THE TEMPTATION OF THE BUDDHA

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

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

The attitude of the gods also differs. They are generally neutral and offer flowers to the Bodhisattva after he has emerged victorious from the struggle. In the account given in the Pali Mahakathā 4), Sakka (Indra) and Brahma take sides with the Bodhisattva, Sakka blowing a conch and Brahma holding a white umbrella, while a Naga praised the Bodhisattva. When, however, Mara's army advanced, they all ran away. Sakka stood at the end of the world, Brahma returned to the Brahmapura, and the Naga lay down in his palace, covering his face with his hands. According to the T' 93 Fo-pen-shang-ching, Indra, riding on his elephant Airavata and Varuna, the god of the water, are generals in Mara's army, and the god An-hsiang (peaceful-god-Shiva), the chief of the evil spirits is the first to turn round and flee. 5) This is all the more surprising, as the same text relates that all the gods came to protect and venerate the Bodhisattva when he was born. 6) The four-headed god An-hsiang for instance, was riding on a bull and took an umbrella to protect the newly born child, and Yama came to venerate him after having dismissed his prisoners from hell.

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

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In Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*, which is based on the *Talakan Dāsya*, the account of the temptation is as follows: "Then Mara, the Evil-one, went to him and said: 'Devadatta has subdued Kapilavastu; he has seized the palace and has crushed the Sakya. Why stay you here? He caused apparitions of Yasodharā, of Mārgīti, and of Īśa, of Devadatta and of the Sakyas who had stepped to appear before him, but the Bodhisattva remained unmoved. Then Mara reasoned with him, saying that it was impossible to find enlightenment, but all to no purpose. After that he called his three daughters, Deīre, Pleasure and Delight, and they tried all their allurements, but in vain; the Bodhisattva changed them into old hags. All the Evil-one's devices were unable to affect the Bodhisattva, and, seeing this, the deities of the pure abode and all the gods showered down flowers on the conqueror (Śīla), and sang songs of victory."  

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

The first group comprises T 99 Ta-sa-hun, the complete *Sangīkṣaṃga-saṃhitā* and T 100 Pei-ji Ta-sa-hun, an incomplete *Sangīkṣaṃga-saṃhitā*. The temptation of the Buddha of these two texts may be compared with the Pali *Sampara Nīvara* version, with which they agree in antha (sense) with only a few discrepancies in aparantya (wording). As will be seen below, parts of a version from the Pali *Samapata*, the *Pāli Vastu*, are incorporated in these texts.

The second group consists of T 145 Ta-sa-sa-khā *śīla-sa-pa-ṭā* sūtra, the *Ta-sa-sa* of the Matara-vaśāram and T 131 Ta-sa-sa *śīla-sa-kha-ṭā* sūtra, *Samadhitattva-buddhapattra*. The latter text begins with the appearance of the world at the commencement of a kalpa, and ends with the Buddha's visit to Kapilavastu. This text agrees on the whole with the account given in Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*. Apart from the fact that in T 131 the three women who attempt to seduce the Bodhisattva are created by Mara, whereas they are his daughters in T 145, and that the latter text is more detailed at the end, the two texts agree.

Two Chinese texts make up the third group: T 103 Ta-sa-sa-kha *śīla-sa-kha* sūtra and T 185 Ta-sa-sa-kha ta-sa-sa *śīla-sa-kla* sūtra, two biographies of the Buddha translated in 157 A.D. and between 134 and 150 respectively. T 103 is said to have been brought from Kapilavastu by the monk Ton-kia-to. The more elaborate versions of the episode in question have been grouped together in group four and five. Group four comprises
According to E. Windisch, who compared several Pali and Sanskrit versions of the Buddha's temptation by Mara, the Jātakamāla of the Pali Sutta-piṭaka, parts of which are found in Sanskrit in the Jātakapātra, in Chapter XVIII, belong to the earliest strata of the legend. This note tells us that Mara visited the Buddha while he was doing penance on the banks of the river Nāgarjun near Bodh-gaya. Mara remarked that the Buddha's power was extremely weak and that it would be better to do good works and perform sacrifices. The Buddha replied that his mind gets some benefit when the flesh is wasting away. He referred to Mara's twelve armies: (1) the ants, (2) the bees, (3) the locusts and grasshoppers, (4) the crabs and hoppers, (5) the ants, (6) the butterflies, (7) the flies, (8) the spiders, (9) the ants, (10) the bees, and (11) the butterflies and grasshoppers. He said that the Buddha was very wise and could use all these forces to his advantage. Mara then went away like a crow who thought that he had found a lump of fat and discovered it was but a stone. A more elaborate version of this episode is found in the Mahāparinirvāṇa of the Sanskrit Jātakapātra. E. Windisch traced this version, which occurs in Chapter XXVII of the Mahāparinirvāṇa, to the Pali version in Chapter XXVII of the Jātakapātra.

The Chinese texts of the Mahāparinirvāṇa T 95 and T 106 agree with the Pali. According to these three texts, Mara approached the Buddha shortly after he had obtained enlightenment and asked him why he dwelt alone, not seeking the company of men. The Buddha answered that he is free from attachment and has found peace. Mara then proposed that the Buddha should teach his doctrine to others, but the Buddha refused to do so. In both versions, a rather long dialogue follows, which seems out of place. Just like a crab, whose limbs have been cut by boys and girls, is unable to crawl back to the pond in which it lived, so Mara is unable to attack the Buddha, as he has broken off all cravings. This episode is not found in the Chinese Sugata-panca, T 95 and T 106. The episode ends with a verse already found in the Pali Jātakapātra: "The crow hurried round the rock that looked like (a lump of) fat. So we have
find something soft, is it something sweet?" Having obtained nothing sweet there, the crow went away from that spot. Just like the crow approaching the rock, being disgusted, we shall go away from Gotama."

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

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

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

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

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

T 1400 continues by referring to Mara's three daughters, whereas according to T 1597 Mara created three beautiful, bashful young women. These three women, Mara's daughters and his creations, attempted to disturb the Bodhisattva and were turned into old women. Mara then attacked the Bodhisattva with his 16 divisions of troops of demons and wild animals. The Bodhisattva entered into the meditation of compassion. The account of T 1591 is somewhat shorter than that of T 1400. According to the former text, a god of the pure abode created an umbrella and protected the Bodhisattva from all the missiles hurled at him and turned them into all kinds of flowers. The Bodhisattva then performed miracles, sitting, standing and walking in the air and issuing water and fire from his body. T 1400 tells us that Mara's weapons were turned into flowers. The earth Mara raised onto his opponent was turned into fragrant substances. A god of the pure abode then created a canopy of flowers and the venomous insects Mara sent forth could not reach the Bodhisattva. Mara then thought of turning the leaves of the Bodhitree into instruments and causing the wind to blow and produce a horrible sound. The Bodhisattva's meditation was not disturbed. The gods of the pure abodes came down to help, each one took hold of one leaf so that they could not move in the wind. As Mara's army was not yet willing to disperse, the gods united and threw Mara onto a mountain. The Bodhisattva then performed miracles. This last feature is found only in these two versions.

T 181 and 184, Hiu-hsing-pen-ch'ing and Fu-shou t'ai-ta-shui-p'ing pen-ch'ing form the third group. Both versions agree with each other literally. The Bodhisattva was sitting under the Bodhitree and a light from the spot between his eyebrows entered Mara's palace and frightened him. Mara's son Sotari warned his father not to fight the Bodhisattva, whose conduct was pure, but Mara did not listen. His daughters offered to seduce the Bodhisattva. Together with 500 attendants they went to the Bodhitree, playing the flute and singing and offered their services to the Bodhisattva. He told them: You are like beautifully painted vases full of sulphur. You do not pay heed to the fact that everything is impermanent and that you will be reborn in the three evil existences. Since innumerable ages I was free from desire and regarded women either as mothers or as elder or younger sisters. Return to your palace and do not again disturb people. With
these words he turned them: though women, Mara grew furious and struck the snow-hill with his foot of destruction; but they were not able to go near him. The Bodhisatta, therefore, spoke some verses in which he said that he had served the Buddha, of one part, and that he himself would become the Buddha Sakayamuni. Mara's feet will be exquisitely and his son will be beggarborn.

The three texts of group IV in the "Abhidhamma," T 189, Kusaṭṭhāsta's "Samgāthana," and T 189, Supp. should be disregarded. The latter text is a Bodhisatta biography in verse, "Sayanitaparicchedi," T 264, a catalogue of Buddhist scriptures written in 937 A.D., 98/99 of this work on p. 89: "Some say this work has been composed by A. Hīgaha." This remark is also found in the "Kālacakragāthā" (see notes Cane 70g), whereas Naljī says the author of this work is an unknown. 29) This must be the case, as it is highly improbable that Aṣṭasahasrika should have written two distinct, but closely related parts, the "Kālacakragāthā" and T 189 have, however, many verses in common.

In T 189, two sisters of Mara appear, Mogha and Kāli, who are also mentioned in Buddharmārvī, XIII, 40:

In the translation of this verse by I.S. Johnson is as follows: "He who is a woman, black as a cloud, with a skant in her hands, wandering about there unrestrainedly and did not remain still, with the intention of deluding the great one's heart, and resembling the intelligence of a non of inconstant mind wandering uncertainly among the various sacred traditions." In a footnote Johnson refers to the Chinese text, in which Moghabali is taken as a proper name. As Moghabali is told, two women must be meant. In T 191, Mara visits a woman black as a cloud, who wandered about aimlessly. 21)

T 193 has a feature not found in any of the other texts: Indra, Varuṇa, Śiva and other gods fight in Mara's army. The Bodhisattva's and Mara's weapons are good and bad qualities respectively. The "Abhidhamma" on the other hand is the only text which mentions those two sons of Mara, Vidhaka, Harsha and Desha. It also states very clearly that Mara is the same as the god of love, Kama:

In the world they call the god of love, him of the bright weapon and also the flower arrowed, that same one as the mother
activities of the passions and the way of liberation they explain."  

2) This character of Māra's is also implied in Ṭ 153, where the five flower arrows of Māra are mentioned.

According to the Buddhasamudrā and Ṭ 159, the Buddha was meditating under the Bodhi tree. Māra was depressed, and three sons in Alexanderion, were only called into his 1123 to ask their father why he was so. Māra told them the reason. Shāri learned his father not to fight the Buddha. In both texts, Māra remained the Bodhisattva until he belonged to the kṣitigarbha and that it was not fitting that he should become a monastic. As the Bodhisattva pitied these sons, Māra discharged an arrow, but both to his continuation this too had no effect. In the buddhasamudrā, Māra's three daughters are only briefly mentioned; whereas Ṭ 159 says they told to the Bodhisattva and were turned into old women. Māra killed all his palace and his rank to the Bodhisattva. The bodhisattva was not interested in this office and called the earth as Shāri for his merits. The spirit of the earth testified for the Bodhisattva, offered flowers and disappeared. Both texts have a detailed description of the demons fighting in Māra's army and their attack on the Bodhisattva. Both mention gods and men, angels and spirits who were angry with Māra. Ṭ 159 says blood issued from their pores. The gods of the pure abodes, according to Ṭ 159 assisted the Bodhisattva, whereas the buddhasamudrā says, "The gods of the pure abodes developed compassion in their minds, but were not touched by anger because they were from from all passion." 28) The quip concludes alike in both texts, an invisible spirit in the sky admonished Māra to resign, and Māra finally turned away vanquished.

The summary of Ṭ 157 is as follows: When the Bodhisattva meditated under the Bodhi tree, the earth shook and Māra asked his minister what the meaning of the earthquake was. The minister informed him that the attention of kind Buddha was drawn to obtain enlightenment. Māra's daughters asked their father why he was depressed, and he told them the reason and asked them to hinder the saint. They attempted to中午 the Bodhisattva and were turned into old women. Māra then called his army and mounted a splendid chariot. He went to the Buddha and asked him to enjoy life and rule as a king. The Bodhisattva remained calm, even when an arrow was shot at him. Māra then decided to light butter, who carried a thunderbolt and had a thousand eyes on his body manifested his elephant, Atibhat. He was followed by silver chariots drawn by white horses and white eagles. The god of the waters Vrindu, rose a golden chariot drawn by a thousand noble lions. Vishnusana led a host of rakshas, gods and demons on various mounts. Lions, peacocks, tigers, elephants, camels and horses wandered. Some rode on eagles and spit fire, others had animal heads and horrid shapes, they all were armed with various weapons and making horrible noises,
they attacked the Bodhisattva, who remained calm and caused flowers to fall. Mara then created a woman like a black cloud to confuse the Bodhisattva. A god asked Mara to desist, wherupon Mara grew more furious and hurled the fire of desire against the Bodhisattva, who created rain clouds to put out the fire. The god An-hsian, the greatest of the spirits, (Shiva), withdrew. Mara brought earth anger and hatred and the whole world was full of venomous snakes. By meditating on compassion, the snakes were destroyed by the Bodhisattva. Mara brought forth delusion, but the Bodhisattva understood. Mara shot the arrow of instruction and created a naga. The Bodhisattva shot the arrow "compassion" and created a gruda, which destroyed the naga. Mara shot with the weapon "pride" and created an elephant. The Bodhisattva shot with the ten powers and created a lion which chased the elephant. Mara shot with the weapon "lies" and created wind. The Bodhisattva shot with truth and created a mountain. Mara shot with avance and created fog. The Bodhisattva shot with liberality and created a raincloud so that the fog disappeared. Mara shot downwind and created a cloud, the Bodhisattva shot the five parities and created a breeze which dispelled the cloud. Mara shot wrong views and created darkness which enveloped the world. The Bodhisattva shot right views and created a sun which illuminated the world. The Bodhisattva adorned himself with the jewels of energy and meditation and took the bow "compassion" and the arrow "brahmanic state" from the quiver "mind" and achieved victory. The gods of the pure abodes advised Mara to desist. It might be possible, they said, to deprive all beings of their own nature, but not to hinder the Bodhisattva's course. The account ends with the ceiling of the earth as witness to the Bodhisattva's good deeds and the final defeat of Mara.

The last group consists of the Liangwizana (EV) Chapter XXI, T 196 Fa-pan-hsing-hi-cheng, which has been transcribed by S. Beal under the title The Romantic History of Sakyamuni and T 186 Fu-yeo-ching. Beal began to translate the latter text too, but he found the text so corrupt and imperfect and the style of the composition so inflated that he gave up the task.27 The episode of the Buddha's temptation according to these three texts is as follows: T 186, L.V and T 195 say that the Bodhisattva sent a ray into Mara's palace and that Mara had 32 dreams foreboding evil. He called his adherents together and told them of his dreams, and of a voice he had heard telling him of the Bodhisattva who would obtain enlightenment. A son called Shresthi in T 190 and Sarthvaka in L.V and T 186 asked why his father looked so pale and worried and he advised him not to fight. T 190 relates that the Bodhisattva approached an Anura tree. The gods, wishing to indicate the proper Bodhitree, hung garlands on it. A Yaksha deputed another Yaksha, Red-eyes, to warn Mara. Mara ordered the Yaksha to hinder the Bodhi-
attva going to the right tree. The Yakshas and the guardian spirit of the wood praised the Bodhisattva. Mara approached the Bodhi-tree and asked the Bodhisattva to go to some other place, which the Bodhisattva refused to do. Mara took the shape of a messenger bringing letters from Kapilavastu, informing the Bodhisattva that Devadatta had usurped the government and invited Mara to Suddodana. The Bodhisattva remained firm and the tree spirits retired from him. LV, T 186 and T 190 continue by relating the conversation between Mara, his minister and his sons, 100 of whom took sides with the Bodhisattva, disturbing their father from attacking, while 200 others urged him on. In the following passage, the three accounts again diverge. T 186 says that Mara sent his four daughters to seduce the Bodhisattva, while T 190 mentions Mara’s female attendants, who were deputed by Mara to this end, and later he sent his three daughters. LV mentions daughters of Mara without giving their number. On their father’s instigation, they attempted to seduce the Bodhisattva, and their father scolded them for being unable to do so. According to T 190, when the women saw that the Bodhisattva was not to be moved, they went away wishing him success, while according to T 186 they are turned into old women. The account continues by Mara asking the Bodhisattva once more to leave the Bodhi-tree and enjoy life and when Mara saw this did not impress the Bodhisattva, he told him he would be able to present a terrible war by righteous government. Mara then rushed at the Bodhisattva with his army of demons. The weapons that were thrown turned into flowers. Mara’s son Shreshthi begged his father to desist, and so did a god of the pure abodes. The gods assisted the Bodhisattva, who emerged victorious from the battle and gained supreme enlightenment. LV too has a long—description of Mara’s army followed by discussions between Mara’s sons and finally Mara’s attack. Mara fought with ten different means, wind, rain, stones, weapons, coal, ash, sand, mud and darkness. Mara, sitting on his elephant Shrineukkula 29, fled, returned again and hurled his disc at the Bodhisattva, but he was finally defeated, all his weapons having turned into flowers.

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

As can be seen from the above summary of some versions of the temptation of the Bodhi-tree, there are many different accounts of the same episode. The versions differ from each other in important matters like
The way in which Meru tried to influence the Foulbitch on the attitude of the gods is described, as in details, some of which are listed below.

1. a) the temptation takes place in front the enlightenment:
   T 184, 185, 186, 187, LV, 191, 192, Re, T 1450
b) after the enlightenment
   SN, MS, T 193, 190

2. c) The Foulbitch challenges Meru
   T 184, 185, 186, LV, T 186
b) Meru is warned by two bakers
   T 191, 192

3. a) not mentioned

b) three daughters
   MS, T 99, 100, 184, 185 (compared by 200 attendants)
   LV, 192, 193 (compared by 100 attendants), 193, Re, T 1450
   LV (three daughters are mentioned in a second temptation after the enlightenment)

c) four daughters
   T 186
d) one son
   T 184, 185, 186
e) three sons
   Re
f) thousands sons
   T 190, LV, T 186
g) two sisters
   Re, T 189

4. a) Meru’s daughters go to the Foulbitch on their own accord
   MS, T 99, 100, 186, 187
b) they are seen by their father
   T 186, LV, Re, of his go with him : T 189, Re, T 193
c) they are turned into old women
   T 184, 185, 186, 189, 191, 193, 1450

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Mere's proposals

a) He should enjoy life.
T 193, 199
b) He should perform sacrifices.
T 193, 199

c) He should live like a king.
Ec T 185, 193, 198

d) He should return to Kaliyug.
T 191, 1456

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

f) He should prevent a terrible war.
T 190

g) He should join men, but should not preach.
T 99, 166, 167

6. The earth is fertile in the Buddha's lifetime.
T 188, 193, LV

NOTES

2. See below, p. 11.
3. See below, p. 18 for a detailed list.
5. T 192, p. 97 b.
6. T 191, p. 79 b.
8. Windisch, F., Mere und Buddha, Leipzig 1895.
11. Windisch, F., p. 82.
13. Windisch, F., Mere and Buddha, p. 149.
14. This is also found in Majjhima Nikaya I, 234.
16. Edgerton, F., *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, New Haven, 1953, s.v. ougha referring to the *Sūtaṃpata* 1039: it is not clear what is meant by the five and six streams. From the Chinese it might seem that the five streams are connected with the five senses, the sixth with mind.

17. According to T 107 he brought letters from Buddhadatta, according to T 145 he came running with a verbal message.

18. In T 191 the Bodhiśatva seems to refer to Mara as a brāhmaṇī, p. 910 b line 6.

19. The *tattvaratna*, Chapter XXII, ed. P.I. Vaidya, Dhihsthūrapāda, 1958, p. 453 (351:448) states that the Buddha rose in the air to the height of seven palm trees, as the gods expected him to make a sign after the enlightenment. No reason is given in our texts.


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

23. *Buddhacarita*, XIII, 2

24. *Buddhacarita*, XIII, 31

25. The five powers are: 1) viharasthāna-jananaḥ, 2) karmaroṣa-jananaḥ, 3) dharmavimuktānāmādhiśrīnāvāsanaḥ, 4) indriyagāpārāparajananaḥ, 5) nānakhaśayajñananaḥ, 6) nānakhaśayajñananaḥ, 7) nīvatreyagāmānājananaḥ, 8) parvatrajananaḥ, 9) parvatrajananaḥ, 10) parvatrajananaḥ. See Vaidhūmī, E., *Ein zweiter Bericht über*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung, Band VI, Heft 1, 1958, p. 358.

26. It is not clear what these five powers are.

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

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

29. An elephant Girimukha is mentioned in the *Nīlanātha*, p. 72
Abbreviations

(Please refer to bibliography)

Bc  Buddhacarita
LV  Lalitavistara
MS  Mahasanghika
SBE  Sacred Books of the East
Sn  Suttanipata
SN  Suttan Nikya
T  Tanho Dunyio, Tokyo 1927–33
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T 100 P'ie-yi Tai-a-hun, an incomplete Samadhaema
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T 185 Fu-shou-nai-ta-shui p'ing pao-ch'ih-ch'ing translated by Ch'i'en between 122 and 286 A.D.
T 186 Fu-you-ching translated 308 A.D. by Dharmaraka
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T 191 Fu-shou-chang-hu-me-hai-ch'ung translated by Fu-hsien in the 10th century
T 193 Fu-hsun-tung-ch'ing (Veddhapawcaveduttavattra) translated by Fu-yun 417-449 A.D.
T 1450 Kao-pen-shau-ch'i-yeh-yang's nai-yeh Vinaya of the Mulasarvanavartika
T 2034 Li Tai san pao chi by Fei Chang-feng-fang 597 A.D.

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