

## The story of Dharmaruci In the *Divyāvadāna* 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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 *Divyāvadāna* collection, and upon that basis in Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*.

The contents are arranged as follows:

1. The *Divyāvadāna*'s *Dharmaruci-avadāna*, Part 3, reedited in Sanskrit, and translated in English.
2. The *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*'s *Dharmaruci-avadāna*, Part 3, reedited in Sanskrit and Tibetan, and translated in English.
3. Comparative remarks on the two versions of the *Dharmaruci-avadāna*.
4. Appendices:
  - a. The publication history of the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*
  - b. The word *ekaphalāyām* and its correction

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<sup>1</sup>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.

<sup>2</sup>I have addressed the wider issues in Silk (2008c).

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- c. On *vṛddhayuvatī*
- d. Gilgit manuscript transcriptions

## 1 The *Divyāvadāna*'s *Dharmarucy-avadāna*, Part 3, reedited in Sanskrit, and translated in English

As is well known, the *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 *Divyāvadāna*—which may more properly bear the title *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 *Divyāvadāna* and/or Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, his *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* (Wish-granting Garland of Tales of the Bodhisattva, dating to 1052 C.E.).

The *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.<sup>3</sup> For the moment, the portion of the *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 *Divyāvadāna* text.<sup>4</sup> 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 *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 *Dharmarucy-avadāna* from the *Divyāvadāna*, following this by a translation.

<sup>3</sup>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.

<sup>4</sup>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.

tasmād apy ārvāk ṛṭīye 'saṁkhyeye krakucchando nāma samyaksambuddho loka utpanno vidyācaraṇasampannaḥ sugato lokavid anuttaraḥ puruṣadamyasārathīḥ śāstā devamanuṣyāṇām buddho bhagavān | tasyām ca rājadhānyām anyataro mahāśreṣṭhī prativasati | tena ca sadṛśāt kulāt kalatram ānītam | sa ca kalatrasahāyaḥ kṛīḍati ramate paricārayati | tasya kṛīḍato ramamāṇasya paricārayataḥ putro jātaḥ | sa ca gṛhapatīḥ śrāddhas tasya cārhan bhikṣuḥ kulāvavādako 'sti |

sa ca gṛhapatīḥ tām patnīm evam āha | jāto 'smākam ṛṇadharo dhanaharo gacchāmy aham idānīm bhadre baṇigdhārmanā<sup>5</sup> deśāntaram bhāṇḍam ādāya | sa ca vaṇig lobhenāvṛto<sup>6</sup> dūratarām gato bhāṇḍam ādāya | yato 'sya na bhūyaś ciram pravṛttir<sup>7</sup> apy āgacchati |

sa ca dārakaḥ kālāntareṇa<sup>8</sup> mahān saṁvṛtto 'bhirūpo darśanīyaḥ prāsādikāḥ | tato 'sau mātaram pṛcchati | amba kim asmākam kulānvāgataṁ<sup>9</sup> karma | sā kathayati | vatsa pitā tavāpaṇam vāhitavān<sup>10</sup> āsīt | tataḥ sa dāraka āpaṇam ārabdho vāhayitum |

sā ca mātāsyā kleśair bādhyamānā cintayitum pravṛttā | ka upāyaḥ syād yad ahaṁ kleśān vinodayeyam na ca me kaścij jānīyāt | tayā saṁcintyaivam adhyavasitam | evam eva putraḥ | kāmahetos tathā paricarāmi yathānenaiva me sārđhaṁ rāgavinodanam<sup>11</sup> bhavati | naiva svajanasya śaṅkā bhaviṣyati | tatas tayā vṛddhayuvatī āhūya bhojayitvā dvis triḥ paścān navena paṭenācchādītā | tasyāḥ sā vṛddhā kathayati | kena kāryeṇaiva mamānuprasādādinā upakrameṇānupravṛttīm karoṣi | sā tasyā vṛddhāyā viśvastā bhūtvāivam āha | amba śṛṇu vijñāpyam | kleśair atīva bādhye | priyatām mamotpādyā manuṣyānveṣaṇam kuru yo 'bhyantara<sup>12</sup> eva syān na ca śaṅkanīyo janasya | vṛddhā kathayati | neha gṛhe tathāvidho manuṣyaḥ saṁvidyate nāpi praṇayavān kaścit praviśati yo janasyāśaṅkanīyo bhavet | katamaḥ sa manuṣyo bhaviṣyati yasyāhaṁ vakṣyāmi |

tataḥ sā baṇikpatnī tasyā vṛddhāyāḥ kathayati | yady anyo manuṣya evaṁvidhopakramayukto<sup>13</sup> nāsty eṣa eva me putro bhavatu<sup>14</sup> | naiṣa lokasya śaṅkanīyo bhaviṣyati | tasyās tayā vṛddhayābhīhitam | katham nu putreṇa sārđhaṁ ratikṛīḍām gamiṣyasi<sup>15</sup> | yuktaṁ syād anyena manuṣyeṇa sārđhaṁ ratikṛīḍām anubhavitum | tataḥ sā baṇikpatnī kathayati | yady anyo 'bhyantaro manuṣyo na saṁvidyate bhavatu eṣa eva me putraḥ | tayā vṛddhayābhīhitam | yathepsitam kuru | tataḥ sā vṛddhayuvatī tasya baṇijaḥ putrasyaivāgamyā pṛcchati | vatsa taruṇo 'si rūpavānś ca | kim pratiṣṭhito

<sup>5</sup>With G2; Ed., G1: °dharmāṇām, evidently through misunderstanding of inst. of nt. °dharman.

<sup>6</sup>Ed: °loke°; Speyer's 1902: 125–126 emendation *baṇiglobhenāvṛto* [read as a compound] is confirmed by the Gilgit reading *vaṇig lobhenāvṛtaḥ*.

<sup>7</sup>Added on the basis of G1, 2.

<sup>8</sup>G1 *kālātyāyān*, G2 *kālānvayā...///*.

<sup>9</sup>Ed. *kulārthāgataṁ*. G1, 2 *///nvāgataṁ*.

<sup>10</sup>Ed. *vāhayann*.

<sup>11</sup>Ed. *rogavinodakam*. The Gilgit manuscripts and the Tokyo and Kyoto University manuscripts all have *rāga*°, a graphic confusion between *rā* and *ro* being simple in many scripts. It is possible that a pun is intended here, since *rāgavinodanam* might mean either “getting rid of lust” or “taking pleasure in lust.”

<sup>12</sup>G1 *ābhyantaraka*, G2 *ābhyantara*. See the note to the translation.

<sup>13</sup>G2 *evamvīprakramayukto*. See the note to the translation.

<sup>14</sup>Ed. *bhavati*, emended on the basis of G1, 2.

<sup>15</sup>G1 *na bhaviṣyasi*.

'sy atha na<sup>16</sup> | tena tasyā abhihitam | kim etat<sup>17</sup> | tataḥ sā vṛddhā kathayati | bhavān evam abhirūpaś ca yuvā cāsmin vayasi taruṇayuvatyā sārddham śobhethāḥ kṛḍan raman paricārayan | kim eva kāmabhogaparihīnas tiṣṭhasi | vaṇigdārakas taṁ śrutvā lajjavyapatrāpyasamlīnacetās tasyā vṛddhāyās tad vacanaṁ nādhivāsayati |

tataḥ sā vṛddhaivaṁ dvir api trir api tasya dārakasya kathayati | taruṇayuvatis tavārthe kleśair bādhyate | sa vaṇigdārako dvir api trir apy ucyanānas tasyā vṛddhāyāḥ kathayati | amba kim tasyās taruṇayuvatyāḥ maṁnimitte<sup>18</sup> kimcid abhihitam | tataḥ sā vṛddhā kathayati | uktaṁ tasyā mayā tvannimittam<sup>19</sup> | tayā mama nimittena pratijñātam | sā ca dārikā hrīvyapatrāpyagrhitā na kimcid vakṣyati | na ca śarīram āvṛtam<sup>20</sup> kariṣyati | na tvayā tasyā vācānveṣaṇe<sup>21</sup> yatnaḥ karaṇiyāḥ | tatas tena vaṇigdārakeṇa tasyā vṛddhāyā abhihitam | kutrāsmākaṁ saṁgataṁ<sup>22</sup> bhaviṣyati | tayābhihitam | madīye gr̥he | tenoktam | kutrāvakaśe tava gr̥ham | tato 'sya tayā vṛddhāyā gr̥ham vyapadiṣtam | sā ca vṛddhā tasyā baṅkipatnyāḥ sakāśam gatvā kathayati | icchāpitaḥ sa vo 'yaṁ dārakaḥ<sup>23</sup> | sā kathayati | kutrāvakaśe saṁgataṁ bhaviṣyati | madīye gr̥he |

sa ca dārakaḥ kāryāṇi kṛtvā gr̥ham gataḥ | anupūrveṇa bhuktvā tasyā mātuḥ kathayati | gacchāmy aham | vayasyagr̥he svapsye | tato 'sya mātrāpy<sup>24</sup> anujñātam | gaccha | sa dārako labdhānujñās tasyā vṛddhāyā gr̥ham gataḥ | tasya dārakasya tasmin gr̥he gatasya ratikṛḍākālam āgamayamānasya tiṣṭhataḥ | niśi kāle apratyabhijñātarūpe<sup>25</sup> kāle sā mātāsya vaṇigdārakasya tasminn eva gr̥he ratikṛḍām anubhavanārtham tatraiva gatā | gatvā ca tasmin gr̥he vikālam avyaktim vibhāvyamāne rūpākṛtau nirgūḍhenopacārakrameṇa ratikṛḍām putreṇa sārddham anubhavitum pravṛttā pāpakenāsaddharmaṇa | sā ca parikṣiṇāyām rātrau anubhūtaratikṛḍā satamondhakāre kālāyām eva rajanyām avibhāvyamānarūpākṛtau svagr̥ham gacchati |

sa cāpi vaṇigdārako ratikṛḍām anubhūya prabhātāyām rajanyām bhāṇḍāvāriṁ gatvā kuṭumbakāryāṇi karoti | evaṁ dvir api trir api tatra vṛddhāyā gr̥he ratikṛḍām anubhavaṁś ca cirakālam evaṁ vartamāne ratikṛḍākrame<sup>26</sup> tasya dārakasya sā mātā cintayitum pravṛttā | kiyatkālam anyad gr̥ham aham evam avibhāvyamānarūpā ratikṛḍām anubhaviṣyāmi | yan nv aham asyaitad ratikṛḍākramaṁ tathāvidham krameṇa saṁvedayeyam yathā ihaiva gr̥he ratikṛḍām anubhaveyam<sup>27</sup> | iti saṁcintya

<sup>16</sup>Ed. 'syārthena, emended on the basis of G1, 2.

<sup>17</sup>G2 na for kim etat.

<sup>18</sup>Ed. saṁ°, G2 mannimitte.

<sup>19</sup>Ed. tannimittam; reading with G1; G2 unclear.

<sup>20</sup>G1, 2 āvṛttam.

<sup>21</sup>Ed. vānveṣaṇe.

<sup>22</sup>G1 saṁgamo.

<sup>23</sup>In G2 this sentence reads: *abhiprāyitaḥ sa mayā dārakaḥ*. G1 *uktaḥ sa mayā dārakaḥ*. Cp. Skt. *abhipreta*, meant, aimed at, intended, as well as caused to approach, think of.

<sup>24</sup>G1 mātrābhy°.

<sup>25</sup>Ed. *niśi kālam apratyabhijñātam | rūpe*. Speyer (1902) suggests *niśi (vi)kāle apratyabhijñātarūpe kāle* . . . . It may not be necessary to read *vikāle*, since *niśi kāle* seems to convey the same sense. Gilgit 1, 2 read *niśi kālam apratyabhijñātarūpe kāle*.

<sup>26</sup>Ed. *vartamānena ratikṛḍākrameṇa*; reading with G1.

<sup>27</sup>Ed. *ratikṛḍā bhavema*; reading with G1, 2.

tatraiva vṛddhāgr̥he gatvā ratikrīḍāṃ putreṇa sārddham anubhūya tathaiva rajanyāḥ kṣaye satamondhakārakāle tasya dārakasyoparimaṃ prāvaraṇaṃ nivasyātmanīyāṃ ca śīrottarapaṭīkām tyaktvā svagr̥haṃ gatā | sa ca dārakah prabhātakāle tām paṭīkām śīrasi mañcasyāvatiṣṭhantūṃ saṃpaśyaty ātmīyāṃ evopariprāvaraṇapontīm<sup>28</sup> alabhamānas tatraiva tām paṭīkām saṃlakṣya<sup>29</sup> tyaktvā bhāṇḍāvārīm gatvā yugalam anyāṃ prāvṛtya svagr̥haṃ gataḥ | tatra ca gataḥ saṃpaśyati tam evātmīyāṃ prāvaraṇaṃ tasyā mātuḥ śīrasi prāvṛtam | dr̥ṣtvā ca tām mātaraṃ pṛcchati | amba kuto 'yaṃ tava śīrasi prāvaraṇo 'bhyāgataḥ |

yatas tayābhihitam | adyāpy ahaṃ tavaṃbā | evaṃ cirakālam tava mayā sārddham kāmān paribhuñjato 'dyāpy ahaṃ tava saivāmbā | yataḥ sa vaṇigdārakas tathāvidhaṃ mātṛvacanam upaśrutya saṃmūḍho vihvalacetā bhūmau nipatitaḥ | tatas tayā sa mātṛa ghaṭajalaparīṣekēnāvāsiktaḥ | sa jalaparīṣekāvāsikto dārakaś cireṇa kālena pratyāgataprāṇas tayā mātṛa saṃśvāsyaṭe | kim evaṃ khedam upāgatas tvam asma-dīyaṃ vacanam upaśrutya | dhīraṃ bhavasva na te viśādaḥ karaṇīyaḥ | sa dārakas tasyāḥ kathayati | katham nu<sup>30</sup> ahaṃ khedaṃ na smariṣyāmi<sup>31</sup> saṃmohaṃ vā yena mayā evaṃvidhaṃ pāpakaṃ karma kṛtam | tataḥ sa tayābhihitaḥ | na te manaḥśokam<sup>32</sup> asminn arthe utpādayitavyam | panthāsamo mātṛgrāmo yenaivaṃ hi yathā pitā gacchati putro 'pi tenaiva gacchati<sup>33</sup> | na cāsau panthā putrasyānugacchato doṣakārako bhavaty evam eva mātṛgrāmaḥ | tīrthasamo 'pi ca mātṛgrāmo<sup>34</sup> yatraiva<sup>35</sup> hi tīrthe pitā snāti putro 'pi tasmin snāti na ca tīrthaṃ putrasya snāyato doṣakārakaṃ bhavaty evam eva mātṛgrāmaḥ | api ca pratyanteṣu janapadeṣu dharmataivaīṣā yasyāṃ eva pitā asaddharṇeṃābhigacchati tām eva putro 'py adhicacchati | evam asau vaṇigdārako mātṛa bahuvīdhair anunayavacanair vinītaśokas tayā mātṛa<sup>36</sup> tasmin pātaka 'saddharṇe punaḥ punar atīvasaṃjātarāgaḥ pravṛttaḥ |

tena ca śreṣṭhīnā gr̥he lekhyo 'nupreṣitaḥ | bhadre dhīrorjitamahotsāhā bhavasva | ahaṃ api lekhaṇupadam evāgamiṣye | sā baṇikpatnī tathāvidhaṃ lekhaṇthaṃ śrutvā vaimanasyajātaṃ cintayitūṃ pravṛttā | mahāntaṃ kālam mama tasyāgamanam udīkṣamāṇāyās tadā nāgataḥ | idānīm mayaivaṃvidhenopakrameṇa putraṃ ca paricaritvā sa cāgamiṣyati | ka upāyaḥ syād yad ahaṃ tam ihāsamprāptam eva jīvitād vya-paropayeyam iti saṃcintya taṃ putraṃ āhūya kathayati | pitṛa te lekhyo 'nupreṣita āgamiṣyāmīti<sup>37</sup> jānise<sup>38</sup> | asmābhir idānīm kim karaṇīyam iti | gacchasva pītaram asaṃprāptam eva ghātaya | sa kathayati | katham<sup>39</sup> ahaṃ pītaraṃ ghātayiṣye | yadāsau

<sup>28</sup>Ed. °potrīm, emended after BHSD s.v. G2 °pom.

<sup>29</sup>G2 asaṃlakṣya.

<sup>30</sup>Ed. katham; G1 katham nu, G2 kathanv = katham nu.

<sup>31</sup>G2 gamiṣyāmi.

<sup>32</sup>The edition's apparent hapax *manaḥśūkam*, which seems to be meaningless, is read by Gilgit I *manaśśokam*, which I follow here.

<sup>33</sup>G2 lacks *putro 'pi tenaiva gacchati*.

<sup>34</sup>G2 lacks *tīrthasamo 'pi ca mātṛgrāmo*.

<sup>35</sup>G2 *mātraiva*.

<sup>36</sup>G2 adds *saha*.

<sup>37</sup>Ed. °yatīti, emended on the basis of G1, 2.

<sup>38</sup>Ed. *jānase*; following G1, 2 *jānī(se)*.

<sup>39</sup>G2 *kathanv* = *katham nu*, perhaps better.

na prasahate pitṛbadhaṁ kartum tadā tayā mātṛā bhūyo bhūyo 'nuvṛttivacanair abhīhitaḥ | tasyānuvṛttivacanair ucyamānasya kāmeṣu saṁraktasyādhyavasāyo jātaḥ pitṛvadhāṁ prati |

kāmān khalu pratisevato na hi<sup>40</sup> kiṁcit pāpakaṁ karmākaraṇīyam<sup>41</sup> iti vadāmi | tatas tenoktam | kenopāyena ghātayāmi | tayābhīhitam | aham evopāyaṁ saṁvidhāsyē | ity uktvā viṣam ādāya samitāyāṁ miśrayitvā maṇḍīlakān paktvānye<sup>42</sup> 'pi ca nirviṣāḥ paktāḥ | yatas taṁ dārakam āhūya kathayati | gacchasva | amī saviṣā maṇḍīlakā nirviṣāś ca | gṛhya pitṛsakāśam gatvā ca tasya viśvastasyaikatra bhūñjata etān saviṣān maṇḍīlakān prayacchasvātmanā ca nirviṣān bhakṣaya<sup>43</sup> |

tataḥ sa dārakas tena lekhaṁvāhikamanuṣyeṇa sārddhaṁ tān maṇḍīlakān gṛhya gataḥ |

pitṛsakāśam āgamyā pitāsyātīva taṁ putram<sup>44</sup> dṛṣṭvābhirūpaprasādikaṁ mahesākhyam prāmodyam prāptaḥ | sahyāsahyam pṛṣṭvā teṣāṁ vaṇijām ākhyāti | ayam bhavanto 'smākaṁ putraḥ | yadā tena dārakeṇa saṁlakṣitaṁ sarvatrāham anena pitṛaḥ pratisaṁvedita iti tatas taṁ pitaram āha | tātāmbayā maṇḍīlakāḥ praheṇakam<sup>45</sup> anupreṣitam | tam tāta<sup>46</sup> paribhuñjatu | paścāt tena pitṛa sārddham ekaphelāyām<sup>47</sup> bhūñjatā tasya pituḥ saviṣā maṇḍīlakān dattā ātmanā nirviṣāḥ prabhakṣitāḥ |

yato<sup>48</sup> 'sya pitā tān saviṣā maṇḍīlakān bhakṣayitvā mṛtaḥ | tasya ca pituḥ kāladharmāṇā yuktasya ca dārako na kenacit pāpakaṁ karma kurvāno<sup>49</sup> 'bhīśaṅkito vā pratisaṁvedito vā | paścāt tair iṣṭasniḡdhasuḥṛdbhir vaṇigbhiḥ śocayitvā yat tatra<sup>50</sup> kiṁcit tasya baṇijo bhāṇḍam āsīd dhiraṇyasuvarṇam vā tat tasya dārakasya dattam | sa dārakas taṁ bhāṇḍam hiraṇyasuvarṇam paitṛkaṁ gṛhya svagṛham anuprāptaḥ | tasya cāgatasya<sup>51</sup> svagṛham sā mātā pracchannāsaddharmaṇa taṁ putram paricaramāṇā ratim nādhigacchati | anabhiratarūpā ca taṁ putram vadati | kiyatkālaṁ vayam evam pracchannena krameṇa ratikrīḍam anubhaviṣyāmaḥ | yan nu vayam asmād deśād anyadeśāntaram gatvā prakāśakrameṇa niḥśaṅkā bhūtvā jāyāpatīti vikhyātadharmāṇaḥ sukhaṁ prativasema |

tatas tau gṛhaṁ tyaktvā mitrasvajanasambandhivargān apahāya purāṇadāsīdāsakarmakarāms<sup>52</sup> tyaktvā yāvad arthajātaṁ hiraṇyasuvarṇam ca gṛhyānyaviṣyāntaram

<sup>40</sup>G1, 2 both have here *nāham* for *na hi*.

<sup>41</sup>Ed. *karma karaṇīyam*.

<sup>42</sup>G2 *paktānye*.

<sup>43</sup>G1 *bhakṣyata*.

<sup>44</sup>For *āgamyā pitāsyātīva taṁ putram* G1 reads *gataḥ sa cāsyā pitā taṁ*.

<sup>45</sup>G1 *prābhṛtam*.

<sup>46</sup>Following G1; Ed. *tat tātaḥ*, G2 *tat tāta*:

<sup>47</sup>Ed. *ekaphalāyām*; see below.

<sup>48</sup>G1 *tato*.

<sup>49</sup>G2 omits *pāpakaṁ karma kurvāno*.

<sup>50</sup>With G1; Ed. *tat tu*.

<sup>51</sup>Reading with G1. Ed. *ca gatasya*. For *tat tasya dārakasya dattam | sa dārakas taṁ bhāṇḍam hiraṇyasuvarṇam paitṛkaṁ gṛhya svagṛham anuprāptaḥ | tasya cāgatasya*, G2 has *sarvam ta dārakasyānupradattaṁ tataḥ sa dāraka tadbhāṇḍam gṛhitvā svagṛham āgataḥ tasya cāgataḥ*.

<sup>52</sup>G2 *dāsīdāsakarmakarapauruṣeyāms ca*.

gatau | tatra gatvā janapadeṣu vikhyāpayamānau jāyāpatikam iti ratikrīḍām anubhavamānau vyavasthitau | yāvad arhan bhikṣuḥ kenacit kālāntareṇa janapadacārikām caran tam adhiṣṭhānam anuprāptaḥ | tena tatra piṇḍapātam anvāhiṇḍatā<sup>53</sup> vīthyām niṣadyāyam vaṇigdharmaṇā saṁvyavahāramāṇaḥ<sup>54</sup> sa dārako dṛṣṭaḥ | dṛṣṭvā cārogyayitvā cābhībhāsyoktaḥ | mātus te kuśalam | sa ca dārakas tam arhantaṁ tathābhivadamānam upaśrutya saṁbhinnacetāḥ svena duścaritena karmaṇā śaṅkītamānās cintayitūṁ pravṛttaḥ | sa ciram<sup>55</sup> vicintya māṭṣakāśam gatvā saṁvedayati | yatr abhyāgato yo 'śāv asmadgr̥ham upasaṁkrāmaty eṣa | sa ihādhiṣṭhāne pratisaṁvedayiṣyati eṣāsyā dārakasya māteti | vyaṁ ceha jāyāpatikam iti khyātau | katham eṣa śakyaṁ ghātayitum<sup>56</sup> |

tatas tayoḥ saṁcintya taṁ gr̥ham enam upanimantrayitvā bhuñjānaṁ ghātayāmaḥ | tatas tayoḥ evaṁ saṁcintya so 'rhan bhikṣur antargr̥ham upanimantrayitvā bhojayitum ārabdhaḥ | sa dārako gūḍhaśastro bhūtvārhantaṁ bhojayitum<sup>57</sup> mātrā saha nirjanaṁ gr̥ham kṛtvā sa cārhadbhikṣur bhuktvā tasmād gr̥hād viśrabdhacārakrameṇa pratirgataḥ | tatas tena dārakeṇainam arhantaṁ viśvastacārakramam<sup>58</sup> avekṣya nirgacchantaṁ parāprṣṭhībhūtvā śarīre 'sya śastraṁ<sup>59</sup> nipātya jīvitād vyaparopitaḥ<sup>60</sup> |

kāmāś ca lavaṇodakasadr̥ṣā yathā yathā sevyanti tathā tathā tṛṣṇāvṛddhim upayāti | tasya dārakasya sā mātā taṁ putram asaddharmaṇānuvartamānā<sup>61</sup> tasminn evādhiṣṭhāne śreṣṭhiputreṇa sārḍham pracchannakāmā asaddharmaṇeṣu saktacittā jātā<sup>62</sup> | tasya dārakasya tathāvidha upakramaḥ<sup>63</sup> pratisaṁviditaḥ | tatas tena tasya mātur uktam | amba nivṛttasvedṛṣād<sup>64</sup> doṣāt | sā ca tasmīṁ śreṣṭhiputre saṁraktacittā dvir api trir apy ucyamānā na nirvartate | tatas tena niṣkoṣam asiṁ kṛtvā sā mātā jīvitād vyaparopitā |

yadā tasya trīṇy ānantaryāṇi paripūrṇāni tadā devatābhir janapadeṣv ārocitam | pāpa eṣa pitṛghātako 'rhadghātako mātrghātakaś ca | trīṇy anenānantaryāṇi narakakarmasāmvartanīyāṇi karmāṇi kṛtāny upacitāni | tatas tenādhiṣṭhānanajana<sup>65</sup> tac chrutvā tadadhiṣṭhānān nirvāsitaḥ | sa yadā nirvāsitas tasmād adhiṣṭhānāt tadā cintayitum

<sup>53</sup>G2 *aṭatā*.

<sup>54</sup>G2 has *sa dārako vīthyā saṁvyavahāramāṇa* ///.

<sup>55</sup>Ed. omits *ciram*; G1 *sa sa ciram*, G2 *ciram*.

<sup>56</sup>G2 adds *yathā na kaści jānīyā*///, "such that no one would know."

<sup>57</sup>Em. to *bhojayati*? But G1 *bhojayitum*, G2 *bhojayi* . . .

<sup>58</sup>Ed. *antargrhaviśrabdhacārakramam* instead of *arhantaṁ viśvastacārakramam*.

<sup>59</sup>Although fragmentary, missing material after *nirjanaṁ gr̥ha*///, G2 continues *///ntum ārabdhaḥ tatas tena dārakeṇa viśvastasya śarīre śastraṁ*.

<sup>60</sup>Ed., G1 *vyaparopayati*. Reading with G2.

<sup>61</sup>G1 adds *kāmeṣv atṛpyamānā*.

<sup>62</sup>For *pracchannakāmā asaddharmaṇeṣu saktacittā jātā*, G2 has only *vipratipannā*.

<sup>63</sup>G2 omits *tathāvidha upakramaḥ*.

<sup>64</sup>*nivṛttasva* must be second sing. imperative, but I cannot cite a parallel formation. I assume it is derived from *ni-√vṛt*, perhaps > \**ni-vuṛṭati* > \**ni-vuṛṭasva* > *ni-vṛttasva*, by hyper-Sanskritization? M. Hahn suggests rather *nivattassa* = *nivarttasva*, through graphic confusion?

<sup>65</sup>G1 adds *śrutam*. For *tenādhiṣṭhānanajana* G2 reads *[a]dhiṣṭhānanivāsīnanajanakāyena*, G1 *tenādhiṣṭhānena*.

pravṛttaḥ | asti cāsyā buddhaśāsane kaścīd evānūnayaḥ | evaṁ manasikṛtam<sup>66</sup> |  
 gacchāmīdānīm pravrajāmīti<sup>67</sup> | sa ca vihāraṁ gatvā bhikṣusakāśam upasamkramya-  
 vaṁ kathayati | ārya pravrajeyam | tatas tena bhikṣuṇoktam | mā tāvat pitṛghātako  
 'si | tena bhikṣur abhīhitaḥ<sup>68</sup> | asti mayā ghātitaḥ pitā | tataḥ punaḥ pṛṣṭaḥ | mā  
 tāvan mātṛghātako 'si | tenoktam | ārya ghātitaḥ mayā mātā | sa bhūyaḥ pṛṣṭaḥ  
 | mā tāvad arhadbadhas te kṛtaḥ | tataḥ sa kathayati | arhann api ghātitaḥ |  
 tatas tena bhikṣuṇābhīhitaḥ | ekaikenaiśām karmāṇām ācaraṇān na pravrajyārho  
 bhavasi prāgeva samastānām | gaccha vatsa nāhaṁ pravrajyāyīsyē | tataḥ sa puruṣo  
 'nyasya bhikṣoḥ sakāśam upasamkramya kathayati | ārya pravrajeyam | tatas tenāpi  
 bhikṣuṇānupūrveṇa pṛṣṭvā pratyākhyātaḥ | tataḥ paścād anyasya bhikṣoḥ sakāśam  
 gataḥ | tam api tathaiva pravrajyām āyācate | tenāpi tathānupūrvakrameṇa pṛṣṭvā  
 pratyākhyātaḥ | sa yadā dvir api trir api pravrajyām āyācamāno 'pi bhikṣubhir na  
 pravrajītaḥ tadāmarśajātaḥ cintayitum pravṛttaḥ | yāpi sarvasādhāraṇā pravrajyā tām  
 aham apy āyācan na labhāmi<sup>69</sup> |

tatas tena tasmin vihāre śayitānām bhikṣuṇām agnir dattaḥ | tasmin vihāre 'gnir  
 dattvānyatra vihāraṁ gataḥ | tatrāpi gatvā bhikṣuṇām upasamkramya pravrajyām  
 āyācate | tair api tathaivānupūrveṇa pṛṣṭvā pratyākhyātaḥ | tatrāpi tena tathaiva prati-  
 hatacetasāgnir dattaḥ | tatrāpi vihāre bahavo bhikṣavaḥ śaikṣāśaikṣāś ca dagdhāḥ |  
 evaṁ tasyānekān vihārān dahataḥ sarvatra śabdo viṣṭaḥ | evaṁvidhaś caivaṁvidhaś  
 ca pāpakarmakārī puruṣo bhikṣubhyaḥ pravrajyām alabhan vihārān bhikṣūmś ca da-  
 hatīti | sa ca puruṣo 'nyavihāraṁ prasthitaḥ |

tatra ca vihāre bodhisattvajātyo bhikṣuḥ prativasati tripiṭaḥ | tena śrutam sa  
 evaṁduṣkarakarmakārī puruṣo ihāgacchatīti | yataḥ sa bhikṣus tasya puruṣasyāsam-  
 prāptasyaiva tasmin vihāre pratyudgataḥ | sa tam puruṣam sametya kathayati | bhadrā-  
 mukha kim etat | yato 'sya puruṣeṇoktam | ārya pravrajyām na labhāmi | tatas tena  
 bhikṣuṇoktam | āgaccha vatsāhaṁ te pravrajyāmīti | paścāt tena bhikṣuṇā tasya  
 puruṣasya śiro muṇḍāpayitvā kāśāyāni vastrāni dattāni | paścāt sa puruṣaḥ kathayati  
 | ārya śikṣāpadāni me 'nuprayaccha | tatas tena bhikṣuṇoktaḥ | kim te śikṣāpadaiḥ  
 prayojanam | evaṁ sarvakālaṁ vadasva | namo buddhāya namo dharmāya namaḥ  
 saṁghāyeti<sup>70</sup> | paścāt sa bhikṣus tasya puruṣasya dharmadeśānām ārabdhaḥ kar-  
 tum | tvam evaṁvidhaś caivaṁvidhaś ca pāpakarmakārī sattvaḥ | yadi kadācid bud-  
 dhaśabdaṁ śṛṇoṣi smṛtiṁ pratilabhethāḥ | athāsau tripiṭo bhikṣuś cyutaḥ kālagato  
 deveṣūpapannaḥ | sa cāpi puruṣaś cyutaḥ kālagato narakeṣūpapannaḥ |

yato bhagavān āha | kim manyadhve bhikṣavaḥ | yo 'sau atīte 'dhvani bhikṣus  
 tripiṭaḥ āsa aham eva sa tena kālena tena samayena | yo 'sau pāpakarmakārī sattvo

<sup>66</sup>For *evaṁ manasikṛtam* G1 reads *tenānūnaya ca tān manasī///*.

<sup>67</sup>For *asti cāsyā buddhaśāsane kaścīd evānūnayaḥ | evaṁ manasikṛtam | gacchāmīdānīm pravrajāmīti* G2 reads *mayam\* .. vṛṣam pāpam kṛtam kim idā karomīti : tasyaitad abhavat\* asti cāsyā buddhaśāsane kaś-  
 cid evānuna /// m ukṛprāti .a ca..ramāṁ sa saṁlakṣayati gacchāma buddhadharmāni pravrajāmīti*. 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.

<sup>68</sup>Here G2 reads rather *mā .e pitā jīvitād vyakavaropitaḥ sa kathayaty avaropitaḥ*, and so on.

<sup>69</sup>G2 adds *sarvathā praghātayāmye bhikṣubhir iti*.

<sup>70</sup>G2 omits *namaḥ saṁghāya*.



mātāpitrarhadghātaka eṣa eva dharmaruciḥ | idaṁ mama tṛṭīye 'saṁkhyeye 'sya dharmaruce darśanam | tad ahaṁ saṁdhāya kathayāmi | cirasya dharmaruce sucirasya dharmaruce suciracirasya dharmaruce<sup>71</sup> | yāvaca ca mayā bhikṣavas tribhiraḥ asaṁkhyeyaiḥ ṣaḍbhiḥ pāramitābhir anyaiḥ ca duṣkaraśatasahasrair anuttarā samyaksambodhiḥ samudānītā tāvad anena dharmarucinā yadbhūyasā narakatiryakṣu kṣīpitam | idaṁ avocad bhagavān | āttamanasas te bhikṣavo bhagavato bhāṣitam abhyanandan ||

dharmarucy-avadānam aṣṭādaśam ||

The above may be translated as follows:<sup>72</sup>

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 Śobhāvātī.]<sup>73</sup> 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<sup>74</sup> 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,<sup>75</sup> took his merchandise and went far away. And for an exceedingly long time no tidings came from him.<sup>76</sup>

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.”<sup>77</sup> So the boy began to engage in commercial trade.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>71</sup>For *cirasya dharmaruce sucirasya dharmaruce suciracirasya dharmaruce*, G2 has *suciracirasya dharmaruceḥ suciracirasya bhagavan*.

<sup>72</sup>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).

<sup>73</sup>Conjectural restitution suggested by the parallels noted by Speyer (1902: 125): *Avadānaśataka* (Speyer 1906–1909) I.285, 17–286, 2, and II.29, 7–9.

<sup>74</sup>After Zimmer’s “geistliche Berater,” which seems good for *kulāvavādaka*.

<sup>75</sup>Zimmer follows Cowell and Neil’s *baṅglokenāvṛto* and translates: “Und von einer Schar Kaufleute begleitet.”

<sup>76</sup>Both Zimmer (Worauf lange Zeit keine Kunde mehr von ihm kam) and Hiraoka (2000) (彼は随分長い間 [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 'sya na bhūyaś ciram apy āgacchati*, but Gilgit’s addition of *pravṛtīr* makes it clear that Zimmer is right. Hiraoka (2007) accepts the revised reading and translates accordingly.

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

<sup>78</sup>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,<sup>79</sup> 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.<sup>80</sup> 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,<sup>81</sup> 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,<sup>82</sup> 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.”<sup>83</sup> Then the merchant’s wife said, “If there is no other intimately available man,<sup>84</sup> 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?”<sup>85</sup> He responded to her: “What do you mean?”<sup>86</sup> 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

<sup>79</sup>Or “troubles,” *kleśa*, but certainly the reference here is sexual. The use of *kileśa* in Pāli in a sexual sense is well known.

<sup>80</sup>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 etwas ahnt) read with the edition *rogavinodaka* for *rāga*<sup>o</sup>; Hiraoka (2007) accepts the revised reading and translates accordingly.

<sup>81</sup>*yo ’bhyantara eva syāt*. Zimmer, “. . . hier ins Haus gehört . . .” Hiraoka (2000, 2007) 身内の男, male relative; but I do not think *ābhyantara(ka)*, clearly read in G1, 2 can have this meaning.

<sup>82</sup>*yadi anyo manuṣya evaṁvidhopakramayukto 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 *evaṁviprakramayukto*. While Edgerton records *viprakramati* in the sense of departure, I believe it is better to suggest that G2 has dropped *-dho-*.

<sup>83</sup>*yuktaṁ syād anyena manuṣyeṇa sārḍham ratikrīḍam anubhavitum*. Zimmer’s translation is more elegant than my own: “Recht wäre es doch, daß du dich mit einem anderen Manne am Liebesspiel freust!”

<sup>84</sup>*yady anyo ’bhyantaro manuṣyo na saṁvidyate*. Zimmer, “Wenn sonst kein Mann vom Hause zu finden ist.” See above.

<sup>85</sup>Zimmer (reading with the edition’s *kiṁ pratiṣṭhito ’syārthena*) has: “verstehst du dich schon aufs Geschäft?” In the *Kāmasūtra*’s discussion of the role of the go-between (*dūtī*), 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).

<sup>86</sup>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."<sup>87</sup> Being repeatedly importuned, the merchant's son spoke to the old woman, saying: "Mother, did you say something to that young woman about me?"<sup>88</sup> Then the old woman said, "I spoke to her about you, and she agreed thanks to my suggestion."<sup>89</sup> Gripped by timidity and bashfulness, that girl won't say anything. She won't reveal her body,<sup>90</sup> neither should you make an effort to ask her who she is."<sup>91</sup> 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."<sup>92</sup> 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,<sup>93</sup> 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,<sup>94</sup> 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

<sup>87</sup>This too is a trope in the *Kāmasūtra* (5.4.12; Sharma 1997): *śṛṇu vicitrām idaṁ subhage tvāṁ kila dṛṣṭvāmutrāsāv iṭhaṁ gotraputro nāyakaś cīttonmādam anubhavati | prakṛtyā sukumārah kadācid anyatrāparikliṣṭapūrvas tapasvī | tato 'dhuṇā śakyam anena maraṇam apy anubhavitum iti varṇayet |* 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 *aparikliṣṭa*<sup>o</sup> 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.

<sup>88</sup>I have emended Cowell and Neil's *saṁnimitte* to *maṁnimitte*. However, it would be possible to translate *saṁnimitte* 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?"

<sup>89</sup>*nimitta*. Edgerton 1953 s.v., "hint." There seems to be a play on words with the sequence of *saṁnimitta* / \**maṁnimitta*, *tvannimitta*, then simply *nimitta*.

<sup>90</sup>The meaning of *na ca śarīram āvṛtaṁ kariṣyati* is difficult to understand. Gilgit 1 reads rather *āvṛta*, 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 \**apāvṛta*. Or should we read \**avṛtam*, "won't not conceal" = "won't reveal"?

<sup>91</sup>Literally, seek her out through speech, *vācāmveṣaṇa*, which might also mean ask others about her.

<sup>92</sup>*icchāpitaḥ sa vo 'yaṁ dārakaḥ*. Hiraoka (2000, 2007): あなたの息子を説得してきたよ Zimmer: "Ich habe deinem Jungen das Verlangen eingegeben." For the participle see Edgerton (1953) (Grammar) §38.53.

<sup>93</sup>I do not follow Zimmer's "Er aß ganz ruhig" for *anupūrveṇa bhuktvā*.

<sup>94</sup>Zimmer (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<sup>95</sup> that cloth. Getting rid of it, he went to their shop, and dressing in another pair,<sup>96</sup> 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,<sup>97</sup> grew dejected and began to think.

<sup>95</sup>G2 "did not recognize," perhaps better?

<sup>96</sup>As Zimmer understands, of upper garment and head covering.

<sup>97</sup>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 *Cīvaravastu* 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.<sup>98</sup> 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.<sup>99</sup>

Then he said, “By what means will I kill him?” She answered, “I myself shall arrange the means,” and so she cooked sweetmeats,<sup>100</sup> 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,<sup>101</sup> 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,<sup>102</sup> he gave his father the poisonous sweetmeats, and he himself ate those without the poison.

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a merchant sends word to his wife that he will shortly be home (see Ralston 1882: 91): *tēna patnyādi saṁdiṣṭam bhadre prāmodyam utpādāya : svastinā saṁpannārtho ham āgataḥ kitama .air divasair āgata eveti sā śrutvā vyathitā . . .* The Tibetan translation reads (Derge Kanjur 1, ‘dul ba, ga 59a6-7): *des chung ma la bzang mo dga’ ba skyed cig | kho bo don grub nas bde bar ’ongs te | zhag ’di tsaṁ kho na phyin par ’ong ngo || 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 *vyathitā*, namely that she was alarmed or distressed, and she did not speak but thought what follows.

<sup>98</sup>The syntax of this sentence is irregular: *idānīm mayaivamvidhenopakrameṇa putraṁ ca paricaritvā sa cāgamiṣyati*. The mother’s role is stated in the passive, *mayā . . . paricaritvā*, which should require a passive verb; instead, the verb is active and has a different subject or agent.

<sup>99</sup>This 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.”

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

<sup>101</sup>Literally, “asking about the bearable and the unbearable.”

<sup>102</sup>See 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.<sup>103</sup> 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.<sup>104</sup>

And lusts are just like salt water—

The more they are enjoyed, the more they are craved.

<sup>103</sup> *Arhantam bhōjayitum*; supply *ārabdho*? Zimmer: “um den Heiligen zu bewirten,” which seems odd to me.

<sup>104</sup> The syntax of this sentence is irregular: *tena dārakenainam arhantaṃ viśvastacārakramam avekṣya niraḡcchantaṃ parāpṛṣṭhībhūtvā śarīre ’sya śastraṃ nipātya jīvitād vyaparopitaḥ*. M. Straube observes to me as follows: “*enaṃ arhantaṃ* functions at the same time as object of *avekṣya* 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 darakena*) continues as an active construction (*-kramam avekṣya*) and ends as a passive construction (*vyaparopitaḥ*) again. The expression *jīvitād 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 jīvitād vyaparopitā*, also, e.g., *dvau śukaśāvakau . . . viḡālena prāṇinā jīvitād vyaparopitāv 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 *parāpṛṣṭhībhūtvā*, I thank Vincent Tournier.

That boy's mother, while still engaged in the illicit pursuit of her son,<sup>105</sup> 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]."<sup>106</sup> 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."<sup>107</sup>

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.<sup>108</sup> 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.

<sup>105</sup>G1 adds "being sexually unsatisfied."

<sup>106</sup>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."

<sup>107</sup>G2 adds: "I am being punished/murdered by the monks."

<sup>108</sup>Literally "learners and those without anything left to learn," *śaikṣas* and *aśaikṣas*. The placement of the *ca* in this sentence is strange, and suggests the grouping 1) *bhikṣus*, and 2) *śaikṣāśaikṣas*. 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 \**śaikṣā aśaikṣāś ca*. The Tokyo manuscript, however, agrees with the reading of the edition, *śaikṣāśaikṣās 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,<sup>109</sup> a knower of the Tripiṭaka. 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!”<sup>110</sup> But the monk said, “Of what use are the rules of training to you? Always speak thus:<sup>111</sup> ‘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 Tripiṭaka, 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 Tripiṭaka, 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.<sup>112</sup> 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.

<sup>109</sup>See Edgerton (1953) s.v. -jātīya (2). The actual implication of the term *bodhisattvajātīyo bhikṣu* 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 bodhisattva, that is, a previous incarnation of the individual who will later become Śākyamuni. This suggests that *bodhisattvajātīyo bhikṣu* may indicate something like “a monk whose lineage, *jāti*, is that of being a/the bodhisattva,” “a monk who stands in the birth-line, *jāti*, of Śākyamuni and is, perforce, a/the bodhisattva,” or even “a bodhisattva by birth,” which I believe amounts to precisely the same thing. Note that in the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*, studied below, the equivalent expression is *bodhisattvāṃśa bhikṣu*, with apparently an identical meaning.

<sup>110</sup>Rules of training = *śikṣāpada*.

<sup>111</sup>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.

<sup>112</sup>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 *Dharmaruci-avadāna*.



## 2 The *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*'s *Dharmaruci-avadāna*, 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 (*Dharmaruci-avadāna*).

The *editio princeps* of the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* is that of Das and Vidyābhūṣaṇa (1888–1918), based on a bilingual blockprint. A reprinting of the Sanskrit text only is found in Vaidya (1959), based exclusively on the Das-Vidyābhūṣaṇa 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 Mejer 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 *m̐* 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-Vidyābhūṣaṇa edition. In romanizing the Tibetan, even after foot-final *ga* I have added the shad.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>113</sup>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 Kuijp 1996: 401–402). For a study of the Indian text and its history, see Mejer (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 *Dharmaruci-avadāna* and that in the *Divyāvadāna* 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 *Samayamāṅgikā* and the work upon which it is based, Dāmodaragupta's *Kuṭṭanīmata* (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 (*Śārdūlavikrīḍita*), 176 (*Upajāti*), 178 (*Harīṇī*), and 188 (*Śārdūlavikrīḍita*).

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)

DV: Edition of Das and Vidyābhūṣaṇa (1888–1918: II.802–821) (Sanskrit and Tibetan)

J: J.W. de Jong's emendations (1979): 216–219

P: Peking Tanjur 5655, *mdo 'grel, ge*, 317b5–320b5 (Tibetan)

V: Vaidya (1959: II.510–515) (Sanskrit)

tr̥tīye bhagavān kalpe<sup>1</sup> krakucchandas<sup>2</sup> tathāgataḥ |  
anuttarajñānanidhir<sup>3</sup> jambudvīpe<sup>4</sup> purābhavat<sup>5</sup> || 120

1) C: °pa 2) A: kaku° 3) C, D: °jñāninidhir 4) C, D: °bū°; C: °pa 5) C, D: °vāt

| *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<sup>1</sup> byung gyur* |

1) P: mngon

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

babhūva samaye tasminn ujjayanyām mahādhanāḥ |  
vaṇik<sup>1</sup> candanadattākhyāḥ prakhyātakrayavikrayāḥ || 121

1) C: °ni°

| *de yi dus na 'phags rgyal du* || *tshong pa tsandan byin zhes pa* |  
| *nor chen nyo tshong<sup>1</sup> dag gis ni* || *rab tu grags pa byung bar gyur* |

1) P: tshongs

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

tasya kāmabalākhyāyām jāyāyām<sup>1</sup> madanadyutiḥ<sup>2</sup> |  
aśvadattābhīdhāno 'bhūt putraḥ kāya iva priyaḥ || 122

1) C, D: jāyām yām 2) C: °tyu°

| *de yi chung ma 'dod pa'i stobs* || *zhes la myos<sup>1</sup> 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.

arthārthī<sup>1</sup> sa jagāmābdhim patnīnyastagr̥hasthitiḥ |  
dhanena dhaninām<sup>2</sup> tr̥ṣṇā lavaṇeneva<sup>3</sup> vardhate || 123

1) C, D: °ti 2) C, D: dhanenārthaninām 3) C, D: °naiva

| *khyim lugs chung ma la bkod nas* || *nor don gnyer de rgya mtshor song* |  
| *lan tshwa yis*<sup>1</sup> *bzhin nor can rnams* || *nor dag gis ni sred pa 'phel* |

1) P: yid

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.<sup>114</sup>

tatpatnī proṣite patyau yauvanonmādamohitā |  
gr̥hacintāḥ<sup>1</sup> parityajya kāmadyānaparābhavat || 124

1) C, D: °ām̐

| *de yi chung ma khyo song tshe* || *lang tshos myos shing rmongs pa yis*<sup>1</sup> |  
| *khyim gyi bsam pa yongs btang nas* || *'dod pa'i bsam gtan la chags gyur* |

1) P: yi

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.

kumāram<sup>1</sup> aśvadattaṁ sā nidhāya dhanakarmaṇi |  
sadā prāsādaśṛṅgasthā<sup>2</sup> rājamārgam<sup>3</sup> vyalokayat || 125

1) C: gu° 2) C, D: prāsādaharmyasthā 3) A: °gām̐

| *de yis nor gyi las la ni* || *gzhon nu rtas byin rnam*<sup>1</sup> *bkod nas* |  
| *rtag tu khang bzang ba gam du* || *gnas te rgyal po'i lam la bltas* |

1) P: de for rnam

Setting the boy Aśvadatta in the financial affairs bureau,<sup>115</sup> she would always stay in a turret of the palace and watch the main boulevard.

svairāvakāśarahitā<sup>1</sup> bahubhṛtyajane<sup>2</sup> gr̥he |  
vṛddhadhātrīm<sup>3</sup> samabhyetya dīrghocchvāsā<sup>4</sup> jagāda sā || 126

1) A, C, D: sverāra° 2) C: °brtyajane 3) Following A; C, D: vṛddhadhātrī; DV, V: °ṭh̐ 4) So A, C, D; edd: °sāj

| *g.yog 'khor mang po'i khyim du ni* || *rang dbang gnas skabs bral ba des* |  
| *shugs rings phyung nas ma ma ni* || *rgan mo dag la mngon phyogs smras* |

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:

vibhave<sup>1</sup> bahubhoge 'sminn ājñādhīnajane<sup>2</sup> gr̥he |  
svairasañcārahīnāyā mātaḥ satyaṁ na me ratiḥ<sup>3</sup> || 127

1) For Michael Hahn, vibhava must be a noun, not an adjective. He suggests as possibilities \*vibhave bahubhoge 'pi (save that Tibetan 'dir supports asmin), or \*vibhavair bahubhoge 'sminn. See also 59.109 and 53.25b for examples of vibhave. 2) C, D: °no 3) C, D: °ti

| *khyim ni 'byor zhing longs spyod mang* || *skye bo bka' la*<sup>1</sup> *nyan pa 'dir* |  
| *rang dbang spyod pas dman pa yis*<sup>2</sup> || *ma ma bdag la dga' ba med* |

1) C, D: las 2) C, D: yi

<sup>114</sup>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.

<sup>115</sup>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.

nādhikārair na<sup>1</sup> satkārair<sup>2</sup> nālamkārair na bhojanaiḥ |  
vinā puruṣasambhogam<sup>3</sup> bhajante lalanāḥ<sup>4</sup> sukham || 128

1) C, D: °rarnai 2) C: °kārir 3) A (?), C, D: purū° 4) A: lalanā; C, D: laṭabhāh

| *skyes pa'i longs spyod med pa na || bud med dga' ba bsten pa ni |*  
| *dbang gis ma yin bkur stis min || rgyan gyis ma yin zas kyis min |*

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

tasmād gr̥ham parityajya<sup>1</sup> gacchāmi cchandacāriṇī |  
bālye jātaḥ suto 'py eṣa<sup>2</sup> na snehāyatanam mama || 129

1) C: param tyajya 2) C, D: sutesyeṣa

| *de slad khyim ni yongs btang nas<sup>1</sup> || bdag ni 'dun pas rgyu zhing 'gro |*  
| *gzhon skyes bu ni 'di la yang || bdag ni chags pa'i dbang<sup>2</sup> ma gyur |*

1) P: nang 2) *M. Straube points out that this is perhaps based on \*snehāyattanam*

So, I'll abandon this house and go away, behaving as I wish. Even this son of mine, having reached only his infancy, is not the abode of my love.

kulakūladvayābaddhabandhubandhanayantraṇām<sup>1</sup> |  
na sahante taraṅgiṇyo<sup>2</sup> ratiśīlā hi yoṣitaḥ || 130

1) DV, V °dvayābaddhā; C, D: °tvayābaddha°; A: °nā 2) A, C, D: °nyo

| *rigs kyi 'jug ngogs kyis bcings shing || gnyen gyi 'ching bas bsdams pa dag |*  
| *bud med dga' ba'i ngang tshul can || g.yo ldan dag gis bzod ma yin |*

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.”

iti bruvāṇām tām ūce dhātrī vātsalyaviklavā<sup>1</sup> |  
vatse na gamanam<sup>2</sup> yuktaṁ tyaktvā svvipulām<sup>3</sup> śriyam || 131

1) C, D: °vān 2) C, D: °na 3) D: °visu°; C: °vīsu°

| *zhes smra de la ma ma ni || shin tu mdza' bas 'khrugs pas smras |*  
| *mnyes<sup>1</sup> gshin shin tu yangs pa'i dpal || btang nas 'gro ba rigs ma yin |*

1) P: gnyes

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.

bahukṛtye gr̥he tv asmin guptacaryā na yujyate<sup>1</sup> |  
kṣaṇena svairacaritam rājamārgeṣu dhāvati<sup>2</sup> || 132

1) A: °caryān ni°; DV, V: niyujyate; *J has no comment* 2) C, D: °viti

| *bya ba mang po* 'i<sup>1</sup> *khyim 'dir ni* || *sbas pa* 'i<sup>2</sup> *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.

*katham rakṣasi cāritram saṁtaptā*<sup>1</sup> *yauvanoṣmaṇā*<sup>2</sup> |  
*katham*<sup>3</sup> *grāhanidhānam*<sup>4</sup> *ca pādenotsārya gacchasi* || 133

1) C, D: saṁtaptā 2) A, C, D: yo° 3) C, D: katha 4) C, D: grahanidhāni

| *lang tsho tsha bas rab gdungs pa* || *khyod kyis spyod pa ji ltar bsrung* |  
| *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*<sup>1</sup> *śvabhrapātaḥ kṣaṇād*<sup>2</sup> *itaḥ*<sup>3</sup> |  
*asminn ubhayaśandehe na jāne*<sup>4</sup> *kiṁ kariṣyasi* || 134

1) C, D: °śaveśāḥ 2) C, D: ka° 3) C, D: °tā 4) C, D: jane

| 'di nas 'dod pa 'i dug 'bebs shing || 'di nas skad cig g.yang la lhung |  
| *gnyis ka the tshom 'di la ni* || *khyod kyis ci bya yong*<sup>1</sup> *mi*<sup>2</sup> *shes* |

1) So P; C, D: yongs 2) P: ma

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.

*tāvāt prānapaṇenāpi capalāḥ*<sup>1</sup> *sakutūhalāḥ*<sup>2</sup> |  
*paraśtriyam prārthayanti*<sup>3</sup> *na yāvād vastram ujjhati* || 135

1) C: °lāḥ 2) A: °lā; C, D: °kurūhalāḥ 3) C, D: °ante

| *g.yo zhing dge mtshan ldan pa rnam* || *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*<sup>1</sup> *samutkampiraśanāṁśukakarṣaṇe*<sup>2</sup> |  
*gacchāmi muñca muñceti kvaṇantī kasya nepsitā*<sup>3</sup> || 136

1) C, D: netam 2) As M. Straube points out, the word *samutkampī*° occurs in *Jātakamālā* 26.14. 3) J: se°, with Tib., but I do not agree

| 'og pag gos nas drangs pa na || ma ma ma zhes 'dar byed cing |  
| *bdag 'gro thongs*<sup>1</sup> *shig thongs*<sup>1</sup> *shig ces* || *sgra sgrogs de ni*<sup>2</sup> *su zhig '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!'

*dr̥ṣṭvā vivasanāṁ vṛttakartavyaḥ*<sup>1</sup> *sarvathā janaḥ* |  
*bhujapañjaranirmuktaśukavṛtṭyā*<sup>2</sup> *palāyate* || 137

1) J's *kr̥ta*° (suggested by Tib.) is, I believe, metrically unlikely if not impossible 2) A: °nimu°; C, D: °pañjarasamruddheḥ (for which read °aḥ), in accord with Tib. See the note to the translation. A incorrectly corrected to °muktaḥ śuka°. C: sukavṛtya; D: śugavṛtyā

| *rnam pa kun tu bya ba byas* || *skye bos gos med mthong nas ni* |  
| *lag pa'i gzeb kyis bsdams pa yis* || *ne tso tshul bzhin 'bros par 'byed* |

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 raticauṛeṇa kṣaṇārdham<sup>1</sup> sukhasaṅgamaḥ |  
punaḥ praviratāloke<sup>2</sup> paraloke samāgamaḥ<sup>3</sup> || 138

1) So A; C, D: °ardhām 2) C, D: °virātāloke 3) A, DV, V: paraloka°

| *mun par dga' ba'i chom rkun dang* || *skad cig phyed ni bde bar 'grogs* |  
| *phyi<sup>1</sup> nas snang ba rab spangs pa'i* || *'jig rten 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 naṣṭā niṣphalā kliṣṭā<sup>1</sup> lajjākaṣṭād<sup>2</sup> adhomukhī<sup>3</sup> |  
kumāṛge hāritam<sup>4</sup> yāntī<sup>5</sup> śīlaratnam<sup>6</sup> ivekṣate<sup>7</sup> || 139

1) A, DV, V: °phalā krṣṭā; J suggests niṣphalā kaṣṭā 2) C, D: °kaṣṭvād 3) A: °kha 4) C, D: °pitaṁ 5) C, D: ya°  
6) C, D: °ām 7) So A; C, D: ivakṣete; DV, V: ivekṣyate

| *bzhin smad ngo tsha'i sdug bsngal can* || *'bras med nyams shing dman pa de* |  
| *tshul khrims rin chen lam ngan du* || *stor bar gyur pa 'tshol ba bzhin* |

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 roditi<sup>1</sup> prasṛtaduṣcaritāpavādā<sup>2</sup> sthūlāsrabindubhir<sup>2</sup> amandaviṣādakalpaiḥ<sup>3</sup> |  
kāmaśramatruṭitanirmalaśīlahāra<sup>4</sup> muktāphalair iva dharām<sup>5</sup> paripūrayanti<sup>6</sup> || 140

1) C, D: rau° 2) C, D: °lāsruḥ 3) A, DV, V: °kandaiḥ (C, D confirm J's emendation from Tib.) 4) C, D: °ṭinirmala°  
5) C, D: °ām 6) C, D: °i

| *dri med tshul khrims do<sup>1</sup> shal 'dod pa'i ngal dub kyis chad cing* |  
| *mu tig 'bras bus [sa]<sup>2</sup> gzhi yongs su<sup>3</sup> khengs par byed pa bzhin* |  
| *mi dman chags bral du brtags 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.

bālasyāpi tuṣāraraśmiruciraṁ saṁcintayantyāḥ<sup>1</sup> smitaṁ mlāyantyāḥ sahasā  
nimīlitatanoh<sup>2</sup> padmānanāyāḥ<sup>3</sup> param |  
gehāntaḥ svakathān<sup>4</sup> mithaḥ<sup>5</sup> kathayatām ākarṇayantyā bahiḥ svairiṇyās<sup>6</sup>  
tṛṇapallave 'pi lulite<sup>7</sup> sāsāṅkaśāṅkaṁ<sup>8</sup> manaḥ || 141

1) A: °yā; C, D: °yatyā 2) So C, D; A: °no? 3) Tib. pad ma'i stan suggests that the translators read \*padmāsanāyāḥ  
4) C, D: °ām 5) A: °tha 6) C, D: svairāgyās 7) A, DV: lalite; V: valite; J after Tib.: calite 8) A, DV: °ām, J suggesting °ām; C, D: gacchanti śaṅkāṁ

| byis pa'i 'dzum bu bsil zer can ltar mdzes pa la yang rab tu sems byed cing |  
 | pad ma'i stan ltar lus ni mchog tu zum zhing 'phral la rab tu nyams gyur te |  
 | khyim gyi nang du phan tshun gtam rnam phyir ni rang gi gtam du thos gyur pa |  
 | 'phyon ma rnam kyi yid ni rtsa yi 'dab ma bskyod pa la yang dogs par gyur<sup>1</sup> |

1) P: 'gyur

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<sup>116</sup> 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.<sup>117</sup>

rūpadarpeṇa niryānti taruṇyaḥ pativeśmanah<sup>1</sup> |  
 paścāt pariḥkṣya tyajyante paṇyasthāne<sup>2</sup> pariḥkṣakaiḥ || 142

1) C, D: sativaśmanah 2) A: puṇya°; C, D: puṇyā°. Tentatively emended with the suggestion of M. Straube.<sup>118</sup>

| gzugs kyi dregs pas gzhon nu mas<sup>1</sup> || khyo yi khyim las phyi rol 'thon |  
 | yongs rtog rnam kyis bsod nams kyi<sup>2</sup> || gnas la yongs brtags phyi nas dor<sup>3</sup> |

1) P: ma 2) So P; C, D kyi bsod nams kyis 3): P: 'dor

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.

tasmād<sup>1</sup> ḡḥasthitāyās<sup>2</sup> te yathā puruṣasaṅgamaḥ |  
 loka bhavaty avijñātas<sup>3</sup> tathā yuktiṁ vadāmy aham || 143

1) C: tvaṁsmīd; D: tasmīd 2) C, D: °sthitīyās 3) DV, V: aviditas

| de slad khyim na gnas pa khyod || ji ltar skyes bu dang 'grog shing |  
 | 'jig rten dag gis mi shes pa || de ltar rigs<sup>1</sup> pa bdag<sup>2</sup> gis brjod |

1) P: rig 2) P: dag

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

aśvadattaḥ<sup>1</sup> kumāro 'sau<sup>2</sup> kiṁcidāsannayauvanaḥ<sup>3</sup> |  
 janasyāśaṅkanīyatvāt sukhabhogyāḥ paraṁ tava || 144

1) C, D: °datta 2) C, D: kumārāsau 3) C, D: °yovanaḥ

| khyod kyi gzhon nu rtas byin 'di || cung zad lang tsho dag la nye<sup>1</sup> |  
 | skye bos dogs bya min pa'i slad || mchog<sup>2</sup> tu bde ba longs spyod 'os |

1) P: ni 2) P: mchod

<sup>116</sup>I do not understand the image well here. The term *nimīlita* 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?

<sup>117</sup>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.

<sup>118</sup>The form *puṇyasthāna* is supported both by Sanskrit sources and Tibetan *bsod nams kyi gnas*. Its meaning is, however, obscure. M. Straube suggests *paṇya*°, pointing to *Samayamātrkā* 4.122: *paṇyastrī*, 8.36: *paṇyalalanā*, 8.102: *paṇyavadhū*. These are, however, not parallel. Nevertheless, I tentatively accept the emendation, although the translation remains more or less a guess.

“This boy of yours, Aśvadatta, 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.

evaṃvidhaś ca<sup>1</sup> sumukhaḥ kāntimān prāpyate<sup>2</sup> kutaḥ |  
nirapāyahaḥ<sup>3</sup> prakāro ’yaṃ yadi tāvat pravartate || 145

1) DV, V: evaṃ vidagdhaḥ (*graphic confusion*) 2) A: pā<sup>o</sup>? 3) C, D: nirasāyah

| *rnam pa ’di lta’i bzhin bzang dang || mdzes sdug can ni ga las rnyed |*  
| *gal te re zhig rab bsgrubs na || ’di ni gnod med rnam pa yin*<sup>1</sup> |

1) C, D: min

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 dhātrīvacaḥ śrutvā<sup>1</sup> sāpi yuktam amanyata |  
tīvrarāgaprakārāndhaḥ pāpapātām<sup>2</sup> na paśyati || 146

1) C, D: °tva 2) C, D: sāpapātan

| *zhes pa ma ma’i tshig thos nas || de yis kyang ni rigs par bsams |*  
| *chags pa drag po’i rnam pa yis || 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.

dhātī tataḥ kumārasya strībhogasukhavarṇanām<sup>1</sup> |  
svairam<sup>2</sup> vidhāya vidadhe viṣayābhimukhaṃ manaḥ || 147

1) DV, V: saṃ<sup>o</sup> for strī<sup>o</sup>; C, D: °sukhaṃ varttanām 2) A: sve<sup>o</sup>

| *de nas ma mas dal bu yis || bud med longs spyod bde bsngags pa*<sup>1</sup> |  
| *bsgrubs shing bsgrubs nas gzhon nu’i yid || 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 avocata<sup>1</sup> sā nityam<sup>2</sup> kṛtvā kāmāpratāraṇām<sup>3</sup> |  
asti vatsa tvaducitā kācit proṣitabhartṛkā<sup>4</sup> || 148

1) A: °cat; C, D: °ceta 2) C, D: nitya; DV, V: sāśaṅkaṃ 3) So A; V: °am; C, D: kāmāsutāraṇām 4) C, D: °kṣa (*miswritten for °kā*)

| *rtag tu ’dod pa rab spros nas || de la de yis rab smras pa |*  
| *bu khyod la ’os ’ga’ zhig ni || 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.

śūnye veśmani<sup>1</sup> nirdīpe<sup>2</sup> rātrau maunāvalambinī |  
lajjāvati<sup>3</sup> sā sutarām tvayā saṅgamam icchati || 149

1) C, D: °ne 2) A: niśrape? 3) C, D: °jjava<sup>o</sup>

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



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<sup>1</sup> vacaḥ śrutvā sābhilāṣo vaṅkṣutaḥ |  
sadā guptaḡṛhe bheje jananyā ratisaṅgamam || 150

1) C, D: °yaḥ; V: yāḥ

| ces pa de yi tshig thos nas || mngon 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 sevamānāyāḥ pracchannabhavane ratim |  
vardhamānaḥ<sup>1</sup> paraṁ<sup>2</sup> tasyā rāgāgnir na śamaṁ<sup>3</sup> yayau || 151

1) C, D: °nāḥ 2) C, D: sari for A, DV, V: paraṁ. According to M. Hahn, sari for paraṁ is a typical error 3) C: praśama; D: na śama for na śamaṁ

| rtag tu rab bsgribs khyim du ni || dga' mgur spyod pa sten byed pa |  
| de la chags pa'i me<sup>1</sup> dag ni || rab tu 'phel zhing zhi ma<sup>2</sup> 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 nityaṁ pracchādanakadarthanām |  
na sahe<sup>1</sup> rūpabhogasya prakāśaḥ<sup>2</sup> kila jīvitam || 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 sdug bsngal 'di |  
| mi bzod gzugs kyi longs spyod la || snang ba nyid ni 'tsho ba lo<sup>1</sup> |

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.

anyonyavadanāmbhojavilokanarasaṁ<sup>1</sup> vinā |  
na cumbane na surate kaścid asti sukhotsavaḥ || 153

1) C: °bhovi°; D: °bhophi°

| phan tshun bzhin gyi chu skyes la || nam 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 pracchādanāyāsaṁ<sup>1</sup> kumārasya prayatnataḥ<sup>2</sup> |  
bhāṅktvā prasabhasambhoge<sup>3</sup> pradiśāmi pragalbhatām<sup>4</sup> || 154

1) C, D: °yāpa 2) C, D: pa° 3) C, D: °sabho° 4) C, D: °gambha°

| de bsgribs pa yi nyon mongs ni || rab tu 'bad pas bcom byas te |  
| 'phral la longs spyod gzhon nu ma<sup>1</sup> || 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.”

iti saṁcintya<sup>1</sup> sā rātrau prabhāte vyaktavigrahā<sup>2</sup> |  
yayau vastraparāvṛttiyuktyā<sup>3</sup> tasya prakāśatām || 155

1) C, D: saṁcina 2) C, D: °ha 3) A: °vatti°; C, D: °vṛttayuktya

| *zhes pa mtshan mo rab bsams te || rab gsal lus des gos dag ni |*  
| *yongs su rje ba'i rigs pa yis<sup>1</sup> || nang par de la rab gsal gyur |*

1) C, D: yi

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.

sa nijām<sup>1</sup> jananiṁ dṛṣṭvā chinnamūla<sup>2</sup> iva drumah |  
papāta pātakaviṣāveṣena<sup>3</sup> vivaśīkṛ taḥ || 156

1) C, D: °am 2) C, D: ricchanna° 3) V: pāna°

| *de yis rang gi<sup>1</sup> ma mthong nas || rtsa ba bcad pa'i ljon pa bzhin |*  
| *sdig pa'i dug ni 'bebs pa yis<sup>2</sup> || dbang dang bral bar byas te lhung |*

1) C, D: gis 2) C, D: yi

Seeing the mother who gave birth to him, he collapsed like a tree cut off at the roots, incapacitated by the poisonous attack of his sin.

tayā śītāmbunā siktaḥ<sup>1</sup> śanaiḥ<sup>2</sup> saṁjñām<sup>3</sup> avāpa<sup>4</sup> saḥ |  
vilālāpa<sup>5</sup> pṛthuśvabhre<sup>6</sup> vibhraṣṭa<sup>7</sup> iva duḥkhiṭaḥ || 157

1) C, D: °ta 2) A: °neh; C, D: sa° 3) C, D: °am 4) DV, V: °pya 5) C, D: vimalā° 6) A, C, D: °bhra° 7) C, D: vibhramād

| *de yis bsil ba'i chus bran te || dal gyis 'du shes thob pa des |*  
| *rgya che g.yang sar 'khyams<sup>1</sup> pa la || sdug bsngal gyur bzhin smre sngags phyung |*

1) C, D: 'khyam

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.

tam uvāca pariṣvajya bhujābhyām<sup>1</sup> kāmamohitā |  
bhrūlatāṁ sā samunnāmya narakāpātadūtikā<sup>2</sup> || 158

1) D: °am 2) So A; C, D: °kāṁ

| *dmyal bar lhung ba'i pho nya mo || 'dod pas rmongs ma de yis ni |*  
| *smīn ma'i 'khri shing gzengs bstod nas<sup>1</sup> || lag pas yongs 'khyud de la smras |*

1) C, D: cing

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

mithyā kim ayam asthāne viṣādas tava duḥsahaḥ<sup>1</sup> |  
kim na jānāsi nārīṇām asatyam<sup>2</sup> dharmayantraṇām<sup>3</sup> || 159

1) C, D: °ha 2) With C, D; A: asatya- 3) C, D: °tra

| *khyod kyi mya ngan bzod dka' 'di || gnas min rdzun pa dag la ci |*  
| *bud med chos kyis bsdams pa rnams || mi bden khyod kyi mi shes sam |*

“Why this unbearable despondency of yours, pointless and misplaced? Don't you know that it is not true that women are restrained by righteousness?”

na tvayotpāditam duḥkham ḥṛtam vā<sup>1</sup> kasyacid dhanam |  
sādhārasukhabhoge 'smin keyam te pāpavāsanā || 160

1) C, D: ḥṛtsvā for ḥṛtam vā

| *khyod kyis sdug bsngal yong<sup>1</sup> ma bskyed<sup>2</sup> || su yi yang ni nor ma phrogs |*  
| *thun mong bde ba'i longs spyod 'dir || khyod la sdig pa'i bag chags ci |*

1) C, D: yongs 2) C, D: skyed

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?

saritsādhāraṇā<sup>1</sup> nāryas<sup>2</sup> taraṅginyām<sup>3</sup> nirargalam |  
yasyām eva pitā snāti<sup>4</sup> tasyām<sup>5</sup> na<sup>6</sup> snāti kiṁ sataḥ<sup>7</sup> || 161

1) C, D: saratpādhā° 2) C, D: nāryās 3) C, D: °inyām 4) C, D: snātas 5) A: °yā; C, D: °am 6) C, D: kin nā for na  
7) A: sataḥ?

| *g.yo ldan bsdams pa med pa yi || chu klung bud med thun mong nyid |*  
| *gang la pha yis khurus byas der<sup>1</sup> || bu ni khurus byed min nam ci |*

1) C, D: te

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

pathā<sup>1</sup> yena pitā yātas tena putro 'pi gacchati |  
sāmānyagamanā<sup>2</sup> eva vartanīsanibhāḥ striyaḥ || 162

1) C, D: ya° 2) C, D: °no

| *lam gang nas ni pha song ba || de nyid nas ni bu yang 'gro |*  
| *bud med brgya lam dag dang mtshungs || thun mong ba yis<sup>1</sup> bgrod bya nyid |*

1) P: yi

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.

ekabhogyai<sup>1</sup> lalanā na parasparam arhati |  
īrṣyālubhiḥ<sup>2</sup> kṛtam kaiścid etat samayamātrakam || 163

1) C, D: °gyeva 2) A: iṣyā°; DV īrṣā°; C, D: īrṣya°

| *bud med gcig gis<sup>1</sup> spyad<sup>2</sup> bya nyid || gzhan dang gzhan gyis mi 'os<sup>3</sup> pa |*  
| *'di ni 'ga' zhig phrag dog dang || ldan pas dam tshig byas pa tsam |*

1) P: gi 2) C, D spyod 3) C, D: 'os min

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.

naiva<sup>1</sup> kācid<sup>2</sup> agamyāsti ratyartham<sup>3</sup> paramārthataḥ |  
ekapātropabhogyā hi pituḥ putrasya ca<sup>4</sup> striyaḥ || 164

1) A: neva; D: niva 2) C, D: kācad 3) A, C, D: °aḥ 4) C, D: °syeva

| *dam pa'i don du dga' mgu'i slad || bgrod par mi bya 'ga' yang med |*  
| *pha dang bu yi snod gcig bzhin || bud med nye bar longs spyad<sup>1</sup> bya |*

1) C, D: spyod

In truth, there is no woman at all unsuitable to be approached for the sake of sexual pleasure.<sup>119</sup> For women are to be enjoyed by father and son as a single vessel.”

iti yatnena sa tayā sambhogābhimukhaḥ<sup>1</sup> kṛtaḥ |  
sa<sup>2</sup> jātarāgaḥ satatam siṣeve<sup>3</sup> jananīm<sup>4</sup> paśuḥ || 165

1) C, D: °gādhimu° 2) C: sañh° 3) C, D: śiṣevi 4) A, C, D: °nī

| zhes te di yis<sup>1</sup> 'bad pa yis || longs spyod la de mngon phyogs byas<sup>2</sup> |  
| 'dod chags skyes pas rtag par yang || phyugs bzhin du ni ma nyid bsten |

1) C, D: yi 2) C, D: par yang for phyogs byas

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

tataḥ kālena pitaram pratyāyātām mahodadheḥ |  
sa gūḍham<sup>1</sup> prerito mātṛā viṣeṇa vidadhe vyaśum<sup>2</sup> || 166

1) A: gūḍha (*I cannot see the anusvara J reads*); DV, V: °dhe 2) C, D: °stañ

| de nas dus kyi<sup>1</sup> pha dag ni || chu gter che las slar 'ongs pa<sup>2</sup> |  
| ma yis bskul ba des<sup>3</sup> gsang nas || dug gis srog dang bral bar byas |

1) P: kyi 2) P: yong ba for 'ongs pa 3) P: der

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

tataḥ sā<sup>1</sup> rāgavṛddhyaiva nirargalasukhaiṣiṇī<sup>2</sup> |  
svairam<sup>3</sup> kumāram praṇayād uvāca snehamohitam || 167

1) C, D: sa 2) A: °khe° 3) A, C, D: °re

| de nas chags pa 'phel<sup>1</sup> ba yis<sup>2</sup> || ma bsdams bde ba 'tshol ba des |  
| mdza' bas rmongs pa'i gzhan nu la || mdza' bas dal gyis rab smras pa |

1) C, D, P: 'phal; emendation M. Straube 2) C, D: yi

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.

sāradraṇam<sup>1</sup> ādāya niryāntraṇasukhāptaye |  
ehi deśāntaram tāvad gacchāvaḥ<sup>2</sup> kaṇṭakojjhitam || 168

1) C, D: °ṇan 2) C, D: °cchavaḥ

| ma bsdams bde ba thob pa'i slad || snying po'i nor dag blangs byas la |  
| tsher ma spangs pa'i yul gzhan du || 'u<sup>1</sup> cag re zhig 'gro bar bya |

1) P: yu

“In order to obtain unrestrained pleasure, taking our principal possessions, come! Let us go now to another country which will be free of obstacles.”

iti tad<sup>1</sup> vacanam śrutvā cirakālasamīhitam |  
sāradraṇam ādāya sa<sup>2</sup> yayau sahitas tayā<sup>3</sup> || 169

1) C, D: tat 2) C, D: omit sa 3) C, D: tasyayā for tayā

<sup>119</sup>The text here uses the technical term *agamyā*, for which see Silk (2008a).

| zhes pa de tshig yun ring gi || dus su 'dod pa thob gyur nas |  
| nor gyi snying po blangs byas te || de ni de dang 'grog nas song |

Hearing those words he had sought for such a long time, he took their principal possessions and went away with her.

deśāntare kṛtapadau paraṁ pracchannapātakau |  
jāyāpatitvaṁ<sup>1</sup> vikhyāpya<sup>2</sup> tau nirvṛtim<sup>3</sup> avāpatuḥ<sup>4</sup> || 170

1) C, D: °ivām 2) C, D: °āsyā 3) C, D: nirvitaṁ 4) A: āpatuḥ, omitting -av-

| yul gzhan dag tu gnas byas te || sdiḡ pa<sup>1</sup> rab bsgrigs de dag ni |  
| chung ma khyo bo nyid du grags || mchog tu bde ba thob par 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 tadgehaṁ svadeśapratyabhijñāyā |  
bhikṣuḥ paricito 'bhyetya vātsalyāt tam abhāṣata || 171

| de nas nam zhig 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 kuśalaṁ mātuḥ kaccij<sup>1</sup> janmamahīm muhuḥ |  
tyaktām<sup>2</sup> cintayataś<sup>3</sup> cittāṁ nāyāty<sup>4</sup> anuśayavyathām<sup>5</sup> || 172

1) C, D: kaccaj 2) A: °tāmś 3) C, D: yaś cittāṁ yataś for cintayataś (A has obviously been rewritten, and in a confused way, but it seems to support the reading I print) 4) C, D: nāpāty 5) C: °aṁ

| khyod kyi ma ni dge 'am<sup>1</sup> ci || skye sa<sup>2</sup> btang<sup>3</sup> las<sup>4</sup> yang yang du |  
| bsam<sup>5</sup> 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 nor 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 śilayeva sa tāḍitah |  
pratyabhijñānacakitas tām<sup>1</sup> tām yuktim<sup>2</sup> acintayat<sup>3</sup> || 173

1) C, D: °kitāṁs taṁ 2) C, D: yuktam 3) C, D: acittayat

| zhes pa dge slong tshig thos nas || rdwo<sup>1</sup> ba yis<sup>2</sup> ni bsnun pa bzhin |  
| 'dri shes dag<sup>3</sup> gis 'jigs pa des || rigs pa de de rab bsams pa |

1) P: rdo 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 mātrā<sup>1</sup> saha saṁmantrya<sup>2</sup> mantrabhedabhayākulaḥ |  
bhikṣuṁ<sup>3</sup> nimantrya<sup>4</sup> niryantṛas<sup>5</sup> taṁ śastreṇa<sup>6</sup> gr̥he 'vadhīt<sup>7</sup> || 174

1) C, D: °ra 2) C, D: °matya 3) A: °ṣu 4) C, D: bhikṣu-mantan for bhikṣuṁ nimantrya 5) A: niya° 6) C, D: °aṇa 7) C, D: °īta

| *gros byed 'jigs<sup>1</sup> pas 'khrugs pa des || ma dang lhan cig bgros byas nas |*  
 | *dge slong de ni mgron gnyer te || ma bsdams mtshon gyis khyim du bsad |*

1) P: 'jig; if we emend the preceding byed to 'byed, this may be equivalent to bheda, and bhaya is translated by 'jigs pa.

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.

arhadbhikṣuvadhe 'py asya nākampata manān manah<sup>1</sup> |  
 nṛśamsāḥ pātakair yānti vajrād api<sup>2</sup> kaṭhoratām || 175

1) C, D: nākampat manātmanah 2) C: abhi; D: adhi (supported by Tib. lhag)

| *dge slong dgra bcom bsad la yang || de yid bag<sup>1</sup> kyang 'dar ma<sup>2</sup> yin |*  
 | *gtum po rnams ni sdig pa yis || rdo rje las lhag sra bar 'gyur<sup>3</sup> |*

1) C, D: lag 2) C, D: bdar ba for 'dar ma 3) P: gyur

Even killing a saint-monk, his mind did not quaver in the slightest. Cruel men become harder even than diamond through their sins.

dharmādriṣṭiṅgāgraparıcyutānām<sup>1</sup> adhomukhānām ataṭāvaṭeṣu<sup>2</sup> |  
 bahubhramaśvabhraśatāhatānām<sup>3</sup> bhavaty alaṁ pātaparamparaiva<sup>4</sup> || 176

1) C, D: °śrgā° 2) C, D: atapava° 3) C, D: °bhraśvatā° 4) A: °reva

| *ngos med g.yang sar chos kyi ri rtse yi |*  
 | *steng nas kha ni thur ltas<sup>1</sup> lung gyur cing |*  
 | *'khrul mang bya skyibs brgya<sup>2</sup> yis bsnun pa rnams |*  
 | *nges par brgyud<sup>3</sup> ma dag tu lung bar 'gyur |*

1) P: bltas 2) C, D: rgya 3) C, D: rgyun

For those who have fallen from the highest mountain peak of the Teaching head-long into precipitous caverns, pounded as they fall by many hundreds of outcroppings of error, there surely will be nothing but an uninterrupted series of falls [into unfortunate rebirths].

sutena ramamānāpi<sup>1</sup> sā sambhogaparāyaṇā |  
 sundarākhyam<sup>2</sup> vaṇikputram dṛṣṭvābhūt tatra sasṛḥā || 177

1) C, D: °nāpi 2) C, D: punda°

| *bu dang rol par byed mod kyang || longs spyod dag la chags pa des |*  
 | *mdzes pa zhes bya tshong pa'i bu<sup>1</sup> || mthong nas de la chags ldan gyur |*

1) P: chu

Even though she was engaging in sexual intercourse with her son, she who was wholly devoted to sexual pleasures saw a merchant's son named Sundara and became filled with desire for him.

ratıparıcitair<sup>1</sup> bhogābhyāsaiḥ smarāḥ<sup>2</sup> parıvardhate  
 kim api bhajate lobhaḥ prauḍhim<sup>3</sup> pravṛddhadhanodayaiḥ<sup>4</sup> |  
 lavaṇasalilāpānais tṛṣṇā prayāty atıtvratām  
 jvalati vipulajvālālīḍhair<sup>5</sup> jalair<sup>6</sup> vaḍavānalaḥ<sup>7</sup> || 178

1) DV, V: iti for rati 2) C, D: sara 3) C, D: °i 4) A: °yai; C, D: °yah 5) A: gadhair in place of liḍhair. I translate the text established here, in which the reading vipulajvalāliḍhair jalair is kept, supported by the Tibetan myangs pas, against what appears to have been intended in the Sanskrit manuscript, agādhair jalair. The latter expression as more common Sanskrit is a lectio faciliior. 6) C: jalir 7) C, D: °laiḥ

l dga' mgur spyad pa yongs 'driś<sup>1</sup> goms pas longs spyod dag ni mchog tu 'phel l  
l nor ni rab 'phel dar bas chags pa stug<sup>2</sup> po ci yang sten par byed l  
l lan tshwa'i chu dag 'thungs pas shin tu mi zad<sup>3</sup> sred pa skye bar 'gyur l  
l chu ni rgya che me lces myangs pas rta gdong me ni rab tu 'bar l

1) P: 'dres 2) C, D: btug 3) P: bzad

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<sup>120</sup> blazes [ever more strongly] fed by the waters licked at by its vast flames.

tām gūḍhasaṃgatām<sup>1</sup> tena<sup>2</sup> rāgiṇā<sup>3</sup> navakāminā l  
dṛṣṭvāśvadattaḥ<sup>4</sup> khaḍgena jaghāna janānīm<sup>5</sup> krudhā ll 179

1) C, D: gu° 2) C, D: tena tena 3) C: °ṇī; D: °nīm 4) C: °śoda°; D: °śvoda° 5) C, D: °nī

l 'dod ldan gsar pa de dang ni ll chags ldan ma de gsang<sup>1</sup> 'grogs pa l  
l rtas byin gyis mthong khros pa yis ll ral gri dag gis ma nyid bsad l

1) C, D: gsung

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

ānantaryais tribhiḥ pāpabhāraiḥ sa gurutām gataḥ l  
niṣkāsitaḥ purāt tūrṇam<sup>1</sup> devatāpṛeritair<sup>2</sup> janaiḥ ll 180

1) C: °e; D: °a 2) C: dava°

l mtshams med gsum gyi sdig khur gyis ll de ni lci ba nyid du gyur l  
l skye bo lha yis bskul rnam kyis ll myur du grong khyer dag las<sup>1</sup> phyung<sup>2</sup> l

1) P: lus 2) C, D: byung

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.

sa<sup>1</sup> jātānuśayas tīvraṃ gatvā bhikṣugaṇān bahūn<sup>2</sup> l  
duḥkhāḍ yayāce pravrajyām nivedya nijaduṣkṛtam<sup>3</sup> ll 181

<sup>120</sup>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 *Nāradaṇḍarātra* 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 (*kulaṭā*) is not satisfied with [all] men;” *na śreyasām manas tṛptaṃ vāḍavāgnir na pāthasām l vasuḍdharā na rajasām na puṃsām kulaṭā tathā ll*.

M. Straube points to verse 6.43 in the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*, in which the merchant Supriya laments that his wealth which does not suffice to meet the needs of the poor people: *ratnākarsya vaipulyaṃ niṣphalaṃ vedhasā kṛtam l adyāpi pūrīto yena naiko 'py arthī sa vāḍabaḥ*, “In vain the creator had made the vast ocean, which even now does not satisfy the *vāḍaba* fire, like the big mine of jewels does not satisfy even one needy person.”

1) A: sa repeated at folio break 2) C: pa° 3) A: 181d–182a added in top margin in what seems to be the same hand; C, D: 181d–182a missing

l 'gyod pa drag po skyes pa de<sup>s1</sup> || song nas dge slong tshogs<sup>2</sup> mang la |  
l sdug bsngal las ni rab byung zhus | ...<sup>3</sup>

1) C, D: de 2) C, D: tshongs 3) pada d missing

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 pravrajyāṃ<sup>1</sup> patitāya dadau yadā |  
tadā dadāha sa<sup>2</sup> dveṣāt suptaṃ bhikṣugaṇaṃ niśi || 182

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

...<sup>1</sup> | gang tshe sdig can la ma byin |  
l de tshe de yi zhe sdang gis || dge slong tshogs nyal mtshan mo bsregs |

1) pada a missing<sup>121</sup>

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

ekas tu bodhisattvāṃśo<sup>1</sup> bhikṣus tasya dayārdradhīḥ<sup>2</sup> |  
tadā<sup>3</sup> dideśa pravrajyāṃ śikṣāpadavivarjitāṃ || 183

1) C, D: °āmśva 2) C, D: °ārtra° 3) C, D: tavā

l de la brtse bas brlan pa'i blo || dge slong byang chub sems dpa' cha<sup>1</sup> |  
l gcig gis de tshe bslab pa'i gnas || spangs pa'i rab tu byung ba byin |

1) C, D, P: che; emendation M. Straube

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.

śikṣāpadāni nirbandhād yācamānaṃ<sup>1</sup> prayatnataḥ |  
bhikṣus tam ūce nārho 'si śikṣāpadaparigrahe || 184

1) C, D: °bhantāryācamāna

l rab tu 'bad cing nan tan gyis || bslab<sup>1</sup> pa'i gnas ni zhu byed pa |  
l de la dge slong gis smras khyod || bslab gnas 'dzin par yong<sup>2</sup> mi 'os |

1) C, D: bslabs 2) C, D: pa yongs for par yong

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

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

'gyod pa drag po skyes pa des || soñ nas dge sloñ tshoñs mañ la ||  
sdug bñsal las ni rab byuñ žus || gañ tshe sdig can la ma byin || 89.181  
de tshe de yi ze sdañ gis || dge sloñ tshogs ñal mtshan mo bsregs || 89.182

Nothing dropped out in the course of the transmission of the Tibetan text, hence there is nothing missing. We can safely assume that Śoñ-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.



namo buddhāya buddhāyety etad eva sadā vada |  
jinābhīdhānam śrutvaiva<sup>1</sup> kalpānte muktim eṣyasi || 185

1) A: °veva

| *sangs rgyas sangs rgyas phyag 'tshal lo* || *zhes pa 'di nyid rtag tu brjod* |  
| *rgyal ba'i mtshan ni thos nyid kyis* || *dus kyi mthar ni*<sup>1</sup> *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.”

athāśvadatto<sup>1</sup> dehānte<sup>2</sup> ghoram narakam āviśat |  
yasyāgre prabalottālah<sup>3</sup> śītalāh<sup>4</sup> pralayānalāh || 186

1) C, D: °a 2) C, D: °ha° 3) C, D: °ttala 4) C, D: °lāh

| *de nas rtas byin lus kyi mthar* || *'jigs su rung ba'i dmyal bar zhugs* |  
| *gang mdun rab tu nyam nga ba'i* || *grang ba 'jig pa'i me ldan pa* |

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

so 'yam dharmaruciḥ pṛṣṭas<sup>1</sup> cirasyeti cirān<sup>2</sup> mayā |  
abhidhāyati<sup>3</sup> bhagavān virarāma tathāgataḥ || 187

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

| *de nyid chos sred yun ring gi* || *yun ring las zhes bdag gis dris* |  
| *zhes pa brjod nas bcom ldan 'das* || *de bzhin gshegs pa nam par bzhugs* |

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

vātālī janānī taramgataralā niḥśaṅkam āliṅgitā  
prāpya praudhim adarśanam sa janakas tejonidhiḥ<sup>1</sup> prāpitaḥ<sup>2</sup> |  
arhatsattvapadaprakāśavibhavas tīvrakrameṇāhato  
dhūmenātimāmasena na param kiṁ kiṁ kṛtam<sup>3</sup> duḥkṛtam<sup>4</sup> || 188

1) C, D: teji° 2) C, D: omit prāpitaḥ 3) C, D: °ta 4) C, D: duḥkṛtamah

| *rba*<sup>1</sup> *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 sems can*<sup>2</sup> *gnas ni rab tu gsal ba'i 'byor pa mi zad*<sup>3</sup> *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 sems can 3) P: bзад

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?

iti<sup>1</sup> kṣemendraviracitāyām bodhisatvāvadānakalpalatāyām  
dharmarucyavadānam ekonanavatitamaḥ<sup>2</sup> pallavaḥ ||

1) C, D: itaḥ 2) C, D: °dānaḥm ekāṇna°

l zhes pa dge ba'i dbang pos byas pa'i byang chub sems dpa'i rtogs pa brjod pa  
dpag bsam gyi 'khri shing las chos sred kyi rtogs pa brjod pa'i yal 'dab ste brgyad  
cu rtsa dgu pa'o ll

So runs the 89th sprig in the Wish-granting Garland of Tales of the Bodhisattva (Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā), the Dharmaruci-avadāna, composed by Kṣemendra.

### 3 Comparative remarks on the two versions of the *Dharmaruci-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,” *vṛddhā*, or a word which has been taken to mean “procuress,” *vṛddhayuvatī*.<sup>122</sup> The term in the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*, however, is *dhātṛī*, “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,<sup>123</sup> some discussion is given to the role of the “foster-sister”<sup>124</sup> in arranging an assignation between a man and a young woman. To

<sup>122</sup>On the word *vṛddhayuvatī*, see below.

<sup>123</sup>*Kāmasūtra* III.5.1–10.

<sup>124</sup>Doniger and Kakar (2002: 90) rendered the *Kāmasūtra*'s *dhātreyikā* “foster-sister”. The *Jayamaṅgala* commentary (Sharma 1997: 697, ad III.5.1) says *dhātreyikāṃ puruṣapravṛttām ity arthāt*. Prof. Ashok

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*)<sup>125</sup> attempts to persuade the young woman to pick a man of her choice and marry him, albeit secretly. Still, Kṣemendra'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.<sup>126</sup>

The wet-nurse's exhortation to Kāmabalā 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 Kṣemendra has given to this element of the story.<sup>127</sup> 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 Kāmabalā'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. Kāmabalā 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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Aklujkar (via email, September 2003) has suggested the following translation: "It follows from the context (or the author's purpose in writing a certain text or text-segment/this chapter) that this fostersister is one who has proceeded toward men (who is interested in men or who is old enough to have some experience of men)," but he acknowledges that there is no implication in the term of familial relation. Therefore "foster-sister" may not be the optimal rendering.

<sup>125</sup> III.5.10: *dūtīkalpaṃ ca sakalam ācaret.*

<sup>126</sup> Of course, I do not intend to imply that the term *dhātṛī* always has such a meaning. It may also, for instance, mean mother, as in *Yajñavalkyaśmṛti* III.82a, and perhaps *Mahabhārata* 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 *jananī* in the following verse).

<sup>127</sup> 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*.<sup>128</sup> 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 Kāmabalā’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.<sup>129</sup> In any event, he then offers a typically complex series of verses in which,

<sup>128</sup> *yuktam syād anyena manuṣyeṇa sārddham ratikrīḍām anubhavitum.*

<sup>129</sup> 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

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.<sup>130</sup> 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

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elided (in which case, if we did not already know the story from the *Divyāvadāna*, we could hardly follow it), the change of clothes makes no sense if the mother stays with her son until dawn.

<sup>130</sup>In both cases the word for "virtue" is *śīla*, which quite clearly has nothing of its Buddhist technical sense here.

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),<sup>131</sup> 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 (*prauḍhi*), 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

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

*tṛṣṇayā vañcito lokas tṛṣṇām evopasevate |*  
*lavaṇodakam tṛṣṇāto yathā pibati bhārikah ||*

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 kāmagaṇaratībhiḥ tṛptir lavaṇodakam yathā 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): *lavaṇajala yathā hi nāru pītvā bhuyu tṛṣṇa vardhati kāmasevamāne*, “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.<sup>132</sup>

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 *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*

The *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* 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.<sup>133</sup>

Volume 1, fasc. 1: edited by Sarat Chandra Das and Paṇḍit Hari Mohan Vidyābhūṣaṇa, 693 in the New Series of the *Bibliotheca India*, 1888.

I.2: Das and H. M. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, 730, 1889; I.3: Das and H. M. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, 730, 1890; I.4: Das and H. M. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, 839, 1894; I.5: Das and H. M. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, 856, 1895; I.6: Das and Mahāmahopādhyāya Satis Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa, 1156, 1906; I.7: Das and S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, 1221, 1909; I.8: Das and S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, 1248, 1910; I.9: Das and S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, 1271, 1911; I.10: Das and S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, 1329, 1912; I.11: Das and S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, 1369, 1914; I.12: S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa and “Late” Das, 1414, 1917; I.13: S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa and “Late” Das, 1416, 1918.

Volume II, fasc. 1: edited by Sarat Chandra Das and Paṇḍit Hari Mohan Vidyābhūṣaṇa, 777 in the New Series of the *Bibliotheca India*, 1890.

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

<sup>132</sup>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).

<sup>133</sup>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.)

S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, 1262, 1911; II.9: Das and S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, 1295, 1911; II.10: Das and S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, 1310, 1911; II.11: Das and S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, 1354, 1913.

The title page of volume 1 reads as follows:

(In nāgarī:) Mahākavikṣemendraviracitā Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā |

Avadāna Kalpalatā: A Collection of Legendary Stories about the Bodhisattvas by Kṣhemendra, with its Tibetan Version called *Rtogs brjod dpag bsam hkhri S'iñ*, by S'oñton Lochāva and Paṇḍita Lakshmīkara. Now First Edited from a Xylograph of Lhasa and Sanskrit Manuscripts of Nepal.

The title page of volume 2 has instead:

(In nāgarī:) Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā |

Bodhi Sattvāvadāna Kalpalatā: A Buddhist Sanskrit Work on the Exploits and Glories of Buddha by Kṣhemendra, with its Tibetan version.

Moreover, individual fascicules have the following titles:

I.1–10, II.1–10: Avadāna Kalpalatā: with its Tibetan Version, now first edited by.

I.11–13: Avadāna Kalpalatā, A Sanskrit Work on the Miracles of Buddha, with its Tibetan Version.

II.11: Avadāna Kalpalatā, A Buddhist Sanskrit Work on the Exploits and Glories of Buddha by Kṣhemendra, with its Tibetan Version.

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 Thi Śiñ*. Bibliotheca Indica 130 (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press). The *Dharmarucy-avadāna* naturally appears in this Tibetan prose *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*.<sup>134</sup> I have to hand three editions of the prose recasting:

1. Das (1890–1894: 330.18–332.17).
2. *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā: The Tibetan prose rendering of the masterpiece of Kṣhemendra: Reproduced from a rare manuscript from the library of Rumtek Monastery (Rtogs brjod Dpag bsam khri shing gi snyan tshig gi rgyan lhug par bkrol ba mthong ba don ldan zhes bya ba bzhugs so)* (Delhi: Delhi Karmapae Chodhey, 1981): folio 261a5–262b6 (reprint folio number 521–524).
3. *Rtogs brjod Dpag bsam khri shing gi snyan tshig gi rgyan lhug par bkrol pa mthong ba don ldan zhes bya ba* (Delhi: Sog-po Rnam-rgyal-rdo-rje, 1965): folio volume pages 349–351.

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 *ekaphalāyām* and its correction

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

<sup>134</sup>This version is similar to that translated in Black (1997: 399–401) (see Mejer 1992: 29–31), but if the latter is intended to be rendition of the text I cite here, it is somewhat free.



*pitṛā sārđham ekaphalāyām bhuñjatā* with “Danach aß er zusammen mit dem Vater von ein und demselben Brett.” Hiraoka (2000: 34, n. 23) offered the interpretation エーカパラ一草の上に [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.”<sup>135</sup>

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 *peṭā*, *peḍā* and so on.<sup>136</sup> The word *phelā* occurs in the *Cūḍāpakṣa-avadāna* in the *Divyāvadāna* itself;<sup>137</sup> in a story closely parallel to the relevant episode in this *avadāna* found in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, we find the word *sampēṭa*,<sup>138</sup> unlisted as far as I know in dictionaries, but plainly related to *peṭa*. We find the word *phelā* likewise in the *Arthaśāstra* in the sense of box or crate.<sup>139</sup>

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 *vṛddhayuvātī*

The word *vṛddhayuvātī*, cited in the glossary of Cowell and Neil,<sup>140</sup> appears not to be discussed in Edgerton (1953), or elsewhere that I have noticed.<sup>141</sup> It occurs only twice in the Dharmaruci story, understood there by the editors as “procuress,” but both times unfortunately the Giglit 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.”<sup>142</sup> 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*,<sup>143</sup> the later *lāomǔ* 老母,<sup>144</sup> both meaning simply “old woman.” Given this, perhaps both “procuress” and “midwife,” even if correct, are better understood as purely contextual meanings.

<sup>135</sup>See Silk (forthcoming a), in the discussion of item 2.

<sup>136</sup>See Edgerton (1953), s.v.

<sup>137</sup>Cowell and Neil (1886: 503.24): *suvarṇasya phelām pūrayitvā*.

<sup>138</sup>Durgaprasād (1903: 13.10, I.6.39b).

<sup>139</sup>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 *bhāṇḍa* to modify *phelā*, or whether the *phelā*, box, contains the goods, *bhāṇḍa*.

<sup>140</sup>Cowell and Neil (1886: 691)—they cite the word as *vṛddhayuvātī*.

<sup>141</sup>Schmidt (1928: 336b) lists the word, but merely repeats the definitions proposed by Cowell and Neil.

<sup>142</sup>Cowell and Neil (1886: 483.25) in the *Cūḍāpakṣāvadāna*.

<sup>143</sup>Derge Kanjur 3, 'dul ba, ja 61a5.

<sup>144</sup>T. 1442 (XIII) 795a1 (*juan* 31).

One thing curious about the compound is that *yuvati/ī* itself means a young woman. We may note that in the corresponding passage in Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* (verse 126), the equivalent term is *vṛddhadhātrī*, old wet-nurse. It is also interesting that in a Schøyen manuscript fragment I am studying we have the compound *vṛddhastriya*.<sup>145</sup> In contrast we may note the structurally parallel, although almost certainly semantically distinct, compound *vṛddhakanyā* in *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 *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 *vṛddhayuvati* 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 *vṛddha*—a meaning that seems to have become almost a primary meaning of the word (cf. *nirūḍha lakṣaṇā* discussed by Sanskrit poetics) and connect it to *yuvati* 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 Kṣemendra's *vṛddhadhātrī*, in which the age of the wet-nurse implies her experience and knowledge.

#### 4.d Gilgit manuscript transcriptions

Gilgit 1: Transcribed from photographs published in Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra (1974b), folios 1474–1483, corresponding to Cowell and Neil (1886: 254.4–260.11). Klaus Wille kindly shared with me his preliminary reading, which allowed me to correct my own transcription in some places.

Sigla:

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

<sup>145</sup>See Silk (forthcoming b).

## 1474 = Cowell and Neil (1886: 254.4–21)

- 1 //pannaḥ sugato lokavid anuttaraḥ puruṣadamysārathih śāstā devamanuṣyāṇām bu  
 2 //tena sadṛśāt kulāt kalatram ānītaḥ • sa ca kalatrasahīya krīḍati ramate paricāra  
 3 //sa ca gr̥hapatī śrāddhaḥ tasya cārhan bhikṣuḥ kulāvavadakaḥ sa ca gr̥hapatī tām pa  
 4 //m (i)dānīm bhadre vaṇigdharmāṇām deśāntaram bhāṇḍām ādāya sa ca vaṇiglobhenāvṛtaḥ dūrā  
 5 //pravṛttir apy āgacchati • sa ca dāraḥ kālātyāyān mahān saṁvṛddhaḥ abhirūpo darśanīyaḥ  
 6 //nvāgataḥ karmma sā kathayati vatsa pitā tavāpaṇam vāhitavān āsīt\* tataḥ sa dāraḥ ā  
 7 //mānā cintayitum pravṛttāḥ ka upāyaḥ syād yad ahaṁ kleśān vinodayeyam na ca me kaścij jā  
 8 //traḥ kāmahetos tathā paricarāmi yathānenaiva me sārḍhaṁ rāgavinodanam bhavati • naiṣa

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

- 1 //[(y)a bhojayitvā dvis triḥ paścān navena paṭonācchādītā tasyāḥ sā vṛddhā kathayati kena kārye  
 2 //roṣi sā tasyā vṛddhāyā viśvastā bhūtvā evam āha : amba śrīṇu me vijñaptīm kleśair aham a  
 3 //(y)a ābhyantaraka eva syān na ca śaṁkanīyo janasya • tatas sā vṛddhā kathayati • neha gr̥he tathā  
 4 //viśati yo janas sāśaṁkanīyo bhavet\* katamas sa manuṣyo bhaviṣyati yasyāhaṁ vakṣāmi •  
 5 //nyo manuṣya evaṁvidhopakramayukto nāsti eṣa eva me putro bhavatu naiṣa lokasya  
 6 //treṇa sārḍhaṁ ratikrīḍān na bhaviṣyasi yuktaḥ syād anyena puruṣeṇa sārḍhaṁ ratikrīḍā  
 7 //r(o) manuṣyo na saṁvidyate bhavatu eṣa eva me putraḥ tayā vṛddhayābhīhitam yathepsi  
 8 //(cch)ati • vatsa taruṇo si rūpavānś ca kim pratiṣṭhito si • atha na tena tasyābhīhitam\*

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

- 1 //yasi taruṇayuvatyā sārḍhaṁ śobhethā krī[ḍan rama]ṁ paricārayam kim evam kāmabhoga  
 2 //linacetās tasyā vṛddhāyās tad vacanam nādhivāsayati • tatas sā vṛddhāyam dvir api  
 3 //śair bādhyate sa vaṇigdārako dvir api tṛ(r a)pi ucyamānaḥ tasyā vṛddhāyāḥ kathaya  
 4 //(ki)ncid abhīhitam tatas sā vṛddhā kathayaty uktaṁ mayā asyā tvaṁnimittam tayā ca mama ni  
 5 //(h)itā na kimcid vakṣyati • na ca śarīraṁ āvṛttaṁ kariṣyati • na tvayā tasyā vācānveṣaṇe ya  
 6 //bh(i)hitam kuttrāsmākaṁ saṁgamo bhaviṣyati • tayābhīhitam mādiye gr̥he tenoktam kutrāva  
 7 //ṣṭa(m) sā ca vṛddhās tasyā baṇijapatnyā sakāśam gatvā kathayati uktaḥ sa mayā dāraḥ sā  
 8 //thayati mādiye gr̥he : sa ca dāraḥ kāryāṇi kṛtvā gr̥ham gataḥ anupūrveṇa bhuktvā tasyā

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

- 1 //sya mātrābhanujñātām • gacchasva sa ca dāraḥ labdhānujñāḥ tasyā vṛddhāyā gr̥ham gataḥ tasya  
 2 //(ma)yamānasya tiṣṭhataḥ niśi kalam apratyabhijñātārūpe kāle sā tasya vaṇigdārakasya  
 3 //smin gr̥he vikālam avibhāvyamānarūpākṛtau nigūḍhenopacākrāmena ratikrīḍām  
 4 //saddharmaṇa sā ca parikṣiṇāyām rātrau anubhūtaratikrīḍā satamasondhakārakālā  
 5 //(g)ṛham gatā sa cāpi vaṇigdārako ratikrīḍām anubhūya prabhātāyām rajanyām bhā  
 6 // vṛddhāyā gr̥he ratikrīḍām anubhavaṁś cirakālam evam varttamāne ratikrīḍākrame  
 7 //(ma)nya gr̥ham aham evam avibhāvyamānarūpā ratikrīḍām anubhaviṣyāmi yanv a  
 8 //dayeyam yathā ihaiva gr̥he ratikrīḍām anubhaveyam iti saṁcīntya tatraiva vṛddhā

## 1478 = Cowell and Neil (1886: 256.22–257.11)

- 1 //nyā kṣaye satamondhakārakāle tasya dāarakasyoparimarṇ prāvāraṇaṇ nivasayātma  
 2 ///ḥ prabhātakāle tāṇ paṭikāṇ śīrasi maṇcasayāvatiṣṭhantī saṃpaśyaty ātmīyāṃ eva  
 3 //lakṣya tyaktvā bhāṇḍāvārī gatvā yugalam anyāṇ prāvṛtya svagrhaṇ gataḥ tatra ca gata •  
 4 //tuḥ śīrasi prāvṛtaṇ drṣṭvā ca tāṇ mātaraṇ pṛcchati amba kuto yam tava śīrasi prāva  
 5 //vāmbā evaṇ cirakālāṇ tava mayā sārḍhaṇ kāmaṇ paribhūnjato adyāpy ahaṇ tava sai  
 6 //m upāśrutya saṇmūḍho vihvalaceto bhūmau nipatitaḥ tatas tayā sa mātrā ghaṭajala  
 7 //dāraś cireṇa kālena pratyāgataprāṇaḥ tayā mātrā samāśvāsate • kim evaṇ  
 8 //nā bhavasva na te viṣādaḥ karaṇīyaḥ sa dāarakas tasyāḥ kathayati kathaṇ nv ahaṇ khe

## 1479 = Cowell and Neil (1886: 257.12–28)

- 1 //pakaṇ karmma kṛtaṇ tatas sa tayābhihitaḥ na te manaśśokam asminn arthe utpādayitavyaṇ  
 2 //t(i) putro pi tenaiva gacchati na cāsu panthāḥ putrasyaṇugacchataḥ doṣakārako bhavaty e  
 3 //(rai)va hi tūrthe pitā snāti putro pi tasmin snāti na ca tūrthaṇ putrasya snāyato doṣakāra  
 4 //teṣu janapadeṣu dharmataiṣā yasyāṃ eva pitā asaddharmaṇābhigacchati tāṃ eva  
 5 //trā bahuvīdhair anunayavacanair vinītaśokāḥ tayā mātrā saha tasmiṇ pāpaka  
 6 //ś(re)ṣṭhiṇā grḥe lekho nupreṣitaḥ bhadre dhīroṛjitamahotsāhā bhavasva : aham a  
 7 //(śru)tvā vaimanasyajātā cintayitūṇ pravṛttā : mahāntaṇ kālaṇ mama tasyāgamana  
 8 //pakrameṇa putraṇ paricarantya āgamiṣyati • ka upāyaḥ syād yad ahaṇ tad i

## 1480 = Cowell and Neil (1886: 257.29–258.16)

- 1 //tram āhūyaiva kathayati pitrā te lekho nupreṣi(ta •) [ā]gamīṣyāmīti jānī  
 2 //saṇprāpta eva ghātaya sa kathayati kathaṇ nv ahaṇ pitarāṇ ghātayaṣye • yādāsau  
 3 //(nu)vṛttivacanair abhihitaḥ tasyāṇuvṛttivacanair ucyamānasya kāmeṣu saṇrakta  
 4 //khalu pratisevato nāhaṇ kiṇcīt pāpakaṇ karmmakaraṇyaṇ iti vadāmi • tatas te  
 5 //hitam ahaṇ evopāyaṇ saṇvīdhāsyety uktvā viṣaṇ āḍāya samitāyaṇ miśrayitvā  
 6 //(ra)kam āhūya kathayati gacchasva amī saviṣā maṇḍīlakā nirviṣāś ca grhyā pitṛ  
 7 //(tā) saviṣāṇ maṇḍīlakāṇ prayacchasvātmanā ca nirviṣāṇ bhakṣayata : tatas sa dāarakas tena le  
 8 //tus sakāśaṇ gataḥ sa cāśya pitā taṇ drṣṭvābhirūpaṇ prāsādikaṇ mahēśakhyaṇ prāmodya prāpta

## 1481 = Cowell and Neil (1886: 258.17–259.3)

- 1 //to smākaṇ putro yadā tena dārakeṇa saṇlakṣitaṇ sarvatrāḥam anena pitrā pratisaṇ  
 2 //pakāḥ prābhṛtaṇ anupreṣitaṇ taṇ tāta paribhūnjatu paścāt tena pitrā sārḍham ekaphelā  
 3 //tmanā nirviṣā bhakṣitā tato sya pitā tāṇ saviṣāṇ maṇḍīlakāṇ bhakṣayitvā mṛtaḥ ta  
 4 //rako na kenacit pāpakaṇ karmma kurvāṇo bhiṣaṇkīto vā pratisaṇvidito vā paścā  
 5 //yat tatra kiṇcīt tasya vaṇijo bhāṇḍam āśīd dhiranyaṣuvarṇaṇ vā tat tasya dāarakasya da  
 6 //g(t)hyā svagrhaṇ anuprāptaḥ tasya cāgatasya svagrhaṇ sa mātā prayacchanam asa  
 7 //ratirūpā ca taṇ putraṇ vadati kiyatkālāṇ vayam evam pracchanna krameṇa rati  
 8 //taraṇ gatvā prakāśaṇ krameṇa niḥsaṇkā bhūtvā jāyāṇpatīti vikhyātdharmāṇo

## 1482 = Cowell and Neil (1886: 259.4–21)

- 1 //dhān apahāya pu[rā]ṇadāsīdāsakarmmakarāṇs ca s tyaktvā yāvad arthajātāṇ hiraṇyasu  
 2 //(y)āpayamānu jāyāṇ[pa]takam iti ratikṛḍām anubhavamānu vyavasthitau sa cārhad bhī  
 3 //m anuprāptaḥ tena tatra piṇḍapātāṇ anvāhiṇḍatā vīthyā niṣadyāyaṇ vaṇigdharmaṇā  
 4 //(t)vā cābhihītoktas sa mātus te kuśalaṇ sa ca dāarakas taṇ arhaṇs tathābhivadamāṇam upāśru  
 5 //saṇkitamaṇāś cintayitūṇ pravṛtaḥ sa sa cīram avicīntya mātus sakāśaṇ gatvā saṇvedaya  
 6 //ty āsa na ihādhīṣṭhāne pratisaṇvedayaṣyati eṣāśya dāarakasya [m]jāteṇi vayam ceha jāyāṇ  
 7 //tatas tayaḥ saṇcīntya taṇ grhaṇ enaṇ eva upanimantrayitvā bhūmjānaṇ ghātayāmaḥ tatas ta  
 8 //(t)vā bhojayitum ārabdhaḥ sa ca dāraḥ gūḍhaśastro bhutvā taṇ arhantaṇ bhojayati mātrā

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

- 1 //d v(i)śrabdhacārakraṃena pratirigataḥ tatas tena dārakena tam arhantaṃ viśvastacārakraṃam ave  
 2 //vitād vyaparopayati kāmās ca lavaṇodakasadr̥ṣā yathā yathā sevyante tathā tathā tṛ  
 3 //saddharmṇānūvarttamānāḥ kāmēṣv atṛpyamānā tasminn evādhīṣṭhāne śreṣṭhiputreṇa sārddhaṃ  
 4 //tasya dārakasya tathāvidha upakramaḥ pratisaṃviditah<sup>146</sup> tatas tena tasyā mātur uktaṃ amba  
 5 //saṃraktacittā dvir api tṛ apy ucyamānā na nivarttate tatas tena niṣkoṣam asiṃ kṛtvā sā mā  
 6 //rṇāni tadā devatābhir janapadeṣv ārocitaṃ pāpa eṣa pitṛghātako rhadghātako  
 7 //karmṇāni kṛtāny upacintāni s tatas tenādhīṣṭhānena śrutarāṃ tac chr̥vā tasmād adhiṣṭhānā  
 8 //yi]tuṃ pravṛtto sti cāsya buddhaśāsane kaścīd evānūnyaḥ tenānūnya ca tān manasī

Gilgit 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 nnaḥ vidyācaraṇasaṃpannaḥ sugato lokavid a<nu>ttaṛaḥ puru<ṣa>damyasārathih̥ śāstā  
 5 devamanuṣy(ā)ṇāṃ buddho bhagavān\* tasyāṃ ca rājadhānyāṃ anyataro mahāśreṣṭhī prativa ///  
 6 dre vaṇigdharmānā deśāntarāṃ bhāṇḍam ādāya sa ca vaṇiglobhenāvṛtaḥ dūraṅgato bhāṇḍam  
 7 ādāya yato sya na bhūyaḥ pravṛttir apy āgacchati sa ca dārakaḥ kālānvayā .. ///  
 8 .. nvāgataṃ karma sā kathayati vatsa pitā tavāpaṇa[m] vāhitavān āsīt\* tataḥ sa dārakaḥ āpaṇam  
 9 ārabdho vāhayitum sā ca mātasya kleśair bādhyamānā cintayī ..///  
 10 cintyaivaṃ adhyavasitaṃ eta .. va putraṃ kāmahetaḥ tathā paricārāmi yathānenaiva me sārddha(m)  
 11 rāgavinodanaṃ bhavati nai<va> sajanasya śaṃkyā bhaviṣyati tata s. ///  
 12 tasyā .. sā [vṛddhā ka]thayati kena kāryeṇaivaṃ mamanum anupradānādīnā upakrameṇānūvṛtti  
 13 karoṣi sā tasyā vṛddhāyā viśvastā bhūtvā evam āha ///  
 14 ābhyantara eva sy[ā]n na ca śaṃka[n]i[yo] janasya tataḥ sā vṛddhā kathayati neha gr̥he tathāvidho  
 15 manuṣya • saṃvidyate nāpi praṇayavān kaścit pra///  
 16 mi tataḥ sā vaṇikpatnī tasyā vṛddhāyāḥ kathayati yady a[nyo manu]ṣya evaṃviprakramayukto  
 17 nāsti eṣa eva me putro bhavatu naiṣa lokasya śaṃkaṇīyo bhaviṣyati tasy. ///  
 18 .. ny[e]na manuṣyeṇa sārddhaṃ ratikṛdām anu[bhav]ituṃ tataḥ sā vaṇikpatnī kathayati yady anya  
 19 ābhyantaro manuṣyaḥ na saṃvidyate bhavatu eṣa eva putraḥ tayā vṛddhāyābhih(i)t(a)m ///  
 20 ti vatsa taruṇo si rūpavānś ca kiṃ pratiṣṭhito sy aṭha na tena tasyābhihitam na tataḥ sā vṛddhā  
 21 kathayati bhavān evam abh(i)rūpaś ca yuvā cāsmiṃ vayasi taruṇayuvatyā sārddhaṃ .. ///  
 22 vaṇi]gdārakas taṃ śrūtā lājāvyaapatrapyasamī[ṭ]nacetās tasyā vṛddhāyāḥ tad vacanaṃ nādhivā-  
 23 sayat[i] tataḥ sā vṛddhāvaṇ dvir api tṛ api tasya dārakasya kathayati taruṇa ///  
 24 [t(a)]s(y)ā [v](r̥)[d](h)ā[y]āḥ kathayati amba s tasyās taruṇayuvatyāḥ mann(i)mitte sa . ṛ ..i ..  
 (bh)ihitam tataḥ sā vṛddhā kathayaty ukta(m) mayā tasyāḥ .. nmittam tayā ca .. ///

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

- 1 // m āv[ṛ]taṃ kariṣyati na tvayā tasyā vācānveṣaṇe yatnaḥ karaṇīyaḥ tatas tena vaṇigdārakeṇa  
 2 tasyā vṛddhāyābhihita[m] kutrāsmakam saṅgataṃ bha[v]i ///  
 3 to sya tayā vṛddhāyā gr̥haṃ vyapadiṣṭam sā ca vṛddhā tasyā vaṇija[.pa]tṇyāḥ<sup>147</sup> [sakā]śam gatvā  
 4 kathati abh[i]prāyitaḥ sa mayā dārakaḥ [sā] kathayati kutrāvakaśe saṅgataṃ bhaviṣya[ti] ///  
 5 pūrveṇa bhuktvā tasyā mātuh kathayati gacchāmy ahaṃ vayasyagr̥he svapsye tato sya [ma]trā[p]y  
 6 a[nuj]i[n]ā[ta]m gacchasya sa ca dārako labdhānujña : tasyā vṛddhāyā gr̥haṃ gataḥ tasya [d]. ///  
 7 taḥ niśi kālām apratyabhiñjātartūpe kāle sā tasya vaṇigdārakasya mātā tadgr̥haṃ ratikṛdām anub-  
 8 hava[nārtha]ṃ [gat]ā gatvā ca tasm[i]n [gr̥]he vikāle mavi vibhāvyamā[n]. ///

<sup>146</sup>Space of 1 ~ 2 akṣaras between saṃ and vi.

<sup>147</sup>Some conjunct is written here, but the top portion is not legible.

- 5 ttā pāpakenāsaddharme[ṇa sā] ca pariṣṭāyān [rātr]au m anubhūtaratikrīḍā satatam and-  
hakārakālāyām eva ra[ḥ]anyām a[vibhāv]yamānarūpā • svagr̥ham gacchati sa cāpi vaṇigdārako [r](a) ///
- 6 ṇi karoti evam dvir api tṛr api tatra vṛddhāyā gr̥he ratikrī[ḍām an]ubhavanīs cirakālam evam vart-  
tamāne ratikrīḍākrame tasya dārakasya sā mātā cintayitum pravṛttā [k]i ///
- 7 nv aham aśyaitad ratikrīḍākramam tathāvidhenopakram[ṇa] samvedayeyam yathā ihaiva gr̥he  
ratikrīḍam anubhave[yaṃ] iti samcīmtya ta///
- 8 kṣaye satama . . . rakāle tasya dārakasy[opa]rima prāvaraṇam nivasyātmanīyā ca ś[i]r[o]ttarapaṭi-  
kān tyaktvā svagr̥ham gatā sa ca dārakah ///
- 9 varaṇapom alabhamānas tatraiva tām paṭikām asaṃlakṣya tyaktvā bhāṇḍāvārīm gatvā yugalam  
anyam prāvṛtya svag[r]ham gataḥ tatra ca gataḥ saṃpa///
- 10 ram pṛcchati amba kuto yaṃ tava śirasi p[r]āvaraṇo bhyāgataḥ yatayas tayābhīhita[m a]dyāpy  
aham tavāmbā [e]vaṃ cirakālam tava mayā sārḍham kāmān paribhūmja ///
- 11 [sa]m[m]ūḍho vihvalacetā bhūmau nipatitaḥ tatas tayā sa mātṛā ghaṭajalapar[i]ṣkenāvasiktaḥ  
[par]i[ṣ]kāvāsikt[o] dārakaś cireṇa kālena tyāga[t]aprāṇaḥ ta[y]. ///
- 12 bhavasva na te viśādaḥ karaṇīyaḥ sa dārakas tasyāḥ kathayati kathān aham khedaṃ na  
gamīṣyāmi saṃmohaṃ vā yena mayā evamīvidham pāpakakarma kṛtam tataḥ [s]. ///
- 13 yenaiva hi [y]athā pitā gacchati na cāsau panthāḥ putrasyānugacchataḥ doṣakārako bhavaty eva  
mātr̥grāmaḥ mātraiva [hi tī]rthe pitā snāti putro pi ///
- 14 [a]pi ca pratyanteṣu janapadeṣu dharmataivaiśā yasyām eva pi asaddharmaṇābhigacchati tām eva  
putro py adhigacchati eva[m as]au vaṇigdārako mātṛā ba[h]. ///

1356 = fol 87r = Cowell and Neil (1886: 257.21–259.18):

- 1 asaddharme punaḥ punar atīvasamjātarāgaḥ pravṛttaḥ tena ca śreṣṭhinā grihe lekho nupreṣitaḥ  
bhadre dhīrorjitamahotsāhā bhavasva aham api .. nu padam evāgamīṣye sā vaṇikpatnī tathāvidham le ///
- 2 vṛtta mahāntam kālam mama tasyāgamanam udīkṣamāṇāyās tadā nāgataḥ idānīm mayaivamīvidhe-  
nopakrameṇa putram paricaratyā āgamīṣyati ka upāyaḥ syād yad aham tam ihāsamprāptam eva jīvitād  
vyaparo ///
- 3 thayati pitṛā te lekho nupreṣitaḥ āgamīṣyāmīti jānīse smābhīr idānīm kim karaṇīyam iti gacchasva  
pitaram ihāsamprāptam eva ghātaya sa kathayati kathān aham pitaram ghātayiṣye yadāsau [n](a) ///
- 4 bhūyo bhūyo nuvṛttivacanair abhīhitaḥ tasyānuvṛttivacanair ucyamānasya kāmeṣu saṃraktasyā-  
dhyavasāyo jātaḥ pitṛbadham prati kāmān khalu praṭīsevato nāham kiṃcit pāpakam karmakaraṇīyam iti  
vadāmi tata ///
- 5 hitam aham evopāyam saṃvidhāṣye ity uktvā viṣam ādāya samitāyām miśrayitvā maṇḍilakān\*  
paktānye pi ca nirviṣāpaktā : yatas tam dārakam āhūya kathayati gacchasva amī savi[ṣā] ///
- 6 tvā ca . . . [i] . . . syaikatra bhūmijataḥ etān saviṣān maṇḍilakān prayacchasvātmanā ca nirviṣān  
bhakṣaya tataḥ sa dārakas tena kālegavāhikamanuṣyeṇa sārḍham tān maṇḍilakān gr̥h[y]a ///
- 7 putram dīṣṭvābhīrūpaṃ prāsādikaṃ mahesākhyam prāmodyaprāptaḥ sahyāsahyam pṛṣṭvā teṣān  
vaṇijām ākhyāti ayaṃ bhavanto smākaṃ putrah yadā tena dārakeṇa saṃlakṣi .m ///
- 8 s tam pitaram āha tāta ambayā maṇḍilakāḥ prahēnakam anupreṣita { {ka} } tat tāta : paribhūmijatu  
paścāt tena pitṛ sārḍham ekaphelāyā bhūmijatā tasya pi ///
- 9 kṣitāḥ yato sya pitā tān\* saviṣā maṇḍilakā bhakṣayitvā mṛtaḥ tasya ca pituḥ kāladharmaṇa yukta-  
sya sa dārako na kenacid abhiśamkīto vā///
- 10 kiṃcit tasya vaṇijo bhāṇḍam āsīd dhiraṇyasavarṇam vā tat sarvam ta dārakasyānupradattam tataḥ  
sa dāraka [t]jadbhāṇḍam gr̥hītṛvā svagr̥ham āgataḥ tasya cāgata svag[r̥h](a)[m]///
- 11 bhīratarūpā ca tam putram āha • kiyatkālam ca yaṃm eva pracchannaṃ ratikrīḍām anubhaviṣyā-  
maḥ yan na vayam asmā deśād anyadeśāntaram gatvā prakāśam niḥśamkā bhūtvā jāyām ///
- 12 saṃbandhināndhavānam apahāya dāsīdāsakarmakarmakarapauruṣeyāmś ca tyaktvā arthajātām  
hiraṇyasavarṇam ca gr̥hītṛvā veśāntaram gatau tatra gatvā vikhyāpaya ///
- 13 ///āntareṇa janapadacārikām caraṃ tam adhiṣṭhānam anuprāptaḥ tena tatra piṇḍapātam aṭatā sa  
dārako vīthyā saṃvyavahāramāṇa ///
- 14 /// mānam upaśrutya saṃbhinnacetā svena duścaritenābhiśamkitaś cintāparo vyavasthita sa carim  
anucintya mātuḥ sakāśam gatvā kathayati ///
- 15 ///iṣyaty eṣya sa dārakasya mātēti vayam ceha jāyāmpatakam iti khyātau tat katham eṣa śakye  
ghātayitum yathā na kaści jānīyā///

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

- 1 (saṃ)c(i)ṛṇṭya so rhad bhikṣuḥ ntargḥaṃ upanimantrya bhojayitum ārabdhaḥ sa ca dārako gūḍhaśastro bhutvā ta tam arhantaṃ bhojay(i) .. . jana gṛha ///
- 2 //ntum ārabdhaḥ tatas tena dārakeṇa viśvastasya śārīre śastraṃ nipātya jīvitād vyaparopitaḥ lavaṇasadīṣās caite kānāyadhāmeṣye///
- 3 //mānā tasmīn evādhiṣṭhāne śreṣṭhiputreṇa sārddham vipratipannā tasya dārakasya pratisamvidi-  
taṃ sa kathayat[y]am .. [ni] ///
- 4 //śkoṣam asīm kṛtvā mātā jīvitād vyaparopitā • yadā tasya tṛṇy āntaryāni paripūrṇāni tadā devatā  
///
- 5 vartanīyān(i) [k]. tāny upacitānīti tato dhiṣṭhānanivāsinajanakāyena śrutvā tad. .. smā//
- 6 yitum pravṛtto mayam\* .. vṛṣam pāpam kṛtam kim idā karomīti : tasyaitad abhavat\* asti cāsyā  
buddhaśāsane kaścid evānuna ///
- 7 m uktāpṛāti .a ca..ramān sa saṃlakṣayati gacchāma buddhadharmāni pravrajāmīti sa vihāraṃ  
gatvā bhikṣusakāśam upasaṃkrāmya [k](a) ///
- 8 tā bhikṣuṇā ukto mā .e pitā jīvitād vyakavaropitaḥ sa kathayaty avaropitaḥ sa bhūya pṛcchati ma  
māntaghātako si [m]a .///
- 9 sa kathayaty asti mayā praghātita sa .. m bhikṣuḥ kathayati ekaikeneṣāṃ karmāṇāṃ [na] paścāgato  
na pravrajārho bhavati • prā ///
- 10 tataḥ .o ... bhikṣo sakāśam upasaṃkrāntya kathayaty ārya pravrajatum icchāmi pravrajāyamāṃm  
iti s tenāpi bhikṣuṇānupūrveṇa pṛṣtvā ///
- 11 ... tenāpy anupūrveṇa pṛṣtvā pratyākhyātaḥ yataś ca .tṛ api pravrajām āyācamāno bhikṣubhiḥ  
pratyākhyātaḥ tato maṣājātaś cintayitum pravṛttaḥ yāpi [s]. .. ///
- 12 .māyācamāno na labhāmi sarvathā praghātayāmye bhikṣubhir iti • tatas tena stṛtvāhare (?)  
śayitānāṃ bhikṣuṇāṃ agnir dattaḥ taṃ vihāraṃ dagdhvānyatra ga[.]. ///
- 13 kramya pravrajāyāṃ yācate tatrāpi bhikṣubhiḥ r anupūrveṇa pṛṣtvā pratyākhyāta • tena tatrāpi  
pratihatācittēnāgninā r dattaḥ tatrāpi bahavo bhikṣavo ///

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

- 1 eva(m) tasyānekān vihārān dahataḥ sarvatra śabdo viṣṭaḥ evaṃvidhaś caivaṃvidhaś ca pāpakar-  
makārī puruṣo bhikṣubhyaḥ pravrajyālabhan vihārān bhikṣūmś ca dahatīti sa ca puruṣo nyam vihāraṃ  
prasthitaḥ tatra ca vihāre bodhisa[t]va[jāt]jīyo bh.
- 2 kṣuḥ prativasatī tripiṭā śrutam sa evaṃduṣkṛtakarmakārī puruṣa ihāgacchati yataḥ sa bhikṣus ta-  
sya puruṣasyāsaṃp[r]āptasyaiva tasm[in] v[i]hāre pratyudgataḥ sa taṃ puruṣam sametya kathayati bhadra-  
mukha kim etat\* yato sya tena puruṣe
- 3 ṅoktaṃ ārya pravrajyāṃ na labhāmi tatas tena bhikṣuṅoktaḥ āgaccha vatsāhan te pravrajāyāmi  
paścāt tena bhikṣuṇā tasya puruṣasya śīro muṇḍāpayitvā kāśyāni dattāni paścāt sa puruṣaḥ kathayati ārya  
śikṣāpadān[i] m[e] nupra
- 4 yaccha tatas tena bhikṣuṅoktaḥ kin te śikṣāpad[ai]ḥ prayojanam evaṃ sarvakālān vadas[v]a namo  
buddhāya namo dharmāyeti paścāt sa bhikṣus tasya puruṣasya dharmad[e]śanāṃ ārabdhaḥ karttuṃ tvam  
evaṃvidhaś caivaṃvidhaś ca pāpakarmakārī satvaḥ
- 5 yadi kadācid buddhaśabdam śṛṇoṣi smṛtiṃ pratilabhethāḥ athāsau tripiṭo bhikṣuḥ cyutaḥ kālagato  
deveṣūpapannaḥ sa cāpi puruṣaś cyutaḥ kālagato narakeṣūpapannaḥ yato bhagavān āha ki[m] manyadhve  
bhikṣavaḥ yo sā
- 6 v atīte dhvani bhikṣus tripiṭa āsa aham eva sa tena kālena tena samayena yo sau pāpakarmakārī  
satvaḥ mātāpitrarhadghātakaḥ eṣa eva sa dharmaruciḥ idam mama tṛṭīye asaṃkhyeyai sya ca dharmarucer  
ddarśanaṃ tad aham
- 7 sandhāya kathayāmi suciracirasya dharmaruceḥ suciracirasya bhagavan\* yāvac ca mayā bhikṣavaḥ  
tṛbhīr asaṃkhyeyaiḥ ṣaḍbhiḥ pāramitābhīr anekair duṣkaraśatasahasrair anuttarā samyaksambodhiḥ  
samu[d]jānītā tāvad anena
- 8 dharmaruc[i]nā yad bhūyasā narakatī[rya]kṣu kṣapitam idam avocad bhagavān āttamanasas te  
bhikṣavo bhagavato bhāṣitam abhyananand\* || ⊙ || dharmarucyāvadanāṃ samāp(t)a[m\* || ⊙ ||]

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