

From Perdition to Awakening:

A Study of Legends of the Salvation of the Patricide

Ajātaśatru in Indian Buddhism

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Abstract

From Perdition to Awakening: A Study of Legends of the Salvation of the Patricide Ajātaśatru in Indian Buddhism

This dissertation continues the scholarship on the significant values of Buddhist narratives in reconstructing and understanding the ideological features of Buddhists in ancient India. By focusing on the narrative theme of the salvation of the patricide Ajātaśatru in Indian Buddhist literature, I hope to demonstrate how stories of this notorious *ānantarya* criminal were constructed and exploited by Buddhist authors to convey different concerns and to achieve different purposes. Based on a close reading of three groups of Buddhist stories which separately present Ajātaśatru's confession to the Buddha after his patricide, his future attainment of *pratyekabuddha*-hood and his future *buddha*-hood, I have argued that there is a considerable fluidity and diversity in Buddhist illustrations and interpretations of the salvation of Ajātaśatru. Given Ajātaśatru's double identity as both an *ānantarya* criminal and a famous *upāsaka*, such diversity may open windows into different views of Buddhist authors on the workings of *karma* and into their different emphases in Buddhist soteriological discourse. Moreover, given Ajātaśatru's unique connection with the schismatic monk Devadatta, stories of his salvation also form one part of the anti-heterodox polemics in Indian Buddhism.

Through examining the changing shapes and meanings of narrative presentations of the salvation of Ajātaśatru, I have suggested that this narrative theme is not a monolith, but a multi-faceted complex which has various dimensions including, for instance, his repentance for the patricide, his acquisition of faith in the Buddha, his change in attitude towards Devadatta, his relief of mental anguish, his spiritual attainment in this life, the mitigation of his future suffering in hell, and/or his eventual liberation. When we consider how the salvation of Ajātaśatru is interpreted in a Buddhist source, instead of simply determining whether Ajātaśatru is saved or not, we should identify relevant dimensions of his salvation, to see in what sense he is said to be saved, and examine how those dimensions are constructed within the context of that source. It is based on such a multi-dimensional assessment that we may gain a better understanding of the process of how the multi-valency and successful functioning of the theme of salvation of Ajātaśatru were achieved in the world of Indian Buddhist storytelling.

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Technical Details

All primary textual sources concerning Ajātaśatru which have been translated or cited in this study may be found at Appendix I, except relatively brief passages which are included in footnotes. Unless otherwise stated, all translations of primary texts and non-English (French, German and Japanese) academic works are my own.

When citing Sanskrit sources, I have indicated in footnotes the editions used. For Pāli texts, I have referred to the standard editions of the Pali Text society, but have always compared with the Burmese Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana (Sixth Council) edition, through accessing the Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana Tipitaka Version 4.0 [CST4] published online by the Vipassana Research Institute (<http://www.tipitaka.org>).

For Chinese sources, I have referred to the standard Taishō edition of the Buddhist canon, through using the online SAT [Saṃgaṇikīkṛtaṃ Taiśotripitakaṃ] Daizōkyō Database (<http://21dzk.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SAT/>). When citing Chinese Buddhist texts, I have adopted the conventional format: T.1234.123a12-34. This indicates that the text is numbered 1234 in the Taishō canon, on page 123, register a, from line 12 to 34. All punctuations of Chinese texts are my own.

For Tibetan sources, I have mostly used Kanjur texts in the present study. For those texts, I have referred to the Derge and sTog editions. For the Derge Kanjur (siglum: D), I have used the reproduction of the *par phud*, “first edition”, issued at the order of the sixteenth Karmapa and published on CD-ROM by the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Centre (TBRC); for the sTog edition (siglum: S), I use the online database generously provided by the TBRC (<http://www.tbrc.org>). In a rare case when mention is made of the Tanjur, I have used the Derge and the Golden editions in the online

database of the TBRC.

In citing all the primary sources, I have sought to provide both original-language editions and modern-language translations whenever available.

An asterisk (*) used before a Sanskrit or Prakrit term indicates that the term is not attested in Sanskrit or Prakrit texts, but reconstructed with reasonable certainty.

Last but not least, there is a problem which almost always exists when dealing with Buddhist literature, that is, how to use a modern language to translate the polysemantic term *dharma* (Pāli *dhamma*). In this study, I have adopted a basic dichotomy of uses of this term in Buddhism: when it refers to Buddhist teachings and practices, i.e., something prescriptive, I use the capitalized Dharma; when it refers to entities, phenomena, qualities, or virtues in general, i.e., something descriptive, I use the uncapitalized *dharma*, usually pluralized as *dharmas*.[†]

[†] On this basic distinction, see for instance, Gómez (1996: 294); Gethin (2004a: 534) particularly regarding the uses of *dhamma* in early Buddhism. I do not mean to suggest that this is the only way of translating the multivalent *dharma* in Buddhist literature. See a different opinion in Harrison (1992a: 79 n.21) who refrains from capitalizing *dharma*, so as to preserve the ambiguity of this word in English.

List of Abbreviation

For complete citations to text editions, see Bibliography.

AjKV	<i>Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodanā-sūtra</i>
AK	<i>Abhidharmakośa</i>
AKBh	<i>Abhidharmakośabhāṣya</i> (ed. Pradhan 1967) [†]
AN	<i>Āṅguttara-Nikāya</i>
AŚA	* <i>Ajātaśatrvavadāna</i> (ed. Hahn 1981)
AŚPA	<i>Ajātaśatrupiṭṭdrohāvadāna</i>
ASJ	<i>Asheshi-wang-shoujue-jing</i> 阿闍世王授決經 (T.509)
AŚBA	<i>Ajātaśatruparibodhitāvadāna</i> (= <i>Ajātaśatruparidāpitāvadāna</i>)
ĀvC	<i>Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi</i> (<i>Śrīmaj-Jinadāsa-gaṇi-mahattara-kṛtyā cūrṇyā sametaṃ śrīmad-āvaśyaka-sūtram</i> . Ratlam: Rṣabhadevajī Keśarīmalajī Śvetāmbara Saṃsthā, 1928-1929)
Avś	<i>Avadānaśataka</i> (ed. Speyer 1902-1909)
AWJ	<i>Asheshi-wang-wen-wuni-jing</i> 阿闍世王問五逆經 (T.508)
BAK	<i>Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā</i> (ed. Das and Vidyābhūṣaṇa 1888-1918)
B ^e	Burmese Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana edition of Pāli texts
BHS	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit
BHSD	F. Edgerton, <i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary</i> , Vol. II: Grammar (New Haven, 1953)
BHSG	F. Edgerton, <i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary</i> , Vol. I:

[†] I have no access to the revised edition of the AKBh published by Pradhan (1975), but I have always checked with the online version of his revised edition (http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskrit/6_sastra/3_phil/buddh/vakobhau.htm).

	Dictionary (New Haven, 1953)
Chin.	Chinese
CPD	V. Trenckner et al., <i>A Critical Pāli Dictionary</i> (Copenhagen, 1924-2011)
DĀ	<i>Dīrghāgama</i>
Divy.	<i>Divyāvadāna</i> (ed. Cowell and Neil 1886)
DN	<i>Dīgha-Nikāya</i>
DBPN	Chizen Akanuma, <i>Indo-bukkyō-koyū-meishi-jiten</i> [<i>A Dictionary of Buddhist Proper Names</i>] (Nagoya, 1930-1931; Delhi, reprint 1994)
DPPN	G. P. Malalasekera, <i>Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names</i> , 2 vols. (London, 1937-38)
EĀ	<i>Ekottarikāgama</i>
EMC	Early Middle Chinese (Pulleyblank 1991)
JA	<i>Jātakatthavaṇṇanā</i>
Jpn.	Japanese
KDAM	<i>Kalpadrumāvadānamālā</i>
LV	<i>Lalitavistara</i> (ed. Lefmann 1902-8)
MĀ	<i>Madhyamāgama</i>
MMPS	Mahāyāna <i>Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra</i>
Mppś	* <i>Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra</i> (<i>Da-zhidu-lun</i> 大智度論 [T.1509])
MN	<i>Majjhima-Nikāya</i>
MPS	<i>Mahāpariṇirvāṇa-sūtra</i> (Sanskrit Sarvāstivādin version reconstructed in Waldschmidt 1950-1951)
MSV	<i>Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya</i>
Mv	<i>Mahāvastu-avadāna</i> (ed. Senart 1882-1897).
Mvy	<i>Mahāvyutpatti</i> (ed. Sakaki 1916)

MW	Monier Monier-Willaims, <i>A Sanskrit-English Dictionary</i> (Oxford, 1899)
Pkt.	Prakrit
PrPN	Mohanlal Mehta and K. Rishabh Chandra, <i>Prakrit Proper Names</i> . 2 vols. (Ahmedabad, 1970-1972)
PTSD	T. W. Rhys Davids and William Stede, <i>The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary</i> (London, 1921-1925)
pw	Otto Böhtlingk, <i>Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung</i> . 7 vols. in 1 (St. Petersburg, 1883-86)
Śikṣ	<i>Śikṣāsamuccaya</i> (ed. Bendall 1897-1902)
Skt.	Sanskrit
SPS	<i>Śrāmaṇyaphala-sūtra</i>
Sv	<i>Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī</i> , <i>Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathā</i>
T.	J. Takakusu and K. Watanabe, eds., <i>Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō</i> , 100 vols. (Tokyo, 1924-34)
Tib.	Tibetan
TSD	Lokesh Chandra, <i>Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary</i> . 12 vols. in 1 (New Dehli, 1959-1961; Tokyo, reprint 1990)
Var.	Varient reading
Vibhāṣā	* <i>Abhidharma-Mahāvibhāṣā</i>

Chapter One

The Salvation of Ajātaśatru in Indian Buddhism:

Preliminary Considerations

Among many contemporaries of the Buddha that appear in Indian Buddhist literature, the Magadhan king Ajātaśatru stands out as one of the most notorious criminals. He is said to have killed his father Bimbisāra at the instigation of the schismatic Buddhist monk Devadatta, thereby committing patricide which is one of the five most heinous crimes according to Indian Buddhist ethics, that is, the “crimes of immediate karmic retribution [of descent into hell in the next birth]” (*ānantarya-karmāṇi*)¹. Buddhist stories from various sources tell us that soon after the death of his father, Ajātaśatru full of repentance confesses his crime to the Buddha and takes refuge in the Three Jewels. To what extent this action could have influenced Ajātaśatru’s political role as a king or his relationship to the Buddhist community will not be considered in this study, though these questions surely deserve serious consideration.²

¹ The five crimes are usually said to be matricide, patricide, killing an *arhat*, drawing the blood of a *buddha*, and causing a schism in the Buddhist community. Neither the ordering nor the formulations of these crimes are always the same in Buddhist literature. For a detailed study, see Silk 2007.

² Buddhist sources show that even after his change into a lay Buddhist Ajātaśatru continues to carry out violent deeds (for instance, making war on the Vṛjīs). In this regard, he is similar to King Aśoka. On Aśoka’s violence after his conversion, Strong (1989 [1983]: 42) suggests: “The inclusion of these acts reflects an underlying Buddhist apprehension towards the institution of kingship as inherently, perhaps inevitably, prone to such actions.” On Buddhist interpretations of political ethics (*rājadharmā*) of a king, with particular focus on the fifth chapter of the Tibetan *Bodhisattva-gocaropāya-viśaya-vikurvaṇa-nirdeśa-sūtra*, see Zimmermann (2000); see also an English translation of that chapter in Jampal (2010: 47-64). As for Ajātaśatru’s relationship to the Buddhist community, he is said to have patronized the First Buddhist Council in Rājagṛha. See the **Aśokarājavadāna* (T.2042.113a8-25), the **Aśokarājasūtra* (T.2043.151b4-22), the **Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* (T.1509. 67c19-68a3) and the *Mahāsāṃghika-vinaya* (T.1425.490b28-c13); translated in Przyluski (1926: 36-8, 61, 203-4); see also the Pāli *Samantapāsādikā* (Jayawickrama 1962: 143 [text], 8 [translation]), its Chinese parallel (T1462. 674b4-c2, translated in Bapat and Hirakawa 1970: 5-6), the *Mahāvamsa* (Geiger 1908: 17.5-18.10 [text]; 1912: 16 [translation]), the *Kṣudrakavastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* (Chinese translation at

Rather, the focus of the following discussion will be on Ajātaśatru's role as a paradigmatic criminal and on the benefits he is said to gain from his visit to the Buddha (or his encounter with a deputy of the Buddha, for instance, the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī) in this life, particularly regarding his present and future spiritual attainment and the mitigation (or elimination) of the karmic consequence of his patricide. Other stories about Ajātaśatru's transformation into a Buddhist layman (*upāsaka*) which have no direct relation to his remorse for the patricide will not be discussed. Those stories along with their English translations may be found at the end of the thesis (see Appendix II).

1.1 Why does the Buddhist Salvation of the Patricide Ajātaśatru Matter?

1.1.1 Stories of the Salvation of Ajātaśatru: Properties Unique to Buddhism

While the story of Ajātaśatru's causing the death of his father is, as scholars have observed, not unique to Buddhism but represents a “common property of the Buddhist and Śvetāmbara Jaina traditions”³, stories of the salvation of Ajātaśatru are indeed unique to Buddhism. Although Jaina sources also tell us that Kūṇika (i.e.,

T.1451.403c21-404a2; the corresponding Tibetan at Derge Kanjur 6, 'dul ba, da 304a3-305b6, paraphrased in Rockhill 1907:150-151) and Xuanzang's account (T.2087.922b14-18, translated in Deeg 2005: 429 n.1969); see also Bareau (1955: 2), Chimpa and Chattopadhyaya (1997 [1970]: 20 n.1). Moreover, Ajātaśatru is said to have good relations with the Buddha's great disciples (particularly, Kāśyapa and Ānanda). See T.2042 (114c9-115b3, 115c19-116b10, translated in Przyluski 1923: 331-4, 337-340), the *Kṣudrakavastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* (Chinese translation at T.1451.409a6-c11, 410b1-411a5; Tibetan at Derge Kanjur 6, 'dul ba, da 317b3-319a5, 320b4-322a4, paraphrased in Rockhill 1907:161-7), Faxian's account (T.2085.862a14-20; Deeg 2005: 381-2, 547) and Xuanzang's account (T.2087.922b8-11, translated in *ibid.*: 381n.1807); see also Sadakata (1984: 172-6); Strong (1992: 61-6); Ray (1994: 108-9); Nyanaponika and Hecker (2003 [1997]: 132, 182).

³ Silk 1997: 219. See earlier observations by Jacobi (1879: 2, 5), Bühler (1903 [1887]: 27-28), Tawney (1895: xx-xxi, 175-178), Deleu (1969: 87; translated in de Jong and Wiles 1996: 28). See also Wiles (2000: 67-107), who provides a complete annotated translation of the story of Ajātaśatru and Bimbisāra (separately known to Jains as Kūṇika and Śreṇika) in the *Nirayāvaliyāo*, “Sequence of Hells”, the eighth of the Śvetāmbara *Upāṅgas*, “Subsidiary Limbs”. I am grateful to Dr. Naomi Appleton for informing me of Dr. Royce Wiles' Ph.D. thesis and to Dr. Wiles for loaning me a copy of his thesis.

Ajātaśatru) falls into hell after death, there seems no mention of whether he will be released from hell after suffering there, or whether it is possible for him to attain liberation (*mokṣa*) in the future.⁴ The *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi*, “Commentary on the *Āvaśyaka* ‘Obligatory Duties’”, ascribed to the Śvetāmbara Jinadāsa (ca. 593-693 CE)—the oldest Jaina text which contains a story of Kūṇika’s death, as far as I am aware—only reports that Kūṇika ends up being killed by a cave deity and falls into the sixth hell (*chaṭṭhīe puḍhaviḥ gato*).⁵ Basically the same story is retold by Hemacandra (1089-1172 CE) in his *Triṣaṣṭi-salākā-puruṣa-carita*, “Lives of the Sixty-three Illustrious Persons”, where nothing further is said about Kūṇika either.⁶ In contrast, in some Indian Buddhist sources (including both Pāli and Sanskrit texts and Chinese and Tibetan translations arguably derived from Indic originals; see below), Ajātaśatru is said to be later released from hell and finally attain *parinirvāṇa* in his last birth as a *pratyekabuddha* or a *buddha*. So one may wonder: why were Buddhist authors concerned with the salvation of Ajātaśatru? Did all Buddhist authors in ancient India hold the same opinion on this issue? If not, how did they differ from each other, and why?

I shall not attempt, in this study, to answer the above questions from a historicist perspective. That is to say, I will not consider Buddhist stories of the transformation and salvation of Ajātaśatru as historical evidence for his inclination to

⁴ In Jaina traditions, it is absolutely possible for one to be released from hell after falling into it and then to attain *mokṣa* in one’s final birth. Śreṇika Bimbisāra and Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa are examples of this kind. According to both Śvetāmbara and Digambara sources, these two figures will be reborn in hell in the next life and after rising from hell, they will become Tīrthaṅkaras in the next ascending age (*utsarpiṇī*); for more details, see Balbir (1991: 42-44). For Jaina sources on Śreṇika’s next birth in hell and his following birth as the first Tīrthaṅkara of the future, see PrPN, ii. 856-857, s.v.; see also a specific study by Wiley (2003). I thank Dr. Appleton for Wiley’s article.

⁵ ĀvC, i. 177.1-2. For the Prakrit text of the story and an English translation, see Appendix IV.1. The story is alluded to in Leumann (1934: 24b); see also Baumann (2010: 68). On the date of Jinadāsa and other general issues of the ĀvC, see Balbir (1993: 81-2, 92-101). I am deeply grateful to Prof. Nalini Balbir for loaning me a copy of the ĀvC text.

⁶ For the Sanskrit text of the story, see Śāha (1977: 379-380); for an English translation, see Johnson (1931-1962: vi. 331-2). Both the Sanskrit and Johnson’s translation are given in Appendix IV.2. For a summary of Jaina stories of Kūṇika, see PrPN, i. 196-7, s.v. Kūṇika.

Buddhism, or as indications of an increase of the popularity of Buddhism vis-à-vis a decline of Jaina influence in Magadha during his reign, though such a historicist approach was indeed espoused in previous research. For instance, in discussing the royal patronage received by Jainas at the time of Mahāvīra, the renowned Jainologist Padmanabh S. Jaini says:

“...Though not a Jaina by birth, this king [i.e., Śreṇika] seems to have been converted by his wife Celanā (...), and his capital at Rājagṛha became the major center of Mahāvīra’s assembly. When Śreṇika’s throne was usurped by his son Ajātaśatru, however, Jaina influence suffered a temporary decline in the area; Ajātaśatru was rather pro-Buddhist, and though Indian kings were duty-bound to support all religions, their active patronage of a particular sect invariably brought a tremendous increase in that sect’s power and prestige.”⁷

Jaini’s observation above is based on Malalasekera (1937)⁸ who says that “Ajātasattu seems to have been held in hatred by the Nigaṇṭhas [= Jainas]” because there is a story told in the Pāli *Dhammapada* Commentary according to which Ajātasattu, having known that the murder of the Buddha’s great disciple Moggallāna was incited by the Nigaṇṭhas, “buried five hundred Nigaṇṭhas waist-deep in pits dug in the palace court and had their heads ploughed off”.⁹ Here, both Malalasekera and Jaini assume the historicity of the Buddhist story in question and accept it as representing the historical fact of Ajātaśatru’s pro-Buddhist stance, rather than interpreting it as a product of the Buddhist anti-Jaina polemic that ultimately signifies a propaganda agenda of Buddhists themselves—an interpretation which seems more plausible to me.¹⁰ Moreover, it

⁷ Jaini 1979: 276-277.

⁸ Jaini 1979: 277n.4.

⁹ See Malalasekera, DPPN, i. 35. For this story, see H. C. Norman 1906-1914: iii. 66.19-67 [text]; Burlingame 1921: iii. 305-6 [translation].

¹⁰ Interestingly, in some Jaina sources, Kūṇika Ajātaśatru does appear as a pious Jaina *upāsaka*. For instance, in the *Aupapātika*, “Spontaneously Arising” (for the translation of this title, see Dundas 2002: 74), the first of the Śvetāmbara *Upāṅgas*, Kūṇiya (= Kūṇika) is said to make a pilgrimage to the Puṇṇa-

should be remembered that the *Dhammapada* Commentary, as the text itself clearly says, was composed in Sri Lanka.¹¹ It is therefore more reasonable to read the story as a reflection of the Ceylonese author's understanding of Ajātaśatru's attitudes towards Buddhists and Jainas, rather than a report of a real event in ancient India.

In the pages that follow, I will not concern myself with the historical Ajātaśatru, but with the Ajātaśatru stories themselves—particularly those related to his transformation and salvation—and with Buddhists who told and retold these stories. I will not read stories as historical accounts, but simply as *stories*, that is, as what they are. In doing so, my purpose is not to identify the oldest narrative elements of those stories, or to glean historical facts from the stories, but to examine the changing forms and meanings of the stories as they pass through different texts and contexts, and thereby to discern the underlying ideological orientations and self-understanding of a group of Buddhists in ancient India who were engaged in and therefore responsible for the production, transmission, adaptation and interpretation of those stories. The validity of this kind of reading derives from the fact that any story (not just a Buddhist story), however veracious or fictitious it appears, however early or late it might be in chronological terms, is by nature a product of expression and communication, which is created or re-created by certain people under certain social, religious and/or cultural circumstances for certain ideological purposes. It is through determining or imagining the circumstances and purposes that one starts to make historical use of “fictions”.

bhadda shrine in order to hear Mahāvīra's sermon (see Leumann 1883: i. 3, 26-27 [§11], 32 [§19], 51 [§40], 53-59[§§47-54], 65 [§60]; translated in Amar Muni et. al 2003: 22-23, 46-47, 158, 164-185, 206).

¹¹ As stated at the beginning of the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, the text was translated from Sinhalese (Norman 1906-1914: i. 1.13-18): ‘*Paramparābhataṭṭha tassa nipuṇā Atthavaṇṇanā, yā Tambapaṇṇī-dīpamhi dīpabhāsāya saṇṭhitā, na sādhayati sesānaṃ sattānaṃ hitasampadaṃ, appeva nāma sādheyya sabblokassa sā hitaṃ.*’ *Iti āsiṃsamānena dantena samacārīnā Kumārakassapenāham therena thiracetasā...*’ Burlingame (1921: i. 145) translates, “A subtile Commentary thereon has been handed down from generation to generation in the island of Ceylon. But because it is composed in the dialect of island, it is of no profit or advantage to foreigners. It might perhaps conduce to the welfare of all mankind.’ This was the wish expressed to me by Elder Kumāra Kassapa, self-conquered, living in tranquillity, steadfast in resolve...” See also v. Hinüber (1997: 132).

1.1.2 Fluidity and Diversity of the Salvation of Ajātaśatru in Indian Buddhism

Given that patricide is one of the five most serious crimes categorized in Indian Buddhist literature, questions such as what spiritual status a committer of this crime could reach and whether or how he could attain ultimate liberation no doubt have significant implications for Buddhist ethics and soteriology. Although Buddhist authors generally agree that after having visited the Buddha (or encountered a deputy of the Buddha) Ajātaśatru is psychologically relieved from the anguish of guilt and the fear of falling into hell, they nonetheless differ greatly in determining the spiritual and karmic benefits Ajātaśatru could have acquired as results of this event. The benefits cover overall three aspects, including his immediate spiritual attainment during the visit (or the encounter), the mitigation or elimination of his punishment in the next birth in hell, and his eventual spiritual attainment in the future. For instance, the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta*, “Sutta on the Fruits of the Life of an Ascetic”, in the Pāli canon says that Ajātasattu, despite his confession and taking refuge in the Buddha, does not attain the Dhamma-eye (Pāli *dhmma-cakkhu*, i.e., the basic insight into the Buddhist Truth) precisely because of his patricide, whereas the **Ajātaśatru-kauṛṭya-vinodanā-sūtra*¹², “Sūtra on Dispelling the Remorse of Ajātaśatru” (henceforth AjKV), one of the first Mahāyāna scriptures translated into Chinese in the late second century CE, says that having heard Mañjuśrī’s exposition of the notion of “emptiness” (*śūnyatā*) Ajātaśatru attains the “conforming acceptance of factors of existence” (**ānulomika/ānulomikī-dharma-kṣānti*) and that he will be reborn in hell without suffering any pain

¹² This title is only a reconstruction and not attested in any extant Indic-language sources. For more details, see below, n.443.

there, after which he will rise from hell and eventually become a *buddha*.¹³ On the other hand, both the fifth-century Pāli commentator Buddhaghosa and the eleventh-century Sanskrit poet Kṣemendra tell us that after becoming a lay disciple of the Buddha in this life, Ajātaśatru will finally become a *pratyekabuddha* in the future.

An examination of how and why Buddhist authors¹⁴ disagree on the benefits Ajātaśatru could have gained as a result of his visit to the Buddha (or his encounter with a deputy of the Buddha) may open windows not only into their attitudes towards saving this archetypal criminal in particular, but also into their outlooks on *karma* and karmic responsibility in general. Moreover, since whatever benefits assigned to Ajātaśatru can only make full sense against certain narrative or doctrinal contexts, an examination of this kind may also help to appreciate the multiple ways in which the salvation of Ajātaśatru is placed in different contexts and the specific meanings it embodies. The AjKV mentioned above provides a telling example in this regard, where the thorough redemption of Ajātaśatru by the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, as Harrison and Hartmann suggest, constitutes a demonstration of “the capacity of the perfection of wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*) and insight into emptiness (*śūnyatā*) to radically transform suffering consciousness into awakening”.¹⁵

To be sure, the salvation of an *ānantarya* criminal is not something novel in Indian Buddhist soteriology. As Silk observes, “[c]rimes such as the sins of immediate

¹³ According to the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* (Vaidya 1967: 31), “conforming acceptance” (*ānulomikī kṣānti*) is one of the features realized by a *bodhisattva* at the sixth stage towards the final goal of awakening. For more details, see below n.498.

¹⁴ Although a Vaiṣṇava by faith, Kṣemendra was deeply influenced by Buddhism (Mejor 1992: 2 n.2). He composed the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* (BAK), “Wish-Fulfilling Garland of Tales of the Bodhisattva”, a collection of poetic retellings of Buddhist stories largely taken from the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* (see Panglung 1981: 209-210) and/or from the *Divyāvadāna*, though his prophecy of Ajātaśatru’s future *pratyekabuddha*-hood in the BAK seems to have been based on other source(s), since no parallel is found in the afore-mentioned two texts. On Kṣemendra’s story of the salvation of Ajātaśatru, see below.

¹⁵ Harrison and Hartmann 2000a: 168.

retribution are serious...but the tradition appears to be (nearly) unanimous in considering that they do not result in one's permanent estrangement from ultimate awakening, bodhi or nirvāṇa".¹⁶ In other words, most Indian Buddhist authors accept the possibility of an *ānantarya* criminal attaining ultimate liberation. This is the case for *ānantarya* criminals in general. What is interesting about Ajātaśatru is that he was not only an *ānantarya* criminal, but also a repentant who subsequently became one of the most famous lay disciples of the Buddha. He is credited as a model of "rootless faith" (Chin. *wugen-xin* 無根信, Tib. *gzhi* [or, *rtsa ba*] *med pa'i dad pa*, Skt. *amūlakā/amūlikā śraddhā*) in a number of Buddhist texts.¹⁷ According to Buddhaghosa, "there is no ordinary person as faithful as Ajātasattu".¹⁸ The transformation from an archetypal villain into a Buddhist devotee is perhaps the most fascinating trait of Ajātaśatru in Buddhist traditions. His personality is, therefore, a combination of two almost contradictory identities—the identities as an *ānantarya* criminal and as a faithful *upāsaka*. Such a combination appears to be unique to Ajātaśatru in the early history of Indian Buddhism.¹⁹

¹⁶ Silk 2007: 273.

¹⁷ The "rootless faith" of Ajātaśatru is interpreted variously in Buddhist literature. See previous studies by Omaru (1986), Imanishi (2003) and Radich (2011: 79-80).

¹⁸ *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī* (Stede 1931: 610.23-4): *Sakko āha: 'Bhante puthujjano nāma Ajātasattunā samo saddho n'atthi, na so mama vacanaṃ karissati.'* "Sakka said, 'Sir, there is no ordinary person as faithful as Ajātasattu. He will not do what I tell him.'" The reason why Sakka said this is that those holding wrong views (*micchā-ditṭhikā*) asked Sakka to contrive a device to take away the share of the Buddha's bodily relics which had been obtained by Ajātasattu. See also the Sv (Rhys Davids and Carpenter 1886: 238.10-11): *Pothujjanikāya saddhāya samannāgato nāma iminā rañṇā sadiso nāma nāhosi* "Indeed, there was no one possessed of the faith of ordinary people the same as this king [Ajātasattu]". For *pothujjana*, "ordinary person", referring to one who has not yet got on the Buddhist path to liberation, see *Puggala-paṇṇatti* (Morris 1883: 12.30-32; translated in Law 1924: 19).

¹⁹ There are two other notorious *ānantarya* criminals in the early history of Indian Buddhism, both of whom are monks: the Buddha's arch-rival Devadatta who is said to have committed three *ānantarya* crimes including splitting the Buddhist community, wounding the Buddha and killing an *arhatī* named Utpalavarnā (see Lamotte 1944-1980: ii. 873-876) and Mahādeva, the putative instigator of the schism between the Mahāsāṅghikas and the Sthaviras, who is also said to have committed three *ānantarya* crimes including patricide, matricide and killing an *arhat* (see Silk 2009: 17-20, 38-57). In addition, there is a patricidal king, Kassapa, in the history of Buddhism in Ceylon. According to the *Cūlavamsa*, he also felt repentant for his patricide and did some meritorious work for the sake of expiation, though

To save Ajātaśatru—which is to say, to deliver him from *samsāra*—is not just to save an *ānantarya* criminal, but to save one who transformed from an *ānantarya* criminal into a faithful *upāsaka* in the same lifetime. Given this transformation, the salvation of Ajātaśatru provides a convenient platform for Buddhist authors to express their own ideas as to how to balance karmic responsibility and other factors (for instance, the salvific capability of the Buddha, the potency of Buddhist teachings, the merit of Buddhist faith, the purificatory effect of repentance, etc.) and thereby to illustrate their different emphases in Buddhist soteriological discourse. For instance, in his commentary on the Pāli *Sāmaññaphala-sutta*, Buddhaghosa shows that because of his listening to the Buddha’s sermon on the fruits of the ascetic life, Ajātasattu, after being reborn in hell for a while, will be released and finally attain liberation as a *paccekabuddha* in the future. Ajātaśatru’s future release from hell and eventual *pratyekabuddha*-hood are also predicted in the Chinese translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama* (T.125 [38.11]) and in another Buddhist scripture extant in Chinese (T.508). In both texts, his release from hell and eventual awakening are interpreted as the karmic fruits of his faith in the Buddha, not as the results of listening to the Buddha’s teaching. This difference in emphasis is understandable. As I will suggest, while Buddhaghosa relates Ajātasattu’s future rebirths in his commentary mainly for an exegetical purpose and wants to use Ajātasattu’s ultimate liberation to demonstrate the efficacy of the Buddha’s sermon, in T.125 [38.11] and T. 508 the story of the salvation of Ajātaśatru is not told for an exegetical purpose, but functions as an illustration of the incredible karmic benefits of faith. Since Ajātaśatru’s faith arises during his direct encounter with the Buddha and is essentially caused by the charisma of the Buddha— given that neither T.125 [38.11] nor T. 508 tells us any personal efforts made by Ajātaśatru in

he is never said to have become an *upāsaka* (see DPPN, i. 548, s.v. 12. Kassapa; Obeyesekere 1988: 246-251; 1990: 174-180).

acquiring such faith—the salvation story of Ajātaśatru as told in those two texts ultimately demonstrates the Buddha’s capability of arousing faith even in the worst criminal and consequently leading him to eventual liberation.²⁰

Further, since Ajātaśatru has two radically different identities, it is hard to simply categorize him as good or bad. In fact, he can be both, depending on the context in which he is placed and the purpose he serves. Such flexibility makes it possible for Buddhist authors to use Ajātaśatru in diverse ways and to associate him with different doctrinal points. Let us look at two examples:

In his commentary on the Pāli *Āṅuttara-Nikāya* (hereafter AN), “Collection of Gradual [Sayings of the Buddha]”, Buddhaghosa mentions Ajātasattu’s patricide as a case of “destructive action” (*upacchedaka-kamma*) which has the power of destroying wholesome qualities. He says:

“Destructive action is itself either good or bad. Having destroyed another weak action, having prevented its [i.e., that weak action’s] fruition, it gives opportunity for its own fruition... Therefore, this is the interpretation: At the time of the fruition of a good action, one bad action, having arisen, cuts off and destroys that [good] action; at the time of the fruition of a bad action, one good action, having arisen, cuts off and destroys that [bad] action. This is called ‘destructive’. In this sense, Ajātasattu’s crime was destructive of goodness (*kusalacchedakam*) and the Elder Āṅgulimāla’s [good action] was destructive of evil (*akusala-cchedakan*).”²¹

²⁰ It should be noted that Ajātaśatru’s generation of faith as a result of his direct encounter with the Buddha bears a striking similarity to the experiences of other characters as depicted in the *Divyāvadāna*. In his study of *prasāda* (“faith, mental serenity”) in the *Divyāvadāna*, Rotman (2009: 70) observes, “In most instances involving the laity, the arising of *prasāda* requires no explicit effort on their part, no specific thought or deed other than simply catching sight of a *prāsādika* [“agency of *prasāda*”] object. For them, *prasāda* is more of an experience than a practice, for they are shown not to act before *prāsādika* objects but react. While some laypeople are said to ‘cultivate *prāsāda*,’ as opposed to it just arising in them, this too appears to be more of a reflex act than a practiced, proactive response.” As Rotman points out, in the *Divyāvadāna*, *prāsādika* objects can be “buddhas, images of buddhas, arhats, stūpas, and sometimes solitary buddhas” (p. 108), and those *prāsādikas* “seem to lead to the arising of *prāsāda* in individuals; they are the cause, the arising of *prāsāda* is the result, and the individuals are the fortunate recipients” (p.70). In the case of Ajātaśatru, it is likewise clear that Ajātaśatru himself is only a fortunate individual who is brought to faith by the Buddha, and that the Buddha alone is the primary cause of his arising of faith.

²¹ See Appendix I, Textual Material 1. For a comparison between Ajātasattu and Āṅgulimāla in terms of their crimes and karmic effects, see also Masfield (1986: 90-91).

Through contrasting Ajātasattu with Aṅgulimāla, the well-known serial killer who later became a Buddhist saint²², Buddhaghosa shows the extremely destructive nature of the patricide committed by Ajātasattu, which is even worse than the serial killing done by Aṅgulimāla. The destruction of Ajātasattu's goodness as mentioned in this passage may well refer to his loss of capability of attaining the Dhamma-eye during his visit to the Buddha in consequence of the patricide as told in the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta*. Here, it is clear that given his identity as an *ānantarya* criminal Ajātasattu is used by Buddhaghosa as a negative example to illustrate the utmost culpability.

A relatively different situation appears in the Sarvāstivāda *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, “Commentary on the Treasury of the Abhidharma”, composed by Vasubandhu (fourth to fifth century CE), where Ajātaśatru is used as a positive example in contrast with his evil friend, the schismatic monk Devadatta, the archrival of the Buddha. According to that text, although Ajātaśatru and Devadatta are both destined to go to hell due to their *ānantarya* crimes, Ajātaśatru has not cut off his roots of goodness (*kuśala-mūlāni*), whereas Devadatta has. The text reads:

It also says, ..., “one whose roots of goodness have been extirpated may not be destined for ruin.” [Regarding this there are] four cases: the first case is Pūraṇa and others [i.e., the six heretical teachers], the second Ajātaśatru, the third Devadatta and the fourth those excluded from the above three cases.²³

A more extended passage is found in the **Abhidharma-Mahāvibhāṣā*, “Great Commentary on the Abhidharma” (henceforth *Vibhāṣā*), a voluminous compendium

²² For stories of Aṅgulimāla, see Malalasekera, DPPN, i. 22-23, s.v.; Akanuma, DBPN, 39-41, s.v.

²³ AKBh *ad* IV.80d (Pradhan 1967: 250.22-251.3): *punar āha | ... | syāt samucchinna kuśalamūlo na mithyātvaniyata iti | catuṣkoṭikam | prathamā koṭiḥ pūraṇādayaḥ | dvitīyā 'jātaśatruḥ | tṛtīyā devadattaḥ | caturthy etānākārān sthāpayitvā* | I have not been able to identify the source from which the first sentence is quoted. On *mithyātvaniyata*, “destined for ruin”, see note below.

of Sarvāstivāda doctrine possibly compiled in the second century CE and now extant only in Chinese. It says:

Question: Are those whose roots of goodness have been extirpated all destined for ruin²⁴? Some say that those whose roots of goodness have been extirpated are all destined for ruin; other [say that] there are people destined for ruin but their roots of goodness have not been extirpated, such as King Ajātaśatru, for [although] he committed an *ānantarya* crime, his roots of goodness have not been extirpated.

Answer: The following should be said: Regarding this there are four sentences: ... There are some who are destined for ruin but their roots of goodness have not been extirpated, such as King Ajātaśatru. There are some whose roots of goodness have been extirpated and who are also destined for ruin, such as Devadatta, because his roots of goodness have been extirpated and he also committed the *ānantarya* crimes...²⁵

Although neither Vasubandhu nor the authors of the Vibhāṣā explain why they think that Ajātaśatru's roots of goodness have not been cut off despite his crime of patricide, two reasons may be suggested: First, according to the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, of the five *ānantarya* crimes, patricide is the least serious, while creating a schism—that is, the crime Devadatta committed—is the most severe.²⁶ Therefore, although Ajātaśatru and Devadatta are both *ānantarya* criminals, the crime Ajātaśatru committed is rather

²⁴ Chin. *xiexing-dingju* 邪性定聚, “fixed in perversity”. This is a literal translation of Skt. **mithyātva-niyata* which refers to one doomed to be reborn in the three evil destinies (see AKBh *ad* III.44cd, Pradhan 1967: 157.19-21: *mithyātvaṃ katamat | narakāḥ pretās tiryāṇca idam ucyate mithyātvaṃ | tatra ānantaryakāriṇo narake niyatatvān mithyātvanīyatāḥ* | “What is ruin? Hell-beings, hungry ghosts and animals—this is called ruin. Therefore, because an *ānantarya* criminal is doomed to hell, he is destined for ruin”; here I follow La Vallée Poussin (1923-1931: ii.138) to render *mithyātva* as “perte” (ruin, loss).

²⁵ T.1545.184c18-26 (translated by Xuanzang in 656-660 CE; see Appendix I, Textual Material 2). A similar passage may be found at 604a7-12. Only the passage quoted here finds a counterpart in an earlier translation by Buddhavarman (427 CE), cf. T.1546.139a28-b7.

²⁶ AKBh *ad* IV.96 (Pradhan 1967: 259.8-9): *pañcānantaryāṇi karmāvaraṇam | tadyathā māṭṭrvadhaḥ piṭṭrvadho 'rhadvadhaḥ saṃghabhedaḥ tathāgataśarīre duṣṭacittarudhirotpādanam* | “The five crimes of immediate retribution are karmic obstacle, including matricide, patricide, killing an *arhat*, creating a schism, evil-mindedly drawing blood of a *buddha*”; *ad* IV. 105ab (ibid.: 264.3-9): *saṃghabhede mṛṣāvādo mahāvadyatamo mataḥ | ... | śeṣāṇām ānantaryāṇām yathākramam pañcamatṛtīya-prathamāni gurutarāṇi sarvalaghuh piṭṭrvadhaḥ* | “Lying [with a view to] creating schism is regarded as the gravest offence... Among the other crimes of immediate retribution, according to order, the fifth [= drawing the blood of a *buddha*], the third [= killing an *arhat*] and the first [= matricide] are heaviest; patricide is the lightest.” See also La Vallée Poussin 1923-1931: iii. 201, 217-218; Silk 2007: 255. For a specific discussion of Buddhist attitudes towards lying (*mṛṣāvāda*), see Silk 2008c.

lighter than what Devadatta perpetrated. Secondly, the non-extirpation of Ajātaśatru's roots of goodness is almost certainly related to his later repentance for the patricide and his transformation into an *upāsaka*. The repentance indicated his wish for self-improvement²⁷, and the transformation came as the result of his acquisition of faith in the Buddha. According to the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, one who has cut off the roots of goodness does not possess faith or the other four moral faculties.²⁸ In other words, if one possesses faith, his roots of goodness should not have been entirely extirpated. In this regard, Ajātaśatru is certainly different from Devadatta who, as the *Vibhāṣā* says, “committed the extremely weighty, evil and unwholesome deeds [against the Buddha], but did not have one single thought of repentance.”²⁹ It is clear that in both the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* and the *Vibhāṣā* Ajātaśatru is used as a positive example to illustrate that not all *ānantarya* criminals have consequently abandoned their roots of goodness, and that it is still possible for at least some of them—excluding those who have committed the gravest crime (i.e., schism)—to retain roots of goodness that are usually considered to be fundamental to progress in religious practice.³⁰

It should be noted that not all Buddhist authors agree on the non-extirpation of Ajātaśatru's roots of goodness. Some contend that Ajātaśatru has indeed cut off his

²⁷ Repentance as an indication of the non-extirpation of one's roots of goodness can also be seen in the story of the notorious Mahādeva in the *Vibhāṣā* according to which, having committed three *ānantarya* crimes, “[i]nasmuch as he had not entirely cut off the strength of his roots of goodness, [Mahādeva] grew deeply and morosely regretful. Whenever he tried to sleep, he became ill-at-ease” (T.1545. 511a7-8; see also 511b20f.; here I follows the translation given in Silk 2009: 18; see also Silk 2010: 393, 395).

²⁸ AKBh ad II.17cd (Pradhan 1967: 50.14-6): *sukhendriyeṇa caturdhyānārūpyopapannaḥ pṛthagjano na samanvāgataḥ* |...| *śraddhādibhiḥ samucchinnakuśalamūlaḥ* | “An ordinary person born in the four stages of meditation or in the formless realms does not have the faculty of pleasure...An ordinary person whose roots of goodness have been cut off does not have faith and so on [i.e., *pañcendriyāṇi* ‘five moral faculties’, namely, *śraddhā* ‘faith’, *vīrya* ‘exertion’, *smṛtī* ‘memory’, *samādhi* ‘concentration’, *prajñā* ‘wisdom’]”. See also La Vallée Poussin 1923-1931: i.139.

²⁹ T.1545.604a5-6. [提婆達多] 成就極重惡不善業，而無一念悔愧之心。 See also above n.19.

³⁰ For a discussion of the central role of “roots of goodness” in Buddhist soteriology, with a particular focus on interpretations given in the Vaibhāṣika sources, see Buswell (1992: 109-112).

roots of goodness through the patricide and yet still gained faith in the Buddha. This seems to be one reason why he is credited as a model of “rootless faith”. For instance, in a *sūtra* collected in the Chinese *Ekottarikāgama* (T.125 [6.3]), the Buddha characterizes Ajātaśatru saying, “Among my disciples, the foremost *upāsaka*...who has gained the rootless good faith³¹ and given rise to a joyful mind is King Ajātaśatru”.³² This sentence finds a counterpart in a later independent Chinese translation (T.126) of the *sūtra* in question, which reads: “The one who has already cut off root(s) but still given rise to faith (*adhimukti*?) is King Ajātaśatru, son of Vaidehī, in Magadha”.³³ In another *sūtra* preserved in the Chinese EĀ (T.125 [43.7]) which is one of the extant versions of the *Śrāmaṇyaphala-sūtra* (SPS), the Buddha tells the monks that although Ajātaśatru due to his patricide fails to realize any spiritual attainment during his visit, he nevertheless gains the rootless faith; the Buddha further says, “Therefore, Bhikṣus, a person who has committed a crime should seek means to gain rootless faith. Among my *upāsakas*, the one who has gained the rootless faith is Ajātaśatru.”³⁴ While the notion of “rootless faith”, as scholars have observed, is subject to a range of interpretations in Buddhist sources

³¹ The Taishō edition gives 無根善信 (lit. “rootless good faith”) here, which might be emended to 無善根信 (lit. “faith without roots of goodness”). It is worthwhile to check the other editions (for instance, the Korean, Jisha and Fangshan editions) of Chinese Buddhist canon. Unfortunately, I have no access to any of them for the moment.

³² T.125.560a7-8. 得無根善信、起歡喜心，所謂王阿闍世是。As Omaru (1986: 79) observes, this sentence finds no counterpart in the Pāli parallel (the *Etadagga-vagga* of the AN, see Morris and Hardy 1885-1990: i. 25.33-26.15 [§I.xiv.6]).

³³ T.126.834a24-25. 已斷根本而生信解，摩伽陀國韋提希子阿闍世王是。Translated also in Radich (2011: 81n.302). According to Karashima and Nattier (2005: 370), the Chinese *xinjie* 信解, lit. “faith and liberation”, appears to be an “overlapping translation” of *adhimukti* (“faith, strong inclination”), “with the entire word first translated as *xin* 信 and then the latter part, reinterpreted as *mukti* ‘liberation,’ translated again as *jie* 解 ‘release’”.

³⁴ T.125.764b9-11. 是故，比丘，爲罪之人當求方便，成無根之信。我優婆塞中得無根信者，所謂阿闍世是也。For a specific discussion on this *sūtra*, see below Chapter Two.

related to Ajātaśatru³⁵, as far as the above three cases are concerned, it is likely that the “rootless faith” refers to the faith Ajātaśatru gains in the Buddha—or more precisely, the faith the Buddha arouses in Ajātaśatru, since in all the cases Ajātaśatru himself makes no explicit effort and the Buddha is the primary cause of his generation of faith—even though his roots of goodness have been extirpated through his patricide. If this interpretation is correct, the authors of T.125 [6.3], [43.7] and T.126 would hold a very different view from Vasubandhu and the authors of the *Vibhāṣā* who contend that Ajātaśatru’s roots of goodness have not been cut off despite his patricide. This difference is explicable to some extent. In the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* and the *Vibhāṣā*, Ajātaśatru is used as an example of less severe culpability in contrast with the even worse case of Devadatta, while in the afore-mentioned three Chinese *sūtras* Ajātaśatru represents an example of transformation from paradigmatic immorality to faithfulness and ultimately serves to demonstrate the salvific power of the Buddha, for the authors show that the Buddha manages to bring about faith in Ajātaśatru despite the fact that his roots of goodness had been cut off through his earlier crime. The disagreement of Buddhist authors on the extirpation of Ajātaśatru’s roots of goodness, once again, illustrates the variety of Buddhist interpretations of the personality of Ajātaśatru and the changing functions he serves in different texts and contexts.³⁶

³⁵ For a list of possible interpretations of “rootless faith” related to Ajātaśatru in Buddhist literature, see Radich (2011: 79-80). See also above n.17.

³⁶ The *Vibhāṣā* also gives five interpretations of Ajātaśatru’s “rootless faith” (for an annotated English translation, see Appendix I, Textual Material 3), of which the second reads [here I adopt Buddhavarman’s translation which appears more understandable than Xuanzang’s]: T.1546.387b10-13. 復次，無無漏智善根，故言無根。無漏信以無漏智、無漏善根爲根。彼不得無漏智，亦不得無漏善根，而得與無漏相似信。 “Further, [Ajātaśatru] has no wisdom without outflows (**anāsrava-prajñā/jñāna*) and no roots of goodness [without outflows] (**anāsrava-kuśala-mūlāni*), so [his faith] is called rootless. The faith without outflows has as [its] roots the wisdom without outflows and the roots of goodness without outflows. He has neither gained the wisdom without outflows, nor the roots of goodness without outflows, but he has gained faith similar to the [faith] without outflows.” This means that Ajātaśatru’s faith is rootless due to his lack of the wisdom without outflows and the roots of goodness without outflows. This interpretation does not contradict the earlier statement of the non-extirpation of Ajātaśatru’s roots of goodness in the *Vibhāṣā*, for as Omaru (1986: 88) points out, there is also a notion of “roots of goodness with outflows” (有漏善根, **sāsrava-kuśala-mūlāni*) related to good qualities with outflows (有漏善,

1.1.3 The Salvation of Ajātaśatru within the Legend of Devadatta

The comparison of Ajātaśatru with Devadatta in the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* and the *Vibhāṣā* brings to our attention another significant dimension of Buddhist stories of the salvation of Ajātaśatru. Those stories comprise a good part of anti-heterodox polemics in the history of Indian Buddhism. While the story of Ajātaśatru's patricide was told by both Buddhists and Jainas, only Buddhists adapted it into a polemical device to condemn Devadatta, the notorious cousin and adversary of the Buddha, whose name "became in later times synonymous with everything that is bad".³⁷ According to a number of Buddhist texts, Devadatta uses magic power to beguile Prince Ajātaśatru and thereby arouses his faith.³⁸ Ajātaśatru thenceforth

**sāsrava-kuśala-dharma*) and to wisdom with outflows (有漏慧, **sāsrava-prajñā/jñāna*) in the *Vibhāṣā*. According to the AKBh *ad* I.41ab (Pradhan 1967: 29.12-19): *aṣṭādaśānām dhātūnām kati dṛṣṭiḥ kati na dṛṣṭiḥ | ... | pañca satkāyadrṣṭyādikā dṛṣṭayah laukikī samyagdrṣṭiḥ śaikṣī dṛṣṭir āśaikṣī dṛṣṭir ity ayam aṣṭaprakāro dharmadhātur dṛṣṭi ... | laukikī punaḥ samyagdrṣṭir mano- vijñānasamprayuktā kuśala-sāsravā prajñā | śaikṣasya anāsravā dṛṣṭiḥ śaikṣī āśaikṣasya āśaikṣī |* "Of eighteen spheres [of dharmas], how many is view and how many is not view?...The five [wrong] views starting with the belief in a real personality, the worldly correct view, the view belonging to one who is still under practice, [and] the view belonging to one who has completed practice [= an *arhat*]— this eight-fold sphere of *dharmas* is view...The worldly correct view refers to the wisdom associated with mental consciousness, which is good and with outflows. The view belonging to one who is still under practice refers to the view without outflows of one who is still under practice. [The view] belonging to one who has completed practice refers to [the view] of one who has completed practice"; translated also in La Vallée Poussin (1923-1931: i. 80-81); Yaśomitra unfolds the last phrase *āśaikṣasya āśaikṣī* into *āśaikṣasya anāsravā prajñā āśaikṣī* (Wogihara 1932-1936: i.79.23), "[The view] belonging to one who has completed practice refers to the wisdom without outflows of one who has completed practice". The *Vibhāṣā* likewise divides good qualities into "with outflows" and "without outflows" two types depending on whether they are mundane or related to spiritual practice (see T.1545.490a26f.; T.1546. 360b29f.). Thus, when the AKBh and the *Vibhāṣā* say that Ajātaśatru's roots of goodness have not been cut off, it means that he has preserved roots of goodness with outflows which are related to worldly wisdom, but is still devoid of roots of goodness without outflows which are related to spiritual liberation. From this perspective, the AKBh and the *Vibhāṣā* seem to still acknowledge that Ajātaśatru fails to make spiritual progress in this life because of his patricide.

³⁷ Rockhill 1884: 83.

³⁸ As Lamotte (1970) observes, there are two groups of texts separately representing two stages of the narrative tradition of this episode: according to the first group, Devadatta transforms into a boy to terrify Ajātaśatru; in the second group, he transforms into various objects to entertain Ajātaśatru and in this group, a detail of Devadatta's eating Ajātaśatru's spittle was later added by Sarvāstivādin in order to justify their interpretation of an insulting word the Buddha is said to have used to address Devadatta,

lavishes offerings on Devadatta and also erects for him a monastery at Gayāsīrṣa (Pāli Gayāsīsa).³⁹ He is said to assist Devadatta in his several schemes to kill the Buddha, for instance, providing him with strongmen to assassinate the Buddha and/or following his order by releasing a mad elephant to attack the Buddha.⁴⁰ Desirous of supplanting the Buddha as the leader of the Buddhist *saṅgha*, Devadatta instigates Ajātaśatru to kill his own father Bimbisāra, a chief patron of the Buddha, and thereby to seize the throne of Magadha. As André Bareau observes, “The parallel between the temporal, royal power and the spiritual power is very clear here, as that which exists between Ajātaśatru and Devadatta, both serious criminals.”⁴¹ Devadatta’s attacks on the Buddha in order to take over the leadership and Ajātaśatru’s murder of Bimbisāra with the view of usurping the kingship are notably correspondent with each other and may be seen as two parallel narratives separately located inside and outside the Buddhist community. This parallelism is aptly characterized by Michael Radich in his recent study of Ajātaśatru stories as follows:

i.e., “spittle-eater” (Pāli *kheḷāpaka* [var. *kheḷāsaka*, *kheḷāsika*], Chin. *shituo-zhe* 食唾者 [var. 嗽唾人, 嗽唾, etc.]) which was probably originally only a general insult “devoid of any objective signification”. On this episode, see also Lamotte (1944-1980: ii. 871-2); Mukherjee (1966: 27-31); Bareau (1991: 93-5, 98, 117-8, 119-120); Ray (1994: 165); Mori and Motozawa (2006: 56-61, 63-7) [online version: http://www.sakya-muni.jp/pdf/11_01.pdf].

³⁹ On Ajātaśatru’s erection of a *vihāra* for Devadatta, see the Pāli *Mahilāmukha-jātaka* [No.26] and the *Saṅjīva-jātaka* [No.150] (Fausbøll 1877-1896: i.185-6, 508; Cowell 1895-1907: i.67, 319); T.1509.164 c24-28 (translated in Lamotte 1944-1980: ii.872). See also Akanuma, DBPN, 201b, s.v. Gayāsīsa.

⁴⁰ On Ajātaśatru’s engagement in Devadatta’s assassination plot, see for instance, the Pāli *Cullavagga* (Oldenberg 1879-1883:ii.191-193; translated in Horner 1938-1966: v. 268-271), the Sv (Rhy Davids and Carpenter 1886-1932: i.138.18-20; translated in Bodhi 1989:62), the *Dharmaguptaka-vinaya* (T. 1428.592b17f.), the *Pini-mu-jing* (**Vinayamātrkā*, T.1463.823c11f.); see also Mukherjee (1967: 63-6). For Buddhist textual sources on Ajātaśatru’s releasing a mad elephant to kill the Buddha, see a detailed note in Lamotte (1944-1980: iv. 1767-1773); Foucher (1949: 287-9); Mukherjee (1967: 70-74); Bareau (1991: 233, 237); Deeg (1999: 185; 2005: 411-2); Mori and Motozawa (2006: 73-4); Radich (2011: 143). On the two plots, see also Ono (1916: 400-408); Klimkeit (1990: 124-6); Ray (1994: 166). For artistic representations, see Foucher (1905: i.540-544, Fig. 266 “LE PRERIER GUET-APENS DE DÉVADATTA” and Fig.267-288 “LA SOUMISSION DE L’ÉLÉPHANT”); Kurita (1988: 208-211 [Reliefs Nos.426-433], 307-8 [Interpretation]); Schlingloff (2000: i.435-441); see also below, p.24.

⁴¹ Bareau 1991: 120.

“This narrative complex [i.e., stories of Devadatta], as a whole, comprises an important parallel with the Ajātaśatru narrative, in which Devadatta parallels in the sacred realm the character and acts of Ajātaśatru in the secular realm; this relation is in turn a facet of an even broader parallel between buddhahood and secular kingship, which is a major leitmotif of Buddhist doctrine and imagination as a whole.”⁴²

The parallelism between the patricide story of Ajātaśatru and the schismatic legend of Devadatta could be further reinforced if we follow Obeyesekere to regard Devadatta’s conflict with the Buddha as an “indirect parricide”, for “when someone joins the order he severs his kinship ties and becomes a ‘son of the Buddha’ (*Buddha putra*)”.⁴³ This parallelism might have been a stimulus which inspired Buddhists to correlate Ajātaśatru’s patricide story with the schismatic legend of Devadatta through making Devadatta the instigator of the patricide. The purpose of such correlation is apparently to further condemn Devadatta through attributing to him the responsibility for both the death of Bimbisāra and the culpability of Ajātaśatru.⁴⁴ Seen from this perspective, the Buddhist story of the patricide of Ajātaśatru essentially serves as a building block within the larger narrative cycle of Devadatta, a fact clearly indicated by the presence of the patricide story in the two sections of extant Indian Buddhist monastic codes (*vinayas*) that are the most relevant to Devadatta, i.e., the section on the tenth *Samghāvaśeṣa* offence of the *Bhikṣuvibhaṅga* in the *Dharmaguptaka-Vinaya* and in the *Mahīśāsaka-Vinaya*, and the “Section on Schism” (Skt. *Saṅghabhedavastu*, Pāli *Saṅghabhedakkhandhaka*) in the *Vinayas* of Theravādins, Sarvāstivādins and Mūla-

⁴² Radich 2011:143n.557. The parallelism “between buddhahood and secular leadership” is made explicit in textual sources. As Mori and Motozawa (2006: 72-4) show, in many versions of the patricide story of Ajātaśatru in Buddhist literature, Devadatta incites Ajātaśatru by telling him that if he kills his own father, he himself will kill the Buddha, so that Magadha will have a new king and a new *buddha*.

⁴³ Obeyesekere 1990: 154. The identity of a spiritual teacher (*guru*) with the father, as Goldman (1978: 328) observes, “is a commonplace in India and is heavily stressed from a very early period”.

⁴⁴ As Bareau (1991:120) says, “This episode [of Devadatta’s inciting Ajātaśatru to commit the patricide] is evidently intended to attribute to Devadatta the responsibility of that which one can consider as being the murder of Bimbisāra by his son.”

sarvāstivādins.⁴⁵ Outside the *vinayas*, in almost all versions of the patricide story of Ajātaśatru found in Buddhist literature, we are told that it is Devadatta who incites Ajātaśatru to kill his father.⁴⁶

With the schismatic legend of Devadatta as a backdrop, Ajātaśatru's later confession of his patricide to the Buddha and his transformation into an *upāsaka* can be seen as marking the downfall of Devadatta and the victory of the Buddha, for they show that even the chief supporter of Devadatta goes over to the Buddha's party. This implication is clearly suggested by the fact that the SPS, which presents Ajātaśatru's visit to the Buddha after his patricide, is incorporated in full into the *Saṅghabheda-vastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* (MSV). There, Ajātaśatru's change into a disciple of the Buddha and his withdrawal of support for Devadatta constitute the immediate reason for Devadatta's perpetration of a third *ānantarya* crime (i.e., his killing of the *arhatī* Utpalavarṇā). Moreover, since it is Devadatta who persuades

⁴⁵ On the two locations of the Devadatta legend in the extant *vinayas*, see for instance, Frauwallner (1956: 117-118 n.2), Bareau (1991: 223-224); Mori and Motozawa (2006: 72-74).

⁴⁶ In a few sources Ajātaśatru is said to have already been determined to kill his father before he meets Devadatta (see for instance, the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* [T.374.565b4-5], the **Ajātaśatru-sūtra* [T.507.775a12-13]), but even in those sources the later instigation by Devadatta is also mentioned (see Silk 1997: 192-3, 198-9, 256; Radich 2011: 11nn.27,28). So far, as I am aware, there seems only one version of the story saying that Ajātaśatru's patricide is instigated by someone other than Devadatta. According to the 16th *avadāna* of the Chinese *Avadānaśataka* (T. 200), a minister named Licchavi (*liche* 梨車), "believing in heretical and perverse views" (*xin-xie-daojian* 信邪倒見), incites Ajātaśatru to rebel [through] killing his father and to make himself king (210c10-12). This detail is not found in the corresponding *avadāna* (No.15 *Prātihārya*, "Miracle", mistakenly indicated as *Pañcavārṣika*, "Quinquennial Assembly", in the critical apparatus of the Taishō canon) in the extant Sanskrit and Tibetan Avś, where we are still told, "At that time, King Ajātaśatru controlled by Devadatta, killed his father, a righteous man and righteous king, and then put himself on the throne" (Speyer 1902-1909: i.83. 6-7: *yadā rājñā ajātaśatruṇā devadattavigrāhitena pitā dhārmiko dharmarājo jīvītād vyaparopitaḥ, svayam eva ca rājye pratiṣṭhitaḥ*; see also a translation in Feer 1891: 68; the corresponding Tibetan at Derge Kanjur 343, *mdo sde*, am 43b7-44a1; sTog Kanjur 252, *mdo sde*, sha 66a7-b1). While the Sanskrit and Tibetan also mention an unbelieving minister, he is nevertheless unrelated to Ajātaśatru's patricide (Speyer 1902-1909: i. 83. 8-10: *yāvad anyatamo vṛddhāmātyo 'śrāddho bhagavacchāsanavidveṣī sa brāhmaṇebhyo yajñam ā<r>abdho yaṣṭum | tatrānekāni brāhmaṇaśatasahasrāṇi samnipatitāni* | ... "Since there was an old minister, unbelieving, hating the Blessed One's teachings, who undertook to perform sacrifice for brahmins, many hundreds and thousands of brahmins were therefore assembled..."; see also Feer (1891: 68); the Tibetan at Derge 343, *mdo sde*, am 44a1-2; sTog 252, *mdo sde*, sha 66b1-2). It is unclear whether the afore-mentioned detail in the Chinese version was directly translated from an Indic original. On the transmission history and extant versions and editions of the Avś, see Demoto (2006: 207-217).

Ajātaśatru to commit the patricide and thereby leads him to suffer the retribution of being reborn in hell in the next life, and since it is through the Buddha that Ajātaśatru finds relief from his anguish of guilt and starts accumulating good *karma*, stories of his transformation and salvation also serve to demonstrate the “good friend” (*kalyāṇa-mitra*) image of the Buddha in contrast with the “evil friend” (*pāpamitra*) image of Devadatta. This contrast is made explicit, for instance, in the “story of the present” (*paccupanna-vatthu*) of the Pāli *Samkiccha-jātaka* (No.530) where we are told: “He [Ajātasattu], after having, because of Devadatta and following his counsel, killed his own father,..., became fearful and gained no peace of mind from his royal splendour”, and “now, having approached the Tathāgata, through contact with a good friend, his fear has gone away and he enjoys the happiness of rulership.”⁴⁷

Now, let me return to the question I raised at the beginning of this section: Why does the Buddhist salvation of the patricide Ajātaśatru matter? Three reasons may be suggested: First, stories of the salvation of Ajātaśatru are unique to Buddhism and find no counterparts in Jaina sources. The divergence of Buddhist and Jaina traditions in this regard may offer a window not only into the different attitudes of the two religions towards this influential figure in particular, but also into their different soteriological outlooks in general.⁴⁸ Second, as we have seen, even Indian Buddhists

⁴⁷ Fausbøll 1877-1896: v. 261.33-262.1, 6, 30-34: *So hi Devadattaṃ nissāya tassa vacanena pitaraṃ ghātāpetvā...bhūto rājasiriyā cittassādaṃ alabhi* [B^c: *na labhi*]...*so dāni tathāgataṃ āgamma kalyāṇa-mittasaggena vigatabhayaṃ issariyasukhaṃ anubhoti*. Translated also in Cowell (1895-1907: v. 134-5). For a detailed analysis of this *paccupanna-vatthu*, see below Chapter Two.

⁴⁸ There appears to be an interesting “cross-correspondence” between Buddhist and Jaina attitudes towards Kūṇika Ajātaśatru and his father Śreṇika Bimbisāra, two prominent contemporaries of both the Buddha and Mahāvīra. According to Jains (both Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras), Śreṇika will be reborn in hell in his next life, after which he will be reborn again as a human and attain *jina*-hood (see above n.4). This process of falling into hell, then getting out of hell and finally attaining awakening is strikingly similar to that which Ajātaśatru is said to experience in his future rebirths in some Buddhist texts I mentioned above. It seems that Jains were more concerned with saving Śreṇika than saving his son, whereas (some) Buddhists were more interested in saving Ajātaśatru than saving his father. According to Buddhist sources after his death Bimbisāra was reborn as a *yakṣa* in the retinue of the Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa (see DPPN, ii. 287), or as a son of Vaiśravaṇa (see DBPN, 102a). As far as Malalasekera’s and Akanuma’s dictionaries show, there seems to be no prophecy of Bimbisāra’s future

themselves do not hold the same opinion on whether or how Ajātaśatru is saved. Instead, there is a considerable diversity and fluidity in Buddhist presentations and interpretations of this theme. Given the double identity of Ajātaśatru as both a notorious *ānantarya* criminal and a model *upāsaka*, his salvation stories become for us valuable sources to examine how Buddhist authors balance the laws of *karma* and other important religious factors (for instance, the salvific power of the Buddha, the efficacy of Buddhist teachings, etc.), which in turn may help us distinguish different emphases of those authors in Buddhist soteriological discourse. Third, since almost all Buddhist versions of the patricide story of Ajātaśatru agree that it is the Buddha's arch-rival Devadatta who incites Ajātaśatru to kill his father, stories of Ajātaśatru's change into an *upāsaka* and/or his ultimate liberation clearly suggest the positive influence and salvific capability of the Buddha in contrast with the destructive influence of the schismatic Devadatta. In this sense, those stories also comprise one part of the anti-heterodox (or rather, anti-Devadatta) polemics in the history of Indian Buddhism.

1.2 Stories of Ajātaśatru in Indian Buddhist Art: A Brief Look

It is unclear exactly when stories of Ajātaśatru started being told and circulated. The earliest known evidence is a small bas-relief on a corner pillar at the western gateway of Bhārhut *stūpa* that was possibly erected during the second or first century BCE.⁴⁹ It contains three scenes which separately represent three stages of Ajātaśatru's visit to the Buddha, including his setting out with his female attendants, his dismounting from an elephant, and his veneration of the Buddha whose presence

liberation in Buddhist sources, though his attainment of the fruit of stream-entry (Skt. *srotāpatti*, Pāli *sotāpatti*) in this life does suggest that theoretically he is destined for enlightenment.

⁴⁹ Cunningham 1998 (1879): 88-89, Plate XVI 'Ajātaśatru Pillar', fig. 3.

is symbolized by a set of footprints and an empty throne. The relief is labeled with an inscription engraved on the right-hand pillar, which reads *ajātasatu* (or *ajātasata*) *bhagavato vaṃdate*⁵⁰ “Ajātaśatru worships the Blessed One”. Lüders notices the correspondences between this relief and the story of Ajātasattu’s visit to the Buddha as told in the Pāli *Sāmaññaphala-sutta*, and argues that the relief was made according to that particular text.⁵¹ A similar opinion is held by MacQueen who says that the relief “reflects a state of the sutra [i.e., the *Śrāmaṇyaphala-sūtra*] somewhat later than the ancient text but not as late as several of the most developed texts”.⁵² However, as Lamotte points out, “[i]n all probability, those artists [at Bhārhut] worked from memory or from oral indications supplied by their clients who had their own folklore”.⁵³ It would, then, be more reasonable to follow Schopen’s suggestion that the Bhārhut relief and inscription of Ajātaśatru’s visit to the Buddha presuppose only the existence of the story, not the existence of any particular text.⁵⁴

It has been observed that most reliefs at Bhārhut are illustrations of *jātaka* stories concerning the Buddha’s previous lives, whereas only ten stories in the Buddha’s final life are depicted and Ajātaśatru’s visit of the Buddha is one of them.⁵⁵ This indicates that the Ajātaśatru story was deemed to be somehow important by certain Buddhist(s) in ancient India when the *stūpa* was built. In fact, the donor who

⁵⁰ Lüders 1963: 118. On the variant spelling *ajātasata*, see Hultzsich 1886: 68 No.77.

⁵¹ Lüders 1941: 164; 1963: 69-70, 118. He considers that almost all Bhārhut reliefs—with only one exception—were made according to the “tradition of the Theras as it was laid down in the canonical Pali texts” (70).

⁵² MacQueen 1988: 297. Here, the “ancient text” refers to the version of the SPS that is “ancestral” to all the extant versions (see MacQueen’s definition in *ibid.*: 104).

⁵³ Lamotte 1988 (1958): 404.

⁵⁴ Schopen 1997 (1985): 45n.14.

⁵⁵ Lamotte 1988 (1958): 404.

commissioned the Ajātaśatru relief seems to have been a superior monk. According to Lüders, there is an inscription on the middle-relief of the same pillar, which reads *bhadataṣa aya Isipālitaṣa bhānakasa navakamikasa dānam*, translated by Lüders as “The gift of the reverend, the venerable Isipālita (*Rishipālita*), the reciter and superintendent of the works”.⁵⁶ The “gift” mentioned in the inscription is not specified. It possibly refers to the whole pillar, given that among all inscriptions on the pillar only this one indicates the donor.⁵⁷ As Silk shows, the word *navakarmika* (Pāli *navakammika*) is an Indian Buddhist monastic administrative title, referring to one who was primarily in charge of construction-related activities and also, at least on some occasions, responsible for financial matters.⁵⁸ Schopen notices that Isipālita mentioned in this inscription is “[t]he earliest *navakammika* that we have reference to”, and that “he appears to have been by no means an average monk”, for the titles *bhadata* (Skt. *bhadanta*, “Venerable”), *aya* (*ārya*, “Noble”) and *bhānaka* (*bhāṇaka*, “Reciter [of the Dharma]”) clearly suggest his high status.⁵⁹ If this superior monk was indeed the donor of the relief, one may wonder why he particularly chose the story of Ajātaśatru to be represented. There are many possibilities. Given Ajātaśatru’s identities as a prominent king and as a notorious criminal, the story might have been used here to illustrate the Buddha’s supremacy over his contemporary king, and/or to show that even one of the most heinous criminals became his devotee. In either case, the relief

⁵⁶ Lüders 1963: 38, A 59 (773), Plates IX, XXXIV; Hultzsch 1886: 68, No.76. For other references on this inscription, see Silk (2008a: 91n.76).

⁵⁷ The same situation also occurs on the reverse of the pillar of the Southern gateway. As Lüders (1963: 39-40, No.A 62 [738], Plate IX) observes, there are altogether nineteen inscriptions on that pillar but only one indicates the donor. He suggests that “as this inscription is the only donative inscription on the pillar, it probably refers to the gift of the whole pillar, although the object of the donation is not stated”.

⁵⁸ Silk 2008a:75-99.

⁵⁹ Schopen 1997 (1991): 190. Silk (2008a: 91) also points out, “The occurrence of *navakarmika* with elite titles such as *thera*, *bhadanta*, and *ārya* may suggest its high status as well”.

could have functioned as a (pedagogical) device to arouse or deepen the faith of laity.

At other archaeological sites in India, representations of Ajātaśatru rarely appear. In Gandhāran Buddhist art, there seems no direct portrayal of him. While there are a group of reliefs which illustrate Devadatta's plots to kill the Buddha (for instance, sending assassins and releasing a fierce elephant), it is clear that in all those reliefs Ajātaśatru is absent. At Ajañṭā, the story of the Buddha's subjugation of the fierce elephant is represented in a series of five wall-paintings preserved in one cave (Cave XVII) dated to the fifth century CE, among which the first painting illustrates that Devadatta and Ajātaśatru are discussing their plot to kill the Buddha, with the background set in the royal palace.⁶⁰ As Schlingloff observes, this portrayal of Ajātaśatru and Devadatta has no parallel in representations of the story at other archaeological sites.⁶¹ In other collections of Indian Buddhist art, so far as I am aware, there seem very few, if any, direct portrayals of Ajātaśatru that have been identified. At Amarāvātī, there are two sculptures which might be related to the story of Ajātaśatru's visit to the Buddha, but no certainty can be assured.⁶²

1.3 The Salvation of Ajātaśatru in Indian Buddhist Literature: Sources and Methods

1.3.1 The Narrative Cycle of the Salvation of Ajātaśatru: An Outline

⁶⁰ Schlingloff 2000: i. 435-441, No.77/XVII, 21, 1 Dhanapāla.

⁶¹ For relevant representations at other sites (e.g., Goli, Mathurā, Sarnath, Sāñchi and Bihar) and a comparison with the Ajañṭan paintings, see *ibid.*: 438-441.

⁶² Knox (1992) suggests that a sculpture from a railing crossbar dating to the second century CE (*ibid.*: 82-83, No.26 [inner face]) and another one from a drum slab dating to the third century CE (*ibid.*: 136, No.70) could be related to this story. But neither sculpture contains an explicit reference to Ajātaśatru.

In contrast to the scarcity of archeological sources, Buddhist literary sources related to Ajātaśatru exist in great abundance. There is not just a single story of Ajātaśatru found in Buddhist literature. Instead, there are at least four major cycles of stories, centering on different events in his life or different aspects of his personality:

- Cycle I:** Stories related to his patricide (including his previous life, his birth, his support for the schismatic Devadatta, and the murder of his father Bimbisāra);
- Cycle II:** Stories related to his transformation and salvation (including his repentance for the patricide, his visit to the Buddha or encounter with a deputy of the Buddha [for instance, the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī or Lokeśvara⁶³], his future rebirths and final liberation);
- Cycle III:** Stories about his political role as an influential Indian king (including his wars with King Prasenajit, his campaign

⁶³ According to the 28th chapter of the *Kalpādrumāvadānamālā* (KDM), “Garland of *Avadānas* of the Wish-fulfilling Tree”, the Buddha sends the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara [= Avalokiteśvara] to save the repentant Ajātaśatru who, under Lokeśvara’s guidance, performs the *upośadha* and takes refuge in the Three Jewels (see a summary in Mitra 1882: 303; Mitra’s summary is based on the Sanskrit manuscript of the KDM preserved in the Library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta). According to Feer (1879: 304) and Filliozat (1941: 14, Nos. 26-27), the Sanskrit manuscript of the KDM in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BnF) gives *Ajātaśatruparidāpitāvadāna*, “Story of the Converted Ajātaśatru”, as the title of this chapter. This title is reproduced in Matsunami (1965: 231), according to whom the manuscript of the KDM in the Tōkyō University Library only covers five chapters (ibid.: 33), not including the present one. According to my investigation, the Sanskrit manuscript (Add. 1590, 261a2-269a8; Bendall 1883: 131) in the Cambridge University Library gives the title *Ajātaśatruparibodhitāvadāna* (269a7-8), “Story of the Illuminated Ajātaśatru”. I am very grateful to Dr. Vincenzo Vergiani for allowing me to access the Cambridge manuscript and to Dr. Camillo Formigatti for helping me with reading the manuscript. In this study I use the title *Ajātaśatruparibodhitāvadāna* (AŚBA). The AŚBA seems to be a local (mediaeval Nepalese) production motivated by a cult of the Bodhisattva Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara. On the close association of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara with the *upośadha* observance (*vrata*) in Newar Buddhism (see Locke 1980: 203-4; 1987; Gellner 1992 [esp. 127-8]; Tuladhar-Douglas 2006: 149-187). Regarding the date of the KDM, while in his *Bukkyō setsuwa kenkyū josetsu* Iwamoto Yutaka places its compilation around the third century CE (see Okano Kiyoshi’s website <http://homepage3.nifty.com/indology/kalpādrumavadana.html>; I have no access to Iwamoto’s book for the moment), more scholars agree that the KDM, along with other extant *avadānamālās*, belong to the mediaeval Nepalese Sanskrit Buddhist literature (see Speyer 1902-1909: ii. xxxvi; Tatelman 2000: 10; Tuladhar-Douglas 2006: 39). The AŚBA certainly deserves a specific and detailed treatment elsewhere.

against the Vṛjis, his construction of Pāṭaliputra, etc.);

Cycle IV: Stories about his special relationship to the Buddhist Community (including his erection of a *stūpa* over one portion of the Buddha's bodily relics⁶⁴, his patronage of the First Buddhist Council, his good relations with the Buddha's great disciples [for instance, Mahākāśyapa and Ānanda], etc.)

My classification of Ajātaśatru stories into four narrative cycles is inspired by Alfred Foucher's study of the Buddha's biography. In his masterpiece *La Vie du Bouddha*, Foucher categorizes the Buddha's life stories into several narrative cycles around different pilgrimage sites, for instance, the cycle of Kapilavastu (comprising stories of the Buddha's birth and youth), the cycle of Magadha (concerning his quest and enlightenment), the cycle of Benares (concerning his first sermon and conversions), and the cycles of four secondary pilgrimage sites (Sāṃkāśya, Śrāvastī, Rājagṛha and Vaiśālī) regarding events taking place between the Buddha's first sermon and the final days leading up to his *parinirvāṇa*.⁶⁵ In a way similar to Foucher's categorization of the life stories of the Buddha according to their relations to certain places, we may consider the stories of Ajātaśatru according to their relations to certain dimensions of his personality. The afore-mentioned four narrative cycles may be seen as separately centering on his identities as a criminal (patricide-regicide), as a repentant seeking for

⁶⁴ There is a subcycle of stories particularly concerning Ajātaśatru's special relationship to the Buddha after his "conversion", including, *inter alia*, his emotional reaction towards the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* (see Rockhill 1884:141-2; Obermiller 1931-1932: ii. 62; Waldschmidt 1944-1948: ii. 252-4; Sadakata 1984: 167-171; Klimkeit 1990: 149-150; Strong 2004: 118), his claiming of one share of the Buddha's bodily relics and his erection of the *stūpa* (see Rockhill 1884: 145-6; Waldschmidt 1944-1948: i. 314f.; Strong 2004: 118-9, 121-2; Deeg 2005: 406-7, 551).

⁶⁵ According to Foucher (1987 [1949]: 295-323), following these four cycles, there is a final cycle of "le quatrième grand pèlerinage" associated not with one place, but with the whole itinerary of the Buddha's last journey from Rājagṛha to Kuśinagarī, and with his *parinirvāṇa* at Kuśinagarī, the funeral, as well as distribution of relics.

salvation, as a political leader of Magadha, and as a royal *upāsaka*. While Ajātaśatru’s role as an *upāsaka* is featured in both the narrative cycle of his salvation (i.e., Cycle II) and the cycle of his relationship to the Buddhist Community (i.e., Cycle IV), it is clear that the two cycles have rather different focuses: in Cycle II, the focus is on his transformation from an *ānantarya* criminal into an *upāsaka* and/or his future attainment of liberation⁶⁶, whereas in Cycle IV, the focus is on his activities as a royal *upāsaka* which have no direct relevance to his patricide or remorse, including his sponsorship, merit-making (for instance, building a *stūpa* over the Buddha’s bodily relics) and his personal connections with the Buddha’s great disciples.

The present study mainly concerns the narrative cycle of Ajātaśatru’s salvation. Within this cycle, we may further identify five subcycles, among which the first three subcycles relate to Ajātaśatru’s “conversion” or transformation into an *upāsaka*, while the latter two subcycles relate not to (or not only to) his transformation, but to his future rebirths and ultimate liberation. The chart below provides an overview of the five subcycles and relevant textual sources as far as I could identify them:

Table 1.1 The Narrative Cycle of the Salvation of Ajātaśatru in Indian Buddhist Literature

Subcycle One	Ajātaśatru’s Repentance and His Conversion by the Buddha: The Frame Story of Ajātaśatru’s Visit to the Buddha in the <i>Śrāmaṇyaphala-sūtra</i> (SPS) Textual Family	
	1	The Pāli <i>Sāmaññaphala-sutta</i>
	2	The <i>Paccuppanna-vatthu</i> , “Story of the Present”, of the Pāli <i>Saṅgīva-jātaka</i> (No.150)
	3	The <i>Paccuppanna-vatthu</i> of the Pāli <i>Samkiccha-jātaka</i> (No.530)
	4	One part of the <i>Saṅghabheda-vastu</i> , “Section on Schism”, of the <i>Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya</i> (MSV) in Sanskrit and Tibetan versions
	5	The Chinese <i>Jizhiguo-jing</i> 寂志果經, “Sūtra of the Fruits of Being a Tranquil-Minded One” (T.22)

⁶⁶ There are several stories in which Ajātaśatru’s transformation into an *upāsaka* or his eventual liberation was unrelated to his repentance for the patricide (see below “Subcycle Three” and T.509 in “Subcycle Five”).

	6	The <i>Shamenguo-jing</i> 沙門果經, “Sūtra on the Fruits of Śramaṇas”, in the Chinese translation of the <i>Dīrghāgama</i> (T.1 [20])
	7	An untitled <i>sūtra</i> in the Chinese translation of the <i>Ekottarikāgama</i> (T.125 [43.7])
Subcycle Two	Ajātaśatru’s Repentance and His Conversion by Someone Other than the Buddha	
	1	By the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara: the twenty-eighth chapter of the KDM, titled <i>Ajātaśatruparibodhitāvadāna</i> (AŚBA), “Story of the Illuminated Ajātaśatru” <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Ajātaśatru is afflicted with leprosy and repents of his crime. Under Lokeśvara’s guidance, he faithfully performs the <i>upoṣadha</i> fast and takes refuge in the Three Jewels.⁶⁷
	2	By a Buddhist monk: Gopadatta’s <i>*Ajātaśatrvavadāna</i> (AŚA), “Story of Ajātaśatru” ⁶⁸ , possibly corresponding to the former part of the twentieth chapter (<i>Śrīmatyavadāna</i> , “Story of Śrīmatī”) of the KDM ⁶⁹ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● While hunting an elephant, Ajātaśatru meets a Buddhist monk who, through conversing with him, arouses his remorse for the patricide and then advises him to take refuge in the Buddha.
	3	By a <i>kula</i> putra: the twenty-fifth chapter of T.193 (a Chinese translation [?] of <i>*Buddhacarita</i> traditionally attributed to the Chinese monk Baoyun 寶雲) ⁷⁰ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● A <i>kula</i>putra, who supports the Buddha and opposes Devadatta, arouses Ajātaśatru’s remorse for his patricide and his earlier acts against the Buddha, and thereby brought about his faith. ● No parallel to this story has been identified in Sanskrit, Pāli or Tibetan sources so far.

⁶⁷ See above n. 63.

⁶⁸ According to Hahn (1992: 17), “the Ajātaśatru legend [i.e., the AŚA] was accessible only in the form of Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana’s transcript of a fragmentary Sanskrit manuscript found in Tibet. The manuscript consists of five leaves, but since the final part of the story is missing neither the author nor the title of the legend is given.” Hahn (1981: 242-276) provides a revised edition of the AŚA based on Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana’s transcript and other relevant sources. For the authorship attribution, the title reconstruction and a detailed analysis of the structural and poetical features of this text, see (ibid.: 242-256). No complete translation of the AŚA has been published so far. On the date of Gopadatta (ca. 400/450-800 AD), see Hahn (1992: 28).

⁶⁹ According to Mitra’s summary (1882: 300), the former part of *Śrīmatyavadāna* of the KDM tells that Ajātaśatru “received salutary instruction from a Śramaṇa” while hunting in a forest and “touched thereby, repairing to the Lord Śākya Siṃha, repented of his sins, performed the purifying fast of Poṣadha, and became a follower of the Buddha”. I have not checked any manuscript edition of this story and it is unclear the extent to which Mitra’s summary is reliable. Prof. Hahn kindly pointed it out to me that “[s]ince the KDM belongs to the (late) genre of *Avadānamālās*, it cannot have been the source of Gopadatta’s story. It must have been the other way round, because the late *Avadānamālās* have preserved several legends from the lost *Jātakamālā* by Gopadatta” (Email 23 May 2012). The *Śrīmatyavadāna* of the KDM consists of three episodes separately related to the conversion of Ajātaśatru, his murder of Bimbisāra, and his killing of his servant-maid Śrīmatī. For a brief comparison of the third episode with its counterpart in the *Avadānaśataka* (namely, the fifty-fourth chapter under the same title *Śrīmatyavadāna*), see Feer (1979 [1891]: 212-213).

⁷⁰ The traditional ascription of the *Fo-benxing-jing* in seven fascicles (T.193) to Baoyun (376–449CE) is problematic. In his catalogue *Chu-sanzang-jiji* compiled in 515 CE—usually considered a very credible source—Sengyou mentions a *Fo-benxing-jing* in five fascicles among anonymous scriptures (T.2145. 21c12). According to Willemen (2009: xv), “Higata [sic!] Ryūshō thinks that this text was written shortly after Zhi Qian (third century) but before Kumārajīva (344–413?)”. See also Gotō (2007: 982-978), who suggests Dharmarakṣa as the translator of T.193 based on its terminological features.

	4	<p>By the Buddha's disciple Maudgalyāyana: the twenty-seventh chapter of T.193</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Having heard Maudgalyāyana's description of Devadatta's suffering in hell, Ajātaśatru is terrified, repents of his evil deeds, and then invites the Buddha to the palace for a meal. ● No parallel to this story has been identified in Sanskrit, Pāli or Tibetan sources so far.
Subcycle Three	Stories of the Conversion of Ajātaśatru Unrelated to His Repentance for the Patricide	
	1	<p>The sixteenth chapter (<i>Pañcavārṣikāvadāna</i>, "Story of the Quinquennial Festival") of the <i>Avadānaśataka</i> [Avś]⁷¹, corresponding to the twenty-fourth chapter (<i>Dharmabuddhinṛpāvadāna</i>, "Story of the King Dharmabuddhi"⁷²) of the KDM</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Ajātaśatru, at Devadatta's instigation, prohibits people in Rājagṛha from making offerings to the Buddha. Later on seeing Śakra worship the Buddha, he generates faith and annuls the prohibition.
	2	<p>The twenty-first chapter of T.192 (the Chinese translation of the <i>Buddhacarita</i> traditionally attributed to Tan Wuchen 曇無讖) and the counterpart in the thirteenth-century Tibetan translation (from Sanskrit)⁷³</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● "Standing on the terrace, Ajātaśatru, on seeing the chief of elephants tamed by the Lord, was amazed, filled with joy, and gained extreme faith in the Buddha."⁷⁴
		The twenty-fifth chapter of T.211 ⁷⁵

⁷¹ For the Sanskrit version, see Speyer (1902-1909: i. 88-92); translated into French in Feer (1979 [1891]: 72-76). The Tibetan translation is basically the same as the Sanskrit (see Derge 343, *mdo sde, am* 46b2-49a4; sTog 252, *mdo sde, sha* 70b4-73b7). In the Chinese translation of the Avś (T.200.210a 23f.) the story appears as the fifteenth rather than sixteenth chapter (see above n.46), the content of which largely agrees with but still differs from the Sanskrit and the Tibetan. For an English translation of the Sanskrit and the Chinese versions, see Appendix II.1.

⁷² Feer (1879: 304; 1979 [1891]: xxvi) gives the title *Dharmabuddhinṛpa*, whereas Filliozat (1941: 14) gives *Dharmabuddhanṛpa*. According to Speyer's edition (1902-1909: i. 91.16), the story mentions a king (one of the Buddha's past existences) named Dharmabuddhi. The story is summarized in Feer (1979 [1891]: 75-76) and in Mitra (1882: 301, XX "Story of Ajātaśatru's conversion"). On the correspondence of this story with the sixteenth chapter of the Sanskrit and Tibetan Avś, see Feer (1879: 304); Speyer (1902-1909: ii. xxii).

⁷³ According to Sengyou's catalogue (T.2154.12a25), the translator of the *Fu-suoxing-zan* in five fascicles (T.192) is Baoyun, not Tan Wuchen (EMC: **dəm/dam-muə-tṣʰim*^h; Skt. *Dharmakṣema [I can not adopt the reconstruction Dharmarddhi/-vṛddhi proposed in Willemen 2009: xv]). According to Willemen (ibid.: xiv), Sengyou's ascription is supported by the study of Ōminami (2002) to which I have no access. In T.192, the episode of Ajātaśatru's conversion is found at 40c19-41b3. There can be no doubt about the Indic origin of this Chinese episode, given its close agreement with the Tibetan translation (Derge Tanjur 4156, *skyes rabs, ge* 76a7-78a1; Golden Tanjur 3658, *skyes rabs, nge* 108a5-110b2) which was made from Sanskrit probably in the late thirteenth century (Jackson 1997: 54). The Tibetan is translated in Johnston (1998 [1936]: iii. 63). For more details, see Appendix II.2.

⁷⁴ Derge 4156, *ge* 77b6; Golden 3658, *nge* 110a5-6: *dad pa la gnas ma skyes dgra ni thub pa yis* [G: *yi*] | *glang chen dbang po de ni brtul* [G: *btul*] *ba mthong nas ni* | | *ya mtshan gyur zhing* [G: *cing*] *de nas dga' ba skyes pa ste* | | *sang rgyas la ni mchog tu dad pa byas pa'o* | As Johnston (1998 [1936]: iii. 63 n.2) notices, the Tibetan read *prāsāda* (*dad pa* "faith") at the beginning of this sentence for *prāsāda* "palace".

⁷⁵ According to Brough (1962: 38), T.211, translated between 290 and 306 CE, is a selection of verses taken from T. 210 (an earlier Chinese translation of the *Dharmapada*), "together with explanatory stories,

	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Ajātaśatru is amazed by the Buddha's magic power in subjugating five hundred drunken elephants released by Devadatta and himself and therefore gains faith in the Buddha. ● An elaborate parallel to the above-mentioned story in T. 192
	4	<p>One part of the <i>Bhaiṣajyavastu</i>, "Section on Medicine", of the MSV (Tibetan and Chinese translations, both from Sanskrit)⁷⁶</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Ajātaśatru assists Devadatta in attacking the Buddha, who then leaves Rājagṛha. Later when the neighbouring kings campaign against Ajātaśatru and a plague breaks out in Magadha, Ajātaśatru has no choice but to invite the Buddha back to cure the plague. Convinced by the Buddha's influence and supernatural power, Ajātaśatru gains faith in him. ● The "conversion" of Ajātaśatru appears as a prelude to the Vaiśālī plague legend.
Subcycle Four	Stories of Ajātaśatru's Repentance, His Future Rebirths and/or Eventual <i>Pratyekabuddha</i>-hood	
	1	<p>Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Pāli <i>Sāmaññaphala-sutta</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● A prophecy of Ajātaśatru's next birth in hell, subsequent release, and eventual attainment of <i>paccekabuddha</i>-hood
	2	<p>An untitled <i>sūtra</i> in the Chinese translation of the <i>Ekottarikāgama</i> (T.125 [38.11])</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● A prophecy of Ajātaśatru's next birth in hell, subsequent release, following continuous heavenly rebirths and eventual <i>pratyekabuddha</i>-hood ● The contextualization of the prophecy of Ajātaśatru's future rebirths within the Vaiśālī plague legend
	3	<p>The <i>Asheshi-wang-wen-wuni-jing</i> 阿闍世王問五逆經, "Sūtra of Ajātaśatru's Inquiry into the Five Heinous Crimes" (T.508)⁷⁷</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● A prophecy of Ajātaśatru's next birth in hell, subsequent release, following continuous heavenly rebirths and eventual <i>pratyekabuddha</i>-hood, parallel to that found in T.125 [38.11]
	4	<p>One part of the <i>Pusa-benxing-jing</i> 菩薩本行經, "Sūtra of Previous Deeds of the Bodhisattva" (T.155, <i>Bodhisattvapūrvacarya</i>?)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● A prophecy of Ajātaśatru's next birth in hell and subsequent release ● The contextualization of the prophecy of Ajātaśatru's future rebirths within the Vaiśālī plague legend
	The <i>Ajātaśatrupitṛdrohāvadāna</i> (AŚPA), "Story of Ajātaśatru's Malice towards His	

and is thus similar to a somewhat condensed Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā"; see also de Jong (1998: 390-1). The Ajātaśatru story in question is told in the twenty-fifth chapter on "Anger" (**Krodhavarga*) of T.211 (596a5-b2). See a paraphrase in Beal (1878: 121-3); see also Lamotte (1944-1980: iv. 1773). For a full English translation, see Appendix II.3. The story has no parallel in the Pāli *Dhammapada* Commentary.

⁷⁶ No Sanskrit has been preserved in this part of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the MSV. The Tibetan is found at Derge Kanjur 1, 'dul ba, kha 13a6-14b3; sTog Kanjur 1, 'dul ba, ka 454a4-kha 3a4; the Chinese counterpart at T.1448.19c2f. For a translation and discussion of the Tibetan version of the story, see below Chapter Three.

⁷⁷ Mizuno (1996 [1989]: 429) suggests that T.508 is one of the remnants of the lost Chinese translation of the *Ekottarikāgama* made by Dharmanandi in 384-385 CE; for more details, see below, p.177.

	5	Father”, of the <i>Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā</i> (BAK), “Wish-Fulfilling Garland of Tales of the Bodhisattva” composed by the Kashmiri poet Kṣemendra in 1052 CE ⁷⁸ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● A prophecy of Ajātaśatru’s eventual attainment of <i>pratyekabuddha</i>-hood.
Subcycle Five	Stories of Ajātaśatru’s Repentance, His Future Rebirths and/or Eventual Buddha-hood	
		The fifth and eleventh chapters of the <i>*Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodanā-sūtra</i> (AjKV) (fragmentary Sanskrit version; complete Tibetan [Derge Kanjur 216, sTog Palace Kanjur 223] and Chinese translations [T.626, T.627])
	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Chapter Five: Ajātaśatru’s remorse for his patricide and his request for mental relief ● Second half of Chapter Eleven: A prophecy of Ajātaśatru’s next birth in hell, subsequent release, following heavenly and human rebirths, and eventual attainment of <i>buddha</i>-hood ● Ajātaśatru is saved not by the Buddha but by the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī.
	2	<p>The <i>Asheshi-wang-shoujue-jing</i> 阿闍世王授決經, “Sūtra of the Prophecy [of Future Buddha-hood] of Ajātaśatru” (T.509)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● A prophecy of Ajātaśatru’s eventual <i>buddha</i>-hood, parallel to that found in the AjKV ● No mention of his patricide or repentance thereof
	3	<p>The tenth chapter of the <i>Shouhu-guojiezhū-tuoluoni-jing</i> 守護國界主陀羅尼經, “Dhāraṇī-sūtra of Protecting the Ruler of the Realm” (T.997)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The “conversion” of Ajātaśatru: Terrified by the infernal torment manifested by the Buddha, Ajātaśatru expresses his repentance for the patricide to the Buddha and takes refuge in him. ● A prophecy of Ajātaśatru’s next birth in hell, subsequent release, following rebirth in the Tuṣṭita Heaven where he will receive from Maitreya Bodhisattva a prophecy of future <i>buddha</i>-hood.

⁷⁸ The *editio princeps* of this story is the bilingual version (Sanskrit text and Tibetan translation) from 1664-65 CE originally published by Das and Vidyābhūṣaṇa (1888-1918: i. 1070-1087). The Sanskrit text was later reproduced in Vaidya (1959: 280-284). See also textcritical remarks in de Jong (1979: 27-35). For a general introduction to the BAK and its extant Sanskrit and Tibetan versions, see Mejer (1992: 1-8, 29-31); on its publication history, see Silk (2008b: 175-6); for recent bibliographies on the BAK and Kṣemendra’s other works, see Kirde (2002, 2004, 2007); see also Silk (2009: 261n.1). I am grateful to Prof. Marek Mejer for sending me Dr. Signe Kirde’s articles. Kirde’s bibliographies do not mention any modern language translation of the Sanskrit text of the AŚPA. As far as I know, no such translation has been published, though a simplified Tibetan prose version of this story, dated probably from the 19th century CE, is translated in Black (1997: 223-6). I am still in the process of translating this Sanskrit text and can only give a gist of its content here: The former part of the AŚPA tells the story of Ajātaśatru’s patricide, which is similar to that told in the *Sanḥabhedavastu* of the MSV (translated in Silk 1997: 194- 7); the following part of the AŚPA presents Ajātaśatru’s repentance and his visit to the Buddha who delivered a discourse on *karma* to him and predicted his eventual *pratyekabuddha*-hood (Das and Vidyābhūṣaṇa 1888-1918: i.1083.5-6: *pratyekabuddhas tvam rājan kālena kṣīṇakīlbiṣaḥ | bhaviṣyasi vivekena kṛtālokaḥ śanaiḥ śanaiḥ* || “King, in the course of time, your crime will be extinguished. Gradually, gradually, you will be enlightened in solitude and become a *pratyekabuddha*.”). This part finds no parallel in the MSV and was probably based on other sources. A re-edition of the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts of the AŚPA and detailed comparison with the counterpart in the MSV needs to be done in the near future.

4	<p>The “Chapter Pure Practice” (<i>Fanxing-pin</i> 梵行品) and the “Chapter on Kāśyapa Bodhisattva” (<i>Jiaye-pusa-pin</i> 迦葉菩薩品) of the Mahāyāna <i>Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra</i> [MMPS] (Chinese versions [T.374; T.375]; Tibetan translation [Derge Kanjur 119, sTog Kanjur 333] from T.374 and T.377)⁷⁹</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● One part of the “Pure Practice” Chapter [a Mahāyāna adaptation of the frame story of the SPS]: Ajātaśatru is afflicted with leprosy and repents of his patricide. He does not accept Jīvaka’s advice to visit the Buddha until his leprosy is magically healed by the Buddha from afar. Coming to where the Buddha was and hearing his discourse, Ajātaśatru gains the “rootless faith” and arouses the aspiration for supreme awakening. He is saved from falling into hell in the next birth.⁸⁰ ● One part of the “Kāśyapa Bodhisattva” Chapter: The Buddha relates to Kāśyapa Bodhisattva Ajātaśatru’s patricide at the instigation of Devadatta and his subsequent repentance. The Buddha predicts that Ajātaśatru will soon come to visit him and that he will preach the Dharma for him. Thereby, Ajātaśatru’s crime will be diminished and he will gain the “rootless faith”.⁸¹ ● It is unclear whether these stories were entirely based on Indic sources.⁸²
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⁷⁹ On the complex textual history of the MMPS, see the thorough study by Shimoda (1997: 155-235). The southern Chinese recension (T.375) is a revision of the northern recension (T.374) and the Tibetan version (Derge Kanjur 119, sTog Kanjur 333) was translated from T.374. Therefore, neither can be used as an independent witness. Besides those versions, there is yet another Chinese translation of the MMPS (T. 376) and another Tibetan translation of the MMPS (Derge Kanjur 120, sTog Kanjur 179), both independently made from Indic originals. As Hirakawa (1971: 2-3, 11) observes, in T.376 and in the independent Tibetan translation, although Ajātaśatru is mentioned, no story is told about his salvation. Moreover, as Hirakawa (ibid.: 4) notices, these two versions share a common episode with T.374 and T.375. According to that episode, after his patricide Ajātaśatru comes to blame the Buddha for having ordained Devadatta even though knowing Devadatta’s evil nature. In response, the Buddha admonishes Ajātaśatru not to look for others’ fault, but to purify his own crime (Tib. Derge 120, *mdo sde, tha* 147a6; sTog 179, *mdo sde, wa* 245b4. *de sbyang bar gyis shig*, “You should purify it”; Chin. T.376. 898b5. 令其罪輕, “to make his crime light”; T.374. 426c20. 以求清淨, “thereby to seek purification”). This episode is no doubt of an Indian origin. It implies that it is possible for Ajātaśatru to purify his patricide. For relevant accounts of this episode in T.376 and in the independent Tibetan translation of the MMPS, along with my English translation, see Appendix I, Textual Material 4.

⁸⁰ T.374.474a27-485b2 = T.375.717a15-728c4. For the corresponding Tibetan, made from Chinese, see Derge Kanjur 119, *mdo sde, nya* 296b3-324b7. The story as told in T.374 is translated into English in Yamamoto (1973: 253-279); translated into Japanese and analyzed in Sadakata (1986: 13-100, 185-227); also paraphrased and discussed in Mochizuki (1988: 137-154); see also Hirakawa (1971: 2-5); Omaru (1986: 76-77); Radich (2011: 34-39).

⁸¹ T.374.565b4-566a7 = T.375.811c18-812b25. For the corresponding Tibetan, see Derge 119, *mdo sde, ta* 199b4-201b2; sTog 333, *myang ’das, ga* 127a1-129b2. The main part of the story concerns Ajātaśatru’s patricide, with only a brief account of his repentance and subsequent visit to the Buddha. The story as told in T.374 is translated in Yamamoto (1973: 479-480); the patricide part is also translated in Silk (1997: 192-193); see also a discussion in Radich (2011: 39-42).

⁸² Neither of the two stories finds a complete parallel in Sanskrit or Pāli sources, though they indeed contain Indic elements. Regarding the story told in the “Pure Practice” Chapter, its entire framework is based on that of the SPS; moreover, as Radich (2011: 162-3) observes, the account of Ajātaśatru’s previous birth as a revengeful sage as found in this story bears a striking resemblance to that told in the *Cīvaravastu*, “Section on Robes”, of the MSV. In fact, this episode is not unique to Buddhism, but also appears in the Jaina ĀvC, though in a relatively different form (see a comment on the Jaina story in Wiles 2000: 95 n.73). For Buddhist and Jaina accounts of Ajātaśatru’s previous life as a revengeful sage, see

There are also a few other Buddhist sources which briefly mention Ajātaśatru's future rebirths, though not his eventual attainment of awakening. For instance, in Xuanzang's translation of the *Vibhāṣā*, there is a sentence saying that after death Ajātaśatru will temporarily go to hell and having undergone a bit of suffering there, he will be reborn in heaven.⁸³ Although I could not identify a Sanskrit or Pāli parallel to this sentence, there can be little doubt that the prophecy of Ajātaśatru's future release from hell and his subsequent heavenly rebirth, as well as his minor suffering in hell, as mentioned in the *Vibhāṣā* has an Indian origin, because a similar—though not exactly the same—prophecy is found in the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions of the AjKV. There, we are also told that Ajātaśatru will be reborn in hell in his next birth but will not suffer any pain there, and that afterwards he will be released from hell and reborn in heaven.⁸⁴ Moreover, in the *Rgya gar chos 'byung*, “History of the Dharma in India”, written by the Tibetan scholar-monk Tāranātha in 1608 CE, we find a passage which reads: “In this way, Ānanda guarded teachings for forty years. In the next year, King Ajātaśatru also passed away. Having been reborn in hell for a short while, after dying from there, he was reborn in heaven. [There,] hearing the Dharma from the Noble Śāṇavāsa (or Śāṇavāsin, Śāṇakavāsin), he attained the status of a stream-enterer (*rgyun du zhugs pa*,

Appendix III.2. As for the story told in the “Kāśyapa Bodhisattva” Chapter, the patricide episode is no doubt of an Indic origin, although it contains unique elements which are not found in parallel versions of the patricide story in Buddhist literature (see Silk 1997: 193); Ajātaśatru's acquisition of “rootless faith” as mentioned in this chapter is also of an Indic origin, for it is attested in the Sanskrit *Sanḥabhedavastu* of the MSV (see below, pp. 94-96).

⁸³ T.1545.536b23-25. 復次，未生怨王所成就信未免惡趣，故名無根，彼後命終暫墮地獄、受少苦已、方生天故。 “Further, the faith gained by King Ajātaśatru does not exempt him from [falling into] the evil destiny and is therefore called ‘rootless’, since after his death he will temporarily fall into hell and after undergoing a bit of suffering there, he will then be reborn in heaven.” The latter part of this sentence finds no parallel in Buddhavarman's translation (T.1546.387b19).

⁸⁴ Harrison and Hartmann 2000a: 204-206, 208. For a detailed discussion, see below Chapter Four.

**srotāpanna*). Thus it is said.”⁸⁵ So far as I know, this is the only prophecy of Ajātaśatru’s future rebirths which relates him to Śāṇavāsa, the Buddhist patriarch who is said to have received the mastery of the Dharma from Ānanda and then passed it on to Upagupta.⁸⁶ There can be little doubt that Tāranātha’s account is based on earlier source(s). However, since he does not indicate what source was used here, it is unclear whether this prophecy has an Indian origin.

Within the framework of a thesis such as the present one, it is impossible to examine in detail all the five subcycles of stories mentioned above. In the pages that follow, I will particularly focus on the first subcycle of the story of Ajātaśatru’s visit to the Buddha in the various versions of the SPS (given that this is the best known Indian Buddhist text related to Ajātaśatru’s repentance and transformation), and the last two (fourth and fifth) subcycles concerning the future rebirths and/or ultimate liberation of Ajātaśatru. I will also discuss the story of Ajātaśatru in the Tibetan and Chinese *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the MSV classified in the third subcycle, given its striking similarity to the stories in the Chinese EĀ (T.125 [38.11]) and T.155 in correlating the salvation of Ajātaśatru with the stock legend of the Buddha’s visit to Vaiśālī to cure a plague. The remaining three stories in the third subcycle will not be discussed, given that in those stories the “conversion” of Ajātaśatru has no direct relevance to his repentance for the patricide. Their English translations may be found at Appendix II. Regarding the second subcycle on the “conversion” of Ajātaśatru by someone other than the Buddha, the first two stories (the *Ajātaśatruparibodhitāvadāna* [AŚBA] and

⁸⁵ My translation is made from the original Tibetan text edited by Schiefner (1868: 7.6-9): *de ltar na kun dga’ pos lo bzhi bcur bstan pa bskyangs | de’i phyi lo rgyal po ma skyes dgra yang ’das te | yud tsam dmyal bar skyes nas | de las shi ’phos nas lhar skyes te | ’phags pa sha na’i gos can la chos nyan pas rgyun du zhugs pa thob par grags so* | Translated also in Schiefner (1869: 9-10); Chimpa and Chattopadhyaya (1997 [1970]: 25).

⁸⁶ For the career of Śāṇakavāsin as one of the five masters of the Dharma (*dharmācāryas*, including Mahākāśyapa, Ānanda, Madhyāntika, Śāṇakavāsin and Upagupta) who is said to have successively preserved and transmitted Śākyamuni Buddha’s teachings, see Strong (1992: 66-67).

the **Ajātaśatrvavadāna* [AŚA]) deserve specific treatment elsewhere, given their substantial lengths and distinctly unusual storylines which find few (if any) parallels in other Buddhist sources.⁸⁷ As for the remaining two stories in the second subcycle that are separately found in two chapters of T.193 (traditionally regarded as a Chinese version of the *Buddhacarita*), I have not identified any Sanskrit or Pāli parallel to either story. For the moment, it is hard to say whether they have an Indian origin and therefore, they will not be considered in this study.

With regard to the sources listed in the first, fourth and fifth subcycles, while we may legitimately use the Sanskrit and Pāli texts to examine the narrative tradition of the salvation of Ajātaśatru in Indian Buddhism, questions arise as to whether the Chinese and Tibetan sources can also legitimately contribute to our knowledge of Buddhist interpretations of the salvation of Ajātaśatru in ancient India, and if so, to what extent. In fact, questions of this kind need to be considered not only in studying Indian Buddhist narratives of Ajātaśatru, but in any attempt to study Indian Buddhism through the “distant mirror” of Chinese and Tibetan sources.⁸⁸ The questions are less acute in cases of Tibetan translations of Indian Buddhist texts, which are generally more mechanical in vocabulary and style. In comparison, the questions become much more vexed in cases of Chinese sources. This is not only because Chinese Buddhist translations (especially the earlier ones made before the end of the sixth century CE) are terminologically and stylistically more diverse and their production processes are more obscure than those of Tibetan translations, but also because in many cases—especially when there is no Indian- language (Sanskrit or Pāli) or Tibetan parallel

⁸⁷ I am still in the process of transcribing and translating the AŚBA; on the AŚA, see above note n. 68.

⁸⁸ While Nattier (2003: 70-72) uses this metaphor mainly referring to Chinese and Tibetan texts which are surely translations of Indian Buddhist scriptures, given the existence of independently translated Chinese or Tibetan parallels, we may also use it to characterize Chinese sources which are of unknown origin but somehow based on Indic sources. See the discussion below.

available—we can not be sure whether a certain Chinese Buddhist text which claims to have been translated from an Indian original is indeed an authentic translation, to what extent such a text reflects Indian concerns, or to what extent it contains non-Indian (Sinitic or Central Asian) elements.

Thus, in making use of a Chinese Buddhist text whose origin is unclear, great care must be exercised to identify within such a text genuine Indian and non-Indian elements. In this regard, some earlier studies provide excellent examples. For instance, in his examinations of some Chinese texts which “masquerade as translations” but are actually not translations in the strict sense, including T.1440, T.1483 and one part of works ascribed to the Indian monk Paramārtha in the extant Chinese canon, Funayama identifies in those texts elements not belonging to Indian Buddhism but nonetheless characteristic of Chinese Buddhism or culture, which are supposed to have been added by the “producers” of the texts to facilitate Chinese audiences’ understanding of Indian materials.⁸⁹ On the other hand, in his thorough study of the “*Dhāraṇī-sūtra* on Collecting the Joy of the Teachings and Getting Rid of Suffering” extant only in Chinese, Silk observes that although this text does not have an appearance of being a proper translation of an Indian original—given the lack of the opening and closing formulas—and the origin of its introductory *dhāraṇī* is also unclear, the narrative core of the story appended to the *dhāraṇī* nevertheless “reflects a genuine Indian tradition”, since it shows a remarkable parallelism to a similar story in the *Vibhāṣā* which is, in

⁸⁹ As Funayama (2006) convincingly shows, those Chinese texts are actually lectures—or, in the case of T.1483 (see Funayama 1998), whose core is a lecture—delivered by Indian scholar-monks for Chinese people, which contain a notable amount of exegetical elements. Funayama (2002, 2006, 2007) observes that the traditional dichotomy of pure translations and pure compositions does not suffice to categorize such lectures and some other Chinese texts which are not strict translations of Indic originals but are meanwhile still somehow based on Indic sources. Funayama suggests a third category, “Chinese compiled scriptures” (scriptures compiled in China by making use of Indic elements), to characterize those texts. See also a comment on Funayama’s studies in Silk (2010: 371-2). I am grateful to Prof. Funayama Tōru for so kindly sending me several of his articles.

turn, directly related to another parallel story in the *Divyāvadāna*.⁹⁰ Beyond the study of this specific text, Silk also gives a methodological suggestion on how to use Chinese Buddhist sources of unknown origins to study Indian Buddhism in general, which is worthy of being quoted here:

“One way—perhaps the only way—to work toward a generalizable answer to such questions of identity or origins, one—or indeed, the only—way to develop a method for evaluating and considering such cases, is to see what other types of examples one can find. One must try, that is, to plot the arc or distribution of such creations by careful examination of relevant works, one by one, leaving until later a more far-reaching evaluation of the range of evidence to be produced by such investigations.”⁹¹

One of my intentions in this study is to identify Indian elements within stories of Ajātaśatru told in some Chinese sources which have been transmitted as translations but we are not sure whether they were indeed made from original texts which had existed in India, given the absence of both Indian-language (Pāli or Sanskrit) parallels and independently translated Tibetan or Chinese parallels. As we have seen, among the Chinese texts listed above in the first, fourth and fifth subcycles, the three Chinese versions of the SPS (T.22, T.1 [20] and T.125 [43.7]) and the two Chinese versions of the AjKV (T.626, T.627) have independent Indian-language and/or Tibetan parallels, which suggest that those Chinese sources, in whole or in substantial part, are certainly Indian. The remaining several Chinese texts including an untitled *sūtra* in the Chinese translation of the EĀ (T.125 [38.11]), T. 508, T.509, T.155, T.997, as well as the so-called northern (T.374) and southern (T.375) Chinese recensions of the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (MMPS) have no, or only fragmentary⁹², Indian-language

⁹⁰ Silk 2009: 110-112; 2010: 391-396.

⁹¹ Silk 2010: 373.

⁹² In the identified Sanskrit fragments of the MMPS and the EĀ, so far as I know, there is no reference

parallels and no independent Tibetan or Chinese parallels (I leave aside the Tibetan translation of the MMPS which contains the salvation story of Ajātaśatru, since this translation was made from T.374)⁹³. Given the lack of an independent witness, there is a possibility that those Chinese sources are not entirely Indian. In other words, any particular passage in those texts does not necessarily go back to a pre-existing Indian original. With this caveat in mind, we must be very cautious about drawing any conclusion about Indian narrative traditions of Ajātaśatru based on those Chinese sources alone. In order to demonstrate an Indian origin of certain elements in those sources, we have to find relevant evidence in Indian-language (Sanskrit or Pāli) texts, or in Tibetan translations of Indian texts. If we cannot find such evidence, we have to take into account the possibility of local creations, or interpretations made by producers of those Chinese sources. Let me give two examples to illustrate this method:

As I will show in this study, T.509 in one fascicle is a patchwork text comprised of three stories centering on three different persons, one of which is Ajātaśatru. While there is no Indian-language or Tibetan parallel to the whole T.509, the three stories told in this text separately find parallels in the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the MSV, the Pāli *Dhammapada* commentary and the *Khuddakapāṭha* commentary, and the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions of the AjKV. Given those separate parallels, there can be no doubt that T.509 was based on Indian sources, although it is hard to say whether the combination of the three stories is Indian or not. A relatively different situation appears in T.508. There, we find a

to Ajātaśatru. For the extant Sanskrit fragments of the MMPS, see Matsuda (1988); Habata (2007, esp. xxxviii-xxxix, xli-xlii) on the correspondence between the Central Asian fragments and the extant Tibetan and Chinese versions; for the Gilgit fragments of the EĀ, see Tripāṭhī (1995:120-218). The Turfan fragments of the EĀ, almost all belong to the *ekanipāta* “Book of the Ones” (see Waldschmidt et al. 1971: Nos. 974, 975, 1000; Waldschmidt 1980: 169-170; Allon 2001: 10-11).

⁹³ In another Tibetan translation of the MMPS, made from an Indic original, there is no story of Ajātaśatru’s salvation, though the possibility of the purification of his crime is implied. See above n.79.

prophecy that Ajātaśatru will fall into hell in the next life in the way similar to the bouncing of a ball (Chin. *paiju* 拍毬 [var. 拍鞠]), after which he will be continuously reborn in the six heavens of the world of gods (*devaloka*) and then attain *pratyeka-buddha*-hood as a human. While the prophecy of one's continuous rebirths in the six heavens followed by attainment of *pratyekabuddha*-hood is a genuine Indian motif which occurs more than once in the *Divyāvadāna*, the comparison of one's descent into hell to the bouncing of a ball, so far as I know, seems to be only found in Chinese sources, not attested in Indian-language texts, although the short process of Ajātaśatru's falling into and then rising from hell is indeed attested in the Sanskrit and Tibetan AjKV.⁹⁴ The lack of relevant Indian evidence suggests that the afore-mentioned metaphor of bouncing of a ball may not necessarily reflect an Indian idea, but is possibly a local (Sinitic) trope, or the translator's (or transmitter's) own interpretation of the original Indian text (if it ever existed).

Besides the use of Chinese sources, there is another important issue which also needs to be considered when we study stories of Ajātaśatru. It is the question whether there is a clear-cut distinction between Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna Buddhism in attitudes towards the salvation of Ajātaśatru, which can demonstrate that Mahāyāna Buddhism holds a more inclusive soteriological horizon than non-Mahāyāna traditions. This issue is particularly relevant in the context of the Ajātaśatru stories, but it is also a part of a much larger issue regarding the validity of the frequent assertion of discrete boundaries between Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna traditions of Indian Buddhism. In the following section I will reconsider the dichotomy between Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna sources proposed by Hirakawa Akira, regarding their views on saving the patricide Ajātaśatru. So far as I know, no critical assessment of

⁹⁴ Harrison and Hartmann 2000a: 204-205. For more details, see below Chapter Four.

Hirakawa's arguments with regards to the stories of the salvation of Ajātaśatru has been published. The reconsideration below may help to clarify some presumptions about extant Buddhist sources related to this theme, and to draw attention to common ground between Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna soteriological discourses.

1.3.2 Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna Buddhist Attitudes towards the Salvation of Ajātaśatru: Rethinking the Dichotomy

In his influential article *Daijō kyōten no hattatsu to Ajaseō setsuwa*, “The Development of Mahāyāna Sūtras and the Tale of King Ajātaśatru”, Hirakawa suggests that there is a contrast between Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna Buddhist traditions in their attitudes towards saving the patricide Ajātaśatru. He argues that the prohibition of patricides and matricides from ordination stipulated in Buddhist monastic codes⁹⁵ implies that non-Mahāyāna Buddhism—or as Hirakawa calls it, Nikāya or Hināyāna Buddhism⁹⁶—exclude such criminals from being saved, in contrast to which Mahāyāna Buddhism offers them opportunities for salvation. He says:

“Not to be allowed to become a *bhikṣu* means not to be a person capable of attaining the Buddhist path, and means that in Buddhism he will not be saved forever... Thus, patricide or matricide is not an issue that can be forgiven if one repents. [Rather,] they are serious issues insofar as [to a patricide or matricide] the Dharma-gate will be closed forever [Jpn. 永久に仏法の門がとざされる] (even though they can become lay believers). This is clearly stated in the *Vinaya-piṭakas*, which means that in Hināyāna Buddhism, namely Nikāya Buddhism, people who have committed the five most serious crimes are not saved. On the other hand,

⁹⁵ On the prohibition of any offender of one of the five *ānantarya* crimes from entering the Buddhist Community, see also Silk (2007: 276).

⁹⁶ Hirakawa's use of the term Nikāya Buddhism (i.e., Buddhism practiced by Nikāya or sectarian groups) as the opposite of Mahāyāna Buddhism is evidently based on his erroneous theory of the lay origins of Mahāyāna (see Silk 2002: 379-380). As for Hināyāna, “an expression of derisive attitude toward non-bodhisattva practitioners” (Nattier 2003: 174 n.6), is almost certainly a “rhetorical fiction” rather than a designation of any actual institution or organization (Silk 2002: 367).

there is a question of what happens to a patricide or matricide in Mahāyāna Buddhism. Can we say that Mahāyāna Buddhism, when referring to itself as Mahāyāna in opposition to Hināyāna, does not leave out people who have committed patricide or matricide? If we can say that [Mahāyāna Buddhism] does not leave them out, there would have been questions such as what the reason for this is. At least when looking at stories of King Ajātaśatru told in Mahāyāna *sūtras*, we may take them up from this perspective.”⁹⁷

Following this, Hirakawa shows that the “Pure Practice” Chapter of the Chinese Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* in both its northern and southern versions contains a section which may be seen as an expanded adaptation of the frame story of Ajātaśatru’s visit to the Buddha in the SPS. There, the salvation of Ajātaśatru is prominently featured. His patricide is said to have been erased due to his repentance and faith in the Buddha and therefore, he will not have to fall into hell in the next life. Hirakawa goes on to compare this section of the MMPS with the various versions of the SPS, and observes that in most versions of the SPS (except T.22 and T.125 [43.7]) the salvation of Ajātaśatru is not much featured, but only treated as a secondary theme. He also observes that except for the SPS, no other text within the *āgama* corpus gives account of Ajātaśatru’s repentance or salvation. Based on these observations, he says:

“In any case, in *āgama* texts, King Ajātaśatru’s crime of patricide is not considered to be serious. Perhaps as a historical fact, King Ajātaśatru’s crime of patricide did not become a serious issue. This does not seem to be well connected with [the stipulation] in the *Vinaya-piṭakas* regarding the exclusion of committers of the five most serious crimes from entering the *saṅgha*...”⁹⁸

Here, Hirakawa contends that the few and unelaborated presentations of Ajātaśatru’s repentance and salvation in the *āgama* corpus imply that Ajātaśatru’s patricide is not

⁹⁷ Hirakawa 1971: 2. He further says that the contrast between Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna can also be seen in Buddhist sources on the salvation of Devadatta. In fact, as in the case of Ajātaśatru, more than one non-Mahāyāna text predicts that after his life in hell Devadatta will finally become a *pratyeka-buddha* (see below n.104). Clearly, Devadatta is also completely saved by non-Mahāyāna Buddhists.

⁹⁸ Hirakawa 1971: 7.

taken seriously in the *āgamas*, which he finds inconsistent with the emphasis on the high severity of patricide in the *vinayas*, as suggested by the ordination prohibition. He goes on to introduce a number of Mahāyāna *sūtras*—or rather, *sūtras* he believes to have been composed by Mahāyānists⁹⁹—which contain extensive and detailed accounts of the patricide and/or salvation of Ajātaśatru. In introducing the AjKV, the earliest extant Mahāyāna text centred on the salvation of Ajātaśatru, Hirakawa says,

“King Ajātaśatru’s crime of patricide, which was not considered to be serious at the time of [the composition of] *āgamas*, is treated as a serious religious crime in Mahāyāna Buddhism. This already appears in the earliest Mahāyāna scriptures.”¹⁰⁰

While it is understandable that, as Hirakawa observes, the theme of saving Ajātaśatru is treated differently in the MMPS, the SPS, the AjKV and in other related Buddhist texts, it is nevertheless a question whether such differences can be generalized as a distinction between Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna groups in their attitudes towards Ajātaśatru’s patricide and salvation, as Hirakawa argues. In order to answer this question, we need to look at how Hirakawa constructs his arguments and whether they are valid. In the beginning of his article, Hirakawa argues for the contrast between Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna with regards to their attitudes towards patricides and matricides in general. This argument, it seems to me, is problematic in three aspects:

First of all, the argument is clearly based on Hirakawa’s own theory that Mahāyāna Buddhism was a movement initiated by lay believers who were

⁹⁹ Some of those texts which Hirakawa classifies as Mahāyāna *sūtras* related to Ajātaśatru, for instance, the *Weishengyuan-jing* (T.507, **Ajātaśatru-sūtra*) and the *Asheshiwang-wen-wuni-jing* (T.508), are not definitely Mahāyāna. T.507 is a text mainly concerning the story of Ajātaśatru’s patricide, which, as far as I can discern, contains no elements characteristic of Mahāyāna (see a translation in Silk 1997: 224-229). As for T.508, according to Mizuno (1996 [1989]: 429), it may be one of the remnants of Dharmanandi’s lost translation of the Chinese EĀ.

¹⁰⁰ Hirakawa 1971: 9.

institutionally separate from Buddhist monastic communities.¹⁰¹ It is on this basis that Hirakawa argues that Mahāyāna Buddhism does not exclude patricides or matricides for, as he assumes, Mahāyānist were predominantly non-ordained lay people who did not need to follow ordination rules made by Buddhist monks. However, as many scholars have shown, Hirakawa's theory of the lay origins of Mahāyāna is invalid in a number of ways and in fact, increasing evidence suggests that the Mahāyāna movement (or rather, movements) almost certainly arose within traditional sectarian monastic communities, as an alternative path of religious practice.¹⁰² If that was the case, Mahāyānist would also have had to follow the rules and restrictions of monastic ordination, the same as their non-Mahāyāna brethren.

Secondly, while the prohibition of patricides and matricides from ordination does prevent such criminals from attaining liberation in this life, it does not prevent them from doing so in a future life. In other words, the ordination prohibition does not constitute an obstacle for patricides and matricides to attain salvation in the long run. In fact, it has been observed that Indian Buddhist traditions generally do not consider the five *ānantarya* crimes as causing eternal damnation or preventing future positive possibilities.¹⁰³ Instead, there is evidence from both Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna sources, showing that even committers of these most serious crimes can still attain

¹⁰¹ The main arguments of Hirakawa's theory have been systematically and critically reviewed in Sasaki 1997 [English translation of the Japanese article published in 1995].

¹⁰² Besides Sasaki's review, there have been a number of other reconsiderations and criticisms of Hirakawa's theory. See for instance, Harrison (1995: 52f.), Silk (2002: 378-382), Nattier (2003: 89-93), Schopen (2005: 51f., 109f.), Boucher (2008: 40f.), and Williams (2009: 272 n.34). Moreover, the finds of Sanskrit Mahāyāna manuscripts within Sarvāstivādin monastic settings on the northern Silk Route, as well as the recent discoveries of Gāndhārī Mahāyāna manuscripts from the Bajaur and Bamiyan areas which form parts of larger collections predominantly comprised of non-Mahāyāna or Mainstream Buddhist texts, "could be taken as further evidence that practitioners of the Mahayana were ordained members of various *nikāya* communities" (Salomon and Allon 2010: 13-17).

¹⁰³ Silk 2007 (esp. 273-276).

liberation in the future after being released from hell.¹⁰⁴ As shown in the chart above, this is exactly the case for Ajātaśatru in some Buddhist texts. For instance, while the Pāli version of the SPS says that Ajātasattu fails to gain the “Dhamma-eye” in this life because of his patricide, in commenting on the Pāli *sutta* in question Buddhaghosa says that Ajātasattu, after his next life in hell, will rise again and eventually attain liberation in his last birth as a *paccekabuddha*. Thus, while Ajātasattu is not saved in the Pāli canon—if we understand “salvation” in its ultimate sense of an escape from *saṃsāra* forever—he is indeed saved in Pāli commentarial literature. When we talk about the salvation of Ajātasattu in Theravāda Buddhism, we need to consider both Pāli canonical and non-canonical sources, and to appreciate changes and development in attitudes towards this issue within Theravāda Buddhism itself.

The same may also be said of other non-Mahāyāna traditions. For instance, there are two *sūtras* in the Chinese EĀ especially related to Ajātaśatru’s patricide and salvation: *sūtra* 43.7 belonging to the textual family of the SPS, where Ajātaśatru is said to have failed to realize any spiritual attainment in this life because of his patricide, and *sūtra* 38.11 where Ajātaśatru is predicted to be released from hell after

¹⁰⁴ As Deeg (1999: 202 n.10) observes, even Devadatta who committed three of the five *ānantarya* crimes is not condemned forever in canonical texts. The *Abhayarājakumāra-sutta*, “Discourse on Prince Abhaya”, of the Pāli MN contains a comment of the Buddha on Devadatta: “Devadatta is doomed to a state of misery; Devadatta is doomed to hell; Devadatta is staying [in hell] for one *kalpa*; Devadatta is incurable” (Trenckner 1888: 393.2-3: *āpāyiko Devadatto, nerayiko Devadatto, kappattho Devadatto, atekiccho Devadatto ti*). This sentence also appears, with variants, elsewhere in the Pāli canon (for other occurrences, see CPD, i. 94b, s.v. *a-tekkiccha*). The duration of one *kalpa* in hell as referred to here—which is a standard punishment for anyone creating a schism in the *saṅgha*—is differently calculated in scholastic literature (Lamotte 1944-1980: i. 407n.1; v. 2105 n.1; CPD, iii. 174b, s.v. *kappa-ttha*). In her introduction to the translation of the AN (Vol.III), C.A.F. Rhys Davids says that the word “incurable” (*atekkiccha*) used in the sentence in question has “the fearful implication, possibly monkish, of a Buddhist hell that is unending” (Hare 1934: xiv). However, the word *kappattha*, “staying for one *kalpa*”, clearly suggests that Devadatta will not endure in hell eternally, no matter how long such a *kalpa* is supposed to be. The word *atekkiccha*, “incurable”, used here may well refer to the inevitability of Devadatta’s descent into hell in consequence of his serious crimes. As is well known, Devadatta is predicted to become a *buddha* in the *Lotus Sūtra* (see for instance, Ray 1994: 172-3). His future *pratyekabuddha*-hood after being released from hell is predicted in the Pāli *Milindapañha* (Trenckner 1880: 111.13-16 [text]; Horner 1963-1964: i.155-6 [translation]), the *Dhammapada-atthakathā* (Norman 1906: i.148.1-3 [text]; Burlingame 1921: i. 240 [translation]), the Chinese EĀ (T.125 [49.9]) and the *Sanḥabhedavastu* of the MSV (Gnoli 1977-1978: ii. 262.1-4 [Sanskrit text]; Panglung 1981: 124); see also Hiraoka (2006: 138, 146).

falling into it and to eventually attain *pratyekabuddha*-hood in the future. In other words, the Chinese EĀ contains two *sūtras* separately corresponding to the Pāli SPS and to Buddhaghosa's prophecy of Ajātaśatru's future rebirths in his commentary. In his article mentioned above, Hirakawa only introduces *sūtra* 43.7, without making reference to *sūtra* 38.11. What we see here is that even within one *āgama* collection (the EĀ) there are different—though not incompatible—ways of handling the salvation of Ajātaśatru: in *sūtra* 43.7 he is not saved (or at least, not completely saved), while in *sūtra* 38.11 he is completely saved. So what is the attitude of the compilers of the Chinese EĀ towards Ajātaśatru? Do they have him saved or not?¹⁰⁵ This question leads us to a third problematic aspect of Hirakawa's argument for the contrast between Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna in their attitudes towards patricides and matricides:

By simply dividing Buddhist sources into Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna, Hirakawa fails to take into account dynamics within each category and possible interactions between them. It can be certain that neither Mahāyāna nor non-Mahāyāna Buddhists hold uniform, unchanging views on whether or how to save an *ānantarya* criminal, even though they may agree on the possibility of ultimate salvation of such a criminal. The afore-mentioned two *sūtras* in the Chinese EĀ show that even within one *āgama* collection the issue of the salvation of Ajātaśatru is treated differently. The different treatments, as we will see, are intended for different emphases: in *sūtra* 43.7 where Ajātaśatru fails to make spiritual progress, the emphasis is on the destructive consequence of his patricide; in *sūtra* 38.11 where Ajātaśatru is completely saved, the

¹⁰⁵ Regarding the Chinese EĀ, Enomoto (1986: 25) says that “there are complicated questions which have yet to be solved on the school, place of formation, language of its original text”. Enomoto (1984: 102-3) suggests that the original of T.125 may well have been compiled in North India, probably in Kashmir. He observes that some *sūtras* in T.125 seem to be combinations of pre-existing short *sūtras*, added with Mahāyāna elements. I have no access to the earlier study on the formation of T.125 by Mayeda (1964). Whatever the sectarian affiliation of the compilers of T.125 might have been, whatever their relationship to Mahāyāna was, it is clear that they give two different illustrations of the theme of the salvation of Ajātaśatru in two different *sūtras*, for different purposes as I will argue below.

emphasis is on the far-reaching benefits of his faith in the Buddha in this life. Given the differences, it is hard to generalize whether the compilers of the Chinese EĀ have Ajātaśatru saved or not. Instead, we need to consider this issue within the specific context of each of the two *sūtras*. Further, even Buddhist authors who agree with each other that Ajātaśatru will be completely saved do not necessarily have him saved in the same way. For instance, while both Buddhaghosa and the authors of *sūtra* 38.11 of the Chinese EĀ show that Ajātaśatru will be reborn in hell in his next life and finally attain *pratyekabuddha*-hood in the future, they nevertheless disagree on what will happen to him between his next life in hell and his final life as a *pratyekabuddha*. The disagreements, as I will suggest, signify the different strategies used by Buddhaghosa and the authors of *sūtra* 38.11 in reconciling the laws of *karma* and the salvific power of the Buddha. On the other hand, among the Mahāyāna sources, even if we postulate that the salvation story of Ajātaśatru told in the “Pure Practice” Chapter of the northern (T.374) and southern (T.375) Chinese recensions of the MMPS as such represents an Indian narrative tradition—which is a point hard to substantiate since the story in its entirety finds no parallel in the independent Tibetan translation of the MMPS or in any extant Indian-language sources as far as I know—it is clear that in T.374 and T.375 Ajātaśatru is saved in a way different from what we see in the AjKV. The AjKV relates in detail Ajātaśatru’s future rebirths and eventual *buddha*-hood, whereas T.374 and T.375 only tell us that Ajātaśatru conceives the aspiration to supreme awakening in this life, without saying anything further.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, while in T.374 and T.375 Ajātaśatru is saved by the Buddha and his salvation is related to the doctrine of the

¹⁰⁶ See T.374.484c22-23 = T.375.728a14-15. 王及夫人、後宮嫔女悉皆同發阿耨多羅三藐三菩提心, “The king [Ajātaśatru] and his wives, as well as maids inside the palace, all conceived the aspiration of supreme and perfect awakening (**anuttarasamyaksambodhicitta*)”. The Tibetan translation, made from Chinese, may be found at *Derge Kanjur* 119, *mdo sde, nya* 323b7-324a1.

*icchāntika*¹⁰⁷, in the AjKV he is saved by the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī and his salvation serves to demonstrate the efficacy of the theory of *śūnyatā*. Thus, even Mahāyāna authors do not deal with the salvation of Ajātaśatru in a uniform way. The dichotomy of Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna, therefore, conceals the dynamics and varieties within each of the two categories. Further, since Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna groups are supposed to have lived together within a larger community of Buddhist monastics rather than being isolated from each other—which is a point not agreed by Hirakawa—it is conceivable that there were dialogues going on across those groups especially regarding topics of common interest in Buddhist ethics and soteriology. In this regard, Hirakawa’s dichotomy also fails to take into account possible interactions between Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna traditions.

Hirakawa’s other argument that Ajātaśatru’s patricide is not taken seriously in the *āgama* corpus is also untenable. Hirakawa is certainly right in observing that compared with the MMPS (T.374 and T.375) the extant versions of the SPS illustrate the theme of Ajātaśatru’s salvation in a less prominent way, since in most versions the focus of the SPS is on the fruits of the ascetic life as its title indicates. However, this does not mean that the authors of those versions of the SPS do not take Ajātaśatru’s patricide seriously. As we will see in the next chapter, in almost all the extant versions of the SPS (except T.22), Ajātaśatru is said to fail to realize any spiritual attainment during his visit to the Buddha due to his patricide. This detail shows that the authors of those versions are fully aware of the heinous nature of Ajātaśatru’s patricide and the unsurpassable hindrance that such a crime has constituted for his spiritual growth in this life. Moreover, the incapability of any *ānantarya* criminal to make substantial spiritual progress during the lifetime in which he committed the crime is clearly stated

¹⁰⁷ On the connection of the salvation of Ajātaśatru with the doctrine of *icchāntika* in the MMPS, see Mochizuki 1988: 149-150; Radich 2011: 39.

in *nikāya/āgama* texts (for instance, in the Pāli AN).¹⁰⁸ Thus, the *āgama* corpus is consistent with both the *vinaya* corpus and Mahāyāna *sūtras* in emphasizing the extreme severity of patricide as well as the other *ānantarya* crimes. Hirakawa wants to suggest that there is a discontinuous change in the understanding of the severity of Ajātaśatru's patricide in the history of Indian Buddhism, during the period between the formation of the *nikāyas/āgamas* and the composition of the earliest Mahāyāna *sūtras*, while in reality such discontinuity does not exist.¹⁰⁹

In sum, Hirakawa's dichotomy of Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna in terms of their attitudes towards saving Ajātaśatru is based on his untenable theory of the lay origins of Mahāyāna. By arguing that Mahāyāna Buddhism does not exclude patricides and matricides from salvation, while non-Mahāyāna Buddhism does, Hirakawa wants to show that Mahāyāna in general has a more inclusive soteriological horizon and is therefore a religious path easier to practice for the masses. However, as I have argued, Hirakawa's dichotomy is problematic. It conceals both dynamics within Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna traditions and common ground between the two groups. As we have seen, while there can be differences between one particular Mahāyāna text and another particular non-Mahāyāna text in attitudes towards the salvation of Ajātaśatru, there is no radical ideological distinction between the two groups on this issue in general, since attempts to bring Ajātaśatru to ultimate liberation are seen in both Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna texts. Meanwhile, it is also clear that even within Mahāyāna and within non-Mahāyāna groups, there are different approaches to handling his salvation. Thus a more reasonable way to study Buddhist stories of the

¹⁰⁸ Morris and Hardy 1885-1900: iii. 436.17-26. For more details, see below p.66.

¹⁰⁹ It can be certain that not all *nikāyas/āgamas* in their extant form were produced before the earliest Mahāyāna texts. As Nattier (2003: 100 n.45) points out: "Though the various Nikāya Buddhist canons were theoretically closed at a relatively early date, there is substantial evidence to indicate that even after this time adjustments were made to their content". The presence of Mahāyānist influences in the Chinese EĀ clearly suggests that the text as we have it was produced after the emergence of Mahāyāna.

salvation of Ajātaśatru would be, as Skilling says, to “pay close attention to the unique messages and values of individual Mahāyāna *sūtras*” and individual non-Mahāyāna texts as well.¹¹⁰ In other words, given the heterogeneous nature of both Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna sources, it would make more sense to talk about the salvation of Ajātaśatru according to a specific text, or even a specific version of a text, rather than according to the broad categories of Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna.

1.4 The Present Study: Contents and Scope

As I mentioned above, this study focuses on the narrative cycle of the salvation of Ajātaśatru in Indian Buddhism, particularly on stories which present his visit to the Buddha (or his encounter with a deputy of the Buddha such as Mañjuśrī) after becoming repentant of his patricide, and on stories which contain prophecies of Ajātaśatru’s future rebirths and/or eventual attainment of awakening. The overall purpose is to understand how and why Buddhist authors tell stories about the salvation of this notorious criminal, and how this narrative theme is interpreted in different contexts for different ideological ends. This study comprises five chapters, the contents of which are as follows.

Chapter One gives an overview of the significance of the salvation of Ajātaśatru in Indian Buddhism, and the composition and features of the narrative cycle surrounding this theme in Buddhist literature. It also offers methodological considerations on how to legitimately use those stories as windows into ideological orientations and self-understandings of Buddhist authors in ancient India.

Chapter Two is an examination of the salvation of Ajātaśatru in the textual

¹¹⁰ Skilling 2005: 107.

family of the *Śrāmaṇyaphala-sūtra*, the best known Indian Buddhist text related to this topic. I will systematically discuss forms and meanings of the story of Ajātaśatru's visit to the Buddha in five versions and two adaptations of the SPS. As I will argue, the differences between the accounts of the salvation of Ajātaśatru in the extant versions of the SPS could have been caused by a number of factors, including the external context of a version of the SPS, its literary or ideological purposes, karmic views of its Indian authors, and translators' interpretation of Indian originals when translating them into Chinese. I will further suggest that those accounts constitute a multi-faceted complex, rather than a single line of development towards a more radical salvation of Ajātaśatru as argued in previous research.

Chapter Three introduces prophecies of Ajātaśatru's future rebirths and eventual attainment of *pratyekabuddha*-hood in Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Pāli SPS, *sūtra* 38.11 of the Chinese EĀ and T.508. I will discuss the contexts of the prophecies, different narrative strategies used in mitigating Ajātaśatru's future suffering in hell and in reconciling the principles of *karma* and the salvific power of the Buddha, and different soteriological emphases of the prophecies. I will also introduce relevant stories in Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, T.155, T.997, and the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the MSV. Ajātaśatru's future *pratyekabuddha*-hood is also mentioned in the *Ajātaśatrupiṭṭdrohāvadāna* of the *Bodhisattvāvadāna-kalpalatā* composed by Kṣemendra. The story will not be discussed in this study. It deserves a detailed treatment elsewhere, especially in comparison with the parallel account of Ajātaśatru's patricide as given in the MSV.

Chapter Four investigates a prophecy of Ajātaśatru's future rebirths and eventual *buddha*-hood in the **Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodanā-sūtra*—the earliest extant and also perhaps the most important Mahāyāna text related to the salvation of Ajātaśatru—and a parallel prophecy of his future *buddha*-hood in T.509. I will focus

on two sections of the AjKV: the first half of the fifth chapter on Ajātaśatru’s visit to the Buddha and his request for mental relief, and the second half of the eleventh chapter on Ajātaśatru’s past and future lives under the guidance of Mañjuśrī towards final liberation. Through examining the two sections, I will analyze the meaning and functions of the salvation of Ajātaśatru in the AjKV. As for T.509, I will look into how this text is constructed, its possible relationship to the AjKV, and the entirely different implications of the prophecy of Ajātaśatru’s *buddha*-hood in this text as compared to that in the AjKV.

As for the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, I have outlined above in Table 1.1 the contents of the two stories of the salvation of Ajātaśatru separately told in the “Chapter on Pure Practice” and in the “Chapter on Kāśyapa Bodhisattva” of the two Chinese versions of this text (T.374 and T.375). Although both stories mention Ajātaśatru’s acquisition of faith and the erasure of his patricide, neither says anything about his eventual spiritual status. These two stories—especially, the one told in the “Chapter on Pure Practice”, which is of substantial length—have drawn much attention of previous scholars and there have already been several studies which provide detailed discussions on them.¹¹¹ Moreover, as already mentioned, the MMPS has a very complex textual history and any particular passage in T.374 and T.375 does not necessarily go back to an Indic original. In view of these facts, I will not give a specific examination of the two stories in this thesis. Some genuine Indian elements so far identified in the two stories have been indicated in the notes above.¹¹²

Chapter Five is a reconsideration of the salvation of the patricide Ajātaśatru based on the analyses in the previous five chapters. I will argue that there is no

¹¹¹ See above n.80.

¹¹² See above n.82. For the episode in the independent Tibetan translation of the MMPS, where the possibility of Ajātaśatru’s purification of his crime is mentioned, see Appendix I, Textual Material 4.

monolithic ideology of how to save Ajātaśatru in Indian Buddhism. In fact, the term “salvation”, when used in the case of Ajātaśatru, may be unpacked in various dimensions including, for instance, his transformation into an *upāsaka*, his relief of mental anguish, his acquisition of “rootless faith”, his spiritual attainment in this life (if applicable), the mitigation or elimination of his future suffering in hell, and his eventual attainment of liberation as a *pratyekabuddha* or a *buddha*. Each dimension needs to be carefully measured within the specific context of a related text. As I will suggest at the end of the thesis, an appreciation of those multiple dimensions is important in any consideration of the history of Indian Buddhist interpretations of the salvation of Ajātaśatru.

There are four appendices at the end of the thesis, which contain primary textual sources quoted and translated in this study (Appendix I), and some stories which are mentioned in my discussion but can not be incorporated *in extenso* due to space constraints, including Buddhist stories of the “conversion” of Ajātaśatru unrelated to his repentance for the patricide (Appendix II), Buddhist and Jaina stories of the birth of Ajātaśatru (Appendix III), and and two Jaina stories of the death of Kūṇika (Appendix IV). The appendices are by no means intended to cover all extant stories related to the salvation of Ajātaśatru, but only as a collection of textual sources used in the thesis. Two other significant sources I indicated in the Table 1.1, the *Ajātaśatruparibodhitāvadāna* and the **Ajātaśatrvavadāna* are not included for the reasons given above.¹¹³

In view of the almost overwhelming abundance of narrative material related to the patricide Ajātaśatru in Buddhist literature, the present study can only provide a very preliminary glimpse into the richness and complexities of this material and its

¹¹³ See above p.35.

important role in illuminating our appreciation of the diversity of Indian Buddhist thoughts on moral culpability, karmic responsibility, the salvific power of the Buddha and the Buddhist Dharma, and the basic question of how to handle the relationship between the workings of *karma* and the ultimate soteriological goal of liberation for all. Moreover, as I argued, given the unique connection between Ajātaśatru and the schismatic Devadatta, those materials also present us with good opportunities to appreciate the significance of storytelling in Indian Buddhist anti-heterodox polemics. I am fully aware that this study is far from—and also not meant to be—an exhaustive examination of stories of the salvation of Ajātaśatru in Indian Buddhism. I have confined my focus to two groups of material, that is, the extant versions of the well-known story of Ajātaśatru’s visit to the Buddha after his patricide, and prophecies of his future rebirths and/or eventual liberation. Some relevant and interesting stories, as I mentioned above, will not be included in my discussion. Those stories to be included will not be discussed in the same degree of detail. Nevertheless, I believe that this study does present the main sources and some basic threads in understanding how the theme of saving Ajātaśatru was exploited and unfolded by ancient Indian Buddhist authors. In this sense, it does provide a basis for further research towards a more holistic and nuanced understanding of narrative representations of this theme. As I emphasized, there are at least four narrative cycles about Ajātaśatru in Buddhist literature, and the present study only explores one of them. It is my expectation that this very modest exploration will serve as a starting point for my future quest for a broader and more synthetic picture of narrative traditions surrounding this fascinating figure in the Indian Buddhist *imaginaire*.

Chapter Two

The Salvation of Ajātaśatru in the Textual Family of the

Śrāmaṇyaphala-sūtra

2.1 Story of Ajātaśatru in the *Śrāmaṇyaphala-sūtra*: Problems and Prospects

To many modern scholars in Buddhist Studies, the *Śrāmaṇyaphala-sūtra*, “Sūtra on the Fruits of the Ascetic Life”, is perhaps the most familiar Indian Buddhist text which relates to the theme of the salvation of Ajātaśatru. Here the story of Ajātaśatru’s visit to the Buddha serves as a narrative frame enclosing a discourse concerning the benefits of being an ascetic, as indicated by the title of the text.¹¹⁴ The latter half of the frame story, which appears immediately after the Buddha’s discourse, narrates Ajātaśatru’s confession of his patricide and his taking refuge in the Three Jewels, and is therefore of direct relevance to the present study.

The SPS had been for a long time known to Western readers only through its Pāli version and through William W. Rockhill’s translation of a version preserved in the Tibetan translation of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*.¹¹⁵ This situation has changed due to the publication of two monographs separately by Meisig and MacQueen, both

¹¹⁴ In most versions of the SPS, the benefits start with worldly advantages (respect and honour shown to ascetics) and continue with spiritual attainments through progressive cultivation of the Buddhist path which culminates in *arhat*-ship. The exposition of progressive cultivation appears a number of times in the Pāli canon, not only in most *suttas* of the *Sīlakkhandhavagga*, “Section on Moralities”, of the DN to which the Pāli version of the SPS belongs (Norman 1983: 32-6; von Hinüber 1997: 29), but also in some *suttas* of the MN (Gethin 2008: 6). The SPS also contains information about doctrines of the six heretics contemporary to the Buddha, which is introduced through the mouth of Ajātaśatru before the Buddha’s sermon. For a comparison of doctrines of the six heretics in extant versions of the SPS, see MacQueen 1984.

¹¹⁵ Rockhill 1884: 95-106. There, no translation is made of the part of the text related to Ajātaśatru’s confession and only a summary is given. Rockhill’s book also includes Nanjio Bunyiu’s translation of doctrines of the six heretics in two Chinese versions (255-9).

of whom translate *in extenso* most other versions of the SPS preserved in Sanskrit and in Chinese.¹¹⁶ Further, as both scholars observe, the extant versions of the SPS differ notably from one another in content and structure. In particular, they point out that those versions exhibit a “tendency” towards increasing the prominence of the theme of the repentance and confession of Ajātaśatru. The “tendency” is characterized by Meisig as follows:

“The Theme ‘Repentance’ within the SPS is secondary... This theme is illustrated considerably differently in each version: all versions mention it following the sermon of the Tathāgata (...). The DA repeats it twice in the progression of the frame plot (...). The EA gives it the largest space in the frame story, before (...) and after (...) the core narrative. One may discern a tendency from this. The theme is attached more or less importance by authors of each version. It is the most briefly represented in the SBV, DN and E, already more often in the DA. Finally in the EA it is treated repeatedly and in greatest detail. It appears there, just like a red thread, throughout the whole sūtra.”¹¹⁷

MacQueen also says,

“The theme of the king’s conversion gains in prominence in the developing forms of the text...In the ancient text¹¹⁸ the extent of the king’s conversion is not nearly as great as some of the later traditions report...Of the extant versions of the sutra, P has made the least changes relative to this theme...In C1 and M the conversion theme is altered somewhat through addition of materials in the introductory (...) and concluding (...) sections... The new introductory material not only adds color to the narrative but takes the text in the direction of universalization. C2... shows less of the tendency toward universalization and more of the tendency to portray the king in the context of the developed legend [of Devadatta].”¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ Meisig (1987: 81f.); MacQueen (1988: 29f.); see also the reviews of Meisig’s book by Bareau (1989: 94-5) and Vogel (1989: 320-322), and a review of MacQueen’s book by Vogel (1991: 233-5).

¹¹⁷ Meisig 1987: 31. The English translation is mine. SBV, DA, EA, DN, and E separately stands for the versions of the SPS in the Gilgit Sanskrit Manuscript of the *Saṅghabhedavastu* of the MSV, the Chinese DĀ (T.1[20]), the Chinese EĀ (T. 125 [43.7]), the Pāli DN, and T. 22. The word “Tendenz (tendency)” is underlined by Meisig.

¹¹⁸ The “ancient text”, as MacQueen (1988: 104) defines, refers to the text “ancestral” to all the extant versions of the SPS.

¹¹⁹ MacQueen 1988: 214-233. P, C1, M, and C2 separately stand for the versions of the SPS in the Pāli

The term “tendency” used by both scholars, it seems to me, may not be appropriate when referring to shifting portrayals of Ajātaśatru’s repentance and “conversion” in the extant versions of the SPS. This term appears to presuppose a relative chronology of those versions, but whether any such chronology can be established is still an open question.¹²⁰ In fact, as Jan Nattier suggests in a different context, “[i]t is important to realize, however, that even when it is possible to establish a plausible sequence in the development of certain ideas and practices ... these developments may well have occurred at vastly different rates in different geographical locations”; she also points out that if a text was composed in an area where certain Buddhist ideas evolved quite rapidly, it would be entirely possible for that text to be “more conceptually ‘advanced’ and yet older in chronological terms”.¹²¹ We may apply Nattier’s suggestions to the present case. That is to say, if a certain version of the SPS shows literary or conceptual “development” in interpreting the theme of the salvation of Ajātaśatru, that version is not necessarily later; rather, it could have been composed at an earlier date but in a milieu where the understanding of this theme (or certain related ideas) “evolved” comparatively faster.

Be that as it may, both Meisig and MacQueen rightly observe that the extant versions of the SPS give varying accounts of Ajātaśatru’s repentance and confession during his visit to the Buddha. A careful comparison of those accounts may provide

DN, the Chinese DĀ, the *Saṅghabhedavastu* of the MSV (in Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan) and T.22.

¹²⁰ MacQueen does establish a chronological stemma of the extant versions of the SPS. According to him, P is the most archaic of all the versions (1988: 190); C1 is the closest to P and “M comes a close second” (191); M and C2 “share an ancestor which is itself a descendent of the ancient text” (192); “C3 is in some ways very ‘developed’ but not usually in a way that obviously depends upon other texts” (189); see also a family tree constructed in MacQueen (1984: 303).

¹²¹ Nattier (2003: 41-42) makes this suggestion in discussing complexities of using internal evidence to estimate the approximate date of the composition of the *Ugraparipṛcchā-sūtra*.

insights into different attitudes of their authors towards the salvation of this notorious criminal, which in turn may help to distinguish different views of those authors on *karma* and karmic responsibility, as well as their different soteriological emphases. In this chapter, I will consider presentations of Ajātaśatru’s repentance and confession in all the major versions of the SPS, which include:

- Pāli version: The *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* of the *Dīgha-Nikāya* (DN)
- Sanskrit version: One part of the Gilgit Manuscript of the *Saṅghabheda-vastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* (MSV)¹²²
- Chinese version I: The *Shamen-guo-jing* 沙門果經 (**Śrāmaṇyaphala-sūtra*) of the Chinese *Dīrghāgama* (DĀ), T. 1 [20]
- Chinese version II: The *Jizhi-guo-jing* 寂志果經 (T. 22)¹²³
- Chinese version III: An untitled *sūtra* in the Chinese *Ekottarikāgama* (EĀ), T. 125 [43.7].

Although all the five versions are discussed by Meisig and MacQueen in their aforementioned books, their discussions are not without limitations. In examining those versions, both scholars aim to discover the oldest textual tradition of the SPS, either through restoring the “ancient text” that was ancestral to all the versions¹²⁴, or through stratifying contents of the SPS and thereby separating the “ursprünglichen Kern (original core)” from later interpolations.¹²⁵ In both cases, the focus is on determining

¹²² Gnoli 1977-1978: ii. 251.17-254.14.

¹²³ On this title and its possible Indian original, see discussion below.

¹²⁴ MacQueen 1988: 104-198.

¹²⁵ See Meisig (1987: 29-38), who stratifies the text into four main layers “die Frucht des Asketenlebens”, “Ajātaśatru bereut den Vätermord”, “Ajātaśatru fürchtet den Vätermord” and “Tathāgata-

the relative antiquity of various sections of the text through comparing the surviving versions, so as to identify elements belonging to the “original” text.

To be sure, the stratification of textual layers and the restoration of the “original text” are helpful in detecting diachronic developments of the SPS. Nevertheless, to use such methods alone does not suffice when it comes to understanding why an extant version of the text—however early or late it might be—is constructed in a specific way, or why a certain version gives a distinctive interpretation of the salvation of Ajātaśatru, or how such an interpretation is related to its own context. In order to answer these questions, we need to look into each version individually and to reposition the story back to each specific context. This kind of contextual reading of each individual version of the SPS is not provided by Meisig or MacQueen in their books. Meisig gives a relatively brief treatment of the theme of the repentance of Ajātaśatru, for as he says in his preface his study focuses on the “Tathāgata-Predigt (sermon of the Tathāgata)”.¹²⁶ MacQueen considers the theme of “the conversion of the king” in more detail and also offers very insightful analyses of illustrations of this theme in the various versions of the SPS.¹²⁷ However, since his purpose is to establish the relative antiquity of those versions, he does not discuss the illustrations in their entirety, but mainly focuses on their differences as compared with the description in the restored “ancient text”. In fact, as I hope to demonstrate in this chapter, an examination of those illustrations in their entirety is indispensable not only for reconstructing a fuller picture of the textual history of the SPS, but also for understanding the history of Indian Buddhist interpretations of salvation of Ajātaśatru

Predigt”, plus four other minor layers.

¹²⁶ Meisig 1987: ix, 31-33.

¹²⁷ MacQueen 1988: 214-233.

that particularly concerns us here.

Besides the five versions, there are two *jātakas* from the Pāli *Jātakattha-vaṇṇanā*, “Explanation of the Meaning of the *Jātakas*” (henceforth JA), also related to the SPS, namely, the *Sañjīva-jātaka* (JA 150) and the *Samkiccha-jātaka* (JA 530). Of each of the two *jātakas*, the “story of the present” (*paccuppanna-vatthu*) may be viewed as an adaptation of the frame story of Ajātasattu’s visit to the Buddha in the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta*. These two adaptations offer good opportunities for observing how the frame story in question was reworked by the compiler(s) of the JA in order to create backgrounds for the Buddha’s narration of certain *jātaka* stories.

In the following discussion, I will examine the above-mentioned seven versions one by one and then, at the end of this chapter, I will give a comparative appraisal of them as a whole. The discussion of the two *jātakas* will immediately follow that of the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* given their apparent connections. In examining all those versions, I will focus on two issues: What function(s) does the story of Ajātaśatru’s repentance and confession serve in each version of the story? What benefit(s) does each version assign to Ajātaśatru as a result of his visit to the Buddha? The examination is by no means intended to be exhaustive. I will not discuss in detail the Tibetan version of the *Saṅghabhedavastu* of the MSV given its close agreement with the Sanskrit.¹²⁸ I will also not consider in detail Yijing’s eighth-century Chinese translation of the *Saṅghabheda-vastu* (T. 1450), since it ends abruptly at a point even before the Buddha’s discourse.¹²⁹ In addition, in past decades some new versions of the SPS in Indian languages (Sanskrit and Gāndhārī) have been found, all of which have survived in fragmentary form. Among those newly discovered versions, none

¹²⁸ In my annotated English translation of the Sanskrit MSV version of the SPS, I have indicated in footnotes significant variants found in the Tibetan translation. See below.

¹²⁹ For more discussion on Yijing’s translation, see below.

contains information directly relevant to Ajātaśatru's repentance or confession.

Therefore, they will not concern us here either.¹³⁰

2.2 The Pāli *Sāmaññaphala-sutta*

The *Sāmaññaphala-sutta*, the second *sutta* of the Pāli DN, is perhaps the best known version of the SPS to Western readers. It has been translated a number of times, either as an individual piece, or as a part of the DN.¹³¹ Considering various discrepancies of extant translations, I would like to retranslate the section most relevant to the present discussion, i.e., the latter half of the frame story which presents Ajātaśatru's reaction to the Buddha's sermon. It reads:

“... When these words had been spoken [by the Buddha], the Magadhan king Ajātasattu, son of Videhi, said to the Blessed One, ‘Excellent, Lord! Excellent, Lord! Just as if one were to set upright that which has been knocked down, or to uncover that which has been hidden, or to point out the way to that who has got lost, or to bring an oil-lamp into darkness,

¹³⁰ At least four Indian versions of the SPS have been discovered:

- I. Fragment Kat.-Nr.1290a of the Turfan Sanskrit manuscripts (Sander and Waldschmidt 1985: 204-207), written in North Turkistan Brāhmī script, covering the part of the text from Ajātaśatru's setting out to visit the Buddha to the beginning of his report to the Buddha about Pūraṇa Kāśyapa's answer to his question, corresponding to Gnoli (1977-1978: ii. 218.4-220.15).
- II. Folios (435)r5-447(?)v2 (including three folios [442-444] of the Ambāṣṭha and one [445] of the Brahmajāla) of a Sanskrit manuscript of the DĀ written in Brāhmī script and reported to have come from Northern Pakistan (Hartmann 2000, 2002, 2004), whose content has not been reported.
- III. Sanskrit Fragment Or.15003/30 from the Hoernle Collection in the British Library (Wille 2006: 74), corresponding to Gnoli (1977-1978: ii. 217.12-218.18), i.e., the part relating to two ministers' suggestions to visit the six heretics, Jīvaka's suggestion to visit the Buddha, and Ajātaśatru's procession to the Buddha's place.
- IV. A Gāndhārī version in the scroll number 2 of the Senior Collection of Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts dated probably around 140 A.D. According to Salomon (2003: 79), “Senior scroll 2, which is quite well preserved and nearly complete with seventy-three lines of writing in total (recto and verso), covers only the introductory portion of the *Śrāmaṇyaphala-sūtra*, concluding at the point at which King Ajātaśatru encounters the Buddha”. This version of the SPS, along with other Senior manuscripts, is now under study by Mark Allon, who states in an unpublished paper (Allon 2002) that this Gāndhārī version of the SPS “on the level of structure of the narrative (i.e., course of events) ... is closest to the Chinese DĀ version” (quoted from Salomon 2006: 362; I myself have no access to Allon 2002); see also Allon (2007: 5; 2008: 164-165).

¹³¹ Translations are found, for instance, in T. W. and C. A. F. Rhys Davids (1899-1921: i. 56-95), Walshe (1987: 91-109), Bhikkhu Bodhi (1989: 18-56) and Gethin (2008: 5-36).

[so that] those with eyes could see forms, in the same way, the Blessed One had made the Dhamma known in various ways. And I, Lord, go for refuge to the Blessed One, to the Dhamma and to the Community of monks. May the Blessed One consider me as a lay disciple, from today onwards, for as long as I live, as the one who has gone for refuge¹³². Transgression overcame me, Lord, being so foolish, so deluded and so wicked¹³³ that I, for the sake of sovereignty, deprived my father, a righteous man and righteous king, of his life. Lord, may the Blessed One accept my transgression as a transgression¹³⁴, for restraint in the future.

‘Indeed, Great King, transgression overcame you, being so foolish, so deluded and so wicked that you deprived your father, a righteous man and righteous king of his life. Since you, Great King, having seen the transgression as a transgression, repent of it according to the Dhamma, we accept your confession. Great King, this is growth in the discipline of the Noble One¹³⁵: that one, having seen his transgression as a transgression, repents of it according to the Dhamma and attains restraint in the future.’

When [the Buddha] had spoken thus, the Magadhan king Ajātasattu, son of Vedehi, told the Blessed One, ‘Now, Lord, we have to go. We are busy and have much to do.’ ‘Do now, Great King, as you think fit.’ Then the Magadhan king Ajātasattu, son of Vedehi, delighted and rejoiced in the Blessed One’s words, having arisen from his seat, saluted the Blessed One and departed with his right side towards him. Then not long after the Magadhan king Ajātasattu, son of Vedehi, had left, the Blessed One said

¹³² Walshe (1987: 108) does not take into account the final phrase *saraṇaṃ gataṃ* “[as] the one who has gone for refuge” and translates the sentence as “May the Blessed Lord accept me from this day forth as a lay-follower as long as life shall last”. As La Vallée Poussin (1923-1931: iii. 70-71 n.2) and Lamotte (1944-1980: ii. 829 n.3) note, this whole sentence including the final phrase is a formula of taking refuge of an *upāsaka*, which appears a number of times in the Pāli canon and elsewhere.

¹³³ Attwood (2008: 284, 302, n.5) suggests to construe *yathā-bālaṃ*, *yathā-mūḷhaṃ*, *yathā-akusalaṃ* as adverbs, not as adjectives, and to translate the sentence as “I transgressed, Bhante, when foolishly, in confusion, and unskillfully seeking to dominate I deprived my father, the good and just king, of his life”; he argues that to translate the terms in question as adjectives “obscures an important moral point: that in Buddhism it is actions or intentions, not people, that are skilful or un-skilful”.

¹³⁴ Both the CPD (33b, s.v. *accaya*) and the PTSD (7b, s.v.) indicate that *accayaṃ accayato patigaṇhāti*, which literally means “to accept a transgression as a transgression”, not only can denote “to accept the confession of a transgression”, but also can denote “to pardon a transgression, to forgive”. The second meaning is inapplicable in the present context. As we will see, the Buddha does not forgive Ajātasattu and instead, he only accepts Ajātasattu’s confession as such.

¹³⁵ Rhys Davids and Carpenter (1890-1911: i. 85.24-25) gives *vuddhi h’esā mahā-rāja ariyassa vinaye*, with no variant reading indicated. Elsewhere Rhys Davids (1899: 94) translates the phrase as “For that, O king, is custom in the discipline of the noble ones” and he moreover comments, “Ariyānam. That is, either of previous Buddhas, or perhaps of the Arahants” (94, n.3), but without indicating the edition used. It seems that his translation was based on something like *Vutti h’esā mahārāja ariyānam vinaye*. My translation follows Buddhaghosa’s commentary (Rhys Davids and Carpenter 1886: 236. 30-31): *esā Mahārāja ariyassa vinaye Buddhassa Bhagavato sāsane vuddhi nāma*. “This is, Great king, [growth] in the discipline of the Noble One, namely, growth in the instruction of the Blessed One, of the Buddha”; that is, *ariyassa vinaye* refers to the discipline of the Buddha.

to the monks, ‘Monks, this king is ruined. Monks, this king is destroyed. If this king, Monks, had not deprived his father, a righteous man and righteous king of his life, even on this seat the immaculate and spotless Dhamma-eye would have arisen [in him].’”¹³⁶

The first two passages translated above consist of four formulae which refer to Ajātasattu’s praise of the Buddha’s teaching, his declaration of being a lay follower, his confession, and the Buddha’s response to his confession. Each formula also occurs elsewhere in the Pāli canon and relates to a wide variety of personages in different contexts.¹³⁷ In the present case, the formulas are used to show that even the paradigmatic criminal Ajātasattu is so convinced by the Buddha’s wisdom and so overwhelmed by his personality that he could not help putting faith in the Buddha and revealing his crime of patricide by which he has been deeply troubled. At first sight, as Meisig points out, Ajātasattu’s confession as a reaction to the Buddha’s teaching appears “unexpected”, for there seems no reason why an unscrupulous king, after having heard a discourse on the benefits of being an ascetic, bursts into tears and confesses his appalling crime in public.¹³⁸ This unexpectedness, as Meisig suggests, may indicate that the frame story in question was later attached to the discourse in order to highlight the “Predigerpersönlichkeit (preacher-personality)” of the Buddha.¹³⁹ Ajātasattu’s confession and his taking refuge are, therefore, devices used to illustrate the great impact of the Buddha’s teaching and, ultimately, his personal charisma.

One terminological issue is also noteworthy. In the last two formulas which

¹³⁶ Rhys Davids and Carpenter 1890-1911: i. 85.6-86.5. See Appendix I, Textual Material 5.

¹³⁷ The first laudative formula also occurs, for instance, in the following texts from the DN (with users of the formula indicated in parentheses): *Ambaṭṭha-sutta* (the brahmin Ambaṭṭha), *Mahāsīhanāda-sutta* (the Venerable Kassapa), *Mahāpadāna-sutta* (Prince Kaṇḍa and a minister’s son Tissa), etc; see Rhys Davids and Carpenter (1890-1911: i. 110.18f., 176. 6f.; ii. 41.27f.). For the formula of taking refuge of an *upāsaka*, see Lamotte (1944-1980: ii. 829 n.3). For the formula of confession and that of the Buddha’s reply thereto, see Walshe (1987: 547 n.138); Gethin (2008: 275); Attwood (2008: 285-290).

¹³⁸ Meisig 1987: 32.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*: 33.

present Ajātasattu's confession and the Buddha's response thereto, Ajātasattu requests the Buddha to "accept [his] transgression as a transgression" (*accayaṃ accayato patigaṇhāti*) and the Buddha does so on the ground that Ajātasattu, "having seen the transgression as a transgression" (*accayaṃ accayato disvā*), "repents according to the Dhamma" (*yathā dhammaṃ paṭikaroti*). The word *paṭikaroti* (BHS. *pratīkaroti*, fr. *prati-√kr*), often rendered as "to repair, to make amends, to expiate"¹⁴⁰, has no such meaning in the present context.¹⁴¹ In fact, as in the cases of the four other crimes of immediate retribution, anyone who has committed patricide is "doomed to hell" (*nerayika*) and "incurable" (*atekiccha*), for as the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* says:

"Monks, these five are subject to a state of misery, doomed to hell, in agony and incurable. What five? [By him] his mother has been deprived of her life, his father has been deprived of his life, an *arhat* has been deprived of his life; [by him] the Tathāgata's blood has been spilled with an evil mind, [or] the *saṅgha* has been spilt. Monks, these five are subject to a state of misery, doomed to hell, in agony and incurable."¹⁴²

The incurability implies that such crime, once committed, brings about inevitable karmic retribution of falling into hell in the next birth, with no possibility of expiation whatsoever. At least this is the case in Pāli canonical literature. My translation of *yathā dhammaṃ paṭikaroti* as "[Ajātasattu] repents according to the Dhamma" is based on two grounds: The first is that in his commentary on this phrase Buddhaghosa says, "*yathā dhammaṃ paṭikarosi*" means that you act exactly the way the Dhamma

¹⁴⁰ PTSD, 392a, s.v.; see also the noun *pratīkaraṇa* "expiation" in the BHSD (361a, s.v.), where *yathā-dharma-pratīkaraṇa-tā* is rendered as "state or condition of making expiation according to what is right".

¹⁴¹ However, as we will see, outside the Pāli canon, in some versions of the SPS Ajātasattu's crime is indeed removed, or can be removed, through repentance and gaining faith in the Buddha.

¹⁴² Morris and Hardy 1885-1900: iii. 146.26-32: *Pañc' ime bhikkhave āpāyika nerayikā parikuppā atekicchā. Katame pañca? Mātā jīvītā voropitā hoti, pitā jīvītā voropito hoti, araham jīvītā voropito hoti, Tathāgatassa duṭṭhena cittaena lohitaṃ uppāditam hoti, saṅgho bhinno hoti. Ime kho bhikkhave pañca āpāyikā nerayikā parikuppā atekicchā ti.* Translated also in Hare (1934: 112). For *atekiccha* "incurable, not to be rescued or saved", see CPD, 94b, s.v.

stands, that is to say, you repent (*khamāpesi*, more literally “you ask for acknowledgement [of your transgression]”)¹⁴³; secondly, as Mori Shōji shows in his thorough study of uses of *paṭikaroti* in the Pāli canon, this word usually means “to repent”.¹⁴⁴

In the third passage translated above, the most striking feature of Ajātasattu is his low spiritual status which is vividly and ironically illustrated through the account that Ajātasattu, who has just heard the Buddha’s teaching on the benefits of being an ascetic, tells the Buddha that he has to rush off because he is busy and has much to do.¹⁴⁵ What Ajātasattu says here is another formula which appears a number of times in the Pāli canon.¹⁴⁶ In the present case, it seems to imply the king’s rather low spiritual status and his lack of appreciation of the Buddha’s discourse. Such a low spiritual status, as MacQueen observes, makes Ajātasattu’s foregoing praise of the Buddha’s discourse appear “weak and awkward” and the awkwardness may suggest “its importation from other more suitable contexts”.¹⁴⁷ On the other hand, it is also notable that Ajātasattu’s hasty departure is consistent with his failure to gain the

¹⁴³ Rhys Davids and Carpenter 1886: 236.27-28: *yathā dhammaṃ paṭikarosīti, yathā dhammo ṭhito tath’ eva karosi, khamāpesīti vuttam hoti*. Buddhaghosa further says: *Tān te mayaṃ patigaṇhāmāti, taṃ tava aparādhāmaṃ mayaṃ khamāma* “‘We accept your [confession]’ means that we acknowledge your offence”. The PTSD explains *khamati* (Skt. *kṣamate* or *kṣamati*) as “to be patient, to forgive” and the causative *khamāpeti* as “to ask one’s pardon, to apologize”; none of these meanings fits in the present context, for the Buddha does not forgive Ajātasattu. My translation of *khamāpesi* as “you repent” is based on Mori Shōji’s study of *khamati* and its derivatives in the Pāli canon (Mori 1998a: 66-103). I have no access to a study of *kṣama* by Hirakawa (1976).

¹⁴⁴ As Mori (1998b) observes, in most if not all cases where Chinese parallels are available for comparison, *paṭikaroti* corresponds to *chanhui* or *huiguo* in Chinese. He says, “[W]hen we look at both usages in the Pāli canon and in Chinese translations, we will find a certain commonality. This is important as a matter of fact. If ‘paṭikaroti’ indeed has the meaning of ‘to repent’, it would become easier to understand why 懺悔 ‘to repent’ and 悔過 ‘to repent of one’s transgression’ are used in Chinese translations as correspondents to it” (p.15) [My translation of the Japanese].

¹⁴⁵ Rhys Davids and Carpenter 1890-1911: i. 85.28-9: *handā ca dāni mayaṃ bhante gacchāma, bahu-kiccā mayaṃ bahu-karaṇīyā ti*.

¹⁴⁶ For instance, the formula is also found in the following *suttas* in the DN (with users indicated in parentheses): *Ambaṭṭha-sutta* [the brahmin Ambaṭṭha], *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* [the minister Vassakāra] and *Āṭānāṭṭiya-sutta* [the Four Heavenly Kings] (see Rhys Davids and Carpenter 1890-1911: i. 106. 18-9, ii. 76. 4-6, iii. 205. 18-9).

¹⁴⁷ MacQueen 1988: 221-222.

Dhamma-eye, i.e., the basic insight into the Buddhist Truth, which is pointed out by the Buddha at the end of the text. The failure, as the Buddha stresses, is exactly due to his patricide. In other words, the perpetration of patricide not only causes Ajātasattu to undergo the inevitable descent into hell in the next life, but also consequently deprives him of the capability of making spiritual progress in this life. It is in this sense that the Buddha says that Ajātasattu is “ruined” (*khata*) and “destroyed” (*upahata*), since his capacity for religious cultivation has been destroyed by himself through the patricide and there is no hope for him to reach any spiritual attainment (at least in this life).

Taken as a whole, the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* provides us with a rather “balanced” picture: on the one hand, it uses the worst criminal Ajātasattu’s confession and his taking refuge as a tool to demonstrate the great impact of the Buddha’s personality and his teaching; on the other hand, it also emphasizes the hindrance of Ajātasattu’s own crime to his spiritual progress. The hindrance is the karmic effect of his crime in this life, which cannot be changed in any way.

Ajātasattu’s failure to gain the Dhamma-eye due to his patricide as addressed in the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* is by no means a special case. The impossibility for any committer of one of the crimes of immediate retribution to enter into the “fixity of rightness” (*sammatta-niyāma*, i.e., the certainty of attaining salvation) is explicitly stated elsewhere in the Pāli canon.¹⁴⁸ For instance, in the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* we find the following passage:

“O Monks, possessed of six conditions, even though hearing the good Dhamma, one is incapable of entering into the fixity of rightness in good

¹⁴⁸ The AKBh (*ad* VI. 26a) interprets *samyaktva* as *nirvāṇa* (Pradhan 1967: 350.6: *samyaktvaṃ nirvāṇam uktaṃ sūtre* “in the sūtra ‘rightness’ refers to the salvation *nirvāṇa*”; translated also in La Vallée Poussin 1923-1931: iv.180). On *niyāma* “position, determination”, see *ibid*: iv. 180-181. As Lamotte (1944-1980: iv. 1784) notes, in Buddhaghosa’s commentary on the SN, *sammatta* is explained as *ariyamagga* “path of the noble ones” (Woodward 1929-1937: ii. 346.18-19: *okkanto sammatta-niyāman ti, pavittṭho ariyamaggaṃ* “‘entering into the position of rightness’ means getting on the path of the noble ones).

states. What six? [By him] his mother has been deprived of her life, his father has been deprived of his life, an *arhat* has been deprived of his life; [by him] the Tathāgata's blood has been spilled with an evil mind, the Community has been split, [or he is] weak in wisdom, stupid, deaf and dumb. Monks, possessed of these six conditions, even though hearing the good Dhamma, one is incapable of entering into the fixity of rightness in good states.”¹⁴⁹

In the *Vibhaṅga*, “Book of Analysis”, the second part of the Theravāda *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*, we also find:

“Who are incapable beings? Those being who are possessed of the hindrance of *kamma*, defilement, or result [of *kamma*], without faith, without resolution, or lacking wisdom, are incapable of entering into the position of rightness in good states. These are incapable beings.”¹⁵⁰

The above passage reoccurs in Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga*, “Path of Purification”, where Buddhaghosa clarifies that the “obstacle of *kamma* (*kammāvaraṇa*)” refers to the *ānantarya* crimes: *Tattha kammāvaraṇena samannāgatā ti ānantariyakamma-samaṅgino*, “Here ‘those possessed of the obstacle of *kamma*’ refer to those endowed with the *kamma* entailing immediate retribution [of descent into hell in the next birth]”¹⁵¹. The idea of the five *ānantarya* crimes as a type of obstacle which prevents one from getting on the Buddhist path to liberation is not only known to the Theravādins. For instance, in the Sarvāstivāda *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* we also find:

The obstacle of *karma* refers to the five crimes of immediate retribution,

¹⁴⁹ Morris and Hardy (1885-1900: iii. 436.17-26): *Chahi bhikkhave dhammehi samannāgato suṇanto pi saddhammaṃ abhabbo niyāmaṃ okkamituṃ kusalesu dhammesu sammattaṃ. Katamehi chahi? Mātā jīvīta voropitā hoti, pītā jīvītā voropito hoti, arahā jīvītā voropito hoti, Tathāgatassa duṭṭhena cittaṇa lohitaṃ uppāditaṃ hoti, saṅgho bhinno hoti, duppañño hoti jaḷo eḷamūgo. Imehi kho bhikkave chahi dhammehi samannāgato pi saddhammaṃ abhabbo niyāmaṃ okkamituṃ kusalesu dhammesu sammattaṃ*. The passage is also translated in Hare (1934: 305).

¹⁵⁰ Rhys Davids (1978 [1904]: 341. 37-41): *Katame te sattā abhabbā? Ye te sattā kammāvaraṇena samannāgatā kilesāvaraṇena samannāgatā vipākāvaraṇena samannāgatā assaddhā acchandikā duppaññā abhabbā niyāmaṃ okkamituṃ kusalesu dhammesu sammattaṃ, ime te sattā abhabbā*.

¹⁵¹ Rhys Davids 1975 [1920-1921]: 177.15-16. See also a translation in Ñāṇamoli 1991 (1956): 177.

namely, matricide, patricide, killing of an *arhat*, creating a schism, and drawing the blood within the body of a Tathāgata with an evil mind... To what are these obstacles? [These are obstacles] to the path of the noble ones, to roots of goodness that are preparatory to the path of the noble ones.¹⁵²

In the whole Pāli canon, the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* is the only text which relates to Ajātasattu's confession and his taking refuge. To be sure, there are some other Pāli canonical texts presenting events which also show Ajātasattu's respect or devotion to the Buddha, including his sending of the minister Vassakāra to consult the Buddha about the chances of conquering the Vajjians, his anger at Upaka Maṇḍikā-putta who has remonstrated with the Buddha, and his erection of a *stūpa* over one portion of the Buddha's relics.¹⁵³ However, none of those texts give comments on Ajātasattu's earlier patricide, or say anything about his repentance. The *Jātakatthavaṇṇanā* (JA), or more specifically, the JA 150 *Sañjīva-jātaka* and the JA 530 *Samkiccha-jātaka*, provide rather more information in this direction: according to these two sources, it is precisely due to his fear of undergoing the same fate of descent into hell as Devadatta that Ajātasattu desires to see the Buddha. Further, in each of the two *jātakas*, its "story of the present" (*paccuppanna-vatthu*) is an adaptation of the narrative frame of the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta*. There, the story of Ajātasattu's visit to the Buddha is put to new uses, in that it not only sets out the reason for the Buddha's recalling of a *jātaka* story, but also serves as a device to highlight the "good friend" (*kalyāṇamitta*) image of the Buddha, in contrast to the "evil friend" (*pāpamitra*) image of Devadatta.

¹⁵² AKBh ad IV 96a (Pradhan 1967: 259. 8-9, 14-15; translated also in La Vallée Poussin 1923-1931: iii. 201, 203): *pañcānantaryāṇi karmāvaraṇam | tadyathā mātrvadhaḥ pitrvadho 'rhadvadhaḥ saṃgha-bhedaḥ tathāgataśarīre duṣṭacittarudhiropādānam | ... | kasyaitānyāvaraṇāni | āryamārgasya āryamārgaprāyogikāṇāṃ ca kuśalamūlānām*.

¹⁵³ For Vassakāra's visit to the Buddha, Ajātasattu's claiming one share of the Buddha's relics, and his erection of the *stūpa*, see the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (Rhys Davids and Carpenter 1890-1911: ii. 72f., 164f.; English translation in Walshe 1987: 231f., 275f.); for his anger at Upaka, see the *Yodhajīva-vagga* (§V. 19.188) of the AN (Morris and Hardy 1885-1900: ii.181f. [text]; Woodward 1933: 189f. [translation]). See also a summary in Radich (2011: 19 n.74).

2.3 The *Paccuppanna-vatthu* of the *Sañjīva-jātaka* (JA 150)

In his detailed study of the Pāli JA, von Hinüber observes that stories of the present of some *jātakas* contain references to texts in the *Suttapiṭaka* or the *Vinaya-piṭaka*.¹⁵⁴ He suggests that “[t]he occasional adoption of textual materials from Sutta- and Vinaya- piṭaka is established in the development of the Jātaka-Collection and moves it at the same time in a great closeness to these parts of the Canon”.¹⁵⁵ Von Hinüber’s observation certainly applies to the *Sañjīva-jātaka* and the *Samkiccha-jātaka*, where explicit mention is made of the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* in the stories of the present of both *jātakas*.¹⁵⁶ Moreover, it is noteworthy that the close relationship of the two *jātakas* with the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* lies not only in their explicit references to that *sutta*, but also in the fact that in both *jātakas* the stories of the present as such are adaptations of the frame story of the *sutta* in question. The adaptations provide good opportunities to observe how the editors of the JA recycle canonical sources for their own literary and ideological ends. Let us first look at the *Sañjīva-jātaka*, of which the story of the present goes as follows:

“The one who favours the unworthy...” This story was told by the Teacher while he was dwelling in the bamboo grove about King Ajātasattu’s favouring of the unworthy. Having believed in the Buddha’s rival, the immoral and evil-natured Devadatta, having favoured this unworthy and bad person, [thinking,] “I shall do service for him”, he spent much money erecting a monastery in Gayāsīsa. Exactly following

¹⁵⁴ v. Hinüber 1998: 42-7.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.: 53-4.

¹⁵⁶ Regarding the *Sañjīva-jātaka*, v. Hinüber (ibid.: 44) observes, “Therefore an entire text from the Sutta- piṭaka can also be adopted in the Paccuppannavatthu: *dvīhi bhāṇavārehi patimaṇḍetvā Sāmaññaphalasuttantaṃ kathesi* ([the Buddha] preached the *Sāmaññaphalasutta* after putting it into two sections of recital; trans. by J. W.), Ja I 509, 32 (150. Sañjīva-jā) with reference to Dīghanikāya 2. *Sāmaññaphala- suttanta* (DN I 47-86)... ”.

his [= Devadatta's] words, he [= Ajātasattu] killed his father, a righteous king, a stream-enterer, a noble disciple, [whereby] he extirpated his own basis of the path of entry into the stream and suffered great destruction.

Having heard, “Devadatta has entered into the earth”, [thinking], “The earth perhaps will also swallow me up”, terrified and fearful, he gained no happiness in kingship and found no peace while sleeping (Pāli *sayane assādaṃ na vindati*). Overwhelmed by this severe matter, he moved around, trembling like a young elephant. [In imagination,] he saw the earth splitting open, the blaze of the Avīci hell coming forth, himself being swallowed into the earth, and being smashed with iron stakes after being laid down upon his back on the burning copper-ground. Trembling just like a beaten cock, he had no ease even for one second. Desirous of seeing the Fully-Awakened One, desirous of repenting [to him], desirous of asking questions, because of the magnitude of his transgressions, [however,] he was unable to visit him.

Then, in the city of Rājagaha, when the occasion of the night of the month Kattikā [i.e., the night of the *pavāraṇā* festival]¹⁵⁷ reached, with the city adorned like a city of gods, on the great roof of the palace, surrounded by a retinue of ministers, seated on his golden seat, having seen Jīvaka Komārabhacca sitting nearby, he thought as follows, “I shall see the Fully-Awakened One with Jīvaka. But I cannot say so straightforwardly, ‘Friend Jīvaka, I cannot go by myself. Come! Take me in the front of the Teacher.’ I should, after praising in some way the perfectness of the night, say, ‘Which ascetic or brahmin shall we visit today, who, when visiting him, would set our heart at peace?’ After hearing this, ministers will praise their own teachers. Jīvaka will also praise the Fully-Awakened One. Then I will go with him to the presence of the Teacher.” [Then,] he praised the night with five lines:

“Auspicious indeed, friends, is this moonlit night!
Beautiful indeed, friends, is this moonlit night!
Lovely indeed, friends, is this moonlit night!
Peaceful indeed, friends, is this moonlit night!
Delightful indeed, friends, is this moonlit night!

What ascetic or brahmin shall I visit today, so that my heart would be set at peace?” Then one minister praised Pūraṇa Kassapa, one Makkhali-gosāla, one Ajitakesakambala, one Kakudhakaccāyana, one Saṅjaya-belaṭṭhiputta, and one Nāthaputtanigaṇṭha. Having heard their talk, the king remained silent, for he was expecting the great minister Jīvaka's talk. Jīvaka, also thinking, “I should make sure that the king said those words in reference to me”, was seated nearby, keeping silent. Then the

¹⁵⁷ The *pavāraṇā* (Skt. *pravāraṇā*) or invitation ceremony is held at the final day of a rainy retreat, wherein monks or nuns invite each other to point out faults committed during the retreat and then make confession in public. On this ceremony, see Chung (1998) and Heirman (2002: i. 217-221). In all the extant versions of the SPS, Ajātasattu's visit to the Buddha took place on the day of *pravāraṇā*. This time setting is no doubt purposeful, given the particular connection of *pavāraṇā* with confession; for more discussion, see MacQueen (1987: 215-7).

king said to him, “But why, friend Jīvaka, do you keep silent?” At this moment, Jīvaka rose from his seat and having raised his cupped hands in salutation towards where the Blessed One was, he said, “Lord, the Arahāt and Fully-Awakened One is staying in my mango grove with twelve hundred and fifty monks. Moreover, this good report has been spread about concerning the Blessed One.” Having recited the nine qualities [of the Buddha] starting with *arahāt*, having made known the great power of the Buddha from his birth onwards, like the [thirty-two] foregoing signs and such, he said, “Lord, please visit the Blessed One, hear the Dhamma and ask questions.”

With his wish fulfilled, the king said, “Then, friend Jīvaka, have the riding-elephants made ready.” After the elephants were made ready, the king in great royal splendour set off towards Jīvaka’s mango grove. He saw the Tathāgata surrounded by an assembly of monks in a perfumed pavilion. Having looked here and there, [seeing] the assembly of monks motionless like a great ship in the middle of tranquil waves¹⁵⁸, he said, “I have never seen an assembly of such form.” Having found satisfaction in the demeanour [of the monks], he performed salutation to the assembly with cupped hands and praised. Having worshiped the Blessed One, he seated himself on one side and asked the question about the fruit of the ascetic life. Then the Blessed One preached to him the “Discourse on the fruit of the ascetic life” divided into two recital sections. At the end of the discourse, he felt uplifted and, having repented to the Blessed One, he rose from his seat and departed with the right side [towards the Blessed One]. The Teacher, soon after the king left, said to the monks, “Monks, this king is ruined. Monks, if this king had not, for the reason of rulership, deprived his father, a righteous man and righteous king, of his life, even on this seat the immaculate and spotless eye of the Dhamma would have arisen [in him]. However, due to Devadatta, having done favour to the unworthy, he lost the fruit of stream-entry.

The next day, the monks started a discussion in the Dhamma-hall, “Friend, Ajātasattu, indeed, having favoured the unworthy, due to the immoral and wicked Devadatta, lost the fruit of stream-entry through committing the crime of patricide. This king was destroyed by Devadatta.” The Teacher came and asked, “Monks, for what discussion are you sitting together here now?” When they told him, the Teacher said, “Monks, not only in this life has Ajātasattu suffered great destruction after favouring the unworthy; also in the past, through favouring the unworthy, he destroyed himself.” Having said this, he told [a story of] the past.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸ I follow the Burmese edition which reads *santavīcimajjhe mahānāvaṃ viya niccalaṃ bhikkhu-saṅghaṃ*. The PTS edition has *mahaṇṇavaṃ*, “great ocean”, instead of *mahānāvaṃ*, “great ship”, which seems problematic, for “a great ocean in the middle of tranquil waves” makes no sense.

¹⁵⁹ Fausbøll 1877-1896: i. 508.9-510.11 (see Appendix I, Textual Material 6). Translated also in Cowell 1895-1907: i. 319-321.

In comparison with the frame story of the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta*, the most striking feature of the story of the present of the *Sañjīva-jātaka* is its overall emphasis on the immense destruction Ajātasattu suffers in consequence of his supporting Devadatta, as articulated at the beginning of the story. The destruction is shown in psychological and spiritual aspects:

First, according to this story, after having heard Devdatta's descent into hell, Ajātasattu is psychologically overwhelmed by the fear of undergoing the same fate. Since, as the story emphasizes, it is "precisely following his [Devadatta's] counsel" (*tass'eva vacanaṃ gahetvā*) that Ajātasattu killed his father, therefore, it is Devadatta who causes Ajātasattu to suffer both the infernal punishment in the next life and the overwhelming fear thereof in this life. The story gives a vivid depiction of Ajātasattu's fearful imagination of hell and makes it clear that it is in hope of removing such fear that Ajātasattu desires to see the Buddha. It, moreover, tells us that "because of the magnititude of his offences" (*aparādha-mahantatāya*) Ajātasattu can not visit on his own. Here, *aparādha* may be construed as a plural referring to both Ajātasattu's patricide and other evil deeds he had done in assisting Devadatta to attack the Buddha.

This depiction of Ajātasattu's fear of hell and his feeling of guilt constitutes a prelude to the following presentation of his visit to the Buddha. The prelude finds no counterpart in the *Sāmaññaphalasutta*, but nonetheless shows some correspondence to Buddhaghosa's commentary on that *sutta*. There, Buddhaghosa also tells of Ajātasattu's imagination of infernal torment, and furthermore, his explanation of the reason why Ajātasattu cannot go alone is also notably similar to that given in the story above:

"Could not he go to see the Blessed One on his own? No, he could not. Why? [It was] because of his great offences. For he had killed his own father, a noble disciple and follower of the Blessed One, and also through him [i.e., under his support] Devadatta did much harm to the Blessed One. Thus, he had committed great crimes. Because of the great crimes, he could not go on

his own.”¹⁶⁰

It is possible that in composing this prelude the compilers of the JA recycled some existing commentarial material written (or used) by Buddhaghosa.¹⁶¹ The purpose of such recycling is clearly to provide a background for Ajātasattu’s subsequent visit to the Buddha, through relating it to his earlier association with Devadatta.

Secondly and more importantly, besides the psychological torment, Ajātasattu also suffers a huge spiritual loss due to his adherence to Devadatta, insofar as he has cut off his own “basis for the stage of entering the stream [of liberation]” (*sotāpattimagga upanissayaṃ*) through committing the patricide instigated by Devadatta. As told in the later part of the story, after Ajātasattu leaves, the Buddha comments on his spiritual failure to gain the Dhamma-eye in consequence of his patricide. This comment, as such, does not offer much new information, for it is almost a verbatim quotation from the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta*. But what the Buddha says next is rather striking and not found in the *sutta*: “However, due to Devadatta, having favoured the unworthy, he lost the fruit of entering into the stream”.¹⁶²

Cowell rightly points out that the above sentence is an “interpolation” which

¹⁶⁰ Rhys Davids and Carpenter (1886-1932: i. 141.21-26): *Kim sayam bhagavantam dassanāya upagantum na sakkotīti? Ama na sakkoti. Kasmā? Mahāparādhatāya. Tena hi bhagavato upatthāko ariya-sāvako attano pitā mārīto, devadatto ca tameva nissāya bhagavato bahum anattam akāsi. Iti mahā-parādho esa. Tāya mahāparādhatāya sayam gantum na sakkoti.*

¹⁶¹ Although the Theravāda tradition ascribes the JA to Buddhaghosa, modern scholars have long noted that the JA is stylistically very different from Buddhaghosa’s other works. See Winternitz (1920: 153); Malalasekera (1928: 123-9). v. Hinüber (1996: 149) dates the JA shortly after the time of Buddhaghosa; however, Norman (1983: 127-8) contends that “[t]he reason for the difference in style could be the difference in subject matter”, and that it was possible that “Buddhaghosa collected together a set of traditional stories from commentarial sources and served as little more than an editor...” As v. Hinüber observes, in the JA “Buddhaghosa’s commentaries have been referred to for more detailed explanation occasionally” (ibid.: 132), while, on the other hand, “the commentaries of Buddhaghosa do not yet use the ‘classical’ Theravāda form of the Ja [= JA]” (149), such as the beginning word *atīte*. This suggests a higher possibility that the JA was compiled by someone later than Buddhaghosa.

¹⁶² Fausbøll 1877-1896: i.510.4-5. *Devadattam pana nissāya asantaṃ paggaṃ katvā sotāpattiphalā parihīno.*

is “interesting as suggesting the license with which words were put into the Master’s mouth by Buddhist authors.”¹⁶³ The interpolative nature of this sentence can also be discerned from the fact that while the earlier discussed quotation from the *Sāmañña-phala-sutta* mentions Ajātasattu’s failure to gain the “Dhamma-eye” (*dhmma-cakkhu*), i.e., the basic insight into the Buddhist Truth, this sentence relates to his loss of the “fruit of stream-entry” (*sotāpatti-phala*), i.e., the first of the four stages leading to *arhat*-ship. The “Dhamma-eye” and the “fruit of stream-entry” are originally two distinct concepts, but as we will see in the next chapter, in his commentary on the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta*, Buddhaghosa equates the “Dhamma-eye” used in that *sutta* with the “fruit of stream-entry”. It is possible that the compilers of the JA adopted the equation from Buddhaghosa (or from another source) when interpolating this sentence. The purpose of such an interpolation is to make explicit the point that Ajātasattu’s supporting of Devadatta was the ultimate reason for his spiritual failure. This point is reinforced in the following discussion of the monks, where it is again emphasized that Ajātasattu has lost the fruit of stream-entry due to the wicked Devadatta and that “by Devadatta the king was destroyed” (*Devadattena nāsito rājā*). This discussion, in turn, elicits the Buddha’s recalling of a “story of the past” (*atītavatthu*) which demonstrates that Ajātasattu made a similar mistake in one of his past lives.

It has now become clear that the compilers of the JA made two major changes to the frame story of the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* in adapting it into the *paccuppannavatthu* in question. One is the addition of a prelude to Ajātasattu’s visit to the Buddha that contextualises it in relation to his earlier association with Devadatta. The prelude highlights Ajātasattu’s fear of hell and his feeling of guilt, thereby setting out the reason for his visit to the Buddha. The other change is the addition and reiteration of

¹⁶³ Cowell 1895-1907: i. 321 n.1.

the point that Ajātasattu's spiritual failure is ultimately caused by his earlier adherence to Devadatta. Both changes are intended to illustrate the severe consequences Ajātasattu suffers through supporting the unworthy Devadatta, and therefore, both are consistent with the overall goal of this *paccuppanna-vatthu*, which is to provide a setting for the Buddha's narration of a parallel event in the past.

According to von Hinüber, the composition of *paccuppanna-vatthus* most likely took place at the stage of "concluding redaction" of the JA, given the great number of cross-references in this part of the text.¹⁶⁴ It is therefore conceivable that those stories of the present may have been largely designed to match the existing *atīta-vatthus*, i.e., the stories of the past. In the present case, the story of the past relates to a young brahmin named Sañjīva, as indicated by the title of the *jātaka*, who, in showing off his newly learned skill of raising the dead, brought a dead tiger to life and was then killed by the tiger.¹⁶⁵ As in many other *jātaka* stories, here the Bodhisatta appears as a sagacious teacher and commentator who gives advice to his disciples by drawing a moral from this event. The moral is encapsulated in a verse (i.e., the canonical part of the *jātaka*) which says, "When one favours the unworthy or serves the unworthy, [the result is] just as a tiger brought to life devours exactly that person."¹⁶⁶ There is, in fact, an ironic pun in the name Sañjīva, for it implies that the one who raised the dead to life finally lost his own life.¹⁶⁷ At the end of the story, the

¹⁶⁴ v. Hinüber 1998: 7.

¹⁶⁵ For parallels to this *jātaka*, see Grey (2000: 357-9). In summarizing its moral, Grey says, "[i]t is important to note that the ignorant but boastful actor became a victim, while the onlookers were wise enough to run for shelter. Lack of foresight is evident". However, this may not be the main point of this story. What the story really emphasizes is the harm of favouring the unworthy as clearly shown in the headline *asantaṃ yo paggaṇhāti*.

¹⁶⁶ Fausbøll 1877-1896: i.511.1-2: *Asantaṃ yo paggaṇhāti asantaṃ c'ūpasevati | tam eva ghāsaṃ kurute vyaggho Sañjīviko yathā ti*.

¹⁶⁷ Cowell 1895-1907: i. 321 n.2. As explained in the *veyyākaraṇa*, "exegesis", of the verse (Fausbøll 1877-1896: i. 511.9-12): *vyaggho Sañjīviko yathā ti yathā sañjīvena māṇavena mantaṃ parivattetvā matavyaggho sañjīviko jīvitasampadānena sampaggaḥito attano jīvitadāyakaṃ Sañjīvam eva jīvītā*

Buddha identifies himself with the teacher and Ajātasattu with Sañjīva. It is clear that this story of the past does not offer any karmic explanation of Ajātasattu's spiritual failure as a result of his supporting Devadatta, but simply presents a parallel event, or to use Appleton's words, a "karmic repetition" which has the same function as that of a fable in "illustrating a moral point as a reflection of the present situation".¹⁶⁸ The karmic parallelism between a story of the present and its story of the past could create a didactic effect upon a Buddhist audience for, as Appleton suggests, after hearing such a story, "a Buddhist might aspire to eventual escape from the repetitive karmic cycles that make repeating the same mistakes in birth after birth...almost inevitable".¹⁶⁹

2.4 The *Paccuppanna-vatthu* of the *Samkiccha-jātaka* (JA 530)

In the *Samkiccha-jātaka*, the frame story of the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* is adapted into another shape, where the focus is not on Ajātasattu's spiritual failure due to his earlier ruinous friendship with Devadatta, but on the mental relief he gains through his later beneficial friendship with the Buddha. There, the story of the present reads:

"Having seen the king seated..." This story was told by the Teacher while he was dwelling in Jīvaka's mango grove concerning Ajātasattu's act of patricide. Because of Devadatta, at his instigation, Ajātasattu killed his own father. Having heard that when illness occurred to the schismatic Devadatta at the end of splitting the *saṅgha* (*saṃghabhedāvāsane*), [Devadatta thinking,] "I shall ask the Tathāgata for pardon", lying on a litter, went to Sāvatti and fell into the earth at the gate of the Bamboo

voropetvā tath'eva pātesi, evaṃ añño pi yo asantapaggahaṃ karoti, so dussīlo taṃ attano sampaggāhakaṃ eva vināseti. "Just as the tiger brought to life' means that just as by the youth Sañjīva, practicing the magic charm, the dead tiger was brought to life, raised due to the attainment of life, and destroyed and killed exactly Sañjīva, the one who had given life to him [i.e., to the tiger]; in the same way, if anyone does favour to the unworthy, the evil one destroys exactly the one who has done favour to him."

¹⁶⁸ Appleton 2010: 39.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.: 148-9.

Grove, he [= Ajātasattu] thought, “Devadatta, after having become an opponent of the Fully-Awakened One, fell into the earth and is destined for the Avīci hell. I, too, because of him, killed my father, a righteous man and righteous king. I will also fall into the earth.” Terrified, he found no peace of mind in his royal splendour. Thinking, “I shall sleep for a while”, as soon as he went to sleep, [he felt] as if he had been thrown onto an iron floor nine *yojanas* thick, struck with iron stakes, eaten by dogs after being torn apart. Uttering a cry of terror, he woke up.

Then one day, on the full-moon day at the end of the four-month period [of the rainy season], surrounded by a retinue of ministers, he pondered on his own glory, thinking, “My father’s glory was greater than this. Because of Devadatta, I killed such a righteous king.” While he was thinking in this way, a fever sprang up in his body, and his whole body was bathed in sweat. Then, thinking “Who can dispel this fear from me”, and knowing “There is no one except the One possessing ten powers [i.e., the Buddha]”, considering “I have made great offenses against the Tathāgata, [so] who will guide me to see him”, he concluded, “There is no one except Jīvaka”. Using a strategy in order to go with him, he uttered a joyful cry, “Delightful indeed, friends, is the moonlit night”, and said, “Which ascetic or brahmin shall we visit today?” When the virtues of Pūraṇa and other teachers were put forward by their respective disciples, without heeding their words, he put a question to Jīvaka. When he [= Jīvaka] told of the virtue of the Tathāgata and said, “Lord, please visit the Blessed One”, he [= Ajātasattu] had riding-elephants made ready and went to Jīvaka’s mango grove. Having approached the Tathāgata and saluted [him], he was kindly welcomed by the Tathāgata. Having asked about the visible fruit of being an ascetic [in this life], he heard a sweet Dhamma-discourse on the fruit of being an ascetic from the Tathāgata. At the end of the *sutta*, he announced the state of being a lay disciple, having repented to the Tathāgata, he departed. Thenceforth, offering donation and upholding moral precept, keeping in contact with the Tathāgata, listening to his sweet discourse on the Dhamma, through association with good friend, his fear was removed and the horripilation [of terror] disappeared. Having gained peace of mind, he happily cultivated the four ways of conduct.

Then one day, in the Dhamma-hall the monks started a discussion, “Friend, Ajātasattu was afflicted with fear after committing patricide. Gaining no peace of mind from his royal splendour, he suffered from pain in all modes of behaviour. Now, after having approached the Tathāgata, through association with good friend, his fear has gone away and he enjoys the happiness of rulership.” The Teacher came and asked, “Monks, in what discussion are you sitting together here now?” When they told him, he said, “Monks, not only in this life, but also in the past, after having committing patricide, this man, because of me, dwelt at peace.” Having said this, he told a story of the past.¹⁷⁰

¹⁷⁰ Fausbøll 1877-1896: v. 261.32-263.2 (see Appendix I, Textual Material 7); translated also in Cowell 1895-1907: v. 134-5.

What is the most striking in this story is its complete silence on Ajātasattu's spiritual failure which is mentioned in both the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* and the *Saṅjīva-jātaka* discussed above. Here, the emphasis is entirely shifted to the benefit or more precisely, the mental relief, which Ajātasattu gains through his visit and his subsequent good relationship with the Buddha. It is interesting to note that in the part of the story which introduces the visit, no mention is made of the Buddha's comment on Ajātasattu's spiritual status. Instead, what the story tells us is Ajātasattu's announcement of his lay discipleship (*upāsakatta*), his repentance (*khamāpetvā*) to the Buddha and, most emphatically, the removal of his fear (*pahīnabhaya*), and his acquisition of "enjoyment of mind" (*cittassāda*) through the "association with the good friend [i.e., the Buddha]" (*kalyāṇamitta-saṃsaggena*). Such emphasis on Ajātasattu's gaining relief, instead his spiritual failure, may serve a dual purpose in the present context.

First, this emphasis may be intended to keep the story of the present in line with the story of the past. As in the previous case of the *Saṅjīva-jātaka*, in the *Samkiccha-jātaka* the overall aim of recycling and adapting the frame story of the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* is to provide a background for the Buddha's relating a parallel event in the past. Here, the past event concerns a prince Brahmadaṭṭa who, after having killed his own father without listening to the advice of his friend Samkiccha (later identified with the Bodhisatta himself), becomes afflicted with terror of hell and finally gains comfort (*assāsaṃ paṭilabhi*) through listening to Samkiccha's discourse on infernal torments and heavenly rebirths separately as the karmic results of evil and good deeds. While the discourse as such is basically an exhortation to do good deeds in order to obtain better rebirths, the story of the past as a whole is actually a demonstration of the Bodhisatta's insight into the ineluctability of *karma* and his ability to relieve the guilty of suffering consciousness. Thus, the central point of this

story of the past lies in the Buddha's wisdom and charisma, as demonstrated by Brahmadaṭṭa's regaining of his peace of mind. As I already said, the composition of stories of the present most likely took place at the concluding stage of the redaction of the JA. It is conceivable that when the compilers of the JA were adapting the frame story of the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* into the story of the present of the *Samkiccha-jātaka*, in keeping with the plot and the point of its story of the past, they could have naturally shifted the emphasis from Ajātasattu's spiritual failure to his success in acquiring mental relief through contact with the Buddha, so as to illustrate the positive impact the Buddha has on him.

Secondly, this shift of emphasis may also be intended to create a contrast between the "good friend", i.e., the Buddha, and the "bad friend", i.e., Devadatta. As in the *Sañjīva-jātaka*, here a prelude is added to the story of Ajātasattu's visit to the Buddha, which describes his fear of hell after knowing that Devadatta has been swallowed by the earth. The story likewise emphasizes that it is because of Devadatta that Ajātasattu has committed the patricide and thereby incurred the inevitable retribution of going to hell. Therefore, it is Devadatta who causes him to be afflicted with the fear of infernal torment. Now, through contact with the Buddha, his fear is removed and he gains "happiness of rulership (*issariya-sukha*)". Clearly, the focus of the story is not on Ajātasattu's spiritual status. In fact, it pictures him in a rather mundane hue. What really matters here is the positive impact—however spiritually insignificant it may appear—Ajātasattu receives from the Buddha, in contrast to the destructive influence of the Buddha's archrival Devadatta.

Further, in this story both the account of Devadatta's descent into hell and that of Ajātasattu's fear of infernal torment are, once again, similar to what Buddhaghosa presents in his commentary on the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta*. There, Buddhaghosa also relates that Devadatta is swallowed by the earth on his way to

Jetavana. He says:

“After having laid on the sickbed for nine months, he [= Devadatta] became remorseful and asked, ‘Where is the Teacher now staying’. When being told that [the Teacher was now] in Jetavana, he said, ‘Carry me on the bed and let me see the Teacher.’ Because he had not done an act deserving of seeing the Blessed One, as he was being carried, right beside the lotuspond in Jetavana the earth split apart. Having entered into the earth, he fell into the great hell.”¹⁷¹

Also, in explaining why on the full-moon night Ajātasattu was seated on the terrace of the palace, Buddhaghosa mentions the king’s fearful imagination of hell in a wording very close to that used in the story discussed here:

“Why seated? In order to dispel sleep. This king, since the day he killed his father, [whenever thinking,] ‘I shall go to sleep’, as soon as his eyes were closed, [he felt] as if he were struck by one hundred spears. Crying in terror, he woke up.”¹⁷²

These similarities suggest that, as in the foregoing case of the *Sañjīva-jātaka*, the compilers of the JA may have recycled Buddhaghosa’s commentaries, or certain sources used by him, in composing the prelude in question.

In sum, the stories of the present of the *Sañjīva-jātaka* and the *Samkiccha-jātaka* constitute two adaptations of the frame story of the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta*. In the first adaptation, the emphasis is on the huge loss Ajātasattu suffers due to his supporting Devadatta, particularly on his extirpation of the basis for spiritual progress through committing patricide at the instigation of Devadatta. This adaptation serves as a background for the Buddha’s subsequent narration of a parallel mistake Ajātasattu

¹⁷¹ Rhys Davids and Carpenter (1886: 138.26-139.3): ...*nava māse gilāna-mañce nipajjitvā vippatīsari-jāto ‘Kuhim etarahi Satthā vasatīti’ pucchitvā, ‘Jetavane’ ti vutte, ‘Mañcakena maṃ haritvā Satthāraṃ dassethāti’ vatvā, āhariyamāno Bhagavato dassanārahassa kammaṣṣa akatattā Jetavane pokkharāṇī-samīpe yeva dvedhā bhiṇṇaṃ paṭhaviṃ pavisitvā Mahāniraye patiṭṭhito ti.*

¹⁷² Ibid.: 140. 14-16: *Kasmā nisinno? Niddā-vinodanattāṃ. Ayaṃ hi rājā pitari upakkanta-divasato paṭṭhāya ‘Niddaṃ okkamissāmīti,’ nimīlita-mattesu yeva akkhīsu satti-sata-samabbhāto viya kanda-māno bhayā va pabujjhati.* See also a translation in MacQueen (1988: 229).

made in one of his previous lives. The parallelism between this story of the present and the story of the past might arouse the aspiration of a Buddhist audience to ultimately escape from *saṃsāra*, thereby releasing themselves from such karmic repetitions forever. In the second adaptation, the emphasis is not on the spiritual loss of Ajātasattu, but on his regaining of peace of mind and his acquisition of mental happiness through contact with the Buddha. This emphasis may be intended to keep the story of the present in line with the story of the past in demonstrating the Buddha's wisdom and charisma. It may also be instrumental in creating a contrast between the Buddha as the "good friend" with the "bad friend" Devadatta, as illustrated through their positive and negative impacts on Ajātasattu.

The *Sañjīva-jātaka* and the *Samkiccha-jātaka* are not the only texts where the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* is placed within contexts related to Devadatta. As we will see, in a parallel to the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* embedded in the *Saṅghabhedavastu* of the MSV, the story of Ajātasattu's remorse and confession is again linked with Devadatta, but interpreted in a different way. It is to that parallel that we now turn.

2.5 The SPS in the *Saṅghabhedavastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*

In his discussion on the present locations of the SPS in Buddhist canons, MacQueen suggests two reasons for the insertion of the SPS into the *Saṅghabhedavastu* of the MSV. As he rightly points out, the insertion is not only due to the general tendency of the MSV as a whole to absorb narrative and *sūtra* material, but more importantly, it is determined by the particular concern of the *Saṅghabhedavastu* with the theme of schism as illustrated through the legend of Devadatta.¹⁷³ He states,

¹⁷³ MacQueen 1988: 105-7.

“The events described in the *Śrāmaṇyaphala Sūtra*... show Ajātaśatru repenting the murder of his father, promising to act morally in the future, and going over to the Buddha’s party. This change of heart can be seen as marking the downfall of Devadatta, who has thus lost his chief supporter. And, in fact, it is precisely this way that the sutra is incorporated into the Devadatta legend in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya.”¹⁷⁴

MacQueen’s suggestion directs our attention to the special function of the SPS in demonstrating the “downfall of Devadatta” in the *Saṅghabhedavastu* of the MSV.

This raises the following questions: how is such a function realized, what are the most distinctive features of the MSV version of the SPS, and how does one make sense of those features within the context of the legend of the schism? In order to answer these questions, we need to look into this version, to consider how it is constructed, and how it is related to other parts of the Devadatta legend in the MSV.

In the extant Sanskrit and Tibetan versions of the *Saṅghabhedavastu* of the MSV, the SPS is inserted in full between the story of Devadatta’s previous birth as a leader of a band of robbers and that of Devadatta’s killing of the Buddhist nun Utpalavarṇā. The situation is different in the Chinese translation (T. 1450) made by Yijing, which ends abruptly at some point before the Buddha’s sermon.¹⁷⁵ Moreover, in Yijing’s version, while the SPS is also preceded by the birth story of Devadatta as a leader of a band of robbers, it has no direct relation to the story of his killing of Utpalavarṇā which appears, instead, in the middle of that version.¹⁷⁶ It is unclear what caused such a different arrangement.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.:107.

¹⁷⁵ Yijing’s incomplete Chinese version of the SPS is found in T.1450, 205a9-206a14. It is translated in full in MacQueen (1988: 90-99). One part of this version which relates to the six heretics is translated in Vogel (1970: 45-48). It is not clear to me why Yijing’s translation ends so abruptly (Is it because the rest of Yijing’s translation was lost?).

¹⁷⁶ An account of Devadatta’s being stopped from entering into Ajātaśatru’s palace and his subsequent killing of Utpalavarṇā is given at the beginning of the tenth *juan* (T.1450.147c6f.) This Chinese account is paraphrased in Lamotte (1944-1980: ii. 875 n.1).

The following translation is based on the Sanskrit version preserved in the Gilgit manuscript. Given the considerable length of this version, it is impossible to translate it in full here. As in the case of the Pāli *Sāmaññaphala-sutta*, my translation below is made of the part of the text that follows the Buddha’s sermon, in view of its direct relevance to the present study. Most passages which I translate here have been translated by MacQueen, except the last two which relate to events after the Buddha’s dining at Ajātaśatru’s palace.¹⁷⁷ These two passages, as I will suggest, are very important for understanding how the SPS is fitted into the legend of the schism, and how it is “glued together” with other parts of that legend. In order to provide an accurate picture of this process and to facilitate a discussion of the structure of the salvation story of Ajātaśatru in the MSV version of the SPS, I will retranslate those passages which MacQueen has translated, together with the next two passages linked to the story of Devadatta’s killing of Utpalavarṇā, which have never been translated into any Western languages. The text reads:

. ...When this was said, King Ajātaśatru of Magadha, son of Vaidehī, began to weep, shedding tears like rain. Then, King Ajātaśatru, son of Vaidehī, having wiped off tears with the edge of his robe and fallen at the Blessed One’s feet, said to the Blessed One, “[I have] transgressed, Blessed One. [I have] transgressed, Sugata.”¹⁷⁸ Being so foolish, so deluded, so unwise and so wicked, in association with an evil friend, under the power of an evil friend, embraced by an evil friend, I deprived my father, a righteous man and righteous king, of his life. Venerable One, as I realize and see my transgression, may you out of compassion accept my [confession of] the transgression.”

“Great King, it is true that you have committed a transgression¹⁷⁹,

¹⁷⁷ See MacQueen (1988: 99-103). Meisig (1987: 358-378) collates the Sanskrit MSV version of the SPS with the Pāli and Chinese parallels, without translating the Sanskrit.

¹⁷⁸ As in the Pāli version, here both Ajātaśatru’s confession and the Buddha’s response thereto are formed by formulae which also occur in other Buddhist texts. Note that in the thirty-third chapter of the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*, the confession formula begins with *atyayo me bhagavann atyayo me sugata* (Cowell and Neil 1886: 617. 17-18).

¹⁷⁹ Gnoli 1977-1978: ii. 251.26-27: *tathyam tvam mahārāja atyayam atyayatah*. As Gnoli notes, there is a verb missing in the Sanskrit. The corresponding Tibetan reads (Derge, *nga* 284b5; sTog, *nga*

inasmuch as being so foolish, so deluded, so unwise and so wicked, in association with an evil friend, under the power of an evil friend, embraced by an evil friend, you deprived your father, a righteous man and righteous king, of his life. Since you, Great King, realize and see the transgression, and having seen it, you confess it and achieve restraint in the future, for you an increase of good *dharmas* is to be expected, rather than a decrease.¹⁸⁰ Why? Great King, for anyone who realizes and sees his transgression, and confesses after having seen it and achieves restraint in the future, an increase of good *dharmas* is to be expected, rather than a decrease. Exactly in this way, Great King, since you recognize and see the offence, and having seen it, you confess it and achieve restraint in the future, for you an increase of good *dharmas* is to be expected, rather than a decrease.”

Then King Ajātaśatru of Magadha, son of Vaidehī, said this to the Blessed One: “Blessed One, please agree with me to have a dinner tomorrow in my house, together with the community of monks.¹⁸¹” The Blessed One consented by silence to King Ajātaśatru of Magadha, son of Vaidehī. Then King Ajātaśatru of Magadha, son of Vaidehī, having known the Blessed One’s consent by silence, rejoiced and delighted in the Blessed One’s [earlier] speech, venerated the Blessed One’s feet with his head and departed from the presence of the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One, knowing that King Ajātaśatru of Magadha, son of Vaidehī, had not left for long, told the monks, “Monks, King Ajātaśatru of Magadha, son of Vaidehī, is ruined and destroyed, who, in association with an evil friend, under the power of an evil friend and being concealed by an evil friend, deprived his father, a righteous man and righteous king, a great king standing in righteousness, of his life. Monks, if King Ajātaśatru of Magadha, son of Vaidehī, had not deprived his father, a righteous man and righteous king, a great king standing in righteousness, of his life, it is possible that even while sitting on this seat, he would have penetrated the Four Noble Truths.¹⁸² Monks, King

392b3): *nyes pa la nyes par khyod kyis khong du chud pa ni bden te* “It is true that you have become guilty of a crime”. Gnoli suggests that *khong du chud pa* indicates *adhigata*; see also TSD, 243a, s.v. While both Tib. *khong du chud pa* and Skt. *adhigata* can mean “have penetrated, realized”, in the present case they may simply mean “have gone into [a culpable state]”.

¹⁸⁰ Gnoli 1977-1978: ii. 252.3-5: *yaḥ kaścin mahārāja atyayaṃ jñāti atyayaṃ paśyati taṃ dr̥ṣtvā deśayati āyatyāṃ ca saṃvaram āpadyate vṛddhir eva te pratikāṅkṣitavyā kuśalānāṃ dharmānāṃ na hāniḥ*. This sentence is evidently a variation of *Vuddhihesā, mahārāja, ariyassa vinaye, yo accayaṃ accayato disvā yathādhammaṃ paṭikaroti, āyatiṃ saṃvaram āpajjati* “Great King, this is growth in the discipline of the Noble One: one having seen his transgression as a transgression, acts according to the Dhamma and attains restraint in the future” in the Pāli version.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.: ii.252.12. *adhivāsayatu me bhagavān śvo ’ntargrhe bhaktena sārddhaṃ bhikṣusaṃghena*. This is an invitation formula. The instrumental *bhaktena* used here is unusual, for as Edgerton points out, in this kind of formula, “if object of invitation is expressed it is regularly acc[usative] as in Pali..., or nom[inative] in passive expressions” (BHSD, 15b, s.v. *adhivāsayati*); he notices that the object appears only once in instrumental (i.e., in the *Rāṣṭrapālāparipṛcchā*, cf. Finot 1901: 56.6), in a phrase close to the one found here.

¹⁸² As Dutt (1939-1959: iii.4. 224 n.1) and Gnoli (1977-1978: ii. 252n.2) observe, the corresponding

Ajātaśatru of Magadha, son of Vaidehī, is thus ruined, thus destroyed. Therefore, Monks, learn this: we shall not become angry even at a heated pillar, much less at a living being with consciousness. Monks, this is to be learnt.”

Then King Ajātaśatru of Magadha, son of Vaidehī, on that very night, prepared pure and finest food, both hard and soft. After he rose up at daybreak, having arranged seats and placed water-pots, he had the time told to the Blessed One through a messenger, “It is the time, Venerable One. The food is ready. Blessed One, it is now time for you to do as you think fit.” Then the Blessed One, having dressed in the morning and taken his bowl and robe, surrounded by the retinue of monks, accompanied by the community of monks, proceeded to the food offering of King Ajātaśatru of Magadha, son of Vaidehī. Having arrived, he sat in front of the community of monks on a prepared seat. Then King Ajātaśatru of Magadha, son of Vaidehī, knowing that the community of monks led by the Buddha was comfortably seated, with his own hands served and satiated them with pure and finest food, both hard and soft. Having with his own hands served and satiated them in manifold ways with the pure and finest food, both hard and soft, knowing that the Blessed One had finished eating and had washed his hands and put away his bowl, he took a lower seat, and sat before the Blessed One to listen to the Dharma.

Then the Blessed One applauded (*abhy anumodate*) the offering of King Ajātaśatru of Magadha, son of Vaidehī, with this applause (*abhy anumodanā*):¹⁸³

Fire-offerings are foremost among sacrifices
(*agnihotramukhāyajñāḥ*);
Sāvitrī is the foremost among sacred hymns.¹⁸⁴

Tibetan unfolds the four noble truths (Derge, *nga* 285a6; sTog, *nga* 393b2) : ... '*phags pa* 'i *bden pa bzhi po* 'di *lta ste* | *sdug bsdal dang* | *kun 'byung dang* | '*gog pa dang* | *lam*... (**catvāryāryasatyāni tadyathā* [or: *yaduta*] *duḥkhaṃ samudayaḥ nirodho margaḥ*).

¹⁸³ As shown by Yajima Michihiko (1997: 57-8) and Peter Skilling (2003: 637-667), the following set of verses starting with *agnihotramukhā yajñāḥ* is a formula which appears with variants not only in Buddhist texts, but also in the *Mahābhārata* (see also Meisig 1987: 377-378 n.5), the *Bhagavad-gītā*, and the Jaina *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra*. As Skilling suggests, the formula is not intended to express thanks to the donor, but “to reassure the donor, by affirming that the recipient of his or her gift is the best possible donee” (659). Skilling systematically examines various forms of the verses and identifies four main versions, among which “‘Version B’, in ten *pādas*, is by far the most common, represented by the Mūlasarvāstivādin versions, the Sarvāstivādin (*Madhyamāgama*, *Vinaya*) versions, the Chinese *Chī-chih kuo ching* (Taishō 22), the Kāśyapīyas according to the *Abhiniṣkramaṇasūtra* (Taishō 190). This suggests that there was a fairly coherent (Mūla)Sarvāstivādin transmission” (655-656). Moreover, as Skilling notes, the initial expression *tad dānam anayā abhy anumodanayābhy anumodate* as found here is “the stock phrase that introduces an *abhy anumodanā gāthā* in (Mūla)Sarvāstivādin texts” (643 n.3).

¹⁸⁴ MacQueen (1988: 102) translates *chandas* as “metre”. However, in commenting on two variants *sāvitrī* and *gāyatrī* found in different versions of the *pāda* in question, Skilling (2003: 656) says, “[I]n the context of the agnihotra verses the two terms were evidently considered interchangeable. This led to the conclusion that *chandas* must refer here to Vedic hymns, and not, as in some translations, metre.”

The king is the foremost of people.
The ocean is the foremost of rivers.¹⁸⁵

The moon is the foremost of stars.
The sun is the foremost of illuminators.

Above, across, and below,
as far as migrating beings migrate,

in the world together with gods,
the Fully Awakened One is the best among those to be
worshipped.¹⁸⁶

Then the Blessed One instructed, inspired, stimulated and delighted King Ajātaśatru of Magadha with a discourse on the Dharma. Having in manifold ways instructed, inspired, stimulated and delighted [the king] with a discourse on the Dharma, he arose from his seat and left.¹⁸⁷

Since King Ajātaśatru, son of Vaidehī, was established with rootless faith by the Blessed One¹⁸⁸, whenever he, standing on the roof of the palace or climbing on an elephant's body, saw the Blessed One, he loosened himself [i.e., lost his self-control, Skt. *tadātmānaṃ muñcati*]. When on one occasion while climbing on an elephant's body he saw the Blessed One, he thereupon loosed himself and was saved by the Blessed One through supernatural power.¹⁸⁹ Then he told a household servant¹⁹⁰, “Sir, know that from now on, as a disciple of the Blessed One I have gone for refuge to the Blessed One, [and that] from now on, the door is open to monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen who are disciples of the Blessed One, [but] closed to disciples of Devadatta.”

¹⁸⁵ These two lines are not translated in MacQueen (1988: 102).

¹⁸⁶ The word *ijyatām* appears problematic. Skilling (2003: 657) points out that according to “an analogy of other versions, *ijyatām* should be a genitive plural, but here it seems rather to be a passive imperative. The meaning would then be: ‘Let the Fully Awakened One be sacrificed to!’” MacQueen (1988: 103 n.180) suggests to take *ijyatām* as “a passive form with an active ending (= *ijyamānānām*) used metri causa” as is often the case in the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (BHS), §37.14. I temporarily follow MacQueen’s suggestion. The Tibetan counterpart to the last *pāda* reads *smra ba’i mchog ni rdzogs sangs rgyas* “The foremost of [those] speaking is the Fully Awakened One”. As Skilling notes, the Tibetan “*smra ba’i mchog* = *vadatām varah*, which agrees with the Lokottaravādin version” of the verses (641-2). In another occurrence of the verses in the *Saṅghabhedavastu* of the MSV, we find the same Tibetan translation, and Gnoli (1977-1978: ii. 29 n.3) also suggests *smra ba* referring to *vadatām*.

¹⁸⁷ This whole passage is a formula. As Edgerton (BHSD, 568, s.v. *samādāpyati*) indicates, this formula occurs with variants in many other texts (see below).

¹⁸⁸ As Dutt (1939-1959: iii. 4.225n.2) notes, the manuscript reads *amūlyakayā*. On this term, see below.

¹⁸⁹ The former part of this passage is translated into Japanese by Omaru (1986: 81-82).

¹⁹⁰ While here *pauruṣeyam antarjanam* is in singular, in the next sentence the vocative *bhavantaḥ* is in plural. Regarding the following verb *√jñā*, the Gilgit Manuscript gives the singular *jānīyāt*. Both Dutt (1939-1959: iii. 4. 226 n.3) and Gnoli (1977-1978: ii. 254 n.1) suggest a plural correction *jānīyuh*.

Even on one occasion when Devadatta was going to enter into King Ajātaśatru's house, he was stopped by the door-keeper: "Remain here. You cannot enter." "What is the reason?" "The Lord gave the command: 'From now on, as a disciple of the Blessed One I have gone for refuge to the Blessed One. From now on, the door is open to monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen who are disciples of the Blessed One, but closed to Devadatta, Devadatta's male disciples and female disciples.'" Having been stopped, he stood at the door. [At that time], the nun Utpalavarṇā, having taken her almsbowl, left for the royal palace...¹⁹¹¹⁹²

The text goes on to tell us that Devadatta, considering the prevention of his entry an intrigue plotted by Utpalavarṇā and Ajātaśatru's house servants, blames and strikes Utpalavarṇā. With a broken head, Utpalavarṇā returns to the nunnery and shortly passes away into *parinirvāṇa*. In this way, through killing the *arhatī* Utpalavarṇā, Devadatta commits a third *ānantarya* crime.¹⁹³ Since in the present context Devadatta commits the killing out of anger over the prevention of his entry and this is ordered by Ajātaśatru after his taking refuge in the Buddha, Devadatta's third crime is therefore ultimately triggered by Ajātaśatru's change of attitude towards him.

The MSV version of the SPS, compared with the Pāli version, gives a more extended account of Ajātaśatru's acts after listening to the Buddha's discourse. This account, except the final two passages, is constituted by a series of formulas which also appear in other Buddhist texts. The chart below provides an overview of the composition of this account in comparison with its counterpart in the Pāli version. It also indicates the formulas used therein, which, in many (though not all) cases, are characteristic of texts from the Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda traditions.

¹⁹¹ The last two passages have a counterpart in Yijing's version (T.1450.147c6-25).

¹⁹² The Sanskrit is found in Dutt (1939-1959: iii. 4. 222, 18-226,13) and Gnoli (1977-1978: ii. 251.19-254.12). See Appendix I, Textual Material 8. The corresponding Tibetan appears at the Derge Kanjur 1, 'dul ba, nga 284b2-286b1 and the sTog Kanjur 1, 'dul ba, nga 392a5-395b5.

¹⁹³ For different versions of this story, see Lamotte (1944-1980: ii. 875-876).

Table 2.1: A Comparison of Ajātaśatru's Acts after the Buddha's Discourse in the Pāli DN and the MSV Versions of the SPS

The Pāli DN Version	The MSV Versions (Sanskrit and Tibetan)	
Ajātasattu's praise of the discourse	—	
Ajātasattu's taking refuge	—	
Ajātasattu's confession and the Buddha's response [without mention of <i>pāpamitra</i>]	Ajātaśatru's confession and the Buddha's response [with mention of <i>pāpamitra</i>]	Formula One (e.g. Divy 617.17-618.2 [Prakṛti Bhikṣuṇī]; MSV iii.1.43,1-9 [King Agnidatta]; LV 379.6-14 [Māra's daughters] ¹⁹⁴)
—	Ajātaśatru's invitation and the Buddha's consent by silence	Formula Two (e.g. Divy 85.6-9 [King Prasenajit]; MSV iii.1.43, 17-44.4 [King Agnidatta]; MPS ii.150-152. §6.5-6.6 [Varṣakāra])
Ajātasattu's hasty departure	Ajātaśatru's departure (in no hurry)	
The Buddha's comment on Ajātasattu's spiritual failure	The Buddha's comment on Ajātaśatru's spiritual failure	
—	The Buddha's instruction to the monks	Formula Three (e.g. Divy 197. 24-27 [Buddha to Upālī]); quoted almost verbatim in Śikṣ 149. 3-4)
—	Ajātaśatru's preparation of a meal and his service to the Buddha and the monks during the meal	Formula Four (e.g. Divy 85.9-28 [King Prasenajit]; MSV iii.1.44, 10-45.10 [King Agnidatta]; MPS ii.152-154. §6.7-6.9 [Varṣakāra])
—	The Buddha's applause for the meal with <i>agnihotramukhā yajñāḥ</i> verses	Formula Five (cf. Yajima 1997 [pp. 57-58], Skilling 2003)
—	The Buddha's use of a discourse on the Dharma to instruct, inspire, stimulate and delight Ajātaśatru (... <i>dharmayā kathayā saṃdarśayati samādāpayati samuttejayati saṃpraharṣayati</i>)	Formula Six (e.g. Pāli DN ii. 42.7-10 [Vipassī Buddha to Khaṇḍa and Tissa]; Divy 80.17-20 [Anāthapiṇḍada], 84.30-85.3 [Prasenajit]; MSV (Gnoli's edition) ii. 29.20-22 [Kāśyapa Buddha to King Kṛkin]; Mv. i. 309.1-3 [Kāśyapa Buddha to Girl Mālīnī])
—	Ajātaśatru's loss of self-control on seeing the Buddha, and his prescription of a prohibition barring	

¹⁹⁴ The version of the formula in the LV is less similar, for there is a *gāthā* following the confession.

	Devadatta and his disciple from entering the palace	
—	Devadatta's failure to enter the palace and his killing of Utpalavarṇā	

As shown in the chart above, there are several notable differences between the MSV version and the Pāli version of this part of the SPS:

First, one may note that the MSV version does not mention Ajātaśatru's public announcement of taking refuge, though his ensuing act of inviting the Buddha and the monks for a meal does suggest his lay discipleship. MacQueen points out that of all the extant versions of the SPS only the MSV version lacks this detail. He says, "[i]t is peculiar that it should be missing here" given that "[i]t is a formal act whereby the king acknowledges his support of the Buddha and goes over to his party".¹⁹⁵ Strictly speaking, the detail of taking refuge is not really missing in the MSV. While it is not mentioned in the proper MSV version of the SPS (i.e., the part that corresponds to the other canonical versions of the SPS), it nevertheless appears in a different form in the following passages linked to the story of Devadatta's killing of Utpalavarṇā. There, in issuing an order that prohibits Devadatta and his disciples from entering the palace, Ajātaśatru tells his servant, "From today onwards, as a disciple of the Blessed One, I have gone to the Blessed One for refuge" (*adyāgreṇāhaṃ bhagavataḥ śrāvako bhagavantam śaraṇam gataḥ*). This statement, along with the order, is later repeated by the door-keeper to Devadatta who then becomes irritated and vents his anger on Utpalavarṇā. It is possible that the compilers of the MSV deliberately placed Ajātaśatru's announcement of taking refuge at the interface of the two stories, so as to highlight Ajātaśatru's change of attitude towards Devadatta and, thereby, to set up a

¹⁹⁵ MacQueen 1988: 187.

background for the following story of his killing of Utpalavarṇā.¹⁹⁶

Equally noteworthy is Ajātaśatru's reference to Devadatta in his confession, for as he says, "...in association with an evil friend (*pāpamitra*), under the power of an evil friend, embraced by an evil friend, I deprived my father, a righteous man and righteous king, of his life".¹⁹⁷ Here, the "evil friend" apparently refers to Devadatta. It is significant that of all the extant versions of the SPS only the MSV version mentions Devadatta in Ajātaśatru's confession, which unambiguously signifies an attempt of its compilers to adapt the SPS into the legend of the schism.¹⁹⁸

Besides the mentioning of Devadatta, there is another detail which also suggests the intent of the compilers to relate the SPS to the theme of schism. It is clear that in the MSV version the Buddha's comment after Ajātaśatru's departure is different from that found in the Pāli version. Here, the Buddha once again repeats what Ajātaśatru says in his confession and, moreover, emphasizes that due to his patricide Ajātaśatru has lost the capacity for even basic spiritual growth. While in the present version basic growth is interpreted as the penetration of the Four Noble Truths instead of the acquisition of the Dhamma-eye as in the Pāli version, it is nevertheless clear that in both cases the purpose is the same, that is, to suggest Ajātaśatru's utter failure to make spiritual progress as a result of his crime. What appears even more striking are the words the Buddha says next. According to our text, having commented on Ajātaśatru's spiritual status, the Buddha warns the monks: "Therefore, Monks,

¹⁹⁶ The same cannot be said about Yijing's Chinese version which ends abruptly at a point before the Buddha's sermon. It is impossible to know whether the Indian original used by Yijing had the detail of Ajātaśatru's taking refuge after the sermon. Although, like the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions, Yijing's version also mentions Ajātaśatru's statement of taking refuge to his household servants, this statement along with the following story of Devadatta's killing of Utpalavarṇā appears in the middle of Yijing's version, totally different from the SPS (see discussion above).

¹⁹⁷ Gnoli 1977-1978: ii. 251.23-25.

¹⁹⁸ A collation of accounts from the extant versions of the SPS regarding Ajātaśatru's repentance and confession is given in Meisig (1987: 360-361).

learn this: we shall not become angry even at [an inanimate object like] a burning pillar, much less at a living person! Monks, this is to be learnt”.¹⁹⁹

While this warning is not found in any other versions of the SPS, it occurs almost in the same form in the fifteenth Chapter of the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Anyatama-bhikṣvavadāna*, “Story of a Certain Monk”. According to that story, one evening the Buddha sees a monk prostrating at a “hair-and-nail *stūpa*” (*keśanakhastūpa*)²⁰⁰, recollecting the nine qualities of the Buddha. Seeing this, the Buddha tells the monks that this monk will enjoy “*cakravartin* kingship” (*cakravartirājya*) as many times as the sands filling the ground walked by him and the gold-orb (*kāñcaracakra*) eight thousand *yojanas* beneath the earth.²⁰¹ Then, the Venerable Upāli asks the Buddha:

“The Blessed One said that this monk has such a multitude of merit (*iyatpuṇyaskandha*). How, Venerable One, will such a multitude of merit go to diminution (*tanutvam*), reduction (*parikṣayam*) and exhaustion (*paryādānam*)?”²⁰²

The Buddha replied,

“Upāli, I do not see any decay or loss, except in the case that a fellow monk (*sabrahmacārī*) [conceives a hostile mind (*duṣṭacittam utpādayati*)]

¹⁹⁹ Dutt 1939-1959: iii. 4. 224, 8-10; Gnoli 1977-1978: ii. 252. 24-27: *tasmāt tarhi bhikṣava evaṃ śikṣitavyam <yad> dagdhassthūṇāyām api cittam na pradūṣayiṣyāmaḥ prāg eva savijñānake kāye; ity evaṃ vo bhikṣavaḥ śikṣitavyam.*

²⁰⁰ On this type of *stūpa*, see Bareau (1962 [261-263], 1963 [106-123]), La Vallée Poussin (1937: 285-287) and Schopen (1997 [1991]: 196 n.34).

²⁰¹ Cowell and Neil 1886: 197.7-9: *anena bhikṣuṇā yāvatī bhūmir ākrāntā adho 'ṣṭīyojanasahasrāṇi yāvat kāñcanacakram ity atrāntarā yāvatyo vālukās tāvanty anena bhikṣuṇā cakravartirājasahasrāṇi paribhoktavyāni. On kāñcaracakra, see BHSD, 176a, s.v.*

²⁰² Cowell and Neil 1886: 197. 19-21: *yad uktaṃ bhagavatā asya bhikṣor iyatpuṇyaskandha iti kutra bhadanta iyatpuṇyaskandhas tanutvam parikṣayam paryādānam gamiṣyati.* I have no access to Hiraoka Satoshi's Japanese translation of this story. In Śāntideva's quotation of this story (see below), Upāli mentioned “roots of goodness” (*kuśalamūlāni*) instead of “multitude of merit” (*puṇyaskandha*) in his question (Bendall 1897-1902: 148.17-18: *yad uktaṃ bhagavatāsyā bhikṣor evaṃ mahānti kuśalamūlāni | kutra imāni bhagavan kuśalamūlāni tanutvam parikṣayam paryādānam gacchanti* “The Blessed One said that this monk has such great roots of goodness. Blessed One, how do these roots of goodness go to diminution, reduction and exhaustion?”

towards his fellow monk (*sabrahmacāriṇo 'ntike*)²⁰³, then, Upāli, the great roots of goodness (*kuśalamūlāni*) will go to diminution, reduction and exhaustion.²⁰⁴ Therefore, in that case, Upāli, this is to be learnt: we shall not become angry even at a heated pillar, much less at a living being with consciousness.”²⁰⁵

In this story, the Buddha gives the warning in order to instruct the monks not to conceive “hostile thought” (*duṣṭacitta*) towards their fellow monks. It is striking that here the warning is also related to disharmony within the monastic community, though not particularly to schism. In his note on this story, La Vallée Poussin suggests that the story addresses the “superabundant merit of the cult of these [hair-and-nail] *stūpas*” and “how the merit is annihilated by a thought of animosity”. He renders the Buddha’s instruction as follows: “Upāli, we should not be angry even against a pole on fire, much less against a living person.”²⁰⁶ Moreover, as La Vallée Poussin points out, one part of the story (including Upāli’s question and the Buddha’s answer) is quoted by Śāntideva in his *Śikṣāsamuccaya* and in turn repeated by Prajñākaramati in his

²⁰³ Cowell and Neil 1886: 197. 22. *yathā sabrahmacārī sabrahmacāriṇo 'ntike*. As La Vallée Poussin observes (1937: 286), this sentence is incomplete, for it omits three words *duṣṭacittam utpādayati* “conceives an evil mind” which appear in Śāntideva’s quotation.

²⁰⁴ Note that the phrase *imāni mahānti kuśalamūlāni* “the great roots of goodness” is inconsistent with *iyatpunyaskandha* “such a mass of merits” in the foregoing question of Upāli. Here, Cowell and Neil’s edition of the *Divyāvadāna* seems to amalgamate two different versions of the story, which separately mentioned *kuśalamūlāni* and *punyaskandha* at the places in question. Śāntideva’s quotation also reads *imāni mahānti kuśalamūlāni* here, which is consistent with Upāli’s question (see above n.202).

²⁰⁵ Cowell and Neil 1886: 197.21-26: *nāham Upālinn ito vahih samanupaśyāmy eva kṣatiṃ ca upahatiṃ ca yathā sabrahmacārī sabrahmacāriṇo 'ntike | tatra Upālinn imāni mahānti kuśalamūlāni tanutvaṃ parikṣayaṃ paryādānaṃ gacchanti | tasmāt tarhi te Upālinn evaṃ śikṣitavyam, yad dagdhassthūṇāyā api cittaṃ na pradūṣayiṣyāmaḥ prāg eva savijñānake kāye ||* The form *dagdhassthūṇāyā* seems to be a corruption of *dagdhassthūṇāyām* as given in Dutt’s and Gnoli’s editions of the Gilgit manuscript of the *Saṅghabhedavastu*.

²⁰⁶ La Vallée Poussin 1937: 286. Most confusing to me is the case usage in the phrase *prāg eva savijñānake kāye*. As Edgerton (BHSD, 380, s.v. *pradūṣayati*) notes, the locative *savijñānake kāye* appears to be unusual. Prof. Silk pointed out to me, “if absolutely forced, one might take °e as a Middle Indic accusative, but also it is far from impossible that *anusvāra* was misread as a vowel sign (*mutatis mutandis*, obviously not in *nāgarī*)” (personal communication, 6th July 2012). In my translations of both the present sentence and its parallel in the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, I have followed La Vallée Poussin’s interpretation. It is also noteworthy that Bendall (1897-1902: 149 n.1) translates the same sentence in Śāntideva’s quotation as “even when [one is distraught] on the heated pillar, much less when the body has all its powers of perception”. He construes *savijñānake kāye* not in the sense of “towards a conscious body”, but as a locative-absolute-like construction, meaning “when the body has consciousness”.

commentary on Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra*.²⁰⁷ In his *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, Śāntideva places the quotation besides passages taken from other Buddhist texts which also address the negative effect of animosity leading to the destruction of merit.²⁰⁸ In introducing the quotation in question Śāntideva says, "it is told [in a text] of the noble Sarvāstivādins" (*āryasarvāstivādānāṃ ca paṭhyate*), but without naming the text.²⁰⁹ It is not clear whether the MSV or the *Divyāvadāna* (or some other text) is referred to here.²¹⁰ Although it has long been observed that of the total thirty-eight stories in the *Divyāvadāna* there are at least twenty-one extracted from the MSV, no parallel to the *Anyatamabhikṣvavadāna* has so far been identified in the MSV.²¹¹

It is likely that the Buddha's warning in the MSV version of the SPS mentioned above was imported from another context related, directly or indirectly, to the source on which the *Anyatamabhikṣvavadāna* was based. In its original context, the warning may have been used to dissuade monks from holding any animosity

²⁰⁷ La Vallée Poussin 1937: 286. The quotations may be found separately in Bendall (1897-1902: 148.13-149.4; translated in Bendall and Rouse 1922: 147-148) and La Vallée Poussin (1904-1914: 168.3-169.2; *Bodhicaryāvatāra* ad VI, 1). See also Schopen (1997 [1991]) and Hiraoka (1998: 431). In the extant eleventh-century Chinese translation (T. 1636) of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, a counterpart to the quotation may be found at 104b12-23.

²⁰⁸ The passage preceding the quotation of our story is from the *Ratnakūṭa* [= *Kāśyapa-parivarta*], which concerns four things causing the reduction of "roots of goodness" of a *bodhisattva*, one of which is "hatred towards and slander of [another] *bodhisattva*" (*bodhisattvavidveṣābhyaṅgyāna*); the passage following the quotation is from the *Mañjuśrīvikrīḍitasūtra*, which addresses the effect of "aversion" (*pratigha*) in destroying the "root of goodness". See Bendall (1897-1902: 148.8-149.6), translated in Bendall and Rouse (1922: 147-148).

²⁰⁹ Bendall 1897-1902: 148.13. In his footnote on *āryasarvāstivādānāṃ*, Bendall suggests the reading °vādināṃ on the basis of the Tibetan translation. However, as Silk points out, "[t]he MS of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* 73b2 reads *āryasarvāstivādānāṃ ca paṭhyate*. There is no reason this should be objectionable" (see Hiraoka 1998: 434 n.46).

²¹⁰ Edgerton says the unnamed work referred to here is "doubtless MSV, tho not found there in i-iii [vols of Dutt's edition]" (BHSD, 176a, s.v. *kāñcana-cakra*). While this is probable, one cannot completely rule out the possibility of the *Divyāvadāna* or some other text (see Hiraoka 1998: 431).

²¹¹ For a list of the twenty-one shared stories, see Lévi (1907: 107-109); see also a list of seventeen in Huber (1906: 2-3). Both Huber and Lévi suggest that those stories were taken from the MSV by the compiler(s) of the *Divyāvadāna*, not vice versa. Recently, this suggestion has been further supported by Hiraoka (1998) who presents some very convincing evidence in this regard.

towards their fellow monks. It seems to have been inserted into the present context in the following way. The Buddha gives the warning immediately after his comment on Ajātaśatru's spiritual failure due to his patricide at the instigation of Devadatta. Through making use of the extreme negative example of Ajātaśatru, the Buddha demonstrates to the monks the severe consequence of being misled by Devadatta and thereby urges them to avoid antagonism, so as to maintain the harmony of the monastic community. The warning, therefore, may reflect a double function of the SPS in the Devadatta legend of the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, in that it not only serves as a polemical device marking the downfall of Devadatta, but also as a pedagogical device used by the Buddha to instruct the monks to be wary of antagonism, precisely through the negative example of the utter spiritual ruination of Ajātaśatru.

Yet another notable difference between the MSV and the Pāli versions of the SPS lies in Ajātaśatru's offering of a meal to the Buddha and his assembly. Here, several episodes are related, including Ajātaśatru's invitation, his preparation of food, his serving the Buddha and the monks during the meal, and the Buddha's applause for the meal with the *agnihotramukhā yajñāḥ* verses. While none of those episodes are told in the Pāli version, some or all of them appear in the three Chinese versions to be discussed, and are therefore not unique to the MSV version. In fact, what does characterize the MSV version are those events taking place after the meal, presented at the interface between the SPS and the story of Devadatta's killing of Utpalavarṇā. These "peripheral" events have usually not been seen as a part of the MSV version of the SPS, given the lack of parallels in the other versions. However, as I have argued above regarding the change of form and location of Ajātaśatru's announcement of taking refuge in the MSV version, these "peripheral" events need to be taken into account when we consider how the SPS is fitted into the legend of the schism and how it is connected with another part of the legend (i.e., the story of Devadatta and

Utpalavarṇā).

It is also at this connective point between the two stories that an important notion related to Ajātaśatru is introduced, i.e., the notion of “rootless faith” (Skt. **amūlakā/amūlikā śraddhā*, Tib. *rtsa ba/gzhi med pa'i dad pa*, Chin. *wugen-xin* 無根信). According to the text, since Ajātaśatru gains rootless faith in the Buddha, every time he sees the Buddha he is overwhelmed by his faith and immediately loses his self-control. Omaru Shinji contends that here the mentioning of “rootless faith” is unexpected because this notion does not appear in the earlier part of the MSV version of the SPS.²¹² However, if we construe “rootless faith” in the sense of the faith gained by Ajātaśatru despite his extirpation of roots of goodness that constitute the basis for spiritual progress, this notion is indeed implied—though not explicitly stated—in the earlier part of the text, given the Buddha’s comment on Ajātaśatru’s failure to penetrate the Four Noble Truths. Moreover, there is also a problem regarding the Sanskrit term used in the Gilgit Manuscript of the *Saṅghabhedavastu* at the place in question:

In the edition of the Sanskrit manuscript published by Nalinaksha Dutt, we find: *yadā bhagavatā rājā ajātaśatrur vaidehīputro 'mūlakayā śraddhayā pratiṣṭhāpitah...*, “Since King Ajātaśatru, son of Vaidehī, was established with rootless faith by the Blessed One...”²¹³ In his note on *amūlakayā*, “rootless”, used here, Dutt indicates that the manuscript originally reads *amūlyakayā*, “priceless”, and that *amūlakayā* is a emendation based on the corresponding Tibetan *gzhi med pa'i dad pa la bzhag pa*, “to be established in rootless faith”.²¹⁴ In his revised edition of the

²¹² Omaru (1986: 82): “In the *Saṅghabheda-vastu*, before this place the ‘Sūtra on the Fruits of the Ascetic Life’ in almost the same form as the Pāli *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* is presented, but there *amūlakā śraddhā* does not appear. Therefore, it seems somehow abrupt that in this passage *amūlakā śraddhā* is mentioned like a stock phrase.”

²¹³ Dutt 1939-1959: iii. 4. 225, 16-17.

²¹⁴ The Tibetan reads (Derge, *nga* 286a3; sTog, *nga* 394b3): *gang gi tshe bcom ldan 'das kyis*

manuscript, also based on the Tibetan, Gnoli suggests *amūlikayā* which, as Omaru points out, is a synonymous variant of Dutt's *amūlakayā*.²¹⁵ In contrast, Edgerton insists on the original reading *amūlyakayā*, “priceless”, and contends that the correction *amūlakayā* “gives an impossible mg. [= meaning]”.²¹⁶ Edgerton seems to understand *amūlaka* in the sense of “groundless (therefore, false)” for, as he mentions, in the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Sarvāstivādins and some *vastus* of the MSV, *amūlaka* almost always refers to a false accusation, or an invalid reason.²¹⁷ So the question arises: what kind of faith does the manuscript attribute to Ajātaśatru here, “rootless faith” or “priceless faith”?

So far as I know, neither *amūlyakā śraddhā*, “priceless faith”, nor any other synonymous phrase is attested in Buddhist sources related to Ajātaśatru. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that in the Chinese counterpart of the afore-mentioned Sanskrit sentence found in Yijing's translation, the term *wugen-xin*, “rootless faith”, appears:²¹⁸

At that time, after the World-Honoured One extensively expounded to Ajātaśatru the essentials of the Dharma, which caused the rootless faith to arise [in him] ...

lus 'phags ma'i bu ma ga dhā'i rgyal po ma skyes dgra gzhi med pa'i dad pa la bzhaḡ pa... “When King Ajātaśatru of Magadha, son of Vaidehī, was established in the faith without foundation by the Blessed One...” On Tib. *gzhi* as a rendition of Skt. *mūla* (and, therefore, a synonym of Tib. *rtsa ba*), see TSD, 2042b, s.v.

²¹⁵ Gnoli 1977-1978: ii. 253.26; Omaru 1986: 91n.22.

²¹⁶ BHSD, 64a, s.v. *amūlyaka*.

²¹⁷ BHSD, 63b, s.v. “a-mūlaka, f. °ikā..., groundless, baseless (of an accusation)”. *Prātimokṣasūtra*, V. *Pāṭayantikā* 69 (Finot 1913: 519.7-8): [*yaḥ punar bhikṣur bhikṣu*] (...) *m amūlakena saṃghāvaśeṣeṇa dharmenānudhvaṃsayet pāṭayantikā* “If a monk falsely accuses another monk of a groundless *saṃghāvaśeṣa* offence, he commits *pāṭayantika* offence”; I have no access to v. Simson's edition; the online version http://fiindolo.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskr/4_rellit/buddh/prmosu_u.htm, gives almost the same reading: *yaḥ punar bhikṣur bhikṣum amūlakena saṃghāvaśeṣeṇa dharmenā anudhvaṃsayet pāṭayantikā* 69; *Poṣadhassthāpanavastu* (Dutt 1939-1959: iii. 3.109.19): *amūlakena kṛtena poṣadham sthāpayati adhārmikam poṣadhassthāpanam* “Due to a groundless matter one suspends the *poṣadha* ceremony. The suspension of *poṣadha* is invalid.”

²¹⁸ T. 1450.147c6. 爾時，世尊既其爲彼末生怨王廣說法要，令無根信得生起已。

Yijing also used this term in his translation of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the MSV in reference to Ajātaśatru. There, we find the following sentence:

At that time, the Blessed One thought, “This prince Ajātaśatru has done innumerable crimes. I shall make him be established in the rootless faith...”²¹⁹

The Chinese *wugen-xin*, once again, corresponds to *gzhi med pa'i dad pa*, “rootless faith”, in the Tibetan parallel.²²⁰ While the unavailability of a Sanskrit version of this portion of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* makes it impossible to ascertain what Sanskrit word may have been used in this place, the repeated correspondence between Chin. *wugen-xin* and Tib. *gzhi med pa'i dad pa* may suggest a higher possibility of **amūlakā/* **amūlikā śraddhā*, “rootless faith”, than *amūlyakā śraddhā*, “priceless faith”, as the term used in the Gilgit manuscript of the *Saṅghabhedavastu* referring to Ajātaśatru.

In sum, four distinctive features of the MSV version of the SPS may be discerned through a comparison with the Pāli and other versions: The first is the lack of mention of Ajātaśatru’s taking refuge after the Buddha’s sermon. As I have argued, this detail may not really be missing, but appears in a different form at the interface between the SPS and the story of Devadatta’s killing of Utpalavarṇā. This arrangement may have been made by the compilers of the MSV to highlight Ajātaśatru’s change of

²¹⁹ T. 1448. 19c14. 爾時，世尊即作是念：“此未生怨太子作無量罪。我當令此住無根信。” In that text, the notion of “rootless faith” is related to a totally different story of the salvation of Ajātaśatru. For more details, see below Chapter Three.

²²⁰ Derge Kanjur 1, 'dul ba, kha 13b3; sTog Kanjur 1, 'dul ba, ka 454b2: *bcom ldan 'das kyi dgongs pa | gzhon nu ma skyes dgra 'di bsod nams ma yin pa mang du sogs* [S: *bsags*] *kyis* [S: +] *ngas 'di gzhi med pa'i dad pa la gzhas* [S: *bzhag*] *tu re zhig*... “The Blessed One thought, ‘This prince Ajātaśatru has done many unmeritorious deeds, he should be established in the rootless faith (by me)...’” Note that in the Tibetan translation of the *Kṣudrakavastu* of the MSV the variant *rtsa ba med pa'i dad pa*, “rootless faith”, appears, which also refers to Ajātaśatru’s faith: Derge 6, 'dul ba, da 290b7; sTog 6, 'dul ba, tha 427b4: *'di ltar lus 'phags ma'i bu rgyal po ma skyes dgra rtsa ba med pa'i dad pa dang ldan pa des bcom ldan 'das yongs su mya ngan las 'das pa de thos par gyur na*... “Thus, if Vaidehī’s son, King Ajātaśatru who is endowed with rootless faith hears that the Blessed One has passed away into *parinirvāṇa*... Here, *rtsa ba med pa'i dad pa dang ldan pa*, “endowed with rootless faith”, matches 信根初發, “[Ajātaśatru] has just given birth to the faculty [or, root?] of faith”, in Yijing’s Chinese translation of the *Kṣudrakavastu* (T.1451.399b21).

attitude towards Devadatta and to set up a background for the story of Devadatta and Utpalavarṇā. The second distinctive feature is Ajātaśatru's reference to Devadatta in his confession. This detail is not found in any other versions of the SPS, which evidently shows the intent of the compilers to adapt the SPS into the legend of the schism. The third distinctive feature lies in the Buddha's comment after Ajātaśatru's departure, where the Buddha points out Ajātaśatru's failure to penetrate the Four Noble Truths and uses his failure as a negative example to instruct the monks to refrain from antagonism. The warning may have been imported from another context related, directly or indirectly, to the source on which the *Anyatamabhikṣavavadāna* of the *Divyāvadāna* was based. In the present context, this seems to suggest another attempt of the compilers of the MSV to locate the SPS within the legend of the schism through using Ajātaśatru's spiritual ruination as a pedagogical device to instruct the monks. The fourth distinctive feature of the MSV version of the SPS is its connection with the story of Devadatta's killing of Utpalavarṇā which is told immediately afterwards in the MSV. The SPS provides a background for that story and shows that the killing is triggered by Ajātaśatru's withdrawal of support for Devadatta after his acquisition of "rootless faith" in the Buddha. As we can see, all the four features are related, in one way or another, to the theme of schism to which the *Saṅghabhedavastu* is particularly devoted.

In the next section, I will turn to another version of the SPS preserved in an independent Chinese translation titled *Jizhiguo-jing* 寂志果經 (T. 22), "Sūtra on the Fruits of Being a Tranquil-minded One (**Samāṇa*)". This version bears some notable resemblance to the MSV version, insofar as it also presents Ajātaśatru's offering a meal to the *saṅgha* and the Buddha's applause for the meal with the same verses. However, unlike the Pāli and the MSV versions, T.22 tells us that Ajātaśatru's crime

of patricide is diminished during his visit to the Buddha, and that he achieves a series of spiritual attainments while listening to the Buddha's sermon.

2.6 The Chinese *Jizhiguo-jing* (T. 22)

Before entering into a discussion of the contents of the *Jizhiguo-jing*, I would like to consider some basic issues regarding its translator and title:

The *Jizhiguo-jing* is traditionally regarded as one of the translations produced by the *śramaṇa* Zhu Tanwulan 竺曇無蘭 (Dharmaratna?) in the late fourth century CE. However, this ascription is not without problem. In the oldest extant catalogue of Chinese Buddhist translations completed by Sengyou 僧祐 around 515 CE, i.e., the *Chu-sanzang-jiji* 出三藏記集, the *Jizhiguo-jing* is listed among the anonymous scriptures.²²¹ The present attribution to Zhu Tanwulan appears first in the *Lidai-sanbao-ji* 歷代三寶紀 compiled by Fei Changfang 費長房 in 597 CE, a catalogue whose credibility is highly questionable.²²² Given the unreliability of its source, the traditional ascription of the *Jizhiguo-jing* may not be as authentic as it appears.

Further, as Meisig observes, some Chinese transliterations in the *Jizhiguo-jing* indicate that the Indian original of this text “was not written in pure Sanskrit, but rather carried Prakritic features”.²²³ The Prakritic feature can also be discerned from the title of the *Jizhiguo-jing*. As Meisig and MacQueen both point out, the Chinese term *jizhi* 寂志, “tranquil-minded”, used in the title is apparently based on a traditional

²²¹ In Sengyou's catalogue, the *Jizhiguo-jing* is listed in the section called *xinji-xuzhuan-shiyi-zajing-lu* 新集續撰失譯雜經錄, “Catalogue of a New Collection of Miscellaneous Anonymous Subsequently Composed Scriptures” (T.2145.21b17.28c7).

²²² T. 2034.69c5.70b18. For studies on the unreliability of Fei's catalogue, see Nattier (2008: 14-15).

²²³ Meisig 1988:19-2.

etymological interpretation of *śramaṇa* and its adjective *śrāmaṇya* as deriving from $\sqrt{\text{śam}}$, “to become calm”, instead from $\sqrt{\text{śram}}$, “to exert oneself”.²²⁴ Such an interpretation could only have been made based on a Prakrit original where the two verbal roots would have shared the same form (for instance, Pāli $\sqrt{\text{sam}}$). Both scholars suggest *samaṇa*, i.e., the Pāli form of Skt. *śramaṇa*, as the underlying Indic original of Chin. *jizhi*. This suggestion is reasonable especially given that, as Nattier notes in another context, the derivation of *samaṇa* from $\sqrt{\text{śam}}$, “to become quiet”, is indeed known to Pāli sources.²²⁵ For instance, the *Dhammapada* verse 265 says: *yo ca sameti pāpāni aṇuṃthūlāni sabbaso | samitattā hi pāpānaṃ samaṇo ti pavuccati*, “But he who quietens evils, small or large, in every way, because of the quieting of evils is called an ascetic”.²²⁶ Here, *samaṇa* means “one who quiets [others]”. This etymology of *samaṇa* is also often mentioned in Pāli commentarial literature.²²⁷

It is also noteworthy that in the Chinese *jizhi* 寂志, the word *zhi* 志, “mind”, appears to have been translated from the verb $\sqrt{\text{man}}$, “to think”. That is to say, if Pkt. *samaṇa* was indeed the underlying Indian form of Chin. *jizhi* 寂志, “tranquil-minded”,

²²⁴ Meisig 1987: 21; MacQueen 1988: 241.

²²⁵ Nattier 2003: 286 n.514. There, Nattier deals with a similar term *xixin* 息心, “one whose heart is calmed”, used in An Xuan and Yan Fotiao’s Chinese translation of the *Ugraparipṛcchā* (T. 322). As she shows, the term *xixin* is based on the same etymological interpretation as the term *jizhi* discussed here.

²²⁶ The Pāli is found in v. Hinüber and K. R. Norman (1995: 74); here I follow the English translation in K. R. Norman (1997: 39).

²²⁷ The *Dhammapada* Commentary says (H. C. Norman 1906-1914: iii.84.1-2): *samitapāpattā samano ti*, “because of quieting the evil one is called an ascetic”; see also Buddhaghosa’s commentaries on the DN (Rhys Davids and Carpenter 1886: 246. 21), on the MN (Woods and Kosambi 1928: 314. 26-7, 327. 24-5), on the AN (Walleiser and Kopp 1924-1957: ii. 286.12), on the *Udāna* (Woodward 1926: 195.13-14, 378.6), etc. In comparison, the verbs $\sqrt{\text{śam}}$, “to become quiet”, and $\sqrt{\text{śram}}$, “to exert oneself”, would not necessarily be synonyms in Gāndhārī. In the Gāndhārī *Dharmapada* the corresponding verse (§189) reads (Brough 1962: 149): ...*va pavaṇi ta viṇu śramaṇa vīdu śamadhare va pa[va]ṇi śramaṇo di pravucadi*. Brough comments: “We may imagine that the learned form *śramaṇa* is used here in an attempt to make the quasi-etymology from *śam*- appear less harsh. Elsewhere in the manuscript the regularly developed form *śamaṇa* is used” (ibid.: 240). While in Gāndhārī the same form $\sqrt{\text{śam}}$, “to become quiet”, is used as in Sanskrit, the regular Gāndhārī equivalent to Skt. $\sqrt{\text{śram}}$, “to exert oneself”, is $\sqrt{\text{śam}}$ (that is, *śr* > *ṣ*), different from $\sqrt{\text{śam}}$.

it may have been taken as derived from \sqrt{sam} (“to be tranquil”) + \sqrt{man} (“to think”) during the translation. This derivation clearly reflects the *nirvacana* tradition of Indian semantic analysis.²²⁸ Strictly speaking, the term *jizhi* in the title *Jizhiguo-jing* could not have been directly translated from *samaṇa*, but from its derivative corresponding to Pāli *sāmañña*, “*samaṇa*-hood”, and Skt. *śrāmaṇya*, “*śramaṇa*-hood”, given that the Indian original of this title is supposed to have been an equivalent to the Pāli *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* and the Sanskrit *Śrāmaṇyaphala-sūtra*.

The interpretation of *samaṇa* and its adjective as etymologically derived from $\sqrt{śam}$, “to become quiet”, rather than $\sqrt{śram}$, “to exert oneself”, is by no means only a matter of semantics. In fact, as MacQueen observes, this interpretation fits well with the overall emphasis of T. 22 on the theme of mental peace, which indicates that “[t]he transmitters of the text... seem to have used the flexibility of the Prakrit medium rather consciously to effect the desired changes in emphasis”²²⁹. The theme of mental peace is highlighted from the very beginning of T. 22, where Ajātaśatru’s lack of inner peace before his visit to the Buddha is made explicit. He is shown as urgently desiring relief from anxiety and fear, both of which are supposed to have been aroused by the immediate retribution of descent into hell that lies in store for him. Considering that this illustration of Ajātaśatru’s lack of inner peace is not seen in the Pāli or MSV versions of the SPS, it is necessary to introduce it here.²³⁰ The text reads:

[I] have heard this. At one time, the Buddha was sojourning in the city of Rājagṛha, at the mango grove of Jīvaka, together with an assembly of twelve hundred and fifty *bhikṣus*. At that time, King Ajātaśatru, on the

²²⁸ On *nirvacana*-analysis tradition, see Deeg 1995; for a discussion of relevant examples in Chinese Buddhist translations, see Deeg 2010.

²²⁹ MacQueen 1988: 242.

²³⁰ Full translations of T.22 may be found in Meisig (1987: 86-379 [indicated with the siglum “E”]) and MacQueen (1988: 51-71). One part of T.22 which relates to doctrines of the six heretics is also translated by Nanjio Bunyiu in Rockhill (1884: 255-9).

fifteenth day of the seventh month (i.e., the day of *pravāraṇā*), was celebrating the new [religious] year (i.e., the first day after the rainy season), together with many ministers and hundreds of officials, and surrounded by his retinue. [As everyone was] in utmost tranquility, he quietly looked around and addressed his ministers, “Sirs, you should know: [while] I am doing [the celebration] in this way, my unseasonable anxiety does not change. Though we have this new year [festival], it does not reduce my distress. Through what means can I dispel this fear?”

One of the ministers said to the king, “You shall dispel your anxiety through the five pleasures.” One of the ministers said, “You shall engage yourself in playing music and singing with famous performers and beautiful female singers, [whereby] your anxiety could be healed.” One of the ministers said to the king, “You shall dispel your distress with four kinds of brave and courageous troops [comprising] elephants, cavalry, chariots and infantry.” One of the ministers said to the king, “All those teachers—Pūraṇa Kāśyapa, Maskarī Gośālīputra, Ajita Keśakambala, Kātyāyana, Saṅjayī Vairāṭṭīputra and Nirgranthaputra—, each with an assembly of five hundred, are staying in this great city. You can have your royal mount made ready and go to meet them. [Through] talking and listening to them, you will become joyful, and will be freed from your troubles.”

At that time, there was a young man, a king of physicians named Jīvaka, holding a fan and attending upon the king. The king looked at him and said, “Sir, why are you silent? Only you have suggested nothing.” Jīvaka said to the king, “If you want to remove your burning (i.e., your mental affliction), to forget your worries and to dispel your troubles—now, the Buddha, the World-Honoured One, is staying with his disciples in my mango grove. You can go to where the Buddha is, bow your head and pay reverence. [If] you consult him about your doubts, you will receive illumination.”²³¹

The text further tells us that Ajātaśatru immediately adopts Jīvaka’s advice and sets out to visit the Buddha. Arriving at the mango grove, he is so astounded by the quietude of monks that he cannot believe it. On seeing the Buddha, he goes forth to salute him. Deeply amazed by the serenity of the Buddha and his assembly, the king expresses his wish for peace as follows:

“The Buddha’s mind is tranquil, wondrous and free from [false] thoughts. So are the disciples. May you let my mind be set at wondrous stillness like this.” There was a youth, named Bo Xian (帛賢, Udayabhadra?),

²³¹ T. 22.271a1-17 (See Appendix I, Textual Material 9.1).

speaking to the king, “Great King, do you wish to attain such conduct?”
The King said to the Buddha, “Yes, World-Honoured One, I wish to take
delight in the assembly of monks, whose hearts are joyful.”²³²

Ajātaśatru goes on to ask the Buddha whether any living beings engaged in secular activities can “attain realization of the path [to the religious Truth]” through practicing doctrines and disciplines of the Buddha.²³³ The Buddha asks him if he has ever put such question to heretics. After reporting the question he has asked Pūraṇa Kāśyapa, Ajātaśatru once again addresses his wish for mental peace. He says to the Buddha,

“I once went to Pūraṇa Kāśyapa to ask him: ‘All elephant[-riders], horse[-riders], chariot-riders and [those] on foot, treasury- guards and storehouse-guards, strong men, brave and valiant ones, those [riding] great elephant-chariots, [those] enjoying pleasure and sleep, [those] mingling with gods and men²³⁴, chief ministers with official seals, hundreds of [minor] officials and followers, astrologers and soothsayers, [who] know everything about men, [all those] respectable, and [all those] having achievements, seek comfort and ease either for themselves or for their parents, wives and servants. They worship *śramaṇas* and *brāhmaṇas*, with the best offerings. In this way, will I attain the rightness of doctrines and disciplines, and enter the path of tranquillity?’”²³⁵

Ajātaśatru then reports the answers he has received from Pūraṇa Kāśyapa and from the other heretics, none of which satisfy him. The Buddha answers his question through preaching a sermon on the fruits of the ascetic path. Having heard the sermon, the king reacts as follows:

²³² T. 22. 271b5-10. “佛心寂然，微妙無念，弟子亦爾。願令我心志于微妙隱定如是。”有一童子，名曰帛賢，白其王言：“大王願欲得是行耶？”王白佛言：“唯然，世尊，願樂眾僧，其心歡悅。”

²³³ 271b17-18. 頗有立於是佛法律，得道證不乎？

²³⁴ Chin. 合會天人. It is unclear what this phrase refers to here.

²³⁵ T. 22.271b19-25 (see Textual Material 9.2). The meaning of this passage is not entirely clear. It is rendered almost totally differently by Meisig (1987: 125) and MacQueen (1988: 56). My translation largely agrees with Meisig’s, which remains in basic agreement with the counterparts in the Pāli and the Sanskrit MSV versions. MacQueen understands Ajātaśatru instead of the various people as the subject of the whole passage, on the basis that the first person “I” appears in the ending question. On this question, see discussion below.

Then King Ajātaśatru of Magadha rose from his seat and bowed his head to the Buddha's feet. He confessed his crime, "I wish the World-Honoured One to pardon my crime. Like a little child I was ignorant and unwise, deluded and with a lost mind, and without resourcefulness. The Buddha is the Dharma-king, father and mother of all. He constantly establishes the true Dharma. [In order to] save those who have got lost, he establishes the Dharma. He is free from the hindrances of wrath and malice. If now I could be reborn, I wish the World-Honoured One to accept my existence [as the one who] has taken refuge. I see my evil transgression, and moreover, I accept [your] admonition. I will rectify my past transgressions and obediently cultivate [good deeds in] the future." The Buddha said, "Great King, just as you said, indeed like a little child, ignorant, unwise, deluded and without expediences, you deprived your father and mother of their lives. Now you have taken refuge in the Dharma-king and thereby attained another life. [Since you] see your crime, in this [system of] doctrines and disciplines you will gain good profit, instead of suffering loss."

At that time, King Ajātaśatru folding his hands in direction of the Buddha [said,] "I hope that the World-Honoured One will accept my offering [of a meal] along with the assembly of *bhikṣus*." Then the Buddha silently accepted the invitation. [When] the king knew that [the Buddha] had accepted the invitation, his heart was delighted. He circumambulated the Buddha three times and having bowed his head, he departed.

At that time, [after] the king had left, not far away from the Buddha, he told the youth Jīvaka, "You have benefited me a lot, by letting me visit the Buddha to receive his instruction on the Dharma. [Because of you] I have been able to see the World-Honoured One, [whereby] I have been released from my crime, and my heavy transgression has been made light."

The Buddha told the *bhikṣus*, "King Ajātaśatru has already attained the production of the [intellectual] receptivity [to knowledge of the Buddhist Truth]²³⁶. Although he killed a righteous king, he has completely done away with impurities and defilements, and has become free from outflows. He has already been established in the Dharma and will not retrogress. On this seat, the dust-free and immaculate eye of the Dharma has arisen [in him]."

The king returned to his palace and at that very night he prepared one hundred kinds of foods, viands and delicacies. The next morning he went to where the Buddha was. He bowed his head to the Buddha's feet and told the Buddha, "The time has arrived. I beg the Blessed One to humble yourself". Then the Buddha together with the assembly of *bhikṣus*, surrounded by a retinue [of monks], went to the king's palace. [When]

²³⁶ On this translation, see discussion below.

the Buddha and his assembly were seated, after they had finished washing, [Ajātaśatru] distributed food, serving it with his own hands. After they had finished eating and washing, the king took a small seat and sat in front of the Buddha, to listen to the Buddha's exposition of the *sūtra*.

The king told the Buddha, "World-Honoured One, I hope that you will accept my invitation [to spend] one summer in the palace of Rājagṛha. I will provide you, as well as the assembly of *bhikṣus*, with whatever you lack. I will, for the Buddha, erect five hundred *vihāras*, so that twelve hundred and fifty people would have places to sleep and rest. Whatever rice and grains there are in granaries, whatever items there are in the inner palace, whether small or big, I will present to you as offerings." The Buddha said, "[As long as] you, Great King, are happy to do it, what you offer is enough. [However,] I have already accepted the invitation of the Elder Sudatta [= the *śreṣṭhin* Anāthapiṇḍada] in the country of Śrāvastī [to spend] one summer." The king said to the Buddha, "The Elder of that country will gain profit because the Buddha, the god among gods, has first accepted his invitation." Then the Buddha expounded the Dharma for King Ajātaśatru, [thereby] illuminating his mind. The Buddha uttered the following verses:

“Those who perform the fire sacrifice,
all call their own [i.e., the fire sacrifice] the utmost.

The king is the honourable among people;
The ocean is the source of all streams.

The moon is the brightest among all stars;
The sun in the day lets fall its rays.

Above and below, wherever one comes and goes,
[for] whatever can be called ‘creatures’,

in the heaven and in this world,
the Path of the Buddha is the most honourable.”

When the Buddha expounded the *sūtra*, King Ajātaśatru, the assembly of *bhikṣus*, gods and *asuras*, heard the *sūtra* and rejoiced. Having paid salutations [to the Buddha], they departed.²³⁷

In comparison with the Pāli and MSV versions discussed above, T.22 is notably different in a number of aspects:

First, as MacQueen observes, while the theme of mental peace appears in all

²³⁷ T. 22. 275c28-276b6 (see Textual Material 9.3)

the extant versions of the SPS, it is treated most emphatically in T.22.²³⁸ As we have seen, T.22 illustrates from its very beginning Ajātaśatru's urgent desire to find a solution to his mental problem. He asks his ministers through what means he can dispel his fear. Neither the Pāli nor the MSV version gives such direct revelation of the patricide's internal turmoil. In the Pāli version, Ajātaśatru asks, "What ascetic or brahmin shall we visit today, so that our heart would be set at peace?"²³⁹ Although this question does imply his underlying agitation of mind, it does not make it explicit. In the MSV version of the SPS, having praised the beauty of the full-moon night, the king simply asks, "What shall we do", with no mention of peace or fear.²⁴⁰ This is also the case in the Chinese DĀ and EĀ versions.²⁴¹ Different from all of these, T.22 makes explicit Ajātaśatru's mental trouble and his desire to dispel it, thereby highlighting his lack of peace before the visit to the Buddha.

Further, as T.22 shows, after having arrived at Jīvaka's mango grove, amazed by the serenity of the Buddha and the monks, Ajātaśatru once again expresses his longing for peace. He entreats the Buddha, "May you let my mind be set at wondrous stillness like this".²⁴² This detail is unique to T.22 and finds no parallel in other versions of the SPS. In fact, the Pāli, the MSV, as well as the Chinese DĀ and EĀ versions, all tell us that instead of for himself, Ajātaśatru wishes for his son Udāyibhadra (var. Udāyin) to have the calmness of the monks.²⁴³ While Udāyibhadra also

²³⁸ For a discussion on this theme in the various versions of the SPS, see MacQueen (1988: 233-245).

²³⁹ Rhys Davids and Carpenter 1890-1911: i. 47. 13-14: *Kaṃ nu kh'ajja samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā payirupāseyyāma, yaṃ no payirupāsato cittaṃ paśīdeyyāti.*

²⁴⁰ Gnoli 1977-1978: ii. 216. 16: ... *Kim asmābhiḥ karaṇīyaṃ syād?*

²⁴¹ See T.1.107a24-25; T.125.762a12.

²⁴² T. 22.271b8. 願令我心志于微妙隱定如是。

²⁴³ In the Pāli version, Ajātasattu says, "Sir, may my son Prince Udāyibhadda be endowed with such calmness with which the assembly of monks is now endowed" (see Rhys Davids and Carpenter 1890-

seems to be mentioned in T.22—if we assume Chin. *boxian* 帛賢 as a translation of Udāyibhadra (or its variant form)²⁴⁴—he does not appear as Ajātaśatru’s son, but as a youth belonging to the Buddha’s assembly. He asks Ajātaśatru if he really wants to attain the quiet state of the monks. In answering this question, Ajātaśatru confirms his wish for peace by saying to the Buddha: “Yes, World-Honoured One, I wish to [be like] the assembly of monks whose hearts are joyful.”²⁴⁵ This account as a whole is peculiar and has no parallel in any other versions of the SPS. MacQueen suggests that the underlying text of T.22 could have been corrupt here.²⁴⁶ He says,

“...The prayer is no longer for Udāyi Bhadra, but for the king himself. This change may be based on a textual corruption, but in any case it moves in the direction of increased emphasis on the king’s specific spiritual state (characterized by lack of peace), which is the general tendency of C2 [= T.22].”

MacQueen’s suggestion sounds very sensible to me. If the Indian original of T. 22 was corrupt here, the present account of Ajātaśatru’s wish for mental peace would, to a large extent, reflect the translator’s understanding of the text. In fact, a close reading of T. 22 suggests that the translator may have played a significant role in causing this change, for there is another piece of evidence which clearly indicates the translator’s intent to shift the emphasis to Ajātaśatru’s own desire for mental peace.

In T.22, in his question to Pūraṇa Kāśyapa, Ajātaśatru mentioned various types of people engaged in secular activities and at the end, he asked: “In this way,

1911: i. 50. 29-31); see also a similar sentence in the MSV version (Gnoli 1977-1978: ii. 219.15-18).

²⁴⁴ In the name Bo Xian, the second word *xian* 賢, “virtuous, wise”, is a common rendition of *bhadra*, but the first word *bo* 帛, “undyed silk”, has no direct relation to *udaya* or *udāya*, “rising, prosperous”. MacQueen translates Bo Xian as “Wealth Honored One”, which appears problematic to me.

²⁴⁵ T. 22. 271b10. 唯然世尊，願樂眾僧，其心歡悅。

²⁴⁶ MacQueen 1988: 240.

will I attain the rightness of doctrines and disciplines and enter the path of tranquillity?”²⁴⁷ Here, the appearance of the first person “I” is very striking. To be sure, in the extant versions of the SPS Ajātaśatru’s question to Pūraṇa is not consistently formulated. In the Pāli version, he asked: “Is it possible to point out a fruit of the ascetic life that is similarly visible here and now”;²⁴⁸ in the Sanskrit and the Tibetan MSV versions, he asked: “Is it possible to point out a visible fruit of the ascetic life, the same as those kinds [of people engaged in secular activities] have”.²⁴⁹ The question in the Chinese DĀ version is similar to that in the Pāli.²⁵⁰ In the Chinese EĀ version, Ajātaśatru asked another question: “If one makes merits in the present life, will one receive present karmic rewards?”²⁵¹ Despite the inconsistencies and differences, it is clear that in all these versions Ajātaśatru’s question is about living beings in general. In contrast, in T. 22 what he poses is a question specifically related to himself. He is shown to have been particularly concerned about whether he himself can enter the “path of tranquillity” (Chin. *jiran-dao* 寂然道).

Although we do not know exactly what the Indian original of T.22 said here, given that almost all the other versions (except the Chinese EĀ version) of the SPS mention or allude to the “ascetic life” (Pāli *sāmañña*, Skt. *śrāmaṇya*, Tib. *dge sbyong*

²⁴⁷ T.22. 271b24-5. 是我寧得法律之正，入寂然道乎？Here, it is unclear to me if the word *zheng* 正 should be read in its literal sense “rightness” or as a variant reading of *zheng* 證, “to realize”.

²⁴⁸ Rhys Davids and Carpenter (1890-1911: i. 52.18-20): *sakkā nu kho bho Kassapa evam evaṃ diṭṭhe va dhamme sandiṭṭhikaṃ sāmañña-phalaṃ paññāpetum ti?*

²⁴⁹ Gnoli (1977-1978: ii. 220.23-4): *labhyam evaṃrūpāṇām sāndṛṣṭikam śrāmaṇyaphalaṃ prajñaptum*; the corresponding Tibetan at Derge Kanjur 1, ‘*dul ba, nga* 261a5-6; In the Chinese MSV, Ajātaśatru’s question to Pūraṇa is not specifically described (see MacQueen 1988: 94).

²⁵⁰ T.1.108a26. 今此眾現在修道，現得果報不？“Now this assembly [of ascetics] cultivate the [religious] Path. Will they gain resultant rewards here and now?”

²⁵¹ T. 125. 763b3. 現世作福，得受現報乎？

gi tshul) at the place in question²⁵², it is likely that the Chinese expression *jiran-dao*, “path of tranquillity”, in T.22 was based on a derivative of Pkt. **samaṇa* which can be related to both Skt. \sqrt{sam} , “to be tranquil”, and $\sqrt{śram}$, “to exert oneself”. It is notable that in the sentence Ajātaśatru says to Pūraṇa exactly before his question the term *shamen* 沙門 appears, where Ajātaśatru mentions ordinary people’s making offerings to *śramaṇas* (*shamen* 沙門) and *brāhmaṇas* (*fanzhi* 梵志).²⁵³ The term *shamen* is the standard Chinese transliteration of Skt. *śramaṇa* (or rather, its Prakrit equivalent like the Gāndhārī *ṣamaṇa*)²⁵⁴. As MacQueen and Meisig both observe, except in the title of T.22, *shamen* is used almost throughout that text (but with one significant exception, see below).²⁵⁵ The use of this term shows that the translator was clearly aware of the meaning “ascetic” of Pkt. **samaṇa*. What is interesting is that in translating Ajātaśatru’s question to Pūraṇa the translator avoided this meaning of Pkt. **samaṇa* and instead chose another meaning: “one who is tranquil”. That is to say, here he chose to equate Pkt. **samaṇa* with Skt. *śamaṇa* rather than *śramaṇa*. This choice may betray the translator’s attempt to emphasize the theme of mental peace particularly in relation to Ajātaśatru, given that the question is asked by Ajātaśatru about whether he himself can enter the path of tranquillity. This attempt, it seems to me, may in turn betray another broader and deeper concern of the translator, that is, to correlate the frame story of the SPS with its enframed doctrinal content.

As mentioned earlier in my discussion of the Pāli version, the frame story of Ajātaśatru’s confession and his taking refuge, as such, has no direct relation to the

²⁵² The Pāli, the Sanskrit and the Tibetan MSV versions all explicitly mention the “fruit of ascetic life” here, whereas the Chinese DĀ version only implies this notion (see above n.250).

²⁵³ T.22. 271b16.

²⁵⁴ Karashima 2010: 405, s.v. 沙門 *shāmén*.

²⁵⁵ Meisig 1987: 21; MacQueen 1988: 241-2.

Buddha's discourse on the fruit of the ascetic life. One may find it hard to understand why a patricidal king with a very low level of morality and spirituality should have been interested in the ascetic life, and why he should have confessed his crime after hearing a discourse on this topic. In fact, as Meisig and MacQueen both point out, the purpose of using the story of Ajātaśatru to frame the Buddha's discourse in question is mainly to demonstrate the charisma of the Buddha as a successful preacher and religious teacher.²⁵⁶ Apart from this function of demonstration, there remains a distance between the frame story and the doctrinal content. The translator of T.22, who may have been aware of this distance and attempted to bridge it, seems to have connected the discourse on the *samaṇa*-/*śramaṇa*-hood with the frame story of Ajātaśatru through exploiting the quasi-etymology of Pkt. **samaṇa*, "ascetic", as derived from Skt. *√śam*, "to be tranquil", and moreover correlating the theme of tranquillity with Ajātaśatru.

This attempt may also be discerned in another detail of T.22. It is clear that throughout T.22 the Chinese term *jizhi* 寂志, "tranquil-minded", occurs only twice, once in the title and once in the question Ajātaśatru asks the Buddha after he reports all the unsatisfactory answers received earlier from the heretics. He asks the Buddha: "How do tranquil-minded ones (*jizhi* 寂志) and *brāhmaṇas* (*fanzhi* 梵志), in this [system of] doctrines and disciplines, attain the realization of the path [to the religious Truth]?"²⁵⁷ It should be noted that elsewhere in T.22 the combination of *shamen-fanzhi* 沙門梵志, "*śramaṇas* and *brāhmaṇas*", is consistently used. Only here the

²⁵⁶ Meisig (1987: 33) suggests that in the SPS the repentance of Ajātaśatru may be used to highlight the "Predigerpersönlichkeit" of the Buddha. MacQueen (1988: 201-5) considers that the "conversion" of Ajātaśatru serves as a demonstration of the Buddha's ability to "pass the test", that is, to successfully answer a test question.

²⁵⁷ 272b12. 云何寂志、梵志於是法律逮得道證？ This question is different from the one Ajātaśatru asks of the Buddha at the beginning of his meeting with the Buddha (see above p.102).

translator uses the translation *jizhi*, “tranquil-minded”, instead of the transliteration *shamen*, “*śramaṇa*, ascetic”. This change may not be random. Given that the aforementioned question directly elicits the Buddha’s discourse on the fruits of the ascetic life, it seems likely that the translator made this change in order to strengthen the relation between the content of the discourse and the story of Ajātaśatru. That is to say, through a shift of emphasis from the meaning “ascetic” of Pkt. **samaṇa* to its meaning “tranquil”, the translator attempts to flag Ajātaśatru’s interest in the cultivation of the Buddhist path. Here, the translator shows us a relatively consistent picture that a terror-stricken patricide, who is lacking mental peace but urgently desires it, wants to know what kind of experience a peaceful-minded one like a Buddhist ascetic could attain.

Further, strikingly different from all the other versions of the SPS, T. 22 tells us that through his visit to the Buddha Ajātaśatru gains incredible karmic and spiritual benefits. After having heard the Buddha’s sermon and confessed his crime, on his way back Ajātaśatru thanks Jīvaka for bringing him to see the Buddha and says, “[Because of you] I have been able to see the World-Honoured One, [whereby] I have been released from my crime and my heavy transgression has been made light.”²⁵⁸ While in the Chinese DĀ version, as we will see, Ajātaśatru is also said to have thanked Jīvaka, there he only mentions his illumination of mind, with nothing said about his release from the crime.²⁵⁹ In the present context, the remission of Ajātaśatru’s crime is truly significant, for it shows that the appalling patricide Ajātaśatru has committed is simply wiped out through his acts of listening to the Buddha’s sermon, confessing to the Buddha and taking refuge in the Buddha.²⁶⁰ He will not have to undergo the

²⁵⁸ 276a12-13. 得覲世尊，免吾罪尤，令重咎微輕。

²⁵⁹ The diminution of Ajātaśatru’s crime is told elsewhere in the Chinese DĀ version. See below.

²⁶⁰ According to the Taishō edition of T.22, in his reply to Ajātaśatru’s confession, the Buddha says that Ajātaśatru has killed both his parents (害其父母命), not just his father. It is worthwhile to check

retribution of going to hell after death, and the cause of his fear is thereby removed forever. What one can see from this remarkable result is nothing but an annihilation of the power of *karma* through an exaltation of the salvific power of the Buddha.

The exaltation does not stop at this point. As T.22 goes on to show, after Ajātaśatru's departure, the Buddha tells the monks that the king gains four major spiritual attainments during the visit. The first attainment is that of one kind of *kṣānti*, “endurance”, referred to here by the Chinese phrase *yì-de-sheng-ren* 已得生忍. There are at least three possible interpretations of the expression *shengren* 生忍:

MacQueen translates it as “the receptivity of ordinary beings” and says: “This seems to correspond to the ‘faith of ordinary beings’ (*pothujjanikā saddhā*) ascribed to Ajātaśatru in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*”.²⁶¹ The correspondence between *shengren* and *pothujjanikā saddhā* is possible but problematic, for one has to explain why the translator chose Chin. *ren* 忍, “endurance”, a standard translation of Skt. *kṣānti* / Pāli *khanti*, to render Skt. *śraddhā* / Pāli *saddhā*, “faith”, which usually corresponds to another word *xin* 信, “faith”, in Chinese.

Second, one might also suggest **sattvakṣānti* as the Indian original of *shengren*. This interpretation seems to be adopted by Meisig who renders *shengren* as “sympathy for living beings”.²⁶² However, **sattvakṣānti* does not really fit into the present context, given that this term is conventionally used in Mahāyāna literature referring to one of the two modes of *kṣānti* practice cultivated by *bodhisattvas*, i.e.,

whether Fangshan edition also has the same reading. Given that everywhere in Ajātaśatru's confession, except in this phrase, we have four-character units, the word *mu* 母, “mother”, probably can be deleted.

²⁶¹ MacQueen 1988: 225. For Buddhaghosa's mentioning of *pothujjanikā saddhā* referring to Ajātasattu, see above p.8.

²⁶² Meisig 1987: 373.

the practice of patient acceptance with regard to sentient beings.²⁶³ If we consider the Chinese *shengren* here referring to **sattva-kṣānti*, it would be hard to explain why the Buddha, in the first place, mentions Ajātaśatru’s endurance with sentient beings as his foremost attainment through the visit.

A third possible interpretation is to construe Chin. *shengren* in the sense of the “production of endurance” (that is, to read *sheng* 生 as a verb instead of a noun), and to translate the phrase 已得生忍 as “[Ajātaśatru] had attained the production of endurance” or simply, “he had attained the endurance”. Strictly speaking, if we adopt this interpretation, the Chinese word *ren* 忍 used here might be better understood as referring to the cognitive rather than the moral dimension of *kṣānti*. That is to say, here *ren* more likely refers to *(dharma-)*kṣānti, “cognitive receptivity [to knowledge of the Buddhist Truth]”, rather than *(sattva-)*kṣānti, “endurance, tolerance [in the face of hostility of other living beings]”.²⁶⁴ In the present context, Ajātaśatru’s acquisition of this kind of *kṣānti* means that, through listening to the Buddha’s discourse, he reaches the state of “being ready in advance to accept knowledge” [of the Buddhist Truth].²⁶⁵ There is a good reason to adopt this interpretation. Vasubandhu’s

²⁶³ In discussing the notion of *kṣānti* in Mahāyāna literature, Pagel (1995: 185) addresses a distinction between “patient acceptance with regard to beings (*sattva-kṣānti*) and patient acceptance with regard to the factors of existence (*dharma-kṣānti*)” in early Mahāyāna *sūtras*. He says, “This distinction is found in the *Aṣṭādasāhasarikā Prajñāpāramitā* and recurs as the most fundamental one in many other discussions of patience acceptance.” On the “patient acceptance with regard to beings” (Chin. *shengren*, Skt. **sattva-kṣānti*), see a definition in the Mppś (T.1509.164b19-22; translated in Lamotte 1944-1980: ii. 867).

²⁶⁴ Pagel (1995: 182-3 n.288) suggests that the two senses of *kṣānti* may indicate two etymologies of this word, i.e., *kṣānti*, “tolerance”, derived from $\sqrt{kṣam}$, “to endure”, and *kṣānti*, “intellectual receptivity, conviction”, from \sqrt{kam} , “to like, to be inclined to”. Pagel’s suggestion is based on Sasaki (1958) who argues that *kṣānti* referring to mental acceptance is a wrong sanskritization of Pāli *khanti* derived from \sqrt{kam} , “to be willing to”, and that the right sanskritization should be *kānti*. However, Sasaki’s argument is reexamined by Sakurabe (1966) who suggests that “we cannot ... come to so hasty a conclusion that the Pāli word *khanti* was wrongly sanskritized as *kṣānti*” (p. 887). He observes that “[i]n Pāli canon apparently coexist the both senses of the word *khanti*, ‘patience’ < $\sqrt{kṣam}$ and ‘willing to’, ‘desire’ < \sqrt{kam} ”, which correspond to two senses of *kṣānti* in Buddhist Sanskrit literature. Sakurabe suggests that the cognitive sense of *kṣānti* has no relation to Pāli *khanti* < \sqrt{kam} , but directly comes from $\sqrt{kṣam}$.

²⁶⁵ See BHSD, 199b, s.v. *kṣānti*.

Abhidharmakośa states: “He who obtains the patience does not go to the unpleasant destinies”.²⁶⁶ Here, the “patience” (*kṣānti*) refers to one of the stages of the “path of seeing the Truth” (*satyadarśanamārga*) that is preparatory to the “path of meditation” (*bhāvanamārga*). In his autocommentary *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* Vasubandhu explains this sentence as follows:

“Even when one’s patience suffers from loss, he does not go to the unpleasant destinies, because he is removed from the actions and defilements leading to those states. Exactly due to the acquisition of the patience, he obtains the non-arising quality of certain destinies, wombs, rebirths, bodily forms, the eighth and ninth [rebirths, because he will attain *nirvāṇa* in his seventh rebirth], existences and defilements.”²⁶⁷

This implication of acquisition of *kṣānti* fits well into the present context, for as we have seen, Ajātaśatru is already redeemed from his crime through the visit and therefore, he will not go to hell in the next birth. If we adopt this interpretation of the Chinese phrase 已得生忍, Ajātaśatru’s first spiritual attainment would be the realization of a mental precondition for understanding the Buddhist Truth, not “a rather low level of devotion without insight” as MacQueen suggests.²⁶⁸

In mentioning Ajātaśatru’s second spiritual attainment, the Buddha says: “Though he killed a righteous king, he has completely done away with impurities (**upakleśa*), and has become free from outflows (**anāsrava/nirāsrava*).”²⁶⁹ This statement grants Ajātaśatru an extremely high spiritual status for, as is well known, in so-called Mainstream Buddhism freedom from outflows is equivalent to attainment of

²⁶⁶ AK (Pradhan 1967: 348. 3) 23b: *kṣāntilābhy anapāyagaḥ*.

²⁶⁷ AKBh *ad* VI.23b (Pradhan 1967, 348.5-6, translated in La Vallée Poussin 1923-1931: iv. 174): *vihiṇāyām api kṣāntau na punar apāyān yāti tadbhūmikakarmakleśadūrikaraṇāt | kṣāntilābhād eva hi gatiyonyupapattyāśrayāṣṭamādibhavakleśānām keṣāṃ cid anutpattidharmatā pratilabhate |*

²⁶⁸ MacQueen 1988: 225.

²⁶⁹ T. 22. 276a14. 雖害法王，了除瑕穢，無有諸漏。

arhat-ship.²⁷⁰ Such high status appears inconsistent with Ajātaśatru’s acquisition of *kṣānti* mentioned earlier which only refers to a preliminary stage of the cultivation of the Buddhist path. It is not clear what the Indian original of T.22 said here. In any case, this detail is evidently intended—either by the author or by the translator—to upgrade Ajātaśatru’s spiritual status after the visit and thereby to highlight the great impact the Buddha exerts on him. Ajātaśatru’s third spiritual attainment, as the Buddha says, is his firm establishment in the Dharma and his non-retrogression (**avaivartikatva*)²⁷¹, which mean that he now has firmly set out on the path to enlightenment. This attainment implies that Ajātaśatru has obtained at least the first fruit of the path, i.e., the “fruit of stream-entry” (*srotāpattiphala*), given that a “stream-enterer” is assured of enlightenment (*saṃbodhiparāyana*).²⁷² Ajātaśatru’s last attainment is that of the Dharma-eye (**dharmaśakṣu*), for as the Buddha says, while he is listening to the discourse, “the dust-free and spotless eye of the Dharma has arisen [in him]” (**tasya virajo vigatamalaṃ dharmeṣu dharmacakṣur utpannam*). This statement is exactly the opposite of what we have seen in the Pāli version, where the Buddha says that due to his patricide Ajātasattu fails to attain the Dhamma-eye.

It is clear that T.22 shows us a rather disorderly picture of Ajātaśatru’s spiritual attainments, starting from his acquisition of *kṣānti* which is a preparatory state of the cultivation of the Buddhist path, to a complete destruction of outflows which is equal to the realization of *arhat*-ship, then to his firm establishment in the Dharma which implies his attainment of the fruit of stream-entry, and finally to his acquisition of the Dharma-eye that is the basic insight into the Buddhist Truth. As MacQueen

²⁷⁰ See for instance, CPD, 240, s.v. *āsavakkhaya*; BHSD, 111-2, s.v. *āsrava*.

²⁷¹ T.22. 276a15. 已住於法，而不動轉。

²⁷² On definitions of *srotāpattiphala* in canonical sources, see Lamotte (1944-1980: v. 2214 n.3).

suggests, the inconsistency of the Buddha's statements of Ajātaśatru's spiritual status, may "betray a process of awkward change and development in the textual tradition" of T.22.²⁷³ If this was the case, the change and development were without doubt intended to emphasize Ajātaśatru's spiritual progress through the visit and thereby demonstrate the spectacular benefit of direct contact with the Buddha.

The exaltation of the Buddha can also be discerned in Ajātaśatru's statement of confession in T.22. Having admitted his foolishness and delusion, instead of confessing his patricide, Ajātaśatru praises the Buddha as the Dharma-king (**dharmarāja*), who "constantly establishes the true Dharma (常立正法)". This praise is unique to T.22. In corresponding places, most of the other versions of the SPS mention Ajātaśatru's confession of killing his father who is a righteous king and/or righteous man. For instance, in the Pāli version he says, "...for the sake of kingship, I have deprived my father, a righteous king and righteous man, of his life".²⁷⁴ In the Sanskrit MSV version he likewise says, "...I have deprived my father, a righteous king and righteous man, of his life".²⁷⁵ It is possible that Ajātaśatru's praise of the Buddha in T.22 was based on something similar to the phrases used in the Pāli and the Sanskrit MSV versions, but with a different reading or interpretation which renders *dhārmiko dharmarāja* as referring not to Bimbisāra but to the Buddha. It is also possible that the Indian original of T.22 had a corruption here. In any case, it can be certain that the praise in question is intended to show that through listening to the Buddha's sermon

²⁷³ MacQueen 1988: 226.

²⁷⁴ Rhys Davids and Carpenter 1890-1911: i. 85. 16-8: ...so [B^c: yo] 'haṃ pitaraṃ dhammikaṃ dhammarājānaṃ issariyakāraṇā jīvitaṃ voropesiṃ.

²⁷⁵ Gnoli 1977-1978: ii. 251. 23-25....yena mayā...pitā dhārmiko dharmarājo jivitād vyaparopitaḥ. In the Tibetan translation, Ajātaśatru says that he killed his father who is a righteous king (Derge, *nga* 284b3; sTog, *nga* 392b1: ...chos kyi rgyal po bkum pas). In the Chinese DĀ version, Ajātaśatru says, "My father King Bimbisāra of Magadha who ruled in righteousness, without partiality and injustice" (T.1.109b15). In the Chinese EĀ version, he says, "My father king was innocent but I put him to death" (T.125.763a22).

Ajātaśatru is entirely convinced of the Buddha's wisdom and gains full faith in him. Ajātaśatru's faith is subsequently illustrated through his offering of a meal to the Buddha and the monks, as well as through inviting the Buddha to spend one summer in Rājagṛha. The invitation to the summer retreat is characteristic of T.22 and finds no parallel in any other versions of the SPS. In the present context, this event has the same function as that of the meal-offering, that is, to "show us the new role of the king as *upāsaka*"²⁷⁶, which in turn demonstrates the Buddha's success in transforming even the worst criminal.

In sum, there are two major distinctive features of T.22 as compared with the other versions of the SPS. The first is its overall emphasis on the theme of mental peace, which is expressed by Ajātaśatru's lack of mental peace before the visit, his urgent desire for peace, his concern with whether he himself can enter the "path of tranquillity", his interest in the life of the tranquil-minded ascetics, and his eventual acquisition of mental peace through listening to the Buddha's sermon. The translator of T.22 seems to have played a significant role in creating such emphasis, particularly through a conscious exploitation of the quasi-etymology of Pkt. **samaṇa*, "ascetic", as derived from Skt. *√śam*, "to become quiet". This exploitation, as I have suggested, may in turn reflect another broader attempt of the translator to correlate the frame story of the SPS with its doctrinal content. The second distinctive feature of T.22 is its account of the great karmic and spiritual benefits Ajātaśatru gains through the visit. We are told that Ajātaśatru is cleansed of his crime, and that he achieves multiple spiritual attainments ranging from the acquisition of *kṣānti* up to the realization of *arhat*-ship. Since all the benefits are gained by Ajātaśatru through his visit to the Buddha, all of them are ultimately owed to the Buddha. Seen from this perspective,

²⁷⁶ MacQueen 1988: 223.

the story of Ajātaśatru as told in T.22 is essentially a demonstration of the salvific power of the Buddha and the benefit of direct encounter with him. Similar to T.22, the Chinese DĀ version of the SPS to be discussed below also claims that Ajātaśatru’s crime is diminished during his visit to the Buddha, but with a different emphasis.

2.7 The SPS in the Chinese Translation of the *Dīrghāgama* (T. 1 [27])

The *Chang-ahan-jing* 長阿含經 (T.1), i.e., the Chinese translation of the *Dīrghāgama* (DĀ), was made by Fo Tuoyeshe 佛陀耶舍 (Buddhayaśas) and Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 in 413 CE. While it has been widely accepted that the Chinese DĀ belongs to the Dharmaguptaka sect²⁷⁷, this ascription is not without problem, for as Boucher points out, whether there is a definite connection between *vinaya* lineage (*nikāya*) and *āgama* recension remains an open question.²⁷⁸

One version of the SPS is preserved as the twenty-seventh *sūtra* of the Chinese DĀ, titled *Shamenguo-jing* 沙門果經, “Sūtra on the Fruits of the Śramaṇa[-hood]”. This version, different from T.22, gives no account of Ajātaśatru’s mental trouble in the former part of the frame story. Rather, like the Pāli and MSV versions, it features his repentance and confession only in the latter part of the frame story which follows the Buddha’s sermon. That part reads:

At that time, King Ajātaśatru arose from his seat and venerated the Buddha’s feet with his forehead. He said to the Buddha, “I hope that the World-Honoured One can accept my repentance of transgression. I was

²⁷⁷ On this sectarian affiliation, see for instance, Waldschmidt (1980: 162-169). This affiliation is “determined as such by almost all scholars in Japan” (Mayeda 1985: 97).

²⁷⁸ As Boucher (2000: 67-70) argues, the Dharmaguptaka affiliation of the Chinese DĀ “is founded on surprisingly little data” and the conventional hypothesis that “there must be a close connection between *nikāya* and *sūtra* recension” requires a serious reexamination.

frantic, foolish, benighted and senseless. My father, King Bimbisāra of Magadha, ruled in righteousness, without partiality or injustice, but I was deluded by the five desires [insofar as I] actually killed my father king. I hope that the World-Honoured One, taking pity and compassion on me, can accept my repentance of transgression.” The Buddha said to the king, “You were foolish, deluded and senseless. Nevertheless, you yourself have repented your transgression. Deluded by the five desires, you killed your father, the king. Now, in the Dharma of the Noble One, one who is able to repent his own transgression brings benefit to himself. Because I have pity on you, I accept your repentance of transgression.”

At that time, King Ajātaśatru, after having venerated the feet of the World-Honoured One, sat on one side. The Buddha expounded the Dharma to him, instructing, teaching benefiting and delighting him. After having heard the teachings of the Buddha, the king said to the Buddha, “Now I go for refuge to the Buddha, to the Dharma, and to the *Saṅgha*. Please allow me to abide in the true Dharma as an *upāsaka*. From today onwards, for the rest of my life, I will not commit killing, theft, sexual misconduct, cheating, or drinking liquor. I hope that the World-Honoured One along with the great assembly accept my invitation for tomorrow.” At that time, the World-Honoured One consented by silence. Then the king, after having seen the Buddha accept his invitation by silence, rose to venerate the Buddha. He circumambulated [the Buddha] three times and then went back.

Not long after he had left, the Buddha said to the *bhikṣus*, “As for this king Ajātaśatru, his crime is diminished. He has removed a severe offense. If King Ajātaśatru had not killed his father, he would have on this very seat gained the pure eye of the Dharma. However, [as] King Ajātaśatru himself has now repented his transgression, his crime is diminished. He has removed a weighty offense.”

When King Ajātaśatru was along the way, he said to the youth Jīvaka, “Excellent! Excellent! Today you have benefited me a lot. You first praised the Tathāgata [as to his ability] to give instructions and inspirations. Later you brought me to visit the World-Honored One, [whereby] I was able to receive illumination. I am deeply aware of your favor and will never forget it.”

Then the king returned to his palace and prepared viands and delicacies, various kinds of drinks and foods. The next day when the time was due, [the king said,] “The Noble One knows the [right] time.” At that time, the World-Honoured One put on his robes and took up his almsbowl. Together with his assembly of twelve hundred and fifty disciples, he went to visit the royal palace. He proceeded to a seat and sat down. Then the king with his own hands served [food and drink] to the Buddha and the *saṅgha*. When they finished eating and put away their bowls, after they finished washing, he venerated the feet of the World-Honored One and said, “Now I once again repent my transgression. I was frantic, foolish, benighted and senseless. My father, King Bimbisāra of Magadha, ruled in righteousness, without partiality or injustice, but I was deluded

by the five desires [insofar as I] actually killed my father king. I hope that the World-Honoured One, taking pity and compassion on me, can accept my repentance of transgression.”The Buddha said to the king, “You were foolish, deluded and senseless. Deluded by the five desires, you killed your father king. Now in the Dharma of the Noble One, one who is able to repent his own transgression brings benefit to himself. I have pity on you and accept your repentance of transgression.”

Then the king, having venerated the feet of the Buddha, took a small seat to sit in front of the Buddha. The Buddha expounded the Dharma to him, instructing, teaching, benefiting and delighting him. After having heard the teachings of the Buddha, the king once again said to the Buddha, “Now I once again go for refuge to the Buddha, to the Dharma, and to the Community. May [the Buddha] allow me to abide in the true Dharma as an *upāsaka*. From now on, for as long as I live, I will not commit killing, theft, sexual misconduct, cheating, or drinking liquor.”

At that time, after the World-Honoured One expounded the Dharma to King Ajātaśatru, instructing, teaching, benefiting and delighting him, he arose from his seat and left. When King Ajātaśatru and the youth Jīvaka heard what the Buddha said, they rejoiced and put it into practice.²⁷⁹

The chart below shows the basic differences between the Chinese DĀ version and the two other (the Pāli DN and the MSV) versions of the SPS, regarding Ajātaśatru’s reaction to the Buddha’s discourse. It also indicates the formulae used in passages translated above, as well as their occurrences elsewhere in the Chinese DĀ:

Table 2.2: A Comparison of Ajātaśatru’s Acts after the Buddha’s Discourse in the Pāli DN, the MSV and the Chinese DĀ Versions of the SPS

The Pāli Version	The MSV Versions (Sanskrit and Tibetan)	The Chinese DĀ Version	
Ajātasattu’s praise of the discourse	—	—	
Ajātasattu’s taking refuge	—	—	
Ajātasattu’s confession and the Buddha’s response	Ajātaśatru’s confession and the Buddha’s response	Ajātaśatru’s confession and the Buddha’s response	
—	—	The Buddha’s use of a discourse on the Dharma to	Almost the same Formula in the

²⁷⁹ T.1.109b12-c20 (see Appendix I, Textual Material 10). Translated also in Meisig (1987: 360-379) and MacQueen (1988:47-50). I have no access to a Japanese translation published by Hajime et al.

		instruct, inspire, stimulate and delight Ajātaśatru	Chinese DĀ: ²⁸⁰ E.g. DĀ 2 (12b4f.
—	—	Ajātaśatru's taking refuge and his vow to observe the five precepts	[Lay people in Pāṭaliputra], 13b24f. [Lady Āmrāpālī]), DĀ 20 (87c27f. [Brahmin Puṣkarasārī]), DĀ 23 (100c24f. [Brahmin Kūṭadanta])
—	Ajātaśatru's invitation and the Buddha's consent by silence	Ajātaśatru's invitation and the Buddha's consent by silence	
Ajātasattu's departure	Ajātaśatru's departure	Ajātaśatru's departure	
The Buddha's comment on Ajātasattu's spiritual failure	The Buddha's comment on Ajātaśatru's spiritual failure	The Buddha's comment on Ajātaśatru's spiritual failure and the diminution of his crime	
—	The Buddha's warning to the monks	—	
—	—	Ajātaśatru's gratitude to Jīvaka [also in T.22]	
—	Ajātaśatru's preparation of a meal and his service to the Buddha and the monks during the meal	Ajātaśatru's preparation of a meal and his service to the Buddha and the monks during the meal	The Same Formula in the Chinese DĀ: E.g. DĀ 2 (12c11f. [Lay people in Pāṭaliputra]), DĀ 20 (88a3f. [Puṣkarasārī]), DĀ 23 (101a2f. [Kūṭadanta]), DĀ 29 (113a27f. [Lohitya])
—	—	Ajātaśatru's confession and the Buddha's response [Repetition]	
—	The Buddha's applause for the meal with <i>agnihotra-mukhā yajñāḥ</i> verses	—	
—	—	The Buddha's use of a discourse on the Dharma to instruct, inspire, stimulate and delight Ajātaśatru [Repetition]	The Same repetition in the Chinese DĀ: E.g. DĀ 2 (14b26f. [Āmrāpālī]); DĀ 20 (88a14f. [Puṣkarasārī]), DĀ 23 (101a14f. [Kūṭadanta])
—	—	Ajātaśatru's taking refuge and his vow to observe the five precepts [Repetition]	
—	The Buddha's use of a discourse on the Dharma to instruct, inspire, stimulate	The Buddha's use of a discourse on the Dharma to instruct, inspire, stimulate	

²⁸⁰ The account of the four events as a whole constitutes one formula which appears a number of times in the Chinese DĀ, though with some variants. For instance, in the case of Āmrāpālī (Pāli Ambapālī), a residence invitation instead of a meal was offered to the Buddha. In the case of Puṣkarasārī (Pāli Pokkharasāti) and Kūṭadanta, the Buddha's preaching of the Dharma is not mentioned.

	and delight Ajātaśatru	and delight Ajātaśatru [Repetition]	
—	The Buddha’s departure	The Buddha’s departure	
—	Ajātaśatru’s loss of self-control on seeing the Buddha (...)	—	

As shown in the chart above, compared with the Pāli DN and the MSV versions, the Chinese DĀ version has three distinctive features. The first is its more complicated formulation of Ajātaśatru’s request to become an *upāsaka*, which comprises not only his taking refuge, but also his vow to uphold the five precepts (*pañcaśīla*) practiced by *upāsakas*. The second is a repetition of Ajātaśatru’s confession, the Buddha’s response thereto, his instruction to Ajātaśatru, and Ajātaśatru’s request for lay discipleship after the meal-offering. The repetition is no doubt intended to reinforce the theme of the “conversion” of Ajātaśatru and thereby to highlight the great impact the Buddha exerts on him. The third distinctive feature is the Buddha’s comment on Ajātaśatru’s spiritual failure and the diminution of his crime. Let us take a close look at this feature, given that it has the most significant implication for the present study.

According to the Chinese DĀ version, after Ajātaśatru has left, the Buddha tells the monks: “[As for] this king Ajātaśatru, his crime is diminished. He has already removed a severe offense”.²⁸¹ The Buddha goes on to say: “If King Ajātaśatru had not killed his father, he would have gained the pure Dharma-eye on this seat. But [since] King Ajātaśatru himself has now repented, his crime is diminished”.²⁸² As we have seen, in the Pāli version the Buddha also points out Ajātaśatru’s failure to gain the Dhamma-eye because of his patricide. But there the Buddha does not mention the

²⁸¹ T. 1.109b27. 此阿闍世王過罪損減，已拔重咎。

²⁸² T.1.109b28-c1. 若阿闍世王不殺父者，即當於此坐上得法眼淨。而阿闍世王今自悔過，罪咎損減，已拔重咎。

diminution of Ajātaśatru's crime and instead, he says: "Monks, this king is ruined. Monks, this king is destroyed" (*Khatāyaṃ bhikkhave rājā, upahatāyaṃ bhikkhave rājā*).²⁸³ In his discussion of the Chinese DĀ version of the SPS, MacQueen suggests that the Buddha's comment on the diminution of Ajātaśatru's crime "may easily been seen as involving a corruption or interpretation of a reading similar to that found in P [= the Pāli version]".²⁸⁴ He draws our attention to T. W. Rhys Davids' translation of the Pāli version, where the afore-mentioned Pāli sentence is rendered as follows: "This king, brethren, was deeply affected, he was touched in heart."²⁸⁵ This rendition is of course problematic as Walshe already pointed out²⁸⁶, for the words *khata* and *upahata* in the sentence in question do not refer to the influence Ajātasattu receives from the Buddha's sermon, but to the extirpation of his basis for spiritual progress. Nonetheless, what is interesting here is the "logic" behind Rhys Davids' rendition which, as MacQueen suggests, may offer us some clue as to the appearance of the diminution of Ajātaśatru's crime in the Chinese DĀ. MacQueen says,

"Presumably Rhys Davids found it difficult to believe that the sutra would end with the statement that the Buddha's discourse has been unsuccessful, and hence he searched for meanings for the terms *khata* and *upahata* that would allow things to turn out happily. It is very likely that a similar attitude on the part of the transmitters of C1 [= the Chinese DĀ version] resulted in the reading found in that text."²⁸⁷

According to MacQueen, the Buddha's comment on the diminution of Ajātaśatru's crime in the Chinese DĀ version may result from the translators' positive

²⁸³ Rhys Davids and Carpenter 1890-1911: i. 86.2.

²⁸⁴ MacQueen 1988: 186.

²⁸⁵ Rhys Davids 1899: 95.

²⁸⁶ Walshe 1987: 547 n.139.

²⁸⁷ MacQueen 1988: 186.

interpretation of the Indic original which could have, like the Pāli version, actually referred to the extirpation of Ajātaśatru's spiritual capacity.²⁸⁸ In other words, the Indic original of the Chinese DĀ could have had something like *khatāyaṃ bhikkhave rājā, upahatāyaṃ bhikkhave rājā* here, referring to Ajātaśatru's ruination caused by his own crime. This is certainly possible. Meanwhile, we cannot rule out another possibility that the diminution of Ajātaśatru's crime was not introduced by the translators, but indeed stated in the underlying Indic text of the Chinese DĀ. If this was the case, the Indic original of the Chinese DĀ would have taken a different approach to handling the salvation of Ajātaśatru as compared with the other versions of the SPS: on one hand, it acknowledged that Ajātaśatru is hindered by his own crime from making spiritual progress while listening to the sermon, but on the other hand, it emphasized that through the power of repentance and confession after the sermon Ajātaśatru's heinous crime is eventually diminished.

In either case—no matter whether the diminution of Ajātaśatru's crime results from the translators' positive interpretation, or from a variant Indic textual tradition of the SPS—it is noteworthy that his repentance is singled out as the reason for the diminution. This means that Ajātaśatru will not have to undergo the supposed karmic result of going into hell in the next life incurred by his patricide, precisely because of his showing repentance during the visit. The salvation story of Ajātaśatru as told in the Chinese DĀ, therefore, demonstrates the purificatory efficacy of repentance and confession. As we will see, the theme of repentance is illustrated even more extensively in the Chinese EĀ version of the SPS, where Ajātaśatru confesses

²⁸⁸ If MacQueen's hypothesis is right, the translators of the Chinese DĀ would have read the aforementioned Pāli sentence in the same way as Hirakawa (1971: 5) who also renders it as "The root (of the crime) of this king is uprooted and destroyed". Nevertheless, Hirakawa is not sure about this rendition, for as he says in his note (p. 11, n. 16), "Here, the translation 'The root (of the crime) is uprooted and destroyed' refers to the two words *khata* and *upahata*, but the text does not clarify what is destroyed. Perhaps one should understand it in the sense that the wholesome root of the king is destroyed?"

his crime three times and repents to the Buddha even before listening to the sermon.

2.8 The SPS in the Chinese Translation of the *Ekottarikāgama* (T. 125 [43.7])

No agreement has yet been reached among scholars over the translator of the Chinese translation of the *Ekottarikāgama* (EĀ). So far two different possibilities have been proposed: The first is that the extant Chinese EĀ was a translation by Dharmanandi in 384-5 CE;²⁸⁹ the second is that Dharmanandi's translation of the EĀ was lost, and that T. 125 as we now have it is a re-translation or revised translation by Saṅghadeva in 397-8 CE.²⁹⁰ This latter possibility is most thoroughly examined by Mizuno Kōgen.²⁹¹ I will look at some of his arguments in the next chapter. It has been pointed out that the Chinese EĀ was “not translated from the Sanskrit but from some Middle Indic or mixed dialect of Prakrit with Sanskrit elements”.²⁹² The original text may have been composed in North India²⁹³. As for the sectarian affiliation of the Chinese EĀ, various opinions have been raised, with no consensus yet reached.²⁹⁴ It has been observed that the Chinese EĀ shows definite Mahāyāna influences.²⁹⁵ While the “Mahāyāna colour”—to use Mizuno's words—is quite clear in some parts of the

²⁸⁹ This opinion is held, for instance, by Ui and Hirakawa; see Mayeda (1985: 102).

²⁹⁰ Lamotte (1967: 105); Waldschmidt (1980: 137 n.4, 169 n.168); Enomoto (1984, 1986); Mizuno (1996 [1989]). For other references, see Meisig (1987: 17n.1).

²⁹¹ Mizuno 1996 (1989): 426-435.

²⁹² Waldschmidt 1980: 137.

²⁹³ Przyluski (1918-1920: 435; 1923: 206-7, 21); Lamotte (1967: 106); Enomoto (1984: 102).

²⁹⁴ Mayeda (1985: 103); MacQueen (1988: 26-9, 192-3); Enomoto (1984: 102).

²⁹⁵ Demiéville (1951: 374); Lamotte (1958 [170-1]; 1967 [106]); Mayeda (1985: 103); Enomoto (1984: 102-3); Meisig (1987: 17); MacQueen (1988: 27); Harrison (1997: 279-280).

Chinese EĀ²⁹⁶, it seems not notable in the story of Ajātaśatru to be discussed below.

Like other *sūtras* collected in the Chinese EĀ, the SPS is not titled.

Nevertheless, it is referred to as *wugen-xin* 無根信, “Rootless Faith”, in a summary (*uddāna*) at the end of the section to which it belongs. The term *wugen-xin* could be the real title of the Chinese EĀ version of the SPS.²⁹⁷ It could also be an abbreviated reference to it. In either case, it is probably not accidental that the compilers chose this term to refer to the *sūtra* in question.²⁹⁸ As we will see, at the end of this *sūtra* the Buddha tells the monks that among his lay disciples Ajātaśatru is the one who has gained the “rootless faith”.²⁹⁹ Therefore, in the present *sūtra* the “rootless faith” represents a distinctive achievement of Ajātaśatru. It is perhaps to highlight this feature of Ajātaśatru and thereby to show that even the worst criminal has gained faith in the Buddha that the compilers chose “Rootless Faith” to refer to this *sūtra*.

Let us now take a closer look at the contents of the Chinese EĀ version of the SPS: On the full-moon night of the *pravāraṇā* day Ajātaśatru asks each of his wives, sons and ministers, what he shall do to pass the bright night. Various suggestions are raised but none accords with his will. When Prince Abhaya and some ministers propose to visit the six heretics, he is not satisfied and thinks: “Those people are all foolish and deluded. They cannot distinguish true from false, and have no skillful

²⁹⁶ Mizuno 1996 (1989): 436-9. As he observes, the Chinese EĀ shows a number of Mahāyāna features including the mention of Mahāyāna and a subdivision of Buddhist works named *vaipulya* scriptures, the enumeration of six *pāramitās*, the mention of *bodhisattvayāna*, prophecies of future Buddhahood, and the mention of Tathāgatas in other *buddha*-fields, etc.

²⁹⁷ Akanuma (1990 [1929]: 149) indicates “Rootless Faith” as the title of this *sūtra*.

²⁹⁸ It is very possible that the compilers of the Chinese EĀ who made the *uddānas* were not the actual authors of the *sūtra* in question. Therefore, the choice of “Rootless Faith” to refer to this *sūtra*, strictly speaking, can only represent the compilers’ understanding of it.

²⁹⁹ T. 125.764b10-11. For more discussion, see below.

means.”³⁰⁰ This detail is not found in any other versions of the SPS. Here, it shows that Ajātaśatru is clearly aware of the worthlessness of those teachers. Up to this point, the text makes no mention or hint of Ajātaśatru’s internal turmoil. However, what comes next is rather striking: Ajātaśatru puts the same question to Jīvaka, who suggests him to visit the Buddha. Hearing Jīvaka’s suggestion, the king immediately becomes excited, insofar as he even reveals to Jīvaka his remorse for the patricide:

At that time, King Ajātaśatru, after having heard Jīvaka’s words, became delighted, enraptured, and gave rise to a wholesome state of mind. He immediately praised Jīvaka, “Excellent! Excellent! Young man, the words you said are wonderful! The reason is this: Now my body and mind are utterly burning, and I have for no [justifiable] reason killed my father king. I have been pondering for a long time (**dīrgharātram*), ‘Who is able to illuminate my mind?’ Now, what Jīvaka just said accords exactly with my will. It is extremely wonderful, extremely marvellous, to hear the voice of the Tathāgata and to be greatly illuminated.” Then the king spoke to Jīvaka these *gāthās*:

“Today it is extremely clear and bright,
[but my] mind has not been illuminated.

Each of you please tell me,
to whom should I go to ask about this matter?

Pūraṇa, Ajita,
Nigrantha, [and] the Brahmā’s disciples,

Those people cannot be relied on.
[They] are not able to help one out.

Today it is extremely clear and bright.
The moon is full, without stain.

Now I ask Jīvaka,
to whom I should go to ask about this matter?”

At that time, Jivaka replied to the king also in *gāthās*,

“When hearing his [= the Tathāgata’s] soft voice,
you will escape from the Makara-fish.”³⁰¹

³⁰⁰ 762b14. 此諸人等斯是愚惑，不別真偽，無有巧便。

³⁰¹ On various versions of the story of how a boatload of passengers is rescued from the belly of a sea-monster (*makara* or *timingila*) through calling upon the Buddha, see Silk (2009: 115-123).

Please now visit the Buddha,
[so that] you could forever abide in a fearless state.”

Then the king replied also in *gāthās*,

“[As for] what I did in the past,
nothing is beneficial to the Buddha.

I killed the true disciple of the Buddha,
who was named Bimbisāra.

Now I feel extremely shameful,
and cannot face the World-Honoured One.

What can you say now,
to have me go and see him?”

At that time, Jīvaka replied to the king also in *gāthās*,

“All *buddhas* have no [discrimination of] this and that.
All fetters have already been removed forever.

They are impartial and have no second mind [i.e., single-minded].
This is the meaning of the Dharma of the Buddha.

If someone anoints the right hand [of the Buddha]
with the [cooling] *candana*-perfume,

and [another one] cuts off his left hand with a hatchet, ,
his mind would not have increase or decrease [i.e., no
preference to one or ther other]³⁰²

When he grieved for his son Rāhula,
he sighed only once, not even twice.

He restrains his mind towards Devadatta,
[regarding] enemies and relatives indifferently.

Great King, please humble yourself,
to go to look upon the face of the Tathāgata.

³⁰² As Bloomfield (1920 [339-343], 1923 [260 n.3, 306]) observes, the metaphor of sandalwood and hatchet (**vāsī*-/vāsī-*candana-kalpa*) is a stock trope used in both Buddhist and Jaina literature to refer to the dispassionate nature of an advanced ascetic. The term *vāsī-candana-kalpa* often appears as an epithet of such an ascetic. Bloomfield translates this term as “(ascetic) to whom the (burning) sword and the (cooling) sandal are all the same” and suggests that the term represents “another of the many technical specialities that connect, in this sphere, Jaina and Buddhist conceptions” (1923, 260n.3). See also BHSD, 479a, s.v. *vāsī-candana-kalpa*. In Jaina literature, the term *vāsī-candana-kalpa* occurs for instance, in the *Kalpasūtra* (§119 [Jacobi 1879: 63.23-24], translated in Jacobi 1884: i. 262) and the *Uttarādhyayana* (§ 19.92 [Charpentier 1922: 151.21] translated in Jacobi 1884: ii. 99 n.1).

He will end your doubts.
Let there be no delay.”³⁰³

The text goes on to tell us that Ajātaśatru immediately adopts Jīvaka’s advice and sets out to visit the Buddha. Having arrived at the Buddha’s place, seeing his appearance, the king reacts as follows:

Then King Ajātaśatru immediately came to where the Buddha was and prostrated himself on the ground. With his hands placed on the Tathāgata’s feet, he said, “Please, World-Honoured One, have pity on me and accept my repentance of transgression. My father king was innocent but I put him to death. Please accept my repentance. Henceforth I will not transgress again. I will rectify my past [transgression] and cultivate [good deeds in] the future³⁰⁴.”

The World-Honoured One said, “Now is exactly the right time. It is fitting that you now repent your transgression, without missing out anything. When a person lives in this world, if he has committed a transgression [but] is able to set himself right, he is called ‘superior person’ (Chin.*shangren* 上人, *ārya*?). In the Dharma of mine, this [i.e., rectifying oneself after a transgression] is extremely significant. It is fitting that you repent now.” At that time, the king venerated the Tathāgata’s feet and sat on one side.³⁰⁵

Ajātaśatru then asks the Buddha whether a person collecting merits (i.e., doing good deeds) in this life will receive rewards here and now. He reports answers received earlier from the six heretics and expresses his discontent with them. Through a dialogue with the king, the Buddha demonstrates that one can receive karmic rewards for meritorious deeds in the same lifetime. Having heard the Buddha’s exposition,

³⁰³ T.125.762b21-c23 (see Appendix I, Textual Material 11.1).

³⁰⁴ Chin. 自改往修來. The term *gaiwang* 改往, “to rectify the past”, as well as similar expressions (有過能自改者, 改其所造) in the following passages, may not be taken in their literal sense, since crimes, once committed, cannot be corrected in any way even if they can be remitted (as in the present case of Ajātaśatru). What the text seems to mean here is one’s self-adjustment through abandoning evil deeds and setting oneself right. MacQueen (1988: 80) translates 改往 literally as “correct what is past”, while Meisig (1987: 114) construes it in the sense of repentance and translates, “repent of one’s past”.

³⁰⁵ T. 125.763a19-26 (see Textual Material 11.2).

Ajātaśatru reacts as follows:

The king said to the Buddha, “I have now, through these examples, gained an understanding. Today the World-Honoured One has repeatedly explained this matter. From now onwards I will believe in and accept [your explanation of] this matter. Please, World-Honoured One, accept me as a disciple. I take refuge in the Buddha, the Dharma and the community of *bhikṣus*. Now I once again repent: [I was] so foolish and so deluded that although my father, the king, was innocent, I put him to death. Now I take refuge as long as I am alive (*yāvajjīvaṃ prāṇopetaṃ*?). Please, World-Honoured One, remove that crimes [I committed] and preach the true Dharma. For a long time [I could] do nothing, for I know that the result of the crimes I committed lack all roots of good.”

The Buddha said to the king, “In this world there are two kinds of people who are free from crime and will, when they finish their lives, be reborn in heaven as quickly as the bending and stretching of one’s arms. What are the two? The first is the one who produces no roots of evil and cultivates good deeds. The second is the one who commits a crime [but] corrects what he has done (改其所造). These two kinds of people, when they finish their lives, will be reborn in heavens above, without delay.”

At that time, the World-Honoured One pronounced this *gāthā*,

“[Although] a person has done extremely evil deeds,
Through repenting [his crime] becomes diminished.

If he daily repents without laxness,
His roots of guilt will be forever eradicated.”

“For this reason, Great King, you should rule lawfully, not unlawfully. One who rules lawfully, after the dissolution of his body, at the end of his life, will be reborn in good realms, in heaven above. When he finishes his life, his fame will spread afar, and will be heard in four directions. Following generations will pass it on that in the past there was a king who ruled lawfully, without injustice. People will praise and pass on the place where this man was born. [If a king rules lawfully,] his life span will be increased and he will not die young. For this reason, Great King, you should give rise to a joyful mind towards the three Honourable Ones—the Buddha, the Dharma and the Holy Assembly. In this way, Great King, this is to be learnt.”

At that time, King Ajātaśatru rose from his seat. He venerated the feet of the Buddha with his forehead and then departed. When the king was not far away, the Buddha said to the *bhikṣus*, “Now this king Ajātaśatru, if he had not killed his father king, he would have attained the realization of the first fruit of *śramaṇa*-hood, among the four pairs [of persons] and eight types [of individuals] (**catvāri puruṣayugānyaṣṭau puruṣa-pudgalāḥ*). He would have also attained the noble eightfold path, freed from the eight cravings, and have overcome the eight difficult

[circumstances]. Even so, now he has still obtained great bliss and gained the rootless faith. Therefore, Bhikṣus, a person who has committed a crime should seek means to gain the rootless faith. Among my *upāsakas*, the one who has gained the rootless faith is Ajātaśatru.”³⁰⁶

As both Meisig and MacQueen observe, of all the extant versions of the SPS the Chinese EĀ version gives the most prominence to the repentance of Ajātaśatru.³⁰⁷

Throughout this version Ajātaśatru confesses his crime three times:

He first expresses his remorse to Jīvaka before visiting the Buddha. As we have seen, having heard Jīvaka’s praise of the Buddha, Ajātaśatru is extremely excited. He reveals to Jīvaka the anguish he has been suffering since committing the patricide and his wish for being illuminated by the Buddha. He also tells Jīvaka that he is hesitant to go due to the shame of his earlier actions against the Buddha, which apparently refers to his previous support for Devadatta. In persuading the king, Jīvaka illustrates to him the dispassionate nature of the Buddha through a series of examples. This conversation shows that Ajātaśatru has gained faith in the Buddha even before the visit. He does not need Jīvaka to tell him the value of the Buddha, for he knows it already. What he needs is only an encouragement to overcome his hesitation. Ajātaśatru’s faith in the Buddha may also be discerned from a detail preceding the conversation, which emphasizes that he is unhappy with the ministers’ suggestions of visiting the six heretics whom he deprecates as foolish and deluded. The deprecation shows that the king clearly knows the uselessness of the six heretics in contrast to the worthiness of the Buddha.

This conversation between Ajātaśatru and Jīvaka, as well as Ajātaśatru’s deprecation of the six heretics, is unique to the EĀ version of the SPS. It signifies a

³⁰⁶ T.125. 764a13-b12 (see Textual Material 11.3).

³⁰⁷ Meisig 1987: 31, 34; MacQueen 1988: 226-7, 275-6.

radical change in the meaning of the story of Ajātaśatru in the SPS, for as MacQueen says, “from this point on there is no doubt whatsoever that he is going to seek forgiveness and to take refuge... The king does not need to be brought to faith, for he has it from the outset.”³⁰⁸ Since Ajātaśatru has already gained faith before the visit, his following meeting with the Buddha no more serves to demonstrate the success of the Buddha as a religious preacher as in the other versions of the SPS. Rather, as we will see, it demonstrates that even the worst criminal can be released from his crime and attain heavenly rebirth through repentance and faith in the Buddha. The purpose of the EĀ version of the SPS, therefore, is not to show how the criminal Ajātaśatru is “converted”, but to turn him into a model of faithfulness for all criminals to follow. This shift of meaning is crucially important for understanding why at the end of the version the Buddha credits Ajātaśatru as the foremost in gaining the “rootless faith”, and why he says that people who have committed crimes should gain the “rootless faith”, just like Ajātaśatru.

Ajātaśatru makes his second confession shortly after his arrival at the Buddha’s dwelling place. There, on hearing the Buddha’s voice and before asking any question, he prostrates himself, entreating the Buddha to accept his confession and promising that he will restrain himself in the future. The Buddha approves him. This account of Ajātaśatru’s confession before the Buddha’s sermon is once again unique to the EĀ version of the SPS. It is consistent with the foregoing presentation of Ajātaśatru’s faith before the visit and illustrates his devotion even more explicitly. This detail changes the nature of his following question to the Buddha, for the question is no more a test of the Buddha’s wisdom but a pious plea for illumination.

Ajātaśatru makes his third confession after the Buddha’s sermon, where he

³⁰⁸ MacQueen 1988: 227.

admits his foolishness and delusion under which he has committed the patricide. He also takes refuge in the Three Jewels and requests the Buddha to accept him as a lay disciple. At first glance, this account appears parallel to Ajātaśatru's confession told in the other versions of the SPS. But in fact, in the present context, since Ajātaśatru already confesses twice before the Buddha's sermon, his third confession functions only as a reiteration and reinforcement of his repentance and faith in the Buddha. It no more represents a sudden change of heart aroused by the overwhelming charisma of the Buddha as a preacher, and therefore has a rather different implication from Ajātaśatru's confession told in the other versions.

Following his third confession, Ajātaśatru entreats the Buddha to remove his crime and expresses his deep concern over the bad karmic result caused. Clearly, he wants to escape the future punishment incurred by his patricide. The Buddha's reply in this regard is very striking: he tells Ajātaśatru that two kinds of people can be reborn in heaven after death, "one who produces no roots of evil and cultivates good deeds", and "one who commits a crime but corrects what he has done", both free of crime.³⁰⁹ The Chinese expression *gai-qi-suo-zao* 改其所造, "to correct what one has done", as used here might have been based on something related to *prati-√kr* "to repent", given that these two kinds of people are also mentioned in other Buddhist texts, where the word *pratīkaroti* (or its Chinese equivalent, see below) frequently occurs.³¹⁰ For instance, in the *Pāṇḍulohitaka-vastu*, "Section on Pāṇḍuka and Lohitaka", of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, the Buddha says to the monk Udāyin,

³⁰⁹ T. 125. 764a19-23.

³¹⁰ Skt. *pratīkaroti* / Pāli *paṭīkaroti* literally means "someone repairs, requites, or makes amends". This has developed into the meaning "repentance". Mori (1998b) observes that in the Pāli canon *paṭīkaroti* is most frequently used in the sense of "repentance". Based on a close study of related sources, he summarizes: "The above actions, including voluntarily 'confessing one's crime to others', 'repenting of transgression', 'vowing not to commit again', 'apologizing and asking for pardon', that is, those actions shown in 'Formula A', can be referred to by one collective term 'paṭi-karoti'" (p.29).

“There are two wise people, two clever people, two good people: one who commits no crime, and one who, [although] committing a crime, repents according to the Dharma. Two people enkindle the torch of the Dharma, the light of the Dharma, ..., the radiance of the Dharma. What are the two? One who commits no crime, and one who, [although] committing a crime, repents according to the Dharma.”³¹¹

This passage also appears in Yijing’s translation of the **Ekaśatakarman* of the Mūla-sarvāstivādins (T. 1453), where Yijing renders *yathādharmam pratikaroti* as *rufa-huichu* 如法悔除, literally, “to repent of and [thereby] remove [a crime] according to the Dharma”. Moreover, in Xuanzang’s translation of the *Vibhāṣā*, we also find:

As the *Vinaya* says³¹², there are two kinds of individuals who can be called the pure: the one who never commits a crime, and the one who, after committing a crime, repents of and thereby removes it according to the Dharma (如法悔除, **yathādharmam pratikaroti*). The first is by nature undefiled, therefore called the pure. The second is purified from defilements, therefore called the pure.³¹³

It is possible that the expression 改其所造, “to correct what one has done”, in the Chinese EĀ was also translated from a phrase like **āpattim (yathādharmam) pratikaroti*, which actually refers to one’s repentance for a past misdeed. Through telling Ajātaśatru that a criminal can be absolved from his crime through repentance and can

³¹¹ Dutt 1939-1959: iii. 3.57, 11-15; Yamagiwa 2001: 138, §7.5.10: *dvau paṇḍitau dvau vyaktau dvau satpuruṣau | yaścāpattim nāpadyate yaścāpattim āpanno yathādharmam pratikaroti | dvau dharmolkām prajvālayato ... dharmapradhyotam | katamau dvau | yaścāpattim nāpadyate yaścāpattim āpanno yathādharmam pratikaroti*. Note that the Sanskrit fragments of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Ekottarikāgama* from Gilgit also mention “two wise people”; see Tripāthī (1995: 111, 215, §35.12): *dvau paṇḍitau | yaś ca atyayam atyayato jñāti, yaś cātyayam atyaya(to jñātvā yathādharmam pratikaroti) ||* “There are two wise people, one who realizes his crime, and one who, after realizing his crime as a crime, repents according to the Dharma.” The Sanskrit *to jñātvā yathādharmam pratikaroti* in the parentheses is reconstructed by Tripāthī.

³¹² I have not been able to identify any extant *vinaya* text which contains such a passage.

³¹³ T. 1545.293b18-21.如毘奈耶說，有二種補特伽羅名為清淨：一者本來不犯禁戒，二者犯已，如法悔除。第一本性無染，故名清淨。第二從染得淨，故名清淨。 This passage seems to have no parallel in the AKBh, for as Hirakawa’s index shows, *pratikaroti* does not appear in that text (Hirakawa et al. 1973: 245-246). However, it finds a parallel in Xuanzang’s translation of a Mahāyāna text titled **Daśacakraṣṭigarbha* (T.411.757c14-28).

attain heavenly rebirth just like one who has never transgressed, the Buddha suggests to him the efficacy of repentance in purifying negative *karma*. The purificatory power of repentance as addressed here bears a similarity to that addressed in the passage quoted from the *Vibhāṣā*. However, as we saw earlier, in the *Vibhāṣā* Ajātaśatru is said to go to hell in his next life as a result of his patricide, despite his repentance and faith in the Buddha.³¹⁴ Therefore, in the context of the *Vibhāṣā*, the passage above only represents a general proposition, which does not actually apply to the extreme case of Ajātaśatru. In contrast, in the present context, the Buddha makes the statement to Ajātaśatru, which implies that not just ordinary criminals, but even the worst criminal such as Ajātaśatru can be freed from culpability through repentance. So here the purificatory power of repentance is unconditional and of utmost applicability.

This idea is, in fact, made explicit in the following part of the text, where the Buddha speaks a verse to Ajātaśatru, according to which whatever evil deeds one has done can be erased through continuous repentance. Although the Buddha does not say that Ajātaśatru's crime is indeed diminished during the visit as in the Chinese DĀ version, through revealing to him the efficacy of repentance the Buddha shows him a way to remove his crime, whereby he can be exempted from the karmic result of going to hell in the next life. The verse the Buddha speaks here is a formula which also occurs in similar form in another *sūtra* of the Chinese EĀ, where it is recited by the Buddha to King Prasenajit who is said to have come to the Buddha to confess his crime of killing “one hundred sons of [his] concubine-mothers (?)”³¹⁵ for the sake of seizing the throne. The verse given in that *sūtra* reads:

³¹⁴ See above p.33.

³¹⁵ Chin. 庶母百子. I am not clear about the meaning of this term. It could also refer to “one hundred sons of mothers of ordinary families”. The text gives no details of this event. It might be related to the story of Pasenadi's holding prisoners in chains as told in the *Bandhana-sutta* of the Pāli SN.

“Although it is the source of extreme evil,
it can gradually become diminished through repentance.

At that time, in this world,
the root [of your crime] will be completely extirpated.”³¹⁶

Verses of this kind, proclaiming the purificatory power of repentance, are also found in other Buddhist texts, either related or unrelated to Ajātaśatru. So far I have not been able to identify any Indian versions of such verses. This, of course, does not mean that they did not exist in Indian sources. In the Chinese Buddhist canon, a similar verse appears, for instance, in Dharmarakṣa’s translation of the Mahāyāna *Svapnanirdeśa-sūtra*, “Sūtra on the Teachings about Dreams”. There, the Buddha speaks a verse regarding Ajātaśatru:

For instance, Ajātaśatru killed his own father,
and also harboured evil thought towards the Tathāgata.

Yet, in one [moment of] thought, he [arouses] the mind of deep remorse
for his crime.
This can immediately remove the retribution of his crime, to release him
from suffering in the evil destinies.³¹⁷

The counterpart in the extant Tibetan translation of the *Svapnanirdeśa-sūtra* does not mention repentance explicitly. It only says, “Ajātaśatru killed his own father, and was even engaged in the killing of the Tāthagata. [But] due to that one thought (*sems gcig*, **ekacitta*) he was released from the evil destiny. How much more will good persons [be so liberated]?”³¹⁸ Although the Tibetan does not make it explicit, we can assume

³¹⁶ T. 125 [52.8]. 829b1-2: 雖爲極惡原，悔過漸復薄。是時於世間，根本皆消滅。

³¹⁷ T. 310 [4]. 91a6-9: 譬如阿闍世，殺害於己父。又於如來所，而生惡逆心。還於一念中，深悔過罪心。即能除罪報，脫於惡道苦。 Translated also in Hirakawa (1971: 7).

³¹⁸ Derge Kanjur 48, *dkon brtsegs*, ka 236a5-6; sTog Kanjur 11.4, *dkon brtsegs*, ka 361b3-4: *ma skyes dgra yis pha ni bsad gyur cing | de bzhin gshegs pa bgrongs par sbyar byas kyang || de sems gcig gis ngan 'gro rnam grol na || gang zag dam [S: dag] pa gang yin smos ci dgos |* The Tibetan translation was made by the Indian master Prajñāvarma and the Tibetan translator Ye-shes sde in the late eighth or

that here the “one thought” refers to his repentance and faith in the Buddha after the patricide. Moreover, as mentioned earlier, the possibility for Ajātaśatru to purify himself of his crime through repentance is also implied in the independent Tibetan translation of the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, which suggests that such a possibility represents a genuine Indian idea. Beside the Mahāyāna sources, another canonical scripture extant in Chinese entitled *Fo-wei-shoujia-zhangzhe-shuo-baoye-chabie-jing* 佛爲首迦長者說業報差別經 (T.80), “Sūtra on the Buddha’s Exposition to the Householder Śuka regarding Differences of Karmic Retributions”, contains a passage where the Buddha also speaks a verse to explain the purificatory power of repentance and once again relates it to Ajātaśatru.³¹⁹

[The Buddha said,] “Further, there is a certain action which can make sentient beings [who are destined to] fall into hell temporarily enter and immediately get out: supposing that a sentient being has done an act [destined to bring him to] hell, after having done it, he becomes fearful and [in him] arises surpassing faith. He produces a remorseful mind, loathing and abandoning evil, deeply repenting, and will never do it again. For instance, King Ajātaśatru who committed patricide and other crimes, after having entered into hell, was released immediately.” Then, the World-Honoured One spoke the *gāthā*:

“If a person has committed a weighty crime,
after having done it, he deeply reproaches himself.

He repents [and resolves] not to do it again.
This suffices to extirpate the root of his [evil] action.”³²⁰

The efficacy of repentance in purifying one’s misdeeds as claimed in the Chinese EĀ

early ninth century CE.

³¹⁹ T. 80 is traditionally listed as a translation produced by Fazhi 法智 in 582 CE. This attribution first appears in Fei Changfang’s catalogue (T. 2034.102b17-18), where it is mentioned under the title 業報差別經, “Sūtra on Differences of Karmic Retribution”. It has been regarded as one of the Chinese parallels of the *Cūlakammavibhaṅga-sutta*, “Sutta on the Shorter Exposition of Action”, of the Pāli MN (Demiéville, Durt and Seidel 1978: 23).

³²⁰ T. 80. 893c6-13 (see Appendix I, Textual Material 12).

and in the other Buddhist texts strikes me as somehow similar to—though still different from—the notion of *prāyaścitta* (Pkt. *pāyacchitta*, *pacchitta*), “penance, expiation”, in Brahmanical and Jaina literature.³²¹ For instance, the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*, “Manu’s Code of Law”, the most famous Brahmanical legal treatise of ancient India, says: “A sin committed unintentionally is cleansed by vedic recitation, whereas a sin committed deliberately through folly is cleansed with various types of penance.”³²² The *Uttarajjhāya*, “Later Chapters”, a canonical text of the Śvetāmbara Jinas, also says: “‘Sir, what does a soul attain through practicing penance?’ ‘Through practicing penance, he attains the purification of sin...’”.³²³ Although *prāyaścitta* serves different social and religious functions in Brahmanical and Jaina contexts, it is clear that in both cases this notion opens up the possibility of individual control over the maturation of *karma*, particularly in preventing karmically negative deeds from bearing undesirable fruits for those who have committed them. As Enomoto observes, the notion of *prāyaścitta* is rejected by some early Buddhist writers who maintain that one cannot escape the retribution of *karma* by any means.³²⁴ For instance, the *Therīgāthā*, “Verses of the Elder Nuns”, states, “...If you fear suffering, if you feel suffering unpleasant, do not do an evil action, either openly or secretly. If you do or

³²¹ On the etymology of *prāyaścitta* and its original function as a method for repairing errors in Vedic rituals, see Gampert (1939: 23-29, 200).

³²² *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra* 11.46 (Olivelle 2005: 845): *akāmataḥ kṛtaṃ pāpaṃ vedābhyāsenā śudhyati | kāmatastu kṛtaṃ mohāt prāyaścittaiḥ prthagvidhaiḥ*. I follow Olivelle’s translation (ibid.: 217). Chapter Eleven deals with various transgressions and correspondent penances, though parricide is not specifically mentioned.

³²³ *Uttarādhyaṃyana* 29.16 (Charpentier 1922: 201.17-18): *pāyacchittakaraṇeṇaṃ bhante jīve kiṃ jaṇayai || pāyacchittakaraṇeṇaṃ pāvaviśohiṃ jaṇayai niraiyāre vāvi bhavai*. The question is put by the mendicant Jambū to his teacher Sudharman who goes on to say (ibid.: 201.18-20): *sammaṃ ca naṃ pāyacchittaṃ paḍivajjamāṇe maggaṃ ca maggaphalaṃ ca viśohei āyāraṃ ca āyārapphalaṃ ca ārāhehi*, “When one performs penance correctly, one has the Way and the fruit of the Way purified, and gains [good] conduct and the fruit of [good] conduct”. Translated also in Jacobi (1884-1895: ii. 164). On *pāyacchitta* in Jaina literature, see Caillat (1975 [1965]: 107-120).

³²⁴ Enomoto 1996 (esp. 4-8).

are going to do an evil action, there is no release from suffering for you, even if you are flying up and running away.”³²⁵ Through claiming the purificatory efficacy of repentance, the authors of Chinese EĀ stand in a position closer to Brahminical and Jaina writers, than to those Buddhist coreligionists who are uncompromising towards karmic responsibility. The purpose of the authors of the Chinese EĀ in negotiating the laws of *karma* through promoting the efficacy of repentance, it seems to me, could be both soteriological and propagandistic. The negotiation may not only be intended to offer criminals an opportunity to cast off their crimes and to gain heavenly rebirth, as the text itself claims, but also as a device to arouse faith in an unbelieving audience, and to strengthen faith of believers in the salvific power of the Buddha’s teaching. The choice of the EĀ authors to use the salvation story of Ajātaśatru as a locus to carry out such an agenda is no doubt deliberate. One may easily see its underlying implication: it is possible even for the worst criminal such as Ajātaśatru, let alone for an ordinary wrongdoer, to remove his crime and to be reborn in heaven through repentance and faith in the Buddha.

Ajātaśatru’s role as a model of faithfulness for all criminals is made clear in the final part of the Chinese EĀ version of the SPS. After Ajātaśatru has left, the Buddha points out his failure to attain “realization of the first fruit of *śramaṇa*-hood” (初沙門果證), namely, the fruit of stream-entry (*srotāpattiphala*). He says that if Ajātaśatru had not killed his own father he would have been among the “four pairs [of people] and eight types [of individuals]” (**catvāri puruṣayugānyaṣṭau puruṣa-pudgalāḥ*). In other words, due to his patricide Ajātaśatru fails to become a candidate

³²⁵ *Therīgāthā* 12. 246cd-248ab (Oldenberg and Pischel 1966 [1883]: 146): ... *sace bhāyasi dukkhassa sace te dukkham appiyaṃ | mā kāsi pāpakaṃ kammaṃ āvi vā yadi vā raho | sace ca pāpakaṃ kammaṃ karissasi karosi vā || na te dukkhā pamuty atthi upeccāpi palāyato* | Translated also in Norman (1995 [1971]: 26) and Enomoto (1996: 6-7).

for the fruit of stream-entry that is the lowest of the eight types of individuals.³²⁶ It is clear that in the EĀ version Ajātaśatru’s patricide is still regarded as a hindrance to his spiritual progress as in the Pāli and the MSV versions. But the difference is that here the hindrance bears less importance. The Buddha goes on to emphasize Ajātaśatru’s success in gaining “rootless faith” despite his spiritual failure and to clarify that all criminals should gain such faith. Although put into the mouth of the Buddha, this comment appears to me as a kind of self-manifesto of the authors of the EĀ version to explain the purpose of their story, that is, to persuade the immoral to follow in the footsteps of Ajātaśatru to repent of their crimes and to take refuge in the Buddha. Seen from this perspective, the Buddha’s closing comment provides a key to understanding the overall meaning of the story of Ajātaśatru in question.

2.9 The Shifting Picture of Ajātaśatru’s Salvation in the SPS: An Overall View

What can we conclude, then, about the theme of the salvation of Ajātaśatru in the various versions of the SPS? It is clear that no versions give exactly the same illustration or interpretation of this theme. Both form and meaning of the salvation story of Ajātaśatru vary from one version to another, as the context and purpose of the story change. Based on the discussion above, we may summarize the differences between the extant versions of the SPS in their accounts of the salvation of Ajātaśatru as follows:

Table 2.3: Basic Comparison of Presentations of the Salvation Story of Ajātaśatru

³²⁶ The eight types of individuals are *prathamaphalapratipannaka*, “candidate for the first fruit [of stream-entry]”, *srotāpanna*, “stream-enterer”, *dvitīyaphalapratipannaka*, “candidate for the second fruit [of once-returning]”, *sakṛdāgamin*, “once-returner”, *trītiyaphalapratipannaka*, “candidate for the third fruit [of non-returning]”, *anāgamin*, “non-returner”, *arhattvaphalapratipannaka*, “candidate for the fruit of arhat-ship” and *arhat*. The four pairs are comprised by the eight types of individuals when taken into pairs (i.e., *srotāpanna* and candidate for such fruit, and so forth). See Lamotte (1944-1980: iii. 1136 n.407).

in the Textual Family of the SPS

	Pāli DN 2	Pāli JA 150: <i>Saṅjīva-jātaka</i>	Pāli JA 530: <i>Samkiccha-jātaka</i>	Sanskrit and Tibetan MSV Versions (Part of <i>Saṅghabhedavastu</i>)	T. 22	Chinese DĀ 27	Chinese EĀ 43.7
Confession	After the sermon	After the sermon	After the sermon	After the sermon	After the sermon	Twice after the sermon	Three times [before the visit; before and after the sermon]
Taking Refuge	After the sermon	—	After the sermon	— (?) [Interface between the SPS and the story of Devadatta's killing Utpalavarṇā	After the sermon	Twice after the sermon	After the sermon
Spiritual Status	Failure to gain the “Dhamma- eye”	1. Failure to gain the Dhamma-eye 2. Loss of the fruit of stream- entry	—	Failure to penetrate the Four Noble Truths	1. Acquisition of [<i>dharma-</i>]kṣānti 2. Freedom from outflows 3. Firm establishment in the Dharma [= Attainment of the fruit of stream-entry] 4. Acquisition of the Dharma-eye	Failure to gain the Dharma-eye	Failure to attain the fruit of stream- entry
Reduction of Crime	—	—	—	—	Diminution	Diminution	1. Possibility of removing the crime through repentance 2. Possibility of being reborn in heaven after death
Other Benefits	—	—	Psychological relief and happiness	Acquisition of rootless faith	—	—	Acquisition of rootless faith [Ajātaśatru as a model of rootless faith]
Major Purpose(s) of the Story	Demonstration of great impact of the Buddha's sermon	Demonstration of Ajātaśatru's ruin by Devadatta	Demonstration of benefits of contact with the Buddha	1. Demonstration of Devadatta's downfall 2. Pedagogical function of Ajātaśatru's failure	1. Demonstration of great impact of the Buddha's sermon 2. Demonstration of the salvific power of the Buddha	1. Demonstration of great impact of the Buddha's sermon 2. Demonstration of the salvific power of the Buddha	1. Demonstration of the Buddha's salvific power 2. Device to encourage others to gain faith

It has been argued that the divergent accounts of the salvation of Ajātaśatru in the extant versions of the SPS show a tendency, or a line of development, towards a more thorough salvation of this notorious criminal. For instance, in his study of Buddhist

stories about Ajātaśatru, in a section titled “Ajātaśatru’s contrition and salvation grow gradually more perfect”, Radich gives an appraisal of the various versions of the SPS. He points out that the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* and its parallels “tend to exclusively focus on Ajātaśatru’s repentance, and do not mention Devadatta suborning Ajātaśatru to his patricide-regicide”. He goes on to say:

“Within the steady frame of this consistent focus, however, considerable variation and development takes place, with an overall tendency for Ajātaśatru’s salvation by the Buddha to become more and more complete and radical over time. The Pāli *Sāmaññaphala* merely shows the Buddha accepting Ajātasattu as a lay disciple, and lamenting the fact that his actions have ‘destroyed’ him. In later versions of *Śrāmaṇyaphala*, however, such as the Skt. found in MSV SBV [= *Saṅghabhedavastu*], a new pericope says that Ajātaśatru is granted the ‘rootless faith’ (...) by the Buddha... T.22 even reverses the accounts of other texts, and says that, as a result of the Buddha’s intervention, Ajātaśatru has gained the ‘dharma eye’, in addition to which he has attained a state without ‘outflows’ (...), is established in the Dharma and will not regress, etc. Thus in comparison with the Pāli *Sāmaññaphala* later versions of the *Śrāmaṇyaphala* show a marked tendency to figure Ajātaśatru as less thoroughly damned for, and more thoroughly saved from, the consequences of his heinous crime.”³²⁷

Radich’s observation on the divergences of the accounts of Ajātaśatru’s salvation in Pāli DN, the MSV and T. 22 versions of the SPS is certainly right. Nevertheless, I can not agree with his argument that those divergences manifest themselves as a tendency towards a “more complete and radical” salvation of Ajātaśatru. If we consider the salvation of Ajātaśatru in terms of his spiritual attainment during the visit—as Radich does—we can see from the chart above that almost all the extant versions of the SPS agree on Ajātaśatru’s failure to get on the Buddhist path to liberation, and that T. 22 is the only exception. Can this single Chinese translation of the SPS be used as evidence for a tendency towards a more radical salvation of Ajātaśatru? I think we should be very careful when answering this question. I would rather consider T. 22 as a

³²⁷ Radich 2011: 21.

particular case, instead of drawing any generalized conclusion from it, especially given that this text is a translation and that we do not know whether its Indian original gave exactly the same spiritual attainments of Ajātaśatru. As for the “rootless faith” of Ajātaśatru in the MSV version, it does not represent any remarkable spiritual achievement. As we have seen, as in the Pāli DN version, in the MSV version the Buddha also laments over Ajātaśatru’s self-destruction and says that he fails to understand the Four Noble Truths which are the foundation of any substantial spiritual progress in cultivation of the Buddhist path. It is clear that the “rootless faith” in the MSV version of the SPS represents an achievement of Ajātaśatru in a devotional rather than spiritual respect. In fact, although he has gained faith in the Buddha, his spiritual status remains very poor. This implication of Ajātaśatru’s “rootless faith” is consistent with that of the “faith of ordinary people” (*pothujjanikā saddhā*) which Buddhaghosa ascribes to Ajātasattu in his commentary on the *Sāmaññaphala*³²⁸, since *pothujjana*, “ordinary person”, refers to one who has not yet embarked on the path to liberation.³²⁹ It should also be remembered that in the Sanskrit and Tibetan MSV Ajātaśatru’s “rootless faith” is mentioned not in the SPS proper, but at the interface between the SPS and the story of Devadatta’s killing of Utpalavarṇā. Given this context, the mentioning of Ajātaśatru’s “rootless faith” might have been intended by the compilers of the MSV to suggest Ajātaśatru’s change in attitude towards

³²⁸ On relevant account in Buddhaghosa’s commentary, see below p.148.

³²⁹ In the *Puggala-paññatti*, “Concepts of Persons”, *pothujjana* is defined as follows: Morris 1883: 12. 30-32: *Katamo ca puggalo pothujjano? Yassa puggalassa tīṇi saññojanāni appahīnāni na ca tesam dhammānaṃ pahānāya paṭipanno: ayaṃ vuccati puggalo pothujjano*. “What kind of person is ‘ordinary person’? The person whose three fetters [i.e., *sakkāyadiṭṭhi*, ‘belief in the self’, *vicikicchā*, ‘doubt’, and *sīlabbataparāmāso*, ‘(wrong) attachment to practices and observances’] have not been eliminated and who is not practicing to eliminate these things. This kind of person is called ‘ordinary person’”; translated also in Law (1924: 19). The *Puggala-paññatti* Commentary explains the latter part of the definition as follows: Landsberg and Rhys Davids 1972[1914]: 183.26-29. *Tesaṃ ca dhammānaṃ ti tesaṃ saṃyojanadhammānaṃ. Maggakkhaṇasmim hi tesaṃ pahānāya paṭipanno nāma hoti. Ayaṃ pana maggakkhaṇepi na hoti*. “‘These things’ refer to the fetters. Because one is practicing to eliminate these [fetters] at the moment of the path, this kind of person is not at the moment of the path [i.e., has not reached the moment of getting on the path].”

Devadatta and to elicit the following story of Devadatta's third *ānantarya* crime.

Besides spiritual status, another dimension for comparing the salvation of Ajātaśatru in the extant versions of the SPS is the reduction of his crime, which represents the karmic benefit gained by him during the encounter with the Buddha. As shown in the chart above, of the seven versions, only T. 22 and the Chinese DĀ versions mention the diminution of Ajātaśatru's crime. It is unclear whether the diminution in the Chinese DĀ version results from the translators' positive interpretation, or from a variant Indic textual tradition of the SPS. If the diminution was introduced by the translators as MacQueen hypothesizes, it would only represent the translators' attitude towards the salvation of Ajātaśatru, not the attitude of the Indian authors of the Chinese DĀ. Moreover, as we have seen, the Chinese EĀ version addresses the possibility that Ajātaśatru can eradicate his crime through repentance. This possibility no doubt suggests a relatively liberal stance of its authors on the principles of *karma*. Even so, the Chinese EĀ version does not say that Ajātaśatru's crime is indeed reduced during the visit. Instead, it still maintains that he fails to make spiritual progress because of his crime. Therefore, T. 22 is perhaps the only text which really claims the diminution of Ajātaśatru's crime during the visit. But it still remains uncertain whether this is an accurate reflection of its Indian original. In any event, the comparison above once again suggests the peculiarity of T. 22 and hence the potential danger of drawing any generalized conclusion from it.

Further, in his note to the comment quoted above, Radich remarks:

“However, I do not mean my comments to imply that the development I trace is absolutely chronological. The development is rather best considered as a logical one, from one centre of gravity in the moral lesson of the text to another.”³³⁰

³³⁰ Radich 2011: 21n.78. He goes on to say: “However, it also does seem the case that the vision of Ajātaśatru's confession in which he attains absolute exculpation emerged later than the vision represented by the Pāli *Sāmañña*, in which his patricide has irrevocably ‘destroyed’ him”. While it is

Radich is certainly right in pointing out the change of weight of the frame story of the salvation of Ajātaśatru in the extant versions of the SPS. But the weight of the frame story, it seems to me, is not a parameter for measuring the degree of his salvation. Rather, it is an indicator of how the frame story is used by the authors of a certain version of the SPS, which in turn depends on the literary and/or ideological purpose of the authors. Of the five canonical versions of the SPS (i.e., the Pāli, the MSV, T. 22, the Chinese DĀ and EĀ versions), the Chinese EĀ version is the one which ascribes the most weight to the frame story. In that version, Ajātaśatru confesses three times, and the theme of repentance, as Meisig puts it, “appears there, just like a red thread, throughout the whole sūtra”.³³¹ But even there, Ajātaśatru is still said to fail to get on the Buddhist path. The great weight of the frame story in the Chinese EĀ version and the extensiveness of the theme of repentance therein are essentially determined by the purpose of its authors for composing such a version. Their purpose is not to illustrate a doctrinal point—clearly, they show no interest in the fruits of the ascetic life³³²—but to portray Ajātaśatru as a model of faithfulness to arouse or strengthen the faith of audiences. It may well be for this purpose that the authors of the Chinese EĀ version assign great prominence to the frame story. The prominent featuring itself does not imply that the authors have Ajātaśatru radically saved. In fact, they still agree on

indeed likely that Ajātaśatru’s “absolute exculpation” in T. 22 came later than his destruction in the Pāli version, such exculpation is only an exception and as we have seen, all the other extant versions of the SPS agree with the Pāli version on the vision that his patricide has destroyed him.

³³¹ Meisig 1987: 31.

³³² In the Chinese EĀ version the question Ajātaśatru asks the Buddha is strikingly different from what we have seen in the other versions. Here, he asks, “If one makes merit in the present life, will one receive recompensation here and now?” (T.125.763a28). This question no more specifically relates to the fruits of the ascetic life, but to the fruits of action in general. This change, as MacQueen (1988: 277) suggests, may have been caused by the greater prominence of the theme of the salvation of Ajātaśatru in the Chinese EĀ version. That is to say, the question may have been altered by the authors of this version for the purpose of subordinating the doctrinal content of the SPS to its narrative frame of the salvation of Ajātaśatru.

Ajātaśatru's spiritual ruination in consequence of his patricide.

When we now look again at the different accounts of the salvation of Ajātaśatru in the extant versions of the SPS, we find that they do not manifest themselves as a linear development towards a more thorough salvation of this notorious criminal. Rather, the picture is more complicated: the differences could have been caused by a number of factors including (but not limited to) the external context of a version of the SPS, its literary or ideological purpose, the karmic views of its Indian authors, and the translators' interpretation of the Indian texts when translating them into Chinese. Instead of a single developmental line extending from one version to another, what we see here is more like a complex in which multiple dimensions of Ajātaśatru's salvation are expressed, including his repentance for the patricide, his acquisition (or deepening) of faith in the Buddha, his relief of mental anguish, his change in attitude towards Devadatta, his transformation into an *upāsaka*, his spiritual attainment during his visit to the Buddha, and the reduction (or removal) of his crime. These dimensions separately illustrate the mental or psychological change Ajātaśatru has undergone, as well as the spiritual or karmic benefits he has obtained, through personal contact with the Buddha. When we attempt to understand how the theme of saving Ajātaśatru is interpreted in each version of the SPS, we need to identify relevant dimensions of his salvation and to consider how those dimensions are constructed and exploited in that version. The pages above can perhaps be viewed as a first approach towards this kind of multi-dimensional assessment.

Besides the extant versions of the SPS, there are a number of other Buddhist sources providing us with windows into further dimensions of the salvation of Ajātaśatru. In those sources, Ajātaśatru is indeed thoroughly saved. He is, for example, said to be released from hell after falling into it and to eventually attain awakening in the future. That will be the topic of the following chapter.

Chapter Three

Prophecies of Ajātaśatru's Future Rebirths and Eventual *Pratyekabuddha*-hood

As shown in the previous chapter, most of the extant versions of the SPS (except T.22) agree on Ajātaśatru's failure to make spiritual progress during his visit to the Buddha, precisely because of his patricide. While those versions all tell us that Ajātaśatru does not get on the Buddhist path to liberation in this life, none of them say anything about whether he can get on the path in the future after his existence in hell, or what level of spiritual status he could eventually reach. Though not included in the agenda of the versions of the SPS, these questions are crucially important for understanding the theme of the salvation of Ajātaśatru, for in Buddhist soteriology the term "salvation", in its ultimate sense, does not refer to liberation from one form of rebirth, but to liberation from the cycle of rebirths (*samsāra*) as a whole, precisely through attaining one state of awakening (*arhat*-ship, *pratyekabuddha*-hood, or *buddha*-hood) and then entering into *nirvāṇa*. Given that Ajātaśatru represents one of the worst-case scenarios according to Indian Buddhist ethics, whether and how he can finally attain awakening are questions that have profound implications for Buddhist soteriological discourse.

In order to understand how ancient Buddhist authors answer these questions, we need to turn to Buddhist texts that contain prophecies of Ajātaśatru's future rebirths. In this and the next chapters, I will separately look at two groups of sources in which Ajātaśatru's eventual attainment of awakening is predicted. In the present chapter, I will discuss three texts concerning Ajātaśatru's future *pratyekabuddha*-hood,

one from Pāli commentarial literature and the other two from the Chinese Buddhist canon. There is also a short prophecy of Ajātaśatru’s future *pratyekabuddha*-hood in the *Ajātaśatrupiṭṭhahāvadāna* (AŚPA), “Story of Ajātaśatru’s Malice towards His Father”, of the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* composed by the eleventh-century poet Kṣemendra. The AŚPA in its entirety deserves a specific treatment elsewhere and will not be discussed in this chapter.

3.1 The Pāli *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*

Buddhaghosa’s commentary on the Pāli DN, the *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī* (Sv), contains a detailed exegesis of the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta*. In explaining the term *dhmma-cakkhu*, “Dhamma-eye”, used at the end of that *sutta* referring to the religious insight which Ajātasattu fails to attain, Buddhaghosa incorporates a discussion on Ajātasattu’s next birth in hell and his ensuing release from there:

“... ‘Dhamma-eye’ either means the eye into the Dhamma, or the eye made by the Dhamma. In other places this is a designation of the three paths [i.e., stream-entry, once-returning, and non-returning]. Here it refers exactly to the path of stream-entry. [Regarding this], the following is said, ‘If he had not killed his father, he would have attained the path of stream-entry while sitting here. Due to the association with the evil friend [i.e., Devadatta] hindrance has arisen for him. Even so, since he has approached the Tathāgata and taken refuge in the Three Jewels, therefore, because of the greatness of my teaching, just as someone who has killed a man could be freed through a punishment like a handful of flowers, in the same way, this man [Ajātasattu], having been reborn in [the hell of] copper pot, falling downwards for thirty thousand years, and having arrived at the lowest level, ascending upwards for thirty thousand years, and having again reached the highest level, will be freed.’ This was also said by the Blessed One, though not included in the Canon.”³³³

³³³ Rhys Davids and Carpenter 1886-1932: i. 237.23-238.4 (see Appendix I, Textual Material 13.1). See also an English translation of the Burmese Buddhasāsana Council edition of this passage in Bodhi (1989: 197-8).

Buddhaghosa goes on to show the psychological benefit Ajātasattu gains as a result of his visit to the Buddha and his eventual attainment of liberation in the future:

“Having heard this *sutta*, what benefit has the king gained? He has gained great benefit. For since the time when his father was killed [by him] he did not get any sleep, either during the day or night. But after having approached the Teacher, from the time when he heard this sweet and invigorating discourse on the Dhamma, he got sleep [i.e., he was able to sleep]. He paid great honour to the Three Jewels. Indeed, there was no one comparable to this king in possessing the faith of ordinary people. In the future, moreover, having become a *pacceka-buddha* named Veditavisesa, ‘one with renowned excellence’³³⁴, he will attain *parinibbana*.”³³⁵

Buddhaghosa’s commentary above is noteworthy in a number of ways:

First, his specification of the “Dhamma-eye” as referring to the “path of stream-entry” (*sotāpatti-magga*) makes good sense in the present context. This is not only because the “stream-entry” is the first stage of the path towards awakening (*arhat*-ship) and serves as the foundation for further spiritual attainments, but also because according to Pāli canonical literature, a person who has reached this stage is “not subject to fall into the lower destinies, bound [for deliverance], and destined for supreme enlightenment”.³³⁶ Given that Ajātasattu will definitely go to hell in the next birth due to the patricide he committed, his failure to become a “stream-enterer” is easy to understand. As Buddhaghosa says, this specification, along with the following account up to Ajātasattu’s release from hell, is drawn from sources “not included in the canon” (*Pāḷiyaṃ pana na ārūḷhaṃ*) but likewise regarded as the words of the

³³⁴ The Burmese Sixth Council edition gives a different name Vijitavī, “Victorious One”.

³³⁵ Rhys Davids and Carpenter 1886-1932: i. 238.5-13 (see Textual Material 13.2).

³³⁶ See for instance, DN (Rhys Davids and Carpenter 1890-1911: i. 156. 8-9): “*Idha Mahāli bhikkhu tiṇṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhaya sotāpanno hoti avinipātadhammo niyato sambodhiparāyano*” “‘Mahāli, in one case, a monk through destruction of the three fetters becomes a ‘stream-enterer’, not subject to the unpleasant destinies, bound [for deliverance] and destined for supreme awakening’”. Translated also in Walshe (1987: 145). For other occurrences of this phase in the Pāli *Nikāyas*, see Lamotte (1944-1980: ii. 840 n.1^o, and v. 2214 n.3).

Buddha. It may not be important to argue whether the “Dhamma-eye” used in the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* really refers to “stream-entry”, though these two concepts are, indeed, defined differently in the Pāli canon.³³⁷ The point is that both the “Dhamma-eye” and “stream-entry” represent the initial stages of the Buddhist path to liberation and therefore have the same implication that Ajātasattu is inhibited by his own crime from making any spiritual progress.

While the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* presents Ajātasattu’s confession without mentioning his inciter, the schismatic Buddhist monk Devadatta, and lets Ajātasattu himself admit responsibility for the patricide, the commentary not only brings Devadatta into play but also ascribes to him the major responsibility by saying, “Due to the association with the evil friend hindrance arose for him”. The “evil friend” (*pāpamitta*) here clearly refers to Devadatta, whose instigation of Ajātasattu to commit the patricide is narrated in detail by Buddhaghosa in the earlier part of his commentary.³³⁸ Since Ajātasattu is hindered by his patricide from attaining “stream-entry”, and the patricide is instigated by Devadatta, ultimately it is Devadatta who hinders Ajātasattu from making spiritual progress. By blaming the “evil friend” Devadatta in this way, the commentary highlights the “good friend” image of the Buddha. The reproach is consistent with the exaltation of the “greatness of the teaching” (*sāsana-mahantatā*) of the Buddha which is presented immediately afterwards in the commentary. Ajātasattu’s failure to attain the “stream-entry” in

³³⁷ The “Dhamma-eye” is defined as the insight into impermanence of things. See for instance, DN (Rhys Davids and Carpenter 1890-1911: i.148.15-18): “...*evam eva Kūṭadantassa brāhmaṇassa tasmim yeva āsane virajam vīta-malam dhamma-cakkhuṃ udapādi: ’yaṃ kiñci samudaya-dhammaṃ sabban taṃ nirodha-dhamman ti*” “...thus, in the brahmin Kūṭadanta, as he sat there, the spotless and immaculate Dhamma-eye arose—that anything that has an origination has a cessation”. See also a discussion in Harvey (2009: 222) regarding the same definition of the Dhamma-eye in another *sutta*, where he renders *’yaṃ kiñci samudaya-dhammaṃ sabban taṃ nirodha-dhamman* as “whatever is patterned with an origination, all that is patterned with a cessation”.

³³⁸ Rhys Davids and Carpenter (1886-1932: i. 135-138); translated in Bodhi (1989: 59-63) and Silk (1997: 202-4).

consequence of his association with Devadatta is also mentioned by Buddhaghosa in his commentaries on the *Majjhima-Nikāya* and the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, where it is used as an example to separately illustrate the concept of “evil friendship” (*pāpamittatā*) and that of “[one who has] the quality of decrease” (*parihāna-dhamma*).³³⁹

Buddhaghosa’s following account of Ajātasattu’s next birth in hell and his subsequent release from there addresses the temporary nature of Ajātasattu’s karmic retribution and the salvific power of the Buddha’s teaching demonstrated therein. Here, Ajātasattu’s suffering in hell before release is compared to the punishment for murder in a general sense. The punishment is said to be like “a handful of flowers” (*puppha-muṭṭhi-matta*), which is a striking metaphor in itself given the fundamentally negative attitude of Buddhism towards the act of killing.³⁴⁰ For instance, according to the *Cūḷakammavibhaṅga-sutta*, “Discourse on the Shorter Exposition of *Kamma*”, of the *Majjhima-Nikāya*, whoever commits a murder is either reborn in “a state of misery, an unhappy destiny, a state of destruction, hell”, or as a human but short-lived.³⁴¹ In

³³⁹ *Papañcasūdanī* (Horner 1933: 11.3f.): *Pāpamittatāya hoti nāma: —Sace hi Ajātasattu Devadattassa vacanaṃ gehetvā pitughātakammaṃ nākarissa Sāmaññaphalasuttaṃ kathitadivase sotāpanno abhaviṣṣa. Tassa vacanaṃ gahetvā pitughātakammasa katattā pana nāhosi. Evaṃ pāpamittatāya hoti.* “The name of ‘evil friendship’ refers to this: if Ajātasattu had not, after having followed Devadatta’s words, committed patricide, on the day when the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* was preached, he could have become a stream-enterer. Having followed his words, due to the crime of patricide, [Ajātasattu] did not become [a stream-enterer].” *Manoratha-pūraṇī* (Walleiser and Kopp 1924-1957: iii. 406. 9-10): *Parihānadhammo ti ko evaṃ bhagavatā ñāto ti Ajātasattu rājā, so hi pāpamittaṃ nissāya magga-phalehi parihīno.* “As for ‘One who has the quality of decrease’, who is known to the Blessed One as a person of this kind? King Ajātasattu, since due to the association with the evil friend [Devadatta] he fell away from the fruit of the Path.”

³⁴⁰ Buddhaghosa also uses the simile of “a handful of flower” (*puppha-muṭṭhi*) in his *Visuddhimagga*, but in a quite different way (Rhys Davids 1920-1921: 432. 12f.): *idaṃ ca nesaṃ opammaṃ: —Yathā ākāse khitte pupphamuṭṭhimhi avassaṃ ekaṃ puppham ekassa vaṇṭena vaṇṭaṃ paṭivijjhati, evaṃ parassa cittaṃ jānissāmi ti rāsivasena mahāanassa cite avajjite āvassaṃ ekassa cittaṃ ekena cittena uppādakkhaṇe vā ṭhitikkhaṇe vā bhagakkhaṇe vā paṭivijjhatī ti.* Nāṇamoli’s translation reads (1991: 428), “Their simile is this: just as a handful of flowers is thrown into the air, the stalk of one flower is probably struck by the stalk of another, and so too, when with the thought ‘I will know another’s mind’, the mind of a multitude is adverted to as a mass, then the mind of one is probably penetrated by the mind of the other either at the moment of arising or at the moment of presence or at the moment of dissolution”.

³⁴¹ Chalmers (1899: 203. 15-23): *ekacco itthī vā puriso vā pānātipātī hoti luddo lohitapāṇī, hatapahate nivijjho adayāpanno pāṇabhūtesu. So tena kammena evaṃ samattena evaṃ samādiṇṇena kāyassa bhedaṃ param maraṇā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ nirayaṃ upapajjati. No ce kāyassa bhedaṃ param*

the present context, the simile of “a handful of flowers” might be intended to suggest the insignificance of Ajātasattu’s suffering in hell in comparison with his ensuing release from there. To be sure, this is only a speculation and no conclusion can be made before we find out more about the use of this simile in Buddhist literature.

Ajātasattu’s next birth in hell as depicted in Buddhaghosa’s account is a very interesting process. He is said to be reborn in the hell of “copper pot” (*loha-kumbhī*), and before being released from there he will sink to the bottom of the hell over thirty thousand years and then rise to the top of the hell over another thirty thousand years. The term “copper pot” appears a number of times in the Pāli canon, almost always referring to one form of punishment in hell. For instance, the *Devadūta-vagga*, “Chapter on the Divine Messengers”, of the *Āṅguttara-Nikāya* contains a section introducing various types of torture in hell, one of which is to be boiled alive in a copper pot:

“Monks, the wardens of hell take him [i.e., the wrong-doer], heels up and head down, and throw him into a heated copper pot that is blazing, flaming, glowing. He is being boiled there with froth bubbling up. As he is being boiled there with froth bubbling up, he goes once up, once down, and once across. There he experiences painful, piercing, rough and bitter feelings. Yet he does not die until his evil deed is exhausted.”³⁴²

The passage above is a formulaic depiction of this type of torment in hell, which also

maraṇā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ nirayaṃ upapajjati, sace manussattaṃ āgacchati, yattha yattha paccājāyati appāyuko hoti. “Some woman or man kills living beings and is fierce, with blood on his [or her] hands, given to killing and violence, without kindness for living beings. Because of the act completed and undertaken [by him] in this way, at the dissolution of his body, after death, he is reborn in a state of misery, an unhappy destiny, a state of destruction, hell. [If] at the dissolution of his body after death he is not reborn in a state of misery, an unhappy state, a state of destruction, hell, if he comes back to the human state, wherever he is reborn, he is short-lived.” Translated also in Ñāṇamoli and Bodhi (1995: 1053-4). On Buddhist attitudes towards killing as seen in Pāli texts, see Gethin (2004b).

³⁴² Morris and Hardy (1885-1900: i. 141. 20-27): *Tam enaṃ, bhikkhave, nirayapālā uddhaṃ pādaṃ adhosiraṃ gahetvā tattāya lohakumbhiyā pakkhipanti ādittāya sampajjalitāya sajotibhūtāya. So tattha pheṇuddehakaṃ paccati. So tattha pheṇuddehakaṃ paccamāno sakim pi uddhaṃ gacchati sakim pi adho gacchati sakim pi tiriyaṃ gacchati. So tattha dukkhā tippā kharā kaṭukā vedanā vediyati, na ca tāva kālaṃ karoti yāva na taṃ pāpakammaṃ vyantihoti.* Translated also in Woodward (1932: 124).

occurs in several other Pāli canonical texts, with basically the same wording.³⁴³ A briefer depiction is also found in the *Kokāliya-sutta*, “Discourse on Kokāliya”, of the *Sutta-Nipātas*:

Then they, moreover, enter into a pot made of copper, a blazing mass of fire. They are indeed being boiled there for a long time, jumping up and down in the masses of fire.³⁴⁴

The *Sutta-Nipāta* Commentary interprets this sentence as follows:

“Then [...] made of copper” refers to the copper pot which is encompassed by the earth [i.e., extending under the whole earth], four *nahutas* and two hundred thousand *yojanas* in depth, filled up to the brim with copper. ... “Jumping” means going sometimes up, sometimes down, as they are being boiled with froth bubbling up. It is to be known that this is similarly told in the *Devadūta-[vagga]*.³⁴⁵

The picture is clear: the hell of “copper pot” in which Ajātasattu is said to be reborn is a vast place beneath the earth, where inhabitants have to be boiled alive for a long time and are swept up and down repeatedly. In light of this, Ajātasattu’s future experience of sinking and rising just once before release is indeed uncommon to the punishment in such a hell. This peculiarity may also be discerned through a comparison with the experience of four other inhabitants of the hell of “copper pot” told by Buddhaghosa in his commentary on the *Samyutta-Nikāya*, the *Sāratthappakāsinī*. There, in his exegesis of the *Yañña-sutta*, “Discourse on Sacrifice”, of the *Kosala-samyutta*,

³⁴³ See for instance, MN (§129 *Bālappaṇḍita-sutta*, Chalmers 1899: 167. 6f.), AN (§VII. 7. 68, Morris and Hardy 1885-1900: iv. 134. 12f.), *Mahāniddeśa* (§15 *Attadaṇḍasuttaniddeso*, La Vallée Poussin and Thomas 1916-1917: 404. 19f.) and *Kathāvatthu* (Taylor 1894-1897: ii.598. 2f.).

³⁴⁴ Andersen and Smith (1913: 129.11-14, Verse 670): *Atha lohamayaṃ pana kumbhīm | agginisamaṃ jalitaṃ pavisanti, | paccanti hi tāsu cirarattaṃ | agginisamāsu samuppilavāso*. Translated also in Norman (1992: 77).

³⁴⁵ *Paramatthajotikā* (Smith 1916-1918: ii. 480.23-481.3): *Atha lohamayaṃ ti ayaṃ pana lohakumbhī paṭhavipariyantikā catunahutādhikāni dve yojanasatasahassāni gambhīrā samatittikā tatra lohappūrā hoti.samuppilavāso ti samuppilavantā, sakim pi uddham sakim pi adho gacchamānā pheṇuddehakaṃ paccantī ti vuttaṃ hoti. Devadūte vuttanayeneva taṃ veditabbaṃ*.

“[Discourses] Connected with [King Pasenadi of] Kosala”, Buddhaghosa says:

“In the past in that city [i.e., Sāvatti] four sons of wealthy merchants, having committed adultery, were reborn in a copper-pot [hell] named Nandopanda³⁴⁶. As they were being boiled with froth bubbling up, after going downwards for thirty thousand years, they reached the bottom of the pot, and after going upwards for thirty thousand years, they reached the top. On that day, having seen the light, because of the fear for [the retribution of] their own evil deeds, each of them desired to pronounce one stanza, [but] none of them was able to stay long. Each of them uttered one syllable, [separately] *sa, so, na, du*. The king [i.e., Pasenadi], finding no peace from the time when he heard the sound of these hell beings, passed the rest of the night...”³⁴⁷

As Buddhaghosa goes on to show, the king later consults the Buddha about the sounds he had heard, and the Buddha, having interpreted the sounds and completed the syllables into stanzas, says to the king,

“Unable to pronounce these stanzas, having one after another uttered one syllable, they sank back. Thus, Great King, through doing so these hell beings uttered the sounds. You have neither loss nor gain because of hearing the sounds. The act of killing so many cattle is indeed grave.’ After having frightened [the king] with the horror of hell, he preached the Dhamma.”³⁴⁸

This story is also found in other Pāli sources, though not in exactly the same form.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁶ It is therefore clear that the term *lohakumbhī*, “copper caldron”, is the designation of one type of hell which is characteristic of the punishment described above, and that there could be a number of hells belonging to this type, one of which is named Nandopananda; see also Nandopananda “One of the Lohakumbhi-Nirayas” in Malalasekara, DPPN, ii.31, s.v.

³⁴⁷ Woodward 1929-1937: i. 142.10-20: *Pubbe ca tasmim̐ yeva nagare cattāro seṭṭhi-puttā paradārika-kammaṃ katvā Nandopanandāya nāma Lohakumbhiyā nibbattiṃsu. Te pheṇ’uddehakaṃ paccamānā tiṃsa-vassa-sahassāni heṭṭhā gacchantā kumbhiyā talaṃ pāpuṇanti, tiṃsa-vassa-sahassāni upari gacchantā matthakaṃ pāpuṇanti. Te taṃ divasaṃ ālokaṃ oloketvā attano dukkaṭṭa-bhayaena ekekaṃ gāthaṃ vatu-kāmā vattuṃ asakkontā ekekaṃ akkharaṃ eva āhaṃsu. Eko sa-kāraṃ, eko so-kāraṃ, eko na-kāraṃ, eko du-kāraṃ. Rājā tesaṃ nerayika-sattānaṃ saddaṃ suta-kālato paṭṭhāya sukhaṃ avindamāno va taṃ ratt’āvasesaṃ vītināmesi.*

³⁴⁸ Ibid.: 144.1-6: *Te imā gāthā vattuṃ asakkontā ekekaṃ akkharaṃ vatvā tatth’eva nimuggā. Iti, mahārāja, te nerayika-sattā yathā kammena viraviṃsu. Tassa saddassa suta-ppaccayā tuyhaṃ hāni vā vuḍḍhi vā n’atthi. Ettakānaṃ pana pasūnaṃ ghātana-kammaṃ nāma bhāriyaṃ”ti niraya-bhayaena tajjetvā dhamma-kathaṃ kathesi.* According to the *Yañña-sutta* on which this commentary is made, before consulting the Buddha Pasenadi had planned to hold an animal sacrifice on the advice of brahmins in order to dispel the effects of his bad dream.

³⁴⁹ This story is also related in the *paccuppannavatthu* and the *atītavatthu* of the *Lohakumbhi-Jātaka*

The experience of the four adulterers in the hell is strikingly similar to what Ajātasattu is said to undergo in his next birth, insofar as all of them have to spend thirty thousand years sinking to the bottom of the hell and then to spend another thirty thousand years rising to the top of the hell. The only difference is that while the four had to sink back again immediately after they reach the top and therefore have no time even to finish one stanza—which indicates a repeated process typical of the punishment in the hell of “copper pot” as we have seen—Ajātasattu will sink and rise only once and will be released as soon as he touches the top of the hell.

The above cursory survey of the occurrences of the hell of “copper pot” in the Pāli literature suggests that compared with the typical punishment in that hell what Ajātasattu will experience appears less severe, for although he will still have to stay in the hell for a long time, he will not have to undergo the suffering generated from the repeated process of sinking and rising. To be sure, Ajātasattu sooner or later will be released from the hell as soon as the karmic effect of his crime is exhausted. Before the release, he could suffer from going up and down repeatedly as is the case with most inhabitants in the hell of “copper pot”. His exemption from undergoing this repeated process is owing to his visit to the Buddha in this life, for as the commentary says, it is “because this one [Ajātasattu], having approached the Tathāgata, took refuge in the Three Jewels” (*yasmā ayaṃ Tathāgataṃ upasaṃkamitvā ratanattayaṃ saraṇaṃ gato*) and “through the greatness of the teaching” (*sāsana-mahantatāya*) of the Buddha that he will be released after going up and down only once in the hell.

(No.314), where the four adulterers are said to “have been reborn in four copper pots (*catūsu lohakumbhūsu nibbattī*)” rather than one, but with the same process of sinking to the bottom of hell for thirty thousand years, rising to the top for another thirty thousand years, and then sinking back again (see Fausbøll 1877-1896: iii. 43f.; Cowell 1895-1907: iii. 29f.). An elaborate version of the story is found in the *Dhammapada* Commentary, which contains a sub-story regarding how the four committed adultery in their previous lives; see Burlingame (1921: ii. 100f., esp.106-7) where a detailed note (100, n.1) on relevant sources and studies of this story and its parallels is given. See also v. Hinüber (1998: 147-148) on the differences between the JA version of the story and the *Sāratthappakāsinī* and the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* versions.

That is to say, although Ajātasattu will go to hell in the next life in consequence of his patricide, through taking refuge and hearing the teaching of the Buddha in this life, he is exempted from the repetition of punishment which is common to the hell where he will be reborn. In the present context the exemption of Ajātasattu from such a repetition constitutes a demonstration of the “greatness of the teaching” of the Buddha. Ajātasattu’s future existence in hell thus becomes an interface where both the power of *karma* and the salvific power of the Buddha’s teaching work simultaneously and are, as it were, in balance.

Buddhaghosa concludes his commentary with a discussion of the immediate psychological benefit Ajātasattu gains as a result of his visit to the Buddha and the ultimate spiritual achievement he will obtain in the future. Here, Ajātasattu is said to regain his sleep after hearing the Buddha’s discourse in the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta*. This detail shows that the visit brings back Ajātasattu’s peace of mind which he had lost due to the fear of the retribution for the patricide.³⁵⁰ He is relieved from the burden of guilty feelings through gaining faith in the Buddha and receiving the “sweet and invigorating” (*madhurā ojavatī*) discourse from the Buddha. This detail, therefore, only demonstrates the psychologically pacifying effect of the visit. Nevertheless, what Buddhaghosa says next is far more significant. According to him, after the visit Ajātasattu continues to “pay great honor” (*mahā-sakkāraṃ akāsi*) to the Three Jewels and gains the unparalleled “faith of ordinary people” (*pothujjanikā saddhā*)³⁵¹; more spectacularly, he is said to finally attain liberation after becoming a *paccekabuddha*. Ajātasattu’s future *paccekabuddha*-hood is assumed to be the karmic fruit of the

³⁵⁰ This detail is reminiscent of what Buddhaghosa says in the earlier part of his commentary regarding the reason why Ajātasattu is seated on the upper terrace of his palace before his visit to the Buddha (Rhys Davids and Carpenter 1886: 140. 12-16). See above, p.79.

³⁵¹ Rhys Davids and Carpenter 1886: 238. 10-11: *Pothujjanikāya saddhāya samannāgato nāma iminā raññā sadiso nāma nāhosi*, “There is no one equal to this king in possessing the faith of ordinary people”. This means that Ajātasattu has the highest level of faith among ordinary people. See also above n.18.

“great honor” he has paid and the “unparalleled faith” he has gained in the present life, given that Buddhaghosa does not tell us any other good deeds done by him which could lead to such a result. Since both the honor and the faith, in turn, result from his visit to the Buddha, it is the visit—or, one may say, his intention to make the visit—that provides the ultimate cause for Ajātasattu’s future awakening. In this sense, the awakening as such constitutes a demonstration of the incredible merit of direct contact with the Buddha.

Ajātasattu’s eventual attainment of *paccekabuddha*-hood as told by Buddhaghosa no doubt has significant implications. As we have seen, the *Sāmañña-phala-sutta* emphasizes how Ajātasattu’s patricide hinders his spiritual growth, and says that because of this hindrance he can not even attain the “Dhamma- eye” during his visit to the Buddha. In Buddhaghosa’s commentary, however, the emphasis is shifted from this hindrance to the salvific power of the Buddha. Buddhaghosa shows that the hindrance is only temporary, and that the visit itself had long-reaching and spectacular benefits. As MacQueen observes, the exaltation of the Buddha’s power is shown in a number of places in Buddhaghosa’s commentary on the *Sāmañña-phala-sutta*.³⁵² He suggests that there may have been “‘exaltation tendencies’ at work in the Theravādin tradition between the time P [= *Sāmañña-phala-sutta*] was fixed and the composition of the *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*”, especially given that the exaltation of the Buddha can also be seen in the three Chinese translations of the SPS (i.e., T. 22, T.1 [27], T. 125 [43.7]) which were all made around the fourth or fifth century CE, roughly at the same time as Buddhaghosa’s commentary.³⁵³

In sum, Buddhaghosa’s commentary on the *Sāmañña-phala-sutta* addresses

³⁵² MacQueen 1988: 230-233.

³⁵³ Ibid.: 228, 232.

three benefits Ajātasattu gains due to his visit to the Buddha, including his mental relief of the guilty feelings in this life, his exemption from repetition of punishment in the hell of “copper pot” in the next life, and his eventual attainment of liberation as a *paccekabuddha* in the future. Unlike the canonical text which emphasizes the obstacle of Ajātasattu’s spiritual growth caused by his patricide, the commentary suggests the temporary nature of this obstacle and shifts the emphasis to the salvific power of the Buddha. The three benefits are all direct or indirect karmic fruits of Ajātasattu’s visit to the Buddha and, ultimately, all serve to demonstrate the greatness of the Buddha and of what he taught.

Besides Buddhaghosa’s commentary, two other Buddhist texts only preserved in Chinese, namely, the *Asheshiwang-wen-wuni-jing* 阿闍世王問五逆經 (T.508), “Sūtra on the Inquiry of King Ajātaśatru into the Five Heinous Crimes” (henceforth AWJ), and a *sūtra* in the Chinese EĀ (T.125 [38.11]), also present Ajātaśatru’s next birth in hell and his eventual *pratyekabuddha*-hood. A close look at these two texts may help us to appreciate the variety of the prophecies of Ajātaśatru’s future rebirths and the ways in which they are adapted into different contexts.

3.2 The Chinese *Asheshiwang-wen-wuni-jing* (T. 508)

3.2.1 The Prophecy of Ajātaśatru’s Future Rebirths in the AWJ

The AWJ is traditionally considered to be one of the translations produced by Faju 法炬, a monk of unknown origin, during the Western Jin dynasty (265-317 CE). However, this ascription may be unreliable as will be explained below.

According to this text, Ajātaśatru, after having heard the Buddha’s statement

that whoever has committed one of the five *ānantarya* crimes will fall into hell in his next birth, asks Devadatta whether he will undergo such retribution for his patricide; Devadatta comforts Ajātaśatru by saying that he has done no evil and therefore will not receive such retribution.³⁵⁴ This is heard by some monks during their alms tour in Rājagṛha. They report it to the Buddha who, in response, criticizes Devadatta's fallacy and predicts Ajātaśatru's future rebirths:

Then the World-Honoured One spoke this stanza:

“The foolish one [Devadatta] knowing this place [hell?],
says that there is no retribution for the crime [Ajātaśatru's patricide?].

Now I can see the future:
the retribution will be received at the determined place [hell?].”³⁵⁵

At that time, the World-Honoured One told the *bhikṣus*, “King Ajātaśatru of Magadha, though having killed his father, the king, will soon come to me and will have equal faith in me.³⁵⁶ After having finished his life, he will fall into hell in a way similar to the bouncing of a ball (Chin. *ru-paiju* 如拍毬).”

At that time, a *bhikṣu* said to the World-Honoured One, “After passing away from hell, where will he be reborn?” The World-Honoured One replied, “After passing away from hell, he will be reborn in the place of the Four Heavenly Kings.”

The *bhikṣu* said, “After passing away from there, where will he be reborn?” The World-Honoured One replied, “O *bhikṣu*, after passing away from there, he will be reborn in the Heaven of the Thirty-three gods.”

The *bhikṣu* said, “After passing away from the Heaven of the Thirty-three gods, where will he be reborn?” The World-Honoured One replied, “O *bhikṣu*, after passing away from the Heaven of the Thirty-three gods, he will be reborn in the Heaven of the Yāma gods.”

³⁵⁴ Devadatta's reply to Ajātaśatru goes as follows: “Great King! Do not be afraid. What crime have you committed? What wrong have you done? One who has committed a crime will receive retribution. One who has done a crime will receive the fruit. But, great King, you have done no evil. [Only] those who have done evil will themselves receive the retribution.” (T.508.775c16-19).

³⁵⁵ 776a2-3. 愚者知是處，言殃謂無報。我今觀當來，受報有定處。

³⁵⁶ The meaning of the word *dengxin* 等信, lit. “equal faith”, is not clear to me. Here it perhaps means that Ajātaśatru would have the same faith in the Buddha, as his current faith in Devadatta.

The *bhikṣu* said, “After passing away from there, where will he be reborn?” The World-Honoured One replied, “After passing away from the Heaven of the Yāma gods, he will be reborn in the Heaven of the Tuṣita gods.”

The *bhikṣu* said, “After passing away from the Heaven of the Tuṣita gods, where will he be reborn?” The World-Honoured One replied, “After passing away from the Heaven of the Tuṣita gods, he will be reborn in the Heaven of the gods creating [magical enjoyments] at will (**nirmāṇaratiṣu deveṣu*).”

The *bhikṣu* said, “After passing away from the Heaven of the gods creating [magical enjoyments] at will, where will he be reborn?” The World-Honoured One replied, “O Bhikṣu, after passing away from the Heaven of the gods creating [enjoyments] at will, he will be reborn in the Heaven of the gods controlling [magical enjoyments] created by others (**paranirmitavaśavartīṣu deveṣu*).”

The *bhikṣu* said, “O World-Honoured One, after passing away from the Heaven of the gods controlling [magical enjoyments] created by others, where will he be reborn?” The World-Honoured One replied, “O bhikṣu, after passing away from the Heaven of the gods controlling [magical enjoyments] created by others, he will be reborn in the Heaven of the gods creating [magical enjoyments] at will, in the Heaven of the Tuṣita gods, in the Heaven of the Yāma gods, in the Heaven of the Thirty-three gods, and in the Heaven of the Four Heavenly Kings. Then he will once again be reborn among humans.”

The *bhikṣu* said, “O World-Honoured One, after passing away from here, where will he be reborn?” The World-Honoured One replied, “O bhikṣu, King Ajātaśatru of Magadha, throughout twenty *kalpas*, will not go to the three evil destinies and will transmigrate between the realms of gods and humans. In his final birth, he will have hair and beard shaved and put on the monastic robe [consisting of] three parts. Due to his firm faith, he will go forth from home into homelessness to learn the Path. He will [eventually] become a *pratyekabuddha* named ‘Free of Defilements’.”

The *bhikṣu* said, “O World-Honoured One, it is really marvellous, really wonderful, that one who has committed such a crime, will experience such [heavenly] pleasure and will become a *pratyekabuddha* named ‘Free of Defilements’.” The World-Honoured One replied, “[Because] King Ajātaśatru of Magadha will attain perfection of aspiration (*fayi-chengjiu* 發意成就), myriads of good things will come. O bhikṣu, if one is capable of attaining perfection of aspiration, one can be released from hell. If one does not attain perfection of aspiration but attains perfection of causes and conditions (*yinyuan-chengjiu* 因緣成就), supposing that one is not born in hell, he can still establish expedient means whereby he will not fall into hell.” The *bhikṣu* said, “If that person attains perfection of both [= both aspiration and causes and conditions], where will he be reborn?” The World-Honoured One replied, “If he attains perfection of both, he

will be reborn in two places. What are the two? He will be reborn among gods or humans.” The *bhikṣu* said, “[Compared with] one who attains perfection of aspiration but does not attain perfection of causes or conditions, what is the difference between the two cases?” The World-Honoured One replied, “O *bhikṣu*, [if one] attains perfection of aspiration but does not attain perfection of causes or conditions, one is of weak faculties (**mṛdvindriya*). [If one] does not attain perfection of aspiration but attains perfection of causes and conditions, O *bhikṣu*, one is of sharp faculties (**tīkṣṇendriya*).” The *bhikṣu* said, “What is the difference between weak faculties and sharp faculties?” The World-Honoured One said, “One who has weak faculties, O *bhikṣu*, makes no progress in his actions. One who has sharp faculties, O *bhikṣu*, is clever and wise.” The *bhikṣu* said, “What is the difference between these two? What *karma* will they have in return?” At that time, the World-Honoured One spoke this stanza:

“The wise is regarded as superior in the world,
and will arrive at a safe place (*yogakṣema*?³⁵⁷).

All [the wise] can know right action³⁵⁸,
and can judge that whatever has birth must have death.”

“This is, O *bhikṣu*, the difference between them.” At that time the *bhikṣu* heard what the Buddha said and, after having rejoiced and [undertaken to] practice it, rose from his seat and venerated [the Buddha’s] feet with his forehead. He circumambulated [the Buddha] three times and then departed.³⁵⁹

The following part of the text tells us that the monk later comes to Ajātaśatru’s palace and repeats the Buddha’s prophecy.³⁶⁰ Ajātaśatru does not believe in what the monk says and sends Jīvaka to ask the Buddha whether he has really made such a prophecy.

The Buddha confirms:

³⁵⁷ The term *anyin* 安隱 might be a translation of *yogakṣema* “spiritual success, = enlightenment, peace, or salvation” (BHSD, 448a, s.v.). For instance, *anyin-chu* 安隱處 is also mentioned in the Mppś (T1509. 133a20) in referring to the state the Buddha attained, where Lamotte (1944-1980: i. 594) renders it as “l’endroit de la Sécurité (*yogakṣema*)”.

³⁵⁸ Chin. 諸能知等業. I am not sure about this translation. On *dengye* 等業 as a synonym of *zhengye* 正業 (“right action”; Skt. *samyak-karmānta*), see Nakamura (2001: iii. 1236b, s.v.).

³⁵⁹ T. 508. 776a1-776b17 (see Appendix I, Textual Material 14). As far as I know, this text has never been translated into a Western language. It has been summarized into Japanese in Hirakawa (1971: 7-8) and Sadakata (1986: 146-147).

³⁶⁰ The *bhikṣu*’s repetition of the prophecy is translated into Japanese in Miyazaki (2010: 119). I am grateful to Dr. Miyazaki Tenshō for sending me his unpublished PhD thesis.

“Yes, O Jīvaka, the Buddha, the World-Honoured One, said nothing different. What you stated is in accordance with what happened. The reason [why I said so], O Jīvaka, is that the king Ajātaśatru will gain the rootless faith. O Jīvaka, all men and women [who have gained the rootless faith] will have such destinies, with no difference.”³⁶¹

Jīvaka reports the Buddha’s answer to Ajātaśatru and advises him to visit the Buddha.

However, Ajātaśatru still does not trust the Buddha and does not take the advice.

When the Buddha hears this from Jīvaka, he says:

“O Jīvaka, the king of Magadha will soon come to me and will gain the rootless faith. If I enter into *parinirvāṇa*, he will thenceforth worship my relics.”³⁶²

The Buddha goes on to preach the Dharma to Jīvaka. The text closes abruptly with a formula describing Jīvaka’s rejoicing at the Buddha’s teaching, but no mention is made of Ajātaśatru’s subsequent visit to the Buddha.

The story in the AWJ is interesting in a number of ways. It provides a very different prophecy of Ajātaśatru’s future rebirths as compared with the one given by Buddhaghosa. Here, after his death Ajātaśatru will fall into hell in a way similar to the bouncing of a ball and he will be continuously reborn in the six heavens inhabited by the gods of the world of desire (*kāmadevas*), from the heaven of the *Cāturmahārājikas* up to that of the *Paranirmitavaśavartin* gods, whence he will return through these heavens, and in his final birth as a human he will attain *pratyekabuddha*-hood.

3.2.2 The Metaphor of the “Bouncing of a Ball”

³⁶¹ T. 508. 776c22-25. “如是，耆域，佛世尊言無有二。所說隨事。所以然者？耆域，彼王阿闍世當成無根信。耆域，諸有男女彼一切亦當有是趣而無有異。”

³⁶² 777a9-11. “耆域，摩竭國王不久當來至我所，當成無根信。設我取泥洹日後，當供養我舍利。”

The use of the metaphor of “bouncing of a ball” to describe Ajātaśatru’s future descent into hell is unusual. So far as I know, it only finds a parallel in the eighth-century Chinese *sūtra* titled *Shouhu-guojiezhhu-tuoluoni-jing* 守護國界主陀羅尼經 (T. 997), “Dhāraṇī-sūtra of Protecting the Ruler of the Realm” (see below). In the present context, this metaphor may have two implications.

First, it implies that Ajātaśatru’s karmic retribution of falling into hell caused by his patricide will occur inevitably and immediately after his death. This is suggested by the fact that in the AWJ the Buddha predicts Ajātaśatru’s next birth in hell directly after his rebuke of Devadatta’s fallacy that Ajātaśatru will not receive such a result of his patricide. Here, the Buddha wants to demonstrate to the monks that Devadatta is wrong, and that Ajātaśatru cannot escape the fate of hell by any means. This implication can also be known from the way in which the metaphor of “bouncing of a ball” is used in other Buddhist texts. For instance, the Shorter Chinese *Samyuktāgama* (T. 100, *bieyi-za-ahan-jing* 別譯雜阿含經)³⁶³ tells a story in which the Buddha uses the same metaphor to refer to the definite falling into hell of those who falsely accuse him of doing harm to local families. The Buddha says to the accuser,

“If one leaving aside these nine causes and conditions claims that the *śramaṇa* Gautama can do harm to families, not making [them] grow, there is no such a thing. Not forsaking such a claim, not forsaking such an intent, this kind of person will definitely fall into hell, in a way similar to the bouncing of a ball.”³⁶⁴

³⁶³ This *āgama* text is traditionally dated to the Western Qin dynasty (385-431CE). On its sectarian affiliation, see Mizuno (1970) and Enomoto (1984: 101-2; 1986: 24-5).

³⁶⁴ T. 100. 423c20-23. “...若棄如是九種因緣，言沙門瞿曇能破諸家、不增長者，無有是處。不捨是語，不捨是欲，如斯等人猶如拍毬，必墮地獄。” This passage finds a counterpart in the Chinese *Samyuktāgama* (T. 99, *Za-ahan-jing* 雜阿含經), where the Buddha uses another metaphor, the “throwing of an iron spear into water” (*tieqian-toushui* 鐵槍投水), to describe the definite descent into hell of the accuser (230c9-11). It also finds a parallel in the *Kula-sutta*, “Discourse on Families”, of the Pāli SN (Feer 1884-1898: iv. 325.5- 10):...yo mam evaṃ vadeyya ucchedāya Bhagavā kulānam paṭipanno anayāya Bhagavā kulānam paṭipanno, upaghātāya Bhagavā kulānam paṭipanno ti || taṃ gāmaṇi vācam appahāya taṃ cittam appahāya taṃ diṭṭhiṃ appaṭinissajjitvā yathāhatam [B^c: yathābhataṃ] nikkhitto evaṃ niraye ti “...If someone says about me as follows, ‘the Blessed One is

In another Chinese text, the *Za-baozang-jing* 雜寶藏經 (T.203), “Sūtra of the Store-house of Sundry Treasures”, translated (or assembled?) in the fifth century CE, there is a story in which the Buddha uses the metaphor of “bouncing of a ball” to describe both the quick descent into hell of those who have no filial piety and the quick ascent into heaven of those who have filial piety. He says:

“There are two perverse acts. [Whoever does them] will quickly fall into hell, in a way similar to the bouncing of a ball. What are the two? The first is not taking care of parents, and the second doing evil to parents. There are two right acts. [Whoever does them] will be quickly reborn in heaven, in a way similar to the bouncing of a ball. What are the two? The first is taking care of parents, and the second doing good to parents.”³⁶⁵

In the light of these examples, the metaphor of “bouncing of a ball” as used in the AWJ may have a similar function of illustrating the inevitable and immediate nature of the karmic result of going to hell which Ajātaśatru will undergo after his death.

On the other hand, given that the “bouncing of a ball” represents a brief

acting for breaking up families, for the misfortune of families, for the damage of families’, Chiefman, not forsaking this speech, not forsaking this mind, not giving up this view, he will be cast down into hell, according to his deserts.” Here, I follow Bodhi (2000: ii. 1346) to translate the phrase *yathāhatam* as “according to his deserts”, who, in turn, seems to follow Woodward’s translation of the same phrase in the AN (Woodward 1932: 6; 1933: 80). It has long been noted that *yathāhatam* (or *yathābhatam*) *nikkhitto evam niraye* (or *sagge*) is a formula frequently used in the Pāli canon (PTSD, 549b, s.v. *yathā-bhatam*; Woodward 1932: 6n.2). The word *yathāhatam* (or *yathābhatam*) is obscure. It literally means “like being carried”, but could also be a corrupted form of *yathābhūtam* “really, definitely” (PTSD, *op.cit.*). In any case, this word is not directly related to the idea of “bouncing of a ball”.

³⁶⁵ T. 203.449a4-8. “有二邪行，如似拍毬，速墮地獄。云何爲二？一者不供養父母，二者於父母所作諸不善。有二正行，如似拍毬，速生天上。云何爲二？一者供養父母，二者於父母所作眾善行。” The story is summarized in Chavannes (1910-1911: iii. 3) and translated in Willemen (1994: 13-4). Note that in a series of *sūtras* of the Chinese *Samyuktāgama* (T.99 [1056-1059]) the Buddha also uses the metaphor of “throwing an iron spear into water” (鐵槍投水, var. 鐵鉞鑽水) and that of “throwing an iron spear into the air” (鐵槍鑽空, var. 鐵鉞仰鑽虛空) separately referring to the definite descent into hell of the immoral and to the definite ascent into heaven of the moral (275a28f., 275b6f., 275b18f., 275c2f.). These two metaphors separately match *yathābhatam nikkhitto evam niraye*, “According to his deserts, he will be put into hell”, and *yathābhatam nikkhitto evam sagge*, “According to his deserts, he will be put into heaven”, in the corresponding Pāli *suttas* (Morris and Hardy 1885- 1900: v. 303-307); see also the translation “one is cast into purgatory according to his deserts” and “one is put into heaven according to his deserts” in Woodward (1936: 197-198).

moment of falling and rising, this metaphor may also imply that Ajātaśatru’s future stay in hell will not be long: he will quickly descend into hell and then quickly get out. This implication is made explicit in the “Dhāraṇī-sūtra of Protecting the Ruler of the Realm” (T. 997). There, the Buddha also uses the metaphor of “bouncing of a ball” to describe Ajātaśatru’s birth in hell and explains it in more detail. He addresses to Ajātaśatru:

“You have done evil deeds and are supposed to experience suffering in the great Avīci hell for one *kalpa*.³⁶⁶ [However,] because you wisely confessed [your crime] and repented, you will temporarily enter [into the hell] and then immediately get out. It is as if a strong man or woman bounces a ball with [his or her] hand, and [the ball will] temporarily touch the ground and then immediately rise up. When you finish your life here, you will be reborn in the Tuṣita Heaven, where you will meet the Compassionate Honorable One [Maitreya] and receive from him a prophecy [of *buddha*-hood]³⁶⁷.”³⁶⁸

The passage above gives a vivid picture of the “bouncing of a ball” and makes it clear that Ajātaśatru’s birth in hell will be a quick process.³⁶⁹ This process bears striking correspondence to Ajātasattu’s future sinking and rising in the hell of “copper pot” as described by Buddhaghosa. But the difference is that while Buddhaghosa insists that

³⁶⁶ This is not necessarily the case in other texts. As we have seen, Buddhaghosa shows that Ajātasattu will be reborn in the hell of “copper pot”, not in the Avīci hell. As Silk (2007: 254 n.2) observes, according to both the AKBh and the *Vibhāṣa*, “sins other than the creation of a schism in the monastic community do not necessarily result in rebirth in the worst of the hells, Avīci, ..., although they might.”

³⁶⁷ As will be shown in Chapter Four, Ajātaśatru’s future encounter with Maitreya is also predicted by the Buddha in the AjKV, though according to that text the encounter will take place in this world when Maitreya attains enlightenment.

³⁶⁸ T. 997, 574c17-20. “...汝造惡業，合入阿鼻大地獄中一劫受苦。由汝有智，發露懺悔，暫入便出。如壯男女以手拍毬，暫時著地，即便騰起。從此命終生兜率天，見慈氏尊，便得授記。”

³⁶⁹ The comparison of a short stay in hell to the “bouncing of a ball” also appears in some Chinese sources unrelated to Ajātaśatru. For instance, Daoshi 道世, in his compendium *Fayuan-zhulin* 法苑珠林, “A Grove of Pearls in the Dharma Garden”, says: “The renunciants, [even if] they commit crimes and fall into hell, will immediately ascend back after touching the ground, in a way similar to the bouncing of a ball. Why? It is because when committing crimes they feel extremely ashamed, and after committing them, they immediately repent.” (T. 2122. 970a11-12) Daoshi does not indicate the source on which his statement is based.

Ajātasattu's descent and ascent will last sixty thousand years, the metaphor of "bouncing a ball" indicates a far shorter time scale. As I have argued, Buddhaghosa's account already betrays an attempt to reduce Ajātasattu's future stay in hell, through exempting him from the repetition of suffering there. In comparison, in the AWJ and T. 997 Ajātaśatru's stay in hell is further reduced to a very short instant. Seen from this perspective, the metaphor of the "bouncing of a ball" represents an efficient device intended to substantially reduce Ajātaśatru's stay in hell. Since in the AWJ the Buddha mentions the metaphor after his prediction of Ajātaśatru's visit and his acquisition of faith—or rather, his being brought to faith, given that the text does not tell us any effort made by Ajātaśatru himself and that the Buddha is the actual cause of his generation of faith—the dramatic reduction of Ajātaśatru's future stay in hell is supposed to be a karmic result of his direct contact with the Buddha, which ultimately demonstrates the charisma and divine power of the Buddha.³⁷⁰

The two implications of the metaphor of "bouncing of a ball" can be unified in the present context, for they both point to the attempt of the authors of the AWJ to exalt the Buddha, though in two different ways. The first implication, the definite and immediate nature of Ajātaśatru's descent into hell after death, suggests the Buddha's insight into the inevitability of the laws of *karma*, in contrast with the fallaciousness of Devadatta who denies the karmic result of Ajātaśatru's patricide. The second implication, the short duration of Ajātaśatru's stay in hell, illustrates a great benefit gained by him through direct contact with the Buddha and demonstrates the salvific power of the Buddha.³⁷¹

³⁷⁰ The situation is relatively different in T. 997. There, the emphasis is on Ajātaśatru's repentance, for the Buddha points out that Ajātaśatru's quick release from the Avīci hell comes as a result of his wise act of confession and repentance. See the translation above, p.164.

³⁷¹ Besides these two implications, the metaphor of "bouncing of a ball" is sometimes also used to signify the endless repetition of rebirths in *samsāra*. This meaning does not fit into the context of the AWJ, but is assumed by some other Buddhist texts. See for instance, T.193. 55a11-12. 三界眾生類, 倒

I have not been able to identify any Indian (Sanskrit or Pāli) equivalent to the metaphor of “bouncing of a ball” as used in the AWJ. In his study of the **Ajātaśatru-kaukṛtya-vinodanā-sūtra* (AjKV), Miyazaki Tenshō proposes a hypothesis which may cast some light in this regard.³⁷² As he observes, one of the Sanskrit fragments of the AjKV recently found in the Schøyen Collection has the phrase *rājā ajātaśatruḥ tataḥ piṇḍorīye mahānarakād udgamya* in a sentence referring to Ajātaśatru’s next life in hell.³⁷³ This phrase finds the following counterparts in the extant Chinese and Tibetan versions of the AjKV.³⁷⁴

Table 3.1: A Comparison of Descriptions of Ajātaśatru’s Next Birth in Hell in the Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan Versions of the AjKV (I)

Sanskrit Version (Folio 544r2)	Lokakṣema’s Chinese Translation (T. 626.404b5)	Dharmarakṣa’s Chinese Translation (T. 627. 426c19-20)	Tibetan Translation (Derge 216, <i>mdo sde</i> , <i>tsha</i> 261a7-261b1; sTog 223, <i>mdo sde</i> , <i>za</i> 339b3-4)
... <i>rājā ajātaśatruḥ tataḥ <u>piṇḍorīye</u> mahānarakād udgamya ūrdhvasābhāge upapatsyate...</i> “...King Ajātaśatru, having ascended from that great hell Piṇḍori/ Piṇḍorī, will be reborn in	今阿闍世雖入泥犁，還上生 天... “Now Ajātaśatru, although entering into hell, will return back up to heaven...”	王阿闍世從集欲輕地 獄出，生於上 方... “King Ajātaśatru, having emerged from <u>the light hell [named]</u> <u>‘Assembly of Desire’</u> ³⁷⁵ , will be reborn above...”	<i>rgyal po ma skyes dgra 'di yang < > so so 'i sems can dmyal ba me tog pun 'da ri ka</i> [S: <i>pu ṇḍa ri ka</i>] <i>ltar gas pa de nas byung nas...</i> “King Ajātaśatru here, having risen from <u>the pratyekanaraka</u> <u>[named] Burst Open</u>

見手所指。顛倒於五道，猶如拍毬跳。“Sentient beings in the three realms hold distorted views on what the Buddha points to [?]. They transmigrate between the five destinies in a way similar to the bouncing of a ball”; T.374.524a25-28.一切眾生...不見佛性故，自造結業，流轉生死，猶如拍毬。“All sentient beings...because of not seeing the *buddha*-nature, create the binding of *karma*. They transmigrate between births and deaths in a way similar to the bouncing of a ball.” See also T. 383.1005c16-17, T.384. 1047a16-17.

³⁷² Miyazaki (2010: 123).

³⁷³ Harrison and Hartmann (2000a: 208, folio 544r2-4). On Ajātaśatru’s future rebirths as told in the extant versions of the AjKV, see a detailed discussion in Chapter Four.

³⁷⁴ The late Chinese translation (T. 628) of the AjKV has no account of Ajātaśatru’s next birth in hell.

³⁷⁵ Early in Dharmarakṣa’s translation (T. 627.425c5), the term *jīyu* 集欲, “Assembly of Desire”, is introduced as the name of the hell where Ajātaśatru will be reborn. See below.

the region above...”			Like a Puṇḍarīka Flower... ³⁷⁶
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The Sanskrit word *piṇḍorīye* is problematic. In their notes on the Sanskrit fragment in question, Harrison and Hartmann comment that the ending of this word is puzzling, and they temporarily read it as the ablative of the name of the hell, in accordance with the counterparts in Dharmarakṣa’s translation and the Tibetan version.³⁷⁷ If we adopt this reading, the afore-mentioned Sanskrit phrase may be translated as “King Ajātaśatru, having ascended from the hell named Piṇḍori/Piṇḍorī”. However, as Miyazaki points out, there is another possible reading. He notices the correspondence between *piṇḍorīye*, which appears to be related to *piṇḍa*, “ball”, and the metaphor of “bouncing of a ball” in the AWJ referring to the way in which Ajātaśatru will be reborn in hell. Based on this correspondence, he suggests that *piṇḍorīye* could also be a corrupted form of a word originally meaning “like a ball”. He says,

“In view of ‘bouncing of a ball’ in the AWJ and examples in the other texts mentioned above, Piṇḍorīye in the Sanskrit fragment [of the AjKV] should have originally been a word which can be construed as ‘like a ball’, so one can also consider the possibility that it was caused by a certain corruption. This possibility is further supported by the context that, as in the AWJ, in the AjKV the king is also said to transmigrate between hell and *buddha*-fields. Therefore, in view of both the Sanskrit fragment and the AWJ, one can also consider an interpretation of [Piṇḍorīye] as ‘(having,) like a ball, (fallen into the great hell)’ and ‘(having,) like a ball, (emerged from the great hell)’.”³⁷⁸

Miyazaki’s hypothesis is very stimulating. However, his interpretation of *piṇḍorīye* as

³⁷⁶ Translated also in Harrison and Hartmann (2000a: 208). Earlier in the Tibetan version (Derge, *tsha* 261a1; sTog, *za* 338b6-7), “Puṇḍarīka Flower” is indicated as the name of the hell (see below). The Puṇḍarīka hell is one of the cold hells mentioned in many Buddhist texts (see Lamotte 1944-1980: ii. 810-811; Sadakata 1997 [1973]:43); on *pratyeka-naraka* referring to “a place of less severe punishment than a (*mahā*-, or regular) *niraya*”, see BHSD, 378b, s.v. *pratyeka*-.

³⁷⁷ Harrison and Hartmann 2000a: 208n.110.

³⁷⁸ Miyazaki (2010: 123). In my English translation I have changed Miyazaki’s abbreviation (問五逆) of the title of T.508 with AWJ.

“like a ball” is not without difficulties. For instance, there seems no Sanskrit or Prakrit derivative of *piṇḍa*, as far as I know, which can be related to the form *piṇḍorīye* and also has the meaning of “like a ball” especially with a connotation of bouncing. Further, it is noteworthy that in an earlier passage of the AjKV which also relates to Ajātaśatru’s next birth in hell, while the description of the hell is corrupt in the Sanskrit fragment³⁷⁹, the Chinese and Tibetan versions all give the name of the hell, but none mentions the metaphor of a ball:

Table 3.2: A Comparison of Descriptions of Ajātaśatru’s Next Birth in Hell in the Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan Versions of the AjKV (II)

Sanskrit Version (folio 543r1-v1)	Lokakṣema’s Translation (T.626. 404a18-20)	Dharmarakṣa’s Translation (T. 627. 425c5)	Tibetan Translation (Derge, <i>tsha</i> 261a1; sTog, <i>za</i> 338b6-7)
(...543r3) <i>upapatsyati</i>	阿闍世者...雖入泥犁，泥 犁名賓頭... “Ajātaśatru,..., although entering into hell which is named <i>*pjin-dəw</i> ³⁸⁰ [Skt./Pkt. *Piṇḍā-]...”	王阿闍世所入地獄名賓陀 羅(晉曰集欲) “The hell into which King Ajātaśatru will enter is named <i>*pjin-da-la</i> ³⁸¹ [Skt./Pkt. Piṇḍārā- ?] (meaning ‘Assembling of Desire’ in Chinese)” ³⁸²	... <i>de bzhin du</i> < > <i>rgyal po ma skyes dgra yang so so’i sems can dmyal ba me tog phun da rī ka</i> [S: <i>pu ṇḍa ri ka</i>] <i>zhes bya bar babs nas de bzhin du ’dzegs te</i> “...in the same way King Ajātaśatru too, after descending into the <i>pratyeka-niraya</i> named Pundarīka Flower, will likewise rise up”

The Chinese and Tibetan names of the hell into which Ajātaśatru will fall all appear as transliterations of a word similar to *piṇḍorīye* in the Sanskrit version of the AjKV.³⁸³

³⁷⁹ Harrison and Hartmann 2000a: 204.

³⁸⁰ Early Middle Chinese Pronunciation according to Pulleyblank 1991.

³⁸¹ The EMC pronunciation of 賓陀羅 may be reconstructed as **pjin-da-la* or **pjin-trai/tre-la*, depending on whether we pronounce 陀 as *tuo* 陀 or *zha* 咤.

³⁸² The term *jiyu* 集欲, where the first word *ji* 集, “to assemble”, seems to be an equivalent of *piṇḍa* (√*piṇḍ*, “to roll into a lump”), suggests that the underlying Indian original might have been something like *Piṇḍa-raṇa (or another combination of *piṇḍa* and a word which can be interpreted as “desire”).

³⁸³ The similarity is noticed by Miyazaki (2010: 123).

If *piṇḍorīye* really means “like a ball”, it would be difficult to explain why the Chinese and Tibetan versions all unanimously mention the name of the hell, but none compares Ajātaśatru’s descent into and ascent from the hell to the bouncing of a ball. It, therefore, seems still debatable whether *piṇḍorīye* should be read as an adverb meaning “like a ball”. But Miyazaki’s hypothesis does open up a possibility that the metaphor of “bouncing of a ball” found in the AWJ and in the afore-mentioned other Chinese sources could have been produced by their translators based on a certain form similar to *piṇḍa* in the Indian originals they used. In other words, there might have been a certain word similar to *piṇḍa* in the (assumed) Indian originals of the AWJ and the other Chinese sources, which was unknown to their translators and taken by them to mean “like a ball”.³⁸⁴ If this was the case, the metaphor of “bouncing of a ball” would represent the translators’ interpretation of Indian texts and not necessarily be a genuine Indian trope. On the other hand, while the metaphor of “bouncing of a ball” as such may not be Indian, the idea of substantially shortening Ajātaśatru’s stay in hell as implied by this metaphor certainly has an Indian origin, for as we will see, this idea is also conveyed in the Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese versions of the AjKV, although through a different metaphor.³⁸⁵

3.2.3 Ajātaśatru’s Future Heavenly Rebirths and Eventual Pratyekabuddha-hood

As the AWJ goes on to show, having predicted Ajātaśatru’s next birth in hell, the Buddha further foretells that after his life in hell Ajātaśatru will be continuously

³⁸⁴ T.997 is the only extant Chinese source which gives an explanation of this metaphor (see above p.164). Since this explanation is not attested anywhere and T.997 has no Indic or Tibetan parallel, it is hard to say whether this explanation as such is genuinely Indian.

³⁸⁵ According to the extant versions of the AjKV, Ajātaśatru’s next life in hell will be like the temporary visit of a *devaputra* from the Heaven of the Thirty-three gods to Jambudvīpa. See below, pp.215-6.

reborn in the six heavens of the world of desire, first in an ascending order from the *Cāturmahārājikas* to the *Paranirmitavaśavartins*, and then in a descending order back downwards to the *Cāturmahārājikas*, from whence he will be reborn again among humans and finally become a *pratyekabuddha*. The prophecy of one's future continuous heavenly rebirths followed by eventual attainment of *pratyekabuddha*-hood is a formulaic Indian narrative strategy. It also appears in other Buddhist texts, related to a variety of persons and usually intended to illustrate future karmic rewards for one's meritorious deeds in this life.³⁸⁶ For instance, in the eleventh chapter of the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Aśokavarṇāvadāna*, "Story of Aśokavarṇa", the Buddha gives a similar prophecy regarding a bull, in order to show the great karmic benefits the bull will gain in the future due to his "faithful mind" (*cittaṃ prasāditam*) towards the Buddha in this life.³⁸⁷ In the sixteenth chapter of the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Śukapotaka-avadāna*, "Story of [Two] Parrot Chicks", the Buddha makes such a prophecy regarding two parrots, as a demonstration of the karmic fruit of their "listening to the Dharma" (*dharmaśravaṇam*) in this life.³⁸⁸ In the Chinese EĀ, this kind of prophecy occurs

³⁸⁶ Based on a thorough examination of the notion of *pratyekabuddha* in Pāli *nikāyas*, Chinese *āgamas*, various *vinayas* and other related sources, Hiraoka (2006) observes that prophecies of future *pratyekabuddha*-hood most frequently occur in Buddhist texts related to Mūlasarvāstivādins (e.g. the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*, the *Śaṅghabhedavastu* and the *Kṣudrakavastu* of the MSV, and the *Divyāvadāna*), although not in all cases the continual rebirths in the six heavens are mentioned. He considers the high frequency of *pratyekabuddha* prophecies as one of the features of Buddhist narratives of the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition (p.147). See also Hiraoka (2007: 300).

³⁸⁷ At the end of the story, the Buddha comments (Cowell and Neil 1886: 142. 7-10):...*yat punar idānīm mama antike cittaṃ prasāditam tasya karmano vipākena divyaṃ mānuṣaṃ sukham anubhūya pratyekāṃ bodhim adhiḡamiṣyati | evaṃ hy Ānanda tathāgatānāṃ cittaprasādo 'py acintavipākāḥ kiṃ punaḥ praṇidhānam* "...But now, his mind is filled with faith in my presence. Because of the fruition of this action, he will, having experienced heavenly and human happiness, attain awakening as a *pratyekabuddha*. Thus, Ānanda, having faith in mind towards the Tathāgatas produces inconceivable fruition. How much more [fruition will there be produced from] making an earnest vow!" The story is translated in full in Rotman (2008: 243-252). I have no access to the Japanese translation in Hiraoka (1991, 2007).

³⁸⁸ In explaining the future rebirths of two parrots, the Buddha says (Cowell and Neil 1886: 200.13-7): *evaṃ hi bhikṣavo mahāphalaṃ dharmaśravaṇaṃ mahānuṣamsakaṃ kaḥ punar vādo dharmadeśanā dharmābhisaṃmayo vā* | "Thus, Monks, listening to the Dharma produces great fruit, great benefit. How much more [fruit and benefit will there be produced from] preaching the Dharma or clearly understanding the Dharma!" See also a full translation of the story in Rotman (2008: 333-336).

altogether four times. In the EĀ 38.11, it is a parallel to the prophecy of Ajātaśatru’s future rebirths as told in the AWJ, which will be discussed later in this chapter. In the EĀ 35.7 and 40.5, such a prophecy relates to two householders, whose future heavenly rebirths and eventual awakening are said to be the karmic fruits of either making offerings to the Buddha (in the EĀ 35.7)³⁸⁹, or going forth into homelessness (in the EĀ 40.5).³⁹⁰ In the EĀ 49.9, the Buddha makes a similar prophecy regarding the schismatic Devadatta. There, Devadatta’s future continuous heavenly rebirths and his final *pratyekabuddha*-hood are said to be the rewards for his production of a “joyful mind” (*xiyue-xin* 喜悅心, Skt. *cittaṃ prasāditam*?) towards the Buddha after his descent into the Avīci hell.³⁹¹

In the present case, the AWJ offers two reasons for Ajātaśatru’s future heavenly rebirths and his eventual *pratyekabuddha*-hood. First, in response to the monk’s astonishment over Ajātaśatru’s future attainments, the Buddha says that because Ajātaśatru will “attain perfection of aspiration” (*fayi-chengjiu* 發意成就), plenty of rewards will come. In his discussion of the AWJ, Hirakawa interprets this Chinese phrase as referring to “arousal of *bodhicitta*” (Jpn. *hotsu-bodai-shin* 発菩提心), and perhaps on this ground he considers the AWJ as one of the Māhayāna *sūtras* related to Ajātaśatru.³⁹² However, this interpretation does not fit into the present context. The term *bodhicitta* commonly denotes the aspiration for *buddha*-hood or *bodhisattva*-

³⁸⁹ T. 125. 699c24f. See Hiraoka (2006: 137).

³⁹⁰ 739b10f. In that story, the Buddha does not predict the householder’s future *pratyekabuddha*-hood, but only says that in his final birth as a human he “will go forth from home to practice the Path, and will achieve an end of suffering” (出家學道，當盡苦際). This story is discussed in Buswell (1992: 113-4), as an example of the salvation of “one whose roots of goodness are extirpated” (*samucchinnakuśalamūla*) in the non-Vaibhāṣika sources.

³⁹¹ This prophecy of Devadatta’s rebirths is translated into Japanese by Miyazaki (2010: 121).

³⁹² Hirakawa 1971: 7-8.

hood, but our text clearly says that Ajātaśatru will become a *pratyekabuddha*, not a *buddha*.³⁹³ The Chinese phrase certainly does not refer to Ajātaśatru's arousal of *bodhicitta*. Although I do not know the exact meaning of this phrase, it seems to point to a relatively low level of spiritual attainment. It is noteworthy that in his following conversation with the monk the Buddha introduces another kind of perfection, i.e., “perfection of causes and conditions” (*yinyuan-chengjiu* 因緣成就, *pratyaya-sampadā*?). He says that one who attains perfection of aspiration but does not attain perfection of causes and conditions has weak faculties (*ruangen* 濡根, **mṛdv-indriya*) and makes no progress in his actions, whereas one who attains perfection of causes and conditions, though not attaining perfection of aspiration, has sharp faculties (*ligen* 利根, **tīkṣṇa-indriya*) and more wisdom.³⁹⁴ Here, the conceiving of aspiration is granted less significance than the acquisition of [good] causes and conditions. This is also shown in the following verse spoken by the Buddha, where he says that one who has wisdom, i.e., one who attains perfection of causes and conditions, will come to a safe place (*yoga-kṣema*?).³⁹⁵ Although I have not been able to identify any parallel argument in other Buddhist texts and do not know the exact implication of this argument, it is clear that here the acquisition of [good] causes and conditions is emphasized as being more conducive to one's liberation than the conceiving of aspiration. This emphasis strikes me as rather unexpected. As we have seen, the

³⁹³ I do not mean to suggest that one cannot aspire for *pratyakbuddha*-hood. According to the AKBh, a *pratyekabuddha* who is like a rhinoceros has practiced one hundred great *kalpas* in preparing for *bodhi* (*ad III.94d*, Pradhan 1967: 183.15-16: *mahākalpānām śataṃ bodhisambhāreṣu caritaḥ khaḍgaṃ viśāṇakalpo bhavati*). La Vallée Poussin (1923-1931: ii. 196) suggests that this preparation refers to cultivation of morality, meditation and *prajñā*. One may also add the resolution to attain *bodhi*. But this does not seem to be what the AWJ means here, for throughout the text nothing is said about Ajātaśatru's aspiration for *pratyeka-bodhi*.

³⁹⁴ 776b6-9. “比丘，發意成就、因緣不成就，此是濡根。發意不成就、因緣成就，比丘，此是利根。” … “鈍根者，比丘，所爲不進。利根者，比丘，聰明點慧。”

³⁹⁵ 776b13-14. On the term *anyin* 安隱 (*yogakṣema*?), see above n. 367.

Buddha predicts that Ajātaśatru will attain *pratyekabuddha*-hood and explains that this attainment is due to his successful aspiration. One may expect that the Buddha goes on to expound the significance of aspiration, rather than that of causes and conditions, for attaining liberation. The unexpected turn to causes and conditions suggests that this whole argument on the two types of perfection might have been imported from elsewhere, originally separated from the story of Ajātaśatru. If this was the case, the Buddha's explanation of Ajātaśatru's future heavenly rebirths and his *pratyekabuddha*-hood as results of his aspiration could be a device intended to introduce the argument into and to bind it with the salvation story of Ajātaśatru in the AWJ.

The AWJ also gives a second reason for Ajātaśatru's future divine rebirths and eventual awakening, which fits better with the story itself. The monk later repeats the Buddha's prophecy to Ajātaśatru and says, "The reason [why you will have such future rebirths] is this: Great King, you will gain the rootless faith."³⁹⁶ Subsequently, when Ajātaśatru sends Jīvaka to get confirmation of the prophecy, the Buddha gives the same explanation, "The reason [why I said so], Jīvaka, is that King Ajātaśatru will gain the rootless faith. Jīvaka, all men and women [who have gained this faith] will have such destinies, with no difference."³⁹⁷ Clearly, the text considers Ajātaśatru's acquisition of the "rootless faith" as the main cause of his future heavenly rebirths and eventual *pratyekabuddha*-hood.

It may be noted that what the Buddha says to Jīvaka is consistent with what he says earlier in the AWJ, when he tells the monks that Ajātaśatru will soon visit him and have faith in him. There, the Buddha predicts that Ajātaśatru's next birth in hell will be a quick process similar to the bouncing of a ball. As I argued, the considerable

³⁹⁶ 776c6-7. 所以然者，如是，大王，當得是無根之信。

³⁹⁷ 776c23-25. 所以然者，耆域，彼王阿闍世當成無根信。耆域，諸有男女，彼一切亦當有是趣而無有異。

reduction of Ajātaśatru's stay in hell represents a karmic reward for his faith in the Buddha. By pointing out Ajātaśatru's rootless faith as the reason for his future heavenly rebirths and eventual awakening, the Buddha shows that the faith he instills in Ajātaśatru in this life will generate incredible karmic fruits not only in his next life, but in all his following lives, and will ultimately lead to his attainment of awakening. The implication of Ajātaśatru's rootless faith in the AWJ, therefore, may be understood as follows: though Ajātaśatru has extirpated his own roots of goodness through the patricide and consequently lost the capacity for spiritual progress in this life, such loss is only temporary; through direct contact with the Buddha and being brought to faith by him, Ajātaśatru will regain this capacity after his life in hell, and will thereby get on the path to salvation. In this sense, the notion of "rootless faith" in the AWJ represents a soteriological solution to reconcile the extirpation of roots of goodness of Ajātaśatru caused by his patricide and the Buddha's capability of arousing faith even in the worst criminal and eventually leading him to liberation.

Equally remarkable is the Buddha's emphasis that not only Ajātaśatru but anyone who gains the "rootless faith" will have the same destinies. By saying so, the Buddha clarifies that the "rootless faith" is not an exclusive privilege of the Maghadhan king Ajātaśatru, but represents a universal path towards salvation which is available to all. This indicates the underlying motive of the (assumed) Indian authors of the AWJ for telling their story. The story is not only intended to show how Ajātaśatru will attain salvation through gaining faith in the Buddha, but to use this notorious criminal as an example to encourage others to do likewise.³⁹⁸ This motive is strikingly similar to what we have seen in the Chinese EĀ 43.7, where Ajātaśatru is credited by the

³⁹⁸ Given that in T. 508 Ajātaśatru's acquisition of faith comes as a result of his direct encounter with the Buddha, the Indian authors of the text could have intended to use the story as a call to go and see *prāsādika* objects (images of *buddhas*, Buddhist monastics, *stūpas*, etc.) that can instill *prasāda*. For a detailed discussion on the practice of *prasāda*, particularly through seeing *prāsādika* objects, in the *Divyāvadāna*, see Rotman (2009: 65-148).

Buddha as a model of “rootless faith” for all criminals to follow. In the present case, instead of crediting Ajātaśatru as an exemplar of faithfulness, the Buddha emphasizes the universality of the salvation path taken by him. One may easily see the implication of such an emphasis: if the worst criminal Ajātaśatru can attain heavenly rebirths and awakening through faith, how much more possible will this be for moral people and ordinary wrongdoers? Thus the salvation story of Ajātaśatru in the AWJ represents an attempt of its authors to arouse or strengthen the faith of their audiences.

3.2.4 The Salvation of Ajātaśatru in T. 508: A Summary

In sum, the Buddha’s prophecy of Ajātaśatru’s future rebirths as told in the AWJ is noteworthy in at least three aspects:

First, according to this prophecy, after his death Ajātaśatru will fall into hell in a way similar to the “bouncing of a ball”. This metaphor may imply not only the inevitable and immediate nature of Ajātaśatru’s descent into hell after death, but also its short duration. The considerable reduction of Ajātaśatru’s stay in hell is a karmic reward for his faith in the Buddha in this life. This metaphor is only found in Chinese sources. It is unclear whether it represents a genuine Indian concept.

Second, the Buddha also predicts that Ajātaśatru will be continuously reborn in the six heavens after his life in hell and will finally attain *pratyekabuddha*-hood. This prediction as a whole is formulaic. Ajātaśatru’s future heavenly rebirths and eventual awakening are said to be karmic fruits of the “rootless faith” the Buddha instills in him. In the present context, the notion of “rootless faith” represents a solution to reconcile Ajātaśatru’s loss of the capacity for spiritual growth caused by his patricide and the Buddha’s power of bringing this worst criminal to liberation.

Third, the Buddha’s statement that whoever gains the “rootless faith” will

have the same destinies as Ajātaśatru makes the “rootless faith” a universal salvation path which is available to all. This emphasis on the universality of karmic fruition of the “rootless faith” indicates the purpose of the authors of the AWJ to use the salvation of Ajātaśatru as a tool to encourage others to gain faith in the Buddha.

It has long been observed that the AWJ appears to be incomplete in terms of content, for although the Buddha says that Ajātaśatru will soon come to visit him, the text ends abruptly by presenting Jīvaka’s joyful response to the Buddha’s teaching, without saying anything about Ajātaśatru’s visit. Hirakawa points out that the AWJ seems to be a *sūtra* still “in progress”. Omaru also says that this text appears unfinished.³⁹⁹ In fact, as already noted by Hirakawa, in Sengyou’s *Chu-sanzang-jiji*, the oldest extant catalogue of Chinese Buddhist translations, the AWJ is listed among anonymous “abbreviated [or, condensed] scriptures” (*chaojing* 抄經).⁴⁰⁰ This information suggests that the AWJ as we have it is not an independent text, but only an abbreviated extract of another work. Moreover, as Hirakawa and Omaru both notice, the attribution of the AWJ to the monk Faju first appears in Fei Changfang’s *Lidai-sanbao-ji*, afterwards reproduced in some later catalogues, and has finally found its way into the colophon of the Taishō edition.⁴⁰¹ As mentioned above, the credibility

³⁹⁹ Hirakawa (1971: 8); Omaru (1986: 79). See also Miyazaki (2010: 118); Radich (2011: 16 n.59).

⁴⁰⁰ Hirakawa (1971: 8); Omaru (1986: 91n.14). For Sengyou’s record on the AWJ, see T. 2145.25a17. As Tokuno (1990: 39) observes, “[a]ccording to Seng-yu, the designation *ch’ao-ching* was originally reserved for an abbreviated translation of selected passage from a scripture, which were presumed to convey the text’s essential meaning without any superfluous prolixity...In practice, however, they often deviated from this principle and became something akin to spurious scriptures as far as the cataloguers were concerned.” On the category of *chaojing* in Chinese Buddhist canon, see also Funayama (2007: 13-16).

⁴⁰¹ Hirakawa (1971: 8); Omaru (1986: 91n.14). Fei gives two entries of the AWJ in his catalogue: in the former entry (T. 2034. 53a8) which is a mistake probably inherited from the *Zhongjing-mulu* 眾經目錄 compiled by Fajing 法經 et. al. in 594 CE (T.2146.128c6), Fei confuses the AWJ with Lokakṣema’s *Asheshiwang-jing* 阿闍世王經 (T. 626); in a latter entry (T. 2034. 67a24), he lists the AWJ as one of those translations produced by Faju (68a7-8). Both entries are firstly reproduced in the *Datang-neidian-lu* 大唐內典錄 compiled by Daoxuan 道宣 in 664 CE (T.2149. 223c23, 224a4, 238b27, 239b18) and then in the *Kaiyuan-shijiao-lu* 開元釋教錄 compiled by Zhisheng 智昇 in 730 CE (T. 2154. 479a3, a9, 640c25, 667c13-4, 499b23, c23 and 616a2-3).

of Fei's catalogue is highly questionable. It is now generally agreed among scholars that new attributions of texts to certain translators, which first appear in Fei's catalogue but are not attested in earlier catalogues, should not be readily accepted at face value.⁴⁰² It may well be that Fei's attribution of the AWJ to Fajiu is unreliable.

In his excellent study of the Chinese EĀ, Mizuno Kōgen suggests that the EĀ was originally translated into Chinese twice, the first time by Dharmanandi in 384 CE, the full version of whose translation was unfortunately lost, and the second time by Saṅghadeva in 397 CE, whose translation is now preserved as T.125.⁴⁰³ More importantly, Mizuno argues that there are overall twenty single-fascicle *sūtras*, which are ascribed to various translators in the present Taishō canon but nevertheless betray similar stylistic features and could be remnants of the lost translation of the EĀ produced by Dharmanandi.⁴⁰⁴ One of those twenty *sūtras* is the AWJ. According to Mizuno, the AWJ was originally one *sūtra* from Dharmanandi's lost translation of the EĀ. I do not intend to comment on Mizuno's suggestion of the double translations of the EĀ into Chinese, given that the translation process (or processes) of this text remains a zone of contention, about which no agreement has yet been reached among scholars. What concerns us here is that Mizuno's study brings to our attention the potential connection between the AWJ and the EĀ. In his discussion Mizuno indicates that while the AWJ is one remaining piece of Dharmanandi's lost translation, it has no parallel in the extant Chinese EĀ (T.125).⁴⁰⁵ Nevertheless, as Omaru observes, the AWJ actually has a partial parallel in the Chinese EĀ 38.11, and the corresponding

⁴⁰² Nattier 2008: 14-15.

⁴⁰³ Ibid.: 415-419.

⁴⁰⁴ Mizuno 1996 [1989]: 427.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.: 429.

part between the two texts is exactly about the Buddha's prophecy of Ajātaśatru's future rebirths.⁴⁰⁶

3.3 The Chinese *Ekottarikāgama* (T. 125 [38.11]) and Related Materials

3.3.1 The Prophecy of Ajātaśatru's Future Rebirths in the Chinese EĀ 38.11

In the Chinese EĀ 38.11, the prophecy serves as a building block of a larger legend regarding the Buddha's visit to Vaiśālī to rid the city of a plague. According to that legend, when the Buddha is spending a summer retreat in Rājagṛha at the invitation of Ajātaśatru, a pandemic caused by evil spirits breaks out in Vaiśālī. In hope of dispelling the evil spirits, the people of Vaiśālī sends a householder to invite the Buddha to their city. Having heard the householder's request, the Buddha says that since he had earlier accepted King Ajātaśatru's invitation to stay in Rājagṛha, it is necessary to ask the king for permission to leave. The householder, considering Ajātaśatru's hostility towards the Licchavis, is afraid to do so. The Buddha then asks the householder to repeat to Ajātaśatru a prophecy of his future rebirths, so that he would be delighted and agree with the householder's request for letting the Buddha go to Vaiśālī. The Buddha says:

“Do not be afraid. Now you go to the king's place and tell him the following, ‘The Tathāgata's predictions of births of previous kings are never wrong. What he says is never inconsistent. Your father, the king, was innocent, but you put him to death. You are supposed to be reborn in the Avīci hell and stay one *kalpa* [there]. However, now since you have abandoned this crime, rectified the transgression (*āpattiṃ pratikaroti?*) and perfected the faculty of faith (**śraddhendriya*) in the Dharma of the Tathāgata—because of this basis of virtue (*kuśalamūla?*), this crime is

⁴⁰⁶ Omaru (1986: 79-81); see also Miyazaki (2010: 118) and Radich (2011: 140 n.529).

eliminated, without remainder forever.⁴⁰⁷ When you finish this life, you will be reborn in the hell of the bouncing of a ball (*paiju-diyu* 拍毬地獄). When you finish your life there, you will be reborn above among the Four Heavenly Kings. When you finish your life there, you will be reborn above in the Yāma Heaven. When you finish your life in the Yāma heaven, you will be reborn in the Tuṣita Heaven, in the Nirmāṇarati Heaven, in the Paranirmitavaśavartin Heaven. Then you will return in sequence [through these heavens] to the Heaven of the Four Heavenly Kings. Great King, you should know that throughout twenty *kalpas* you will not fall into the evil destinies and will always be reborn among gods and humans.⁴⁰⁸ In your final birth, due to your firm faith, you will have hair and beard shaved, and put on the monastic robe [consisting of] three parts. You will go forth from home into homelessness to learn the Path, and will be named the Pratyekabuddha ‘Free of Evil’. When the king hears these words, he will become delighted, elated, unable to control himself. He will then tell you, ‘Whatever you seek and want, I will not disapprove.’⁴⁰⁹

The householder later comes to Ajātaśatru’s palace and repeats the Buddha’s prophecy. The king reacts exactly as the Buddha predicted: he is much pleased and agrees with the householder’s request to let the Buddha go to Vaiśālī. Ajātaśatru does not regret this until the next day when he sees the Buddha and the monks leaving the Kalandaka grove, heading for Vaiśālī. He immediately goes out, carrying five hundred parasols, to see the Buddha off. On seeing this, the people of Rājagṛha, Śakra, river gods and people of Vaiśālī also separately put up five hundred parasols. The Buddha then tells Ānanda a *jātaka* story, to explain what meritorious act he did in one of his previous lives leads to such worship with two thousand five hundred parasols in this life. After having finished the story, the Buddha arrives at Vaiśālī and dispells the evil spirits.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁷ 726a8-10. 以離此罪，改其過罪，於如來法中信根成就，緣此德本，得滅此罪，永無有餘。 Translated also in Radich (2011: 79 n.298).

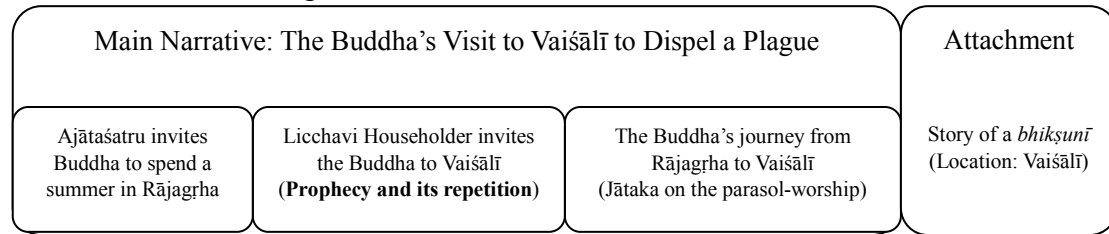
⁴⁰⁸ I follow the reading *tian-ren-zhong* 天人中, “among gods and humans”, in the Song, Yuan and Ming editions, rather than *ren-zhong* 人中, “among humans”, in other editions, since the text clearly says that Ajātaśatru will be reborn in the six heavens before his final birth as a human.

⁴⁰⁹ T.125.726a4-18 (Appendix I, Textual Material 15). One part of this passage is translated in Radich (2011: 79 n.298).

⁴¹⁰ The rest of the *sūtra* is rather irrelevant, as it tells a story of how a Buddhist nun defeats the six heretics in a debate. That story seems to have been (casually) attached to the legend of the Buddha’s

The basic structure of the Chinese EĀ 38.11 may be illustrated as follows:

Figure 3.1: The Structure of the Chinese EĀ 38.11



As we can see, the Chinese EĀ 38.11 is mainly comprised of a legend of the Buddha's visit to Vaiśālī, plus an attached story also located in Vaiśālī. Within the main legend, there are three subordinate episodes, one of which contains the Buddha's prophecy of Ajātaśatru's future rebirths and its repetition by the householder. It is clear that unlike in the AWJ where the salvation of Ajātaśatru is the major focus, in the Chinese EĀ 38.11 the Ajātaśatru story only plays a secondary role as a building block of another larger narrative.

3.3.2 The Salvation of Ajātaśatru in Relation to the Vaiśālī Plague Legend: Two More Sources

The legend of the Buddha's visit to Vaiśālī to cure a plague (henceforth, the Vaiśālī plague legend) is a stock narrative frequently found in Buddhist literature.⁴¹¹ As Iwai Shōgo observes, there are two narrative traditions of this legend.⁴¹² In the first tradition represented by versions told in the *Mahāvastu* and in Pāli commentaries (the

visit to Vaiśālī, with the only connection being that it is also placed in the region of Vaiśālī. In that story, the Buddha is said to stay on the "Shore of the Monkey Pool" (**Markaṭa-hrada-tīra*) which is the "name or epithet of a caitya at or near Vaiśālī" (BHSD, 420a, s.v.)

⁴¹¹ On this legend, see for instance DPPN, ii.940-941; Lamotte (1944-1980: i. 189); Matsuda (2002); Iwai (2002 [esp.100-103]).

⁴¹² Iwai 2006: 292-290 [sic!].

Khuddakapāṭhaṭṭhakathā, the *Suttanipātaṭṭhakathā* and the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*), the plague story relates to the Buddha's first visit to Vesālī which is said to take place in the fifth year after his enlightenment.⁴¹³ According to that tradition, it is Bimbisāra who invites the Buddha to stay in Rājagṛha and later gives permission to the Buddha to go to Vesālī. In the second tradition represented by versions told in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, the Chinese EĀ 38.11 and two other Chinese texts, namely, the *Pusa-benxing-jing* 菩薩本行經 (T. 155), “Sūtra on Past Deeds of the Bodhisattva”, and the *Chu-kong-zaihuan-jing* 除恐災患經 (T. 744), “Sūtra on Dispelling Fears and Calamities”, it is Ajātaśatru who invites the Buddha and later grants the permission.⁴¹⁴ According to the second tradition, the Vaiśālī plague happens during the time leading up to the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*, not in the fifth year after his enlightenment.

A. The *Pusa-benxing-jing* (T.155)

The Chinese EĀ 38.11 is not the only source of the second tradition of the Vaiśālī plague legend which incorporates the salvation of Ajātaśatru. In the afore-mentioned *Pusa-benxing-jing*, the Buddha also makes a prophecy of Ajātaśatru's future rebirths and asks the envoy of Vaiśālī to repeat it to Ajātaśatru, so that the king will be delighted and agree with his request to let the Buddha go to Vaiśālī. There, the

⁴¹³ The story is told in the *Chatravastu*, “Episode on Parasols” in the *Mahāvastu* (Senart 1882-1897: ii. 253.1-300.19, translated in Jones 1949-1956: i. 208-249), in the commentaries on the *Ratana-sutta* in both the *Khuddakapa-aṭṭhakathā* (Smith 1915: 157.14-201.6) and the *Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā* (Smith 1916-1918: i. 278), and in the commentary on the verse 290 of the *Dhammapada* in the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* (H. C. Norman 1906-1914: iii. 436-449, translated in Burlingame 1921: iii. 168-176).

⁴¹⁴ The story can be found in Yijing's Chinese translation of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* (T. 1448. 20c19f.); the corresponding Tibetan in Derge Kanjur 1, 'dul ba, kha 13a6f.; sTog Kanjur 1, 'dul ba, ka 454a4f. (for more details, see below). See also T. 155.116c5f. and T. 744. 552a6f.

Buddha says to the envoy:

“Because I earlier accepted King Ajātaśatru’s invitation [to stay in Rājagṛha] for ninety days but now the period has not finished yet, you should go to speak to King Ajātaśatru.” The envoy said to the Buddha, “There have long been animosities between the two countries [Vaiśālī and Magadha]. If I go there now, I will definitely be killed.” The Buddha said to the envoy, “As long as you are a messenger of the Buddha, nobody will be able to kill you.” The Buddha further said to him, “Tell King Ajātaśatru, ‘[Regarding your] heinous crime of patricide, because you have repented to the Tathāgata, you will [only] undergo suffering in hell [for a period as long as] five hundred days in this world, and will then be released.’”⁴¹⁵

As that text goes on to show, the envoy repeats the Buddha’s prophecy to Ajātaśatru, who reacts in a similar way as in the Chinese EĀ 38.11:

The king, on hearing these words, was delighted, elated, and could not control himself, [thinking,] “My [future] stay in hell due to the evil crime I have committed will have an end.” Immediately, he bowed his head and paid homage to the Buddha from afar. The king said to the envoy, “It is indescribably wonderful that you can bring this tiding to me. Whatever you want, I will grant.”⁴¹⁶

The following part of the *Pusa-benxing-jing* is also similar to the Chinese EĀ 38.11 in that it tells of Ajātaśatru’s consent to the envoy’s request, the Buddha’s being worshipped by gods and men with two thousand five hundred parasols on his way to Vaiśālī, and his narration of the same *jātaka* story to explain the reason for the worship.⁴¹⁷ So far, I have not found a third text which has such a narrative content. It is possible that there is a special relation between the two texts or the sources used by them. On the other hand, it is also notable that the content of the Buddha’s prophecy

⁴¹⁵ T. 155. 116c15-21 (see Appendix I, Textual Material 16.1).

⁴¹⁶ 116c29-117a3 (see Textual Material 16.2).

⁴¹⁷ The earlier part of this text tells a story about the Buddha’s subjugation of the *nāga* king Apalāla in Magadha, which is paraphrased in Lamotte (1944-1980: i.188 n.1). On stories about Apalāla and related studies, see below n. 419.

of Ajātaśatru's future rebirths in the *Pusa-benxing-jing* is still different from that told in the Chinese EĀ 38.11. Here, the Buddha only predicts Ajātaśatru's next life in hell, without saying anything about his other future lives or whether he will finally attain liberation. Unlike in the Chinese EĀ 38.11, the Buddha does not mention the name of the hell where Ajātaśatru will be reborn. Instead, he points out that Ajātaśatru will be released from hell after staying there only for a period as long as five hundred days in this world.⁴¹⁸ As the text shows, it is precisely the release from hell and the shortening of stay there that makes Ajātaśatru delighted. Here, both the release and the shortening are said to be the result of his repentance to the Buddha, whereas in the Chinese EĀ 38.11, as we have seen, the reason for his salvation is not just his repentance, but also his acquisition of faith in the Buddha in this life.

B. The *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*

Besides the Chinese EĀ 38.11 and the *Pusa-benxing-jing*, the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the MSV is yet another Buddhist text which combines the salvation of Ajātaśatru with the Vaiśālī plague legend. Although the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* contains no prophecy of Ajātaśatru's future rebirths, it relates a story of how Ajātaśatru gains faith in the Buddha and then invites him to spend a summer in Rājagṛha. That story serves as a background for the Buddha's later movement from Rājagṛha to Vaiśālī. In other words, in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* the salvation of Ajātaśatru is not integrated within the Vaiśālī plague legend, but appears as a prelude to that legend. Considering that the story in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* is very different from all the others we have discussed so far, it is

⁴¹⁸ I have not been able to find any Buddhist specification of the duration of a patricide's next birth in hell, though such specification is made clear in the case of a schismatic. For instance, according to the AKBh (*ad* IV 99c, Pradhan 1967: 259.2), *antarakālpam avīcau mahānarake vipacyate*, "[A schismatic] is boiled in the great Avīci hell for one small *kalpa*"; for similar specifications in other Buddhist texts, see La Vallée Poussin 1923-1931: iii. 207n.2.

worth being introduced here, although it does not mention Ajātaśatru's future rebirths.

My translation is made from the story preserved in the Tibetan version of the

Bhaiṣajyavastu, which reads:⁴¹⁹

When the Buddha was staying in Rājagṛha, at Kalandaka[-nivāpa] in the Bamboo Grove, Prince Ajātaśatru, having been instigated (*sbad pa*, **prerita*) by Devadatta and killed his own father who was a righteous man and righteous king, having put on himself the diadem, became king. At that time, he was undertaking many disrespectful activities towards the Blessed One. He incited (*sbad pa*) ferocious and gluttonous elephants, watchdogs and dogs to kill [the Buddha]. His mother, the Lady of Videha (*lus 'phags ma*, Vaidehī), said, “Son, do not show disrespect to the Blessed One. Because the Buddha, the Blessed One, is afraid of (*bsnyengs pa*, Skt. *bhaya*)⁴²⁰ disrespect, he will leave Rājagṛha and that will cause misfortune. Due to the power of the Blessed One, the regions of Aṅga and Magadha have been prosperous and in good order.” With a defiled mind (*snying rnyog pa can*, Skt. **āvilacitta*⁴²¹) he said, “Have those countries without the Blessed One perished and become empty?” His mother tried to stop him through all means, but in vain. The Blessed One thought, “This prince Ajātaśatru has done many demeritorious deeds, he shall be established in the rootless faith by me.⁴²² It is not the time yet. I shall now go to Śrāvastī.” Having thought this, the Blessed One together with the community of *śrāvakas* walked in the direction of Śrāvastī and gradually reached Śrāvastī. In Śrāvastī, they stayed at Jetavana, at the park of Anāthapiṇḍika.

Heads of border-countries heard that Ajātaśatru had shown disrespect to the Blessed One, who was afraid of disrespect and had left Rājagṛha and came to Śrāvastī. They thought, “At one time this wicked king killed his

⁴¹⁹ In the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*, this story is preceded by another story which relates how a brahmin, in order to take revenge people in Magadha, is reborn as the fierce *nāga* king Apalāla and ravages the crops in the area. A later part of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* tells a story about the Buddha's conversion of Apalāla, which is not located in Magadha but in North-West India (see a translation of the Chinese version in Przyluski 1914: 510-513, and a summary of the Tibetan version in Panglung 1981: 20). Przyluski (1923: 6-7) suggests that the conversion of Apalāla was originally located in Magadha and only later shifted to the North-West; see also Frauwallner (1956: 35). On stories about the Buddha's conversion of Apalāla, see Ch'en (1947: 279-280), Lamotte (1944-1980: i. 188 n.1), Strong (1992: 26-28; 2001: 119-120), Deeg (2005: 222f.; forthcoming, 118-123).

⁴²⁰ Lokesh Chandra gives *bsnyengs pa* (= *'jigs pa*) as an equivalent of Skt. *bhaya* (see TSD, 908b, s.v.). This meaning does not really fit into the present context, for it sounds inappropriate to say that the Buddha fears disrespect. However, I have not come up with a better rendition of this word and therefore temporarily adopt Lokesh Chandra's explanation.

⁴²¹ Ibid.: 892b, s.v. *rnyog pa can* (**āvila*).

⁴²² See a correspondent phrase in the MSV version of the SPS: Gnoli (1977-1978: ii. 26-7): *yadā bhagavatā rājā ajātaśatruḥ vaidehīputro 'mūlakayā śraddhayā pratiṣṭhāpitaḥ tadā*

father, a righteous man and righteous king, and that did not satisfy him. The Blessed One is worshipped by gods, *asuras* and men. Even to him he [= Ajātaśatru] showed disrespect. The Buddha, the Blessed One, is afraid of disrespect. Therefore, the Blessed One left Rājagṛha and moved to Śrāvastī. We certainly should wipe out that kingdom [of Magadha].” Having thought this, they sent messengers to each other and shared wisdom together. Equipped with a four-fold army comprising elephant, chariot, cavalry and infantry divisions, they proceeded to Rājagṛha. Having triumphed, they set up encampments and settled there. The *nāga* king “Strawless” (*sog ma med*, *Apalāla) also poured down streams of hail and destroyed all the remaining crops. A drought occurred, to the extent that five hundred hot springs, fountains, lakes and ponds all dried up. The other remaining water resources were also ruined by the heads of border-countries⁴²³. At that time, when Ajātaśatru was overwhelmed by distress and horrified, ghosts also caused harm, [whereby] a plague broke out, with the wounded and the ashes [of the dead? *thal ba*] spreading out (*btāb pa*, **spr̥ṣṭa*)⁴²⁴. Litters after litters [of corpses] were carried away.

Then King Ajātaśatru, with his heart disturbed by as many as one hundred troubles, leaning his head on his hand, was falling into deep thought. Thereupon the Lady of Videha said, “Son, for what reason are you falling into thought?” “Mother, one hundred troubles have all come.” “Son, did not I earlier tell you: ‘Do not show disrespect to the Blessed One. [*Vinayavastu*, Fascicle Twenty-six] The Buddhas, the Blessed Ones, are afraid of disrespect. The Blessed One will leave Rājagṛha and that will bring misfortune’? So this is happening now.” “Mother, what shall I do about this?” “Son, ask the Blessed One for pardon (*bzod par gsol*, *[*bhagavantam*] *kṣamaya*)⁴²⁵.” “Mother, I am not able to stand in front of the Blessed One.” “Son, have you heard that the Buddhas, the Blessed Ones, have abandoned repugnance (*khong khro ba*, **pratigha*) and affection (*rjes su chags pa*, **anunaya*), [for whom] sandal and hatchet are the same.⁴²⁶ If someone cuts one arm of the Blessed One with a hatchet and smears his other arm with the best sandalwood paste, the Blessed One would have neither affection nor repugnance.” Then King Ajātaśatru, son of the Lady of Videha, said to someone, “Hey, Minister, come here! Go to where the Blessed One is and, after arriving, following my words, venerate the feet of the Blessed One with your forehead and ask about his illness, ‘[Is the Blessed One] free from disease, free from anxiety, any disturbance, any injury, not unwell? Do you feel strong, and are you at ease’, and also say, ‘Venerable One, here are the words from the son of the Lady of Videha, King

⁴²³ The sTog edition gives *dug gis ma rung ba byas*, “ruined (or polluted) with poison”.

⁴²⁴ Lokesh Chandra 1990 [1959-1961]: 932a, s.v. *btāb pa*. Yijing’s translation has 起大疾疫，病死彌甚, “A great plague arose, and the diseased death was just horrific”.

⁴²⁵ Ibid.: 2101a, s.v. *bzod par gsol* (*kṣamantām*).

⁴²⁶ On the metaphor of sandal and hatchet (**vāṣī*-/*vāṣī*-*candana*-*kalpa*), see above n.302.

Ajātaśatru of Magadha: “Venerable One, the son is bad, but the father is not. May the Blessed One, out of compassion, come to Rājagṛha! If the Blessed One does not come, not for long, the city of Rājagṛha will become empty, with only its name remaining.”⁴²⁷

As the story goes on to tell, the minister reports Ajātaśatru’s words to the Buddha, who thereupon accepts the invitation and comes to Rājagṛha to cure the plague. Convinced by the Buddha’s power, Ajātaśatru further invites him to spend a summer in Rājagṛha and the Buddha agrees. Meanwhile, many evil spirits, having been driven out of Rājagṛha, moves to Vaiśālī and causes a plague there. This story, therefore, provides another way of linking the salvation of Ajātaśatru with the Vaiśālī plague legend, which is very different from that in the Chinese EĀ 38.11. Here, the salvation is illustrated not through an interlude predicting Ajātaśatru’s future rebirths, but through an episode describing the circumstances of Ajātaśatru’s gaining faith in the Buddha and inviting him to stay in Rājagṛha. In this story, unlike in the SPS, Ajātaśatru’s faith is gained not through listening to a religious discourse preached by the Buddha, but through experiencing the catastrophic consequences of losing the support of the Buddha. He is forced by the disasters in Magadha to realize the worthiness of the Buddha.⁴²⁸ The special way of “converting” Ajātaśatru as illustrated here, in fact, suggests his miserable spiritual state, given that conversions by force of this kind are usually cases where the Buddha is taming monsters. As Strong observes, “[s]alvation, at least for these monsters, comes not through interest in the Dharma or through the charm of the Buddha, but through fear of saṃsāra and

⁴²⁷ Derge Kanjur 1, *’dul ba, kha* 13a6-14b3; sTog Kanjur 1, *’dul ba, ka* 454a4-*kha* 3a4 (Textual Material 17). The story is summarized in Panglung (1981: 20-21). The corresponding Chinese is found at T.1448.19c2-20a18. No Sanskrit version of this part of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* is available so far as I know.

⁴²⁸ It is interesting to note that in this story Vaidehī played a role similar to that of Jīvaka in the SPS in persuading Ajātaśatru to visit the Buddha.

realization that the only refuge from it is in the person of the Buddha.”⁴²⁹

3.3.3 The AWJ and the Chinese EĀ 38.11: A Comparative Assessment

So far we have seen that the context in which the prophecy of Ajātaśatru’s future rebirths appears in the Chinese EĀ 38.11 is very different from that in the AWJ, for here the prophecy is not presented in its own right, but serves as a building block within the Vaiśālī plague legend. Moreover, there is another important difference between the contexts of the two prophecies: while in the AWJ the Buddha makes the prophecy before Ajātaśatru’s “conversion” to an *upāsaka*, in the Chinese EĀ 38.11 the prophecy is made after his “conversion”, as indicated from the very beginning of the *sūtra* where he is said to have invited the Buddha to spend a summer in Rājagṛha. If we follow Omaru’s suggestion to regard the AWJ as a “prelude” to the SPS, which presents the events leading up to Ajātaśatru’s visit to the Buddha, the Chinese EĀ 38.11 may be regarded as a “follow-up” to the SPS, which relates the events after his visit.⁴³⁰ This difference between the time settings of the two texts may help us understand the different reactions of Ajātaśatru towards the Buddha’s prophecy: while in the AWJ Ajātaśatru still has no faith in the Buddha and even doubts the credibility of the prophecy, in the Chinese EĀ 38.11 he is immediately delighted by the prophecy and readily grants the permission to let the Buddha go to Vaiśālī.

In respect of content, the correspondences between the prophecy in the Chinese EĀ 38.11 and that in the AWJ can be easily identified. Both texts mention

⁴²⁹ Strong (1992: 27). The observation is made in the context of the Buddha’s conversion of the *nāga* Apālāla.

⁴³⁰ Omaru (1986: 79): “The construction of the whole *sūtra* [the AWJ], so to speak, appears as a prelude to the *Śrāmaṇyaphala-sūtra*.”

Ajātaśatru's descent into hell after death, his subsequent rebirths in the six heavens of the world of desire, and his eventual attainment of *pratyekabuddha*-hood. In the AWJ the *pratyekabuddha* Ajātaśatru will become is named “[One] Free of Defilements” (*wuhui* 無穢), and in the Chinese EĀ 38.11 the name is given as “[One] Free of Evil” (*chue* 除惡). The semantic closeness of the two Chinese names suggests that they might have been translated from the same or similar Indian words⁴³¹, perhaps **Viraja* or **Nirdoṣa*. Besides the correspondences, there are also a number of differences between the contents of the prophecies in the Chinese EĀ 38.11 and in the AWJ.

First, in the Chinese EĀ 38.11 the Buddha says that due to his patricide Ajātaśatru is “supposed to be reborn in the Avīci hell and to experience a *kalpa* [there]”, which is in accordance with the standard punishment of patricide as understood by the authors (or compilers) of the Chinese EĀ.⁴³² Such an emphasis on the heavy punishment Ajātaśatru is supposed to receive in his next life finds no counterpart in the AWJ. In the Chinese EĀ 38.11, it highlights the severe nature of the patricide Ajātaśatru committed.

Second, the Buddha's statement that Ajātaśatru's crime is eradicated finds no counterpart in the AWJ either. But this statement cannot be taken too literally in the Chinese EĀ 38.11 because, strictly speaking, Ajātaśatru's crime is not totally removed. He is said to be reborn in the hell of the “bouncing of a ball”, which shows that he will still have to undergo some punishment in his next life in consequence of his crime, no matter how insignificant that punishment might be. In the Chinese EĀ 38.11,

⁴³¹ Omaru (1986: 80). Radich (2011: 79n.298) translates *chue* 除惡 as “Extirpation of Sin”.

⁴³² The immediate rebirth in the Avīci hell as the retribution of patricide is explicitly stated elsewhere in the Chinese EĀ: T. 125. 748a29-b2. 其有眾生殺害父母，破壞神寺，鬪亂聖眾，誹謗聖人，習倒邪見。命終之後，生阿鼻地獄中。 “There are living beings who kill their parents, or destroy divine *stūpas* [of a *buddha*], or provoke dissension in the holy assembly, or slander saints, or adopt heretic views. After death, they will be reborn in the Avīci hell.” However, not all Buddhist texts consider that a patricide will definitely be reborn in the Avīci hell. See above n.366.

the statement may be meant to emphasize the positive result of Ajātaśatru's repentance and his faith in the Buddha. The text seems to want to tell us that even though Ajātaśatru committed the worst crime and incurred the extremely severe punishment in his next life, it is still possible for him to substantially reduce the crime and be exempted from the supposed punishment through possessing faith in the Buddha.

Third, while the AWJ compares Ajātaśatru's descent into hell to the "bouncing of a ball", the Chinese EĀ 38.11 says that after death he will be reborn in the hell of the "bouncing of a ball". As I have shown, the metaphor of "bouncing of a ball" used in the AWJ is formulaic and also appears in Chinese translations of other Buddhist texts. In comparison, the use of the "bouncing of a ball" as a name of a hell is rather unusual. So far as I know, it only occurs in the Chinese EĀ 38.11.⁴³³ However, it should be remembered that the two earlier Chinese translations of the AjKV separately give the name of the hell into which Ajātaśatru will enter as *bintou* 賓頭 (EMC: **pjin-dəw*; Skt./Pkt. **Piṇḍā-*) and *bintuoluo* 賓陀羅 (EMC: **pjin-da-la*; Skt./Pkt. *Piṇḍārā-*?), both of which appear related to *piṇḍa*, "ball". Moreover, the Sanskrit version of the AjKV has the word *piṇḍorīye* in a sentence describing Ajātaśatru's next birth in hell, though it is unclear whether *piṇḍorīye* is the name of the hell, or an adverb referring to the way in which Ajātaśatru will be reborn in hell as Miyazaki suggests. In any case, it is interesting to note the correspondence between the name of "bouncing of a ball" in the Chinese EĀ 38.11 and the afore-mentioned two Chinese names as well as the Sanskrit *piṇḍorīye*, for they are all somehow related to *piṇḍa*. This correspondence indicates that *paiju* 拍毬, "bouncing of a ball", in the Chinese EĀ 38.11 may have been translated from an Indian word related to *piṇḍa*.

⁴³³ See also Miyazaki (2010: 122): "In contrast, the 'hell of bouncing of a ball' in the Chinese EĀ seems to be used as a proper name. Examples of this kind have not been found."

While in the AWJ the metaphor of “bouncing of a ball” signifies a strategy of saving Ajātaśatru through shortening his stay in hell, in the Chinese EĀ 38.11 the name of “bouncing of a ball” is linked with an agenda of saving Ajātaśatru through making him be reborn in a less severe hell. As mentioned above, in the Chinese EĀ 38.11 the Buddha says that Ajātaśatru is supposed to be reborn in the Avīci hell, but because of his repentance and faith in the Buddha, he will fall into the hell of the “bouncing of a ball”, instead of the Avīci hell. Although I do not know what punishment is typical of the hell of the “bouncing of a ball”, there can be no doubt that it refers to a place where inhabitants suffer less than those in the Avīci hell.⁴³⁴

Finally, while in the AWJ the Buddha says that Ajātaśatru’s acquisition of “rootless faith” is the reason for his future heavenly rebirths and his eventual *pratyekabuddha*-hood, in the Chinese EĀ 38.11 the “rootless faith” is not mentioned. Instead, the Buddha points out Ajātaśatru’s perfection of the “faculty of faith” (*xingen* 信根, **śraddhendriya*) as the reason for the eradication of his crime, his future divine rebirths and *pratyekabuddha*-hood. Here, the “faculty of faith” may refer to the first of the five spiritual faculties that are fundamental to the cultivation of the Buddhist path

⁴³⁴ The approach to saving Ajātaśatru through making him be reborn in a less severe hell is also seen in two other Chinese sources. In the *Da-fangbian-fo-baoen-jing* 大方便佛報恩經 (T.156), “Sūtra on Great Expediencies of the Buddha’s Repayment of Kindness”, we find the following passage: 156b24-7. 如阿闍世王，雖有逆罪應入阿鼻獄，以誠心向佛故，滅阿鼻罪，入黑繩地獄，如人中七日重罪即盡，是謂三寶救護力也。“Taking King Ajātaśatru for example: although he committed an *ānantarya* crime and was supposed to enter the Avīci hell, because of his sincere mind towards the Buddha, his crime leading to [descent into the] Avīci hell was eliminated. He entered the hell of black strings (**kālasūtra-naraka*), where his severe crime was exhausted within [a period as long as] seven days in this world. So is the saving and protecting power of the Three Jewels.” On the *kālasūtra-naraka*, see Feer (1892: 192); Sadakata (1997 [1973]: 48). The same passage also appears in the *Sapoduo-pini-piposha* 薩婆多毘尼毘婆沙 (**Sarvāstivādinayavibhāṣā*, T.1440.505b14-6). As Naitō (1955) notices, T.156 is not a direct translation from any Indian Buddhist scripture, but a work compiled in China based on existing Chinese translations of Indian texts; on T.156, see also van Schaik and Galambos (2011: 113-5). Regarding T.1440, Funayama (2006: 45) observes that this work is “a mixture of a translation of an Indic text... and a certain amount of exegetical elements that were interpolated perhaps in the process of transcribing the translation”; see also Funayama (1998: 280-285). Therefore, given the problematics of T.156 and T.1440, it is hard to say to what extent the sentence above reflects a genuine Indian idea.

to liberation.⁴³⁵ Despite the terminological difference, the “rootless faith” in the AWJ and the “faculty of faith” in the Chinese EĀ 38.11 may have basically the same implication for the salvation of Ajātaśatru. That is, the series of great benefits Ajātaśatru will receive in the future are all the karmic fruits of the faith the Buddha instills in him in this life. Seen from this perspective, the notions of the “rootless faith” and the “faculty of faith” point to a correspondence rather than a divergence between the AWJ and the Chinese EĀ 38.11.

What does distinguish these two texts is that while in the AWJ the Buddha says that not just Ajātaśatru but anyone who gains the “rootless faith” will attain the same benefits in the future, in the Chinese EĀ 38.11 the Buddha does not make such a generalization. This difference may be explained by the different functions of the prophecies of Ajātaśatru’s future rebirths in the two texts. In the AWJ, the prophecy follows the Buddha’s rebuke over Devadatta’s denial of Ajātaśatru’s next birth in hell and is intended as a demonstration of the salvific power of the Buddha. It is therefore natural to emphasize the universality of benefits to be gained by Ajātaśatru as the result of his faith in the Buddha. In contrast, in the Chinese EĀ 38.11 the prophecy is a subordinate episode of the Vaiśālī plague legend, where it is used to facilitate Ajātaśatru’s admission to let the Buddha go to Vaiśālī. The emphasis is accordingly on

⁴³⁵ In the *Vibhaṅga-sutta*, “Discourse on Analysis”, of the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, the *saddhindriya* (Pāli form of *śraddhendriya*) is defined as follows: Feer 1884-1898: v. 196.26-197.4: *Katamañca bhikkhave saddh indriyaṃ || Idha bhikkhave ariyasāvako saddho hoti || saddahati tathāgatassa bodhiṃ || Iti pi so Bhagavā araham sammāsambuddho vijjācaraṇasampanno sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisa-dhammasārathi* [B’: *purisadammasārathi*] *satthā devamanussānaṃ buddho bhagavā ti || Idam vuccati bhikkhave saddhindriyaṃ ||* “Monks, what is faculty of faith? In this case, Monks, a noble disciple is faithful. He believes in the awakening of the Tathāgata, and also says, ‘The Blessed One is an *arahat*, a Perfectly Enlightened One, accomplished in knowledge and conduct, a well-farer, one who understands the world, an unsurpassed charioteer of men to be tamed, teacher of gods and men, a Blessed *buddha*.’ Monks, this is called faculty of faith.” Translated also in Lamotte (1944-1980: iii. 1126). The difficulty of identifying Ajātaśatru’s “faculty of faith” in the Chinese EĀ with *saddhindriya* is that according to the *Daṭṭhabba-sutta* preceding the *Vibhaṅga-sutta* in the SN, “the faculty of faith is to be seen among the four factors leading to the entry into the stream (Feer 1884-1898: v. 196.12-3: *Catusu sotāpattiyaṅgesu || ettha saddhindriyaṃ daṭṭhabbam*), whereas Ajātaśatru’s descent into hell implies that he fails to become a stream-enterer (on qualities of *sotāpanna*, see above, p.148).

the unexpected benefits he will receive, rather than the universality of those benefits.

Based on the analysis above, we may summarize agreements and disagreements between the prophecies of Ajātaśatru in the AWJ and the Chinese EĀ 38.11 as follows:

Table 3.3: A Comparison between the Prophecies of Ajātaśatru’s Future Rebirths
in the AWJ and the Chinese EĀ 38.11

	Prophecy in the AWJ	Prophecy in the Chinese EĀ 38.11
Time Setting	Before Ajātaśatru’s change into an <i>upāsaka</i>	After Ajātaśatru’s change into an <i>upāsaka</i>
Context	The Buddha’s rebuke over Devadatta’s denial of Ajātaśatru’s next birth in hell	Vaiśālī plague legend (Licchavi envoy’s requesting Ajātaśatru to let the Buddha go to Vaiśālī)
Function	Demonstration of the salvific power of the Buddha	Device to facilitate Ajātaśatru’s admission to let the Buddha go to Vaiśālī
Content	—	Ajātaśatru’s supposed next birth in the Avīci hell
	—	Eradication of his crime
	Next birth in hell in a way similar to “bouncing of a ball”	Next birth in the hell of “bouncing of a ball”
	Following continuous rebirths in the six heavens	Following continuous rebirths in the six heavens
	Final birth as a <i>pratyekabuddha</i> named “Free of Defilements” (<i>wuhui</i> 無穢, *Viraja/*Nirdoṣa)	Final birth as a <i>pratyekabuddha</i> named “Free of Evil” (<i>chue</i> 除惡, *Viraja/*Nirdoṣa)
	Reason: 1. Acquisition of the rootless faith 2. Achievement of aspiration	Reason: 1. perfection of the faculty of faith 2. Rectification of his crime (repentance?)

It is hard to say anything definite about the underlying relation between the prophecy in the AWJ and that in the Chinese EĀ 38.11. In his discussion of this issue Miyazaki, based on the fact that the story of Ajātaśatru plays a central role in the AWJ but only a subordinate role in the Chinese EĀ 38.11, suggests that the prophecy in the Chinese EĀ 38.11 could have been borrowed from the AWJ.⁴³⁶ This is possible. However, another possibility, which seems more likely to me, is that there was no direct borrowing between the AWJ and the Chinese EĀ 38.11 in either direction, and that the prophecy of Ajātaśatru in question belonged to common knowledge of the (assumed)

⁴³⁶ Miyazaki (2010: 120): “As for the borrowing relationship between the two, firstly, in the Chinese EĀ 38.11 Ajātaśatru’s future rebirths are told as an inserted episode; secondly, accounts of the Vaiśālī plague legend in other texts do not have Ajātaśatru’s future rebirths. Therefore, the one in the Chinese EĀ may be regarded as borrowed from that in the AWJ.”

Indian authors of the two *sūtras*, but was used by them in two different ways. More specifically, the authors of the Indian original of the AWJ whose primary concern is to demonstrate the salvific power of the Buddha through the future liberation of Ajātaśatru, made the prophecy the focus of the whole text, whereas the authors of the EĀ 38.11, whose purpose is to tell a different version of an old story, took up the prophecy and integrated it into the stock Vaiśālī plague legend. Although so far the prophecy has only been found in the AWJ and the Chinese EĀ 38.11, the current unavailability of other sources does not necessarily mean that they did not exist. Thus, it might be better to consider the prophecy as one part of narrative lore shared among at least some Buddhists in ancient India, not just the authors of the Indian originals of the AWJ and the Chinese EĀ 38.11.

3.4 Three Prophecies of Ajātaśatru’s Pratyekabuddha-hood: Conclusions

Let me now return to the two questions which I raised at the beginning of this chapter. Can Ajātaśatru, one of the worst criminals according to Indian Buddhist ethics, attain liberation in the future? If so, then how? The first question is answered affirmatively by Buddhaghosa and the authors of the AWJ and the Chinese EĀ 38.11, who all agree that although Ajātaśatru will go to hell in his next life as the result of his patricide, he will be released from there and eventually attain *pratyekabuddha*-hood in the future. As for the second question, the answers are diverse. The AWJ and the Chinese EĀ 38.11 provide relatively similar answers which differ significantly from that found in Buddhaghosa’s commentary Sv. The differences can be seen in the following aspects.

While in the Sv Ajātasattu is said to be reborn for sixty thousand years in the hell of “copper pot”, in the AWJ his stay in hell is compared to the “bouncing of a

ball” and in the Chinese EĀ 38.11 he is said to be reborn in the hell of “bouncing of a ball”. It is hard to say whether the metaphor of “bouncing of a ball” and the name of the hell “bouncing of a ball” are genuine Indian concepts. But in any case, it is clear that they represent strategies for mitigating Ajātaśatru’s punishment in hell which are different from that used in the Sv.

While the Sv keeps silent on Ajātasattu’s future lives between his release from hell and his eventual attainment of *pratyekabuddha*-hood, the AWJ and the Chinese EĀ 38.11 link up the two points through presenting Ajātaśatru’s continuous rebirths in the six heavens of the world of desire. Such continuous heavenly rebirths leading up to awakening constitute a common narrative strategy in Indian Buddhist literature. In the AWJ and the Chinese EĀ 38.11, this strategy is used to illustrate the incredible karmic fruits of the faith the Buddha arouses in Ajātaśatru in this life.

While both Chinese translations emphasize Ajātaśatru’s acquisition of faith as the reason for the benefits he will receive in the future, the Sv considers Ajātasattu’s release from hell and his eventual awakening as resulting from the “greatness of the teaching” (*sāsana-mahantatāya*) of the Buddha that he heard in this life, but with less emphasis on his faith. This difference may be explained by different purposes of the prophecies of Ajātaśatru in the Sv and the two Chinese texts. Buddhaghosa relates Ajātasattu’s future rebirths in his commentary on the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* for an exegetical purpose. He uses Ajātasattu’s future release from hell and his eventual awakening to demonstrate the great benefit of Ajātasattu’s listening to this *sutta* and ultimately, the salvific power of the Buddha’s teaching.⁴³⁷ In contrast, in the AWJ and the Chinese EĀ 38.11 Ajātaśatru’s future rebirths are told not for an exegetical

⁴³⁷ This purpose is articulated by Buddhaghosa himself at the beginning of the passage in which he relates Ajātasattu’s future *paccekabuddha*-hood: Rhys Davids and Carpenter 1886: 238.5-6. *Imam pana suttaṃ sutvā rañño ko ānisaṇso laddho? Mahā ānisaṇso laddho...* “Having heard this *sutta*, what benefit has the king gained? He has gained great benefit...” See above, p.148.

purpose, but for the purposes of encouraging others to gain or to develop faith in the Buddha. This purpose can be most clearly seen in the AWJ, where the Buddha says that not just Ajātaśatru but whoever gains the same faith will receive the same benefits. Through adding this statement of the Buddha, the author of the AWJ clarifies their ultimate goal of liberation not for Ajātaśatru alone but for all.

In his comment on the prophecies of Ajātaśatru's future rebirths told in the Sv, the AWJ and the Chinese EĀ 38.11, Radich states: "The link between T. 508, its EA parallel, and the Sv—all three texts state that Ajātaśatru will indeed go to a hell, but then will eventually rise again through further rebirths, and become a Pratyeka-buddha—is another clue that suggests interesting relations between Buddhaghosa's work and proto-Mahāyāna materials".⁴³⁸ Radich is certainly right in pointing out the similarity between the prophecies of Ajātaśatru in the three texts. However, to classify the AWJ and the Chinese EĀ as "proto-Mahāyāna materials", it seems to me, may not be appropriate. As scholars have agreed, the Chinese EĀ shows definite Mahāyāna influences. It is therefore hard to say that the Chinese EĀ as a whole belongs to "proto-Mahāyāna materials"; rather, as Mizuno suggests, the composition of the Chinese EĀ may have been influenced by early Mahāyāna literature.⁴³⁹ Further, as we will see in the next chapter, the AjKV, one of the first Mahāyāna *sūtras* translated into Chinese in the late second century CE, also contains a prophecy which says that in his next birth Ajātaśatru will undergo a short process of falling and rising in a hell, where he will suffer no pain, and that in his final birth as a human he will enter into

⁴³⁸ Radich 2011: 18n.69. He refers to Nattier (2008: 165 n.6) "for similar problematics". However, in her note Nattier does not dub any materials as "proto-Mahāyāna". She discusses a Chinese text (T.511) containing some information not found in its parallel in the Chinese MĀ 162 or in the Pāli MN 140, but preserved in Buddhaghosa's commentary on MN 140, but without labelling either the Chinese MĀ or the Pāli MN as "proto-Mahāyāna".

⁴³⁹ Mizuno 1996 (1989): 437.

parinirvāṇa after attaining *buddha*-hood.⁴⁴⁰ In view of that specific prophecy, the prophecies in the AWJ and the Chinese EĀ can hardly be classified as “proto”, no matter whether it is in an ideological or chronological sense. Instead, given that both the AWJ and the Chinese EĀ were translated after the second century CE, it is possible—though not certain—that the prophecies in these two texts could have been composed under the influence of the prophecy in the AjKV, or another pre-existing but now lost version which similarly presented Ajātaśatru’s temporary rebirth in hell and his eventual awakening. Seen from this perspective, the AjKV becomes for us an invaluable source which may preserve the earliest extant prophecy of Ajātaśatru’s future liberation. It is to that text and other related materials that we now turn.

⁴⁴⁰ Radich (2011: 18) notices Lokakṣema’s translation of the AjKV (T. 626), but makes no comment.

Chapter Four

Prophecies of Ajātaśatru’s Future Buddha-hood and Related Materials

In one of his articles on the first Mahāyāna *sūtras* translated into Chinese by the Indo-Scythian Lokakṣema in the late second century CE, Paul Harrison observes that “from the outset the writers of Mahāyāna sūtras were put in a difficult position by their Mainstream predecessors” who, in promoting their own traditions, “used up the available stock of personalities, nearly all of whom were held to have attained some grade of awakening or liberation during or soon after the Buddha’s own lifetime”.⁴⁴¹ As he points out, in breaking such an impasse, the Mahāyānist writers came up with at least three solutions, one of which is “to hold up as bodhisattvas real persons whose attainments were either unknown or not widely known”; he notices that the patricidal King Ajātaśatru is one such case, “to whom Theravādin canonical literature, at least, imputes no spiritual attainment. There is thus no traditional impediment to the prediction in the AjKV of his eventual attainment of Buddhahood.”⁴⁴²

Harrison’s observation is based on his careful study of the AjKV which, as we will see, contains a prophecy of Ajātaśatru’s future rebirths and eventual *buddha*-hood. His comment directs our attention to Mahāyānists’ exploitation of Ajātaśatru for the purpose of promoting their goal of Buddhist practice, that is, the *bodhisattva* ideal. In the previous chapter, I have discussed three prophecies of Ajātaśatru’s future *pratyekabuddha*-hood separately from the Sv, the AWJ and the Chinese EĀ. We do

⁴⁴¹ Harrison 2000: 181-182.

⁴⁴² Ibid.: 183.

not know the dates of the origins of the prophecies, though the composition of the Sv and the translations of the AWJ and the Chinese EĀ can be roughly dated to the late fourth or the fifth century CE. Whatever their age, those prophecies represent the attempts of some Mainstream Buddhist authors to promote their soteriological goal of liberation for all, particularly through saving the paradigmatic criminal Ajātaśatru from *saṃsāra*. The same attempt is also signified in the prophecy of Ajātaśatru's future *buddha*-hood in the AjKV, but with an extra layer of meaning: through making Ajātaśatru a future representative of *bodhisattva*-hood and eventually *buddha*-hood, Mahāyānist writers show that this worst criminal not only can be saved from *saṃsāra*, but also can attain the most worthy form of awakening through cultivating the *bodhisattva* path. The salvation of Ajātaśatru thus becomes a tool for legitimizing the *bodhisattva* path.

In this chapter, I will explore how Mahāyānist writers interpret the theme of the salvation of Ajātaśatru, through examining the context and content of the prophecy of his future rebirths and eventual *buddha*-hood in the AjKV. I will also look at a parallel prophecy of his *buddha*-hood in a Buddhist text extant only in Chinese, the *Asheshi-wang-shoujue-jing* 阿闍世王授決經 (T. 509), “Sūtra on the Prophecy [of Future Buddha-hood] of King Ajātaśatru”, and will consider how the meaning of the prophecy of Ajātaśatru's eventual awakening is shifted by its changing context.

4.1 The **Ajātaśatru-kaukr̥tya-vinodanā-sūtra*⁴⁴³

⁴⁴³ The Sanskrit title of the text is usually given as *Ajātaśatru-kaukr̥tya-vinodanā-sūtra* (Harrison 1993: 152; Harrison and Hartmann 1998, 2000a, 2000b, 2002). This title is neither attested in the fragmentary Sanskrit version newly found in the Schøyen Collection, nor in any external sources (for titles under which the AjKV is referred to in some commentarial works, see Harrison and Hartmann 1998: 67). It seems to be based on the Tibetan transliteration in the Peking Kanjur (No. 882). However, as Miyazaki (2010: 29-30, 269) observes, the Tibetan transliteration of the Sanskrit title of this text is different in the extant Kanjur editions. He consulted eleven editions and identified four variants: (1) *(*ārya*) *ajātaśatru-kaukr̥tya-vinodanā* in the Peking edition; (2) *(*ārya*) *ajātaśatru-kaukr̥tya-vinodana* in the Derge edition, the Gondhla manuscript, the Lithang, the Narthang editions [and the Lhasa edition

4.1.1 The Contents and Extant Versions of the AjKV

The AjKV is an interesting text which centers around a story about how the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī succeeds in dispelling Ajātaśatru’s remorse for his patricide—as indicated by *kaukr̥tya-vinodanā*, “dispelling of remorse”, in its title—through convincing him of the ultimate “emptiness” (*sūnyatā*) of all phenomena including the worst deeds such as the *ānantarya* crimes and their retributions. Through conversing with Mañjuśrī, Ajātaśatru realizes that all beings have the nature of “non-self” (*nairātmyatā*) and that “there can neither be any performer [of an action], nor can there be any experiencer [of the result of an action]”.⁴⁴⁴ In this way, he frees himself from the fear of falling into hell after death, with which he has hitherto been overwhelmingly burdened. In this text, as Harrison and Hartmann put it, “the notion of ‘emptiness’ ... is applied unflinchingly to the problems of moral responsibility and personal continuity, in short, to the central Buddhist doctrine of karma, illustrated, as it were, with the ‘worst case scenario’ represented by the patricide Ajātaśatru.”⁴⁴⁵

according to my own check]; (3) **(ārya) ajātaśatru-kokr̥ta-prativinoda[nā]* in the London copy of the Shel dkar manuscript, the sTog Palace and the Tokyo manuscripts; (4) **(ārya) ajātaśatru-kaukr̥tya-prativinodana* in the Phug brag and Batang manuscripts. Regarding *kokr̥ta* in the third variant, Miyazaki (ibid.: 269) suggests that it can either be a Prakrit form derived from **kukr̥ta* through the change (*guṇa*) of *u* to *o* (Pischel §77), or a corruption of *ko-u krid tyā* (*kaukr̥tya*) as found in the Phug brag manuscript caused by the missing *-u* and *-y-*. The second possibility seems more likely to me, given that *kukr̥ta* “misdeed”, unlike *kaukr̥tya*, does not have the meaning “remorse”. As Prof. Silk points out, “*o=au* also occurs in some Central Asian manuscripts (e.g., the Kāśyapa-Parivarta mss.) - thus, *kokr̥ta=kaukr̥ta*; also, a loss of *-y-* in Tib. is easy to imagine” (personal communication, 6th July 2012). Taking all the variant readings into account, we may suggest the title **Ajātaśatru-kaukr̥tya-(prati)vinodanā-sūtra*.

⁴⁴⁴ Derge Kanjur 216, *mdo sde, tsha* 256b3; sTog Kanjur 223, *mdo sde, za* 331b6-7; translated also in Harrison and Hartmann (2000a: 192). The corresponding Sanskrit reads (ibid: 190, folio 534 v2-3): (... *bhagavatā nairātmakoṭī* {} *bhūtakotī* {} *darśitā* <|> *yā ca nairātmyatā na tatra kācī satvatā | asaṃtā* [= *asato*, see ibid., n.67] *mañjuśrī satvasya na tatra kaścid yo 'bhisamṣkaret...* “[Ajātaśatru said,] ‘... The Blessed One teaches that the end of non-self is the true end. Because of the nature of non-self, there is no nature of being. Mañjuśrī, if there is no being, there is no one who acts...’”; see also the Chinese at T. 626.402c7-8 and T. 627. 423c23-26. On the extant versions of the AjKV, see below.

⁴⁴⁵ Harrison and Hartmann 2000a: 169.

A key to unlock the meaning of the salvation of Ajātaśatru in the AjKV lies in the overall purpose of this text to construct and glorify the authority of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī and hence to demonstrate the superiority of the *bodhisattva* path exemplified by him. It is noteworthy that in the AjKV it is Mañjuśrī, not the Buddha, who relieves Ajātaśatru of his remorse. Mañjuśrī is said to be the one who guided Ajātaśatru to conceive the aspiration to supreme awakening in his past lives and will continue to guide him to attain awakening in the future. Throughout most of the text Mañjuśrī is featured prominently. Particularly in Chapter Three⁴⁴⁶, he is depicted not only as being superior over all the great disciples of the Buddha, but also as the one who inspired the future Śākyamuni in one of his past lives to vow to achieve awakening for the sake of all beings.⁴⁴⁷ As Harrison remarks, “Thus the AjKV is really Mañjuśrī’s *sūtra*, a fact which is reflected by the title of Dharmarakṣa’s version of it (T. 627)”.⁴⁴⁸ Within this context, the salvation of Ajātaśatru by Mañjuśrī essentially serves to demonstrate the salvific capability and superior religious insight of this particular *bodhisattva*, and ultimately, the worthiness of the *bodhisattva* path exemplified by him. As Harrison observes, Mañjuśrī is also portrayed prominently in some other Mahāyāna *sūtras* translated by Lokakṣema, which “reflect the emergence of Mañjuśrī as an important archetypal bodhisattva figure by the middle of the second century CE, be it in one milieu or in many”.⁴⁴⁹ He further notices that despite this prominent portrayal there is no evidence of the cult of Mañjuśrī in the AjKV or in any other text

⁴⁴⁶ Chapter divisions in Dharmarakṣa’s Chinese translation (see below) will be consistently applied in the following discussion. The third chapter has survived as an independent text in Chinese (T. 629). For an English translation of the Tibetan version of the chapter, see Harrison (2004: 172-184).

⁴⁴⁷ This *jātaka* story, as Harrison (2000: 170) suggests, clearly symbolizes “the fact that the spiritual achievements of the Buddha, on which the attainments of the *śrāvaka* or *arhat* depend, are themselves premised on the existence of the bodhisattva”.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid.: 171. On the title of T. 627, see below.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid.: 172. On Mañjuśrī in early Mahāyāna texts, see also Lamotte (1960: 5-8) and Hirakawa 1983.

in the Lokakṣema corpus. Instead of being an object of cult, here Mañjuśrī appears as one of the literary creations of Mahāyānists used to legitimate scriptually the *bodhisattva* ideal.⁴⁵⁰

With the story of Mañjuśrī and Ajātaśatru at its core, the AjKV is structured in a sophisticated and multi-layered manner. The text consists of thirteen chapters:⁴⁵¹

The first four chapters appear as a prologue intended to establish the authority of Mañjuśrī and the superiority of the *bodhisattva* path over the *śrāvaka* path, where Ajātaśatru is not mentioned.

The next six chapters constitute the main body of the text. Chapter Five concerns Ajātaśatru's visit to the Buddha, where he expresses his remorse for the patricide and his wish for relief from mental suffering caused by such remorse. Having been advised to seek help from Mañjuśrī, he invites Mañjuśrī to a dinner in his palace. Chapters Six to Eight present Mañjuśrī's preaching to his fellow *bodhisattvas* on the night before the dinner. Chapter Nine describes Mañjuśrī's proceeding to Rājagṛha and events happening during the dinner. Chapter Ten contains Mañjuśrī's conversation with Ajātaśatru, whereby he manages to remove Ajātaśatru's mental suffering.

The last three chapters relate events taking place after Mañjuśrī leaves the palace. The first half of Chapter Eleven concerns the salvation of a matricide who, following a phantom man conjured up by Mañjuśrī, comes in the front of the Buddha, where he receives ordination and then, after attaining *arhat*-ship, he enters *nirvāṇa*.⁴⁵² The second half of that chapter presents a discussion between the Buddha and his

⁴⁵⁰ Harrison 2000: 177-181, 185. The *bodhisattva* cult was probably a later development. As Harrison (1987: 80; 1995a: 61) says, "as far as *bodhisattvas* are concerned, the *initial* message of the Mahāyāna is clear: people should not worship *bodhisattvas*, they should become *bodhisattvas* themselves".

⁴⁵¹ See synopses of the text in Harrison and Hartmann (2000a: 168-169) and Miyazaki (2010: 17-23).

⁴⁵² For a comparison of the Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan versions of this part, see Wu (forthcoming).

disciple Śāriputra regarding Ajātaśatru's past and future lives, where the Buddha predicts Ajātaśatru's eventual attainment of *buddha*-hood. This prophecy is consistent with the story of the matricide, in that both episodes deal with the salvation of an *ānantarya* criminal. Chapter Twelve contains prophecies of future *buddha*-hood of three other persons (Ajātaśatru's son, Śākyamuni Buddha and a householder). It also promises great merit of reading, reciting and copying the AjKV. Chapter Thirteen presents the commission of the text to various figures, as is often the case with Mahāyāna *sūtras*.

In the following discussion, I will focus on two sections directly related to the salvation of Ajātaśatru, i.e., his expression of remorse for the patricide and his request for mental relief in Chapter Five, and the Buddha's prophecy of his future rebirths in Chapter Eleven. While Chapter Ten which presents Mañjuśrī's success in dispelling Ajātaśatru's remorse through expounding to him the notion of emptiness is admittedly important, it will not be discussed here, given its considerable length and the extended doctrinal expositions incorporated therein. But needless to say, that chapter certainly deserves close examination in a separate study of the AjKV.⁴⁵³

The AjKV is generally regarded as one of the first Mahāyāna *sūtras* translated into Chinese by Lokakṣema in the late second century CE.⁴⁵⁴ His translation is found under the title *Asheshi-wang-jing* 阿闍世王經 (T.626), "Sūtra on King Ajātaśatru", in the Taishō canon. Besides it, there are two other complete Chinese versions of the AjKV: the *Wenshuzhili-puchao-sanmei-jing* 文殊支利普超三

⁴⁵³ Miyazaki (2010: 153-248) gives a detailed annotated Japanese translation of the Tibetan version of Chapters Five to Ten of the AjKV. A further study of the contents of this text and its position in the history of Indian Buddhist philosophy is in preparation by Miyazaki (ibid.: 147-148).

⁴⁵⁴ Zürcher 1991: 299; Harrison 1993: 152-156. Recently, it has been observed that T. 626 exhibits a number of terminological and stylistic features uncommon to Lokakṣema's works. Those features suggest that T. 626 as we have it may not have come from Lokakṣema. It could be the work of others (say, members of Lokakṣema's school), or if it was indeed the product of Lokakṣema, it was probably revised afterwards. See Nattier (2006: 187n.10) and (2008: 78-79); Miyazaki (2007a, 2007b).

昧經 (T.627), “Sūtra on the Universal and Transcendent Samādhī of Mañjuśrī”, translated by Dharmarakṣa in the third century CE, and the *Weicengyou-zhengfa-jing* 未曾有正法經 (T. 628), “Sūtra on the Unprecedented True Dharma”, by Fatian 法天 in the tenth century CE. In Fatian’s version, all references to parricide have been obliterated probably by Fatian himself in order to adapt the text into a Chinese ethical context.⁴⁵⁵ Since his version does not represent a reliable witness to an Indian original of the AjKV, it will not be considered here.⁴⁵⁶ The AjKV was also translated in full into Tibetan in the early ninth century CE.⁴⁵⁷ In one of the manuscripts recently found in the Schøyen Collection, twenty Sanskrit fragments have been identified as belonging to the AjKV, all written in one type of script dating from the fifth century CE.⁴⁵⁸ These fragments provide precious insight into an Indian-language version of this text.

Since this study is intended primarily as an investigation of the stories about Ajātaśatru in Indian Buddhism, it is necessary to translate the Sanskrit version of the AjKV. However, given the fragmentary nature of that version, to translate it alone does not suffice to provide a coherent idea of the contents of the text. Considering this, I decide on a compromise: in the section on Ajātaśatru’s remorse and his request for relief, where the Sanskrit is totally lost, I will use Lokakṣema’s version (T. 626) as the text for translation, because it is the earliest extant witness to an Indian version of the AjKV and has never been translated into any Western language⁴⁵⁹; in the section on

⁴⁵⁵ Harrison 1993: 154-155.

⁴⁵⁶ There is yet another short Chinese scripture (T. 629) corresponding to the third chapter of the AjKV in content (see above, n.446). Since it has no direct relevance to Ajātaśatru, it will not concern us here.

⁴⁵⁷ For an introduction to the Tibetan version and its extant editions, see Miyazaki (2010: 4-5, 249-272). In this study, I consistently use the Derge and sTog editions of the AjKV: Derge Kanjur 216, *mdo sde, tsha* 211b2-268b7; sTog Kanjur 223, *mdo sde, za* 266b7-351a7.

⁴⁵⁸ Harrison and Hartmann 1998, 2000a, 2000b, 2002; on the date of the script, see Sander (2000: 291-3).

⁴⁵⁹ Lokakṣema’s version has been translated in full into Japanese by Sadakata (1989).

Ajātaśatru’s future rebirths, I will translate both the relevant account in Lokakṣema’s version and its fragmentary Sanskrit counterpart.⁴⁶⁰ In both sections, I will include in footnotes significant variants in Dharmarakṣa’s version and in the Tibetan translation.

4.1.2 Ajātaśatru’s Remorse for His Patricide and His Request for Mental Relief

According to Chapter Five of the AjKV, Ajātaśatru comes to visit the Buddha to ask him why people commit crimes. The Buddha replies that this is because they abide in self (**ātman*) and person[-hood] (**pudgala*).⁴⁶¹ He then expounds to Ajātaśatru a series of interrelated concepts.⁴⁶² Having heard the Buddha’s exposition, Ajātaśatru asks about the reason for remorse in general and confesses his patricide as follows:

...He [Ajātaśatru] further asked, “From what cause does remorse (**kaukrtya*)⁴⁶³ arise?” The Buddha said, “It results from having nothing to depend on.”⁴⁶⁴ “What is ‘having nothing to depend on’?” The Buddha said, “Regarding what is taught, one hears it and has doubt. This is ‘having nothing to depend on’.”⁴⁶⁵ He further asked, “What is the path?”

⁴⁶⁰ For an English translation of the Tibetan version of this section of the AjKV, see Harrison and Hartmann (2000a: 205-214). As indicated by the same authors, “A critical edition of the Tibetan text with an English translation of the same is in preparation by Harrison” (ibid.: 168 n.5).

⁴⁶¹ T. 626. 395b25. Dharmarakṣa’s version (T. 627.414c22) mentions self (*wuwo* 吾我, **ātman*), person (*ren* 人, **pudgala*) and life (*shouming* 壽命, **jīva*). The Tibetan (Derge, *tsha* 233a5; sTog, *za* 292a6) has self (*bdag*, **ātman*), being (*sems can*, **sattva*), life (*srog*, **jīva*) and person (*gang zag*, **pudgala*).

⁴⁶² This part is analyzed in detail in Miyazaki (2010).

⁴⁶³ Chin. *suoyi* 所疑, “doubt”. T. 627 also has *huyi* 狐疑, “doubt”. The corresponding Tibetan reads: Derge, *tsha* 233b3-4; sTog, *za* 297b7: *bcom ldan ’das ’gyod pa ci la dmigs pa lags* “Blessed One, as for remorse, where is its support (*dmigs pa*, **ālambana*)?” Here, *’gyod pa* clearly suggests **kaukrtya* (Mvy §1980).

⁴⁶⁴ Chin. 無所據故. T. 627 has *youyu* 猶豫, “hesitation”; the Tibetan has *the tsom*, “doubt”.

⁴⁶⁵ Both Dharmarakṣa’s version and the Tibetan clarify that teachings are taught by the nobles: T. 627. 415a5-6 賢聖所說誠諦之語，聞則懷疑，斯謂猶豫 “With regard to true words said by the nobles, one hears them and has doubt. This is ‘hesitancy’”; Derge, *tsha* 233b4-5, sTog, *za* 598a2: *the tsom* [S: *tshom*] *zhes bya ba ni gang ’phags pa yang dag par smra ba dag gis bshad pa la the tshom za ba ste* <|> *de ni the tsom* [S: *tshom*] *zhes bya ’o* “As for ‘doubt’, [it means that] one questions teachings

What is faith?”⁴⁶⁶ The Buddha said, “Freedom from lust (**rāga*), anger (**dveṣa*) and delusion (**moha*) is the path.” “What is faith?” The Buddha said, “If one does not get the root of all *dharmas*, one will never change his mind. This is faith.”⁴⁶⁷

King Ajātaśatru then said, “[It is] excellent, excellent, what the Tathāgata said. Why do people not believe? [It is] because they themselves cause it.”⁴⁶⁸ Now I adopted words of the evil person(s)⁴⁶⁹ and ordered liege men to kill my father. Due to my desire for kingship, desire for wealth, desire for ruling people, desire for majesty, now I employed liege men to kill my father. Clinging to the existence and having remorse [or, doubt?] (狐疑, **kauṛtya* or **kāṅkṣā*)⁴⁷⁰, I can not relieve myself. Whenever having drinks or food, or entertaining myself, or inspecting state affairs in the main hall, or enjoying the five sorts of pleasures [of the five senses] inside the palace, whether being alone or together with others, day and night I cannot forget it. Neither eating nor drinking can dispel it. I also have no sleep, and my countenance is not joyful either. Always I feel terror in my heart, [for] I know I am not away from hell.”

He further said, “It is as if the blind regained their sight through the Buddha, or the drowned were rescued through relying on the Buddha. If anyone suffers pain, the Buddha comforts him. If anyone is fearful, the Buddha becomes a refuge for him. If anyone is poor, the Buddha can offer treasure to him. If anyone has lost his way, [the Buddha] can show

preached by the truth-speaking nobles. This is ‘doubt’”. On *yang dag par smra ba* referring to *bhūtavādin*, see TSD, 2130b, s.v.

⁴⁶⁶ T. 626 differs greatly from T. 627 and the Tibetan which separately read: 何所賢聖？何言審諦？ “Where are the nobles？ Why are they said to be ‘truth-knowing’?” Tib. *’phags pa gang la gas | yang dag par smra ba gang la gas* “Where are the nobles? Where are the truth-speaking?”

⁴⁶⁷ Unlike T.626, both T. 627 and the Tibetan mention the non-origination of all *dharmas*: 其審諦者知一切法悉無所有 “Those who know the truth understand that all *dharmas* are not existent”; Tib. *gang dag gis chos thams can ’dus te byung ba ma yin par rtogs pa ni yang dag par smra ba zhes bya’o* “Those who realize that all *dharmas* are non-arising are the truth-speaking ones”.

⁴⁶⁸ The Tibetan differs considerably: Derge, *tsha* 233b6-234a1; sTog, za 298a5-6: *bcom ldan ’das <|> ’jig rten gnas pa ni bdag gi bshad pa ’i rgyud kyi nyon mongs pas bsgribs pa ste | de ni ’phags pa yang dag par smra ba dag gis bshad pa la <|> yid ma ches nas sdig pa ’i las rnam pa du ma dag rtsol zhing bgyid pa <|> de ni bcom ldan ’das ngo mtshar to | de ni bde bar gshegs pa rmad du gyur pa’o* | “O Blessed One, abiding in the world, my mental disposition (**cintā-saṃtāna*) has obstructions of depravities. In this way, since I did not believe in teachings of the truth-speaking nobles, I committed various evil deeds. Blessed One, this [i.e., what you said] is wonderful! Sugata, this is marvellous!” T. 627 appears even more divergent; see a discussion in Miyazaki (2010: 158n.25).

⁴⁶⁹ The Chinese *eren* 惡人 can be both singular and plural. It most likely alludes to Devadatta here.

⁴⁷⁰ Neither T. 627 nor the Tibetan mentions “clinging to the body”. T. 627 has 持疑怵惕, “carrying doubts and fears”; the Tibetan reads: Derge, *tsha* 234a2: *the tsom de med par bas la mi nus te* “I cannot be in no more doubt”; sTog, za 298a7-b1: *the tshom de bas la mi nus te* “I cannot be in more doubt (?)”. Tib. *the tsom* (or *tshom*) can render a group of synonyms including *kāṅkṣā*, *vicikitsā*, *saṃśaya* etc. (see TSD, 1041b, s.v.). Later in the text, *the tsom* also appears and matches *kāṅkṣā* in the fragmentary Sanskrit version (Harrison and Hartmann 2000a: 190-191). However, Miyazaki (2010: 159 n.33) suggests that here *the tshom* seems closer to *kauṛtya* than *kāṅkṣā* in meaning, for it does not really denote “doubt”, but is used rather in the sense of “mental unsettlement”.

him the way. The Buddha, because of his being endowed with great compassion, does not consider [those acts] as hardship. He is even-minded towards everything, firm and generous. He always endures [i.e., is not wavered by] pains and pleasures, and does not abandon anyone.⁴⁷¹ Now I am in terror. I hope that the Buddha will grant protection, to make the one in danger [i.e., Ajātaśatru himself] gain safety. I hope that [the Buddha] will save the one whom no one [else] can save. I hope that [the Buddha] will accept the taking refuge of the one who has nowhere to take refuge in.⁴⁷² It is as if one had no eyes and wished that the Buddha can make him see. It is as if one was to fall over and wished that the Buddha can hold him up.⁴⁷³ Now I shall enter Avīci, the great hell. I hope that the Buddha can save me from entering. I hope that the Tathāgata will explain to me my doubt, so that my heart can be illuminated, with no more doubt till death, and that my severe crime can be made light.⁴⁷⁴

The Buddha thought, “What King Ajātaśatru said is very profound and excellent.⁴⁷⁵ No one [else] can cure this illness. Only the Buddha and Mañjuśrī have a treatment [for it].⁴⁷⁶ Śāriputra, influenced by the Buddha’s authoritative power, said to Ajātaśatru, “[If you] want to remove your doubt, prepare food tomorrow morning, and invite Mañjuśrī and others to come to the palace to have it. Your ministers will all gain merits from it, and people in Rājagṛha will all have roots [of goodness] because of this meritorious act. Ajātaśatru then said to Mañjuśrī, “I hope

⁴⁷¹ As Miyazaki (2010: 160) observes, most phrases used in the former half of this passage are stock and also appear in other Buddhist texts.

⁴⁷² The reference of those sentences to Ajātaśatru himself is more clearly shown in the Tibetan version: Derge, *tsha* 234a6; sTog, za 298b7: *bcom ldan 'das bdag 'jigs pa la mi 'jigs pa stsol cig | mgon ma mchis pa 'i mgon du gyur cig | skyabs ma mchis pa 'i skyabs su gyur cig | long ba 'i ni mig tu gyur cig* | “Blessed One, may you grant fearlessness to me who is fearful! May you be the protector of the helpless! May you be the refuge of the one who has no refuge! May you be the eyes of the blind!”

⁴⁷³ T. 627 also has 令飢渴者而得飽滿 “[May the Buddha] make the hungry and thirsty be satisfied”. The Tibetan reads *bdag chab kyis 'tshal ba la ni phyag gis drang bar mdzod cig*, literally “[May the Buddha] draw me with his hands, who is seeking water”. As Miyazaki (2010: 160 n.45) observes, the Tibetan is perplexing here, as it appears to be a combination of the translations in T. 626 and T. 627.

⁴⁷⁴ In both T. 627 and the Tibetan, Ajātaśatru explicitly asks the Buddha to remove his anxiety: T. 627. 415b2-3. 唯然大聖如應說法，決我狐疑，解散愁結，令無猶豫 “May the Great Sage expound the Dharma, to remove my doubt, to dispel my fetters of anxiety, to make me have no hesitancy”; Derge, *tsha* 234b1; sTog, za 299a1-2: *ci nas* [S: *cis*] *kyang the tsom* [S: *tshom*] *de bsal nas <|> kun du dkris pa ma mchis par 'gum pa 'i dus bgyid pa dang* | “[May the Blessed One] by any means make [me] free from the doubt (*the tshom*, * *kāṅkṣā*), without fetters, [until] the time of death.”

⁴⁷⁵ The Tibetan reads: Derge, *tsha* 234b1-2; sTog, za 299a3: *kye ma 'o rgyal po ma skyes dgra 'di ni sred pa la spyod pa <|> chos zab mo la dad pa yin gyis* “Alas, this king Ajātaśatru lives in cravings (**trṣṇācārin*, cf. Hirakawa 1973-1978: i. 174, s.v. *trṣṇā-carita*) [but] has faith in the profound Dharma”; translated also in Miyazaki (2010: 161).

⁴⁷⁶ Chin. 獨佛、文殊師利而有感應. In T. 627 and the Tibetan, the Buddha thinks that only Mañjuśrī can remove Ajātaśatru’s remorse, without mentioning himself. See T. 627. 415b5-7. 其惟濡首能雪滯礙 “Only Mañjuśrī can clear away the obstacles [in Ajātaśatru’s mind].” Derge, *tsha* 234b2; sTog, za 299a 3-4: *'jam dpal gzhon nur gyur pa ma gtogs par gzhan sus kyang 'di 'i the tsom lhag ma ma lus par sel mi nus* “Except Mañjuśrī Kumārabhūta, no one is able to remove this one’s doubt without remainder”.

that you show great compassion. Tomorrow morning, please condescend and come to the palace to have a meal.” Mañjuśrī replied, “[What you said] is already sufficient for offering (以足可爲供養已).” Mañjuśrī further said, “The Dharma of the Buddha is not for the sake of clothing or food.”⁴⁷⁷ Ajātaśatru then said, “What should I offer?” [Mañjuśrī] replied, “If you enter deeply into the subtle [Truth] and closely examine the things as they are (深入微妙, 其事審諦), without defilement or attachment, without doubt or objection, without fear or fright, in that case you can be regarded as having gained compassion (以爲得哀)^{478, 479}

Mañjuśrī goes on to tell Ajātaśatru that if he considers all phenomena without false discrimination, if his mind does not cling to anything, he will gain compassion. He then expounds to Ajātaśatru a series of points including, for instance, the origin of [mental] comfort (**sukha*), the three doors to liberation (**śūnyatā-animitta-aprañihīta* “emptiness, signlessness, wishlessness”), [mental] construction (**abhisamkāra*) and non-construction (**anabhisamkāra*), defilements (**kleśa*), the path (**marga*) and the cultivation of the path.⁴⁸⁰ After having heard Mañjuśrī’s exposition, Ajātaśatru says:

“[It is] excellent, excellent, what the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī said. May you accept my invitation. Why is that? It is due to [my] remorse (*huyi* 狐疑, **kaukrtya*).⁴⁸¹ I myself ponder that all *dharma*s have no self (無吾無我) and

⁴⁷⁷ The Tibetan reads: Derge, *tsha* 234b5; sTog, *za* 299b1-2: *rgyal po chen po byas pa dang <|> mchod pas chog gis <|> 'di lta ste | legs par gsungs pa'i chos 'dul ba la gos len pa'am | lhung bzed len pa'am | zas len pa de ni thugs brtse ba ma yin gyi* | “Great King, what you did (*byas pa*, **kṛta*) is already sufficient for offering, because in the well-spoken teaching and discipline (*legs par gsungs pa'i chos 'dul ba*, **svākhyāta-dharma-vinaya*), to obtain clothing, almsbowl or food is not compassion (*thugs brtse ba*, **karuṇā*).” T. 627 (415b13-15) is closer to the Tibetan.

⁴⁷⁸ T. 627 basically agrees with T. 626. As Miyazaki (2010: 163 n.61) observes, the Tibetan specifies that the Truth refers to the “non-self” (*bdag med pa*, **anātman*): Derge, *tsha* 234b6; sTog, *za* 299b2: *rgyal po chen po khyod gang gi tshe zab mo'i don dam pa bdag med pa la the tsom* [S: *tshom*] *med pa am | nem nur med par gyur na | de lta bu ni khyod la thugs brtse bar byas pa yin no* | “Great King, when you become undoubtful (*the tshom med pa*, **niḥsaṃśaya*, cf. Lokesh Chandra 1990 [1959-1961]: 1041, s.v.) or unsuspecting (*nem nur med par*, **niṣkāṃkṣā*, cf. ibid: 1354, s.v.) towards the profound and ultimate Truth of non-self, in that case the compassion has been achieved by you”.

⁴⁷⁹ T. 626.395c4-396a11 (Textual Material 18.1). See also a Japanese translation in Sadakata (1989: 72-77).

⁴⁸⁰ The Tibetan version of this part is translated and discussed in detail in Miyazaki (2010: 162-173). As he observes, the Tibetan differs notably from T. 626 and T. 627 in quite a few places.

⁴⁸¹ T. 627 reads: 416a28-29. 因斯使餘離諸顛倒、令得解脫、分別淨行 “thereby making me get rid of various confusions, making me attain liberation and purification of false discriminations (?)”; the

have no life (無壽無命), but I have remorse.⁴⁸² Mañjuśrī said, “If something does not exist, it cannot be caused to exist. Because it does not exist, there is no liberation from it, nor is there anything to be liberated. [Even if] one says ‘I have been liberated’, because there is nothing to liberate from, there is no liberation, nor is there anything to be liberated. Why is that? It is because all *dharma*s are [already] completely liberated (諸法悉脫故).⁴⁸³” The Buddha said to Mañjuśrī, “Accept King Ajātaśatru’s invitation, for [the benefit of] numerous people.” Mañjuśrī then said, “I accept the Tathāgata’s instruction. Why is that? It is because I never disobey the Tathāgata’s instruction.” Ajātaśatru was thereupon delighted, gladdened. He then arose from his seat. Having venerated the Buddha, the monks and Mañjuśrī, he left...⁴⁸⁴

The passages above present Ajātaśatru’s request to the Buddha and Mañjuśrī to dispel his remorse (**kaukrtya*) for the patricide. The request sets out the reason for Mañjuśrī’s coming to the palace and therefore serves as the background for the following story of his success in dispelling Ajātaśatru’s remorse. Compared with the canonical account of Ajātasattu’s visit to the Buddha in the Pāli *Sāmaññaphala-sutta*, the account in the AjKV shows two major distinctive features:⁴⁸⁵

The first is the predominant emphasis on Ajātaśatru’s remorse and his strong desire to get rid of it. He is depicted here as being eager to know the basis (Chin. *yinyuan* 因緣, Tib. *dmigs pa*, Skt. **ālambana*) of remorse in general, and as

Tibetan reads: Derge, *tsha* 237a2; sTog, *za* 302b2: *bdag gi 'gyod pa ngan pa sbyang ba'i slad du* “for the sake of purifying (*sbyang ba*, **viśodhana*) my bad remorse (*'gyod pa*, **kaukrtya*)”.

⁴⁸² As Miyazaki (2010b: 173 n.102) observes, this sentence has no parallel in T. 627 or in the Tibetan.

⁴⁸³ T. 627 reads: 416b4. 一切諸法皆自然淨 “All *dharma*s are by nature pure”; the Tibetan says: Derge, *tsha* 237a2; sTog, *za* 302b4: *chos thams can ni rang bzhin gyis yongs su grol ba'i phyr ro* “It is because all *dharma*s are by nature liberated (*yongs su grol ba*, **parimukta*)”.

⁴⁸⁴ T. 626. 396c12-22 (see Textual Material 18.2). See also a Japanese translation in Sadakata (1989: 83-84).

⁴⁸⁵ I do not mean to suggest that this part of the AjKV was adapted from the account of the story in the Pāli or any other version of the SPS. Instead, I would simply regard it as yet another retelling of the story, which may or may not be related to the SPS. The story of Ajātaśatru’s visit to the Buddha seems to have already been circulated by the early first century BCE, given its representation on a relief of the Bhārhut *stūpa*. The relief, as Schopen (1997 [1985]: 45 n.14) stresses, only presupposes the existence of the story itself, not that of the SPS. See the discussion above p.22.

expressing to the Buddha his overwhelming anxiety over the fate of hell. This emphasis on Ajātaśatru's mental anguish is clearly intended to pave the way for Mañjuśrī's later success in dispelling his remorse. The more frustrated Ajātaśatru initially appears, the more successful Mañjuśrī proves to be.

The term *kaukr̥tya* is crucial to the passages above and, indeed, to the AjKV as a whole as its title indicates. This term is a Sanskritization of Pāli *kukkucca* (or a similar Middle Indic word).⁴⁸⁶ It etymologically means “evil act, misdeed” and in this sense it is synonymous to *kukr̥tya*. From this etymology derives another meaning of *kaukr̥tya*, that is, “regret over a misdeed”. The *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* explains:

What is *kaukr̥tya*? *Kaukr̥tya* is the nature of that which is wrongly done. But here regret of mind is called *kaukr̥tya*, a state that has *kaukr̥tya* [i.e., misdeed] as its basis. It is just as...one says in the world, “The whole village has come; the whole region has come”, which is an apparent substitution of the inhabitants with the place. [Likewise,] *kaukr̥tya* [i.e., misdeed] is the basis of regret. Or, this is an expression of reason in its result...⁴⁸⁷

Strictly speaking, in the AjKV *kaukr̥tya* has the connotation of “regret” but is not limited to it. Here, *kaukr̥tya* refers not only to Ajātaśatru's pangs of conscience over the patricide he committed, but also to his fear of descent into hell in consequence of the patricide. As he says to the Buddha: “Always I feel terror in my heart, [for] I know I am not away from hell”.⁴⁸⁸ The term *kaukr̥tya* as used in the AjKV may thus be

⁴⁸⁶ BHSD, 195b, s.v; see also Cone 2001: i. 699, s.v. *kukkucca*.

⁴⁸⁷ AKBh ad II.28a: Pradhan 1967: 57.18-22; *kim idaṃ kaukr̥tyaṃ nāma | kukr̥tasya bhāvaḥ kaukr̥tyam | iha tu punaḥ kaukr̥tyāḥ lambano dharmāḥ kaukr̥tyam ucyate cetaso vipratīṣārah | tad yathā... | loke 'pi ca dṛṣṭaḥ sthānena sthāninām atideśaḥ sarvo grāma āgataḥ sarvo deśa āgata iti | sthānabhūtaṃ ca kaukr̥tyaṃ vipratīṣārasya | phale vā hetūpacāro 'yam* |...; translated also in La Vallée Poussin (1923- 1931: i. 166-167). See also a definition of *kukkucca* as *cetaso vippatīṣāro*, “remorse of mind”, in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* §1160 (Müller 1885: 205. 13-18).

⁴⁸⁸ T. 626.395c16-17.時其心常怖據，知不離於泥犁；see also T.627.415a19. 所處不安，畏壽終後墜於地獄 “Abiding in unease, I fear that after finishing my life I will fall into hell”; the Tibetan translation reads: Derge, *tsha* 234a4; sTog, za 298b3-4: *bcom ldan 'das bdag ni rtag tu rgyun mi chad* [S: 'chad] *par skrag pa 'byung zhing mjug tu bdag sems can dmyal ba par 'gyur ba* [S: 'gyur -] *yang*

construed as referring to Ajātaśatru’s mental agitation with respect to both his patricide and its karmic result.⁴⁸⁹ The double layers of meaning of *kaukr̥tya* are also suggested in the later part of the text for, as Harrison observes, Mañjuśrī manages to dispel Ajātaśatru’s *kaukr̥tya* precisely through convincing him that “since all *dharmas* are empty, wrong actions and the retribution they incur are also empty, and have no power to affect the mind that sees them for what they are”⁴⁹⁰.

Further, as Sadakata notes, in their Chinese translations of the AjKV Lokakṣema and Dharmarakṣa frequently use the word *huyi* 狐疑, “doubt”, at places where the Tibetan version has *’gyod pa*, the standard equivalent of *kaukr̥tya*.⁴⁹¹ *Huyi* (or its synonyms) as a rendering of *kaukr̥tya* also appears elsewhere and is not unique to the two Chinese versions of the AjKV.⁴⁹² This use may be related to the fact that, as Edgerton points out, in some Indian Buddhist texts *kaukr̥tya* is closely associated with *vicikitsā* and *kāṅkṣā*, both meaning “doubt”.⁴⁹³ The association could have led

sems te | “Blessed One, I continuously have fear, thinking that I will finally become a hell-being.”

⁴⁸⁹ See BHSD, 195b, s.v. *kaukr̥tya* “mental disturbance”. Sadakata (1989: 208) uses “unease” (Jpn. *fu an* 不安) to translate *huyi* 狐疑, “doubt”, used by Lokakṣema. Miyazaki (2010: 157n.18) suggests “thought of remorse” (悔恨の念).

⁴⁹⁰ Harrison 1993: 153-154.

⁴⁹¹ Sadakata 1989: 206; on *’gyod pa* referring to *kaukr̥tya*, see Mvy §1980.

⁴⁹² For instance, in Kumārajīva’s translation (T.1436) of a *Sarvāstivāda-Prātimokṣa-sūtra*, the sentence 若比丘故令他比丘心疑 (475c13), “if a monk deliberately makes another monk doubtful”, corresponds to *yah punar bhikṣur bhikṣoḥ saṃcintya kaukr̥tyam upasaṃhared*, “if a monk intentionally brings about mental disturbance”, in the extant Sanskrit versions (Finot 1913: 518.3; see also Pāt[āyantikā].62 in the online version of v. Simson’s edition: http://fiindolo.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskrit/4_rellit/buddh/prmosu_u.htm).

⁴⁹³ See for instance, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* (Kern and Nanjio 1908-1912: i. 71.4-5): *tat sādhu bhagavān bhāṣatām eṣāṃ bhikṣūṇāṃ kaukr̥tyavinodanārthaṃ yathā bhagavān etāś catasraḥ parśado niṣkāṅkṣā nirvicikitsā bhaveyuh* | “Well, may the Blessed One explain for the sake of dispelling mental unease of the monks, O Blessed One, so that the four assemblies would be free from doubt, free from hesitation”; here, *kaukr̥tya*- corresponds to *yiwang* 疑網, “net of doubt”, and *yihui* 疑悔, “doubt and remorse”, in Dharmarakṣa’s and Kumārajīva’s translations (Karashima 1998: 534). See also the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (Bendall 1897-1902: 135.15-17): *yathārūpeṇa asya glānyena jīvitāntarāyo bhavati kuśalapakṣāntarāyo vā tena niṣkaukr̥tyena bhūtvā nirvicikitsakena bhaiṣajyacittam upasthāpya pratinisevyān* “If he [a *bodhisattva*], due to such a disease, is hindered in life or hindered on the side of virtue, free from remorse, free from doubt, he may raise the thought of medicine [ghee, oil, fruit

translators to construe *kaukr̥tya* as a synonym of these two words. The association of *kaukr̥tya* with *kāṅkṣā* is clear in the AjKV. As we have seen, when Ajātaśatru asks the Buddha about the reason for remorse in general, the Tibetan version has 'gyod pa indicating **kaukr̥tya*, while Lokakṣema and Dharmarakṣa separately use *suoyi* 所疑 and *huyi*, both meaning “doubt”. When answering the question, the Buddha explains that remorse results from doubt (Tib. *the tshom*, Skt. **kāṅkṣā*), that is, disbelief in the Truth taught by the Buddhist nobles.⁴⁹⁴ In other words, in the AjKV, doubt (**kāṅkṣā*) about the Buddhist Truth is regarded as the reason for remorse (**kaukr̥tya*). The association of *kaukr̥tya* with *kāṅkṣā* can also be seen in the later part of the text, where Mañjuśrī, having asked Ajātaśatru whether his remorse (Tib. 'gyod pa, Skt. **kaukr̥tya*) is dispelled, immediately asks him whether his doubt (Tib. *the tshom*, Skt. **kāṅkṣā*) is removed.⁴⁹⁵ It is clear that the dispelling of Ajātaśatru's remorse is closely linked with—and achieved through—making him understand and believe in the Buddhist Truths, particularly the Truth of emptiness of all phenomena, with which the text is primarily concerned. Lokakṣema's and Dharmarakṣa's decisions to use *huyi* to translate *kaukr̥tya* are not unreasonable. Such choices may reflect their attempts to capture the essence of the AjKV.

mentioned above] and eat it”; translated also in Bendall and Rouse (1922: 133).

⁴⁹⁴ Tib. *the tshom* matches *wu-suoju* 無所據, “having nothing to depend on”, in Lokakṣema's version and *youyu* 猶豫, “hesitation” in Dharmarakṣa's version.

⁴⁹⁵ Derge, *tsha* 256b4-5; sTog, za 332a1-3: *smras pa | rgyal po chen po 'gyod pa de bsal tam | gsol pa | chos thams cad rab tu bsal ba 'i slad du 'o | 'jam dpal gyis smras pa | rgyal po chen po khyod the tsoṃ* [S: *tshom*] *spangs sam | gsol pa | chos thams cad shin tu spangs pa 'i slad du 'o* | “[Mañjuśrī] said, ‘Great King, has your remorse been dispelled?’ He replied, ‘[I have,] for the reason that all *dharma*s are thoroughly dispelled.’ Mañjuśrī said, ‘Great King, have you removed your doubt?’ He replied, ‘[I have,] for the reason that all *dharma*s are totally removed.’” Translated also in Harrison and Hartmann (2000a: 192). The Sanskrit counterpart is incomplete (ibid.: 190, 534v4): (...*a*)*tyaṃtavinoditatvāṃ* <|> *mañjuśrī* {} *āh(a)* <|> *prahīṇ(a te) mahārāja kāṃkṣā | āha* <|> *tadatyāṃtaprahīṇatvān* <|> “...[My remorse] has been totally dispelled.’ Mañjuśrī said, ‘Great King, has your doubt been removed?’ He said, ‘It has been totally removed.’” See also the Chinese counterparts at T. 626. 402c9-11, and T.627. 423c26-27.

The second noticeable feature of the account of Ajātaśatru’s visit to the Buddha in the AjKV is its portrayal of Mañjuśrī as the one capable of relieving Ajātaśatru of his mental anguish. As we saw earlier, in the Pāli *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* Ajātasattu’s confession and taking refuge serve to demonstrate the Buddha’s personal charisma. In contrast, in the AjKV, although Ajātaśatru also confesses his crime to and takes refuge in the Buddha, when he requests the Buddha to dispel his remorse, the Buddha, through his disciple Śāriputra, advises Ajātaśatru to seek help from Mañjuśrī. While Lokakṣema’s version says that having heard Ajātaśatru’s request the Buddha considers himself and Mañjuśrī as the only ones competent to cure Ajātaśatru’s mental “illness”, Dharmarakṣa’s version and the Tibetan agree that the Buddha considers only Mañjuśrī as the one able to do so, not even thinking of himself.⁴⁹⁶ It is hard to say whether this difference was caused by a redactional variation of the Indian text used by Lokakṣema, or was introduced during the translation process. But in any case, the following part of the AjKV clearly shows that it is Mañjuśrī who manages to dispel Ajātaśatru’s anguish. The purpose of the text is undoubtedly to put Mañjuśrī into the center of the narrative and to demonstrate his charisma. It is also interesting to note that when Ajātaśatru invites Mañjuśrī for a meal, Mañjuśrī does not immediately accept the invitation. Instead, he tells Ajātaśatru that a meal is not the point, and that if he really wants to find relief, he should penetrate the Buddhist Truth—specified as the Truth of “non-self” (*bdag med pa*, **anātman*) in the Tibetan version—and should accept it without doubt. This interlude of Mañjuśrī’s initial decline of Ajātaśatru’s invitation may be intended to suggest Mañjuśrī’s unusual religious insight, and is therefore consistent with the overall purpose of the AjKV to construct the authority of this archetypal *bodhisattva*.

⁴⁹⁶ See above n. 476.

As told in Chapter Ten of the AjKV, through listening to Mañjuśrī's exposition of emptiness, Ajātaśatru not only finds mental relief, but also gains “conforming acceptance of the factors of existence” (**ānulomika/ānulomikī-dharma-kṣānti*).⁴⁹⁷ According to the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*, “Sūtra on the Ten Stages [of the Practice of a Bodhisattva]”, “conforming acceptance” (*ānulomikī kṣānti*) is one of the characteristics realized by a *bodhisattva* at the sixth stage towards the goal of awakening.⁴⁹⁸ Ajātaśatru's spiritual attainment during his conversation with Mañjuśrī apparently demonstrates the salvific capability of Mañjuśrī and the efficacy of the teaching on emptiness preached by him. In fact, as the AjKV further shows, Ajātaśatru is not only

⁴⁹⁷ Chapter Ten mentions Ajātaśatru's attainment of “conforming acceptance” twice:

(1) Derge, *tsha* 252a4; sTog, *za* 325a2: *ston* [S: *bstan*] *pa 'di bstan pa'i tshe rgyal po ma skyes dgra stong pa nyid kyi rjes su 'thun pa'i bzod pa thob par gyur nas* “When [Mañjuśrī] taught this, King Ajātaśatru, having attained conforming acceptance of emptiness [of all *dharma*s]” (**śūnyatā-ānulomika-kṣānti*, cf. TSD, 975a [s.v. *stong pa nyid*], 829a [s.v. *rjes su 'thun pa*], 2100a [s.v. *bzod pa*]); Dharmarakṣa's version (T. 627.422b7-8) says that Ajātaśatru gains “conforming endurance towards the *dharma*s” (*roushun-faren* 柔順法忍, **ānulomika/ānulomikī-dharmakṣānti*); Lokakṣema's version (T.626.401b 13) says that Ajātaśatru gains “joyful and faithful endurance [towards *dharma*s]” (*suoxi-xinren* 所喜信忍). It is unclear what the underlying Indian original was. As Miyazaki (2010: 231n.448) observes, the term *suoxi-xinren* 所喜信忍 (or its variant) only appears in two Chinese translations attributed to Lokakṣema, T.624 and T.626.

(2) Derge, *tsha* 257a3; sTog, *za* 332b3: *bstan pa 'di bstan pa'i tshe rgyal po ma skyes dgras 'thun* [S: *mthun*] *pa'i chos la bzod pa thob par gyur to* “When this teaching was taught, King Ajātaśatru attained conforming endurance towards the *dharma*s”; Dharmarakṣa's version (424a11) has *roushun-faren* 柔順法忍, the equivalent to the Tibetan, whereas Lokakṣema's version (402c19) has *ji-xinren* 疾信忍, literally, “quick faithful endurance”.

⁴⁹⁸ In characterizing the sixth stage of the *bodhisattva* practice, the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* says: Vaidya 1967: 31.8-11: *sa evaṃ svabhāvān sarvadharmān pratyavakṣemāṇo* [sic!] *'nusrjan anulomayan avilomayan śraddadhan abhiyan pratiyan avikalpayan anusaran vyavalokayan pratipadyamānaḥ śaṣṭhīm abhimukhīm bodhisattvabhūmim anuprāpnoti tīkṣṇayānulomikyā kṣāntyā | na ca tāvad anutpattikadharmakṣāntimukham anuprāpnoti* || “One who examines all *dharma*s according to their nature, going with them, conforming, not going contrary, believing, embracing them, turning towards them, not falsely distinguishing them, pursuing them, examining them closely, practicing [in accordance with them], attains the sixth *bodhisattva* stage Abhimukhī, ‘Facing toward’, through the keen conforming acceptance. [But] meanwhile, he does not attain the entry into the acceptance of the Truth that all things are unoriginated”. See also Lamotte 1976: 291. He renders *ānulomikī kṣānti* as “preparatory conviction”. Parts of this passage are also translated in Strauch (2010: 38). I have no access to the translation by Megumu Honda (1968). According to the *Daśabhūmika* and some other Mahāyāna texts, *anutpattikadharmakṣānti*, “acceptance of the Truth that all things are unoriginated”, is attained at the eighth *bodhisattva* stage (see Lamotte 1976: 291). *Ānulomikīdharmakṣānti* and *anutpattikadharmakṣānti* are often listed together with *ghoṣānugakṣānti*, “verbal conviction”, to make a set of three *kṣānti*s. For more details, see Lamotte (1944-1980: iv. 1788-1789; 1998 [1965]: 143-144).

saved by Mañjuśrī in this life, but will also be saved by him in the future. According to Chapter Eleven of the text, the Buddha prophesies that Ajātaśatru will continue to be guided by Mañjuśrī to make further spiritual progress in his future lives and will eventually attain liberation.

4.1.3 The Prophecy of Ajātaśatru's Future Rebirths and Eventual Buddha-hood

A. Mañjuśrī's Guidance of Ajātaśatru over Multiple Lifetimes

In Chapter Eleven of the AjKV, the prophecy of Ajātaśatru's future rebirths appears after a story that tells how a matricide, following in the footsteps of a parricide who is a phantom transformation of Mañjuśrī, comes to visit the Buddha to confess his crime and is then ordained by the Buddha. Having heard the Buddha's teaching on the original purity of mind,⁴⁹⁹ the matricide immediately gains the stainless Dharma-eye and shortly realizes *arhat*-ship, and finally enters *parinirvāṇa* through self-cremation in mid-air. The Buddha thereupon explains to Śāriputra why even a matricide can attain *parinirvāṇa*.⁵⁰⁰ Following this, he discusses with Śāriputra about Ajātaśatru's *karma*, his past and future lives, and his eventual attainment of *buddha*-hood. The prophecy of Ajātaśatru's future awakening is consistent with the story of the matricide, in that both deal with the issue of saving an *ānantarya* criminal.

⁴⁹⁹ See Lokakṣema's translation *xin-zhe-ben-jing* 心者本淨 (T.626.403b2), Dharmarakṣa's *xin-zhe-qingjing* 心者清淨 (T.627. 424b29). In the Tibetan version, the Buddha's exposition to the matricide is much abbreviated. The same exposition is given in full in the case of the patricide. There, we find *sems ni rang bzhin gyis dang ba yin* (Derge, *tsha* 258b1-2; sTog, *za* 335a1), Skt.**cittam prakṛtviśuddham* (reconstructed in Harrison and Hartmann 2000a:195, folio 538 r2-3). On the original purity of mind in the AjKV, see Hirakawa (1990: 251).

⁵⁰⁰ On the discussion between the Buddha and Śāriputra regarding the liberation of the matricide, see below, pp. 235-6. For more details, see Harrison and Hartmann (2000a: 203-204).

This is perhaps the reason why they are combined in the AjKV.⁵⁰¹ The combination may also be intended to suggest that the salvation of the influential patricidal king Ajātaśatru is not a special case, and that it is possible for any *ānantarya* criminal to be saved from the fate of hell and to attain liberation. I will return to this point later. The Buddha’s conversation with Śāriputra regarding Ajātaśatru’s future rebirths in Lokakṣema’s version and its counterpart in the Sanskrit version run as follows:⁵⁰²

§1 Ajātaśatru’s Next Birth in Hell

<T.626.404a14-22> At that time, Śāriputra asked the Buddha, “How much is Ajātaśatru’s remaining crime?”⁵⁰³ The Buddha said, “The Dharma he heard is like a mustard seed [in amount], [but] it can eliminate a crime [of the amount] of Mount Sumeru.”⁵⁰⁴ Śāriputra asked the Buddha, “Will King Ajātaśatru enter into hell?” [The Buddha said,] “It is just as a deity of the Heaven of the Thirty-three gods, wearing numerous precious jewels, descends here and then ascends back to his abode.⁵⁰⁵ Ajātaśatru will also, adorned with [good] clothes and jewels,

⁵⁰¹ Miyazaki (2008a: 42-3; 2010: 102-3) observes that the first half of Chapter Eleven (i.e., the story of the matricide) shows discontinuity with the second half (i.e., the Buddha’s prophecy of Ajātaśatru’s *buddha*-hood) in a number of aspects (e.g. narrative settings and doctrinal contents), which suggests that they may have originally been unrelated to each other and only brought together later.

⁵⁰² For the Chinese and Sanskrit texts, see Appendix I, Textual Material 19. For a Japanese translation of this part of Lokakṣema’s version, see Sadakata (1989: 158-164).

⁵⁰³ Dharmarakṣa’s version reads: T.627.425b28-29. 王阿闍世所畢幾如？餘有幾如？“Of King Ajātaśatru’s [crime], how much is exterminated? How much is left?” The Tibetan reads: Derge, *tsha* 260b5; sTog, za 338 b2: *bcom ldan ’das rgyal po ma skyes dgra’i las kyi lhag ma ci* [S: *ji*] *tsam zhig ni lus <|> ci* [S: *ji*] *tsam zhig ni lhag ma ma* [S: *ø*] *lus par byang zhin slan cad mi skye ba’i chos can du gyur* | “Blessed One, as for the remainder of King Ajātaśatru’s [bad] *karma*, how much is left? How much is purified without remainder and now has the quality of not arising (**anutpādadharmam*)?”

⁵⁰⁴ Lokakṣema’s version differs significantly from Dharmarakṣa’s version and the Tibetan. See T. 627. 425b29-30. 王之餘殃猶如芥子，所滅之罪如須彌山。入於深法、所說經誼，至無生法 “The King’s remaining crime is like a mustard seed, [but] his removed crime is like Mount Sumeru. He has entered into the profound Dharma [and understood] the teaching expounded, [as a result of which his remaining crime] has attained the state of non-arising; Derge, *tsha* 260b6; sTog, za 338b3-4: *rgyal po ma skyes dgra’i las kyi lhag ma yungs kar gyi ’brum bu tsam ni lus so* | *ri rab ri’i rgyal po tsam ni chos zab mo’di bstan pa* [S: *bstan pa ’di*] *khong du chud pas lhag ma ma lus par byang ste* | *phyin cad* [S: *chad*] *mi skyes ba’i chos can du gyur to* | “As for King Ajātaśatru’s remaining *karma*, only the amount of a mustard seed is left, [while] the amount of Mount Sumeru is purified without remainder due to his understanding of this exposition of the profound Dharma, and has the quality of no more arising.” The Sanskrit version (see below) appears to be closer to Dharmarakṣa’s version and to the Tibetan.

⁵⁰⁵ Both Dharmarakṣa’s version (425c3-4) and the Tibetan (Derge, *tsha* 260b7; sTog, za 338b5) say that the son of the Heaven of the Thirty-three gods resides in a jewelled palace, instead of depicting him as wearing jewels. The Sanskrit version (folio 543r2) also has *divye ratnamaye kūṭāgāre* nil[ayana] “abiding in a divine pavilion made of jewels”.

just like that deity, descend from above.⁵⁰⁶ Although he will enter into hell—the hell is called *Piṇḍā- (*bintou* 賓頭)⁵⁰⁷—after entering into it, he will not experience any pain, and then he will be like that deity ascending back to his original abode.⁵⁰⁸ Śāriputra said to the Buddha, “It is excellent that Ajātaśatru’s crime has been diminished.”⁵⁰⁹

<Skt. folio 543r1-v1> “...having penetrated this profound Dharma-discourse, [Ajātaśatru’s crime] is diminished, changed, and has the quality of non-arising.” ...among the Thirty-three gods, a deity abiding in a divine pavilion made of jewels...will descend... and [will] rise up,⁵¹⁰ and he will feel no pain in his body⁵¹¹is rendered unable to be felt (*avedanīyaṃ kṛtaṃ*).”⁵¹²

§2 Ajātaśatru’s Previous Lives

<T.626.404a22-b5> The Buddha said to Śāriputra, “Do you know about this king?” [Śāriputra] said, “I do not know.” [The Buddha said,] “This king Ajātaśatru already worshiped seventy-three *koṭis* of *buddhas* [in his past lives.] From each of the *buddhas*, he frequently heard the profound Dharma. His mind never deviated from the aspiration to supreme and

⁵⁰⁶ Neither Dharmarakṣa nor the Tibetan version mentions that Ajātaśatru will wear good clothes or jewels while falling into hell. The Sanskrit manuscript has a lacuna here.

⁵⁰⁷ Chin. *bintou* 賓頭 (EMC: **pjin-dəw*). In Dharmarakṣa’s version, the hell name is transliterated as *bin-zha-luo* 賓跢羅 (EMC: **pjin-da-la* or **pjin-trai/tre-la* [depending on whether we pronounce 跢 as *tuo* 跢 or *zha* 咤]), and explained as “meaning ‘Assembling of Desire’ in Chinese” (晉曰集欲). It might suggest something like *Piṇḍārā-. The Tibetan reads: Derge, *tsha* 261a1; sTog, *za* 338b6-7: ...*de bzhin du* <|> *rgyal po ma skyes dgra yang so so’i sems can dmyal ba me tog phun da rī ka* [S: *pu ṇḍa ri ka*] *zhes bya bar babs nas de bzhin du ’dzegs te* | “...in the same way King Ajātaśatru too, after descending into an individual hell (**pratyeka-niraya*) named Puṇḍarīka Flower, will likewise rise up”. See discussion above, pp.168-9.

⁵⁰⁸ Neither Dharmarakṣa nor the Tibetan mentions that Ajātaśatru will ascend back to “his original abode”. Dharmarakṣa says that “he will get out [of the hell] shortly after entering into it” (這入尋出).

⁵⁰⁹ Both Dharmarakṣa and the Tibetan mention Ajātaśatru’s acute faculties: T.627. 425c7. 難及，世尊，王阿闍世諸根明達乃如斯乎 “It is matchless, World-Honored One, that King Ajātaśatru’s faculties are acute to this extent”; Derge, *tsha* 256a2; sTog, *za* 339a1: *bcom ldan ’das rgyal po ma skyes dgra ni dbang po rno ste* | *des las kyi sgrib pa myong bar ’gyur ba ’di tsam zhig tu bgyis pa ngo mtshar to* | “Blessed One, it is astonishing that King Ajātaśatru has acute faculties and that the obstructions of his *karma* is made to be felt so little (*myong bar ’gyur ba*, **vedanīya*).”

⁵¹⁰ According to Harrison and Hartmann (2000a: 204 n.101), the manuscript reads *utkasati*, and “[i]t is not clear why the tense changes from future to present here.”

⁵¹¹ The fragment reads *na cāśya kāye duḥkhasya vedanā a(...)*. It has been noted that “[a] form of *anu-bhū* (e.g. *anubhaviṣyate*) is to be expected here” (ibid.: 204 n.102).

⁵¹² Here, the Sanskrit seems to match the Tibetan *rgyal po ma skyes dgra ni dbang po rno ste* | *des las kyi sgrib pa myong bar ’gyur ba ’di tsam zhig tu bgyis pa*, “King Ajātaśatru has sharp faculties, [and yet] his karmic obstructions are made to be experienced only to this extent.”

perfect awakening (**anuttara-samyak-sambodhi-citta*).⁵¹³ The Buddha further asked Śāriputra, “Do you see Mañjuśrī?” [Śāriputra] said, “I do.” [The Buddha said,] “He previously inspired Ajātaśatru, and made him conceive the aspiration to supreme and perfect awakening. At that time, a very long time ago in the past, the *buddha* was named ‘Peacefully Awakened One’ (*anyin-jue* 安隱覺, Skt. Subuddha?)⁵¹⁴ and the *kalpa* was named ‘Immaculate’ (*wu-chengou* 無塵垢, **Vimala*).⁵¹⁵ In that *kalpa*, three *koṭis* of *koṭis* of people were all persuaded by Mañjuśrī to turn the wheel of the Dharma.⁵¹⁶ The Buddha said to Śāriputra, “[Even if] *buddhas* as many as sands on the bank of the Ganges River (**gaṅgānadī-vālukā-sama*) expounded the Dharma to Ajātaśatru, they could not have resolved his remorse. Why is that? It was by Mañjuśrī that he was inspired to conceive the aspiration, [so his remorse] was to be resolved by him [Mañjuśrī]. One life after another he frequently heard from Mañjuśrī the profound Dharma.⁵¹⁷” The Buddha said, “[If] a *bodhisattva* previously did something [to a person], that person would, certainly through [the *bodhisattva*] who aroused his aspiration, attain

⁵¹³ Both Dharmarakṣa and the Tibetan mention Ajātaśatru’s planting root(s) of goodness in the past: T.627. 425c9f. 王阿闍世前已供養七十二億諸佛世尊，殖眾德本，咸受經典。所聞法者，勸無上正真之道。 “King Ajātaśatru earlier already worshipped seventy-two *koṭis* of *buddhas*, world-honoured ones. Under them he planted many roots of goodness and from all of them he received teachings”; Derge, *tsha* 261a2-3; sTog, *za* 339a2-4: *rgyal po ma skyes dgra 'dis sangs rgyas bye ba phrag bdun cu rtsa gnyis la* [S: *las*] *dge ba'i rtsa ba bskyed de | yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas de dag la 'dis bsnyen bkur kyang* [S: *yang*] *byas par gyur to | | de dag las chos kyang thos par gyur to | | dge ba'i rtsa ba de yang* [S: *ang*] *bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub tu bsngos par gyur to* | “This king Ajātaśatru planted the root of goodness (*kuśalamūla*) under seventy-two *koṭis* of *buddhas*, and also worshipped those Perfectly-Awakened Ones. He heard the Dharma from them. The root of goodness was, moreover, devoted to supreme and perfect awakening”; for *bsngos par* referring to **pariṇāmita* “devoted, intended”, see TSD, 651b, s.v.

⁵¹⁴ Harrison and Hartmann (2000a: 207n.109) suggest Subuddha as the Indian original of 安隱覺. The name is given as 離垢藏 (**Vimalagrabha*) by Dharmarakṣa and *phyag bzangs* (**Subāhu*) in the Tibetan.

⁵¹⁵ See the corresponding Tibetan *bskal pa dri ma med pa zhes bya ba*, “a *kalpa* named ‘Immaculate’”.

⁵¹⁶ Both Dharmarakṣa and the Tibetan specify that those people were *buddhas*: T.627. 425c13-14. 於彼劫中而有三億平等正覺，悉是溥首所可誘勸使轉法輪，長壽久存 “In that *kalpa* there were three *koṭis* of Perfectly-Awakened Ones, all persuaded by Mañjuśrī to turn the Dharma-wheel and to live a long life”; Derge, *tsha* 261a5; sTog, *za* 339a6-7: *...bskal pa dri ma med pa la sangs rgyas bye ba phrag gsum byung ste | de dag* [S: *ø*] *thams cad kyang 'jam dpal gzhon nur gyur pas chos kyi 'khor lo bskor ba dang* [S: *na*] *<|> tshe ring bar gsol bar gyur to* | “...three millions of *buddhas* arose in the *kalpa* Immaculate. They were all asked by Mañjuśrī to turn the Dharma-wheel and to be long-lived”.

⁵¹⁷ Dharmarakṣa’s version differs considerably: 425c17. 所以者何？溥首童真數從諸佛聞是深法 “Why is that? It is because Mañjuśrī Kumārabhūta repeatedly heard this profound Dharma from many *buddhas*”. The Tibetan reads: Derge, *tsha* 261a6-7; sTog, *za* 339b1-2: *de ci'i phyir zhe na | 'di nyid kyis gdul ba yin te | phyir phyir zhing 'dis chos zab mo bstan pa 'di nyid las thos par gyur to* | “Why is that? It is by this one that he was instructed (*gdul ba*, **vineya*). From this one, he repeatedly heard the exposition of the profound Dharma.” Note that the Sanskrit version (see below) specifies that Ajātaśatru repeatedly heard from Mañjuśrī “this exposition of the profound *dharma*” (*aneneyam gaṃbhīrā dharmadeśanā*), which seems to refer to Mañjuśrī’s exposition on *sūnyatā* earlier presented in the AjKV.

liberation.”⁵¹⁸

<Skt.folio543v1-544r1> The Blessed One said, “Śāriputra, in this way by King Ajātaśatru...devoted (*pariṇāmita*) to supreme and perfect awakening⁵¹⁹...Śāriputra, do you see [Prince] Mañjuśrī?”...“...for those having the desire for long life⁵²⁰...Śāriputra, there is no possibility or chance that his...maturation...It was exactly from him that he repeatedly heard this profound Dharma-discourse. Śāriputra, [therefore,] in this way⁵²¹, the following is to be known: a *bodhisattva* for whatever⁵²²...”

§3 Ajātaśatru’s Future Heavenly Rebirth after Rising from Hell

<T.626. 404b5-9> “Now Ajātaśatru, although entering into hell, will rise up and be reborn in the heaven above, five hundred and forty-five [*buddha*-]fields away from here, [in a *buddha*-field] named *Vyūha (*weiwei* 惟位)—this means ‘Adorned and Purified’ (*yanjing* 嚴淨) in Chinese⁵²³—where the Buddha is named *Ratnaketu—this means ‘Jewel-Goodness’ (*baohao* 寶好) in Chinese.⁵²⁴ There he will once again encounter Mañjuśrī. In that field, he will meet him and hear from him an exposition of the Dharma. He will then attain acceptance of [the fact that] all *dharma*s are unorginated (**anutpattika-dharma-kṣānti*).”

<Skt. folio 544r2-4> “Śāriputra, this king Ajātaśatru, having arisen from

⁵¹⁸ 菩薩本有所造作，其人必當因本所發意而得解。This sentence is not entirely clear to me. Dharmarakṣa’s version (425c18-19) also says that a person can only be saved through the *bodhisattva* who inspired him to conceive the aspiration. The Tibetan counterpart is considerably different: Derge, *tsha* 261a7; sTog, za 339b2-3: *rnam grangs des kyang ’di ltar rig par bya ste | gang dang gang dag byang chub sems dpa’ gang dang gang* [S: *gang gis*] *las ’dul bar ’gyur ba de dang de nyid kyi chos bstan pa shes par ’gyur ro* “Therefore, in this way, the following is to be understood: When any persons are trained (*’dul bar*, **damyā*) by any *bodhisattva*, it is his [that *bodhisattva*’s] Dharma-teaching that they come to know.”

⁵¹⁹ This may refer to the purpose of the root of goodness that Ajātaśatru planted in his previous lives as mentioned in the Tibetan (see above, n.513).

⁵²⁰ The manuscript reads *dīrghāyu-vanatāyāḥ*. It might be related to the long-lived *buddhas* who were asked by Mañjuśrī to turn the wheel of the *dharma* (see above n. 516).

⁵²¹ As Harrison and Hartmann (2000a: 206 n.107) observe, the manuscript is very problematic here; they suggest the reconstruction *tata imena śāriputra paryāyeṇa*.

⁵²² The manuscript reads *yasyai yasyai*. Harrison and Hartmann (2000a: 206n.108) suggest that given the feminine gender the only plausible referent would be *dharmadeśanā*. The syntax is unclear here.

⁵²³ Chin. *weiwei* 惟位 (EMC: **wi-wi*^h). Dharmarakṣa’s version has 莊嚴, “adorned” and the Tibetan has *brgyan pa* (**Vyūha*, cf. TSD, 582b, s.v.).

⁵²⁴ The Buddha name is transliterated as *luotuona-jitou* 羅陀那羈頭 (EMC: **la-da-na*^h-*kiə/ki-dəw*), which seems to suggest **Ratnaketu*. Dharmarakṣa gives 寶英, a name also used in his translation of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, where it corresponds to *Ratnaketurāja* or *Ratnasya Ketu* in the Sanskrit (Karashima 1998: 14, s.v.). However, the Tibetan version gives the Buddha name as *rin po che’i phung po* “Heap of Jewels”, which suggests **Ratnakūṭa*.

the great hell Piṇḍori/Piṇḍorī⁵²⁵, will be reborn in the region above, forty-four *buddha*-fields away from this *buddha*-field,... the Tathāgata, Arhat, Perfectly-Awakened One, named..., teaches the Dharma at that time. Reborn in that field, he will once again meet Prince Mañjuśrī and will hear this profound Dharma-discourse⁵²⁶... He will then attain acceptance [of the fact that all *dharmas* are unoriginated].”

§4 Ajātaśatru’s Future Rebirth as a Bodhisattva

<T.626.404b9-20> “When Maitreya becomes a *buddha*, Ajātaśatru will come from that field to be reborn here. At that time, he will be named the Bodhisattva Akṣobhya [or Akopya?]⁵²⁷.⁵²⁸ The Buddha Maitreya will, for this reason, teach the Dharma to the *bodhisattvas*. His exposition of the Dharma will be neither longer nor shorter, exactly the same.⁵²⁹ At that time, he will speak about Akṣobhya [?]: ‘In the past, at the time of Śākyamuni Buddha, there was a king named Ajātaśatru who, following the words of an evil man, killed his own father. From Mañjuśrī, he heard many teachings. Having heard them, he attained joyful and faithful acceptance [of the factors of existence] (*huanxi-xinren* 歡喜信忍)⁵³⁰, and the crime he committed was removed immediately and entirely.’

⁵²⁵ The manuscript has *tataḥ piṇḍorīye mahānarakād udgamyā*. Here, I follow Harrison and Hartmann (2000a: 208 n.110) to read *piṇḍorīye* as an ablative of the name of a hell, though it could also possibly be read in another way (see discussion above, p.167). Dharmarakṣa’s version describes the hell as 集欲輕地獄, “the light hell named ‘Assembly of Desire’”; the corresponding Tibetan reads: Derge, *tsha* 261a7-261b1; sTog, *za* 339b3-4: *so so ’i sems can dmyal ba me tog pun ’da rī ka* [S: *pu ṇḍa ri ka*] *ltar gas pa* “the *pratyeka-naraka* [named] Burst Open Like a Puṇḍarīka Flower...” Note that the word *qing* 輕, “light”, in Dharmarakṣa’s rendition seems to suggest *pratyeka*-.

⁵²⁶ While neither Lokakṣema nor Dharmarakṣa specifies what Dharma-discourse Ajātaśatru will hear from Mañjuśrī, both the Sanskrit and the Tibetan versions clarify that he will once again hear “this profound Dharma-discourse” (folio 544r3: *imām ca gaṃbhīrām dharmadeśanām śroṣyati*; Derge, *tsha* 261b2; sTog, *za* 339b6-7: *chos zab mo bstan pa ’di yang* [S: *ang*] *thos par ’gyur*), which seems to refer to the same discourse as he heard in this life.

⁵²⁷ The name is transcribed as *a-jia-qu-bi* 阿伽佉鉍 (EMC: **a-gia-k^hia-bji*). Dharmarakṣa gives the name *budong* 不動, “Unmoved” or “Immovable”, which agrees with *mi g.yo ba* “Unshakable” (**akampya*, *akṣobhya*, or *acala*, see TSD, 1813a, s.v.) in the Tibetan. Lokakṣema’s *a-jia-qu-bi* may have been based on a Prakrit form similar to Pāli *akkhobbha*, for instance, °*bya* or °*biya*.

⁵²⁸ The Tibetan also mentions that Ajātaśatru will once again meet Mañjuśrī (Derge, *tsha* 261b3; sTog, *za* 340a1: *de ’i tshe yang* [S: *ang*] *slar ’jam dpal gzhon nur gyur pa mthong bar ’gyur te* “At that time, he will once again meet Prince Mañjuśrī”)

⁵²⁹ Lokakṣema does not clarify with what Maitreya’s exposition is compared. The Tibetan reads: *chos kyi rnam grangs ’di yang ma lhag ma bri bar brjod par ’gyur ro* “[Maitreya] will preach this discourse on the Dharma without adding or reducing anything”. Dharmarakṣa’s version also says that he “will explain this scripture and expound extensively its meaning” (又復分別於此經典，敷陳至誼). Both versions imply that Maitreya will repeat the discourse Mañjuśrī preaches to Ajātaśatru in the AjKv.

⁵³⁰ Dharmarakṣa’s version has *roushun-faren* 柔順法忍, “conformable acceptance of *dharmas*” (**ānulomika/ānulomikī-dharma-kṣānti*); the Tibetan has *’thun pa ’i chos la bzod pa* “acceptance of conformable *dharmas*”, which exactly matches the Sanskrit version (see below n.533).

When the Buddha Maitreya says this, eight thousand *bodhisattvas* will all attain acceptance of [the fact that] all *dharma*s are unoriginated. Eight innumerable *kalpas* later, Akṣobhya [?] will cultivate the *bodhisattva* path, and will teach and convert people. He will also purify the [*buddha*-] field. All those who hear the Dharma from him, no matter whether they [are to] become *śrāvakas*, *pratyekabuddhas*, or [practice] the *bodhisattva*-Dharma, will become free of defilements, not obstructed by anything. Those people will all become clear-minded, wise, and free of doubts.”

<Skt. folio 544r4-545r2> “When the Bodhisattva Maitreya attains awakening, this one [Ajātaśatru] will, from there, be once again reborn in the Sahā World...[named] Ākhyātāvī⁵³¹...He will venerate...[Maitreya] will teach the Dharma connected with the previous lives [of Ākhyātāvī]: ‘This Bodhisattva Ākhyātāvī was a king [named] Ajātaśatru under the dispensation of the Blessed One, the Tathāgata Śākyamuni...his innocent [father] was deprived of life. From Prince Mañjuśrī he heard the discourse on the Dharma and attained acceptance of conformable *dharma*s⁵³², and the obstruction of his *karma* was...without remainder...’... will teach the Dharma referring to the Bodhisattva Ākhyātāvī in such a way that eight thousand *bodhisattvas* will attain acceptance of conformable *dharma*s.⁵³³ Eighty-four *bodhisattvas* will... Śāriputra, this king Ajātaśatru, eight innumerable *kalpas* thereafter, will practice for the sake of bringing beings to maturity. While purifying the *buddha*-field... [Beings who will be] brought to maturity [by him], whether through the Śrāvakayāna, the Pratyekabuddhayāna or the Mahāyāna, will have no obstruction of *karma*, and have no obstruction of defilements. All those beings will have acute faculties..., free of doubts.”

§5 Ajātaśatru’s Final Birth as a Buddha

<T.626.404b20-c3> “This king Ajātaśatru, after the afore-mentioned eight innumerable *kalpas*, will become a *buddha*. That *kalpa* will be

⁵³¹ Harrison and Hartmann (2000a: 209 n.113) point out that this name seems unattested elsewhere. It does not match Lokakṣema’s *a-jia-qu-bi* 阿伽佉鉏, or Dharmarakṣa’s *budong* 不動, “Unmoved”, or the Tibetan *mi g.yo ba* “unshakable”.

⁵³² The manuscript (folio 544v2) reads *anulomikeṣu dharmeṣu [kṣā]ntiḥ*. This phrase appears irregular, for as Strauch (2010: 39) observes, “[i]t seems that in all attestations of the term *ānulomika(dharma)-kṣānti* the syntactic structure and semantic value are identical: *ānulomika*- always refers to a specific type of *kṣānti* while *dharma* always designates the factors of existence”. See for instance, the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (Taisho University Study Group 2006: 120-121 §13): ...*imāṃ dharmapūjāṃ śrutvā ānulomikīṃ dharmakṣāntiṃ pratilabhat* “Having heard this Dharma-worship, he gains the conforming acceptance of *dharma*s”. Thus, *ānulomikī dharmeṣu kṣāntiḥ* is expected here. The current *anulomikeṣu dharmeṣu [kṣā]ntiḥ* may have been caused by the interference from [*anutpattikeṣu ca dharme*]ṣu *kṣāntiṃ pratilapsyate* which occurs earlier in the manuscript (folio 544r4).

⁵³³ The manuscript reads *anulomikadharmakṣāntipratilābho*, while the two Chinese translations and the Tibetan version all indicate *anutpattika-dharmakṣānti-pratilābho* (Lokakṣema: 得無所從生法忍; Dharmarakṣa: 得不起法忍; Tib: *mi skye ba’i chos la bzod pa thob par ’gyur ba*). Harrison and Hartmann (2000a: 210 n.116) comment, “One suspects interference from the line directly above, where the words *anulomikeṣu dharmeṣu kṣāntiḥ pratilabdā* appears.”

named *Priyadarśana—this means ‘Delightful Sight’ in Chinese—and the [*buddha*-]field named *Akardama—this means ‘Medicine-king’ in Chinese.⁵³⁴ All the sick will be cured. The Tathāgata will be named *Viśuddhaviṣaya—this means ‘[One Who Has] Purified His [Own] Realm’ (*jing-qi-suobu* 淨其所部) in Chinese.⁵³⁵ At that time, his lifespan will be four small *kalpas*. There will be seven hundred thousand *śrāvakas*, who will all have attained liberation through wisdom and will all know the meditation of eight liberations (**aṣṭavimokṣadhyāyīn*)⁵³⁶. At that time, there will be twelve *koṭis* of *bodhisattvas*, who will all have penetrated wisdom, all adept in tactical skills (**upāyakaśālyā*)⁵³⁷. After the Buddha undergoes *parinirvāṇa*, his Dharma will abide for millions of years and will not perish until later. All people in his field will have no doubts up to death. After they finish their lives, they will not be reborn in the eight evil states of existence (**aṣṭa akṣaṇāni*)⁵³⁸. Why is that? It is because after hearing from the Buddha the profound Dharma, they will be no more attached to impurities.” The Buddha said to Śāriputra, “No one should be regarded lightly. Why is that? Through regarding another one lightly, one commits a crime (而從輕，得其罪).” The Buddha said, “I know the conduct of people, but others do not know. As for where people will go, [only] *buddhas* know it.”

<Skt. folio 545r2-v2> “Śāriputra, this king Ajātaśatru, in eight innumerable *kalpas*, will fully attain supreme and perfect awakening. He will become a Perfectly-Awakened One, a Tathāgata, an *arhat*...in the world, in the *kalpa* Priyadarśana, ‘[One with] Pleasant Appearance’...His lifespan will be forty *kalpas*. [There will be] a great assembly of seven hundred thousand *śrāvakas*...practioners of meditation of eight liberations. There will be a great assembly of twelve *koṭis* of *bodhisattvas*, all adept in

⁵³⁴ The name is transliterated as *a-jia-tan* 阿迦曇 (EMC: **a-kia-dəm/dam*), which seems to suggest *Akardama as Harrison and Hartmann (2000a: 212 n.121) observe. This reconstruction agrees with the correspondents in Dharmarakṣa’s translation (*wu-zao-yin* 無造陰 “Without Shadow Formed”[?]) and in the Tibetan (*’dam gyi rnyog ma med par* “Free of Impurity of Mud [’*dam*, **kardama*]”). However, Lokakṣema’s Chinese gloss “Medicine-king” and the following explanation 其病者莫不愈 “All the sick will be cured” (which does not appear in the Ming edition) are rather unexpected. Harrison and Hartmann suggest that “this curious interpolation...is probably to be deleted from the text” (*op.cit.*).

⁵³⁵ The name is transliterated as *weishoutuo-weishaye* 惟首陀惟沙耶 (EMC: **wi-cuw^h-da-wi-ṣai/ṣei-jia*), which clearly suggests *Viśuddhaviṣaya. This reconstruction agrees with the correspondents in Dharmarakṣa’s version (*jingjie* 淨界 “[One with] A Purified Realm”) and in the Tibetan (*yul shin tu rnam par dag pa*, **Suviśuddhaviṣaya*). The Sanskrit fragment has a lacuna here. Note that later in the manuscript both *Suviśuddhaviṣaya* and *Viśuddhaviṣaya* appear as the name of the Buddha Ajātaśatru will become (cf. folio 545v1, v4; see translation below).

⁵³⁶ On the eight liberations attained through meditation, see for instance, AKBh *ad* VIII, 32a (Pradhan 1967: 455.1-3; translated in La Vallée Poussin 1923-1931: v. 203-5); see also an informative note in Rahula (2001 [1971]: 205 n.18).

⁵³⁷ Chin. *o-he-ju-she* 漚想拘舍. See Karashima 2010: 346-347, s.v. 漚想拘舍羅.

⁵³⁸ Dharmarakṣa and the Tibetan mention the three evil destinies (*santu* 三塗; ’*gro ba ngan pa gsum*).

wisdom and skills...After he has entered into *parinirvāṇa*, when *koṭis* of years are completed, the good Dharma...No beings will die while being possessed by doubt, and having passed away from there, no one will be reborn in the evil destinies. Śāriputra, all those who hear a discourse on the Dharma from the Tathāgata Suvisuddhaviṣaya will become purified from all defilements...to be judged.⁵³⁹ A person judging [another] person destroys himself. Śāriputra, it is I or someone like me that shall judge a person.”

§6 The Response of Śāriputra and Others

<T626.404c4-10> Śāriputra along with the assembly said, “This is wonderful! It is a joy to know this!” Then they said, “From now on, we no more dare to say, ‘This one is a criminal’, or ‘This one is a meritorious person’⁵⁴⁰. Why is that? The conducts of all people are inconceivable.”

As the Buddha just said, Ajātaśatru was given a prophecy [of future *buddha*-hood]. At that time, twelve thousand gods all conceived the aspiration to supreme and perfect awakening. Everyone simultaneously prayed, “When *Viśuddhaviṣaya becomes a *buddha*, let me be reborn in his field.” The Buddha gave all of them the prediction that when he [Ajātaśatru] becomes a *buddha*, they will be reborn in his field.

<Skt. folio 545v2-4> At that time, the Venerable Śāriputra and the whole assembly... “From now on, Blessed One, we will not predict any being to be destined for hell. Why is that? Blessed One, the conduct of beings is inconceivable.”

At that time when the prophecy of King Ajātaśatru was spoken, thirty-two...conceived the [aspiration]...made the vow [of being reborn] there in that *buddha*-field: “When the Blessed One, the Tathāgata Viśuddhaviṣaya attains awakening, we will be reborn there, in that *buddha*-field.”

⁵³⁹ The manuscript reads [*pra?*]-*vicinitavyaḥ* here. Harrison and Hartmann (2000a: 211 n.120) suggest that this might be a scribal error for [*pra?*]-*vicetavya* (from *pravicinoti*). They further comment: “The Skt. verb *pravicinoti* means to investigate or examine...The English word ‘judge’ probably conveys the original intention” (ibid.: 212n.124). At the place in question, Lokakṣema uses the word 輕, “to regard lightly”; Dharmarakṣa’s version says: 426a16. 人人相見，莫相平相 “When people perceive each other, they should not assess one another”. The Tibetan counterpart appears obscure: Derge, *tsha* 262a7; sTog, *za* 341a4: *gang gang* [S: -] *zag gis gang zag la drod ma gzung shig* “Anyone should not take hold of [?] another [person]”; for *drod* (**saṃ*-) and *gzung* (**grhīta*), see TSD, 1179a, 2088b).

⁵⁴⁰ Both Dharmarakṣa and the Tibetan version mention the destination for hell: 426a19-20. 從今日始，盡其形壽，不觀他人，不敢說人某趣地獄、某當滅度 “From now on, during the whole life, we will not observe others, and not dare to say which one goes to hell, or which one will undergo *nirvāṇa*”; Derge, *tsha* 262b1-2; sTog, *za* 341a6: *bdag cag ni deng phan chad sems can gang la yang* [S: *ang*] *sems can dmyal bar mchi bar mthus lung mi ston to* | “Henceforth, regarding any beings, we will no more have the power to predict anyone going to hell.” The Sanskrit version also has *nairayikaṃ*, “one bound for hell”.

The discussion between the Buddha and Śāriputra provides us with a picture of Ajātaśatru's path to perfect awakening, which starts from his past lives and culminates in his final life. The awakening will in turn lead to his attainment of *parinirvāṇa* and, thereby, an escape from *samsāra* forever. Ajātaśatru's past, present and future lives as described in the passages above may be summarized as follows:

Table 4.1: Ajātaśatru's Past, Present and Future Lives according to the AjKV⁵⁴¹

Time	Rebirth	Action(s)	Rebirth Place	Buddha	Kalpa
Past	Human	1) Lk, Dh and Tib: Worshipping 72/73 <i>koṭis</i> of <i>buddhas</i> and hearing the Dharma from them 2) Dh, Tib and Skt [?]: Planting <i>kuśalamūla</i>	unnamed	unnamed	unnamed
	Human	1) Skt and Tib: Hearing the Dharma discourse from Mañjuśrī 2) Being induced by Mañjuśrī to arouse <i>anuttara-samyak-</i> <i>sambodhi-citta</i>	Unnamed	Lk: Subuddha? Dh: Vimalagarbha? Tib: *Subāhu Skt: – (not available)	Lk: *Vimala Dh: – Tib: *Vimala Skt: –
Present	Human	1) Patricide 2) Hearing the Dharma discourse from Mañjuśrī 3) Gaining mental relief 4) Having his crime removed through hearing the discourse 5) Attaining <i>ānulomika-</i> <i>dharma-kṣānti</i> while hearing this discourse	Jambudvīpa	Śākyamuni	unnamed
Future	Infernal Being	1) Descending into and ascending out of the hell like a <i>devaputra</i> of the Trāyastṛṃśa 2) Experiencing no pain	Lk: Hell named *Piṇḍā- Dh: Hell named *Piṇḍārā- Tib: Puṇḍarīka <i>pratyeka-niraya</i>	Śākyamuni	unnamed
	Heavenly Being	1) Skt and Tib: Hearing the Dharma discourse from Mañjuśrī ;	*Vyūha Buddha-field	Lk: *Ratnaketu Dh: Ratnaketu? Tib: *Ratnakūṭa	unnamed

⁵⁴¹ Abbreviations: Lk = Lokakṣema's translation (T. 626), Dh = Dharmarakṣa's translation (T. 627), Tib = the Tibetan version (Derge 216, sTog 223), Skt = the Sanskrit version in the Schøyen Collection.

		2) Attaining <i>anupattika-dharma-kṣānti</i> while hearing this discourse		Skt: –	
	Human [Bodhisattva]	1) Tib: Meeting Mañjuśrī once again 2) Cultivating the <i>bodhisattva path</i> 3) Bringing people to maturation 4) Purifying the Buddha-field	Jambudvīpa	Maitreya [Giving a sermon on Ajātaśatru's patricide and his ensuing salvation by Mañjuśrī]	unnamed
	Human [Buddha]	1) Teaching the Dharma 2) Leading a great assembly of <i>śrāvakas</i> and <i>bodhisattvas</i> 3) Entering <i>parinirvāṇa</i>	*Akardama Buddha-field	(Su-)Viśuddhaviṣaya [= Ajātaśatru]	Priyadarśana

As we can see, throughout most of Ajātaśatru's path to liberation, Mañjuśrī plays a vital role as the one who induces him to conceive the aspiration to awakening and further guides him over multiple lifetimes to make spiritual progress towards the realization of awakening. Within the larger picture of multiple rebirths, Ajātaśatru's present life as a patricide constitutes one intermediate stage on his path to liberation under the guidance of Mañjuśrī. The benefits he has gained through listening to Mañjuśrī's discourse on emptiness in this life, including his relief of mental anguish, the almost total erasure of the consequence of his patricide, and his attainment of *ānulomika-dharma-kṣānti*, together comprise only one part of the long-term (multi-life) process of his salvation by Mañjuśrī. This process is essentially a progressive one. As the text shows, under Mañjuśrī's guidance Ajātaśatru's spiritual status grows gradually over multiple lives towards the final goal of awakening (that is, *anuttara-samyak-saṃbodhi-citta* → *ānulomika-dharma-kṣānti* → *anupattika-dharma-kṣānti* → *bodhisattva-hood* → *buddha-hood*). Within this long-term process, attributing to Ajātaśatru the attainment of *ānulomika-dharma-kṣānti* (rather than any other spiritual status) in this life is undoubtedly reasonable, given that *ānulomika-dharma-kṣānti* is

usually said to be a preparatory stage for *anupattika-dharma-kṣānti*.⁵⁴² Through contextualizing Ajātaśatru’s present encounter with Mañjuśrī within this larger picture of multiple rebirths, the authors of the text demonstrate the continuity, progressiveness and thoroughness of Mañjuśrī’s salvation of Ajātaśatru. Not only Ajātaśatru but three *koṭis* of people—specified as *buddhas* in Dharmarakṣa’s version and in the Tibetan translation⁵⁴³—were all induced by Mañjuśrī to turn the wheel of the Dharma in the past. This detail suggests that Mañjuśrī is capable of guiding not only Ajātaśatru but also others in their spiritual practice.⁵⁴⁴ The portrayal of Mañjuśrī as a life-transcending and universal spiritual guide is clearly consistent with the overall goal of the AjKV to exemplify and glorify the authority of this archetypal *bodhisattva*.

B. The Salvific Efficacy of the Doctrine of *Śūnyatā*

While the two Chinese translations do not tell us exactly what religious discourse Mañjuśrī preaches to Ajātaśatru in his past and future lives, the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions clarify that Ajātaśatru repeatedly hears from Mañjuśrī “this Dharma-discourse”, which seems to refer to the discourse on emptiness he receives from Mañjuśrī as told in the earlier part (Chapter Ten) of the AjKV.⁵⁴⁵ This clarification is

⁵⁴² See above n. 498. Note that in the final chapter of the AjKV Ajātaśatru’s attainment of *ānulomika-dharma-kṣānti* in this life is mentioned once more, cf. Derge, *tsha* 267b6; sTog, *za* 349b2: *rgyal po ma skyes dgras ’thun* [S: *mithun*] *pa’i chos la bzod pa thob cing*. There, Lokakṣema again uses *huanxi-xinren* 歡喜信忍 (T. 626. 406a11); however, Dharmarakṣa uses *buqi-faren* 不起法忍 (T.627. 427c25-26) indicating *anupattika-dharma-kṣānti*, which is contradictory to the earlier account of that version itself (T.627. 422b7-8).

⁵⁴³ T.627. 425c14. 三億平等正覺, “three *koṭis* of Perfectly-Awakened Ones”; Derge, *tsha* 261a5; sTog, *za* 339a6: *sangs rgyas bye ba phrag gsum*, “three millions of *buddhas*”.

⁵⁴⁴ It should be remembered that in Chapter Three of the AjKV Mañjuśrī is depicted as the one who, in the past, inspired the future Śākyamuni to make the vow to achieve *buddha*-hood (see above p.200).

⁵⁴⁵ Harrison and Hartmann 2000a: 206, folio 544r1: ...*punaḥ punar aneneyaṃ gaṃbhīrā dharma-deśanā śrut<ā> asyaiva sakāśāt* “...Again and again, he [Ajātaśatru] heard this profound Dharma-discourse from him [Mañjuśrī]”; 208, folio 544r3: *eṣa tatra kṣetre upapannaḥ punar eva mañjuśriyaṃ*

significant, for it suggests that the means through which Mañjuśrī inspires Ajātaśatru in his multiple lives and finally leads him to awakening is exactly the discourse on *śūnyatā* that stands at the core of the AjKV itself. Through preaching this discourse, Mañjuśrī manages not only to relieve Ajātaśatru of his mental anguish in the present life, but also to guide him over a period of multiple lifetimes to ultimate liberation. The clarification in the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions in this regard may be seen as a self-legitimation strategy used by the authors of the text to claim the efficacy of their doctrines, particularly the doctrine of emptiness. This agenda can be further discerned in the Tibetan version where the Buddha, having said that Ajātaśatru repeatedly hears from Mañjuśrī this discourse, goes on to point out: “Therefore, Śāriputra, in this way the following should be understood: whenever any persons are to be trained (*’dul bar*) by any *bodhisattva*, it is that one’s [that *bodhisattva*’s] Dharma-discourse that they come to know”.⁵⁴⁶ Although the Sanskrit manuscript is unfortunately corrupt here, the Tibetan version displays a clear emphasis on the central role of the Dharma— instantiated here as the teaching of emptiness—in the salvation of any sentient beings.⁵⁴⁷

The efficacy of Mañjuśrī’s discourse is also illustrated in Ajātaśatru’s next life in hell. The two Chinese, the Tibetan and the Sanskrit versions of the AjKV all agree that through listening to Mañjuśrī’s discourse on emptiness Ajātaśatru’s patricide is almost entirely erased, as the result of which, although he will still fall into

kumārabhūtaṃ drakṣyati imāṃ ca gaṃbhīrāṃ dharmad(e)ś(anāṃ ś)r(oṣyati...) “Reborn there, in that field, he will once again see Prince Mañjuśrī and hear this profound Dharma-discourse”; for the Tibetan and the Chinese counterparts, see above nn. 517, 526.

⁵⁴⁶ Derge, *tsha* 261a7; sTog, za 339b2-3: *rnam grangs des kyang ’di ltar rig par bya ste | gang dang gang dag byang chub sems dpa’ gang dang gang* [S: *gang gis*] *las ’dul bar ’gyur ba de dang de nyid kyi chos bstan pa shes par ’gyur ro ||* See also a translation in Harrison and Hartmann (2000a: 207), where they render *’dul bar* (**damya*) as “to be converted”.

⁵⁴⁷ For the corrupted Sanskrit, see Harrison and Hartmann (2000a: 206, 544r1). The two Chinese versions appear obscure here (see above n.518).

hell in the next life, he will undergo no suffering there. According to the Buddha's prediction, Ajātaśatru's future experience in hell will be like the visit of a divinity from the Heaven of the Thirty-three gods to Jambudvīpa. Like the divinity, he will rise up shortly after descending into hell and will suffer no pain throughout the process. Ajātaśatru's next birth in hell as depicted here bears notable resemblance to the falling and rising signified by the metaphor of "bouncing of a ball" in the AWJ and to the similar process related by Buddhaghosa in the Sv. But the differences are also clear: while according to Buddhaghosa Ajātasattu will still suffer in hell for six thousand years despite his exemption from repeated punishment, and therefore his crime is not erased but only mitigated, in the AjKV Ajātaśatru is said to experience no suffering during his stay in hell due to the almost complete elimination of his crime. Further, while in the AWJ the considerable shortening of Ajātaśatru's future stay in hell is one part of the karmic fruition of his faith in the Buddha, in the AjKV the erasure of his crime comes as a result of his comprehension of Mañjuśrī's Dharma-discourse, so here the emphasis is on the benefit of understanding the Dharma, not on the fruit of faith.

The AjKV is perhaps the earliest extant Māhayāna *sūtra* which claims the efficacy of the Dharma to eliminate *ānantarya* crimes. Besides it, there are some other Māhayāna sources that also advocate the power of a particular Buddhist text (or part of a text) to erase even the most serious crimes. A very interesting, though later, example is the *Saṅghāṭa-sūtra* which contains a story of a patricide strikingly similar to Ajātaśatru. The patricide is said to be absolved of his crime through listening to a seer's exposition of the *Saṅghāṭa-sūtra*.⁵⁴⁸ In that text, the story of the patricide is told by the seer to another repentant *ānantarya* criminal to convince him of the efficacy of this particular *sūtra*. The story of the seer and that *ānantarya* criminal is,

⁵⁴⁸ Later in the *Saṅghāṭa-sūtra*, the seer is said to be an incarnation of the *sūtra* itself (Canevascini 1993: 55, §120.1: *saṅghāṭadārśanam sūtram ṛṣirūpeṇa darśitam*).

in turn, told by the Buddha to the Bodhisattva Sarvaśūra for the same purpose of illustrating the potency of the *sūtra* itself. As Canevascini observes, the *Saṅghāṭa-sūtra* exhibits an “apparently ‘heterodox’, ‘non-canonical’ character”, for “the doctrinal portions of the text are almost non-existent if compared with the portions which describe the astonishing merit to be gained by hearing, writing or reciting the *sūtra* itself”.⁵⁴⁹ Despite its distinctive character, the *Saṅghāṭa-sūtra* is a source of particular interest to the present study, since it contains a story of the salvation of a patricide very similar to Ajātaśatru:

[The Buddha said to Sarvaśūra,] “...The seer said [to the repentant *ānantarya* criminal], ‘Listen, son of a good family: in the past, innumerable *kalpas* and more ago, at that time, at that moment, there was a king named Vimalacandra, “Stainless Moon”, who was a righteous man and righteous king. Later, a son was born in the house of the king Vimalacandra. Then the king Vimalacandra, having summoned *brahmins* who were scholars of *śāstras* and omens-readers, said, “Brahmins, what sign of the prince do you see, an auspicious one or an inauspicious one?” Then the *brahmins*, the omen-readers, said, “This prince is born evil, great king, evil!” Having heard this, the king, filled with bewilderment, asked, “Brahmins, what do you mean?” The omen-readers said, “Lord, if this prince lives seven years, he will take the lives of his mother and father.” Then the king said, “It is better that my life be hindered (*jīvitāntarāyo*) than that I kill my son. For what reason? [It is because] at some time or another one is able to be reborn in the world as a human.⁵⁵⁰ I will not act in such a way that I will abandon this human body.”

Then the prince grew up: he grew in one month as much as others grow in two years. The king Vimalacandra realized: “This prince grows due to the accumulation of my bad *karma*.” Therefore the king, having tied the diadem round the prince’s [head], said, “Have the kingship and widespread fame. Exercise the dominion of wealth and sovereignty lawfully, not unlawfully.” Then, having tied the diadem, he granted [him] the title “king”. The king Vimalacandra no more exercised the kingship over his own land. Then thirty *koṭis* of ministers went to where the king Vimalacandra was, and having approached him, they said this to the king

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid.: xii.

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid.: 48, §102.7: *kadā cit karha cil loke manuṣya utpādaṃ labhyate*. This seems to mean that it is not easy to be reborn as a human, so it is immoral to kill a newly-born infant. This point is made clear in the Chinese translation (T.423. 964b26-27. 人身難得，於無量劫修行乃得人身 “It is difficult to attain a human rebirth. One needs to practice innumerable *kalpas* and is then able to attain a human rebirth”). The corresponding Tibetan agrees with the Sanskrit (Derge Kanjur 102, *mdo sde, nga* 241b3).

Vimalacandra, “Great king, for what reason do you no more exercise the kingship over your own land?” The king said, “For many innumerable *kalpas* when I exercised the dominion of wealth and sovereignty, I had never been satisfied by these lands.”

Then at that time, at that moment, after a short interval of time, the son took the lives of his mother and father. By this, he accumulated the five *ānantarya* crimes.⁵⁵¹ Alas, oh man, I [the seer himself] remember such a long period [in the past] just as today or tomorrow. When the painful feeling arose in that king [i.e., the evil prince], that king, full of repentance, choked with tears, lamented: “I have done evil! I will undergo painful feeling in the great Avīci hell!” Then I, with a compassionate mind, went there and expounded the Dharma for that king. Then, after that king heard the Dharma, his five *ānantarya* crimes became completely destroyed without remainder.⁵⁵²

He [the seer] said,

‘If great ascetics hear this religious discourse *Saṅghāṭa*, the king of *sūtras*, they will attain the unsurpassed religious status.

All evil is removed. It will destroy all defilements.
Listen, I will preach the Dharma, whereby you will be saved immediately.

When the four-quartered stanza is being spoken,
all evil will be removed instantaneously and you will become a stream-enterer.

Then I will utter this utterance which liberates [one from] all evil,
[whereby] suffering beings [will] be released from the horrible hell.’

Then the man [the repentant *ānantarya* criminal] rose from his seat with folded hands,
and having bowed down his head, he applauded:

‘Excellent, good friends⁵⁵³! Excellent, destroyer of evil!
Excellent [for] those who will hear the *Saṅghāṭa* discourse, the great guide!’...⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁵¹ Ibid.: 49, § 104.4: *tena ca tatra pañcānantaryāni karmānyupacitāni*. Does this mean that after having committed the patricide and matricide, the prince also committed the three other *ānantarya* crimes? Note that the corresponding Tibetan does not mention “five”: Derge 102, *nga* 241b7: *de na des mtshams med pa’i las bsags so* “In that case, thereby, he accumulated the *ānantarya* crimes”.

⁵⁵² As Canevascini (1993: 141, §105.1) observes, the story of the king Vimalacandra and his son ends here and reverts to the story of the seer and the *ānantarya* criminal.

⁵⁵³ It is unclear to me why the plural *kalyāṇamitrāṇi* is used here (ibid.: 50, §105.6). A singular seems to be expected if we construe it as referring to the seer.

⁵⁵⁴ See Appendix I, Textual Material 20. Translated also in Canevascini (1993: 48-50, §§100.6-105.6). According to Canevascini, the Sanskrit text “is by and large the one edited by von Hinüber who has mainly followed MS C [of the Gilgit MSS]” (ibid.: 1).

This story of King Vimalacandra and his son is very similar to the story of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, though here the prince is said to have killed not only his father but both his parents and thereby committed two *ānantarya* crimes. The prophecy of the prince's patricide and matricide in this story bears a striking resemblance to the prophecy of Ajātaśatru's patricide told in a number of Buddhist texts.⁵⁵⁵ This resemblance may indicate a potential connection between the story of Vimalacandra's son and that of Ajātaśatru, especially given that, as Canevascini notices, the story of Vimalacandra and his son seems to be an older narrative later inserted into the *Saṅghāṭa-sūtra*.⁵⁵⁶ Whatever the potential connection, it is clear that there is a parallelism between the salvation of Ajātaśatru in the AjKV and that of Vimalacandra's son in the *Saṅghāṭa-sūtra*. Like in the AjKV where Ajātaśatru casts off his patricide through listening to Mañjuśrī's exposition of emptiness, in the *Saṅghāṭa-sūtra* Vimalacandra's son is absolved of his patricide and matricide through listening to the seer's exposition of the Dharma, referring here specifically to the *Saṅghāṭa* itself. Despite the considerable differences between the AjKV and the *Saṅghāṭa-sūtra*, there appears to be a common idea which drove the authors of the two texts to compose their stories, that is, to use the salvation of an *ānantarya* criminal as a means to demonstrate the extraordinary potency of the Dharma. The same idea can also be seen

⁵⁵⁵ On Buddhist stories of the birth of Ajātaśatru, see Appendix III. According to some Buddhist texts, the prophecy is the exact reason why he is named Ajātaśatru, "Unborn Enemy". See also Silk (1997: 202) and Radich (2011: 9).

⁵⁵⁶ As Canevascini (1993: 140, §100 n.5) observes, there is a discontinuity between the embedded story of Vimalacandra and his son and the frame story of the seer and the repentant *ānantarya* criminal, for "the speaker is never identified again in the middle of his speech and the interlocutor of the ṛṣi (...) is always addressed as *puruṣa*, never as *kula-putra*" and "the *puruṣa* pops up again in verse [5] of § 105". He goes on to suggest that "the passage between *āha* in §100.6 and *āha* in §105.3 appears to be a secondary insertion relating the story of king Vimalacandra". If Canevascini's observation is correct, this would mean that the embedded story was imported from elsewhere. Could it have been adapted from the story of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru? It is hard to say, but the correspondence between the two stories is noteworthy. A further study of the *Saṅghāṭa-sūtra* and relevant sources may help to get a clearer picture in this regard.

seen elsewhere. For instance, as Silk observes, the “Dhāraṇī-Sūtra on Collecting the Joy of the Teachings and Getting Rid of Suffering”, a text extant only in Chinese but arguably having an Indian origin, tells the story of a man guilty of both patricide and incest, who is freed from the fate of hell through reciting the *dhāraṇī*. As Silk points out, in that text, “[e]ven sins as great as murder and incest... can be overcome by the power of the Dharma, as conveyed in this specific instantiation, namely, the *dhāraṇī* to which the sūtra itself refers”.⁵⁵⁷

Compared with these parallel stories of saving an *ānantarya* criminal through the Dharma, what is unique about the AjKV is that in this text the idea of using the power of Dharma to eliminate Ajātaśatru’s patricide is closely combined with the idea of applying the notion of emptiness to the *ānantarya* crimes and their retribution, for here the Dharma refers specifically to the teaching of emptiness. As we have seen, after hearing Mañjuśrī’s discourse on emptiness Ajātaśatru’s crime and its karmic result is indeed reduced to nothing. In this sense, the erasure of his crime demonstrates not only the salvific efficacy but also the philosophical truthfulness of the teaching of emptiness expounded by Mañjuśrī.

As the AjKV shows, because of hearing Mañjuśrī’s discourse on emptiness in this life, Ajātaśatru will not only be freed from suffering in his next life in hell, but will also gain a heavenly rebirth in the life thereafter. According to the Buddha’s prophecy, after emerging from hell Ajātaśatru will be reborn in the heaven above, in a *buddha*-field named *Vyūha, where he will once again hear from Mañjuśrī the same

⁵⁵⁷ Silk 2009: 112. For a close study of this text, its classification and related issues, see Silk 2010. Still another noteworthy text is the *Ajitasena-vyākaraṇa-nirdeśa-sūtra* according to which the five *ānantarya* crimes can be erased through hearing the sound of a gong, though not a Buddhist text: Dutt 1939-1959: i. 114.10-14: *bhagavān āha | śṛṇu ānanda gaṇḍīśabdasya kuśalamūlaṃ parikīrtayāmi | ye ke cid ānanda gaṇḍīśabdaṃ śroṣyanti teṣāṃ pañcānantaryāṇi kṛtyāni parikṣayaṃ yāsyanti | avaiartikās te bhaviṣyanti kṣipraṃ cānuttarāṃ samyaksaṃbodhim abhisambhotsyante* | “The Blessed One said, ‘Listen, Ānanda, I will announce the root of goodness of the sound of the gong. Ānanda, for those who hear the sound of the gong, their five *ānantarya* crimes will be eliminated. They will receive the irreversible status and will quickly awake fully to supreme and perfect awakening.”

discourse and thereby attain “acceptance of the Truth that factors of existence are unoriginated” (*anutpattika-dharma-kṣānti*), and afterwards, when Maitreya attains awakening, Ajātaśatru will return to this world as a *bodhisattva*. In his detailed study of the AjKV, Miyazaki notices that Ajātaśatru’s movements after his life in hell, i.e., ascending into heaven and then descending back to this world, show a similarity to the process presented in the AWJ and the Chinese EĀ regarding his future rebirths in the six heavens after being released from hell and his subsequent return to this world as a *pratyekabuddha*. Miyazaki points out that in both cases there is a similar movement of rising (to heaven) and then falling back (to earth).⁵⁵⁸ He suggests that the account in Chapter Eleven of the AjKV may have been influenced by the AWJ and the Chinese EĀ. Miyazaki’s argument seems to me problematic in the following respect: he appears to assume that the AjKV was definitely composed later than the Indian originals of the AWJ and the Chinese EĀ, but this assumption is debatable.⁵⁵⁹ As mentioned above, the AjKV is one of the first Mahāyāna texts translated into Chinese in the late second century CE, whereas the AWJ and the Chinese EĀ were translated in the late fourth century CE—if we follow Mizuno to consider the AWJ as one of the remnants of Dharmanandi’s lost translation of the EĀ—and the Chinese EĀ, as scholars generally agree, shows clear Mahāyānist influences. It is therefore entirely possible—or even probable—that the Indian originals of the AWJ and the Chinese EĀ (or parts of the Chinese EĀ) were composed after the AjKV, although they might have been based on some relatively early sources. If this was the case, the Indian originals of the AWJ and the Chinese EĀ could hardly have exerted any direct influence on the composition of

⁵⁵⁸ Miyazaki 2010: 122.

⁵⁵⁹ A deeper assumption may be involved here: *āgama* texts are always older than Mahāyāna *sūtras*. This widely-held assumption, it seems to me, needs to be carefully reexamined. I prefer not to classify the AWJ or the Chinese EĀ as proto-Mahāyāna material.

the AjKV.

A more fundamental question raised here is how to understand the intermediate process between Ajātaśatru's future release from hell and his final birth as a *buddha* as presented in the AjKV. As such, this process manifests itself as a movement of ascent into heaven and then descent back to earth. But this movement does not stand alone. Rather, it needs to be contextualized within the larger picture of the multi-life process of Mañjuśrī's salvation of Ajātaśatru through repeatedly preaching to him the same discourse. Within this larger picture, Ajātaśatru's heavenly rebirth after his life in hell may be seen as a far-reaching benefit gained by him through listening to Mañjuśrī's discourse in this life; his attainment of *anutpattika-dharma-kṣānti* while being reborn in heaven represents his further spiritual progress under Mañjuśrī's guidance.⁵⁶⁰ As for his subsequent return to this world as a *bodhisattva* when Maitreya attains awakening, it could be a strategy used by the authors of the AjKV to claim the factual authority of their text through using Maitreya as a memory link across time. As we have seen, the Buddha predicts that at that time Maitreya will relate to other *bodhisattvas* Ajātaśatru's previous life under the dispensation of Śākyamuni Buddha, regarding his patricide and ensuing salvation (that is, his attainment of *ānulomika-dharma-kṣānti* and the erasure of his crime) through listening to Mañjuśrī's discourse. Here Maitreya, by virtue of his double identity as both a *bodhisattva* at the time of the Buddha Śākyamuni and the future *buddha* of this world, functions as a living witness to the "historical reality"—from the point of view of the insiders of the tradition—of the story of Ajātaśatru and Mañjuśrī told in the text.⁵⁶¹ Through making Ajātaśatru be reborn in this world at the

⁵⁶⁰ It should be remembered that *anutpattika-dharma-kṣānti* refers to a higher spiritual status than *ānulomika-dharma-kṣānti*, that is, the attainment achieved by Ajātaśatru in this life.

⁵⁶¹ Note that Maitreya appears a number of times in the AjKV, both before and after the prophecy of

time of Maitreya’s awakening and through using Maitreya as a time-transcending witness to recall Ajātaśatru’s previous encounter with Mañjuśrī, the authors of the AjKV attempt to convince their audiences that the narrative framework of Ajātaśatru and Mañjuśrī as presented in their text is “true” and provides an authentic report of the events at the time of Śākyamuni Buddha. The “historical reality” of the narrative frame may, in turn, lend authority to the doctrinal content of the text and thereby “authenticate” the salvific efficacy of the discourse on emptiness as preached by Mañjuśrī to Ajātaśatru.

As the Buddha goes on to predict, in his final birth Ajātaśatru will attain *buddha*-hood, leading great assemblies of *śrāvakas* and *bodhisattvas*, and will then enter into *parinirvāṇa*, an escape from *saṃsāra* forever. The Buddha also makes a comment on Ajātaśatru’s future awakening. In the Sanskrit version, the comment is incomplete: “...to be judged. A person judging [another] person destroys himself. Śāriputra, it is I or someone like me that shall judge a person”.⁵⁶² This comment, as Harrison and Hartmann observe, also appears elsewhere in Buddhist literature.⁵⁶³ In

Ajātaśatru. In the last Chapter, he promises to the Buddha to widely preach the AjKV (cf. T.626. 405c17-19; Derge, *tsha* 266b5-6). The witness function of Maitreya strikes me as somehow similar to that of Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja, a saint ordered by the Buddha not to enter *parinirvāṇa* until Maitreya’s awakening, as the result of which “he remains alive and occasionally...appears as a living witness to events in the Buddha’s time” (Strong 1989 [1983]: 84). On the legend of this figure, see Strong 1979.

⁵⁶² Harrison and Hartmann 2000a: 211, folio 545v2: (.. v2...*pra*)vicinitavyaḥ <|> kṣiṇoti pudgala ātmānaṃ pudgalaṃ pravacinvan <|> ahaṃ śāriputra pudgalaṃ pravacunuyāṃ yo vā syān mādrśāḥ; on the perplexing forms *pravacinvan* and *pravacunuyāṃ*, see *ibid.*, 211-212, n.120, 124. The corresponding Tibetan basically agrees with the Sanskrit, see *ibid.*, 212. For Lokakṣema’s translation, see above.

⁵⁶³ *Ibid.*: 212, n.124. As Harrison and Hartmann notice, a parallel passage also appears in the *Sarva-dharmāpravṛttinirdeśa*. There, the Buddha makes the comment to instruct the Bodhisattva Simha-vikrāntagāmin that *bodhisattvas* should not criticize each other. Instead, they should accept all actions of the other and consider that the conduct of the other is hard to understand. The Buddha says (Braarvig 2000: 132): ...*idaṃ ca khalu kulaputra arthavaśaṃ saṃpaśyaṃs tathāgata evandharmaṃ deśayati na pudgalena pudgalaḥ pramātavyaḥ | ahaṃ vā pudgalaṃ pramiṇuyāṃ yo vā syān mādrśaḥ | yaḥ kulaputra ātmānaṃ rakṣitukāmas tena na kasya cic caryā vivecayitavyā | na pareṣāṃ vikūṭṭanā kartavyā | ayam īdrśo ’yam īdrśa iti | buddhadharmābhīyuktena bhavitavyaṃ rātrindivam dharmapaliguddhamānaseneti* || “...Then, O Son of a good family, seeing the meaning of this, the Tathāgata teaches the Dharma as follows: ‘A person is not to be assessed by another person. It is only I or another like me that shall assess a person. Son of a good family, someone who wants to protect himself should neither discriminate the conduct of anyone [else], nor criticize others, saying ‘this one is like this’, ‘this

the present context, it seems to mean that except the Buddha himself and other fully awakened ones, no one should assert another's future destiny. This can be concluded from Śāriputra's response to the Buddha's comment, where he promises henceforth not to predict any beings to be destined for hell because their conduct is inconceivable.⁵⁶⁴ This exchange between the Buddha and Śāriputra clarifies an essential point made by the AjKV: no one is doomed to perdition and even the most evil ones such as *ānantarya* criminals can be saved from the fate of hell—or from the infernal suffering in the case of Ajātaśatru—and attain ultimate liberation. The radical soteriological attitude of the AjKV as shown here is not surprising. It is consistent with other parts of the text as we have seen, and most fundamentally, with the notion of emptiness that stands at the core of the text. As I mentioned earlier, in the AjKV the prophecy of Ajātaśatru follows a story of the salvation of a matricide. It is noteworthy that at the end of that story there is an interesting exchange between the Buddha and Śāriputra. On seeing the matricide's quick attainment of *arhat*-ship and *parinirvāṇa* in front of the Buddha, Śāriputra is totally amazed, and the Buddha tells him, “Śāriputra, persons whom you know to be hell-beings I see as endowed with the quality of *nirvāṇa*.”⁵⁶⁵ The story of the matricide along with the Buddha's comment above

one is like that'. He should, day and night, be focused on the Dharma of the Buddha, with a mind fastened upon the Dharma"; translated also in *ibid.*: 133. See also the quotation in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (Bendall 1897-1902: 99.18-100.4; translated in Bendall and Rouse 1922: 102). Note that the exhortation to focus on the Dharma at the end of the passage, which is clearly based on the context of the *Sarvadharmāpravṛttinirdeśe* itself, finds no counterpart in the AjKV.

⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid.*: 213, folio 545v3: (...v3...) *dāgreṇa vyaṃ bhagavan na kaṃ cit satvaṃ nairayikaṃ vyākariṣyāmaḥ* <|> *tat kasmāḍ dhetoḥ* <|> *acintyā bhagavan satvānāṃ caryā* |

⁵⁶⁵ Derge, *tsha* 260a2; sTog, *za* 337a6-7: *śā ri 'i bu gang zag gang khyod kyis sems can dmyal ba par shes la* <|> *de dag la ngas mya ngan las 'da' ba 'i chos can du mthong ba yang* [S: ang] *yod do*. I follow the translation given in Harrison and Hartmann (2000a: 204). The Sanskrit is unfortunately corrupt (*ibid.*: 202, folio 541v2-3): (...v2...) *jānītha* <ḥ> | *ahaṃ tāt nirvāṇadharmān iti samjānāmi* | There, the Buddha tells Śāriputra that only he himself and *bodhisattvas* really know the conduct of sentient beings, while *śrāvakas* or *pratyekabuddhas* do not. This point is not made explicit but seems to be implied in the present exchange, if we construe “those like me” (*yo vā syān mādrśāḥ*) as referring to other *buddhas* whom only *bodhisattvas* (i.e., *buddhas-to-be*) can become.

clearly suggests that the authors of the text do not consider the liberation of Ajātaśatru as a special case. Rather, according to them, it is entirely possible for any *ānantarya* criminal, or anyone seemingly unsavable, to be saved from perdition and brought to liberation.

4.1.4 The Salvation of Ajātaśatru in the AjKV: An Overall Assessment

Taken as a whole, the salvation of Ajātaśatru in the AjKV serves to demonstrate the redeeming capability of the archetypal *bodhisattva* Mañjuśrī on the one hand, and the efficacy of the teaching of emptiness preached by him on the other. Here, Ajātaśatru's patricide is erased by the power of understanding Mañjuśrī's discourse. As the result of the elimination of his crime, although he is said to still fall into hell in the next life, he will undergo no suffering there and will quickly get out. In the AjKV, the theme of the salvation of Ajātaśatru is presented on both short and long time scales. On the short time scale (which is to say, in this life), through listening to Mañjuśrī's discourse, Ajātaśatru gains at least three benefits, including his relief of mental anguish that has arisen from both his remorse for the patricide and his fear of the fate of hell, his immediate attainment of *ānulomika-dharma-kṣānti*, and the erasure of his patricide. These benefits as a whole are contextualized as one part of the long-term (multi-life) process of Mañjuśrī's salvation of Ajātaśatru through repeatedly preaching to him the same discourse. This process starts in Ajātaśatru's past lives and culminates in his last life where he will attain *buddha*-hood and then *parinirvāṇa*. The contextualization of Ajātaśatru's present encounter with Mañjuśrī within the larger picture of his path to liberation over multiple lives is one of the most innovative features of the AjKV's interpretation of the salvation of Ajātaśatru. Through unfolding this larger picture, the authors of the text demonstrate the continuity, progressiveness

and thoroughness of the salvation of Ajātaśatru by this archetypal *bodhisattva*. The text also makes it clear that not only the patricidal king Ajātaśatru, but any *ānantarya* criminal can be saved from the result of evil actions and attain liberation, particularly through the power of the Dharma.

In the AjKV the salvation of Ajātaśatru serves at least two functions in promoting the *bodhisattva* ideal. First, his salvation represents one of the strategies used by the authors of the text to construct and glorify the authority of Mañjuśrī who is, as Harrison suggests, one of the literary creations of Mahāyānists to legitimate their goal of Buddhist practice.⁵⁶⁶ Ajātaśatru's freedom from infernal suffering and his attainment of *buddha*-hood thus ultimately demonstrate the worthiness of the *bodhisattva* path exemplified by Mañjuśrī. Second, through turning the patricide Ajātaśatru into a candidate for *bodhisattva*-hood and eventually *buddha*-hood, the authors make it clear that the *bodhisattva* path is attainable even by an *ānantarya* criminal. This, in turn, indicates their goal of liberation for all, that is, to bring all sentient beings, including those most damned ones, to awakening and eventually a release from *samsāra* forever. I do not intend to suggest that the authors of the AjKV hold the attitude of *bodhisattva* universalism, that is, to view the *bodhisattva* path as the only advisable way to attain liberation.⁵⁶⁷ The text certainly holds no such attitude, for it clearly says that when Ajātaśatru becomes a *buddha*, he will lead an assembly of *śrāvakas*, besides that of *bodhisattvas*. In the story of the matricide preceding the prophecy of Ajātaśatru, the matricide attains *parinirvāṇa* after becoming an *arhat* instead of a *bodhisattva*. Evidently, the authors of the AjKV do not contend that

⁵⁶⁶ Harrison 2000: 180.

⁵⁶⁷ On *bodhisattva* universalism, see for instance, Nattier (2003: 174-6). As she observes, “*bodhisattva* universalism is far from universal in Mahāyāna Buddhist texts”, and quite a number of Mahāyāna *sūtras*, especially the relatively early ones, generally agree “that not all beings have the capacity to become Buddhas and that the *śrāvaka* and not the *bodhisattva* path is appropriate for some”. See also Boucher (2008: 11, 52).

everyone should become a *bodhisattva*, or that only the *bodhisattva* path is legitimate, though they do treat the *bodhisattva* path as more valuable than the *śrāvaka* path as shown in the earlier part (especially, in Chapter Three) of the text.⁵⁶⁸ What we do see in the AjKV is that moral culpability, as illustrated here by the extreme case of the patricide of Ajātaśatru, constitutes no hindrance to spiritual growth. As the text claims, any crime, however heinous it appears, is without consequences from the viewpoint of emptiness, and it is possible for even the most immoral to attain *buddha*-hood. One may wonder for what reasons the authors of the AjKV made such radical claims, under what social and religious circumstances, what their practical impulses were, to whom they meant to respond, and whom they meant to convince. These are intriguing questions. For the time being I have no clear answer to any of them, but they certainly deserve consideration in a close study of the AjKV as a whole.⁵⁶⁹

While the AjKV is one of the first Mahāyāna *sūtras* translated into Chinese by Lokakṣema, there is no suggestion that it represents one of the very earliest phrases of Mahāyāna. Rather, as Harrison and Hartmann observe, the philosophical sophistication and structural complexity of the text indicate that “Mahāyāna Buddhism had attained an advanced level of development by the middle of the 2nd century A.D., and was by no means a movement still in its early stage”.⁵⁷⁰ This observation is important, for it suggests that the application of the notion of emptiness to moral responsibility and the attribution of *buddha*-hood even to an *ānantarya* criminal such as Ajātaśatru as seen in the AjKV, may not reflect the initial karmic or soteriological attitudes of Mahāyāna, but represents its later changes or developments.

⁵⁶⁸ For more details of Chapter Three, see Harrison 2004: 172-184.

⁵⁶⁹ As Miyazaki (2008a; 2010: 96-104) demonstrates, the compilation of the AjKV may well have happened in several stages. An indeterminate number of authors (or editors), possibly with different motivations, may have been responsible for the form of the text as we have it.

⁵⁷⁰ Harrison and Hartmann 2000a: 168.

Recent studies of some *sūtras* which can arguably be used as witnesses to the relatively early stages of Mahāyāna suggest that *bodhisattva* membership was originally probably limited to monks, especially those who could undertake the practice of wilderness-dwelling and extreme ascetism, with the laity almost totally excluded.⁵⁷¹ In view of this, the prophecy of the patricidal king Ajātaśatru's future *bodhisattva*-hood and *buddha*-hood in the AjKV was almost certainly a later move towards widening the access to *bodhisattva*-hood, which signifies a more inclusive soteriological stance. Further, the deconstructive position of the AjKV as exemplified in its notion of emptiness in relation to *karma*, may also reflect a later development of Mahāyāna, for as Nattier observes, some early Mahāyāna *sūtras* such as the *Ugraparipṛcchā* contain no rhetoric of emptiness at all but nonetheless suggest that there seems to have been a preliminary stage of Mahāyāna centered on constructing or reifying concepts, which preceded a later deconstructive or dereifying move.⁵⁷² Given all the above, one can hardly say that the radical karmic view and the inclusive soteriological stance in the AjKV reflect features of Mahāyāna in its nascent stage. Nor do they represent a general case of Mahāyāna given that, as scholars have increasingly agreed, Mahāyāna is not a uniform entity, but a collection of multiple groups and communities.⁵⁷³ Thus a more cautious reading is perhaps to construe the

⁵⁷¹ See Silk (1994 [on the *Ratnarāṣī*], to which I have no access); Harrison (1995a: 65-67 [on texts translated by Lokakṣema]), Nattier (2003: 130-131 [on the *Ugraparipṛcchā*]) and Boucher (2008: 49-56 [on the *Rāṣṭrapāla*]). Even in the *Ugraparipṛcchā*, a text seemingly dedicated to the lay *bodhisattva* practice, as Nattier (2003: 121-127) observes, it is explicitly said that “[n]o bodhisattva who lives at home (...) has ever attained Supreme Perfect Enlightenment” and moreover, the lay *bodhisattva* protagonists of the text (Ugra and his friends) are shown as finally receiving ordination after hearing the Buddha's praise of the monastic life.

⁵⁷² Ibid.: 179-182. Nattier's discussion focuses on the constructive attitude of the *Ugraparipṛcchā* especially towards the *bodhisattva* path, in contrast with the deconstructive attitude of some other Mahāyāna *sūtras* (e.g. the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* and the *Vajracchedikā*).

⁵⁷³ Since as Silk (2002: 369-372) suggests, we may suppose that “Mahāyāna Buddhists were the authors of Mahāyāna scriptures” and that “each Mahāyāna scripture represents a different Mahāyāna community”, it would become natural to speak of Mahāyāna in the plural.

AjKV's interpretation of the salvation of Ajātaśatru only as a reflection of the ideology of its authors, rather than drawing any conclusion about early Mahāyāna or Mahāyāna in general.

The story of Mañjuśrī's salvation of Ajātaśatru told in the AjKV is also mentioned or alluded to in a number of other Mahāyāna texts, which suggests that this story may have gained some popularity among Mahāyānist writers.⁵⁷⁴ Besides the AjKV, there are two other Buddhist texts which also contain a prophecy of Ajātaśatru's eventual *buddha*-hood. One is preserved in an eighth-century Chinese translation, the *Shouhu-guojiezhutuoluoni-jing* (T.997), "Dhāraṇī-Sūtra on Protecting the Ruler of the Realm", which I discussed in the previous chapter. According to that text, Ajātaśatru's next birth in hell will be like the bouncing of a ball, and after bouncing out of hell, he will be reborn in Tuṣita Heaven where he will meet Maitreya and receive from him the prophecy of *buddha*-hood. The other source is also extant only in Chinese, the *Asheshi-wang-shoujue-jing* (ASJ), "Sūtra on the Prophecy [of Future Buddha-hood] of King Ajātaśatru". As Miyazaki notices, the prophecy of Ajātaśatru in the ASJ shows striking correspondences with that in the AjKV, and like in the AjKV where the Buddha's prophecy of Ajātaśatru is followed by his prophecy of future *buddha*-hood

⁵⁷⁴ For instance, in the Tibetan translation of the *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchā* King Druma of kinnaras says to Ajātaśatru (Harrison 1992b: 253): *rgyal po chen po khyod kyis gang gi phyir dge ba'i bshes gnyen bcom ldan 'das dang 'jam dpal gzhon nur gyur pa rnyed de | de gnyis las khyod kyis dam pa'i chos thos nas | des mi shes pa'i mun pa dang | gti mug gi ling tog chen pos mtshams med pa'i 'gyod pa byung ba'i sems bsal nas | khyod kyis chos la chos kyi snang ba chen po thob ste* | "Great king, because you have gained good friends, the Blessed One and Prince Mañjuśrī. Having heard the true Dharma from these two, the darkness of ignorance, veil of delusion and thought of remorse for the *ānantarya* crime have been removed. You have gained the great illumination in the Dharma"; for the corresponding Chinese, see T. 624. 364b12-14 and T. 625.385b20-23; see also a comment in Harrison 1999: 89-90). In the *Tathāgatācintyaguhyānirdeśa* Ajātaśatru says to the Buddha that owing to Mañjuśrī his remorse has been removed and his mind illuminated (T.310 [3].76c11-12, T. 312.746c2-3). In the Mppś and the **Daśabhūmikavibhāṣā*, both traditionally attributed to Nāgārjuna (ca. 2nd century CE), it is said that because of the Buddha and Mañjuśrī Ajātaśatru's patricide has been diminished (see separately, T. 1509.506b12-14; T.1521.49a21-22). Two excerpts of Mañjuśrī's exchange with Ajātaśatru through which he manages to dispel the latter's remorse are cited in the *Sūtrasamuccaya*, traditionally also ascribed to Nāgārjuna (see Pāsādika 1989: 97, 146-154).

of Ajātaśatru's son⁵⁷⁵, in the ASJ these two prophecies are also combined together.⁵⁷⁶

The similarities suggest that there may well be an underlying connection between the AjKV and the ASJ. Let us now have a look at the ASJ, to see how it relates to the AjKV and how differently it interprets the salvation of Ajātaśatru.

4.2 The Chinese *Asheshi-wang-shoujue-jing* (T. 509)

4.2.1 The Contents of the ASJ

The contents of the ASJ may be summarized as follows⁵⁷⁷: One day King Ajātaśatru invites the Buddha to a dinner, and after the dinner the Buddha returns to Jetavana. At Jīvaka's suggestion, Ajātaśatru issues an order to light oil-lamps all the way from the royal palace to Jetavana. There is a poor old woman who longs to make offerings to the Buddha but does not have enough money. With the little money earned from begging, she buys some hemp-seed oil and lights a lamp for the Buddha. She vows that if she is to attain *buddha*-hood in the future, her lamp should shine throughout the night. This turns out to be the case: during that night, while the lamps lighted by King Ajātaśatru all soon go out, the lamp lighted by the poor woman continues shining with exceeding brilliance. At daybreak, when the Buddha's disciple Maudgalyāyana tries to put out the lamps, he can not quench the poor woman's lamp

⁵⁷⁵ In the AjKV, the Buddha's prophecy of Ajātaśatru's future rebirths appears in the later part of Chapter Eleven, and his prophecy of Ajātaśatru's son's *buddha*-hood is given at the beginning of Chapter Twelve (see T.626.404c10-405a8; T.627.426a26-c9; Derge, *tsha* 262b4-264a2, sTog, *za* 341b4-343b4; no Sanskrit available).

⁵⁷⁶ For a Japanese translation of the prophecies of Ajātaśatru and his son in the Tibetan version of the AjKV and a comparison with the parallels in the ASJ, see Miyazaki (2009a; 2010: 72-76).

⁵⁷⁷ The ASJ is translated in full into English in Beal (1882: 172-8). See also a full Japanese translation in Sadakata (1986: 151-9) and a summary in Hirakawa (1971:8).

in any way. The Buddha thereupon tells Maudgalyāyana that this woman is destined to become a *buddha* in the future. Having heard this, Ajātaśatru asks Jīvaka why he has done many meritorious deeds and yet received no prophecy of future *buddha*-hood from the Buddha, while this poor woman has only lighted one lamp and already received a prophecy. Jīvaka tells Ajātaśatru that although he has done much, he has not focused his mind on the Buddha as the poor woman has. Ajātaśatru once again invites the Buddha. Meanwhile, he enjoins gardeners to collect flowers and bring them to the palace. The Buddha leaves Jetavana and proceeds to the palace, preaching the Dharma to people along the way. At that time, a gardener who has finished collecting flowers encounters the Buddha on the road. He is so delighted by the Buddha's preaching that he spreads all the flowers over the Buddha. He is then predicted by the Buddha to attain *buddha*-hood in the future. Having offered all the flowers to the Buddha, with nothing left, the gardener knows that he will be killed by Ajātaśatru who is notorious for his relentlessness and impatience. He returns home to tell his wife. When his wife is preparing food for him, Śakra, the Lord of the gods, fills the empty boxes outside their door with heavenly flowers. With great joy, the gardener brings those flowers to the palace and meets Ajātaśatru halfway, who rebukes him for being late and threatens to kill him. The gardener explains to Ajātaśatru what has happened and says that since he has already received a prophecy from the Buddha, he is not afraid of being killed. Ajātaśatru is astonished at hearing this. He returns to ask Jīvaka why the Buddha has given prophecies to the poor woman and to the gardener, but not to him. He further asks Jīvaka what he should do so that the Buddha will give him a prophecy. Since the rest of the text is directly related to the present study, it will be translated here in full:

Jīvaka said, "Although your majesty day after day makes merit, you have only used the wealth of the state treasury and exploited the labor of your

people. Your mind is haughty, and your will is full of hatred. Therefore, you have received no prophecy. Now you should cut off the self-sustaining means in your body [i.e., practice fasting] and take off your necklaces and seven-jewelled bracelets to make jewelled flowers. You should do it together with your wives and princes, with joint efforts. When you yourself finish this meritorious hard work, you should offer it to the Buddha with full heart. The Buddha will see the sincerity of your majesty and then you will certainly gain a prophecy.”

Then the king reduced and renounced the catered meals, practicing abstinence and the precepts day and night. He took off all the jewellery from his body, and summoned craftsmen to make flowers before the daybreak. The king, his wives and princes all lent their own hands to the work. After ninety days, the work was completed. Having had his chariot made ready, he went to offer [the flowers] to the Buddha. One of his ministers standing by said to him, “I have heard that the Buddha had earlier gone to the kingdom of Kuśinagara and already entered *parinirvāṇa*.” On hearing this, the king uttered a great cry of grief, choked with tears, saying, “I have wholeheartedly made these flowers. Although the Buddha has entered *parinirvāṇa*, I will still go to the Gr̥dhra-kūṭa Mountain, to offer them at the place where the Buddha was seated and to express my wish.” Jīvaka said, “One who is called ‘Buddha’ has no [physical] body and has no *nirvāṇa*. He does not permanently abide [in this world]. He never perishes and never exists [physically]. Only those who have a sincere mind are able to see the Buddha. Even when the Buddha abides in this world, those who have no sincere mind are not able to see the Buddha. Great king, you are sincere to such an extent. Although the Buddha has undergone *parinirvāṇa*, if you go there, you will surely see the Buddha.”

Then the king came to the Gr̥dhra-kūṭa Mountain. On seeing the Buddha, he was both saddened and gladdened. Shedding tears, he went forward and paid homage with his head. [When] he was throwing the seven-jewelled flowers over the Buddha, the flowers all suspended in mid-air and transformed into a jewelled canopy remaining right above the Buddha. The Buddha thereupon made a prophecy with regard to the king saying: “After eighty thousand *kalpas*, in the *kalpa* named ‘One with Delightful Sight’ (*xiguan* 喜觀, *Priyadarśana), O king, you will become a *buddha* named Tathāgata ‘One Who Has Purified His Own Realm’ (*jing-qi-suobu* 淨其所部, *Viśuddhaviśaya). The [*buddha*]-field will be named ‘Flower-king’ (*Puṣparāja). At that time, people’s lifespan will be forty small *kalpas*.” King Ajātaśatru’s son named *Candanavāri/-vāli/-pāli⁵⁷⁸, who was eight years old at that time, seeing his father being

⁵⁷⁸ Chin. *Zhan-tuo-he-li* 旃陀和利 (EMC: **teian-da-γwa-li*). This Chinese transcription could be related to several forms: Candra-/Candana-vāli, Candra-/Candana-vāri, Candra-/Candana-pāli (note that Āmrāpālī is sometimes transcribed as *a-fan-he-li* 阿凡[*var.* 梵, 范]和利, see Akanuma, DBPN, 21b, s.v. Ambpālī). Given that the prince is predicted to become a *buddha* named *zhantan* 梅檀 (*Candana), the reconstructions *Candanavāri/-vāli/-pāli are more possible. Ajātaśatru’s son is named differently in the extant versions of the AjKV. Lokakṣema transcribes his name as *zhantan-shili* 梅檀師利 (EMC: **teian-dan-ṣi-li*; Pkt. *Candaraśiri/-śirī [Skt. *Candanaśrī]). Dharmarakṣa gives the name *yueshou* 月

given a prophecy, was greatly delighted. He immediately took off many jewels from his body and threw them over the Buddha, saying, “I wish that when *Viśuddhaviṣaya becomes a *buddha* I will become a noble king with a golden wheel (*jīnlun-shengwang* 金輪聖王, **suvarṇacakravartin*)⁵⁷⁹ to worship the *buddha*. When the *buddha* enters *parinirvāṇa*, I will succeed him as a *buddha*.” The jewels he scattered transformed into a [jewel-]strewn curtain exactly covering the Buddha. The Buddha said, “Surely as you wish, when the king becomes a *buddha*, you will become a *cakravartin* with a golden wheel. [Then,] as soon as you finish your life, you will ascend to be reborn in the Tuṣita Heaven. As soon as you finish your life [there], you will descend and become a *buddha*, teaching in the field [called] “Medicine-King” (*yaowang* 藥王, **Bhaiṣajyarāja*), under the name **Candana* (*zhantan* 梅檀). Your people’s lifespan and what is in your field will all be the same as those of **Viśuddhaviṣaya*.” When the Buddha just finished predicting, the king and **Candana-vāri/-vāli/-pāli* went forth to pay homage to the Buddha, [but] suddenly they could not see where the Buddha was.⁵⁸⁰

The text ends here. In the current Taishō edition, the ASJ is attributed to the translator Faju (fl.290-312 CE). However, like in the previous case of the AWJ (T. 508), this attribution is probably unreliable. As Hirakawa notices, the ASJ is listed among anonymous scriptures in Sengyou’s *Chu-sanzang-ji-ji* and the ascription to Faju first occurs in Fei Changfang’s *Lidai-sanbao-ji*, a source of highly questionable credibility.⁵⁸¹ In his catalogue, Sengyou does not indicate that the ASJ is an “abridged scripture” (*chaojing* 抄經), perhaps because he had not identified any Chinese

首 (“moon-head”; Pkt. **Candraśiri/-śirī* [Skt. **Candraśrī*]), of which *shou* 首, “head”, appears to be a misinterpretation of Pkt. *-śiri /-śirī* as *śiras*, as is the case with Dharmarakṣa’s translation of Mañjuśrī as *ruanshou* 軟 [var. 溥, 濡]首 (see Karashima 1992: 27; Nattier 2003: 342-3; Miyazaki 2009b). In the Tibetan version of the AjKV, he is named *zla ba’i dpal* (**Candraśrī*).

⁵⁷⁹ According to the AKBh *ad* III 95b-96a (Pradhan1967: 184.6-11; translated in La Vallée Poussin 1923-1931: ii. 197), there are four types of *cakravartins* who separately have gold, silver, copper and iron wheels (*suvarṇarūpyatāmṛāyaścakrāṇi yeṣāṃ santi*); the *cakravartin* with the golden wheel is the most eminent (*prathama eṣāṃ uttamo*) and rules all four continents (*yasya suvarṇamayam sa caturdvīpādhipatiḥ*), i.e., Jambudvīpa, Pūrvavideha, Avaragodānīya and Uttarakuru, whereas the three other types of *cakravartin* each rule one, two or three continents.

⁵⁸⁰ T. 509. 778a2-b2 (see Appendix I, Textual Material 21). Beal’s translation is inaccurate in a number of places.

⁵⁸¹ Hirakawa 1971: 8-9. For Sengyou’s record, see T.2145.25a19. For Fei’s record, see T.2034.67a23, 68a7. On the incredibility of Fei’s catalogue, see Nattier (2008: 14-15).

Buddhist translation circulating at his time which contains a complete parallel to the ASJ. In this regard, the ASJ appears to be different from the AWJ.

4.2.2 The ASJ as a Patchwork Text

As far as I know, the ASJ is the only extant Buddhist text which brings together the prophecies of Ajātaśatru and his son, the prophecy of a poor woman and that of a gardener. The latter two prophecies also occur separately in other Indian Buddhist sources, where they have no relation to Ajātaśatru at all. More specifically, the story of the poor woman is also told, for instance, in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, the *Nagarāvalambikāvadāna*, “Story of [Offerings by] Urban Laundry-women”⁵⁸², of the *Divyāvadāna* and in the *Xianyu-jing* 賢愚經 (T. 202), “Sūtra of the Wise and the Fool”.⁵⁸³ In all these sources, the story is set in Śrāvastī, not in Rājagṛha. In the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* and the *Nagarāvalambikāvadāna* it is King Prasenajit instead of Ajātaśatru who orders the illumination of the city with oil-lamps. In the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* in particular, the Buddha’s prophecy of future *buddha*-hood of the poor woman is followed by a conversation between him and Prasenajit, where Prasenajit entreats the Buddha to give him a prophecy as well but

⁵⁸² On *nagarāvalambikā*, “city-washerwoman”, see BHSD, 289a, s.v. Since two *nagarāvalambikās* are related in this *avadāna*, I use the plural in my rendition of the title. Rotman (2008: 161-175) renders the title as “The Story of a Woman Dependent on a City for Alms”, which seems to be inappropriate. I have no access to a Japanese translation of this *avadāna* by Hiraoka (1996) who translates the title as “Story of Offerings by City-washerwomen” (町の洗濯婦による布施物語).

⁵⁸³ For the relevant account in the Sanskrit *Bhaiṣajyavastu*, see Dutt 1939-1959: iii.1.89.12-92.15; see also the corresponding Chinese at T.1448.55c7-56b3, and the Tibetan at Derge 2, ‘*dul ba, kha* 168a2-169b6; see also Panglung 1981: 35. For almost the same account in the *Nagarāvalambikāvadāna*, see Cowell and Neil 1886: 89.20-91.3; see also a discussion in Rotman (2009: 90-97). For the account in the *Xianyu-jing*, see T.202.370c23-371b10; see also a translation of the Tibetan version in Schmidt (1843: 327-333). So far, Hakamaya (2001a, 2001b) gives perhaps the most detailed study of the story of a poor woman in question.

the Buddha declines.⁵⁸⁴ It is notable that Prasenajit's wish for a prophecy in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* corresponds to that of Ajātaśatru in the ASJ, though the former's wish is not fulfilled. Thus, it is likely that the (assumed) Indian authors of the ASJ recycled certain existing narrative material of the poor woman and adapted it into a fresh context through correlating her to Ajātaśatru.

As for the story of the gardener in the ASJ, it also seems to be a recycling and adaptation of existing narrative material. It has been observed that a very similar story is preserved independently in another short Chinese text (T.510), where no mention is made of a prophecy of a poor woman or that of Ajātaśatru.⁵⁸⁵ Although in T.510 the story is also set in Rājagṛha, the king who orders gardeners to collect followers and later rebukes them is unnamed.⁵⁸⁶ Interestingly, in yet another parallel story found in Pāli literature, the king is specified as Bimbisāra, not as Ajātaśatru. There are two versions of the Pāli parallel, a longer one in the *Dhammapada* commentary and a shorter one in the *Khuddakapāṭha* commentary.⁵⁸⁷ According to both versions, a

⁵⁸⁴ As told in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* (Dutt 1939-1959: iii.1.91.11-92.8), on hearing the Buddha's prophecy of the poor woman's future supreme awakening, Prasenajit is astonished (*vismayajāta*). He prepares a thousand jars of oil and has a colored lamp-garland (*citrāṃ pradīpamālāṃ*) made. He goes to ask the Buddha why he has not been predicted to attain supreme awakening (*na cāhaṃ bhagavatānuttarāyāṃ samyaksaṃbodhau vyākṛtaḥ*), even though he has offered food and provisions to the Buddha and his community. The Buddha explains to Prasenajit that the supreme awakening is profound (*gambhīrā... anuttarā samyaksaṃbodhiḥ*), "not easy to be gained through one offering, or through one hundred offerings, one thousand offerings, or even one hundred thousand offerings" (*sā na sukarā tvayaikena dānena samupadānetuṃ na dānaśatena na dānasahasreṇa na dānaśatasahasreṇāpi*). The Buddha goes on to recall a number of events in his past lives to illustrate the meritorious deeds he had done in order to achieve supreme awakening. See a Japanese translation of this story in Hakamaya (2001b: 290).

⁵⁸⁵ Miyazaki 2010: 72.

⁵⁸⁶ In T.510, not just one gardener but a group of gardeners encounter the Buddha, who all offer flowers to him and receive a prophecy of future *buddha*-hood.

⁵⁸⁷ For the version preserved in the *Dhammapada* commentary, see H. C. Norman 1906-1914: ii.40.13-47.10 (*Sumanamālākāravatthu*, "Story of the Garland-maker Sumana"); translated in Burlingame 1921: ii. 123-7. For the version in the *Khuddakapāṭha* commentary, see Smith 1915:129.21-130.24; translated in Ñāṇamoli 1960:140-1. In the *Mindapañña*, Sumana is mentioned as an example of someone who received karmic reward for meritorious action in the same lifetime (see Trenckner 1986 [1880]: 115.12, 291.19-21, 350.9; translated in Horner 1963-1964: i.160, ii.119, 204); see also a reference in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* commentary (Müller 1897: 426.5). He is also mentioned in a different story in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* Commentary (Joshi 1933-1947: iii. 673.22-24). See DPPN, ii. 1240, s.v. 5. Sumana. For the parallelism between the story of the gardener in T.510 and that in the *Dhammapada*

garland-maker named Sumana, “Good-Minded”, having collected flowers for King Bimbisāra⁵⁸⁸, encounters the Buddha on the road. Prepared to be killed by the king, he throws all the flowers into the air to worship the Buddha and is then predicted by the Buddha to become a *paccekabuddha* in the future. Like in the ASJ, in the *Dhammapada* commentary, the gardener is also said to return home to tell his wife that he will be killed by the king, although it turns out that Bimbisāra does not rebuke him but instead rewards him greatly for his devotion to the Buddha.⁵⁸⁹ It is interesting to note the corresponding but contrasting portrayals of the hasty-tempered Ajātaśatru in the ASJ and the sober-minded Bimbisāra in the Pāli story. Given T. 510 and the Pāli parallel, it is likely that the story of the gardener in the ASJ was also adapted from some existing Indian Buddhist narrative source(s).

4.2.3 The Prophecy of Ajātaśatru’s Buddha-hood in the ASJ

A. A Comparison with the Parallel in the AjKV

As for the episodes of Ajātaśatru and his son in the ASJ, so far I have not been able to identify any parallel account of Ajātaśatru’s making of jeweled-flowers to worship the Buddha or that of his visit to the Buddha after the latter’s *parinirvāṇa*. On the other hand, as Miyazaki notices, the prophecies of future *buddha*-hood of Ajātaśatru

commentary, see also DBPN, 101b, s.v. Bimbisāra.

⁵⁸⁸ In the *Khuddakapāṭha* commentary published by the Pali Text Society (Smith 1915: 129 n.7), while three Sinhalese editions and one Burmese edition mention that Sumana collects flowers for the “king of Magadha” (*rañño māgadhassa*), two other Sinhalese editions specify the king as Seniya Bimbisāra (*seniyassa bimbisārassa*). The specification is also found in the online Burmese Sixth Council edition.

⁵⁸⁹ According to the *Dhammapada* commentary, after Sumana tells his wife what has happened, she rebukes him. She then goes to confess her husband’s “misdeed” to Bimbisāra and asks for forgiveness for herself. Bimbisāra immediately realizes her ignorance. Instead of punishing Sumana, he gives Sumana eight gifts as reward. These events are not included in the *Khuddakapāṭha* commentary version.

and his son in the ASJ show a clear parallelism with those in the AjKV.⁵⁹⁰ Miyazaki has translated and closely compared the two versions of the prophecies. As he observes, in comparison with the prophecies in the AjKV, the counterparts in the ASJ are much briefer and only contain some basic information about the future *buddha*-hood of Ajātaśatru and his son, but as far as such information is concerned, the similarities between the two versions of the prophecies are indeed noteworthy.⁵⁹¹ The chart below provides an overview of both the correspondences and divergences of the two versions of the prophecies in content:

Table 4.2: A Comparison of the Prophecies of Future Buddha-hood of Ajātaśatru and His Son in the ASJ with Their Parallels in the AjKV

		ASJ (T. 509.778a19f.)	AjKV			
			Lokakṣema's Translation (T.626.404b20f.)	Dharmarakṣa's Translation (T.627.426a7f.)	Tibetan Version (Derge, <i>tsha</i> 262a3f. sTog, <i>za</i> 340b4f.)	Sanskrit Version (folio 545r2-v2)
Ajātaśatru's Final Life as a Buddha	Time	After eighty thousand <i>kalpas</i>	After eight incalculable <i>kalpas</i>	After eight thousand incalculable <i>kalpas</i>	After eight hundred incalculable <i>kalpas</i>	After eight incalculable <i>kalpas</i>
	Kalpa's Name	*Priyadarśana (喜觀)	*Priyadarśana (歡喜見)	*Priyadarśana (喜見)	*Priyadarśana (<i>mthong na dga'ba</i>)	Priyadarśana
	Buddha's Name	*Viśuddhaviṣaya (淨其所部)	*Viśuddhaviṣaya (淨其所部)	*Viśuddhaviṣaya (淨界)	*Suviśuddhaviṣaya (<i>yul shin tu rnam par dag pa</i>)	(Su)viśuddhaviṣaya ⁵⁹²
	Buddha-field's Name	*Puṣparāja (華王)	*Akardama (阿迦曇)	*Akardama (無造陰)	Akardama [?] (<i>'dam gyi myog ma med pa</i>)	(lacuna)
	People's Lifespan	Forty small <i>kalpas</i>	—	—	—	—
	The Buddha's Lifespan	—	Four small <i>kalpas</i>	Fourteen small <i>kalpas</i>	Four intermediate <i>kalpas</i>	Forty <i>kalpas</i>
	Life at the time of Ajātaśatru's enlightenment	* <i>suvarṇacakravartin</i> (金輪聖王)	* <i>cakravartī rājā</i> (遮迦越羅) ⁵⁹³	* <i>suvarṇacakravartin?</i> (四域主轉輪)	* <i>cakravartirājā</i> (<i>'khor los sgyur</i>)	

⁵⁹⁰ Miyazaki 2009a; 2010: 71-76.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid.: 75.

⁵⁹² Both Viśuddhaviṣaya and Suviśuddhaviṣaya are attested in the Sanskrit AjKV. See above p.222.

⁵⁹³ For *zhe-jia-yue-luo* 遮迦越羅 (EMC: **teia-gia-wuat-la*) as “an incomplete transliteration,

Ajātaśatru's son's Future Lives					聖王) ⁵⁹⁴	<i>ba'i rgyal po</i>)	(lacuna)
	Life before the Final Life		Among the Tuṣita gods	Among the Tuṣita gods	Among the Tuṣita gods	Among the Tuṣita gods	
	Final Life as a Buddha	Buddha-Field's Name	*Bhaiṣajyarāja (藥王)	*Akardama ⁵⁹⁵	—	—	
		Buddha's Name	*Candana (梅檀)	Tathāgata Candanaśrī [?] ⁵⁹⁶ (梅檀羈尊)	Candraśrī [?] (月英)	*Candraśrī (<i>zla ba'i dpal</i>)	
		Kalpa's Name	—	—	*Priyadarśana (於其劫) ⁵⁹⁷	*Priyadarśana (<i>bskal pa de nyid la</i>)	
		People's Lifespan	The same as that in Ajātaśatru's Buddha-field	—	—	—	
		His Lifespan	—	The Same as that of Ajātaśatru	The Same as that of Ajātaśatru	The Same as that of Ajātaśatru	
		Property of His Buddha-field	The Same as that of Ajātaśatru's Buddha-field	The Same as that of Ajātaśatru's Buddha-field	The Same as that of Ajātaśatru's Buddha-field	The Same as that of Ajātaśatru's Buddha-field	

As we can see, most of the details mentioned in the prophecies of Ajātaśatru and his son in the ASJ are the same as, or similar to, those found in the extant versions of the AjKV, with only a few exceptions (for instance, the names of their future *buddha*-fields, and the lifespan of people in their fields⁵⁹⁸). There can be no doubt that the ASJ

corresponding to Skt. **cakravartī rājā*”, see Karashima (2010: 625-6, s.v.).

⁵⁹⁴ It is unclear to me whether *suvarṇa-cakravartin* or *caturbhāga-cakravartin* should have been the Indic term underlying Dharmarakṣa's translation. The word *siyu-zhu* 四域主, “ruler over the four continents”, appears to mean that Ajātaśatru's son will become a *cakravartin* with a golden wheel, since only this type of *cakravartin* rules the four continents (see above n. 579). However, this Chinese word may also be a literal translation of *caturbhāga-cakravartin*, a term which is sometimes misinterpreted as referring to one who rules the four continents but actually means one who rules one of the four continents (see Strong 1989 [1983]: 50).

⁵⁹⁵ As in the ASJ, in Lokakṣema's version (T.626. 405a6-7) Ajātaśatru's son is said to succeed Ajātaśatru as a *buddha* of the same field; in Dharmarakṣa's version (T.627. 426c5) and in the Tibetan (Derge, *tsha* 264a1-2; sTog, *za* 343b2-3) he is said to become a *buddha* in the same *kalpa* in which Ajātaśatru attains *buddha*-hood.

⁵⁹⁶ It is unclear what was the Indic original of the Chinese *jizun* 羈尊. The word *ji* 羈 (EMC: *kiə/ki) seems to be a transcription and *zun* 尊, “Venerable”, might be a translation of *bhagavat*, *tathāgata* or *buddha*. The reconstruction Tathāgata Candanaśrī is only tentative.

⁵⁹⁷ See above n. 595.

⁵⁹⁸ However, there seems to be a “cross-correspondence” between the ASJ and the AjKV in this respect:

is related to the AjKV. So what exactly is this relationship? As Miyazaki observes, in terms of the Chinese wording of the prophecies of Ajātaśatru and his son in the ASJ, there is no indication of borrowing from Lokakṣema's or Dharmarakṣa's version of the AjKV.⁵⁹⁹ The prophecies in the ASJ could not have been directly copied from one of the Chinese translations of the AjKV. This leaves us with three other possibilities: First, since the prophecies of Ajātaśatru and his son in the ASJ are substantially in accordance with but much more concise than their counterparts in the AjKV, it is possible that the Indic original of this part of the ASJ was extracted and adapted from an Indic version of the AjKV. If this was the case, the Indic version of the AjKV on which the ASJ was based should have been somewhat different from the Indic originals of the two Chinese and Tibetan translations of the AjKV and from the newly found Sanskrit version since, as mentioned above, there are still a few dissimilarities between the prophecies in the ASJ and those in the extant versions of the AjKV. Second, in his article on the ASJ, Miyazaki suggests that it is also possible that “the *AjKV* referred to the *ASJ* and expanded it in accordance with its own context”.⁶⁰⁰ While this possibility cannot be ruled out, it does not seem likely to me. To be sure, the prophecies of Ajātaśatru and his son in the AjKV could have been “compiled from some external source”, as is the case with some other parts of the AjKV.⁶⁰¹ However, it seems doubtful that the ASJ was exactly that “external source” on which the AjKV was based, given that the ASJ itself is also a patchwork based on external sources. In

while the ASJ says that people in Ajātaśatru's son's future *buddha*-field will have the same lifespan as those in Ajātaśatru's field, the extant versions of the AjKV all tell us that when Ajātaśatru's son becomes a *buddha*, he himself will have the same lifespan as Ajātaśatru.

⁵⁹⁹ Miyazaki 2009a: 1217; 2010: 75.

⁶⁰⁰ Miyazaki 2009a: 1218.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid.: 1218. It has been suggested that Chapters Three and Four of the extant AjKV may have originally been independent texts and only later incorporated into the AjKV (see Harrison 1993: 153; Harrison and Hartmann 2000a: 167; Miyazaki 2008b).

comparison, another possibility suggested by Miyazaki appears more likely, namely, that the ASJ and the AjKV shared directly or indirectly a common source, without borrowing from each other in either direction.⁶⁰²

B. The Distinctive Meaning of Ajātaśatru's Salvation in the ASJ

There is a question which has never been addressed in previous studies of the ASJ but which is crucially important for understanding both the ASJ's interpretation of the salvation of Ajātaśatru and the overall meaning of this text. The question is simply: why does the author of the ASJ tell a prophecy of future *buddha*-hood of Ajātaśatru? Or, alternatively, what purpose does the prophecy serve in this text? It can be certain that the prophecy of Ajātaśatru in the ASJ has a very different function than that in the AjKV. While in the AjKV Ajātaśatru's identity as a patricide is vital to an understanding of that text as a whole, in the ASJ his patricide is not mentioned at all, and instead his identities as a king and as a Buddhist devotee are brought to the fore.

In the first two-thirds of the ASJ which present the stories of the poor woman and the gardener, Ajātaśatru is not the protagonist. Here, by virtue of his identity as a king, he serves as a contrasting example to highlight the spiritual achievements of the poor woman and the gardener. Through contrasting the failure of King Ajātaśatru to receive a prophecy from the Buddha with the success of the two insignificant personages of low status, the author of the ASJ demonstrates an egalitarian ethic in Buddhist soteriology: it is not one's social status but one's religious faith and devotion that leads to great karmic reward. In the ASJ this point is articulated by Jīvaka. When Ajātaśatru asks Jīvaka why he has lighted many lamps and yet received no prophecy,

⁶⁰² Miyazaki 2010: 76.

whereas the poor woman has only lighted one lamp and received a prophecy, Jīvaka explains that although he has done much, he has not, like the poor woman, focused his mind on the Buddha (*zhuxin-yu-fo* 注心於佛). In other words, it is not the material value of one's donation, but the faithful state of mind behind the act of donating, that really counts. Later, when Ajātaśatru asks Jīvaka why the Buddha has given prophecies to the poor woman and to the gardener but not to him, Jīvaka says that because he has never made offerings with a humble state of mind and has always exploited labor of people, his offerings do not bring karmic rewards.

The idea proposed in this part of the ASJ is very similar to that illustrated in the *Nagarāvalambikāvadāna*, a parallel version of the story in the *Divyāvadāna*, where King Prasenajit instead of Ajātaśatru appears in contrast with the poor woman. As Andy Rotman observes, the *Nagarāvalambikāvadāna* and many other stories in the *Divyāvadāna* particularly emphasize the mental status (or more specifically, *prasāda*) of donors, rather than the material value of their offerings. He comments,

“...These offerings [with little financial value] were karmically valuable, however, because of the mental states of the donors. What the text emphasizes is that the karmic value of an offering is not determined exclusively by its material worth. Rather, it is determined by its worth as an object or practice plus the ‘worth’ of the mental state. And what is stressed repeatedly in these accounts is that the mental state of *prasāda* is worth a great deal in terms of its karmic value.”⁶⁰³

While we do not know whether the Indic original of the ASJ used the term *prasāda* or not, it is clear that our text shows a similar emphasis on the karmic potency of faithful state of mind and its significant role in leading one to eventual liberation.

In the last one-third of the ASJ, Ajātaśatru finally becomes the protagonist and what matters here is no more his identity as king, but his identity as a devotee of

⁶⁰³ Rotman 2009: 86.

the Buddha. He is said to follow Jīvaka’s advice to make jeweled flowers with his own hands and to go to Gṛdhrakūṭa to offer the flowers to the Buddha. According to the text, although at this time the Buddha has already entered *parinirvāṇa*, Ajātaśatru, through the power of his faith, is still able to see the Buddha and receives a prophecy of future *buddha*-hood. It seems to me that the author of the ASJ holds a docetic view of the Buddha, for the text shows that the Buddha is transcendent and eternal, not subject to limitations of time and space, always available for his devotees. This view is articulated, once again, through Jīvaka who, in advising Ajātaśatru to go to Gṛdhrakūṭa, tells him that the Buddha is “without [physical] body”, “without *nirvāṇa*”, “never perishing and never existing [physically]” and that, although the Buddha has entered *parinirvāṇa*, with a sincere mind Ajātaśatru can still see him.⁶⁰⁴ This understanding of the personality of the Buddha is similar to that upheld by the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādins according to whom “Buddhas...are supermundane (*lokottara*) in all respects and therefore completely uninvolved with the world, but they must appear in it somehow to express their compassion and make themselves known”.⁶⁰⁵ In the ASJ, the Buddha’s “transcendent physicality”⁶⁰⁶ and supermundanity are vividly illustrated by his reappearance after *parinirvāṇa* to give prophecies to Ajātaśatru and his son, as

⁶⁰⁴ T.509.778a14-16.

⁶⁰⁵ Harrison 1995b: 4. In the *Lokānuvartanā-sūtra* (*LAn*), which Harrison characterizes as “a classic statement of the well-known *lokottaravāda* doctrine” (ibid.:1), there is a verse also saying that *buddhas* do not really have physical bodies: Derge Kanjur 200, *mdo sde, tsa* 305b3-4; sTog Kanjur 188, *mdo sde, zha* 242b2-3: *de dag sna tshogs sku med yang | sems can mos pa ji bzhin du | | sku lus sprul pa mdzad pa ni | 'di ni 'jig rten 'thun* [S: *mtshun*] 'jug yin | “Even though they [= *buddhas*] are without various bodies, in accordance with the inclinations of beings, they produce phantom bodies: This is conformity with the way of the world” (ibid.:15-16). Harrison points out that it is unclear whether the “phantom bodies” (**nirmāṇa-kāya*) as mentioned here refer to the corruptible bodies (*pūti-kāya*) or the more glorious bodies (*vajra-kāya*). In any case, there is no doubt that the author(s) of the *LAn* denies any physical form of the Buddha, whether mundane or magnificent. In this regard, the ASJ appears to agree with the *LAn*. As Harrison observes, the *LAn* makes no explicit reference to the Buddha’s *parinirvāṇa* (ibid.: 8). On the *LAn*, see also Harrison 1985. The supermundanity of the Buddha is also espoused in some other texts (e.g., the *Upāyakaśālya-sūtra*, see a discussion in Silk 2003: 875-876).

⁶⁰⁶ Harrison 1995b: 21.

well as by his sudden disappearance as told at the end of the text. Within this docetic context, the prophecy of future *buddha*-hood of Ajātaśatru serves to demonstrate not only the karmic reward for his faith but also the transcendent nature of the Buddha.⁶⁰⁷

To sum up, the ASJ is a patchwork text in which the prophecies of Ajātaśatru and his son, the prophecy of a poor woman and that of a gardener are adapted and strung together in order to illustrate the predominant role of religious faith, rather than social status, in leading one to attainment of *buddha*-hood. The prophecies of the poor woman and of the gardener also appear in other Indian Buddhist sources and seem to have been originally unrelated to Ajātaśatru. The prophecies of Ajātaśatru and his son in the ASJ are substantially accordant with, but more concise than, their counterparts in the AjKV. They might have been based on an extract of the prophecies in an Indic version of the AjKV, but it is also possible that the ASJ and the AjKV had no direct relation with each other and only shared a common source. Equally noteworthy is the stark contrast between the purpose of the prophecy of Ajātaśatru in the ASJ and that in the AjKV. The author of the ASJ is not interested in Ajātaśatru's identity as a patricide, but in his identities as a king and as a Buddhist devotee. Here, the prophecy of Ajātaśatru's *buddha*-hood is not intended to show that even an *ānantarya* criminal can attain awakening, but to demonstrate the karmic fruit of faith and devotion and the transcendence and supermundanity of the Buddha.

⁶⁰⁷ As mentioned earlier, in the parallel versions of the story in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* and in the *Nagara-avalambikāvadāna*, after hearing the Buddha's prophecy of the poor woman's future awakening, King Prasenajit also makes offerings to the Buddha in hopes of receiving a similar prophecy, but finally in vain. By granting to Ajātaśatru future *buddha*-hood, the ASJ clearly distinguishes itself from the two parallels. Regarding Prasenajit's failure to gain karmic reward for his offerings in the *Nagarāvalambikā-avadāna* version of the story, Rotman (2009: 97) says, "The King, ..., can't cultivate *prasāda* or properly focus his mind, so he can't advance within the karmic system. His status, perhaps even his social status, has prevented him from experiencing *prasāda*, making efficacious offerings, and moving beyond his position in life." Rotman observes that the stories in the *Divyāvadāna* illustrates a social logic of giving, according to which proper donors are only those poor or unfortunate "whose meager stock of merit leaves them suffering", while those wealthy and fortunate who are not suffering from a lack of merit are not proper donors and excluded from the practice of *prasāda*, therefore unable to earn merit from giving.

Chapter Five

The Salvation of Ajātaśatru in Indian Buddhism:

Concluding Observations

By this point I have examined the contents, structures, contextual meanings, functions, similarities and particularities of a range of stories about the salvation of the patricide Ajātaśatru in Indian Buddhism. Throughout this examination, I have attempted to address two basic questions: First, how did Indian Buddhist authors present and interpret the salvation of Ajātaśatru? Second, what were the ideological motives which drove the authors to compose their stories? There is no single answer to either question, for as we have seen, there is a considerable diversity and fluidity in Buddhist presentations and interpretations of this theme. The salvation of Ajātaśatru can be placed within various contexts and shaped into multiple forms. Different texts exploit it in their own ways and project their own meanings into it. Some use this theme to demonstrate the charisma of the Buddha as a successful religious preacher, as in the cases of the Pāli DN and the Chinese DĀ versions of the SPS; some others use it to condemn Ajātaśatru's evil friend, the schismatic Devadatta, as in the *paccuppanna-vatthus* of the Pāli *Saṅjīva-jātaka* and *Samkiccha-jātaka*, and in the MSV version of the SPS; there are still others turning the salvation of Ajātaśatru into a tool to glorify the archetypal *bodhisattva* Mañjuśrī and thereby demonstrate the worthiness of the *bodhisattva*-path exemplified by him, as in the case of the AjKV.

The vitality of the narrative tradition of the salvation of Ajātaśatru derives not only from the inherent significance of the theme *per se*, but also from the great diversity of stories that illustrate the theme. As Ohnuma states in a different context, even though

a narrative theme has the “*potential*” for symbolizing various conceptions, “the playing-out of those conceptions always takes place within the context and structure of a *story*.”⁶⁰⁸ I have therefore, throughout this study, considered the salvation of Ajātaśatru according to its specific narrative presentations within specific contexts. I believe that this kind of contextual reading of each particular story related to our theme is the groundwork that should be done before any attempt to sketch the contour of the larger picture of the narrative tradition of salvation of Ajātaśatru in Indian Buddhism.

As I said earlier, my purpose of comparing the various Buddhist accounts of the salvation of Ajātaśatru is neither to restore the earliest story about this character, nor to determine the relative antiquity of the extant stories, but to examine the dynamics of shapes and meanings of the stories as they passed through different texts and contexts, and to explore the underlying ideological concerns of Buddhist authors who (re-)created those stories. In considering the nature of the relationship between the textual sources that I dealt with, I do not intend to suggest any model of borrowing, or direct dependencies on one another.⁶⁰⁹ I would rather, to adopt a well-known metaphor coined by A. K. Ramanujan, think of the different stories of the salvation of Ajātaśatru as a group of individual “crystallizations” brought out from a “common pool”. In his study of the many (re-)tellings of *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ramanujan likens the *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition to a “pool of signifiers...that include plots, characters, names, geography, incidents, and relationships” and considers the various versions of *Rāmāyaṇa* as relating to each other through this “common pool”. He says,

⁶⁰⁸ Ohnuma (2007: 271) makes this observation particularly regarding the “gift-of-the-body” theme (i.e., the narrative theme of the Buddha’s bodily self-sacrifice in his past lives as a *bodhisattva*) in Indian Buddhist literature, but clearly her understanding of the interrelation between theme and stories can be applied to the study of Buddhist narratives in general.

⁶⁰⁹ The *paccuppanna-vatthus* of the Pāli *Saṅjīva-jātaka* and *Samkiccha-jātaka* are exceptions in this regard, both of which were apparently adapted from the frame story of the *Sāmmaññaphala-sutta*.

“Every author, if one may hazard a metaphor, dips into it and brings out a unique crystallization, a new text with a unique texture and a fresh context. . . . In this sense, no text is original, yet no telling is a mere retelling—and the story has no closure, although it may be enclosed in a text.”⁶¹⁰

In the present case of the salvation stories of Ajātaśatru, we may use the metaphor of the “common pool” to refer to the narrative lore and soteriological discourse that were shared among Buddhists—not only Buddhist authors, but also their audiences—in ancient India. Each author, within his own historical and cultural milieu, for his own literary and/or ideological purposes, dipped into this pool and brought out a distinct version of the story, thereby presenting his own interpretation of the theme. It was through this “common pool” that the various stories of the salvation of Ajātaśatru, as well as various versions of a story, were interrelated to each other. It was also relying on this shared discourse and knowledge that the messages of those stories are supposed to have been successfully received and comprehended by their audiences (given that an audience never heard a traditional story for the first time). I hope that my discussions above may help to improve our understanding of both the features of those “crystallizations” and the “common pool” from which those “crystallizations” were drawn. A recapitulation of the points and findings of the preceding chapters may help to clarify the course of my investigation.

5.1 The Present Study of the Salvation of Ajātaśatru: A Recapitulation

Chapter One was an overview of the Indian Buddhist narrative theme of the salvation of Ajātaśatru. It set the theoretical and methodological frame for the rest of the study. I began by explaining the significance of the salvation of Ajātaśatru in three aspects. First, while the story of Ajātaśatru’s patricide is told by both Buddhists and

⁶¹⁰ Ramanujan 1991: 46.

Jainas, stories of his salvation are unique to Buddhism and therefore present us with good opportunities to observe distinctive concerns of Buddhists as compared with Jainas. Second, even within Indian Buddhism there are various opinions on whether and how Ajātaśatru is saved. Given Ajātaśatru's identity as both an *ānantarya* criminal and a faithful *upāsaka*, stories of his salvation may open windows into the different views of Buddhist authors on the principles of *karma* and their different emphases in Buddhist soteriological discourse. Third, given Ajātaśatru's unique relationship to the Buddha's archrival Devadatta, his salvation stories also form one part of the Indian Buddhist anti-heterodox polemics.

The following part of Chapter One was an introduction to the main textual sources on the salvation of Ajātaśatru in Indian Buddhism. There, I classified stories related to Ajātaśatru into four narrative cycles and further divided the second cycle (i.e., stories of his salvation) into five subcycles, of which the first, fourth and fifth subcycles are the focuses of this study. Since some stories in these three subcycles are found in Chinese sources which have no Pāli or Sanskrit parallel and no independently translated Tibetan parallel, special consideration was given to how to legitimately use those sources to study Indian Buddhist narrative traditions of Ajātaśatru. I suggested that great care is required to identify whether there are genuine Indian elements within such sources, especially through looking for relevant evidence in other Pāli or Sanskrit texts or in Tibetan translations of Indian texts. As shown in Chapter Two, even when using Chinese Buddhist texts which do have Pāli or Sanskrit parallels, there is still a possibility of the translators deliberately interpretating Indic originals. One such example is the single-fascicle Chinese translation of the SPS (T.22), where some evidence indicates the translator's attempt to shift the emphasis of the text from the ascetic life to Ajātaśatru's desire for inner peace, through consciously exploiting the quasi-etymology of Pkt. *samaṇa* "ascetic" as derived from Skt. *śam* "to be calm".

The rest of Chapter One was a reconsideration of Hirakawa's dichotomy of Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna traditions in their attitudes towards the salvation of Ajātaśatru. While Hirakawa's theory of early Mahāyāna Buddhism as a lay movement in opposition to the established monastic Buddhism has been disproved by many scholars, his article on the dichotomy between Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna particularly regarding their attitudes towards Ajātaśatru has never been critically examined. Hirakawa's dichotomy is problematic in a number of aspects. Given the heterogeneous nature of both Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna sources, it would be more reasonable to consider the salvation of Ajātaśatru according to specific texts, rather than in the broad categories of Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna.

As I went on to show in Chapter Two, even different versions of the same Buddhist text can give very different interpretations of the salvation of Ajātaśatru. The chapter was a systematic examination of the five versions and two adaptations of the frame story of Ajātaśatru's visit to the Buddha after his patricide in the SPS. A close reading of relevant textual sources revealed the following features of each version and adaptation of the frame story.

The Pāli DN version of the SPS provides us with a "balanced" interpretation of the salvation of Ajātasattu: it uses this notorious criminal's confession and taking refuge as a tool to demonstrate the great impact of the Buddha's sermon; meanwhile, it also stresses Ajātasattu's failure to make spiritual progress due to his own patricide.

The *paccuppanna-vatthus* of the *Saṅjīva-jātaka* and the *Samkiccha-jātaka* are two adaptations of the frame story of the Pāli SPS. In each adaptation, a prelude is added to the story, which relates Ajātasattu's visit to the Buddha to his earlier association with Devadatta. In the case of the *Saṅjīva-jātaka*, the emphasis of the adaptation is on Ajātasattu's spiritual failure as a consequence of his supporting Devadatta and the purpose is to provide a setting for the Buddha's narration of a

parallel mistake made by Ajātasattu in one of his previous lives. In the case of the *Samkiccha-jātaka*, the emphasis is on Ajātasattu's regaining of mental peace through contact with the Buddha, and the purpose is to contrast the Buddha as a "good friend" with the "bad friend" Devadatta.

In the *Saṅghabhedavastu* of the MSV, the whole SPS is inserted into the legend of Devadatta. There, Ajātaśatru's visit to the Buddha after his patricide marks the downfall of Devadatta and the victory of the Buddha. The compilers of the MSV seem to have made several changes to the frame story of the SPS in order to combine it with the following story of Devadatta's killing of Utpalavarṇā. Moreover, in the MSV version of the SPS, the Buddha uses Ajātaśatru's spiritual failure as a negative example to instruct monks not to carry animosity towards their fellow monks. This instruction may have been imported from another context related directly or indirectly to the source on which the *Anyatamabhikṣvavadāna* of the *Divyāvadāna* is based.

Compared with the other versions of the SPS, T.22 is peculiar in a number of ways. There, Ajātaśatru is said to have achieved a series of spiritual attainments during the visit, ranging from the acquisition of *kṣānti* up to the realization of *arhat*-ship. His patricide is totally erased, which means that he is freed from the supposed karmic result of going to hell in the next life. Given that T.22 is the only extant version of the SPS which claims Ajātaśatru's spiritual progress during the visit, and that its translator seems to have played a significant role in changing the emphasis of the text, great caution must be exercised in drawing conclusions about the Indian Buddhist narrative tradition of the salvation of Ajātaśatru based on this Chinese source alone.

The Chinese DĀ version of the SPS tells of Ajātaśatru's failure to make spiritual progress while listening to the Buddha's sermon in consequence of his patricide, but meanwhile, it also claims that Ajātaśatru's crime is diminished through confessing to the Buddha after the sermon. This detail of diminution could result from

the translators' positive interpretation of the Indian original, but it could also reflect a variant Indic textual tradition of the SPS. In either case, it is interesting to note that the Chinese DĀ version singles out Ajātaśatru's repentance as the primary reason for the diminution of his crime, thereby rendering the frame story of his visit to the Buddha as a demonstration of the purificatory efficacy of repentance and confession.

Of all the versions of the SPS, the Chinese EĀ version gives the most extensive illustration of Ajātaśatru's salvation. There, Ajātaśatru confesses his patricide three times and two confessions are made before the Buddha's sermon. This arrangement changes the whole meaning of the frame story, for the story no more serves to show Ajātaśatru's sudden change of heart after listening to the Buddha's sermon, but to illustrate his faith in the Buddha which he has already gained before the visit. The Chinese EĀ version mentions but does not emphasize Ajātaśatru's spiritual failure. Instead, the emphasis is on his success in becoming a model of faithfulness. This suggests that the purpose of the EĀ version is to use the Ajātaśatru story as a device to encourage others to gain faith in the Buddha.

The rest of Chapter Two was a reconsideration of Radich's argument that the extant versions of the SPS show an overall tendency towards a more radical salvation of Ajātaśatru. I suggested that such a tendency probably does not exist. If we consider Ajātaśatru's salvation in terms of his spiritual achievement during the visit, it is clear that except for T.22 almost all the extant versions of the SPS agree on his failure to get on the Buddhist path to liberation. Since T.22 is a translated text which exhibits a number of peculiarities, it is hard to say to what extent it provides an accurate reflection of its assumed Indic original. It is more likely a particular case and no general conclusion should be drawn from it. As I further suggested, the different accounts of the story of Ajātaśatru's visit to the Buddha in the extant versions of the SPS together constitute a complex in which multiple dimensions of Ajātaśatru's salvation are

expressed, including his repentance for the patricide, his acquisition of faith in the Buddha, his realization of the wickedness of Devadatta, his transformation into an *upāsaka*, his relief of mental anguish, his spiritual attainment during the visit, and the diminution or erasure of his crime. Different versions of the SPS, for different purposes, focus on different dimensions and thereby assign different meanings to the story. When we examine how the salvation of Ajātaśatru is interpreted in a version of the SPS, we should not—or, not only—determine whether Ajātaśatru is saved, or how radically he is saved, but consider relevant dimensions of his salvation, to see how those dimensions are constructed and exploited within the context of the version in question.

Chapters Three and Four were intended to explore other important dimensions of the salvation of Ajātaśatru—including the mitigation or elimination of his suffering in the next life in hell, his subsequent release from hell, his existences thereafter, and his ultimate liberation—through examining two groups of Buddhist sources in which Ajātaśatru’s future rebirths and his eventual awakening are predicted. Chapter Three focused on three prophecies of Ajātaśatru’s future *pratyekabuddha*-hood separately preserved in Buddhaghosa’s commentary Sv, the Chinese AWJ (T. 508) and the Chinese EĀ 38.11. The features of those prophecies may be summarized as follows.

Regarding the prophecy in the Sv, based on a comparison with a story of four adulterers told by Buddhaghosa in his *Sāratthappakāsinī*, I suggested that although Ajātasattu will fall into hell in his next life, he is exempted from the repetition of punishment that is typical for the hell in which he is said to be reborn. In the Sv, the mitigation of Ajātasattu’s future infernal suffering and his eventual attainment of *paccekabuddha*-hood come as the result of his taking refuge and hearing the sermon of the Buddha in this life. Therefore, they demonstrate the salvific power of the Buddha and the efficacy of his teaching.

Compared with Buddhaghosa's prophecy, the prophecies in the AWJ and in the Chinese EĀ 38.11 are more similar to each other, insofar as both tell us that after his next life in hell Ajātaśatru will be continuously reborn in the six heavens of the *kāmadevas*, after which he will be reborn again as a human and become a *pratyekabuddha*. Such a prediction of one's continuous rebirths in the six heavens followed by attainment of *pratyekabuddha*-hood is formulaic, and occurs several times in the *Divyāvadāna*. In both the AWJ and the Chinese EĀ 38.11 Ajātaśatru's future heavenly rebirths and his eventual *pratyekabuddha*-hood represent the far-reaching karmic effects of the faith the Buddha instills in him in this life. In both texts the prophecies clearly demonstrate the Buddha's capability of arousing faith even in the worst criminal and consequently leading him to liberation. Besides the similarities, there are also differences between the two prophecies. Most notably, while the prophecy in the AWJ stands on its own, the prophecy in the Chinese EĀ 38.11 appears as a building block within the stock legend of the Buddha's visit Vaiśālī to dispel a plague. The combination of the salvation of Ajātaśatru with the Vaiśālī legend is also seen, for instance, in T.155 and in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the MSV, although the storylines as found in these two texts are somehow different from that in the Chinese EĀ 38.11. Another notable difference between the two prophecies lies in the different strategies used to mitigate Ajātaśatru's suffering in hell: in the AWJ, Ajātaśatru's future descent into hell is compared to the bouncing of a ball, which implies that his lifespan in hell will be considerably shortened; in the Chinese EĀ 38.11, he is said to be reborn in the hell of "bouncing of a ball" instead of the expected Avīci hell, i.e., in a hell of less severe punishment. The metaphor of "bouncing of a ball" only appears in Chinese Buddhist sources and therefore may not necessarily represent a genuine Indian motif.

The prophecies of Ajātaśatru's future *pratyekabuddha*-hood as found in the Sv, the AWJ and the Chinese EĀ 38.11 could have been adopted from some earlier

sources which are now lost. It is clear that those prophecies represent the attempts of some non-Mahayāna Buddhists to promote their soteriological goal of liberation for all, through ascribing attainment of awakening even to the archetypal villain Ajātaśatru.

Similar to Chapter Three, Chapter Four was a detailed examination of two prophecies of Ajātaśatru's future rebirths and/or eventual attainment of *buddha*-hood separately preserved in two Mahayāna *sūtras*, the AjKV and the ASJ (T. 509). Based on a close reading of two sections of the AjKV, which separately present Ajātaśatru's visit to the Buddha to seek mental relief and the Buddha's conversation with Śāriputra regarding Ajātaśatru's past and future lives, I suggested that the ultimate liberation of Ajātaśatru in this text serves to demonstrate the authority of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī on the one hand and the efficacy of the doctrine of emptiness on the other. The two most distinctive features of the AjKV's interpretation of the salvation of Ajātaśatru may be summarized as follows. First, in this text we have seen a thorough application of the theory of emptiness to moral culpability, insofar as even the most serious crime such as Ajātaśatru's patricide and its karmic consequence can be annihilated from the point of view of emptiness. Therefore, it is possible even for the worst criminal to make spiritual progress in this and future lives, and to attain perfect awakening. Second, in the AjKV, Ajātaśatru's salvation by Mañjuśrī in this life is contextualized within the long-term (multi-life) process of his spiritual cultivation under Mañjuśrī's guidance towards the final goal of awakening. Such contextualization demonstrates the continuity, progressiveness and thoroughness of his salvation by this archetypal *bodhisattva*.

The ASJ is a patchwork text where prophecies of future *buddha*-hood of Ajātaśatru and his son are combined with prophecies of a poor woman and a gardener, neither of whom is related to Ajātaśatru in parallel prophecies found in other Sanskrit or Pāli sources. The prophecy of Ajātaśatru's future *buddha*-hood in the AjKV is substantially similar but still different from that given in the ASJ. It seems likely that

the ASJ and the AjKV shared a common source without direct borrowing from each other. More significantly, the ASJ gives a completely different interpretation of the salvation of Ajātaśatru as compared with the AjKV. In the ASJ, Ajātaśatru's identity as a patricide is not mentioned, and instead, his roles as a king and as an *upāsaka* are focused on. The prophecy of Ajātaśatru's eventual awakening in the ASJ is, therefore, not intended to show that moral culpability does not constitute a permanent hindrance to spiritual growth, but to illustrate the incredible karmic value of the faithful mental state that accompanies an act of giving, as well as an egalitarian ethic underlying the Buddhist path to liberation. The AjKV and the ASJ thus provide us with good examples of a shift in the meaning of the salvation of Ajātaśatru in its changing context.

The ASJ leads us to consider a larger issue: did Ajātaśatru's identity as a prominent king influence the attitudes of Indian Buddhist authors towards his salvation? As we have seen, of all the extant Buddhist texts related to the salvation of Ajātaśatru, none claims that Ajātaśatru would not have attained a certain spiritual status, or gained certain karmic benefits, if he had not been a king in this life. In all those texts, it is clear that Ajātaśatru is saved not because of his status as a king, but because of one or more of the following reasons: his faith, the salvific power of the Buddha, the religious insight of a *bodhisattva* such as Mañjuśrī, and the efficacy of the Dharma. While in the ASJ Ajātaśatru's role as a king is featured, the purpose of doing so is to show that it is not his prominent status but his faith and devotion that lead to his future awakening. Some Buddhist texts such as the AjKV and the AWJ particularly emphasize that the salvation of the patricidal king Ajātaśatru is not a special case, and that it is entirely possible for any criminal, or anyone, to attain ultimate liberation through the power of the Dharma, or the power of faith. Thus, so far as we can discern from the extant Buddhist sources, Ajātaśatru's status as a king is not a factor leading to his salvation.

5.2 The Salvation of Ajātaśatru as a Multi-Dimensional Theme

The word “salvation” which has been frequently mentioned in this study is a generic term which can potentially cover a variety of specific conceptions. In Buddhist soteriology, while this term in its ultimate sense refers to attainment of *bodhi* or *nirvāṇa* and thereby an escape from *samsāra*, it can be interpreted in different ways within different texts and contexts. When we now look again at the various stories about the salvation of Ajātaśatru, we may unpack the meaning of his salvation as follows:

Figure 5.1 Multiple Dimensions of the Salvation of Ajātaśatru in Indian Buddhism

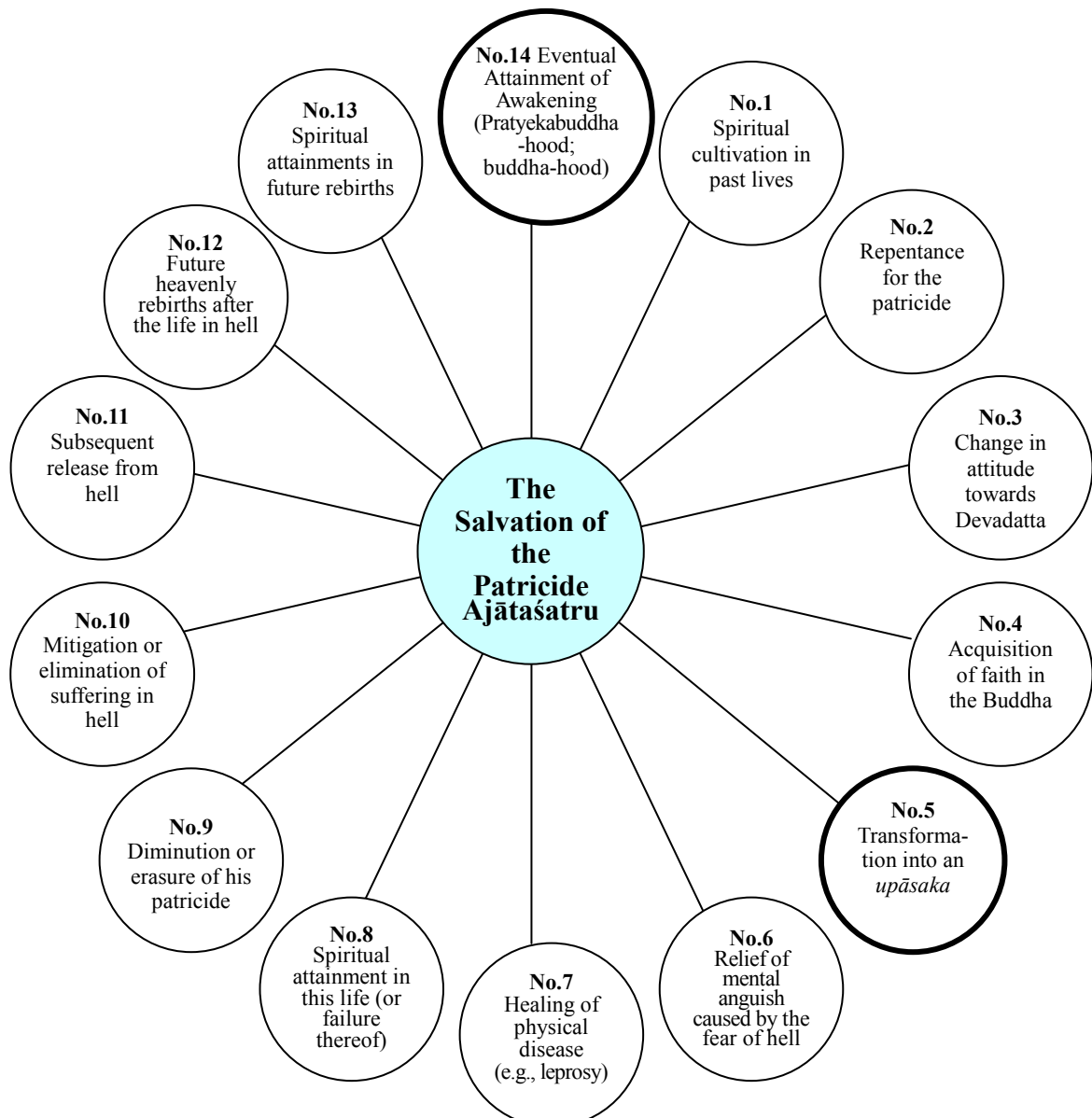


Figure 5.1 provides an overview of the various dimensions of the salvation of Ajātaśatru that emerge from the stories related to this theme in Indian Buddhist literature. Here, I use the word “dimension” to refer to different kinds of mental or psychological change⁶¹¹ undergone by Ajātaśatru, as well as spiritual or karmic benefits gained (or to be gained) by him as a result of his direct contact with the Buddha in this life, or his encounter with a deputy of the Buddha such as Mañjuśrī in this and other lifetimes. The dimensions are listed clockwise in an approximate temporal sequence, starting from Ajātaśatru’s spiritual cultivation in his past lives as told, for instance, in the AjKV, up to his eventual attainment of liberation as predicted in a number of Buddhist texts. Some dimensions (for instance, Nos. 2-3, Nos. 6-9, and Nos.12-13) may be placed at the same point in the timeline, with no definite sequence. I have highlighted No. 5 which designates Ajātaśatru’s transformation into an *upasāka*, considering that this dimension is shared by almost all the stories of his salvation in Buddhist literature and, indeed, serves as a basis (or a starting point) for Buddhist authors to construct other dimensions.

The purpose of Figure 5.1 is to show the overall range of the dimensions of the salvation of Ajātaśatru that have been identified in the extant Buddhist sources and explored in this study. In reality, most of the stories only focus on one or several dimensions, and the same dimension appears differently in different narrative contexts. However, this figure may illustrate that the theme of salvation of Ajātaśatru in Indian Buddhism is not a monolith but a multifaceted complex which had been exploited by ancient Buddhist authors along multiple lines of ideas and concepts and imbued with

⁶¹¹ In the case of No.7, it also involves a physical change of Ajātaśatru. So far as I know, the healing of Ajātaśatru’s leprosy as one part of his salvation is presented in two Buddhist texts, the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* and the *Ajātaśatruparibodhitāvadāna*. On the relevant account in the MMPS, see a discussion in Radich (2011: 35-36); on the AŚBA, see a synopsis in Mitra (1882:303).

multiple meanings. The figure is not intended to be conclusive, and more aspects may be added in the future, if new stories with distinctive twists come into light.

Throughout this study, I have attempted to show that Buddhist authors told and retold the stories of the salvation of Ajātaśatru not because of their interests in this person alone, but because his stories could be used to address general issues such as the workings of *karma*, the salvific power of the Buddha and the Buddhist Dharma, the possibility and desirability of ultimate liberation for all and so on. Thus, while Ajātaśatru by virtue of his identity as an infamous *ānantarya* criminal and as a famous *upāsaka* is a unique personality, his stories nonetheless comprise one part of larger discourses of Buddhist ethics, soteriology and anti-heterodox polemics. One way—perhaps the only way—to appreciate the wide implications of the stories of Ajātaśatru is to consciously explore the underlying intentions and motives that drove Buddhist authors to compose and construct their stories. As John Strong says in a different context, “The great lesson of Buddhism is not that of impermanence, if, by impermanence is simply meant ‘nothing lasts forever’. It is rather that of process—that things, beings, buddhas come into existence due to certain causes and go out of existence due to certain causes.”⁶¹² Similarly, the spirit of the narrative tradition of Ajātaśatru’s salvation does not consist in any particular story, or any particular version of a story, but in the dynamic process—that stories were “born” due to certain causes and “reborn” due to certain (other) causes. The identification and examination of those causes must inform any attempt to reconstitute this narrative tradition in Indian Buddhism. In order to understand the “births” and “rebirths” of Buddhist stories about Ajātaśatru, much remains to be done.

⁶¹² Strong 2004: 6-7.

Appendix I: Textual Materials Concerning Ajātaśatru Used in Chapters One to Four⁶¹³

1. *Manoratha-pūraṇī*. Walleser and Kopp 1924-1957: ii. 218.14-24:

*Upaghātakam pana sayam kusalam pi akusalam pi samānam aññaṃ
dubbalakammaṃ ghātetvā tassa vipākam paṭibāhitvā attano vipākassa
okāsam karoti.... Tatrāyaṃ nayo: kusalakamassa vipaccanakāle ekam
akusalakammaṃ uṭṭhāya taṃ kammaṃ chinditvā pāṭeti, akusalakamassa pi
vipaccanakāle ekam kusalakammaṃ uṭṭhāya taṃ kammaṃ chinditvā pāṭeti.
Idam upacchedakam nāma. Tattha Ajātasattuno kammaṃ kusalacchedakam
ahosi, Aṅgulimālattherassa akusalacchedakan ti.*

◆ No variants found in the Burmese Sixth Council edition

2. **Abhidharma-Mahāvibhāṣā*. T.1545.184c18-26 [Xuanzang's translation]:

問：“諸斷善根者，彼皆是邪性定聚耶？有作是說：諸斷善根者，彼皆是邪性定聚。或有是邪性定聚而非斷善根，如未生怨王等，彼造無間業不斷善根故。”評曰：“應作是說：此有四句：……，有是邪性定聚非斷善根，如未生怨王等。有斷善根亦邪性定聚，如提婆達多等，彼斷善根亦造無間業故。……”

◆ The counterpart in Buddhavarman's translation at T.1546.139a28-b7

3. Five interpretations of Ajātaśatru's "rootless faith" in the **Abhidharma-Mahāvibhāṣā*. T. 1545. 536b9-25 [Xuanzang's translation]:

如契經說：未生怨王能成就無根信。問：諸有爲法無不有根，何故說彼信無根耶？答：此信無有見道根故。如契經說，是名見爲根，信證智相應。謂未生怨所成就信不依見道，故名無根。然彼信心堅固難壞，如依見道。復次，未生怨王所成就信不可改易如無漏信，而無有根。諸無漏信依無漏根，以無漏智、無漏善根爲根本故。復次，此信無有同類因，故說名無根。謂無始來未得如是堅強信故。譬如有樹依他⁶¹⁴莖生，自既無根，名無根樹。復次，未生怨王所成就信自性堅固，不由親近佛及弟子乃能發生，故名無根。由此信力，若乘象馬，若在高樓，遙見世尊，

⁶¹³ Unless otherwise indicated, all English translations in the Appendices are my own. All Chinese punctuations are made by myself.

⁶¹⁴ Ming edition: 地.

即便投下，頂禮雙足。由堅信力或佛威神，無所傷損。復次，未生怨王所成就信未免惡趣，故名無根。彼後命終暫墮地獄，受少苦已，方生天故。

As Buddhists scripture says, King Ajātaśatru is able to achieve rootless faith. Question: No conditioned phenomena (**saṃskṛtadharmās*) do not have roots. Why is it said that his faith is rootless?

Answer: This faith has no root in the path of seeing [of the Truths] (**darśanamārga*). As Buddhist scripture says, that which has the seeing [of the Truths] as its root is the faith realized in concomitance with wisdom (*avetyaprasāda*)⁶¹⁵. The faith achieved by Ajātaśatru is not based on the path of seeing, and therefore called “rootless”. However, his faith is firm and difficult to destroy, as if it was based on the path of seeing.⁶¹⁶

Further, the faith achieved by King Ajātaśatru is as unchangeable as the faith without outflows (**anāsrava-śraddhā/prasāda*), but it does not have the root [without outflows]. All faiths without outflows are based on roots without outflows, because they have the wisdom without outflows (**anāsrava-prajñā/jñāna*) and the roots of goodness without outflows (**anāsrava-kuśalamūlāni*) as their roots.⁶¹⁷

Further, this faith [achieved by King Ajātaśatru] has no similar cause (Chin. *tonglei-yin* 同類因, **sabhāgahetu*, i.e., cause similar to its effect)⁶¹⁸, and

⁶¹⁵ I have not been able to identify the source of this statement. It seems that the faith concomitant with wisdom as mentioned here refers to *avetyaprasāda*, “faith founded in knowledge”. The AKBh (*ad* VI. 75c) defines *avetyaprasāda* as follows (Pradhan 1967: 387.9-10), *avetyaprasādā iti ko 'rthaḥ | yathā-bhūtasatyāny avabudhya saṃpratrayo 'vetyaprasādaḥ |* “What does ‘faith founded in knowledge’ mean? The faith founded in knowledge is the firm conviction after understanding the Truths”; translated also in La Vallée Poussin (1923-1931: iv. 294). As stated in the AK (VI. 73c-74, Pradhan 1967: 386. 13-14): *trīsatyadarśane śīladharmāvetīyaprasādayoḥ || lābho mārgābhisamaye buddhatatsaṃghayor api |* “When seeing the three Truths [of suffering, the origin of suffering, and the cessation of suffering], one gains the morality [dear to the nobles] and the faith founded in knowledge with respect to the Dharma. When comprehending the Path, one gains the faith founded in knowledge with respect to the Buddha and his community”; translated also in La Vallée Poussin (1923-1931: iv. 292).

⁶¹⁶ According to this interpretation, Ajātaśatru’s faith is rootless because it does not have the root of seeing the Truths. In other words, although he has achieved faith, he still lacks the knowledge of the Buddhist Truths. As Omaru (1986: 88) observes, this explanation agrees with Ajātaśatru’s failure to gain the Dharma-eye as told in the Pāli DN and Chinese DĀ versions of the SPS, and his failure to attain the first fruit of *śramaṇa*-hood (i.e., *srotāpattiphala*) in the Chinese EĀ version of the SPS.

⁶¹⁷ According to this interpretation, Ajātaśatru’s faith is rootless because it does not have the roots of goodness without outflows. Since in the *Vibhāṣā* goodness with outflows refers to mundane virtues and goodness without outflows refers to virtues conducive to spiritual progress, Ajātaśatru’s rootless faith means that his faith is of mundane nature, not directly related to spiritual liberation (see above n. 36).

⁶¹⁸ The term *sabhāgahetu* refers to a cause which has the similar quality as that of its result, for as the AKBh (*ad* II.51-52a, Pradhan 1967: 85.7-10) says, *sabhāgahetuḥ katamaḥ | sabhāgahetuḥ sadṛśāḥ | sadṛśā dharmāḥ sadṛśānām dharmānām sabhāgahetus tad yathā kuśalāḥ pañca skandhāḥ kuśalānām anyonyam kliṣṭāḥ kliṣṭānām avyākṛtā avyākṛtānām rūpam avyākṛtaṃ pañcānām |* “What is similar cause? Similar [dharma]s are similar cause. Similar dharma]s are the similar cause of similar dharma]s. That is to say, five good aggregates are mutually the similar cause of good [aggregates]. Defiled ones are the similar cause of defiled ones. Undetermined ones are the similar cause of undetermined ones.

therefore, it is called “rootless”. This is because there is no origin or source from which such strong faith is generated. It is just as a tree grows out of another plant⁶¹⁹, and since it does not have its own root, it is called a “rootless” tree.⁶²⁰

Further, the faith achieved by King Ajātaśatru is firm in its own nature. It can arise without approaching the Buddha and his disciples, and is therefore called “rootless”.⁶²¹ Through the power of such faith, whenever [Ajātaśatru], riding an elephant or horse, or standing in the high pavilion, saw the World-Honoured One from afar, he immediately fell down, and prostrated himself with the head at the feet [of the Buddha]. Because of the power of his firm faith or the Buddha’s supernatural power, he suffered no injury.⁶²²

Undetermined form is the similar cause of five [undetermined aggregates]”; translated also in La Vallée Poussin (1923-1931: i.255).

⁶¹⁹ Buddhavarman’s version reads 如乾樹無根, “It is just as a dry tree has no root”.

⁶²⁰ According to this interpretation, Ajātaśatru’s faith is rootless because it has no proper root of its own. In other words, he himself lacks the wholesome qualities (or roots of goodness) that can provide cause for such faith, and his faith is brought about by a cause from outside (i.e., the Buddha’s salvific power). As Omaru (1986: 88) notices, this explanation corresponds with a metaphor used by Ajātaśatru to describe his faith in Dharmakṣema’s translation of the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*: T. 374. 484c8-12. 世尊，我見世間從茅蘭子生茅蘭樹，不見茅蘭生梅檀樹。我今始見從茅蘭子生梅檀樹。茅蘭子者，我身是也。梅檀樹者，即是我心無根信也。無根者，我初不知恭敬如來、不信法僧，是名無根。 “World-Honoured One, I have seen that an *eraṇḍa* (?) tree grows from an *eraṇḍa* seed, [but] not that a *candara* tree grows from an *eraṇḍa* [seed]. Now I see for the first time that a *candara* tree grows from an *eraṇḍa* seed. The *eraṇḍa* seed is my body. The *candara* tree is the rootless faith in my heart. It is rootless [because] I earlier did not know [that I should] respect the Tathāgata and I did not believe in the Dharma and the *saṅgha*. This is what I call ‘rootless’.” On this metaphor in the MMPS, see also a comment in Radich (2011: 80 n.299).

⁶²¹ Omaru (ibid.) contends that this sentence corresponds to Ajātaśatru’s statement, “I earlier did not know [that I should] respect the Tathāgata and I did not believe in the Dharma and the *saṅgha*”, in the MMPS (see note above). However, in light of the rest of the interpretation, it might be better to construe this sentence as follows: Ajātaśatru holds very strong faith in the Buddha, inasmuch as he can be easily overwhelmed with his faith even when seeing the Buddha from afar. According to this interpretation, Ajātaśatru’s faith is rootless because it is intrinsically strong and can be stimulated even without being in the proximity of the Buddha or his disciples.

⁶²² As Omaru (ibid.) observes, this account alludes to an episode told in the *Saṅghabhedavastu* of the MSV, according to which, on one occasion, when Ajātaśatru is climbing onto an elephant and sees the Buddha, he immediately falls off and is saved by the Buddha through his supernatural power (see also above p. 85). This episode is also mentioned in another story in the *Kṣudrakavastu* of the MSV (Derge Kanjur 6, ‘*dul ba, da* 304b7-305a4; sTog Kanjur 6, ‘*dul ba, da* 446b5-447a4):

...*tshe dang ldan pa 'on srung chen po yang snga ma bzhin lam drang po nas rgyal po 'i khab tu song ngo | yul ma ga dhā¹ 'i rgyal po lus 'phags ma 'i bu ma skyes dgra 'i spyod pa ni gang du glang po che la zhon te | bcom ldan 'das mthong na de ma thag tu rang lung nas | de bcom ldan 'das kyi mthus ma nyams par sa la 'jog go | yul ma ga dhā² 'i rgyal po ma skyes dgras³ tshe dang ldan pa 'od srung chen po mthong ste | mthong nas bcom ldan 'das rjes su dran pas⁴ de bzhin du rangs la lung ba dang | de tshe dang ldan pa 'od srung chen po 'i rdzu 'phrul gyis bzung nas smras pa | rgyal po chen po sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das dag ni rtag tu mnyam par bzhag pa lags la | nyan thos dag ni mnyam par ma bzhag par ye shes mthong ba mi 'jug ste | de res 'ga 'ni de bzhin du mnyam par bzhag nas gnas | res 'ga 'ni mnyam par ma bzhag par gnas pas⁵ de phyin chad khyod kyis bcom ldan 'das kyi nyan thos mthong na⁶ glang po che dang rta las rang lung bar ma byed cig ces der khriims bcas so | des smras pa | 'phags pa ji skad bka' stsal pa de bzhin du bgyi 'o |*

Further, the faith achieved by King Ajātaśatru does not exempt him from [falling into] the evil destiny, and is therefore called “rootless”, since after his death he will temporarily fall into hell, and after having undergone a bit of suffering there, he will then be reborn in heaven.⁶²³

◆ The counterpart in Buddhavarman’s version may be found at T.1546.387b6-19.

4. The episode of Ajātaśatru’s blaming the Buddha for having ordained Devadatta in the independent Tibetan translation of the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (Derge Kanjur 120, *mdo sde, tha* 146b5-147b1; sTog Kanjur 179, *mdo sde, wa* 244b6-245b7):

*de nas 'jam dpal gzhon nur gyur pas bcom ldan 'das la yang tshigs su bcad
de gsol pa |*

*bdag gis byas dang ma byas rnams |
brtag par bya yi gzhan dag gis¹ ||
byas dang ma byas rnams dang ni |
gzhan gyi mi 'thun² brtag mi bya ||*

*zhes bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pas chos kyi sgo de skad du bka' stsal pa ni³
legs par bka' stsal pa ma lags te | 'di la ci'i slad du⁴ de skad ces bka' stsal pa'i
rgyu bka' stsal 'tshal lags so || bcom ldan 'das kyi gsung rab yan lag dgu las 'di
na gcer bu pa sems can dmyal ba thams cad dang | ya mtshan can dgu bcu rtsa
drug po rnams la⁵ ni lam ngan par zhugs pa yin no | sangs rgyas kyi sras thams
cad ni mya ngan las 'das pa la zhugs pa yin no || drang po dang | tshul khrims
dang | cho ga dang ldan pa dang | dbang po thul ba gang yin pa de dag thams
cad ni mtho ris su 'gro ba dang⁶ chos kyi spyod yul can yin no zhes bdag bstod pa*

1) S *dha* for *dhā* 2) S *dha* for *dhā* 3) S + | 4) D *nas* for *pas* 5) S + | 6) S + |

“...The Elder Mahākāśyapa, as before (or as mentioned earlier?), taking a straight path, went to Rājagṛha. Ajātaśatru, King of Magadha, son of Vaidehī, whenever riding on an elephant and seeing the Blessed One, immediately fell down, and due to the Blessed One’s power, he landed on the ground uninjured. Ajātaśatru, King of Magadha, son of Vaidehī, saw the Elder Mahākāśyapa. Having seen him, he remembered the Blessed One and likewise became excited and fell down. The Elder Mahākāśyapa seized him through supernatural power and said, ‘Great King, *buddhas* are always in meditative concentration (*mnyam par bzhag pa*, **samāhita*), [whereas] *śrāvakas*, if not focused, do not enter into the vision of knowledge (*ye shes mthong ba*, **jñānadarśana*). Sometimes they are likewise focused, but sometimes they are not. From now on, when you see *śrāvakas* of the Blessed One, please do not throw yourself down from an elephant or a horse.’ Thus he made the rule. He [= Ajātaśatru] said, ‘Will do as you said.’” See also the Chinese counterpart at T.1451.404a20-29.

⁶²³ The last interpretation is not entirely clear to me. For the moment, I cannot decide what the “root” denotes here, or why Ajātaśatru’s faith is called “rootless” because he is not exempted from going to hell. Could the “root” refer to the first conviction of the Buddhist Truths, i.e., *srotāpattiphala*, given that a *srotāpanna* never falls into the evil destinies? If this is the case, the last interpretation would agree with the foregoing first interpretation in suggesting that although Ajātaśatru gains faith, he still fails to understand the Buddhist Truths.

dang | gzhan smod pa dang | gzhan gshung⁷ ba bka' stsal te | bcom ldan 'das kyis
 de ltar gzhan dang mi |⁸ 'thun⁹ pa rnams kyang bka' stsal la¹⁰ | gzhan dag dang
 mi 'thun¹¹ pa zhes bgyi ba yang¹² ma lags pa de ci¹³ lta bu lags ||
 de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis¹⁴ 'jam dpal gzhon nur gyur pa la 'di skad ces
 bka' stsal to || rigs kyi bu ngas¹⁵ gzhan gyi mi 'thun¹⁶ brtag¹⁷ mi bya || zhes bstan
 pa de gang las ni brtsams¹⁸ ci'i phyir ni bstan ce na | ma skyes dgra las brtsams
 nas bstan pa yin te | sang rgya bcom ldan 'das ni rgyu med par don dang 'gal ba
 ston par mi mdzad kyi¹⁹ rgyu dang bcas par ston par²⁰ mdzad de | sngon ma skyes
 dgras pha bsad nas nga'i thad du 'ongs nas |²¹ 'di ltar brnyas thabs su dri ba dris
 te²² ci lags | bcom ldan 'das thams cad mkhyen pa lags sam | 'on te thams cad
 mkhyen pa ma lags | gal te thams cad mkhyen pa lags na | ci'i slad du lha sbyin
 rab tu phyung lags | de tshe rabs stong phrag mang por phyi bzhin²³ 'brang zhing
 gnod pa bgyid par gzigs na | da ltar yang rgol du 'ong bar thams cad mkhyen pa
 khyod kyis ji ltar ma gzigs zhes zer nas ngas de la 'di skad du | gzhan dang²⁴
 mi 'thun²⁵ brtag mi bya || zhes bya ba 'i²⁶ tshigs su bcad pa bstan to²⁷ || da²⁸ ni
 rgyal po chen po khyod²⁹ bdag gis pha bsad de mtshams med pa'i las kyi rab tu³⁰
 dug chen po byas pa de sbyang bar gyis shig || rgyal po gzhan gyi nyes pa la ma
 rtog par de lta bu khong du chud par gyis shig ces byas so || gzhan yang
 mi 'thun³¹ pa brtag par yang bya ste | tshul khrims dang cho ga la brten pa gang
 yin pa de dag gi skyon brtag pa lhur blang bar bya ste | de ni sangs rgyas kyi
 bstan pa yin no || gzhan gyi mi 'thun³² pa la rtog pa rnams kyis ni bdag dang
 gzhan dag gis³³ byas pa dang ma byas pa ni |³⁴ bdag dang gzhan dag gi yin par
 shes par bya'o || de lta bu 'i tshul gyis gzhan gyis byas pa rtag tu yang dag par
 mthong ba gang yin pa de dag ni nga'i nyan thos yin no zhes da zer ro ||

1) D gi for gis 2) S mthun for 'thun 3) S + | 4) D ø | 5) S ø la 6) D + | 7) D bshung for
 gshung 8) S ø | 9) S mthun 10) S pa 11) S mthun 12) S ang for yang 13) S ji 14) S + | 15) S +
 | 16) S mthun 17) S rtag 18) S + | 19) S + | 20) S rgyu dang bcas rkyen dang bcas par for
 rgyu dang bcas par ston par 21) S ø | 22) S + | 23) S gzhin for bzhin 24) S gyi for dang 25) S
 mthun 26) S ø bya ba 'i 27) S te for to 28) de for da 29) S + | 30) D ø tu 31) S mthun 32)
 mthun 33) D gi for gis 34) S ø |

Then Prince Mañjuśrī spoke this *gāthā* to the Blessed One,

One should examine what he himself has done and has not done,
 but as for what others have done and have not done,
 one should neither examine nor disagree with others.

The Blessed One, the Tathāgata, expounded the entrance into the Dharma
 (**dharmamukha*) in this way. This is not a good exposition. Why is that? I request
 [the Buddha] to explain the reason for such an exposition. According to the nine
 branches of the Blessed One's teachings (*gsung rab yan lag dgu*, **navāṅga*
śāsana/pravacana), *nigranthas* are all [to become] hell-beings, and the ninety-six
 heretics (*ya mtshan can dgu bcu rtsa drug po rnams*, **ṣaṇṇavatiyo pāṣaṇḍā*) are
 followers of evil paths, [whereas] all disciples of the Buddha will attain *nirvāṇa*.
 All those who are upright (*drang po*, **rju*), endowed with morality (*tshul khrims*,
 **śīla*), observing rules (*cho ga*, **vidhi*) and with restrained faculties (*dbang po*
thul ba, **saṃyamendriya*) will go to heaven (*mtho ris su 'gro ba*, **svargopaga*)
 and have [or, are within?] the scope of the Dharma (*chos kyi spyod yul*, **dharmā-*
viśaya/gocara). These are statements of praising oneself, deprecating others and
 rebuking others. [Now] the Blessed One speaks of disagreeing with others in this

way, saying that disagreeing with others is not good behaviour. How is that?”

Then the Blessed One spoke to Prince Mañjuśrī as follows, “Son of good family, if you ask for what reason, referring to whom, I said that one should neither examine nor disagree with others, this is a statement referring to Ajātaśatru. The Buddha, the Blessed One, never gives contradictory teachings or speaks for no reason, but gives teachings for certain reasons. Earlier, Ajātaśatru, after having killed his father, came to me and disrespectfully questioned me as follows, ‘Is the Blessed One omniscient (*thams cad mkhyen pa*, **sarvajña*), or not omniscient? If the Blessed One is omniscient, why did you ordain Devadatta, [even though] you know that in thousands of lifetimes he, following (*phyi bzhin ’brang zhing*, **anuyāyin*) you, did harm to you? Even now, he comes to oppose you. Why do you, the Omniscient One, not see it?’” After he said this, I spoke to him the *gāthā*, ‘One should neither examine nor disagree with others’. I said, ‘Now, Great King, you killed your own father and [thereby] committed the most serious offence of an *ānantarya* crime. You should purify (*sbyang ba*, Skt. **vi-√śudh*) it! King, do not examine others’ fault. This is to be understood!’ Furthermore, if someone should examine or disagree [with others], it is the one based on morality and rules who should apply himself to examining others’ fault. This is the teaching of the Buddha. Those examining and disagreeing with others should know what they themselves and others have done and have not done, [as well as] their own and others’ states of existence. Those who always perceive (*yang dag par mthong ba*, **sampaśyan*) others’ deeds in this way are my disciples.”

The counterpart in Faxian’s Chinese translation (T.376.898a19-b9) reads:

爾時，文殊師利復於佛前而說偈言：

“於他善隨順，不觀作不作。
但自觀身行，諦視善不善。”

如是世尊說此正法，亦復非爲究竟之說。所以者何？眾邪外道皆向泥犁，然佛世尊教諸弟子皆向泥洹，若生天上。此則名爲毀譽之說。如是種種不隨順說，云何世尊偈中說言：‘於他善隨順？’”

爾時，佛告文殊師利：“我所以說善隨順者，有因有緣。時阿闍世王害父王已，來詣我所而問我言：‘云何，世尊，爲一切智，非一切智耶？若一切智者，提婆達多於百千生中於如來所常懷惡心，云何聽使而得出家？’我即爲彼而說此偈‘於他善隨順’。彼阿闍世王有害父罪，而不自覺。如來欲使自省己過、令其罪輕，是故說言：‘但自觀身行，諦視善不善。’汝今云何見不隨順？若有持戒、修行、慈心而觀彼過，是則諸佛如來之法。欲令己身及諸眾生悉皆安樂，是以應觀他作不作，己身亦然。常作是觀是我弟子。”

At that time, Mañjuśrī, moreover, spoke a *gāthā* in front of the Buddha,

“It is good to be compliant with others,
not to examine what they have done or have not done.

However, one should examine his own action,
to see whether it is good or not.

Thus the World-Honoured expounded the true Dharma. This is not an ultimate exposition either [i.e., it is not an exposition which reveals the Truth]. Why is that? All heretics are headed for hell, whereas the Buddha, the World-Honoured One, teaches his disciples all to go for *nirvāṇa*, or to be reborn in heaven. This may be called as a defaming statement [from the point of view of heretics]. Given various non-compliant statements [made by the Buddha] such as this, why did the World-Honoured One say, ‘It is good to be compliant with others,’ in the *gāthā* above?”

At that time, the Buddha said to Mañjuśrī, “There is a reason why I said that it is good to be compliant. At one time, King Ajātaśatru, after having killed his father, the king, came to visit me and asked me, ‘Is the World-Honoured One omniscient or not omniscient? If you are omniscient, Devadatta always carried evil thought towards the Tathāgata in hundreds of thousands of lifetimes, [but] why did you allow him to go forth from home [into ascetic life]?’ I thereupon spoke this verse to him, ‘It is good to be compliant with others’. That king Ajātaśatru committed the crime of patricide, but he himself was not aware of it. The Tathāgata, in order to make him reflect on his own transgression, so that his crime could be mitigated, therefore said, ‘However, one should examine his own action, to see whether it is good or not.’ Now, why do you see it as non-compliant? If one, who upholds precepts, performs [Buddhist] practice and has a compassionate mind, examines others’ fault, this conforms to the Dharma of the Buddhas, the Tathāgatas. In order to make oneself and other sentient beings all in happiness, one should examine what others have done and have not done. One should also do the same to oneself. Those who always make such examinations are my disciples.”

◆ A corresponding episode in Dharmakṣema’s Chinese translation may be found at T.374. 426b27-c24 (= T.375.667c27-668a25).

5. *Sāmaññaphala-sutta*. Rhys Davids and Carpenter (1890-1911: i. 85.6-86.5):

...evaṃ vutte rājā māgadho ajātasattu vedehiputto bhagavantam etad avoca:
abhikkantaṃ bhante, abhikkantaṃ bhante. seyyathā pi bhante nikkujjitaṃ vā
ukkujjeyya paṭicchannaṃ vā vivareyya mūlhassa vā maggaṃ ācikkheyya
andhakāre vā telapajjotaṃ dhāreyya: cakkhumanto rūpāni dakkhantī ti, evaṃ
evaṃ bhagavatā¹ anekapariyāyena dhammo pakāsito . so ahaṃ² bhante
bhagavantam saraṇam gacchāmi dhammañ ca bhikkhusaṅghaṃ ca, upāsakaṃ
maṃ bhagavā dhāretu ajjatagge pānupetaṃ saraṇam gataṃ. accayo maṃ bhante
accagamā yathā-bālaṃ yathā-mūlhaṃ yathā-akusalaṃ, so ’haṃ³ pitaraṃ
dhammikaṃ dhammarājānaṃ issariyassa kāraṇā⁴ jīvitā voropesiṃ. tassa me
bhante Bhagavā accayaṃ accayato paṭiggaṇhātu⁵ āyatim samvarāyā ti.

taggha tvaṃ mahārāja accayo accagamā yathā-bālaṃ yathā-mūlhaṃ yathā-
akusalaṃ, yaṃ tvaṃ pitaraṃ dhammikaṃ dhammarājānaṃ jīvitā voropesi. yato
ca kho tvaṃ mahārāja accayaṃ accayato disvā yathā dhammaṃ paṭikarosi, tan te

*mayam paṭiggaṇhāma*⁶. vuddhi h'esā mahārāja ariyassa vinaye, yo accayam accayato disvā yathā dhammam paṭikaroti āyatim saṃvaram āpajjati ti.

*evam vutte rājā māgadho ajātasattu vedehiputto bhagavantam etad avoca: handa ca dāni mayam bhante gacchāma, bahukiccā mayam bahukaraṇīyā ti. yassa dāni tvaṃ mahārāja kālam maññasī ti. atha kho rājā māgadho ajātasattu vedehiputto bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinanditvā anumoditvā utthāy āsanā bhagavantam abhivādetvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā pakkāmi. atha kho bhagavā acirapakkantassa rañño māgadhasa ajātasattussa vedehiputtassa bhikkhū āmantesi: khatāyaṃ bhikkhave rājā, upahatāyaṃ bhikkhave rājā.. Sacāyaṃ bhikkhave rājā pitaraṃ dhammikaṃ dhammarājānaṃ jīvitā na voropessatha, imasmiṃ yeva*⁷ āsane virajaṃ vītamalaṃ dhammacakkhuṃ uppajjissatha ti.

1) B^e bhante bhagavatā 2) B^e esāhaṃ for so ahaṃ 3) B^e yohaṃ for so 'haṃ 4) B^e issariyakāraṇā for issariyassa kāraṇā 5) B^e paṭiggaṇhātu 6) B^e paṭiggaṇhāma 7) B^e imasmiññ eva for imasmiṃ yeva

6. The Paccuppannavatthu of the Sañjīva-jātaka (JA 150). Fausbøll (1877-1896: i. 508.9-510.11):

*asantaṃ yo paggaṇhātī ti. idaṃ satthā veḷuvane viharanto ajātasattussa rañño asantapaggahaṃ ārabha kathesi. so hi buddhānaṃ paṭikaṇṭakabhūte dussīle pāpadhamme devadatte pasīditvā taṃ asantaṃ asappurisaṃ paggayha tassa sakkāraṃ karissāmī ti bahuṃ dhanam pariccajitvā gayāsīse vihāraṃ kāretvā tass'eva vacanaṃ gahetvā pitaraṃ dhammarājānaṃ sotāpannaṃ ariya-sāvakaṃ ghātetvā attano sotāpattimagassa upanissayaṃ bhinditvā*¹ mahāvināsaṃ patto.

*so hi devadatto paṭhavipaviṭṭho*² *ti sutva kacci nu kho mam pi paṭhaviṃ gileyā 'ti bhūtatasi rajasukhaṃ na labhati, sayane assādaṃ*³ *na vindati, tibbakāraṇābhitaṇṇo hatthipoto viya kampamāno vicarati. so paṭhaviṃ phala-mānaṃ viya avīcijālaṃ nikkhamantiṃ*⁴ *viya paṭhaviyā attānaṃ giliyamānaṃ viya ādittāya lohapaṭhaviyā uttānaṃ nipajjāpetvā ayasūlehi koṭṭiyamānaṃ*⁵ *viya ca samanupassi. ten' etassa*⁶ *pahaṭakukkuṭass eva muhuttam pi kampamānassa avatthānaṃ nāma na hosi*⁷. *sammāsambuddhaṃ passitukāmo khamāpetukāmo pañhaṃ pucchitukāmo ahosi, attano pana*⁸ *aparādhamahantatāya upasaṅkamituṃ na sakkoti.*

*ath' assa rājagahanagare kattikarattivāre sampatte devanagaraṃ viya nagare alaṃkate mahātale amaccagaṇaparivutassa kañcanāsane nisinnassa jīvakaṃ komārabhaccaṃ avidūre nisinnaṃ disvā etad ahosi: jīvakaṃ gahetvā sammāsambuddhaṃ passissāmī*⁹, *na kho pana sakkā mayā ujukam eva vattum: ahaṃ samma jīvaka sayam gantum na sakkomi, ehi maṃ satthu santikaṃ nehī ti pariyāyena pana rattisampadaṃ vaṇṇetvā kaṃ nu kho*¹⁰ *ajja mayam samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā payirupāseyyāma yaṃ no payirupāsantānaṃ*¹¹ *cittaṃ pasīdeyyā 'ti vakkhāmi, taṃ sutvā amaccā attano attano satthārānaṃ vaṇṇaṃ kathessanti, jīvako pi sammāsambuddhasa vaṇṇaṃ kathessati, atha naṃ gahetvā satthu santikaṃ gacchissāmī*¹² *ti. so pañcahi padehi rattiṃ vaṇṇesi:*

*lakkhaññā vata bho dosinā ratti,
abhirūpā vata bho dosinā ratti,
dassanīyā vata bho dosinā ratti,
pāsādikā vata bho dosinā ratti,
ramaṇīyā vata bho dosinā ratti,*

*kaṃ nu khv ajja mayhaṃ¹³ samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā¹⁴ payirupāsato¹⁵ cittaṃ
pasīdeyyā 'ti. ath' eko amacco pūraṇa kassapassa vaṇṇaṃ kathesi eko makkhali-
gosālassa eko ajitakesakambalassa eko kakudhakaccāyanassa eko saṅcaya-
belatthaputtassa¹⁶ eko nāṭaputtanigaṇṭhassa ti. rājā tesam kathaṃ sutvā tuṇhī
ahosi. so hi jīvakaṃ 'eva mahā-amaccassa kathaṃ paccāsīsati. jīvako pi raññā
maṃ ārabba kathite yeva jānissāmi ti avidūre tuṇhī nisīdi. atha naṃ rājā āha:
tvaṃ pana samma jīvaka kiṃ tuṇhī ti. tasmim̐ khaṇe jīvako utthāya āsanā yena
bhagavā ten' añjaliṃ paṇāmetvā eso deva bhagavā arahaṃ sammāsambuddho
amhākaṃ ambavane viharati saddhiṃ aḍḍhatelasehi bhikkhusatehi, tañ ca¹⁷ pana
bhagavantaṃ evaṃ kalyāṇo kittisaddo abbhuggato ti nava arahādiguṇe vatvā
jātito paṭṭhāya pubbanimittātibhedam̐ bhagavato ānubhāvaṃ pakāsetvā taṃ
bhagavantaṃ devo payirupāsatu, dhammaṃ suṇātu, pañhaṃ pucchatu 'ti āha.*

*rājā sampuṇṇamanoratho hutvā tena hi samma jīvaka hatthiyānāni
kappāpehī ti yānāni kappāpetvā mahantena rājānubhāvena jīvakambavanaṃ
gantvā tattha¹⁸ gandhamāṇḍalamālehi¹⁹ bhikkhusaṅghaparivutaṃ tathāgataṃ
disvā santavīcimajjhe mahaṇṇavaṃ²⁰ viya niccalaṃ bhikkhusaṅghaṃ ito c'ito ca
anuviloketvā evarūpā nāma me parisā na diṭṭhapubbā ti iriyāpathe yeva pasīditvā
saṅghassa añjaliṃ paggaṇhitvā thutiṃ katvā bhagavantaṃ vanditvā ekamantaṃ
nisinno sāmāññaphalapañhaṃ pucchi. ath' assa bhagavā dvīhi bhāṇavārehi
paṭimaṇḍetvā²¹ sāmāññaphalasuttantaṃ²² kathesi. so suttapariyosāne attamano
bhagavantaṃ khamāpetvā utthāyāsanaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā pakkāmi. satthā
acipakkantassa rañño bhikkhū āmantetvā khat'āyaṃ bhikkhave rājā²³, sac' āyaṃ
bhikkhave rājā issariyakāraṇā²⁴ pitaraṃ dhammikaṃ dhammarājānaṃ jīvitā na
voropessatha imasmim̐ yeva āsane virajaṃ vītamalaṃ dhammacakkhuṃ
uppajjissatha, devadattaṃ pana²⁵ nissāya asantaṃ paggahaṃ²⁶ katvā sotāpatti-
phalā parihīno ti āha.*

*puna divase bhikkhū dhammasabhāyaṃ kathaṃ samuṭṭhāpesuṃ: āvuso
ajātasattu kira asantapaggahaṃ²⁶ katvā dussīlaṃ pāpadhammaṃ devadattaṃ
nissāya pitughātakakamassa katattā sotāpattiphalā parihīno devadattena nāsito
rājā ti. satthā āgantvā kāya nu 'ttha bhikkhave etarahi kathāya sannisinna ti
pucchitvā imāya nāmā 'ti vutte na bhikkhave ajātasattu idān'eva asantaṃ
paggahaṃ²⁶ katvā mahāvināsaṃ patto, pubbe p'esa asantapaggahen' eva
attānaṃ nāsesī ti vatvā atītaṃ āhari.*

1) B° bhinditvā 2) B° pathaviyaṃ pavitṭho for paṭhavipavitṭho 3) B° assādasukhaṃ 4) B° °tim̐
5) B° koṭiya° 6) B° assa 7) B° ahosi 8) B° ø pana 9) B° Sammāsambuddhassa santikaṃ
gamissāmi for °buddhaṃ passissāmi 10) B° khv 11) B° °sataṃ 12) B° gamissāmi 13) B°
mayam̐ 14) B°... vā payirupāseyyāma, yaṃ no 15) B° °sataṃ 16) Saṅcayassa belatthaputtassa
for Saṅcayabelatṭha° 17) B° taṃ kho for tañ ca 18) B° ø tattha 19) B° maṇḍalamāle 20) B°

mahānāvaṃ 21) B^e °*maṇḍitaṃ* 22) B^e °*suttaṃ* 23) B^e + *upahatāyaṃ bhikkhave rājā* 24) B^e *issariyassa kāraṇā* 25) B^e ° *pana* 26) *asantaṃ paggaṃ* for *asantaṃ paggaṃ*

7. The *Paccuppannavatthu* of the *Saṅgīva-jātaka* (JA 530). Fausbøll 1877-1896: v. 261.32-263.2:

disvā nisinnaṃ rājānaṃ ti. idaṃ satthā jīvakaṃbavane viharanto ajātasattussa pitughātakammaṃ ārabha katesi. so hi devadattaṃ nissāya tassa vacanena pitaraṃ ghātāpetvā devadattassa saṃghabhedāvasāne bhinnaparissa roge uppanne tathāgataṃ khamāpessāmi ti mañcasīvikāya sāvattiṃ gacchantassa jetavanadvāre paṭhaviṃ pavittābhāvaṃ sutvā devadatto sammāsambuddhassa paṭipakkho hutvā paṭhaviṃ pavisitvā avācāparāyaṇo jāto, mayāpi taṃ nissāya pitā dhammiko dhammarājā ghātito, ahaṃ pi nu kho paṭhaviṃ pavississāmi ti bhūto rajjasiriyā cittassādaṃ alabhi¹, thokaṃ niddāyissāmi ti niddaṃ upagatamatto navayojanabāhālāya² ayapaṭhaviyaṃ³ pāteṭvā ayasūlehi koṭṭiyamāno viya sunakhehi luñcitvā⁴ khajjamāno viya bheravaravena viravanto utthāsi⁵.

ath' ekadivasaṃ komudiyā cātumāsiniyā amaccagaṇaparivuto attano yasaṃ oloketvā mama pitu yaso ito mahantataro, tathārūpaṃ nāma ahaṃ dhammarājāṃ⁶ devadattaṃ nissāya ghātesin ti cintesi. tass' evaṃ cintentass' eva kāye dāho uppajji, sakalasārāṃ sedatintaṃ ahosi, tato ko nu kho me imaṃ bhayaṃ vinodeti⁷ ti cintetvā tṭhapetvā dasabalaṃ añño n' atthi ti cintetvā⁸ ahaṃ tathāgataṃ mahāparādāhiko⁹, ko nu kho maṃ netvā dassessati ti cinto na añño koci aññatra jīvakaṃ ti sallakkhetvā tassa gahetvā gamanūpāyaṃ karonto ramaṇīyā vata bho dosinā rattī ti udānaṃ udānetvā kin¹⁰ nu khv ajja samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā payirupāseyyamā¹¹ ti vatvā pūraṇasāvakaḍḍhi pūraṇādīnaṃ guṇe kathite tesāṃ vacanaṃ anādiyitvā jīvakaṃ paṭipucchitvā tena tathāgataṃ guṇaṃ kathetvā taṃ devo bhagavantaṃ payirupāsati ti vutte¹² hatthiyānāni kappāpetvā jīvakaṃ bavanaṃ gantvā tathāgataṃ upasaṃkamitvā vanditvā tathāgatena katapaṭisaṇṭhāro sandiṭṭhikaṃ sāmāññaphalaṃ pucchitvā tathāgataṃ madhurasāmañña-phaladhammadesanaṃ¹³ sutvā suttapariyosāne upāsakattaṃ paṭivedetvā¹⁴ tathāgataṃ khamāpetvā pakkāmi. so tato paṭṭhāya dānaṃ dento sīlaṃ rakkhanto tathāgatena saddhiṃ saṃsaggaṃ katvā madhuradhammakathaṃ suṇanto kalyāṇa-mittasaṃsaggena pahīnabhayo vigatalomahaṃso hutvā cittassādaṃ paṭilabhi¹⁵, sukkena cattāro iriyāpathe kappesi.

ath' ekadivasaṃ dhammasabhāyaṃ kathaṃ samuṭṭhāpesuṃ: āvuso, ajātasattu pitughātakammaṃ katvā bhayappatto ahosi, rajjasiriṃ nissāya cittassādaṃ alabhanto sabbiriyāpathesu dukkhaṃ anubhosi¹⁶, so dāni tathāgataṃ āgama kalyāṇamittasaṃsaggena vigatabhayaṃ issariyasukhaṃ anubhoti ti. satthā āgantvā kāya nu 'ttha bhikkhave etarahi kathāya sannisinnā ti pucchitvā imāya nāmā ti vutte na bhikkhave idān eva pubbe p'esa pitughātakammaṃ katvā maṃ nissāya sukhaṃ sayi ti vatvā atītaṃ āhari.

1) B^e na labhi for alabhi 2) B^e °*yaṃ* 3) B^e °*ayamaḥpaṭhaviyaṃ* 4) B^e °*luñjitvā* 5) B^e °*utthāsi* 6) B^e ° *rājānaṃ* 7) B^e °*vinodetum sakkhissati* 8) B^e °*natvā* 9) B^e °*rādho* 10) B^e °*kaṃ* 11) B^e °*yāmī* 12) B^e °*vutto* 13) B^e °*madhuraṃ °desanaṃ* 14) B^e °*veditvā* 15) B^e °*labhitvā* 16) B^e °*bhoti*

8. The episode of Ajātaśatru's confession to the Buddha in the Sanskrit *Saṅghabhedavastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*. Gnoli 1977-1978: ii. 251.19-254.12:

evam ukte rājā māgadho 'jātaśatrur vaidehīputraḥ prārodīd aśrūṇi varṣayan; atha rājā māgadho 'jātaśatrur vaidehīputraḥ cīvarakarnikena aśrūṇy utsṛjya bhagavataḥ pādayor nipatya bhagavantam idam avocad: atyayo bhagavann atyayaḥ sugata yathā bho yathā mūdho yathā avyakto yathā akuśalaḥ yena mayā pāpamitrasahāyena pāpamitravaśaṃgatena pāpamitropagūḍhakena pitā dhārmiko dharmarājo jīvitād vyaparopitaḥ; tasya mama bhadanta atyayaṃ jānato 'tyayaṃ paśyato 'tyayaṃ atyayaḥ pratigrhṇīṣva anukampān upādāya..

tathyaṃ tvaṃ mahārāja atyayaṃ atyayataḥ adhigataḥ tadyathā bālo yathā mūdho yathā avyakto yathā akuśalo yena tvayā pāpamitrasahāyena pāpamitravaśaṃgatena pāpamitropagūḍhakena pitā dhārmiko dharmarājo jīvitād vyaparopitaḥ; yataś ca tvaṃ mahārāja atyayaṃ jānāsi atyayaṃ paśyasi ca drṣṭvā deśayasi āyatyāṃ cā saṃvaram āpadyase; vṛddhir eva te pratikāṅkṣitavyā kuśalānāṃ dharmāṇāṃ na hāniḥ; tat kasya hetoḥ yaḥ kaś cin mahārāja atyayaṃ jānāti atyayaṃ paśyati taṃ drṣṭvā deśayati āyatyāṃ ca saṃvaram āpadyate vṛddhir eva asya pratikāṅkṣitavyā kuśalānāṃ dharmāṇāṃ na hāniḥ; evam eva tvaṃ mahārāja yataś ca atyayaṃ jānāsi atyayaṃ ca paśyasi drṣṭvā deśayasi āyatyāṃ ca saṃvaram āpadyase vṛddhir eva te pratikāṅkṣitavyā kuśalānāṃ dharmāṇāṃ na hāniḥ.

atha rājā māgadho 'jātaśatrur vaidehīputro bhagavantam idam avocad: adhvāsayaṃ me bhagavān śvo 'ntargrhe bhaktena sārddhaṃ bhikṣusaṃghena; adhvāsayaṃ me bhagavān rājāno māgadhasya ajātaśatror vaidehīputrasya tūṣṇīmbhāvena; atha rājā māgadho 'jātaśatrur vaidehīputraḥ bhagavatas tūṣṇīmbhāvena adhvāsanaṃ viditvā bhagavato bhāṣitam abhinandya anumodya bhagavataḥ pādau śirasā vanditvā bhagavato 'ntikāt prakrāntaḥ.

atha bhagavān aciraprakrāntaṃ rājānaṃ māgadham ajātaśatruṃ vaidehīputraṃ viditvā bhikṣūn āmantrayate sma: kṣato bhikṣavo rājā māgadho 'jātaśatrur vaidehīputraḥ upahato yena pāpamitrasahāyena pāpamitravaśaṃgatena pāpamitropagūḍhakena pitā dhārmiko dharmarājo dharmasthito mahārājo jīvitād vyaparopitaḥ; saced bhikṣavo rājñā⁶²⁴ māgadhenā ajātaśatruṇā vaidehīputreṇa pitā dhārmiko dharmarājo dharmasthito mahārājo jīvitān na vyaparopito bhaviṣyat, sthānam etad vidyate yad asminn eva āsane niṣaṇṇena catvāri āryasatyāni abhisamitāny abhaviṣyan; evaṃ kṣato bhikṣavo rājā māgadho 'jātaśatrur vaidehīputraḥ, evaṃ upahataḥ; tasmāt tarhi bhikṣava evaṃ śikṣitavyaṃ yad dagdhasthūṇāyāṃ api cittāṃ na pradūṣayiṣyāmaḥ prāg eva savijñānake kāye; ity evaṃ vo bhikṣavaḥ śikṣitavyaṃ.

atha rājā māgadho 'jātaśatrur vaidehīputras tām eva rātriṃ śucipranītaṃ khādanīyabhojanīyaṃ samudānīya kālyam eva utthāya āsanāni prajñāpya

⁶²⁴ Both Dutt (1929-1959: iii.4.224, 4) and Gnoli (1977-1978: ii. 22) give the form *rājā*, which may be emended into the instrumental *rājñā*.

*udakamaṇiṃ pratiṣṭhāpya bhagavato dūtena kālam ārocayati; samayo bhadantaḥ sajjam bhaktaṃ yasya eva idānīṃ bhagavān kalam manyate; atha bhagavān pūrvāhne nivāsyā pātracīvaram ādāya bhikṣugaṇaparivṛto bhikṣusaṃghapuras-
kṛto yena rājñā māgadhenā ajātaśatruṇā vaidehīputreṇa bhaktābhisāras tena upasamkrāntaḥ; upasamkramya purastād bhikṣusaṃghasya prajñapta eva āsane nyaśīdat; atha rājā māgadho 'jātaśatruṃ vaidehīputraḥ sukhopaniṣaṇṇaṃ buddha-
pramukhaṃ bhikṣusaṃghaṃ viditvā śucinā praṇītena khādanīyabhojanīyena svahastaṃ saṃtarpayati saṃpravārayati; anekaparyāyeṇa śucinā praṇītena khādanīyabhojanīyena svahastaṃ saṃtarpya saṃpravārya bhagavantaṃ
bhuktavantaṃ viditvā dhautahastaṃ apanītapātraṃ nīcataram āsanaṃ grhitva bhagavataḥ purastān niṣaṇṇo dharmaśravaṇāya.*

atha bhagavān rājño māgadhasya ajataśatror vaidehīputrasya tad dānam anayā abhy anumodanayā abhy anumodate:

*agnihotramukhā yajñāḥ sāvitrī cchandasāṃ mukham |
rājā mukhaṃ manuṣyāṇāṃ nadīnāṃ sāgaro mukham ||
nakṣatrāṇāṃ mukhaṃ candra ādityas tapatām mukham |
ūrdhvaṃ tiryag adhaś cāpi yāvatī jagato gatiḥ ||
sadevakeṣu lokeṣu sambuddho hījyātām varaḥ |*

atha bhagavān rājānaṃ māgadham ajātaśatruṃ dharmyayā kathayā samdarśayati samādāpayati samuttejayati saṃpraharṣayati; anekaparyāyeṇa dharmyayā kathayā samdarśya samādāpya samuttejya saṃpraharṣya utthāya āsanāt prakrāntaḥ.

yadā bhagavatā rājā ajātaśatruṃ vaidehīputro 'mūlikayā śraddhayā pratiṣṭhāpitaḥ tadā yadā bhagavantaṃ harmyatalastho hastiskandhāvarūḍho vā paśyati tadā ātmānaṃ muñcati; yāvad apareṇa samayena hastiskandhāvarūḍhena bhagavān dr̥ṣṭaḥ; tena ātmā muktaḥ; bhagavatā riddhyā pratiṣṭaḥ; pauruṣeyam antarjanaṃ ca āmantrayate; yat khalu bhavantaḥ jñānīyuh; adyāgreṇa bhagavataḥ śrāvako bhagavantaṃ śaraṇaṃ gataḥ; adyāgreṇa anāvṛtaṃ dvāraṃ bhagavataḥ śrāvakāṇāṃ bhikṣūṇāṃ bhikṣuṇīnāṃ upāsakānāṃ upāsikānāṃ āvṛtaṃ dvāraṃ devadattasya devadattasya śrāvakāṇāṃ ca iti.

yāvad apareṇa samayena devadatto rājño 'jātaśatror gr̥haṃ praveṣṭum ārabdho dauvārikeṇa abhihitāḥ: tiṣṭha mā pravekṣyasīti; kiṃ kāraṇaṃ? devena ājñā dattā: adyāgreṇa ahaṃ bhagavataḥ śrāvako bhagavantaṃ śaraṇaṃ gataḥ; adyāgreṇa anāvṛtaṃ dvāraṃ bhagavataḥ śrāvakāṇāṃ bhikṣūṇāṃ bhikṣuṇīnāṃ upāsakānāṃ upāsikānāṃ; āvṛtaṃ tu devadattasya devadattaśrāvakāṇāṃ devadattaśrāvikaṇāṃ ca iti; sa ca dvāre vidhāritas tiṣṭhati; utpalavarṇā ca bhikṣuṇī piṇḍapātāṃ ādāya rājakulān niṣkrāmati...

9. The Jizhiguo-jing 寂志果經 (T.22).

1) The description of Ajātaśatru's lack of inner peace (271a1-17):

聞如是。一時，佛遊王舍城耆域奈園，與比丘眾千二百五十俱。時王阿闍世七月十五日過新歲臘，與群臣百官俱，眷屬圍繞。上寂安觀，謂群臣言：“諸卿當知，如是我修，非時愁悵不改。雖得此歲，憤慘不次。當何方便除其怵惕？”有臣白王：“當以五樂消散憂慮。”有臣：“當作名倡、巧妙異妓鼓樂絃歌，可以療憂。”有臣白王：“宜以四種象馬車步勇猛兵士，消除悵憤。”有臣白王：“不蘭迦葉、莫軻離惟瞿樓、阿夷耑其耶今離、迦旃、先比盧持、尼撻子等，是諸師者，各與五百之眾，在此大城。可嚴大駕，造與相見。談聽歡娛，可離所患。”時有童子醫王名曰耆域（晉言固活），持扇侍王。王顧謂言：“卿何故默，獨無所陳？”耆域白王：“欲蠲灼惕，忘憂除患，今佛世尊與弟子眾俱在奈園。可到佛所稽首致敬，諮啓疑惑，乃得開解。”

2) Ajātaśatru's speaks of his desire for peace to Pūraṇa (271b19-25):

王白佛言：“曾到不蘭迦葉所問：‘所有象馬、乘車、步行，財寶侍從、篋藏，力士勇猛，大象車，娛樂、睡眠，合會天人，印綬大臣，百官群從，太史占變知人終始，所可恭敬，有所作為，或為己身，求索安隱，或為父母、妻子、奴婢，供養沙門、梵志，施以上供。是我寧得法律之正，入寂然道乎？’…”

3) The description of Ajātaśatru's confession to the Buddha (275c28-276b6):

於是，摩竭王阿闍世起坐，稽首佛足，自首悔過：“唯願世尊原其罪豐。譬如小兒愚癡無智，迷惑失志，無有善權。佛為法王，一切父母，常立正法。救迷立法，無怒害陰蓋。今若更生，願世尊受身歸命。自見過惡，更受勅誡。懲改既往，修順將來。”佛言：“大王，如仁所言，實如小兒，愚癡無智，迷惑無權，害其父母命。今歸法王，為得更生。自見罪過，於是法律為得善利，不為有損。”時王阿闍世叉手向佛：“唯願世尊受我供施，及比丘眾。”時佛默然，即已受請。王知受請，其心喜躍。繞佛三匝，稽首而退。時王既退，去佛不遠，告耆域童子：“卿之於我多所饒益。令吾詣佛，啟受法誨。得覲世尊，免吾罪尤，令重咎微輕。”佛告諸比丘：“王阿闍世已得生忍。雖害法王，了除瑕穢，無有諸漏。已住於法，而不動轉。於是坐上，遠塵離垢諸法眼生。”

王還歸宮，即夜設百種飯食、餽饌精細。明旦往詣佛所，稽首佛足，白佛言：“時以到。願尊自屈。”佛即與比丘僧俱，眷屬圍繞，往詣王宮。佛眾坐定，行澡水訖，便布飯食，手自斟酌。食澡畢竟，王取小榻而坐佛前，聽佛說經。王白佛：“唯然世尊，願受我一夏之請，於王舍宮，供養所乏，及比丘眾。當為佛立五百精舍，令千二百五十人寢息有所。倉庫米穀，中宮小大，當進所供養。”佛言：“大王喜悅，則所施具足。前已受舍衛國長者須達之請一夏矣。”王白佛言：“彼國長者為得善利，佛天中天先受其請故。”時佛為阿闍世王說法，令心開解。佛說偈言：“有作火祠者，一切自謂上。王者人中尊，海為眾流本。星宿中月明，日者晝垂光。上下所往來，所事謂萌類，天上及世間，佛道為最尊。”佛說經已，王阿闍世、諸比丘眾、諸天阿須倫，聞經歡喜，作禮而去。

10. The episode of Ajātaśatru's confession to the Buddha in the Chinese translation of

the *Dīrghāgama* (T. 1 [27].109b12-c20):

爾時，阿闍世王即從坐起，頭面禮佛足，白佛言：“唯願世尊受我悔過。我爲狂愚，癡冥無識。我父摩竭瓶沙王以法治化，無有偏枉，而我迷惑五欲，實害父王。唯願世尊加哀慈愍，受我悔過。”佛告王曰：“汝愚冥無識，但自悔過。汝迷於五欲，乃害父王。今於賢聖法中能悔過者，即自饒益。吾愍汝故，受汝悔過。爾時，阿闍世王禮世尊足已，還一面坐。佛爲說法，示教利喜。王聞佛教已，即白佛言：“我今歸依佛、歸依法、歸依僧。聽我於正法中爲優婆塞。自今已後，盡形壽不殺、不盜、不姪、不欺、不飲酒。唯願世尊及諸大眾明受我請。”爾時，世尊默然許可。時王見佛默然受請已，即起禮佛，遶三匝而還。其去未久，佛告諸比丘言：“此阿闍世王過罪損減，已拔重咎。若阿闍世王不殺父者，即當於此坐上得法眼淨。而阿闍世王今自悔過，罪咎損減，已拔重咎。”時阿闍世王至於中路，告壽命童子言：“善哉，善哉，汝今於我多所饒益。汝先稱說如來指授開發，然後將我詣世尊所，得蒙開悟。深識汝恩，終不遺忘。”

時王還宮，辦諸餽膳、種種飲食。明日時到，唯聖知時。爾時，世尊著衣持鉢，與眾弟子千二百五十人俱，往詣王宮，就座而坐。時王手自斟酌，供佛及僧。食訖去鉢，行澡水畢，禮世尊足，白言：“我今再三悔過。我爲狂愚，癡冥無識。我父摩竭瓶沙王以法治化，無有偏枉，而我迷於五欲，實害父王。唯願世尊加哀慈愍，受我悔過。”佛告王曰：“汝愚冥無識，迷於五欲，乃害父王。今於賢聖法中能悔過者，即自饒益。吾今愍汝，受汝悔過。”時王禮佛足已，取一小座於佛前坐。佛爲說法，示教利喜。王聞佛教已，又白佛言：“我今再三歸依佛、歸依法、歸依僧。唯願聽我於正法中爲優婆塞。自今已後，盡形壽不殺、不盜、不姪、不欺、不飲酒。”爾時，世尊爲阿闍世王說法，示教利喜已，從坐起而去。爾時，阿闍世王及壽命童子聞佛所說，歡喜奉行。

11. The Chinese EĀ version of the SPS (T.125 [43.7]):

1) Ajātaśatru's expression to Jīvaka of his remorse for the patricide (762b21-c23):

是時，王阿闍世聞耆婆伽語已，歡喜踊躍，善心生焉。即歎耆婆伽曰：“善哉，善哉，王子，快說斯言。所以然者？我今身心極爲熾然，又復無故取父王殺。我恒長夜作是念：‘誰堪任悟我心意者？’今耆婆伽向所說者正入我意。甚奇，甚特，聞如來音響，[火*霍]然大悟。”時王向耆婆伽便說此偈：“今日極清明，心意不得悟。汝等人人說，應往問誰義？不蘭阿夷耑、尼撻梵弟子，斯等不可依，不能有所濟。今日極清明，月滿無瑕穢。今問耆婆伽，應往問誰義？”是時，耆婆伽復以偈報王曰：“聞其柔軟音，得脫摩竭魚。唯願時詣佛，永處無畏境。”時王復以偈報曰：“我昔所施行，於佛無益事。害彼真佛子，名曰頻婆娑。今極懷羞恥，無顏見世尊。汝今云何說，使吾往見之？”是時耆婆伽復以偈報王曰：“諸佛無彼此，諸結永已除。平等無二心，此是佛法義。設以栴檀香，以塗右手者，執刀斷左手，心不起增減。如

憍羅云子，一息更無二。持心向提婆，怨親無有異。唯願大王屈，往覲如來顏。當斷其狐疑，勿足有留滯。”

2) Ajātaśatru's confession to the Buddha before the sermon (763a19-26):

時王阿闍世即至佛所，五體投地。以兩手著如來足上，而自稱說：“唯願世尊，當見垂憐，受其悔過。父王無罪而取害之。唯願受悔。後更不犯，自改往修來。”世尊告曰：“今正是時。宜時悔過，無令有失。夫人處世有過能自改者，斯名上人。於我法中，極為廣大。宜時懺悔。”是時，王禮如來足已，住一面坐。

3) Ajātaśatru's confession to the Buddha after the sermon (764a13-b11):

王白佛言：“我今以此譬喻，於中受解。今日世尊重演其義。自今已後，信受其義。唯願世尊受為弟子。自歸於佛法比丘僧。今復懺悔：如愚如惑，父王無過而取害之。今以身命自歸。唯願世尊除其罪愆，演其妙法。長夜無為，如我自知，所作罪報無有善本。”佛告王曰：“世有二種人無罪而命終，如屈伸臂頃，得生天上。云何為二？一者不造罪本而修其善，二者為罪改其所造。是謂二人而取命終，生於天上，亦無流滯。”爾時，世尊便說此偈：“人作極惡行，悔過轉微薄。日悔無懈怠，罪根永已拔。”“是故，大王，當以法治化，莫以非法。夫以法治化者，身壞命終，生善處天上。彼以命終，名譽遠布，周聞四方。後人共傳：昔日有王，正法治化，無有阿曲。人以稱傳彼人所生之處，增壽益算，無有中夭。是故，大王，當發歡喜之心，向三尊佛法聖眾。如是，大王，當作是學。”爾時，阿闍世王即從座起。頭面禮佛足，便退而去。王去不遠，佛告諸比丘：“今此阿闍世王，不取父王害者，今日應得初沙門果證，在四雙八輩之中，亦復得賢聖八品道，除去八愛，超越八難。雖爾，今猶獲大幸，得無根之信。是故，比丘，為罪之人當求方便，成無根之信。我優婆塞中得無根信者，所謂阿闍世是也。”

12. The Buddha's comment on the purificatory power of repentance in the case of

Ajātaśatru in the *Fo-wei-shoujia-zhangzhe-shuo-baoye-chabie-jing* 佛為首迦長者說業報差別經 (T. 80. 893c6-13):

“復有業能令眾生墮於地獄，暫入即出。若有眾生造地獄業，作已怖畏，起增上信，生慙愧心，厭惡棄捨，慙重懺悔，更不重造。如阿闍世王殺父等罪，暫入地獄，即得解脫。”於是世尊即說偈言：“若人造重罪，作已深自責。懺悔更不造，能拔根本業。”

13. The Pāli *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*. Rhys Davids and Carpenter 1886-1932: i. 237.23-238.13:

1) Ajātasattu's next birth in hell and his subsequent release from there

dhammacakkhun ti dhammesu vā cakkhuṃ, dhammamayaṃ vā cakkhuṃ. aññesu thānesu tiṇṇaṃ maggāṇaṃ etaṃ adhivacanaṃ, idha pana sotāpatti-maggass'eva. idaṃ vuttaṃ hoti: sace iminā pitā ghātito nābhavissa idāni idh'eva¹ nisinno sotāpattimaggaṃ patto abhavissa. pāpamittasaṃsaggena pan'assa antarāyo jāto. evaṃ sante pi yasmā ayaṃ tathāgataṃ upasaṃkamitvā ratana-ttayaṃ saraṇaṃ gato, tasmā mama sāsaṇamahantatāya yathā nāma koci purisassa vadhaṃ² katvā pupphaṃuṭṭhimattena daṇḍena mucceyya, evaṃ eva lohakumbhiyaṃ nibbattitvā³ tiṇsa vassasahassāni adho patanto heṭṭhimatalaṃ patvā tiṇsa vassasahassāni uddhaṃ uggacchanta⁴ puna⁵ pi uparimatalaṃ pāpuṇitvā muccissatī ti. idaṃ pi kira bhagavatā vuttam eva, pāliyaṃ pana na ārūlhaṃ.

(1) B^e + āsane (2) B^e purisassa vadhaṃ for purisavadhaṃ (3) B^e °etvā (4) B^e gacchanta (5) B^e + pi

2) Ajātasattu's regaining of peace of mind and his eventual *paccekabuddha*-hood

imaṃ⁶ pana suttaṃ sutvā raññā ko⁷ ānisaṃso laddho⁸? mahā ānisaṃso laddho. ayaṃ hi pitumāritakālato paṭṭhāya n'eva rattiṃ na divā niddaṃ labhati. satthāraṃ pana upasaṃkamitvā imāya madhurāya ojavatīyā⁹ dhammadesanāya sutakālato paṭṭhāya niddaṃ labhi. tiṇṇaṃ ratanānaṃ mahāsakkāraṃ akāsi. pothuḥjanikāya saddhāya samannāgato nāma iminā raññā sadiso nāhosi. anāgate pana vidita-viseso¹⁰ nāma paccekabuddho hutvā parinibbāyissatī ti.

(6) B^e idam (7) B^e + ci (8) B^e + ti (9) B^e °vantīyā (10) B^e Vijitāvī

14. The Buddha's prophecy of Ajātasattu's future *pratyekabuddha*-hood in the *Asheshi-wang-wen-wuni-jing* 阿闍世王問五逆經 (T.508.776a1-776b18):

時世尊便說此偈：“愚者知是處，言殃謂無報。我今觀當來，受報有定處。”是時，世尊告諸比丘：“彼摩竭國阿闍世王，雖殺父王，亦當不久來至我所，當有等信於我所。命終之後，當墮地獄如拍毬。”時有一比丘，白世尊言：“從彼泥犁命終，當生何處？”世尊告曰：“從彼泥犁命終，當生四天王處。”比丘白言：“從彼命終，當生何處？”世尊告曰：“比丘，從彼命終，當生三十三天。”比丘白言：“從三十三天命終，當生何處？”世尊告曰：“比丘，從三十三天命終，當生炎天上。”比丘白言：“世尊，從彼命終，當生何處？”世尊告曰：“從炎天上命終，當生兜術天。”比丘白言：“世尊，從兜術天命終，當生何處？”世尊告曰：“從兜術天命終，當生化自在天。”比丘白言：“從化自在天命終，當生何處？”世尊告曰：“比丘，從化自在天命終，當生他化自在天。”比丘白言：“世尊，從他化自在天命終，當生何處？”世尊告曰：“比丘，從他化自在天命終，當生化自在天、生兜術天、

炎天、三十三天、四天王天。復當來生人間。”比丘白言：“世尊，從此命終，當生何處？”世尊告曰：“比丘，摩竭國王阿闍世，二十劫中不趣三惡道，流轉天人間。最後受身，剃除鬚髮，著三法衣。以信堅固，出家學道。當成辟支佛，名無穢。”比丘白言：“甚奇！甚特！世尊，作如是殃罪，受是快樂，成辟支佛，名曰無穢。”世尊告曰：“摩竭國王阿闍世發意成就，眾善普至。比丘，堪任發意成就，得拔濟地獄。若發意不成就者，因緣成就，雖未生地獄，猶可設方便不至地獄。”比丘白言：“若彼人二事俱成就者，彼當生何處？”世尊告曰：“彼二事成就，當生二處。云何爲二？生天、人間。”比丘白言：“彼發意成就、因緣不成就者，此二事有何差別？”世尊告曰：“比丘，發意成就、因緣不成就，此是濡根。發意不成就、因緣成就，比丘，此是利根。”比丘白言：“鈍根、利根，有何差別？”世尊告曰：“鈍根者，比丘所爲不進。利根者，比丘聰明點慧。”比丘白言：“此二有何差別？當還何業？”是時，世尊便說此偈：“智慧世爲上，當至安隱處。諸能知等業，斷彼生有死。”“是謂比丘有是差別。”是時，彼比丘聞佛所說，歡喜奉行已。即從坐起，頭面禮足，遶三匝便退而去。

15. The Buddha's prophecy of Ajātaśatru's future *pratyekabuddha*-hood in the Chinese *Ekottarikāgama* (T.125.726a4-18)

世尊告曰：“勿懷恐懼。汝今往至王所，而白此事言：‘如來記前王身，終無虛妄，所言無二。父王無咎而取害之，當生阿鼻地獄中，經歷一劫。然今日以離此罪，改其過罪，於如來法中，信根成就，緣此德本，得滅此罪，永無有餘。於今身命終，當生拍毬地獄中。於彼命終，當生四天王上。於彼命終，生豔天上。於豔天上命終，生兜術天、化自在天、他化自在天。復還以次來至四天王中。大王當知，二十劫中不墮惡趣，恒在人中生。最後受身，以信堅固，剃除鬚髮，著三法衣。出家學道，名曰除惡辟支佛。’彼王聞此語，便當歡喜踊躍，不能自勝。亦當告汝作是語：‘隨汝所求要願，吾不違之。’”

16. The *Pusa-benxing-jing* 菩薩本行經 (T.155):

1) The Buddha's prophecy of Ajātaśatru's next birth (116c15-21):

爾時，世尊告毘舍離使：“我以先受阿闍世王九十日請，而今未竟。汝自往語阿闍世王。”使白佛言：“二國素有怨嫌。我今往到，必當見殺。”佛告使言：“汝但爲佛作使，終無有能殺汝者也。”佛重告使言：“語阿闍世王：‘殺父惡逆之罪，用向如來改悔故，在地獄中當受世間五百日罪，便當得脫。’”

2) Ajātaśatru's response to the envoy's report of the Buddha's prophecy (116c29-117a3):

王聞是語，歡喜踊躍，不能自勝：“我造逆罪在於地獄，爲有出期。”即遙向

佛稽首作禮。王語使言：“汝能爲我致此消息，快不可言。欲求何願，恣當與汝。”

17. The Buddha's conversion of Ajātaśatru in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the MSV. Derge Kanjur 1, 'dul ba, kha 13a6-14b3; sTog Kanjur 1, 'dul ba, ka 454a4-kha 3a4:

sang rgya bcom ldan 'das rgya po'i khab 'od ma'i tshal bya ka lan da¹ ka gnas pa na bzhugs so || gang gi tshe gzhon nu ma skyes dgra lha sbyin gyis sbad nas² pha chos kyi rgyal po chos dang ldan pa bsad de rang nyid kyis cod pan bcings nas rgyal por zhugs pa de'i tshe³ de bcom ldan 'das la bkur sti ma yin pa mang po bya bar brtsams te⁴ | bkrongs⁵ pa man chad bya ba'i phyir glang po che nor skyong dang³ khyi gtum po za ba dag sbad pa dang | de'i ma lus 'phags mas smras pa | bu bcom ldan 'das la bkur sti ma yin pa ma byed cig || sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das ni bkur sti ma yin pas bsnyengs pa yin gyis | rgyal po'i khab nas bzhud de gnod par gyur ta re | bcom ldan 'das kyi mthus yul ang ga dang | ma ga dha rnams 'byor cing nyams dga' pa yin no || snying rnyog pa can des smras pa | ci gang na bcom ldan 'das med pa'i yul de dag zhig pa dang³ stongs par gyur tam | de mas thams cad kyi thams cad du bzlog⁶ kyang ma btub nas |² bcom ldan 'das kyis dgongs pa | gzhon nu ma skyes dgra 'di bsod nams ma yin pa mang du sogs⁷ kyis |² ngas 'di gzhi med pa'i dad pa la gzhag⁸ tu re zhig de'i⁹ dus la ma bab pas mnyan yod du gshegs so snyam nas | de nas bcom ldan 'das nyan thos kyi dge 'dun dang thabs cig tu mnyan yod gang na ba der rgyu zhing gshegs te |² rim gyis rgyu zhing gshegs pa na mnyan yod du byon nas | mnyan yod na rgyal bu rgyal byed kyi tshal mgon med zas sbyin gyi kun dga' ra ba na bzhugs so ||

mtha'i rgyal phran dag gis bcom ldan 'das la ma skyes dgras bkur sti ma yin pa byas pas |² de bkur sti ma yin pas bsnyengs nas |² rgyal po'i khab nas gshegs te mnyan yod du byon no¹⁰ zhes thos nas | de dag 'di snyam du sems te | re zhig rgyal po sdig can des pha chos kyi rgyal po chos dang ldan pa bsad na¹¹ | des kyang ma chog nas³ bcom ldan 'das lha dang³ lha ma yin dang | mi rnams kyis mchod pa de la yang bkur sti ma yin pa byas te | sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das rnams ni bkur sti ma yin pas bsnyengs pa yin pas | des na bcom ldan 'das rgyal po'i khab nas gshegs te mnyan yod du byon par gyur pas |² de yong ye rgyal srid las dbyung bar bya'o |² snyam nas |² de dag gis phan tshun pho nyas bzugs nas blo gros gcig tu byas te |² dpung gi tshogs yan lag bzhi pa go bskon pa glang po che'i tshogs dang | rta pa'i tshogs dang | shing rta'i tshogs dang | dpung bu chung gi tshogs dang | rgyal po'i khab tu dong ste¹² lo bcom nas phru mar bskor te 'khod do || klu'i rgyal po sog ma med kyis kyang ser ba'i rgyun phab pas lo tog lhag ma rnams ma rung bar byas || dka' thub kyi chu lnga brgya dang | chu mig dang | mtsho dang | mtshe 'u rnams skams la thug pas mu ge byung bar gyur to || chu lhag¹³ ma gzhan dag kyang mtha'i rgyal phran dag gis¹⁴ ma rung bar byas so || de nas ma skyes dgra sdug bsngal mi bzad pa¹⁵ nyam nga bar gyur pa la³ mi ma yin pa dag gis glags rnyed de |¹⁶ rma la thal ba¹⁷ btab pa ltar mi ngas byung ste | khyogs dang khyogs 'drud par gyur to ||

de nas rgyal po ma skyes dgra gnod pa brgya phrag¹⁸ du mas snying dkrugs

*pas³ lag pa 'gram pa la gtad de sems khong du chud cing 'dug go || de nas
 lus 'phags mas smras pa | bu ci'i phyir sems khong du chud | yum gnod pa brgya
 phrag du ma dag byung bar gyur to | bu kho mos sngar khyod la bcom ldan 'das
 la bkur sti ma yin pa ma byed cig || 'dul ba gzhi bma po nyi shu drug pa | sang
 rgyas bcom ldan 'das rnams ni bkur sti ma yin pas bsnyengs pa yin gyis | bcom
 ldan 'das rgyal po'i khab nas bzhud de³ gnod par gyur ta re zhes ma smras sam |
 de ni 'di yin no || yum de la ji ltar bsgrub par bgi | bu bcom ldan 'das la bzung
 par gsol cig || yum bcom ldan 'das kyi spyang sngar mchis pa'i rngo mi thogs¹⁹
 lags so || bu kyod kyis sang rgya bcom ldan 'das rnams ni tsan dan dang ste'u²⁰
 mnyam pa |² khong khro ba dang |² rjes su chags pa spangs pa yin no zhes ma
 thos sam | gal te 'ga' zhig gis bcom ldan 'das kyi phyag dpung pa gcig la ste'u yis
 bzhog²¹ par byed la | cig shos la tsan dan sa mchog gis nyug par byed na | de la
 bcom ldan 'das rjes su chags pa yang mi mnga' |¹⁶ khod khro byang mi mnga'o ||
 de nas lus 'phags ma'i bu rgyal po ma skyes dgras³ mi zhig la smras pa | kye
 nang rje tshur shog || khyod bcom ldan 'das gang na ba der song la |¹⁶ son nas³
 kho bo'i tshig gis bcom ldan 'das kyi zhabs gnyis la spyi²² bos phyag byas te gnod
 pa chung ngam | nyam nga ba nyung ngam | bskyod pa yang ngam | 'tsho'm |
 gnod pa mi mnga'm | stobs dang bde ba la³ reg par bzhugs sam zhes snyun gsol
 la³ 'di skad ces kyang gsol cig || btsun pa lus 'phags ma'i bu yul ma ga dha'i
 rgyal po ma skyes dgra'i mchid nas³ btsun pa bu ngan pa ni mchis kyi |² pha ngan
 pa ni ma mchis pas |² bcom ldan 'das thugs brtse ba nye bar bzung ste |² rgyal
 po'i khab tu gshegs par gsol | gal te bcom ldan 'das ma gshegs na ring po mi
 thogs pa kho nar rgyal po'i khab kyi grong khyer stongs te ming lus par 'gyur ro
 zhes gsol cig || ...*

1) S ta 2) D ø | 3) S + | 4) S ste 5) D dgrongs 6) S zlog 7) S bsags 8) S bzhag 9) S ø de'i 10)
 D to 11) S nas 12) D + | 13) S lhags 14) S + dug gis 15) S + | rsub pa | 16) S ø | 17) S bas 18)
 S ø phrag 19) D thog 20) S ste'ur 21) S 'zhog 22) S mgo

◆ The counterpart in Yijing's translation may be found at T.1448.19c2-20a18.

18. Lokakṣema's translation of the *Ajātaśatru-kaukr̥tya-vinodanā-sūtra (T.626):

1) Ajātaśatru's expression of remorse and his request for relief (395c4-396a11):

(阿闍世王)復問：“所疑從何因緣起？”佛言：“無所據故。”“何謂無所據？”
 佛言：“如所說聞之則疑，是謂不據。”復問：“何所是道？何所爲信？”佛
 言：“脫於姪怒癡是爲道。”“何所是信？”佛言：“不得諸法根本其心不異，
 是故爲信。”阿闍世王即言：“善哉，善哉，如怛薩阿竭所說，一切人所以不
 信者何？自作故。今我用惡人之言，勅令臣下自殺其父。用貪利國故，用貪
 財寶故，用貪利宰民故，用貪利尊貴故，今我使臣下而害其父。貪身狐疑，
 不能自解。若飲，若食，在戲樂，若在正殿聽省國事，若在中宮五樂之欲，
 若獨，與眾俱，晝夜而不忘，飲食則不能消。亦無其臥，顏色亦無和悅。時
 其心常怖據，知不離於泥犁。”

則復陳言：“若盲者承佛所得眼目。若爲水所溺者，依佛而得脫。其有苦痛者，佛而令得安。其有恐懼者，佛而爲作護。其有貧窮者，佛能爲作珍寶。其有失道徑者，能示於道路。佛以加大哀，不以爲勤劇。等心於一切，堅固而作厚。常忍於苦樂，不捨於一切人。今我身而怖懼。惟佛當加護，令危者而得安。身無有能救者，唯願而得濟。無所歸者，唯願受其歸命。譬若無眼目，唯得而視瞻。如人之欲蹇，惟令而得往。今當入阿鼻乃至大泥犁，願令得不入。惟怛薩阿竭今當爲我解說吾之狐疑，令心而得開，至死無餘疑，令重罪而得微輕。”

佛念阿闍世王：“其所說甚深而微妙。是病莫能療之者，獨佛、文殊師利而有感應。”舍利弗承佛威神，謂阿闍世：“欲決狐疑者，明旦作食，請文殊師利等，令到其宮受之者。其若之官屬皆當得其福，并羅閱國諸民，皆因是功德可而爲本。”阿闍世王則白文殊師利：“惟加大恩，明旦屈德就宮而食。”則文殊師利答言：“以足可爲供養已。”文殊師利復言：“佛法非以衣食故。”阿闍世即白：“當何以施之？”則答言：“若深入微妙，其事審諦，無所污，亦無所著，亦無所疑，無所難，無所畏，無所一懼，如是者以爲得哀。”

2) Mañjuśrī's acceptance of Ajātaśatru's invitation for a meal (396c12-22):

阿闍世王即言：“善哉，善哉，如文殊師利菩薩之所言。惟願受其請。所以者何？用狐疑故。熟自思念：如諸法無吾、無我、無壽、無命，而我有狐疑。”文殊師利言：“如無者，不可令有。以無者，亦不脫，亦無所脫。其說‘我者而有脫者’，以無有脫者，亦不脫，亦無所脫。所以者何？諸法悉脫故。”佛謂文殊師利：“受阿闍世王請，用無央數人故。”文殊師利則言：“惟受怛薩阿竭教。所以者何？不違教故。”

19. The Buddha's prophecy of Ajātaśatru's future rebirths in the Sanskrit version (Harrison and Hartmann 2000a: 204-213) and Lokakṣema's translation (T.626) of the **Ajātaśatru-kaukṛtya-vinodanā-sūtra*:

§1 Ajātaśatru's Next Birth in Hell

<T.626.404a14-22> 時舍利弗問佛：“阿闍世餘罪有幾所？”佛言：“所聞法譬若一芥子，能盡須彌山之罪。”舍利弗問佛：“王阿闍世當入泥犁不？”“譬若忉利天子，被服名眾好寶，來下到是，則還處所。阿闍世者，亦以衣服珍寶莊嚴，譬若是天子，從上來下。雖入泥犁，泥犁名賓頭，入中無有苦痛。則爲苦⁶²⁵天子，上歸本處。”舍利弗白佛：“甚善，阿闍世所作罪而得微輕。”

<Skt.folio 543r1-v1> (**r1**) *gaṃbhīrān dharmadeśanām āgamyā kṣīṇaṃ viparīnataṃ anuṭpādadharmam iti (...r2) deveṣu trayastṛṃśeṣu devaputraḥ divye*

⁶²⁵ The Old Song edition gives the correct reading 若.

*ratnamaye kūṭāgāre nil(ayana...r3) upapatsyati | utkramati ca | na cāsyā kāye
duḥkhasya vedanā a(...v1) avedanīyaṃ kṛtaṃ |*

§2 Ajātaśatru's Previous Lives

<T.626.404a22-b5> 佛謂舍利弗：“汝乃知是王不？”則言：“不知。”“是阿闍世王以供養七十三億佛，各從諸佛常聞深法。其心不離阿耨多羅三耶三菩心。”佛復問舍利弗：“乃見文殊師利不？”則言：“見。”“是本發阿闍世，而令爲阿耨多羅三耶三菩心。爾時，久遠過去時，有佛號字安隱覺，劫名無塵垢。用是劫中而有三億億人皆文殊師利之所勸而轉法輪。”佛語舍利弗：“譬如恒邊沙等佛爲阿闍世說法，而不解其狐疑。所以者何？是文殊師利之所發意故，當從是解。世世常從文殊師利聞甚深法。”佛言：“菩薩本有所造作，其人必當因本所發意而得解。”

<Skt.folio 543v1-544r1> *bhagavān āha <|> tathā hi śāriputra rājñā
ajātaśa(truṇā... anuv2)ttarāyāṃ saṃmyaksambodhau pariṇāmitaṃ <|> paśyasi
tvam śāriputra maṃjuśri(yaṃ kumārabhūtaṃ ...v3) dīrghāyuvanatāyāḥ <|>
asthānaṃ śāriputra anavakāśaḥ saced etasya (... 544r1...) paripācaḥ punaḥ
punar aneneyaṃ gaṃbhīrā dharmadeśanā śrut<ā> asyaiva sakāśāt | ta i[me] ..
te śāriputra pa(ryā)yeṇa evaṃ veditavyaṃ | yasyai yasyai ca bo(dhisatva...)*

§3 Ajātaśatru's Future Heavenly Rebirth after Rising from Hell

<T.626.404b5-9> “今阿闍世雖入泥犁，還上生天上方。去是五百四十五剎土，號字名惟位(惟位，漢言爲嚴淨)，其佛號字羅陀那羈頭(漢言寶好)。亦於彼當與文殊師利相得。從其剎欲會，聞所說法，則當得無所從生法忍。”

<Skt.folio 544r2-4> *(r2...) eṣa śāriputra rājā ajātaśatruḥ tataḥ piṇḍoriye mahā-
narakād udgamyā ūrdhvadiśābhāge upapatsyate ito buddhakṣetrāc catuś-
catvāriṃśad buddhakṣetraśa(tāni...r3...) nāma tathāgato 'rhān saṃmyak-
sambuddhaḥ etarhi dharmam deśeti <|> eṣa tatra kṣetre upapannaḥ punar eva
maṃjuśriyaṃ kumārabhūtaṃ draṅkṣyati imāṃ ca gaṃbhīrāṃ dharmad(e)ś(anāṃ
ś)r(oṣyati...r4... anutpattikeṣu ca dharme)ṣu kṣāntiṃ pratilasyate |*

§4 Ajātaśatru's Future Rebirth as A Bodhisattva

<T.626.404b9-20> “彌勒於是作佛，阿闍世從彼剎來生是間。爾時，當名阿伽佉鉢菩薩。彌勒佛從是因緣，以法教諸菩薩。所說法，亦不過，亦不短，適平等。爾時，當說阿伽佉鉢者：‘以過去釋迦文佛時，有王名阿闍世，用惡人言而殺其父。從文殊師利聞諸法，聞已，則歡喜信忍，所作罪應時盡索。彌勒佛說是時，八千菩薩悉得無所從生法忍。却後八阿僧祇劫，阿伽佉鉢當行菩薩道，而教化人，亦當淨剎土。其有人從其聞法者，若作聲聞，若作辟支佛，若菩薩法者，皆當無瑕穢，一切無所礙。諸人悉當明於智慧，無所狐疑。’”

<Skt.folio 544r4-545r2> *yadā ca maitreyaṇa bodhisatvena bodhiḥ prāptā bhaviṣyati tatra eṣa punar eva tatas saḥāyāṃ lokadhātau upapadyiṣyati ākhyātāvī (...v1...)ṣo vandiṣyati | pūrvayogasamprayuktaṃ dharmaṃ deś(a)yiṣyati | ayam ākhyātāvī bodhisatvaḥ bhagavataḥ śākyamun(e)s tathāgatasya pravacane rājā abhū(d a)jātaśatru(r nāma...v2...a)naparādhī jivitād vyavaropitaḥ <|> tena maṃjuśrīyasya kumārabhūtasya samtikād dharmadeśanā śrutā anulomikeṣu dharmeṣu (kṣā)ntiḥ pratilabdā tac ca karmāvaraṇaṃ niravaśeṣ(am...)*
(544v3...ākhyātāvī)naṃ bodhisatvam ārabhya tathā tathā dharmaṃ de(śa)yati yathāṣṭānāṃ bodhisatvasahasrāṇāṃ anulomikadharmakṣāntipratilābho bhavet | caturāśītānāṃ ca bodhisa(tvasahasrāṇāṃ...v4...)yiṣyati <|> sa eṣa śāriputra rājā ajātaśatruḥ tataḥ paścād aṣṭau asaṃkhyeyakalpāṃs cariṣyati satvapariṣākāya <|> buddhakṣetrapariśodhanatāyāṃ (...545r1...ye sattvās tena pa)ripācitā bhaviṣyanti {h} śrāvakayānena vā pratyekabuddhayānena vā mahāyāne<na> vā <|> na teṣāṃ satvānāṃ karmāvaraṇaṃ bhaviṣyati | na kleśāvaraṇaṃ bhaviṣyati | sarve t(e) satvās t(i)kṣṇ(endriyā bhaviṣyanti ...r2...aka)thaṃ kathīyāḥ <|>

§5 Ajātaśatru's Final Birth as A Buddha

<T.626.404b20-c3> “其王阿闍世過如所說八阿僧祇劫以後，當得爲佛。其劫當名唾曰鉍陀遍(漢言者歡喜見)，其刹土名阿迦曇(漢言者爲藥王)。其病者莫不愈。其怛薩阿竭當號字惟首陀惟沙耶(漢言者淨其所部)。爾時，壽四小劫。當有七十萬聲聞，悉已從惠得解，皆當知八惟務禪。爾時，當有十二億菩薩，一切皆入諸慧，曉了漚沱拘舍。佛般泥洹以後，其法住乃至億萬歲已後乃盡。其刹土一切人至死無狐疑者。壽終已後，不生八惡處。所以者何？用從佛聞深法故，諸垢濁不復著。”佛語舍利弗：“人而不可輕。所以者何？而從輕，得其罪。”佛言：“我知人而所作，而餘無知者。而所趣向，其佛者乃知之。”

<Skt.folio 545r2-v2> *sa eṣa śāriputra rājā ajātaśatruḥ aṣṭabhir asaṃkhyeyakalpebhiḥ anuttarāṃ saṃmyakasaṃboddhim abhisambotsyate <|> pryadarśane kalpe (...r3... ta)thāgato 'rh<ān> saṃmyakasaṃbuddho loke bhaviṣyati | catvāriṃśac cāsyā kalpā āyuspramāṇaṃ bhaviṣyati <|> sapta ca śatasahasrāṇi śrāvakāṇāṃ mahāsaṃnipāto (bhaviṣyati... r4...)m aṣṭavimokṣadhyāyīnāṃ | dvādaśa ca bodhisatvakoṭyaḥ mahāsaṃnipāto bhaviṣyati sarveṣāṃ prajñopāya-niryātānāṃ <|> parinirvṛtasya ca paripūrṇaṃ varṣak(oṭiṃ) s(ad)dh(arma...v1... ke) cit satvāḥ kauṣṭhyaparyavasthitāḥ kālaṃ kariṣyanti na ca tataḥ cyutā durgatiśūpapatsyanti <|> suviśuddhaviṣayasya śāriputra tathāga(tas)y(a ye) dh(a)rmadeśanāṃ śroṣyanti sarve te viśu{d}dhyi(ṣya)ṃti sarvakleśebhyaḥ... v2...pra)vicinitavyaḥ <|> kṣiṇoti pudgala ātmānaṃ pudgalaṃ pravacinvan <|> ahaṃ śāriputra pudgalaṃ pravacinuyāṃ yo vā syān mādrśāḥ <|>*

§6 The Response of Śāriputra and Others

<T.626.404c4-10> 舍利弗從其眾會言：“是事微妙，快乃知是！”則言：“從今已去，不敢復說：‘是者罪人，是者福人。’所以者何？一切人之所行不可議故。”如佛屬所說，阿闍世而得決。爾時，萬二千天子皆發阿耨多羅三耶三菩心。各各同願：“惟首陀淨所部惟沙耶作佛時，我生其刹土。”佛悉與決：

“其作佛時，而當往生後刹土。”

<Skt.folio 545v2-4> *atha khalv āyusmāñ chāriputraḥ sarvāvartī⁶²⁶ ca parṣā (...v3...)dāgreṇa vyaṃ bhagavan na kaṃ cit satvaṃ nairayikaṃ vyākariṣyāmaḥ <|> tat kasmād dhetoh <|> acintyā bhagavan satvānām caryā | asmin khalu rājño 'jātaśatror vyākaraṇe bhāṣyamāṇe dvātrīṃś(at...v4...cittā)ny utpāditāni | tatra ca buddhakṣetre praṇidhiṃ kṛtavaṃtaḥ <|> yadā tena bhagavatā viśuddha-viṣayeṇa tathāgatena bodhiḥ prāptā bhavet tadā vyaṃ tatra buddhakṣetre upa(patsyāmaḥ...)*

20. The story of Vimalacandra and his parricidal son in the Sanskrit *Sanḥgāṭa-sūtra*.

Canevascini (1993: 48-50, §§100.6-105.6):

āha: śṛṇu kulaputra bhūtapūrvam asaṃkhyeyaiḥ kalpair asaṃkhyeyatarair yadāsīt tena kālena tena samayena vimalacandro nāma rājābhūd dhārmiko dharmarājā. tasya khalu punaḥ kulaputra rājño vimalacandrasya gr̥he putro jātaḥ. atha sa rājā vimalacandro lakṣaṇanaimittikāṃ chāstrapāṭhakān brāhmaṇān sannipātya evam āha: kiṃ brāhmaṇāḥ kumārasya nimittam paśyatha śobhanam aśobhanam veti? atha naimittikā brāhmaṇāḥ kathayaty: asādhur ayaṃ mahārāja kumāro jātaḥ asādhur iti. rājā śrutvā asaṃbhramam papraccha: kim idaṃ brāhmaṇā? naimittikāḥ kathayanty: ayaṃ deva rājakumāro yadi sapta varṣāṇi jīvati sa eṣa mātāpitaram jīvitād vyāvaropayisyati. tato sa rājā evam āha: varam me jīvitāntarāyo bhavatu mā cāham putram vadheyam. tat kasmāt? kadā cit karha cil loke manuṣya utpādam labhyate. nāham tathā kariṣyāmi yad imam mānuṣyakam kāyam virāgayisyāmi.

atha sa kumāro vardhate. yad anye varṣadvayena vardhante tadā asāv ekena māsenā vardhate. jānāti ca sa rājā vimalacandro: 'yaṃ kumāro mama karma-upacayena vardhate. tato rājā tasya kumārasya paṭtam ābandhya evam āha: tava rājyam bhavatu vipulā ca kīrti rājyabhogaiśvaryaṃ ca kāraya dharmeṇa mā adharmeṇa. tataḥ paṭtam badhvā rājeti nāmadheyam akarot. sa ca rājā vimalacandro na bhūyaḥ svaviṣaye rājyam kārayaty. atha te trīṃśad amātyakotyo yena sa rājā vimalacandras tena upasaṃkrāntā upetya tam rājānam vimalacandram evam āhuḥ: kasmāt tvaṃ bhoḥ mahārāja svaviṣaye na bhūyo rājyam kārayasi? rājāha: bahūny asaṃkhyeyāni kalpāni yan mayā rājyabhogaiśvaryaḍhipatyam kārītam na ca me kadā cid viṣayeṣu trptir āsīt.

tena ca kālena tena samayena na cireṇa kālāntareṇa sa putras tam mātā-pitaram jīvitād vyavaropayati tena ca tatra paṃcānantaryāṇi karmāṇy upacitāni. aham ca bhoḥ puruṣa tāvac ciraṃ kālasamayam anusmarāmi yathādyā śvo vā. yadā tasya rājño duḥkhā vedanā utpannā tadā sa rājā vipratīṣārībhūto 'śrukaṇṭhaḥ paridevati: pāpam me karma kṛtam iti! avīcau mahānarake duḥkhāṃ vedanāṃ pratyanubhaviṣyāmīti! tato 'haṃ kāruṇyacittam utpādy tatra gatvā tasya rājño dharman deśayitavān; atha sa rājā tam dharmam śrutvā tasya tāni paṃcā-ānantaryāṇi karmāṇi kṣipram niravaśeṣam parikṣayam gatāni. āha: saṃghāṭam dharmaparyāyam sūtrarājam mahātapāḥ | ye śroṣyanti iman dharman padam prāpsyanty anuttaram || sarvapāpakṣayam bhavati sarvakleśāṃc chamisyati | śṛṇu dharmam pravakṣyāmi yena kṣipram vimokṣase || catuspadāyam gāthāyam

⁶²⁶ This should be emended into *sarvāvartī*.

*bhāṣyamāṇaṃ nirantaraṃ | sarvapāpakṣayaṃ kṛtvā srotāpanno bhaviṣyasi ||
tatodānaṃ udānemi sarvapāpaprāmocanaṃ | mocitā duḥkhitā satvā nārakād
bhayabhairavāt || tataḥ sa puruṣoṭthāya āsanād añjalīkṛtaḥ | praṇamya śirasā
tasya sādhuḥkāraṃ prayacchati || sādhu kalyāṇamitrāṇi sādhu pāpavināśaka |
sādhu saṃghāṭanirdeśaṃ ye śroṣyanti mahānayaṃ ||*

21. The Buddha's prophecy of Ajātaśatru's eventual buddha-hood in the *Asheshi-wang-shoujue-jing* 阿闍世王授決經 (T.509.778a2-b2):

……祇婆曰：“王雖頻日設福，但用國藏之財，使人民之力。心或貢高，意或瞋恚，故未得決。今宜割損身中自供之具，并脫瓔珞、七寶珠環以作寶華。當與夫人、太子併力合掌。自就功勤，一心上佛。佛照王至誠必得決也。”於是王減徹廚膳，晝夜齋戒。脫身上諸寶，合聚諸師日前作華。王及夫人、太子皆自著手，至九十日所作悉成。勅外駕當往上佛，傍臣白言：“聞佛前到鳩夷那竭國，已般泥洹也。”

王聞心大悲號，涕淚哽咽曰：“我故至心手作此華。佛雖般泥洹，我故當齎詣耆闍崛山，以上佛坐處，展馳我意也。”祇婆曰：“佛者，無身，亦無泥洹。亦不常住，無滅，無在。惟至心者為得見佛。佛雖在世間，無至心者為不見佛。大王至誠乃爾，佛雖般泥洹，往必見佛。”便至耆闍崛山中。見佛，且悲且喜。垂淚而進，頭面作禮。以七寶華前散佛上，華皆住空中，化成寶蓋，正當佛上。佛便授與王決曰：“却後八萬劫，劫名喜觀，王當為佛，佛號淨其所部如來。刹土名華王，時人民壽四十小劫。”阿闍世王太子，名旃陀和利，時年八歲。見父授決，甚大歡喜。即脫身上眾寶，以散佛上曰：“願淨其所部作佛時，我作金輪聖王得供養佛，佛般泥洹後，我當承續為佛。”其所散寶，化為交露帳正覆佛上。佛言：“必如汝願。王為佛時，必當作金輪聖王。壽終，便上生兜率天上。壽盡，便下作佛，在藥王刹土教授。佛號梅檀，人民壽命國土所有皆如淨其所部。”佛時授決適竟，王及旃陀和利前為佛作禮，便[火*霍]然不見佛所在。

Appendix II: Buddhist Stories of the “Conversion” of Ajātaśatru Unrelated to His Repentance for the Patricide⁶²⁷

II.1 The *Pañcavārṣikāvadāna* (No.16) of the *Avadānaśataka*

II.1.1 The Sanskrit Text and Its English Translation (Collated with the Tibetan Parallel)

Below are Speyer’s edition of the Sanskrit text (1902-1909: i.88.1-92.11), my English translation of the Sanskrit, and the counterpart in the Tibetan translation (Derge Kanjur 343, *mdo sde, am* 46b2-49a4; sTog Kanjur 252, *mdo sde, sha* 70b4-73b7). The Tibetan agrees closely with the Sanskrit.

§1 Skt. *buddho bhagavān satkṛto gurukṛto mānitaḥ pūjito rājabhī rājamātrair dhanibhiḥ pauraiḥ śreṣṭhibhiḥ sārthavāhair devair nāgair yakṣair asurair garuḍaiḥ kinnarair mahoragair iti devanāgayakṣagandharvāsura garuḍa-kinnaramahoragābhyarcito buddho bhagavān jñāto mahāpunyo lābhī cīvarapiṇḍapātra*⁶²⁸ *śayanāsanaglānapratyayabhaiṣajyaparīṣkāraṇām saśrāvakaśaṅgho rājagṛham upaniśritya viharati sma veṇuvane ka<la>ndakanivāpe ||*

The Buddha, the Blessed One, was honoured, highly respected, esteemed and worshiped by kings, ministers, magnates, townsfolk, guild-leaders, caravan-leaders, gods, *nāgas*, *yakṣas*, *asuras*, *garuḍas*, *kinnaras* and great serpents. Thus praised by gods, *nāgas*, *yakṣas*, *gandharvas*, *asuras*, *garuḍas*, *kinnaras* and great serpents, the Buddha, the Blessed One, who was renowned, possessing great merit and receiving provisions of robes, alms-food, sleeping and resting places (i.e., beds and seats) and medicine to cure the sick, together with the community of disciples, sojourned near Rājagṛha, in the Bamboo Grove, in the Squirrels’ Sanctuary.

Tib. *sang rgya bcom ldan ’das la*¹ *rgya po rnam dang | blon po chen po rnam dang | phyug po rnam dang | pho brang ’khor gyi mi rnam dang | tshong dpon rnam dang | ded dpon rnam dang | lha rnam dang | klu rnam dang | gnod sbyin rnam dang | lha ma yin rnam dang | nam mkha’ lding*

⁶²⁷ The following are the texts and English translations of the first three stories in Subcycle Three of Buddhist narratives of the salvation of Ajātaśatru (see above Table 1.1, pp. 29-30). The last story in that subcycle, i.e., the one from the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the MSV, was translated and discussed earlier in Chapter Three (see above pp. 183-187).

⁶²⁸ As Speyer (1902-1909: i. 88 n.1) indicates, the manuscript (Add. 1611 of the Cambridge University Library) reads *°pātra*. As Edgerton points out, “it seems that both forms [*piṇḍapātra* and *piṇḍapātra*] mean simply alms-food (-attainment, put into a monk’s bowl)” (see BHSD, 345, s.v. *piṇḍapātra*).

*rnams dang | mi 'am ci rnams dang | lto 'phye chen po rnams kyis bkur sti
byas | bla mar byas | ri mor byas | mchod pa byas te | lha dang | klu dang
| gnod sbyin dang² | lha ma yin dang | nam mkha' lding dang | mi 'am ci
dang | lto 'phye chen po rnams kyis mchod cing shes pa'i sang rgyas bcom
ldan 'das bsod nams chen po dang ldan pa | na bza' dang | zhal zas dang |
gzims cha dang | gdan dang | snyun gsos dang | sman zong rnams brnyes
pa |³ nyan thos kyi dge 'dun dang bcas pa |⁴ rgyal po'i khab na 'od ma'i
tshal bya ka lan da ka gnas pa na rten cing bzhugs so ||
1) S + | 2) S ø gnod sbyin dang 3) D ø | 4) S ø |*

§2 Skt. *yadā devadattena <moha>puruṣeṇa bhagavacchāsane 'narthasahasrāṇi
kṛtāni na ca śakitaṃ bhagavato romeñjanam api kartuṃ tadā rājānam
ajātaśatruṃ āmantritavān | kriyatāṃ rājagrhe kriyākāro na kenacī
chramaṇasya gautamasya upasaṃkramitavyaṃ piṇḍakena vā prati-
pādayitavya evaṃ ayam alabdhalābho 'labdhasaṃmāno niyatam anya-
deśaṃ saṃkrāntiṃ⁶²⁹ kariṣyatīti || rājñā tathā kāritaṃ || tatra ye upāsakā
dṛṣṭasatyās te rodituṃ pravṛttāḥ | hā kaṣṭam anāthībhūtaṃ rājagrha-
nagaraṃ yatra hi nāma udumbarapūṣpadurlabhaprādurbhāvaṃ buddhaṃ
bhagavantam āsādyā tasya na śakyate saṃgrahaḥ kartum iti || eṣa śabdaḥ
śrutiparaṃparayā bhikṣubhiḥ śrutas tata āyusmatānandena yathāśrutaṃ
bhagavato niveditaḥ || bhagavān āha | alpotsukas tvam ānanda bhava
tathāgatā eva atra kālajñāḥ | api tu yāvac chāsanaṃ me tāvac
chrāvākāṇām upakaraṇavaikalyaṃ na bhaviṣyati prāg eva idānīm iti ||*

When the foolish man Devadatta did thousands of unbeneficial things to the Blessed One's teaching but was not able to move even a hair of the Blessed One, he [Devadatta] said to King Ajātaśatru, "Make a rule in Rājagrha, [saying that] no one should approach the *śramaṇa* Gautama, or present him with alms-food. In this way, not receiving profit, not gaining respect, he will definitely move to another place." This was caused to be done by the king. Then, those Buddhist laymen who had seen the [Buddhist] Truths began to lament, "Alas! Woe! The city of Rājagrha becomes protectorless, inasmuch as [although] we have got the Buddha, the Blessed One, whose appearance is hard to obtain like that of an *udumbara* flower, it is now impossible to embrace⁶³⁰ him!" Through the succession of hearing [i.e., through the transmission by one after another], this speech was heard by the monks. Afterwards, the Elder Ānanda, according to what he had heard, reported the Blessed One. The Blessed One said, "Ānanda, do not worry. In this matter, only the Tathāgatas know the [right] time. Moreover, the monks will not be short of food [in the future] as long as my teaching lasts, not to speak of the present."

Tib. *gang gi tshe mi blun po lhas byin gyis | bcom ldan 'das kyi bstan pa la
gnod pa stong snyed byas kyang | bcom ldan 'das kyi ba spu bskyod par
yang ma nus pa de'i tshe | rgya po ma skyes dgra la smras pa | rgyal po*

⁶²⁹ Speyer (ibid.: i. 88 n.4) indicates that the manuscript reads *°krāntaṃ*.

⁶³⁰ Skt. *saṃgrahaḥ kartum*, lit. "to seize". Feer (1979 [1891]: 72) translates, "il ne sera plus possible de l'y rencontrer". Tib. *de bsten kyang ma nus pa las na*, "It is impossible even to approach him".

chen po rgyal po 'i khab nas su yang dge spyod gau ta ma 'i thad du
mi 'gro ba dang | kha zas mi sbyin pa 'i khrims chos shig || de ltar byas
kyang¹ des² khe mi rnyed cing |³ bsnyen bkur mi rnyed pas |³ gdon mi za
bar yul gzhan du 'pho bar 'gyur ro zhes byas so || de nas rgya pos⁴ de
bzhin du byas nas | de na dge bsnyen bden pa mthong ba 'khod pa de dag
du ste | kyi hud 'di ltar sang rgya bcom ldan 'das 'byung ba |⁵ u dum wa⁶
ra 'i me tog ltar dkon pa dang phrad kyang | de bsten kyang ma nus pa las
na | rgya po 'i khab kyi grong khyer gyi mi rnams mgon med par gyur to
zhes 'dzer to ||⁷ tshig de nyid tor⁸ dge slong dag gis thos so || de nas tshe
dang ldan pa kun dga 'bos ji skad thos pa bzhin du⁹ bcom ldan 'das la gsol
to || bcom ldan 'das kyi bka 'stsal pa | kun dga 'bo 'di la de bzhin gshegs
pa nyid dus mkhyen gyis |³ khyod snying ma chung zhig || gzhan yang
nga 'i bstan pa ji srid yod kyi bar du yang |⁵ nyan thos rnams kyi yo byad
med par mi 'gyur na | da ltar lta ci smos ||¹⁰
1) S bya pa dang | for bya kyang 2) S de for des 3) D ø | 4) S + | 5) S ø | 6) D bā for wa
7) S | for || 8) D thor for tor 9) D + | 10) D | for ||

§3 Skt. *atrāntare śakrasya devānām indrasya adhastāj jñānadarśanam pravartate |*
sa paśyati bhagavacchāsanasya evaṃvidhām vikṛtim | sahadarśanād eva
dāyakaḍānapatīnām utsāhasamjananārtham buddhotpādasya mātmya-
samjananārtham ajātaśatror devadattasya ca madadarpacchittartham
*ātmanas ca prasāda*saṃja*nārtham*⁶³¹ *sakalam rājagrham udāreṇa ava-*
bhāsenā avabhāsyā uccaiḥ śabdham udāharitavān | eṣo 'ham adyāgreṇa
bhagavantam saśrāvakaśaṅgham divyais cīvarapiṇḍapātaśayanāsana-
glānapratyayabhaiṣajyapariṣkāir upasthāsyāmi | ity uktvā yena
bhagavāms tena upasaṃkrāntaḥ | upasaṃkramya bhagavataḥ pādau śirasā
vanditvā ekānte sthitaḥ | atha śakro devendro bhagavantam idam avocat |
adhivāsayaṭu me bhagavān asminn eva rājagrhe nagare 'ham bhagavantam
upasthāsyāmi divyais cīvarapiṇḍapātaśayanāsanaḥ glānapratyayabhaiṣajya-
pariṣkāir iti || bhagavān āha | alam kauśika kṛtam etad yāvad eva cittam
abhiprasannaṃ bahavo hi loke puṇyakāmā iti || śakraḥ prāha | adhivāsayaṭu
me bhagavān pañca varṣāni tathāgatasya arthe pañcavārṣikaṃ kariṣyāmīti
|| bhagavān āha | alam kauśika kṛtam etad yāvac cittam abhiprasannaṃ
bahavo hi loke puṇyakāmā iti || śakraḥ prāha | adhivāsayaṭu me bhagavān
pañca divasān iti || tato bhagavān svapuṇyabalapratyakṣikarānārtham
śakrasya ca devendrasya anugrahārtham anāgatapañcavārṣikaprabandha-
hetoś cādhivāsitaṃ tūṣṇībhāvena ||

Meanwhile, the vision of knowledge about the beneath occurred to Śakra, chief of gods. He saw this kind of change [caused] to the Buddha's teaching.⁶³² Immediately on seeing it, in order to bring about the zeal of donors and patrons, in order to bring about [or, to praise?]⁶³³ the greatness

⁶³¹ As Speyer (ibid.: i.89 n.3) observes, the manuscript is corrupt here and "[t]he sense of the corrupt word must be *in order to manifest: darśanārtham, prakāśanārtham* sim".

⁶³² This seems to mean that Śakra noticed that Ajātaśatru's prescription of a rule against the Buddha and its harmful impact on the (dissemination of the) Buddha's teaching. Feer (1979 [1891]: 72) translates, "Il voit donc la modification apportée a l'enseignement de Bhagavat."

⁶³³ Skt. *mātmyasamjananārtham*. Speyer (ibid.: i. 89 n.2) suggests that *saṃjanana* in this compound may be an iteration "due to the slackness of some copyist", and that "something like *praśamsana*

of the arising of a *buddha*, in order to extirpate the arrogance and pride of Ajātaśatru and Devadatta, in order to show his own faith, having illuminated the entire Rājagṛha with magnificent light, he uttered the voice from above, “From today onwards, I will serve the Blessed One and his community of disciples with heavenly provisions of robes, alms-food, lodgings and medicine to cure the sick.” Having said this, he approached the Blessed One. Having approached, he venerated with his head the feet of the Blessed One and stood on one side. Then, Śakra, chief of gods, said this to the Blessed One, “May the Blessed One consent to me. Here, in the city of Rājagṛha, I will serve the Blessed One with heavenly provisions of robe, alms-food, lodgings and medicine to cure the sick.”⁶³⁴ The Blessed One said, “Kauśika, as long as [your] mind is faithfully disposed, [only] this is sufficient, because in this world many desire for merit.” Śakra said, “May the Blessed One consent to me. I will hold a quinquennial festival for five years for the benefit of the Tathāgata.” The Blessed One said, “Kauśika, as long as [your] mind is faithfully disposed, [only] this is sufficient, because in this world many desire for merit.” Śakra said, “May the Blessed One consent to me [to receive my offerings] for five days.” Then the Blessed One, in order to make manifest the power of his own merit, in order to show favour to Śakra, chief of gods, and for the reason of the continuation of the future quinquennial festival⁶³⁵, consented by silence.

Tib. *de'i skabs su lha'i dbang po brgya byin ni 'og ma la shes pa'i mthong ba 'jug ste | des bcom ldan 'das kyi bstan pa de lta bur gyur pa mthong nas | mthong ba'i mod kho na la¹ sbyin bdag dang | sbyin pa po rnam kyi spro ba bskyed pa dang | sang rgya 'byung ba'i che ba nyid yang dag pa bstan pa dang | ma skyes dgra dang¹ lhas byin gyi rgyags shing dregs pa gcad pa dang¹ bdag nyid kyi dad pa bstan pa'i phyir | rgyal po'i khab ril gyis 'od chen pos snang bar byas nas skad po che phyung ste¹ bdag gis deng phan chad |² bcom ldan 'das nyan thos kyi dge 'dun dang bcas pa la |² lha'i na bza'dang | zhal zas dang | gzims cha dang | gdan dang | snyun gsos dang | sman zong rnam kyi bsnyen bkur bya'o zhes smras nas | bcom ldan 'das ga la¹ ba der song ste phyin nas | bcom ldan 'das kyi zhabs la mgo bos phyag 'tshal te¹ phyogs gcig tu 'dug go || phyogs gcig tu 'dug nas¹ bcom ldan 'das la¹ lha'i dbang po brgya byin gyis 'di skad ces gsol to || bdag gis ji srid 'tsho'i bar du rgyal po'i khab kyi grong khyer 'di nyid du |² bcom ldan 'das nyan thos kyi dge 'dun dang bcas pa la |² lha'i na bza'dang | zhal zas dang | gzims cha dang | gdan dang | snyun gsos dang | sman zong rnam kyi bsnyen bkur bgyi bar 'tshal na | bcom ldan 'das kyi bdag la gnang bar mdzad du gsol | bcom ldan 'das kyi bka' stsal pa | kau shi ka 'jig rten na bsod nams 'dod pa mang gis¹ 'di ltar nga la sems dad par byas pa nyid kyi chog go || brgya byin gyis gsol ba | 'o*

should be put”, since “Indra does not *rouse* Buddha’s grandeur, but *magnifies* it by his deed”. The Tibetan has *yang dag pa bstan pa*, “to show, to demonstrate”.

⁶³⁴ Note that in the Tibetan translation Śakra clearly says that he would like to supply the Buddha and the monks with those provisions “as long as his [Śakra’s] life lasts” (*ji srid 'tsho'i bar du*).

⁶³⁵ As Feer (1979 [1891]: 73 n.1) points out, the Tibetan mentions *zhag lnga pa'i dga'ston*, “festival of five days”, instead of “festival of five years” (*pañcavārṣika*).

na de bzhin gshegs pa'i slad du¹ bdag gis dgung lo lnga'i bar du |² lo lnga pa'i dga'ston sbyar bar 'tshal na | bcom ldan 'das kyis bdag la gnang bar mdzad du gsol | bcom ldan 'das kyis bka'stsal pa | kau shi ka 'jig rten na bsod nams 'dod pa mang gis¹ 'di ltar nga la sems dad par byas pa nyid kyis chog go || brgya byin gyis gsol pa | 'o na zhag³ lnga'i bar du bcom ldan 'das kyis bdag la gnang bar mdzad du gsol | de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis nyid kyi bsod nams kyi stobs mngon sum⁴ du bstan pa dang | lha'i dbang po brgya byin la phan gdags pa dang | ma 'ongs ba'i dus su zhag lnga pa'i dga'ston rgyun mi 'chad par bya ba'i phyir¹ cang mi gsung bas gnang ngo |

1) S + | 2) S ø | 3) D dgung for zhag 4) D ø sum

§4 Skt. *atha śakro devendro bhagavatas tūṣṇībhāvena adbhivāsanām viditvā tad venūvanam vaijayantam prāsādam pradarśitavān divyāni cāsanāni divyāḥ puṣkiriṇīr divyāṇ ca bhojanam || atha bhagavān prajñapta eva āsane niṣaṇṇaḥ | tataḥ śakro devendraḥ sukhopaniṣaṇṇam buddhapramukhaḥ bhikṣusaṅgham viditvā anekadevatāsahasraparivṛtaḥ svahastam saṁtarpayati saṁpravārayati | anekaparyāyeṇa svahastam saṁtarpya saṁpravārya bhagavantam bhuktavantam viditvā dhautahastam apanīta-pātram nīcataram āsanam grhītvā bhagavataḥ purastān niṣaṇṇo dharmasravanāya | tato bhagavāms' chakraṁ devendraṁ saparivāram dharma-yayā kathayā saṁdarśayati samādāpayati samuttejayati saṁpraharṣayati ||*

Then, Śakra, chief of gods, having known that the Blessed One consented by silence, made the Bamboo Grove appear as the Vaijayanta (“Victorious”) palace, showing heavenly seats, heavenly lotus-pools and heavenly food. Then, the Blessed One was arranged to be seated on a seat. Afterwards, Śakra, chief of gods, surrounded by many thousands of gods, having known that the community of monks led by the Buddha was comfortably seated, satiated and entertained them, with his own hands, [with heavenly food]. Having satiated and entertained them with his own hands in many ways, having known that the Blessed One finished eating, washed his hands, and set aside his bowl, he took a lower seat and sat in front of the Blessed One, to listen to the Dharma. Then, the Blessed One instructed, incited, inspired, and delighted Śakra, chief of gods, and his retinue with a discourse on the Dharma.

Tib. *de nas lha'i dbang po brgya byin gyis |¹ bcom ldan 'das kyis cang mi gsung bas gnang bar rig nas² 'od ma'i tshal de khang bzangs rnam par rgyal byed 'dra bar bstan te | lha'i gdan cha rnams dang | lha'i rdzing bu³ rnams dang | lha'i bdud rtsi'i zhal zas dag kyang bstan to || de nas bcom ldan 'das gdan bshams pa la bzhugs so || de nas lha'i dbang po brgya byin gyis sangs rgyas la sogs pa dge slong gi dge 'dun bde bar bzhugs par rig nas | lha 'bum phrag du ma'i g.yog dang bcas pas² rang gi lag gis tshim par byed cing ci bzhed pa bstabs so || rnam grangs du mar rang gi lag gis thism par byas shing ci bzhed pa bstabs te | bcom ldan 'das bshos gsol zin nas² bstsang⁴ sder ni⁵ gyu | phyag ni bcabs par rig nas | stan ches dma' ba khyer te² chos mnyan pa'i phyir² bcom ldan 'das kyi spyen sngar 'dug go || de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis lha'i dbang po brgya byin 'khor dang bcas pa la chos kyi gtam gyis yang dag par bstan | yang dag par 'dzin du bcug | yang dag par gzengs bstod | yang dag par dga' bar mdzad do ||*

§5 Skt. *paśyati ca rājā 'jātaśatruṣ upariprāsādatalagataḥ san bhagavato veṇuvane evamvidhāṃ pūjāṃ dṛṣṭvā ca punar vipratīśārajāto mahāntaṃ prasādaṃ praveditavān | rājagṛhanivāsinaś ca paurā dharmavegaprāptā rājānam upasaṃkramya evaṃ ūcuḥ | muṣyante deva⁶³⁶ mahārāja rājagṛha-nivāsinaḥ paurāḥ yatra nāma devāḥ pramattāḥ santaḥ pramādhavihāriṇo divyān viśayān apahāya bhagavantaṃ pūjayanti | sādhu deva udghāṭyatām kriyākāra iti || tato rājñā 'jātaśatruṇā kriyākāram udghāṭya rājagṛhe nagare ghaṇṭāvaghoṣaṇaṃ kārītaṃ kriyatām bhagavataḥ satkāro yathā-sukhaṃ iti || tato rājagṛhanivāsinaḥ paurāḥ saparivārā hr̥ṣṭatuṣṭapramuditā udagraprītisaumanasyajātāḥ puṣpagandhamālyāny ādāya bhagavantaṃ darśanāya upasaṃkrāntāḥ | tato devair manuṣyaiś ca bhagavato mahān satkāraḥ kṛtaḥ bhagavatā ca tad adhiṣṭhānaṃ devamānuṣyānāṃ tādr̥śī caturāryasatyasaṃprativedhikī dharmadeśanā kṛtā yāṃ śrutvā anekair devamānuṣyaiḥ satyadarśanaṃ kṛtaṃ ||*

King Ajātaśatru, on the terrace at the top of his palace, saw this kind of worship [being made] to the Blessed One in the Bamboo Grove. Having seen it, he became regretful and showed⁶³⁷ strong faith. The citizens living in Rājagṛha, who felt an impetus for the Dharma, went to the king and spoke as follows, “Lord, Great King, the citizens living in Rājagṛha are robbed, inasmuch as gods, all being drunken and enjoying themselves with intoxication, have left their heavenly realm and [come to] worship the Blessed One. Well, Lord, please annul the rule!” Then, King Ajātaśatru, having annulled the rule, made a public proclamation by bell-ringing, [saying,] ‘do honour to the Blessed One at will!’ Therefore, citizens living in Rājagṛha, together with their retainers, excited, satisfied, delighted, enraptured and full of joy and gladness, bringing along with flowers, incense and garlands, marched to see the Blessed One. Then, gods and men paid great honour to the Blessed One. And the Blessed One, on this basis [or, on this occasion?]⁶³⁸, preached to gods and men such a Dharma-discourse penetrating the Four Noble Truths that, after having heard it, many gods and men gained insight into the Truths.

Tib. *rgyal po ma skyes dgra khang bzangs kyi steng na 'dug pas kyang 'od ma 'i tshal na bcom ldan 'das la de lta bur mchod pa byed pa mthong ngo || mthong nas kyang 'gyod pa skyes te¹ dad pa chen po rnyed do || rgyal po 'i khab na 'khod pa 'i pho brang 'khor gyi mi rnams kyis kyang chos kyi shugs thob nas¹ rgyal po 'i thad du dong ste 'di skad ces smras so || kye ma rgyal po chen po 'di ltar lha rgyags shing bag ma mchis par gnas pa rnams kyis kyang¹ lha yul bor te |² bcom ldan 'das la mchod pa bgyid pa*

⁶³⁶ As Speyer (ibid.: i.90 n.5) observes, “the two vocat. *deva mahārāja* put together being unusual”, and he suggests to emend *deva* into *eva* or *iva*.

⁶³⁷ The Sanskrit has *praveditavān*, “having made known”, whereas the Tibetan gives *rnyed* (**labdha*).

⁶³⁸ The manuscript reads *adhiṣṭhānāṃ*. Speyer (ibid.: i. 91 n.1) suggests to the emendation *°iṣṭhānaṃ*, or *°iṣṭhānā*. Feer (ibid.: 74) renders, “et Bhagavat profita de l’occasion...”; the Tibetan has *gzhi de las*, “for this cause, thereupon”.

las na | rgyal po 'i khab na gnas pa 'i pho brang 'khor gyi mi rnams sgor
 pham par 'gyur gyis | lha khrims de ni bshig na legs lags³ so zhes byas so
 || de nas rgyal po ma skyes dgras khrims de bshig nas | rgyal po 'i pho
 brang 'khor gyi grong khyer du pril bsgrags te | bcom ldan 'das la bkur sti
 ci dga' bar gyis shig⁴ ces byas so || de nas rgyal po 'i khab na gnas pa 'i
 pho brang 'khor gyi mi rnams 'khor dang bcas pa dga' zhing mgu la rab
 tu dga' ste yi rangs nas¹ dga' zhing yid bde ba bskyes te | me tog dang |
 spos dang | me tog phreng⁵ rnams khyer nas¹ bcom ldan 'das la blta ba 'i
 phyir dong ngo || de nas lha rnams dang mi rnams kyis¹ bcom ldan 'das la
 bkur sti chen po byas so || bcom ldan 'das kyis kyang gzhi de las lha dang
 mi rnams la 'phags pa 'i bden pa bzhi rtogs par 'gyur ba de lta bu 'i chos
 bstan te | de thos nas lha dang mi du mas bden pa mthong bar gyur to ||
 1) S + | 2) S ø | 3) S ø lags 4) S ø shig 5) S 'phreng for phreng

§6 Skt. *bhikṣavo bhagavataḥ pūjām dṛṣtvā saṃśaya-jātā bhagavantaṃ
 papracchuḥ | āścaryaṃ bhadanta yad bhagavataḥ śāsane evaṃvidha
 utsava iti || bhagavān āha | tathāgatena eva etāni bhikṣavaḥ pūrvam
 anyāsu jātiṣu karmāṇi kṛtāny upacitāni labdhasaṃbhārāṇi pariṇata-
 pratyayāny oghavat pratyupasthitāny avaśyaṃ bhāvīni | mayā etāni
 karmāṇi kṛtāny upacitāni ko 'nyaḥ pratyānubhaviṣyati | na bhikṣavaḥ
 karmāṇi kṛtāny upacitāni bāhye prthivīdhātau pacyante na abdhātau na
 tejodhātau na vāyudhātāv api tūpātteṣv eva skandhadhātāvāyatanēṣu
 karmāṇi kṛtāni vipacyante śubhāny aśubhāni ca*⁶³⁹

*na prapaśyanti karmāṇi kalpakoṭīśatair api*⁶⁴⁰
sāmagrīm prāpya kālaṃ ca phalanti khalu dehinām ||

Having seen the worship of the Blessed One, the monks in doubt asked the Blessed One, “Lord, it is wonderful that there is such a celebration on the Blessed One’s teaching.” The Blessed One said, “Monks, the Tathāgata performed and accumulated numerous deeds earlier in his other lifetimes, which have [now] come together⁶⁴¹, the conditions of which have matured, which have risen up like a flood and are inevitable by any means [in terms of their effects]. Who else will experience [in return] the deeds performed and accumulated by me? Monks, the deeds performed and accumulated do not mature outside the element of earth, the element of water, the element of fire, or the element of wind. Instead, deeds that are performed, both good and bad, ripen only in the [five] aggregates, in states of mind⁶⁴², and

⁶³⁹ This reply of the Buddha, along with the following stanza, is a formula repeatedly used, for instance, in the Avś (Speyer 1902-1909: i.74.2f., 80.8f., 86.1f., 100.4f., *passim*), the Divy (Cowell and Neil 1886: 54.1f. [referring to the saint Pūrṇa], 131.6f. [Meṇḍhaka], 141.6f. [Aśokavarma], *passim*), and the Saṅghabhedavastu of the MSV (Gnoli 1977-1978: ii.1.11-2.4 [Kaundinya], 42.21f. [Rāhula], *passim*).

⁶⁴⁰ The manuscript reads *api kalpaśatair api*. In an earlier occurrence of this cliché in the Avś, Speyer (ibid.: 74, n.13) points out, this reading “cannot be the original form, because the repeated *api* is quite out of place here”.

⁶⁴¹ I follow Tatelman (2000: 80) and Rotman (2008: 115, 413 n.357) in translating *saṃbhārāṇi* in its literal sense (“gathering, multitude”) instead of its technical sense (“requisites for enlightenment”).

⁶⁴² See BHSD, 283, s.v. *dhatu*, “(4) constituent element of the mind”.

in the senses [sense-organs and their objects], which are appropriated [when one is reborn]⁶⁴³.

Deeds never disappear, not even after hundreds of millions of *kalpas*.
When reaching the communion of [right conditions] and the [right] time, they will certainly have effects on living creatures.”

Tib. *de nas dge slong dag*¹ *gis bcom ldan 'das kyi mchod pa mthong nas the tsom skyes te*² *the tsom thams cad gcod pas sang rgyas bcom ldan 'das la zhus pa | btsun pa bcom ldan 'das kyi bstan pa la 'di lta bu'i dga' ston bgyis pa ni ngo mtshar lags so || bcom ldan 'das kyi bka' stsal pa | dge slong dag de bzhin gshegs pa nyid kyi sngon tshe rabs gzhan dag tu tshogs rnyed cing rkyen grub pa dang ldan te | dba' rgal bzhin du 'gyung la*² *gdon mi za bar 'ong ba'i las rnams byas zhing bsags pas na | nga nyid kyi las byas*² *shing bsags pa de dag gzhan su zhig gis nyams su myong bar 'gyur te | dge slong dag las byas shing bsags pa rnams ni phyi rol gyi sa'i kham la rnam par smin par mi 'gyur | chu'i kham dang | me'i kham dang | rlung gi kham la rnam par smin par mi 'gyur te | las dge ba dang mi dge ba byas shing bsags pa rnams ni zin pa'i phung po dang | kham dang*² *skye mched rnams 'ba' zhig la rnam par smin par 'gyur ro ||*

lus can dag gi las rnams ni ||
bskal pa brgyar yang chud mi za ||
tshogs shing dus la bab pa na ||
'bras bu nyid du smin par 'gyur ||

1) S de *dag* for *dag* 2) S + |

§7 Skt. *bhūtapūrvam bhikṣavo 'tīte 'dhvani ratnaśailo nāma samyaksaṃbuddho loka udapādi tathāgato 'rhan samyaksaṃbuddho vidyācaraṇasaṃpannaḥ sugato lokavid anuttaraḥ puruṣadamyasārathiḥ śāstā devamanuṣyāṇāṃ buddho bhagavān | sa janapadacārikāṃ carann anyatamāṃ rājadhānīm anuprāptaḥ | tasyāṃ ca rājadhānyāṃ dharmabuddhir nāma rājā rājyaṃ kārayati tasyāṃ ca rājadhānyāṃ mahatī ītiḥ || tatas tena rājñā īti-prasamanahetor bhagavān saśrāvakaśaṅghas traimāsyē bhaktena upanimantritaḥ || trāyāṇāṃ māsānāṃ atyayena sā ītiḥ praśāntā || tato rājñā nāgaraiś cāvarjitamānasais tathāgatasya saśrāvakaśaṅghasya pañcavārṣikam kṛtam || āha ca |*

rājabhūtena ānanda ratnaśailo mahādyutiḥ |
*adhīṣṭaḥ śāntikāmena*⁶⁴⁴ *akārṣīt pañcavārṣikam iti ||*

“Monks, long ago, in the past time, a Fully-Awakened One, named Ratnaśaila, arose in the world, who was a Tathāgata, an *arhan*, a

⁶⁴³ On the emendation *tūpāttesv*, see Speyer (ibid.: 74 n.9, 91 n.4); I follow Rotman's interpretation of *upātta* (fr. *upa-*√*dā*) in the sense of “‘collected’ or ‘brought forward,’ likely related to the technical notion of *upādāna* as its figures in interdependent arising” (2008: 413 n.357).

⁶⁴⁴ The manuscript reads *śāntakāyena*. The emendation *śānti/santa-kāmena* is made on the basis of the Tibetan translation *zhi bar 'dod phyir* (see Feer 1979 [1891]: 75 n.1; Speyer 1902-1909: i. 92 n.6).

Fully-Awakened One, accomplished in knowledge and conduct, a Well-Gone One, a knower of the world, an unsurpassed charioteer of men to be tamed, teacher of gods and men, a blessed *buddha*. When he was wandering through provinces, he came to a royal palace. A king named Dharmabuddhi exercised rulership in that royal palace, and a serious plague broke out in that royal palace. Then, the king, for the sake of curing the plague, provided the Blessed One and his community of disciples with food for three months. When three months passed, the plague was cured. Then, the king and those citizens, whose minds were converted, held a quinquennial festival for the Tathāgata and his community of disciples.” He [= the Buddha Śākyamuni] said,

“O Ānanda, Ratnaśaila, who possessed the great splendour,
Being requested by the king who desired for alleviation [of the
plague], did a quinquennial festival [or, a five-year sojourn?].”⁶⁴⁵

Tib. *dge slong dag sngon byung ba 'das pa'i dus na¹ de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sang rgya rig pa dang zhabs su ldan pa | bde bar gshegs pa | 'jig rten mkhyen pa | skyes bu gdul bya'i kha lo sgyur ba | bla na med pa | lha dang mi rnams kyi ston pa sang rgya bcom ldan 'das rin po che'i ri bo zhes bya ba 'jig rten du byung ngo || de ljongs rgyu zhing gshegs pa las¹ rgyal po'i pho brang 'khor zhig tu byon nas | rgyal po'i pho brang 'khor de na yams kyi nad byung ngo || de nas rgyal po des yams kyi nad zhi bar bya ba'i phyir | bcom ldan 'das nyan thos kyi dge 'dun dang bcas ba zla ba gsum gyi bar du gdugs tshod la spyang drangs so || zla ba gsum lon nas yams kyi nad de zhi bar gyur to || de nas rgyal po dang¹ grong khyer gyi mi sems cad par gyur pa rnams kyi² de bzhin gshegs pa nyan thos kyi dge 'dun dang bcas pa la lo lnga pa'i dga' ston byas so || 'dir gsungs pa |*

*kun dga'nga ni rgyal gyur nas ||
rin chen ri bo 'od chen la ||
zhi bar 'dod phyir gsol ba btab ||
lo lnga pa yi dga' ston byas ||*

1) S + | 2) S ø |

§8 Skt. *kiṃ manyadhve bhikṣavo yo 'sau tena kālena tena samayena rājā babhūva ahaṃ sah | yan mayā ratnaśailasya tathāgatasya pañcavārṣikaṃ kṛtam tena me saṃsāre mahatsukham anubhūtam taddhātukaś⁶⁴⁶ cedānīm*

⁶⁴⁵ Speyer (ibid.: i. 92 n.7) comments, “[t]he *çloka* quoted purports another redaction of the story, for here it is Ratnaçaila who performs the rite in behalf of the king who desirous of appeasing the calamitous epidemic had sent for him, but in the prose the rite is performed by the king to honour him.” However, if we follow Feer’s interpretation of *pañcavārṣika* as referring to a “séjour de cinq ans” (1979 [1891]: 75), instead of a “quinquennial festival”, the *śloka* would still be consistent with the prose, for it tells that Ratnaśaila accepted the king’s request to stay there for five years and to receive his offerings during this period. The Tibetan translation makes it clear that the king did a quinquennial festival (*lo lnga pa yi dga' ston*) for the Glorious Ratnaśaila (*rin chen ri bo 'od chen la*).

⁶⁴⁶ The manuscript reads *taddhetuka*. As Speyer (ibid.: i.92 n.10) points out, the adverb *taddhetutah* would also suit.

*tathāgatasya evaṃvidhaḥ satkāraḥ parinirvṛtasya ca me śāsane anekāni
pañcavārṣikaśatāni bhaviṣyanti | tasmāt tarhi bhikṣava evaṃ śikṣitavyaṃ
yac chāstāraṃ satkarīṣyāmo garukarīṣyāmo [sic!]⁶⁴⁷ mānayīṣyāmaḥ
pūjayīṣyāmaḥ śāstāraṃ satkṛtya gurukṛtya mānayitvā pūjayitvā upaśritya
vihariṣyāmaḥ ity evaṃ vo bhikṣavaḥ śikṣitavyaṃ || idam avoca bhagavān
āttamanasas te ca bhikṣavo bhagavato bhāṣitam abhyanandan ||*

“Monks, what do you think? The one who was the king at that time, at that occasion, was me. Because I held a quinquennial festival for the Tathāgata Ratnaśaila, I experienced great happiness in the cycle of rebirths, and now received such worship of the Tathāgata due to that cause. And, after I enter into *parinirvāṇa*, there will be many hundreds of quinquennial celebrations on my teaching. So then, monks, this is to be learnt: Let us honour, highly respect, esteem and worship the Teacher! Having honoured, highly respected, esteemed and worshiped the Teacher, we shall stay on his side. Monks, this is to be learnt.” Thus the Blessed One said. The monks were delighted and applauded on the speech of the Blessed One.

Tib. *dge slong dag ji snyam du sems | de'i tshe de'i dus na rgyal por gyur pa
gang yin pa de ni nga yin te | ngas yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sang rgya rin
po che'i ri bo de la lo lnga pa'i dga' ston byas pa'i las de'i rnam par smin
pas |¹ ngas 'khor ba na bde ba chen po nyams su myong la² da ltar de
bzhin gshegs par gyur pa na yang nga la 'di lta bu'i bkur sti³ byas pa yin
no || yongs su mya ngan las 'das ba'i 'og tu yang nga'i bstan pa la lo lnga
pa'i dga' ston brgya phrag du ma byed par 'gyur ro || dge slong dga de
bas na 'di ltar bslab par bya ste | ston pa la bkur sti bya'o || bla mar
bya'o || ri mor bya'o || mchod pa bya'o || ston pa la bkur sti byas | bla
mar byas | ri mor byas | mchod pa byas nas brten te gnas par bya'o zhes
dge slong khyed kyis de ltar bslab par bya'o || bcom ldan 'das kyis de
skad ces bka' stsal nas | dge slong de dag yi rangs te | bcom ldan 'das kyis
gsungs pa la mngon par bstod do ||*

1) S ø | 2) S + | 3) S bsnyen bkur for bkur sti

II.1.2 The Chinese Version (T. 200 [15]) and Its English Translation

This story appears as the fifteenth, not the sixteenth, chapter of the Chinese translation of the *Avadānaśataka* (T.200.210a23-c8), entitled *tiandishi-gongyang-fo-yuan* 天帝釋供養佛緣, “Story of Śakra Devendra’s Worship of the Buddha”. The Chinese counterpart differs from the Sanskrit and the Tibetan in a number of details. It reads:

佛在王舍城迦蘭陀竹林。爾時，提婆達多極大愚癡，憍慢嫉妬。教阿闍世王立非法制，擊鼓唱令，不聽民眾齋持供養、詣瞿曇所。時彼城中有信佛者，聞是制限，憂愁涕泣，悲感懊惱，感天宮殿動搖不安。時天帝釋作是念言：

⁶⁴⁷ This should be emended into *gurukarīṣyāmo*.

“我此宮殿有何因緣，如是動搖？”尋自觀察，見阿闍世王立非法制，令彼城人憂愁涕泣⁶⁴⁸，感我宮殿動搖如是。尋即來下，高聲唱言：“我今自當供養佛僧。”作是唱已，即往佛所。前禮佛足，長跪請佛：“唯願世尊及比丘僧，盡其形壽，受我供養。”佛不然可。復白佛言：“若不受我終身供養，當受五年。”佛亦不許。復白佛言：“若不受五年，當受五月。”佛亦不許。復白佛言：“若不受五月，當受五日。”佛即然可。尋變迦蘭陀竹林，如毘闍耶殿⁶⁴⁹，床榻臥具，天須陀食盛以金器。⁶⁵⁰與天眾，手自斟酌，供養佛僧。

時阿闍世王在高樓上，遙見迦蘭陀竹林猶天宮殿，天須陀食盛以寶器。見天帝釋與諸天眾手自斟酌供養佛僧。時阿闍世王覩斯事已⁶⁵¹，即自悔責。極大瞋恚，罵提婆達多：“汝是癡人！云何教我橫加非法向於世尊⁶⁵²？”作是語已，即於佛所深生信敬。時諸群臣前白王言：“願王今者改先制限，令諸民眾得見如來、隨意供養。”尋勅司官，擊鼓唱令：“自今以去，聽諸民眾設諸餽饌。”供養佛已，爾時，世尊即便為其種種說法。心開意解，有得須陀洹者、斯陀含者、阿那含者⁶⁵³，乃至發於無上菩提心者。

時諸比丘見是事已，歎未曾有，而白佛言：“如來世尊宿殖何福，乃使天帝置斯供養？”爾時，世尊告諸比丘：“汝等諦聽，吾當為汝分別解說。乃往過去無量世時，波羅[木*奈]國有佛出世，號曰寶殿。將諸比丘，遊行教化，到伽翅王國。聞佛來至，將諸群臣，奉迎世尊。長跪請佛：‘受我三月四事供養。’佛即然可。受其供已，佛便為王種種說法，發菩提心。佛授王記：‘汝於來世當得作佛，號釋迦牟尼，廣度眾生，不可限量。’”佛告諸比丘：“欲知彼時伽翅王者，則我身是。彼時群臣者，今諸比丘是。皆由彼時供養佛故，無量世中不墮地獄、畜生、餓鬼，天上人中常受快樂。乃至今者自致成佛，故有人天而供養我。”爾時，諸比丘聞佛所說，歡喜奉行。

The Buddha was staying at Kalandaka Bamboo Grove, in the city of Rājagṛha. At that time, Devadatta was enormously deluded, arrogant and envious. He suborned King Ajātaśatru to set up an unrighteous rule, to bang the drum and make an announcement prohibiting people from bringing offerings to Gautama. At that time, in that city, those who believed in the Buddha, heard the prohibition and became depressed, mourning, feeling sorrowful and angry. This caused the heavenly palace to shake and to fall into disorder. At that time, Śakra, Indra of

⁶⁴⁸ The edition of the Shōgo-zō Collection reads differently, 彼城中有一信佛者憂愁涕泣已, “After a Buddhist believer in that city lamented and moaned”.

⁶⁴⁹ The Shōgo-zō edition gives another phrase 施設種種莊嚴, “establishing various adornments”.

⁶⁵⁰ The Shōgo-zō edition adds 請佛及僧, “He [Śakra] invited the Buddha and his *saṅgha*”.

⁶⁵¹ The Shōgo-zō edition only has 見天帝釋與諸天眾手自斟酌供養佛僧已, “having seen Śakra, Indra of gods, and the assembly of gods, serving with their own hands, making offerings to the Buddha and his *saṅgha*”.

⁶⁵² The Shōgo-zō edition does not have 向於世尊, “towards (or, unto) the World-Honoured One”.

⁶⁵³ The Shōgo-zō edition has no mention of 斯陀含者 (*sakṛd-āgāmins*) or 阿那含者 (*anāgamins*).

gods, pondered, “For what reason is my palace shaking like this?” He himself then investigated and saw that King Ajātaśatru erected an unrighteous rule, which made the townsfolk feel depressed and moan, [therefore] causing his palace to shake like this. He immediately descended and announced in a loud voice, “From now on, I myself shall worship the Buddha and his *saṅgha*.” Having announced this, he immediately went to where the Buddha was. He went forth to venerate the Buddha’s feet, prostrating himself, and requested the Buddha, “May the World-Honoured One, together with the *saṅgha* of *bhikṣus*, accept my offerings as long as my life lasts.” The Buddha did not give consent. He further said to the Buddha, “If you do not accept my life-long offerings, please accept [my offerings] for five years.” The Buddha still did not give consent. He further said to the Buddha, “If you do not accept [my offerings] for five years, please accept [my offerings] for five days.” The Buddha then consented. He immediately changed Kalandaka Bamboo Grove into the Vaijayanta Palace, [furnished with] seats, beddings, and divine nectar (**sudhā*) held in golden vessels. Together with the assembly of gods, serving with his own hands, he made the offering [of food] to the Buddha and his *saṅgha*.

At that time, King Ajātaśatru, standing on a high building, saw from afar Kalandaka Bamboo Grove appear as a heavenly palace, with divine nectar held in jewelled vessels. He saw Śakra, Indra of gods, and the assembly of gods serving with their own hands, making offerings to the Buddha and his *saṅgha*. At that time, King Ajātaśatru, on seeing this, immediately repented and blamed himself. He became greatly enraged and condemned Devadatta, “You are a foolish person! Why did you suborn me to impose injustice on the Blessed One?” Having said this, he immediately generated deep faith in and respect for the Buddha. At that time, the ministers went forth and said to the king, “We hope that your majesty will now change the earlier rule, to allow people to see the Tathāgata and to make offerings as they want.” [Ajātaśatru] immediately ordered officials to bang the drum and proclaim, “From today onwards, people are allowed to prepare food [for the Buddha]!” After [the people] made offerings to the Buddha, at that time, the World-Honoured One thereupon expounded the Dharma for them in manifold ways. The people’s minds were opened and illuminated. There were those who became stream-enters (*srotāpannas*), once-returners (*sakṛd-āgāmins*), non-returners (*anāgamins*), or even conceived the aspiration for supreme awakening.

At that time, the monks, observing this, exclaimed that this was unprecedented and said to the Buddha, “What merit did the Tathāgata, the World-Honoured One, plant in the past, which led Indra of gods to set up such offerings?” At that time, the World-Honoured One said to the monks, “Listen carefully! I shall explain to you in detail. In the distant past, innumerable eons ago, there was a *buddha* arising in the kingdom of Vārāṇasī, named “[One possessing a] Jewelled Palace”. He leading the monks, wandering and cultivating people, arrived at the country of King Kāśi. Having heard the arrival of the Buddha, the king leading his ministers, came to welcome the World-Honoured One. He prostrated himself and requested the Buddha, “Please accept my offering of the four types of provisions for three months.” The Buddha then consented. Having accepted his offering, the Buddha expounded the Dharma to the king in manifold ways, [thereby] making him conceive the aspiration for awakening. The Buddha gave the king a prophecy, “You will become a *buddha* in the future, named Śākyamuni, delivering many sentient beings, the number of which cannot be counted.” The Buddha said to the

monks, “You should know that at that time I was King Kāśi, and that the monks were the ministers. All of them [i.e., the king and his ministers], because of worshiping the Buddha, have never fallen into [the destinies of] hell, animals or hungry ghosts throughout innumerable rebirths, and have always enjoyed happiness in heavens above or among humans. [Because of this past meritorious deed,] I myself have now even become a *buddha*, so there were men and gods worshiping me.”⁶⁵⁴ At that time, the monks heard what the Buddha said, rejoiced and undertook to practice it.

II.2 One Part of the Twenty-First Chapter of the *Buddhacarita* (Tibetan Version and Its English Translation)

The following is the second half of the twenty-first chapter of the Tibetan translation of the *Buddhacarita* (Derge Kanjur 4156, *skyes rabs*, ge 76a7-78a1; Golden Tanjur 3658, *skyes rabs*, nge 108a5-110b2), accompanied with an English translation quoted from Johnston (1998 [1936]: iii. 60-63)⁶⁵⁵:

*che ba'i bdag nyid de mthong nas || lha sbyin rlom sems byas pa ste ||
bsam gtan rnams las 'khrul thob cing || 'dra ba min pa mang po byas ||*
Devadatta, seeing His greatness (*mahātmya*), became envious and, losing control over the trances, he did many improper things.

*nye bar bcom pa'i sems ldan des || thub pa dge 'dun dben byas shing ||
phyee las 'dod pa ma byas te || de la gnod pa'i phyir brtsam so ||*
With his mind sullied he created a schism in the Sage's community, and by reason of the separation, instead of being devoted to him, he endeavoured to do Him hurt.

*de nas bya rgod phung po'i rir || rdo ba'i 'khrul 'khor byas ba ste ||
thub pa'i steng du gang 'phangs pa || ltung ba ma yin gnyis su gyur ||*
Then he set a rock rolling with force on Mount Gr̥dhraḥkūṭa; but, though aimed at the Sage, it did not fall on Him but divided into two pieces.

*'jig rten dus su chu 'dzin sngon po sgra sgrogs pa || zla ba 'gogs ba la ni mkha' la
rlung bzhin du || de bzhin gshegs pa la ni mngon du gdong phyogs par || glang
po'i rgyal po'i lam la gtang pa'o ||*
On the royal highway he set loose in the direction of the Tathāgata a lord of elephants, whose trumpeting was as the thundering of the black clouds at the

⁶⁵⁴ Note that in the Chinese version of the story of the past, no mention is made of a plague or the Buddha's healing of a plague. Instead, it presents a prophecy of future *buddha*-hood of the king (= Sākyamuni), which finds no parallel in the Sanskrit or Tibetan versions of the Avś.

⁶⁵⁵ This episode belongs to the 21st chapter of the Tibetan version of the *Buddhacarita*. In translating the Tibetan, Johnston (ibid.: iii. 6) collated a copy of Tanjur preserved in the India Office and a copy of the Peking edition held in the Bibliothèque Nationale France. As Johnston states, “The general method I have followed therefore is to translate the Tibetan in the light of the Chinese, but I have also at times been guided by the form in which the original Sanskrit can be reconstructed” (*op.cit.*).

dissolution of the world, and whose rushing as the wind in the sky when the moon is obscured.

lus kyis bsnun pas yan lag mchog ni nyer blangs shing || mche bas phug pas ma'i dra ba rab bkram pa'i || lus po rnams kyis rgyal po'i khab kyi lam rnams ni || rgyu bar dka' bar byed la mngon par rab tu zhugs ||

The streets of Rājagṛha became impassable through the corpses, which he had struck with his body or taken up with his trunk or whose entrails were drawn out by his tusks and scattered in heaps.

...

(D, 77a2; G, 109a4) *yongs su ro myang*⁶⁵⁶ *glang pos 'joms bar 'dod ba na || gyen du lag bteg skye bo du bar gyur na yang || gshegs par 'gyed pa [G: ø 'gyed pa] med cing gnod pa mi mnga' bar || bde bar gshegs pa rang gnas rnam 'gyur med par gshegs||*

Despite the on-coming (?) elephant intent on slaughter, despite the weeping people holding up their arms (in warning), the Blessed One advanced, collected and unmoved, not breaking his step nor giving away to malevolence.

byams pas 'byung po rnams la rjes su [G: rjesu for rejs su] brtse ba ni || gus pas lha rnams kyis ni rjes su [G: rjesu for rejs su] 'gro ba ste || de la dbang po'i glang po ches kyang reg pa ru || nus pa ma yin gang phyir thub pa brtan par gshegs ||
Quietly the Sage came on; for not even that great lord of elephants had power to touch Him, since in His benevolence (*matrī*) He had compassion on all creatures and since the gods followed Him from devotion.

gang phyir [G: zhig] sang rgya la ni rjes 'gro dge slong ste || des ni rgyang nas glang chen mthong nas bros pa ste || sna tshogs bdag nyid 'jig rten rang bzhin gyis bzhin du || kun dga' bo gcig sangs rgyas la ni rjes su song ||

The disciples who were following the Buddha fled, on seeing the great elephant from afar. Ānanda alone followed the Buddha just as the inherent nature follows the multiform world.

*de nas glang chen khros pa de ni nyer 'ongs nas || thub pa'i mthu las 'du shes nye bar thob pa ste || mig sman*⁶⁵⁷ *ri bo rdo rjes phye mar bcom pa bzhin || lus po rab tu zags shing spyi bos 'gyel bar gyur ||*

Then, as the enraged elephant drew near, he came to his senses through the Sage's spiritual power (*prabhāva*), and, letting his body down, he placed his head on the ground, like a mountain whose wings have shattered by a thunderbolt.

de la shin tu mdzes shing 'dam skyes 'jam po yis || legs [G: leg] skyes sor mo'i dra ba'i phyag gis [G: gi] mgo bo [D: 'o] la || zla ba chu 'dzin la ni 'od zer gyis bzhin du || gnyis 'thung dbang po la ni thub pas reg par gyur ||

⁶⁵⁶ As Johnston (1998 [1936]: iii.61n.3) observes, the Tibetan appears to read *paryāsvadat* (*yongs-su ro-myang*, “eating, consuming”) for *pratyāsadat*, “approaching, being in proximity”.

⁶⁵⁷ The term *mig sman*, “eye-medicine”, is unexpected here. Johnston (1998 [1936]: iii. 62 n.1) contends that the Tibetan reads *pakṣama*, “eye-lash”, for *pakṣa*, “wing”.

Just as the sun touches a cloud with its rays, the Sage stroked the lord of elephants on the head with His beautiful hand, soft as a lotus and having well-formed webbed fingers.

chu yi shin tu khur las ma byed cig || zhabs kyi rtsa bar gnyis 'thung de ni bsdad pa ste || thub bas rna ba'i ta [G: tā] la gyo med la gzigs shing || de la sems can la [D: ma] 'os zhi bas bstan pa'o ||

As the elephant bent low at His feet, like a black raincloud overladen with water, the Sage, seeing his palmleaf-like ears to be moveless, preached to him the religious peace, which is fit for rational beings:

sdig med dang bcas rnam par 'joms pa sdug bsdal te || sdig med nyid la glang chen gnod pa ma byed cig || srid pa srid par sdig med bcom pa'i srog chags kyis || bde 'gro brgyad la glang chen 'gyur ba ma yin no ||

“The slaughter of the Sinless One⁶⁵⁸ is accompanied by suffering; do not harm, O elephant, to the Sinless One. For, O elephant, the life of him who slays the Sinless does not develop from existence to existence in the eight good births.

'dod chags dang ni zhe sdang de bzhin gti mug ste || glang chen gsum po bzod par dga' ba'i chad yin la || chad gsum rnams dang thub pa rnams ni bral ba ste || rims nad med cing mya ngan 'das pa mngon par brnyes ||

The three, love, hatred and delusion, are intoxicants hard to conquer; yet the sages are free of the three intoxicants. Free yourself therefore of these fevers and pass beyond sorrow.

de phyir mun par 'dod pa 'di ni spongs [G: spong] 'dod pa || chang ni spangs la rang bzhin 'du shes thob par gyis || 'khor ba'i rgya mtsho'i 'dam ni rgyas par chags pa ste || slar yang de ltar gnyis 'thung dbang po ma ltung cig [G: zhig] ||
Therefore in order to abandon this love of darkness, be quit of intoxication and resume your natural self. Do not, O lord of elephants, slip back through excess of passion into the mud of the ocean of transmigration.”

de nas glang po des ni gsung 'di thos nas su || chang ni spangs shing yang dag rig par song ba ste || bdud rtsi 'thungs nas nad rnams dag las grol ba bzhin || nang du song ba'i bde ba dam pa thob par gyur ||

Then the elephant, hearing these words, was freed from intoxication and returned to right feeling; and he obtained the good internal (*antargata*) pleasure, like one released from illness on drinking the elixir (*amṛta*).

slob ma bzhin du thub la rab btud de ma thag || chang ni yongs spangs glang bo'i dbang po de mthong nas || kha cig chos [G: go] rnams bskor zhing g.yug par gyur pa ste [G: des] || gzhan rnams lag pa rnams ni rdebs shing skad [G: de] 'don to ||
On seeing the lord of elephants straightway giving up his intoxication and doing obeisance as a pupil to the Sage, some flung up arms covered with clothes, others brandishing their arms let the clothes go.

gzhan rnams kyis ni mgo bos [G: ø mgo bos] thub la phyag 'tshal zhing || de nas

⁶⁵⁸ Tib. *sdig med*, “guilt-free, innocent”. As Johnston (ibid.: iii.62.n2) notices, the Chinese version reads *dalong* 大龍, “great *nāga*” (Does this refer to the Buddha here?)

de la gzhan rnams bskor ba byas pa ste || gzhan rnams 'phags pa nyid las glang chen la bstod cing || ya mtshan dang bcas gzhan rnams reg par gyur [G: ø par gyur] pa'o ||

Then some folded hands to the Sage, and others surrounded Him. Some praised the great elephant for the nobility (*āryatva*), and others, filled with wonder, stroked him.

lding khang la gnas bud med gzhan rnams de la ni || gtsang zhing rin thang chen po'i gos rnams kyis mchod cing || gzhan rnams gsar ba'i phreng ba yon tan yid 'ong dang || rgyan ni de dang de dag rnams kyis mngon par 'thor ||

Of the women in the palaces, some did Him honour with new clothes of great price, and others showered down on Him their various ornaments and fresh garlands of entrancing quality.

dus dang mtshungs pa'i glang po dul bar gnas pa na || skye po dad med pa dbus nas song ba ste || dbus gnas khyad par las ni dang bar rab song zhing || dad pa rnams kyang gang de brtan par nye bar song ||

When the elephant, who was like Death (*kāla*), stood humbled, those who did not believe entered the middle state, those who were already in the middle state reached a special degree of faith, and the believers were mightily strenghtend.

dad pa la gnas ma skyes dgra ni thub pa yi || glang chen dbang po de ni btul ba mthong nas ni || ya mtshan gyur cing de nas dga' pa skyes ba ste || sangs rgyas la ni mchog tu dad pa byas pa'o ||

Then Ajātaśatru, standing in his palace, saw the lord of elephants tamed by the Sage and was overcome with amazement; joy grew in him, and he believed in the Buddha to the highest degree.

nyon mongs rtsod ldan dus ni des par log pa na || rdzogs ldan dus ni 'ongs nas slar yang chos don bzhin ||⁶⁵⁹ de ltar rdzu 'phrul dang ldan snyan grags mchog rnams kyis || rab tu gnas pa'i dga' ldan thub pa mchog 'phel to ||

Just as, when the evil age passes away and the age of ascent begins, Law and Wealth increases, in such wise waxed the Sage by His fame, His magic powers, and His difficult undertakings.

mi dge ba dang yongs su ldan pa'i lha sbyin [G: lhas byin] no [G: ni] || nyon mongs sdig pa'i las ni mang po byas nas ni || mi skyong sten rgu ba⁶⁶⁰ gnyis skyes drang srong gi || dmod pa las bzhin pa yi 'og tu bying bar gyur ||

But Devadatta, having in his malice done many evil and sinful deeds, fell to the regions below, execrated by king and people, by Brahmans and sages.

- ◆ The counterpart in the Chinese translation of the *Buddhacarita* (T.192) may be found at 40c19-41b3, which has been translated into English in Willeman

⁶⁵⁹ The Golden manuscript edition does not mention *rtsod ldan dus* (**kalyuga*, cf. TSD, 1913b, s.v.) and only gives one (conflated and also confusing) *pāda*, *nyon mongs rtsod ldan dus ni 'ongs nas slar yang chos don bzhin*, “It is just as, when the afflictive golden age (*rtsod ldan dus*, **kṛtayuga*) comes, the Dharma and the welfare increase.”

⁶⁶⁰ As Johnston (*ibid.*: 63 n.3) suggests, *sten rgu ba* may be emended into *skye dgu ba*, “living beings”.

(2009: 153-155).

II.3 The “Chapter on Anger” of the *Faju-piyu-jing* (Chinese Text and Its English Translation)

Below the twenty-fifth chapter *fennu-pin* 忿怒品 (**Krodhavarga*), “Chapter on Anger”, of the *Faju-piyu-jing* 法句譬喻經 (T.211.596a5-b2) and my English translation:

昔佛在羅閱祇耆闍崛山中。時調達與阿闍貫王共議毀佛及諸弟子。王勅國人不得奉佛，眾僧分衛不得施與。時舍利弗、目連、迦葉、須菩提等，及波和提比丘尼等，各將弟子去到他國。唯佛與五百羅漢住崛山中。調達往至阿闍貫所，與王議言：“佛諸弟子今已迸散，尚有五百弟子在佛左右。願王明日請佛入城。吾當飲五百大象令醉。佛來入城，驅使醉象，令踏殺之，盡斷其種。吾當作佛，教化世間。”阿闍貫王聞之歡喜。即到佛所，稽首作禮，白佛言：“明日設薄施。願屈世尊及諸弟子，於宮內食。”佛知其謀，答言：“大善。明旦當往。”王退而去。還語調達：“佛已受請。當念前計，飲象令醉，伺候待之。”

明日食時，佛與五百羅漢共入城門。五百醉象鳴鼻而前，搪揅牆壁，樹木摧折。行人驚怖，一城戰慄。五百羅漢飛在空中，獨有阿難在佛邊住。醉象齊頭徑前趣佛。佛因舉手，五指應時化為五百師子王，同聲俱吼，震動天地。於是醉象屈膝伏地，不敢舉頭。酒醉尋解，垂淚悔過。王及臣民莫不驚肅。世尊徐前，至王殿上。與諸羅漢食訖，呪願。王白佛言：“稟性不明，信彼讒言，興造逆惡，圖為不軌。願垂大慈，恕我迷愚。”於是世尊告阿闍貫及諸大眾：“世有八事，興長誹謗，皆由名譽。又貪利養，以致大罪，累劫不息。何等為八？利衰毀譽，稱譏苦樂。自古至今，眇不為惑。”於是，世尊即說偈言：

“人相謗毀	自古至今
既毀多言	又毀訥忍
亦毀中和	世無不毀
欲意非聖	不能折中
一毀一譽	但為名利
明智所譽	唯稱正賢
慧人守戒	無所譏謗
如羅漢淨	莫而誣謗
諸天咨嗟	梵釋所敬”

佛說偈已，重告王曰：“昔有國王喜食鴈肉。常遣獵師，張網捕鴈。日送一鴈，以供王食。時有鴈王，將五百鴈飛下求食。鴈王墮網，為獵師所得。餘鴈驚飛，徘徊不去。時有一鴈，連翻追隨，不避弓矢。悲鳴吐血，晝夜不息。獵師見之，感憐其義。即放鴈王，令相隨去。群鴈得王，歡喜迴繞。爾時，獵師具以聞王。王感其義，斷不捕鴈。”佛告阿闍貫王：“爾時鴈王者，

我身是也。一鴈者，阿難是也。五百群鴈，今五百羅漢是也。食鴈國王者，今大王是也。時獵師者，今調達是也。前世已來，恒欲害我。我以大慈之力，因而得濟。不念怨惡，自致得佛。”佛說是時，王及群臣莫不開解。

Previously, the Buddha stayed in the city of Rājagṛha, in the Gṛdhrakūṭa Mountain. At that time, Devadatta and King Ajātaśatru were discussing with each other on destorying the Buddha and his disciples. The king ordered the people in the country not to make offerings to the Buddha, or to give almsfood to the assembly of monks. At that time, Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, Kāśyapa and Subhūti, along with the *bhikṣuṇī* Mahāprajāpati, each leading their own disciples, went to other countries. Only the Buddha and the five hundred *arhats* still stayed in the Gṛdhrakūṭa Mountain. Devadatta went to Ajātaśatru's place and discussed with the king, saying, "The Buddha's [great] disciples now all have dispersed. Only five hundred disciples are left around the Buddha. Great king, please invite the Buddha to enter the city tomorrow. I will give intoxicants to five hundred big elephants, to make them drunken. [When] the Buddha comes and enters the city, I will spur the drunken elephants, letting them trample and kill them [= the Buddha and his disciples], and thereby extirpating his [= the Buddha's] lineage. [Then] I will become the Buddha, teaching and converting people in the world." King Ajātaśatru, on hearing this, became gladdened. He immediately went to where the Buddha was and having paid homage with his head, he said to the Buddha, "Tomorrow I will prepare a few offerings. I hope that the World-Honoured One will deign to have a meal in the palace. The Buddha knowing his intrigue answered, "This is great. Tomorrow morning I will come." The king stepped back and left. He returned to tell Devadatta, "The Buddha has already accepted my invitation. You should think about the earlier [designed] strategy. Give drinks to the elephants, to making them drunken, and wait for [the opportunity]."

The next day, at the meal time, the Buddha together with five hundred *arhats* entered the city gate. Five drunken elephants, screaming in their noses, went forth, throwing down walls and destorying trees. People walking on the road were horrified and the whole city was trembling. Five hundred *arhats* all flew in the air. Only Ānanda remained besides the Buddha. The drunken elephants with their heads together straightforward rushed to the Buddha. The Buddha thereupon stretched out his hand, and the five fingers immediately transformed into five lion kings, simultaneously shouting, with the sound shaking the earth and the heaven. Then, the drunken elephants kneed down, prostrating on the ground, and did not dare to raise their heads. The effect of alcohol immediately went away. Shedding tears, they repented of their transgression. The king and his subjects were all astonished and silent. The World-Honoured One slowly went forward and arrived at the king's palace. Having finished the meal together with the *arhats*, he chanted the prayers [for the king]. The king said to the Buddha, "Ignorant by nature, I have believed in his [= Devadatta's] calumnious words, and have committed evil deeds and conducted for improper purposes. Please show compassion and forgive my delusion and foolishness." Then the Buddha said to Ajātaśatru and the assembly, "There are eight things in the world, which one fosters and slanders all because of [his own] fame. Moreover, [because] one is greedy for welfare, one commits serious crimes, [the karmic effect of which] will not be extinguished through many *kalpas*. What are the eight? [These are] propriety, decline, defamation, accreditation, praise, depreciation, pains and pleasures. From

the ancient to now, few people have not been deluded [by these].” Then the World-Honoured spoke the following *gāthās*,⁶⁶¹

“People blame each other, from the ancient to now.

They blame the one who talks much, and also the one who silently endures. They also blame the one who seeks the medium. No one in the world is not blamed.⁶⁶²

They also want to find fault with the nobles, but are never able to take a middle course.

They either entirely defame him or entirely praise him, [but] these are done only for the sake of fame.

Only the one whom the insightful and wise praise can be called upright and virtuous.

He is a person endowed with wisdom and observing precepts. He has nothing that can be deprecated or censured.

Purified like [or as?] an *arhat*, he is not calumniated or censured by anyone. He is praised by all gods, and respected [even] by Brahmā.”

Having spoken the *gāthās*, the Buddha further said to the king, “In the past, there was a king liking eating goose meat. He frequently sent a hunter to set up a net to catch geese. [The hunter] daily brought a goose and offered it to the king to eat. At that time, there was a king of geese who, leading five hundred geese, flew down to search for food. The king of geese was ensnared and caught by the hunter. The other geese were flying up in terror, hesitant and not leaving. At that time, there was a goose continuing tumbling up and down, following [the king of geese], not avoiding arrows. It was crying in grief, day and night without stopping. The hunter, on seeing this, felt sympathy for and took pity on its loyalty. He immediately set free the king of geese and let it leave with the others. The geese regained their king, joyfully surrounding [him]. At that time, the hunter reported this to the king in detail. The king felt sympathy for their [the geese’s] loyalty and decided not to hunt geese any more.” The Buddha said to King Ajātaśatru, “At that time, the king of geese was me. That one goose [who followed the goose king] was Ānanda. The five hundred geese were the five hundred *arhats* here. The king eating geese was you, Great King. At that time, the hunter was Devadatta here. Since previous births, he had always wanted to kill him. Because of the power of great compassion, I was saved [from being killed by him.] Not caring about his hostility and wickedness, I have attained *buddha*-hood by myself.” When the Buddha was saying this, the king and his ministers were all illuminated and gained liberation [in mind].

⁶⁶¹ These verses are verbatim reproduced from the earlier work *Faju-jing* (cf. T.210.568a14-20). They roughly agree with but still differs from the counterparts in the Pāli *Dhammapada* (for the Pali text, see v. Hinüber and Norman 1995: 64-65, §§ 227-230; translated in Norman 1997: 34-35).

⁶⁶² These two lines correspond to one part of the Pāli *Dhammapada* verse § 227, *nindanti tuṇhiṃ āsīnaṃ nindanti bahubhāṇinaṃ mitabhāṇinaṃ pi nindanti, n’atthi loke anindito* (v. Hinüber and Norman, *ibid.*, 64), “People blame one who sits silent. They blame the one who talks much, and also the one who speaks measuredly. No one in this world is not blamed”, although the Chinese text uses the verbs *banghui* 謗毀 (lit. “to slander and ruin”) and *hui* 毀 (“to ruin”), which sound more strong than *√nind*, “to blame, to find fault with”.

Appendix III: Stories of Ajātaśatru's Birth and His Previous Life as a Revengeful Ascetic in Buddhist and Jaina Literature (Texts and English Translations)⁶⁶³

III.1 Buddhist and Jaina Stories of Ajātaśatru's Birth with No Mention of His Previous Birth

III.1.1 The *Sumaṅgala-vilāsini*

The following are the Pāli text (Rhys Davids and Carpenter 1886: 133.28-134.30) and my English translation:

ajāto yeva rañño sattū bhavissatī ti nemittakehi¹ niddiṭṭho ti ajātasattu. tasmim kira kucchigate deviyā evarūpo dohaḷo uppajji: aho vata ahaṃ rañño dakkhiṇabāhuto² lohitaṃ piveyyan ti. Sā bhāriye thāne ayaṃ³ dohaḷo uppanno na sakkā kassa ci ārocatun ti taṃ kathetum asakkontī kisā dubbaṇṇā ahoṣi. taṃ rājā pucchi: bhadde tuyhaṃ attabhāvo na pakativāṇṇo. kiṃ kāraṇā⁴ ti. mā puccha mahārājā ti. Bhadde tvaṃ tuyhaṃ⁵ ajjhāsayam mayhaṃ na kathentī⁶ kassa kathessasī ti tathā tathā nibbandhitvā⁷ kathāpesi. sutvā ca bāle kiṃ ettha tuyhaṃ bhāriyasaññā ahoṣī ti vejjaṃ pakkosāpetvā suvaṇṇasatthakena bāhuṃ phalāpetvā⁸ suvaṇṇasarakena lohitaṃ gahetvā udakena sambhinditvā pāyesi. nemittakā⁹ sutvā esa gabbho rañño sattū bhavissati iminā rājā hanyissatī¹⁰ ti vyākariṃsu. devī sutvā mayhaṃ kira kucchito nikkhanto rājānaṃ māressatī ti gabbhaṃ pātāpetukāma¹¹ uyyānaṃ gantvā kucchim maddāpesi. gabbho na patati. sā punappuna¹² gantvā tath' eva kāresi¹³. rājā kim atthaṃ ayaṃ abhiṇhaṃ uyyānaṃ gacchatī ti parivīmaṃsanto taṃ kāraṇaṃ sutvā bhadde tava kucchiyaṃ putto ti vā dhītā ti vā na ñāyati¹⁴. attano nibbattadārakaṃ evaṃ akāsī ti mahā aguṇarāsi pi no jambudīpatale āvibhavissati. mā tvaṃ evaṃ karohī ti vāretvā¹⁵ ārakkhaṃ adāsi. sā gabbhavuṭṭhānakāle taṃ¹⁶ māressāmī ti cintesi. tadā pi ārakkha-manussā disvā¹⁷ kumāraṃ¹⁸ apanayiṃsu. Atha aparena samayena vuḍḍhippattaṃ kumāraṃ deviyā dassesuṃ. sā taṃ disvā va puttasiṇhaṃ uppādesi. tena naṃ māretuṃ na asakkhi. rājā pi anukkamena puttassa uparajjaṃ¹⁹ adāsi.

1) B° °ikehi 2) B° ° bāhulohitaṃ 3) B° ø ayaṃ 4) B° kāraṇaṃ 5) B° attano 6) B° akathentī for na kathentī 7) B° niban° 8) B° phālā ° 9) B° + taṃ 10) B° haññissatī 11) B° pātetu° 12) B° °naṃ 13) B° °ti 14) B° paññāyati 15) B° nivāretvā 16) B° ø taṃ 17) B° ø disvā 18) B° dārakaṃ for kumāraṃ 19) B° opa°

[The reason why he was called] Ajātasattu is that even while he was unborn, soothsayers predicted that he would become the king's enemy. At the time of his

⁶⁶³ A comparative analysis of those stories needs to be done in the near future. Some of the stories translated here are mentioned in Radich (2011: 9). On medieval indigenous Chinese adaptations of the story of Ajātaśatru's previous birth as a revengeful sage, where the sage is said to have taken the form of a white rabbit before being reborn as Ajātaśatru, see a detailed discussion in *ibid.*, pp. 63-76.

conception, such a pregnancy carving arose in the queen: “I really want to drink the blood from the king’s right arm.” She thought, “this craving has got into a heavy situation [but] it is impossible to let anyone know”. Not being able to tell it, she became emaciated and had a bad countenance. The king asked her, “My dear, your appearance is not of a natural colour. What is the reason?” “Great King, please don’t ask.” “My dear, if you do not want to tell me, whom you are going to tell?” Having been pressed again and again like thus, she told him. Having heard [what she said], [the king asked], “Silly woman, do you now still have the heavy feeling?” Having summoned the surgeon and opened his elbow with a gold knife, he received the blood with a gold vessel, mixed with water and gave [her] to drink. Having heard [what had happened], the soothsayers said, “This foetus will become the king’s enemy and by him the king will be killed.” Having heard this, the queen thought, “If the one gets out of my womb, he will kill the king.” In order to abort the foetus, she went to a garden and kneaded the womb. [But] the foetus did not fall out. Again and again, she went there and did the same thing. The king pondering, “why is she always going to the garden”, and having heard the reason, [he said to her], “My dear, it is still not yet known whether it is a son or daughter in your womb. To treat a child born to oneself like thus means a great heap of demerits and it is [too shameful] to be brought to light in the Jambu Island. Please do not act in this way.” Having stopped her, he put her under guard. At the time of the delivery of the foetus, she thought, “I will kill him.” At that moment, the guardians, having noticed this, took the child away. Then, at a later occasion, they showed the grown-up child to the queen. Having seen him, she felt affection for her son. Therefore, she [simply] could not kill him. The king, in due course, gave the vice-regency to his son...

III.1.2 The *Paccupannavatthu* of the *Thusa-jātaka* (JA 338)

Below are the Pāli text (Fausbøll 1877-1896: iii. 121.16-122.7) and my English translation (see also a translation in Cowell 1895-1907: iii. 80-81):

*viditaṃ thusaṃ ti. idaṃ satthā veḷuvane viharanto ajātasattukumāraṃ¹
ārabha kathesi. tasmim kira mātukucchigate tassa mātu kosalarājadhītāya
bimbisārarañño dakkhiṇajāṇu- lohitaṃ² pivanadohaḷo uppajjitvā thaddho³ ahosi.
sā paricārīkāhi pucchitā tasmaṃ tam atthaṃ ārocesi. Rājā pi sutvā nemittike⁴
pakkosāpetvā deviyā kira evarūpo dohaḷo uppanno tassa kā nipphattī ti pucchi.
nemittakā deviyā kucchimiṃ⁵ nibbatto satto⁶ tumhe māretvā rajjaṃ gaṇhissatī ti
āhaṃsu. rājā sace mama putto maṃ māretvā rajjaṃ gaṇhissati ko ettha doso ti
dakkhiṇajāṇuṃ satthena phālāpetvā lohitaṃ suvaṇṇataṭṭakena gāhāpetvā deviyā
pāyesi. sā cintesi: sace mama kucchiyaṃ nibbatto putto pitaraṃ māressati kiṃ
me tenā ti. sā gabbhapātanatthaṃ kucchiṃ maddāpeti⁷ sedāpeti⁸. rājā ñatvā taṃ
pakkosāpetvā bhadde mayhaṃ kira putto maṃ māretvā rajjaṃ gaṇhissati na kho
panāhaṃ ajaro amaro putta- mukhaṃ passituṃ⁹ dehi mā ito pabhuti evarūpaṃ
kammaṃ akāsī ti āha. sā tato paṭṭhāya uyyānaṃ gantvā kucchiṃ maddāpeti¹⁰.
rājā ñatvā tato paṭṭhāya uyyānagamaṇaṃ nivāresi. sā paripakkagabbhā¹¹ puttāṃ
vijāyi. nāmagahaṇadivase¹² c’ assa ajātass’ eva pitusattubhāvato
ajātasattukumāro¹³ tv eva nāmaṃ kariṃsu¹⁴. tasmim kumāraparihārena*

*vaḍḍhante satthā ekadivasam pañcasata- bhikkhuparivuto rañño nivesanam
gantvā nisīdi. rājā buddha- pamukham¹⁵ bhikkhusaṅgham pañitena
khādanīyena¹⁶ bhojanīyena parivisitvā satthāraṃ vanditvā dhammaṃ suṇanto
nisīdi. tasmim̐ khaṇe kumāraṃ maṇḍetvā rañño adaṃsu. rājā balavasinehen'
eva¹⁷ puttam̐ gahetvā ūrumhi nisīdāpetvā puttagatena pemena puttam̐ eva
mamāyanto na dhammaṃ¹⁸ suṇāti. satthā tassa pamādam¹⁹ ñatvā mahārāja
pubbe rājāno putte āsaṅkamānā paṭicchanne kāretvā amhākaṃ accayena
nīharitvā rajje patiṭṭhāpeyyāthā ti āṇāpesun ti vatvā tena yācito atītaṃ āhari.*

1) B° *ajātasattum* 2) B° *°lohita* 3) B° *paṇḍu* 4) B° *°ttake* 5) B° *°imhi* 6) B° *nibbattakasatto* for
nibbatto satto 7) B° *°si* 8) B° *° sedāpeti* 9) B° + *me* 10) B° *°si* 11) B° *paripuṇṇagabbhā* 12) B°
nāmaggaḥaṇa° 13) B° *ajātasattu* 14) B° *akamsu* 15) B° *°ppamukham* 16) B° *°niya* 17) B° *° eva*
18) B° *na dhammaṃ* 19) B° *pamādabhāvaṃ*

“The husk of rice is found...” This story was told by the Teacher while staying in the Bamboo Grove, regarding Prince Ajātasattu. When he was still in his mother’s womb, there arose in his mother, the daughter of the king of Kosala, a longing for drinking the blood from the right knee of king Bimbisāra [her husband], and she became sluggish [because of such a longing]⁶⁶⁴. Being questioned by her maid-servants, she told them the matter. The king, having also heard of it, summoned his soothsayers and said, “The queen has such a longing. What is its consequence?” The soothsayers said, “The child conceived in the womb of the queen will kill you and seize your kingdom.” The king, thinking, “If my son kills me and seize my kingdom, what is the harm of it”, having made his right knee opened with a sword and received the blood with a golden bowl, he gave it to the queen to drink. She thought, “If the son conceived in my womb should kill his father, what is his use for me?” In order to miscarriage the foetus, she [violently] massaged the womb and caused it to transpire [?] ⁶⁶⁵. The king, having heard of this, called her to him and said, “My dear, [it is said,] my son will kill me and seize the kingdom. But I am not exempt from old age and death. Let me see the face of my son. Henceforth, do not do such a thing.” [However,] later on, she went to a garden and massaged the womb [there]. The king heard of this and forbade her visit to the garden. When she had gone her full time, she gave birth to a son. On his naming day, because he had been his father’s enemy while still unborn, they called him Prince Ajātasattu. When he grew up with the princely state and pomp, one day, the Teacher surrounded by five hundred monks came to the king’s palace and sat down. The king, having served the assembly of monks led by the Buddha with fine food, both hard and soft, having venerated the Teacher, sat

⁶⁶⁴ The Burmese Sixth Council edition mentions the mother’s change in complexion: *uppajjitvā paṇḍu ahosi*, “(a longing) arose and she became pale”.

⁶⁶⁵ The Burmese Sixth Council edition gives *maddāpesi*, “massage (the womb)”. In Fausbøll’s edition, the Sinhalese Mss. reads *sedāpeti*, “to cause to transpire, to heat”, while the Burmese Mss. of the India Office (abbr. Bⁱ, see Fausbøll 1877-1896: ii. “Preliminary Remark 3”) reads *bhesajjam̐ tāpesi*, “tormented (or heated) with drug”, which seems to make better sense here.

down listening to the Dharma. At that moment, they dressed up the prince and gave [him] to the king. The king, having received his son with strong affection and made him sit on his thigh, fondling his son with the love [of a father to] a son, did not listen to the Dharma. The Teacher observed his inattentiveness and said, “Great King, former kings, suspecting their sons, kept them confined and gave the order saying, ‘after my death, bring [the prince] out and set him on the throne’.” Having said this, at the king’s request, he told a story of the past.

III.1.3 The *Sāratthappakāsinī*

Below are the Pāli text (Woodward 1929-1937: i.38) and my English translation:

aṭṭhame maddakucchismin ti evaṃ nāmake uyyāne. tañhi ajātasattumhi kucchi-gate tassa mātara: ayaṃ mayhaṃ kucchigato gabbho rañño sattū bhavissati. kiṃ me iminā ti. gabbha- pātanaṭṭhaṃ kucchi maddāpitā. tasmā maddakucchīti saṅkhaṃ gataṃ. migānaṃ pana abhayavāsathāya dinnattā migadāyoti vuccati.

In the eighth [*Sakalika-suttaṃ*, “Sutta on Splinter”], “at the Maddakucchi” means “in a park thus named”. At the time of Ajātasattu’s conception, his mother thought, “The foetus conceived in my womb will become the king’s enemy. What is the use of this one for me?” In order to miscarry the foetus, she violently massaged the womb. Therefore, [the name] Maddakucchi came into being. Later, in order that deer might dwell [there] free from fear, it was also called “deer park”.

III.1.4 The Thirteenth-Century Sinhalese Buddhist Text *Pūjāvaliya* (“Garland of Offerings”)

I have no access to the Sinhalese text and only quote here a summary of the story given by Obeyesekere (1990: 148-49):

The daughter of the Kōsala king of Sāvatti was given in marriage to Bimbisāra of Rajagaha. From the time she conceived Ajātasattu, the queen had an intense craving to drink the blood from the king’s right shoulder⁶⁶⁶. But she did not tell anyone about it and consequently became like a withered garland of flowers. The king, seeing her in this state, said: “By not telling me what you crave you are acting like my enemy.” Eventually after much persuasion he knew she wanted his blood. “Your craving is a propitious one for me.” Summoning his chief physician,

⁶⁶⁶ Obeyesekere (1989: 240) gives a particular note on this detail, saying, “The right shoulder is, of course, where the king wields his arm of legitimate sovereignty”. This may be an over-interpretation of the text. The story does not necessarily have such implication, given that the source of the blood desired by the queen is not consistent in the extant versions. The blood is said to be from the king’s right knee in the *paccupannavattu* of the *Thusa-jātaka*, from his right arm in the *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*, and from his right shoulder in the *Pūjāvaliya*. The *Cīvaravastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* only says that the queen craves for the blood of the king, without specifying the source of blood (see below).

he had his shoulder incised with a golden blade; mixing his blood with water, he gave her to drink it in a golden plate. Her cravings were now satisfied. Soothsayers who heard about this said: “The queen will give birth to a son who will hate his father, and the king will die because of him; “he has a great store of merits, and though he will kill his father he will also reign over the capital city.” The queen, hearing this, went to the palace garden and tried many time to abort the fetus, but owing to the prince’s good karma (“power of his merit”) no harm came to suspecting: “You do not know whether it’s going to be a son or a daughter. The neighbouring kings will say what you have done to the child and shame me. Henceforth desist from this action,” and kept guards around her. The queen thought: “If it is a son I will kill him as soon as he is born.” The king sensed those thoughts also and persuaded the midwives to take the infant, as soon as he was born, away from his mother. When the prince was two or three years old he was nicely decked out and shown to the queen. The queen, owing to the love for her son (lit. “because of son-love”), erased from her mind all her previous thoughts and lovingly brought him up. She simply could not kill him. Because he emerged from his mother’s womb unwanted and because of his enmity for his father he was named Ajātasattu (enemy before he was born). When he was sixteen his father, the king, made him prince regent (*yuva-rajā*, subking)...

III.1.5 The Chinese *Dharmaguptaka-vinaya* (T.1428)

The following is the relevant passage (591c16-23), along with my English translation (see also a translation in Radich 2011: 40 n.132):

爾時，世尊在羅閱祇耆闍崛山。時瓶沙王無子。時王即集能相婆羅門，令占相諸夫人。語言：“汝占此諸夫人何者應生子。”婆羅門占相言：“此少壯夫人當生子，而是王怨。”王聞是語已，於其夜與此夫人交會，即便有娠。後，生男，顏容端正。未生子時，婆羅門記言“當是王怨”。因此立字，名未生怨。

At that time, the World-Honoured One was staying at Rājagṛha, on the Gr̥dhṛakūṭa Mountain. At that time, King Bimbisāra had no son. Then the king summoned all the Brahmins capable in foretelling and asked them to make a divination for his every wife. The king said, “You divine for these wives to see that which one will bear a son.” The Brahmins divined and said, “This young lady will bear a son, but he will be your enemy, Lord.” Having heard this, on the very night, the king made love to this lady. Shortly, this lady was pregnant. Afterwards, she gave birth to a boy of handsome countenance. When this son was unborn, the Brahmins predicted that he would be a foe of the king. Therefore, he was given the name Ajātaśatru “Unborn-Foe”.

III.1.6 The “Chapter on Kāśyapa Bodhisattva” of the Chinese Mahāyāna

Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra

The text is found at T.374.565c1-19 (= T. 375.812a17-b4). It is also translated in Yamamoto (1973: 479). I have no access to Mark Blum's new translation.⁶⁶⁷

時提婆達多尋起，往至善見太子所。善見見已，即問：“聖人，何故顏容憔悴，有憂色耶？”提婆達言：“我常如是，汝不知乎？”善見答言：“願說其意，何因緣。”爾提婆達言：“我今與汝極成親愛。外人罵汝，以為非理。我聞是事，豈得不憂？”善見太子復作是言：“國人云何罵辱於我？”提婆達言：“國人罵汝為未生怨。”善見復言：“何故名我為未生怨？誰作此名？”提婆達言：“汝未生時，一切相師皆作是言：‘是兒生已，當殺其父。’是故外人皆悉號汝為未生怨。一切內人護汝心故，謂為善見。韋提夫人聞是語已，既生汝身，於高樓上棄之於地，壞汝一指。以是因緣，人復號汝為婆羅留枝。我聞是已，心生愁憤，而復不能向汝說之。”提婆達多以如是等種種惡事教令殺父。“若汝殺父，我亦能殺瞿曇沙門。”善見太子問一大臣名曰雨行：“大王何故為我立字作未生怨？”大臣即為說其本末，如提婆達所說無異。

At that time, Devadatta immediately rose up [from the ground] and went to Prince *Sudarśana's place. Having seen him, *Sudarśana asked, 'Holy One, why do you look gloomy, with distressful complexion?' Devadatta said, 'I'm always like this. Don't you know that?' *Sudarśana answered, 'Please tell me why is that.' Then Devadatta said, 'Now I and you have become so close. Outsiders abuse you and consider you as being unreasonable. When I heard this, how can I not get depressed?' *Sudarśana further asked, 'How do people in this county abuse me?' Devadatta said, 'People in this country call you "Unborn-Foe".' *Sudarśana further asked, 'Why do they call me "Unborn-Foe"? Who made this name?' Devadatta said, 'While you were unborn, all the soothsayers said as follows, "this child, after he is born, will kill his father." Therefore, outsiders all call you "Unborn-Foe". All the people inside [the royal court], out of the concern of protecting you, call you *Sudarśana "good-looking"'. Lady Vaidehī, having heard these words [i.e. the prophecy], shortly after having given birth to you, threw you to the ground from the top of a high building, which caused one of your fingers to become injured. For this reason, people also call you *Vāraruci⁶⁶⁸. Having heard this, I feel distressed in my heart and cannot help telling you.' Through various evil intrigues of this kind, Devadatta instigated [Prince *Sudarśana] to kill his father. [He also said,] "If you kill your father, I will also be able to kill the *śramaṇa* Gautama." Prince *Sudarśana asked a minister named Varṣakāra, "Why did Great King give me the name 'Unborn-Foe'?" The minister then explained to him in detail, with no difference from what Devadatta had said.

⁶⁶⁷ For a discussion of this story, see Radich (2011: 39-42). The following part of the story, which tells Ajātaśatru's imprisonment of his father, is translated in Silk (1997: 193).

⁶⁶⁸ Chin. *Po-luo-liu-zhi* 婆羅留枝. On this name of Ajātaśatru, see a detailed note in Radich (2011: 150-152).

III.1.7 Two Aetiological Episodes of Ajātaśatru's Name with No Relation to His Birth

A. The Chinese *Ekottarikāgama* (T.125 [49.9])

The text is found at 803b4-11:

是時，提婆達兜語阿闍世王：“古昔諸人壽命極長，如今遂短。備王太子一旦命終者，則唐生於世間。何不取父王害之，紹聖王位？我當取如來害之，當得作佛。新王新佛，不亦快哉？”爾時，阿闍世王即便差守門人，取父王，閉在牢獄。自立爲王，治化人民。時諸群庶各相謂言：“此子未生，則是怨家之子。”因以爲名阿闍世王。

At that time, Devadatta said to King Ajātaśatru, ‘In the past, people were long-lived but nowadays, people are short-lived. Once you, Crown Prince, pass away in sudden, it would be vain for you to have lived in this world. Why not kill your father and take over the holy throne? I will kill the Tathāgata and become the Awakened One. Won’t it be wonderful to have a new king and a new Buddha?’ At the time, King Ajātaśatru immediately dispatched the gatekeepers to arrest his father, the king, and confined him in prison. He appointed himself king to rule the people. Then the common people said to each other, ‘This son, when he was unborn, was already a hostile son.’ For this reason, he was given the name ‘King Ajātaśatru’.

B. The Chinese *Mahīśāsaka-vinaya* (T.1421)

The text is found at 19b19-22:

[The context of the story: Ajātaśatru is originally called Zhongle 眾樂, *Vāraruci. At the instigation of Devadatta, he goes to Bimbisāra’s palace and attempts to assassinate his father. However, unable to conceal his fear, he falls to the ground and his assassination plot is seen through by the gatekeepers. They decide to report to Bimbisāra. The king summons his ministers to discuss this issue. Having perceived the king’s deep affection for his son, the ministers agree on advising the king to abdicate. This is immediately accepted by Bimbisāra, who then renounces the throne and passes the throne to his son.]

……議合王心，即便捨位。拜之爲王，號阿闍世。初登王位，受五欲樂，殺逆之心便得暫息。如是少時，乃以無事而害父命。

...The suggestion [of ministers] accorded with the king’s will, who immediately abdicated. [The prince] was anointed king, with the epithet “Ajātaśatru”. At the beginning when he just ascended to the throne, [due to] the enjoyment of the pleasures of the five senses, his thought of patricide was temporarily appeased.

[However,] in this way, shortly afterwards, he deprived his father of life for no reason.

III.1.8 The *Nirayāvaliyāo* (“Sequence of Hell”) of Śvetāmbara Jainas

The *Nirayāvaliyāo* is the eighth *upāṅga* of the Śvetāmbara Jaina canon. Below is the Ardha-Māgadhī text edited by Deleu (1969: 99.25-104.5, §§7-12 = de Jong and Wiles 1996: 40-45), accompanied with an English translation made by Wiles (2000: 67-95)⁶⁶⁹:

§7 ...tassa ṇaṃ Seṇiyassa ranno Cellaṇā nāmaṃ devī hotthā somāla-*jāva*¹ viharai. tae ṇaṃ sā Cellaṇā devī annayā kayāi taṃsi tārisayaṃsi vāsagharaṃsi *jāva*² sīhaṃ sumiṇe pāsittāṇaṃ paḍibuddhā *jahā* Pabhāvaī *jāva* sumiṇapāḍhagā paḍivisaṇṇiyā *jāva* Cellaṇā se vayaṇaṃ paḍicchittā jeṇ’ eva sae bhavaṇe teṇ’ eva aṇupaviṭṭhā.

tae ṇaṃ tise Cellaṇāe devīe annayā kayāi tiṇhaṃ māsāṇaṃ bahupaḍipunnāṇaṃ ayam eyārūve dohale pāubbhūe: «dhannāo ṇaṃ tāo ammayāo *jāva*³ jamma-jīviya-phale jāo ṇaṃ Seṇiyassa ranno udara-valī-maṃsehiṃ sollehi ya taliehi ya bhajjīehi ya suraṃ ca *jāva* pasannaṃ ca āsāemāṇīo *jāva* paribhāemāṇīo dohalaṃ pavīṇenti.» tae ṇaṃ sā Cellaṇā devī taṃsi dohalaṃsi aviṇijjamāṇaṃsī sukkhā bhukkhā nimmamsā oluggā olugga-sarīrā nitteyā dīṇa-vimaṇa-vayaṇā paṇḍuiya-muhī omanthiya-nayaṇa-vayaṇa-kamalā jahociyaṃ puppha-vattha-gandha-mallālāṃkāraṃ aparibhuṇṇamāṇī karayala-maliya vva kamala-mālā ohaya-maṇa-saṃkappā *jāva*⁴ jhiyāi.

[The Venerable Suhamma said to his disciple Jambū,] “King Seṇiya had [another] queen, Cellaṇā. She had delicate [hands and feet]...*up to*¹, [there] she lived. Once queen Cellaṇā, in such a bed-chamber [as described in the Nāyādharmakahāo]² saw a lion in a dream and woke up, just as Pabhāvaī [everything is to be told about her relating the dream to her husband, the dream interpreters being called, they predice a great son will be born who will ordain as a monk and so on] *up to* the interpreters of dreams were sent away *up to*...Cellaṇā, having looked at this face [?], entered her own residence.

Then when almost three months had been completed, a pregnancy longing like this came to queen Cellaṇā, ‘Fortunate are those mothers *up to*³ [easily obtained for them] the fruit of human birth and existence, who, with the flesh of king Seṇiya’s belly-folds roasted, fried and baked and tasting liquor [of all sorts] *up to* [the drink called] *pasannā* [and so on] removed their pregnancy longing while partaking [of it].’ When that pregnancy longing was not fulfilled, queen Cellaṇā,

⁶⁶⁹ I have omitted the detailed text-critical annotations given by Wiles (2000: 69-95, nn.44-77). Regarding the stock abbreviation *jāvas* (Skt. *yāvat*, “up to”), I have followed the reference list given by Deleu (1969: 91-95 = de Jong and Wiles 1996: 31-36 = Wiles 2000: xcvi-cii) and indicated at the end of this section (§1.2) the sources of the descriptive clichés or formulas those *jāvas* refer to.

parched, hungry, thin, unwell, ill in body, lustreless, her face miserable and dejected, her complexion yellowish-white, the lotuses [that were] her eyes and mouth drooping, not using appropriate (*jahociyam*) flowers, garments, perfumes, garlands or ornaments [i.e., She neglected herself and was] like a garland of lotus blossoms crushed in the hand, depressed *up to*⁴ brooding.”

§8 tae ṇaṃ tīse Cellaṇāe devīe aṅga-paḍiyāriyāo Cellaṇaṃ devim sukkaṃ bhukkhaṃ *jāva*⁴ jhiyāyamāṇim pāsanti jeṇ’ eva Seṇie rāyā teṇ’ eva uvāgacchanti karayala-pariggahiyam sirasā vattaṃ matthaṃ añjalim kaṭṭu Seṇiyam rāyam evaṃ vayāsī: «evaṃ khalu sāmī Cellaṇā devī na yāṇāmo keṇai kāraṇeṇaṃ sukkā bhukkhā *jāva*⁴ jhiyāi.» tae ṇaṃ se Seṇie rāyā tāsīm aṅga-paḍiyāriyāṇaṃ antie eyam aṭṭhaṃ soccā nisamma taheva saṃbhante samāṇe jeṇ’ eva Cellaṇā devī teṇ’ eva uvāgacchai Cellaṇaṃ devim sukkaṃ bhukkhaṃ *jāva*⁴ jhiyāyamāṇim pāsittā evaṃ vayāsī: «kiṃ ṇaṃ tumaṃ devānuppie sukkā bhukkhā *jāva*⁴ jhiyāsi? » tae ṇaṃ sā Cellaṇā devī Seṇiyassa ranno eyam aṭṭhaṃ no ādhāi no parijāṇai tusiṇīyā saṃcitṭhai. tae ṇaṃ se Seṇie rāyā Cellaṇaṃ devim doccaṃ pi taccam pi evaṃ vayāsī: « kiṃ ṇaṃ ahaṃ devānuppie eyam aṭṭassa no arihe savaṇayāe jaṃ ṇaṃ tumaṃ eyam aṭṭhaṃ rahassī-karesi? » tae ṇaṃ sā Cellaṇā devī Seṇieṇaṃ rannā doccaṃ pi taccam pi evaṃ vuttā samāṇī Seṇiyam rāyam evaṃ vayāsī: « n’ atthi ṇaṃ sāmī se kei aṭṭhe jassa ṇaṃ tubbhe aṇarihā savaṇayāe no c’eva ṇaṃ imassa aṭṭhassa savaṇayāe. evaṃ khalu sāmī mamaṃ tassa orālassa *jāva*² mahā-sumiṇassa tiṇhaṃ māsāṇaṃ...tubbhaṃ udara-...*jāva* dohalam viṇenti. tae ṇaṃ ahaṃ sāmī taṃsi dohalamsi...*jāva*⁴ jhiyāmi.» tae ṇaṃ se Seṇie rāyā Cellaṇaṃ devim evaṃ vayāsī: «mā ṇaṃ tumaṃ devānuppie ohaya- *jāva*⁴ jhiyāhi. ahaṃ ṇaṃ tahā jattihāmi jahā ṇaṃ tava dohalassa saṃpatti bhavissai » tti kaṭṭu Cellaṇaṃ devim tāhiṃ iṭṭhāhiṃ kantāhiṃ piyāhiṃ maṇunnāhiṃ maṇāmāhiṃ orālāhiṃ kallāṇāhiṃ sivāhiṃ dhannāhiṃ maṅgallāhiṃ miya- madhura-sassirīyāhiṃ vaggūhiṃ. Cellaṇāe devīe antiyāo paḍinikkhamai jeṇ’ eva bāhiriyā uvaṭṭhāṇa-sālā jeṇ’ eva sīh’āsaṇe teṇ’ eva uvāgacchai sīh’āsanavaraṃsi puratthābhimuhe nisīyai tassa dohalassa saṃpatti-nimittaṃ bahūhiṃ āehiṃ uvāehiṃ ya uppattiyāe ya veṇaiyāe ya kammiyāe ya pariṇāmiyāe ya pariṇāmemāṇe tassa dohalassa āyam vā uvāyam vā ṭhihiṃ vā avindamāṇe ohaya-maṇa-saṃkappe *jāva*⁴ jhiyāi.

“Then the ladies-in-waiting of queen Cellaṇā saw her parched, hungry [thin, unwell and so on] *up to*⁴ brooding, and they went to king Seṇiya. [They] joined their palms and said to king Seṇiya, ‘Indeed master, queen Cellaṇā, for some reason we do not know, is parched, hungry [thin, unwell, neglecting herself and so on] *up to*⁴ brooding.’ King Seṇiya heard and understood this news from her ladies-in-waiting and, being likewise upset, went to queen Cellaṇā, saw her parched, hungry [thin, unwell, neglecting herself and so on] *up to*⁴ brooding, and said, ‘Why are you, beloved of the gods, parched [thin, unwell, neglecting herself and so on] *up to*⁴ brooding?’ Queen Cellaṇā did not pay any attention to what king Seṇiya had said, ignored it and remained silent. King Seṇiya said it to her a second and a third time. [Then he said,] ‘Is it, Beloved of the gods, that I am not worthy to hear this matter that you keep it a secret?’ Queen Cellaṇā, being asked by king Seṇiya a second and third time, said to him, ‘Master, there is no matter

which you are not worthy to hear, nor indeed are you unworthy to hear this matter. Indeed, Master, when almost three months had been completed, after [seeing] the great *up to* important dream, such a pregnancy longing [as this] arose, “Fortunate are those mothers [easily obtained for them is the fruit of human life and son on] *up to* who with the flesh of your belly-folds roasted, [fried and baked and so on] *up to* remove their pregnancy longing.” So I, Master, because that pregnancy longing is unfulfilled [am] parched, hungry, [thin, unwell, neglecting herself and so on] *up to*⁴ brooding.’ Then king Seṇiya said to queen Cellaṇā, ‘Do not, beloved of the gods, [be depressed and so on] *up to*⁴ [remain] brooding. I will make every effort that your pregnancy longing be satisfied.’ He said that and reassured queen Cellaṇā with words [that were] beloved, dear, agreeable, attractive, excellent, friendly, beneficial, fortunate, auspicious, soft, sweet and splendid. He left queen Cellaṇā, went to the outer hall of audience, to the throne and sat facing east on the excellent throne, thinking out many ways and means to satisfy that pregnancy longing [using his] inborn [power of reasoning, reasoning that came] from morals, from action and that [reasoning] which had been developed. But not finding ways, means or conditions to satisfy that pregnancy longing, [he became] depressed [and so on] *up to*⁴ was brooding.”

§9 imaṃ ca ṇaṃ Abhae kumāra ṇhāe *jāva*⁵ –sarīre sayāo gihāo paḍinikkhamai jeṇ’ eva bāhiriyā uvatṭhāṇa-sālā jeṇ’ eva Seṇie rāyā teṇ’ eva uvāgacchai Seṇiyaṃ rāyaṃ ohaya-*jāva*⁴ jhiyāyaṃṇaṃ pāsai evaṃ vayāsī: «annayā ṇaṃ tāo tubbhe mamaṃ pāsittā haṭṭha-*jāva*⁶ –hiyayā bhavaha. kiṃ ṇaṃ tāo ajja tubbhe ohaya-*jāva*⁴ jhiyāha? taṃ jai ṇaṃ ahaṃ tāo eyaṃ aṭṭhassa arihe savaṇayāe to ṇaṃ tubbhe mama eyaṃ aṭṭhaṃ jahābhūyaṃ avitahaṃ asandiddhaṃ parikaheha jā ṇaṃ ahaṃ tassa aṭṭhassa anta-gamaṇaṃ karemi.» tae ṇaṃ se Seṇie rāyā Abhayaṃ kumāraṃ evaṃ vayāsī: «n’ atthi ṇaṃ puttā se kei... tumaṃ...savaṇayāe. evaṃ khalu puttā tava culla-māuyāe Cellaṇāe devīe tassa orālassa...mama udara-...viṇenti. tae ṇaṃ sā Cellaṇā devī taṃsi dohalamsi...jhiyāi. tae ṇaṃ ahaṃ puttā tassa dohalassa saṃpatti-nimittaṃ...jhiyāmi.» tae ṇaṃ se Abhae kumāre Seṇiyaṃ rāyaṃ evaṃ vayāsī: «mā ṇaṃ tāo tubbhe ohaya-...jhiyāha...mama culla-māuyāe Cellaṇāe devīe tassa dohalassa saṃpatti...» ti kaṭṭu Seṇiyaṃ rāyaṃ tāhiṃ iṭṭhāhiṃ...

samāsāse jeṇ’ eva sae gihe teṇ’ eva uvāgacchai abbhintarae rahassiyae ṭhāṇijje purise saddāvei evaṃ vayāsī: «gacchaha ṇaṃ tubbhe devānuppiyā sūṇāo allāṃ maṃsaṃ ruhiraṃ batthi-puḍagaṃ ca giṇhaha.» tae ṇaṃ te ṭhāṇijjā purisā Abhaeṇaṃ kumāreṇaṃ evaṃ vuttā samāṇā haṭṭha-*jāva*⁶ karayala-*jāva*⁷ paḍisuṇettā Abhayassa kumārassa antiyāo paḍinikkhamanti jeṇ’ eva sūṇā teṇ’ ev uvāgacchanti allāṃ...ca giṇhanti jeṇ’ eva Abhae kumāra teṇ’ eva uvāgacchanti karayala-*jāva*⁷ taṃ allāṃ...ca uvaṇenti. tae ṇaṃ se Abhae kumāre taṃ allāṃ maṃsaṃ ruhiraṃ kappāṇi-kappiyaṃ karei jeṇ’ eva Seṇie rāyā teṇ’ eva uvāgacchai Seṇiyaṃ rāyaṃ rahassigayaṃ sayañijjamsi uttāṇayaṃ nivajjāvei Seṇiyassa udara-valīsu taṃ allāṃ maṃsaṃ ruhiraṃ viraei batthi-puḍaṇaṃ vedḍhe savantī-karaṇaṇaṃ karei Cellaṇaṃ devīṃ uppim pāsāe avaloṇaṇa-vara-gayaṃ ṭhavāvei Cellaṇāe devīe ahe sapakkhaṃ sapadidisiṃ Seṇiyaṃ rāyaṃ sayañijjamsi uttāṇayaṃ nivajjāvei, Seṇiyassa ranno udara-vali-maṃsāiṃ kappāṇi-kappiyāiṃ karei seya-bhāyaṇamsi pakkhivai. tae ṇaṃ se Seṇie rāyā aliya-mucchiyaṃ karei muhutt’

antareṇaṃ anna-m-annaṇaṃ saddhiṃ saṃlavamaṇe ciṭṭhai. tae ṇaṃ se Abhaya-kumāre Seṇiyassa ranno udara-vali-mamsāiṃ giṇṇhai jeṇ' eva Cellaṇā devī teṇ' eva uvāgacchai Cellaṇāe devīe uvaṇei. tae ṇaṃ sā Cellaṇā devī Seṇiyassa ranno tehiṃ udara-vali-mamsehiṃ sollehiṃ *jāva* dohalaṃ viṇei. tae ṇaṃ sā Cellaṇā devī saṃpuṇṇa-dohalā evaṃ samāṇiya-dohalā vicchinna-dohalā taṃ gabbhaṃ suhaṃ-suheṇaṃ parivahai.

“Then prince Abhaya bathed [made ritual offerings and so on] *up to*⁵ [with ornaments of greater and lesser value adorned] himself, he left his own residence, went to the outer hall of audience, to king Seṇiya. He saw king Seṇiya, depressed *up to*⁴ brooding and said, ‘Father, other times you see me and are happy *up to*⁶ with a heart [filled with delight]. Why father, are you today depressed *up to*⁴ brooding. If father I am worthy to hear this matter then tell it to me as it is, not untruly, without doubt, so that I am thoroughly conversant with the matter.’ King Seṇiya said to prince Abhaya, ‘There is not, son, anything which you are not worthy to hear. Indeed, son, for your step-mother queen Cellaṇā, when almost three months had been completed, from [seeing] the great *up to* important dream, [a pregnancy longing arose, namely, fortunate are those mothers and so on] *up to*³ who with the flesh of my belly-folds roasted [fried and baked and so on] up to remove [their pregnancy longing]. Queen Cellaṇā, while that pregnancy longing is unfulfilled, parched, [hungry, neglecting herself and so on] *up to*⁴ is brooding. So, son, in order to satisfy that pregnancy longing I am thinking out many ways and [means, using all kinds of reasoning and so] *up to* [but] not finding [any] conditioning, [I am] depressed *up to*⁴ brooding.’ Then prince Abhaya said to king Seṇiya, ‘Do not father, be depressed *up to*⁴ brooding. I will make effort so that the pregnancy longing for my step-mother, queen Cellaṇā, will be fulfilled.’ Then he reassured king Seṇiya with words [that were] beloved [dear and so on] *up to* sweet.

He went to his own house and had called his closest, most secretive and responsible men and said, ‘Go, beloved of the gods, from the slaughterhouse get moist bloody flesh and entrails, and bring them to me.’ he responsible men, being spoken to by prince Abhaya in this way, thrilled, [happy, joined their] palms *up to*⁷ agreed [to do this]. They left prince Abhaya’s presence and went to the slaughterhouse. They got moist bloody flesh and entrails and returned to prince Abhaya, [they joined their] palms *up to*⁷ gave [lit. brought] the moist bloody flesh and entrails. The prince Abhaya, using scissors, cut into pieces the moist bloody flesh and entrails. He went to king Seṇiya, secretly had him lie down face up on a bed and arranged the moist bloody flesh on Seṇiya’s belly-folds and wrapped it in a piece of entrail in such a way that it was dripping with blood. Then he installed queen Cellaṇā high on a lofty mansion in an excellent viewing room. Below queen Cellaṇā, exactly opposite, he had [had] king Seṇiya lie down face up on a bed. [Prince Abhaya] cut into pieces with scissors [as it were] the flesh of king Seṇiya’s belly-folds and threw [them] into a water pot. King Seṇiya feigned unconsciousness. After a short while [however, Prince Abhaya and king Seṇiya] were talking to each other. Prince Abhaya took the [pot containing] the flesh of king Seṇiya’s belly-folds and went to queen Cellaṇā and brought it to her. Queen Cellaṇā [by eating] those belly-folds of

king Seṇiya roasted [fried and so on] *up to* removed her pregnancy longing. Queen Cellaṇā in this way had her pregnancy longing fulfilled, then with her pregnancy longing sated [she] carried the foetus easily.”

§10 tae ṇaṃ tīse Cellaṇā devī annayā kayāi puvvarattāvaratta-kāla-samayamsi ayam eyārūve *jāva*⁸ samuppajjitthā: «jai tāva imeṇaṃ dāraeṇaṃ gabbha-gaeṇaṃ c’eva piuṇo udara-vali-mamsāṇi khāiyāṇi taṃ seyaṃ khalu mae eyaṃ gabbhaṃ sādittae vā pādittae vā gālittae vā viddhaṃsittae vā.» evaṃ saṃpehei taṃ gabbhaṃ bahūhiṃ gabbha- sādāṇehi ya gabbha-pādāṇehi ya gabbha-gālāṇehi ya gabbha-viddhaṃsaṇehi ya icchai taṃ gabbhaṃ sādittae vā...viddhaṃsittae vā, no c’eva ṇaṃ se gabbhe saḍai vā paḍai vā galai vā viddhaṃsai vā. tae ṇaṃ sā Cellaṇā devī taṃ gabbhaṃ jāhe no saṃcāei bahūhiṃ gabbha-sādāṇehi ya...sādittae vā...tāhe santā tantā paritantaṃ nivviṇṇā samāṇī akāmiyā avasavasā aṭṭa-vas’ aṭṭa-duh’aṭṭa taṃ gabbhaṃ parivahai.

“Once to queen Cellaṇā, at a time and occasion in the first part of the night and the later part of the night such [thoughts] *up to*⁸ arose, ‘If then this boy, though still in the womb, has eaten the flesh of his father’s belly-folds, then it would be better indeed for me to destroy the foetus, make it fall, make it drop, annihilated it.’ She considered thus, then with many abortifacients she wanted to destroy the foetus, make it fall, make it drop, annihilate it. But the foetus was not destroyed, made to fall, made to drop or annihilated. Queen Cellaṇā, since she was not able so, with many abortifacients to destroy the foetus *up to* annihilate it, being tired then, fatigued, exhausted and dejected, unwillingly, overcome by powerlessness, afflicted by affliction, afflicted by sorrow, carried the foetus.”

§11 tae ṇaṃ sā Cellaṇā devī navaṇhaṃ māsāṇaṃ bahu-paḍipunṇāṇaṃ *jāva*⁹ somālaṃ [...] surūvaṃ dārayaṃ payāyā. tae ṇaṃ tīse Cellaṇā devī ime eyārūve *jāva*⁸ samuppajjitthā: «jai... -mamsāiṃ khāiyāiṃ taṃ na najjai ṇaṃ esa dārae saṃvaḍḍha- māṇe amhaṃ kulassa anta-kare bhavissai. taṃ seyaṃ khalu amhaṃ eyaṃ dāragaṃ eg’ante ukkuruḍiyāe ujjhāvittae.» evaṃ saṃpehei dāsa-ceḍiṃ saddāvei evaṃ vayāsī: «gaccha ṇaṃ tumaṃ devānuppie eyaṃ dāragaṃ eg’ante ukkuruḍiyāe ujjhāhi.» tae ṇaṃ sā dāsa-ceḍī Cellaṇā devī evaṃ vuttā samāṇī karayala- *jāva*⁷ kaṭṭu Cellaṇā devī eyaṃ aṭṭhaṃ viṇaṇaṃ paḍisuṇei taṃ dāragaṃ karayala-puḍeṇaṃ giṇhai jeṇ’eva asoga- vaṇiyā teṇ’eva uvāgacchai taṃ dāragaṃ eg’ante ukkuruḍiyāe ujjhāi. tae ṇaṃ teṇaṃ dāraeṇaṃ eg’ante ukkuruḍiyāe ujjhienāṃ samāṇeṇaṃ sā asoga-vaṇiyā ujjoviyā yāvi hotthā.

tae ṇaṃ se Seṇie rāyā imīse kahāe laddh’aṭṭhe samāṇe jeṇ’eva asoga-vaṇiyā teṇ’eva uvāgacchai taṃ dāragaṃ eg’ante ukkuruḍiyāe ujjhiyaṃ pāsei āsurutee *jāva*¹⁰ misimisemāṇe taṃ dāragaṃ karayala-puḍeṇaṃ giṇhai jeṇ’eva Cellaṇā devī teṇ’eva uvāgacchai Cellaṇaṃ devī uccāvayāhiṃ āosaṇāhiṃ āosai uccāvayāhiṃ nibbhacchaṇāhiṃ nibbhacchei evaṃ uddhaṃsaṇāhiṃ uddhaṃsei evaṃ vayāsī: «kissa ṇaṃ tumaṃ mama puttaṃ eg’ante ukkuruḍiyāe ujjhāvesi?» tti kaṭṭu Cellaṇaṃ devī uccāvaya-savaha-sāviyaṃ karei evaṃ vayāsī: «tumaṃ ṇaṃ devānuppie eyaṃ dāragaṃ aṇupuvveṇaṃ sārakkhamāṇī saṃgovemāṇī saṃvaḍḍhehi» tae ṇaṃ sa Cellaṇā devī Seṇieṇaṃ rannā evaṃ vuttā samāṇī lajjiyā viliyā viḍḍā karayala-

pariggahiyam *jāva*⁷ Seṇiyassa ranno vīṇaṇaṃ eyam aṭṭhaṃ paḍisuṇei taṃ
dāragam āṇupuvveṇaṃ sārakkhamāṇī saṃgovemāṇī saṃvaḍḍheī.

“When almost nine months [of the pregnancy] had been completed (*jāva*⁹) queen Cellaṇā gave birth to a very delicate, handsome body. To queen Cellaṇā these kinds of [thoughts] *up to*⁸ arose, ‘If this boy, while he was still in the womb, has eaten the flesh of his father’s belly-folds, then who knows [whether] then this boy is grown up he will bring our family to destruction [or not]. So it would be better indeed for us to have this boy left on an out-of-the-way rubbish heap.’ She considered like that and called a servant woman, and said, ‘Go, beloved of the gods, leave this boy on an out-of-the-way rubbish heap.’ The servant woman, spoken to in this way by queen Cellaṇā, [joined] her hands *up to*⁷ made [*añjali*] and as was proper agreed to do what she had said. She [took] the child in her hands and went to a grove of *āsoka* trees. She left the boy on an out-of-the-way rubbish heap. By that boy being left on the out-of-the-way rubbish heap that grove of *āsoka* trees became as if illuminated.

King Seṇiya heard about this [illumination] and went to the grove of *āsoka* trees. He saw the boy left on an out-of-the-way rubbish heap. [He became] instantly furious *up to*¹⁰ flaring [with anger]. He took the boy in his hands and went to queen Cellaṇā. With various reprimands, he reprimanded queen Cellaṇā, with various reproaches, he reproached [her] in this way, he cursed her with various curses [and] said thus, ‘Why did you have my son left on an out-of-the-way rubbish heap?’ He said that with loud words and curses, he cursed queen Cellaṇā, then said, ‘You, beloved of the gods, bring this boy up appropriately, protecting and looking after him.’ Queen Cellaṇā, spoken to in this way by king Seṇiya, was ashamed, embarrassed, shamed [she joined] her hands and as was proper agreed to what king Seṇiya had said. She brought up the boy appropriately, protecting and looking after him.”

§12 tae naṃ tassa dāragassa eg’ante ukkurūḍiyāe ujjhijjamāṇassa agg’āṅguliyā
kukkuḍa-picchaṇaṃ dūmiyā yāvi hotthā abhikkhaṇaṃ pūyaṃ ca soṇiyaṃ ca abhi-
nissavei. tae naṃ se dārae vedaṇābhaibhūe samāṇe mahayā saddheṇaṃ ārasai. tae
naṃ Seṇie rāyā tassa dāragassa āraṣiya-saddhaṃ soccā nisamma jeṇ’ eva se dārae
teṇ’ eva uvāgacchai taṃ dāragam karayala-puḍeṇaṃ giṇhai taṃ agg’āṅguliyaṃ
āsayamsi pakkhivai pūim ca soṇiyaṃ ca āsaṇaṃ āmusai. tae naṃ se dārae nivvūe
nivvedāṇe tusiṇīe saṃciṭṭhai. jāhe vi ya naṃ se dārae vedaṇāe abhibhūe... ārasai
tāhe vi ya naṃ Seṇie rāyā jeṇ’ eva se dārae... taṃ c’eva *jāva*... saṃciṭṭhai. tae naṃ
tassa dāragassa ammā-piyaro taie divase canda-sūra-damsaṇiyaṃ karenti *jāva*¹¹
saṃpatte bārasāhe divase ayam eyārūvaṃ guṇa-nipphannaṃ nāmadhejjaṃ karenti:
«jahā naṃ amhaṃ imassa dāragassa eg’ante ukkurūḍiyāe ujjhijjamāṇassa āṅguliyā
kukkuḍapicchaṇaṃ dūmiyā, taṃ hou naṃ amhaṃ imassa dāragassa nāmadhejjaṃ
Kūṇie.» tae naṃ tassa dāragassa ammā-piyaro nāmadhejjaṃ karenti ‘Kūṇie’ tti. tae
naṃ tassa Kūṇiyassa āṇupuvveṇaṃ ṭhii-vaḍiyaṃ ca *jahā* Mehassa jāva uppim
pāsāya-vara-gae viharai. aṭṭhao dāo.

“When the boy had been abandoned on the out-of-the-way rubbish heap, his fingertip had been pricked by a rooster’s tail-feather. Time and again pus and blood ran out. The boy, overcome by pain, cried out with a very loud noise. King Seniya heard the noise of the boy’s crying and came to him. He took the boy by the hand and put that fingertip into his mouth, he took away the pus and blood with his mouth. Then the boy was quiet, without pain [and] stayed silent. Whenever the boy was overcome by pain he cried out with a very loud noise, then every time king Seniya came to him and took him in his hands and [put that] very [finger into his mouth, he took away the pus and so on] *up to* [the boy was quiet,] without pain [and] stayed silent. The boy’s mother and father on the third day [after he was born] showed him to the sun and the moon [and performed other birth rites] *up to*¹¹ when the twelfth day was reached, they gave him a name that suited his nature. ‘Since this boy of ours, when he had been left on the out-of-the-way rubbish heap, had his finger pricked by a rooster’s tail feather, let his boy of ours be named “Crippled Kūṇiya”’. The boy’s mother and father gave him the name Kūṇiya. Then appropriate birth rites [were done] for the boy, [they are to be described] just like [prince] Meha [in the *Nāyādhammakahāo*] *up to* he lived high up in an excellent mansion. [Eight excellent princesses were given in marriage to him. The wedding gifts] were given eight[-fold].”

- jāva*¹ “beautiful” of a woman, especially of a queen (*devī, bhāriyā...somāla- jāva surīvā*, or *jāva viharai*) or [“handsom”] of a prince (...*surūve*): *Uvavāiya* 1883, §12.
- jāva*² bedroom, bed, dream of a lion (*taṃsi tārisagaṃsi vāsa-gharaṃsi jāva sīhaṃ sumiṇe pāsittāṇaṃ*, therein also *orālaṃ jāva mahāsumiṇaṃ*): *Viyāhapannatti* 1918-1912, §428, p.535b.
- jāva*³ «fortunate» (*dhannāo jāva jamma-jīviya-phale*): *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1919, §1.1, p.60.
- jāva*⁴ sorrowful meditation (*ohaya-maṇa- jāva jhiyāi*): *Rāyapaseṇaijja* 1925, 137b.
- jāva*⁵ preparations for a journey and similar things (*ṇhāe, ṇhāyā jāva -pāyacchitte, °ttā* sometimes with the addition of *savvālaṃkāra-vibhūsie, °siyā* or *jāva appa-mah’aggh’ ābharaṇālaṃkiya-sarīre, °rā*): *Uvavāiya* 1883, §17.
- jāva*⁶ “rejoiced” (*haṭṭha-...*, often with *jāva -hiyae, -hiyayā*): *Uvavāiya* 1883, §17.
- jāva*⁷ salutation (*karayala- jāva kaṭṭu*, or *jāva vaddhāvei*, or *jāva vayāsī*): *Uvavāiya* 1883, §17.
- jāva*⁸ deliberation (*ime eyārūve, imeyārūve, ayam eyārūve ajjhatthie jāva samuppajjittā*): *Rāyapaseṇaijja* 1925, 16a.
- jāva*⁹ birth (*navañhaṃ māsāṇaṃ bahu-paḍipunṇāṇaṃ jāva somālaṃ [...] surīvaṃ dārayaṃ payāyā*): *Uvavāiya* 1883, §104.
- jāva*¹⁰ “furious” (*āsūratee jāva misimisemāṇe*, sometimes followed by *ti-valiyaṃ bhiuḍiṃ niḍāle sāhaṭṭu*): *Viyāhapannatti* 1918-1912, §144, 171a.
- jāva*¹¹ festivities during the first eleven days after birth (*taie divase ... jāva sampatte bārasāhe divase...*; divergent and perhaps wrong *ekkārasame divase viikkante jāva bārasedhiṃ divasehiṃ viikkantehiṃ...Pupphiyāo* 4, 9): *Uvavāiya* 1883, §105.

III.2 Buddhist and Jaina Stories of Ajātaśatru’s Birth with Mention of His Previous Life as a Revengeful Ascetic

III.2.1 The *Cīvaravastu* (“Section on Robe”) of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*

In this text, the story of Ajatasatru’s birth is preceded by another story concerning Khaṇḍa, the chief minister of Videha, as well as his two sons Gopa and Siṃha. Below are the Sanskrit version (Dutt 1939-1959: iii.2.8, line 6 -15, line16) and my English translation:⁶⁷⁰

*khaṇḍena gopasya siṃhasya ca niveśanam kṛtam | siṃhasya krīḍato
ramamāṇasya paricārayato duhitā jātā | tasya api vistareṇa jātimahaṃ kṛtvā celā
iti nāmadheyam vyavasthāpitam | sā naimittikena dṛṣtvā vyākṛtā putram
janayiṣyati | sa pitaram jīvitād vyaparopya svayam eva paṭṭam baddhvā rājyam
kārayiṣyati iti | bhūyo ’sya krīḍato ramamāṇasya paricārayato duhitā jātā | tasya
api vistareṇa jātimahaṃ kṛtvā upaceleti nāmadheyam vyavasthāpitam | sā api
naimittikena vyākṛtā putram janayiṣyati lakṣaṇa- sampūrṇam iti |*

Khaṇḍa arranged the marriages of Gopa and Siṃha. When Siṃha was entertaining himself, enjoying and living together [with his wife], a daughter was born to him. Having lavishly celebrated her birthday festival, they gave her the name Celā. A soothsayer saw her and predicted, “She will give birth to a son. He will, after depriving his father of his life and binding the diadem [on his own head], seize the throne.” Again, when Siṃha was entertaining himself, enjoying and living together [with his wife], [another] daughter was born. Having also lavishly celebrated her birthday festival, they gave her the name Upacelā. The soothsayer predicted, “She will give birth to a son provided with good qualities.

*gopo vyāḍo vikrānto vaiśālakānām licchavīnām udyānāni vināśayati | udyāna-
pālair ucyate | vaiśālakā licchavayo vyāḍā vikrāntāḥ | mā teṣām udyānāni vināśayati
| sa nivāryamāṇo ’pi na samtiṣṭhate | udyānapālaiḥ khaṇḍasya ārocitam | putras te
vaiśālakānām licchavīnām udyānāni vināśayati | nivāraya enam | licchavayo vyāḍā
vikrāntā mā asya anartham kariṣyanti | sa tena āhūya uktaḥ | putra vaiśālakā
licchavayo vyāḍā vikrāntā mā teṣām udyānāni vināśaya mā te anartham kariṣyanti
iti | sa kathayati | tāta eṣām udyānāni santi asmākaṃ tu na santi | sa kathayati | putra
udyānasya arthāya gaṇam vijñāpayāmi iti | tena gaṇo vijñāpto mama putrayor
udyānam na asti | tad arham mama udyāne prasādam kartum iti | tais tābhyām
jīṇnodyānam dattam | tasmin mahāśālavṛkṣaḥ | tatra ekena bhagavataḥ pratimā
kāritā | dvitīyena vihāraḥ pratiṣṭhāpitāḥ | tathā sthavirair api sūtrānte upanibaddham
buddho bhagavān vaiśālyām viharati gopasiṃhaśālavane iti | gopaḥ akriyā-
sahasrāṇi karoti | licchavayo ’vadhyāyanti kṣipanti vivācayanti | tataḥ khaṇḍena
āhūya uktaḥ | putra gaccha tvam amuka karvaṇam tatra svādhiṣṭhitān karmāntān*

⁶⁷⁰ The contents of the story are introduced and discussed in Radich (2011: 160-163), who observes the correspondence between this story and the account of Ajātaśatru’s previous birth as a revengeful sage given in the “Chapter on Pure Practice” of the MMPS (see below, § 2.1.2). According to Radich (ibid.: 160 n.645), the *Cīvaravastu* version of the story of Ajātaśatru was earlier also noticed by Yamagiwa (1999: 52-53), to which I have no access. The Tibetan translation of the story is paraphrased in Schiefner (1906: 78-85). One part of this story, which concerns the soothsayer’s prophecy of Celā’s [= Vaidhehī’s] giving birth to a patricidal son and his husband Bimbisāra’s reaction to the prophecy, is translated and discussed in Silk (2009: 180).

*kāraya | tiṣṭha mā gaṇaparakopo bhaviṣyati iti | sa tatra gatvā svādhiṣṭhitān
karmāntān kārayitum ārabdhaḥ |*

Gopa, who was fierce and mighty, destroyed the parks of the Licchavis of Vaiśālī. The parkguards said, “The Licchavis are fierce and mighty. Do not destroy their parks.” However, he was not prevented [from doing so]. The park-guards reported to Khaṇḍa: “Your son destroyed the parks of the Licchavis of Vaiśālī. Let him stop doing this, [because] the Licchavis are fierce and mighty, lest they will do harm to him.” He summoned [Gopa] and said, “Son, the Licchavis of Vaiśālī are fierce and mighty. Do not destroy their parks, lest they will do harm to you.” He said, “Father, they have parks, but we do not have.” He said, “Son, I ask the people for the sake of a park.” [Then] he asked the people as follows, “My two sons do not have a park. It is worthy to be gracious in my park [?]. They gave them a deserted park. In it, there were great Śāla trees. Then, one [son] had the Buddha’s image made, and the other had a monastery erected. Thus, the elders wrote in the scripture, “The Buddha, the Blessed One, stayed in Vaiśālī, in the Śāla Grove of Gopa and Siṃha.” Gopa did thousands of negligences of duty. The Licchavis blamed, disdained and reviled him. Then, Khaṇḍa summoned him and said, “Son, go to a certain village and do self-established business there. Stay there, lest the people [of Vaiśālī] will have anger.” Then he left and commenced to do self-established business.

*yāvad apareṇa samayena vaiśālyāṃ senāpatiḥ kālagataḥ | taiḥ
khaṇḍo ’grāmātyaḥ senāpatye sthāpitah | so ’pi kaṃ cit kālāṃ dharmeṇa
senāpatyaṃ kārayitvā kālagataḥ | vaiśālako gaṇaḥ saṃnipatitah | kaṃ senāpatiṃ
sthāpayāma iti | tatra eke kathayanti | khaṇḍena agrāmātyena gaṇaḥ paripālitaḥ |
tasya eva putraṃ sthāpayāma iti | apare kathayanti | tasya putro gopo vyādo
vikrāntaḥ | yady asau senāpatye sthāpyate niyataṃ gaṇasya bhedam kariṣyati yas
tu tasya bhrātā siṃhaḥ sa sūrataḥ sukhasaṃvāsah śaknoti gaṇasya cittam
ārāgayitum | yadi gaṇasya abhirucitaṃ taṃ senāpatiṃ sthāpayāma iti | sarveṣāṃ
abhirucitaṃ | te saṃbhūya siṃhasya sakāśaṃ gatāḥ | siṃha senāpatitvaṃ
pratīccha iti | sa kathayati | mama jyeṣṭho bhrātā gopas taṃ senāpatiṃ sthāpayata
iti | te kathayanti | siṃha na yuṣmākaṃ kulakramāgataṃ senāpatyaṃ yo gaṇasya
abhirucitaḥ sa senāpatir bhavati | yadi bhavato na abhirucitaṃ vayam anyam
senāpatiṃ sthāpayāma iti | sa saṃlakṣayati | yady asmākaṃ grhāt senāpatyaṃ
anyatra gamiṣyati na etad yuktam | sarvathā pratīcchāmi iti | tena adhyavasitam |
sa tair mahatā satkāreṇa senāpatye pratiṣṭhāpitaḥ |*

Afterwards, at a later occasion, the commander of Vaiśālī passed away. The chief minister Khaṇḍa was elected as commander. Having held the commandership according to the Law for some time, he also passed away. The people of Vaiśālī were assembled, [discussing,] “Who shall we elect as commander?” Then, some said, “The chief minister Khaṇḍa protected the people well. We shall elect his son.” Others said, “His son Gopa is fierce and mighty. If he was elected, the people will definitely be split. However, his brother Siṃha is well-disposed, pleasant to associate with. He is able to gratify the people’s mind.” This was agreed by all. Having gathered, they came in the presence of Siṃha and said, “Siṃha, please accept the commandership.” He said, “You should elect my elder brother Gopa as commander.” They said, “Siṃha, [although] you do not have the commandership inherited according to hereditary succession, the one who is agreeable to the people becomes commander.” He considered, “If the commandership goes from our family to elsewhere, this would be improper. In any case, I shall accept it.”

Therefore, this was agreed. He was elected in the post of commandership by the people with great respect.

vaiśālakāḥ pūrvam yasya lekham anupreṣayanti tasya khaṇḍapramukho gaṇa ājñāpayati iti likhanti | yadā siṃhaḥ senāpatiḥ saṃvṛttas tadā siṃhapramukho gaṇa ājñāpayati iti | yāvad apareṇa samayena yasmin karvaṭake gopaḥ svādhiṣṭhitān karmāntān kārayati tadā karvaṭakam lekho gataḥ | gopena udghāṭya vācitatḥ | sa kathayati | bhavantaḥ pūrvam vaiśālako gaṇaḥ khaṇḍapramukho gaṇa ājñāpayati iti likhanti | idānīm siṃhapramukho gaṇaḥ ājñāpayati iti likhanti / kim asmākam pitā kālagataḥ | te kathayanti | kālagataḥ | sa saṃjātāmarṣo vaiśālīm gatvā kathayati | bhrātāḥ yuktaṃ nāma tava mayi jyeṣṭhatare tiṣṭhati senāpatyaṃ kartum iti | siṃhena tasya yathāvṛttam ārocitam | sa vaiśālakānām licchavīnām saṃjātāmarṣaḥ saṃlakṣayati | mama vaiśālakair asatkāraḥ prayukto gacchāmi rājagṛham iti | tena rājño bimbisārasya dūtapreṣaṇam kṛtam | icchāmi devasya bāhucchāyāyam vastum | tena asya likhitam | svāgatam | āgaccha iti | sa rājagṛham gataḥ | tato rājñā bimbisāreṇa agrāmātye sthāpitah |

Previously, if inhabitants of Vaiśālī sent a letter to someone, they wrote, “People with Khaṇḍa as their head give order” to that one. When Siṃha became commander, [they wrote,] “People with Siṃha as their head give order.” Later on, in the village where Gopa was doing self-established business, a letter came to that village. Gopa opened and read it out. He said, “Sirs, previously, people of Vaiśālī wrote, ‘People with Khaṇḍa as their head give order’. Now they write, ‘People with Siṃha as their head give order.’ Has our father passed away?” They said, “He passed away.” In anger, he went to Vaiśālī and said, “Brother, is it appropriate [for you] to take the commandership, under the circumstance that I am older than you?” Siṃha told him what had happened. Full of anger at the Licchavis of Vaiśālī, he considered, “Disrespect is directed at me by the people of Vaiśālī. I shall go to Rājagṛha.” Then, he sent an envoy to King Bimbisāra, [reporting,] “I want to stay under the Lord’s protection.” He [= Bimbisāra] wrote to him, “You are welcome. Please come here.” He went to Rājagṛha. Then he was appointed by King Bimbisāra as the chief minister.

yāvad apareṇa samayena rājño bimbisārasya agramahiṣī kālagatā | sa kare kapolaṃ datvā cintāparo vyavasthitah | gopena sa drṣṭa uktaś ca | deva kasya arthāya devaḥ kare kapolaṃ datvā cintāparo vyavasthita iti | sa kathayati | agramahiṣī me kālagatā kim iti na cintāparas tiṣṭhāmi | alam deva tyajyatām śokaḥ | asti mama bhrātur duhitṛdvayaṃ rūpayauvanasaṃpannam devārham eva | tatra ekā vyākṛtā pitṛmāraḥ putram janayiṣyati iti dvitīyā tu lakṣaṇasaṃpannam iti | tat katarām devasya arthāya ānayāmi | yā sā vyākṛtā lakṣaṇasaṃpannam putram janayiṣyati iti | tato gopena siṃhasya lekho ’nupreṣitaḥ | rājño bimbisārasya agramahiṣī kālagatā tvam upacelām iha preṣaya agramahiṣī bhaviṣyati iti | tena tasya pratilekko visarjitaḥ | dūram api param api gatvā tvam eva asmābhiḥ praṣṭavyaḥ | yad bhavatā kṛtam tat param pramāṇam iti | tvam eva jānīṣe yathā gaṇena kriyākāraḥ kṛto na anyatra kanyā dātavyā rte vaiśālakān iti | kim tu tvam āgatya udyāne tiṣṭha aham enām udyānam niṣkāṣayiṣyāmi⁶⁷¹ | tvam grhītvā gamiṣyasi iti |

⁶⁷¹ Is *niṣkāṣay*° a variant of *niṣkāṣ*° (the causative of *niṣ-√kas*, “to drive out”, cf. BHSD, 308a, s.v. *niṣkāṣati*)?

Afterwards, on a later occasion, King Bimbisāra's chief consort passed away. He leaning his chin upon the hand, stayed there, lost in thought. Gopa saw him and said, "O Lord, for what reason are you staying here, leaning your chin upon the hand, lost in thought?" He said, 'My chief consort passed away. How can I not be lost in thought?' "Enough, Lord, free from grief! My brother has two daughters endowed with youth and beauty, really suitable for Lord. One of them is predicted to give birth to a patricidal son, but the other [is predicted to give birth to a son] with good qualities. Which one shall I bring for you?" "The one predicted to give birth to a son with good qualities." Then, Gopa sent a letter to Siṃha, saying, "King Bimbisāra's chief consort passed away. Send Upacelā here. She will become the chief consort [of the king]." He [= Siṃha] wrote back and answered him, "Having gone to the far and remote [place, i.e., Rājagṛha], you are to be inquired by us. What you have done is the best measure. You know that according to the rule made by the people, no daughter is to be married elsewhere outside the people of Vaiśālī. Nevertheless, if you come and stay in the park, I will bring out her [Upacelā] to the park. You can take her and leave."

*tato gopo rājānam avalokya ratham āruhya vaiśālīm samprasthitaḥ |
anupūrveṇa samprāptaḥ | udyāne vyavasthitaḥ | tena khalu samayena vaiśālyām
dauvārikaḥ kālagato 'manuṣyakeṣu upapannaḥ | tena vaiśālakānām nirdeśitam |
aham amanuṣyeṣu upapanno mama yakṣasthānam kārayata ghaṇṭām ca grīvāyām
pralambayata | yadi kaś cid vaiśālakānām pratyarthikaḥ pratyamitra āgamiṣyati
aham tāvad ghaṇṭāśabdāṃ kariṣyāmi yāvad grhīto vā niṣpalāyito vā iti | tair
yakṣaḥ pratirūpaṃ kṛtvā ghaṇṭām ca grīvāyām baddhvā nṛtyagītavādītraśabdena
balimālyopahāreṇa dvārakoṣṭhake pratiṣṭhāpitaḥ | gopena siṃhasya samdiṣṭam |
aham udyāne tiṣṭhāmi nirgaccha iti | sa vaiśālakaṃ gaṇam avalokya grhaṃ gatvā
upacelām āha | tvam rājñe bimbisārāya dattā | alaṃkuruṣva ity uktā | udyānam
nirgaccha | sā alaṃkartum ārabdhā | celayā drṣṭā | sā kathayati | kim artham
alaṃkaroṣi | ahaṃ dattā | kasmai | rājñe bimbisārāya | sā kathayati | ahaṃ
jyeṣṭhatarā tvam katham dattā | yady evaṃ tvam alaṃkuru | sā cālaṃkaroti |
ghaṇṭā ca ravitum ārabdhā | vaiśālako gaṇaḥ kṣubdhaḥ pratyamitro 'smākaṃ
vaiśālīm praviṣṭa iti | siṃhaḥ santrasta upacelā iti kṛtvā celām ādāya laghu laghv
eva nirgataḥ | gopo 'pi santrasta celām rathe āropya samprasthitaḥ |*

Then Gopa, having met the king and mounted a chariot, set off for Vaiśālī. Everything went in regular order. He waited in the park. At that time, a door-keeper in Vaiśālī passed away and was reborn among non-humans [i.e., demons]. He instructed the people of Vaiśālī, "I am reborn among non-humans. Please build a place of a *yakṣa* for me, and please hang a bell around my neck. If any enemy who is hostile to the people of Vaiśālī comes, I will make the bell sound, so that he will either be arrested or run away." Having made the *yakṣa* a statue and hung a bell around his neck, they established it in the gate-chamber, [furnished] with the offering of oblations and garlands, along with the sound of dance, singing and instrumental music. Gopa sent a message to Siṃha, "I am waiting in the park. Please come out!" Having met the people of Vaiśālī, he returned home and said to Upacelā, "You are given to King Bimbisāra. Get ready!" He said, "[Afterwards] go forth to the park." She started preparing and was seen by Celā. She said, "What are you preparing for?" "I am going to be married." "To whom?" "To King Bimbisāra." She said, "I am the elder. Why are you to be married?" "In that case, you get ready!" She then made herself ready. Meanwhile, the bell began to sound. The

people of Vaiśālī were agitated, [saying,] “An enemy of ours has entered Vaiśālī.” Siṃha, frightened, mistook Celā for Upacelā and hastily went out with her. Gopa, also frightened, placed Celā in his chariot and drove away.

vaiśālakair dṛṣṭaḥ | te tena sārḍham saṃgrāmayitum ārabdhāḥ | sa pañcasu sthāneṣu kṛtāvī tena pañca licchaviśatāni marmaṇi tāḍitāni | sa kathayati | bhavanto mayā yuṣmākaṃ pañcaśatāni marmaṇi tāḍitāny avaśiṣṭaṃ jīvitenā ācchādayāmi nivartata iti | te kathayanty ekasattvo 'py asmākaṃ na praghātitaḥ | muñcata sannāham | taiḥ sannāho muktaḥ | pañcaśatāni bhūmau nipatitāni prāṇaiś ca viyuktāni | tatas te puruṣarākṣaso 'yam iti kṛtvā bhītā niṣpalāyitāḥ | vaiśālīm āgatya saṃjalpaṃ kartum ārabdhāḥ | etad vairam asmābhir bhavanto bimbisāraputrāṇāṃ niryātayitavyam | patrālekhyam kṛtvā peḍāyāṃ prakṣipyajatumudrātāpaṃ kṛtvā sthāpayata iti | tais tathā kṛtvā sthāpitaṃ |

The people of Vaiśālī saw this. Then they started fighting with him [= Gopa]. [Since] he was skilled in the five kinds of arts of battle⁶⁷², he struck five hundred Licchavis in the vital part. He said, “Sirs, I have stricken five hundred of you in the vital part. I leave the rest with life. Now you go back!” They said, “No living-being among us has been killed.” “Remove your armour!” They removed the armour. Five hundred fell on the ground and all were deprived of their lives. Then they [i.e., the survivors], thinking, “This one is a *rākṣasa* in the form of a man,” became terrified and fled away. Having returned to Vaiśālī, they started to discuss together, “Sirs, we shall let Bimbisāra’s sons take revenge of this enmity. You should write a letter, put it into a casket, [seal it up] with the hot gum-seal and send it away.” Having done in this way, they delivered [the letter].

gopo 'py anupūrveṇa rājagṛham anuprāptaḥ kathayati | upacele avatara iti | sā kathayati | tāta na aham upacelā | celā aham | kiṃ tvayā mama na ārocitam | sā tūṣṇīm avasthitā | tato 'sau duḥkhī durmanā rājñāḥ sakāśaṃ gataḥ | rājñā dṛṣṭa uktaś ca | svāgataṃ gopa | āgato 'si | āgato 'smi deva | ānītā upacelā | deva ānītā na ānītā ca | kiṃ kathayasi | upacelā iti kṛtvā celā ānītā | ānīyatāṃ paśyāmaḥ | sā praveśitā | rājñā dṛṣṭā | atīva rūpayauvanasaṃpannā hārī strīviṣaye | saha-darśanād eva rājā ākṣiptaḥ kathayati | bhavanto yo hi putraḥ pitaraṃ ghātayati sa rājyahetoḥ | yadi me putro bhaviṣyati tasya jātasya eva aham paṭṭabandhaṃ kariṣyāmi iti | tatas tena mahatā śrīsamudayena parinītā | videhaviṣayād ānītā vaidehi iti saṃjñā saṃvṛttā | sa tayā sārḍham krīḍati ramate paricārayati |

Gopa arrived at Rājagṛha in regular order. He said, “Upacelā, come down!” She said, “Uncle, I am not Upacelā. I am Celā.” “Why did not you tell me [earlier]?” She fell into silence. Then, distressed and unhappy, she went in the presence of the king. The king saw her and said, “Gopa, welcome! You have come back?” “Lord, I have come back.” “Hav you brought Upacelā?” “Lord, I have brought her and have not brought her.” “What do you mean?” “I have brought Celā after having mistaken her for Upacelā.” “Bring her here, [so that] we may see her.” She came in. The king saw her endowed with exceeding beauty and youth, extraordinary among women. Immediately on seeing her, the king was captivated and said, “Sirs, a son who kills his father is for the sake of the kingdom. If I have a son, as soon as he is born, I will bind the diadem [on his head].” Then, she was

⁶⁷² On *pañcasu sthāneṣu kṛtāvī*, see Mvy §4996.

married to him who had a great multitude of good fortune. Because she was brought from the land of Videha, the name Vaidehī came into being. He amused himself with her, enjoyed, and lived with her.

*yāvad apareṇa samayena rājā bimbisāro mṛgayā nirgataḥ | anyatamasmimś
cāśramapade ṛṣiḥ pañcābhijñāḥ prativasati | yāvan mṛgaḥ śaraparamparayā
santrāsitas tasya ṛṣer āśramapadān nirgato rājñā śareṇa marmaṇi tāḍitaḥ |
tato 'sau ṛṣiḥ kruddhaḥ kathayati | kalirāja mama caṇḍamrgo 'py āśramapadam
pariharati | tvayā tu śaraṇopagato mṛgaḥ praghātita iti | sa ca rājā evam ṛṣiṇā
paribhāṣyate | balakāyaś ca āgataḥ kathayati | deva ko 'yaṁ paribhāṣate | rājā
kathayati | ahaṁ bhavantaḥ | yo rājānaṁ paribhāṣate tasya ko daṇḍo deva | tasya
badho daṇḍaḥ | yady evaṁ parityakto me ayam ṛṣiḥ | sa praghātītum ārabdhāḥ | sa
praghātyamāno mithyā praṇidhānaṁ karoti | yad ahaṁ anena kalirājena
adūṣaṇam akāri badhyaḥ | utsṛṣtas tatra upapadyeyaṁ yatra enaṁ jīvitād
vyaparopayeyam | punaḥ saṁlakṣayati | rājāna ete suguptāḥ sugopitāḥ | yady
ahaṁ anyatra upapattiṁ grahiṣyāmi iti kadā cit pratyayaṁ nārāgayiṣyāmi |
sarvathā anena me praṇidhānena asya eva agramahiṣyāḥ kuṣāv upapattiḥ syād iti
| sa mithyā praṇidhānaṁ kṛtvā celāyāḥ kuṣāv upapannaḥ |*

Afterwards, on a later occasion, King Bimbisāra went out for hunting. At one place, in a hermitage lived a seer who possessed five supernatural powers. At that moment, a deer terrified by the succession of arrows went into the seer's hermitage, and was stricken at the vital point by the king. Then, the seer said in wrath, "Evil King, my wild deer guards the hermitage, but you killed the deer when it was seeking for refuge." [While] the king was thus rebuked by the seer, his troop came forth and said, "Lord, who does he rebuke?" The king answered, "Sir, it is me." "Lord, what is the punishment of one who rebukes the king?" "He should be given the capital punishment. If the seer is discarded by me in this way, he is ready to be executed." While being executed, he made an improper vow, "Since I have done no wrong but is killed by the king, once being given away [= being killed], I shall be reborn in a place where I shall deprive him of life." He further considered, "Those kings are well guarded and being kept in good protection. If I take rebirth elsewhere, I perhaps shall not get an opportunity⁶⁷³. In all cases, through this vow, I shall be reborn in his chief consort's womb." Having made such improper vow, he was reborn in Celā's womb.

*yaṁ eva divasaṁ pratisandhir grhītas tam eva divasaṁ rudhiravarṣaṁ
patitam | celāyāś ca dohadaḥ samutpannaḥ | aho vata ahaṁ devasya prṣṭha-
māmsāny utpātya utpātya bhakṣayeyam iti | eṣa ca vṛttānto rājñe niveditaḥ | rājñā
naimittikā āhūya prṣṭāḥ | te ūcuḥ | deva yo 'yaṁ sattvo devyāḥ kuṣim avakrāntas
tasya ayam anubhāva iti | rājā cintāparo vyavasthitaḥ | katham asyā dohadaḥ
prativinodyata iti | aparaiḥ kuśalajātīyaiḥ samākhyātam | deva tūlikāyāṁ māmsa-
pūrṇaṁ prāvṛtiṁ devyā ātmānaṁ upanaya iti | tato rājñā māmsapūrṇayā tūlikayā
ātmānaṁ veṣṭayitvā celāyā upanāmitam | tayā prṣṭhamāmsam iti kṛtvā bhakṣitam |
tatas tasyā yo dohadaḥ sa prativigataḥ | bhūyo 'py asyā dohadaḥ utpannaḥ | aho
vata ahaṁ devasya rudhiraṁ pibeyam iti | etad api rājñe niveditam | tato rājñā
pañcenkhikāḥ śirā mocayitvā rudhiraṁ pāyitā | so 'py asyā dohadaḥ prativigataḥ |*

⁶⁷³ For the translation of *pratyaya* as "opportunity" in the clause *kadācitpratyayaṁ nārāgayiṣyāmi*, see BHSD, 375, s.v.

*yāvat paripūrṇair navabhir māsaiḥ prasūtā | dārako jāto 'bhirūpo darśanīyaḥ
prāsādikah | yasminn api divase jātas tasminn api rudhiravarṣaṃ patitam | bhūyo
rājñā naimittikā āhūya prṣṭās te kathayanti | deva yathā śāstre dṛśyate niyatam
ayaṃ dārakah pitarāṃ jīvitād vyaparopya svayam eva paṭṭaṃ baddhvā rājyaṃ
kārayiṣyati iti | rājā saṃlakṣayati | sarvathā rājyārtham ayaṃ mām jīvitād
vyaparopayati | tad asmai svayam eva rājyaṃ dāsyāmi | kim arthaṃ mām jīvitād
vyaparopayiṣyati iti |*

On that very day when the rebirth was received, a bloody rain fell. A craving arose in Celā: “Ah! I want to tear off the flesh from the Lord’s back and eat it.” This event was reported to the king. The king summoned the soothsayers and consulted them about it. They said, “Lord, this is the power of the living-being conceived in the queen’s womb.” The king stayed there, lost in thought, “How to dispel her craving?” Some intelligent people told him, “Lord, present a meat-filled covering on a cotton garment as yourself to the queen⁶⁷⁴.” Therefore, the king veiled himself in a cotton garment filled with meat and offered to Celā. She thought that it was the flesh from his back and ate it. Thereby, her craving was dispersed. [Later,] another craving arose in her: “Ah! I want to drink the Lord’s blood.” This was also reported to the king. Then the king had the veins of his five limbs (?)⁶⁷⁵ open and gave her the blood to drink. Once again, her craving was dispersed. When nine months passed, she gave birth. A boy was born, beautiful, good-looking and pleasing. One the very day when he was born, a bloody rain fell again. Once more, the king summoned the soothsayers and consulted them. They said, “Lord, as learnt from the treatise, this boy will inevitably deprive his father of life and will rule the kingdom after taking the diadem for his own.” The king considered, “In all events, it is for the sake of the kingdom that he will deprive me of life. Then, I myself will give the kingdom to him. [In that case,] how would he deprive me of life?”

- ◆ The following part of the text tells a story of Bimbisāra’s mistress Āmrapālī and their son Abhaya.

III.2.2 The “Chapter on Pure Practice” of the Chinese Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*

The passage is found at T.374.483c13-28 (= T.375.726c29-727a16).⁶⁷⁶

⁶⁷⁴ Edgerton translates *tūlikāyām* as “cotton mattress” and *tūlikāyām māṃsapūrṇāṃ prāvṛtiṃ devyā ātmānam upanaya* as “present yourself to the queen as a meat-filled covering in (or on) a cotton mattress” (cf. BHSD, 393, s.v. *prāvṛti*). In the present context, given that the flesh desired by the queen is from the king’s back, it seems more appropriate to render *tūlikāyām* as “cotton garment” with its covering filled with meat.

⁶⁷⁵ The exact meaning of the word *pañcenīkhikāḥ* is unclear (see BHSD, 113, s.v. *īṅkhika*).

⁶⁷⁶ Radich (2011: 40) introduces this story in his discussion on the “Kāśyapa Bodhisattva Chapter” of the MMSP and says that the story is told by Devadatta to Ajātaśatru. In fact, in the current Taishō canon the story appears in the “Pure Practice Chapter” of the MMPS and constitutes one part of the discourse the Buddha preaches to Ajātaśatru in order to relieve him of the burden of his crime.

“大王，頻婆娑羅往有惡心。於毘富羅山遊行獵鹿。周遍曠野，悉無所得。唯見一仙，五通具足。見已，即生瞋恚惡心：‘我今遊獵所以不得，正坐此人驅逐令去。’即勅左右而令殺之。其人臨終生瞋惡心，退失神通。而作誓言：‘我實無辜，汝以心口，橫加戮害。我於來世亦當如是，還以心口而害於汝。’時王聞已，即生悔心，供養死屍。是王如是，尙得輕受，不墮地獄，況王不爾，而當地獄受果報耶？先王自作，還自受之。云何令王而得殺罪？如王所言父王無辜者，大王，云何言無？夫有罪者，則有罪報。無惡業者，則無罪報。汝父先王若無辜罪，云何有報？頻婆娑羅於現世中亦得善果及以惡果。是故，先王亦復不定。以不定故，殺亦不定。殺不定故，云何而言定入地獄？”

[The Buddha said,] “O Great King! Bimbisāra previously had an evil state of mind. [At one time,] He was rambling on the *Pifuluo* (*Vipula) Mountain, hunting deer. He searched across the whole wilderness, but gained nothing, only to see a seer who was endowed with five supernatural powers. On seeing him, hatred and evil thought arose in him: ‘Now I am hunting but nothing is gained, exactly because this man driving away [all the game animals].’ He immediately ordered his attendants to kill him. At the end of his life, the man generated a hatred and evil mind, [as a result of which he] lost his super-natural powers. Then he made a vow: ‘I am actually innocent, [but] you, with your mind and words, inflicted the execution on me. I shall, in the life to come, in the same way, kill you in return with my mind and words.’ At that time, on hearing this, the king immediately repented and made offerings to the dead body [of the seer]. Although the king did this, he still receives light punishment and does not fall into hell. Great King, you have done nothing [like this], so how can you experience the fruition [of your action] in hell? The former king himself committed [a crime] and he himself has to experience [its consequence]. Why should he let you, Great King, bear the imputation of culpability? If you say that your father king is guilt-free, Great king, how can you say that he is free? Whoever commits a crime receives the retribution of his crime. Whoever commits no evil act receives no retribution of a crime. If your father, the former king, is guilt-free, why has he received the retribution? Bimbisāra has also gained both good and bad [karmic] fruits in his present life. Therefore, the former king [Bimbisāra] is also not as determinate [as he seems in terms of his *karma*]. Since he is indeterminate, the killing [of him] is also indeterminate. Since the king is indeterminate, how can you say that you will definitely fall into hell?⁶⁷⁷”

III.2.3 The Śvetāmbara Jinadāsa’s *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi*

The following is the Prakrit story (Ratlām: Śrīṣabhaddevajī Keśarīmalajī Śvetāmbara Saṃsthā, 1928-1929, vol.ii, 166.1-167.3) and my tentative English translation:⁶⁷⁸

⁶⁷⁷ The meaning of the last few sentences is not clear to me and the translation here is rather free.

⁶⁷⁸ The passage is quoted in Wiles (2000: 95 n.75). As he says, this is “an abbreviated version of

...Cellaṇāe putto jāo Koṇiu tti, tassa ka uppatti? | egaṃ paccantaṃ nagaraṃ, tattha Jitasattussa putto Sumaṅgalo, amaccaputto Seṇio tti poṭṭio, so ohasijjai, pāṇie uccālagam pajjijjati. so dukkhāvijjati Sumaṅgaleṇa, so teṇa nivveeṇaṃ bālataavassī pavvaito, Sumaṅgalo vi pitari mate rāyā jāto, aṇṇadā so teṇa ogāseṇaṃ volento diṭṭho, pucchai, logo bhaṇai—esa erisaṃ tavaṃ karei, raṇṇo aṇukampā jātā puvvaṃ dukkhāvio tti, nimantio, “mama ghare pārehi” tti, māsakhamāṇe punṇe gao, rāyā paḍibhaggo, na diṇṇaṃ, puṇo vi utṭitaṃ pavittṭho, sambhārio, puṇo gao, nimantei, āgao, puṇo vi paḍibhaggo tti, puṇo vi utṭiyaṃ pavittṭho, puṇo vi nimanteti taiyaṃ, taiyāe vi aṇāyo ghāravālehiṃ piṭṭio, “jadihellāo eti tatihellāo rāyā paḍibhaggai”, so niggao, “addhitē ahaṃ pavvaito mi tahā vi gharasito eteṇaṃ” ti, nidāṇaṃ karei, “eyassa vaghāe uvavajjāmi” tti, kālagao appiḍḍhio vāṇamantaro jāo. so vi rāyā tāvaso pavvaio, vāṇamantaro jāo, puvvaṃ rāyā Seṇio.

Koṇio kuṇḍasamaṇo jaṃ ceva Cellaṇāe poṭṭe uvavaṇṇo taṃ ceva cintei: kiha rāyāṇaṃ acchīhi vi ṇa pecchejjai. tīe ciṃtitaṃ, eyassa gabbhassa doso tti, gabbhapātanehi vi na paḍati, dohalakāle dohalo, kaha? Seṇiyassa udaravali-maṃsāṇi khāejja, abbhantare parihāi, na ya akkhāi, nibbandhe sāvitāe kahiaṃ, Abhayassa kahitaṃ, sasagacaṃmeṇaṃ maṃsaṃ kappettā valīe uvari diṇṇaṃ, tīse ologaṇagayāe pecchamāṇīe dijjai, rāyā aliyamucchitāiṃ karei, jāhe Seṇiyaṃ cintei tāhe addhiṃ uppajjai, jāhe gabbhaṃ cintei kiha savvaṃ pi khāejjāmi? evaṃ māṇio ṇavaḥiṃ māsehiṃ dārao jāyo, raṇṇo nivedito, tuṭṭho, dāsīe chaḍḍāvio asogavaṇiyāe, Seṇiyassa kahitaṃ, āgao, ambāḍiyā: “kīsa paḍhamaputto ujjhio” tti? gato asogavaṇiaṃ, teṇa sā ujjoviā, so bhaṇai: Asogavaṇacandau tti, Asogacandu tti nāmaṃ ca se kayaṃ, tattha ya kukkuḍapiccheṇaṃ kāṇaṅgulī se viddhā sukumāliya, sā ṇa pāuṇai, sā kuṇiyā jāyā, tāhe se dāragarūvehiṃ kayaṃ nāmaṃ Kuṇio tti, jāhe ya kira taṃ aṅguliṃ pūtaṃ galiti Seṇio mukhe karei tāhe ṭhāi, itarahā rovai. so ya saṃvaḍḍhati...

The son born by Cellaṇā was Koṇiu. How was his birth? There was a border city. In that place, Jitasattu had a son Sumaṅgala. A son of a minister, named Seṇia, was big-bellied. He [= Sumaṅgala] ridiculed [Seṇia]. With his hand, he touched the protruding [belly of Seṇia]. Because of Sumaṅgala, he [= Seṇia] realized suffering. Feeling disgusted with the worldly life, he went forth [from household] and became an ascetic. When his father passed away, Sumaṅgala became the king. On another occasion, he [= Seṇia] was by chance⁶⁷⁹ seen wandering [by Sumaṅgala]. He [= Sumaṅgala] inquired and people said, “This one [Seṇia] earlier realized suffering and held compassion towards the king, [and therefore,] he has become such an ascetic.” He [= Sumaṅgala] invited [Seṇia, saying,] “Come to my house!” When the fasting time was completed, the king was sick

Kuṇiya and Seṇiya’s previous life, including the reason for the enmity felt by Kuṇiya... The cause for enmity is very similar to the beginning of Haribhadra Sūri’s *Samarāiccakahā*.”

⁶⁷⁹ On *ogāsa* (= Skt. *avakāśa*, “opportunity”), see Turner (1962-1966, §728). I have no access to the book and only consulted the online version: <http://dsal.uchicago.edu/dictionaries/soas/index.html>.

[*paḍibhaggo* < Skt. *prati-√bhañj*, lit. “to fracture, to break into pieces”], so there was no offering. Once again, he entered into the jar.⁶⁸⁰ He [= the king Sumaṅgala] remembered and went again to invite him. He [= the ascetic Seṇia] came and [the door-keeper] said, “[The king] is sick again.” Once again, he entered into the jar. The king for a third time invited him. At the third time, the big-bellied one was again stopped by the door-keepers [who thought,] “Whenever he comes, the king becomes ill.” He left, thinking, “In anger, I went forth [from household to become an ascetic]. Again, in this way, I was kept by him outside the door”. He made a vow, “I shall be reborn to extinguish [?]”⁶⁸¹ him,” and then died, reborn as a Vāṇamantara god of meagre divine affluence. [Later,] the king also went forth and became an ascetic. In the past, Seṇia [= Bimbisāra] was that king [Sumaṅgala].

Koṇia [= Ajātaśatru], who was that angry ascetic, was born exactly in Cellaṇā’s womb. When he took rebirth, she pondered, “How can he also see the king with eyes?”⁶⁸² When she realized, “This embryo is evil,” she tried means to abort the embryo, [but] it did not fall. At the time of pregnancy craving (*dohada*), a craving [arose]. How was it? She wanted to eat the flesh of Seṇia’s belly-folds. She tried to refrain herself inside and did not tell anyone. Being pressed, she told the king. Abhaya was told [about this thing]. Having taken the flesh of a hare with skin removed, he put it on the top of the folds of [Seṇia’s belly]. The king pretended to faint.⁶⁸³ When she thought of Seṇia, she felt distressed, [but] when she thought of the embryo, [she pondered], “Why shall I eat all [the flesh]?” In this way, when nine months passed, a boy was born. This was made known to the king. He was satisfied. When a slave girl had abandoned [the boy] in a grove of *aśoka* trees, this was told to Seṇia. He came and reproached her, “Why did you abandon our first son?” He went to the *aśoka* grove. It was illuminated by him [the boy]. He [= Seṇia] said, “[He is] a moon in the *aśoka* grove”, and then named the boy Aśoka-candra. There, his tender finger was pierced by a cock-feather. It swallowed and became crooked. Then, because of his physical features as a child, he was also named Kuṇia. Whenever his infected finger discharged [pus], Seṇia put it in his mouth and then he stayed here; otherwise, he would cry. Then he grew up...

⁶⁸⁰ The text gives *uṭṭitaṃ* here, which may be a variant of *uṭṭiyā*, which refers to a large high-necked jar or earthen vessel in which an ascetic of the Ājivaka sect who performs penances (see Poddar et al. 2008, vol.4, fas.II, 1356, s.v. *uṭṭiyā-samaṇa* = *uṣṭrikā-śramaṇa*).

⁶⁸¹ The exact meaning of the word *vaghāe* is unclear to me; nevertheless, the context clearly suggests that the ascetic wants to take revenge on the king in his next birth.

⁶⁸² The text reads *kiha rāyāṇaṃ acchīhi vi ṇa pecchejjai*. I am not sure about what is meant here.

⁶⁸³ The meaning of the preceding clause *tīse ologaṇagayāe pecchamāṇīe dijjai* is unclear to me.

Appendix IV: Stories of Kūṇika's Death and His Next Rebirth in Two Śvetāmbara Jaina Texts

IV.1 Jinadāsa's *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi*

The context of the story: after defeating his grandfather Ceḍaga, the chiefman of Vaiśālī, Kūṇika who is the king of Campā goes to Mahāvīra's preaching arena to ask about his next rebirth. Mahāvīra tells him that since he is not a *cakravartin*, he will be reborn in the sixth hell rather than the seventh hell. Kūṇika does not believe and equips himself with the seven jewels of a *cakravartin*. Later, haughty in mind, he marches to Timisaguhā (a cave of mount Veyadḍha) and is killed by the deity there (Katamāla). After his death, his son Udayin becomes king and establishes the city Pāḍaliputta. Below are the Prakrit story (Ratlām: Śrīṣabhadevajī Keśarīmalajī Śvetāmbara Saṃsthā, 1928-1929, vol.ii, 176.10-177.3) and my tentative English translation:

tāhe suṇṇagaṃ nagaraṃ Kūṇiko atigato, gaddabhaṇaṃ galehiṃ vāheti, etthaṃtare seṇikabhajjāo kālimātikāu pucchānti: amhaṃ puttā saṃgāmāto ehinti naṇi ti, jathā nirayāvaliyāe pavvaitāo | tāhe Kūṇiko caṃpam āgato, tattha sāmī samosaḍho, tāhe Kūṇiko ciṃteti: bahugā mama hatthī assāvi, to jāmi sāmīṃ pucchāmi: ahaṃ cakkavaṭṭī homi na homitti? niggato savvabalasamudaenaṃ, vaṃdittā bhaṇati: kevaīyā cakkavaṭṭī essā? sāmī sāhati: savve atītā, puṇo bhaṇati: kaḥiṃ ovajjissāmi? chaṭṭhīe puḍhaviē, tahavi asaddahaṃto savvāṇi egiṃdiyāṇi lohamayāṇi rayāṇāṇi karettā tāhe savvabalena timisaguhaṃ gato, aṭṭhame bhatte kate bhaṇati katamālo: atītā cakkavaṭṭīṇo, jāhitti. na icchati, hatthiṃ vilaggo, maṇiṃ hatthimatthae kātūṇa pattito, katamālaeṇa āhato mato, chaṭṭhīe puḍhaviē gato | tāhe te rāyāṇo udāyiṃ ṭhaveli, udāyissavi ciṃtā jātā: ettha nagare mama pitā āsitti. addhitīe aṇṇaṃ nagaraṃ kāreti...

Then, Kūṇika entered the city [Vaiśālī] which had become empty. He drove with hooks [hitched to] donkeys. Meanwhile, the wives of Seṇika, mothers of Kāla [and others]⁶⁸⁴, asked, “Our sons have not come back from the battle?” As told in the Nirayāvaliyā, they [= those mothers] entered into ascetic life.⁶⁸⁵ At that time, Kūṇika went to Campā. The Svāmin stopped (at a *samava-saraṇa*, “place of

⁶⁸⁴ This refers to Kūṇika's ten brothers, Prince Kāla and so on, who help Kūṇika fight against Ceḍaga and are all killed in the battle, falling into hell after death.

⁶⁸⁵ Those mothers, on hearing the death of their sons, renounce the world and become disciples of Mahāvīra. This detail is also found in Hemacandra's version of the story (see below); however, I have not been able to locate it in the *Nirayāvaliyāo*. While Queen Kālī (Kāla's mother) indeed appears at the beginning of that text (where she is said to ask Mahāvīra about the destiny of his son), no mention is made of her renunciation after his son's death. See de Jong and Wiles (1996: 36-39 = Wiles 2000: 43-65).

assembly”) there.⁶⁸⁶ Then Kūṇika thought, “I have many elephants and horses. Now, I go and ask the Svāmin, ‘Am I a *cakravartin* or not’.” He went forth to the one who is the collection of all powers. Having saluted, he said, “How long will a *cakravartin* go?”⁶⁸⁷ The Svāmin said, “All [*cakravartins*] are past.” He further asked, “Where will I be reborn?” “[You will be reborn] in the sixth hell.” Even so, unbelieving, he had all the one-sensed⁶⁸⁸ iron jewels made. Then, with all power, he went to Timisaguha. When the eighth meal was taken [?]⁶⁸⁹, Katamāla said, “*Cakravartins* are all past. Go away!” He did not want [to leave]. Staying on the elephant, having put the jewel on the head of the elephant, he demounted [to fight with Katamāla]. He was killed by Katamāla and died, falling into the sixth hell. Then, the kings elected Udāyin [as the king of Campā]. Udāyin thought, “My father lived here in this city.” In distress, he had another city built... [The following part of the text relates Udayin’s founding of the city Pāḍaliputta.]

VI.2 Hemacandra’s *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākā-puruṣa-carita*

The story is told in the twelfth chapter (*dvādasa sargaḥ*) of the tenth book (*daśamaṃ purva*) of the *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākā-puruṣa-caritam*. The following is the Sanskrit text edited by Śāha (1977: 379-380, verses 402-425). I have divided words accordingly, but otherwise what is provided below is a strict transcription of Śāha’s edition. The English translation is that published by Johnson (1962: 331-333). Johnson’s translation is in prose. I have taken the liberty to divide her translation into parts and put under the corresponding Sanskrit verses, so as to give an idea of the meaning of each verse:

...
evam ārādhanām kṛtvā namaskāraparāyaṇaḥ /
vipadya ceṭakaḥ svarga-sukha-bhājanatām yayao // 402//

After making final propitiation thus, engaged in reciting the namaskara.
 Cetaka died and became a participant in the joys of heaven.

aśokacandro’pi purīm tām halair yuktarāsabhaiḥ /
khaṭayitvā kṣetram iva svām pratijñām apūrayat // 403 //

Aśokacandra ploughed up the city, like a field, with ploughs hitched to donkeys; and fulfilled his vow.

⁶⁸⁶ On *samosaḍha* (= Skt. *samavasṛṣṭa* “[something] that has occurred”), see Pischel 1965, p.76, § 67.

⁶⁸⁷ On *kevaiyā* (= *kiyantas*), see Pischel § 466. I am not sure about the translation of this question.

⁶⁸⁸ On *egimḍiya* (= *ekendriya*), see Pischel § 158; however, the meaning of this term is unclear to me.

⁶⁸⁹ I am unclear about what is meant here. Does this refer to the fasting practiced by Katamāla? On *aṭṭhama-bhatta* referring to one who refuses to take food until the 8th meal (i.e., who spends 7½ days by fasting), see Schubring (2000 [1962]: 275-6).

*tīrtvā pratijñāṃ campēśo dustarām āpagām iva /
jagāma campānagarīm utsavena garīyasā // 404 //*

After crossing his vow like a river hard to cross, the lord of Campā went to the city Campā with a very great festival.

*anyadā pāvayan pṛthvīm vihāreṇa jagadguruh /
jagāma campām śrīvīras tatraiva samavāsarat // 405*

One day Śrī Vīra, the Teacher of the World, purifying the earth by his wandering, went to Campā and stopped (in a samavasaraṇa) there.

*śrīvīrasvāmināḥ pārsve tatra kālādimātarāḥ /
viraktāḥ sūnunidhanāt prāvrajañcchraṇikapriyāḥ // 406*

The wives of Śreṇika, the mothers of Kāla and the others, disgusted with the world from the slaughter of their sons, took initiation under Śrī Vīra Svāmin.

*tralokyasaṃśayacchedakāraṇam parameśvaram /
vanditum tatra samavasaraṇe kūṇiko 'pyagāt // 407*

Kūṇika went to the samavasaraṇa to pay homage to the Supreme Lord, the destroyer of the doubts of the three worlds.

*natvā nātham yathāsthānam upaviśayātha kūṇikāḥ /
papraccha labdhāvasaraḥ śirasyā racitāñjaliḥ // 408*

After bowing to the Lord and seating himself in the proper place, Kūṇika, choosing the proper time, his folded hands placed on his head, asked,

*ājanmāpy aparityakta-kāmabhega bhavanti ye /
kāṃ nāma me gatiṃ yānti cakrīṇaḥ parameśvara ? // 409*

“To what status do the cakrins go, who from birth have not abandoned the pleasure of love, Supreme Lord?”

*svāmy ākhyāt te hi gacchanti saptamīm narakāvanīm /
papraccha kūṇiko bhūyo bhāvinī mama kā gatiḥ ? / 410*

The Master said, “They go to the seventh hell.” Kūṇika asked again, “What is my future status?”

*ācakhyau bhagavān ṣaṣṭhīm narakovi gamiṣyasi /
kūṇikāḥ smāha kim ahaṃ na hi yāsyāmi saptamīm // 411*

The Blessed One replied, “You will go to the sixth hell,” Kūṇika said, “Why shall I not go to the seventh?”

*bhagavān apy uvācaivam cakravartyeva na hyasi /
sati dharmiṇi dharmā hi cintyante śreṇikātmja // 412*

The Blessed One said, “You are not a *cakravartin*. Being pious, good works are considered (by you), son of Śreṇika.”

*apṛcchat kūṇikaḥ kiṃ ca cakrathā ahaṃ parameśvara? /
mamāpi cakritulyā ’sti caturaṃgā varūthinī // 413*

Kūṇika asked, “Why, Lord, am I not a cakrin? My four-part army is equal to that of a cakrin.”

*svāmy ūce tava ratnāmi cakrādīni na santi bhoḥ /
vinaikenāpi ratnena cakrabhṛnnāma durghaṭam // 414*

The master said, “Sir, you have no jewels, the cakra, et cetera. Without a single jewel, the name of ‘cakrabhṛt’ is hard to be accomplished.”

*tacchrutvotthāya campeśo mahā ’haṃkārāparvataḥ /
ekendriyāṇi lauhāni mahāratnānyakārayat // 415*

After hearing that, the Lord of Campā got up, a mountain of egotism, and had made one- sensed jewels of iron.

*padmāvatīm sa strīratnaṃ ratnānībhādikānyapi /
so ’lpadhīḥ kalpayāmāsa mamoratha-kadarthitaḥ // 416*

He of little wit made Padmāvatī a woman-jewel, and the jewels, the elephant et cetera, tormented by his desire.

*sādhayan bharatakṣetraṃ kūṇiko ’sahyavikramaḥ /
krameṇa vaitāḍhyaguḥāṃ tamisrām āsadaḥ balaiḥ // 417*

Conquering Bharatakṣetra, Kūṇika, whose power was invincible, gradually reached Tamisrā, the cave of Vaitāḍhya, with his army.

*anātmajñāḥ sa unmatta iva durdaivadūṣitaḥ /
guhādvārapāṭāni daṃḍena triratāḍayat // 418*

Not knowing himself, like a crazy man, corrupted by an evil fate, he knocked on the doors of the entrance to the cave three times with a staff.

*kṛtamālāmarāḥ proce tadguhādvārarakṣakaḥ /
mumūṛṣuḥ ko ’yam āhanti guhādvāram anātmavit // 419*

The god, Kṛtamāla, the guardian of the cave’s door, said, “Who is this who, wishing to die, knocks on the cave door, not knowing himself?”

*kūṇiko ’py avadat kiṃ mām jigīṣuṃ vetsi nagatam? /
aśokacandranāma ’ham utpannaś cakravarty aho // 420*

Kūṇika said, “Do you not know me who have come, intending to conquer? I am a cakravartin, named Aśokacandra, who has arisen.”

*kṛtamālāmarah smāha cakriṇo dvādaśābhavan /
aprārthita-prārthako 'si budhayasva svasti te 'stu bhoḥ // 421*

The god Kṛtamāla said, “There were twelve cakrins. You are seeking the unsought. Be advised. Good fortune to you, sir!”

*kūṇiko 'pi babhāṇaivam ahaṃ cakrī trayodaśaḥ /
utpannaḥ kṛtapuṇyo 'smi puṇyaiḥ kiṃ nāma durlabham // 422*

Kūṇika said, “I am the thirteenth cakrin, arisen from merit that had been acquired. What, pray, is hard to acquire with merit?”

*parākramaṃ na me vetsi kṛtamālā ? guhām imām /
kuruṣva vitatadvārām anyathā na bhavasy aho // 423*

Do you not know my power, Kṛtamāla? Open wide the door of the cave. Otherwise, you cease to exist, look you!”

*ādhidaivika-doṣātam ivāsaṃbaddhabhāṣiṇam /
kūṇikaṃ kṛtamālo drāgroṣādakṛta bhasmasāt // 424*

From anger Kṛtamāla quickly reduced to ashes Kūṇika talking wildly as if from a fault inflicted by the gods.

*aśokacandro rājaivaṃ vipadya narakāvanim /
śaṣṭhīm iyāya vacanaṃ hy arhatāṃ jātu nānyathā // 425*

After death King Aśokacandra went to the sixth hell. The speech of the Arhat does not prove false.

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