

The Names of Buddhist Hells in East Asian Buddhism

Ineke Van Put

Catholic University of Leuven – Belgium

RELEVANT SOURCES

THE OLDEST ĀGAMA STORIES speak of just one hell, (Mahā)niraya. Especially important in this context are the *Devadūta-sūtra* (“The Heavenly Messengers”) and the *Bālapaṇḍita-sūtra* (“The Fool and the Wise”). They provide the basis for all later hell descriptions. The image of hell as a blazing iron cube with four gates each leading to a set of penance courts goes back to the *Devadūta-sūtra*, whereas the *Bālapaṇḍita-sūtra*, besides giving evidence of further developed retribution theories, inspired many of the later *utsadas*, or supplementary hells.

Around the beginning of the Common Era, a new system of multiple hells, based on the early Mahāniraya structure, enters into the picture. It consists of eight hot hells, each surrounded by four times four supplementary hells, now called *utsadas*. Representative texts that describe this newly developed system are the cosmologies of the Chinese *Dīrghāgama* (T. 1.30) and related scriptures. They also mention a second series of hells, which may be called the Arbuda series. The Arbuda series goes back to the *Kokālika-sūtra*, another *Āgama* text of which many versions exist. They are well known as the cold hells of the Northern tradition.

The final stage in the development of the cosmological image of hell is reached at the moment when the Eight Great Hells, which developed from the Mahāniraya concept, are combined with the Arbuda series. This does not mean, however, that from this point onwards no variations are possible. Quite the contrary: how the various elements are combined varies greatly from text to text. Representative examples of this stage may be found in such texts as the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (T.

1558) and the *Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa* (T. 1509). Sources such as the *Mahāvibhāṣā* (T. 1545) from Kaśmīra or Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* ("Path of Purity") of the Theravāda tradition may be equally important, but their influence in East Asia is minor in comparison to the texts of the western Sarvastivāda, Dharmaguptaka, and Mahāsāṃghika traditions mentioned above. They will not be discussed here.

Early Āgama Sutras

The *Devadūta-sūtra* and *Bālapaṇḍita-sūtra*, which according to Przyluski go back to a common source,¹ were produced by the Sthaviras of Kauśāmbī and the Sarvāstivādins of Mathurā, respectively. Later, the ideas contained in both sutras were exchanged, leading to a Kauśāmbī version of the *Bālapaṇḍita-sūtra* and a Mathurā version of the *Devadūta-sūtra*. Still according to Przyluski, the Sarvāstivāda texts were preserved as the *Tianshijing* (Jpn. *Tenshikyō* 天使經, T. 26.64) and *Chihuijing* (Jpn. *Chiekyō* 痴慧經, T. 26.199) of the Chinese *Madhyamāgama*. The Kauśāmbī texts correspond to *Majjhima* no. 129 (*Bālapaṇḍita-sutta*) and no. 130 (*Devadūta-sutta*).² He also places the compilation of both sutras in the Mauryan era (324–187 BCE). The translation of the *Madhyamāgama* into Chinese was made between 397 and 398 by Gautama Saṃghadeva (fl. end of the fourth century CE).

There are also other versions of both texts available, such as the *Scriptural Texts about Niraya* (Ch. *Nilijing*; Jpn. *Nairikyō* 泥犁經; T. 86). The first part of the text (907a13–909b01) is related to the *Bālapaṇḍita-sūtra*, whereas the second part (909b02–910c22) is related to the *Devadūta-sūtra*. Another, almost equal version of the second part also exists as a separate sutra, called the *Scripture about the Niraya of the Iron Citadel* (Ch. *Tiechengnilijing*; Jpn. *Tetsujōnairikyō* 鐵城泥犁經; T. 42). The alleged translator of both the *Scripture about the Niraya of the Iron Citadel* and the *Scripture about Niraya* is Zhu Tanwulan (Jpn. Jiku Donmuran 竺曇無蘭; Skt. Dharmarājan?).³ He translated both texts during the second half of the Eastern Jin (317–419). Most probably his affinity was with the Dharmaguptakas.⁴

Other texts related to the *Devadūta-sūtra* are the *Āṅguttara -nikāya* (III, 35),⁵ T. 125.32.4 of the Chinese *Ekottarāgama*, and the *Scripture about King Yamarāja and the Five Heavenly Messengers* (Ch. *Yanluowangwutianshizhejing*; Jpn. *Enraōgotenshishakyō* 閻羅王五天使者經; T. 43); a text related to the *Bālapaṇḍita-sūtra* is *Āṅguttara -nikāya* (II, III).⁶ The Chinese

Ekottarāgama was translated by Gautama Saṃghadeva between 397 and 398, the *Scripture about King Yamarāja and the Five Heavenly Messengers* by Huijian (Jpn. Ekan 惠簡; fl. 457 CE).

The *Kokālika-sūtra* has many versions in both Pāli and Chinese. The oldest and most complete version is the *Suttanipāta* (III, 10) from around 300 BCE.⁷ Related texts are the *Samyutta-nikāya* (VI, i, 10) and *Anguttara-nikāya* (X, 9 [89]), as well as *T. 99.1278* (Ch. *Jujiali*; Jpn. *Kukari* 瞿迦黎) and *T. 100.276* (Ch. *Jujiali*; Jpn. *Kukari* 瞿迦梨) of the Chinese *Samyuktāgama* and *T. 125.21.5* (Ch. *Juboli*; Jpn. *Kuhari* 瞿波離). The *Taishō* 99 translation of the Chinese *Samyuktāgama* was made by Guṇabhadra (394–468); the *Taishō* 100 translation was made between 350 and 431. The translator is unknown. Lamotte mentions versions in the *Divyāvadāna*, *Avadānaśataka*, and *Mahāvvyutpatti* (nos. 4929–4936) for the *Sarvāstivāda* tradition, as well as the *Dharmasamuccaya* (chap. 122).⁸

EARLY COSMOLOGIES (CA. 100 BCE–200 CE)

The *Lokaprajñapti* of the Chinese *Dīrghāgama* (Jpn. *Sekikyō* 世記經; *T. 1.30*), which is considered to belong to the Dharmaguptaka tradition,⁹ was translated in 413, soon after Buddhayaśas (384–417) brought the text from the Gandhāran cultural area¹⁰ to China. According to Ishigawa Kaizu, the original text dates from between 100 BCE and 200 CE.¹¹ This is relatively late for an *Āgama* text. Of the related texts, the *Qishijing* (Jpn. *Kisekyō* 起世經; *T. 24*; trans. Jñānagupta, 523–600) and the *Qishiyinbenjing* (Jpn. *Kiseinpongyō* 起世因本經; *T. 25*; trans. Dharmagupta, d. 619) are based on the same original. The *Daloutanjing* (Jpn. *Dairōtanyō* 大樓炭經; Skt. *Lokasthāna?*; *T. 23*) seems to be a translation of an older text belonging to the same tradition. The last text was translated between 290 and 306 by Fa Li (法立, 265–316) and Fa Ju (法炬, dates unknown). There is no corresponding Pāli of either the *Lokaprajñapti* or of its related texts. Denis believes that the *Lokaprajñapti* of the Chinese *Dīrghāgama*, the *Lokaprajñapti* *abhidharma* (*Lishiapitanlun*; Jpn. *Riseabidōron* 立世阿鼻曇論; *T. 1644*) and a Burmese *Lokapaññatti* of the eleventh or twelfth century go back to the same, no longer extant Sanskrit cosmology.¹² The *Lokaprajñapti* *abhidharma*, which was translated by Paramārtha (500–569), is traditionally ascribed to Aśvaghōṣa (first to

second century CE), but may be older.¹³ New research by Kiyoshi Okano has pointed out the Sāṃmitiya affiliation of the text.¹⁴

LATER COSMOLOGIES (CA. 200–500 CE)

The *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (Jpn. *Abidatsumakusharon* 阿毘達摩俱舍論, T. 29 no. 1558) by Vasubandhu (fifth century CE) has been translated twice, once by Paramārtha (500–569) and once by Xuanzang (602–664). Belonging to the Sarvāstivāda tradition, the text played an important role in the development of Sino-Japanese Buddhism. Its ongoing influence is obvious from the fact that it was used as the main source for the *Śes-bya rab-gsal* (Skt. *Jñeyaparakāśāśāstra*), a Buddhist manual written for Qubilai's son and crown prince, Zhenjin (1243–1285), by 'Phags-pa (1235–1280). The text was translated from the Tibetan to Chinese as the *Treatise on the Elucidation of the Knowable* (Ch. *Zhangsuozhilun*; Jpn. *Shōshochiron* 彰所智論; T. 1645).¹⁵ Hell descriptions in other influential texts such as the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra* (Ch. *Yuqieshidilun*; Jpn. *Yugashijiron* 瑜伽師地論; T. 30 no. 1579), attributed to Asaṅga (ca. 400) and translated by Xuanzang (602–664), offer basically the same hell system as the one presented in the *Kośa*.

The *Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa* (Ch. *Dazhidulun*; Jpn. *Daichidoron* 大智度論; T. 25 no. 1509) is traditionally attributed to Nāgārjuna (ca. 200 CE), but new insights in the developments of Sārvāstivāda Buddhism¹⁶ lead to the conclusion that its main author might have been Kumārajīva (350–409, 413?) himself. Lamotte's suggestion that the *Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa* (hereafter *Mahāprajñā*) was written about one century after Nāgārjuna supports this view. Kumārajīva, who was educated in Kaśmīra, probably compiled the work as a Mādyamika *abhidharma*, resembling the Kaśmīra *abhidharma*, which he had studied. The *Mahāprajñā* is one of the most important non-Sarvāstivāda texts that contributed to the perception of Buddhist hell in East Asia.

The Development of the Single Hell Structure of Mahāniraya into the Eight Hot Hells

The basic hell structure as described in early *Āgama* sutras consists of one single hell. In the Pāli *Majjhima-nikāya* this hell is called Mahāniraya, whereas in the Chinese *Madyamāgama* it is called Four-Gate Hell (Ch. *Simen Dadiyu*; Jpn. *Shimon Daijigoku* 四門大地獄) or

just “hell” (Ch. *diyu*; Jpn. *jigoku* 地獄). *Majjhima* no. 130 also uses the expression *catudvāro*, but only in the stanza.¹⁷ The *Devadūta-sūtras* as well as the *Bālapaṇḍita-sūtras* describe Mahāniraya as an enormous hot burning iron cube with a gate at each of the four sides. The main difference between the texts concerns the tortures. The *Devadūta-sūtras* speak of several places of torture outside the eastern gate of hell. In the *Bālapaṇḍita-sūtras* the evildoers are subjected to various tortures before entering (*Majjhima-nikāya*) or after having entered hell (Chinese *Madyamāgama*). The names of the extramural courts of penance—Kukūla, Kuṇapa, etc.—and the implements of torture—iron pellets (*ayoguḍa*), copper cauldron (*lohakumbhi*), etc.—are recycled by later cosmologies as *utsadas* (table 1).

The Eight Hot Hells

In the eightfold hell structure, Mahāniraya corresponds to Avīci, the “inferior limit of the Kāmadhatu” (*Dhammasaṅgaṇi* 1281¹⁸) and the most fearful of the eight hot hells. This development of the single hell structure into the complex structure of eight hells seems to be related to the development of Buddhist cosmology. As can be seen in the *Samkicca Jātaka* (*Jātaka* 530), or the *Chapter about the Eight Hardships* of the Chinese *Ekottarāgama* (Ch. *Banan*; Jpn. *Hachinan* 八難; T. 125.42), there was a time that Avīci occupied the sixth place, followed—not preceded—by Tapana and Pratāpana:

“Sañjīva, Kālasutta and Roruva, great and small,
Saṅghāta, Great Avīci, are names that may well appal,
With Tapana and Patāpana, eight major hells in all.”¹⁹

“There are eight great hells.” “Which are these eight?” “The first is the Sañjīva hell, the second the Kālasūtra hell, the third the Saṅghāta hell, the fourth the Raurava hell, the fifth the Mahāraurava hell, the sixth the Avīci hell, the seventh the Tapana hell, the eighth the Pratāpana hell. The eight are the great burning hells. Such, *bhikṣus*, are the eight great hells.” (T. 125.42, 747c06–10)²⁰

The reason is probably as follows. When placed in a cosmological context, hell, *in casu* Mahāniraya, would be given a position opposed to heaven. Heaven was, from a very early stage on, considered to be six-fold with each heaven being located one level higher on Meru Mountain. As Buddhist cosmology developed, hell was to counterbalance the

heavenly realm. As a result, the single Mahāniraya structure was replaced by six hells in accordance with the six heavens.

Avīci, the hell of hells and in that sense the successor of Mahāniraya, became the antipode of the sixth heaven, Paranirmitavaśavartin. Tapanā and Pratāpana (or Paritāpana), initially in the seventh and eighth place, served as antipodes of the Rūpa- and Ārūpyadhātus.²¹ The original function of both Tapanas blurred away as they were relocated as the sixth and seventh hells, and Avīci was placed at the bottom of the world system. The following passage from the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* still indicates the relation between the six hells and the six heavens:

What about [the lifespan of] the evil destinations? The stanza says:

“From Sañjīva, etc., six [hells] up, they follow the sequence of the Kāmadeva

A life [in heaven] being one day and night [in hell], their lifespans are the same.

Pratāpana half an intermediate *kalpa*, Avīci a complete intermediate *kalpa*.” (T. 1558, 61c04–18)²²

It seems that even here, Avīci may have originally been placed in the sixth position, so that both Tapanas would have been paired, which seems more logical:

| | | |
|-------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| Sañjīva | Caturmahārājakāyika | 500 years |
| Kālasūtra | Trāyastriṃśā | 1,000 years |
| Saṅghāta | Yāma | 2,000 years |
| Raurava | Tuṣita | 4,000 years |
| Mahāraurava | Nirmāṇarati | 8,000 years |
| Avīci | Paranirmitavaśavartin | 16,000 years |
| Tapanā | Rūpadhātu | ½ intermediate <i>kalpa</i> |
| Pratāpana | Ārūpyadhātu | 1 intermediate <i>kalpa</i> |

The Kokālika-sūtra and the Cold Hells

Where the Kokālika (var. Kokāliya) story first originated is uncertain, but after some time it must have been known in both the north-western area and in central and south India. The oldest version of the story is the *Kokāliya-sutta* of the *Suttanipāta* (III, 10). It is the longest and most complete extant version. The story contains the following five elements:

1. Kokālika speaks badly about Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. Although the World-Honored One tries to stop him, Kokālika continues slandering both monks.
2. Soon after, his whole body is covered with continuously growing boils. They grow until they burst and blood and pus is coming out of them.
3. Kokālika dies from this disease and is reborn in the Paduma (Skt. Padma) hell.
4. The monks assemble and ask the Buddha to explain the length of one lifespan in Paduma hell. The Buddha explains that when a person would pick one sesame seed every hundred years from twenty Kosalan cartloads of sesame seeds, the carts would sooner be empty than the lifespan in one Abudda (Skt. Arbuda) hell. Twenty Abudda hells equal one Nirabbuda (Skt. Nirarbuda) hell, twenty Nirabbuda hells one Ababa (Skt. Ababa) hell, twenty Ababa hells one Ahaha (Skt. Huhuva) hell, twenty Ahaha hells one Aṭaṭa hell, twenty Aṭaṭa hells one Kumuda hell, twenty Kumuda hells one Sogandhika (Skt. Saugandhika) hell, twenty Sogandhika hells one Puṇḍarika hell, and twenty Puṇḍarika hells one Paduma hell.
5. The story ends with a long verse of twenty-two stanzas. The first couple of stanzas speak in general terms about the fate of transgressors, in particular those who speak evil, to be reborn in hell. The remaining stanzas give a detailed description of the tortures of hell.

In the English translations of the PTS, Kokālika is moreover referred to as the “Kokālikan” monk. According to Woodward, it refers to the fact that “he was a native of the town Kokālī.”²³ One wonders, however, whether the name is not related to the terms *koka(-nada)*, meaning “the (red) lotus,”²⁴ and *alika*, meaning “contrary, false, untrue (adj.); a lie, falsehood (n).”²⁵ The name of Kokālika’s hell, Paduma, also means lotus. According to Monier-Williams, another meaning is “a particular mark or mole on the human body.”²⁶ Whether the second meaning is derived from the Kokālika story or whether it is another pun is unclear.

It is interesting to note that the difference between the various Arbuda hells concerns the period of time spent inside only. Different from the hell descriptions in the *Devadūta-* and *Bālapaṇḍita-sūtras*, the fear factor is the amount of time spent inside, not the tortures. The story seems to suggest that for one's bad karma to be extinguished more time should be spent, depending on the degree of wrongdoing. Buddhaghosa in his commentary on the *Suttanipāta* must have thought along similar lines when he stated that the Arbuda hells are timespans of Avīci.²⁷

In the northwestern area some versions of the original Kokālika story appear to have been combined with the bodhisattva ideal of Mahayana Buddhism. For example, in *T. 125.21.5* Maudgalyāyana asks permission to visit Kokālika in hell. Once there, he sees how Kokālika's body is burned, and how a hundred-headed bull is plowing his tongue. Maudgalyāyana shows pity, but since Kokālika feels no remorse, the former returns to the side of the Buddha. In the *Storehouse of Sundry Valuables* (Ch. *Zabaozangjing*; Jpn. *Zappōzōkyō* 雜寶藏經; T. no. 203), parable 28, called "Kokālika Slanders Śāriputra" (仇伽離謗舍利弗等緣; 460c29–461b28),²⁸ it is explained that neither Maudgalyāyana nor Śāriputra could rescue Kokālika from hell, because they did not have bodhisattva powers. Typical for the "Mahayana" versions of the story is that they do not include the passage in which the monks ask about the lifespan in Padma hell.

The Kokālika story appears also in the hell chapters of the *Lokaprajñapti* of the Chinese *Dīrghāgama* and related texts as well as in the *Lokaprajñaptiabhidharma*, mostly following an account of the Arbuda hells. In these texts the Arbuda hells are not yet qualified as cold. This is only the case in later texts such as *Mahāprajñā* and *Kośa*, where they have been integrated in a larger system together with the Eight Great Hot Hells.

The questions of how and why the Arbuda hells developed from "timespans" to be spent in hell into cold hells are in my opinion related to developments in cosmological theory and the subsequent relocation of *niraya* from the outer-worldly Lokāntarika, the cold, intermundane darkness between three tangent worlds, into "this world."⁵⁸

GLOSSARY: SOME INFERNAL TERMINOLOGY

NARAKA/NIRAYA

Chinese translation. 地獄 T. 1.30, T. 24, T. 26.64, T. 26.199, T. 1558, T. 1509

Sound translation. 泥犁 T. 23, T. 42, T. 86; 捺落迦 T. 1558

A *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. “Niraya (Skt., Pāli),” gives two explanations for the term: (1) nis+i = egression, sc. from earthly life, or (2) nir+aya “without happiness.” According to Kane, *naraka* may mean “going below (the earth)” (ni+araka), or “where there is not the slightest place for joy” (na+ra+ka).²⁹ Iwamoto understands *naraka* as the “human (world)” (人間の[世界]).³⁰ Whatever the correct etymology may be, it seems that *niraya* is the Prakrit form of Sanskrit *naraka*.³¹ This explains the transliteration of *niraya* in T. 23, T. 42, and T. 86, and of *naraka* in the *Kośa* (T. 1558).

GREAT HOT HELLS**Avīci**

Chinese translation. 無間大地獄 T. 1.30; 無間地獄 T. 1558

Sound translation. 阿鼻摩訶泥犁 T. 23; 阿毘至大地獄 T. 24; 阿鼻麻泥犁 T. 42, T. 86; 阿鼻地獄 T. 1509; 阿鼻旨大捺落迦 T. 1558

Description. The *Kośa* explains the meaning of Avīci as follows:

Because unlike the other seven *narakas* there one receives suffering without interval, and because the suffering is extreme, it is called Without Interval (T. 1558: 58b6). . . . There is another master who explains: “In Avīci there is suffering without happy intervals. Therefore it is called Without Interval. In the other hells happy intervals occur” (T. 1558: 58b9–58b10).³²

Buddhaghosa explains Avīci as *nirantarapūrīta*, “completely filled.” According to Haldar this refers to the fact that Avīci is filled with fire,³³ but apparently the word was also used to denote density of population.³⁴ The *Pañcagatidīpana*’s explanation of the word as *a-vīci*, “without a ripple (of happiness),” reminds one of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*’s description:

a person who utters any lie at the time of deposing evidence, money-transactions or donating a gift, enters after death a supportless hell called *Avīci*. In that hell, he is hurled down headlong from a (steep) mountain top one hundred Yojanas in height to a place with

rocky surface appearing as water. Hence it is called *avīci-mat* (A place with hard surface but appearing like water with ripples).³⁵

The texts of the Chinese *Tripitaka* use both the translation *wujian* (Jpn. *mugen* 無間), “without interval,” and a series of transliterations, which generally read *A-bi-shi* or *A-bi*. In the *Niraya-sūtras* T. 42 and T. 86, we find the expression “Abimonili,” which seems to stand for “Avī(ci) ma(hā) niraya.” Here *Avī(ci) ma(hā)niraya* is used as a synonym for *Mahāniraya*, not as an appellation for *Avīci* as one of the Eight Hot Hells. The close relationship between *Avīci* and the *Mahāniraya* of the *Devadūta-* and *Bālapaṇḍita-sūtras* is also apparent in the *Mahāprajñā*’s description of *Avīci*, where *Avīci* is surrounded by the penance courts *kukūla*, *kuṇapa*, *kṣuramārga*, *ayaḥśālmalivana*, and *kṣārodakanadī* (see *infra*). *Avīci* is often associated with offenses that cause *ānantarya*, “immediate (retribution),” also translated *wujian*.

Offenders. According to T. 1.30, those who commit any of “the worst of criminal actions” (極姜罪行) fall into *Avīci*. Probably the five actions of immediate retribution, or *ānantarya* (五逆罪・無間業) are meant. These are (1) matricide (*mātrghāta*), (2) patricide (*pitrgḥāta*), (3) shedding the blood of a *tathāgatha* (*tathāgatasyāntike duṣṭacittarudhiroṣpādaṇa*), (4) causing a schism (*saṃghabheda*), and (5) killing an *arhat* (*arhadghāta/arhadvadha*).³⁶ The *Mahāprajñā* also relates *Avīci* to the five actions of immediate retribution. The *Mahāprajñā*’s definition of the five *ānantarya*, however, differs from the common one. In the *Mahāprajñā* they are: “(1) Destroying wholesome roots, (2) Calling right ‘wrong,’ (3) Calling wrong ‘right,’ (4) Denying cause and effect, and (5) Detesting good people.”

Lifespan. One intermediate *kalpa* (*Kośa*, T. 1645).

Sañjīva—Hell of Revival

Chinese translation. 想大地獄 T. 1.30; 想泥犁 T. 23; 活(大)地獄 T. 24; 活大地獄 T. 1509; 等活榛落迦 T. 1558

Description. *Sañjīva* means “reviving” and is usually translated as such. T. 1.30 and T. 23 translate *xiang* (想), which could be a translation of *saṃjñā*. In the *Mahāprajñā*, the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*, and the *Ōjyōshū* the hell wardens shout, “revive, revive,” which is the signal for the beings to come back to life and continue fighting. In T. 1645 “a voice from space” revives them. In an effort to explain *saṃjñā*, T. 1.30 clarifies that the beings “imagine” that they are dead, and in T. 23 they “imagine” wanting to kill the other beings.

Offenders. *T.* 1. 30: those who physically act wrongly without verbally or mentally doing good; *T.* 1509: killers of animals and those who kill for the acquisition of wealth.

Lifespan. Sañjīva is 500 years, of which each day equals the total lifespan of the Cāturmahārājakāyika gods (*Kośa*, *T.* 1645).

Kālasūtra—Hell of the Black Thread

Chinese translation. 黑繩大地獄 *T.* 1.30; 黑耳泥犁 *T.* 23; 黑大地獄 *T.* 24; 黑繩大地獄 *T.* 1509; 黑繩(捺落迦)/黑繩地獄 *T.* 1558

Description. In the hell of the Black Thread the hell wardens, like carpenters sawing wood, mark the bodies of the beings with a black thread as an indication of where to cut. Japanese hell paintings depict yet another Kālasūtra scene, which involves hell wardens who chase the beings on an iron rope. The rope is hung between two poles above a hot boiling kettle, in which they fall when they lose their equilibrium. This scene is described by the *Ōjyōshū*, which in turn cites from the *Guanfosanmeihaijing* (Jpn. *Kanbutsusanmaikaikyō* 觀仏三昧海經; *T.* 15, no. 643, 673c26ff.). In *T.* 23 the name of this hell is literally translated as “Niraya of the Black Ear.” Probably the translator took “sūtra” to be “śrotra.” Or maybe the corruption took place in India proper.

Offenders. *T.* 1.30: those who offend father, mother, a *tathāgata*, or a *pratyekabuddha*; *T.* 1509: those who cause death by lying (*mṛṣāvāda*), harsh speech (*pāruṣyavāda*), slander (*paśunyavāda*), or idle talk (*saṃbhinnapralāpa*); cruel and dishonest magistrates.

Lifespan. 1000 years, of which each day equals the total lifespan of the Trāyastriṃśa gods (*Kośa*, *T.* 1645).

Samghāta—Crushing Hell

Chinese translation. 堆壓大地獄 *T.* 1.30; 合大地獄 *T.* 24; 合會大地獄 *T.* 1509; 衆合(捺落迦)/衆合地獄 *T.* 1558

Sound translation. 僧乾泥犁 *T.* 23

Description. The name of this hell is derived from the fact that in this hell the beings are crushed between mountains (*T.* 1.30, *T.* 23, *T.* 24, *T.* 1509, *T.* 1645). In some texts they are additionally pounded in a mortar or ground between stones (*T.* 1.30, *T.* 24, *T.* 1509), trampled by iron elephants (*T.* 1.30), or hit with iron hammers (*T.* 1645). The verse at the end of *T.* 24 (328c02) uses the expression “Hell of the Grinding Mountains” (Ch. Weishan Diyu, Jpn. *Gaisan Jigoku* 磑山地獄). This reminds one of Landresse’s “Enfer des Montagnes,”³⁷ which Mus³⁸ relates to the

Burning Mountains of the *Bālapaṇḍita-sūtra* (*Majjhima* 129), as well as to a legend about flying mountains.

Offenders. *T.* 1.30: those who do the three kinds of wrongful deeds without doing the three kinds of good deeds; *T.* 1509: those who kill animals and abuse their power; those who, deluded by cupidity (*rāga*), hatred (*dveṣa*), foolishness (*moha*), or fear (*bhaya*), did not follow the right principles in their judgments or who destroyed the right path and perverted the good law (dharma) due to delusion.

Lifespan. Saṃghāta is 2000 years, of which each day equals the total lifespan of the Yāma gods (*Kośa*, *T.* 1645).

Raurava—Wailing Hell

Chinese translation. 叫喚大地獄 *T.* 1.30, *T.* 24, *T.* 1509; 號叫(捺落迦)/號叫地獄 *T.* 1558

Sound translation. 盧獮泥犁 *T.* 23

Description. Raurava is derived from the fact that the beings scream out loud because of the pains they suffer. In *T.* 1509 and *T.* 24, the evil-doers are confined into a blazing room; in *T.* 1.30 and *T.* 23 they are boiled in an iron cauldron. *T.* 1645 describes the punishment in Raurava as follows: “Because of the power of their former deeds the extent of their tongue measures one thousand *yojanas*. There is a big ox with iron horns and hooves and equipped with an iron plough. Ablaze with flames, it ploughs their tongues.”³⁹ The image described here is often seen in Chinese and Japanese hell paintings. The *Pañcagati* and the *Jātaka* use the term “*Jālaroruva*,” or “*Roruva* of Flames.”⁴⁰ In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* the term is explained as being derived from “*Ruru*,” vengeful and cruel beings, which are the resuscitated victims of the evildoers.⁴¹

Offenders. *T.* 1.30: those who kill with evil intent; *T.* 1509: those who cheat with weight and measures, those who sentence unjustly, those who steal from inferiors and of goods one was entrusted with, those who are involved in tormenting and hurting people, those who engage in pillaging and killing.

Lifespan. 4000 years, of which each day equals the total lifespan of the Tuṣita gods (*Kośa*, *T.* 1645).

Mahāraurava—Great Wailing Hell

Chinese translation. 大叫喚大地獄 *T.* 1.30, *T.* 1509, *T.* 1558; 噉泥犁 *T.* 23; 大叫 *T.* 24

Description. The Great Wailing Hell, Mahāraurava, is usually described as the superlative of Raurava (see *supra*). The *Pañcagati* and the *Jātaka* speak of “Dhūmaroruva,” or “Roruva of Smoke”;⁴² in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* the Rurus are *kravyādas*, flesh-eaters.⁴³

Offenders. *T.* 1.30: indulging in sexual activity only; *T.* 1509: stealing.

Lifespan. 8000 years, each day of which equals the total lifespan of the Nirmāṇarati gods (*Kośa*, *T.* 1645).

Tapana (var. Tāpana)—Scorching Hell

Chinese translation. 燒炙大地獄 *T.* 1.30; 燒炙泥犁 *T.* 23; 熱惱大地獄 *T.* 24; 炎熱大地獄 *T.* 1509; 熱(榛落迦)/炎熱地獄 *T.* 1558

Description. The main characteristic of Tapana (var. Tāpana) is heat. In *T.* 1509 the evildoers are intensely boiled. In *T.* 1.30 they are placed into an iron room and their flesh is broiled; in *T.* 24 they are boiled in a pot. According to Przyluski, both Tapana and Pratāpana were created to indicate the increasing heat as one descends into the hells below the earth.⁴⁴ Although they are now understood to be the sixth and seventh hells of the eight hot hells, there was a time that they were placed seventh and eighth.

Offenders. *T.* 1.30: those who burn living beings; *T.* 1509: those who torment their parents, their master, *śramaṇas*, or *brāhmaṇas*; those who cook or grill living animals and humans; those who put fire on villages and Buddhist buildings and temples; those who throw living beings in a burning pit.

Lifespan. 16,000 years, each day of which equals the total lifespan of the Paranirmitavaśavartin gods (*Kośa*, *T.* 1645).

Pratāpana (var. Paritāpana)—Great Scorching Hell

Chinese translation. 大燒炙(大)地獄 *T.* 1.30; 釜煮泥犁 *T.* 23; 大熱惱大地獄 *T.* 24; 大熱地獄 *T.* 1509; 極熱地獄 *T.* 1558

Description. In Pratāpana, the heat is twice as great as in Tapana (cf. *supra*).

Offenders. *T.* 1.30: those who discard all meritorious deeds and do nothing but wrong; *T.* 1509: cf. Tapana (the text does not clearly differentiate between offenses that lead to Tapana and those that lead to Pratāpana).

Lifespan. Half an intermediate *kalpa* (*Kośa*, *T.* 1645).

UTSADAS⁴⁵**Kukūla (var. Kukkula)—Embers**

Chinese translation. 峰巖地獄 *T.* 26.64; 高峻泥犁 *T.* 23; 炭火泥犁 *T.* 86A;⁴⁶ 炭坑地獄 (*utsada*) 火坑 (court of Avīci) *T.* 1509;⁴⁷ 燂煨增 *T.* 1558

Sound translation. 鳩延泥犁 *T.* 42, *T.* 86B

Description. Kukūla is one of the penance courts outside Mahāniraya of *T.* 26.64 and *Majjhima* 130. When the beings place their feet on the blazing floor, they are consumed by fire; when they lift their feet, they grow again; etc.

The translations in *T.* 26.64 and *T.* 23 as “Hell of the Mountain Peak” seem to be translations of *kuṭa*, which probably sounded similar to a Prakrit form of *kukūla*. Also the “Hell of the Rooster” (雞[小]地獄) of *T.* 24 seems to have started as Kukūla. The text runs as follows:

Thereupon they then enter the sub-hell of the Rooster. The width of this prison still is 500 *yojanas*. In that hell, only roosters are born, filling that prison everywhere. The bodies of the roosters up to their knees are all fiercely hot and ablaze with bright flames. The beings are among them. They run from east to west. They step on the hot flames. They look around in the four directions, but nowhere can they find any support. As a big fire is ablaze, it burns their hands and it burns their feet, it burns their ears and it burns their nose. Thus gradually it burns their limbs completely. The bodies large and small are completely burnt in one moment. (*T.* 24, 0323a15–0323a20)⁴⁸

Although the text explains the name of the hell and describes the role of the roosters inside this hell, there are some arguments to believe that its origins lie with the Hell of Embers. To start with, *kukūla* and *kukuṭa* are phonologically very close. Lamotte, on occasion of the Gokulikas, writes, “[they] are also called Kukuṭika ‘of the posterity of the cock’ . . . and Kukkulika, . . . because they inhabited the Mountain of Embers, or because they taught that ‘all conditions (*dharma*) are absolutely nothing but a pile of embers.’”⁴⁹ Secondly, the description of the beings being burnt is very similar to what one reads about *kukūla* in other texts. Thirdly, the texts that are discussed here usually do not come up with completely new names or descriptions; rather, they recycle elements from older descriptions. Even the related texts *T.* 1.30 and *T.* 23 do not have a single reference to blazing roosters. Of course, this does not prove anything. On the other hand, the hypothesis that, probably still in India, Kukūla Niraya was locally understood as Kukuṭa Niraya, or “Hell of the Roosters,” leading to an additional description

of blazing roosters, seems quite possible. Adding to this Yamaguchi's explanation that roosters were thought to cause fire, the hypothesis seems even more plausible.⁵⁰

Kuṇapa—Excrements

Chinese translation. 沸屎地獄 T. 1.30; 沸屎(泥犁) T. 23; (熱) 糞屎(小)泥地獄 T. 24; 糞屎大地獄 T. 26.64; 沸屎泥犁 T. 86A; 沸屎 (var. 沸屎) 地獄 (*utsada*) 熱沸屎河 (court of Avīci) T. 1509; 屍糞增 T. 1558

Sound translation. 彌離摩得泥犁 T. 42; 彌離摩德泥犁 (*Milimode nili*) T. 86B

Description. Kuṇapa is one of the penance courts outside Mahāniraya of T. 26.64 and *Majjhima* 130 and a popular *utsada* of later hell texts. In Kuṇapa, the evildoers are thrown into a cesspool inhabited with worms called *nyaṅkuṭā*. Their mouths are like needles and they consume the beings. The Sanskrit term *kuṇapa* means, besides “excrements,” also “a dead body, corpse.”⁵¹ The names in T. 42 and T. 86 seem to be “sound translations” of *miḍha nyaṅ(ku)ṭaka niraya*, which may be translated as “Niraya of Excrements and *Nyaṅkuṭa*” or “Niraya of Excrement-*Nyaṅkuṭa*.”⁵²

Kṣuradhāra—Razor Blade

Chinese translation. 鋒刃增 T. 1558

Description. The *utsada* of the Razor Blade consists of three compartments: (1) Razor Blade Road, (2) Asipattravana, and (3) Ayaḥśālmalivana. The *Śes-bya rab-gsal* (Skt. *Jñeyaparakāśāśāstra*) explains the origin of the threefold Kṣuradhāra as follows: “The three kinds, *Kṣuramārga*, and so on, may be different, but because the iron weapons are the same, they are comprised in one supplementary hell (T 1645, 228c).”⁵³ Although the name Razor Blade is typical for the *Kośa* and T. 1645, the same technique of subdividing one *utsada* into three compartments is also used by T. 86. Here it is called Bloody Pus, and it consists of (1) Razor Mountain, (2) Asipattravana, and (3) Ayaḥśālmalivana.

Kṣura(dhāra)mārga—Razor (Blade) Road

Chinese translation. 利刀道地獄 (var. 刀道) (*utsada*), 劍道 (inside Avīci) T. 1509; 刀刃路 T. 1558

Description. In the *Kośa*, the Razor Blade Road is one of the three compartments of the *utsadas* of the Razor Blade; in the *Mahāprajñā* it is one of the tortures inside Avīci. Already in the *Lokaprajñāptyabhidharma*, which according to Denis dates from before the first or second cen-

tury CE,⁵⁴ the seed of a future *Kṣuramārga* is present. Although the text counts only four (times four) *utsadas*—(1) Kukūla, (2) Kuṇapa, (3) Asipattravana, and (4) Vaitaraṇī Nadī, it also mentions “a road covered with knives,” which encircles the third *utsada*, Asipattravana. When the beings walk on that road, their feet and bodies are cut.

Asipattravana—Sword-Leaf Forest

Chinese translation. 鐵鑠林大地獄 *T.* 26.64; 鐵竹蘆 *T.* 86A; 劍樹地獄 *T.* 1.30; 劍樹泥犁 *T.* 23; 劍地獄 *T.* 24; 劍林(地獄) *T.* 1509; 劍葉林 *T.* 1558

Sound translation. 阿夷波多桓泥犁/阿夷波多洹泥犁 (*Ayipoduohuan nili*) *T.* 42, *T.* 86B

Description. One of the penance courts outside Mahāniraya of *T.* 26.64 and *Majjhima* 130, and a popular *utsada* of later hell texts. According to the *Devadūta-sūtras*, a wind blows inside the forest causing the sword-leaves to fall, thereby cutting off the limbs of the beings. Hell hounds and crows, which devour the beings, inhabit the forest. Not all elements are repeated in every text, but most mention the falling leaves and the hounds. In *T.* 86A and the *Kośa*, the Asipattravana is part of a threefold *utsada*, respectively called Bloody Pus and Razor Blade. As the Chinese translations are very similar to the ones used for *Ayaḥśālmālīvana*, both forests are often mixed up in secondary literature.

Ayaḥśālmālīvana—Iron Cotton Tree Forest

Chinese translation. 鐵劍樹林大地獄 *T.* 26.64; 劍樹 *T.* 86A; 鐵刺林地獄 (*utsada*), 大刺林 (court of Avīci) *T.* 1509; 鐵刺林 *T.* 1558

Sound translation. 阿喻操波(泥)桓泥犁 (*Ayucaopo[ni]huan nili*) / 阿喻慘波犁洹泥犁 (*Ayucanpolihuan nili*) *T.* 42, *T.* 86B

Description. One of the penance courts outside Mahāniraya of *T.* 26.64 and *Majjhima* 130 and a popular *utsada* of later hell texts. Inside this forest, the evildoers are forced to climb the trees. When they climb up, the sword-leaves turn down, and when they come down, the sword-leaves turn up again. In the *Mahāprajñā* the evildoers additionally have visions of beautiful women sitting on the top of a tree. Once up, the women turn into snakes, which devour the evildoers. This image of a beautiful woman (or man) sitting on or below an Iron Cotton Tree is often depicted in Japanese hell paintings. The *śālmali* tree is a red cotton tree, or *Salmalia malabarica* of the Bombacaceae. In *T.* 86A and the *Kośa*, *Ayaḥśālmālīvana* is part of a threefold *utsada*, called Bloody Pus or Razor Blade. As the Chinese translations are very similar to the ones

used for Asipattravana, both forests are often mixed up in secondary literature.

Kṣārodakā Nadī—Caustic River

Chinese translation. 灰河 T. 26.64; 灰河地獄 T. 1.30; 灰河地獄 T. 24; 鹹水泥犁 T. 86; 鹹河 (var. 熱沸鹹水) (*utsada*), 鹹河 (court of Avīci) T. 1509; 烈河增 T. 1558

Description. *Kṣāra* means “caustic, . . . saline, converted to alkali or ashes by distillation,”⁵⁵ which explains most of the Chinese translations. The Caustic River is one of the penance courts outside Mahāniraya described by the *Devadūta-sūtras* T. 26.64 and *Majjhima* 130. Both texts describe how the beings longing for the coolness of the water jump into the river, and how their skin and flesh is consumed by the caustic water. Some time later, the hell wardens hook them up and put them on the flaming ground. They ask the beings why they have come. The beings answer that they do not know but that they are very hungry. The hell wardens feed them hot iron pellets. The second time they answer that they are very thirsty, upon which they get liquid copper to drink. The description of the *Kośa* is much less detailed, but most texts are quite close to the original one, sometimes adding hounds, etc. to the scene.

The name of the river in T. 23, Naolaohe 撈撈河, stands for *Vaitaraṇī Nadī*, not *Kṣārodakā Nadī*. *Naolao* means “to pull out (of the water),” which seems to correspond to the meaning of *vitṛ°*, “to bring away, carry off, remove.”⁵⁶ The *Kośa* and the *Śes-bya rab-gsal* (Skt. *Jñeyaparakāśāśāstra*) speak of the “Blazing River” (烈河). As such, it is not very clear whether this term should be interpreted as a translation for *Kṣārodakā Nadī* or rather *Vaitaraṇī Nadī*. The explanation in the *Kośa* describes it as a “hot caustic river” (熱鹹河; T. 1558, 58c11), which clearly refers to the *Kṣārodakā Nadī*. Nakamura, on the other hand, says that the Sanskrit original has *utsado nadī vaitaraṇī*.⁵⁷ The *Śes-bya rab-gsal* (T. 1645, 228c29) says of this “Blazing River” that the name means “without a ford” (無渡), namely, *Vaitaraṇī* as composed of *Vi* (“difficult”) and *ṭṛ* (“to cross”). One may conclude that if ever there was a clear distinction between *Kṣārodakā Nadī* and *Vaitaraṇī Nadī*, it obviously disappeared in the Chinese texts discussed.

| Āgamas | | Later Texts | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|---|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Mahāniraya | | Eight Hot Hells | | |
| Bālapañcīta-sūtra (T. 26.199) | | Lokaprajñapti of the Ch. Dīrghāgama (T. 1.30) | Abhidharma-kośabhāṣya (T. 1558) | Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa (T. 1509) |
| Tortures inside Mahāniraya: | | Sixteen Utsadas | Four x Four Utsadas | Sixteen Utsadas |
| Axe | Kūṭhāra → | 13. Iron Axes | | |
| Knife | Vāsi | | | |
| Iron Pellet | Ayoguḍa → | 12. Iron Pellets | | |
| Liquid Copper | Taptatāmra, taptaloha | | | |
| Fivefold Pinion | Pañcavidha-bandhana → | 3. Fivefold Pinion | | |
| Hundred Nails | | | | |
| Chariot | Ratha | | | |
| Fire | → | 10. Measuring Fire | | |
| Blazing Mountain | Angāraparvata | | | |
| Cauldron | Lohakumbhi → | 7. Many Bronze Cauldrons | | |
| | | 6. One Bronze Cauldron (6) | | |
| | | 1. Black Sand | | |

| Tortures inside Mahāniraya (cont.) | Sixteen <i>Utsādas</i> (cont.) | Four x Four <i>Utsādas</i> (cont.) | Sixteen <i>Utsādas</i> (cont.) | Courts of Avīci (cont.) |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Devadūta-sūtra</i> (T. 26.64) | 8. Grinding stone | | | |
| Extramural Penance Courts | 9. Pus and Blood | | (Eight Hot <i>Utsādas</i>) | |
| Embers | | 1. Embers → | 1. Embers → | Embers |
| Excrements | 2. Excrements → | 2. Excrements → | 2. Excrements → | Excrements |
| | | 3. Razorblade (Kṣuradhāra) → | 3. Blazing Forest (Ādīptavana?) | |
| | | Razor(blade) Road (<i>adhāramārga</i>) → | 4. Razor(blade) Road → | Razor(blade) Road |
| Sword-Leaf-Forest | 15. Sword-Leaf Forest → | Sword-Leaf-Forest → | 5. Sword-Leaf Forest | |
| (Giant Hounds) | 14. Hounds | | | |
| Iron-Cotton-Tree-Forest | | Iron-Cotton-Tree-Forest → | 6. Iron-Cotton-Tree-Forest | Iron-Cotton-Tree-Forest |
| Caustic River | 11. Caustic River → | 4. Caustic River → | 7. Caustic River → | Caustic River |
| (Hunger) | 4. Hunger → | | (8. Copper Pole, Tāmraśambha) | |
| (Iron Pellets) | (12. Iron Pellets) | | | |
| (Thirst) | 15. Thirst | | | |
| | 16. Cold Ice | | | |

| Arbuda Hells | | 10 Hot Hells | 8 Cold Hells | (8 Cold Utsadas) |
|--------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|--------------|------------------|
| T. 99.1278 | <i>Suttanipāṭa</i> III, 10 | | | |
| Arbuda → | Abbuda → | Thick clouds → | Arbuda → | Arbuda |
| Nirarbuda → | Nirabbuda → | No clouds → | Nirarbuda → | Nirarbuda |
| Aṭaṭa → | Ababa → | Hahava → | Aṭaṭa → | Aṭaṭa |
| Hahava → | Ahaha → | What to do? (Aṭaṭa?) → | Hahava → | Hahava |
| Huhuva → | Aṭaṭa → | Sheep's Bleat (Huhuva?) → | Huhuva → | Huhuva |
| | Kumuda → | Saugandhika | | |
| | Sogandhika → | Utpala → | | |
| Utpala → | Uppala → | Kumuda | Utpala → | Utpala |
| Padma → | Puṇḍarika → | Puṇḍarika | Padma → | Padma |
| Mahāpadma → | Paduma → | Padma → | Mahāpadma → | Mahāpadma |

Table 1. Relevant Sources for the Description of Hell in East Asian Buddhism

NOTES

1. Jean Przyluski, *La légende de l'Empereur Açoka (Açoka-Avadāna) dans les textes Indiens et Chinois* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1923), 121–130.
2. *Majjhima* nos. 129 and 130 are translated as the “Discourse on Fools and the Wise” and the “Discourse of the Deva-Messengers” in I. B. Horner, *The Collection of the Middle Length Sayings (Majjhima-Nikāya)*, vol. 3, Pali Text Society Translation Series no. 31 (London: Luzac & Co., 1967), 209–223 and 223–230; the Pāli text is offered in R. Chalmers, ed., *The Majjhima-Nikāya*, vol. 3, PTS Text Series no. 62 (London: Pali Text Society, 1977), 163–178 and 178–187.
3. E. Zürcher (*The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China*, 2 vols. [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972], 1:55) suggests Dharmaratna; Nanjio Bunyiu (*A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka: The Sacred Canon of the Buddhists in China and Japan* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1883], 398) and Sawa Ryūken (『密教辞典』 *Mikkyō jiten* [Kyoto: 法蔵館 Hōzōkan, 1997], 530) speak of Dharmarakṣa; and Alfred Forke (*Die Ostasiatischen Sammlungen der Königlich Bibliothek zu Berlin, Erster Band, Katalog des Pekinger Tripiṭaka* [Berlin: Behrend & Co., 1916]) has Dharmarāṇya. Dharmarājan has been suggested to me by Charles Willemen. He argues that the second character of Tanwulan’s Chinese name, Fazheng 法正, is sometimes used in the sense of “rule(r).” One such example may be found in the Chinese *Buddhacarita* (T. 192, 17c12 and 18a3), where the expression wangzheng 王正 is used, meaning “royal rule.” Since Dharmarājan explains both the Chinese transcription Tanwulan as well as the Chinese name Fazheng, it is the best suggestion so far. Fazheng may, moreover, conceal a clue concerning his identification as a popular teacher: when read backwards, Fazheng means “Saddharma,” a befitting name for a teacher of morals.
4. For a detailed discussion of Zhu Tanwulan and the two *Niraya* scriptures he allegedly translated, see Ineke Van Put, “The Popular Indian Teacher Zhu Tanwulan. With a Translation of his *Devadūtasūtra*,” in *Recent Researches in Buddhist Studies: Festschrift in Honour of Professor A.K. Chatterjee*, India (forthcoming); and Ineke Van Put, “The Identification of Hells in the *Tetsujōnairikyō: The Sūtra on the Hell of the Iron Fortress*,” in *Buddhism in Global Perspective*, eds. Kalpakam Sankarnarayan, Ichijo Ogawa, and Ravindra Panth (Mumbai: Somaiya Publications, 2003), 223–233..
5. Cf. Richard Morris, ed., *The Anguttara Nikāya*, vol. 3 (London: Luzac & Co., 1961), 138–142 for the Pāli; and F. L. Woodward, trans., *The Book of the Gradual Sayings (Anguttara-Nikāya) or More-numbered Suttas*, vol. 1, PTS Translation Series no. 22 (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), 121–125 for an English translation of the text.

6. Cf. Morris, *Anguttara Nikāya*, 3:59–61 for the Pāli and Woodward, *Book of the Gradual Sayings*, 1:54–56 for an English translation of the text.
7. The Pāli text is published in Dines Andersen and Helmer Smith, ed., *The Sutta-nipāta*, new edition (London: Pali Text Society, 1984), 123–131; an English translation of the text is offered in E. M. Hare, trans., *Woven Cadences of Early Buddhists (Sutta-Nipāta)*, Sacred Books of the Buddhists vol. 15 (London: Oxford University Press, 1947), 97–102.
8. Etienne Lamotte, *Traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna (Mahāprajñāpāramitāsāstra)*, Tōme II, Chapitre XXVI, Bibliothèque du Muséon, vol. 18 (Leuven: Instituut voor Oriëntalistiek, 1967), 955 n. 2.
9. *Ibid.*, 955 n. 2.
10. On the interpretation of “Jibin” as the Gandhāran cultural area, not Kaśmīra as is usual, see Charles Willemen, *From Where Did Zen Come? Dhyāna in the Early Buddhist Tradition*, Numata Yehan Lecture in Buddhism 2002–2003 (Calgary, Alberta: University of Calgary, 2003), 3–4.
11. Cited in Takumi Matsumura 巧松村, 『世記経』地獄品・訳注 “*Sekikyō*, *Jigokuhon-Yakuchū*,” in 『地獄の世界』 *Jigoku no sekai*, ed. Sakamoto Kaname 坂本 要 (Hiroshima-shi: Keisuisha, 1995), 65.
12. Eugène Denis, *La Lokapaññatti et les idées cosmologiques du bouddhisme ancien*, Thèse présentée devant l’Université de Paris IV - Le 16 juin 1976, 2 vols. (Lille: Atelier Réproduction des Thèses Université de Lille III, 1977), 1:xiv, xxv, xxxvii.
13. *Ibid.*, 1:ix–x.
14. See Okano Kiyoshi 岡野 潔, “*Lishiapitanlun* (**Lokaprajñāpty-abhidharmaśāstra*) as a Cosmological Work of the Sammitiya School” 「インド正量部のコスモロジー文献・立世阿毘曇論」, *Memoirs of the Chuo Academic Research Institute* 『中央学術研究所紀要』 27 (1998): 55–91.
15. For a translation of the text, see Charles Willemen, *The Treatise on the Elucidation of the Knowable*, *Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai Translation Series* (Berkeley, CA: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2004).
16. Willemen, *From Where Did Zen Come*, 14 n. 39.
17. Cf. Chalmers, *Majjhima-Nikāya*, 183.
18. Cited in Louis de la Vallée Pousin, *L’Abidharmakośa de Vasubandhu: Traduction et annotations*, Nouvelle édition anastique présentée par Etienne Lamotte, *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques* vol. 16 (Bruxelles: Institut Belge de Hautes Etudes Chinoises, 1971), 2:148 n. 5.
19. E. B. Cowell, ed., *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha’s Former Births*, trans. H. T. Francis, vol. 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905), 135. In Pāli (V.

Fausbøll, ed., *The Jātaka together with the Anterior Births of Gotama Buddha*, vol. 5, Pali Text Society [London: Luzac & Co, 1963], 266):

*Adhammacārino rāja narā visamajivino
yaṃ gatiṃ pecca gacchanti niraye te suṇohi me:
Sañjīvo Kālasutto ca Saṃghāto dve ca Roruvā
athāparo Mahāvīci Tapano ca Patāpano*

20. 有八大地獄。云何爲八。一者還活地獄。二者黑繩地獄。三者等害地獄。四者涕哭地獄。五者大涕哭地獄。六者阿鼻地獄。七者炎地獄。八者大炎地獄。如是比丘八大地獄。(T. 125.42, 747c06-10)

21. Is there a relation between cooling off through meditation, *tapas*, and burning more and more fiercely in Tapana and Pratāpana?

22. 惡趣云何。頌曰
等活等上六如次以欲天
壽爲一晝夜壽量亦同彼
極熱半中劫無間中劫全 (T. 1558, 61c11-18)

23. F. L. Woodward, trans., *The Book of the Gradual Sayings (Anguttara-Nikāya) or More-numbered Suttas*, vol. 5, PTS Translation Series no. 27 (London: Luzac & Co., 1972), 113 n. 4. See also Chizen Akanuma, *A Dictionary of Buddhist Proper Names*, Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica Series no. 130 (Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1994), s.v. “Kokālika.”

24. T. W. Rhys-Davids and William Stede, ed., *Pāli-English Dictionary* (London: Pāli Text Society, 1972), s.v. “Kokanada.” M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, new edition (Delhi: Motilal, 1981), s.v. “Kokanada” says, “the flower of the red water-lily.”

25. *Pāli-English Dictionary*, s.v. “Alika.” A *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* gives again the same meaning.

26. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. “Padma.”

27. Léon Féer, “L’Enfer Indien,” *Journal Asiatique* 8, no. 20 (September–October 1892): 220.

28. The story is translated in Charles Willemen, *The Storehouse of Sundry Valuables*, trans. from the Chinese of Kikkāya and Liu Hsiao-piao, comp. by T’an-yao (*Taishō* vol. 4, no. 203), Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai Translation Series (Berkeley, CA: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 1994), 27–29.

29. Pandurang Vaman Kane, *History of Dharmasastra: Ancient and Mediaeval Religious and Civil Law*, vol. 4, 2nd ed. (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1973), 161.

30. Yutaka Iwamoto 岩本裕, 『仏教文学研究』第五卷 *Bukkyō bungaku kenkyū*, Dai 5 kan, ed. Bukkyō Bungaku Kenkyūkai 仏教文学研究 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法藏館, 1967), 47.
31. Féer, “L’Enfer Indien,” 187 already noticed that *niraya* was used in Pāli texts, whereas the word found in Sanskrit texts was *naraka*.
32. 以於其中受苦無間非如餘七大捺落迦受苦非恒故名無間。有餘說。(T. 29, no. 1558: 58b6); 阿鼻旨中無樂間苦。故名無間。餘地獄中有樂間起。(T. 29 no. 1558: 58b9–b10)
33. J. R. Haldar, *Early Buddhist Mythology* (Delhi: Manohar, 1977), 53.
34. De la Vallée Poussin, *L’Abidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, 148 n. 5.
35. G. V. Tagare, trans., *The Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, vol. 2, Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology vol. 8 (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 2002), 770.
36. The order of the offences sometimes differs according to the text and tradition (in China and Japan, for example, patricide precedes matricide).
37. Cited in Féer, “L’Enfer Indien,” 192.
38. Paul Mus, *La lumière sur les six voies: Tableau de la transmigration bouddhique d’après des sources Sanskrites, Pāli, Tibétaines et Chinoises en majeure partie inédites*, vol. 1 (Paris: Institut d’Ethnologie, 1939), 66–74.
39. Willemen, *Treatise on the Elucidation of the Knowable*, 22.
40. Féer, “L’Enfer Indien,” 193.
41. Tagare, *The Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 2:766.
42. Féer, “L’Enfer Indien,” 193.
43. Tagare, *The Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 2:767.
44. Przulski, “L’enfer d’Açoka,” 132–139.
45. The selection of *utsadas* has been based on their occurrence in the *Kośa*.
46. T. 86 is a compound text, consisting of (A) a text related to the *Bālapaṇḍita-sūtra* and (B) a text related to the *Devadūta-sūtra*, as mentioned earlier.
47. T. 1509 describes a separate series of courts around Avīci besides the sixteen *utsadas* that surround the Eight Hot Hells. It seems that the description of Avīci here is a remnant of the older Mahāniraya descriptions (see also under “Avīci”).
48. 爾時即入雞小地獄。其獄亦廣五百由旬。彼地獄中。純生諸雞。遍滿彼獄。其雞身分。乃至膝脛。一切猛熱。光焰熾燃。是諸衆生。處在其中。東西馳走。足蹈熱焰。四向顧望。無處可依。大火熾燃。燒手燒脚。燒耳燒鼻。如是次第。燒諸支節。大小身分。一時洞燃。(T. 24, 0323a15–0323a20)

49. Etienne Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism from the Origins to the Śaka Era*, trans. Sara Webb-Boin (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université catholique de Louvain, Institut Orientaliste, 1988), 521.
50. Tsutomu Yamaguchi 務 山口, 「仏典における鶏について」 “Butten ni okeru tori ni tsuite,” 『東方』 *Tōhō* 3 (1987): 70–75.
51. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. “Kuṇapa.”
52. The Chinese characters read “Milimode.” Mi-li probably stands for a Prakrit form of *mīḍha* (Pāli *mīḥa*), “excrement.” In Pāli literature it is used in, for example, the compound *Mīḥakūpa*. *Mīḥakūpa*, or “Ditch of Excrements,” is another name for *Gūthaniraya* (“Hell of Excrements”), which is the first *niraya* surrounding the *Mahāniraya* of the Pāli *Devadūta-sutta*. It corresponds to the *Kuṇapa* hell of Sanskrit literature. “Mode” may be a transliteration of *nyan(ku) ṭaka (niraya)*.
53. Translated in Willemen, *Treatise on the Elucidation of the Knowable*, 23.
54. Denis, *La Lokapaññatti et les idées cosmologiques du bouddhisme ancien*.
55. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. “Kṣāra.”
56. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. “Vitṛ.”
57. Hajime Nakamura, 『原始仏教』 VI 『原始仏教の思想II』 *Genshi bukkyō*, Vol. 6: *Genshi bukkyō no shisō II* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1994), 751 n. 8, 766.
58. Since a detailed discussion of this topic reaches beyond the scope of this article, I would like to refer the interested reader to my forthcoming book, *Buddhist Hells: The Northern Tradition* (New York: SUNY Press, forthcoming).