A Translation and Study of the Pūrṇāvadāna

A TRANSLATION AND STUDY OF THE PŪRṆĀVADĀNA

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ABSTRACT

The Buddhist avadānas comprise a body of literature of enormous extent. Found in rudimentary form in the sūtrāgamas, by the early centuries of the Common Era, they began to circulate as independent narratives. The Theravādin school incorporated them into their commentaries (aṭṭhakathās) on the piṭakas. Other schools, such as the Sarvāstivādins, included them in their Vinaya. Thousands of Sanskrit avadānas are extant in manuscript collections, but most remain unedited and untranslated. Yet considerable evidence attests to their popularity over a period of several centuries.

The Pūrṇāvadāna is one of half a dozen avadānas found in all the extant recensions of the Divyāvadāna. Moreover, it is one of only two avadānas which invariably occurs in the same place (as the second story) in all the recensions. The Pūrṇa-story is also found in the Tibetan translation of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, in a number of versions in the Pāli commentaries, and elsewhere.

The principle aims of this thesis are twofold: (1) to provide for the first time an English translation of the Pūrṇāvadāna; and (2) demonstrate, through a 'close reading' of the text, the validity of literary analysis as an approach to the study of the avadāna-literature.

Literary analysis has become increasingly important in the study of Biblical narrative. However, studies of Buddhist narrative have remained largely historical and text-critical. In studying the Pūrṇā-

vadāna, my working assumption is that the fullest understanding of the text as a religious document is dependent upon fully comprehending how it functions as a literary work. This requires analysis of narrative point-of-view, allegorical elements, patterns of imagery, dialogue, irony, diction, narrative analogy, 'type-scenes', and other literary strategies.

At the same time, I recognize that in order to be correctly interpreted, a text requires a context, and in Parts I-III as well as in the annotations to the translation I have provided necessary historical, philological, generic and doctrinal information.

The avadāna-literature is the largest corpus of Buddhist Sanskrit texts available to us. It is also one of the more extensive bodies of ancient Indian story-literature. The avadānas were widely disseminated and presented people with foci for piety and ritual, educated them in the doctrine, provided models for personal conduct, depicted paradigmatic forms of religious practice, served to authenticate local Dharma traditions, celebrated important figures in the tradition, and, last but not least, entertained.

This study points to a new direction in Buddhist textual studies, for a considerable proportion of Buddhist literature is narrative of one sort or another, and much can be learned by adopting a literary approach to the study of a variety of Buddhist texts, canonical and noncanonical.

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May all beings be well and happy!

A TRANSLATION AND STUDY OF THE PŪRṆĀVADĀNA.

I. The Sanskrit Avadānas as a Genre of Buddhist Literature.

At least as far back as the origins of the Epics, Upaniṣads and Brāhmaṇas, the culture-heroes of the Indian tradition have been celebrated in stories.[1] With the rise of Buddhism in the latter half of the sixth century B.C.E., Buddhists began to contribute their own genius to Indian literature. It would appear, in fact, that not only was Gautama, the Buddha a spiritual leader and dialectician of rare order,[2] but a consummate story-teller, whose narratives, as the early Pāli dialogues amply demonstrate,[3] accomplished the age-old and universal task of stories: to instruct and delight.

In this the Buddha was both characteristic of his time and place and typical of religious leaders of all times and all places. Moreover, just as his disciples, immediate and remote, preserved, developed and transmitted his religious and philosophical ideas, so they cherished, developed and bequeathed to posterity his modes of discourse, the tale (kathā) among them.

For the study of the Sanskrit avadāna-literature, it is appropriate to consider an example from the Pāli dialogues in which we find the Buddha explaining a person's present situation in life by recourse to a narrative about one of his past lives, since this framework is one of the defining features of the avadāna genre. Our example here is taken from the Ambaṭṭha Sutta of the Dīghanikāya.[4] Here the Master instructs the young Brahman Ambaṭṭha regarding the false notion of the innate superiority of the Brahman class. His

method is to tell a story about one of Ambaṭṭha's previous births in which it is revealed that the learned Brahman was the son of a slave-girl.[5] Such a disclosure is anathema to Ambaṭṭha's fellow Brahmans, but when they begin to revile him, the Buddha continues the narrative and recounts how the slave-girl's son won for his wife one of the fairest among the Śākya maidens, for although lowly of birth, he grew up rich in virtue and accomplishments.[6] Thus, for the Brahmanical notion of superiority by birth the Buddha substitutes the doctrine of karma and its fruit, i.e., that we are, as it were, 'created', for good or ill, by our deeds, and that this causality operates through many cycles of birth and death. Here we see another feature that figures importantly in the much later avadāna-literature, so much so that they are sometimes described as 'karma-tales'. Thus we find prefigured in an early sutta both the basic narrative structure and one of the major themes characteristic of the avadānas.[7]

Before alluding briefly to a number of other suttas in which the Buddha is represented as recounting previous or future births of either himself or others, it is important to point out that knowledge of the past and future not only of individuals but of the cosmos itself was traditionally considered intrinsic to the attainment of enlightenment (bodhi). In the Bhayabherava Sutta (Majjhima-nikāya, Sutta No. 4), the Buddha tells the Brahman Jaṇussoṇi of the solitary meditation leading up to his enlightenment. In the first watch of the night he attained knowledge of all his previous births; in the second, that of the previous, present and future

births of other beings; in the third, insight into the Four Noble Truths, liberation from suffering and ignorance, and enlightenment.[8] The attainment of these "three knowledges" (tivijja) is also recorded in the Vinaya.[9] That such cognition was also the fruit of arhatship (the enlightenment attained by disciples) is indicated in the Ākaṅkheyya Sutta, where the Buddha informs the monks (bhikkhus) that, in their zealous practice of the religious life, they may expect to attain knowledge of their own past lives and of the past and future lives of others.[10] These attainments are also identified with progress in the spiritual life in the Sāmaññaphala Sutta[11] and in the Brahmajāla Sutta.[12]

I make no judgement here that such doctrines represent aspects of the Dharma as actually taught by Siddārtha Gautama, the historical Buddha, merely that these early Pāli texts demonstrate that they were regarded as such by the early Buddhist tradition, and would therefore have provided a doctrinal foundation for the recording and composition of jātakas (stories narrated by the Buddha of his previous births) and avadānas (stories of the previous births of lay or renunciate disciples). The same caveat applies to the following examples.

In the Kūṭadanta Sutta, the Buddha instructs the Brahman Kūṭadanta, along with a number of his fellows, in the proper way to sacrifice. His explanation takes the form of a jātaka, a story about King Mahāvijita and how he was instructed as to the proper way to perform sacrifices (by using his wealth to better the lives of his subjects) by his chaplain, who, it is revealed at the end

of the dialogue, was none other than the Buddha in one of his previous births.[13]

In the Mahāsudassana Sutta, the Buddha, who is dying, offers consolation to his faithful attendent Ānanda, who is distraught at the prospect of the Master passing away in Kusinārā, "this little wattle-and-daub town."[14] This consolation takes the form of a lengthy story about the great king Mahāsudassana, who reigned in mythic splendour in the distant past, when Kusinārā was his glorious capital. The great king of yore was indeed the Bodhissatta (the Buddha prior to his enlightenment).[15] That this is a relatively late text is suggested by a passage in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, in which Ānanda also begs the dying Buddha not to die in Kusinārā. There he is merely told in a few short paragraphs that Kusinārā was once the great royal city Kusāvatī, ruled by Mahāsudassana, and comparable to the city of the gods.[16] The story also occurs, with less descriptive luxuriance, in the Jātaka book of the Khuddakanikāya.[17]

Finally, the Mahāpadana Sutta, wherein the Buddha hears telepathically the bhikkhus discussing "previous births".[18] He then gladdens them with a narrative detailing the histories of six Buddhas prior to himself, as well as some details of how the gods joyously told him, when he dwelt among them, of the coming of the Buddha of the Gotama (Skt., Gautama) clan.[19]

Of course the locus classicus for stories about the Bodhisatta is, as mentioned above, the Jātaka book itself, which contains in its present form, about 550 individual jātaka-tales. The bulk of the collection is in the form of a commentary; only the verses

are considered canonical. Winternitz speculatively dates "the great mass of the verses" to no earlier than the third century B.C.E.,[20] but, on the basis of those that occur also in the Suttapiṭaka, concedes that a few must be significantly earlier.[21] More recently, A.K. Warder, on the basis of metrical analysis, dates the earliest verses right back to the lifetime of the Buddha, although he acknowledges that the "composition went on for several centuries."[22] In its original nucleus of stories, the Jātaka may well have been an anthology of material taken from elsewhere in the Tripiṭaka,[23] which then gradually incorporated both pre- and non-Buddhist folk-tales as well as later compositions.[24]

In addition, there are four other anthologies of verses from the Pāli Khuddakanikāya that must be considered in a discussion of the Sanskrit avadānas as a genre of Buddhist literature. The Theratherīgāthā occurs as the eighth and ninth sections of the Khuddaka. It consists of autobiographical verses by male and female arhats, one hundred and eighty in total,[25] among which we find a poem of a single gāthā (stanza, verse) attributed to the same Pūrṇa (Pāli, Puṇṇa) who is the protagonist of the Pūrṇāvadāna, the subject of this study.[26] The commentary, centuries later in date, provides biographical information in order to provide context for the poems.[27] As in most of the texts discussed above, much later material has probably been interpolated with very early material,[28] but some of the verses likely are authentic compositions of the Buddha's immediate disciples.[29]

In terms of its subject-matter - the present and previous

lives of monks and nuns - the Apadāna (Skt., avadāna) corresponds most closely to the Sanskrit avadāna-literature (although the Sanskrit narratives often concern laity). However, as do all the books of the Khuddaka, the Apadāna consists of verse, with only the commentary being in prose. Both Winternitz and Warder consider the Apadāna to be one of the latest books of the Pali Canon.[30] At the same time, neither text nor commentary have been translated, nor, unlike the Jātaka-book, have the apadānas received much scholarly attention.

K.R. Norman has suggested that in the Khuddakanikāya the Apadāna functions as a kind of supplement to the Theratherīgāthā and that the Sanskrit Anavataptagāthā and the avadānas found in the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin school are similarly related.[31] In each case the gāthās represent an archaic 'core' of ascetic poetry, while the biographical narratives recount the events in the previous lives of the arhats leading up to their renunciation and ultimate attaining of enlightenment. Nalinaksha Dutt, the principal editor of the aforementioned (and incomplete) Vinaya, observes that in the Bhaiṣajyavastu section of the text the arhats recite in gāthās the crucial events in their previous births that resulted in their arhatship in their present lives on the basis that, in various jātakas, the Buddha had already recounted many of his previous births.[32]

It is not possible to determine how early a tradition this represents. The Mūlasārvastivādin Vinaya, in the Sanskrit recension in which we now have it, is as late as the sixth century C.E., although it is thought to closely resemble an earlier Sarvāstivādin

recension, itself translated from an original Prakrit Vinaya.[33] Nevertheless, this supports what I have tried to suggest above: that a number of suttas in the Pāli Canon, at least some of which are likely to pre-date the secession, in the third century B.C.E.,[34] of the Sarvāstivādins from the Theravāda school, display ample evidence for the possibility of a very old tradition of avadānas, stories about the past and present lives of eminent disciples of the Buddha. We can see that the avadānas are likely to have arisen modelled upon some of the early jātakas, although it is probably the case that many of the oldest avadānas are earlier than many of the later stories of the Jātaka-book.[35] At the same time, in terms of general rather than literary history, the Theratherīgāthā and Anavataptagāthā as well as much other Buddhist literature testify to the numerous disciples of the Buddha who were prominent in the Saṅgha and who were accorded eminence sufficient for the tradition(s) to record something of their lives.[36]

Thus, in the same way that the legend of the Buddha developed over the centuries from the scattered references to the biography of the Master made in the early Pāli texts,[37] and in part on the basis of the doctrine that a Buddha can recall his previous births, the legends of the disciples (avadānas) developed from whatever biographical information about them was recorded, and on the same doctrinal basis.

Before returning to and extending these considerations, there remains two other books of the Khuddakanikāya, the Vimānavatthu ('Stories of the Mansions') and Petavatthu ('Stories of the Departed')

which are of importance for the study of the Sanskrit avadānas. Again, as they are found in the Pāli recensions, they are late compositions, perhaps second century B.C.E.[38] Nevertheless, as in the case of the jātakas (and perhaps apadānas), it is likely that many ancient, even pre-Buddhistic, legends about heavens and hells were, over time, incorporated into the Vimānavatthu and Petavatthu.[39] These are short works, and rather stereotyped and formulaic. In terms of doctrine, they are similar to the apadānas and avadānas in that they emphasize how devotion and virtue (or its lack), in accordance with the doctrine of karma, bear fruit in future births. In the Vimānavatthu, the arhat Moggallāna (Skt., Maudgalyāyana) utilizes his psychic powers to visit one of the heavens (Tāvatiṃsa), where those reborn there as devas (gods, angels) recount to him the acts of merit they performed (generally toward the Buddha or members of the Saṅgha) in their previous life as a result of which they attained their present happy state.[40] In the Petavatthu it is much the same, except that those reborn as petas (tormented ghosts) or in the peta-realm (a kind of Buddhist purgatory) tell of the deeds of cruelty, avarice, dishonesty or unchastity as a result of which they attained their present wretched state. Frequently, merit is transferred to them by the pious and they are thereby relieved of their distress or reborn in a happier sphere.[41]

That these stories were traditional with the Sarvāstivādin schools is shown in the Sanskrit Avadānaśataka, where we find separate chapters, the fifth and sixth, corresponding, respectively, to the Petavatthu and Vimānavatthu.[42]

The Avadānaśataka, mentioned above, is the oldest collection of avadānas extant in Sanskrit, dating, according to J.S. Speyer, its editor, to the second century C.E.[43] The Divyavadāna, in which the Pūrṇāvadāna occurs as the second story, is perhaps one or even two centuries later.[44] Yet, as with the Jātaka, Apadāna and other Khuddaka-texts, both likely contain much early material and in fact utilize or recapitulate doctrines and beliefs found in far earlier strata of Buddhist literature.[45] At least one writer considers that the Divyāvadāna contains "passages written before the third century B.C.E,"[46] although at what point these became incorporated into avadānas is at present impossible to determine.

What is important for the present discussion is that avadāna as a type or genre of narrative is common to both the Sarvāstivādin and Theravādin schools, as well as to at least one sub-school of the Mahāsaṅghikas, a group that seceded from the Theravādins probably in the fourth century B.C.E.[47] Since the Sarvāstivādins in turn seceded from the Theravādins during the reign of King Aśoka, in the middle of the third century B.C.E., we may be permitted to assume that the avadāna, in some form, is a very early class of Buddhist narrative, likely considerably earlier than any of the texts in which avadānas occur can be dated. The possibility exists that one school borrowed from another, as the different traditions co-existed for many centuries, but that merely suggests that one school initiated the development, and the others followed suit.[48]

However, the early avadāna-collections are products of the Sarvāstivādin tradition,[49] where they first appeared in the Vinaya.[50]

In the Alagaddūpama Sutta of the Theravādin Majjhimanikāya the Buddha criticizes monks who learn but do not test "by intuitive wisdom" the meaning of the nine categories of composition in which the doctrine is set forth.[51] These are enumerated as "the Discourses in prose [sutta], in verse and prose [geyya], the Expositions [veyyākaraṇa], the Verses [gāthā], the Uplifting Verses [udāna], the 'As it was Saids' [itivuttaka], the Birth Stories [jātaka], the Wonders [abbhutadhamma], the Miscellanies [vedalla].[52] These are the nine aṅgas accorded canonical status by the conservative Theravādin tradition. Apadāna is not mentioned, although, as we have seen, at some undetermined later date, such a collection was admitted into the Khuddakanikāya.

Furthermore, while such Mahāyānist works as the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra, the Karandavyuha Sūtra and the Dharmasaṅgraha expand the list to ten or eleven aṅgas, avadāna does not occur in any of them.[53] Even in the Mahāvastu, itself replete with avadānas, and which calls itself an avadāna, only the ninefold division is mentioned.[54]

On the other hand, the Mahāvyutpatti which, according to E.J. Thomas, "contains much Sarvāstivādin material," twelve aṅgas are enumerated by adding to the above list nidāna ('statement of subject-matter' or 'summary'), avadāna ('heroic deed' or 'glorious achievement') and upadeśa ('instruction').[55]

This suggests that while other schools utilized what are, formally, avadānas, the Sarvāstivādins and their sucessors, the Mūlasarvāstivādins, chose to recognize this class of narrative as canonical, and, indeed, it is by the Sarvāstivādin schools that the avadāna was developed as a "distinct literary type."[56] This

development involves historical considerations important for an understanding of the appearance of the Divyāvadāna and other avadāna-collections as an independent genre of Buddhist literature.

The expansion of the ancient scriptural tradition that predated any of the schisms within Buddhism[57] proceeded most dramatically beginning in the reign of Aśoka Maurya, in the middle-third of the third century B.C.E. Although the Buddha had taught Dharma in a number of countries during his lifetime, it was also during this period, under Aśoka's patronage, that Buddhism began to spread rapidly all over India and beyond,[58] and it was toward the end of his reign that the schism occurred which lead to the formation of the Sarvāstivāda school.[59]

From their earliest centres in Śrāvastī and Vārāṇasī (north-eastern India), the Sarvāstivādins spread to Mathurā (near modern Delhi) and from there to Gandhāra (northwestern India), Kashmir (northern India) and, eventually, to Aparānta (western India: Gujarat, Mahārāṣṭra) and central Asia.[60]

The sending out of missionaries presented new opportunities for spreading the Dharma, but it also raised the problem of devising ways and means to communicate the essential aspects of the Buddha's Teaching to individuals and communities of differing linguistic, ethnic and cultural backgrounds.[61] As a solution to this, the wandering teachers of Dharma relied, in their preaching, less on sūtra (the dialogues of the Buddha) and more on kathā, biographical narratives about the Buddha and other exemplary personalities in the tradition. Such stories would have been based upon what accounts existed in

the Tripiṭaka, upon any tales or legends current among particular groups of monks or nuns, as well as a certain amount of original emendation and elaboration, which would have varied according to circumstances and the imaginative willingness of given individuals. In addition, as various local Buddhist traditions became established, far from the original centres where the Buddha had taught, local legends naturally began to proliferate: the biographical episodes in the scriptures were further enriched and given literary form by drawing upon the ancient store of popular oral literature current in a particular region.[62]

These developments appear to have occurred in all the early schools,[63] but the Sarvāstivādins in particular were less punctilious than the others when it came to inserting these expanded or newly-created stories in their canon.[64] The Theravādins placed them, as we have seen, in the Khuddakanikāya, or, more often, in the commentaries.[65] In any case, it appears that between the first century B.C.E. and the first century C.E., all the schools had produced some sort of extended Buddha-biography.[66]

At the same time, it also appears that the Sarvāstivādins were particularly inclined toward literary composition. The great Buddhist kāvya poets - Aśvaghoṣa, Mātṛceṭa, Āryaśūra, Kumāralāta, Dhārmika Subhūti - all are from the northwest of India where the Sarvāstivādins were strongest.[67]

During this period, the composition and insertion into the Vinaya of avadānas must have gone on apace, for by the time the Mūla-sarvāstivādin school was established in the third or fourth century

C.E.,[68] their Vinaya, largely taken over from their predecessors,[69] was replete with avadānas, jātakas and stories of the preta- and heavenly realms.

It should also be noted that the early centuries of the first millenium C.E. marked the rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism and of the devotional Hinduism associated with the Purāṇas and the final recensions of the Mahābhārata.[70] While the Mūlasarvāstivādins (or, for that matter, the Theravādins), did not adopt new doctrines, the former school responded to these new literary developments. It produced the Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna Sūtra, in extent and style analogous to the great (vaipulya) Mahāyāna sūtras such as the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka or the Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā.[71] While, in doctrinal terms, the traditional Buddhist virtues of mindfulness (smṛti) and other forms of meditation are set out, there is in addition, in this sūtra, detailed descriptions of the various gatis (realms of rebirth, human, divine, animal, infernal, etc.), numerous karma-stories illustrating the fruits of virtuous and evil deeds, as well as references to the Buddhist fine arts of the day.

Similarly, the avadānas came to be inserted in the Vinaya where they supplemented and expanded the old narratives that had originally been placed there to explain the circumstances in which particular monastic rules had been implemented. It was during this period that the Avadānaśataka, Karmaśataka, Damamukha and Divyāvadāna began to circulate as independent collections. Speyer has pointed out the likelihood of the avadāna-narratives having been used for popular preaching, much in the manner of medieval homilies.[72]

While I suspect that the avadānas and other kathās were as popular amongst members of the Saṅgha as amongst the laity to whom they ministered, Speyer's point is well-taken. In fact, there is a clear description of such preaching in the Divyāvadāna itself. It occurs in the Pāṃśupradānāvadāna,[73] the first story in the Aśoka-cycle of avadānas, and which may date back to 150 B.C.E.[74]

The bhikṣu Upagupta (who later becomes Aśoka's spiritual preceptor) is about to preach for the first time. He therefore meditates on how the Buddha expounded the Dharma, and having "seen" that the Master would begin by telling a story of deeds done in olden times and then proceed to an elucidation of the (Four Noble?) Truths, he follows the example of the Founder.[75] It was this type of instruction, asserts E.J. Thomas, that, over time, became formalized as avadānas and jātakas.[76] Presumably, the versions most popular amongst the members of the Saṅgha were eventually incorporated into the capacious Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya and either later or concurrently circulated as independent works or in anthologies.

Finally, the Divyāvadāna offers us a fascinating glimpse of how the 'Word of the Buddha' was studied by pious lay Buddhists in the privacy of their own homes. This occurs in the Mākandikāvadāna, where Mākandika is informed that in the evenings the women of the house read the "word of the Buddha" by lamplight and that, moreover, they, like assiduous students everywhere, take notes from their reading.[77] No specific texts are mentioned, but we should not be surprised if avadānas were among them. In any case, this implies a much livelier engagement in the 'serious' aspects of spiritual cul-

tivation than is usually credited to the Buddhist laity in scholarly disquisitions.[78]

While we may only speculate what sort of texts serious-minded, educated lay Buddhists studied after dinner by lamplight, we do know that avadānas were taken seriously by at least some members of the Saṅgha, for in the Kalpadrumāvadānamālā,[79] mention is made of avadānikas and avadānārthakovidas, monks who specialize in the study of the avadāna-literature,[80] just as there were those who specialized in Vinaya, Sūtra (or even a particular class of sūtra) or Abdhidharma texts.[81]

About half of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya is available in Sanskrit in a recension of perhaps the sixth century C.E.;[82] we also have a complete translation made into Tibetan in the early ninth century C.E.[83] and a complete Chinese translation, made by the pilgrim I-Tsing a century earlier.[84] Meanwhile, as we have seen above, the recensions we have of the Avadānaśataka, Divyāvadāna, Karmaśataka and Damamukha (the latter two only in Tibetan translations), are unanimously dated earlier. A number of scholars have assumed that the tales in these collections are ultimately derived from the above-mentioned Vinaya or others. For example, already in the early decades of this century, the French scholars M. Chavannes, E. Huber and S. Lévi found that of the thirty-eight stories in the Divyāvadāna, nineteen are to be found in the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya and nine more in other Sanskrit Vinayas, the originals of which are lost.[85] This continues to be generally accepted, although Jean Przyluski has suggested that both Vinaya and collected versions

oroginate from some common, more ancient collection of fables.[86] In any case, whether the Sarvāstivādins on the basis of earlier canonical material elaborated a class of edifying legends which were then placed in their Vinaya, and only later collected into separate anthologies, or whether both the anthologies and the Vinaya derived them from a third, older source does not significantly affect the validity of my understanding of the development of the avadāna-literature as outlined above.

Thus from our investigations we find five principle facets which contributed to the development of the Sanskrit avadānas as a genre of Buddhist literature:

(1) The doctrine, held by Buddhists in common with other Indian religious traditions, that spiritually-advanced individuals are able to recall (and by implication, recount) their previous births, and that the most spiritually-advanced (i.e., enlightened) are able to describe not only their own past births, but the past and future births of others, even, in the case of the Buddha, of the cosmos as a whole. We have considered this doctrine as set forth or implied in a number of Pāli suttas: Ambaṭṭha, Bhayabherava, Ākaṅkheyya, Sāmaññaphala, Brahmajāla, Kuṭādanta, Mahāsudassana, and Mahāpadāna, as well as in the Jātaka, Apadāna, Theratherīgāthā, Vimanāvatthu and Petavatthu books of the Khuddakanikāya.

(2) The ancient popular or folk tradition of stories and legends, utilized to some extent by the Buddha himself, and extensively in later canonical texts, in the jātakas, avadānas and other narrative books of the Khuddaka, as well as in the Theravādin commentaries.

We may include in this category the numerous legends about the Buddha and many of his disciples that must have circulated orally within both lay and monastic sections of the Buddhist communities and which over the centuries became integrated, in various forms, into texts that were eventually written down.

(3) The peculiar opportunities for and demands on preaching and teaching occasioned by the rapid spread of Buddhism beginning in the Aśokan period, during which also occurred the secession of the Sarvāstivāda, the school with which is most associated the production of the Sanskrit avadāna-literature.

(4) In contrast to the conservative Theravādins, the relative willingness of the Sarvāstivādins to authorize the stories, old and new, that began to circulate as a result of the first three conditions summarized above, by incorporating them into their canon.

(5) The literary developments associated with the rise of the Mahāyāna movement within Buddhism and the sectarian movements in the Hindu tradition, to which the Sarvāstivādins responded by the production of the Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna Sūtra and the extensive corpus of avadānas.

Notes to Part I.

1. Hermann Oldenberg, "The Prose-and-Verse Type of Narrative and the Jātakas," Journal of the Pali Text Society (1910-12), pp. 19-50. Oldenberg discusses the development of the prose-interspersed-with-verses type of narrative typical of the jātakas and avadānas in terms of its antecedents in earlier Indian literature. Cf. Maurice Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, Vol. I, tr. S. Ketkar (New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corp, 1972), pp. 100-103.

2. I.B. Horner, tr., The Collection of the Middle Length Sayings (Majjhima-Nikāya), Vol. II: The Middle Fifty Discourses (Majjhima-paṇṇāsa), Pali Text Society Translation Series No. 30 (London: Luzac and Co., 1956), p. 197. Here the Buddha says, "I am not a generalizer (dogmatist); I am an analyzer (vibhajjavādī)." T.R.V. Murti, The Central Philosophy of Buddhism, 2nd ed. (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1960), pp. 8-9, credits the Buddha with having "suggested the dialectic first, much before Zeno in the west."

3. Some of these are discussed below, pp. 1-4.

4. T. W. Rhys Davids, tr., Dialogues of the Buddha, Part I, Sacred Books of the Buddhists, Vol. II (London: Luzac and Co., 1969), pp. 108-136.

5. Ibid., pp. 114-116.

6. Ibid., pp. 118-119.

7. This 'basic narrative structure' is, of course, utilizing a story of a past live or lives to explain a person's circumstances in his or her present life; the 'theme' corresponding to this is the doctrine of karma (action, deed) and karmavipāka (the consequences of action). While it is one of the main themes of this study to demonstrate that the Pūrṇāvadāna (and, by implication, other such narratives) is concerned with far more than inculcating virtuous conduct (sila) by showing the good and evil consequences of actions, the basic 'story of the present'/'story of the past' structure is used in most jātakas and avadānas (some avadānas combine a 'story of the present' with the Buddha's prediction (vyākaraṇa) of an individual's attainment of enlightenment in some future birth.

8. I.B. Horner, tr., The Collection of the Middle Length Sayings (Majjhima-Nikāya), Vol. I: The First Fifty Discourses (Mūlapaṇṇāsa), Pali Text Society Translation Series No. 29 (London: Luzac and Co., 1967), pp. 28-29.

9. Ibid., p. 28, n. 1 (Vinaya, iii, 3-4). However, in the Ariyapariyesana Sutta (Ibid. p. 211), the Buddha describes his attainment of enlightenment only in terms of winning Nibbāna, the arising of "knowledge and vision" and the making of an end to birth.

9. (cont'd). T.W. Rhys Davids, Buddhist Suttas, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XI (New York: Dover Publications, 1969), pp. 208-209, notes that in the Mahāvagga of the Vinayapiṭaka (I,i,2-6) the Buddha is described as attaining insight into conditioned coproduction (paticcasamuppāda) and that this constituted his enlightenment while, in contrast, in later works such as the Nidānakathā (commentaral introduction to the Jātaka-book) and the Sanskrit Lalitavistara (a biography of the Buddha) the faculties of the knowledge of past births and present births precede the insight into conditioned co-production. He cites this development, as he calls it, as an example of the growth of legendary accretions in religious biographies. Rhys Davids' analysis may well be correct; but what is significant for the present discussion is that a number of texts, early and late, attest to the well-established belief that Buddhas and arhats possessed these psychic powers, for it was such beliefs that in part inspired the authors of the avadānas.

10. T.W. Rhys Davids, Ibid., pp. 215, para. 17-218, para. 18. In addition, the Buddha mentions attainment of various psychic powers (iddhis) such as telepathy and, of course, enlightenment.

11. T.W. Rhys Davids, tr., Dialogues of the Buddha, Part I, pp. 90-92. The same passage also occurs in the Soṇadaṇḍa Sutta, Ibid., p. 157.

12. Ibid., pp. 27-28. Here the Buddha acknowledges that non-Buddhist ascetics can also attain such 'higher knowledge', but critisizes them for tending to draw the conclusion that there is an immortal soul that transmigrates from birth to birth (the false view of "eternalism").

13. Ibid., p. 181.

14. T.W. Rhys Davids, tr., Dialogues of the Buddha, Part II, Sacred Books of the Buddhists, Vol. III (London: Luzac & Co., 1966), p. 199.

15. Ibid., pp. 229-230.

16. Ibid., pp. 161-162.

17. Ibid., pp. 192-195. Rhys Davids provides a full translation of the Mahāsudassana Jātaka (Jātaka No. 95) for comparative purposes.

18. Ibid., p. 4. Here we find the use of the term "apadāna" (Skt., avadāna) to mean a narrative concerning previous births of the Buddha, i.e., as a synonym for jātaka. In the Sanskrit literature, avadāna is frequently used in this larger sense.

19. Ibid., pp. 5-41.

20. Maurice Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, tr. S. Ketkar (New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corp., 1972),

20. (cont'd). pp. 121-122.

21. Ibid., p. 115.

22. A.K. Warder, Indian Buddhism, 2nd ed. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1980), p. 235.

23. Ibid., p. 204.

24. M. Winternitz op.cit., Vol. II, pp. 124-126, proposes five categories of jātakas as regards form: (1) narratives in prose around a core of verses; (2) ballads, either in dialogue form or "in a mixture of conversational verses and narrative stanzas; (3) long narratives in prose and verse; (4) miscellaneous "collections of sayings on any subject" and (5) epics or fragments thereof. As regards content he enumerates seven categories: (1) fables, common to all Indian traditions, which teach wordly wisdom (nīti); (2) fairy tales, including animal fables, most of which are in origins non-Buddhist and some few of which have been given a Buddhist framework; (3) "short anecdotes, humorous tales and jokes, which have nothing Buddhist about them;" (4) long narratives of adventure, sometimes incorporating a number of sub-narratives which are Buddhist only because the hero is identified as the Bodhisatta; (5) "moral narratives"; (6) "sayings" and (7) "pious legends", many of them "the common property of Indian ascetic poetry." Winternitz concludes that no more than half of the jātakas are of Buddhist origin, the rest deriving from the popular legends, tales, anecdotes, ballads and songs of all classes. While Winternitz's categories are not always easily distinguished, he does make clear that the jātakas are very much literary productions as much as and in many cases even more than they are Buddhist religious texts.

The Ven. Sangharakshita, The Eternal Legacy: An Introduction to the Canonical Literature of Buddhism (London: Tharpa Publications, 1985), p. 55 agrees in the main with Winternitz's categories, although (p. 61) he is of the opinion that the avadānas are "less dependent on folk sources and more of the nature of original Buddhist compositions." The degree to which the Pūrṇāvadāna draws upon earlier Buddhist texts will become apparent in Sections III and VI.

25. Winternitz, op.cit., Vol. II, pp. 100-101.

26. C.A.F. Rhys Davids, tr., Psalms of the Early Buddhists, Part II: Psalms of the Brethren (London: for the Pali Text Society, Luzac & Co., 1964), pp. 70-71.

27. Winternitz, op.cit., Vol. II, p. 101. Nevertheless, Winternitz considers the commentary "generally reliable." C.A.F. Rhys Davids (n. 26 above) provides translated extracts from the commentary, but the commentary as a whole has not yet been translated. A.K. Warder, Indian Buddhism, pp. 321-322, following E.W. Adikaram, Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon (Colombo: M.D. Gunasena, 1946), is

27. (cont'd) satisfied that while the Theravadin commentaries (atthakathā) can be dated to the fifth century C.E., they are relatively faithful translations of the Sinhalese originals the composition of which ended in the first century C.E., and that these in turn include much material that "reaches back into the older Indian tradition expounding the texts of this school."

28. Warder, Indian Buddhism, pp. 321-322; also Winternitz, op.cit., Vol. II, pp. 101-112.

29. Warder, Indian Buddhism, pp. 229-231; Winternitz, op.cit., Vol. II, pp. 109-112.

30. Warder, Indian Buddhism, pp. 204, 206, 298, considers the Apadāna to be later than 200 B.C.E. Cf. Winternitz, op.cit., Vol. II, pp. 160-161.

31. K.R. Norman, Pāli Literature (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983), p. 92.

32. Nalinaksha Dutt, ed., Gilgit Manuscripts, Vol. III, Part 1 (Srinagar, Kashmir: Research Department, 1947), p. 19; Sanskrit text, pp. 159-171. Marcel Hofinger, ed.,tr., has provided a critical edition and French translation of this section of the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinayavastu in Le Congres du Lac Anavatapta, I: Legendes des anciens (Sthavirāvadāna) [Louvain: Publications Universitaires, 1954].

33. N. Dutt, op.cit., pp. xiii-xiv; also A.C. Banerjee, Sarvāstivāda Literature (Calcutta: D. Banerjee, 1957), pp. 13, 17.

34. Warder, Indian Buddhism, p. 273 (after Andre Bareau, Les premiers counciles bouddhiques [Annales du Musée Guimet, Vol. 60, Paris, 1955]).

35. That similar accounts of Pūrṇa's life are recorded both by the Theravādins in Ceylon and the Sarvāstivādins in northwest India suggest the likelihood of the Pūrṇa-story predating the schism that lead to the secession of the Sarvāstivādins in the third century B.C.E.

36. This is not the place to list every arhat or lay disciple who attained pre-eminence in the tradition. We may note that according to the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Fa-Hien, who travelled in India and Ceylon between 399 and 414 C.E., "where a community of monks resides, they erect topes to Sāriputra, to Mahāmaudgalyāyana, and to Ānanda [the latter two both appear as characters in the Pūrṇāvadāna] . . .The Śrāmaṇeras [novices] mostly make their offerings to Rāhula" (Fa-Hien, A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, tr. James Legge [1886, repr. ed., New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1965], pp. 44-46). He also mentions Amrapālī, the courtesan who donated land to the Saṅgha and eventually became a nun and attained enlightenment; Aṅgulimāla, the notorious highwayman who, after encountering the Buddha, was converted and also eventually attained arhatship; Devadatta,

36. (cont'd) a cousin of the Buddha, whose jealousy instigated the first schism in the Sangha; Mahākāśyapa, the reputed convener of the First Buddhist Council; Nanda, another of the Buddha's cousins, the subject of Aśvaghoṣa's poem Saundarananda; Subhadra, a mendicant who was the Buddha's last convert, and, among others, Upāli, who recited the Vinaya according to the traditional accounts. This suggests some of the names that were prominent in India during Fa-Hien's time, but of course many others are recorded in the canonical literature of all schools. Pūrṇa of Śūrpāraka (not to be identified with Pūrṇamaitryaṇīputra, a Brahman from Droṇavastu, near Kapilavastu) appears in the Majjhimanikāya, Saṃyuttanikāya, Theragāthā, Apadāna (of the Pāli Canon) as well as in the Pūrṇāvadāna and the Sumāgadhāvadāna. Further research may locate other references.

37. Warder, Indian Buddhism, pp. 228-234.

38. Ibid., p. 298; Winternitz, op.cit., Vol. II, pp. 98-99; and, regarding the Petavatthu, H.S. Gehman, tr., The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon, Part IV, Sacred Books of the Buddhists, Vol. XXX, Part II: Petavatthu: Stories of the Departed (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974), p. x.

39. Winternitz, op.cit., Vol. II, p. 99; also see note 24.

40. I.B. Horner, tr., The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon, Part IV, Sacred Books of the Buddhists, Vol. XXX, Part II: Vimānavatthu: Stories of the Mansions (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974), pp. xv-xxi.

41. H.S. Gehman, tr., op.cit.

42. J.S. Speyer, ed., Avadānaśataka (1902-1909, repr. ed., 's-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1958), pp. 241-288, 289-344.

43. Ibid., Preface, p. xv.

44. Winternitz, op.cit., Vol. II, pp. 285-286. This applies to the collection as a whole; Winternitz does observe that one of the Divyāvadāna stories, the Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna (no. 33), was translated into Chinese in 265 C.E. and that the Aśokāvadāna (nos. 26-29) existed in a similar form as early as 150 B.C.E. Warder, Indian Buddhism, p. 416, accepts 3rd-4th cent. C.E. for the date of the recension of the Divyāvadāna we now possess.

45. Cf. the discussion of avadāna-type ideas, pp. 1-4 above. Various earlier Buddhist texts from which the Divyāvadāna, and the Pūrṇāvadāna in particular, take passages are discussed in Part III below. Winternitz mentions several (op.cit., II, pp. 233ff., 285-90).

46. Sangharakshita, The Eternal Legacy, p. 61. Har Dayal, The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature (1932, repr. ed., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1978), p. 383, suggests that the "oldest portions" of the Divyāvadāna date from the 2nd century B.C.E.

47. Warder, Indian Buddhism, p. 214 (following Etienne Lamotte, Histoire du bouddhisme indien [Louvain: Institut Orientaliste, 1958, pp. 308, 315]), suggests 349 B.C.E. for the date of the seccession of the Mahāsaṅghikas. Sukumar Dutt, The Buddha and Five After-Centuries (London: Luzac & Co., 1957), p. 131, suggests 4th century B.C.E.

This sub-school, the Lokottaravādins, produced the Mahāvastu Avadāna (tr. J.J. Jones, The Mahāvastu, 3 vols., Sacred Books of the Buddhists, Vols. 16, 18-19 [London: Pali Text Society, 1949-56]). Like the Divyāvadāna the Mahāvastu is a complilation, comprising material ranging from 2nd century B.C.E. to 4th century C.E. (Ibid., I, p. xi); Jones describes it as "a collection of practically all the history, quasi-history and legends (avadānas) relating to the Buddha that passed as current in the long period during which it was compiled. . .the legends it records go back in their origin to the same biographical episodes which were used in the Mahāvagga of the Pali Vinaya to explain or illustrate the origin of the rules of the Order" (p. xii). Although the Mahāvastu mentions the nine-fold division of the scriptures (navavidhaśāsana, I, p. 249), which do not include avadāna, Jones also observes (II, p. ix) that in this work every incident in Gautama's life can be an occasion for a jātaka or avadāna. Also reminiscent of the Divyāvadāna and the Avadānaśataka there are close parallels between sections of the Mahāvastu and sections of the Mahāvagga, Jātaka-book, Vimānavatthu, Petavatthu, Buddhavaṃsa, Suttanipāta, Dhammapada (I, pp. xiv-xv) and the Pāli commentaries (II, p. x). As the name indicates, the Mahāvastu is very much of the same 'family' of composition as other avadānas associated with the Sarvāstivādin school.

48. One way to study these relationships would be to compare the versions of particular narratives in the literature of all the extant schools. However, much work remains to be done in this area with regard to narrative; more work has been done on doctrine.

49. Winternitz, op.cit., II, 279; A.C. Banerjee, Sarvāstivāda Literature (Calcutta: D. Banerjee, 1957), p. 19; John Strong, The Legend of King Aśoka (Princeton: The University Press, 1983), pp. 31, 37.

50. G.K. Nariman, Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism, 2nd impression (Bombay: Indian Book Depot, 1923), p. 268, cites the Chinese translation of the Mahāprajñāpāramitā Śāstra (tr. Kumārajīva, c. 400 C.E.): "There are two recensions of the [Sarvāstivādin] Vinaya, the Vinaya of Mathurā which contains the avadānas and the jātakas and has eighty chapters, and the Vinaya of Kashmir which rejects the jātakas and the avadānas and preserves only what is essential which is divided into ten chapters." Jean Przyluski, "Fables in the Vinaya-Piṭaka of the Sarvāstivādin School," Indian Historical Quarterly, V,1 (March, 1929), p. 2, points out that the Kashmir recension of the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya has a commentary (vibhāṣā) of eighty chapters. We find then, in the Sarvāstivāda school, a more and a less conservative branch; the less conservative southern (Mathurā) branch appears to be the one whose Vinaya has been partially

50. (cont'd) preserved in the Gilgit Manuscripts, even though they were discovered in Kashmir. We may also observe that it is most likely that the Mathurā branch would have sent missionary groups to the western seaboard of India, where much of the action of the Pūrṇāvadāna is located, although as both Theravādin and Sarvāstivādin texts record Pūrṇa's activity in Śroṇāparāntaka, the events recorded may have taken place prior to the succession of the Sarvāstivādins.

51. I.B. Horner, tr., The Collection of the Middle Length Sayings (Majjhima-Nikāya), Vol. I: The First Fifty Discourses (Mūlapaṇṇāsa), p. 171. Cf. E.J. Thomas, "Avadāna and Apadāna," Indian Historical Quarterly, IX (1933), p. 32; E.J. Thomas, "Aśvaghoṣa and Alaṃkāra," Indian Culture, XIII,3 (Jan.-Mar. 1947), p. 143.

52. I.B. Horner, tr., The Collection of the Middle Length Sayings, Vol. I, p. 171; cf. Sangharakshitta, The Eternal Legacy, pp. 14-17.

53. E.J. Thomas, The History of Buddhist Thought, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1951), p. 277; W.G. Weeraratne, "Avadāna," Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, Vol. II, ed. G.P. Malalasekhera (Colombo: Government of Ceylon, 1966), p. 395.

54. J.J. Jones, tr., The Mahāvastu, I, p. xviii.

55. E.J. Thomas, History of Buddhist Thought, p. 277; Sangharakshita, Eternal Legacy, p. 17. However, P.L. Vaidya, ed., Divyāvadānam, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts No. 20 (Darbhanga, Bihar: Mithila Institute, 1959), p. xi, quotes a list of twelve aṅgas (including avadāna) from Haribhadra's Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka, so we may suppose that some later Mahāyānists adopted the Sarvāstivādin framework, as many of them did their Vinaya.

56. E.J. Thomas, "Aśvaghoṣa and Alaṃkāra," Indian Culture, XIII,3 (Jan.-Mar. 1947), p. 143.

57. Sukumar Dutt, op.cit., p. 132, hastens to point out that there were a number of scriptural traditions and that the Theravādins' refusal to acknowledge the validity of a number of them was what led to the seccession of the Mahāsaṅghikas. Hsüan-tsang, the Chinese monk who studied at the headquarters of the Mahāsaṅghika school at Dhanakaṭaka, and who therefore may be presumed to have known their traditions (Samuel Beal, tr., Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World [1884, repr. ed., Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corp., 1969], II, 217) describes the "Great Assembly", composed of both "common folk" and "holy disciples" that met together to establish their own tradition of Buddhavacana (Ibid., pp. 164-165) as an alternative to that of the Theravādins, who were unwilling to accept any input from lay-disciples. Even the Theravādins themselves record that they recovered the Itivuttaka book of the Khuddaka-nikāya from a slave-girl in Kosambī (Warder, Indian Buddhism, p. 204).

58. Warder, Indian Buddhism, pp. 264-266 (following Lamotte, op.cit., pp. 320ff.).

59. Warder, Indian Buddhism, p. 273 (following André Bareau, Les premiers counciles bouddhiques, Annales du Musée Guimet, Vol. 60 [Paris, 1955]), gives 237 B.C.E. as the most likely date for the seccession of the Sarvāstivāda school.

60. Warder, Indian Buddhism, p. 341; A.C. Banerjee, op.cit., p. 5; John Strong, Legend of King Asoka, p. 31.

61. Warder, Indian Buddhism, pp. 332-333.

62. Ibid., pp. 227-228. Writing of the pilgriamge sites recommended by the Buddha in the Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra, Warder adds: "Several other places connected with the life of the Buddha were gradually added to these centres of pilgrimage and adorned with suitable monuments. In addition, more remote cities and other places laid claim to similar fame, without benefit of authority in the Tripiṭaka until apocryphal texts could be manufactured to encourage the local enthusiasts, so that by the third century after the parinirvāṇa the wanderings of the Buddha seemed to have extended as far as the Hindu Kush to the North West and the Tamil country (Kāñcī) and Ceylon to the South. In this way the Buddha was as it were brought in person to inspire the people of many countries of the Indian continent." Of course, as we have noted above (n. 36), the Pūrṇa-story is found in one form or another in a number of Tripiṭaka texts, some of which are relatively early, others of which are quite late. While there are clearly legendary accretions to the Pūrṇāvadāna as it is found in the Divyāvadāna, it appears likely that the broad outlines of his life (origins, preaching in Śroṇāparāntaka, dedication of the Candanamāla Pavilion to the Buddha) have some historical basis. The various legendary and/or miraculous events may well have developed from circulating oral traditions that sprung up after his death.

63. Warder, Indian Buddhism, pp. 333-334.

64. Nariman, op.cit., p. 262. "Whilst the Pāli school habitually leave out or throw into the commentaries the pious tales which serve to illustrate the precepts of the rules, in the Sanskrit school these avadānas have completely invaded the text itself of the Sarvāstivādin Canon." Ibid., p. 268. "The triple basket of the Mūlasarvāstivādins had no cover and it continued to absorb material from the outside." Warder, Indian Buddhism, p. 341, alludes to the "wholesale revision of the Tripiṭaka" by the Mūlasarvāstivādins.

65. G.P. Malalasekhara, Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, 2 vols., (1938, repr. ed., London: Luzac and Co., 1960), II, p. 220, cites Pūrṇa (Pāli, Puṇṇa) in the commentaries to the Majjhimanikāya (MA, ii,1014ff.), Saṃyuttanikāya (SA,iii,14ff.), Theragāthā (ThagA i,156ff.) and Khuddakapāṭha (KhA, 149). He is also mentioned in the commentary to the Apadāna (C.E. Godakumbura, ed., Visuddhajanavilā-

65. (cont'd) sinī nāma Apadānaṭṭhakathā [London: for the Pali Text Society, Luzac & Co., 1954], p. 484).

66. Warder, Indian Buddhism, pp. 333-334, mentions a number of these Buddha-biographies. The Lokottaravadin Mahāvastu (see n. 47 above) he considers the earliest of these "full scale" biographies of the Buddha. The Theravādin version is contained in their commentary on the Jātaka, the Nidānakathā (T.W. Rhys Davids, tr., Buddhist Birth Stories [1880, rev. ed. by C.A.F. Rhys Davids, London: George Routledge and Sons Ltd., n.d.]). The Kāśyapīya school produced the Buddhajātaka-nidāna, which Warder estimates to have been a commentary much like the Nidānakathā. There is a work entitled Śākyamunibuddhacarita or Abhiniṣkramaṇasūtra which may have been included in the scriptures of the Dharmaguptakas. The Mahīśāsakas produced Vinayapiṭakamūla, perhaps a commentary on their Vinaya. The Mahāsaṅghikas called their Buddha-biography "Mahāvastu", which suggests that the Lokottara-vādin sub-school derived their Mahāvastu from the parent school. The Sarvāstivādins produced the Lalitavistara, but this was later appropriated and added to by Mahāyānists, in which form we have it today (translated into French by E. Foucaux, Lalitavistara, [Paris: Annales du Musée Guimet, 1884, 1892]; most recent ed., P.L. Vaidya, Lalitavistara, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts No. 1, [Darbhanga, Bihar: Mithila Institute, 1958]). The most complete of these biographies was produced much later by the Mūlasarvāstivādins and placed in their Vinaya, now extant in its entirety only in Tibetan and Chinese. Warder notes that several other Buddha-biographies are extant in Chinese translations, but have not been assigned to any school.

67. Strong, Legend of King Aśoka, pp. 31-32.

68. Warder, Indian Buddhism, p. 415.

69. Nalinaksha Dutt, Buddhist Sects in India, 2nd ed. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1978), p. 141, asserts that the Sarvāstivādin and Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinayas were "not very different from each other," although the latter clearly continued the narrative elaborations initiated by the former (see n. 64 above).

70. Winternitz, op.cit., II, pp. 463-467; Warder, Indian Buddhism, p. 415.

71. Warder, Indian Buddhism, pp. 415-416 (following Li-kouang Lin, L'Aide-memoire de la Vraie Loi [Paris: Annales du Musée Guimet, 1949], pp. 1ff., 98, 115).

72. J.S. Speyer, op.cit., Preface, pp. iv-vi.

73. E.B. Cowell and R.A. Neil, eds., The Divyāvadāna, A Collection of Early Buddhist Legends (Cambridge University Press, 1886; repr. ed., Amsterdam: Oriental Press NV Publishers, 1970), pp. 356-357; P.L. Vaidya, ed., Divyāvadānam, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts No. 20 (Darbhanga, Bihar: Mithila Institute, 1959), p. 222, lines 13-15.

74. Strong, Legend of King Aśoka, p. 27, notes that some Aśoka legends appear on bas-reliefs on a stūpa at Sāñchī, which is dated to the first or second century B.C.E.; also note 44 above.

75. Vaidya, ed., Divyāvadānam, p. 222, lines 13-15. "yāvad avalokayati katham tathāgatena dharmadeśanā krtā? paśyati pūrvakālakaraniyam katham krtva satyasamprakasana krta. so 'pi purvakalakaraṇīyāṃ kathāṃ krtvā satyasamprakāśanāṃ kartuṃ ārabdhaḥ." ("Then he [Upagupta] reflected, 'How was an exposition of the Dharma given by the Tathāgata?' He saw [in meditation] that, having told a tale of deeds done in former times, he [the Buddha] would then give an elucidation of the [Four Noble?] Truths. And so, having told a tale of deeds done in former times, he [Upagupta] began to give an elucidation of the Truths.")

76. E.J. Thomas, "Aśvaghoṣa and Alaṃkāra," Indian Culture, XIII,3 (Jan.-Mar. 1947), p. 146.

77. Vaidya, ed., Divyavadanam, p. 457, lines 17-18. "api tvetā dārikā rātrau pradīpena buddhavacanaṃ paṭhanti, atra bhūrjena prayojanaṃ tailena masinā kalamayā tūlena." ("At night, by lamplight, the women read the Word of the Buddha [i.e., Scriptures], which requires birchbark, pen and ink as well as oil and wick [for the lamp]." Also discussed by Sukumar Dutt, op.cit, p. 91.

78. For example, Warder, Indian Buddhism, p. 335, makes a sharp distinction between Buddhism "as a philosophy" and Buddhism "as a religion", the former the concern of monks, the latter of the laity, whose "religion" consists of "simple 'confidence' in the Buddha, flavoured with a more or less vague knowledge of the virtues he taught and some feeling for the renunciation, compassion and peace he exemplifies, expressed through the quiet devotion of offering flowers at a pagoda or in a shrine house. . . ." Doubtless this accurately describes the religious practice of many, even the majority of lay Buddhists. However, as Fa-hien observed in the early fifth century C.E. (see note 36 above), devotional activity was certainly a part of monastic life (and, for that matter, remains so even now). Not only that, but the merchant class, who frequently became wealthy, and who figure so prominently in Buddhist narratives (the Pūrṇāvadāna is a good example), like the 'upper middle-class' of the present day, often placed a high value on education, even for women, and it is not unrealistic to accept the scene described in the Mākandikāvadāna as having been unexceptional (cf. A.L. Basham, The Wonder that was India, 3rd rev. ed. [1967, repr. ed., London: Sidgewick & Jackson, 1985], p. 178; Jeannine Auboyer, Daily Life in Ancient India, tr. S.W. Taylor [New York: Macmillan Co., 1965], p. 178.)

It would appear that both scholarship and Warder's "simple 'confidence' " were found among laity and members of the Saṅgha alike, and that Warder's summary of lay practice, which is representative of the attitude found among many scholars, is more an assumption than a researched conclusion.

79. Speyer, op.cit., Preface, p. xxxvi, estimates the dates of the avadānamālā-literature to be 400-1000 C.E.; Winternitz, op.cit., II, p. 291, no earlier than sixth century C.E.

80. Speyer, op.cit., Preface, p. xlix, verse 106. dharmataḥ sukhino bhūtāḥ pāpato duḥkhabhāginaḥ/miśrato miśrabhuktār ityuktam avadānakaiḥ. ("Following Dharma, being experience happiness; following evil ways, misery;/Following both together, they experience both: so say the avadānists.") Ibid., p. lv, verse 162. guṇadharmapramāṇena jāter naiva pramāṇatā/tathā ca procyate bauddhair avadānārthakovidaiḥ. ("By the standards of Dharma there is no authority whatever in birth/ And so it is taught by the Buddhist avadāna experts.") Also mentioned, W.G. Weeraratne, op.cit., p. 396; discussed and translated, John Strong, "The Buddhist Avadānists and the Elder Upagupta," Michael Strickman, ed., Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R.A. Stein, Mélange Chinois et Bouddhiques, Vol. XXII (Bruxelles: Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1985), pp. 866-867.

81. Warder, Indian Buddhism, p. 206; cf. James Legge, tr., op.cit., pp. 45-46.

82. N. Dutt, op.cit., pp. xiii-xiv; A.C. Banerjee, op.cit., p. 16.

83. Nariman, op.cit., p. 202; Speyer, op.cit., Preface, pp. xv-xvi.

84. Nariman, loc.cit.

85. Speyer, op.cit., Preface, p. ix.

86. Przyluski, op.cit., p. 5.

II. On Defining the Term "Avadāna."

In the foregoing survey I have used a rough, 'working definition' of avadāna as a narrative in which the deeds performed in a past birth or births are shown to be the karmic 'cause' of an individual's situation in his or her present birth; and that, further, the protagonists of such stories are usually arhats or other exemplary disciples, ordained or lay, of the Buddha. This is accurate insofar as all avadānas, including bodhisattvāvadānas, i.e., jātakas, exhibit a tripartate narrative structure: a "story of the present" (Pāli, paccuppannavatthu), a "story of the past" (atītavatthu), and a juncture where the character or characters in the two narrative portions are identified (samodhāna).[1] A more precise or comprehensive definition is nevertheless desirable, and a number of scholars have exercised themselves in providing one.

To the extent that our understanding of "avadāna", whether considered etymologically, generically or thematically, may influence our understanding of what is significant in particular avadānas, may direct our attention toward certain features of a text and away from others, some discussion toward a definition of the term is important.

In a survey of the literature on the subject, Ratna Handurukande observes that "there is no concensus of opinion among scholars regarding the exact definition of the term avadāna nor is there any agreement concerning its etymology."[2] All the present discussion can hope to achieve is to mention the major opinions and suggest which among them appear most appropriate to bear in mind when reading

the Pūrṇāvadāna.

E.B. Cowell and R.A. Neil, the first editors of the Divyāvadāna attempt no description of the characteristics of the avadāna-type of narrative, but in other nineteenth-century publications, Eugène Burnouf,[3] Leon Feer,[4] and Serge d'Oldenberg,[5] all give the term a general definition of legend, legendary tale or fable.

J.S. Speyer provides both an etymological and a thematic definition. He considers the Pāli apadāna to be "interchangeable" with the Sanskrit avadāna,[6] and derives the terms from the verbal root dā plus the prefix ava/apa, which means, in its literal sense, " 'something cut off, something selected'."[7] Idiomatically, the word came to mean " 'notorious facts', facinora, illustrious or glorious achievements."[8] He also cites the closely related meaning, "heroic conduct", as found in the works of the classical Hindu poets, Kālidāsa and Daṇḍin.[9] In a specifically Buddhist context, he alludes to the dictionary of Amarasiṃha, a Buddhist lexicographer, in which the term is defined as "karma vṛttam (history)", or, as in the commentary, "bhūtapūrvaṃ caritram" (deeds, or biography, of former times).[10]

With regard to theme, Speyer emphasizes that both jātakas and avadānas are 'karma-tales' in that, on the one hand, they show

> the irresistable and all-pervading power of karma towards determining for each creature the course and fortune of his existences within the immense and boundless circle of never-resting Saṃsāra, and, on the other, to convince the minds of the audience of the individual power of every creature to gather, by means of the performance of good actions, stores of śuklaṃ karma which shall have precious results paratra in time to come.[11]

Clearly, the illustration or, rather, dramatization, of the doctrine of karma is fundamental to the avadāna-literature, but as we shall see, stories like the Pūrṇāvadāna involve far more than ways for dharma-teachers to get across to laity the message that 'as ye sow, so shall ye reap'.

According to the Tibetan historian of Buddhism, Buston, the Abhidharmasamuccaya of Asaṅga, a Mahāyāna work of the Yogācāra school, defines avadāna as a class of texts "which is related in the form of parables, in order to elucidate the meaning of the sūtras."[12] This is striking, as it recalls Upagupta's use of a pūrvakālakaraṇīya-kathā (tale of former times) to prepare his audience for a satyasaṃ-prakāśana (exposition of the Truths). We have already noted that the 'canonical core' of the Pūrṇāvadāna is an almost verbatim transcription of suttas found in the Pāli Canon.

T.W. Rhys Davids, like Speyer, regards avadāna as a Sanskitization of apadāna and defines both as meaning " 'pure action', 'heroic action'."[13] He distinguishes, also, the characteristic 'story of the present/story of the past' narrative organization and points out that while a jātaka always refers to a past life of the Buddha, "an Apadāna deals usually, not always, with that of an Arhat."[14]

Winternitz defines the term, similarly, as " 'heroic deed, glorious deed', the sense being extended also to glorious deeds of self-sacrifice and piety," and also as "the pious works of the saints. . .legends of saints."[15] Although Winternitz refers to both the Apadāna-book of the Khuddakanikāya and the Sanskrit avadānas, he apparently has more in mind the former, for, as we have noted,

many avadānas concern not arhats, but the humblest of lay-followers. Elsewhere, Winternitz, like Speyer, describes avadāna as the " 'story of a noteworthy deed or feat'," but points out that such feats may be as awesome as the "sacrifice of one's own life" or "merely the gift of incense, flowers, ointments, gold and pecious stones, or the erection of sanctuaries (Stūpas, Caityas and so on)." He also cites the moral appended to many avadānas, i.e., that "black deeds bear black fruits, and white deeds white fruits," and emphasizes their thematic function as "Karman stories." Nor does he fail to allude to them as "legends," following d'Oldenberg, and as "sermons", following Speyer. We find here, then, largely a summary of the scholarship up to Winternitz's time.[16]

W.G. Weeraratne, asserting the aspect of avadānas as 'karma-tales', describes as a general feature of all avadānas their presentation of "the consequence of some act good or bad (karmavṛtta) directed toward the Buddha, the Dharma or the Saṅgha, or some other object of religious significance, such as a stūpa."[17] He notes that in the East Asian Buddhist traditions, avadāna (Chinese, p'i-yu; Japanese, hiyu) meant "premise (dṛṣṭānta), simile (upamā) and an illustration by means of a simile (aupamyodāharaṇa)," the parable of the burning house and that of the rich man and his sons found in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra[18] being cited as examples.[19] Weeraratne very helpfully specifies that while the avadānas are rightfully "termed stories about karma (karmavṛtta), the karma referred to is not the karma (volitional act) of the jātaka stories, but action with a certain amount of devotion (bhakti) towards the Buddha."[20]

This points out a thematic feature of the avadānas, and the Sanskrit avadānas in particular, that has not been accorded sufficient attention by scholars, and which will be shown to be central in the Pūrṇāvadāna.

This point, and a few other important ones, is taken up by John Strong, in his recent book on the Aśokāvadāna (chapters 26-29 of the Divyāvadāna). His description is worth quoting in full:

> An avadāna is a narrative of the religious deeds of an individual and is primarily intended to illustrate the workings of Karma and the values of faith and devotion. It can often be moralistic in tone, but at the same time there is no denying that it has a certain entertainment value. The avadānas were and are still used by Buddhist preachers in popular sermons and as such have often been compared to the jātakas (stories of the Buddha's previous lives). Unlike the jātakas, however, the main protagonist of the avadāna is usually not the Buddha himself, but a more ordinary individual, often a layman.[21]

Faith, devotion and the workings of karma are certainly major themes in the Pūrṇāvadāna, as in other avadānas. Much has been made of 'faith for the laity, meditation and study for the Saṅgha', but we should not forget that in the Kakacūpamasutta (Majjhimanikāya) the Buddha, in admonishing the monk Phagguna for living "too closely associated with nuns", reminds him that he "has gone forth from home into homelessness out of faith."[22] Presumably, until such time as one has reached a very high level of spiritual attainment, faith in one's teacher remains essential to spiritual progress.[23]

Here, also, although he proffers it hesitantly, Strong acknowledges the importance of the "entertainment value" of the avadāna-literature. I will extend this notion considerably in analyzing the Pūrṇāvadāna as a work of art, but Strong, in his discussion of the Aśokāvadāna, clearly pays more attention to its formal features

than this timorous reference in his introduction would lead one to believe. In fact, Strong's study of the Aśokāvadāna may be the first work to take the avadāna-literature seriously as narrative. While his concerns are primarily thematic, his exegesis pays considerable attention to narrative organization and symbolic action.

Finally, Kanga Takahata's definition of the meaning of avadāna combines etymological with thematic concerns in a way that offers a valuable perspective for anyone examining this literature. Takahata first draws attention to a note in Max Müller's introduction to his translation of the Dhammapada, where the meaning of avadāna is derived from the verbal root dai plus ava (to cleanse): " 'a legend, originally a pure and virtuous act. . .afterwards a sacred story, and possibly a story the hearing of which purifies the mind'."[24] Takahata notes this bears some relation to Rhys Davids' definition of "pure action," and goes on to assert that "it seems beyond doubt that the central idea underlying avadāna literature is, in north and south alike, the purification of mind."[25] He points out that as a Buddhist technical expression "vyavadāna" regularly has the meaning of purification and that "spiritual cleansing (cittaprasāda)" is intimately bound up with the practice of liberality or charity (dāna), observing that acts of dāna toward the Buddha, the Saṅgha, a stūpa, etc., are a constant feature of the avadāna stories. In fact, he cites no less than sixteen stories from the Avadānaśataka that conclude by the Buddha acknowledging an act of dāna with the words, "Such is one's gift which expreses the purity of his mind towards me."[26] In support of his contention that avadāna combines

the concepts of cleansing or purification (from ava + dai) and charity (from ava + dā), Takahata observes that as far back as the Ṛgveda ava + dā had the meaning of " 'give pleasure' or 'present'."[27] He thus sees the earliest meanings of avadāna as having to do with dāna and cittaprasāda, and its later sense as karma (deed, actions) and kathā (legend, tale, narrative) in which these earlier meanings became the embodiment of an ideal life that culminated or is predicted by the Buddha to culminate in enlightenment, a heavenly rebirth, etc.

This implies a greater function for the avadānas than as tales of morally exemplary lives, or of the importance of cultivating 'white' and not 'black' or 'mixed' deeds, of the momentous fruits of devotion toward the Buddha. It finds a place for avadānas in the mental training that is so central in the Buddhist traditions.

Indeed, that the Pūrṇavadāna involves far more than ethical and cultic platitudes set in a framework of entertaining narrative, and that it and other avadānas naturally deserved the close study implied by the existence of the avadānikas and avadānārthakovidas mentioned in the Kalpadrumāvadānamālā,[28] I shall, in the following pages, be most concerned to demonstrate.

Notes to Part II.

1. W.G. Weeraratne, "Avadāna," Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, Vol. II (ed. G.P. Malalasekhara, Colombo: Gov't of Ceylon, 1966), p. 396. M. Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, Vol. II (1927, repr. ed., New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corp., 1972), pp. 115-116, writing of the jātakas, proposes a five-fold structure: (1) the story of the present, paccuppannavatthu, "relating on what occasion the Buddha himself told the monks the Jātaka in question"; (2) the prose narrative, "story of the past;" (3) the gāthās, which may form part of either (1) or (2); (4) a short commentary (veyyākaraṇa) on the gāthās; and (5) the samodhāna. Later (Ibid., p. 277), he describes the jātakas as "nothing but Avadānas the hero of which is the Bodhisattva." Presumably he places the gāthās in a separate category because it is generally acknowledged that in the Pali Jātaka book the verses are significantly earlier than the prose commentary. In such texts as the Pūrṇāvadāna, the verses are likely also earlier, but they are fully integrated into the narrative and no commentary is provided to explicate them. Sharmistha Sharma, Buddhist Avadānas: Sociopolitical, Economic and Cultural Study (Delhi: Eastern Book Linkers, 1985), p. 23, suggests a different five-fold structure for the avadānas: (1) a narrative frame, indicating the setting and stating when, where and why the story is related; (2) story of the present; (3) story of the past; (4) samodhāna; (5) moral. As a generalization, this is problematic. Many avadānas, including the Pūrṇāvadāna, do not introduce the story by saying anything about why is story is being related; this, insofar as it is made explicit, occurs when the Buddha states the moral. However, even in the Avadāna-śataka, which is a far more stereotyped collection, the formula, "Of deeds that are wholly black, the fruit is wholly black; of deeds that are wholly white, the fruit is wholly white; and of deeds that are mixed, the fruit is mixed", occurs in no more than half the stories (J.S. Speyer, ed., Avadānaśataka [1902-1909, repr. ed., 'S-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1958], Preface, p. i.) While there is most often a moral message implied or stated by the Buddha as a result of the samodhāna, the "moral" of a story like the Pūrṇāvadāna involves a whole complex of ideas which are developed throughout the narrative.

2. Ratna Handurukande, ed., tr., Maṇicūḍāvadāna, Sacred Books of the Buddhists, Vol. 24 (London: Luzac & Co., 1967), p. xix.

3. Ibid., p. xx.

4. Ibid.

5. Serge d'Oldenberg, "On the Buddhist Jātakas," Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, XXV, n.s. (1893), p. 301.

6. Speyer, op.cit., Preface, p. iii.

7. Ibid., Preface, p. iv.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid., Preface, pp. ii-iii.

10. Ibid., Preface, p. iii.

11. Ibid., Preface, p. iv.

12. Cited in Handurukande, ed., tr., Maṇicūḍāvadāna, p. xxi.

13. T.W. Rhys Davids, "Apadāna," Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, ed., James Hastings (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1908, repr., 1971), p. 603.

14. Ibid.

15. M. Winternitz, op.cit., II, p. 158.

16. Ibid., pp. 277-278.

17. Weeraratne, op.cit., p. 396.

18. H. Kern, tr., The Saddharmapuṇḍarīka or The Lotus of the True Law, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXI (1884, repr. ed., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1980), pp. 72-89 (parable of the burning house); pp. 99-117 (parable of the rich man and his sons).

19. Weeraratne, op.cit., p. 396.

20. Ibid., p. 397.

21. John Strong, The Legend of King Aśoka (Princeton: The University Press, 1983), p. 22.

22. I.B. Horner, tr., The Collection of the Middle Length Sayings (Majjhima-Nikāya), Vol. I: The First Fifty Discourses (Mūlapaṇṇāsa), Pali Text Translation Series No. 29 (London: Luzac & Co., 1954), p. 160.

23. As Edward Conze, Buddhist Thought in India (1962, repr. ed., Ann Arbor: University of Michegan Press, 1982), pp. 29-30, has put it, "Only a Buddha or an Arhat has experiences sufficiently wide or deep to test the whole range of the truth, and their testimony is therefore the one ultimate source and guarantee of the truth for all except the fully enlightened. . . .Bitter and incredible as it must seem to the contemporary mind, Buddhism bases itself first of all on the revelation of the Truth by an omniscient being, known as 'the Buddha', and secondly on the spiritual intuition of saintly beings." The Bhikṣu Sangharakshita, referring the categoriza-

23. (cont'd) tion of "Holy Persons" (āryapudgala), cites the "Faith-Follower" (śraddhānusārin) and the "Doctrine-Follower" (dharmānusārin) as two important types. The former is of a "predominantly devotional temperament", and, embarks upon spiritual discipline principally out of faith in the Teacher; the latter, typifying the "predominantly intellectual approach", takes up spiritual discipline only "after an extensive and painstaking course of scriptural study." The devotional type, unless his guru is truly enlightened, risks falling into fanaticism or hysteria; the intellectual type, "unless upheld by an exceptionally strong desire for Enlightenment," may degenerate into "sterile scholasticism or even scepticism." However, under the right conditions, both types, traversing their distinctive but gradually converging paths, can attain libeation. The Faith-Follower then is known (somewhat obscurely, perhaps) as a "Doubly-Liberated One" (ubhayatobhāgavimukta), the Doctrine-Follower as a "Wisdom-Liberated One" (prajñāvimukta). Faith, then, is to be understood as a valid motivation for spiritual cultivation, whether for householder or renunciate. The episode in the Pūrṇāvadāna concerning Vakkalin is one example of such a Faith-Follower (following here Mahāsthavira Saṅgharakshita, The Three Jewels [1967, repr. ed., Purley, Surrey: Windhorse Publications, 1977], pp. 156-157).

24. Kanga Takahata, ed., Ratnamālāvadāna: A Garland of Precious Gems or a Collection of Edifying Tales, Belonging to the Mahāyāna (Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko Oriental Library, Series D, Vol. 3, 1954), p. xxi.

25. Ibid., p. xxii.

26. Ibid., p. xxiv. "ayam asya deyadharmo yo mamāntike cittaprasāda iti."

27. Ibid. This Vedic sense is also cited by Speyer, ed., op.cit., Preface, p. iv.

28. See Part I, note 80.

III. Divyāvadāna, Pūrṇāvadāna and other Avadānas.

The Pūrṇāvadāna occurs as the second story of the Divyāvadāna.[1] This collection of thirty-eight stories was first edited in 1886 by E.B. Cowell and R.A. Neil.[2] All but the most recent scholarly publications refer to this edition. In 1959, P.L. Vaidya reprinted the earlier edition with many corrections.[3] I have prepared my translation from this more recent edition.

V.S. Agrawala of Banaras Hindu University began work on a critical edition of the Divyāvadāna, but died before its completion. He did publish an article explaining a number of problematic words and expressions in the text, a few of which occur in the Pūrṇāvadāna.[4]

In the 1840's, Eugène Burnouf published French translations of ten stories from the Divyāvadāna, the Pūrṇāvadāna among them.[5] In 1950, E.J. Thomas published an English translation of the section of the Pūrṇāvadāna that corresponds to the "Puṇṇasutta" of the Pāli Saṃyuttanikāya, amounting to about ten percent of the Divyāvadāna story.[6]

There are in fact several collections entitled Divyāvadāna. This was noticed in the last century by Cowell and Neil[7] and by Rajendralal Mitra.[8] The contents of both differ considerably from those of the published editions. Recently, Yutaka Iwamoto, on the basis of a comparison of six different Divyāvadāna manuscripts, has concluded that there are only seven stories common to all the manuscripts, and that only two, the Koṭikarṇāvadāna and the Pūrṇāvadāna,

invariably occur in the same place, respectively as the first and second story.[9] In fact, Iwamoto defines "Divyāvadāna" as a collection of Sanskrit avadānas in which the first two stories are the Koṭīkarṇāvadāna and Pūrṇāvadāna.[10] That these two stories were accorded such importance by the several redactors suggests they are the oldest or perhaps were regarded as the most valuable, although such suppositions are purely speculative, and have to be confirmed or refuted by future researchers. Unfortunately, to date none of the these other Divyāvadāna collections have been published.

Unlike the Avadānaśataka, which is arranged systematically in ten vargas (chapters, sections) of ten stories each according to type of protagonist,[11] the Divyāvadāna appears to have been compiled from diverse sources and contains a variety of tales, arranged (except for the first two) in no discernible order.

The Pūrṇāvadāna is typical of many of the stories in that, according the Cowell and Neil, it "might almost be taken as a model of an unaffected prose style; simple as it is, it has a force of its own from its artless pathos and directness."[12] As we shall see, this artlessness manages to conceal a good deal of artistry. By contrast, the Candraprabhabodhisattvacaryāvadāna (No. 22) and the Maitrakanyakāvadāna (No. 38) are written in formal kāvya-style, with long compounds and a variety of poetic metres.[13] The latter appears to be modelled on the Maitrakanyakāvadāna of the Avadānaśataka (No. 36).[14] Vaidya considers the Divyāvadāna version to have been composed by Āryaśūra, author of the Jātakamālā.[15]

Two of the stories, Nos. 12 and 34, are Mahāyāna sūtras.[16]

Cowell and Neil, in their edition,[17] observed that "[m]any of our legends belong to the Vinaya-piṭaka, as they continually bring in some reference to a point of discipline;" later research has established that nineteen of the thirty-eight stories are found in the Vinayavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādins,[18] while ten others have been traced to Chinese translations of other Sanskrit Vinayas.[19] Stories 26-29, comprising the Aśokāvadāna,[20] occur in the Chinese A-yu-wang-ch'uan (Skt., Aśokarājāvadāna), which occurs in the Sūtra-piṭaka of one of the schools and was translated in the late third century C.E.[21] These stories also take over with little alteration passages from the Kalpanāmaṇḍitika of Kumāralāta, translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva in 405 C.E.[22] The Maitreyāvadāna (No. 3) incorporates elements also found in the Cakkavattisīhanāda Suttanta of the Pali Dīghanikāya.[23] Parts of the Cūḍāpakṣāvadāna (No. 34) correspond to a story in the Jātaka-book.[24] The Māndhātāvadāna (No. 17) contains a passage from a Sanskrit Mahāparinirvaṇa Sūtra.[25]

The Pūrṇāvadāna, as mentioned above, reproduces a short sutta which is found in both the Majjhimanikāya and Saṃyuttanikāya.[26] This passage relates the Buddha's instruction of Pūrṇa in the matter of restraint of the senses and tells of the latter's conversion of many in Śroṇāparāntaka. The only striking difference is that in the Pāli texts the Buddha explains to the monks that Pūrṇa (Puṇṇa) has "passed finally away", while at the close of the Divyāvadāna version Pūrṇa is still alive and well.

In the Mahākarmavibhaṅga,[27] we read that "in the Adhyardhaśataka Sūtra the Ārya Pūrṇa converted five hundred lay-disciples in the

city of Śūrpāraka, and had constructed the Candanamāla Vihāra. The Lord flew there together with five hundred bhikṣus and converted a great mass of people." This quite clearly refers to events narrated in our text, but Sylvain Lévi, the editor, was unable to trace an Adhyardhaśataka Sūtra in any of the extant literature.[28]

In an extract from the Paramatthadipānā (Theragāthā commentary), a number of biographical details about Pūrṇa familiar from the Divyāvadāna story are recounted.[29]

Similarly, the episode in the Pūrṇāvadāna in which the Buddha converts the sage Vakkalin is also found in a different version (Vakkalin is already a monk) in the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā (Dhammapada commentary), although Vakkalin's great faith in the Buddha and his leap off the mountain are described in much the same manner in both texts.[30]

There is a passage in the Pūrṇāvadāna, likely an interpolation, that describes Maudgalyāyana visiting, together with the Buddha, the world-system in which his mother has been reborn. Although the realm of her rebirth is described neither as a heavenly nor an infernal place, the episode is reminiscent both of the beginning of the Mahāvastu, where we find Maudgalyāyana visiting various worlds,[31] and of the fifth varga of the Avadānaśataka, roughly corresponding to the Pali Petavatthu, in which Maudgalyāyana visits various pretas and hears their tales of woe.[32] All of these may in turn be referred to such suttas of the Majjhimanikāya as the Cūḷataṇhāsaṅkhaya,[33] although there he travels to the Heaven of the Thirty-Three in order to preach the Dharma to a yakṣa who had been reborn there as Śakra,

lord of the devas. In any case, Maudgalyāyana was renowned for his mastery of ṛddhis (psychic powers), and this would have been sufficient basis on which to develop a legendary episode.

In a rather general way, the Pūrṇāvadāna is analogous to the stories in the tenth varga of the Avadanaśataka, which concern arhats who suffered for wicked deeds committed in previous lives before attaining enlightenment in their final life.[34] It is when the Buddha relates the 'story of the past' that we learn that Pūrṇa had in the remote past committed the deed of "harsh speech" as a result of which he was reborn five hundred times as the son of a slave-girl.

However, the most striking parallels obtain between the Pūrṇāvadāna and the Sumāgadhāvadāna.[35] To be sure, the characters and setting are for the most part quite different: Sumāgadhā, the heroine of the Sumāgadhāvadāna, is the daughter of that munificent patron of the Saṅgha, the merchant Anāthapiṇḍada; she goes to live in Puṇḍravardhana (some distance north of present-day Calcutta) with her in-laws, all lay-followers of the Jains.[36] She is disgusted by the "ill-mannered and indecent attitudes" of the Jain monks patronized by her husband and his family and eventually receives permission from her mother-in-law to invite the Buddha and his bhikṣus to receive alms at their home.

Like Pūrṇa in the Divyāvadāna story, who climbs onto the roof of the Candanamāla Pavilion, she then climbs onto the roof of her husband's house and there sprinkles water, presents flowers and incense, and piously invokes the Lord. Her offerings fly "west-

wards for 160 yojanas to the Jetavana-garden, where [they] fell at the feet of the Buddha."[37] The Buddha interprets this phenomenon to Ānanda as an invitation from Sumāgadhā (Shan-wu-tu in the Chinese translation),[38] just as he does in the Pūrṇāvadāna, but from Pūrṇa.

Also as in our text, Pūrṇa is seated in the assembly of monks in the Jeta-grove when Ānanda, on the Buddha's instructions, begins to distribute meal-tickets (śālakas) to those monks who possess psychic powers, enabling them to fly the great distance to Puṇḍravardhana. The scene is nearly identical: Pūrṇa, here called the Elder Kuṇḍopadhānīya (K'un-nu-po-t'o-na in Chinese), is first told by Ānanda that he is not to take a meal-ticket, as he does not possess the necessary psychic powers. Pūrṇa concentrates mightily, and instantaneously developing psychic powers, stretches out his arm "as long as an elephant's trunk" and takes a ticket. He celebrates his accomplishment in verse. The only notable difference here between the two stories is that in the Divyāvadāna story, Pūrṇa has already attained arhatship, while in the Sumāgadhāvadāna he is only a śrotāpanna (Chinese, hsü-t'o-yüan; 'stream-enterer' or recent convert) and his spontaneous generation of spiritual power gains him both the six types of psychic powers and arhatship (a-lo-han).[39]

As does the King of Sūrpāraka in our text, Sumāgadhā's husband observes the bhikṣus flying into the city on their various supernatural mounts and repeatedly asks whether a particular one is the Buddha.[40]

Finally, the Buddha's dramatic transformation into crystal (sphaṭika) of the Candanamāla Pavilion is also paralleled in the

Sumāgadhāvadāna by the Buddha's transformation into crystal of the house of his devotee's in-laws.[41] In both cases the Buddha's motivation is the same: to prevent the masses of citizens who are bent on seeing the Lord expounding Dharma from wrecking the place. And in both stories the fruit of the Buddha's visit is the same: everyone in the city takes up the practice of the Buddhadharma in accordance with their degree of understanding.[42]

I am unable to suggest which version of these various parallel scenes is the older or original version or, for that matter, whether both are derived from a common source.[43] One cannot help noting, however, that the Sumāgadhāvadāna is more elaborate in some respects. In the Pūrṇāvadāna, the various vehicles of the bhikṣus as they fly in to Sūrpāraka are described in verse by a lay-disciple; in at least one of the Chinese translations of the Sumāgadhāvadāna,[44] eighteen of the Buddha's principal disciples are described, each on their special mount. In our text, when the Buddha leaves the Jetavana to go to Sūrpāraka, he is followed by one goddess who resides there; in the Sumāgadhā-story he leaves surrounded by many divinities.[45] In the Pūrṇa-story, the Buddha makes a number of conversions along the way, among them five hundred sages; in the Sumāgadhā version, the number is seven thousand.[46] And finally, in the latter text, as the Buddha enters Puṇḍravardhana, all manner of miracles take place: the lame walk, the blind see, the insane become sane, etc.;[47] there are no analogous descriptions in the Pūrṇāvadāna.

It is possible that the more grandiose treatment of such details in the Sumāgadhāvadāna indicates it is a later text, but no

such conclusion can be reached without additional supporting evidence. Further research may illuminate the textual history of the Pūrṇāvadāna in relation to the Sumāgadhāvadāna as well as to other avadānas and the various strata of related Pāli materals.

For the present study, the importance of these analogues and parallels to aspects of the Pūrṇāvadāna is the implication that our narrative, or at least significant features of it, is comprised of traditional material of wide provenance. Our story is not only of the avadāna genre, but shares a number of elements, great and small, with other avadānas and with canonical and non-canonical material in Pāli and Sanskrit (or translated therefrom). For the student of literature, this provides a literary context, shows the story of Pūrṇa as belonging to a tradition of story-telling as much as it does to a religious tradition. As John Strong asserts of the Aśokāvadāna, the Pūrṇāvadāna is "little concerned with scoring sectarian points."[48] The central themes of karma and rebirth, faith (śraddhā) and devotion (bhakti) are pan-Buddhistic, even pan-Indian, although the avadānas of course portray these with reference to the Three Jewels. As we shall see in Section V, our story does take

> definite positions on questions such as faith, kingship, devotion to the Buddha, and the nature of suffering and how to overcome it. But its stance is assumed rather than explicit, and is embedded in the telling of the legend itself.[49]

Thus the nature of the Pūrṇa-story as it is presented leads us away from the examination of religious doctrine per se and toward the analysis of its literary form. Or, put another way, such doctrines as are promulgated in the story are best understood through /

a detailed examination of the narrative medium by means of which they are expressed.

The Pūrṇāvadāna is typical of the stories in the Divyāvadāna and Avadānaśataka in that it consists largely of simple prose interspersed, at important junctures, with short verses. Much the same impression is achieved when one reads the Jātaka, Dhammapada, or Theratherīgāthā verses together with their prose commentaries. This reinforces the observation of a number of scholars, mentioned above, that the Sarvāstivādins accepted as canonical much of what the Theravādins relegated to the commentaries.[50] As a literary form, this mixture of prose and verse is a very ancient one in India. Various legendary, semi- or pseudo-historical narratives of this type, called ākhyānas, occur in parts of the Brāhmaṇas,[51] the Upaniṣads, in the Mahābhārata,[52] as well as in the Theravādin Dīghanikāya.[53] Whether there is a genetic relationship between these various instances of prose-and-verse narrative form is a matter we cannot go into here; it is sufficient to observe that this type of composition had a long and venerable history in India in both Buddhist and non-Buddhist traditions, and that in this sense the author/compiler of the Pūrṇa-story and of other avadānas was very much working within a particular literary tradition, yet another reason to suppose the value of studying our narrative as a literary work - as a Buddhist literary work to be sure, but as a work of literary art nonetheless. In the last century, Serge d'Oldenberg described such 'secular' story-collections as the Pañcatantra and Hitopadeśa, together with the Buddhist jātakas and avadānas, as "offshoots of the ancient itihāsas and ākhyānas",

only he regarded the former as "products of free creative genius" and the Buddhist narratives as merely "pale and tendentious reflection[s]" of that genius, their great value being purely historical.[54] In fact, scholarship on the avadānas has remained predominantly historical and textual: my principle reason here for providing such contexts for the Pūrṇāvadāna is that, while they do not and cannot replace close attention to the text itself, it remains that an informed literary analysis can only proceed in full awareness of such information, for the historical and generic considerations pertaining to a literary work frequently are essential to a proper orientation in the work of textual intepretation.

Our text not only comprised of prose and verse, but of prose of two distinct kinds. The first, which is the style of the first half of the story (up until Pūrṇa's conversion and ordination), is the simple prose of popular Indian story-literature, that "model of an unaffected prose-style" which inspired the remarks of Cowell and Neil. The second does not monopolize, but is very apparent in, the latter half of the narrative. It is the more formal, "hieratic" prose[55] adopted from or modelled upon passages from the Tripiṭaka, and is prominent in all the speeches of the Buddha.

Before proceeding to methodological considerations, it must be mentioned that the early avadāna collections like the Avadānaśataka, Divyāvadāna, Karmaśataka and Damamukha not only are in some sense modelled on the numerous stories of past lives recounted in the Pāli canonical literature, but themselves served as models for many later avadāna-collections.

This is a literature of vast extent, even if only those extant in Sanskrit are considered (many more, lost in Sanskrit, are found in Tibetan and/or Chinese translations).

One sub-genre discussed by Speyer is the avadānamālās (garlands of avadānas), which are entirely in verse. The Kalpadrumāvadānamālā ("Garland of Avadānas that Grant all Wishes"), Ratnāvadānamālā,[56] and Aśokāvadānamālā each contain poetic versions of a good many of the stories from the Avadānaśataka.[57] All the stories in these collections "are inserted into the framework of a dialogue between Aśoka and Upagupta,"[58] these two figures, as we have noted, also appearing as the central characters in Nos. 26-29 (Aśokāvadāna) of the Divyāvadāna. While scholars have described the earlier avadāna-collections as having "one foot in the Hīnayāna literature, and the other in that of the Mahāyāna,"[59] or as "proto-Mahāyānist",[60] the avadānamālās are clearly Mahāyānist revisions of the earlier narratives, replete with hosts of bodhisattvas and Buddhas and references to Sukhāvatī, the Pure Land of Amitābha Buddha.[61] Nevertheless, the portrayal of the fruits of karma, and the emphasis placed upon faith and devotion are familiar from the older collections. Speyer dates these avadāna-garlands as somewhere between 400 and 1000 C.E.[62]

Of a different character are the Dvāviṃśatyavadāna and the Vicitrakarṇikāvadāna.[63] Both of these appear to be compilations taken from the Avadānaśataka and a variety of other, unknown sources. The latter is much concerned with narrative accounts of the origins of various rites and rituals. Both are in the familiar prose-and-verse style.[64]

The Bhadrakalpāvadāna is a collection of thirty-four stories in verse, also set in a narrative frame of Upagupta recounting the individual tales to King Aśoka, but unlike the avadānamālās it recalls in organization and subject-matter the Mahāvagga section of the Pāli Vinayapiṭaka.[65] Speyer assigns to it a late date, eleventh century C.E. at the earliest.[66]

The Avadānasārasamuccaya, a collection of fifteen avadānas in kavya-style, has been discussed by Ratna Handurukande[67] and, briefly, by Iwamoto.[68]

The Jātakamālā or Bodhisattvāvadānamālā of Āryaśūra comprises thirty-four jātakas also found in the Jātaka-book and the Cariyāpiṭaka of the Khuddakanikāya.[69] It is written in kāvya-style, in mixed verse and prose, and has been highly regarded, both in ancient India and by modern scholars, as a work of literary merit. It has been dated as roughly contemporaneous to the recension we have of the Divyāvadāna (fourth century C.E.).

The Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā of the Kashmiran poet Kṣemendra, a collection of one hundred and eight avadānas and jātakas composed in the middle of the eleventh century, is also accorded high literary value.[70] It contains a version of the Pūrṇāvadāna similar in main outline to our text as well as a number of other stories which are also found in the Pāli commentaries and the Mahāvastu.[71] Although Kṣemendra was neither a monk nor even a Buddhist, his composition attained wide popularity in Tibet.

In addition to the collections mentioned above, there are a number of single avadānas, some of which have been published.

Among these is the Sumāgadhāvadāna, already discussed in some detail above. The Suvarṇavarṇāvadāna[72] was, according to the manuscript, dedicated to the Three Jewels by a Mahāyāna bhikṣu, but contains many of the mercantile themes of our text and does not refer to any distinctively Mahāyānist doctrines. It is dated to the fourth or fifth century C.E. The Maṇicūḍāvadāna,[73] also contained in Kṣemendra's work, contains a number of incidents and features found in the Divyāvadāna, Avadānaśataka, Mahāvastu as well as in the Vessantara-jātaka.[74] Handurukande, its editor and translator, likens its literary style to that of many of the Divyāvadāna stories.[75]

In addition to these, Iwamoto[76] discusses or mentions more than a dozen other titles, not including the unpublished Divyāvadāna manuscripts discussed above. Most of these remain in manuscript.

Much work, then, remains to be done, particularly the editing and publishing of avadānas and study of them as examples of Buddhist religious literature and with regard to their relations with other traditions (Hindu, Jain) of literary composition in ancient and medieval India. As works of literature, even the stories of the Avadānaśataka and Divyāvadāna, which have been available in scholarly editions for a century, have been little studied. My goal in this study is to provide a literary analysis of the Pūrṇāvadāna, the assumption being that this approach will illuminate both the structure and meaning of the work, thereby pointing the way to the application of this methodology to other avadānas and to Buddhist narrative literature in general.[77]

Notes to Part III.

1. E.B. Cowell and R.A. Neil, eds., The Divyāvadāna, A Collection of Early Buddhist Legends (Cambridge: The University Press, 1886; repr. ed., Amsterdam: Oriental Press NV Publishers, 1970), pp. 24-55; P.L. Vaidya, ed., Divyāvadānam, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts No. 20 (Darbhanga, Bihar: Mithila Institute, 1959), pp. 15-33.

2. Cowell & Neil, op.cit., p. viii. Of the five manuscripts utilized by the editors, the three more recent ones do not use the title Divyāvadāna, while the two older ones do. "We have kept the title Divyāvadāna, as Burnouf used this name." Ibid., p. ix. Cowell and Neil also made use of translations made from the Tibetan versions supplied by Léon Feer in order to help edit difficult or corrupt passages. The text is in transliterated Roman characters.

3. Vaidya, ed., op.cit., p. vii. Vaidya used no new manuscript material "as no such material has come to light," but notes of the earlier edition that "mistakes in the use of accented types such as ā, ī, ū, ś, ṣ are responsible for a number of wrong readings in the body of the text of the Divyāvadāna and need of a new edition was keenly felt." However, the Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna was re-edited by Sujitkumar Mukhopadhyaya (Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna [Santiniketan: Viśvabhārati University, 1954]) on the basis of both new manuscript materials and the Chinese and Tibetan translations and Vaidya has incorporated this version in his edition, which is in Devanāgarī characters. More recently, Mukhopadhyaya published a new edition of the Aśokāvadāna (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1963), which occurs as stories 26-29 in Vaidya's edition, and on which John Strong (The Legend of King Aśoka [Princeton: The University Press, 1983]) has based his translation.

4. V.S. Agrawala, "Some Obscure Words in the Divyāvadāna," Journal of the American Oriental Society, LXXXVI (1966), 2, pp. 67-75. Prof. Agrawala (Ibid, p. 67) mentions that Franklin Edgerton, author of the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary, 2 vols. (Yale Univ. Press, 1953; repr. ed., Tokyo: Rinsen Book Co., 1985), had inspired him "to undertake a revised edition of the Divyāvadāna with the Devanāgarī text, eight appendices and a full Introduction, giving the substance of the stories and also dealing with the cultural material of the text. Professor Edgerton's visit to Banaras Hindu University, during the year 1953-54, and his stupendous work, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary, inspired me to undertake the work". One would be interested to learn whether Prof. Agrawala left any of his notes.

5. Eugène Burnouf, Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien (Paris: Maisonneuve et Cie., 1844; 2nd ed., 1876). The French translation of the Pūrṇāvadāna is found at pages 235-275.

6. E.J. Thomas, tr., The Quest of Enlightenment (London: John Murray, 1950), pp. 40-43, corresponding to Vaidya, ed., op.cit., pp. 22, l. 21 - 24, l. 24.

7. Cowell and Neil, eds., op.cit., p. 660. The fragments described in Cecil Bendall's Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge (Cambridge: The University Press, 1883), p. 168, contains slightly less than one-third of the text of the Pūrṇāvadāna.

8. Rajendralal Mitra, Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1882), pp. 304ff., provides abstracts of the stories from a manuscript of a Divyāvadānamālā. His summary of the Pūrṇāvadāna, generally in agreement with our text, is given on pp. 306-308.

9. Yutaka Iwamoto, Bukkyō Setsuwa Kenkyū Josetsu [Introduction to the Study of the Buddhist Avadānas] (Tōkyō: Kaimei Shoin, 1978), pp. 143-148, esp. p. 143. The seven stories are: (Śroṇa)koṭikarṇāvadāna, Pūrṇāvadāna, Svāgatāvadāna, Candraprabhāvadāna, Vītaśokāvadāna, Pañcakārṣakasatāvadāna and Rūpāvatyavadāna.

10. Ibid., p. 148. My thanks are due to Dr. Phyllis Granoff, my academic advisor, and Mr. Kazuki Anno, a fellow graduate student in the Department of Religious Studies at McMaster University, for translating crucial passages from Iwamoto's book.

11. J.S. Speyer, ed., Avadānaśataka (1902-1909; repr. ed., 'S-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1958), Preface, pp. xv-xvi.

12. Cowell & Neil, eds., op.cit., pp. vii-viii.

13. Ibid., p. vii, n. 1.

14. Maurice Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, tr. S. Ketkar (1927; repr. ed., New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corp., 1972), p. 290.

15. Vaidya, ed., op.cit., pp. viii, 548.

16. Ibid., p. x. Prātihāryasūtra, pp. 89-104; Dānādhikāramahāyānasūtra, pp. 426-427.

17. Cowell and Neil, eds., op.cit., p. viii.

18. Speyer, ed., op.cit., Preface, p. ix. A.C. Banerjee, Sarvastivada Literature (D. Banerjee, 1957), p. 246, citing A Comparative Analytical Catalogue of the Kanjur Division of the Tibetan Tripitaka (Kyoto: Otani Daigaku Library, 1930, pp. 399ff.), lists the following avadanas: Koṭikarṇa, Pūrṇa, Maitreya, Brāhmaṇadārikā, Stutibrāhmaṇa, Indrabrāhmaṇa, Saṅgharakṣita, Nāgakumāra, Rūpāvatī, Sudhanakumāra (Nos. 1 & 2),

18. (cont'd) Māndhātā, Nāgarāvalambikā, Menḍhaka (Nos. 1 & 2).

19. Speyer, ed., op.cit., Preface, p. ix, citing Sylvain Levi, "Les éléments de formation du Divyāvadāna," Toung-p'ao, Séries II, Vol. VIII (1907), No. 1.

20. Vaidya, ed., op.cit., pp. 216-282; also see note 3 above.

21. Winternitz, op.cit., II, p. 285.

22. Ibid., p. 267.

23. T.W. Rhys Davids, tr., Dialogues of the Buddha, Part III, Sacred Books of the Buddhists, Vol. IV (1921; repr. ed., London: Luzac & Co., 1965), pp. 59-76.

24. Winternitz, op.cit., II, 289. Jātaka No. 4.

25. Ibid.

26. Vaidya, op.cit., pp. 22, l. 21-24, l. 24 (tr. by E.J. Thomas [see n. 6 above] as "The Exhorting of Purna") corresponds almost exactly to the "Puṇṇovādasutta," (I.B. Horner, tr., The Collection of the Middle Length Sayings [Majjhima-Nikāya], Vol. III: The Final Fifty Discourses [Uparipaṇṇāsa], Pali Text Society Translation Series, No. 31 [London: Luzac & Co. 1959; repr., 1967], pp. 319-322), and to the "Puṇṇasutta," (F.W. Woodward, tr., The Book of the Kindred Sayings [Saṃyutta-Nikāya], Vol. IV, Pali Text Society Translation Series, No. 14 [London: Luzac & Co., 1927, repr., 1956], pp. 34-36).

27. Sylvain Levi, ed., tr., Mahākarmavibhaṅga et Karmavibhangopadeśa (Paris: E. Leroux, 1932), pp. 63-64. "yathā ca adhyardhaśatake sūtre āryapūrṇena sūrpārake nagare pañcopāsakaśatāni abhiprasāditāni. candanamālaśca vihāraḥ kāritaḥ. yathā ca bhagavān pañcabhir bhikṣuśataiḥ sārdhaṃ vihāyasā tatra gataḥ, janakāyaścābhiprasāditaḥ."

28. Ibid., p. 63, n. 2.

29. C.A.F. Rhys Davids, tr., Psalms of the Early Buddhists, Part II: Psalms of the Early Brethren with Selections from the Chronicle in Dhammapāla's Commentary (Paramatthadipānā, Part V), pp. 70-71.

30. E.W. Burlingame, tr., Buddhist Legends, 3 vols., Harvard Oriental Series, Vols. 28-30 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1921), Vol. 30, pp. 262-264.

31. Sangharakshita, The Eternal Legacy (London: Tharpa Publications, 1985), pp. 64-65.

32. Winternitz, op.cit., II, p. 280; Banerjee, op.cit., p. 259.

33. I.B. Horner, tr., The Collection of the Middle Length Sayings (Majjhima-Nikāya), Vol. I: The First Fifty Discourses (Mūlapaṇṇāsa), Pali Text Society Translation Series, No. 29 (London: Luzac & Co., 1954, repr., 1967), pp. 307-310. Maudgalyāyana (Moggallāna) also visits the deva-realms in a number of suttas of the Saṃyuttanikāya (C.A.F. Rhys Davids, tr., The Book of the Kindred Sayings [Saṃyutta-Nikāya] or Grouped Suttas, Part I: Kindred Sayings with Verses [Sagāthā-Vagga], Pali Text Society Translation Series, No. 7 [1918?, repr. ed., London: Luzac & Co., 1950], pp. 182-184; F.W. Woodward, tr., The Book of the Kindred Sayings [Saṃyutta-Nikāya], Part IV, Pali Text Society Translation Series, No. 14 [London: Luzac & Co., 1927, repr., 1956], pp. 185-189; F.W. Woodward, tr., The Book of the Kindred Sayings, Part V, P.T.S. Translation Series, No. 16 [London: Luzac & Co., 1930, repr., 1965], pp. 318-319

34. Speyer, ed., op.cit., II, pp. 127-206. Winternitz, op.cit., II, 280.

35. Yutaka Iwamoto, ed., tr., Sumāgadhāvadāna (Kyoto: Hozokan-Verlag, 1968).

36. Ibid., p. 84 (Iwamoto's summary of the Sanskrit text).

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid., p. 141 (tr. of Chinese text).

39. Ibid., pp. 142-143; cf. Iwamoto, Bukkyō Setsuwa Kenkyū Josetsu (Tōkyō: Kaimei Shoin, 1978), pp. 66-68 for parallel passages.

40. Iwamoto, Sumāgadhāvadāna, pp. 84-85.

41. Ibid., pp. 85, 149 (tr. of Chinese text).

42. Ibid., pp. 85, 149.

43. That these narrative episodes are an old tradition is suggested by a number of stories in the Dhammapada commentary (Burlingame, tr., op.cit.). "The Marriage of Visākhā" (Ibid., Vol. 29, pp. 59-84; also found in Manorathapūraṇī [Aṅguttaranikāya commentary]) in its narrative outline is similar to the Sumāgadhāvadāna in important respects. Visākhā, daughter of a pious lay-Buddhist, the wealthy merchant/investor Dhanañjaya, and herself wholly committed to the Three Jewels, is given in marriage to Puṇṇavaddhana (Skt., Puṇḍravardhana), son of the wealthy merchant/investor Migāra (Skt., Mṛgāra) who is a patron of the Jains. In Sāvatthi (Śrāvastī), where she takes up residence with her in-laws, Visākhā immediately endears herself to the citizenry as a result of her graciousness and liberality, but the Jain monks seek to convince her father-in-law to expel her because she is a disciple of the Buddha. She is tested in various ways, also familiar from the Sumāgadhā-story, is exonerated, and

43. (cont'd) receives permission to minister to the material needs of the Saṅgha (p. 74). Here, unlike in the Pūrṇāvadāna and Sumāgadhāvadāna, there is no pūjā from the roof-top which then magically flies through the air to the Buddha. Nevertheless, Migāra acquires "firm faith in the Three Refuges" (p. 75) and lauds Visākhā in verse. However, the story is not bereft of imaginative embellishment, for Visākhā always looks sixteen years old, although she lives to be a hundred and twenty and has "the strength of five elephants" (p. 76); she cuts flesh from her thigh to make broth for a sick monk and is made whole again "through her faith in the Teacher"(p. 78). In addition, we are treated to another example of Moggallāna's great powers, for he is appointed by the Buddha to assist Visākhā in constructing a 1000-room vihāra for the Saṅgha, and brings huge boulders and trees from fifty leagues away in a single day (p. 80). The reader is also treated to a short "story of the past", in which we learn that in the times of two different Buddhas, Visākhā made an "Earnest Wish" to "stand in the relation of mother" to a Buddha and to "be the foremost of the women entitled to provide him with the Four Requisites." And so we have a perfectly good avadāna, one of the many the Theravādins relegated to the commentaries.

The story of "The Monk and the Phantom" (Ibid., Vol. 29, pp. 296-299; also found in the Theragāthā commentary) concerns the monk Kuṇḍadhāna (Pūrṇa, in our text, is also called Kuṇḍopadhāniya). Here the theme - that in a past life the monk committed the sin of 'harsh speech' as a result of which he is made to suffer in his present, final life - is similar to an aspect of the Pūrṇa-story, as is the name; otherwise the two narratives are completely different.

A version of the pūjā-scene in the Pūrṇa- and Sumāgadhā-stories is found in "Cullā Subhaddā the Virtuous" (Ibid., Vol. 30, pp. 184-187). Like Sumāgadhā, Cullā Subhaddā is the daughter of Anāthapiṇḍada (Pali, Anāthapiṇḍika). When Anāthapiṇḍika's old friend Ugga comes to Sāvatthi on a trading expedition, he is delighted with Cullā Subhaddā and Anāthapiṇḍika accepts his offer of marriage. She goes to the city of Ugga to join her new family and like Visākhā and Sumāgadhā, delights the entire populace (p. 185). Ugga patronizes the Jains; his new daughter-in-law will have nothing to do with them because of her modesty. She interests her mother-in-law in the virtues of the Buddha and his monks, receives permission to invite them to receive alms. From "the topmost floor of the palace" she reverently offers "scents and perfumes and flowers and incense", scatters "eight handfuls of jasmine-flowers," and intones her invitation. "The flowers proceeded through the air of their own accord, and forming a flower-canopy, stood over the Teacher as he preached the Law in the midst of the Fourfold Congregation." (p. 186). The following day the Buddha and five hundred arhats, all seated in pagodas that had been created for the occasion by Sakka, king of the gods, proceeded through the air to Ugga, where both Ugga himself and eighty-four thousand living beings were converted (p. 187).

44. Iwamoto, Sumāgadhāvadāna, p. 144.

45. Ibid., p. 146.

46. Ibid., pp. 146-147.

47. Ibid., pp. 147-148.

48. Strong, The Legend of King Aśoka, p. 37.

49. Ibid.

50. G.K. Nariman, Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism, 2nd impression (Bombay: Indian Book Depot, 1923), pp. 262, 268 (see Part I, note 64); A.K. Warder, Indian Buddhism, 2nd ed. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1980), pp. 341, 415.

51. Hermann Oldenberg, "The Prose-and-Verse Type of Narrative and the Jātakas," Journal of the Pāli Text Society (1910-12), pp. 41-49.

52. Winternitz, op.cit., II, p. 36; A.K. Warder, Indian Kāvya Literature, Vol. II: Origins and Formation of the Classical Kāvya (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1974), pp. 5-6, 23.

53. Winternitz, op.cit., II, p. 36; Warder, Indian Kāvya Literature, Vol. II, p. 73.

54. Serge d'Oldenberg, "On the Buddhist Jātakas," Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, XXV (1893), p. 305.

55. H. Oldenberg, op.cit., pp. 27-28.

56. Kanga Takahata, ed., Ratnamālāvadāna: A Garland of Precious Gems or a Collection of Edifying Tales, Belonging to the Mahāyāna (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko Oriental Library, Series D, Vol. 3, 1954).

57. Speyer, ed., op.cit., Preface, pp. xxi-xxii.

58. Winternitz, op.cit., II, p. 291.

59. Ibid., p. 277.

60. Strong, Legend of King Aśoka, p. 37.

61. Speyer, ed., op.cit., Preface, pp. xxvi-xxvii.

62. Ibid., p. xxxvi.

63. Ibid., Introduction, pp. xviii-xix; Preface, pp. xciii-c. Winternitz, op.cit., II, 291.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid., p. 292.

66. Speyer, ed., op.cit., Preface, p. xxxvi.

67. Ratna Handurukande, "Avadānasārasamuccaya," in Perala Ratnam, ed., Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture, Vol. I (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1972), pp. 79-89.

68. Iwamoto, Bukkyō Setsuwa Kenkyū Josetsu, pp. 38, 48.

69. H. Kern, ed., Jātakamālā or Bodhisattvāvadānamālā: Stories of Buddha's Former Incarnations by Āryaśūra, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. I (1890; repr. ed., Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1943). J.S. Speyer, tr., Jātakamālā or Garland of Birth-Stories, by Āryaśūra, Sacred Books of the Buddhists, Vol. I (London, 1895; repr. ed., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1971). As Speyer (Ibid., p. xxiii) notes, Jātakamālā is not only the name of the work by Āryaśūra, but of a class of works. Some fragmentary manuscripts of this class have been studied by Michael Hahn (Haribaṭṭa and Gopadatta: Two Authors in the Succession of Āryaśūra on the Rediscovery of Parts of their Jātakamālās, Studia Philologica Buddhica, Vol. 1 [Tokyo, 1977]).

70. Sarat Chandra Dās & Hari Mohan Vidyābhūṣana, eds., Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, a Buddhist Sanskrit Work on the Exploits and Glories of Buddha, with its Tibetan Version, Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta, 1888-1918); P.L. Vaidya, ed., Avadānakalpalatā, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, Nos. 22-23 (Darbhanga, Bihar: Mithila Institute, 1959). A number of selections from Kṣemendra's work were translated in the Journal of the Buddhist Text Society, I-V (1893-1897).

71. Winternitz, op.cit., II, p. 294.

72. Sita Ram Roy, ed., Suvarṇavarṇāvadāna, K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Historical Research Series, Vol. VII (Patna, 1971); Tissa Rajjapatirana, ed., tr., Suvaṇṇavaṇṇāvadāna, Translated and Edited together with its Tibetan Translation and the Lakṣacaityasamutpatti, 3 parts (Canberra, 1974).

73. Ratna Handurukande, ed., tr., Maṇicūḍāvadāna, being a Translation and Edition and Lokānanda, a Transliteration and Synopsis, Sacred Books of the Buddhists, Vol. XXIV (London: Luzac & Co., 1967).

74. Richard Gombrich and Margaret Cone, trs., The Perfect Generosity of Prince Vessantara: A Buddhist Epic (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).

75. Handurukande, ed., tr., Maṇicūḍāvadāna, pp. xxv-xxvi.

76. Iwamoto, Bukkyō Setsuwa Kenkyū Josetsu, pp. 257-259.

77. Iwamoto, Bukkyō Setsuwa Kenkyū Josetsu, pp. 249-250, proposes a "Typology of the Buddhist Narrative Literature" as follows:

1. Narrations in prose
   Example: A great part of the legends of the Avadānaśataka. Some narrations of the Divyāvadāna

2. Narrations in verse.

   2.1 Ancient narrations in verse
   Example: A part of the Pāli Jātakas in their original form.

   2.2 Later narrations in verse

   2.2.1 Versified adaptations of older works (The 'Buddhist epics')
   Example: The whole Avadānamālā literature

   2.2.2 Late ornate epics
   Example: Kṣemendra's Avadānakalpalatā

3. Mixtures of verse and prose

   3.1 Classical Avadāna
   Example: Sumāghadāvadāna

   3.2 Transitional form - early Campū
   Example: Kumāralāta's Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā

   3.3 Campu, the mixture of ornate prose (gadya) and verse (padya)
   Example: Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā, Maitrakanyaka

   3.4 Degenerated Campū
   Example: Gopadatta's Saptakumārikāvadāna

4. Hybrid forms
   Example: The Pāli Jātaka in its present form

It would appear that the Pūrṇāvadāna, in such a schema, would belong to either 1. or 3.1, depending upon whether the nineteen stanzas incorporated into the prose text are considered to render it as being a 'mixture of verse and prose'.

IV. On Literary Analysis of Avadānas.

The detailed historical, philological and textual/generic information of Parts I-III is intended to provide a context within which a literary analysis can be situated and to which it can be referred.

In any tradition, the literary critic is assumed to be conversant in the cultural and literary conventions in the context of which any work under consideration was composed and which presumably informed the responses of its original audience as well as of the tradition by which the work was accepted into its literary 'canon'. Hence, I have considered it important to devote considerable attention to the development of the avadānas as a genre of Buddhist literature (Part I), to the meaning and the significance of the meaning of the term "avadāna" (Part II), and to a comparison, in terms of plot and theme, of the Pūrṇāvadāna to other Divyāvadāna stories and to other avadānas (Part III).

As suggested in Part III, these contexts point to literary analysis as a particularly fruitful way to develop an understanding of the text. As long as we confine ourselves to relating the Pūrṇāvadāna to its contexts, we are confined to learning about what it has in common with them; what escapes the historical, philological, generic and doctrinal approaches is what is unique to the Pūrṇāvadāna, what distinguishes it from other examples of ancient Indian narrative, from other Buddhist narratives, even from other avadānas. By contrast,

a literary approach seeks to explicate the unique experience of reading the Pūrṇāvadāna, to highlight those features - formal and thematic - that distinguish it from any other text, however similar, while at the same time always mindful of the ways in which conventions (linguistic, generic, doctrinal, cultural) shared by other works and by other types of works condition that uniqueness.

Literary theorists have expressed these two complementary dimensions by the terms "extrinsic" and "intrinsic".[1] The former corresponds to what I have called the "contexts" of the Pūrṇavadāna, the latter to what I have called the "text" itself, that singular constellation of diction, syntax, events, plot, allusions, etc. in and through which the story is created. These contexts are the primary concern of the historian and the philologist. For such understanding as is their concern, the text serves as ore, as a mine from which information about literary or religious history can be extracted. Whether the text is a sūtra, a commentary on a sūtra, a historical work, a philosophical treatise (śāstra) or, like the Pūrṇāvadāna, what I would call a fictional narrative, is of secondary (although in some cases considerable) importance. For the literary critic, the priorities are reversed. His or her interest in doctrine, religious history, philology, even literary history is a function of and subordinated to a committment to understanding the specific work as a work of literary art.

The methodological difficulty here is that there exists at present no model or precedent for a literary approach to the study of Buddhist texts in general or the avadānas in particular.

A solution to this problem can be found in the growing body of literary studies of Biblical texts. Analogous to my distinction between the context and the text of the Pūrṇāvadāna, in The Art of Biblical Narrative, Robert Alter distinguishes between what he terms "excavative scholarship" pertaining to, and literary analysis of, Biblical texts.[2] The former comprises the various types of historical, philological, textual and archaeological study by means of which scholars have illuminated our understanding of the Bible. All of these he acknowledges as essential. At the same time, Alter describes such scholarship as primarily a "necessary first step,"[3] not an end in itself, and devotes his book to "close readings" of representative Biblical stories.

Alter does not apply any one of the many available hermeneutical systems to the Biblical narratives, regarding such interpretive operations as a kind of prejudgement that frequently distorts or obscures works that have "their own dynamics, their own distinctive conventions and characteristic techniques."[4] Neither does he develop his own system of poetics as a result of his readings of the Bible, regarding the actual narrative operations of the stories as too various and complex for meaningful systematic categorization.

Literary analysis of religious narrative, whether Biblical or Buddhist, proceeds on the assumption that such narratives can best be understood as a

> complete interfusion of literary art with theological, moral, historiosophical vision, the fullest perception of the latter dependent upon the fullest grasp of the former.[5]

For Alter, "literary analysis" involves the

> manifold varieties of minutely discriminating attention to the artful use of language, to the shifting play of ideas, conventions, tone, sound, imagery, syntax, narrative viewpoint, compositional units and much else. . . .[6]

Such attention, he asserts, is less conjectural than certain kinds of historical scholarship because it is linked to discernable details in the text itself.[7] Accordingly, Alter's operating method is to present his own translations of representative Biblical narratives followed by literary analyses supported, where appropriate, by historical and philological information. In studying the Pūrnāvadāna, I have proceeded in a similar manner, always striving to focus upon the "complexly integrated ways in which the tale is told."[8]

It is tempting to conjecture that the reason for the relative neglect of the Sanskrit avadāna literature is connected with the tendency of scholars toward "excavative" study of these stories. If the value or meaning of a text is equivalent to extracting from it illustrations of the doctrine of karma and karmavipāka, or of the centrality of Buddhabhakti (devotion to the Buddha), or of the role of dāna (generosity, particularly to the Buddha and Sañgha), then we have little basis upon which to distinguish different types of texts. An avadāna then becomes an inferior kind of sūtra or śāstra, the doctrines of which are to be discerned by clearing away the superfices of character, setting, narrative organization, etc. It is by recognizing the literary character of the avadānas - precisely that which most distinguishes them from the canonical and philosophical literature - that enables us to appreciate their contri-

bution to the Buddhist tradition in India. In this connection, the English Buddhist teacher and writer, Sangharakshita, has made a simple, though frequently overlooked point, which merits quotation in full:

> Corresponding to the distinction between the intellect and the emotions, between science and poetry, there are two great modes for the communication of spiritual truths, and therefore two principal types of religious literature. One mode is conceptual, addressing itself to the understanding by means of abstractions; the other is existential, appealing to the emotions and the will through concrete actions and sensuous images. While the first excogitates systems of religious philosophy and theologies, the second gives birth to magic, myths and legends. To one, as its natural literary expression, appertains the treatise and the tractate, the polemic and the discursive, descriptive treatment of religious ideals; to the other the religious drama, the story and the song.[9]

Recognizing the integrity and value of both these modes enables us to refrain from judging, as have a number of scholars,[10] the sūtras and śāstras as somehow superior to or more authentic than the avadānas. As we have seen in Part I, there is no lack of 'story-telling' in a number of early Pāli suttas, and that historically-minded scholars have dated at least some of the jātakas and verses of the Theratherīgāthā as far back as the lifetime of the Buddha. This would suggest that the Buddha was not merely an early philosopher whose sober, rational message was 'remythologized' by a tradition lacking in intellectual rigour,[11] but a religious teacher for whom both logic and legend were equally valid modes of discourse and whose multi-faceted teaching was taken up and developed in all its aspects - form and content - by the traditions he inaugurated. In this sense we may ascribe equal validity as expressions of the Dharma to both the celebrated

philosophical writings of Nāgārjuna and the less well-known narratives of the anonymous authors of the avadānas. But this is only possible when we have read the Pūrṇāvadāna and other texts like it not as the Buddha's teaching watered down for the masses, but as literary works of art in their own right. Just such a reading of the Pūrṇāvadāna is the subject of Part VI.

Alter's book is primarily a series of practical demonstrations of how one can read Biblical narrative. His method is to as far as possible permit one's categories of analysis be determined by the texts themselves. Many of his observations about the workings of Biblical narrative are readily applicable to the Pūrṇāvadāna. For example, Alter finds that while many Biblical narratives (for instance, the creation of woman) are composite, drawing upon earlier Near Eastern stories, what is most revealing for an understanding of the text is not so much what its sources are but how those sources have been transformed, worked upon, by the author to form a unique "complexly integrated whole." Similarly, while Alter would have us allow the texts we read teach us our critical categories he does, with forewarnings about reductionism, designate four dimensions of narrative to which he recommends we pay attention in our reading.

Alter's "four general rubrics"[12] are words, actions, dialogue, and narration. These are universal categories, found in narratives ancient and modern, Western and Eastern, from the verse-narrative of Homer, Virgil and Dante to the prose fiction of Flaubert, Tolstoy and Conrad;[13] from the Rāmayāna to the Pāli suttas to the avadānas. Different texts will utilize these formal features in differing

ways and to different degrees. The critic's task is to work out the ways in which these dimensions articulate the 'world of meaning', the themes and ideas, that are the work, for in this view, the value of the Bible or of the Pūrṇāvadāna as religious documents is "intimately and inseparably related" to their value as literature.[14]

1. Words: In a literary text single words or phrases can carry a great freight of meaning. An obvious example from our text are the names of Bhava and his four sons, Bhavila, Bhavatrāta, Bhavanandin and Pūrṇa. As we shall see in Part VI, right at the outset of the story, these names have allegorical implications that provide a thematic framework for the entire action. As the narrative progresses, the specification or omission of these names serves other thematic functions. However, it must be conceded that it is at the level of individual words that my analysis must be the weakest, for the fullest sensitivity to lexical nuances requires a thorough fluency in the language, which as yet I do not possess.

2. Actions: Alter carefully studies repeated, parallel and analogous actions. This dimension is also an important one in our text, particularly what Alter calls "narrative analogy, where one part of the story provides a commentary or foil to another."[15] The very similar descriptions of the birth and attendent ceremonies of Bhava's three legitimate sons are commented upon by the much more fulsome descriptions accorded the birth of Pūrṇa. Similarly, Bhava falls ill twice, once to be rescued by 'compassion', the second time to pass away in the nature of all compounded things. Pūrṇa's brothers go on overseas trading voyages while Bhava is still

alive as well as after his death; Pūrṇa himself goes on seven voyages after his father's death. In each case, the action is described in very similar language, but different characters engage in the same actions with very different motivations and with vastly different results. Bhavila's final voyage is taken out of pride and almost ends in disaster; Pūrṇa's is taken out of kindness and becomes the occasion of his learning about the Buddha and his teaching.

Part of the same structure of meaning is the expression "to set out on the great ocean", which is the formulaic expression used in the text to describe someone leaving on an overseas trading voyage. In a number of contexts, combining the dimensions of words and actions, the story plays with the multivalent meanings of "great ocean" (mahāsamudra): to set out on the great ocean is sometimes just travelling, part of the activity of any trader; at other times the great ocean is also the "great ocean of saṃsāra", the cycle of birth, death and rebirth in which, according to Buddhist doctrine, we are trapped. Thus, when Pūrṇa warns Bhavila about the dangers of overseas trading expedition, he is at once warning him of the physical dangers of ocean travel and the spiritual and moral dangers of greed and pride.

Another set of examples is the Buddha's conversions as he journeys from Śrāvastī to Sūrpāraka: these parallel the 'great conversion' that takes place in Sūrpāraka itself, a kind of foreshadowing.

The birth-scenes of Bhava's sons, the various settings-out on the great ocean, the several conversions of individuals and groups,

all comment upon and enrich the implications of each other, "establishing a kind of rhythm of thematic significance."[16] All these are instances of what Alter calls a "type-scene", where the same event occurs in different contexts and where even minute alterations may be highly significant.

3. Dialogue: As Alter remarks of the Biblical narratives, in the Pūrṇāvadāna "a remarkably large part of the narrative burden is carried by dialogue."[17] The most important transactions between characters tend to be in the form of dialogue and therefore points at which the third-person narration changes to dialogue can be particularly revealing of "what is deemed essential."[18] Alter suggests a number of questions that may be raised by specific exchanges: if this is a character's first speech in a given episode, why has the author chosen to have him (or her) speak at this juncture. How does syntax, tone, imagery, brevity or lengthiness, help to delineate the character and his relation to the interlocutors? Are there discontinuities in the dialogue where, for example, one character answers obliquely or responds in a way that is not an answer at all? Alter also invites the reader to attend carefully to the repetition of speeches, for even the alteration or omission of one word can have profound thematic resonances.[19] A small but instructive example is when Bhavila repeats to his merchant colleagues Pūrṇa's warning to him about the dangers of ocean travel.

4. Narration: Alter describes the most distinctive role of the narrator in Biblical tales as involving the way in which "omniscience and inobtrusiveness are combined."[20] For the alert

reader, this implies a purposefully selective "reticence" on the part of the narrative persona. Then, some of the following questions may arise: when, if ever, does the narrator comment on the action he is relating? When is motive or emotion attributed to one character but not to another in a specific situation? Why is considerable narrative detail provided in one episode and virtually none in another?

Such questions, which Alter would have us keep in mind as we read Biblical narrative, are also good questions to consider as we read the Pūrṇāvadāna. As in the Biblical narratives, the narrative persona in our text is both omniscient and reticent. He knows what characters are thinking, and at times chooses to inform us. He occasionally comments on the action he is describing, but not often. He reveals the motivations of characters in certain situations, but not in others. All of these can be clues, indicators.

A number of Alter's other observations are germaine to reading the Pūrṇāvadāna. He characterizes biblical narrative, almost always presented as history, as on a continuum between "historicized fiction" and "fictionalized history,"[21] involving an interweaving of factual historical detail with legends, folktales, "etiological stories," "mythological lore," and purely fictional characters and events. This "interweaving" appears to be also characteristic of our text, although research into sources has not, in the study of Buddhist texts, progressed to the degree that has been achieved in Biblical studies. Nevertheless, in Part III I have shown a number of sources/parallels in other Buddhist texts to elements and episodes in the Pūrṇāvadāna. The important point here is that identifying these

sources and parallels must be secondary to understanding how the author (or final redactor) has utilized them in the story, for the narrative context in which they are placed, and subtle or obvious changes made, may be of crucial importance.[22] In some ways the story of Pūrṇa is of the type of a folktale about a local hero, transmuted into the spiritual hero of Buddhism. We have ample evidence for much of language and tone of especially the second half of the story being derived more or less directly from canonical texts familiar to us in their Pāli recensions. But, like Alter, I find that the ancient author has quite deftly and, it would seem, deliberately, "manipulated his inherited materials."[23]

Alter observes that in the Biblical narratives formal verse is a "common convention. . .for direct speech that has some significantly summarizing or ceremonial function."[24] This is manifestly true also of our text, where the nineteen stanzas, sometimes pronounced by the narrative persona, sometimes by characters, invariably highlight a particular situation or event, e.g., Bhavila's lesson to his sons about family unity, his death, the Buddha's ordination of Pūrṇa and others, Pūrṇa's challenge to the hunter in Śroṇāparāntaka, the prayers of Bhavila's colleagues as they are threatened by the yakṣa's hurricane, Pūrṇa's invitation to the Buddha, etc.

As Alter emphasizes, these various formal strategies operating on the level of words, actions, dialogue and narration are only guidelines. Whether and to what extent any one of these figures in a text can only be determined in the reading of that text. Ultimately, reading the Bible or the Pūrṇāvadāna involves learning a

"distinctive set of narrative procedures,"[25] not superimposing upon one's reading of the text assumptions based upon one's reading of other types of narrative, or upon some particular modern system of poetics or narratology.[26]

Finally, the function of literary analysis is not merely to observe and describe these formal strategies, but to suggest how, in their interrelations, they organize the work into a coherent whole. If historical scholarship is a necessary first step and literary analysis is the second, then some cognitive synthesis must be the third. As Alter reminds us, "[a]ll these formal means have an ultimately representational purpose";[27] that is, they imply, articulate, enact themes, ideas; they have meaning; or, put another way, to which I alluded on the very first page of this study, they delight in order to instruct. How this is achieved in the Pūrṇāvadāna shall be our concern in Part VI.

Notes to Part IV.

1. Rene Wellek and Austin Warren, Theory of Literature, 3rd ed. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1963). The authors discuss what they term "the extrinsic approach to the study of liteature" in a series of chapters on "literature and biography" (pp. 74-80), "literature and psychology" (pp. 81-93), "literature and society" (pp. 94-109) and "literature and ideas" (pp. 110-124). For the study of literature as literature they regard these approaches as insufficient at best and misleading at worst. The root of their discomfort with these methods is that although the extrinsic study of literary works "may merely attempt to interpret literature in the light of its social context and its antecedents, in most cases it becomes a 'causal' explanation, professing to account for literature, to explain it, and finally to reduce it to its origins. . .causal study can never dispose of problems of description, analysis, and evaluation of an object such as a work of literary art" (p. 73). Less technically, this is part of the literary critic's criticism of reductionism, the impulse to 'explain' literary works in terms of the biography of the author, in terms of its dramatization or enactment of psychological forces, of its relation to a "given social situation, to an economic, social and political system" (p. 94), or to intellectual history. It is not so much that we cannot learn a great deal from such approaches; rather that literature is not equivalent to biography, psychology, sociology or philosophy, however narrowly or broadly these are conceived. To be sure, the competent critic needs to be conversant with much that is the province of these disciplines, but he or she also must possess a considerable expertise in those strategies of discourse employed with particular deftness and intricacy in literary works, for this is what sets literature (as art) apart from literature (as everything that is written down). By contrast, "the intrinsic study of literature" concerns itself, not with the setting or environment of a work (p. 139), but with "the interpretation and analysis of the works of literature themselves" (ibid.). What this involves, or at least what it can involve, forms the chief topic of this section.

2. Robert Alter, The Art of Biblical Narrative (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1981), p. 13.

3. Ibid., p. 19.

4. Ibid., p. 12.

5. Ibid., p. 19.

6. Ibid., pp. 11-12.

7. Ibid., p. 21.

8. Ibid., p. 178. Alter proceeds by analyzing short narrative units, always less than a page. As I am working with a much

8. (cont'd) longer text (twenty pages in Vaidya's Sanskrit edition), I have placed my translation after the literary analysis of the text, following John Strong's example in his Legend of King Aśoka: A Study and Translation of the Aśokāvadāna (Princeton: The University Press, 1983).

9. Sangharakshita, The Eternal Legacy: An Introduction to the Canonical Literature of Buddhism (London: Tharpa Publications, 1985), p. 106.

10. J.S. Speyer, ed., Avadānaśataka (1902-1909; repr. ed., 'S-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1958), Preface, p. v. "The texts of the avadāna and jātaka do not belong to the higher regions of Buddhist teaching. They are accomodated to the spiritual wants of the many; they do not pretend to afford subject-matter for the study and the meditations of the few." Doubtless the laity knew more about the jātakas and avadānas than about the sūtras, but I remain uncomfortable with Speyer's assumption that meditation and philosophy were the preserve of the Saṅgha, while mere 'edification' was all the laity could be expected to appreciate or respond to. More importantly - and this forms the raison d'être of this entire study - is the implication that the avadānas do not merit the close critical attention accorded the sutras and śāstras. In fact, one might argue that a text like the Pūrṇāvadāna requires a more pertinacious and subtle critical awareness than many more 'profound' works, but this is not the place to pursue such a heretical thesis. A.K. Warder, Indian Buddhism, 2nd ed. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1980), perpetuates this (to me) facile distinction between an ignorant, if faithful laity and a learned and philosophical Saṅgha. For Warder, "the Buddha was a philosopher" (p. x), while the biographical narratives about the Buddha and his disciples "belong not to the schools but to the popular Buddhism of the ordinary laity in which the doctrinal differences which split the schools count for practically nothing - in short, to Buddhism as a religion, not to Buddhism as a philosophy" (pp. 334-335). Of course there has been in Buddhism, as in other traditions, every type of practitioner, but one would hope that after a century and a half of Western scholarship on Buddhism, we could begin to assess these rather oversimplified characterizations more critically. See Part I, note 57.

11. Again, this attitude is implied in Warder's (n. 10 above) distinction between Buddhism as a philosophy and as a religion, the unstated but clear implication being that the latter is somehow less authentic or valid than the former. This is especially striking in the writings of a scholar like Warder who has devoted such sympathetic study to certain forms of the Buddhist literary tradition: here it would appear that kāvya is deserving of respect, but the more 'popular' literary forms associated with the avadānas is somehow less deserving of serious study. The main point here is that the monks and nuns were and have been as 'religious' as their lay counterparts, while an active interest in doctrine has not been foreign to lay-disciples. See Part I, note 78.

12. Alter, op.cit., p. 179.
13. Ibid., pp. 12-13.
14. Ibid., p. 19.
15. Ibid., p. 180.
16. Ibid., p. 181.
17. Ibid., p. 182.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid., p. 183.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid., pp. 24-25.
22. Ibid., p. 32.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid., p. 28.
25. Ibid., p. 188.
26. Ibid., p. 15.
27. Ibid., p. 176.

V. The Glorious Deeds of Pūrṇa: A Translation of the Pūrṇāvadāna.

The Lord was staying at Śrāvastī, in Anāthapiṇḍada's park in the Jeta Grove. At the same time there lived in the city of Sūrpāraka a householder by the name of Bhava. He was wealthy, having a great deal of money and other possessions. His properties were extensive and he had produced enormous wealth. Indeed, his wealth rivalled that of Vaiśravaṇa himself.[1]

Bhava took a wife from a family similar to his own.[2] He enjoyed himself with her, made love to her and otherwise dallied with her. Some time passed in this way, and his wife became pregnant. After the passage of eight or nine months she gave birth to a son.

After three weeks, that is, twenty-one days, Bhava performed the birth-ceremonies and gave his son a name: "What name should the boy be given?" His relatives said: "This boy is the son of Bhava; therefore let him be given the name 'Bhavila'." And so he was named.

Again, Bhava enjoyed himself with his wife, made love to her and otherwise dallied with her, and another son was born. He was given the name Bhavatrāta. Some time after that another son was born, and he was named Bhavanandin.

Some time later, the householder Bhava fell sick and because of his exceedingly abusive language, his wife and even his sons abandoned him. However, he had one slave girl and she reflected: "My master has fallen ill, and his wife and even his sons have abandoned him.

It would not be right for me to abandon him, too."

So she went to see the doctor and said: "Lord, you are acquainted with the householder Bhava?"

"I am. What of him?"

"He is suffering from a certain illness. He has been abandoned by his wife and even by his sons. Please prescribe an appropriate medical treatment."

The doctor said: "Slave-girl, you yourself say that your master has been abandoned by his wife and even by his sons. Who, then, is taking care of him?"

She replied: "I am taking care of him. In any case, please prescribe some inexpensive medicines." And so the doctor suggested some medicinal herbs.

Then, she obtained something from his own supplies and administered it to him. Bhava regained his health and then thought: "I have been abandoned by my wife and even by my sons. That I have recovered is entirely due to this girl. Therefore, I must reciprocate her kindness."

He addressed her: "Slave-girl, I have been abandoned by both my wife and my sons. That I am alive is entirely due to you. I offer you a boon."

She replied: "Master, if you are pleased with me, let me make love with you."

He rejoined: "What's the point of you making love with me? I can offer you five hundred pieces of silver and make you a free woman."

She said: "Lord, whether living far away from here or even in the next life, I shall still be a slave; but if I have sexual relations with an Āryan, I shall thereby become a free woman."[3]

Realizing her obstinance, he declared: "When you are in your fertile period, let me know." Later, when she reached her fertile period, she informed him. Then she slept with the householder Bhava and became pregnant. And the very day on which she became pregnant marked the fulfillment of all Bhava's desires and all of the his undertakings.[4]

After eight or nine months she gave birth. It was a boy. He was well-formed, good-looking, handsome, fair-complexioned, with an umbrella-shaped head and long arms, a broad brow, eyebrows that joined and a prominent nose.[5] On the very day that boy was born, to an even greater degree than before, all of the householder Bhava's desires and all of his undertakings were fulfilled.[6]

After three weeks, that is, twenty-one days, Bhava's relatives arrived and assembled. As before, they honoured the birth of the new son with a celebration; and then the boy was given the name Pūrṇa. Given over to the care of eight nurses, two of which whose duty it was to carry him about, the boy Pūrṇa grew rapidly, like a lotus in a deep lake.[7]

When he grew older, Pūrṇa was instructed in reading and writing, arithmetic, accounting, finance, debt-collection, commercial law as well as in the inspection and assessment of jewels, property, elephants, horses and young men and women.[8] In these eight examinations he became an eminent authority, wise and skilled in the traditional

learning.

Then the householder Bhava arranged marriages for his sons in order of seniority, beginning with Bhavila. However, filled with passion for their wives, they became inactive, given over, as they were, to adorning themselves.

As a result of this, the householder Bhava, cheek in hand, became lost in anxious thought. He was thus observed by his sons, who asked him: "Papa, why are you sitting, cheek in hand, lost in anxious thought?"

He replied: "My sons, I did not marry until I had amassed a hundred thousand suvarṇas.[9] However, all of you, infatuated with your wives, have abandoned your profession and bedeck yourselves with costly ornaments. After my death, this will become a pitiful house. How can I not be lost in anxious thought?"

Bhavila had been wearing jewelled earrings. He removed them, and having put on wooden ones, made a vow: "I shall not wear jewelled earrings until I, too, have amassed a hundred thousand suvarṇas." And his two brothers donned lac and tin earrings respectively. After that, their names of Bhavila, Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin were forgotten and they became known as Wood-Earring, Lac-Earring and Tin-Earring. Then, those brothers equipped themselves with trade-goods and set out on the great ocean.[10]

Pūrṇa said: "Father, I, too, shall set out on the great ocean," but his father replied: "Son you are still a child. Stay here and take care of the family business." And so Pūrṇa stayed there at home. As for the others, they returned after a successful

voyage.

Having rid themselves of their travel-weariness, they said: "Father, tally our profits." He did so - each one had earned a hundred thousand suvarṇas. As for Pūrṇa, who had run the business right there at home, justly and honestly, he had earned several hundred thousand suvarṇas. Pūrṇa flung himself at his father's feet and said: "Father, tally the wealth earned in my shop."

Bhava replied: "My son, you have been here all this time. What can you have earned?"

Pūrṇa said: "Father, let it be counted. Then you shall see."

When it was counted, omitting the amount of money he had started out with, there was more than a hundred thousand suvarṇas. The householder Bhava, pleased and delighted, thought: "Truly he is a being of great merit to have earned this much money while staying right here."

Some time later, the householder Bhava fell ill. He thought: "After my death, these sons of mine shall have a falling-out. Some kind of strategem must be devised. And so he said to them: "My dear sons, collect some sticks of wood." They brought some wood. Then he said: "Light a fire with them. They lit a fire. The householder Bhava then said: "Remove the hot coals, one by one." They removed all of them and the fire was extinguished. He said: "My sons, did you see?"

"Father, we saw!"

Then Bhava recited the following verse:

"Brothers who cleave together glow brightly, like a
mass of hot coals;
Men, when they are divided, expire, just like coals.

"My sons, after I am gone, do not be swayed by your wives.
"Families are divided by women, faint-hearted men by words;
A spell, badly-recited, has its efficacy destroyed; so,
too, is affection, as a result of greed."

The two younger sons departed. Bhavila, the eldest, remained. His father told him: "Son, you must never abandon Pūrṇa. He is a being of rare merit." And then, because

All accumulation ends in loss, all exaltation in decline;
All union in separation and all life in death,

he died.

Bhava's sons, having adorned the funeral bier with cloth of pure white, red and dark green, bore Bhava to the burning-ground with all the traditional rites and there cremated him. Then, in order to console themselves, they said: "When our father was alive, we were dependent on him. If we now abandon business, our family will go into decline. That wouldn't be right. Let us, then, take trade-goods and travel to foreign lands."

Pūrṇa spoke up: "In that case, I want to go, too."

They told him: "No, you stay and do business right here in our shop. We'll be the ones to go overseas." And so, taking trade-goods, they set out for foreign parts. Pūrṇa remained behind and managed his brothers' business interests there.

It was the practice among well-to-do families for the house-

keeping money to be distributed on a daily basis. The brothers' wives sent their servant-girls to get their housekeeping money. Pūrṇa, however, was surrounded by wealthy guildmasters,[11] caravan-leaders[12] and others who depended upon his generosity, and so the servant-girls did not get a chance to see him. When the men had finished their business, Pūrṇa gave them the housekeeping money and those servant-girls, returning after a long absence, were reprimanded. They explained what had happended, giving all the details, and declared: "Well, that's what happens to those whose family wealth is in the hands of the sons of slave-girls!"

Bhavila's wife addressed her servant-girl: "You should go to see Pūrṇa when you know the time is right." Now knowing the right time, she set off and quickly obtained [the housekeeping money]. But the others took a long time. They questioned their fellow servant and she gave them a complete account. And so they began to go with her and quickly obtained [their mistresses' shares of the housekeeping money]. Later, they were questioned by their mistresses: "How is it that today you have returned from there so quickly?"

The girls replied: "Hail to Eldest Brother's wife! May she enjoy the best of health! When her servant-girl goes [to see Pūrṇa], she receives her housekeeping money right away. So we made haste to accompany her."

The wives of the two younger brothers became angry and said: "Well, that's what happens to those whose family wealth is in the hands of the sons of slave-girls!"

In time, Bhavila, Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin, all together

in a group, returned from across the great ocean, their ship full of riches. Bhavila asked his wife: "My dear, did Pūrṇa take proper care of you?"

She told him: "As if he were my own son or brother." The other two wives were questioned [in the same way] by their husbands, and they told them: "See how it is for those whose family wealth is in the hands of the sons of slave-girls!"

The two men thought: "It is said that women destroy friendships."

Some time later, Pūrṇa was selling fine Benares silk cloth.[13] Immediately, Bhavila's son went to his shop. He was presented by Pūrṇa with two pieces of that fine Benares silk. Seeing this, the other two brothers sent their own sons, but by the time the boys got there, Pūrṇa had sold all the Benares silk and was selling coarse cotton cloth. So, as luck would have it, they received [from Pūrṇa] some of the coarse cotton.

The two women, seeing this, said to their husbands: "You see! The other boy was given fine Benares silk, while our sons received only cheap cotton!"

The two men offered this explanation: "What's so terrible about that? It's just that the silk was all sold out and [by the time the boys arrived] Pūrṇa had begun selling cotton cloth."

Some time later, Pūrṇa was selling pastries. Bhavila's son went to his shop and was given some pastries. Seeing him, the wives of the other two brothers sent their sons, but, as luck would have it, when they arrived Pūrṇa was selling molasses, and so the boys were given molasses. Seeing this, the two women carried on so much

that their husbands were eventually convinced to divide the joint family.

The husbands conferred with each other: "We are lost either way. We must divide the family." One said: "We should talk to our elder brother Bhavila." The other said: "First let us decide how we should divide up the family's wealth." Both of them thought hard. "One of us should get the house and the land, one should get the shop and the overseas trade and one should get Pūrṇa. If our elder brother takes the house and the land, then we will be able to maintain ourselves with the shop and the overseas trade. And if he takes the shop and the overseas trade, together we'll be able to maintain ourselves with the house and land and by using Pūrṇa for our own ends."

After conferring together in this way, the two brothers paid a visit to Bhavila. "Brother, it's hopeless; we must divide the family."

Bhavila said: "Think about it carefully - remember, women always cause division in families."

The other two replied: We have already thought it over. Let us divide the property."

Bhavila said: "Well, if that's the case, let the members of the family be called together."

The other two said: "We've already decided on what the division should be. One of us gets the house and land, one gets the shop and the overseas trade and one gets Pūrṇa."

"Have you offered Pūrṇa a share?"

"He is the son of a slave-girl! Who would give him a share? On the contrary, we have considered him as part of the property that is to be divided. If you want him, then take him!"

Bhavila thought: "I was told by our father - 'Even if you renounce all of your worldly possessions, you must take care of Pūrṇa.' I will take Pūrṇa." And having decided this, he said: "So be it. I shall take Pūrṇa."

Then the brother who got the house and land went to the house and, going inside, called out: "Elder Brother's wife, come out!" She came out. "You may never enter this house again."

"Why?"

"We have divided the family's holdings. [This house is now mine.]"

The brother who got the shop and the foreign trade, making haste, went to the shop and said: "Pūrṇa, come out!" He came out. "You may never enter this shop again."

"Why?"

"We have divided the family's holdings. [This shop is now mine.]"

Eventually, Bhavila's wife, accompanied by Pūrṇa, set out for the home of some relatives. The children were hungry and began to cry. She said: "Pūrṇa, get the children some breakfast."

He replied: "Give me some money."

She said: "You have earned through trade so many hundreds of thousands of suvarṇas - is there not enough even for the children's breakfast?"

Pūrṇa said: How could I have known that our family would end up like this? Had I known, I would have saved many hundreds

of thousands of suvarṇas."

However, it was the practice among women to tie a few brass coins in the loose end of their saris; Bhavila's wife gave Pūrṇa a few coins, saying: "Get some breakfast."

Taking the money, Pūrṇa set out for the market. On the way he saw a man carrying a load of wood that had been sent up from the coast. The fellow was trembling with cold as he trudged along. Pūrṇa addresed him: "Hey there, fellow, why are you trembling so?"

The man replied: "I don't know. I picked up this load of wood and since then I've been in this condition."

Now Pūrṇa was expert in the assessment of different types of wood. He began to examine that load of wood and saw that it was gośīrṣa sandalwood.[15] He asked the man: "Good fellow, how much would you take for that load of wood?"

"Five hundred kārṣāpaṇas."

Pūrṇa took the load of gośīrṣa sandalwood from the man and carried it off. He reached the market, where, with a saw he cut off four small pieces. These he sold to be made into fragrant powder for one thousand kārṣāpaṇas. He then paid the man his five hundred paṇas and told him: "The wife of Bhavila lives in such-and-such a house. Take this load of wood there and tell her Pūrṇa sent it."

The man took the wood to the house just as Pūrṇa had instructed and recounted all that had happended. Bhavila's wife gave him a blow on the chest and cried: "If Pūrṇa is bereft of money, is he also bereft of sense? 'Bring some cooked food,' I told him, and he sends firewood for cooking! We have nothing to cook!"

Using the money that was left over, Pūrṇa brought food and presented to Bhavila and his wife such necessities of life as clothes, buffalo-cows, cattle and male and female slaves. By these acts, Pūrṇa brought the family great joy.

Some time later, the king of Sūrpāraka became afflicted with a high fever. His physicians prescribed gośīrṣa sandalwood, and so his ministers undertook a search for some. Eventually, they heard reports of some in the marketplace. So they paid a visit to Pūrṇa, to whom they said: "Have you any gośīrṣa sandalwood?"

He told them: "I have."

They said: "What is the price?"

Pūrṇa replied: "A thousand kārṣāpaṇas."

The ministers handed over the thousand paṇas, and after an ointment prepared from the sandalwood was applied to the king's body, he regained his health. The king remarked: "One really can't afford not to have a supply of gośīrṣa sandalwood. From whom did you get it?"

"Lord, from Pūrṇa."

"Summon this Pūrṇa fellow."

Later, a messenger from the king arrived and announced to Pūrṇa: "Pūrṇa, the king summons you."

He began to think: "Why has the king summoned me?" And then it occurred to him: "It is because of the gorśīrṣa sandalwood that the king has regained his health. That is why he summons me. Well, I certainly must take along some of the gośīrṣa sandalwood when I go."

Having wrapped three pieces of the gośīrṣa sandalwood in a cloth, and carrying one piece in his hand, Pūrṇa went before the king. The king asked him: "Pūrṇa, do you have any gośīrṣa sandalwood?"

"Lord, I have this piece."

"What is the price?"

"Lord, a hundred thousand suvarṇas."

"Do you have any more?"

"Yes, Lord, I do." And Pūrṇa showed the king the other three pieces. The king gave a command to his ministers: "Give Pūrṇa four hundred thousand suvarṇas."

Pūrṇa said: "Lord, give three hundred thousand. One piece is a gift to my Lord." And so Pūrṇa was given three hundred thousand suvarṇas.

The king said: "Pūrṇa, I am extremely pleased. Tell me - what boon shall I give you?"

Pūrṇa replied: "If my Lord is pleased with me, may I be permitted to live in your kingdom undisturbed?"

The king gave a command to his ministers: "From this day forth, you may give orders even to the crown princes, but not to Pūrṇa."

Now around that time, five hundred merchants, their ships laden with treasures, arrived in the city of Sūrpāraka. The merchants' guild [of Sūrpāraka] had made a rule:[17] "No one of us may by himself approach those merchants; only the guild as a whole shall purchase their goods."

Some of the merchants said: "Let us summon Pūrṇa." Others

declared: "What does that wretch have that we should summon him?"

Right then, Pūrṇa went outside where he heard about those five hundred merchants who had arrived in Sūrpāraka from across the great ocean with their ships laden with treasures. Without entering the city, he went directly into their presence. He asked them: "Sirs, what have you got [for sale]?"

They replied: "Caravan-leader, never mind that we have travelled far and wide [to obtain these goods]. Name what you are willing to pay."

"Never mind," said Pūrṇa, "name your price." They indicated a price of one million eight hundred thousand suvarṇas. Pūrṇa said: "Sirs, take three hundred thousand as deposit; I have that much. I shall give you the balance soon."

"Very well."

So Pūrṇa had three hundred thousand suvarṇas brought and paid it to them. Then he affixed his seal [to the merchandise] and departed.

Meanwhile, the merchants' guild despatched their agents: "Find out what goods they have for sale." They went and asked: "What have you got?"

"Oh, this and that."

"Well, our homes and warehouses and treasuries are already filled with such merchandise."

"Full or not - it doesn't matter. It's all been sold already."

"To whom?"

"To Pūrṇa."

"Will you make a good profit by having sold it all to Pūrṇa?"

They said: "What he paid in deposit you wouldn't even pay as the full price."

"What did he give as deposit?"

"Three hundred thousand suvarṇas."

"He has certainly gotten the better of his guild-brothers!"

When the agents returned they informed the merchants' guild: "Their wares have already been sold."

"To whom?"

"To Pūrṇa."

"Did they make a good profit by having sold them to Pūrṇa?"

"What he paid in deposit you wouldn't even pay as the full price."

"What did he pay as deposit?"

"Three hundred thousand suvarṇas."

"He has certainly gotten the better of his guild-brothers!"

The merchants' guild summoned Pūrṇa and he was told: "Pūrṇa, the merchants' guild has a rule, that 'no one of us may by himself purchase merchandise; only the guild as a whole shall do so.' Why, then, did you buy the goods yourself?"

Pūrṇa answered: "Sirs, when you made the rule, why were neither my brother nor myself told about it? To be sure, you all made the rule and you all should abide by it [but that has nothing to do with us]!"

At that, the members of the merchants' guild became angry and levied against Pūrṇa a fine of sixty kārṣāpaṇas. Later, Pūrṇa

was seen by the officers of the king and they informed the king of the situation.

The king said: "Sirs, summon those men." Pūrṇa and the members of the merchants' guild were summoned. Said the king: "Why did you levy a fine against Pūrṇa?"

They replied: "Lord, the merchants' guild made a rule - 'No one of us may by himself purchase merchandise.' However, this fellow, Pūrṇa, went ahead and did so."

Pūrṇa spoke up: "Lord, ask them whether, when they made this rule, did they inform either myself or my brother?"

The merchants' guild admitted: "No, we did not."

The king declared: "Sirs, Pūrṇa speaks truly." The merchants were ashamed and released Pūrṇa.

Some time later, a need arose on the part of the king, for some of that merchandise. He summoned the merchants' guild and told them: "Sirs, I have need of some of that merchandise. Bring it to me."

They said: "Lord, Pūrṇa has it."

The king told them: "Sirs, I do not give orders to him. You shall purchase it from him and bring it to me."

The merchants' guild sent a messenger to Pūrṇa: "The merchants' guild requests your presence."

But Pūrṇa said: "I shall not come."

Then all the merchants of the guild assembled and went to Pūrṇa's house where, standing at the gate, they again sent in a messenger: "Pūrṇa, come out. The merchants' guild has arrived

and its members are waiting at the gate."

Pūrṇa, full of pride and rather unwillingly, came out of the house. The merchants of the guild said: "O great caravan-leader, sell to us what you have purchased."

Pūrṇa said: "I would be a foolish merchant indeed were I to sell you merchandise for just what I paid for it."

They replied: "Great caravan-leader, we shall give you twice the price you paid for it!"

Pūrṇa gave a million and a half suvarṇas' worth to those merchants and kept the rest in his house. Then he thought: "What's the likelihood of being able to fill a jar with dew-drops? I shall cross the great ocean."

Pūrṇa had the proclamation-bell rung in Sūrpāraka-city. "Hear ye, merchants of Sūrpāraka! Pūrṇa, the great caravan-leader, shall cross the great ocean! Whomsoever amongst you wishes to cross the great ocean with the great caravan-leader Pūrṇa, free from customs duties, escort charges and freight fees,[18] he is to gather together the trade-goods he wishes to take with him across the great ocean."

Merchants numbering five hundred gathered together their trade-goods for the trip across the great ocean. Then the caravan-leader Pūrṇa, having impatiently performed the rites to ensure a safe journey, accompanied by the five hundred merchants, set out across the great ocean. And in time, he returned, his ship laden with riches. Six times he crossed the ocean in this way. Everywhere it was told: "Pūrṇa six times has crossed the great ocean and come back, his ship laden with riches."

Meanwhile, some merchants from Śrāvastī, taking along trade-goods, travelled to the city of Sūrpāraka. After they had recovered from the fatigue of travel, they went to see Pūrṇa, the great caravan-leader. When they arrived [at his house], they said to him: "Great caravan-leader, we wish to cross the great ocean."[19]

Pūrṇa said: "Sirs, have you seen or heard about someone who has returned six times from across the great ocean, his ship laden with riches, and who is going to cross a seventh time?"

They replied: "Pūrṇa, we have travelled here from afar in order to get you to come with us, but if you won't cross the ocean, well, that's up to you."

Pūrṇa reflected: "Even though I do not seek any more wealth, I shall nevertheless cross the ocean for their sake." And so Pūrṇa, accompanied by those merchants, set out on the great ocean.

At night, during the time before dawn, those merchants recited aloud and at great length [passages] from the truth-revealing Udāna, Pārāyaṇa, Sthaviragāthā, Śailagāthā, Munigāthā and the Arthavargīya Sūtras.[20] Pūrṇa listened to them, and said: "Sirs, you sing beautiful songs."

They replied: "Great caravan-leader, these are not mere songs. You must know that these are the words of the Buddha."

Hearing the name "Buddha", which he had never heard before, Pūrṇa got goose-bumps all over. All attention, he asked: "Sirs, who is this person named 'the Buddha'?"

They told him: "There is a śramaṇa by the name of Gautama, a prince of the Śākya-lineage who, having cut off his beard and

hair and donned yellow garments, with right faith went forth from his home into the homeless life. He has fully awakened to supreme, perfect enlightenment. He, O great caravan-leader, is called 'the Buddha'."

"Sirs, where, then, is this Venerable One living?"

"Great caravan-leader, he is living in Śrāvastī, in Anāthapiṇḍada's park in the Jeta Grove."

Bearing the Buddha in his heart, Pūrṇa, accompanied by the merchants, crossed the great ocean and then, after some time, returned, the ship laden with riches. Bhavila, Pūrṇa's brother, thought: "He has been exhausted by his trips across the great ocean. He should really settle down." And so he told his brother: "Brother, tell me which of the two I should ask on your behalf for his daughter in marriage - a wealthy merchant or a caravan-leader."

Pūrṇa replied: "I am not seeking love. If you would permit it, I shall go forth from the life of a householder [into the homeless life]."

Bhavila said: "When in our home there was no business, you did not go forth into the homeless life. Why[21] do you want to go forth now?"

Pūrṇa told him: "Brother, then it wasn't the right thing to do, but now it is appropriate."

Eventually, Pūrṇa received permission from his brother, Bhavila had realized his determination. Then Pūrṇa said: "Brother, on the great ocean is much suffering and little enjoyment. Many cross; few return. You must by no means cross the great ocean.

Your considerable wealth has been justly acquired, but not so that of your brothers. If they should say: 'Let us all live together,' you must not do so." Having spoken thus, Pūrṇa took one servant and set out for Śrāvastī. In due course he arrived there.

In Śrāvastī, Pūrṇa settled himself in a park and then despatched a messenger to the householder Anāthapiṇḍada. The messenger went and said to the householder Anāthapiṇḍada: "Householder, the caravan-leader Pūrṇa, who is staying in a park [in Śrāvastī], wishes to see the master of the house."

The householder Anāthapiṇḍada thought: "It must be that, tired of ocean-travel, he has now come [trading] overland." Then he asked: "Good fellow, has he brought a great many trade-goods?"

The messenger replied: "What kind of trade-goods has he got? But for one man-servant, he has come alone. There's just he and I."

Anāthapiṇḍada thought: "It would be improper for me to bring this eminent man into my home without offering him my hospitality." And so he very hospitibly ushered Pūrṇa into his house, where he was bathed, given a massage and a meal. Then the two men sat and talked freely. Anāthapiṇḍada asked: "Caravan-leader, what is your reason for coming here?"

"Householder, I greatly desire to become a <u>bhikṣu</u>, to go forth into the homeless life, in accordance with the Doctrine and the Discipline,[22] which are well-expounded."

At that, the householder Anāthapiṇḍada, sitting up straight in front of Pūrṇa, stretched out his right arm, and pronounced this

solemn utterance:[23] "How wonderful the Buddha! How profound the Dharma! How venerable the well-proclaimed Saṅgha! For now such an eminent man has left behind all his relatives, both close and distant, as well as his rich storehouses and treasuries, and desires to become a bhikṣu, to go forth into the homeless life in accordance with the Doctrine and the Discipline, which is so well-expounded!"

Then the householder Anāthapiṇḍada took along with him the caravan-leader Pūrṇa, and together they set out to see the Lord.

At that time, the Lord was giving instruction in the Dharma to an assembly of several hundred bhikṣus who were seated before him. The Lord observed the householder Anāthapiṇḍada coming forward, bearing a gift. And seeing this, he again addressed the bhikṣus: "This man, bhikṣus, the householder Anāthapiṇḍada, comes bearing a gift. For the Tathāgata, there is no gift equal to the gift of one who desires to undertake religious training."

Then the householder Anāthapiṇḍada made reverence at the feet of the Lord and, together with the caravan-leader Pūrṇa, sat down to one side. Having thus sat down to one side, the householder Anāthapiṇḍada said this to the Lord: "This man, O Lord, the caravan-leader Pūrṇa, desires to become a bhikṣu, to go forth into the homeless life in accordance with the Doctrine and the Discipline, which is so well expounded. May the Lord inaugurate his entrance into the homeless life. Please ordain him, out of compassion."

The Lord indicated his consent to [the request of] the householder Anāthapiṇḍada by remaining silent. Then the Lord summoned the caravan-leader Pūrṇa: "Come, bhikṣu; practise the religious

life."

As soon as the Lord had uttered these words, Pūrṇa was transformed: he stood there with the deportment of a bhikṣu of a hundred years' standing, his hair and beard as if shaved off only a week before, the monk's bowl and water-pot[24] in his hands, monastic robes on his body, and his head bald.

Told, "Come," by the Tathāgata, bald he became and
his body enfolded in the monastic robes;
Instantly the quiescence of his senses was established:
all this by the will of the Buddha.

Later, on another occasion, the Venerable Pūrṇa paid a visit[25] to the Lord. He approached the Lord and, having made reverence by touching his head to the Buddha's feet, he sat down to one side. Seated there by his side, Pūrṇa said this to the Lord: "May the Lord concisely expound the Dharma to me in such a way that, having heard from the Lord the Dharma thus concisely expounded, I may abide, free of desire , ardent and attentive, with senses restrained. The goal for which sons of good family cut off their hair and beard, don the yellow robe and with right faith go forth from the home into homelessness - may I in this very life realize that supreme end of the religious life; may I perceive it directly; and having attained realization, may I go forth so that for me exhausted will be birth, accomplished the course of the religious life; so that what is to be done will have been done, and I will know no birth beyond this one."

Addressed thus, the Lord said to the Venerable Pūrṇa: "Well-

spoken, Pūrṇa! Well-spoken indeed are you to have thus spoken: 'May the Lord concisely expound the Dharma to me in such a way that, having heard from the Lord the Dharma thus concisely expounded, I may abide, free of desire, ardent and attentive, with senses restrained. The goal for which sons of good family cut off their hair and beard, don the yellow robe and with right faith go forth from the home into homelessness - may I in this very life realize that supreme end of the religious life; may I perceive it directly; and having attained realization, may I go forth so that for me exhausted will be rebirth, accomplished the course of the religious life; so that what is to be done will have been done, and I will know no birth beyond this one.'

"Therefore, Pūrṇa, listen and bear in mind most attentively what I shall tell you. There are, Pūrṇa, forms cognizable by the eye which are desirable, agreeable, dear, captivating, delightful and connected with pleasure. And if a bhikṣu, seeing such forms, delights in them, welcomes them, clings to and in so clinging becomes dependent upon them, then as a result of delighting in, welcoming, clinging to and in so clinging becoming dependent upon them, he experiences pleasure. Where there is delight in pleasure, passion arises. Where there is passion for pleasure, bondage to delight in pleasure arises. Pūrṇa, a bhikṣu characterized by bondage to delight in pleasure is said to be far from Nirvāṇa.

"There are, Pūrṇa, sounds cognizable by the ear, smells cognizable by the nose, flavours cognizable by the tongue, tactile objects cognizable by the body, elements[26] cognizable by the mind,

all of which are desirable, agreeable, dear, captivating, delightful and connected with pleasure. And if a bhikṣu, perceiving these, delights in them, welcomes them, clings to and in so clinging becomes dependent upon them, then as a result of delighting in, welcoming, clinging to and in so clinging becoming dependent upon them, he experiences pleasure. Where there is delight in pleasure, passion arises. Where there is passion for pleasure, bondage to delight in pleasure arises. Pūrṇa, a bhikṣu characterized by bondage to delight in pleasure is said to be far from Nirvāṇa.

"There are, Pūrṇa, forms cognizable by the eye which are desirable, agreeable, dear, captivating, delightful and which are connected with pleasure.[28] And if a bhikṣu, seeing such forms, delights in them, welcomes them, clings to and in so clinging becomes dependent upon them, then as a result of delighting in, welcoming, clinging to and in so clinging becoming dependent upon them, he experiences pleasure. Where there is delight in pleasure, passion arises. Where there is passion for pleasure, bondage to delight in pleasure arises. But, Pūrṇa, a bhikṣu who has been cleansed of [29] bondage to delight in pleasure is said to be close to Nirvāṇa.

"There are, Pūrṇa, sounds cognizable by the ear, smells cognizable by the nose, flavours cognizable by the tongue, tactile objects cognizable by the body, elements cognizable by the mind, all of which are desirable, agreeable, dear, captivating, delightful and connected with pleasure. And if a bhikṣu, perceiving these, delights in them, welcomes them, clings to and in so clinging becomes dependent upon them, he experiences pleasure. Where there is delight in pleasure,

passion arises. Where there is passion for pleasure, bondage to delight in pleasure arises. But, Pūrṇa, a bhikṣu who has been cleansed of bondage to delight in pleasure is said to be close to Nirvāṇa.

"In this way, Pūrṇa, I have directed you by means of this concise exposition. Now, where do you wish to live? Where do you wish to make your home?"

"Venerable, in this way the Lord has directed me by means of this concise exposition. Now, I wish to live among the people of Śroṇāparāntaka; I wish to make my home among those people of Śroṇāparāntaka."

"Pūrṇa, the inhabitants of Śroṇāparāntaka are cruel, violent, uncouth, abusive, wrathful and contempuous. Pūrṇa, if the inhabitants of Śroṇāparāntaka assail, abuse and revile you face-to-face with evil, false and abusive speech, what will you think?"

"Venerable, if the inhabitants of Śroṇāparāntaka assail, abuse and revile me face-to-face with evil, false and abusive speech, then I shall think thus: 'Good are the people of Śroṇāparāntaka, kind are the citizens of Śroṇāparāntaka, who face-to-face assail, abuse and revile me with evil, false and abusive speech, but who do not strike me with their fists or with clods of earth'."

"Pūrṇa, the inhabitants of Śroṇāparāntaka are cruel, violent, uncouth, abusive, wrathful and contemptuous. If the inhabitants of Śroṇāparāntaka strike you with their fists or with clods of earth, what will you think?"

"Venerable, if the inhabitants of Śroṇāparāntaka strike me with their fists or with clods of earth, I shall think thus:

'Good are the people of Śroṇāparāntaka, kind are the citizens of Śroṇāparāntaka, who strike me with their fists or with clods of earth, but who do not attack me with clubs or swords'."

"Pūrṇa, the people of Śroṇāparāntaka are cruel, violent, uncouth, abusive, wrathful and contemptuous. If the people of Śroṇāparāntaka attack you with swords or clubs, what will you think?"

"Venerable, if the people of Śroṇāparāntaka attack me with swords or clubs, I shall think thus: 'Good are the people of Śroṇāparāntaka, kind are the citizens of Śroṇāparāntaka, who attack me with swords or clubs, but who do not deprive me utterly of life'."

"Pūrṇa, the people of Śroṇāparāntaka are cruel, violent, uncouth, abusive, wrathful and contemptuous. If the people of Śroṇāparāntaka deprive you utterly of life, what will you think?"

"Venerable, if the people of Śroṇāparāntaka deprive me utterly of life, I shall think thus: 'The Lord has disciples who are so exceedingly ashamed, being afflicted by this stinking body, that they even wield a knife against themselves, even eat poison, even kill themselves by hanging, even by flinging themselves off a cliff.[30] Good are the people of Śroṇāparāntaka, kind are the citizens of Śroṇāparāntaka, who with little pain liberate me from this stinking body'."

"Well-said, Pūrṇa, well-said! With your gentle forebearance you are quite capable of living among the inhabitants of Śroṇāparāntaka, quite able to make your home among the people of Śroṇāparāntaka. Go then, Pūrṇa! Having attained liberation, liberate others! Having crossed over, convey others across! Having attained calm, calm others!

Having attained final emancipation, emancipate others!"[31]

Then, assenting to and rejoicing at the words of the Lord, the Venerable Pūrṇa touched his head to the Lord's feet and departed. After passing a single night, early the next morning the Venerable Pūrṇa donned his robes, took up his alms-bowl and, arranging his robes, went into Śrāvastī for alms. Having entered Śrāvastī for alms, he obtained food sufficient for a meal, ate and returned. Then, he put away the bed and seat he ahd used and taking up his robe and bowl, made his way toward the land of the Śroṇāparāntakans, and in due course reached their country. Then, having gotten dressed in the morning, the Venerable Pūrṇa, taking up his robe and bowl, entered Śroṇāparāntaka for alms.

Meanwhile, a certain hunter, bow in hand, approached, looking for deer. He caught sight of Pūrṇa and thought: "This is inauspicious, seeing this bald-headed ascetic." Knowing this, he brought his bow to his ear and rushed at the Venerable Pūrṇa. The Venerable Pūrṇa saw him. Seeing him, he lifted up his unattached upper garment and said: "Good sir, I have come here for the sake of this wretched one that never gets enough. Strike me here." And he recited this verse:

"For the sake of which animals are caught in snares
and birds in thickets, and men bearing mighty spears
and arrows are forever being killed in war;
For the sake of which even the wretched, miserable
fish which dwell in darkness are caught on hooks; it
is for the sake of this belly that I have come from

afar to this cess-pool of wickedness."

The hunter thought: "This mendicant possesses such gentle forebearance!" And thinking: "Why should I attack him?" he became well-disposed toward Pūrṇa. Then he was given instruction in the Dharma by the Venerable Pūrṇa and was thereby established in the stage of training of 'going for refuge',[32] as were five hundred other male lay-disciples and five hundred female lay-disciples. In addition, the hunter had constructed five hundred vihāras[33] which he furnished with many hundreds of blankets, thick cushions, wool rugs, benches and couches. And after the passage of three months, he realized the 'three knowledges'[34] and became an arhat.[35] Free from desire for any of the three states of existence,[36] he became worthy of the respectful salutation, honour and worship of the gods, not excepting Indra and Viṣṇu.

As time passed, the wealth of Darukarṇin's [Bhavila's] two brothers dwindled, shrank and finally was exhausted. Those two said: "That one who appears as an omen of bad luck[37] has gone from our house. Come, we shall live together."

Bhavila said: "Who is it that appears as an omen of bad luck?"

The other two told him: "Your precious Pūrṇaka."[38]

"Fortune has indeed departed from my house. But that is not the same as presaging bad luck."

The two replied: "Good fortune or bad luck - it doesn't matter. Come, we shall live together."

Bhavila replied: "You two acquired your wealth by immoral means. My own was acquired justly. I shall not set up housekeeping

with you two."

The two brothers said: "That son of a slave-girl crossed and recrossed the great ocean and earned great profits which you boast of enjoying. What ability have you in conducting overseas trade?"

In this way, the two caused Bhavila to become proud. He thought: "Well, then, I shall cross the great ocean." As described before in the case of Pūrṇa, he crossed the great ocean and the winds brought his ship to the Gośīrṣa Sandalwood Forest.[39] The helmsman said: "Sirs, the Gośīrṣa Sandalwood Forest, about which so much is told, here it is! Let the men take what is best from this place."

At that time, the Gośīrṣa Sandalwood Forest was the property of the yakṣa Maheśvara, but he was attending an assembly of the yakṣas.[40] Then five hundred axes began to cut down the Gośīrṣa Sandalwood Forest. A yakṣa named Apriya[41] saw the wood-cutters wielding their axes in the Gośīrṣa Sandalwood Forest and seeing this, he went to see the yakṣa Maheśvara. Approaching the yakṣa Maheśvara, he said this to him: "Permit me to inform the General that five hundred axes are cutting down the trees in the Gośīrṣa Sandalwood Forest. You must do what is right, what must be done."

Then the yakṣa Maheśvara, his wrath aroused, dissolved the yakṣa assembly, produced an enormous and fearsome hurricane[42] and set out for the Gośīrṣa Sandalwood Forest.

The helmsman cried out: "Listen, sirs, merchants of India! 'The enormous and fearsome hurricane' about which so much has been heard - here it comes! What shall we do?"

Then those merchants, terrified and shuddering with fear, the hair of their bodies standing on end, began to entreat the gods:

O Brahmā, Śakra, Kubera, Varuṇa, Śiva and all others
who are lords over demons, yakṣas, divine serpents,
humans and gods!
A frightful calamity has befallen us! May our gods
this day be those who free us from danger!
Some men bow before the Lord of Śacī, others before
Śiva and Pārvatī, others before Brahmā;
Still others pay reverence to the gods dwelling in
the earth, trees or forests, desperate for protection.[43]

Darukarṇin stood there, slightly uneasy. The merchants said: "Caravan-leader, we are afflicted by this terrible calamity! How can you stand there, only slightly uneasy?"

Bhavila replied: "Sirs, I was told by my brother, 'On the great ocean there is little enjoyment and much distress. Blinded by greed,[44] many cross; few return. You must by no means cross the great ocean.' I, myself, making light of his words, crossed the great ocean. What am I to do now?"

"Who is your brother?"

"Pūrṇa."

The merchants said: "Sirs, the Noble Pūrṇa is one destined for enlightenment! Let us go for refuge to that very man!" Then all those merchants cried out with one voice: "Reverence to him, the Noble Pūrṇa; reverence, reverence to him, the Noble Pūrṇa!"

At that, a venerable goddess who was favourably-disposed toward

Pūrṇa approached the Venerable Pūrṇa and, having approached him, said this: "Noble One, your brother is afflicted by a terrible calamity - fix your concentration on him!"

He fixed his concentration upon Bhavila. Then the Venerable Pūrṇa entered into a meditation such that, as soon as his mind was fully concentrated, he vanished from Śroṇāparāntaka and appeared, in the great ocean, seated in meditation, on the gunwhale of his brother's ship. Then that hurricane-wind was turned back just as if it had been repelled by Mount Sumeru.[45]

At that, the yakṣa Maheśvara thought: "In the past, any ship that was struck by the hurricane-wind was knocked over and smashed as if it were made of cotton-tufts! Now what is the power by which the hurricane has been turned back as if repelled by Mount Sumeru?" He began to look here and there until finally he saw the Venerable Pūrṇa seated, fixed in the paryaṅka meditation-posture,[46] on the gunwhale of the ship. Seeing Pūrṇa, he said: "Noble Pūrṇa, why did you attack?"

The Venerable Pūrṇa replied: "I am old. Why do you assail me in this way? If I did not possess these psychic powers, my brother would have been killed."

The yakṣa Maheśvara replied: "Noble sir, this Gośīrṣa Sandal-wood Forest is maintained for the use of a universal monarch."[47]

"What do you think, General? Which is superior - a universal monarch or a Tathāgata,[48] an arhat, a perfectly enlightened one?"

"Noble Sir, has such a Lord appeared in the world?"

"Such a one has appeared."

"If that is so, then let that which has not been finished be finished."

Thereupon, those merchants, having recovered their lives, became filled with faith in the Venerable Pūrṇa and, loading their ship with gośīrṣa sandalwood, they departed. After a time, they reached the city of Sūrpāraka.

At that point, the Venerable Pūrṇa said to his brother: "He in whose name this ship laden with riches is registered is the owner of all this wealth. Please divide these jewels among the merchants. With this goŕśīrṣa sandalwood I intend to have constructed a grand pavilion - 'the Candanamāla'[49] - for the use of the Lord."

And so Bhavila distributed the jewels among the merchants. Then the Venerable Pūrṇa, using the gośīrṣa sandalwood, began the construction of the pavilion. He summoned artisans and said to them: "Sirs, will you accept as payment five hundred copper coins per day or would you prefer one measure - about the size of a cat's footprint - of powdered gośīrṣa sandalwood?"

The said: "Noble Sir, one measure of gośīrṣa sandalwood powder."

The Candanamāla Pavilion was completed in a short time. The king said: "Sirs, this is a beautiful pavilion! Everything about it is perfect!"

The sandalwood shavings and powder that were left over were ground up and the sandal-paste was used to stucco the pavilion. And all the brothers were made to forgive each other and were instructed by Pūrṇa: "Invite the community of bhikṣus headed by the Buddha,

and give them a meal."

"Noble Sir, where is the Lord?"

"In Śrāvastī."

"How far is Śrāvastī from here?"

"More than a hundred yojanas."[50]

"First we should see the king."

"Yes, do that."

So the brothers went before the king. They approached, performed obeisance with their heads at his feet and said: "Lord, we wish to invite the community of bhikṣus headed by the Buddha in order to serve them a meal. My our Lord assist us."

The king said: "Fine! So be it. I shall arrange it."

Then the Venerable Pūrṇa climbed onto the roof of the pavilion, stood facing the Jeta Grove, knelt on the ground, strewed flowers, waved incense and, with an attendent, presented a golden vase, and then began to worship in order to obtain a boon:

> "O Perfectly Virtuous One! O He of Perfectly Purified Intelligence! O you who always bring about the welfare of those who approach with gifts!
>
> "Seeing those who are without a Lord, O Great One, exercise your compassion and come here!"

Then the flowers, fashioned into a flower-pavilion[51] through the enlightened power of the Buddhas and the divine power of the gods, materialized in the Jeta Grove in the place of honour of an elder, while the incense appeared there like a canopy of clouds and the water [from the vase] like a slab of lapis lazuli.

The Venerable Ānanda[52] was skilled in the interpretation of signs and portents. Placing his palms together in respectful salutation, he asked the Lord: "Lord, from where does this invitation come?"

"From the city of Sūrpāraka, Ānanda."

"Venerable, how far away is the city of Sūrpāraka?"

"More than a hundred yojanas, Ānanda."

"Are we going there?"

"Ānanda, announce this to the bhikṣus: 'Whomever among you is able, shall tomorrow be going to the city of Sūrpāraka. In order to be able to eat, come and take a food-ticket'."[53]

"So be it, Venerable," said Ānanda in agreement. He got the food-tickets and stood before the Lord. The Lord took a food-ticket as did all the other Elders and venerable bhikṣus.

At that very time, the Venerable Pūrṇa, who was also known as the Elder Kuṇḍopadhānīyaka[54] and who had been liberated through insight,[55] was seated in that very assembly, and seated there, he attempted to take a food-ticket. But the Venerable Ānanda addressed him with these verses:

"Venerable, this is not an invitation to a meal in
the palace of the King of Kośala,[56]
Nor in Mṛgāra's mansion[57] nor at the house of Sujāta.[58]
Sūrpāraka-city is more than a hundred yojanas from here,
And can only be reached by those with psychic powers.
So be silent now, Pūrṇaka."

Pūrṇa had been liberated through insight and had not developed

psychic powers. He said to himself: "Although I have vomited forth, gotten rid of, abandoned and driven away the characteristics of defilement[59] in their entirety, I am not capable of even those psychic powers shared with the heretics." Then, generating spiritual energy and producing psychic power, before the Venerable Ānanda could give a food-ticket to the third Elder, Pūrṇa stretched out his arm as long as an elephant's trunk and took the food-ticket.[60] Thereupon, he recited these verses:

"Gautama,[61] neither through physical beauty nor study,
nor through physical strength or austerities,
Nor through the power of speech or wishes does one
in this life attain the six superknowledges.[62]
Rather, through the manifold powers of meditation, insight,
moral cultivation and tranquillity[63] are
The six superknowledges attained by those such as I,
whose youth has been trampled by old age."

The Lord then announced to the bhikṣus: "O my bhikṣus, this one is foremost among my bhikṣus and close disciples in the matter of accepting invitations to meals. Among those who take food-tickets, this Pūrṇa, the Elder Kuṇḍopadhānīyaka, is foremost."[64] Then the Lord summoned the Venerable Ānanda: "Go, Ānanda, announce this to the bhikṣus. And remind them, too, that I have also said: 'Bhikṣus, one should live with one's virtues concealed and with one's sins displayed'. But that city is overrun with heretics. Therefore, whomever among you has acquired psychic powers is to go to Śūrpāraka by means of those powers and there to accept the

invitation for a meal."[65]

The Venerable Ānanda, saying, "So be it, Lord," in agreement, announced to the bhikṣus: "Venerable Sirs, the Lord has spoken thus: 'I have said: "Bhikṣus, one should live with one's virtues concealed and with one's sins displayed." But that city is overrun with heretics. Therefore, whomever among you has acquired psychic powers is to travel to Sūrpāraka by means of those powers and there to accept the invitation for a meal'."

Meanwhile, the King of Sūrpārka had Sūrpāraka-city swept clean of gravel, pebble and stones, had the streets sprinkled with sandalwood-water and lined with decorated pots of various kinds of fragrant incense; had the city adorned with garlands, banners and pearls, and the roads strewn with many kinds of beautiful flowers.[66]

Sūrpāraka had eighteen gates. And the king had seventeen sons. One of the princes was stationed with royal splendour at each gate. And with all his royal splendour, the king himself, sovereign ruler of Sūrpāraka, stationed himself at the main gate, along with the Venerable Pūrṇa, Darukarṇin, Stavakarṇin [Bhavanandin], and Trapukarṇin [Bhavatrāta].

Just then, bhikṣus carrying leaves, tree-branches and water-pots began to arrive, flying in by means of their psychic powers.[67] Seeing them, the king asked: "Venerable Pūrṇa, has the Lord arrived?"

The Venerable Purna replied: "Great King, these are bhikṣus, carrying leaves, tree-branches and water-pots. The Lord is not here yet."

Then more venerable Elders arrived, bhikṣus who had developed

their powers through attainment of the several stages of ecstatic trance.[68] And again the king asked: "Venerable Pūrṇa, has the Lord arrived?"

The Venerable Pūrṇa replied: "Great King, the Lord has not yet arrived. These are venerable Elders, bhikṣus."

Then, at that very moment, one of the many lay-disciples recited these verses:

"Some ride on splendid bulls, divine serpents, horses, elephants, tigers or lions; some choose glittering chariots, marvellous trees, mountains or jewelled aerial cars;

Others, like thunder-clouds, fly through the sky adorned with tendrils of lightning; all, displaying their psychic powers, are as joyous as if on their way to the City of the Gods.

Some ascend, bursting right through the sky; others descend

Onto thrones in magically-created bodies. Observe their psychic powers!"

Then, outside the vihāra, the Lord washed his feet, entered, assumed an upright posture, established himself in mindfulness,[69] and sat down on the seat that had been especially prepared for him. As soon as the Lord with full mindfulness set foot in his perfumed chamber,[70] the earth shook in six different ways:[71] the great earth stirred, quivered and quaked; it shook, trembled and shuddered. The eastern quarter rose up, the western sank down. The western

quarter rose up, the eastern sank down. The southern quarter rose up, the northern sank down. The northern quarter rose up, the southern sank down. The nadir rose up, the zenith sank down. The zenith rose up, the nadir sank down.

The king asked the Venerable Pūrṇa: "Noble Purna, what is going on?"

He replied: "Great King, when the Lord with full mindfulness set foot into his perfumed chamber, he caused the earth to shake in six different ways."

Then, from his body the Lord radiated a brilliant halo of golden light by which all of India became illuminated, as if by liquid gold.

And once again, the king, his eyes wide with astonishment, asked: "Noble Pūrṇa, what is going on?"

He replied: "Great King, the Lord is radiating a brilliant halo of golden light."

Then the Lord, senses restrained and surrounded by those whose senses were restrained, tranquil and surrounded by those who were tranquil, accompanied by five hundred arhats, set out in the direction of Sūrpāraka.[72] At the same time, the goddess who dwelt in the Jeta Grove, taking a branch of a bakula[73] tree, followed behind the Lord, in the form of his shadow. Knowing her mental disposition, character and circumstances, the Lord imparted to her such instruction in the Dharma in elucidation of the Four Noble Truths[74] that, listening to it,[75] the goddess, shattering with the thunderbolt of insight the twenty-peaked mountain that is the erroneous belief in a perma-

nently existent self,[76] attained the fruit of 'entrance into the stream'.[77]

Meanwhile, in a certain district there lived five hundred housewives. And they saw the Lord Buddha, his lustrous body adorned with the thirty-two primary and eighty secondary characteristic marks of a Great Man,[78] surrounded by a fathom-wide halo more dazzling than a thousand suns, moving like a jewelled mountain, wholly auspicious.[79] At the mere sight of him, on their part great faith in the Lord arose. This is to be expected: meditative cultivation of tranquillity,[80] practised for twelve years, could not produce such joy in the mind, nor could the birth of a son for a man without sons, or the sight of a treasure-trove for a poor man, or a royal consecration for one who desires kingship, as does the first sight of a Buddha for a living being who has planted the roots of spiritual merit over many lifetimes.[81]

Then the Lord, perceiving that the time was right for the spiritual training of the women to begin, sat down in front of the community of bhikṣus on the seat that had been especially provided. As for those women, they honoured the Lord by touching their heads to his feet, and sat down to one side. Knowing their mental dispositions resulting from previous deeds, their character and circumstances, the Lord imparted to them such instruction in the Dharma in elucidation of the Four Noble Truths that, listening to it, those women, shattering with the thunderbolt of insight the twenty-peaked mountain that is the erroneous belief in a permanently existent self, attained the fruit of 'entrance into the stream'.[82] Having

seen the truth, they thrice proclaimed this joyous utterance: "Such a kind favour as you have done for us, Venerable, was never done by mother or father, nor by the king or by any of our relatives or immediate family, nor by the gods or by our ancestors, nor by any brāhmaṇa[83] or ascetic. The oceans of blood and tears are dried up; the mountains of bones have been climbed over; the gates to misery are shut fast: we have quite surpassed both gods and men.[84] We ourselves go for refuge to the Lord, the Dharma and the Community of Bhikṣus. May the Lord accept us as lay-disciples!"

They then rose from their seats, made reverence to the Lord with joined palms, and said to the Lord: "Please! May the Lord give us something here to which we may offer worship."

And so the Lord, by means of his psychic powers, presented them with some of his hair and fingernails. Then the women constructed a reliquary (stūpa) containing the hair and fingernails of the Lord.[85]

The goddess who lived in the Jeta Grove planted the bakula-branch next to the stūpa as a flag-pole, and addressed the Lord: "Lord, I shall abide at this stūpa, worshipping," and there she remained.

Some people called the shrine "Stūpa of the Housewives,"[86] others, "Bakula-tree Pillar,"[87] and even today it is venerated by those bhikṣus who are given to the veneration of shrines.[88]

Then the Lord departed.

At that time, in a certain hermitage, dwelt five hundred sages, brāhmaṇical ascetics. Their hermitage was well furnished with streams, fruit and flowers. Those sages, intoxicated by pride,

had no respect for anyone. And so, the Lord, perceiving that the time was ripe for their spiritual training to begin, approached their hermitage. And having approached, he used his psychic powers to cause the flowers and fruit to disappear from the hermitage, the streams to dry up, the lush vegetation to wither and the fields to fall fallow.

Then those sages, their cheeks in their hands, became lost in anxious thought. They were then addressed by the Lord: "Great Sages, why are you lost in anxious thought?"

They told him: "Lord, you are a field of merit in human form, but as soon as you entered our hermitage, this calamity befell us."

The Lord said: "What do you mean?"

The answered: "Lord, make this hermitage, which was well-provided with streams, fruit and flowers, as it was before."

"Very well," said the Lord. He then calmed the activity of his psychic powers and the hermitage became as before.

Those sages experienced great astonishment at that, and in their minds they came to have faith in the Lord. Then, knowing their mental dispositions resulting from the effects of previous deeds, their characters and circumstances, the Lord imparted to them such instruction in the Dharma in elucidation of the Four Noble Truths that, listening to it, those five hundred sages all attained the fruit of a 'never-returner'[89] as well as developing psychic powers. Then, having venerated the Lord with joined palms, they said this to the Lord: "O Venerable, let us go forth as ascetics under the Doctrine and Discipline; let us take ordination as bhikṣus.

Allow us to practise the religious life in the presence of the Lord."

In response, they were addressed thus by the Lord: "Come, bhikṣus all! Practise the religious life in this very place." At these words of the Lord, they became bald, and stood there with the calm deportment of bhikṣus of a hundred years' standing, their beard and hair as if shaved off only a week before, bhikṣus' bowls and water-pots in their hands, and dressed in bhikṣus' robes.[90]

Indeed, when told "Come!" by the Tathāgata, bald they
became, bodies girded by bhikṣus' robes;
And instantly they achieved quiescence of the senses:
all this by the will of the Buddha.

Those sages, practising meditation, intently occupied, zealously striving, came to understand the nature of this transitory, five-fold wheel of birth-and-death,[91] and having cut off rebirth in all forms of conditioned existence due to their being characterized by ruin, decline, death and destruction, as a result of abandoning all defilements, they attained arhatship,[92] and became worthy of the respectful salutation, honour and worship of the gods, not excepting Indra and Viṣṇu.[93]

One sage, who had been a teacher among them, spoke up: "Lord, with this false appearance, I have deceived a great many people. As soon as I make amends I shall become a bhikṣu."

Then the Lord, preceded by the five hundred bhikṣus and followed by the five hundred sages, whom together formed a circle around him, set out, flying through the sky by means of his psychic powers, and in time reached Mount Musalaka. At that time there

lived on Mount Musalaka a sage by the name of Vakkalin.[94]

From a great distance that sage saw the Lord approaching, his lustrous body adorned with the thirty-two primary and eighty secondary characteristic marks of a Great Man, surrounded by a fathom-wide halo more dazzling than a thousand suns, moving like a jewelled mountain, wholly auspicious. At that sight, the mind of the sage became filled with faith in the Lord. With faith arisen, he thought: "Suppose now, I descend the mountain and approach the Lord in order to get a look at him. In that case, the Lord, looking around for those ripe for spiritual training, will pass on [without seeing me]. Suppose, rather, I jump off the mountain."

And so he jumped off the mountain. But the Lord Buddhas are always mentally alert and, using his psychic powers, the Lord caught Vakkalin. Then, knowing his mental predispositions resulting from previous deeds, his character and circumstances, the Lord imparted to him such instruction in the Dharma that, listening to it, Vakkalin attained the fruit of a 'never-returner' and also gained psychic powers.

Then Vakkalin said this to the Lord: "Venerable, let me take ordination as a bhikṣu; let me go forth into homelessness under the Doctrine and Discipline which are well-spoken. Let me practise the religious life in the presence of the Lord."

He was then addressed by the Lord: "Come, bhikṣu! Practise the religious life in this very place!"

At these words of the Lord, Vakkalin became bald and stood there with the calm deportment of a bhikṣu of a hundred years' standing,

beard and hair as if shaved off only a week before, a bhikṣu's bowl and water-pot in his hands, and dressed in a bhikṣu's robe.

Indeed, when told "Come!" by the Tathagata, bald he
became, body girded by the bhikṣu's robe;
And instantly he achieved quiescence of the senses:
all this by the will of the Buddha.

Then the Lord announced to the bhikṣus: "O my bhikṣus, this one - namely, the bhikṣu Vakkalin - is foremost among my bhikṣus who are devoted in their faith in me."

Then the Lord, surrounded by those thousand bhikṣus, performing, as he went, all manner of miraculous feats, reached the city of Sūrpāraka.

The Lord thought: "If I enter by one particular gate, those at the other gates will be deprived. Suppose, then, I enter the city simply by the exercise of psychic powers." And so, exercising his psychic powers, he descended from the sky right into the middle of Sūrpāraka-city.

Thereupon the king, overlord of Sūrpāraka, the Venerable Pūrṇa, Darukarṇin, Stavakarṇin, Trapukarṇin and the king's seventeen sons, together with all their attendents, approached the Lord, as did many hundreds of thousands of living beings. The Lord, followed by those many hundreds of thousands of living beings, approached the Candanamāla Pavilion. Having thus approached, in the presence of the community of bhikṣus the Lord sat down on the seat that had been especially provided.

That great mass of people, unable to see the Lord, began

to force its way into the Candanamāla Pavilion.[95]

The Lord considered: "If the Candanamāla Pavilion is wrecked, the merit of the donors will be obstructed. Suppose, now, I were to magically transform the Pavilion into crystal."

Then the Pavilion was indeed magically transformed into crystal. And, knowing the mental dispositions resulting from the effects of previous deeds, the natures and circumstances of the members of that assembly, the Lord gave an exposition of the Dharma such that, listening to it, those hundreds of thousands of living beings attained great concentration of mind: some were inspired to plant roots of merit conducive to liberation;[96] some, roots of merit conducive to attainment of the four stages of insight;[97] some attained the fruit of 'entrance into the stream'; some, the fruit of a 'once-returner';[98] some, the fruit of a 'never-returner'. Some attained arhatship, as a result of the abandonment of all defilements. Some were inspired to produce the resolution for the enlightenment of a Disciple; some, for the enlightenment of a Pratyekabuddha;[99] and some were inspired to produce the thought of Supreme, Perfect Enlightenment.[100]

In general, that assembly became devoted to the Buddha, intent on the Dharma and committed to the Community of Bhikṣus.[101]

After that, having arranged for the required seating and for the finest of foods, both hard and soft, Darukarṇin, Stavakarṇin and Trapukarṇin informed the Lord by messenger that everything was in readiness: "It is time, Venerable. The food is ready if the Lord thinks now is the right time."

At that very time, Kṛṣṇa and Gautamaka, two nāga-kings,[102] were living in the great ocean. Those two thought: "The Lord is expounding the Dharma in Sūrpāraka-city. Let us go there; let us hear the Dharma."[103]

Then those two produced five hundred rivers and, attended by five hundred nāgas, set out for Sūrpāraka-city. However, the Lord Buddhas are always mentally alert, and the Lord thought: "Those two nāga-kings, Kṛṣṇa and Gautamaka - if they come to Sūrpāraka they will wreak havoc."

So the Lord summoned the Venerable Mahāmadgalyāyana:[104] "Maudgalyāyana, accept on behalf of the Tathāgata some special alms-food. Why should you do this? Maudgalyāyana, there are five situations in which special almsfood may be accepted.[105] What are these five? When a bhikṣu has just arrived [at a place]; when a bhikṣu is about to set out on a journey; when a bhikṣu is ill; when a bhikṣu is caring for the sick; and when a bhikṣu is serving as the administrator of a monastery. In this case the Lord is serving as the head of the community."

Thereupon, the Lord, accompanied by Maudgalyāyana, approached those two nāga-kings, Kṛṣṇa and Gautamaka, and having approached, he told them: "Take care, nāga-lords, that you conduct yourselves with propriety in Sūrpāraka."

The two replied: "Venerable, we have come bearing such great good will that we could never cause injury to any of the people dwelling in Sūrpāraka, to say nothing of any living being, even an ant."

Then the Lord expounded the Dharma to those two nāga-kings, Kṛṣṇa and Gautamaka such that, listening to it, they went for refuge to the Buddha, the Dharma and the Community of Bhikṣus; they also accepted the five moral precepts.[106]

Then the Lord began to make preparations for the meal. Each of those five hundred nāgas thought: "Lord! Please accept from me something to drink."

The Lord thought: "If I drink the beverage of just one of these nāgas, a quarrel will arise among them. Some strategy for dealing with this must be devised."

So the Lord summoned the Venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana: "Go, Maudgalyāyana, to the confluence of those five hundred rivers and from there bring a bowlful of water."

"So be it," said Mahāmaudgalyāyana, after listening to the Lord, and at the confluence of those five hundred rivers he filled a bowl full of water and returned to the Lord. Approaching the Lord, he presented to him the bowlful of water. The Lord took the water and drank it.

The Venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana thought:[107] "Previously, the Lord said: 'Bhikṣus, the mother and father of a son are indeed performers of difficult feats. They provide nourishment, they raise the child, provide milk and are his guides to the beauties of the world. For a full hundred years a son should serve his father with half his energy and with the other half his mother. On the great earth are found jewels, pearls, lapis lazuli, mother-of-pearl, coral, silver, gold, emeralds, tiger's-eyes, rubies and conch-shells with

their spirals curving to the right, and with such a variety of treasures he should make his parents like kings. And yet even having done so much, a son would not have repaid the great service done him by his mother and father.

" 'But one who introduces to true faith a mother and father without faith, who inspires them with it, trains them in it and establishes them in it; who introduces to the riches of moral discipline a mother and father whose moral discipline is feeble; who introduces to the riches of giving a mother and father who are jealous and covetous; who introduces to the riches of spiritual insight a mother and father whose insight is feeble; who inspires them with these qualities, trains them in these qualities and establishes them therein - the son who does these things for his mother and father surely repays the great service done him by his mother and father.'

"And yet I never performed such services for my mother.[108] I must concentrate my mind and find out where my mother has been reborn."

And in thus concentrating his mind, Maudgalyāyana saw that she had been reborn in the Maricika world-system.[109] He thought: "Who is to undertake her spiritual training?" Then he saw that it would be undertaken by the Lord. He said to himself: "We in this world are far from there. Suppose I were to inform the Lord of my concern," and so he said this to the Lord: "Venerable, previously, this was spoken by the Lord: '<u>Bhikṣus</u>, the mother and father of a son are indeed performers of difficult feats.' My mother has been reborn in the Maricika world-system and she should be given spiritual training. The Lord, out of his compassion, should so

train her."

The Lord said: "Maudgalyāyana, by means of whose psychic power shall we go there?"

"By mine, Lord."

And so the Lord and the Venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana, placing their feet on the peak of Mount Sumeru,[110] set out, and in a week reached the Maricika world-system.

That virtuous young woman saw the Venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana coming from afar and, seeing him once again, she excitedly ran up to him and said: "Ah! After so long I see my son again!"[111]

At that, a large body of people said: "This person is an aged religious mendicant and this other one is just a young virgin. How could she be his mother?"

The Venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana replied: "Sirs, my bodily elements[112] originated with her. Therefore this young woman is my mother."

Then the Lord, knowing the mental dispositions resulting from the traces of previous deeds, the character and nature of that virtuous young woman, gave an exposition of the Dharma in elucidation of the Four Noble Truths such that, listening to it, that virtuous young woman, shattering with the thunderbolt of insight the twenty-peaked mountain that is the erroneous view of a permanently existent self, attained the fruit of 'entering the stream'. Seeing the truth, she thrice proclaimed this joyous utterance: "Such a kind favour as you have done for me, Venerable, was never done by mother or father, nor by the king or by any of my relatives or immediate family,

nor by the gods or by my ancestors, nor by any brāhmaṇa or ascetic. The oceans of blood and tears are dried up; the mountains of bones have been climbed over; the gates of misery are shut fast: I have quite surpassed both gods and men." And then she said:

"Through your spiritual power, closed for me are the
gates to evil rebirths, loathsome and full of wickedness;
Opened up is the gate to rebirth in heaven; gained
for me is the path to Nirvāṇa.
And due to you I have this day acquired the faultless,
wholly purified vision, free from all defilements
And have crossed to the further shore of the turbulent
sea and attained that longed-for goal sought by the Āryas.
O you who are honoured in this world by gods, men and demons,
who are free from birth, old age and death,
The sight of whom is so exeedingly difficult to gain
even in a thousand births - O Sage, seeing you this
day has borne great fruit!

"I have crossed, Venerable, I have crossed! I, this very person, go for refuge to the Lord, to the Dharma and to the Community of Bhikṣus. Please accept me, who has strong faith and who has gone for refuge, as a lay-disciple from this day forth until the end of my days. May the Lord and the Ārya Mahāmaudgalyāyana now accept alms from me."

The Lord indicated his acceptance to that virtuous young woman by remaining silent.

Later, having found the Lord and the Venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana

sitting together contentedly, that virtuous young woman with her own hands presented them with and served them the finest pure foods, both hard and soft, and when the Lord had eaten, she removed and washed the bowls, and then taking a low seat, sat down in front of the Lord in order to listen to the Dharma. The Lord then expounded the Dharma to her. The Venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana retrieved the Lord's bowl and returned it to him.

Afterwards, the Lord said: "Let us go, Maudgalyāyana."

"Yes, Lord, let us go."

"By means of whose psychic power?"

"By means of the Lord's, the Tathāgata's."

"If so, then focus your mind upon the Jeta Grove."

". . .We have arrived, Lord, we have arrived!" Then, Maudgalyāyana, his mind throughly astonished, said: "What, Lord, is this [type of] psychic power called?"

" 'Mind-speed', Maudgalyāyana."

"Lord, I did not realize there existed such extraordinary powers or that the Buddhas possessed such extraordinary psychic powers. Had I realized this, my mind would never have been turned away from supreme, perfect enlightenment[113] even if my body were to have been ground into particles as small as sesame seeds. Now what can I do, who am worn out like spent fuel?"

Then, their doubts aroused, the bhikṣus questioned the Buddha, who resolves all doubts: "Venerable, what deed did the Venerable Pūrṇa perform as a result of which he was born into a wealthy family possessed of great riches and extensive properties? And what deed

did he commit as a result of which he took birth in the womb of a slave-girl and then, going forth into the homeless life, attained arhatship, as a result of the abandonment of all defilements?" 126.

The Lord replied: "Bhikṣus, the bhikṣu Pūrṇa performed and accumulated many deeds, the bases of which are about to ripen, which exist in a multitude and the effects of which are inevitable. Pūrṇa performed and accumulated these deeds. Who else could experience their effects? Bhikṣus, those deeds performed and accumulated by Pūrṇa bore their fruit, not without, in the earth-element or in the water-element, nor in the fire-element or in the air-element.[114] Rather deeds that are performed and accumulated bear their fruit in the skandhas, in the psychic characteristics and in the sense-organs,[115] where they were performed, and this fruit may be wholesome or evil.

"Deeds are never destroyed, even after a hundred kalpas,[116]
And in the fulness of time and in the right circumstances
they inevitably bear fruit among living beings.

"Formerly, bhikṣus, in the Bhadrakalpa,[117] when people had a life-span of twenty thousand years, there arose in the world a perfectly enlightened one named Kāśyapa, endowed with wisdom and virtuous conduct, a Tathāgata, unexcelled in his knowledge of the world, guide for those needing restraint, a teacher of gods and men. That Lord Buddha was staying near the city of Vārāṇasī. Pūrṇa went forth into homelessness under his tutelage. He rendered service to the Dharma and to the Collection of the Three Baskets [of Scriptures].[118] Another disciple, charged with the office of groundskeeper, was sweeping the vihāra. The sweepings were blown hither and thither by the wind. He thought: 'Let me wait until the wind dies down.'

"Meanwhile, Pūrṇa noticed that the vihāra remained unswept by the groundskeeper. Completely overcome with rage, he committed the deed of harsh speech: 'Whose slave-girl's son is this groundskeeper?'

"The arhat heard him and thought: 'That bhikṣu is overcome with rage. Let me wait awhile. I shall inform him later.'

"When Pūrṇa's fit of rage had passed, he approached him and said: 'Do you know who I am?'

"Pūrṇa replied: 'I know that you, like myself, have gone forth into the homeless life under the tutelage of the perfectly enlightened one, Kāśyapa.'

"The arhat said: 'That may be so, but since I went forth I have practised the spiritual life just as it should be practised and have been liberated from bondage. On the other hand, you have committed the deed of harsh speech. Therefore confess the offense. In this way, the offense will be a small one and will be removed and completely exhausted.'

"Pūrna confessed the offense.

"Now Pūrṇa was to be reborn in hell and thereafter as the son of a slave-girl but, because he had confessed, he was not reborn in hell. However, for five hundred births he took rebirth in the womb of a slave-girl. Even in this, his last, birth, he was born again from the womb of a slave-girl. Because, however, of Pūrṇa's service to the Community of Bhikṣus, he was born into a wealthy family, one possessed of great riches and extensive properties. And because he read and studied and worked for the welfare of many, he went forth into homelessness under my tutelage, and as a result

of freeing himself from all defilements, attained arhatship.

"Therefore, bhikṣus, it is said: 'The fruit of wholly black deeds is [itself] wholly black; the fruit of wholly white deeds is [itself] wholly white; and the fruit of mixed deeds is [itself] mixed.'

"Therefore, then, bhikṣus, abandon wholly black deeds as well as mixed deeds and direct your own earnest efforts toward wholly white deeds. In this way, bhikṣus, should you train yourselves."[119]

Thus spoke the Lord. Their hearts gladdened, the bhikṣus rejoiced at the Lord's words.[120]

Thus ends the Pūrṇāvadāna, the second story in the Divyāvadāna.

Notes to Part V.

N.B.: All references to the Pūrṇāvadāna (Divyāvadāna no. 2) are taken from P.L. Vaidya, ed., Divyāvadānam, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts No. 20 (Darbhanga, Bihar: The Mithila Institute, 1959). Citations are by page and line number (i.e., 29.16 = p. 29, line 16). All other references are in standard format.

1. 15.2-3. ādhyo mahādhano mahābhogo vistīrṇaviśālaparigraho vaiśravaṇadhanasamudito vaiśravaṇadhanapratispardhī. This is the stereotyped description of a wealthy householder (layman), found in many stories in the Avadānaśataka and in the Divyāvadāna (P.L. Vaidya, ed., Avadānaśatakam, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts No. 19 [Darbhanga, Bihar: Mithila Institute, 1958], p. 297).

2. 15.3-7. tena sadṛśāt kulāt kulatramānītam. sa tayā sārdham krīḍati ramate paricārayati. tasya krīḍato ramamāṇasya paricārayataḥ kālāntareṇa patnī āpannasattvā samvṛttā. sā aṣṭānām navānām va māsānāmatyayāt prasūtā. dārako jātaḥ. tasya trīṇi saptakāni eka-viṃśatidivasāni vistareṇa jātasya jātam aham kṛtvā nāmadheyam vyava-sthāpyate. Cf. Vaidya, ed., Avadānaśatakam, p. 299. This is an abbreviated form of the stereotyped description of the marriage of a householder, the birth of a child and his upbringing. In the Pūrṇāvadāna, the first part of this formulaic description is applied to Bhavila, the eldest son; the second part, describing the growth and education of the boy, is applied to Pūrṇa. See my translation, p. 77 and note 7.

3. 15.24-25. A.L. Basham, The Wonder that was India, 3rd ed. (1967, repr. ed., London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1985), p. 153. Basham, citing the Arthaśāstra, notes that a slave who had a child by her master, even by her own consent, was freed, along with her child. To what extent this was reflected is actual practice is another matter, but it suggests a logic to the slave-girl's request. However, considering that the slave-owner did have the power to grant his slaves freedom (Ibid.), the logic here is more a narrative logic than a legal one.

4. 15.29. I have translated paripūrṇāḥ as "fulfillment". The prefix pari- serves as an intensifier, but does not significantly alter the meaning. The participle 'looks forward' to pūrṇaḥ, the fulfillment that is Pūrṇa, the son.

5. 15.30-31. This description appears to represent contemporary, conventional notions of beauty. The "umbrella-shaped head" (chatrā-kāraśīrṣaḥ) seems odd; presumably, it is meant to suggest that it is large and round, as when (Maurice Walshe, tr., Thus Have I Heard: The Long Discourses of the Buddha [London: Wisdom Publications, 1987], p. 206) the Bodhisatta's head is described as "like a royal turban."

6. 16.1-2. sarvārthāḥ sarvakarmāntāḥ paripūrṇāḥ. See note 4 above.

7. 16.3-4. pūrṇo dārako 'ṣṭābhyo dhātrībhyo dvābhyāmaṃsadhātrībhyāṃ datto vistareṇa yāvatāsu vardhate hradastham iva paṅkajam. See note 2 above. Similar descriptions of the birth, naming, upbringing and education of a son are found in Sitaram Roy, ed., Suvarṇavarṇāvadāna (Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1971), p. 68.

8. 16.4-7. Cf. Koṭikarṇāvadāna, E.B. Cowell & R.A. Neil, eds., The Divyāvadāna: A Collection of Early Buddhist Legends (1886, repr. ed., Amsterdam: Oriental Press NV, 1970), p. 3; Maitreyāvadāna, Ibid., p. 58; Supriyāvadāna, Ibid., p. 100. Discussed by K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, Gleanings on Social Life from the Avadānas, B.C. Law Research Studies Series No. 1 (Calcutta: Indian Research Institute, 1945), pp. 9-10.

9. 16.11. suvarṇalakṣaḥ. A.L. Basham, op.cit., p. 505, describes the suvarṇa as a gold coin synonymous with the dīnāra, a coin originally of Roman origin, and weighing 124 grains. These coins he dates from the Kusana dynasty, which began, roughly, in the late first to early second century C.E. (Ibid., p. 61). A.K. Warder, Indian Buddhism, 2nd ed. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1980), p. 332, suggests for the dates of Kaniṣka I (either the first or second ruler of the empire at its largest extent), 78-102 C.E., although he acknowledges that the dates have "long been controversial".

10. 16.16. mahāsamudraṃ samprasthitāḥ. Here we have the first instance in the story of setting out on the great ocean, which holds both literal and figurative meanings that operate throughout the narrative.

11. 17.14. dhanibhiḥ śreṣṭhibhiḥ. Basham, op.cit., p. 222. Śreṣṭhin (Pāli, seṭṭhi) literally means 'chief', and is often translated as 'banker' or 'treasurer'. The translation is perhaps somewhat arbitrary, but considering the importance of the merchants' guild in the story, I have chosen to use an English term that implies a connection to the guilds. As Basham puts it, the śreṣṭhin "was not merely a moneylender or banker, but usually a merchant as well. At all times until the coming of the Europeans, banking in India was a by-product of trading, and most sreṣṭhins had other sources of income besides moneylending. They appear as leading members of guilds, often fabulously wealthy. . .In the Buddhist scriptures we read of chief śreṣṭhins, honoured by kings, and with places in the royal councils."

12. 17.14. dhanibhiḥ. . .sārthavāhair. Basham, op.cit., p. 225. "The caravan leader (sārthavāha) was an important figure in the commercial community, and the Gupta copper-plates of Northern Bengal (p. 103) show that the chief caravan leader of a locality might occupy an important place on the district council." Jeannine Auboyer, Daily Life in Ancient India, tr. S.W. Taylor (New York: Macmillan, 1965), pp. 71-75, provides a more detailed description of the activities of a caravan-leader. As our story suggests, it would seem that

12. (cont'd) by extension the term was also applied to merchants who led maritime trading expeditions.

13. 17.28. kāśikavastrāvārī udghāṭitā. Even in the later twentieth century, Benares (also known as Vāraṇāsī or Kāśi) continues to produce fine silk brocade, only at present the weavers tend to be Muslim.

14. 17.30. daivayogāt. One could also render this "as fate would have it" or even "as their karma would have it".

15. 19.1. gośīrṣacandanam. M. Monier-Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary (1899, repr. ed., Tokyo: Meicho Fukyukai Co. Ltd., 1986), p. 367: "a kind of sandalwood, brass-coloured and very fragrant." Basham, op.cit., p. 194, informs us that sandal trees grew mostly in the south of India; elsewhere (ibid., p. 212), he describes the chief cosmetic in ancient India as "a paste made of finely ground dust of sandalwood, which was smeared over the whole body or applied in patterns, often coloured with lac and other dyes. It was believed to cool the skin in the hot season." Sandalwood is described by Auboyer, op.cit., p. 83, as one of India's major forest-product exports, "and was used for fashioning precious objects and for providing an essence used in making perfumes." Romila Thapar, A History of India, Volume One (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966), p. 114, notes that sandalwood was exported to the Persian Gulf. However, Moti Chandra, Trade and Trade-Routes in Ancient India (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1977), p. 143, notes that gośīrṣa sandalwood, which he simply defines as "yellow sandalwood", was imported into India from Malaya and the Indonesian island of Celebes. He also cites (ibid., p. 133) the Arthaśāstra (II.2.28) as recording that "red or white sandalwood" called in Sanskrit tailaparṇika [cf. Monier-Williams, op.cit., p. 455] was imported from Southeast Asia (Suvarṇakūḍya). It would appear, then, that Bhavila's trading voyage (25.1ff.) to the Gośīrṣa Sandalwood Forest was likely somewhere in the region of present-day Malaysia and Indonesia.

16. 19.1. pañcabhiḥ kārsāpaṇaśataiḥ. Basham, op.cit., p. 504. The kārṣāpaṇa or paṇa was an uninscribed, punchmarked coin, most often of silver (weighing 57.8 grains), but also of copper (144 grains). These were in circulation in pre-Aśokan times. Auboyer, op.cit., p. 110, describes the kārshāpaṇa as a silver coin, weighing nearly twelve grams, "composed of an alloy which included twenty-five per cent copper and five and a half per cent base metal." She notes that, according to contemporary authors, the dīnāra (which Basham equates with the suvarṇa; see n. 9 above) was equivalent to forty-eight paṇas, but acknowledges that, as so many types and weights of coins were in use in different localities, such equivalencies are necessarily tentative. She also cites some wage- and price-scales from the Arthaśāstra, thought to have been composed in the fourth century B.C.E. (see R. Thapar, Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas [London: Oxford University Press, 1961, repr. 1963], p. 225), but notes it is impossible to be certain "whether or not it

16. (cont'd) is quoting monthly wages and normal prices, nor whether these correspond to historical reality or rather to a theoretical scale based on the social hierarchy as envisaged in that era" (op.cit., p. 111). According, then, to the Arthaśāstra (V,3), four hundred pounds of grain was worth one paṇa, an ox twelve and a horse twenty-four, while a female slave cost fifty paṇas. Craftmen would earn a monthly (?) wage of one hundred and twenty paṇas; a male slave or an elephant cost five hundred panas (the price Pūrṇa paid for the load of sandalwood); while a reputable professor would command a thousand paṇas per month, a physician twice that and a guild master (śreṣṭhin), eight thousand, up to forty-eight thousand per month earned by the king's chief minister (mantrin), army chief-of-staff (senāpati) and head priest. It is interesting to note that, using Auboyer's conversion scale of one dīnāra/suvarṇa to forty-eight paṇas, the hundred thousand suvarṇas earned by Bhava's sons in overseas trade would be equivalent to some eight year's earnings for the king's highest officers. However, as the suvarṇa was not in general circulation until the first century C.E., the wage and price scales mentioned in the Arthaśāstra may have inflated considerably during the course of three or more centuries.

If we consider that (19.3-4) Pūrṇa makes a profit of five hundred paṇas on his initial gośīrṣacandana purchase, and that (19.6-7) with this profit he provided for Bhavila's family clothes, buffalo-cows, cattle and slaves, the calculations break down. Such economic study requires further research to be reliable.

17. 19.25-26. vaṇiggrāmeṇa kriyākāraḥ kṛtaḥ. Monier-Williams, op.cit., p. 915, defines vaṇiggrāma as "an association or guild of merchants," although the term śreṇi is used in the sources I have consulted. Likely there was some local variation in terminology. Auboyer, op.cit., pp. 105-106, writes that "[t]hose parts of India where the Buddhist influence was greatest were also those where the guild system was most highly developed", and also that the "merchant's śreṇi had the reputation of being among the wealthiest of all, and constituted a sort of moneyed bourgeoisie whose financial power seems often to have been considerable." Basham, op.cit., p. 217, asserts that "by the time of the composition of the Buddhist scriptures guilds certainly existed in every important Indian town, and embraced almost all trades and industries." He adds that the guild fixed standards and prices for the commodities in which its members dealt and, moreover, the guild had judicial rights over its own members, which were recognized by the state. "A guild court could, like a caste council, expel a refractory member, a penalty which would virtually preclude him from practising his ancestral trade and reduce him to beggary" (cf. Auboyer, op.cit, p. 104). Guilds were well-known for their donations to religious (including Buddhist) causes (Basham, op.cit., p. 218; Auboyer, op.cit., pp. 105-6). Here, it would seem, that Pūrṇa, in the spirit of free enterprise, is getting the better of his monopolistically-inclined guild.

18. 20.31. sārdham aśulkenāgulmenātarapaṇyena. Similar passages are found in the Supriyāvadāna (Cowell & Neil, eds., op.cit., p. 92), Kanakavarṇāvadāna (ibid., p. 291) and Cūḍāpakṣāvadāna (ibid., p. 501). In my translation of this phrase I have followed V.S. Agrawala, "Some Obscure Words in the Divyāvadāna," Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 86 (1966), No. 2, p. 71: ". . .the sea-trader Pūrṇa announced a three fold concession to those traders who would join his naval trip, viz., freedom from customs fee (aśulka), escort charges (agulma) and freight (atarpaṇya) which as a gesture of generosity, he proposed to meet himself." Agrawala discusses other sources for these meanings in detail.

19. 21.3-5. B.N. Chaudhury, Buddhist Centers in Ancient India (Calcutta: Calcutta Sanskrit College, 1969), p. 176, identifies Sūrpāraka (also Soparagas, Sopāraka, Sorparaga, Sopārā, Śūrpāraka) as a "great seaport town and centre of merchandise" and as the capital of Sunāparānta (also Aparānta and in our story Śroṇāparāntaka), noting that it still exists, though much reduced, as Sopara, a village in the Thana district, thirty-seven miles north of Bombay. Cf. W. Geiger, tr., Mahāvaṃsa (London: Luzac & Co., 1912; repr. ed., 1964), p. 54, n. 3. According to Moti Chandra, op.cit., p. 104, Sopārā was a major west coast port up until the first century C.E., after which it began to decline slowly. Of considerable interest is Romila Thapar's discussion (op.cit., p. 228) of the trade-route that must have existed running from Magadha, the Buddhist heartland, to Sopārā and Bharukacca (Broach) on the west coast. She notes that not only are Aśokan inscriptions found in a number of cities along a line stretching southwest from the Ganges Valley to the west coast, but that a Major Rock Edict was discovered at Sopārā itself (ibid., p. 236). Thapar suggests that the bustle of a seaport town with its many foreign and Indian visitors was an excellent place to expose many people to Aśoka's pronouncements on Dhamma. Thus, there is likely sound historical basis to the idea of merchants from Śrāvastī arriving in Sūrpāraka and seeking a reputable caravan-leader to head an overseas trading expedition.

20. 21.9-10. An almost identical list is found in the Koṭikarṇāvadāna (Cowell & Neil, op.cit., p. 20). With the exception of the Sthaviragāthā and Udāna, all of these texts are found in the Sutta Nipāta, the later parts of which Warder, op.cit., pp. 298, 336, dates as recent as 200 B.C.E., the earlier parts of which he describes as "much older". The Arthavargīya Sūtras (Pāli, Aṭṭhakavagga) and the Pārāyaṇa (Pāli, Pārāyaṇavagga) are identified by H. Saddhatissa, tr., The Sutta-Nipāta (London: Curzon Press, 1985), p. ix, as belonging to the "oldest strata" of the collection. In the Suttanipāta the Śailagāthā occurs as the Sela Sutta (III.7, Saddhatissa, op.cit., pp. 64-68), the Munigāthā as the Muni Sutta (I.12, Saddhatissa, op.cit., pp. 22-23). Warder, op.cit., pp. 229ff. dates a number of poems from the Sthaviragāthā (Pali, Theragāthā) and the Suttanipāta to the lifetime of the Buddha. A number of Suttanipāta poems are also preserved in the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya (Warder, op.cit., p. 232, n. 1). Warder (ibid., pp. 203-204) considers that with the exception of the Udāna, the texts mentioned

20. (cont'd) in this passage form the "original nucleus" of the Kṣudrakāgama (Pali, Khuddakanikāya) which was common to all the Buddhist schools. It is worth noting that these texts are largely in verse, and are quite short, both features making them suitable for memorization and recitation, whether or study or for devotional purposes (or both). So it does not seem too unlikely that the merchants from Śrāvastī might well recite the Buddha-word, either as part of a daily routine or as sources of hope and comfort during the long, lonely and dangerous sea-voyage.

21. 21.21. idānīṃ kāmārthaṃ pravrajasi. Reading kimartham for kāmārtham.

22. 22.1. dharmavinaye.

23. 22.3. udānam udānayati. Franklin Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary (1953, repr. ed., Kyoto: Rinsen Book Co., 1985), II,128, defines this idiom as "utters a solemn but joyous utterance, usually but not always having religious bearings." In my translation I have rendered the expression as "solemn utterance" when, as here, it refers to someone who is, or is about to become, a bhikṣu, and as "joyous utterance" when it refers to the exclamation of a lay-disciple. Not an arbitrary decision, but hard to explain in a note.

24. 22.15. karaka in the compound pātrakarakavyagrahastaḥ. Edgerton, op.cit., p. 168, defines this a "water-pot", but the kara in the very similar compound pātrakaravyagrahasta (which occurs in three other places in the Divyāvadāna) as the "ring on which the alms-bowl is fastened."

25. 22.21-24.24. This passage has been translated by E.J. Thomas, tr., The Quest of Enlightenment (London: John Murray, 1950), pp. 40-43. It is found on pp. 96-102 in the present translation; I have, however, written out the abbreviated passages in full (indicated by pūrvavad yāvat in Vaidya's edition, 23.6, 23.7). The passage corresponds very closely, in large sections almost verbatim, to (1) Puṇṇovādasutta, found in I.B. Horner, tr., The Collection of the Middle Length Sayings (Majjhima-Nikāya), Vol. III: The Final Fifty Discourses (Uparipaṇṇāsa), Pali Text Society Translation Series No. 31 (London: Luzac & Co., 1959, repr., 1967), pp. 319-322; and (2) Puṇṇasutta, found in F.W. Woodward, tr., The Book of the Kindred Sayings (Saṃyutta-Nikāya), Vol. IV, P.T.S. Translation Series No. 14 (London: Luzac & Co., 1927, repr., 1956), pp. 34-36. As we have seen (see Part I, notes 64 & 65), while the Theravādins tended to relegate to the commentaries a great deal of narrative material they could not accept as Buddhavacanam, the Sarvāstivādins and Mūlasarvāstivādins tended to conflate the older canonical material and the later narrative material into complete narratives, placing them in their Vinaya and later circulating them as independent stories. This general observation is borne out with specific reference to the Pūrṇāvadāna: John Strong, "Gandhakuṭī:

25. (cont'd) The Perfumed Chamber of the Buddha," History of Religions XVI, 4 (May, 1977). pp. 396-397, calls his reader's attention to the Sāratthappakāsinī (the Saṃyuttanikāya commentary) in which is found "essentially the same tale" as the Pūrṇāvadāna, but with "a number of interesting variants." This commentary has been translated by Charles Duroiselle, "Notes sur la géographie apocryphe de la Birmanie: à propos de la légende de Pūrṇa," Bulletin de l'école francaise d'Extrême-Orient, 5 (1905), pp. 146-167. (I look forward to learning enough French and/or Pāli to be able to read this and other relevant Pāli works.)

26. 23.5. dharmāḥ. Cf. David Snellgrove, Indo-Tibetan Buddhism, Vol. I (Boston: Shambhala Publications, 1987), p. 22, n. 27.

27. 23.6. Vaidya's text is here abbreviated using purvavad yāvat.

28. 23.7. As above, n. 27.

29. 23.7. Following Edgerton, op.cit., II, p. 530, I have read the instrumental śuklapakṣeṇa as the nominative śuklapakṣo. Edgerton renders the term as "the virtuous party", but a stronger or more specific sense seems intended.

30. 23.30-32. In the Pāli Piṭakas a number of bhikṣus, practising meditation on the loathsomeness of the body, become so disgusted that, in the Buddha's absence, a number of them commit suicide. In the Suttavibhaṅga section of the Vinayapiṭaka, "persuading to suicide" is identified as one of the four pārājika offenses that involve exclusion from the Order. On the other hand, it was not an offense for an arhat to commit suicide, as this would be an act done without craving for either continued existence (rebirth) or for annihilation (e.g., the suicide of Godhika, Saṃyuttanikāya, i.120).

31. 24.3-4. mukto mocaya, tīrṇastāraya, āśvasta āśvāsaya, parinirvṛtaḥ parinirvāpayeti. My rendering seeks to make clear that at the time of the Buddha's exhortation of Pūrṇa, the latter is not yet enlightened; although, grammatically, this sentence is ambiguous, this is in accord with the versions found in the Majjhimanikāya and Saṃyuttanikāya (see note 25 above), where Puṇṇa is represented as attaining arhatship only after going to Sunaparānta. In addition, the Buddha's instructions to Pūrṇa/Puṇṇa are of a fairly elementary kind, suitable for a bhikṣu in the early stages of training.

32. 24.20. śaraṇagamanaśikṣāpadeśeṣu. This refers to the 'three refuges' (buddhaṃ śaraṇaṃ gacchāmi, dharmaṃ śaraṇaṃ gacchāmi, saṅghaṃ śaraṇaṃ gacchāmi [I take refuge in the Buddha, I take refuge in the Dharma, I take refuge in the Saṅgha]), which is as close a formula for conversion as is found in the Buddhist tradition.

33. 24.21-22. Vihāra is frequently translated as 'monastery'; I have retained the Sanskrit term, as in early Buddhism the bhikṣus were first and foremost parivrājakas (wandering religious mendicants) for eight months of the year and resided in one place only during

33. (cont'd) the four months of the rainy season, when travelling was difficult or impossible.

34. 24.23. tisro vidyāḥ. These are, taken together, equivalent to full enlightenment: knowledge of one's former lives and of the former and future lives of others (pūrvanivāsānusmṛtijñāna), knowledge (i.e., possession) of psychic powers (ṛddhividhijñāna) and knowledge of the termination of (re-)birth and the defilements (utpādāsravakṣaya-jñāna). See above, Part I, notes 8-12. The 'three knowledges' also appears in the (orinally Sarvāstivādin) Lalitavistara (ed. P.L. Vaidya, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts Series No. 1 [Darbhanga, Bihar: The Mithila Institute, 1958], pp. 250, line 13 - 251, line 7), and in schematic form, in the Saṅgīti Sutta of the Dīghanikāya (tr. Maurice Walshe, op.cit., p. 487).

35. 24.23-24. arhan saṃvṛttaḥ. The term arhat is also used as one of the epithets of the Buddha, but is most frequently used to mean a disciple of the Buddha who has attained enlightenment. It is not exactly equivalent to attaining the 'three knowledges', since, as in the case of Pūrṇa (27.11), a bhikṣu might attain enlightenment without first developing the first two of the 'knowledges'.

36. 24.24. traidhātukavītarāgaḥ. Also tridhātu. The three states of existence, or worlds are the desire-world (kāmadhātu), the material or form-world (rūpadhātu) and the immaterial or formless world (ārūpya-dhātu). In the later Pāli tradition, these are subdivided into a total of thirty-one realms or 'abodes'. Maurice Walshe, op.cit., pp. 37-42 enumerates and relates them to differing types and degrees of moral cultivation and meditative attainment. See also Edward Conze, Buddhist Meditation (1956; repr. ed., New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., 1975), pp. 113-118. Since, whether viewed cosmologically or in terms of the various stages of dhyāna (or both), the three states of existence are within saṃsāra, the conditioned, unsatisfactory world, the arhat has transcended both attachment to and repulsion from all of them. (In the Pāli texts, -loka rather than -dhātu is the term employed.)

37. 24.26,27,28. kālakarṇīprakhyaḥ. I found this passage one of the most difficult to render into English, as a number of meanings are being played with here. Edgerton, op.cit., II, p. 180, defines the literal meaning of kālakarṇin as "black-eared," with the secondary meaning of an "omen of bad luck." V.S. Agrawala, op.cit., pp. 69-70, cites several instances in the Jātaka where the Pali kālakaṇṇī, also meaning "black-eared" is mentioned as "unlucky quality," and cites the Pāli Text Society's Pāli-English Dictionary (p. 39) where "the vision of the 'black-eared' is a bad omen which spoils the luck of the hunter." Being the son of a slave-girl, Pūrṇa might be of a swarthy complexion and 'black-eared' a derogatory way for Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin to refer to him. Moreover, the two brothers are, in this scene, 'hunting', as it were, for they have lost all their wealth and are looking to re-esta blish their fortune by effecting

37. (cont'd) a reconciliation with Bhavila. In this sense, since Pūrṇa, the "black-eared one" has left both their house and now Bhavila's, they feel as if (or at least say) their back luck is at an end. However, kāla also means 'death' and the term could be rendered as 'he who wears death in his ear'. It would seem that the brothers and Bhavila are talking at cross-purposes. They regard Pūrṇa's departure as, if anything, the end of bad luck, while Bhavila appears to think of Pūrṇa's absence as the departure of "Fortune", that is, good luck. At the same time, we recall that after being admonished by Bhava, the three brothers removed their jewelled earrings and began to wear earrings of cheap materials, and the narrative persona informs us that, henceforth, Bhavila, Bhavatrāta ands Bhavanandin became known (16.15-16) as Dārukarṇin (Wood-Earring), Stavakarṇin (Lac-Earring) and Trapukarṇin (Tin-Earring). Thus, the brothers' animosity toward their brilliant half-brother is expressed by means of a kind of ironic symmetry with their own nick-names. In any case, Bhavila either doesn't recognize or refuses to acknowledge their attempt at wit, and their subtlety gets them nowhere.

38. 24.27. pūrṇakaśrīḥ. I have translated this in terms of the ironic sense intended by the two brothers. Bhavila, however, takes it either simply as an honorific attached to Purna's name or as a reference to "Fortune" or good luck. See note 37 above.

39. 25.1. gośīrṣacandanavanam. The forest was perhaps somewhere in the Malay/Indonesian archipelago (see note 15 above).

40. 25.3. Yakṣa (Pali, yakkha) is sometimes translated as 'ogre' or 'goblin', and at least in some contexts is equivalent to rākṣasa, 'demon' (see Edgerton, op.cit., p. 442). In surveying the character of yakkhas as presented in the Jātaka, John Garret Jones, Tales and Teachings of the Buddha (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979), pp. 181-182, notes that they are portrayed as bloodthirsty and often like human flesh, but at the same time "they seem to be basically well-disposed" and amenable to conversion. However, in other jātakas Jones (ibid., p. 184) finds that yakkha is merely a synonym for devatā, 'minor divinity, godling'. In Hindu mythology, they are regarded as "a class of semi-divine beings," attendents of Kubera (Vaiśravaṇa), the god of wealth, and are especially charged with guarding his treasures (Monier-Williams, op.cit., p. 838). Here they are presented as initially hostile, guarding as they are, the wealth of a cakravartin, but also most readily impressed by Buddhist ideas.

41. 25.4. Apriya, appropriately (and transparently) enough, means (Monier-Williams, op.cit., p. 59) "disagreeable, disliked, unkind, unfriendly; a foe, an enemy."

42. 25.8. mahāntaṃ kālikāvātabhayaṃ saṃjanya. "Cyclone" might be a better translation. The three brothers had been speaking of 'death's earring' and bad luck. Bhavila, contrary to Pūrṇa's advice, has "set out on the great ocean," and now bad luck and the prospect

42. (cont'd) of death are visited upon him and all his company, and echoed in the name of the hurricane. The helmsman's speech immediately following (25.10) suggest that such destructive winds/storms were a danger well-known to those who voyaged on the ocean in search of sandalwood and, of course, typhoons and hurricanes are common meteorological phenomena in the East Indies.

43. 25.12-19. The merchants propitiate the various gods of the Brāhmanical tradition until they learn that Purna is Bhavila's brother. From the Buddhist perspective, the important point to be made here is that, while the existence and considerable power of the gods is never denied, the gods are definitely imperfect beings caught, in their own way, in the round of birth-and-death (saṃsāra). Moreover, although the gods have the power to grant various 'mundane' favours (e.g., wealth, progeny, power), only a Buddha or an arhat can show the way to enlightenment. Hence, the Buddha's epithet, "teacher of gods and men," which occurs frequently in the avadānas and elsewhere. Frequently, in fact, the Buddha is represented as instructing the devas, the Sakkapañha Sutta (Walshe, op.cit., pp. 328-334) being a good example. In this scene, it is Pūrṇa, one of the Buddha's disciples, who supplies the assistance that the gods are unable or unwilling to provide (or it may be that they are politely restraining themselves so that Pūrṇa can gain the glory for the furtherance of Dharma since, after all, it is a friendly deity [25.26-28] who informs Pūrṇa of his brother's predicament). Finally, one can recommend the Kevaddha Sutta (Walshe, op.cit., pp. 175-180) in which it is revealed that even Mahābrahmā (who is after all, in the Buddhist cosmology, only a deity on one of the lower levels of the rūpadhātu) is inferior in wisdom to the Buddha.

44. 25.23. tṛṣṇāndhāḥ. Tṛṣṇā (Pāli, taṇhā) appears in the second of the Four Noble Truths (Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Sutta, Walshe, op.cit., p. 346). The bhikṣu, after contemplating the Noble Truth of Suffering, proceeds to contemplate the Noble Truth of the Origin of Suffering which is "that craving [taṇhā] which gives rise to rebirth, bound up with pleasure and lust, finding fresh delight now here, now there: that is to say sensual craving, craving for existence, and craving for non-existence." Accordingly, the third Noble Truth, the Noble Truth of the Cessation of Suffering, when properly understood and experienced, initiates the "complete fading-away and extinction of this craving, its forsaking and abandonment, liberation from it, detachment from it" (ibid., p. 347). Taṇhā also appears as the seventh of the twelve links in the famous formulation of "dependent origination" or "conditioned co-production" (Skt., pratītyasamutpāda; Pāli, paṭicca-samuppāda), which is rather too involved to discuss in a note, but which has been ably discussed by Edward Conze, Buddhist Thought in India (1962; repr. ed., Ann Arbor: University of Michegan Press, 1967), pp. 156-158. In our text, tṛṣnā has both the conventional meaning of 'greed' for profits, wealth, adventure and the more technical Buddhist meaning as outlined above. It is rather interesting that in a narrative (and a genre) in which the mercantile classes figure so largely this critcism should be voiced. And of course this 'greed'

44. (cont'd) is, in this context, one that leads one to "set out on the great ocean" which is at once both the sea-voyage to the East Indies and the interminable waves of saṃsāra. It would, in fact, be a fascinating study to determine the origins of the metaphor of the ocean for saṃsāra. Craving, in any event, arises, ultimately, due to ignorance (avidyā; Pāli, avijjā), and the Buddha's entire project is based on eradicating craving by overcoming ignorance.

45. 25.30; 26.1. Sumeru is a mythical mountain in or north of the Himalayas and is frequently utilized as a metaphor or simile for height, immovability, grandeur, stability, etc. in Buddhist and non-Buddhist writings.

46. 25.30. Monier-Williams, op.cit., p. 607, defines paryaṅka only as "a particular mode of sitting on the ground (a squatting position assumed by ascetics and Buddhists in meditation)", but this is hardly precise. However, the term may be an abbreviation for paryaṅkāgrantha-bandhaḥ, which is defined (ibid.) as the "bending of the legs crossways under the body in sitting."

47. 26.5. rājñaścakravartino 'rthāya dhāryate. In the Buddhist tradition, a Buddha is the highest form of living being in the spiritual or religious hierarchy of attainment (and hence the highest being of all), while a cakravartin, a 'wheel-rolling' king, is the most exalted being in the secular world. Both bear the thirty-two principle and eighty minor marks of a Great Man. In a well-known legend found, among other places, in the Lalitavistara (a legendary biography of the Buddha) the sage Asita visits the Bodhisattva (the Buddha prior to his enlightenment) at the time of his birth: "He beheld the Bodhisattva's thirty-two marks of a great man, endowed with which a man has two careers and no other. If he dwells in a house, he will become a king, a universal monarch [cakravartin]. . . .But if he goes forth from a house to a houseless life, he will become a Tathāgata, loudly proclaimed, a fully enlightened Buddha" (cited in E.J. Thomas, The Life of Buddha as Legend and History, 3rd ed. [1949; repr. ed., London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975], p. 40). The brahman Pokkharasāti refers to the two careers open to the bearer of the thirty-two marks in the Ambaṭṭha Sutta (Walshe, op.cit., p. 112).

48. 26.6. Tathāgata is one of the many epithets of the Buddha and the one the Buddha uses in referring to himself. According to Conze, Buddhist Thought in India, p. 172, "[a]s a Sanskrit term Tathāgata can only be understood as tathā-gata or tathā-āgata, 'thus gone' or 'thus come', 'thus' meaning traditionally 'as the previous Buddhas' have come or gone. But the word may well be a Prakrit, or perhaps even a pre-Aryan term, of which the meaning is now lost." Warder, op.cit., pp. 52, 370, seems decided that 'thus gone' is the correct meaning, but doesn't explain how he has reached such a conclusion; in any case, neither version is extremely illuminating. Maurice Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, Vol. II (1927; repr. ed., New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corp., 1972), p. 45, suggests that Tathāgata is one who has "trodden the path of salvation in order

48. (cont'd) to encourage his disciples to tread the same path", which is perhaps sufficient for present purposes.

49. 26.12. candanamālaṃ prāsādaṃ kārayāmi. 26.16. candanamālaḥ prāsādaḥ kṛtaḥ. Sylvain Levi, ed., tr., Mahākarmavibhaṅga et Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa (Paris: E. Leroux, 1932), pp. 63-64, devotes a lengthy note to the candanamālaprāsāda which is alluded to in the Mahākarmavibhaṅga in the following passage: yathāca adhyardhaśatake sūtre āryapūrṇena śūrpārake nagare pañcopāsakaśatāni abhiprasāditāni. candanamālaś ca vihāraḥ kāritaḥ. yathā ca Bhagavān pañcabhir bhikṣuśataiḥ sārdhaṃ vihāyasā tatra gato janakāyaś cābhipraśāditaḥ. ("And in the Adhyardhaśataka Sūtra, the Ārya Purna inspired with faith five hundred lay-disciples in the city of Śūrpāraka. And he had constructed the Candanamāla Vihāraḥ. And then, accompanied by five hundred bhikṣus, the Lord went there by flying through the air and inspired with faith a great mass of people.") Unfortunately, Levi's researches failed to turn up any other reference to an Adhyardhaśataka Sūtra. However, Levi discusses a number of meanings for the term candanamālaprāsāda that have been suggested by other scholars. Eugène Burnouf, the first translator of the Pūrṇāvadāna translates it as " 'un palais orné de guirlandes de bois de santal'." Csoma de Koros, another early researcher, one of the first to study the Tibetan translations of the Buddhist scriptures analyzed the term as " 'une belle maison . . .avec un galerie en bois de santal'." C.A.F. Rhys Davids renders it merely as " 'the Sandalwood Pavilion'." In the Suttanipāta commentary (Paramatthajotikā), the Candanamāla appears in a list of residences of the Buddha found in various cities: "Jetavana-Mahāgandhakuṭi-Karerimaṇḍalamāḷa-Kosambakuṭi-Candanamāḷādi." The Mahāvastu and the Śikṣāsamuccaya have mālāvihāra, the latter occurrence being defined by Cecil Bendall (translator of the work) as "apparently some kind of booth of garlands." Mālāvihāra also occurs in the Indrabrāhmaṇāvadāna (Cowell & Neil, eds., op.cit., p. 79) and the Sudhanakumārāvadāna (ibid., p. 467). Mālikā appears in a dictionary on Hindu architecture as " 'a class of buildings, a type of pavilion'." Levi himself suggests that the candanamālavihāra or candanamālaprāsāda be translated as un "couvent (ou palais à étages) a pavillon de santal," that is, 'a monastery (or multi-storied palace) with a sandalwood pavilion'. Levi also notes a photograph he found in a book on Buddhist iconography by Afred Foucher, in which appears a title or inscription which Levi reconstructs to read "supāranagare pūrṇṇakavītarāgakṛta candanvihāra" ('in the city of Supara the Candana Vihāra was built by the saint Pūrṇṇaka'). More recently, John Strong, "Gandhakuti: The Perfumed Chamber of the Buddha," History of Religions XVI, 4 (May, 1977), pp. 396-397, observes that in the Saṃyuttanikāya commentary (see note 25 above) another version of the Pūrṇa-story is found, and there, "the sandalwood prāsāda is, when the Buddha finally enters it, explicitly called a gandhakuṭī." Strong notes that the gandhakuṭī or "perfumed chamber, as a dwelling of the Buddha, appears repeatedly throughout the Pāli commentarial literature and in a number if important Sanskrit avadānas as well" (ibid., p. 391). Strong associates the gandhakuṭī

49. (cont'd) not so much with the Buddha's "private monastic dwelling" as with his " 'cultic abode' " (ibid., p. 394). He cites a number of instances in the Avadān aśataka (nos. 1 [a version of the Pūrṇa-story], 77 and others), Divyāvadāna (Pūrṇāvadāna) and Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā (Dhammapada commentary) where flower offerings made to the Buddha remain suspended around him, forming a kind of chamber and at times moving with him wherever he goes. All this is related to Buddhist pūjā (devotional worship) as a way of making the Buddha present even when he is absent in another place (as in our text, 26.22ff.) or even when he is 'absent' in parinirvāṇa ("Gandhakuṭī," pp. 395-396). Perhaps following Burnouf, Strong describes the candanamālaprāsāda in terms of its being "profusely bedecked with 'garlands of sandalwood'." One is timorous in the face of all this scholarly evidence, but strictly in terms of the text of the Pūrṇāvadāna as I have it (26.11-12), it seems clear that the candanamālaprāsāda built by Pūrṇa and from the top of which he performs his devotional invitation to the Lord, is not merely bedecked with "garlands of sandalwood" (whatever they may be) nor even a pavilion with sandalwood galleries, but a building constructed out of sandalwood. My methodology requires me to carefully consider the narrative details of the text and in doing so, we must recall that Pūrṇa has returned to Sūrpāraka with an entire shipload of gośīrṣacandana, described as having been harvested by five hundred woodcutters. Moreover, Pūrṇa does not give any of the sandalwood to the merchants who accompanied Bhavila's expedition; he keeps it all and has Bhavila distribute jewels to them instead. Other than the small amount (26.13-15) of powdered sandalwood he uses to pay the artisans, the entire cargo is employed in the construction of the pavilion. That being said, it is important to note that the Pūrṇa-story, as we have it in the Divyāvadāna, is slightly abridged in comparison with the version that appears in the Tibetan translation of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya (D.R. Shackleton Bailey, "Notes on the Divyāvadāna," Part I, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society [1950], p. 166), and this may have obscured points in the narrative. In any case, this does not necessarily conflict with Strong's analysis of the gandhakuṭī/candanamālaprāsāda as being part of the bhakti-cult devoted to the Buddha, for it is clear (26.22ff.) that Pūrṇa is peforming pūjā in order to invite the Buddha to Sūrpāraka. Whether the pavilion was constructed entirely out of sandalwood or was merely decorated with sandalwood carvings, one can assume that after the Buddha's visit it would have been well-provided with flower- and other offerings, not to mention the fragrance of an entire building constructed out of particularly fragrant sandalwood.

50. 26.19. It is uncertain what distance is indicated by a yojana ('stage'). Basham, op.cit., pp. 503-504 suggests there were in ancient India two yojanas, the shorter one, used more frequently in earlier texts, being equivalent to 4.5 miles, the longer, equivalent to 9 miles. D.D. Kosambi, The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India in Historical Outline (Delhi: Vikas Publications, 1970), p. 161, referring specifically to the Aśokan period, suggests similar values for the yojana (five to nine miles). However, if we measure the

50. (cont'd) distance between Sopārā (Sūrpāraka) and Śrāvastī on a map, the distance is approximately nine hundred miles, which suggests that at least in the Pūrṇāvadāna a yojana is about nine miles, for Pūrṇa informs his brothers than Śrāvastī is "more than a hundred yojanas" from Sūrpāraka. This figure is supported (more or less) by the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā in which it is stated that the distance from "Suppāraka Port" to Sāvatthi (Skt., Śrāvastī) is one hundred and twenty yojanas (E.W. Burlingame, tr., Buddhist Legends, Part II, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 29 [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1921], pp. 222-226).

51. 26.29. puṣpamaṇḍapaṃ. Strong, "Gandhakuṭī," p. 396, translates the expression (as I have) as a "pavilion of flowers", regarding it as a kind of portable gandhakuṭī which then "flies off to the Jetavana to fetch the Buddha." However, as Strong has it, the Buddha is sitting in the gandhakuṭī in the Jetavana when the puṣpamaṇḍapa appears, and this strikes me as an unjustified inference. In fact, the text (26.29-30) merely indicates that the Buddha is in the Jetavana and that the flower-pavilion appears before him and Ānanda; nothing more specific than that. Nevertheless, Strong's discussion of the Buddha's various "perfumed chambers" is, in the main, a highly instructive one.

52. 26.30-31. Ānanda was both the Buddha's cousin and his personal attendent for much of his teaching career. He is credited with having recited the sūtras at the First Council held shortly after the death of the Buddha. He is also credited with convincing the Buddha to permit the ordination of women. In addition, he is blamed for not requesting the Lord to utilize his psychic powers to prolong his life (Warder, op.cit., pp. 76-77; Walshe, op.cit., pp. 251-52). Strong, "Gandhakuṭī," p. 399, cites a passage from the Sumangalavilāsinī (Dighanikāya commentary) where Ānanda visits the Jetavana after the death of the Buddha and cleans out the gandhakuṭī and performs "all the round of duties that had to be performed in the lifetime of the Blessed One" (tr. by H.C. Norman, "Gandhakuṭī - the Buddha's Private Abode," Journal of the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, n.s. 4 [1908], p. 2).

53. 27.2. śalakāṃ gṛhṇatu. A śalākā is a kind of bamboo chit. In this context it is being used as a kind of admission ticket. In the Vinaya, śalākā (Pali, salāka) is translated by Horner as "voting ticket", as the chits were also used when bhikṣus (Pali, bhikkhus) would vote on matters concerning monastic discipline (I.B. Horner, tr., The Book of the Discipline (Vinayapiṭaka), Vol. V (Cullavagga), Sacred Books of the Buddhists Vol. XX [London: Luzac & Co., 1952, repr., 1963], p. 111). In the Svāgatāvadāna (Cowell & Neil, op.cit., p. 184), the Buddha invites any bhikṣu who is able to subdue a poisonous nāga that has been destroying the villagers' crops to take a śalākā. Strong, "The Buddhist Avadānists and the Elder Upagupta," Michael Strickman, ed., Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R.A. Stein, Mélange Chinois et Bouddhiques, Vol. XXII (Bruxelles: Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1985), p. 877, notes, in the Aśokāvadāna,

53. (cont'd) "a cell or cave completely filled with the little wooden tally chips (śalākā) of those who had attained arhatship through Upagupta's teaching." Edgerton, op.cit., II, p. 524, notes the meaning of the term in a passage in the Saddharmapundarīka Sūtra as "counting-stick".

54. 27.4. Literally, "he who uses a water-pot as his pillow." Pūrṇa bears the same epithet in the Sumagadhāvadāna (extract in Yutaka Iwamoto, Bukkyō Setsuwa Kenkyū Josetsu [Tōkyō: Kaimei Shoin, 1978], p. 66). The term may be meant to suggest Pūrṇa's strict adherence to ascetic practice.

55. 27.4,11. prajñāvimuktaḥ. In the Sampasādanīya Sutta of the Dīghanikāya (Walshe, op.cit., p. 420) we read: " 'Also unsurpassed is the Blessed Lord's way of teaching Dhamma in regard to the designation of individuals. There are these seven types: the Both-Ways-Liberated (ubhatobhāgavimutta; Skt., ubhayatobhāgavimukta), the Wisdom-Liberated (paññāvimutta; Skt., prajñāvimukta), the Body-Witness (kāya-sakkhī; Skt., kāyasākṣin), the Vision-Attainer (diṭṭhippatta; Skt., dṛṣṭiprāpta), the Faith-Liberated (saddhāvimutta; Skt., śraddhāvimukta), the Dhamma-Devotee (dhammānusarī; Skt., dharmānusārin), the Faith-Devotee (saddhānusārī; Skt., śraddhānusārin)'." These are discussed by Sangharakshita, The Three Jewels (1967; repr. ed., Purley, Surrey: Windhorse Publications, 1977), pp. 154-158. The seven types indicate persons of different types of religious temperament at different stages along the path (which culminates in arhatship). A person of a predominantly intellectual or rationalistic temperament is likely to begin as a dharmānusārin, devoting himself or herself to "an extensive and painstaking course of scriptural study" (ibid., p. 154). By contrast, the śraddhānusārin is motivated mainly by devotion to the spiritual preceptor. As the Dharma-Devotee (or Doctrine-Follower) progresses in moral and meditative discipline, the designation of Vision-Attainer becomes applicable. The final stage - that of enlightenment - for the Doctrine-Follower is that of liberation by wisdom (or insight). "A Doctrine-Follower on becoming an Arahant is known as a Wisdom-Liberated One while the Faith-Follower and the Body-Witness [one whose approach is primarily yogic] alike receive the designation of Doubly-Liberated One (ibid., p. 157). Although Pūrṇa is by now an arhat, as a prajñāvimukta he has achieved proficiency in only the lower four of the eight stages of dhyāna, and as it is only through proficiency in the four higher stages ('absorptions') that psychic powers (ṛddhis) are developed, he does not yet possess them. In this, Pūrṇa, according to the canonical tradition, is typical. Jones, op.cit., p. 173, refers to the Saṃyuttanikāya (i.191), where only sixty of five hundred arhats developed psychic powers in the course of their spiritual training, the rest being "emancipated by knowledge alone."

56. Prasenajit was the king of Kośala, the biggest kingdom of the Gangetic plain during the time of the Buddha (566-486 B.C.E. [Warder, op.cit., p. 44]). Śrāvastī was its capital.

57. 27.8. Mṛgāra was a wealthy śreṣṭhin of Śrāvastī. At first a patron of the Jains, after his conversion to the Buddha's teaching by his daughter-in-law Visākhā, he became a generous patron of the Buddhist Saṅgha. A version of his conversion is found in Burlingame, op.cit., pp. 70-76. See also Part III, note 43 above.

58. 27.8. On the basis of his comparison with the Tibetan version D.R.S. Bailey, op.cit., p. 181, amends sujātasya to read sudattasya. Sudatta is the personal name of Anāthapiṇḍada, perhaps the greatest of the lay patrons of the Buddha. He purchased the Jetavana in Śrāvastī for the use of the Saṅgha. We have already met him (21.26ff.; my translation pp. 94-95 above).

59. 27.11. kleśaganam. Edgerton, op.cit., II, p. 198, translates kleśa as "impurity, depravity." Warder, op.cit., pp. 404, 421, and Conze, Buddhist Thought in India, p. 176, render the term as "defilements." Rhys Davids & Stede, Pali-English Dictionary, pp. 216-217, suggest "depravity, lust," and add the note: "Its occurrence in the Piṭakas is rare; in later works, very frequent, where it is approx. tantamount to our terms lower or unregenerate nature, sinful desires, vices, passions." Edgerton notes that the word is "extremely common, but usually vatgue and undefined." He cites a list of six kleśa (Pali, kilesa): rāga (desire, passion), pratigha (aversion, hostility), māna (pride, arrogance), avidyā (ignorance, nescience), (ku)dṛṣṭi ([false] views), vicikitsā (doubt). Pūrṇa's plaint is that he has overcome all these limitations, i.e., attained arhatship, but still does not possess even the psychic powers that are possessed by members of non-Buddhist schools who (at least according to the Buddhists) are not so spiritually advanced.

60. 27.10,11,13 and elsewhere. ṛddhiḥ (Pali, iddhiḥ). Could also be rendered as "supernatural or magic powers" (Edgerton, op.cit., II, p. 151). A description of such powers is found (among other places) in the Sāmaññaphala Sutta (Walshe, op.cit., p. 105), as one of the "fruits" of following the Doctrine and Discipline of the Buddha: " 'And he, with mind concentrated, purified and cleansed, unblemished, free from impurities [upakilesa, less grevious than kilesa], malleable, workable, established, and having gained impreturbability, he applies and directs his mind to the various supernormal powers. He then enjoys different powers: being one, he becomes many - being many, he becomes one; he appears and disappears; he passes through fences, walls and mountains unhindered as if through air; he sinks into the ground and emerges from it as if it were water; he walks on the water without breaking the surface as if on land; he flies cross-legged through the sky like a bird with wings; he even touches and strokes with his hand the sun and moon, mighty and powerful as they are; and he travels in the body as far as the Brahmā world. . .This is a fruit of the homeless life. . .'." On the other hand, in the Kevaddha Sutta (Walshe, op.cit., pp. 175-177), the householder Kevaddha asks the Buddha to "cause some monk to perform superhuman feats and miracles" in order to inspire the people of Nālandā with even greater faith.

60. (cont'd) The Buddha describes three types of "miracle" (pāṭihāriya; Skt., prātihārya): the "miracle of psychic power" (iddhi), the "miracle of telepathy (ādesanā; Skt., ādeśanā) and the "miracle of instruction" (anusāsani; Skt., anuśāsani), but concludes that the last is by far the greatest as only instruction in the religious life can lead to enlightenment and liberation from saṃsāra. In addition, Jones, op.cit., p. 173, cites the Majjhimanikāya (ii.159) where the Buddha refutes the idea that he possesses "superpowers" and the Saṃyuttanikāya (ii.84-92), where he denies that arhatship necessarily involves the possession of them. Writing about the jātakas in comparison with the canonical texts, Jones (ibid., p. 166), observes that they "very much accentuate the supernatural attainments of the holy man, especially his ability to fly through the air." This is certainly also true of the avadānas. Describing psychic powers as a product of the higher stages of meditation (samādhi), Buddhaghoṣa, the fifth-century C.E. Theravādin commentator (Bhikku Nanamoli, tr., The Path of Purification [Visuddhimagga], 3rd ed. [Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society, 1975], p. 98), considers psychic powers as an "impediment that should be severed by one who seeks insight." For Pūrṇa, however, not possessing psychic powers is an impediment to his participating in the Buddha's great work of conversion in his own home town.

61. 27.15. Gautama is the Buddha's clan-name; Siddhārtha or Sarvārthasiddha is his personal name. In the Pāli Canon, it is most often non-Buddhists who refer to him as the "sāmaṇa Gotama". The Pāli form is Siddhāttha Gotama.

62. 27.16. ṣaḍabhijñatvam. Pali, abhiññā. These are: divine vision or clairvoyance (divyacakṣu), divine hearing or clairaudience (divyaśrotra), telepathy (paracittajñāna), knowledge of former (and future) lives (pūrva[para]nivāsānusmṛtijñāna), psychic powers (ṛddhividhijñāna [as in n. 60 above]), and knowledge of the termination of defilements (āsravakṣayajñāna). A similar list appears in the Dasuttara Sutta (Walshe, op.cit., p. 516). Although the term abhiññā is not used, there is an extended description of the powers in the Sāmaññaphala Sutta (Walshe, op.cit., pp. 105-108), and in the Ākaṅkheyya Sutta (T.W. Rhys Davids, tr., Buddhist Suttas, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XI [1881; repr. ed., New York: Dover Publications, 1969], pp. 214-218). The abhijñās are also found elsewhere in the Divyāvadāna, e.g., in the Candraprabhāvadāna (Cowell & Neil, op.cit., p. 321) and the Kunālāvadāna (ibid., p. 399), although in the former only five are indicated.

63. 27.17. śamaśīlavipaśyanābalair vividhair dhyānabalaiḥ.

64. 27.19-20. In the Aṅguttaranikāya (F.W. Woodward, tr., The Book of the Gradual Sayings (Aṅguttara-Nikāya), Vol. I, Pali Text Society Translation Series No. 22 [1932; repr. ed., London: Luzac & Co., 1970], pp. 16-17), there is a list of prominent disciples of the Buddha who excel in a particular qualities or attributes. For example, Sariputta is foremost in wisdom, Moggallāna of those with psychic

64. (cont'd) powers, Kassapa of those "who maintain the meticulous observance of forms," Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja, foremost of "lion-roarers," Puṇṇamantanīputta, of Dharma-preachers, etc. Puṇṇa of Supāraka does not feature in the list, but presumably Pūrṇa's designation in this passage in endeavoring to place him among these eminent disciples.

65. 27.25-26. The Buddha appears to be referring to some scriptural passage; exactly which one I have not been able to determine. However, in the Kevaddha Sutta (see n. 60 above), the Buddha, in rejecting Kevaddha's suggestion (thrice made) to have one of his disciples demonstrate psychic and other powers in order to strengthen the faith of the laity, alludes to "why. . .seeing the danger of such miracles, I dislike, reject and despise them." There is also a story concerning Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja, related in the Dhammapada commentary, where that bhikṣu is reprimanded by the Buddha for demonstrating his power of flight before a crowd of laity (Burlingame, Buddhist Legends, Part III, H.O.S. Vol. 30 [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1921], pp. 35-38). John Strong ("The Legend of the Lion-Roarer," Numen XXVI [1979], Fasc. 1, p. 72), notes that this commentarial account is an expanded version of an episode found in the Vinayas of several of the Buddhist schools, where Piṇḍola's rashness becomes the occasion for the Buddha's enactment of a Vinaya rule prohibiting "the performance of magical feats." In the present passage, it would appear that the Buddha is represented as temporarily lifting the ban in order to maximize the effect of his teaching expedition to Sūrpāraka. We might even say that in the avadāna-literature in general this ban has been rescinded, for in these legends the sky is, as it were, thickly populated with flying bhikṣus. The same is true of the Pāli commentaries.

66. 27.26-28. John Strong, "Gandhakuṭī," pp. 400-401, cites this cleaning up and decorating of a city in preparation for the Buddha's visit from a number of other stories in the Avadānaśataka and the Divyāvadāna. He also notes descriptions given in Mahāyāna sūtras such as the Sukhāvatīvyūha and the Saddharmapundarīka as closely analogous to these. Thus he sees such descriptions in the avadānas as the beginnings of the "Pure Land" imagery found so abundantly in the Mahāyāna. The sweeping, cleaning and decorating of a city transforms it into a "pure land" which is worthy of receiving the Buddha.

67. 27.31-28.10. V.S. Agrawala, op.cit., pp. 71-72, citing a variety of Indian religious practices, ancient and modern, Buddhist and Hindu, interprets this passage as simply a procession of bhikṣus "holding various auspicious objects in their hands or who moved on the back of auspicious animals or in chariots or appeared seated in vimānas" (p. 71). Although I have modified my translation slightly as a result of pondering Agrawala's analysis (I have the bhikṣus flying in carrying leaves, etc., rather than riding on them), my own sense of the narrative and of the importance placed on psychic powers in this episode and the story as a whole, impels me to insist that, at least in the Pūrṇāvadāna,

67. (cont'd) the procession is an aerial one, and part of the Buddha's strategy, despite what he is represented as saying in the Kevaddha Sutta, to inspire the populace with faith in him, his disciples and, thereby, his Teaching.

68. 28.2. anekavidhābhir dhyānasamāpattibhiḥ. The four stages of dhyāna (Pali, jhāna) are attained by all arhats, including those liberated by wisdom alone. Edward Conze, Buddhist Meditation (1956; repr. ed., New York: Harper & Row, 1975), has translated and commented upon the relevant passages in Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga. First, the bhikṣu achieves a certain degree of detachment from sense impressions through one-pointed concentration of the mind (samādhi) [pp. 110-113]. Having achieved detachment, the first stage of contemplation involves abiding " 'in the attainment of the first jhana, which is accompanied by applied and discursive thinking, born of detachment, rapturous and joyful' " (p. 113). In the second stage, " '[f]rom the appeasing of applied and discursive thinking, he dwells in the attainment of the second jhana, where the inward heart is serene and uniquely exalted, and which is devoid of applied and discursive thinking, born of concentration, rapturous and joyful' " (p. 116). In the third stage, " '[t]hrough distaste for rapture, he dwells evenmindedly, mindful and clearly conscious; he experiences with this body that joy of which the Ariyans declare, "joyful lives he who is evenminded and mindful" ' " (p. 117). In the fourth stage, " '[f]rom the forsaking of joy, from the forsaking of pain, from the going to rest of his former gladness and sadness, he dwells in the attainment of the fourth jhana, which is neither painful nor pleasurable, - in utter purity of evenmindedness and mindfulness' " (p. 118). The fifth to eighth stages are the samāpattis (same in Pali), which involve abiding " 'in the attainment of the station of endless space, . . .in the attainment of the station of unlimited consciousness, . . .in the attainment of the station of nothing whatever, . . .in the attainment of the station of neither perception nor non-perception' " (p. 118). The Buddhist tradition acknowledges that non-Buddhist practitioners can also attain to the eighth stage, but reserve the ninth, which is equivalent to liberation, as the achievement of the Buddha and those who attain arhatship. In the Dīghanikāya these eight stages, in part or in whole, are found in the Brahmajāla Sutta (Walshe, op.cit., pp. 85-86), the Sāmaññaphala Sutta (ibid., pp. 102-104), the Poṭṭhapāda Sutta (ibid., pp. 161-163), the Pāsādika Sutta (ibid., p. 434), and the Saṅgīti Sutta (ibid., p. 507). The earlier texts refer only to the four jhānas. The Buddha describes his own attainment of the jhānas and the samāpattis as part of the process of his own enlightenment in the Ariyapariyesanasutta (I.B. Horner, tr., The Collection of the Middle-Length Sayings, Vol. I, P.T.S. Translation Series No. 29 [London: Luzac, 1954], pp. 207-211).

69. 28.12. smṛtim upasthāpya. Smṛtiḥ or "mindfulness" is perhaps the fundamental Buddhist virtue (although its development depends upon numerous other subsidiary ones). It is a kind of attention that is freed from all intellection, emotion, recollection, anticipation.

69. (cont'd) Mindfulness, in the Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Sutta, which is entirely devoted to an exposition of its proper cultivation, is described as being directed toward four kinds of objects: body, feelings, mind, and mind-objects. It is essential in all forms of meditation, such as the eight stages outlined above (n. 68). A translation and excellent treatment of the subject is by Nyanaponika Thera, The Heart of Buddhist Meditation (1962; repr. ed., New York: Samuel Wiser, Inc., 1965). One aspect of the enlightened mind is that mindfulness, which involves perfect alertness and mental clarity, can be fully established at any moment, even during sleep. This is a formulaic description, frequently applied to the Buddha when he is about to expound the Dharma.

70. 28.12. gandhakuṭyāṃ. See notes 49, 51 above.

71. 28.13-16. The earth shaking in six different ways is common in Mahāyāna sūtras; it also occurs in the Aśokāvadāna (Strong, "Gandhakuṭī," p. 401). This stylized earthquake also occurs in a number of accounts of the birth of the Bodhisattva (E.J. Thomas, The Life of Buddha, pp. 31-32).

72. 28.21-22. This is a considerably abbreviated form of a long formulaic passage describing the entry of the Buddha into a city that occurs regularly in its full form in the Avadānaśataka (Vaidya, ed., Avadānaśataka, pp. 302-303).

73. 28.22. bakulaśākhāṃ. According to Monier-Williams, op.cit., p. 719, the bakula tree is "said to put forth blossoms when sprinkled with nectar from the mouth of lovely women." Presumably, being planted beside the stūpa dedicated by five hundred women and by which the goddess takes up her reverential residence, the tree may well develop splendid blossoms, although it is also possible that all will be too full of devotional fervor to engage in more secular activities more associated with Sanskrit love-poetry.

74. 28.24. caturāryasatya-. The Four Noble Truths, perhaps the most succinct formulation of the essentials of Buddhist teaching, and almost certainly the best-known. There are numerous places in the canonical and non-canonical literature where these truths are set forth. One of the better-known is the Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta version (T.W. Rhys Davids, tr., Buddhist Suttas, pp. 148-150). In the Mahāsatipaṭṭhana Sutta, the Four Noble Truths are presented with particular reference to meditation practice (Walshe, op.cit., pp. 344-350). The First Truth is the truth of suffering (dukkha), which is inherent in all forms of life. Another way of putting it is that there is an intrinsic unsatisfactoriness to life, one that mars even its most perfect moments. We fear pain, seek out pleasure, but suffer when we do not attain our goal, even when our happy time is over and has escaped our craving to cling to it. The Second Truth concerns the Origin of Suffering (dukkhasamudaya), which is craving (taṇhā;

74. (cont'd) Skt., tṛṣṇā). "It is that craving which gives rise to rebirth, bound up with pleasure and lust, finding fresh delight now here, now there: that is to say sensual craving, craving for existence and craving for non-existence" (Walshe, op.cit., p. 346). The Third Truth concerns the Cessation of Suffering (dukkhanirodha), which is achieved by the "complete fading-away and extinction of this craving, its forsaking and abandonment, liberation from it, detachment from it" (ibid., p. 347). This liberation is in turn achieved by means of the Fourth Truth, the Path Leading to the Cessation of Suffering (dukkhanirodhagāminīpaṭipadā) which is the Noble Eightfold Path (ariyaaṭṭhangikamagga): Right View (sammādiṭṭhi), Right Thought (sammāsankappa), Right Speech (sammāvācā), Right Action (sammakammanta), Right Livelihood (sammājīva), Right Effort (sammāvāyāma), Right Mindfulness (sammāsati), and Right Concentration (sammāsamādhi) [Walshe, op.cit., pp. 348-350]. The Eightfold Path is frequently subsumed under the three headings of Morality (sila - steps 3 to 5), Concentration (samādhi - 6-8) and Wisdom (paññā - 1 & 2). However, the steps are to be cultivated simultaneously, not serially.

75. 28.23-25. Cf. Vaidya, ed., Avadānaśataka, p. 301, "The effect of the Buddha's sermon on the audience," and p. 302, no. 16 (1), for the formulaic passages also found in the Avadānaśataka as well as in other Divyāvadāna stories. In our text, the passage reads: tasya bhagavatā āśayam dhātum prakṛtim ca jñātvā tādṛśī caturāryasatya-sampratividhakī dharmadeśanā kṛtā, yām śrutvā tayā devatayā viṃśatiśikha-rasamudgatam satkāyadṛṣṭiśailam jñānavajreṇa bhittvā śrotāpattiphalam sākṣāt kṛtam. This formula, with different subjects and different stages of attainment is repeated in several places in our story.

76. 28.25. viṃśatiśikharasamudgatam satkāyadṛṣṭiśailam. . .kṛtam. The important term here is satkāyadṛṣṭi (Pali, sakkāyadiṭṭhi). The "erroneous belief in a permanently existent self" refers to the important Buddhist concept of anātman (anattā), or 'non-self'. This in turn is one of the trilakṣaṇa (P., tilakkhaṇa), or 'three marks' of all conditioned existence, i.e., that all compounded things are impermanent (sabbe sankhārā aniccā; Skt., sarve saṃskārā anityāḥ), 'unsatisfactory' (dukkhā; S., duḥkhāḥ) and 'not-self' or not possessed of a self (anattā; S., anātmānaḥ). Discussed by Conze, Buddhist Thought in India, pp. 34-39. Conze suggests that the Buddhists by the use of this term were rejecting two notions of self. The first is the "ideas implied in the use of 'I' by ordinary people," the second "the philosophical opinion, held by the Sāṃkhya and Vaiśesika, that a continuing substratum acts as an agent which outlasts the different actions of a person, abides for one or more existences, and acts as a 'support' to the activities of the individual" (p. 38). The false belief in an enduring self, distinct from the complex of mind, body, sensations, volitions, karmic-predispositions and consciousness, is a "twenty-peaked mountain" presumably because the scholastics enumerated "twenty bases of 'grasping at the word "self" ' " (p. 38). In general, satkāyadṛṣṭi involves the belief and/or false experience

76. (cont'd) that "there is a permanent, everlasting and absolute entity, which is the unchanging substance behind the changing phenomenal world. In its core the mark of not-self is a simple corollary of the impermanence of everything. . . .The Buddha [however] never taught that the self 'is not', but only that 'it cannot be apprehended' " (pp. 38-39). By its teaching of anātman, Buddhism sets itself apart from the other Indian religious philosophies (see T.R.V. Murti, The Central Philosophy of Buddhism, 2nd ed. [London: George Allen & Unwin, 1960], pp. 10-28). Views of self and not-self are discussed (among many other places) in the Brahmajāla Sutta (Walshe, op.cit., pp. 73ff.), where the Buddha refutes the "Sixty-Two Kinds of Wrong Views".

77. 28.25. śrotāpattiphalaṃ. Attaining the fruit of 'entrance into the stream' is the first of four stages along the path leading to the cessation of suffering. One ceases to be an ordinary person (puthujjana; S., pṛthagjana) and becomes a noble person (ariyapuggala; S., āryapudgala). Such a person has perfect confidence in the Three Jewels (Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha), observes the five moral precepts and has overcome the first three of the ten 'fetters' (S., daśasaṃyojana), which are satkāyadṛṣṭi (see n. 76 above), doubt (vicikitsā; P., vicikicchā), and dependence on morality and traditional observances (śīlavrataparāmarśa; P., sīlabbataparāmāsa). The attainment of this stage "depends less on the eradication of unhealthy emotions than on the removal of the intellectual obstacles to clear vision" (Sangharakshita, Three Jewels, p. 159). In the case of our story, it would seem that those who attain the fruit of entrance into the stream do not exactly abandon rites and rituals, but adopt Buddhist ones in favour of those to which they previously adhered. Buddhaghoṣa discusses these four stages in scholastic detail, but with some good similes (Ñāṇamoli, op.cit., pp. 785-818).

78. 28.26-28. See n. 47 above. The thirty-two marks are discussed in the Lakkhaṇa Sutta (Walshe, op.cit., pp. 441ff.). I have not found a scriptural source for the eighty secondary marks, although they are enumerated, without discussion, by Robert Thurman (tr., The Holy Teaching of Vimalakīrti [University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976], pp. 156-157).

79. 28.26-28. This is the formulaic description of the Buddha, found in many of the Avadānaśataka and Divyāvadāna stories (Vaidya, Avadānaśataka, p. 297).

80. 28.29. śamathaś. Pali, samatha. When discursive thought is stilled by meditative achievement of one-pointed concentration of the mind, 'tranquillity' or 'serenity' results. This necessarily precedes the second type of meditation vipaśyana (P., vipassanā), or 'insight meditation' where the tranquil mind can then be directed to developing insight into the Four Noble Truths, the three marks, etc. Śamatha is familiar, under different terms, to all the yogic traditions. Vipaśyana is considered (by the Buddhists at least) to be uniquely Buddhist. The development of śamatha through meditation makes possible

80. (cont'd) attainment of the four dhyānas (see n. 68 above; discussed by Nyanaponika Thera, op.cit., pp. 102ff.).

81. 28.30. upacitakuśalamūlahetukasya. Edgerton, op.cit., II, p. 188, translates kuśalamūla as "root(s) of merit," which, citing the Mahāvyutpatti (a Sanskrit work which includes much Sarvāstivādin material) and unnamed Pāli sources, he defines as freedom from greed (alobha), hatred (adveṣa; P., adosa) and delusion (amoha). "Roots of merit" occurs also in the Maitreyāvadāna (Cowell & Neil, op.cit., p. 65), the Supriyāvadāna (ibid., p. 95) and in the Pūrṇabhadrāvadāna (J.S. Speyer, ed., Avadānaśataka [1902-1909; repr. ed., 'S-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1958], p. 4.2). We find that in the Sigālaka Sutta (Walshe, op.cit., p. 462), the Buddha, in discussing lay ethics, says: " 'What are the four causes of evil from which he [the Buddhist lay-disciple] refrains? Evil action springs from attachment, it springs from ill-will, it springs from folly, it springs from fear. If the Ariyan disciple does not act out of attachment, ill-will, folly or fear, he will not do evil from any one of these four causes'." This is a somewhat different list, but a similar one, and the teaching is much the same as implied in the idea of the desirability of planting "the roots of spiritual merit." Our text implies that those who experience joy at the mere sight of the auspicious figure of the Buddha are those who have in a sense earned it by virtuous behavior in previous lives. The element of bhakti is also clear.

82. 29.1-2. See notes 74-77 above.

83. 29.4. -brāhmanair. Strictly speaking brāhmaṇa (brahman, brahmin) refers to the priestly class in ancient India. The Buddha had many discussions in which he refuted the brahmans' claims to superiority by birth (e.g., Ambaṭṭha Sutta [Walshe, op.cit., pp. 111-124]), but in Buddhist diction, while 'brahman' is a term of respect, it is defined not in terms of genealogy but rather in terms of a person's moral and spiritual stature (as established by one's conduct). See the Vāseṭṭha Sutta (H. Saddhatissa, op.cit., pp. 70-76), for the Buddha's "correct definition of 'brahmin'."

84. 29.3-6. This udāna is another formulaic statement ("Exclamation of a person who realizes the Truth", Vaidya, Avadānaśataka, p. 303) frequently occurring in the Avadanaśataka and Divyāvadāna.

85. 29.9. keśanakhastūpaḥ, lit., "hair-and-fingernail stūpa." In the Mahāparinibbana Sutta (Rhys Davids, tr., Buddhist Suttas, pp. 91-95), the Buddha is represented as giving Ānanda instructions for the enshrinement of his bones and ashes in a stūpa (P., thūpa; Rhys Davids uses in his translation the Sinhalese term dāgaba), i.e., a reliquary mound. Our text, composed perhaps in Aśokan times, when the stūpa-cult had been flourishing for some time, projects this important cultic feature back to the lifetime of the Buddha. The Sutta (p. 91) has the Buddha tell Ānanda that the honouring of his remains can be left to "wise men" among the laity, but our text indicates

85. (cont'd) that, at least by the time of its composition, there were bhikṣus who participated in such activities.

86. 29.12. gharinīstūpa. Perhaps "Matrons' Stūpa" would be a better rendering.

87. 29.12. bakulamedhī.

88. 29.12-13. Here is perhaps the only instance in the Pūrṇāvadāna where the narrative persona becomes 'intrusive', that is, steps out of his role of merely recording the actions of the narrative, and proffers what might be considered a 'personal' opinion. It may be that the author or final redactor was not himself one of "those bhikṣus who are given to the veneration of shrines." However, at least by the beginning of the fifth century C.E., the Saṅgha, both men and women, routinely erected stūpas honouring the Buddha, various of his great disciples, and the Scriptures (James Legge, tr., A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms [1886; repr. ed., New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1965], pp. 44-47).

89. 29.24. anāgāmiphalaṃ. The "fruit of a 'never-returner' " is the third stage along the path leading to the cessation of suffering. In addition to overcoming or eradicating the first three of the ten 'fetters' (see n. 77 above), the anāgāmin has also broken the fetters of sensuous craving (kāmarāga) and aversion (vyāpāda), and is not liable to further rebirth in the desire-world (kāmadhātu, see n. 36), but will take rebirth in one of the higher planes of the world of form (rūpadhātu) from which, after having broken the five higher fetters (which bind one to continued existence in the world of form and in the formless world [arūpadhātu]), he will attain enlightenment and the end of birth-and-death. By contrast, the stream-winner (n. 77) is bound to attain Nirvāṇa in "not more than seven human and heavenly births" and the sakṛdāgāmin or 'once-returner', as the term implies, will achieve enlightenment after one more human birth (Sangharakshita, Three Jewels, pp. 160-162). The five higher fetters are craving for existence in the world or pure form (rūparāga) and in the formless world (arūparāga), conceit or pride (māna), auddhatya (P., uddhacca; restlessness) and, finally, avidyā ("lack of a clear understanding of Reality"). These are only completely overcome by the arhat (see notes 35 & 36 above).

90. 29.26-32. Cf. p. 96 of my translation (22.14-20).

91. 30.1. pañcagaṇḍikaṃ saṃsāracakraṃ calācalaṃ viditvā. As we have seen (n. 36 above), conditioned existence (saṃsāra) can be divided into three spheres or worlds (kāma-, rūpa-, and arūpa-dhātus), based on their degree of materiality. Conditioned existence is also given a five-fold (pañcagaṇḍika) classification, based on types of living beings. The five gatis ('courses', 'states of rebirth') involve rebirth in hell (naraka, niraya), as an animal (tiryak), a ghost (preta), a human (manuṣya), or as a god (deva). The first three

91. (cont'd) are 'evil destinies' (durgatis), not only because of the inherent suffering involved, but because in such benighted states spiritual progress is exceedingly difficult. Two books of the Khuddaka-nikāya, the Petavatthu and the Vimānavatthu, relate tales about those reborn as, respectively, ghosts and gods (H.S. Gehman and I.B. Horner, trs., The Minor Anthologies of the Pāli Canon, Part IV, Sacred Books of the Buddhists XXX [London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974]). The five gatis are also mentioned in the Sahasodgatāvadāna (Cowell & Neil, op.cit., pp. 300, 301) and in the Sangīti Sutta (Walshe, op.cit., p. 495). In some texts, a sixth is added, that of rebirth as an 'anti-god' or titan (asura). Numerous other references in the P.T.S. Pāli-English Dictionary, pp. 242-243; and in Edgerton, op.cit., pp. 208-209. Needless to say, the arhat is freed from rebirth in any of the five (or six) states of rebirth.

92. 30.1. The abbreviation of the passage is in Vaidya's edition indicated by pūrvavad yāvat. I have taken the elided portion from Vaidya, Avadānaśataka, p. 301.

93. 30.1. Cf. my translation, p. 102 above (24.24).

94. 30.3-15. A different version of the Buddha's encounter with Vakkalin is found in the Dhammapada commentary (Burlingame, Buddhist Legends, Part III (H.O.S. Vol. 30), pp. 262-264. Cf. also Saṃyuttanikāya (iii.119-124). Vakkalin's ordination-scene is abreviated with pūrvavat yāvat at 30.13; I have taken the elided portion from the analogous passage at 29.26-30.

95. 30.22-24. For episodes in the Sumāgadhāvadāna parallel to this one, see Part III, pp. 43-45 above and accompanying notes.

96. 30.26. mokṣabhāgīyāni. Lit., "belonging to, connected with liberation (from saṃsāra)" (Monier-Williams, op.cit., p. 751).

97. 30.27. nirvedhabhāgīyāni. According to Edgerton, op.cit., p. 305, "belonging or conducing to the (four states of) penetration, insight." In the Pāli form (nibbedhabhāgiyo), they are described as stages of high meditative attainment (samādhi) [Dasuttara Sutta, Walshe, op.cit., p. 514]. In the Saṅgīti Sutta (ibid., p. 501), we read of " '[s]ix perceptions conducive to penetration (nibbedhabhāgiya-saññā): the perception of impermanence, of suffering in impermanence, of impersonality in suffering, of abandoning, of dispassion and the perception of cessation.' " It would appear that these "four stages of insight" may have something to do with meditation on the 'three marks' (trilakṣaṇa - see n. 76 above).

98. 30.27. sakṛdāgāmiphalam. See n. 89 above. In contrast to the the anāgāmin, the sakṛdāgāmin has only weakened, not completely sundered the fetters of sensuous craving and aversion.

99. 30.29. pratyekabuddhau. An arhat is one who has attained enlight-

99. (cont'd) enment through following the doctrine and discipline of a Buddha; a pratyekabuddha (P., paccekabuddha) attains enlightenment through his own, unaided efforts, but does not teach the Way to others. Often translated as 'solitary', 'lone', or 'private' buddha. The Buddha, in the Mahāparinibbana Sutta (Rhys Davids, Buddhist Suttas, pp. 93-94), identifies the paccekabuddha as one of the four types of person deserving of having his remains enshrined in a thūpa. In the main the private buddha does not figure largely in the canonical literature. Ria Kloppenberg has suggested that the " 'adaptation of the concept of the paccekabuddha in Buddhism. . .presented the opportunity to include pre-Buddhist recluses and seers in Buddhism' " (quoted in J.G. Jones, op.cit., p. 168). Jones also notes (ibid., p. 167) that these private buddhas, virtually always with the power of flight, are prominent in the Jātaka. He cites over twenty stories. One section of the Avadānaśataka is devoted to stories in which the Buddha predicts that, as a result of some act or devotion or virtue, a person will attain pratyekabuddhahood in some future birth (J.S. Speyer, op.cit., I, pp. 119-167).

100. 30.29. samyaksaṃbuddhau. Sometimes prefixed by anuttara, 'unexcelled'. This is the 'full buddhahood' of the Buddha and his various mythical predecessors. In the Mahāpadāna Sutta (Walshe, op.cit., p. 199), six Buddhas previous to Śākyamuni are mentioned. Previous Buddhas, though not named, are mentioned in the Mahāparinibbana Sutta (Rhys Davids, Buddhist Suttas, pp. 13, 97). A rather late Pāli text, the Buddhavaṃsa (fourteenth book of the Khuddakanikāya) "contains poetical legends of the 24 Buddhas who are supposed to have preceded Gotama Buddha in the last twelve ages of the world (Kalpas)" [M. Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, p. 160]. According to E.J. Thomas (The Life of Buddha, p. 27), the Lalitavistara mentions fifty-four Buddhas and the Mahāvastu no less than a hundred. Numerous Buddhas, past and future, are mentioned, and even appear, in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka and other Mahāyāna Sūtras. The first varga of the Avadānaśataka is devoted to stories in which the Buddha predicts the future buddhahood of various disciples (Speyer, op.cit., I, pp. 1-62). See also n. 113 below. In the Cakkavattisīhanāda Sutta (Walshe, op.cit., pp. 403-404), the Buddha predicts the advent in the distant future of Metteyya (S., Maitreya) Buddha. Pāli form is sammasambuddha.

101. 30.30. Otherwise referred to as the Three Jewels (triratna) or Triple Gem. See note 32 above.

102. 31.1. kṛṣṇagautamakau nāgarājau. Elsewhere I have translated nāga as "divine serpent"; "dragon" is another possible translation. In the Dhammapada commentary (Burlingame, op.cit., Part III, p. 172), two nāgas dwelling in the Ganges hasten to join in the reverence and offerings being showered upon the Buddha by the populace of Vaiśālī (P., Vesālī), after he has freed the city of three plagues by having Ananda recite the "Jewel Sutta". Much as in this passage, the nāgas "thought to themselves, 'Men render honor to the Tathagata; shall we not do the same?' " There is no concern for their unruliness, however.

103. In many Mahāyāna sūtras, this theme of non-human beings such as nāgas, gandharvas, demons, garuḍas, kinnaras, etc., coming to hear the Buddha expound the Dharma becomes stereotyped (e.g., H. Kern, tr., The Saddharmapuṇḍarika, Sacred Books of the East XXI [1884; repr. ed., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965], pp. 5-7, 20, 69, 162, etc.; R. Thurman, op.cit., p. 12, p. 109, n. 25). There is also the legend that the Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras were preserved from the time of the Buddha, when the Master chose not to expound them due to their excessive profundity, until the time of Nāgārjuna (2nd century C.E.), by the nāgas (Sangharakshita, The Eternal Legacy [London: Tharpa Publications, 1985], pp. 134-135).

104. 30.5. Pāli, Moggallāna. One of the 'great disciples' of the Buddha; famous for his mastery of the ṛddhis (see n. 64 above).

105. 31.6-8. The Buddha here is apparently referring to a Vinaya rule having to do with under what circumstances a bhikṣu may accept almsfood after midday. Under normal circumstances only liquids were permitted after noon. This is the only place in the Pūrṇāvadāna in which reference is made to Vinaya regulations, a small trace perhaps of the origin of the avadānas in the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya.

106. 31.13. śikṣāpadāni. Pali, sikkhāpada. Edgerton, op.cit., p. 525, renders the term as "moral commandments", but from his quotations it is clear that śikṣāpadāni are equivalent, at least for laymen, to the 'Five Precepts' (pañcaśīla) by which a follower of the Dharma undertakes to abstain from taking life, taking what is not given, from sexual misconduct, false speech and from the use of intoxicants. The first four of these are mentioned by the Buddha in his advice to Sigālaka as "the four defilements of action that are abandoned" (Sigālaka Sutta, Walshe, op.cit., p. 462). "Addiction to strong drink and sloth-producing drugs" is mentioned (ibid.) as one of the "six ways of wasting one's substance." It would seem that these boisterous nāgas are not deemed capable, at least at present, of attaining the path (to say nothing of the fruit) of 'entering the stream' or any of the other, higher stages of religious training.

107. 31.20-32.30. As foremost among the disciples of the Buddha with regard to the exercise of psychic powers, Mahāmaudgalyāyana is the appropriate bhikṣu to accompany the Buddha on a visit to another world. See also Part III, n. 33. More important perhaps, is the account of Maudgalyāyana rescuing his mother from one of the hells, but I have not been able to trace the legend.

108. It is unclear whether Maudgalyāyana did perform such services for his father, whether the text has omitted an episode, or whether the author has decided to balance, in some degree, the harsh treatment accorded to women in the first half of the story.

109. 31.29. maricike lokadhātau. Lit., 'world of radiance' (Monier-Williams, op.cit., p. 790) - perhaps one of the heavenly worlds, although Maudgalyāyana's mother is not described as a goddess nor

109. (cont'd) her world as a devaloka or a vimāna.

110. As Mt. Sumeru (or Meru) is, according to the tradition, somewhere in the Himalayas or Tibet, presumably the two have come a long way even before setting out for the Maricika world-system.

111. On the one hand, one may infer from this that Maudgalyāyana's mother is a rather spiritually advanced being, as one does not normally recall one's previous births; on the other hand, orthodox doctrine may here be bowing to narrative impact (32.5).

112. 32.7. Reading asyāḥ for anyāḥ. Skandhāḥ (P., khandha) I have translated as "bodily elements" (see Edgerton, op.cit., p. 607), but one cannot lose sight of the doctrine of the five skandhas: in accordance with the doctrine of anātman by which no enduring 'self' or 'soul' is posited to explain either the continuity of personal identity within a life or the workings of karma from life to life, the individual is analyzed into five 'groups', 'heaps', or 'agglomerations' (Edgerton). The five skandhas are matter or form (rūpa), feeling, whether pleasant, painful or neutral (vedanā), perception (samjñā; P., saññā), mental formations (saṃskāras; P., sankhāras) and discriminating consciousness (vijñāna; P., viññāna). Useful discussions in Warder, op.cit., pp. 303-306; Conze, Buddhist Thought in India, pp. 107-108; Sangharakshita, Three Jewels, pp. 103-106. The chief practical purpose for this analysis was to provide a rational basis for understanding that the human being is not an "unchanging substantial entity but only an ever-changing stream of physical and psychical (including mental and spiritual) events outside of which no. . . entity can be discerned" (ibid., pp. 105-106). More technically, the five skandhas are called the five upādānaskandhas (P., -khandhas), which Walshe translates as the "aggregates of grasping" (op.cit., p. 342). This, for the Buddhists, is the problem: the inveterate human tendency to find an ego, a self, something to hold on to, to call 'me' and 'mine', and it is this craving or grasping that is seen to manufacture all our problems in the first place. In our text, however, while this is an inescapable allusion, it is a distant one.

113. 32.27-30. This is one of the passages in the story where there is intimation of Mahāyānist ideas beginning to develop. Maudgalyāyana is, after all, an arhat, one who has done what has to be done and who will be no more reborn. He has achieved the highest pinnacle of spiritual development. Yet here, he appears to realize that "supreme, perfect enlightenment" is yet a higher stage of development, one for which he might have striven had he known. Maudgalyāyana's statement is very reminiscent of chapters eight and nine in the Saddharma-puṇḍarika, where the Buddha predicts the Buddhahood of thousands of arhats, who then say "we were so childish, nescient, ignorant that we were fully contented with a small part of Nirvāṇa" (Kern, op.cit., p. 202). . ."the full knowledge of the highest men, that is blessed Rest, that is supreme beatitude" (ibid., p. 204).

114. 33.4-5. Earth, water, fire and air are the "four great elementary qualities (mahābhūta)" which may be construed literally or, more philosophically, as the "forces of cohesion, undulation, radiation and vibration" (Sangharakshita, Three Jewels, p. 103), out of which the physical world is constituted.

115. 33.5. skandhadhātvāyataneṣu. Here the Buddha is referring to the more technical sense of skandhāḥ (see n. 112 above). Dhātu I have rendered as "psychic characteristic", following Edgerton, op.cit., p. 283 (4): ". . .state of mind, psychic characteristic, when used parallel (or in composition) with skandha and āyatana". Conze (Buddhist Thought in India, p. 108) translates āyatana as "sense-fields" of which there are six pairs: the six sense-organs (eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and mind) and their corresponding objects (sight-objects, sounds, smells, tastes, touchables [including somatic sensations] and mind-objects, i.e., objects of thought). My rendering is admittedly technically imprecise, but it strikes me as appropriate to the context, which is a literary and not a philosophical one. The Buddha's point is simply that just as one's actions are performed by means of one's own (in the conventional sense) perception, sensation, volition, emotion, etc., so the fruit of those actions must be experienced in one's own psycho-physical continuum, i.e., the fundamental principle of karma, that (whatever the precise operations) as ye shall sow, so ye shall reap.

116. 33.8. kalpaśataiḥ. According to Brahmanical tradition (Monier-Williams, op.cit., p. 262), a kalpa is one day in the life of the great god Brahma, equivalent to 4.32 billion years; Brahma lives for one hundred years of 360 days each. At the end of each kalpa the world (the universe?) is annihilated. However, according to Buddhist reckoning, not all kalpas are of equal duration. In any case, "a hundred kalpas" is one way of indicating an inconceivably long period of time; in this context something like 'never', highly amplified.

117. 33.9. 'sminneva bhadrakalpe. Pali, bhadra- or bhaddakappa. Edgerton, op.cit., p. 406: "a kalpa such as the present in which 5 Buddhas are to appear."

118. 33.12. tripiṭaka-. The three 'baskets' or collections of the Buddhist canonical scriptures: Sūtrapiṭaka (P., Sutta-), Vinaya-piṭaka and Abhidharmapiṭaka (Abhidhamma-). The third is unlikely to have existed during the lifetime of the Buddha, except perhaps in a very rudimentary form. The canon of the Theravādin school (Tipiṭaka) is the only one to have survived in its entirety, although the extant texts of all the schools have undergone varying amounts of emendation over the centuries. All the canonical literature was oral for centuries before being written down, perhaps in the first century B.C.E. (Sukumar Dutt, The Buddha and Five After-Centuries [London: Luzac, 1957], p. 91).

119. 33.25-26. This exhortation is another of the formulaic passages occurring frequently in both the Divyāvadāna and the Avadānaśataka (Vaidya, Avadānaśataka, p. 304, "Acts and their maturity").

120. 33.29. This is the concluding sentence of of the stories in the Divyāvadāna and Avadānaśataka (Vaidya, ibid., p. 299 [7]). It, or a very similar sentence, concludes many sūtras (e.g., Walshe, op.cit., pp. 90, 109, 147, 149, 180, 221, 313, etc.; Kern, op.cit., p. 442; Thurmond, op.cit., p. 102).

VI. A Study of the Pūrṇāvadāna.

As noted in Part II (pp. 29ff.), many scholars describe the structure of an avadāna in terms of a 'story of the present', a 'story of the past' and a juncture where the protagonists of the two narrative portions are identified. In this the Pūrṇāvadāna is no exception. However, for the purposes of literary analysis, it is more instructive to divide the present narrative into two main parts, corr esponding, roughly, to Pūrṇa's 'secular' and 'religious' careers. While the distinction between Pūrṇa, the caravan-leader (sārthavāha) and Pūrṇa, the bhikṣu seems clear, there is a transitional period between the two when he is perhaps neither wholly one nor the other. This 'liminal' phase begins with Pūrṇa's hearing of the sūtras chanted by the merchants from Śrāvastī and ends with his ordination by the Buddha, and portrays the process of his conversion from merchant to monk. In terms of such a division, the 'story of the past' becomes a subsection of the second, 'religious' part of the story.

That being said, close reading of the text shows that even in the first of the story the theme of entanglement in saṃsāra and liberation from it is implicitly articulated by means of what appears to be carefully-chosen allegorical elements. To describe our story as an allegory is probably unwarranted. Nevertheless, these allegorical elements, as well as others later in the story, serve important functions, providing a kind of figurative subtext

that reinforces and extends meanings and themes developed in the narrative on more literal levels. Particularly striking is what might be called the 'allegory of the names' which occurs in the first few pages of the story.

While the the first part of our text is an entirely secular tale about a family of merchants (pp. 75-92), the Buddha is nevertheless established in the very first sentence (p. 75) as a kind of presiding presence: "The Lord was staying at Śrāvastī, in Anāthapiṇḍada's park in the Jeta Grove." Not only the Buddha, but also the city of Śrāvastī, the patron of the Saṅgha Anāthapiṇḍada, and the Buddha's private chamber (gandhakuṭī) in the Jeta Grove all figure importantly in the religious developments in the second part of the story. How- the 'activation' of these correspondences does not begin until Pūrṇa (p. 92) is sought out by the company of merchants from Śrāvastī and sets out on his seventh and final trading voyage where he hears the Buddha-word (p. 92) and is inspired with faith in the Lord. Then, in fact, Pūrṇa is told by the merchants (and the reader is reminded) that the Lord " 'is living in Śrāvastī, in Anāthapiṇḍada's park in the Jeta Grove'." (p. 93)

Nevertheless, at the very outset of the story the names of Bhava, his three legitimate sons, the name of Pūrṇa, and the circumstances of Pūrṇa's birth, taken together, articulate a fundamental theme common to Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism - the entrapment in and liberation from the endless round of birth-and-death. And it is noteworthy that at this early stage the allegorical presentation does not depend upon any specifically Buddhist doctrines

or personalities.

"Bhava," the name of the wealthy householder who becomes Pūrṇa's father, is also a synonym for saṃsāra.[1] The man Bhava is, stands for, conditioned existence and (in the Buddhist schema) the impermanence (anitya), suffering (duḥkha) and lack of a permanently-abiding self (anātman) said to characterize all conditioned existence.[2] And it is only when Bhava breaks the strict rules of caste and custom by fathering a child upon a slave-girl that the conventional world can be transcended by the fruit of this 'unnatural' union. We may note that it is not Bhava's legitimate children who tread the bauddhamārga (Buddhist Path) and become arhats, thus transcending bhava - it is Pūrṇa, the bastard son.

The names of the three legimate sons - Bhavila, Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin - reinforce this set of ideas. They are all true sons of Bhava: "Bhavila" is a patronymic, "Bhavatrāta" means 'rescuer of Bhava', possibly an allusion to the Brāhmanical notion that by his performance of the appropriate rites the son secures the welfare of his father's soul in the afterlife; and "Bhavanandin" means the 'delight of Bhava', another way to denote a son.[3]

The text does not offer any such etymological explanations of the sons' names, although presumably these meanings and their implications would have been apparent to the contemporary reader or auditor. By contrast, our narrative alludes explicitly to the etymology of the name "Pūrṇa."

> And the very day on which she became pregnant marked the fulfillment of all Bhava's desires and all of his

> undertakings. . . .On the very day that boy was born, to an even greater degree than before, all of the householder Bhava's desires and all of his undertakings were fulfilled (p. 77).

This itself is striking, as what could be particularly fulfilling for a man with three healthy sons to father a bastard? At this early stage in the narrative, Pūrṇa's special role is not indicated, but that it will be special is not left in doubt. However, for present purposes, what is significant is that the term I have translated as "fulfillment" and "fulfilled" is the participle paripūrṇāḥ (see Part V, n. 4, p. 129). The prefix (upasarga) can here be dispensed with without significantly altering the meaning, and so it is that only after this pointed phraseology we learn that the fourth son, the darling of Bhava's old age, is given the name "Pūrṇa." As a participle, the term can mean "fulfilled, finished, accomplished, ended, complete;" as an adjective it is also used to denote the Absolute.[4] In terms of this allegorical structure, then, Pūrṇa rather than the legitimate brothers is Bhava's (and bhava's) true fulfillment, and thus even in the midst of this 'merchants' tale', the 'glorious deeds' (avadānas) of the second, explicitly Buddhist, part of the story are clearly prefigured.

This complex of allegorical elements also involves Pūrṇa's parentage. In the 'story of the past' (p. 127), the Buddha ascribes Pūrṇa's birth as the son of a slave-girl to the karmic consequence of the "deed of harsh speech" committed five hundred lifetimes before. Yet continuing to bear in mind the double-meaning of "Bhava", the implications are richer and more interesting. To explicate this

we must first refer to the thoughts attributed to the unnamed slave-girl[5] after the ill Bhava's "exceedingly abusive language" has led to "his wife and even his sons" abandoning him (p. 75).

> "My master has fallen ill, and his wife and even his sons have abandoned him. It would not be right for me to abandon him, too."

We may wish to infer any number of likely motives: she had (up until then) a kind master and didn't wish to risk, as a result of his death, being sold to one less kind; she calculated that by nursing him back to health she might be rewarded with the boon of freedom, etc. However, the narrator does give us access to her inner thoughts which, whatever her ulterior motives might be, she has no need to disguise from anyone; it would appear, then, that her sense of what is right is her only, or at least principle, motivation. We can ascribe to her only a strong sense of duty and compassion for a sick and suffering man. From a Buddhist perspective, her act is one of compassion. On quite another level from the literal chain of events that constitute the plot, compassion by uniting with the suffering world engenders a son who shall be celebrated for his 'forebearance' (kṣanti) by the Buddha himself (p. 100), who shall attain enlightenment and bring many to a knowledge of the Truth (saddharma). Put in schematic form, compassion (karuṇā, the slave-girl) unites with the conditioned world (Bhava, the inherent suffering of which symbolized by the illness) by means of which it is perfected or fulfilled (pūrṇa) through enlightenment (the basis for Pūrṇa's glorious deeds).

As is characteristic of literary works, a seemingly simple and straightforward narrative recounts far more than at first seems

to be the case.

The importance of the slave-girl's role is also shown by the fairly extended dialogue she has with the doctor (p. 76).

Similarly, in contrast to the detailed description of Pūrṇa's birth, upbringing and education, Bhava's marriage and the birth of his first three sons are related rather succinctly and schematically. We may go so far as to say that the descriptions of the naming ceremonies and the brief discussions with the relatives (p. 75) are presented in as much detail as they are simply to show (p. 77) that Pūrṇa receives the same traditional honours as did his brothers and that, from the very outset, Bhava accepts his bastard son as (at least) of equal stature to his legitimate ones. Indeed, along with the allegorical elements discussed above, the additional details recounted about Pūrṇa (i.e., the eight nurses, the eight examinations) single him out as of especial importance.

As is often the case in literary works, what is left out is as revealing as what is specified. Folksy and unadorned as is much of the Pūrṇāvadāna, this technique of narrative analogy (Part IV, p. 66) - one passage commenting upon or elucidating another, similar passage - considerably deepens and intensifies the narrative power of the story.

In the slave-girl's insistence that Bhava reward her care in nursing him back to health by sleeping with her (pp. 76-77), the narrative utilizes what was likely a point in traditional law (Part V, n. 3, p. 129) as a kind of logic to further the action. By bearing her master's child, the slave-girl is freed and a mechanism

found whereby Pūrṇa may be born of a slave-girl without impugning the virtue of his father.

Returning to narrative specifications indicating Pūrṇa's special status, we find that in contrast to his brothers, the new-born Pūrṇa is favoured with a detailed, if conventional, physical description (p. 77):

> He was well-formed, good-looking, handsome, fair-complexioned, with an umbrella-shaped head and long arms, a broad brow and a prominent nose.

Shortly thereafter, we also learn that "the boy Pūrṇa grew rapidly, like a lotus in a deep lake" (p. 77). The lotus, of course, is one of the traditional Indian symbols for beauty and purity adopted by the Buddhists, for whom it became a symbol for the mind's progress toward enlightenment: just as the lotus grows to a beautiful and spotless blossom out of the mud of lake-bottoms, so Buddhas, arhats and other spiritual heroes develop their perfections in the midst of this imperfect, suffering conditioned world.[6]

The contrast, through narrative analogy, between Pūrṇa and his brothers, establishes a theme that is developed throughout this first section of the story. Immediately after this fulsome description of the infant Pūrṇa we learn in some detail of Pūrṇa's education in the "traditional learning" (pp. 77-78) of the merchant class. In fact, Pūrṇa becomes something of a pundit in his field, analogous to a Brahman attaining proficiency in the Vedas and Vedāṅgas. Again, with respect to the brothers' educational attainments the text is silent.

As Pūrṇa grows up and becomes able to participate in the

family business, Pūrṇa's superior business skills serve to illustrate his innate superiority - "a being of great merit" (p. 79), as his father exclaims.

The three older brothers, "filled with passion for their wives" (p. 78) spend money on costly jewelry instead of increasing the family's wealth through assiduous application to trade. This continues until, shamed by Bhava into abandoning their self-indulgent ways, they undertake their first overseas trading expedition and return having each earned the hundred thousand suvarṇas that Bhava has specified as being the mark of a responsible married man. Overseas trade was considered the most dangerous but by far the most profitable mode of commerce, yet the much younger and far less experienced Pūrṇa adds more to the family coffers merely by running the shop in Sūrpāraka. Pūrṇa's mercantile ability is the mark of a being superior in every way and portends that, far from being the bastard son of a slave-girl (an epithet with which his brothers' wives later disparage him [p. 81]), he is, as we learn by reason of his karma, a spiritually-advanced individual who succeeds at everything to which he turns his hand. In the Semitic religious traditions, he might be said to be in a state of Grace.

This scene, reported with a minimum of mediation, for it is represented largely through dialogue, articulates another important theme, particularly apposite, involving, as it does, the most worldly of affairs: it is the least grasping and the least selfish who are the most successful, even in the market-place. Virtue and good deeds can be rewarded even in this conditioned life. This theme is further

developed in the following episode, which is concerned with the very important topic of family unity, one involving conflicts that are only resolved in the second part of the story, through the all-healing agency of the Dharma (p. 106).

In this scene the author again uses the immediacy of dialogue as well as the heightened effect achieved by metaphoric analogy. Bhava has again fallen ill, although this time it is not an illness that can be overcome by attentive nursing and medicines; it is the inevitable decay inherent in all compounded things,[7] the truth of which the narrator, by way of concluding the scene, memorializes in verse (p. 80):

> And then, because
> All accumulation ends in loss, all exaltation in decline;
> All union in separation and all life in death,
> he died.

One may observe that such sentiments were not exclusive to the Sarvāstivādins, nor even to the Buddhists, but the common property of Buddhists, Hindus and Jains, and well-known enough to be familiar to the ears and lips of most Indians of the time, educated and uneducated alike. Once again, the text, in this first section, maintains a carefully non-sectarian position.

Faced with the prospect of his imminent death, Bhava's thoughts naturally enough turn to the welfare of his children and, by extension, his lineage. Accurately enough, he discerns the seeds of discord on the verge of germination and thinking, "After my death, these sons of mine shall have a falling-out" (p. 79), he makes a last-ditch, but unsuccessful effort to prevent the inevitable. Bhava dramatizes the situation by having his sons build a fire and

then extinguish it by separating the burning coals. This is a deft reversal of typical Buddhist imagery - that of the passions (and saṃsāra in general) as fire and the exhaustion of its fuel (craving, egoism) as making possible the attainment of Nirvāṇa, the very etymology of which implies a 'blowing out' or a 'cooling' of the three 'fires' of greed (rāga), hatred (dveṣa) and delusion (moha).[8] Here, however, keeping the fire brightly burning symbolizes the life and positive energy of human community, so easily extinguished by the divisiveness of self-centredness and jealousy. As in the case of many of the verses in the Pūrṇāvadāna, Bhava's 'teaching device' both advances the action and addresses itself to the reader/auditor. The importance of Bhava's metaphor is underlined by his 'interpretation' being cast in formal verse, and this, too, is a characteristic device of our story.

Bhava discerns that his sons are too readily influenced by their wives, who are more concerned with what they perceive to be the status of their respective husbands, rather than with the welfare of the family as a whole. Hence, his verse. In any case, what is emphasized is that greed destroys affection. Yet by the absence of any authorial commentary, we are left in doubt as to whether Bhava's carefully-orchestrated and poetically-illustrated lesson is understood by all his sons. Bhava says, "My sons, did you see?" The sons reply, "Father, we saw!" (p. 79), but the careful lack of specificity is thoroughly ambiguous.[9] Moreover, Bhava is by no means confident that his dramatization and his poetic summation of its significance has

has had the desired effect, at least on Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin, for after those two depart (p. 80), and just before he dies, Bhava confides to Bhavila, his eldest: "Son, you must never abandon Pūrṇa. He is a being of rare merit."

Before examining further the break-up of Bhava's family, it is well to ask: why is this such an important theme in the Pūrṇāvadāna? It forms the central axis of the action in the first part of the narrative, and is finally resolved in the second part. Answering this requires external reference. While from the earliest times, both Buddhism and Jainism derived much support from the wealthy mercantile communities, the practice, fundamental to these and other śrāmaṇa-movements (which have since disappeared) of renouncing the life of a householder to become a celibate ascetic met with considerable criticism and a certain amount of opposition from, among others, the Brahmans. The brāhmaṇas integrated the śrāmaṇa- ascetic ideal by formulating the caturāśrama-ideal, whereby the highest religious ideal was indeed complete renunciation of worldly life, but only after one had fulfilled one's duty to society by raising a family.[10] To renounce the world in the prime of one's life was for many an abomination. Further, we read in the Buddhist scriptures themselves that many of the good citizens of Kapilavastu (the Buddha's birthplace) felt that the Buddha's movement was responsible for the destruction of families and the making of many widows and orphans.[11] In short, in more than a few quarters it is the Buddhists who were branded as destroyers of families. As we shall see, our story articulates a kind of indirect refutation of this criticism.

Bhava's two illnesses are examples of the use of parallel structures to advance the progress of the narrative. The first is both the indirect occasion for Pūrṇa's birth and an element in the allegorical structure discussed above. The second is used to highlight that important Buddhist doctrine, the impermanence of all things, to introduce the central topic of family unity and to dispense with Bhava as a character, thus permitting Pūrṇa, Bhavila and the other brothers to move into the forefront of the action.

Three more episodes, parallel in theme rather than specific actions, follow immediately upon Bhava's death (pp. 80-83). While the three older sons now appear to take seriously their roles as merchants and to be genuinely concerned to preserve the integrity of the family, they ignore Bhava's judgement of Pūrṇa as a "being of rare merit" and again relegate Pūrṇa, consummate trader though he is, to a subordinate position in the family business. Again parallel scenes (narrative analogy) are employed to heighten thematic effect. Just as Bhava (p. 78) prevented Pūrṇa from accompanying his brothers on their first overseas trip, so now the brothers prevent him from accompanying them on their second voyage. The important difference here is that Bhavila, Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin now know full well that Pūrṇa is the best trader among them; in the previous instance Bhava did not. The implication is that they are fearful of being shown up by their younger brother who is, moreover, only the son of a slave-girl.

These three episodes, among other things, serve to dramatize the accuracy of Bhava's worst fears. The first of these (pp. 80-82)

we may call the 'episode of the housekeeping money'. Here we read that the servants are delayed in obtaining the day's housekeeping money from Pūrṇa, as he "was surrounded by wealthy guildmasters, caravan-leaders and others who depended upon his generosity" (p. 81). Though Pūrṇa is presumably acting on behalf of the family rather than independently, we find him here in the role of a śreṣṭhin or banker (see Part V, n. 11, p. 130), attended upon by the most eminent men of the mercantile community. In a single sentence a vivid contrast is established between Pūrṇa's almost Cinderella-like status within the family and his role as perceived among members of the larger community. This is of course part of the ongoing portrayal of Pūrṇa as a superior being; at the same time, it highlights, by contrast, the groundless calumnies levelled against him by other family members.

It is the maidservants, trying to deflect their mistresses' anger at their tardiness, who introduce the abusive expression that is to become the key to the Buddha's explanation of Pūrṇa's past karma.

> 'Well, that's what happens to those whose family wealth is in the hands of the sons of slave-girls!' (p. 81)

The incident itself (i.e., the servants being delayed) is trivial enough; in fact, its very triviality is significant, for the brothers' wives, in particular, unreasonably inflate its importance. The maid-servants are culpable, but they are merely trying to evade punishment for a situation over which they had no control. Bhavila's wife shows her good sense when she does not remonstrate but merely suggests how her maidservant can prevent the situation from recurring. The wives

of Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin, on the other hand, resentful both of Pūrṇa's maternal origins and his superior business acumen, not only become angry at Pūrṇa himself but also at Bhavila's wife for not blaming Pūrṇa. Then, in specious justification of their own resentment, they seize upon and reiterate the silliness of their servants (p. 81), and, when questioned, repeat it again to their husbands (p. 82). Appropriate to the mercantile context, the ostensible point of contention is related to money, though it is clear that what is really at stake is the wives' sense of wounded vanity at being kept waiting by (in their eyes) a low-caste bastard who makes everything unbearable by being so exasperatingly capable.[12]

At this point (p. 82), Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin are still mindful, however precariously, of their father's warning, and recognize the groundlessness of their wives' complaints (" 'It is said that women destroy friendships'."). At the same time, the relative nobility of Bhavila and his wife is reiterated (" 'My dear, did Pūrṇa take proper care of you?'. . .'As if he were my own son or brother'.")

Beyond the specific narrative situation in our text, we find here dramatized an old and venerable Buddhist theme, the discussion as to whether personal status and worth are to be determined by birth or by conduct. In the sūtra-literature, the debate is usually between the traditional Brahmanical position that Brahmans are inherently superior to members of the other classes (varṇas) simply by virtue of their being born Brahmans, and the Buddha's position that good and evil, wise and foolish, noble and base are found among members of all classes, so that superiority and inferiority are more matters of

nurture than nature, (right) learning than lineage.[13]

In the 'story of the past', although the Buddha explains why Pūrṇa was born the son of a slave-girl and yet was able to attain arhatship in terms of his "deed of harsh speech" and his valid spiritual training five hundred births previously (pp. 127-128), nowhere does he or the omniscient narrator specify the social class of that 'original' Pūrṇa. The point is that it is not important. The doctrine of karma, as a kind of moral law of cause-and-effect, is universal, impersonal and impartial. All acts of body, speech and mind which are not morally neutral have karmic consequences (karma-vipāka), whether in the present or some future birth. If anything, the selfish or cruel deeds of a person of status and influence are likely to have more drastic consequences, for the wickedness of a religious teacher, ruler or other influential person are bound to do greater harm than that of, say, a poor farmer whose actions affect no one outside his family or village. The Buddhist position emphasizes the action and the intention behind the action as well as the effect of the action upon other living beings.[14] The social or religious or cosmological status of the agent is secondary; even the gods are subject to their karma, how much more so Brahmans, kings and merchants.

The 'episode of the housekeeping money' depicts the wives of Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin puffed up with the hubris of class pride, just as many of the sūtras depict individual Brahmans. Here, directed toward the mercantile classes, the Buddhist injunction to judge by merit alone is reiterated in a familiar context.

The following two brief episodes, which we may call the 'Benares silk-episode' (p. 82) and the 'pastry-episode' (pp. 82-83) add two other, equally trivial, incidents which, for the same reasons as in the 'episode of the housekeeping money', so infuriate the wives of Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin that they prevail upon their weak and ineffectual husbands to divide the joint family (pp. 82-83). The episodes themselves are unremarkable: in the first, Bhavila's son goes to Pūrṇa's shop and receives a gift of some fine Benares silk; seeing this, the other two brothers send their sons, but by then Pūrṇa has only cheap cotton cloth available. Similarly, later he is selling pastries, some of which he gives to Bhavila's son; this time, the mothers of the other two boys send them to get some, but then Pūrṇa has only molasses left.

However, the term daivayogāt which I have translated as "as luck would have it" might also well be rendered as "as fate would have it" or even as "in accordance with their karma." Here, the narrator appears to be reminding us that nothing here is really an accident: it is not that Pūrṇa willed Bhavila's son to get the best gifts; it had to happen that way. It may even be an Indian analogue to the Semitic idea of the sins of the fathers being visited upon the sons. In any case, some relationship is implied between the virtuous Bhavila and his wife and the gifts their son receives from Pūrṇa, and the selfish two younger brothers and their wives, and the gifts their sons receive.

In each case the wives of the two younger men are indignant at the treatment their sons receive. The first time the husbands,

still mindful of their father's dying command, manage to mollify their wives. The second time, as the narrator informs us, "the two women carried on so much that their husbands were eventually convinced to divide the joint family" (pp. 82-83).

Bhava's injunction (p. 80) had been "do not be swayed by your wives", and his the second of his deathbed verses had begun "Families are divided by women. . . ." Nevertheless, as we have seen (p. 172), the text makes clear through direct dialogue that the two brothers are aware that it is not Pūrṇa's actions or attitudes, but those of their wives, that are the source of the problem. Despite this, and despite also their positions of authority over their wives, they accede to their demands. They share their wives' resentments against Pūrṇa, but a reason equally compelling was also foreseen by Bhava when he recited (p. 80):

> "A spell, badly-recited, has its efficacy destroyed; so, too, is affection, as a result of greed."

The old man's prescience is quickly borne out as (pp. 83-84) Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin, with scarcely a thought to the elder brother's opinion in the matter, rapidly devise a plan whereby Bhavila, if he is to honour their father's dying words, shall be obliged to give up all claim to the family's considerable wealth. Both the brothers' confabulation and their refusal to discuss the matter with Bhavila are depicted through dialogue with a minimum of narrative 'intrusion.' Now, their greed fully awakened, they decide to regard Pūrṇa not only as the slave-girl's son but as a slave himself, seemingly dispensing with any memory of the man all four called father. At the same time, even now they implicitly acknowledge Pūrṇa's great abilities, for

even as a chattel, he is accorded a value equivalent to the shop in Sūrpāraka and the foreign trade or the house and the land. Doubtless this is intended ironically, as the twist of the knife in the heart of the dying family, but at this juncture neither they nor Bhavila realize how just the settlement really is.

The final scene, the coup de grace (though of course it doesn't work out that way) in this development is the exile of Pūrṇa, Bhavila and his family, precipitated by their ruthless eviction (p. 84) by the two younger brothers. As the predominantly dialogic depiction of the collaberation of Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin renders more graphic their perfidy, so here the dialogue intensifies the poignancy of the scene as these innocents are driven from shop and home.

In a sense, then, the first renunciation in the Pūrṇāvadāna is not that of Pūrṇa; it is Bhavila's (p. 84):

> Bhavila thought: "I was told by our father - 'Even if you renounce all of your worldly possessions, you must take care of Pūrṇa.' I will take Pūrṇa." And having decided this, he said: "So be it. I shall take Pūrṇa".

As Robert Alter points out (see Part IV, p. 68), in repeated dialogue, even minute alterations can have profound thematic significance. Here, Bhavila recapitulates Bhava's dying command not to abandon Pūrṇa, but also adds to it a most rigorous provision - "Even if you renounce all of your worldly possessions". Bhavila is not merely a dutiful son, but a virtuous man in his own right, and he is not made to wait long for his fidelity to the highest moral principles to be rewarded: with his purchase of the gośīrṣacandana, Pūrṇa soon rescues Bhavila's family from beggary (p. 86).

One may even suppose that for the educated Indian (i.e., who understood Sanskrit) of the early centuries C.E. Rama's exile in the Rāmāyana would inevitably come to mind here, for that great epic hero, out of similarly high principles, accepts injustice, foregoes the kingdom that is rightfully his, and with his wife goes to exile in the forest. Bhavila, of course, does not wander for fourteen years and merely sets out for the home of some relatives (p. 84), yet the injustice, the nobility of character, the exile and the eventual vindication are strikingly parallel.[15]

At the same time, Bhavila's renunciation of his entire patrimony by narrative analogy foreshadows Pūrṇa's later (pp. 93ff.) and more radical renunciation. Bhavila is of course not renouncing the world to become a śramaṇa or bhikṣu, but the paradigm of the letting go of worldly possessions and comforts for a moral or spiritual ideal is applicable. This succession of episodes culminating in the exile is climactic with respect to the development of the character and motivations of the two younger brothers as well as of Bhavila. As the actions of Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin reveal them to be the weak and greedy men their father feared them to be, the actions of Bhavila validate the faith his father had in him and prove him to be a man of virtue and integrity, even a kind of model for the virtuous layman, just as Pūrṇa shall later become a model for the fully-committed spiritual seeker. Moreover, while Bhavila, as we have observed (p. 176), does not have to wait long for material comforts to be restored to him, his noble deed[16] bears even greater fruit when, in rescuing him and his compatriots from Maheśvara's hurricane (p. 105),

Pūrṇa brings not only physical succour but also the living reality of the Dharma. This suggests not only a narrative but also a karmic logic. Bhavila's deeds are not as "glorious" as Pūrṇa's but are nevertheless held up as exemplary.

To complete our discussion of the theme of family unity one further episode (pp. 102-103) and one brief scene (pp. 106-107) must be considered.

Immediately after Pūrṇa, now a bhikṣu, returns from Śrāvastī to Śroṇāparāntaka and converts the hunter and members of his tribe (pp. 101-102), we learn that "the wealth of Darukarṇin's [Bhavila's] two brothers dwindled, shrank and finally was exhausted" (p. 102). With Pūrṇa 'out of the way', they approach Bhavila and propose re-uniting the family:

> "That one who appears as an omen of bad luck has gone from our house. Come, we shall live together."[17]

Bhavila, however, has been warned by Pūrṇa (p. 94) that the two brothers might try just such a ruse and, without their being aware of the fact, he essentially repeats to them what Pūrṇa had told him:

> "You two acquired your wealth by immoral means. My own was acquired justly. I shall not set up housekeeping with you two."

One cannot be absolutely certain to what activities "immoral means" refers - possibly their way of conducting business, but more likely their underhanded way of appropriating the family wealth, for now, once again, they think they can acquire if not all of Bhavila's money and property, then at least a share in it. Bhavila stands firm and their false heartiness quickly evaporates:

> "That son of a slave crossed and recrossed the great ocean and earned great profits which you boast of enjoying. What ability have you in conducting overseas trade?" (p. 103)

This (at least partially true) accusation stings Bhavila into undertaking the overseas trading expedition that almost takes his life. However, in the context of our present theme, Bhavila, having once succumbed to his brothers' blackmail, now refuses to give in to their hypocritical and self-serving blandishments. The family remains split into the two 'camps'.

And so it remains until some greater force - the Dharma - comes into play. After their miraculous rescue in the Gośīrṣa Sandalwood Forest, Bhavila and the five hundred merchants "became filled with faith in the Venerable Pūrṇa" (p. 106). Upon their return to Sūrpāraka, Pūrṇa accomplishes the construction of the Candanamāla Pavilion " 'for the use of the Lord'." Then we read:

> And all the brothers were made to forgive each other and were instructed by Pūrṇa: "Invite the community of bhikṣus, headed by the Buddha, and give them a meal". . . .So the brothers went before the king. They approached, performed obeisance with their heads at his feet and said: "Lord, we wish to invite the community of bhikṣus headed by the Buddha in order to serve them a meal. May our Lord assist us." (p. 107)

There are neither passages of narration or of dialogue which explicitly inform us how the reconciliation takes place. Likely Pūrṇa himself is the agent. Having passed beyond a mercantile career to a spiritual one, he is no longer liable to be perceived by Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin as a competitor. His fame as a great caravan-leader has been eclipsed by his fame as a wonderworker and arhat. At least five hundred families now regard him as their peerless benefactor and his

Dharma as definitive. His praises are being sung throughout the city, in some of the most eminent homes. Moreover, he is a being of real spiritual power and, to a lesser extent but in the same way as his Master, his will is mysteriously compelling. There is now no room for petty jealousies; they are seen as they really are, quotidian, ephemeral. The king himself (p. 106) is pleased with the Candanamāla Pavilion and (pp. 107, 110-112) willingly participates in making the arrangements for the visit of the Lord Buddha. In this atmosphere of celebration and nascent devotion all men change for the better.[18] The narrative has traced the progress from the saṃsāric world of greed and egoism to that same world transformed by Pūrṇa, and the Buddha himself, bearers of the Dharma. In short, jealousy and greed has divided the family; now the Dharma unifies it once again.

This, then, is the Buddhist refutation of those who charge (p. 169) that the śramaṇa traditions contribute, under the guise of high spiritual ideals, to the destruction of society, that the Buddha is a maker of widows and orphans. The matter is nowhere explicitly addressed in the Pūrṇāvadāna; rather, as I have tried to demonstrate, it is a theme that is gradually built up and finally resolved through the development of the narrative, each successive episode adding to the dynamic, until a complete pattern can be discerned.

Having examined the narrative pattern by which the break-up and eventual reunification of the family is articulated, together with some of the associated characterological developments, and a

few important sub-themes, we now turn to a more detailed consideration of Pūrṇa's development, first as an independent trader, and then as a Buddhist bhikṣu, Dharma-preacher, arhat and Sūrpāraka's great spiritual hero.

With Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin's appropriation of the family's property and the dispossession of Pūrṇa, Bhavila and his family, the first stage of Pūrṇa's career (or, the first of Pūrṇa's careers) comes to a close. Although early on in the story (pp. 77-78), Pūrṇa is described as something of a master of the traditional learning of the vaiśya (i.e., mercantile) class, and although, as we have seen, much is made of his almost praeternatural skills as a trader, so long as he is merely acting on behalf of the joint family his business successes are, in a sense, not his own. It is only when (p. 85) Pūrṇa sets out for the market with a few coins from Bhavila's wife in order to buy breakfast for her children, his ears smarting with her rebukes, that the chain of events is set in motion from which he emerges as a great caravan-leader. Likely his trading instincts are fully aroused, for having been taken to task by Bhavila's wife for having not saved even enough to buy her children's breakfast, he has told her (pp. 84-85):

> "How could I have known that our family would end up like this? Had I known, I would have saved many hundreds of thousands of suvarṇas."[19]

When he encounters the man carrying what he recognizes as a load of extremely valuable gorśīṣa sandalwood (p. 85), he quickly realizes the opportunity to make amends to Bhavila and his family for what they have suffered on his account. The purchase of the candana

for five hundred kārṣāpaṇas and the profit of the same amount earned on selling just a few small pieces of it mark the first two small steps in Pūrṇa's meteoric rise as an independent trader. Even at this initial stage, Pūrṇa is able to restore Bhavila's family to *some* semblance of prosperity, presenting them with "such necessities of life as clothes, buffalo-cows, cattle, and male and female slaves" (p. 86).

This is just the beginning. Several subsequent episodes, one after another (pp. 86-91), chronicle the rapid development of Pūrṇa's wealth, fame and influence.

The first of these we may call the 'episode of the king's illness' (pp. 86-87). In searching for some gośīrṣa sandalwood, which has been prescribed for the king's fever (see Part V, n. 15, p. 131), his ministers learn that Pūrṇa is in possession of some; he sells them a small amount for a thousand kārṣāpaṇas. An ointment prepared from the sandalwood quickly brings down the fever and, before long, Pūrṇa has been summoned before the king. Well aware of the situation, he brings along four small pieces of the sandalwood, which he sells to the king for three hundred thousand suvarṇas, a hundred thousand less than he is offered. Here a new dimension of Pūrṇa's genius for trade is revealed: " 'One piece is a gift to my Lord'." With the valuable sandalwood, Pūrṇa earns the king's gold; with his magnanimity, he earns the king's respect:

> The king said: "Pūrṇa, I am extremely pleased. Tell me - what boon shall I give you?"
> Pūrṇa replied: "If my Lord is pleased with me, may I be permitted to live in your kingdom undisturbed?"
> The king gave a command to his ministers: "From this day forth, you may give orders even to the crown princes, but not to Pūrṇa." (p. 87)

Pūrṇa has parlayed the king's good will into a royal dispensation. Interestingly enough, normally only kings themselves and bhikṣus are above such authority.[20] Implicitly, then, we already have glimmerings of Pūrṇa's third, final and most glorious career.

Having gained the special favour of the king as well as having earned in one transaction as much as did his three brothers through overseas trade, Pūrṇa, in the next episode strikes a blow for free enterprise against the monopolistic power of the merchants' guild (pp. 87-90).[21] When foreign merchants arrive in Sūrpāraka with a large stock of trade-goods, the local merchants' guild decides not to inform Pūrṇa, presuming that, after Bhavila's dispossession, Pūrṇa is no longer in any position to engage in trade, and this despite the fact that, previously (p. 81), Pūrṇa had been instrumental in securing capital for a number of its members. Here we find an analogy to Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin's treatment of their young half-brother; now, however, Pūrṇa easily circumvents these machinations. He learns of the shipment himself, independently arranges to purchase all of it, and when, enraged at being beaten at their own game, the guildmembers attempt to fine Pūrṇa for breaking a guild regulation about which he had not been informed (purchasing such shipments independently), he shames them before the king. Yet this is not all, for when the king wishes to purchase some of that merchandise (pp. 90-91), mindful of his promise to Pūrṇa, he commands the guildmembers to provide the goods. And it is only after humbling themselves before Pūrṇa and with coaxing that he agrees to sell to them a portion - and then at twice the price he paid.

In their efforts to convince Pūrṇa to part with some of his wares, the guildmembers address him as " 'great caravan-leader' " (p. 91). Likely this is no more than unctuous flattery on the part of men worried about the possible consequences of failing to carry out the king's command. A caravan-leader (sārthavāha [see Part V, n. 12, pp. 130-131]) is more than a merchant, however prosperous. The term refers to a man who organizes and leads long-distance, often foreign, trading expeditions, an expert not only in merchandise, but in men, pack-animals, trade-routes, trade-practices in different regions and countries, defense, etc. In the Pūrṇāvadāna, sārthavāha, by extension, is applied to one who organizes overseas trading expeditions, the most profitable and dangerous of all forms of commerce. The caravan-leader was at once a merchant and an adventurer, and the spread of Buddhism throughout Asia was intimately connected with his activities. Among the trading classes, the caravan-leader was a man who commanded great prestige.

At the moment he is first addressed thus, Pūrṇa is already a phenomenally successful trader, but a caravan-leader he is not. Perhaps the guildsmen's desperate flattery sets Pūrṇa thinking, for that indeed is his next step: " 'What's the likelihood of being able to fill a jar with dew-drops? I shall cross the great ocean' " (p. 91):

> Pūrṇa had the proclamation-bell rung in Sūrpāraka-city. "Hear ye, merchants of Sūrpāraka! Pūrṇa, the great caravan-leader, shall cross the great ocean! Whomsoever amongst you wishes to cross the great ocean with

> the great caravan-leader Pūrṇa, free from customs duties, escort charges and freight fees, he is to gather together the trade-goods he wishes to take with him across the great ocean."

Crossing the great ocean is of course precisely what his father (p. 78) and his brothers (p. 80) had not permitted Pūrṇa to do. Now the wishes of Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin are irrelevant and the text offers no indication of any opposition on Bhavila's part.

Pūrṇa, as in everything else he undertakes, is nothing but successful, and becomes the caravan-leader sina qua non. For the development of the story, no details of his voyages are required, though to emphasize the accomplishment and to provide a logic for the all-important seventh voyage (pp. 92-93), the author provides a bit of dialogue attributed not to anybody in particular but to everybody in general (p. 91): "Everywhere it was told: 'Pūrṇa six times has crossed the great ocean and come back, his ship laden with riches'."

Here we are on the verge of the second part of the story where religious themes, the "glorious deeds" proper, become the focus of the narrative. Pūrṇa's motivation for his first six voyages are mercantile (" 'What's the likelihood of being able to fill a jar with dew-drops' "); by means of his six trading voyages Pūrṇa, having mastered the theory of trade in his youth, now surpasses in practice anything accomplished by his brothers or envisioned by his father. A favourite of the king, enormously wealthy, his accomplishments lauded in places he has never even visited, he has reached the apex of any conceivable mercantile career.

In fact, Pūrṇa is sated. If we may adapt an expression usually reserved for describing a bhikṣu's attainment of arhatship (p. 96), Pūrṇa, in the mercantile sphere, has 'done what had to be done' and as a trader can know no greater life beyond that which he has already achieved. This for Pūrṇa is the turning point: Merchants from Śrāvastī (p. 75: "The Lord was staying at Śrāvastī. . ."), planning an overseas expedition, and having heard tell of the great caravan-leader Pūrṇa, do seek him out, but at first Pūrṇa is most reluctant. His personal motivation is gone. In the end, out of compassion, he agrees:

> Pūrṇa reflected: "Even though I do not seek any more wealth, I shall nevertheless cross the ocean for their sake." And so Pūrṇa, accompanied by those merchants, set out on the great ocean. (p. 92)

If not exactly vairāgya (detachment), this is disinterested action, one of its analogues, and it is clearly no accident that the merchants turn out to be Bauddhas (devotees of the Buddha).

This shift from the explicitly 'secular' to the explicitly 'religious' is also mediated by a complex of allegorical elements which in fact have been operative throughout the story, beginning (pp. 78-79) with the first overseas expedition of the three elder brothers. The key words here are "set out on the great ocean" (see Pt. V, n. 10, p. 130), the formulaic expression employed to describe merchants departing on an overseas trading expedition. However, just as the name "Bhava" also means saṃsāra, so also does the term mahāsamudra (great ocean). Again, this allegorical sense of the term is not specifically Buddhist, but virtually pan-Indian. The ceaseless churning of the waves, the vastness, the danger,

the sudden and unpredictable storms, the shoals and reefs, even (for traders), the attraction are all, by analogy, properties of the endless cycle of birth-and-death. Related to this is 'crossing to the further shore' as an image for salvation or enlightenment. These were conventional expressions and the religious dimension of their meaning would have been familiar to the contemporary audience.

The overseas trip of the three brothers is purely a secular one. They are depicted as luxury-loving and prone to sensuality and as undertaking the voyage principally to gain their father's approval. They all earn the required hundred thousand suvarṇas; only Bhavila appears to develop a more mature sense of responsibility. At this early stage and, later, after Bhava's death, Pūrṇa, for all his business acumen, is portrayed as the younger brother who wants to be like and be accepted by his older brothers. Only after the break-up of the joint family does he get his chance; then he becomes the great caravan-leader. Yet there are no hints in the story that Pūrṇa is much attracted to wealth per se. This of course is entirely consonant with what is revealed in the 'story of the past' - that for five hundred births Pūrṇa has been working out the karma of a Buddhist bhikṣu. On another level, one that would have had particular resonance for the mercantile classes, Pūrṇa is that "being of rare merit" (p. 80), first a secular, then a spiritual hero, and the second career, both in terms of narrative and karmic logic, dependent upon the first. As the great caravan-leader, Pūrṇa is a vaiśya analogue to the great kṣatriya heroes - Rāma and Yudhiṣṭhira - of the Sanskrit epics, a hero with whom merchants

and traders can readily identify. Indeed, it may well have been the author's intention that some of them be inspired to follow Pūrṇa's example all the way to ordination. In this sense, Pūrṇa's transition from merchant to religious aspirant is not to be construed as a condemnation of worldly life in general or a business career in particular, but rather a glorification of both (especially, of course, the career of a bhikṣu).[22]

Pūrṇa's business successes, culminating in his six voyages as a sārthavāha, are the dramatization of the secular stage of this ideal. The voyages, in particular, portray the fulfillment (pūrṇatā) of those talents impeded first by ignorance (Bhava) and later by condescension (the brothers). By the seventh voyage (pp. 92-93), the allegorical implication shifts: "setting out on the great ocean" becomes 'Nirvāṇa-bound'; the journey toward worldly success becomes the quest for salvation. This tension between the literal and figurative meanings of overseas trading continues to resonate as the narrative develops. When Pūrṇa receives permission from Bhavila to "go forth into the homeless life" (p. 93), his parting words begin:

> "Brother, on the great ocean is much suffering and little enjoyment. Many cross; few return. You must by no means cross the great ocean."

Pūrṇa's warning is both about the physical dangers involved in ocean travel and the suffering (duḥkha [see Pt. V, n. 74, pp. 148-149]) inherent in conditioned existence. He warns Bhavila both that there is a high mortality rate among ocean travellers and that few triumph over the passions and ignorance which lead to continued

rebirth and further suffering. The karmic fruits of his former life as a bhikṣu under the Buddha Kāśyapa (p. 126) have begun to ripen. They have led him to his mercantile successes and thence to his renewed acquaintance with the teaching of an Enlightened One; it is from this knowledge he now speaks, though, in terms of his own conscious sense of his own purpose, he is only just setting out on the bodhimārga (path to enlightenment). Viewed from the larger temporal perspective of the story as a whole, he has of course been on the path for at least five hundred and one lives.

Later (p. 104), when Bhavila and his colleagues face imminent death in the Gośīrṣa Sandalwood Forest, he explains his resignation to them by repeating Pūrṇa's admonition, although he does not appear to be aware of its symbolic dimension. The parallelism between the dialogues is not, however, lost upon the attentive reader. Bhavila repeats Pūrṇa's words verbatim, but adds one phrase. He says " 'Blinded by greed (tṛṣṇāndāḥ), many cross; few return'." Strictly speaking, it is wounded pride rather than active greed which induces Bhavila to embark on his third overseas trip (p. 103), but this slight discontinuity enables the author to play upon the double-meaning of tṛṣṇa (thirst, craving, greed). It refers both to the greed of merchants for profits and as a Buddhist technical term to the craving born of ignorance (avidyā) characteristic of the mind adrift in saṃsāra (see Pt. V, n. 44, pp. 138-139).

It is now appropriate to examine in some detail the four stages by which Pūrṇa the sārthavāha becomes Pūrṇa the śramaṇa (pp. 92-96). The first, as we have noted in passing (p. 150), is

when Pūrṇa, on board the ship, somewhere in the middle of the ocean, listens to the merchants from Śrāvastī performing their devotions (p. 92):

> At night, during the time before dawn, those merchants recited aloud and at great length [passages] from the truth-revealing Udāna, Pārāyaṇa, Sthaviragāthā, Śailagāthā, Munigāthā and the Arthavargīya Sūtras. Pūrṇa listened to them, and said: "Sirs, you sing beautiful songs."

Pūrṇa's first response, interestingly enough, is an aesthetic one. There has been no indication in the story that he has heard of the Buddha, nor even that he is aware of any renunciate groups or practices. His only point of reference for the merchants' chanting is song; his initial response is merely that they are beautiful, but it is clear that he is moved.

We should also note that, with the exception of the scene of 'exile', where Pūrṇa and the Bhavila family are driven out of shop and home (p. 84), this is the first scene in the story where the time of day is specified. Moreover, it is the only scene in the entire story which takes place at night: "[a]t night, during the time before dawn" suggests that dark and mysterious time, not the 'dead of night' associated with ghosts and necromancy, but that transitional period when the night is waning and the day is yet to come. Here the setting - mid-ocean, no longer in Sūrpāraka, not yet at the destination; at night, yet with the dawn not far off - mirrors Pūrṇa's nascent transformation.

> They replied: "Great caravan-leader, these are not mere songs. You must know that these are the words of the Buddha."
> Hearing the name "Buddha", which he had never heard

> before, Pūrṇa got goose-bumps all over.[23] All attention, he asked: "Sirs, who is this person named 'the Buddha'?"

At this crucial, but early stage Pūrṇa's response is intensely emotional and physical. He is moved first by the beauty of the chanted verses and then, upon hearing for the first time the name "the Buddha" he is positively electrified. While being wary of making facile categorizations, we may say that here Pūrṇa has attained the stage of a lay-disciple, all the more remarkable for his never having met the object of his devotion;[24] after learning from the merchants something of the Buddha's history and accomplishment as well as where he is to be found, Pūrṇa is described as "[b]earing the Buddha in his heart" (p. 93). Borrowing from the title of a Chinese Mahāyāna work, this scene might be described as Pūrṇa's 'awakening of faith'.[25]

There are a number of other significant observations to be made here. The précis of the Buddha's career given by the merchants, conventional though it is, presents an obvious parallel between the life of the Buddha and that of Pūrṇa. At this very significant, even dramatic juncture, as Pūrṇa is poised between the worldly and renunciate life, the reader/auditor is reminded that Siddhārtha Gautama, with only the best in life to look forward to, renounced his life of luxury and power and "with right faith went forth from his home into the homeless life" (p. 93), later to become the Enlightened One. Clearly, this is an invitation to liken Pūrṇa's life to that of the Master. Furthermore, the phrase "with right faith" refers to both the confidence with which the young Siddhārtha left the

palace and the faith with which Pūrṇa responds to the Buddha-word and the Buddha-name.

In this context it is also worth asking: what sort of religious poetry are the merchants reciting? All the texts to which our story refers are indeed in verse and they include some of the earliest Pāli compositions (see Pt. V, n. 20, pp. 133-134). In general, these verses deal with the advantages of the renunciate life and expound the value of turning away from sensual pleasures, of mindfulness, liberation from craving and from entanglement in speculative views, the suffering inherent in worldly pursuits and, unstintingly, the excellence and wisdom of the Buddha. Frequently, as in the texts also found in the Pāli Suttanipāta (Śailagāthā, Munigāthā, Arthavargīya Sūtras, Pārāyaṇa), verses take the form of dialogues in which the Buddha responds to questions by bhikṣus and Brahmans. Systematic exposition of the doctrine is minimal. Even the famous Four Noble Truths and the Noble Eightfold Path are conspicuous by their absence, although a number of the same topics are covered.

In short, what Pūrṇa listens to and is moved by is Buddhist ascetic poetry. As the second century C.E. Buddhist poet Aśvaghoṣa says at the end of his epic Saundarananda, poetry (or, as I would hold, literary and other arts) may serve, through the medium of beautiful language, to enthuse those who would not otherwise be attracted to the Dharma.[26] The effect on Pūrṇa of the poetry is also, with respect to the reader/auditor, the intended function of the narrative art of the Pūrṇāvadāna.

Finally, Pūrṇa's entrancement with the merchants' recitation and his intense response to merely hearing the name "Buddha" anticipates the 'story of the past' in which the Buddha reveals that Pūrṇa has in fact served under an Enlightened One in a former birth (p. 126). Surveying the narrative as a whole, it becomes apparent that Pūrṇa's sensitivity in this scene has deep karmic roots. If he is not exactly remembering the teaching of the Buddha Kāśyapa, neither is he experiencing something entirely new. The implication here is that Pūrṇa is predisposed by virtue of his assiduity under Kāśyapa toward devotion to the Buddha and to the life of a Buddhist ascetic, the karmic traces of those ancient experiences being, as it were, activated or triggered in this life.[27] Indeed, part of his karmic reward for his study and service under that former Buddha is his encounter with Śākyamuni (pp. 127-128).

The second stage in the process of Pūrṇa's transformation from sārthavāha to śrāvaka involves his receiving permission from Bhavila to 'go forth'. First, we may note that with the sure instinct of the story-teller who knows just when to alter the emotional tone of the narrative in order to prevent the attention of the audience from flagging, the author interrupts the profundity and solemnity of these events with a touch of humour.

Other than Pūrṇa's inner transformation, the seventh voyage has been similar to the six preceding - he returns to Sūrpāraka, "the ship laden with riches" (p. 93). However, Bhavila, to whom Pūrṇa is very dear and who continues to honour his father's dying injunction to look after his youngest brother, sees what appears to be a wan and tired Pūrṇa and decides "[h]e has been exhausted by his trips across

the great ocean" (p. 93). We may recall (p. 78) how Bhava chastised his three elder sons for spending their money on jewellery and their time on indulging their passion for their wives by reminding them that he, Bhava, had not even married until he had earned a respectable fortune. By now, of course, Pūrṇa has earned both fame and fortune and for Bhavila the logical next step is for Pūrṇa to turn from sārthavāha to (perhaps) śreṣṭhin (see Pt. V, n. 11, p. 130) and fulfill the duties of marriage and procreation.

> "Brother, tell me which of the two I should ask on your behalf for his daughter in marriage - a wealthy merchant or a caravan-leader."
>
> Pūrṇa replied: "I am not seeking love. If you would permit it, I shall go forth from the life of a householder [into the homeless life]." (p. 93)

The humourous touch here is that Bhavila is mistaking the exhaltation of faith and the awakening of vairāgya (detachment, disgust with the world) for the exhaustion of travel and proceeds to plan the arrangements for Pūrṇa's marriage at just the time he is thinking of renouncing the world.

Although Bhavila cannot really comprehend his brother's wish to go forth, neither does he stand in the way. As for Pūrṇa, ever the dutiful son and brother, he seeks Bhavila's permission before he is willing to put his intention into action.[28]

It is after his parting advice to Bhavila, where, in one brief paragraph he quickly changes from obedient younger brother to experienced counsellor,[29] that Pūrṇa truly 'goes forth', never to live as a householder again. As did Siddhārtha in the Buddha-legend, upon leaving the palace, Pūrṇa takes with him a single servant, who is not mentioned

again after he delivers his master's message to Anāthapiṇḍada, just as Candaka, Siddhārtha's charioteer, plays no further role after he takes his master's horse back to Kapilavastu and informs the family.[30]

Karmic traces notwithstanding, this third stage incorporates psychological realism into the portrayal of Pūrṇa's developing religious consciousness. Pūrṇa sets out for Anāthapiṇḍada's house in Śrāvastī, but as a merchant (p. 94):

> The messenger went and said to the householder Anāthapiṇḍada: "Householder, the caravan-leader Pūrṇa, who is staying in a park [in Śrāvastī], wishes to see the master of the house."
> The householder Anāthapiṇḍada thought: "It must be that, tired of ocean-travel, he has now come [trading] overland." Then he asked: "Good fellow, has he brought a great many trade-goods?"
> The messenger replied: "What kind of trade-goods has he got? But for one man-servant, he has come alone. There's just he and I."

It would seem that Pūrṇa is not yet confident enough of his decision to 'go forth' to reveal it to anyone; his mind appears to be made up, but he is not confident enough to reveal his determination to anyone but his brother. It is only after he accepts Anāthapiṇḍada's hospitality and is addressed by his host as "caravan-leader" that he reveals his true intentions (p. 94):

> "Householder, I greatly desire to become a bhikṣu, to go forth into the homeless life, in accordance with the Doctrine and the Discipline, which are well-expounded."

Pūrṇa's visit to Anāthapiṇḍada is the last hurdle. Even at the very entrance, as it were, to the religious life, Pūrṇa can still choose to remain a householder. Anāthapiṇḍada is both a great patron of the Buddha and the Saṅgha and one of the most eminent merchants of his day, both devout Bauddha and worldly businessman. As with the

merchants from whom Pūrṇa first learned about the Buddha and his Dharma, the example of Anāthapiṇḍada is that one can be a serious - even important - disciple of the Buddha while remaining 'in the world' as a householder. Indeed, Anāthapiṇḍada at first thinks Pūrṇa has come to Śrāvastī as a fellow trader, perhaps with a business proposition; and, to be sure, the great śreṣṭhin is both a suitable business associate for a famous caravan-leader such as Pūrṇa as well as a most appropriate sponsor for Pūrṇa's ordination as a bhikṣu.

The stages of Pūrṇa's transformation are also reflected, in these scenes, in Pūrṇa's diction. From the merchants of Śrāvastī, he hears the Word of the Buddha. In seeking permission from Bhavila, he utilizes something of the Buddhist idiom (p. 93, p. 194): ". . .I shall go forth from the life of a householder [into the homeless life]." Here, in the third stage, by way of explaining to his host the reason for his presence in Śrāvastī, he uses what is unmistakably one of the formulae for requesting ordination as a Buddhist bhikṣu (p. 94, p. 195).[31] In fact, as we enter into the second part of the story formulaic expressions and passages from the canonical literature become increasingly prominent,[32] as scenes of conversion, bhakti and Pūrṇa's (and the Buddha's) "glorious deeds" take centre stage. In this scene, Anāthapiṇḍada responds to Pūrṇa's request with the solemn exultation of a devotee - in the form of an udāna (a spontaneous, if somewhat formulaic, expression of reverence for the Three Jewels - Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha [see Pt. V, n. 23, p. 124]):

> "How wonderful the Buddha! How profound the Dharma! How venerable the well-proclaimed Saṅgha! For now such an eminent man has left behind all his relatives, both

> close and distant, as well as his rich storehouses and treasuries, and desires to become a bhikṣu, to go forth into the homeless life in accordance with the Doctrine and the Discipline, which are so well-expounded!" (p. 95)

That both Pūrṇa's request and Anāthapiṇḍada's response are couched in such formulaic diction necessarily bring to mind analogous scenes of renunciation in the tradition.

The fourth stage marks the end of this transitional period. Anāthapiṇḍada, in presenting Pūrṇa to the Buddha and in speaking on his behalf continues to act as a mediator right up until the moment the Buddha summons Pūrṇa (pp. 95-96):

> The Lord indicated his consent to [the request of] the householder Anāthapiṇḍada by remaining silent. Then the Lord summoned the caravan-leader Pūrṇa: "Come, bhikṣu; practise the religious life."

With these words of the Buddha, both Pūrṇa and our story enter into a new phase, are transformed (p. 96):

> As soon as the Lord had uttered these words, Pūrṇa was transformed: he stood there with the deportment of a bhikṣu of a hundred years' standing, his hair and beard as if shaved off only a week before, the monk's bowl and water-pot in his hands, monastic robes on his body, and his head bald.
>
> Told, "Come," by the Tathāgata, bald he became and
> his body enfolded in the monastic robes;
> Instantly the quiescence of his senses was established:
> all this by the will of the Buddha.

We now emerge from the (relative) verisimilitude of a tale about a merchant's bastard son's rise to fame and fortune into that world transformed by the Lord Buddha and his Dharma. Or, with greater exactitude, we may say that in the second part of our narrative, the folk-tale world of Pūrṇa and his brothers is taken up into and transfigured by a world of deep samādhis, intense devotion, flying monks, spiritual heroism, interplanetary travel and miraculous demon-

strations of psychic powers. This is of course the norm for much of popular Indian story-literature, whether in Sanskrit or Prakrit, whether Buddhist, Jain or Hindu.[33] Notable here is that plot structure, diction and dialogue converge to heighten the drama of the events through which the power of the Buddha begins to transform both Pūrṇa and his world. The story martials a number of resources to highlight the event and experience of conversion, one of the central human actions with which it is concerned.

Indeed, Pūrṇa's ordination becomes a "type-scene" (see Pt. IV, pp. 67-68), the proto-type and model for the ordination of the five hundred ṛsis and of the sage Vakkalin (p. 116, pp. 117-118). In both these scenes, virtually the same prose-and-verse combination as found in the scene of Pūrṇa's ordination renders the magical transformation from non-Buddhist ascetic to Buddhist bhikṣu. Nevertheless, while each of these episodes portrays a version of the type-scene wherein through personal volition and the Buddha's power one is received into the bhikṣusaṅgha, beyond this, each presents different thematic details. At the time of his ordination, Pūrṇa is, for all intents and purposes, an upāsaka (lay-disciple of the Buddha): although he had not formally 'gone for refuge', he, as we have seen, bears the Buddha in his heart (p. 93) and, having listened to the Buddhist poetry in praise of renunciation, quickly conceives the desire to join the Saṅgha. In this sense, Pūrṇa's conversion precedes his ordination, the two events respectively the first and last points in one arc of the trajectory that carries him to the further shore of the 'great ocean' of saṃsāra.

By contrast, the other two ordination-scenes are the climactic moments in episodes that form parts of a semi-independent narrative the chief concerns of which are twofold: to glorify the Buddha's skilfulness in preaching the Dharma to and thereby converting a variety of groups and individuals, which in turn anticipates and functions as a narrative build-up to the Buddha's 'grand conversion' at Sūrpāraka (pp. 118-119). In the episode of the conversion and ordination of the five hundred ṛsis (brahmanical ascetics), the Buddha is depicted as providing the necessary spiritual corrective to the non-Buddhist ascetical tradition. Through the wonderworking powers and inspiring presence of the Lord, the corruptions of pride and disrespect for others give way to faith in the Enlightened One and the earnest with to "go forth as ascetics under the Doctrine and Discipline" (p. 115).

Like the ṛsis, the sage Vakkalin is already a renunciate, a religious professional, but unlike the former, he appears already to be on the right path and needs only the sight (from afar!) of the glorious Lord to so transport him "with faith arisen" (p. 117) that, totally oblivious of external reality, he leaps off the mountain in order to get closer to the object of his devotion. Here, rather than serving to chastise the worldly masquerading as renunciates, the Buddha's psychic powers are employed to rescue one whose surging devotion has momentarily endangered his physical safety.[34]

Together with the conversions to lay-discipleship made by the Buddha on his journey from Śrāvastī to Sūrpāraka these episodes dramatize the concept of skilful means (upāyakauśalya), i.e., that the Lord knows exactly how to respond to the situation of any individual or community

once he has intuited that "the time was ripe for their spiritual training to begin" (p. 115). This is specified by a formulaic expression which is reiterated, with insignificant variations, on the occasion of each one of the several conversions (pp. 112, 113, 115, 117, 119):

> Knowing her mental disposition, character and circumstances, the Lord imparted to her such instruction in the Dharma in elucidation of the Four Noble Truths that, listening to it, the goddess, shattering with the thunderbolt of insight the twenty-peaked mountain that is the erroneous belief in a permanently existent self, attained the fruit of 'entrance into the stream'. (pp. 112-113)

I shall have occasion to again discuss the Buddha's conversions on the way to Sūrpāraka, but for now return to the point in the narrative immediately after the verses memorializing the Buddha's transformation of Pūrṇa into a bhikṣu (p. 96).

The aforementioned verse informs us that "the quiescence of his [Pūrṇa's] senses was established. . .by the will of the Buddha" (p. 96, p. 197); that is, in the context of our narrative, through the activation of some aspect of the Buddha's psychic powers. Although the next episode occurs "later, on another occasion", the narrator's notice of the 'miracle' is still fresh in the mind of the reader/auditor as the 'Puṇṇovāda Sutta' (see Pt. V, n. 25, pp. 134-135) unfolds. Having been treated to a taste of the experience of higher consciousness through this external agency, Pūrṇa now receives personal instruction from the Buddha in the matter of restraint of the senses. To adapt an old Chinese proverb, having given Pūrṇa a fish and now being asked by Pūrṇa how to get one for himself, the Buddha teaches Pūrṇa how to fish. Fishing here stands for the mental cultivation that begins with freeing awareness from dependence upon the senses and the end of which is en-

lightenment, arhatship.

Pūrṇa's instruction by the Buddha and the subsequent description of his return to Śroṇāparāntaka (the region of which Sūrpāraka is the capital) [pp. 96-102] reads so similarly, line by line, to translations of the Puṇṇasutta (Saṃyuttanikāya, IV,60) and the Puṇṇovādasutta (Majjhimanikāya, III,267-270) that it appears likely that all three versions are translations of some earlier, lost original(s).[35] While the second half of the Pūrṇāvadāna abounds in formulaic phrases and exchanges derived from the canonical literature,[36] this extended passage, set, more or less in the middle of the narrative, functions as its 'canonical core', validating, for readers/auditors mindful of Buddhist tradition, the story as a whole.

This is, however, at best an inference and at worst an assumption. What is important here is how this 'canonical core' functions as an integral part of the narrative. The dialogue naturally divides itself into two parts, in the first of which (pp. 96-99) Pūrṇa receives instruction in non-attachment to sensory experience as a primary method of attaining Nirvāṇa, and in the second of which (pp. 99-102) the Buddha tests the extent to which his disciple has developed the quality of forebearance (kṣanti) and finding him sufficiently well-developed, permits him to return to his native land, where his success as a Dharma-preacher is dramatized.

We may infer that at the time of his interview with the Buddha Pūrṇa has been making progress as a bhikṣu in accordance with the Doctrine and the Discipline for some time. That he feels himself ready for a comprehensive teaching that will enable him to attain to the high-

est goal (arhatship) is made clear in his opening address to the Buddha:

> "May the Lord concisely expound the Dharma to me in such a way that, having heard from the Lord the Dharma thus concisely expounded, I may abide, free of desire, ardent and attentive, with senses restrained. The goal for which sons of good family cut off their hair and beard, don the yellow robe and with right faith go forth from the home into homelessness - may I in this very life realize that supreme end of the religious life; may I perceive it directly; and having attained realization, may I go forth so that for me exhausted will be birth, accomplished the course of the religious life; so that what is to be done will have been done, and I will know no birth beyond this one." (p. 96)

That the Buddha concurs with Pūrṇa's estimation of his own readiness is shown by his approving reiteration of the entire formula (pp. 96-97).

At the time of the ordination, through his own spiritual power the Buddha enables Pūrṇa to overcome bondage to sensory experience. Now that Pūrṇa has matured through disciplined living this new mode of experiencing, the Buddha explains the process and function of bondage and why it must be overcome. In terms of the 'tripod' of moral cultivation (śīla), meditative concentration (samādhi) and wisdom or insight (prajñā) which underlies and supports progress along the Path, "right understanding" is as necessary as and finally completes - though it is made possible by - "right meditation" and proper moral conduct. Put another way, the Path, as in Pūrṇa's case, necessarily begins (and is imbued every step of the way) with śraddhā (faith, confidence, trust) in the Buddha and his Dharma. Only when faith has become firm can the practitioner be fully committed to the arduous discipline required. Pūrṇa, as we have seen, first conceives this faith (in this life) when he listens to the merchants chanting the sūtras. His response is emotional and aesthetic leading to the arising of faith. Pūrṇa's ordination

is the next step, the formal dramatization of total committment. The spontaneous emotional intensity of the ordination scene is not so pronounced as in the 'conversion-scene'; rather it is the solemnity of the momentous nature of this radical change in status that is communicated - the adopting of a new identity and membership in a new community. All energies are now channeled into spiritual exertion.

In the present passage, Pūrṇa, having conceived faith in the Buddha and having practised for a time the discipline of a member of the Saṅgha is now ready to integrate practice with theory at an advanced level. And having been so certified by the Buddha (pp. 100-101), he is approved as one able not only to continue in his self-development without recourse to the Teacher, but as sufficiently realized to be able to teach others. Pūrṇa, at the conclusion of his interview with the Master, emerges as the Dharma-preacher who will later be so instrumental in the conversion and spiritual illumination of "many hundreds of thousands of living beings" (p. 118).

Before examining in further detail the second part of this discourse, some discussion of the actual instruction Pūrṇa receives is called for, comprising, as it does, fully ten percent of the entire text (pp. 22.21-24.24 in Vaidya's ed.).

What does the Buddha tell the bhikṣu Pūrṇa? Pūrṇa has asked how he "may abide, free of desire, ardent and attentive, with senses restrained" (p. 96, p. 202), for he knows this to be the Way to Enlightenment. Central to the Buddha's message is that suffering (duḥkha) arises from craving (tṛṣṇā) of all types, especially for pleasurable sensory experience, and that craving is in turn dependent upon ignorance (avidyā).

As the Buddha tells the Brahman Mettagū in the Pārāyaṇa of the Sutta-nipāta,[37] " 'all the different forms of suffering develop from the basic clinging'."

> "In every direction there are things you know and recognize, above, below, around and within. Leave them: do not look to them for rest or relief, do not let consciousness dwell on the products of existence, on things that come and go."

This is the fundamental message: non-attachment, non-identification of oneself with any aspect of physical or psychic experience. In a more elaborated way, with specific reference to the inherent danger in pleasurable sensory-objects, the Buddha delivers to Pūrṇa essentially the same message (pp. 97-99, four times, with slight variations):

> "There are, Pūrṇa, forms cognizable by the eye which are desirable, agreeable, dear, captivating, delightful and connected with pleasure. And if a bhikṣu, seeing such forms, delights in them, welcomes them, clings to and in so clinging becomes dependent upon them, then as a result of delighting in, welcoming, clinging to and in so clinging becoming dependent upon them, he experiences pleasure. Where there is delight in pleasure, passion arises. Where there is passion for pleasure, bondage to delight in pleasure arises. Pūrṇa, a bhikṣu characterized by bondage to delight in pleasure is said to be far from Nirvāṇa."

The Buddha repeats this again with reference to "sounds cognizable by the ear, smells cognizable by the nose, flavours cognizable by the tongue, tactile objects cognizable by the body, elements cognizable by the mind," ending with the same refrain; first, then, the negative. The formula is repeated twice more with a positive conclusion: "But, Pūrṇa, a bhikṣu who has been cleansed of bondage to delight in pleasure is said to be close to Nirvāṇa."

The inveterate human tendency is to seek out, to maximize pleasurable and to avoid, minimize unpleasant experience. Liberation

(mokṣa) from saṃsāra (i.e., Nirvāṇa) is attained only when this craving is not indulged, when this identification with the data of one's experience is overcome. The bhikṣu who manages this no longer superimposes upon his experience a maelstrom of hopes, wishes and fears: he experiences things 'as they really are' (yathābhūtam), and this is the essence of enlightenment, of Nirvāṇa. The goal of Buddhist meditation is the 'establishment of mindfulness' (smṛtyupasthāna; Pali, satipaṭṭhāna), which involves training oneself not become attached to or repelled by the experience of the six senses, but rather simply to be aware of it. This is explicitly taught in the Mahāsatipaṭṭhānasutta, where the Buddha asserts that proper cultivation of mindfulness of the body, feelings, mind and mind-objects is

> this one way to the purification of beings, for the overcoming of sorrow and distress, for the disappearance of pain and sadness, for the gaining of the right path, for the realisation of Nibbāna. . . .[38]

In our passage mindfulness is nowhere explicitly mentioned, but it is an inescapable allusion; in this sense, the Buddha's instruction, for all its repetitiveness, is, as Pūrṇa requests, "concisely expounded," for implies a number of doctrines not expressly mentioned and, in terms of mental discipline, represents the essential kernel of the Dharma. In format the Buddha's instruction is a via negativa. That is, the Master explains what happens when one fails to establish mindfulness - such a person "is said to be far from Nirvāṇa." One who is "cleansed" of such bondage "is said to be close to Nirvāṇa." Etymologically, Nirvāṇa means "blown out", "cooled" or "extinguished",[39] traditionally understood as the blowing out or cooling of the three 'fires' of greed

(tṛṣṇā), hatred (dveṣa) and delusion (moha) - clearly just the opposite to the bondage which the Buddha describes. It is this clinging and resultant bondage that produces and sustains the delusion of a permanent or real 'self', itself the eye around which the cyclone of craving swirls and, just as when mindfulness is properly established, bondage is cut off, so when bondage is severed, the delusion of self eventually disappears. Nirvāṇa may strike us as the most rarefied of abstractions;[40] nevertheless, in this passage the Buddha discusses not it, but the training that will realize it in terms of the empirical data of everyday experience.

However, looking at this exposition of Buddhist psychology simply as one example of how the Buddha's teaching is represented in the text, we can begin to evaluate its function in the narrative from a larger perspective. Although it is not the only, this discourse is the principal locus of doctrine in the Pūrṇāvadāna, the one instance of any developed presentation of the Buddha's central teaching. And since it portrays the Buddha's detailed instructions to a bhikṣu, it is appropriate that at this juncture in the narrative a bona fide sūtra be lifted en bloc from the canon. It is only logical that a bhikṣu who is to develop into one of the luminaries of the tradition be rendered as having been properly and adequately instructed by the Master. On the other hand, Pūrṇa's instruction in 'guarding the sense-doors' is only one of a number of occasions on which the Buddha preaches the Doctrine, for in the author's efforts to present a completely-realized world subsequently completely transformed by Dharma, other types of teachings are presented appropriate to the several characters with

which the story is concerned. Yet in each instance these teachings, as quoted above, page 200, are only implied rather than rendered, with the formulaic phrases "instruction in the Dharma in elucidation of the Four Noble Truths" and "shattering with the thunderbolt of insight the twenty-peaked mountain that is the erroneous belief in a permanently existent self." In these other episodes it is the result rather than the process of such teaching that is important: the goddess from the Jeta Grove overcomes satkāyadṛṣṭi ("erroneous belief in a permanently existent self"), attains "the fruit of entrance into the stream" (p. 113)[41] and later, filled with devotion to the Lord, remains at the "Housewives' Stūpa" worshipping. The five hundred housewives similarly become 'stream-enterers' and with the Buddha's hair and fingernails construct the stūpa mentioned above (p. 114). Similarly, the five hundred ṛsis relinquish their pride, attain "the fruit of a never-returner", develop psychic powers and take ordination (pp. 115-116), while the sage Vakkalin, a true bhaktin, attains the same fruits (p. 117). The two nāga-kings, Kṛṣṇa and Gautamaka, for their part, are inspired to go for refuge to the Three Jewels and accept the minimum moral precepts binding on Buddhist laity (p. 121).

Even Pūrṇa's instruction of the hunter is depicted without detail.

> Then he was given instruction in the Dharma by the Venerable Pūrṇa and was thereby established in the stage of training of 'going for refuge', as were five hundred other male lay-disciples and five hundred female lay-disciples. . . . And after the passage of three months he realized the 'three knowledges', and became an arhat. (p. 102)

The fact is, with the exception of the Buddha's exhortation of Pūrṇa, all the episodes of religious instruction in the Pūrṇāvadāna, including

the Buddha's 'grand conversion' at Sūrpāraka (p. 119) and the instruction of Maudgalyāyana's mother (pp. 123-124), only allude to rather than expound doctrine. This is another reason for placing an entire sūtra largely concerned with mental cultivation at the centre of the story - its detail is in some sense implied in each conversion-scene, enabling the author, in these numerous other episodes, to highlight the drama of conversion, its awesome fruits, and the glory of the teacher. Furthermore, with nine scenes of religious instruction, the story as a narrative would have been hopelessly crippled by the continual intrusion of abstract expositions. One supposes that the author of the Pūrṇāvadāna well knew that only a minority of Buddhists (lay or ordained) would be interested in or benefit by detailed doctrinal expositions and that for those so inclined the canonical literature was always available. The storyteller has a different kind of job to do.

In the Mahāvagga (I,11,1) of the Pāli Vinayapiṭaka,[42] we read of the Buddha directing the first sixty arhats to travel far and wide in order to preach the Dharma. Having concluded his instruction of Pūrṇa on restraint of the senses, the Buddha similarly directs Pūrṇa:

> "In this way, Pūrṇa, I have directed you by means of this concise exposition. Now, where do you wish to live? Where do you wish to make your home?"
>
> "Venerable, in this way the Lord has directed me by means of this concise exposition. Now, I wish to live among the people of Śroṇāparāntaka; I wish to make my home among those people of Śroṇāparāntaka." (p. 99)

The Buddha's question is both an acknowledgement of the Pūrṇa's readiness to teach the Dharma and a means of testing that he is sufficiently spiritually advanced to handle the rigours of preaching, i.e., that he has properly understood the preceding discourse on the proper attitude

a bhikṣu is to take toward sensory experience. When Pūrṇa, in replying to the question, indicates he intends to return to his native country to spread the Dharma there, the Buddha tests his mettle with a "graduated scale of ill-treatment"[43] designed to graphically illustrate to the prospective missionary what may be in store for him (pp. 99-100). Pūrṇa passes this kṣanti-test with flying colours, regarding even the prospect of violent death as a relatively painless way of being liberated "from this stinking body" (p. 100). The Buddha approves and, exhorting Pūrṇa to strive for both his own enlightenment and that of others, sends him on his way (see Pt. V, n. 31, p. 135).

In comparing Pūrṇa's preaching activities in Śroṇāparāntaka as rendered in the avadāna with the Pāli canonical versions, we can see one small, but significant example of how the literary imagination may transform traditional materials. Since both Pāli accounts are virtually identical (at least in translation), I refer to the Majjhima-nikāya text.[44] Having brought Puṇṇa (Skt., Pūrṇa) to Sunāparanta (Skt., Śroṇāparāntaka), the narrator continues:

> And during the same rainy season the venerable Puṇṇa established as many as five hundred lay-devotees, as many as five hundred female lay-devotees, and he realised the three knowledges. Then after a time the venerable Puṇṇa attained final nibbāna.[45]

The Pūrṇāvadāna version we may say expands, concretizes, dramatizes this. The conversions of five hundred men and five hundred women, merely a statistic in the Pāli, in the Sanskrit become alive, complete with dialogue and poetry. Pūrṇa is spotted by a hunter who, dismayed by the "inauspicious" sight of "this bald-headed śramaṇa", is about to transfix him with an arrow (pp. 101-102):

> The Venerable Pūrṇa saw him. Seeing him, he lifted up his unattached upper garment and said: "Good sir, I have come here for the sake of this wretched one that never gets enough. Strike me here." And he recited this verse:
>
> "For the sake of which animals are caught in snares and birds in thickets, and men bearing mighty spears and arrows are forever being killed in war;
> "For the sake of which even the wretched, miserable fish which dwell in darkness are caught on hooks: it is for the sake of this belly that I have come from afar to this cess-pool of wickedness."
>
> The hunter thought: "This mendicant possesses such gentle forebearance!" And thinking: "Why should I attack him?" he became well-disposed toward Pūrṇa. Then he was given instruction in the Dharma by the Venerable Pūrṇa and was thereby established in the stage of training of 'going for refuge', as were five hundred other male lay-disciples and five hundred female lay-disciples. In addition, the hunter had constructed five hundred vihāras which he furnished with many hundreds of blankets, thick cushions, wool rugs, benches and couches. And after the passage of three months, he realized the 'three knowledges' and became an arhat. Free from desire for any of the three states of existence, he became worthy of the respectful salutation, honour and worship of the gods, not excepting Indra and Viṣṇu.

This of course vividly dramatizes Pūrṇa's great forebearance, which is exactly what the Buddha's hypothetical questions had been designed to test. The solitary bhikṣu, sworn to ahiṃsa (non-harming) and selfless forebearance encounters one who maintains himself by killing - what greater test for a Buddhist missionary? In addition, the author takes advantage of the narrative circumstances to place in Pūrṇa's mouth verses which poetically reiterate the fundamental human compulsion to which the Teaching addresses itself - craving. Here the "belly" stands for the craving which mires us all in suffering and repeated birth. That the noun which is the subject of the verse is only specified toward the end of the second stanza heightens the effectiveness of Pūrṇa's declamation: one can almost visualize the hunter, bow-string drawn

back taut against his ear, frozen in wonderment at this strange figure who, rather than flee or fight, solemnly recites poetry!

The details about the vihāras further 'flesh out' the description of the consequences of the hunter's conversion, somewhat in the same hyperbolic style characteristic of the Mahāyāna Sūtras.

More intriguing is that the hunter attains arhatship. In the Pāli versions it is Puṇṇa who realizes "the three knowledges"; the attainments of the converts are not specified. In the Sanskrit account the point at which Pūrṇa attains arhatship is not specified; it is only when (pp. 108-109) those bhikṣus with psychic powers are being invited to fly to Sūrpāraka that we learn that Pūrṇa, although an arhat, has not yet developed such powers. The narrative decision to ascribe arhatship to the hunter of course further glorifies Pūrṇa-as-Dharma-teacher.[46]

In addition, the avadāna's expanded treatment of Pūrṇa's preaching activities in Śroṇāparāntaka portrays him for the first time in his role as 'spiritual hero'; the same man who will later (p. 105) fly across the ocean and turn back Maheśvara's hurricane in order to rescue Bhavila and his associates; whose devotional intensity (p. 107) will send his pūjā-offerings halfway across India; whose concentrated determination (p. 109) will, at the critical moment, awaken his dormant psychic powers; whose energy and charisma will be instrumental in bringing the Lord to his native city and thereby illuminating the multitudes with the radiance of the Dharma.

It is arguable that the single greatest divergence between the two renditions of Pūrṇa's return to Śroṇāparāntaka is that in the Pāli sutta "the venerable Puṇṇa attained final nibbāna", i.e., he dies.

Thus, in the canonical text, Puṇṇa's return to Sunāparanta is both the beginning and end of his career as a preacher of Dharma, while in the avadāna it is merely the beginning. Many more 'glorious deeds' are to come.

Finally, there remains to consider a very suggestive and perhaps highly significant passage in the Pāli text. Immediately following the passage quoted above (p. 209), we read:[47]

> A number of monks approached the Lord; having approached and greeted the Lord, they sat down at a respectful distance. As they were sitting down at a respectful distance, these monks spoke thus to the Lord: "Revered sir, that young man of family named Puṇṇa who was exhorted by the Lord with an exhortation in brief, has died. What is his bourn, what his future state?"

This passage corresponds to the bhikṣus' questioning of the Buddha at the very end of the Pūrṇāvadāna, after the Lord has transformed the Candanamāla Vihāra into crystal and preached to the masses, after he and Maudgalyāyana have travelled to the Maricika world-system and re- to Śrāvastī (pp. 125-126):

> Then, their doubts aroused, the bhikṣus questioned the Buddha, who resolves all doubts: "Venerable, what deed did the Venerable Pūrṇa perform as a result of which he was born into a wealthy family possessed of great riches and extensive properties? And what deed did he commit as a result of which he took birth in the womb of a slave-girl and then, going forth into the homeless life, attained arhatship, as a result of the abandonment of all defilements?"

In the Pāli, the bhikṣus know that Puṇṇa is dead; they wish to learn about his (if any) rebirth. The question of his previous births never comes up. By contrast, in the Sanskrit, Pūrṇa is still alive and well and having just sponsored the Master's visit to Sūrpāraka, at the peak of his glory. The bhikṣus know full well his accomplishments; what they seek to learn is precisely what deeds in his previous births led

to the attainments of his present life. The former asks about the future, the latter about the past.

In the Pāli passage, the Buddha's answer is that Puṇṇa "has gained final nibbana"; in the Sanskrit it takes the form of the 'story of the past' (pp. 126-127) in which is revealed Pūrṇa's going forth under the Buddha Kāśyapa and his unwarranted reviling of an arhat. The first answer validates the Doctrine and Discipline as the theory and practice that lead to Nirvāṇa; the second validates the truth of the doctrine of karma and karmavipāka.[48]

What is fascinating is that this comparison of the two passages suggests the possibility that the bhikṣus questioning the Buddha about the rebirth and attainment of one of their fellows in a relatively early Pāli text was later transformed into an entire genre of Buddhist literature (the avadānas) one of the organizing principles of which depends upon just such questions. Of course, the Jātakas are ordinarily cited as the model for the avadānas. Yet even this quick examination of the Puṇṇovādasutta suggests that what may have begun as quite plausible questions put to the Buddha about the spiritual accomplishments of deceased bhikṣus may have provided certain imaginative members of the community with an inspiring framework for recording the legends and stories told about the Buddha and his prominent disciples. However, the testing of such an hypothesis would require extensive research into Hindu and Jain as well as Buddhist literature and scriptures. Here I only note it in passing.

The narrative now reconnects the story of Pūrṇa, now (probably) an arhat as well as an accomplished Dharma-teacher, to that of his

family. Having followed Pūrṇa's progress from precocious bastard son to successful trader, to famous caravan-leader, to lay-devotee, to novice bhikṣu, to experienced missionary, we again take up the story of Bhava's sons.

The attempt of Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin to seduce Bhavila into sharing his wealth with them has already been examined in the context of the 'theme of family unity' (pp. 178-179). What must be stated here is that the two brothers' underhanded attempt to reunite the family (sans Pūrṇa) on their own terms indirectly sets the stage for the action of the remainder of the story. Bhavila, full of wounded pride at his brothers' taunting (p. 103, p. 179) sails to the Gośīrṣacandana Forest (p. 103) where the chain of events that will bring Pūrṇa to the rescue (p. 105) is set in motion. Not only does Pūrṇa's succour bring five hundred more men to faith in the Dharma (through faith in Pūrṇa [p. 106]), but it provides Pūrṇa with the building-materials - and the inspiration - for the Candanamāla Vihāra (p. 106).

> "With this gośīrṣa sandalwood I intend to have constructed a grand pavilion - 'the Candanamāla' - for the use of the Lord."

And of course the pavilion marks the occasion for the invitation of the Buddha himself to consecrate it by his presence (p. 118), which in turn is the occasion for the Buddha's several conversions on the way from Śrāvastī to Sūrpāraka, as well as the 'miracle of the crystal pavilion' (p. 119) and the climactic conversion of the entire citizenry of the city (p. 119). When we recall that a slave-girl's bastard can become a great sārthavāha and, later, arhat and that the abjectness of the exile of Bhavila's family gives way immediately to Pūrṇa's first,

crucial success as an independent trader, a question arises, although one that cannot be satisfactorily resolved within the narrow limits of this study. Are such apparent 'reversals of fortune' - weal arising phoenix-like from the ashes of woe - no more than that, the fickleness of Lakṣmī (goddess of wealth and fortune), the opacity of fate? Or may one infer some causality of human moral action in some way expressive of the doctrine of karma? To be sure, in the Pūrṇāvadāna, the bhikṣus question the Buddha only about the effect deeds in previous births may have had, for good or ill, in Pūrṇa's present (and final) birth, and the Master's 'story of the past' deals exclusively with inter- rather than intra-life karmic causality. Moreover, this is characteristic of most avadānas (see Pt. II, p. 29). Yet, for all that, in a canonical text, the Mahākammavibhaṅgasutta of the Majjhimanikāya, we learn that "actions may come to fruition either here and now or in some future state".[49] Of course, one cannot assume the conception of karma in the avadānas to be identical to that in one particular sūtra which may or may not be representative. Further research would be needed on this point alone. At the same time, the literary critic is hard pressed not to discern a causal linkage in these striking concatenations of narrative events. Again, the resolution of such a question would demand familiarity with narrative patterns in a wide range of avadānas as well as a firm grasp of the varying presentations of the doctrine of karma in both canonical and non-canonical texts. For now, having raised the issue, I pass on.

I have already described (p. 211) Pūrṇa's conversion of the hunter as the first episode in which he figures as a great Dharma-teacher,

a nascent 'spiritual hero'. This theme rapidly becomes one of the foci of the story. In the 'Gośīrṣa Sandalwood Forest episode' (pp. 103-106), one detects the emergence of a Pūrṇa-cult.[50]

In defending the sovereignty of the cakravartin for whose use the forest is maintained, the yakṣa Maheśvara responds to the depradations of Bhavila's woodcutters by unleashing "an enormous and fearsome hurricane" (p. 103). The scene is then instantly transformed from the leisurely harvest of easy riches to abject terror before an impending violent death that can be neither escaped nor repelled. At first, the merchants entreat the gods of the Brahmanical tradition (p. 104), but to no avail. However, we must infer that, since his return to Śroṇāparāntaka, Pūrṇa has made a very favourable impression on a considerable number of people, for when the merchants learn from Bhavila that Pūrṇa is his brother (p. 104), hope is at once rekindled:

> The merchants said: "Sirs, the Noble Pūrṇa is one destined for enlightenment! Let us go for refuge to that very man!" Then all those merchants cried out with one voice: "Reverence to him, the Noble Pūrṇa; reverence, reverence to him, the Noble Pūrṇa!"

Mention must be made here that the concept of enlightenment (although not necessarily the term) as an intuitive insight by which one is liberated from saṃsāra was a pan-Indian one and not confined to Buddhists. The merchants appear to be aware of Pūrṇa's reputation as a great sage. Their invocation of him can, in this passage, be interpreted as no more than this. However, once they are in fact rescued by Pūrṇa's supernormal power, "those merchants, having recovered their lives, became filled with faith in the Venerable Pūrṇa" (p. 106).

Nevertheless, we learn here both of Pūrṇa's burdgeoning reputa-

tion among his fellow Sūrpārakans as a spiritual master and of his most dramatic feat to date in the service of the Dharma. Nor ought we to overlook the fact that the merchants "became filled with faith" in Pūrṇa, not as the narrator might have stated, in the Buddha or the Buddhadharma. For, although no cult of venerating Pūrṇa is mentioned in the text, certainly, as its title indicates, the story is devoted to a glorification of Sūrpāraka's favorite native son, and, by extension, a validation of the teacher and the teaching he brought to his native city.

A number of other incidents successively contribute to the status of Pūrṇa as the spiritual hero of Sūrpāraka. Pūrṇa, of course, is the mastermind behind the construction of the Candanamāla Pavilion, the beauty of which the king of Sūrpāraka, as if voicing the approbation of the entire populace, heartily commends (p. 106). More importantly, (as mentioned above in passing, p. 211), Pūrṇa's miraculous pūjā (pp. 107-108) becomes the agency by means of which the Lord Buddha is invited to inaugurate the Pavilion. Pūrṇa himself does instruct his brothers (p. 106) to invite the Buddha and his bhikṣus to accept alms and they in turn (p. 107) secure the whole-hearted cooperation of the king, but the narrative in fact portrays only Pūrṇa's bhaktic invitation as reaching its object. The king's role is largely confined to managing the physical preparations (p. 110) and being on hand in his role of sovereign to formally greet the Master.

Pūrṇa's invitation is both a devotional exercise (the meaning of pūjā) of a type familiar to Buddhists even today and a dramatization of the power capable of being harnassed by such devotion. It also certainly qualifies as one of Pūrṇa's 'glorious deeds', while at the same

time functioning as a model for the audience when, with a pure heart, one of them might wish to "obtain a boon" (p. 107). Yet a boon cannot be gratuitous, and Pūrṇa's verse, at once an invitation and an invocation, also contains an explanation:

> "Seeing those who are without a Lord, O Great One,
> exercise your compassion and come here!"

All beneficent spiritual powers - "the enlightened power of the Buddhas and the divine power of the gods" - respond to the ardency of Pūrṇa's devotion and the excellence of his request. The result is that the flowers, incense and water - Pūrṇa's material offerings - "materialized in the Jeta Grove", the Buddha's vihāra in Śrāvastī, where he interprets their message for his attendant Ānanda. In no time, Ānanda (pp. 108-109) is handing out meal-tickets to those bhikṣus whose psychic powers enable them to travel the one hundred yojana distance by the next day.

The matter of invitation to alms also involves another of Pūrṇa's spiritual feats - the spontaneous, volitional generation of psychic powers, specifically the ability to fly. At the same time it raises a number of interpretive problems, for there are some apparent contradictions in the text regarding when and under what circumstances he develops these powers. The former point first.

When Pūrṇa's invocatory invitation reaches the Buddha, Pūrṇa (p. 108) - here also called the "Elder Kuṇḍopadhānīyaka" - "was seated in that very assembly." However, when he attempts to join those bhikṣus to whom Ānanda is distributing meal-tickets, he is (rather sarcastically) remonstrated - and in verse! - by that venerable, the kernel of the admonition being:

> "Sūrpāraka-city is more than a hundred yojanas from here
> And can only be reached by those with psychic powers.
> So be silent now, Pūrṇaka."

Immediately before and after Ānanda's condescending address, the narrator informs us that Pūrṇa "had been liberated through insight" (see Pt. V, n. 55, p. 143); the second instance explicitly affirming that he "had not developed psychic powers." For a moment, then, it appears as if Pūrṇa, who had been the first to bring the Dharma to Śroṇāparāntaka, will be unable to be present on the momentous occasion of the Buddha's inauguration of the very vihāra he had dedicated to him. Pūrṇa is harder on himself that was Ānanda (p. 109):

> He said to himself: "Although I have vomited forth, gotten rid of, abandoned and driven away the characteristics of defilement in their entirety, I am not capable of even those psychic powers shared with the heretics."

Pūrṇa is describing the accomplishment of an arhat, one who has extirpated every trace of greed, hatred and delusion, who has attained the supreme goal of the religious life. Arhats do not indulge in self-pity or, presumably, experience frustration. For Pūrṇa this reflection is as the springboard to a diver (p. 109):

> Then, generating spiritual energy and producing psychic power, before the Venerable Ānanda could give a food-ticket to the third Elder, Pūrṇa stretched out his arm as long as an elephant's trunk and took the food-ticket.

Pūrṇa's celebratory verses function as the counterpoint to Ānanda's. In them he affirms the role of the traditional bhikṣu's virtues in attaining the "six superknowledges" (see Pt. V., n. 62, p. 145) - "meditation, insight, moral cultivation and tranquillity." In recognition of his feat, the Buddha identifies Pūrṇa as foremost "among those who take food-tickets."

Thus we find at least five episodes which portray Pūrṇa's 'glorious deeds' for the inspiration and emolument of the reader/auditor. The 'conversion of the hunter' episode portrays Pūrṇa as a fearless man whose physical courage rivals that of any martial hero and as a dramatically effective Dharma-teacher. His rescue of Bhavila and the five hundred merchants demonstrates his wondrous powers (flying across the ocean, neutralization of the hurricane) and, in conjunction with such feats, his peerless ability to respond to those in need who have faith in him. In addition, his pacification of the yakṣa Maheśvara (pp. 105-106), while largely a glorification of the Buddha, also provides another example of his ability to calm the passionate.

Pūrṇa's construction and dedication of the Candanamāla Vihāra is impressive for two reasons. It depicts him, not as an unworldly monk, but, as befitting a man whose secular reputation was as a great caravan-leader, a practical man-of-affairs, initiating and successfully managing a massive building-project. It also shows Pūrṇa to be, again, not just a spiritual master and religious teacher, but a mahādānin (munificent patron) and devotee in his own right.

The pūjā-scene portrays Pūrṇa as the perfect devotee (bhākta) of the Lord Buddha. Indeed, the purity and intensity of his faith is such that the great powers of the universe facilitate the transmission of his message. From another perspective, Pūrṇa here is manifesting great spiritual power in his own right; he, as much as the celestials, accomplish the teleportation of his devotional offerings.

Lastly, the episode of the food-tickets. Here Pūrṇa figures as the siddha (sage-magician; wonderworker, possesser of supernormal

powers; adept). Invoking the Lord on top of the Candanamāla Vihāra, he displayed purity and intensity of devotion; here, as a member of the Saṅgha, he displays equal purity and intensity of will, so that he may be present when his greatest accomplishment, the bringing of the Dharma to his native land, will be honoured and completed by the Master himself. He emerges not only with the necessary ability to fly, but with the full range of abhijñās ('superknowledges').

Considered thematically, as parts of an overall pattern, these five episodes constitute Pūrṇa as at once bhikṣu, i.e., religious professional, and Everyman (or, at least Everybuddhist). This is most striking. Pūrṇa is a great teacher, but also a humble devotee; an arhat and siddha, but also a capable man-of-affairs; a member of the bhikṣu-saṅgha, but also one of its great patrons. As a result, he is the perfect object for cultic devotion. Any type of individual can readily identify with Pūrṇa, be he or she an unlettered farmer, or a learned bhikṣu, a wealthy merchant or a rigorous practitioner of meditation; even (considering Pūrṇa's origins), a slave or a freeman. At the same time, Pūrṇa is an august and exalted figure, worthy of and commanding veneration, the bringer of salvation to Śroṇāparāntaka. Only in his old age is the full implication of his father's intuition made manifest: he has truly become "a being of rare merit" (p. 80).

As mentioned above (p. 218), the various episodes in which Pūrṇa displays psychic powers present interpretive problems. This is because Pūrṇa is asserted not to have developed such powers (pp. 108-109) after it is stated (p. 105) or implied (p. 108) that he does in fact possess them; and after, in fact, he has most dramatically manifested them.

Explaining such an apparent discontinuity in the narrative is one of the tasks of any interpretive methodology. For example, employing an 'extrinsic' approach (see Pt. IV, p. 61), D.R. Shackleton Bailey[51] compared the two extant versions of the Pūrṇāvadāna: Cowell and Neil's 1886 edition of the Sanskrit text (see Pt. III, p. 39) and the Tibetan translation made from the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya. He concludes that our story is among those Divyāvadāna tales "which are deliberate abridgements of the Vinaya narratives", although that the Pūrṇāvadāna has been "not so drastically" abridged as some of the others. Bailey does provide nine pages of text-critical emendations to the Divyāvadāna version;[52] however, none appear to have any bearing upon the problem at hand. Nevertheless, I look forward to being able to compare the two versions for myself.

Whatever the exact differences between the Sanskrit and Tibetan, Bailey's assumption is that the Divyāvadāna version is based upon the Vinaya version. While the majority of scholars I have consulted would concur, no less eminent a Buddhologist than Jean Przyluski disagrees.[53]

> The compilers of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins are likely to have borrowed from the Divyāvadāna, or, to be more precise, from the ancient collection of fables of which our Divyāvadāna is only a late recension.

Should Przyluski's assessment be proven the correct one, it may turn out that rather than the Divyāvadāna text being an abridgement of the Vinaya narrative, the latter is an emended and expanded version of the former. Alternatively, the two may represent similar, though completely independent, textual traditions.

Given such an uncertain state of affairs, the proponent of li-

terary analysis is obliged to attempt an explanation which assumes that the form in which we have the text is the intended one. But this is a test - a literary one rather than a narrowly text-critical one - and it remains that considerations of narrative structure and theme may support our operational assumption or may refute it. The point is that any conclusions must proceed, not from any comparison of our story with its other versions, but from an examination of the internal coherence of the text itself.

The problem itself, then. First, Pūrṇa's rescue of Bhavila and Company. Here Pūrṇa is not at first aware that the merchants (p. 104) are invoking his aid. A "venerable goddess" alerts him to his brother's predicament and instructs Pūrṇa: "[F]ix your concentration on him!" (p. 105) Pūrṇa then enters into meditation and manifests two types of psychic powers: (1) he vanishes from Śroṇāparāntaka and appears on Bhavila's ship, and (2) turns back the hurricane as if "it had been repelled by Mount Sumeru." Furthermore, when the yakṣa Maheśvara asks Pūrṇa to explain his actions, he is told: "If I did not possess these psychic powers, my brother would have been killed."

Secondly, immediately after Purna's pūjā-offerings are carried "through the enlightened power of the Buddhas and the divine power of the gods" from Sūrpāraka to Śrāvastī (p. 107), the narrator states (p. 108):

> At that very time, the Venerable Pūrṇa, who was also known as the Elder Kuṇḍopadhānīyaka and who had been liberated through insight, was seated in that very assembly.

As noted above (p. 218), Pūrṇa is admonished by Ānanda for attempting to take a food-ticket because, from Śrāvastī, Sūrpāraka "can only be

reached by those with psychic powers" (p. 108). The narrator then specifies that "Pūrṇa had been liberated through insight and has not developed psychic powers" (pp. 108-109). Pūrṇa himself reiterates this fact. From every point of view - Ānanda's, the narrator's, Pūrṇa's - we learn that Pūrṇa is an arhat without psychic powers. The fact is emphasized by way of heightening the drama of the moment (p. 109) when Pūrṇa, in the concentration of an instant, attains the six superknowledges. And to further mark this achievement, we have Pūrṇa's triumphal verses and the commendation of the Buddha himself. All markers indicate, as I have tried to demonstrate above (pp. 220-221), that this stands as one of Pūrṇa's 'glorious deeds'.

How to resolve the contradiction? If we look closely at the circumstances in which Pūrṇa generates the psychic power needed to save his brother, we can observe that Pūrṇa does so in a moment of crisis - the imminent death of his dear brother, whom, after Bhava's death, he had looked up to as a father. Although five hundred others are involved, the goddess merely says "your brother is afflicted by a terrible calamity." It is perhaps something like the stories one hears about a desperate mother lifting up the end of a car that is crushing her child: powers normally beyond the individual are suddenly activated, and when the crisis has passed, disappear. This accords with Pūrṇa entering meditation, appearing on Bhavila's boat still in meditation, and then repelling the hurricane. Further, although it serves other thematic purposes as well, Pūrṇa talks his way out of any further confrontation with Maheśvara, as if, returned to normal consciousness, levitation and telekinesis are beyond him. Pūrṇa's psychic powers, in this episode,

are real, but temporary.

A closer look at 'episode of the food-ticket' shows much the same dynamic at work. Both scenes depict moments of crisis in Pūrṇa's life. In the first, Bhavila is about to die; in the second, Pūrṇa faces the prospect of not being present at the Buddha's inauguration of the vihāra the very donation of which was made possible by that first awakening of Pūrṇa's powers. This is not so much disappointment on Pūrṇa's part, if we take seriously his status as an arhat; rather it reflects his sense of how important it is for the 'apostle of Śroṇāparāntaka' to be on hand when the capital city is to be formally initiated into the Dharma by his own spiritual father. And, true enough, we find Pūrṇa stationed at the main gate of the city with his old patron, the king, interpreting for the astonished monarch the wonders of the Dharma, as the bhikṣus come flying in (pp. 110-111).

In the first episode Pūrṇa first awakens his nascent psychic powers to save a member of his family; in the second he activates them permanently for the benefit of his spiritual children, his own fellow citizens. Numerous narrative details support the conclusion that the inconsistency is in fact only apparent. Indeed, the conclusion would remain valid even were strikingly different versions of the story available.

So far, so good. But the question as to how Purna manages to appear in the bhikṣu-assembly in Śrāvastī immediately after performing his pūjā several hundred miles away in Sūrpāraka (see Pt. V, n. 50, pp. 141-142), remains. To reconcile this inconsistency in the narrative is a far less tractable task than the first one, largely because the

text simply does not indicate how Pūrṇa makes the trip. In fact, that Pūrṇa makes the trip is not even mentioned. At one moment he is worshipping the Buddha atop the Candanamāla Pavilion. Higher powers transport his offerings to Śrāvastī. The Buddha, recognizing the meaning of these materialized forms, directs Ānanda to issue food-tickets. At this point the omniscient narrator states that Pūrṇa, "[a]t that very time. . .was seated in that very assembly" (p. 108). No explanation, plausible or otherwise, as to how he has gotten there.

Pūrṇa, with the Buddha's permission, has introduced the Dharma to Śroṇāparāntaka. He conceived the idea and oversaw the construction of the Pavilion. Moreover, he is a native of the region and resident there. It is difficult to determine why Pūrṇa must be in Śrāvastī to accept what is essentially his own invitation; we can only assume, as well, that he has for some time been accepting alms from the citizens of Śroṇāparāntaka. The speculation that in this instance, too, Pūrṇa has temporarily activated psychic powers in order to teleport himself to Śrāvastī so as to be present when the bhikṣus receive the invitation strikes one as a rather strained inference.

In this instance, it is more tempting to speculate that we have a hiatus or lacuna in the text, possibly as a result of the 'splicing' together of portions of two different narratives. As noted in Part III (pp. 43-44) above, the 'episode of the food-tickets' also appears in the Sumāgadhāvadāna. Here, too, Pūrna is among the assembled bhikṣus in Śrāvastī when pūjā-offerings materialize, communicating an invitation to receive alms. Here, too, Ānanda at first denies a food-ticket to Pūrṇa, also called here Kuṇḍopadhānīyaka, who then, instantaneously

generates psychic powers, thereby qualifying for the invitation. The striking difference here is that in the Sumāgadhāvadāna, Pūrṇa is a minor player. The all-important pūjā is performed by the chief character in the story, Anāthapiṇḍada's daughter Sumāgadhā; and in Puṇḍravardhana, located on the opposite side of the sub-continent from Sūrpāraka. Here Sumāgadhā is the spiritual hero(ine): the Buddha's acceptance of her invitation results in the conversion from Jainism both of her in-laws and of the citizenry of Puṇḍravardhana. The action is almost identical; the actors and the setting are almost completely different. The fact that, in the Pūrṇāvadāna, the name Kuṇḍopadhānīyaka occurs only in this one scene strengthens the case for a text-critical interpretation.

Based on such an analysis, it would appear that in adapting traditional materials in the composition of the story, the author of the Pūrṇāvadāna failed, in this one respect, to produce a completely unified work. At the same time, one cannot rule out the possibility that, in this instance, some ill-considered abridgement did take place, or even that what appears seventeen centuries later as an artistic defect was not so perceived by the contemporary audience, which may have had different notions regarding such matters. In conclusion, yet another topic inviting further research.

However much the Pūrṇāvadāna is a glorification of Sūrpāraka's favourite native son - and it certainly is that - Pūrṇa's exaltation is not achieved at the expense of the Buddha's. Master and disciple now combine forces in order to permanently establish the Dharma in Śroṇāparāntaka. Both Pūrṇa's 'glorious deeds', discussed above (pp. 211, 215-221), and the Buddha's feats of conversion, to be discussed below,

form part of the claim of a place and a people, their legend, a validation of their local Buddhist tradition, a history of how the teaching of the Lord Buddha came to be established in their country. For present purposes whether the Pūrṇāvadāna is "historicized fiction" or "fictionalized history"[54] is not important. It is a story. It chronicles how the Teaching was first introduced by a local businessman who had gone away to become a bhikṣu and of the great feats he performed when he returned home, a living testimony to the truth of the Buddha's message. It tells of the great pavilion that bhikṣu built, and of that marvellous day on which the Lord Buddha himself came to preach there, his miraculous transformation of the pavilion, and of his momentous address, at which the reigning king and hundreds of thousands of his subjects set out on the Path to Nirvāṇa. This is the central thrust of the narrative and very much part of Pūrṇa's story. Presumably for many people this dimension of the story was far more compelling than the message of the truth of karma and its fruit, which could be found in many sources.

The theme of the transformation of Śroṇāparāntaka by the Dharma is introduced as early as the Buddha's discourse to Pūrṇa (pp. 99-100). Here the Buddha repeatedly warns his disciple: "Pūrṇa, the inhabitants of Śroṇāparāntaka are cruel, violent, uncouth, abusive, wrathful and contemptuous." Pūrṇa's intention is to change all that and the Buddha thinks, or to be more precise, knows he can at least make a start on it. Pūrṇa, then, lays the groundwork. Each one of his 'glorious deeds' becomes, in this schema, not only episodes in a hagiography, but also successive stages in the Buddhist 'evangelization' of Śroṇāparāntaka.

Viewed in this way, Pūrṇa's reference to the people of Sūrpāraka as "those who are without a Lord" (p. 107) takes on a deeper significance than I have specified above (p. 218). Pūrṇa is the apostle, the bearer of the 'good news', and has done much good work and had some impact. But the Buddha, in a sense, is the good news; now the people, who have so long been without one, need a Lord (certain theistic overtones not inappropriate here). For his part, knowing that extreme measures must be taken to win over the capital city, Sūrpāraka, the Buddha instructs his bhikṣus to make as spectacular an entrance as possible, as the place is "overrun with heretics" (p. 109).

The Buddha's occupation of and exposition of the Dharma at the Candanamāla Pavilion is at once the climactic point of the story and the spiritual crescendo of Pūrṇa's life, in terms of the narrative action far more momentous than Pūrṇa's attainment of arhatship, which is only mentioned in passing. For Pūrṇa, enlightenment, that ne plus ultra of the religious life, rather than an end in itself is a means of bringing the Teaching to a wider audience. His story is not so much his own as that of an entire community.

The Pavilion itself is the product of a kind of community effort. The sandalwood was sought and found as part of a worldly, commercial expedition. Through Pūrṇa's rescue of the merchants the fruit of mercantile ambition is transformed into an edifice that partakes both of the substance of wealth and the function of piety. That the king, as supreme temporal leader, participates in the preparations for the visit of the Buddha (pp. 107, 110), is another marker of the involvement of the entire community. Sūrpāraka has long had a political authority,

which now welcomes and sanctions the new spiritual authority.

The importance of the Buddha's visit to Sūrpāraka is also articulated in the narrative structure of much of the last third of the story (pp. 107-119). The Buddha, first of all, does not simply fly from Śrāvastī to Sūrpāraka, as did Pūrṇa from Sūrpāraka to the Sandalwood Forest. Twelve pages (out of fifty-three) are required to move the Buddha from the Jeta Grove vihāra to the Candanamāla Pavilion.

In the first five pages of this section (pp. 107-112), the narrative shifts from Sūrpāraka to Śrāvastī (and vice versa) no less than six times, creating a kind of alternation of perspective that is almost cinematic. We 'flash' from Pūrṇa's pūjā to Pūrṇa in the bhikṣu-assembly; from the distribution of the food-tickets to the king's ritual beautification of the city and the breath-taking arrival of the bhikṣus, "flying in by means of their psychic powers"; from further, even more spectacular arrivals and the memorial verses of an awed lay-disciple to the Buddha's hieratic entry into his "perfumed chamber"; from the shaking of the earth "in six different ways" to the king's astonishment at this wonder; from Pūrṇa's explanation of its source to the Buddha's irradiation with light of all of India; from the king's astonishment at that (and Pūrṇa's explanation) to the Buddha and his bhikṣus setting out "in the direction of Sūrpāraka."

The atmosphere is palpable with rising awe, reverence and expectation; the rapid shift between the source of this enormous spiritual power - the Lord in Śrāvastī - and the scene upon which it is focussed - the city of Sūrpāraka - considerably intensifies the overall effect. With the air thick with flying bhikṣus on marvellous mounts (pp. 110-

111), the entire sky aglow with golden light (p. 112), the very earth shuddering (pp. 111-112), we have the wondrous portents of the end of one Sūrpāraka and the advent of a new. In traditional terms, the magnitude of the impending spiritual revolution (for which Pūrṇa has been working all this time) cannot help but be mirrored in the physical world.

The narrative 'eye' now settles (pp. 112-119) on the Lord's slow, almost liturgical progress from the Jeta Grove in Śrāvastī to the Candanamāla Pavilion in Sūrpāraka. Since his four conversions on the way to Sūrpāraka have been briefly examined above (p. 207), these episodes need not be outlined here. However, additional comments are in order. As befitting his epithet, "teacher of gods and men", the Buddha interrupts his journey on a number of occasions to expound the Dharma to members of both classes of beings. The groups and individuals he instructs are carefully balanced in terms of whether they are householders or renunciates, male or female, en masse or solitary; as are the fruits of their spiritual instruction. The five hundred housewives and the single goddess become fervent lay-disciples (upāsikās); both worship at the stūpa erected by the former; both "attain the fruit of 'entrance into the stream' " (see Pt. V, n. 77, p. 150; Pt. VI, n. 41). The five hundred ṛsis, the pride that had been impeding their spiritual progress now overcome, receive ordination and attain arhatship. The lone sage Vakkalin does not, but attains "the fruit of a 'never-returner' " (see Pt. V, n. 89, p. 152), gains psychic powers, receives ordination, and is commended by the Buddha to his bhikṣus as "foremost among my bhikṣus who are devoted in their faith in me" (p. 118).

All of these episodes of conversion and spiritual attainment

are characterized by the formulaic language typical of other avadānas (see Pt. V, notes 75, 79, 84, 92).[55] They are also distinguished by various displays of the Buddha's psychic powers, ranging from, in each case, his intuitive understanding of the sort of instruction appropriate, to his gift of hair and fingernails to the matrons (p. 114), his dessication of the ṛsis' hermitage (p. 115), and his rescue of Vakkalin (p. 117). As if to further emphasize the point, the narrator, after relating the conversion of Vakkalin, assures us that the Lord continued, "performing, as he went, all manner of miraculous feats" (p. 118), until he reached Sūrpāraka, where, we soon learn, more of the same occurs. As are Pūrṇa's, and the bhikṣus', who are flying into the city, the psychic powers displayed by the Buddha are the outward signs of spiritual attainment and authority, and are invariably instrumental in winning people over to the Dharma.

These four episodes, independent, if subsidiary, narratives in their own right, contain a number of features of interest which limitations of space (!) prevent me from considering. For present purposes, it is sufficient to describe their overall tone, perhaps somewhat irreverently, as 'a warm-up for the main event'. After the Buddha's great work at Sūrpāraka, the Lord's conversion of the two nāga-kings (pp. 120-121) and his and Maudgalyāyana's instruction of the latter's mother (pp. 122-125) in the Maricika world-system perform analogous functions after the fact. Both episodes are likely adapted from other narratives (e.g., see Pt. V, n. 102, p. 154; n. 107, p. 155) and both demonstrate, among other things, that the compassionate activity of the Lord never ceases.

The Buddha now enters Sūrpāraka. Ever skilfully compassionate in his actions (as the four conversion-episodes have shown), he descends "from the sky right into the middle of Sūrpāraka-city" (p. 118), so as to avoid appearing to be showing favoritism to any one of the parties waiting at the numerous gates of the city (p. 110). The Buddha clearly is aware of the peak of anticipation and devotion that has been reached and has no intention of permitting the eruption of jealousy to spoil the mood that his disciple has worked so hard in building up.

And now to the climactic scene for which the entire narrative has been preparing. The narrator describes Pūrṇa's pūjā (p. 107), by means of which he invites the Buddha to Sūrpāraka, as "worship in order to obtain a boon." The invitation is acepted, the boon granted, when the Buddha enters the city, occupies the Candanamāla Pavilion and gives a discourse, and, finally, further indicates his favour by accepting alms from Pūrṇa's three brothers (pp. 118-119). These actions of the Buddha - and their effect upon the inhabitants of Sūrpāraka - are, indirectly, Pūrṇa's most glorious 'glorious deed', the fulfillment of all his years of missionary work as well as the 'historical' validation of the Buddhist tradition in Śroṇāparāntaka. All this has already been suggested. Here we may say, more specifically, these events mark the acceptance and inauguration of cultic worship of the Buddha by the king and people of Śroṇāparāntaka.

To properly explain this and a number of other important features of the Pūrṇāvadāna, we must examine in some detail a complex of allusions (a favourite literary strategy) which illuminate the nature and function of the Candanamāla Pavilion.

As Sylvain Levi notes (see Pt. V, n. 49, p. 140), in the Paramatthajotikā (Suttanipāta commentary) a "candanamāla" appears in a list of residences of the Buddha found in various cities in which he was active. Also included are the Jetavana (in Śrāvastī), a Kosambikuṭī (Skt., Kauśambīkuṭī; presumably in Kauśambī); a Mahāgandhakuṭī ('great perfumed chamber') and a Karerimaṇḍalamāḷa ('musk-rose pavilion'), the locations of which are not specified. From the Mahāvastu (a work containing numerous avadānas) and the Śikṣāsamuccaya as well as two Divyāvadāna stories Levi cites the term mālāvihāra, which could mean either a vihāra (residence for the Buddha or his bhikṣus) made of or decorated with garlands, or a pavilion on top of such a structure.[56] Although our text appears to suggest something like the latter meaning, as we shall see, the former is, for our purposes, not without significance.

We know from our own text that the Buddha's private chamber in the Jeta Grove in Śrāvastī is called his gandhakuṭī or 'perfumed chamber' (p. 111; Pt. V, n. 49, pp. 140-141). However, in his study of the gandhakuṭī, John Strong, citing the Jātaka, the Dhammapada and Aṅguttaranikāya commentaries, the Avadānaśataka, as well as the work of various earlier scholars, demonstrates that the Buddha's 'perfumed chamber' was by no means found only in Śrāvastī.[57] The building of a gandhakuṭī was "a matter of importance whenever accommodations had to be built to receive the Buddha and his retinue."[58]

How the Buddha's private chamber came to be designated as "perfumed" is suggested by a description in the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī (Dīghanikāya commentary) [59] of the Buddha's daily routine in Śrāvastī (Pāli, Sāvatthi). The Buddha used the gandhakuṭī as his residence, addressed

the bhikṣus from the jewelled staircase that led up to it, conducted audiences in it and most importantly, received the laity there who would come to honour him with perfumes, flowers and other offerings. The fragrance of these offerings 'perfumed' the chamber.

The ambiguity of the term mālā in mālāvihara reappears in the name of Pūrṇa's devotional offering, the Canadanamāla Pavilion (candanamālaprāsāda), for the word can be read as mālā ('garland' [also spelt māla]) or as an alternate form of māḍa ('hall, pavilion') or of the Pāli māḷa ('pavilion, hall').[60] While our text clearly indicates that the Pavilion is built out of sandalwood logs (Pūrṇa uses Bhavila's entire cargo!), and not, as Strong suggests, merely "profusely bedecked with 'garlands of sandalwood';"[61] at the same time, one can hardly imagine anything more fragrant than such a pavilion. Thus the similarity with the gandhakuṭī is not lost.

Moreover, in the Sāratthappakāsinī (Saṃyuttanikāya commentary), which contains a Pāli version of the Pūrṇa-story, the sandalwood pavilion constructed for the Buddha (here by a group of merchants, on Puṇṇa's advice) is explicitly called a gandhakuṭī.[62] The merchants construct the pavilion and the Buddha comes to Sunaparānta and stays in it, enabling the inhabitants to see him for the first time. Except for the fact that Pūrṇa builds the pavilion, this is more or less what happens in the Pūrṇāvadāna.

Once the candanamālaprāsāda is seen as identical to the gandhakuṭī, or at least a particular example of which the latter is the archetype, the pattern of implication in our story becomes clearer.

It would seem that when the Buddha visited a place, especially

a city, according to the traditions of the Pāli commentaries and the Sanskrit avadānas he was provided with a special pavilion or chamber that inevitably became redolent with the fragrant offerings made by devotees. Although no mention is made in our text of the populace making offerings to the Buddha at the Candanamāla Pavilion, it is hardly a far-fetched inference. In any event, building the Pavilion out of sandalwood may well have been the devoted Pūrṇa's way of honouring his Master with a building that in and of itself embodied the fragrance of bhakti.

We may now also assign a special significance to the puṣpamaṇḍapa or "flower-pavilion" (p. 107; Pt. V, n. 51, p. 142) that flies off to Śrāvastī after Pūrṇa, worshipping for the boon of his presence, offers it to the Buddha: it is a kind of portable gandhakuṭī.[63] It functions as a temporary substitute for the real offering - the Pavilion - that Pūrṇa has made in Sūrpāraka.[64]

In this schema, a place in which the Buddha has stayed, taught Dharma, and accepted veneration is likely to boast a gandhakuṭī in some form. Indeed, such a structure is one way to recognize a city where the people are devoted to the Three Jewels. As the narrator of our story puts it, after a lengthy description of the various types of spiritual attainment achieved by those who rushed to the Pavilion to hear the Buddha speak (p. 119):

> In general, that assembly became devoted to the Buddha, intent on the Dharma and committed to the Community of Bhikṣus.

By having Pūrṇa establish in Sūrpāraka a special kind of 'perfumed chamber', subsequently occupied by the Buddha, the author utilizes, in addi-

tion to other literary strategies, a familiar and symbolically powerful means of demonstrating that the city and its people are now, indeed, devotees of the Buddha.

The 'miracle at Sūrpāraka' - the Buddha's transformation of the Pavilion into crystal - may be assigned five principal functions. First, and most obviously, the Buddha's own reasoning as reported by the narrator (pp. 118-119):

> That great mass of people, unable to see the Lord, began to force its way into the Candanamāla Pavilion.
>
> The Lord considered: "If the Candanamāla Pavilion is wrecked, the merit of the donors will be obstructed. Suppose, now, I were to magically transform the Pavilion into crystal."

To provide material support for the Saṅgha (of which the Buddha is head) is considered a karmically salutary act. In the terminology of the story (p. 128), it is a " 'wholly white' " deed as is its fruit. The bhikṣus in fact depend upon such dāna (giving) for food, clothing, medicine and, as in this instance, lodging. Here the Buddha is presumably referring to Bhavila and the merchants who donated their cargo for building materials as well as to those who may have donated their labour. He wishes to prevent the merit they have accumulated by their devotion and generosity from being, as it were, 'denatured'.

Secondly, and also obviously, transforming the wooden building into crystal, in permitting everyone to see the Buddha constitutes in itself a great spiritual gift. This is graphically illustrated (p. 113) when the five hundred housewives first catch sight of the Lord.

> At the mere sight of him, on their part great faith in the Lord arose. This is to be expected: meditative cultivation of tranquillity, practised for twelve years, could not produce such joy in the mind, nor could the birth of

> a son for a man without sons, or the sight of a treasure-trove for a poor man, or a royal consecration for one who desires kingship, as does the first sight of a Buddha for a living being who has planted the roots of spiritual merit over many lifetimes.

The logic may appear circular, but in the context of our story, it is implied that one who sees the Buddha has in fact planted such roots.

Thirdly, and closely related to the foregoing, transforming the wooden building into transparent crystal is the latest and greatest of the Buddha's displays of psychic power, a further sign of his spiritual mastery and a further stimulus to faith.

Fourthly, having in their city a crystal pavilion - even temporarily - is a sign to all the other cities in India that the people of Sūrpāraka are the recipients of the Lord's favour in a unique and wonderful way. The sort of miracle that distinguishes a pilgrimage centre, for example.

Lastly, we might say that the now-crystal pavilion is the Buddha's acknowledgement of, even his reward for, Pūrṇa's great work. In deigning to transmute his disciple's work, he proffers him an apt emblem of the pristine clarity of the enlightened mind.

Recognizing the candanamālaprāsāda as a specific instance of the gandhakuṭī-motif with its associated themes of Buddha-bhakti, dāna, and the establishment of 'sacred space' enables us to show that the 'story of the past' (pp. 126-128) is more fully integrated into the 'story of the present' that may at first be apparent.

On a preliminary reading of the 'story of the past', one discerns a rather simplistic correspondence between Pūrṇa's "deed of harsh speech" (p. 127) and his being reborn five hundred times as the son of a slave-

girl: a one-to-one correspondence between the act (karma) and its consequences (karmavipāka). The initial impression is of a Buddhist deus ex machina. Yet the connection between the two narratives is somewhat more sophisticated that that.

Pūrṇa's "deed of harsh speech" consists in calling an arhat "son of a slave-girl". This arhat is identified as the upadhivāra, which I have translated as "groundskeeper."[65] Incorrectly supposing he is being remiss in sweeping the grounds of the vihāra, Pūrṇa reviles him with this epithet. However, such sweeping is not only one aspect of monastic housekeeping; it also qualifies as a devotional act, particularly when involving sweeping of the Buddha's private chamber. An inscription at Kanheri (in the Bombay area, not far from Sūrpāraka) refers to a monastic post called gandhakuṭībhārika, explained by Sukumar Dutt as a " 'monk in charge of keeping the sanctuary clean'."[66] While this is clearly a more specialized position than that of upadhivāra, in our text the arhat is performing a similar function.

In the Dīghanikāya commentary, Ānanda is depicted sweeping out and otherwise cleaning the gandhakuṭī of the deceased Buddha.[67] In the Avadānaśataka, the Saṅgha appoints the bhikṣu Lekuñcika sweeper of the Buddha's gandhakuṭī after it is discovered that he makes progress in meditation only on the days he has done so.[68] The Buddha himself gives a discourse on the spiritual value of sweeping, which includes accumulation of merit, a good rebirth and purifying not only one's own mind, but the minds of other humans and the minds of the gods.[69] We may also note, in the Pūrṇāvadāna (p. 110), that the king of Sūrpāraka has the city "swept clean of gravel, pebble and stones" as part of his

preparations for the Buddha's arrival.

The implication here is that Pūrṇa has without grounds reviled not only an arhat, but one who was engaged in the highly meritorious act of sweeping the vihāra of the Buddha Kāśyapa. On the one hand, this compounds the seriousness of his misdeed; on the other, it makes it that much more karmically appropriate that in his present life, Pūrṇa, now himself an arhat, dedicates a special building to the Buddha Śākyamuni.

Finally, a passage in the 'story of the past' (p. 126) suggests a logic for the present Pūrṇa's highly devotional temperament (beyond, of course, the fact that the avadānas typically exalt devotional service to the Buddha and other holy figures). As a bhikṣu under the Buddha Kāśyapa, Pūrṇa is credited with rendering "service to the Dharma and to the Collection of the Three Baskets [of Scriptures]." In conjunction with his prickliness in the matter of the unswept vihāra, this suggests a stern and scholarly practitioner of predominantly intellectual temperament, a "Doctrine-Follower" (dharmānusārin [see Pt. V, n. 55, p. 143]). In contrast, as he is portrayed in the 'story of the present', Pūrṇa is much more like a "Faith-Follower" (śraddhānusārin [ibid.]), motivated mainly by devotion to his spiritual preceptor.

In summary, as the son of Bhava and disciple to Śākyamuni, Pūrṇa rectifies not only the "deed of harsh speech", but other shortcomings in the cultivation of the Way as practised in his previous birth. From a literary perspective, these interrelations demonstrate that the author was not merely maintaining a traditional generic narrative structure, but was able to connect 'past' and 'present' in a number of fairly subtle and meaningful ways.

The Buddha's exposition of the Dharma at Sūrpāraka is described in the same formulaic language used on the occasions of the conversions on the way from Śrāvastī. However, as the events at Sūrpāraka are that much more momentous, and the numbers involved that much greater, so the various types of realization attained by the audience are profounder and more diversified. Here, too, the Buddha's 'miracle of instruction' is far more impressive, for a single discourse is perfectly adapted to the simultaneous edification of a wide range of personalities. The Buddha is represented as achieving this by inducing in each member of the crowd a profound meditative state ("great concentration of mind" [p. 119]) by means of which each individual attains the highest degree of insight commensurate with his or her present stage of development. Three categories of spiritual development or attainment are enumerated. The first involves the planting of two types of "roots of merit", which may be described as the activation of positive karmic forces which then predispose the individual toward actions and mental states favourable to the attainment of advanced stages of the Path (see Pt. V, notes 96 & 97, p. 153). The second involves actually realizing one of four stages of spiritual attainment: whether of a 'stream-enterer' (see Pt. V, n. 77, p. 150), a 'once-returner' (Pt. V, n. 98, p. 153), a 'never-returner' (Pt. V, n. 89, p. 152), or an arhat (Pt. V, notes 34-36, p. 136).

The third category refers to individuals who "produce a resolution", or, as we might say, make a vow, to attain one of three types of enlightenment: that of a Disciple (Pt. V, n. 99, pp. 153-154), a pratyekabuddha (ibid.), or of a fully enlightened Buddha (Pt. V, n.

100, p. 154).

Here we find presented the major categories of spiritual attainment recognized by the tradition, which are one way of acknowledging the diversity of human temperament and ability. The effect, once again, is to present the Buddha as the universal teacher, able to appeal to and educate the spiritual potential, however latent, in everyone and anyone.

The inclusion, in this list, of resolutions for the three types of enlightenment is particularly noteworthy, for it corresponds to similar sub-categories of enlightenment presented in the influential Mahāyāna sūtra, the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka (Lotus Sūtra). This text discusses the doctrine of the Three Vehicles (triyāna): the Vehicle of the Disciples (śrāvakayāna), the Vehicle of the Solitary Buddhas (pratyekabuddhayāna, and the Vehicle of the Bodhisattvas (bodhisattvayāna). One of its principal doctrines is that there is only One Vehicle (ekayāna), that which leads to "Supreme, Perfect Enlightenment" (p. 119), any apparent diversity being due to the fact that the Buddhas expound the Dharma differently to beings of differing capacity.[70] Similarly, although its focus is different, in another early Mahāyāna sūtra, the Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines (Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā), the existence and ultimate unreality of vehicles - and hence of types of enlightenment in which they culminate - is also set forth.[71]

Here we must also note (p. 125) a second instance in our text where a distinction between different types of enlightenment is implied. This occurs after Mahāmaudgalyāyana, who is an arhat and one of the

Buddha's chief disciples, returns to Śrāvastī from the Maricika world-system. The outgoing trip (p. 123), by means of Maudgalyāyana's psychic powers, takes a week; the return trip, by means of the Buddha's, is more or less instantaneous. Maudgalyāyana, "his mind thoroughly astonished," says:

> "Lord, I did not realize there existed such extraordinary powers or that the Buddhas possessed such extraordinary psychic powers.[72] Had I realized this, my mind would never have been turned away from supreme, perfect enlightenment, even if my body were to have been ground into particles as small as sesame seeds. Now what can I do, who am worn out like spent fuel?"

Although in our story the Buddha does not answer his disciple's question, and in fact the scene shifts abruptly to the 'story of the past' (p. 125), certain passages in the Lotus Sūtra could almost serve as Maudgalyāyana's answer to his own question. A number of chapters in the Lotus Sūtra involve the Buddha predicting the future Buddhahood of a number of the arhats famous in the earlier tradition. After listening to the prediction of Śāriputra's future attainment of supreme, perfect enlightenment as the Tathāgata Padmaprabha,[73] Maudgalyāyana, "struck with wonder, amazement, and rapture,"[74] addresses the Buddha:

> Worn out by old age, we fancy that we have attained Nirvāṇa; we make no efforts, Lord, for supreme perfect enlightenment; our force and exertion are inadequate to it. . .having fled out of the triple world, O Lord, we imagined having attained Nirvāṇa, and we are decrepit from old age.[75]

But in this sūtra, Maudgalyāyana has learned that the Buddha's great disciples, himself among them, shall all become Buddhas in their own right in a future birth. He exults in having "acquired a magnificent jewel, O Lord, an incomparable jewel," and proceeds[76] to relate a parable to illustrate his comprehension of the astonishing news.

Although under different circumstances, devotees receive predictions to buddhahood and pratyekabuddhahood in a number of stories in the Avadānaśataka (see Pt. V, notes 99 & 100, p. 154). Taken together with the prominence accorded to Buddha-bhakti in both avadānas in general and in Mahāyāna sūtras like the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, the foregoing raises the fascinating question: what is the relation - historical, textual, sectarian, other, none - between the type of story represented by the Pūrṇāvadāna and certain Mahāyāna texts and literary techniques? A question of immense scope and yet another that is beyond the range of this study. Yet it may be that a common source can be found for these features, inchoate in one group of texts and fully-developed in the other.

It only remains to consider in greater detail the two episodes by which the 'story of the present' and the 'story of the past' are linked, i.e., the Buddha's conversion of the two nāga-kings and his instruction of Maudgalyāyana's mother.

Humour is frequently one of the more culture-specific human phenomena. What is light-hearted in one language, in one time and place, may be unremarkable or even serious in another. That being said, the nāga-episode strikes one as light-hearted, if not humourous. As the Buddha's conversions leading up to the 'grand event' at Sūrpāraka all contribute to the mounting atmosphere of wonder, devotion and anticipation, so his encounter with the nāga-kings serve as a more relaxed, even convivial interlude between the solemn momentousness of the 'crystal pavilion episode' and the again serious business of Maudgalyāyana and his mother.

The Buddha, having finished his address to the citizenry, has

been invited to receive almsfood at the home of Pūrṇa's three brothers (p. 119), who are once again united under the benificent tutelage of the Dharma (pp. 179-180). However, instantly aware, telepathically, that Kṛṣṇa and Gautamaka, with their nāga-retinue, are heading for Sūrpāraka to hear the Dharma, the Buddha, rather than heading for the home of the 'Bhavaputras,' decides to head out to forestall any damage that might be done by the well-meaning but rambunctious nāgas.

In general, nāgas play a positive role in Buddhist accounts. The most famous example is of the nāga-king Mucalinda protecting the meditating Buddha from the elements with his hood. Their generosity toward the Bodhisattva (Śākyamuni, prior to enlightenment) is depicted in a number of Jātaka-stories; in others they gratefully receive instruction in the Dharma. And in the Mahāyāna tradition, the sage Nāgārjuna receives the Perfection of Wisdom sūtras from the nāgas, who have guarded them in their undersea palace until such time as the world is capable of benefitting from their promulgation.[77] However, in our story, although nāgas appear well-disposed toward the Buddha and are eager to benefit from religious instruction, the Buddha is concerned that "if they come to Sūrpāraka they will wreak havoc" (p. 120). Well-meaning, but a touch careless and perhaps lacking somewhat in intellect. Being very powerful, this makes them dangerous, something like the proverbial bull in the china-shop. We find a similar combination of committment to the Dharma and lack of attentiveness in the Saṅgharakṣitāvadāna, where nāga-princes are depicted as guarding yet at the same time sorely neglecting the gandhakuṭīs of Śākyamuni and six previous Buddhas.[78]

In any case, the arising of the need for the Buddha to attend

to the incoming nāgas becomes the occasion for Maudgalyāyana receiving impromptu instruction in the Vinaya rules. That is, the Buddha, now unable to join his bhikṣus in accepting alms at the home of the sons of Bhava, instead despatches Maudgalyāyana to fetch food for him. This being an irregularity (at least in our story[79]), the Buddha explains to Maudgalyāyana that he is going out to deal with the nāgas in his capacity as head of the Saṅgha, and that this is one of the circumstances in which accepting "special almsfood" is permitted (p. 120).

Of course, the Buddha then proceeds not only to warn the nāgas to be on their best behavior, but also to win them over to the Dharma. Being nāgas, however, their capacity for spiritual development is limited. The conversion-scene, in comparison to the preceding five, is extremely brief and unelaborated: the narration is terse and the new lay-disciples exhibit no transports of gratitude or devotion. They do come to have faith in the Three Jewels and do accept the minimum degree of moral discipline binding upon lay Buddhists. Limited though their nāga-intelligences be, some essential kernel of the Truth has illuminated their hearts, for each one of the five hundred is inspired to offer dāna to the Lord (p. 121).

Nāgas being aquatic, and, having circumvented any potential danger, the Lord now being ready to partake of his "special almsfood", it is both natural and appropriate that the nāgas wish to offer a beverage for the Buddha to take with his meal. In his previous conversions, the Buddha has invariably made use of his psychic powers in order to inspire people with faith in his spiritual authority. Here we find such displays are unnecessary. In order to prevent the nāgas from

quarreling over which one deserves the honour of providing the Lord's drinking water, he merely utilizes a widespread human ability - his wits.

It may be that the contemporary audience understood this episode as yet another example of the Lord's charismatic power over all living beings, human, divine and other. Yet in their simple-minded enthusiasm, their naive protestations of harmlessness (p. 120) and almost juvenile competitiveness in offering dāna, it is difficult not to detect, if not comic relief, a temporary respite from the intensity of emotion generated in the preceding pages. After the climactic scene at the Pavilion, here the trajectory of the action descends, permitting the audience to relax in the relative calm of less poignant events.

The nāga-episode also introduces into the story Mahāmaudgalyāyana, an arhat celebrated for his mastery of the ṛiddhis (psychic powers [see Pt. V, n. 64, pp. 145-146]). Presumably he has accompanied the Buddha to Sūrpāraka from Śrāvastī. However, narrative continuity is lacking in both the transition to (p. 121) and from (p. 125) the episode involving Maudgalyāyana and his mother. Both are abrupt, particularly the latter, where the Buddha, who is immediately thereafter described as the one "who resolves all doubts" (p. 125), does not even answer Maudgalyāyana's question. Rather the narrative shifts immediately to the bhikṣus' questions about Pūrṇa's deeds in previous births.

At the same time, the episode of Maudgalyāyana and his mother is a complete (and interesting) narrative in its own right. This suggests that the episode represents an independent narrative, or part of a larger story, adapted by the author from another source. Nevertheless a number of themes prominent in the second part of the Pūrṇāva-

dana are present.

First, the subject of the discourse quoted by Maudgalyāyana is filial piety, the nature of one's duty to one's parents - how to repay those who have given the gift of a human birth. By extension, in specifically Buddhist terms the topic is dāna, which is due not only to the Saṅgha, but also to one's parents. That one should offer material support to the Saṅgha is only appropriate, for the Buddha and his bhikṣus provide in return religious instruction, which is beyond price. By analogy, in the case of parents not concerned with the proper moral and spiritual ideals (p. 122), the sincere practitioner of the Dharma, lay or ordained, should regard his paramount duty to them as the same as that of a bhikṣu toward the laity. The discourse enumerates four types of "riches" which trascend in value all material wealth (p. 122): "true faith", "moral discipline", "giving", and "spiritual insight". All of these are perfectly exemplified by Pūrṇa.

In this analysis, the most meritorious dāna of all is the gift of religious instruction, the conversion of the unconverted. This of course has been a central concern in our story beginning with Pūrṇa listening to the merchants chanting the sūtras. After his ordination, Pūrṇa and the Buddha perform many feats of instruction and conversion, yet this is the only extended passage in the story in which the logic and motivation for spreading the Dharma is discussed. The only other occurs in the 'Puṇṇovādasutta-episode', which is also the only other place in the story where we find the text of one of the Buddha's discourses. There (pp. 100-101), by contrast, the Buddha is merely encouraging Pūrṇa on the eve of his departure for Śroṇāparāntaka:

> "Go then, Pūrṇa! Having attained liberation, liberate others! Having crossed over, convey others across! Having attained calm, calm others! Having attained final emancipation, emancipate others!"

Elswhere in the story, particularly in those episodes leading up to and including the 'grand conversion' at the Candanamāla Pavilion, instruction and conversion are depicted as highly dramatic events, permeated with devotion to the Buddha and marked by his miracles. Here - albeit temporarily - the topic is for the first time discussed rather than dramatized, and as the responsibility of every Buddhist, rather than as a function of the Buddha's irresistable spiritual power. In other words, after the succession of episodes in which are highlighted the first awakening of faith and devotion, the narration pauses to deliver some of the Buddha's directives to those who have themselves already seen the Truth.

However, Maudgalyāyana does not remain in this reflective mood for long. Although not in the same way as Pūrṇa for Sūrpārakans, he is one of the luminaries of the tradition, not only renowned for his mastery of psychic powers, but designated by the Buddha as one of his two chief disciples (the other being Mahākāśyapa). From historical records we know he was widely venerated: according to the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims stūpas honouring him were erected in several places in India.[80] This renders him a suitable protagonist for one more uplifting tale.

On a smaller scale, the episode functions as an analogue to Pūrṇa's evangelization of Sūrpāraka. Pūrṇa invites the Buddha to instruct the people of his native city; Maudgalyāyana (pp. 122-123) requests the Buddha to undertake his mother's spiritual training. Dis-

plays of psychic power feature prominently in both accounts. The same formulaic language used repeatedly in descriptions of the Buddha's conversions is employed in describing his instruction of Maudgalyāyana's mother (pp. 123-124). The familiar pattern of the Buddha's approach and exposition of the Dharma inspiring conversion, spiritual attainment and the offering of alms is similarly repeated. One remarkable feature in this episode is the udāna ("joyous utterance" [see Pt. V, n. 23, p. 134]) of Maudgalyāyana's mother, now a "virtuous young woman": despite being couched largely in formulaic phraseology, it nevertheless qualifies as the most eloquent and most passionate outpouring of exaltation, devotion and gratitude in the entire story (pp. 123-124). Considering its placement in the final conversion-scene, it is a particularly effective speech. In the matter of udānas, the author has saved the best for last.

On a different note, the Buddha's discourse on instruction in the Dharma as the most genuine expression of filial piety and his subsequent instruction of Maudgalyāyana's mother on behalf of that disciple contributes an additional dimension to the theme of the Dharma as a unifying, positive force in family life (pp. 169-180).

Finally, in addition to the observations made above (p. 248), Maudgalyāyana's astonishment at the Buddha's extraordinary psychic powers (p. 125) articulates a final glorification of the Lord before the narrative shift to the 'story of the past'.

We now turn to that final episode, the 'story of the past' (pp. 125-128), where the Buddha explains the circumstances and achievements of Pūrṇa's present birth as the karmic fruit of actions performed in

a previous birth. Specifically, the Buddha tells a brief story, set "in the Bhadrakalpa, when people had a life-span of twenty thousand years"(p. 126), and identifies its protagonist as Purna. Pūrṇa's reviling of the arhat (p. 127) is causally related to his suffering five hundred births as the son of a slave-girl; his "service to the Community of Bhikṣus" (the Saṅgha) to his rebirth, in his final life, in a wealthy family; and his assiduity in studying the Dharma and in working "for the welfare of many" to his attainment of arhatship.

With the inclusion of this final episode our story fulfills the structural conventions of the avadāna genre (see Pt. II, p. 29), whereby a story comprises two distinct narratives (the 'story of the present' and the 'story of the past'), the protagonist of the second being identified with the protagonist of the first, and specific good and/or evil actions of the former causally related to specific features in the biography of the latter. From the perspective of literary criticism, to the degree that the 'story of the past' in the Pūrṇāvadāna represents *mere* conformity to generic conventions, it is flawed as a literary work. The apparently simplistic, even gratuitous, causal relationship which is identified as obtaining between events in the two narratives seems to provide grounds for such a conclusion. On the other hand, in my discussion (pp. 238-240) of the symbolic relationship between the sweeping of the vihāra in the 'story of the past' and the emphasis placed upon Pūrṇa's devotional offering of the Pavilion in the 'story of the present', I have indicated one technique by means of which the author continues to develop important themes specific to his story in the very process of maintaining fidelity to generic conven-

tions. Here, in order to more fully analyze the narrative organization of the 'story of the past' and its thematic contribution to the narrative as a whole, a number of additional topics need to be addressed.

For all its brevity (perhaps five percent of the total story), the 'story of the past' can be divided into five parts: (1) the bhikṣus question the Buddha about Pūrṇa's karma and its fruit (pp. 125-126); (2) the Buddha prefaces his reply with a brief doctrinal discourse on the nature of "deeds" and their effects (p. 126); (3) narrates the 'story of the past' proper (pp. 126-127); (4) explains the effects of which the actions in (3) were causes (pp. 127-128); and (5) specifies the 'moral' of the story which he exhorts the bhikṣus to apply in pursuing their own spiritual development (p. 128).

(1) The questioning of the Buddha by the bhikṣus is the formulaic device, typical of many avadānas, which introduces the Buddha's narration of the 'story of the past'. I have discussed above (pp. 211-213) the possible significance of the differences between the bhikṣus' questions in the Pūrṇāvadāna and those in the corresponding passage in the Pāli Puṇṇovādasutta. One need only add that the introduction into the narrative of the bhikṣus' questions explicitly marks the Pūrṇāvadāna as a teaching story, for the Buddha usually responds to such questions by delivering a discourse illuminating some aspect of the Dharma. This, of course, is another convention of the avadāna genre, according to which the Buddha expounds the doctrine of karma, whereas a principal concern of this study has been to demonstrate that our story, while adhering to generic conventions, develops a number of important themes which quite invalidate stereotyping it as a 'karma-tale'.

Considered as a whole, an important function of the 'story of the past' is to validate the authenticity of the entire narrative. Many sūtras, both of the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna traditions, begin with the formulaic phrase "Thus have I heard" (evaṃ mayā śrutaṃ; Pāli, evaṃ me sutaṃ). The "I" refers to the bhikṣu Ānanda, who is held to have heard the discourses from the mouth of the Buddha himself and, according to the traditions of the Hīnayāna schools, to have recited them at the First Council held shortly after the Master's death, at which time they were certified as the actual words of the Buddha (buddhavacanaṃ).[81] Later, the authors of many Mahāyāna sūtras also adopted the phrase.[82]

While a number of the stories in the Divyāvadāna also adopt this formula, the Pūrṇāvadāna is among those which do not.[83] The identity of the narrative persona is not specified. In such cases, the Buddha's 'explanation' of the 'story of the present' by referring to the 'story of the past' functions as a narrative strategy demonstrating that the Lord himself vouches for the accuracy of the narrator's portrayal of events.[84] The Buddha is one of the characters in the first part of the story; in the second he is at once a character and the narrator of the 'story of the past'. In this way, the conventional narrative structure of the genre serves an important authenticating function for the tradition, one that is not as immediately obvious as the karmic link established between Pūrṇa's actions in his different births.

(2) The Buddha's discourse on the nature and function of karma is the third and final instance in the Pūrṇāvadāna of the Lord actually expounding the Dharma, the 'Puṇṇovādasutta' and Maudgalyāyana's recollection of the instructions on filial piety being the first two. Here

the Buddha reminds the bhikṣus of a few salient points about the doctrine of karma and karmavipāka before launching into the story that illustrates them.

Technically, karma ('deed', 'action') means 'volitional act' (cetanā),[85] whether of body, speech, or mind. In his discourse, the Buddha emphasizes the self-reflexive nature of volitional acts. That is, although actions (obviously) produce effects upon their objects (people, situations, inanimate objects, particularly those of religious significance), the agent of such actions also and always experiences effects, whether immediately, or as is more often the case in avadānas, in some future birth. This is the import of the Buddha distinguishing between the effects of actions in the world external to the agent - represented by the four elements (see Pt. V, n. 114, p. 157) - and the effects of the same actions on the agent himself - in Buddhist terms the skandhas, which comprise the psycho-physical continuum constituting a living being (see Pt. V, n. 115, p. 158). His other two main points are that these effects (the "fruit") "may be wholesome or evil" and that volitional acts inevitably have effects, although these may not become apparent ("bear fruit") for "a hundred kalpas" (see Pt. V, n. 116, p. 158). Expressed less technically, the Buddha is highlighting for his audience - and the author for his - the fact that we are the makers of our own destinies and that once performed, our actions are irrevocable. Pūrṇa, of course, is the case in point.

(3) Having set forth the theory, the Buddha illustrates it with particular reference to Pūrṇa (cf. aupamyodāharaṇa, Pt. II, p. 32). This is what I have called the " 'story of the past' proper",

the actual narrative of Pūrṇa's karmically significant acts as a bhikṣu in training under the Buddha Kāśyapa, in the mythically remote "Bhadra-kalpa".

Knowing, as he does, the past and future births of all beings (see Pt. I, pp. 2-3), the Buddha is able to recount these details to his audience. This also qualifies as another manifestation of his super-normal powers (see pūrvaparanivāsānusmṛtijñāna, Pt. V, n. 62, p. 145), not, perhaps, as overtly dramatic as the transformation into crystal of the Sandalwood Pavilion, but more appropriate in the context of an address to bhikṣus, a group much concerned with the attributes of the spiritually-advanced mind. This advanced cognition on the part of the Buddha provides the authoritative interpretation of the story. Pūrṇa's former birth being set at the time of the dispensation of the former Buddha Kāśyapa[86] emphasizes the generic nature of Buddhahood and the universal validity of the Dharma. Śākyamuni is by his own testimony only the most recent of a number of Buddhas, each preaching the same Dharma, each traversing much the same career.[87] This places Pūrṇa's career in a grand cosmic context, one 'moment' in the endless drama of enlightenment in which the entire universe participates, potentially or actually.

As the story of an individual who experiences for many life-times the fruits of his own evil actions before, in his final life, attaining arhatship, the Pūrṇāvadāna resembles in broad outline the stories in the tenth varga of the Avadānaśataka.[88]

To the features mentioned above as establishing thematic continuity between the stories of the past and present (pp. 238-240), other

aspects of Pūrṇa's "deed of harsh speech" may be added. Pūrṇa's reviling of the arhat (p. 127) may be fairly described as a temporary loss of patience or forebearance (kṣanti): he flies into a rage, without, like a properly mindful bhikṣu, investigating the causes and conditions as a result of which the vihāra has remained unswept. Moreover, the arhat who is the target of Pūrṇa's abuse displays in good measure precisely that patience in which his fellow bhikṣu is lacking:

> "The arhat heard him and thought: 'That bhikṣu is overcome with rage. Let me wait awhile. I shall inform him later'."

He then patiently explains to Pūrṇa the nature of his offense[89] and in addition points out that by confessing the offense[90] its karmic severity will be mitigated, one wholesome (kuśala) volitional act in part 'cancelling out' the effect of an evil (akuśala) act. We may also recall that is is precisely Pūrṇa's kṣanti that the Buddha tests (pp. 99-101) in describing to him in horrific detail the fate that may await him at the hands of the inhabitants of Śroṇāparāntaka. Again, as a bhikṣu under the Buddha Śākyamuni, Pūrṇa transcends, in his present character, his shortcomings as a bhikṣu under the Buddha Kāśyapa.

(4) This has been sufficiently discussed above (pp. 238-240, pp. 255-256).

(5) The proverbial moral lesson that the Buddha derives from his little narrative and his consequent exhortation of the bhikṣus to eschew "wholly black" and "mixed" deeds in favour of "wholly white deeds", together with the bhikṣus' rejoicing "at the Lord's words" (p. 128) conclude the Pūrṇāvadāna. As mentioned in Parts II (p. 30) and IV (pp. 60-61), there has been a tendency among scholars to discuss primarily

the generic and formulaic features of avadāna stories, with the result that interpretation generally has not penetrated any further than characterizing all avadānas as little more than morality fables and exhortations to faith tricked out in the narrative garb of folk-tales and the Buddhist canonical literature. This attitude has made the critical reading of individual avadānas very difficult indeed. To adapt a well-known English expression, it is a case of really believing that clothes make the man; in the case of avadānas, that a conventional narrative format and an abundance of formulaic expressions represent the subtance of these stories rather than a convenient, traditional framework in which a variety of literary techniques articulate all manner of thematic concerns.

Many of the scholars cited in Part II have (correctly) pointed out the frequency with which the Buddha's pronouncement on the different types of deeds and their karmic effects concludes avadāna stories. This has frequently led to the conclusion (actually an assumption) that the main topic of all avadānas is karma, that 'as ye sow, so ye shall reap'. The main object of this study has been to demonstrate that once we recognize a story like the Pūrṇāvadāna as a literary work rather than schematically-dramatized doctrine, as a story rather than a treatise, the function of adherence to generic conventions can be placed in proper perspective. One does not develop a thorough understanding of a work of literature by analyzing it primarily in terms of those features it shares in common with others of its type. Rather one seeks to explicate a work in terms of the complex interplay between what is unique and what is conventional, between what is specific and what is

merely generic.

This final section of the 'story of the past' is among the most stereotyped and formulaic in the entire narrative: it could be inserted, without the slightest alteration, at the end of half a hundred stories in the Avadānaśataka and many in the Divyāvadāna. We have noted (p. 213) that the questions and answers in the Puṇṇovādasutta regarding the efficacy of Buddhist theory and practice as a means to enlightenment become, in the Pūrṇāvadāna, questions and answers about the operations of karma. However, in our story, the Buddha's final directive to the bhikṣus to be assiduous in their moral cultivation (śīla) is significant as much because the Buddha says it as for what he says. Of course, this renders the conclusion of the story no less formulaic than has been pointed out by other writers. What it does do is to insist that narrative logic as well as doctrinal exhortation is operative here.

While Pūrṇa is the hero of the story that bears his name, and while Śroṇāparāntaka is dramatized as the principal field of his merit, the Buddha, as has been observed, is a presiding presence throughout the narrative and, as traditionally understood, the guarrantor of its veracity. He is the initial as well as the final point of reference: the very first sentence of the story identifies him and his whereabouts; the very last scene in the story portrays him instructing the bhikṣus. This overarching narrative frame is not only a convention of avadānas, but of sūtras as well: the Buddha as alpha and omega. Yet we must also remember that the narrative articulates a number of parallels between the Buddha's career and Pūrṇa's, the vaiśya latter an analogue of the kṣatriya former, and perhaps our final impression is not the Buddha

expounding the doctrine of karma at the Jeta Grove Vihāra in Śrāvastī, but Pūrṇa discoursing on bhakti and bhavana at the Sandalwood Pavilion in Sūrpāraka.

Notes to Part VI.

1. Vaman Shivaram Apte, The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Revised and enlarged edition (Poona: Prasad Prakashan, 1957; repr. ed., Kyoto: Rinsen Book Co., 1978), p. 1187, lists bhavāntakṛt, 'maker of the end to bhava', as an epithet of both the Buddha and of Brahman, the impersonal Absolute of the Upaniṣads and Vedānta philosophy.

2. Anitya, duḥkha and anātman are known collectively as the 'three marks' (trilakṣana), for which see Pt. V, n. 76, pp. 149-150.

3. In seeking expert advice in the matter of Sanskrit nominal compounds I consulted Dr. Phyllis Granoff, who suggested (written communication, Jan. 28, 1988) that if one wishes to "make Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin bad in name as well as deed", the following analyses are possibilities: Bhavanandin as bhave nandati, 'one who delights in bhava'; Bhavatrāta as bhava eva trāta yasya, 'one whose refuge is saṃsāra'. However, she also points out that it is questionable whether many among the contemporary audience who have appreciated such subtleties. In addition, less unlikely analyses of these compounds suggest they are merely ways of designating sons.

4. Monier Monier-Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Revised edition (Oxford University Press, 1899; repr. ed., Toyko: Meicho Fukyu-kai Co. Ltd., 1986), p. 642.

5. It is interesting to note that in his eleventh-century C.E. poetic epitome of the Pūrṇāvadāna, the Kashmiri writer Kṣemendra does assign a name to the slave-girl, calling her "Mallikā". In Buddhist usage the word (alternately spelt "Mallaka") can mean any kind of bowl, pot or vessel, appropriate enough, perhaps, for one whose chief role in the Pūrṇa-story is to bear him, but it does not suggest any profounder, symbolic or allegorical meaning (P.L. Vaidya, ed., Avadānakalpalatā, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts Nos. 22 & 23 [Darbhanga, Bihar: Mithila Institute, 1959], 22, p.233.[5] Monier-Williams, op.cit., p. 793; Franklin Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary, Vol. II: Dictionary [Yale Univ. Press, 1953; repr. ed., Kyoto: Rinsen Book Co., 1985], p. 420).

6. T.W. Rhys Davids & H. Oldenberg, trs., Vinaya Texts, Sacred Books of the East Vols. 13, 17 & 20 (Oxford Univ. Press, 1885; repr. ed., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965), 13, p. 88. One of the better-known passages in Buddhist canonical literature is the scene, described in the Mahāvagga (I,5,11-12) of the Vinayapiṭaka, where Brahmā beseeches the newly-enlightened Buddha to "preach the doctrine." We read: "As, in a pond of blue lotuses, or water-roses, or white lotuses, some. . .,born in the water, grown up in the water, do not emerge over the water, but thrive hidden under the water; and other blue lotuses. . . .reach to the surface of the water; and other blue lotuses. . .stand emerging out of the water, and the water does not touch them, - Thus the Blessed One, looking over the world with his eye of a Buddha, saw

6. (cont'd) beings whose mental eyes were darkened by scarcely any dust, and beings whose eyes were covered by much dust, beings sharp of sense and blunt of sense, of good disposition and of bad disposition, easy to instruct and difficult to instruct, some of them seeing the dangers of future life and of sin, and when he had thus seen them, he addressed Brahmā Sahampati in the following stanza: 'Wide opened is the door of the Immortal to all who have ears to hear; let them send forth faith to meet it'."

7. Bhava's final illness and the verses on impermanence with which the narrator memorializes his passing recall the Buddha's speech to Ananda in the Mahāparinibbānasutta (Maurice Walshe, tr., Thus Have I Heard: The Long Discourses of the Buddha [London: Wisdom Publications, 1987], p. 252), after he has informed his attendent that he is about to die: " 'Ānanda, have I not told you before: All those things that are dear and pleasant to us must suffer change, separation and alteration? So how could this be possible? [i.e., the Buddha not dying eventually] Whatever is born, become, compounded, is liable to decay - that is should not decay is impossible'." There are many passages of similar import found in the Pāli Canon.

8. The locus classicus in the Pāli literature for the figure of saṃsāra in general and the passions in particular as fire is found in the Mahāvagga (I,21,1-4) of the Vinayapiṭaka (Rhys Davids & Oldenberg, op. cit., XIII, pp. 134-135), the so-called "Fire Sermon". Here also rāga, dveṣa and moha (rendered by the translators as "lust," "anger," and "ignorance" are figured as fire. The Buddha has just converted the three Kassapa brothers, who had been fire-worshippers. Hence his choice of metaphor: " 'Everything, O Bhikkhus, is burning. And how, O Bhikkhus, is everything burning? The eye, O Bhikkhus, is burning; visible things are burning; the mental impressions based on the eye are burning; the contact of the eye (with visible things) is burning; the sensation produced by the contact of the eye (with visible things), be it pleasant, be it painful, be it neither pleasant nor painful, that also is burning. With what fire is it burning? I declare unto you that it is burning with the fire of lust, with the fire of anger, with the fire of ignorance; it is burning with (the anxieties of) birth, decay, death, grief, lamentation, suffering, dejection, and despair'." This is then repeated with reference to the other five senses, the theme being, as in the Buddha's discourse to Pūrṇa in our story, the importance of 'restraint of the senses'.

A Mahāyānist adaptation of this metaphorical teaching device is the well-known 'parable of the burning' house, found in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra (H. Kern, tr., The Saddharmapuṇḍarīka or The Lotus of The True Law, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXI (Oxford Univ. Press, 1884; repr. ed., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965), pp. 72ff.

For the 'three fires' see also Pt. V, n. 59, p. 144.

The term nirvāṇa is a nominal form derived (Monier-Williams, op. cit., p. 557) from the prefix nir + the verbal root vā, meaning "to be blown out or extinguished; to be allayed or refreshed or exhilirated". The noun itself, outside its technical Buddhist sense, can mean "blown

8. (cont'd) or put out, extinguished (as a lamp or fire), set (as the sun), calmed, quieted, tamed".

9. Bhava's lesson to his sons is reminiscent in form to Uddālaka Āruṇi's instruction of his son Svetaketu in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (Max Müller, tr., The Upaniṣads, Part I, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. I (Oxford Univ. Press, 1879; repr. ed., New York: Dover Publications, 1962), pp. 104-105. The metaphor of the fire and the coals also occurs in this text (ibid., pp. 97-98), although to illustrate a rather different point. Of course, whether this indicates that the author of the Pūrṇāvadāna knew the Chāndogya or whether he was merely adapting what had become idioms in the ancient Indian culture-world I am at present not competent to decide. My thanks to my academic advisor, Dr. Granoff, for suggesting I examine this section of the Chāndogya.

10. At least as a theoretical ideal, the caturāśramāḥ, or four stages of life are (A.L. Basham, The Wonder That Was India, Third revised edition (1967; repr. ed., London: Sidgwick & Jackson Ltd., 1985, pp. 158-159) those of brahmacārin, celibate religious student; gṛhastha, married householder; vānaprastha, forest hermit who, with or without his wife, concentrates on meditation and religious study; and sannyāsin, homeless wanderer who has entirely renounced worldly life to focus completely upon his salvation. Basham writes: "It is possible that the system of the āśramas was evolved partly as a counterblast to the unorthodox sects such as Buddhism and Jainism, which encouraged young men to take up asceticism, and by-pass family life altogether, a practice which did not receive the approval of the orthodox, though in later times provision was made for it."

L. M. Joshi (Studies in the Buddhistic Culture of India, Second Revised Edition [Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1977], pp. 315-16), citing several of the Purāṇas, notes that in the early centuries C.E., Hindu authors proclaimed severe sanctions against those who abandoned the dictates of varṇa (class) and āśrama (stages of life), i.e., Buddhists and Jains. In the Viṣṇupurāṇa (III.18,9-12; VI.18), for example, it is stated that "God cannot be satisfied except by one who is loyal to the duties of one's own caste and stage of life." Legends are cited to illustrate the wretched fate in store for those who neglect such duties. The Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa (Chs. 95, 14-15, 19-20) stresses the importance of fulfilling the duties of the householder in order to fulfill one's debt to one's ancestors before one could renounce worldly life.

11. Rhys Davids & Oldenberg, op.cit., XIII, pp. 209-210. Also see E.J. Thomas, The Life of Buddha as Legend and History, Third Edition (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1949, repr., 1975), p. 96: "In view of the large number of converts it is not surprising to find that the Vinaya records a growing hostility among the Magadha people, who accused the Buddha of being intent on producing childlessness, widowhood, and the breaking up of families."

12. The jealousy and ill-treatment of Pūrṇa on account of his lowly maternal origins functions as an allusion to the prejudices of the class-

12. (cont'd) conscious Brahmans who, in a number of the dialogues in the Dīghanikāya (e.g., Ambaṭṭhasutta [Walshe, op.cit., pp. 111-124]; Soṇadaṇḍasutta [ibid., pp. 125-132]; Aggaññasutta [ibid., pp. 407-416]), are represented as convinced their class is inherently superior to all others. In the Pāli dialogues, the Buddha refutes these pretensions by reasoned argumentation; in our story that actions of body, speech and mind speak louder than geneologies is dramatized in the story of Pūrṇa and his brothers.

13. In the Aggaññasutta (ibid., pp. 407-409) that people must be judged by personal merit rather than by class membership is particularly well set out. According to the Vedic Puruṣasūkta myth, the class structure of ancient Indian society was divinely ordained. Brahmans were created from the mouth of the great god Brahmā (also called Puruṣa, the Cosmic Man), kṣatriyas (the Buddha's class) from his arms, vaiśyas (Pūrṇa's class, on his father's side) from his thighs, and śūdras from his feet. Thus, Brahmans, the priestly class, are "the true sons of Brahmā", by divine origin the best kind of human there is. The Buddha first ridicules such self-serving notions by observing that like all other women, the wives of Brahmans menstruate, get pregnant, give birth to, and nurse baby Brahmans, and that parts of Brahmā's body, however conceived, have nothing to do with it. He also counters the Brahmans' claims to being the "true sons of Brahmā" with the observation that the members of the Buddhist Saṅgha are true sons of the Buddha, "born of his mouth, born of Dhamma, created by Dhamma, an heir of Dhamma." In addition, he makes the very commonsense point that among all members of all classes virtuous and vicious actions are performed, and that therefore there are only two classes of people, the wicked and the virtuous.

Cf. James P. McDermott, "Karma and Rebirth in Early Buddhism," Karma and Rebirth in Classical Indian Traditions, ed. Wendy D. O'Flaherty (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press), pp. 174-175.

14. Ibid., pp. 181ff.

15. In The Buddhacarita (ed., tr., E.H. Johnston, Lahore, 1936; repr. ed., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1972), Aśvaghoṣa, a Sanskrit kāvya poet of the second century C.E., first establishes an intricate network of allusions between the early (pre-renunciate) life of Siddhārtha Gautama and the career of the hero of the Rāmāyana. Then, in the latter part of the poem (ed., tr., E.H. Johnston, "The Buddha's Mission and Last Journey: Buddhacarita XV-XXVIII," Acta Orientala, Vol. XV (1937), pp. 26-62, 85-111, 231-292), the continual allusions to Rama and to other heroes of the Brahmanical tradition disappear, and the special status of the Buddha as 'spiritual hero' as distinct from the epic hero comes to the fore. As A.K. Warder has observed (Indian Kāvya Literature, Vol. II: Origins and Formation of the Classical Kāvya [Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1974], pp. 152-153), the Rāmāyana is the "model which the Life of Buddha [Buddhacarita] is intended to match or surpass." Aśvaghoṣa celebrates the heroes of the Brahmanical tradition, but also portrays the Buddha as having done them, even Rama, one better. In this context, as a layman, virtuous, but clearly not of the status of Pūrṇa or the

15. (cont'd) Buddha, Bhavila is portrayed as noble and self-sacrificing, and at one juncture, the pattern of his life clearly is meant to recall a similar pattern in that of Rama. Similarly, the pattern of Pūrṇa's life is meant to suggest a vaiśya 'version' of the life of the Buddha.

16. "Noble deed" is another possible translation for "avadāna". It may be that, in the same way one finds principal and subsidiary plots in works of literature, in the Pūrṇāvadāna Bhavila's deeds qualify or are meant to suggest a cūllāvadāna or hīnāvadāna, i.e., 'lesser noble deeds', as distinguished from the central focus upon Purna's mahāvadāna or 'great glorious deeds'.

17. For a discussion of the multiple meanings running through this exchange, see Pt. V, notes 37 & 38, pp. 136-137.

18. That all people change for the better when the Buddha visits a city is highly dramatized in the Sumāgadhāvadāna: as the Buddha enters the city of Puṇḍravardhana, all manner of miracles take place - the lame walk, the blind see, the insane become sane, etc. For reference, see Pt. III, p. 45 and accompanying notes.

19. What I have translated as "saved", the participle samhāritā (from the verbal root hṛ prefixed by sam), can also have the sense of "withdraw, withold, take back" (Apte, op.cit., p. 1598); or even "take for one's self, appropriate, carry off, rob" (Monier-Williams, op.cit., p. 1123). In other words, Pūrṇa may well be telling Bhavila's wife that he would have been prepared to embezzle funds from the family business, had he known Bhavatrāta and Bhavanandin would be so underhanded.

20. Again, my thanks to Dr. Granoff for pointing out this fact.

21. See Pt. V, n. 17, pp. 132-133.

22. Cf. n. 15 above.

23. sarvaromakūpāni āhṛṣṭāni, which I have rendered as "got goose-bumps all over", more literally means 'his hair, both body and head, stood on end', but in English idiom this would suggest the shock of terror rather than, as in the Sanskrit, the thrill of delight and the surging of faith.

24. Though Pūrṇa's conversion (for want of a better word) through merely hearing the sūtras and gāthās recited is remarkable, we find an analogous event in the Mahāvagga (I,23,3-6) of the Pali Vinayapiṭaka (Rhys Davids & Oldenberg, op.cit., pp. 145-147). A recently-ordained bhikkhu, Assaji, is questioned by Sariputta (Skt., Śāriputra) about the doctrine professed and taught by the Buddha. Not yet well versed in the intricacies of the Dhamma (Skt., Dharma), Assaji tells his interlocutor: " 'Of all objects which proceed from a cause, the Tathāgata has explained the cause, and He has explained their cessation also; this is the doctrine of the great Samaṇa'." Merely upon hearing this, Sariputta "ob-

24. (cont'd) tained the pure and spotless Eye of the Truth (that is, the following knowledge): 'Whatsoever is subject to the condition of origination is subject also to the condition of cessation'." This refers to the doctrine of 'dependent origination' or 'conditioned co-production' (Pali, paṭiccasamuppāda; Skt., pratītyasamutpāda), which, in the Pāli Vinaya (Mahāvagga, I,1,2-7 [Rhys Davids & Oldenberg, op.cit., pp. 75-78]) is described as constitutive of enlightenment. In a later text, the Mahāpadānasutta (Walshe, op.cit., pp. 211-213), insight into dependent origination is also described as constitutive of the enlightenment of the previous Buddha Vipassi.

25. Yoshito S. Hakeda, tr., The Awakening of Faith (New York & London: Colombia University Press, 1967). Although essentially a philosophical work, some sections of the work (pp. 92ff.) deal with the importance of faith "in the Ultimate Source. . .in the numberless excellent qualities of the Buddhas. . .in the great benefits of the Dharma. . .in the Sangha. . . .Because [of this faith] a man comes to approach the assembly of Bodhisattvas constantly and with joy and to seek instruction from them in correct practice." The reconstructed Sanskrit title of the work is Mahāyānaśraddhotpādaśāstra or 'Treatise on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna', and is attributed by Chinese Buddhist tradition to the same Aśvaghoṣa who wrote the Buddhacarita (p. 3). However, it is practically certain (p. 5) that Aśvaghoṣa was not its author, and it may well be a native Chinese work (p. 7).

While the above śāstra may be as late as the mid-sixth century C.E., and much influenced by the Yogācāra philosophical school of Buddhism, the role of faith is highlighted in the Pārāyaṇa section of the Suttanipāta (tr. H. Saddhatissa [London: Curzon Press Ltd., 1985], p. 132), one of the earliest Pāli documents: The Buddha tells an elderly bhikkhu that " 'other people have freed themselves by the power of confidence [saddhā; also translated as 'faith']. Vakkalī, Bhadrāvudha and Ālavi-Gotama have all done this. You too should let that strength release you; you too will go to the further shore, beyond the draw of death'." (verse 1146) A version of Vakkalī's story appears in the Pūrṇāvadāna (my translation, pp. 116-118).

26. E.H. Johnston, tr., The Saundarananda: or, Nanda the Fair, Panjab University Oriental Publications, No. 14 (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), Canto XVIII, verses 62, 64.

27. Technically, this may be considered an example of wholesome anuśaya, defined by Edgerton (op.cit., p. 35) as "propensity (usually to evil), (innate) proclivity (inherited from former births), disposition (to do something, usually evil)". Alternately, one could regard it consider Pūrṇa's intense reaction to hearing the sūtras and the Buddha's name as the activation of saṃskāras (ibid., p. 542), "predispositions, the effect of past deeds and experience as conditioning a new state." Or, as in the case of the five hundred housewives converted by the Buddha on his way from Śrāvastī to Sūrpāraka (p. 113), we may say that Pūrṇa's first experience (in his present life) of the Buddha and his Dharma shows that he "has planted the roots of spiritual merit over many lifetimes."

28. This also alludes to the Vinaya rule (Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, op.cit., pp. 209-210 [Mahāvagga, I,54,5]) that those wishing to enter the Saṅgha must receive their parents' permission before ordination can be performed. Here, Bhavila is acting as Pūrṇa's father.

29. Pūrṇa's advice (pp. 93-94) to Bhavila on the dangers of crossing the ocean, both a warning about its physical dangers and an allegorical reference to the dangers of the "great ocean" of saṃsāra, suggests that although Pūrṇa's eyes are now firmly fixed upon the distant spiritual horizon, the 'further shore' that is the end of suffering, he continues to be well aware of the exigencies of the mundane world. Arhat and wonder-worker though he becomes, throughout the story Pūrṇa remains actively involved in the life of his family and community (see p. 221).

30. Cf. W.W. Rockhill, tr., The Life of the Buddha and the Early History of His Order (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1884; repr. ed., Petaling Jaya, Malaysia: Mandala Reprints, 1987), p. 25. See also, E.J. Thomas, The Life of Buddha, pp. 54-57 for a comparison with other versions of this event.

31. In the Dīghanikāya (Walshe, op.cit., pp. 157, 170, 216, 217), the request for ordination is rendered by the translator as "Lord, may I receive the going-forth at the Lord's hands, may I receive ordination!" In our story, the requests for ordination by the five hundred ṛsis (pp. 115-116) and by Vakkalin (p. 117) appear to be expanded versions of Pūrṇa's statements to Bhavila and Anāthapiṇḍada. The formula for requesting ordination in the Pāli Vinaya (e.g., Rhys Davids & Oldenberg, XIII, p. 111 [Mahāvagga, I,9,4]) reads much the same as those in the Dīghanikāya. It may be that Pūrṇa's statements here are more the resolution to renounce the world and embrace the religious life under the Buddha, rather than versions of the formal request for receiving either the lower or higher ordination. On the other hand, versions of Pūrṇa's statement as requests for ordination may be found in other canonical texts I have not been able to consult, or, the possibility remains that in the avadānas an idiom distinct from the sūtra and vinaya literature was developed. A matter requiring further research.

32. Maurice Winternitz (History of Indian Literature, Vol. II: Buddhist Literature and Jaina Literature, tr. S. Ketkar & H. Kohn, revised by the author [Univ. of Calcutta, 1927; 2nd ed., New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corp., 1972], p. 284), notes that the Divyāvadāna stories frequently quote "[t]he Sanskrit Canon and single canonical texts such as Dīrghāgama, Udāna, Sthavira-Gāthā, and so on," but gives no specific examples, although he cites (ibid., n. 4) an 1898 article by Hermann Oldenberg. Indeed, merely tracing quotations from the canonical literature found in the Pūrṇāvadāna would be a formidable task, although if even moderately successful, would enlighten us considerably with regard to the sources of the story. At present, I demur.

33. This raises the question of religious biography in ancient India in general. If avadāna-type narratives are common to all or most of

33. (cont'd) the Buddhist schools, similar hagiographical narratives were also produced in the Hindu and Jain traditions, and thus avadānas maybe only one sub-category of a pan-Indian literary genre. In addition, religious biographies within the Buddhist tradition but outside of India form another vast body of texts. Such generic and historical study could be a valuable contribution to the understanding of individual texts, such as the Pūrṇāvadāna, as much for what such study can tell us about ways in which particular stories depart from generic conventions as about those conventions themselves. Although in Pt. IV I have distinguished - rightly, I think - between 'extrinsic' and 'intrinsic' approaches to the study of literary works, the fact remains that even the practitioner of 'close reading' must possess a competent knowledge of the contributions made by extrinsic approaches, if only to be able to distinguish between what is unique and what is conventional in a specific text.

34. See p. 265, n. 25. A similar version (although different in a number of significant details) of the Buddha's encounter with Vakkalin is found in the Dhammapada Commentary (E.W. Burlingame, tr., Buddhist Legends, Harvard Oriental Series Vols. 28-30 [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1921], Vol. 30, pp. 262-264. In this version, Vakkalī, already a bhikkhu, is unable to gaze upon the Buddha while in retreat. He resolves to fling himself from the top of Mt. Vulture Peak. Knowing of this telepathically, the Buddha sends a mind-made likeness of himself to the mountain; Vakkalin leaps from the peak and attains arhatship and psychic powers before he hits the ground by which action he is not injured as he cushions himself with his new-found power of levitation. The story concludes: "On a subsequent occasion the Teacher assigned him the foremost place among those who possess the propensity for faith." Cf. Saṃyuttanikāya I.160-161; III.119-124.

35. Here I am assuming the validity of the following procedure, stated although not originated by Edward Conze (Buddhist Thought in India [George Allen & Unwin, 1962; repr. ed., Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michegan Press, 1967], p. 31): "In order to single out the earlier layers, we must compare the recensions of the different schools, principally the Pali Canon of the Theravādins, the Sanskrit scriptures of the Sarvāstivādins and the few surviving texts of the Mahāsaṅghikas. Where we find passages in which the texts of the Theravādins and Sarvāstivādins agree almost word by word, we can assume that they were composed at a time antedating the separation of the two schools, which took place during Aśoka's rule, roughly about 250 B.C. Where they do not agree, we may, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, infer their post-Aśokan date. In those cases where we can establish a close similarity also with the Mahāsaṅghika texts, we are carried back one more century, to c. 340 B.C., within 140 years of the Buddha's Nirvana, when the Mahāsaṅghikas separated from the Sthaviras who were the ancestors of both Theravādins and Sarvāstivādins."

36. See p. 266, n. 32.

37. Saddhatissa, op.cit., pp. 120-121, vv. 1050, 1055.

38. Walshe, op.cit., p. 335. Cf. Nyanaponika Thera, The Heart of Buddhist Meditation (Rider & Co., 1962; repr. ed., New York: Samuel Wiser, Inc., 1965), p. 117.

39. See pp. 261-262, n. 8.

40. Guy Welbon, The Buddhist Nirvāṇa and its Western Interpreters (Chicago: The University Press, 1968) presents a detailed history of Western conception of the key Buddhist concept, Nirvāṇa. Until quite recently, Western scholars seem to have vascillated between regarding Nirvāṇa as a cipher for God and being certain that it represents a nihilist doctrine of complete extinction.

41. Rhys Davids & Oldenberg, op.cit., Vol. XX, p. 230, n. 4, define the "fruit of entrance into the stream" (Pali, sotāpattiphala) as freedom from the delusion of self (sakkāyadiṭṭhi), from doubt (vicikicchā), and from dependence upon ceremonies or works (sīlabbata-parāmāsa).

42. Ibid., pp. 112-113.

43. F.W. Woodward, tr., The Book of the Kindred Sayings (Saṃyutta-Nikāya), Vol. IV, Pali Text Society Translation Series No. 14 (London: Luzac & Co., 1927; repr. ed., 1956), p. 35, n. 2. Woodward describes the "graduated scale of ill-treatment" as "the stock formula for such cases" and refers to the Buddha's advice to Phagguna at Majjhimanikāya, I.124.

44. I.B. Horner, tr., The Collection of the Middle Length Sayings (Majjhima-Nikāya), Vol. III: The Final Fifty Discourses (Uparipaṇṇāsa), Pali Text Society Translation Series No. 31 (London: Luzac & Co., 1959; repr. ed., 1967), pp. 321-322 (M.III,269).

45. Ibid., p. 322, n. 1. Horner cites the Majjhimanikāya Commentary (MA.v.92), according to which "[t]he people reverenced his body for a week and then, having collected sweet scented sticks, they cremated it, took away the remains and built a cetiya."

46. The Puṛṇāvadāna version (p. 102) implies that the hunter becomes an arhat without receiving ordination, one of the few examples in the Pāli tradition of a lay arhat. Here is one instance where one would wish to examine the commentary for additional information.

47. Horner, tr., Middle-Length Sayings, Vol. III, p. 322 (M.III.269-270).

48. Here I am once again grateful to Dr. Granoff for her valuable suggestions regarding the interpretation of these two passages.

49. James P. McDermott, op.cit., p. 176. Rhys Davids & Oldenberg, op.cit., Vol. XX, p. 246, n. 2, specify that the fruit of all deeds

49. (cont'd) is experienced in the next or subsequent births, except that of any of the 'five deadly sins' (matricide, parricide, killing an arhat, intentionally shedding the blood of a Buddha, causing schisms in the Saṅgha), which cause immediate rebirth in hell. However, in the Aṅguttaranikāya (I.38-39), deeds "which have their result in the present existence (diṭṭadhammika)," such as a man punished by the law for theft, are distinguished from "those which have their result in a future state (samparāyika)," such as Pūrṇa's reviling of the arhat (p. 127). It would seem that both types of karma are implied in the Pūrṇāvadāna. See McDermott, op.cit., p. 178.

50. See p. 268, n. 45. Pūrna was by no means the only arhat who was the object of a cult, if stūpas dedicated to particular arhats are any reliable indication of cultic worship. To cite only a few examples, in the early seventh century C.E., Hiuen Tsang, while travelling through Mathurā (NW India), observed stūpas erected in honour of Sāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, Ānanda, Upāli, Rāhula, and Pūrnamaitrayaṇīputra (Samuel Beal, tr., Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World, Two Vols. [London, 1884; repr. ed. (bound in one vol.), Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1981], I, p. 180; II, p. 177, 180. Here, in fact, Beal identifies Pūrṇamaitrayaṇīputra, a Brahman from Droṇavastu, with Pūrna of Sūrpāraka. The Pāli texts clearly distinguish between these two men, but perhaps further study is warranted. Fa-hien, travelling in the same region in the early fifth century C.E., makes similar observations (Ibid., Introduction, p. xxxviii). Numerous similar references could be cited from the accounts of these and other Chinese pilgrims.

John Strong, "The Legend of the Lion Roarer: A Study of the Buddhist Arhat Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja," Numen, Vol. XXVI (1979), Fasc. 1, pp. 50-88, discusses in detail the development of the cult devoted to this arhat, noting that the worship of Piṇḍola in China and Japan, which continues even today, is a "continuation of the several themes we detected in his legend as it appears in the Pāli texts" (p. 81).

51. D.R. Shackleton Bailey, "Notes on the Divyāvadāna, Part I," Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. LXXXII (1950), p. 167.

52. Ibid., pp. 174-183.

53. Jean Przyluski, "Fables in the Vinaya-Piṭaka of the Sarvāstivādin School," Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. V, No. 1 (Mar., 1929), p. 5.

54. Robert Alter, The Art of Biblical Narrative (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1981), pp. 24-25.

55. See p. 266, n. 32.

56. Edgerton, op.cit., p. 431; T.W. Rhys Davids & William Stede, eds., The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary (1921-1925; repr. ed., London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), p. 531. See also Pt. V, n. 49, pp. 140-141.

57. John S. Strong, "Gandhakuṭī: The Perfumed Chamber of the Buddha," History of Religions XVI, No. 4 (May, 1977), pp. 392-395.

58. Ibid., p. 393. Here Strong is referring to the conclusion of Harry Campbell Norman, "Gandhakuṭī - the Buddha's Private Abode," Journal of the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, Vol. IV (1908), p. 4.

59. Henry Clarke Warren, tr., Buddhism in Translations, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 3 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1896; repr. ed., 1922), pp. 93-94. Also cited in Strong, "Gandhakuti," p. 390.

60. See p. 269, n. 56.

61. Strong, "Gandhakuṭī," p. 396.

62. Ibid., pp. 396-397.

63. Ibid., pp. 394-395. Strong cites several instances in the Avadāna-śataka when flower-offerings create "a new space around the Buddha", i.e., P.L. Vaidya, ed., Avadānaśatakam, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts No. 19 (Darbhanga, Bihar: Mithila Institute, 1958), pp. 1ff., 4ff., 18ff., 23ff., 57ff., 191.

64. I cannot, however, support Strong's contention ("Gandhakuṭī," p. 396) that the Buddha is inside his gandhakuṭī at the time the flower-pavilion appears. The text merely states (p. 107; Sanskrit text, p. 26.29ff.) that the flowers, water and incense "appeared in the place of honour of an elder." Only later (p. 111, Skt., p. 28.12) does it state: "As soon the Lord with full mindfulness set foot in his perfumed chamber, the earth shook in six different ways. . . ." This surely implies that he was not sitting in the gandhakuṭī earlier in this scene. This is not a major problem, however, and does not seriously affect Strong's main thesis.

65. Edgerton, op.cit., p. 136, defines upadhivāra as "literally, guardian of material objects; beadle or provost of a monastery, in charge of physical properties." On the other hand, the Buddha (p. 120), in explaining to Maudgalyāyana why he may accept for him "special almsfood", describes his function at that time as that of an upadhivāra, which I have translated there as "administrator of a monastery." Edgerton's definition could work in this second instance, if one understood his function as protecting the Sandalwood Pavilion from the possible depradations of the nāgas, yet the Buddha seems to be acting as more than a beadle or provost. Perhaps a single, more comprehensive term may yet be found.

66. Sukumar Dutt, Buddhist Monks and Monasteries in India (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1962), p. 149.

67. Strong, "Gandhakuṭī," p. 399. Cf. H.C. Norman, op.cit., p. 2.

68. Vaidya, ed., Avadānaśatakam, p. 242.

69. Ibid., p. 96.

70. This is the topic of the famous 'parable of the burning house', H. Kern, tr., The Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, pp. 72-89.

71. Edward Conze, tr., The Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines and its Verse Summary, Wheel Series 1 (Bolinas, Calif.: Four Seasons Foundation, 1973; repr. with corrections, 1975), p. 198. There is in this exchange a bhikṣu identified as "Pūrṇa", but almost certainly it is Pūrṇamaitrayaṇīputra who is meant, he who is called the "foremost of preachers of the Dharma" in the Aṅguttaranikāya.

72. Pūrṇāvadāna (my tr.), p. 125; Vaidya, ed. (Skt. text), p. 32.29-30. I have added a negative (na) which does not occur in the Sanskrit. This correction does accord (although I only discovered the agreement after having made the translation) with D.R.S. Shackleton Bailey, op.cit., p. 182, who has corrected the Sanskrit text by reference to the Tibetan translation (Ḥdul ba).

73. Kern, op.cit., pp. 65ff.

74. Ibid., p. 98.

75. Ibid., pp. 98-99.

76. Ibid., pp. 99-108.

77. John Garret Jones, Tales and Teachings of the Buddha (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979), pp. 186-188.

78. P.L. Vaidya, ed., Divyāvadānam, Buddhist Sanskrit Text No. 20 (Darbhanga, Bihar: Mithila Institute), p. 206.8-28 (Saṅgharakṣitāvadāna).

79. I have not been able to trace this regulation in Rhys Davids' and Oldenberg's translation of the Pāli Vinaya, although I have not consulted I.B. Horner's more complete translation. The regulation may be a device occurring only in our story (or in avadānas), or it may occur in the Vinaya of one of the other schools.

80. Beal, tr., Si-yu-ki, I, p. 187; II, pp. 6, 175; James Legge, tr., A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886; repr. ed., New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp./Dover Publications, Inc., 1965), pp. 40, 44-46, 71, 72.

81. For example, all of the suttas of the Dīghanikāya (Walshe, op.cit.) commence with this phrase. The Pāli account of Ānanda's recitation of the sūtras is found in the Vinaya (XI,1,8) [Rhys Davids & Oldenberg, op.cit., XX, pp. 376-377]; the Tibetan translation of the account in the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, in Rockhill, op.cit., pp. 157-158.

82. E.g., Kern, op.cit., p. 1; Conze, Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines, p. 83; Robert Thurman, tr., The Holy Teaching of Vimalakīrti (University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976), p. 10; plus most of the sūtras in P.L. Vaidya, ed., Mahāyānasūtrasaṃgrahaḥ, Part I, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts No. 17 (Darbhanga, Bihar: The Mithila Institute, 1961).

83. Of the thirty-eight stories in the Divyāvadāna, twenty-nine do not begin with the evaṃ mayā śrutam formula. Normally, the opening sentence of a story, as in ours, indicates where the Buddha was staying at that time.

84. An interesting literary strategy was adopted by the writers of many of the avadānamālās. The last story in the Avadānaśataka "introduces for the first time the figure of the elder Upagupta, who is presented as the narrator of the story itself." In the much later avadānamālās, e.g., Kalpadrumavadānamālā, Aśokavadānamālā, Ratnāvadānamālā, Dvaviṃśatyavadāna, Divyāvadānamālā, Ratnamālāvadāna, the stories are presented as being told to the Emperor Aśoka by the bhikṣu Upagupta. In the Aśokāvadāna, Ānanda is portrayed as predicting the conversion and eminence of Upagupta (Jean Przyluski, The Legend of Emperor Aśoka, tr., D.K. Biswas (1st French ed., Paris, 1923; English tr., Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1967, p. 4). Thus we have the literary device whereby Ānanda, acknowledged by all schools as reciter of the sūtras and the one who had heard more of the Buddha-word than any other person, implicitly gives his seal of approval to Upagupta, who is then utilized by later writers to 'authenticate' many different avadāna collections. In the Aśokāvadāna, Upagupta is even described as an "alakṣanabuddha", i.e., a Buddha without the thirty-two principal and eighty subsidiary physical characteristics of a mahāpuruṣa. This would particularly qualify Upagupta as a reliable narrator, as least in traditional terms.

Przyluski (Legend, p. 7ff.) argues that the eminence accorded to Upagupta in the Aśokāvadāna and related texts "is explained by the fact that Upagupta is the great savant of Mathurā" and that to exalt him "is the same as to glorify the community whose chief he was." John Strong ("The Buddhist Avadānists and the Elder Upagupta," Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R.A. Stein, Mélange Chinois et Bouddhiques, Vol. XXII [Bruxelles: Institut Belge des Hautes Étude Chinoises, 1985], pp. 877-879), accepts that Przyluski's explanation may be of value when considering early avadāna texts like the Aśokāvadāna, but notes that in many of the much later avadānamālās Upagupta appears as the authoritative narrative persona without any reference being made to Mathurā. The details of his argument cannot be provided here, but his conclusion is that (Ibid., pp. 869, 879) these later writers turned "to the well-accepted precedent of introducing as narrator the figure of the legitimizer par excellence of avadāna literature - Upagupta." Again, we have an example of the complimentarity of historical and literary approaches.

However, it appears that in the Pūrṇāvadāna and many other early avadānas the Buddha as the narrative persona relating the 'story of the past' was thought sufficient authority for validating the veracity of the text to a traditionally-minded audience.

85. Aṅguttaranikāya VI.63. Discussed in James P. McDermott, op.cit., pp. 181-184, where the author distinguishes between Sarvāstivādin and Theravādin understandings of cetanā. Their differences of opinion do not affect the present discussion.

86. 'Stories of the past', in the Divyāvadāna, are frequently set in the time of the previous Buddha Kāśyapa, e.g. (Vaidya's ed.), Koṭikarṇāvadāna (p. 13.19); Indrabrāhmaṇāvadāna (p. 48.8); Svāgatāvadāna (p. 119.11); Dharmarucyavadāna (p. 144.31); Saṅgharakshitāvadāna (p. 208.12, 17); Nāgakumārāvadāna (p. 213.3); Saṅgharakṣitāvadāna (p. 215.6); Toyikāmahāvadāna (p. 303.12); Cūḍāpakṣāvadāna (p. 439.16).

87. Walshe, op.cit., Mahāpadānasutta, pp. 199-221.

88. W.G. Weeraratne, "Avadānaśataka," Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, Vol. II, ed., G.P. Malalasekhara (Colombo: Gov't of Ceylon, 1966), p. 399.

89. The prohibition against "harsh speech", Purna's sin here, can be found in the Kūṭadantasutta (Walshe, op.cit., p. 137); the Sevitābbasevitabbasutta (I.B. Horner, tr., Middle-Length Sayings, Vol. III, pp. 97-98), where, as one of the Ten Precepts, it is related to the production of 'skilful' (kuśala) and 'unskilful' (akuśala) mental states; and in the Aṅguttaranikāya (F.W. Woodward, tr., The Book of the Gradual Sayings, Vol. V [London, 1936; repr. ed., London: Luzac & Co., 1972], pp. 178-80).

In his study of the Jātaka, John Garret Jones (op.cit., pp. 121-123), notes "the particular emphasis given to speech" in the Pāli Nikāyas. He discusses a number of examples from the Majjhima- and Saṃyutta-Nikāyas, concluding that the concern for true and well-regulated speech is central to Buddhism because no other authority is available. "[F]rom the point of view of the Nikāyas, social life must be regulated by the Dhamma and, pre-eminent in all this, is the virtue of truth-speaking itself."

In the avadāna-literature, the theme of the "deed of harsh speech" occurs in a number of other places. Two examples: In the Bhaiṣajyavastu section of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya (cited in Przyluski, Legend, pp. 84-85), the arhat Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja explains his many births in the hells as resulting from his wretched treatment of his mother, brothers and sisters in a former life. Avarice, stinginess and cruelty are certainly highlighted, but in refusing to give food to his famished mother, Piṇḍola recalls telling her, " 'You may eat tiles and stones'," surely harsh speech par excellence. We also find an example in The Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish (tr. Stanley Frye, Dharamsala, India: Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, 1981, pp. 35-36). Here, the extreme ugliness of King Prasenajit's daughter, Vajrā, in her present life, is explained by the Buddha as resulting from her habit, in a previous birth, of insulting an ugly pratyekabuddha to whom her father was devoted.

90. Confession of faults or of violations of the monastic disciplinary regulations (prātimokṣa; Pāli, pātimokkha) was, of course an extremely ancient practice enjoined upon Buddhist bhikṣus. In the Introduction (nidāna) to the Pātimokkha (among other places), we learn of the spiritual importance of confessing faults and misdeeds (Rhys Davids & Oldenberg, op.cit., XIII, p. 2).

VII. Conclusion: Toward a Literary History of the Pūrṇa-Legend.

In undertaking this study my principle aims were twofold. First, to make available for the first time an English translation (see Pt. III, p. 39) of the full text of the Pūrṇāvadāna in its Divyāvadāna recension. Second, to demonstrate in a practical way the validity of literary analysis as a methodology for the study of the avadāna-literature. Part of this demonstration has involved acknowledging that literary analysis is not intended to replace the more traditional historical-textual approach favoured by most scholars, but rather to prove that both methodologies are necessary and that, moreover, they are complementary.

I am satisfied that these aims have been fulfilled. What I have not attempted and not achieved is a or the definitive analysis of the Pūrṇāvadāna. Such an accomplishment would require an historical erudition and a linguistic fluency which I do not, and may never, possess. In any case, the reader of this study - should there be any other than those who sat on the examination committee - must decide for himself or herself. However, as in the most rigorous scientific experiments, the final proof or disproof of the applicability of my approach shall be possible only if and when other students of the Buddhist tradition begin to analyze other Buddhist narratives as narratives, as literary works.

The hypothesis - and now the conclusion - of this thesis has been - and is - that although the Pūrṇāvadāna is in many ways a highly conventional tale, written largely in a simple folk-tale style, and

replete with verbatim quotations from other Buddhist and Indian texts, it nevertheless is a complex literary work of art, utilizing many of the same artful strategies of language and composition associated with Dante, Shakespeare or the great novels of Western literature. Once this is accepted, the procedure is simple: literary works require literary analysis. The single most important conclusion to be made here is that this same kind of analysis may - indeed, must - be applied to other Buddhist narrative works: other avadānas, the stories abundantly found in the Pali aṭṭhakathās, even the sūtras themselves, Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna.

The chief lesson to be learned from an application of the literary 'close reading' approach to the Pūrṇāvadāna is that the most accurate and comprehensive understanding of its themes, i.e., its meaning, must begin by conceiving the text as a discrete whole, an organic unity, a unique and irreducible linguistic-narrative construct. At least this must be our operating assumption until careful reading and reflection proves otherwise.

This assumption often proves valid even where the text appears as a patchwork of narrative segments and conventional formulae taken from other works, for it frequently turns out that the text is quite deliberately quoting these works in order to utilize them in its own narrative economy. Here conventionality does not preclude creativity. On a methodological note, it is often with regard to these 'least original' aspects of the text that the literary and historical-textual approaches can be most reciprocally illuminating.

For those scholars whose primary interests are the development

of Buddhist doctrine or other aspects of religious history, to treat the Pūrṇāvadāna (or any other narrative) as raw material for their researches is a perfectly valid (and valuable) enterprise. However, scholars risk oversimplified, even distorted conclusions if they are content to extract doctrinal or historical information from the text without having first carefully studied the narrative context, for very often the meaning of a statement or passage is determined by this context.

Even - indeed, especially - where a theme, say that of karma and its fruit (phala), is particularly obvious there is a crucial difference between recognizing the importance or presence of said theme and appreciating the manifold strategies by means of which it is articulated. The avadānas have been characteritized as 'karma-tales' as if that was certainly their most important thematic feature. Our reading of the Pūrṇāvadāna shows that while the doctrine of karma is an important device, the real project of the text lies elsewhere. Narrative is a mode of communication and of knowledge, distinct from logical and linear argumentation or propositional reasoning. One cannot apply the same criteria to a story that one does to analyzing Nāgārjuna's arguments in the Mūlamadhyamakakārikā. Here we must recall the two modes for the communication of religious truths outlined by Sangharakshita (Pt. IV, p. 64). In some sense the plot, i.e., sequence of events, in a literary work is a linear construct, but, as I have shown, narrative simultaneously employs the almost infinite resources of implication, allusion and symbolic action, which are not to be construed in the same way. A literary work establishes the totality of meaning by constructing a number of meaning-patterns in the telling of one sequence of events.

A philosophical work typically seeks to eliminate polysemy in order to establish one determinate meaning; a literary work, by contrast, exploits polysemy on all levels in order to establish the richest possible texture of meaning. This is one of the bases for the distinction made between reason and imagination, the abstract and the concrete, the theoretical and the existential, philosophy and art.[1]

As the Buddha is represented saying in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra, "men of good understanding will generally readily enough catch the meaning of what is taught under the shape of a parable."[2]

In works like the Pūrṇāvadāna, Buddhists sought to dramatize, 'flesh out', the values of their tradition, to show how the Three Jewels made a difference peoples' lives. The canonical literature repeatedly makes the point that the Buddha never conceived his teaching as another system of speculative philosophy, which is all too often how it is studied by Buddhists and non-Buddhists alike. It was (and is) meant to be lived; or, as we sometimes say in English, 'it gets you where you live'. Whatever we may think of bhikṣus cavorting in mid-air, of wooden buildings being transformed into crystal or of bald-headed śramaṇas travelling to other solar systems, these are all devices by means of which the authors chose to portray the establishment in one community of the Buddha's teaching.

The Pūrṇāvadāna and other avadānas are of course not historical documents. Whether conceived as historicized fiction, fictionalized history, legend or myth, they are literary fictions, and must be studied as such. As a work of narrative fiction, the Pūrṇāvadāna creates its themes through the complex interplay of the myriad devices characteristic

of literary works. Together - seen as a web not a chain - these features (see Pt. IV, pp. 65-71) constitute the work as an "intricately interconnected unity."[3] What arises out of reflection upon reading the Pūrṇāvadāna as such a unity has been recorded in the preceding pages. A recapitulation of some of these may be appropriate here.

We have examined the important allegorical elements, i.e., the 'allegory of the names' and the allegorical implications of Pūrṇa's parentage (pp. 160ff.) as well as the complex of meanings centred around 'great ocean' (mahāsamudra) [pp. 186-189]. We have seen that the story of Pūrṇa's life articulates a refutation of the charge that the Buddhist teaching destroys families (pp. 169-180). We have noted that this story in its own 'mercantile idiom' continues the perennial Buddhist theme of whether personal status is to be determined by birth (class) or by one's actions (virtue) [pp. 172-173]. A series of allusions places the lives of Pūrṇa and to a lesser extent Bhavila in the larger context of the great culture heroes of the Indian tradition (pp. 177, 191-192, 194-195). In Pūrṇa's electric response to the merchants' chanting (pp. 190-192), we find some of the self-referential commentary on the function of literature to which so much attention has been paid in recent literary theory.[4] The story provides some graphic examples of the transformation of traditional materials by the literary imagination (pp. 209-212). The text raises the question, germaine to the study of Buddhist doctrine, as to whether karmavipāka operates only from life to life or within individual lives (p. 215). The story dramatizes the development of a Pūrṇa-cult (pp. 216-225) and also presents Pūrṇa as the spiritual hero through whose agency the Buddhist community of

Sūrpāraka is able to validate or authenticate its particular Dharma tradition by tracing its 'spiritual lineage' directly back to the Buddha himself (pp. 227-238). Close reading has demonstrated that what some scholars have dismissed as the mere moralizing function of the 'story of the past' is actually linked by intricate thematic connections to Purna's character and actions as depicted in the 'story of the present' (pp. 238-240, 255-256). While scholars have remarked in a general way that the avadānas represent, doctrinally, a transitional stage between the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna,[5] literary analysis supports these observations by means of specific reference to concrete details in the text of the Pūrṇāvadāna, and raises, in passing, the whole issue of the relation (genetic? generic?) between the avadānas and sūtras like the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka (pp. 242-243). Finally, literary analysis permits us to be so bold as to suggest that the meaning of the text resonates even beyond its closing sentence (pp. 258-259).

These of course are just a selection of the topics treated in the foregoing analysis. Prominent also in the story is the entire issue of how a mercantile community, dedicated to the acquisition of wealth, manages to glorify a renunciate religious tradition without calling into question its own values (e.g., pp. 186-188). In any case, it is remarkable that one could learn so much about how Indian Buddhists of the fourth century C.E. thought about their faith and its history and its relation to the rest of their lives in just twenty pages of Sanskrit text. This is because literary discourse manages to develop several levels of meaning simultaneously and successively. Scholars continue to study the intricacies of Buddhist philosophy, but a literary

work, through its polysemic art, can lead us into a whole world of meaning and implication, yet without being arcane or cryptic. We are only required to learn the rules of its discourse.

Seen this way, first and foremost this study has been an entry into and an exploration of a world - the world of the work. The Pūrṇāvadāna is not only a world of linearity, of cause-and-effect, but a world of interrelatedness, a many-layered, textured, dynamic, vivid, resonant, living world. Paul Ricoeur, an important contemporary literary theorist and philosopher, describes the process of textual interpretation as the coming together of two horizons of understanding and meaning - that of the world of the reader and that of the world of the work.[6] The study of ancient Buddhist narrative provides particularly rich material for hermeneutical reflection, for one must 'learn a world' in order to make fullest sense of a text. Buddhist doctrine and technical terminology, ancient Indian history and geography, social customs and organization, economic life, non-Buddhist religious traditions and customs, pan-Indian and Buddhist literary history - the competent reader of the Pūrṇāvadāna must come 'armed' with a knowledge of all these fields if he is to do justice to the text. Hence the convergence or complementarity of literary and historical-textual approaches. Hence the massive annotation which comprises such an large proportion of the length of this study. Hence the constant internal references to other parts of the thesis. Hence the necessity to combine all this with patient, attentive, close reading.

In the synthesizing and analyzing mind of the interpreter the world (the totality of historical, 'extrinsic' information) and the work (the text) are transmuted into the world of the work.

But much has been left undone in this study or has been done inadequately. For example, the literary analysis could have been far more comprehensive and therefore more accurate were my command of Sanskrit more fluent. This applies particularly at the lexical level, which is exactly where Robert Alter, in his study of Biblical narrative, displays some of his most penetrating insights.

With respect to the historical, religious and literary context within which the Pūrṇāvadāna must be situated, my expertise is particularly wanting. For example, one could dedicate an entire study to the nineteen verses which occur in the text: where else do they occur? Are they specifically Buddhist or also found in Jain and Hindu texts? Does their meaning change when inserted into the narrative environment of our story? Clearly, the story quotes or alludes to many canonical texts. My discussion of these has been superficial at best. More exact knowledge of the sources of these passages would enable the critic to better understand their function in the Pūrṇāvadāna.

Perhaps most importantly, the Pūrṇāvadāna as it is found in Vaidya's and Cowell's editions of the Divyāvadāna, is only one version of the story. As mentioned in Part III (pp. 39-40), a number of other versions exist in manuscript collections, unedited, untranslated, and little studied. Moreover, a number of references to and versions of the Pūrṇa-story are found in the Pāli Canon and its commentaries as well as in the Tibetan and, quite likely, Chinese Buddhist canons. What this amounts to is that the 'glorious deeds of Pūrṇa' is not only the subject of this study, but a whole 'family' of narratives, an acquaintance with which can be of considerable value to a student of even

one of these versions.

In addition, there exists a large body of (so-called) karma-tales in the Jain tradition, both in Sanskrit and Prākrit. Who knows what treasures they have to offer, to what degree a knowledge of them could fill in some of the indistinct contours of that ancient Indian literary world inhabited by the Pūrṇāvadāna?

The foregoing considerations suggest the value of a new direction of study in connection with our text, one that partakes both of 'extrinsic' and 'intrinsic' approaches, that deals with both text and its context. It suggests the value of studying the literary history of the Pūrṇa-legend. Even confining ourselves to hagiographic accounts of Pūrṇa's life that are extant in, say, Sanskrit, Pāli and Tibetan, would afford ample opportunity for close reading, comparative literary analysis and historical-textual research. Philologist, historian, Buddhologist, folklorist and literary critic could work hand in hand to trace and analyze the life of Pūrṇa as it has been celebrated in Indian Buddhist tradition. And so we see that this study has merely shown us that there are many worlds and many works left to discover.

Notes to Part VII.

1. Paul Ricoeur, "Creativity in Language: Word, Polysemy, Metaphor," tr. David Pellauer, Philosophy Today XVII (1973), pp. 97-111.

2. H. Kern, tr., The Saddharmapuṇḍarīka or The Lotus of the True Law, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXI (Oxford University Press, 1884; repr. ed., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965), p. 72.

3. Robert Alter, The Art of Biblical Narrative (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1981), p. 11.

4. Linda Hutcheon, Narcissistic Narrative: The Metafictional Paradox (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier Univ. Press, 1980), provides an excellent introduction to this (to me) fascinating area of literary studies.

5. For this see Maurice Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature (University of Calcutta, 1927; repr. ed., New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corp., 1972), Vol. II, p. 277; W.G. Weeraratne, Encyclopaedia of Buddhism (Colombo: Gov't of Ceylon, 1966), Vol. II, p. 397; John Strong, The Legend of King Aśoka (Princeton: The University Press, 1983), p. 37.

6. Paul Ricoeur, "Metaphor and the Main Problem of Hermeneutics," New Literary History VI (1974-1975), pp. 106-110.

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