the present stem *paś-*; (19) simple gerunds in *-ya* and compound gerunds in *-tvā*; (20) verbs conjugated in the perfect tense without reduplication; (21) simple present of causatives and Class X verbs used as passives; (22) agent in the instrumental case used with an active verb (not always readily distinguishable from preceding); (23) *mā* used without finite verb.

It should be mentioned, however, that current scholarship is beginning to demonstrate how much of the non-standard syntax (as opposed to morphology) of Newar Buddhist Sanskrit is due to the influence of Newārī, which operates on very some different principles than Sanskrit or Prakrit.³⁰ Examining the language of the BKA in light of Newārī remains a desideratum. The first task, however, is to prepare editions of additional chapters in order to have a sufficiently large linguistic sample from which to work.

³⁰ See, B. Kölver, "Newārī into Sanskrit: On the Language of the Svayambhūpurāṇa", ed. M. Schetelich, *Festschrift Manfred Taube* (Bonn: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, in press). My thanks to Prof. Dr. Kölver for providing me with a pre-publication copy of his article.

Abbreviations

- AbhidhK : *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, ed. D. Śāstrī, Vārāṇasī, 1987;
tr. (fr. T 1558) L. de la Vallée Poussin, 6 vols., Paris, 1923-31.
- AN : *Aṅguttaranikāya*, 5 vols., ed. R. Morris-E. Hardy, London:
PTS, 1885-1900; tr. F.L. Woodward-E.M. Hare, *Book of the
Gradual Sayings*, 5 vols., London: PTS, 1932-36.
- Ap : *Apadāna*, ed. M.E. Lilley, 2 vols., London: PTS, 1925-27.
- Apte : V.S. Apte, *Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, rev. ed.,
Poona, 1957; repr. Kyoto: Rinsen Books, 1978.
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Avadānakalpalatā, BST 22-23, 1959.
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bridge: The University Press, 1883, pp. 88-91.
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don: PTS, 1906-15; tr. E.W. Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends*,
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- ŚBc : *Śākyamunibuddhacarita* (T 190), tr. S. Beal, *The Romantic Legend of Śākyā Buddha*, London, 1875; repr. Delhi, 1985.
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tr. C.A.F. Rhys Davids, *Book of the Kindred Sayings*, 5 vols.,
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The Extraordinary History of Our Auspicious Era
Chapter I: Praise by Brahmā and the other Gods; [the
Buddha] Sets Out to Return to his Natal City

Om! Reverence to the Three Jewels!

1. Having venerated the glorious Triple Gem, benefactor of the three worlds and everyone's sole true companion, which, by overcoming both the defilements and the Māras, imparts the path of purity, the sole route to the felicity of liberation,

I shall relate the story, [itself] a beautiful source of liberation, of the glorious Śākya king's return to his natal city. Men of discernment, who seek the four aims of life, harken to the Extraordinary History of Our Auspicious Era (*Bhadrakalpāvadāna*)!¹

2. Jayaśrī² arose again from concentration: in order to expound the Doctrine of the Glorious One³, he was staying at the Bodhimaṇḍapa⁴ [Monastery] together with members of the Order.

¹ *bhadrakalpa* (Pāli, *bhaddakappa*; adj. °*kalpika*), name of a cosmic period or aeon, like the present one, in which five Buddhas appear. For the present Bhadrakalpa these are: Krakutsanda (or Krakucchanda), Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa, Śākyamuni (the historical Buddha), and Maitreya (the next Buddha, presently dwelling in the Tuṣita heaven). The *Svayambhūpurāṇa* narrates the mythological history in Nepal in terms of the activities of these Buddhas (plus the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī). In successive chapters adapted from the *Karuṇāpundarikasūtra*, MJM XXV.6-8; XXVI.6-8; XXVII.7-15; XXVIII.5-6, 42-43, records the Tathāgata Ratnagarbha's prediction that four of his disciples will become the four aforementioned Buddhas of the present Bhadrakalpa. In a later passage (XXIX.33-34), he identifies the five Buddhas of a future Bhadrakalpa. Additional references and discussion: Mv i.248⁶, 336⁶, 337²; Avś i.237¹⁰, 250¹¹; Divy 344⁴, 346²⁴, 440¹⁵, 447⁴; Gv 229⁵⁻⁸, 277⁵⁻⁶; DN ii.2-4, tr. 199-200; AbhidhK (tr.) iii.192-193. Cf. I.18 n. The *Bhadrakalpikasūtra* (T 425; Tohoku 94; ŚS 82⁵), a more elaborated tradition, contains accounts of 1000 Buddhas. Mv iii.330⁵ (tr. iii.321 & n. 7), conflates the two traditions.

² See also I.4, 7.

³ *śraighana dharma* (for v.ll. see edition), adjectival form from *śrīghana*. If we may trust the Tibetan translation (*dpal stug*), as an epithet of the Buddha, *śrīghana*, 'mass (or cloud) of glory', occurs as early as the 1st cent. Bc

3. At that, people of all four classes who had come to the Bodhi-maṇḍapa [Monastery] to hear [the Dharma], bowed before and venerated the Teacher and gradually assembled there [before him].

4. Then, Jinaśrī, the disciples' leader, stood before him, removed the upper garment [from his right shoulder] and, raising his joined palms in reverence, said:

5. "[We have] heard the *Śrīlalitavyūha*⁵, O Teacher, by your gracious favour: now [we] long to hear the true story of the Lord of the Śākyas' homecoming.

6. "They long to listen, the members of this assembly; they have come, thirsting for the nectar of that narrative: O tiger among monks, do let them imbibe it."

7. Thus petitioned by Jinaśrī, Jayaśrī delightedly declared: "Listen, O disciples! I shall tell the tale as it has been taught by the masters [before me]...."

8. "[The Emperor] Aśoka,⁶ preceded by music in homage, and attended by ministers and citizens, proceeded to the Rooster Park [Monastery]⁷ to once again imbibe the nectar of the Dharma.

(XXII.15, XXVI.6). Frequent in BKA: I.21a, 88a, 89a, 144c, 150d, 154b, 160c, 191d, 236a, 249a; X.8a, 48a; XI.5d, 21b; XXVI.66a, 88a, 155b, 169c, 253b, 297b, 314c; XXXVI.87d, 178a; XXXVII.86b, 105c. So also in the *avadānamālā* literature generally: see Avś II xxvi; Index to *Ratnamālā-avadāna* (ed. K. Takahata, Tokyo 1954); *Aśokāvadānamālā* I.1c, 3a (R. Mitra, *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, Calcutta 1882, p. 16), XXIV.12c (ed. Y. Iwamoto, *Bukkyō setsuwa kenkyū josetsu*, Tokyo 1978, p. 218). The Pāli equivalent, *sirighana*, occurs in the *Dīpavaṃsa* (ed.-tr. H. Oldenberg, London 1879), pp. 14, 118.

⁴ *bodhimaṇḍapa* = °maṇḍa (= Pāli id.; Tibetan: *byan chub kyi sñin po*). The name of a monastery, either the one in Bodhgayā, founded in the sixth century, or another, modelled after or at least inspired by it, founded a thousand years later in the Nepal Valley. It may, however, also refer to the spot in Bodhgayā under the Bodhi Tree, quite near the first-mentioned monastery, where, according to all sources, Siddhārtha attained Awakening and so became the Buddha..

⁵ Presumably our *Lalitavistara* (LV); at I.10b, also called *Vistara*. This recounts, with much literary embellishment, the Buddha's career from his penultimate birth in the Tuṣita heaven to his Awakening and the first sermon in the Deer Park at Rṣipatana near Vārāṇasī.

⁶ On Aśoka (reigned circa 273-232 B.C.E.) in history and in connection with Buddhist piety and narrative traditions: É. Lamotte, *History of Indian*

9. "There, the king honoured, circumambulated and venerated Upagupta, who was surrounded by a vast multitude⁸ of monks. Then, folded hands raised in reverence, he said to him who was endowed with self-knowledge and who was seated on the Throne of Dharma⁹:

Buddhism (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut Orientaliste, 1988), pp. 223-258; J.S. Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka* (Princeton, 1983); J.S. Walters, "Stūpa, Story, and Empire: Constructions of the Buddha Biography in Early Post-Aśokan India", ed. J. Schober, *Sacred Biography in the Buddhist Traditions of South and Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), pp. 160-194; J.S. Strong, "Images of Aśoka: Some Indian and Sri Lankan Legends and their Development", ed. A. Seneviratna, *King Aśoka and Buddhism: Historical and Literary Studies* (Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society, 1994), pp. 99-125. For the extant Sanskrit text of the *Aśokāvadāna*, see the Introduction, fn. 17. In his *La légende de l'empereur Aśoka dans les textes indiens et chinois* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1923), J. Przyluski has translated the Chinese sources. One of these, the *Aśokarājasūtra* (*A yū wang ching*, T 2043: vol. 50, pp. 131b-170a) is now available in English: R. Li, tr., *The Biographical Scripture of King Aśoka* (BDK English Tripiṭaka 76-II, Berkeley: Numata Center, 1993). The *Aśokāvadānamālā* (mostly unpublished: see Mitra, *Sanskrit Literature of Nepal*, pp. 6-11; MJM, 'Einleitung', p. 17) adapts the earlier legends about Aśoka somewhat as BKA does those concerning the Buddha and his family. The BKA is one of several mediaeval Newar verse narratives which are presented as a dialogue between Jinaśrī and Jayaśrī which itself 'frames' a dialogue between Aśoka and Upagupta, the latter of which then tells the story as he heard it from teachers before him, ostensibly passed down from the time of the Buddha.

⁷ *kukkuṭārāma* (= Pāli id. = *kurkuṭ°* = *kukkuṭāgāra*). Name of Upagupta's monastery in Pāṭaliputra (Aśoka's capital): see Avs ii.203¹; Divy 375⁷, 381¹², 384²⁸, 406²⁰, 423¹¹, 424²²⁻²³, 430¹⁴⁻²⁴, 431²⁰⁻²¹, 434⁵ (all from *Aśokāvadāna*); *Aśokarājasūtra* (tr. Li) 14, 21, 54, 64, 82-85, 88, 181, 182. The 'colloquies' between Aśoka and Upagupta which form the inner narrative frame in BKA and related texts are typically set in the Kukkuṭārāma: see BSvP 198; MJM I.32; GKV (Tucci, "La redazione poetica del *Kāraṇḍavyūha*", pp. 608-609); *Lakṣaṇaśāstram* (ed.-tr. T. Rajapatirana, *Suvarṇavarṇāvadāna and Lakṣaṇaśāstram*, 3 vols., Ph.D. thesis, Canberra: Australian National University, 1974), vol. I, p. 130⁹; *Aśokāvadānamālā* (R. Mitra, *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, p. 6); *Vicitrakarṇikāvadānamālā* (Y. Iwamoto, *Bukkyō setsuwa kenkyū josetsu*, Tokyo 1978, p. 192¹⁴).

⁸ *aṣṭādaśa lakṣāṇām*, 'eighteen lakhs' (18 x 100,000).

⁹ *dharmaśāla*: in Buddhist monasteries, an elevated seat from which monks give instruction.

10. "The exquisite series of Birth-Stories, the ambrosial tale called *Vistara*¹⁰ – these extinguishers of sin did [I] imbibe from your honour's lotus-mouth.

11. "Now [I] thirst for that pure ambrosia, [your account of] the Buddha's return to his own city. What *was* it that happened in the city called Kapila[vastu], filled with the pain of separation?

12. "How was it for Yaśodharā¹¹, pregnant and grieved by separation [from her husband]? [How was it] for Gautamī¹² and the eighty-four thousand other women who [also] loved him?

¹⁰ A reference to LV; cf. *Śrīlālityūha*, I.5 above.

¹¹ In BKA, the Buddha has one wife, called throughout both Yaśodharā (occasionally Yaśodevī, Śrīdevī, Śrīdharā) and Gopā (occasionally Gopikā). In Mv (i.128¹³, ii.25¹², 48⁷, 69² ff., 72¹⁸ ff., 73⁵, 135¹³, iii.102⁴ ff., 116¹² ff, etc.), Yaśodharā is her only name, as also at Divy 253²⁶ and Bc II.26. On Yasodharā in Pāli literature, DPPN II 741-744, s.v. *Rāhulamātā*. To this may be added a translation and new edition of the *Yasodharā therī-apadāna*: S. Mellick, *A Critical Edition, with Translation, of Selected Portions of the Pāli Apadāna*, D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1993, vol. II, pp. 527-590. In LV, the Buddha's wife is called Gopā (142⁸ ff., 157⁴ ff., 194⁷ ff., 230³ ff.), or Gopikā (235²¹, 237¹³). According to Mpp^s (T 1509: 182b, tr. II 1003-1004), he had two wives, Yaśodharā and Gopā. In SBV (i.62, 64-65, 78) he has three – Yaśodharā, Gopikā and Mṛgajā – which tradition is also followed in BAKL (XXIV.56, 62, 113). Three wives are also specified at ŚBc 101. Where the Bodhisattva marries more than one woman, it is always Yaśodharā who is identified as Rāhula's mother. For a bibliography of primary sources concerning the Buddha's wife, see Mpp^s tr. II 1001-1009. A. Bareau ("Un personnage bien mystérieux", pp. 52-59) concludes all traditions relating to the Buddha's wife are entirely legendary.

¹² Full name Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī (Pāli: Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī). Sister of Sarvārthasiddha's mother, Māyā, and Śuddhodana's second wife. After Queen Māyā's death, she becomes the prince's foster-mother. For a translation of the *Gotamī Apadāna* (Ap ii.529-543), an important Pāli legend which highlights Mahāpajāpatī's role as leader of the Order of Nuns, see J.S. Walters, "Gotamī's Story", ed. Donald S. Lopez, *Buddhism in Practice* (Princeton: The University Press, 1995), pp. 113-138. See also J.S. Walters, "A Voice from the Silence: The Buddha's Mother's Story", *History of Religions* 33, 1994, pp. 358-379 as well as references in DPPN and ED. In the BKA, Gautamī is portrayed principally in her relation to Yaśodharā as beneficent mother-in-law.

13. "How was it that Śuddhodana¹³ and all the rest were made to forget about the Master? How did he ordain the monks and protect the people? And after how many years did father and son meet?

14. "Therefore, O Teacher, by the offering of this ambrosial tale, quell the flames of grief, kindled by the pain of separation,¹⁴ which blaze in my heart."

15. Thus requested by the king, Upagupta replied, "Listen well, Aśoka; I shall speak briefly¹⁵.

16. "In that city, on account of [Sarvārthasiddha's]¹⁶ absence, she who was called Gopā¹⁷ suffered intensely; Gautamī became blind¹⁸, the king's heart was divided.

¹³ All our sources identify Śuddhodana (Pāli, Su°) as the Buddha's father and king of the Śākya of Kapilavastu: see DPPN and ED. A. Bareau, demonstrating this is not so in certain early canonical texts, concludes both attributions are legendary ("Le retour du Buddha à Kapilavastu dans les textes canoniques", ed. G. Gnoli & L. Lanciotti, *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dicata*, Roma, 1986, pp. 41-56, esp. 53 ff.).

¹⁴ The 'pain of separation' refers to Aśoka, having lived long after the passing of the Buddha, being unable to actually meet the object of his devotion. In this Aśoka may be said to resemble his *guru*, Upagupta, who, in the *Aśokāvadāna* (ed. Mukhopadhyaya 23¹⁰⁻¹², tr. Strong 192), in order to satisfy his devotional longings, forces Māra to take on the form of the Buddha, for having been ordained 'one hundred years after the Blessed One entered parinirvāṇa', he has 'seen the Dharma-body, but...not the physical body of the Lord of the Triple World.'

¹⁵ The term 'briefly' is of course a relative one: by comparison to, say, the 100,000-verse *Mahābhārata*, the 10,000-verse BKA is brief indeed. On the other hand, it is comparable in length to many Purāṇas.

¹⁶ The Buddha's personal name and the usual one in BKA. Mv, LV and BKA use both Sarvārthasiddha and the synonymous Siddhārtha. At SBV i.4725, 4811-13, 4820-22 and BAKL XXIV.23, 38-39, he is given at birth three names: Sarvārthasiddha, Śākyamuni and Devātideva: most often, however, SBV calls him, simply, 'the Bodhisattva'. The Pāli tradition appears to know only Siddhattha.

¹⁷ See note on Yaśodharā, I.12 above.

¹⁸ Part of the legend is that Gautamī loses her eyesight through constant weeping at the loss of her son. Later, when the Buddha returns to Kapilavastu and displays his psychic powers by causing fire to stream from one side of his body and water from another, Yaśodharā restores her mother-in-law's sight by bathing her eyes with the water. See Mv iii.1167-17, tr. iii. 116; ŚBc 366. At BKA VIII.101 (Ce 72a7), Śuddhodana warns Gautamī

17. "Chandaka¹⁹ and Udāyin²⁰ grieved, but Devadatta²¹ rejoiced; some of the people were distraught, but others sided with Devadatta.

that, blinded by incessant weeping, she will be unable to see her son when he does return (*evam āśruṣu mukteṣu netranāśo bhaviṣyati / pratyāgatasya putrasya katham dr̥ṣye tadā mukham* //). At IX.142 (Ce 78a3-4), her grief both consumes her flesh and destroys her eyesight (*athāsau gautamī rājñī śokādhikakṣāṅgikā / vilapitvāniṣam netravināśam akarot tadā* //). Finally, at XXV.484-486 (Ce 204a5-6), upon his return, twelve years after his original departure, the Buddha provides, and Yaśodharā applies, the remedy: 'Then the Lord of Sages, seeing that Prajāpati was blind, emitted from his *uṣṇīṣa* the essence of ambrosia. Taking that ambrosia, Yaśodharā rose and with it bathed Prajāpati's eyes. Then, purified by that ambrosia, her heart and sensory organs fully cleansed, her eyes like lotuses in full bloom, Gautamī beheld that Lord of Sages' (*tataḥ paśyan munīndras tām andhībhūtām prajāpatīm / svoṣṇīṣād amṛtam sāram samutsrjyābhyasārayat // tad amṛtam samādāya samutthāya yaśodharā / tena mātuh prajāpatyā akṣiṇī abhyamārjayat // tadamṛtaviśuddhā sā sunirmalendriyāśrayā / vibuddhapuṇḍarikākṣā tam munīndram samaikṣata* //).

¹⁹ Name of Sarvārthasiddha's squire and childhood friend. According to Mv (ii.159¹³-160⁹), when, in the dead of night, the Prince orders him to bring his horse that he may flee Kapilavastu to take up the religious life, Chandaka cries out to warn the king and people, but *devas* render the populace insensible. Later that night, the Bodhisattva sends Chandaka back to the city with his jewellery, his horse Kanthaka and with greetings for all his relatives except for Yaśodharā (Mv ii.166¹¹⁻¹⁴). Cf. SBV i.84-92, Bc VI.25-41 and BAKL XXIV.147 ff. Years later, Chandaka and Udāyin are sent to Rājagṛha by the King to convince the Buddha to return home that his kinsmen might benefit from his teaching (Mv ii.233¹⁰⁻¹⁶, iii.90-93; ŚBc 349). The two men join the Saṅgha and eventually accompany the Buddha back to Kapilavastu (Mv iii.94-101, ŚBc 346-349). BKA XXV.35-197 (Ce 189a1-194a7) closely follows the tradition represented by these last two.

²⁰ Son of Śuddhodana's family priest and another childhood friend of the Buddha. See also preceeding note.

²¹ The Buddha's cousin and 'Judas' of the Buddhist tradition, infamous for inciting Prince Ajātasatru to parricide (Vin ii.190, tr. BD V 266; Divy 280¹⁸; SBV ii.70-71, 135-136, 155-159), for attempting to replace the Buddha as head of the Order (Vin ii.188, tr. BD V 264; SBV ii.73²² ff., 74⁴ ff.; A. Bareau, "Les agissements de Devadatta selon les chapitres relatifs au schisme dans les divers *Vinayapitaka*", *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 78, 1991, pp. 93, 95, 115-118), and to murder the Buddha (Vin ii.191-195, tr. BD V 266-274; SBV ii.166-168, 187-189, 260-262; *Ekottarāgama* [T 125], p. 803b-c; Bareau, "Les agissements de Devadatta", pp. 94-104, 119-120). Other traditions state that the Buddha refused to ordain Devadatta (Mv iii.181³⁻⁴, tr. iii.177; *Ekottarāgama* [T 125], p.

18. "Although the Glorious Lord had by then occupied the Fourth Seat,²² his heart's desire fulfilled, he retained a desire to return to his own city.

19. "Then, on the thirteenth day of Āṣāḍha²³, full of joy, Vidhi²⁴, Acyuta²⁵ and Mr̥ḍa²⁶, together with Indra, the Lokapālas and other gods, [all] born from the body of Avalokita²⁷,

802b-c; ŚBc 378-380; Bareau, "Les agissements de Devadatta", pp. 112-113). Cf. BKA XXXVII.183-241 (Ce 374b5-376b4): after failing to poison the Buddha and the entire Saṃgha, Devadatta, ignoring his father's orders to take ordination, apprentices himself to a Hindu ascetic (*maskarin*) in order to become an expert in Śaiva black magic (*aghoramantrasādhaka*) so that he may finally kill the arrogant Buddha. Thereafter, he wanders the earth (*acarad bhuvi*), reviling the qualities of the Three Jewels (*trirat-nagunānindaka*) while he himself is reviled as one who has fallen away from the Dharma of the Holy One (*āryadharmaparibhraṣṭanindyamāna*). Bareau ("Les agissements de Devadatta", pp. 130-132) now argues that the historical Devadatta was likely no worse than a committed proponent of 'forest asceticism' working against what he considered the creeping laxity of settled monasticism.

²² I.e., had become the fourth Buddha of the present Auspicious Aeon (Bhadrakalpa): Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni and Kāśyapa (ED, s.vv.) are his three legendary predecessors: so glossed Ce 2a. Maitreya is to be the fifth. Cf. Mv i.318⁵ ff.: the Buddha, staying in Veruḍḍiṅga in Kośāla, when asked by Ānanda the reason for his smile, points out the hermitages, huts, walking-halls and personal seats of these three of his predecessors. For canonical accounts of these previous Buddhas, see *Mahāvadānasūtra* (ed.-tr. E. Waldschmidt, 2 vols., Berlin, 1952-56) and *Mahāpadānasutta* (DN ii.1-54, tr. 199-221). A late Pāli account is found at *Buddhavaṃsa* XXIII-XXVI (ed. N.A. Jayawickrama, *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka*, London 1974; tr. I.B. Horner, *Minor Anthologies of the Pāli Canon*, Part III, London 1975).

²³ Cf. Mv iii.340¹⁶ (tr. iii.335), which, in its fifth rendition of the event, places the Buddha's first public discourse (*dharmacakrapravartana*) 'on the twelfth day of the second fortnight of the month Āṣāḍha [June-July] after the midday meal' (*atha khalu bhagavāṃ āṣāḍhamāsasya uttarapakṣe dvādaśīyaṃ paścābhaktaḥ*). NK 81²¹⁻²⁶ (tr. 109), concurs as to the month (Pāli: Āsāḷhi), but specifies that the Buddha did not meet up with the five ascetics to whom he first preached the doctrine until the evening of the fourteenth, i.e., full-moon, day. ŚBc 261 agrees with Mv as to the time of day, but gives the date as 'the fifteenth day of the month of Vaiśya' (Vaiśākha [April-May]?). LV (346¹⁻³, tr. Bays II 628) mentions no day or month but concurs with NK insofar as it describes the Buddha discoursing only in the second and third watches of the night.

²⁴ 'Performer, creator': epithet of Brahmā.

20. "Accompanied by the Four Great Kings and a host of other deities, each one attended by his own retinue, appeared at that spot, overjoyed.

21. "They bowed before and worshipped the Buddha, circumambulated him, and after gazing into the face of the Lord, assembled according to rank.

22. "Then the Glorious Lord said to the Auspicious Company of Five:²⁸ " 'Listen to the incomparable Dharma! I will explain all in brief.' "

²⁵ 'Not fallen, imperishable': epithet of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa (*Bhagavadgītā* I.21).

²⁶ 'Gracious, compassionate': epithet of Śiva.

²⁷ Although SP 251²⁹-252¹⁶, tr. 410-412 lists various forms in which Avalokiteśvara expounds the Dharma, including those of Brahmā, Īśvara and Maheśvara, here the reference is to the 'cosmic' Avalokiteśvara, who creates the world and the gods. While this myth is depicted in Kv (264²⁸-265¹⁰), the allusion here is specifically to GKV, the Newar verse version which adapts it. On this, see GKV III, *Maheśvarādidevasamutpādāna* (A 30a4 ff., B 23a7 ff.); É. Burnouf, *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, pp. 197-198.

²⁸ *pañcaka bhadravargika*. This refers to the group of five ascetics, the Buddha's former disciples (present though not hitherto mentioned), who had previously abandoned him when he forsook self-mortification. After attaining Awakening, he realized that his former teachers, Udraka Rāmaputra and Ārāḍa Kālāma, had already died and sought out the five in the Deer Park near Benares. In Sanskrit sources the names of the five are usually given as Ājñāta Kauṇḍinya, Aśvajit (in Mv and BKA, Aśvakin), Bhadraka, Vāṣpa and Mahānāma. See Mv tr. iii.313 n. 2 and ED, s.vv. *pañcaka*, *bhadravargiya* for other references. In Pāli texts the five are referred to as the *pañcavaggiyā bhikkhū* (Vin i.8, MN i.171). The Pāli term *bhaddavaggiya* refers to a group of thirty men, converted by the Buddha somewhat later (BKA X; Mv iii.375-376; Vin i.23; A. Bareau, *Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha dans les Sūtrapitaka et les Vinayapitaka anciens* I, Paris 1963, pp. 253-256).

[What follows is our author's version, reduced to a mere eight verses (I.23-30) of the Buddha's first public discourse, the famous *Dharmacakrapravartana Sūtra*, or 'Setting in Motion the Wheel of the Doctrine'²⁹. Here the Buddha explains to the five monks that the five constituents of the human person (*pañcaskandha*) are impermanent (*anitya*), insubstantial (*anātman*) and therefore characterised by suffering (*duḥkha*). Then the god Brahmā interjects with a hymn of praise (*stotra*) and a request for the Buddha to expound the Dharma in greater detail. As its title suggests, this sets the tone for most of the remainder of the chapter, which consists of a series of exchanges between the Buddha and the deities in his audience: Brahmā (31-59), Viṣṇu (60-100), Śiva (101-141) Śakra ([Indra]142-160), the Nine Planets (*navagraha*; 161-189) and, finally, Sanatkumāra (190-240), here described as the 'physician of heaven' (*svarvaidya*). The Buddha admonishes and encourages each in turn: he takes each one to task for failing to properly carry out the cosmological, religious and ethical duties which Avalokiteśvara (Lokeśvara) had assigned to each at the time he generated them out of his own body; then, holding out the promise of Nirvāṇa, the Buddha encourages each to redouble his efforts. Each deity responds with a hymn of praise (*stotra*, *stuti*) and a promise to mend his ways and to do better in the future. What emerges is a picture of the Hindu gods as well-meaning, if rather bumbling, Buddhist lay-disciples. Only in the last dozen verses of the chapter (241-252 [Ce 11a7-b6]) does the Buddha again turn his attention to the five monks, and to his avowed mission to return to Kapilavastu. These twelve verses, which immediately precede the long account of Yaśodharā's trials in Kapilavastu, are as follows:]

²⁹ For accounts of the First Discourse, see: Mv iii.330¹⁷-341¹⁷, tr. iii.322-337; LV 346¹-347¹¹, tr. Bays II 628-632; ŚBc 251-256; SBV i.134¹¹-139¹⁷; Bc XV.14-58; NK 81¹⁷-82¹⁹, tr. 109-110; SN iii.66-68, v.420-423; Vin i. 10-14, tr. BD IV 14-21; Bareau, *Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha I*, pp. 190-196.

241. Then the Glorious Lord addressed the Auspicious Company of Five: "Listen, monks. You have accumulated good [deeds] from previous [births].

242. "In [this] time of the fivefold degeneration³⁰, people are difficult to tame and unreceptive to instruction; they commit the ten evil deeds³¹ and revile teachers of the True Doctrine.

³⁰ The 'time of the five degenerations' (*pañcakaṣāyika kāla*; in LV & SP: *°kaṣāya kāla* or *°kaṣāyakāla*) refers to a Buddhist version of the pan-Indian belief that we have not so much 'evolved' as 'devolved' from our distant ancestors. Specifically, there has come about degeneration in life-span (*āyuh-kaṣāya*), in doctrinal or philosophical understanding (*drṣṭi-*), in extent of moral failings and cognitive limitations (*kleśa-*), of the overall 'quality' of living beings (*sattva-*) and indeed of the age as a whole (*kalpa-*). Both LV (207¹¹⁻¹³, 214¹⁻², tr. Bays II 379, 390) and SP (43³⁻⁵, tr. 58-59) refer to the difficulty of the Buddha's task in such a degenerate age.

³¹ The ten are listed at BKA XXXII.464-467 (ed.-tr. R. Handurukande, "Daśakuśalakarmapatha: The Path of Ten Good Actions", *Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities* 12, 1986, p. 42): 'Bodily evil is three-fold; that arising from speech four-fold; and that of mind three-fold. The ten evils are known as being of that manner. Injury to life, theft and improper behaviour relating to the senses arise out of one's body, (their ill-effects being) shortness of life, poverty, not having a wife, and birth in an evil state in the end. False speech, slander, harsh (words) and loose talk are (the evils) of speech, (their consequences being) a leprous body, dumbness, being reviled and being shunned by others. Desire, malice towards others and false views are (the evils) of the mind. Being subject to the aversion and hostility of all and defectiveness of limb, are known to be their results' (*śārīraṃ trividhaṃ pāpaṃ vānībhavaṃ caturvidhaṃ / trayaṃ mānasikaṃ tadvad daśakuśalikaṃ smṛtam || sādattādānahimsā ca kāmamithyā śārīrajaṃ / dīnasvalpāyusau vāmāhinaṃ ante ca durgatiḥ || mṛṣāvādaś ca paiśunyaṃ raudraṃ bhinnam ca vācikaṃ / kuṣṭhakāyaś ca mūrkhāś ca bhartsyamāno janojjhiṭaḥ || abhidyā ca paradrohaṃ mithyādrṣṭiś ca mānasam / sarvāpriyatvadrohaṭvaṃ hīnāṅgaṃ tatphalaṃ viduḥ ||*). Cf. Mv i.107¹³⁻¹⁵, tr. i.85; ii.99⁵⁻¹⁵, tr. ii.96; Divy 301²²⁻²⁵, 302⁷⁻¹⁰; BAKL VI.173-176; R. Handurukande, "Daśakuśalakarmaphala", *Kalyāṇī: Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Kelaniya* 5-6, 1986-1987, pp. 43-48. In the Newar Upośadha Observance, the officiating priest enjoins the participants to 'abandon the ten kinds of sin' and describes the karmic consequences of each (Locke, "Upośadha Vrata", p. 174; Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, pp. 117-118).

243. "It is to deliver them all from Samsāra that I have come to this Earth. Therefore, in order to awaken [them from the sleep of ignorance], I must travel to every region and country.

244. "Should I not, people will never hear the Discourse of Truth. Therefore, heeding Brahmā's words, I have set in motion the wheel [of the Doctrine].

245. "And were I now to remain here in this grove, my vow could not be fulfilled – nor should [you] monks remain here.

246. "Therefore I shall leave this grove and return to my own country, expounding Dharma and delivering people from Samsāra along the way.

247. "Some I shall ordain as monks. Accompanied by them, I shall publicise my spiritual authority and return to the city of Kapilavastu.

248. "There, while in residence in the Banyan Grove, I shall ordain innumerable monks. For this reason – in order to deliver [people from Samsāra] – I must leave this place."

249. "Having spoken thus, the Glorious One (*śrīghana*) further said to that auspicious company: "You are fortunate to have sown seeds in the True Doctrine in previous births,

250. "As a result of which you are now monks imbibing its nectar. The [karmic] bases for this I shall explain when I am in residence at the Banyan Grove³²."

251. After listening to what their teacher had said, the company of five addressed the Glorious One: "Let us go! Let us go quickly!"

252. And so, on the following day, the first of the dark half of the month of Aindra [Jyēṣṭha], the Glorious One, accompanied by the five, set out from that grove.³³

³² This refers to the stories of previous births which the Buddha relates in Chs. 27-34.

³³ I have not yet critically edited this particular passage. The text, as collated from Ce and two other MSS., is as follows: *śrībhagavān āha pañcakān bhadravargikān / śrīnūdhvaṃ bhikṣavo yūyaṃ pūrvāropitakauśalāḥ || 241 || pañcakaṣāyike kāle durdantā duranubodhakāḥ / daśākauśalikā lokāḥ sad-dharmagurunindakāḥ || 242 || tān uddhārayitum sarvān āgato 'smi mahītale / tasmāt sarvatra gantavyaṃ sthāne deśe prabodhitum || 243 || vināsmad-gamanāl lokāḥ śroṣyanti naiva satkathām / brahmavākyam iti śrutvā mayā cakram pravartitam || 244 || pratijñā na tu pūryeta sthītvātraivādhunā vane*

The Extraordinary History of Our Auspicious Era Chapter II: Yaśodharā, with Child

1. Then Upagupta said to Aśoka and the members of the assembly, "Let this entire company harken to the story of Kapilavastu.
2. "Of the suffering of Yaśodharā and Gautamī I shall tell. At that time, the wife of the Glorious Lord, as if she were a widow, undertook an ascetic observance.³⁴

/ bhikṣavo 'pi tathā naiva bhaviṣyanti vane sthite || 245 || tasmād vanaṃ parityajya svadeśaṃ pratigamyate | kāmś cin mārga samuddhṛtya kṛtvā dharmopadeśakam || 246 || kāmś cit kṛtvā tathā bhikṣūn taiś ca parivṛto mudā | svaṃ māhātmyaṃ prakāśitvā gatvā ca kapile pure || 247 || nyāgrodhārāmake sthitvā kṛtvāsaṃkhyeyabhikṣukān | evaṃ uddharaṇaṃ kartum at-aḥ saṃprasthitaś care || 248 || ity uktvā śrīghanaḥ prāha punaś tān bha-dravargikān | yūyaṃ sabhāgyāḥ saddharmabījoptāḥ pūrvajanmasu || 249 || yasmād adau bhikṣubhūtā <h> saddharmāmṛtapānakāḥ | taddhetuṃ katha-yiṣyāmi nyāgrodhārāmam āśritāḥ || 250 || ity uktaṃ guruṇā tena śrutvā te pañcavargikāḥ | gamyatām gamyatām śīghraṃ cakrur vijñāpanām iti || 251 || athāpareduḥ pratipattitḥau karṇākṣa aindrake | candre saṃprasthitāḥ śrīmān pañcabhiḥ saha tadvanāt || 252 ||

³⁴ BKA continues the widespread tradition that Yaśodharā emulated her husband's austerities. Mv (ii.2334-9, tr. ii.220) thus describes Yaśodharā's reaction to reports of Siddhārtha's ascetic practices: "It is not right or fitting that, while my noble husband is suffering, living a hard life, lying on a couch of grass and subsisting on coarse fare, I should be eating royal food in the royal palace, drinking royal drinks, wearing royal clothes and having royal beds made for me. Let me now then live on scanty fare, wear common clothes, and have my bed made of straw." So she ate scanty fare, wore common clothes and had her bed made of straw' (*na etam mama sādhu bhaveya na pratirūpaṃ yaṃ ahaṃ āryaputrena duḥkhitena duḥkaram caran-tena tṛṇasaṃstarakena lūhāhāreṇa ahaṃ iha rājakule rājārhāni bhojanāni bhumjeyaṃ rājārhāni pānāni pibeyaṃ rājārhāni vastrāni dhārayeyaṃ rājārhāni śayyāsanāni kalpayeyaṃ || yaṃ nūnāhaṃ pi lūkhaṃ ca āhāraṃ āhāreyaṃ prākṛtāni ca vastrāni dhārayeyaṃ tṛṇasaṃstare pi śayyāṃ kalpayeyaṃ || sā dāni lūkhaṃ ca āhāraṃ āhāresi prākṛtāni pi vastrāni dhārayesi tṛṇa-saṃstarake pi śayyāṃ kalpayesi ||*). Reprised in verse, ii.2348-10, tr. ii. 221. Cf. ŚBc 346: "Then Yaśodharā, the Śākya princess, having heard of the privations and sufferings endured by her Lord, immediately laid aside her jewels and fine clothing, and used none but the commonest food, for she said, 'How shall I enjoy the luxuries of a royal residence, and partake of delicate food, whilst my lord is thus enduring affliction and want. I will even share

3. "Putting off her colourful garments of fine silk, wearing plain white cloth, the faithful wife went without jewelry and renounced [the use of] garlands, flowers, sandal paste and the like.
4. "She eschewed all bodily adornment as well as oils and other unguents. The grieving woman never slept on a bed [or sat] on a cushioned seat.
5. "Subsisting on roots and fruits, the pious lady practised the Poṣadha Observance.³⁵ She contented herself with the five pure foods³⁶, [but] occasionally took milk-rice porridge³⁷.
6. "In this way, with no desire for flesh-food, she lived as an ascetic, [thinking], 'Is there a woman who partakes of such suffering as I who has been abandoned by such a husband [as Sarvāthasiddha]?

his self-privation and suffer the same pain'." Cf. LV 189¹⁷⁻²⁰, tr. I 344: 'I will drink neither mead nor spirits; I will sleep on the ground and wear the tangled hair of ascetics; I will refrain from bathing and will take up a vow of asceticism – until I see the Bodhisattva, that repository of virtues'. (*na pāsyī pānaṃ na ca madhu na pramādaṃ bhūmau śayīsye jaṭamakutaṃ dharīsye / snānaṃ jahitvā vratatapa ācarīsye yāvan na drakṣye guṇadharu bodhisattvaṃ* //). Cf. SBV i.106¹⁴⁻¹⁹: 'When, together with the other palace women, Princess Yaśodharā learned of her lord's condition, grief overwhelmed her: her face streamed tears; she removed her garlands and ornaments and, despondent, practised harsh austerities. For meals she took one sesame seed, one grain of rice, one jujube fruit, a single lentil, a single bean; she made her bed from straw. And her unborn child stopped growing.' (*sārdham antaḥpureṇa yaśodharā devī bhartus tadavasthāṃ pratiśrutya bhartṛśokābhibhūtā bāṣpārdravadanā vinirmuktamālyābharanā viśannā duṣkaraṃ carati; ekaṃ tilaṃ āhāraṃ āhāraṃ; ekaṃ taṇḍulam, ekaṃ kolaṃ, ekaṃ kulattham, ekaṃ mudgaṃ; tṛṇasaṃstare ca śayyāṃ kalpayati; tasyāḥ sa garbho layaṃ gataḥ*). Cf. NK (90³¹⁻⁹¹⁶, tr. 122) where, after the Buddha's return, Suddhodana informs him of the austerities his wife had practised in his absence. Bc VIII.70-80 eloquently portrays Yaśodharā's grief and anger at her husband forsaking her, but makes no suggestion that she emulated his austerities.

³⁵ *poṣadha vrata* (= *upoṣadha vrata*), II.184d, IV.16.

³⁶ *pañcāmṛta*, 'the five nectars', viz., a mixture of milk, curds, ghee, honey and sugar, used all over India from pre-Buddhist times for a variety of blessings and offerings; may also be consumed as sanctified food (*prasāda*) by the worshipper. For the 'five nectars' in Newar Buddhist ritual, see Locke, *Karuṇāmaya*, pp. 74-75; Locke, "Upoṣadha Vrata", p. 166.

³⁷ Exactly these foods are permitted to participants in the Newar Poṣadha Observance (*upoṣadha vrata*, *aṣṭamī vrata*). References in preceding note.

7. “ ‘Now what am I to do? Ill-fated am I in every way.’ Thus burdened with cares, Gopā [nevertheless] practised the Observance for his sake.

8. “ ‘Born with a body of surpassing, divine beauty into a distinguished family, I am daughter-in-law to the universal monarch³⁸, King Śuddhodana.

9-10. “ ‘My husband is the world’s guardian,³⁹ yet greatly do I suffer. Ah! Alas! What actions of mine in previous births led my husband to abandon such happiness now to live homeless in the forest? By remaining in this kingdom, sick with grief at separation from my husband, what happiness [can there be for me]?

11. “ ‘Yet where can I go, now that I am with child? Until my son is born, my only refuge is here.

12. “ ‘And for his sake, in order to protect [him], I must unflinchingly maintain my Observance. When I am delivered of a son, then will I go to him!

13-14. “ ‘[Either] by constantly worshipping him I shall train for Awakening, or let my husband return quickly, his heart’s desire fulfilled. Then, by imbibing the ambrosia of his words, I shall attain final emancipation.’ Thus did Yaśodharā quell the flames of grief with the waters of understanding.

15. “ ‘May his wish be speedily fulfilled! May he return quickly to my sight!’ So thinking, Gopā practised her Observance.

16. “As the days passed, the pious Yaśodharā, being in that condition which deranges the appetite, grew haggard and pale.

17. “She remained satisfied with her scanty diet, but gradually, due to the ascetic practice and the strain of pregnancy, her body and limbs wasted away as the child in her womb grew.

18. “[Although] she was oppressed by hunger and thirst, her breasts swelled, appearing as lovely as twin lotus-blossoms on each of which perches a black bee.

19. “As she gradually grew emaciated, even her radiant complexion dimmed, and Princess Yaśodharā became pale as burnished silver.

³⁸ See II.41 n.

³⁹ *bhartā mama jagadbhartā*: a play on words here, as *bhartr* (MW, s.v.) is both a general term for ‘supporter, lord, master’ and a word for ‘husband’.

20. "So it was that, pregnant and sick with the pain of separation, day by day that truth-speaking woman grew ever more oppressed by the burden of the child in her womb.

21. "Gautamī, [herelf] a mother afflicted by her son's absence, saw that Yaśodharā was pregnant, and experienced a degree of joy:

22. "'That ambrosia, a grandson's lotus-face, shall quell that fire of grief, the separation from my son, which blazes in my heart. How fitting!⁴⁰

23. "'Now that she is pregnant, Gopā will at long last bear a son for my husband, Śuddhodana, and his subjects, as well as for me.

24. "'He will dispel an enormous grief as well as preserve the family.' So she reasoned, and in her heart was a little joy.

25. "[Gautamī] served Yaśodharā with wholesome foods every day; as for King Śuddhodana, she told him the news.

26. "And when he heard about Gopā's happiness, he was overjoyed, declaring, 'Just as my son is strong and courageous, so will be his.

27-28b. "'Whatever good took place at my [son's] birth, may the same come to pass at the birth of this [grandson]! But let two things not be the same: [namely], the mother dying on the seventh day [after giving birth]⁴¹ and the son abandoning both kingdom and family for the life of an ascetic⁴².

⁴⁰ I.e., how fitting that, having lost Sarvārthasiddha to the religious life, Gautamī will gain a grandson, her husband an heir and, after his passing, the kingdom a new ruler of royal blood.

⁴¹ Although explanations vary, our sources concur that Queen Māyā died seven days after giving birth to the Bodhisattva: Mv i.199³⁻⁴ (tr. i.157), ii.3¹ (tr. ii.3); ŚBc 63; LV 77¹⁻² (tr. I 147); SBV i.51¹⁹⁻²¹; Bc II.18; BAKL XXIV.37cd; NK 492⁵⁻²⁹ (tr. 66). See also: A. Foucher, *La vie du Bouddha d'après les textes et les monuments de l'Inde* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1949), pp. 65-69; A. Bareau, "La jeunesse du Buddha dans les Sūtrapitaka et les Vinayapitaka anciens," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 61, 1974, pp. 208-209, 217. However, Bareau (*ibid.*, p. 250) notes that the early canonical accounts of the Bodhisattva's flight from Kapilavastu depict him leaving behind only his weeping mother and father. In two passages, Mv (ii.68²⁰⁻⁶⁹², 117¹⁸⁻¹¹⁸¹) itself preserves this tradition.

⁴² This is the Great Renunciation (*mahābhiniṣkramaṇa*): Mv ii.117¹⁵⁻¹¹⁸¹, 140²⁻¹⁶⁶¹⁴ (tr. ii.114, 134-161); ŚBc 129-140; SBV i.84-92; LV 163-196

28c-29. “ [This grandchild] is a great ocean for the fire of my grief, a medicinal herb for the illness of separation! [He is] a great rain-cloud for [this] withered bamboo!⁴³ May he be born at full term and without mishap, that he may quell the flames of grief and swell the stream of joy!

30-31. “ ‘When I imbibe the nectar that is his face, I shall be made to live happily, and after giving him the chowrie and the parasol, installing him upon the glorious lion-throne, and setting aside the kingdom in its entirety, I shall live as an ascetic in the forest,⁴⁴ while he shall swell that ocean, the Śākya lineage, with righteous men.

32. “ ‘He shall cleave to the life of a householder and inaugurate a dynasty. May this blessed lady in due course bear such a son, and without travail.

(tr. I 301-353); BAKL XXIV.145-181; Bc V.39-87; NK 60-65 (tr. 81-87). Bareau (“La jeunesse du Buddha, pp. 246-260) evaluates the early canonical sources.

⁴³ *śuṣkavaṃśa*° here also means ‘depleted lineage’, referring to the king being without an heir after Sarvārthasiddha adopts the life of a religious mendicant.

⁴⁴ Śuddhodana does indeed retire to a forest hermitage (as does the Bodhisattva in many *jātakas*), but not quite in the way he anticipates here. The final chapter, XXXVIII, begins with the Buddha announcing that it is time for him to move on. Śuddhodana implores his son to make Kapilavastu his permanent base. The Buddha explains he must expound Dharma everywhere, counsels the king to build and worship at a *caitya*, describes the soteriological benefits of so doing and gives some of his hair and fingernails to be deposited in the *caityagarbha* (1-85 [376b5-379b2]). Śuddhodana has one *caitya* built in the city and assists the Buddha at his great-grandson’s consecration (93-104 [Ce 379b5-380a3]). Finally, the Buddha, promising to visit again in the future, departs for Svayambhū in Nepal and Śuddhodana retires to the forest. There he builds a second *caitya* and passes his time worshipping and practising the Pāramitās (114-122 [380b1-7]). In Bc (XIX.41), Śuddhodana does not retire to the forest, but turns over the kingdom to his brother and lives in the palace as a ‘royal seer’. In NK (90¹⁸⁻²⁰, tr. 122), he remains king, does not go to the forest, and attains *arhatship* on his deathbed. We may also note the curious tradition recorded in the *Mahīśāsaka Vinaya* (T 1421: 185b; tr. Bareau, “Le retour du Buddha à Kapilavastu”, p. 44), where, at his first encounter with the Buddha after the latter’s return to Kapilavastu, Śuddhodana requests (and is refused) ordination.

33. " 'The blessed, dutiful Gopā is my very best daughter-in-law: when gives birth, this blindness, the grief of separation, my grandson's eyes will dispel.
34. " 'My other daughters-in-law, by comparison, fan the flames of grief: they cast spells with wealth, silken garments, ornaments and such; they are deceitful and bereft of good qualities.⁴⁵
35. " 'For women there are three virtues: hospitality to guests, fidelity to their husbands, and bearing sons⁴⁶. It is these on which a family depends. [And] although not one of these [is to be found] among my other daughters-in-law, Gopā possesses them [all].
36. " 'As was my joy at the birth of Sarvārthasiddha so, O Gautamī, is my joy now at hearing the news you have brought, [for] surely Yaśodharā will give birth to a son like him!
37. " 'Also, my omniscient son, when the dear boy was abandoning me, said, "A son like me will be born to your daughter-in-law; therefore, grieve not."

⁴⁵ Presumably these other 'daughters-in-law' (concubines, we would say) are the 84,000 women mentioned in I.12, the very ones whose distressing corporeality is the final inspiration for Sarvārthasiddha to leave home, as portrayed in the famous 'harem-scene' (e.g., Mv ii.1593-10; LV 168¹⁶-170¹⁵, tr. I 310-314; SBV i.81-82).

⁴⁶ Cf. the following verse from the Newar Buddhist Wedding Dialogue (Gellner, *Monk, Householder, Tantric Priest*, p. 230): 'Women have innumerable faults, but only three virtues: carrying on family life, bearing sons and accompanying their husbands at death' (*strīnām doṣasahasrāṇi trīṇi guṇāni eva ca / kulacārā sutotpatti maraṇe patinā saha /*). The parents of the bridegroom cite this verse to point out how important it is for a woman to marry. What appears to be the allusion to the practice of the widow joining her dead husband on the funeral pyre (*satī*) is so far as I know only a Hindu custom. Did Newar Buddhists at one time practise *satī*? Gellner does not comment. The Wedding Dialogue makes Siddhārtha's marriage to Yaśodharā the model to be emulated (*ibid.*, p. 229): "The following is said by the bride's side: 'In this world it is only humans who practise ten types of sacramental religious duty (*saṃskāra dharma*), from conception (*garbhā-dhāna* [sic]) up to marriage. A man cannot fulfil his sacramental religious duty without going through the Ten Sacraments. In accordance with this rule the prince Siddhārtha [the future Buddha] first married Yaśodharā and only then did he renounce the homely life and go forth to obtain complete enlightenment'."

38. “ ‘Soon then, we shall show [to the world] our grandson’s face, and he who [now] dwells in the womb will, as did his father, bestow great joy.

39-40. “ ‘Upon beholding her son’s moon-face, the fortunate Yaśodharā, Daṇḍapāṇi’s beloved daughter⁴⁷, who is endowed with the thirty-two marks,⁴⁸ devoted to her husband and to her ascetic practice, will dispel the darkness that is her grief.’ And having thus praised Gopā, Śuddhodana again spoke to Gautamī:

41. “ ‘My dear, you mustn’t grieve, for the birth of a grandson is imminent, a universal monarch who will care for us and maintain the lineage.

42. “ ‘Therefore abandon this grief and take care of Yaśodharā, [for] if you are sorrowful, Gopā will be tormented that much more by separation.

⁴⁷ In making Daṇḍapāṇi Rāhulamātṛ’s father, BKA here follows the tradition adopted by LV (110²¹, 111⁵, etc., tr. I 217 ff.) and SBV (i.621-2). In Mv (ii.487, 734 ff.), ŚBc (80) and the *Kuo ch’ü hsien tsai yin kuo ching* (T 189, tr. 435-443 C.E.; Péri, “Les femmes de Śākyamuni”, pp. 14-15), he is called Mahānāma(n). Another tradition identifies her father as Suprabuddha (Pāli: Suppabuddha): see *Hsiu hsing pên ch’i ching* (T 184, tr. 197 C.E.; Péri, pp. 11-13) and Dhpa iii.44-45, tr. ii.291-292. The Pāli tradition identifies Daṇḍapāṇi as the Buddha’s maternal uncle (DPPN).

⁴⁸ *dvātriṃśallakṣaṇa*. Attributed to Yaśodharā also at II.106; III.55, 125; IV.171, 272, 413, 465. I am in some perplexity about this term. It appears that our author, in his efforts to depict Yaśodharā as a consort worthy of the Buddha, has decided to attribute to her the feminine equivalent of the ‘thirty-two marks of a great man’ (*dvātriṃśan mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇāṇi*). These ‘marks’ are the distinguishing physical characteristics of one destined to become a ruler (*cakravartin*) or saviour (*buddha*) of the world, on which see Mv i.226¹⁴-227³, tr. i.180-182; ii.291⁷-306, tr. ii.25-26; LV 81¹⁶-82⁶, tr. I 155-156; LV 354⁹-356¹⁸, tr. II 647-653 (includes karmic basis for each); SBV i.492³-511⁷; ŚBc 54-55; DN iii.142-146, tr. 441-442 (followed by karmic explanations); Mppś tr. 271-281 (scholastic disquisition). Tibetan sources attribute possession of the ‘thirty-two marks’ to the 12th-century female Tantric teacher, Siddharājñī (Miranda Shaw, *Passionate Enlightenment: Women in Tantric Buddhism*, Princeton: The University Press, 1994, p. 119). Cf. the quite different ‘thirty-two good qualities’ (*dvātriṃśad guṇāḥ*) which, according to LV (182¹-192, tr. I 42-43) and ŚBc (32), are required of the Bodhisattva’s mother.

43. " 'She may become unable to sustain life, due to her fasting: therefore be happy yourself that you may encourage her to be happy.
44. " 'Dissuade her from her grief, from her ascetic observance, and from her unwholesome diet. How can a pregnant woman endure such an observance?
45. " 'Hence, my dear, she is at all times to be nourished with the finest wholesome foods.' After this conversation with Gautamī, the king was very pleased.
46. " 'Whatever meals or other foods she wishes to eat, she is to be given; if she is embarrassed and will not speak, you must correctly divine [what she wants].'⁴⁹
- 47-48b. " '[Gopā is] sick with grief at being separated from her husband. On no account treat her disrespectfully.' Heeding her husband's words, Gautamī cared for the pregnant Gopā with wholesome foods as she wished.
- 48c-49. " 'On one occasion Gautamī said to her, gaunt and suffering due to her ascetic observances: 'Gopā, you are constantly oppressed by the burden of your unborn child; you have become pale, emaciated and weak from lack of food;
50. " 'How, then, can you continue your Observance, pious lady? Because of it, and your diet of [roots and] fruits, you are wasting away, my daughter.
51. " 'Therefore, while you are pregnant, live in the confinement pavilion,⁵⁰ meditate constantly on the Triple Gem and occupy yourself with nurturing your unborn child.
52. " 'Give up [roots and] fruits and the rest of it! Apply scented oils [and cosmetics]! Enjoy hearty, nourishing foods! Beautify yourself!

⁴⁹ *tathā samyag vicāraya*. Following ED, s.v. *vicārayati*.

⁵⁰ *māḍapavāsikā*. Cf. Pāli *māla*, *māla*, *māḍa*, *maṇḍapa* (PED, s.vv.); Skt. *maṇḍapa*, *maṇṭapa* (MW, s.vv.); BHS *māḍa*, *maṇḍalamāḍa*, *maṇḍalamāla*, *maṇḍalavāṭa* (ED, s.vv.). All these terms denote some kind of pavilion, hall, building or marked-out space, often used for ecclesiastical ceremonies or as a place where people assemble to celebrate festivals or attend spectacles. In the present context, *māḍapa* appears to be equivalent to *sūtikāgrha* or *sūtikāgāra*, 'lying-in chamber', a special room or building set aside for women about to give birth.

53. “ ‘Why behave as if you were a widow? Your husband is alive, Yaśodharā. Abandon your grief, then, and from now on eat whatever you like.

54. “ ‘Conduct yourself in such a way that the baby will be protected! [Indeed], although delighted, your father-in-law, who is very fond of you, says:

55. “ ‘ ‘My daughter-in-law Yaśodharā is to be nourished with whatever wholesome foods she desires, for she will bear a jewel of a son who will illuminate our benighted family.’

56. “ ‘Therefore, do not worry – describe your favourite food.’ On hearing these words of her mother-in-law, Yaśodharā replied to her.

57. “ ‘Sighing deeply, tears in her eyes, voice tremulous, the devout woman [said] faintly, ‘How can I forsake my Observance, Mother? How can I eat what I please?

58. “ ‘Will my father-in-law force me to suffer a sorrow more terrible than grief? A miserable, ill-fated woman am I, who have heaped up sins in previous births.

59. “ ‘Pregnant and deserted by my husband – what [further] suffering must I endure? In any case, where can I go, bound [as I am] by the cord of my deeds?’⁵¹

60. “ ‘You alone are my refuge, Mother, my only chance. You are my last resort! What can I eat, Mother? I have no desire for ‘wholesome’ food.

61. “ ‘Only through [religious] observances and a diet of roots and fruits [and the like] is my happiness promoted: when I have attained my heart’s desire,⁵² then will I ask for wholesome food.’

62. “ ‘Having thus edified her, Gopā continued her Observance just as before. Again Gautamī spoke to her: ‘What! You are still practising asceticism!

63. “ ‘[You] disregard the sacred duty to protect your unborn child as well as the instructions of your mother and father: overwhelmed by grief, you are wilful and without regard for your own self!

⁵¹ *karmasūtreṇa bandhitā*. A formulaic expression, which Yaśodharā regularly repeats, affirming that evil or unwholesome actions ineluctably produce like results. A major theme in the *avadāna* literature.

⁵² To be reunited with her husband.

64. " 'And from this grief and this Observance, what great felicity will you gain? Is your husband any more likely to return with his heart's desire unfulfilled?

65. " 'Your body is certainly wasting away; therefore renounce both grief and asceticism. Forget old sorrows by remembering the child in your womb.

66. " 'So that [in future] he can care for you, his mother, now you must care for him. And forget about your husband, who has caused [you] such grief and suffering.

67. " 'Even were you not pregnant, everyone would be grieving [at how you care carrying on]. What is unbearable for us, dearest Gopā, is your interminable suffering.

68. " 'Remember the child in your womb and forget all [else] – out of hope. For hope is the greatest thing in the world: it embraces all creatures.

69. " 'Honouring hope as their goddess, those who come and go [in Samsāra] will travel on [to new rebirths]. Therefore, honour Hope! Forego grief, out of hope for your child's happiness.

70. " 'Enjoy the foods for which you long; fully nourish your bodily strength. How, if you are *ill*-nourished, can the child in your womb be *well*-nourished?

71. " '[And] without such foods, how can your body be well-nourished? Therefore, [I ask], what do you wish to eat? Tell me now.

72-73. " 'Even if difficult to obtain in the three worlds, your father-in-law will supply [it].' Questioned repeatedly in this way by Gautamī, Yaśodharā, sighing deeply and with tears in her eyes, recalled her husband's words.⁵³ Faintly, the virtuous, grieving woman, her voice trembling, replied to her mother-in-law:

74. " 'How can I abandon my Observance, Mother? How can I eat what I please? A miserable, ill-fated woman am I, who have heaped up sins in previous births.

⁵³ Cf. II.90, 124, 144, 154. This refers to Sarvārthasiddha's prediction, revealed later in this chapter (II.185-186), that Yaśodharā will endure terrible suffering by fire and other causes, that the king will treat her most cruelly and that her pregnancy will extend over six years.

75. “ ‘With child and abandoned by my husband – what else must I endure? In any case, where can I go, bound [as I am] by the cord of my deeds?

76. “ ‘You alone are my refuge, Mother, my only chance; you are my last resort. Were I to eat as I wished, afterwards I would suffer for it.

77. “ ‘For this reason my mind is not on eating; ⁵⁴for me, to be made to eat is only suffering. When I did enjoy fine foods, my karma produced only suffering.

78. “ ‘Even were I to eat fine food, what [of its] essence would I retain?’⁵⁵ Even if my father-in-law forced me to eat, [it would be] the ill-omened food of suffering.

79. “ ‘Would he have [a woman] eat fine food who is fit only for the food of suffering? I long for every kind of food, but the suffering [would be] unbearable.

80. “ ‘Every food I have desired [I have received] from the divine tree of your favour, but I entreat you – if I am [truly] your beloved daughter-in-law –

81. “ ‘If ever I am induced by someone to eat that by which I am attracted, then you, remembering this request of mine, must restrain me.’

82. “So Yaśodharā spoke, full of anxiety over the suffering to come. Listening to this, Gautamī’s heart was sorely troubled.

83. “After listening with divided feelings and with increasing astonishment, she replied to Gopā:

84. “ ‘Why, oh why, do you speak this way, Gopā? You are ill with that poison, separation from your husband, and are enraged at his cruelty. Are you a young woman, beautiful in your expectant motherhood, or a madwoman thus deranged by love’s passion?

85. “ ‘Your father-in-law, who is a king and a father, is in his compassion for you the very picture of devotion: every day he dedicates himself to caring for you. The fine foods for which you long he has

⁵⁴ *bhojyāyā duḥkham eva me* II.77b. A curious construction. No emendation, or any other likely meaning, occurs to me.

⁵⁵ I.e., grief over the past and anxiety about the future have impaired her digestion.

offered and intends to provide, rare in the three worlds though they may be.

86. " 'How can a daughter-in-law act so perversely toward such a fine father-in-law? Nevertheless, at the tears in your eyes my heart is sorely troubled.

87. " 'Tell me, dear foolish girl, tell me, where is this 'food of suffering' of yours? Banish this fear from your heart. Take courage! Regain your health! My heart is [both] fearful, overwhelmed by your hurtful speech, and joyful, knowing that a son has entered your womb.

88. " 'Therefore, abandon your fear and your perverse attitude as well, then quickly explain everything about the sole source for this 'food of suffering'.

89. "After hearing her out, Yaśodharā replied to Gautamī: 'I am neither perverse, Mother, nor to be found fault with by the king.

90. " 'However, since listening to my husband's words,⁵⁶ I declare that suffering arises from [one's] actions. What [more] can I say now? I am suffering as a result of my own actions!'

91. "So saying, sick with grief, she cried out, 'Ah, husband! Woe is me, a sinful woman! What [further] misery must I endure?', and fainted.

92. "Seeing her prostrate on the ground, paralyzed by that poison, separation, the astonished Gautamī quickly raised Yaśodharā from the ground.

93. "Looking closely at Gopā's companions, she said, smiling, 'Now what sort of daughter-in-law is this? Even to one who speaks sincerely she is evasive!

94. " 'Is she bereaved and love-sick? Or ashamed? Or furious? Now what am I to do? Certainly I will say no more to her!

95. " 'I am casting [Yaśodharā] into an inferno of grief, to which my words add fuel. And what can I say to a woman in her plight? For she will grieve even more!

⁵⁶ See II.73 n.

96. “ ‘If I am moved to speak again as I have, she will think of him anew. Although [for now] she has forgotten [him], she will surely once again fall into grief’s inferno.

97. “ ‘[And] while her speech is perverse, [it comes] from a heart overwhelmed by the pain of separation. How shall I diplomatically explain this to the king?

98. “ ‘ “How can one be rid of the trickery of lovely, beguiling women?” Reviling us in this way, the king will blame and ridicule [us]. You must all keep this a secret, [if] you do not wish to be ridiculed.’

99. “And having thus advised Yaśodharā’s companions, Gautamī, her heart divided between anger and compassion, set out for home, [saying to Gopā],

100. “ ‘Yaśodharā, dear daughter-in-law, you must do always just as you like. Henceforth I shall not be induced to speak. Eat whatever you wish.’

101. “After this declaration, the angry Gautamī remained in her own apartments in the company of her attendants, thinking about Yaśodharā and smiling ruefully.

102. “[As for] Gopā, she composed herself, put Gautamī’s words out of mind, and, pregnant, miserable and in pain, continued to practise the supreme Observance.

103. “After listening to what had been said, Yaśodharā’s servants, her companions, filled with anxiety and grief, spoke among themselves:

104. “ ‘Now Gopā, who is free from faults and defilements, has been angered. Afflicted by separation [from her husband], no longer trusted – how can the good woman dispel her fears?

105. “ ‘Why did she speak thus to Gautamī and then faint? Is she deranged or simply bereaved, afflicted by separation?

106. “ ‘Could even she, whose husband is the Glorious Lord, speak falsely? [And] how could she be mad, a lovely young woman who is endowed with the thirty-two marks?⁵⁷

⁵⁷ See II.39-40 n.

107. " 'Or perhaps [now] she will understand suffering, she whose husband dispels all suffering. Truly she is ill with the poison of separation, for she says so herself.'

108. " 'We should question her, for we are her beloved servants.' So saying, they all assembled, and entreated her at length:

109. " 'Your Ladyship! You must forgive the transgressions of all, Yaśodharā. Heed this one request! Be not angry, fair lady. We are all of us your trustworthy servants, good Gopikā.

110. " ' "An afflicted and suffering woman [am I]." So you repeatedly declare. [But] we know not your meaning. Do now explain this one thing.

111. " 'That we are your ladyship's servants is due to virtuous deeds performed in previous births: we have acquired material benefits rare for others; most fortunate and truly happy are we.

112. " 'That we are fortunate in our fine clothes and ornaments is due to knowing your kindness – you to whom, through our service, we all bring comfort.

113. " 'How is it, then, your ladyship, that you are suffering? Why do you speak [so] sorrowfully? Is it grief or pregnancy, that, in your bereavement, makes you speak [so]?

114. " 'Be gracious, O queen! Do not grieve. Guard your health. [For] although all share in this joy, it is you who must nurture it.

115. " 'On learning that you were pregnant, king and subjects rejoiced as one, thinking, "There *will* be an heir to the throne!"

116. " 'Since you will give birth to that creator of joy, the crown prince, how can you grieve? Therefore enjoy your comforts!

117. " 'If you are not enjoying yourself, how can we enjoy ourselves? Therefore take pity on us – do not practise your widow's observance.

118. " 'In any case, you are certainly not bereft of a husband. How, then, can you behave in such an inauspicious manner? For you are by no means the only royal lady whose husband travelled abroad.

119. " 'And how many princesses whose husbands are abroad have freed themselves from grief and increased their bodily strength by undertaking a vow of asceticism in their lord's name? In this con-

nection, think about them, [and] cease cultivating wretchedness and misery!

120. "After listening to this speech, the compassionate Yaśodharā, her heart wavering, replied to her ladies-in-waiting, despite her grief, with a smile:

121. " 'Dear friends! Grieve not on my behalf, blessed ladies. Such words [as yours] ought never to be spoken⁵⁸.

122. " 'It is due to your own karma that you enjoy such comfort [as you do]. For so long as life endures, may you enjoy every happiness! May you never end up, as I have, miserable and pregnant.

123. " 'What can I tell you of my own suffering? Certainly an ill-fated, miserable woman am I, suffering for my sins.

124. " 'It was in once again recalling my husband's words⁵⁹ that I fainted: not from grief, nor due to a pregnancy-craving, nor from anger do I speak as I do.

125. " 'But, [since] I must inevitably partake of the unbearable food of suffering, in order that I may endure, I have been inuring myself to it.

126. " 'Were I to enjoy comfort and happiness now, how could I endure the suffering to come? To that end do I scorch myself with painful asceticism – in order to withstand the consuming fire of the pain [to come].⁶⁰

127. " 'In order to endure the ascesis of starvation, I devote myself to the ascesis of a scanty diet; thus I suffer [both] on account of my pregnancy and due to the culpability of my own [previous] actions.

128. " 'Why do I speak? Surely it is obvious to you [all]. When one can see with one's own eyes, what need is there to listen? Nevertheless, you must not grieve. Take courage! Stand firm!

129. " 'It is my past actions which cause me to suffer. May your virtuous deeds ever bring you happiness!

⁵⁸ For stylistic reasons I have not translated *subhāgyikāḥ* in 121d.

⁵⁹ See II.73 n.

⁶⁰ Albeit banal, this imagery foreshadows Sarvāthasiddha's prediction, at II.185, of the events of Ch. VI, 'Gopā is Cast into the Fire' (*Gopāgnipātana*): see Tatelman, "The Trials of Yaśodharā and the Birth of Rāhula".

130. " 'Therefore, enjoy good food, wear fine clothes and jewellery, adorn your limbs, but [also] cultivate the lotus of righteousness.'

131. "After listening to what Yaśodharā had said, her companions, astonished, wondered: 'Has she gone mad? In her grief she speaks as if in a dream!

132. " 'Is she lying? Or afflicted with the illness of separation, or besmeared with the poison of grief? Or has she spoken the truth?'

133. "So thinking, none of Gopā's retinue were able to respond, but could only stare in silence at her lotus-face.

134. "As before, Gopā continued to practise her observance every day. She extracted grief's dart from her heart by offering herself the following counsel:⁶¹

135. " 'Ought I to reflect upon the great suffering [to come]? Yet what can be destroyed merely by thinking about it? O mind! Since dwelling upon it only intensifies it, not think about it!

136. " 'For who can thwart what will inevitably come about due to karma? It is inevitable that living beings experience the consequences of their own actions.

137. " 'Therefore what use is despair? Take courage! Worship the Three Jewels,⁶² through the power of which you will assuredly be freed from suffering and attain final emancipation.⁶³

138. " 'Furthermore, when liberation is attained, how will such suffering exist? Therefore, be not unsteady, O mind, be ever composed and at ease.

139. "For when you were scorched with grief, your subjects, the five senses, repeatedly burnt by the flames of unconsciousness, became lifeless.

⁶¹ *manahprabodham kṛtveti*, 'having advised her mind thus'. II.135-141 represents internal monologue by having Yaśodharā address her mind (*man-aṣ*) as if it were another person.

⁶² In mainstream sources *triratna* or *ratnatraya* refers to the Buddha, the Truth or Doctrine he expounded (Dharma) and the religious Order he founded (Saṅgha). In BKA I-IX it refers equally to the deities of the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha *maṇḍalas*: see Tatelman, *Trials*, pt. II, pp. xxxi-xxxii.

⁶³ *apavarga*, 'release'; a synonym for *mokṣa*, 'liberation' (from *samsāra*, the cycle of birth-and-death) as at II.138, 141. So also LV 208¹², tr. II 381, although there the context is non-Buddhist.

140. “ ‘You must maintain composure: then while the five sense-faculties [continue to] see, hear, smell, taste [and register tactile impressions and while the body continues to move, they will become] your [obedient] servants.’⁶⁴

141. “ ‘Let them at all times worship the Three Jewels and seek the True Dharma. First and foremost, then, concentrate upon the Three Jewels, not on painful circumstances, and in doing so you will be led to liberation, O anxious one.’

142. “With her mind thus clarified, Gopā kept secret what had happened, for the sake of her maidservants, acting as if free from grief.

143. “Then, some days later, in the middle of the night, Yaśodharā rose from bed, sobbing quietly.

144. “Recalling her husband’s words,⁶⁵ tormented by unbearable pangs, she rested her cheek in one hand, while slapping herself repeatedly with the other.

145. “Alone on her bed of earth she wept quietly; then, reproachfully, with poignant words she addressed her [absent] husband:

146. “ ‘Pitiless man! Having abandoned me, where will you go, O Lord of the World? Remember me in my misery and return, O Mighty One!

147. “ ‘The son sprung from your seed – who will protect him? Remember the child in my womb, and return, you whose [very] essence is compassion!

148. “ ‘Your words, [which were] so painful to hear, again make my heart contract. Over and over again I question how they could be either true or false.

149. “ ‘How can the words of the best of truth-speakers be false? [Yet] if they are true, how can I endure such unendurable suffering [as they foretell]?

⁶⁴ The Sanskrit here is not so much elliptical as poorly constructed: the main point is that Yaśodharā, fearing the worst, is trying to calm herself, in accordance with the pan-Indian view that the agitated mind is at the mercy of sense-impressions (i.e., experiences), whereas the mind calmed by meditation is their master.

⁶⁵ See II.73 n.

150. " 'Best of all-knowing ones! Knowing me to be such a sinful woman, why place in me the seed [born of] your gaze,⁶⁶ so difficult to bear?

151. " 'Why do you abandon me, showing all the signs of pregnancy, and wander in the forest? As long as I am with child am I not to be made to dwell in your house?

152. " 'If I was to be abandoned, why did you not abandon me before? Why did you make love to me? And now, unsightly am I, sallow of skin and gaunt of limb.

153. " 'Thinking, "She is unlovely, her body is without [beauty]!", you went away, pitiless man⁶⁷. O Protector, guardian of all though you may be, to me alone you bring sorrow!

154. " 'When, as you predicted⁶⁸, I do experience truly unendurable suffering, then it will be for your sake⁶⁹ that my son and I will go to Yama's realm.

155. " 'Even there, will I [not] suffer torments generated by my past actions? Even there will you not grant [me] protection, you who extricate men from the infernal regions?

156. " 'Since he in no way protects me in this world, how will he do so in the next? Ah! Wretched is life in this cycle of birth-and-death! I have no one at all to protect me!

157. "Yaśodharā continued to lament in this way and to reflect on her unbearable suffering. 'How can I endure the unendurable?', she thought, and collapsed on the ground in a swoon.

⁶⁶ *dr̥ṣṭibīja*. Later (II.181-183), Gopā reveals that her child was not conceived through sexual intercourse.

⁶⁷ In the first chapter of the *Wei-ts'eng-yu yin-yüan ching* (T 754; Péri, "Les femmes de Śākyamuni", p. 21), when Maudgalyāyana solicits Yaśodharā's support for Rāhula's ordination, she positively reviles the Buddha, declaring, among other things, that he abandoned her less than three years after marrying her, that in order to marry him, she had rejected offers from eight different princes and that had he known he would leave her, he should not have married her at all.

⁶⁸ See II.73 n.

⁶⁹ *bhavannāmnā*, lit., 'in your name'.

158. "Now her friend, who was called Manodharā,⁷⁰ seeing that Gopā had collapsed on the ground, embraced her, raised her to her feet, and respectfully said:

159. " 'My lady! You lost self-control and fainted! What were you thinking? Why do you weep, Gopā, you, a courageous and venerable⁷¹ lady?

160. " 'What troubles you, whose servant one such as I am so fortunate to be? How did it happen? From what cause did it arise?

161. " 'Do not weep, my lady, do not grieve; compose yourself. [For] when you grieve, Gopā, how can we, [your servants], maintain our composure?

162. " 'How can she who dispels the suffering of others [herself] be suffering, she due to whose compassion we have all uprooted the tree of sorrow?

163. " 'Those whose vital powers are well-nourished, by partaking of the fruit of the tree of happiness, are thereby invigorated. Why be emaciated?

164. " 'Therefore look upon my face and dwell not on your husband, author of your sorrow! Even now no one treats you dishonourably⁷², O you whose husband is alive.

⁷⁰ 'Manodharā', 'mind-bearer', I am inclined to gloss as 'guardian of the mind' or 'whose mind is controlled', and to regard her as a personification of the Buddhist virtue of 'mindfulness' or 'calm awareness' (*smṛti*). In a sense, Manodharā is a hypostasis of Yaśodharā's potential for such 'awareness'. It is as if the *manas* to whom she has addressed herself above (II.135-141) has responded to her pleas and in order better to assist her, has assumed independent, human form. See II.159-173. As to Manodharā's origins, according to ŚBc (101), the second of Sarvārthasiddha's three wives was called Manodharā and according to Péri ("Les femmes de Śākyamuni", p. 17), Jñānagupta, the Gandhāran translator of T 190, comments: "Regarding the princess Manodharā, the Masters state that only her name is known and nothing of her life or previous births." It would seem that our author was acquainted with some variant of this tradition.

⁷¹ *garīyasī*, 'venerable, proud', can also mean 'pregnant'.

⁷² Manodharā's assurance takes on quite a different tone in light of Devadatta's perfidious activities which commence in Ch. III and which do not entirely exhaust themselves until Ch. XXXVI.

165. " 'As for your parents-in-law, they esteem [you] as highly as could be wished. Therefore, so long as your husband has not returned, take refuge in them.

166. " 'When he has fulfilled his heart's desire, he will certainly return. Then we will [all] imbibe the nectar of the Dharma and attain the bliss of Nirvāṇa.

167. " 'And when that bliss is attained, such separation [you now endure] will be no more. Therefore, that you may imbibe the True Dharma, you must at all times care for your body;

168. " '[That] in which reside the mind and the five other senses, through the power of which, one hears and imbibes Dharma and beholds the Tathāgata.

169. " 'Therefore abandon your misery and grief: preserve that pond, the body, lest it dry up in grief's torrid summer.

170. " 'In that pond bloom those lotuses, the senses. Let it be swelled with the waters of joy, for where, in a dried-up pond, [will] lotuses [grow]?

171. " 'Without those lotuses, how can the True Dharma be attained? And without that messenger, the True Dharma, how can one reach the City of Liberation?

172-173. " 'In the absence of Liberation [you] will continue [to endure] such suffering as arises from separation. Therefore, in order to destroy the suffering which arises from separation and every other cause, and to attain perfect felicity, maintain your composure and guard your health, O princess, in hope of that. I am called Manodharā – 'she whose mind is controlled' – heed my words and be so too.'

174. "After imparting this instruction, Manodharā spoke again: 'If I respectfully say more to you, be not distressed.

175. " 'Why, Gopā, are you constantly saying, 'Sorrow upon sorrow do I suffer!''? Although we⁷³ have often asked, you say nothing of its cause. What did your husband say to you, which, in recollecting, you faint repeatedly?

⁷³ Manodharā and Yaśodharā's other attendants.

176. “ ‘To me, the trustworthy Manodharā, you, who are an intelligent woman, should explain this, Yaśodharā, even if it is all to be kept secret.’ ”

177. “Questioned in this way, Gopā revealed even what had to be carefully concealed: ‘Listen, Manodharā, to the reason [for my sorrow]. Even what must remain a closely-guarded secret, I shall tell you.’ ”

178. “ ‘More than very dear to me are you who are called Manodharā, ‘she of controlled mind’; hence the medicine of your words allays the fever of my grief. [You], who bear a truly meaningful name, have restored composure to my mind.’ ”

179. “Having thus composed herself, Gopā said to Manodharā: “What is a truly miserable [woman] to say? Listen, then, Manodharā...”

180. “ ‘By dwelling upon that which, on the one hand, should be concealed, and on the other, revealed, I have repeatedly fallen, dear friend, into the fiery abyss of unconsciousness.’ ”

181. “ ‘On only one night did my lord choose to embrace me: with unblinking gaze he feasted his eyes upon me.’⁷⁴ ”

182. “ ‘On that very night, in that way, I conceived. How [could that have happened], dear friend, as the result of a moment’s passionate glance?’ ”

183. “ ‘By what path could the seed have entered my womb? How? Without seed, how can a sprout be produced? This is my perplexity!’ ”

⁷⁴ II.181-183 (cf. II.192-193) make it clear that Yaśodharā becomes pregnant through ‘visual sex’ (*dr̥ṣṭibhogya*): Sarvārthasiddha stares at her and she conceives. At BKA IX.9c (Ce 73a7), the narrator calls Rāhula Yaśodharā’s ‘mind-made son’ (*cintāmayasuta*). Cf. Gv 262¹⁹⁻²⁰, tr. 1362, which describes the Buddha’s mother Māyā as having ‘taken the spontaneously-born prince in her lap’ (*yayā sa upapādukaḥ kumāra utsaṅge pratigr̥hītaḥ*). This ‘visual intercourse’ is exactly that practised by the deities residing in the Tuṣita heaven (L.-K. Lin, *L’aide-mémoire de la vraie loi [Saddharma-Smṛtyupasthāna-Sūtra]*, Paris 1949, p. 55), the very *deva*-realm from which both the Buddha (Mv i.41¹⁻², ii.11¹⁻²; LV 7¹, 11²; SBV i.363³⁻⁶, 416⁷; NK 472¹, 481⁸) and Rāhula (Mv i.153¹⁴⁻¹⁵, ii.159¹) take their final rebirth. Manodharā (II.216-223) classifies this mode of conception as *upapāduka*, ‘spontaneously-generated’.

184. "Then my lord said to me, "Listen, Gopā, and be not distressed: [now] that you are with child, maintain the Upoṣadha Observance.⁷⁵

185. " "You will endure unbearable suffering arising from the action of raging fire and other causes.⁷⁶ Due to past actions the consequences of which you have not yet experienced⁷⁷, for six years you will carry this child in your womb.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ *kuru vratam upoṣadham*. See note on *poṣadha vrata*, II.5b

⁷⁶ See IV.217 ff. and Tatelman, *Trials*, pt. II, pp. xlviii-lii.

⁷⁷ *pūrvakarmāvaseṣeṇa*, 'because of the remains of previous karma'.

⁷⁸ Many sources narrate Yaśodharā's six-year pregnancy. In BKA (IV.203-212), the prolonged gestation enables Devadatta to convince the king that Yaśodharā is an adultress and to induce him to cede control of the kingdom for 21 days, which in turn permits him to launch a campaign to murder Yaśodharā. Mv (iii.172⁵⁻⁷, tr. iii.167) mentions the six-year pregnancy, but offers no details. At ŚBc 348 (cf. 360), the Buddha explains that in previous births Yaśodharā experienced so much sorrow on his account that she carried Rāhula in her womb for six years, until the joy of learning of his Buddhahood enabled her bring forth her son. SBV (i.106¹⁴ ff., ii.30²⁴ ff.) offers a 'naturalistic' explanation: Yaśodharā's emulation of her husband's asceticism retards the growth of the foetus. When she learns through Śuddhodana's messengers that Siddhārtha has given up self-mortification, she resumes a normal diet and the foetus develops normally. She gives birth on the same night her husband attains Awakening. The six-year pregnancy also features in the *Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya* (T 1425: 365c), T 185 (Péri, "Les femmes de Śākyamuni", p. 14), T 189 (Péri, p. 15) and T 191 (Péri, p. 20). Numerous sources include variants of the "Story of Candra and Sūrya", which explains Rāhula's six year gestation: BKA XXVII.32-189 (Ce 220a4-225b2); Mv iii.172-175, tr. iii.167-170; ŚBc 360-363; SBV ii.43²-44¹⁶; BAKL LXXXIII.9-29; Mppś tr. II 1005-1006. Fewer tell the story of the two milkmaids, which explains the misdeed which led to Yaśodharā carrying her child for six years: BKA XXVII.1-31 (Ce 219a3-220a4); ŚBc 363 (T 190: 908a); SBV ii.42⁵⁻²⁹; BAKL LXXXIII.30-35; *Ṣaṭpāramitāsamgraha* (tr. E. Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes et apologues extraits du Tripiṭaka chinois*, 4 vols., Paris 1910-35, I 197-201). Additional references, Mppś II 1006 n. 1; discussion, É. Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1988), pp. 662-665. Cf. Sīvali Thera (AA i.136 ff.; Ap ii.492-495 [esp. vv. 26-31]; Jā i.407-408; Dhpa iv.192-194, tr. iii.307-308) and Sthavira (Avś ii.133-146, tr. 374-381; *Kalpadrūmāvadānamālā* [summary, Avś tr. 381-383]), whose gestations lasted for seven and seventy years respectively. Sīvali's misdeed in a previous birth was blockading a city for seven days; Sthavira's was injuring a respectable monk.

186. “ “As for him, he will remain in your womb [for that long] as a result of deeds he himself committed [in previous births]. After his birth, my father, the king, will cause you great suffering.”⁷⁹

187. “ “Nevertheless, take courage, joyfully meditate on the Three Jewels, devotedly serve your mother- and father-in-law, and guard your health.

188-189. “ “In order to extricate the world [from suffering], I am departing to practise asceticism in the forest⁸⁰: for six years I will perform the most painful austerities; then, sheltering under the Tree of Awakening by [the River] Nairāñjanā, I will attain Awake-ing, and [finally], I will return. Do not grieve on my account, since for neither of us can it be otherwise.”

190. “ “So saying, the lord of the world tied [around my neck]⁸¹ this protective thread⁸² and imparted [to me] the protective formula called ‘All-Encompassing Fire-Garland’.⁸³

⁷⁹ In earlier sources, it is indeed Śuddhodana and/or the Śākyas collectively who seek to punish Yaśodharā for adultery: Mv iii.153¹⁻⁵, SBV i.120¹⁰⁻²¹, ii.31¹⁻¹⁵, ŚBc (T 190: 888c: not in Beal), *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* (T 203: 496c-497a; tr. C. Willemen, *Storehouse of Sundry Valuables*, Berkeley, 1993, pp. 242-243). In BKA, Śuddhodana is duped by Devadatta (IV.75-212): when he learns of the enormities the latter has committed in his name, only Yaśodharā’s pleas prevent him from putting Devadatta to death (VIII.10-84 [Ce 69b1-71b7]).

⁸⁰ In LV (189¹¹, tr. I 343), Gopā acknowledges that Sarvārthasiddha had told her he would leave (*aho subhāṣṭam mama puri nāyakenā*). I have not identified a passage where he explicitly does so, but the way in which he interprets her dreams (157¹¹⁻¹⁶¹⁶, tr. I 293-296) leaves little room for doubt. In SBV (i.82-83), by contrast, the Bodhisattva seeks to reassure Yaśodharā by offering patently unconvincing interpretations of her obviously prescient dreams. Clearly realising that he is about to leave, she implores him to take her wherever he may go. Thinking that Nirvāṇa is his ultimate ‘destination’, he promises to do so (see Strong, “A Family Quest”, pp. 115-116).

⁸¹ So V.162.

⁸² “Sometimes, five coloured threads (*pañcarañjikasūtrāṇi*) represented the five protectresses” (D.C. Bhattacharya, “The Five Protective Goddesses of Buddhism”, ed. P. Pal, *Aspects of Indian Art*, Leiden, 1972, p. 86). At XXVI.212 (Ce 215a5-6), in recounting past events to her son Rāhula, Yaśodharā identifies the *raṁṣā* as that of the protective goddess [Mahā]pratisarā. Additional discussion, Tatelman, *Trials*, pt. II, pp. xxxi-xxxii, xlviii-xlix.

⁸³ *samantajvālamālākyā dhāraṇī*. Later, at Lumbinī, her husband’s birth-

191. " 'Then, leaving me and my child without a protector, he went off into the forest. My friend, it is on recalling his words that I have repeatedly fainted.

192. " 'Ah! How did I, [already] ill-fated, my youth wasted, become pregnant by a single moment's passionate glance?

193. " 'What use was that single, unbearable act of visual love-making to me, [greatest] fool among ill-fated women, unable even to attain my highest goal?

194. " 'Merely because of that single encounter, for six years I must carry this child! Ah, my friend! How will I endure such prolonged suffering?

195. " 'On this Plane of Desire, what woman does not make love with her husband? Among all women, was the plight of any [ever] so wretched as mine?

196. " 'Women who are pregnant for ten months⁸⁴ experience discomfort, dear friend. But pregnant for six years, what torments will I endure?

197. " 'O Manodharā, how can I, sick with grief over separation from my husband, endure any one of the torments, such as burning by fire, [foretold for me]?

198. " '[Yet] could my all-knowing husband speak falsely; he, supreme lord among speakers, who always expounds Truth?⁸⁵

place, when Devadatta does force Yaśodharā to mount the pyre, it is Yaśodharā's *prañidhāna-satyavākya* (VI.97-112 [Ce 58b6-59b6]) and the foetal Rāhula's elaborate prayer to the goddess Pratisarā (113-136 [59a7-60b3]) which transform the flames into cool water (137-143 [60b3-7]). No *dhāraṇī* is mentioned. Cf. *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* (T 203: 497a-b), tr. Willemen, *Storehouse of Sundry Valuables*, pp. 243-244: here the event occurs after Rāhula's birth and after Yaśodharā is consigned to the flames by the unanimous decision of Śuddhodana and all the Śākya. Much as in BKA, Yaśodharā's Act of Truth transforms the flaming pyre into a refreshing lotus-pond; she also explicitly invokes the Buddha.

⁸⁴ Ten months according to the lunar calendar.

⁸⁵ *advayavādin* (ED, s.v.), 'preaching non-duality'. This term appears, at Divy 95¹³, in a long list of epithets applied to Buddhas. At MJM I.42b, it is applied to Upagupta. Cf. Vedic *advayāvin* (MW), 'free from double-dealing or duplicity'.

199. " 'Or can it be that the wife and son of a man who protects all who wander in Saṃsāra's six realms must endure [such] suffering?

200. " 'With my mind thus in doubt⁸⁶, I became as a madwoman: both joyously and grieving, steadfast and unflagging, I have observed my vow.

201. " 'Nevertheless, I speak [of this] to no one, but you are certainly trustworthy, well-known as, and for being, Manodharā, 'She Whose Mind is Firm'.

202. " 'You, too, must keep this secret, [yet] what use to speak about it? Even after hearing [of my plight], who would feel pity and protect me, who am without a protector?' After listening to Gopā, Manodharā, smiling, said to her:

203. " 'Be steadfast and calm, my lady. Do not grieve. Listen to my advice. Accept this injury. O daughter-in-law of the king, by all means will I keep your secret, but in your dearest and kindest friend you should always confide.

204. " 'But what can I suggest to you, I who am enveloped in the darkness of ignorance? Since you are wife to the Omniscient One, you yourself must likewise be omniscient⁸⁷.

205-206. " 'However, since you are wretched with grief, I must speak, for when, although omniscient, you vacillate in distinguishing beneficial from harmful, your mind will become unsteady, and when the mind is thus unsteady, a woman will certainly go mad.

207. " 'Therefore, I, Manodharā, of well-restrained mind, will enlighten you, O daughter of Daṇḍapāṇi, who are vacillating, by means of a discourse which I shall succinctly relate to you:

208. " 'Mutual enjoyment by telepathy occurs, like that in the three worlds. Listen, my lady, with complete concentration; my explanation will be concise.

⁸⁶ Cf. II.148-149.

⁸⁷ *tvayi...sarvajñāyām api*. This hardly seems descriptive of Yaśodharā as she is portrayed in this text. Like endowing her with the 'thirty-two marks' (II.40, 106, 205; III.55, 125; IV.171, 271, 290, 465), this seems part of the author's effort to represent her a worthy consort for, and in some sense a female equivalent of, the Buddha.

209. " 'I have learned, your ladyship, that in existence there are six *forms* of rebirth: demons, hungry ghosts, animals, gods, titans⁸⁸, and humans.

210. " 'Moreover, within these, there are four *modes* of rebirth:⁸⁹ due to differences in karma, [beings may be] hatched from an egg, produced from moisture, spontaneously-generated, or born from a womb.

211. " 'Those hatched from eggs are known as 'oviparous'; those produced from sweat [or moisture], 'moisture-born';

212. " 'Those born from a foetus⁹⁰ are called 'viviparous', and those born from heavenly lotus-flowers, 'spontaneously-generated'.⁹¹

213. " 'As a consequence of their own actions, everyone is born in [one of] these four ways: in this world, where Karma is supreme, one's realm [and mode] of rebirth cannot be a matter of free choice.

214. " 'People desire [re]birth by spontaneous generation. Are they thereby led to that realm by a series of actions of a different sort? [No, they are not.]⁹²

215. " 'Duly caught in [his] snare, one is led away by the Karma's henchman, to make one's dwelling according to his dictates.

⁸⁸ Here *daitya* is used for the more usual *asura*.

⁸⁹ These are the *catvāro yonayaḥ*. Manodharā's discussion of them follows. Cf. Dvāv 413-54; Mv i.211¹⁶, 2126-7; ii.1515-16, 16321; iii.32414-15; Divy 62717; SP 20521, tr. 329; DN iii.231, tr. 493; MN i.173, AbhidhK (ed.) iii.401-404, (tr.) iii.26-31.

⁹⁰ *māmsapeśī*, literally 'lump of flesh'.

⁹¹ Cf. *Sukhāvatīvyūha* 2495-6: "Lord, what is the cause, what is the reason that some [bodhisattvas] dwell in the womb, while others, spontaneously generated, appear [seated] cross-legged on lotuses?" (*tat ko 'tra bhagavan hetuḥ kaḥ pratyayo yad anye garbhāvāsam prativasanti, anye punar aupāpādukaḥ padmeṣu paryāṅkaiḥ prādurbhavanti?*). Cf. SP 2573-6: 'No women are born there [in Sukhāvatī] and sexual intercourse is unknown; Bodhisattvas appear there by spontaneous generation, seated in the calyxes of lotuses, free from impurity' (*na ca istrīṇa tatra sambhavo nāpi ca maithuna-dharma sarvaśaḥ / upapāduka te jinorasāḥ padmagarbheṣu niṣaṇṇa nirmalāḥ* //).

⁹² This seems to mean no more than that one is not born by spontaneous generation by wishing it, but only in accordance with one's karma.

216. " 'Now even on earth certain [people] are born by spontaneous generation due to their karma.⁹³ [Such a one], rare in the three worlds, was Padmāvatī.⁹⁴

217. " 'The spiritual daughter⁹⁵ of Bhavabhūti, she was born from a lotus in a lake. In her case, where was the mother, where the seed? As a result of her own [virtuous] deeds [in previous births], she was born by spontaneous generation.

⁹³ In general, *cakravartins* and *bodhisattvas*. Mv (i.153¹⁵-154³, tr. i.121-122) lists twenty universal monarchs described as *aupapāduka*. It also states (i.145⁴⁻⁵, cf. tr. i.114-115) that "bodhisattvas are not born from [the intercourse of] a father and mother, but due to their own merits they are born by spontaneous generation" (*na khalu...bodhisattvā mātāpitṛnirvṛtā bhavanti / atha khalu svaguṇanirvṛtā upapādukā bhavanti*). Elsewhere (ii.8¹⁷⁻¹⁸, tr. ii.8) we are told that the Bodhisattva "entered [Māyā's] body in the form of a noble elephant, light of step, flawless of limb, gleaming like snow or silver, with six tusks, a gracefully waving trunk and a crimson head" (*hima-rajatanibho se śaḍviśāṇo sucaraṇacārubhujo suraktaśirṣo / udaram upagato gajapradhāno lalitagatiḥ anavadyagātrasandhiḥ* //). LV (469-12, tr. I 96) has an almost identical verse; it also reports Siddhārtha's birth from Māyā's right side (*mātuḥ dakṣiṇapārśvān niṣkramati sma* 66¹¹); cf. Bc I.10-11. In LV (697-16, tr. I 135), the Buddha even inveighs against those who, in future, will deny the miraculous nature of his birth.

⁹⁴ Name of the Bodhisattva's wife in the *Mañicūḍāvadāna*. In some versions also called Padmajā, she is born from a lotus in a lake and discovered there by the sage Bhavabhūti, who raises her as his daughter. Later she becomes the wife of Prince Mañicūḍa. Just as Mañicūḍa is the Buddha in a previous birth, so Padmāvatī is Yaśodharā. The Mañicūḍa legend is available in several versions: R. Handurukande, *Mañicūḍāvadāna and Lokānanda* (London: PTS, 1967); M. Hahn, *Candragomins Lokānandanātaka* (Asiatische Forschungen 39, Wiesbaden 1974); M. Hahn, *Joy for the World* (Berkeley: Dharma Publishing, 1983 [English tr. of preceding]); R. Handurukande, "The Mañicūḍa Study", *Bukkyō kenkyū* 5, 1976, pp. 168-309; S. Lienhard, *Mañicūḍāvadānoddhṛta* (Stockholm Oriental Series 4, Stockholm 1963); BAKL III; MJM XLIX. Padmāvatī, daughter of Bhavabhūti and wife of Mañicūḍa, is not to be confused with Padumāvatī (also Yaśodharā in a previous birth), daughter of the sage Māṇḍavya and wife of Brahmadatta, whose story is found at Mv iii.153-172, tr. iii.148-167. This Padumāvatī, though not *aupapāduka*, is also miraculously-born: a doe conceives her after drinking urine containing traces of Māṇḍavya's semen.

⁹⁵ *dharmaputrī*, i.e., Bhavabhūti nurtured and educated Padmāvatī, but was in no way connected with her conception and birth.

218. " 'Similarly, the beings who dwell in the Heaven of Streaming Radiance⁹⁶ are known as 'Those Who Enjoy by Telepathy'. Their bodies blaze like a thousand suns! How could they have male or female organ[s]?

219. " 'Men and women⁹⁷ enjoy each other, purely by telepathy, and in this way the woman is impregnated.

220. " 'Similarly, tradition reports that in ancient times humans enjoyed [each other] visually. The first king who reigned over the earth was called 'Mahāsammata.'⁹⁸ He was born through [such] 'visual enjoyment'. Are there not marvels in this universe!

221. " 'A certain King Viravikrama was born from the head.⁹⁹ How could [sexual] enjoyment involve the head? How and from where could the seed be emitted?

⁹⁶ *ābhāsvaralokasthāḥ*. A Buddhist myth traces human origins to a class of beings which, after one of the periodic dissolutions of the world, is reborn in this heaven. At first and for a long time these beings are made of mind, self-luminous, genderless and nourish themselves on bliss. Through greed they gradually devolve into recognizably human beings. Sexual differentiation and sexual intercourse are among the early signs of this degeneration. See Mv i.338-348, tr. i.285-293; SBV i.7¹³-16¹⁶; DN iii.84-93, tr. 409-413; BAKL XXVI.4-10. Here Manodharā refers to their original, pristine state.

⁹⁷ I take *tayā* and *striyā* as functionally plural, as Manodharā here is making a general statement about how a certain class of divine beings reproduces.

⁹⁸ In the **Agrajñāsūtra* myth (n. 96 above), when the originally pure beings of Ābhāsvara have devolved to the point where hoarding, theft, falsehood and violence have made an appearance, they elect the best among them to adjudicate disputes and mete out punishment. This is Mahāsammata, 'The Great Elect', first king and *ksatriya*. Mv (i.347-356, tr. i.292-301), SBV (i.15-36), BAKL (XXVI.10-22) and the Pāli chronicles (see DPPN) identify him as the ultimate ancestor of the Śākya clan. While these sources do not state that Mahāsammata was 'born through visual intercourse' (*dr̥ṣṭi-bhogyaprajāta*), it is clear from AbhidhK (tr. iii.204-206) that he was *aupapāduka*.

⁹⁹ I have been unable to trace this personage. However, the mythical *ca-kravartin* Māndhātṛ, identified as *aupapāduka* at Mv i.154¹, was born from an excrescence on the head of his father, Upośadha (Bc I.10, Divy 210¹³⁻²⁰). ŚBc 49 mentions several ancient kings born from their father's head, hand, stomach and arm.

222. " 'Thus the cries of shame and pain from any woman who carries the seed and then gives birth from her womb to a child produced by sexual intercourse.

223. " 'And so, some people are born from semen, while others are born without it. Some are born from the womb, others from the limbs of the body. The lowly are reborn according to their own karma; the exalted, according to their resolve.¹⁰⁰

224. " 'Therefore do not grieve and despond over such a birth.¹⁰¹ Or rather, Gopā, it is going to be so. And why is the situation like that?

225. " 'Why does the compassionate lord of the world neglect a suffering [woman], let alone one like this [child in your womb], seed of the Protector, the Sugata?

226. " 'Rather, [this situation] must have come about through your karmic faults¹⁰². [Yet] why grieve about it? Can grief undo deeds already done?

227. " 'As for your father-in-law, the king, what suffering does he cause you? And what your husband, Sarvasiddha¹⁰³, said, that was in amorous jest¹⁰⁴.

228. " 'Does a person longing for love-play understand what they hear? And on that basis, ought one to renounce present happiness because of future suffering?

229. " 'Therefore, by meditating on the Triple Gem, be free from doubt and live joyfully, [for] what is conceived by a mind poisoned

¹⁰⁰ The Bodhisattva is the obvious paradigm for self-chosen rebirth. LV specifies elaborate criteria: while still residing in Tuṣita, the Bodhisattva examines the appropriate time (*kāla*), continent (*dvīpa*), country (*deśa*) and class (*kula*; here = *varṇa*) into which he shall be reborn (142⁴-151⁸, tr. I 36-37). Sixty-four 'indicators' (*catuṣṣaṣṭyākārāḥ*) determine his choice of family (171⁹-182⁰, tr. I 40-42) and thirty-two personal qualities (*dvātriṃśad guṇāḥ*) his choice of mother (182¹-192, tr. I 42-43). Due weight is also given to astrological considerations (193⁻⁵, tr. I 43). Cf. Mv ii.1-9, tr. ii.1-9; ŚBc 26-33; NK 48-49, tr. 64-66.

¹⁰¹ *tādṛśa bhava*. That is, Yaśodharā is not to grieve over the prospect of bearing a child conceived through 'visual intercourse' (*drṣṭibhogya*).

¹⁰² Cf. II.186-187 above; indeed, such is Yaśodharā's refrain for the next 2000 verses.

¹⁰³ = Sarvārthasiddha.

¹⁰⁴ In this, Manodharā shall be proven wrong.

by doubt [is mere imagination], and nothing else. Therefore abandon doubt, for who is not corrupted by it?

230. " 'Now if at any time your father-in-law should cause you suffering, then I shall instruct him and transform him into a dispenser of happiness.' "

231. " 'You, a woman whose servant is known as 'Manodharā' because she enlightens the minds of all [people] – how can you be plagued by doubt?' "

232. "In this way Manodharā aptly instructed her anxious mistress. As for Gopā, she heeded Manodharā's words and, free from doubt, lived happily.

233. " Every day that pious woman provided the members of her retinue with ornaments and fine silk garments; she also served them her own meals.

234. "Taking to heart her husband's instructions, each day the zealous Gopā distributed alms with Manodharā and practised her Observance.

235. "Joyfully, she recited the protective formula, practised recollection of the Three Jewels, subsisted on roots and fruits, and served her parents-in-law.

236. "Clad in white, lovely without ornaments, making the earth her bed, the pregnant Yaśodharā continued to maintain her Observance.

237. "Learning that she was living in this way, the king, the citizenry, the [entire] nation, rejoiced, thinking, 'There *will* be an heir to the throne!' "

The Extraordinary History of Our Auspicious Era

Chapter III: Devadatta, Maddened by Lust and Greed

1. Then Upagupta addressed Aśoka and the members of the assembly: "Aśoka and all members of the assembly! Listen and I shall continue.

2. "Now [Sarvārthasiddha had] a cousin¹⁰⁵ called Devadatta¹⁰⁶, who was malevolent and deceitful: 'At the death of Śuddhodana, I shall become king!' Such was his gleeful thought.
3. "On hearing that Gopā was with child, the self-centred [fellow] thought, 'My enemy, that idiot, Sarvārthasiddha, suffers misfortune:
4. " 'Wandering as a forest ascetic, he must make meals from food he has begged; he has renounced the power and glory of a universal monarch, so difficult to attain in the three worlds;
5. " 'He has deliberately forsaken honour and liberality, given up the royal revenues¹⁰⁷ and fled his own city, a wretched mendicant despised by others.
6. " 'Even if put under pressure, who will honour him as a "Tathāgata, [one who] has attained Awakening and [who is] committed to the path to liberation"?"

¹⁰⁵ Taking *pitṛvya* as equivalent to *pitṛvyaputra* (MW), 'a father's brother's son, cousin'. LV (11724-25, tr. I 229) identifies Devadatta only as a Śākya prince (*śākya kumāra*). Mv (i.352¹³⁻¹⁴, tr. i.298) states that Sarvārthasiddha's father, Śuddhodana, had three brothers, Dhautodana, Śuklodana and Amṛtodana, and that (iii.176¹⁴⁻¹⁵, tr. iii.172) Śuklodana had three sons, Ānanda, Upadhāna and Devadatta. ŚBc 23 mentions Siṃhahanu's four sons, but not their offspring. In SBV (i.312¹⁻³²³), and BAKL (XXVI.21-25b), Śuddhodana's three brothers are Śuklodana, Droṇodana and Amṛtodana, this last having only two sons, Devadatta and Ānanda. In Mppś (I 226), Devadatta and Ānanda are also brothers, but Droṇodana is their father. In the *Mahāvamsa* (II.19-21), Devadatta is the son of Suppabuddha, there the Buddha's maternal uncle. Comparable information from Chinese sources, Mppś II 869 n. 1. BKA XXXVII.213-214 (Ce 375b5-6) depicts Śuklodana begging the Buddha to spare his son after Devadatta has attempted to poison the entire Saṃgha.

¹⁰⁶ See I.17 n.

¹⁰⁷ *śaḍaṃśakam*, 'a one-sixth share', referring to a king's right to one-sixth of the produce from the domains under his suzerainty. In Mv (i.348³, tr. i.293), for example, the people give to Mahāsaṃmata, the first king and primordial ancestor of the Śākyas, one-sixth of the rice from their fields (*svakasvakeṣu śāliksetreṣu ṣaṣṭhaṃ śālibhāgaṃ dadāma*). In the corresponding Pāli passage (DN iii.93, tr. 413), the proportion is not specified. Cf. *Mānavadharmasāstra* (ed. L. Sternbach, Varanasi: All-India Kashiraj Trust, 1974; tr. W. Doniger, *The Laws of Manu*, London: Penguin, 1991) VII.130-132, VIII.304-305.

7. " 'He is in every sense a pariah, an outcaste, committed to the life of a religious mendicant; he has lost kingdom and caste – to my good fortune this is due.
8. " 'As long as Sarvārthasiddha remained in the kingdom, there could be no happiness for me, [but] when he went forth into the forest, I experienced [such joy as] is rare even in heaven.
9. " 'Now that wife of his, whose [sight is obstructed] by the cataract of ignorance, is with child – or so they say, be it true or false.
10. " 'She is the one who rejected me, accomplished and foremost among the manly and heroic, [and then], owing to her unhappy destiny, chose such a husband as that wretched monk.¹⁰⁸
11. " 'If she bears my enemy's son, how will I become king? Certainly the king will bequeath the kingdom to his grandson.
12. " 'In that event, where would I go? Without royal power, what happiness can there be [for me]? Given these circumstances, desire for kingship had better inspire countermeasures.'
- 13-15b. "With this in mind, Devadatta thought hard and came up with a plan: 'I will inform Daṇḍapāṇi [of my intentions], offer him ornaments and jewels of great value, and ask for Yaśodharā in mar-

¹⁰⁸ LV (1117-1214, tr. I 219-235), narrates at length Sarvārthasiddha's triumphs in the 'exhibition of the worldly arts' (*śilpasamdarśana*) which Daṇḍapāṇi insists be held to determine which Śākya youth is worthy of his daughter's hand. Gopā does not actually reject Devadatta or any of the other suitors: the prince simply bests all comers. Nevertheless, at least one passage (11724-1183, tr. I 229-230) makes clear both Devadatta's arrogant overconfidence and his subsequent humiliation at his cousin's hands. In the corresponding passage in Mv (ii.735-761⁶, tr. ii.70-74), there is even less suggestion that Devadatta felt especially rejected. SBV and BAKL are silent on this matter. However, in ŚBc (96-99), Devadatta does propose marriage and Daṇḍapāṇi's daughter – here called Gotamī – does reject him. This episode occurs after the prince triumphs in the aforementioned contest and marries Yaśodharā – Nanda and Devadatta having placed, respectively, second and third in the tourney. The fathers of Siddhārtha and Nanda send messages to Daṇḍapāṇi, requesting Gotamī as wife for their sons. Devadatta sends his own, similar message, but threatens reprisal if Daṇḍapāṇi does not comply. Gotamī takes matters in her own hands and arranges a *svayamvara*, at which she chooses Sarvārthasiddha. The *Hsiu hsing pên ch'i ching* (T 184, tr. 197 C.E.; Péri, "Les Femmes de Śākyamuni", pp. 11-13) contains a comparable account, but calls the father Suprabuddha and his daughter Gopī.

riage.¹⁰⁹ [Then] he will certainly be pleased to give me his daughter, blooming with the freshness of youth,¹¹⁰ thinking, "[Otherwise] my daughter's youth and beauty will be wasted."

15c-16. " 'And Gopā, when I ask for her [in marriage], will burn with the fire of sexual passion! Longing to drink the nectar from my lips, she will accept me without hesitation, for she has long desired me, who am endowed with [all the] qualities [sought for] in a husband¹¹¹.

¹⁰⁹ A few sources report that Devadatta sought to marry or seduce Yaśodharā. Mv (ii.68²⁰-69⁵, tr. ii.66) mentions only the fact, and Yaśodharā's refusal; its few sentences serve only to introduce the *Vyāghrījātaka* (ii.69⁵-72¹⁵, tr. ii.66-69). SBV, by contrast, offers two detailed accounts. After failing in his attempts to kill the Buddha, Devadatta, already a monk, returns to Kapilavastu planning to harass and dishonour his wives. He propositions Yaśodharā, who on her co-wife Gopikā's advice, invites him to the palace with the promise that if he can hold her hand, she'll accept his invitation. Gopikā intercepts Devadatta, squeezes his hands until they bleed and flings him into a pond. Devadatta ignominiously escapes from the enraged Śākyas through a drain (ii.259²³-260¹⁴). On another occasion, Devadatta meets with the Śākyas and demands to be made king. They tell him that if the Bodhisattva's women accept him, they will grant him kingship. Devadatta claims to Yaśodharā that he is to be king and offers to make her his consort in exchange for sex. As did Gopikā, she squeezes his hands until they bleed, then castigates him for his temerity. He flees the palace in shame (ii.260¹⁸-261²⁵). A version of the first of these episodes is found in the *Karmaśataka* (Tohoku 340; tr. L. Feer, *Journal Asiatique* 9^e série, tome XVII, 1901, pp. 86-88), the karmic antecedents of which it explains by a *jātaka* which corresponds to Mv i.128¹²-131¹⁴, tr. i.101-103.

¹¹⁰ *navayauvanī*. This epithet, which could just as well be translated as 'nubile', seems hardly to accord with the tradition that Sarvārthasiddha and Yaśodharā were the same age (Mv ii.25¹¹-12, tr. ii.22; NK 54, tr. 71), married at the age of sixteen (NK 58, tr. 77-78) and that the prince left home at the age of twenty-nine (NK 55, 67, tr. 73, 90). However, since Mv, LV, ŚBc and BAKL are silent regarding Yaśodharā's and the Buddha's ages at these stages in their lives, it may be that, like the great female lay disciple Visākhā (DhpA i.408, tr. ii.76), our heroine is assumed to have maintained all her life the appearance of a teenager.

¹¹¹ *varalakṣaṇa*^o, can also be translated as 'best qualities', depending upon whether *vara* is understood as an adjective ('best') or a noun ('suitor, lover, husband').

17. " 'Nevertheless, on account of the king's anger, she chose my enemy, [although] Daṇḍapāṇi, too, delighted with me, was eager to give her to me.

18. " '[But] terrified of being punished by the king, he gave [her] to [one] she did not want.¹¹² Therefore when I ask for her, Daṇḍapāṇi, delighted, will hand her over with alacrity.

19. " 'Yaśodharā is scorched by the flames of grief *and* desire, and although modest and of good family, she will come to me as certainly as does a woman tormented by thirst to a [cool] pond.¹¹³

20. " 'Then a universal monarch shall I be and she my queen and leading lady, whose son will be king – what other great happiness can there be for her?¹¹⁴

21. " 'I shall depatch a messenger to Daṇḍapāṇi.' So thinking, Devadatta became nervous and excited.¹¹⁵

22. "Then, summoning his confidant, a man named Dharmadatta¹¹⁶, the evil-hearted¹¹⁷ Devadatta, impatient with desire for Gopā, spoke to him in private.

23. " 'My friend, listen to this good advice, which, since it has not yet been carried out, must be kept secret. Listen well to what I say, then carry it out at once!

¹¹² Cf. ŚBc 96, where it is Devadatta who threatens Daṇḍapāṇi should he fail to give him his daughter in marriage.

¹¹³ Devadatta's confidence in this matter is, of course, based entirely on his own fantasy.

¹¹⁴ Again Devadatta's reasoning is fallacious, for as we saw at II.26-32, Śuddhodana is only too eager for Yaśodharā's child to be a boy and to place him on the throne.

¹¹⁵ *udvignamānasah*. (MW, s.v.) usually has a decidedly negative sense: 'agitated, frightened, depressed, anxious, distressed, sorrowful'; here it appears to be almost a synonym for *utsukamanā* in the next verse, which denotes anxiety or excitement, whether positive or negative.

¹¹⁶ Neither ED nor DPPN include this name, nor am I familiar with it from Buddhist canonical sources. Wright's *History of Nepal* (pp. 89-93, 98, 106, 117, 124, 125, 150) tells of a Rāja Dharmadatta, from Kāñci near Madras, who, during the Dvāpara Yuga, wrested the control of Nepal from the Kirā-ti king, Śaṅku, founded the city of 'Bisālnagara', built the temple of Paśupati and erected a *caitya* which he named after himself, but this legend hardly seems relevant here.

¹¹⁷ *kudhīh*, more literally, 'evil-minded'

24. “ ‘If, at Śuddhodana’s death, I [were to become] king, you would be my chief minister. Therefore do as I say. Do not delay!
25. “ ‘Of Daṇḍapāṇi make the following request, accompanying it with [this gift of] jewelry: “Grant Devadatta the impassioned Yaśodharā [in marriage]!
26. “ ‘ “A blooming young woman, how can your daughter endure such intolerable pains as the scorching flames of sexual desire?
27. “ ‘ “That ill-fated Sarvārthasiddha has now departed secular life, having renounced the illusion of love [and] with it the felicity of a universal monarch.
28. “ ‘ “He is religious mendicant of reprehensible character; He’ll not return to this realm; [rather], in cremation grounds, mountains and forests, he will wander like a madman.
29. “ ‘ “Therefore abandon [your] affection for an ignoramus who has no desires, and give [Yaśodharā] to Devadatta, who is skilled in the sixty-four arts.
30. “ ‘ “When, at Śuddhodana’s death he shall become king, your daughter will become First Lady, mistress of all.
31. “ ‘ “In such circumstances, no man alive will be so happy, so fortunate as you; therefore, knowing the time to be right, quickly bestow [Yaśodharā] upon the wise [Deva]datta.”
32. “ ‘Deliver this request and the jewels in private. And then, Dharmadatta, bring Yaśodharā back as my betrothed!¹¹⁸
33. “ ‘If you solicit him in just this way, the grieving father will certainly – and gladly – give away her who is afflicted with the illness of separation.’¹¹⁹
34. “So saying, Dattaka¹²⁰, eagerly expectant, gave Dharmadatta a jewel of great value and a string of pearls [set in] gold.
35. “ ‘Go to her. Go to her with all haste!’ said he, over and over again. “This [plan] can certainly be carried out by a friend acting on my behalf!’

¹¹⁸ *tatpradattā yaśodharā*, ‘Yaśodharā, given away [in marriage] by him’.

¹¹⁹ Yaśodharā has been described in these terms throughout Ch. II, but here, continuing in his fantasy, Devadatta believes it is himself, rather than Sarvārthasiddha, for whom she longs.

¹²⁰ = Devadatta. Cf. Datta, II.31d above. Here the suffix is pejorative.

36. "After Devadatta had spoken in this way, his friend covered his ears: hearing such immoral talk put him in fear of the torments of hell.

37. "Tears trickling down his cheeks¹²¹, joined palms raised in supplication, he said to the prince: 'How can you say what should not be said, much less heeded, O best of those who know proper conduct?'"

38. "With this entreaty, he fell at Devadatta's feet, and, fearing the sin of listening to evil, [proceeded to] distinguish the beneficial from the harmful.

39. " 'You must listen, Devadatta, to the good counsel I offer: one among hundreds is heroic, one among thousands, learned;

40. " 'One among hundreds of thousands is a philanthropist; an eloquent man will be still more rare¹²². [Nevertheless], do not quarrel¹²³ with me: your heart is overwhelmed by lust and greed.

41. " 'Since I am your dear friend, in that I distinguish between what is beneficial and what harmful, I wish to speak to you who, blinded by lust, have resorted to a pernicious course [of action].

42. " 'Just as the omniscient Sarvārthasiddha's companion Udāyin, always acting for [his master's] benefit, would discuss proper and improper [conduct],

43. " 'In the same way, as your friend who helps you to do what ought to be done and to refrain from what ought not, I always restrain you from harmful [actions] and imitate you in beneficial [ones].

44. " 'When, on a pleasure-outing, the glorious prince saw an old man, a sick man, and a dead man, did Udāyika, lie [to him about them], out of fear of punishment by the king?¹²⁴ [Certainly not!]

¹²¹ *mukhaḥ*, 'face'.

¹²² *vaktā bhavati vā na vā*, literally, 'there may be an eloquent man or not'.

¹²³ *prativirudhyasva*. Cf. *prativiruddha*, *prativirodha* (ED, s.vv.), where Edgerton infers from these forms and on the basis of the Pāli *paṭivirujjhati* (PED, s.v.), a BHS **prativirudhyate*, °ti, which had 'not been recorded' in the material available to him.

¹²⁴ An allusion to the 'four sights' (only the first three mentioned here). On successive outings in Kapilavastu, Sarvārthasiddha comes upon an old man, a sick man, a corpse and, finally, an ascetic. The majority of sources cited below specify that Śuddhodana, fearing any experience that will incline his

45. "Should I therefore fail to instruct you, fearing some action from the king's ministers? In any case, listen or not, what I tell you is for your own benefit.
46. "Restraint from evil, compliance in good and loyalty in adversity: these are the three characteristics of the virtuous [retainer].¹²⁵
47. "What kind of friend speaks not to his master of vice and virtue? What kind of master heeds not good counsel, [but] acts as he pleases?
48. "Therefore, listen to what must be said because it is beneficial! Do not disdain me! These are not words to be withheld or ignored any longer, my lord.
49. "Sexual intimacy with a forbidden woman is condemnable,¹²⁶ as is listening to or [even] looking [at one]. Indeed, these are the

son to the religious vocation already predicted for him, has kept him so sequestered that he is ignorant of disease, old age and death as well as of *religieux*. Seeing these four 'omens' and discussing them with Chandaka fills the prince with sorrow at life's inherent transitoriness and fragility and inspires him take up the life of a religious mendicant. For various accounts of the 'four sights', see: Mv ii.150¹-157¹⁵, tr. ii.145-152; LV 152²⁰-157³, tr. I 284-291; SBV i.65-75; BAKL XXIV.67-90; Bc III.26-62, V.16-21; ŚBc 109-111, 115-121; DN ii.21-29, tr. 207-210; NK i.58³¹-59³², tr. 78-79. Bareau ("La jeunesse du Buddha", pp. 237-246, 264-265) studies the canonical sources. In the present passage, Dharmadatta's point is that although Udāyin (not Chandaka as in the sources cited) was charged by the king to guard against any disturbing experiences which might lead the prince to prefer the life of an ascetic to that of a king, he answers with strict truthfulness the prince's questions about illness, old age, death, and renunciation.

¹²⁵ This verse is almost identical to that addressed by Udāyin to Siddhārtha at Bc IV.64, where he exhorts the prince not to spurn the affections of the palace women. ŚBc 125 contains a verse which is strikingly similar even at two removes of translation: "I will recount in brief the marks of a friend: When doing wrong, to warn; when doing well, to exhort to perseverance; When in difficulty or danger, to assist, relieve, and deliver. Such a man is indeed a true and illustrious friend." Indeed, setting aside Aśvaghoṣa's allusions to Brahmanical heroes, so closely does ŚBc 125³-126¹⁴ correspond to Bc IV.64-89, we must assume that the former depends directly on the latter. This scene not in Mv, LV, SBV, NK, or BAKL.

¹²⁶ *agamyāgamana*, 'approaching she who is not to be approached'; i.e., sexual intercourse with a woman deemed 'off-limits' by traditional law, e.g., another's wife or betrothed, a girl under a certain age, etc.

roots of the tree of sin: it is known this has been stated by the Buddhās.

50. " 'By your speaking [as you have] and by my listening [to it], we both become vessels of evil. We should perfect that Dharma by which evil is destroyed!

51. " 'How can your behavior err so? And how can you speak like [such] a fool? How can you deviate so completely from Dharma, failing to discriminate between women who are sexually available and those who are not?

52. " 'How can you fear neither public condemnation, nor sin, nor punishment by the king, nor the torments of hell?

53. " 'Are you liberated? Is your life [so] long¹²⁷? Have you made an end to old age and death? One liberated does not commit evil, for that would cause [him] to fall [from his exalted state].

54. " 'Blinded by desire, you lust after such a one, a pious woman who upholds Dharma, is devoted to her husband and who is dedicated to the care of her people.

55. " 'Truly, the auspicious Yaśodharā bears the thirty-two marks,¹²⁸ is free from [any thought of] 'I' or 'mine', from illusion and from the afflictions of passion.

56-57. " 'Moreover, she who became the victory penant [in the Exhibition] of the Sixty-Four Arts¹²⁹, who wrote on a golden tablet all the masculine virtues¹³⁰, and who, desiring a man of such qualities,

¹²⁷ *ciraṃjīvī*. Possibly an allusion to the seven *ciraṃjīvīn-s* (Apte, MW, s.v. *cira*): in Hindu tradition, "seven persons who are considered to be deathless" (Aśvatthāman, Bali, Vyāsa, Hanuman, Bibhiṣaṇa, Kṛpa, Paraśurāma).

¹²⁸ On the 'thirty-two marks' as applied to Yaśodharā, see II.39-40 n.

¹²⁹ On the competition won by the Bodhisattva, see III.10 n.; on the sixty-four arts, see III.29 n. Only the 'exhibition of the worldly arts' as described in LV, which includes competitions in writing, calculation, jumping, swimming, running, wrestling, archery and many other skills, could be described as a competition in the 'sixty-four arts'. Also, BKA's *jayapaṭāṅkikā*, 'victory penant' ≈ *paṭāṅkā* at LV 1124.

¹³⁰ Here BKA appears to attribute Sarvārthasiddha's writing to Yaśodharā. In LV (1077-1082²⁴, tr. I 212-214) the prince writes verses describing the qualities he requires in a wife. Moreover, in LV (1119-11, tr. I 218), it is Gopā's father, Daṇḍapāṇi, who informs Śuddhodana that his son must prove himself in order to win her hand. Similar exchanges at Mv ii.735-9,

thought, "I shall choose as husband one who is endowed with them" – how could she be yours?

58. "For she herself is a matron who has conquered desire, who is free from sensual passion, while you, blinded by both, discriminate not between moral and immoral courses [of action].

59. "A man eminent among the nobility would certainly [not]¹³¹ be so greedy and shameless as to give to the likes of you his modest, virtuous [daughter].

60. "And you have called Sarvāthasiddha mad!¹³² It is you, blinded by lust for sexual pleasure and political power, who are the madman now;

61. "While he, seeking Awakening for the benefit of all, has proceeded to Gayā.¹³³ Did you not hear about, or did you forget, what Chandaka brought back?¹³⁴

tr. ii.70 and ŚBc 84. Consonant with her starring role in BKA, the present verse, by contrast, describes Gopā as having set out her own requirements.

¹³¹ In speech or recitation, intonation would provide the required ironic tone; for the translation, I have supplied a negative.

¹³² At III.3d, Devadatta describes the prince as *mūḍhadhīh*, more 'fool', 'blockhead' or 'deluded' than *unmatta* (III.60b), 'mad' or 'deranged', but this appears to be the allusion. The alternative, to accept the reading of the archetype, *abruvam*, 'I have stated', making Dharmadatta attribute this statement to himself, makes little narrative sense.

¹³³ According to Mv (ii.117¹⁸-123¹⁵, tr. ii.114-119), after leaving home, Sarvāthasiddha travels first to Vaiśālī, where he studies with Ārāḍa Kālāma, thence to Rājagṛha, where he studies with Udraka Rāmaputra, and then to Gayā. On Mount Gayāśīrṣa, overlooking Gayā, there occurs to him the 'three similitudes' by which he explains his understanding of the proper attitude for cultivating detachment. Later on, Mv (ii.198¹-200⁹, tr. ii.189-191) reprises the same events but inserts, before the training under Udraka, the Bodhisattva's conversation with Śreṇiya Bimbisāra, king of Magadha. Cf. LV 197¹²-207⁶, tr. I 361-378; SBV i.92-99; Bc VII.1-XII.90; ŚBc 152-185. These last three contain much additional material, such as the prince's interrogation of the forest ascetics and the journey of two palace officials to convince the prince to return. NK (65-67, tr. 87-89) is closer to Mv but does not mention Gayā, instead having the prince proceed directly from Udraka (Udaka) to Uruvilvā (Uruvelā). Bareau studies the canonical sources (*Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha* I, pp. 28-54; *idem*, "Le Buddha et Uruvilvā", ed. H. Durt, *Indianisme et Bouddhisme: mélanges offerts à Mgr.É. Lamotte*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1980, pp. 1-18).

¹³⁴ This refers to both physical objects and information. In Mv (ii.164¹⁹-

62. " 'Sarvārthasiddha will most certainly return in order to bring to salvation all his subjects; we shall serve him then, that this evil [of yours] may be quelled.

63. " 'Better it is to forfeit [one's] life than to commit an evil deed! So I shall not go to the house of Daṇḍapāṇi with a request for Gopā [on your behalf] (*tadarthī*)!

64. " 'But, by your hand, your people are made to go to hell! You, who have been educated in standards of conduct, must distinguish between good and bad counsel.

65. " 'Therefore, my lord, heed my good counsel: renounce this scheme! What value has power, which does not last, or wealth and passion, [similarly transient]?

66. " 'They pass away, unable to return; they give rise to trouble and strife; any evil committed for their sake follows you automatically.

67. " 'Wherever pain and suffering are most horrible, there [you] will be propelled. Can this be prevented by the acquisition of riches, regal power and the rest?

68. " 'Mighty are the forces of evil, those of regal power so very weak. How could you conceive this [plan], after seeing your elder brother's virtuous deeds?

69. " 'With universal salvation as his goal, he renounced kingdom and family, thinking, "All this is impermanent", and, for the sake of Dharma, went to the forest.

70. " 'You think, "I shall seize the wife and kingdom even of such an elder brother." An evil man are you! Alas, [yet you imagine yourself] a mighty hero.'

165³, tr. ii.160), Sarvārthasiddha instructs his squire Chandaka (see I.17 n.), who had accompanied him on his flight from Kapilavastu, to return with his horse Kaṇṭhaka, his jewels and his sunshade and with the following message: "When I have done what I must do and have set rolling the noble Wheel of Dharma, I shall return." (*kṛtakṛtyo āgamisyāmi pravṛttavaradharma-cakrah*). Hence Dharmadatta's confidence in the next verse. Cf. LV 1907-14, tr. I 344; ŚBc 144³⁻⁹; SBV i.89²⁵-90⁵. At SBV i.90²⁴⁻²⁵ and Bc VI.52, the prince states he will succeed in his efforts and quickly return or die trying. In NK (64-65, tr. 86-87), he turns over his ornaments and the horse but only tells Channa to say that he is well.

71. "After speaking thus, repeatedly castigating Devadatta, addressing him with reproachful words, Dharmadatta, sick with that poison, fear of sin, [cried out],

72. " 'Ah! The evil words I have heard! Will there be yet more?', and, greatly distressed, stood, head hanging down, as if stupefied.

73. "The wicked Devadatta did not imbibe the nectar of Dharmadatta's words; rather, fearing his plan would be delayed, at night returned home.

74. " 'Since no one is acting, and there is a delay, I'll go myself. What shame is there in that?

75. " 'In the matter of acquiring precious gems, one may act without shame, [and] she in whom the seven gems reside¹³⁵ is indeed a jewel beyond price.'

76. "So thinking, alone and sequestered, he schemed happily. [Indeed], what man, blinded by the passions, particularly by greed, travels the path of true virtue?

77. "What evil will he not commit and what good [counsel] will he heed? And so, blinded by the passions, Devadatta went to the house and to Daṇḍapāṇi raised his joined palms in greeting.

78. "Proffering the jewellery, he made his request: 'Father-in-law! Daṇḍapāṇi! Unashamed, I come to your house.

79. " 'Therefore, in your compassion, fulfill my one request. [Since] at the death of King Śuddhodana I will certainly become king,

80-81b. " 'Therefore give Yaśodharā to me and become ruler of half the kingdom! Why waste the rare blooming youth of a woman burning with the fire of passion who is enamoured of my handsome self?

81c-82. " 'Her companion Manodharā often tells me, "Come to her, Devadatta, at night, in secret! Her limbs burn with the fire of pas-

¹³⁵ Devadatta here refers somewhat figuratively to the fact that marriage to Yaśodharā is the means whereby he plans to become a 'universal monarch' (*cakravartin*). A Cakravartin possesses, through his great virtue, seven 'treasures' (*saptaratna*): wheel, elephant, horse, gem, woman, householder, minister, each the best of its kind in the world (on which see Mv i.491-4, tr. i.41; i.1084-1091⁷, tr. i.85-86; iii.1073-6, tr. iii.106; LV 1112-146, tr. I 30-34; SBV i.494-9; cf. DN i.88-89, tr. 112; ii.16, tr. 205; iii.59, tr. 395; iii. 142, tr. 441). For Devadatta, possessing one, the woman (*strīratna*), is the key to possessing all.

sion! Rescue Yaśodharā, whose nubile youth is being wasted, with the gift of your lips' ambrosia!"

83. " 'Having been thus entreated by Manodharā, I come before you to ask for the well-born, modest, youthful Yaśodharā.

84. " 'Take pity on her, poisoned by Love's arrows, and bestow¹³⁶ your favour on me by making proper arrangements for our union.'¹³⁷

85. "Thus concluding his request, Devadatta adorned and honoured Daṇḍapāṇi's feet with the finest gems, and stood before him, unashamed, a smile on his face.

86. "Now Daṇḍapāṇi, although furious, smiled pityingly, and kicking aside the jewels that Devadatta had offered, replied with contempt, his lower lip quivering:

87. " 'What! You have gone mad due to the sin of killing the elephant!¹³⁸ Before long you shall undoubtedly end up stark naked, eating anything!¹³⁹

88. " 'Fie on your birth in this cycle of birth-and-death! You are malevolent and bereft of goodness¹⁴⁰, a frost blighting the lotus blossom of the Śākya lineage!

89. " 'The auspicious Sarvārthasiddha possesses a purified intelligence; a knower of the three times¹⁴¹, he understands [human] fail-

¹³⁶ Translating *kṛtvā* twice, once with *dayāṃ*, once with *anugrahaṃ*.

¹³⁷ *saṃgama* can also mean 'meeting, encounter' or 'sexual intercourse'.

¹³⁸ See LV 1123-23; tr. I 219-20. As he is leaving Kapilavastu, on his way to compete in the contest of the manly arts, with Gopā's hand as the prize, Devadatta sees a white elephant, a gift for the Bodhisattva, being led into the city. Envious and wishing to show off his prowess, Devadatta kills the animal with one blow. Later, Sundarananda demonstrates a more virtuous use of strength by dragging the elephant outside the city gate. Finally, the Bodhisattva comes by, condemns Devadatta's deed and commends Sundarananda's, and with a flick of his toe, catapults the elephant far beyond the city, the impact of the animal's fall creating a large indentation, known thereafter as the 'Ditch of the Elephant' (*hastigartā*). Cf. Mv ii.74¹¹-75¹⁷, tr. ii.71-72; ŚBc 91-92; SBV i.58²⁷-60⁶; BAKL XXIV.52-53.

¹³⁹ It would seem that public nudity and the abrogation of caste rules regarding ritual purity of food are two cardinal signs of insanity. It may also be observed that it is precisely these two practices which are binding upon certain types of ascetics.

¹⁴⁰ *sārahīnasya*, 'bereft of [what is] essential, best, most important'; in this context, very close to 'bereft of common decency'.

ings and [the workings of] karma, is a speaker of truth, and is beloved by all the people.

90. " 'According to that wise one, "Devadatta killed my elephant"¹⁴², who had done nothing wrong. He will surely suffer the consequences.

91. " ' "Wherever he goes, he will act shamefully; again and again will he wither that thriving stalk, the Śākya lineage."

92. " 'And so, just as [Sarvārtha]siddha said, O madman, so it is seen: you are suffering the consequences of that sin; you have gone insane!¹⁴³

93. " 'Now that you have fallen into such a state, what *else* will befall you? Ah! Strange, the cycle of birth-and-death! Ah! Great, the consequences of evil!

94. " 'A deed done in this very life definitely has had its result in this very life: such a man, though a prince, has suddenly gone mad!

95. " 'Seeing this, [it is clear that] an elephant should absolutely not be killed, by anyone. What! Do you smile? Fool! What [catastrophe] will not befall [you], if you laugh?

96. " 'You were smiling when you killed the elephant, as you are even now. 'Laughing Lunatic' will become your name, no doubt of that.'

97. "After thus reviling the villain, the enraged Daṇḍapāṇi summoned his people, saying, "Come quickly!"

98. "Then he told them, 'Proceed to the royal palace. Deliver the following message to King Śuddhodana:

99. " ' "Your nephew Devadatta, in a state of dementia, has come to my home. His prattle is appalling and he is on the verge of disrobing."¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ I.e., past, present and future.

¹⁴² So in LV (1126-7) & SBV (i.5827-591); in Mv (ii.7411-13; tr. ii.71), it is a 'roaming' or 'wild' elephant (*bhrānto hastināgo*); in ŚBc (91), it is the king's elephant.

¹⁴³ I am not aware of a passage in the earlier literature where Sarvārthasiddha (or the Buddha) foretells that Devadatta will lose his mind. However, given the outrages attributed to Devadatta in the canonical literature, it is perhaps not an extreme inference.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. III.87.

100. “ “ “You should therefore place the deranged fellow in custody. Should he be allowed out in public, this naked, shameless fellow?¹⁴⁵

101. “ “ “Were he to leave my house, naked and his mind wandering, it would be to your shame, O king, for he is the son of your own younger brother.¹⁴⁶

102. “ “ “Therefore, as soon as you have placed him in prison and bound him with ropes, prepare a remedy of medicinal herbs and the like.

103. “ “ “Therefore speedily despatch the chamberlain and other officers. Either detain Devadatta yourself or issue instructions [regarding him].

104. “ “ “What the villain said was unspeakable! He’s a prating madman now!” Deliver this communiqué and quickly return.

105. “ “ ‘Since [Devadatta] is his nephew, I am reporting this to the king, in accordance with whose instructions we will act promptly.’

106-107. “Confounded by fear and rage at what Daṇḍapāṇi had said, Devadatta, silent, [but] shaking his fist¹⁴⁷, departed for home, with a menacing Daṇḍapāṇi calling after him, ‘Madman! Where are you going? On no account go to any one else’s house or disturb the king!’¹⁴⁸

108. “Furious at Daṇḍapāṇi, Devadatta, his own poisonous thoughts banishing sleep, passed the night sunk in evil’s well.

109. “ “Assuredly I will take to wife the daughter bestowed by Daṇḍapāṇi, whether by enticing her with jewelry, or by making [her] understand through force.’

110. “Then he thought, smiling, castigating himself to himself, ‘What a fool I’ve been’¹⁴⁹, exposing myself to ridicule! What feeble-mindedness I’ve displayed!¹⁵⁰

111. “ “A shameless fool intoxicated by passion – how could I have gone to solicit the father of a daughter [already] married?

¹⁴⁵ Inferring interrogative tone.

¹⁴⁶ See III.2 n.

¹⁴⁷ *tarjanīm darśayaṃs tasya*, ‘displaying to him a threatening forefinger’.

¹⁴⁸ *śākya*, i.e., ‘The Śākya’, the King.

¹⁴⁹ *dhig dhiṃ mām*, ‘fie on me’.

¹⁵⁰ *dhig dhiṃ me mandabuddhitām*, ‘fie on my feeble-mindedness’.

112. " 'Even for an unmarried girl one should normally send a messenger. But in this situation, when I went myself, how could he not ridicule me?

113. " 'In that case, could he say, without ridicule, "I give [her to you]!" It was not Daṇḍapāṇi who was at fault, but I alone.

114. " 'Moreover, that I am called mad is for me a blessing: if the plan succeeds, the result will be bliss; if it doesn't, [well], what [can be expected] of a madman?

115. " 'In this way, I'll not be blamed, since I'll appear to be mad, and so long as I have not won Yaśodharā, I shall continue in the guise of a madman. What can the king do, if he then understands me to be insane?

116-117. " 'Now, 'trained' by Daṇḍapāṇi as a 'prating madman', I shall meet with her esteemed friend, Manodharā, and then at night go to Yaśodharā myself, bearing costly jewels and resplendently adorned with garlands and ornaments.

118-119. " 'For the sake of the kingdom, I will both act immorally and play¹⁵¹ the madman, that kingdom in which are found righteousness, wealth, pleasure and liberation. Always will I practise virtue, once, being king, I have acquired the kingdom. And now, I will fulfill my heartfelt desire, which confers happiness.'

120. "Thus oppressed by his thoughts, longing for night[-fall], sunk in the mire of greed, he passed that day as if it were a year.

121. "When night did come, his mind disordered by desire, drawn by the cord of [his own] greed, Devadatta went to [see] Śrīdharā.¹⁵²

122. "One blinded by greed as well as a lecher will go on a bad path and think faults virtues, even if laughed at by others.

123. "There sat Yaśodharā, attended by Manodharā: she had concluded her religious observances and was talking about her husband.

124. "Seated on her bed, the earth, Gopā was gaunt [but] ravishing; without ornaments, but beautifully adorned with auspicious [bodily] marks.

¹⁵¹ Translating *kariṣyāmi* 119a twice – as 'act' and 'play'.

¹⁵² = Yaśodharā (*śrī* and *yaśas* both mean 'fame, glory').

125. "Endowed with the thirty-two marks¹⁵³, bright as the moon without its hare, virtuous and chaste, she was radiant, her eyes like lotuses unattended by bees.

126. "Like the Sarasvatī River with its subterranean waters, she had restrained her senses, [but] oppressed by the burden of her unborn child, joy and grief confounded her.

127. "Glowing like a lamp-flame at dawn, like the moon at day-break¹⁵⁴, with a body to be loved by no other [than her husband], her beauty was more than ravishing!

128. "She spoke in a voice like a cuckoo's; she was free from sensual desires, delighted in giving and was full of loving-kindness; her heart was cleansed by the waters of forbearance.

129. "Zealous in virtue and in giving, adept in meditation on the Three Jewels, sagacious, auspicious and greatly blessed, she was a partial emanation¹⁵⁵ of [the goddess] Perfect Wisdom.¹⁵⁶

130. "Regularly she urged her friend Manodharā: 'O companion-in-training¹⁵⁷, tomorrow morning, arise and quickly perform your ablutions.

¹⁵³ See II.39-40 n.

¹⁵⁴ These first two similes describe Yaśodharā's beauty both as diminished by fasting and, for all its glory, as less effulgent than that of her husband.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. the beginning of Upagupta's narrative to Aśoka at GKV I.34 (A 2b7, B 3b2): 'In the beginning he arose, his form that of the Dharmadhātu, born from a portion of each of the Five Buddhas, the Lord of the World, the Tathāgata' (*tadyathādisamudbhūto dharmadhātusvarūpakah / pañcabuddhāṃśasamjāto jagadīśas tathāgataḥ* //). On this, see Burnouf, *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, p. 197; A.M. Ghatage & S.D. Joshi, ed., *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles* (Poona: Deccan College), s.v. *aṃśaja*, 'born of a portion, a partial incarnation'.

¹⁵⁶ *prajñāpāramitā*. In the Newar Upośadha Observance she is worshipped as the principal deity of the Dharma Maṇḍala (Locke, "Upośadha Vrata of Amoghapaśa Lokeśvara", p. 168; Gellner, *Monk, Householder, and Tantric Priest*, p. 222). Cf. MJM I.128-130: 'She who is Mother of the Buddhas, the goddess Perfect Wisdom, the Beneficent One – let her whom the Buddhas call the Jewel of the Dharma be honoured! The Protectress of the Three Worlds, the goddess Perfect Wisdom, the Beneficent One, Mother of the Buddhas – with devotion and concentration worship her always! (*yā buddhajanānī devī prajñāpāramitā śivā / sā dharmaratnam ākhyātāṃ buddhair iti pramanyatām* // *trijagatpālīnīm devīm prajñāpāramitām śivām / sambuddhajanānīm bhaktyā bhaja nityam samāhitāḥ* //).

131. " 'On the eighth day [of the fortnight], why not practise the Supreme Eightfold Observance of the Holy One?'¹⁵⁸ Do so, beginning tomorrow, that you may fulfill life's four aims.

132. " 'Alone, dear friend, how can I practise? I am unable to endure the obligations and prohibitions, oppressed by the burden of my unborn child, enfeebled, restricted to a diet of fruit.

133. " 'Dear companion, in the cycle of birth-and-death, what value is there in possessing youth and beauty? Therefore, while you are hale and hearty, practise the Dharma.

134. " 'When you are old and feeble, dear friend, will you be capable of those observances through the power of which you can be rid of fear and rapidly attain Nirvāṇa?

135. " 'Therefore, abandon delight in desire, which is like nectar on a razor's edge. This Observance is the causeway to saving the world! Practice [it] with complete concentration!

136. " 'At all times, joyfully practise generosity to virtuous suppliants, adorn yourself with pure moral discipline; energetically practise meditation and cleanse your heart with the waters of forbearance.

137. " 'Renounce the ten evil deeds! Practise the Observance Supreme! Cultivate (*puraskṛtya*) the ten virtuous actions with an earnest desire to fulfill life's four aims.

138. " 'In those sources of suffering, desires, which are insatiable, take no pleasure: why be greedy to drink brine, Manodharā?

139. " 'Therefore, imbibe that nectar, the Dharma, the supreme draught which makes an end to hunger and thirst. [Then], liberated from the four fears¹⁵⁹, strive for liberation [from Saṃsāra].

¹⁵⁷ *śaiṣṣāli* (my emendation; MSS. *śeṣvāli*, *śeṣāli*). See ED, s.vv., *śaiṣya* (LV 208²⁴⁻²⁵), *śaiṣya*, 'disciple in training'.

¹⁵⁸ *āryāṣṭāṅga vratottama* = *poṣadha vrata* (II.5); 'holy one' refers to Amoghapāśa Lokeśa, to whom the observance is dedicated (IV.2, 6).

¹⁵⁹ *caturbhaya*. Buddhist sources contain many lists of objects causing fear (see AbhidhK tr. iv.248; PED s.v. *bhaya*). Here the allusion is most likely to those of birth (*janma*, *jāti*, *januḥ*), disease (*vyādhi*, *roga*, *rujaḥ*), old age (*jarā*) and death (*mṛtyu*, *marāṇa*, *vipad*). At BKA I.31cd (Ce2b3), the Buddha speaks to Brahmā about 'destroying birth, disease, old age and death' (*janmarogajarāmṛtyunāśa*); at I.235c (Ce11a4) Sanatkumāra praises the Buddha as 'destroyer of the fear of birth, old age, disease and death'

140. " 'If you are not ready to so strive, [at least] devote yourself to serving me who am a lay-disciple. In any case, you must follow the dictates of your own heart. Tomorrow is the eighth. Therefore let us go to bed because we must soon be up. '

141. "When the attendants of the two [women] who had been talking together had gone to sleep, the deluded [and] deranged [Devadatta], came to Yaśodharā's private chamber.

142. "Standing before her, trembling with fear and desire, in a faint, stammering voice the wretch said what should not have been spoken:

143. " 'Daṇḍapāṇi has sent me, Yaśodharā.¹⁶⁰ You, who are scorched by passion's flames, I have come to rescue with the nectar of my lips.

144. " 'So choose me as your rightful husband and become pre-eminent, the First Lady! Verily, by looking upon my moon-face, become free of the scorching of desire!

145. " 'Look upon my moon-face, Yaśodharā, and choose me as a bed of [night-blooming] lotuses, closed under the sun of separation, joyfully chooses the moon!'

146. "The moment [Deva]datta had spoken, Yaśodharā quickly covered her ears,¹⁶¹ saying, 'Reverence to the Buddha, Reverence to the Dharma and the Saṃgha! Reverence!'

147. "The innately pure woman rushed into her chamber, gasping¹⁶², unable to bear such suffering.

148. " 'Ah! Ah! Alas! The evil wrought! Ah! Ah! What kind of talk do I hear? Alas! What sort of evil younger brother have I? Fie! Fie on this life with its evil!'

149. "As if poisoned by what is unfit to be heard, for a moment Yaśodharā lost consciousness; [then], in a faint, tremulous voice, she spoke to Manodharā:

(*janurjarāvyādhipadhbhayāntaka*). 'Fearing birth, old age and disease' (*bhīto janmajarārujah* IV.136b) and 'destroyer of old age and death' (*mṛtyujarāntaka* IV.252b) are abbreviated forms.

¹⁶⁰ Devadatta is of course lying.

¹⁶¹ The sameness of virtue: Dharmadatta's response (III.36) is identical.

¹⁶² *muhur niśvāsataṭparā*, 'repeatedly overcome with deep sighs'.

150. “ ‘Ah, Manodharā! What has happened today – hearing those evil words – is even more terrible for me whom my own husband has forsaken!

151. “ ‘Ah! With the flames of suffering that malevolent man has scorched me! Never have I been afflicted by sexual desire, but now he has [truly] hurt me.

152. “ ‘That brother-in-law [of mine], O Manodharā, will surely go to the netherworld¹⁶³ called Atala,¹⁶⁴ drawn by the evil cord of his unspeakable words.

¹⁶³ *bhuvāṣ talam*, ‘underpart [or level] of the earth’. See next note.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. *Viṣṇupurāṇa* II.5.1-12 (tr. H.H. Wilson, London 1840; repr. Calcutta: Punthi Pustak, 1972) and *Śivapurāṇa*, *Umāsaṃhitā* XV.1-33 (ed. K. Pushpendra, *Śiva Mahāpurāṇa*, NP Series 48, Delhi: Nag Publishers, 1981; tr. A. Kunst & J.L. Shastri, *Śiva Purāṇa*, Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology Series 1-4, Delhi 1969-70): Atala, ‘Bottomless’, is the first of seven netherworlds (collectively called *pātālas*), not hells but subterranean paradises, inhabited by Nāgas, Asuras, Rākṣasas and other semi-divine beings inimical to the gods. In order of increasing distance from the earth’s surface, the seven are Atala, Vitala, Sutala, Rasātala, Tala, Talātala and Pātāla. In accordance with his lustful, ambitious and brutal character, Yaśodharā expects Devadatta to be reborn in Atala. This accords well with the descriptions of Atala and of Bala, its ruler, as given, for example, at *Devībhāgavatapurāṇa* V.24.16, VIII.19.1-7 (ed. R. Pandeya, *Śrīmaddevībhāgavatam Mahāpurāṇam*, Kāśī: Paṇḍita Pustakālaya, 1956; tr. Swami Vijñānānanda [H.P. Chatterji], *Śrīmaddevībhāgavatam*, Sacred Books of the Hindus XXVI, 1-4, Allahabad: Panini Office, 1921-23). Bala is the son of Maya, ruler of the three cities destroyed by Śiva, now restored to power by that god as reward for his devotion. Maya, ruler of *Talātala*, is preceptor of all evil magicians; horrific demons propitiate him that they may succeed in their enterprises (VIII.20.1-3). The 24th *adhyāya* also describes the *asuras* who dwell in the other *pātālas*. Cf. BSvP 21¹⁹, where Upagupta describes the Buddha as ‘best [of all those who dwell] in the netherworld, heaven and on earth’ (*pātālasvargamariyāṣu śreṣṭhaḥ*) and BSvP 319³, where Śākyamuni describes his predecessor, the Buddha Kanakamuni, as ‘rescuer of [those] sinful beings [who dwell] in the netherworlds’ (*pātāleṣu ca pāpīnām rakṣakaḥ*). Similar statements at 484¹⁷⁻¹⁸, 485², where Svayambhū is described as being ceaselessly worshipped by gods, mortals and those born in *pātāla*. While the Atala of the BKA is more like a cold hell than a subterranean paradise, the character of the Purāṇic Bala matches that of Devadatta rather well.

153. " 'What suffering will my brother-in-law experience on my account? How will he endure that suffering – the intense cold and the darkness?

154. " 'To the highest world, the Akaniṣṭha heaven, we will assuredly go, [but] how will he go, alone, from one netherworld to the next [and finally to] Atala?

155. " 'Indeed, through my husband's power, some blessed and glorious people will reach heaven while others will achieve liberation, so difficult to attain.

156. " 'Although a scion of the Śākya lineage and grandson to Simḥahanu, how will Devadatta endure, alone and abandoned there by his kinsmen?

157. " 'Will the Protector of the World be able to enlighten this most evil of men, for he is sunk in the unfathomable well of sin?

158. " 'What happiness can there be for me? I have endured ridicule and defamation, and my brother [-in-law], born into the same lineage, is a servant of hell.

159. " 'Even my husband, when he has returned, will condemn me, saying, "It is your fault my brother that [will be] reborn in a state of woe."

160. " 'Ah! Fie on my life in Saṃsāra! What evil did I do in a previous birth? For certainly it is because of me that Devadatta is blinded by lust and resorting to evil.

161. " 'Oh Death, will you carry me off, an ill-fated woman abandoned by her husband, a sinful woman in the grip of unendurable torment?

162. " '[When] you, Ayaśodhara, 'Bearer of Infamy', seize me, who was formerly called Yaśodharā, 'Bearer of Fame', you [will become] Yaśodhārīn, 'Bearer of Fame', and I, Ayaśodharā, 'Bearer of Infamy'.

163. " 'Begone, O [my] life! Leave my body! Tarry not! O sharer of [my] suffering, can you remain forever longing for happiness?

164. " 'Why do I possess such voluptuous beauty? For it [only leads] to sin for those like Devadatta. Leave me, O beauty! Go quickly to his wife!

165. “ ‘Why do you remain with me? I am a forsaken wife, practising an ascetic observance! It is because of you this man is deranged, deceitful and is committing sin.

166. “ ‘Alas! What shall I do, where shall I go, with child [as I am]? Forsaken by my husband, the protector of the world, who will protect *me* in my suffering?’

167. “Thus quietly lamenting to her friend, Yaśodharā, seated in the bedchamber, continued, anxious about the suffering [in store] for Devadatta:

168. “ ‘Instruct and awaken this declaimer of slander¹⁶⁵, Manodharā. Devise some means whereby he will not go to hell.

169. “ ‘For his sake I wish to dwell in hell. Is this possible? Or rather, let whatever evil he has done come to maturity in me.

170. “ ‘You must induce him to honour the Dharma. Make every effort, dear friend, that the sin arising from his evil speech may be destroyed.

171. “ ‘How can we both practise the True Dharma so that the evil of hearing sinful talk will be destroyed, and so that, without suffering infernal [torments], we will be certain to attain liberation?

172. “ ‘Only you, Manodharā, have the power to concentrate my mind. I am tormented by [Devadatta’s] unbearable sin. Instruct me with your ambrosial words!’

173. “At that, Manodharā, apprehensive, replied: “Listen, my lady. Why are you troubled on his behalf? Calm yourself! I shall explain.

174. “ ‘That villain, [would-be] destroyer of the Śākya clan, will inevitably go to Atala! Because there is no other level [below it], it is known as ‘Bottomless’.

175. “ ‘[But] through His power, we two will be freed from fear and go to Akaniṣṭha. Because all [other] worlds are lower, it is [called] ‘Highest’.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵ *avācyavākpravakṭṛ*, ‘speaker of speech that should not be spoken’.

¹⁶⁶ *yena lokāḥ kaniṣṭhās te tenābhūd akaniṣṭhakam*. Cf. AbhidhK (ed.) iii.527¹⁰ (tr. iii.168): “Beyond Akaniṣṭha there is no higher plane. For this reason – because they have the highest place – [the deities dwelling there] are called A-kaniṣṭha, ‘opposite of the lowest’ ” (*tasmād* [scil. *akaniṣṭhād*] *ūrdhvaṃ na punaḥ sthānam asti. ata eva jyeṣṭhabhūtvād akaniṣṭhā ucyante*).

176. " " "What your husband said on the field of contest for [your hand in] marriage: I remember it all, my lady, being still of the same substance as my youth.

177. " "It was then your husband, adept in the worldly arts, overcame with his [bare] hands that great fool, who was armed with a sword, and flung him into the air.¹⁶⁷

178. " "It was then the cruel-hearted villain remained alive due to your husband's compassion and the jeering crowd reviled him with many a skilful curse.¹⁶⁸

179. " "It was then that Sarvārthasiddha, while carrying Siṃha-[hanu]'s bow, with great force broke his (Devadatta's) bow into three, though Devadatta could not [even bend it].¹⁶⁹

180. " "It was then the gods, rejoicing at seeing you awarded to Siddhārtha, reviled and ridiculed Devadatta, who nevertheless exhibited no shame.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ I have noted this scene only in LV (117²⁴-118³, cf. tr. I 230-231). Sarvārthasiddha defeats Nanda, Ānanda and then Devadatta in wrestling. "Then the conceited and arrogant Prince Devadatta, full of vanity at being a Śākya and proud of his strength, challenged the Bodhisattva: he circled, posturing, all around the arena, then rushed at him. Without effort or haste the Bodhisattva playfully seized Prince Devadatta in his right hand. Out of kindness, without any intention to harm him, but only to humble his pride, three times he spun Devadatta around in the air, then set him down again on the ground. And Devadatta's body was unharmed" (*tadanantaram devadattaḥ kumāro garviṭaś ca mānī ca balavān eva tabdhah śākyamānena ca tabdho bodhisattvena sārđham vispardhamānaḥ sarvāvantam raṅgamaṇḍalam pradakṣiṇīkrtya vikrīḍamāno bodhisattvam abhipatati sma. atha bodhisattvo 'sambhṛanta evātvaram dakṣiṇena pāṇinā salilam devadattam kumāram grhītvā trir gaganatale parivartya mānanigrahārtham avihimsābuddhyā maitreṇa cittena dharaṇītale nikṣipati sma. <na> cāsya kāyaṃ vyābādgate sma*). Either our author has added the detail about the sword or he is referring to a version of the episode not known to me.

¹⁶⁸ Manodharā seems to imply that, but for Siddhārtha's intervention, the angry crowd would have killed Devadatta. No hint of this in LV.

¹⁶⁹ An allusion to the archery contest in which the untrained Siddhārtha bests all comers: LV 118²⁴-120¹⁵, tr. I 231-234; Mv ii.75²⁰-76¹³, tr. ii.73; ŚBc 88-90 (three consecutive contests); SBV i.60⁷-27; NK 58, tr. 78; not in Bc. LV 119⁶-7 and ŚBc 89 mention that he broke one or more bows before trying Siṃhahanu's.

¹⁷⁰ LV 119²¹-26, 120⁸-15, Mv ii.76¹⁰-13 and ŚBc 89-90 describe the gods'

181. " 'Incompetent in the sixty-four arts [yet] blustering in his pride and arrogance, it was then, on account of the public condemnation, that he conceived the desire to go to Atala.

182. " 'Since then that evil-minded one has longed to go to Atala, but, lacking assistance,¹⁷¹ and not knowing [how]¹⁷², he is unable.

183. " " 'With what companion will I be able to reach Atala?' So thinking, and seeking a companion, that villain this day has found one.

184. " 'Accompanied by that powerful one, he himself is [now] powerful, having acquired an advantage from us so as to consolidate [his position] through his own deeds.¹⁷³

185. " 'Can those who are weak below be strong above? Can the roofs of houses without pillars be strong?

186. " 'Likewise, without companions it is impossible to reach and remain in a distant region which is inaccessible, dark and intensely cold.

187. " 'Now, through strenuous effort and destiny, he has acquired two companions: when he killed the elephant, there was one; now there is another.

188. " 'Then, by bodily [misdeed], now by [one] of speech, he has acquired [a companion]¹⁷⁴¹⁷⁵. But even with two companions, he cannot reach Atala (*tatra*).

189. " 'So long as he has not similarly acquired ten [such] companions, he will lack the full means and it will be impossible.¹⁷⁶

praise; none state they reviled Devadatta.

¹⁷¹ *a-karmasahāyatva*. Cf. *karmasaciva*, *karmasārathi*, 'assistant' (MW, s.v. *karma*).

¹⁷² *na jānataḥ*. Cf. ED, s.vv. *jāna*, *jānaka*, 'knowing, wise'.

¹⁷³ That is, the two women provide the occasion for Devadatta to commit further evil deeds, which will aid him in reaching Atala.

¹⁷⁴ Inferring *sahāya*, as in the previous verse.

¹⁷⁵ In Manodharā's little allegory, Devadatta's first 'companion' on the road to Atala is taking life (*prāṇātīpāta*), in his case, elephanticide (*gaja-ghātana*); the second is the slander (*paśunya*, *avācya*) implied in propositioning his cousin's wife.

¹⁷⁶ To be wicked enough to reach Atala, Devadatta must commit the other eight of the 'ten evil deeds' (III.137 n.). Cf. III.218.

190. " 'But he is anxious for the arrival of others, and should he acquire ten followers, with them showing him the way, he will certainly reach Atala (*tatra*).

191. " 'Wherever [those] friends abide, there he will find refuge, enjoy the pleasures offered him and be respected as their guest.

192. " 'Unless they abandon him, he will remain there enjoying himself and those friends he has made will honour him to the utmost of their ability.¹⁷⁷

193. " 'In this way he will enjoy those companions and the pleasures they offer him; then, angrily abandoning one after the other, he will reach Atala.

194. " 'There, perfectly still, unfeeling as a post, in the cold and utter darkness he will remain, and it will never release him.

195. " 'What you have said, my lady – "Let his karma ripen in me; for his sake I will dwell in Atala (*tatra*)" – that will not come to pass.'¹⁷⁸

196. " 'What one sows oneself, one reaps oneself; what is sown by others is similarly [reaped by them alone]: it is not they, his true friends, by whom he will be led to Atala (*tatra*).

197. " "Devadatta is a member of my own family." So you have pointed out. Nevertheless, no fault accrues to us or to the family.

198. " 'After all, the [cosmic] poison, which destroys [life] and the nectar [of immortality], which preserves [it], were both produced from that jewel-mine, the ocean, for nature is unalterable.'¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ *gaṁṣyati* 190d and *samāpnuyāt* 193d show that 191-92 are also future.

¹⁷⁸ Referring to Yaśodharā's statement in III.169. That is, even with the best will in the world, no one can experience the consequences of another's deeds (this, of course, is somewhat belied by the popular practice of 'transfer of merit').

¹⁷⁹ This alludes to a myth found in both Sanskrit epics and several Purāṇas (see V.M. Bedakar, "The Legend of the Churning of the Ocean in the Epics and Purāṇas", *Purāṇa* IX, no. 1, pp. 7-61): the gods churn the ocean of milk in order to obtain the nectar of immortality (*amṛta*), but also unwittingly turn up the cosmic poison (*hālāhala*), which threatens to incinerate heaven and earth. Śiva preserves the cosmos by drinking the poison, which burns his throat and earns him the epithet 'Black Throat' (*nīlakaṇṭha*). In the *dhāraṇī* of the 1000-eyed, 1000-armed Avalokiteśvara, still part of daily liturgy in many East Asian monasteries, this physical feature has been assi-

199. " 'Now your alarm is that in listening to this evil you have committed sin. In this matter, forego your anxieties, for in no wise did you listen of your own accord.
200. " 'Neither did you conceive it in your own mind nor speak it in your own voice. [To be sure], the malevolent one arrived when [we] were discussing Dharma.
201. " 'Now because this deranged man is evil, even in the present situation there is no fault on your part: killing the elephant precipitated Devadatta's plunge into the deep well of sin.¹⁸⁰
202. " 'Thus, so long as he has not reached Atala, he shall wander from one netherworld to another: if his companions are unable to abandon him, he will go.
203. " 'Therefore, my lady, be not anxious! Meditate on the glorious Triple Gem through the power of which sin is dissolved, like salt in water.
204. " 'Devadatta! You had better consider carefully whether what I have said is true. Begone! Go home at once! How can your mind be [so] disordered?
205. " 'Did your friend Dharmadatta not say something to you [in this regard]? In your deranged condition did you come here contrary to his advice?
206. " 'Repeat all I have said to your friend Dharmadatta. An intelligent man, he will understand, as will Udāyin, the chaplain.¹⁸¹
207. " 'Do not disregard what he says, O man of ill-will! Rather, I counsel you to heed him, O man of disordered mind!
208. " 'Ah, Prince Devadatta! Are you devoted to evil because you are blinded by lust and greed? [Is that] also why your mind is disordered?
- 209-210b. " 'Born into a blemishless family, will you besmirch yourself? Do you act out of [sheer] perverseness, thinking in your heart, "My elder brother was born a saviour; I shall be a destroyer!"?

milated to Avalokiteśvara (see L. Chandra, *The Thousand-Armed Avalokiteśvara*, New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1988, pp. 31-33, 268-271).

¹⁸⁰ III.87, 95-96, 187.

¹⁸¹ See notes on Chandaka and Udāyin, I.17.

210c-211. " 'He who rightly seeks Awakening gave up eighty-four thousand consorts! You are that wise man's younger brother. How then, my lord, can you propose intimacy with another man's wife?

212. " 'Even if one might carry off another's wife, how could one carry off such a one [as Gopā]? She is auspicious, a mother to her people, a holy woman who strives for the welfare of her subjects;

213. " 'A superlative woman, devoted to her husband, the Omniscient One, and who is carrying his child¹⁸²; greatly esteemed by the people and like a mother in working for their welfare.

214. " 'King Śuddhodana's beloved daughter-in-law deserves your esteem! For such a woman, who should be honoured, how can your passions be aroused?

215. " 'One cannot imagine, even in a dream, how one could diminish the true religion or happiness of that woman, who is with child, and whose lotus-feet deserve our veneration.

216. " 'Toward her how could you ever develop lustful thoughts? Fall not into false views, O scion of the Śākya lineage!

217. " 'Do not inflict distress upon your own true family, [now] newly invigorated¹⁸³, nor strive for long stay in Atala, which would be unendurable.

218. " '[Rather], strive, along with the people, to attain liberation, the supreme joy, so difficult to attain. With the passions as your companions, you will never reach it, but will only wander below, from one netherworld to the next, and thence down to Atala.

219. " 'What value, then, royal power, which must be relinquished? What value the intoxication of youth and transient pleasures whose only issue is sin?

220. " 'For these very reasons your brother voluntarily gave up the riches of his station: he became a wandering mendicant and undertook ascetic practice out of a desire for the riches of liberation.

221. " 'Follow his example! With liberation as your goal, take up the religious life yourself! It is possible [for you] to save the world! Do not extricate yourself alone!

¹⁸² A secondary meaning for *sarvajñabījadhārīṇī* (213b) might be 'carrying the seeds of omniscience', if we gloss *sarvajña* as *sarvajñatā*.

¹⁸³ Referring to Yaśodharā's pregnancy.

222. " 'If you cannot manage that, cultivate at all times the True Dharma, that is, the [Poṣadha] Observance and the other practices!¹⁸⁴ Destroy the evil that has arisen from taking life and from slanderous speech.¹⁸⁵

223 " 'How can [you] not fear the torments [of the hells] and the king's punishment? Being blinded by depravity¹⁸⁶ has led to all this: do not make it worse!'

224. "On hearing this advice to take up the religious life, the foolish Devadatta's face reddened with anger, his limbs trembled with hatred and he gnashed his teeth repeatedly:

225. " 'Madwoman! Aren't you heroic, wise and discerning, you, an ill-fated slave woman! Pah! What sort of prattle is this? [Then to Gopā:]

226. " 'You, who daily forsake your lord to sleep with a paramour, would not remain in Atala (*tatra*)! You would leave for the City of Liberation!¹⁸⁷

227. " 'Slut! What are you talking about, imagining [yourself] beautiful?¹⁸⁸ If you were not dwelling in the palace, I'd chop off your head!¹⁸⁹ [To Manodharā:]

228. " 'Clever lady, by way of the lake I'll send you and Gopā hurtling from one netherworld to the next, [but only] after I've cut out your wagging tongues and lopped off your noses!

229. " 'I shall certainly become lord of this realm after Śuddhodana's death: then I may listen to your advice, which should be heeded like so many tall tales.

¹⁸⁴ *vratādika*. The Ten Skilful/Virtuous Actions (III.137 n.), the Six Perfections (III.129 n.), the Four Sublime States, etc.

¹⁸⁵ That is, from killing the elephant and propositioning Yaśodharā.

¹⁸⁶ See III.218 n.

¹⁸⁷ On the analogy of his own fiction that Yaśodharā forsook her husband to rut with another man, Devadatta rejects her declaration (III.169, 195) that she wishes to go to Atala in his stead, i.e., to take the consequences of his evil upon herself.

¹⁸⁸ III.165-66.

¹⁸⁹ *bhaviṣyasi śiraśchidā*, 'you'd be a woman with a severed head.'

230. " 'Will it then be I who goes to Atala, or the pair of you? Or perhaps that Dharma which is cultivated through ascetical observances will protect you.

231. " 'Then neither the 'True Dharma', nor that [so-called] omniscient beggar, nor the king will protect you from me!¹⁹⁰

232. " 'Nor, indeed, will even all of them [together]! Destruction at my hands thus awaits you both! May all this, O you two who shall be worth seeing, be witnessed by me, lion among kings!

233. " 'Because of her ambitions for the child in her womb, Yaśodharā has repeatedly insulted me, who merit respect [thinking], "The birth of a daughter is worth [only] one thousandth part of the birth of a single son."

234. " 'Should [this child] be born, can he [really] be supreme lord of the realm, or a fortunate [fellow] like me? For what is begotten from a wretched beggar's seed can only be a sorry fruit!

235. " 'Bah! You are expert at perversity: you have done something perverted to me, you practise vice as virtue and present falsehood as truth!

236. " 'Miserable woman, both you and Gopā I regarded with a pitying eye – I came to your rescue, but you revile me, abuse me [and treat me] with contempt!

237. " 'Abandoned by her husband in her prime, in the bloom of her youth, constantly scorched by flames of lust, Gopā, like a widow, is without protection!

238. " 'Oppressed by the burden of her unborn child, she relishes wholesome foods, longing to taste their divers flavours and desirous of the nectar of my lips.

239. " 'In the past she longed only for me – handsome as a god, desirable in my mastery of the sixty-four arts¹⁹¹, blessed, her own age, without peer!

240. " '[But], fearful of punishment by the king, she chose as husband one not to her own liking; she was given in marriage out of fear [by a father] terrified of royal chastisement.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ Here and in the first half of the next verse I have translated Devadatta's rhetorical interrogative as an exclamatory negative.

¹⁹¹ Cf. Manodharā's testimony, III.181.

241. " 'She is going to choose me, Devadatta, as her husband, she who is now so fortunate and blessed as to be sought in marriage by me, who am so desirable.

242. " 'In order to protect the bashful Gopā, you dishonour me, who am righteous and have come out of compassion, with the unendurable barbs of calumny. Fie!

243. " 'All this I shall endure for now – so long as I am not king. You are glib and adulterous and Śuddhodana is under the sway of your magic power.

244. " 'By virtue of this precedence over all, you are first lady, a snare for the king. In this kingdom you are the authority, for the king dances to your tune.¹⁹³

245. " 'You possess supreme power; you can force me to become a monk. We are all of us subject to you – from the royal family to the lowest of the people.

246. " 'If you have the power, despatch me to Atala (*tatra*) right this moment, or send me from house to house, a monk [begging] for almsfood.

247. " 'If not, I will despatch you, headless and bound tightly with ropes, to Akaniṣṭha, endowed with the merit from your mendicant's vows.

248. " 'It is *you* who are the fool, though you have called me one! It is *you* who are incapable of spiritual cultivation! It is *you* who are irreligious and stupid!

249. " 'Forsaken by Sarvārthasiddha, Gopā, too, is a fool, for since her husband abandoned her, she has sunk into a state of morbid indifference.

250. " 'And thus hurt by her husband, defenceless, and suffering terribly, even then, she did not consider, 'What will become [of me]?'

251. " 'Nor did [you, Manodharā, consider], "I am the servant of a defenceless woman whose lord has forsaken her. Now I am without a master. Who will protect me?"

¹⁹² Devadatta reiterates his fantasy of III.17-18.

¹⁹³ *vacanatale 'sty asau*, 'he is on the surface of [your] words.'

252. " 'Being thus incapable of forethought, *you* are the fool, for just as you said, slut, youth does not last!
253. " 'As in due course youth fades, beauty is lost and your hair turns gray,¹⁹⁴ remorse will indeed consume you.
254. " 'When you are old, arrogant woman, a young man, looking upon you, will intensify your grief, mocking your ugliness with great cries of derision.
255. " 'Then, heart stricken by remorse, face covered in tears and hands folded in supplication, you will make your entreaty to me, who [by then] will have become king:
256. " 'Then I will surely do as I have now vowed. I will not tolerate your talk, then, slut! Now, however, I am powerless.'
257. " 'So saying, the enraged Devadatta, repeatedly shaking his fist at Manodharā, stood, hesitating, on the verge of departing.
258. " 'Manodharā then replied to him, unafraid and with a smile on her face: 'Yaśodharā, aided by my friendship, abides at all times in equanimity (*upekṣā*).
259. " 'Devadatta, when you become king, make what you say something I shall have to heed, since toward me you are the embodiment of kindness¹⁹⁵.
260. " 'Tonight – right now! – chop off my head: giving in secret is great giving, just as sinning in secret is great sin.
261. " 'Without making a gift of my head, how can I, a woman, attain liberation? And without cutting off someone's head, how can you reach Atala?
262. " " 'And how can one reach Akaniṣṭha or Atala, [except] with a friend?' So did [your] elder brother concisely put it and so did I hear it.
263. " 'Hence, for Yaśodharā and me, you are a spiritual friend (*kal-yāṇamitra*), for you grant Release (*apavarga*): he who severs the guiltless head liberates from sin.

¹⁹⁴ *dehe palitasamvyāpte*, 'when your body [is] covered with gray'.

¹⁹⁵ Here Manodharā indulges in a little sarcasm at Devadatta's expense.

264. “ ‘When will I give the gift of my head? Such is my heart’s true desire. Through you alone can this resolution, made for the sake of liberation, be fulfilled.

265. “ ‘Headless¹⁹⁶ you must make me without delay!’ So saying, Manodharā flung herself on the ground before him, overjoyed, her resolution made.

266. “ ‘Send me to Sukhāvati¹⁹⁷ – chop off my head!’ Although she [meant to] shame Devadatta by urging him in this way, he, unashamed, [retorted]:

267. “ ‘In due course I’ll despatch you [hence] – on that account harbour no doubts!’ So saying, body hot with rage, he returned home.

268. “When the lust-tormented Devadatta had gone, Yaśodharā and Manodharā talked for a time, then, feeling [rather] apprehensive, went to sleep.

269. “[As for Devadatta], consumed with hatred for Sarvārtha-[siddha] and immersed in a well of anxious thought, he broke out in a fever of rage and passed a sleepless night.

270. “After that, Devadatta sought ways to get at the two women, for one blinded by desire pays no heed to shame or whether he does right or wrong.

¹⁹⁶ *niṣkaṇṭha*, ‘neckless’, which amounts to the same thing.

¹⁹⁷ ‘Realm of Bliss’, ‘Pure Land’, ‘Western Paradise’: the world presided over by the Buddha Amitābha/Amitāyus, a paradise where conditions are ideal for rapid attainment of full Buddhahood. The two recensions of the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* describe in detail meditative visualisation of Sukhāvati but also teach that all those with faith in Amitābha can be reborn there as advanced Bodhisattvas. So *Kalpadrūmāvadānamālā* X.487 (ed. Speyer, Avś II, p. xci): *ye maitrībhāvadharmaṃ kalimatiharaṇaṃ tat subhūteś caritram śṛṇvanti śrāvayanti tribhuvanasukhadam saṃnipātya janaughān | te lokā maitracittās tribhuvanasukhadāḥ kṣāntisaurabhyayuktā yātāḥ saukhāvatīm te ’py amitarucimuner dharmam ārādhayanti ||* At BSvP 222⁴, the Buddha Krakucchanda promises his newly ordained monks that devotion to the Three Jewels and practise of the Ten Virtuous Deeds will enable them to reach Sukhāvati. Also, in MJM XIII, Prince Animiṣa vows to be reborn in Sukhāvati, the Buddhafield of Amitāyus, whereupon the Tathāgata Ratnagarbha foretells that he will be reborn as the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.