Stories of King Bimbisāra and His Son Ajātaśatru in the *Cīvaravastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* and Some Śvetāmbara Jaina Texts

Wu, Juan

1 Introduction

As two prominent contemporaries of the Buddha and Mahāvīra, the Magadhan King Bimbisāra (known to the Jainas mostly as Śreṇika) and his son Ajātaśatru (known to the Jainas as Kūṇika) are widely featured in both Buddhist and Jaina literature.[1] In comparing Buddhist and Jaina sources, previous studies have generally focused on the parallelism between Buddhist and Śvetāmbara Jaina versions of the episode of how Ajātaśatru/Kūṇika imprisons his father Bimbisāra/Śreṇika and causes his death, with rather less attention given to other episodes about these two figures.[2]

This paper provides a comparative study of the Buddhist and Śvetāmbara Jaina versions of a series of three episodes that describe, first, the marriage between King Bimbisāra/Śreṇika and his queen Celā (who is more commonly known to the Buddhists as Vaidehī and to the Jainas as Cellaṇā), second, Ajātaśatru's/Kūṇika's previous life as a vengeful sage or ascetic, and third, his ensuing rebirth in the womb of Celā/Cellaṇā. Although some scholars have separately introduced the basic contents of the Buddhist and Jaina versions of these episodes, no attempt has ever been made to consider the Buddhist and Jaina versions together, or to examine their parallels and divergences.[3] Given that these three episodes as a whole constitute a background for the well-known episode of Ajātaśatru's/Kūṇika's causing the death of his father Bimbisāra/Śreṇika, the present study may help us gain a fuller picture of the Buddhist and Jaina narrative traditions surrounding the conflict between the two figures.

So far as I am aware, the *Cīvaravastu* ("Section on Robes"), the seventh chapter of the *Vinayavastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* (henceforth MSV) which was most likely

---

[1] While the names Śreṇika (Pkt. Seṇia or Seṇiya) and Bimbisāra (var. Bimbasāra, Bhiṃbhisāra, Bhaṃbhasāra, etc.) appear in both Buddhist and Jaina literature, the name Kūṇika (Pkt. Kūṇia, Koṇia or Kūṇiya) seems to appear only in Jaina sources, and Ajātaśatru is used only in Buddhist sources. For summaries of Buddhist stories about these two figures, see Akanuma [1931: 10–12 (s.v. Ajātasattu Vedehiputta), 99–102 (s.v. Bimbisāra)]; Malalasekera [1937–1938: i. 31–35 (s.v. Ajātasattu), ii. 285–289 (s.v. Bimbisāra)]. For summaries of stories about them in Śvetāmbara Jaina literature, see Mehta and Chandra [1970–1972: i. 196–197 (s.v. Kūṇia)], ii. 856–857 (s.v. 1. Seṇia)]. Both figures are also briefly mentioned, under the names Vimbisāra (or its variants) and Ajātaśatru, in the list of kings of the present Kali Age in the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Matsya Purāṇas* (see Pargiter [1913: 21(text), 68–69 (translation)]).

[2] For an exemplary study of Buddhist and Jaina accounts of Ajātaśatru's/Kūṇika's causing the death of his father in prison, see Silk [1997]. See also earlier observations on this shared episode by Jacobi [1879: 2, 5]; Bühler [1903 (1887): 27–28]; Deleu [1969: 87–88] (= de Jong and Wiles [1996: 28]).

[3] The Buddhist version of the three episodes has been summarized or paraphrased by several scholars (see below n.7), but none of them mentions the Jaina parallels. On the other hand, to my knowledge, the only scholar who has explored the Śvetāmbara Jaina versions of these episodes is Rolf Heinrich Koch [2009]. Nonetheless, Koch makes no mention of any Buddhist source on Ajātaśatru or Bimbisāra.

composed in the first centuries of the Common Era, is the only extant Buddhist text that contains all the aforementioned three episodes. In this text, the three episodes of Bimbisāra, Celā and Ajātaśatru are told in the prologue section (that is, the section prior to the Buddha's stipulation of rules on clothes), where they, together with stories of Bimbisāra's two other sons (Abhaya and Jīvaka), constitute an account of the early history of Magadha. As we will see, these three episodes show remarkable similarities to the episodes of Śreṇika, Cellaṇā and their son Kūṇika in three Śvetāmbara Jaina texts, namely, the *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi* ("Commentary on the *Āvaśyaka* ['Obligatory Duties']") written by Jinadāsa (ca. 6th–7th centuries CE), the *Āvaśyaka-ṭīkā* ("Sub-commentary on the *Āvaśyaka*") by Haribhadra (8th century CE), and the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* ("Lives of Sixty-three Illustrious Persons") by Hemacandra (11th–12th centuries CE). In all three texts, the episodes of Śreṇika, Cellaṇā and Kūṇika, together with stories of Śreṇika's another son Abhaya, form part of a Jaina account of the early history of Magadha.[4] Thus, both in the *Cīvaravastu* and in the three Śvetāmbara Jaina texts, the episodes of Bimbisāra/Śreṇika, Celā/Cellaṇā and Ajātaśatru/Kūṇika belong to a larger narrative of the ancient Magadha at the time of the Buddha and Mahāvīra. Within this broader context, the present comparative study may not only help us better understand the common narrative lore of the Buddhists and Jainas regarding the conflict between Bimbisāra/Śreṇika and Ajātaśatru/Kūṇika, but may also help us appreciate the shared memories of the Buddhists and Jainas about the ancient (Greater) Magadha, the historical-geographical milieu out of which both religions emerged.

The paper also includes a re-edited Sanskrit text of the portion of the *Cīvaravastu* of the MSV that tells the episodes of Bimbisāra, Celā and Ajātaśatru in question (see the Appendix). The *Cīvaravastu* has come down to us in two versions—a Sanskrit manuscript found at Gilgit, dating from the 6th or 7th century CE, and a Tibetan translation produced in the early 9th century CE. No Chinese version is available. The Sanskrit text of the *Cīvaravastu* was edited and published by Nalinaksha Dutt in 1942. As previous scholars have observed, Dutt's editions of the Gilgit manuscripts have various problems. "[T]he most fatal one," as Hisashi Matsumura rightly points out, "is that DUTT does not convey the exact reading of the manuscripts in his texts or his footnotes. This fact has made impossible textual or linguistic studies based on DUTT's editions".[5] In order to establish a solid textual basis for the discussion in this paper, I have re-edited the relevant portion of the Sanskrit text of the *Cīvaravastu* based on the manuscript.[6] In my footnotes to the re-edited text, I have indicated all substantial mis-

---

[4] For a synopsis of the early history of Magadha as described in the ĀvC and the ĀvH, see Leumann [1934: 24b].

[5] See Matsumura [1996: 174].

[6] More precisely, the re-edited text is based on a transliteration of folios 241r1–242v10 (facsimiles 794.1–797.10) kindly provided by Dr. Klaus Wille who has used the scans of a microfilm of the Gilgit manuscript held in the Göttingen office of the "Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden" which is better readable than the facsimile edition published by Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra [1959–1974]. I wish to express my deepest thanks to Dr. Wille for his generosity in providing

readings found in Dutt's edition and have offered textual-critical remarks on specific items in the manuscript.

In what follows, I will first introduce the three episodes of Bimbisāra, Celā and Ajātaśatru as found in the *Cīvaravastu*, and will then look at the corresponding three episodes in the aforementioned three Śvetāmbara Jaina texts (the ĀvC, the ĀvH and the TŚPC). After this, I will give a comparative appraisal of the Buddhist and Jaina accounts, discussing their parallels and divergences, as well as possible reasons behind the divergences.

2   The Three Episodes of Bimbisāra, Celā and Ajātaśatru in the *Cīvaravastu* of the MSV

The *Cīvaravastu* narrates in detail the episodes of Bimbisāra, Celā and Ajātaśatru, and moreover combines them with another story about Khaṇḍa (prime minister of Videha) as well as his two sons Gopa and Siṃha. Below is my translation of the Sanskrit version of the episodes in question, where I have indicated in footnotes significant variants found in the Tibetan version.[7] The Sanskrit text itself contains no section breaks. In my translation, for the convenience of modern readers, I have taken the liberty of dividing the text into three sections (Episodes 1 to 3) indicated with subtitles, and into several paragraphs indicated with numbers ([§1], [§2], etc.). The same treatment will also be applied to my translation of the Jaina text (the *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi*) later in this paper.

Episode 1: The Marriage of Bimbisāra and Celā

[§1] Khaṇḍa set up Gopa's and Siṃha's households. When Siṃha was entertaining, enjoying and amusing himself [with his wife], a daughter was born. Having lavishly celebrated her birthday festival, they gave [her] the name Celā. A fortune-teller,[8] having seen her, prophesied, "She will give birth to a son. He will, after killing his father [and] taking the royal diadem for himself alone, rule the country."[9] Once again, when [Siṃha] was entertaining, enjoying and amusing himself [with his wife], [an-

---

me with this transliteration, and for his extremely helpful comments on my earlier draft of the re-edited text. During the editing process, I also accessed the newly taken colour photographs of the same manuscript (now deposited at the National Archives of India) that are to be published this year (2014) by the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University. I am very grateful to Prof. Seishi Karashima for his kindness in allowing me to access the unpublished photographs, and for his valuable suggestions on the reading of the folios, as well as on various linguistic issues in the text. Needless to say, any errors that remain are mine alone.

[7]   The Sanskrit text has been edited in Dutt [1939–1959: iii.2,8.6–15.16] [henceforth GM]; a facsimile edition has been published in Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra [1959–1974: 6.794.2–797.10 = folios 241r2–242v10] [GBM]. My translation is made from the re-edited text in the Appendix of the present paper. The Tibetan translation appears at Derge Kanjur 1, *'dul ba*, *ga* 52b2–55b7; sTog Kanjur 1, *'dul ba*, *ga* 60a2–65a4. The Sanskrit version of these episodes have been paraphrased in Majumdar [1945]; Bhattacharya [1947]; Radich [2011: 160–161]. The Tibetan have been paraphrased in Schiefner [1906: 78–85] and summarized in Panglung [1981: 63].

[8]   While the Sanskrit gives the singular *naimittikena* ("by a fortune-teller"), the Tibetan translation has the plural *ltas mkhan rnams kyis* ("by fortune-tellers").

[9]   See also a translation and discussion of this prophecy in Silk [2009: 180].

other] daughter was born. Having also lavishly celebrated her birthday festival, they gave [her] the name Upacelā. She also received a prophecy from the fortune-teller[10] [who said,] "She will give birth to a son endowed with good characteristics."

[§2] Gopa, violent and mighty, destroyed the parks of the Licchavis of Vaiśālī. The park-guards said, "The Licchavis of Vaiśālī are violent and mighty. Do not destroy their parks." He remained unrestrained. The park-guards said to Khaṇḍa, "Your son has destroyed the parks of the Liccchavis of Vaiśālī. Stop him, [for] the Licchavis are violent and mighty, lest they will do harm to him." Having summoned [Gopa], [Khaṇḍa] said, "Son, the Licchavis of Vaiśālī are violent and mighty. Do not destroy their parks, lest they will do harm to you." [Gopa] said, "Father, they have parks, but we do not have any." He said, "Son, I [will] ask the assembly for a park." He asked the assembly, "Sirs, my two sons have no park. It is worth doing me a favour [by giving me] a park.[11]" They gave them [= Khaṇḍa's two sons] a disused park. There was a huge Sāla tree in it. There one [son] had the Blessed One's image built; the other [son] had a temple erected. Thus even the Elders wrote in the scripture, "The Buddha, the Blessed One, stayed in Vaiśālī, in the Sāla Grove of Gopa and Siṃha." Gopa neglected his duties thousands of times. The Licchavis disregarded, disdained and grumbled about [him]. Then Khaṇḍa, having summoned [Gopa], said, "Son, go to such-and-such a village. Run self-owned businesses there. Stay there, lest the anger of the assembly [of Vaiśālī] will arise." Having gone there [to that village], he started to run self-owned businesses.

[§3] At a later time, the commander of Vaiśālī passed away. The prime minister Khaṇḍa was elected to the post of commander. Having lawfully acted as commander for some time, he also passed away. The assembly of Vaiśālī was gathered, [discussing,] "Whom shall we elect as commander?" Then some said, "The prime minister Khaṇḍa protected the assembly well. [Therefore,] we shall elect his son." Others said, "His son Gopa is violent and mighty. If he is elected to the post of commander, he will surely cause the assembly to break up. However, his brother Siṃha is gentle, [and] pleasant to associate with. He is able to satisfy the will of the assembly. If the assembly can approve of this, let us elect him as commander." All approved. They went together to Siṃha's side, [saying], "Siṃha, please accept the commandership." He said, "Gopa is my elder brother. You should elect him as commander." They said, "Siṃha, your commandership does not come from the hereditary succession. [Rather,] whoever is acceptable to the assembly becomes commander. If this is not acceptable to you, we will elect someone else as commander." [Siṃha] thought, "If the comman-

---

[10] The Tibetan version has the plural *ltas mkhan rnams kyis* ("by fortune-tellers").

[11] GBM 6.794.6–7 (folio 241r6–7) = GM iii.2,9.2: *tad arha‹ṃ› mamodyāne prasādaṃ kartum*. It is unclear to me what the locative *udyāne* means here. Perhaps we may construe it as a *nimittasaptamī* ("locative of cause", cf. Sᴘᴇɪᴊᴇʀ [1973 (1886): 111–112, §147]) in the sense of "with regard to a park".

dership goes away from our family to elsewhere, that would be inappropriate. In any event, I [should] accept it." He agreed. With great respect, they elected him to the commandership.

[§4] Previously, if the people of Vaiśālī sent a letter to someone, they wrote to that one, "The assembly headed by Khaṇḍa gives orders." When Siṃha became commander, then, [they wrote,] "The assembly headed by Siṃha gives orders." At a later time, a letter arrived at the village where Gopa was running his self-owned businesses. Gopa, opened [the letter] and read it out. He said, "Sirs, previously, the assembly of Vaiśālī wrote, 'The assembly headed by Khaṇḍa gives orders.' Now it writes, 'The assembly headed by Siṃha gives orders.' Has our father passed away?" They said, "He has passed away." Being enraged, he went to Vaiśālī and said [to Siṃha], "Brother, is it appropriate [for you] to take the commandership under the circumstance of my being older than you?" Siṃha told him what had happened. Being enraged at the Licchavis of Vaiśālī, [Gopa] thought, "The people of Vaiśālī have shown disrespect to me. I [shall] go to Rājagṛha." He sent a messenger to King Bimbisāra, [saying,] "I want to stay in the shelter of the Lord's arms." [Bimbisāra] wrote to him, "Welcome! Please come here." [Gopa] went to Rājagṛha. Subsequently, he was appointed by King Bimbisāra to the post of prime minister.

[§5] At a later time, King Bimbisāra's chief consort passed away. He sat lost in thought, with his cheek in his hand. Gopa saw him and said, "Lord, for what reason are you sitting [here] lost in thought, with your cheek in your hand?" He said, "My chief consort has passed away. How can I not be lost in thought?" "Enough, Lord, be free from grief! My brother has two daughters endowed with youth and beauty, [and] truly suitable for the Lord. Among them, one received a prophecy that she will give birth to a patricidal son, but the other [received a prophecy that she will give birth to a son] endowed with good characteristics. Now, which one shall I bring here for the sake of the Lord?" [Bimbisāra replied,] "The one who received the prophecy that she will give birth to a son with good characteristics." Then Gopa sent a letter to Siṃha: "King Bimbisāra's chief consort has passed away. Send Upacelā here. She will become his chief consort." [Siṃha] wrote [Gopa] back in reply, "Even if you have gone far away or to another country, it is you with whom we should consult [about everything], considering that you have supreme authority for what you have done.[12]

---

[12] GBM 6.795.10 (folio 241v10) = GM iii.2,11.11–12: *dūram api param api gatvā tvam evāsmābhiḥ praṣṭavyo* [GM: °*ṭavyaḥ*] <|> *yad bhavatā kṛtaṃ tat paraṃ pramāṇam iti*. I have followed Prof. Seishi Karashima's helpful suggestion to give the present translation. Both the former and latter parts of this sentence also appear, with some variations, in the Divy (see Divy 25.23: *āryaputra dūram api param api gatvā dāsy evāhaṃ* ["Noble Sir, even if I go far away or to the next world, I will still be a slave"]; 32.19–20: *sārthavāha dūram api param api gatvā tvam eva praṣṭavyaḥ* ["Caravan leader! Since you have travelled far and wide, it is you who should be consulted"]; 563.10: *rājā kathayati | yady* [emended to *yad*, cf. Hiraoka [2007: ii.531n.261]] *etābhyāṃ kṛtaṃ tat paraṃ pramāṇam* ["The king said, 'They

You yourself know that according to the rule made by the assembly, no daughters are to be given away [in marriage] to [anyone from] elsewhere who is not an inhabitant of Vaiśālī. However, if you come and wait in the park, I will bring [Upacelā] out to the park. You can take [her] and leave.”

[§6] Then, having taken leave of the king[13] [and] mounted a chariot, Gopa set off for Vaiśālī. He arrived in due course, [and] waited in the park. At that time, a gatekeeper in Vaiśālī passed away, [and was] reborn among non-humans. He instructed the people of Vaiśālī, “I have been reborn among non-humans. Please build a *yakṣa* abode for me, and hang a bell around my neck. If any enemy hostile to the people of Vaiśālī comes, I will make a sound of the bell, so that [the enemy] will either be arrested or run away.” Having made a statue [of the *yakṣa*] and hung a bell around his neck, they placed the *yakṣa* [i.e., the statue] in the gate-chamber, [and furnished it] with offering of oblations and garlands, as well as dancing, singing, and the sound of music. Gopa gave Siṃha a message, “I am waiting in the park. Please come out!” Having taken leave of the assembly of Vaiśālī [and] returned home, [Siṃha] said to Upacelā, “You are given away to King Bimbisāra. Get ready!” Having said this, [he further told her,] “Go to the park!” [Upacelā] started preparing. Celā saw her, [and] asked, “What are you preparing for?” [Upacelā replied,] “I am given away.” [Celā asked,] “To whom?” [Upacelā replied,] “To King Bimbisāra.” [Celā] said, “I am the elder one. Why are you given away?” [Upacelā said,] “If so, you get ready!” [Celā] then made herself ready. [Meanwhile,] the bell started ringing. The assembly of Vaiśālī was agitated, [thinking,] “Our enemy has entered into Vaiśālī.” Siṃha, terrified, hastily went out with Celā after having mistaken her for Upacelā. Gopa, also terrified, having made Celā ascend into the chariot, set off [for Rājagṛha].

[§7] The people of Vaiśālī saw [Gopa].[14]   They started to fight with him.   [Gopa] was adept at five kinds of skills. He struck five hundred Licchavis in their vital points, [and] said, “Sirs, I have struck five hundred of you in the vital points. I leave the rest with life.[15] Go away!” They said, “No single living-being among us is killed.” [Gopa said,] “Remove [your] amour!” They removed [their] amour. The five hundred collapsed on the ground, and all were deprived of their lives. Then, thinking, “This one is a demon in the form of a man,” they became terrified [and] fled away. Having returned to Vaiśālī, they stared to discuss together, “Sirs, we should repay this hostility

have supreme authority for what they have done”]).

[13] On *avalokya* (“having taken leave [of someone]”), see BHSD, 74, s.v. *avalokayati*.

[14] The Tibetan version reads (Derge 1, *ga* 54b3; sTog 1, *ga* 63a4): *yangs pa can gyi tshogs kyis phyi bzhin bsnyags nas* (“The assembly of Vaiśālī chased after [him]”). On *bsnyags pa* referring to Skt. *pradhāvita* (fr. *pra-√dhāv*, “to run forth”), see NEGI [1993–2005: iv. 1667, s.v. *bsnyags pa*].

[15] GBM 6.796.6 (folio 242r6) = GM iii.2,12.18: *avaśiṣṭaṃ jīvitenācchādayāmi* (literally, “I present the rest with life”). Here *ācchādayāmi* seems to be a variant form of *āchād°*. On *āchādayati* (“[one] presents [garments, gold, or life]”), see BHSD, 89, s.v.

to Bimbisāra's sons. After writing a letter on palm leaves, putting it into a casket, and sealing it up with a heated lac-seal, you keep it.[16] " Having done so, they [i.e., the people of Vaiśālī] kept [the letter].

[§8] Gopa reached Rājagṛha in due course. He said, "Upacelā, get down [from the chariot]!" She said, "Uncle, I am not Upacelā. I am Celā." "Why did you not tell me?" She became silent. Then, distressed and unhappy, [Gopa] went to the king's [i.e., Bimbisāra's] side. The king saw him and said, "Gopa, welcome! You are back." "Lord, I am back." "Has Upacelā been brought back?" "Lord, she has been brought back, and she has not been brought back." "What are you saying?" "Lord, Celā has been brought back after being mistaken for Upacelā." "Bring [her] here. Let us see [her]." [Celā] was brought in. The king saw her being excessively endowed with beauty and youth, [like] a pearl among women.[17] Immediately upon seeing [her], the king was enchanted. He said, "Sirs, a son who kills [his own] father does so for the sake of the throne. If I have a son, as soon as he is born, I will bind the royal diadem [on his head]." She was then married to him who had a great multitude of good fortune. [Since] she was brought from the land of Videha, the name Vaidehī was given [to her]. [King Bimbisāra] entertained, enjoyed and amused himself together with her.

Episode 2: Ajātaśatru's Previous Life as a Vengeful Sage

[§9] At a later time, King Bimbisāra went out for hunting. At one place, in a hermitage lived a sage with five supernatural powers. When a deer, terrified by a succession of arrows, having entered into that sage's hermitage, came out [and] was struck with an arrow by the king in a vital point, then the sage said in wrath, "Evil King, my wild deer looks after [this] hermitage, but you killed the deer who was seeking refuge [here]." In this way, the king was reproached by the sage. His troop came forth [and] said, "Lord, who is the one being reproached?" The king said, "Sirs, it is me." "Lord, what is the punishment of one who reproaches the king?" "He is subject to capital punishment. If the sage is abandoned by me in this way, he should be ready to be executed." While being executed, [the sage] made an improper vow: "Since I am doing no wrong and not offending, [but] am to be killed by this evil king, [when I am] abandoned [i.e., killed], may I be reborn in a place where I will deprive him of his life." He further thought, "These kings are well-guarded, kept in good protection.[18] If I take

---

[16] The text has *sthāpayatha* ("you keep [it]"; on the 2nd person plural imperative ending *-tha*, see BHSG, 132, §26.13). It is unclear to me to whom this is spoken. Is it spoken by one group of inhabitants of Vaiśālī to another group of inhabitants of Vaiśālī?

[17] On *hārī strīviṣaye* ("pearl among women"), see BHSD, 619, s.v. *hārī*. The Tibetan translation reads (Derge 1, *ga* 55a2; sTog 1, *ga* 63b6): *bud med kyi yul gyis phrogs pas* ("[Bimbisāra] was captivated by the object [?] of the woman"), where *phrogs pa* seems to suggest Skt. *hṛta* ("seized").

[18] The Tibetan version has one more phrase *shin tu btsas pa* (= *shin tu btsa' ba*, "well-watched"). On *btsa' ba* ("to watch, to look on") and *btsas pa* (perfect form of *btsa' ba*), see JÄSCHKE (1881: 434, s.v.

rebirth elsewhere, I will never get the opportunity. In any event, by [the power of] this vow, may I be reborn precisely in the womb of his chief consort." Having made this improper vow, he was reborn in Celā's womb.[19]

Episode 3: The Birth of Ajātaśatru

[§10] On the very day when the rebirth was taken [by the sage], a blood-rain fell. A pregnancy craving arose to Celā: "Ah! I want to tear off the flesh from the Lord's back [or, to rip out the Lord's backbones] and eat it [or, them].[20]" This matter was reported to the king. The king, having summoned fortune-tellers, consulted with them. They said, "Lord, this is the power of the being who has entered into the queen's womb." The king sat lost in thought, [wondering,] "How can her craving be dispelled?" Others who were intelligent by nature suggested, "Lord, after covering yourself with a meat-filled cotton [garment], present yourself to the queen.[21]" Then the king, having wrapped himself in a meat-filled cotton [garment], offered himself to Celā. Taking [the meat] as the flesh from his back, she ate it. Thus her craving was dispelled. [Later,] again, a craving arose in her: "Ah! I want to drink the Lord's blood." This was also reported to the king. Then the king, having had the veins of his five limbs open, let her drink the blood. Once again, her craving was dispelled. When full nine months had passed, she gave birth. A boy was born, beautiful, good-looking, and pleasing. On the very day when he was born, a blood-rain fell again. Once again, the king, having summoned the fortune-tellers, consulted with them. They said, "Lord, as learnt from the treatise, this boy will surely, after depriving his father of his life [and] taking the

---

btsa' ba, 435, s.v. *btsas pa*).

[19] There is a similar story about the Buddha's past life as a sage who rebukes King Brahmadatta for killing a deer and is then sentenced to death by the king in the *Saṅghabhedavastu* of the MSV (see GNOLI 1977–1978: ii.171.3–13). In that story the sage makes no vengeful vow and is finally rescued from death by a hunter. I thank Dr. Klaus Wille for bringing this story into my attention.

[20] GBM 6.797.5 (folio 242v5): *devasya pṛṣṭa[varv]rāṇy utpāṭyotpāṭya bhakṣayeyam*. The reading *pṛṣṭa[varv]rāṇy* remains uncertain. Dutt (GM iii.2,14 n.2) gives the wrong manuscript reading *vavrāṇyu*. The Tibetan translation (Derge 1, *ga* 55b2; sTog 1, *ga* 64b2–3) has *rgyab kyi sha* ("flesh of the back") which suggests *pṛṣṭhamāṃsa* (or its plural °*māṃsāni*). In another story told in the *Carmavastu* of the MSV, the same phrase appears (cf. GBM 6.748.7 [folio 83r7]: *pṛṣṭha[varv]rāṇy utpāṭyotpāṭya*; GM iii.4,171.14: *pṛṣṭhavaṃśāny ut*°), where it corresponds to *pṛṣṭhavaṃśān ut*° ("having ripped out the backbones") in a parallel story in the Divy (9.25); see also Hiraoka [2007: i. 41 n.102].

[21] GBM 6.797.6–7 (folio 242v6–7): *tūlikāyā{ṃ} māṃsapūrṇā<yā> prāvṛtya devyā ātmānam upanayeti* (The manuscript reading *tūlikāyāṃ māṃsapūrṇā* is problematic. I tentatively emend it into *tūlikāyā māṃsapūrṇāyā*, in view of a similar phrase *māṃsapūrṇayā tūlikayā ātmānaṃ veṣṭayitvā* appearing immediately after this sentence; on the instrumental ending -*āyā* [< -*ayā*] of *ā*-stems, see BHSG, 64, §9.48). GM iii.2,15.2–3: *tūlikāyāṃ māṃsapūrṇāṃ prāvṛtiṃ devyā ātmānam upanaya iti*. Based on Dutt's wrong reading, Edgerton translates this sentence as "present yourself to the queen as a meat-filled covering in (or on) a cotton mattress" (see BHSD, 393, s.v. *prāvṛti*). The Tibetan reads slightly differently (Derge 1, *ga* 55b3–4; sTog 1, *ga* 64b5): *lha ras kyi bar stsang* [sTog: *rtsang*] *shas bltams* [sTog: *bltam*] *par bgyis te gsol la <|> de* [Derge: ø] *nyid btsun mo la stobs mdzod cig* ("Lord, after filling the inside of a cotton [garment] with fresh meat, put [it] on, and then offer yourself to the queen").

royal diadem for himself alone, rule the country." The king thought, "In any event, it is
for the sake of the kingdom that he [will] deprive me of my life. [Therefore,] I myself
shall give the kingdom to him. [Then,] for what reason would he [still] have to deprive
me of my life?"

The *Cīvaravastu* goes on to tell another story about King Bimbisāra's encounter with
Āmrapālī and the birth of their son Abhaya, which has no direct relation to Ajātaśatru.

    The three episodes concerning Bimbisāra, Celā and Ajātaśatru quoted above, as a whole,
constitute a background for the story of Ajātaśatru's later imprisoning and killing of his father
told in the *Saṅghabhedavastu* ("Section on Schism") of the MSV.[22] Of the three episodes, the
first one about the marriage of Bimbisāra and Celā, to my knowledge, finds no parallel in
extant Buddhist literature. The second one about Ajātaśatru's past life as a vengeful sage
provides a karmic explanation of his patricide in this life, through interpreting the patricide
as the karmic retribution for Bimbisāra's own wrongful action of putting an innocent sage to
death. This episode is also told, with some variation, in the Chinese versions of the Mahāyāna
Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra (T. 374 and T. 375), where it serves as one of the arguments used by
the Buddha to relieve Ajātaśatru of his guilt over the patricide.[23] The third episode about the
birth of Ajātaśatru (including the evil *dohada* ["pregnancy craving"] of his mother and the
patricide prophecy) also has parallels elsewhere in Buddhist literature, therefore not unique
to the *Cīvaravastu* either.[24] Nevertheless, the *Cīvaravastu* is, so far as I know, the only extant
Buddhist text that combines the episodes of Ajātaśatru's previous life and his birth together
with the episode of the marriage of his parents. Such a combination seems to only find par-
alells in Śvetāmbara Jaina literature. It is to the Jaina parallels that we now turn.

3   The Three Episodes of Śreṇika, Cellaṇā and Kūṇika in the *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi*, the *Āvaśyaka-ṭīkā* and the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*

Both Jinadāsa's *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi* (ĀvC) and Haribhadra's *Āvaśyaka-ṭīkā* (ĀvH) belong to the
exegetical Āvaśyaka literature.[25] The ĀvC is a Prakrit prose-commentary on the *Āvaśyaka-*

---

[22] For the version of this story in the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, see the Sanskrit text in Gnoli [1977–1978: ii.
155.23–159.10]; translated and discussed in Silk [1997: 194–198].

[23] The parallel appears at T. 374 [XII] 483c13–23 [*juan* 20] = T. 375 [XII] 727a1–11 [*juan* 18]; see a
discussion in Radich [2011: 38, 162–163].

[24] There are two Pāli parallels to this episode, found seperately in Buddhaghosa's commentary on
the *Sāmaññaphalasutta* (see Rhys Davids and Carpenter [1886: 133.28–134.30]) and in the *paccup-
pannavatthu* ("Story of the Present") of the *Jātakatthavaṇṇanā* No. 338 "*Thusa-jātaka*" (see Fausbøll
1877–1896: iii.121.16–122.7; translated in Cowell 1895–1907: iii. 80–81). Both parallels mention the
dohada and the patricide prophecy. See also a translation of both Pāli parallels in Wu [2012: 312–315].
The Chinese translation of the *Dharmaguptaka-vinaya* (T.1428 [XXII] 591c16–23 [*juan* 4]) also tells
a story of Ajātaśatru's birth, which mentions the patricide prophecy, though nothing is said about the
dohada (see a translation in Radich [2011: 40 n.132]).

[25] For an overview of the "Āvaśyaka-Literatur" (a term coined by Ernst Leumann to refer to the *Āvaśyaka-
sūtra* and the exegetical literature developed around it), see Balbir [2008 (1990): 70–73].

niryukti which itself is an early Prakrit verse-commentary on the canonical *Āvaśyaka-sūtra*.[26] The ĀvH is also a prose-commentary on the *niryukti*, written in mixed Prakrit and Sanskrit. There is another incomplete Sanskrit prose-commentary on the *niryukti* written by Malayagiri (11th–12th centuries CE), which does not contain the episodes discussed here. The ĀvH's version of the episodes of Śreṇika, Cellaṇā and Kūṇika is basically the same as the version found in the ĀvC, except some differences in wording. Since the narrative material in the ĀvC is usually considered to be "older and was probably less affected by the process of Sanskritisation than the *ṭīkās* were,"[27] here I translate the ĀvC's version of the episodes as follows (significant variants in the ĀvH's version are indicated in footnotes):[28]

Episode 1: The Marriage of Śreṇika and Cellaṇā

[§1] Now, in the city of Vaiśālī, there was King Ceṭaka of the Haihaya clan. He had seven daughters born by each of his queens—Prabhāvatī, Padmāvatī, Mṛgāvatī, Śivā, Jyeṣṭhā, Sujyeṣṭhā, and Cellaṇā. This Ceṭaka was a Jaina layman. He rejected the practice of marriage with others [and therefore] did not give his daughters to any-one. The respective mothers [of the daughters], having asked the permission of the king [Ceṭaka], gave them to others [i.e., the grooms] who were desired and suitable.[29] Prabhāvatī was given to Udāyana of Vītabhaya, Padmāvatī to Dadhivāhana of Campā, Mṛgāvatī to Śatānīka of Kauśāmbī, Śivā to Pradyota of Ujjayinī, and Jyeṣṭhā to Nandi-vardhana of Kuṇḍagrāma who was the elder brother of Lord Vardhamāna. Sujyeṣṭhā and Cellaṇā, the two, remained maiden. [Later,] a female ascetic came to the apartment [of the girls]. She taught them Jaina doctrine. By Sujyeṣṭhā, [the female ascetic] was made to become one who got clear answers to any questions.[30] She was thrown out [by the girls], treated with monkey-faces.[31] Filled with hatred, she left. In anger, having

---

[26] For a detailed introduction to the *Āvaśyaka-niryukti* and its commentaries, see BALBIR [1993: 38–101].

[27] See BALBIR [2008 (1990): 72].

[28] Given the page limit of the present paper, it is impossible to include the Prakrit text. For the text, see ĀvC, ii.164.9–167.3 (corresponding to ĀvH, 676b5–679a3). The ĀvC's and ĀvH's accounts of Śreṇika and his family (especially, the episode of the previous lives of Kūṇika and Śreṇika) have been paraphrased by KOCH [2009]. In my translation, for the sake of convenience, I have Sanskritised all the Prakrit names. My Sanskrit renderings follow that given in MEHTA and CHANDRA [1970–1972].

[29] ĀvC: *tāo mātimissagāo rāyaṃ āpucchittā aṇṇesiṃ icchitakāṇaṃ sarisagāṇaṃ deti* (*māti-missaga* < Skt. *mātṛ-miśraka* ["respective mothers"]; *āpucchittā* < *āpṛcchya* ["having asked permission"]; *icchi-taka* < **īpsitaka* or **iṣṭaka* ["desired"]; *sarisaga* < *sadṛśaka* ["suitable"]). Prof. Nalini Balbir kindly pointed out to me that it would be better to have the plural *demti* instead of the singular *deti*, and that *deti* as we have it may be a scribal error (anusvāra missing).

[30] This is a tentative rendition of *Sujeṭṭhāe nippaṭṭhapasiṇavākaraṇā katā* (*nippaṭṭha-pasiṇa-vākaraṇā* < Skt. *niḥpṛṣṭa-praśna-vyākaraṇa* ["clear answers to questions"]), which seems to mean that Sujyeṣṭhā is so versed in Jaina doctrine that she does not need to be taught by the female ascetic. The ĀvH reads *Sujeṭṭhāe nippiṭṭhapasiṇavāgaraṇā kayā* (*nippiṭṭha-pasiṇa-vāgaraṇā* < *niṣpiṣṭa-praśna-vyākaraṇā* ["beaten in questioning and answering?"]), which may be translated as "[The female ascetic] was beaten [i.e., defeated] by Sujyeṣṭhā in disputing [over Jaina doctrine]".

[31] ĀvC: *muha-makkaḍiyāhiṃ < *mukha-markaṭikāiḥ* ("with monkey-faces"). On *muha-makkaḍiyā* ("ap-

drawn a picture of Sujyeṣṭhā on a board, [the female ascetic] went to Śreṇika's house. Śreṇika saw [the picture of Sujyeṣṭhā]. He asked [the female ascetic about the picture]. [She] explained [the picture to Śreṇika]. [Having heard her explanation,] he became impatient. An envoy asking for marriage was sent [by Śreṇika to Ceṭaka]. [Ceṭaka] said to [the envoy], "Why should I give [my daughter] to someone from the Vāhīka clan?"[32] [Śreṇika] was rejected. His impatience became even more intense. [Śreṇika's son] Abhaya came as soon as he knew this. When consulted [by Śreṇika], [Abhaya] said, "Be confident [in me]![33] I [will] bring [Sujyeṣṭhā] here."

[§2] [Abhaya] returned to his own house. Having conceived a strategy, he pretended to be a merchant. Having changed his voice and accent, he went to Vaiśālī. [There] he took over a shop near the apartment of the girls, and drew a picture of Śreṇika on a painting-board. At that time, the maidservants of the apartment of the girls came for shopping. [Abhaya] then gave them an excessive amount [of goods], and pleased them by giving them both gifts and respect.[34] They asked, "What is this on the painting-board?" He replied, "[This is] my lord Śreṇika." "Does he [really] have such an appearance?" [Abhaya said,][35] "Who is able to match his appearance? It is painted as it is." The maidservants and manservants discussed this inside the apartment of the girls. [Sujyeṣṭhā] told them, "Now bring that board here!" The maidservants solicited [the board from Abhaya], [but] he did not give [them the board and said,] "Please do not speak ill of my lord!" After many entreaties, [the board] was given. Secretly, it was sent [by Abhaya into the apartment]. Sujyeṣṭhā saw [the board]. The maidservants revealed the secret [of Sujyeṣṭhā's seeing of Śreṇika's picture]. [Sujyeṣṭhā] asked the merchant [Abhaya], "How can Śreṇika become [my] husband?"[36] He said, "If [you wish it to be] so, then I bring Śreṇika here." [Śreṇika] was brought. Secretly, an underground channel was made, extending up to the apartment of the girls.

[§3] Sujyeṣṭhā asked Cellaṇā, "Should I go with Śreṇika?" The two [Sujyeṣṭhā and Cellaṇā] ran away [together]. When Sujyeṣṭhā went [home] for some ornaments, at that time, the people [Śreṇika and his charioteer] turned up in the underground channel.[37] Taking Cellaṇā, they left. [Having returned to the channel and found out this,] Sujyeṣṭhā gave out a cry. [On knowing this,] Ceṭaka armed himself. The charioteer Vīrāṅgaka said [to Ceṭaka], "Lord! Please do not leave. I [will] bring [Cellaṇā] back!"

---

ing with the mouth"), see Ratnachandraji [1923–1932: iv. 192, s.v. *muha*].

[32] ĀvC: *Pādhiyakulae* (< *Vāhīkakulāya*). On Vāhīka (= Bāhīka, literally, "being outside") as an old and apparently pejorative name of inhabitants of Punjab, see Sircar [1971: 101, §27 "Bāhlīka"].

[33] ĀvC = ĀvH: *acchaha vīsatthā*. On *acchaha* < *ṛcchata* (imperative of √*ṛ*, "to go, to tend to"), see Pischel [1981 (1900): 392, §471]; *vīsatthā* < *viśvasta* ("full of confidence, unsuspecting").

[34] ĀvC: *tāo vi ya dāṇamāṇasaṃgahitāo kareti* (lit., "He also made them get both gifts and respect.")

[35] The ĀvH has *Abhao bhaṇai*, which finds no correspondent in the ĀvC.

[36] This question is missing in ĀvC, but given in ĀvH (677b3–4): *kahaṃ Seṇīo bhattā bhavijjai?*

[37] ĀvC: *tāva maṇussā suraṃgāe ubeḍḍā*. The word *ubeḍḍā* is unclear to me. The ĀvH has *ubbuḍā*. On *ubbuḍā* ("emerged") < *unmagna* (?), see Poddar et al. [2008–2009, fascs. 3&4, 1516, s.v.].

[Vīrāṅgaka] set out. He followed [Śreṇika and his charioteer] from behind. There was a secluded path in a cave. There dwelled Sulasā's thirty-two sons. With one arrow, Vīrāṅgaka killed them all. At the moment when [Vīrāṅgaka] was moving his chariots aside, Śreṇika fled away. [Then] he [Vīrāṅgaka?] also went back. [Having returned to Rājagṛha,] Śreṇika called, "Sujyeṣṭhā!" She said, "I am Cellaṇā." Śreṇika said, "You are [beautiful,] the same as Sujyeṣṭhā." Śreṇika felt joyful and also dismayed. [He felt] joyful because of the acquiring of Cellaṇā, [but] dismayed because of the death of his charioteer. Cellaṇā also felt joyful because of [Śreṇika's] handsome appearance, [but meanwhile] she felt dismayed [because] her sister was cheated [by her].[38] Sujyeṣṭhā, thinking, "Fie upon love and enjoyment," went forth [into the ascetic life]. [Later,] Cellaṇā gave birth to a son named Kūṇika. How was his rebirth?

Episode 2: Kūṇika's Previous Life as a Vengeful Ascetic

[§4] There was a border city. There Jitaśatru[39] had a son [named] Sumaṅgala. A minister's son named Śreṇika was a dwarf [or big-bellied?].[40] He was ridiculed, [and] forced to drink water placed at a high place.[41] [In this way,] he was bullied by Sumaṅgala. For this reason, with disgust [for the worldly life], [Śreṇika] went forth [from household] and became a non-Jaina ascetic.[42] When his father died, Sumaṅgala became king. One day, [King Sumaṅgala] saw [Śreṇika] flying through the open air.[43] He asked [people about Śreṇika].[44] People said, "This one performs such supernatural power."[45] Remembering that [Śreṇika] was earlier bullied [by him], the king gave rise to compassion. He invited [Śreṇika], "Come to my house!"

---

[38] ĀvC: *Cellaṇāe vi hariso tassa rūveṇaṃ visādo bhagiṇī vaṃciyā tti*. The ĀvH has *bhagiṇī-vaṃcaṇeṇa* (< *bhagiṇī-vañcanena*, "because of cheating [her own] sister") instead of *bhagiṇī vaṃciyā tti*.

[39] ĀvC: *Jitasattussa*; ĀvH: *Jiyasatturaṇṇo* ("Of King Jiyasattu").

[40] ĀvC: *amaccaputto Seṇio tti poṭṭio*. The ĀvH has *Seṇaga* (< Senaka) instead of *Seṇia*. The word *poṭṭia* (< **poṭṭika*) may mean "dwarfish" (see CDIAL, §8256 **puṭṭa-²*). Косн [2009: 282] seems to construe *poṭṭia* as being derived from *poṭṭa* ("belly") and renders it as "big-bellied".

[41] This is a provisional translation of *pāṇie uccālagaṃ pajjijjati* (*pāṇi* < *pānīya* ["water"]; *pajjijjati* < *pāyyate* ["made to drink"], passive form of the causative *pāyayati* of √*pā* ["to drink"]; the meaning of *uccālaga* is unclear to me).

[42] ĀvC: *so teṇa nivveeṇaṃ bālatavassī pavvaito*. The term *bāla-tavassi* (< *bāla-tapasvin*) is usually translated as "foolish or ignorant ascetic". However, as METTE [2010: 339] rightly points out, this term more likely refers to a certain type of non-Jaina mendicant. She suggests, "Bālatapasvins, unabhängig von den Konventionen und Dogmen der Jainas, bestimmten asketischen Gruppen altindischer Traditionen zuordnen lassen." For more discussion on this term, see METTE [2010: 336–346].

[43] ĀvC: *aṇṇadā so teṇa ogāseṇaṃ volemto diṭṭho*. The ĀvH reads *aṇṇayā so teṇa ogāseṇa volemto pecchai taṃ bālatavassiṃ*, which seems to be grammatically problematic and may be emended into *aṇṇayā so teṇa ogāseṇa volemto <diṭṭho> pecchai taṃ bālatavassiṃ* ("One day, he [= Sumaṅgala] saw him [= Śreṇika] flying through the open air. He observed the young asctice [= Śreṇika]").

[44] ĀvC: *pucchati*; ĀvH: *raṇṇā pucchiyaṃ ko esa tti* ("The king asked, 'Who is this?'")

[45] ĀvC = ĀvH: *esa erisaṃ tavaṃ kareti*. Here the word *tava* (< Skt. *tapas*) refers to the supernatural power of flying attained through asceticism, rather than asceticism *per se*. For a specific discussion on the power of flying in the air and its attainment in Jaina sources, see WILEY [2012: 176–183].

After finishing a one-month fast, [Śreṇika] came [to King Sumaṅgala's palace]. The king was sick. [The door] was not opened [for him].[46] Once again, he entered the jar.[47] [Sumaṅgala] was reminded [of the invitation]. He once again went and invited [Śreṇika]. Once again, [Śreṇika] came [to the palace], but [the gatekeepers told him], "[The king] is sick." Once again, he entered the jar. For the third time, [Sumaṅgala] invited him. For the third time, he came [to Sumaṅgala's palace].[48] He was maltreated by the gatekeepers who thought, "Every time he comes, the king becomes sick." [Śreṇika] left discontentedly, thinking, "I am a renunciant. Even so, I am treated with indignity by [Sumaṅgala]." [Śreṇika] made a vow: "I take rebirth to kill him." [Śreṇika] died and was reborn as a Vānavyantara god of little divine power.[49] [Later,] the king [Sumaṅgala] also became a renunciant ascetic,[50] [and was also] reborn as a Vānavyantara god. Śreṇika [Bimbisāra] was the king [Sumaṅgala] in the past; Kūṇika was that ascetic who was mutilated [by the gatekeepers] (kuṇḍa-samaṇa).

Episode 3: The Birth of Kūṇika

[§5] When [the ascetic] was reborn in the womb of Cellaṇā, he thought, "Why can't I see the king [Śreṇika] with [my] eyes?" She realized, "This fetus is evil." Even after various means of abortion, [the fetus] did not fall [that is, it did not die]. During the period of pregnancy, a craving [arose to her]. How was it? She wanted to eat the flesh of Śreṇika's belly-folds. She tried to kill [the fetus] inside [her womb], [but] she told nobody. [Later,] when she was persuaded [by others], she told [about the craving]. This was reported to Abhaya. Having prepared some meat with the hare's skin, [Abhaya] put it on the top of [Śreṇika's] belly-folds. After she had gone into a viewing [room], while she was watching [the flesh of Śreṇika's belly-folds, as it were, being cut off], [the meat with the hare's skin] was given to her.[51] [While she was eating,] the king pretended to faint. When she thought of Śreṇika, she felt uneasy,

---

[46] ĀvC: na diṇṇaṃ. The ĀvH has a more complete sentence na diṇṇaṃ dārapālehiṃ dāraṃ ("The door was not given [i.e., not opened for him] by the gatekeepers").

[47] The text has puṇo vi uṭṭitaṃ (ĀvH: uṭṭiyaṃ) paviṭṭho. On uṭṭiya (var. uṭṭikā) < uṣṭrikā, referring to a large high-necked jar in which an ascetic of the Ājīvika sect performs penances (see Poddar et al. [2008–2009, fasc. 2, 1356, s.v. uṭṭiyā-samaṇa]).

[48] ĀvC: aṇāto (< ajñāta, "unknown"). Here I adopt the reading āgao (< āgato, "came") in the ĀvH.

[49] ĀvC: kālagato appiḍḍhito Vāṇamaṃtaro jāto. On Vāṇamaṃtara (< Vānamantara) referring to "[a] class of gods living in the oblique regions; gods of the Vāṇavyaṅtara class", see Ratnachandraji [1923–1932: vi. 369, s.v.].

[50] ĀvC: so vi rāyā tāvaso pavvaito; ĀvH: so vi rāyā tāvasabhatto tāvaso pavvaio ("The king, who was a worshipper of ascetics, also became a renunciant ascetic").

[51] ĀvC: tīse ologaṇagatāe pecchamāṇīe dijjati. According to an earlier version of this episode in the Nirayāvaliyāo (see below), after getting some fresh meat from a butcher's shop, Abhaya "puts Cellaṇā somewhere high in the palace from where she can see Seṇiya lying turned towards her. After that he cuts [as it were] the meat of the folds of the belly of the king and puts it in a pot" which is then given to Cellaṇā (see de Jong and Wiles [1996: 43]; translated from Deleu [1969:102]).

[but] when she thought of the fetus, [she wondered,] "Why do I want to eat it all?" In this way, [her craving] was dispelled.[52] After nine months, a boy was born. This was reported to the king [Śreṇika]. He was delighted. [Later, the boy] was abandoned in an *aśoka* grove [by Cellaṇā] through a maidservant. This was reported to Śreṇika. He came, [and] scolded [Cellaṇā], "Why did you abandon our first son?" He went to the *aśoka* grove. [The grove] was illuminated by [the boy]. [Śreṇika] said, "[My son is like] the moon in the *aśoka* grove."[53] Hence the name Aśokacandra ("Moon in the Aśoka [Grove]") was given [to the boy]. There [in the *aśoka* grove] his tender fingertip [?][54] was pierced by a cock-feather. It did not recover well, [and] became crooked. Then, at that time, he was given the name Kūṇika ("[one with] a crooked finger") by his playmates.[55] Whenever Śreṇika put that finger [of Kūṇika] in his mouth [and] sucked the pus, [Kūṇika] stayed [quiet]; otherwise, he would cry. Then, he grew up⋯

The ĀvC and the ĀvH proceed to tell stories about Cellaṇā's two other sons Halla and Vihalla, as well as Śreṇika's prevention of Kūṇika from succeeding the kingship by giving royal insignias to Halla and Vihalla, which arouses the hatred of Kūṇika who then throws his father into prison. Shortly thereafter, Śreṇika commits suicide in prison.[56] Thus, in the ĀvC and the ĀvH, the three episodes concerning Śreṇika, Cellaṇā and Kūṇika quoted above, as a whole, provide part of the background for the story of Kūṇika's causing the death of his father told later in the two texts.[57]

The ĀvC is, so far as I am aware, the oldest extant Śvetāmbara Jaina source in which the episode of the marriage of Śreṇika and Cellaṇā and the episode of Kūṇika's previous life as a vengeful ascetic appear. As for the episode of the birth of Kūṇika (including the description of Cellaṇā's *dohada* and the etiological details about the names Aśokacandra and Kūṇika), its oldest extant version seems to be that found in the *Nirayāvaliyāo* ("Sequences of Hells"), the eighth *Upāṅga* of the Śvetāmbara canon.[58] The *Nirayāvaliyāo* mentions neither the marriage of Śreṇika and Cellaṇā nor the former life of Kūṇika, but presents the episode of the birth of

---

[52] ĀvC: *māṇito* (< Skt. *mānita*, "honoured"), which does not fit the context. I adopt the reading *viṇīo* (< *vinīta*, "removed, dispelled") in the ĀvH.

[53] ĀvC: *so bhaṇati asogavaṇacaṃdau tti*. This sentence finds no correspondent in the ĀvH.

[54] ĀvC: *kāṇaṃgulī*; ĀvH: *koṇaṃgulī*. The exact meanings of these two compounds are unclear to me (on *kāṇa* ["blind of one eye"], see CDIAL, §3019, s.v.; *koṇa* ["corner"], see CDIAL, §3504, s.v.).

[55] I adopt the reading *dāraehi* ("by young boys") in the ĀvH, instead of *dāragarūvehiṃ* ("by boyish forms [?]") in the ĀvC which makes little sense in the present context. The name Kūṇika is clearly derived from Skt. √*kūṇ* ("sich zusammenziehen [to contract]", see PW, ii.88, s.v.) and therefore synonymous to Skt. *kuṇi/kūṇi* ("lahm am Arm [crippled in the arm]", or "Nagelgeschwür [a nail sore]", see PW, ii.72, s.v. *kuṇi*, 88, s.v. *kūṇi*). On this name, see also DELEU [1969: 104, §12] (= de Jong and Wiles [1996: 45]); SILK [1997: 243 n.81].

[56] For a summary of these follow-up events as told in the ĀvC and the ĀvH, see KOCH [2009: 279–280].

[57] For the version of this story in the ĀvC (ii. 171.11–172.8) [corresponding to ĀvH, 682b8–683b5], see SILK [1997: 206–208 (translation and discussion), 229–230 (text)].

[58] For the *Nirayāvaliyāo* version of this episode, see DELEU [1969: 99.20–104.5, §§7–12] (= de Jong and Wiles [1996: 40–45]).

Kūṇika alone as a prelude to the story of his causing the death of his father.[59]

In Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* (TŚPC), the three episodes of Śreṇika, Cellaṇā and Kūṇika are retold in a much more elaborate form in the sixth chapter of the tenth book entitled *Mahāvīracarita* ("Career of Mahāvīra").[60] Hemacandra arranges the episodes in a different sequence: The episode of the former lives of Śreṇika and Kūṇika is told in the first place in an earlier section (verses 11–45) of the chapter in question, where it serves as a prelude to the birth of Śreṇika, whereas the episode of the marriage of Śreṇika and Cellaṇā and the episode of the birth of Kūṇika are told together in a later section (verses 184–309) of that chapter. Despite this difference in sequence, the plotline of each of the three episodes in the TŚPC is largely the same as that found in the ĀvC and the ĀvH. Also, as in the ĀvC and the ĀvH, the three episodes as a whole constitute a background for the story of the imprisoning and death of Śreṇika told later in the same book of the TŚPC.[61] It is, then, likely that the accounts in the ĀvC and the ĀvH formed at least part of the sources on which Hemacandra's retelling was based.

4 A Comparative Appraisal

A comparison between the Buddhist episodes about Bimbisāra, Celā and Ajātaśatru in the *Cīvaravastu* of the MSV and the Jaina episodes about Śreṇika, Cellaṇā and Kūṇika in the ĀvC, the ĀvH and the TŚPC reveals two major facts:

First, there are striking similarities between the Buddhist and Jaina versions in terms of overall narrative content and structure. More specifically, in the first episode on the marriage of Ajātaśatru's/Kūṇika's parents, both versions show that Bimbisāra/Śreṇika initially intends to marry Upacelā/Sujyeṣṭhā but later turns out to marry Celā/Cellaṇā as a result of confusion. In the second episode, both versions agree on Ajātaśatru's/Kūṇika's former life as a vengeful sage or ascetic, and both, from a karmic perspective, explain Ajātaśatru's/Kūṇika's hostility towards his father in this life as a kind of revenge, the cause of which can be traced back to his previous life. In the third episode about the birth of Ajātaśatru/Kūṇika, both the Buddhist and Jaina versions agree on Celā's/Cellaṇā's pregnancy craving for the flesh and/or blood of Bimbisāra/Śreṇika after the sage or ascetic enters into her womb, and on Bimbisāra's/Śreṇika's strategic fulfilling of her craving without injuring himself.

How should we understand these similarities? It seems difficult to conclude anything about the genetic relationship between the Buddhist and Jaina versions, or to determine who borrowed from whom, or if there was any borrowing between them at all. To be sure, the ĀvC, the ĀcH and the TŚPC were composed rather later than the *Cīvaravastu* of the MSV

---

[59] For the Prakrit text and a paraphrase of this story, see Deleu [1969: 104.28–107.5, §§13–14] (= de Jong and Wiles [1996: 45–47]); see also a translation and discussion in Silk [1997: 205–206].

[60] See the Sanskrit text in Śāha [1977: 158.2–160.10 (verses 11–45), 171.4–180.8 (verses 184–309)]; translated in Johnson [1962: 138–141, 149–157].

[61] For the TŚPC version of the story of Śreṇika's death, see Śāha [1977: 357.4–362.10 (verses 108–180)]; translated in Johnson [1962: 313–317]; see also Silk [1997: 208–210].

(if we date the compilation of the MSV to the early centuries of the Common Era). However, given that many stories in the ĀvC and the ĀvH were probably drawn from earlier oral or written sources,[62] the episodes of Kūṇika and his parents in these two Jaina texts, as such, are not necessarily later than those in the *Cīvaravastu*. Thus, for the time being, what we can say is perhaps only that the aforementioned similarities suggest that the Buddhist and Śvetāmbara Jaina authors in ancient India shared some common narrative traditions surrounding Ajātaśatru/Kūṇika and his parents.

On the other hand, there are also clear differences between the Buddhist and Jaina versions in terms of specific narrative elements. For instance, in the first episode about the marriage of Ajātaśatru's/Kūṇika's parents, while in the *Cīvaravastu* Celā's uncle Gopa arranges the marriage of Bimbisāra and Upacelā (later replaced by Celā), in the Jaina texts it is Śreṇika's son Abhaya who assists his father to marry Sujyeṣṭhā (later replaced by Cellaṇā). Abhaya is also featured in the Jaina versions of the episode of the birth of Kūṇika, where he appears as the one who devises a strategy to fulfill Cellaṇā's pregnancy craving without injuring Śreṇika, whereas in the *Cīvaravastu* the originators of such a strategy are anonymous.

Abhaya's significant role in the Jaina versions may not be accidental. It is worth noting that Abhaya is quite an important character in Jaina narrative literature in general. He is often portrayed as a highly intelligent man capable of solving various problems.[63] For instance, in the *Nāyādhammakahāo* ("Parables and Religious Stories"), the sixth *Aṅga* of the Śvetāmbara canon, there is a story about Abhaya's successfully invoking a god to create an unseasonal rain and thereby fulfilling the pregnancy craving of Queen Dhāriṇī (Śreṇika's another wife) for an untimely monsoon.[64] This (or other) earlier characterization of Abhaya as a solver of problems or user of stratagems may have been a motivating factor that led the Jaina authors to assign him an important role in the episodes of Śreṇika, Cellaṇā and Kūṇika. In contrast, in Buddhist narrative literature, Abhaya's problem-solving capability is not strongly featured.[65]

Further, there is also a stark contrast between the Buddhist and Jaina versions in their attitudes towards King Bimbisāra/Śreṇika. According to the *Cīvaravastu*, Bimbisāra's being killed by Ajātaśatru later in this life is the karmic retribution for his own wrongful action of putting an innocent sage to death. The Jaina versions do not mention such violence of King Śreṇika, or any violence of his previous birth as King Sumaṅgala, but, instead, portray him as a victim of the resentment harbored by an ascetic who is a former incarnation of Kūṇika.

I have not yet found a satisfactory explanation for why King Śreṇika/Sumaṅgala does

---

[62] Balbir [2008 (1990): 72] suggests that stories in the ĀvC and in the *Āvaśyaka-ṭīkās* "represent an intermediate stage between an oral tradition which would give the narrator (a preaching monk) great freedom and a fixed written tradition which would imply a more rigidly unvarying text".

[63] For Jaina sources on Abhaya, see Mehta and Chandra [1970–1972: i. 49–51, s.v. Abhaa (Abhaya)].

[64] See the Prakrit text in Jambūvijaya [1989: 20.13–34.11]. I am grateful to Dr. Naomi Appleton for bringing this story into my attention.

[65] For Buddhist sources on Abhaya, see Akanuma [1931: 1, s.v. Abhaya[1]]; Malalasekera [1937–1938: i. 127–128, s.v. 2. Abhaya].

not act violently towards the ascetic in the Jaina versions. For now, I can only suggest two possibilities: First, the non-violent depiction of Śreṇika might have been motivated by an attempt to keep in line with his prominent status as the first Jina of the coming age.[66] However, the difficulty with this explanation is that Śreṇika is not always portrayed positively in Jaina literature, for he is also said to fall into hell after death as a result of some bad *karma* he had previously bound.[67]

Second, it is also possible that the non-violent depiction of Śreṇika in the Jaina versions was due to an application of a stock narrative pattern. As Rolf Heinrich Koch observes, in the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* ("Adventure of Vasudeva") compiled by Saṅghadāsa around 400 CE, there is a story of King Ugrasena and his son Kaṃsa, which also adopts the following narrative pattern: First, an ascetic is repeatedly invited by a king but ignored each time; then, the ascetic vows to destory the king in his [i.e. the ascetic's] next life; then, the ascetic is reborn in the womb of the king's wife; then, he imprisons the king and usurps the throne.[68] Since the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* was composed earlier than the ĀvC, it is unlikely that the story of Ugrasena and Kaṃsa was derived from the story of Śreṇika and Kūṇika in the ĀvC. The similarity between the two stories suggests that the aforementioned narrative pattern might have been a stock motif familiar to (at least some) ancient Jaina storytellers.

Yet another notable difference between the Buddhist and Jaina versions lies in the prophecy of Ajātaśatru's/Kūṇika's causing the death of his father. The *Cīvaravastu* mentions the prophecy twice, whereas the Jaina texts say nothing about the prophecy. The prophecy seems to be unique to the Buddhist narrative tradition, and does not appear in any Jaina account about Ajātaśatru/Kūṇika, so far as I know.

To sum up, the episodes of Bimbisāra, Celā and Ajātaśatru at the beginning of the *Cīvaravastu* of the MSV show both remarkable parallels to and interesting differences from the episodes of Śreṇika, Cellaṇā and Kūṇika in the ĀvC, the ĀvH and the TŚPC. While further research still needs to be done in order to better understand how and why such differences occurred, the parallels nevertheless clearly suggest that the Buddhists and Śvetāmbara Jainas shared some common narrative lore concerning Ajātaśatru/Kūṇika and his parents, including not only the well-known episode of his causing the death of his father Bimbisāra/Śreṇika in prison, but also the less-known episodes of his previous life as a vengeful sage or ascetic, the marriage of his parents, and his birth. Moreover, given that both in the *Cīvaravastu* and in the three Jaina texts, the episodes of Bimbisāra, Celā and Ajātaśatru comprise part of a larger picture of the early history of Magadha, it is necessary to look into whether the Buddhists and Jainas also shared some common narrative material in other parts of this larger picture. Although this topic cannot be pursued here, it is worth exploring systematically in the future.

---

[66] Both Śvetāmbara and Digambara Jainas agree on Śreṇika's future attainment of Tīrthaṃkara-hood. For related textual sources, see BALBIR [1991: 42–44, 64 n.54].

[67] On Mahāvīra's prediction of Śreṇika's next birth in hell, see BALBIR [1991: 42].

[68] See KOCH [2009: 284–286].

Appendix: A Re-edited Sanskrit text of the Episodes of Bimbisāra, Celā and Ajātaśatru in the *Cīvaravastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* (GBM 6.794.2–797.10 [fols. 241r2– 242v10] = GM iii.2,8.6–15.16)

Symbols Used in the Edition:

[ ]　　　damaged *akṣara*(s)

< >　　　omitted (part of) *akṣara*(s) without gap in the manuscript

<< >>　　interlinear insertion

{}　　　superfluous (part of) *akṣara*(s)

|　　　　*daṇḍa*

•　　　　punctuation mark

*　　　　*virāma*

'　　　　*avagraha*, not written in the manuscript, but added within round brackets in the edition

ḥ　　　　*Jihvāmūlīya*

h̤　　　　*Upadhmānīya*

○　　　　string hole

　　[§1] (**241r2...**) Khaṇḍena Gopasya Siṃhasya ca niveśanaḥ[69] kṛtaḥ[70] <|>[71] Siṃhasya krīḍato ramamāṇasya paricārayataḥ[72] duhitā jātā <|> tasyāpi vistareṇa jātimahaṃ kṛtvā Celeti nāmadheyaṃ vyavasthāpitaṃ[73] | sā naimittikena dṛṣṭvā vyākṛtā <|> putraṃ jana(**r3**)yiṣyati

---

[69]　In this manuscript, as in other manuscripts in the same script (Gilgit-/Bamiyan-Type II), the *akṣara ba* is always written as *va* (on this orthographic feature, see WILLE [1990: 36, §3.3.2 [7]]; Hu-von Hinüber [1994: 45, §II.8 [1]]; MATSUMURA [1996: 182, §5.3.1 [l]]; CHUNG [1998: 126, §7.1.3.1 [7]]). Below the same *akṣara* will be transliterated either as *ba* or as *va* according to the lexical context in which the *akṣara* appears.

[70]　*niveśanaḥ kṛtaḥ*: application of the masculine ending (-*aḥ*) to the neutral noun *niveśana* ("house, house-hold") and to its qualifying adjective *kṛta*; on the confusion of gender-endings in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, see BHSG, 39, §6.1ff. GM: *niveśanaṃ kṛtam* (w.r.).

[71]　I have taken the liberty of adding *daṇḍas* in the text merely for the convenience of modern readers. Occurences of <|> in the edited text should therefore not be taken to suggest scribal lapses.

[72]　*paricārayataḥ duhitā*: no application of sandhi; note that later in this passage almost the same sentence appears (see *krīḍato ramamāṇasya paricārayato duhitā jātā* 241r3), where the sandhi is applied. As in many other Gilgit and Central Asian Sanskrit manuscripts, the rules of *visarga* sandhi are not followed systematically in our text. Frequently, -*aḥ* does not change to -*o* before the vowel *a* or a voiced consonant (besides *paricārayataḥ duhitā* mentioned here, see also *vikrāntaḥ Vaiśālakānāṃ* 241r4, *saṃprasthitaḥ anupūrveṇa* 242r1, to list but a few); -*aḥ* does not drop the *visarga* before a non-*a* vowel (see *gaṇaḥ ājñapayatīti* 241v3, *saṃprāptaḥ udyāne* 242r1, etc.); -*āḥ* does not drop the *visarga* before a vowel or a voiced consonant (see *vikrāntāḥ mā* 241r5, *ārabdhāḥ etad* 242r7, etc.); -*oḥ* does not change to -*or* before a voiced consonant (see *rājyahetoḥ yadi* 242r10). Such aberrant uses of *visarga* have also been observed in other parts of the same Gilgit manuscript of the *Vinayavastu* of the MSV (see WILLE [1990: 36–37, §3.3.3]; Hu-von Hinüber [1994: 49, §II.9 (7.9–15)]; MATSUMURA [1996: 180–181, §5.3.1 [d]]; CHUNG [1998: 126, §7.1.3.2]).

[73]　The use of *anusvāra* before *daṇḍa* is a common phenomenon in the Gilgit manuscript of the *Vinayavastu* (see WILLE [1990: 36, §3.3.2 [2]]; CHUNG [1998: 125, §7.1.3.1 [2]]). For such cases in the present text, see also *vyavasthāpitaṃ* | 241r3; *dattaṃ* | 241r7; *abhirucitaṃ* | 241v1, etc.

<|> sa pitara[ṃ] jīvitād vyaparopya svayam eva paṭṭaṃ baddhvā rājyaṃ kārayiṣyatīti ● bhūyo (’)sya {sya} krīḍato ramamāṇasya paricārayato duhitā jātā ● tasyā api vistareṇa jātimahaṃ kṛtvā Upaceleti[74] nāmadheyaṃ vyavasthāpitam | sāpi naimittikena vyākṛ(**r4**)tā <|> putraṃ janayiṣyati lakṣaṇasampūrṇam iti ●

[**§2**] Gopo vyāḍo vikrā◯ntaḥ Vaiśālakānāṃ Licchavīnām udyānāni vināśayati | udyānapālair ucyate <<|>> Vaiśālakā Licchavayo vyāḍā vikrāntā <|> mā teṣām udyānāni vināśayeti <|> sa nivāryamāṇo (’)pi (**r5**) na santiṣṭhate | udyānapālaiḥ Khaṇḍasyārocitam <|> putras te Vaiśālakā◯nāṃ Licchavīnām udyānāni vināśayati <|> nivārayainam <<|>> Licchavayo vyāḍā vikrāntā <|> māsyānarthaṃ kariṣyanti | sa tenāhūyoktaḥ <|> putra Vaiśālakā Licchavayo vyāḍā vikrāntāḥ <|> mā te(**r6**)ṣām udyānāni vināśaya <|> mā te (’)narthaṃ kariṣyantīti | sa kathaya◯ti <|> tātaiṣām udyānāni santi asmākan tu na santi | sa kathayati <|> putra udyānasyārthāya gaṇaṃ vijñāpayāmīti | tena gaṇo vijñaptaḥ <|> bhavanto[75] mama putrayor udyānaṃ nāsti <|> tad arha<ṃ> (**r7**) mamodyāne prasādaṃ kartum iti ● tais tābhyāṃ jīrṇodyānaṃ dattam | tasmin mahāsālavṛkṣaḥ[76] <|> tatraikena bhagavataḥ pratimā kāritā <|> dvitīyena vihāraḥ pratiṣṭhāpito[77] <|> tathā sthavirair api sūtrānte upanibaddham | buddho bhagavān Vaiśālyāṃ viharati Gopasiṃhasa(**r8**)lavana[78] iti | Gopa[79] akriyāsahasrāṇi karoti | Licchavayo (’)vadhyāyanti kṣipanti vivācayanti[80] | tataḥ Khaṇḍenāhūyoktaḥ <|> putra gaccha tvam amukaṃ karvaṭaṃ <|> tatra svādhiṣṭhitān karmmāntān[81] kāraya <|> tiṣṭha <|> mā gaṇaprakopo bhaviṣyatīti ● sa tatra gatvā svādhiṣṭhita(**r9**)n karmmāntān kārayitum ārabdhaḥ <|>

[**§3**] yāvad apareṇa samayena Vaiśālyāṃ senāp<at>iḥ[82] kālagataḥ <|> taiḥ Khaṇḍo (’)grāmātyaḥ senāpatye sthāpitaḥ <|> so (’)pi kaṃ cit kālaṃ dharmmeṇa[83] senāpatyaṃ

---

[74] *kṛtvā Upaceleti*: vowel unchanged before vowel (see also below *sūtrānte upanibaddhaṃ* 241r7, *gatvā Upacelām* 242r3, *ānītā Upacelā* 242r9, *cāśramapade ṛṣih* 242v1, *praghātita iti* 242v2, etc.). Such cases are ubiquitous in the Gilgit manuscript of the *Vinayavastu* (see Matsumura [1996: 179, §5.3.1 [a]]; Chung [1998: 126, §7.1.3.2]). GM: *kṛtvopaceleti* (w.r.).

[75] The word *bhavanto* is missing in GM.

[76] GM: °*śālavṛkṣaḥ* (w.r.).

[77] *pratiṣṭhāpito*: on the generalization of -*o* for the final -*as* before voiceless consonants and pause in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, see BHSG, 34, §4.38. GM: *pratiṣṭhāpitaḥ* (w.r.).

[78] GM: °*śālavane* (w.r.).

[79] *Gopa*: nom. sg. masc., no application of sandhi; *Gopa* < *Gopo* (on the development of -*o* + *a*- > -*a* + *a*- > -*â*-, see von Hinüber [2001: 204, §265]; Norman [1990–2001: iii. 219–224]). Dr. Klaus Wille pointed out to me that Edgerton's statement that the reduction of the ending -*as* to -*a* in sandhi occurs "almost exclusively in verses m.c. [= metri causa]" (BHSG, 34, §4.32) is incorrect, for there are also many instances of this kind found in proses in Central Asian Sanskrit manuscripts. GM: *Gopaḥ* (w.r.).

[80] GM iii.2.9, n.1: *baddhāyanti kṣapanti* (w.r.).

[81] *karmmāntān*: see Karashima [2012: 191, s.v. *karmmānta* ("Geschäft, Tätigkeit")]. The germination of consonant before and after *r* is common in Gilgit and Central Asian Sanskrit manuscripts (other examples of this kind in the present text include *dharmmeṇa* 241r9, *tair mmahatā* 241v3, *marmmaṇi* 242r6, *nivarttatheti* 242r6, and *durmmanā* 242r8). GM: *karmāntān* (w.r.).

[82] GM: *senāpatiḥ* (w.r.).

[83] *dharmmeṇa*: see SWTF, fasc.15, 516, s.v. ²*dharma* ("(~eṇa) ind. a rechtmäßig; b vorschriftsmäßig"). GM: *dharmeṇa* (w.r.).

kārayitvā kālagataḥ <|> Vaiśālako gaṇas sannipatitaḥ <|> kaṃ senāpatiṃ sthāpa(**r10**)yāma iti <<|>> tatraike kathayanti | Khaṇḍenāgrāmātyena gaṇaḥ paripālitaḥ <|> tasyaiva putraṃ sthāpayāma iti | apare kathayanti <|> tasya putro Gopo vyāḍo vikrāntaḥ <|> yady asau senāpatye sthāpyate niyataṃ gaṇasya bhedaṃ kariṣyati ● yas tu tasya bhrātā Siṃhaḥ sa sūrataḥ (**241v1**) sukhasaṃvāsaḥ śaknoti gaṇasya cittam ārāgayituṃ <|> yadi gaṇasyābhirucitaṃ taṃ senāpatiṃ sthāpayāma iti ● sarveṣām abhirucitaṃ | te saṃbhūya Siṃhasya sakāśaṃ gatāḥ <|> Siṃha senāpatitvaṃ pratīccheti ● sa kathayati <|> mama jyeṣṭho bhrātā Gopas <|> taṃ senāpatiṃ sthāpayateti | (**v2**) te[84] kathayanti <|> Siṃha na yuṣmākaṃ kulakramāgataṃ saināpatyaṃ[85] <|> yo gaṇasyābhirucitas sa senāpatir bhavati | yadi bhavato nābhirucitaṃ vayam anyaṃ senāpatiṃ sthāpayāma iti ● sa saṃlakṣayati ● yady asmākaṃ gṛhāt saināpatyaṃ[86] anyatra gamiṣyati naitad yuktam*[87] <|> sarvathā (**v3**) pratīcchāmīti ● tenādhivāsitam*[88] <|> sa tair mmahatā satkāreṇa senāpatye pratiṣṭhāpitaḥ |

[**§4**] Vaiśālakāḥ pūrvaṃ yasya lekham anupreṣayanti | tasya Khaṇḍapramukho gaṇaḥ ājñāpayatīti[89] likhanti ● yadā Siṃhas senāpatis saṃvṛttas tadā Siṃhapramukho gaṇa ājñāpayatī(**v4**)ti[90] | yāvad apareṇa samayena yasmin karvaṭake Gopaḥ svādhiṣṭhitān karmmāntān kārayati tadā karvaṭakaṃ lekho gataḥ <|> Gopenodghāṭya vācitaḥ <|> sa kathayati | bhavantaḥ pūrvaṃ Vaiśālako gaṇaḥ Khaṇḍapramukho gaṇa ājñāpayatīti likha{n}ti[91] <|> idānīṃ Siṃhapramu(**v5**)kho gaṇa ājñāpayatīti[92] likha{n}ti | kim asmākaṃ pitā kālaga○taḥ <|> te kathayanti <|> kālagataḥ <|> sa saṃjātāmarṣo Vaiśālīṃ gatvā kathayati ● bhrāta[93] yuktaṃ nāma tava mayi jyeṣṭhatare tiṣṭhati senāpatyaṃ kartum iti ● Siṃhena tasya yathāvṛttam ā(**v6**)rocitam* <|> sa Vaiśālakānāṃ Licchavīnāṃ saṃjātāmarṣas saṃlakṣa○yati | mama Vaiśālakair asatkāraḥ prayukto <|> gacchāmi Rājagṛham iti ● tena rajño Biṃbisārasya dūtasaṃpreṣaṇaṃ[94] kṛtam* <|> icchāmi devasya bāhucchāyāyāṃ

---

84 GM: *ta* (w.r.).

85 GM: *senāpatyaṃ* (w.r.).

86 GM: *senāpatyam* (w.r.).

87 *yuktam**: the *virāma* used as a punctuation mark (see also below *ārocitam** 241v6, *kṛtam** 241v6, *vastum** 241v6, *patitam** 242v5, *samākhyātam** 242v6, *upanāmitam** 242v7, *bhakṣitam** 242v7). This is a common phenomenon in the Gilgit manuscript of the *Vinayavastu* (see, for instance, Hu-von Hinüber [1994: 44, §II.6 (a)]).

88 GM: °*ādhyavasitam* (w.r.). Citing Dutt's wrong reading, Edgerton explains *adhyavasita* (lit. "ascertained, determined") used here as "accepted" (see BHSD, 17, s.v. *adhyavasita* [3]). On *adhivāsita*, see BHSD, 15, s.v. *adhivāsayati* ("[2] consents, especially agrees to, accepts [an invitation]").

89 *gaṇa ājñapayati*: see below *gaṇa ājñāpayati* 241v4. The two forms *ājñāpayati* and *ājñāpa°* are used without distinction. On *ājñāpayati* (caus. of *ā-√jñā*, "to give order") see SWTF, fasc.3, 235, s.v. ¹*ā-jñā*. GM: *gaṇa ājñāpayatīti* (w.r.).

90 GM: *ājñāpayatīti* (w.r.).

91 Given that the subject of this sentence is the singular *gaṇaḥ* ("assembly"), *likhati* is expected.

92 GM: *gaṇaḥ ājñāpayatīti* (w.r.).

93 *bhrāta*: Middle Indic vocative singular of *bhrātṛ*. On the vocative ending -*a* of *ṛ*-stem nouns in Prakrit languages, see Pischel [1981 (1900): 320, §391]. On such declension in Pāli, see Geiger [1994 (1916): 82–83, §90.5]. GM: *bhrātaḥ* (w.r.).

94 GM: *dūtapreṣaṇaṃ* (w.r.).

vastum* <|> tenāsya likhitaṃ <|> svāga(**v7**)taṃ <|> āgaccheti • sa Rājagṛhaṃ gataḥ <|>
tato rājñā Biṃbisāreṇāgrā◯mātye sthāpitaḥ <|>

[**§5**] yāvad apareṇa samayena rājño Biṃbisārasyāgramahiṣī kālagatā • sa kare kapolaṃ
datvā cintāparo vyavasthitaḥ <|> Gopena sa dṛṣṭa uktaś ca | deva | kasyārthāya (**v8**) devaḥ
kare kapolaṃ datvā cintāparo vyavasthita iti • sa kathayaty <|> agramahiṣī me kālagatā
• kim iti na cintāparas tiṣṭhāmi • alan deva tyajyatāṃ śokaḥ <|> asti mama bhrātur
duhitṛdvayaṃ rūpayauvanasaṃpanne[95] devārham eva • tatraikā vyākṛtā pitṛmārakaṃ putraṃ
jana(**v9**)yiṣyatīti <|> dvitīyā tu lakṣaṇasaṃpannam iti • tat katarāṃ devasyārthāyānayāmi
| yā sā vyākṛtā lakṣaṇasaṃpannaṃ putraṃ janayiṣyatīti | tato Gopena Siṃhasya lekho
(')nupreṣito[96] <|> rājño Biṃbisārasyāgramahiṣī kālagatā <|> tvam Upacelā<ṃ> iha
preṣayāgrama(**v10**)hiṣī[97] bhaviṣyatīti • tena tasya pratilekho visarjito <|> dūram api param
api gatvā tvam evāsmābhiḥ praṣṭavyo <|> yad bhavatā kṛtaṃ tat paraṃ pramāṇam iti[98] <<|>>
tvam eva jānīṣe <|> yathā gaṇena kriyākāraḥ kṛto nānyatra kanyā dātavyā rite[99] Vaiśālakān
iti <|> kiṃ tu tvam āgatyodyāne tiṣṭha <|> aham enā(**242r1**)m udyānaṃ niṣkāsayiṣyāmi[100]
<|> tvaṃ gṛhītvā gamiṣyasīti |

[**§6**] tato Gopo rājānam avalokya ratham āruhya Vaiśālīṃ saṃprasthitaḥ <|>
anupūrveṇa saṃprāptaḥ udyāne vyavasthitaḥ <|> tena khalu samayena Vaiśālyāṃ dauvārikaḥ
kālagato (')manuṣyakeṣūpapanno <|> tena Vaiśālakānāṃ nidarśitam*[101] (**r2**) <|> aham
amanuṣyeṣūpapanno <|> mama yakṣasthānaṃ kārayata <|> ghaṃṭā<ṃ> ca grīvāyāṃ
pralambayata | yadi kaś cid Vaiśālakānāṃ pratyarthikaṃ pratyamitram[102] āgamiṣyaty ahaṃ
tāvad ghaṇṭāśabdaṃ kariṣyāmi yāvad gṛhīto vā niṣpalāyito veti • tair yakṣaḥ pratirūpaṃ
kṛtvā ghaṃṭāṃ ca grīvāyāṃ baddhvā nṛ(**r3**)ttagītavāditaśabdena[103] balimālyopahāreṇa
dvārakoṣṭhake pratiṣṭhāpitaḥ <|> Gopena Siṃhasya sandiṣṭaṃ <|> aham udyāne tiṣṭhāmi
<|> nirgaccheti • sa Vaiśālakaṃ[104] gaṇam avalokya gṛhaṃ gatvā Upacelām āha | tvaṃ

---

[95] *rūpayauvanasaṃpanne*: nominative dual of °*saṃpannā*, inconsistent with *duhitṛdvayaṃ* (neut. sg.) and
arhaṃ (neut. sg.) both in gender and in number. GM: °*saṃpannaṃ* (w.r.).

[96] GM: °*praṣitaḥ* (w.r.).

[97] GM: *praṣayā*° (w.r.).

[98] Here *iti* may be rendered as "considering/thinking that". On this sentence, see above n.12.

[99] *rite*: Middle Indic form of *ṛte*. On the change of *ṛ* to *ri* in Prakrit, see PISCHEL [1981 (1900): 66, §56];
von Hinüber [2001: 128, §126]. GM: *ṛte* (w.r.).

[100] *niṣkāsayiṣyāmi*: see SWTF, fasc.16, 52, s.v. *niṣ-kas* ("caus. [°*kāsaya*-] hinausbringen"). GM: *niṣkāṣayi*°
(w.r.).

[101] GM: *nirdeśitam* (w.r.).

[102] *kaś cid ... pratyarthikaṃ pratyamitram*: on *pratyarthika* (masc., "enemy") and its synonym *pratyamitra*
(masc.), see BHSD, 376, s.v. *pratyarthika*; both *pratyarthikaṃ* and *pratyamitram* seem to have adopted
the nom. sg. neut. ending *-aṃ* (on the nom. sg. *-aṃ* of *a*-stem masculine nouns, see BHSG, 50, §8.26),
and are therefore inconsistent with the preceding *kaś* (masc.) in gender. GM: *pratyarthikaḥ pratyamitra*
(w.r.).

[103] *nṛttagītavāditaśabdena*: see SWTF, fasc.16, 60, s.v. *nṛtta-gīta-vādita* ("Tanz, Gesang und Musik").
GM: *nṛtyagītavāditra*° (w.r.).

[104] GM: *Vaśālakaṃ* (w.r.).

rājñe Bimbisārāya dattā <|> alaṃkuruṣvety uktvā[105] <|> udyānaṃ nirgaccha [||] (**r4**) sā alaṃkartum ārabdhā | Celayā [d]r̥ṣṭā[106] <|> sā kathayati <|> kimartham alaṃka○roṣi | ahaṃ dattā | kasya[107] | rājñe Bimbisārāya | sā kathayati | ahaṃ jyeṣṭhatarā <|> tvaṃ kathaṃ dattā • yady evaṃ tvam alaṃkuru • sā cālaṃkaroti <|> ghaṇṭā ca ravitum ārabdhā | Vaiśālako gaṇaḥ kṣubdhaḥ <|> pra(**r5**)tyamitro (')smākaṃ Vaiśālīṃ praviṣṭa iti <|> Siṃhas saṃtrastaḥ Upaceleti ○ kr̥tvā Celām ādāya laghu laghv eva nirgataḥ <|> Gopo (')pi saṃtrastaḥ Celāṃ rathe āropya saṃprasthito <|>

[**§7**] Vaiśālakaiḥ pr̥ṣṭaḥ[108] <|> te tena sārdhaṃ saṃgrāmayitum ārabdhāḥ <|> sa paṃcasu sthāneṣu kr̥tāvī <|> tena (**r6**) paṃca Licchaviśatāni marmmaṇi tāḍitāni • sa kathayati <|> bhavanto ma○yā yuṣmākaṃ pañcaśatāni marmmaṇi tāḍitāny <|> avaśiṣṭaṃ jīvitenācchādayāmi[109] <|> nivarttatheti[110] • te kathayaṃty <|> ekasatvo (')py asmākaṃ na praghātito <|> muñcata sannāhaṃ[111] <|> tais sannāho muktaḥ <|> paṃca(**r7**)śatāni bhūmau nipatitāni prāṇaiś ca viyuktāni | tatas te puruṣarākṣaso (')yam iti kr̥tvā bhītā niṣpalāyitāḥ <|> Vaiśālīm āgatya saṃjalpaṃ kartum ārabdhāḥ <|> etad vairam asmābhir bhavanto Bimbisāraputrāṇāṃ niryātayitavyaṃ | patralekhyaṃ kr̥tvā peḍāyāṃ prakṣipya jatumu(**r8**)drātāpaṃ kr̥tvā sthāpayatheti[112] <|> tais tathā kr̥tvā sthāpitam <|>

[**§8**] Gopo (')py anupūrveṇa Rājagr̥ham anuprāptaḥ kathayaty <|> Upacele avatareti | sā kathayati <<|>> tāta nāham Upacelā Celāhaṃ | kiṃ tvayā mama nārocitam* <|> sā tūṣṇīm avasthitā | tato (')sau duḥkhī durmmanā[113] rājñas sakāśaṃ (**r9**) gataḥ <|> rājñā dr̥ṣṭaḥ uktaś ca • svāgataṃ Gopa | āgato (')si • āgato (')smi deva | ānītā Upacelā | deva ānītā na ānītā ca • kiṃ kathayasi • Upaceleti kr̥tvā Celā ānītā | ānīyatāṃ paśyāmaḥ <|> sā praveśitā | rājñā dr̥ṣṭā atīva rūpayauvanasampannā hārī strīvi(**r10**)ṣaye | sahadarśanād[114] eva rājā ākṣiptaḥ kathayati | bhavantaḥ yo hi putraḥ pitaraṃ ghātayati[115] sa rājyahetoḥ <|> yadi me putro bhaviṣyati tasyā[116] jātasyaivāhaṃ paṭṭabandhaṃ kariṣyāmīti | tatas tena mahatā śrīsamudayena pariṇītā <|> Videhaviṣayād ānītā Vaidehīti (**242v1**) saṃjñā saṃvr̥ttā • sa tayā sārdhaṃ krīḍati ramate paricārayati |

---

[105] GM: *uktā* (w.r.).

[106] GM iii.2,12 n.1: *kr̥ṣṭā* (w.r.).

[107] *kasya*: on genitive used in place of a dative (see BHSG, 46, §7.63). GM: *kasmai* (w.r.).

[108] *Vaiśālakaiḥ pr̥ṣṭaḥ*: s.e. for *Vaiśālakair dr̥ṣṭaḥ*. GM: *Vaiśālakair dr̥ṣṭaḥ* (w.r.).

[109] *jīvitenācchādayāmi*: see above n.15.

[110] *nivarttatheti*: on the imperative 2nd person plural ending *-tha*, see BHSG, 132, §§26.12–13. GM: *nivartateti* (w.r.).

[111] *muñcata sannāhaṃ*: this seems to be Gopa's words, despite the absence of the quotation marker *iti*.

[112] GM: °*payateti* (w.r.).

[113] *durmmanā*: nom. sg. masc. of *durmanas*; see SWTF, fasc.14, 463, s.v. *dur-manas* ("betrübt, traurig; verdrießlich"). GM: *durmanā* (w.r.).

[114] *sahadarśanād*; see SWTF, fasc. 25, 359, s.v. *saha-darśanāt* ("gleich beim Anblick").

[115] *ghātayati*: a denominative verb stemming from the noun *ghāta* ("killing, slaying"); see SWTF, fasc.11, 203, s.v. *ghātaya*.

[116] *tasyā*: on *tasyā* as a variant form of *tasya*, see BHSG, 53, §8.58.

[§9] yāvad apareṇa samayena rājā Bimbisāro mṛgayānirgataḥ[117] <|> anyatamasmiṃ cāśramapade ṛṣiḥ paṃcābhijñaḥ prativasati • yāvan mṛgaś śaraparamparayā santrāsitaḥ tasya ṛṣer āśramapad[a]ṃ[118] praviśya nirga(**v2**)to rājñā śareṇa marmaṇi tāḍitaḥ <|> tato (')sau ṛṣiḥ kruddhaḥ kathayati | kalirāja mama caṇḍamṛgo (')py āśramapadaṃ pariharati <|> tvayā tu śaraṇopagato mṛgaḥ praghātita iti • sa ca rājā evam ṛṣiṇā paribhāṣyate <|> balakāyaś cāgataḥ kathayati <|> deva ko (')yaṃ paribhāṣyate • (**v3**) rājā kathayati <|> ahaṃ bhavanto | yo rājānaṃ paribhāṣate tasya ko daṇḍaḥ deva <|> tasya badho daṇḍaḥ <|> yady evaṃ parityakto me ayam ṛṣiḥ sa praghātayitum[119] ārabdhaḥ <|> sa praghātyamāno mithyāpraṇidhānaṃ[120] karoti | yad aham anena kalirājena adūṣyanapakārī[121] badhya utsṛṣṭaḥ tatro(**v4**)papadyeyaṃ yatrainaṃ jīvitād vyaparopayeyaṃ | punas saṃlakṣayati | rājāna ete suguptāḥ sugopitāḥ <|> yady aham anyatropapattiṃ grahīṣyāmīti[122] kadā cit pratyayaṃ nārāgayiṣyāmi • sarvathā anena me praṇidhānena asyaivāgramahiṣyā kukṣāv upapattis syād iti • sa (**v5**) mithyāpraṇidhānaṃ kṛtvā Celāyāḥ kukṣāv upapannaḥ <|>

[§10] yam eva diva◯saṃ pratisandhir gṛhītas tam eva divasaṃ rudhiravarṣaṃ pati-tam* <|> Celāyāś ca dohadas samutpannaḥ <|> aho batāhaṃ devasya pṛṣṭha[varv]rāṇy[123] utpāṭyotpāṭya bhakṣayeyam iti • eṣa ca vṛttā(**v6**)nto rājñe niveditaḥ <|> rājñā naimittikā āhūya pṛṣṭā<<ḥ>> <|> ta ūcur <|> deva ◯ yo (')yaṃ satvo devyāḥ kukṣim avakrāntas tasyāyam anubhāva iti • rājā cintāparo vyavasthitaḥ <|> katham asyā dohadaḥ prativinod-yateti | aparaiḥ kuśalajātīyaiḥ samākhyātam* <|> deva tūli(**v7**)kāyā{ṃ} māṃsapūrṇā<yā> prāvṛtya[124] devyā ātmānam upanayeti • tato rājñā ◯ māṃsapūrṇayā tūlikayā ātmānaṃ veṣṭayitvā Celāyā upanāmitam* <|> tayā pṛṣṭhamāṃsam iti kṛtvā bhakṣitam* <|> tatas tasyā yo dohadaḥ sa prativigataḥ <|> bhūyo (')py asyā dohada utp[a](**v8**)nnaḥ <|> aho batāhaṃ devasya rudhiraṃ pibeyam[125] iti • etad api rājñe niveditam | tato rājñā pañcāṅgikāṃ[126] śirāṃ[127] mocayitvā[128] rudhiraṃ pāyitā <|> so (')py asyā dohadaḥ prativigataḥ <|> yāvat paripūrṇair navabhir māsaiḥ prasūtā <|> dārako jātaḥ abhirūpo darśanīyaḥ prāsādikaḥ <|>

---

[117] *mṛgayānirgataḥ*: there are two possibilities to interpret the manuscript at this point — either as the compound *mṛgayā-nirgataḥ*, or as *mṛgayā<ṃ> nirgataḥ* (The *anusvāra* has been forgotten).

[118] GM: *āśramapadān* (w.r.). The following word *praviśya* is missing in GM.

[119] GM: *praghātitum* (w.r.).

[120] *mithyāpraṇidhānaṃ*: a compound; see BHSD, 432, s.v. *mithyā-praṇidhāna* ("a wrong, improper, earnest wish"). GM: *mithyā praṇidhānaṃ* (w.r.).

[121] *adūṣyanapakārī*: a compound; on *adūṣy-anapakārin* ("doing no wrong and not offending"), see BHSD, 11, s.v. *adūṣin*. GM: *adūṣaṇam akāri* (w.r.).

[122] Here *iti* may have been used to indicate the preceding hypothesis (*yady aham ... grahīṣyāmi*); on this function of *iti*, see SWTF, fasc. 4, 314, s.v. *iti (c).

[123] *pṛṣṭha[varv]rāṇ*: see above n.20. GM: *pṛṣṭhamāṃsāny* (w.r.).

[124] *tūlikāyā{ṃ} māṃsapūrṇā<yā> prāvṛtya*: see above n.21. GM: *tūlikāyāṃ māṃsapūrṇāṃ prāvṛtiṃ* (w.r.).

[125] GM: *piveyam* (w.r.; the verb √*piv* does not exist).

[126] GM: *pañceṅkhikāḥ* (w.r.). Citing Dutt's incorrect reading, Edgerton comments that *iṅkhika* (or *īṅkh°*) is "of unknown mg. [= meaning]" (see BHSD, 113, s.v. *iṅkhika*).

[127] GM: *śirā* (w.r.).

[128] On the gerund ending *-itvā*, where the initial *i* represents a Middle Indic feature, see BHSG, 173, §§35.22–23.

yasminn api (**v9**) divase jātas tasminn api divase[129] rudhiravarṣaṃ patitaṃ | bhūyo rājñā naimittikā āhūya pṛṣṭās <|> te kathayanti <|> deva yathā śāstre dṛśyate niyatam ayaṃ dārako pitā[130] jīvitād vyaparopya svayam eva paṭṭaṃ ba<<d>>dhvā rājyaṃ kārayiṣyatīti | rājā saṃlakṣayati <|> sarvathā rājyārtham ayaṃ māṃ jī(**v10**)vitād vyaparopayati <|> tad asmai svayam eva rājyaṃ dāsyāmi <|> kimarthaṃ māṃ jīvitād vyaparopayiṣyatīti |

ABBREVIATIONS

ĀvC   *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi* of Jinadāsa. *Śrīmaj-Jinadāsa-gaṇimahattara-kṛtayā cūrṇyā sametaṃ śrīmad-Āvaśyakasūtram.* 2 vols. Ratlam: Śrīṛṣabhadevajī Keśarīmalajī Śvetāṃbara saṃsthā, 1928–1929.

ĀvH   *Āvaśyaka-ṭīkā* of Haribhadra. *Śrīmad-bhavaviraha-Haribhadrasūri-sūtrita-vṛtty-alaṃkṛtaṃ śrīmad-Āvaśyakasūtram.* Bombay: Agamodayasamiti, 1916–1917.

BHSD   Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary.* Volume II. Dictionary. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953.

BHSG   Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary.* Volume I. Grammar. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953.

CDIAL   Ralph L. Turner, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages.* London: Oxford University Press, 1966.

Divy   *The Divyāvadāna: A Collection of Early Buddhist Legends*, eds. Edward B. Cowell and Robert A. Neil. First published in Cambridge, 1886. Reprint: Amsterdam: Oriental Press/Philo Press, 1970.

GBM   *Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts* (Facsimile Edition), eds. Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra. Śata-Piṭaka Series 10 (1) – (10). New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1959–1974.

GM   *Gilgit Manuscripts*, ed. Nalinaksha Dutt. 4 vols. in 9 parts. Srinagar and Calcutta: J. C. Sarkhel at the Calcutta Oriental Press, 1939–1959.

MSV   *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*

Pkt   Prakrit

PW   *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung*, ed. Otto von Böhtlingk, 7 Bände. First St. Petersburg edition published in 1883–1886. Reprint: Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1991.

r   recto

s.e.   scribal error

Skt   Sanskrit

s.v.   sub verbo, "under the word(s)"

SWTF   *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden*, begonnen

---

[129] The word *divase* is missing in GM.

[130] *pitā*: s.e. (?) for *pitaraṃ*. GM: *pitaraṃ* (w.r.).

von Ernst Waldschmidt, eds. Heinz Bechert, Klaus Röhrborn, Jens-Uwe Hart-
mann, Vol. 1ff., Göttingen 1973ff.

TŚPC   *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*

v   verso

w.r.   wrong reading

REFERENCES

AKANUMA, Chizen (赤沼智善)

[1931]   *Indo bukkyō koyū meishi jiten* 印度佛教固有名詞辞典. Reprint: Kyoto:
            Hōzōkan 法蔵館, 1967.

BALBIR, Nalini

[1991]   "Tīrthaṃkaras of the Future." In *Aspects of Jainology Vol. 3: Pt. Dal-
            sukhbhai Malvania Felicitation Volume I*, eds. M. A. Dhaky and Sagar-
            mal Jain, 34–68. Varanasi: P. V. Research Institute.

[1993]   *Āvaśyaka-Studien: Introduction générale et Traductions*. Alt- und Neu-
            Indische Studien 45,1. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

[2008]   "Stories from the Āvaśyaka Commentaries." In *The Clever Adulteress
            and Other Stories: A Treasury of Jain Literature*, ed. Phyllis Granoff,
            17–74. First Published in 1990. Reprint: Oakville: Mosaic Press.

BHATTACHARYA, Vidhushekhara

[1947]   "Glimpses of the Republic of Vaiśālī." *The Indian Historical Quarterly*
            23, no.1: 58–61.

BÜHLER, Johann Georg

[1887]   *On the Indian Sect of the Jainas*. Translated from the German, edited
            with an Outline of Jaina Mythology by James Burgess. London: Luzac
            & Co., 1903.

CHUNG, Jin-il

[1998]   *Die Pravāraṇā in den kanonischen Vinaya-Texten der Mūlasarvāstivādin
            und der Sarvāstivādin*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

COWELL, Edward B., et al.

[1895–1907] *The Jātaka, or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*. 6 vols.
            Reprint: London: The Pali Text Society, 1981.

DELEU, Jozef

[1969]   "Nirayāvaliyāsuyakkhandha: Uvanga's 8-12 van de jaina Canon." *Ori-
            entalia Gandensia* 4: 77–150. Translated into English by J. W. de Jong
            and Royce Wiles. Philologica Asiatica. Monograph Series 10. Tokyo:
            The Chūō Academic Research Institute, 1996.

FAUSBØLL, Michel Viggo

[1877–1896] *The Jātaka, Together with Its Commentary*. 6 vols. London: Trübner & Co.

Geiger, Wilhelm

[1994] *A Pāli Grammar*. Translated into English by Batakrishna Ghosh, revised and edited by K. R. Norman. Oxford: The Pali Text Society. German original published in 1916.

Gnoli, Raniero

[1977–1978] *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu: Being the 17th and Last Section of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin*. Serie Orientale Roma Vol. 49, 1–2. Rome: Is. M. E. O.

von Hinüber, Oskar

[2001] *Das Ältere Mittelindisch im Überblick*. 2., erweiterte Auflage. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Hiraoka, Satoshi (平岡聡)

[2007] *Budda ga nazo toku sanze no monogatari: Diviya Avadāna zenyaku* ブッダが謎解く三世の物語 『ディヴィヤ・アヴァダーナ』全訳. 2 vols. Tokyo: Daizō shuppan 大蔵出版.

Hu-von Hinüber, Haiyan

[1994] *Das Poṣadhavastu: Vorschriften für die buddhistische Beichtfeier im Vinaya der Mūlasarvāstivādins*. Reinbek: Dr. Inge Wezler Verlag für Orientalistische Fachpublikationen.

Jacobi, Hermann

[1879] *The Kalpasûtra of Bhadrabâhu*, edited with an Introduction, Notes and a Prâkṛit-Saṃskṛit Glossary. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus.

Jambūvijaya (Muni)

[1989] *Nāyādhammakahāo (Jñātādharmakathāṅgasūtram)*. Jaina-Āgama-Series No.5. Bombay: Shrī Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya.

Jäschke, H. A.

[1881] *A Tibetan-English Dictionary: With Special Reference to the Prevailing Dialects, to which is added an English-Tibetan Vocabulary*. Reprint: Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1992.

Johnson, Helen M.

[1962] *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra or The Lives of Sixty-Three Illustrious Persons by Ācārya Śrī Hemacandra*. Vol. VI. Baroda: Oriental Institute.

Karashima, Seishi (辛嶋静志)

[2012] *Die Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ: Verhaltensregeln für buddhistische Mönche der Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins*. Band III: Grammatik, Glossar und Nachträge. Tokyo: The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University.

Koch, Rolf Heinrich

[2009] "On the Interrelation of Certain Prakrit Sources." *Indologica Taurinensia* 35: 275–286.

Leumann, Ernst

[1934] *Übersicht über die Āvaśyaka-Literatur*. Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien 4. Hamburg: Friederischen, De Gruyter & Co. M. B. H.

Majumdar, R. C.

[1945] "Historical Materials in Gilgit Manuscripts." In *B. C. Law Volume*, Part I, eds. D. R. Bhandarkar et al., 134–141. Calcutta: The Indian Research Institute.

Malalasekera, Gunapala Piyasena

[1937–1938] *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*. 2 vols. Reprint: London: The Pali Text Society, 1974.

Matsumura, Hisashi (松村恒)

[1996] "The Kaṭhinavastu from the Vinayavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādins." In *Sanskrit-Texte aus dem buddhistischen Kanon: Neuentdeckungen und Neueditionen III*, 145–239. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Mehta, Mohanlal, and K. Rishabh Chandra

[1970–1972] *Prakrit Proper Names*. 2 vols. Ahmedabad: L. D. Institute of Indology.

Mette, Adelheid

[2010] *Die Erlösungslehre der Jaina: Legenden, Parabeln, Erzählungen. Aus dem Sanskrit und Prakrit übersetzt und herausgegebn*. Berlin: Verlag der Weltreligionen im Insel Verlag Berlin.

Negi, Jita Sain, et al.

[1993–2005] *Tibetan-Sanskirt Dictionary*. 16 vols. Sarnath, Varanasi: Dictionary Unit, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies.

Norman, K. R.

[1990–2001] *Collected Papers*. 7 vols. Oxford: The Pali Text Society.

Panglung, Jampa Losang

[1981] *Die Erzählstoffe des Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya analysiert auf Grund der tibetischen Übersetzung*. Studia Philologica Buddhica. Monograph Series III. Tokyo: The Reiyukai Library.

Pargiter, Frederick Eden

[1913] *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age, with Introduction and Notes*. Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press.

Pischel, Richard

[1981] *A Grammar of the Prākrit Languages*. Translated from German by Subhadra Jhā. Reprint: Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass. German original pub-

lished in 1900.

Poddar, R. P., et al.

[2008–2009] *A Comprehensive and Critical Dictionary of the Prakrit Languages, with Special Reference to Jain Literature.* Volume 4, Fascicules I–IV. Pune: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

Radich, Michael

[2011] *How Ajātaśatru was Reformed: The Domestication of "Ajase" and Stories in Buddhist History.* Studia Philologica Buddhica. Monograph Series XXVII. Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies.

Ratnachandraji (Muni)

[1923–1932] *An Illustrated Ardha-Māgadhī Dictionary.* 4 vols. Reprint: Tokyo: Meicho-Fukyū-Kai.

Rhys Davids, Thomas William, and Joseph Estlin Carpenter

[1886] *Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Dīgha Nikāya.* Part I. Reprint: London: The Pali Text Society, 1968.

Śāha, Subodhacandra Nānālāla

[1977] *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritam Mahākāvyam. Daśamaṃ Parva.* Mumbaī: Śrīmatī Gaṃgābāī Jaina Ceriṭebala Ṭrasṭa.

Schiefner, F. Anton von

[1906] *Tibetan Tales Derived from Indian Sources. Translated from the Tibetan of the Kah-gyur.* Done into English from the German, with An Introduction by W. R. S. Ralston. London: Trübner & Co.Ltd.

Sircar, Dines Chandra

[1971] *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India.* Second Edition Revised and Enlarged. Delhi : Motilal Banarsidass.

Silk, Jonathan A.

[1997] "The Composition of the *Guan Wuliangshoufo-jing*: Some Buddhist and Jaina Parallels to Its Narrative Frame." *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 25, no.2: 181–256.

[2009] *Riven by Lust: Incest and Schism in Indian Buddhist Legend and Historiography.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Speijer, Jakob Samuel

[1886] *Sanskrit Syntax.* Leiden. Reprint: Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1973.

Wiley, Kristi

[2012] "Supernatural Powers and Their Attainment in Jainism." In *Yoga Powers: Extraordinary Capacities Attained through Meditation and Concentration*, ed. Knut A. Jacobsen, 145–194. Leiden: Brill.

Wille, Klaus

[1990] *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung des Vinayavastu der Mūlasarvāstivādin*. Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Supplementband 30. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Wu, Juan [2012] "From Perdition to Awakening: A Study of Legends of the Salvation of the Patricide Ajātaśatru in Indian Buddhism." Ph.D. diss., Cardiff University.

⟨Keywords⟩ Bimbisāra/Śreṇika, Ajātaśatru/Kūṇika, *Cīvaravastu* of *the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, the *Āvaśyaka* Commentaries

JSPS Postdoctoral Fellow, The University of Tokyo

『根本説一切有部』「衣事」およびジャイナ教白衣派文献における
ビンビサーラ／シュレーニカとアジャータシャトル／クーニカの物語

呉　娟

　マガダ国王ビンビサーラ／シュレーニカとその息子アジャータシャトル／クーニカは、ブッダ、マハーヴィーラと同時代の重要人物として、古代インドの仏教・ジャイナ教両文献に頻繁に取材される存在である。両教の資料比較においても、アジャータシャトル／クーニカが父王を幽閉し死に至らしめた物語については、各伝承の平行関係がすでに手厚く検証されている。しかしこの父子にまつわる他の物語群については、充分に吟味されてきたとは言いがたい。本稿は、仏教・ジャイナ教白衣派両伝承において連続して叙述される三つの挿話 ── ビンビサーラ／シュレーニカとチェーラー／チェッラナー（＝ヴァイデーヒー）の結婚、アジャータシャトル／クーニカの復讐心を抱く聖仙／苦行者としての前生、それに続くチェーラー／チェーッラナーの母胎への再生 ── について、初めて比較研究を試みるものである。三挿話の仏教・白衣派両ヴァージョンが基本的な内容を共有することは、すでに両側面から指摘されているものの、管見の限り両ヴァージョンを一所に比較検討し、その平行と相違を検証した試みはない。これら三挿話がアジャータシャトル／クーニカの父王幽閉の挿話の背景を構成していることに鑑みれば、本稿は、この父子の人物像の矛盾を起点として、仏教とジャイナ教の説話伝承の全体像把握に資する手がかりを供しうると考える。

　本稿は三部から構成される。第一部は『根本説一切有部律』「衣事」所収の三挿話の翻訳・分析である。当部では、アジャータシャトルの前生と、それに続くチェーラーの母胎への転生の挿話は「衣事」のみならず他の仏教文献にも表れるが、「衣事」はこれら二挿話をビンビサーラとチェーラーの結婚の挿話と結合する現存唯一の仏教文献であり、かつこの結合こそがジャイナ教白衣派文献との平行を示すことを論ずる。

　第二部では、白衣派所伝の三文献、ジナダーサ（6-7 世紀）の『アーヴァシュヤ・チュールニ』、ハリバドラ（8 世紀）の『アーヴァシュヤ・ティーカー』、ヘーマチャンドラ（11-12 世紀）の『トリシャシュティシャラーカープルシャチャリタ』所収の三挿話を検証する。本部では『アーヴァシュヤ・チュールニ』所収の三挿話が白衣派所伝テキスト中で現存最古のものであることを論じた上で、これを全訳する。ハリバドラ版は基本的に『アーヴァシュヤ・チュールニ』所収話と同一であり、ヘーマチャンドラ版は三挿話の連続が異なっているものの、各挿話内の話型は前二者と同様である。

　第三部では、「衣事」所収の仏教版三挿話と白衣派所伝のそれとを比較し、両ヴァージョンが全編の内容・構造において注目すべき平行関係を持つこと、細部においては明白な相違を見せることを明らかにする。そしてこの平行関係をもとに、アジャータシャトル／クーニカとその両親を物語る説話伝承は仏教徒とジャイナ教徒に共有されており、そこでは有名な父王幽閉の挿話が、彼の前生譚、両親の結婚と彼の誕生の挿話と不可分に結びついていた可能性について考察する。