THE TEMPTATION OF THE BUDDHA

A Preliminary Comparison of some Chinese versions of an episode in the life of the Buddha

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Almost all the biographies of the Buddha relate that Mara, the evil-one, attempted in vain to disturb the Buddha, either before or after he obtained enlightenment. The accounts, however, vary in many respects. Mara, regarded as the personification of death in some of the texts 1) is always the god of love, Kama, in Abhagavasa's Buddhacarita. 2) The ways in which Mara tries to influence the Bodhisattva are manifold. He fights him with his army of demons or sends his daughters to seduce him. He offers him his kingdom and his rank, or tells him that he could prevent a horrible war by becoming king and ruling wisely and justly. He brings bad news from Kapilavastu and asks the Bodhisattva to return to his hometown and set matters right, or he tells him to enjoy life and its pleasures. 3)

The attitude of the gods also differs. They are generally neutral and offer flowers to the Bodhisattva after he has emerged victorious from the struggle. In the account given in the Pali Nibana-katha 4), Sakka (Indra) and Brahma take sides with the Bodhisattva, Sakka blowing a conch and Brahma holding a white umbrella, while a Naga praised the Bodhisattva. When, however, Mara's army advanced, they all ran away. Sakka stood at the end of the world, Brahma returned to the Brahmaloka and the Naga lay down in his palace, covering his face with his hands. According to the T'ang Fo-pen-ching-ching, Indra, riding on his elephant Airavata and Varuna, the god of the waters, are generals in Mara's army, and the god An-hsiang (peaceful-renamed Shiva), the chief of the evil spirits is the first to turn round and flee. 5) This is all the more surprising, as the same text relates that all the gods came to protect and venerate the Bodhisattva when he was born. 6) The four-headed god An-hsiang for instance, was riding on a bull and took an umbrella to protect the newly born child, and Yama came to venerate him after having dismissed his prisoners from hell.

In some instances Mara's weapons are bows and arrows, swords and spears, in others he throws hot coals, ashes, sand and soil at his adversary or hurlsa rocks and trees at him, or he fights with a number of bad qualities such as passion, delusion and the like, which the Bodhisattva overcomes with their opposites.

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In Rockhill’s *Life of the Buddha*, which is based on the *Tale of the Buddha*, the account of the temptation is as follows: “Then Mara, the Evil-one, went to him and said: ‘Devadatta has abducted Kapiñcavato; he has seized the palace and has crushed the yakṣas. Why stay you here? He caused apparitions of Yassollora, of Mṛgdeka, and of Kopa, of Devadatta and of the yakṣas who had stepped to appear before him, but the Bodhisattva remained unmoved. Then Mara reasoned with him, saying that it was impossible to find enlightenment, but all to no purpose. After that he called his three daughters, De ignis, Pleasure and Delight, and they tried all their allurements, but he vain; the Bodhisattva changed them into old hags. All the Evil-one’s devices were unable to affect the Bodhisattva, and, seeing this, the deities of the pure abode and all the gods showered down flowers on the conqueror (byāna), and sang songs of victory.’”

Some of the versions of this episode from Pāli and Sāṃskṛta sources have already been compared with each other by E. Windisch in his book *Kṣemā and Buddha*. A few Chinese texts will be analysed below. These texts may be grouped together into five groups.

The first group comprises T 99 *Tua-a-bun*, the complete *Sāṃskṛta-navagama* and T 100 *Pi-yi Tua-a-bun*, an incomplete *Sāṃskṛta-navagama*. The temptation of the Buddha of these two texts may be compared with the Pāli *Sampada Nibbana* version, with which they agree in *avīha (sense)* with only a few discrepancies in *yavagana (wording)*. As will be seen below, parts of a version from the Pāli *Sampada*, the *Pālinavagama*, are incorporated in these texts.

The second group consists of T 1417 *Kpā-pa-siaw-shch‘ nibhara-pa-pa‘-sai-yeh*, the *Pāli of the Suvarṇavimāna* and T 134 *Fe-hao-chung-hao-mo-ha-si-ding*, *Samaditthonephagama*. The latter text begins with the appearance of the world at the commencement of a kalpa and ends with the Buddha’s visit to Kapiñcavato. This text agrees on the whole with the account given in Rockhill’s *Life of the Buddha*. Apart from the fact that in T 134 the three women who attempt to seduce the Bodhisattva are created by Mara, whereas they are his daughters in T 1417 and that the latter text is more detailed at the end, the two texts agree.

Two Chinese texts make up the third group, T 184 *Li-hsinh-pi-pi-si-ding* and T 185 *Fe-hao-shu* *at-ge-shih-yin-pi-ch‘i-shing*, two biographies of the Buddha translated in 197 A.D. and between 323 and 316 respectively. T 184 is said to have been brought from Kapiñcavato by the monk *Dong-k’ai*. The more elaborate versions of the episode in question have been grouped together in group four and five. Group four comprises
In Group Five we find the longest and most detailed accounts of the temptation. The texts belonging to this group are the Bodhisattva T 190 in Po-hsi-so-ching and T 184 Po-hsi-so-ching. T 190 has been translated by S. Beck on the Buddhist History of Sana Buddha.

Some of the features in this group are the Maha-bheda shrama foretelling disasters, and that a thousand days of Mara’s we mentioned, 500 of whom side with the Bodhisattva, go against him.

According to E. Windisch, who compared several Pali and Sanskrit versions of the Buddha’s temptation by Mara, the Mahakamata of the Pali Sutta-piita, part of which are found in Sutras in the Lankatilaka, in Chapter XVIII, belong to the earliest stage of the legend. This tale tells how Mara visited the Buddha’s white while he was doing penance on the banks of the river Nandana shortly before obtaining enlightenment. Mara remarked that the Bodhisattva is extremely weak and said it would be better to do good works and perform sacrifices. The Bodhisattva replied that his mind gets some support when the flesh is wasting away. He referred to Mara’s test-told army: 1) the Astra, 2) external, 3) hunger and thirst, 4) craving, 5) pain and suffering, 6) convulsive, 7) doubt, 8) hypocrisy and stupidity, 9) gain, fame, beauty and gloriously obtained, and 10) the building of oneself and the continuance of others. He said he would fight this army and train disciples. Mara then went away like a crow who thought he had found a lump of fat and discovered it was but a stone.

A more elaborate version of this episode is found in the Mahaparinibbana of the Sanyagana of the Pali Canon. 2) Windisch traced parallel to the Pali version in Chapter XXIV of the Mahavamsa.

The Chinese texts of the Sanyagana T 99 and T 102 agree with the Pali. According to these three texts, Mara approached the Buddha shortly after he had obtained enlightenment and asked him why he dwells alone, not seeking the company of men. The Buddha answered that he is free from attachment and has found peace. Mara then asked why the Buddha was not to teach his doctrine to others, but the Buddha refused to do so. In the Pali version, a rather long dialogue follows, which seems out of place. 14) Just like a crow, whose limbs have been cut by boys and girls, is unable to crawl back to the pond it lives in, so Mara is unable to attack the Buddha, as he has his eyes on all creations. This quip is not found in the Chinese Sanyagana T 99 and T 102.

The episode ends with a verse already found in the Mahavamsa: “The crow hoisted round the rock that looked like (a lump of) fat. Do we have 7
find something soft, is it something sweet?’ Having obtained nothing sweet there, the crow went away from that spot. Just like the crow approaching the rock, being disgusted, we shall go away from Gotama.’’

15) The Chinese verses say: ‘‘A white stone looked like hard fat. A bird who did not realise this wanted to eat this fat. He did not get anything to eat and hurt its beak. As he returned without getting anything to eat, thus do I return without having obtained my aim.’’

It is all the three texts it is said that Mara’s three daughters approached their father and offered to seduce the Buddha. Mara doubted whether this would be possible. The three daughters Rat, Arati and Tanha went to the Buddha, but he paid no attention to them. Thereupon they each took the form of a hundred women of different ages, but to no avail. Each of the three daughters in turn approached the Buddha. Tanha asked him why he stayed alone and did not make friends with people in the village. The Buddha answered that he had found peace after the vanquishing Mara’s hosts. Arati then enquired how the Buddha made it possible to cross not only five streams, but also the sixth, thus reaching the other shore of desire.16) The Buddha’s answer was that his body as well as his mind were at peace. Finally Raga stated that many people would be released by the Tathagata’s doctrine, and the Buddha confirmed this.

The three daughters then joined their father who told them that it was foolish to attempt to split a rock with stalks of flowers, to dig up a mountain with the fingernails or to eat iron. The Chinese verses add that it was as if they had wanted to catch the wind in a net or push down the moon or empty the ocean with their hands or blow down the Himalayas.

Group II is made up of T 1451 the Vingy of the Mahasuvanti-ro’s and T 191. These two texts tell us that the Bodhisattva was seated under the Bodhitree. Mara had two banners, one which moved when a happy event was to take place, and the other when some misfortune was at hand. The latter flag moving violently, Mara took the shape of a messenger and approached the Bodhisattva with news from Kapilavastu, saying that Devadatta had entered his palace, violated the women and killed the Sakya.17) The Bodhisattva was affected by these tidings, and three evil thoughts of desire, ill-will and violence arose in him. He realised that these thoughts were due to Mara and he caused thoughts of renunciation, good will and non-violence to arise in him. These two versions are the only ones discussed here in which Mara’s attempts to sway the Bodhisattva from his path have any effect, albeit a temporary one.

Mara then enquired why the Bodhisattva was sitting under the Bodhitree. The Bodhisattva answered that he wanted to obtain enlighten-
man. He told Mara that he had sacrificed his possessions, life and limbs through countless kalpas, whereas he, Mara, had obtained his rank because of some good deeds done by him, but that nobody would testify to the Bodhisattva's countless sacrifices. The Bodhisattva then touched the earth, and the spirit of the earth appeared as witness for the Bodhisattva.

T 1451 continues by referring to Mara’s three daughters, whereas according to T 1457 Mara created three beautiful, bashful young women. These three women, Mara’s daughters and his creations, attempted to disturb the Bodhisattva and were turned into old women. Mara then attacked the Bodhisattva with his 36 divisions of troops of demons and wild animals. The Bodhisattva entered into the meditation of compassion. The account of T 1451 is somewhat shorter than that of T 1450. According to the former text, a god of the pure abodes created an umbrella and protected the Bodhisattva from all the missiles hurled at him and turned them into all kinds of flowers. The Bodhisattva then performed miracles, sitting, standing and walking in the air and issuing water and fire from his body. T 1450 tells us that Mara’s weapons were turned into flowers. The earth Mara rained onto his opponent was turned into fragrant substances. A god of the pure abodes then created a canopy of flowers and the venomous insects Mara sent forth could not reach the Bodhisattva. Mara then thought of turning the leaves of the Bodhitree into instruments and causing the wind to blow and produce a horrible sound. The Bodhisattva’s meditation was not disturbed. The gods of the pure abodes came down to help, each one took hold of one leaf so that they could not move in the wind. As Mara’s army was not yet willing to disperse, the gods united and threw Mara onto a mountain. The Bodhisattva then performed miracles. This last feature is found only in these two versions.19

T 181 and 184, Hiu-hsing-pen-ch’i-sheng and fú-shen t.é-té-shui-pung-pen-ch’i-sheng form the third group. Both versions agree with each other literally. The Bodhisattva was sitting under the Bodhitree and a light from the spot between his eye-brows entered Mara’s palace and frightened him. Mara’s son Susti warned his father not to fight the Bodhisattva, whose conduct was pure, but Mara did not listen. His daughters offered to seduce the Bodhisattva. Together with 100 attendants they went to the Bodhitree, playing the flute and singing and offered their services to the Bodhisattva. He told them: ‘You are like beautifully painted vases full of filth. You do not pay heed to the fact that everything is impermanent and that you will be reborn in the three evil existences. Since innumerable ages I was free from desire and regarded women either as mothers or as elder or younger sisters. Return to your palace and do not again disturb people.” With
these words be turned them. How old woman, Mara grew furious and attacked the Disciples with his beast of demons, but they were not able to go near him. The Bodhisattva then spoke some verses in which he said that he had served the Buddha, as a part and that he himself would become the Buddha Sakayamuni. Mara’s words would be unanswerable and his son will beg forgiveness.

The three texts of group IV are the Prajñāpāramitā-śāstra, T 189, Kṣanā-kṣanatanya-jātaka, and T 189, Jāmao apratipajjaya. The latter text is a Bodhisattva biography in verse. The Kṣanā-kṣanatanya-jātaka, T 184, is a catalogue of Buddhist scriptures written in 1975 D.A., 896 of this work on p. 895, "Some say this work has been composed by Aśvaghosa." This remark is also found in T 189, "the three sacred Bodhisattva Carac 79, whereas Megha says the author of this work is Mahāmāyā. 211 This must be the case, as it is highly improbable that Aśvaghosa should have written two books of verses. 212, 213, the Bhāratānātīya and T 189 have, however, many verses in common.

In T 189 two sisters of Mara appear, Megha and Kāli, who are also mentioned in Buddhāvatī XI, 40:

\[\text{saṃ mānātāsāvasa bhāra kāla cātusekham}\\nhūmanām bhāvanā mānātāsāvasa bhāra kāla cātusekham\]

The translation of this verse by L.S. Johansen is as follows: "But a woman, black as a cloud, with a shawl in her hands, wandered about unceasingly and did not remain still, with the intention of deceiving the great heart, and resembling the intelligence of a man of inconstant mind, wandering uncertainly among the various sacred traditions." In a footnote Johansen refers to the Chinese text, in which Meghakali is taken in a proper name. As Meghakali is dead, two women must be meant. In T 191 Mara speaks a woman black as a cloud, who wandered about aimlessly. 212

T 193 has a feature not found in any of the other texts—Indra, Varuṇa, Śiva and other gods fight in Mara’s army. The Bodhisattva’s and Mara’s weapons are good and bad qualities respectively. The bodhisattva on the other hand is the only text which mentions these sons of Mara, Vaiśravaṇa, Harivaśa and Devaka. It also states very clearly that Mara is the same as the god of love, Kama:

\[\text{yam kumāro deva sampredha bhava kālo nāma sthaśākim}\]

Him, whom in the world they call the god of love, him of the bright weapon and also the flower arrowed, the same one is the moon.
activities of the passions and the story of liberation they symbolize.

2) This character of Mara's is also implied in T. 151, where the five flower offerings of Mara are mentioned.

According to the Buddhavagga and T. 158, the Bodhisatta was meditating under the Bodhi-tree. Mara was depressed, and three sons in Vessantara, was only called Mara or Mara, asked their father why this was so. Mara told them the reason. Shara advised his father not to fight the Bodhisatta. In both texts, Mara remained the Bodhisatta attired, but he belonged to the kshatriya class and it was not fitting that he should become a monastic. As the Bodhisatta purified himself from these vices, Mara disapproved of this action, and hence his continuous attempts to stop it. In the Buddhavagga, Mara's three daughters are only briefly mentioned, whereas T. 158 says they told to the Bodhisatta and were turned into old women. Mara then advised his son to give up the path to the Bodhisatta. The Bodhisatta was not interested in this advice and called the earth as witness for his merits. The spirit of the earth testified for the Bodhisatta, offered flowers and disappeared.

Both texts have a detailed description of the demons fighting at Mara's army and their attack on the Bodhisatta. Both mention gods and men, angels and spirits who were angry with Mara. T. 158 says blood oozed from their pores. The gods of the pure abodes, according to T. 158 assisted the Bodhisatta, whereas the Buddhavagga says the gods of the pure abodes developed compassion towards them, but were attacked by anger because they were from from all passion.

The plot concludes alike in both texts, an invisible spirit in the sky administered Mara to death, and Mara finally turned away vanished.

The summary of T. 151 is as follows: When the Bodhisatta meditated under the Bodhi-tree, the earth shook and Mara asked him what the meaning of the earthquake was. The minister interpreted this as the vibration of kohl of the Buddha's eyes being about to fall to earth. Mara's daughters asked their father why he was depressed, and he told them the reason and asked them to hinder the anthem. They attempted to enfold the Bodhisatta and were turned into old women. Mara then called his army and mounted a splendid chariot. He went to the Bodhisatta and asked him to enjoy life and rule as a king. The Bodhisatta remained calm, even when an arrow was shot at him. Mara then decided to fight. Mara, who carried a thunderbolt and held a thousand eyes on his body mounted his elephant. Atiyata, the elephant was followed by silver chariots drawn by white horses and white eagles. The god of the waters, Varuna, rose a golden chariot drawn by a thousand noble lions. Varuna blew a blast of jackals, gods and devas on various instruments. Lions, peacocks, tigers, monkeys, camels and horses marshalled. Some rode on eagles and spit fire, others had animal heads and horrid shapes; they all were armed with various weapons and making horrible noises.
they attacked the Bodhisattva, who remained calm and caused flowers to fall. Mara thinks a woman like a black cloud to confuse the Bodhisattva. A god asked Mara to desist, wherupon Mara grew more furious and hurled the fire of desire against the Bodhisattva, who created rain clouds to put out the fire. The god An-hsiang, the greatest of the spirits, (Shiva), withdrew. Mara brought earth anger and hatred and the whole world was full of venomous snakes. By meditating on compassion, the snakes were destroyed by the Bodhisattva. Mara brought forth delusion, but the Bodhisattva whitened. Mara shot the arrow of intoxication and created a nag. The Bodhisattva shot the arrow "compersion" and created a gruda, which destroyed the nag. Mara shot with the weapon "pride" and created an elephant. The Bodhisattva shot with the ten powers 25) and created a lion which chased the elephant. Mara shot with the weapon "lies" and created wind. The Bodhisattva shot with truth and created a mountain. Mara shot with avance and created fog. The Bodhisattva shot with liberality and created a raincloud so that the fog disappeared. Mara shot downwinds and created a cloud, the Bodhisattva shot the five purities 26) and created a breeze which dispersed the cloud. Mara shot wrong views and created darkness which enveloped the world. The Bodhisattva shot right views and created a sun which illuminated the world. The Bodhisattva donned the armor of patience and put the foot of discipline firm onto the earth, he adorned himself with the jewels of energy and asceticism and took the bow "compersion" and the arrow "behavioral state" from the quiver "noble" and he obtained victory. The gods of the pure abodes advised Mara to desist. It might be possible, they said, to deprive all beings of their own nature, but not to hinder the Bodhisattva's course. The account ends with the ceiling of the earth as witness to the Bodhisattva's good deeds and the final defeat of Mara.

The last group consists of the Loudaviram (EV) Chapter XXI, T 196 Fu-pen-hsing-ki-chung, which has been translated by S. Beal under the title The Romantic History of Sakyamuni and T 185 Fu-yo-ching. Beal began to translate the latter text too, but he found the text so convoluted and imperfect and the style of the composition so inflated that he gave up the task. 27) The episode of the Buddha's temptation according to these three texts is as follows: T 186, L.V and T 195 say that the Bodhisattva sent a ray into Mara's palace and that Mara had 32 dreams foreboding evil. He called his adherents together and told them of his dreams, and of a voice he had heard telling him of the Bodhisattva who would obtain enlightenment. A son called Shresthi in T 190 and Sarthavaca in L.V and T 186 required why his father looked so pale and worried and he advised him not to fight. T 197 relates that the Bodhisattva approached an Asura tree. The gods, wishing to indicate the proper Bodhitree, hung garlands on it. A Yaksha deputed another Yaksha, Red-eyes, to watch Mara. Mara ordered the Yaksha to hinder the Bodhi-
The Yakshas and the guardian spirit of the wood praised the Bodhisattva. Mara approached the Bodhi-tree and asked the Bodhisattva to go to some other place, which the Bodhisattva refused to do. Mara took the shape of a messenger bringing letters from Kapilavastu, informing the Bodhisattva that Devadatta had usurped the government and impi red some Siddhodana. The Bodhisattva remained firm and the tree spirits returned him. LV, T 186 and T 190 continue by relating the conversation between Mara, his minister and his sons, one of whom took sides with the Bodhisattva, dissuading their father from attacking, while 500 others urged him on. In the following passage, the three accounts again diverge. T 186 says that Mara sent his four daughters to seduce the Bodhisattva, while T 190 mentions Mara’s female attendants, who were deputed by Mara to this end, and later he sent his three daughters. LV mentions daughters of Mara without giving their number. On their father’s instigation, they attempted to seduce the Bodhisattva, and their father scolded them for being unable to do so. According to T 190, when the women saw that the Bodhisattva was not to be moved, they went away, wishing him success, while according to T 186 they are turned into old women. The account continues by Mara asking the Bodhisattva once more to leave the Bodhi-tree and enjoy life, and when Mara saw this did not impress the Bodhisattva, he told him he would be able to present a terrible war by righteous government. Mara then rushed at the Bodhisattva with his army of demons. The weapons that were thrown turned into flowers. Mara’s son Shreshtri begged his father to desist, and so did a god of the pure abodes. The gods assisted the Bodhisattva, who emerged victorious from the battle and gained supreme enlightenment. LV too has a long—description of Mara’s army followed by discussions between Mara’s sons and finally Mara’s attack. Mara fought with ten different means, wind, rain, stones, weapons, coal, ash, sand, mud and darkness. Mara, sitting on his elephant Shrimekhala, fled, returned again and hurled his disc at the Bodhisattva, but he was finally defeated, all his weapons having turned into flowers.

LV then mentions eight spirits, while T 186 refers to the spirits without giving their number. They uttered sixteen benedictions, and the gods of the pure abodes uttered sixteen curses against Mara in LV, eighteen in T 186. The spirits of the Bodhi-tree also cursed Mara in sixteen manners. In both accounts, LV and T 186 a conversation between the Bodhisattva and Mara follows. A number of these verses agree literally. T 186 ends with verses already found in T 184 and T 185.

As can be seen from the above summary of some version of the temptation of the Buddha, there are many different accounts of the same episode. The versions differ from each other in important ways, like
the way in which Mea tried to influence the Belshazzar on the attitude of the gods toward him, as in details, some of which are listed below.

1. a) the temptation takes place before the enlightenment:
   T 184, 185, 186, 190, LV, 191, 193, Re, T 1450
   b) after the enlightenment
   SN, MS, T 99, 100

2. a) The Belshazzarchaldean-Mesa
   T 184, 185, 190, LV, T 186
   b) Mesa is warned by two lions
   T 191, 193
   c) not even bud
   Re, Sn, Re
   d) Mesa is warned by an earthquake
   T 180, 193
   e) Mea has 37 dreams (including evil
   T 187, LV, T 199

3. Mea's family
   a) not mentioned
   Sn
   b) three daughters
   MS, T 99, 100, 184, 185 (companied by 300 attendans)
   T 190, 193, 194, 195
   LV (three daugh. are mentioned in a second temptation
   after the enlightenment)
   c) four daughters
   T 186
   d) one son
   T 184, 185, 189
   e) three sons
   Re
   f) thousands sons
   T 190, LV, T 186
   g) two sisters
   Re, T 189

4. a) Mea's daughters go to the Belshazzar on their own accord
   MS, T 99, 100, 184, 185
   b) they are sent by their father
   T 186, LV, RH of. bas go with him
   T 189, Re, T 193
   c) they are turned into old women
   T 184, 185, 186, 189, 191, 193, 1450

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Mere’s proposals

a) He should enjoy life.
   T 193, 195.

b) He should perform sacrifices.
   T 193, 195.

c) He should live like a bhiksu.
   T 189, 193, 190.

d) He should return to Kapilavastu.
   T 191, 1450.

e) He should rule in Mere’s stead.
   T 189.

f) He should prevent a terrible war.
   T 196.

g) He should join men, but should not preach.

The earth sucks in the Buddha’s mark:
   T 189, 193, 195, LV.

NOTES


2. See below, p. 11.

3. See below, p. 11 for a detailed list.


5. T 192, p. 75 b.


12. Satyanarayan, p. 34.


14. This article is also found in Majjhima Nikaya, I, 234.

s.v. ogha referring to the Suttapatha 1239; it is not clear what is meant by the five and six senses. From the Chinese it might seem that the five senses are connected with the five senses, the sixth with mind.

17. According to T 121 he brought letters from Buddhodana, according to T 1450 he came running with a verbal message.

18. In T 191 the Bodhisattva used to refer to Mara as the brahmin, p. 930 b line 6.

19. The *tattvaratna*, Chapter XXII, ed. P.L. Vaidya, Duthunga 1958 p. 553 (331:443b) states that the Buddha rose in the air to the height of seven palm trees, as the gods expected him to make a sign after the enlightenment. No reason is given in our texts.


22. In Majjhima Nikaya I, 333 a Mara of a previous age, who is Moggalana in this age is mentioned. He had a sister, Kali, whose son in the Mara of the present age.

23. *Buddhacarita*, XIII, 7

24. *Buddhacarita*, XIII, 31

25. The six powers are: 1) sathavatthana-janañabala, 2) karunanākara-janañabala, 3) dhyānavatthana-karanayanamajjanamajjanah, 4) āndita-yakṣīgārāyanamajjanah, 5) nandanikatthasamajjanah, 6) nandalājanamajjanah, 7) sarvavayagnāgāyajanañabala, 8) puraviyānamancasamajjanah, 9) gopulāyagajjanah, 10) gopulāyajanañabala. See Walshe-McLeod, E., *Ein zweiter Beobachter*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Chinaforschung, Band VI, Heft 1, 1958, p. 358.

26. It is not clear what these six purities are.

27. Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XIX, p.X.

28. In *Lattiteras*, Chapter XXIV, three daughters of Mara are mentioned who approached the Buddha after the enlightenment.

29. An elephant Giriṣṭhākula is mentioned in the *Nodanaśākya*, p. 33

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Abbreviations

(Please refer to bibliography)

Bc  Buddhadatta
LV  Lalitavistara
MS  Mahasanghika
SBE Sacred Books of the East
Sn  Suttanipata
SN  Suttantika Nikaya
T   Tatho Datamyo, Tokyo 1927—33
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T 100 Pi-yi T'ao-a-hun, an incomplete Sanyukrgama
T 184 Hui-hsing-pan-ch'ien (translated 257 A.D. by Chou Ta-li and Kang Meng-hsüng
T 185 Fu-hsun-ch'ang-pan-ch'ien (translated by Ch'ien between 222 and 280 A.D.
T 186 Fu-yu-pan-ch'ien (translated 328 A.D. by Dharmaraksa
T 189 Ku-w'm-tso-w's-pan-ch'ien (interpreted as Ch'in and others) translated by Ch'ung-shu and others in the 1st century
T 190 Fu-pan-hsing-pan-ch'ien (translated by Guan-sho and others) translated by Guan-sho in the 1st century
T 193 Fu-pan-hsing-ch'ien (translated by Guan-sho in the 1st century
T 1450 Ken-pen-shao-i-ch'el-yung's ko-yeh Vinya of the Mulasarvaviney HEAT
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