The story of Dharmaruci
In the Divyavadāna and Kṣemendra’s Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā

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Of the myriad tales found in Indian Buddhist literature, the story of Dharmaruci is, from many points of view, among the more interesting, engaging as it does iconic themes of incest and patricide. A great deal may be said about this story, particularly in comparison with the tale of Mahādeva, the schismatic monk blamed by some for the initial rupture in the Buddhist monastic community roughly a century after the death of the Buddha. Any detailed study of this story, as of any such story, however, naturally requires the best possible textual sources. The present contribution, therefore, is dedicated in the first place to an effort to establish the textual basis for the Dharmaruci story in Indian sources in Sanskrit, as found in the Divyavadāna collection, and upon that basis in Kṣemendra’s Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā.

The contents are arranged as follows:

1. The Divyavadāna’s Dharmarucy-avadāna, Part 3, reedited in Sanskrit, and translated in English.
3. Comparative remarks on the two versions of the Dharmarucy-avadāna.
4. Appendices:
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   b. The word ekaphalāyāṃ and its correction

I am grateful for the kind suggestions of a number of colleagues, among whom special thanks must go to Michael Hahn, Martin Straube and Harunaga Isaacson. Needless to say, I alone am responsible for remaining errors.

I have addressed the wider issues in Silk (2008c).

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c. On \textit{vṛddhayuvaṭī}
d. Gilgit manuscript transcriptions

1 The \textit{Divyāvadāna}'s \textit{Dharmarucy-avadāna}, Part 3, reedited in Sanskrit, and translated in English

As is well known, the \textit{Divyāvadāna} is a repository of tales extracted, in most but perhaps not absolutely all cases, from the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivāda sect. While the date of the latter corpus is uncertain, it most likely belongs to the first centuries of the common era. The \textit{Divyāvadāna}—which may more properly bear the title \textit{Divyāvadānamālā}—in contrast, is probably considerably later, although here too we have few clues on the basis of which we might hazard an estimate as to its age. However, it is quite clear that the collection existed in some form by the eleventh century, the time to which the Kashmiri poet Kṣemendra belongs. While not himself a Buddhist, he did compose a work which in large part consists of poetic recastings of Buddhist stories found also in the \textit{Divyāvadāna} and/or Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, his \textit{Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā} (Wish-granting Garland of Tales of the Bodhisattva, dating to 1052 C.E.).

The \textit{Divyāvadāna} was first edited in 1886 on the basis of late and often poorly written Nepalese manuscripts, and the whole text would no doubt profit from a reedition.\footnote{In this regard see the lengthy list of suggested emendations in Hiraoka (2007: II. 1*–32*). See Silk (2008b) for some remarks on the textual reliability of the edition.} For the moment, the portion of the \textit{Dharmarucy-avadāna} of interest to us here, the final third of a three-part story, can, in large part, be corrected by reference to two fragmentary Gilgit manuscripts. These are given below in an appendix in diplomatic transcription, and provide the main basis for the re-edition of the \textit{Divyāvadāna} text.\footnote{Apparently these Gilgit fragments were first identified by Hisashi Matsumura (see von Hinüber 1981: *11*). The base text is that of Cowell and Neil (1886: 254.3–262.6). I have spot-checked one Kyoto University manuscript (Goshima and Noguchi 1983, # 49), and slightly more carefully one Tokyo University manuscript (Matsunami 1965, # 187). Unfortunately, both are of almost no help in correcting the edition, and there is little point to recording their errors. Since I offer diplomatic transcriptions of the Gilgit manuscripts below, I do not note every variant, only those with some potential effect on the overall meaning. Gilgit folios 1474–1483 are denoted as G1, 1354–1358 as G2.} The text in these Gilgit manuscripts is remarkably close to that transmitted in the much later Nepalese manuscripts, demonstrating among other things that some common models of the evolution of such texts over time, which postulate growth and alteration in sometimes significant dimensions, may need to be reconsidered. In order to indicate my understanding of this story, I also offer an English translation, with annotations. A number of problems remain unsolved. Unfortunately, unlike the case with so many such stories, we lack in this case any corresponding Tibetan or Chinese version of this \textit{avadāna}. We must therefore resort to conjecture and speculation to make sense of some of the more difficult portions. In the first place, then, I present a revised Sanskrit text of part three of the \textit{Dharmarucy-avadāna} from the \textit{Divyāvadāna}, following this by a translation.
tasmad apy ariyā 'samkhaye ye krucakchando nāma samyakṣambuddho loka utpanno vidyācarañāsampannāḥ sugato lokavid anuttaraḥ puruṣadamyasārathiḥ sastā devamanusyañāṁ buddho bhagavān l tasyām ca rājadhānyām anyatara māhāṣresṭhipravasati l tena ca sadṛṣṭat kulat kalatram anītam l sa ca kalatasahāyāḥ krīḍati ramate paricārayati l tasya krīḍato ramamāṇasya paricārayataḥ putro jātaḥ l sa ca gṛhapatiḥ śrāddhas tasya cārhan bhikṣuḥ kulāvāvadako ’sti l 
sa ca gṛhapatiś tāṁ patniṁ evam āha l jāto ’smākam rṇadharo dhanaharo gacchāmy aham idānīṁ bhadre bāṇīgđharmanāḥ5 deśāntaraṁ bāṇḍaṁ ādāya l sa ca vaniṁ lobhenāvṛto6 dūrataraṁ gato bhāṇḍaṁ ādāya l yato ’syā na bhūyaś ciram pravr̄brit7 apy āgacchati l 

sa ca dārakaḥ kālāntareṇāḥ 8 mahāṁ saṁvyṛtto ’bhīrūpo darśaṇīyaḥ prāsādikah l tato ’sau mātaraṁ pṛcchati l amba kīṁ āsmaṁ karīṇaṁ kulānvaṅgataṁ9 karma l sā kathayati l vatsa pītā tavāpaṇaṁ vāhitavān10 āṣīt l tataḥ sa dāraka āpaṇaṁ āraṁbhdo vāhyātum l 

sā ca mātāṣya klesair bādhyaṁmaṁ cintayitum pravr̄britā l ka upāyaḥ sāya yad aham klesāṁ vinodayeyam na ca me kaścīj jāñyātā l tayā saṁcintīvaivam adhyāvatam l evam eva putraḥ l kāmahetos tathaḥ parīcarāmi yathāñenaiva me sārddham rāgavinoṅanaṁ11 bhavati l naiva svajanasya śaṅkā bhavisyati l tatas tayā vṛddhayuvaṭāḥ ātyāya bhojyitvā dvis triḥ paścān navena paṭenācchaḥdītā l tasyāḥ sā vṛddhā kathayati l kena kāryenaiva māmānuprasādādīnā upakramenānupavr̄critām karosi l sā tasyā vṛddhāya vīṣvastā bhūtvāvam āha l amba śrīṇu vijñāpyam l klesārī ativā bādhye l priyatāṁ mamotpādyā manuṣyānvesaṇaṁ kuru yo ’bhīyantarā2 eva syān na ca śaṅkānyiya janasya l vṛddhā kathayati l neha grhe tathāvīdho manuṣyaḥ saṁvidyate nāpi praṇayaavān kāṣcit praviśati yo janayāśaṅkānyiya bhavet l katinum sa manuṣyo bhavisyati yasyāham vakyāyīmi l 
tataḥ sā banikpatṛi tasyā vṛddhāyaḥ kathayati l yady anyo manuṣya evaṁvidhopa-kramayukto13 nāsti eṣa eva me putro bhavatu14 l naiwa lokasya śaṅkānyiya bhavisyati l tasyāṁ tayā vṛddhayābbhihitam l katham ku putreṇa sārddham ratikṛīḍaṁ gamisyasi15 l yuktāṁ syād anyena manuṣyeṇa sārddham ratikṛīḍaṁ anubhavūtum l tataḥ sā banipatṛi kathayati l yady anyo ’bhīyantarō manuṣyo na saṁvidyate bhavatv eṣa eva me putraḥ l tayā vṛddhayābbhihitam l yatheṣasitaṁ kuru l tataḥ sā vṛddhayuvatī tasya banījaḥ putrasyaivaṅgamya pṛcchati l vatsa taraṇu ’si rūpavāṁś ca l kim pratiṣṭhitoh

5With G2: Ed., G1: 9dharmanāṁ, evidently through misunderstanding of inst. of nt. 9dharman.
6Ed. 6lokē10; Speyer’s 1902: 125–126 emendation banīglohbēnāvṛto [read as a compound] is confirmed by the Gilgit reading vanīglobenāvṛta.
7Added on the basis of G1, 2.
8G1 kālāṭyāyāṁ, G2 kālāṁvāyā.../.
9Ed. kulārthāgaṇaṁ. G1, 2 ///mvaṅgataṁ.
10Ed. vāhayān.
11Ed. rogaṁvinoṅakāṁ. The Gilgit manuscripts and the Tokyo and Kyoto University manuscripts all have rāgē2, a graphic confusion between rā and ro being simple in many scripts. It is possible that a pun is intended here, since rāgavinoṅdahanāṁ might mean either “getting rid of lust” or “taking pleasure in lust.”
12G1 ābhīyantaraka, G2 ābhīyantarā. See the note to the translation.
13G2 evāniṣvprakramayukto. See the note to the translation.
14Ed. bhavati, emended on the basis of G1, 2.
15G1 na bhavīṣaya.
lyatha na\textsuperscript{16} | tena tasyā abhihitam | kim etat\textsuperscript{17} | tatah sā vrddhā kathayati | bhavān evam abhirūpaś ca yuvā cāsmin vayasi tarunayuvatāḥ sārdhaṁ sābhethāḥ kṛīḍaṃ raṃ parīcārayan | kim eva kämabhogaparihiṇāsī tiṣṭhaṣi | vanijdārakas tāṁ śrutvā lājjaivyapātrāpyasaṁñiñcātāḥ tasyā vrddhāyās tad vacanam nādhivāsayaṭi | 

tataḥ sā vrddhaivaṃ dvir api trir api tasyā dārakasya kathayati | tarunayuvatis tavārthre kleśār bādhyaṭi sa vanijdārako dvir api trir api ucyamāṇas tasyā vrddhāyā kathayati | amba kim tasyās tarunayuvatāḥ māmnimitte\textsuperscript{18} kiṃcid abhihitam | tataḥ sā vrddhā kathayati | uktam tasyā mayā tvanīmittam\textsuperscript{19} | tāyā mama nimittena pratijñātām | sā ca dārīkā hṛīvyapātrāpyaṅkhitā na kiṃcid vakṣyati | na ca śārīraṃ āvṛttaṃ\textsuperscript{20} kariṣṭyaṭi | na tyāyā tasyā vācānveṣana\textsuperscript{21} yatnā karaṇīyaḥ | tatas tena vanijdārakeṇā tasyā vrddhāyā abhihitam | kutrāṃśākām saṇgatam\textsuperscript{22} bhaviṣyaṭi | tavyābhīhitam | madīye grhe | tenoktam | kutrāvakaśe tava grham | tato 'syā tyāyā vrddhāyā grham vyapādiṣṭam | sā ca vrddhā tasyā bāṇipatnyāḥ sakāśam gatvā kathayati | ichāpiṭaḥ sa vo 'yam dārakah\textsuperscript{23} | sā kathayati | kutrāvakaśe saṇgatam bhaviṣyaṭi | madīye grhe | sa ca dārakah kāryāṇī krṛvā grham gataḥ | anupūrveṇa bhuktvā tasyā mātuḥ kathayati | gacchāmy ahām | vāsanyagre svapṣye | tato 'syā mātrāpya\textsuperscript{24} anujñātām | gaccha | sa dārako labdhānūṇās tasyā vrddhāyā grham gataḥ | tasya dārakasya tasnīm grhoe gatasya ratikrīḍākālam āgāmayānāsya tiṣṭhataḥ | nīśi kāle apratya-bhijñātārūpe\textsuperscript{25} kāle sā mātāsya vanijdārakasya tasmiṃ eva grhe ratikrīḍām anubhavaνārthaṃ tatraiva gataḥ | gatvā ca tasmin grhoe vikālam avyaktiṃ vibhāvyamāne rūpāṅkṛtau nirgūḍhenopacārakramaṇa ratikrīḍām putreṇa sārdhān abhuvātinuḥ pravrīṭtā pāpakenāsaddharmena | sā ca parikṣīnāyāṃ rāttra anubhūtaratikrīḍā sata-mondhakāre kālayām eva rajanīyam avibhāvyamānāraṅgaṅkṛtau svagṛham gacchati | 

sa ca pāpi vanijdārako ratikrīḍām anubhāya prabhāṭayām rajanīyān bāhāndāvārinī gatvā kutumbakāryāṇī karoti | evam dvir api trir api tatra vrddhāyā grhe ratikrīḍām anubhavamiṣ ca cirakālam evam vartamāne ratikrīḍākrame\textsuperscript{26} tasya dārakasya sā mātā cintayītum pravrīṭtā k kiyaṭkālam anyad gṛham ahām evam avibhāvyamānārūpā ratikrīḍām anubhāvyāmiḥ | yan nv ahām asyatait ratikrīḍakramam tathāvidhaṃ kramena saṁvedayeyam yathā ihaiva grhe ratikrīḍām anubhaveyam\textsuperscript{27} l iti samcintya

\textsuperscript{16} Ed. 'syārthena, emended on the basis of G1, 2.
\textsuperscript{17} G2 na for kim etat.
\textsuperscript{18} Ed. saṃ°, G2 māmnimitte.
\textsuperscript{19} Ed. tannimmittam; reading with G1; G2 unclear.
\textsuperscript{20} G1, 2 āvṛttam.
\textsuperscript{21} Ed. vānveṣane.
\textsuperscript{22} G1 saṃgamo.
\textsuperscript{23} In G2 this sentence reads: abhiprayītaḥ sa mayā dārakaḥ. G1 uktaḥ sa mayā dārakaḥ. Čp. Skt. abhipreta, meant, aimed at, intended, as well as caused to approach, think of.
\textsuperscript{24} G1 mātrābhhyo.
\textsuperscript{25} Ed. niśī kālam apratyabhijñātām l rūpe. Speyer (1902) suggests niśī (vi)kāle apratyaabhijñātārūpe kāle . . . . It may not be necessary to read vi:kāle, since niśī kāle seems to convey the same sense. Gilgit 1, 2 read niśī kālam apratyaabhijñātārūpe kāle.
\textsuperscript{26} Ed. vartamānaṇa ratikrīḍākramaṇa; reading with G1.
\textsuperscript{27} Ed. ratikrīḍā bhavema; reading with G1, 2.
tatraiva vṛddhāgrhe gatvā ratikṛḍāṁ putrena sārdham anubhūya tathāiva rajanyāḥ kṣaye satamondhākārale tasya dārakasyoparīmaṁ prāvaraṇam nivasāyatmanīyāṁ ca šīrottarapatiṅkāṁ tyaktvā svagṛhaṁ gataḥ | sa ca dārakaḥ prabhātakāle tāṁ paṭṭikāṁ śīraṁ mañcāṣyāvatiṣṭhartāṁ saṁpaśyati ātiṃyāṁ evopariprāvaraṇaṃpōṇī28 ala-bhamānas tatraiva tāṁ paṭṭikāṁ saṁlaksya29 tyaktvā bhāṇḍāvārīṁ gatvā yugalam anyāṁ prāvṛtya svagṛhaṁ gataḥ | tatra ca gataḥ saṁpaśyati tam evātmyāṁ prāva- rāṇaṁ tasyāḥ māṭuḥ śīraṁ prāvṛtmaḥ | dṛṣṭvā ca tāṁ māṭaram pṛcchati | ambā kuto 'yaṁ tava śīraṁ prāvarṇo 'bhīyaṁ gataḥ |

yatasa tayābhihitam | adyaṁ ahaṁ tavāmbā | evaṁcirakālaṁ tava mayā sārdhaṁ kāman paribhūjato 'dyāpy ahaṁ tava saivāmbā | yataḥ sa vanijḍārakas tathāvīdham māṭrrvacanam upaśrutya sarīṃudho vihvalacetā bhūmau nippaṭitaḥ | tatas tayaṁ sa mātrā ghatajalapariṣeṇāvasiktah | sa jalapariṣeṇāvasikto dārakaś cireṇa kālena pratyāgataprāṇas tayā māṭrā samāsāvayaṁ | kīm evaṁ khedam upāgataṁ tvam asma- diyaṁ vacanam upaśrutyaḥ | dhārmanā bhavasya na te viśādaḥ karaṇīyāḥ | sa dārakas tasyāḥ kathayati | katham nu30 ahaṁ khedam na smaṛiṣyāṁ31 sarīṃmahāṁ vā yena mayā evaṁvīdhamaḥ pāpaṁ karmā krtam | tataḥ sa tayābhihitah | na te manahśokam32 asminṁ arthe utpādayitavyam | panthāśamo māṭṛgrāmo yenaivaṁ hi yathā pitā gacchati putro 'pi tenaiva gacchati33 | na cāsau panthā putrasyaṇugacchato doṣakārako bhavaty evam eva māṭṛgrāmāḥ | tīrthasamo 'pi ca māṭṛgrāmo34 yatraiva35 hi tṝte pitā snāti putro 'pi tasmān snāti na ca tṝtham putrasya snāyato doṣakāraṁ bhavaty evam eva māṭṛgrāmāḥ | api ca pratyanteṣu janapadeṣu dharmataivaṣā yasyāṁ eva pitā asaddharmenābhiḥgacchati tāṁ eva putro 'py adhiṅgacchato | evam asau vanijḍārako māṭrā bhauvīdhair anunayacanāṁ vinīṭāsokas tayā mātrā36 tasmān pātāke 'saddharme punaḥ punar atiśavairiñītāraṅgaḥ pravṛttvāh |

tenā ca śreṣṭhīna grhe lekhayo 'nupreṣṭaḥ | bhadre dhīṛorjītamaḥotsaḥ bhavaṁva | ahaṁ api lekhāṇupadam evāgamiṣye | sa baṇḍikpatiṁ tathāvīdham lekḥāṁ ṭrutvā vaimanasyajātaṁ cintayitvā pravṛttvā | mahāntaṁ kālaṁ mama tasyāgyaṁanam udikṣamanāyāṁ tadā nīgataḥ | idāṁni mayaivaṁvīdhenopakramena putraṁ ca pari-caritvā sa cāgamiṣyate | kā upāyaḥ syād yad ahaṁ tām ihāsamprāptam eva jīvitaḥ vyavaparyeyam iti samcitnaya tāṁ putram āhūya kathayati | pitṛ te lekhya 'nupreṣīta āgamiṣyāṁmī37 jāṁse38 | asambhār idāṁni kīṁ karaṇīyaṁ iti | gacchasva pitaram asamprāptam eva gāṭhaya | sa kathayati | katham39 ahaṁ pitaram gāṭhayisyey | yadāsau

28 Ed. ṇ potrīṃ, emended after BHSD s.v. G2 ṇ pom.
29 G2 asamlaksya.
30 Ed. katham; G1 katham nu, G2 kathavya = katham nu.
31 G2 ganiṣyami.
32 The edition’s apparent hapax manahśūkam, which seems to be meaningless, is read by Gilgit 1 manaśšokam, which I follow here.
33 G2 lacks putro 'pi tenaiva gacchati.
34 G2 lacks tīrthasamo 'pi ca māṭṛgrāmo.
35 G2 māṭraiva.
36 G2 adds saha.
37 Ed. ṇ yatīṭi, emended on the basis of G1, 2.
38 Ed. jāṁse; following G1, 2 jāṁi(se).
39 G2 kathavya = katham nu, perhaps better.
na prasahate pitṛbhadhaṁ kartum tadā tayā mātrā bhūyo bhūyo 'nuvṛttivacanair abhihitāḥ | tasyānuvṛttivacanair ucyanānasya kämeśu saṁraktasyaādhyavasāyo jātaḥ pitṛvadham pratiḥ |

kāmān khalu pratisevato na hi40 kincit pāpakāṁ karmākaraṇīyaṁ41 iti vaddām | tatas tenoktam | kenopāyena ghātayāmi | tayābhihitam | aham evopāyam saṁvidhāsy ē | ity uktvā viśam ādāya samitāyāṁ miśrayītvā maṇḍilakāṁ paktvānē42 'pi ca nirviṣāḥ paktāḥ | yatas tāṁ dāraṁkāḥ ahūya kathayati | gacchasva | amī saviṣā maṇḍilakā nirviṣā ca | grhya pitṛsakāśaṁ gatvā | ca tasya viśvastasyaikatara bhunijata etāṁ saviṣān maṇḍilakān prayacchasvātmānaḥ ca nirviṣān bhaksaya43 |

tataḥ sa dāraṁs tena lekhābhikamanuṣyaṇaḥ sārdham tāṁ maṇḍilakān grhya gataḥ |

pitṛsakāśaṁ āgamyā pitāyaātiṁi taṁ putram44 drṣṭvābhirupprāśadikāṁ maheśākhyāṁ prāmodyaṁ prāptaṁ | sahyaśahyam prṣṭvā tēśam vaṇijām akhyāti | ayaṁ bhavanto 'smākaṁ putraḥ | yaddā tena dāraṇeḥ saṁlakṣitaṁ sarvatīraḥ anena pitṛ pratisaṁvedita iti tatas taṁ pitaram āha | tātēmbyā maṇḍilakāḥ prahenpamā45 anupreśitaṁ | tam tātā46 parbhunijatu | paścāt tena pitrā sārdham ekapelāyām47 bhunijata tasya pituḥ saviṣā maṇḍilakā dattā ātmanā nirviṣāḥ prabhaksitāḥ |

yato48 'ṣya pitā tāṁ saviṣān maṇḍilakān bhaksayītvā maṛtaḥ | tasya ca pituḥ kālādharmāṇaḥ yuktasya ca dāraṅko na kenaicit pāpakāṁ karma kuruvaṇo49 | bhīṣaṅkito vā pratisaṁvedito vā | paścāt tair īṭasāṅgihārcuḥdbhir vanīgbhīḥ socayītvā yat tatrā50 kincit tasya banijo bhāṃḍam āśid hiranyausvaṁnaṁ vā tat tasya dāraṅsya dattām | sa dāraṅs tāṁ bhāṃḍam hiranyausvaṁnaṁ pāṭrākāṁ grhya svagṛham anupraṅtaḥ | tasya cāgatasya51 svagṛham sa māṭaḥ praċchannāsaddharmene taṁ putram paricaramāṇaḥ ratīṁ nādhiṅcchati | anabhiratarūpā ca taṁ putram vadati | kiyakālaṁ vayaṁ evam praċchannena kramaṁ ratikriḍāṁ anubhavisyaṁ ca | yan nu vayam asmād desād anyadeśāntaraṁ gatvā prakāsakramaṁ niḥśaṅkā bhūtvā jāyapatīḥ vikhyādharmanāṁ sukhaṁ prakṛtaṁ |

tatas u graṁḥ tyaktvā mītrasvajanaṁsaṁbhandhivargān apaḥāya purāṇādāśidasiṁ karmakaraṇaṁ52 tyaktvā yāvad arthajātaṁ hiranyausvaṁnaṁ ca grhyānyaviaśayāntaṁ

40G1, 2 both have here nāhaṁ for na hi.
41Ed. karma karaṇīyaṁ.
42G2 paktāṇye.
43G1 bhaksyata.
44For āgamyā pitāyaātiṁi taṁ putram G1 reads gataḥ sa cāsyā pitā taṁ.
45G1 prābhītaṁ.
46Following G1; Ed. tat tātaḥ, G2 tat tāta.
47Ed. ekaphalāyāṁ; see below.
48G1 tato.
49G2 omits pāpakāṁ karma kuruvaṇo.
50With G1; Ed. tat tu.
51Reading with G1. Ed. ca gatasya. For tat tasya dāraṅsya dattām | sa dāraṅs tāṁ bhāṃḍam hiranyausvaṁnaṁ pāṭrākāṁ grhya svagṛham anupraṅtaḥ | tasya cāgatasya, G2 has sarvaṁ ta dāraṅsyaṇupraṇḍattām tātaḥ sa dāraṅkā tuḍbhāṃḍam grhitvā svagṛham āgataḥ tasya cāgatasya.
52G2 dāśidāśakarmacakarakapaurūṣeyāṁ ca.
gatau ā tatra gatvā janapadeśu vikhyāpayamānau jāyāpatikam iti ratikrīḍām anubhavamānau vyavasthitau āyad arhan bhikṣuḥ kenacit kālāntareṇa janapadacārikāṁ caran tam adhiṣṭhānam anuprāptaḥ ā tena tatra piṇḍapātam anvāhiṇḍatā
tīvyāṁ nisadyāyaṁ vanijgdrmanāṁ saṁvyavahāramānāṁ sa darako dṛṣṭāṁ ā dṛṣṭvā cārgayiyāvā cābhibhāsyoktaḥ ā mātus te kuśalam ā sa ca dārakas tam arhantāṁ tathābhivadāmānam upāsṛutya saṁbhinnacetaḥ svena duṣcaritena karmanāṁ śāṅkitamanāś cintayitum ā pravṛttaḥ ā sa cīrām vicintya māṭṛsakāsaṁ gatvā saṁvedayati ā yatir abhyāgato yo śav asmadgrāmam upasārikāmaty eṣa ā sa iḥaḍhiṣṭhāne pratisaṁvedisyati eṣāsya dārakasya māteti ā vayaṁ ceha jāyāpatikam iti khyātāu ā katham eṣa śaṅkyaṁ ghātayītum |

tatas tayoḥ samicintya tam grham enam upamantrayītyā bhunājanam ghātayaṁh tatas tayor evaṁ samicintya so 'rham bhikṣur antargṛham upamantrayītyā bhoyajītum ārdbhāḥ ā sa darako gūḍhaśastro bhūtvārhatantā bhoyojuṁ ā mātrā saha nirjanāṁ grham kṛtvā sa cārādbhikṣur bhuktva tasmād grhād viśrābdhacārakarṇena pratirṅgataḥ ā tatas tena dārakaṇeṇīnaṃ arhantāṃ viśvastacārakramāṁ averyāśa nir-gacchantam parāprṛśṭhibhūtvā śaṁre 'syā śastraṃ ā nipātya jīvitād vyaparopitaḥ ā kāmaś ca lavaṇoḍakasadṛśa yathā yathā sevyanti tathā tathā trṣṇāvṛddhim upayāt ā tasya dārakasya śā mātā taṁ putram asadṛśhenaunyaurtamāṁ ā tasmīn evādhiṣṭhāne śreṣṭhiputrena sārdhaṁ pracchannakāmā asaddharmaḥ saktaccitā jātā ā tasya dārakasya tathāvidha upakramāḥ pratisaṁvīditaḥ ā tatas tena tasya mātūr uktam ā ambā nivṛttasvedṛśād ā doṣāt ā sa ca taṁ śreṣṭhiputre saṁraṅktaccitā dvir api trī arpy ucyanāṃ na nirvartate ā tatas tena nīṣkoṣam asiṃ kṛtva śā mātā jīvitād vyaparopitaḥ ā yadā tasya trīṇyā nāntarayāni paripūnāni tadā devatabhīr janapadesv ārocitam ā pāpa eṣa pitṛghātako 'rhadghātako mātṛghātakaś ca ā tṛīṇy anēnāntarayāni narakakarmasāṁvartanīyāni kārmaṇi kṛtāni upacitāni ā tatas tena adhiṣṭhānanājanena ā cīrataḥ tadadhiṣṭhānān irvāsitāḥ ā sa ādānvaśītas tasmād adhiṣṭhānaṁ tadā cintayitum

53 G2 atatā. 54 G2 has sa darako vītīya sanīvyavahāramāṇa ///. 55 Ed. omits cīrām; G1 sa sa cīrām, G2 cīrām. 56 G2 adds yathā na kaś cīrā yāvīyāy, "such that no one would know." 57 Em. to bhoyajītii. But G1 bhoyajītum, G2 bhoyajī. . . 58 Ed. antargṛhamārtvaṁ viśrābdhacārakramāṁ instead of arhantāṁ viśvastacārakramāṁ. 59 Although fragmentary, missing material after nirjanan ārdbhāḥ, G2 continues ///ntum ārdbhāḥ tatas tena dārakena viśvastasya śaṁre āśastraṃ. 60 Ed., G1 vyaparopayati. Reading with G2. 61 G1 adds kāmeśv attyyamāṇā. 62 For praccchannakāmā asaddharṣe sauktaccitā jātā, G2 has only viprabhipāṇā. 63 G2 omits tathāvidha upakramāḥ. 64 nivṛttasva must be second sing. imperative, but I cannot cite a parallel formation. I assume it is derived from niśvīti, perhaps > *ni-vuṭṭati > *ni-vuṭṭasa > ni-vuṭṭasa, by hyper-Sanskritization? M. Hahn suggests rather nivattasa = niṣvattasa, through graphic confusion? 65 G1 adds śrutam. For tenādhiṣṭhānanājanena G2 reads [a]dhiṣṭhānanivāsinājanakāyena, G1 tenādhiṣṭhānena. 66
pravṛttāḥ | asti cāsya buddhaśāsane kaścid evānunāyaḥ | evaṁ manasikṛtam
| gacchāṁīdāṁīn pravrajāṁīti | sa ca vihāraṁ gatvā bhikṣusakāśam upasamkramyai
| vaṁ kathayati | ārya pravrajeyam | tatas tena bhikṣuṇoktaṁ | mā távāt pitṛghātako
| 'si | tena bhikṣur abhibhitāḥ | asa mayā ghatītaṁ pitā | tataḥ punaḥ prṣṭaṁ | mā távan mārghātako
| 'si | tenoktaṁ | ārya ghatīta mayā mātā | sa bhīyaḥ prṣṭaṁ | mā távad arhadbadhas te kṛtaḥ | tataḥ sa kathayatī | arham api ghatītaḥ | tatas tena bhikṣuṇābhhibitāḥ | ekaikenaśaṁ karmāṇām ācaraṇān | na pravrajyārha bhavasi praģeva samastānaṁ | gaccha vatsa nāhaṁ pravṛjaiṣye | tataḥ sa puruṣo
| 'nyasya bhikṣoḥ sakāśam upasamkramya kathayati | ārya pravrajeyam | tatas tenāpi bhikṣuṇānupūrveṇa prṣṭvā pratyākhyātāḥ | tataḥ paścād anyasya bhikṣoḥ sakāśaṁ gataḥ | tama api tathaiva pravṛjāyam āyacate | tenāpi tathānupūrvakreṇa prṣṭvā pratyākhyātāḥ |
| sa yadā dvir api trir api pravṛjāyam āyacāno | 'pi bhikṣubhir na pravṛjītaḥ tadāmasraṣṭātāṁ cintayitum | pravṛttāḥ | yāpi sarvasādhāraṇā pravṛjāya tām aham apy āyācan na labhāṁ |

tatas tena tasmin vihāre śayītaṁnaṁ bhikṣunāṁ agnir dattāḥ | tasmin vihāre 'gniṁ dattvānyatāra vihāraṁ gataḥ | tatrāpi gatvā bhikṣuṇām upasamkramya pravṛjāyam āyacate | tair api tathāvānupūrveṇa prṣṭvā pratyākhyātāḥ | tatrāpi tena tathāvā prati
| hatacetāsagnir dattāḥ | tatrāpi vihāre bhavo bhikṣuvaḥ saṅkṣaṁśaṅkṣaś ca dagdhāḥ | evaṁ tasyānekan vihāraṁ dahataḥ sarvatra śabdo visṛṣṭaḥ | evaṁvīdhaṁ caivaṁvīdhaṁ ca pāpakarmakaṛi puruṣo bhikṣubhayaḥ pravṛjāyam alabhan vihāraṁ bhikṣuṁś ca da
| hatīti | sa ca puruṣo | 'nyavibhīram prasthitāḥ |

tatra ca vihāre bodhisaṭtvājātīyo bhikṣuḥ prativasati tripītaḥ | tena śrutaṁ sa evamduṣkarakarmakaṛi puruṣaḥ ihāgacchhatīti | yataḥ sa bhikṣus tasya puruṣasyaśaṁ-
| prāptasyaśaiva tasmin vihāre pratyudgataḥ | sa taṁ puruśanāṁ sametya kathayati bhadr
| mukha kim etat | yato 'sya puruṣenoktam | ārya pravrajyaṁ na labhāṁ | tatas tena bhikṣuṇoktam |
| āgaccha vatsaṁhaṁ te pravrajayāṁti | paścāt tena bhikṣunā tasya puruṣasya śiro munḍapayiṁ kāśāyaṁ vastrāṁ dattāṁ | paścāt sa puruṣaḥ kathayati | ārya śikṣāpadaṁī me 'nuprayaccha | tatas tena bhikṣuṇoktaṁ | kiṁ te śikṣāpadaṁī prajoyanam | evaṁ sarvakālaṁ vadsavaṁ | namo buddhyāya namo dharmāya namaḥ saṁghāyeti | paścāt sa bhikṣus tasya puruṣasya dharmadeśanāṁ ārabdhāṁ ka
| rtum | tvaṁ evamvīdhaṁ caivaṁvīdhaṁ ca pāpakarmakaṛi sattvaḥ | yadi kadacid bud
| dhāsaṁdiṁ śrṇośi smrtim pratiḥabheṭhāḥ | aṭhaśaṁ tripiṭo bhikṣuṣ cyutah kālagato deveśu-papanpaṁ | sa cāpi puruṣaṁ cyutah kālagato narakesu-papanpaṁ |

yato bhagavān āha | kiṁ manyadhve bhikṣuvaḥ | yo 'sau atīte 'dhvani bhikṣus 
| tripītaḥ āsa aham eva sa tena kālena tena samayena | yo 'sau pāpakarmakaṛi sattvo

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66 For evaṁ manasikṛtam G1 reads tenānunaya ca tān manasi//.  
67 For asti cāsya buddhaśāsane kaścid evānunayaḥ | evaṁ manasikṛtam | gacchāṁīdāṁīn pravrajāṁīti G2 reads mavaṁ* .. viṣaṁ pāṃ kṣaṁ kīm iḍā karomīti : tasyaṁad abhavat* | asti cāsya buddhaśāsane kaścid evāna
| // m ukāṭprīti .a ca..ramaṁ sa samākṣayaati gacchāma buddhārkhāṁīn pravrajāṁīti. The following portion which depicts part of
| the examination of eligibility for monastic ordination is presented in G2 in entirely different words, although the meaning is the same. See the transcription of 1357.8ff, below.  
68 Here G2 reads rather mā .e pitā ājītād vyakavaropitaṁ sa kathayaty avaropitaṁ, and so on.  
69 G2 adds sarvathā praghātayāmye bhikṣubhir iti.  
70 G2 omits namaḥ saṁghāya.
The story of Dharmaruci

Later still, in the third infinite [aeon] there arose in the world a perfect Buddha named Krakucchanda, perfected in knowledge and good conduct, a Sugata, world-knower, unsurpassed, a charioteer of people to be tamed, a teacher of gods and men, a Buddha, a blessed one. [He dwelt near the metropolis of Šobhāvatī.] And in that metropolis dwelt a certain great merchant. He took a wife from a suitable family, and he had sex, made love and coupled with his wife, and from that sex, lovemaking and coupling a son was born. That householder [the merchant] was a believer, and he had as spiritual advisor to his family a monk who was a saint.

[Once] that householder spoke to his wife as follows: “We have had born to us a remover of our [spiritual] debt and a taker of our [material] wealth; with my merchandise I will go now, dear, to another country, as is the merchants` way.” And so the merchant, filled with greed, took his merchandise and went far away. And for an exceedingly long time no tidings came from him.

Now, in the course of time that boy of his had grown big and full, good-looking and attractive. Thereupon he asked his mother, “Mother, what is the business followed by our family?” And she explained, “My boy, your father used to engage in commercial trade.” So the boy began to engage in commercial trade.

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71 For cirasya dharmaruce sucirasya dharmaruce suciracirasya dharmaruce, G2 has suciracirasya dharmaruceh suciracirasya bhagavan.

72 The text has been translated before, by Heinrich Zimmer into German (1925: 60–79), and by Hiraoka Satoshi (2000: 24–29; 2007: 1.451–459) into Japanese, the latter of which was revised on the basis of an earlier version of the present paper, and accepts most of its proposed readings. In addition, an extremely quick and not entirely accurate precis was given by La Vallée Poussin (1929: 208–209). See too the summary and notes in Hiraoka (2002: 55–57).


74 After Zimmer’s „geistliche Berater,” which seems good for kulavavadaka.

75 Zimmer follows Cowell and Neil’s baniglokenavīto and translates: „Und von einer Schar Kaufleute begleitet.”

76 Both Zimmer (Worauf lange Zeit keine Kunde mehr von ihm kam) and Hiraoka (2000) (彼は隔分長い間[家に]戻って来なかったのである，he did not return [home] for an extremely long time) read with the edition yato ‘syā na bhūyaś ciram apy āgacchati, but Gilgit’s addition of pravṛttir makes it clear that Zimmer is right. Hiraoka (2007) accepts the revised reading and translates accordingly.

77 Although not so unusual in this literature, the use of āsīr here may imply that the father used to engage in trade and so on, but is now out of the picture.

78 The preceding paragraph is basically formulaic, the outline being found in more or less this form throughout Buddhist narrative literature.
Now, his mother, being afflicted by passions, began to think: “I wonder what way there might be for me to dispel my passions, and yet for no one to find me out?” Thinking about it, she resolved the following: “That’s it, my son! In order to fulfill my desire, I’ll have sex, and so dispel my lust with him alone. And certainly none of my relatives will have any suspicion.” So she invited an old procuress, fed her twice or three times, and afterwards clothed her in new garments. That old woman said to her: “Just why are you strategically pursuing me like this, giving me presents and the like?” Emboldened, she spoke to that old woman thus: “Mother, listen to what I have to tell you. I am severely afflicted by passions. Have affection for me, and look for a man who could be an intimate, and would not arouse people’s suspicions.” The old woman said: “There is no such man here in this house, nor could any lover come in who would not arouse people’s suspicions. What man will there be to whom I should address myself?”

Then the merchant’s wife said to the old woman, “If there’s no other man suitable for such an approach, it must be this very own son of mine. No one will suspect him.” The old woman said to her: “How can you possibly engage in sex play with your son? It would [rather] be proper for you to enjoy sex play with another man.”

Then the merchant’s wife said, “If there is no other intimately available man, then it must be this very own son of mine.” The old woman said to her: “Well, do what you like.” Then the old procuress approached that very same merchant’s son and asked: “My dear, you’re young and handsome. Are you pretty well set, or no?” He responded to her: “What do you mean?”

So the old woman said: “Sir, handsome and young as you are, now in the prime of your life you should be happy, playing, making love, and sporting amorously with a young woman. Why on earth should you

79 Or “troubles,” kleśa, but certainly the reference here is sexual. The use of kilesa in Pāli in a sexual sense is well known.

80 Both Hiraoka (2000) and Zimmer ([D]as geht mit meinem Sohn; um der Lust willen will ich es so anstellen, daß ich mit ihm zusammen meiner Plage ledig werde, und niemand von der Verwandten et-was ahnt) read with the edition rogavinodaka for räga; Hiraoka (2007) accepts the revised reading and translates accordingly.

81 yo ‘bhyantara eva syāt. Zimmer, “...hier ins Haus gehört ….” Hiraoka (2000, 2007) 身内の男, male relative; but I do not think abhyantarika, clearly read in G1, 2 can have this meaning.

82 yadi anyo manusya evanvidhopakramayuktō nāsti. Zimmer, “Wenn kein anderer Mann zu dem Geschäft geschickt ist.” The Critical Pāli Dictionary (Trenckner et al. 1924—II.433a [s.v. upakkama 2]) offers an example of the use of upakkama in the sense of sexual approach, which would appear to be its sense here as well, in contrast to Edgerton 1953 s.v. upakrama, who offers the definition of violent attack. Note that G2 reads evanviprapramayukto. While Edgerton records viprapramati in the sense of departure, I believe it is better to suggest that G2 has dropped -dho-.

83 yuktam syād anyena manusyeṇa sārdham ratikṛtād anubhavitum. Zimmer’s translation is more elegant than my own: “Recht wäre es doch, daß du dich mit einem anderen Manne am Liebesspiel freustest!”


85 Zimmer (reading with the edition’s kim pratiṣṭhitā syāṛthena) has: “verstehst du dich schon aufs Geschäft?” In the Kāmasūtra’s discussion of the role of the go-between (dātī), she is instructed to praise the (already married) woman’s good qualities (5.4.4 [and 47]; see the translations in Daniélou 1994: 346 and Doniger and Kakar 2002: 116).

86 G2 rather: “No.”
be deprived of the enjoyment of desires?” Hearing that, the merchant’s son, shrinking in modesty and bashfulness, did not accept the old woman’s suggestion.

Then the old woman spoke to the boy repeatedly, saying “A young woman is afflicted by passions on your account.”87 Being repeatedly importuned, the merchant’s son spoke to the old woman, saying: “Mother, did you say something to that young woman about me?”88 Then the old woman said, “I spoke to her about you, and she agreed thanks to my suggestion.”89 Gripped by timidity and bashfulness, that girl won’t say anything. She won’t reveal her body, 90 neither should you make an effort to ask her who she is.91 So the merchant’s son said to the old woman: “Where will our liaison be?” She said: “In my own house.” He said: “Where’s your house located?” Then the old woman pointed out the house to him. And the old woman went to the merchant’s wife and said: “I got this boy of yours to agree.”92 She said: “Where will our liaison be?” “In my own house.”

After the son completed his business, he went home. When he had, in due course, finished eating,93 he said to his mother, “I’m going—I’ll sleep at a friend’s house.” His mother permitted him, saying “Go!” Having obtained permission, the boy went to that old woman’s house. When he arrived there he waited in expectation of a time of sex play. In the night time, at the time when forms are not recognizable,94 his mother went right to that very house in which the merchant’s son was waiting in order to enjoy sex play. Arriving at the house, in the evening when the shape of forms is perceived indistinctly, secretly step by step she began to enjoy sex play together

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87This too is a trope in the Kāmasūtra (5.4.12; Sharma 1997): śrūṇa vicītram idaṃ subhage tvāṁ kīla dyāvānutraśāv itthāṅ gotraputro nāyakaś citonmūdām anubhavāt | prakṛtyā suktumārah kadācid anyatāparikṣīṣṭapārvvas tapasvī / tato ‘dhūna śākyam anena maraṇam apy anubhavītum iti vārṇayet | I am indebted to the translations of Daniélou (1994: 348) and Doniger and Kakar (2002: 116), but would nevertheless suggest the following: “Listen, lucky woman! This is something wonderful. That young lover over there, of good social position, went out of his mind as soon as he saw you. Since the miserable fellow is by nature a delicate boy and has never before suffered like this on account of anyone else, it is possible now that he may even end up dying of it”. It seems to me possible that here aparikṣīṣṭa9 refers to feelings of sexual excitement, in conformity with the use of kleśa noted above. Cf. also Kāmasūtra 4.2.66, where I am uncertain of the meaning of the same term.

88I have emended Cowell and Neil’s sanānimitte to mānimitte. However, it would be possible to translate sanānimitte as “for the sake of a/the good cause,” or even “in order to get a good omen.” Zimmer rendered: “hat dir die junge Frau irgend etwas zum Zeichen gesagt?”

89nimitta. Edgerton 1953 s.v., “hint.” There seems to be a play on words with the sequence of sanānimitta / *mānimitta, tvānimitta, then simply nimitta.

90The meaning of na ca śatrāṃ avṛttam karisyati is difficult to understand. Gilgit 1 reads rather avṛttam, which however is not much easier, while G2 agrees with Cowell and Neil. Zimmer translated “und wird auch ihren Leib nicht entblößen,” which seems to capture the required sense. Hahn wonders whether we should read *apūrta. Or should we read “avṛttam,” won’t not conceal” = “won’t reveal”?

91Literally, seek her out through speech, vācānvesaṇa, which might also mean ask others about her.


93I do not follow Zimmer’s “Er aß ganz ruhig” for anupārṣvena bhūtvā.

94Zimmer (reading with the edition) translates: “Wie er in ihr Haus gekommen war, erwartete er dort die Stunde der Liebesfreuden und wartete, er wußte nicht, wie lange. Zu günstiger Stunde ging die Mutter des jungen Kaufmannssohns in eben dasselbe Haus, . . .”
with her son, sinfully and illicitly. And at the end of the night, having enjoyed her sex play in the black, still hours of blind darkness, when the shape of forms is perceived indistinctly, she went back to her own house.

And when the night began to grow light the merchant’s son too, having enjoyed the sex play, went to their goods-shop and took care of the family business. He enjoyed the sex play a number of times there in the old woman’s house in that manner, and a long time passing in that fashion with a series of sexual encounters, the mother began to think about that boy: “For how long shall I go to another house, and in this way in undisclosed shape enjoy sex play? What if I were to make known to him this manner of our sex play gradually, in such a way that we could have our sex play here in this very house?” So thinking she went right to the house of the old woman, and after having enjoyed sex play with her son, just as she had planned, at the end of the night, in the time of deepest darkness, she went home having put on the boy’s upper garment and having left her own head covering. In the early morning time, the boy spied that cloth lying on the top part of the bedstead, and not finding his own upper garment, he recognized\textsuperscript{95} that cloth. Getting rid of it, he went to their shop, and dressing in another pair,\textsuperscript{96} he went home. When he got there he saw his very own garment being worn on his mother’s head. Seeing that he asked his mother: “Mother, how did this cloth come to be on your head?”

She responded, “I’m still your mother. It’s true that for a long time you’ve been enjoying sex with me, but I’m still your self-same mother.” At that the merchant’s son, hearing such words from his mother, dropped to the ground stunned and shaken. Then his mother sprinkled him with water from a jar, and after a long while the boy, having been sprinkled with water, recovered his breath. He was consoled by his mother: “Why are you so depressed, hearing my words? Be strong, don’t be despondent!” The boy said to her: “How shall I not be mindful of my depression, or my bewilderment, by which I have done such an evil act?” Then she said to him: “Don’t distress yourself over this. The female sex is like a road: for that upon which the father goes, the son too goes upon just the same. And this road is not the agent of fault to the son who follows it—it is rather the female sex [which is the agent of the fault]. And the female sex is also like a bathing spot, for at just that bathing spot in which the father bathes the son too bathes, and the bathing spot is not the agent of fault of the son who is bathing—it is rather the female sex. Moreover, in a bordering country, just this is the normal way things are done: the son also approaches that same woman whom the father approaches for illicit purposes.” The merchant’s son, with his distress thus removed by his mother through many conciliatory words, was aroused by intense lust and engaged again and again in that illicit sin with his mother.

[There came a time when] the master sent a letter to the house: “My dear! Be firm, gallant and strong! I will come following right after this very letter!” The merchant’s wife, hearing that this was the sense of the letter,\textsuperscript{97} grew dejected and began to think.

\textsuperscript{95}G2 “did not recognize,” perhaps better?
\textsuperscript{96}As Zimmer understands, of upper garment and head covering.
\textsuperscript{97}Note that, as we would expect in ancient India, the merchant’s wife is portrayed as illiterate. Almost the same scene is played out in a passage from the Cīvārvāstus of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya (Dutt 1939–1959: iii.2.23,19-24,1; Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra 1974a: folio 801 = 244b10), in which
“For a very long time while I was waiting for him to come back he did not come. Now that I have sported in this way with my son, he will come back. What strategy might there be for me to remove him from the living before he gets back here at all?” Having thought it through like this, she called her son and said: “You know that your father sent a letter saying that he will come back. What shall we do now? Go and kill your father without him ever getting back.” He said: “How will I kill my father?” When he did not dare to commit the murder of his father, his mother addressed him repeatedly with appeasing words. And being addressed with appeasing words, and inflamed with lust, he resolved himself on the murder of his father.

“Certainly for one who indulges in lust there is no evil act which is forbidden,” I say.

Then he said, “By what means will I kill him?” She answered, “I myself shall arrange the means,” and so she cooked sweetmeats, mixing poison with the wheat flour, and she also cooked others without poison. Then she called the boy and said, “Go. These sweetmeats are poisonous, and these nonpoisonous. Take them and go to your father. And when he is unsuspectingly eating some place, offer him these poisonous sweetmeats, and you yourself eat the nonpoisonous ones.”

Then the boy, accompanied by the servant who had brought [the father’s] letter, took those sweetmeats and went off.

When he approached his father, his father saw that son of his, surpassingly handsome, lovely and distinguished, and he was filled with joy. Asking after his welfare, he said to the merchants, “This, gentlemen, is my son.” When the son observed this, he thought, “Everywhere my father recognizes me,” and so he said “Father, mother sent a gift of sweetmeats which you, father, should eat.” Later while eating together with his father atop a cargo crate, he gave his father the poisonous sweetmeats, and he himself ate those without the poison.

a merchant sends word to his wife that he will shortly be home (see Ralston 1882: 91): *tena patnyadi sanḍiṣṭaṁ bhadre prāmodyam utpādaya : svastinā saṁpannārtho harm āgataḥ kitama .air divasair āgata eveti sā śrūtā vyaihitā . . . . The Tibetan translation reads (Derge Kanjur 1, ’dul ba, ga 59a6-7): des chung ma la bzang mo dga’ ba skyed cig l kho bo don grub nas bde bar 'ongs te l zhaq ’di tsam kho na phyin par 'ong ngo l spring ba des thos nas …snyam du phongs par. Two points may be made here: First, what is perhaps implicit in the Sanskrit is made explicit in Tibetan, namely the wife is said to “listen to the letter,” *spring ba = *lekha (see Tshe ring dbang rgyal’s dictionary, Bacot 1930: 105a1). Second, although Dutt read the last word in our quotation as kathayati, the manuscript and the Tibetan translation of phongs pa make clear that the correct reading is vyāthita, namely that she was alarmed or distressed, and she did not speak but thought what follows.

98The syntax of this sentence is irregular: *idānīṁ mayaivaṁvidhenopakramena putraṁ ca paricaritvā sa cāgaṁisyaṁ. The mother’s role is stated in the passive, *maya ... paricaritva, which should require a passive verb; instead, the verb is active and has a different subject or agent.

99This looks like a narrative interjection, since it is not quite clear who the “I” could be otherwise. Gilgit has: “Given over to lust as I am, there is no evil act which is forbidden, I say.”

100The hapax *mandilaka is confirmed by the Gilgit texts. Zimmer “Kuchen,” Hiraoka (2000, 2007) ケーキ. Sanskrit knows *manda in the sense of the scum on the surface of boiled rice, cream or gruel, and *mandaka as a thin pancake or a kind of baked flour. The term may be suggestive of some kind of round bread (cp. *mandala?). My translation is a guess at best, or put more frankly, a place-holder.

101Literally, “asking about the bearable and the unbearable.”

102See below for remarks on ekaphalalekaphela.
And eating those poisonous sweetmeats his father died. When his father was yoked by the law of time, no one suspected or recognized that the son had done an evil deed. Later those merchants, beloved loving friends, mourned, and gave whatsoever merchandise or gold or valuables that merchant had there to his son. The boy took that merchandise and gold and valuables that had belonged to his father and returned home. But when he had come home, his mother did not experience passion while having sex with her son in their secret, illicit way, and with an unsatisfied look said to her son: “For how long will we enjoy our sex play in this secret way? Why don’t we leave this country and go to another country where we may dwell happily and openly in the avowed state of husband and wife, without being secretive?”

So the two of them abandoned their house, quit their friends, kin and relations, and gave up the slave women, slave men, and workers who had long served them, and even their possessions, and just taking their gold and valuables went to another region. When they had arrived there in those foreign lands, avowing that they were husband and wife they dwelt there enjoying sex play. Then after some time had passed, a saint-monk wandering in the land came to that neighborhood. He roamed through there for alms, and resting on the road saw that boy doing business in the fashion of a merchant. Seeing him and greeting him, he addressed him saying: “Is your mother well?” Hearing the saint addressing him in these terms, the boy was very shaken and anxious because of the wicked acts he had committed, and he began to think. Pondering what to do for some time, he went to his mother and informed her: “An ascetic has come—it’s the one who [formerly used to] visit our house. And now that he’s here in this neighborhood, he will recognize that “she is this boy’s mother.” But we are known around here as husband and wife, so how can we succeed in getting him killed?”

And they considered, thinking that they would invite him to their house, and kill him while he was eating. Having thought about it in this way the two of them invited the saint-monk inside the house and began to feed him. Having concealed a knife on himself, the boy fed the saint together with his mother.103 Having dismissed the servants, when the saint-monk finished eating he departed from that house, striding with a confident gait. Then the boy seeing the saint striding confidently, placing himself behind the departing [monk] plunged his knife into his body and took his life.104

And lusts are just like salt water—
The more they are enjoyed, the more they are craved.

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103 Arhantam bhojayitum; supply ārabdho? Zimmer: “um den Heiligen zu bewirten,” which seems odd to me.

104 The syntax of this sentence is irregular: tena dārakenainam arhantāṁ visvāstacārakramam aveksya nirgacchchantam parāṃśūḥbibhūtvā śārīre ’syā śastrām nipātya jīvītād vyaparopitaḥ. M. Straube observes to me as follows: “enam arhantam functions at the same time as object of aveksya and nipātya (being, as one would expect, in the accusative) and as subject (grammatically speaking) of vyaparopitaḥ for which it should be in the nominative. The sentence starts as a passive construction (tena dārakena) continues as an active construction (-kramam aveksya) and ends as a passive construction (vyaparopitaḥ) again. The expression jīvītād vyaparopita- seems to be a stock phrase which is used in the Divy, as far as I can see, always as a passive construction, cf. some lines below: tena . . . sā mātā jīvītād vyaparopitā, also, e.g., dvau sūkṣaśāvakau . . . vidālena prāmnā jīvītād vyaparopitā iti (200, 3f.) etc. Perhaps the author did not dare to transform it into an active construction thus avoiding that forced construction.” For his valuable suggestion regarding parāṃśūḥbibhūtvā, I thank Vincent Tournier.
That boy’s mother, while still engaged in the illicit pursuit of her son, also had a secret affair with a guildman’s son in that very same neighborhood, and she became obsessed with those philanderings. But those exploits of hers were discovered by her son, and he said to his mother, “Mother, turn back from this sin!” But she with her mind enamored with that guildman’s son did not turn back even though she was repeatedly asked to. So unsheathing his sword he deprived his mother of life.

When his three sins of immediate retribution were accomplished, the local gods declared to the people: “This one is evil—he is a patricide, an arhat killer and a matricide. He has performed and piled up three deeds of immediate retribution which lead to the karma of hell.” Then when the people of that neighborhood heard that, they drove him out from that neighborhood. When he was driven out from the neighborhood, he began to think: “In the Buddha’s teaching there is certainly some expiation of this [situation].” Thus he considered. “I will go now and become ordained.” And he went to a monastery and, approaching a monk, he said: “Noble One, I would take ordination.” So the monk said, “First of all, you aren’t a patricide, are you?” He told the monk, “I did kill my father.” Then he asked again, “You’re not a matricide, are you?” He said, “Noble One, I killed my mother.” He asked once again, “You didn’t kill a saint, did you?” And he said, “I killed a saint too.” Then that monk said, “Doing these acts one by one would disqualify you from ordination into the ascetic life—how much more all of them together! Get out of here, boy, I won’t ordain you!” Then that man approached another monk and said, “Noble One, I would become ordained.” And that monk too, having questioned him in the appropriate sequence, refused. After that he approached another monk and implored him too for ordination in the same manner. But he too, questioning in the same way in the appropriate sequence, also refused. When, although he had begged repeatedly for ordination, the monks still did not grant it to him, he became angry and began to think: “Although I beg for that ordination common to all, I don’t receive it.”

Then he set fire to the monks asleep in that monastery. Having set the fire in that monastery, he went to another monastery. And there too he approached the monks and begged for ordination. They too questioned him in the very same way in the appropriate sequence, and then refused. And there again in the same way with hostile intention he set [the monastery] on fire. And in that monastery too he burned many monks, common monks and saints. When he had burned countless monasteries in this way, everywhere the word spread: “In such-and-such a fashion a man, a doer of evil deeds, upon not receiving ordination from the monks burns down monasteries and their monks.” And the man set out for another monastery.

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105 G1 adds “being sexually unsatisfied.”

106 Thus I understand asya as referring to his situation and anunaya as expiation, or conciliation (of sins). Zimmer: “In dieser Lehre des Buddha ist irgendein Weg der Versöhnung.”

107 G2 adds: “I am being punished/murdered by the monks.”

108 Literally “learners and those without anything left to learn,” saıkṣas and asaıkṣas. The placement of the ca in this sentence is strange, and suggests the grouping 1) bhikṣus, and 2) saıkṣa-samaıkṣas. But this is not logical, and so it seems we should understand the ca as internally governing the dvandva. An alternative would be to read *sāıkṣa samaıkṣa ca. The Tokyo manuscript, however, agrees with the reading of the edition, saıkṣa-samaıkṣa ca. (I did not note the Kyoto reading, and the Gilgit fragments do not contain the passage.) Michael Hahn suggests this as a possible case of secondary sandhi.
In that monastery dwelt a monk who was a bodhisattva, a knower of the Tripitaka. He heard that that man, a doer of such wicked deeds, was on his way there, and so the monk went forth to meet that person even before he had reached the monastery. Approaching the man, he said: “Good sir, what’s going on?” So the man said to him, “Noble One, I can’t obtain ordination.” Then the monk said, “Come boy, I will ordain you.” Later the monk shaved the man’s head and gave him ochre robes. Then the man said, “Noble One, confer the rules of training on me!” But the monk said, “Of what use are the rules of training to you? Always speak thus: ‘Homage to the Buddha! Homage to the Dharma! Homage to the Saṅgha!’ ” Then the monk began to sermonize to the man. “You have done such-and-such evil deeds. If you ever hear the word ‘Buddha,’ you must retain it in your awareness.” Then that monk, a knower of the Tripitaka, died and was reborn among the gods, and that man also died, and was reborn among the hells.

Then the Blessed One spoke: “What do you think, monks? The one who was in the past the monk, the knower of the Tripitaka, he was none other than I at that time and on that occasion. The being who was the doer of evil deeds, the killer of mother, father and saint, he was none other than Dharmaruci. This is my demonstration of [the life of] this Dharmaruci in the third infinite period. In this respect I say, Dharmaruci, it was a long time ago, Dharmaruci, it was a very long time ago, Dharmaruci, it was a very, very long time ago. And for as long as it took me, monks, through three infinite periods practicing the six perfections and hundreds of thousands of other difficult practices to attain unexcelled perfect awakening, so long this Dharmaruci was for the most part fallen among the hells and beasts. When the Blessed One had said this, glad at heart, those monks rejoiced in what the Blessed One had proclaimed.

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109 See Edgerton (1953) s.v. jātṛya (2). The actual implication of the term bodhisattvajātīyo bhīkṣu is not entirely clear to me, and my translation is little more than an evasion. Zimmer (1925: 77) translates “ein Mönch, der war von der Art der Werdenden Buddhas.” What is difficult to understand is that, as the text explicitly says just a few lines below, this monk is the bodhisatta, that is, a previous incarnation of the individual who will later become Śākyamuni. This suggests that bodhisattvajātīyo bhīkṣu may indicate something like “a monk whose lineage, jāti, is that of being a/the bodhisatta,” “a monk who stands in the birth-line, jāti, of Śākyamuni and is, perforce, a/the bodhisatta,” or even “a bodhisatta by birth,” which I believe amounts to precisely the same thing. Note that in the Bodhisattvāvadānakapalatā, studied below, the equivalent expression is bodhisattvāṃśa bhīkṣu, with apparently an identical meaning.

110 Rules of training = sīkṣapada.

111 La Vallée Poussin (1929: 209–210) observes rather unsympathetically: “The story of Dharmaruci, not later than the second century A.D. at the latest, is one of the first testimonies of the Buddhist religion where it suffices to say ‘Lord, Lord,’ the religion, philosophically impoverished and in which works are useless, which consists in the incessant repetition of the name of Amitābha.” I am afraid, however, that in this I cannot agree with the great Belgian master. What the future Buddha advocates for the sinner Dharmaruci is not salvation through the repetition of the name of the Lord (much less that of Amitābha), but merely concentration on the three refuges. This does not strike me as innovative or in any way particularly noteworthy. To prevent further trouble he seems willing to “ordain” Dharmaruci, but the Buddhist practice appropriate for the latter is the most basic and introductory available. It is important to note that in refusing to teach Dharmaruci the rules of training, he is in fact denying him access to the monastic state, and thus not ordaining him at all.

112 This is what he says at the beginning of the story. Being questioned about the meaning of this cryptic utterance, the Buddha narrates the three past stories which constitute the Dharamarucy-avadāna.
2 The Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā’s Dharmarucy-avatāna, Part 3, reedited in Sanskrit and Tibetan, and translated in English

The same story of Dharmaruci is given in poetic form by the Kashmiri poet Kṣemendra in his massive Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā. Any comprehensive study of this large work will, ultimately, have to include a careful and systematic comparison of Kṣemendra’s poetic renditions with what was apparently his primary source, the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya. Here I offer a critical edition (in Sanskrit and Tibetan), and English translation, of the final third of chapter 89 of the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā, that is verses 120–188 constituting the last part of the three-part story of Dharmaruci (Dharmarucy-avatāna).

The editio princeps of the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā is that of Das and Vidyābhūṣāṇa (1888–1918), based on a bilingual blockprint. A reprinting of the Sanskrit text only is found in Vaidya (1959), based exclusively on the Das-Vidyābhūṣāṇa edition; it has no independent value. Both the Sanskrit text (in Tibetan script) and Tibetan translation are found in the Derge and Cone Tanjurs, while the Tibetan translation alone is found in the Peking Tanjur. Although the Cone print depends on Derge, I cite both below. (I did not have access to the bilingual print prepared under the Fifth Dalai Lama, studied in Mejor 1992.) In addition, thanks to the generosity of the late Prof. J. W. de Jong I was able to make use of photographs a Sanskrit manuscript now in Cambridge (Add. 1306). My edition takes all these sources into account, along with a few suggestions offered by de Jong (1979).

On the assumption that the text as written was intended to conform to the rules and norms of standard Sanskrit, at least grammatically and orthographically if not in terms of vocabulary, the orthography of the Sanskrit text printed below has been standardized in such matters as avoidance of gemination after r and the use of final m̄ for m. Likewise the conventional reading satva has been printed sattva. I have not noted merely orthographic variants, or such things as trivial violations of external sandhi, replacement of anusvāra with homorganic nasal (or vice versa), confusion of sibilants, and so forth. The readings of the Sanskrit manuscript “A” are usually confirmed by the Sanskrit transcribed in the Derge and Cone Tanjurs. On occasion the Tibetan translation does not entirely agree with the Sanskrit, and presents problems of its own. I have not been able to deal with these here. I have also not catalogued the numerous Tibetan misprints in the Das-Vidyābhūṣāṇa edition. In romanizing the Tibetan, even after foot-final ga I have added the shad.113

I owe to the kindness of Prof. Michael Hahn and Dr. Martin Straube a number of detailed notes on my edition and translation of this set of verses. To have mentioned every instance of this assistance would have been impractical, and thus I thank both of them here in summary for their generosity and erudition.

Much work remains to be done on this interesting and important work, not least in the area of the influence of its Tibetan translation and subsequent recastings on later Tibetan literature (on which see the short note by van der Kuip 1996: 401–402). For a study of the Indian text and its history, see Mejor (1992), earlier Tucci (1949: 437–441) (particularly regarding the influence of the work on Tibetan pictorial art, on which see also Rani 1977), and note the recent bibliography Kirde (2002). The relation between Kṣemendra’s version of the Dharmarucy-avatāna and that in the Divyavatādana was noted already by Tucci (1949: 438), who provides a summary of the avadāna on pp. 522–524.

Something might also be learned by a careful comparison of this story, at least, with Kṣemendra’s Samavayamāttākā and the work upon which it is based, Dāmodaragupta’s Kuttarānīmata (in English one may find translations of both works in Mathers (1930), but these are rather poor). See Sternbach (1974: 79–82).
The text is written in the common śloka metre, with only a few verses in other metres: 140 (Vasantatilakā), 141 (Śārdūlavīkrīḍita), 176 (Upajāti), 178 (Harinī), and 188 (Śārdūlavīkrīḍita).

Sigla
A: Cambridge manuscript Add. 1306 (Bendall 1883: 41–43), 341a4–344b5 (Sanskrit)
C: Cone Tanjur, skyes rabs, khe, 231a1–236b6 (Sanskrit and Tibetan)
D: Derge Tanjur 4155, skyes rabs, khe, 231a1–236b6 (Sanskrit and Tibetan)
P: Peking Tanjur 5655, mdo 'grel, ge, 317b5–320b5 (Tibetan)
V: Vaidya (1959: II.510–515) (Sanskrit)

tṛṇye bhagavān kalpe 1 krakucchandasa 2 tathāgataḥ 1 anuttarajñanidhir3 jambudvīpe4 purābhavā 5 || 120


||
gsum pa'i bskal par bcom ldan 'das || de bzhin gshegs pa 'khor ba 'jig ||
bla na med pa'i ye shes gter || 'dzam bu'i gling du sngon 1 byung gyur ||
1) P: mgon

In the third eon, long ago, there appeared in Jambudvīpa a Blessed One, Tathāgata, Krakucchanda, a treasury of unexcelled knowledge.

babhūva samaye tasminn ujjayanām mahādhanaḥ 1
vanik1 candanadattākhyāḥ prakhyātakrayavikrayaḥ || 121

1) C: ni

||
d de yi dus na 'phags rgyal du || tshong pa tsandan byin zhes pa ||
nor chen nyo tshong 1 dag gis ni || rab tu grags pa byung bar gyur ||
1) P: tshongs

At that time in Ujjayanī there was an extremely wealthy man, a merchant named Candanadatta, famous for his commerce.

tasya kāmabalākhyāyāṁ jāyāyāṁ 1 madanadyutih2 l
aśvadattābhidhāno 'bhūt putraḥ kāya i va priyāḥ || 122

1) C, D: yāṃ 2) C: tu

||
de yi chung ma 'dod pa'i stobs || zhes la myos 1 byed ltar mdzes bu ||
rtas byin zhes ni bya ba dag || lus bzhin du ni dga' ba byung ||
1) P: mos (block broken?)

His wife was named Kāmabalā, (Embodying) the Army of the God of Love, and he had a son named Aśvadatta, whose beauty was like that of the God of Love, beloved to him as his own body.

arthārthi1 sa jagāmābdhīṁ patnīnyastagṛhasthiḥ l
dhanena dhanināṁ 2 trṣṇā lavaṇeṇeva3 vardhate || 123

1) C, D: i 2) C, D: dhanenārthanaṁ 3) C, D: naiva

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Being desirous of gaining wealth, he went to sea, having entrusted the domestic affairs to his wife. For a rich man his thirst [for wealth] increases through wealth, just like thirst increases when one drinks salt water.\(^{114}\)

His wife, with her husband gone abroad, deluded by the infatuations of youth, abandoned considerations of her household and could think of nothing but lust.

Setting the boy A\(^{1}\) svadatta in the financial affairs bureau,\(^{115}\) she would always stay in a turret of the palace and watch the main boulevard.

Being without any opportunity to do as she wished in a house of many servants and staff, she approached an old wet-nurse, and spoke with a deep sigh:

\(^{114}\)That is, the more wealth he has, the more he wants, just as one who drinks salt water craves more as he attempts to slake his thirst. The image is discussed below.

\(^{115}\)The meaning of *dhanakarman* is not clear to me, but the sense seems to be that the mother places the boy, perhaps as a sort of apprentice, in the money-counting office of the family’s trading house.
“Because I lack the freedom to wander where I will, mother, although I am in luxury here in a house of wealth, with people subject to my orders, I am not truly happy.

dhikāraṁ naḥ satkāraṁ naḥ laṁkāraṁ naḥ bhojanaiḥ
vinā purusarambhogāḥ bhajante lalanāḥ sukham

When deprived of sexual union with a man, women are not pleased by status, honors, ornaments or food.

tasmād grham parityajyaḥ gacchāmi chandacārinīḥ
bālye jātaḥ suto ’py eṣaḥ na snehayatanaṁ māma

For fickle women addicted to physical pleasures do not tolerate the restraints of relatives connected with both families like rivers do not tolerate the restraints of an embankment built up on both banks.”

The wet-nurse, upset because of her devotion (to her employer), spoke to the woman who was talking like this: “My dear, it’s not right that you leave, abandoning such ample riches.
Bya ba mang po'i khyim 'dir ni || sbas pa'i spyod pa mi sbyar te ||
gsang ba'i spyod pa skad cig gis || rgyal po yi ni lam du rgyug ||

1) So P; C, D: pos 2) So P; C, D: pas

But here in this busy house, secret activity is not possible. In an instant news of one’s confidential business will run around on the main boulevards.

Katha rakṣasi cāritraṁ saṁtaṁ ā 1 yauvanaśmaṇaṁ 2 ||
gṛhanidhaṇaṁ 3 ca pādenotsārya gacchasi 4 || 133


Lang tsho tsha bas rab gdungs pa || khyod kyi spyod pa ji ltar bsrong ||

Khyim gyi gter yang rkang pa yis || rab spangs khyod kyis ji ltar ’gro ||

How can you, inflamed by the heat of youth, protect your reputation? But how can you leave if it means kicking away the wealth of the house?

Itaḥ kāmaviśāveśaḥ 1 svabhṛapātaḥ kṣaṇād 2 itaḥ 3 ||
asminn ubhayaṁ saṁdehe na j 4 kiṁ karis 5 || 134


On one hand, an attack by the poison of lust, on the other a fall into an abyss in an instant—I don’t know what you should do facing these two perils.

Paṣṭrijāṁ prārthayanti 3 na yāvad vastraṁ ujjhati 4 || 135


G yo zhing dge mtshan ldan pa rnams || ji srid gos ni ma dor bar ||
de srid srog gi zong gis kyang || gzhan gyi bud med don du gnyer ||

Until she sheds her clothing, philanderers eager with curiosity importune the wife of another even if it means staking their own lives.

Na na neti 1 samutkampiraśaṅnaṁśukakarṣaṇe 2 ||
gacchāṁ muṁca muṁceti kvaṁanti kaśya nepṣita 3 || 136


'og pag gos nas drangs pa na || ma ma ma zhes 'dar byed cing ||
bdag 'gro thongs 1 shig thongs 1 shig ces || sgra sgrogs de ni 2 su zing 'dod ||

1) P: thong 2) P: nas

Who does not desire the woman who, saying ‘No! No! No!’ while her quivering skirt and garments are being torn off, murmurs ‘I’m leaving, let me go! Let me go!’?

Dṛṣṭyā vivasaṅnaṁ vṛttakartavyaḥ 1 sarvathā janaḥ ||
bhujaṇjaranirmuktaśuṅkavṛttiyā 2 paśayate || 137

1) J’s kṛta (suggested by Tib.) is, I believe, metrically unlikely if not impossible 2) A: śiṁ 3) C, D: śiṁ 4) C, D: śiṁ (for which read śa辉), in accord with Tib. See the note to the translation. A incorrectly corrected to śaṅkaḥ śukaḥ. C: śukavrtya; D: śugavrtya
But having seen her unclad, the person who has thoroughly accomplished what he set out to do flees from the cage of her arms like a parrot freed from a cage.

timire raticareña kṣaṇārdhamā sukhasaṃgamaḥ
punaḥ praviratāloke paraloke samāgamaḥ 138
1) So A; C, D: 9 ardham 2) C, D: 9vīrāloke 3) A, DV, V: paraloka

mun par dga’ ba’i chom rkun dang skad cig phyed ni bde bar ’grogs
phyi’ nas snang ba rab spangs pa’i jig rien pha rol dag tu ’grogs
1) So P, C, D: phyin

The enjoyment of half an instant of blissful intercourse with a thief of love in the dark later on becomes a joining in the other world completely devoid of light (namely, hell).

sā nastā nisphāla kliṣṭā lajjākaṣṭād adhomukhi 3
kumārge hāritaṁ 4 yāntī 5 śilaratnam 6 ivekṣate 7 139

bzhiṅ smad ngo tsha’i sdug bsgal can bras md nyams shing dman pa de
tshul khrims rin chen lam ngan du stor bar gyur pa ’tshol ba bzhiṅ

She walks with face downcast from the misery of her shame, as if searching for the lost jewel of her virtue on a rough road, miserable, her suffering fruitless.

sā rodiṭī prasrtaḍuṣcāraitāpavādā sthūlāsraṇabuddhī amandaviṣāḍaṅkāpaḥ 3
kāmaśramatrikārṇāmasīlāhāra mukṭapalā laiva dharām 5 pariṇāyaṇati 6 140

dri med tshul khrims do śal ’dod pa’i ngal dub kyiś chad cing
mu tīg ’bras bus [sa] 2 gzhi yongs su khengs par byed pa bzhiṅ
mi dman chags bral du btags mchi ma’i thigs pa rags pa yis
nyes spyod smad pa rab tu spros pa de ni ngu bar byed
1) P: de 2) Emended following a suggestion of M. Hahn 3) P: yong su, or written yongsu.

Once the scandal of her transgression is spread about, she weeps filling the whole earth with huge tears, seemingly incarnations of her deep depression, as if with pearls from the necklace of her unsullied virtue now snapped by the exertions of lovemaking.

bālaṃypī tuśāraraśmiruciraṃ saṃcintayantyāḥ smitaṃ mālayantyāḥ sahasā nimilatanañ 2 padmānaṇāyāḥ 3 param
gehāntaḥ svakāthāṃ mithaḥ 4 kathayatām ākārṇayantyāḥ bāhiḥ svairṇyāḥ 6
trṇapallave ’pi lulite 7 sāsānkalān 8 manaḥ 141
1) A: 9yā; C, D: 9yatya 2) So C, D; A: 9naś 3) Tib. pad ma’i stan suggests that the translators read *padmānaṇāyāḥ 4) C, D: 9ām 5) A: 9tha 6) C, D: svairṇyās 7) A, DV: lalite; V: valite; J after Tib.: calite 8) A, DV: 9ām, J suggesting 9ām; C, D: gacchanti śaṅkām
Wanton women, even contemplating the smile of a child lovely as the cool-rayed moon, are suddenly saddened, lotus-faced, their bodies closed up like a flower when, inside the house, they hear those outside speaking back and forth about them, and their minds are filled with mistrust and suspicion when so much as a blade of grass is shaken.

Vain about their appearance, young women go out from their husbands’ homes. But later, they are examined and abandoned by the judges in the market place.

Therefore, I will tell you a strategy by which you can stay at home, engage in intercourse with men, and yet remain unsuspected.

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116 I do not understand the image well here. The term nimilita seems usually to appear with words for ‘eye’. The comparison to a closed flower is evocative; is the overall point that, like a flower, the woman folds herself in on herself cowering, as it were?

117 Two images are joined here. The wanton woman engages in non-procreative sex, and thus rues her lack of children, and also is saddened and made slightly paranoid by fear of rumors circulating about her.

118 The form punyasthāna is supported both by Sanskrit sources and Tibetan bsod nams kyi gnas. Its meaning is, however, obscure. M. Straube suggests punya6, pointing to Samayamārtkā 4.122: panyastrī, 8.36: panyalalāṇa, 8.102: panyavadhā. These are, however, not parallel. Nevertheless, I tentatively accept the emendation, although the translation remains more or less a guess.
“This boy of yours, Āśvadatta, is one is still little more than a child. Because people will not suspect, he’s the best choice for you to indulge in pleasure.

evaṁvidhāṣa ca1 sumukhaḥ kāṇṭimāṇaḥ prāpyate2 kutah l
nirapāyaḥ3 prakāro ‘yaṁ yadi tāvat pravartate ll 145

1) DV, V: evaṁ vidadhah (graphic confusion) 2) A: pā? 3) C, D: niraksāyāh

| rnam pa ‘di lta’i bzhin bzang dang ll mdzes sdug can ni ga las rnyed |
| gal te re zhig rab bsgrubs na ll ‘di ni gnod med rnam pa yin1 |

1) C, D: mīn

Where else can you find such a lovely and desirable lad? If this is how you handle things from the beginning, there won’t be any problem.”

iti dhātrīvacāḥ śrutvā1 sāpi yuktam amanyata l
tīvrāgaprakārāndhāḥ pāpapātāṁ2 na paśyati ll 146

1) C, D: VES for str; C, D: sāpapātān

| zhes pa ma ma’i tshig thos nas ll de yis kyang ni rigs par bsams |
| chags pa drag po’i rnam pa yis ll long bas sdig ltung mthong ma yin |

When she heard this speech of the wet-nurse, she also considered it to be reasonable. One who is blind with a severe passion does not perceive her descent into sin.

dhātrī tataḥ kūmārasya stṛībhogasukhavarṇanāṁ1 l
svairam2 vidhāya vidadhe viśayābhimukhāṁ manaḥ ll 147

1) DV, V: sati5 for str; C, D: 7sthrān varttānāṁ 2) A: sve6

| de nas ma mas dal bu yis ll bud med longs spyod bde bsngags pa1 |
| bsgrubs shing bsgrubs nas gzhon nu’i yid ll yul la mngon par phyogs par byas |

1) P: pas

Then the wet-nurse, gently praising to the boy the pleasures of sexual intercourse with a woman, directed his mind toward the sensual realm.

tam avocata1 sā nityaṁ2 kṛtvā kāmapratāraṇāṁ3 l
astī vatsa tvaducitā kācit prosītabhartrkā4 ll 148

1) A: 7cata; C, D: 7ceta 2) C, D: nitya; DV, V: sāsānkan 3) So A; V: 7am; C, D: kāmasutāraṇāṁ 4) C, D: 7ksa
(miswritten for 7kā)

| rtaṅ tu ’dod pa rab spros nas ll de la de yis rab smras pa |
| bu khyod la ’os ’ga’ zhig ni ll bdag po yul gzhon song ba yod |

Leading him astray toward sensual pleasures she spoke to him constantly saying: “My dear, there is a certain woman whose husband has gone abroad who is just right for you.

śunye veśmanī1 nirdīpe2 rātrau maunāvalambinī l
lajjāvati3 sā sutarāṁ tvayā saṅgamam icchatī ll 149

1) C, D: 9ne 2) A: niśrape? 3) C, D: 9jjava8

| khang stong sgron ma med par ni ll mtshan mo ni smra la brten te |
| shin tu ngo tsha ldan ma de ll khyod dang yang dag ’grogs par ’dod |

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She is extremely shy and wants to have sex with you at night in an empty house without any lamp, and remaining silent.”

iti tasyā vacah śrutvā sābhilāso vaniksutaḥ

sadā guptagṛhe bheje jananyā ratisaṅgamam || 150

1) C, D: ोyāḥ; V: yāḥ

| ces pa de yi tshig thos nas || mgon par ’dod ldan tshong pa’i bus |
|rtag tu sbas pa’i khyim du ni || ma dang dga’ mgur ’grogs pa bsten |

Hearing these words of hers, the merchant’s son, full of desire, continually partook of sexual pleasures with his mother in a hidden room.

satataṁ sevamāṇāyāḥ prachannabhavane ratim |
vardhamāṇāḥ1 param2 tasyā rāgāgnir na śāmaṁ3 yayau || 151

1) C, D: ोnāḥ 2) C, D: sari for A, DV, V: param. According to M. Hahn, sari for param is a typical error 3) C: prāṣama; D: na śama for na śāmaṁ

| rtag tu rab bsgribs khyim du ni || dga’ mgur spyod pa sten byed pa |
| de la chags pa’i me1 dag ni || rab tu ’phel zhing zhi ma2 gyur |
1) D: ma (block broken) 2) P: bar

But the increasingly swelling fire of lust of she who was constantly devoting herself to sexual intercourse in that secret chamber was not quenched.

sācintayad imāṁ nityam prachādanakadarthanāṁ |
na sahe1 rūpabhogasya prakāśaḥ2 kīla jīvitaṁ || 152

1) C, D: sehe 2) C, D: prakāśaḥ (ोkṣa miswritten for ोkā)

| de yi bsams pa rtag tu ni || rab tu bsgribs pa’i sdeug bsngal ’di |
| mi bzod gzugs kyi longs spyod la || snang ba nyid ni ’tsho ba lo1 |
1) P: la

She thought: “I cannot bear this permanent torment of concealment. For the enjoyment of pleasures of the flesh openness is essential, as they say.

anyonyavadanāṁbhajavilokanarasamī1 vinā |
na cumbane na surate kaścid asti sukhotsavaḥ || 153

1) C: ोbhovi; D: ोbhophi

| phan tshun bzhin gyi chu skyes la || mam par lta ba’i ro bral ba’i |
| ’o yi dga’ mgur spyod pa la || bde ba’i dga’ ston ’ga’ yod min |

There is no pleasure-feast at all in kissing or love-making without the savor of gazing upon each other’s lotus-like faces.

tasmāt prachādanāyāsāṁ1 kumārasya prayatnataḥ2 |
bhaṅktvā prasabhaṁbhoge3 pradīśāmi pragalbhatāṁ4 || 154


| de bsgribs pa yi nyon mongs ni || rab tu ’bad pas bcom byas te |
| ’phral la longs spyod gzhon nu ma1 || gsal bar bdag gis bstan par bya |
1) Read la (M. Straube)?

So, having removed the toil of concealment, I will urge boldness in energetic enjoyment upon the youth.”
So thinking through the night, in the morning, when her body could be discerned, she disclosed herself to him by means of an exchange of clothes.

As she sprinkled him with cold water he gradually regained consciousness and let out a wail of distress, as if he had fallen into a vast chasm.

Embracing him in her arms, crazed with desire, a messenger rushing toward hell, she raised an eyebrow and spoke to him:

"Why this unbearable despondency of yours, pointless and misplaced? Don’t you know that it is not true that women are restrained by righteousness?"
You haven’t caused anyone to suffer, or stolen anyone’s wealth. Why do you imagine there is some sin in this common enjoyment of pleasure?

Women are like rivers, universally available. Why should not the son bathe without impediment in the very same river in which the father bathes?

The son walks down the very same path as the father. Women resemble roads, in that advances may be made upon them by everyone in common.

A woman is to be enjoyed by only one man; it is not right that one after another [have her]—this is merely an arbitrary rule invented by certain envious people.

naiva¹ kācid² agamyāsti ratyarthaⁿ³ paramārthataḥ |
ekāpātropaḥāgyāḥ hi pitiḥ putrasya ca⁴ striyaḥ || 164

| dam pa’i don du dga’i mgur i slad || bgrod par mi bya ’ga’ yang med |
| pha dang byi snod geig bzhin || bud med nye bar longs spyad¹ bya |
1) C, D: spyod
In truth, there is no woman at all unsuitable to be approached for the sake of sexual pleasure. For women are to be enjoyed by father and son as a single vessel.”

Thus she energetically induced him toward a sexual liaison with her. And he, his lust aroused, constantly coupled with his mother like a beast.

Then, in the course of time, when his father came back from sea, secretly dispatched by his mother he murdered him with poison.

Then, her lust ever increasing, a woman striving after unchecked pleasure, she openly and out of affection spoke to her son, who was deluded by love.

“In order to obtain unrestrained pleasure, taking our principal possessions, come! Let us go now to another country which will be free of obstacles.”
Hearing those words he had sought for such a long time, he took their principal possessions and went away with her.

dēsaṃtare kṛtapadau paraṁ pracchannapātakau
jāyāpativāṁ viṅghyāya tuv nirvṛtinti avāpatuḥ
1) C, D: ʊtvāṃ 2) C, D: ʊāṣya 3) C, D: nirvṛtintin 4) A: āpatuḥ, omitting -av-
yul gzhan dag tu gnas byas te sddig pa1 rab bsgrigs de dag ni1
chung ma khyo bo nyid du grags mchog tu bde ba thob pa gyur
1) Ex. conj. for pas.

Later, when they had settled in another country, the two of them concealing their sin declared that they were husband and wife, and lived in complete bliss.

tataḥ kadācit tadgehaṃ svadeṣapatravyabhijñayā
bhikṣuḥ paricito bhṛetya vātsalyāt tam abhāṣata

den nas nam zhih khyim der ni rang gi yul par mngon shes pas
yongs ’dris dge slong mngon phyogs te mnyes gshin las ni de la smras

Some time after that a monk who was acquainted with them through having known them in their own country approached their house, and affectionately spoke to the boy:

kaccit te kuśalena mātuḥ kaccij1 janmamahīṁ muḥuḥ
tyāktāṁ2 cintayatās3 cītām nāyāty4 anuṣayavyatāṁ5
1) C, D: kaccāj 2) A: ʊtām 3) C, D: yāṣ cītām yata for cintayatā (A has obviously been rewritten, and in a confused way, but it seems to support the reading I print) 4) C, D: nāyāty 5) C: ʊam
khīd kyi ma ni dge ’am1 ci skye sa2 btang3 las4 yang yang du
bsam5 pa’i dbang du gyur pa’i sems gyod gdung med par gyur tam ci
1) C, D: ba’am for ’am 2) C, D: ba 3) P: btar 4) P: illegible, but not las 5) P: bsams

“I hope your mother is well? I hope that your heart does not fall into painful regret when you think again and again of the native land you abandoned?”

iti bhikṣor vacaḥ śrutvā śilayevasa tāditaḥ
pratyabhijñānacakitas tāṁ1 tāṁ yuktīṁ2 acintayaṁ3
1) C, D: ʊkītāṁs tāṁ 2) C, D: yuktan 3) C, D: acintayat
zhes pa dge slong tshig thos nas rdwo1 ba yis2 ni bsun pa bzhin
’dri shes dag3 gis ’jigs pa des1 līggs pa de de rab bsams pa
1) P: ro 2) P: yi 3) C, D: bdag

Hearing the words spoken by the monk, he was as if struck by a stone. Alarmed by the recognition, he considered various strategies.

sa māṭrā1 saha saṃmantriya2 mantrabhedabhayākulaḥ
bhikṣurīn3 nimantriya4 niryantras5 tāṁ śastreṇā6 gṛhe ’vadhīt7
Having consulted with his mother and flustered by the fear that their secret might be betrayed, he invited the monk and without restraint killed him with a knife in the house.

Even killing a saint-monk, his mind did not quaver in the slightest. Cruel men become harder even than diamond through their sins.
Sexual love increases through repeated practice of sexual enjoyment accumulated through experiencing sexual pleasure. Greed expands more and more when wealth becomes extensive. Thirst becomes intensely sharp by drinking salt water, and the submarine fire\textsuperscript{120} blazes [ever more strongly] fed by the waters licked at by its vast flames.

Seeing her secretly meeting with that lustful new lover, Āśvadatta angrily killed that mother of his with a sword.

Weighed down by the mass of sin of three crimes of immediate retribution, he was quickly expelled from that town by the people, who had been incited by the local gods.

\textsuperscript{120} A legendary fire created by the wrath of the sage Aurva; had it not been cast into the ocean it would have consumed the earth. A whirlpool constantly feeds it, the water stoking the flames. An example of the proverbial use of this undersea fire in a similar context is found in the \textit{Nārādapañcarātra} 1.14.100 (cited by Sternbach 1953: 82, §417): “The mind is not satisfied with [all that is] best, the undersea fire not with [all] the waters, the earth not with [all] the dirt, so a promiscuous woman (\textit{sakārasi}), in which the merchant Supriya lamented that his wealth which does not suffice to meet the needs of the poor people: \textit{rata avipulaś nisphalatvam vedhasa kṛtam} \textit{adhipi pūrto yena naiky ‘py artha sa vādabam}, “In vain the creator had made the vast ocean, which even now does not satisfy the \textit{vādaba} fire, like the big mine of jewels does not satisfy even one needy person.”
His remorse awakened, he quickly went to a large community of monks. Recognizing his own guilt, he begged for the going forth from suffering.

tasmai na kaścit pravrajyāṁ 1 patitāya dadau yadā ।
tadā dadāha sa 2 dveṣāt suptāṁ bhikṣugaṇaṁ niśi ॥ 182

1) C, D: resume, treating the following as 181d, etc. 2) C: ba; D: pa

When no one offered ordination to that wicked man, he burned the community of monks to death as they slept at night.

ekas tu bodhisattvāṁśo 1 bhikṣus tasya dayārdradhiṁ 2 ।
tadā 3 diceśa pravrajyāṁ śikṣāpadaśvarjitām ॥ 183

1) C, D: ॐāṁśva 2) C, D: ॐārtra 3) C, D: tavā

But one monk, belonging to the lineage of the bodhisattvas, with a compassionate and warm mind then gave him ordination, not including the disciplinary rules.

śikṣāpādāni nirbandhādā yācāmānaṁ 1 prayatnataḥ ।
bhikṣus tam ācē nārīho ’si śikṣāpadaśparigrahe ॥ 184

1) C, D: ॐbhantāryācāmāna

When he energetically and persistently begged for the disciplinary rules, the monk said to him: “You are not worthy of assuming the disciplinary rules.

121 As M. Straube points out, “Since pāda 181d und 182a were obviously already absent in Šoṅ-ston’s MS one should print the Tibetan of stanzas 181cd–182 this way:

‘gyod pa drag po skyes pa des । song nas dge srong tshogs 2 mang la ।
sdag bsngal las ni rab byung zhus । । । । 1

de tshe de yi zhe sdang gis । dge srong tshogs nyal mtshan mo bsregs ।

1) pada d missing । ।

Nothing dropped out in the course of the transmission of the Tibetan text, hence there is nothing missing. We can safely assume that Šoṅ-ston had a text like this in mind when translating this passage in the second half of the 13th century.”

While I do not disagree, from the viewpoint of the Indic text, I think it better to present the Tibetan translation as it corresponds to the Sanskrit, rather than, as it were, on its own terms.
The story of Dharmaruci

namo buddhāya buddhāyety etad eva sadā vada
jinābhidhānaṁ śrutvaiva kalpante muktim eṣyasi

1) A: ⁰veva

| sangs rgyas sangs rgyas phyag ’tshal lo || zhes pa ’di nyid rtag tu brjod |
| rgyal ba’i mtshan ni thos nyid kyi || dus kyi mthar ni ¹ khyod grol ’gyur |

1) M. Straube: read na?

Just say this always: ‘Homage to the Buddha! To the Buddha!’ Just by hearing the name of the Victor, at the end of the aeon you will find release.”

athāsvadatto¹ dehānte² ghoraṁ naraṇkam āvīśat l
yasyāgre prabalottalāḥ³ śītalaḥ⁴ pralayānalaḥ l 186

1) C, D: ⁰a 2) C, D: ⁰ha ³) C, D: ⁰tala ⁴) C, D: ⁰lāḥ

| de nas rta sred yun ring gi || yun ring las zhes bdag gis driś |
| zhes pa brjod nas becom idan ’das || de bzhin gshegs pa rnam par bzhugs |

Then at his death Aśvadatta fell into a dreadful hell, at the summit of which is the extremely violent cold fire of destruction.

so ’yaṁ dharmaruchiṣ prṣṭaś¹ cirasyeti cirān² maẏa l
abhidhāyeti³ bhagavān virarāma tathāgataḥ l 187

1) C, D: ⁰a 2) A, C, D: ⁰t ³) C: ⁰dhayeti

| de nyid chos sred yun ring gi || yun ring las zhes bdag gis driś |
| zhes pa brjod nas becom idan ’das || de bzhin gshegs pa rnam par bzhugs |

Explaining “This is the Dharmaruci of long ago, whom I inquired about very long ago,” the Blessed One, Tathāgata, concluded.

vātāli janaṁ taramgataralā niḥsāṅkaṁ aḷiṅgītā
prāpya praudhim adarśanaṁ sa janaṅkas tejonidhiḥ¹ prāpitaḥ² l
arhatśattvapradarṣāvibhavas tīv rakramenāhato
dhūmenātimalāmasena na paraṁ kiṁ kiṁ kṛtaṁ³ duṣkṛtaṁ⁴ l 188


| rba¹ rlabs ltar g.yo ma yi rlung ’tshub dag la dogs pa med par rab tu ’khyud |
| dar ba thob nas pha ni gzi byin gter de snang ba min pa dag tu bkod |
| dgra bcom sms can² gnas ni rab tu gsal ba’i ’byor pa mi zad³ rim pas bcom |
| du ba shin tu dri ma can gyis mchog tu nyes byas ci dang ci ma byas |

1) P: dba’ ²) P: omits sms can ³) P: bzad

He fearlessly embraced his whirlwind of a mother, surging like a wave. Reaching maturity, he eliminated his father/obscured the sun, that treasury of radiance. One after another he violently assaulted those of the status and rank of saint and ordinary being. Polluted by the deep black smoke [of the monasteries he had set aflame], is there no evil deed at all he did not commit?

iti¹ ksēmendravrīcaśītyaṁ bodhiṣatvāvadānakaḷpalatāyāṁ
dharmarucyaśvādānem ekonanavatītamaḥ² pallavah l

1) C, D: itaṁ ²) C, D: ⁰dānarim ekāṇa⁰
So runs the 89th sprig in the Wish-granting Garland of Tales of the Bodhisattva (Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā), the Dharmarucy-avadāna, composed by Kṣemendra.

3 Comparative remarks on the two versions of the Dharmarucy-avadāna

The features of the story contained in both the Divyāvadāna and the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā are not only broadly the same, but similar even in numerous points of detail, a fact which is noteworthy in highlighting how very closely Kṣemendra hewed to his source. There are, nevertheless, also several significant differences.

We notice, immediately, that Kṣemendra has chosen to change the names of his characters; we cannot be certain whether he also changed the locale of the story since in the Divyāvadāna as transmitted the expected reference to the setting is absent. The names Kṣemendra gives the father and the central protagonist, Candanadatta and Aśvadatta respectively, do not appear to be especially significant. But his name for the mother, Kāmabalā, surely is: it signifies something like “Embodying the Army of the God of Love (Kāma)” or “she who represents the Army of the God of Lust,” a possessive compound with an extended meaning, from a term the basic meaning of which is “the power of lust.” Thus already in his naming the poet sends a strong signal about the character of the mother.

Kṣemendra has made some significant transformations in the presentation of the story, one of which is particularly important. In the Divyāvadāna, Dharmaruci’s mother spontaneously sets out to seduce her own son, and is initially opposed in these efforts by the go-between from whom she has requested help to find a lover. That old woman, in fact, although she fairly quickly agrees, initially appears to be both surprised and perhaps even offended by the mother’s suggestion that, in the absence of a suitable lover, she should make use of her son, saying: “How can you possibly engage in sex play with your son? It would [rather] be proper for you to enjoy sex play with another man.” In Kṣemendra’s recast version, on the contrary, it is the go-between herself who persuades the mother to seduce her son. But Kṣemendra does not use the same vocabulary as does the Divyāvadāna here. In the latter we find either simply “old woman,” vīddhā, or a word which has been taken to mean “procuress,” vīddhayuvatt. The term in the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalata, however, is dhātrī, “wet-nurse,” and in using it Kṣemendra appears to illustrate his familiarity with, and conformity to, the idiom of the Indian technical literature of erotics. In the Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana, for instance, some discussion is given to the role of the “foster-sister” in arranging an assignation between a man and a young woman. To

122 On the word vīddhayuvatt, see below.
123 Kāmasūtra III.5.1–10.
124 Doniger and Kakar (2002: 90) rendered the Kāmasūtra’s dhātreyikā “foster-sister”. The Jayamangala commentary (Sharma 1997: 697, ad III.5.1) says dhātreyikāṁ puruṣapraṇavṛttāṁ ity arthāṁ. Prof. Ashok

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be sure, there are differences, since in this text’s scenario the go-between (and the wet-nurse is specifically said here to be acting as a go-between, dūtī)\(^{125}\) attempts to persuade the young woman to pick a man of her choice and marry him, albeit secretly. Still, Kśemendra’s wet-nurse’s aggressive attempts to persuade the mother to action are obviously not unrelated to the role assigned to this figure in the Kāmasūtra and allied literature.\(^{126}\)

The wet-nurse’s exhortation to Kāmabala is long and elaborate, running to some fourteen verses. Since the entire story is told in only forty-seven verses, the wet-nurse’s proselytization consumes fully 30% of the poem. In contrast, although as a prose work with a slightly different narrative flow its correspondences are somewhat difficult to calculate, it appears that the entire episode of the seduction in the Divyāvadāna, from the mother’s initial recognition of her passions to the arrangement of the place of assignation, covers no more than 17% of the text, demonstrating the relative weight Kśemendra has given to this element of the story.\(^{127}\) The wet-nurse also subsequently persuades Aśvadatta to sleep with the woman who, she tells him, is married but whose husband is travelling—which is quite true, if misleading, since Kāmabala’s husband, who is Aśvadatta’s father, is indeed abroad. She may therefore be said to have seduced both parties, the mother and the son, although to be sure the mother knows from the beginning what is going on and does not object, while the son is kept in complete ignorance for a considerable time, an important imbalance.

A major factor in the wet-nurse’s argument has to do with money. In the Divyāvadāna, one consideration affecting the intrafamilial relationship is the perceived need to preserve social reputation. Here the argument is made somewhat more explicitly. Kāmabala lives in a house of wealth, which she initially says she merely wants to abandon, along with her son, in order to satisfy her sexual desires. Were she to attempt to carry on a love affair at home, the staff could not help but learn of it. The wet-nurse’s reaction to this suggestion is not to suggest, as would be “proper,” that she control her urges—and the young woman has already been made to proclaim, in an elegant verse: “fickle women addicted to physical pleasures do not tolerate the restraints of relatives connected with both families like rivers do not tolerate the restraints of an embankment built up on both banks,” with the attendant implication that her lusts are a force of nature which cannot be artificially hemmed in. The nurse, rather, appeals to an economic motive (and, reading subversively between the lines, we might say also to her self-interest in retaining her own position): fleeing would mean giving up

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\(^{125}\)III.5.10: dūtikalpam ca sakalam ācaret.

\(^{126}\)Of course, I do not intend to imply that the term dhātrī always has such a meaning. It may also, for instance, mean mother, as in Yajñavalkyasmitī III.82a, and perhaps Mahābhārata I.92.51 (cited with a mistaken reference by Karve 1943–1944: 73—but see van Buitenen 1973: 220, who takes it there as “nurse,” perhaps in contrast to the janant in the following verse).

\(^{127}\)I calculate the length of the entire story as 230 lines in the edition of Cowell and Neil, of which the seduction is covered in 40 lines (254.18–256.2).
wealth, while to carry on an affair would destroy her reputation, as it would surely be revealed. The solution is to stay at home and make use of someone already available, namely her very own son. And to be sure, although in this version, unlike in the Divyāvadāna, it is not her own idea, the mother is portrayed as agreeing immediately: she thinks the suggestion is “reasonable.” The word I have translated as “reasonable” is yukta, precisely the word which in the Divyāvadāna is used by the go-between in her attempt to dissuade the mother from her suggested incest, saying “It would [rather] be proper for you to enjoy sex play with another man,” in which “proper” is again yukta.128 The correspondence is most unlikely to be adventitious, and provides an example of the clever way Kṣemendra has played with his source, not only on a more general thematic level but even with respect to particular items of vocabulary. The close correspondence between the text of the Dharmarucy-avadāna transmitted in the perhaps fifth-century Gilgit manuscripts and the probably nineteenth-century Nepalese Divyāvadāna manuscripts demonstrates the stability of the text over time, and thus the likelihood that the version of the Divyāvadāna Dharmarucy-avadāna known to Kṣemendra in the eleventh century and upon which he based his retelling closely approximated that known to us today.

The manner in which the wet-nurse’s exhortation is treated is worthy of attention, if only for the fact that she spends almost no time specifically advocating Kāmabala’s relationship with her son, preferring to concentrate instead on the dangers of taking an unrelated lover—she accentuates the possible (social, hence visible) dangers from one quarter, while quietly ignoring the (moral, hence invisible) perils from the other. The first argument is that, while an inaccessible woman is an attractive target, once her lover has gained his goal he is bound to reject her forthwith. And the reader need not adopt a feminist standpoint to cringe at the depiction: men love to rape women, especially if they resist: “Who does not desire the woman who, saying ‘No! No! No!’, while her quivering skirt and garments are being torn off, murmurs ‘I’m leaving, let me go! Let me go!’?” Although, Kṣemendra implies, the woman should enjoy this, the aftermath will bring her only disappointment: “But having seen her unclad, the person who has thoroughly accomplished what he set out to do flees from the cage of her arms like a parrot freed from a cage.”

Given what seems to be the argument here, however, the immediately following verse is peculiar in the context: “The enjoyment of half an instant of blissful intercourse with a thief of love in the dark later on becomes a joining in the other world completely devoid of light,” in which what Kṣemendra seems to have the nurse say is that adultery will lead to karmic retribution for both partners, such that the short instant of bliss in the dark night of the lovers’ meeting entails a lengthy stay for both in the dark realms of hell. This threat can hardly be thought not to apply also in the case of an incestuous affair, which seems to make the warning somewhat inappropriate, and may suggest that the poet has slightly lost track of the overall context here, or been borne along on the current of his poetic conceits.129 In any event, he then offers a typically complex series of verses in which,

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128 yuktau syād anyena manusyaṁ sārdham ratiṅkaṁ anubhavitum.
129 We note another apparent incoherence in reference to verse 156, in which the mother both changes clothes with the boy, and stays with him until morning in order to reveal herself. Unless the poem is acutely abbreviated here, with the whole scene of the son’s discovery of his mother wearing his clothes

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after comparing the shamed woman’s virtue to a jewel lost on the road, the tears of that betrayed lover are likened to pearls, in turn compared to her virtue. A string of pearls snapped during lovemaking is a stock image for the vigor of sex, and here the cascade of pearls onto the ground, rolling around everywhere, mirrors the tears a jilted woman sheds in her distress, just as it mirrors the scandal which spreads her reputation everywhere. Similarly, her reputation is not only scattered about like the pearls from the broken string, but it is sullied by being trodden into the mire (as we would say, her name will be dragged through the mud), just as are the pearls on the ground.

Another example of Kṣemendra’s elaboration of his source is to be seen in his treatment of some instances of inner logic in the story. In the Divyāvadāna, the only reason for the mother’s decision to reveal her true identity to her son seems to be her desire for convenience. But in the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā, she thinks as follows: “For the enjoyment of pleasures of the flesh openness is essential, as they say. There is no pleasure-feast at all in kissing or love-making without the savor of gazing upon each other’s lotus-like faces.” This once again conforms to an idea from the erotic literature, that all the senses must participate in the feast of lovemaking. By the same token, some things Kṣemendra has left almost as he found them in his source. The aphoristic presentation of a woman’s promiscuity, in which she is likened to a road and so on, remains basically unchanged, just as there is not much modification of the scene of the arhat’s murder, or that of the contrite sinner’s efforts to gain ordination in the Buddhist monastic community, although both are naturally presented in less detail than they were in their source.

If some things such as the exhortation to incest are drastically expanded, and some left almost unchanged, others are just as radically condensed. For instance, Aśvadatta’s murder of his father is disposed of in a single verse, with no mention of the meeting between father and son which in the Divyāvadāna allows us to glimpse the father’s humanity and contrast the father’s love for his son with his mother’s manipulative treatment. Likewise, in Kṣemendra’s text Aśvadatta’s agreement to the proposed assignation contains none of the hesitations he is made to express in the Divyāvadāna; on the contrary, the poet specifically notes here that Aśvadatta is “full of desire,” just as later he talks of “his lust aroused” as he “constantly coupled with his mother like a beast,” a portrayal of the character of the son which differs significantly from the somewhat reluctant portrait painted in the Divyāvadāna. Of a piece with this revised portrait are the characterizations of Aśvadatta as “deluded by love,” such that for a long time he himself wished to hear his mother suggest that they flee together. This Aśvadatta is much less a victim than the Divyāvadāna’s Dharmaruci; his seduction is so total that, perhaps like captives who fall prey to the Stockholm syndrome, he energetically and seemingly freely collaborates with the agenda of his seducer.

While the son Aśvadatta may be accused both of an untamed, animalistic sexuality, and of a compliant or even aggressive cooperation, the emphasis in Kṣemendra’s
text is consistently rather on the overwhelming desire of his mother Kāmabalā: “the increasingly swelling fire of lust of she who was constantly devoting herself to sexual intercourse ... was not quenched,” and “her lust ever increasing ... striving after unchecked pleasure,” she later “was wholly devoted to sexual pleasures.” Then Kṣemendra says:

Sexual love increases through repeated practice of sexual enjoyment accumulated through experiencing sexual pleasure. Greed expands more and more when wealth becomes extensive. Thirst becomes intensely sharp by drinking salt water, and the submarine fire blazes [ever more strongly] fed by the waters licked at by its vast flames.

As the poet has already told us in describing the father Candanadatta’s motivations for going to sea as a merchant, “For a rich man his thirst [for wealth] increases through wealth, just like thirst increases when one drinks salt water,” and now the steady increase in Kāmabalā’s sexual passion is attributed to the same cause: the more you get, the more you want. Here too Kṣemendra is closely conforming to his model, the Divyāvadāna, which had already introduced the idea of the mother’s “infidelity” to her son, and explained her desire to take another lover, by saying: “and lusts are just like salt water—the more they are enjoyed, the more they are craved.” Despite the fact that this image appears here and there in Indian Buddhist texts (as well as in modern Western contexts), and may in some sense be taken as obvious, since anyone who has tried to drink salt water will know that rather than slaking the thirst it makes one thirstier than before, In light of the pattern we see elsewhere of his adoption of imagery and even wording from the Divyāvadāna version of his story, it is clear that here too we have an example of Kṣemendra’s direct reliance on and mirroring of his source.

Some things are also made more explicit in the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā which are perhaps only implied in the Divyāvadāna. For example, the final summary verse, by saying “Reaching maturity (praudhi), he eliminated his father,” implies that at the time he began the sexual liaison with his mother Aśvadatta was still immature. This suggests that at least Kṣemendra, a careful student of the Divyāvadāna, understood Dharmaruci’s mother to have been rather young at the time the story is taking place. The emphasis on the immaturity and inexperience of the son and the youth of

131 As a Buddhist example in Sanskrit, perhaps more trite than most, we may refer to Dharmasamuccaya VIII.35 (Lin 1969: 212):

\[
\text{tsṇayā vañcito lokas tsṇāṁ evopasevate} \\
\text{lavaṇodakaṁ tsāṁto yatāḥ pībatī bhārikāḥ} \\
\]

People, who are led astray by thirst, pursue that very same thirst, As a bearer who, suffering from thirst, drinks saltwater.

The same sentiment is found in two half verses in the Lalitavistara IV.6ab (Hokazono 1995: 338 = Lefmann 1902–1908: 37.2) na ca kāmaṁunarātibhiḥ tptiṁ lavoṇadakaṁ yatāḥ pītvā, “one is not satisfied by the pleasures of lust, just as [one feels] drinking salt water,” and XVI.25cd (Lefmann 1902–1908: 242.14): lavoṇajala yatāḥ hi nāru pītvā bhuyu tṣa varāṭhi kāmaṁvāmaṇe, “When one is devoted to lust, passion increases continually, just as with a man who drinks salt water.” A number of similar examples might be adduced.
the mother is no doubt intended to lend credibility to the (otherwise) unlikely scenario.132

In sum, we may say that the poet Kṣemendra has read the Divyāvadāna with a poet’s eye, enhancing and dramatizing the narrative slightly, but for the most part keeping unexpectedly close to his source. Further such comparative studies will no doubt reveal whether this is so for the rest of his poem, and if so, whether in the same degree.

4 Appendices

4.a The publication history of the Bodhisattvāvadānākalpalatā

The Bodhisattvāvadānākalpalatā appeared as volume 124 in the series Bibliotheca Indica: A Collection of Oriental Works, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and was printed at Calcutta by the Baptist Mission Press in two volumes, each in a number of fascicles. The individual most responsible for the edition, although he died in 1917, before the completion of the project, was Sarat Chandra Das, who during the course of editing obtained the full title Rai Sarat Chandra Das, Bahadur.

The details of the publication are as follows:133


II.2: Das and H. M. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, 826, 1893; II.3: Das and H. M. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, 848, 1894; II.4: Das and H. M. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, 860, 1895; II.5: Das and H. M. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, 886, 1897; II.6: Das and Mahāmahopādhyāya Satis Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa, 1186, 1910; II.7: Das and S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, 1257, 1910; II.8: Das and

132 A final point we might make about these versions of the story is that the portrayal of the sexual relationship between mother and son is, although certainly not condoned, also not characterized in either text by noticeably obscene or lewd vocabulary. Since, however, such vocabulary is very rare in the Sanskrit literature which has come down to us, its absence here may after all be of no special significance. On the notion of obscenity in Sanskrit poetics, see Masson-Moussaieff (1971).

133 A list of the pages contained in each fascicule is found in de Jong (1979: 7, n. 1). However, de Jong’s indication that fasc. 13 of vol. 1 was published in 1917 is an error. The title page of that fasc. carries the date 1918. (To add to the confusion, the overall title page of vol. 2 in fact has the date 1913, but printed in such a way that the 3 might be mis-read as 8. The indication in Kirde 2002 that the dates of publication are 1888–1913 likewise is to be corrected.)
The title page of volume 1 reads as follows:

(In nāgarī:) Mahākāvikṣemendraviracitā Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalataḥ


The title page of volume 2 has instead:

(In nāgarī:) Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalataḥ


Moreover, individual fascicules have the following titles:


The prose version had been published previously by Das in four parts in 1890, 1891, 1892, and 1894, under an unhelpful title: Appendix to Pag-Sam Thī Śiṅ. Bibliotheca Indica 130 (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press). The Dharmarucy-aevadāna naturally appears in this Tibetan prose Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalataḥ. I have to hand three editions of the prose recasting:

2. Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalataḥ: The Tibetan prose rendering of the masterpiece of Kṣemendra: Reproduced from a rare manuscript from the library of Rumtek Monastery (Rṇogs brjod Dpaṅ bsam hkri shing gi snyan tshig gi rgyan lhug par bkrol ba mthong ba don ldan zhes bya ba bzhugs so) (Delhi: Delhi Karmapa Chodhey, 1981): folio 261a5–262b6 (reprint folio number 521–524).

There is little point in attempting to critically edit the text from these editions, and one who wishes to get an idea of its basic form may consult any one of them.

4.b The word ekaphālayām and its correction

The word ekaphālayām, printed in Cowell and Neil’s edition of the Divyāvadāna, has occasioned some discussion. Zimmer translated the relevant expression paścāt tena

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134 This version is similar to that translated in Black (1997: 399–401) (see Mejor 1992: 29–31), but if the latter is intended to be rendition of the text I cite here, it is somewhat free.
pitrā sārdham ekaphalāyāṁ bhuṇjatā with “Danach aß er zusammen mit dem Vater von ein und demselben Brett.” Hiraoka (2000: 34, n. 23) offered the interpretation エーカバラー草の上に [座って], “[sat] on ekaphalā grass,” which he discussed briefly but without offering any real justification for this rendering. Now, it is not entirely impossible to understand *phalā in the sense of phalaka, board, plank, bench, in which case, as Zimmer takes it, the expression would mean “on a bench.”

However, it is now possible to suggest a much better solution to this problem. Both Gilgit manuscripts (1356.8, 1481.2) support the reading ekaphelāyām. The word phelā is attested in the meaning “box,” considered as a variant form of what is elsewhere petā, pedā and so on.136 The word phelā occurs in the Cūḍāpākṣa-avadāna in the Divyāvadāna itself;137 in a story closely parallel to the relevant episode in this avadāna found in the Kathāsāritsāgara, we find the word sampeṭā,138 unlisted as far as I know in dictionaries, but plainly related to petā. We find the word phelā likewise in the Arthaśāstra in the sense of box or crate.139

I therefore believe that we must make a simple emendation of the printed text of the Divyāvadāna, from the mysterious ekaphalāyām to ekaphelāyām, and translate “[seated together] on a [single, one and the same cargo] crate,” while noting that other options may also be possible. Recently Hiraoka (2007: II.456), for instance, accepted this reading, but understood instead: その後、彼は父と一緒に同じ [弁当] 箱をついて食事をしながら “Later, while eating from the same lunch-box together with his father . . . .”

4.c On vṛddhayuvatt

The word vṛddhayuvatt, cited in the glossary of Cowell and Neil,140 appears not to be discussed in Edgerton (1953), or elsewhere that I have noticed.141 It occurs only twice in the Dharmaruci story, understood there by the editors as “procuress,” but both times unfortunately the Gilgit fragments do not contain the relevant portion. When the word appears once again later in the Divyāvadāna it is taken by the editors in the sense of “midwife.”142 In the latter case, however, we have both Tibetan and Chinese translations of the source text in the Vinayavibhaṅga of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya. The former has bud med rgan mo,143 the later lāomū 老母,144 both meaning simply “old woman.” Given this, perhaps both “procuress” and “midwife,” even if correct, are better understood as purely contextual meanings.

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135 See Silk (forthcoming a), in the discussion of item 2.
136 See Edgerton (1953), s.v.
139 Kangle (1969: §7.17.39–40, 13.2.48–49). It is not clear to me whether in the first two instances we should understand bhānda to modify phelā, or whether the phelā, box, contains the goods, bhānda.
140 Cowell and Neil (1886: 691)—they cite the word as vṛddhayuvati.
141 Schmidt (1928: 336b) lists the word, but merely repeats the definitions proposed by Cowell and Neil.
142 Cowell and Neil (1886: 483.25) in the Cūḍāpākṣavadāna.
143 Derge Kanjur 3, ’dul ba, ja 61a5.
144 T. 1442 (XIII) 795a1 (juan 31).
One thing curious about the compound is that \textit{yuvatī} itself means a young woman. We may note that in the corresponding passage in \textit{Kṣemendra’s Bodhisattvāvadānaśrīkālaśāstra} (verse 126), the equivalent term is \textit{vṛddhadhāriti}, old wet-nurse. It is also interesting that in a Schøyen manuscript fragment I am studying we have the compound \textit{vṛddhastriya}.	extsuperscript{145} In contrast we may note the structurally parallel, although almost certainly semantically distinct, compound \textit{vṛddhakanyā} in \textit{Mahābhārata} 9.51.23e, where it means “old maiden, old virgin.”

Prof. Ashok Aklujkar has kindly offered me his opinion (via email, September 2003) that, rather than being a \textit{nityasamāsa} or compound the meaning of which is entirely extrinsic to the meaning of its elements, or a compound of two words of opposite meaning, the term \textit{vṛddhayuvatī} might be understood as “an older/stronger young woman, an experienced female who had not lost her youthful strength.” He explains: “In my view, it suffices to take a very plausible secondary or metaphorical meaning of \textit{vṛddha}—a meaning that seems to have become almost a primary meaning of the word (cf. \textit{nirūdha lakṣaṇā} discussed by Sanskrit poets) and connect it to \textit{yuvatī} as an adjective. This secondary meaning could be either ‘larger, stronger’ (from ‘grown, increased’ as literal or primary meaning) or ‘knowledgeable, experienced’ (from ‘grown up, enriched’ as primary meaning).” Probably this understanding is here supported by \textit{Kṣemendra’s vṛddhadhāriti}, in which the age of the wet-nurse implies her experience and knowledge.

4.d Gilgit manuscript transcriptions


Sigla:

\begin{itemize}
\item ( ) restored aksara
\item [ ] damaged aksara, or illegible
\item {{ }} superfluous aksara, cancelled by correction mark
\item « » omitted aksara, written between the lines
\item .. illegible aksara
\item . single element thereof
\item /// leaf broken off here
\item * virāma
\item | punctuation mark in the MS.
\item || punctuation mark in the MS.
\item • punctuation mark in the MS.
\item : punctuation mark in the MS.
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{145}See Silk (forthcoming b).
1474 = Cowell and Neil (1886: 254.4–21)

/pannah sugato lokavid anuttaraḥ puruṣadamasyārathīḥ Šāstvā devamanasyānāṁ bh

tenā sadṛśāt kulāt kalatram āṇītaṁ sa ca kalatrasaḥīya kriḍatī ratame pariśāra

///sa ca grīhapati śrīdadhāḥ tasya cārhaḥ bhikṣuḥ kulāvāvādakāḥ sa ca grīhapatis tāṁ pa

///m (i)dāṁ dibhīd vanīḍharmānāṁ deśāntaram bhāṇḍām ādāya sa ca vanīḍhobenaṁvrīṛt vādā

///pravṛttīr api āgacchati sa ca daṛkaḥ kāḷātāyāṁ māhāṁ saṁvīḍḍhāḥ abhirūpo darśanīyaḥ

///māyāṇaḥ karmma sā kaṭhayati vatsa pitā tāṭaḥ tāvaṇāṁ vāḥitaṁ āsītī tataḥ sa daṛkaḥ ā

///māṇā cintayitur pravṛttāḥ ka upayāḥ syād yad ahaṁ klesān vinodayeyāṁ na ca me kaścīj jā

///traḥ kāmāhetos tathā paricāraṁ yathānenaiva me sārdhaṁ rāgavindananāḥ bhavati naṁ

1475 = Cowell and Neil (1886: 254.22–255.13)

///lyja bhajayitvā dvīs triḥ paścān nāveṇa paṭoṇāčchāditā tasyāḥ sā vrīḍhāḥ kathayati kena kārye

///rośi sā tasyā vrīḍhāḥ vyāśvātā bhūtvā evam āha: abma śṛṇu me viṭṭhāṭ蒂 klesāṁ aham a

///(y)a ābhyaṇtaraṇa eva syān na ca śatānkīḍyō jānasya ● tatas sā vrīḍhāḥ kathayati ● neha grhe tathā

///visāti yo janasāsāṇāṁ kīrye bhaventī katamsa manuṣyō bhavịṣyāti yasyāhāṁ vākṣāmi ●

///nyo manuṣya eśāvīdhipadopakramayukto nāsti eta eva me putro bhavatī naṁs lokeṣyā

///trena sārdhāṁ ratikrīḍāṁ na bhavịṣyasi yuktāṁ syād anyena puruṣeṇa sārdhabāṁ ratikrīḍā

///r(o) manuṣya na sārīvāyāte bhavatī eva eva me putraṁ tāyaḥ vrīḍhābhīhitīnaḥ yathēpsī

///(cch)vati ● vatsa tarūṇo ni rūpavāṁs ca kīṁ pratiṣṭhīto sī ● atha na teta tasyābhīhitam*

1476 = Cowell and Neil (1886: 255.14–256.3)

///yasi taruṇayaṃvātī sārdhāṁ sōbhethā krīḍaṇaṁ ramaṇīṇī paricārayāṁ kim evaṁ kāmbhboga

///linacētas tasyā vrīḍhāyaḥ tad vacānaṁ nāḍhivāṣayati ● tatas sā vrīḍhāvaṁ dvir api

///sārī bāḍhyate sa vanīḍhāro dvir api tr(a)pi ucyāmanāṁ tasyāḥ vrīḍhāḥ kathaya

///(k)iṇcīd abhitītaṁ tatas sā vrīḍhāḥ kathayati uktāṁ māyāḥ asyāḥ tvānmitīṁtāṁ tāya ca mama ni

///(h)iṅtī na kīncīd vākṣyā ● na ca śārīraṁ āvṛttāṁ karīṣyā ● na tvāyā tasyā vācānveseṇa ya

///bh(i)hitāṁ kūtrāṃkāraṁ saṁgamo bhavḥiṣyāti ● tāvābhīhitāṁ māfyre grhe tenoktaṁ kūtṛāva

///ṣa(m)n sā ca vrīḍhāḥ tasyā bāṇijapatīnaḥ saṅkāṣaṁ gatvā kathayati uktāḥ sa māyā daṛkaḥ sā

///thayati māfyre grhe : sa ca daṛkaḥ kāryāīī kṛtvā grhaṁ gataḥ anupūrvaṇa bhuktvā tasyā

1477 = Cowell and Neil (1886: 256.4–21)

///sya mātrēbhyanuj̄ñatām ● gacchasva sa ca dārkā labdhānuṇj̄ñāḥ tasyāḥ vrīḍhāḥ gṛhaṁ gataḥ tasyā

///(m)yamānasyā tiṣṭhataṁ niśī kālam apratyaḥbhījāṭarīpe kāle sā tasya vanīḍhāraṇyā

///smin grhe vīkālaṁ abivhāvyāmānārūpaṁkṛtau niḥdiṣṭhamapācarakām krtakriḍāṁ

///садdhamenā sa ca parīśiṇyāṁ nātrau anubhūtāratikrīḍā sataḥmamoddhākārakā

///(g)rhaṁ gataḥ sa cāpi vanīḍhāro ratikrīḍām abhuvāya prabhūṭāyāṁ rajāyāṁ bhā

/// vrīḍhāḥ grhe ratikrīḍām anubhavaniś cirākālaṁ evaṁ varttamanē ratikrīḍākrame

///(m)nya gṛhaṁ ahaṁ evaṁ abivhāvyamānārūpaṁ ratikrīḍām anubhāvyāyāṁ yanv a

///dayeyāṁ yathā ihāva grhe ratikrīḍām anubhaveyāṁ iti sanācintīta tatraiva vrīḍhā
1478 = Cowell and Neil (1886: 256.22–257.11)

///nyā kṣaye satamondhakārkāke tasya dārakasyoparimaṁ prāvaranaṁ nivasyātma
1 ///prabhātakāle tāṁ patiṁśā śiśri maṁcaśyavatiṣṭhantā sanipasyatā atmīyām evo
2 ///laksyā tyaktvā bhāṅgāvāṛī gatvā yugalam anyāṁ prānydera svagṛhāṁ gataḥ tattra ca gata  ●
3 ///tūṁ śiśrī prāvytaṁ dṛṣṭvā ca tāṁ mātaraṁ precchati amba kuto yam tava śiśrī prāva
4 ///vāṃbā evaṁ ciraṁkāraṁ tava maṁśā sārdhaṁ kāmāṁ paribhūmnato adhyāpy aham tava saī
d5 ///m upaśrutya saṁmādho vihvalaceto bhūnam nipatitaṁ tatas taṁyā sa mātrā gṛhaṭajalā
6 ///dārakāś cīreṇa kālena pratyāgatapraṇāṁ tayā mātrā samāvīśyate  ● kim evaṁ
7 ///nā bhavasaṁ na te viśādaṁ karaṇyaḥ sa dārakas tasyaḥ kathayati kathaṁ na aham khe
8
1479 = Cowell and Neil (1886: 257.12–28)

///pakaṁ karmaṁ kṛtāṁ tatas sa taṁyābhihitāḥ na te manaśākam asmin arthe upādyātavyaṁ
1 ///(ti) putro pi tenaiva gacchati na cāsau panaṁḥ putrasyaṅgacchataṁ dosakāraṁ bhavaty e
2 ///(rai)va hi tīrthe pitā snāti putro pi tasmin snāti na ca tīrtheḥ putrasya snayatu dosaṅkāra
3 ///tesu janapadeṣu dharmatāsāṁ yasyāṁ eva pitā asadharmaṇeṇaḥbīhagacchati tāṁ eva
4 ///(rā) bahuḥvīdhaṁ anunayavaccaṁvinītaṁkāśaṁ tāṁ mārā saha tasmiṁ pāpa
5 ///(re)ṣṭhūnāṁ grhe lekho nupreṣṭaḥ bhadre dhīrhorījamatosthāḥ bhavasva : aham a
6 ///(sr)ūtvā vaimanasaṣyaṭāṁ cintayitum pravrīṭtā : mahāntaṁ kālaṁ mama tasyāgyaṇama
7 ///pakrameṇa putraṁ paricaranyā āgamsyati  ● ka upāyaḥ syād yad aham tad i
8
1480 = Cowell and Neil (1886: 257.29–258.16)

///tram āhūyaiva kathayati pitrā te lekho nupreṣṭaḥ(ta  ●) āgamsyāṁmiti jānī
d1 ///saniṁprāpta eva ghataya sa kathayati kathaṁ na aham pitarāṁ ghatayisy e  yaddaśa
2 ///(nu)vrītvaccaṁ abhihitāḥ tasyaṅvrītvaccaṁ ucyamanasya kāmeṣu saṁrakta
3 ///(ku)halten pratisevato nārāṁ kintc pāpaṁkām karmnākaraṇyām iti vadāmi  ● tatas te
4 ///hitam aham evopāyaṁ saṁvīdhaṁsyauktvā visam adāyā saṁnitāyāṁ mīśrayivtā
5 ///(ra)kam āhūya kathayati gacchasva amī saṁviṣā maṇḍilakā nirviṣās ca grhyā pitṛ
d6 ///(tā) saṁviṣān maṇḍilakān práyacondatmanān ca nirviṣās bhakṣayata : tatas sa dārakas tena le
7 ///tus sakāśaṁ gataḥ sa cāsya pitā tari śṛtyābhirūpaṁ prāśadikāna maheśākhyānā prāmodya prāpta
8
1481 = Cowell and Neil (1886: 258.17–259.3)

///to smākaṁ putro yadā tena dārakena saṁlakṣitaṁ sarvatraḥhām anena pitrā pratiṣaṁ
d1 ///pakaḥ prābhṛtaṁ anuprēṣitaṁ tāṁ tāta paribhūmnajatasya paścāt tena pitrā sārdham ekaphelā
d2 ///(m)anāṁ nirvīṣā bhakṣitaḥ tato syā pitā tān saṁviṣa maṇḍilakān bhakṣayītvā mṛtaḥ ta
3 ///rako na kenacitrī pāpakaṁ karmaṁ kurvāṅo bhāṣāṅkito vī pratiṣasvindito vī paścā
d4 ///yat tatra kintc tasya vaṇjo bhāṃdām āśid dhīrhorīvasvarāṅiḥ vā tat tasya dārakasya d
5 ///(gr)hajvā vṛĪtvā svaraghaṁ anuprēṣitaṁ tasya cāgataṣya svagṛhaḥ sa mātā prayacondham ama
6 ///ratrīpūpa ca tari putraṁ vādāy kātyākālaṁ vayaṁ evam prachchennena kramaṇa rati
d7 ///taraṁ gatvā prakāśaṁ kramaṇa niḥśaṅkā bhūtvā jāyāṁpatiḥ vikhyātadharmaṅo
8
1482 = Cowell and Neil (1886: 259.4–21)

///dhān apahāya puḷrajñadāsidāsakmākaraṇaṁ ca s taykāva yāvad arthajanāṁ hiranyasa
1 ///(y)jāpayamāṇau jāyāṁpaṭakaṁ iti ratiḍrād mānuḥhavamāṇau vyuvasṭhitau ca sārdaḥ bhi
2 ///m anuprēṣitaṁ tatra tatra pindapātām anvānāhṛtā vītāḥ niśadāyāṁ vaṇijādharmanā
3 ///(t)āvā cābhīhitottas sa mātā te kuśalaṁ sa ca dārakas tam arhas tāthābhīvadamānmu upaśa
4 ///śaṅkītamanāṁ cintayitum pravrīṭtāḥ sa ca cārām avicintṛtaḥ mātus sakāśaṁ gatvā saṁvedaya
5 ///tāya asa na ihādhīṣṭhāne pratisaṅvādyaviṣayāḥ esyā dārakasya [m]ātēti vayaṁ cēha jāyaṁ
6 ///tatas tayaḥ sarścintya taṁ grhaṁ enaṁ eva upamanmantrītyāḥ bhūriṇjānaṁ ghatāyāmaḥ tatas ta
7 ///(t)āvā bhūjyāyutum ārabadhaḥ sa ca dārako guḍhaṅastro bhūtvā tam arhaṁti bhūjyayati mātrā
8  

 Springer
1483 = Cowell and Neil (1886: 259.22–260.11):

1 //d vi(i)śrabdhacārakramaṇe pratīnirgataḥ tatas tenā dārakena tām arhantaṁ viśvavastacārakramam ave
2 //vitād vyaparopayatī kāmās cā lajaṇodakasadrśā yawtha yatāh seyvanite tathā tathā tṛ
3 ///saddharmmenunvarthamānāṃ kāmēṣv atṛpyamānā tasmīn evādhiśhāne śreṣṭhiputreṇa sārdhaṁ
4 ///tasya dārakasya tathāvīdhā upakramaṇaḥ pratisānīvīdaṁ tatas tena tasyā mātura utkaṁ amba
5 ///samrakṣeṇādaḥ dvīr api tṛ api ucyamānā na nivartate tatas tena niskoṣam asīṁ kṛtvā sā mā
6 ///maṇī tāḥ devaśāmbhī janapadeśāḥ ārocitaṃ pāpa eṣa pitṛgātaka rhaḍghātako
7 ///karmāṇi kṛtān upacāntāḥ s tātā tenādhiśhānena śrutāḥ tāc cṛdhāvā tāsmand adhiśhānān
8 ///[y][i]ṭum pravṛttō stī cāṣya buddhāśasane kaścīd evaṁunayaḥ tenāननयaḥ ca tān manusī

Gilig 2: Transcribed from photographs published in Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra 1974b, folios 1354–1358, corresponding to Cowell and Neil 1886: 254.4–262.6. Klaus Wille very kindly shared with me his preliminary transcription, which I used as a base for my own reading.

1354 = fol. 86r = Cowell and Neil (1886: 254.4–255.22):

4 naṁḥ vidyācāranaśaṃpaṇaḥ sūgato lokavid a<nu>taraḥ puru<sam> damyāsarāthish śāstā
devamanuṣyā(ṁ)naḥ buddho bhagavān tasyāṁ cā rājadhānayām anyatara mahāhṛṣṭhi pratīva ///
5 dre vanigdhrāṃ dānteśānāṃ bhāṃdām āḍāya sa ca vaniglobenhṇa-vṛtā dhūraṅgam bhāṃdām
dāda yato sva na bhūyaḥ pravrīttrī api āgyaccāti sa ca dārakāḥ kālānvyā... ///
6 ///nvāgataṁ karma sā kathayati vatsa pitā tavāpaṇaṁ vīhitāvān āsiṁ tataḥ sa dārakah āpaṇam
ārābdho vāhāyituṁ sā ca māṭasya klesāir bādhya-mānānā cinayi ///
7 ///cintayaṁ adhyavasitānāṃ eva vā pūtraṁ kāmāhetos tathā paricārāṁ yatānenaiva me sārdha(m)
rāgavindanaṁ bhavati nai<va> sajanasya śāṇkī bhaviṣyati tata s. ///
8 ///tasyā... sā [vrddhā kāthayati kena kārāyinaiśvā mamam anupradānādīnā upakramenunvṛtti
carosi sā tasyā vrddhāyā viśvāt bhūtāv evam āha ///
9 ///abhyanṭara eva śya[ṁ]nā ca śāṅkā[ṁ]n[yo] janasya tataḥ sā vrddhā kathayati neha ghe tathāvīdho
manusyaś sarvividaye nāpi pranayavān kaścit pra ///
10 ///mī tataḥ sā vaṇiapati śisyā vrddhāyā kathayati yady a[n∫yo manuṣyay eva]vaniprakramayukto
nāsti eṣā eva me putro bhavatu naśa lokasya śāṇkanyo bhaviṣyati tasya. ///
11 ///nye[j]na manusyaṇa sārdhaṁ ratikṛdaṁ anu(bḥav)itum tataḥ sā vaṇippati kathayati yady anya
abhyanṭara manusyaṇaḥ na sarvividaye bhavatu eṣa eva putraḥ tasya vrddhāyābhīhi(t)|[i]|(a)ṁ ///
12 ///ti vatsa taraṇo si rūpavānṭi ca kītī pratiśhtito sy atha na tenā tasyābhīhitam na tataḥ sā vrddhā
dkathayati bhavān evam abhi(i)rūpaḥ ca yuvā cāṣman vayasi tarunāyuvāyā tārdhaṁ ///
13 ///vaṇ[i]dārakas taṁ svatā lajjāyapratyapāsantaḥ[i]jacetaṁ tasyā vrddhāyā yāt vatacānaṁ nādhivā-
sayat[i] tataḥ sā vrddhāyāvindavan dvīr api tṛ api tasya dārakasā kathayati taraṇu ///
14 ///[(t[a])ys[y]|v(y)|v(r)|d(d)|b(b)]y[y]láḥ kathayati amba s tasyās taraṇāyuvāyāḥ mamm(i)mite sa... r...i...
(bh)hitam tataḥ sā vrddhā kathayati utkta(m)āṁ mayā tasyāḥ... mnimitaṁ tataḥ ca ///

1355 = fol. 86v = Cowell and Neil (1886: 255.24–257.20):

1 ///m āv[r]ṭam karṣyati na tvāyā tasyā vācānveṣaṇe yatnaḥ karaṇyāḥ tatas tena vaṇīgdrakena
2 tasyā vrddhābhīha[ṁ]nāḥ kṛtauṣmākaṁ saṣaṁ aha[ḥ]|y[)]///
3 ///to sya taḥ tasyā vrddhāyā grhaṁ vyapaddiṣṭamāḥ sā ca vrddhā tasyāṇa[p]a[ḥ][m]yā[147]
4 ///[sakā]śaṁ gatvā kathati abhi[ḥ]|praśūtāḥ sa mayā dārakasa[ḥ] sā kathayati k tuberculosisasat bhaviṣya|m[i]///
3 ///purveṇa bhūktvā tasyā mātṛḥ kathayati gacchāmy ahaṁ vyasyaghre svapṣye tato sva[m]trā[p]ly
4 ///a[n[]j]a[ḥ]aṁ gacchāsa ca dārako labdhānuṣṭaḥ : tasyā vrddhāyā grhaṁ gataḥ tasya d[.] ///
4 ///taḥ niṣi kālam apratyaḥbhiṛāturūpe kāle sā tasya vaṇīgdrakasya mātṛā tadgraḥaṁ ratikṛdāṁ anu-
hava[ṁ]naṃ[thā]jīn [gat]ā gatvā ca tasm[a]|[m]n[gr]he vikāle mavi bhāvāyamā[m]. ///

146Space of 1 ~ 2 akṣaras between saṁ and vi.
147Some conjunct is written here, but the top portion is not legible.
asaddharme punaḥ punar ativaśaṁjñātāraṅgaḥ pravṛttāḥ tena ca śreṣṭhīnām grihe leko nupreṣitaḥ bhadrā dhīrōrjitaṁmahotsāḥ bhavavsa ahaṁ api. .. nu padam evaṁgaṁise sa vaṁpiṇāti tathāvīdhīnaḥ le ///

vr̥tta mahāntāṁ kālaṁ mama tasyaśāmandaṁ uidiśaṁjñāyāś tadā nāgataṁ idāṁṁīṁ mahāvīrtiṁvīdhīnaṇaṁ puṁraṁ paricarataḥ āgaṁiyaṁ kalpitaṁ yadd ad ahaṁ tam ihāsannipṛptaṁ eva jīvitaṁ vyapar //

thaya pitṛā te leko nupreṣitaḥ āgaṁiyaṁyāti jāṁiseśāmbhir idāṁṁīṁ kīṁ kāriṇyaṁ iti gaĉchasa pitarāṁ ihāsannipṛptaṁ eva śṛgāya sa kathayaṁ kathanaṁ ahaṁ āṁśaṁ pitarāṁ śṛgāyaśye yaddāśau [n]a ///

bhuµo bhūyo nṛbuṛṭivaṇcaṁ abhihitāṁ tasayuṇuvṛttaivaṇcaṁ uciśamāṇyaṁ kāmeṣu saṁrakṣateśāyāśyaṁ yāṭaṁ pītraḥdhaṁ prati kā♠ān khalu pratīṣeva✿ nāhāṁ kincitaṁ pāpakaṁ karmākāraṇyaṁ iti vaḏāṁ tetr ///

hitam ahaṁ evapāyaṁ saṁvīdhāye ity uktaṁ viṣam adāya saṁitaṁyāṁ mṛśayitvā maṇḍilākṣaṁ paktaṇye pi ca nirvīṣaṁpāktā yataṁ taṁ dārakāṁ aṁya kathayaṁ gaĉchasaṁ amī sãv[i]s[ā] ///

tvā ca . . . . [i] . . . syākaṭra bhūmijatā etān savaśiṁ maṇḍilākṣān prayaçasvaṁtāmaṁ ca nirśiṁ bhakṣaya tataḥ sa dārakas tena kālegavaḥikamanusyaṁ सार्द्धत्व tān maṇḍilākṣān grhy[ṇ]a ///

puṁraṁ dṛśīvaṇhiṇāṁ prāsādikāṁ mahesākhyāṁ prāmodyaprāpraptaḥ sahaśahyaṁ prṛśvā teṣāṁ viṇjīmaḥ akhyāṁ ahaṁ bhavanto smākariṇu praṣṭhānāḥ yadā tena dāraṇeṇa saṁlaśki . . ///

8 s taṁ pitarāṁ ahaṁ taṭa ambyā maṇḍilākṣāḥ pṛhaṇeṣaṁ anupreṣita [ {ka} ] tat taṭa : paribhūnjata paścāt tena pitt śārdham ekaphelāya bhūmijatā tasya pī ///

9 kṣitāḥ yato sya pitā tān ^ . .. savaśiṁ maṇḍilākṣāḥ bhāṣayitvā mṛṇāḥ tasya ca pitaḥ kālaḥaṁḥaṁ yuksya-sa ca dārakāḥ na kenacid bhāṣāṁkito vā ///

10 kincitaṁ tasya visnīva bhāṇḍam aṣiḍhī daraṇyasvaṁrāṇaḥ vā tat sarvāṁ ta darāṣṭyānupraḍattāṁ tataḥ sa dāraka [ta]dāḥaṇāṁ gṛhitvā svagṛham āgataḥ tasya caṅgata svag[ṛ][r]a ///

bhūratāya ca taṁ putraṁ aha • kiyatākāṁ ca yaṁ eva prachannaṁ ratīkṛdam anubhaviṣyā-maṁ yan na vayaṁ asmā deśād anyadesāntaraṁ gatvā prakāśaṁ niḥśaṁkī bhūtvā jāyāṁ ///

11 saṁbhandhīṇāṁnaḥ aphaṁya dāśīsakarmakarmarapaurṣeyāṁ ca tyaktvā arthajātaṁ hiranyasaṁvartanāṁ ca gṛhitvā veṣāntaraṁ gatav tatra gatvā vikhyāpaya ///

12 //lāntareṇa janapadacarīkāṁ ca caṁ tam adhiṣṭhānam anuprāptaḥ tena tatra pīṇḍapāṭam aṭatā sa ca dārakā vīṭhāva śaṁvāhārāmāṇa ///

13 ///mānaṁ upāśrūtya saṁbhinnaceta svena duṣcarinēnīḥśiṁkitaṁ cintāparo vyavasthita sa caṁ anucintya mātuḥ sakāśaṁ gatvā kathāyati ///

14 //jīyayīṣ ca sa dārakṣya māteti vayaṁ ceha jāyāṇapataṁ iti khyātā tāt katham eṣa śākye gṛhaiyitumāḥ yadā na kācī jāyā///

1356 = fol 87r = Cowell and Neil (1886: 257.21–259.18):
The story of Dharmaruci

1357 = fol. 87v = Cowell and Neil (1886: 259.19–261.5):

1 (sāṁ)cr(ī)ṁtya so rhad bhikṣuṁ ntargvhaṁ upanimantrya bhōjayituṁ ārābdhaṁ sa ca đārako gūḍhaśastro bhūtvā ta tam arhanṭaṁ bhōjay(i) ... jana grha ///
2 //ntum ārābdhaḥ tatas tena đārakeṇa viśvastasya śaṅre śastraṁ nipātya jīvitād vyaparopitaṁ lavanāsadmāś caie kāṇāyadhāmesy///
3 ///māṇa tasmīṁ evādhiśthāne sreṣṭhiputraṇa sārdhaṁ vipratipannā tasya đārakasya pratisaṁvidi- 
tαιṁ sa kathayati[yam ... ni] ///
4 ///śkoṣam asiṁ kṛtvā mātā jīvitād vyaparopita ṣ yadā tasya trīṇy āntaryāṇi pariṇurūṇī tadā devata ///
5 vartanīyāṁ[i] kṛ[ā] tāyā upacitānti tato dhīṣṭhānāvāśinajanakāyāṇa śrutvā tad ... små///
6 yituṁ pravrītu māyaṁ ... vrśaṁ pāpaṁ kṛtaṁ kim ida karomīti : tasyaitad abhavaṭ asti cāsyā budhaśasane kaścid evāṇūna ///
7 m uktāprāti ṣ a ca ramāṁ sa samhlaṅṣayati gacchāma buddhādharmaṇī pravrajāṁiti sa vīhāraṁ 
gatvā bhikṣusakāśāṁ upasaṅkramya [k]a ///
8 tā bhikṣuṇā ukto ma ṣ e pita jīvitād vyakaropitaḥ sa kathayaty aropitaḥ sa bhūya prcchati ma 
māntagāhāto si [m]a ///
9 sa kathayati asti māya praghāṭita sa ... m bhikṣuḥ kathayati ekaikenesāṁ kārmānān [na] paścāgato 
praṇaṁjahā bhavati • pra ///
10 tataḥ o ... bhikṣo sakāśām upasaṅkṛāntya kathayaty ārya pravrajatūm ichāmi pravrājayāminī 
itī s tenāpi bhikṣuṁanuprāṇvṛṣṭī ///
11 ... tenāpy anūpūrṇaḥ prṛṣṭvā pratyākhyaṁ yataḥ ca .trr api pravrajyām āyācāmāno bhikṣubhīḥ 
pratyākhyaṁ tato māṛṣāṭataṁ cintayitum pravrīṭtāh yāpī [s] ///
12 ... māyācāmāno na labhāṁ sarvātha praghāṭayāmye bhikṣubhīḥ itī • tatas tena str̄tvāhāre (?) 
śayitānāṁ bhikṣuṁāg nirgur dattaṁ tanī vīhāraṁ dagdhaṁvyaṭra ga ///
13 kramā pravrājāyaṁ yācete tatrāpi bhikṣubhīḥ r anūpūrṇvṛṣṭa prṛṣṭvā pratyākhyaṁ ā • tataṁ tatrāpi 
prātiḥatacittānāṅgīnī r dattaṁ tatrāpi bhavaḥ bhikṣavo ///

1358 = fol. 88r = Cowell and Neil (1886: 261.5–262.6):

1 evaṁ(n) tasyānekan vīhāraṁ dañatvā śabdo vīṣṭaḥ evanīvīdaḥ caivaṁvīdaḥ ca pāpakar- 
mārkāṁ puruṣo bhikṣubhyāḥ pravrajālaḥbhān vīhāraṁ bhikṣūṁḍa ca dañatatī sa ca puruṣo nṛyaḥ vīhāraṁ 
prasṛthaṁ tatra ca vīhāre bodhitaṁ[v]a[v][j][l]lyo bh.
2 kṣuṇ pravasati tripiṭaṁ śrutaṁ ca evanīduśkṛtakarmākārī puruṣaṁ īhaṅgacchati yataḥ sa bhikṣus 
tasya puruṣāsyaṁśi[r]aṁāṭayatvā tasmān[v]i[v]hāre pratyudgataṁ sa tani puruṣāṁ sametā kathayati bhadr-
mukhaṁ kim etat yato syā sa tena puruṣe
3 nōktanī ārya pravrajāṁ na labhāṁna tatas tena bhikṣuṁoktaḥ āgaccha vatsāhan te pravrajāyāmi 
pācāt tena bhikṣuṇāṁ tasya puruṣasya śūrṇa mūḍāpavyātita kāṣāyāni datāṁi pācāt sa puruṣaṁ kathayati ārya 
śikṣāpadaṁ[i]n e[n]aṇa
4 yacca tatas tena bhikṣuṁoktaṁ kī te śiśśāpād[i]aṁ prayojanam evaṁ sarvakālaṁ vadas[v]a nama 
buddhāya namo dharmēyṛi pācāt sa bhikṣuṁ tasya puruṣasya dharmad[je]śanām ārābdhaṁ kartuṁ tvam 
evanīvīdaḥ caivaṁvīdaḥ ca pāpakarmākārī satvaḥ
5 yadi kadacid budhhaśabdabdiṁ śrōṣi smṛtiṁ prātiḥlabhethāh athāṣau tripiṭuḥ bhikṣuḥ cyutaḥ kālaṅgo 
devaśūpapanṇaḥ ca cāpi puruṣāś cyutaḥ kālaṅga naɾakēśūpapanaḥ yato bhagavān ṛaḥ k[i]n manyadhve 
bhikṣavah yo sa
6 v atite dhvani bhikṣuṁ tripiṭaḥ āśa aham eva sa tena kālena tena samayena yo sau pāpakarmākārī 
satvaḥ mātāprārthadghātaḥ eṣa eva sa dharmarucih idaṁ mama trīye asaṅkihyeyai sya ca dharmaruc 
dāraṇāṁ tad aham
7 sandhyāya kathayāṁi sucicacyasya dharmarucmah sucicacyasya bhagavanā yo yavac ca mayā bhikṣuvaḥ 
trbhīr asaṅkihyeyaiḥ sādhbhīḥ pāramītābhir anekair duskarasatasahasaiṁ anuttārā saṁyakṣaṁbodhiḥ 
samud[an]īntāṁ tävad anena
8 dharmaruc[i]nāṁ yaḥ bhūyasaḥ narakat[i]ya[k]ṣu kṣapitaṁ idam avacod bhagavān āttamanasas te 
bhikṣavo bhagavato bhāṣītaṁ abhyandaṇanānām II o II dharmarucyavādānaṁ sa[mā]p(la[m]a[m] II o II]
Bibliography


