

Aśvaghoṣa and His Canonical Sources (III): The Night of Awakening (Buddhacarita 14.1–87)

Vincent Eltschinger

Journal of Indian Philosophy

ISSN 0022-1791

J Indian Philos

DOI 10.1007/s10781-018-9376-0



Your article is protected by copyright and all rights are held exclusively by Springer Nature B.V.. This e-offprint is for personal use only and shall not be self-archived in electronic repositories. If you wish to self-archive your article, please use the accepted manuscript version for posting on your own website. You may further deposit the accepted manuscript version in any repository, provided it is only made publicly available 12 months after official publication or later and provided acknowledgement is given to the original source of publication and a link is inserted to the published article on Springer's website. The link must be accompanied by the following text: "The final publication is available at link.springer.com".

Aśvaghōṣa and His Canonical Sources (III): The Night of Awakening (*Buddhacarita* 14.1–87)

Vincent Eltschinger¹

© Springer Nature B.V. 2018

Abstract The present paper is the third in a series dedicated to uncovering the canonical sources of Aśvaghōṣa's *Buddhacarita* and, to the extent possible, the monk-poet's sectarian affiliation. Whereas parts I and II focused on Chapter 16's indebtedness to (Mūla)sarvāstivāda Vinaya and/or Sūtra literature, this third part inquires into the sources of Aśvaghōṣa's account of the Buddha's enlightenment in Chapter 14 (whose first 31 verses have been preserved in their Sanskrit original). Detailed analysis reveals this chapter's intimate relationship with T. 189, a (Mūla)sarvāstivāda (?) biographical sūtra extant in Chinese translation only, but also with textual materials that have come to belong to Mūlasarvāstivāda literature and, as already demonstrated by Kajiyama Yūichi, with the Nagar(opam)asūtra of the Saṃyuktāgama. Among these likely sources, some provide a lively description of the five destinies, others relate to the iconographic prescriptions laid down for drawing the so-called Wheel of saṃsāra/existence, while yet others spell out the doctrine of dependent origination. The detailed comparison of these materials is followed by an admittedly speculative attempt to assess the relationship between these sources.

Keywords Aśvaghōṣa · Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya · Dependent Origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*) · Hell (Buddhist conception of) · Awakening

✉ Vincent Eltschinger
vincent.eltschinger@ephe.psl.eu

¹ École Pratique des Hautes Études (EPHE), PSL University, 75014 Paris, France

Introduction: Buddhist Accounts of the Structure and Contents of Awakening

The Buddhist narratives of awakening (*bodhi*, or enlightenment) exhibit a great diversity in their descriptions of the structure and contents of the event.¹ Most of them start with a short account of the Bodhisattva's mind (*citta*) as "prepared" by the four meditations (*dhyāna*) that, following the usual Buddhist sequence linking concentration (*samādhi*, *śamatha*, calm) with insight (*prajñā*, *vipāśyanā*, discernment), have made the advent of liberating knowledge possible.² It is this ductile mind that the Bodhisattva now directs or "bends" (*abhinirṇāmayati*) towards its successive contents.

1.1. According to a first set of narratives, which is, if not necessarily the most ancient, probably the most well-known, the Buddha's enlightenment consists in the successive acquisition of three "sciences" (*vidyā*) or "knowledges" (*jñāna*) during the three watches (*yāma*) of the night.³ The most developed versions of this first scenario are to be found in the MN, in the Vinaya of the Dharmaguptakas (T. 1428) and in a *sūtra* of uncertain sectarian affiliation in T. 125.⁴ During the first watch of the night, the Bodhisattva acquires the knowledge consisting in the recollection of his former existences (*pūrvanivāsānusrījñāna*), which enables him to cognize all his previous births together with their characteristics:⁵ name (*nāman*), clan/lineage

¹ The present summary does not take into consideration those accounts of awakening/enlightenment that belong to the *dharmacakrapravartana* narrative and doctrinal cycle (e.g., Vin I.10ff. ≈ SN V.420–424). On these accounts, see Schmithausen (1978, pp. 99–104).

² On the four meditations, see Bareau (1963, pp. 67–71); see also LV 343,13–344,4 (Foucaux 1884, p. 287), MV II.283,5–12 (Jones 1952, p. 265), and below, §2, nn. 26–27. In MN I.22 (Ñānamoli and Bodhi 2001, p. 105), LV 344,5–6 (Foucaux 1884, pp. 287–288), T. 26 [I] 589c14–15 (Bareau 1963, p. 76), T. 125 [II] 666b22–24 (Bareau 1963, p. 76), T. 1428 [XXII] 781b5–7 (Bareau 1963, p. 78), the Bodhisattva's concentrated (*samāhita*) mind is described in a stereotyped way as completely purified (*parisuddha*, Pāli *parisuddha*), completely cleansed (*pariyavādāta*, Pāli *pariyodāta*), unblemished (*anaṅgaṇa*), undefiled (*vigatopakleśa*, Pāli *vigatūpakileśa*), malleable (*mṛdu[bhūta]*, Pāli *mudubhūta*), wieldy (*karmaṇya*, Pāli *kammaṇiya*; see SWbTTF II.27b s.v., against BHSD 170b s.v. *karmaṇye-sthita*), steady (*sthita*, Pāli *ṭhita*), imperturbable (*āniñjyaprāpta*, Pāli *ānejjappatta*); some descriptions add *prabhāsvara*, "radiant." Note Schmithausen (1978, p. 101): "Die letzte dieser vier Stufen wird als ein Zustand überwachen Bewußtseins, in welchem der Meditierende jeden Gegenstand, auf den er seinen Geist richtet, mit intuitiver Klarheit und Gewißheit erfaßt." The *Mahīśāsakavinaya* makes the Bodhisattva's cultivation of the 37 ancillaries/auxiliaries of awakening (*bodhipakṣikal°pākṣika*) responsible for his "pensée pure" (T. 1421 [XXII] 102c19: 淨心, Bareau 1963, p. 78). These 37 factors are also mentioned, in the same context, in CPSū III.432,1–3 = SBhV I.116,18–20 (Kloppenborg 1973, p. 1).

³ See Bareau (1963, pp. 75–91). This first scenario is the one labeled "stereotype Darstellung des Erlösungswegs" and "stereotyped detailed description of the path to Liberation" by Schmithausen (1978, p. 101 and 1981, p. 204, respectively). According to Bareau (1963, p. 74), the most ancient extant accounts of the enlightenment are the two short narratives of MN I.167 (Theravādin) and T. 26 [I] 777a12–18 (Sarvāstivādin; Bareau 1963, p. 72). These two passages simply reflect the Buddha's awareness of being liberated from the different forms of suffering without saying anything about the method, the structure and the contents of this decisive and transformative experience. See also Schmithausen (1981, p. 207).

⁴ See also below, n. 8. On the sectarian affiliation of T. 125 (*Ekottarikāgama*), see Hiraoka (2013).

⁵ The expression used in most sources is *sākāraṃ soddeśam* (MV II.284,13, LV 345,16, SBhV I.118,10; MN I.22 [*sākāraṃ sa-uddesam*]), "chacune avec son caractère et sa description" (Foucaux 1884, p. 289), "in all their details and particulars" (Jones 1952, p. 266), "avec leurs propriétés et leurs détails" (Bareau

(*gotra*), caste-class (*varṇa*), amount of pleasure and pain (*sukhaduḥkha*), life span (*āyuhparyanta*), etc. During the second watch of the night, he obtains the knowledge of the rise/birth and fall/death (*cyutyupapattijñāna*) of the living beings: thanks to his divine eye (*divyacakṣus*), he penetrates the law of karmic retribution and visualizes all beings caught in *samsāra* together with the good and bad deeds responsible for their respective condition.⁶ Finally, during the third watch of the night, the Bodhisattva obtains the liberating cognition proper, i.e., the knowledge of the definitive destruction of the outflows⁷ (*āsravaḥkṣayañāna*) which made him slave to painful existence. This third acquisition itself entails three components: (1) the Bodhisattva's intuition of suffering (*duḥkha*), its origin (*samudaya*), its cessation (*nirodha*), and the path leading to its cessation (*nirodhagāminī pratipad*); (2) his identification of the outflows (*āsrava*), their origin, their cessation, and the path leading to their cessation; and (3) the effective destruction of the three outflows consisting in desire (*kāmāsrava*), existence (*bhavāsrava*), and nescience (*avidyāsrava*).⁸

1.2. This first account of enlightenment mobilizes, in the form of the three sciences, three of the six “super-knowledges” (*abhijñā*),⁹ i.e., the recollection of former existences, the divine eye, and the knowledge of the destruction of the outflows. A second group of narratives reflects a concern, on the part of certain (Mūla)

Footnote 5 continued

1963, p. 75). 如是相貌 (T. 1428 [XXII] 781b14–15), “sous de telles apparences et de tels aspects” (Bareau 1963, p. 78).

⁶ Most narratives limit themselves to associating bad deeds (physical, vocal and mental misbehavior [*duścarita*]; slandering of the noble ones [*āryāṇām apavādakāḥ*]; wrong views [*mithyādrṣṭi*] and acting as a consequence of wrong views) with rebirth in evil states (*apāya*), in bad destinies (*durgatī*), in places of ruin (*vinipāta*), in hells (*naraka*), and good deeds with rebirth in good destinies (*sugatī*), in heaven (*svargaloka*, *svargakāya*) and among the gods (*deva*). This is the case of LV 344,14–15 and 17 (Foucaux 1884, p. 288), MV II.283,19 and 284,3 (Jones 1952, pp. 265–266), CPSU III.433,21 and 22–24 (Kloppenborg 1973, p. 3), SBhV I.118,22 and 26, MN I.22 (Nāṇamoli and Bodhi 2001, p. 105), and T. 125 (hells [地獄] and good places, heaven [善處天上], Bareau 1963, p. 77). The *Dharmaguptakavinaya* alone explicitly mentions the five destinies (T. 1428 [XXII] 781b23–24: 墮地獄畜生餓鬼中, “tombaient dans les enfers, parmi les animaux et les revenants affamés”; 781b26: 生天上人中, “renaissaient au ciel ou parmi les hommes,” Bareau 1963, p. 78). According to Bareau (1963, p. 89), this twofold eschatological scheme reflects a primitive version dating back to a period in which the Buddhist acknowledged only two rebirth possibilities, i.e., “hells” (*niraya*, maybe *lato sensu*) and “heaven” (*svarga*). See also below, §1.5, Sect. 3, and n. 33.

⁷ On the *āsravas* (“Einstömungen”), see Schmithausen (1978, pp. 101–102) and *passim*, and 101, n. 10.

⁸ The *Mahīsāsakavinaya* (T. 1421 [XXII] 102c18–20, Bareau 1963, pp. 77–78) limits itself to naming the three sciences (with *cetaḥparyāyajñāna*, the knowledge of other peoples' minds, instead of *cyutyupapattijñāna*!). As for the Sarvāstivādin T. 26 ([I] 589c14–23, Bareau 1963, p. 76), it only alludes to the third science. The acquisition of the first two sciences is also missing in MN III.36–37 (Nāṇamoli and Bodhi 2001, pp. 907–908) and AN III.93 and 100 (Bodhi 2012, pp. 703–704 and 709, respectively), where the *āsravaḥkṣayañāna*, i.e., the fourfold knowledge of suffering and the outflows as well as the actual destruction of the latter immediately follow upon the fourth *dhyāna*. For other references, see Schmithausen (1978, p. 101, n. 9), and Schmithausen (1981, p. 204, n. 15). According to Schmithausen (1978, p. 103), the old genuine nucleus of the description consists in the cognition of the four noble(’s) truths alone, as may also be seen from Sn 726–727 (Norman 1996, p. 121) and 267 (Norman 1996, p. 44).

⁹ See, e.g., MN I.33–36 (Nāṇamoli and Bodhi 2001, pp. 115–117), *Kośa* V.97–126, and *Traité* IV.1809–1817.

sarvāstivādins, to bring the entire set of super-knowledges into the scenario of enlightenment. This tradition finds expression in the introduction of the CPSū and the SBhV, but also in the pseudo-Nāgārjuna's MPPU.¹⁰ During the first watch of the night, the Bodhisattva directly realizes the knowledge of the range of the magical powers (*rddhiviṣayajñānasākṣātkriyā*) and the knowledge of the divine ear (*dīvyasrotrajñānasākṣātkriyā*). During the second watch, he directly realizes the knowledge of other peoples' mental dispositions (*cetaḥparyāyajñānasākṣātkriyā*) as well as the knowledge consisting in the recollection of his former existences (*pūrvanivāsānumṛtijñānasākṣātkriyā*). Finally, during the third watch of the night, he obtains the divine eye and the knowledge of the destruction of the outflows. The acquisition of the sixth *abhijñā* is followed by the cognition of suffering, its origin, its cessation and the path leading to its cessation (all of which are here explicitly labeled *āryasatyas* or "noble(s) truths") and, finally, by the mind's effective liberation from the three outflows. Contrary to scenarios no. 1 and 3, in which Theravāda, Mahīśāsaka, Dharmaguptaka and (Mūla)sarvāstivāda materials seem to coexist, scenario no. 2 is clearly connected to (Mūla)sarvāstivāda.

1.3. There is every reason to believe that dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*) played no role in (the earliest accounts of) the Buddha's enlightenment and was only gradually incorporated into the scenario on account of its being increasingly acknowledged as the most quintessential doctrine of Buddhism.¹¹ Two passages from the Vinayas of the Theravādins and the Mahīśāsakas (where the account is explicitly borrowed from the mysterious "Origine des heureux présages" [如瑞應本, Bateau 1963, p. 94]¹²) testify to a first stage in the integration of the *pratītyasamutpāda*.¹³ According to these two passages, which betray a clear desire, on the part of the compiler(s), to model the discovery of dependent origination on enlightenment itself (three watches, *bodhi* tree, etc.), this discovery takes place *after* the enlightenment (seven days according to the *Theravāda Vinaya*). In the SBhV, the event takes place even later, i.e., after episodes such as those of Trapuṣa and Bhallika and the king of the Nāgas Mucilinda.¹⁴

1.4. A second stage in the integration of dependent origination is reflected in a set of narratives in which the Bodhisattva's intuition of the *pratītyasamutpāda* is substituted for *āsravakṣayajñāna* as the main content of the third watch of the night.¹⁵ This is the case of a very short passage from the rather late *Nidānakathā* in which the Bodhisattva is shown to obtain first the *pubbenivāsañāna*, then the *dibbacakkhu*, and finally the *paṭiccasamuppāde ñāṇam*, which is accompanied by

¹⁰ CPSū III.432,1–434,13 (Kloppenborg 1973, pp. 1–5), SBhV I.116,18–119,6, *Traité* IV.1824ff. See also Waldschmidt (1960).

¹¹ On the *pratītyasamutpāda* in the present context, see Waldschmidt (1960) and Bateau (1963, pp. 93–97).

¹² T. 1421 [XXII] 102c20.

¹³ Vin. I.1–2 (Bateau 1963, pp. 93–94) and T. 1421 [XXII] 102c20–103a7 (Bateau 1963, pp. 94–95).

¹⁴ SBhV I.127,1–129,16.

¹⁵ In the MASū §9 (II.133–148), the *pratītyasamutpāda* is the *only* content of the Buddha Vipaśyin's enlightenment.

twelve successive quakings of the universe.¹⁶ More significant witnesses to this tradition are the MV and LV, however.¹⁷ According to the MV, the third and most decisive watch of the night starts with the Bodhisattva's intuition of suffering, its origin, its cessation and the path leading to its cessation as well as his knowledge of the outflows, their origin, their cessation and the path leading to their cessation (285,3–7). This initial part is followed by the discovery of dependent origination in its general formula¹⁸ (285,7–8) and its twelve members in regular and reverse order (285,8–13 and 13–18, respectively). Contrary to the MV, the LV presents the entire episode as the acquisition of the three sciences (*traividya*), and the third watch as the acquisition of the knowledge of the destruction of the outflows (*āsravakṣaya-jñānadarśanavidyāsākṣātkriyā*, 345,21). After a preliminary observation on the universality and apparent inescapability of old age and death (346,1–4),¹⁹ the Bodhisattva identifies the twelve links from old age and death to nescience positively and negatively (346,5–348,18) before applying the fourfold analysis (x, origin of x, cessation of x, path to the cessation of x) to the outflows, the outflow consisting in desire, the twelve members of the chain of causation, and suffering (348,18–350,7).

1.5. Aśvaghōṣa's BC 14.1–86 unambiguously belongs to this third type of scenario in which dependent origination forms the dominant if not the exclusive content of

¹⁶ Jāt. I.75,24–29 (Dutoit 1921, p. 137).

¹⁷ MV II.283,13–285,21 (Jones 1952, pp. 265–268) and LV 344,15–350,14 (Foucaux 1884, pp. 287–293). Both the MV and the LV invert the contents of watches 1 and 2, i.e., regard *cyutyupapattijñāna* as the content of the first watch and *pūrvanivāsānusrmṛtijñāna* as the content of the second watch.

¹⁸ MV II.285,7–8: *yad idam imasya sato idaṃ bhavati imasya asato idaṃ na bhavati / imasyotpādād idam utpadyate / imasya nirodhād idaṃ nirudhyati iti pi /*. “[He understood] that when this exists, that comes to be; when this does not exist, that does not come to be; from the arising of this, that arises; from the cessation of this, that ceases.” Translation Jones (1952, p. 267). As far as I can see, the formula has no equivalent in the LV. Note also MASū §9c, v. 34 (II.144): *gambhīraṃ etan nipuṇaṃ sudurdrśaṃ pratīyasamutpādam avaiti śāstā / asmin satīdaṃ hi sadā pravartate 'sati ca tasmin hi sadā na bhavati //*. “The Teacher perfectly understood this dependent origination [which is] profound [and] very difficult to perceive: when this exists that always proceeds, and when this does not exist, that never exists.”

¹⁹ LV 346,1–4: *kṛcchraṃ vatāyaṃ loka āpanno yad uta jāyate jīryate mriyate cyavata upapadyate / atha ca punar asya kevalasya mahato duḥkhaskandhasya niḥsaraṇaṃ na samprajānāti / jarāvyaḍhimaraṇādikasyāho vatāsyā kevalasya mahato duḥkhaskandhasyāntaḥkriyā na prajānāyate sarvasya jarāvyaḍhimaraṇādikasya /*. “Il lui vint à l'esprit: Misérable, certainement, est ce monde qui est produit, qui naît, vieillit, meurt, disparaît et est reproduit. Mais on ne sait pas quel est le moyen de sortir de ce [monde] qui n'est qu'un grand amas de douleurs. Vieillesse, maladie, mort et le reste, hélas! ce qui peut mettre fin à ce [monde] qui n'est qu'un grand amas de douleurs, on ne le sait pas! A tout ce qui vient de la vieillesse, de la maladie, de la mort et le reste!” Translation Foucaux (1884, p. 289). The passage is apparently missing in the MV. MASū §9b2 (II.134): *kṛcchraṃ batāyaṃ loka āpanno yad uta jāyate 'pi jīryate 'pi mriyate cyavata upapadyate / atha ca punar asya kevalasya mahato duḥkhaskandhasya niḥsaraṇaṃ yathābhūtaṃ na prajānanti /*. “Alas, this world is afflicted with hardship: it is born, it grows old, it dies, it falls, and it is reborn. Yet [these beings] do not truly know how to escape from such a great mass of suffering.” SN II.104: *kicchaṃ vatāyaṃ loko āpanno jāyati ca jīyate ca mīyati ca cavati ca upapajati ca / atha ca paṇimassa dukkhassa nissaraṇaṃ na pajānāti jarāmaraṇassa / kudāssu nāma imassa dukkhassa nissaraṇaṃ paññāyissati jarāmaraṇassā ti /*. “Alas, this world has fallen into trouble, in that it is born, ages, and dies, it passes away and is reborn, yet it does not understand the escape from this suffering [headed by] aging-and-death. When now will an escape be discerned from this suffering [headed by] aging-and-death?” Translation Bodhi (2000, p. 601). For similar statements in NUSū §I.3 and BC 14.50–51, see below, nn. 107–108.

the third watch of the night, i.e., the salvational intuition par excellence. Beyond a vague family resemblance, however, there is nothing in the poet's account that may point to any direct doctrinal or historical relationship with the LV and/or the MV. First, the sequence of watches no. 1 and 2 in the BC is *pūrvanivāsānumṛti* and *cyutyupapattijñāna*, and not the other way around.²⁰ Second, the BC's description of *cyutyupapattijñāna* entails a detailed description of the five destinies (together with a summary statement concerning the forms of suffering most typical of each of them, see below, Sect. 4) which is entirely lacking in the LV and the MV (as well as in all other sources discussed so far).²¹ Third, in addition to the fact that the sequence in which the quasi-Buddha discovers dependent origination is very different in the BC,²² the number of the members differs, too: whereas the MV and the LV twice list twelve members, the BC has *ten* and twelve *nidānas*, with name-and-form (*nāmarūpa*, 9) and consciousness (*vijñāna*, 10) in mutual dependence, two features which, as demonstrated by Kajiyama Yūichi, clearly solidarize the BC from the *Nagaropamasūtra* (see below, Sect. 5). Fourth, Aśvaghōṣa makes no mention whatsoever either of the three sciences, or of *āsravakṣayajñāna* alone, or of the Buddha's intuition of suffering, the outflows, and their final destruction. In other words, BC 14.49–86 is much more uncompromising than the LV and the MV in that it regards the Bodhisattva's discovery of dependent origination as the exclusive content of the third watch of the night. Did, then, Aśvaghōṣa invent a new scenario, or at least substantially reformulate an already existing one? Here, we should be reminded of Aśvaghōṣa's explicit intention, in BC 28.74,²³ to conform to the Buddhist scriptures (*āgama*) while composing his poem, a wish that recent and forthcoming studies prove abundantly reflected in the BC.²⁴ More importantly, however, the BC's account of the events finds, in sequence, doctrine and wording, a strikingly close parallel in T. 189 (過去現在因果經, *Guoqu xian zaiyin guo jing*, *Scripture on Past and Present Causes and Effects*), a biographical *sūtra* with strong (Mūla)sarvāstivāda affinities, as demonstrated by Okumura (2013).²⁵ As far as I can see, the only—but important—disagreements between the two sources are that T.

²⁰ See above, n. 17.

²¹ See above, n. 6.

²² See below, §§5.1–5.3.

²³ See Eltschinger (2012, pp. 174–176).

²⁴ See Eltschinger (2012, 2013, and forthcoming).

²⁵ In an attempt to estimate the distance in time separating the LV from other biographical texts, Okano (1990) had already assumed a Sarvāstivāda affiliation for T. 189; according to Okano, this *sūtra* belongs to an early Sarvāstivāda tradition that is different from both the one that flourished in Eastern Turkestan and the Mūlasarvāstivādins. It is to be noted that Okano admittedly did not substantiate his claim. In a recent article, Hiraoka (2013) has dealt with the sectarian affiliation of T. 189 on a much broader basis and quite convincingly demonstrated its (Mūla)sarvāstivāda background in both narrative and doctrinal matters. In particular, Okumura has been able to reveal a very consistent relationship between T. 189 and the SBhV (episodes of Trapuṣa and Bhallika, *nirvāna* of Ajātakauṇḍinya, sequence of the *nirvāna* of the remaining four members of the “group of five,” 50 sons of Yaśas, age of Uruvilvākāśyapa, number of the disciples of his two brothers). The episodes examined also reveal that T. 189 was not indebted to the Theravāda, Mahīśāsaka and Dharmaguptaka Vinayas. T. 189 was translated by Guṇabhadrā 求那跋陀羅 (394–468) of the Liu Song dynasty (420–479), also known as the translator of the *Samyuktāgama* (T. 99) and a version of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (T. 670).

189's version of dependent origination does not conform to the *Nagaropamasūtra* (see below, Sect. 5), and that T. 189 lacks an equivalent of Aśvaghōṣa's outline of suffering in *saṃsāra* (see below, Sect. 4). Needless to say, one cannot a priori rule out the possibility that the compiler(s) of T. 189 borrowed from the BC rather than the other way around (see below, Sect. 6).

The First Watch of the Night

Before turning to watches no. 2 and 3, a few words should be said of the Bodhisattva's acquisition of the recollection of his previous existences during the first watch of the night. For though on a much smaller scale, BC 14.1–6 exhibits patterns of intertextuality that permeate the entire chapter. The close similarity between T. 189 and BC 14's accounts of the first part of the night is evident from the two texts' opening statements. Here is T. 189's introduction: "Then the Bodhisattva, having, during the night of the seventh day of the second month, defeated Māra by the force of his loving kindness (慈悲, *maitrī*?), emitted a great light. Thereupon he immediately entered into concentration [in order] to contemplate ultimate truth (*paramārtha [satya]*?). [He obtained] mastery in meditation about all *dharma*s."²⁶ To be sure, BC 14.1–2 alludes neither to the chronology of the event nor to the Bodhisattva's supernatural effulgence and does not make *maitrī*²⁷ responsible for his victory over Māra; however, Aśvaghōṣa's reference to the latter episode, his allusion to ultimate reality (*paramārtha*) and mastery (*aiśvarya*) over meditation—three features that are absent from all other extant accounts of the first watch—unmistakably point to a close relationship between the two texts: "Then, after conquering Māra's host by his steadfastness and tranquillity, he, the master of trance, put himself into trance in order to obtain exact knowledge of the ultimate reality. And after winning entire mastery over all the methods of trance, he called to mind in the first watch the succession of his previous births."²⁷ If the second part of the account, replete as it is with clichés, is less conclusive,²⁸ its third and final part again exhibits the striking parallelism of the two

²⁶ T. 189 [III] 641b4–6: 爾時菩薩，以慈悲力，於二月七日夜，降伏魔已，放大光明，即便入定，思惟真諦。於諸法中，禪定自在。Does 慈悲 reflect *maitrī* alone (see Karashima 2001, pp. 43 and 47), or *maitrīkaruṇā*, or even simply *karuṇā*?

²⁷ BC 14.1–2 (BC_T D51a3–4): *tato mārabaḷaṃ jītvā dhairyeṇa ca śamena ca / paramārthaṃ vijijñāsuḥ sa dadhyau dhyānakovidāḥ // sarveṣu dhyānavidhiṣu prāpya caiśvaryaṃ uttamam / saṃsāra prathame yāme pūrvajanmaparamparām //*. Translation Johnston (1984, (II).203), with "mastery" instead of "control"; see also Olivelle (2009, p. 405).

²⁸ T. 189 [III] 641b6–8: 悉知過去，所造善惡，從此生彼，父母眷屬，貧富貴賤，壽夭長短，及名姓，皆悉明了。"He [thus] became fully aware of the past [and thus] clearly knew all [this, i.e.,] the good and evil [things] done [by him], having been reborn here and there, [having had such and such] parents and relatives/[family dependents], [having been] poor or wealthy, of high or vile extraction, [having had] a long or a short life span, [having been of] such and such a name, clan (*gotra*, *kula*?), and caste-class (*varṇa*)."²⁸ T. 189's enumeration is very close to the extant "canonical" accounts of *pūrvanivāsānasmṛti* (see above, §1.1); much rarer, however, is its allusion to the Bodhisattva's past actions. BC 14.3 (BC_T D51a4–5): *amutrāham ayaṃ nāma cyutas tasmād ihāgataḥ / iti janmasahasraṇi saṃsārānubhavann iva //*. On the first *pāda*, see Johnston (1984, (I).157, n. 3); instead of *ayaṃ nāma*, I am tempted to read, as a compound, *idaṃnāma* (Tib. *miñ 'di*). "As though living them over again, he called thousands of births, that he had been so-and-so in such-and-such a place and that passing out of that life he had come hither." Translation Johnston (1984, (II).203); see also Olivelle (2009, p. 405).

descriptions. Here is T. 189: “Thereupon he gave rise to great compassion towards the living beings and said mentally to himself: ‘All the living beings, having no one to rescue (*atrāna?*) them, roam about in the five destinies [and] do not know the way out [of painful transmigration]; although all [the destinies] are illusory and have no reality (*nihsāra?*), therein [the living beings] give rise in succession (?橫) to suffering and pleasure [depending on their past actions].’ Thus he thought until the end of the first [watch of the] night.”²⁹ Besides alluding to the Bodhisattva’s compassionate thought toward the living beings, the BC similarly refers here to their turning round like a wheel in *saṃsāra*, their rescuelessness and the *saṃsāra*’s being without essence (adding here the topos of the *kadalī* tree³⁰): “Then after recalling his birth and death in these various existences, the compassionate one was filled with compassion for all living beings:—‘Truly the world, in abandoning its kinsfolk in this life and yet proceeding to activity in another existence, is without means of rescue and turns round and round like a wheel.’ As he thus with resolute soul was mindful of the past, the conviction grew in him that the cycle of existence was as lacking in substance as the pith of a plantain-tree.”³¹ Needless to say, none of these features is to be found in any other extant account of the first watch of the night. The similarities in structure, content and wording observed above leave little room for doubt: be it through direct contamination or due to borrowing from a common source, these two accounts of the Bodhisattva’s acquisition of *pūrvanivāsānusmṛti* are obviously related.

The Divine Eye and the Five Destinations

With the exception of a passing mention in the *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, the extant accounts of the acquisition of the second science never allude to the five (or six) *gatis*.³² In sharp contradistinction to this, Aśvaghōṣa’s BC provides a fairly detailed

²⁹ T. 189 [III] 641b8–11: 即於衆生，起大悲心，而自念言：一切衆生，無救濟者，輪迴五道，不知出津。皆悉虛偽，無有真實，而於其中 橫生苦樂。作是思惟，至初夜盡。 On the living beings’ ignorance of a way out of painful *saṃsāra*, see above, n. 19. As Stefano Zacchetti has pointed out to me, the reading 橫生苦樂 is also attested (instead of 橫生歡樂); in this case, the relevant segment might be translated as follows: “...although all [the destinies] are illusory and have no reality, [the living beings] unreasonably (橫) produce [a feeling of] pleasure towards them (於其中).” This interpretation is strengthened by the fact that, as Stefano Zacchetti again has pointed out to me, T. 189 [III] 630b1–2 contains a significant parallel: 如此身者，是大苦聚；世人於中橫生歡樂，愚癡無識... “A body such as this is a great mass of suffering, [yet] worldly persons unreasonably produce [a feeling of] pleasure with respect to it (於中), they are foolish and without understanding.”

³⁰ On the simile of the *kadalī* tree, see SuL 58 (Hahn and Dietz 2008, p. 21) and DhS 5.95 (Lin 1946, 188); the *locus classicus* is MN I.233 (Nāṇamoli and Bodhi 2001, p. 328) ≈ SN III.141 (Bodhi 2000, pp. 951–952) ≈ SN IV.167 (Bodhi 2000, p. 1233).

³¹ BC 14.4–6 (BC_T D51a5–6): *smṛtvā janma ca mṛtyuṃ ca tāsu tāsv upapattiṣu | tataḥ sattveṣu kāruṇyaṃ cakāra karuṇātmakāḥ || kṛtveha svajanotsargaṃ punar anyatra ca kriyāḥ | atrānaḥ khalu loko ’yaṃ paribhramati cakravat || ity evaṃ smaratas tasya babhūva niyatāmanāḥ | kadalīgarbhanihsāraḥ saṃsāra iti niścayaḥ ||*. Translation Johnston 1984, (II.)203; see also Olivelle (2009, p. 405).

³² See above, n. 6. Aśvaghōṣa consistently admits of only five *gatis* (but see Johnston 1984, (II.)203, n. 5, on the Chinese text), e.g., in BC 14.48 (’gro ba lña) and SNa 11.62ab: *taj janmavyādhimṛtyuvyasanaparigataṃ matvā jagad idaṃ saṃsāre bhrāmyamāṇaṃ divi nṛṣu narake tiryakpitṛṣu ca |*. “Therefore recognise this world to be encompassed about by the disasters of birth, disease and death and to be revolving still in the cycle of existence, whether in heaven, among men, in hell, or among animals or

description of hell/the damned (*naraka*, *nāraka*), the animals (*tiryāṅc*, *tiryagyoni*), the hungry ghosts (*preta*), the humans (*manuṣa*), and the gods (*deva*), a feature which it shares with T. 189—and with T. 189 alone, as we have seen above. Besides, the two texts' treatment of the subject exhibits structural, doctrinal and terminological similarities that cannot be due to coincidence. The close relationship between BC 14.7–48 and T. 189 can actually be observed from the very inception of the passage: unlike all other sources in this specific context, the two texts resort to the simile of a clear mirror to account for the vividness of the Bodhisattva's vision of the beings caught in *samsāra*.³³

3.1. The similarities in the two texts' treatment of hell are by far the most pervasive.³⁴ After a contextually motivated (hence slightly diverging) introductory statement (Sect. 1), BC 14 and T. 189 successively describe (Sect. 2) the torments inflicted on the damned, (Sect. 3) *karman*'s responsibility for the fact that they

Footnote 32 continued

pretas." Translation Johnston (1932, p. 66); see also Covill (2007, p. 227). On the number of the *gatis*, see *Traité* I.613–614, n. 1, IV.1955, n. 2, IV.1956, n. 1, and Bureau (1955, p. 280); on the *asuras* as a *gati* of its own, see *Traité* I.612–616 and IV.1953–1959. The Theravādins, the Sarvāstivādins and the Dharmaguptakas as well as the overwhelming majority of the *sūtras* recognize five *gatis*; the Mahāśāṅghikas, the Andhakas and the Vātsīputrīyas admit of six *gatis*, as the Deutero-Nāgārjuna of the MPPU and the SuL (the Nāgārjuna of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* acknowledges only five *gatis*; see *Traité* I.614, n. 1, *in fine*). Mahāyāna sources are very inconsistent in this regard (see *Traité* IV.1957–1958, n. 1). Among the texts considered below, both the ŚL and the ŚGK recognize six *gatis*, whereas T. 189 admits five ([III] 641b9, 輪迴五道; see above, §2, and no. 29). Against the view that the number of the *gatis* reflects sectarian/denominational affiliation, see Zin and Schlingloff (2007, pp. 116–118).

³³ BC 14.7–10 (BC_T D51a6–b1): *dvitīye tv āgate yāme so 'dviṭīyaparākramah / divyaṃ lebhe param caḥṣuḥ sarvacakṣuṣmatāṃ varah // tatas tena sa divyena pariśuddhena caḥṣuṣā / dadarśa nikhilāṃ lokam ādarśa iva nirmale // sattvānāṃ paśyatas tasya nikṣtotkrṣṭakarmaṇām / pracyutiṃ copapattim ca vavrdhe karuṇātmā // ime duṣkṛtakarmāṇah prāṇino yānti durgatim / ime 'nye śubhakarmāṇah pratiṣṭhante tripiṣṭape //*. "But in the second watch he, whose energy had no peer, gained the supreme divine eyesight, being himself the highest of all who possess sight. Then with that completely purified divine eyesight he beheld the entire world, as it were in a spotless mirror. His compassionateness waxed greater, as he saw the passing away and rebirth of all creatures according as their acts were lower or higher. Those living beings whose acts are sinful pass to the sphere of misery, those others whose deeds are good win a place in the triple heaven." Translation Johnston (1984, (II.)204); see also Olivelle (2009, p. 407). T. 189 [III] 641b12–14: 爾時菩薩，既至中夜，即得天眼。觀察世間，皆悉徹見，如明鏡中，自觀面像。見諸眾生，種類無量，死此生彼，隨行善惡，受苦樂報。"Then the Bodhisattva, having reached the middle watch of the night, obtained the divine eye. He contemplated the world, perceiving [it] in its entirety just as one perceives the image (*pratibimba*?) of one's face in a clear mirror. He saw all the living beings, in their innumerable [different] kinds (種類), dying here [and] being reborn there, experiencing painful and pleasurable retributions according to their good and evil deeds." See above, n. 6.

³⁴ On hell, see *Traité* II.955–957, n. 2 (and p. 957, *in fine*, for primary sources), *Traité* IV.1952, and *Kośa* II.148–155. See also Beal (1871, pp. 57–66), Feer (1892–1893), Przyłuski (1923, pp. 120–160), Law (1925), Yamabe (1932), Lin (1949, pp. 3–16), Matsunaga (1972), Sakamoto (1990), Hahn (1999, pp. 163–164), and Demoto (2009); MN III.163–167 (*Bālaṇḍitasutta*, Nāṇamoli and Bodhi 2001, pp. 1017–1019) and 178–187 (*Devadūtasutta*, Nāṇamoli and Bodhi 2001, pp. 1029–1036), AN I.138–142 (Bodhi 2012, pp. 233–237), JM_ā 29.20–45 (Meiland 2009, II.281–289), DhS 16 (Lin 1973, 127–195), ŚGK 1–35 (Mus 1939, pp. 219–243), *Divya* 375.7–376.16 (Strong 1989, pp. 212–213), MV I.4.15–27.1 (Jones 1949, pp. 6–21), SūSa 58.5–60.21 (quote from the SDSUSū), *Yogalehrbuch* 138–139, and SuL 77–88.

cannot even expect death to alleviate their pain,³⁵ and (Sect. 4) hell as the retribution of evil actions. Both passages end with a brief moral warning (Sect. 5). More specifically, the two texts' account of the punishments in hell (Sect. 2) is strikingly parallel: all of the seven punishments enumerated by Āśvaghōṣa not only have very close or exact counterparts in T. 189, but also occur in the same sequence, a symmetry shared with no other extant Buddhist description of hell: being forced to drink molten iron,³⁶ being impaled,³⁷ being boiled in cauldrons,³⁸ being broiled on burning coals,³⁹ being devoured by wild beasts,⁴⁰ being hacked by sword-like leaves (*asipattra*),⁴¹ and being chopped up by axes (*kuṭhāra*) and saws (*krakaca*, *karapattra*).⁴² Only three of the torments mentioned in T. 189 are missing in BC

³⁵ See MPPU 175c (*Traité* II.957–958), MPPU 176b (*Traité* II.961), AKBhp 163.4–6/AKBh_§ I.405.23–25 (*Kośa* II.149), ŚGK 6 (Mus 1939, p. 221), ŚL 45cd (Hahn 1999, p. 83), MV I.24.10–12 (Jones 1949, p. 19), ŚL 51d (Hahn 1999, p. 87), MN III.167, and *passim* (Nāṇamoli and Bodhi 2001, p. 1019), JM_Ā 29.26c (Meiland 2009, II.283), JM_Ā 29.28cd (Meiland 2009, II.283), MV I.5.6–7, and *passim* (Jones 1949, p. 6), MV I.16.4–5 (Jones 1949, p. 13); see also Beal (1955, p. 60). Due to past *karman* (*karmavipākatas*), a cold wind (*śītaḷo vāyuh*, *śītalako vātaḥ*) blows and brings the damned back to life (*punar api tān sattvān sañjīvayati*); this is the reason why the first hell is called *sañjīva*). The doomed are “fettered to their lives by the chains of karma” (*karmamayapāśanibaddhajīva*, ŚL 51, translation Hahn 1999, p. 87) and are bound to suffer without interruption until their bad *karman* is exhausted (*byantihoti; yāvāt pariḥsayam upaiti na karma pāpam; yāvatsānaṃ pāpakā karmā na pariḥśīnā*).

³⁶ See MPPU 176c (*Traité* II.963), SuL 79ab (Hahn and Dietz 2008, p. 24), MN III.186 (Nāṇamoli and Bodhi 2001, p. 1035), MV I.8.1–8 (Jones 1949, pp. 8–9), MV I.12.7–8 (Jones 1949, p. 11), JM_Ā 29.37d (Meiland 2009, II.285), ŚSa 73.15–17 (quoting from the SDSUSū; Bendall and Rouse 1971, p. 78), ŚGK 26 and 33 (Mus 1939, pp. 235 and 241), ŚL 58cd (Hahn 1999, p. 91), *Divya* 375.18–21 (Strong 1989, pp. 212–213). The wardens of hell prise open (*viṣkambh-*) their mouth with red-hot iron tongs (*viṣkambhana*) and pour (*prakṣip-*) into it molten copper (*kvathitatāmra*, *tāmraloha*, *tāmradravalohita*, sometimes molten iron) which burns their lips, mouth, tongue, palate, throat, bowel, stomach, intestines, and mesentery.

³⁷ See MPPU 176c (*Traité* II.966–967), MV I.25.5–7 (Jones 1949, p. 20). This punishment is associated with a hell of its own, the (burning) copper post hell (*tāmraṣṭambha*).

³⁸ See MPPU 176b (*Traité* II.960–961), AN I.141 ≈ MN III.167 ≈ MN III.183 (Bodhi 2012, p. 236, Nāṇamoli and Bodhi 2001, pp. 1019 and 1033) (glowing copper cauldrons), ŚL 50b (Hahn 1999, p. 85), SuL 82cd (iron pans, Hahn and Dietz 2008, p. 25), JM_Ā 29.33b (iron pots, Meiland 2009, p. II.285); see also JM_Ā 29.40b (Meiland 2009, p. II.287) and Beal (1955, p. 61).

³⁹ See SuL 82ab (Hahn and Dietz 2008, p. 25) and Beal (1955, pp. 61–62).

⁴⁰ See MPPU 176a (*Traité* II.958–959), ŚL 47cd–48ab (Hahn 1999, pp. 83–85), SuL 80 (Hahn and Dietz 2008, pp. 24–25), JM_Ā 29.33cd (Meiland 2009, II.285), JM_Ā 29.38 (Meiland 2009, II.287), JM_Ā 29.44c (Meiland 2009, II.289), ŚSa 74.13–16 (quoting the SDSUSū; Bendall and Rouse 1971, p. 79), SN II.259 (Bodhi 2000, pp. 703–704), MV I.11.7–8 (Jones 1949, p. 11), ŚGK 27 (Mus 1939, p. 237); see also *Traité* II.964–965 (below, n. 41). The animals referred to include cows, horses, pigs, sheep, antelopes, foxes, dogs, tigers, wolves, lions, eagles, vultures, onager, *baka* and *kaṅka* herons, hawks, crows, snakes, asses, quails; iron teeth or beaks are frequently mentioned.

⁴¹ See MPPU 177a (*Traité* II.964–965), AKBhp 164.1–2/AKBh_§ I.406.25–26 (*Kośa* II.151), ŚL 42ab–43 (Hahn 1999, p. 81), MN III.185 (Nāṇamoli and Bodhi 2001, p. 1034), ŚGK 25 (Mus 1939, p. 235), MV I.7.3–11 (Jones 1949, p. 8); see also MV I.11.9–16 (Jones 1949, p. 11) and MV I.15.1–2 (Jones 1949, p. 13). This punishment is generally connected to the eponymous *asipattravana* (sometimes treated as a hell of its own), “the forest whose leaves consist of swords” (Hahn 1999, p. 164); stirred by the wind, these swords fall down on the doomed and cut their limbs, which are then devoured by wild beasts.

⁴² See MPPU 175c–176a (*Traité* II.958), SuL 78cd (Hahn and Dietz 2008, p. 24), AN I.141 ≈ MN III.166 ≈ MN III.183 (Nāṇamoli and Bodhi 2001, pp. 1019 and 1032), JM_Ā 29.37a (Meiland 2009, II.285), ŚGK 8 (Mus 1939, p. 221), DhS 16.104ab (Lin 1949, p. 173), *Divya* 375.24–376.9 (Strong 1989, p. 213), MV I.5.3–8 (Jones 1949, p. 6); see also MV I.10.9–10 (Jones 1949, p. 10), I.12.15–16 (Jones 1949, p. 11),

14: lying on redhot iron beds,⁴³ being thrown into a river of burning ashes,⁴⁴ and being thrown into a cesspool.⁴⁵ The following chart, which contains the two parallel passages in full, should make their stylistic, doctrinal and structural similarities more manifest than any paraphrase:

BC 14.11–20 (tr. Johnston 1984: (II.)204–205) T. 189 [III] 641b15–24

<p>“The former (= those living beings whose acts are sinful) are reborn in the very dreadful fearsome hell and, alas, are woefully tormented with sufferings of many kinds” (BC 14.11, <i>upapannāḥ pratibhaye narake bhṛśadāruṇel amī duḥkhair bahuvīdhaiḥ pīḍyante kṛpaṇaṃ bataḥ</i>)</p>	<p>“[The Bodhisattva] observed the living beings tortured in hell” (641b15, 見地獄中考治衆生)</p>
<p>“Some are made to drink molten iron of the colour of fire” (BC 14.12ab, <i>pāyyante kvathitaṃ kecid agnivarṇaṃ ayorasam</i>)</p>	<p>“To some, molten copper (<i>kvathitatāmra</i>) is poured (<i>āSIC?</i>) into the mouth” (641b15, 或鎔銅灌口)</p>
<p>“Others are impaled howling on a redhot iron pillar” (BC 14.12cd, <i>āropyante ruvanto 'nye niṣṭaptastambhaṃ āyasam</i>)</p>	<p>“some [are forced to] embrace [redhot] copper pillars (<i>tāmrastambha</i>)” (641b15–16, 或抱銅柱)</p>
<p>–</p>	<p>“some [are forced to] lie on [redhot] iron beds” (641b16, 或臥鐵床)</p>

Footnote 42 continued

Beal (1955, p. 61), and *Yogalehrbuch* 138,4 (148R6 [2]). This punishment is generally associated with the Kālasūtra hell (“cordeau noir,” Mus, Lamotte); adzes (*vāṣī/vāṣī*), razors (*niśāta*), and hatchets (*paraṣu*) are sometimes also mentioned.

⁴³ On the floor of hot and glowing iron, see *Dīvyā* 375,8–10 (Strong 1989, p. 212), DhS 16.5 (Lin 1973, 131), AKBh_p 163,17/AKBh_ḡ I.406,13 (*Kośa* II.149), MV I.9,15 (Jones 1949, p. 10); see also *Kośa* II.149, n. 2.

⁴⁴ On the *Vaitaraṇī*, see AKBh_p 164,6–10/AKBh_ḡ I.407,4–7 (*Kośa* II.151–152).

⁴⁵ On the *kuṇapaḷgūthānirayaḷgūthakūpa*, see MPPU 176c (*Traité* II.964), AKBh_p 163,24–25/AKBh_ḡ I.406,21–22 (*Kośa* II.151), MN III.185 (Nāṇamoli and Bodhi 2001, p. 1034), SN II.259 (Bodhi 2000, p. 703), ŚGK 34 (Mus 1939, p. 241).

<p>“Some, head downwards, are boiled like meal in iron cauldrons” (BC 14.13ab, <i>pacyante piṣṭavat kecid ayaskumbhīṣv avān̄mukhāḥ!</i>)</p>	<p>“some [of them the wardens of hell] boil (<i>KVATH-</i>, <i>PAC?</i>) in iron cauldrons (<i>ayaskumbhī</i>)” (641b16, 或以鐵鑊⁴⁶而煎煮之)</p>
<p>“Others are miserably broiled on heaps of burning redhot coal” (BC 14.13cd, <i>dahyante karuṇaṃ kecid dīpṭeṣv aṅgārarāśiṣul!</i>)</p>	<p>“some are skewered and roasted on a fire/burning coals⁴⁷” (641b16–17, 或於火上而加弗炙)</p>
<p>“Some are devoured by fierce horrid dogs with iron teeth, others by the gloating iron-beaks as if by crows of iron” (BC 14.14, <i>kecit tīkṣṇair ayodaṃṣṭṛair bhakṣyante dāruṇaiḥ śvabhiḥ! kecid dhṛṣṭair ayastuṇḍair vāyasair āyasair ivall!</i>)</p>	<p>“some are devoured by tigers, wolves, hawks and dogs” (641b17, 或爲虎狼鷹犬所食)</p>
<p>“Some, exhausted with the burning, long for cool shade and enter like captives the dark sword-leaved forest” (BC 14.15, <i>kecid dāhapaṅśrāntāḥ śītacchāyābhikāṅkṣiṇaḥ! asipattravanaṃ nīlaṃ baddhā iva viśanty amīl!</i>)</p>	<p>“some, shunning fire [raining on them], find shelter under trees, [but] the leaves of [those] trees fall down and all of them become swords (<i>asi</i>) hacking their bodies” (641b17–19, 或有避火依於樹下, 樹葉墜落, 皆成刀劍, 割截其身)</p>
<p>“Some have their arms bound and like wood are chopped up with axes” (BC 14.16ab, <i>pādhyante dāruvat kecit kuṭhārair baddhabāhavaḥ!</i>)</p>	<p>“to some, [the wardens of hell] chop up the major and minor parts of the body (<i>aṅgapratyaṅga</i>) with axes (<i>kuṭhāra</i>) and saws (<i>krakaca</i>)” (641b19, 或以斧鋸解剔肢體)</p>
<p>–</p>	<p>“some are thrown into a burning and boiling river covered with ashes” (641b19–20, 或擲熱沸灰河之中)</p>
<p>–</p>	<p>“some are thrown into a cesspool (<i>gūthamṛttikā</i>, <i>gūthodigalla?</i>)” (641b20, 或復擲於糞屎坑中)</p>

⁴⁶ See Demoto (2009, p. 76, §6.5), where 鐵鑊 very clearly renders Skt. *ayaskumbha* as the name of a secondary hell in the SDSUSū.

⁴⁷ See Demoto (2009, p. 73, §3.16, and 74, §4.14, 77, §7.4), where 火 apparently renders Skt. *aṅgāra* (Tib. *me mdag*, “glowing embers, burning coals” J272a).

“Even in this suffering they do not cease to exist, the power of their acts holding back their vital breaths” (BC 14.16cd, *duḥkhe 'pi na vipacyante karmabhir dhāritāsavaḥl*)

—

“The retribution of the act that was committed by them for the cessation of suffering in the hope of obtaining pleasure, is experienced by them against their will in the shape of this suffering. These did evil for the sake of pleasure and are now exceedingly tormented. What pleasure, even the slightest, does that enjoyment of theirs cause? The consequences of the foul act, mirthfully carried out by the foul-minded, are reaped by them with lamentations, when the hour of retribution has matured” (BC 14.17–19, *sukhaṃ syād iti yat karma kṛtaṃ duḥkhanivṛttayel phalaṃ tasyedam avaśair duḥkham evopabhujyatell sukhārtham aśubhaṃ kṛtvā ya ete bhṛṣaduḥkhitāḥl āsvādaḥ sa kim eteṣāṃ karoti sukham aṅv apill hasadbhir yat kṛtaṃ karma kaluṣaṃ kaluṣātmabhiḥl etat parinate kāle krośadbhir anubhūyatell*)

“If sinners could thus see the fruit of their acts, they would vomit forth hot blood, as if they had been struck in a vital part” (BC 14.20, *yady evaṃ pāpakarmaṇaḥ paśyeyuḥ karmaṇāṃ phalaml vameyur uṣṇaṃ rudhiraṃ marmasv abhihatā ival*)

“They endure all sorts of sufferings of that kind, [but] due to karmic retribution they never die” (641b20–21, 受如是等種種諸苦, 以業報故, 命終不死)

“The Bodhisattva, having observed such a thing thought in his mind” (641b21–22, 菩薩既見如此事已而心思惟)

“These beings have originally performed evil actions for the sake of worldly pleasure (*laukikasukha?*), but now they obtain the fruit that is extreme suffering ” (641b22–23, 此等衆生, 本造惡業, 爲世樂故而今得果, 極爲大苦)

“If men could see such a terrible retribution, they would never again have the intention to do inauspicious (*akuśala*) actions” (641b23–24, 若人有見如此惡報, 無復更應作不善想)

3.2.1. A comparison between BC 14 and T. 189’s accounts of the animal realm yields very similar results. According to Aśvaghōṣa, “[b]y reason of their various actions arising from the activity of the mind, these other unfortunates are born among the various kinds of animals. In this state they are miserably slaughtered, even before the eyes of their relatives, for the sake of their flesh, skin, fur or tusks, or out of mutual enmity or mere wantonness. And powerless and helpless too, tormented by hunger, thirst and exhaustion, those who become oxen or horses are

driven along, their bodies wounded by goads. And those who become elephants are ridden despite their strength by weaklings, who kick them with foot and heel or torment their heads with the ankus. In this state, though there are other forms of suffering, suffering arises especially from mutual enmity and from subjection to others. For catching each other mutually, the sky-dwellers are oppressed by sky-dwellers, water-dwellers by those who move in the water, and land-dwellers by land-dwellers.”⁴⁸ Consider now T. 189's treatment of the same: “Then the Bodhisattva next considered the animals. In accordance with different sorts of [evil] actions, they receive various ugly bodies. Some are slaughtered for [their] bones, flesh, sinews(/tendons), horns, skin, tusk, fur, and feathers. Others[, having to] carry heavy burdens on their back for the humans, [become] extremely hungry, thirsty [and] exhausted, and there is not [even] one among humans who is aware [of that]; some of these have their noses pierced, others have their heads tormented with an ankus(/hook). They constantly [have to] supply humans with the flesh of their body. As regards their own species, they devour one another (*anyonyabhakṣaṇa*). They incur various sufferings of this sort. When he saw [this], the Bodhisattva gave rise to great compassion and thought to himself: Living beings such as these always supply humans with their flesh and strength in addition to suffering from being whipped, flogged, hungry and thirsty. All this is the [karmic] retribution for the evil actions committed in the past.”⁴⁹

3.2.2. These two descriptions of the animal realm are closer to one another than to any other extant account of this rebirth form. Their similarity is already to be observed at the very beginning of the passage, where the two texts refer in general terms to the variety of evil actions leading to rebirth among animals. T. 189 and the BC next present in nearly the same words the reasons—apparently mostly economic—why animals are slaughtered by humans (flesh, skin, fur, tusks in the BC; bones, flesh, sinews/[tendons], horns, skin, tusk, fur and feathers in T. 189).⁵⁰ The two texts then depict the animals' pitiable condition by mentioning, again with a similarity in wording that leaves little room for coincidence, their being tormented by hunger, thirst and exhaustion (*kṣuttarṣaśrama*), the various mutilations inflicted on them by the humans (nose piercing, tormenting their heads with the ankus, and being

⁴⁸ BC 14.21–26 (BC_T D51b7–52a4): *ime 'nye karmabhiḥ citraiḥ cittavispandasambhavaiḥ / tiryagyonau vicitrāyām upapannās tapasvinaḥ // māmsatvagvāladantārthaṃ vairād api¹ madād api / hanyante kṛpaṇaṃ yatra bandhūnāṃ paśyātām api // asaknuvanto 'py avasāḥ kṣuttarṣaśramapīḍitāḥ / go 'svabhūtās ca vāhyante pratodakṣatamīrtayāḥ // vāhyante gajabhūtās ca balyāṃso 'pi durbalāiḥ / aṅkuṣakṣiṣṭa-mūrdhānās tāḍitāḥ pādapārṣṇibhiḥ / satsv apy anyeṣu duḥkheṣu duḥkhaṃ yatra viśeṣataḥ / parasparavirodhāc ca parādhīnatayaiva ca // khaṣṭhāḥ khaṣṭhair hi bādhyante jalasthā jalacāribhiḥ / sthalasthāḥ sthalasamṣṭhaiḥ ca prāpya caivetaṛetaraiḥ //* ¹Note BC_T *chags pa las sam*, **rāgād api* (Johnston 1984, (II).205, n. 22, according to which the Chinese version reads “still more they mutually tear and kill each other”). Translation Johnston (1984, (II).205–206); see also Olivelle (2009, pp. 411–413).

⁴⁹ T. 189 [III] 641b25–c3: 爾時菩薩復觀畜生。隨種種行受雜醜形。或復有為骨肉筋角皮牙毛羽而受殺者。或復為人負荷重擔飢渴之極。人無知者。或穿其鼻。或鉤其首。常以身肉而供於人。還與其類更相食噉。受於如是種種之苦。菩薩既見生大悲心即自思惟。斯等衆生恒以身力而供於人。又加楚撻飢渴之苦。皆是本修惡行果報。On the animals, see also ŚGK 38–44 (Mus 1939, pp. 245–247) in addition to the references below.

⁵⁰ See also SuL 90ab (Hahn and Dietz 2008, p. 26), alluding to pearls, wool, bones, flesh, and fur.

whipped and flogged in T. 189; bodies wounded by goads, being kicked with foot and heel, being tormented by the ankus in the BC),⁵¹ these human oppressors' psychological and moral dispositions (foolish in T. 189, enmity and madness/passion in the BC⁵²) and the various services they render (carrying heavy burdens in T. 189,⁵³ being driven along, being ridden in the BC). Although Aśvaghōṣa refers only later⁵⁴ to the form of suffering traditionally regarded as the most typical of animals, i.e., devouring one another (*anyonyabhakṣaṇa*),⁵⁵ he alludes here to “mutual enmity” (*parasparavirodha*). As for T. 189's somewhat enigmatic statement to the effect that “repeatedly, in regard of their own species, they devour one another,” it becomes much clearer once it is compared with BC 14.26 according to which “[f]or catching each other mutually, the sky-dwellers are oppressed by sky-dwellers, water-dwellers by those who move in the water, and land-dwellers by land-dwellers.”⁵⁶

3.3.1. Let me now turn to the two accounts of the realm of the departed. Here is T. 189's description of the *pretas*: “Then the Bodhisattva next considered the hungry ghosts. He saw them always dwelling in darkness, never having seen even for a while the light of the sun or the moon. Also, these [hungry ghosts] are not even visible to their own kind.⁵⁷ They receive a body that is tall and big. [Their] belly is like a huge mountain, [whereas their] throat is like [the eye of] a needle. In [their] mouth there is always a big fire blazing. They are constantly tormented by hunger and thirst, [and] in a billion years, they never hear the word ‘food.’ If it happens to rain, what sprinkles on them changes into fireballs. Sometimes they approach a river, a sea, a stream or a pond, [but] the water immediately turns to hot copper and

⁵¹ Cf. MPPU 175a: “[L]eur encolure est endommagée; on les marque au fer chaud.” Translation *Traité* II.951. MPPU 175a: “Le Bodhisattva voit les animaux (*tiryak*) subir tous les tourments: on les fait galoper à coups de fouet et de bâton.” Translation *Traité* II.951. SuL 89–90: *bcīns dañ brdeg* [...] *dbañ med gzan dag rdog pa lag pa dañ lcags dañ lcags kyu 'debs pas btah ste bkoll*. “Fesselung oder Schläge [...]; andere werden dienstbar gemacht, indem man sie tritt, sie mit der Hand, mit Eisen oder Stachelstäben antreibt.” Translation Hahn and Dietz (2008, p. 26). DhS 18.1b*: *vadhabandhāvarodhanam*, “slaughter, tying, enclosure.” Cf. Lin (1973, 213). Note also ŚL 25 (referring to a human being): *atha tasya badā<d a>nicchataḥ śirasi nyastapadā sunirdayam / niṣītaṃ palitāṅkuṣaṃ jarā kariṇo hastipakīva yacchati* //. “Old age, forcibly and without an iota of compassion, then puts its feet on his head, against his will, and makes him feel the sharp goad of his grey hair, just as an elephant-driver, forcibly and without an iota of compassion, puts his feet on the head of an elephant, against its will, and makes it feel the sharp goad.” Translation Hahn (1999, p. 69).

⁵² Johnston's translation (“out of mutual enmity or mere wantonness”) suggests that BC 14.22 alludes to animals killing other animals. Both the context and the Chinese parallel in T. 189 indicate that Aśvaghōṣa rather refers here to animals being slaughtered by humans (cf. Olivelle 2009, p. 411, “from enmity or for thrill”).

⁵³ See also MPPU 175a (*Traité* II.951).

⁵⁴ See BC 14.45 (n. 85), and below, §§4.1–4.2.

⁵⁵ See SuL 89d (Hahn and Dietz 2008, p. 26), ŚL 62b (Hahn 1999, p. 93), DhS 18.1a (Lin 1973, 213); see also above, n. 48.

⁵⁶ See above, nn. 48 and 49.

⁵⁷ Cf. AKBh 124,25–27 (together with AK 3.14ab₁): *sa cāyam antarābhavaḥ saajāśuddhadivyākṣi-dṛśyaḥ / samānajātīyair evāntarbhavikair dṛśyate* /. “Revenons à l'être intermédiaire: Il est vu par les êtres de sa classe, par l'œil divin pur. Il est vu par les êtres intermédiaires de la classe, divine, etc., à laquelle il appartient.” Translation *Kośa* II.46.

burning charcoal. When they lift a foot and(/to) move their body, the sound [it makes] is like a man dragging five hundred chariots: every joint of [their] bodies is all aflame. The Bodhisattva, having observed [them] experiencing all sorts of suffering like this, gave rise to great compassion and thought to himself: ‘All these [things] are due to the fact that, because of their avarice and greed to amass wealth, previously they failed to give, and this makes [them] now suffer the [karmic] retribution of their sinful action. If the humans see these [hungry ghosts] experiencing this pain, they should be charitable and should not give rise to stinginess [any more]. [Even] if they are without wealth, they should cut [their own] flesh to donate it.’”⁵⁸ Aśvaghōṣa’s depiction of the *preta* realm is much shorter: “And so those, who are obsessed by stinginess, are reborn in the dark world of the *pretas* and reap their reward in wretchedness. With mouths small as the eye of a needle and bellies vast as mountains, their lot is suffering and they are tortured with the sufferings of hunger and thirst. For reaching the limit of longing, yet kept in existence by their own deeds,⁵⁹ they do not succeed in swallowing even the filth thrown away by others. If man knew that such was the fruit of avarice, he would always give away even the limbs of his own body, as Śibi did.”⁶⁰

The relationship between these two descriptions of the hungry ghosts is made somewhat less evident by the fact that most of the common elements are little more than clichés shared by virtually all accounts of the world of the departed. This is true of the depiction of the *pretas* as tormented by hunger and thirst⁶¹ while being endowed with mountain-like bellies and needle-like mouths or throats, certainly the trait most typical of the hungry ghosts.⁶² Nearly as commonplace are the various modalities of the punishment of Tantalus⁶³ that are characteristic of the *pretas*: incapacity to swallow even the filth thrown away by others in the BC; rain turning to rubies and sources of water changing into hot copper or burning charcoal in T.

⁵⁸ T. 189 [III] 641c3–15: 爾時菩薩次觀餓鬼。見其恒居黑闇之中, 未曾暫親日月之光。還是其類。亦不相見。受形長大。腹如太山, 咽頸若針。口中恒有大火熾燃。常為飢渴之所焦迫, 千億萬歲, 不聞食聲。設值天雨, 灑其上者變成火珠。或時過臨江海河池, 水即化為熱銅煤炭。動身舉步, 聲如人牽五百乘車, 支體節節。皆悉火然。菩薩既見受如是等種種諸苦, 起大悲心, 而自思惟: 斯等皆為本造慳貪積財不施故, 令今者受斯罪報。若人見彼受此苦痛, 宜應惠施, 勿生吝惜。設使無財, 亦應割肉以用布施。 On the *pretas*, see Stede (1914) and Gehman (1974) in addition to the sources alluded to below.

⁵⁹ See above, n. 35.

⁶⁰ BC 14.27–30 (BC_T D52a4–6): *upapannās tathā ceme mātsaryākrāntacetasaḥ / pitṛloke nirāloke kṛpalaṃ bhuñ-jate phalam // sūcīchidropamamukhāḥ parvatopamakukṣayaḥ / kṣuttarśajanitair duḥkhaiḥ pīdyante duḥkha-bhāgiṇaḥ // āśayā samatīkrāntā¹ dhāryamānāḥ svakarmabhiḥ / labhante na hy amī bhoktuṃ praviddhāny aśu-cīny api // puruṣo yadi jānūta mātsaryasyedṛśaṃ phalam / sarvathā śibivad dadyāc charīrāvayavān api //*. ¹BC_T reads *sred pas śin tu non pa nmams* (see Johnston 1984, (II.)206, n. 29, who suggests a possible alternative reading *āśanāsamatīkrāntā*). As pointed out by Johnston (1984, (I.)161, n. 29, and (II.)206, n. 29), BC 14.29 and 30 are inverted in BC_T. Translation Johnston (1984, (II.)206); see also Olivelle (2009, p. 413).

⁶¹ See DhS 17.5 (Lin 1973, 198), DhS 17.15–16 (Lin 1973, 203), 17.21 (Lin 1973, 205), 17.25 (Lin 1973, 207), and 17.30 (Lin 1973, 209), Gehman (1974, pp. 12, 14) (the *pretī* devouring her children), 17, 23, 27, 30, 41, 55, and *passim*.

⁶² See SuL 91–92ab (Hahn and Dietz 2008, p. 26), ŚL 40 (Hahn 1999, p. 79), MPPU 175c (*Traité* II.955), MPPU 279c (*Traité* IV.1953); see also Mus (1939, p. 249, n. ad ŚGK 48).

⁶³ Mus (1939, p. 249, n. ad ŚGK 48).

189.⁶⁴ Similarly, our two texts refer to the darkness inherent in the realm of the departed as well as to the defilement most commonly associated with rebirth in the *yamaloka*, i.e., covetousness (*mātsarya*), which is generally held to result in one's fatal lack of charity and liberality (*dāna*).⁶⁵ In contrast to T. 189, Aśvaghōṣa's surprisingly short account of the hungry ghosts does not allude to otherwise ubiquitous motifs such as the *pretas*' having blazing mouths⁶⁶ and burning bodies or never even hearing of eating or drinking.⁶⁷ However, the genetic relationship between the two descriptions is strongly evidenced by their nearly common final statement. Whereas Aśvaghōṣa's Bodhisattva declares: "If man knew that such was the fruit of avarice, he would always give away even the limbs of his own body, as Śibi⁶⁸ did," T. 189 ascribes the following admonition to him: "If the humans see these [hungry ghosts] experiencing this pain, they properly should be charitable and should not give rise to covetousness [any more]. Even if they are without wealth, they should cut [their own] flesh to donate it."

3.4.1. In both content and wording, the two texts' accounts of the human rebirth state are very similar. Here is T. 189's account: "Then the Bodhisattva next contemplated the human beings. He observed [them] as they were just about to enter the womb (*garbhāvakraṅti?*) from the [the stage of] intermediate being (*antarābhava*). [Their respective] fathers and mothers being united, due to a distorted notion (*viparyastamati?*), they give rise to a thought of desire [and] take [their parents'] impurity (*aśuci?*) as their bodies (*ātmabhāva*). Once they are in the womb, they are situated between the stomach (*āmāsaya*) and the intestines (*pakvāśaya*), [and the way in which it] burns their bodies is like the sufferings of hell. [New beings] are born only after ten months have been completed. As soon as they are born, they are grasped in an embrace by strangers. The harsh pain is like [being cut] by swords. [Suffering] like this, before long they again return to old age and death, again become new born babies [and] wander among the five destinies, incapable of awakening by themselves. Having seen [all this], the Bodhisattva gave rise to great compassion and thought for himself: Living beings all have suffering like this. Why in that case are they attached to the five objects of desire (*kāmaguṇa*) [and] falsely imagine [them] to be *sukha*, [but] are incapable of destroying the root of [this] misconception (*viparyāsa*)?"⁶⁹ Though shorter, Aśvaghōṣa's depiction of human suffering amounts to nearly the same: "These other creatures take form again in the

⁶⁴ See also SuL 95cd (Hahn and Dietz 2008, p. 27), ŚL 35 (Hahn 1999, p. 75), ŚL 37–38 (Hahn 1999, p. 77), MPPU 175c (*Traité* II.954–955), DhS 17.19 (Lin 1973, 204), DhS 17.20 (Lin 1973, 205); for other illustrations of the punishment of Tantalus, see Gehman (1974, pp. 17–18, 43, 55, and *passim*).

⁶⁵ See SuL 97 (Hahn and Dietz 2008, p. 27), ŚGK 47–50 (Mus 1939, pp. 249–255), DhS 17.3 (Lin 1973, 197, Beal 1955, p. 67; Gehman 1974, pp. 18, 22, 42, 68, and *passim*); on *adāna*, see DhS 17.2 (Lin 1973, 196).

⁶⁶ See SuL 93c (Hahn and Dietz 2008, p. 27), MPPU 279c (*Traité* IV.1953), ŚGK 51 (Mus 1939, pp. 254–257); cf. Mus (1939, pp. 254–255) ad ŚGK 51, rightly referring to MDhŚ 12.71.

⁶⁷ See MPPU 279c: (*Traité* IV.1953).

⁶⁸ On Śibi, see also SNa 11.42 (Johnston 1932, p. 64 and Covill 2007, p. 221).

⁶⁹ T. 189 [III] 641c15–24: 爾時菩薩，次復觀人。見從中陰，始欲入胎。父母和合，以顛倒想，起於愛心，即以不淨，而為己身。既處胎已，在於生熟二藏之間，熏炙身體，如地獄苦。至滿十月，然後方生。初生之時，而為外人之所抱執。羸瘠苦痛，如被刀劍。如是不久，復歸老死，更為嬰兒，輪轉五

filthy hell-like pool called the womb and experience suffering amongst men. At the first even at the moment of birth they are gripped by sharp hands, as if sharp swords were piercing them, whereat they weep bitterly. They are loved and cherished and guarded by their kindred who bring them up with every care, only to be defiled by their own various deeds as they pass from suffering to greater suffering. And in this state the fools, obsessed with desire, are borne along in the ever-flowing stream, thinking all the more, ‘this is to be done and this is to be done.’”⁷⁰

3.4.2. The fact that rebirth and suffering among humans is only rarely described in the framework of the five or six destinies makes the conspicuous similarity of these two accounts all the more striking.⁷¹ The description is doctrinally indebted to traditional accounts of the *antarābhava* (“intermediate being”) and the concomitant embryological and obstetrical conceptions. However, this background is made explicit in T. 189 alone, the beginning of which alludes to the *antarābhava*, its descent into the putrid womb while its parents-to-be are copulating, its mistaken notions, its acquiring a corporeal body made of semen and blood, and its location in the womb.⁷² Both texts then introduce a brief statement on embryonic life and compare (life in) the womb with (suffering in) hell.⁷³ Next follows a very similar account of childbirth emphasizing the pitiable fate of the baby immediately after its birth, gripped as it is by the sword-like hands of its mother and the midwives.⁷⁴ Both accounts finally turn to the new person’s being ensnared in *saṃsāra*.⁷⁵ I shall come back to Aśvaghōṣa’s last stanza (BC 14.34) on the humans below.

Footnote 69 continued

道，不能自悟。菩薩見已，起大悲心，而自思惟：衆生皆有如斯之患。云何於中，耽著五欲，橫計爲樂，而不能斷顛倒根本。 On the humans, see Lin (1946, 122–137).

⁷⁰ BC 14.31 (BC_T D52a6): *ime 'nye narakaprakhye garbhasañjñe 'śucihrade / upaṇṇā manuṣeṣu duḥkham archanti jantavaḥ //* BC_{Weller} 14.32–34 (BC_T D52a6–b1): *de sion skye ba tsaṃ na yañ lag pa rnon pos bzun ba rnamsl ral gri rnamsl kyis gśeḡs pa ltar/ gañ du sniñ rje bar ni ñull byams dan bsruiñ dan skyoñ rnamsl kyī¹ / gñen 'dun rnamsl kyis 'bad nas soṣl sdug bñal las slar sdug bñal dragl/ rañ rañ las kyis ñon moñs soll/ bya ba 'di dan bya ba 'dil žes ni gañ du lhag par lal sred dan yoñs ldan byis rnamsl kyis/ rgyun chad med par rjes su myoñll. ¹kyi D: kyis Weller. Translation Johnston (1984, (II.)207); see also Olivelle (2009, p. 415) (BC 14.31 only). Note also Weller (1926, p. 140): “Und dabei erdulden (es) die von Verlangen erfüllten Toren (*bāla*) in ununterbrochenem Strome immer mehr, indem sie denken: ‘Dies ist zu tun, und dies ist zu tun.’”*

⁷¹ The closest description I am aware of is ŚL 19–32 (Hahn 1999, pp. 65–73), whose conceptual framework, however, does not consist in an account of the five or six destinies. The MPPU, which contains very detailed descriptions of hells, the animals, the hungry ghosts and the anti-gods, remains entirely silent on human beings. *Mutatis mutandis*, the same holds true of important sources such as the ŚGK, the SL and the DhS.

⁷² See AKBhp 126,19–27/AKBh_g 337,12–338,1 (*Kośa* II.50–51). For a more detailed account of the *antarābhava*’s descent into the womb and its various wrong thoughts (*sems phyin ci log*) and mistaken notions (*yañ dag pa ma yin pa'i 'du śes*), see GASū 235,8–238,6 (Kritzer 2014, pp. 44–45).

⁷³ See also ŚL 19 (Hahn 1999, p. 65) and GASū 252,3–6 (Kritzer 2014, p. 51). The comparison between (life in the) womb and hell can be found, e.g., at GASū 322,5–324,2 (Kritzer 2014, pp. 89–90).

⁷⁴ See also AKBhp 130,16–19/AKBh_g 343,12–14 (*Kośa* II.59; see AKVy 283,24–29) and GASū 294,5–7 (Kritzer 2014, pp. 73–74).

⁷⁵ See also AKBhp 130,19–22/AKBh_g 343,14–16 (*Kośa* II.59).

3.5.1. T. 189 and Aśvaghōṣa's accounts of gods and heaven have only little in common besides a few clichés and a set of general statements about rebirth among deities of the three realms.⁷⁶ Unsurprisingly, both revolve around the commonplace idea that the form of suffering most typical of the gods consists in the awareness of their unavoidable fall from heaven and their subsequent rebirth in lower rebirth states—a very important topic in Aśvaghōṣa's SNa.⁷⁷ The clearest hint at a relationship between the two accounts relates to their treatment of the signs or symptoms of death (*cyavanadharmā*; *nimittāni cyutau svargāt* in SNa 11.53) traditionally regarded as heralding the end of the life of a deity and its imminent departure from the paradise in order to be reborn in a lower destiny.⁷⁸ The *Vibhāṣā*

⁷⁶ I therefore refrain from quoting in full the lengthy T. 189 [III] 641c24–642a19.

⁷⁷ See below, §4.1–2. The clearest formulation of this in BC 14 is BC_{Weller} 14.42–43 (BC_T D52b5–6): *las mañ rñams kyis thob pa yil mtho ris mi brtan g.yo ba lal 'bral bas byas pa 'i sdug bñān nil gañ du 'dī 'dra thob par 'gyurll kye ma de las khyad par dul 'jig rten mdzad pa 'i chos ñid del 'jig rten 'di yi rañ bñin nil 'di lta bur ni mthoñ ma yinll*. “Seeing that Paradise, obtained by many labours, is uncertain and transitory, and that such suffering will be caused by separation from it, [a]las, inexorably this is in an especial degree the law of action in the world; this is the nature of the world and yet they do not see it to be such.” Translation Johnston (1984, (II.)208) (on these two stanzas, see also Johnston's comments in Johnston 1984, (II.)208, n. ad 43, 44). BC 14.42–43 in fact draws the conclusion of BC_{Weller} 14.36–41 (BC_T D52b2–5): *gañ du lha mo rñams kyis nil sdug pa dbañ med lhuñ ba lal sñiñ la brtse ba ltos rñams kyis/ lag pa rñams kyis gos rñams 'dzinll gañ žig sa la ltuñ ba bñin/ lus 'dud do šal g.yo rñams kyis/ sdug rñams gžal med khañ rñams nasl sñiñ rje dañ bcas ltuñ la ltal/ rñam pa sna tshogs rgyan phreñ can/ gžan 'dis sdug bñān lhuñ rñams lal gduñ rñams brtse dañ g.yo ba yil lta byed rñams kyis rjes su 'groll 'dod pa can rñams lhuñ ba lal lag pa rñams kyis brañ brduñ žiñl 'khrugs chen gyis ltar ñam thag pal lha mo 'i tshogs rñams kyis brten toll kyi hud šin rta sna tshogs rdziñl kyi hud sdug pa gañ na žesl ñam thag pa rñams rñam zlos šinl lha la gnas rñams sa la lhuñll*. BC 14.41 ≈ SNa 11.50 (Johnston 1932, p. 65, and n. ad 11.50, Covill 2007, p. 223): *hā caitraratha hā vāpi hā mandākini hā priye l ity artā vilapanto 'pi gāṃ patanti divaukaśaḥ ll*; the stanza is also quoted in AKVy 516,2–3 (see *Kośa* IV.126, n. 1; see also *Divya* 194,2–4 [Rotman 2008, p. 325], and *passim*). “And as their lovers fall helplessly, the Apsarases regard them pitifully and catch their cloths with their hands. Some look as if they were falling to earth with their ropes of pearls swaying, as they try to hold up their lovers falling miserably from the pavilions. Others, wearing ornaments and garlands of many kinds and grieved at their fall into suffering, follow them with eyes unsteady with sympathy. In their love for those who are falling, the troops of Apsarases beat their breasts with their hands and, distressed, as it were, with great affliction, remain attached to them. The dwellers in Paradise fall distressed to earth, lamenting, ‘Alas, grove of Caitraratha! Alas, heavenly lake! Alas, Mandākini! Alas, beloved!’” Translation Johnston (1984, pp. 207–208). For an excellent overview of Aśvaghōṣa's ideas on the gods' fall from heaven, see SNa 11.39–62 (Johnston 1932, pp. 64–66; Covill 2007, pp. 221–227), which alludes to the fall of Śibi, Māndhātṛ, Nahaṣa, Ilivila, Bhuridyumna, Yayāti, the *asuras*, Upendra, Udraka, and Sunetra. Here is T. 189's ([III] 642a10–12) most prominent statement of this conception: 此諸天子, 本修少善, 得受天樂。果報將盡, 生大苦惱。既命終已, 捨彼天身; 或有墮於三惡道中。 “These *devaputras*, by cultivating a little good, have obtained to experience divine bliss. When [their] retribution is about to be exhausted, they give rise to a great suffering. Once they have reached the end of [their divine] life, they abandon this divine body; there are some who fall into the three bad destinies (*durgatī*).” On the gods and their form of suffering, see ŚL 78–81 (Hahn 1999, p. 105), SL 98 and 101 (Hahn and Dietz 2008, pp. 27–28; Lin 1946, 122–1370, and especially DhS 5.10–13, 17, 27–29 (Lin 1946, 122–125, 127, and 135–137); note that DhS 5, which is dedicated to impermanence, is replete with allusions to the fall of gods (e.g., DhS 5.80 [Lin 1946, 177], 5.95 [188], 5.128 [214], 5.183–185 [258–260]).

⁷⁸ On these signs, see Lin (1949, pp. 56–57), Lin (1946, 153, n. a), and DhS 5.55 (Lin 1946, 157). See also *Kośa* II.136–137, n. 2, Hahn and Dietz 2008, pp. 338–339, Hiraoka 2013, pp. 97–99, and Chavannes 1962, (I.)425 (seven signs: “[I]l y avait alors un deva dont la longue vie approchait de sa fin; sept choses le prouvaient: 1° l'éclat au milieu de sa nuque s'était éteint; 2° les fleurs qui ornaient le sommet de sa tête se flétrissaient; 3° le teint de son visage s'était altéré; 4° sur ses vêtements, il y avait de la poussière; 5° de

and the AKBh provide a list of five minor (*upanimitta*, 1–5) and five major signs (*nimitta*, 6–10):⁷⁹ (1) a god's garments and ornaments emit unpleasant sounds; (2) the natural radiance of its body diminishes; (3) drops of water stick to its body after bathing; (4) its ordinarily swift mind is stuck to a single object; (5) its eyes wink; (6) its garments become soiled; (7) its garlands wither; (8) sweat appears under its armpits; (9) their body has a bad smell; (10) it does not enjoy its seat anymore. Aśvagoṣa's BC 14.36 alludes to only three items, i.e., two minor and one major signs: "And from there they fall, still not satiated with the objects of sense, with eyes turned upwards, their brilliance gone, and wretched at the fading of their garlands."⁸⁰ Now, I am aware of no source mentioning all three items together except *T. 189*, where they belong to a list of five signs mixing up, as the BC, *upanimittas* (2) and *nimittas* (3): "In addition, [the Bodhisattva] saw [that] when the merit of those gods is exhausted, five signs of death appear. The first is [that] the flowers on/(above) [the gods'] heads [come to] wither; the second is [that their] eyes [start to] wink; the third is [that] the radiance of [their] bodies extinguishes; the fourth is [that] sweat appears under [their] armpits; [and] the fifth is [that] they spontaneously leave [their] seats/thrones."⁸¹ To the best of my knowledge, Aśvagoṣa's BC and *T. 189* are the only extant sources to mention together the decaying gods' troublesome eyes, fading radiance, and withering garlands.

Footnote 78 continued

la sueur sortait sous ses aisselles; 6° son corps s'éteint amaigri; 7° il avait quitté son trône."). Note also ŚL 83: *pramlāyamānakusumāḥ srutaḥharmadigdḥā mlānārambhāḥ karuṇāvīkṣitabandhuvargāḥ | duḥkham paraṃ yad amarā maraṇe vrajanti tan mānavā na jalabudbudalolajīvāḥ ||*. "Human beings, whose lives are as unsteady as drops of water, are not so severely stricken with grief at the time of their death as are the gods, who, their flowers withering away, their bodies smeared with trickling sweat, their garments fading, are mournfully observed by all their companions." Translation Hahn (1999, p. 107).

⁷⁹ See AKBhp 157,6–11/AKBh₅ 398,10–15 (*Kośa* II.136). For references to the *Vibhāṣā*, see Lin (1946, 153, n. (a)). The list of the major signs appears in almost exactly the same form in the *Itivuttaka*, *T. 190*, *Divya* 193,19–23 (Rotman 2008, p. 325), and *SuL* 99 (Hahn and Dietz 2008, pp. 27–28); for references to *Itivuttaka* §83 and *T. 190*, see Lin (1946, 153, n. (a)). The SDSUSū, which provides the most detailed treatment of the topic, presents a much longer and widely diverging list of five otherwise unknown minor signs and twelve major signs (of which only items no. 1 [radiance], 3 [garlands], and 7 [seats] coincide with elements of the "Abhidharma" list); see Lin (1949, pp. 56–57), and Lin (1946, 153) (on symptoms specific to the *apsaras*).

⁸⁰ BC 14.36_{Weller} (BC_T D52b1–2): *yul rnamṣ kyis ni nōms med rnamṣ/ gaṅ las 'di rnamṣ gzi bcom stel phreñ ba yoṅs rñiṅs žan¹ pa rnamṣ/ gyen du mig phyogs rnam² ltuñ ñoll*. ¹žan Weller: *gžags* D. ²*rnam* Weller: *rnamṣ* D. Translation Johnston (1984, (II.)207). Cf. *SNa* 11.51–54, adding two more signs, i.e., dusty garments and sweat: *tivraṃ hy utpadyate duḥkham iha tāvan mumūrṣatām | kiṃ punaḥ patatām svargād evānte sukhasevinām || rajo grhṇanti vāsāṃsi mlāyanti paramāḥ srajaḥ | gātrebhyo jāyate svedo ratir bhavati nāsane || etāny ādau nimitāni cyutau svargād divaukasām | aniṣṭānīva martyānām ariṣṭāni mumūrṣatām || sukham utpadyate yac ca divi kāmān upāśnatām | yac ca duḥkham nīpatatām duḥkham eva viṣīyate ||*. "For think how bitter is the suffering in this world of those at the point of death; how much worse then is the suffering of the devotees of pleasure who fall at the last from Paradise? Their cloths retain the dust, their magnificent garlands wither, sweat appears on their limbs and they find no delight in their places. These are the signs at first of the approaching fall from Paradise of the dwellers therein, like those ominous symptoms which herald the death of mortals. Of the pleasure they experience from sensuous enjoyment in heaven and the suffering from their fall, the suffering is far the greater." Translation Johnston (1932, p. 65); see also Covill (2007, p. 223).

⁸¹ *T. 189* [III] 642a3–6: 又見彼天福盡之時, 五死相現: 一者頭上花萎, 二者眼瞬, 三者身上光滅, 四者腋下汗出, 五者自然離於本座。

3.5.2. Another hint at the relationship between the two texts may be provided by their fairly similar treatment of the gods of the realms of subtle corporeality (*rūpadhātu*) and incorporeality (*ārūpyadhātu*). In BC 14.44, Aśvaghōṣa alludes to those other gods who, “having disjoined themselves from sensual passion, conclude in their minds that their station is eternal; yet they fall miserably from heaven.”⁸² Inasmuch as they are dispassionate (*vairāgya?*), the deities referred to cannot be inhabitants of the realm of desire (*kāmadhātu*); they must therefore belong to the higher “cosmo-meditational” realms of subtle corporeality and incorporeality. The gods of these two realms are alluded to in a very similar but slightly more detailed way in T. 189: “The gods of the *rūpa* and *ārūpya* realms see [themselves as having] a long lifespan (*dīrghāyus*) [and] hence [falsely] believe [they can enjoy] an eternal bliss (*nityasukha?*). Having seen that they are decaying, a great suffering arises [in them, and] they accordingly(/then) give rise to false views (*mithyādr̥ṣṭi?*), [falsely] claiming that there is no [karmic] causality. Because of this, they roam about in the three [bad] destinies [and] experience all [sorts of] suffering(s).”⁸³ Although the import of T. 189 is not entirely clear to me, the overall meaning of the two passages is reasonably clear and homogenous: free from desire, the gods of the highest meditational levels falsely believe to partake of a permanent condition (*'di ni rtag par gnas pa ste*, “This will last forever,” BC) or to have an eternal life and a permanent bliss (T. 189); they are thus doomed to fall from these heavenly states as a result of such a false view (T. 189).⁸⁴

An Outline of Suffering in Saṃsāra

4.1. As briefly hinted at above (§1.5), Aśvaghōṣa concludes his account of the second watch of the night with two stanzas summarizing the forms of suffering considered most typical of each of the five destinies: “In the hells is excessive torture [*duḥkha*, VE], among animals eating each other, the suffering of hunger and thirst among the *pretas*, among men the suffering of [constant] search, [i]n the heavens that are free from love the suffering of rebirth is excessive. For the ever-wandering world of the living there is most certainly no peace anywhere.”⁸⁵ The

⁸² BC_{Weller} 14.44 (BC_T D52b5–6): *'dod chags bral ba thob nas kyaiñ gzan rnams lha nas ñes par ltuññ 'di ni rtag par gnas pa stel zes ni ñes pa'i sems ldan rnams*/. Translation Johnston (1984, (II).208) (Johnston's original translation reads: “Others, who have disjoined [...]”). According to Johnston (1984, (II).208, n. ad 43, 44), this refers to the gods of the Brahmā world.

⁸³ T. 189 [III] 642a15–17: 色無色界諸天。見壽命長，便謂常樂。既見變壞，生大苦惱，即起邪見，謗無因果。以此事故，輪迴三塗，備受諸苦。

⁸⁴ Cf. MPPU 175a: “Les dieux du Monde matériel (*ārūpyadhātu*), qui jouissent des recueils (*samāpatti*) et s'y attachent, ne comprennent pas que, leur vie terminée, ils retomberont dans le Monde du désir et assumeront une forme d'oiseau ou d'animal. De même, les dieux du Monde matériel (*rūpadhātu*), tombés des séjours purs (*suddhāvāsa*), concevront à nouveau des désirs sensuels et résideront dans les sphères impures. Enfin, les six classes de dieux du Monde du désir (*kāmadhātu*), attachés aux cinq objets du désir, retomberont dans les enfers (*niraya*) et y subiront toutes les douleurs.” Translation *Traité* II.951.

⁸⁵ BC_{Weller} 14.45–46 (BC_T D52b6–7): *dmyal ba rnams su sdug bñal dragl dud 'gro rnams su phan tshun zal bkres skom sdug bñal yi dags sul mi la 'shol ba'i sdug bñal lolñ lha na sdug pa dan bral pasl bskyed pa'i sdug bñal phul byuñ stel skor ba gson pa'i 'jig rten gyil gañ na ži ba ñes par medññ*. Translation

interest of this outline of suffering in *saṃsāra* lies neither in the fact that it has no counterpart in the other extant accounts of enlightenment including *T. 189* nor in the types of suffering which it associates with hell (torture), the hungry ghosts (hunger and thirst), the animals (mutual killing), and the gods (fall), all of which are ubiquitous in Buddhist literature. Beside its mere presence and its very nature as a summary of transmigrational suffering, what makes this passage interesting is the type of suffering which it regards as most characteristic of human beings, i.e., *paryeṣṭi* or “(constant, vain and detrimental) search,”⁸⁶ for summaries of this kind with *paryeṣṭi* as a shorthand for human suffering seem to belong to a very specific textual tradition.

4.2. A very similar statement occurs in the *Aśokāvadāna* in the context of the legend of Vīṭāśoka: “The Triple World is filled with (*anuṣakta*) these five [kinds of] suffering: to begin with, in hell, the suffering of being burnt (*dāha*) by fire caused by the torture (*santāpa*) [inflicted] on the body; among the animals, the suffering of the terror [caused by the habit] of devouring one another; among the hungry ghosts, the suffering [caused] by hunger and thirst; among humans, the suffering [caused] by the occurrence (*samudācāra*) of [constant] search; among the gods, the suffering [caused] by decline, fall, and decay.”⁸⁷ Although the wording differs here and there and the description occasionally goes into more

Footnote 85 continued

Johnston (1984, (II.)208), with “[constant] search” instead of “longings.” In my opinion, “among the gods, the suffering produced by the separation from the beloved is excessive” is a more satisfactory rendering of *lha na sdug pa dan bral pas bskyed pa'i sdug bsñal phul byuñ ste* than “[i]n the heavens that are free from love the suffering of rebirth is excessive.” Strictly speaking, the account of the third watch ends with BC 14.48.

⁸⁶ Though in a different context, *paryeṣṭi* recurs in BC 18.7 (BC_T D65a1–2): *'dod pa rnams su gcig min zes pas rjes bciñs pa'il yoñs su 'tshol ba la sogs skyon rnams thos nas nil ñes par 'byuñ ba'i cho gar yon tan rnam śes nasl rnam dben las skyes śi ba'i bden pa bsñen par mdzodll*. “Observing the evil consequences, of search, etc., that are involved in the many attachments to the lusts, and realizing the good consequences of the way of renunciation, devote yourself to the truth of quietude which is born of discrimination (*viveka*).” Translation Johnston (1984, (III.)30). Constant search and expectations are likely what Aśvaghōṣa has in mind in BC 14.34, the last of the verses dedicated to rebirth among humans (see above, n. 70): “And in this state the fools, obsessed with desire, are borne along in the ever-flowing stream, thinking all the more, ‘This is to be done and this is to be done’.” The gerund *kārya* occurs in a similar context in other sources, but, if I am not mistaken, in a different function, i.e., as a warning against the evils of procrastination. Note ŚL 66: *śvaḥ kāryam etad idam adya param muhūrtād etat kṣaṇād iti janena vicintyamāne l tiryānirīkṣanapīśaṅgitakāladaṇḍaḥ śaṅke hasaty asahanam kupitah kṛtāntah ll*. “I will do this tomorrow, that today, the other thing after a short while, this now. When people think like this, I fear that the impatient and angry Lord of Death, whose once black club has been stained deep crimson by his furious sidelong glances, will laugh at them.” Translation Hahn (1999, p. 97). Note also MKL 58–59: *'chi bdag su dan mi bśes pal glo bur dag tu 'bab 'gyur basl sañ dag bya zes ma bzes parl dam pa'i chos la bsñur te mdzodll 'di sañ den 'di mi bya zesl bya ba mi la bzañ po minl nam žig khyod ni med 'gyur ba'il sañ de gdon mi za bar 'oñll*. “The Lord of Death, who is no man’s friend, will descend upon you suddenly. Therefore, with great effort turn to the holy Dharma and do not say, ‘I will do it tomorrow.’ ‘I will do this tomorrow, not today’ is not good for a man to say. Without any doubt, that tomorrow will come when you no longer exist.” Translation Hahn (1999, p. 35).

⁸⁷ *Dīvyā* 422,10–14: *narake tāvac charīrasantāpakṛtam agnidāhaduḥkham ca tiryakṣv anyonyabhakṣaṇaparitrāsaduḥkham preteṣu kṣuttarśaduḥkham paryeṣṭisamudācārāduḥkham manuṣyeṣu cyavanapatana-bhramśaduḥkham deveṣu l ebhir pañcabhir duḥkhais trailokyam anuṣaktam l*. See also Strong (1989, pp. 137 and 225).

detail, the *Aśokāvadāna* also characterizes human suffering as *paryeṣṭi*. But the *Divya*, of which the *Aśokāvadāna* has come to be a part, contains yet another, more famous passage dealing with the five destinies. This passage describes how the Buddhists—or rather, the Mūlasarvāstivādins—came to draw a wheel of *saṃsāra* (*saṃsāracakra*, or wheel of existence, *bhavacakra*) at the entrance of their monasteries, a practice that our text traces back to Maudgalyāyana's frequent journeys to the various destinies for the sake of moral edification.⁸⁸ Here is the initial part of this passage:⁸⁹ “From time to time, the Venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana happened to set out on a journey to hell, to set out on a journey to the animals, to set out on a journey to the hungry ghosts, a journey to the gods, a journey to the humans. Having observed the [forms of] suffering that are those of the beings in hell—skinning, rending, cutting, splitting, etc.—, of the animals—devouring one another, etc.—, of the hungry ghosts—hunger and thirst, etc.—, of the gods—decline, fall, destruction, ruin, etc.—, [and] of the humans—[constant] search, addiction/(attachment),⁹⁰ etc.—, he came back to Jambudvīpa and announced to the four assemblies: ‘Whoever has a coresidential pupil or a disciple leading the religious life without satisfaction, may he take him and go to the Venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana. The Venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana will admonish him well, will instruct him well.’”⁹¹ As we can see, this important passage contains a summary of suffering in *saṃsāra* that is very similar to Aśvaghōṣa's and the *Aśokāvadāna*'s, with *paryeṣṭi*-(*vyasana*) as the form of suffering regarded as most characteristic of human beings. As is well-known, important parts of the *Divya* rely on materials drawn from the MSV,⁹² and the etiological narrative just quoted is no exception to this, as already pointed out by

⁸⁸ On the wheel of *saṃsāra*/existence, see, e.g., Przulski (1920), Lalou (1928), Schlingloff (1971), Sopa (1984), Teiser (2006, 2009), Zin and Schlingloff (2007), and Mejer (2010). Let it be reminded in this connection that the MSV is the *only* extant Vinaya to enjoin the painting of the *saṃsāracakra*, and, hence, to contain iconographic prescriptions to this effect. The fact that the MSV was the only Vinaya available in Tibet “made it possible—in theory, at least—for the painting of the wheel of rebirth to later assume an unquestioned and widespread status” (Teiser 2006, p. 53). On Maudgalyāyana's frequent visits to hell and other destinies, see MV I.4,12–26,17 (Jones 1949, pp. 6–29).

⁸⁹ The version translated below is the one whose Sanskrit has survived in the *Divya* (see below, n. 91). It has been re-edited and translated into German in Zin and Schlingloff (2007, pp. 19–26). Yijing's Chinese version of the entire passage (T. 1442 [XXIII] 810c–811c) has been translated into French by Przulski (1920, pp. 654–656) and into English by Teiser (2006, pp. 53–56). The Chinese rendering of the text is significantly more detailed than the surviving Sanskrit.

⁹⁰ I am inclined to analyze the compound *paryeṣṭivyaṣana* as a *dvandva*, an interpretation that is corroborated by the Tibetan rendering of the compound, in the MSV, as *tshol ba dan chags pa* (see below, n. 93).

⁹¹ *Divya* 298,25–299,9, as edited in Zin and Schlingloff 2007, pp. 19–20: *ācaritam āyusmato mahāmaudgalyāyanasya kālena kālaṃ narakacārikāṃ caritum tiryakcārikāṃ caritum pretacārikāṃ devacārikāṃ manuṣyacārikāṃ caritum | sa yāni tāni narakāṇāṃ sattvānāṃ utpātanupātanachedanabhedanādīni duḥkhāni tiraścāṃ anyonyabhakṣaṇādīni pretānāṃ kṣuttrṣādīni devānāṃ cyavanapatanavikīraṇavidhvamsanādīni manuṣyāṇāṃ paryeṣṭivyaṣanādīni duḥkhāni tāni dṛṣṭvā jambudvīpam āgatya catasṛṇāṃ parśadām ārocayati | yasya kasyacit sārdaṃvihāry antevāsi vānabhirato brahmacaryaṃ carati sa tam ādāya yenāyusmān mahāmaudgalyāyanas tenopasaṅkrāmaty āyusmān mahāmaudgalyāyana enaṃ samyag avavadiṣyaty anuśāsiṣyatīti |*

⁹² See Lévi (1907), Hiraoka (1998), and Rotman (2008, pp. 15–19); for literature on the MSV, see Teiser (2006, pp. 50–51, n. 1).

Przyłuski, Teiser, and Mejor. Here is the relevant part of the text: “From time to time, the Venerables Śāriputra and Mahāmaudgalyāyana happened to set out on a journey to hell, to set out on a journey to the animals, to set out on a journey to the hungry ghosts, a journey to the gods, a journey to the humans. Having observed the [forms of] suffering that are those of the beings in hell—skinning, rending, cutting, splitting the living beings, etc.—, of the animals—devouring one another, etc.—, of the hungry ghosts—hunger and thirst, etc.—, of the gods—decline, fall, destruction, ruin, etc.—, [and] of the humans—[constant] search, addiction/(attachment), etc.—, they came back to Jambudvīpa and announced [what follows] to the four assemblies.”⁹³

4.3. I am not in a position to decide whether Aśvagoṣa was familiar with this passage, but there can be no doubt that the summaries of transmigrational suffering encountered in the BC, the *Divya*, the MSV and parallel sources are closely related. This raises two questions: Was Aśvagoṣa acquainted with texts that at some point (likely after the poet’s lifetime) came to be regarded as purely Mūlasarvāstivādin, as those spelling out the etiology of the iconographic prescriptions undoubtedly are? And: Was Aśvagoṣa *visually* familiar with the *saṃsāracakrabhvacakra* itself, or at least with pictorial representations of the bad destinies? While later poets such as Haribhaṭṭa and the author of the *Suhrillekha* obviously were,⁹⁴ Aśvagoṣa’s works

⁹³ MSV P Te 106b6–107a1: *btsun pa tshe dan ldan pa śā ri 'i bu dan mau dgal gyi bu chen po gñis kyi kun du spyod pa ni dus dan dus su sems can dmyal ba rgyu ba dan dud 'gro rgyu ba dan yi dags rgyu ba dan lha rgyu ba dan mi rgyur mchi ba lags pas de gñis kysis de dag tu brgyus nas 'dzam bu 'i gliñ du mchis te 'khor ba bzi po dag la sems can dmyal ba ba 'i sems can rnam kyi dbyuñ ba dan gtub pa dan gcad pa dan gśeg pa la sogs pa 'i sdug bśñal dan dud 'gro rnam kyi cig la cig 'tshal ba la sogs pa 'i sdug bśñal dan yi dags rnam kyi bkres pa dan skom pa la sogs pa 'i sdug bśñal dan lha rnam kyi [...] chi 'pho dan ltuiñ ba dan rnam par 'thor ba dan rnam par 'jig pa la sogs pa 'i sdug bśñal dan mi rnam kyi tshol ba dan chags pa la sogs pa 'i sdug bśñal gan dag lags pa de dag rjod par bgyid pas [...]. Note also Ms. Pelliot Skt.rouge 5.1–3 (see Zin and Schlingloff 2007, pp. 31–33 and Pauly 1959, pp. 228–240), of uncertain affiliation, as edited in Zin and Schlingloff (2007, p. 34): *yāni tāni nārakāṇaṃ sattvānāṃ chedanabhedanādīni duḥkhāni tiryāścām anyonyabhakṣaṇādīni pretānāṃ kṣuttṛṣādīni duḥkhāni devānāṃ cyavanapatanavikīraṇāvadhvaṃsanādīni manuṣyānāṃ paryeṣṭīyasanādīni duḥkhāni* I. “The [forms of] suffering that are those of the beings in hell, such as cutting and splitting, the [forms of] suffering that are those of the animals, such as devouring one another, of the hungry ghosts, such as hunger and thirst, of the gods, such as decline, fall, destruction and ruin, and of humans, such as [constant] search and addiction/(attachment).” RGV 4.51ab: *deveṣu cyutiduhkham ity avagamāt paryeṣṭiduhkham nṛṣu prājñā nābhilaṣanti devamanuṣeṣv aiśvaryam apy uttamam* I. “Due to understanding that the gods suffer from falling [and that] humans suffer from [constant] search, wise people do not desire even supreme sovereignty among gods and humans.” DhS 18.5: *paryeṣṭiyu¹ pahatā martyāḥ pramāḍopahatāḥ surāḥ I kṣuttarṣavyasanāḥ pretāḥ kāraṇābhīḥ ca nārakāḥ* II. ¹ *-ṣṭyu-* MS, appendix de Jong, p. 215: *-ṣṭu-* Ed. “Les hommes sont affligés par les préoccupations, les dieux par la frivolité; les mânes ont le malheur de la faim et de la soif, et les habitants des enfers, des douleurs extrêmes.” Translation Lin (1973, 215).*

⁹⁴ JM_H 32.44–45: *āyasyāṃ kūñitākṣaṃ jvalitahutavahasparśasantiāpitāyāṃ kumbhyāṃ gāḍhaṃ nadantaṃ kvathītaparicalattailapūrṇāsyakaṇṭham I ālokyālekyabhittau likhitam api naraṃ nārakaṃ pacyamānaṃ hīmsro 'pi krūrābhāvāt ka iva na viramed durgatiprāptihetoḥ II śrutvā durgatiduhkhāni vīramaty aśubhān na yaḥ I so 'naddhāpuruṣākārah pāṣānahrdayo 'pi vā* II. “Who, be he ever so mischievous, would not abstain from cruelty, the cause of falling into a lower form of existence, when he sees in a painting on a wall a man being cooked in an iron kettle, scorched up by contact with hot flames, crying heavily, his eyes contracted, his mouth and his throat being filled with boiling and bubbling sesame oil. He who has heard about the suffering in the bad forms of existence and does not abstain from what is unwholesome either wears a false human shape or has a heart made of stone.” Translation Hahn (2002, pp. 329–3300. Cf. SuL 83–84: *sdig can dbugs 'byuñ 'gags pa tsam žig gil dus kysis bar du chod rnam dmyal ba yil sdug bśñal gźal yas thos nas rnam stoñ dul*

contain no conclusive evidence to this effect.⁹⁵ However, his account of the enlightenment contains at least one additional clue to a possible acquaintance with these or very similar prescriptions. In his account of dependent origination, Aśvaghōṣa compares the (relationship between consciousness and) name-and-form with a man riding in a boat.⁹⁶ Now, the clearest parallel to this simile I am aware of is to be found in the Chinese version of the MSV's iconographic prescription concerning name-and-form in the framework of the wheel of *saṃsāra*/existence: "For the ignorance branch make an image of a *rakṣa* [demon]. For the dispositions branch make an image of a potter's wheel. For the consciousness branch make an image of a monkey. For the name-and-form branch make an image of people riding in a boat."⁹⁷ In spite of their distance in time, the two texts' use of the very same simile for so specific an object cannot be coincidental.

4.4. How to account for this textual tradition's choice to appoint *paryeṣṭi* as the form of suffering most typical of human beings? The most obvious explanation I can think of lies in the various versions of the "Sermon of the Setting in Motion of the Wheel of the Law" (*Dharmacakrapravartanasūtra*), more precisely in the various versions of this *sūtra*'s description of the truth of suffering. Here is this description in its most oft-quoted version, the Theravāda recension: "Birth is suffering, and old age is suffering and disease is suffering and dying is suffering, association with what is not dear is suffering, separation from what is dear is suffering, not getting what one wants is suffering—in short the five constituents that are clung to are suffering."⁹⁸ However, this version is not the only one known to us. Indeed, the (Mūla)sarvāstivāda and Mahāsāṅghika recensions of the *sūtra* exhibit a slight

Footnote 94 continued

mi 'jig gañ lags rdo rje'i rañ bzin noll dmyal ba bris pa mthoñ dañ thos pa dañl dran dañ bklags dañ gzugs su bgyis rñams kyañl 'jigs pa skye bar 'gyur na mi bzad pa 'il rnam smin ñams su myoñ na smos ci 'ishalll. "Die Übeltäter müssen wirklich ein diamanthartes Herz haben, wenn sie tausendfach von den Qualen der Hölle hören, von denen sie nur durch den Zeitraum eines Atemzuges getrennt sind, und dann keine Furcht empfinden. Furcht kommt schon dann auf, wenn man die Hölle nur gemalt sieht, von ihr hört, and sie denkt, über sie liest oder sich ein Abbild macht; was soll man da über den Augenblick sagen, da man die grausige Reife der Taten selbst erfährt?" Translation Dietz and Hahn (2008, p. 25).

⁹⁵ Unless one interprets the *mthoñ nas*/"observing" (literally "having seen") of BC 18.14 (BC_T D65a6–7) in this very concrete sense, which I am not much inclined to: *sems ni srid pa g.yos las yañ dag g.yos nas daiñl 'khor ba'i 'gro ba rnam pa sna tshogs mthoñ nas nil rtog pa med cin'ñi la bden'ñi chags med parl sems ni sñoms'ñi mshan ma med pa bsñen par gyisll*. "Shake your mind free from transitory existence; and *observing* the various spheres of rebirth (*gati*) in the cycle of existence, educate (*bhāvaya*) your mind, so that it is devoid of thought (*vitarka*?), fixed in quietude and free from passion. Then practice the 'absence of object.'" Translation Johnston (1984, (III.)31, emphasis mine).

⁹⁶ See below, §5.1, and n. 110.

⁹⁷ T. 1442 [XXIII] 811b8–10: 無明支應作羅剎像。行支應作瓦輪像。識支應作獼猴像。名色支應作乘船人像 [...]. Translation Teiser (2006, p. 55). See also Zin and Schlingloff (2007, p. 27) and Przuluski (1920, p. 317), and below, n. 110.

⁹⁸ Vin 1.10 (cf. AN III.146): *jāti pi dukkhā jarā pi dukkhā vyādhi pi dukkhā maraṇam pi dukkham appiyehi sampayogo dukkho piyehi vippayogo dukkho yam p'icchaṃ na labhati taṃ pi dukkham samkhitena pañcupādānakkhandhā pi dukkhā*. Translation Horner (1971, p. 16), with "suffering" instead of "ill," and "constituents that are clung to" instead of "groups of grasping."

discrepancy in the wording of the seventh⁹⁹ form of suffering. Instead of *yam p'icchaṃ na labhati taṃ pi dukkhaṃ* (and the like, “not getting what one wants is suffering”), these recensions read: *yad ap'icchan paryeṣamāṇo na labhate tad api duḥkham* (“not getting what one wants [and] searches for is suffering”),¹⁰⁰ and this *paryeṣamāṇah* (“[and] searches for”) is in my opinion the most likely origin of the Mūlasarvāstivāda notion of *paryeṣṭi*.

4.5. Given that *pariṣ-* and its derivatives, especially *paryeṣaṇā*, generally have rather positive connotations (revolving around the notion of a “[religious] quest,” paradigmatically that of the Bodhisattva), how is *paryeṣṭi* to be understood in the essentially negative context of a description of human suffering?¹⁰¹ The word occurs twice in Vasubandhu’s AKBh in relation with the definitions of craving

⁹⁹ The MVy (§112) records an eightfold list of suffering: 2233. *jātiduḥkham*, 2234. *jarāduḥkham*, 2235. *vyādhiduḥkham*, 2236. *marānaduḥkham*, 2237. *prīyaviprayogaduḥkham*, 2238. *apriyasamprayogaduḥkham*, 2239. *yad ap'icchayā paryeṣamāṇo na labhate tad api duḥkham*, and 2240. *saṅkṣeṇa pañcopādānaskandhaduḥkham*. For this and other lists of suffering, as well as references to primary sources, see Lin (1949, pp. 60–61). Aśvaghōṣa’s version of the truth of suffering does not resort to *paryeṣamāṇa*, etc. (BC_{Weller} 15.39 [BC_Ṭ D57b7]: *lkye dañ rga dañ na dañ de nas rgud pa dañ lsdug pa dañ bral mi sdug pa la sbyor ba dañ l' dod pa'i don ni rab tu thob pa med pa stel lrnām pa sna tshogs sdug bñal 'di ni yoñs su 'thobl*. “Birth, old age, disease and eke death, separation from what is desired, union with what is not desired, failure to attain the longed for end, those are the varied sufferings that men undergo.” Translation Johnston 1984, (III).12.)

¹⁰⁰ CPSū II.158 ≈ SBhV I.137,23–24 ≈ AVSū 14,10–15,2 ≈ MV III.332,2–4 ≈ LV 417,6–7. The Dharmaguptaka recension of the *sūtra* reads the same as the *Theravādavīnaya*: in T. 1428 [XXII] 788a17 (所欲不得苦), 欲 most certainly translates *icchā*. What about the Mahīśāsaka version? T. 1421 [XXII] 104c2 reads 所求失苦. From the meaning alone, 求 is perhaps closer to *pariṣ-* than to *iṣ-* (“seek,” “look for,” “request,” “aspire”); however, interpreting 求 as rendering *paryeṣamāṇah* would mean that T. 1421 has no equivalent of *icchā*, which I find very unlikely. I am thus rather inclined to interpret 求 as reflecting the translator’s choice and/or style. The same remarks seem to apply, respectively, to the *Madhyamāgama* (T. 26 [I] 467c1: 所求不得苦) and the *Ekottarikāgama* (T. 125 [III] 631a16: 所欲不得苦). Note, however, that the expression 求救 does render *paryeṣamāṇa* at SPSū 101,13 (Karashima 1998, p. 335).

¹⁰¹ Note especially MN I.161 and 162: *dve 'mā bhikkhave pariyesanā-ariyā pariyesanā anariyā ca pariyesanā / katamā ca bhikkhave anariyā pariyesanā / idha bhikkhave ekacco attanā jātidhammo samāno jātidhammañ ñeva pariyesati / attanā jarādhammo samāno jarādhammañ ñeva pariyesati / attanā byādhidhammo [...] attanā marāṇadhammo [...] attanā sokadhammo [...] attanā saṅkilesadhammo samāno saṅkilesadhammañ ñeva pariyesati / [...] katamā ca bhikkhave ariyā pariyesanā / idha bhikkhave ekacco attanā jātidhammo samāno jātidhamme ādinavaṃ viditvā ajātaṃ anuttaraṃ yogakkhemaṃ nibbānaṃ pariyesati / [...] attanā saṅkilesadhammo samāno saṅkilesadhamme ādinavaṃ viditvā asankiliṭṭhaṃ anuttaraṃ yogakkhemaṃ nibbānaṃ pariyesati / ayaṃ bhikkhave ariyā pariyesanā /* “Bhikkhus, there these two kinds of search: the noble search and the ignoble search. And what is the ignoble search? Here someone being himself subject to birth seeks what is also subject to birth; being himself subject to ageing, he seeks what is also subject to ageing; being himself subject to sickness, he seeks what is also subject to sickness; being himself subject to death, he seeks what is also subject to death; being himself subject to sorrow, he seeks what is also subject to sorrow; being himself subject to defilement, he seeks what is also subject to defilement [...] And what is the noble search? Here someone being himself subject to birth, having understood the danger in what is subject to birth, seeks the unborn supreme security from bondage, Nibbāna; [...] being himself subject to defilement, having understood the danger in what is subject to defilement, seeks the undefiled supreme security from bondage, Nibbāna. This is the noble search.” Translation Nāṇamoli and Bodhi (2001, pp. 254–256). See also Sn 289: *aṭṭhacattārisaṃ vassāni komārabrahmacariyaṃ carīṃsu te / vijjācaranapariyitṭhiṃ acaruaṃ brāhmaṇā pure //*. “For forty-eight years they practised the life of a young brahman; in former times the brahmins practised the search for knowledge and (good) conduct.” Translation Norman (1996, p. 49). On *paryeṣaṇā*, see also Bareau (1963, p. 73).

(*trṣṇā*) and appropriation/clinging (*upādāna*). Vasubandhu characterizes craving as follows: “Craving is [the condition] of him who desires enjoyments and copulation.”¹⁰² Commenting on this definition, he specifies that “we call ‘craving’ the condition in which desire for the objects of the five senses (*kāmaguṇa*) and copulation are in activity, [but only] as long as one does not proceed to the search for the objects of this [desire].”¹⁰³ In other words, *paryeṣṭi* does not consist in desire itself, but in one’s subsequent search or striving for the objects of desire—the traditional understanding of *upādāna* in the context of the Sarvāstivādin-Vaiśāṣika “*āvasthika*” interpretation of dependent origination. And indeed, according to Vasubandhu, “we call ‘appropriation/clinging’ that condition in which he who proceeds to search is running everywhere in order to obtain the objects [of his/her desire].”¹⁰⁴

Discovering Dependent Origination

There can be no doubt that, as hinted at by Kajiyama Yūichi,¹⁰⁵ the nucleus of Aśvaghōṣa’s account of the third watch of the night (BC 14.49–86) is modelled on the NUSū, a *sūtra* that is “distinguished by the particular form of the *praiṭhya-samutpāda* formula which it contains, namely a ten-fold origination (*pravṛtti*) cycle (which omits *avidyā* and *saṃskāra*) and a twelve-fold extinction (*nivṛtti*) cycle, both detailed in their *anuloma* and *pratiloma* directions.”¹⁰⁶

5.1. Aśvaghōṣa’s account starts with a formulaic statement, on the part of the Bodhisattva, to the effect that suffering in the form of old age and death is universal and apparently inescapable: “Alas! Living creatures obtain but toil; over and over again they are born, grow old, die, pass on and are reborn. Further man’s sight is veiled by passion and by the darkness of delusion, and from the excess of his blindness he does not know the way out of this great suffering.”¹⁰⁷ This parallels the beginning of the NUSū: “Alas, this world is afflicted with hardship: it is born, it grows old, it dies, it falls (to a lower state), and it is reborn. Furthermore, these

¹⁰² AK_p 3.23a₂b: *trṣṇā bhogamāithunarāgiṇaḥ* *l*. See also *Kośa* II.64.

¹⁰³ AKB_h 132,15/AKB_h 1.346,10: *kāmaguṇamāithunarāgasamudācārāvasthā trṣṇety ucyate yāvan na tadviṣayaparyeṣṭim āpadyate* *l*. See also *Kośa* II.64.

¹⁰⁴ AKB_h 132,17–18/AKB_h 1.346,12–13: *yaśyām avasthāyām viṣayapṛāptaye paryeṣṭim āpannaḥ sarvato dhāvaty asāv avasthopādānam ity ucyate* *l*. See also *Kośa* II.64.

¹⁰⁵ See Kajiyama (1983/2013); see also Bongard-Levin et al. (1996, p. 35).

¹⁰⁶ Bongard-Levin et al. (1996, p. 26). On this doctrine and its indigenous interpretations, see Bongard-Levin et al. (1996, pp. 26–30). See NUSū §§I.4–15 and 16–27. On the *Nagaropamasūtra*°*sutta*, see also Tripāṭhī (1962, pp. 94–106) (the presence of *nidānas* *11. *saṃskāra* and *12. *avidyā*, pp. 97–98, results from an erroneous reconstruction on the part of Tripāṭhī) and SN II.104–107 (Bodhi 2000, pp. 601–604); for further Sanskrit fragments from the NUSū, see Karashima et al. (2015, pp. 441–442, 459–460, and 467–468).

¹⁰⁷ BC_{Kajiyama} 14.50–51 (BC_T D53a2–3): *kye ma 'jig rten nal thob gañl yañ dañ yañ du skye ba dañl 'khogs pa dañ ni 'chi ba dañl 'pho ba dañ ni skye ba ñidll yañ na sdug bñal che 'di lasl chags pas loñ mun gyis bsgribs pal skyes loñ śin tu dog sa nasl phyi rol 'gro ba śes ma yinll*. Translation Johnston (1984, (II.)209). For similar statements, see above, n. 19.

beings do not truly know how to escape beyond old age and death.”¹⁰⁸ Such an observation is obviously meant to justify the Bodhisattva’s search for an understanding of the origin of old age and death as well as a proper method to put an end to it. In BC 14.52–70, Aśvagoṣa relates the Bodhisattva’s discovery of dependent origination from birth (*jāti*) as the cause of old age and death to consciousness (*viññāna*) as the cause of name-and-form—thus disregarding *saṃskāra* (conditioning factors; here past action) and *avidyā* (nescience)—, a process that finds an exact counterpart in NUSū §§I.4–12[a].¹⁰⁹ Next, BC 14.71–76 presents the Bodhisattva’s closer analysis of the relationship between consciousness and name-and-form and his conclusion that both stand in mutual dependency: “When consciousness arises, name-and-form is produced. When the development of the seed is completed, the sprout assumes a bodily form. Next he considered, ‘From what does consciousness come into being?’ Then he knew that it is produced by supporting itself on name-and-form. Then after he had understood the order of causality, he thought over it; his mind travelled over the views that he had formed and did not turn aside to other thoughts. Consciousness is the causal condition from which name-and-form is produced. Name-and-form again is the support on which consciousness is based. Just as a boat conveys a man,¹¹⁰ so consciousness and name-and-form are causes of each other. Just as redhot iron causes grass to blaze and as blazing grass makes iron redhot, of such a kind is their mutual causality.”¹¹¹ Although without any simile, the NUSū says exactly the same: “It occurred to me then: under what condition are there name-and-form? Furthermore, by what are

¹⁰⁸ NUSū §I.3: *krcchram batāyaṃ loka āpanno yad uta jāyate ’pi jīryate ’pi mriyate ’pi cyavate ’py upapadyate ’py atha ca punar ime sattvā jarāmaraṇasyottare nihsaraṇaṃ yathābhūtaṃ na prajānanti* . Translation Bongard-Levin et al. (1996, p. 90).

¹⁰⁹ See Johnston (1984, (II.)209–211) and Bongard-Levin et al. (1996, pp. 90–91).

¹¹⁰ Note Johnston (1984, (II.)212, n. 75): “[Chinese] suggests the sense to be that a boat carries a man on the water and the man carries the boat on dry land, but one would expect to be told that a man propels a boat, as the boat conveys the man.” The Chinese translation of the MSV’s iconographic prescriptions has, for *nāmarūpa* (T. 1442 [XXIII] 811b10): 名色支應作乘船人象. “For the name-and-form branch make an image of people riding in a boat.” Translation Teiser (2006, p. 55) (see also Przuluski 1920, p. 317 and Zin and Schlingloff 2007, p. 27, and above, n. 97). The MASū provides a parallel for another of Aśvagoṣa’s numerous similes. BC_{Kajiyama} 14.60–61 (BC_T D53a7–b1) runs as follows: *gañ gi rgyu las len pa zsel de nas de yi gyur pa stel de nas ñe bar len pa ’i rkyen/ sred par des ni mkhyen pa ’oll chuñ ñu me yis nags kyi mel rluñ gis bus te bskyed pa bžin/ ’dod sogs ñon moñs rgya chen rnam/ sred pa yis ni skyed par byed/*. “Then the thought occurred to him, ‘From what cause does appropriation come?’ Thereon he recognised the causal condition of appropriation to lie in thirst. Just as the forest is set ablaze by a little fire, when the wind fans it, so thirst gives birth to the vast sins of sensual passion and the rest.” Translation Johnston (1984, (II.)210). Here is MASū §9c, v. 19 (II.142): *prabhūtabhākṣasya hi pāvakasya samīritam vāyuvāsād yathārciḥ I evam upādānam idaṃ hi bhavati tṛṣṇānidānaṃ jvalati yathārciḥ II*. “Just as the flame of the much-devouring fire [when it is] impelled/propelled by the wind, just so is this appropriation/grasping: caused by craving, [it] burns like the flame.”

¹¹¹ BC_{Kajiyama} 14.71–76 (BC_T D53b5–54a1): *rnam par śes pa ’das pa nal miñ dañ gzugs ni rab gnas tel sa bon bskrun pa rdzogs pa nal myu gu rnam par ’dzin pa ’oll de nas rnam par śes pa nil gañ las yin zēs bsams par gyur/ miñ dañ gzugs la brten nas del de nas de yi skye ba mkhyen/ de nas rgyu yi go rims nil mkh[y]en nas de yi blor gyur tel sems ni lugs ’byuñ bskor ba stel gžan du lugs las bzlog par min/ rnam par śes pa ’i rkyen las nil miñ dañ gzugs de skye ba stel miñ dañ gzugs la brten nas nil slar yañ rnam par śes pa skyell ji ltar gru yis mi ’dren žiñ/ [...] de bžin rnam par śes pa dañ/ miñ gzugs phan tshun gyi rgyu ’oll ji ltar lcags ni ’bar ba yis/ rtswa rnam/ ’bar bar byed na yañ/ ’bar ba de yis de gduñ stel de bžin phan tshun rgyu ñid doll*. Translation Johnston (1984, (II.)211–212).

name-and-form caused? While I was reflecting deeply on this, a clear realization of the way things truly are arose as follows: when there is consciousness there are name-and-form. Name-and-form, moreover, are caused by consciousness. It occurred to me then: under what condition is there consciousness? Furthermore, by what is consciousness caused? While I was reflecting deeply on this, a clear realization of the way things truly are arose as follows: when there are name-and-form there is consciousness. Consciousness, moreover, is caused by name-and-form.”¹¹² After a short summary moving backward from consciousness to old age and death (BC 14.77–79 and NUSū §I.15¹¹³), both Aśvaghōṣa and the NUSū turn to the Bodhisattva’s discovery of the *nivṛtti* or cessation cycle according to which old age and death are destroyed if birth is destroyed, and so on until: the conditioning factors are destroyed if nescience is destroyed (BC 14.80–83ab and NUSū §§I.16–26). The NUSū (§I.27) then provides a summary moving backward from the destruction of nescience to the destruction of old age and death. This has no counterpart in the BC. Aśvaghōṣa’s account ends on a short statement to the effect that the Bodhisattva has now reached buddhahood, has walked along a path trodden long ago by the seers of old, and has finally reached omniscience: “Therefore he knew properly what was to be known and stood out before the world as the Buddha. The best of men saw no self anywhere from the summit of existence downwards and came to tranquillity, like a fire whose fuel is burnt out, by the eightfold path of supreme insight, which starts forth and quickly reaches the desired point. Then as his being was perfected, the thought arose in him, ‘I have obtained this perfect path which was travelled for the sake of the ultimate reality by former families of great seers, who knew the higher and the lower things.’ At that moment of the fourth watch when the dawn came up and all that moves or moves not was stilled, the great seer reached the stage which knows no alteration, the sovereign leader the state of omniscience.”¹¹⁴ The new Buddha’s allusion to the path travelled by the seers of old

¹¹² NUSū §I.12: *tasya mamaitad abhavat kasmīṃ nu sati nāmarūpaṃ bhavati kimpratrayayaṃ ca punar nāmarūpaṃ tasya mama yoniśo manasikurvata evaṃ yathābhūtasābhisamaya udapādi vijñāne sati nāmarūpaṃ bhavati vijñānapratrayayaṃ ca punar nāmarūpaṃ l tasya mamaitad abhavat kasmīṃ nu sati vijñānaṃ bhavati kimpratrayayaṃ ca punar vijñānaṃ tasya mama yoniśo manasikurvata evaṃ yathābhūtasābhisamaya udapādi nāmarūpe sati vijñānaṃ bhavati nāmarūpapratrayayaṃ ca punar vijñānaṃ l*. Translation Bongard-Levin et al. (1996, pp. 91–92), with “name-and-form” instead of “name and form.” See also MASū §§9b11–14[a] (II.136–137). Note, however, that several versions of the NUSū, notably the one quoted *in extenso* in the *Pravrajyāvastu* of the MSV (see Vogel and Wille 1996, 257ff.), make no mention of such a mutual dependence (see Murakami 1973, pp. 34–36; Enomoto 1982; Schmithausen 1987, I.169–180, Bongard-Levin et al. 1996, pp. 29–30, esp. n. 55).

¹¹³ The NUSū extends the progression to grief (*śoka*), sorrow (*parideva*), suffering (*duḥkha*), dejectedness (*daurmanasya*) and irritation (*upāyāsa*).

¹¹⁴ BC_{Kājiyama} 14.83cd–87 (BC_T D54a5–b1): *’di las mkhyen bya ’di ni yañ dag mkh[y]en mdzad nas/ sañs rgyas zes ni ’jig rten na rab gnas par gyurll yan lag brgyad dañ ldan pa rab tu śar ba yil rtse mor myur ’gro dam pa ’i lta ba ’i lam gyis nil srid rtse ’i bar las mchog gyur bdag med rnam gzigs nasl bud śi[n] tshig pa ’i me bzin ži bar gsęgs par gyurll de nas bdag ñid mdzad pa de yi gyur pa nil mchog gi drañ sroñ mchog dañ mchog min mkh[y]en pa ’i tshogs/ gna’ ma rnams kyis don dam rgyu las gsęgs pa yil s[ñ]in po ’i lam ’di bdag gis lhag par thob par gyurll thun ni bzi ba ’i skya reñs śar ba ’i yud tsañ nal rgyu dañ mi rgyu ’i ’byuñ po rnams ni ži ba nal drañ sroñ mchog gis ’gyur ba med pa ’i go ’phañ dañ l kun gyi mgon gyis thams cad mkhyen pa ñid brñes soll*. BC 14.87 according to BC_T D54a7–b1.

echoes the NUSū, where the Buddha declares that he “discovered an ancient path, an ancient course, an ancient trail that was sought and followed by former seers.”¹¹⁵

5.2. As we have seen above, Aśvaghōṣa’s account of the first two watches is strikingly parallel to T. 189. *Mutatis mutandis*, the same can be said of BC 14.49–86 in spite of the fact that T. 189’s version of the *pratīyasamutpāda* does not conform to the NUSū. Let me first quote T. 189’s account in full: “Thinking in this way he reached the end of the middle watch of the night (中夜, Nakamura 1975, 961b, ≈ *madhyame yāme*). At this time the Bodhisattva reached the third [watch of the] night. He considered by which causes and conditions does the nature of living beings entail old age and death. He immediately understood that old age and death have birth for their origin, [that] if one is free from birth, then there are neither old age nor death, and again, [that] this birth does not arise from the gods (*deva*), nor from itself (*svayam?*), nor without [causes and] conditions, [but] from causes and conditions. [Indeed,] it arises due to action (*karman*) in the sphere of desire (*kāma*), in the sphere of [subtle] corporeality (*rūpa*) and in the sphere of incorporeality (*arūpa*). He further considered by means of what does action in the three spheres (*trihava*, *bhavatraya?*) arise and understood immediately that action in the three spheres arises from the four [types of] clinging. He further considered by means of what do the four [types of] clinging arise and understood immediately that the four [types of] clinging arise from craving (*trṣṇā*). He further considered by means of what does craving arise and understood immediately that craving arises from [pleasurable affective] sensation (*vedanā*). He further considered by means of what does [pleasurable affective] sensation arise and understood immediately that [pleasurable affective] sensation arises from contact (*sparśa*). He further considered by means of what does contact arise and understood immediately that contact arises from the six sensory bases (*ṣaḍāyatana*). He further considered by means of what do the six sensory bases arise and understood immediately that the six sensory bases arise from name-and-form. He further considered by means of what does name-and-form arise and understood immediately that name-and-form arises from consciousness. He further considered by means of what does consciousness arise and understood immediately that consciousness arises from past action (*saṃskāra*). He further considered by means of what does past action arise and understood immediately that past action arises from nescience (*avidyā*). If nescience is destroyed, then past action is destroyed. [If] past action is destroyed, then consciousness is destroyed. [If] consciousness is destroyed, then name-and-form is destroyed. [If] name-and-form is destroyed, then the six sensory bases are destroyed. [If] the six sensory bases are destroyed, then contact is destroyed. [If] contact is destroyed, then [pleasurable affective] sensation is destroyed. [If] [pleasurable affective] sensation is destroyed, then craving is destroyed. [If] craving is destroyed, then clinging is destroyed. [If] clinging is destroyed, then existence is destroyed. [If] existence is destroyed, then birth is destroyed. [If] birth is destroyed, then old age, death, grief, sorrow, suffering, dejectedness and irritation are destroyed. In this way he considered the twelve causes and conditions in reverse

¹¹⁵ NUSū §I.28: *adhigato me paurāṇo mārgaḥ paurāṇo vartma paurāṇī puṭā pūrvakai rṣibhir yātānuyātā* l. Translation Bongard-Levin et al. (1996, p. 94).

order (*pratiloma*) and in regular order (*anuloma*) during (?) the third division (分) of the night [and thus] got rid of nescience. At the time when early dawn¹¹⁶ emerged, he had obtained the light of insight, eliminated [all] the propensities (?習) and obstructions (障, **āvaraṇa*, **nīvaraṇa*?), [and] omniscience (一切種智).”¹¹⁷

5.3. As we can see, although the sequence of the Bodhisattva’s discovery of the *pratīyasamutpāda*—according to both the *pravṛtti* and the *nivṛtti* cycles and both *pratilomatas* and *anulomatas*—closely matches that of the BC and the NUSū, two elements betray a different understanding of dependent origination: first, the *pravṛtti* cycle has twelve members instead of ten; second, no mention is made of the mutual dependence of *viññāna* and *nāmarūpa*—a feature that characterizes certain versions of the NUSū as well.¹¹⁸ This being said, the features common to Aśvaghōṣa’s account and T. 189 are, here again, too numerous and specific to be purely coincidental. First, immediately after the Bodhisattva’s identification of the cause of birth, i.e., existence (*bhava*), Aśvaghōṣa adds: “Then the thought again arose in him, ‘What does this birth proceed from?’ Then he saw rightly that birth is produced from existence due to the power of the act. With his divine eyesight he saw that active being proceeds from the act, not from a Creator or from Nature or from a self or without a cause.”¹¹⁹ This has no parallel in the NUSū. But as we have just seen, T. 189 also considers birth to proceed from action in the three cosmic realms: “[Birth] arises due to action (*karman*) in the sphere of desire, in the sphere of [subtle] corporeality and in the sphere of incorporeality.”¹²⁰ I am aware of no other *pratīyasamutpāda*-related description of enlightenment connecting *jāti* to *bhava* = *karman*. Furthermore, T. 189 also has a statement to the effect that the Bodhisattva “immediately understood [...] that birth does not arise from the gods, nor from

¹¹⁶ According to Nakamura (1975, 1308a), 明相 may render Skt. *aruṇa*.

¹¹⁷ T. 189 [III] 642a19–b10: 如是思惟, 至中夜盡。爾時菩薩, 至第三夜。觀衆生性, 以何因緣, 而有老死。即知老死, 以生爲本。若離於生, 則無老死。又復此生, 不從天生。不從自生, 非無緣生, 從因緣生。因於欲有色有無色有業生。又觀三有業從何而生, 即知三有業從四取生。又觀四取從何而生。即知四取從愛而生。又復觀愛從何而生。即便知愛從受而生。又復觀受從何而生, 即便知受從觸而生。又復觀觸從何而生, 即便知觸從六入生。又觀六入從何而生, 即知六入從名色生。又觀名色從何而生, 即知名色從識而生。又復觀識從何而生, 即便知識從行而生。又復觀行從何而生, 即便知行從無明生。若滅無明, 則行滅。行滅則識滅。識滅則名色滅。名色滅則六入滅。六入滅則觸滅。觸滅則受滅。受滅則愛滅。愛滅則取滅。取滅則有滅。有滅則生滅。生滅則老死憂悲苦惱滅。如是逆順, 觀十二因緣, 第三夜分, 破於無明。明相出時, 得智慧光, 斷於習障, 成一切種智。

¹¹⁸ See above, n. 112.

¹¹⁹ BC_{Kajiyama} 14.55–56 (BC_T D53a4–5): *de nas de yi slar gyur pal skye ba 'di slar gañ la[s] zes/ de nas las srid las skye bar/ skye ba yañ dag mkhyen pa'ol des ni lha yi spyan gyis nil las las 'jug par mkhyen pa stel dbaṅ phyug las min rañ bzin min/ bdag las ma yin rgyu med min/*. Translation Johnston (1984, (II.) 209). As remarked by Johnston (1984, (II.)209, n. 55), Tib. *las srid* likely translates Skt. *karmabhava*, “act (ion)” (AKBh 114,18–19 and *Kośa* II.13). Cf. AK 3.24ab and AKBh 132,20: *sa bhaviṣyadbhavaphalaṃ kurute karma tad bhavaḥ / sa viṣayāṅgāṃ prāptihetoḥ paridhāvan paunarbhavikaṃ karmopacinoti so 'ya bhavaḥ /*. “Il fait l’acte qui aura pour fruit l’existence (*bhava*) à venir: c’est le *bhava*. [*bhava*, c’est-à-dire ‘acte’, car l’existence a lieu en raison de lui, *bhavaty anena*.] L’acte fait et accumulé dans la recherche des jouissances produira la réexistence. La période où on fait l’acte, c’est le *bhava*.” Translation *Kośa* II.64.

¹²⁰ T. 189 [III] 642a23–24 (for the Chinese text, see above, n. 117).

itself, nor without [causes and] conditions, [but] from causes and conditions.”¹²¹ Although a similar statement can be located in at least one other account of a Buddha's enlightenment through the discovery of dependent origination (MASū), it occurs there in a different position and with a different function.¹²² Second, Aśvaghōṣa gives a fourfold description of clinging/appropriation: “This act arises from clinging to the various vows and rules of life, sensual pleasures, views of self and false views, as fire arises by appropriating fuel.”¹²³ It is certainly no coincidence that T. 189 also refers to four types of clinging: “He further considered by means of what does action in the three spheres arise and understood immediately that action in the three spheres arises from the four [types of] clinging.”¹²⁴ Third, Aśvaghōṣa's account of the third watch of the night ends with a statement to the effect that the Buddha has now reached omniscience (*thams cad mkhyen pa ñid*, *sarvajñatā). This again closely parallels T. 189's conclusion: “At the time when the early dawn emerged, he had obtained the light of insight, eliminated [all] the propensities and obstructions, [and] omniscience.”

Conclusion

6.1. As we have seen, BC 14.1–87 bears striking resemblances with T. 189 (watches no. 1 and 2, and at least partly watch no. 3), with passages that (have come to) belong to Mūlasarvāstivāda literature (outline of suffering in *saṃsāra*), and with the NUSū (account of dependent origination in watch no. 3). I would like to postpone any pronouncement as regards the direction of borrowing in the case of the BC and the MSV (in its formative stage?), for I am not in a position to decide whether Aśvaghōṣa borrowed this outline from (a building block/an earlier version of) the MSV (which I am inclined to believe) or whether it was added by the compilers of the MSV to an already existing account of Maudgalyāyana's and Śāriputra's visits

¹²¹ T. 189 [III] 642a21–23 (for the Chinese text, see above, n. 117). This and similar statements may originate from *sūtras* such as the *Nalakalapiya* (Skt. *Naḍakalāpikā*, see Schmithausen 1987, II.460, n. 1076; SN II.112–115, Bodhi 2000, pp. 607–609). Here, the Venerable Mahākoṭṭhita asks Śāriputta whether old age and death (etc.) is “created by oneself, or is created by another, or is created both by oneself and by another, or has it arisen fortuitously, being created neither by oneself nor by another?” (SN II.112–113: *kinnu kho āvuso sārīputta sayamkataṃ jarāmarañam paraṃkataṃ jarāmarañam sayamkatañ ca paraṃkatañ ca jarāmarañam udāhu asayaṃkāram aparāṃkāram adhicca samuppannaṃ jarāmarānaṃ ti* l. Translation Bodhi 2000, pp. 607–608.)

¹²² MASū §9c, v. 27–28 (II.143): *evam idaṃ bhavati sahetukaṃ bhṛṣaṃ sapratyayam asti nidānam asya / tasmād duḥkhe vipariṇāmadharme jñātvā pipāsāṃ vinayanti paññitāḥ // tad idaṃ hi devair na kṛtaṃ na mānuṣair na ceśvarair nirmītaṃ nābhivādyaiḥ / pratyeti vidvān kuśalasmṛtaś ca duḥkhasya jñātvā prabhavaṃ śamaṃ ca //*. In the MASū, these two verses serve as a transition between the *pravṛtti* cycle and the *nivṛtti* cycle.

¹²³ BC_{Kajiyama} 14.59 (BC_T D53a6–7): *tshul khrims brtul žugs mchog 'dzin daiñ 'dod blo bdag tu lta rnamś kyisñ bud śiñ rnamś kyis me bžin dul 'di yis las ni ñe bar lenñl*. Translation Johnston (1984, II.)210). The four types of *upādāna* are: *kāmapādāna*, *dr̥ṣṭyupādāna*, *śīlavratopādāna*, and *ātmavādotopādāna*, i.e., appropriating sensual pleasures, false views, [non-Buddhist] precepts and observances, and substantialism. For primary sources on the four *upādānas*, see *Kośa* II.86, n. 1 (i.a. SN II.3, DN II.58, MN I.66).

¹²⁴ T. 189 [III] 642a24–25 (for the Chinese text, see above, n. 117).

to the various destinies.¹²⁵ Whatever the case may be, this indebtedness provides an additional hint at a relationship between Aśvaghōṣa and what was or came to be known as Mūlasarvāstivāda—maybe a local/regional declension of Sarvāstivāda with peculiarities in Vinaya and doctrinal inclinations making it close to Sautrāntika and Yogācāra *in statu nascendi*. It also raises interesting questions concerning the institutional and visual environment of the poet. On the contrary, Aśvaghōṣa's indebtedness to a version of the NUSū affirming the mutual dependence of name-and-form and consciousness can be taken for granted.

6.2. What about the direction of borrowing in the case of BC 14.1–87 and T. 189, now? Did the poet, who claims to write his BC in conformity with the Buddhist scriptures (BC 28.74),¹²⁶ make free use of T. 189 (or a very similar if not a common source) as we know he did of other (Mūla)sarvāstivāda canonical materials? Or did the compiler(s) of T. 189 consider Aśvaghōṣa's BC authoritative enough a biography to be appropriated and recontextualized in the form of a *sūtra*? My impression is that T. 189 would be much truer to the BC than it actually is had its compiler(s) resolved to “plagiarize” it on account of its authoritative character. Now, T. 189 lacks an equivalent of the BC's outline of suffering in *saṃsāra* and does not conform to the NUSū, Aśvaghōṣa's model for dependent origination. In addition, such (a) “plagiarizing” compiler(s) might be expected, if not to keep the number of the punishments in hell to seven, at least to reproduce the BC's account of suffering in heaven and the useful examples adduced by Aśvaghōṣa to explain the mutual relations between the links of dependent origination. Furthermore, he/they certainly would have followed their model and told the whole of the Buddha's biography instead of stopping at the conversion of the great disciples. In my opinion, however, these and other discrepancies are easier to explain if one regards Aśvaghōṣa as a Buddhist *literatus* who was well acquainted with canonical sources and selectively drew from them according to his narrative, doctrinal, compositional, rhetorical and metrical needs. On this hypothesis, Aśvaghōṣa borrowed the overall structure of his account of the three watches to T. 189 with its characteristic emphasis on the description of suffering in the five destinies. The poet remained true to the contents and the rhetorical overtones of T. 189, keeping seven out of ten punishments in hell, and this in their original sequence, accounting for the human destiny by emphasizing embryological and obstetrical elements inherited from the doctrinal complex of the *antarābhava*, insisting on the mutilations by and the service to the human beings in his description of the animals, and accounting for suffering among the gods through a unique combination of minor and major signs of fall. Similarly, the wording of the BC exhibits unmistakable traces of T. 189. This is the case on the level of terminology, e.g., in the two works' account of the first watch (*aiśvarya*, *paramārtha*, *atrāṇa*, *niḥsāra*, etc.) or in some marginal features of

¹²⁵ The parallel passage in the MV lacks an equivalent of this outline. However, the discrepancies between the MSV/*Divya* and the MV accounts of the event are so numerous that this can hardly be considered an argument in favour of a later addition to the MSV/*Divya*. For instance, contrary to the MV, the MSV/*Divya* account provides no description of the different destinies; on the other hand, the MV account does not result in iconographic prescriptions.

¹²⁶ See above, n. 23.

their account of the third (*karman* in lieu of *bhava*, fourfold clinging, the Bodhisattva's philosophical reflection about God, Nature, etc.). In addition, the two works present significant similarities in phraseology and metaphorical repertoire. To the structural and thematic frame provided by T. 189, Aśvaghōṣa likely added a summary of suffering in *samsāra* that he borrowed from a scripture acknowledged in his ordination lineage, adapted T. 189's version of dependent origination to make it conformable with the doctrine of the NUSū, and adduced examples for the causal relationships between the *nidānas*.

6.3. The present account of the genesis of BC 14.1–87 is admittedly very speculative. Further research into the chronology, the sectarian affiliation and the doctrinal features of T. 189 as well as a close comparison with other parts of the BC will no doubt shed more light on the relationship between the two texts or their common source. Whatever the outcome of these prospects, a mediate or immediate relationship between T. 189 and the BC cannot be reasonably doubted. In addition, Aśvaghōṣa's relationship with (proto-)Mūlasarvāstivāda milieux or compilers looks ever more plausible, either that the poet knew and made use of texts that belonged or were to belong to a/the Mūlasarvāstivāda canon or that later Mūlasarvāstivādins regarded the BC as authoritative.

Acknowledgements Most sincere thanks are due to Robert Kritzer, Luo Hong, and Yasutaka Muroya. Stefano Zacchetti deserves special acknowledgment for reading a version of this paper and making very precious comments on my Chinese translations. Most of the present essay was written in Vienna as I was still a research fellow of the Austrian Academy of Sciences (Institute for the Cultural and Intellectual History of Asia).

References

- AK(Bh)_P—Pralhad Pradhan: *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*. Patna 1975: Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute (Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series 8).
- AK(Bh)_Ś—Swāmī Dwārikādās Śāstrī: *The Abhidharmakośa & Bhāṣya of Acārya Vasubandhu with Sphuṭārthā Commentary of Acārya Yaśomītrā*. 2 vols. Varanasi 1998: Bauddha Bharati (Bauddha Bharati Series 5–8).
- AKBh_T—*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, Tibetan version. D no. 4090, *ku 1-khu 95a7*.
- AKVy—Unrai Wogihara: *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā, the Work of Yaśomītra*. Tokyo 1989 (1936¹): Sankibo Buddhist Book Store (The Publishing Association of Abhidharmakośavyākhyā).
- AN I—Richard Morris: *The Aṅguttara-Nikāya*. Part I: *Ekanipāta* and *Dukanipāta*. London 1883: Pali Text Society.
- AN III—E. Hardy: *The Aṅguttara-Nikāya*. Part III: *Pañcaka-nipāta*, and *Chakka-nipāta*. London 1896: Pali Text Society.
- AVSū—N.H. Samtani: *The Arthaviniścayasūtra and Its Commentary (Nibandhana) Written by Bhikṣu Vīryaśrīdatta of Śrī-Nālandāmahāvihāra*. Patna 1971: Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute (Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series 13).
- Bareau, A. (1955). *Les sectes bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule*. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient (Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient 38).
- Bareau, A. (1963). *Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha dans les Sūtrapitaka et les Vinayapitaka anciens: De la quête de l'éveil à la conversion de Śāriputra et de Maudgalyāyana*. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient (Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient 53).
- BC—*Buddhacarita* (Aśvaghōṣa). Sanskrit text of BC 1.8–14.31 in Johnston 1984: 1–161. See also BC_{Kajiyama}, BC_T, and BC_{Weller}. My numbering of the stanzas follows Johnston even when the text quoted is the one edited by Weller.

- BC_{Kajiyama}—BC 14.50–85 as edited in Kajiyama (1983/2013, pp. 386–404).
- BC_T—*Buddhacarita* (Aśvaghōṣa), Tibetan version. D no. 4161, ge 1b1–103a.2.
- BC_{Weller}—Tibetan Text of BC 1–17 as edited in Weller (1926–1928).
- Beal, S. (1871). *A Catena of Buddhist scriptures from the Chinese*. London: Trübner & Co.
- Bendall, C., & Rouse, W. H. D. (1971). *Śikshā-Samuccaya. A Compendium of Buddhist Doctrine Compiled by Śāntideva Chiefly from Earlier Mahāyāna Sūtras*. Delhi (London 1922¹): Motilal Banarsidass.
- BHSD—Franklin Edgerton: *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*. Vol. II: Dictionary. Delhi 1970 (New Haven 1953¹): Motilal Banarsidass.
- Bodhi, B. (2000). *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha. A Translation of the Saṃyutta Nikāya*. Boston: Wisdom Publications (Teachings of the Buddha).
- Bodhi, B. (2012). *The Numerical Discourses of the Buddha. A Translation of the Aṅguttara Nikāya*. Boston: Wisdom Publications (Teachings of the Buddha).
- Bongard-Levin, G., Boucher, D., Fukita, T., & Wille, K. (1996). The Nagaropamasūtra: An apotropaic text from the Saṃyuktāgama. A transliteration, reconstruction, and translation of the Central Asian Sanskrit manuscripts. In G. Bongard-Levin, D. Boucher, F. Enomoto, T. Fukita, H. Matsumura, C. Vogel, & K. Wille (Eds.), *Sanskrit-Texte aus dem buddhistischen Kanon: Neuentdeckungen und Neueditionen, Dritte Folge* (pp. 7–132). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Chavannes, É. (1962). *Cinq cents contes et apologues extraits du Tripiṭaka chinois et traduits en français*. Vol. I. Paris (1910¹): Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien Maisonneuve (Collection UNESCO d'œuvres représentatives, série chinoise).
- Covill, L. (2007). *Handsome Nanda by Ashva-ghosha*. New York: New York University Press and JJC Foundation (Clay Sanskrit Library).
- CPSū II, III—Ernst Waldschmidt: *Das Catuspariśatsūtra. Eine kanonische Lehrschrift über die Begründung der buddhistischen Gemeinde. Text in Sanskrit und Tibetisch, verglichen mit dem Pāli nebst einer Übersetzung der chinesischen Entsprechung im Vinaya der Mūlasarvāstivādins*. Vols. II and III. Berlin 1957, 1962: Akademie-Verlag (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin).
- D—Derge (sDe dge) edition of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon. A.W. Barber: *The Tibetan Tripiṭaka, Taipei Edition*. Taipei 1991: SMC Publishing Inc.
- Demoto, M. (2009). Mitsuyo Demoto: Die 128 Nebenhöllen nach dem Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra. In M. Straube, R. Steiner, J. Soni, M. Hahn, & M. Demoto (Eds.), *Pāsādikadānaṃ. Festschrift für Bhikkhu Pāsādika* (pp. 61–88). Marburg: Indica et Tibetica Verlag (Indica et Tibetica 52).
- DhS—*Dharmasamuccaya* (Avalokitasiṃha). See Lin (1946 and 1973).
- Dīvyā*—Edward B. Cowell and Robert A. Neil: *The Dīvyāvadāna. A Collection of Early Buddhist Legends*. Cambridge 1886: Cambridge University Press. [Repr. Amsterdam 1970: Oriental Press NV and Philo Press.]
- DN II—T.W. Rhys Davids and J. Estlin Carpenter: *The Dīgha Nikāya*. Part II. London 1947 (1903¹): Pali Text Society.
- Dutoit, J. (1921). *Jātakam. Das Buch der Erzählungen aus früheren Existenzen Buddhas* (Vol. VII). Leipzig: Theosophisches Verlagshaus.
- Eltschinger, V. (2012 [2013]). Aśvaghōṣa and his canonical sources II: Yaśas, the Kāśyapa Brothers and the Buddha's Arrival in Rājagṛha (*Buddhacarita* 16.3–71). *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 35(1–2), 171–224.
- Eltschinger, V. (2013). Aśvaghōṣa and his canonical sources I: Preaching selflessness to King Bimbisāra and the Magadhans (*Buddhacarita* 16.73–93). *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, 41(2), 167–194.
- Eltschinger, V. (forthcoming). Vincent Eltschinger: Aśvaghōṣa on Scriptural Authority.
- Enomoto, F. (1982). 'Shōdaijōron' mushōshaku ni inyō sareru jakkan no kyōmon o megutte – 'Jōyūkyō' no tenkai o chūshin ni 『撰大乘論』無性釈に引用される若干の經文をめぐって – 「城邑経」の展開を中心に –. [On some Sūtras quoted in the Mahāyānasamgrahopanibandhana—Focusing on the evolution of the Nagarasūtra]. *Bukkyō Shigaku Kenkyū* 佛教史学研究. *Journal of the History of Buddhism*, 24(2), 44–57.
- Feer, L. (1892–1893). L'Enfer indien. *Journal Asiatique Série VIII*, 20, 185–232.
- Foucaux, P. É. (1884). *Le Lalita Vistara, Développement des jeux, contenant l'histoire du Buddha Çakya-Mouni depuis sa naissance jusqu'à sa prédication*. Paris: Ernest Leroux, Éditeur (Annales du Musée Guimet 6).
- GASū—*Garbhāvākṛāntisūtra*. See Kritzer (2014, pp. 227–385).

- Gehman, H. S. (1974). Petavatthu: Stories of the Departed. In I. B. Horner & H. S. Gehman: *The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon* (pp. 1–110). Part IV. London (1942¹): Pali Text Society.
- Hahn, M. (1999). *Invitation to enlightenment. Letter to the Great King Kaniṣka. Letter to a disciple by Candragomin*. Berkeley: Dharma Publishing.
- Hahn, M. (2002). Haribhaṭṭa's Jātakamālā. In J. Braarvig (Ed.), *Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection III—Buddhist Manuscripts II* (pp. 323–336). Oslo: Hermes Publishing.
- Hahn, M., & Dietz, S. (2008). *Wege zur rechten Erkenntnis. Buddhistische Lehrbriefe*. Frankfurt: Insel Verlag (Verlag der Weltreligionen).
- Hiraoka, S. (1998). The relation between the *Dīvyāvādāna* and the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya. *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, 26, 419–434.
- Hiraoka, S. (2013). The school affiliation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. In Dharmadinnā (Ed.), *Research on the Ekottarika-āgama (Taishō 125)* (pp. 71–105). Dharma Drum Buddhist College Research Series 6. Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation.
- Horner, I. B. (1971). *The Book of the Discipline (Vinaya-Piṭaka)*. Vol. IV (Mahāvagga). London (1951¹): Luzac & Company.
- J—Heinrich August Jäschke: *A Tibetan-English Dictionary, with Special Reference to the Prevailing Dialects*. London 1881. [Repr. Kyoto 1990: Rinsen Book Company.]
- Jāt I-IV—Fausbøll: *The Jātaka together with Its Commentary, Being Tales of the Anterior Births of Gotama Buddha*. Vol. I. London 1962 (1877¹): Luzac & Company, Pali Text Society.
- JM_A—*Jātakamālā* (Āryaśūra). See Meiland (2009).
- JM_H—Michael Hahn: *Poetical Visions of the Buddha's Former Lives. Seventeen Legends from Haribhaṭṭa's Jātakamālā*. New Delhi 2011: Aditya Prakashan.
- Johnston, E. H. (1932). *The Saundarananda or Nanda the Fair: Translated from the Original Sanskrit of Aśvaghōṣa* (p. 14)). London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press (Panjab University Oriental Publications).
- Johnston, E. H. (1984). *Aśvaghōṣa's Buddhacarita or Acts of the Buddha (in three parts: Sanskrit Text of Cantos I–XIV with English Translation of Cantos I–XXVIII, Cantos I to XIV translated from the Original Sanskrit supplemented by the Tibetan Version and Cantos XV to XXVIII from the Tibetan and Chinese Versions*. Delhi (Lahore 1936¹): Motilal Banarsidass.
- Jones, J. J. (1949). *The Mahāvastu* (Vol. I). London: Luzac & Company LTD.
- Jones, J. J. (1952). *The Mahāvastu* (Vol. II). London: Luzac & Company LTD.
- Kajiyama, K. (1983/2013). Aśvaghōṣa no tsutaeru engisetsu Aśvaghōṣa の伝える縁起説. [The *Pratīyasamutpāda* Theory Transmitted by Aśvaghōṣa]. In N. N. (ed.): *Bukkyō to Bunka—Nakagawa Zenkyō sensei shōtoku kinen ronshū* 仏教と文化 : 中川善教先生頌徳記念論集 [Buddhism and Culture—Festschrift for Professor Nakagawa Zenkyō]. Koyasan: Department of Buddhism, Kōyasan University. Published in Kyoto, Dōhōsha, 201–219. Repr. in Kajiyama Yūichi: *Kajiyama Yūichi Chosaku-shū, Dai ikkan: Bukkyō Shisōshi Ron* 梶山雄一著作集, 第1巻 : 仏教思想史論 [The Collected Papers of Kajiyama Yūichi, Vol. 1: Articles on the History of Buddhist Thought]. Tokyo 2013: Shunjusha, pp. 381–405.
- Karashima, S. (1998). *A Glossary of Dharmarakṣa's Translation of the Lotus Sūtra [...]*. Tokyo: The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University (Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica 1).
- Karashima, S. (2001). *A Glossary of Kumārajīva's Translation of the Lotus Sūtra [...]*. Tokyo: The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University (Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica 4).
- Karashima, S., Nagashima, J., & Wille, K. (2015). *The British Library Sanskrit Fragments, volume III.1*. Tokyo: The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University (Buddhist Manuscripts from Central Asia).
- Kloppenborg, R. (1973). *The Sūtra on the Foundation of the Buddhist Order (Catuspariṣatsūtra)*. Leiden: E.J. Brill (Religious Texts Translation Series Nisaba).
- Kośa—Louis de La Vallée Poussin: *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*. 6 vols. Bruxelles 1980 (Paris 1923–1931¹): Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises (Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques 16).
- Kritzer, R. (2014). *Garbhāvākraṅtisūtra. The Sūtra on Entry into the Womb*. Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies (Studia Philologica Buddhica, Monograph Series 31).
- Lalou, M. (1928). Notes sur la décoration des monastères bouddhiques, à propos d'un livre récent de M. Goloubew. *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, 5(3), 183–185.
- Law, B. C. (1925). *Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective*. Calcutta: Calcutta University. [Reprint Varanasi 1973: Bhartiya Publishing House.]

- Lévi, S. (1907). Les éléments de formation du Divyāvādāna. *T'oung Pao*, 1st Series, 8, 105–122.
- Lin, L.-K. (1946). *Dharma-samuccaya. Compendium de la Loi*. Part I (Chaps. 1–5). Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien Maisonneuve.
- Lin, L.-K. (1949). *Introduction au Compendium de la Loi (Dharma-Samuccaya): L'Aide-mémoire de la Vraie Loi (Saddharma-smṛty-upasthāna-sūtra)*. Recherches sur un Sūtra développé du Petit Véhicule. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien Maisonneuve.
- Lin, L.-K. (1973). *Dharma-samuccaya. Compendium de la Loi*. Part III (Chaps. 13–36). Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien Maisonneuve.
- LV—Salomon Lefmann: *Lalita Vistara. Leben und Lehre des Çākya-Buddha*. Erster Teil: Text. Halle 1902: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses.
- MASū—Ernst Waldschmidt: *Das Mahāvādānasūtra, ein kanonischer Text über die sieben letzten Buddhas. Sanskrit, verglichen mit dem Pāli nebst einer Analyse der in chinesischer Übersetzung überlieferten Parallelversionen auf Grund von Turfan-Handschriften*. 2 vols. Berlin 1953–1956: Akademie-Verlag (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, Jahrgang 1952, no. 8/Jahrgang 1954, no. 3).
- Matsunaga, D. (1972). *The Buddhist Concept of Hell*. New York: Philosophical Library.
- MDhŚ—*Mānavadharmasāstra*. Patrick Olivelle: *Manu's Code of Law. A Critical Edition and Translation of the Mānavadharmasāstra*. Oxford 2005: Oxford University Press.
- Meiland, J. (2009). *Garland of the Buddha's Past Lives* (2 Vols.). New York: New York University Press and JJC Foundation (Clay Sanskrit Library).
- Mejor, M. (2010). Painting the 'Wheel of Transmigration' (*samsāra-cakra*): A note on the textual transmission. In E. Franco & M. Zin (Eds.), *From Turfan to Ajanta. Festschrift for Dieter Schlingloff on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday* (Vol. II, pp. 671–690). Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute.
- MKL—*Mahārājakanīṣhalekha* (Mātṛceṭa). See Hahn (1999, pp. 5–49) (Tibetan text and English translation).
- MN I—V. Trenckner: *The Majjhima-Nikāya*. Part I. London 1935 (1888¹): Pali Text Society.
- MN III—Robert Chalmers: *The Majjhima-Nikāya*. Part III. London 1899: Pali Text Society.
- MPPU—*Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa* (Deutero-Nāgārjuna). T. 1509. See also *Traité*.
- MSV—*Mūlasarvāstīvādinaya*.
- Murakami, S. (1973). Sansukurittobon jōyūkyō (nagara) – jusshi engi to jūnishi engi (sono ichi) サンスクリット本城邑経(nagara) – 十支縁起と十二縁起(その一). [The Sanskrit Text of the Nagarasūtra – the Ten-fold and Twelve-fold Pratītyasamutpāda, Part I]. *Bukkyō Kenkyū 仏教研究* [Buddhist Studies], 3, 20–47.
- Mus, P. (1939). *La Lumière sur les Six Voies. Tableau de la transmigration bouddhique d'après des sources sanskrites, pāli, tibétaines et chinoises en majeure partie inédites*. Part I: Introduction et critique des textes. Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie (Université de Paris, Travaux et mémoires de l'Institut d'ethnologie, 35).
- MV—Émile Senart: *Mahāvastu Avadānaṃ. Le Mahāvastu*. 3 vols. Paris 1882, 1890, 1897: Imprimerie nationale (Société Asiatique, collection d'ouvrages orientaux, seconde série).
- MVy—*Mahāvīyūtpatti*. Sakaki Ryōzaburō: Bon-zō-kan-wa shiyaku taikō Hon'yaku myōgi taishū 梵藏漢和四譯對校翻譯名義大集. [= Dictionary of Buddhist Terminology collated with the Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese and Japanese.] 2 vols. Tokyo 1962 (Kyoto 1916¹): Suzuki Research Foundation.
- Nakamura, H. (1975). *Bukkyōgo daijiten 佛教語大辞典* [Encyclopedia of Buddhist Terminology] (2 Vols.) (and one volume for index). Tokyo: Tokyo Shoseki.
- Ñāṇamoli, B., & Bodhi, B. (2001). *Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha. A Translation of the Majjhima Nikāya*. Boston (1995¹): Wisdom Publications (Teachings of the Buddha).
- Norman, K. R. (1996). *The Rhinoceros horn and other early Buddhist poems (Sutta-Nipāta)*. Oxford: Pali Text Society.
- NUSū—*Nagaropamasūtra*. See Bongard-Levin et al. (1996).
- Okano, K. (1990). Lalitavistara genkei no tsuika bubun Fuyōkyō kan 8 ni tsuite (ラリタヴィスタラ原形の追加部分・普曜経卷八について) [On the eighth volume of the Puyao jing as the additional part to the original Lalitavistara]. *Shikyōkenkyū 宗教研究* [Journal of Religious Studies], 283, 139 (593)–141(595).
- Okumura, H. (2013). Kakogenzai'ingakyō ni tsuite (奥村 浩基: 『過去現在因果経』について) [On the Guoqu xianzai yinguo jing]. *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, 61(2), 873–879.

- Olivelle, P. (2009). *Life of the Buddha by Ashva-ghosha*. New York: University Press and JJC Foundation (Clay Sanskrit Library).
- P—Daisetz T. Suzuki: *The Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition, Kept in the Library of the Otani University, Kyoto*. Tokyo/Kyoto 1957: Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute.
- Pauly, B. (1959). Fragments sanskrits de Haute Asie (Mission Pelliot). *Journal Asiatique*, 248, 203–249.
- Przyluski, J. (1920). La roue de la vie à Ajantā. *Journal Asiatique Série XI*, 16, 313–331.
- Przyluski, J. (1923). *La légende de l'empereur Aśoka (Aśoka-avadāna) dans les textes indiens et chinois*. Paris: Paul Geuthner.
- RGV—E.H. Johnston: *The Ratnagotravibhāga Mahāyānottaratantrasāra*. Patna 1950: The Bihar Research Society.
- Rotman, A. (2008). *Divine Stories. Divyāvadāna*. Part I. Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- Sakamoto, K. (Ed.) (1990). *Jigoku no sekai 地獄の世界 [World of Hell]*. Tokyo: Keisuisha (Bookseller: Hokushindō).
- SBhV I—Raniero Gnoli: *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu, Being the 17th and Last Section of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin*. Part I. Roma 1977: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (Serie Orientale Roma 49/1).
- Schlingloff, D. (1971). Das Lebensrad in Ajanta. *Études Asiatiques/Asiatische Studien*, 25, 322–334.
- Schmithausen, L. (1978). Lambert Schmithausen: Zur Struktur der erlösenden Erfahrung im indischen Buddhismus. In G. Oberhammer (Ed.), *Transzendenzenerfahrung, Vollzugshorizont des Heils. Das Problem in indischer und christlicher Tradition. Arbeitsdokumentation eines Symposiums* (pp. 97–119). Vienna: Publications of the De Nobili Research Library 5.
- Schmithausen, L. (1981). On some aspects of descriptions or theories of 'Liberating Insight' and 'Enlightenment' in Early Buddhism. In: K. Bruhn & A. Wezler (Eds.), *Studien zum Jainismus und Buddhismus, Gedenkschrift für Ludwig Alsdorf* (pp. 199–250). Wiesbaden 1981: Franz Steiner Verlag (Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien 23).
- Schmithausen, L. (1987). *Ālayavijñāna. On the Origin and the Early Development of a Central Concept of Yogācāra Philosophy* (2 Vols.). Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies (Studia Philologica Buddhica, Monograph Series 4).
- SDSUSū—*Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra*. Quoted from ŚSa. See also Lin 1946, 1949, and 1973.
- ŠGK—*Šadgatikārikā*. See Mus (1939, pp. 216–293).
- ŠL—*Šiṣyalekha* (Candragomin). See Hahn (1999, pp. 51–182) (Sanskrit text and English translation).
- Sn—Dines Andersen and Helmer Smith: *Sutta-Nipāta*. Oxford 1913: Pali Text Society.
- SN II–V—Leon Feer: *Samyutta-Nikāya*. Parts II (*Nidāna-Vagga*), III (*Khanda-Vagga*), IV (*Salāyatana-Vagga*), V (*Mahā-Vagga*). London 1888, 1890, 1894, 1898: Pali Text Society.
- SNA—E.H. Johnston: *The Saundarananda of Aśvagoṣa. Critically Edited with Notes*. London 1928: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press (Panjab University Oriental Publications). See also Covill (2007).
- Sopa, G. (1984). The Tibetan 'Wheel of Life': Iconography and doxography. *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 7, 125–145.
- SPSū—Hendrik Kern and Bunyiu Nanjio: *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. Saint-Petersbourg 1908–1912: Académie Impériale des Sciences (Bibliotheca Buddhica 10).
- ŚSa—*Śiṣyāsamuccaya* (Śāntideva). Cecil Bendall: *Çikshāsamuccaya, A Compendium of Buddhist Teaching Compiled by Çāntideva Chiefly from Earlier Mahāyāna-Sūtras*. Saint-Petersbourg 1897–1902: Académie Impériale des Sciences (Bibliotheca Buddhica 1).
- Stede, W. (1914). *Die Gespenstergeschichten des Petavatthu*. Leipzig: Harrassowitz.
- Strong, J. S. (1989). *The legend of King Aśoka. A study and translation of the Aśokāvadāna*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- SuL—Pema Tenzin: *Suhrllekha of Ācārya Nāgārjuna and Vyaktapadā Tikā of Ācārya Mahāmāti (Sanskrit Restoration and Critically Edited Tibetan Text)*. Sarnath, Varanasi 2002: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies (Bibliotheca Indo-Tibetica Series 52).
- SūSa—Pāsādika, Bhikkhu: *Nāgārjuna's Sūtrasamuccaya: A critical edition of the mDo kun las btus pa*. Kobenhavn 1989: Akademisk Forlag (Fontes Tibetici Havnienses 2).
- SWbTTF—Michael Schmidt et al.: *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden und der kanonischen Literatur der Sarvāstivāda-Schule*. Vol. III: n-m. Göttingen 2008: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- T.—Takakusu Junjirō and Watanabe Kaikyoku: *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō 大正新脩大藏經*. Tokyo 1924–1932: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai 大正一切經刊行會.

- Teiser, S. F. (2006). *Reinventing the wheel: Paintings of rebirth in Medieval Buddhist temples*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Teiser, S. F. (2009). La Roue des Renaissances dans les temples bouddhiques. In P. Skilling (Ed.), *Images et imagination. Le bouddhisme en Asie* (pp. 87–109). Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient and Musée national des Arts asiatiques-Guimet (Conférences Iéna 2007–2008, Art, archéologie et anthropologie de l'Asie).
- Traité I, II, and IV—Étienne Lamotte: *Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse de Nāgārjuna (Mahāprajñāpāramitāsāstra)*. Vols. I (Chaps. I–XV), II (Chaps. XV–XXX), and IV (Chapters XLII [continued]-XLVIII). Louvain-la-Neuve 1981 (1944¹), 1981 (1949¹), 1976: Université de Louvain, Institut Orientaliste (Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 25, 26, 12).
- Tripāṭhī, C. (1962). *Fünfundzwanzig Sūtras des Nidānasamyukta*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden 8).
- Vin I—Hermann Oldenberg: *The Vinaya Piṭakam: One of the Principal Buddhist Holy Scriptures in the Pāli Language*. Vol. I: The Mahāvagga. Oxford 1997 (London 1879¹): Pali Text Society.
- Vogel, C., & Wille, K. (1996). The final leaves of the Pravrajyāvastu portion of the Vinayavastu Manuscript Found Near Gilgit. Part 1: Saṃgharakṣitāvadāna. In G. Bongard-Levin, D. Boucher, F. Enomoto, T. Fukita, H. Matsumura, C. Vogel, & K. Wille (Eds.), *Sanskrit-Texte aus dem buddhistischen Kanon: Neuentdeckungen und Neueditionen, Dritte Folge* (pp. 241–296). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Waldschmidt, E. (1960). Die Erleuchtung des Buddha. In N.N.: *Indogermanica. Festschrift für Wolfgang Krause zum 65. Geburtstag am 18. September 1960* (pp. 215–229). Heidelberg: Carl Winter. [Repr. in Ernst Waldschmidt: *Von Ceylon bis Turfan, Schriften zur Geschichte, Literatur, Religion und Kunst des indischen Kulturraumes, Festgabe zum 70. Geburtstag am 15. Juli 1967*. Göttingen 1967: Van den Hoeck & Ruprecht, 396–411 (= Chapter 18).]
- Weller, F. (1926–1928). *Das Leben des Buddha von Aśvaghōṣa. Tibetisch und Deutsch* (2 Vols.). Leipzig: Verlag Eduard Pfeiffer (Veröffentlichungen des Forschungsinstituts für vergleichende Religionsgeschichte an der Universität Leipzig, II. Reihe, 3 and 8).
- Yamabe, S. (1932). *Bukyō ni okeru jigoku no shinkenkyū* 佛教に於ける地獄の新研究 [A new study of the hell in Buddhism]. Tokyo: Shunjūsha.
- Yogalehrbuch*—Dieter Schlingloff: *Ein buddhistisches Yogalehrbuch* (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden VII). Berlin 1964: Akademie-Verlag (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, 59). [Repr. Düsseldorf 2006, Haus der Japanischen Kultur, J.-U. Hartmann and H.-J. Röllicke (eds.)]
- Zin, M., & Schlingloff, D. (2007). *Saṃsāracakra. Das Rad der Wiedergeburten in der indischen Überlieferung*. Düsseldorf: EKÖ-Haus der Japanischen Kultur (Buddhismus-Studien/Buddhist Studies 6).