

DAŚABALAŚRĪMITRA ON THE BUDDHOLOGY OF THE SĀMMITĪYAS

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The *Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya* is an Indian *śāstra* preserved in Tibetan translation in the *bsTan 'gyur*, the great collection of exegetical and dogmatic works. The original Sanskrit is lost, and there is, so far as I know, no Chinese translation. The *Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya* was composed by Daśabalaśrīmitra, probably in twelfth or thirteenth century Magadha or eastern India. Unfortunately, the names of the translators are not recorded in the catalogues available to me; as a result, the translation cannot be dated. The encyclopædic work deals, in thirty-five chapters, with the doctrines of Indian Buddhism, using Vaibhāṣika, Yogācāra, Sthāvira, Sāmmītiya, and Mahāyāna sources.¹ The unique feature of Daśabalaśrīmitra's work is the attention he pays

* This article is a somewhat delayed sequel to an earlier paper on the history of the Sāmmītiyas and their five councils, published in *'Linh-son'-Publication d'études bouddhologiques* in 1982. I was invited by Nagoya University, Department of Indian Studies, and Tokai Association of Indian and Buddhist Studies to present this paper at the Department on July 7, 2005. I am grateful for the comments and suggestions of the audience, some of which I have incorporated into the paper.

My translations and references are to the Peking edition of the *Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya*, Ōtani Cat. no. 5865, Ōtani reprint Vol. 146. As a Research Fellow of the Lumbini International Research Institute, I am at present preparing an annotated edition of the entire text. Sanskrit terms given in parentheses are drawn from standard works like the *Mahāvvyutpatti* — the lexicon compiled by Indian *paṇḍitas* and Tibetan translators in the late eighth and early ninth centuries CE — or from Lokesh Chandra's *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*. To avoid overburdening the article with technical terms, I have not given the Tibetan for standard terms such as *skandha*, *kalpa*, etc., when there is no reasonable doubt about the Sanskrit. At the end of the paper I give a Sanskrit-Tibetan glossary of epithets and proper names. In any case, Sanskrit equivalents given in parentheses remain tentative.

¹ For a description of the work and attempts to address the questions of date and authorship, see Skilling, 'The Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya'. In earlier articles I used the spelling Sāmmātiya (see Skilling, 'On the School-affiliation', p. 100, n. 70). I now prefer Sāmmītiya, following the recent work of Okano (1998). In previous writing I used 'Sthavira' for the Tibetan 'gNas brtan'. The few references to the school in Sanskrit include Sthāvira and Sthāvāriya; I have chosen, provisionally, the former. (I discuss the subject at some length in 'An Embarrassment of Categories: Theravāda, Hīnayāna, Mahāyāna, and other old friends', a paper delivered at the conference 'Exploring Theravāda Studies: Intellectual Trends and the Future of a Field of Study', organized by the Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, August 12-14, 2004. I note, as in previous articles, that the form 'Sthaviravāda' is a modern coinage, an ahistorical Sanskritization of the Pāli term Theravāda, which is so far nowhere attested in Sanskrit or in Tibetan and Chinese translation.

to the Sthāviras and Sāṃmitīyas, schools which are generally neglected in the North Indian Buddhist literature that has come down to us.

The primary Sthāvira source is the *Vimuttimaggā* or *Vimuktimārga*, an important early text that is lost in the original Indic, but preserved in a Chinese translation (T. 1648) dating to the early sixth century. Daśabalaśrīmitra's excerpts from the *Vimuttimaggā* take up three full chapters (Chaps. 13-15). The Sāṃmitīya sources, given at length in six full chapters (Chaps. 16-21), are from unnamed and unknown *śāstras* of that school.

Doctrines of the Sthāviras and Sāṃmitīyas are also cited in other chapters of Daśabalaśrīmitra's compendium. Sections 1-3 of the present study are drawn from Chapter 8, 'Analysis of the Æon' (**Kalpaviniścaya*). Section 4 is from Chapter 21, 'Analysis of the Truths of the Noble according to the Tradition of the Ārya Sāṃmitīya School' (**Āryasāṃmitīyanikāya-āgamanaya-āryasatyaviniścaya*). Section 5 is from Chapter 32, 'Analysis of Skill in Means' (**Upāyakaūśalyaviniścaya*).

One subject for which Daśabalaśrīmitra provides invaluable information is the concept of the Buddha — the Buddhology — of the Sāṃmitīyas. In the present paper I translate some of this material, classing it under five headings:

- (1) The number of Buddhas in an Auspicious Æon;
- (2) Śākyamuni and his predecessors;
- (3) The number of Buddhas served by Śākyamuni as a bodhisattva and the length of his bodhisattva career;²
- (4) Aspects of a Buddha's awakening;
- (5) *Karmapluti* and the sixteen sufferings undergone by Śākyamuni.

I wish to emphasize that in all cases Daśabalaśrīmitra cites Sāṃmitīya texts directly, and that the Tibetan translation of the *Samskṛtāsamskṛtaviniścaya* is accurate and lucid, up to the highest standards.³ That is, Daśabalaśrīmitra's work, as an authentic account of Sāṃmitīya tenets, is a reliable primary source.

² In this section I also translate relevant passages on the tenets of other schools.

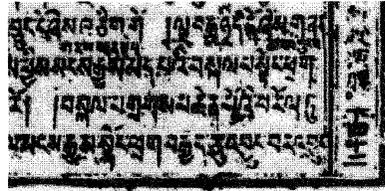
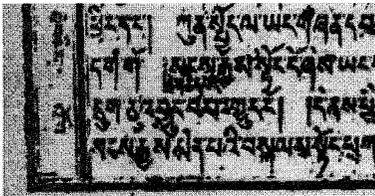
³ Daśabalaśrīmitra frequently describes his sources as *luṅ* = *āgama*. From the nature of the citations it is evident that he uses *āgama* in the sense of 'tradition' or 'authoritative text' — rather than 'canonical text' in the sense of one of the four *Āgamas*.

1. *The number of Buddhas in an Auspicious Æon*⁴

In a brief sentence, Daśabalaśrīmitra gives three figures for the number of Buddhas in an Auspicious Æon. The text proper does not associate the figures with any schools, but the Peking edition supplies the names of three schools as interlinear subscripts:

bskal pa bzañ po 'di ñid la sañs rgyas lña 'byuñ ño źes kha cig go.
gnas brtan sde pa
lña brgya ñid do źes gźan dag go. sañs rgyas stoñ ño źes yañ gźan dag go.

mañ bkur ba theg chen pa
In this very Fortunate Æon five Buddhas arise: so some say. There are five
the Sthāvīras
hundred: so others say. There are one thousand Buddhas:
the Sāmmittīyas the Mahāyāna
so, furthermore, others say.



The interlinear comments are lacking in the Derge *Tanjur*. The first and the last figures — those ascribed to the Sthāvīras and the Mahāyāna — are confirmed by other sources, but as far as I know the figure attributed to the Sāmmittīyas cannot be confirmed. Some Sarvāstivādin texts, including Uighur texts from Central Asia, count 500 Buddhas in the Auspicious Æon,⁵ and the figure 1000 is used not only in Mahāyāna texts but also in non-Mahāyāna texts, such as the *Mahāvastu*⁶ and *Tsa-pao-tsang-ching*.⁷ Thus the figures are not exclusive to the schools named in the gloss.

⁴ Chapter 8, 'Analysis of the Æon' (*Kalpa-viniścaya*), 42b5.

⁵ See Nattier, *Once Upon a Future Time*, pp. 23-24, note, and Skilling, 'Sambuddhe verses', pp. 175-176.

⁶ Skilling, 'Sambuddhe verses', pp. 176-177.

⁷ Taishō 203, translated by Charles Willemaen, *The Storehouse of Sundry Valuables* (BDK English Tripiṭaka 10-1), Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 1994, p. 32 (Chapter I, Parable 9).

2. Śākyamuni and his predecessors⁸

[In the period of decrease of the æon], after a long time, the Blessed One Krakucchanda Buddha appeared. Then, long after he⁹ had passed away,¹⁰ the Tathāgata Kanakamuni appeared. Long after he had passed away, the Great Sage (Mahāmuni) Kāśyapa appeared. Long after he had passed away, in the age of strife (*kali-yuga*), the last age (*paścima-kāla*), our teacher, the Tathāgata Śākyamuni appeared in the world.... The Blessed One revealed the path of liberation (*mokṣa-mārga*) that removes the suffering of the six realms of *samsāra* for all beings.¹¹ By means of that path he revealed the city of liberation (*mokṣa-nagara*), which is by nature the cessation of all suffering (*aparīṣeṣa-duḥkhopaśama-svabhāva*) for an unlimited mass of holy persons (*ananta-satpuruṣa-gaṇa*). He taught this most excellent path (*mārga-śreṣṭha*) to gods and humans. After establishing the continuity of the lamp of the holy Dharma (*saddharma-pradīpa-saṃtati*), the Tathāgata, the lamp (*pradīpa*), himself passed away.

In his *Mahāsaṃvartanīkathā*, Sarvarakṣita also employs the simile of the lamp, both for the transmission of the Dharma and for the passing of Śākyamuni:¹²

*upadarsya nayottamaṃ nr̥ṇāṃ, pratisaṃdhāya nayānudarśakān
vihīta-prati-dīpa-saṃtatiḥ, prathamō dīpa ivāiṣa nirvavau.*

The four Buddhas named here are the first four Buddhas of the Auspicious Æon, who are listed in texts like the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* (Pāli) or *Mahāvadānasūtra* (Sanskrit). The concept of multiple past

⁸ Chapter 8, 'Analysis of the Æon', 32a1 — excerpt from a long citation on cosmology from the *Āgama* of the Sāṃmitīyas.

⁹ The text reads *de dag*, 'they', here and for next two Buddhas.

¹⁰ I use 'pass away' here for the Tibetan. The original Sanskrit and Tibetan are verbal forms (Tib. *yoṅs su mya ṅan las 'das nas*). When we render the phrase as 'entered/attained *nirvāna/parinirvāna*' (often capitalizing *nirvāna* or *parinirvāna*), we reify *nirvāna* as a place or realm. In this context, this is not especially desirable, regardless of the fact that 'city' or 'metropolis' (*nagara*, *mahānagara*) is, in certain contexts, a happy metaphor for *nirvāna*, as in this very passage.

¹¹ *gro ba drug gi 'khor ba, ṣaḍgatika-saṃsāra*. Here and elsewhere (173a8), the texts cited by Daśabalaśrīmitra show that the Sāṃmitīyas listed six 'destinies' (*gati*): hell (*naraka*), 'hungry ghosts' (*preta*), animals (*tiryagyoni*), 'titans' (*asura*), humans (*manuṣya*), and deities (*deva*) (see 155a7). In this the Sāṃmitīyas agree with the Andhakas, Uttarāpathakas, and Lokottaravādins, as against the five destinies of the Vaibhāṣikas and Theravādins. The *Vibhāṣā* compendia state that the Vātsīputrīyas — parent school of the Sāṃmitīyas — asserted 'six destinies, including that of the *asuras*' (cf. Bareau, *Les sectes bouddhiques*, p. 120, with reference to T. 1545, p. 8b, and T. 1546, p. 6a). For a lucid presentation of the '*Vibhāṣā* compendia' — which cannot be treated as variant translations of a single text, but rather as representative examples, preserved in translation, of an important genre — see Cox, 'The *Vibhāṣā* Compendia', in Willemen et al., *Sarvāstivāda Buddhist Scholasticism*, pp. 229-239.

¹² Okano, *Sarvarakṣitas Mahāsaṃvartanīkathā*, 4.2, v. 10.

and future Buddhas is implicit in the early strata of the *Āgamas* and *Nikāyas*, as well as the *Vinayas*.¹³

3. The number of Buddhas served by Śākyamuni as a bodhisattva¹⁴

3.1. The Sāmmitīya tradition

According to the Sāmmitīya school:

The present Śākyamuni served (*ārādhita*) 77,000 Buddhas in the first incalculable (*asamkhyeya*), starting with the earlier Buddha Śākyamuni. In the second incalculable he served 76,000 Buddhas, and in the third incalculable he served 75,000, ending with the Buddha Indradhvaja. He then realized true and complete awakening (*samyak-sambodhi*).

3.2. The Kāśmīra-Vaibhāṣika tradition

(37b3) The Kāśmīra-Vaibhāṣikas maintain:

There appeared a truly and completely awakened one named Śākyamuni; under him our teacher (*amhākam śāstr*), the Blessed One became a bodhisattva, making his original vow (*ādyam praṇidhānam*): ‘May I become a Buddha exactly like this one!’ (*evam-prakāra evāham buddho bhaveyam*). From that time on, our Blessed One Śākyamuni served 75,000 Buddhas in the first incalculable æon, ending with the truly and completely awakened one Ratnaśikhin.

Then, in the second incalculable æon, starting with the Buddha that followed Sambuddha Ratnaśikhin, he served 76,000 Buddhas, ending with the Buddha Dipaṅkara.

Then, in the third incalculable æon, starting with the Buddha that followed Dipaṅkara, he served 77,000 Buddhas. At that time he became assured of complete awakening (*sambodhiniyata*).

Then, on seeing the Tathāgata Tiṣya absorbed in meditation on the fire-element (*tejo-dhātu-samāpanna*) in a cave, in great serene faith (*mahā-prasāda*) he stirred up energy (*vīryam ārabhya*) and, standing on one leg for one week, he praised Tiṣya with the verse ‘in the realm of the gods’, etc. (*ekena pādena sthītvā sapta divasān stutavān ekagāthayā na divibhuvī ity ādi*): by doing this he subtracted nine great æons (*nava mahākālpāḥ pratyudāvartitāḥ*) [from the routine one hundred æons].¹⁵

After that, serving the Buddhas from Vipāsyin to Kāśyapa, he performed the deeds that produce the [thirty-two] features (*lakṣaṇa*) and the [eighty] attributes (*anuvyañjana*) for ninety-one great æons.

¹³ See Skilling, ‘Sambuddhe verses’. Cf. *Samyuttanikāya* I 138-140, *Garava-sutta* = Śamatha-deva, *Upāyikā-tīkā*, mñon pa’i bstan bcos, *thu*, 130b1 foll. (verses in Bernhard, *Udānavarga*, 21:11-13); *Samyuttanikāya* II 104-107, *Nagara-sutta* = Tripāṭhi, *Nidānasamyukta*, pp. 94-96.

¹⁴ From Chapter 8, ‘Analysis of the Æon’, 37b1.

¹⁵ Pradhan, *Abhidharmakośa* ad 4:112a, p. 267.11. I draw the Sanskrit from here. For this celebrated feat see La Vallée Poussin, *L’Abhidharmakośa*, IV p. 225 and nn.; *Avadānaśataka* II 175.5 foll.; Bu-ston, *ya*, 41a1, Obermiller, *History of Buddhism*, I 103 (where Obermiller’s rendering of ‘sKar rgyal’ as ‘Nakṣatrarāja’ should be corrected to ‘Tiṣya’ or ‘Pusya’). The verse opens Vasubandhu’s *Gāthāsamgraha*: see Schiefner, ‘Über Vasubandhu’s Gāthāsamgraha’, pp. 560-561.

At the end of the ninety-first great æon, after dwelling in the Tuṣita realm, etc., the Blessed One Śākyamuni realized unsurpassed, true and perfect awakening.

3.3. *The Sthāvira tradition*

(38a4) The Ārya Sthāviras say:

Śākyamuni realized omniscience (*sarvajñatva*) after twenty great incalculable æons plus an additional 100,000 æons.¹⁶

3.4. *Bodhisattvayāna traditions*

(40b6) According to the Bodhisattva Vehicle (*bodhisattvayāna*):

[Śākyamuni] became a Buddha after three incalculable æons. In the first incalculable æon, starting at the stage of preparation (*sambhāra-bhūmi*), he completed the first stage (*prathama-bhūmi*, i.e. *pramuditā*). In the second incalculable æon he completed six stages — *vimalā*, etc. — and in the third incalculable æon he completed the stages from *acalā* to the stage of the Buddha. This is according to the *sūtras*, etc.

Some say, however ...¹⁷ that this is not the final meaning (*paramārtha*): the bodhisattva completed the stage of preparation during the first incalculable æon, and completed the stage of resolution (*adhimukti-bhūmi*) during the second. After that, the stages from the first, *pramuditā*, to the tenth, *dharmamegha*, were each completed in three incalculable æons, and the stage of Buddhahood, *samantabhadra* (*kun tu bzañ po*), was then realized. According to this explanation, Buddhahood is attained in thirty-three incalculable æons.

The material translated here, as well as a later citation given by Daśabalaśrīmitra (171a8), shows that the Sāṃmitīyas follow a tradition, which seems to have been widespread in North India, that the bodhisattva realized Buddhahood after three incalculable æons. To this figure the Kāśmīra-Vaibhāṣikas added ninety-one great æons in the case of Śākyamuni, or one hundred great æons in general, during which a bodhisattva performs the deeds that produce the thirty-two features and eighty attributes of a Great Man. The Sthāvira description of the bodhisattva's career — taking twenty incalculable æons plus 100,000 æons — is quite different and, as far as I know, quite unique.

The Sāṃmitīyas agree with the Vaibhāṣikas that the first Buddha served by the bodhisattva Śākyamuni was an 'earlier' or 'former' Śākyamuni. At the very beginning of the *Mahāvastu* of the Lokottara-

¹⁶ Here Daśabalaśrīmitra gives a long and detailed citation of the later Buddhology of the Sthāviras — for the opening see Skilling, 'Sambuddhe verses', p. 163.

¹⁷ Text (41a1) unclear.

vādin *Vinaya*, there is a statement of homage that shows that bodhisattva Śākyamuni himself vowed to become a Buddha with the same name and city as the earlier Śākyamuni:¹⁸

Homage to the past Śākyamuni, the Tathāgata, worthy one, truly and completely awakened one, in whose presence this very Blessed One [the present] Śākyamuni first made the wholesome root vow (*kuśalamūla-praṇidhāna*) as a merchant, a *śreṣṭhin*, during the preliminary career of resolution: 'Oh, may I in future become a Buddha, a worthy one, a truly and completely awakened one. And as this Blessed One is named Śākyamuni, so may I be Śākyamuni — *in extenso, up to* — and may my city be Kapilavastunagara!'

In a more extravagant section, Śākyamuni tells Mahāmaudgalyāyana that during his quest for awakening he planted 'roots of goodness' (*kuśalamūla*) through countless æons under countless Buddhas. He proceeds to inventory some of these Buddhas — not as individuals, but as groups bearing a single name. The Buddhas in the first group are all named Śākyamuni:¹⁹

I know directly, Mahāmaudgalyāyana, thirty *koṭi* of Buddhas named Śākyamuni: as a *cakravartin* king aspiring to full awakening in the future, I worshipped them ... together with their *śrāvaka-saṃgha*, and those Buddhas predicted my own [future Buddhahood].

The *Bhadrakalpika-sutra*, as cited by Bu-ston, states that [the present] Śākyamuni first produced *bodhicitta* under a Buddha of the same name.²⁰ Another tradition reported by Bu-ston, without naming the source, is that bodhisattva Śākyamuni, as a potter's son named *Jyotika(?), presented the great Buddha Śākyamuni with a pot made of kaolin,²¹ five cowries, a pair of boots, and a parasol, and aspired:²²

18 Senart, *Mahāvastu* I 1.6 *namo 'tītāya śākyamunaye tathāgatāyārhate samyaksambuddhāya, yasyāntike 'nenaiiva bhagavatā śākyamuninā prathamam kuśalamūlapraṇidhānam kṛtam vaṇikaśreṣṭhibhūtenādaḥ praṇidhānacaryāyām pravartamānena aho punar aham anāgate 'dhvani buddho bhaveyaṃ tathāgato 'rham samyaksambuddho yathāyaṃ bhagavañ chākyamunir mamāpi śākyamunir iti nāmadheyaṃ vistareṇa yāvat mamāpi kapilavastunagaram bhaved iti*. The story of [present] Śākyamuni's encounter with the previous Śākyamuni is related at 47.12 foll. The past Śākyamuni mentioned at III 238.9 is apparently different, since at that time the royal capital was Sīṃhapurī.

19 Senart, *Mahāvastu* I 57.6.

20 Bu-ston, *ya* 43a2, *bskal bzañ du, na ni shon tshe dman par gyur pa'i tshe, de bzin gsegs pa śākya thub de la, 'jams gañ zig ni dbul bar byas nas kyañ, dañ por byañ chub tu ni sems bskyed do, zes gsuñs*; Obermiller, *History of Buddhism*, I 108.

21 The exact signification of *kham pa'i bum pa* eludes me.

22 Bu-ston, *ya* 43a6, *yañ na rdza mkhan gyi khye'u snañ byed du gyur ba'i tshe, de bzin gsegs pa śākya thub pa chen po la kham pa'i bum pa gcig 'gron bu lña mchil lham zuñ gcig gdugs gcig*

O Tathāgata, may I become [a Buddha in future], with a body just like yours, with an assembly and a life-span, with a field and realm, with an excellent and auspicious name, all exactly like yours.

There is, in any case, no single or uniform ‘Bodhisattvayāna’ or ‘Mahāyāna tradition’: Bu-ston cites several other *sūtras* and traditions regarding the Buddha under whom the future Śākyamuni first vowed to become a Buddha. Altogether, diversity rules.

According to the Sthāviras, the Buddha under whom bodhisattva Śākyamuni first aspired — mentally only, without speaking — to become a Buddha was Brahmadeva, a Buddha apparently unknown in other sources. Then, after seven incalculable æons of mental aspiration (*manopañidhāna*), in the eighth incalculable æon of his career the bodhisattva met the previous Śākyamuni and first uttered the vow to become a Buddha.²³ The encounter with the former Śākyamuni is not mentioned in earlier Mahāvihāra texts like *Buddhavaṃsa*.

A past Buddha named Indradhvaja does not seem to have played a significant role for either the Vaibhāṣikas or the Sthāviras. In the *Mahāvastu*, Indradhvaja is one of the generic names for groups of Buddhas: Śākyamuni tells Mahāmaudgalyāyana that he knows 84,000 Buddhas named Indradhvaja.²⁴ The *Avadānaśataka* relates a past life of Śākyamuni when, as a brahman, he paid homage to a Buddha named Indradhvaja and aspired to become a Buddha.²⁵ Indradhvaja does, however, occupy a significant place in the three-*kalpa* system of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya*, as translated into Tibetan and as cited by Bu-ston and the First Dalai Lama, rGyal ba dge ’dun grub:²⁶

rnam s phul te, de bzin gsegs pa khyed sku ci ’dra dañ, ’khor dañ sku tshe’i tshad dañ zin khams dañ, de bzin mtshan mchog bzañ po ci ’dra ba, de ’dra kho nar bdag kyañ ’gyur par sog, ces smon lam btab ste sems bskyed do; Obermiller, *History of Buddhism*, I 108.

²³ See *Jinakālamālī*, PTS ed., pp. 5-9.

²⁴ Senart, *Mahāvastu* I 58.13, 62.4, 138.4. For Indradhvaja as an individual Buddha see III 226.5.

²⁵ Speyer, *Avadānaśataka*, I 105.3.

²⁶ This portion of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* does not survive in Sanskrit (cf. Banerjee, *Sarvāstivāda Literature*, pp. 202-203). Bu-ston (*ya*, 41b3; Obermiller, *History of Buddhism*, I 102-103) cites the verses as from the *Āgama*, while rGyal ba dge ’dun grub, *Mdzod tig thar lam*, p. 269.14) specifies that the *Āgama* is the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu* (*luñ sman gyi gzi las ni*). The verses may indeed be found in the Tibetan translation of the *Vinayavastu*, Ōtani Cat. no. 1030, Vol. 41, *’dul ba, ge*, 254b6 foll. I give the verses according to the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* [Bh], Bu-ston [Bu], and dGe ’dun grub [DL]. Differences of wording in the three versions raise questions: was the *Vinayavastu* translated, or revised, more than once, to the point that variant versions circulated in Tibet? This is quite possible in the context of Tibetan translation history. Another possibility — which to me seems

From the Buddha Śākyamuni to the leader (*nayaka*) Rāṣṭrapāla,
I served 75,000 Buddhas [in the first incalculable].

From the Buddha *Śobhita²⁷ to the sage (*muni*) Indradhvaja,
I served a full 76,000 Buddhas [in the second incalculable].

From the Buddha Dīpaṃkara to the Buddha Kāśyapa, I served 77,000
Buddhas.

In the third incalculable.

I worshipped the Conquerors, practising for sake of *bodhi*,
Never becoming discouraged.

Verse 1

[Bh] *saṅs rgyas śākya thub pa nas, 'dren pa yul 'khor skyoṅ gi bar,*
'dren pa bdun khri lña stoṅ gi, saṅs rgyas rnams ni ṅas mchod do.

[Bu] *saṅs rgyas śākya thub pa nas, 'dren pa yul 'khor skyoṅ gi bar*
bdun khri lña stoṅ tshaṅ ba yi, saṅs rgyas rnams ni ṅas mchod do.

[DL] *saṅs rgyas śākya thub pa nas, 'dren pa yul 'khor skyoṅ gi bar,*
bdun khri daṅ ni lña stoṅ gi, saṅs rgyas rnams ni ṅas mchod do.

Verse 2

[Bh] *saṅs rgyas mar me mdzaḍ²⁸ nas ni, dbaṅ po 'i rgyal mtshan thub pa 'i*
bar,
bdun khri drug stoṅ de dag ni, saṅs rgyas rnams ni ṅa yis mchod.

[Bu] *saṅs rgyas legs mdzad nas bzuṅ ste, dbaṅ po rgyal mtshan thub pa 'i*
bar,
bdun khri drug stoṅ tshaṅ ba yi, saṅs rgyas rnams ni ṅas mchod do.

[DL] *saṅs rgyas legs mdzad nas bzuṅ ste, thub pa chen po rgyal mtshan bar,*
bdun khri daṅ ni drug stoṅ gi, saṅs rgyas rnams ni ṅas mchod do.

Verse 3

[Bh] *saṅs rgyas legs mdzad nas bzuṅ ste, saṅs rgyas 'od sruṅ bar dag tu*
bdun khri bdun stoṅ ṅa yis mchod, graṅs med gsum po de la ni,
rgyal ba ṅas ni mchod byas te, byaṅ chub phyir ni spyod pa na,
de tshe ṅa la skyo sems med.

[Bu] *saṅs rgyas mar me mdzad nas ni, saṅs rgyas 'od sruṅ bar dag tu,*
bdun khri bdun stoṅ tshaṅ ba yi, saṅs rgyas rnams ni ṅas mchod do.

less likely — is that Bu-ston or rGyal ba dGe 'dun grub translated the verses anew from a Sanskrit manuscript. The division into the three æons, not given in the verses, is added from the prose of *Bhaiṣajyavastu* and Bu-ston.

²⁷ I take the equivalent Legs mdzad = Śobhita from Lokesh Chandra, *Tibetan Sanskrit Dictionary*, p. 2327b. Chandra gives his source as Bhadrakalpa, Buddha number 634. Śobhita is not listed as a Buddha by Edgerton in *BHSD*. In the *Buddhavamsa*, however, Sobhita is the sixth of the twenty-four Buddhas of the Mahāvihāra system: see Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* II, 1304-1305, and *Jinakālamālī* 12-13.

²⁸ *Bhaiṣajyavastu* reverses the order of Śobhita and Dīpaṃkara.

[DL] *sañs rgyas mar me mdzad nas ni, sañs rgyas 'od sruñs bar dag tu,*
bdun khri bdun stoñ ña yis mchod, grañs med gsum po de la ni,
rgyal ba ñas ni mchod byas te, byañ chub phyir ni spyod pa na,
de tshe pha ma [read ña la]²⁹ skyo sems med.

The Sāṃmitīyas place Indradhvaja at the end of the third incalculable, while the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* verses place him at the end of the second. The *Bhaiṣajyavastu* does not agree with the Vaibhāṣikas as presented by Daśabalaśrīmitra — and confirmed by the *Abhidharmakośa*³⁰ and the *Abhidharmadīpa*³¹ — as regards the Buddhas who came at the end of each incalculable, although it does agree on the statistics — the number of Buddhas worshipped. The Sāṃmitīyas employ the same figures as do the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* verses and the Vaibhāṣikas, but in reverse or descending order. The fact that the Sāṃmitīyas and Vaibhāṣikas divide the bodhisattva career into three incalculable æons, starting with the past Buddha Śākyamuni, and employ the same figures suggests that the Buddhology of the two schools evolved in proximity and in dialogue.

The Sthāviras and the Vaibhāṣikas give importance to Dīpaṅkara — well-known in Buddhist tradition, including Gandhāran reliefs, from an early date³² — Tiṣya,³³ and Śākyamuni's six immediate predecessors. Daśabalaśrīmitra's presentation of the Vaibhāṣika tradition accurately reflects materials found in *Vibhāṣā* compendia,³⁴ *Abhidharmakośa*,³⁵ and *Abhidharmadīpa*.³⁶

The theory that the bodhisattva career takes three incalculable æons is presented in Asaṅga's *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā*, and Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*. The *Prasannapadā* gives an alternate duration lasting seven æons, also found in the *Lalitavistara*, and the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* discusses the theory of thirty-three incalculable æons. Vinītadeva's *Nikāya-bhedopadarśana-saṃgraha* ascribes to the Mūlasarvāstivādins a thesis

29 The *Bhaiṣajyavastu* parallel enables us to correct the *pha ma* ('father and mother') of the printed edition of *Mdzod tik thar lam gsal byed*.

30 *Abhidharmakośa* 4:110, Pradhan p. 266.17.

31 Jaini, *Abhidharmadīpa*, p. 199.7.

32 Cf. Lamotte, *Le Traité* I, 248, n. 2 for references.

33 Lamotte, *Le Traité* I, p. 252 n. 2.

34 Yamada, *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka* I p. 125 and p. 126 n. 3; La Vallée Poussin, *L'Abhidharmakośa* III, p. 227, n. 2; Lamotte, *Le Traité* I, p. 248, n. 1.

35 *Abhidharmakośa* 4:110.

36 *Abhidharmadīpa* p. 200.

that ‘a bodhisattva attains [awakening] in from ten to thirty incalculable æons’. These various theories are — 3, 7, 10, and 33 — are discussed in detail by Bu-ston. In his commentary on the *Abhidharmakośa*, dGe ’dun grub, the first Dalai Lama, adds that ‘according to the Mahāyāna, [the bodhisattva] worshipped limitless Buddhas in each incalculable’.³⁷

4. Aspects of a Buddha’s awakening³⁸

4.1. The Buddha and the ‘unshakeable’ arhat

(169b8) There are six types of arhat:³⁹

1. *parihāṇa-dharma*;
2. *cetanā-dharma*;
3. *anurakṣanā-dharma*;
4. *sthitākampya*;
5. *prativēdhana-bhavya*;
6. *akopya-dharma*.

(170a3) The ‘unshakeable’ (*akopyadharmā*) arhat produces the knowledge of non-arising (*anutpāda-jñāna*).⁴⁰ There are three types of ‘unshakeable’ [awakening]:

1. the awakening of an auditor (*śrāvaka-bodhi*);
2. the awakening of a *pratyekajina*;
3. unsurpassed, true and complete awakening (*amuttara-samyak-sambodhi*).⁴¹

In what sense are they ‘unshakeable’?

1. The auditor has unshakeable knowledge of the non-arising of defilements (*kleśānutpāda-jñāna*);
2. the awakening of the *pratyekajina* is unshakeable knowledge of the non-arising of defilement and doubt (*saṃkleśa-vicikitsā-anutpāda-jñāna*);

³⁷ rGyal ba dge ’dun grub, *Mdzod tig thar lam*, p. 270.1, *theg chen pas ni graṅs med pa re re la yaṅ, saṅs rgyas dpag tu med pa la bsṅen bkur byas par bzed do*.

³⁸ From Chapter 21, ‘Analysis of the Truths of the Noble according to the Tradition of the Ārya-Sāmmitīya school’.

³⁹ Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 6:56; La Vallée Poussin IV 251, n. 2; Van den Broeck, *La saveur de l’immortel*, ‘Les Arhat’, pp. 164-167; Dessein, *Samyuktābhidharmahṛdaya*, Part I, pp. 739-743; Dhammajoti, *Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma*, pp. 319-320; Pradhan, *Abhidharmasamuccaya* pp. 86.14, 91.4; Rahula, *Le Compendium*, pp. 145, 157-158; Thich Thien Chau, *Personalists*, p. 217, ‘Literature’, pp. 13-15, ‘Réponses’, p. 48. Cf. *Puggalapaññatti*, *Mātikā* p. 2.15; also pp. 11-12.

⁴⁰ *mi skye ba’i ye śes*: cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 6:50ab; La Vallée Poussin IV 240; Lamotte, *Le Traité III*, pp. 1479-80; *Saṅgītisutta*, *Dīghanikāya III* 214.9, *khaye ñāṇaṃ amuppāde ñāṇaṃ*.

⁴¹ Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 6:62cd; La Vallée Poussin IV 273.

3. the Blessed One, the Buddha has unshakeable knowledge of the non-arising of defilement and doubt (*saṃkleśa-vicikitsā-anutpāda-jñāna*).

(170b5) In the abandoning of defilements to be abandoned by the path of seeing (*darśanamārgaheya-kleśa-prahāṇa*) there is no difference (*viśeṣa*) between a complete Buddha and a pratyekabuddha.

(170a6) Among [the six types of arhat], the *parihāṇadharmā*, 'whose characteristic is to fall back', falls from the fruit (*phala*).⁴² None of the other arhats do so ... a truly and completely awakened Buddha does not fall away in any manner whatsoever.

4.2. *The Buddha and the two requisites*

(163a4) There are two requisites: requisite of merit (*punya-sambhāra*) and requisite of wisdom (*jñāna-sambhāra*):⁴³

1. The requisite of merit is the qualities of the nature of liberality, ethics, and cultivation (**dāna-śīla-bhāvanā-svabhāva-guṇa*).⁴⁴
2. The requisite of wisdom is the qualities of the nature of [learning through] hearing, reflection, and cultivation (*śruta-cintā-bhāvanā-svabhāva-guṇa*),⁴⁵ as well as the wisdom born of the maturation of past deeds (*pūrvakarmavipākaja-jñāna*).

An alternate explanation: the two requisites are

1. the requisite of purity of moral conduct (*śilaviśuddhi-sambhāra*);
2. the requisite of purity of view (*drṣṭiviśuddhi-sambhāra*).⁴⁶

Herein,

1. Purity of moral conduct has the characteristic of not harming others (*para-anupaghāta-lakṣaṇa*) and the characteristic of aiding others (*para-anugraha-lakṣaṇa*). Purity of moral conduct is that which is brought about by purity of truth and renunciation (*satya-tyāga-viśuddhi*).
2. Purity of view is that [brought about by] calm (*upaśama*) and wisdom

⁴² Cf. also 170a1. Cf. Bureau, *Les sectes bouddhiques*, p. 118, Vātsīputrīya § 13; p. 123, Sāṃmitīya § 2; *Kathāvatthu* I.2 (p. 69.24), *parihāyati arahā arahattā*; VIII.11 (p. 398.1), *kammahetu arahā arahattā parihāyati*. The attribution of this thesis to the Sammitīyas and Vajjiputtakas by the *Katthāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā* is confirmed.

⁴³ Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 3:94a; Yamada, *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka*, II 211.4, *puṇyaprajñā-sambhāra*.

⁴⁴ Cf. *Saṅgītisutta*, *Dīghanikāya* III 218.5, *tīni puññakiriyavatthūni: dānamayaṃ puññakiriyavatthu, śīlamayaṃ puññakiriyavatthu, bhāvanāmayam puññakiriyavatthu*; Pradhan, *Abhidharmakośa* ad 4:112cd, p. 267.21, *sūtra uktaṃ trīni puṇyakriyāvastūni, dānamayaṃ puṇyakriyāvastu śīlamayaṃ bhāvanāmayam*.

⁴⁵ Cf. *Saṅgītisutta*, *Dīghanikāya* III 219.5, *aparā pi tisso paññā: cintāmayā paññā, sutamayā paññā, bhāvanāmayā paññā*.

⁴⁶ Cf. *Saṅgītisutta*, *Dīghanikāya* III 214.1, *śilaviśuddhi ca ditthiviśuddhi ca*.

(*prajñā*), since it is taught:

There is no meditation for one without wisdom;
There is no wisdom for the one who does not meditate.
[*nāsti jhānam apramñassa pramñā nāsti ajhāyato.*]⁴⁷

Therefore the requisite is laid down as the four *adhiṣṭhāna*:⁴⁸

1. the quality of the nature of good conduct (*śīla-svabhāva-guṇa*) is the truth resolution (*satya-adhiṣṭhāna*);
2. the quality of the nature of liberality (*dāna-svabhāva-guṇa*) is the renunciation resolution (*tyāga-adhiṣṭhāna*);
3. the quality of the nature of all forms of concentration (*sarva-samādhi-svabhāva-guṇa*) is the calm-resolution (*upa-śama-adhiṣṭhāna*);
4. the quality of the nature of all knowledge (*sarva-jñāna-svabhāva-guṇa*) is the wisdom-resolution (*prajñā-adhiṣṭhāna*).

The awakening of an auditor (*śrāvakabodhi*) is through an inferior requisite (*hīna-sambhāra*);⁴⁹ the awakening of a *pratyekajina* is through a middling requisite (*madhyama-sambhāra*); the unsurpassable true and complete awakening is realized through a superior one (*viśiṣṭa*).

4.3. The Buddha and the 'four doors'

(157b4) There are four 'doors' (*mukha*) that lead to direct insight into truth (*satyābhisamaya*):

1. the door of the aggregates (*skandha-mukha*);
2. the door of the bases (*āyatana-mukha*);

47 Buddhist Prakrit from 'Patna Dharmapada' (Roth v. 62, p. 103). For Sanskrit see *Abhidharmasamuccaya-bhāṣya* (Tatia, p. 104.10), *nāsti dhyānam aprajñasyeti gāthāyāṃ vacanād iti*, and Bernhard, *Udānavarga* 32:25ab, *nāsty aprajñasya vai dhyānam prajñā nādhāyato 'sti ca*. The citation reveals that this verse was transmitted by the Sāmmitīyas as well as by the Lokottaravādins (Tatia, *Prātimokṣasūtram*, p. 37.3) and Mahāvihāravāsins (von Hinüber and Norman, *Dhammapada*, v. 372), and in the 'Gāndhāri Dharmapada' (Brough, II 8 (58)) and 'Patna Dharmapada'.

48 The four *adhiṣṭhāna* are an important category in Buddhist theory, although they seem to have been somewhat ignored. They are listed in a different order in the *Saṅgītisutta*, *Dīghanikāya* III 229.18 and in the *Dhātuvibhaṅgasutta*, *Majjhimanikāya* III 240.9, 245-246, *paññā-adhiṣṭhānam, sacca-°, cāga-°, upasama-°*. Śamathadeva's citation of a (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin counterpart of the latter follows the same order (*mñon pa'i bstan bcos, tu, 39a8, śes rab kyis byin gyis brlabs dañ, bden pa'i byin gyis brlabs dañ, gtoñ ba'i byin gyis brlabs dañ, ñe bar zi ba'i byin gyis brlabs so = Majjhimanikāya* III 240.9; 44a5 foll. = *Majjhimanikāya* III 245-246). They are not listed in the *Abhidharmakośa*. In the *Abhidharmadīpa* the four *adhiṣṭhāna* starting with wisdom (*prajñādi*) are mentioned but not listed in connection with the practice of perfections of a bodhisattva. The *Vimuttimaggā* (p. 190) states that 'having fulfilled the ten perfections, [a bodhisattva] fulfills the four resolves', and then lists them in the same order as that given here. A different order, perhaps demanded by context, is given by Vasubandhu in his *Gāthāsaṃgraha-śāstrārtha* (Ōtani Cat. no. 5604, Vol. 119, *mñon pa'i bstan bcos, nu, 270b6, bden pa dañ ñe bar zi ba dañ, btoñ ba dañ śes rab kyis byin gyis brlabs te (= satya, upasama, tyāga, prajñā)*.

49 The use of the term *dman pa* (*hīna, nihīna, manda*) in connection with *śrāvakabodhi* is interesting in relation to the term 'Hīnayāna'.

3. the door of the elements (*dhātu-mukha*);
4. the door of name-and-form (*nāmarūpa-mukha*).

Some also enter by the door of conditioned arising (*pratītya-samutpāda-mukha*) or by the door of establishment of mindfulness (*smṛtyupasthāna-mukha*). All bodhisattvas enter by the door of conditioned arising alone.

(158b3) A bodhisattva in his final existence (*cārama-bhāvika*), endowed with lofty volition and faculties, enters through the door of the most profound dependent origination (*parama-gambhīra-pratītyasamutpāda*)⁵⁰ and [then] cultivates the practice of *ksānti*.

(171a8) Great bodhisattvas, by practising the six perfections (*pāramitā*) for three incalculable æons and thereby accumulating the requisite of merit and wisdom (*puṇya-jñāna-sambhāra*), perform [the acts of] dwelling in Tuṣita, etc. Establishing themselves at the *bodhi-maṇḍa*, they conquer Devaputramāra;⁵¹ having examined conditioned arising (*pratītyasamutpāda*) in natural (*anuloma*) and reverse (*pratiloma*) order, they fulfill the practice of *ksānti*, etc; having abandoned the defilements of the three realms to be abandoned through seeing (*tridhātuka-darśanaheya-kleśa*) [in the first twelve moments],⁵² in the thirteenth *citta* they abandon the defilements of the sensual realm to be abandoned through cultivation (*kāmāvacara-bhāvanāheya-kleśa*) and thereby become free of attachment to the sensual realm (*kāma-vītarāga*).⁵³

In the fourteenth, having abandoned the defilements of the form realm to be abandoned through cultivation (*rūpāvacara-bhāvanāheya-kleśa*), they become free of attachment to form (*rūpa-vītarāga*).

In the fifteenth *citta*, having abandoned the defilements of the formless realm to be abandoned through cultivation (*ārūpyā-vacara-bhāvanāheya-kleśa*), they become free of attachment to the formless realm (*ārūpyadhātu-vītarāga*).

The sixteenth *citta*, being the object of the quest, is the path (*mārga*); it is the state of the fruit beyond training (*aśaikṣa-phala-avasthā*), the mind that has attained the arhat-state (*arhattva-prāpta-citta*), and has attained distinction in all realizations (*sarvādhigama-viśeṣa-prāpta*). By attaining this, they become truly and completely awakened Buddhas. Thus the attainment of Buddhahood is established in sixteen [moments]: the twelve *abhisamaya-*

⁵⁰ Cf. *Mahānidānasutta*, *Dīghanikāya* II 55.13 = *Samyuttanikāya* II 92.12, *gambhīro cāyaṃ ānanda paṭiccasamuppādo gambhīrāvabhāso ca*; Lamotte, *Le Traité I*, pp. 35, n. 2; 337; Bhattacharya, *Yogācārabhūmi*, p. 228.8, *gambhīrah pratītyasamutpāda ukto bhagavatā*; Tripāthī, *Fünfundzwanzig Sūtras des Nidānasaṃyukta*, p. 11.4, *gambhīram idaṃ sthānaṃ yaduta idaṃ-pratyayatā pratītyasamutpādaḥ*. Cf. also Conze, *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā*, p. 27.3, *gambhīrā bhagavān prajñāpāramitā....*

⁵¹ Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* ad 2:10a, Pradhan 44.17, *bodhimūle kleśadevaputramārau nirjitāv iti*: at the foot of the *bodhi*-tree, the bodhisattva conquered the *kleśa*- and *devaputra-māras*.

⁵² Bareau, *Les sectes bouddhiques*, p. 117, Vātsīputriya § 9; p. 126, Sāmmītiya § 25.

⁵³ Cf. Vasumitra, *Samayabhedoparacanacakra* (Ötani Cat. no. 5639, Vol. 127, 'dul ba'i 'grel pa, u, 175a4 attributed to the Vātsīputriya and Puḍgalavādin group: 'dod chags dan ldan pa'i kun tu sbyor ba spaṅs par bya ba rnam spaṅs pas 'dod pa'i 'dod chags dan bral bar 'gyur ro. See Bareau, *Les sectes bouddhiques*, p. 116, Vātsīputriya § 7.

*jñāna*⁵⁴ plus the four *cittas* — the thirteenth, etc.

A fuller understanding of this passage can be gained from a study of the Sāṃmitīya description of the twelve moments of the path of seeing (*darśana-mārga*), the path of cultivation (*bhāvanā-mārga*), the immediate path (*ānantarya-mārga*) and the attainment of the arhat-state, all of which are cited in detail by Daśabalaśrīmitra. The description of the path in twelve moments confirms the statements of Vasumitra⁵⁵ and Vinītadeva.⁵⁶ The Sāṃmitīya description of the path is different from that of the Vaibhāṣikas, according to whom the awakening of a Buddha takes thirty-four thought-moments:

16 moments of insight into truth (*satyābhisamaya*), plus
18 moments of the path of cultivation (*bhāvanāmārga*).⁵⁷

A bodhisattva actualizes these paths in a single sitting, and realizes the special qualities of a Buddha in the final moment, 'knowledge of cessation' (*kṣaya-jñāna*).⁵⁸

Both Sāṃmitīyas and Vaibhāṣikas agree that insight is gradual (*anupūrvābhisamaya*).⁵⁹ This pits them against the schools that asserted 'insight in a single moment' or as a unitary process (*ekābhisamaya*) — the Theravādins,⁶⁰ the early Mahīśasakas,⁶¹ and the Dharmaguptakas.⁶² Vasumitra states that the Mahāsāṃghika

54 These are twelve insights — three each — into the Four Truths of the Noble (*ārya-satya*), which make up the path of seeing (*darśana-mārga*).

55 Vasumitra, *Ōtani Cat.* no. 5639, Vol. 127, 'dul ba'i 'grel pa, u, 175a5, chos kyi mchog rnam la yañ dag par žugs nas kun tu sbyor ba mhoñ bas spañ bar bya ba rnam spañ pa sems bskyed pa bcu gñis pa ni 'jug pa yin no. bcu gsum pa la ni 'bras bu la gñas pa yin no. Cf. Bareau, *Les sectes bouddhiques*, p. 117, § 9. A description from Chinese sources is given in Thich Thien Chau, 'Literature', pp. 7-8.

56 Vinītadeva, *Samayabhedoparacanacakrasya-nikāyabhedopadarśana-nāma-saṃgraha*, *Ōtani Cat.* no. 5641, Vol. 127, 'dul ba'i 'grel pa, u, 190b1, mhoñ ba'i lam ni sems kyi skad cig bcu gñis so.

57 Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 2:44ab.

58 Cf. *Abhidharmakośa* 6:45a, 7:28ab.

59 Cf. *Kathāvatthu* I.4 (p. 103.29) *odhisodhiso kilese jahatīti*; II.9 (p. 212 penult.) *anupubbābhisamayo ti*. *Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā*, p. 58, attributes the theory of *anupubbābhisamaya* to the Sāṃmitīyas, as well as to the Andhakas, Sabbatthikas, and Bhadrāyānikas.

60 Cf. *Vimuttimagga* pp. 302-304 = citation at *Saṃskṛtāsamskṛtaviniścaya* 114a5 foll.

61 Vasumitra, u, 175b1, 'phags pa'i bden pa bži mñon par rtogs pa cig yin no.

62 Yaśomitra ad *Abhidharmakośa* 6:27ab, Dwarikadas III 925.13 *nikāyāntariyāh, āryadharmaguptaprabhṛtayaḥ*; Pūrṇavardhana, *Abhidharmakośa-ṭīkā-lakṣanānusārīnī-nāma*, *Ōtani Cat.* no. 5597, Vol. 119, mñon pa'i bstan bcos, thu, 305b1, sde pa gžan dag ces bya ba ni 'phags pa chos sruñ ba'i sde pa la sogs pa dag bden pa mñon par rtogs pa cig tu brjod do. ji ltar že na kha cig gi

group of schools held that the Buddha ‘fully understood all phenomena (*sarva-dharma*) by means of wisdom linked to a single thought-moment (*eka-citta-kṣaṇa-samāyuktayā-prajñayā*)’.⁶³ The *Mahāvastu* of the Lokottaravādins⁶⁴ and the *Lalitavistara*⁶⁵ of unknown school (but probably affiliated to the Mahāsāṃghikas) use exactly the same phrase to describe the awakening of a Buddha, as do certain Mahāyāna texts such as the *Prajñāpāramitās*.⁶⁶

5. *Karmapluti* and the sixteen sufferings of Śākyamuni⁶⁷

According to the tradition of the Ārya Sāṃmitīya school, the Blessed One had sixteen *karmapluti*:⁶⁸

1. As a result (*vipāka*) of the karma he created by saying to the truly and completely awakened one Kāśyapa, ‘Where is your awakening (*bodhi*), bald-pate (*muṇḍaka*)? Awakening is rare (*durlabdha*)!’, as a bodhisattva [Śākyamuni had to undergo] the practice of austerities (*duṣkara-caryā*).
2. Because of the karma he created by disobeying the instructions of his teacher (*guru*) and busying himself with [other] affairs, the Teacher was abandoned by the group of five monks (*pañca-vargīya-bhikṣu*).
3. Because of the karma he created by abusing a pratyekabuddha, the Buddha was abused by the brahman Bhāradvāja.
4. Because of the karma he created by causing dissension within the group of disciples (*śiṣya-gaṇa*) of the sage (*ṛṣi*) Gangiyar(?), [his] *saṃgha* was

lta na sdug bsnal śes pa kho nas 'phags pa bden pa bži rtogs pas mñon par rtogs pa gcig pa ni skad cig ma gcig mñon par rtogs pa yin no.

63 Vasumitra, u, 170b8, *sems kyi skad cig gcig dan mtshuñs par ldan pa'i śes rab kyi chos thams cad yoñs su mkhyen to.*

64 Senart, *Mahāvastu* I 229.7, *yatkimcīt puruṣanāgena puruṣasimhena ... sarvaśo sarvatratāye jñātavyaṃ prāptavyaṃ boddhavyaṃ abhisamboddhavyaṃ sarvaṃ tam ekacittakṣaṇasamāyuktayā prajñayā anuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisambuddho*; similar formulas at II 133.8, 284.16.

65 *Lalitavistara*, Mitra II 447.11; Vaidya 253.16, *yatkimcīt puruṣeṇa satpuruṣeṇātipuruṣeṇa ... jñātavyaṃ boddhavyaṃ prāptavyaṃ dṛṣṭavyaṃ sāksātkartavyaṃ sarvvaṃ tad ekacittakṣaṇasamāyuktayā prajñayā anuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisambuddhya traividyaḍhigatā.*

66 Dutt, *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, p. 82.8 *vajropamaṃ samādhiṃ samāpadya ekacittakṣaṇasamāyuktayā prajñayā sarvākārajñātām anuprāpnoti*; Conze, *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, p. 164.16 *pārāmitān paripūrya (eka)kṣaṇasamāyuktayā prajñayā sarvākārajñātām anuprāpsyati*; Akṣayamatīnirdeśa, cited in Bendall, *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, p. 278.12; *Dhāraṇīśvararāja-sūtra*, cited in Johnston, *Ratnagoṭravibhāga*, p. 22.6, *ekakṣaṇasamāyuktayā prajñayā samyaksambodhir abhisambuddheti* (see Takasaki, *Ratnagoṭravibhāga*, p. 189, n. 24); *Bodhisattvagocara-upāyaviśaya-vikurvāṇanirdeśa*, Ōtani Cat. no. 813, Vol. 32, *mdo, nu, 76b4, sems kyi skad cig gcig dan ldan pa'i śes rab kyi śes par bgyi ba dan, thob par bgyi ba dan, mithoñ bar bgyi ba dan, khoñ du chud par bgyi ba dan, mñon du bgyi ba gañ ci yañ ruñ ba de thams cad rañ gi mñon par śes pas mñon par rdzogs par sañs rgyas te....*

67 From Chapter 32, ‘Analysis of Skill in Means’ (*Upāyakaūśalyavinīścaya*), 261a7.

68 *'phags pa mañ pos bkur ba'i sde pa'i chos lugs kyi bcom ldan 'das la 'phar ba bcu drug ste, 'di lta ste....* Note that here ‘*pluti*’ or ‘*ploti*’ (Pāli *piloti*) is translated as ‘*phar ba*’. The translation that follows is a preliminary attempt, since I have not yet collated the passages with other versions or traced their textual sources.

- divided at the city of Kośāparu.⁶⁹
5. Because of the karma he created when as a great doctor the Blessed One estranged his rival from the king, his *saṃgha* was divided by Devadatta.
 6. Because of the karma he created by setting a mad elephant upon a pratyekabuddha, out of a desire to terrify him, the Buddha was charged by the elephant Dhanapāla.
 7. Because of the karma he created by beating his step-brother to death out of desire for wealth, a stone was hurled at the Buddha by Devadatta in Rājagṛha.
 8. Because of the karma he created by killing a person with a spear (*mdung thung, śakti*), the Blessed One's foot was caused to bleed.
 9. Because of the karma he created by saying in anger to a Tathāgata 'this barley (*yava*) is edible', the Blessed One was offered barley to eat for the three months of the rains retreat at the town of Vairāñjā.
 10. Because of the karma he created by abusing the pratyeka-buddha Nanda, the Blessed One was falsely accused by the brahman woman Cañcā.
 11. Because of the karma he created by killing a prostitute (*veśyā*) and then burying her ornaments within the grounds of the royal palace, the Blessed One was abused by Sundarī.
 12. Because of the karma he created by hiding the alms-bowl of a mendicant pratyekabuddha, the Blessed One did not receive any alms in the town of Śālā, and returned with an empty bowl.
 13. Because of the karma he created when, as a champion wrestler (*malla*), he broke the back of another champion wrestler at a wrestling match, the Blessed One suffered from back-ache (*prṣṭhī-duḥkha*).
 14. Because of the karma he created when, as a doctor (*vaidya*), he gave the wrong medicine to a patient out of anger, causing him distress, the Blessed One suffered from the illness of languor.
 15. For the same reason, the Blessed One suffered from dysentery.
 16. Because of the karma he created when, as a king, he allowed his subjects to slaughter a large number of fish, the Blessed One suffered a severe headache on the day of the massacre of the Śākya clan.

The painful fruits of these deeds
 [The Buddha] experienced in many ways in the hells.
 The karma with its related fruits
 Is called 'remainder to be experienced only'.⁷⁰

During his final birth in the world, in the course of his quest for awakening as a bodhisattva and of his subsequent teaching career as a Buddha, Śākyamuni suffered physical pain and underwent unpleasant experiences. Buddhist theoreticians were confronted with the question — how could Śākyamuni, the perfect and all-knowing Awakened One, suffer pain and ignominy? The sufferings themselves were related incidentally, in various texts, most or all in the *Āgamas* and *Nikāyas*. Buddhologists explained the sufferings as the results (*vipāka*) of

⁶⁹ The form Kośāparu does not seem to be met with elsewhere.

⁷⁰ 262a4, las 'di 'bras bu sduḡ bśnal ni, ñan soñ rñams su mañ myoñ gyur, las dan rjes 'brel 'bras bu ni, myoñ ba'i lhag ma tsam zes bya.

misdeeds committed by the future Śākyamuni during his previous lives. They drew up lists of the sufferings, and collated them with the stories of the past actions of which they were the result. The technical term for this particular type of karma is *karmapluti*, *karmaploti*, or, in Pāli, *kammapiloti*. Modern scholars have produced several studies of the *karmaploti*, and some of the relevant texts have been translated.⁷¹ Nonetheless, much remains to be done before we can understand these events in their complex narrative and ethical dimensions.

The lists that have come down to us were drawn up at different places and different times by different monastic communities, and thus do not agree. A Mūlasarvāstivādin account is found in the 'Chapter on the Tathāgata' of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the *Vinaya* as preserved in Tibetan translation; it relates twelve misdeeds in prose, followed by ten — in a different order — in verse. A recasting of this version by Kṣemendra is found in Chapter 50 of his *Bodhi-sattvāvadāna-kalpalatā* under the title *Daśakarmaplutyavadāna*. A Mahāvihārin version of twelve events is found in the *Buddhāpadāna* of Pāli *Apadāna*, and is repeated in the *Udāna-aṭṭhakathā*. Before citing the Sāmmatīya version, Daśabalaśrīmitra describes another sixteen '*karmapluti*', for which he does not give a source.⁷² The topic is addressed in the Mahāyāna *Upāyakauśalyasūtra*, and in several texts preserved only in Chinese translation.

The Sāmmatīya version includes all of the events of the Mūlasarvāstivādin account, plus three more. Daśabalaśrīmitra's citation offers indirect evidence for the existence of these events in the textual corpus of the Sāmmatīyas.

⁷¹ See Harrison, 'Some Reflections on the Personality of the Buddha'; Mellick Cutler, 'Still Suffering'; Guang Xing, 'The Bad Karma of the Buddha'; ib., *The Concept of the Buddha*, pp. 106-118; Namikawa, 'On the Buddha's Bad Karma' (not seen); Strong, *The Buddha*, pp. 32-34. For an annotated translation of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* account, see Hofinger, *Le congrès du lac Anavatapta*, II. For sources in Chinese translation and a current bibliography see Guan Xing, 'Bad Karma'.

⁷² 260b5-261a7. The translators transliterate the term *-pluti*, to make *las plu ti*. (In both of two occurrences of the term — 260b5, 6) — '*pa*' is mistakenly replaced by '*sa*', to make '*shuti*'.) Although the text states twice that there were sixteen *karmapluti*, the present writer, admittedly poor at figures to the point of innumeracy, counts only twelve.

Conclusions

Our knowledge of the tenets of the Sāṃmitīya school derives from internal and external sources. Internal sources, the texts of the school itself, are not extensive, since the bulk of the school's literature is lost.⁷³ Until recently we have been limited to a few Chinese translations such as the *Sāṃmitīya-nikāya-śāstra* and other texts exploited by Thich Thien Chau and Priestley, and to Daśabalaśrīmitra's citations, preserved in Tibetan. With Okano's momentous identification of Sarvarakṣita's *Mahāsaṃvartanīkathā* as a Sāṃmitīya text, we have for the first time a text of the school in an Indic language — not a canonical text, but a *śāstra* by a brilliant poet. Mizuno, Namikawa, and Skilling have proposed that the so called 'Patna Dhammapada' may well be a text of the Sāṃmitīyas.⁷⁴ Okano also identified the **Lokaprajñapti-abhidharmaśāstra* (T. 1644), a cosmological text preserved in Chinese, translated by Paramārtha, as Sāṃmitīya; this adds one more text to the corpus of the school (and raises interesting questions about the Pāli *Lokapaññatti* transmitted in South-East Asia). We are now in a much better position to appreciate the depth and scope of Sāṃmitīya thought.

External sources are references in the compendia of tenets compiled by non-Sāṃmitīya authors: the *Kathāvatthu* and its commentary of the Mahāvihāravāsins, the *Samayabhedoparacanacakra* of Vasumitra with Vinītadeva's commentary, and Bhavya's *Tarkajvālā* (and its extract, *Nikāyabhedavibhaṅga-vyākhyāna*), and incidental references to Sāṃmitīya tenets in other texts, such as the *Vibhāṣā* compendia, the *Abhidharmakośa* and its commentaries, the *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa* and its commentary, and Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā*.

With regard to external sources, questions naturally arise. How far do they accurately portray the tenets of the Sāṃmitīyas (or of the other schools they deal with)? Are they distorted by partisanship, or by faulty and incomplete knowledge? An answer cannot be given until much more research is done. In the present article, the following tenets attributed to the Sāṃmitīyas by external sources are confirmed

⁷³ See Oberlies, 'Ein bibliographischer Überblick', for a current inventory of available literature of the Buddhist schools.

⁷⁴ Mizuno, 'A Comparative Study'; Namikawa, 'The Transmission of the New Material Dhammapada'; Skilling, 'On the School-affiliation'.

by the internal source of Daśabalaśrīmitra's citations:

- 1) There are six destinies (*gati*).
- 2) Insight into truth (*satyābhisamaya*) is progressive.
- 3) The path of seeing (*darśanamārga*) lasts for twelve moments.
- 4) An arhat can fall back from the fruit of the arhat-state.

Other interesting points include the importance given to *pratītya-samutpāda* in the awakening of a Buddha; the list of the six kinds of arhat, which agrees in order and contents with that of the Vaibhāṣikas as given in the *Abhidharmakośa* and that of the Yogācārinś as given in the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, and which has a parallel in the Mahāvihāravāsin *Puggalapaññatti*; the statement that the unshakeable arhat produces the knowledge of non-arising, which agrees with the Vaibhāṣika tradition.

The excerpts show that the Sāṃmatīyas used some of the same categories and classifications as did the other schools, for example:

- 1) three types of awakening (*bodhi*);
- 2) two requisites (*sambhāra*);
- 3) the classification of wisdom as *śruta-*, *cintā-*, and *bhāvanā-maya*;
- 4) the division of the path into *darśana-* and *bhāvanā-mārga*;
- 5) the four *adhiṣṭhāna*;
- 6) the six perfections.

In sum, the Sāṃmatīyas turn out to be a school not so very different from other Buddhist schools. Like the other schools, they developed a cosmology, a Buddhology, and a theory of the path. In these speculations, the doctrine of the *pudgala* does not intrude — at least in the available texts. The doctrine of the *pudgala* is nowhere mentioned in the copious citations made by Daśabalaśrīmitra. This need not be surprising. The theory of the *pudgala* was developed as a solution to specific philosophical problems, such as personal identity, and the continuity of an individual over lifetimes. It would only be raised when needed, in specific contexts. The theory of the *pudgala* was an attempt to explain the relations between certain categories, but was not, in itself, one of the fundamental categories of the Sāṃmatīya system.

EPITHETS AND PROPER NAMES

Title of texts or chapters are given italics. B. = Buddha. s. = school. p. = place.

<i>Āgama</i>	<i>Luñ</i>
Ārya-	'Phags pa
* <i>Āryasāmmitīyanikāya-āgamanaya-āryasatyaviniścaya</i>	<i>'Phags pa mañ pos bkur ba'i sde pa'i luñ gi tshul las 'phags pa'i bden pa rnam par ñes pa</i>
<i>Upāyakaūśalyaviniścaya</i>	<i>Thabs la mkhas pa rnam par ñes pa</i>
Indra-dhvaja (B.)	dBañ po rgyal mtshan
Kanaka-muni (B.)	gSer thub
<i>Kalpa-viniścaya</i>	<i>bsKalpa rnam par ñes pa</i>
Krakucchanda (B.)	'Khor ba 'jig
Kāsmīra-Vaibhāṣika (s.)	Kha che bye brag tu smra ba
Kāśyapa (B.)	'Od sruñs
Gaṅgiyar, ṛṣi	Gañ gi yar, drañ sroñ
Cañcā, brāhmaṇī	Tsan tsa, bram ze mo
Tathāgata	De bzin gsegs pa
Tiṣya (B.)	sKar rgyal
Tuṣita (p.)	dGa' ldan
Tuṣita-bhavana (p.)	dGa' ldan gyi gnas
Daśabala-śrīmitra	sTobs bcu dpal bses gñen
Dīpaṃ-kara (B.)	Mar me mdzad
Deva-datta	Lhas byin
Devaputra-mara	lHa'i bu'i bdud
Dhana-pāla (elephant)	Nor skyoñ
Nanda, pratyekabuddha	dGa', rañ sañs rgyas
Pañca-vargīya-bhikṣu	dGe sloñ lña sde
Pratyeka-jina	Rañ rgyal
Pratyeka-buddha	Rañ sañs rgyas
Bodhi-maṇḍa (p.)	Byañ chub sñiñ po
Bodhisattva-yāna	Byañ chub sems dpa'i theg pa
Bhagavat	bCom ldan 'das
Bhadra-kalpa	bsKal pa bzañ po
Bhāradvāja, brāhmaṇa	Bhā ra dvā ja, bram ze
<i>Bhaiṣajya-vastu</i>	<i>sMan gyi gzi</i>
Mahā-muni	Thub pa chen po
Mahā-yāna	Theg pa chen po
Ratna-śikhin (B.)	Rin chen gtsug tor
Rājagrha (p.)	rGyal po'i khab
Rāṣṭra-pāla (B.)	Yul 'khor skyoñ
Vipaśyin (B.)	rNam par gzigs
Vairāñjā (p.)	Bai ra dza
Śākya-muni (B.)	Śā kya thub pa

Śālā, town (p.)	Śā la'i groñi
*Sobhita (B.)	Legs mdzad
<i>Samskṛtāsamskṛta-viniścaya</i>	'Dus byas dan 'dus ma byas rnam par nes pa
Sāmmītiya, Ārya (s.)	Mañ pos bkur ba'i sde, 'phags pa
Sundarī	mDzes ldan ma
Sthāvira (s.)	gNas brtan pa

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